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The 'cello' in the Low Countries : the instrument and its practical use in the 17th and 18th centuries

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The instrument and its practical use in the 17th and 18th centuries

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Berzina Elisabeth Tinbergen

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in 1973

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Dit proefschrift is geschreven als een gedeeltelijke vervulling van de vereisten voor het doctoraatsprogramma docARTES. De overblijvende vereiste bestaat uit een demonstratie van de onderzoeksresultaten in de vorm van een artistieke presentatie.

Het docARTES programma wordt georganiseerd door het Orpheus Instituut te Gent, in samenwerking met de Universiteit Leiden, de Hogeschool der Kunsten Den Haag, het Conservatorium van Amsterdam, de Katholieke Universiteit Leuven en het Lemmensinstituut.

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Aan mijn moeder,
en aan mijn vader in liefdevolle herinnering.

Aan allen die mij de genen voor de muziek hebben doorgegeven!
waaronder:
mijn overgrootvader Marinus Koole
en mijn opa en oma Oosterbeek:
Simon van Woerden en Berzina van Woerden-Koole.

This dissertation consists of the following parts

Part 1: Text
Part 2a: Images Noordelijke Nederlanden
Part 2b: Images Zuidelijke Nederlanden & Applied Arts
Part 3: Research corpus images & databases

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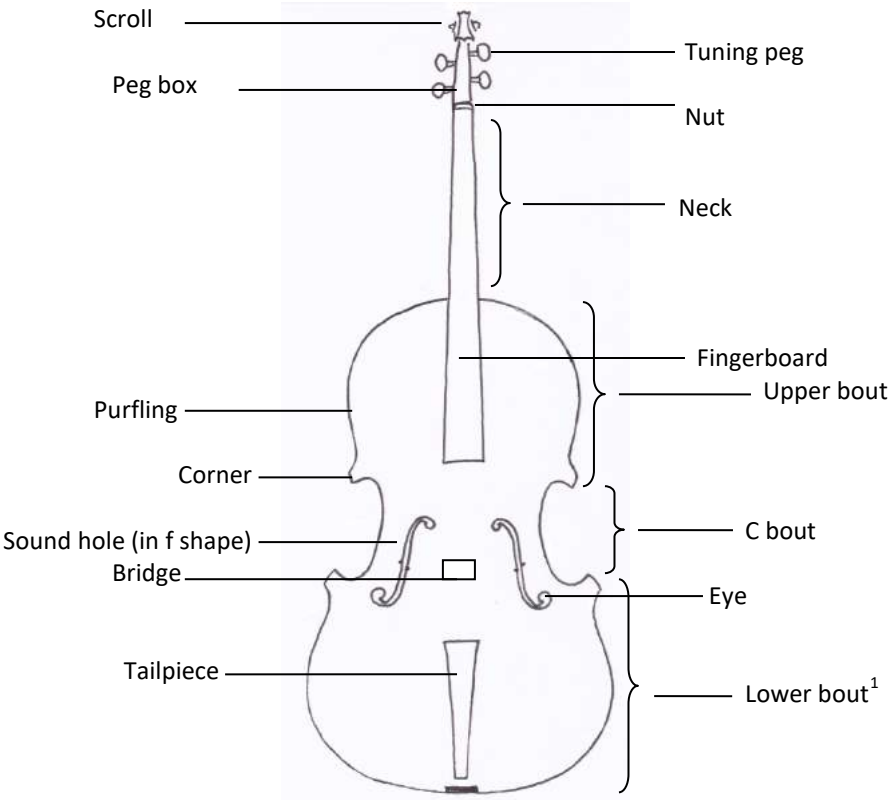
Abbreviations

a.o.	among others; among other things
bc	basso continuo
BnF	Bibliothèque national de France, Paris
ca.	circa
ed.	editor
e.g.	exempli gratia = for example
ET	Elske Tinbergen
fig.	figure
figs.	figures
fl.	flourished
GM	Gemeente Museum, The Hague
i.e.	id est = that is
inv. no.	inventory number
KB	Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague
KWN	kunst werk nummer (art work number), as used by the RKD
MIM	Muziek Instrumenten Museum, Brussels
n.d.	no date
NGV	Nederlandse Groep van Viool- en Strijkstokkenmakers
NMI	Nederlands Muziek Instituut, The Hague
NN	Noordelijke Nederlanden (also used as adjective)
no.	number
p.	page
pp.	pages
RKD	Rijksburo voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague
SFSF	slow-fast-slow-fast (for movements in music)
vc	violoncello
ZN	Zuidelijke Nederlanden (also used as adjective)

Glossary

1: Chapter
1.1: Sub chapter
1.1.1: Section
1.1.1.1: Sub section

B♭Fgd, CGda, CGdad', CGdae: tuning of the strings



Inside the instrument the soundpost (between front and back, below the right foot of the bridge) and the bass bar are found.

All English translations are made by the author (ET), unless stated otherwise.

The captions (in the body text) for images from the research corpus were kept as short as possible. In principle the following was added: NN or ZN: name of artist, title of image and (production date). For more extensive information see Appendix 2.
In case an image was used which is not in the research corpus images, all the necessary information was added in a footnote.

[1] Drawing kindly made for me by violin maker Marietta Schwarz, Arnhem.

List of persons referred to in this thesis

Stijn Alsteens is a Belgian art historian. He has worked at the Institut Néerlandais in Paris and the Metropolitan Museum in New York. Since 2016, November 1 he is the International Head of the Old Master Drawings at Christie's in Paris.

Pieter Andriessen (1943-2005) was a Flemish musicologist. He was one of the founding fathers of the Belgian orchestra La Petite Bande. The books he wrote include a biography of Carolus Hacquart.

Dirk Jacobus Balfoort (1886-1964) was a Dutch violinist, violin pedagogue and curator. After having played in several European orchestras, he came back to Holland and was appointed (assistant) curator for the Scheurleer Collection of musical instruments. He managed to save the collection after which it was incorporated into the collection of the Gemeentemuseum in The Hague.

Johan Daniel Berlin (1717-1787) was a German composer, organist, writer and inventor of musical instruments. He was city musician in Trondheim and organist of the Trondheim Cathedral. In 1744 he published the first musical textbook in the Norwegian language *Musikaliske Elementer*.

Anna Bianco is an Italian art historian. Since 2010 she is curator for the Ton Koopman Collection of Musical Old Prints. She also works at the Antiquariaat Arine van der Steur in Haarlem and at the RKD in The Hague.

Wolfgang Boettcher is a German cellist. He was solo cellist of the Berliner Philarmoniker and a cello teacher at the Hochschule der Künste in Berlin. He is co-author of *Das Violoncello* (1996).

Stephen Bonta (1927-2017) was an American musicologist. Bonta studied at Harvard University and received a PhD in 1964. As a scholar, Bonta's areas of expertise included the Italian composers Monteverdi and Legrenzi, and the origins of the modern-day cello. He has published several articles on the history of the violoncello.

Johann Sebastian Brandts Buijs (1905-1959), better known as **Hans Brandts Buijs**, was a Dutch conductor, harpsichordist, music author, composer and prominent expert on the work and life of Johann Sebastian Bach. Brandts Buijs published unknown Dutch early music, among which are compositions by Pieter Hellendaal.

Frans Albert van den Bremt (1919-??) was a Belgian musicologist. He wrote the first bibliography of the Dutch composer Willem de Fesch, based on research performed by the musicologist Stephan de Jonghe and extended by Van den Bremt.

Charles Burney (1726-1814) was an English musician, composer and music historian. He has written several books on music among which *A general history of music* (1776), *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* (1771) and *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and the United Provinces* (1773).

Egbert Buys (ca. 1725-1769) was 'Hofraad' of the King of Prussia. In the middle of the 18th century Buys lived in Amsterdam. He published several dictionairies on art, both in Dutch and in English.

Margaret Campbell (1917-2015) was a British music writer and editor, who published a biography of Arnold Dolmetsch, *The great violinists* and *The great cellists*.

Michel Corrette (1707-1795) was a French organist, teacher, composer-arranger and author of methods on performing practice. These methods were intended for many different instruments:

violin, cello, traverso, pardessus de viole, harpsichord, singing, guitar, mandolin, double bass, harp, viola, fiddle and recorder.

Elizabeth Cowling (1910-1997) was an American cellist and musicologist. Her dissertation *Italian Sonata Literature of the Violoncello in the Baroque Era* was expanded and published as *The cello* in 1975. The latter work is still considered standard reading for cellists.

Robert Crome published *The Compleat Tutor for the Violoncello* around 1765. Nothing is known about him.

Jean-Baptiste Cupis le jeune (1741-??) was a French cellist, composer and teacher. He studied the cello with Martin Berteau and in 1772 he published his *Méthode nouvelle et raisonée pour apprendre à jouer du violoncelle.*

Gerhart Darmstadt is a German cellist, player of the arpegggione and conductor. Darmstadt is a teacher at the Hochschule für Musik und Theater in Hamburg. He has edited sonatas by several baroque composers, including sonatas composed by the Dutchman Jacob Klein.

Taco Dibbits is a Dutch art historian and since 2016, July 15 he is the director of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. Dibbits has published dozens of articles on art-historical subjects.

Pieter Dirksen is a Dutch harpsichordist, organist and musicologist. He has specialised in the keyboard music of Sweelinck, the North German school and Johann Sebastian Bach. He has published several books on music. His 1996 dissertation on the keyboard music of Sweelinck was awarded the Dutch *Praemium Erasmianum.*

Henk O'Douwes is the author of the article *De cellocomposities van Willem de Fesch* published in the Dutch music magazine *Mens en melodie* in 1959.

Jean Louis Duport (1749-1819) was a French cellist and composer. Duport studied cello with his older brother Jean-Pierre Duport (1741-1818). Around 1806 he published the famous standard work *Essai sur le doigté du violoncelle et sur la conduite de l'archet*.

François-Joseph Fétis (1784-1871) was a Belgian composer, music pedagogue, musicologist, violinist, harpsichordist, music critic and early music concert entrepeneur (in Brussels and Paris). Fétis was director of the Conservatoire in Brussels, and he is well-known for his *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique* (1881-1889).

Michael Feves is an American cellist. He was a cellist in the Dutch Radio Filharmonisch Orkest for 25 years. Together with Henk Lambooij he has done research for over 30 years, which has resulted in the publication of *A Cellist's Companion*.

Ian Finlay is the author of the article *Musical Instruments in 17th-Century Dutch Paintings*.

Luigi Forino (1868-1936) was an Italian cellist and music pedagogue. Forino published Boccherini sonatas, wrote a 5 part cello method and also a history of the violoncello: *Il violoncello: il violoncellista ed i violoncellisti* (1905).

Guust François (1956) is a Dutch violin maker who has his own atelier in Amsterdam. He builds both modern and baroque violins, violas and cellos.

Ernst Ludwig Gerber (1746-1819) was a German lawyer, music scholar, organist, cellist, composer and collector. He is best known for his dictionary of musicians.

Lev Ginsburg (1907-1981) was a cellist and a musicologist from Belarus. He was a teacher at the Moscow Conservatory and the author of more than 20 books and hundreds of articles, including the *History of the violoncello*.

Johan Giskes is the author of many articles about the musical life in Holland in the 17th and 18th centuries. After having to quit the Concertgebouw Orchestra (he was a viola player) due to an allergy for rosin, he worked at the Stadsarchief Amsterdam for many years as a music historian. In the archives he found many interesting data for his articles.

Louis Peter Grijp (1954-2016) was a musicologist and lute player. At Utrecht University he was special professor for 'Dutch song culture: past and present'; at the Meertens Instituut he was senior researcher and he was artistic leader and lute player of Camerata Trajectina.

John Gunn (ca. 1765 - ca. 1824) was a Scottish cellist, flautist and scholar. He published treatises on four different instruments, including *Theory and Practice of Fingering on the Violoncello* in 1789.

Leendert Haasnoot (1917-??) was a Dutch musicologist who wrote the first biography of Pieter Hellendaal (1983), upon which he also graduated at Amsterdam University.

Bettina Hoffmann is a German cellist, gamba player and musicologist living in Italy. She is professor of viola da gamba, baroque cello, performing practice and baroque chamber music at the Conservatorio Arrigo Pedrollo in Vicenza and the Scuola di Musica in Fiesole. Hoffmann has published several musicological articles on the cello and the viol. She has also published modern editions of Italian solo sonatas for cello and for viol.

Viola de Hoog is a (baroque) cellist from Amsterdam. She studied with Anner Bijlsma and is a cellist in Ensemble Schönbrunn and the Narratio Quartet. De Hoog teaches baroque cello at the Hogeschool voor de Kunsten, Utrecht, the Conservatorium van Amsterdam and the Hochschule für Künste, Bremen.

Willem Jan Hoogsteder is an art historian from The Hague and the owner-director of Hoogsteder & Hoogsteder traders in Old Master paintings. He is Old Master paintings expert on the *Tussen Kunst en Kitsch* show on Dutch television.

Eddy de Jongh is emeritus professor of art history at Utrecht University. He concentrated on visual arts of the 17th century. He is the author of *Muziek aan de muur*, a book published on the occasion of the exhibition *Muziek – gespeeld en verbeeld* in the Noordbrabants Museum in 2008.

Jean Baptiste Anne Geneviève Gagniare, Baron de Joursanvault (1748-1792) was a historian, musician (cellist), engraver, patron and collector from Beaune in France. He intended to write and publish a cello method for which he ordered a set of drawings showing cello technique.

George Kennaway is a cellist, conductor, teacher and musicologist. He is currently Visiting Research Fellow at the University of Huddersfield's Centre for Performance Research, and Visiting Research Fellow at the University of Leeds. In 2014 he published *Playing The Cello 1780-1930*.

Heinrich Christoph Koch (1749-1816) was a German music theoretician and lexicographer. Among other publications he wrote the *Musikalisches Lexikon* published in 1802.

Dingeman Jan Korf (1906-1981) was a Dutch painter and a visual and graphic artist. Korf was very well known for his articles and books on tiles and ceramics.

Magda Kyrova studied Art History at Leiden University and is a retired curator of the Iconographical Collections at the Music Department of the Gemeentemuseum, The Hague.

Henk Lambooij is a Dutch cellist and musicologist. For 28 years he was principal cellist of the Dutch Radio Filharmonisch Orkest. Together with Michael Feves he has done research for over 30 years, which has resulted in the publication of *A Cellist's Companion*.

Fred Lindeman (1932-2017) was an important violin maker and restorer from Amsterdam, the Netherlands. He published two books: *The rebirth of the baroque violin* and *Tussen grond- en boventonen*. On the website of his publisher Gopher he is described as a "specialist in the converting of modernised stringed instruments to their supposed original state."

Jacob Wilhelm Lustig (pseudonym: **Conrad Wohlgemuth**, 1706-1796) was a Dutch theorist, organist and composer of German descent. He was organist at the Martinikerk in Groningen. His publications include a translation of Johann Joachim Quantz's *Flötenschule* and he translated and commented on Charles Burney's *The Present State…* .

Willibald Leo Freiherr von Lütgendorff-Leinburg (1856-1937) was a German history and genre painter, art educator and art historian. He is well known for his publication *Die Geigen- und Lautenmacher vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart.* He founded a collection of historical musical instruments, now in the St. Annen-Museum in Lübeck.

Pieter Marin (ca. 1667-1718) was the author of some dictionairies French-Dutch.

Dimitry Markevitch (1923-2002) was an Ukrainian cellist, researcher, teacher, and musicologist. Markevitch rediscovered Westphal's and Kellner's transcriptions of the Bach Suites. He is the author of *Cello Story*.

Max Merseburger (1853-1935) was a German publisher.

Ernst Hermann Ludimar Meyer (1905-1988) was a German composer and musicologist. Meyer was head of the German Society of Composers and Musicologists, professor of musicology at Berlin's Humboldt University, chairman of the German Händel Society, and founder of the annual Händel Festival.

Willem A. Mirandolle (1901-??) was a Dutch cellist, gamba player and cello pedagogue, who has also published two books on the cello.

Karel Moens is a Belgian musicologist, who has concentrated on the study of early string instruments. Moens has written over 100 publications, mainly on early European string instruments and their iconography. From 1978 to 1999 he worked at the MIM in Brussels and from 1999 to 2016 he was curator at the Museum Vleeshuis in Antwerp.

Guillaume Max Möller (also known as: **Max junior**, 1915-1985) was a famous Dutch violin maker. He was the second generation out of three working in Amsterdam. He has written several publications on violin making.

Leopold Mozart (1719-1787) was a composer, violinist and theorist. He travelled Europe with his children Wolfgang Amadeus and Nannerl. In 1756 he published the *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule.*

Georg Muffat (1653-1704) was a German composer and organist of French birth. He was a prominent composer of instrumental music and he was particularly important for the part he played in introducing the French and Italian styles into Germany.

Christoph Gottlieb von Murr (1733-1811) was a German lawyer, customs officer, bibliographer and universal scholar. Between 1756 and 1761 he travelled through Holland, Austria, England and Italy. He was the publisher of the *Journals zur Kunstgeschichte und zur allgemeinen Litteratur* (1775–1789) and the *Neuen Journals zur Litteratur und Kunstgeschichte* (1798–1799).

Willem Noske (1918-1995) was a Dutch violinist and music historian. Noske was a great collector of music. Two of his collections: *Musica Neerlandica* and a large collection of violin music are now held at the NMI in The Hague.

Winfried Pape (1936-2017) was a German cellist and musicologist (Dissertation (1962): *Die Entwicklung des Violoncellspiels im 19. Jahrhundert*). He is co-author of *Das Violoncello*.

Mimmo Peruffo is an Italian researcher and string maker. He owns the company Aquila Corde Armoniche, which produces historical gut strings. He has published an article on the loaded gut bass strings on lutes.

Johann Samuel Petri (1738-1808) was a German Kantor, teacher and writer on music. In 1767 he published the first edition of the *Anleitung zur practischen Musik, vor neuangehende Sänger und Instrumentspieler*.

Pierre Paul Prud'hon (1758-1823) was a French painter and drawer. He made a set of drawings for Baron de Joursanvault to be published in a cello method.

Nona Pyron is an American cellist and music historian. She has done extensive research on the history of the cello. Pyron is founder, director and editor-in-chief of Grancino Editions, a publisher specifying in cello music. Pyron wrote the chapter on the history of the violoncello in William Pleeth's book *Cello* (1982).

Johann Joachim Quantz (1697-1773) was a German oboist, flautist, composer, writer on music and flute maker. He is well-known for his treatise on the flute, published in 1752, in which he also added chapters on other instruments, including the cello. From 1741 onwards Quantz served Frederick, King of Prussia in Berlin.

Rudolf Rasch is an associate professor Musicology (emeritus) at Utrecht University. He has specialised in the musical history of the Low Countries.

Alberto Rasi is an Italian viol and double bass player. He has done research on the way the bow should be held: overhand or underhand.

Wim Raymaeckers is a Belgian art historian and violin maker from Leuven.

Estienne (1665 or 1666-1722) **& Jeanne** (1701-1722) **Roger** and **Michel-Charles Le Cène** (1684-1743) were music engravers and publishers in Amsterdam. Estienne Roger started the company in 1696. After his death his daughter Jeanne took over but she died within 5 months. The company was finally continued by Roger's son in law Michel-Charles Le Cène (husband of Roger's daughter Françoise). Roger published over more than 500 works of music, which were well received in Europe.

Bernhard Romberg (1767-1841) was a German cellist and composer. As a child he travelled through Europe to give concerts. During this tour he also visited Holland and performed in Amsterdam in 1778. Romberg has composed many pieces for cello. He is the author of *Violoncell Schule* (1739).

Jurriaan van Roon is a Dutch violin maker and owner of Contrada Musica in Amersfoort, the Netherlands. He was trained at the West Dean College in England and the Edward Withers firm in London. He is treasurer of the NGV.

C.C. van Rossem was a Dutch journalist and also an amateur cellist. He has written the entertaining book *het onbespeelbare instrument* (1963).

Julie Anne Sadie is an American musicologist, violist and cellist. She has contributed to many articles in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* and is the editor of *The Consort* and *Companion to Baroque Music*.

Marietta Schwarz is a Dutch-Swiss violin maker in Arnhem, the Netherlands. She was trained at the Geigenbauschule in Brienz, Switzerland. She is a member of the NGV and the Schweizer Verband der Geigenbauer und Bogenmacher.

Christopher Simpson (1602-1669) was an English theorist, composer and viol player. He composed many pieces for viol and wrote *The Division-Violist, or An Introduction to the Playing upon a Ground* (1652).

Godelieve Spiessens is a Belgian musicologist and art historian. She has concentrated on the history of lute music in the Low Countries and the musical life in Antwerp during the Ancien Régime (ca. 1450-ca.1800). She has published many articles.

Serge Stam is a (second generation) violin maker in Utrecht, the Netherlands. Stam is a member of the NGV and the Entente Internationale des Luthiers et Archetiers d'art.

Robin Stowell is a violinist and emeritus Professor of Music at Cardiff University.

Edmond van der Straeten (1826-1895) was a Belgian lawyer, collectioneur and musicologist. He was secretary to F.-J. Fétis. Together they inventoried and studied important collections in the Royal Library and the library of the Conservatory in Brussels. Van der Straeten wrote several publications including the 8 part *La musique aux Pays-Bas*.

Edmund Sebastian Joseph van der Straeten (1855-1934) was a German cellist, writer on music and composer. Van der Straeten studied at the Musikhochschule Köln and at the Guildhall School of Music in London. In 1878, he joined the Musikgesellschaft in Cologne. He is the author of several books on cello and violin playing, including the *History of the Violoncello* (1914).

Jan Strick is a violin maker in Brussels, Belgium. Strick is an expert on Italian and French violin making of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries.

Mark Mervyn Smith is an Australian musicologist and baroque cellist. He published an article on underhand cello playing and a dissertation on Bach's cello suites and depictions of cellos/cellists.

Robert Tusler (1920-2015) was an American-Dutch musicologist. For Donemus he has edited and published all works by Willem de Fesch, and he was the author of *Willem de Fesch: 'an excellent musician and a worthy man'.*

Mark Vanscheeuwijck is a Belgian baroque cellist and an associate professor of musicology at the University of Oregon. Vanscheeuwijck has published several critical facsimiles and editions, including the facsimiles of Domenico Gabrielli's complete works for cello solo and with basso continuo (1998), Giuseppe Jacchini's Opus 1 (2001), and Giovanni Battista degli Antonii's Opus 1 (2006).

Joos Verschuere Reynvaan (1739-1809) was a Dutch solicitor in Middelburg and Vlissingen, a composer and city carrillonneur and organist in Vlissingen. He is the author of the first Dutch lexicon on music, the *Muzijkaal konst-woordenboek*.

J. Verbeek is a former curator of precious metals of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.

Geerten Verberkmoes is a Dutch violin and guitar builder in Bergen op Zoom, The Netherlands. Verberkmoes studied chemistry, jazz guitar and violin making. In 2013 he published an article on the ZN violin maker Benoit Joseph Boussu.

Christiaan C. Vlam (1916-1999) was a Dutch mathematician and physicist and also an amateur musicologist. His important collection of 18th and 19th-century Dutch 'speelmansboeken' is held at the NMI.

Frank Wakelkamp is a Dutch baroque cellist and gamba player. He has done research on the composer Jacob Klein and recorded two cd's with his music. In his own publishing firm *editionwakelkamp*, Wakelkamp publishes music for cello solo, mainly by Luigi Boccherini.

Valerie Walden is principal cellist with the Tulare County Symphony and is an instructor for the South San Joaquin Valley branch of Chapman University and the College of the Sequoias (USA). She is the author of *One Hundred Years of Violoncello - A History of Technique and Performance Practice, 1740-1840.*

Johann Gottfried Walther (1684-1748) was a German composer, music theoretician and organist. Walther is well-known for his *Musicalisches Lexicon* published in 1732, the first German music encyclopedia.

Wilhelm Joseph von Wasielewski (1822-1896) was a German violinist, conductor and musicologist. Wasielewski was close friends with Robert and Clara Schumann and with Franz Liszt. The first biography of Schumann was written by Wasielewski. He also wrote *Das Violoncell und seine Geschichte* (1889).

Bruno Weigl (1881-1938) was a Moravian author on music and a composer. He wrote the *Handbuch der Violoncell-Literatur*.

Mariët Westermann is a historian of Nederlandish art. She is the executive vice president of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation (USA). She has published several books on Dutch visual art.

Gerhard Fredrik Witvogel (1669-1746) was a German music publisher, composer and organist. From 1726 until his death Witvogel was organist at the Nieuwe Lutherse Kerk in Amsterdam. As a publisher he produced at least 93 publications. The authenticity and reliability of his (pirated and revised) editions must be considered with the greatest caution.

Introduction

Since long I have been interested in history and art in general, and in Dutch history and Dutch visual arts specifically. As a child I devoured the historical books written by Thea Beckman, and as a teenager, when visiting old castles and churches, I would spend my holiday pocket money on guidebooks, to be able to read more about a site on my return home. I remember travelling from the village where I lived in 'het Hoge Noorden' to the Randstad - Amsterdam, The Hague, Utrecht - to visit special exhibitions. The love of my parents for Dutch antique tiles was transferred to me during our holiday visits to the Nederlands Tegelmuseum in Otterlo.
Later, during my professional training in modern and baroque cello this interest in Dutch history also resulted in a special interest in Dutch cello music. In addition to all the other music I played, I thus performed cello compositions by Léon Orthel (1905-1985), Jacob Klein (1688-1748) and Alexis Magito (1711-1773)[2]. Since my graduation I have compiled and performed, together with my chamber music ensembles, several concert programmes with Dutch music, mostly from the Baroque but also some compositions by the contemporary composers Daan Manneke (1939) and Willem Wander van Nieukerk (1955).
I am not the only cellist interested in the Dutch musical heritage. In 2007 the Stichting Cellosonate Nederland was established by Dutch cellist Doris Hochscheid and pianist Frans van Ruth (www.cellosonate.nl). The following is stated on their website: "The chief objective of this foundation is to promote the popularity of Dutch music for cello and piano with a particular emphasis on the Dutch cello sonata."[3] The website contains a catalogue of music for cello and piano from ca. 1830 to the present day, composed by Dutch composers (living in Holland or abroad) and by foreign composers living in Holland.
Since I am not only a modern cellist but above all a baroque cellist, I am specifically interested in the period before 1830. One then wonders if Klein and Magito were the only 18th-century Dutch composers who composed solo music for cello.
To get a first idea, I have made a list of all modern editions of Dutch 18th-century cello sonatas which I was able to find. The full list is reproduced in Appendix 1. What is immediately noticeable is that until the 1950s only music by Willem de Fesch (1687-1761) and Pieter Hellendaal (1721-1799) was published, and mostly only one or two sonatas at a time. From the 1950s onwards music by other composers was gradually published as well, starting with Jacob Klein in 1954. Alexis Magito's sonatas were first published in the 1980s.
The early 20th-century publications show highly edited scores (Figure 2),[4] whereas the more recent editions (Figure 3) are more faithful to the original (Figure 1).

[2] Even though Magito's name sounds Italian, he will appear to be Dutch, see Section 4.2.6.
[3] Last accessed: 2017, December 8.
[4] The problem with these highly edited scores is that one does not know what markings (a.o. slurs, dynamics, articulation) are original and what markings have been added by the editor. These edited scores, however, give a representation of a time picture, which in a way is also interesting, but for the purpose of this dissertation the original scores have been preferred.

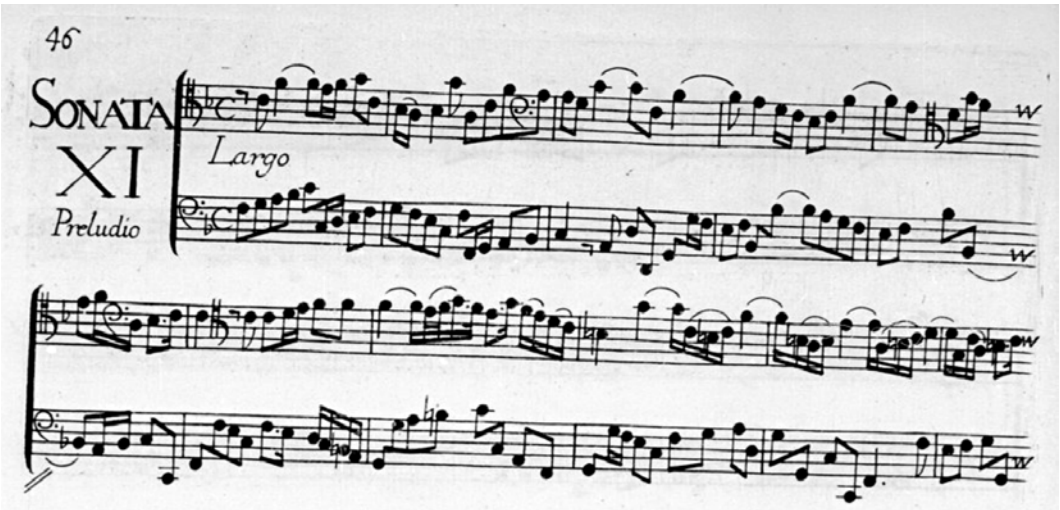


Figure 1 Willem de Fesch: beginning of Sonata XI opus 4, published by De Fesch himself (1725).

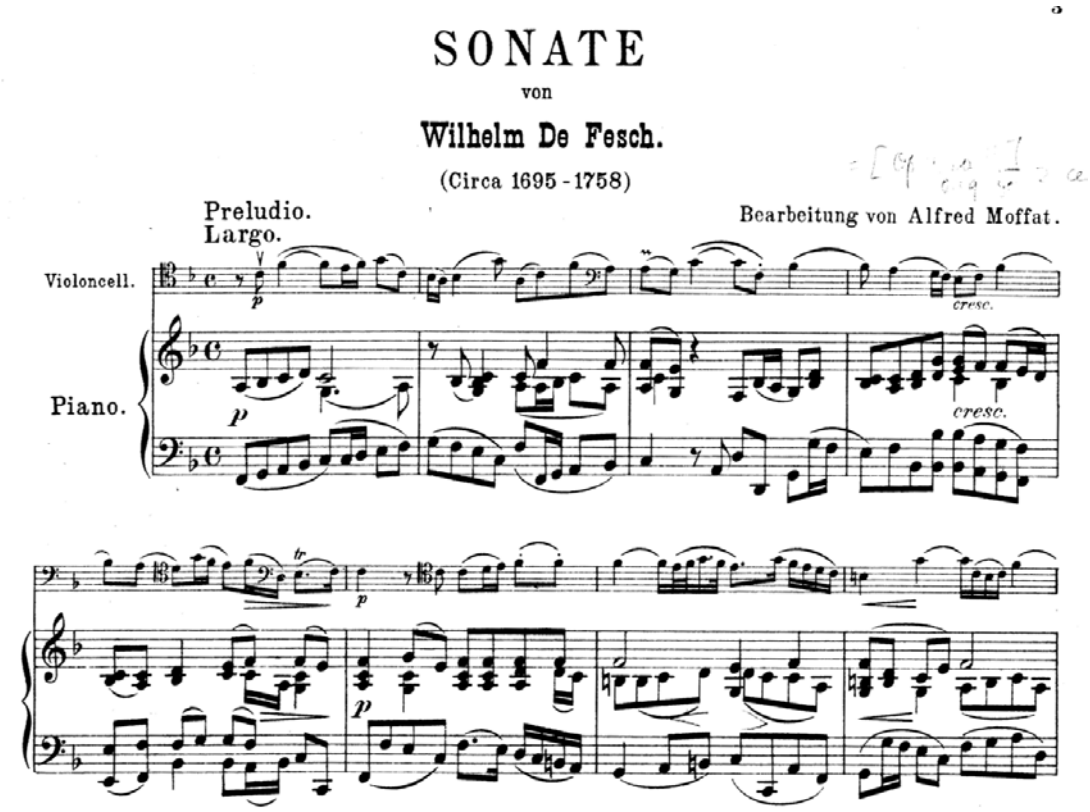


Figure 2 Willem de Fesch: beginning of Sonata in F major, edited by Alfred Moffat (1905). Note the added and deleted slurs, added dynamics, change of octave in the bass and added trills. Also the original scoring for 2 cellos has been changed to cello and piano.

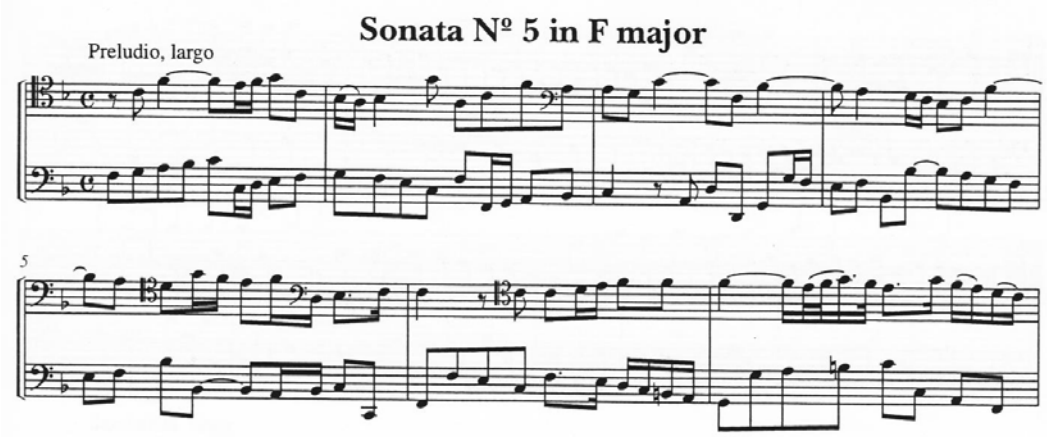


Figure 3 Willem de Fesch: beginning of Sonata 5 (=11) opus 4, Donemus edition (1995).

As Appendix 1 shows, since 1905 many editions of Dutch baroque cello music have been published in Holland and abroad. But are those composers mentioned in this Appendix the only Dutch composers who composed solo music for cello? Or did more solo music see the light of day, but has this music since been forgotten or lost? And what was the situation in the 17th century? Did the cello play an active musical role then as well, as the 17th-century tile on the cover of this dissertation suggests? This tile raises more questions, mainly about the playing technique. All these and more questions come together in my research question:

What was the name, the appearance, the development and the playing technique of the cello in the Low Countries between 1600 and 1800 and what music was composed for it?

To get an answer to this comprehensive question I have first checked what modern (19th and 20th-century) sources could tell me. On the following pages it will be proven that this is very little. The sources will be treated in chronological order, starting in 1866. I have listed all the publications that I could retrieve during the research process.

Research in the 19th and 20th centuries

1866 A Dutch composer who is mentioned in many books is Willem de Fesch. In the second edition of his *Biographie universelle des musiciens* (1866) early music concert entrepeneur François-Joseph Fétis states that: "At the same time he [De Fesch] was a distinguished organist, a skilled cellist, and a composer of merit; […]."[5] It does not become clear upon what Fétis bases the idea that De Fesch was a cellist. One could wonder if he has based it on the entry in Walther's *Musicalisches Lexicon*, where it is said that De Fesch, at that time, is a cellist and an organist in Antwerp.[6] I have only seen proof of De Fesch being a violinist and a concertmaster on several occasions.[7]
The only works for cello Fétis lists are the cello sonatas opus 8, whereas he lists many of the De Fesch sonatas for one or two violins.
1875 As far as De Fesch' compositions are concerned, Belgian collectioneur Edmond van der Straeten, although writing extensively about De Fesch in his *La musique aux Pays-Bas*, only mentions the Canzonette and besides this he shows De Fesch' portrait. No mention whatsoever of any of his instrumental compositions.[8]
1889 The first 'modern' book specifically written about the history of the cello was published in 1889, written by German musicologist Wilhelm von Wasielewski. He gives an extensive history of the viol and states that by the second half of the 18th century the palmy days of the viol are over.

[5] Fétis (1866), p. 224. Original: "Il [de Fesch] était à la fois organiste distingué, habile violoncelliste et compositeur de mérite; […]."
[6] Walther (1732), p. 243: "Fesch [*Guilielmo de*] ein Violoncellist…"
[7] Oxford Music online, last accessed: 2018, February 15.
[8] Van der Straeten (1875), pp. 1-15.

By that time the cello had taken over more and more and people requested compositions for this instrument.[9]
According to Von Wasielewski the rise of the cello in Belgium and Holland started around the same time as in France[10] but the rise was slower. From the 18th century he only mentions four cellists/composers, of whom Willem de Fesch composed the six sonatas opus 8.[11]
1905 In his book *Il violoncello* the cellist and pedagogue Luigi Forino does not speak very highly of the Dutch cello school and of Willem de Fesch' compositions:

> "*The Dutch* - in the 18th century the cello school was insignificant in Holland […]. Willem de Fesch, born in the Netherlands at the end of the 17th century, was a good cellist and organist. In 1757 he was in London. He composed 6 solos for the violoncello of minor importance."[12]

I assume that the solos Forino writes about are the sonatas opus 8, since the content of his text resembles the texts of Fétis and Von Wasielewski and both authors only mention these sonatas. As will become clear in this Introduction, the opus 8 sonatas are the sonatas mentioned most often in studies on the cello and the Dutch musical history.
On the cover of Forino's 1905 edition a cello is depicted. The second edtion has a different cover: a group of three musicians playing two bass instruments and one treble, an image after Jost Amman (1568). It is most probable that the publisher liked the Amman image better and therefore changed it or that he simply wanted to change the appearance of the second edition. The instruments on the second edition, however, are clearly not cellos, whereas the instrument on the first edition is.
1911 In Bruno Weigl's *Handbuch der Violoncell-Literatur* the following is written about the De Fesch' sonata in F major [= opus 4, no. 11] in the Moffat edition of 1905:

> "Four charming little movements which are very pleasant to play and to listen to and let the wish arise to get to know more of De Fesch (born end of the 17th century, died around 1760) in reprint. Highly recommended."[13]

Weigl's recommendation of the F major sonata is in contrast to Forino's comment that the solos are of minor importance.
1914 The extensive *History of the violoncello, the viol de gamba […],* written by the German cellist Edmund van der Straeten, contains two chapters dealing with music from the Low Countries. Chapter VI, a chapter of under two pages, deals with the viola da gamba in the Netherlands (an instrument this dissertation does not deal with primarily), and the somewhat larger chapter XXVIII deals with the violoncello [and cellists] in Belgium from the end of the 17th century up to 1900. The only cello music, composed before 1800, mentioned in this last chapter is Willem de Fesch' "Six Solos for Violoncello Op. 8". According to Van der Straeten De Fesch was not only a violinist but also a cellist and his cello sonatas (among other music) are "most delightful".[14] Van der Straeten and Weigl either agreed on this or simply copied from eachother.
1920 The only Dutch cello music Max Merseburger lists in *Das Violoncello und seine Literatur* is a modern edition of two sonatas by Willem de Fesch: "Fesch, W. de, Sonatas. D minor and F major

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[9] Von Wasielewski (1889), pp. 36, 39.
[10] Von Wasielewski states that in the Paris Opera the cello was 'imported' as late as 1727 by the cellist Batistin, but that in Dresden already at the beginning of the 18th century two French cellists (Jean Baptiste José du Houbondel and Juan Brach de Tillon) were playing in the Court orchestra.
[11] Von Wasielewski (1889), pp. 192-193.
[12] Forino (1905), pp. 416-417. Original: "*Gli Olandesi* - la scuola del violoncello che nel 18 secolo non aveva fatto parlare di sè in Olanda […]. Guglielmo DE FESCH, nato in Olanda verso la fine del XVII secolo, fu buon violoncellista ed organista: nel 1757 era a Londra: compose sei *soli* per violoncello di non grande importanza."
[13] Weigl (1911), p. 24. Original: "Vier reizende Sätzchen, die sich sehr angenehm spielen und anhören und den Wunsch rege werden lassen, mehr von De Fesch (geb. Ende des 17. Jahrh., gest. gegen 1760) im Neudrucke kennen zu lernen. - Sehr empfehlenswert."
[14] Van der Straeten (1914), pp. 94-95, 540.

(A. Moffat) each 2,50."[15] The F major sonata must be the same one Weigl listed in 1911. Even though I have not been able to check it, I am pretty sure that the d minor sonata stems from opus 8. It seems that this sonata is the only other sonata edited by Moffat. De Fesch apparently loved the key of d minor: the sonatas opus 1, no. 2, opus 4 no. 10 and opus 13, no. 4 were also composed in this key.

1943 The only Dutch book on cello history, *De Violoncel*, is written by the cellist, gamba player and cello pedagogue Willem A. Mirandolle. One can expect that a Dutch author will pay full attention to the musical heritage from his/her country. Nothing is less true. The only 18th-century cellist Mirandolle mentions is Willem de Fesch. According to him De Fesch was born in Amsterdam and worked, as a cellist and organist, in Antwerp around 1725.[16] As already mentioned when discussing Fétis (1866), it is not clear upon what the idea of De Fesch being a cellist is based. Mirandolle states the same, but has most probably simply copied Fétis. Mirandolle's statement that De Fesch was born in Amsterdam is not true, de Fesch was born in Alkmaar, and only in later life he lived in Amsterdam for several years.

Whereas Van der Straeten's *History* treats both the cello and the viol, Mirandolle's book, according to the title page, only treats the cello. This is, however, not the case. A few chapters deal with the viol, and Mirandolle even states that music by J. M. Breval [Jean-Baptiste Bréval] and G. Cervetto [Giacobbe Basevi Cervetto] is originally meant for viol but nowadays is mainly played on cello.[17] As far as I could establish[18] Bréval and Cervetto were cellists and did not compose for the viol at all. Therefore Mirandolle's statement seems not to be true.

Mirandolle's book also contains a chapter on violin makers. He mentions, among others, Peter Borbon from Belgium and Cornelis Kleynman, Hendrick Jacobs, Pieter Rombouts and Johannes Cuypers from the Netherlands.[19]

1948 Oddly enough in his second book *De Grondslagen van het Muziekonderwijs in het bijzonder voor de Violoncellist* Miradolle does not mention the De Fesch' sonatas in his list of music he advises for cellists of different levels. The Dutch music he mentions is a concert by Fiocco for stage 4 (I suspect this is Paul Bazelaire's transcription (1934)[20] of Joseph Hector Fiocco's *Pièces de clavecin* opus 1) and for stage 5 four sonatas by Pieter Hellendaal (Presumably the Röntgen edition. See Appendix 1).[21]

1949 The first biography of Willem de Fesch was written by the musicologist Frans van den Bremt in 1949. He discusses the cello sonatas extensively, and he makes a distinction between the duets for two cellos and the sonatas for cello and bc. About the duets Van den Bremt states the following, which is along the same lines as Henk O'Douwes will state in 1959:

> "In the development of the cello literature, these works as well have an importance not to be underestimated."[22]

1959 Up to this point almost all authors only write about De Fesch. In the preface to his edition of Hellendaal's concerti grossi the Dutch music author and expert on the work of J. S. Bach Hans Brandts Buys is very praising about Hellendaal's sonatas. He writes: "His sonatas with their great virtuosity and strong melodic expression are among the best of the century".[23]

1959 The only magazine article on Dutch 18th-century cello composers I have been able to find was published in the Dutch music magazine *Mens en melodie* (1946-2012) in 1959. In this article Henk O'Douwes comments on De Fesch' cello compositions. He writes:

> "The opus VIII [sonatas] are to be considered as the first highlight of his [De Fesch'] creative work. It contains both violin and cello sonatas. On the basis of this opus

[15] Merseburger (1920), p. 160. Original: "Fesch, W. de, Sonate. D-moll u. F-dur (A. Moffat) je 2,50."
[16] Mirandolle (1943), pp. 121-122.
[17] Mirandolle (1943), p. 74.
[18] Oxford Music Online, last accessed: 2017, December 13 & Lambooij & Feves (2007), pp. 91-93, 111-112.
[19] Mirandolle (1943), pp. 52-54.
[20] This concerto, in Bazelaire's transcription, is still sold today by Schott music: SF 7942.
[21] Mirandolle (1948), pp. 171-172.
[22] Van den Bremt (1949), p. 124. Original: "In de ontwikkeling van de celloliteratuur hebben ook deze werken een niet te onderschatten belang."
[23] Brandts Buys (1959), p. V.

> number the ranking of De Fesch among the best of the smaller masters of his time is perfectly legitimate."[24]

As stated by many 'modern' authors De Fesch was a cellist. I have not found any proof for this, except Walther's statement (see above). In the 18th century, however, it was very common that musicians played more than one instrument. Since De Fesch has composed so many sonatas for the cello, it is plausible that he was able to play this instrument as well. O'Douwes comments on this as follows:

> "Although in the lexicons De Fesch is mentioned as a violinist and composer (only Walther refers to him as a cellist), his excellent insight into the possibilities of the instrument gives ground to the suspicion that he himself must have played the cello, possibly as a second instrument."[25]

Many authors quoted in this Introduction mention sonatas composed by De Fesch. They do not agree on how many sonatas were published or simply do not mention all opus numbers. O'Douwes mentions sonatas opus 4, 8 and 13.

1963 The Dutch journalist and amateur cellist C. C. van Rossem has written an entertaining and amusing book, *het onbespeelbare instrument*, about his struggles playing the cello. He refers to the list of cello music in one of Mirandolle's books (1948), but also invites the reader to choose his/her own music. Van Rossem writes:

> "Especially in the field of early music the offer is amazingly versatile, and due to the fact that the average technical level of cello playing in the time of Vivaldi, Marcello, Veracini, Ariosti, Loeillet, Corelli, Valentini, Sammartini, Tessarini, Gaillard, Breval and so many others, was relatively low, their works are generally playable [for amateurs]."[26]

Curiously enough De Fesch' cello sonatas seem for him the only ones composed for the instrument in the Netherlands! The technique required in the De Fesch sonatas is comparable to the technique asked for in Vivaldi's and Marcello's sonatas, therefore that cannot be the reason not to mention them.

1975 American cellist and musicologist Elisabeth Cowling mentions several pieces of mostly Italian music from the music library of Schönborn Castle, Wiesentheid, Germany. She makes special mention of sonatas by Jacob Klein, who, according to Cowling, is German:

> "In addition there is a published opus from that library, an interesting work by the German [sic] Jacob Klein Le Jeune, *VI Sonates à une Basse de Violon & Basse Continue*, Op. 1, Bk. III (Nos. 13-18[)], which are in scordatura, with the cello tuned: Daeb and *VI Duetti a due Violoncelli*, Op. 2 (only the sixth duet is in scordatura): CGdg."[27]

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[24] O'Douwes (1959), p. 40. Original: "Als het eerste hoogtepunt in zijn scheppend werk is zijn opus VIII te beschouwen, waarin zowel viool- als cellosonates voorkomen, en op grond van welk opus de rangschikking van De Fesch onder de beste der kleinere meesters uit zijn tijd volkomen gewettigd is."

[25] O'Douwes (1959), p. 42. Original: "Hoewel De Fesch in de lexicons genoemd wordt als violist en componist (alleen Walther noemt hem cellist) geeft zijn uitstekend inzicht in de mogelijkheden van het instrument grond aan het vermoeden dat hijzelf de violoncel goed moet hebben bespeeld, mogelijk als tweede instrument."

[26] Van Rossem (1963), p. 109. Original: "Vooral op het gebied van oude sonates is het aanbod verbluffend veelzijdig en dank zij het feit, dat het gemiddelde technische peil van het cello-spel in de tijd van Vivaldi, Marcello, Veracini, Ariosti, Loeillet, Corelli, Valentini, Sammartini, Tessarini, Gaillard, Breval en nog zo veel anderen, betrekkelijk laag lag, zijn hun werken over het algemeen goed speelbaar."

[27] Cowling (1975), p. 84. In the original the tunings are given on staves and not with letters as I have done here.

A few pages on she writes:

> "The publication of cello sonatas during the baroque period by composers other than Italian was sparse. […] One Dutchman, Willem de Fesch (1687-1761) published several sets: 6 Sonatas in a collection of 12 Sonatas, the other 6 being for violin; Sonatas for two violoncellos (Op. 1 & 2); Sonatas for violoncello (op. 4, 8 & 13)."[28]

From this quote one could deduce that de Fesch composed 5 or even 6 opus numbers for cello. I think this is not the case, as is shown in Appendix 1.
1982/1992 Whereas other 'modern' authors have mentioned Willem de Fesch and his opus 8 cello sonatas, American cellist and music historian Nona Pyron only mentions trios/quartets by the Flemish composer Willem Gommaar Kennis (1717-1789).[29]
She also mentions several names used for the cello or bass violin in the north of Europe (Bass Geige, Basse de Violon & Bass Violin), but she does not give a Dutch name.[30] Did the Dutch not have their own word for this instrument and did they, for instance, use the French or the Italian word?
The American musicologist Stephen Bonta has shown that in Italy as early as the 1560s and 1570s instrument makers were making instruments similar to the cello. The name violoncello, however, was not used till a century later. Bonta mentions the following names for different sizes of cello: a cello of a large size: violone (da brazzo/basso), viola (da brazzo) & basso di viola; a cello of a smaller size: bassetto (di viola), violetta & many variations of violoncello; for a cello of an undetermined size: basso (viola) da brazzo, viola da braccio, violone piccolo & vivola da brazzo.[31]
If the Italian word(s) was/were indeed used in the Netherlands, Bonta's research offers many different names. Did these names mean the same here as in Italy? And were they also used in 17th-century Dutch ensemble music?
1983 Several reference books are illustrated with Dutch images, as is the cover of Lev Ginsburg's *History of the violoncello.* The cover shows two paintings of cellos: a detail of Matthias Grünewald's *Isenheimer Altar* (ca. 1512-1516)[32] and Jan Steen's *Interior with a company playing music* (1666): a German and a Dutch painting dating respectively from the 16th and 17th century.[33]
This is clearly a mistake, because cellist and musicologist Ginsburg starts his *History* in the 19th century.
1983 Musicologist Leendert Haasnoot wrote the first biography of Pieter Hellendaal, upon which he graduated at Amsterdam University in 1983. A tiny part of his dissertation is about the cello sonatas opus 5.
Haasnoot writes:

> "On the other hand, Hellendaal shows that he is well acquainted with the possibilities of a specific application for the cello. This is shown for example in the use of the thumb as a playing finger, and in the passages that require a high position and in which furthermore the use of the fourth finger is essential."[34]

As mentioned before, it is suggested by several authors that De Fesch (also) played the cello. This could be a reason that his compositions are so well written for the instrument. Could this have been the case with Hellendaal as well? Haasnoot does not mention such a fact. He, however,

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[28] Cowling (1975), p. 93.
[29] Pyron (1992), p. 246.
[30] Pyron (1992), p. 221.
[31] Bonta (1977), pp. 64-65 & Bonta (1978), pp. 5-7.
[32] One may question whether this instrument is a cello or in fact a viol. Ginsburg, however, wants one to believe that it is a cello.
[33] Ginsburg (1983), cover images.
[34] Haasnoot (1983), p. 89. Original: "Daar staat tegenover, dat Hellendaal blijk geeft goed op de hoogte te zijn met de mogelijkheden van een specifieke applicatuur voor de violoncello. Men ziet dat bijvoorbeeld aan het gebruik van de duim als speelvinger, en aan de passages die een hoge positie vereisen en waarin bovendien het gebruik van de vierde vinger noodzakelijk is."

mentions a certain Pasqualino (Pasqualino de Marzis? (??-1766)), a cellist Hellendaal worked with in his London time.[35] Possibly Pasqualino tested Hellendaal's cello sonatas?
Haasnoot is quite positive about the cello sonatas:

> "Finally, it should be noted that, despite the virtuoso idiom that characterizes many single sonata movements, there is, more than in Hellendaal's violin sonatas, a certain equilibrium: the melodic lines are tangled to a much lesser degree in virtuosic "delights". This undoubtedly contributes in a positive way to the artistic content of these sonatas."[36]

1984 In *Cello Story* in the chapter *The Performers* the Ukrainian cellist and musicologist Dimitry Markevitch mentions several cellists from the baroque period, including Francesco Alborea, Martin Berteau and the Duport brothers, but no Dutch cellists nor any Dutch composers. He, however, mentions the Belgian school, but this started only in the 19th century.[37]
1987 Jacob Klein is called the "first real cello virtuoso outside Italy" by Dutch violinist and music historian Willem Noske. According to Noske, Klein's sonatas opus 1 are the first cello compositions outside Italy. Another interesting fact is that these sonatas were written down in scordatura.
Noske is also very positive about Klein's opus 2. He states that apart from two canons (Gabrielli & Fiorè) for two cellos, this must be the first collection of pieces for 2 cellos. He adds:

> "It is almost certain that Klein's cello compositions have been a source of inspiration for his fellow townsman Willem de Fesch."[38]

As Noske does not give a publication date for Klein's music, the question remains whether Klein was an inspiration for De Fesch, or that it was the other way round.
1988 As Fétis, Von Wasielewski, Forino, Van der Straeten (1914) and Mirandolle (1943) did, also British music writer Margaret Campbell states that De Fesch was a cellist. She writes the following in her book *The great cellists*:

> "Although the cello was introduced into Belgium and Holland at about the same time as in France [first half of the 18th century], it made considerably less progress. William de Fesch, born in the Netherlands at the end of the seventeenth century, is the first cellist of any importance. […] His writings include six suites for violoncello, Op. 8 […]."[39]

It seems likely that all these authors copied from each other.
1990/1998 In cellist and musicologist Julie Anne Sadie's *Companion to Baroque Music* it has been said that several foreign musicians stayed in Holland long(er)-term. It is continued: "On the other hand, some Dutch musicians, such as the composers Willem de Fesch and Pieter Hellendaal, spent most of their careers abroad."[40] And in the short biography of the violinist De Fesch it is said that: "His string chamber music is familiar to amateur musicians, […]."[41] I suspect Sadie refers to his cello and violin sonatas. The biography section in this book does not contain biographies of any other Dutch composers of cello music.
1993 In the biography of Unico van Wassenaer musicologist Rudolf Rasch mentions a 'certain' Alexis Magito living in The Hague but being of Italian descent. This Magito was a cellist and he

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[35] Haasnoot (1983), p. 10.
[36] Haasnoot (1983), p. 91. Original: "Ten slotte zij nog opgemerkt dat, ondanks het virtuoze idioom waardoor menig afzonderlijk sonatedeel wordt gekenmerkt, er meer dan in Hellendaals vioolsonates sprake is van een zeker evenwicht: de melodische lijnen raken in veel mindere mate verstrikt in virtuoze "hoogstandjes". Dit draagt ongetwijfeld in positieve zin bij aan het artistieke gehalte van deze sonates."
[37] Markevitch (1984), pp. 54-60.
[38] Noske (1987), p. 82. Original: "Het is vrijwel zeker, dat Klein's cello composities een bron van inspiratie zijn geweest voor zijn stadsgenoot Willem de Fesch."
[39] Campbell (1988), p. 78.
[40] Dunning (1990), pp. 317-318.
[41] Sadie (1990), p. 319.

composed six cello sonatas which were published in Cambridge.[42] If indeed from Italian descent, was he born in Holland or did he move here later in life?

1996 Also cellist and musicologist Winfried Pape and cellist Wolfgang Boettcher only mention Willem de Fesch. His sonatas, they write, were part of Simrock's *Meister-Schule* (published between 1904-1913) and Schott's *Cello-Bibliothek* (published from 1894), edited by people including Alfred Moffat (see Appendix 1).[43] Pape and Boettcher make a special note of the repertoire for two cellos, and in that sense they refer to De Fesch again.[44]

1997 The Dutch *HonderdComponistenBoek*[45] contains biographies of one hundred prominent Dutch composers from 1600 up to the present. Willem de Fesch and Pieter Hellendaal are among 28 17th and 18th-century composers[46] who have their place in this publication. De Fesch and Hellendaal are the only ones who, according to the lists of compositions, have composed sonatas for cello.

Dutch harpsichordist and musicologist Pieter Dirksen writes the following about De Fesch and the cello:

> "Both the second half of op. 4 and op. 8a consist of 6 sonatas for the original combination of 2 cellos. Later also two collections of 6 sonatas each for cello and continuo were published (op. 8b and 13). This shows that De Fesch must be counted among the most important composers of cello music of his time."[47]

Dirksen is mistaken here. Opus 8a is meant for violin, whereas opus 8b is for cello. In the list of compositions, however, it is written correctly. He completely misses out on opus 1.

Rasch, who is also responsible for the only complete modern edition of Hellendaal's cello sonatas (see Appendix 1), has written the chapter on Hellendaal. He states:

> "The cello sonatas breathe the same cantabile and at the same time virtuosic atmosphere as the violin sonatas. From the eight sonatas the second four make a considerably greater appeal to the technical skills of the soloist than the first four. Even though the cello sonatas are of a later date than most of the violin sonatas, the structure is dominated by the pattern of the now very old-fashioned 'sonata da chiesa'. "[48]

1998 In *One Hundred Years of Violoncello* American cellist Valerie Walden mentions many violoncellists and several schools of performance (Italy, France, Great Britain, Austria, Germany and Eastern Europe), but (cellists from) the Low Countries are not among them.[49]

The Oxford Music Online article about the 18th-century use, performers and repertory of the cello lists a number of countries as well: Italy, Austria and Germany, Britain and lastly France. The Low Countries are not part of this list either.[50]

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[42] Rasch (1993), pp. 17-18.

[43] Pape & Boettcher (1996), p. 168.

[44] Pape & Boettcher (1996), p. 171.

[45] Hiu & Van de Klis (ed., 1997).

[46] The other 17th and 18th-century composers in this book are: Henrico Albicastro, Benedictus à Sancto Josepho, Quirinus van Blankenburg, Elias Brunnenmüller, Pieter Bustijn, Jacob van Eyck, Hendrik Focking, Christiaan Ernst Graaf, Carel Hacquart, Gerhardus Havingha, Constantijn Huygens, Servaas de Konink, Pietro Locatelli, Sybrandus & Jacobus & Anthoni & Sybrandus jr. van Noordt, Cornelis Thymanszoon Padbrué, David Petersen, Christian Friedrich Ruppe, Johan Schenck, Cornelis Schuyt, Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, Nicolaes Vallet, Jan Baptist Verrijt & Unico Wilhelm van Wassenaer.

[47] Dirksen (1997), pp. 129-130. Original: "Zowel de tweede helft van op. 4 als op. 8a bestaat uit zes sonates voor de originele combinatie van twee celli. Later verschenen er ook nog twee collecties met ieder zes sonates voor cello en continuo (op. 8b en 13). Daarmee moet De Fesch tot de belangrijkste componisten van cellomuziek van zijn tijd gerekend worden."

[48] Rasch (1997), p. 153. Original: "De cellosonates op. 5 ademen dezelfde cantabele en tegelijk virtuoze sfeer als de vioolsonates. Van de acht sonates doet het tweede viertal een beduidend groter beroep op de technische vaardigheid van de solist dan het eerste viertal. Hoewel de cellosonates van later datum zijn dan het merendeel van de vioolsonates, overheerst wat de opbouw betreft het schema van de inmiddels toch wel zeer ouderwetse 'sonata da chiesa'."

[49] Walden (1998), pp.6-48.

1999 In the *Cambridge Companion to the Cello* in a chapter on German composers violinist and musicologist Robin Stowell lists Jacob Klein as such (as did Cowling):

> "Significant German composers of continuo sonatas were less numerous but include Jacob Klein *le jeune's Sonates à une Basse de Violon e & Basse Continue* Op. 1 (c. 1720), of which Nos. 13-18 (Bk. 3) require the scordatura tuning D-A-e-b, […]."[51]

And in the chapter on 'other countries' Stowell writes:

> "The publication of cello sonatas in other countries before c. 1750 was minimal, with no significant representations from British composers. One notable exception is the Dutchman, Willem de Fesch, whose early sonatas show allegiance to their seventeenth and early eighteenth-century roots as well as certain virtuosic aspects (e.g. twelve Sonate Op. 4, Amsterdam, 1725), but whose later style involves the simpler, more expressive idiom of the Italian *galant* (e.g. six sonatas each of Op. 8b (London, 1736) and Op. 13 (London, c. 1750)).[52]

Stowell mentions both the opus 8b and opus 13 sonatas, as well as 12 sonatas opus 4. The way he writes it, seems to insinuate that all opus 4 sonatas are meant for cello, which they are not. Furthermore, Stowell does not mention the opus 1 sonatas.
2000 On his website[53] Dutch baroque cellist Frank Wakelkamp states that Jacob Klein was born in Amsterdam, where he lived all his life. This is in contrast to what Cowling and Stowell stated. According to Wakelkamp Klein composed four collections of music for cello.
2001 The Dutch composers De Fesch and Hellendaal are mentioned in an article about musical immigrants as Dutch composers who moved abroad.[54]
2005 Musicologist Robert Tusler, in his biography *Willem de Fesch*, mentiones all four opus numbers of cello sonatas, and even the French reprints which were published under different opus numbers.[55]
Of the opus 1 sonatas the original print has been lost up to now. The French reprint is meant for 2 violoncellos, 2 bassoons or 2 gambas, but also a figured bass is added. Tusler comments:

> "As solo sonatas with harpsichord accompaniment, as clearly stated in Opus VIII B (1738), they are also delightful."[56]

And about the opus 8 sonatas Tusler comments the following:

> "Again, De Fesch has created a splendid collection worthy of the professional and the educated amateur."[57]

As Weigl and Van der Straeten before, Tusler is very praising about the cello sonatas.
2007 Cellists Henk Lambooij and Michael Feves list in *a Cellist's Companion* cello sonatas by Willem de Fesch (opus 1, 4, 8 & 13), Pieter Hellendaal (opus 5), Jacob Klein (opus 1, 2 & 4), Alexis Magito (opus 1) and lost sonatas by Jacob Nozeman (opus 5) and Unico van Wassenaer.[58] They, as many others, state that De Fesch worked as a cellist in Amsterdam, Antwerp and London.[59]

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[50] Last accessed: 2017, November 20.
[51] Stowell (1999), p. 119.
[52] Stowell (1999), pp. 119-120.
[53] www.frankwakelkamp.com Last accessed: 2017, April 17.
[54] Weytjens (2001), p. 332.
[55] Tusler (2005), pp. 33-36, 233-234.
[56] Tusler (2005), p. 34.
[57] Tusler (2005), p. 141.
[58] Lambooij & Feves (2007), pp. 140-141, 251, 295-296, 354, 407 & 590.
[59] Lambooij & Feves (2007), p. 140.

Even though I have been able to draw from quite a reasonable amount of reference books, it is astonishing how little useful information about the cello in the Netherlands they contain. Mainly information is included about the cello in France and Italy, and to a lesser extent in other European countries. If authors did pay attention to the Netherlands at all, they mostly limited themselves to mentioning the composer and cellist [sic] Willem de Fesch and some of his compositions and to a much lesser extent Pieter Hellendaal.[60] A few authors also mentioned, in descending order, Jacob Klein, Alexis Magito and Willem Gommaar Kennis. What kind of music these last composers produced has not become very clear.
Apart from the motives mentioned in the beginning of this Introduction, the small amount of useful written information about the cello in the Netherlands has formed a huge incentive for me to perform the current research and to expand the research into the world of images, instruments and relevant compositions as well as applying it in my daily performance practice.

Connection between image and text

As stated at the beginning of this Introduction, I am also very interested in Dutch visual arts, especially from the 17th century. Over the years I have been to many exhibitions and museums in Holland and abroad. A problem one encounters at exhibitions and also in books and catalogues, is the misnomer of the cello. I give three examples of different kinds of misnomer.
I clearly remember my visit to the Vermeer exhibition in The Hague in the spring of 1996. We had to be in the queue for a long time before being able to enter the exhibition. While waiting we were offered the exhibition booklet to kill time and to prepare for what was coming. According to the booklet one of the paintings would show a cello. When we finally went in, that was the first painting I went to see. I was utterly dissapointed: the cello was not a cello but it was a viol.
Another example of mixing up names is the following: on the website of the Rijksburo voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie (hereafter: RKD) Jan van Bijlert's painting *A young man with a beret and a feather tuning a* ***viola da gamba***[61] is catalogued (see Figure 4).

Figure 4 NN: Jan van Bijlert: *Young man playing a cello*.

[60] An exception to this are the biographies of De Fesch (Bremt (1949) and Tusler (2005)) and Hellendaal (Haasnoot (1983)).
[61] Bold: ET.

According to the website the old name was *A young man with a beret and a feather playing a **cello***.[62] At some point this has been changed and the following comment was added:

> "It is unclear what the young man is doing with the instrument: is he tuning it or is he playing a pizzicato (he is not using the bow) [sic[63]]. And is he fingering the notes or did Jan van Bijlert not know how a string instrument was played or plucked? What we can be sure about is, that it is not a (violon)cello but a viola da gamba,[64] the 16-18th century ancestor of the cello." [65]

I wonder what was the reason behind this name change.[66] The instrument in this painting is very clearly a cello given the shape of the body and the scroll and the number of strings. Probably the names have been assigned by art historians and not by those specialised in musical instruments? It might also be that the publisher is responsible for the obvious mistakes.
A third example of a misnomer comes from the reference books quoted above. I wonder who is responsible for choosing the illustrations in these books and especially who is responsible for the captions. In Mirandolle's 1948 book, a book specifically meant for cellists, several images of (true) viols are reproduced. And opposite p. 153 in this book a painting of Gabriel Metsu (*Woman at Her Toilette*)[67] is reproduced, very clearly showing a cello. The caption states: "viol in front on the right side."[68]
These examples show that one always has to be on one's guard and to be a critical reader and observer. But another question which arises is whether the difference between a cello and a viol is always clear. For those not knowing much about musical instruments, this can be confusing (although the examples above were all very clearly cellos).

Da braccio versus da gamba

In the preceeding Section I have given a few examples of the problems which occur when naming instruments, even though for a trained eye the instruments mentioned were not very difficult to distinguish. On examining more images it sometimes becomes clear that what at first glance seems to be a cello might not be a cello or not even a viol, what makes it hard to give the right name to an instrument or distinguish between the 'da braccio' and 'da gamba' families. Albeit as early as 1543 Silvestro Ganassi made the distinction between 'da braccio' (instruments of the violin family) and 'da gamba' (instruments of the viol family),[69] in images this distinction is not as black and white as one would think. One can find many instruments of a mixed shape. Two examples of mixed shapes are shown below.

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[62] Bold: ET.
[63] In terms of the hand position of the right hand, the cellist seems to be playing pizzicato. The left hand, however, is clearly tuning the d string. The right hand does not touch this string, but the bow seems to touch the a or d string. It therefore seems most plausible that the cellist is in fact bowing, but with the bow at a very awkward angle.
[64] Underscore: ET.
[65] Last accessed: 2017, December 10.
[66] On the RKD website there are two references: Huys Janssen, P. (1998). *Jan van Bijlert, 1597/98-1671: catalogue raisonné*, p. 138 & the journal of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Huys Janssen and the website of the Israel Museum both state: "(young) man playing a cello". This painting is therefore listed as such in my research corpus (see Part 3).
[67] This painting is part of my research corpus, see Part 2 & 3.
[68] Mirandolle (1948), opposite p. 153. Original: "gambe rechts vooraan." Ton Koopman observed the same with the name of keyboard instruments. Before the reorganisation of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam harpsichord became spinet or piano in translations.
[69] Pape & Boettcher (1996), p. 16.

Figure 5 ZN: Ambrosius Francken: *Triumph of the Christ child* (1605-1610). Sloping shoulders.

Figure 6 ZN: J.J. Horemans II: *A musical company in an interior.* Sound holes in C-shape.

These two images offer a dilemma and also a challenge to those who want to compartmentalize. I have kept this in mind when studying images and I have tried to do this as little as possible. My dissertation, however, deals with the cello in the first place. I have therefore first looked for images of 'real' cellos, but I did not exclude the images of mixed shape instruments. Only images of real viols have not been used.

In the title of my dissertation I have written the word 'cello' between quotation marks. This was done on purpose. Since the dissertation deals with a period of more than two centuries, during which the name, the use and the instrument itself have changed a great deal, it would not be correct to use the same name for the whole period. A good description would be: *8' bass instrument of the violin family*. This description, however, would be very awkward to use at all times. I will therefore use the word 'cello' when speaking in general terms. When discussing the 17th-century larger instrument I will use 'bass violin'. For the 18th-century smaller instrument I will use 'cello'.

Observations from the performer's practice

When examining 17th and 18th-century images of cellists it stands out that many of these cellists used to play in a (completely) different manner than cellists do nowadays and also in some ways than I, as a baroque cellist, do. Of course there is the obvious difference between how the modern and baroque cello are held: on an endpin or between the legs, which is also discussed in many reference books (not reproduced here). But there is much more to it. Even if one looks superficially one can notice immediately that the bow is very often held underhand (for an example see Figure 7) instead of overhand (see the case-study on bowing in Section 2.2.7).

Figure 7 NN: Jan Steen: *A peasant marriage* (1672).

Nowadays, holding the bow underhand is very unusual for both modern and baroque cellists, even so unusual that Rasch states that, in case of a 17th-century Dutch painting where only the scroll (a scroll one would at first sight associate with the cello) and the right hand (playing underhand) of the player are to be seen, most probably the instrument is a viol. He writes:

> "Two women, one plays the harpsichord, the other most probably plays the viol, because she holds the bow underhand." [70]

In modern reference books the information about this way of holding the bow while playing cello is very scarce. I will quote all the descriptions I could find. In William Pleeth's book *Cello* Pyron states the following:

> "Because many gambists who changed to the cello found the reasons for changing their bow grip not compelling enough to alter a lifelong habit, one sees with increasing frequency at this time [i.e.: beginning of the 18th century] depictions of cellists playing with the palm-up bow-hand position (the palm-down position had been traditional with all violinists from the very start). It was not until cellists from Italy had fully infiltrated the music-making in Northern Europe that there was a return to some degree to uniformity in the bow-holding position."[71]

In the quote above, the word "return" is interesting. Does this word mean that before gambists changed to the cello and played with underhand grip, (real) cellists were used to play with overhand grip? And was this done everywhere in Northern Europe, including the Low Countries?

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[70] Rasch (2014), p. 38. Original: "Twee vrouwen, één speelt klavecimbel, de ander speelt waarschijnlijk gamba, omdat ze de strijkstok onderhands vasthoudt." Rasch writes about: Gerard ter Borch II: *Two women playing music in an interior*, KWN 70273. This painting is part of my research corpus.
[71] Pyron (1992), p. 236.

Walden's following remark points in the same direction:

> "The underhand bow grip was historically used by gambists and was adopted by numerous early violoncellists, many of whom played both instruments."[72]

Does the word "adopted" mean that when gambists changed to the cello (without changing their underhand grip), cellists liked the underhand grip better and changed their way of bowing? I wonder if this is shown in 16th and early 17th-century images.
Australian cellist and musicologist Mark Mervyn Smith has done extensive research on the way the bow was held in 17th-century Europe.[73] He has shown that many cellists in fact did play with underhand grip. Was this often done in the Low Countries as well? A quick browse on the RKD website does indeed offer many cellists playing with underhand grip, but more research about the situation in the Low Countries should be done.[74]
The bow grip is one of the striking features when examining 17th and 18th-century paintings. There are, however, many more differences between modern and baroque, for instance the size of the cello (see Figure 8) and the number of strings.

Figure 8 ZN: David Teniers I: *Landscape with the flight into Egypt* (detail). A very large cello.

The examples above show that questions arise when examining the pictorial evidence. Most of the quoted reference books, however, do not answer these questions. They show that hardly anything is written about the history and appearance of the cello in the Netherlands, and in the best case something is written along the lines in summary: "the cello did not really exist in Holland before the 19th century". It is therefore the more striking that many of the reference books have been illustrated with pictorial material produced in 17th-century Holland.[75] One can

[72] Walden (1999), p. 79.
[73] Smith (1995).
[74] Last accessed: 2017, August 6.
[75] **Van der Straeten** (1914): Ferdinand Bol: p. 660. **Mirandolle** (1943): Cornelis Koning & Anonymous: opposite p. 36; Jan & Caspar Luyken: opposite p. 37; Gerard ter Borch II: opposite p. 45. **Mirandolle** (1948): Gabriel Metsu: frontispiece; Cornelis Bogerts: opposite p. 49; Gabriel Metsu: opposite p. 153. **Ginsburg** (1983): Jan Steen: back cover. **Markevitch** (1984): Pieter Claesz. & Leonart Bramer: p. 17; the Flemish [sic] artist Dirck Hals: p. 20; Pieter de Hooch: p. 71. **Campbell** (1988): Jan Miense Molenaer: between pp. 128 & 129. **Pyron** (1992): Pieter Codde: p. 211; Jan Miense Molenaer: p. 219; Adriaen van de Venne & David Teniers II: p. 226; Adriaen van Ostade: p. 230. **Pape & Boettcher** (1996): Dirck Hals: p. 23; Gabriel Metsu: p. 83; Simon de Passe: p. 98; Anonymous: p. 120. Dirck Hals, David Teniers II, Pieter de Hooch, Anthonie Palamedesz., Jan Miense Molenaer & Flemish tapestry: between pp. 144 & 145.

wonder why this is so. Many 17th-century Dutch paintings seem very realistic. Could that be the reason?
In Smith's thesis on the iconography of the cello in Europe 250 images of cellos have been reproduced. Most images in the first part (1535-1724) are produced in the Low Countries, whereas the second part (1725-1800) contains mostly images from countries in Europe outside the Low Countries.[76] The fact that in Holland in the 17th century so very many supposedly realistic images of cellos were produced could well be the reason that publishers/authors nowadays choose Dutch 17th-century material to illustrate books.
It has to be taken into account that pictorial material used in this dissertation is not as realistic as a photograph. The question, however, whether the images are realistic to a certain extent or not is very important for the outcome of my research. I will therefore discuss this question on the basis of quotes from several authoritative art historians in Sub-chapter 2.1.

The Low Countries

Until now I have been using a mix of the words: Dutch, the Netherlands, the Low Countries, Belgium and Holland, but in the 17th and 18th centuries this area was in fact called the Low Countries ('Lage Landen'). In this time the Low Countries consisted of two parts: the protestant Noordelijke Nederlanden[77] (hereafter NN) and the catholic Zuidelijke Nederlanden[78] (hereafter ZN).

Figure 9 The Low Countries in the 17th century. A map made by Joan Blaeu in 1665. In contrast to what we are used to nowadays, the map has been turned 90°, and so the north is on the right hand side.

A map of the Low Countries is reproduced in Figure 9. This map was made by Joan Blaeu in 1665, as part of his *Atlas Maior*. The following characterization of the Low Countries is written by Blaeu:

[76] Smith (1983).
[77] The northern part of the Low Countries.
[78] The southern part of the Low Countries.

> "The Low Countries are called by their non-Walloon inhabitants Nederlandt or Neerlandt because they are so low. […]
> The Low Countries are bordered to the north by the Ocean (North Sea), to the west by Picardy and the North Sea again, beyond which they have England as a neighbor, a matter of a few hours away; to the south Lorraine, Champagne and Picardy; and to the west [sic: should be east] Westphalia and East Friesland.
> They are commonly divided into seventeen provinces, of which Brabant, Limburg, Luxembourg and Gelderland are duchies; Flanders, Hainault, Artois, Namur, Holland, Zeeland and Zutphen are counties; Western Friesland, Mechelen, Utrecht, Overijssel and Groningen are domains, while the seventeenth province is formed by the marquisate of the Holy Roman Empire. They are further divided into two States, one subordinate to the King of Spain [[79]] and other to the United Provinces [[80]]. The Low Countries comprises more than two hundred walled cities, at least one hundred and fifty places enjoying the status of city and many more than six thousand villages, some of which have, however, been ruined during the long wars."[81]

Research question and content of the chapters

I have posed my main research question already in this introduction, followed by investigating what research had been done by others. The question still stands:

What was the name, the appearance, the development and the playing technique of the cello in the Low Countries between 1600 and 1800 and what music was composed for it?

This main question has been divided into four sub-questions, each of which represents a chapter of this dissertation:

1. What information can be found about the cello and cello playing in Dutch written sources dating from the 17th and 18th centuries?
2. What information can be found about the cello and cello playing in Dutch pictorial sources, and does this information match the technique from cello methods of the time?
3. What can surviving Dutch instruments tell us about the cello and cello playing?
4. What music did Dutch composers compose for (small) ensemble with cello (obligato) and for cello solo and what are the technical characteristics of this music?

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[79] The State subordinate to the King of Spain (ZN) consisted of several sovereignties of the 'Habsburgse Nederlanden', the principality Luik and several smaller territories.

[80] The United Provinces (NN) consisted of Gelderland, Friesland, Groningen, Overijssel, Utrecht, Holland and Zeeland.

[81] Blaeu (1665) & Van der Krogt (2006), p. 143. The English text is is a translation from French taken from the original French edition, published in 1664. The text in the French edition was greatly expanded in relation to versions in other languages. Information from an email from Assistant Professor Peter van der Krogt, dated 2017, August 15.
The original text reads: "Le Pays-Bas, nommé par ses habitants, non Wallons, Nederlandt, et Neerlandt, parce que son assiette est basse […].
Ce pays a pour ses limites du nord la mer Océane, de l'ouest la Picardie, et la mème mer, au-delà de laquele il a l'Angleterre pour voisine, où l'on peut se rendre en peu d'heures; du sud la Lorraine, la Champagne, et la Picardie; et de l'est la Westphalie et la Frise orientale.
Il est divisé communément en dix-sept provinces, dont celles de Brabant, Limburg, Luxembourg, et Gueldre sont duchés, celles de Flandre, Hainaut, Artois, Namur, Hollande, Zélande, et Zutphen, comtés; celles de Frise occidentale, Malines, Utrecht, Over-Yssel, et Gromingue [sic], seigneuries, et le marquisat du Saint-Empire fait la dix-septième. Ces pays sont encore divisés en deux Etats, dont l'un obéit au roi d'Espagne, et l áutre aux Etats-Unis. Il y a dans tous ces pays plus de deux cents villes ceintes de murailles, bien cent cinquante places, qui ont privilège de ville, et beaucoup plus de six mille villages, dont toutefois quelques-uns ont été ruinés pendant la longueur des guerres." Blaeu & Van der Krogt, p. 105.

Chapter 1 will display the names for the cello found in 17th and 18th-century written sources. It will also contain all the other information about the cello and cello playing found in these sources, for example how many strings the instrument should have and how these strings should be tuned. I have collected many different kinds of written sources, ranging from treatises to ordinary dictionairies and from solicitors deeds to captions for images. The results will show that these written sources differ greatly in accuracy and extensiveness. It will therefore be difficult to draw fixed conclusions, they will remain relative, but I have collected as many written sources as possible to present the best picture.
In sub-question 1 I have mentioned Dutch written sources. In this case "Dutch" is used in the broadest sense of the word: (art) dictionairies in which one of the two languages is Dutch or Flemish and also foreign treatises which have been translated into Dutch.
Chapter 2 is built on a research corpus of over 850 images, dating from as early as around 1560 up to 1800. I have collected these many images of cellos and cellists playing the instrument to be able to draw the best conclusions. I will exhibit many different aspects of cello playing and of the cello, as seen in images. The art-objects containing these images are varied and include: paintings, drawings, engravings, tiles, glass, tapestries, ceramics and silver.
In several modern books on the cello Dutch paintings have been reproduced to illustrate a general story about the cello in Europe. A profound research on (images of) the cello in the Low Countries, however, has never been performed.
My supervisor Ton Koopman has called to my attention a very special collection of French drawings, made by Pierre Paul Prud'hon.[82] These drawings illustrate very well many, if not all, aspects of cello technique in the second half of the 18th century. Since such an extensive and complete collection of images, as far as I know, does not exist anywhere else in Europe, let alone in the Low Countries, I will use them in this dissertation to compare Prud'hon's pictured cello technique with the technique found in Dutch visual arts.
For **Chapter 3** I have measured many Dutch cellos in the musical instrument museums in The Hague and Brussels. I have also received measurements from private parties. I will compare these measurements with one another and also the real instruments with the images discussed in Chapter 2. Moreover I will give a short historical overview of the violin making trade in the Low Countries.
Chapter 4 is divided into two Sub chapters: music from the 17th century and music from the 18th century. The Sub chapter about 17th-century music only contains ensemble music. I will discuss 11 collections, ranging from trio sonatas to motets. There is no doubt more ensemble music in which the cello plays a role, but the chosen pieces are a good representation of 17th-century ensemble music.
In the Sub chapter about 18th-century music I will discuss all Dutch cello sonatas found.
A few sentences in Rasch' & Vlaardingerbroek's book about Unico van Wassenaer put me on to the composer Alexis Magito. My former baroque cello teacher Jaap ter Linden happened to have a copy of his music: 6 cello sonatas. Magito's music stuck into my mind and I discovered that hardly anything was known about him. Therefore I will devote an extensive case study to him and his music.

At the beginning of this Introduction I mentioned the Dutch concert programmes I compiled for my chamber music ensembles. For the 17th-century pieces in these programmes I was able, as a cellist, to see if it would be technically possible to play them. However, I was never sure if the cello was an accepted instrument for the bass line in the Low Countries at that time. To know more about this, I would need the answers to, for example, question 1 (see above).
On the other hand, to be able to fully answer the other three questions, the expertise of a cellist is absolutely needed. Most early sources are written in Dutch (sometimes in French). Since Dutch is my native language, it is easy for me to read all the sources. The combination of cellist, researcher and Dutchwoman put me in the best position to perform this research.

In the Conclusion I will comment on the findings from my specific position as a cellist-researcher.

[82] Many thanks to Cécile Tainturier, assistant curator at Fondation Custodia, Paris, for showing me these drawings in November 2007. The photos I made during that visit, are reproduced in Section 2.2.11.

This dissertation has been based on music historical research and on research in and through the musical practice of me as an experienced cellist; research on the different shapes, names and the use of the cello in the Low Countries in the 17th and 18th centuries, with the aim of getting a better understanding of the possibilities of the cello and of the tradition of music practice by cellists during that time.
It is my hope that this study will contribute to increasing the knowledge of the Dutch cello in the 17th and 18th centuries, and that cellists, other musicians and aficionados will even more appreciate this part of the musical heritage of the Low Countries.

1 Written evidence

Violoncello, violoncelle, bass violin, Baβgeige, violone: these are just a few words in different European languages which denote the 8' bass instrument of the violin family. Each language has its own word(s) to qualify this instrument, sometimes these words share the same origin.
In this Chapter I will display the result of the research into the name used for the 8' bass instrument of the violin family in the Low Countries. Did the Dutch use one word or did they use several? And did musicians and other people use the same word or words in the 17th as well as in the 18th century? Are all of these words unequivocal? These are a few of the questions I will try to answer in this Chapter.
Whereas in other European countries in the 18th century cello methods were written, I am not aware of any such method originating in the Low Countries, except for two methods published here: Salvatore Lanzetti's cello method published in Amsterdam in 1772[83] and Johann Baptist Baumgartner's basso continuo (cello) method published in The Hague in 1774.[84] Baumgartner, however, stayed in the Low Countries only for a short while, and his method is therefore most probably not a mirror of how the cello was played here. Lanzetti toured through northern Europe, but I am not aware of him actually living in the Low Countries. Therefore the information on cello technique found in other written sources originating in the Low Countries (as presented in the Sub chapters 1.1 & 1.2) is of vital importance to know more about the cello technique used here. The results are discussed in Sub chapter 1.4.
In Sub chapter 1.5 the little information about the appearance of the cello and the bow will be presented, a topic I will thoroughly expand on in Chapter 2.
In Sub chapters 1.1 and 1.2 the English translations in the right columns have been made by the author. One would normally translate the Dutch word 'viool'[85] into 'violin'. As will become clear in the current Chapter sometimes this translation is not correct. In some cases the context will show that 'viool' has to be translated into 'viol'. Very often, however, there is no context or the context does not shed any light on how it should be translated; in those cases 'viool' will be translated into 'violin/viol'.
Variant typography within quotes in Sections 1.1.1 - 1.1.6 has been taken from the original sources.
In several dictionary entries the gender of words is given. This is mostly done by using abbreviations. In Table 1 I have collected most of these abbreviations and added the clarifications.[86] Several abbreviations have been included more than once, because their explanations differ from one another. In my translations in Sections 1.1.1 - 1.1.6 these abbreviations have been left out.

s.	A noun substantive[87]
s.	Substantive[88]
f.	Substantif feminin[89]
f.	Faemininum[90]
f.	Féminin[91]
F	the Feminine gender[92]
s.f.	Substantif feminin[93]
s.f.	A noun substantive of the feminine gender[94]

[83] Lanzetti (1772).
[84] Baumgartner (1774).
[85] 'Viool' being part of the word 'basviool'.
[86] In a few dictionaries there was no glossary; the abbreviations in these dictionaries have been left out.
[87] Holtrop (1789), Wilcocke (1798).
[88] Stevenson (1823).
[89] Halma (1787), Richelet (1762 Meyer & Poelman), Landré (1810), Weiland (1811).
[90] Marin (1717), Marin (1752).
[91] Anonymous (1705).
[92] Sewel (1708).
[93] Richelet (1707), Marin (1782), Winkelman (1783), Roches (1786).

s.f.	Substantivum femininum[95]
s.f.	Substantif Feminin[96]
v.	Vrouwlyk[97]
m.	Substantif masculin[98]
m.	Masculine[99]
s.m.	Substantif masculin[100]
s.m.	Substantivum masculinum[101]

Table 1 Abbreviations and their explanation.

1.1 Research corpus: treatises and (art) dictionaries

The research corpus consists mostly of 17th and 18th-century sources. A few later sources have been added.

Anonymous (1705). *Dictionaire portatif françois-flamand, plus exact que ceux qui ont paru jusqu'à present. Dressé sur les Mémoires des principaux Autheurs tant Anciens que Modernes.* Amsterdam: Pierre Scepérus.[102]

Anonymous (1772). *Verhandeling over de muziek. [...]; ten welken einde, Het rechte gebruik der Nooten, Sleutels, Maet- en andere Tekenen wordt opgegeeven, en alle moogelyke Klanken, Toonen en Akkoorden worden aangeweezen: [...], en Eindelyk is achter deeze Verhandeling gevoegt eene Lyst van Konstwoorden der Muziek, geschikt volgens het A, B, C; [...].* 's Gravenhage: Jan Abraham Bouvink.

Anonymous (1780). *De muzykonderwijzer; of volledig onderwijs, in de gronden der muzyk- kunde. [...].* Rotterdam: Lukas Jakob Burgvliet.

D'Arsy, I. L. (1643). *Le grand dictionaire François-Flamen. De nouveau Revû, Corrigé, & Augmenté de plusieurs mots & Sentences. [...].* Rotterdam: Pierre de Waesberghe.

Bommenaer, L. van de (1738). *A short though very necessary rules of the english language, And its proper prononciation, By an Observation, of their right Sound and quaint Expressions, besides a very Narrow Reguard, of the Spelling, Reading, and Writing, of the same Language. Also A New and very Accurate vocabular, […].* Amsterdam: By de Wed: Jacobus van Egmont.

Buys, E. (1766). *A compleat dictionary english and dutch, To which is added a grammar, for both Languages. Originally compiled by William Sewel; But now, not only reviewed, and more than the half part augmented, yet according to the modern spelling, entirely improved. […].* Amsterdam: Kornelis de Veer.

Buys, E. (1768). *New and complete dictionary of terms of art. Containing a sufficient Explication, of all Words derived from the Hebrew, Arabic, Greek, Latin, Spanish, French, English, German, Dutch and other Languages; made use of to expres any Art, Science, Custom, Sickness, […].* Amsterdam: Kornelis de Veer.

Buys, E. (1770). *Nieuw en volkomen woordenboek van konsten en weetenschappen: bevattende alle de takken der nuttige kennis, met naaukeurige beschryvingen, zo van de onderscheidene*

[94] Wilcocke (1798).
[95] Roches (1769), Roches (1783).
[96] Rouxel & Halma (1686).
[97] Verheyk (1771).
[98] Richelet (1762, Poelman), Landré (1810).
[99] Wilcocke (1798).
[100] Richelet (1707), Marin (1782), Roches (1786).
[101] Roches (1769), Roches (1783).
[102] According to the online catalogue of the Utrecht University Library, this dictionary is written by Pieter Marin.
http://aleph.library.uu.nl/F/892DEAHNCH3B86L2YVR7UYLYICG9QSSH4R84UEDRMLYNDYKJ8V-18085?func=find-e&request=dictionaire+portatif&adjacent=N&find_scan_code=FIND_WRD, last accessed: 2012, May 17. In Claes & Bakema (1995), I have not been able to find proof for this. I have therefore added it to the list as 'anonymous'.

machines, werktuigen, gereedschappen, figuuren, en ontwerpen dienende om dezelve op te helderen; [...]. Tweede deel. B. en C. Amsteldam: S. J. Baalde.

Buys, E. (1778). *Nieuw en volkomen woordenboek van konsten en weetenschappen: Bevattende alle De takken der nuttige kennis, [...]. Tiende deel. T. tot Z.* Amsteldam: S. J. Baalde.

Douwes, K. (1699). [103] *Grondig ondersoek van de toonen der musijk: Zijnde een klaare betooninge van de wijdte of grootheit van Octaven, Quinten, Quarten en Tertien, geheele en halve toonen: Van de Imperfecte, ende valsche Spetien. Als mede Of in een goed Musijk de Octaven, ende hoe veel malen de Quinten, Quarten en Tertien met malkanderen mogen gaan. Van de twaalf Toonen der Musijk; ende eenige Exempelem om de Musijk-nooten te Componeren. Met een tweede deel; Handelende van verscheidene Musijk-instrumenten. Alles kort en klaar aangeweesen. [...].* Franeker: Adriaan Heins.

Fokke Simonsz., A. (1788). *Catechismus der weetenschappen, schoone kunsten en fraaije letteren,Uit verscheidene beroemde Schryveren, en inzonderheid volgens de Schets van den beroemden baron van Bielfeld zamengesteld, met Dichtregelen verrykt en opgedraagen aan de Maatschappye der Verdiensten, [...]. Tweede deel. Behelzende de weetenschappen des vernunfts. De schoone kunsten. [...]* Amsterdam: Arend Fokke Simonsz.

Giron, M. (1710). *Il grande dittionario italiano et hollandese, [...].* Amsterdam: Pietro Mortier.

Giron, M. (1710). *Het groot nederduitsch en italiaansch woordenboek, Voorzien met alle Naam- en Werkwoorden, &c. als ook schoone Spreekwyzen, dewelke naar hunne verscheide betekenissen, aart en gebruik, volgens de beste Schryvers op het naaukeurigste verklaard en opgehelderd zyn. [...].* Amsterdam: Pieter Mortier.

Gruë, J. & P. la (1699). *Het groote Woorden-boek, Vervattende den Schat der Nederlandsche Taal, met een Fransche uytlegging, Benevens een Aanhangzel van ontallijke Woorden, die uyt andere Talen haren oorspronk nemen, van Jan Louys d'Arsy. De naamen van enige Steden, Landen, Rivieren, en Volkeren. Als mede een korte Beschrying van de waare en oprechte Uitspraak der Fransche Taal, door Thomas la Gruë, [...]. In deeze laatste Druk merkelijk vermeerdert, verbetert, en met veele çierlijke spreek-wijzen verrijkt door Joannes en Philippus la Gruë.* Amsterdam: by d'Erven van Anthony Schelte.

Gruë, T. la (1699). *Le grand dictionnaire françois-flaman, de Jean Louis D'Arsy. […]. Le tout revû, corrigé, & augmenté d'une fort grande quantité de mots, phrases & sentences, dans cette derniere édition. Par Thomas la Gruë, Maistre és Arts & Docteur en Medicine.* Amsterdam: Chez les heritiers d'Antoine Schelte.

Halma, F. (1710). *Woordenboek der nederduitsche en fransche taalen, Uit het Gebruik en de beste Schryveren, met hulpe van voornaame Taalkundigen, in de Voorrede gedacht, opgestelt, [...].* Amsterdam: Pieter Mortier and Utrecht: Willem van de Water.

Halma, F. (1787). *Nieuwen woorden-boek der nederduytsche en fransche Taelen*, *[...] Seer nut en dienstig voor die begeerig zyn de Fransche Taele te leeren.* Gend: Gebroeders Gimblet.

Hexham, H. (1648). *Het groot woorden-boeck: Gestelt in 't Neder-duytsch, ende in 't Engelsch. Als oock tot dienst van den Leer-gierigen verrijckt met een korte ende bondige Nederduytsche grammatica. Alles met groote naerstigheydt uyt de beste Neder-duytsche Autheuren t'samen gestelt, Door Hendrick Hexham.* Rotterdam: Arnout Leers.

Hexham, H. (1648). *A copious english and netherduytch dictionarie, Composed out of our best English Authours. […].* Rotterdam: Arnout Leers.

Hoogstraten, D. van (1704). *Nieuw woordenboek der nederlantsche en latynsche tale. Waer in de woorden en spreekwyzen der eerste tale, naer hunne verscheide beteekenissen en kracht, door de laetste naeukeurig verklaert en opgeheldert worden. Alles getrokken uit het gebruik, en de beste Schryvers Door S. Hannot Rechtsgeleerden. Vervolgens overzien, van veele misstellingen en andere vlekken gezuivert, ook met veele woorden en spreekwyzen merkelyk vermeerdert door D. van Hoogstraten M.D.* Amsterdam: Hendrik Boom en de weduwe van Dirk Boom en François Halma, Dordrecht: Dirk Goris.

Holtrop, J. (1789). *A new english and dutch dictionary; Wherein the Initial English Words are accènted, accórding to the Dutch Pronunciátion; […].* Dordrecht: A. Blussé en zoon and Amsterdam: W. Holtrop.

[103] This treatise has two title pages, which are reproduced in Figs. 10 & 12. On these title pages Douwes' first name has alternately been written with a 'k' and with a 'c'. It is remarkable that this is done within one source. Since also modern sources use both initials, I have chosen to write Klaas with a 'k'.

Holtrop, J. (1801). *Nieuw nederduitsch en engelsch woorden-boek. [...] Tweede deel. Behelzende Het Néderduitsch vóór het Engelsch.* Dordrecht: A. Blussé en Zoon and Amsterdam: W. Holtrop.

Janson, B. (1793). *The new pocket dictionary of the dutch and english languages. In two parts. I English and Dutch* II *II Dutch and English. Containing all Words of general Use, and authorised by the best Modern Writers. Also The Terms of Commerce, Navigation, Arts, Sciences, &c. &c. […].* London: Vernor and Hood, T. Boosey and Rotterdam: C. Hake.

Kraamer, M. (1719). *Het koninglyk neder-hoog-duitsch en hoog-neder-duitsch dictionnaire, of, Beider Hoofd-, en Grond-Taalen woorden-boek. [...]. Benevens het Puik van de geestigste Zin-Spreuken, en lands-gebruikelykste Spreuk-, en Zeg-Woorden, die men uyt de Werken van den Hoog-Edelen Heer Jacob Catz, Ridder zal.; en andere vermaarde Hollandsche Schryvers uyt ter trekken, en op bequame Plaatzen in te schikken goed gevonden heeft. [...].* Nurenberg: By den auteur, of de Erfgenaamen van den zelven & Amsterdam.

Kramer, M. (1719). *Das königliche Nider-Hoch-Teutsch/ und Hoch-Nider-Teutsch dictionarium, oder/ beider Haupt-/ und Grund-Sprachen Wörter-Buch. [...].* Nürnberg: Bey dem Autore, oder dessen Erben; wie auch in denen Messen zu Franckfurt/ und zu Leipzig.

Landré, G. N. et **Agron** P. (1810). *Nouveau dictionnaire portatif des langues françoise et hollandoise. Ouvrage enrichi des mots nouveaux, généralement reçus dans les deux langues; des expressions usitées de nos jours; des tables des verbes irréguliers; des termes de la navigation et de la nouvelle nomenclature chimique, &c. […].* Amsterdam: Jean Allart.

Lustig, J. W. (1754). *Muzykaale spraakkonst; of Duidelyke aanwyzing en verklaaring van allerhande weetenswaardige dingen, die in de geheele muzykaale practyk tot eenen grondslag konnen verstrekken.[...].* Amsteldam: A. Olofsen.

Lustig, J. W. (translator, 1754). *Grondig onderwys Van den aardt en de regte behandeling der dwarsfluit.* Cf. Quantz (1754).

Lustig, J. W. (1771). *Inleiding tot de muziekkunde; tweede druk*. Groningen: Hindrik Vechnerus, Boekdrukker.

Marin, P. (1717). *Compleet Nederduitsch en Fransch Woordenboek, In 't welk klaarlyk uitgelegd zyn de woorden van den gemeenzamen Styl, in de gebruikelykste Spreekwyze, de eigenlyke Nederduitsche Taale uitmaakende: zoo de zelve hedendaags gesprooken en geschreeven werd door Land- en Zeeluiden; Mannen van den Tabbaerd en den Degen; in een woord, alle die in eerlyke Beroepen en nutte Weetenschappen uitblinken. [...].* Amsterdam: P. Marin, Weduwe Gysbert de Groot and Pieter de Coup.

Marin, P. (1730). *Groot nederduitsch en fransch woordenboek, vervattende de woorden en spreekwyzen van den laagen, den boertigen, den gemeenzaamen, en den verheven styl: spreuken en spreekwoorden. Gelyk ook de gebruikelykste woorden der kunsten en wetenschappen, der hanteeringen, ambachten en uitspanningen in beide taalen. [...] Tweede Druk. [...].* Dordrecht: Joannes van Braam and Amsterdam: Hermanus Uytwerf, A. Wor en de Erven van G. Onder de Linden.

Marin, P. (1751). *Dictionaire portatif, françois-flamand*. *[...].* Amsterdam: Jean van Eyl, H. F..[104]

Marin, P. (1752). *Groot nederduitsch en fransch woordenboek, vervattende de woorden en spreekwyzen van den laagen, den boertigen, den gemeenzaamen, en den verheven styl: spreuken en spreekwoorden. Gelyk ook de gebruikelykste woorden der kunsten en wetenschappen [...]. Derde Druk. Van ontelbaare Feilen gezuivert, merkelyk sedert den voorigen Druk vermeerdert, en met Taalkundige Aanmerkingen verrykt.* Dordrecht: by d'Erven Joannes van Braam, Amsteldam: Jan van Eyl, Rotterdam: Jan Daniel Beman.

Marin, P. (1752). *Grand dictionnaire, hollandois & françois, contenant les facons de parler basses, burlesques, familieres, & celles du stile soutenu, les sentences et les proverbes, les termes les plus usitez des arts & des sciences, […].* Dordrecht: by d'Erven Joannes van Braam, Amsteldam: Jan van Eyl, Rotterdam: Jan Daniel Beman.

Marin, P. (1782). *Dictionnaire françois et hollandois, composé sur le dictionnaire de l'Académie Françoise et d'après les meilleurs auteurs qui ont écrit dans les deux langues. [...] Revue, corrigée & augmentée d'un grand nombre de Mots & de Phrases; de Termes d'Histoire-*

[104] According to Claes & Bakema (1995) this dictionary was written by Pieter Marin. On the title page there is no proof for this, but I followed Claes & Bakema and I have added it here as written by Marin.

Naturelle, de Commerce, de Marine, & de quantité d'autres Articles relatifs aux Sciences, aux Arts, aux Belles-Lettres, &c. &c. Amsterdam: D. J. Changuion & Rotterdam: H. Beman.

Martinez de Waucquier, M. & **Montanus**, A. (1679). *Dictionarium tetraglotton novum, In quo Voces Latinae omnes, & Graecae his respondentes cum Gallica & Teutonica singularum interpretatione, ordine Alphabetico proponuntur. […]. Studio et Labore Matthiae Martinez Middelburgi. […].* Amstelodami: Joh. Schipperi.

Mellema, E. E. L. (1602). *Dictionaire ou promtuaire François-Flameng, Tres-ample et tres copieux: […].* Rotterdam: Iean Waesbergue.

Mellema, E. E. L. (1618). *Den schat der Duytscher Tale/ met de verklaringe in françois/ van nieus grootelijcr vermeerdert/ verciert ende verrijct met vele nieuwe Woorden/ Spreucken ende Sententien. [...].* Rotterdam: Jan van Waesberghe.

Moerbeek, A. A. van (1768). *Nieuw woordenboek der nederlandsche en hoogduitsche taal, waarin de woorden en spreekwyzen der eerste taale, volgens hunne verscheide betekenissen en kragt, door de laatste naauwkeurig verklaard en opgehelderd worden, [...].* Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Junius.

Moerbeek, A. A. von (1768). *Neues Deutsch-holländisches Wörterbuch, worinnen alle Wörter und Redensarten, nebst vorkommenden Kunst- und Handelswörtern fleißig zusammengetragen, und dem Gebrauche der besten Schriftsteller gemäß erkläret worden, [...].* Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Junius.

Mozart, L. (1766, translation of original of 1756). *Grondig onderwys in het behandelen der viool, ontworpen door Leopold Mozart, Hoogvorstelyk-Saltzburgschen Kamer-Musicus. Met 4 Konst-Plaaten en een Tafel van de Regelen der Strykmanier enz. voorzien.* Haerlem: Joannes Enschede.

Pell, G. (1735). *The English, Dutch, French, and Latin vocabulary: wherein is shewn, the great affinity of the three last Languages with the first: in which, the English words are accented: and remarks made, to facilitate the learning a great number of words in the said Languages. […]*. Utrecht: E. Neaulme.

Pepliers, J. R. des (1764). *Nouvelle et parfaite grammaire royale françoise & hollandoise*. *[...].* Amsterdam: Steven van Esveldt.

Pyl, R. van der (1818). *Nouveaux Élémens de la conversation, en hollandois et en françois, en trois Parties; la première contenant un vocabulaire classique par ordre de matières; [...]* Dordrecht: Blussé & Van Braam, Bruxelles: P. J. de Matt.

Quantz, J. (translation Lustig J. W., 1754). *Grondig onderwys Van den aardt en de regte behandeling der dwarsfluit; Verzeld met eenen treffelyken regelenschat van de compositie En van de uitvoering der voornaamste Muzyk-stukken, op de gebruikelykste instrumenten; [...].* Amsteldam: A. Olofsen.

Richelet, P. (1707). *Le grand et nouveau dictionaire françois et flamand. Formé sur celui de Mr. Pierre Richelet; Contenant la signification, & la définition des Mots de l'une & de l'autre Langue, avec leurs differens usages; […]. Avec les termes les plus connus des Arts & des Sciences, soit Liberaux ou Mécaniques; […].* Brusselles: Judocus de Grieck.

Richelet, P. (1707). *Den nieuwen ende grooten woorden-boeck Der Nederlantsche ende Fransche Taele; Ghetrocken uyt verscheyde soo Nederlantsche als Fransche Schryvers, naementlijck uyt den geenen van P. Richelet, [...]: Beneffens de Eygentlijcke woorden der Konsten, ende Wetenschappen, t'sy vrye oft andere: [...].* Brussel: Jodocus de Grieck.

Richelet, P. (1739). *Het groot woordboek der nederlandsche en fransche taele. Getrocken uyt verscheyde soo Nederlandsche als Fransche Schryvers, naemetlijk uyt den genen van P. Richelet, Behelsende [...]. Beneffens de eygentlijke Woorden der Konsten en Wetenschappen, 't zy vrye of andere. [...]. Derde druk.* Brussel: Georgius Fricx junior.

Richelet, P. (1762). *Nieuw beknopt woord-boek der nederlandsche en fransche taele, Getrokken uyt de beste Nederlandsche Woord-boeken, en namentlyk uyt den genen van P. Richelet, Zeer nut en dienstig voor die begeirig zyn de Fransche Taele te leeren.* Gend: Bernard Poelman.

Richelet, P. (1762). *Nieuw beknopt woord-boek der nederlandsche en fransche taele, Getrocken uyt de beste Nederlandsche Woord-boeken, en namentlyk uyt den genen van P. Richelet, Zeer nut en dienstig voor die begeirig zyn de Fransche Taele te leeren.* Gend: Jan Meyer.[105]

Richelet, P. (1764). *Het groot woordenboek der nederlandsche en fransche taelen. Getrokken uyt de beste Schryvers, naementlijk uyt het Woordenboek van P. Richelet, [....] Beneffens de eygentlijke Woorden der Konsten en Wetenschappen, 't zy vrye of andere. [...]* Brussel: Georgius Fricx.[106]

Roches, J. des (1769). *Nieuw nederduytsch en fransch woorden-boek*. Antwerpen: J. Grange'.

Roches, J. des (1783). *Nieuw nederduytsch en fransch woorden-boek*. *[…].* Maestricht: P.L. Lekens.

Roches, J. des (1786). *Nouveau dictionnaire françois-flamand. […] Nouvelle Edition, revue, corrigée & considérablement agmentée*. Anvers: J. Grange'.

Röhner, J. C. (1820). *Muzijkaal zak-woordenboek, bevattende eene beknopte verklaring en beschrijving der voornaamste, thans bij de vocale en instrumentale toonkunst in gebruik zijnde, kunsttermen en instrumenten*. *[...].* Zwolle: Dirk van Stegeren.

Rouxel, C. & **Halma**, F. (1686). *Dictionnaire nouveau, François & Flamand, où l'on donne des définitions exactes des mots & des choses, & où l'on a renfermé toutes les expressions Propres, Figurées, & Burlesques, & les termes les plus connus des Arts & des Sciences; […].* Amsterdam: Abraham Wolfgang and Utrecht: François Halma.

Sewel, W. (1708). *A large dictionary english and dutch, in two Parts: Wherein each Language is set forth in its proper form; the various significations of the Words being exactly noted, and abundance of choice Phrases and Proverbs intermixt. […]. the First part. [...].* Amsterdam: By de Weduwe van Steven Swart.

Sewel, W. (1708). *Groot woordenboek der nederduytsche en engelsche Taalen, Waarin de rykdom derzelver in 't breede wordt voorgedraagen, de verscheydene betékenissen aangeweezen, en de Geslachten van alle Nederduytsche Naamwoorden naauwkeuriglyk aangetoond; met byvoeginge van zeer veele uytgeleezene Spreekwyzen, en een goed getal van Spreekwoorden. [...]. Het Tweede Deel.* Amsterdam: By de Weduwe van Steven Swart.

Stevenson, A. (1823). *John Holtrop's english and dutch dictionary. Revised, enlarged and corrected By A. Stevenson, [...]. The first volume, containing The English before the Dutch.* Dordrecht: Blussé en van Braam, Amsterdam: J. van Esveldt Holtrop.

Smith, G. (1758). *Volkome Engelsche Spraakkonst, behelsende I. Een Nieuwe en welgeschikte Engelsche Spraakkonst. II. Een wel gesteld en wydloopig Woorden-Boek. [...].* Rotterdam: J. D. Beman, H. Kentlink en J. Bosch.

Verheyk, H. (1771). *Nederduitsch en latynsch woordenboek, Ten dienste der latynsche schoolen, Eerst opgesteld door S. Hannot, Naderhand vermeerderd door D. van Hoogstraten, En nu met nieuwe vermeerderingen en verbeteringen uitgegeeven door H. Verheyk*. Amsterdam: Gerrit de Groot en Zoon and Leiden: Samuel en Johannes Luchtmans.

Verschuere Reijnvaen, [107] J. (1787). *Catechismus der Muzijk. [...].* Amsterdam: J. de Jong & Rotterdam: L. J. Burgvliet.

Verschuere Reynvaan, J. (1795). *Muzijkaal kunst-woordenboek, behelzende, de verklaaringen, als mede het gebruik en de kracht der kunstwoorden, die in de muzijk voorkomen, [...].* Amsteldam: Wouter Brave.

Verschuere Reynvaan, J. (1805). *Muzykaal zak-boekje, bevattende de hedendaagsche in het gebruik zynde muzykaale termen; alsmede die, welken by het orgel voorkomen, ten einde dezelve met een opslag van het oog te leeren kennen, [...].* Vlissingen: J. I. Corbelyn.

Weiland, P. (1811). *Nieuw hand-woordenboek, der nederduitsche en fransche talen. Verrijkt met de, algemeen in beide talen aangenomene woorden, de thans gebruikelijke uitdrukkingen, de lijst der ongelijkvloeiende en onregelmatige werkwoorden, de kunstwoorden der zeevaart en*

[105] The two 1762 Richelet dictionaries seem entirely the same, except for the publisher. As will become clear in Sub section 1.1.5 only the title pages are the same. The contents are completely different. Apparently each publisher has chosen those words which were the most interesting and important to him.

[106] In the online catalogue of the KB, this dictionary is listed as being written by François Halma. http://opc4.kb.nl/DB=1/SET=1/TTL=1/SHW?FRST=1, last accessed: 2012, May 17. I have not been able to find proof for that in Claes & Bakema (1995), therefore it is listed here as being written by P. Richelet.

[107] On the title pages of the three books written by Verschuere Reynvaan, his family name is spelled in different ways. I have followed the spelling used by Clement (2013): Verschuere Reynvaan, except in this research corpus and when referring to the 1787 book.

de nieuwe scheikundige woorden, enz. Door P. Agron en G. N. Landré. Tweede deel. A-O. [...]. Amsterdam: Johannes Allart.

Weiland, P. (1843). *Kunstwoordenboek of verklaring van allerhande vreemde woorden benamingen, gezegden en spreekwijzen die uit verscheidene talen ontleend in de zamenleving en in geschriften betreffende alle vakken van kunsten, wetenschappen en geleerdheid voorkomen. [...].* Antwerpen: J. P. van Dieren en Comp.

Westerhovius, A. H. (1734). *Algemeen konstwoorden-boek der wetenschappen. Waar in de eige Benaamingen van al het geene in het gansche ryk der natuur gevonden word, nevens die van allerlei konsten, weetenschappen, staats- en oorlogs-kundige zaken, ridderlyke oeffeningen, ambachten, enz. verklaart worden. Dienende tot een tweede deel van De staats- en koeranten-tolk. […].* Leyden: Dirk Haak en Samuel Luchtmans.

Wilcocke, S. H. (1798). *A new and complete dictionary of the English and Dutch Languages; with a vocabulary of proper names, geographical, historical, &c. […] Compiled chiefly from the Quarto Dictionary of William Sewel; […] Including also, in the second part, All such foreign words of general Use as have been incorporated into the dutch language, And which have never before appeared, as Part of it, in any Dictionary.* London: C. Dilly and T. Boosey.

Wilcocke, S. H. (1798). *Nieuw en volkomen woordenboek der Nederduitsche en Engelsche Taalen. […].* Londen: Charles Dilly.

Winkelman, O. R. F. W. (1783). *Dictionnaire françois-hollandois et hollandois-françois; contenant la signification et les différents usages des mots, les termes d'arts, de sciences, de metiers, et de marine. Recueillis des meilleurs auteurs par O. R. F. W. Winkelman.* Utrecht: Barthelemy Wild.

Winkelman, O. R. F. W. (1783). *Nederduitsch en fransch woordenboek, bevattende de betékenis en het onderscheiden gebruik der woorden. [...].* Utrecht: Bartholome Wild.

1.1.1 Treatises

Douwes, K. (1699). *Grondig ondersoek van de toonen der musijk* (for reproduction of (parts of) the title pages see Figs. 10-13):

"De Fioolen sijn aangenaam en sterk van geluidt / en gereed om daar op te spelen: daar sijn voornamentlijk driederhande; als Bas Fioolen / Fioolen de Gamba, ende gemeene Handt Fioolen; [.....] De Bas Fioolen worden met vier of vijf snaaren besnaard." [108]

"Violins have a pleasant and strong sound / and are ready to play. Primarily there are three kinds: bass violins / viols, and the common hand violins. [……] The bass violins are set up with 4 or 5 strings."

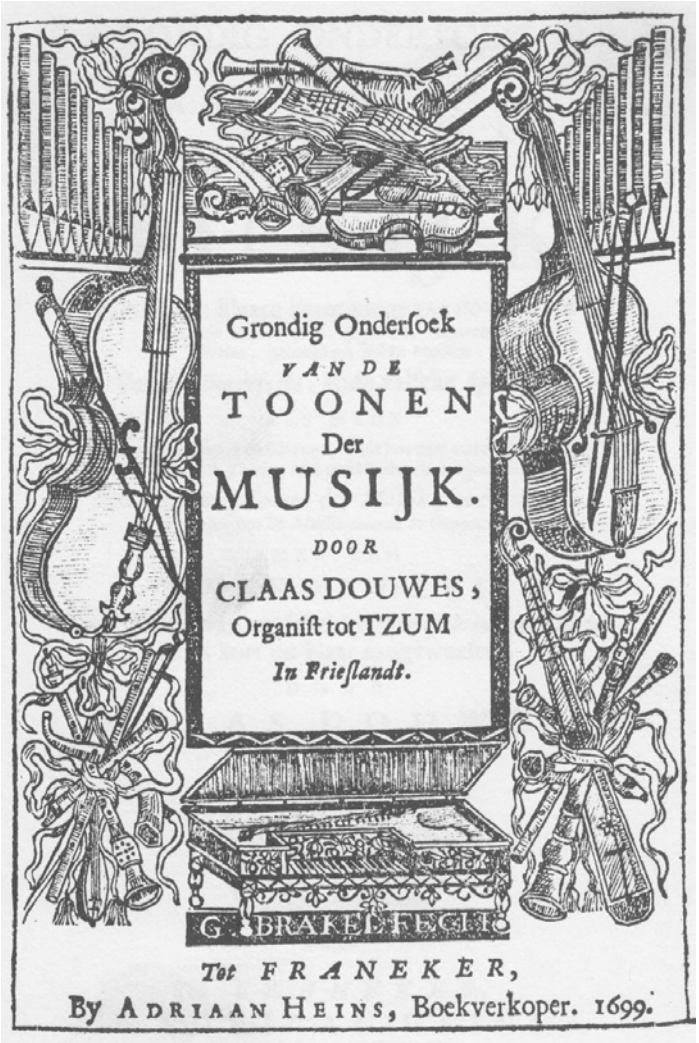

Figure 10 NN: Gillius Brakel: Title page of Klaas Douwes' *Grondig Ondersoek* (1699). Douwes' first name spelled with C.

Figure 11 Detail of Figure 10. The bass violin ("Bas Fiool")[109]

[108] Douwes (1699), p. 107.

[109] Douwes' text states that the bass violin has 4 or 5 strings. The engraver Gillius Brakel has chosen to depict a bass violin with 4 strings. Premeditation?

GRONDIG ONDERSOEK
VAN DE
TOONEN
DER
MUSIJK:
Zijnde een klaare betooninge van de wijdte of grootheit van *Octaven*, *Quinten*, *Quarten* en *Tertien*, geheele en halve toonen:
Van de *Imperfecte*, ende valsche *Spetien*.
ALS MEDE
Of in een goed *Musijk* de *Octaven*, ende hoe veel malen de *Quinten*, *Quarten* en *Tertien* met malkanderen mogen gaan.
Van de twaalf *Toonen* der *Musijk*; ende eenige *Exempelen* om de *Musijk-nooten* te *Componeren*.
MET EEN
TWEEDE DEEL;
Handelende van verscheidene *Musijk-instrumenten*.
Alles kort en klaar aangeweesen.
DOOR
KLAAS DOUWES
Organist en Schoolmeester tot Tzum.
Tot FRANEKER;
By ADRIAAN HEINS;
Boekverkooper MDCXCIX.

Figure 12 Title page 2 of Klaas Douwes' *Grondig Ondersoek*. Douwes' first name spelled with K.

Figure 13 Detail of Figure 10. The viol ("Fiool de Gamba").

Lustig, J. W. (1754). *Muzykaale spraakkonst*:

"*Basset* (fr.)[110], betekent 1) een kleine basviool [...]."

"*basse de violon*, violoncello."

"*basse double*, een groote violoncel."

"Men gebruikt de *laage Bas* doorgaans op Contrabassen of groote violoncellen; de *Bas* tot zangstemmen en allerhande instrumentmuzyk; de *hooge Bas*, voor Bassetten, of zangstemmen aan de tenoor nader komende, […] de *Tenoor*, tot zangstemmen en Violoncellen."[111]

"*Basset* means 1) a small bass violin/viol […]."

"*basse de violon* = violoncello."

"*basse double* = a large violoncello."

"One normally uses the low bass [clef] for double basses or large cellos; the bass [clef] for voices and various instrumental music; the high bass [clef] for basset, or voices approaching the tenor, […] the tenor [clef] for voices and violoncellos." [see Figure 14 for a representation of the three bass clefs].

[110] Fr. is not explained, but on the same page one can find for example "basso ripieno (ital.)". Therefore fr. cannot mean anything else than French.
[111] Lustig (1754), pp. 7, 8, 189.

Quantz, J. (1754). *Grondig onderwys Van den aardt en de regte behandeling der dwarsfluit*:

"Wie op de Violoncell niet slegts accompagneert, maar ook Solos speelt, die houde liefst tot de Solos eene eigene Violoncel, en tot het Ripieen-spel by groote Muzyken, eene andere; deeze laatste, moet grooter, en met dikker snaaren, dan de eerste, voorzien weezen: nademaal een klein, zwak betrokken instrument tot de versterking eener talryke Muzyk niets zoude bybrengen. Ook dient men tot accompagnement een' sterker strykstok te hebben, met zwarte hairen, als welke de snaaren feller, dan witte, aantasten."

"Those who not only accompany on the violoncello, but also play solos, should have a different cello for playing solos, and for orchestral playing another one. This last one, should be larger and be strung with thicker strings, than the first one; because a small instrument with thinner strings does not enforce large ensembles. One also needs to have a stronger bow, with black hairs, which handle the strings more fiercely than a bow with white hairs."

"Zijn er banden op een Violoncell, gelyk op een Viola di Gamba, zo dient de Violoncellist by nooten, die ronde b tekens hebben, een ziertje er over heen te grypen, en de snaaren wat sterker aan te drukken; […]"[112]

"In case the cello has frets, as on the viol, the cellist should play the notes with flats a tiny bit higher and he should press the strings down more; […]"

Mozart, L. (1766). *Grondig onderwys in het behandelen der viool*:

"De *zevende* Soort word genaamd de *kleine Bas* of *Bassete*, die men, na de Italiaanse *Violoncello*, de *Violoncel* noemd. Voor deze had ze 5. Snaaren; nu speelt men ze slechts met vier. Het is 't gemeenste Instrument om den Bas daar mede te speelen: En of schoon 'er eenige iets grooter en andere weder iets kleinder zyn; zo zyn ze doch enkel en alleen door de besnaaring, bygevolg maar in de sterkte van Klank, een weinig van elkander onderscheiden. [....] Hedendaags word ook de Violoncel tusschen de Beenen genomen; en men kan ze by gevolg met reeden ook eene Been-Viool noemen." [113]

"The seventh kind is called the small bass or bassete, which one calls, after the Italian [word] violoncello: violoncello. It used to be strung with 5 strings; nowadays one only uses 4. It is the most common instrument to play the bass: and although some are a bit larger and some are a bit smaller; they are only a little different from each other because of the stringing, leading to a louder or softer sound. Nowadays also the cello is held between the legs; therefore one could call it a 'leg violin' with reason."

Lustig (1771). *Inleiding tot de muziekkunde*:

"XVIII. De suizende VIOLA DI GAMBA (Basse de Viole of *knievedel* (1)[114]) met 6 snaaren,

"XVIII. The whizzing viol (Bass viol or knee fiddle) with 6 strings, tuned D. G. c. e. a. d […].

[112] Quantz (1754), pp. 141, 145. This Dutch translation was made by the German born organist of the Martinikerk in Groningen: Jacob Wilhelm Lustig. Extra information about the different types of hair: black hair is stronger than white hair (which is weakened by the chemicals used to bleach it), and the roughness and the strength of the black hair gives a better grip, thus making it easier to set the strings in motion. Information from: Lindeman (2011), pp. 82-83.

[113] Mozart (1766), p. 3. This book is the Dutch translation of Mozart's *Violinschule* of 1756. The Dutch translation in this entry is identical to the German original. In the German original, however, it is written 'Bassel', in the Dutch version this word is translated into 'kleine Bas'. Bassel is the (South German/Austrian) diminutive of Baß, so Bassel = small bass. It is therefore correctly translated into Dutch. Information from Jörn Boysen in an email dated 2011, October 10.

[114] Lustig's footnote no. 1: "Ter onderscheiding van *handvedel* (no. XV.) en *armvedel* (XVII). Ook blijkt hier uit, volgens de zinryke aanmerking van zeker Muziekgeleerde; dat men zich niet dwingen moete tot het vertaalen van alle Konstwoorden: hoe zoude het passen, als, by voorbeeld, een Kamerdienaar aanquam met de boodschap: *Mejuffrouw, de Knie-vedelaar is 'er?*" Translation: "To distinguish between hand fiddle (no. XV.) and arm fiddle (XVII). This also shows, according to the meaningful comment of a certain music scholar, that one should not be forced to translate all the artistic words: how would it be, when, for example, a valet arrived with the message: Miss, the knee fiddler is here?"

gesteld in D. G. c. e. a. d, […] *Rosseau* [sic] verdedigt haar (2)[115] tegen de voorstanders der

Rousseau defends it against the advocates of the [:][118]

XIX VIOLONCELLO (met 4 snaaren, C. G. d. a), die echter tot het Accompagnement in Concerten, billyk voor dienstiger en teffens tot allerhande concerteerende partyen gansch bequaam geacht wordt (3).[116 & 117]

XIX Violoncello (with 4 strings, C. G. d. a), which is considered competent for accompaniment in concerti, suitable for ripieno and also for solo parts.

Anonymous (1772). *Verhandeling over de muziek*:

"BASFIOOL. Zie *Viola basso, Contra basso, Viola di bardonne, Viola di gamba, Violoncello en Violone*."

"Bass violin/viol. See Viola basso, Contra basso, Viola di bardonne, Viola di gamba, Violoncello en Violone."

"VIOLONCELLO. Zie *Viola basso*. Dit woort wordt ook gebruikt voor eene kleine Basfiool, met vyf of zes snaeren."

"Violoncello. See viola basso. This word is also used for a small bass violin, with five or six strings."

"VIOLA BASSO, Basfiool; instrument met vier snaeren, wel eer was zy met banden voorzien, tans is zy zonder banden, als de *Violoncello*, die men ook Basfiool noemt."

"Viola basso, bass violin = instrument with four strings, it used to be set up with frets, nowadays it is set up without them, like the violoncello, also called a bass violin."

"[...], daer de snaeren van de basviool of *violoncello*, die van de altfiool en die van de hantfiool een verschil van eene vyf onder elkanderen hebben. Dat de Basfiool of *Violoncello* tot laegste snaer heeft C, vervolgens G, daer na D en tot hoogste A;" [119]

"[…], that the strings of the bass violin or cello are a fifth apart, as are those of the viola and violin. The bass violin or violoncello has C as the lowest string, followed by G, after that D and A as the highest."

Anonymous (1780). *De muzykonderwijzer; of volledig onderwijs, in de gronden der muzyk-kunde*:

"[...] want bijvoorbeeld, de *Viool* of *Violoncell'*, welker toonen door middel van de vingers der linkehand, op de Toets, bij wijze van afperking, worden voortgebragt, […]; het komt hier voornamelijk aen op het zuiver grijpen der toonen;"

"because, for example, the violin or violoncello, the notes of which are produced by means of the fingers of the left hand, by way of shortening the string […]; it mainly comes down to playing in tune;"

"[...] wanneer de Noten hoger loopen, dan de vingers bereiken kunnen; in zulk een geval moet de hand geheel en al op de toets veranderd, en opgeschoven worden; [...]; zoo schuift men de hand geheel op, en wel dat den voorsten vinger op de [...] geplaatst word, [...]."

"[…] when the notes go higher than the fingers can reach; in such cases the whole hand should be changed on the fingerboard, and be moved up; […]; one moves up the whole hand, in such a way that the first finger is placed on […]"

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[115] Lustig's footnote no. 2: "met zyne gewoone welspreekenheid, in een byzonder boekje: *Defense de la Basse de Viole*." Translation: "with his usual eloquence, in a special booklet: *Defense de la Basse de Viole*."

[116] Lustig's footnote no. 3: "Men ontmoet namelyk van ieder der voornoemde instrumenten verscheide soorten; neem eens, *vioolen voor kinderen*; *bret-vioolen* zonder klankbodem; *krytertjes*, ten behoeve van dansmeesteren; *viole di Gamba*, en violoncelletjes, met een stokje 'er onder enz:" Translation: "One encounters several sorts of each of the instruments mentioned before; for example, violins for children, 'bret' violins without soundboard, kits, meant for dancing masters; viols and little cellos with a stick underneath etc."

[117] Lustig (1771), pp. 86-87.

[118] Lustig cites wrongly here. *Defense de la basse de viole contre les entréprises du violon et les prétentions du violoncel* is not written by Rousseau but by Hubert le Blanc instead, and was published by Pierre Mortier in Amsterdam in 1740.

[119] Anonymous (1772), pp. 157, 282, 359, 360.

"De Violoncell' is dezelfde behandeling, uitgezonderd wanneer de Noten hooger gaen, dan de vingers toereikenden zijn, als dan plaetst men hier den duim, ter afscheidinge van de Snaer, op de Toets."[120]

"The violoncello is played in the same way, except when the notes go higher than the fingers can reach, in that case one places the thumb on the fingerboard, to clamp the string [like an artificial nut]."

Verschuere Reijnvaen, J. (1787). *Catechismus der Muzijk*:

[On clefs:] "De derde is een F *sleutel*, en word gebruikt voor de Bas."

"Aangaande nu de drie *sleutels* van F, deze worden onderscheiden, in de *Hooge Bas*, zynde op de middelste linje. *fig*. *7*. De *Bas*, op de vierde linje van onderen gerekent, zynde deze, dewelke doorgaans en het meeste gebruikt word. *fig. 8*. Voorts de *laage Bas*, op de vyfde linje van onderen gerekent. *fig. 9*."

"*Hoe laag en hoog loopt yder van deze drie* sleutels? De laagte laat zich net bepalen, doch de hoogte niet, vermits men door middel van de *Applicatie* op de *Viool*, zeer hoog kan stygen: echter zal ik u, zoo veel doenlyk is, het trachten op te geven. By voorbeeld, de F of *Bas sleutel*, begint volgens de strykbas of *Violoncel* van C; te weten, de onderste C van het *Clavier*, wat dezelve lager loopt, behoort tot de *Contra Bas*. Haar hoogte strekt zich uit twee Noten hoger als de middelste C van het *Clavier*, namelyk tot E: echter kan men op dezelve vry hooger komen, door middel van de *Applicatie*, zoo als boven gezegt is."[121]

"The third is an F clef, which is used for the bass."

"As for the three F clefs, these are distinguished in the high bass [clef], on the middle line [of the stave]. fig. 7. The bass [clef], on the fourth line from below, which is used most of all. fig. 8. Finally, the low bass [clef], on the fifth line from below. fig. 9." [see Figure 14]

"How high and how low does each of these clefs go? The lowest pitch can be just fixed, the highest pitch can not, because one can go very high by using application[122] [as] on the violin: however I will try to spell it out, as far as possible. For example, the F or bass clef starts at C as in the bowed bass or violoncello, this being the lowest C of the keyboard. Anything lower, belongs to the double bass. The top note is two tones higher than the middle C of the keyboard, viz the E. However, one can go higher on the cello, by using application, as has been said before."

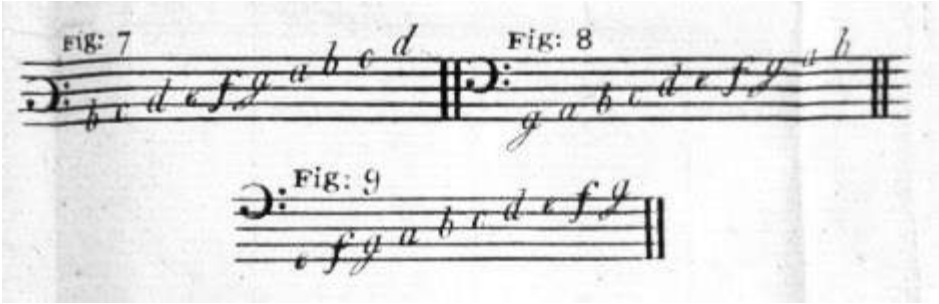

Figure 14 The three bass clefs Verschuere writes about (his fig. 7, fig. 8 and fig. 9).

[120] Anonymous (1780), pp. 65, 66.

[121] Verschuere Reijnvaen (1787), pp. 2, 4, 5. This discussion on the different clefs used (see also Lustig (1754)) in the 18th century is very curious. In Dutch music of around this period one finds the normal f clef, the c clef (alto and tenor) and the g clef. The other two f clefs mentioned by Lustig and Verschuere I did not come across, nor did I find it in 17th-century music.

[122] 'Application' means positions.

1.1.2 Art dictionaries

Westerhovius, A. H. (1734). *Algemeen konstwoorden-boek der wetenschappen*:

"VIOLON is een groote Bas-viool."	"Violon is a large bass violin."
[In the VIOOL section]: "kleine Bassetten, en groote Bas-vioolen." [123]	"[In the violin section] "small 'bassetten', and large bass violins."

Buys, E. (1768). *New and complete dictionary of terms of art*:

"BASS. (in *Musick*) the lowest of all its Parts. *De Bas, de laagste en grofste Stem in de Sang- en Speel-konst*." [124]	"The bass = the lowest and coarsest voice for singing and playing."
"BASSETTO, (Ital.in *Musick Books*) signifies a Bass-Viol or Bass Violin of the smallest Size, and is called so to distinguish it from Bass-Viols or Violins of a larger Size. *Bassetto* (*in de* Muziek Boeken) *betekend een Bas-viool van het kleinste Soort, en word dus genaamd om dezelve van een grooter Bas-viool te onderscheiden.*"	"[...] Bassetto (in music books) signifies a bass violin/viol of the smallest size, and is called so as to distinguish it from a larger bass violin/viol."
"BASSO Viola (Ital. in *Musick Books*) signifies the Bass-Viol. *De Bas-Viool*."	"Basso viola. [...] The bass viol."
"BAS'SO Violino, (Ital. in *Musick Books*) signifies the Bass for the Bass Violin. *De Bas voor de Bas-viool*."	"Bas'so Violino. [...] The bass for the bass violin."
"VIOLO *Basso*, (Ital.) a Bass Viol. *Een Bas viool*."	"Violo basso. [...] = A bass viol."
"VIOLONCELLO, (Ital.) a small Bass Violin, just half as big as a common Bass Violin, in Length, Breadth, and Thickness, whose Strings being but half the Length of the Bass, makes them just an Octave higher that the Bass; used to play a Bass upon with a common Bass Violin or Viol. *Een vyfde Viool, een kleine Bas die half zo groot is als een gewoone Bas.*"	"Violoncello [...]. = The fifth violin, a small bass, half the size of the common bass."
"VIOLO'NE, (Ital.) a very large Bass Violin or double Bass, being every Way as large again as a common Bass Violin, and Strings twice as thick, and twice as long, which renders the Sound just an Octave lower than the common Bass Violin. This Instrument is only used at great Concerts, as *Operas*, and other publick Musick. *Een dubbelde Bas, een Bas die eens zo groot is als de gewoone Bas.*" [125]	"Violo'ne [...]. = A double bass, a bass twice as large as a common bass."

[123] Westerhovius (1734), pp. 852, 853.
[124] The entries of this dictionary are mostly in English, therefore I have only translated the few lines in Dutch.
[125] Buys (1768), pp. 205, 206, 463, 464.

Buys, E. (1770). *Nieuw en volkomen woordenboek van konsten en weetenschappen*:

"BAS-VIOOL, (in de Muziek) door de *Hollanders* doorgaansch enkel de *Bas* genaamd; is een Speeltuig van het zelfde Figuur als een Viool, doch veel grooter; hebbende ook vier Snaaren, en word insgelyksch met een Strykstok bespeeld; het Geluid van de Bas is deftig, en heeft een zeer goede Uitwerking in een Concert." [126]	Bass violin (in music), mostly called only bass by the Dutch; is a playing instrument which resembles the violin in shape, but much larger; also having four strings, and is played in the same way with a bow; the sound of the bass is dignified and has a very favourable effect in a concert."

Buys, E. (1778). *Nieuw en Volkomen Woordenboek van Konsten en Weetenschappen*:

"VIOLON. Is eene groote Bas-Viool."	"Violon. Is a large bass violin." [128]
"VIOLONCELLO van de Italiaanen, is eigenlyk onze vyfde Viool, zynde eene kleine Bas-Viool, half zoo groot als de gemeene Bas Viool, en derzelver Snaaren half zoo dik en lang, 't welk de klanken juist een Octaaf hooger maakt dan van die."	"Violoncello of the Italians, is actually our fifth violin, being a small bass violin, half as large as the common bass violin, its strings are half as thick and half as long, which makes the sound one octave higher than the sound of the common bass violin."
"VIOOL. Van dit Speeltuig zyn verscheiden soorten [...] Kleine Bassetten en groote Bas-Vioolen." [127]	"Violin. There are several kinds of this instrument […]. Small 'bassetten' and large bass violins."

Fokke Simonsz., A. (1788). *Catechismus der weetenschappen, schoone kunsten en fraaije letteren*:

"III Instrumenten *waartoe men een S[t]rykstok gebruikt*. […] 3 Violoncello."	"Instruments for which a bow is used. […] 3 Violoncello."
"De Bassen of Violoncellos, Bassons, Theorbes enz. de *Bas of benedenftem*." [129]	"The basses or violoncellos, bassoons, theorbos etc, [play] the bass or bottomline."

Verschuere Reynvaan, J. (1795). *Muzijkaal kunst-woordenboek*:

"De *Bas*, begint in de laagte van groot C, en heeft tot haare hoogste toon *e* van het eengestreepte octaaf; al wat hooger gaat wordt, even als bij de Viool en Alt, door middel der Applicatie voordgebragt; wanneer men daarop vrij hoog kan komen; zodanig dat wel eens, gelijk ook bij de Alt plaats heeft, naar de G of zogenaamde Vioolsleutel gespeeld wordt; vooral indien er Soloos bij plaats hebben."	"The bass [clef] starts at C, and reaches until e'; anything higher is achieved by application, as with the violin and viola. For even higher notes (particularly for solos), as for the viola, one can transfer to the violin clef."
"Door *Bas*, wordt ook in het bastaart Nederduitsch verstaan, de onderste of zilveren snaar eener Viool, Alt of Basviool."	"Bass, in popular Dutch, also means the lowest or silver string of a violin, alto or bass violin."

[126] Buys (1770), p. 68. This dictionary was published over a period of 9 years, the first part (the letter A) was published in 1769, the last volume (letters T-Z) in 1778.

[127] Buys (1778), pp. 625, 626. The cello is the fifth violin as Buys says. The other four violins are: "Gemeene Violinen en Discant-Violen, Alt- en Tenor-Vioolen." ("common violins and discant violins, alto and tenor violins.")

[128] I have translated the word 'basviool' in this entry into bass violin, although here it is not unequivocal. When comparing it, however, with Buys (1770) which is another part of the same dictionary, it becomes clear that in this dictionary basviool should be bass violin.

[129] Fokke Simonsz. (1788), pp. 255, 257.

"BASSE. (*Fransch*.) Ook de Basviool, de Violoncel. [...] *Basse de Violon*; de bas van de Viool, de Contrabas;"	"Basse. (French.) Also the bass violin, the violoncello. […] Basse de violon = the bass of the violin, the double bass;"
"BASSETTO. (*Italiaansch*.) In 't Fransch, *Basset*. Een kleine Basviool, een kleine Violoncel, een kleine Bas."	"Bassetto. (Italian.) In French, Basset. = A small bass violin, a small violoncello, a small bass."
"BASSO. (*Italiaansch*.) […] *Basso*, wil eigenlijk zeggen, laag: te weeten; de laagste en grofste toonen, de grond, de grondstem, de laagste stem, het fondament der Muzijk; ook de Basviool, de Violoncel."	"Basso. (Italian.) […] Basso actually means low: the lowest and coarsest tones, the ground, the lowest voice, the fundament of music; also the bass violin, the violoncello."
"BASS VIOLIN. (*Engelsch*.) Zie VIOLONCELLO."[130]	"Bass violin. (English.) See violoncello."

Verschuere Reynvaan, J. (1805). *Muzykaal zak-boekje*:

"BASSE. De Bas. Ziet ook *Basso*."	"Basse = the bass. See also basso."
"BASSETTO. Een kleine Bas-viool."	"Bassetto = A small bass violin."
"BASSO. De Bas."	"Basso = The bass."
"BASS VIOLIN. Het is een Violoncello."	"Bass violin. It is a violoncello."
"VIOLONCEL; VIOLONCELLE, of VIOLONCELLO. Het is een Strykbas." [131]	"Violoncel; Violoncelle, or violoncello. It is a bowed bass."

Röhner, J. C. (1820). *Muzijkaal zak-woordenboek*:

"Violoncello. De kleine Bas. Een bekend strijkinstrument, hetwelk tot aanvulling van den *Contrabas* dient, en bij volstemmige muzijk talrijk bezet wordt. Deszelfs schoone en mannelijke toon en bijzonder zijne aangename hoogte heeft niet alleen de *viola di gamba*, als veel zwakker van toon zijnde, verdrongen, maar zich ook tot een van de schoonste instrumenten voor het *Solo* verheven." [132]	"Violoncello*.* The small bass. A well-known string instrument, which serves as reinforcement for the Double bass, and is used in numbers in polyphonic music. Its beautiful masculin tone and especially the pleasant height of the register has not only ousted the viol, with its much weaker sound, but it has also proved one of the most beautiful instruments for solo purposes."

Weiland, P. (1843). *Kunstwoordenboek of verklaring van allerhande vreemde woorden benamingen, gezegden en spreekwijzen*:

"Violoncel, violoncello, de kleine bas- of knieviool." [133]	"Violoncel, violoncello = the small bass or knee violin."

[130] Verschuere Reynvaan (1795), pp. 32, 67, 68, 69, 70, 73. Unfortunately only half of the alphabet (until M) was printed, the second part containing the violoncello entry, was never published. It probably existed in manuscript, but was not published because of high costs and the French Revolution. Information from: Clement (2013), p. 98. Ten years later, in 1805, Verschuere Reynvaan published a small booklet: *Muzykaal Zakboekje*, which contained a summary of the *Muzykaal Kunstwoordenboek*. In the preface of the *Muzykaal Zakboekje* Verschuere writes: "Dit werkje is een verkort uittreksel […] van het *Muzykaal Kunstwoordenboek* […]; kunnende men die breedvoeriger wenschende te weten, zulks in het groote Werk verder nazien." Translation: "This tiny book is a short summary […] of the *Muzykaal Kunstwoordenboek* […]; those who want to know more, should check the larger book." This booklet, as opposed to the *Kunstwoordenboek*, is complete, and the cello is mentioned. Also basse, bassetto and basso are mentioned, but their explanation is shorter than in the *Kunstwoordenboek*.

[131] Verschuere Reynvaan (1805), pp. 32, 33, 249.

[132] Röhner (1820), p. 77.

[133] Weiland (1843), p. 449.

1.1.3 Dictionaries (Dutch authors, published in the Low Countries)

Mellema, E. E. L. (1602). *Dictionaire ou promtuaire François-Flameng*:

"Violles, Viollons, *Velen*."[134] "Viols, violins = fiddles."

Mellema, E. E. L. (1618). *Den schat der Duytscher Tale* (for reproduction of title page see Figs. 15-17):

"*Bas*, Vne voix basse & grosse."[135] "Bass = a low and deep voice."

DEN
SCHAT
der Duytscher Tale/
met de verklaringe in Fran-
sois / van nieus grooteliyx vermeer-
dert / verbeert ende verrijckt met veele
nieuwe Woorden / Spreucken ende
Sententien.
Achter met een Appendix veele woorden,
hoonen oorsprong hebbende van ver-
scheyden Talen, door
EDOVARD LEON MELLEMA.
Tot behulp der onerbarene liyde Fransche tale/
zijn de lijnens die hersuegheyn dienen
onbetreckene met sijghens.
TOT ROTTERDAM,
By Jan van Waelberghe/
inde Fame. 1618.

Figure 15 NN: Title page of *Den schat der Duytscher Tale* (1618).

Figure 16 Detail of Figure 15. A 5-string bass instrument. Bowed overhand, no frets, sound holes in an (inverted) f shape, sloping shoulders.

Figure 17 Detail of Figure 15. Musicians depicted on title page.

[134] Mellema (1602), unpaginated.
[135] Mellema (1618), unpaginated.

Hoogstraten, D. van (1704). *Nieuw woordenboek der nederlantsche en latynsche tale*:

"VIOOL, basfiool. *Decumanus barbitus. Primarius barbitus*." [136]	"Violin, bass violin.[137] = string instrument of large proportions. Leading string instrument [138]"

Anonymous (1705). *Dictionaire portatif françois-flamand*:

"BASSE, *f.* De grondstem, de bas. * Een die de bas zingt. * De basveêl."[139]	"Bass = The bottom voice, the bass. One singing the bass line. The bass fiddle."

Sewel, W. (1708). *A large dictionary English and Dutch*:

"a Base-viol, *een [B]as-fiool*."	"A bass viol = a bass viol."
"VIOL, *een Vedel, fiool*. A Base viol, *een knievedel, fiool de gamba, bas*." [140]	"Viol = a fiddle, viol. A bass viol = a knee fiddle, viol, bass."

Sewel, W. (1708). *Groot woordenboek der nederduytsche en engelsche Taalen*:

"→ Bas (groote vedel), *a Base-viol*."[141]	"Bass (large fiddle) = a bass viol."
"Bas (in de muzyk), *the Bass or base*."	"Bass (in music) = the bass."
"FIOOL (F), *a Viol, fiddle*."	"Violin = a viol, fiddle."
"Viool (Vedel), *see* Fiool."[142]	"Violin (fiddle), see violin [spelled with F]."[143]

Halma, F. (1710). *Woordenboek der nederduitsche en fransche taalen*:

"Viool. Vedel, veêl. *Violon. Instrument de musique*."[144]	"Violin. Fiddle, fiddle. = Violin. Musical instrument."

Marin, P. (1717). *Compleet Nederduitsch en Fransch Woordenboek*:

"FIOOL of VIOOL. Vedel, bekend muziekinstrument."	"Violin [spelled in two ways] = Fiddle, well known musical instrument."
"VIOOL de Gambe, Muziek-instrument met vier groote snaaren. *Viole* f. *Instrument de Musique à quatre grosses cordes*." [145]	"Viol, musical instrument with four large strings. = Viol. Musical instrument with four large strings."

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[136] Hoogstraten (1704), p. 871.
[137] In this dictionary there is no mention whatsoever of a viol. I have therefore translated basviool into bass violin.
[138] Translating the Latin words is not so easy. The Romans of course did not have a violin. Barbitus (latinized form of Greek barbitos) is a lyre or a lute. In this case it could more generally mean string instrument. Decumanus (or decimanus) means large or of large proportions. Primarius means one of the first, of the first rank, chief, principal, excellent and remarkable. The translation will then come to "string instrument of large proportions" and " leading string instrument." In the original translation from Dutch to Latin there is a question of chiasmus. Translation from Latin made by Classicist and Arabist Roel Otten, emails dated 2011, November 14 & 2017, June 3.
[139] Anonymous (1705), p. 37.
[140] Sewel (1708), pp. 36, 599, 600.
[141] In the original there is a little hand with a pointing index-finger, reproduced here by an arrow. In the list of explanations this arrow is said to mean: "Shews the different signification of a word."
[142] Sewel (1708), pp. 32, 114, 585.
[143] Here two different spellings of the same word are displayed in the same entry. For a more extensive discussion on spelling, see Sub chapter 1.3.1.
[144] Halma, (1710), p. 912.
[145] Marin (1717), pp. 242, 951

Marin, P. (1730). *Groot nederduitsch en fransch woordenboek*:

"FIOOL, beter VIOOL."[146]	"Violin [spelled with F], better violin."

Bommenaer, L. van de (1738). *A short though very necessary rules of the english language*:

"*Bass*. een Bas Fiool."[147]	"Bass = a bass violin/viol."

Marin, P. (1751) *Dictionaire portatif, françois-flamand*:

"BASSE, *f*. De grondstem. De bas. * Een die de bas zingt * De basveel."[148]	"Bass = The bottom voice. The bass. One singing the bass line. The bass fiddle."

Marin, P. (1752). *Groot nederduitsch en fransch woordenboek*:

"VIOOL de Gambe, Muziekinstrument met 6 groote snaaren. *Viole*. f. *Instrument de Musique à six grosses cordes.*"[149]	"Viol, musical instrument with 6 large strings. = Viol. Musical instrument with 6 large strings."

Marin, P. (1752). *Grand dictionnaire, hollandois & françois*:

"Une basse de viole, de violon. *Een bas, een basviool*."	"A bass viol, [bass] violin. = A bass, a bass violin."
"VIOLE. f. Instrument de Musique à six ou sept cordes. *Viool de Gambe, Musiek instrument met zes* of *zeven snaaren*. [...]. Une Basse de Viole. *Een Bas-Viool*."[150]	"Viol. Musical instrument with six or seven strings. = Viol. Musical instrument with six or seven strings. [...]. A bass viol = a bass viol."

Buys, E. (1766). *A compleat dictionary english and dutch*:

"A base-viol, *een Bas-fiool*."[151]	"A bass viol = a bass viol."

Verheyk, H. (1771). *Nederduitsch en latynsch woordenboek*:

"VIOOL, basviool. *v. Decumanus barbitus. Primarius barbitus*."[152]	"Violin, bass violin = [153]"

Marin, P. (1782). *Dictionnaire françois et hollandois*:

"Une basse de viole, de violon. *Een bas, een bas-viool*."	"A bass viol, a bass violin. = A bass, a bass violin."
"VIOLE s.f. Instrument de musique à sept cordes. *Viool de gambe, musiek-instrument met zeven snaaren*."[154]	"Viol. Musical instrument with 7 strings = viol, musical instrument with seven strings."
"VIOLONCELLE. s.m. Instrument de musique,	"Cello. Musical instrument, much larger than

[146] Marin (1730), p. 249. Whereas in Marin (1717) two spelling options for violin are still given, in Marin (1730) viool is preferred over fiool.
[147] Bommenaer (1738), p. 94.
[148] Marin (1751), p. 39.
[149] Marin (1752), p. 487.
[150] Marin (1752), pp. 104, 1188.
[151] Buys (1766), p. 43.
[152] Verheyk (1771), p.934.
[153] For explanation/translation of the Latin words, see Footnote 138 (Hoogstraten (1704)). The only difference in this entry compared to Hoogstraten (1704) is the addition of the letter v., meaning feminine.
[154] Pieter Marin wrote several dictionaries over time. In the first edition of 1717 the viol had four strings. This obvious mistake has been corrected and has been changed to six or seven strings in 1752 and to seven strings in 1782. This also shows that one cannot trust a dictionary entry to the full.

beaucoup plus grand que le violon. *Bas-viool, groote viool*."[155]	a violin. = Bass violin, large violin."

Halma, F. (1787). *Nieuwen woorden-boek der nederduytsche en fransche Taelen*:

"Bas, *basse. f*."	"Bass = bass."
"Bas-viool, *basse-viole*. *f*."[156]	"Bass viol = bass viol."

Holtrop, J. (1789). *A new english and dutch dictionary*:

"a base-vial, or bass-vial, *een bas-viool of bas*;"	"a bass viol [different spellings] = a bass viol or bass;"
"Violoncèllo (*s*.) *Een kleine bas-viool*."[157]	"Violoncello = a small bass violin."

Holtrop, J. (1801). *Nieuw nederduitsch en engelsch woorden-boek*:

"Bas (*f*. de groote vedel) *a Base-viol*." [158]	"Bass (the large fiddle) = a Base-viol."

Weiland, P. (1811). *Nieuw hand-woordenboek, der nederduitsche en fransche talen*:

"Bas (in de muzijk) *basse, viole, basse de violon, f.*"[159]	"Bass (in music) = bass, viol, bass violin."

Pyl, R. van der (1818). *Nouveaux Élémens de la conversation, en hollandois et en françois*:

"La basse, *de bas*."	"The bass = the bass"
"Une basse, *eene basviool*."	"A bass = a bass violin."
"Un violoncelle, *eene kleine basviool, violoncel*." [160]	"A violoncello = a small bass violin, violoncello."

1.1.4 Dictionaries (Dutch authors, published abroad)

Moerbeek, A. A. van. (1768). *Nieuw woordenboek der nederlandsche en hoogduitsche taal*:

"Basviool, *f.* die Baßgeige." [161]	"Bass violin = bass violin."

Moerbeek, A. A. von (1768). *Neues Deutsch-holländisches Wörterbuch*:

"Baßgeige[162], *f*. basveêl, knieveêl"	"Bass violin = bass fiddle, knee fiddle."
"Geige, *f.* violyn, viool, fiool, vedel, veêl, violon."[163]	"Violin = violin, fiddle [several spellings]"

[155] Marin (1782), pp. 103, 623.
[156] Halma (1787), p.26.
[157] Holtrop (1789), pp. 68, 872.
[158] Holtrop (1801), p. 58. The *f.* is not explained, neither the *s*. in Holtrop (1789).
[159] Weiland (1811), p. 47.
[160] Pyl (1818), pp. 75, 76.
[161] Moerbeek (1768), p. 33.
[162] In both originals the word Baßgeige is written in black letter. In both editions the *f*. is not explained, but in the preface to the Dutch-German dictionary van Moerbeek writes that the abbreviations may be assumed as known.
[163] Moerbeek (1768), pp. 38, 124.

1.1.5 Dictionaries (foreign authors, published in the Low Countries)

D'Arsy, I. L. (1643) *Le grand dictionaire François-Flamen* (for a reproduction of the covering title page see Figs. 18-19):

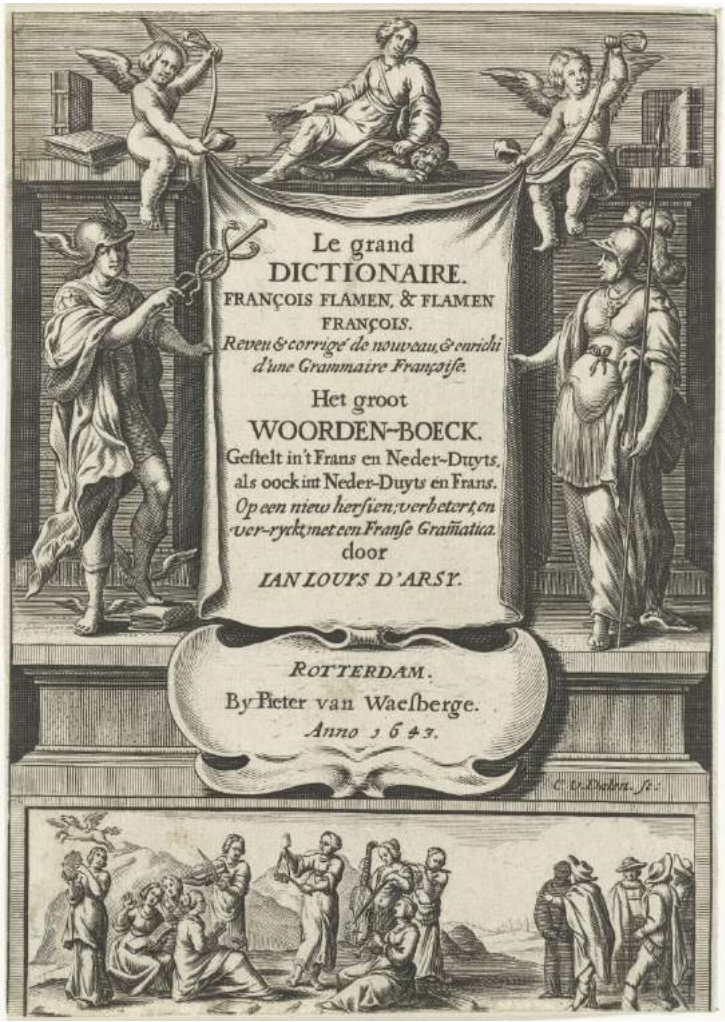

Figure 18 NN: Title page of *Le grand dictionaire François-Flamen* (1643).

Figure 19 Detail of Figure 18. A bass instrument with frets and possibly 4 strings. Both cello and violin are bowed overhand and with the left hand (see also Section 2.2.7).

"Violles, Viollons, *Velen.*"[164]	"Viols, violins = fiddles."

Hexham, H. (1648). *Het groot woorden-boeck: Gestelt in 't Neder-duytsch, ende in 't Engelsch*:

"*den Bas*, The Base in Musick." [165]	"the bass = the bass in music."

Hexham, H. (1648). *A copious english and netherduytch dictionarie*:

"the Base. *Siet Musick*."	"The bass. See music."
"Musicke, or the art of musicke, *Musijck, ofte de konst van musijck singen*."	"Music, or the art of music = music, or the art of singing music."
"a Viole, *Een Vedel ofte Vele*."[166]	"A viol = a fiddle."

Martinez de Waucquier, M. & **Montanus**, A. (1679). *Dictionarium tetraglotton novum*:

"vĭŏlă, [...] Viool." [167]	"Viola [...] violin."

Rouxel, C. & **Halma**, F. (1686). *Dictionnaire nouveau, François & Flamand*:

"Basse, *s.f.* Une des quatre parties de la Musique. *De grondtstem, een der vier stemmen in de musijk, de laagste stem,* de bas."	"Bass. One of four voices in music. = The bottom line, one of four voices in music, the lowest voice, the bass."
"Basse, *s.f.* Musicien qui fait la basse. *Een die de grondtstem of* bas *zingt*."	"Bass. Musician playing [or singing] the bass line. = Someone singing the lowest voice or the bass."
"Basse. Instrument de Musique qui suplée au defaut de la basse. *De knieveêl, de bas, de basveêl.*"	"Bass. Musical instrument which fills up the shortage of the bass. = The knee fiddle, the bass, the bass fiddle." [168]

Gruë, J. & P. la (1699). *Het groote Woorden-boek, Vervattende den Schat der Nederlandsche Taal, met een Fransche uytlegging*:

"*de Bas-veel*, La basse, f." [169]	"The bass fiddle = the bass"

Gruë, T. la (1699). *Le grand dictionnaire françois-flaman*:

"Violes, violons, *Veelen*."[170]	"Viols, violins = fiddles."

Richelet, P. (1707). *Le grand et nouveau dictionaire françois et flamand***:**

"Basse, *s.f.* Une des quatre parties de la Musique. *De grondtstemme, een der vier stemmen in het Musieck, de leeghste stemme, den bas*."	"Bass. One of four voices in music. = The bottom line, one of four voices in music, the lowest voice, the bass."
"Basse, *s.f.* Musicien qui fait la basse, *Eenen die de grontstem, oft bas singht*."	"Bass. Musician playing (or singing) the bass line. = Someone singing the lowest voice or the bass."

[164] D'Arsy (1643), unpaginated. In the 1699 edition, the spelling of violles and viollons has been changed into violes and violons.
[165] Hexham (1648), p. 36.
[166] Hexham (1648), unpaginated.
[167] Martinez (1679), unpaginated. 'Viool' is written in black letter.
[168] Rouxel & Halma (1686), p. 43. 'Filling up the shortage of the bass' implies that more than one instrument may be playing the bass line, the cello being used to give more bass sound.
[169] Gruë, J. & P. la (1699), unpaginated. No explanation of f. and m.
[170] Gruë, T. la (1699), unpaginated.

"Basse, *s.f.* Instrument de musique qui suplée au defaut de la basse, *De knieveél, den bas, de basveél*."[171]	"Bass. Musical instrument which fills up the shortage of the bass. = The knee fiddle, the bass, the bass fiddle."

Richelet, P. (1707). *Den nieuwen ende grooten woorden-boeck Der Nederlantsche ende Fransche Taele*:

"De bas-veel. Seker speel getuygh, *La basse, s.f.*"	"The bass fiddle. A certain playing instrument. = the bass."
"Viole, snaer spel getuygh. *Violon, s.m. Instrument musical à cordes*."[172]	"Violin, a playing instrument with strings = violin, musical instrument with strings.

Giron, M. (1710). *Il grande dittionario italiano et hollandese*:

"*Violóne*. Een viool, basviool."[173]	"Violone. = A violin, bass violin."

Giron, M. (1710). *Het groot nederduitsch en italiaansch woordenboek*:

"VIOOL, basfiool. *Violone*."[174]	"Violin, bass violin. = Violone."

Pell, G. (1735). *The English, Dutch, French, and Latin vocabulary*:

"Base *Bass*"	"Bass = bass."
"a Base-víol *een Bass-fiool*"	"Bass viol = a bass viol."
"A Víol *een Fiool*." [175]	"A Viol = a viol."

Richelet, P. (1739). *Het groot woordboek der nederlandsche en fransche taele*:

"De bas-veel, seker speelgetuyg. *La basse, la basse viole*."[176]	"The bass fiddle, a certain playing instrument. = The bass, the bass viol."

Smith, G. (1758). *Volkome Engelsche Spraakkonst*:

"*Bass, in Musick*. Een Bass."[177]	"Bass, in music = a bass."

Richelet, P. (1762, Poelman). *Nieuw beknopt woord-boek der nederlandsche en fransche taele*:

"bas, *basse f*."	"bass = bass."
"bas-viool, *basse-viole f*."[178]	"bass viol = bass viol."

Richelet, P. (1762, Meyer). *Nieuw beknopt woord-boek der nederlandsche en fransche taele*:

"bas, *basse f*."	"bass = bass."
"bas-viole, *basse-viole f*."	"bass viol = bass viol."
"viole, *violon m*."	"violin = violin."
"basse viole, *basse, basse-viole f*."[179]	"bass viol = bass, bass viol."

[171] Richelet (1707), p. 43.
[172] Richelet (1707), pp. 22, 405.
[173] Giron (1710), p. 1061.
[174] Giron (1710), p.736.
[175] Pell (1735), pp. 11, 184. This dictionary consists of three parts: English-Dutch, French-English and English-Latin. For this study only the English-Dutch part is relevant.
[176] Richelet, (1739), p. 39.
[177] Smith (1758), p. 98.
[178] Richelet (1762 Poelman), p. 20.

Richelet, P. (1764). *Het groot woordenboek der nederlandche en fransche taelen*:

"De bas-veel, seker speelgetuyg. *La basse, la basse viole*." [180]	"The bass fiddle, a certain musical instrument = the bass, the bass viol."

Pepliers, J. R. des (1764). *Nouvelle et parfaite grammaire royale françoise & hollandoise*:

"*Basse-contre*, *mannel*: een, die op de Bas speelt; *vrouwel*: de Bas, of de bas viool." [181]	"Basse-contre, masculine = someone who plays the bass; feminine = the bass, or the bass violin/viol."

Roches, J. des (1769). *Nieuw nederduytsch en fransch woorden-boek*:

"Bas *s.m*. [.....] (zeker speel instrument) *Basse*, s.f." [182]	"Bass [.....] (certain playing instrument) = bass."

Roches, J. des (1783). *Nieuw nederduytsch en fransch Woorden-boek*:

"Fioloncel, *s.f.* Basvioól. *Violoncelle*, s.m."	"Violoncello, bass violin = violoncello."
"Violoncel, *s.f.* Basvioól. *Violoncelle*, s.m." [183]	"violoncello, bass violin = violoncello."

Winkelman, O. R. F. W. (1783). *Dictionnaire françois-hollandois et hollandois-françois*:

"Basse, instrument de Musique qui suplée au défaut de la basse. *De knieveêl, de* bas*, de basveél.*"	"Bass, musical instrument which fills up the shortage of the bass. = The knee fiddle, the bass, the bass fiddle."
"Violoncelle. *s.f.* Basse de violon. *Basviöel*." [184]	"Violoncello. Bass violin. = bass violin."

Winkelman, O. R. F. W. (1783). *Nederduitsch en fransch woordenboek*:

"Bas, laagste stem in de muziek. *Basse*." [185]	"Bass, lowest voice in music = bass."

Roches, J. des (1786). *Nouveau dictionnaire françois-flamand*:

"Violoncelle, *s.m.* (prononcez violonchelle) *Bas-vioól, violoncel*, s.f." [186]	"Violoncelle, (pronounciation violonchelle) = bass violin, violoncello."

Landré, G. N. et **Agron** P. (1810). *Nouveau dictionnaire portatif des langues françoise et hollandoise*:

"Violoncelle, m. *kleine basviool*, violoncel, *f*." [187]	"Violoncello, = small bass violin, violoncello."

Stevenson, A. (1823). *John Holtrop's english and dutch dictionary*:

"Violoncello [vai-o-lon-tsjel'-lo] *(s.) Een kleine basviool*." [188]	"Violoncello [vai-o-lon-tsjel'-lo] = a small bass violin."

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[179] Richelet (1762, Meyer), pp. 19, 390. These entries show the ambiguity of the word 'viool', mentioned at the beginning of Chapter 1. 'Viole' is used for both violin and viol.
[180] Richelet (1764), p. 40.
[181] Pepliers (1764), p.44.
[182] Roches (1769), p. 63.
[183] Roches (1783), pp. 210, 872. Notice the difference between Roches (1769) and Roches (1783). Within a period of 14 years, bass, being a certain musical instrument, became violoncello. Other dictionaries do not show this sudden change. Note in Roches (1783) the two ways of spelling violoncello in Dutch.
[184] Winkelman (1783), pp. 94, 1046.
[185] Winkelman (1783), p. 30.
[186] Roches, (1786), p. 605.
[187] Landré and Agron (1810), p. 700.

1.1.6 Dictionaries (foreign authors, published abroad)

Kraamer, M. (1719). *Het koninglyk neder-hoog-duitsch en hoog-neder-duitsch dictionnaire*:

"groote Viool, Knie-viool, Arm-viool &c *grosse Geige/Knie-geige/Arm-geige*"[189]	"Large violin, knee violin, arm violin etc = large violin/knee violin/arm violin."

Kramer, M. (1719). *Das königliche Nider-Hoch-Teutsch/ und Hoch-Nider-Teutsch dictionarium*:

"*Baß-geige*/Bas-veêl, Knie-veêl."[190]	"Bass violin = bass fiddle, knee fiddle."

Janson, B. (1793). *The new pocket dictionary of the dutch and english languages*:

"*Base-viol*, een bas-fiool."	"Bass viol = a bass viol."
"Bas, groote vedel, *base-viol*."[191]	"Bass, large fiddle = bass viol."

Wilcocke S. H. (1798). *A new and complete dictionary of the English and Dutch Languages*:

"Base-viol, *s. bas fiool*, m."	"Bass viol, = bass viol."
"Violencello, *s. soort van fiool*." [192]	"Violencello, = some kind of violin."

Wilcocke, S. H. (1798). *Nieuw en volkomen woordenboek der Nederduitsche en Engelsche Taalen*:

"Bas, *s. f. bass, base, base viol*."[193]	"Bass = bass [different spellings], bass viol."

1.2 Other written evidence

Hardly any 17th-century treatises and dictionaries deal with the cello as opposed to 18th-century sources. Other written evidence, however, did originate in the 17th century. At several occasions (e.g. marriage, death) one would go to a solicitor and have an inventory of all possessions made. Some of these inventories have survived, and provide useful information. These inventories and other written sources are reproduced in this Sub chapter.

1608[194]

"Vioolon"	"Violin? Violone?"

1633[195]

"~~Bas fioel~~ Bas vijool"	"~~Bass violin/viol~~ Bass violin/viol"

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[188] Stevenson (1823), p. 970. The square brackets in this entry are original. Between these brackets the pronunciation is given.
[189] Kraamer (1719), p. 473. In this dictionary all German is written in black letter. Here it is reproduced in italics.
[190] Kramer (1719), p. 29. In this dictionary all German is written in black letter. Here it is reproduced in italics.
[191] Janson (1793), unpaginated.
[192] Wilcocke (1798), pp. 20, 263.
[193] Wilcocke (1798), p. 18.
[194] Taken from: http://research.frick.org/montias/browserecord.php?-action=browse&-recid=1945. Last accessed: 2011, October 11. From the inventory of Isaack Verbeecq, merchant in Amsterdam, who died in 1607.
[195] From an inventory of the posessions of the lutenist and composer Nicolas Vallet dated 1633, April 30. Amsterdam: Stadsarchief Amsterdam: N.A.A. (5075) 407 B/ fol 356. Information from an email by Alex van Reenen, dated 2011, April 12. Originally the instrument was called bas fioel, but this has been crossed out and it has been changed into bas vijool. Both fioel and vijool are alternative spellings of violin.

1640[196]

"Bas-fioel"	"Bass violin/viol"

1643[197]

"Op den solder: Twee violons bassen, een oude viole de gamb."	"In the attic: Two bass violins, one old viol."

1644[198]

"Bas"	"Bass"

1644[199]

"Een seer brave en schoone Ionghvrouw met een dobbelde Vioole van vijftien snaeren […]" (see Figure 20).	"A very honourable and beautiful maiden with a double violin of 15 strings."

Figure 20 "Een seer brave en schoone Ionghvrouw met een dobbelde Vioole van vijftien snaeren." The double violin has in fact only six strings (and four pegs!). Besides this, it also has frets and is played with underhand grip (NN. From: Ripa, C. (1644). *Iconologia, of Uytbeeldinghe des Verstants*).

[196] Taken from an inventory of musical instruments belonging to the Leeuwarden 'muzykkollege' (Collegium Musicorum), inventorised when the "kollege" was discontinued in 1640. In between a harpsichord, 18 different sizes of flutes and 7 violins, there is one bass violin/viol. Information taken from: Komter-Kuipers (1935), p. 35, and De Jong (1960), p. 157. It is suggested by Komter-Kuipers that some of the instrumentalists will have taken their own instruments from home, so the instruments mentioned in the inventory might not give a faithful reproduction of the situation, but there was definitely a bass violin/viol among the instruments used there. The book in which I found this information is written in Frisian. Fioel is Frisian for violin, but I found the same spelling in Dutch in the 17th century.

[197] From the inventory made after the death of the Antwerp city musician Martinus Verbraeken (??-1643). Information from: Spiessens (1994), p. 121.

[198] From the inventory made after the death of Antonis Baltusz van der Heull. Taken from: Giskes (1994), p. 54.

[199] Ripa (1644), p. 341.

1650[200]

"1 viola da gamba, 1 basviool"

"1 viol, 1 bass violin"

1652[201]

"Ses nieuwe veloncen, twee nieuw bassen ende dry violen de gambassen. Een deel hout om veloncen ende fluyten te maecken."

"Six new bass violins, two new basses and three viols. Some wood to make bass violins and flutes."

1652[202] (see Figs. 21-23 for a reproduction of the source)

"Bas"

"Bass"

Figure 21 NN: Crispijn van de Passe II: *Satire on England, 'Lion and Dog Fight'* (1652).

[200] From the inventory made after the death of Geertruijd van der Hal, wife of Mathys van Rijnsburgh, dated 1650, February 16 & 17. The other instruments in this inventory are: a harpsichord, 2 clavichords, 4 violins, 3 cornettos, a (house) carillon and also some music books. Reproduced with kind permission of private researcher Ruud Lambour, email: 2017, May 25.

[201] From the inventory made after the death of the Antwerp violin maker Peeter van Billioen (1617-1652). Taken from: Spiessens (1994), pp. 55-56 & Moens (1995), p. 116.

[202] Holland, depicted as a lion, is put to sleep by the fiddler (playing a bass violin). Two English bulldogs are barking at it. This satyrical print is undated, but Knuttel dates it 1652: Knuttel (1892), p. 197. The instrument depicted in this satyrical print is clearly a cello, although in the poem below the image the instrument is called a bass.

The British Museum owns another copy of this engraving. On their website the following description is given: "A Dutch broadside satirising the outbreak of the First Anglo-Dutch War in 1652 with an engraving after Crispijn II de Passe. In the right foreground the Dutch lion, the seven arrows of the United Provinces under his paw, sleeps to the music of a cellist representing Spain (A) and that country's delaying tactics; meanwhile an Englishman (B) arouses the lion by tickling its ear with a stick. A Dutchman, with fur hat and loose breeches (E) takes hold, with hot pincers, of the tail one of two fierce mastiffs, representing England, which are about to attack the lion. In the background pictures show a naval battle (F) and the lion (C and D) reacting to provocation by attacking the dogs; Cromwell (D) and other Englishmen (one of whom wears the commander's sash and may be intended for Admiral Blake) weilding sticks [in an] attempt to save the dogs. Engraved lettering A-F, and letterpress title and verses, including legend, in four columns. (n.p.:[1652])." http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectid=1557844&partid=1&output=People%2f!!%2fOR%2f!!%2f128087%2f!%2f128087-1-7%2f!%2fRepresentation+of+Oliver+Cromwell%2f!%2f%2f!!%2f%2f!!!%2f&orig=%2fresearch%2fsearch_the_collection_database%2fadvanced_search.aspx&currentPage=3&numpages=10, last accessed: 2011, November 11. Unfortunately, the letters mentioned are difficult to distinguish.

Figure 22 Detail of Figure 21. The 'bas', as described in the poem.

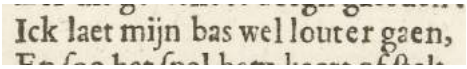

Figure 23 Detail of Figure 21. 'bas', one line of the poem, in which the name of the depicted instrument is given.

1654[203]

"In de winckel: Eenen enckelen bas. Dry oft vier busselen bassnaeren."	"In the shop: 1 bass violin/cello. Three or four bundles of bass strings."

1654[204]

"Een bas"	"A bass"

1661[205]

"Violone"	"Violone"

1665[206]

"2. Basso Violons."	"2 Bass Violins."

1667[207]

"Een Groote nieuwe Bas met syn stryckstock."	"A large new Bass with its bow."

[203] From the inventory made after the death of Maria Rijntkens, the wife of the Antwerp city musician Gillis vander Locht (before 1602-1648). Taken from: Spiessens (1994), pp. 125, 126.
[204] From the inventory, made after the death of Eduart Hancocq, 'stadsspeelman' (city musician). Taken from: Giskes (1994), p. 73.
[205] Balfoort (1981), p. 54. Heusdens, a 'speelman' (fiddler) in Bergen op Zoom, was teaching Haverhals the violone. Deed from 1661, May 17.
[206] From a list (dated 1665) of instruments owned by the Collegium Musicum Ultrajectinum in Utrecht. www.hetutrechtsarchief.nl, last accessed: 2017, February 22.
[207] From the inventory of the insolvent Anna van der Horst, the widow of Jan Spanjaert (Spanjaert was born in Amsterdam around 1590, and moved to Delft. He died before 1664 and was a genre painter.). Inventorised on September 13th 1667. Taken from: Bredius (1915-1922), p. 570.

1669[208]

"2 nieuwe en 2 oude bassen, 5 bashalzen, 6 bassen, 4 basdaken, 5 basruggen en hout voor basdaken, 4 ½ basdaken."

"2 new and 2 old basses, 5 bass necks, 6 basses, 4 bass fronts, 5 bass backs and wood for bass fronts, 4 ½ bass fronts."

1670[209]

"Een bas fiool met vier snaren."

" A bass violin with 4 strings."

1670-1710[210] (see Figs. 24-25 for a reproduction of the source)

"Vedel"

"Violoncello or bass violin"

Figure 24 NN: Carel Allard: *Hearing*.

Figure 25 Detail of Figure 24. A 5-string instrument, played by a woman.

1671[211]

"Op de voorkamer […] een groote basviool."

"In the front room [...] a large bass violin/viol."

[208] From the inventory made after the death of the Antwerp violin maker Peeter II Borlon (ca. 1599-1669). Information from: Moens (1995), p. 114.

[209] From the estate of the deceased widow of the violin maker Gerrit Menslage. The description of the estate is recorded: 1670, August 5 & 6. Taken from: Giskes (1979), p. 59.

[210] Below the image of the two flirting couples, the following poem is printed: "Swyg, roept de Vryer, hier is geen gezang van nooden; Gy wondmy LAURA, met een dubbeld moord geweer; Uw vedel was genoeg, ô wreede, om my te dooden; Doch, zo gy noch bemind, vaar voort, het doet niet zeer: En om the spoediger te sterven door het Hooren, Wensch ik dat al myn leen veranderen in ooren!" In the poem the instrument is called 'vedel', but it is in fact a cello. Therefore I have made an interpretive translation.

[211] Taken from: Bredius (1915-1922), p. 408. From a deed of Lodewyck van der Helst, who moved in with his mother, the widow of Bartholomeus van der Helst (Bartholomeus van der Helst was born in Haarlem in 1613, and moved to Amsterdam around 1636, where he died in 1670. He was a painter of portraits). Inventorised 1671, January 8.

1681[212]

"*In de musyca camer* een groote basviool"	"In the music room: a large bass violin."
"*Het volgende tot monsr Gunner musijckmeester bevonden en op sijn aengeven den 12 november geïnventarieert* een bas viool."	"The following was investigated by the music master Gunner and according to his clues an inventory of it made on november 12: a bass violin."

1682[213]

"Een bas viool."	"A bass violin/viol."

1683[214]

"60 nieuwe violonsen"	"60 new bass violins"

1683[215]

"Bas"	"Bass"

1695[216]

"Violonce"	"Cello"

1699[217]

De volgende musijk Instrumenten [waaronder] "Een Bas"	*The following musical instruments* [among which] "A Bass"

1708[218]

"een Basje"	"A small Bass"

[212] In an inventory of the Leiden Professor Johannes Frederik Böckelman (died 23-10-1681). Böckelman not only owned instruments, but also several books of music, including "4 boecken van Nicolaij, Kempis simvanie". These "simvanie" must be the symphoniae by Nicolaas à Kempis which will be discussed in Section 4.1.1. Information from: Vlam (1980). pp. 578, 579. The other string instruments in this inventory are: 2 viols and 1 small viol, 4 violins, 2 small violins, 2 alto violins and 2 tenor violins.

[213] From an inventory of the music master Pieter Overstraeten who died in 1682. Information from: Vlam (1980), p. 580.

[214] From the inventory made after the death of the Antwerp violin maker Francis Borlon (ca. 1628-1683). Information from: Moens (1995), pp. 114-115.

[215] Balfoort (1981), p. 55. In 1683 Abram Ysackse was teaching Samuel Abrahamsz violin ('fiool') and bass ('bas'). In a deed from 1683, April 4 it is declared that Pieter Lambertus will teach Andries Teunisse violin ('viool') and bass ('bas').

[216] Spiessens (1982-1984), p. 126. On September 5, 1695 Franchois Joseph Deleau signs a deed committing himself to paying a certain amount in order to become a member of the Antwerp guild of St Job and St Maria Magdalena (the guild of the musicians). It is mentioned that, among other instruments, Deleau plays the cello.

[217] From the inventory of the precentor in the Pieterskerk in Leiden Jacobus Crequet (died 1699, inventory made 1699, May 30). https://www.erfgoedleiden.nl/collecties/archieven/archievenoverzicht/inventaris/memorixscan/eadid/0506/inventarisnr/1572/level/file/scans-inventarispagina/2/scan-index/61/foto/NL-LdnRAL_AR_506_1572_0025/fotouuid/9cc87cfd-4346-e5b6-d27b-df1e8e816b15, last accessed: 2015, April 19.

[218] From the inventory of L. van Beken or Beke, who died Delft 1708. Information from: Vorsterman van Oyen (ed., 1895), p. 45.

1712[219] (see Figs. 26-27 for a reproduction of the below mentioned 'derde Tafereel')

"In het derde Tafereel vertoonen wy een staande beeld in een nis, tusschen het welk en de nis, een bas of viool de gamba staat,"

"In the third scene we show a statue in an alcove; between the statue and the alcove, there is a bass or viol,"

Figure 26 NN: Gilliam van der Gouwen. From: Gérard de Lairesse: *Groot schilder-boek* (1712).

Figure 27 Detail of Figure 26. "Bas of viool de gamba."

1725[220]

"Violoncello"

"Violoncello"

1728[221]

"Een schone Bas met vyf snaren van H. Jacobs."

"A beautiful bass with 5 strings by H. Jacobs."

1730[222]

"een Viool de Gambe en Bas van *Rombouts*, […]."

"A viol and bass [made] by Rombouts."

1736[223]

"Bas"

"Bass"

1740[224]

"Fioloncello"

"Violoncello"

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[219] Lairesse (1712), pp. 248, 249.
[220] Anonymous (1725, November 6). *Amsterdamse Dinsdaegse Courant* , p. 2.
[221] Vlam & Vente (1971), p.29. H. Jacobs is Hendrik Jacobs (1630-1699), a violin maker who worked in Amsterdam. This quotation is taken from an advert in the *Amsterdamse Saturdaegse Courant* (1728, August 7): in Middelburg, on August 19, several instruments and many books of music will be sold. One of these instruments is this bass with 5 strings. Although the advert is from 1728, the instrument must have been made in or before 1699, because Jacobs died in that year. The fact that it has 5 strings is interesting. The question remains if this was really a bass violin. It seems plausible, because in the same advert a 'fiool de gambe' is mentioned. If the bass would have been a viol, in my opinion, it would have been named otherwise.
[222] Anonymous (1730, August 4). *'s Gravenhaegse Vrydaegse Courant*, p. 2.
[223] Riemsdijk (1881), p. 60.
[224] Anonymous (1740, May 31). *Amsterdamse Courant*. From: Rasch (2017, February 15), p. 59.

1742[225]

"PIETRO LOCATELLI, woonende op de Princegragt, het derde Huys van de Leydse Kruisstraat te Amsterdam, verkoopt fraaye ITALIAANSE SNAAREN, voor de Viool, Violoncello, Viola di Gamba, Luit en groote Bas, gesponnen en half gesponnen;"	"Pietro Locatelli, living on the Prinsegracht, the third house from the Leydse Kruisstraat in Amsterdam, sells fine Italian strings, for the Violin, Violoncello, Viol, Lute and large Bass, spun and half spun."

1748[226]

"een fraeye Bas en Fiool de Gambe"	"a beautiful bass and a viol"

1752[227]

"De Heer Geminiani, zynde een vermaard Violist, heeft een Geschrift in het ligt gegeeven, 't welk van de Kenners der Muzik zeer gepreezen word, onder den titel: De Konst om op de Viool te speelen. behelzende de nodige Regelen omtrent de volmaaktheid van dat Instrument, nevens een groote verscheidenheid van zeer nuttige Compositien voor zoodanigen, welke op de Bas-Viool of het Clavecimbel speelen."	"Mr Geminiani, a celebrated violinist, has published a document which is highly praised by the connoisseurs of music. The document has the following title: *The art of playing on the violin. Containing all the rules necessary to attain a perfection on that instrument, with great variety of Compositions, which will also be very useful to those who study the Violoncello, or the Harpsichord*."[228]

1758[229]

"[…]; als ook opregte Neapolische Viool- en Bas-SNAAREN, […]"	"[…]; also genuine neapolitan violin and bass strings, […]"

1758[230]

<u>Op de Gravin van Momfortskamer</u>	<u>In the room of the countess of Momfort</u>
"1 baskast"	"1 bass box"
<u>In den ganck onder</u>	<u>In the corridor below</u>
"1 kas voor den bas"	"1 box for a bass"
<u>Op de oude Gravinne kamer</u>	<u>In the old room of the countess</u>
"1 bas"	"1 bass"

1759[231]

"Basses ou Violoncelles"	"Basses or violoncellos"
"173 Eenige Kassen voor Bassen en Viools de Gamba"	"173 Some boxes for basses and viols"

[225] Anonymous (1742, July 4). *Leydse Woensdagse Courant*, p. 2.
[226] Anonymous (1748, September 14). *Amsterdamse Saturdaegse Courant*, p. 2.
[227] Anonymous (1752, June 30). *Leydse Vrydagse Courant*, p. 1.
[228] Title of the document taken from the title page of the 1751 English edition of this treatise.
[229] Anonymous (1758, February 1). *Leydse Woensdagse Courant*, p. 2.
[230] From the inventory of Kasteel Boxmeer, dated 1758, December 9. The entire inventory can be viewed on www.huisbergh.nl/HuisBerghArchief.aspx, inv. no. 6651, last accessed: 2015, September 16.
[231] Selhof (1759), pp. 252, 257. Most of this catalogue is written in French and Italian, but pp. 257-260 are written in Dutch.

"178 Een party Bas-Kammen en Schroeven"	"178 Several bridges and tuning pegs for the bass"
"181 Eenige Bass-Strykstokken"	"181 Several bows for the bass"
"185 Eenige Kassen voor Bassen en Vioolen de Gamba"	"185 Some boxes for basses and viols"
"190 Een kisje met Viool en Basse Schroeven"	"190 A little box with tuning pegs for the violin and bass"
"192 Een Doosje met klem Schroeven voor Viool of Bassen"	"192 A little box with clamps for violins or basses"
"196 Een party stukken van Vioolen, Bassen, Viool de Gamba &c."	"196 Several pieces of violins, basses, viols etc."

1771[232]

"Den Heere Schlik, Kamer Musicus by Zyne Doorluchtige Hoogheid den Heere Landgraave van Hessen Cassel, &c., &c., zal op Donderdag den 3den December aanstaande, een groot CONCERT geeven, waar by Hy zig zal laaten hooren met Concerten, Solos en Duos, op de Stryk-Basso of Violoncello."	"Mr Schlik, Chamber musician of his illustrious Excellency the Landgrave of Hessen Cassel etc, etc, will give a large Concert on Thursday December 3rd. He will play Concertos, Solos and Duos, on the Bowed Bass or Violoncello."

1775[233]

"[…], benevens een Bas van *Hendrik Jacobs*, […]"	"[…] along with a bass by Hendrik Jacobs, […]"

1781[234]

"Fraaije Bas, door H. Jacobs"	"Fine Bass, by H. Jacobs"

1782[235]

"[…] fyne beste STRYKSTOKKEN, voor de *Fiool*, *Bas* en *Alt*, van het Italiaansch beste model, […]; alsmeede Bas- en Fioolkammen."	"[…] the very best bows, for the violin, bass and alto, of the best Italian model […]; also bass and violin bridges."

1782[236] (see Figs. 28-29 for a representation of the below mentioned 'bas')

"Vervolgens speelde Letje ook het Clavier, [het myne is nog al by Tante,] maar de Guitar van de lieve Vrouw was tot myn dienst; ik zong er by, zo als dat hoort. Brunier hadt een Dwarsfluit, Hartog een Fiool, en de Heer Edeling had zyn Bas laten brengen: Lotje was figurante. Juffrouw Buigzaam hadt alles geschikt: men ziet klaar, dat smaak en welgemaniertheid	"Then Letje also played the piano [mine is still with auntie], but the guitar of my dear wife was mine to use. I accompanied myself singing, as is customary. Brunier had a German flute, Hartog a violin, and Mr Edeling had his bass brought over: Lotje was walking-lady. Miss Buigzaam had organised everything: one can clearly see that taste and good manners

[232] Anonymous (1771, December 3). *Amsterdamse Dinsdagsche Courant*, p. 2.
[233] Anonymous (1775, April 29). *Haerlemse Saturdagse Courant*, p. 1.
[234] Giskes (1999), p. 59.
[235] Anonymous (1782, May 29). *Diemer of Watergraafsmeersche Courant*, p. 2.
[236] Bekker & Deken (1782), pp. 377-378. This book consists of a series of letters from Miss Burgerhart to several people and letters addressed to her. The letter (partly) quoted here (no. 83) is a letter from Miss Burgerhart to Miss Anna Willis. Miss Burgerhart describes a music party she attended.

haar altoos geleiden. Dit avonddje was verruklyk. Hartog zelf kwam my nu zeer draaglyk voor. Zy speelt heerlyk, en doet streken op de Fiool, die zo direkt het hart treffen. Maar Edeling! onze waarde Huisvrouw betuigt, dat zy zelden zo schoon de bas heeft horen spelen. Myn Kruimel deedt ook zyn best; hy leert goed, en men moet in de kinderen den geest niet uitblusschen."

always conduct her. This evening was lovely. Hartog was very tolerable. She plays wonderfully, and her way of playing the violin directly touches the heart. But Edeling! our dear mistress of the house declares, she hardly ever heard someone play the bass so beautifully. My little one also did his best; he is a good student, and one should not extinguish the spirit of a child."

Figure 28 NN: Cornelis Bogerts. From: Betje Wolff & Aagje Deken: *Historie van Mejuffrouw Sara Burgerhart* (1782).

Figure 29 Detail of Figure 28. The bass Mr Edeling played on. Note the strangely shaped and also huge bow.

1782[237]

"[…] *qu'il a à vendre un* VIOLONCELLO *ou* BASSE PLEINE, *faite par le très fameux* George Klotz, […]."

"[…] he has for sale a violoncello or large bass, made by the very famous Georg Klotz, […]."

1784[238]

"één Rombouts-Violoncello, *één dito van J. A. Stoss* […]"

"one violoncello by Rombouts, and one by J. A. Stoss […]"

1784[239]

"[…] twee zeer goede en proper gemonteerde VIOLONCELS, de eene gemaakt door *Rombout [sic]*, en den andere door *Bossu [sic]*."

"[…] two very good and well made violoncellos, one made by Rombouts, and the other by Boussu."

[237] Anonymous (1782, June 29). *Oprechte Saturdagse Haarlemse Courant*, p. 2.
[238] Anonymous (1784, August 5). *Oprechte Donderdagse Haarlemse Courant*, p. 2.
[239] Anonymous (1784, October 18). *Leydse Courant*, p. 2.

1785[240]

"[…], Een extra fraaye Bas met zyn Stryk Stok, leggende in een, daar toe uit een Stuk van Eikenhout gemaakte Kas."

"[…], a specially beautiful bass with its bow, in a box, made out of one piece of oak."

1791[241]

"II. Een Violon Cello met Strykstok."

"II. A violoncello with bow."

1798[242]

"Een VIOLONCEL in zyn Kast."

"A violoncello in its case."

1.3 The name of the 8' bass instrument of the violin family

In Sub chapters 1.1 & 1.2 a rather confusing quantity of material about the 8' bass instrument of the violin family has been offered to the reader. In this Sub chapter it is my intention to create some order in the confusion and also to show how complex the subject is.
The information given in the preceding Sub chapters may seem much. I have, however, checked many more dictionaries, solicitor's documents and other written sources than quoted here. Many of these sources had an entry on the violin, but none on the cello.

1.3.1 Names and spelling

In the 17th and 18th centuries the Dutch spelling had not yet been standardised. This became also manifest in this Chapter. In Table 2 all 47! names and spellings for cello and bass violin found are displayed. In some cases the differences between two words are very small, in other cases much larger.

Names and spellings used for the bass instrument of the violin family		
Bass violin	**Violoncello**	**Other names**
Basviool	Violoncello	Basse de violon
Bas-viool	Violoncelle	Basso violons
Bas-Viool	Fioloncello	Viola basso
Bas viool	Violencello	Basset
Bas Fiool	Violoncèllo[243]	Bassetto
Basfiool	Violon Cello	Bas/basse/basso/base
Bas-fiool	Fioloncel	Basje
Bas-vioól	Violoncel	Strykbas
Basvioól	Violoncell	Stryk-Basso
Basviöel	Violoncell'	Violon
Bas vijool	Violoncelletje	Violone
Bas fioel		Violóne
Bass-fiool		Violo'ne
Bas-veel		Vioolon
Basveél		Violonsen

[240] Anonymous (1785, April 23). *Leeuwarder Saturdagse Courant*, p. 5.
[241] Anonymous (1791, April 2). *Leeuwarder Saturdagse Courant*, p. 4.
[242] Anonymous (1798, September 13). *Amsterdamsche Courant*, p. 1.
[243] I can imagine that the accent on violoncèllo and also on violóne is a pronounciation aid, because these words are foreign words.

Basveêl		Veloncen
Bas-veêl		Basse double
		Dobbelde vioole
		Decumanus barbitus

Table 2 Names and spellings used in the Low Countries for the 8' bass instrument of the violin family (nowadays called cello). Of some of the names in the rightmost column it is a bit doubtful if they were used specifically for the cello or bass violin.

Even within one source, one can find different spellings of the same word (e.g. Giron (1710): viool and basfiool). Marin (1752) states that it is better to write viool and not fiool.[244]
Some of the names in Table 2 were found only once (e.g. 'basviöel'), others were found many times (e.g. 'bas').

1.3.2 The meaning in: general dictionaries

There is a big difference between the information one can find in a treatise or art dictionary and the information found in general dictionaries. This last category mostly offers only the translation of the word in question. Sometimes this translation is clarifying, sometimes not at all. An example of this is given in Table 3.

Author	Quote	Translation	Conclusion
Gruë (1699)[245]	de *Bas-veel,* La basse	basveel = [unspecified] bass	Not clear
Sewel (1708)[246]	a Base-viol, *een [B]as-fiool*	fiool ≠ violin [= viol]	Clear

Table 3 Clear and unclear entries in general dictionaries.

In the general dictionaries several names for a bass instrument are presented. I will discuss a few of these words below.
As already mentioned at the beginning of Chapter 1, it has appeared that, especially for the general dictionaries, 'viool' not always means violin (an instrument of the violin family); sometimes it means viol (an instrument of the gamba family) instead:

Author	Quote	Conclusion
Pell (1735)[247]	a Viol *een Fiool*	fiool ≠ violin
Moerbeek (1768)[248]	Basviool, die Baßgeige	viool = violin

Table 4 The meaning of 'viool'.

[244] The title of Marin's dictionary (1752) is: *Groot Nederduitsch en Fransch woordenboek, vervattende de woorden en spreekwyzen van den laagen, den boertigen, den gemeenzaamen, en den verheven styl.* (Large Dutch and French dictionary, with words and phrases in simple, peasant, common and lofty styles). These two spellings (viool and fiool) could have to do with these different styles and that Marin wanted to give an instruction; it could also have to do with a development of the spelling and a change in time.
[245] Gruë, J. & P. la (1699), unpaginated.
[246] Sewel (1708), p. 36.
[247] Pell (1735), p. 184.
[248] Moerbeek (1768), p. 33.

The same thing goes for 'veêl'[249] or 'vedel':

Author	Quote	Conclusion
Kramer (1719)[250]	*Baß-geige*/Bas-veêl	veêl = violin
Richelet (1764)[251]	De bas-veel […] *la basse viole*	veel ≠ violin
Holtrop (1801)[252]	Bas (de groote vedel) *a Base-viol*	vedel ≠ violin

Table 5 The meaning of 'veel/vedel'.

The word 'bas' is much more versatile. The meaning of this word can differ from a very general meaning (fundament or lowest part) to a very specific instrument:

Author	Quote	Conclusion
Hexham (1648)[253]	*den Bas,* the Base in Musick	bas = the foundation of music
Rouxel & Halma (1686)[254]	Basse, […] Une des quatre parties de la Musique	bas = one of four voices in music
Roches (1769)[255]	Bas (zeker speel instrument)	bas = a certain musical instrument
Janson (1793)[256]	Bas, groote vedel, *base-viol*	bas = viol
Weiland (1811)[257]	Bas *basse, viole, basse de violon*	bas = viol and cello
Pyl (1818)[258]	Une basse, *eene basviool*. Un violoncelle, *eene kleine basviool, violoncel.*	(kleine) bas = cello

Table 6 The meaning of 'bas'.

In general one could say that the word 'bas' (spelled in several ways, written in several languages, with or without the addition of 'viool') is used throughout the 17th and 18th centuries.
The authors of general dictionaries more or less agree on what they think a cello is:

Author	Quote	Conclusion
Marin (1782)[259]	Violoncelle. […] *Bas-viool, groote viool*	cello = bass violin
Roches (1783)[260]	Fioloncel, […] Basvioól. *Violoncelle*	cello = bass violin
Winkelman (1783)[261]	Violoncelle […] Basse de violon. *Basviöel*	cello = bass violin
Roches (1786)[262]	Violoncelle, […] *Bas-vioól, violoncel*	cello = bass violin
Holtrop (1789)[263]	Violoncèllo […] *Een kleine bas-viool*	cello = small bass violin
Wilcocke (1798)[264]	Violencello, […] *soort van fiool*	cello = some kind of violin
Landré & Agron (1810)[265]	Violoncelle, […] *kleine basviool*, violoncel	cello = small bass violin

[249] The Dutch words 'veel' and 'vedel' do not stand for the medieval fiddle but for a more modern string instrument. Conversation with Ton Koopman.
[250] Kramer (1719), p. 29.
[251] Richelet (1764), p. 40.
[252] Holtrop (1801), p. 58.
[253] Hexham (1648), p. 36.
[254] Rouxel & Halma (1686), p. 43.
[255] Roches (1769), p. 63.
[256] Janson (1793), unpaginated.
[257] Weiland (1811), p. 47.
[258] Pyl (1818), pp. 75, 76.
[259] Marin (1782), p. 623.
[260] Roches (1783), p. 210.
[261] Winkelman (1783), p. 1046.
[262] Roches, (1786), p. 605.
[263] Holtrop (1789), p. 872.
[264] Wilcocke (1798), p. 263.

Pyl (1818)[266]	Un violoncelle, *eene kleine basviool, violoncel*.	cello = small bass violin
Stevenson (1823)[267]	Violoncello […] *Een kleine basviool.*	cello = small bass violin

Table 7 The meaning of 'violoncello'.

The authors or editors of dictionaries often obtained their information by copying from older dictionaries. Therefore even far into the 18th century, one can find the same description (sometimes a clear mistake, sometimes not). The example in Table 8 shows how this worked. Rouxel & Halma published their dictionary in 1686 and almost 100 years later the same text is still used by Winkelman:

Rouxel & Halma (1686)[268]	Baſſe, *ſ. f.* Inſtrument de muſique qui ſuplée au defaut de la baſſe, *De knieveél*, de bas, *de basveél.*
Winkelman (1783)[269]	Baſſe, inſtrument de Muſique qui ſuplée au défaut de la baſſe. *De knieveél*, de bas, *de basveél.*

Table 8 The same entry in two dictionaries almost a century apart.

Only a few authors clearly changed entries in a later edition. A good example of this are four of Marin's dictionaries (1717, 1752 (2x) and 1782):

Marin (1717)[270]	**Marin (1752)[271]**	**Marin (1752)[272]**	**Marin (1782)[273]**
VIOOL de Gambe, Muziek-instrument met **vier**[274] groote snaaren.	VIOOL de Gambe, Muziekinstrument met **6** groote snaaren.	VIOLE. Instrument de Musique à **six** ou **sept** cordes	VIOLE Instrument de musique à **sept** cordes.

Table 9 The changes over time in the number of strings for the viol in Marin's dictionaries.

1.3.3 The meaning in: treatises and art dictionaries

As shown in the previous Section, in general dictionaries one can never be sure if the information is recent or from decades ago. Treatises and art dictionaries, on the other hand, are mostly written in one language, focused on one subject and much more elaborate in their descriptions. In contrast to the general dictionaries, which just use a few different names (though not less confusing), treatises and art dictionaries contain many different names for bass instruments; violoncello, bass violin and bass being the ones most used.
In Sub chapters 1.4 & 1.5 I have compiled all the information about the violoncello/bass violin found in treatises and art dictionaries.
Conclusion: as far as I could establish, in the Low Countries the word 'violoncello' together with its synonyms, is not used at all in treatises and art dictionaries in the 17th century.[275] The first

[265] Landré & Agron (1810), p. 700.
[266] Pyl (1818), p. 76.
[267] Stevenson (1823), p. 970.
[268] Rouxel & Halma (1686), p. 43.
[269] Winkelman (1783), p. 94.
[270] Marin (1717), p. 951.
[271] Marin (1752), p. 487.
[272] Marin (1752), p. 1188.
[273] Marin (1782), p. 623.
[274] Numbers in bold: ET.
[275] In the Roger catalogues from 1697 onwards the cello is mentioned several times, in the earlier catalogues just a few times (1697: 1x violone and 1 x violoncello), in the 18th century the number of times

treatise mentioning the cello is dated 1754 (Lustig), the first art dictionary is dated 1768 (Buys). The first record in general dictionaries is even later: 1782 (Marin).
The following list contains all the other words found in treatises and art dictionaries, supplemented with their meanings (sometimes also viol and double bass):

1. Basset, bassetto:
    - Cello: Westerhovius (1734), Mozart (1766), Buys (1778) and Verschuere Reynvaan (1795).
    - Cello and viol: Buys (1768).
    - Unclear: Lustig (1754).
    - All authors agree on it being a small(er) instrument.
2. Basse de violon:
    - Cello: Lustig (1754) and Winkelman (1783).
    - Double bass: Verschuere Reynvaan (1795).
3. Violon, violone:
    - Bass violin: Giron (1710).
    - Large bass violin: Westerhovius (1734), Buys (1770) and Buys (1778).
    - A very large bass violin or double bass: Buys (1768).
4. Strykbas, stryk-basso:
    - Cello: *Amsterdamsche Courant* (1771), Verschuere Reijnvaen (1787) and Verschuere Reynvaan (1805).
5. Basso viola:
    - Viol: Buys (1768).
6. Viola basso:
    - Cello: Anonymous (1772).
7. Violo basso:
    - Viol (Buys (1768)).
8. Basso violino:
    - This word is mentioned just once. It does not signify an instrument, but the name for the music part, which the bass violin should play (Buys (1768)).
9. Basse double:
    - Large cello (double bass?[276]): Lustig (1754).

The examples in the current and the previous Section show that one cannot make general rules that e.g. - 'basviool' is always bass violin - . One has to be always alert when coming across whatever name for a bass instrument. Specially when studying music, there are always more aspects which have to get checked than just the name. I will come back to this in Chapter 4.

1.3.4 Combination of name and image

A few written sources are accompanied by an image of a bowed bass instrument. The names of these instruments suddenly become much more interesting, because one can see what kind of instrument is meant by the name. Around two-thirds of these images are quite well done and the instruments resemble a cello or bass violin. The names for these instruments: basfiool, dobbelde vioole, bas and vedel. These names, except for the dobbelde vioole, are already connected with the cello, and therefore do not offer much extra information. For a further discussion of pictorial sources see Chapter 2.

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the cello is mentioned increases quickly. See also Section 4.1.10. The first record in a newspaper is even later: Anonymous (1725, November 6). *Amsterdamse Dinsdaegse Courant*, p. 2.

[276] Whether the 'basse double' is a double bass or a large cello does not become clear, except that Lustig also mentions a "*basse-contre*, laage bas" ("basse-contre = low bass").

1.4 Technical instructions

In the treatises and art dictionaries only a few technical instructions are presented. In Anonymous (1780)[277] the use of the thumb position is mentioned (though not called like that yet; for an example of what this would look like, see Figure 30). The cello is compared to the violin, and on the violin the hand has to shift to a higher position (with the first finger) after first position. In case of the cello Anonymous states that when the fingers cannot reach higher one should go into thumb position.
Verschuere Reijnvaen (1787)[278] also discusses lower positions. In the most common position of the left hand (first position), one can reach up to a fifth above the open string (for the a string Verschuere Reijnvaen mentions the e'). If one would like to go higher, one should use 'application'. In his *Muzijkaal kunst-woordenboek* (1795)[279] Verschuere Reynvaan adds to this that if one wants to go much higher, it is possible to change from f clef to g clef (this is done on the viola as well, he writes). This is advisable especially if one plays a solo.
Mozart (1766)[280] states that 'Hedendaags' (nowadays) also the cello is held between the legs (see for example Figure 30). This 'hedendaags' implies that before this was not common practice (for more information on this subject see Section 2.2.3). Nothing else is communicated about the way the cello should be held.

Figure 30 NN: Anonymous: *Cellist* (18th century).

[277] Anonymous (1780), p. 66.
[278] Verschuere Reijnvaen (1787), p. 5.
[279] Verschuere Reynvaan (1795), p. 32.
[280] Mozart (1766), p. 3.

1.5 Characteristics of the cello and the bow

Several treatises and dictionaries mention the number of strings. This varies from 4 to 6 strings, but it seems that the general opinion is that the cello or bass violin used to have 5 strings, and later on it became a 4 string instrument.[281]
It does not become clear what tuning the cello/bass violin had in the 17th century. The first written evidence of a cello tuning is in Lustig (1771),[282] way into the 18th century. The tuning given there is the same as the cello tuning which is still the most common today: CGda. Anonymous (1772)[283] agrees with Lustig and adds that the intrument is tuned in fifths. Verschuere Reijnvaen (1787) and Verschuere Reynvaan (1795)[284] only give the lowest note of the cello: C.
Quantz (1754)[285] also mentions the thickness of strings. For orchestral playing, he says, one should have a different cello than for playing solo. This instrument should be larger and have thicker strings.
Quantz (1754) and Anonymous (1772)[286] are the only treatises to mention frets. Anonymous states that by 1772 this was not done anymore, but that before the cello used to have frets. Quantz gives instructions how to play certain notes in case the cello has frets. He does not state how often a cello has frets, but apparently by 1754, some cellists still play with frets. As will be shown in Section 2.2.5, despite what Quantz and Anonymous state, this was a very uncommon practice on the cello and the bass violin, but not completely unusual. It is therefore interesting that at least two treatises mention this practice.
According to Quantz (1754),[287] one should have two different bows, one with black hair for playing continuo [black hair has a stronger attack], and one with white hair for playing solo.
As for size: many authors add the adjectives 'klein' (small) or 'groot' (large), but that is practically all the information we get on the size of the instrument. These adjectives prove only that more than one size existed.[288] Mozart (1766)[289] mentions that one cello is a bit larger than the other, but the real difference is made in the way the cello is strung, and therefore one cello will sound louder than the other. Only Anonymous (1772)[290] uses 'bass violin' and 'small bass violin' in the same entry.
In Sub chapter 1.4 I quoted Mozart on how to support the cello. Lustig (1771)[291] mentions "little cellos with a stick underneath" in his third footnote. It does not become clear how long or short this stick should be and how one should actually use it. The possible result can be seen in Figs. 51 & 63.
It is interesting that from the mid-18th century not only the instrument is mentioned, but also the boxes in which it was probably transported.

As is shown in Sub chapters 1.4 and 1.5 hardly anything is written about how to play and hold the cello and about what the cello looked like. In Chapter 2 I will therefore focus on pictorial sources.

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[281] Lustig (1771), Anonymous (1772) and Buys (1770): 4 strings. Douwes (1699) and Mozart (1754): 4 or 5 strings. Mozart adds that the cello used to have 5 strings, now [that is 1754] it has 4. Anonymous (1772): dependng on the size of the instrument it could also have 5 or 6 strings.
[282] Lustig (1771), p. 86.
[283] Anonymous (1772), p. 157.
[284] Verschuere Reijnvaen (1787), p. 5 & Verschuere Reynvaan (1795), p. 32.
[285] Quantz (1754), p. 141.
[286] Anonymous (1772), p. 359.
[287] Quantz (1754), p. 141.
[288] If just one size would have existed, 'bass violin' without large or small would have been enough. By adding an adjective, clearly the authors are comparing the instrument in question with another instrument of the same shape but larger or smaller.
[289] Mozart (1766), p. 3.
[290] Anonymous (1772), p. 360.
[291] Lustig (1771), p. 87.

2 Pictorial evidence

2.1 Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 1, several names existed for some kind of cello or bass violin. A few of these names were in fact used for both a cello and a viol, which complicates the matter even further. It has also become clear that instruments existed in at least two different sizes. Treatises and other written sources, however, did not shed much light on the appearance of the cello, neither in writing nor in added images. In just a few cases the text was accompanied by an image (see for example Figs. 22 & 25). In general, however, the images in written sources are not the most detailed ones, when comparing them with certain extremely detailed paintings reproduced in this Chapter. This is a pity, because the combination of a name, a description of how the instrument was held and played, and a representation of the instrument (preferably in playing position) would shed the best light on the matter.
In the current Chapter the appearance of the cello and the way it was played will be thoroughly discussed, making use of pictorial sources.

Several art historians have researched the visual arts in the Low Countries and also the combination of visual art, music and musical instruments. J. Verbeek (former curator of precious metals of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam) remarks:

> "The grim struggle of the fewer than a million inhabitants of the delta area on the North Sea against the might of Spain had lasted for eighty long years. Thus it is all the more remarkable that it was precisely during that dogged war that this Republic developed not only into a powerful and prosperous trading nation, but also, and this is what we are concerned with in the present context, into a cultural power the like of which was scarcely known elsewhere. All branches of art came to great fruition there."[292]

In several of these branches there are art objects which contain images of musical instruments (both played and unplayed). So far, my research corpus consists of over 850 representations of cellos and cello-like instruments, dating from as early as 1561 up to 1800.[293] I strived to make my research corpus as large as possible, to be able to base my conclusions on the largest possible amount.
I am not the only one using pictorial sources for research on musical instruments. Art historian Magda Kyrova states:

> "Music as a theme in seventeenth-century Dutch painting is a subject that has engaged scholars from various disciplines, including musicologists and art historians. The interest shown by musicologists is hardly surprising when one compares the sheer number of representations of groups of musicians, still lifes and portraits which include musical instruments, with the scarcity of other sources." [294]

In the research on the cello I would not go as far as to say that there is a total lack of other sources. I would rather say that this scarcity applies to a scarcity of useful information in written sources, as was already shown in Chapter 1.
In her article Kyrova focusses on musicologists and art historians, but the information one can get from pictorial sources is also very important for musicians. As a cellist, I, for example, need to know how the instrument and bow were held, what fingerings were used and about other technical aspects of cello playing. As said before and as was shown in Sub chapter 1.4, there is a

[292] Verbeek (1979), pp. XIII, XIV. Underscore: ET
[293] I am sure these 850+ images are just a tip of the ice-berg. Every time I check the internet, the website of the RKD and auction catalogues new examples appear.
[294] Kyrova (1994), p. 31.

scarcity of useful information in written sources about the technique necessary to play the cello. Because of this fact, the pictorial sources become even more important. In this Chapter I will discuss many aspects of cello playing and for that matter what images can teach musicians.
The scarcity of useful informaton in written sources also effects our knowledge about the right instrumentation of the bass instrument for 17th century music. I will discuss this in Chapter 4.

Kyrova continues:

> "Painstaking research has shown that between ten and twelve per cent of all seventeenth-century paintings are works with a musical theme, and that within the oeuvre of a single master the figure can be as high as thirty per cent.[295] This relatively high number combined with the accurate representation of the instruments and manner of playing proved very helpful to musicians and musicologists interested in authentic performance practice."[296]

However, as for the cello specifically, several scholars write about the scarcity of this instrument compared to other musical instruments depicted in works of art. Ian Finlay for example states:

> "There are comparatively few examples of the violoncello in our paintings, as it had not really come into its own in the seventeenth century."[297]

The late Professor Louis Peter Grijp (Utrecht University & Meertens Instituut) counts just around 21 cellos from a collection of more than 500 instruments.[298] In the same collection he counted 114 violins and 120 lutes.
I agree with both Finlay and Grijp that less cellos are depicted than for example violins or lutes.[299] Finlay reasons that the lack of representations of cellos in the 17th century is due to the fact that the cello "had not come into its own". It is true that the cello was still being developed in the 17th century and became only popular and common in the 18th century. One would therefore expect that in the 18th century many more images of cellos would have been created than in the 17th century. However, as far as I have found, this is not true. The amount of 17th-century images in my research corpus is much larger than the fairly small amount of 18th-century images. The art historian Mariët Westermann (The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation) gives a reason for this:

> "Where seventeenth-century collectors had on the whole favored contemporary works over paintings produced in the past, in the eighteenth century owners preferred Golden-Age pictures that reflected and represented the Republic in its more prosperous, presumably natural state."[300]

In the 18th century new paintings with cellos would therefore have hardly been produced. This is underlined by my research corpus: out of a total of around 430 images from the NN, only around 55 (± 13%) were produced in the 18th century. In the ZN this proportion is not that extreme: out of a total of around 370 images, around 28% is produced in the 18th century.
Finlay mentions that the cello "had not yet come into its own in the 17th century", and therefore was not popular enough to be often depicted. About the popularity of musical instruments in proportion to the amount of representations of those instruments, not only the cello, Grijp writes:

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[295] In my opinion examples of artists who produced many paintings with musical scenes are Anthonie Palamedesz. in the NN and Hieronymus Janssens in the ZN.
[296] Kyrova (1994), p. 31.
[297] Finlay (1953), p. 57.
[298] Grijp (1994), p. 124.
[299] Unfortunately I cannot give exact numbers for violin and lute because I did not count other instruments while researching at the RKD in Den Haag.
[300] Westermann (1996), p. 180.

> "These observations[301] are on a fairly small scale, but even were we to have ideal statistics the fact that there are frequent illustrations of any one instrument being played does not necessarily indicate that we are dealing with a popular musical instrument. Such a conclusion would have to be compared with other sources such as the music and archive material available."[302]

Comparing with other Dutch sources will prove to be difficult (in the current Chapter as well as in other Chapters). Therefore my aim in this Chapter will not be to prove the popularity of the cello in the Low Countries in the 17th and 18th centuries. However, my intention is to offer information about what the instrument looked like and how it was played in that period. This will be supported by several other European written sources.
If one follows Finlay's argument that the cello was still a new instrument in the 17th century, and therefore not often depicted, the viol on the other hand was used very often, as a solo instrument and in consort playing. However, when doing my research at the RKD, I did not get the impression that the viol was depicted more often than the cello. There were definitely some artists who depicted more viols than cellos, but other artists depicted (many) more cellos than viols. A quick check of the RKD's online database (consulted 13-6-2016) supports this impression. Jacob Duck for example gives 20 hits for a viol, and just 2 for a cello. Johannes Vermeer gives 4 hits for the viol and none for the cello (on none of his extant works a cello is depicted!). Pieter Codde painted mainly cellos (in the RKD database just 3 viols), and Dirck Hals has no hits for viol at all.
Whereas Grijp and Finlay mainly looked for paintings, my research corpus consists of more than just paintings. Engravings and drawings have also been added, as well as several artefacts which have been united in a separate Sub chapter 'Applied Arts'.[303] The entire research corpus can be found in Part 3.

In his book *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst* (1678) the painter Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627-1678) made an attempt to put the different types of paintings into some kind of hierarchy. He made a distinction between history pieces (of the highest/most important class), smaller pieces with themes such as pastoral love scenes and comic scenes (being for example landscapes and genre pieces; middle class) and still life (the lowest class).[304] Most of the images in my research corpus belong to this middle class, being genre pieces. I found just a handful of history pieces. As for the still lifes, I also found just a few. However, I found many paintings with cellos lying or standing unused. But these are not still lifes, because there are people playing other instruments.

Many 17th-century paintings seem very realistic. Westermann writes:

> "Observers have always noted the uncannily real effect of many seventeenth-century Dutch paintings. Because of their verisimilitude, these pictures have often been considered uncommonly truthful and honest depictions of Dutch life.[305]

Taco Dibbits (director of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) agrees. He states:

> "In Rembrandt's time, there was one simple gauge: how lifelike is a painting? It had to resemble reality, as if it were happening right in front of you."[306]

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[301] That is: observations about the lute and violin being the instruments most frequently represented, while cittern, virginal, cello, viol and flute are depicted less often. During my research I did not keep exact numbers of other instruments, but I got a general idea and came to the same conclusions as Grijp.
[302] Buijsen & Grijp (1994), p. 116.
[303] The applied arts section consists of tiles and other ceramics, glass and silver ware, instruments from doll's houses, magic lantern slides, tapestries, lace and wooden sculptures.
[304] Westermann (2004), pp. 63,64.
[305] Westermann (1996), p. 71.
[306] Dibbits (2016, August 20-21), p. 19. Original: "In de tijd van Rembrandt was er een eenvoudige graadmeter: hoe levensecht is een schilderij? Het moest lijken op de werkelijkheid, alsof het zich voor je neus afspeelde."

Also Willem Jan Hoogsteder (art historian and valuer from The Hague) states that a 17th-century painting should be a reflection of reality.[307]
This realism also stands out in many of the paintings with cellos in my research corpus (apart from Mythological, Christian and allegorical scenes). Realism in paintings is a blessing not only for musicians and musicologists, but also for instrument makers. Grijp writes:

> "Dutch painting of the seventeenth-century is thoroughly studied by those who investigate the history of instrument making. Thanks to the realism with which these paintings are done it is often possible to deduce facts about the instruments that do not become clear from examining those that we have inherited. Many instruments in museums today have undergone changes and adaptations over the years so that it is scarcely possible to discover what they were originally like."[308]

This problem I have experienced myself as well. Many instruments have indeed undergone changes, or are in such bad shape that it is quite difficult to deduce facts about their original appearance. I will come back to the instruments in Chapter 3.

The Italian researcher and string maker Mimmo Peruffo argues in an article on lute strings that in 16th and 17th-century written sources the production process of those strings is discussed. One of the characteristics of lute strings are the colours, and these colours are often realisticly reproduced in paintings.[309]
This could go for cello strings (Section 2.2.6) and the bow hair (Section 2.2.7) as well.

As said before, many of the images in my research corpus are genre paintings. Westermann comments about this type of paintings:

> "A genre painter would draw after models, usually in the studio, and compose a painting on the basis of his studies and by reference to paintings or prints of similar themes." [310]

This comment reminds me of the paintings of Anthonie Palamedesz., Pieter Codde and Hieronymus Janssens. These artists produced large amounts of paintings, and many of these paintings show the same theme and sometimes even look extremely similar. Sometimes I needed to have a really close look to discover small differences, for example between facial expressions or a dog which was missing in one of the paintings.
Westermann's remark makes me wonder about the unused cellos which are so often depicted. It is known that several artists owned instruments themselves, which they could use while creating their paintings. The Haarlem painter Jan Miense Molenaer for example owned a violin, which, according to the inventory made after his death, was found in his studio.[311] Genre painter Jan Spanjaert owned "a large new Bass with its bow".[312] Interestingly enough, one painting with the image of a played bass instrument painted by Spanjaert is part of my research corpus. Unfortunately, the instrument is just a minor detail in the painting and on top, it is played from a high balcony. Therefore details of the bass instrument cannot be distinguished.

Professor Emeritus of iconology and art theory Eddy de Jongh (Utrecht University) writes:

> "The fact that in the 17th-century paintings and prints, music is so frequently being made, or that in a different way it is reminded of music, for instance by musical instruments at rest, may to a certain extent be considered as a reflection of the

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[307] Hoogsteder, W. J. (2016, August 24). In the Dutch AVROTROS television programme *'Tussen kunst en kitsch'* at 15.29'.
[308] Grijp (1994), pp. 114,115.
[309] Peruffo (1994).
[310] Westermann (1996), p. 73.
[311] Bredius (1915-1922), p. 5.
[312] Bredius (1915-1922), p. 570.

> thriving musical life and the active singing culture from the everyday reality. At the same time, the realistic representation of musical scenes in the art of the time is misleading in so far, that painters were looking for more variety in the choice of instruments than musicians."[313]

The musical life De Jongh is referring to, should also be reflected in sheet music.

The instruments of mixed shape are the most difficult ones to deal with. I could have ignored all these instruments, but then I would have certainly missed out on many instruments which could have been considered an 8' bass instrument of the violin family as well in the time the images were produced. However, before adding certain images to my database I had to decide whether they were more cello-like or more viol-like (see also Section 2.2.4).
The definition I have worked with is the modern concept of the cello having the shape of a violin (with different proportions); sound holes in the form of an f; 4, 5 or 6 strings; a violin scroll; hardly ever frets. A very good example of all of these cello features is reproduced in Figs. 31-35.

Figure 31 NN: Pieter Cornelisz. van Slingelandt: *A music party* (ca. 1675).

Figure 32 Detail of Figure 31.

[313] De Jongh (2008), pp. 27, 28. Original: "Dat er ook in de zeventiende-eeuwse schilder- en prentkunst zo frequent gemusiceerd en gezongen wordt, dan wel op andere wijze, bijvoorbeeld door instrumenten in rust, aan muziek wordt herinnerd, mag tot op zekere hoogte worden beschouwd als een reflectie van het bloeiende muziekleven en de actieve zangcultuur uit de alledaagse werkelijkheid. Tegelijk is het realistische aangezicht van muziekvoorstellingen in de toenmalige kunst in zoverre misleidend, dat schilders wat instrumentarium betreft soms meer variatie zochten dan musici."

Figure 33 Sound holes, in the shape of an f.

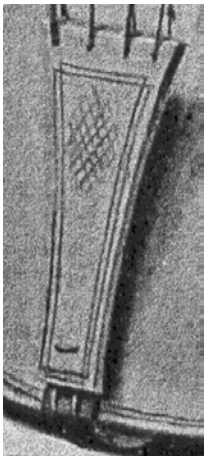

Figure 34 Tailpiece with beautiful inlay.

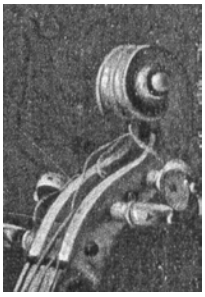

Figure 35 Scroll with strings sticking out.

2.2 Paintings, drawings and engravings in NN & ZN

The total amount of images from the Low Countries used in this thesis is 860. For a full list of all images, artists, titles, year of production and the kind of artwork see the research corpus in Part 3.

I have tried to document of all relevant instruments as many features and ways of playing as possible. They have all been documented in charts, which are reproduced in Part 3 as well. The charts are structured in the following way: Noordelijke Nederlanden, Zuidelijke Nederlanden and applied arts (NN & ZN). A glimpse of this database is reproduced in Figure 36. In the following Sections I will discuss these features.

Not all instruments in the research corpus are depicted as beautifully and fully visible as the instrument reproduced in Figure 31. Sometimes only part of the instrument is visible, sometimes as little as only the scroll, the bottom part of the instrument, the left hand or the gender of the player. Because these small pieces of information have proven to be useful, I have therefore added also images where only parts of the instruments are visible.

I also had to struggle with bad reproductions. Some of the instruments in these reproductions are depicted in full, but, because of the bad reproduction, many details are invisible.

In the research corpus there are several paintings which are clearly more or less copies of each other, mostly created by followers of well-known artists (both NN and ZN). If in the original the cello is depicted without much care, this could very well be copied in the same (possibly wrong) way. If the original was good, the copy could be good too, but it could still go wrong there. This is something to be aware of.

I have divided the 17th and 18th centuries into periods of 25 years. The few images from the 16th century have been put in one time slot.

The oldest image in my research corpus dates from 1561 (an engraving made by Cornelis Cort (NN)), the most recent one dates from around 1800 (a painting by Johannes Beerblock (ZN)).

				Played instrument?		Size of cello				How is the cello held?						Shape of cello											
																Schoulders			Sound holes			Frets			Scroll		
				✓	✗	Small	Normal	Large	∅	Between legs	On floor	Endpin, stool, foot, etc.	Hangs	∅	♫	Violin	Viol	∅	F-shape	C-shape or flames	∅	✗	✓	?	Violin shape	Human or animal	∅
Unknown	17th century	17th century		4	2		2	4		1	3				2	2	3	1	2		4	4		2	4	1	1
			1618	1				1			1						1		1			1			1		
			1621	1			1				1						1				1	1			1		
			1630	1			1				1						1		1			1					1
			1632	1			1				1					1			1			1			1		
			1644	3		1	1	1		2	1					1	2		2		1	1		2		1	2
			1649	1				1			1					1			1			1			1		
			1657	2			2				2					1	1		1		1	1	1		1		1
			1659		1		1								1	1			1			1			1		
			1694		1	1									1	1			1			1					1
	18th century	18th century		3		1	2			1		2				3			3			3			3		
			1712	1				1			1							1	1					1	1		
			1714	2		2								2		2					2			2	2		
			1732	1		1							1					1			1	1					1
			ca. 1750	1		1								1		1				1				1	1		
			1755	1				1			1					1			1			1			1		
			1762	1			1				1					1			1			1				1	
			1763	1				1			1					1			1			1			1		
			ca. 1780	1			1					1				1			1			1			1		
			ca. 1783		1			1							1	1					1	1					1
			ca. 1785		1				1						1	1			1			1					1
	Gillius Brakel	1699-1714	1699		1			1							1	1			1			1			1		
	Franz Lippold	lived: 1688-1768	1762	1			1							1		1			1			1			1		

Figure 36 Example of database of features of the cello in the Low Countries (for the rest of the database see Part 3).

From the NN 428 paintings, drawings and prints have been investigated, of which 2 originated in the 16th century, 367 in the 17th century and 59 in the 18th century. They originated in many different cities, namely: Amsterdam, Haarlem, Den Haag, Dordrecht, Leiden, Rotterdam, Delft, Utrecht, Middelburg, Groningen, Alkmaar and Deventer. Some artists were active in several cities, they have been placed in a separate category: 'active in several cities'.
Most images were produced in Amsterdam, Haarlem and the 'several cities' category; 113 images stem from Amsterdam, 82 from Haarlem and 80 from 'several cities'. Of the other cities Delft is also represented quite well (34). These high numbers were made by just a few artists, who produced paintings with a musical theme in huge quantities (in Amsterdam Pieter Codde (32); in Haarlem Dirck Hals (31) and Jan Miense Molenaer (17); in Delft Anthonie Palamedesz. (32)[314]).
Almost two-thirds (258) of the instruments depicted are being played, the other ones are not. In principle these unplayed instruments could give information about the appearance of the cello, if for example depicted not too far in the background. Unfortunately they do not offer any information about how the instrument is played.
The second quarter of the 17th century (1625-1650) was the most prolific, more than 50% of all images from the NN was produced in this period.

The situation in the ZN is a little different. Whereas in the NN works of art were produced in many different cities, in the ZN most images were created in Antwerp. Of a total of 354 images, 275 were produced in this town (78%), and 79 in other cities.[315] Another difference between NN and ZN is that in ZN most paintings were created in the first and third quarter of that century. Also the 18th century saw quite a few images (89 in total: 66 findings in Antwerp, 23 in other cities).
Of one painting I was not able to find a production date. I have added it to my database as being from an unknown period.

In the following Sections the most important features of the cello will be discussed. Of many of these features representations have been added. The caption underneath each image includes whether that image was produced in the NN or ZN.
I often insert numbers in the body of the text or otherwise in brackets to indicate the number of times a certain feature occurs. These numbers have all been taken from the database in Part 3.

2.2.1 Played and unplayed instruments

Of the NN cellos in my research corpus many are unplayed (170). Of all these unplayed instruments only a few are figuring in a so-called still life. In many paintings a cello is depicted but not played while other instruments in the same painting are actually being played. These unplayed instruments still offer a lot of information about the instrument itself and have therefore also been added.
Most unplayed instruments are depicted in Amsterdam, Haarlem and 'several cities' (119). Pieter Codde (30) is responsible for almost two-thirds of all unplayed instruments from Amsterdam. All his cellos, except for 2, are unplayed (see Figure 37).

[314] These numbers also include paintings made by followers of the artists mentioned.
[315] Of these 79 images 40 were painted by unknown artists or by known artists who worked in one or more other cities as well. Of these known artists Jan Brueghel I, Mattheus van Helmont, Theobald Michau, Peter Paul Rubens and David Teniers II worked in Antwerp as well as in Brussels. Theodoor van Thulden worked in Antwerp, but also abroad. In view of these facts it is quite possible, that some of these 40 images were created in Antwerp as well.

Figure 37 NN: Pieter Codde: *Merry company with masked dancers* (1636).

Figure 38 Detail of Figure 37.

Most unplayed instruments were painted between 1625 and 1650, not only in Amsterdam but in all cities. Of all the NN cellos 258 instruments are being played. In proportion to the 17th century, in the 18th century more cellos are being played in the paintings.
In the ZN many more instruments are played than in the NN. Only 55 cellos are unplayed (out of a total of 354 instruments). Due to the composition of the artworks (musicians often in the background) and also due to poor reproductions, not many data could be retrieved from these paintings. The question whether an instrument was played or not, was often one of the only questions which could be answered.
As mentioned above, in the NN almost all cellos painted by Pieter Codde are unplayed. In the ZN this is the case with the cellos painted by Jan Breughel II (allegories). More than a quarter of all unplayed instruments were painted by him (14).[316]
A few cellos are listed as unplayed instruments, but the instrument is held in the hand of the player. It is clear that the instrument was being played just a minute ago. An example of this is reproduced in Figure 39.

Figure 39 ZN: Peeter van Bredael: *The Prodigal Son is being chased from the brothel after spending all his money*.

Figure 40 Detail of Figure 39. Musicians running away from a fight with cello and violin in their hands.

[316] In his paintings Breughel usually depicts several bass instruments at once. In this case, it is not 14 paintings by Breughel, but 14 unplayed cellos.

2.2.2 The size

As is shown in Chapter 1, (at least) two sizes of cello existed in the 18th century. Quantz even advises to have two instruments, different in size: a bigger one for playing bass lines in orchestral music and a smaller one for playing solos.[317] In France also cellos in several sizes existed. Michel Corrette states that the "grosse basse de Violon" was abandoned there around 1710-1715.[318]
As will be shown in this Section in the NN as well as in the ZN three sizes of cellos were depicted: small, normal (more or less of modern size) and large.
When measuring the size of the instruments in the images, the following 'rules' are applicable. I started by deciding whether the musician was seated or not. If the player was indeed seated, I had to decide in how far he was seated upright, or whether he was for example leaning forward, as the cellist reproduced in Fugure 39 is. In this respect the height of the chair is also important. Quite often it looked like the player was seated, but when examined more closely, the cellist was half standing. When indeed seated at the right height to have angles of 90 degrees in the legs, the next step was to determine how the cello was held. When it was resting on the ground, and the scroll reached above the head, the instrument was considered large. When held between the legs, or on a stool or endpin, the cello was mostly of a normal or even small size.
When the instrument was not played, I estimated the length (from scroll to endpin or other supporting mechanism), and compared it with the size of the people in the painting. When the cello was more in front than the public, I took that into consideration. I did the same when the cello was more in the background than the people.

In Table 10 an overview is given of the numbers of images of the three different sizes of instruments found in the NN and ZN. In the rest of this Section I will show a few of these images and point out some striking details.

	Total	Small	Normal	Large	Invisible size
NN 16th century	2	0	2 (100%)	0	0
NN 17th century	367	45 (ca. 12%)	175 (ca. 48%)	132 (ca. 36%)	15 (ca. 4%)
NN 18th century	59	14 (ca. 24%)	23 (ca. 39%)	12 (ca. 20%)	10 (ca. 17%)
ZN 16th century	6	1 (17%)	3 (50%)	2 (33%)	0
ZN 17th century	260	33 (ca. 13%)	109 (ca. 42%)	105 (ca. 40%)	13 (5%)
ZN 18th century	89	4 (ca. 4%)	29 (ca. 33%)	47 (ca. 53%)	9 (ca. 10%)

Table 10 The number of small, normal and large cellos and instruments of an invisible size in the NN and ZN through the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries.

In the NN in Haarlem Cornelis Dusart made a drawing of a small cello (Figure 41). The cellist is leaning slightly forward, which makes the cello look a bit larger than it is in reality. This cello is one of 11 small cellos depicted in Haarlem (out of 82 representations of cellos in Haarlem altogether).

[317] Quantz (1754), p. 141.
[318] Corrette (1741), p. A.

Figure 41 NN: Cornelis Dusart: *Musicians in an inn* (1691).[319]

Figure 42 Detail of Figure 41. At the bottom right, Dusart's signature and the date can be seen.

A very nice 17th-century NN example of a normal size cello is reproduced in Figure 43. It is painted with much detail, note the beautiful tailpiece.

Figure 43 NN: Gabriel Metsu: *The Cello Player*.

Figure 44 Detail of Figure 43. A cello of a normal size.

[319] Cornelis Dusart was the son of the Haarlem based organist, composer and carillonneur Johan (Joan) Dusart (1621-1691). In the 'Amsterdamse Schouwburg' musicians were employed. A certain Frans Dusart is listed as the bass player there in 1638. (Information taken from: Rasch (1987), p. 186.) Could Frans Dusart be related to Cornelis and Johan? He should be at least of Cornelis' father's age, if he was playing at the schouwburg in 1638. If indeed Cornelis knew Frans, he might have drawn the instrument from nature. In this respect, it is striking that all 4 cellos depicted by Cornelis Dusart have square shoulders. I have not come across shoulders like these anywhere else, except for one engraving by Pieter van den Berge (1712), which is also part of my research corpus.

In the 17th century 132 large cellos were depicted. Four painters are responsible for 28% of these large instruments: Dirck Hals (15) and Jan Miense Molenaer (9) in Haarlem, Pieter Codde (12) in Amsterdam and Anthonie Palamedesz. (11) in Delft.
In the first 3 periodes of the 17th century the proportion between normal size and large cellos is almost 50-50. In the period 1675-1700 this proportion changes completely. From this period onwards the normal size cellos are in the majority. This is a development which, around the same time, happened all through Europe.

In ZN also at least three sizes of instruments existed. In the 17th century the small size is seen only 33 times. For an example of a small cello, see Figure 67. The instrument depicted here is really small (one of the smallest I have found), and, although this cannot be seen, it should be hanging by a rope from the player's back of the neck, otherwise it is impossible to play and use the left hand more or less freely and walk or stand at the same time.
In Figure 45 a ZN example of a large cello is reproduced. More than half of Gilles van Tilborgh's cellos are of a large size. In contrast to the NN, where of all the instruments the size could be determined, in the ZN there are 13 instruments of which the size could not be defined.
Whereas in the NN towards the end of the 17th century the normal size cello became more popular than the large cello, in the ZN the popularity of the large cello had a temporary upswing in the period 1700-1725 (32 large cellos, 10 normal size cellos). From the period 1750-1775 onwards the normal size cello is in the majority.

Figure 45 ZN: Gillis van Tilborgh: *Portrait of a family in a 'Kunstkammer'*.

Figure 46 Detail of Figure 45. More than half of Tilborgh's cellos are large ones.

2.2.3 The way the instrument is supported

At the end of this Sub chapter images of many different ways of supporting the cello have been added.
As summarized in Sub chapter 1.4, the Dutch translation of Leopold Mozart's *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* is, as far as I could etablish, the only book in the Low Countries in which something is written about the way the instrument should be supported. Mozart states that also the bass instrument which he calls "Bas, Bassete, and Violoncel" is nowadays[320] held between the

[320] "heut zu Tage" (German; 1756) and "Hedendaags" (Dutch; 1766)

legs.[321] This *nowadays* implies that before it was not held between the legs or at least that it was not common practice. What used to be common practice, he does not say.
The NN images in my database show that in the 17th century many instruments (118) rested on the ground. It is quite possible that this way of supporting the cello is the way Mozart is hinting at.
According to Michel Corrette, this way of supporting is not advisable:

> "[…] and see that the instrument does not touch the ground, since that would dampen the sound."[322]

When reading Corrette's comment, one can only wonder how these many instruments in the 17th century, while resting on the ground, would have sounded. It has to be taken into account though that many instruments in the 17th century were much larger than the 18th-century ones. Supporting a large cello with the legs will be very tiring, if not impossible. Apart from resting on the ground, the large instruments also lean against the player's chest and legs, thus damping the sound even more.
Although Mozart states that also the cello is nowadays held between the legs (and not at all before??), I have found 36 17th-century NN examples of cellists holding the cello between the legs.

Corrette also mentions the use of an endpin for standing cellists. He does not find this position advisable. He writes:

> "Sometimes a stick is put at the bottom to hold the instrument when it is played standing up. Not only is this position not very handsome but it is also the most contrary for difficult passages. Thus the best way to hold the cello is in the seated position holding the body erect, the head straight, and the feet pointed out. Never point them straight ahead."[323]

I completely agree with Corrette. I have tried to play some solo sonatas while standing with the cello on a long endpin. In that way, the cello becomes very unstable, and I did not have proper control over my left hand. Playing some of the simpler bass lines, which will be discussed in Sub chapter 4.1, is possible.
In my database there are quite a few representations of standing cellists, some of whom use an endpin. Others stand and partly hang over/on the cello with their backs bent. In these cases the cello is mostly resting on the ground. This I would not advise, it is bad for the body and also for the sound produced by the cello.
Another solution for standing (and walking!) cellists is to hang the cello with a rope around the back of the neck. One would think that in that case the cello would be on the smallish side, otherwise it would get too heavy. This is not the case. In my research corpus there are a few examples of both small and large(r) instruments attached to a rope and carried around the back of the neck.
As far as I know, the only other 18th-century source discussing an endpin is Crome's method of around 1765. Crome writes:

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[321] Mozart makes this remark in the section on the viola da gamba, which Italian name, as he explains, means 'Beingeige' (leg violin). The cello could now be called a 'Beingeige' too, because nowadays it is, as the viola da gamba, held between the legs.
[322] Corrette (1741), p. 7. Original text: "et observer que l'Instrument ne touche point a terre, attendu que cela le rend sourd." Translation taken from: Graves (1972), p. 18. I do not fully understand Corrette's remark, because when a cello rests on the floor and the floor is made of wood or stone, that fact would probably even enhance the sound. Only when there is a carpet on the floor, it will dampen the sound.
[323] Corrette (1741), p. 7. Original text: "quelque fois on met un baton au bout pour soutenir la basse, quand on joue edebout: non seulement cette porture n'est pas la plus belle, mais elle est encore la plus contraire aux passages difficiles. Ainsi la plus belle maniere de tenir le Violoncelle est d'etre assis, tenir le Corps ferme, la tête droite, et les pieds endehors, et jamais ne les tenir de côté." Translation taken from: Graves (1972), p. 18.

> "This Instrument [the violoncello] may be Consider'd as a Large Fiddle only held the contrary way, and the fourth String is next to the Bow-hand, as the body is turn'd downward, the lower part is to rest on the Calves of the Leggs supported with the Knees, but for the greater ease of a Learner we wou'd advize him to have a hole made in the Tail-pin and a Wooden Peg to screw into it to rest on the Floor which may be taken out when he Pleases."[324]

Crome does not mention standing with the endpin, he clearly states that the cello should rest on the calves of the legs. In that case the endpin will not be very long.

Corrette also advises about the right height of the chair. He writes:

> "In order to play the cello well, it is necessary to sit on a chair or stool of a size proportional as much as possible to one's height so as not to be seated too close to the edge. Then one must place the cello between the two calves, hold the neck with the left hand and slant it a little to the left side."[325]

Also Jean Louis Duport mentions the height and posture of the cellist in connection with the manner of holding the cello. In his *Essai* of 1806[326] he states:

> "The manner of holding the Violoncello between the legs varies greatly according to the habits and different stature of persons. A man may play very well, although holding his instrument somewhat higher or lower than ordinary. The following method is the most usual and is perhaps the best.
> The player must first seat himself on the fore part of the chair, extend his left foot forward, and draw in his right; then place the instrument between his legs, so that the lower left hand corner of the back may fall into the hollow of the left knee, and the weight of the instrument be borne on the calf of the left leg, the foot being turned outwards. […] The right leg must be placed against the lower side of the instrument to keep it steady."[327]

Just a few of the cellists in my database sit on a lowish chair suitable to the posture of each cellist; many are seated on a considerably higher chair than advised by Corrette, thus resulting in stretched legs. Another, unwanted, result is that the cello will (only) lean on the left leg, instead

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[324] Crome (1765?), p. 1.

[325] Corrette (1741), p. 7. Original text: "Pour bien jouer du Violoncelle, il faut s'asscoir sur une chaise, ou tabouret d'une hauteur proportionnée a sa taille, autant que cela se peut trouver, et n'estre pas assis trop avant sur le siege: Ensuite il faut placer le Violoncelle entre les deux gras des jambes; tenir le manche de la main gauche, et le pencher un peu du côté gauche, […]." Translation taken from: Graves (1972), p. 18.

[326] In his method Duport focusses on the technique of the left hand. His way of fingering, which is still in use today, is entirely different from what was done before. I quote from Oxford Music Online: "The culmination of Duport's Berlin experiences was the publication of his cello treatise *Essai sur le doigté du violoncelle et sur la conduite de l'archet* in 1806, which drew immediate approbation from J.F. Reichardt: 'the friends of the violoncello, this beautiful, noble instrument, must be very grateful for the diligence with which he has composed his work'. Building upon the systemization devised by Berteau and amplified by his brother, Duport delineated idiomatic cello technique, distinct from the influences of the viola da gamba and violin. His methodology of sequential, diatonic fingerings for note patterns in all keys became fundamental to many subsequent players." Last accessed: 2014, January 24.

[327] Duport (1806), p. 5. Original text: "La tenue du Violoncelle entre les jambes varie beaucoup, suivant les habitudes et la différente taille des personnes. On peut très-bien jouer en tenant son Instrument, un peu plus haut ou un peu plus bas. Voici la manière la plus usitée et qui doit être la meilleure. Il faut premièrement s'asseoir sur le devant de sa chaise; porter ensuite le pied gauche loin de soi en avant, et rapprocher le droit; alors placer l'Instrument entre les jambes, de façon que le coin de l'échancrure enférieure d'en bas à gauche, se trouve dans la jointure du genou gauche, afin que le poids de l'Instrument, soit porté sur le mollet de la jambe gauche; et le pied gauche en dehors. Si le genou se trouvoit au contraire dans cette échancrure, il empêcheroit l'archet de passer aisément, lorsqu'on voudroit se servir de la Chanterelle ou première Corde. La jambe droite se pose contre l'éclisse d'en bas de l'Instrument, pour le maintenir en sureté." English translation taken from: Duport (ca. 1852), p. 5.

of being supported by both legs. As Corrette advises against an endpin for playing difficult passages, I would advise against sitting on a very high chair without the support of both legs.

Not only each player has a different stature, also each instrument is of different proportions. Giving rules on how to hold an instrument is good, but for each individual they will have to be adapted slightly.
Apart from letting the cello rest on the ground, the support of an endpin and hanging the cello around the neck there are many more ways of holding the cello. In my database many different ways of support can be found, e.g. resting on a stool, on a block of wood, on a book, on a cloud, on the tip of a shoe, on a foot, on a rock. I am sure many of these possibilities were used, although not all of them are very comfortable. In a painting by Jan Steen and a drawing by Jan van Goyen the cellist is sitting on a ladder! This particular way of sitting with a cello is only possible in case the cello is held with a rope from the neck.

Many of the 17th-century NN instruments were not played (149), and of 45 cellos it was impossible to determine how they were held.
In the 18th century there are still instruments resting on the ground, but not by far as many as in the 17th century. The proportion in the 18th century between instruments resting on the ground and supported by legs or another device is around 50-50.

In the ZN the proportions between the different ways of supporting the cello both in the 17th and in the 18th century are more or less the same as in the NN, except that there were not that many unplayed 17th-century instruments. It is surprising that in the 18th century in the ZN the amount of large cellos is still very high (much higher than in the NN and also much higher than the amount of normal size cellos), and that at the same time there are not that many instruments resting on the ground.

On the following pages several different ways of supporting the cello are shown.

Figure 47 NN: Adriaen van Ostade: *Rural Musicians* (1655).

Figure 48 Detail of Figure 47. A cello held between the legs. The chair has the right height. Cellist holding cello as traditionally advised in cello methods.

Figure 49 NN: Gerrit Lundens: ***Bridal couple dancing in an inn, with musicians and spectators*****.**

Figure 50 Detail of Figure 49. Cello resting on the ground with the cellist hanging over it.

Figure 51 ZN: Hendrick Govaerts: ***A Party with Music and Actors Entertaining the Company*****.**

Figure 52 Detail of Figure 51. Cello resting on beautiful endpin.

Figure 53 ZN: Louis de Caullery: *Banquet scene in a palace interior*.

Figure 54 Detail of Figure 53. Playing side-saddle, no support, cello is in the air.

Figure 55 NN: Jan Miense Molenaer: *Elegant company playing music and peasants drinking in an interior*.

Figure 56 Detail of Figure 55. Cello supported by a foot/shoe.

VOOR TEGENSPOEDT. 19

TEGENSPOEDT

Leert ons bidden.

Sy hebben geroepen tot den Heere, als zy in lijden waeren. Psalm. 106. ℣. 6.

SINNE-BEELDT.

Uyt bedwanck,
Komt den klanck.

Ick sien den Organist, en oock den horder 't samen
Met vingeren 't clawier, met handen 't moeysel gramen:
Den liersman, vioiist die spannen even sterck,
't Is om den klanck gedaen dat ider is in 't werck;
Wat soeten klanck is dit! van alderhande snaren!
Men speelt hier wel soo soet al oft het Engels waren:

B 2 O

Figure 57 ZN: Gaspar Bouttats: *Adversity teaches us to pray* (1679).

Figure 58 Detail of Figure 57. Cello supported by a book.

Figure 59 NN: Hendrick Goltzius: *The mystic marriage of Saint Catherine* (ca. 1600-1602).

Figure 60 Detail of Figure 59. Cello supported by a raised platform.

Figure 61 NN: Pieter de Hooch: *A music party*.

Figure 62 Detail of Figure 61. Cello on a stool.

Figure 63 NN: Jacobus Buys: *Music making company* (1782).

Figure 64 Detail of Figure 63. Cello leaning against the left leg and resting on a short endpin.

Figure 65 NN: Leonaert Bramer: *Musicians* (1659).

Figure 66 Detail of Figure 65. A fairly large cello hanging with a rope from the neck.

Figure 67 ZN: Peeter Gijsels: *A village scene with figures dancing*.

Figure 68 Detail of Figure 67. A small cello hanging from the neck.

2.2.4 The shape of: the cello - the scroll - the sound holes

In Sub chapter 2.1 it was discussed what the shape and other characteristics of a real cello are. Below, a few illustrations from other European cello methods have been added to the one

already reproduced in Sub chapter 2.1 to underline these characteristics, assuming that illustrations in cello methods, which are meant to instruct about the instrument and the way of playing, are both correct and clear.[328]

Figure 69 Corrette (1741).[329]

Figure 70 Anonymous (n.d.).[330]

Figure 71 Laborde (1780).[331]

Figure 72 Aubert (n.d.).[332]

[328] In Section 2.2.11 I will discuss this further.
[329] Corrette (1741), unpaginated page.
[330] Anonymous (n.d. [between 1805-1807]), unpaginated page.
[331] Laborde (1780), p. 309.
[332] Aubert (n.d., 1802?), title page.

In Sub chapter 2.1 five characteristics of the cello were specified. In the current Section three of these five characteristics will be discussed: the shape of the cello body, the shape of the scroll and the shape of the sound holes. The presence of frets will be discussed in Section 2.2.5 and the number of strings in Section 2.2.6.

When considering whether an instrument depicted is a cello or not, one will first look at the **shape** of the instrument in question. For many images the question whether the bass instrument is a cello or a viol is easily answered.
As already pointed out at the end of Sub chapter 2.1, there are, however, also quite a few instruments which have a mixed shape: instruments with some characteristics of the cello and some of the viol. In these cases I had to make a decision whether to add them to the research corpus or not. The following example shows that this has not always been an easy task.
In *The Division-Violist* Christopher Simpson shows two different instruments (see Figure 73). The one on the left has quite a few characteristics of a cello (scroll and shape of the body, and even the 6 strings and the frets could be characteristics of the cello (see Sections 2.2.5 & 2.2.6)), the one on the right is without doubt a viol. About the sound the left instrument produces, Simpson writes: "The *Sound*, quick, and sprightly, like a *Violin*; <u>and *Viols* of that shape</u>[333] (the Bellyes being digged out of the Planck) do commonly render such a Sound."[334]
Simpson considers the left instrument a viol and not a cello (even though it has some external characteristics of a cello and, according to Simpson, it sounds different than a 'normal' viol). This shows that there must be something else which makes this instrument a viol and not a cello. This makes me believe that, in case of a mixed shape, it is very likely that it is the pitch of the strings which determines whether the instrument is a cello or a viol.[335]

Figure 73 Two different types of viol, as presented by Christopher Simpson.[336]

[333] Underscore: ET
[334] Simpson (1659), p. 2.
[335] In this case the instrument has 6 strings, something a cello in principal could have as well, which complicates the matter if an image like this (without a description) is found.
[336] Simpson (1659), p. 1.

My idea is endorsed by the late violin maker Fred Lindeman:

> "Besides the differences in shape of the body, it is especially the different tuning of the strings of the [different] families of instruments which brings about the specific tone color." [337]

How the strings of an instrument are tuned, however, is something which cannot be taken from an image, which complicates the matter.

Lindeman also states:

> "In this connection it is interesting to mention that in France during a short period in the 18th century viols were built with the body of a cello by Andrea Castagneri (Turin 1696 - Paris 1747) among others. These instruments are very informative, because they show the influence of the design and the tuning. The body has the form of a cello with sloping shoulders as the viol, the back at the top is not bent and is curved as on the cello. The front has f holes and the tuning corresponds with that of the viol. Not only the design makes these instruments hybrids, it is true that the sound is full and powerful like the sound of the cello because of the curved back, thanks to the tuning (overtones!) the sound color is more similar to that of the viol." [338]

As Lindeman writes, there is another difference between a cello and a viol: the back of the cello is curved and the back of the viol is flat and bent at the top. In most images the back of the instrument is invisible, as are the backs of both instruments in Figure 73. Therefore it is not clear either if Simpson's left viol (with the body of a cello) has a curved or a flat and bent back.
As discussed on page 101, according to Simpson a viol with a cello shape sounds more like a violin [than like a viol]. One can only wonder what a cello with a viol shape would have sounded like.

In order to provide the whole scene, I have added to the research corpus quite a few mixed shape instruments as well, with the risk that a some of these were in fact considered a viol and not a cello.[339]
These mixed shape instruments can have different combinations of characteristics: one can e.g. have all cello features except for the shoulders; another one can have all cello features except for the sound holes (see for example Figs. 5 & 6).

In the NN most depicted cellos have the shape of a violin, which means that the shoulders are not sloping as on the viol. Of 16th, 17th and 18th centuries together less than 10% of all instruments depicted has sloping shoulders.

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[337] Lindeman (2016), p. 17. Original: "Naast de verschillen in vormgeving van de romp is het vooral de andere stemming van de snaren in de instrumentenfamilies die een eigen toonkleur teweegbrengt."

[338] Lindeman (2016), pp. 18, 19. Original: "In dit verband is het interessant te vermelden dat in de achttiende eeuw in Frankrijk tijdens een korte periode gamba's zijn gebouwd met de romp van een cello door onder anderen Andrea Castagneri (Turijn 1696 - Parijs 1747). Het zijn bijzonder leerzame instrumenten, want zij maken de invloed van de vormgeving en de stemming hoorbaar. De romp heeft de vorm van een cello met bovenaan aflopende schouders als van een gamba, het achterblad heeft geen knik bovenaan en is gewelfd als bij een cello. In het bovenblad zitten f-gaten en de stemming is overeenkomstig die van een basgamba. Niet alleen qua vormgeving zijn het hybride instrumenten. De klank is weliswaar vol en krachtig als van een cello door het gewelfde achterblad, maar dankzij de stemming (de boventonen dus) is de klankkleur weer meer als van een gamba."

[339] My database consists of more than 850 images. If a few of those images are in fact not of a cello but of a viol, that is not a huge problem, because I base my conclusions on such large numbers.
A viol mostly has 6 or even 7 strings, although there are a few 16th and early 17th-century descriptions of 5-string instruments. In France in the 1760s there was also a 4-string instrument: a 4-string 'pardessus de viole'. Information from: www.oxfordmusiconline.com, last accessed: 2014, March 6.

All instruments depicted by Cornelis Dusart and also one by Pieter van den Berghe have square shoulders (for an example see Figure 41). I have not come across this kind of shoulders anywhere else, at least not so extreme.
Far more than in the NN, cellos in the ZN in the 17th century had a mixed shape with sloping shoulders. Around 80% of all 17th-century instruments had a cello shape and 20% had sloping shoulders.
Towards the end of the 17th century ZN cellos with sloping shoulders are hardly depicted anymore, and in the 18th century I counted only 3 instruments with sloping shoulders as opposed to 77 cellos with normal ones.

I have found three types of **scroll** on the cello: a violin scroll, a scroll shaped like a human head or a scroll shaped like an animal head. The last two shapes are very common on a viol, but not so much on a cello. Most NN instruments have a violin scroll (287), although an animal or human head is depicted on some instruments as well (33). All these deviating NN scrolls date from the 17th century, except for 1 dating from the 18th century. A NN example of a human head is shown in Figure 74. A ZN example with an animal head is shown in Figure 76. I will come back to this in Chapter 3, in which one instrument with a human head and one with the head of a satyr is included.

Figure 74 NN: Edwaert Collier: ***Vanitas still life with decorative tableware, jewelry boxes, regalia, a clock, a Nautilus-shell beaker, musical instruments, a book and other objects*****.**

Figure 75 Detail of Figure 74. A cello with sloping shoulders and a scroll in the form of a human head.

Figure 76 ZN: Frans Floris: ***The celebration of David after the fight with Goliath*** **(1550-1575).**

Figure 77 Detail of Figure 76. Note the scroll shaped like an animal head, in this case a lion.

Figure 78 Detail of Figure 76.

Because of the subject of many of the ZN paintings the musicians appear in the background (for more on this subject see Section 2.2.10). It is therefore often difficult to see whether an instrument has a cello scroll, or a scroll shaped like an animal or a human head. Over more than 2 centuries I only found 8 instruments which definitely did not have a normal cello scroll. In many cases (193) I was able to determine that the instrument indeed had a cello scroll.

Most NN instruments (295) have normal **sound holes** in the shape of an f. I found only a handful (8) of instruments which have different sound holes, from both the 17th and 18th centuries. In three of these cases the instruments did not have any sound holes at all.[340]
In the ZN I found 20 representations of instruments with sound holes in a c (see Figure 79) or flame shape. Of 121 instruments it could not be identified what the shape of the sound holes was. The rest (213) had sound holes in an f shape. Towards the end of the 17th century these differences in the shapes of the sound holes disappeared almost completely.

[340] This was the case with Simon Fokke, Matthijs Pool (1720) and Jan & Casper Luyken (1694, Amsterdam Museum, TA 13420).

Figure 79 ZN: Jan Josef Horemans II: *A musical company in an interior*.

Figure 80 Detail of Figure 79. Note the c-holes.

The narrow shape of the instrument in Figure 81 reminds us of the cello depicted in Laborde's cello 'method' reproduced in Figure 71. Also note the shape of the sound holes.

Figure 81 ZN: Hieronymus Francken II: *Dancers and musicians in an interior*.

Figure 82 Detail of Figure 81. Note the shape of the sound holes and frets (to be discussed in Section 2.2.5).

The images above show, as already stated at the beginning of this Section, that the mixed shape instruments consisted of different combinations of characteristics of the cello and the viol.

In quite a few cases one or more aspects of the shape of the instrument are invisible, mostly due to the fact that the cello is partly hidden behind a person.

As shown in Section 2.2.2, over the 17th century there was a clear development towards a smaller/normal-sized instrument. This development is not so clear for the shape of the cello and the f-holes. In the 17th and 18th centuries the proportion between both features remains more or less the same.

However, as said above, I only found 1 differently shaped scroll in the 18th century. Although among cellos with invisible scrolls, there could well have been one or a few with a different shape.

2.2.5 Frets

Frets are firstly associated with the viol and not with the cello. In Dutch literature hardly anything can be found about frets, except in the anonymous *Verhandeling over de muziek* (1772) and in Quantz *Flötenschule*.[341] It is stated in the *Verhandeling* that the basso viola used to have frets, but not anymore. Quantz mentions cellos with frets and gives instructions on how to handle them when playing flats. An example of an instrument with frets is reproduced in Figure 83.

Figure 83 NN: Cornelis Cort: *Hearing* (1561).

Figure 84 Detail of Figure 83.

Although the instrument in Figure 83 has frets, the shape of the instrument, the number of strings, the f-shaped sound holes and the shape of the scroll point in the direction of a cello.

[341] Anonymous (1772), p. 359 & Quantz (1754), p. 145.

In the literature written outside the Low Countries, henceforth European literature, one can find a bit more information on the use of frets on the cello.
In 1741 Michel Corrette writes:

> "In the beginning [meaning: when one starts playing the cello] one could mark on the fingerboard of the cello the 12 half tones of the octave according to the division below [not reproduced here], by making transversal lines on the fingerboard, which will enable one to learn in an instant on which line to play which note."[342]

In England Robert Crome (1765?) writes:

> "Tho' the Learner may have a good Ear, it will be some time before he can stop the Notes perfectly in tune, and therefore it will be a great help to him at first to have his Finger board Fretted, like that of the Guittar, and when the Fingers are acquainted with the Finger board, have the fretts filed down;" [343]

Also in England, in the cello method published by Broderip and Wilkinson (published around 1800) one can read the following in the Chapter on 'shifting':

> "Yet though the Learner may have a good Ear it will be some time before he can stop the Notes perfectly in tune, therefore some have the frets or cross lines as in the Scale opposite Page 19 marked on the finger-board, till such time as practice & an improved Ear enable them to do without those guides."[344]

All authors agree on the fact that for beginners it could be useful to have frets, but at a later time they will be removed again. Does this fact say something about the technical level of the cellists in Figs. 85 & 88? These images are 2 examples out of 9 NN instruments with frets. All instruments with frets date from the 16th and 17th centuries. From the 18th century no images were found (except a ceramic plate, see Section 2.3.2). This corresponds with what is written by Anonymous (1772).[345] Most instruments (322), also the 17th-century ones, did not have frets, but of 97 instruments it could not be distinguished.

Figure 85 NN: Lumen van Portengen: *Musical gathering* (1643).

[342] Corrette (1741), p. 23. Original: "Dans les commencemens on peut marquer sur le Manche du Violoncelle les 12 demi-tons de l'Octave selon la division cy dessous, en faisant sur le Manche des lignes transversalles, ce qui apprendra dans le moment que sur telle ligne transversalle on fait tel ton."
[343] Crome (1765?), pp. 6, 7.
[344] Anonymous (n.d. [between 1805-1807]), p. 21.
[345] Anonymous (1772), p. 359.

Figure 86 Detail of Figure 85.

Figure 87 Detail of the fingerboard.

The frets used on viols, are made of small pieces of gut tied around the fingerboard. The frets in the painting reproduced in Figure 85 do not seem to be covering the total width of the fingerboard, at least not all of the frets. The frets in the higher positions are shorter/smaller than the ones in the lower positons. In my opinion these frets are an indication for how high one used to play on an instrument, and only the higher strings were used to play higher notes. The frets seem to be quite far apart from each other (although it is hard to judge when one does not know the exact measurements of the cello) and the neck of the cello looks quite short.
The frets on the cello in Figure 88 look like normal 'viol' frets and seem to be covering the total width of the fingerboard.

Figure 88 NN: Laurence Neter: *Elegant company courting, dancing and playing music in an interior* (ca. 1635).

Figure 89 Detail of Figure 88.

In the ZN I found a similar amount of representations of fretted cellos (12), all dating from the 17th century, except for two, one of which is reproduced in Figure 90. All the other instruments had either no frets (176) or the image or reproduction was not clear enough (166).

Figure 90 ZN: Petrus Norbertus van Reysschoot: *Design for a ceiling with the representation of the marriage of Jupiter and Juno*.

Figure 91 Detail of Figure 90. Note the frets and the 5 strings.

All 17th-century fretted instruments in ZN date from the first half of the century, more or less from the same period as was the case in the NN.

2.2.6 The strings (number and material)

Some written sources from the Low Countries mention the number of strings (see Sub chapter 1.5). This differs from 4 to 6. All three possibilities were found on images, although one more than the other.

Anonymous (1772) is the only written source to mention 6 strings. And as little as is written about 6-string instruments, as few images were found, 9 in total (7 from NN and 2 from ZN). All these 6-string instruments date from the 17th century. Towards the end of the century they are not depicted anymore. See for an example of a 6-string instrument Figure 92.

Figure 92 NN: Simon van de Passe: *Musical company* (1612).

Figure 93 Detail of Figure 92. A 6-string cello.

In several European treatises the 6-string cello is also mentioned. In Germany Johann Mattheson writes in 1713:

> "The outstanding violoncello, the basso viola and viola da spalla are small bass violins/in comparison to the larger ones/ with 5 and also 6 strings/…"[346]

Mattheson's text is copied almost literally by Johann Gottfried Walther[347] and Johann Christoph & Johann David Stößel (1737[348] & 1749[349]).
In 1738 Johann Philipp Eisel writes:

> "How many strings does a violoncello have?
> Generally four, sometimes also five, now and then one finds one which has even six."[350]

Towards the end of the 18th century Johann Adam Hiller comments:

> "Violoncello, small bass violin. Formerly the cello had 5 and 6 strings."[351]

In England in 1740 James Grassineau writes:

> "Violincello [sic] of the *Italians*, is properly what we call the Bass Violin with four strings, sometimes even five or six; but those are not common, the first being most used among us."[352]

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[346] Mattheson (1713), p. 285. Original: "Der hervorragende Violoncello, die Bassa Viola und Viola di Spala [sic], sind kleine Bass-Geigen/in Vergleichung der grössern/mit 5 auch wol 6. Saiten/…."
[347] Walther (1732), p. 637.
[348] Stößel (1737), p. 417.
[349] Stößel (1749), p. 418.
[350] Eisel (1738), p. 45. Original: "Wie viel hat ein Violoncello Saiten? Insgemein vier, manchmal auch fünff, dann und wann trifft man ihrer an die wohl gar sechs haben."
[351] Hiller (ca. 1792), p. 86. Original: "Violoncello, kleine Baßgeige. Man hatte deren ehemals mit 5 und 6 Saiten." Underscore: ET.

And in France Sebastien de Brossard writes in 1703:

> "Violoncello. It is strictly speaking our 'quinte de violon', or a small bass violin with five or six strings."[353]

These quotes show that elsewhere in Europe also 6-string cellos were used, however not very regularly. This corresponds with my findings in the Low Countries.
The few Dutch 18th-century written sources which mention the number of strings are more or less in agreement that in the 18th century the cello had 4 strings, but that in the 17th century (or: in the past) the cello could also have 5 strings. The only 17th-century source Douwes (1699) confirms this.
Many NN images of 4 and 5-string instruments were found. Whereas in the 17th century there were twice as many 4-string instruments (117) as 5-string instruments (59), in the 18th century this proportion is very different: 23 4-string cellos and only 3 5-string instruments (proportion ca. 8:1). Especially in the period 1625-1650 many 5-string instruments were depicted. The only 16th-century instrument with visible strings has 4.
In two periods (1600-1625 & 1625-1650) when the proportion between normal and large size instruments is almost 50-50, one finds 4 and 5-string instruments in more or less the same proportion. In the following period (1650-1675) there is a huge increase of 4-string instruments, whereas the proportion between normal and large size instruments still remains around 50-50. This proportion changes completely towards the end of the 17th century, and in the 18th century hardly any large and 5-string instruments are found anymore. It has been argued that the decrease of the size of the instrument has to do with a new kind of (low) string: one wound with metal. For both the NN and the ZN I have found a few 18th-century examples of instruments which clearly show this metal wire. For an example see Figure 94. The metal wire can be clearly seen on the bottom 2 strings: the colour is very different from the other strings. In very many images it was impossible to decide what colour the strings had, and 132 cellos clearly had all gut strings.

Figure 94 ZN: Balthasar Beschey: *Portrait of Jacob-Johannes Cremers (....-1762) and Cornelia Johanna Nicolai (....-1786) at their wedding* (1768).

Figure 95 Detail of Figure 94. Note the colour of the strings. Also note the white hair of the bow and the endpin.

[352] Grassineau (1740), p. 329.
[353] Brossard (1703), unpaginated. Original: "Violoncello. C'est proprement nôtre Quinte de Violon, ou une Petite Basse de Violin à cinq ou six Chordes."

In several newspapers of the time silver strings are advertised. For example: "silver bass strings"[354] and "[...] silver strings; of the last three sorts also cello strings".[355]
Verschuere Reynvaan is the only Dutch treatise mentioning the material of the strings: he states that the bottom string is silver.[356] I am convinced a silver wound string is meant.
These metal wired strings are also described by Heinrich Christoph Koch in 1802:

> "It [the cello] is strung with 4 gut strings, of which the bottom two are covered with [metal] wire, […]."[357]

Koch describes which strings have the wire, the newspaper adverts are not that clear. In the ZN the situation is a little different from that in the NN. Where in the NN quite a considerable amount of 5-string instruments was depicted in the 17th century, in the ZN I have found just a handful. In total I found 17 5-string instruments, as opposed to 78 4-string ones. In this century in the period of 1625-1650 the production of 5-string instruments was the most prolific, as it was in the NN during the same period. After this period there was a huge decline.
Even more than in the NN, in the ZN paintings were produced[358] in such a way that tiny details like strings (including the colour) and pegs could not be identified. This was the case for more than 50% of all paintings produced in ZN.

A few treatises from the Low Countries give a tuning for a 4-string instrument (CGda). This is a tuning for an 18th-century cello. Whether this same tuning was used in the 17th century does not become clear. John Playford in England (*Introduction to the Skill of Music*) and Michel Corrette (1741) in France give a tuning B♭Fcg for the (larger) bass violin. Many of the 17th-century instruments from the Low Countries are large instruments. It is quite possible that on those instruments the same tuning was used.
As is shown in this Section also 5 and 6-string instruments were played. There are no written sources from the Low Countries which indicate a tuning for these instruments. Framery gives a tuning for a 5-string instrument: CGdad'.[359] I wonder whether this tuning is the right tuning for the large instruments, because the pitch of the highest string is quite high.

2.2.7 Case study: overhand or underhand bowing

In many of the 17th-century paintings from the NN an underhand bow grip is depicted (see for example Figs. 85, 88 & 108). As shown in Chapter 1, this is not documented at all in Dutch written sources of the time. Also in modern books on the violoncello I was not able to find much information on this subject. An exception to this is the article *The cello bow held the viol-way; once common, but now almost forgotten* by the Australian cellist Mark Smith[360] and the book *One Hundred Years of Violoncello* by Valerie Walden.[361] Grove Music Online devotes just one sentence to this way of playing.[362] The Italian viol and cello player Alberto Rasi has collected many representations of cellists playing underhand from several European countries.[363] He has also made experiments with playing with an underhand bow grip.
However, in the 18th century there are several European sources which document this way of holding the bow, including the Dutch translation of Quantz's *Flötenschule*. These 18th-century

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[354] Anonymous (1758, January 9). *Utrechtsche Courant*, p. ??, via Rasch (2015, November 12), p. 41. Original: "zilveren bassnaren".
[355] Anonymous (1761, March 18). *'s-Gravenhaagsche Courant*, p. ??, via Rasch (2015, November 12), p. 6. Original: " Zilvere Snaeren; zo ook van de laetste drie zoorten Violoncel-snaeren".
[356] Verschuere Reynvaan (1795), p. 67.
[357] Koch (1802), p. 1697. Original: "Es ist mit vier Darmsaiten, von welchen die zwei tiefsten mit Drathe übersponnen sind, bezogen, […]."
[358] As well as their reproductions in modern times!
[359] Framery & Guinguené (1788), p. 25.
[360] Smith (1995), pp. 47-61.
[361] Walden (1998).
[362] Grove Music Online, last accessed: 2014, January 24.
[363] Website Rasi: https://get.google.com/albumarchive/109342865246470664335/album/AF1QipPu74qbZSG8xzJecb4oph3UvJDy0Xj0AQoAfPgJ

sources (in)directly confirm what is documented in pictorial evidence: that in the 17th century (or at least some time before those treatises were written) it was normal[364] to play with an underhand bow grip. They say in fact that in the 18th century the underhand bow hold is old-fashioned, thus showing that before it was normal to play with underhand grip, but that by then it was not done so often anymore.
Because there are so few written sources dealing with this way of playing, I will chronologically quote all of them here.
The only 17th-century source I was able to find is Georg Muffat's *Florilegium Secundum* (1698). Muffat writes the following:

> "Most Germans agree with the Lullists on the holding of the bow for the violins and violas; that is, pressing the thumb against the hair and laying the other fingers on the back of the bow. It is also generally held in this way for the bass by the Lullists; they differ from the Italian practice, which concerns the small violins, in which the hair is untouched, and from that of the bass gambists and others, in which the fingers lie between the wood and the hair.
> Although good violinists hold that the longer, steadier, more even, and sweeter the bow-strokes, the better, yet it has been observed that the Germans and the Italians do not agree with the Lullists, not even to any great extent among themselves, in the matter of the rules for up- and down-bows. But it is well known that the Lullists, whom the English, Dutch, and many others are already imitating, all bow the most important notes of the musical meter, especially those which begin the measure and which end a cadence, and thus strongly show the motion of the dance, in the same way, even if a thousand of them were to play together."[365]

The fact that Muffat mentions the Dutch (in Latin original: "Belgae"), makes this quote, in the light of the present dissertation, extra interesting. Lullist bass players generally bow overhand, as Muffat states. It is implied that Italian bass gambists and others [cellists?!] bow underhand. By 1698, at the publication of *Florilegium Secundum*, the Dutch are already imitating the Lullists with the way they are bowing. By writing "already imitating" Muffat implies that the Dutch bowed in a different manner before, i.e. underhand.
The German born organ player and composer Johann Daniel Berlin published a musical treatise, including methods for several instruments, among which is the bass violin. It was published in Trondheim, Norway, in 1744. Berlin writes the following about holding the bow of the bass violin:

> "The bow of the 'Basse-fiolen' should also be held and handled in its own way; hold the bow in the gap between the thumb and the index finger, so that the index finger and the middle finger rest on the wood of the bow. The ring finger and the little finger are located within over the hair of the bow. Others hold the bow differently; most important is to find the way that is the most comfortable."[366]

In the *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* of 1752 Johann Joachim Quantz writes about bowing (referring to both the viol and the violin). For both instruments he only mentions one bowing direction. This direction of the bowing, the bowstroke for the main note, also implies the way the bow is held.

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[364] 'normal' or 'fairly normal'. How normal it was exactly, will be shown later in this Section.
[365] Muffat (1698). Modern English translation taken from: Wilson (2001), p. 33.
[366] Berlin (1744), p. 92. Original: "Basse-Fiolens Buc har ogsaa sin egen slags holdelse og Styrelse: Med Gabet imellem Tommelfingeren of Pegefingeren anfattes Buen, saa at Pegefingeren of Mellemfingeren hviler paa Træe-Buen. Guldfingeren og den lille Finger ligger inden for over Haar-Buen. Og stal man saaledes komme til at tvinge Buen i dens Strygen, ligesom man vil. Andre bruger Buen andeledes; det kommer meest and paa, at vænne sig til den Maade, hvorved man best kand komme fort." Translation very kindly made for me by Roar Blye, April 2013.

Quantz writes:

> "Some use the bow as is common on the viol, that is: instead of the down bow on the main note, from the left to the right hand, they make an up bow from the right to the left [hand], and start with the tip of the bow. Others however do it as the violinists, and start the same bow with the lower part of the bow. This last way is common with the Italians, and has a better result than the first way, not only when playing a solo, but specially when accompanying."[367]

Johann Daniel Berlin leaves the decision to the player, for him the most important thing is that it is comfortable. Quantz however clearly favors the overhand grip, which, as he says, has a better result, hinting at a better sound and probably better articulation.
Two years after the publication of Quantz' Flötenschule in Germany, the book was translated into Dutch by the organist, composer and theorist Jacob Wilhelm Lustig. Lustig was of German descent but also wrote books in Dutch, so one could expect that the translation was in safe hands with him. He indeed translated literally, but added the word 'here' ('hier'):

> "Zommigen gaan hier[368] met de boog eveneens te werk, als by de Viola da Gamba; maakende namelyk by de hoofdnooten eene opstrek, met de punt des strykstoks beginnende; daarentegen doen anderen gelyk de Violinisten, die by de gemelde nooten met de benedenstrek, of met het onderste gedeelte der boog aanvangen. Deeze laatste manier, by de Italiaanen gebruikelyk, is niet aleen by 't Solo-speelen, maar ook voornamelyk by 't accompagnement, van meerder dienst:...."[369]

By adding the word 'here' in the quote above, it feels like Lustig wanted to emphasize that not only in Germany but also in Holland some cellists played with underhand grip.[370]
In the German text one finds the word 'einige' and in the Dutch text it says 'zommigen', both words meaning 'some'.[371] Valerie Walden concludes: "Quantz indicated in the middle of the century that, among German players with whom he had contact, the underhand grip was as common as the overhand grip."[372] I am not at all convinced that 'as common as' means the same thing as 'some'. If she has based her conclusion just on the text quoted above, I strongly feel that she jumped to conclusions too quickly.
A rather unclear quote comes from *Apollo's Cabinet: or the Muses Delight*, which was published in England in 1756:

> "The Bow must be drawn across the Strings parallel to the Bridge: But as both Bowing and Fingering is not only difficult to describe but also practised various Ways by different Performers, what has already been said will be found sufficient for an Introduction to playing this Instrument."[373]

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[367] Quantz (1752), p. 212. Original text: "Einige streichen mit dem Bogen so, wie es bei der Viola da Gamba üblich ist, nämlich: anstatt des Herunterstrichs, von der linken zur rechten Hand, bei den Hauptnoten, machen sie den Hinaufstrich, von der rechten zur linken, und fangen mit der Spitze des Bogens an. Andere hingegen machen es wie die Violinisten, und fangen denselben Strich met dem untersten Theil des Bogens an. Diese letztere Art ist bei den Italiänern üblich, und thut nicht nur beim Solospielen, sondern auch vornehmlich bei dem Accompagnement, bessere Wirkung als die erste:....."
[368] Underscoring: ET.
[369] Quantz (translation Lustig J. W., 1754), p. 141. In this case I made no translation of the Dutch text, because I translated the German text, and the German and Dutch texts are exactly the same, except for the word 'here'.
[370] In other translations Lustig made, he also added words or even entire passages.
[371] Translation of 'einige' confirmed to me by Jörn Boysen. Email of February 5th, 2014.
[372] Walden (1998), p. 79.
[373] Anonymous (1756). The manuscript I used lacks page numbers after page 44, but this text is on the last page but one. http://javanese.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/4/40/IMSLP100880-PMLP207040-apolloscabinet_vol1_instructions.pdf, last accessed: 2013, April 17.

It is not completely clear to me whether the anonymous author writes about the way to hold the bow or not. Holding the bow in overhand or underhand grip will automatically result in other ways of bowing, so it could well be that he also writes about the bow hold. At least he points out that different performers do it in different ways, and this alone is interesting.
While collecting materials for his *A General History of Music*, Charles Burney collected additional material which was published between 1771 and 1775 as *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* and as *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and United Provinces*. In these two journals a few descriptions of cellists playing with underhand grip are found.
In Padua, Burney specifically went to listen to Antonio Vandini playing the cello. He remarks:

> "It is remarkable that Antonio, and all the other violoncello players here, hold the bow in the oldfashioned way, with the hand under".[374]

Corrette's remark that in Italy the overhand bowhold is used the most, clearly does not count for Padua about which cellists Burney writes that they all play with an underhand bow hold.
Charles Burney is not the only one who wrote about Vandini's bow hold. In 1776 Christoph Gottlieb von Murr writes the following in the *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte* (a German journal that was published between 1775 and 1789):

> "Padua. The famous Antonio Vandini. He holds his bow in the old way, with the hand on the hair and the thumb on the wood, as is done on the Viol."[375]

The following image shows Vandini actually playing underhand.

Figure 96 Pier Leone Ghezzi: a caricature of Antonio Vandini[376]

[374] Burney (1773), p. 142.
[375] Murr (1776), p. 23. Original text: "Padua. Der berühmte Antonio Vandini. Er hält den Bogen nach der alten Art, mit der Hand am Haare und dem Daumen am Holze, wie bey dem Gambenspielen."
[376] Fossombrone, Bibliotheca Civica Passionei and Vatican City, Ottob. Lat.3118, f162r.

Charles Burney also visited Berlin. He remarks about a certain Mr Grauel:

> "M. Grauel, a violoncello performer in the King's band, played a concerto; it was but ordinary music; however, it was well executed, though in the old manner, with the hand under the bow."[377]

In 1786 a Dutch translation was published of both Burney's Journals. This translation was made, again, by Jacob Wilhelm Lustig. As pointed out before, at several spots Lustig added words or entire passages. In this case however he left out something:

> "…; dan, de Heer Grauël, Violoncellist en Kamermusicus des Konings, een ander, op zyn Instrument, welke Kompositie niet veel om het Lijf had, schoon de Uitvoering goed was;"[378]

By leaving out the passage on the bow hold, we miss out on important information. Why? The part about Vandini is almost unchanged in the Dutch translation, except for different instructions of how to hold the bow (both underhand though):

> "Evenwel quam het my vreemt voor, dat *Antonio*, en alle Violoncellisten alhier, den Strijkstok nog op de oude Manier hielden, met de hand aan 't hair en den duim op het hout."[379]

In cello methods I have not been able to find any information about underhand playing. A treatise which comes close to a real method is *Anleitung zur praktischen Musik* by Johann Samuel Petri. Petri includes playing instructions for many instruments. The part about the cello ('Violoncello' or 'Baβgeige') fills over 40 pages. It starts very simple with mentioning the number of strings, but ends with very complicated fingerings for double stops and chords. About the way of holding the bow, Petri remarks:

> "The heavy bows of the past were held in such a way that the thumb was pointing upwards and the middle finger together with the ring finger was holding the frog. The index-finger however was held on top and was approaching the tip of the thumb. It was believed that one would have enough strength in the arm to get the heavy cello strings moving, because the cello was still handled as a violone.
> Nowadays however, now that the cello has better strings and the bow is completely different, one cannot and should not hold it like this anymore. Just in tutti passages when playing extremly loud, one could hold it like this, to relax a bit from holding the bow too long."[380]

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[377] Burney (1775), p. 219.

[378] Burney (1786), pp. 366-367. In this Dutch translation both English journals (one on France & Italy (1773) and the other on Germany, the Netherlands & United Provinces (1775)) are published together in one volume instead of the original two; on the Dutch title page the Netherlands and United Provinces are not mentioned.

[379] Burney, (1786), p. 67.

[380] Petri (1782), p. 418. Original text: "Das Bogenhalten geschah ehmals in die groben Bogen also, daß der Daumen in die Höhe stand und der mittelste große Finger nebst dem Goldfinger in dem Frosche widerhielten, der Spitzfinger aber sich oben überlegte und sich der Daumspitze näherte. So glaubte man Kraft genung im Arme zu haben, die groben Cellosaiten in Bewegung zu sezzen, da man das Violoncello noch Violonmäßig behandelte. Heut zu Tage aber, da das Violoncell besser bezogen ist, und der Bogen ganz anders beschaffen ist, kan und soll man den Bogen nicht mehr so halten, es müßte denn beim Tutti im äußersten Forte seyn, daß man einmal die Hand in diese Lage legen wollte, um von dem zu langen Halten des Bogens etwas auszuruhen."
The edition of 1782 was the second edition. The first edition was published in 1767. In that first edition Petri was able to only finish part of what he originally intended. He did not have time to write anything about the cello (or any other bowed instrument for that matter). As he stated himself: "That will have to wait until an extended version."

Petri not only gives information on how the bow was held in the past, but he also points out that those bows were heavier than the ones in use at the time he wrote his treatise. This makes sense, because instruments were larger and strings were thicker. In order to get those strings moving, one needed a heavy bow.
What strikes me in this quote is that Petri states that one could hold the bow the oldfashioned way, if one wants to relax a bit. I, as a cellist, have never felt the need of relaxing from holding the bow overhand, not even when playing loud for some time.
In the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* of 1799 there is a long report on the cellist Johann Schetky. I quote it partially:

> "It was to be admired, that he [Schetky] was able to produce the sweetest tone as well as much power, because the way he held his bow was different from all other cellists I heard. Other virtuosi (there are a few), who can match with him on this intrument, are surprised about this. It will be difficult for me to explain this bow hold. Usually the bow is managed with the thumb under and with four fingers over the stick, as with the violin, except that with the violoncello the arm hangs down and the bowstroke goes downwards […]. With Schetky it was different. The thumb lay on the frog of the bow, and the forefinger alone on the stick and the three other fingers underneath of the hair. Through the pressure of that [the fingers] lying below, especially of the little finger, he increased or decreased the power of his bow stroke, and thereby brought the maximum strength to the lower parts, or the loveliest oboe tones to the higher parts."[381]

This is a very detailed account of Schetky's playing. Again it becomes clear that the underhand bow grip is something which is hardly in use any more. The anonymous writer explains exactly how to hold the bow and even gives an idea of what kind of sound Schetky made.

From several quotes above it becomes clear that in the past many cellists used to play underhand, and that in the 18th century most cellists had changed to overhand playing. The way the bow is held, however, does not necessarily say something about the direction of bowing. Muffat and Quantz are the only authors who directly or indirectly mention the direction of bowing. They agree on the fact that when the bow is held underhand, the heavy bow stroke is the up bow. When playing overhand, the heavy bow stroke is the down bow.
Whether the other authors agree on this or not, does not become clear. In this respect, the following quote from Corrette's bass tutor (1781) is interesting, because it shows that double bass players do not agree with one and other: some bow this way and others bow the other way, even when holding the bow in the same way.
Corrette writes:

> "On the double bass one handles the bow as on the viol, which is the opposite of the violoncello. With regard to the bow strokes, the double bass players are not in agreement on that. Some, with enough reason in relation to the manner of holding the bow, want that the long notes[382] are played in an up bow and the short notes in a down bow as on the antique viol […]; others claim the opposite, that one

[381] Anonymous (1799), cols. 33-34. English translation: ET and Walden (1998), p. 80. Original text: "Zum bewundern war es, dass er die feinste Zartheit des Tons eben sowohl, als die höchste Kraft hervorbrachte, da seine Haltung des Bogens von der, aller Violoncellisten, die ich je gehört habe, verschieden war, und worüber andere Virtuosen, die sich auf diesem Instrumenten mit ihm zu messen wagten, (es gab der wenige) erstaunten. Es wird mir schwer fallen, diese haltung des Bogens begreiflich zu machen. Gewöhnlich wird der Bogen mit dem Daumen unter, und mit vier Fingern über dem Holz geführt, wie bey der Violin, nur dass bey dem Violoncello der Arm herabhängt und der Bogenstricht unterwärts geht […]. Bey Schetky war das anders. Der Daumen lag auf dem Frosch des Bogens, der Zeigefinger allein auf dem Holze; die drey andern Finger unterwärts auf den Haaren. Durch den Druck der unten liegenden, besonders des kleinen Fingers, vermerhte oder vermiderte er die Kraft seines Bogens auffallend, und brachte dadurch die höchste Stärke der Tiefe, oder den lieblichsten Oboenton in der Höhe hervor."
[382] I think that with "long notes" Corrette means the important notes and the "short notes" are the less important notes.

> should play the long [notes] in a down bow and the short [notes] in an up bow as on the violoncello."[383]

Not only Corrette writes about the different opinions. Muffat states that the Italians and Germans, although they do not agree with the French about the direction of bowing, they are also not in agreement among themselves.
As said before, Rasi has experimented with underhand playing, and he has come to the conclusion that "by holding the bow closest to the frog there is more naturalness in using the down bow as 'good'."[384] Double bass and violone player Maria Vahervuo (teacher of violone and baroque bass at the Sibelius Academy, Helsinki) states that baroque bass players nowadays, whether playing overhand or underhand, always follow the bowings of the other string players.[385]
Considering all of the above, it is very likely that in the Low Countries the bass violin players (an instrument more equal in size to a small double bass and with much thicker strings than the cello) also did not agree with each other, and that some bowed in one direction and others in the other direction, while all holding the bow in underhand grip.

In the text about Schetky it is mentioned that he plays in a different way (that is: underhand) than all other cellists the author knows. In many 18th-century sources the overhand playing is discussed. I will quote a few of the sources here.

In Michel Corrette's cello method three slightly different ways of holding the bow are mentioned. All three are overhand, but they differ from each other in the way the thumb and little finger are placed on the bow.
Corrette writes:

> "It is necessary to hold the bow in the right hand. One may hold it in three different ways. The first, which is the way used most often by the Italians, is to place the second, third, fourth and fifth fingers on the stick at points A, B, C, and D with the thumb below the third finger at E. The second way is also to place the second, third, and fourth fingers at the stick at A, B, and C, the thumb on the hair at F and the little finger poised on the stick opposite the hair at G. The third way of holding the bow is to place the second, third, and fourth fingers on the side of the frog at H, I, and K, the thumb underneath the hair at L, and the little finger on the side of the stick at M. These three different ways of holding the bow are equally good and it is best to choose that one which has the most power. To play the cello it is necessary to have power in the right arm to pull out the sound."[386]

Corrette adds an image to clarify his description (Figure 97):

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[383] Corrette (1781), pp. 7-8. Original: "L'archet de la contre-basse Se tient comme ce lui de la Viole […], ce qui est le contraire du Violoncelle. […] A l'egard des coups d'archet les contre-bassiers ne Sont gueres d'acord sur cela, les uns veulent, avec assez de raison par rapport à la maniere de tenir l'archet, que les notes longues se jouent en poussant et les notes breves en tirant comme à l'ancienne Viole […]; d'autres pretendent au contraire qu'il faut jouer les longues en tirant et les breves en poussant comme au Violoncelle."
[384] Email dated: 2017, May 27.
[385] Email dated: 2017, May 27.
[386] Corrette (1741), p. 8. Translation taken from: Graves (1972), pp. 19-20. Original text: "Il faut prendre l'Archet de la main droite. On peut le tenir de trois façons differentes: la premiere qui est la manière la plus usitée des Italiens, est de poser le 2e. 3e. 4e. et 5e. doigts sur le bois ABCD et le pouce dessous le 3e. doigt E. la seconde maniere est de poser aussi le 2e. 3e. et 4e. sur le bois ABC, le pouce sur le crin F, et le petit doigt posé sur le bois vis a vis le crin G.
Et la 3e. maniere [sic] de tenir l'Archet est de poser le 2e. 3e. et 4e. doigts du côté de la hausse H.I.K. le pouce dessous le crin L. et le petit doigt acôté du bois M. Ces trois façons differentes de tenir l'Archet sons également bonnes, et il est bon de choisir celle avec la quelle on a plus de force: Car pour jouer du Violoncelle il faut de la force dans le bras droit por. tirer du Son."

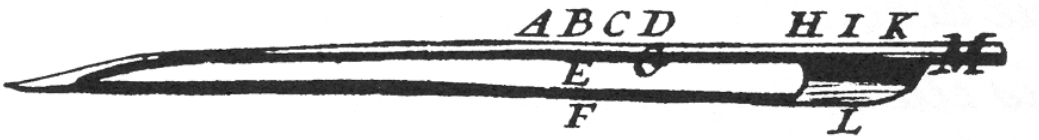


Figure 97 Three ways of holding the bow, as mentioned by Michel Corrette.

Corrette states that the first way is the way generally used by the Italians. This is also the way which is seen for the most part in 18th century representations and the one used predominantly to hold the baroque bow nowadays. The second way with the thumb on the hair and the little finger behind the stick is not so common, it is the French way as Corrette states in his violin method which was published just three years before his cello method.[387] The thumb on the hair is still used by some violin players today.[388] The third way is similar to the second way except that the whole hand is moved to the frog.

What to me is most interesting in Corrette's bow holds 2 and 3 is the way the little finger is placed on the bow. I tried this position myself, but I do not find it very comfortable, as opposed to one of my amateur cello students who had figured this position out all by himself, and said that he had more control over the bow like that. This example shows that details of the bow hold are very personal, exactly as Corrette stated almost 300 years ago.

The only clear example of the little finger behind the stick I was able to find in the NN, stems from the 18th century, and is reproduced in Figs. 98 & 99.

Figure 98 NN: Anonymous: *Cellist* (18th century). Cellist holding the bow in Corrette's manner no. 3.

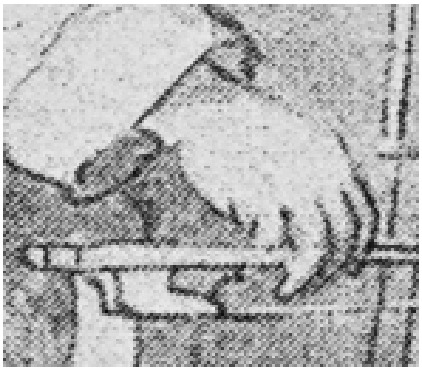


Figure 99 Detail of Figure 98. The little finger is clearly held behind the stick.

Because there was so little evidence for this position in the Low Countries, I have also inventorised whether this position was more popular in the rest of Europe than in the Low Countries. I have been able to find one example in Italy, one in England, and a few in France (all by the same artist), dating from the 16th century up till way into the 18th century. These examples

[387] Corrette (1738), p. 7.

[388] Dutch violin player Antoinette Lohman is a great advocate for this way of holding the bow.

are reproduced in Figs. 100-107. It is an understatement to say that this bow hold was not very popular in other countries either.
Except for the one example from Italy (the oldest!), in all the other images the cellists hold the bow away from the frog.

Figure 100 Bass instrument player from Saronno church (1536).

Figure 101 Detail of Figure 100. This cellist has two fingers behind the stick, and holds the bow close to the frog.

Figure 102 Gawen Hamilton: *A Musical Party, The Mathias Family* (1730s).[389]

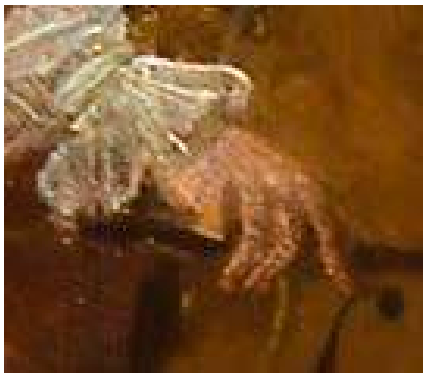


Figure 103 Detail of Figure 102.

[389] Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. no. 647.

Figure 104 Pierre-Paul Prud'hon. View from front: cellist holding the bow with little finger behind the stick.[390]

Figure 105 Pierre-Paul Prud'hon. View from back. The little finger behind the stick can be seen very clearly.[391]

Figure 106 Prud'hon. View from side.[392]

Figure 107 Detail of Figure 106.

The examples of an overhand bow hold with the little finger behind the stick, made by Pierre-Paul Prud'hon, are very unique. These drawings were intended for a cello method, which Baron de Joursanvault from Beaune was planning to write. I have not been able to track this method down, it was probably never published, but the drawings were made and survived time. And part

[390] Prud'hon, P. P. ((1758-1823). Paris: Fondation Custodia, inv. no. 2004-T.38.
[391] Prud'hon. Paris: Fondation Custodia, inv. no. 2004-T.40
[392] Prud'hon. Paris: Fondation Custodia, inv. no. 2004-T.34.

of Corrette's bow hold no. 3 is very clearly used by the cellist (Joursanvault himself?). More on these drawings can be found in Section 2.2.11.
The exact position with the thumb under the hair, the little finger behind the stick and the hand at the frog, as mentioned by Corrette, I have not been able to find anywhere, also because in certain cases the placing of the thumb was not visible.

As far as I have found, Corrette is the only one who explicitely gives more than one option for holding the bow overhand. Robert Crome, however mentions that different performers use the bow differently, but he continues to describe only one way. He writes:

> "As the use of the Bow is practis'd various ways by different performers and being of the greatest Consequence we will endeavour to put the Learner in a regular way; The Bow may be consider'd as the Tongue of the Instrument as all the Expression is from the Bow; the Bow in playing is always in Action, but the Fingers are often of no use; […]. the Bow must be held near the Nutt with the Thumb and fore Finger, and supported with the other Fingers near the end at a small distance from each other."[393]

Petri is very short about how to hold the bow:

> "The common way to hold the bow now, is the same as the one that is used on the violin, with the difference that the wood of the bow is turned more upwards. The result is that the hairs can receive more weight in order to bring out a penetrating and sharp bowing. In this way the bow will 'fall' on the string in a more perpendicular way, and the hand does not need that much strength to move it."[394]

Although in sources from NN nothing has been written about the bow grip, other European sources are quite convincing about how it was done in other European countries at the time. Contrary to the 18th century (and also the modern way of using the bow, with an overhand bow grip), in the 17th century many cellists played with underhand grip, as viol players still do today. The images from NN show that this was common practice here as well. Out of 367 17th century images just 31 cellists play with overhand grip, spread over the entire century (1600-1625: 6, 1625-1650: 10, 1650-1675: 6, 1675-1700: 9). In the entire 17th century 152 instruments are played underhand. When comparing the amount of instruments played overhand to the amount of instruments played underhand in the various time periods, one could easily say that during the 17th century overhand playing becomes gradually more common. This leaves 184 images, of which 150 are of unplayed instruments. The remaining 34 are played instruments, but it is impossible to determine how the bow is held. In the 18th century the overhand way of holding the bow becomes even more common, although some cellists are still depicted with an underhand bow hold.

In the ZN, as in the NN, the most popular way of holding the bow in the 17th century is with underhand grip. Of 167 visible grips, 129 are underhand, and 38 overhand. Compared to the NN, in the ZN far more overhand grip is found (in NN 1:5, in ZN ± 1:3). This is a big difference. I have not been able to find an explanation why this is so.
It is surprising that in the total of 5 16th-century images 4 cellists play with overhand grip.
Due to the vagueness of many paintings, in 49 cases the bow grip is invisible. For 44 paintings there is no bow grip, because the instruments are unplayed.
Whereas in the 17th century 37 cellists played with overhand grip, in the 18th century 43 cellists (of a much smaller total) are depicted playing with overhand grip, as opposed to 16 playing with

[393] Crome (1765?), p. 11.
[394] Petri (1782), p. 418. Original text: "Die jetzt gewöhnliche Art, den Bogen zu halten, ist eben dieselbe, die man bey der Violine gebraucht, nur daβ man die Bogenstange mehr aufwärts wendet, damit die Haare zu einem schneidenden und scharfen Striche desto mehr Druck bekommen können. Denn auf solche Weise fällt der Bogen beinahe perpendikulär auf die Saiten, und die Hand braucht weit weniger Kraft anzuwenden, ihn zu führen."

underhand grip. Clearly the underhand grip went slowly out of fashion. Unfortunately again in 30 cases the bow grip could not be identified or was not existing (unplayed instrument).
In the 18th century the ZN produced more paintings than the NN. In the ZN the dominance of the overhand grip is much more convincing.

In a few images the cello (and also other instruments in these images) is played the 'wrong' way round: it is bowed with the left hand. See for an example of this practice Figure 19.
All these cases are found on engravings. It is very probable that the cellists were not meant to play the wrong way, but that the visual artist was incapable to engrave instrumentalists in mirror.

In his *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* Quantz comments on the type of hair one should have on the bow for playing a bass line. In such cases, he writes, one should have a stronger bow with black hairs because that combination will attack the strings more fiercely.[395]
In more than half of the images from the NN the colour of the bow hairs could not be determined. Of 151 visible bows, 110 had black hair (Figure 108) and 41 had white hair (Figure 109). The numbers over the two centuries do not show a huge increase or decrease of one or the other type of hair. In certain periods in the 17th century the numbers are much higher than in other periods. The only reason for this is that in certain periods overall many more images were made than in other periods.
In the ZN the proportions are more or less the same as in the NN: 102 instruments with black hair, 27 with white hair, and of 225 instruments the colour could not be determined.

Figure 108 NN: Detail of Herbert Tuer: *Young woman playing a cello* (1669). A bow with black hair.

[395] See Section 1.1.1 and Quantz (1752), p. 212.

Figure 109 NN: Detail of Jacob Gerritsz. Cuyp: *Putto blowing bubbles standing beside a table with a vanitas still life* (ca. 1629). A bow with white hair.

2.2.8 Case study: the left hand

For cello playing both hands are essential. In Section 2.2.7 the right hand was discussed. In the currect Section the left hand will be dealt with.
The images from the Low Countries show two different ways (with slight deviations) how the left hand is placed on the fingerboard: perpendicular and oblique. The difference between the two positions of the hand is very clearly shown in Figure 110 (image taken from John Gunn's cello method of 1789).

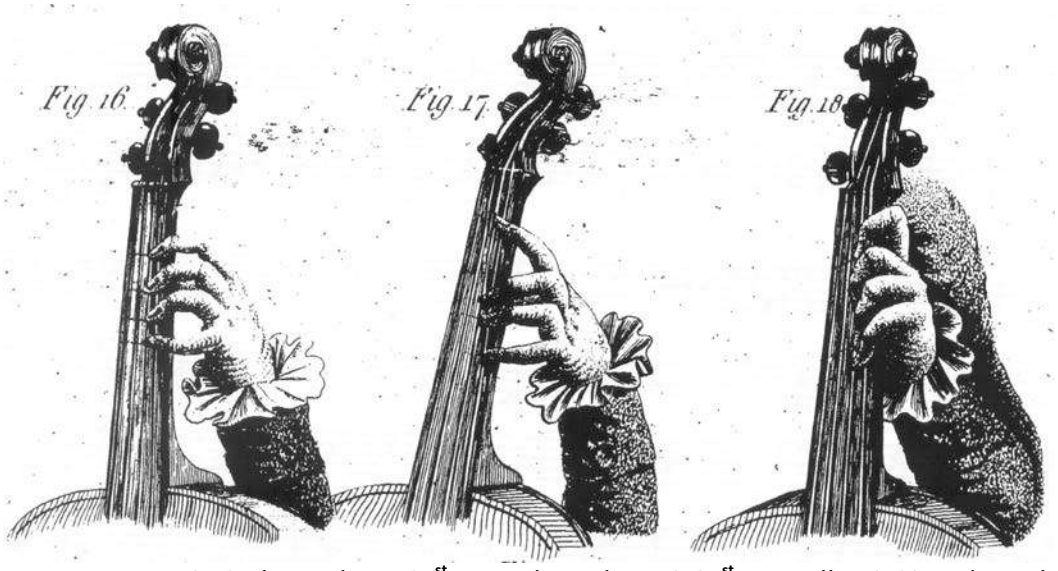


Figure 110 Perpendicular (Fig. 16 (normal 1st position) & 17 (extended 1st position)) and oblique (Fig. 18) hand positions from Gunn (1789).[396]

The perpendicular hand position shows the four fingers being placed at right angles on the strings, with evenly curved fingers. In the oblique hand position the entire hand is slanted backwards in the direction of the scroll/peg box, which cancels the right angles and the curved fingers. Gunn comments on these hand positions:

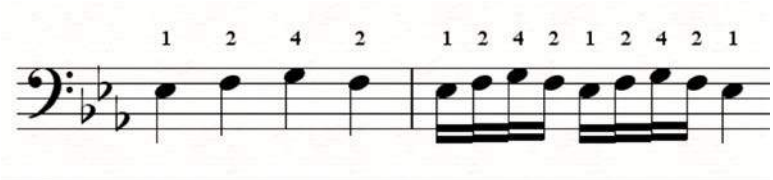
> "It will then be necessary to place the fingers of the left hand, on the fingerboard, in the position at Fig. 16, separating the fingers at about an inch

[396] Gunn (1789), between pp. 32 & 33.

> asunder, and raising them into the form of an arch; the fingers will then be at about the interval of a semitone from each other, but the first at that of a tone from the nut; and the fingers will, by the most simple movement, in crossing the strings, come to the proper distances for any of the notes on the other strings; a great advantage which this position of the hand has over that formerly in use (see Fig. 18), where the natural tendency of the fingers would be to move in the oblique direction, shown by the dotted lines; a tendency which can be counteracted but with great trouble."[397]

The dotted lines Gunn refers to are a bit difficult to see. In his Fig. 16 they can be seen best, and they are clearly at right angles to the strings, which enables one to place, without difficulty, the fingers on each string at more or less the same place (and thus play in tune!), considering the left arm moves along. In Gunn's Fig. 18 these dotted lines are not drawn at right angles. In case of playing the same finger on the top and bottom strings, the note on the bottom string will be much higher in pitch in proportion to the same finger on the top string.
This is not the only problem of an oblique hand position. In theory one could master placing the 1st and 4th finger in the right place in the oblique hand position (in my own experience only with some severe pain). However, placing the other two fingers in the right places and leaving the whole hand on the string is nearly impossible.

Duport writes about the problems for and the possibilities of the hand:

> "I used doublestops because in this way the hand will be put in the right position; also those who have their hand placed badly [i.e. oblique] when they play a single note, they will have it right when playing doublestops: one could say that they have two positions of the hand. What we call the bad position of the hand, is grabbing the neck like one does on the violin. This shortens the fingers and makes the interval between first and fourth [finger] almost impossible when two notes are required, unless one has an extremely large hand. People who play with this handposition, are obliged to lift the hand all the time, even when playing in one position, like in the following passage in e flat.
>
> 
>
>
> If those who grab the neck are in good faith, they will agree that they cannot execute this example without lifting the hand."[398]

Also in an anonymous serial in *Correspondance Des Amateurs Musiciens* of 1803 the correct position of the left hand is discussed, with reference to Duport (what is interesting is that Duport's method was published later than this newspaper article):

> "The true position of the left hand on the fingerboard of the bass, following the beautiful school of Duport, is completely horizontal, like that of the guitar. […].

[397] Gunn (1789), pp. 60-61.
[398] Duport (ca. 1806), p. 8. Original: "Je me suis servi de la double corde, parce qu'elle place forcément la main comme elle doit l'être; aussi ceux qui ont la main mal placée en jouant la corde simple, l'ont toujours bien quand ils font la double corde: on pourroit dire qu'ils ont deux positions de main. Ce que nous appellons mauvaise position de la main, est d'empoigner le manche comme on fait sur le Violon, cela raccourcit les doigts et rend presque impossible, l'écart du premier au quatrième, quand il doit être de deux tons, à moins qu'on n'ait la main extrêmement grande; ce qui fait que les personnes qui jouent avec cette position de main, sont obligées de sauter la main à tout moment, même en jouant la même position, comme en faisant le passage suivant en MI bémol. Si les personnes qui empoignent le manche, sont de bonne foi, elles conviendront qu'elles ne peuvent pas exècuter cet exemple, sans sauter la main."

> The horizontal position of the hand is necessary for elegance and ease of manner as well as for 'barrer'[399] without any effort in the arpeggios."[400]

When reading these quotes it is surprising that the oblique hand position was not considered bad by everybody. Some known cellists, among whom Donald Gow (1780), Jean Baptiste Janson (1803) and Bernhard Romberg (as late as 1839!), and for sure also many now unknown cellists played with this hand position.[401] Interestingly enough also the young Duport played with that hand position, but clearly changed his mind in later times.[402]
A good example of a perpendicular hand position is shown in Figure 108 and of an oblique position in Figure 113.

In Figure 110 it is impossible to see how the thumb is placed in the different hand positions.
My research corpus shows three different ways of placing the thumb on the neck, two of which have a similar effect on how freely the hand can move around on the fingerboard.
When the hand is placed perpendicularly on the fingerboard (with fingers standing in an arch) the thumb will be placed parallel with the other fingers on the neck with just the tip of the thumb, which position is shown in Figure 111.

Figure 111 ZN: Simon Floquet: *Minerva visits the Muses on Mount Helicon to see the fountain Hippocrene, which Pegasus had just brought forth* (1634-1635).

Figure 112 Detail of Figure 111. Tip of the thumb placed against the neck of the cello.

This way of placing the thumb is advocated in several cello methods.
Cupis writes about the flexibility of the hand in the perpendicular position:

> "One should place the thumb of the left hand in the middle of the length of the neck, on the other side of the fingerboard; thus the thumb will find itself

[399] 'Barrer': the way to place the fingers, like a movable nut, horizontally on the fingerboard to make chords.
[400] Anonymous (1803, October 1), p. 1. Original: "La vraie position de la main gauche sur la touche de la basse, suivant la belle école, celle de Duport, est tout-à-fait horizontale, comme celle de la guitarre. […]. La position horizontale de la main est nécessaire tant pour la grace et l'aisance, que pour barrer facilement dans les arpèges."
[401] Gow: Allan, D. (1780): Edinburgh: National Galleries of Schotland, inv. no. NGL 001.81; Janson: Anonymous (1803, October 1), p. 1; Romberg: Romberg (1839), between pp. 6 & 7.
[402] Duport is depicted playing with an oblique hand position around 1765-1770: Carmontelle, L. C. de. *MM Duport, Vachon, Rodolphe, Provers, Vernier.* Chantilly: Musée Condée, inv. no. CAR 424.

> opposite the index finger without grabbing the neck; otherwise one will place the fingers badly and one looses the advantage of making use of it easily."[403]

An anonymous writer in England is very specific about which part of the thumb has to be placed against the neck:

> "[…] only be careful to fix the first joint of your Thumb at the back part of the neck of your Instrument, […]."[404]

The anonymous author in the *Correspondance* of 1803 places the thumb between the first and second finger:

> "[…] the thumb, placed on the back of the neck, must stand between the first two fingers."[405]

Duport writes about the thumb being parallel to the other fingers:

> "First, the thumb should be placed very naturally under the neck, parallel to and between the first and second fingers, when these are placed on the fingerboard."[406]

These quotes give a good idea of how cellists should place their thumb. The writers agree on the fact that the thumb should be placed against the neck parallel to the other fingers. They, and also other writers, however, differ on where the thumb should be placed exactly, but the average is somewhere between the first and second finger.

In the oblique manner the thumb will either be placed along the neck (Figure 113) or around the neck (Figure 115).
For both of these ways the neck will be 'grabbed' with the entire hand, a position which is, as was shown above, highly discouraged.
When looking more closely at these examples it is striking that the cellos are held (quite far) away from the body. It is quite logical that when the cello is away from the body and there is no support from the body and the legs, it should be held in a different way. This is done by the entire hand, thus resulting in a thumb placed the way as is shown in these examples.
Musicologist and baroque cellist Marc Vanscheeuwijck suggests that "once the instrument was more regularly used in theatres and churches, and less in processions and in dance music, the support of the thumb was no longer necessary to carry the instrument".[407]
When writing this dissertation it became clear that learning to play underhand was more radical than thought at first. While doing so I had to change the position of the cello, which resulted in using my left hand thumb much more than before.

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[403] Cupis (1772), p. 2. Original: "Il faut placer le pouce de la main gauche au milieu de la longeur du manche a l'opposite de la Touche de façon que le pouce se trouve corespondant [sic] à l'index sans empoigner le manche, sinon on dispose mal ses doigts et l'on perd l'avantage de s'en servir avec facilité."
[404] Anonymous (1785), p. 7.
[405] Anonymous (1803, October 1), p. 1. Original: "[…] le pouce, placé sur le dos du manche doit répondre au milieu des deux premiers doigts."
[406] Duport (ca. 1806), p. 6. Original: "Premièrement, le pouce doit se poser tout naturellement à plat dessous le manche, parallèlement entre le premier et le second doigt, quand ils sont posés sur la touche."
[407] Vanscheeuwijck (1996), p. 86.

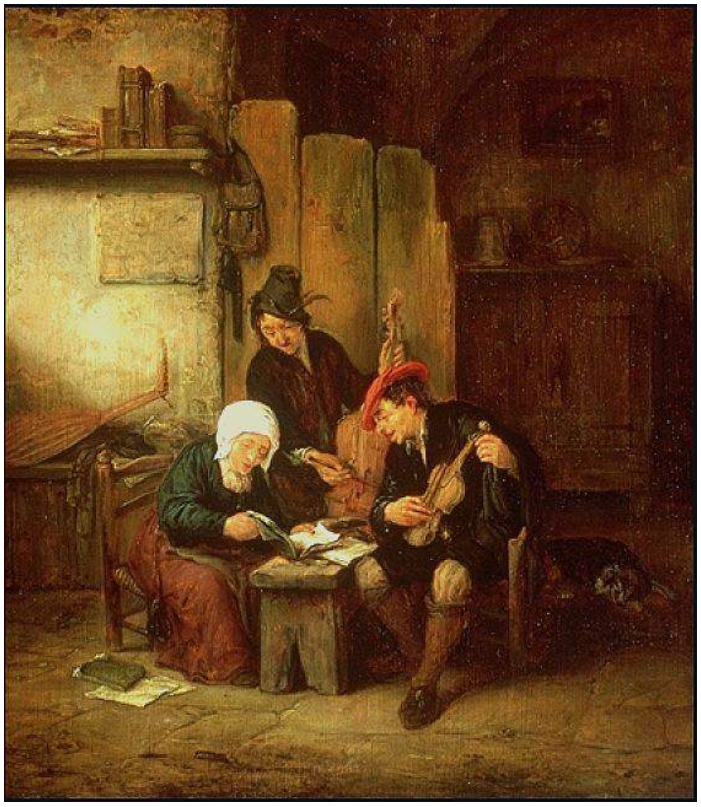

Figure 113 NN: Adriaen van Ostade: *Two men and a woman making music in a farmhouse interior* (1661).

Figure 114 Detail of Figure 113. Thumb along neck.

Figure 115 ZN: Ambrosius Francken I: *Triumph of the Christ child* (1605-1610).

Figure 116 Detail of Figure 115. Thumb around the neck.

In the NN this development is shown in the following numbers: whereas in the 16th and 17th century I found 40 examples of thumbs placed as discussed above, in the 18th century I only found 5 examples. In the ZN this is somewhat different: 28 in the 17th century and 34 in the 18th century. The 'increase' in the 18th century of ZN instruments played with the thumb lying against the neck is surprising, taking into account Vanscheeuwijck's remark. However, when looking at the numbers in the 'indoors/outdoors' category, it becomes at least partly clear why the numbers in the ZN are higher than in the NN. In the ZN still in the 18th century quite a few low-life outdoor scenes (in fact: as many as in the 17th century) were depicted (for example paintings by Elisabeth Seldron). The instruments depicted in these scenes are held away from the body, thus needing the support of the thumb.

In the oblique manner, it is difficult to place the fingers in the right spot. Most of the instruments in the 17th century were much larger, as was shown in Section 2.2.2. My own experience with placing my hand in an oblique manner on such a large instrument is, that one can only do this if one moves the hand for playing different notes. It is nearly impossible to have all fingers at their right places at the same time (unless one has a very large hand, which I do not). In case of moving the hand around, playing in tune and also playing double stops will become extremely difficult.
In many images the thumb is not visible. This is mostly due to the fact that cellists were often depicted from the front.

In many representations of played instruments the other 4 fingers are shown with these fingers placed on the strings in a few different fingering patterns.
In cello methods two different kinds of fingering patterns are discussed: a chromatic (1234) and a diatonic one (124 or 134). With the chromatic fingering pattern the distance between each finger is a semitone. With a diatonic fingering pattern the distance between the fingers can differ, between some fingers a semitone, and between other fingers a whole tone. In modern playing both fingering patterns are used and mostly a combination of the two. In case of the diatonic pattern, however, whole tones are played only between fingers 1 and 2 (called extension), and not between the other fingers.[408]
A comfortable (i.e. chromatic) fingering pattern for a C major scale in first position would be as follows:

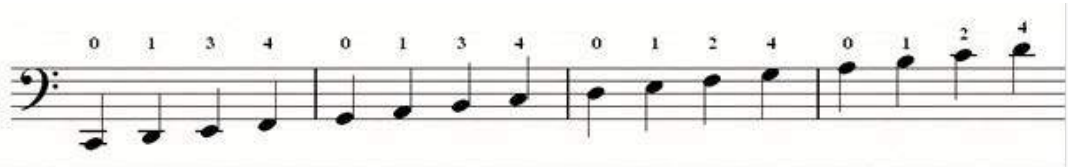

Figure 117 Chromatic fingering pattern.

This chromatic fingering is documented in many 18th-century cello methods and treatises.[409]
Most images show this chromatic fingering pattern, although there are a few where one can see an extension between the 1st and 2nd finger. The best example of this extension is reproduced in Figure 118.

Figure 118 NN: Pieter Symensz. Potter: *An aristocratic company making music.*

Figure 119 Detail of Figure 118. Left with extension between 1st and 2nd finger.

Corrette and Crome advocate another fingering (Figure 120), for different reasons.

[408] There are some exceptions to this basic rule. The cellists Tortelier and Starker also spanned a fourth between fingers 1 and 4, which means there have to be at least two whole tones and a minor second between those fingers. See for example: Tortelier (1975), pp. 74-75.
[409] In chronological order: Eisel (1738), pp. 45-46; Lanzetti (1772); Cupis (1772); Baumgartner (1774); Tillière (1774); Anonymous (1785); Kauer (1789).

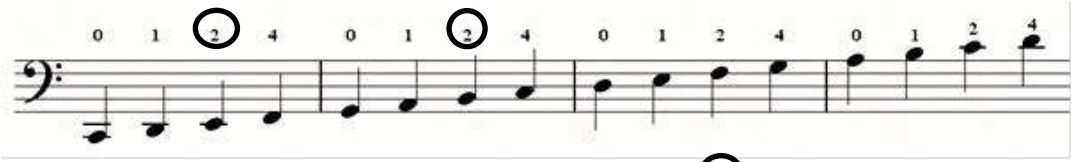

Figure 120 Fingering pattern by Corrette (1741) and Crome (1765?). 2 means different fingering from fingering shown in Figure 117.

Corrette comments:

> "Those who play the violin can hardly get used to this position [Figure 117] which is so different from the one of the violin: whereas the other position [Figure 120] is similar to it [the position of the violin].[410]

and:

> "This position [Figure 117] is an old-fashioned remainder of the big basse de violon, which was tuned on G and which is now excluded from the opera and all the foreign countries."[411]

The quote above may seem illogical. Musicians, however, were used to play different instruments, and for violinists who also played some cello, learning a new fingering was apparently too difficult. Still, the fingering in Figure 120 is different from that of the violin. On the violin one would use 123, but I agree with Corrette that it is similar. Corrette also seems to be very concerned of being in fashion. In his treatise he gives an extensive instruction for viol players who want to learn to play cello (the instrument which is "présentement dans le gout" as he says). Apparently the basse de violin fingering is also banned for being old-fashioned.

Crome writes:

> "The reason we omit the third Finger is, because the distance is great, and the Finger shorter."[412]

Crome's comment that he omits the third finger could mean that ideally he would like to have a fingering 123, instead of 124. The remark about the third finger being shorter would refer to the third finger being shorter than the second, not shorter than the fourth, but I do not see the point of this.
I am sure both Corrette and Crome had good reasons for advocating the above fingering. However, I find the fingering they suggest very uncomfortable on the C and G string and it creates more tension. For me a 123 fingering would even be easier than the suggested 124 fingering, moreover it would also be exactly the same as that of the violin (Corrette's reason). Corrette's and Crome's remarks thus raise questions which, at the moment, are impossible to answer.

Just a handful of images (less than 1% of the total of 860) show a cellist playing in a higher position than the first. Three of these images date from the 17th century (Figure 149), the other two from the 18th century (Figure 150).

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[410] Corrette (1741), p. 42. Original text: "Ceux qui jouent du Violon ne peuvent presque point s'accoutumer a cette position qui est toute contraire a celle du Violon: au lieu que l'autre position lui est semblable."
[411] Corrette (1741), p. 43. Original text: "Cette position est un reste gotique des grosses Basses de Violon montées en sol qui sont Excluës de l'Opéra et de tous les pays Etrangere." This 'sol' may seem wrong, but Corrette writes about the top string.
[412] Crome (1765?), p. 2. On page 7 Crome gives seven different scales without fingerings. Somebody who once used the copy now held in the British Library (d. 45) added fingerings to the scale of C-major, the fingerings we still use today.

The 17th-century images show cellists playing in positions not higher than the 2nd or possibly the 3rd. This is not surprising because in the Low Countries cellists in the 17th century almost solely played bass lines as will be shown in Sub chapter 4.1. These bass lines did not go very high and thus did not call for higher positions.
The fingers in these images are all placed in a chromatic fingering pattern. For 2nd position this is according to what is written in several European methods (in some methods the extension is also discussed). For 3rd position some methods dictate a diatonic fingering pattern, which is not shown in the few images I have found.
The only two 18th-century images show a cellist playing in a chromatic 3rd or 4th position and the other cellist playing in thumb position (with the thumb around the middle of the string and the first finger at least a quarter higher, see for a detail Figure 153). The later 18th-century and early 19th-century cello methods do discuss higher positions, and also music requires higher positions than those used in the 17th century (see Sub chapter 4.2).
Because in the 18th century far less paintings were produced than in the 17th century, it is possible that the proportion between 17th and 18th-century cellists playing in high(er) positions gives a distorted view of how often the 18th-century cellist really played in higher positions. It is highly possible that this was done far more often than one can deduce from these images.

2.2.9 The cellist (m/f)

Of the NN instruments being played, the majority is played by a man. Only 54 cellos, less than 20% of the total of 258 played instruments, are played by a woman. For an example see Figure 121.

Figure 121 NN: Cornelis Bisschop: *Women making music*.

Figure 122 Detail of Figure 121. Woman playing cello elegantly.

These numbers seem to indicate that it was far more common for men to play the cello than it was for women. Louis Peter Grijp, however, warns against too literal an interpretation of paintings with regard to the sex of the player:

> "The bass gamba and to a lesser extent the cello – appear to have been played by both sexes, […]. It is equally true in a discussion about which sex played what instrument, that the paintings need not necessarily give us an accurate picture […]. Here too we can say that research into other types of sources - literature,

> legal documents, personal documents such as letters and diaries - will add nuances to the impression that we gain from studying paintings."[413]

In the table below (Table 11) I therefore list many names of cello players (mostly professionals) found in several written sources dating from almost two centuries, without pretending to give a complete list. I have tried to find as many different names of cello players as possible. If a name appeared too many times, this name was only added to the table once or twice, unless there were particulars such as different spelling or additional interesting information about the cello player. As for the spelling of names: the list makes clear that one did not bother much about the exact spelling. Several names appear with different spellings. I have also added the name of the instrument they played (in original spelling) and the name of the concert location. Some of the text is in Dutch, some is in French.

Cellists in NN 17th and 18th centuries			
Year	**Name of cellist**	**Name of instrument**	**Location**
1638-1651 consecutively[414]	Consec.: Frans Dusart, Jan Pietersz, Willem Eliasz, Lucas van Uffelen, Willem Corneliszoon Velsen, Paulus Maas, Steven Slegel	Bas	Schouwburg Amsterdam
1661[415]	Heusdens & Haverhals	Violone	Bergen op Zoom
1683[416]	Abram Ysackse & Samuel Abrahamsz	Bas	?
1683[417]	Pieter Lambertus & Andries Teunisse	Bas	?
1736[418]	Alexis[419]	Bas	Utrecht University
1738[420]	Oratius de Vries, Franciscus de Wolf, Knecht van Kruinder	Cello	Schouwburg Amsterdam
1740[421]	J. H. Pothoff	't violoncello	in 't Wapen van Embden op de Nieuwendyk
1748[422]	Le Sieur Alexis Magito, Musicien Italien	No instrument mentioned, only: vocal & instrumental concert	À la grande Salle du Conseil de Guerre au dessus de la Grand' Garde
1749[423]	Heer Alexis	No instrument mentioned	te Haerlem op de Doele
1753[424]	Sr. Alexis/Heer Alexis	No instrument mentioned,	ten Huyze van de Wynhandelaar H.

[413] Grijp (1994), p. 119.
[414] Rasch (2013, January 7), p. 17.
[415] Balfoort (1981), p. 54.
[416] Ibid., p. 55.
[417] Ibid., p. 55.
[418] Riemsdijk (1881), p. 60.
[419] Alexis Magito (1711-1773) has been added to this table several times, even though not every entry provides an instrument. I am convinced they are all the same person. Magito will be discussed thoroughly in Section 4.2.6.
[420] Rasch (2013, January 7), p. 28.
[421] Anonymous (1740, February 9). *Amsterdamse Dinsdaegse Courant*, p. 2.
[422] Bernard (1781), p. 121.
[423] Anonymous (1749, December 27). *Oprechte Saturdagse Haerlemse Courant*, p. 2.
[424] Anonymous (1753, June 5 & 8). *Opregte Groninger Courant*, p. 2.

		only: instrumental concert	Veldtman, in de Gulden straat tot Groningen
1754[425]	Le sieur Alexis	Violoncello	dans la Salle du Collége de Musique au Vrybourg
1754[426]	Sr. Jobert	Violoncello	in de Scherm-Zaal op de Paapegragt te Leyden
1754[427]	Sr. Planti	Violoncello	op de Scherm-Zaal te Leyden
1758[428]	Ms. Abel, Capelmeester van zyn Koningl. Majt. Van Poolen	Violoncelle	Nieuw Maltha in de Nes
1761[429]	Sr. Woschitka, Camermusicus van zyn D. H. den hertog van Meeklenburg	Violoncello	op de Zaal van de Manege
1762[430]	Sr. Preysing, Kamer Musicus van zyne Doorl. Den Hertog van Saxen-Hildburghausen	Violoncello	in 't Logement de Witte Moolen
1764[431]	Mr. Baptiste, in dienst van zyn Zweedsche Maj.	Violoncello	in de Doelen in de Doelestraat
1764[432]	Mr Zappa	Violoncello	in de Zaal van de Manege
1765[433]	Sr. Zappa	Violoncello	a la Salle du Manége
1765[434]	M. Seprutini, van Londen hier gearriveerd	Violoncelle	op de groote Manege
1766[435]	Heer Zappa, Musiekmeester van zijne Koningl.Hoogheid den Hertog van Jork	Violoncello à Solo	in de nieuwe Musiek-Zael
1767[436]	Sr. Jäger	Violoncello	op de Zaal van de Manege
1768[437]	Mr. Zappa, Milaneesen	Violoncello	te Haarlem op 't Prinsenhof
1768[438]	Le Sieur De Boeck	Violoncello	au vieux Doele à la Haye
1768[439]	Musik-Meester Zappa	[no instrument mentioned]	op den Ouden Doelen
1770[440]	Monsr. Zappa, Virtuoso de Violoncello	Violoncello	à la Salle du Manege

[425] Anonymous (1754, January 28). *Gazette d'Utrecht*, p. ??, via Rasch (2015, November 12), p. 84.
[426] Anonymous (1754, January 28), *Leydse Maandagse Courant*, p. 2.
[427] Anonymous (1754, May 22). *Leydse Woensdagse Courant*, p. 2.
[428] Anonymous (1758, August 24). *Amsterdamse Donderdagse Courant*, p. 2.
[429] Anonymous (1761, April 9). *Amsterdamse Donderdagse Courant*, p. 2.
[430] Anonymous (1762, February 2). *Amsterdamse Dinsdagse Courant*, p. 2.
[431] Anonymous (1764, February 14). *Amsterdamsche Dinsdagse Courant*, p. 2.
[432] Anonymous (1764, October 27). *Amsterdamsche Saturdagse Courant*, p. 2.
[433] Anonymous (1765, March 14). *Amsterdamsche Donderdagse Courant*, p. 1.
[434] Anonymous (1765, June 8). *Amsterdamsche Saturdagse Courant*, p. 2.
[435] Anonymous (1766, November 24). *Utrechtsche Courant*, p. ??, via Rasch (2015, November 12), p. 16.
[436] Anonymous (1767, April 18). *Oprechte Saturdagse Haerlemse Courant*, p. 2.
[437] Anonymous (1768, April 16). *Oprechte Saturdagse Haerlemse Courant*, p. 2.
[438] Anonymous (1768, April 29). *Utrechtsche Courant*, p. ??, via via Rasch (2015, November 12), p. 46.
[439] Anonymous (1768, July 15). *Leydse Vrydagse Courant*, p. 1.
[440] Anonymous (1770, April 20). *Gazette d'Amsterdam*, p. ??, via Rasch (2015, November 12), p. 92.

1770[441]	Sr. Domenico Lancetta	Violoncello	in de Zaal boven de Manége
1770[442]	Le Sr. Dominoc Lancetta, Violoncello di Camera de S.A.R. l'Infant-Duc de Parme	Violoncello	à la Salle du Manege
1771[443]	De Heer Baumgardner	Violoncello	in de Scherm-Zaal op de Papegraft te Leyden
1771[444]	Sr. Benossy, Eerste Violoncelliste aan 't Hof te Cassel	Boveng. Instrument [violoncello]	in 't Schild van Vrankryk
1771[445]	Den Heere Schlik, Kamer-Musicus by Zyne Doorluchtige Hoogheid den Heere Landgrave van Hessen-Cassel, &c., &c.	Stryk-Basso of Violoncello	Amsterdam
1772[446]	Seigneur Schlicht, virtuoso op de violoncello	Violoncello	in de grote muziekzaal
1772[447]	M. Hagenaar	Violon Cello	in de Bruilofts-Zaal op de Jooden Groenmarkt te Amsterdam
1773[448]	Sr. Penose	Violoncello	à la Salle aux Armes
1773[449]	Mr. Benozzi	Violoncel	in 't Wapen van Amsterdam
1773[450]	Sr. Benozzi	Violoncello	à la Salle aux Armes
1773[451]	Le Sieur Benossy	Violoncello	à la Salle aux Armes
1774[452]	de Heer Baumgardner	Violoncello	Leyden
1774[453]	Sr. Rakemann	Violoncello	au Parlement d'Angleterre, dans le Warmoesstraat
1774[454]	Monsieur Rackman	Violoncel	aux Armes d'Amsterdam
1774-1787[455]	Johan Leonard Mees	Cello	Schouwburg Amsterdam
1774-1791[456]	Johan Wilhelm Gotfried Hencke	Cello	Schouwburg Amsterdam
1775[457]	Op 't welke zyne twee zoone, zig zullen laaten hooren met Concerten en Saloos [sic] op de	Violoncello	op de ordinaire Muziek Zaal

[441] Anonymous (1770, November 10). *Amsterdamsche Saturdagsche Courant*, p. 2.
[442] Anonymous (1770, November 13). *Gazette d'Amsterdam*, p. ??, via Rasch (2015, November 12), p. 105.
[443] Anonymous (1771, January 18). *Leydse Vrydagse Courant*, p. 2.
[444] Anonymous (1771, October 12). *Amsterdamsche Saturdagsche Courant*, p. 2.
[445] Anonymous (1771, December 3). *Amsterdamsche Dinsdagsche Courant*, p. 2.
[446] Anonymous (1772, February 14). *Utrechtsche Courant*, p. ??, via Rasch (2015, November 12), p. 35.
[447] Anonymous (1772, December 24). *Amsterdamsche Donderdagsche Courant*, p. 2.
[448] Anonymous (1773, March 2). *Amsterdamsche Dinsdagsche Courant*, p. 2.
[449] Anonymous (1773, March 13). *Amsterdamsche Saturdagsche Courant*, p. 2.
[450] Anonymous (1773, April 1). *Amsterdamsche Donderdagsche Courant*, p. 2.
[451] Anonymous (1773, December 13). *Leydse Maandagse Courant*, p. 4.
[452] Anonymous (1774, March 11). *Leydse Vrydagse Courant*, p. 2.
[453] Anonymous (1774, July 26). *Amsterdamsche Dinsdagsche Courant*, p. 2.
[454] Anonymous (1774, December 15). *Amsterdamsche Donderdagsche Courant*, p. 2.
[455] Rasch (2013, January 7), p. 37.
[456] Rasch (2013, January 7), p. 38.
[457] Anonymous (1775, February 17). *Groninger Courant*, p. 2.

	Violoncello; zynde de oudste van 11 en de Jongste van 6 Jaaren [Rauppe]		
1775[458]	De Heer Mattern, Hofmusicus van Bronswyk	Violoncello	Op de Groote Muziek Zaal
1775[459]	Mr. Cirri	Violoncelle	aux Armes d'Amsterdam
1776[460]	Monsieur Cirri	Violoncel	in het Wapen van Amsterdam
1776[461]	Civry	Violoncello	op de Zaal van den Heer J. Bax
1776[462]	Monsieur Cirri	Violoncell	in het Wapen van Amsterdam
1776[463]	Een groot Meester, de Heer Gans	Bas	Op het Stads Concert Zaal, op 't Mole-Water
1776[464]	Monsr. Benossy	Violoncel	in 't Wapen van Amsterdam
1776[465]	Sr. Bisschoff	Violoncelle	á la Sale aux Armes
1777[466]	Le Sr. Zygmuntowski, enfant de six ans et neuf mois Virtuos tres celebre	Violoncello	à la Salle du Manege
1777[467]	Le Sr. Triklir	Violoncello	aux Armes d'Amsterdam
1777[468]	J. N. Kliebisch, Musikmeester te Leyden	Violoncello	op de Mus[…[469]] van den Heer Bax
1778[470]	son fils, agé 9 Ans jouera un Concert et Solos sur le Violoncello [Romberg]	Violoncello	aux Armes
1778[471]	Le Sr. D Markordt	Violoncello	a la grande Salle du Manége
1778[472]	Le Sr. Naudy, Chanteur du Concert à Paris	Violoncello	aux Armes
1779[473]	de Heer L. Mattern	Violoncello	op de Groote Concert-Zaal ten zynen Huize in de Bierstraat te Rotterdam
1779[474]	Le Sr. Pietra Grua	Violoncello	aux Armes d'Amsterdam

[458] Anonymous (1775, December 8). *Groninger Courant*, p. 2.
[459] Anonymous (1775, December 18). *Gazette d'Utrecht*, p. ??, via Rasch (2015, November 12), p. 161.
[460] Anonymous (1776, January 27). *Amsterdamsche Saturdagsche Courant*, p. 2.
[461] Anonymous (1776, February 14). *Leydse Woensdagse Courant*, p. 2.
[462] Anonymous (1776, March 14). *Amsterdamsche Donderdagsche Courant*, p. 2.
[463] Anonymous (1776, April 27). *Middelburgse Courant*, p. 2.
[464] Anonymous (1776, November 2). *Amsterdamsche Courant*, p. 2.
[465] Anonymous (1776, December 17). *Amsterdamsche Courant*, p. 2.
[466] Anonymous (1777, November 1). *Amsterdamsche Courant*, p. 2.
[467] Anonymous (1777, November 4). *Amsterdamsche Courant*, p. 2.
[468] Anonymous (1777, December 10). *Leydse Woensdagse Courant*, p. 2.
[469] Unreadable in the scan
[470] Anonymous (1778, April 2). *Amsterdamsche Courant*, p. 2.
[471] Anonymous (1778, May 28). *Amsterdamsche Courant*, p. 2.
[472] Anonymous (1778, November 26). *Amsterdamsche Courant*, p. 2.
[473] Anonymous (1779, March 6 & 18). *Rotterdamsche Courant*, p. ??, via Rasch (2015, November 12), p. 88.
[474] Anonymous (1779, April 8). *Amsterdamsche Courant*, p. 2.

1780[475]	Mr. Amantini, Musicien de Sa Majesté la Reine de France	Violoncello	aux Armes d'Amsterdam
1780[476]	Sr. Saimi, oud 12 Jaar	Violoncel	te Amsterdam in 't Bruiloftshuis op den Joden Groenmarkt
1781[477]	Le Sieur G. Agazzi	Violoncello	à la Salle du Rondel
1782[478]	De Heer Edeling	Bas	From: *Historie van Mejuffrouw Sara Burgerhart* [private party]
1783[479]	Mons. Agazzi	Violoncel	à la Salle du Manége
1783[480]	De Heeren Rauppe	Violoncello	op de Groote Zaal der Stads Schutters Doele binnen Leeuwarden
1783[481]	de Heeren Rauppe	Violoncello	op de Groote Musiekzaal
1784[482]	Mr. Agazzi	Violoncelle	A la grande Sale du Manêge
1785[483]	de Heer Hencke	Violoncello	In de nieuwe groote Concert-Zaal ten zynen Huize
1786[484]	De Heer J. G. Hencke, beroemd Virtuoso	Violoncello	Ten zynen Huize in deszelfs Groote Concertzaal in de Bierstraat te Rotterdam
1786-1814[485]	Johann Georg Rauppe	Cello	Collège dramatique et lyrique
1794[486]	Heer H. Keun Orchest en Dansmeester der Steede Sneek	Violoncelle	ten Huise van den Coopman G. O. van Kammen
1797[487]	Calmoes	Violoncello	In de Ordinaire Concert Zaal by Muller in Poelen straat
1798[488]	H. Keun Musikant	Violoncello	Ten Huize van de Koek Mulder op de gewone Concert-Zaal
1798[489]	De burger Calmus	Violoncello	in de ordinaire Concert-Zaal

Table 11 Cello players, including a few children, in the NN in the 17th and 18th centuries.

[475] Anonymous (1780, January 18). *Amsterdamsche Courant*, p. ??
[476] Anonymous (1780, February 1). *Amsterdamsche Courant*, p. 2.
[477] Anonymous (1881, March 6). *Amsterdamsche Courant*, p. 2.
[478] Wolff & Deken (1782), pp. 377-378.
[479] Anonymous (1783, January 28). *Amsterdamsche Courant*, p. 1.
[480] Anonymous (1783, May 3). *Leeuwarder Saturdagse Courant*, p. 6.
[481] Anonymous (1783, May 20). *Groninger Courant*, p. 1.
[482] Anonymous (1784, February 23). *Nederlandsche Courant*, p. 2.
[483] Anonymous (1785, March 3). *Rotterdamsche Courant*, p. 2.
[484] Anonymous (1786, February 25). *Rotterdamsche Courant*, p. 2.
[485] Rasch (2013, January 7), p. 39.
[486] Anonymous (1794, August 30). *Leeuwarder Saturdagse Courant*, p. 8.
[487] Anonymous (1797, December 5). *Groninger Courant*, p. 4.
[488] Anonymous (1798, January 16). *Groninger Courant*, p. 4.
[489] Anonymous (1798, August 28). *Groninger Courant*, p. 1.

These names show that indeed all documented cellists were male players. Also in other written sources I have not been able to find any evidence for female cello players during this period in the NN, whereas for example in the preface in the *'Uitnement Kabinet'* Juffr. Adriana van den Bergh is said to play the viol.[490]
The cello players in this list gave public concerts in theatres, concert halls, occasionally in private homes and many other places throughout the NN. Several of these cellists are still known to us today, for example: Francesco Zappa (who lived in The Hague and composed music for cello), Johann Baptist Baumgartner (of the cello method published in The Hague and who lived in Amsterdam for some time), Gaetano Agazzi (his opus 1 was published in Amsterdam), Alexis Magito (see Section 4.2.6) and the most famous of all Bernhard Heinrich Romberg.[491] When visiting Holland, Romberg was still a child, as were some other cellists in the list.
Rudolf Rasch states that in the 18th century all professional musicians were men, except for singers and an occasional soloist on violin or keyboard instruments.[492] So far this seems to be true for cellists in the Low Countries as well.
However, as shown in Table 11, these professional musicians mostly performed in the Amsterdamse Schouwburg and similar halls, places very different from the 'rooms' depicted in most of the images in my research corpus. Most of those images show a far more homely setting. Of all 54 female players, at least 20 are depicted playing in a homely setting. It could well be that in the NN there were indeed women playing cello, but only in the bosom of the family, a place where it did not matter so much when being inelegant. For now, only from the iconography there is evidence to point into the direction that there were also women playing cello.
There is 19th century material which shows that even by that time, female musicians, including cellists, were an oddity/something new-fashioned in the concert hall. Margaret Campbell writes the following in her book *The Great Cellists* in the chapter 'Ladies on the Bass Line':

> "At the turn of the eighteenth century, the violinist Ludwig Spohr discouraged his wife from playing the violin because it was 'an unbecoming instrument'. If this is true of the violin, what would he have thought of the cello which was deemed not only unbecoming but hardly respectable? Since the spike was introduced quite late in the nineteenth century, a lady had either to straddle the instrument like a man or cope with it side-saddle [for an example of playing side-saddle see Figure 76]. Paul Tortelier recalls that his first teacher, Béatrice Bluhm always used the more modest method, and this was in the twentieth century."[493]

Not only Spohr was concerned about women playing violin (let alone cello!). George Kennaway, in his thesis *Cello Techniques and Performing Practices in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, quotes several 19th-century examples of the reaction of people to female violinists.[494] He writes:

> "The principal concrete objection was that the woman's posture became in some way inelegant and distorted (only permissible in a man). However, in practice this was often seen to be not merely unattractive or distasteful, but as actually disgusting, except, significantly, in the case of female child virtuosi."[495]

He continues that "female cellists were even rarer than violinists, but seem to have aroused mild astonishment rather than disgust." Lisa Christiani at her debut in Paris in 1844 and some female

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[490] I found one reference in a Dutch translation (dated 1779) of an English book to a female cello player: "MISS WEST speelt zeer goed op de *Violoncello*" ("Miss West plays very well on the violoncello"). From: Anonymous (1779), p. 236.
[491] Interestingly enough Romberg is said to be age 9 when he played in Amsterdam in 1778, but he was born in 1767, so he was in fact 10½. Maybe the younger he seemed, the more impressed to audience would be?
[492] Rasch (2013, January 7), p. 14.
[493] Campbell (1988), p. 200.
[494] Kennaway (2009), pp. 261-267.
[495] Kennaway (2009), p. 262.

cellists in the USA in 1853 are met with a series of three exclamation marks in newspaper articles, showing the authors' astonishment.[496]
A rather progressive author writes in 1860 about a competition at the Paris conservatoire:

> "[…] and one violoncellist. Ladyfiddlers we are tolerably well accustomed to, but the attitude of a lady grasping with all her limbs a violoncello is one to the grotesqueness of which usage has not yet reconciled us. In time, no doubt, we shall think nothing of it."[497]

I think the author of this review was right. I have the feeling that nowadays there are even more female cellists than male ones.[498]

One of the players whom I have listed as male in my database is in fact a child. This painting is reproduced in Figure 123. This is the only child depicted playing a cello I have come across. The entire attitude of this child is in complete contrast with the male child prodigies listed above in Table 11. These young cellists were touring the Low Countries (and some for sure other countries in Europe as well) to show their musical capacities. The child depicted in Brakenburgh's painting is holding the bow the wrong way round, and is giving the impression of trying to copy his parents and just wanting to play along.

Figure 123 NN: Richard Brakenburgh: *Company partying* (ca. 1680).

Figure 124 Detail of Figure 123. Note the way the child is holding the bow.

Three other players, which I have listed as male in my database, are in fact male monkeys, two from the NN and one from the ZN.[499] Paintings with monkeys, as well as with cats, both copying human behaviour, were very popular in the 17th century. For an example see Figure 125. The entire setup of this painting is very similar to 'normal' 17th-century paintings of parties, as shown in these Sections, except that humans have been replaced by cats and monkeys.

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[496] Kennaway (2009), pp. 263-264.
[497] Kennaway (2009), p. 264.
[498] Most of my students at least are female.
[499] Pool (1716 & ca. 1720) & Anonymous (1632).

Figure 125 ZN: Anonymous: *Monkeys and cats at a masked ball* (1632).[500]

Figure 126 Detail of Figure 125.

In the ZN many more female cellists have been depicted than in the NN. Most of these female cellists are angels, muses and female cello players figuring in an allegory. For more information see Section 2.2.10. Most of these women try their best to sit in an elegant manner. For two examples, one from the front, and one from the back, see Figs. 127 & 129. The cellist in Figure 127 is sitting side-saddled, which is a very elegant, but for playing a very uncomfortable way. In my database there is also one male sitting in this elegant pose (see Figure 53) The cellist in Figure 129 is seen from the back. She is half standing, and supports the cello with her right knee. This is also elegant but also quite uncomfortable for playing. This last pose is used many times, also by men. For more ways of holding the cello, see Section 2.2.3.

[500] On the websites where I found this image the scene is described as: "symbol of folly and arrogance of man" and "a satirical comment on human pretence and self-importance". A similar scene was shown on TV in the Dutch AVROTROS programme 'Tussen kunst en kitsch' (2013, December 4). It was valued and described by the Dutch art historian and valuer Willem-Jan Hoogsteder as: "making fun of the world" and as "critical paintings with a mocking undertone". Info from:
http://avro.nl/tussenkunstenkitsch/uitzendingen/20131204_diverse_musea.aspx, last accessed: 2013, December 6. Fragment starts at 14:12.

Figure 127 ZN: Jan van Balen: ***Apollo and the Muses on mount Helicon near the spring of Hippocrene*****.**

Figure 128 Detail of Figure 127. Lady is playing side-saddle.

Figure 129 ZN: Hendrick van Balen I: ***Minerva's visit to the Muses*****.**

Figure 130 Detail of Figure 129. Note the way the right knee is used to support the cello.

2.2.10 Indoors or outdoors

There is a distinct difference between paintings produced in the NN and those in the ZN.
Most of the indoor scenes from the NN show a small(ish) group of fairly chic people making music. These people and their instruments are the main subject of the painting, and both are thus depicted at a large scale (see Figure 131). If the group is somewhat larger, the musicians and their instruments are generally still depicted very prominently. This is an advantage for observing many of the details of the cello and of cello playing.
Around 35 NN scenes are situated in an inn. The people in these paintings are less chic than in all the other indoor scenes. In the majority of these cases the musicians are not the most important subject, the dansers and drinking people are. The inn scenes all date from the 17th century.

Figure 131 NN: Anthonie Palamedesz.: *Company making music and dining* (1632).

Figure 132 ZN: Hieronymus Janssens: *Ball on the terrace of a palace* (1658).

In the ZN the situation is entirely different. Whereas in the NN the indoor scenes show small groups of people, the indoor scenes in the ZN often show a large crowd of people entertaining and dancing to music made by musicians who are 'hiding' in the background. As a result of this it is very hard to distinguish any details of the instruments. It is often possible to determine whether the player is male or female, but even of something as large as the bass instrument it is not always possible to see whether it is a cello or a viol. Smaller details like the number of strings or the left and right hand are often impossible to see. Hieronymus Janssens was a master of producing such paintings. The often poor quality of reproductions on the internet does not make it any better and cannot solve the problem, especially when there is no indication whatsoever where the original painting is. If the quality of the reproductions would have been better, it would have been much easier to distinguish many details. Therefore the results from the ZN are not as good as I had wished for and many results are listed as 'invisible'.
Hardly any scenes from the ZN are situated in an inn.
The outdoor scenes from the NN show more or less the same subject as the indoor scenes: mainly small groups of people making music together or farmers dancing outside an inn. This goes as well for the outdoor scenes with chic people and farmers from the ZN (see Figure 132): large groups of people with musicians in the background.
For the ZN the category outdoors ("otherwise") is quite large. In this category the following scenes have been put together: mythological and Christian scenes and paintings of an allegorical nature, as well as some images with monkeys. In the allegorical scenes quite often more than one cello is depicted.
In the NN not many religious scenes were found. In the ZN Catholicism was the main religion, which is much more focussed on imagery than Protestantism (NN). The Holy Virgin Mary plays a large role, and is seen in many of these paintings.
An example of an outdoor scene with farmers is reproduced in Figure 133. This is one of 8 paintings made by Elisabeth Seldron, the only ZN female artist in my research corpus!

Figure 133 ZN: Elisabeth Seldron: *Villagers feasting outside an inn*.

Figure 134 Detail of Figure 133.

2.2.11 Case study: Joursanvault's cello method

In the NN & ZN many representations of cellos have survived, as was shown in the previous Sections. These images were mostly made for decorating walls, rather than to instruct people how to play the cello. The large amount of paintings is in sharp contrast to the almost total lack of written instructions on how to play the cello. In Chapter 1 all written sources found have been reproduced and these, although they contain information about the cello, hardly contain any technical instructions. Therefore in Chapter 2 use was made of European methods to clarify certain things observed in images. These methods, however, hardly contain instructive images of

cellists playing the instrument. As far as I know the only methods containing such illustrations are those written by Michel Corrette, Anonymous (ca. 1790), Anonymous (n.d. [1805-1807]), Peter Prelleur,[501] Robert Crome, Jean-Benjamin Laborde,[502] Jean Baptist Bréval[503] and the method by Bernhard Romberg (written as late as 1839). Except the instruction images in Breval's and Romberg's methods, none of them is extremely accurate. In my opinion they serve more a 'decorating' than a real instruction purpose.
For the present research it is important to know if the NN & ZN images are more or less accurate and a good source for cello players who want to play as they used to do in the Low Countries in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries.
In France a set of 12 drawings was commissioned from the very young artist in training Pierre Paul Prud'hon in 1777/1778.[504] These drawings were intended to be part of a cello method, to be written by Jean-Baptiste-Anne-Geneviève Gagnaire, Baron de Joursanvault (1748-1792/1793). Joursanvault advertises his method-to-be in a so-called 'Avis'[505] (reproduced in Appendix 2, followed by an English translation and a description of the drawings). In the 'Avis' Joursanvault states that he intends to write a very extensive method, the main body of the work containing more than 300 pages and 40 plates drawn and engraved by the most skilled artists. Part three of this method will contain a theoretical and practical treatise on the cello. The practical part will not offer much news, he writes, because Cupis, Tillière and others have already developed the positions of the cello. Given the nature of the drawings, I am convinced that they were meant for this part of Joursanvault's work. Although Joursanvault writes that this part will not offer anything new, I think the drawings would have offered something completely new, something which had not been done before, at least not on this scale. What makes these drawings unique is, that of each (technical) aspect of cello playing a drawing was made and that they would have offered a very welcome and needed addition to the written text.
As far as I have been able to establish, the announced cello method was never published and maybe never written, but the drawings have survived.
In the preceding Sections I have made extensive use of European cello methods to support the technical aspects of cello playing and external characteristics of the cello found in NN & ZN images.
In the current Section I will reproduce Prud'hon's drawings accompanied by similar images from the Low Countries. The drawings will support several technical aspects found in NN & ZN images.
I am indebted to Ton Koopman and art historian Stijn Alsteens for showing me these drawings. Most of the drawings are now part of the Frits Lugt Collection, in the Fondation Custodia in Paris.[506] A few are in other collections, which will be indicated at the appropriate places.

G 1017: full side view of cellist[507]

> "First of all one should sit on the front of the chair, in order to be able to hold the cello with ease, one places it between the legs in such a way that the lower corner of the left waist is in the knee joint, in order that all the weight of the instrument will be positioned on the calf of the left leg, and the left foot turned outwards; if the knee on the contrary would be positioned in that waist, it would prevent the bow to pass by easily when one would like to play on the a-string, and the right leg places itself against the lower side of the cello to keep it safe."[508]

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[501] Prelleur (1731).
[502] Laborde (1780), pp. 309-323.
[503] Bréval (1804).
[504] Laveissière (1997), pp. 25-26.
[505] Without date. Private collection.
[506] The photos of the drawings in the collection of Fondation Custodia, which are all reproduced in this Section, were made by the author in 2007-2008.
[507] The numbers starting with G are taken from: Guiffrey (1924), p. 383. For a full description of Guiffrey's catalogue numbers and collection number, see Appendix 2.
[508] Cupis (1772), p. 1. Original text: "Il faut premierement s'asseoir sur le devant de sa chaise, afin de pouvoir tenir le Violoncelle avec aisance, le placer entre les jambes de façon que le coin de l'échancrure d'en bas à gauche se trouve dans la jointure du genouil, afin que tout le poid de l'Instrument soit posé sur le Mollet de

In the quote above the instructions from Cupis (one of the cellists Joursanvault mentions in his 'Avis') correspond quite well with the way Baron de Joursanvault is seated in Figure 135.
An image so accurate with a side view of the cellist is not part of my research corpus. As stated before, the images in my database were not produced to serve an instruction purpose, as was the case with the Prud'hon drawing below.
The painting reproduced in Figure 136 is the best image I have been able to find. The cellist is clearly sitting with a straight back, and although his legs are quite fat, he is supporting the cello in the same way as Baron de Joursanvault does.

Figure 135 G 1017.

Figure 136 NN: Franz Lippoldt: *Portrait of Philip Damiaan Ludovicus Ignatius Victorius Graaf van Hoensbroek* (1762). Cello is supported in the same way and cellist is sitting with a straight back.

G 1021: full front view of cellist

The seating position introduced in Cupis' quote and Figure 135, is pursued further in Figure 137.
I have chosen Dusart's drawing, because the seating position and the way the cello is supported is very similar to that of Joursanvault (although his back is not as straight); one can even see the muscles in the lower left leg. It looks like the cello is leaning on the left leg, as Cupis instructs. In both images the left foot is more in front, the right foot is placed more to the back.
The comparison of the left hand and the bow hold halts. For this comparison more detailed images follow below.

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la jambe gauche, et le pied gauche en dehors; si le genouil se trouvoit au contraire placé dans cette échancrure, il empecheroit l'archet de passer aisément lorsqu'on voudroit se servir de la chanterelle, et la jambe droite se pose contre l'éclisse d'en bas de l'instrument pour le maintenir en sureté."

Figure 137 G 1021.[509]

Figure 138 NN: Detail of Cornelis Dusart: *Musicians in an inn* (1691).

G 1026: full view of cellist

The attribution of the following drawing to Prud'hon is very doubtful. The Musée de la Ville in Rouen has listed it as anonymous, 18th century.[510]
However, as an instruction image it is still quite good, although the placing of the left hand, the fingers and the thumb is impossible.[511]
In the engraving by van de Venne, the cellist is seated in more or less the same way (although the cello is not turned as much), a way which was not used that much in the 17th century, as is shown in Section 2.2.3. Holding the cello between the legs became more common in the 18th century when the instruments became smaller.

[509] Dijon: Musée des Beaux Arts, inv. no. inv Alb. TH A 7 f° 35.
[510] Communicated to me by Catherine Regnault, email 8-9-2008. Stijn Alsteens, who originally did some work on the drawings, agrees. Although, he writes, it might still be possible that Prud'hon himself made the drawing. Prud'hon must have been quite an inexperienced drawer at that time (he was about 18 years old), and one of the characteristics of inexperience is a certain stylistic instability. Email 25-9-2008.
[511] The fingers are placed perpendicularly on the fingerboard. When placed like that, it is impossible to place the thumb like the cellist is doing in this drawing. The tip of the thumb would end up much closer to the peg box than is drawn here.

Figure 139 G 1026.[512]

Figure 140 NN: Detail of Adriaen Pietersz. van de Venne: Illustration from: Quintijn, G. J. (1629). *De Hollandsche Lijs met de Brabandsche Bely: Poeetischer wijse voorgestelt en gedicht* (1629).

G 1027: left hand in first position

In Figure 141 is shown how the fingers of the left hand should be placed on the fingerboard. Between each finger is a semitone, the starting-point for playing the cello. In almost a third of all images in my research corpus the left hand is placed on the fingerboard in the same way as in Prud'hon's drawing. Figs. 142-144 are three examples of the left hand placed in semitones.

[512] Rouen: Musée de la Ville, inv. no. AG1891.2.75.

Figure 141 G 1027.

Figure 142 NN: Detail of Simon van de Passe: *Musical company* (1612).

Figure 143 NN: Detail of Nicolaas Aartman: *Four musicians in front of a house* (1725-1775).

Figure 144 ZN: Detail of Balthasar Beschey: *Portrait of Jacob-Johannes Cremers (....-1762) and Cornelia Johanna Nicolai (....-1786) at their wedding* (1768).

G 1025: left hand in first position

The following drawing almost corresponds with the preceeding one, except that the hand is hanging/leaning a little bit towards the little finger. I have found this position in only 1 painting from the NN.
This way of playing is not very comfortable and prevents one from stretching the hand and fingers easily to make an extension. It is better, if one feels the urge to lean, to lean in the other direction (just a little oblique).

Figure 145 G 1025.

Figure 146 NN: Detail of Jan Miense Molenaer: *Probable self portrait with family* (ca. 1635).

G 1016 & G 1020: left hand, higher positions

The positions of the left hand in Figs. 147 & 148 were, in the later 18th century, necessary for playing the music of the time. It is hard to see in which position exactly the men play, but I would say that the cellist in Figure 147 plays in third position and the cellist in Figure 148 plays in fourth or fifth position.
Because the main part of my database consists of 17th-century images, it was hard to find representations of cellists playing in higher positions than the first position. The two reproduced here were the best I could find out of 6 in total.

Figure 147 G 1016.

Figure 148 G 1020.

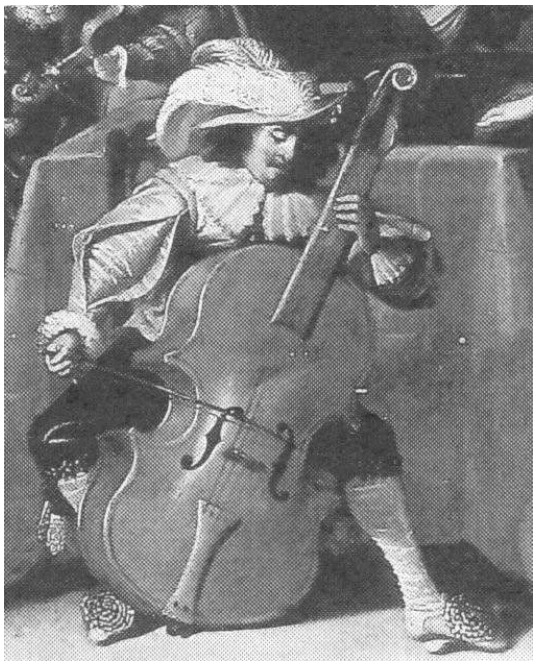

Figure 149 NN: Detail of Jacob Fransz. van der Merck: *Elegant company playing music and dancing in an interior* (ca. 1630). Possibly 2nd position.

Figure 150 NN: Detail of Anonymous: *'Dit is 't geselschap na de zwier'* (1732). Possibly 4th position. Terrible left arm.

G 1019 & G 1023: left hand: thumb position

When the technique developed even more, cellists started playing in thumb position as well. Anonymous (1780) is the only written source from the NN which hints at thumb position.[513] I managed to find one example of this in the NN.

Figure 151 G 1023.

Figure 152 G 1019.[514]

Figure 153 NN: Detail of Anonymous: *Cellist* (18th century).

[513] Anonymous (1780), p. 65.
[514] Paris: Christies, 21-3-2002.

G 1018: left hand, back view

The way the thumb is placed on the neck in Figure 154 does not correspond with that in Figs. 135 & 139. However, it does correspond with the other Joursanvault drawings where the left hand is depicted in lower positions. Even though the thumb is not always completely visible, it is possible to deduce from the way how the whole arm is held that the thumb must be placed as it is done in Figure 154.
Trying out the different positions myself, I came to the conclusion that it is physically impossible to place the fingers perpendicular on the fingerboard and still have the thumb lying in the neck as Joursanvault does in Figs. 135 & 139 (with the thumb lying against the neck and the tip of the thumb opposite the first finger). When the fingers are placed perpendicularly on the fingerboard, the natural way to place the thumb, is as shown below. This also gives the cellist more freedom to move around. If one really wants to place the thumb lying in the neck, it would end up in a different spot, but it would still be uncomfortable.
I have not been able to find any image from the NN with as clear a position. However, when trying myself, the way the thumb is placed in the image below, is by far the most comfortable one. I am convinced that many cellist sitters, who have a perpendicular left hand, also have their thumb as shown in Figure 154. If not, their wrist would be bent.

Figure 154 G 1018.

G 1022 & G 1024: right hand: the way to hold the bow

The drawings reproduced below have already been discussed in Section 2.2.7.
Figure 155 also teaches how to bow: that is along the bridge and fingerboard at right angles to the strings. For more images with straight bowing, see Figs. 143, 146 & 149.

Figure 155 G 1022.

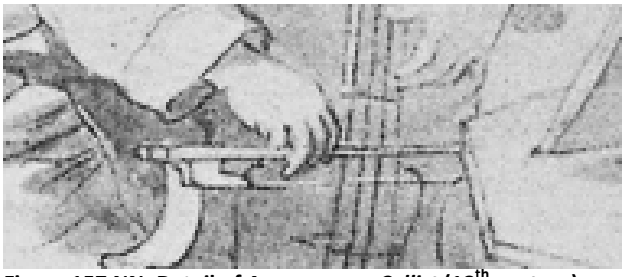

Figure 157 NN: Detail of Anonymous: *Cellist* (18th century). The little finger is held behind the stick.

Figure 156 G 1024.

2.3 Other pictorial evidence in NN and ZN: Applied Arts

In Sub chapter 2.2 images of cellos on paintings, drawings and engravings have been discussed. However, there are also other art forms which could contain representations of cellos. Verbeek states in a general sense:

> "[In the 17th century] In the field of the applied arts too productivity was enormous and of a high standard: silver, earthenware, pewter, copper, bronze, furniture, musical instruments and textiles."[515]

In the following Sections a few examples of some of these art forms will be discussed. In certain categories I have just come across one or two examples. In these cases they will all be reproduced here.

2.3.1 Tiles: NN

In the second half of the 16th century tile production came to the NN.[516] It became a huge success, and already before 1600 many factories had come into existence, including in Middelburg, Dordrecht, Rotterdam, Gouda, Haarlem, Amsterdam, Hoorn and Harlingen. Later on Delft and Makkum followed. Especially the factories in Rotterdam and Friesland (Harlingen & Makkum) were well-known for their tiles.
About the artists who made these tiles (very) little is known. Most of them were members of the Guild of St Luke, as were painters. It is even believed, that when painters did not have an income for some time, they would decorate tiles, just to stay alive.
From mid 17th century tiles with human figures were produced a lot. Tiles with cello players are among them.
In Section 2.2.3 many ways of supporting the cello have been discussed. On the tiles in my research corpus several of these ways are shown: resting on the ground, supported by the legs and one is supported by a stool. Some examples of these are reproduced in Figs. 158-165.

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[515] Verbeek (1979), p. XIV.
[516] Information for this chapter is taken from: Clarijs (1970) and Korf (1960).

Figure 158 NN: Pieter Grauda: *Tile with cellist playing underhand while seated on a bench* (17th century).[517]

Figure 159 Detail of Figure 158. A cello resting on the ground.

Figure 160 NN: Grauda factory: *Tile with a female cellist playing underhand and a man holding a song book*.[518]

Figure 161 Detail of Figure 160. A woman playing the cello.

The tiles reproduced in Figs. 162 & 164 show the same pattern, although they are mirrored. One's first reaction would be that the one cellist who is bowing with the left hand, must be a left-handed cellist. I think there is a different explanation. Painting the image on the tile, had at least two stages. The first was to pounce the tile, using a transfer pattern ('spons' = sponge), the outline of the drawing was pricked through a piece of paper the size of the tile, and the transfer pattern was placed on the tile and dusted with powdered charcoal. Then the artist would redraw this outline with a brush.
Dingeman Korf adds to this:

[517] Pieter Grauda owned a tile factory in Harlingen in Friesland from 1681 until 1708.
[518] Tile from the collection of the Nederlands Tegelmuseum Otterlo. Information in an email by curator Johan Kamermans, dated 2011, April 8.

> "In fig. 8 we see a dog. Usually an animal like this is placed on the tile with the head facing left, as appears in this reproduction. Tiles with the head facing right are less common. But a left-handed person prefers to draw them this way, and it is tempting to conclude that this painter was left-handed. Yet, if the sponge [transfer pattern] was laid in the wrong position on the tile, a right-handed man could easily put the finishing touches. Most tiles showing ships have ships sailing to the left; the curved lines of the sails are then easily drawn."[519]

This shows that already at the first stage of tile making a cellist bowing with the right hand, can become a cellist bowing with the left hand. It does not mean the painter knew a left-handed cellist and for that reason painted him bowing with the left hand. This is something to be taken into consideration when examining tiles.

Figure 162 NN: Anonymous: *Tile with a blue and white decor of a cellist playing overhand* (1650-1675).

Figure 163 Detail of Figure 162.

Figure 164 NN: Anonymous: *Tile (broken) with cellist playing overhand* (17th century).

Figure 165 Detail of Figure 164.
The same pattern as the tile in Figure 162.

[519] Korf (1964), p. 15.

2.3.2 Ceramics: NN

There is proof that already in mid 16th century there were factories in Delft who produced earthenware. Two types of earthenware were being made: pottery (transparant glaze, mainly cheap consumer goods) and majolica (front: white glaze painted with several colours, back: transparant glaze). However, both types were quite crude and roughly finished products. From the beginning of the 1600's Chinese porcelain, brought in by VOC ships, became very popular in Holland.[520] Because this porcelain was of superior quality compared to the Dutch majolica products, the sale of the latter dwindled and the manufacturers were compelled to invent technical improvements in order to be able to equal the Chinese product. The result was a more refined, more luxurious product (but still earthenware), nowadays called faience, which became very popular both in Holland and also abroad.
The decorators of this new product copied not only eastern motives, they also invented new exotic motives which they combined with western style ornaments. Besides this, they also painted landscapes and genre scenes based on 17th-century paintings.
Earthenware decorators used transfer patterns, as did tile painters. That way they were able to produce quickly and in huge quantities. However, before a decorator would become 'master', he should be able to decorate a large fruit-dish by hand.
Despite various efforts, the 18th century saw a huge decline of the factories in Delft. Meissen porcelain (a very refined real porcelain from Germany) and the English creamware (a harder, but cheaper pottery) became too popular to keep all factories in Delft open.[521]
It is therefore the more surprising that all Delft ceramics in this Section date from the 18th century.

In Figure 166 3 so-called pancake plates ('pannenkoekborden') are reproduced. These plates are part of a set of 6. All plates show musical scenes with several different instruments. The basic design of all plates is the same, the brims have the same pattern, all floors have blue and white tiles and the curtains and windows are placed in the same way. The combination of sitters and their instruments, however, differs from plate to plate.

Figure 166 NN: Anonymous: *Set of 6 pancake plates from Delft* (1754).[522]

[520] In Johannis de Brunes *Emblemata of Sinne-werck* of 1661 the sound of a Chinese porcelain bowl is compared with the sound of the human soul.
[521] Information on ceramics taken from: Aken-Fehmers, Schledorn, & Eliëns (1999), pp. 17-25.
[522] Formerly in collection Koos Limburg Snr. Reproduced with kind permission of Mr and Mrs Limburg.

At least two of the pancake plates (one with a cello and one with a harpsichord,[523] both amongst other instruments) seem to have been based on 18th-century engravings made by the German engraver Johann Christoph Schmidhammer (active: Nürnberg 1730-1766).[524] As Schmidhammer produced engravings in series, art historian Anna Bianco agrees with me that it is very likely that the other plates have also been based on engravings by Schmidhammer.[525] So far these engravings have not been found.
Schmidhammer's engraving with the cello (cello shape and scroll, 6 strings and 5 pegs) is reproduced in Figs. 163 & 169.

Figure 167 Engraving by Johann Christoph Schmidhammer.[526]

Figure 168 Pancake plate after engraving Schmidhammer.

Figure 169 Detail of Figure 167.

Figure 170 Detail of Figure 168. A small cello.

[523] The engraving with the harpsichord is to be found in the collection of Ton Koopman, inv. no. TK00364.
[524] I am indebted to Ton Koopman and Anna Bianco for pointing this out to me. Anna was able to find the engraving with the cello.
[525] Email: 2016, December 20.
[526] Johann Christoph Schmidhammer (active Nürnberg 1730-1766): *Musical scene: Trio of instrumentalists - a flautist (male), gamba player (male) and English guitarist (female)*. London: Royal Academy of Music, inv. no. 2003.2472.

The painter of the plate was very accurate, he copied most details of the cello and the way it is played in the engraving with great precision, except for the number of strings: their number has been changed from 6 to 4.

The cellos on the plates differ greatly in size and also in the way they are played. The large one (Figure 171) is supposed to be held between the legs, but is in fact placed in front of the legs. The small one (Figure 170) is so small, that it is almost leaning on the knees instead of being held properly between the legs. One is lying on the floor (Figure 172), unused, while the musicians are fighting.

Figure 171 Detail of Figure 166. A large cello.

Figure 172 Detail of Figure 166. An instrument with frets.

The instruments have been painted with much detail, the large cello even has purfling. The unplayed cello has frets, which is uncommon for a cello in the 18th century (for more information on frets, see Section 2.2.5). This is in fact the only example of an 18th-century fretted cello from the NN I have been able to find.

A fourth plate, which was clearly painted after the same design as the large cello in Figure 171 (and probably even using the same transfer pattern) is reproduced in Figure 173. The cello is held in front of the legs in the same awkward way. Also the sides of the cello are pretty small.

Figure 173 NN: Anonymous: *Dish of multi-colored painted faience* (ca. 1750-ca. 1780).

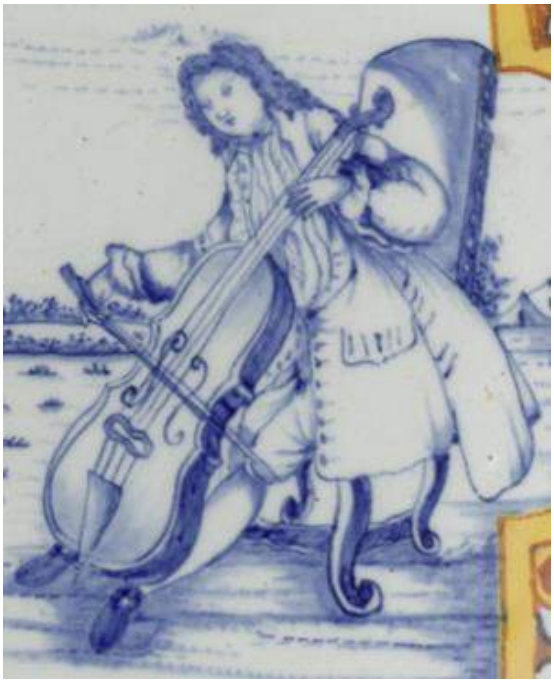


Figure 174 Detail of Figure 173. Same way of supporting the cello as in Figure 171.

A bowl, which was made in China, but decorated in the Noordelijke Nederlanden, is reproduced in Figure 175. This type of earthenware is known as 'Amsterdams bont' (clobbered ware), but it was not necessarily decorated in Amsterdam, but possibly Delft.[527]

Figure 175 NN: Anonymous: *Earthenware bowl with cellist and singer* (ca. 1730).

Figure 176 Detail of Figure 175.

The cellist is playing with an overhand grip, and the cello has three strings and four pegs.

[527] Information from: www.aziatischekeramiek.nl (this website is a collaboration of four museums: Gemeentemuseum Den Haag, Groninger Museum, Keramiekmuseum Princessehof Leeuwarden & Rijksmuseum Amsterdam), last accessed: 2018, January 26.

2.3.3 Silver: NN

In the 17th and 18th centuries silver objects were expensive to buy, and therefore mainly richer people were able to buy something made out of silver. Silver was generally aquired by the towns and the guilds as well as the court, the nobility and the church. Townsfolk also possessed silver objects, but mainly utensils, depending of course on their financial possibilities.[528]
The two brandy bowls, reproduced in Figs. 177-180, have both been made in Friesland. As in Holland, where several towns had their own silversmiths' guilds, in Friesland not only the capital of Leeuwarden but also several cities had their own guilds.
About brandy bowls, Verbeek (1979) writes the following:

> "Brandy bowls are typical Frisian objects. The earliest examples were polygonal [Figure 177], but in the eighteenth century they were oval in form [Figure 178]. The brandy bowl is an object used in folk customs: at the birth of a child brandy was served out of it with a silver spoon."[529]

On both brandy bowls a female cellist is depicted. Both cello's are played overhand, which, in case of the 17th-century bowl, is quite special because it was not very common at that time.
The shape of the cello in Figure 177 is quite good, the shape of the one in Figure 178 less so. The latter instrument has a very long neck and the body is quite wide.

Figure 177 NN: Anonymous: *Brandy bowl with images of the seven virtues* (Bolsward, 1686).[530]

Figure 178 NN: Jentje Harings Biltius: *Silver brandy bowl* (1711). The cello is situated under one of the ears of the bowl and cannot be seen in this photo.[531]

[528] Verbeek (1979), pp. XIII-XVIII.
[529] Verbeek (1979), p. 370.
[530] Picture taken from: Frederiks (1960), p. 75 & pl. 188.

Figure 179 Detail of Figure 177. A female cellist plays the cello overhand. The scroll appears to be in the form of a lion's head.

Figure 180 Detail of brandy bowl in Figure 178. A cello with a head of a woman, 5 strings, being played overhand. The neck of the instrument is very long, compared to the body of the instrument.[532]

2.3.4 Case study: Pieter van Avont & Wenzel Hollar

Figure 181 ZN: Wenzel Hollar: *Cherubs making music* (1646).[533]

[531] The bowl is made by Jentje Harings Biltius for Claes Pieters van der Werf, a master boat-builder in Sneek. Six women are depicted on the bowl, 4 of which are van der Werf's wives (he married 4 times); the other two, of which one is playing a cello, are fantasies. The woman playing the cello is most probably based on an engraving, according to the museum website (last accessed: 2013, June 2).

[532] Photo received from the museum (2012, March 19).

[533] Wenzel Hollar: *Cherubs making music* (*Musicerende cherubijnen)* (1646). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-11.231.

One of the engravings in my research corpus is made by the Czech born artist Wenzel Hollar (1607-1677), who spent 8 years of his life (1644-1652) working in Antwerp. During his Antwerp time he designed the engraving shown above: a scene with 7 putti playing music (Figure 181). This engraving is one of two engravings with putti making music, both based on designs of the artist Pieter van Avont from Antwerp. Some of these designs[534] are kept in the Rijksmuseum, and show a single putto playing one instrument (see Figure 182).

Figure 182 Pieter van Avont: *putto playing harp* (1630-1652).

I am convinced that van Avont also made designs of the other instrumentalists. So far, I have not been able to track down van Avont's design of the putto playing cello.

Van Avont's designs and Hollar's engraving were very popular in the 17th century. Several artefacts, which are part of my research corpus, are based on their works.

The Couven Museum in Aachen holds two almost identical flower-pot covers, so-called 'cache-pots' (see Figs. 183 & 184). It is not clear where in the Noordelijke Nederlanden they were produced. I found a reference to Delft, but the attendant in the museum[535] told me it could be Makkum as well.[536] Apart from this, the panel in the museum reads that these cache-pots are one of the most beautiful examples from the late 17th-century Dutch fayence piece-goods.
What catches one's eye immediately is the putto playing cello (for a detailed view of the cellos see Figs. 188 & 189). Both cellos and putti look extremely similar to the cellos and putti in Hollar's engraving. Whether this putto is based on van Avont's design or on Hollar's engraving I could not establish.

[534] These designs are: RP-P-BI-180 (harp), RP-P-BI-171 (triangle), RP-P-BI-188 (flute) and are combined by Wenzel Hollar in: *Concert of cherubs in the clouds*, University of Toronto, inv. no. P500.
[535] I visited the Couven Museum on June 6, 2012.
[536] The pots have been added to the database as being from Delft.

Figure 183 NN: One of *Two cachepots from Delft* (late 17th century).[537]

Figure 184 The other 'cache-pot' from the same museum. The design is exactly the same.

The Rijksmuseum holds a silver baby linen basket, elaborately decorated with Hollar's scene of 7 putti and a floral design (see Figure 185). A silver diaper basket like this would have been put on show (in the house of a (very) rich family) in the lying-in room of the mother and her newborn child. Fine baby linen could be displayed in it.[538]
The basket has been produced in Amsterdam, attributed to the silversmith Gerloff Brouwer. See Figure 190 for a detail of the cello.
It is very interesting that an engraving (or two, if the cache-pot is based on van Avont's design and not on Hollar's) which was produced in the ZN found its way to the NN where it was used to decorate art objects.

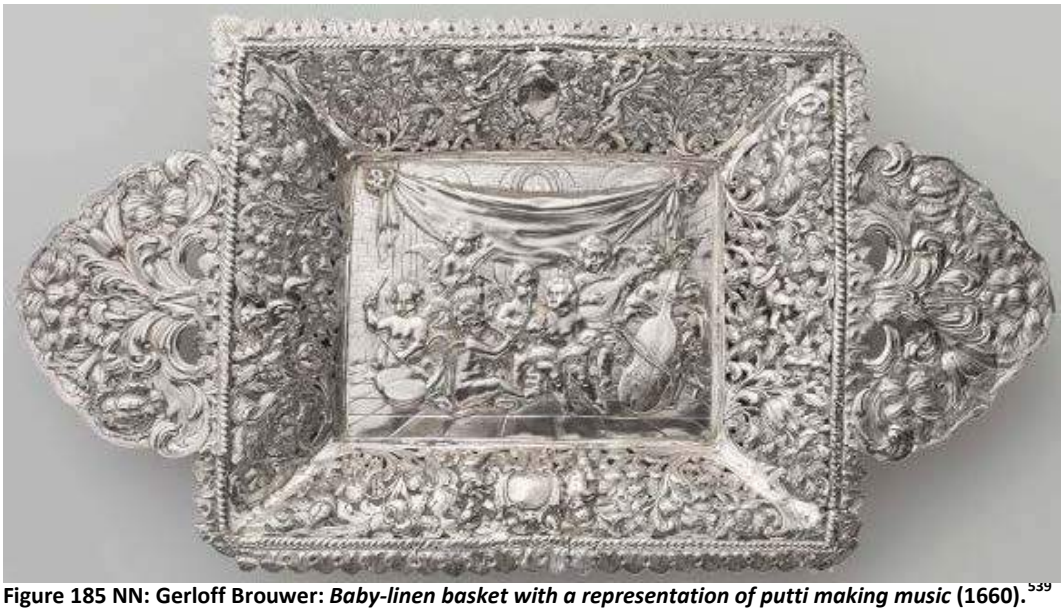


Figure 185 NN: Gerloff Brouwer: *Baby-linen basket with a representation of putti making music* (1660).[539]

[537] Both pots show a putto playing cello on the front. The back was not visible, and the staff in the museum could not tell me what the design on the back is. Photographs made by the author (2012, June 6).
[538] Information from panel in museum. Last accessed: 2012, June 6.
[539] The information panel in the museum and the Rijksmuseum website give different information about the production date. The panel states 1661, the website 1660.

Figure 186 Detail of Figure 185.

On the following page all cellos mentioned above have been reproduced.
In Hollar's original engraving the cello has frets. These have been left out in the artefacts in the NN. Of course this could be a coincidence. However, when checking numbers for frets in the NN and ZN in the other categories, in the NN in the 17th century only 1/40 of all visible fingerboards has frets, whereas in the ZN this proportion is around 1/12. It is possible that the artists who produced the cache-pots and the silver basket adjusted them to the current fashion in the NN.
Hollar's cello has 4 strings as does the cello depicted on the cache-pots. The cello on the silver basket, however, has 5 strings. On the whole, in the 17th century many more 5-string cellos were depicted in the NN than in the ZN (NN: 1/2; ZN: 1/6). This proportion goes also for Amsterdam where the basket was produced, but in Delft the proportion is different (1/1). It is therefore possible that Gerloff Brouwer changed the number of strings on purpose. His work is very detailed and precise, it would have been easy to keep the 4 strings if he wanted to.
The underhand bowing is copied well, so is the somewhat strange (low) placing of the bridge and sound holes.
What looks like tens of tuning pegs in Figure 188, clearly is the wing of the putto when comparing it with the putto in Hollar's engraving. On the right side of the peg box 3 tuning pegs can clearly be seen. On both cache-pots the tuning pegs have been left out.

Figure 187 ZN. Detail of Figure 181.

Figure 188 NN. Detail of Figure 183.

Figure 189 NN. Detail of Figure 184.

Figure 190 NN. Detail of Figure 185.

Apart from the objects shown here, I have also found some other copies of Hollar's obviously very popular engraving. The Rijksmuseum holds a series of 16 tiles produced in Harlingen,[540] on a couple of which the same putti are depicted (playing lute, trombone, violin, drums, triangle, harp, flute and some other woodwind instrument). Some of these putti have been taken from the other engraving without the cello, which is not reproduced here. Unfortunately there is no tile with a cello.
The title page of John Playford's *The Theater of Music* of 1685 shows Hollar's engraving, except for the drum player. And even as far as Mexico one can find copies: the Mexican painter Juan Correa used the engraving for his painting *El niño Jesús con ángeles músicos* (with an extra singer).[541]

2.3.5 Organ-cases: NN

Holland is known for its organs. Many organ-cases have been decorated with angels playing musical instruments, some of them playing cello. All cellos on organ-cases in my research corpus date from the 18th century.

Figure 191 NN: Haven & Struiwigh: *Cellist on the organ case of the Hinsz organ in the Petruskerk in Leens* (ca. 1734).

Figure 192 Detail of Figure 191.

It is very surprising that the cello on the organ in Leens (Figure 191) still has 6 strings. This is the only 18th-century 6-string instrument in my entire research corpus.
The instrument from the Garrels organ in Purmerend is unplayed and has 5 strings (Figure 193). This is not so common in the 18th century either, but it is seen more often. The cello from the Müller organ in Haarlem (Figure 194) is the most modern one of the three cellos. It has 4 strings, is played overhand and seems to be supported by a short endpin.

[540] Rijksmuseum, inv. no. BK-1955-321.
[541] Mexico City: Museo Nacional de Arte, inv. no. 17645.

Figure 193 NN: Johannes Romans: *Cello on the organ case of the Garrels organ in the Koepelkerk in Purmerend* (ca. 1740).[542]

Figure 194 NN: Jan van Logteren: *Cellist on the organ case of the Müller organ in the St Bavo Church in Haarlem* (ca. 1738).

2.3.6 Doll's houses: NN

Unlike modern doll's houses, which are meant for children to play with, 17th and 18th-century doll's houses from the NN were seen as collectors cabinets or art cabinets ('verzamelaarskasten' or 'kunstkabinetten'). These houses were fully furnished and form an unsurpassed source for research on daily life and the interior of a house in the 17th century. The quality of the materials used was very high. The walls and ceilings in Dutch doll's houses were painted by well-known artists of the day.

Furnishing such houses was solely done by women from the middle classes, daughters and wives of regents and wealthy merchants and artisans, living in thriving cities like Amsterdam and Leiden.

The owner of a doll's house would order all the objects specifically for her house. In the early times (1650-1675) the proportions and the materials were sometimes incorrect. After 1675 a greater perfection was persued. The 17th and 18th-centuries' doll's houses reflected an ideal household.

For all of these reasons the two cellos found in the NN doll's houses could be interesting for this research.[543]

[542] Photo kindly made available by Bob Muller & Peter van Voorst, email dated August 25, 2016.

[543] Information about doll's houses taken from: Dommisse (2000), pp. 11, 12, 28, 49; Pijzel-Dommisse (1988); Eaton (1990); Pijzel-Dommisse (1980) &

One of the two cellos comes from Petronella de la Court's doll's house, which dates from ca. 1680 (see Figs. 195-199). The instrument is found in the 'saletkamer', the most important reception room in the house, together with a harpsichord, a violin, a recorder and a german flute. The violin, cello and harpsichord are being used, the other instruments lie on the harpsichord. The cello and violin are made out of palm wood.

Figure 195 NN: Anonymous: *Cello in the doll's house of Petronella de la Court* (ca. 1680). [544]

Figure 196 Side view, instrument is leaning on a foot-warmer. [545]

Figure 197 Detail of Figure 196.

http://centraalmuseum.nl/ontdekken/object/?q=poppenhuis&img_only=1#o:2044, last accessed: 2013, June 7.

[544] Picture taken from Dommisse (2000), p. 41.

[545] Colour photos taken by the author, 2012, February 8.

The cello has the external characteristics of a cello: normal shoulders, f-holes, four strings and pegs, and it is leaning on a foot-warmer. It has a scroll shaped like a human head; this was sometimes done, but was not a frequent phenomenon. The only weird thing is the extension built on the neck. This is something I have never seen before. I have asked several violin makers for advice and I received various suggestions: 1: a device containing resonance strings;[546] 2: a tool for the player to hold the instrument better;[547] 3: a so called 'capotasto': a tool which can clamp down the strings at different spots to make chords for less experienced players.[548] But also for them, it remains a kind of mystery.

Figure 198 Front view.

Figure 199 Detail of Figure 196. Note the extension built on the neck.

Petronella de la Court died in 1707. In or just after 1744 the house was sold to Pieter van der Beek, who again sold it in 1758. For the sale in 1758 a catalogue was produced. Unfortunately the instruments are not mentioned separately. The catalogue reads:

> "No. 4
> A Salet room, beautifully decorated all round by Moucheron, with 4 mirrors, 5 silver sconces, a church chandelier, upholstered chairs, a table, on which is lying gold and silver money, with a lady sitting at it playing [cards?] with a farmer from Waterland, and a company amusing themselves with all sorts of different

[546] Email from Serge Stam (violin maker in Utrecht), 2017, May 25.
[547] Email from Jurriaan van Roon (violin maker in Amersfoort), 2017, May 25. Enrico Gatti (Italian baroque violinist) in an email to Guust François (violin maker in Amsterdam), 2017, May 30.
[548] A (unknown) Naples violin maker in an email to Guust François, 2017, May 26.

instruments. Also a beautiful ivory statue on its pedestal, and some other statues."[549]

The other doll's house with a cello was put together by Sara Rothé. In 1743 she bought 3 older doll's houses (two of them dating from the 17th century). She used the furniture to fill two new houses. In one of them,[550] in the music room or the painted room ('geschilderde kaamer'), as she called it herself, the cello is found.

Figure 200 The harpsichord and cello in the music room in Sara Rothé's doll's house.[551]

Figure 201 *Cello in the doll's house of Sara Rothé* (17th century). Detail of Figure 200. Note the four strings, pegs, the scroll and the way the tailpiece is attached.

The instrument has four strings and pegs, f-holes, normal shoulders and the manufacturer even thought about the purfling.[552] The scroll looks like a head of a bird, although it is just curved in outlines.

Although to modern eyes it may look like a cello, Rothé herself describes it as a 'fiool de gamben' in her notebook.[553] But to this she adds: "all these music books and instruments were part of doll's house no. 3".[554] And this house no. 3 is one of the 17th-century houses.[555] Therefore the

[549] Taken from: Anonymous (1758), p. 5. Catalogue in the collection of the Rijksmuseum Research Library. Inv. No: C/RM0013.ASC/1144 * 1. Original: " Een Salet-Kamer, zynde rondom konstig Geschilderd door Moucheron, met 4 Spiegels, 5 Zilvere Arm-Blaakers, Kerk-Kroon, Bekleede Stoelen, een Tafel, waar op Goud en Zilver Geld, waar aan een Dame met een waterlandze Boer zit te Speelen, en verder Gezelschap, dat zig vermaakt met alderhande Muzyk Instrumenten. Verder een fraai Beeld van Ivoor, op zyn Pedestal en andere Beeltwerken meer."

[550] Today in the collection of the Gemeentemuseum Den Haag.

[551] Picture taken from Eaton (1990).

[552] In this case the purfling is painted, but that was done more often, also on full size instruments.

[553] Pijzel-Dommisse (1988), p. 51 and Pijzel-Dommisse (1980), p. 20.

[554] "Alle deese musiekboeke en instrumente sijn te voore in het cabienet no. 3 geweest".

[555] This house was formerly owned by Cornelia van der Gon (1646-1701).

cello/viol is clearly made for someone other than Rothé, and could well be meant as a cello and not as a viol.
In a later inventory, in a different hand than Rothé's, the cello, together with an other string instrument, is described as "twee fioole". This does not make it any clearer.

2.3.7 Magic lantern slides: NN

Not a lot is known about 18th-century performances with magic lantern slides. The slides themselves are the most important sources on what kind of subjects were performed. Especially slides with subjects from Jan and Casper Luyken's *Het menselyk bedryf* were popular.
Figure 202 shows the slide 'instrumentmaaker', and Figure 203 shows the engraving on which it is based. The cello is copied well, no major changes have been made, except that the details in the scroll are invisible on the slide.

Figure 202 NN: Anonymous: *Magic lantern slide: one out of a series of Four professions after Het menselyk bedryf* (1700-1790).

Figure 203 NN: Jan and Casper Luyken: *The instrument maker* (1694). The slide in Figure 202 is based on this design.

2.3.8 Glass: NN/ZN

Another artefact which is based on an engraving is reproduced in Figure 204. This glass is a melting-pot of influences. The glass itself was produced around 1750 in either England or the ZN. The stipple print on the glass was made in the NN by Willem Fortuyn in 1757. It is based on an engraving made by the German Johann Esaias Nilson (1721-1788). Although the original engraving (see Figure 205) was made in Germany, I have added this glass here because the stipple print was produced in the NN and, as was shown in Section 2.3.4, sometimes intentionally or unintentionally details get changed.

Figure 204 NN: Willem Fortuyn: *Chalice with a woman behind a spinet* (ca. 1750, before 1757).

Figure 205 Figure 204 is based on this engraving by Johann Esaias Nilson.[556]

On the glass the two putti are left out, which results in a better view of the cello (see for details the following page). Willem Fortuyn made a beautiful print and gave the instrument a real cello shape, whereas the shoulders in the engraving are a bit more sloping. The lion scroll has been copied as well as the f-shape sound holes. The number of strings is invisible.

[556] Johann Esaias Nilson (1721-1788). *Musicians in garden (Musici in tuin)*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1964-2949. According to the museum's website the engraving is dated between 1731 and 1788. However, it must have been made before the glass was produced, which means some time before 1750-1757.

Figure 206 Detail of Figure 204.[557]

Figure 207 Detail of Figure 205.

Another glass which was blown in England is reproduced in Figure 208. It was engraved in the NN, possibly in Rotterdam in 1739. A group of musicians is shown, with a female cellist proudly on the first row.

The instrument has a very clear cello shape, although the top part is wider than the bottom part. The left hand is held behind the instrument as if it is tuning a string. It looks like the instrument is bowed underhand, but I am not entirely sure. For the rest it has a cello scroll, 5 strings and f-shaped sound holes. For the 18th century 5 strings is quite exceptional, although in the applied art section 5-string instruments have been found more often than in Sub section 2.2. The cello is supported in the same (somewhat awkward) way as the cellos in Figs. 121 & 171. For a woman, however, it is more elegant, but the fact remains that it is quite impossible to play it easily.

[557] Photo made by the author, 2013, June 6.

Figure 208 NN: Anonymous: *Chalice engraved with Apollo and the nine Muses with opposite the statue of Erasmus* (1739).

Figure 209 Detail of Figure 208.

2.3.9 Tapestries & lace: ZN

There are several well known artists who not only produced paintings and similar works, but who also made so-called cartoons for the tapestry industry. Their designs were very suitable for reproduction in woven material. Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) for example was very well-known for his designs, they were in great demand in foreign countries. Unfortunately I have not been able to find a tapestry with a cello of his hand although some of his paintings do show a cello.

Many tapestries in my database have been designed by David Teniers (at least 8) [558] and Cornelis Schut (4, possibly 7). Teniers' rustic scenes were used a lot for cartoons and his style became famous. His designs were not only bought by weavers in the ZN, but also by weavers in France, England and Spain.[559]

At least 12 tapestries, but maybe as many as 22 have been produced in Brussels.

As already stated at the beginning of Sub chapter 2.3, there are not that many examples of representations of cellos in applied arts. The tapestries form the largest part of this section. Out of 71 images of cellos in total, there are 41 representations on tapestries. Some tapestries have even 2 cellos, often of different sizes.

[558] Mostly by David Teniers II, of two tapestries it is unknown whether they have been designed by him or by one of the other Teniers family members.

[559] Information on tapestries taken from: Thomson (1973), p. 374. Denucé (1936), pp. XXXIII, XXXIV. Marillier (1932), pp. VII-XI.

The engraving in Figure 210 by Cornelis Schut was a very popular design for making tapestries. In my research corpus there are 7 tapestries which have been produced after this design. They, however, differ greatly in quality and exactness. The one reproduced in Figur 209 is in the best shape.
In 5 of the tapestries the cello is placed on the left, in 2 of them it is placed on the right, as is the cello in the engraving.

Figure 210 ZN: Cornelis Schut: *The seven liberal arts*.[560]

The tapestry made after the engraving is part of a series of 8 tapestries, showing the seven liberal arts, the first 7 depicting one art at the time, in number 8 the 7 arts come together. Music is one of those arts, and in this tapestry represented by a cello, an organ, a lute and a putto playing the flute.[561]
The cello in the tapestry is very detailed, much more detailed than the engraving it is based on. What stands out are the number of strings and the number of pegs. There is an empty space for a 6th string to match the 6th peg.

[560] The Rijksmuseum holds a copy of this engraving. They have dated it 1618-1655. The British Museum (inv. no: 1929,0114.18) also holds one, there is is dated 1635-1645. The RKD dates it c. 1650.
[561] The tapestry of music alone also shows a cello, but of this one only the top part can be seen.

Figure 211 ZN: Anonymous: *The Apotheosis of the Seven Liberal Arts* (ca. 1675).

Figure 212 Detail of Figure 211. Note the number of strings and pegs.[562]

[562] Photo made by the author.

An 18th-century example is reproduced in Figure 213.[563] It is an extremely detailed tapestry and shows several 18th-century characteristics of the cello. The instrument is held between the legs and supported by an endpin; the cello has 4 strings and the bow has white hairs. The pegs and purfling (and even the button-holes on the jacket) are produced with extreme detail.
The only detail which is more 17th than 18th-century is the way the bow is held: underhand.

Figure 213 ZN: *Wall tapestry with musicians* (18th century).[564]

Figure 214 Detail of Figure 213. Note the detail in the pegs (and the button-holes).

An art object which does not show much detail is reproduced in Figure 215. I want to show this beautiful piece of lace here, because it is a rare example of a different art discipline than shown so far.
One could argue it is a double bass and not a cello. The width, however, looks more like a cello than a double bass and if one would use an endpin of the length shown here, a cello would come to this height.
With some fantasy one could see 4 strings, but that is about all.

[563] This picture was kindly made available to me by Mrs. Vangampelaere, email dated 2008, May 27.
[564] This date I took from the following book: Pape & Boettcher (1996), Tafel VIII. Bruges City Hall was not able to give me any more information as to the production date of the tapestry.

Figure 215 ZN: Anonymous: *Lace* (1720-1740).

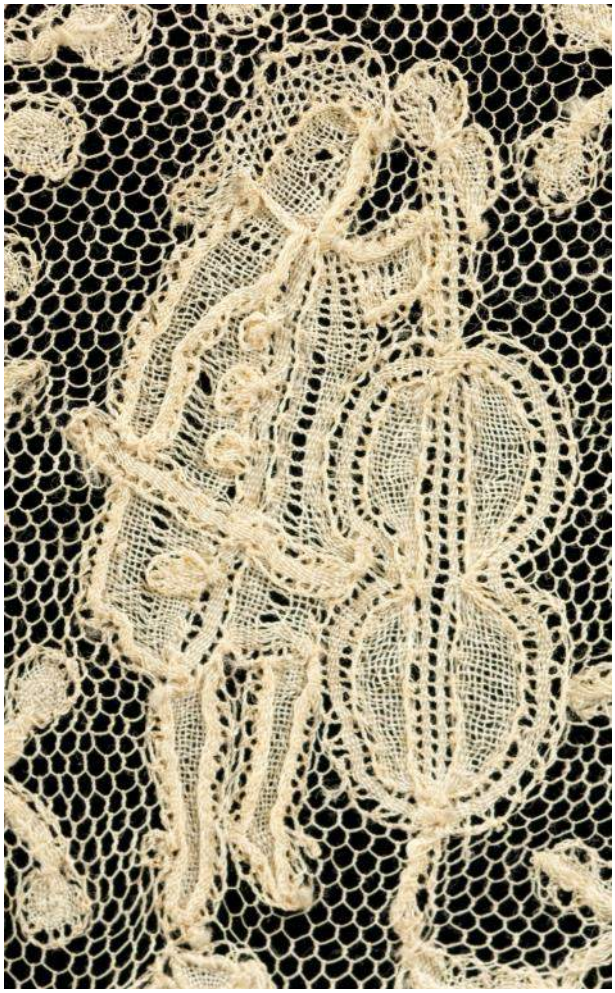


Figure 216 Detail of Figure 215.

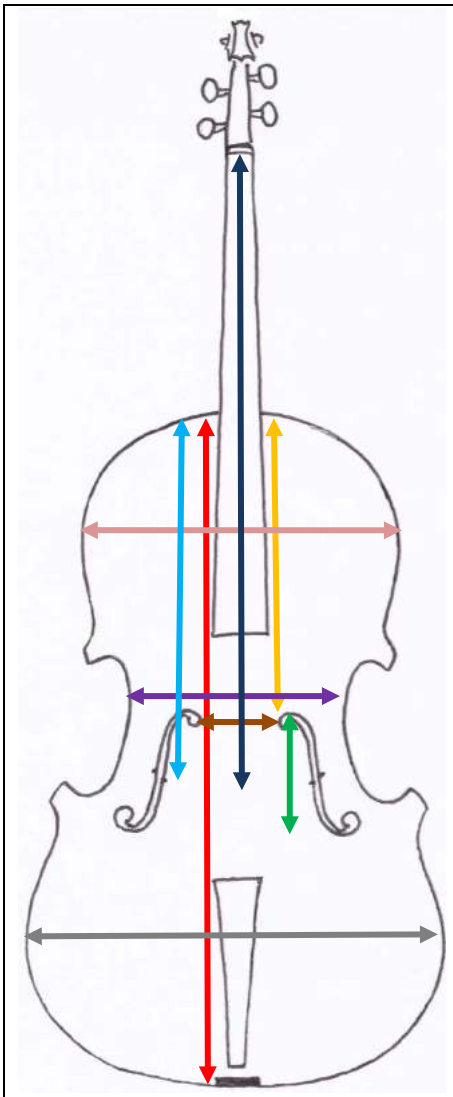
2.4 Summary: the state of the 'cello' in the NN and ZN

As was shown in the preceding Sub chapters in the NN and ZN many representations of the cello, bass violin and mixed shape instruments were made in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. It is remarkable that these representations are not only found on paintings, drawings and engravings, but also on many different types of artefacts. One may conclude from the amount of images that the 'cello' was an important instrument for many people.
Over the centuries the appearance of the cello has changed. Whereas in the early times the cello had several different shapes and sizes, in the 18th century the appearance became more and more standardised. The most notable change is the number of strings, because this directly influences how one has to play. With the decrease in size the way of playing and supporting the cello also changed and became more standardised as well. Where in the 17th century one often saw that cellists also played underhand, in the 18th century this practice almost died out.
Another notable change is that in the 17th and 18th centuries the cello was hardly played by women. As was also shown, in the 19th century it slowly became more normal to 'see' female cellists on stage.
Because of the lack of useful written information in the Low Countries about several aspects of the cello and cello playing, the aim in Chapter 2 was to collect as many data as possible from pictorial sources. I have managed to collect a lot of data, especially from the 17th century. These data have shown that what is marginally discussed in NN and ZN written sources and more extensively in other European sources is in fact depicted many times.
I have also quoted several art historians who state that 17th-century pictorial art was supposed to be very realistic. This supports the conclusions I have drawn based on what is depicted, although a word of caution is in place: a cello with 4 strings and 10 pegs is not possible!

3 Instruments and their makers

3.1 Research corpus: instrument collections with NN and ZN cellos

The list in the following pages and Table 12 contain all NN and ZN instruments I have been able to trace. Of some violin makers I have been able to identify quite a few instruments, of others only one or two. In total 72 instruments have been included in the research corpus.
For measurements of all instruments, see Appendix 4. I measured the instruments at the Muziekinstrumentenmuseum in Brussels and at the Gemeentemuseum in The Hague myself. The following measurements were taken:



	Body length (front & back)
	Length from top of body to top of sound holes
	Length from top of body to notch in sound holes
	Length of sound holes
	Maximum width front and back: top bout
	Minimum width front and back: at c bout
	Maximum width front and back: lower bout
	String length from nut to bridge
	Distance between tops of sound holes

Figure 217 Cello measurements taken at the musical instrument museums in Brussels and The Hague. Colours of arrowed lines in drawing correspond with explanation in the right column.

The measurements of the other instruments I received from other parties. Unfortunately the latter measurements are often incomplete,[565] and I also do not know exactly how they were done.

[565] The degree of incompleteness differs from one instrument to the other: of one instrument I have only the length, of another instrument I have dimensions of, for example, length and width. The measurements received, however, were hardly ever as complete as the ones I did myself.

The abbreviations below are used in the text and also in Appendix 4.

Amsterdam: Nationaal Muziekinstrumenten Fonds (NMF)[566]
- **Cuypers,** Johannes Theodorus: ca. 1770
- **Jacobs,** Hendrick: ca. 1690
- **Lefèbvre,** Jean Baptiste: 18th century
- **Rombouts,** Pieter: ca. 1690, 1699
- **Snoeck**, Egidius: ca. 1715

Boston: Museum of Fine Arts (MFA)
- **Snoeck,** Marcus: 1720[567]

Brussel: Muziekinstrumentenmuseum (MIM)
- **Anonymous, Brussels**: 1701-1750
- **Anonymous, Flanders**: 1733-1755
- **Borbon**, Gaspar: 1670, 1671, 1688, 1702, 1707
- **Boussu**, Benoît-Joseph: 1752, 1757
- **Comble**, Ambroise de: 1745, 1751, 1755, 1757, 1782
- **Ligne**, Laurent Joseph de: 1752, 1761
- **Simonet**, Etienne: 1730, 1739
- **Snoeck**, Egidius: 1734
- **Snoeck**, Marcus: 1718, 1721, 1722, 1733, before 1762
- **Snoeck**, Marcus/Egidius: 1761
- **Steveny**, Pierre Joseph: 1738
- **Willems II**, Hendrick: 1717, between 1701-1750

Website of Christie's auctions (CW)[568]
- **Cuypers,** Johannes Theodorus: ca. 1775

Haine, M. & Meeùs, N.: *Instruments de musique anciens à Bruxelles et en Wallonie* (HM)[569]
- **Boussu**, Benoit Joseph: 1755

Fred Lindeman: *The Rebirth of the Baroque Violin* (FL)[570]
- **Borbon**, Gaspar: 1691, 1717
- **Cuypers**, Johannes Theodorus: 1761, 1779, 1782
- **Rombouts**, Pieter: 18th century
- **Snoeck**, Marcus: 18th century

Den Haag: Gemeentemuseum (GM)
- **Boumeester**, Jan: 1676
- **Cuypers**, Johannes Theodorus: 1787, 1793
- **Jacobs**, Hendrick: 1675-1705, 1705
- **Lefèbvre**, Jacques Baptiste: 1772
- **Rombouts**, Pieter: 1722, undated

Private Collections (PC)[571]
- **Comble**, Ambroise de: 1752
- **Cuypers**, Johannes Theodorus: 1766
- **Kleynman**, Cornelis: ca. 1675
- **Rombouts**, Pieter: 1705

Website of Sotheby's autions (SW)[572]
- **Cuypers,** Johannes Theodorus: ca. 1775

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[566] Information taken from the website of the NMF, last accessed: 2015, September 12 and from an email by Frits Schutte (collection management), dated: 2015, September 14.
[567] Information on measurements for this instrument received from Darcy Kuronen (Curator of Musical Instruments), email dated: 2015, June 30.
[568] www.christies.com, last accessed: 2015, September 10.
[569] Haine & Meeùs (1985), p. 54.
[570] Lindeman (2011), pp. 117, 119.
[571] The names of the owners of these instruments are known to the author. I thank them for measuring their instruments.
[572] www.sothebys.com, last accessed: 2015, September 10.

Website of Tarisio and Cozio Archive (TW)[573]
Comble, Ambroise de: 1756, 1761, 18th century
Cuypers, Johannes Theodorus: 1760, 1763, 1766, 1770
Hofmans III, Matthias: 1700
Jacobs, Hendrick: 1690, 1703
Rombouts, Pieter: 1715, 1722
Sijde, Willem van der: 1690
Snoeck, Egidius: ca. 1720
Sachs, C.: *Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente* (CS)[574]
Comble, Ambroise de: 1741
Lefèbvre, Jacques Baptiste: 1770

Apart from the collections listed above, I have, unsuccesfully, contacted many other museums. A list of these museums can be found in Appendix 3.

In the table below the violin makers were ordered by the cities they worked in:

	Production place	Violin maker	Dates of production	Number of instruments
NN	Amsterdam	C. Kleynman (1626-1686)	ca. 1675	1
		H. Jacobs (ca. 1629-1704)	1675-1705, 1690, ca. 1690, 1703, 1705	5
		J. Boumeester (ca. 1629-1681)	1676	1
		W. van der Sijde (ca. 1663-1692 or later)	1690	1
		P. Rombouts (1667-1728)	ca. 1690, 1699, 1705, 1715, 1722, 1722, 18th century, undated	8
		J. B. Lefèbvre (ca. 1730-1775)	1770, 1772, 18th century	3
	Den Haag	J. T. Cuypers (1724-1808)	1760, 1761, 1763, 1766, 1766, 1770, ca. 1770, ca. 1775, ca. 1775 1779, 1782, 1787, 1793,	13
ZN	Brussel	G. Borbon (ca. 1635-1710)	1670, 1671, 1688, 1691, 1702, 1707, 1717	7
		E. Snoeck (ca. 1660-after 1730)	ca. 1715, ca. 1720, 1734	3
		M. Snoeck (1694-1762)	1718, 1720, 1721, 1722, 1733, before 1762, 18th century	7
		E./M. Snoeck	1761	1
		Anonymous	1701-1750	1
	Etterbeek & Brussel	B. J. Boussu (1703-1773)	1752, 1755, 1757	3
	Antwerpen	M. Hofmans III (??-??)	1700	1
		L. J. de Ligne (1715-1780)	1752, 1761	2
	Gent	H. Willems II (fl. 1715-1745)	1717, between 1701-1750	2

[573] www.tarisio.com, last accessed: 2015, July 6. I owe many thanks to Naomi Sadler (Head of Cozio) for allowing me free access to the private part of their website.
[574] Sachs (1922), column 140.

	Bergen	E. Simonet (fl. 1730)	1730, 1739	2
	Nivelles	P. J. Steveny (??-??)	1738	1
	Turnhout	A. De Comble (1723-1796)	1741, 1751, 1752, 1755, 1756, 1757, 1761, 1782, 18th century	9
	Flanders	Anonymous	1733-1755	1
Total number of instruments:				**72**

Table 12 Number of instruments in the NN and ZN, ordered by production place.

3.2 String instrument makers in the Noordelijke Nederlanden

As early as the 15th century string instrument makers were active in the NN. These early makers mainly produced lutes and citterns.[575] According to the musicologist Karel Moens the violin type instruments were developed and made by musicians in the 16th century and not by professional instrument makers.[576] Two viols made by Johan Roos are the first evidence of the presence of string instrument makers in the NN.[577]

Violins and cellos were seen as inferior instruments and at first they were mainly played in streets and pubs.[578] These 'inferior' instruments were made in an archaic[579] form. This type of instrument was made almost everywhere north of the Alpes, sometimes even until the end of the 18th century.

From the NN, however, none of these archaic cellos has been passed down to us.[580] In NN visual art from the 17th century, however, this type of instrument is depicted many times, mainly by painters from Haarlem and Utrecht.[581] This makes violin maker Fred Lindeman conclude that it goes without saying that these instruments must have been made in the NN as well.[582] I will come back to this in Section 3.4.1.

At the beginning of the 17th century professional instrument makers started making string instruments too. At the start they still called themselves lute, cittern or musical instrument makers. The earliest mention of the profession of violin maker is that of Gerrit Heinrixss as 'fijoelmaker' in 1622.[583]

Everywhere in Europe violin making was very much influenced by the Italian violin makers. In contrast to the ZN this influence was noticeable in Amsterdam at an early stage for several reasons. Amsterdam, at the time, was the centre of the world trade; Amsterdam had trading links with, for example, Venice, an Italian city with a rich musical tradition; and the whealthy, music making, merchants wanted the best and most modern instruments of the time and during that period the Italian instruments were considered the best.[584]

Although Italian instruments were considered best, instruments made by makers living in the Low Countries followed suit. The best instruments made in Amsterdam and other NN cities, equaled their Italian examples. Organologist Christiaan Vlam, for example, considers the

[575] Fuchs (1960), p. 177. Giskes (1987), p. 56. Lindeman (1999), p. 118. Giskes has done extensive research in the Amsterdam City Archives. He discovered the following descriptions for string instrument makers: luitmaker, citermaker, instrumentmaker van snarenspel. Giskes (1987), pp. 57-60.

[576] Moens (1990), p. 103.

[577] Giskes (1987), p. 57. One viol is dated 1585, the other one 1587.

[578] This is also shown in 17th century visual art: for example in the theme of the prodigal son and in bordello scenes. Giskes (1999), p. 53.

[579] In this sense archaic means primitive, made without mold and made not only with glue joints but also with one part anchored in another part. Moens (2000), p. 8.

[580] Lindeman (1999), p. 121.

[581] Giskes (1999), p. 61. Of the artists Giskes mentions, Pieter Claesz, Dirck Hals, Jan Miense Molenaer (Haarlem), Gerard van Honthorst and Dirck van Baburen (Utrecht) have produced representations of cellos or bass violins.

[582] Lindeman (1999), p. 119.

[583] Giskes (1987), p. 58.

[584] Giskes (1999), p. 54 & Lindeman (1999), p. 121.

instruments made by Jan Boumeester (1629-1681) as good as those of important Italian makers.[585]
It is not certain where instrument makers active in Holland learned their trade and if they studied Italian instruments outside of Holland.
It has been suggested that the Amsterdam violin maker Hendrick Jacobs spent some time in Italy, but this has never been proven. It is far more plausible that he and his fellow instrument makers studied these Italian masterpieces in Amsterdam.[586]
Italian instruments were indeed present in the NN. In a deed dated April 27, 1660, the amount of 10 guilders is mentioned for the insurance of one or a few Italian instruments.[587] Almost a century later, Italian instruments, including several 17th century ones, were offered for sale in an auction in 1759.[588]
The period between 1650 and 1728 is considered the first heyday of Dutch violin making and Amsterdam was the place to be, although in Leiden there were also a few makers. Well-known cello makers from Amsterdam from this period are Hendrick Jacobs (ca. 1629-1704) and his stepson Pieter Rombouts (1667-1728). At the death of Rombouts this period came to an end.[589]
During this first heyday there were many talented violin makers; they had very good technical and artistic skills (with adequate transfer of knowledge) and there was a mutual competition, which was also a hugely stimulating factor. Added to this, there was a high demand for instruments and people also had the capital to buy them. And furthermore, in Amsterdam there were several music publishers active, publishing Dutch and foreign music. It was very fortunate that there was printed music available to be played.[590]
Up to 1670, during a period of around 70 years, the population of Amsterdam increased from circa 30.000 inhabitants to more than 200.000. This vast increase was caused by waves of immigration by people from Flanders (after 1585 many fled Antwerp when it was captured by Spain), Jews from Spain and Portugal, and after 1685 also by Huguenots from France. Added to these refugees, there were also people searching for a better life, attracted by the whealthy city.[591] All these new citizens of Amsterdam soon formed a very large consuming market for musical instruments built in the Low Countries.
Several violin makers active in the Low Countries came from abroad as well. Andries Asseling was born in Uytstede (Pommern), but active in Leiden. Several others were born in Quakenbrück (Westfalen). Of these Hendrick Aerninck, Jan and Johannes Boumeester were also active in Leiden, and another Jan Boumeester (1629-1681) worked in Amsterdam.[592] Gerrit Menslage, brother in law of Jan Boumeester of Amsterdam, was born in Essen (Germany).[593] Of these makers no cellos are known to me, except for 2 instruments made by Jan Boumeester. The first is

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[585] Vlam (1968), p. 108.
[586] Vlam (1968), p. 103 & Giskes (1987), p. 12.
[587] Giskes (1987), p. 77, footnote 23.
[588] Selhof (1759), p. 25. Among those Italian instruments, there were cellos from Nicoló Amati (Cremona 1660), Maria Peuscher ("très bon Instrument", Cremona 1686), Floriano Guidanti ("très bonne", Bologna 1711) and Theordor Gofriler ("dans une Caisse, très bon Instrument", Venezia 1733). Some of the names of these makers have been badly spelled. Maria Peuscher has been identified as Maria (Mario?, Marco?) Penscher by the art educator and historian Willibald von Lütgendorff (1922), p. 376 (violin maker Jurriaan van Roon, however, thinks it is highly unlikely that in that time there were female violin makers (email: 2017, June 30). Given this fact Von Lütgendorff's suggestion of Mario or Marco could well be right); Floriano Guidanti is identified by Von Lütgendorff (1922), p. 143 as Guidante Floreno and Theordor Gofriler must be Matteo Goffriller.
[589] Information from Hubert de Launay, violin maker in Amsterdam (researching string instruments from the NN), email: 2015, September 10.
[590] Giskes (1999), p. 51.
[591] Giskes (1987), p.61 & Giskes (1999), p.51.
[592] Vlam (1968), pp. 103, 108.
[593] Giskes (1979), p. 55. When checking the map of Germany for Quakenbrück, I discovered that some 8 kilometers north of that village, there is a village called Essen (Oldenburg), and some 8 kilometers west of Quakenbrück there is a village called Menslage. I wonder if Gerrit Menslage comes from this area, rather than from the larger Essen close to Duisburg and Bochum. I have not been able to find an answer to this question, but the thought is not unrealistic since Menslage and Boumeester were close family and knew each other.

a cello ("une Basse, *très bonne*") produced by Joh. Boumeester (Amsterdam, 1675)[594] and sold in the before-mentioned 1759 auction;[595] the other is a 'violoncello piccolo' (1676), which was part of the Carel van Leeuwen Boomkamp collection (now in GM).[596]
There were also other violin makers of which we have proof that they made cellos or bass violins. A certain Thomas Verhoeven from Utrecht made a "Basje" in 1650.[597] Another "Basse", made by G. Stevens (Leiden 1743), is sold in the Selhof auction in 1759.[598]
After Rombouts' death not much happened, although there were makers building good instruments. We could speak of a second heyday, though smaller than the first one, with the instruments made by the Cuypers family in Den Haag, starting in the middle of the 18th century and spreading over 3 generations.[599]
These two heydays can also be seen in Appendix 4. I have not been able to find any instruments built between 1722 (Rombouts) and 1760 (Cuypers).

3.3 String instrument makers in the Zuidelijke Nederlanden

Despite social and religious troubles in the 16th century in the ZN, up to 1555 there was a case of unprecedented economical prosperity, especially in Antwerp. In 1555 Philips II, who was not in touch with the Low Countries, took over the reign from his father Charles V and all the events arising from this finally led to the break-up of the Low Countries in the Noordelijke and Zuidelijke Nederlanden. At the start of Philips' reign, a large part of the court musicians working in Brussels moved or rather were forced to move to Madrid. Only after 1570 there are again notifications of violinists working full time for the court. As already mentioned in Sub chapter 3.2 many people fled from the ZN, also to Amsterdam in the NN, because of religious reasons (Philips II was catholic). This, together with famine and diseases, halved the Antwerp population. In this environment the violin making in the ZN slowly grew to its heyday of the second half of the 17th century.[600]
In Brussels and Antwerp it was very common for professional fiddlers to make their own instruments. As early as the end of the 14th century a certain Lodewyk van Vaelbeke is called "fiddler and fiddle maker" ("vedelaar en vedelmaker").[601] In the inventories made at the decease of the Antwerp (city) fiddlers Peeter van Billioen (1617-1652) and Gillis van Gewelde alias vander Locht (before 1602-1648) not only (partly brand new) instruments were found, but also unfinished instruments and tools for making instruments. For example: "a quantity of drills and other tools" ("Een quantiteyt van booren ende ander gereetschappe"), "[tools] serving to make all instruments" ("[gereedschap] dienende tot het maeken van alle de instrumenten"), "some wood to make bass violins and flutes" ("Een deel hout om veloncen ende fluyten te maecken") and "a workbench" ("Een werckbanck").[602]
From the early period, however, no cellos from the ZN have been passed down to us. Only from around 1600 onwards written sources explicitly mention the fact that violins are made in Brussels. One therefore has to rely on images of cellos, which I have thoroughly done so in

[594] The usual name of the Amsterdam-based Boumeester is Jan, but in the auction catalogue he is called Joh., which is short for Johannes. In Leiden there were a few more Boumeesters active as violin makers, one of whom was called Johannes. The Boumeester in this catalogue, however, must be Jan from Amsterdam, because Johannes from Leiden actually died in April 1670. Information on Johannes Boumeester taken from: Vlam (1968), p. 108.
[595] Selhof (1759), p. 252.
[596] Leeuwen Boomkamp & Meer (1971), pp. 19-21, 46.
[597] Vorsterman van Oyen (ed., 1895), p. 45. The instrument is named: "Basje" (small bass). I do not think a bass viol is meant, because also a "viool di gamba" (viol) and a "cleyne viool di gamba" (small viol) are being auctioned. This small bass was owned by L. van Beken or Beke, who died in Delft in 1708. Van Beke(n) was "Castellijn in 't D'schen Gemeentelands Huis" (caretaker of the building of the polder board Delfland).
[598] Selhof (1759), p. 252.
[599] Information from Hubert de Launay, email: 2015, September 10.
[600] Moens (1994), pp. 53-54 & 170.
[601] Moens (1994), pp. 55 & 170.
[602] Spiessens (1994), pp. 55-56, 124-126 & Moens (1995), p. 115.

Chapter 2.[603] The oldest cello in my research corpus dates from 1670 (MIM inv. no. 2856) and was made by Gaspar Borbon, who worked at the Brussels court.
According to Moens it was customary for musicians to make their own instruments up to as late as the French revolution (1789-1799). Laureys Van der Linden (flourished from before 1600-after 1653) is mentioned by him as the first known violin maker, violinist and lute player at the Brussels court. Van der Linden was the teacher of Peeter I Borbon, who, in his turn, was the grandfather of Gaspar Borbon. Five of his 5 cellos or bass violins are part of the collection of the MIM in Brussels (to be discussed in Section 3.4.2).[604]
Around 1650 instruments were not only made by musicians anymore, but professional lute makers also made instruments of the violin family. An example of this is the Antwerp lute maker Mathijs IV Hofmans (1622-before 1679), who was called "vilonsmaeker" in 1660.[605] Compared to the instruments made by the Borbons in Brussels and the Borlons in Antwerp, his instruments are of a superior quality.[606] He still made his instruments in more or less the same (archaic) way as the fiddlers did. Lute makers, however, most probably had a better artisanal training than fiddlers/violin makers. This could well be a reason that Hofmans' violins are much more refined and much better finished than the instruments made by fiddlers.[607]
During the first half of the 17th century the Borlon family (not to be confused with the Borbon family in Brussels) dominates the violin making in Antwerp. Father and son, both called Peeter, were violin makers and fiddlers. An inventory is made at the passing in 1669 of Peeter II. This inventory includes: "5 blocks of maple",[608] "2 work benches with tools to make instruments"[609] and "5 bass backs and wood to make the fronts of basses".[610] Peeter II's son Francis Borlon (ca. 1628-1683) was also violin maker and fiddler, and in 1658 he is called "violmaecker".[611] As far as I could establish, no cellos from their hands have survived.
Apart from the before-mentioned Mathijs Hofmans, also the violin maker and player of the "dobbelen bas" Laurent Joseph de Ligne (1715-1780) worked in Antwerp.[612] Two of his cellos are part of my research corpus. Whereas the quality of the violins and cellos in 17th-century Antwerp was very high, the quality of the instruments made there in the 18th century went downhill very quickly (due to the fact that in Antwerp there were no professional violin makers). The instruments made by de Ligne are among the better ones made in Antwerp, but compared to instruments made by his Brussels (professional) colleagues, they are of far less quality: De Ligne's instruments are a mixture of archaic and more classic elements.[613]
As already mentioned in Sub chapter 3.2 there was no direct Italian influence in the ZN. In the mid 17th century the first Italian violinists appear in the accounts of the court chapel in Brussels (quite possibly bringing along their Italian intruments).[614]
Whereas in Brussels between 1562 and ca. 1650 the instrument makers were not only a member of the guild of St Job (the guild of musicians), but also a member of the guild of the carpenters, in Antwerp the cittern and violin makers (who were often fiddlers as well) were mostly only a

[603] Moens (1995), p. 17.
[604] Moens (1994), pp. 55-56.
[605] Two of his violins are in the collection of the MIM and one is in the collection of the NMF. For characteristics of these archaic instruments, see Section 3.4.1.
[606] Moens (1995), p. 118.
[607] Moens (1993), p. 74 & Moens (1995), pp. 117-119 & Möller (1955), p. 141. There is one cello in my research corpus, which, according to www.tarisio.com (last accessed: 2015, July 6), is made by Matthias Hofmans III (according to Tarisio: 1594-1675; Moens (1993), p. 76 states: 1594-after 1665). The cello has been dated 1700. Regardless whether the cello was made by Matthias III or Mathijs IV, this date cannot be right. Von Lütgendorff ((1922) p. 222) mentions that there were two violin makers with the same name: one working 1660-1691, the other one 1700-1725. I have tried to research this further, unfortunately without result.
[608] "5 blokken esdoorn"
[609] "2 werkbanken met gereedschap om instrumenten te maken"
[610] "5 basruggen en hout voor basdaken"
[611] Moens (1995), p. 114.
[612] Spiessens (1992), p. 68.
[613] Moens (1993), pp. 74-75.
[614] Moens (1994), p. 58.

member of the guild of St Job and Maria Magdalena, which was the poorest guild in the city of Antwerp.[615]
Father and son Egidius (ca. 1660-after 1730) and Marcus (1694-1762) Snoeck were both violin makers at the Brussels court. Von Lütgendorff speaks highly of their instruments.[616] According to the MIM website, Marcus still built all his instruments in an archaic way.[617]
As said before, the quality of the instruments in Brussels in the 18th century was still high. This high quality was mainly reached by violin makers who had emigrated to Brussels. One of these violin makers was Benoît-Joseph Boussu. He was born in Fourmies in France (just a few kilometers from the border), where he had worked as a notary until his mid 40s. He then moved to the ZN where he worked as a violin maker for 12 years. He possibly even worked in Leiden or Amsterdam for a short while.[618] Three of his cellos are part of my research corpus.
The only ZN cello in the Selhof catalogue was made by Ambroise de Comble (1723-1796).[619] According to Von Lütgendorff de Comble was one of the most famous Flemish violin makers. Möller praises his beautifully carved scrolls, his refined purfling and the high quality varnish. His cellos are of excellent quality.[620]

3.4 Instrument collections in museums

As is shown in Sub chapter 3.1 there are just a few museums in the world which house cellos from the NN and ZN. From private collections I have been able to track down a few instruments as well. I am convinced, however, that more instruments must be held in these kind of collections and must also be played by professionals, but I have not been able to find more. Unfortunately I thus had to base my conclusions on this fairly small overall number of instruments (ZN: 40, NN: 32).
Other complications have also arisen. The oldest surviving instrument in my research corpus dates from 1670 (ZN: Gaspar Borbon, length and width not original anymore), whereas in Chapter 2 I have given evidence that instruments were made as early as during the second half of the 16th century.
Another issue is that the instruments which have indeed survived were made by only a handful of makers. As shown in Sub chapters 3.2 and 3.3 there is proof that there have been more violin makers in the NN and ZN, but either they did not make cellos or their instruments have not survived for one reason or another.
Of the instruments which have survived, only a handful has survived without too many alterations. The Egidius Snoeck basse de violon in the NMF collection, for example, still has its original length, but the width has been made smaller.[621] The 1702 basse de violon by Gaspar Borbon in the MIM is referred to by many modern violin makers as being in its original state.
Moens warns against drawing too fixed conclusions when only using surviving instruments because of the (changed) state they are in, and he even states that the instruments are not the most important source for revealing their own history. He combines the instruments with images. Combining these two sources gives more security.[622]
As I have only seen and handled the instruments in the collections in The Hague and Brussels myself, I will mainly discuss these instruments in the following Sections.

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[615] Moens (1994), pp. 55 & 170 & Moens (1995), pp. 112, 113. Aert Borlon (ca. 1540 - ca. 1620) was an exception to this; he, as a cittern maker ("syetermakere") and musician, was a member of the guild of St Luke. Information from: Moens (1995), p. 18. In modern Dutch 'citer' and 'cister' are both used for the English cittern. Giskes (1984) uses citer, on the RKD website citer and cister are used for the same instrument (last accessed: 2017, August 2).
[616] Von Lütgendorff (1922), p. 472.
[617] www.mim.be, last accessed: 2017, July 2.
[618] Verberkmoes (2013).
[619] Selhof (1759), p. 252.
[620] Möller (1955), p. 135.
[621] Confirmed to me by Frits Schutte of the NMF, email: 2015, September 14.
[622] Moens (1990), p. 102.

3.4.1 Instruments from the Noordelijke Nederlanden

In the beginning the instruments in the NN were built in an archaic form. As none of these archaic instruments from the NN has survived, one necessarily has to rely on images for more exact characteristics of these instruments. I will discuss these characteristics here, and I will point out the differences between the 17th and 18th-century instruments. On the following pages the characteristics will be shown.[623]

On these archaic instruments the neck was usually attached almost at a right angle (Figure 219). This practice was taken over by some professional makers and in the NN used until at least the first half of the 18th century. In the course of the 18th century the angle slowly changed, which resulted in a higher bridge and a higher tension of the strings. When this tension increased, and thus more pressure was executed on the front of the cello, the bass bar had to be made longer and thicker than it was before, in order to resist this higher tension.[624]

In the 17th century the neck was also a bit shorter and thicker than it was in the 18th century (Figure 219). For a player this thick neck made it difficult to go into higher positions. On the cello only the first position will have been possible. In the 18th century with the changing musical taste and the wish to play higher up the string, the neck had to be made thinner and longer.

The front and back of many archaic instruments had quite a high arching with pronounced corners (Figs. 225-227). Combined with this high arching one often finds double purfling (Figure 223).[625]

The fingerboard was made out of maple, as was the tailpiece, sometimes with inlay or with a veneer of hardwood (Figure 223). Until the mid 18th century, the fingerboard on the cello was no longer than one octave.

Because of the straight angle of the neck, the bridge was also lower (Figure 223). Lindeman states that the baroque bridge was between 82 and 85 mm high, whereas the modern bridge has a height of 90 to 92 mm.[626]

On many archaic string instruments, also on viols, one finds a peg box with thick sides. Close to the nut however, the sides become thinner, possibly to enable the outer strings to have more space (Figs. 220 & 229). The tuning pegs have a different shape than the later ones. The tops of the tuning pegs have a concave form, sometimes with a little button, and the pegs are usually placed close to the peg box (Figure 229).[627]

The inside of archaic instruments was also different from that of 18th-century instruments. The corners were glued together without corner blocks, which resulted in longer corners (visible on the outside, see Figs. 220, 221 & 223), because one needed enough surface to glue.[628]

In the NN the purfling in front and back was almost without any exception made of whalebone. In the ZN this was not the case, the reason for which has not been unravelled yet.[629]

At some point instrument makers will have changed the way they built violins and cellos and will have changed to a classical type of instrument. The experts differ from opinion whether Hendrick Jacobs and Pieter Rombouts already built classical instruments (and were ahead of their time) or whether they still used archaic elements.[630] There is not an unambiguous answer to this, because not all attributions are certain and for example peg boxes possibly have been cut down. There is good reading to state that during the second heyday in the NN, the Cuypers family built instruments with a more classical appearance.[631]

In Figs. 230 & 231 some of the 'new' charcateristics can be seen: a longer neck and fingerboard and an inclination of the neck. These images, however, are not as accurate and naturalistic as

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[623] Many thanks to Fred Lindeman, who browsed through my database and helped me choose the best examples.
[624] Lindeman (2011), pp. 40-42.
[625] Moens (1990), p. 106.
[626] Lindeman (1999), p. 125 & Lindeman (2011), pp. 35-39.
[627] Raymaekers (1989), pp. 99-100.
[628] Lindeman (1999), p. 119
[629] Balfoort (1931), p. 23 & Lindeman (1999), pp. 128-129.
[630] The Rombouts cellos in Figs. 226 & 227 definitely show some archaic elements.
[631] Moens (1990), pp. 106-107.

many of the 17th century images. In Figs. 232 & 233 a cello by Johannes Theodorus Cuypers has been reproduced. The corners of this cello are not archaic anymore.

Figure 218 NN: Jacob Gerritsz. Cuyp: *Putto blowing bubbles standing beside a table with a vanitas still life* (ca. 1629).

Figure 219 Detail of Figure 218. Archaic elements: neck attached at right angle, thick and short neck.

Figure 220 NN: Roeloff van Zijl: O*rgan door of the Jacobichurch in Utrecht* (1608-1609). Archaic elements: long corners, short fingerboard, peg box with thick sides.

Figure 221 Hendrick Jacobs, violin (1650). Archaic element: long corners.[632]

Figure 222 NN: Pieter Claesz.: *Still life with musical instruments* (1623).

[632] http://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/property/?ID51156, last accessed: 2015, September 20.

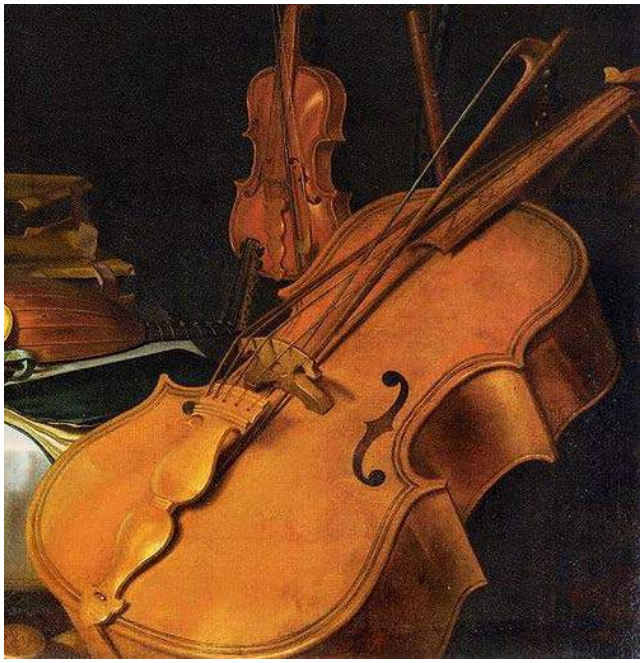

Figure 223 Detail of Figure 222. Archaic elements: long corners, low bridge, short maple fingerboard with inlay, double purfling.

Figure 224 NN: Pieter Cornelisz. van Slingelandt: *A music party* (ca. 1675).

Figure 225 Detail of Figure 224. Archaic elements: high arching (shown by reflection of the light on right upper corner of front of cello), long corners and short fingerboard.

Figure 226 Pieter Rombouts (undated). Archaic element: pronounced corners.[633]

Figure 227 Pieter Rombouts (1705). Archaic element: high arching.[634]

[633] GM: inv. no. MUZ-1941-0021.
[634] Private collection.

Figure 228 NN: Jan Miense Molenaer: ***Portrait historié of an young man with vanitas symbols*****.**

Figure 229 Detail of Figure 228. Archaic elements: peg box with thick sides and concave tuning pegs. Also note the 5 tuning pegs.

Figure 230 NN: Anonymous: ***A man playing cello with overhand grip, while the cello leans on a block of wood*** **(ca. 1780). Long neck and fingerboard.**

Figure 231 NN: Franz Lippoldt: ***Portrait of Philip Damiaan Ludovicus Ignatius Victorius Graaf van Hoensbroek*** **(1762). Longish fingerboard.**

Figure 232 Johannes Cuypers (1763). The corners are not long anymore.[635]

Figure 233 Johannes Cuypers (1763). The back of the cello.

In Chapter 2 it is shown that in the NN, instruments on paintings and engravings in the first half of the 17th century were mainly large in size. Such instruments, however, I have not been able to track down.[636]

The oldest NN instruments in my research corpus date from around 1675 (Jacobs & Kleynman). Both cellos, however, have more or less 'modern' (meaning: standard in our days) proportions in length and width. The third cello from around the same time is in fact a very small cello (Boumeester). It is therefore difficult to say how large exactly instruments in the NN have been.

Although the surviving cellos from the ZN are not so much older, it is wise to consider the instruments from the ZN as well when reconstructing NN instruments. It is likely that, at least into the 2nd half of the 17th century, there were many similarities between the instruments from the ZN and the NN.[637] As will be shown in Section 3.4.2, the size of the earliest surviving instruments from the ZN is much larger than the ones from the NN. It seems that makers in the ZN kept on building in the old tradition much longer than in the NN.

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[635] www.tarisio.com, last accessed: 2015, July 6.

[636] Violin maker Lindeman also does not know of any large existing NN instrument. Conversation: 2015, September 18.

[637] Moens (1990), p. 105. There was much contact between Antwerp and Amsterdam. The Amsterdam violin maker Artus Burlon for example came from Antwerp. Family members (who stayed in Antwerp) were also musicians.

An attempt has been made to reconstruct the Amati "King" cello, which is considered the earliest still surviving example of a cello.[638] The reconstruction shows that the King cello was originally much larger.[639] The reconstruction is shown in Figure 234.

Figure 234 Reconstruction of the Amati 'King' cello (left: the instrument as it survived; middle: computer animation of streching the cello to fill in the missing parts of the painting on the back of the instrument; right: the reconstruction of what the instrument could have looked like). The length of the cello increased from 754mm to 782mm, an increase of less than 4%. The upper width increased from 340.5mm to 391mm (almost 14% increase), and the lower width increased from 439.5mm to 489mm (just over 11 % increase).[640]

As late as 1839, the cellist Bernhard Romberg writes the following about this practice in his *Violoncell Schule*:

> "The instrument, which I play on, is made in 1711 by Antonio Stradivari, and is of a small size (pattern). This small size does not mean that the instrument is too small; it only means that Stradivari also made instruments of a large size, which, however, are far too large for our modern way of playing. Apart from the instruments from Stradivari, the instruments from Nicolò Amati are the best, in sound as well as in shape, followed by instruments from Giuseppe Guarneri. His instruments however are too wide in size, therefore they are uncomfortable to play and must be cut down."[641]

When examining the Amati cello and its reconstruction closely it shows the same problem as Romberg mentions in his cello method about the instruments made by Guarneri. The original

[638] The original instrument is held by the National Music Museum of the University of South Dakota, inv. no. NMM 3351.

[639] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UlglpppukSw (last accessed: 2015. June 4) and www.nmmusd.org (last accessed: 2017, June 19). This Amati cello was cut down in 1801 by the Parisian luthier Sébastian Renault.

[640] Images and information taken from: http://infoluthier.free.fr/francois%20denis/resources/Reconstitution.pdf last accessed: 2015, June 4.

[641] Romberg (1839), p. 4. Original: "Das Instrument, welches ich spiele, ist von Antonius Straduarius [sic] vom Jahre 1711, klein Patron; dieses klein Patron will aber nicht sagen, dass es zu klein ist, sondern deutet nur an, dass Straduarius [sic] auch gross patron gemacht hat, die aber für unsere jetzige Spielart viel zu gross sind. Nächst den von Straduarius [sic] sind die von Nicolaus Amati die besten, sowohl im Ton als auch in der Form, dann kommen die von Joseph Guarnerius, die aber zu breit im Format sind, deshalb im Einsatz nicht bequem umspant werden können, und zerschnitten werden müssen."

Amati cello primarily was much wider,[642] which would have made it, as Romberg points out, uncomfortable to play. This might have been the reason to make the Amati cello smaller. An increase in length of a few centimeters does not make as much difference in playing as does the increase in width.
A NN example of decreasing the width of a cello is the Rombouts cello in the collection of the NMF (see Figure 235). On this cello the distance between the upper eyes of the f-holes is only 7.5 cm, whereas something between 9 and 10 cm is more common for an instrument of its length.

Figure 235 Pieter Rombouts: cello (ca. 1690).[643]

Figure 236 Pieter Rombouts: cello (1722).[644]

A cello with its original dimensions is reproduced in Figure 236. It is clear that this Rombouts cello is much wider than the one from the NMF. Rombouts is known for his wide cellos, but for many cellists this is not very comfortable, and some cellos have therefore been cut down in size.[645] Unfortunately I could not find this instrument available for measurement.
The trend of instruments getting smaller which can be so clearly seen elsewhere in Europe, is not so obvious in the NN, simply because the really early instruments are missing. In Figure 237 the length of the still existing NN instruments is shown, of which some have probably been cut down in size. The only instrument of which it is very evident that it has been cut down in length was made by Gaspar Borbon in 1670 in the ZN.
As will be shown in Section 3.4.2, in the ZN the length of the cello will decrease by about 5 cm between 1670 and 1760. In the NN it is not so extreme.

[642] Roland Houël and François Denis were able to make this reconstruction by reconstructing the painting on the back of the cello. Part of the letter K is missing and the figure of Justice is clearly missing her waist and left arm.
[643] Rombouts, P. (ca. 1690). http://www.muziekinstrumentenfonds.nl/289/collectie/instrumenten/instrument/?id=122, last accessed: 2015, September 20.
[644] Rombouts, P. (1722). Illustration from: Möller (1955), p. 97.
[645] Lindeman: 2015, September 18, & Romberg (1839), p. 4.

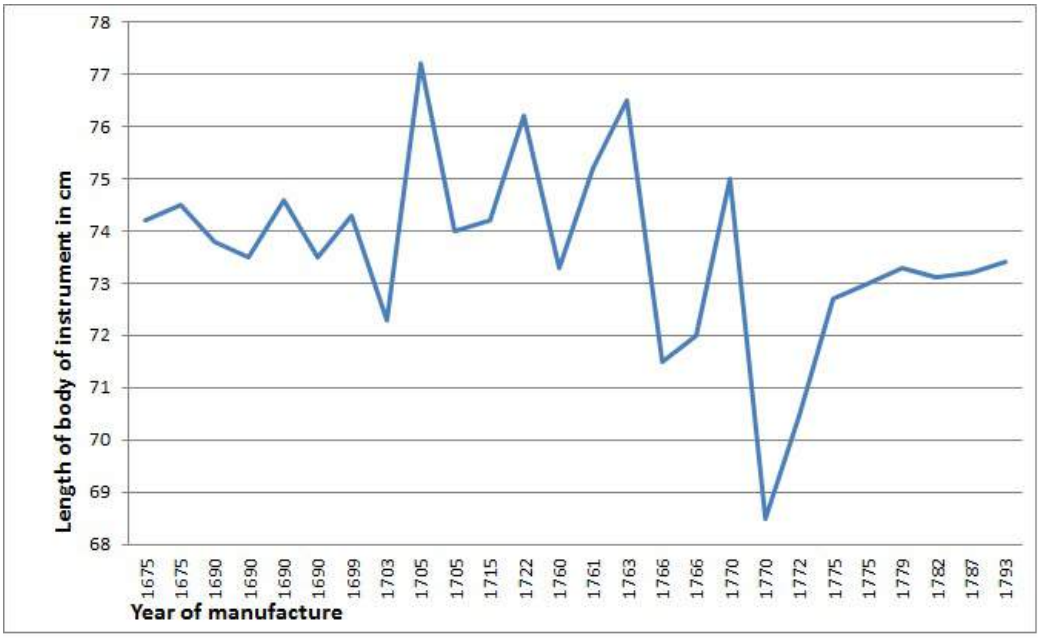

Figure 237 The length of the body of dated NN cellos in the GM and other collections.[646]

Of the Amsterdam-based violin maker Hendrick Jacobs early cellos are not known. There are only early violins known made by Jacobs. He worked together with his stepson Pieter Rombouts. From around 1685 the presence of Rombouts in Jacobs' workshop becomes visible in Jacobs' cellos. First of all, the purfling, always made of whale bone, becomes wider, which is very typical for Rombouts (Figs. 238 & 239).[647]

Figure 238 Hendrick Jacobs (1675-1705).[648]

Figure 239 Pieter Rombouts (1715).[649]

Secondly, the f-holes get more and more the Rombouts' shape (Figs. 240-244). The first f-hole comes from a violin dated 1650. This f-hole has the Jacobs' shape. Over time, the pieces of wood in the eyes of the f-holes get more and more the shape of a beak of a bird.[650]

[646] A few instruments have not been included in this diagram: 2 instruments without any measurements (Rombouts (1722) & Cuypers (1770)) and the 1676 Bouwmeester piccolo cello. The last one has been left out because it will give a distorted picture of the size of the normal cello of that period. Also 3 undated instruments (2x Rombouts & 1x Lefèbvre), even though they have measurements, have been left out.
[647] Lindeman: 2015, September 18.
[648] GM: inv. no. MUZ-1938-0026.
[649] http://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/property/?ID=71972, last accessed: 2015, September 20.
[650] Lindeman: 2015, September 18.

Violin

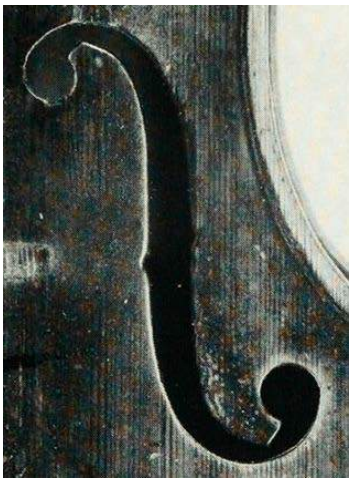

Figure 240 Hendrick Jacobs (1650).[651]

Cellos

Figure 241 Hendrick Jacobs (1675-1705).[652]

Figure 242 Hendrick Jacobs (ca. 1690).[653]

Figure 243 Hendrick Jacobs (1705).[654]

Figure 244 Pieter Rombouts (1690).[655]

In Chapter 2 it was shown that some cellos had a differently shaped scroll. On one of the Rombouts' cellos a scroll with a satyr's head has been found (see Figs. 245-247). Möller writes about these scrolls: "Some of his cellos' heads are carved in the shape of lions' or satyrs' heads. Those cellos are usually high-arched and not always as finely finished as those which have the usual heads."[656] The body which belongs to the scroll reproduced below is shown in Figure 226. The way the light falls on the back of the cello shows that this cello is indeed highly arched.

[651] Jacobs violin. http://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/property/?ID51156, last accessed: 2015, September 20.
[652] GM: inv. no. MUZ-1938-0026
[653] Collection NMF
[654] GM: inv. no. MUZ-1962-0008
[655] Collection NMF
[656] Möller (1955), p. 149.

Figure 245 Pieter Rombouts (undated). The scroll with a head of a satyr.

Figure 246 The sides….

Figure 247 …. and back of the peg box are also beautifully carved.

3.4.2 Instruments from the Zuidelijke Nederlanden

The Muziekinstrumentenmuseum in Brussels holds 28 instruments dating from 1670 until at least 1762. A few of these instruments have no label inside and have therefore been dated very loosely. According to the MIM, all these instruments originated in the ZN.
I have seen and measured all these instruments (see for measurements Appendix 4; the instruments without label and without exact date of manufacture have been positioned at the bottom of the Appendix).
Many of the instruments are in quite a bad condition with many cracks and holes. Some of these instruments have at some point been repaired but this has been done in a very rough way.
It is difficult to be absolutely certain if some instruments have been cut down or have been changed in any other way.
Quite a few instruments showed signs that the angle of the fingerboard has been changed to create more tension on the strings. This was either done by placing a small wedge between the neck and fingerboard (see Figure 248) or by putting on a new fingerboard with the wedge built in.

Figure 248 Neck and fingerboard of a cello made by Gaspar Borbon (1671). A small wedge has been placed between the neck and fingerboard to change the angle of the fingerboard.[657]

Several instruments do not have their original neck anymore; the scroll and peg box, however, have mostly been kept and they were put on a new neck.
One instrument (Gaspar Borbon 1670) was very clearly cut down in size, which is shown in Figs. 249 & 250.
At some point the original f-holes have been filled in with wood and new ones were cut out at a different spot. The original holes were larger than the present ones and also placed a little bit lower.
In the bottom left corner also traces of the original corner can still be seen.

[657] Collection MIM: inv. no. 2857.

Figure 249 Gasper Borbon (1670). The original f-holes were filled in and new holes were made. The original holes were about 13.6 cm in height, now they are around 13.15 cm.

Figure 250 Gaspar Borbon (1670). Left corner of the front of the cello. The corner and the filler of the original f-hole are clearly made from a different piece of wood than the rest of the instrument. [658]

The whole body of the instrument with original f-holes and modern f-holes is shown in Figs. 251 & 252. The original f-holes were clearly placed lower, which is an indication that at least the bottom part of the body was (much) larger. Two other Borbon instruments manufactured in the same period are 2.5-3 cm longer than the Borbon 1670 cello; a Borbon instrument of 1702 is even 4.5 cm longer. It can be assumed that the 1670 instrument used to be longer and wider too.

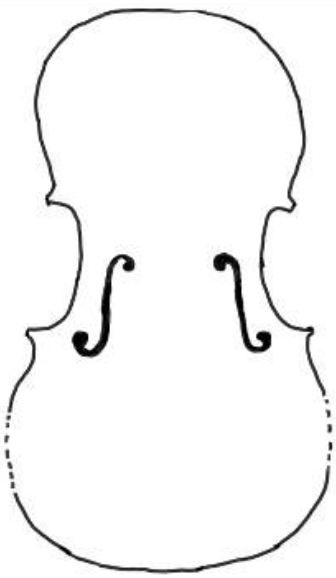

Figure 251 The outlines and f-holes of the Borbon 1670 instrument. [659]

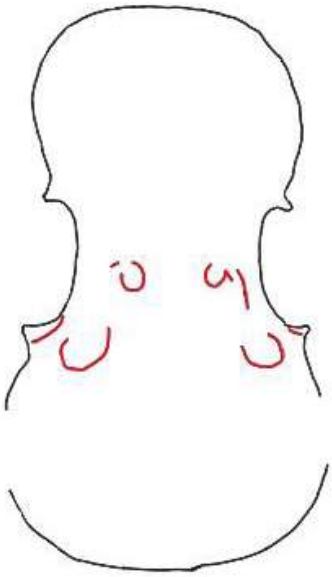

Figure 252 The outlines of the present instrument and the traces (in red) of the original f-holes and corners.

[658] Collection MIM: inv. no. 2856.

[659] Part of the corner is drawn with dotted lines. The instrument is badly damaged at those spots.

What stands out in this instrument is the vertical crack above the right f-hole. This is situated at a spot where it normally would not be. In a reconstruction made of the original f-hole (Figure 253), this crack is situated at more or less the expected spot.[660] The reconstructed f-hole looks quite similar in shape to the f-holes in other Borbon cellos, specially the one from 1702 (Figure 254), which is said to be still fully original.[661] The f-holes all have large eyes at top and bottom, much larger compared to f-holes of other makers. The sound holes stand upright, which, together with the large eyes, is typical of Borbon instruments.[662]

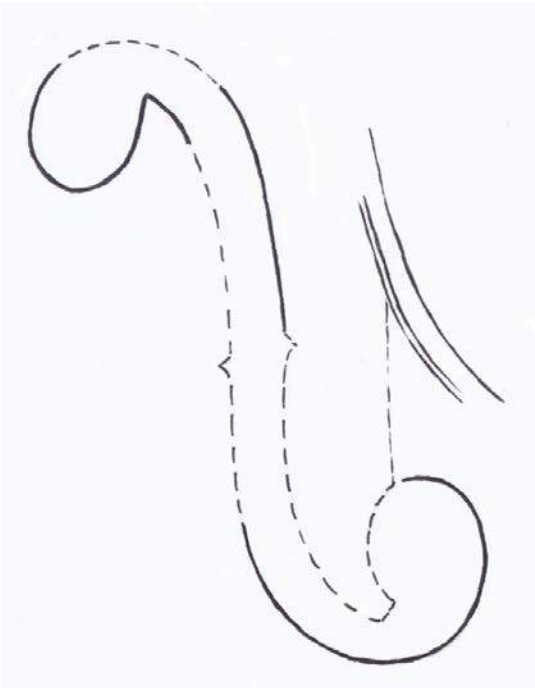

Figure 253 The reconstruction of the right f-hole of the 1670 Borbon cello. The traces of the original f-hole still present are drawn in black, the reconstructed outlines are drawn with dotted lines.[663]

Figure 254 The right f-hole of the 1702 Borbon cello.

These f-holes used to be depicted in paintings and drawings from the ZN as well as the NN, even into the 18th century (Figs. 255-257).

[660] Part of the corner is drawn with dotted lines. The instrument is badly damaged at those spots.
s the top of the f-hole towards the purfling and the side of the instrument.
[661] Communicated to me by Jan Strick, violin maker in Brussels: 2015, August 10. According to the website of the MIM (last accessed: 2017, July 4) this cello is dated 1692, but the label in the instrument clearly reads 1702.
[662] Moens (1994), p. 57 & Moens (2007), p. 163.
[663] Reconstruction kindly made for me by Marietta Schwarz.

Figure 255 NN: Roeloff van Zijl: *Organ door of the Jacobi-church in Utrecht* (1608-1609).

Figure 256 NN: Jan Miense Molenaer: *Portrait historié of an young man with vanitas symbols*.

Figure 257 ZN: Gillis van Tilborgh: *Portrait of a family in a 'Kunstkammer'* (ca. 1650-1675).

Figure 258 ZN: Jan Josef Horemans I: *Young man playing the cello in a landscape with classical statue and ruins*.

As was already documented in Section 3.4.1, in the ZN instruments decreased in length during the 18th century. This trend is shown in Figure 259.

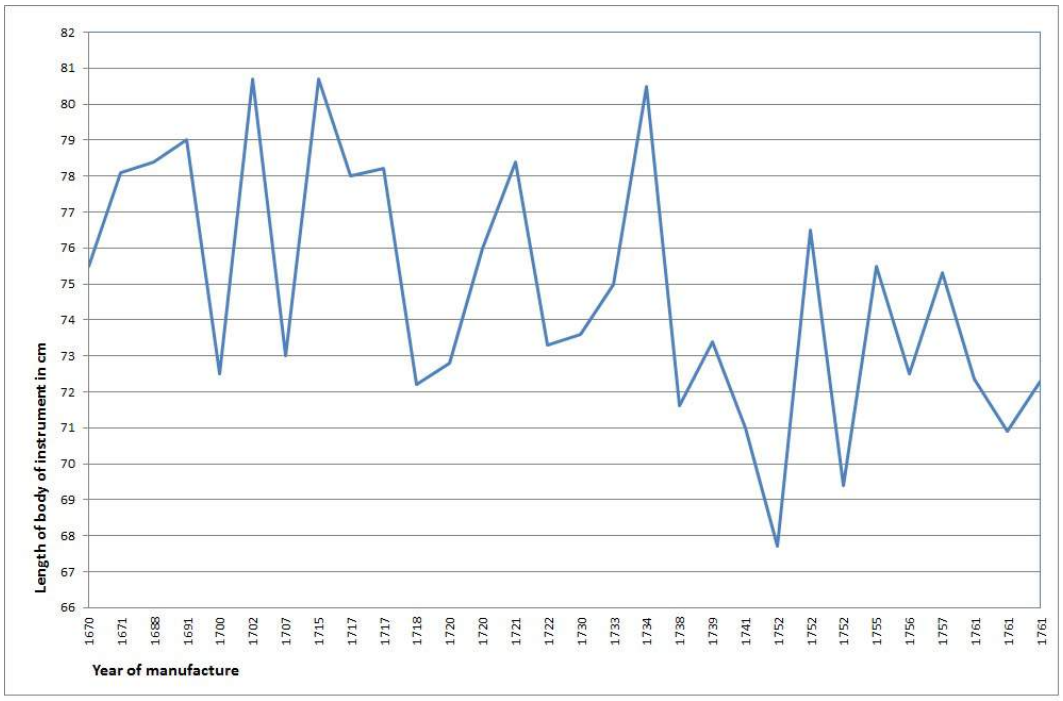

Figure 259 The length of the body of dated ZN cellos in the MIM and other collections.[664]

It is natural that every instrument is (slightly) different in size, even within a short time span and even with different instruments from the same maker, but the overall trend is that in the ZN, in almost a century, the instruments became shorter by at least 5 cm.
This trend can also be seen in the width (top, middle, bottom, see Figure 260). Over a century the average width has decreased with at least 2.5 cm if not more for some instruments.

[664] In this diagram several dated cellos made by Ambroise de Comble (1745, 1751, 1755, 1757 & 1782) have been left out, because I only had the measurements for the entire cello and not for the body. Also 6 undated or very roughly dated instruments have been left out (Snoeck (before 1762), Willems, Brussels bass violin, an instrument from Flanders, Marcus Snoeck, de Comble).

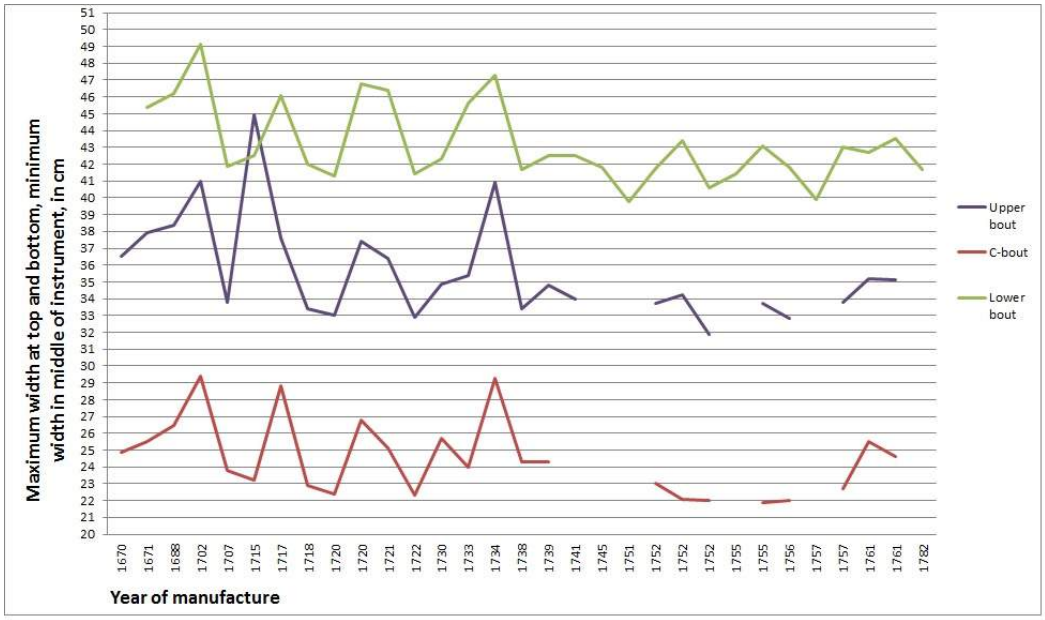

Figure 260 Width of dated ZN cellos in the MIM and other collections.[665]

What stands out is that until around 1735 the extremes in width are far apart, whereas from 1735 there is not that much difference between the instruments anymore.
Most instruments have normal purfling, except for three: two by Etienne Simonet (1730 & 1739; see Figs. 261 & 262) and a very heavy and roughly built anonymous instrument from Flanders, dated between 1733 and 1755. On all three instruments the 'purfling' is painted on the instrument.

Figure 261 "fait par Etienne Simonet amons 1730"[666]

[665] In this diagram several dated instruments have been left out (Borbon (1691), Hofmans (1700), Borbon (1717), de Comble (1761)), because I did not have the measurements for the bouts. The holes in all three diagrams are the result of missing measurements for 1 or 2 of the bouts. The undated or roughly dated instruments mentioned in footnote 664 have been left out here as well.
[666] amons = à Mons = in Bergen. Collection MIM: inv. no. 2866.

Figure 262 "Etienne Simonet a mons 1739"[667]

An instrument by Hendrick Willems (1717) is fitted for 5 strings. This is interesting, because, as was shown in Section 2.2.6, this was not as common in the ZN as it was in the NN, and in the 18th century it was not common at all.
As was discussed in Section 3.4.1 one of the archaic elements is a peg box with thick sides, which diminish in thickness towards the nut. A few images were shown, but none of the NN instruments showed such a peg box. The Willems' cello mentioned above slightly shows this archaic element (see Figure 263).

Figure 263 Hendrick Willems (1717). Archaic element: peg box with diminishing thickness towards nut.[668]

[667] Collection MIM: inv. no. 3994.01.
[668] Collection MIM: inv. no. 2876.

Another instrument (attributed to Willems, without label) has 5 holes in the peg box, but only 4 markings on the nut and bridge; nut and bridge however could have been added at a later date. Max Möller considers Willems as one of the outstanding violin-makers of the Belgian School, and praises his long corners, beautiful purfling and excellent varnish.[669]
Eight of the instruments in the MIM have their front and/or back made out of more than 2 pieces of wood (Figs. 264 & 265). This practice is also described by Moens. He mentions that the front and back of the larger instruments were made out of 5 pieces of spruce at the most.[670]

Figure 264 Gaspar Borbon (1702). Front made out of 4 separate pieces of wood.[671]

Figure 265 Egidius/Marcus Snoeck (1761). Back made out of 4 separate pieces of wood .[672]

This practice is not only exclusive of the ZN, in Italy this was done as well. It was rather a practical solution for the unavailability of the right size of wood. The makers in the ZN were censorious of the wood they used. They would rather use four pieces of good wood, than two of a wood of a lesser quality wood.[673]
Moens also mentions that sometimes even the sides of instruments were made out of three strips of wood.[674] As far as I could establish, the cellos in my research corpus do not have such sides. Two paintings by David Teniers II do indeed show this practice.[675] The instruments in these paintings, however, are of a mixed shape; possibly these sides are part of the viol shape?
As discussed in Chapter 2 I have found a few images showing a cello with a different scroll (1x 16th C., 4x 17th C. & 4x 18th C.).

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[669] Möller (1955), p. 153. The corners on the front of the Willems 1717 instrument have unfortunately all been replaced by new wood.
[670] Moens (2007), p. 163.
[671] Borbon, G. (1702), MIM: 2879
[672] Snoeck, E./M. (1761), MIM: 2872
[673] Lindeman: 2015, September 18.
[674] Moens (1994), p. 57. In his article Moens shows a viola made in the ZN between 1640 and 1660, with the sides consisting of three strips of wood.
[675] KWN 3225 & KWN 250738.

In the MIM there is one instrument which has a scroll shaped like a human head (Figure 266).

Figure 266 Gaspar Borbon (1671).[676]

Figure 267 ZN: Theodor Boeyermans: *Allegory of the City of Antwerp* (ca. 1660).

Several instruments[677] in the MIM have carving on the peg box (as does the NN Rombouts' peg box reproduced in Figure 245). This is so subtle that it is difficult to establish whether the cellos represented in images have this as well. I have been able to find one (Figure 267). This is clearly the same kind of carving as on the Borbon 1671 cello (Figure 266).

Two remarks on instruments by Ambroise de Comble. In the Oxford Music Online Jaak Liivoja-Lorius writes that the backs of the De Comble's peg boxes often are flat.[678] As a matter of fact two of the instruments in my research corpus have such flat backs (Figure 268).
Möller states, when speaking of De Comble's instruments, that "the eye is immediately struck by the very low position of his sound-holes".[679] The 1761 cello in my research corpus has indeed very low sound-holes (Figure 269).

[676] Collection MIM: inv. no. 2857.
[677] Borbon 1671, Borbon 1702, bass violin 1701-1750, Snoeck 1734, Steveny 1738.
[678] www.oxfordmusiconline.com, last accessed: 2017, July 2.
[679] Möller (1955), p. 135.

Figure 268 Ambroise de Comble (1752). Note the flat back of the scroll.[680]

Figure 269 Ambroise de Comble (1761). Note the placing of the sound holes.[681]

On the Boussu instruments the violin maker Geerten Verberkmoes states that his scrolls have "an additional half turn."[682] And Möller states that "[…] the scrolls are strongly hollowed out along the sides."[683] The scrolls in Figs. 270 & 271 show both aspects beautifully.

Figure 270 Benoît-Joseph Boussu (1752).[684]

Figure 271 Benoît-Joseph Boussu (1757).[685]

[680] Private collection.
[681] www.tarisio.com, last accessed: 2015, July 6.
[682] Verberkmoes (2013), p. 118.
[683] Möller (1955), p. 135.
[684] Collection MIM: inv. no. 2863.
[685] Collection MIM: inv. no. 1372.

4 Musical evidence

4.1 Music in the 17th century

In Chapter 1 extensive research has been done into the name of the cello/bass violin. It became clear that several names were used, that these names quite often were not unequivocal and sometimes even completely unclear. It was shown that also instruments of mixed shapes existed. It is even possible that each name stood for a slightly different instrument. The problem with the right meaning of the names goes as well for some of those discussed in this Chapter.
One of the names one quite often encounters in scores is '**basso viola**'. The only two written sources in the Low Countries discussing this name are Buys (1768; "basso viola" & "violo basso")[686] and Anonymous (1772; "viola basso").[687] According to Buys a basso viola is a viol, according to Anonymous it is a cello. One word with two meanings. This problem is also diagnosed by the cellist, gambist and musicologist Bettina Hoffmann. She writes:

> "Two terms, 'basse de viole' and 'basse de violon', are in clear contrast to one another; the former refers to the bass instrument of the viol family, the latter to that of the violin family. There is a similar situation in English, even though not incontestably unambiguous, with the expressions 'bass viol' und 'bass violin'. This provides today's viol player who turns to Italian sources with a dangerous 'false friend'. In Italian, the 'basso di viola' has no opposite number; I have not been able to find any trace of a 'basso di violino'. […] The expression 'basso di viola' is thus not one half of a pair, but rather it covers both categories and refers to the bass instrument of both the violin and the viol family."[688]

Summarising: whereas in the French and English speaking countries two contrasting words are used to name the cello and the viol, in Italian there is just one word: basso viola. The other half of the Italian (supposed) pair: until now basso violino was not to be found by me.
In the Low Countries, however, I have come across two examples of basso violino (the exception that proves the rule?): one in an art dictionary (Buys (1768)[689]) and one in printed music.[690] In Buys it is stated that in music books one uses the word basso violino to signify the "Bass for the Bass Violin". This entry in Buys' dictionary, however, seems to be copied from an earlier English dictionary dated 1730.[691] One can therefore wonder if the entry in Buys' art dictionary represents the situation in the Low Countries or rather the situation in England (and that basso violino is in fact a direct translation of the English 'bass violin', even though in the dictionary 'basso violino' is referred to as an Italian word).
In printed music I found basso violino in Nicolaes à Kempis *Symphoniae* op. 1 (to be discussed in Section 4.1.1). Considering the previous facts, one can wonder how customary the word basso violino in fact was in the Low Countries.

Basso viola: this name is used in printed music regularly. What to do when encountering this name? In case the basso viola is the only bass instrument, the first thing to do is to check the ambitus of the part.[692] If this is within reach of the cello (a viol would normally go higher than a

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[686] Buys (1768), p. 206.
[687] Anonymous (1772), p. 359.
[688] Hoffmann (2008), p. 9.
[689] Buys (1768), p. 206.
[690] I found a possible third example: in the list of instruments in possession of the Collegium Musicum Ultrajectinum a "basso violon" is mentioned. As some of the other violins ("Handt Violon & Bord Violon") on this list are also called violon, one could wonder if the basso violon is a variation of basso violino. www.hetutrechtsarchief.nl, last accessed: 2017, February 22.
[691] Bailey, Gordon & Miller (1730), unpaginated: "BASSO *Violino* [*Mus.*] the Bass for the Bass Violin."
[692] In Johannes Schenck's *Il Giardino Armonico* (Amsterdam 1691) the basso viola is the sole bass instrument. Because of the ambitus (D-d'') of the basso viola part, it is clearly meant for a viol and not for a cello.

cello), one also has to check other aspects: the technique asked for, possible double stops, the names of the other instruments in the score, and, if available, a reprensentation of instruments on the frontispiece or title page. Another question to ask, if all other answers fail: is the composer a viol player or a cellist? If he is a viol player, it is very likely that the music is for viol; if not, both instruments are possible.
In case the basso viola is not the only bass instrument asked for, one should check the names of the other bass instruments. If the viol is (one of) the other bass instrument(s), then it is very likely that the basso viola is not a viol but a bass instrument of the violin family (as is also stated by Anonymous (1772)[693]).
In Sections 4.1.1-4.1.11 I will discuss several pieces of 17th-century chamber music including several pieces with a basso viola as bass instrument. I have only added music in which the basso viola could well be some kind of cello.
In some of the chosen pieces the cello doubles the basso continuo, in some the cello has a separate part and plays (more of) a solo role. I have chosen a few well-known pieces, but the great majority of these compositions are not known to the general public. Most of these pieces originated in the NN, although a few were composed in the ZN.
Several works in the following Sections have been either published or recorded in the last decades. In case a basso viola was prescribed, the scholars or musicians often made the choice, without explanation, to have it played by a viol. I will show that there is another possibility, also taking into account the enormous amount of representations of cellos found (and discussed in Chapter 2).

Hoffmann does not write about the Dutch language and terminology, but my research (see Chapter 1) has shown that the Dutch word '**basviool**' also covers both categories: viol (Marin (1752)[694]) and cello (Moerbeek (1768)[695] & Anonymous (1772)[696]). Buys (1768)[697] translates both bass viol and bass violin into basviool. Hendrik Anders *Trioos* (see Section 4.1.7) is the only musical source in this dissertation mentioning the 'basviool'.

4.1.1 Nicolaes à Kempis: Symphoniae opus 1, 2 & 3 (Antwerpen, 1644, 1647, 1649)

Nicolaes à Kempis (ca. 1600-1676) composed four volumes of symphoniae: opus 1 in 1644, opus 2 in 1647, opus 3 in 1649 and opus 4 at an unknown date. Of opus 4 only parts 2 & 4 are extant.[698] In the current Section opus numbers 1-3 are discussed.[699]
These symphoniae are composed for smaller or larger groups of solo instruments,[700] ranging from string, wind and keyboard instruments to singers. In quite a few pieces a bass is called for. In opus 1 two different names are used for this instrument. In the pieces with one violin the bass instrument is called viola; in the pieces with two violins the instrument is called basso violino in the title of each sonata; in the index, however, it is called viola. In opus 2 & 3 the bass instrument is called basso viola.

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[693] Anonymous (1772), p. 359.
[694] Marin (1752), p. 1188.
[695] Moerbeek (1768), p. 33.
[696] Anonymous (1772), p. 60.
[697] Buys (1768), p. 206.
[698] The British Library holds the 'pars quarta' of opus 4. I have inquired if this part is the bass part. Unfortunately, reference specialist (Rare Books and Music) of the British Library Fiona McHenry was not able to answer this question. She has provided me with information about the instruments required in these Symphoniae opus 4 though. Specially the symphonia a 6 is interesting: "Duo Violini : Duo Tromboni : & Viola di Gambi, cum Baffo Viola". In this symphonia the viol and the basso viola are used at the same time. Emails dated: 2017, May 17.
[699] A good modern edition of opus 1, 2 and 3 was published by Alessandro Bares of Musedita between 2001-2003. For this chapter I have made use of this modern edition. The original titles can be found in the bibliography.
[700] The music of these symphoniae was part of the music collection of the Collegium Musicum Ultrajectinum ("6. Volum. a 1.2.3.4.5.6. instrumenten door Nicolaus a Kempis gecomponeert. Antw: 1641 en 1649"). www.hetutrechtsarchief.nl, last accessed: 2017, February 22.

Do these names stand for three different instruments? There is not much difference as for the technical skills required of the bass player between the three opus numbers. The difference, however, is more between the instrumental and the vocal pieces. In the vocal pieces the bass is part of a group of string instruments playing the ritornelli in between the vocal parts. These bass lines are quite simple in comparison to the bass lines in the purely instrumental symphoniae. In these symphoniae the bass imitates the violins, and therefore is more virtuosic.
The ambitus of the bass parts in all opus numbers is C-d', although this low C is not used very often. Mostly the part only goes down to D. All three bass instruments (viola, basso violino, basso viola) play these low C's, although the basso violino plays this note only once (in 8 symphoniae). This is a remarkable fact, because one would expect that this would be the instrument playing this note the most, since, judging by the name, it should definitely be a bass violin.
In all bass lines it seems that the low C is avoided sometimes, but at other times, when it would be easy to avoid it, it is not avoided, thus leaving a large gap between the low C of the bass lines and the c'' of the violins.
The fast notes are mainly played in the upper octave (d-d'). All music is written in the f clef. In some of the instrumental pieces, there is a choice between a basso viola and a bassoon.[701] It does not make a difference in the ambitus, whether the solo bass part is only for 'basso viola' or for 'basso viola or bassoon'.
From the music it does not become clear what instruments are meant by the different names. Because the written sources are also ambiguous about it, I think both a cello and a viol could be used to play these pieces, also taking into account the large amount of representations of small groups of instruments including a cello.

4.1.2 't Uitnement Kabinet (Amsterdam, 1st part: 1646, 2nd part: 1649)[702]

The *Uitnement Kabinet* is a two part collection of instrumental pieces, ranging from solo pieces without bass to pieces for two melodic instruments with bass.
The full title of 't Uitnement Kabinet is as follows: *'T UITNEMENT KABINET, Vol Pavanen, Almanden, Sarbanden, Couranten, Balletten, Intraden, Airs &c. En de nieuste Voizen, om met 2 en 3 Fioolen, of ander Speel-tuigh te gebruiken* (translation: *'T UITNEMENT KABINET, filled with Pavans, Allemandes, Sarabandas, Courantes, Ballets, Intradas, Airs etc. And the newest melodies, to be played with 2 and 3 violins, or other musical instruments*). To the title of the second part, published in 1649, is added: *Ook eenige stukken voor 2. Fioolen de Gamba* (*also some pieces for 2 viols*).[703]
In 1646 the bass part is called 'grondt-stem' (bottom voice), in 1649 it is called 'laeghste-geluid' (lowest sound) and in both volumes the bass part is unfigured.[704] Is there any indication in the title and/or the music which (if any) bass instrument should play this bass part? Considering the title ("Fiool of ander Speel-tuigh") anything is possible. In the bass part no specific instrument is mentioned, except for the pieces for viol.[705] The maximum ambitus of the bass part is C-d' (except for the viol pieces; in these pieces the maximum ambitus is somewhat larger: D-a').

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[701] If a bassoon is used, the treble instrument is a cornetto and not a violin.
[702] The word 'uitnement' is spelled with a 't' in 1646, in 1649 it is spelled: uitnemend. As far as I could track down, the only complete copy of the 1646 part is held by the Library of the Brussels Royal Conservatory, inv. no. 24101 (see Rasch (1972), p. 162). For the 1649 part I used the copy held by the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid, inv. no. M/2821(2).
[703] Underscore: ET.
[704] Most music in the bass part books is meant for a bass instrument. Some music, however, is written in treble clef, and is part of the pieces for three high instruments.
[705] The fact that most of the music is unfigured, does not necessarily mean that it is played without a harpsichord, lute or other instrument playing chords. There is, however, no indication in the music that a chordal instrument has to be part of it. Rasch states: "The bass line is most likely not to be regarded as basso continuo, although, in case a chordal instrument - such as a harpsichord, lute, cittern etc. - is at hand, it can be interpreted as such." Original: "De bassen dienen zeer waarschijnlijk niet als basso-continuo opgevat te worden, alhoewel ze bij beschikbaarheid van een akkoord-instrument – clavecymbel, luit, cyter enz. – als zodanig geinterpreteerd kunnen worden." Rasch (1973), unpaginated. I could imagine that it depends on the situation whether or not a harpsichord is part of the instruments used. The images showing outdoor scenes do not contain a harpsichord, but rather a violin (or another melody instrument) and sometimes a cello. The music played here, in front of an inn or at a festival or party, was very likely folk music (to dance

For a few notes an alternative octave is given, to make the ambitus somewhat smaller. This is done in two different ways: with a 'double stop' (see Figure 272) and with a custos[706] (see Figs. 273 & 274).

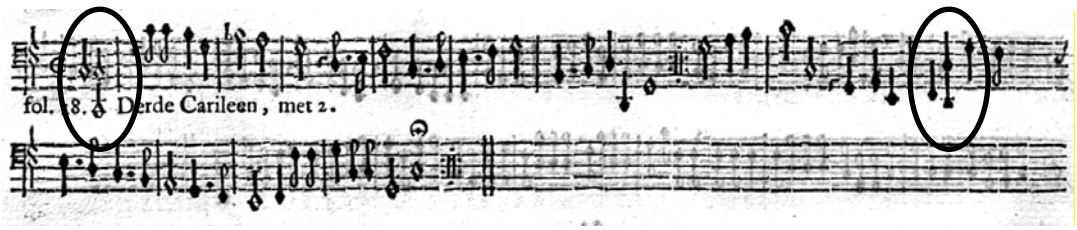

Figure 272 't Uitnement Kabinet: Derde Carileen (a 2: (unspecified) treble and bass), composed by William Lawes, from 1649 volume. Circling shows alternative octave.

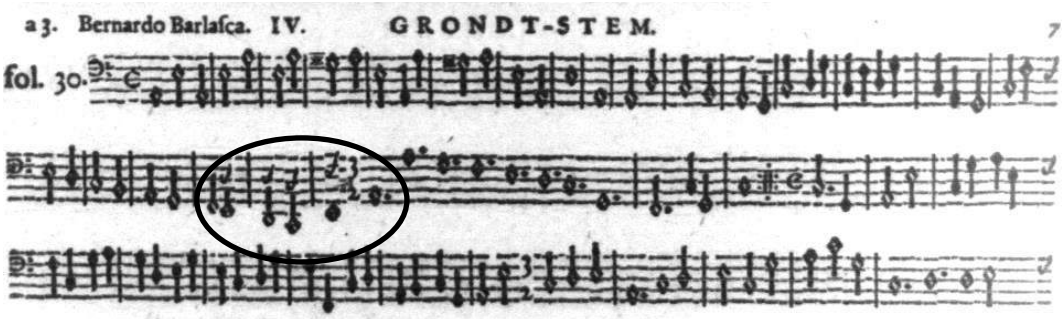

Figure 273 From: vierde fantasia, composed by Bernardo Borlasca (1646). Circling shows custos above low notes.

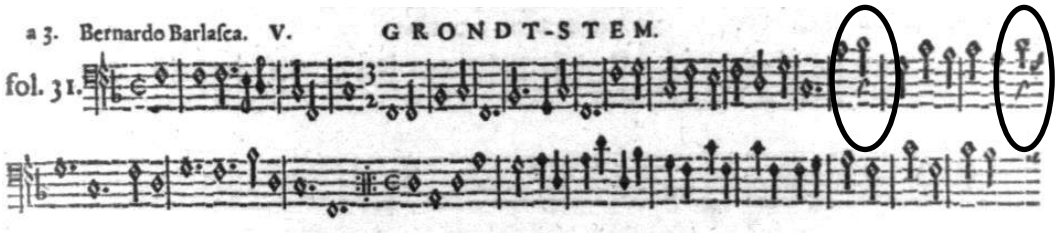

Figure 274 From: vijfde fantasia, composed by Bernardo Borlasca (1646). Circling shows custos below high note.

I do not really see the point of the alternative octaves, because in other pieces these high and low notes are used as well, and there no alternatives are proposed.
In short, it is very likely that these pieces (except of course the viol pieces) are also meant to be played on a bass violin with enough ambitus at the bottom.

4.1.3 Carolus Hacquart: Cantiones Sacrae (Amsterdam, 1674)

The *Cantiones Sacrae*[707] composed by the viol player Carolus Hacquart (ca. 1640 - ca. 1701) consists of 10 motets for 1-5 voices and basso continuo, of which 5 motets are "Sine Instrumentis" and 5 are "Cum Instrumentis". In the motets with instruments there is a separate part for a bass. This bass part differs slightly from the basso continuo part. The instrumentation, ambitus and clef(s) of this bass line are the following:

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to). *'t Uitnemend Kabinet* partly consists of this type of music. The music for viol is more grand, and very likely to be played indoors (with a harpsichord?).

[706] A custos is the symbol at the very end of a line of music which indicates the pitch for the first note of the next line as a warning of what is to come. In *'t Uitnement Kabinet* it is also used in an alternative way, indicating a possible octave transposition of one or two notes.

[707] The copy used for this dissertation is held at the Openbare Bilbiotheek Amsterdam, shelfnumber 210-A-5.

Motet title	**Instrumentation in part book**	**Instrumentation in index of 'basso viola' part book**	**Ambitus**	**Clef(s) used**
Ego sum	Basso viola	3 viol. & Viola di Gamba, vel Basso Viola	C-d'	𝄢:
Nunc loquar	Basso viola	2 Viol. & Viola di Gamba, vel Basso Viola	E♭-d' (once up to g')	𝄢:
O mi amantissime	Basso viola	3 instrumentis	D-d'	𝄢:
Deus miseratur nostri	Basso viola	3 instrumentis	D-d'	𝄢:
O Jesu splendor	Basso viola	2 Viol. & Viola di Gamba	D-g'	𝄢: & 𝄡 (alto)

Table 13 Instrumentation, ambitus and clef(s) of the bass line in motets "Cum Instrumentis" of *Cantiones Sacrae*.

As is shown in Table 13 the ambitus of the bass line in the various motets is more or less the same, except for 'O Jesu splendor', in which the bass line goes a fourth higher. In this motet the bass line is meant only for viol and not for basso viola as well (even though the instrumentation in the part book is: basso viola). If for Hacquart viola da gamba and basso viola would have been the same instrument, he would not have written only "viola da gamba" in the last motet, and neither would he have written "vel" in the first two motets (which makes viola da gamba and basso viola opposites).
On the frontispiece (see Figure 275) of *Cantiones Sacrae* a group of musicians is depicted, including a player on a large bass instrument. Does this frontispiece shed more light on what the basso viola is exactly? I will come back to this at the end of this Section.

Figure 275 The frontispiece of *Cantiones Sacrae.*

Figure 276 Detail of Figure 275: The group of musicians.

The well known engraver Romeyn de Hooghe (1645-1708) produced this frontispiece. On the website of the Rijksmuseum the following is written about de Hooghe: "Most engravings by Romeyn de Hooghe are book illustrations. Mostly these illustrations are frontispieces - an

emblemetical image depicting the title of the book."[708] Therefore, it could be that the instruments depicted on the frontispiece of *Cantiones Sacrae* show instruments used in this music.
A traverso, a vertical windinstrument (cornetto, shawm?) and a large bass instrument are depicted. On the far left a violin is lying on a table (?), and a small violin is played by a boy in the front. On the far right a few pipes of an organ are visible. The violin, the bass instrument and the organ are used in the *Cantiones Sacrae*, but not the wind instruments (De Hooghe made a splendid frontispiece without wanting to tell us something about the exact instrumentation of these motets!).
The bass instrument is not very clear. A scroll shaped like a human or animal head and at least two pegs are visible. The back of the instrument seems completely flat, which would imply it being a viol. The sides seem very small, which is not common for either a cello or a viol. The shape of the sides, however, point more in the direction of a cello. In short: the frontispiece does not really help answering the question what exactly the basso viola in this music should be. This shows that the iconography is not always sufficiently helpful. The instrumentation in the index of the basso viola part shows that at least in this collection basso viola is something different than a viol.

4.1.4 Philippus van Wichel: Fasciculus Dulcedinis (Antwerpen, 1678)

Fasciculus Dulcedinis is a collection of 18 sonatas for varying cast, composed by Philippus van Wichel (1614-1675).[709] In 7 out of these 18 sonatas a basso viola is asked for. What is this instrument? Rudi Rasch published a few of these sonatas in a modern edition.[710] In this edition Rasch states that a viol should be used. Is this true or is there also another possibility?
The name basso viola appears only in the index, in other places in the music it is called differently:

Sonata no.	Index	Part	Title for single pieces
A2. Sonata Quarta	Basso viola	Basso viol.	Basso
A3. Sonata Quinta	Basso viola	Basso viol.	Basso
A3. Sonata Sexta	Basso viola	Basso viol.	(Basso: in bc part)
A3. Sonata Septima	Basso viola	Basso viol.	Basso
A4. Sonata Octava	Basso viola	Basso viol.	-
A5. Sonata Nona	Basso viola	Basso viol.	-
A5. Sonata Decima	Basso viola	Basso viol.	-

Table 14 Names used for the string bass in *Fasciculus Dulcedinis.*

The names used for the other instruments are not very consistent either. Each part book has an index, and in this index all instruments except the basso viola are listed as 'violini'. In the parts, however, the 'violini' are sometimes shortened to viol.: viola, tenor, tenor viol., alto viol. but sometimes also violino in full is used. Whether in the bass part viol. is an abbreviation for viola, for violino or for both does not become clear.
It is obvious that at least publishers were not very consistent when naming instruments. Considering the names in the index (and also the fact that many instruments in Antwerp were in fact cellos (as is shown in Section 2.2.4)), it would be logical to have a consort of the violin family.
Considering the scores: all basso viola music is notated in f-clef, so both cello and viol could play it. The basso viola part is independent from the basso continuo part. They both use the same harmonies, but the basso viola plays an independent and virtuosic part. The ambitus of the part

[708] Original: "Het grootste deel van de prentproductie van Romeyn de Hooghe bestaat uit boekillustraties. Dat gaat vaak om titelprenten - een zinnebeeldige voorstelling bij de titel van het boek." Taken from: http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/romeyn-de-hooghe, last accessed: 2010, December 10.
[709] *Fasciculus Dulcedinis* consists of 7 sonatas for violin solo, 4 sonatas for 2 violins, 1 sonata for violin and basso viola, 3 sonatas for 2 violins and basso viola, 1 sonata for 3 violins and basso viola and 2 sonatas for 4 violins and basso viola. To all sonatas basso continuo is added, except for one sonata for 2 violins, called la Ciacogna. The copy used for this dissertation is held at Durham Cathedral Library, inv. no. Mzzs C.46.
[710] Published by the Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis in Amsterdam in 1979 (4 sonatas for violin and basso continuo) and 1982 (4 trio sonatas).

is small (D-d') and not using the top of the viol. The bottom D could point into the direction of a viol, but does not rule out the cello altogether.

4.1.5 Benedictus Buns: Encomia sacra musice decantanda (Utrecht, 1683)

Encomia sacra musice decantanda is a collection of motets for 1-3 singers and up to 5 instruments and basso continuo composed by Benedictus Buns (ca. 1642-1716).[711] Buns was a monk (his name in the monastery was Benedictus a Sancto Josepho) and for some time sub-prior in the carmelite monastery at Boxmeer (south of Nijmegen, in the east of Holland). From 1679 onwards he also served as their organist.[712]
In the index of each partbook of the *Encomia sacra musice decantanda* the bass instrument is called "basso viol.". Does the abbreviation viol. stand for violino or viola? In the parts this becomes clear (see Table 15). In these parts, however, also another name appears: viola di gamba. The abbreviation basso viol. from the index could therefore stand for both basso viola (a bass violin?) and viol.

Part book	Motet no.	Instrumentation in parts	Ambitus	Clef(s) used
Violino tertio & quarto	V	Basso viola concert	D-d'	𝄢:
Fagotto	V	Basso viola prima	B-d'	𝄢:
Violino tertio & quarto	VII	Basso viola prima	F♯-d'	𝄢:
Fagotto	VII	Basso viola secunda	D-c'	𝄢:
Violino tertio & quarto	XIV	Basso viola prima	F-d'	𝄢:
Fagotto	XIV	Basso viola secunda	F-d'	𝄢:
Violino tertio & quarto	XIX	Viola di gamba prima	B-b'	𝄢: & 𝄡 (alto)
Fagotto	XIX	Viola di gamba secunda	C-e'	𝄢:

Table 15 Names of the string bass in *Encomia sacra musice decantanda.*

Even though it becomes clear from the instrumentation in the parts that in this specific music the basso viola is considered another instrument than the viola di gamba, it does not become clear what exactly it is. Considering the points made in the previous Sections and also the ambitus of the Motets in question, these pieces could definitely be played on a bass violin (except for Motet XIX which is specifically written for viol).
In motet V the top basso viola part is called basso viola concert (see Figure 277). Why this is done has not become clear. The musical material and the ambitus does not differ much from the basso viola primo parts in the other motets.

[711] The copy used for this dissertation is held by the Bibliothèque nationale de France, département musique, inv. no. VM1-1036.
[712] Only the beautiful façade of his organ still exists.

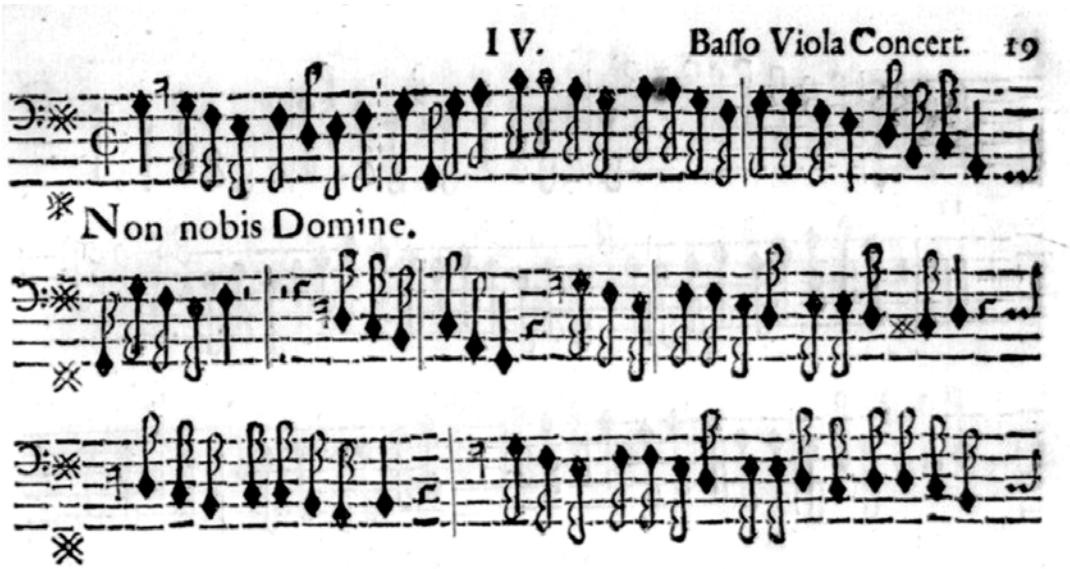

Figure 277 Motet V: Basso Viola Concert.

4.1.6 Kornelis Sweerts: Mengelzangen en zinnebeelden (Amsterdam, 1695)

Figure 278 Frontispiece of *Tweede deel der Mengelzangen* (1695).

Kornelis Sweerts (1669-1749) published his *Mengelzangen* in two parts; in 1694 and in 1695 respectively.[713] To the second part a new frontispiece ('tytelprint') was added (see Figure 278).[714] On this frontispiece many instruments can be seen, some of which are being played, others not. In a circle in the middle of the frontispiece a lively scene with several musicians is depicted, the cellist playing 'the first fiddle' (Figure 279). The instruments depicted here are the same as the instruments mentioned in the title (*Tweede deel der mengelzangen, van Kornelis Sweerts; Bestaande in Cantus en Bassus continuus, mede om op de Viool, Fluit, en andere Instrumenten te konnen speelen*). As 'bassus continuus' here a cello and quite possibly a virginal are used. The cello is more or less of a normal size (not leaning on the floor, but held between the calves), it has f-holes, no sloping shoulders, no frets and 3 strings (at least one too few for a cello at that time; I would say a tiny mistake of the engraver Pieter van den Berge). The bow is held underhand, which was very normal in that time, see Section 2.2.7.
Left of the middle circle a viol is depicted (see Figure 278), clearly a different instrument than the cello in the circle. It is interesting that the cello is the instrument being played and not the viol. One could wonder if Kornelis Sweerts intended the bass line for the cello (together with a keyboard instrument).

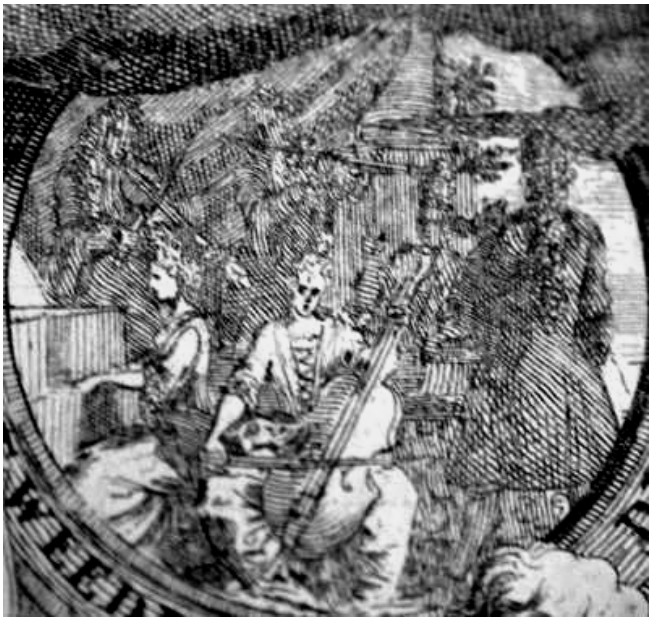

Figure 279 Detail of Figure 278. A violin, a flute, a virginal (?), a cello, and probably a singer.

Figure 280 The (female!) cellist.

The bass part of the *Mengelzangen* is very simple (see Figure 281). The range of this part is C-c', but the low C is used only once. Some simple figures are added for the keyboard. The notes are so simple, that, whatever tuning the cello had at that moment, they are easy to play.

[713] The texts of the 'mengelzangen' are of a lyrical, didactical nature. Characterization made by A.K.J. Zielhorst. http://igitur-archive.library.uu.nl/sg/2007-0522-200326/liedkunst.pdf, last accessed: 2010, September 22. The copy I used is held by the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague, inv. no. KW 8 C 32.
[714] On the frontispiece of the first part (published 1694) also some instruments are depicted: a violin, a recorder and possibly a bassoon. This frontispiece is not reproduced here.

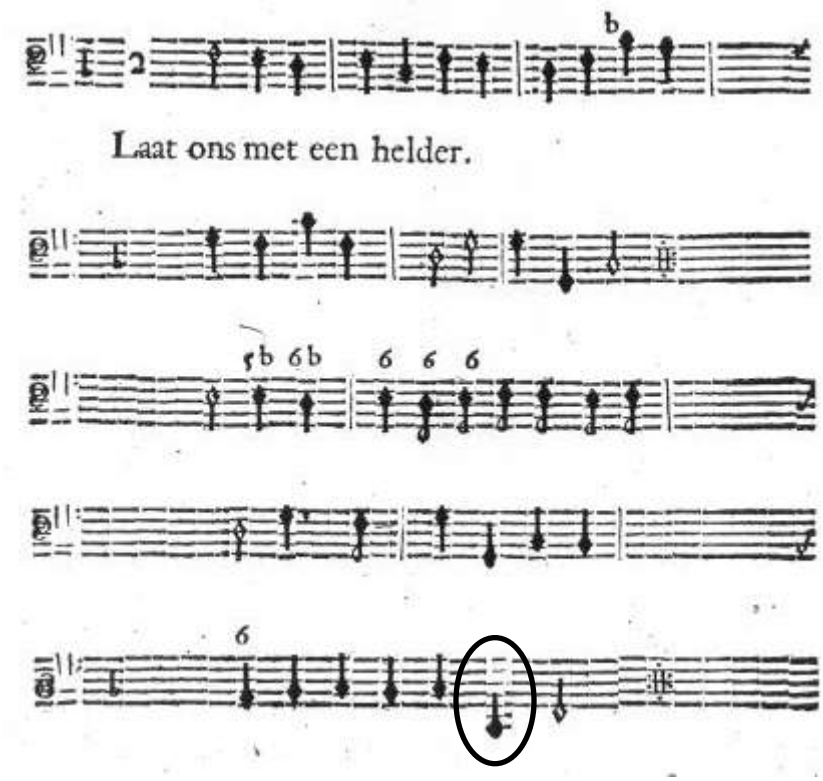

Figure 281 The bass part for one of the *Mengelzangen*. This is the only song in which a low C is required (see circling).

4.1.7 Hendrik Anders: Trioos, Allemande, Courante, Sarbande, Gighe &c. (Amsterdam, 1696)

The *Trioos, Allemande, Courante, Sarbande, Gighe &c.*[715] are a collection of short trio pieces numbered from 1 to 34 for two upper voices and a bass voice composed by Hendrik Anders (1657-1714).
In the preface Anders writes the following about which instruments could play which part:

> "[from] the author to the art loving aficionados of music.
> The two upper parts of these trios and little airs can all be played on the violin and recorder; most of them similarly on the oboe; yet the last six could also be played by two trumpets, in addition to the instruments mentioned before. The bottom voice is suitable for bass violin, bassoon, harpsichord or for all together. All parts could also be doubled in this way, and be interchanged ad libitum."[716]

This preface is a unique source for doubling instruments in trios (as are his *Symphoniae introductoriae*, see Section 4.1.9).
The instruments mentioned in the preface, except for the harpsichord, are depicted on the title page:

[715] The copy used for this dissertation is held by the Library of Leiden University, shelfmark: Thysia 2148.
[716] Original: "Den Autheur, Aan de Konstbeminnende Lief hebbers der Muzyk. Deze Trioos-Stukjes, en airtjes, kunnen in de twee boven Partyen altemaal op de Viool en fluyt gespeelt worden; desgelyks ook de meeste op de hautbois; dog de ses laatste kunnen mede door twee Trompetten, behalven de voorsz: instrumenten gedaan worden. De grond-stem is bequaam voor de Bas-Viool, Basson, Clave-cimbaal of voor altemaal gelyk. Zoo kunnen ook al de Partyen verdubbelt, en na believen door elkanderen verwisselt worden."

Figure 282 Title page of Hendrik Anders *Trioos* etc. (1696). From left to right: bassoon (but looking like a dulcian), recorder (on the ground), trumpet, violin, oboe and bass violin.

The shape of the bass violin is a mix between a cello and a viol (see Figure 283): the shoulders are sloping. For the rest the instrument looks like a cello: scroll, 4 strings and sound holes in the shape of an f (mirrored). Taking these characteristics into account, I am convinced that the "bas-viool" mentioned in the preface means a cello and not a viol (see Sub chapter 4.1 on the double meaning of the word bas-viool),[717] even though the shoulders are sloping.

Figure 283 Detail of Figure 282. Bass violin from Anders (1696).

The parts are labelled: violino primo, violino secondo and basso continuo. The basso continuo part, which is also meant for bass violin and bassoon, has a range from D to e flat', an ambitus quite normal for bass parts dating from that time.

[717] And therefore (in the translation of the preface) translated into bass violin and not into bass viol.

4.1.8 Servaas de Konink: Trios, opus 1 (Amsterdam, 1696)

The collection of *Trios Pour la Flute le Violon le Hautbois et toutes Sortes d'Instruments* was composed by Servaas de Konink (1654-1701).[718] It consists of 30 short[719] numbered trios for 'Dessus', 'Second Dessus' and 'Basse'. The bass part is figured.
On the title page a few instruments are depicted: recorder, oboe and bassoon. In the title of this collection, however, a violin is also mentioned, as well as 'all sorts of instruments'.
In the catalogues of Roger's publishing firm up to 1699 the trios are advertised as 'trios for flute, violin, oboe etc.', which agrees with what is written on the title page. From 1700 up to 1744 they are advertised simply as 'trios for all sorts of instruments'.
The bass part has a maximum ambitus of C-e', although the high e' is only called for three times.
Given the ambitus, the vague instrumentation instructions on the title page and in the catalogues and the technical skills required in the bass part, this music is well fit for being played on a cello/bass violin.

4.1.9 Hendrik Anders: Symphoniae introductoriae (Amsterdam, 1698)

The *Symphoniae introductoriae*[720] by Hendrik Anders are a collection of four sonatas for two treble instruments and bass, and eight sonatas for two treble instruments, alto and bass (of which one sonata with alto ad libitum as Anders states in his preface). They were published by Estienne Roger in 1698.
The original title: *Symphoniae introductioriae trium, et quatuor instrumentorum* does not mention for which instruments these symphoniae are meant. In Roger's catalogues the instrumentation changes over the years, as well as the category in which the music is listed (see Table 16).

Year of publication	Category	Instrumentation
1698-1700[721]	-	Les Trios d'Anders pour **toutes sortes d'instruments**
1701[722]	Livres de pieces pour les Flûtes, les Hautbois & pour les Violons à la Françoise a 3 & 4 parties	Les Trios d'Anders **pour toutes sortes d'instr**.
1702-1706, 1708[723]	Sonates pour les violons à 2 violons & une Basse continue, la plupart avec un violoncello ou viole de Gambe	H. Anders opera seconda **sonat. à 3 & 4 instr**.
1712, 1716[724]	Sonates a deux violons et basse continue la pluspart avec une basse de violon ou basse de viole	Henrici Anders opera seconda, **Sonate à tre, due Violini e Basso Continuo, e à quattro, due Violini Alto Viola e Basso Continuo**
1725, ca. 1730, 1735, 1737, 1744[725]	Sonate et concerts pour les violons a fortes parties	Henrici Anders opera Seconda [or seconda], **Sonate a tre & quattro Stromenti, due Violini, Alto viola e Basso continuo**

Table 16 The instrumentation of Hendrik Anders' *Symphoniae*.

[718] The only copy of this music is held by Durham Cathedral Library, inv. no. Mus. C. 56.
[719] The bass part in most trios consists of no more than one page per trio.
[720] The only copy of this work is held by the University Library of Leiden University, shelfmark: Thysia 2220.
[721] Roger (1698), unpaginated. Roger (1699), unpaginated. Roger (1700), unpaginated.
[722] Roger (1701), unpaginated.
[723] Roger (1702), unpaginated. Roger (1703), unpaginated. Roger (1704), unpaginated. Roger (1705), unpaginated. Roger (1706), unpaginated. Roger (1708), p. 12.
[724] Roger (1712), p. 37. Roger (1716), p. 338.
[725] Le Cène (1725), p. 63. Le Cène (ca. 1730), p. 63. Le Cène (1735), p. 59. Le Cène (1737), p. 59. La Coste (1744), p. 41.

The vague instrumentation given in the earlier catalogues corresponds with the equally vague instrumentation given on the title page. On the parts, however, it states 'violino primo', 'violino secondo', 'violoncello' (see Figure 284) and 'basso continuo'.

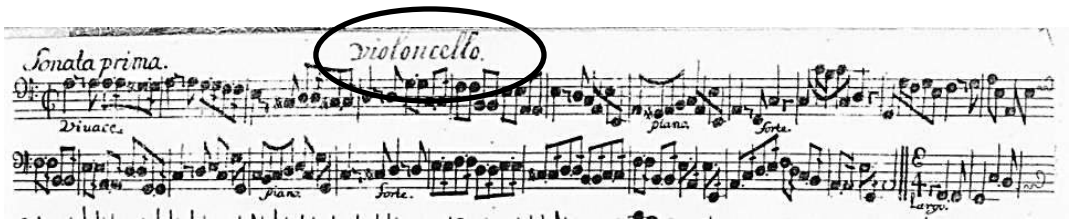

Figure 284 The violoncello part of Sonata prima. Note the difference in writing style between 'violoncello' and 'sonata prima'.

The instrument names seem to be 'written' in a different hand.[726] Therefore it is likely that these names have been added later, at a time when the instrumentation in the catalogues was also changed.

The bass part consists of two separate parts, one for basso continuo and one for violoncello. These parts look entirely the same, the only difference is that in the continuo part figures are added. In the preface Hendrik Anders advises about doubling the parts in case there are more musicians available (he did the same in his opus 1, see Section 4.1.7):

> "Necessary notice by the author to the real lovers and able pratitioners of pleasant music.
> As promised, I offer you in this opus twelve sonatas, of which the first four consist of three parts, and the last eight consist of four parts. In the fifth sonata the alto part is ad libitum, and could be left out easily. All these pieces could be played with more instruments, in case there are enough musicians. Specially the last seven, which have been composed like Ouvertures. One has to take special care when casting the Basso Continuo with one or more basses. In this case one will understand the intention of these sinfonias better, and listen to them with greater pleasure. If you like my work, I achieved my goal, and I will, with God's blessing, try to please you with more vocal and instrumental music."[727]

Anders advises (specially for the sonatas à 4) to use more bass instruments if available. Which instruments that should be, he does not specify. Possibly the frontispiece can answer this question (Figure 285). In the bottom right corner some instruments are depicted. A violin is lying on the floor, together with a dulcian and a cornetto. A cello is held upright by two cupids (for a detail see Figure 286). The cello has slightly sloping shouders,[728] f-holes and 4 strings. It is difficult to determine the exact size, because of the cupids. In the background an organ is also depicted.

The cello and the dulcian, and of course the organ could well be the bass instruments Anders was thinking of in his preface. In the preface to his *Trioos* (1696; see Section 4.1.7) Anders mentions the bassoon/dulcian and cello as well.

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[726] In the alto part there is no mention of a particular instrument.

[727] Original: "Nootzakelyk berigt van den Autheur aan de Gunstige Beminnaars en konstige Oeffenaars der aangenaame Muzyk. Volgens myne beloften levere ik u lieden in dit tegenwoordige werk twaalf sonaten, waar van de vier eerste uyt drie, en de laatste acht uyt vier partyen bestaan, hoewel de Alt in de vyfde, ad Libitum gemaakt is, en heel wel kan uytgelaten werden. Alle deze stukken mogen met verdubbelde Instrumenten gespeelt worden, indien 'er uytvoerders genoeg zyn; maar in 't byzonder de laatste seven, dewelke op de manier van Ouverturen ofte Inleydingen gemaakt zyn. Op de Bass Continuus dient voornamentlyk gelet te worden, om die met een ofte meer Bassen te besetten. Zo zal men het oogmerk van deze Symphonien te beter begrypen, en dezelve met groter vermaak en indruk aanhoren. Indien U lieden deze mynen arbeyd niet mishaagt, zo hebben ik myn oogwit bereykt, ende zal verder trachten om U Lieden met meer andere, zo wel vocale als instrumentale Muzyk-werken door de Goddelyke Zegen te vermaken."

[728] The violin has slightly sloping shouders as well, which means that the cello is possibly not a mixture between a cello and a viol, but a normal cello. For the rest the cello has only cello features.

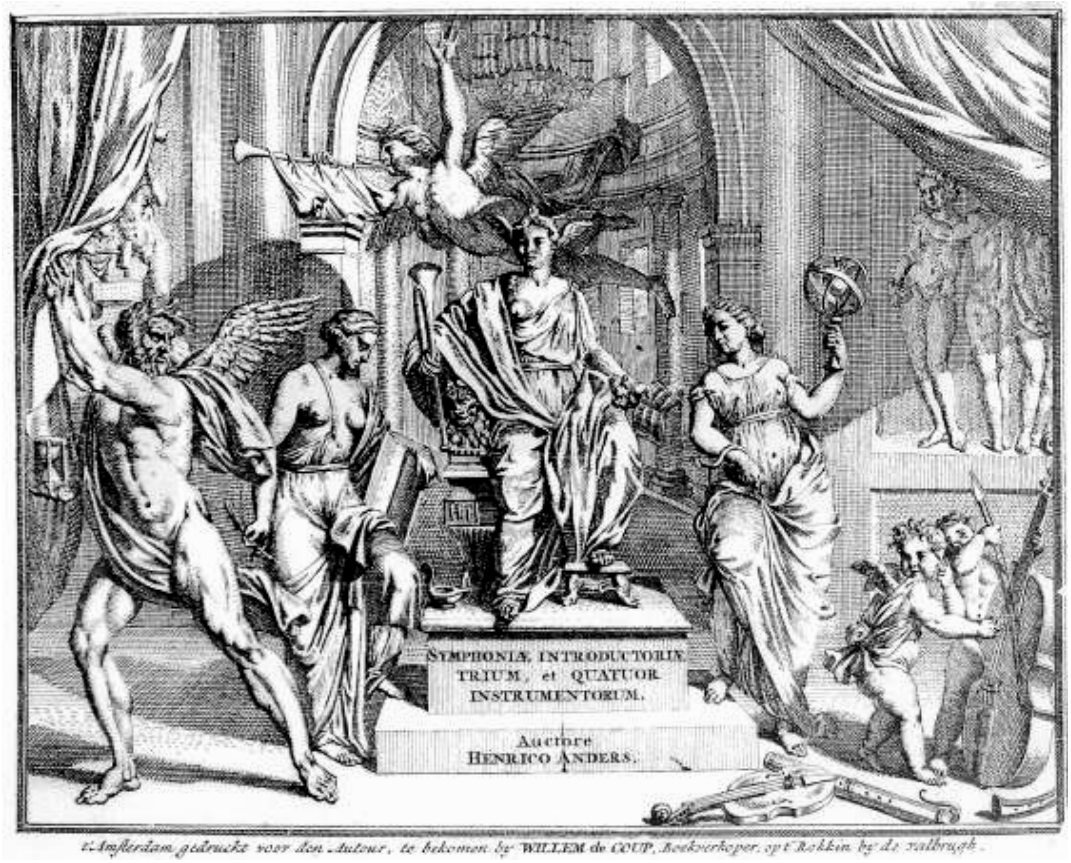

Figure 285 Frontispiece of *Symphoniae Introductoriae* by Hendrik Anders.

Figure 286 Detail of musical instruments in Figure 285.

The ambitus of the bass part is quite normal for that time, ranging from C-e'. This differs slightly in each sonata, mostly depending on the key of the piece.

4.1.10 Benedictus Buns: Orpheus Elianus è Carmelo in Orbem Editus (Amsterdam, 1698)

Orpheus Elianus[729] consists of 13 sonatas and was composed by Benedictus Buns or "R. P. Benedictum A. S^{to}. Iosepho"[730] as he is called on the title page. These sonatas are Buns' only purely instrumental work.
On the title page, which is written in Latin, the instrumentation is given as follows: "a. 2. Viol et Basso Viola Cum Basso Continnuo [sic]". The same problem arises here as in some of the previous Sections: what is this basso viola? The instrumentation on the parts is clearer: 'Violino Primo' and 'Violino Secondo', 'Violoncello' and 'Organo' as basso continuo.
In the catalogues of Roger's publishing firm *Orpheus Elianus* is listed from 1698 onwards, and the cello (or violone in the first year) is the bass instrument asked for (see Table 17). From 1701 onwards Roger publishes many titles, and in the catalogues the music is divided into different categories. *Orpheus Elianus* is listed in the category: "Sonates pour les violons à deux violons & une Basse Continue, la pluspart avec un violoncello ou viole de Gambe". In this category one indeed finds music with cello, music with viol (not that much though),[731] and music with "basso", in which the choice between a cello and a viol is quite possibly up to the musicians. Clearly Roger knew the difference between the two instruments, but wanted to sell as many copies as possible. Considering all the evidence, I am convinced that in *Orpheus Elianus* the basso viola is meant to be a cello.

Year	Category	Title
1698[732]	-	Josephi Benedicti opus octavum, sonates 13 a 4 2 viol. 1 **violone** 1 B cont.
1699[733]	-	Josephi Benedicti opus octavum sonate 13 a 3 col **violoncello**
1700[734]	-	Josephi Benedicti opus octavum Sonate a 3 col **violoncello**
1701[735]	Sonates pour les violons à deux violons & une Basse Continue, la pluspart avec un **violoncello** ou viole de Gambe	Josephi Benedicti opus octavum sonates à tre col **violoncello**
1702[736]	Sonates pour les violons à 2 violons & une Basse Continue, la plupart avec un **violoncello** ou viole de Gambe	Josephi Benedicti opus octavum, sonates à tre col **violoncello**
1703[737]	Sonates pour les violons à 2 violons & une Basse Continue, la plupart avec un **violoncello** ou viole de Gambe	Josephi Benedicti opus octavum, sonate à tre col **violoncello**
1704[738]	Sonates pour les violons à 2. violons & une Basse Continue, la plupart avec un **violoncello** ou viole de Gambe	Josephi Benedicti opus octavum, sonate à tré col. **violoncello**
1705[739]	Sonates pour les violons à 2. violons	Josephi Benedicti opus octavum, sonate à

[729] The only copy of this music is held at the Library of the Royal Conservatory in Brussels, inv. no. 14958.
[730] R. P. = reverend father.
[731] One of the pieces with viol: "Finger Opera prima, 12 sonates les 3. premieres à 1 violon, une **viole de gambe** & 1 bass. cont. les 3. suivantes à 2 violons, 1 **violoncello** & 1 bass. cont. les 3 autres à deux viol. une Haute contre & bass. contin. & les trois dernieres à trois viol. & une bass."
[732] Roger (1698), unpaginated catalogue.
[733] Roger (1699), unpaginated catalogue.
[734] Roger (1700), unpaginated catalogue.
[735] Roger (1701), unpaginated catalogue.
[736] Roger (1702), unpaginated catalogue.
[737] Roger (1703), unpaginated catalogue.
[738] Roger (1704), unpaginated catalogue.
[739] Roger (1705), unpaginated catalogue.

	& une Basse Continue, la plupart avec un **violoncello** ou viole de Gambe	tre col. **violoncello**
1706[740]	Sonates pour les violons à 2. violons & une Basse Continue, la plupart avec un **violoncello** ou viole de Gambe	Josephi Benedicti opus octavum, sonate à tré col **violoncello**
1708[741]	Sonates pour les violons à 2. violons & une Basse Continue, la plupart avec un **violoncello** ou viole de Gambe	Josephi Benedicti opus octavum, sonate à tre col **violoncello**
1712[742]	Sonates a deux violons et basse continue la pluspart avec une **basse de violon** ou basse de viole	R. P. Benedicti à Sto Josepho opera Ottava, Sonate à tre, due Violini, **Violonc.** e Basso Cont.
1716[743]	Sonates a deux violons et basse continue, la plupart avec une **basse de violon** ou basse de viole	R. P. Benedicti à Sto Josepho opera Ottava, Sonate à tre, due Violini, **Violonc.** e Basso Cont.
1725[744]	Sonates a deux violons et basse continue, la plupart avec une **basse de violon** ou basse de viole	R. P. Benedicti à Sto Josepho opera Ottava, Sonate à tre, due Violini, **Violonc.** e Basso Cont.
ca. 1730[745]	Sonates a deux violons et basse continue, la plupart avec une **basse de violon** ou basse de viole	R. P. Benedicti à Sto. Josepho opera Ottava, Sonate à tre, due Violini, **Violonc.** e Basso continuo
1735[746]	Sonates a deux violons et basse continue, la plupart avec une **basse de violon** ou basse de viole	R. P. Benedicti à Sto Josepho opera Ottava, Sonate à tre, due, Violini, **Violonc.** e basso continuo
1737[747]	Sonates a deux violons et basse continue, la plupart avec une **basse de violon** ou basse de viole	R. P. Benedicti à Sto Josepho opera Ottava, Sonate à tre, due, Violini, **Violonc**. e basso continuo
1744[748]	Sonates à deux Violons & Basse continue, la plûpart avec une **Basse de Violon** ou Basse de Viole	R. P. Benedicti à Sto Josepho opera Ottava, Sonate à tre, due Violini, **Violoncello** e Basso contin.

Table 17 *Orpheus Elianus* from 1698 to 1744.

The Orpheus Elianus sonatas are trio sonatas (Sonate a tre[749]), with a more embellished version of the basso continuo part for the cello (see Figure 287).

[740] Roger (1706), unpaginated catalogue.
[741] Roger (1708), p. 12.
[742] Roger (1712), p. 37.
[743] Roger (1716), p. 338.
[744] Le Cène (1725), p. 57.
[745] Le Cène (ca. 1730), p. 57.
[746] Le Cène (1735), p. 53.
[747] Le Cène (1737), p. 53.
[748] La Coste (1744), p. 35.
[749] Except for the 1698 catalogue these pieces are listed as such. In the 1698 catalogue they are listed as Sonate a 4.

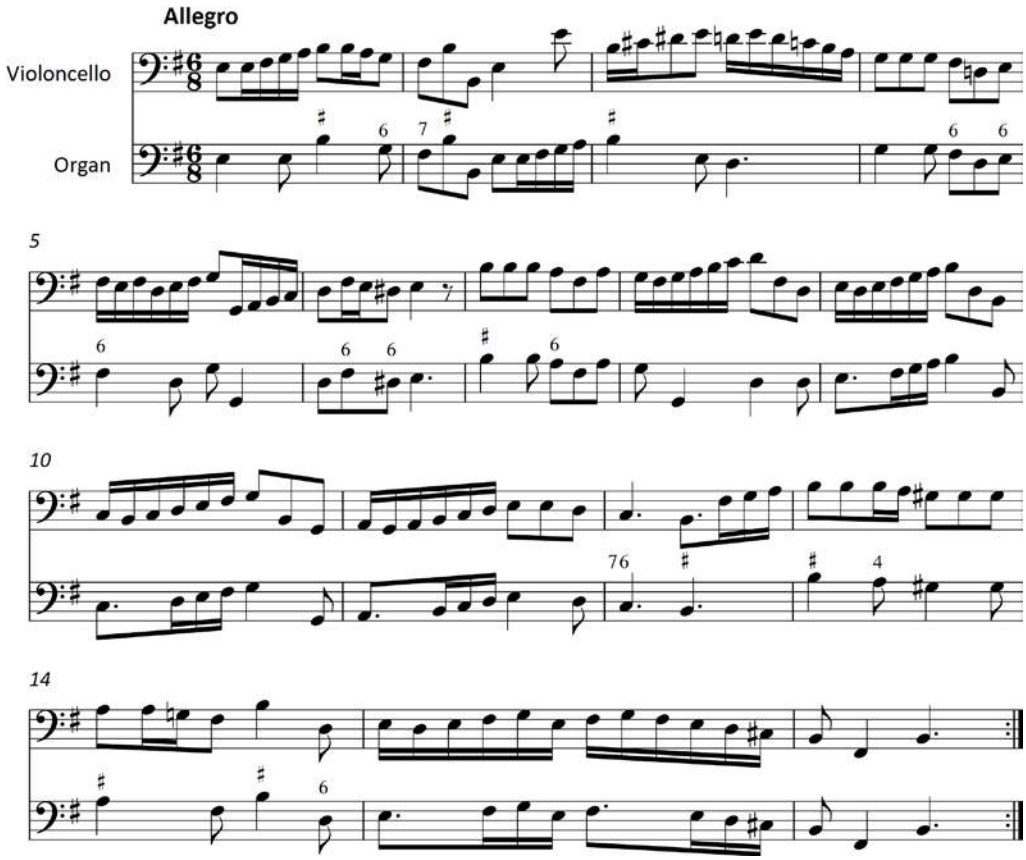

Figure 287 The first half of the Allegro of Sonata 5, cello and organ parts, showing the diminutions of the bass line in the cello part.

From 1712 onwards the name of the string bass in the title of the category has been changed from violoncello to basse de violon (just as viole de gambe has been changed into basse de viole). This is curious, because the basse de violon was an instrument used in the 17th century and not so much in the 18th century.[750]

The ambitus of the cello part is as follows: in 7 sonatas D is the lowest note, 5 times C and once the lowest note is E. As highest note 8 times e' or e' flat occurs, twice d' and twice f'. Once tenor clef is used, and in this case the highest note is g'[751] (see Figure 288).

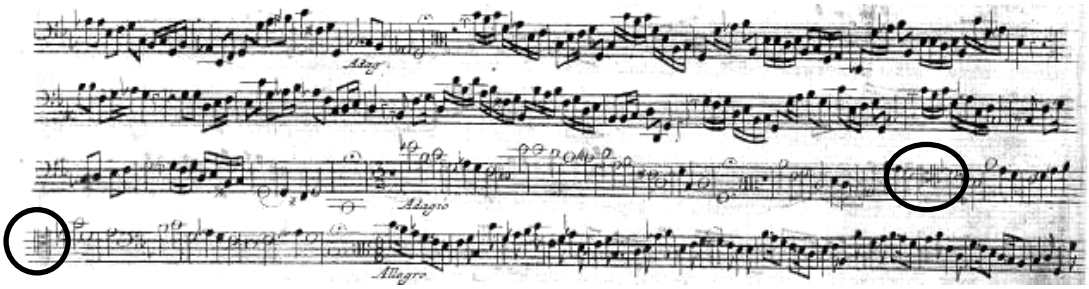

Figure 288 Sonata I: detail from the cello part. See circling for the use of the tenor clef. This is the only time in all 13 sonatas.

Are these sonatas indeed written for cello? This is most likely the case. Although the instrumentation on the title page is a bit confusing, the part clearly indicates a cello as can also be seen in the catalogues.

[750] The basse de violon was used in France, and tuned a whole tone lower than the cello. I do not think this basse de violon was the intended instrument here. Probably Roger just used this name because he was highly focused on the French market.

[751] For the g' one would need an extra ledger-line. This was unpractical to read, and therefore the tenor clef was used.

4.1.11 Servaas de Konink: Trioos, opus 4 (Amsterdam, 1698)

In 1698 Servaas de Konink had a second set of trios published by Estienne Roger: *Trioos Voor de Fluyten Hautbois en Violen […] Tweede Trioos Boek Vierde Werk.*[752] This opus number consists of 35 short trios, shorter than the trios opus 1. The listings in the Roger catalogues show the same pattern as the listings for opus 1. In the first couple of years the different instruments are mentioned, from 1700 onwards the trios are advertised as 'trios for all sorts of instruments'.
There is a strong resemblance between these trios and the 'trioos' composed by Hendrik Anders in 1696: short pieces which can be joined to a larger 'suite' as one pleases.
The ambitus of the bass part is the same as in opus 1: C-e'. In view of the vagueness in instrumentation, I nevertheless think that it is very plausible that this music is composed for cello, because of the ambitus and the fact that many contemporary pieces were specifically composed for the cello (see for example Section 4.1.10).

4.2 Music in the 18th century

As was shown in Sections 4.1.1-4.1.11, the 17th-century bass violin/cello was almost solely used for playing the bass line (sometimes with diminutions). Towards the end of the 17th century the first solo[753] music for violone and cello was composed in Italy, for example: the *Partite sopra diverse Sonate per il Violone* by Giovanni Battista Vitali (ca. 1680), the Ricercares and Sonatas by Domenico Gabrielli (1689) and the *Trattenimento musicale sopra il violoncello* by Domenico Galli (1691). In the beginning of the 18th century this development was continued in the Low Countries: also Dutch composers started composing music for solo cello (see Table 18).

Chronological overview of Dutch baroque music for solo cello				
Year of 1st publication	**Composer**	**Opus number**	**Instrument**	**Publisher(s)**
1702	Mr/sieur Carolo	Triosonatas	Basse de Violon	Estienne Roger
ca. 1716	W. de Fesch	Opus 1b	?/Violoncelle	Roger (lost)/ Le Clerc (1738)
1716-1717	J. Klein	Opus 1, book 3	Basse de violon	Jeanne Roger
1717-1719	J. Klein	Opus 2	Violoncello	Michel Le Cène/ Le Clerc (1739)[754]
1725	W. de Fesch	Opus 4b	Violoncello	Author/ Le Clerc (ca. 1740)
1733	W. de Fesch	Opus 8b	Violoncello/ violoncello/ violoncelle	Benjamin Cooke/ John Johnson (1736)/ Gerhard Witvogel (1737 lost)/ Le Clerc (1738)
1733	J.H. Fiocco	Lamentations	Violoncello	Manuscript
ca. 1740	J. Klein	Opus 3	?/Violoncello	Le Cène (lost)/ Le Clerc (ca. 1749)
1740 (composed between 1725-1740)	U. van Wassenaer	Concerti Armonici	Violoncello (obl.)	Carlo Ricciotti
1746	J. Klein	Opus 4	Violoncello	Gerhard Witvogel

[752] The only copy of this work is held by the Durham Cathedral Library.
[753] In this case solo means not playing a bass line, but playing a solo role.
[754] The le Clerc edition is held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, inv. no. VMG-32536. I have not been able to consult this copy. According to their website this edition is not mentioned in RISM A/I.

ca. 1750	W. de Fesch	Opus 13	Violoncello	? possibly author/ John Walsh (1757)
1758-1759 ?	A. Magito	Opus 1	Violoncello	Wynne
1763	W. G. Kennis	Triosonates Opus 6	Violoncello	Mr Le Menu
1780	P. Hellendaal	Opus 5	Violoncello	Author

Table 18 Music for solo cello composed in the Low Countries in the 18th century.[755]

Table 18 shows that a handful of Dutch composers produced quite an impressive collection of solo music for the cello.[756] It is therefore the more surprising that in the Roger/Le Cène catalogues a special section with works for solo cello does not exist. The few cello sonatas which are mentioned in the catalogues are in fact part of the chapter with solo works for the viol. From the early catalogues up to the catalogues dating as late as 1744, there is no change.[757] Considering that by the mid 18th century the cello had become a respected solo instrument, one would expect that the catalogues would show this trend as well. The Selhof catalogue of 1759 has indeed several chapters entirely focused on cello music (solo sonatas, concerti, duets, trios and Corrette's cello method) and thus shows this trend.[758]
As was already shown in Section 4.1.10, there exists an inconsistency between the names for the bass insturment in the titles of the different catalogue categories and the name of the bass instrument in the actual titles of the publications. Roger was leading an international publishing firm, not only publishing Dutch music, but also music from foreign composers, living in the Low Countries as well as abroad. At various times he also had agents in Germany, France and England. Could this be the reason that the bass instrument offers such a mixture and inconsistency of names? A few examples:

Composer	**Year of publication (a);[759] year of first time in catalogue (b)**	**Name in catalogue**	**Name on publication**
B. Buns	1698 (a)	Basse de violon/ Violoncello/Violone	Basso viola/Violoncello
Mr Carolo	1701 (a)	Basse/Basse de violon	Basse de violon
G. Visconti opus 1	1703 (a)	Basso continuo	Violone o Cembalo
G. Valentini opus 5	1715 (a)	Basso continuo	Violoncello o Basso Continuo
P. Castrucci opus 1	1725 (b)	Basso continuo	Basse de violon
D. S. Passionei	1725 (b)	Basse de violon	Violoncello
G. Antoniotti opus 1	1735 (b)	Violoncello	Violoncello/Viola da gamba

Table 19 Comparison of a few names of the bass instrument in the Roger catalogues and on the actual publications.

Several of the Dutch composers who composed music for cello, moved to England at some point in their lives and also published cello music there. To simplify matters these composers are also

[755] The music listed in this table is not all music composed for solo cello in the Low Countries. More music was composed but, at present, considered as lost (see Section 4.2.9).
[756] Besides this solo music, the cello is also often used as a continuo instrument, as is demonstrated in the Roger/Le Cène catalogues from 1697 onwards.
[757] Mr Carolo's sonatas (no. 306) are mentioned from 1702 onwards; Klein's opus 1 (no. 425) and opus 2 (no. 449) sonatas from 1725 onwards and his opus 3 sonatas (no. 591) from 1744 onwards. Also a few books of sonatas by Italian composers are mentioned: 12 sonatas by Domenico Silvio Passionei (no. 446) from 1725 onwards and Giorgio Antoniotti's opus 1 sonatas (no. 569) from 1735 onwards.
[758] Selhof (1759), pp. 111, 112, 126, 127, 148, 208, 209, 211, 215, 224, 231.
[759] Dates taken from: Lesure (1969).

considered as belonging to the Dutch heritage for the purpose of this dissertation, and all their cello music has therefore been added to Table 18.
Extensive research has been done by Wakelkamp (Klein opus 3 and 4) and Rasch (Hellendaal) on several publications and composers. I confine myself to a short description of these works. I have concentrated on the other composers and works, and have added a case study on Alexis Magito, a composer about whom up to now nothing was known.
Apart from real solo music (among others sonatas), three collections of chamber music have also been added: the Van Wassenaer *Concerti Armonici* because they are very famous Dutch heritage and because of the connection with Alexis Magito (Sections 4.2.4 & 4.2.6); the Fiocco *Lamentations* because the cello plays a very important (solo) role in this music (Section 4.2.5) and two triosonatas for two solo cellos and basso composed by Kennis (Section 4.2.7).

4.2.1 M^{r}/sieur Carolo (active 1701)

In one of Roger's 1701 catalogues the following book is said to "appear shortly": "*Dix sonates a deux Bassons & 1 Basse continue tres propre aussi pour deux Basses de violon ou deux Violes de Gambe & une basse continue*".[760] And in another catalogue of the same year the sonatas are listed as: "*10 Sonates à 2 violes de Gambes Basses ou Bassons & 1 B. Cont*."[761] In both catalogues there is no mention of a composer.
One of the 1702 catalogues solves this mystery: "*Dix sonates a deux violes de Gambe & 1 bass. cont. tres propres à jouer avec des Basses ou des Bassons <u>de la composition de sieur carolo</u>, gravé. f. 4*.".[762] In all the Roger catalogues up to 1744 this music is listed.
The title page of the actual publication reads as follows:

X SONATES
à 2 Violes de Gambe & 1 Basse Continue
également bons à jouer Sur
2 Bassons ou Basses de Violon
Composez Par
Mr CAROLO
A Amsterdam

It is curious that one of the first catalogues which mentions this music, lists the sonatas as 'sonatas for two bassoons, also good to be played on 2 bass violins or 2 viols', whereas in all the other catalogues up to 1744 the viols come first, followed by bass violin and bassoon. On the actual publication the order is: viol, bassoon and bass violin. Carelessness or premeditation (to show that the music is equally good for any of these instruments, as is in fact written in the title)? Considering all the solo viol music printed in the Low Countries in the 17th century, the listings in most Roger catalogues and the listing on the title page, I am convinced these sonatas are firstly meant for viol. Around the turn of the century, however, the cello (and bassoon?) must have been introduced as a new solo instrument in the Low Countries, and therefore Roger doubled or even tripled his market by adding these instruments to the title.

Who is Mr Carolo? Johann Gottfried Walther states in his *Musicalisches Lexicon* that Mr Carolo is probably Carolus Hacquart.[763] Composer and author of a dictionary of musicians Ernst Ludwig Gerber, interestingly, states that according to Roger's catalogue Carolo Hakart has composed "X sonat. pour 2 Violadigambes et B".[764] Although Roger's catalogues do not offer this information, for Gerber there is clearly no doubt that Mr Carolo and Carolus Hacquart are the same person. François-Joseph Fétis and Edmund van der Straeten give the same information as Gerber.[765] Musicologist Ernst Hermann Meyer, however, states that the sonatas differ in style from

[760] Raguenet (1701), unpaginated. Roger's catalogue is to be found at the end of Raguenet's book.
[761] Danet (1701), unpaginated. Roger's catalogue is to be found at the end of Danet's book.
[762] Roger (1702), unpaginated. Underscore: ET.
[763] Walther (1732), p. 268.
[764] Gerber (1812), column 485.
[765] Fétis (1866), p. 204 & Van der Straeten (1914), p. 94.

Hacquart's works, and that they seem to be German.[766] Musicologist Pieter Andriessen and others follow this idea, and suggest that these sonatas were composed by Dominus Carolo, a composer working for the Cologne elector in the second half of the 17th century.[767]
Whether these sonatas were composed by a Dutch composer or not, I have decided to include them in this dissertation because they were published in Amsterdam (and must have been played there as well) and they offer really early repertoire for the special combination of two cellos and basso continuo.

The sonatas differ in length from 4-6 movements. The names of the movements do not show much variation. The only aspect that stands out is that all but one sonata have a movement called 'canzona' (see Table 20).

Sonata I	B flat major	Poco Largo	Allegro	Canzona	Allegro		
Sonata II	F major	?	(Poco) Allegro	Canzona	Adagio	Allegro	
Sonata III	g minor	Poco Allegro	Adagio	Poco Allegro	Canzona	Allegro	
Sonata IV	d minor	Poco Largo	Poco Allegro	Adagio	Allegro		
Sonata V	G major	Poco Allegro	Adagio	Canzona	Allegro		
Sonata VI	B flat major	Largo	Poco Allegro	Adagio	Canzona	Allegro	
Sonata VII	d minor	Poco Allegro	Poco Allegro	Adagio	Canzona	Allegro	
Sonata VIII	a minor	Poco Largo	(Poco) Allegro	Adagio	Canzona	Allegro	
Sonata IX	C major	Poco Largo	Solo	(Poco) Allegro	Adagio	Canzona	Allegro
Sonata X	G major	Poco Allegro	Allegro	Adagio	Canzona	Allegro Allegro	

Table 20 10 Sonatas composed by sieur Carolo (1702).

Almost all movements have been composed without repeats, except for three movements in three different sonatas.[768] Apart from in the Poco Allegro of Sonata VIII (see Figure 289) there are no dynamic indications at all.

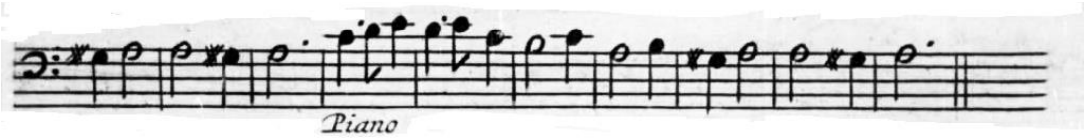

Figure 289 Sonata VIII: Poco Allegro showing the only dynamic sign in all 10 sonatas (1st bass part).

The Adagio of Sonata VI is the only movement in which some notes are slurred (see Figure 290).

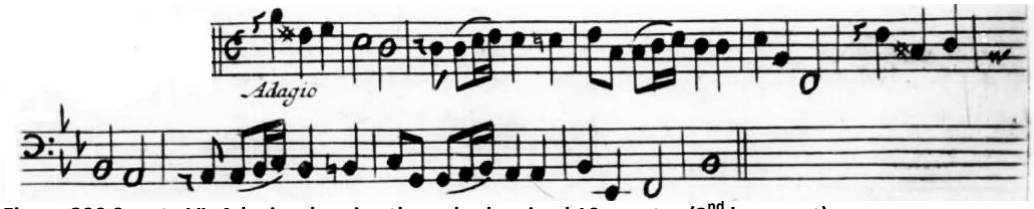

Figure 290 Sonata VI: Adagio, showing the only slurs in al 10 sonatas (2nd bass part).

[766] Meyer (1939), p. 267.
[767] Andriessen (1974), p. 46.
[768] Sonata III: Poco Allegro, Sonata IV: Allegro & Sonata VIII: Allegro.

There is hardly any difference in technical difficulties between the two solo parts and also the ambitus of both parts is the same: C-e'. This ambitus agrees with that of the Ricercares of Domenico Gabrielli mentioned in Sub chapter 4.2 and composed around a decade before in Italy.
Most movements are quite short without a real musical development. An idea is started, there is a sequence and the end often comes quite unexpectedly. Not only the ambitus has clear similarities with Gabrielli's Ricercares, also the melody shows a resemblance. The melody partly sounds like a bass line which often becomes some kind of real melody. In short: in this music there is a clear development from the bass function the cello had in the 17th century to the solo function it acquired in the 18th century (see Figure 291).

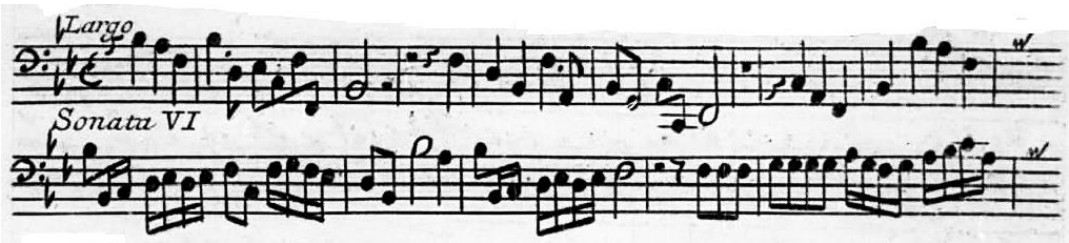

Figure 291 Sonata VI: Largo, showing the development from bass function to solo function (1st bass part).

4.2.2 Willem de Fesch (1687-1761)

Violinist and composer Willem de Fesch (see Figure 292) was born in Alkmaar in a family originating from Liège. The family returned to Liège before 1690; Willem, however, moved back to Holland (Amsterdam) in 1710. He left for Antwerp in 1725 and a few years later crossed the Channel to London, where he stayed for the rest of his life, mostly working as a violinist.

Figure 292 Willem de Fesch (1751).[769]

[769] Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-23.746.

De Fesch composed four sets of cello sonatas. Most of these sonatas were republished at a (much) later date and by other publishers, often also under different opus numbers (see Table 21).

Opus no.	RISM no.	Publisher	Republished as	RISM no. reprint	Publisher of reprint
Opus 1b			Opus 1	F 616	Paris: Le Clerc
Opus 4b	F 623	Amsterdam: author	Opus 3	F 622	Paris: Le Clerc
Opus 8b	F 629	London: Benjamin Cooke	Opus 8	F 630	London: John Johnson
			Opus 8		Amsterdam: Gerhard Witvogel
			Opus 2	F 618	Paris: Le Clerc
Opus 13	F 639	?author?	Opus 13	?	London: John Walsh

Table 21 The cello sonatas composed by Willem de Fesch and the reprints.

4.2.2.1 Sonatas opus 1b (Amsterdam ca. 1716 (lost), Paris 1738)

Musicologist Robert Tusler states that de Fesch' opus 1 consisted of 6 sonatas for 2 violins (opus 1a) and of 6 sonatas for 2 cellos (opus 1b). Tusler dates these sonatas ca. 1712-1715,[770] but I think they were in fact not published before 1716, because in Roger's 1716 catalogue they are not yet listed. In the 1725 catalogue, however, at least the violin sonatas are listed (as no. 414).[771] Why the cello duets are not listed in the latter catalogue as well is a mystery to me, especially since Klein's opus 2 duets (see Sub section 4.2.3.2) are actually mentioned in this catalogue and these duets were composed for the same combination of instruments as de Fesch' opus 1b. Unfortunately until now neither the violin sonatas nor the cello sonatas of the first edition have been found.
Le Clerc and Boivin in Paris republished the opus 1 sonatas, an edition which still exists today.[772] The title page of this edition reads:

SONATES
A
Deux Violoncelles
Bassons ou Violles
COMPOSÉES
PAR
M^R DE FESCH
PREMIER OEUVRE

This edition is meant for 2 cellos, 2 bassoons or 2 viols. Whether this was also the case with the original Amsterdam edition I have not been able to establish.[773]
Most sonatas have four movements in the SFSF order (see Table 22).

[770] Tusler (2005), pp. 32-34. I have not been able to find conclusive proof that opus 1b was in fact meant for 2 cellos.
[771] Le Cène (1725), p. 46.
[772] As for the date of this reprint the modern editors differ slightly. Tusler (1995): 1738; Oxford Music Online & Bibliothèque nationale de France: ca. 1745. I am inclined to follow Tusler, because the opus 4 and opus 8 sonatas were also reprinted by le Clerc and they are both dated 1738.
[773] According to Tusler (2005) "Bassons ou Violles" has been added by Le Clerc. I am inclined to agree with him, because the other opus numbers are also only meant for cello. On the other hand: the option of cellos, viols and bassoons is likely as well, compare Mr Carolo's 1702 sonatas.

Sonata I	A major	Largo	Allegro	Sarabanda Largo	Giga Vivace	
Sonata II	d minor	Largo	Corrente Vivace	Largo	Tempo di Gavotta	
Sonata III	D major	Largo	Allegro	Sarabanda Largo	Giga Vivace	
Sonata IV	B flat major	Largo Cantabile	Allegro	Largo	Giga Vivace	
Sonata V	a minor	Largo	Presto	Sarabanda	Tempo di Gavotta	
Sonata VI	C major	Adagio	Allegro Comodo	Sarabanda Largo	Gavotta Allegro	Minuetto I & II

Table 22 Sonatas opus 1 by Willem de Fesch.

These sonatas are of a modest technical difficuly and the ambitus is C-a'. The top a' is a fourth higher than the e' in Mr Carolo's sonatas, which were composed more than a decade before. Also the tenor clef is used, which was not the case in Carolo's sonatas. The de Fesch sonatas also offer more melodic material.
The following passage makes clear that, at this time, a composer would not go any higher than a' (Figure 293). In the second bar it would be logical to let the line ascend after the g sharp', but de Fesch chooses to descend an octave and then ascend from there.

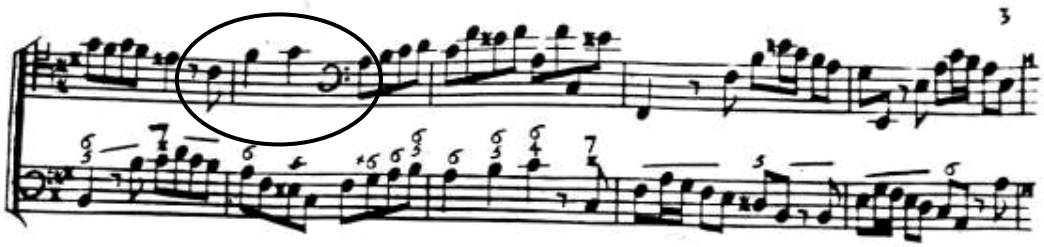

Figure 293 Sonata I: Allegro. See circling for ambitus.

These sonatas are composed for two cellos. The bottom line, however, has figured bass. Why this figured bass has been added, does not become clear. On the title page it is clearly stated that these sonatas are meant for two equal instruments. Did the original Roger edition have this figured bass as well? Tusler suggests that the figured bass was added by Le Clerc, probably to increase sales.[774] Ton Koopman wonders whether this is true: in his opinion the sonatas sound much better with basso continuo. Cellist Viola de Hoog agrees with Koopman. In her opinion in De Fesch' opus 4 and 8 two concertante voices suffice as a duet, whereas in his opus 1 one needs a basso continuo. What matters here as well is that in the opus 4 and 8 sonatas there is no figured bass and in opus 1 there is.[775]
The first cello plays chords in final bars, more often than one normally sees in cello sonatas with figured bass lines. An extensive example is shown in Figure 294.

[774] Tusler (2005) suggests this was done following the reissue with added figured bass (by de Fesch) of opus 8b in 1738 (see Sub section 4.2.2.3).
[775] Information from an email, dated 2017, October 19.

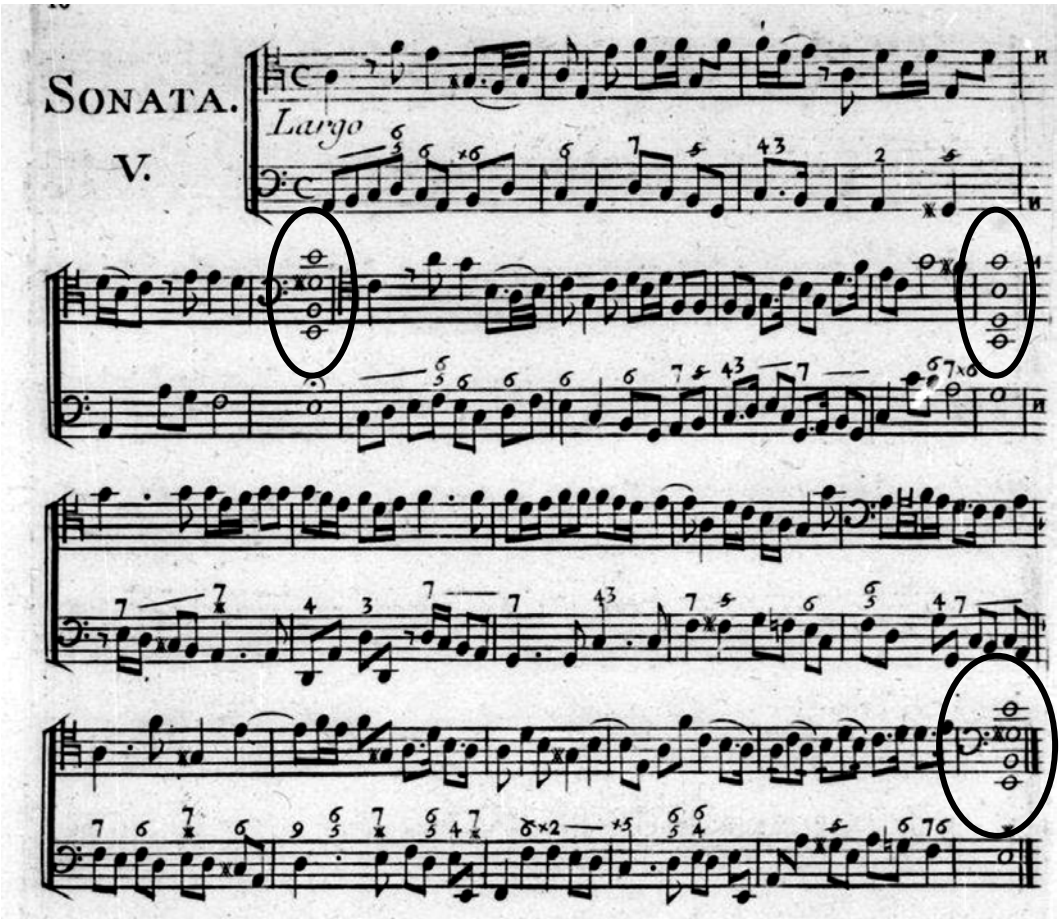

Figure 294 Largo of Sonata V. Note the chords in the second and fourth line.

When compared to the duets opus 4b (see Sub section 4.2.2.2), the opus 1 sonatas/duets are more solo sonatas with a bass line than duets with two equal lines. The 'bass line' in opus 4b, on the contrary, is more equal to the top line.

4.2.2.2 Sonatas opus 4b (Amsterdam 1725)

The opus 4b[776] sonatas (opus 4a is intended for solo violin, violone and harpsichord) are composed as proper duets.

The title page reads as follows:

XII SONATE
in due libri
il primo: 6 à Violino, Violone, e Cembalo
ed il secondo: 6 a due violoncelli
Dedicate
Al Molto illustre Signore
Il Sig^{r}: Giacomo Dupeyrou Jansz:
da
Guglielmo de Fesch
Opera Quarta

[776] In several modern sources these sonatas are dated 1725. On the website of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, however, they are dated 1726 (last accessed 2017, March 23). There are two reasons why this cannot be true: 1: De Fesch moved to Antwerp in 1725, and the sonatas were sold at his house in Amsterdam; 2: the patent (see below) is dated 24-1-1725.

On the title page the following is also mentioned: "in Amsterdam, in casa del Autore. fatto stampare a sue spese" ("[to be had] in Amsterdam, at the house of the author, printed at his own expense."). At the bottom right of the title page it is signed "Gugl^{mo} de Fesch" (see Figs. 295 & 296).

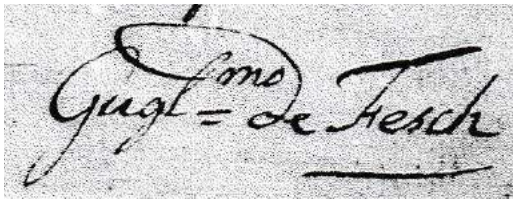

Figure 295 De Fesch' signature on the copy in the NMI.[777]

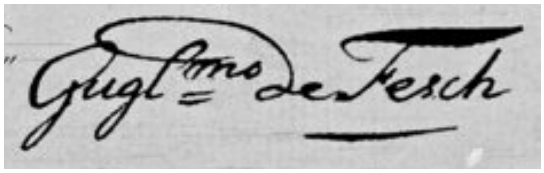

Figure 296 De Fesch' signature on the copy in the BnF.[778]

This signature is part of the patent which is printed in the back of the score. De Fesch was granted a patent for 15 years by the 'Staten van Holland ende West-Vriesland', to protect him against reprints made without him knowing. Part of the patent reads as follows:

> "[…], that some selfish people, after all his [de Fesch'] assiduousness and expenses, […], would reprint, have reprinted or print somewhere else in the Province of Holland and West Friesland, this new music in full or partly, […]; not only at his injustice and loss, but even the decay of his works [as a result]: […]."[779]

As was shown in Tables 18 & 21 a reprint was indeed made in Paris, just when the 15-year patent had expired. It was advertised as "estampes nouvelles" in December 1740 in a catalogue of music books Le Clerc had engraved.[780]
This specific edition was published as opus 3 for "deux violoncelles bassons ou violles".[781]

All sonatas consist of 4 movements:

Sonata VII[782]	a minor	Preludio Largo	Allegro	Adagio	Tempo di Gavotta
Sonata VIII	D major	Preludio Largo e cantabile	Allemanda Allegro	Largo	Giga Vivace
Sonata IX	C major	Largo	Allemanda	Ciciliana	Tempo di minuetto
Sonata X	d minor	Largo	Allegro	Largo	Giga Vivace
Sonata XI	F major	Preludio Largo	Allemanda Allegro	Sarabanda Largo	Minuetto Primo/Secondo Piani
Sonata XII	A major	Preludio Adagio	Allemanda	Largo	Vivace

Table 23 Sonatas opus 4b by Willem de Fesch.

[777] This copy is held at the Nederlands Muziek Instituut, inv. no. NMI 27 A 52.
[778] This copy is held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, inv. no. VM7-6312.
[779] Original: "[…], dat Sommige baatzugtige menschen, naar zyn aangewende vleyt en onkosten, […], deze Nieuwe Musieck Werken in 't Geheel of ten Deele na te drucken, te doen nadrucken, of elders naagedruckt, in de Provintie van Holland ende West-Vriesland, […]; niet alleen tot Zyne groote verongelyckinge en schade, maar Zelfs tot bederf zyner gemelde werken: […]."
[780] Anonymous (1740), p. 2919. Lambooij & Feves (1999), p. 141 and Tusler (2005), p. 34 mention 1738 as year of publication. I do not know what is the basis of their statements. Since the Le Clerc publication was advertised as "new print" in 1740, it is very plausible that this edition was in fact published during that year and not in 1738.
[781] A copy of this edition is held by the Bibliothèque nationale de France, inv. no. VM7-6351. See Table 21 for the illogical way Le Clerc gave partly new opus numbers to his editions of the de Fesch sonatas.
[782] The counting of the cello sonatas starts at sonata VII, the first 6 sonatas are the sonatas for violin.

Both parts make use of the f and tenor clef. These sonatas do technically not differ much from the opus 1b sonatas. In general the first cello plays higher than the second cello.
As stated at the beginning of this Sub section, the opus 4 sonatas are composed as proper duets. Also the second cello part often has the leading voice, whereas in the opus 1 sonatas this part was a real accompaniment (see Figure 297). The bottom part, however, acts more often as an accompaniment than the top part.

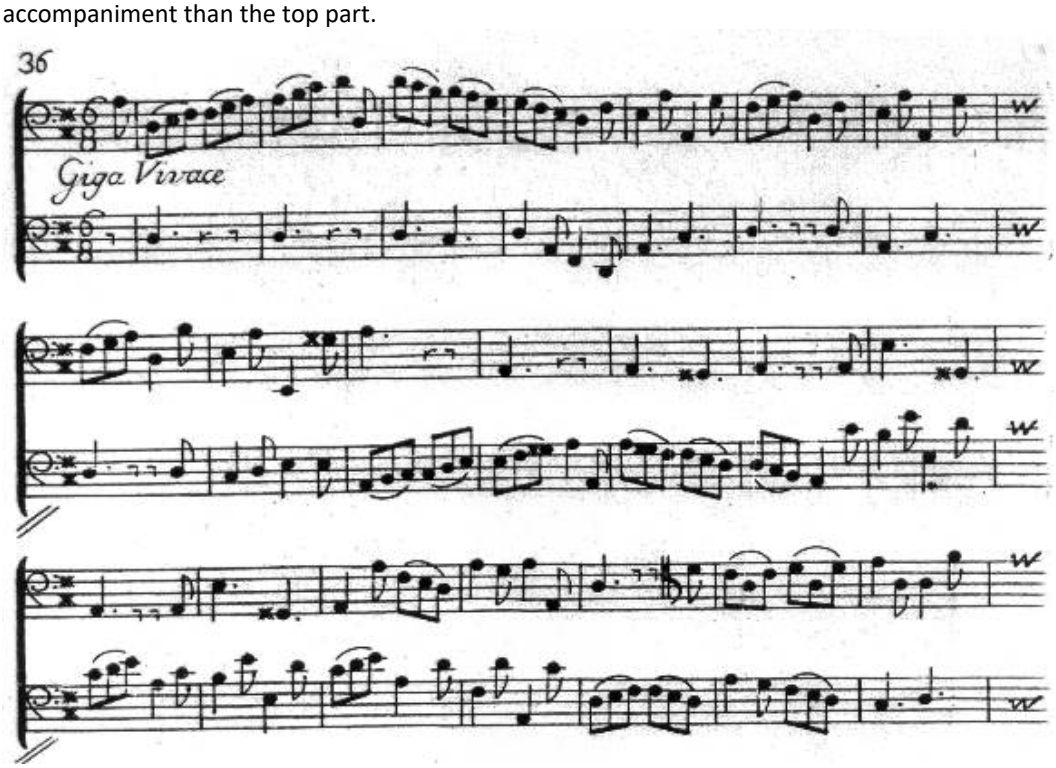

Figure 297 Sonata VIII: Giga Vivace. Notice the alternation between accompaniment and leading voice.

4.2.2.3 Sonatas opus 8b (London 1733)

Of the opus 8b sonatas four editions were published in quick succession by four different publishers. The title page of the 1733 Benjamin Cooke edition[783] reads as follows:

XII SONATAS
Six for a *VIOLIN*, with a
THOROUGH BASS
Several of them are proper for ye GERMAN FLUTE
and Six for two *Violoncellos*
Dedicated to the Right Honble
THE LORD TEYNHAM
COMPOS'D by WILLIAM de FESCH
Opera Ottava

On the list of subscribers is a certain Mr Wm Hogarth. Could this be William Hogarth the artist?

The title page of the 1736 John Johnson edition[784] reads as follows (in this edition only the six sonatas for cello are published):

[783] The copy consulted for this dissertation is held by the Library of the Royal Conservatory in Brussels, inv. no. 26 403.
[784] The copy consulted for this dissertation is held by the Bibliothèque nationale de France, inv. no. A-33702.

Six
SONATAS
For a
VIOLONCELLO
with a *THOROUGH BASS* for the
HARPSICHORD,
Composed by
William Defesch
Opera Ottava

The Amsterdam publisher Gerhard Witvogel published these sonatas as no. 57 around 1737: "Willem de Fesch Opera octava Libro Secondo 6 Sonate a Violoncello Solo con Basso Continuo".[785] This edition, however, is currently classified as lost.

The title page of the 1738 Le Clerc edition (as opus 2)[786] reads as follows:

VI
SONATES
A
DEUX VIOLONCELLES
BASSONS
OU VIOLLES.
Composées
PAR M^r. DE FESCH
SECOND OEUVRE

Almost each edition was intended for a different combination of instruments, although published in such a short period of time (to increase sales?). The instrumentation on the Le Clerc edition of opus 8 follows that of the opus 4 sonatas (and the opus 1 sonatas, although they were published later), which were also published for 2 cellos, bassoons or viols.
Most sonatas consist of three movements:

Sonata VII (I)[787]	D major	Largo	Allegro	Minuetto I & II	
Sonata VIII (II)	B flat major	Largo	Allegro	Vivace	
Sonata IX (III)	d minor	Ceciliana[788]	Allemanda	Arietta, Larghetto e Piano	Minuetto I & II
Sonata X (IV)	C major	Largo	Vivace	Minuetto	
Sonata XI (V)	g minor	Largo[789]	Alla breve	Minuetto I & II	
Sonata XII (VI)	G major	Largo	Vivace	Minuetto	

Table 24 Sonatas opus 8b by Willem de Fesch.

The first edition of these sonatas was published as duets for 2 cellos. Whereas in the opus 4 sonatas both cellos have more or less similar parts (which is to be expected with duets), in the opus 8 sonatas there is a clear distinction between the upper and the lower part. In these sonatas the first cello clearly has the solo part and the second cello plays an accompaniment (as was the

[785] Dunning (1966), p. 48.
[786] The copy consulted for this dissertation is held by the Bibliothèque nationale de France, inv. no. VM7-6350.
[787] The counting of the cello sonatas in the 1733 edition starts at Sonata VII, the first 6 sonatas are the violin sonatas. The numbers in parentheses are taken from the 1736 and 1738 editions.
[788] 'Siciliano' in 1736 edition.
[789] In 1736 edition without tempo indication.

case in the opus 1 sonatas). To this first edition no figured bass is added, except in the two Minuettos of Sonata I. Why? We do not know.
The 1736 Johnson edition is set up for cello and harpsichord. To the bass line figured bass has been added. The 1738 Le Clerc edition shows a similar lay-out as the Cooke edition, including the figured bass in the two Minuettos of Sonata I.
The technical level of all the De Fesch sonatas is more or less the same.
The top voice alternates between bass and tenor clef, whereas the bottom voice only uses bass clef. The ambitus of the solo part is C-a'.
A short extract is reproduced in Figure 298.

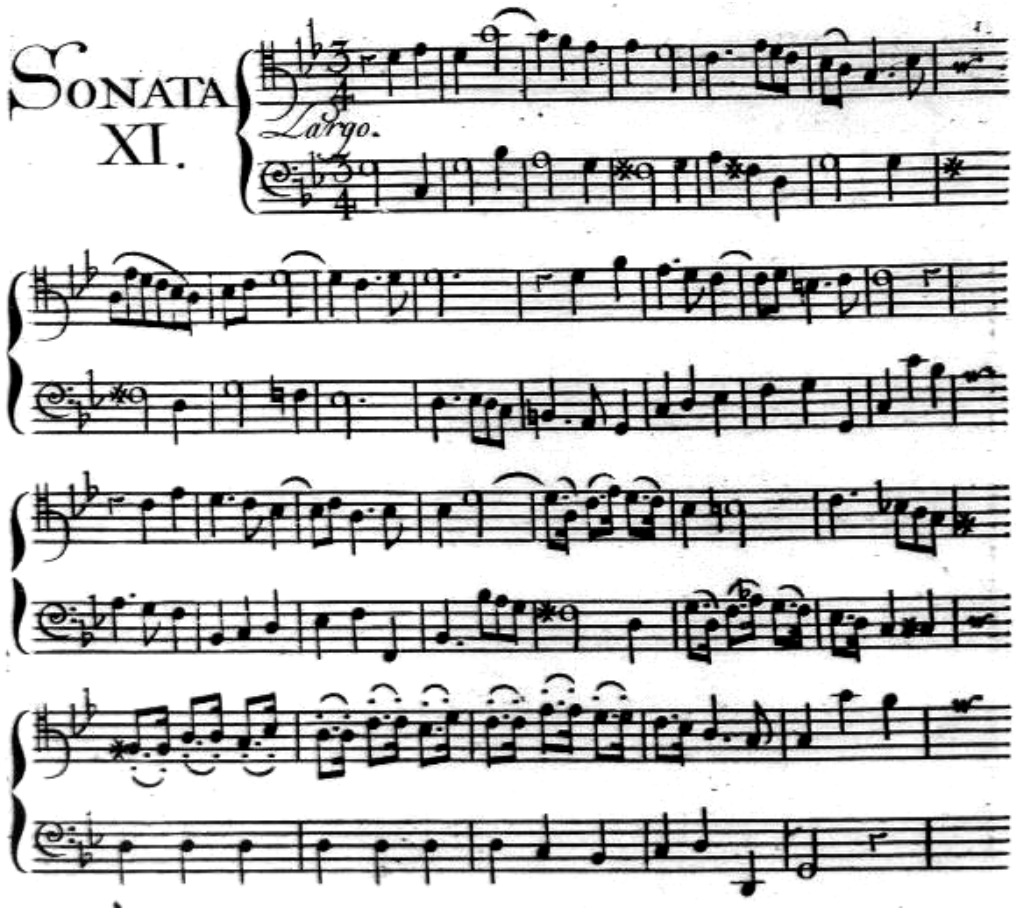

Figure 298 Sonata V/XI: Largo (Benjamin Cooke edition, 1733). Notice the bowstrokes in line four: two notes in one bowstroke, but they should not be slurred, hence the dots.

4.2.2.4 Sonatas opus 13 (ca. 1750)

The exact date of publication[790] of the opus 13 sonatas is under debate. The British Library dates them 1740 with a question mark. Grove Music Online dates these sonatas around 1757.[791] Musicologists Smith and Humphries state that a first edition was issued in 1750, without imprint. A second edition ("London. Printed for I. Walsh, &c.") was made of the same plates by John Walsh in 1757.[792] In Selhof's catalogue of 1759 they are listed as no. 445: "*Gugl. de Fesch*, VI Sonatas for a Violoncello Solo, with a thorough Bass for the Harpsichord, opera XIII."[793] I am inclined to follow Smith and Humphries.
The title page of this collection of sonatas reads:

[790] The copy consulted for this dissertation is held by the Library of the Royal Conservatory Brussels, inv. no. 27 187.
[791] www.grovemusiconline.com last accessed 2017, March 26.
[792] Smith & Humphries (1968), p. 120.
[793] Selhof (1759), p. 112.

VI SONATAS,
FOR A
VIOLONCELLO SOLO,
with a Thorough Bass for the
HARPSICHORD.
Dedicated to His Grace Peregrine
Duke of Ancaster, and Kesteven.
Hereditary Lord great Chamberlain of England &c.&c.&c.
BY
William Defesch.
OPERA XIII

No publisher is mentioned anywhere in the first edition. Did de Fesch publish it himself, as he did with the opus 4 sonatas? Or was Walsh also the publisher of the first edition (without mentioning his name)?
Most sonatas have three movements, only the first has 4 (see Table 25). As in the opus 8 sonatas, most of these sonatas have a minuet as last movement.

Sonata I	D major	Siciliana	Allemanda	Gavotta	Minuetto
Sonata II	C major	Larghetto	Alla Breve	Minuetto	
Sonata III	A major	Siciliana	Allemanda	Menuetto [sic]	
Sonata IV	d minor	Largo	Allemanda Allegro	Minuetto I.^{mo}/2.do	
Sonata V	D major	Siciliana Andante	Allemanda Comodo	Minuetto I.^{mo}/2.do	
Sonata VI	a minor	Larghetto	Alla Breve	Giga Allegro	

Table 25 Sonatas opus 13 by Willem de Fesch.

The ambitus of these sonatas is the same as the others by de Fesch: C-b' (this b' is only used a couple of times in Sonata III to play a trill on the a'). Since opus 1, however, the technical possibilities of cellists have improved which is shown in Figs. 299 & 300: many fast notes, double stops and quick position shifts.

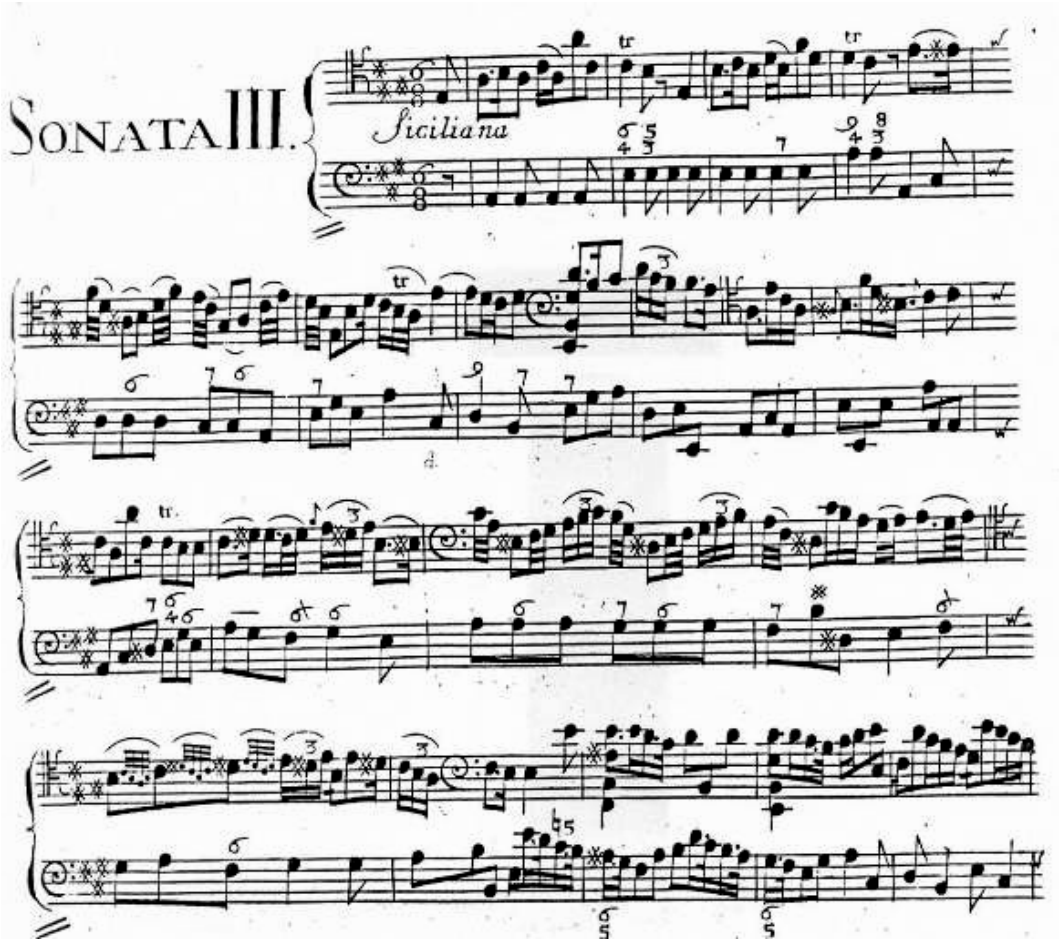

Figure 299 Sonata III: Siciliana. Some difficult spots: second line, first bar; third line, third bar and fourth line, first bar.

At several spots de Fesch changed the normal pattern of the minuet. The most beautiful and best example of this is reproduced in Figure 300. See the very special form he choose: AABBACA DDEEA.

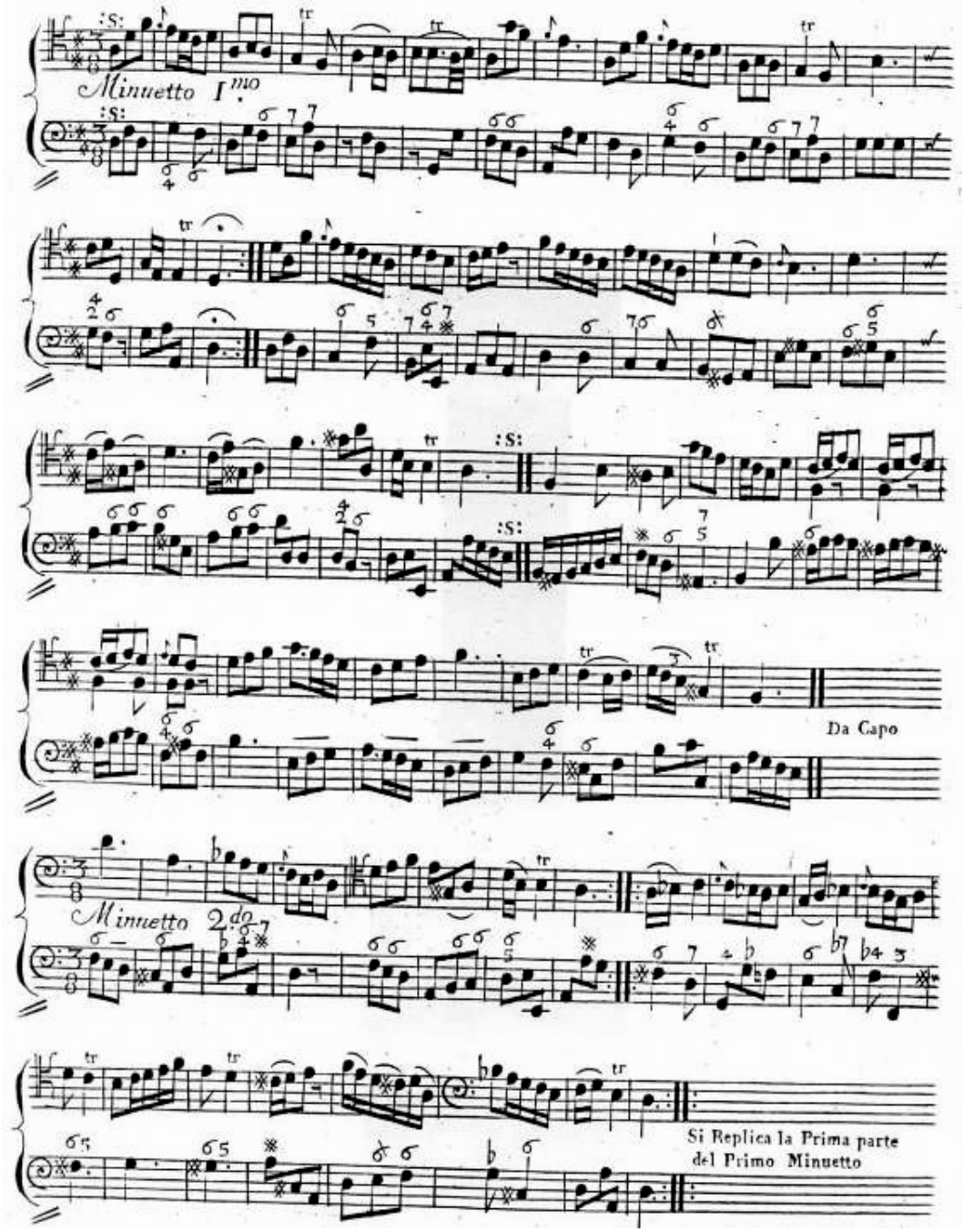

Figure 300 Sonata V: Minuetto I and II. Note the da capo at the end of the first minuet.

4.2.3 Jacob Herman Klein jr (1688-1748)

Jacob Herman Klein was born in Amsterdam, where he lived all his life. Only a few details about his personal life are known.[794] Klein calls himself "Amatore della musica" or "Amateur de musique" on the title pages of his sonatas. Rudolf Rasch states that Klein was also a dancer, as was his father, but today he is better known as a composer.[795] Most of Klein's compositions are written for cello, quite possibly he was a cellist himself. As will be shown, the music is well written for the instrument.

[794] For more info, see: www.frankwakelkamp.com/nl/artikel_JHKlein_2_Leven_Werk.html, last accessed 2017, March 26.
[795] Rasch (2015), p. 42.

4.2.3.1 Sonatas opus 1, book 3 (Amsterdam 1716-1717)

Klein's opus 1 sonatas are among the very first sonatas for solo cello written in the Low Countries. Also for these sonatas, as for some of the de Fesch sonatas, there is some confusion about the exact year of publication. Oxford Music Online dates these sonatas at 1717.[796] The Bibliothèque nationale de France dates them ca. 1716.[797] The first Roger/Le Cène catalogue which lists them is dated 1725. In this catalogue the sonatas are listed as: "425 Jacobi Klein, Junior libro terzo del opera prima, VI. Sonates à une Basse de Violon & Basse continue."[798]
The title page reads as follows:

VI SONATES
A une Basse de Violon & Basse Continue
DEDIÉES A MESSIEURS
NICOLAAS NOPPEN, JACOB HOUTMAN & JEAN DE WOLF
PAR
JACOB KLEIN LE JEUNE, AMATEUR DE MUSIQUE
PREMIER OUVRAGE LIVRE TROISIEME[799]
A AMSTERDAM
CHEZ JEANNE ROGER

The title page shows that these sonatas are in fact meant for basse de violon. Did Jeanne Roger (the daugther of Estienne Roger) really have the basse de violon in mind?
Baroque cellist Frank Wakelkamp suggests that, because Jeanne Roger was very much focussed on the French market, these sonatas were published for basse de violon (the instrument much in use in France in that time), but that in fact the cello was the intended instrument.
These sonatas are amongst the few for 18th-century scordatura cello (Italian: *scordare* = to detune). The normal tuning for the cello, as we know, was CGda; the tuning of the basse de violon, normally, is a whole tone lower: B♭Fcg; although the instrument needed for these pieces should be tuned DAeb (see Figure 301), two whole tones higher than the basse de violon and one tone higher than the cello.

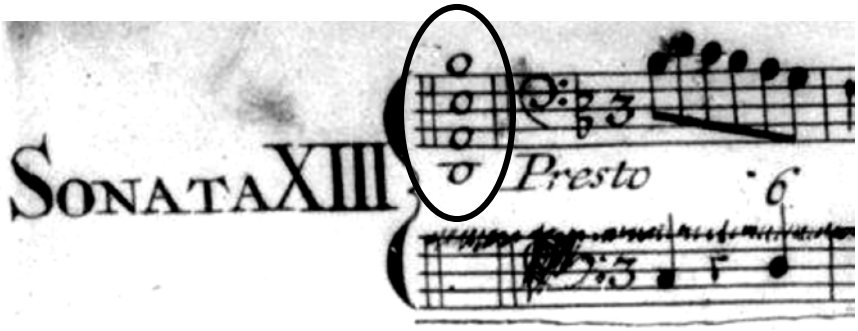

Figure 301 The tuning of the cello in Jacob Klein's opus 1 sonatas.

That is why Wakelkamp states that the difference in string tension between the French basse de violon (in B♭) and the intended tuning (two whole tones higher) is too much for the strings to handle, and that rather a normal cello is meant.[800]

[796] www.oxfordmusiconline.com last accessed 2017, April 14.
[797] The copy consulted for this dissertation is held by the Bibliothèque nationale de France, inv. no. IFN-9057235.
[798] Le Cène (1725), p. 68.
[799] Klein's opus 1 consisted of three books of 6 sonatas each, the first 12 sonatas for either oboe or violin and basso continuo, the last 6 for basse de violon and basso continuo. As to the exact instrumentation of the first 12 sonatas Walther ((1732), p. 342) and Le Cène ((1725), pp. 38 & 46) do not agree completely. Until now the first 12 sonatas are lost. Opus 1 book 3 (not to be confused with opus 3!) is the only part which survived the test of time.
[800] www.frankwakelkamp.com/nl/artikel_JHKlein_2_Leven_Werk.html last accessed: 2017, March 26.

As I have shown in Chapter 1, in the Low Countries the name basse de violon was translated into violoncello.
The most conclusive evidence, however, that the cello was in fact the intended instrument comes from the music itself. The solo part is notated in grip notation (to make playing easier).[801] Therefore the solo cello and the basso continuo have different accidentals. If the basse de violon tuning was the frame of mind, different notes would have been written down in the solo part than is in fact the case (see Table 26 and Figs. 302-304).

	Open string	Ascending by half tones					
Grip notation on Basse de violon	g	a flat	a	b flat	b	c'	d flat'
Grip notation on Cello	a	b flat	b	c'	c sharp'	d'	e flat'
The actual sound and the tuning of Klein's top string	b	c'	c sharp'	d'	d sharp'	e'	f'

Table 26 The actual sound on Klein's basse de violon and the grip notation on cello (tuned CGda) and basse de violon (tuned B♭Fcg).

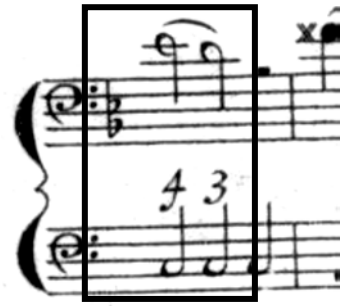

Figure 302 Sonata XIII: Largo. Solo cello in grip notation, basso continuo in sound notation. Different accidentals in solo part and basso continuo.

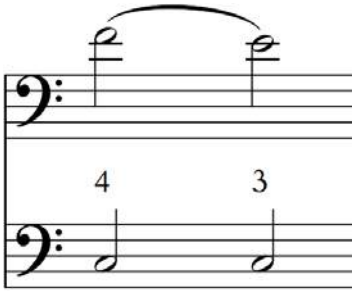

Figure 303 Given the figured bass, Figure 302 should sound as shown above.

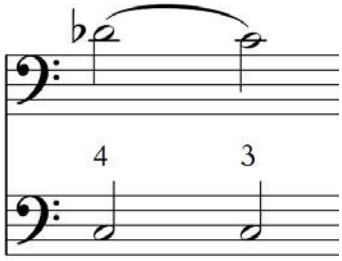

Figure 304 If the basse de violon was the intended instrument (tuned two whole tones lower than Klein's instrument), the notes above would have been written down.

In short: the pitch should be f'-e'. To achieve this, a cellist knows where those notes are to be found on the fingerboard. The instrument in these sonatas, however, is tuned one tone higher, and therefore one should place the fingers one tone lower on the string to achieve the same sound (and not two tones higher and lower as would be the case on the basse de violon). The music is notated in grip notation, so the notes needed to be notated a whole tone lower: this proves that this is notation for cello music.

What could have been the reason to compose music for this tuning (or at least notate it in this way)?
As said before, Klein's sonatas are amongst the first cello sonatas composed in the Low Countries. In the early 18th century the cello technique had not yet been very much developed. Notes above fourth position were not used much or even not at all. If the music requires higher notes, and the technique to reach those had not yet been developed, a good solution would be to tune the instrument differently, in this case DAeb. In Klein's sonatas the highest note is generally the octave above the open string (b'). A higher note occurs only twice.[802] As will be

[801] Klein's sonatas are not the only music notated in grip notation. Bach's cello suite no. 5 (for scordatura cello with tuning: CGdg) is notated in the same way, as well as for example Biber's scordatura violin sonatas.
[802] In Sonata XVII: Vivace: a minor ninth above the top open string is needed; this requires fifth or sixth position; in Sonata XVIII: the first Allegro: a major ninth above the open second string is required. If a fourth finger is used for this note, this could be played in fifth position, with the third finger this note is played in sixth position.

shown in Sub sections 4.2.3.3 and 4.2.3.4 the opus 3 and opus 4 sonatas require much higher notes than the sonatas discussed in this Sub section. However, when comparing these sonatas with the sonatas Willem de Fesch composed around the same time, Klein's sonatas have a definitely more adventurous ambitus.
The scordatura required in these sonatas will also result in a different resonance of the instrument.

Most sonatas have four movements:

Sonata XIII[803]	C major	Presto, Adagio	Allegro	Largo	Allegro	
Sonata XIV	D major	Largo	Adagio, Poco Allegro	Allegro	Adagio	Allegro
Sonata XV	E major	Adagio	Allegro	Adagio	Allegro	
Sonata XVI	f sharp minor	Adagio	Allegro	Largo	Allegro	
Sonata XVII	a minor	Allegro, Adagio	Andante	Adagio	Vivace	
Sonata XVIII	b minor	Adagio, Vivace, Presto, Adagio	Allegro	Largo	Allegro	

Table 27 Sonatas opus 1, book 3 by Jacob Herman Klein.

Klein makes frequent use of double stops and chords, specially in slow movements. Several chords in Figs. 305 & 307 would not be possible or very difficult in normal cello tuning. The scordatura tuning enables different chords.

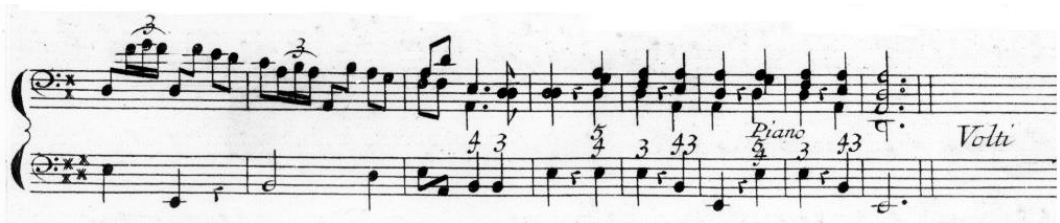

Figure 305 Sonata XV: second Adagio in original (grip) notation.

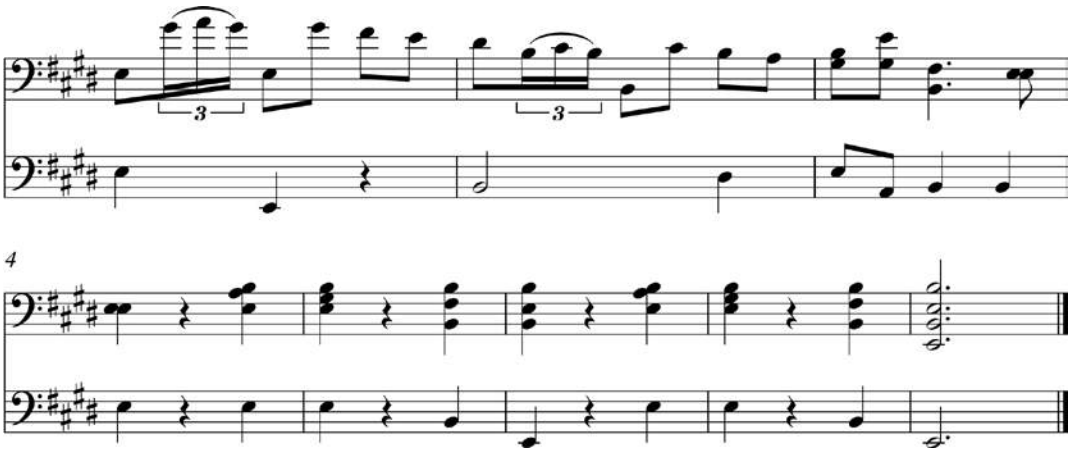

Figure 306 Figure 305 in sound notation.

[803] Because of the 12 sonatas preceding the basse de violon sonatas, the numbering of these sonatas starts at number 13.

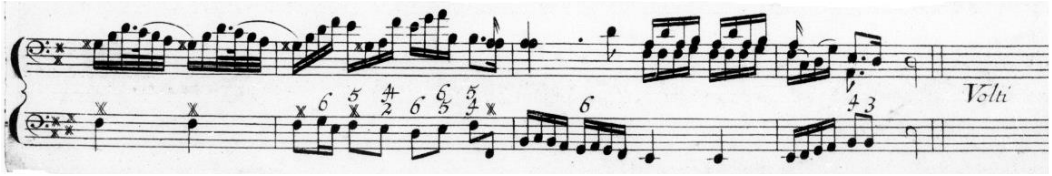

Figure 307 Sonata XV: first Adagio in original (grip) notation.

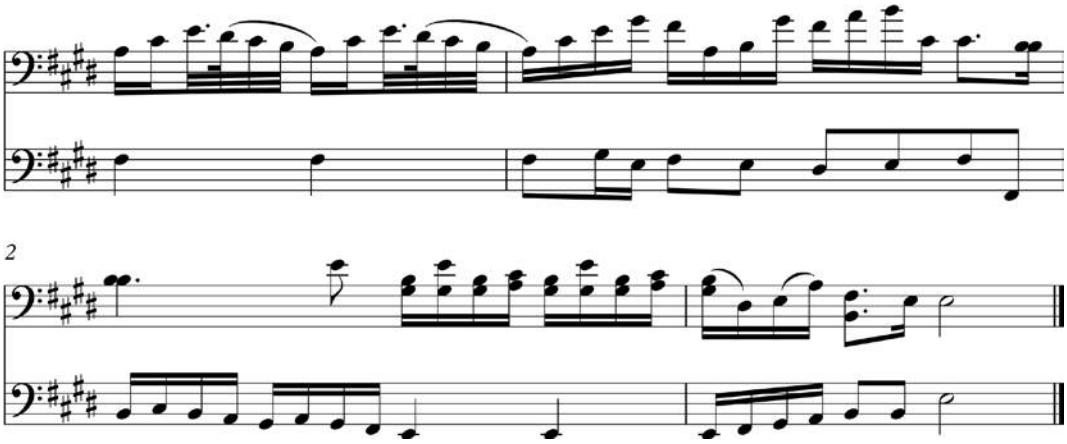

Figure 308 Figure 306 in sound notation.

4.2.3.2 Duets opus 2 (Amsterdam 1717-1719)

As opposed to many of the de Fesch sonatas, which are in fact duets but are called sonatas (see Section 4.2.2), Klein's opus 2 consists of duets and they are also called as such on the title page, which reads:

VI DUETTI
a due Violoncelli
Preludii, Allemande, Correnti, Gighe, Sarabande,
Gavotte, Minuetti, Fuga, e Ciacconne.
DEDICATI AL SIGNOR
MATTEO DUBROCQ
Grand Amatore della Musica
da
GIACOMO KLEIN IL GIOVANE
Amatore della Musica
OPERA SECONDA
in Amsterdam
APPO MICHELE CARLO LE CENE
Libraro[804]

In the 1725 Roger catalogue, however, they are listed as: "449. Jacobi Klein, Junior opera seconda VI Sonate a due Violoncelli.".[805] And in the music they are also called 'Sonate'.
Willem Noske[806] wrongly states that apart from two canons by the Italian composers Domenico Gabrielli and Angelo Maria Fiorè, this is the first music written for two cellos. I would definitely claim that De Fesch' opus 1b and opus 4b sonatas (composed around the same time) have to be added to this list (see Sub sections 4.2.2.1 and 4.2.2.2).

[804] The copy consulted for this dissertation is held by the Nederlands Muziek Instituut, inv. no. NMI 28 B 26 [-27]. This copy is not complete (title page and pp. 1-4 are missing). It has been complemented with a few pages from the copy held by the library of Count Schönborn in Wiesentheid, classification mark 71.
[805] Le Cène (1725), p. 68. Underscore: ET.
[806] Noske (1987), p. 82.

Klein's duets are constructed as suites, starting off with a Prelude, followed by several dance movements:

Sonata I	d minor	Preludio Allegro	Corrente Poco Allegro	Giga Allegro	Sarabanda Largo	Minuetto Vivace	
Sonata II	C major	Preludio Allegro	Allemanda Andante	Tempo di Minuetto Poco Presto	Sarabanda Adagio	Giga Allegro	
Sonata III	e minor	Preludio Allegro	Corrente Allegro	Sarabanda Adagio	Gavotta Presto	Giga Allegro	
Sonata IV	D major	Preludio Allegro	Allemanda Andante	Fuga Allegro	Sarabanda Adagio	Giga Allegro	Gavotta Allegro
Sonata V	A major	Preludio Allegro	Corrente Vivace	Tempo di Gavotta Poco Presto	Sarabanda Largo	Giga Allegro	
Sonata VI	G major	Preludio Allegro	Gavotta Vivace	Ciacconna poco Allegro	Gavotta Presto	Minuetto Allegro	Giga Allegro

Table 28 Duets opus 2 by Jacob Klein.

The first five are for an instrument with a normal tuning, the last one is meant for two scordatura cellos: CGdg.
These pieces have been published by the same firm as the opus 1 sonatas, but the instrument they have been composed for (or at least the instrument they have been published for) has been changed on the title page from basse de violon to violoncello. Concerning the date of publication, also for this opus number slightly different dates have been proposed.[807]
The ambitus of the music is C-a', very normal for cello music composed at that time. In sonata IV, one can find an example of diatonic fingerings (see Figure 309), which are physically not very pleasant for a smaller hand.[808] To make it easier to play for all cellists, these fingerings could be easily re-arranged, making use of thumb position.

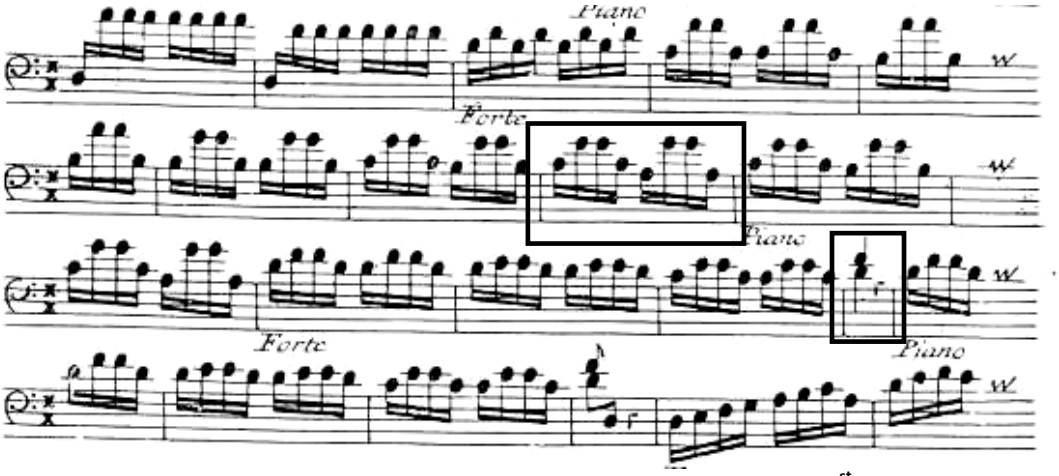

Figure 309 Sonata IV: Preludio, first cello. Diatonic fingering would be: 43341331 (1st rectangle) and 24 (2nd rectangle). When re-arranged with thumb position it will be: 32230330 (0 being the thumb) and 13.

[807] Rasch in Oxford Music Online states 1719. Last accessed: 2010, September 23. Darmstadt (1998) states around 1717. Noske (1987) states 1717-1718?.
[808] Modern fingerings start from the principle that there can be a whole tone only between the first and second finger, and sometimes between the second and third finger (specially in higher positions). When applying diatonic fingerings, there can also be a whole tone between the third and fourth finger, thus making an interval of a fourth between the first and fourth finger. Employing these fingerings is very tiring, and can cause injuries to the hand and the tendons in the arm.

Also in Sonata IV a special bowing is asked for (see Figure 310). Twelve notes in one bowing, with daggers on each note. Nowadays one would call this flying staccato.

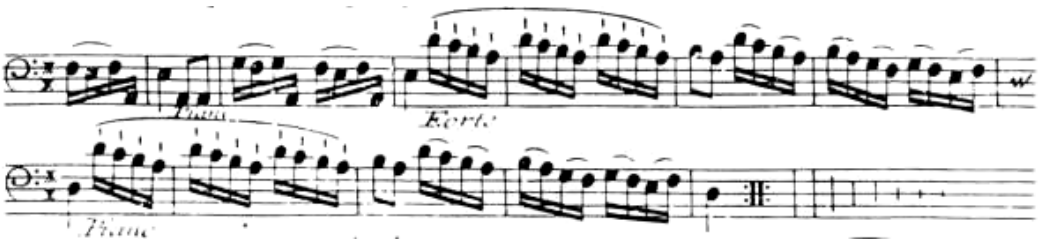

Figure 310 Sonata IV: Gavotta, first cello.

In Sonata VI, the scordatura sonata, pizzicato is asked for in 4 out of 6 movements (see Figure 311). Only open strings are played pizzicato, which is an indication that left hand pizzicato is meant.

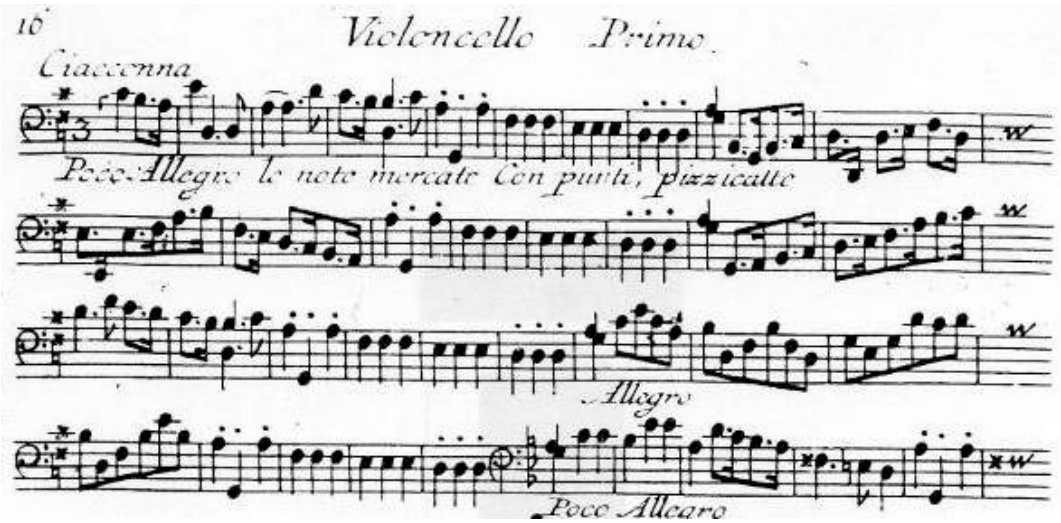

Figure 311 Sonata VI: Ciacconna, first cello. The instruction says: "le note mercate Con punti, pizzicatte" (the notes marked with dots, pizzicato). Also note the changing accidentals, indicating that this sonata is notated in grip notation.

The scordatura sonata is notated in grip notation (see Figure 311), which makes playing the sonata easier than if it would have been notated in sound notation.

4.2.3.3 Sonatas Opus 3 (Amsterdam ca. 1740 (lost), Paris 1749)

Klein's opus 3 sonatas have long been considered lost.[809] The only information about these sonatas was found in catalogues of booksellers and auctions. The earliest mention of this music I have been able to find is in the 1744 catalogue of music books sold by Jean de la Coste in Amsterdam.[810] In this catalogue Klein's opus 3 sonatas are listed as "591 VI. Sonate à Violoncello solo, e Basso contin. composta da Giacomo Klein, Opera Terza".[811] They must have been published around 1740, since Anton Wilhelm Solniz' *VI Sonate à deux Flutes Traversiere sans Basse* (no 588) are first advertised in 1738,[812] and Giovanni Battista Martini's *XII Sonate d'Intavolatura per l'Organo e 'l Cimbalo* (no. 592) are dated 1742.[813]

[809] In Oxford Music Online they are still listed as such (last accessed 2017, April 13).
[810] Jean de la Coste took over Roger's and Le Cène's firm in 1743 and sold their books until 1746, when De la Coste discontinued his own firm. In 1744 he published a catalogue of all the music printed by Roger and Le Cène, which he was selling.
[811] De la Coste (1744), p. 47.
[812] Anonymous (1738, December 3). *Leydse Courant*, p. 2.
[813] Oxford Music Online, last accessed: 2017, September 21.

After the death of Gerhard Fredrik Witvogel, the publisher of Klein's opus 4 sonatas, an inventory was made of his possessions. In this inventory Klein's opus 3 sonatas are also mentioned: "H. Klijn, solos voor de vioncello [sic] op terza."[814]
In the 1759 catalogue of books sold at the Selhof auction in The Hague the sonatas are listed as number 446: "Giac. Herman Klein, VI Sonate a Violoncello Solo e Basso Continuo, opera terza".[815]
According to a catalogue of books owned by Pietro Locatelli this opus number contained "zes Soloos voor de Bas".[816] Most of these entries in catalogues make it very clear that the opus 3 sonatas were intended for cello, as were Klein's opus 1 & opus 2.
In 2011, out of the blue, Wakelkamp received photos of an original of the opus 3 sonatas, an original which had been auctioned on Ebay in 2009.[817] Wakelkamp has published a modern edition[818] and recorded a cd in 2014, which makes the music now available to everyone.
The copy sold at the before-mentioned auction was a copy of the Le Clerc-edition published in Paris around 1749.
The title page of this edition reads as follows:

SEI
SONATE
a
VIOLONCELLO e BASSO
CONTINUO
Composte
DA
GIACOMO HERMAN KLEYN
Amatore della Musica
OPERA TERZA.

Most sonatas consist of 4 movements:

Sonata I	G major	Adagio	Allegro	Adagio	Allegro	
Sonata II	d minor	Moderato	Andante	Allegro	Menuetto I & II	
Sonata III	D major	Preludio Allegro	Largo Cantabile	Andante	Adagio	Presto
Sonata IV	A major	Adagio	Allegretto	Andante	Allegro	
Sonata V	F major	Largo Allegro Adagio	Allegro ma poco	Adagio Allegretto Adagio Allegretto Adagio	Allegro	
Sonata VI	C major	Allegro	Andante	Spiritoso	Minuetto I & II	

Table 29 Sonatas opus 3 by Jacob Klein

[814] Scheurleer (1914), p. 249.
[815] Anonymous (1759), p. 112.
[816] Anonymous (1765), p. 43. Original: "6 Solos for the Bass".
[817] The photos were kindly provided to Wakelkamp by the Alfred Richter Cello Library (Switzerland). Wakelkamp also kindly provided me with these photos in order to conduct my research. The current whereabouts of the original publication is unknown.
[818] Wakelkamp has added fingerings and has replaced the alto clef with the treble clef which makes it easier to read for modern cellists.

There is a huge difference between the opus 1 and opus 2 sonatas/duets and the sonatas discussed in this Sub section. Whereas the earlier opus numbers do not go above a', these sonatas go much higher (highest note: e''). For these higher notes the thumb position needs to be applied frequently, in the first couple of sonatas less than in the later ones. The higher notes and also the way the music is composed sometimes asks for complicated fingerings in higher positions (Figure 312).

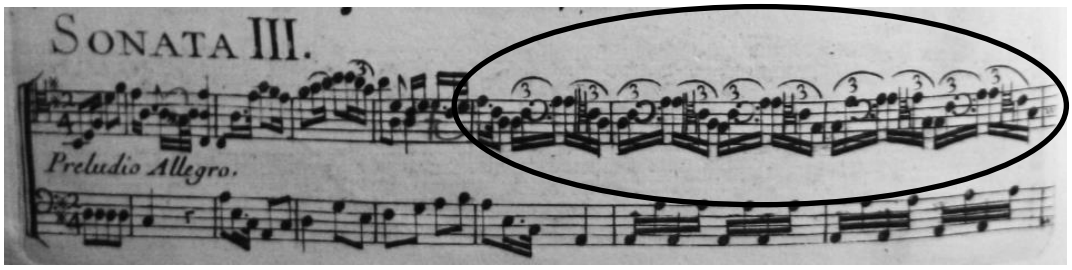

Figure 312 Sonata III: Preludio Allegro. Higher positions with notes over three strings.

Apart from the bass and tenor clef, use is also made of the alto clef in the higher passages. Also rythmically and bowing wise (Figure 313) these sonatas are far more advanced than the earlier ones.

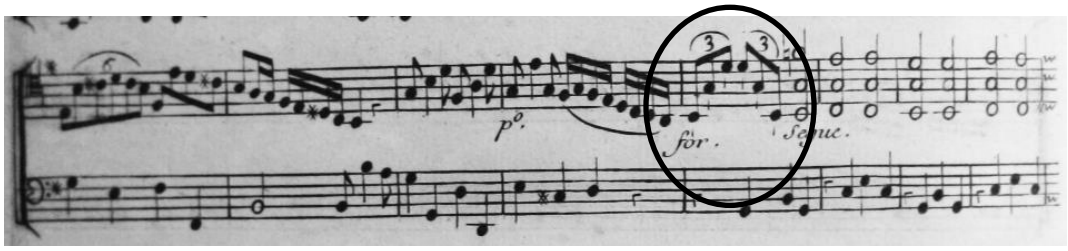

Figure 313 Sonata I: Allegro. Difficult bowing: slurred 'keilen' in down and up bow. This bowing is more advanced than the same kind of bowing technique (but only in an up bow) shown in opus 2 (see Figure 310).

There is an interesting resemblance between the theme of the Allegro of Sonata II (Figure 314) and the theme of the Giga Allegro of the de Fesch Sonata VI opus 13 (Figure 315). The intervals and rhythm are very similar, although the sonatas are composed in different keys. Did de Fesch know Klein's sonatas and did he re-use his theme?

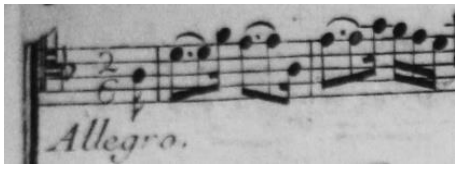

Figure 314 Sonata II: Allegro

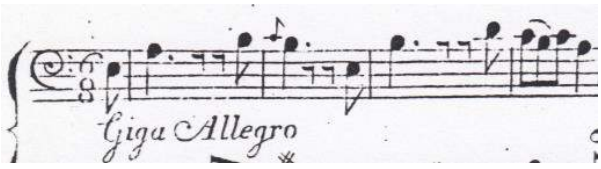

Figure 315 De Fesch Sonata VI, opus 13: Giga Allegro.

It is striking that there is so much difference in technique between the de Fesch opus 8b sonatas and Klein's opus 3 sonatas, because they were composed only a few years apart. And even Magito, though a cellist himself (see Sub section 4.2.6.4), still did not often make use of high positions even some 20 years later. Wakelkamp thinks that Klein suddenly showed so much progress thanks to the arrival of Pietro Locatelli in Amsterdam in 1729.[819] By that time de Fesch did not live in Amsterdam anymore, he had left for Antwerp in 1725 and moved to London a few years later. Also, he was a violinist, and it is therefore possible that he did not pick up the latest developments on the cello. Whether Magito has been in contact with Locatelli, I do not know.
There must, however, be more to it, for it is highly unlikely that Locatelli, a violin player, is the sole musician who showed Klein the way, although it is of course possible that Locatelli saw the technique in Italy before he arrived in the Low Countries, and told Klein about it. The cellist

[819] www.frankwakelkamp.com/nl/artikel_JHKlein_2_Leven_Werk.html, last accessed: 2017, April 17.

Valerie Walden states that the "tessitura of solo works for the violoncello suggests that use of the thumb became an established virtuoso technique during the 1730s."[820] It seems very likely that not only Locatelli but also and probalby mainly travelling (Italian) cellists brought along this new technique and also cello music published abroad. As stated in Sub chapter 4.2, Roger's publishing house not only published Dutch music, but also foreign music, including cello sonatas. These sonatas, composed by Antoniotti and Passionei, do not go higher than b', but they do offer quite virtuosic music, much more virtuosic than Klein's opus 1 and opus 2 sonatas. Salvatore Lanzetti's opus 1 cello sonatas were published in Amsterdam in 1736. The solo cello part in these sonatas ascends up to b'', an octave higher than the Antoniotti and Passionei sonatas. It is very plausible that a combination of all these aspects showed Klein the new technique and a new direction for cello playing. But surely Klein was, at least in the Low Countries, (one of) the first to apply this technique.

4.2.3.4 Sonatas Opus 4 (Amsterdam 1746)

The Amsterdam organist and music publisher Gerhard Fredrik Witvogel (1669-1746) published Klein's opus 4 sonatas as no. 82 in the year of Witvogel's death.[821]
The title page reads:

VI SONATE
A
VIOLONCELLO SOLO E BASSO CONTINUO
COMPOSTE DA
GIACOMO HERMAN KLEYN
Amatore della Musica
E DEDICATE
All Molto Illustre signore il signor
GIOUACHINO RENDORP
OPERA QUARTA

The sonatas consist of either 3 or 4 movements:

Sonata I	B flat major	Allegro	Poco Adagio	Poco Allegro	Allegro
Sonata II	A major	Adagio Cant.	Allegro	Adagio	Presto
Sonata III	G major	Allegro	Andante	Allegro	
Sonata IV	E major	Spiritoso	Largo	Allegro	
Sonata V	a minor	Poco Allegro	Adagio	Allegro	
Sonata VI	c minor	Allegro	Vivace	Adagio	Allegro

Table 30 Sonatas opus 4 by Jacob Klein

In 1746 around 30 years had passed since the publication of Klein's first opus number. As already had become clear in Klein's opus 3, the cello technique had changed tremendously since the first two opus numbers. Klein's opus 4 sonatas show an even greater extension of the ambitus. The higher positions are thoroughly explored. What makes these sonatas very special indeed are the approximately 1200 fingerings printed in the music. These early fingerings give a good view of the possibilities of the left hand around the middle of the 18th century. Just in case the fingerings alone would not be clear enough, Klein also added short lines above or under the notes, to indicate on which string the notes should be played.
It is interesting that Klein frequently asks for whole tone distances not only between the first and second finger, but also between two and three, and three and four.[822] When used too

[820] Walden (1998), p. 126.
[821] Dunning (1966), p. 52.
[822] These fingerings have not been invented by Klein. In other cello sonatas and methods they are also found, see for example Corrette (1741), p. 34.

intensively, these fingerings can be dangerous for the hand.[823] Most fingerings can quite easily be re-arranged to modern and more convenient fingerings.
A short example of this music:

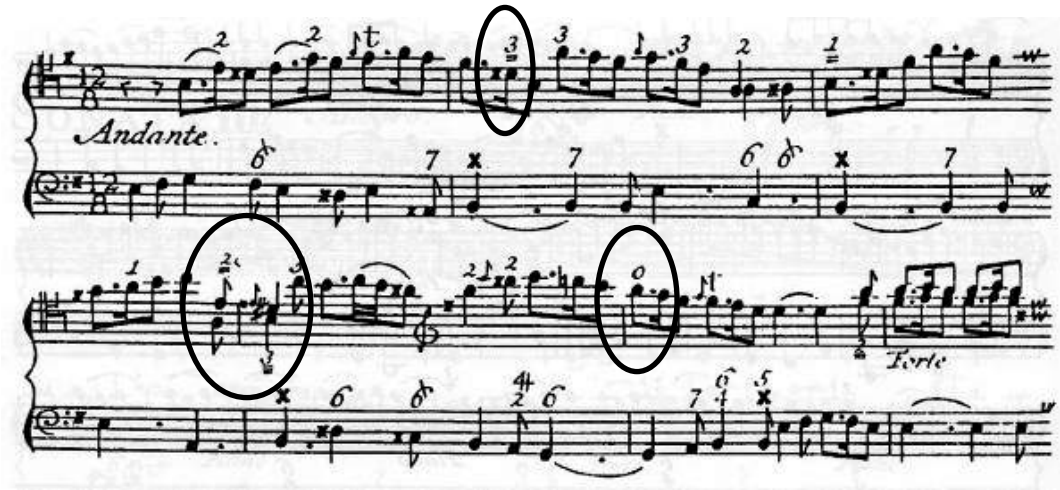

Figure 316 Sonata III: Andante. String indication lines (first circling), fingerings (whole tone between second and third finger: second circling), and thumb position in higher positions (third circling).

4.2.4 Unico Wilhelm van Wassenaer (1692-1766)

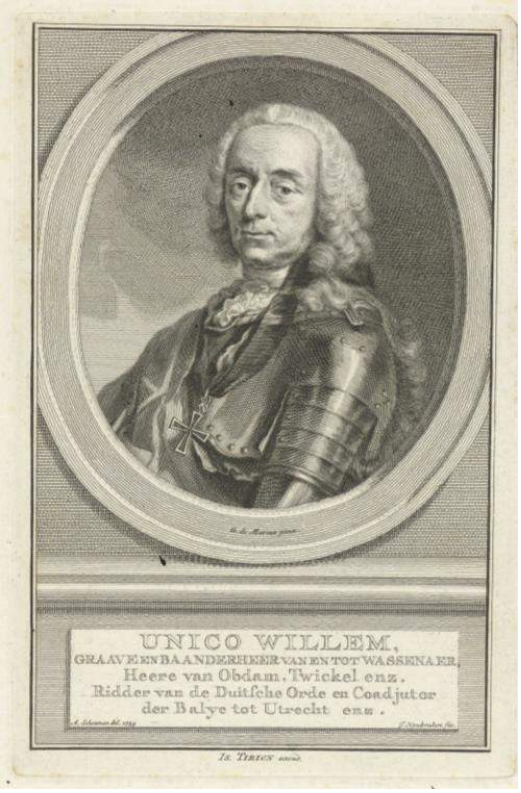

Figure 317 Jacob Houbraken: Unico Wilhelm van Wassenaer (engraving dated: 1749-1759).[824]

[823] Therefore Frank Wakelkamp thinks a warning is in place. For more information see the article on his cd recording of the opus 4 sonatas or on his website: www.frankwakelkamp.com. I totally agree with him about the warning!
[824] Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-48.364.

The *Concerti Armonici* composed by Count Unico Wilhelm van Wassenaer were published by Carlo Ricciotti in Den Haag in 1740. Magito was the engraver and quite possibly also the printer of the music (see Sub section 4.2.6.3). The title page reads as follows:

VI. CONCERTI
ARMONICI
a
Quattro Violini obligati, Alto Viola,
Violoncello obligato e Basso continuo.
Dedicati
All' Illustrissimo Signore
IL SIGNORE CONTE
di BENTINCK
&c. &c. &c.
_____
Dal suo humilissimo Seruitore, C. Ricciotti,
detto Bacciccia, e stampati à sue spese,
alla Haye, in Hollanda.

On the title page no name of a composer is mentioned. This has caused a lot of confusion. The *Concerti* were wrongly attributed to Carlo Ricciotti and Giovanni Battista Pergolesi. Around 1979 Albert Dunning discovered the real composer of the *Concerti*: Unico van Wassenaer.
In the autograph, held in the library of Twickel Castle,[825] it is stated that it is the score of "my concerti" and that these concerti were composed at different times between 1725 and 1740.[826]
All concerti have four movements in the SFSF order:

Concerto I	G major	Grave	Allegro	Largo é Staccati	Allegro
Concerto II	B flat major	Largo Andante	Da Capella Presto	Largo. Affetuoso	Allegro. Moderato
Concerto III	A major	Grave Sostenuto	Da Capella Canone di Palestrina	Largo Andante	Vivace
Concerto IV	G major	Largo Piano	Da Capella Non Presto	Largo Affetuoso	Allegro
Concerto V	?	Adagio	Da Capella	á Tempo Commodo	á Tempo Guisto
Concerto VI	E flat major	Affettuoso	Presto	Largo	Vivace

Table 31 The *Concerti Armonici* by Unico van Wassenaer.

The concerti have two bass parts, one for violoncello obligato and one for basso continuo. The violoncello part is a real solo part, which differs from the basso continuo part in several ways. For some examples of this see Figs. 318-321.

[825] The castle of the van Wassenaer Family close to Delden in the province of Overijssel, in the east of Holland.
[826] Rasch and Vlaardingerbroek (1993), p. 44.

The cello plays alone while the basso continuo remains silent:

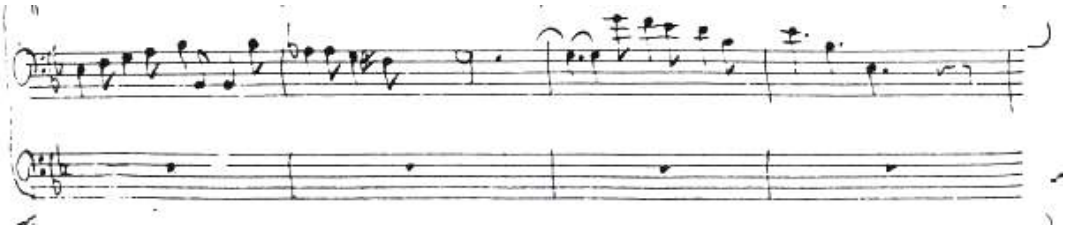

Figure 318 Concerto II: Largo Affetuoso.

The cello plays an octave higher than the basso continuo:

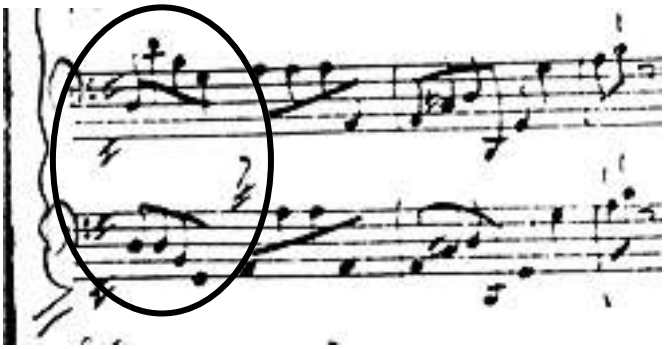

Figure 319 Concerto I: Allegro.

The cello fills in the chords of the basso continuo with imitative obligato:

Figure 320 Concerto I: second Allegro.

The cello plays a solo role, while the basso continuo just plays the simple bass line:

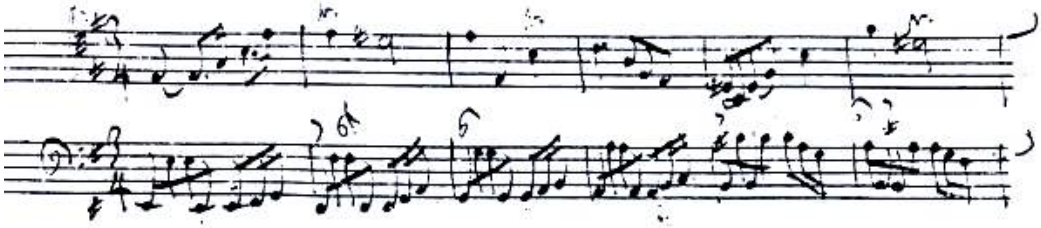

Figure 321 Concerto I: Grave é Staccato.[827]

[827] The name of this movement differs in the sources. In van Wassenaer's manuscript it was Grave e Staccato, but Grave has been taken out and was replaced by 'un poco andante', with the extra remark that "ce morceau est un peu trop long (this piece is a little bit too long)". In the first print by Magito all the part books have Grave é Staccato, except for the violoncello obligato part. In this part book the movement is called Largo é Staccato.

The ambitus of the violoncello part is C-a'. For a continuo part this would be quite large, but for a solo part it is fairly normal, especially if one compares the cello part of the *Concerti* with the sonatas by Willem de Fesch which were composed around the same time.
In Concerto V in the movement á Tempo Commodo the instruction 'Con Sordine' is given, an instruction quite rare in cello parts.

4.2.5 Joseph Hector Fiocco (1703-1741)

The composer, organist and harpsichordist Joseph Hector Fiocco was one of 15 children of the Italian composer Pietro Antonio Fiocco and was born in Brussels in 1703. In 1731 he succeeded Willem de Fesch as 'sangmeester' at Antwerp Cathedral when de Fesch left for England. In 1737 he returned to Brussels, where he died a few years later, only 38 years old.
In 1733, during his time in Antwerp, he composed the "*Lamentations du Mercredi, Jeudi et Vendredi Saint*".[828] These compositions have been preserved in manuscript and are now held at the Library of the Royal Conservatoire in Brussels.[829]
The *Lamentations* have been composed for a combination of 1 voice, one or two solo cellos (solo cello(s) appear(s) in 5 out of 9 Lamentations) and basso continuo:

Lamentations du mercredi Saint		
1.ere lamentation[830]	Canto,[831] violoncello, basso continuo	A minor
2.e leçon	Canto, basso	E minor
3.e leçon	Canto, basso	G major
Lamentations du jeudi Saint		
1.ere lamentation	Canto, violoncello primo, violoncello 2do, basso continuo	G minor
Seconde leçon	Canto, violoncello, basso	C minor
3.e leçon	Canto, organo[832]	D minor
Lamentations du vendredi Saint		
1.ere lamentation	Canto, basso	A major
2.e leçon	Canto, violoncello, basso	B flat major
3e leçon (l'oraison du prophete jeremie)	?, violoncello, basso c.	G minor

Table 32 The Fiocco *Lamentations*, 1733.

Each set of lamentations consists of a score and separate parts for voice, cello(s) and basso (continuo)/organo.
In the separate basso (continuo) parts hardly any figured bass is found, whereas the bass line in the score is figured throughout. This shows that the keyboard player played from the score. In the 3e leçon of jeudi Saint the separate bass part is labelled organo, this part is also figured throughout.
For what instrument could the separate unfigured bass parts have been intended, considering the keyboard player played from the score? I would say that an extra cello would be a very good option. In the 2e leçon of jeudi Saint a second instrument is definitely needed to play the bass line (see Figure 322). The top line of this bass part plays in 'duet' with the solo cello. In order to achieve the best mixing of sound between the parts, I draw the conclusion that this line is meant

[828] Stellfeld (1941), p. 103. Some of the lamentations are dated, others are not.
[829] Inv. no. 33804 (mercredi), 33805 (jeudi) and 33806 (vendredi).
[830] The different pieces are alternately named 'lamentation' or 'leçon'. When writing about a certain piece I use the name which is in the manuscript.
[831] The vocal parts have no mention of the type of voice. The canto which I use in this table has been taken from the title pages. The soprano clef is used throughout the entire collection, also in the jeudi and vendredi lamentations, except for the 3e vendredi lamentation, which is written in bass clef.
[832] This organo part is interesting. In the catholic church it was not allowed to play the organ during the Holy Week. The part seems to be written by another hand (the f clef is mirrored), and could have easily been added later.

to be played on a cello. Given the fact that for all the lamentations there is a separate bass part, it is very likely that all lamentations were intended to be played with a keyboard and cello on the bass line.

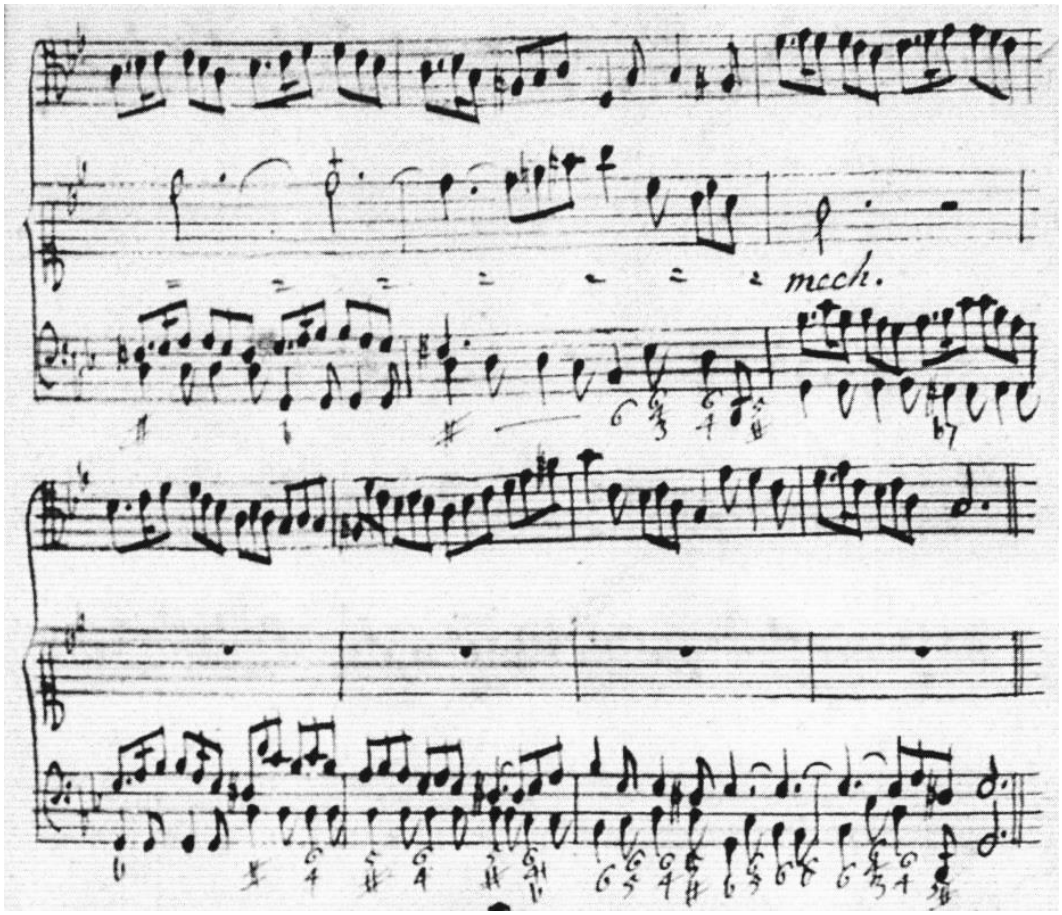

Figure 322 Seconde leçon du jeudi Saint: cello, voice and continuo. The basso continuo clearly shows two musical lines, the top one in melodic duet with the solo cello.

The solo cello parts use both bass and tenor clefs. In the leçon with the male singer only the bass clef is used, as is done for the second cello in the 1ere Lamentation du jeudi Saint.
In some of the lamentations/movements the cello has a proper solo part, in other lamentations/movements it acts more as counterpart to the voice.
The technical level asked for is not extremly high. It is more or less of the same level as the cello parts in the De Fesch sonatas and Klein's earlier opus numbers (see Figure 323), except that in Fiocco's Lamentations very fast movements do not appear.

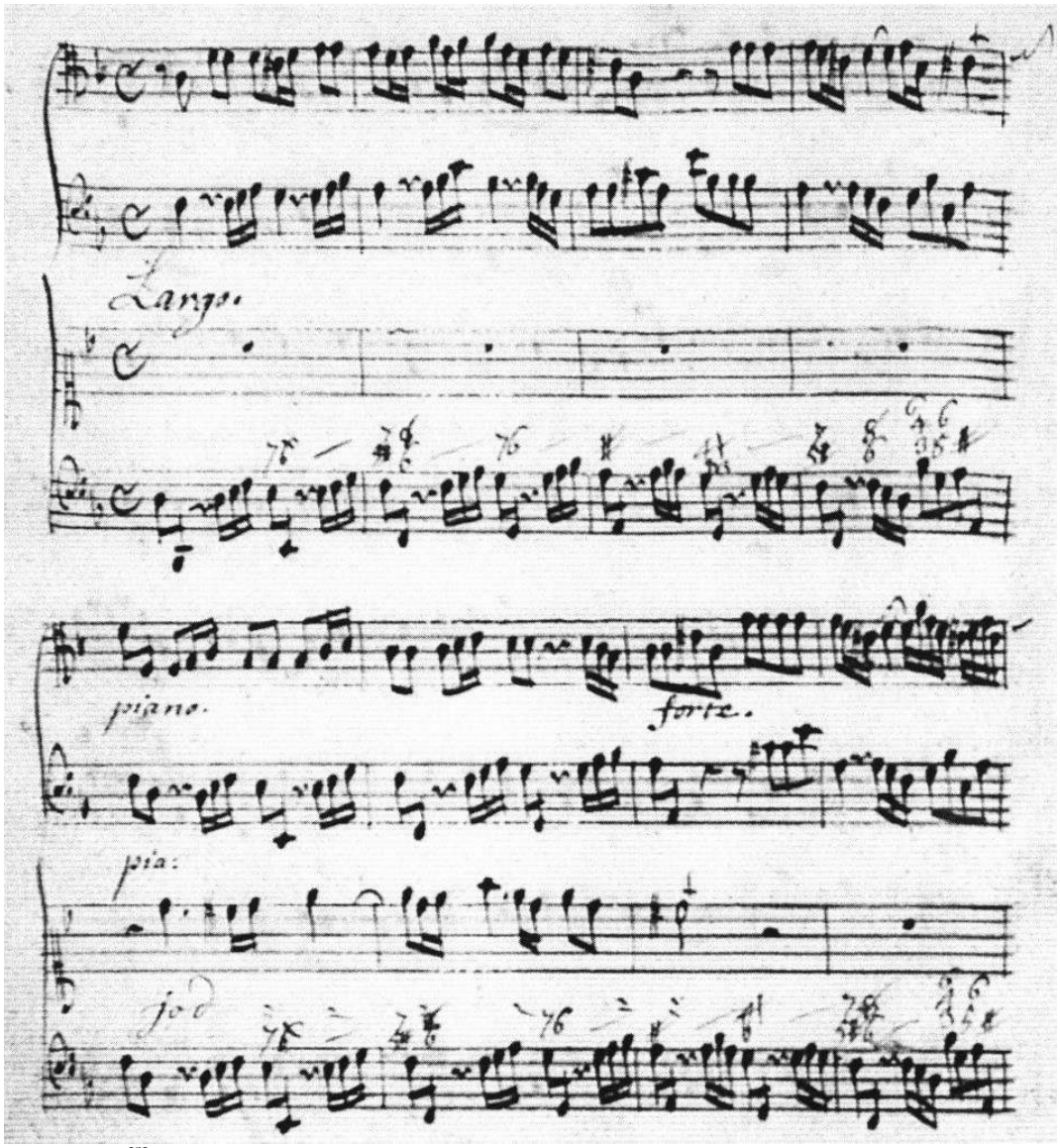

Figure 323 1ere lamentation du jeudi Saint, the only lamentation with two solo cellos. This lamentation is the only one using forte and piano.

The music is very well written for the cello. I did not find anything which is not easily playable, except for one chord (see Figure 324). Did Fiocco for one moment forget what instrument he was composing for and did he think of the viol?

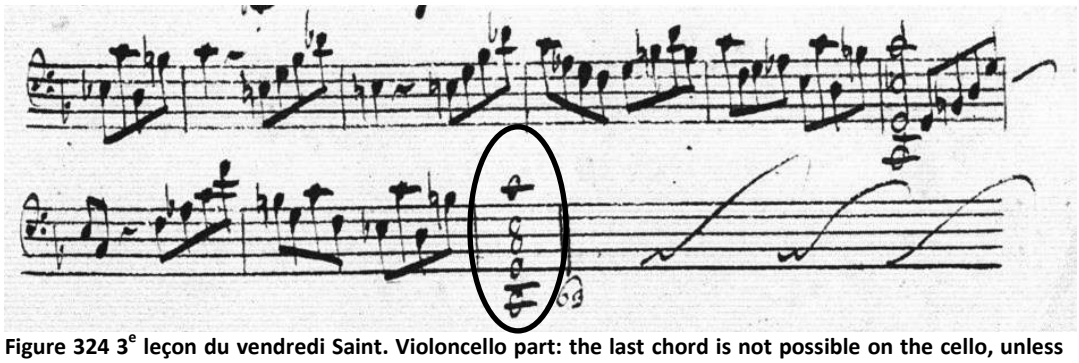

Figure 324 3e leçon du vendredi Saint. Violoncello part: the last chord is not possible on the cello, unless played as an arpeggio. This chord is also to be found in the score.

4.2.6 Case study: Alexis Magito (1711- 1773): cellist, music engraver and composer

4.2.6.1 Alexis - his family and his life

The cellist, music engraver and composer Alexis Magito was born in Rotterdam in a native Dunkerque family of fairground showmen, acrobats and musicians, which had lived in Holland since around 1675. The Magito family was very well known in their time, especially for their performances as fairground showmen and acrobats. As early as the end of the 17th century a "centsprent" was produced showing Masiton[833] and all the men and women of his fairground crew. An 18th-century version of this woodcut is reproduced in Figure 325 (details) and Figure 326 (whole woodcut):

Figure 325 Detail of Figure 326. Masiton ("Masiton de Baas van 't Spel") and a male ("Ik ben de eerste op de Koord") and female ("Wagt mijn Vriend ik volg je voort") rope dancer.

[833] Masiton is one of the many spellings of the name Magito. I have come across Magito, Masiton, Mageto, Mazito, Mahusto, Marchito and Machito. The Amsterdam city archive provided even more notations for this family name: Magiteau, Macito and even Shaagito. Information from: http://stadsarchief.amsterdam.nl/archieven/archiefbank/indexen/doopregisters/voorbeeld/, last accessed: 2011, December 2.

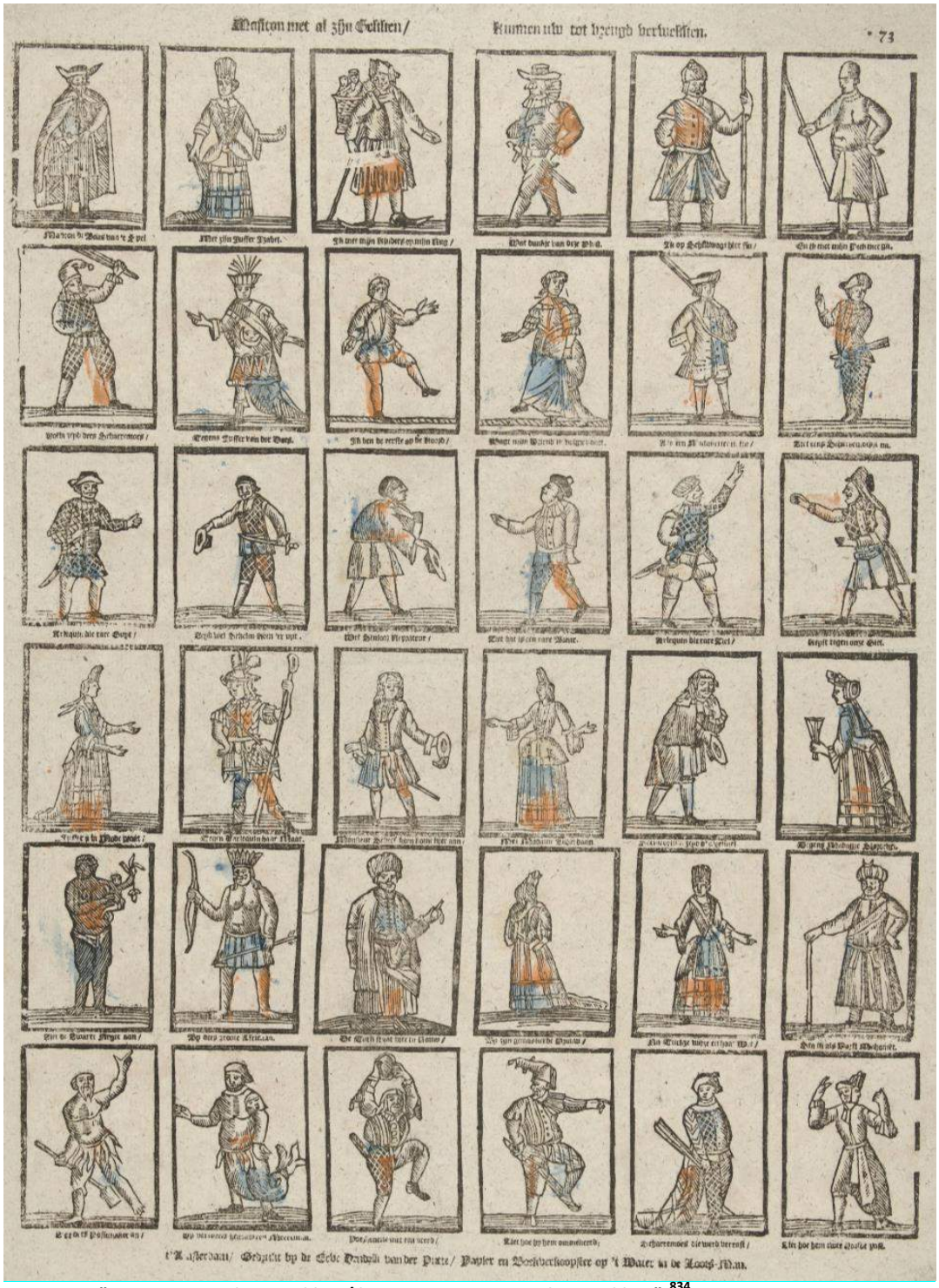

Figure 326 "Masiton met al zijn Gekken/ kunnen uw tot Vreugd verwekken".[834]

The name Magito was so well known that it could be used without explanation

> "It seems like the fair: are these fellows from Magito's gang?"[835]

[834] Anonymous (1767-1793). *Masiton met al zijn gekken [Magito with all his fools]*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-84.360.

[835] Langendyk (1760), p. 321. Original: "'t Lykt hier wel kermis: zyn dit kwanten uit de Troep van Magito?"

Alexis' father, the violin teacher Johannes Alexis Magito (who was a respected citizen of Rotterdam and who received a subsidy from the city council) bought a tent in 1726 and started performing as an acrobat as well.[836]
Of Alexis' older brother Pieter (who is said to be the first circus director in Holland) many newspaper articles can be found, for example:

> "Every evening at 7.30 PIETER MAGITO will show his tricks to his fans, consisting of rope-dancing and jumping in the air."[837]
>
> "During this last week of the fair, the aging gentleman P. MAGITO will have the pleasure, at the old age of around 90 years, to show his admirable balance on the rope to the Gentlemen, Ladies and respected fans. Amongst other tricks, he will execute incredible jumps, tricks and exercises with two men bound to his legs and on skates, […].[838]

These and other newspaper articles show that during the second half of the 18th century the Magito family performed throughout the Low Countries and also what their repertoire was.
Acrobats of the Magito clan are also depicted on several 18th-century tiles[839] made in Rotterdam. On one of these tiles two acrobats are depicted in front of a tent with the sign 'Magito' (see Figure 327).

Figure 327 ***Tile with figures, two acrobats in front of a building with a sign "Magito".***[840]

836 http://www.cbgfamilienamen.nl/nfb/detail_naam.php?gba_naam=&nfd_naam=Magito&info=documentatie&operator=eq&taal, last accessed: 2017, March 5.

837 Anonymous (1770, September 25). *Opregte Groninger Courant*, p. 2. Original: "PIETER MAGITO zal alle avonden om half agt aan de Liefhebbers zyne Konsten vertoonen, bestaande in het danssen op de Koord en Lugtsprongen te maaken; […]."

838 Anonymous (1788, October 7). *Amsterdamsche Courant*, p. 2. Original: "De oude Heer P. MAGITO, zal 't genoegen hebben, in zyn hooge Ouderdom van omtrent 90 Jaaren, deeze laatste Kermis-Week, alle avonden de Heeren, Dames en respective Liefhebbers, zyne verwonderingswaardige Equilibres op de Koord te toonen. Hy zal onder andere met twee Persoonen aan zyn Beenen gebonden en Schaatzen aan, ongelooflyke sprongen, konsten en exercitien executeeren, […]."

839 Several tiles are in the collection of the Museum Rotterdam: https://museumrotterdam.nl/collectie/zoekresultaten/0/16/&search=magito, last accessed: 2017, March 5. Other Magito tiles are reproduced here: http://www.tegels-uit-rotterdam.com/magito.html, last accessed: 2017, March 5.

840 Tile held by the Museum Rotterdam, inv. no. 5201.

The patriarch of the Magito family is called Alexander (Alexis[841]) Magito. He is the one who moved to the Low Countries from Dunkerque. Alexander was the father of the violin teacher Johannes Alexis Magito and the grandfather of Alexis the cellist, who is discussed in this Section.
The exact birth date of the last mentioned Alexis is unknown, but as is shown in Figure 328 he was baptised on 1711, September 15, so he must have been born in the preceding days.[842] At the occasion of Alexis' baptism, his name was written as Alexius,[843] son of Jan Mahusto and Huybertje van Hasselt.[844]
However, at his enrollment at Leiden University in 1746 he is said to be 30 years of age, and at the time of his death and burial in 1773 he is said to be 64 years old. Sic!

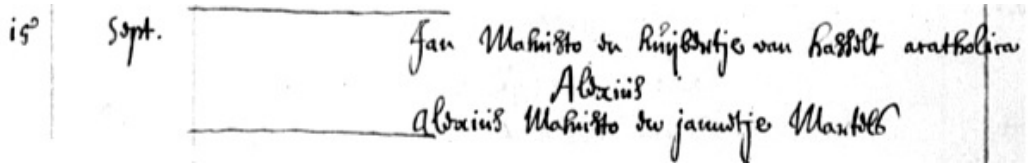

Figure 328 The baptism of Alexius on September 15th 1711. His parents: Jan Mahusto & Huybertje van Hasselt ("acatholica"). Witnesses: Alexius Mahusto & Jannetje Martels.[845]

The first sign of life after his baptism is when, on June 12th 1731, Alexis asks permission to live temporarily in Gouda.[846] He must have lived there for at least 5 years, because he is said to have come from Gouda when playing at a concert in Utrecht in 1736 (see Sub-section 4.2.4.2).
Why did Magito move to Gouda? I have not been able to find a definite answer. However, the organist and composer Quirinus van Blankenburg lived in Gouda. Was he Magito's composition teacher?
In 1732 Alexis (as "Alexius Magito de jonge") acts as a witness at the baptism of his younger brother Henricus (see Figure 329).

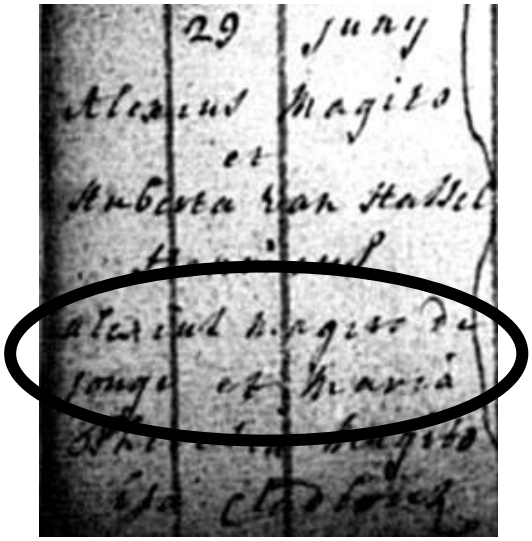

Figure 329 Baptism of Henricus Magito on June 29th 1732. "Alexius Magito de Jonge" is one of the witnesses.

[841] Wiersum (1920), p. 106.
[842] In those days roman-catholics were baptised very soon after being born. If the child died before having been baptised he/she would not go to heaven. Information kindly provided by vicars Monica Schwarz and Siebe Hiemstra, 2017, March 5.
[843] Magito's first name is spelled as Alexis and Alexius.
[844] Huybertje van Hasselt is one of many spellings of her name. I have come across: Huberta Assel, van Assel, van Asselt, van Hassel; Huybertje van Hasselt and Huijbertje Ariens.
[845] Copy of baptism record received from Stadsarchief Rotterdam.
[846] www.groenehartarchieven.nl/voorouders/k1div/23183611, last accessed: 2014, April 11. At this occasion his name is spelled: Alexius Marchito

In April and May 1735 Alexis had to appear at the Gouda court twice for some minor offences.[847] Especially the offence dealt with on April 22nd 1735 is interesting: Louis Florekin demands that Alexius Magito will pay him for the production of a few smooth sheets of tin. Could these sheets have been used for engraving? Here is another reason why Magito could have moved to Gouda. The Gouda city printer Dyvoort was a very wealthy man and as city printer he had the monopoly on all the official press-work of the city. Could it be that Dyvoort took students?[848]
The verdict of the court is that Magito has to pay Florekin *ƒ* 4.10.0; Florekin must keep the tin himself.

In the years to come Magito appears in the Dutch concert scene several times. I will come back to this later.
At some point Magito moved back to Rotterdam. He lived in that city in the Schavensteeg from 1740-1752.[849] I have not been able to verify this, except that on March 15th 1746 "Alexis Magito, Roterodamensis, musicus"[850] enrolls at Leiden University.
The last sign of life in Holland dates from 1754 when he plays a concert in Utrecht (see Sub-section 4.2.4.2). After that, sooner or later, he must have moved to England.

Magito's first appearance in England is documented in a publication of 1760. He is among the subscribers to Giorgio Antoniotto's *L'arte armonica or A Treatise on the Composition of Musick*, which was published in London (see Figure 330). Behind several names a place of residence in England is mentioned, but never London and never abroad. Several gentlemen did not indicate a place of residence (Dr. [Thomas] Arne, Mr. Charles Burney and Signor Pasqualino [de Marzis]), although they lived in London at the time. It is very likely that all subscribers without a place of residence behind their names were living in London. Magito as well?.

[847] www.groenehartarchieven.nl/voorouders/k1ora/882708 1735, April 22) & www.groenehartarchieven.nl/voorouders/k1ora/8834071 (1735, May 20), last accessed: 2014, April 11.
[848] Abels, Goudriaan, Habermehl & Kompagnie (2002), pp. 488-489.
[849] Wiersum (1920), p. 108.
[850] Rieu (1875), column 1010.

SUBSCRIBERS NAMES.

A.

DR. Arne.
Mr. Avison *of* Newcastle.
Mr. Francis Ashbey.
Mr. Allen, *Organist of* Southwell.

B.

Henry Bridgman, *Esq*;
Mrs. Bridgman.
John Bagnal, *Esq*;
Robert Bell, *Esq*;
—— Barnard, *Esq*;
Captain Thomas Bourne.
Rev. Mr. Bugg.
Rev. Mr. Bowman.
Rev. Mr. Brailsford.
Dr. Boyce, *Organist and Composer to his Majesty, and Master of his Majesty's Band of Musick.*
Mr. Butler, *Organist of* St. Margaret's, Westminster.
Mr. Burton, 2 *Books.*
Mr. Charles Burney.
Mr. Thomas Bower.
Mr. Bersanti.

C.

Robert Copley, *Esq*;
Rev. Mr. Cole.
Mr. Cooke, *Master of the Choiristers, and one of the Gentlemen of the Choir of* Westminster.
Mr. Cox, *of the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Chapel Royal.*

D.

Mr. Dodd.
Mr. Thomas Saunders Dupuis.

F.

Miss Ford.

G.

Rev. Mr. Gisborne, *late Prebendary of* Durham.
Rev. Mr. Graham, *Fellow of* King's-College, Cambridge.
Mr. Gardiner.
Mr. Garth, *of* Durham.
Mr. Gladwin.

H.

John Hewett, *Esq*;
Mrs. Hewett.
Rev. Mr. Hewett.
John Hawkins, *Esq*;
Charles Grave Hudson, *Esq*;
Francis Hurt, *Esq*;
—— Hutchinson, *Esq*; *of* Christ's College, Cambridge.
Mrs. Hallows.
Rev. Mr. Hallows.
Dr. Hayes, *Professor of Musick at* Oxford.
Mr. John Hutchinson.
Mr. Hargrave.
Mr. Samuel Howard, *Organist of* St. Brides *and* St. Clements-Danes.
Mr. Herletine, *Organist at* Durham.
Mr. Hawdon, *Organist at* Hull.

I.

Dr. Johnson, *of* Loughborough.
Mr. John Johnson, 6 *Books.*

L.

Her Grace the Dutchess of Leeds.
Rev. Mr. Ludlam, *Fellow of* St. John's College, Cambridge.
Rev. Mr. Lobb, *Fellow of* St. Peter's College, Cambridge.
Mr. Layland, *Organist of* Chesterfield.

M.

Charles Mellish, *Esq*;
Rev. Mr. Mason.
Rev. Mr. Mudge.
Mr. Alexis Magito.
Mr. Miller, *Organist of* Doncaster.

Dr.

Figure 330 Part of the names of subscribers to Giorgio Antoniotto's *L'arte armonica or A Treatise on the Composition of Musick*. [851]

[851] Antoniotto (1760), unpaginated page.

After several concerts and other events in England to which I will come back later, Magito draws up his will in 1772 (see Figure 331).

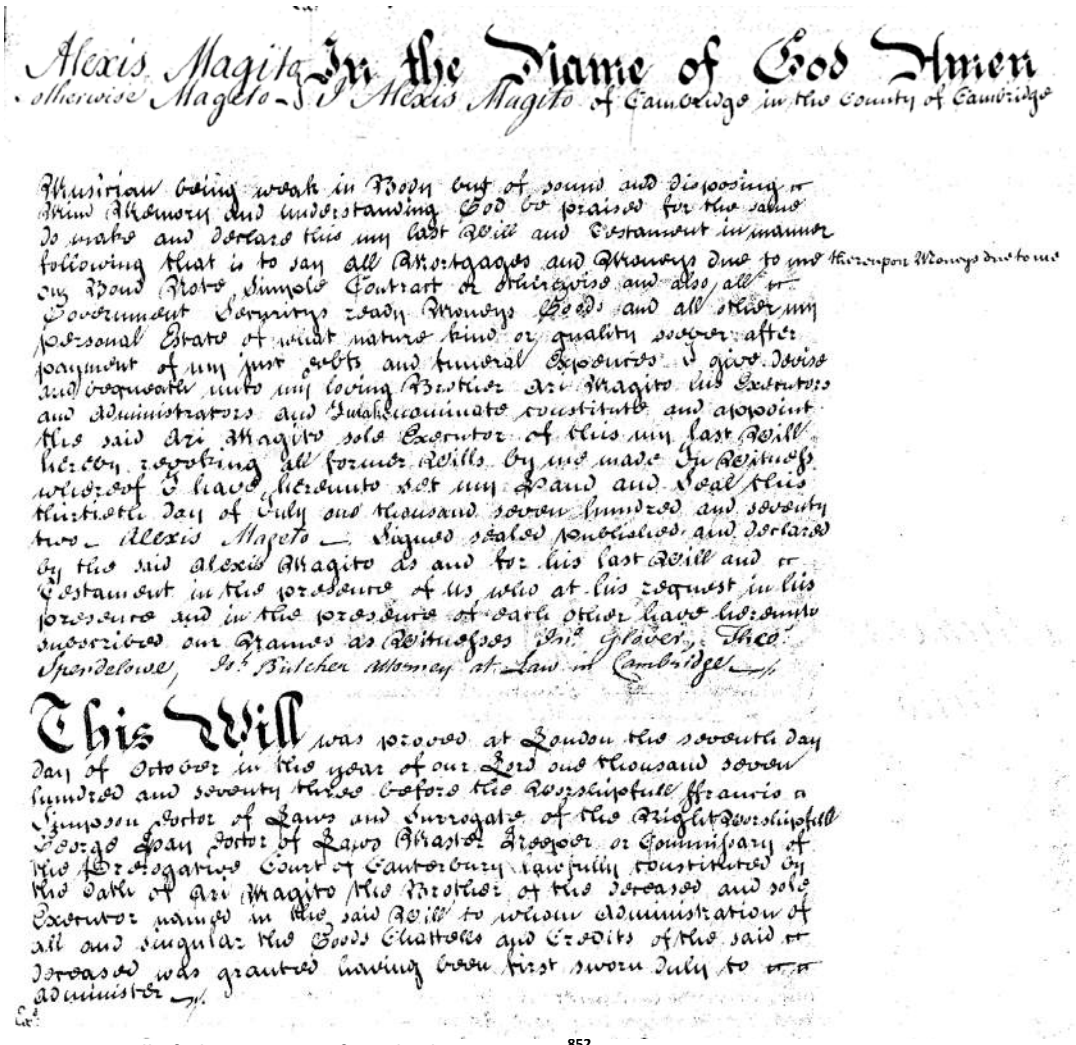

Figure 331 Will of Alexis Magito of Cambridge, musician.[852]

The transcription of his will reads as follows:

> "Alexis Magito, otherwise Mageto.
>
> In the name of God Amen.
> I Alexis Magito of Cambridge in the county of Cambridge Musician being weak in Body but of sound and disposing in Mind & Memory and understanding God be praised for the same do make and declare this my last Will and testament in manner following that is to say all Mortgages and Moneys due to me [in margin - thereupon Moneys due to me] on Bond note simple Contract or otherwise and also all Government Securitys ready moneys Goods and all other my personal Estate of what nature kind or quality soever after payment of my just debts and funeral expenses I give advice and bequeath unto my loving brother Ari Magito his executors and administrators and I make nominate constitute and appoint the said Ari Magito sole Executor of this my last Will hereby revoking All former Wills by me made. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this thirtieth day of July one thousand seven hundred and seventy two – Alexis Mageto – Signed sealed published and declared by this said Alexis Magito as and for his last Will and

[852] Received from: London, The National Archives, inv. no. PROB 11/991/316.

> Testament in the presence of us who at his request in his presence and in the presence of … other have hereunto Subscribed our names as witnesses … Glover, Theo Spendelowe, … Butcher attorney at law in Cambridge.
>
> This Will was proved at London the seventh day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy three before the Worshipfull Francis Simpson doctor of laws and surrogate of the Right worshipful George … Doctor of Laws … or Commisary of the prerogative Court of Canterbury lawfully constituted by the oath of Ari Magito the Brother of the deceased and sole Executor named in the said Will to whom Administration of all and singular the Goods chattels and credits of the said deceased was granted having been first sworn duly to administor."[853]

In the will a brother called Ari is mentioned. This name has proven difficult, because in the archives there is no mention of a brother with that name. However, Alexis' maternal grandfather was called Arij Pieterssen van Hasselt. His daugther and Alexis' mother is sometimes referred to as Ariëns. It is very possible that one of the brothers was in fact called Ari after his grandfather, although the baptismal name is different.
There is some evidence dated between 1778-1788 of a violinist by the name of Mr Alexis and a musician by the name of Henry-Alexis Magito. This person could well be Alexis' brother Henricus. The English version of Henricus: Henry sounds quite similar to Ari. Henricus, Henry and Ari could very well be the same person, and the brother Alexis left all his possessions to.
The will shows that Magito felt his strengths weakening. A year after the will was drawn up he died, and was buried at the Royal Hospital and Collegiate Church of St Katharine by the Tower in London on September 19th 1773[854] (see Figure 332). Shortly after this his will is also approved.

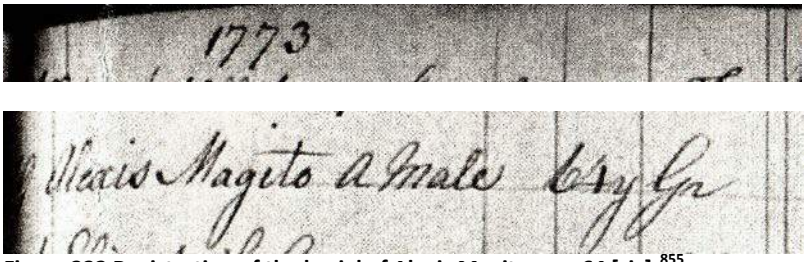

Figure 332 Registration of the burial of Alexis Magito, age 64 [sic].[855]

4.2.6.2 Alexis - the cellist

Several traces of Magito the cellist/musician have been discovered, both in the Low Countries and in England. I am convinced Magito must have given more concerts than the few listed here, but the ones listed below are the ones I have been able to trace until now.
The first trace is a concert at the centenary of Utrecht University in 1736. Alexis, said to come from Gouda, plays the bass and gets paid f 50.[856]
The next concert is in Maastricht on July 16th 1748 (see Figure 333). Magito is called an Italian musician, a mistake often made, even until very recently.[857]

[853] I managed to transcribe most of the will. I owe many thanks to Peter Simmonds and Dirk Tinbergen for helping me make the transcription. A few details are still missing, and have been replaced by dots.
[854] St Katharine's Church does not exist anymore. It was demolished in 1825 to build St Katharine Docks.
[855] London, Metropolitan Archives, inv. no. CLC/199/TC/003/MS09660.
[856] Original: "Uit Gouda, Alexis speeld [sic] op de bas f 50." From: Riemsdijk (1881), p. 60.
[857] Hogwood & Luckett (1983), p. XVIII, Rasch (1983), p. 17 & Lindgren (2000), pp. 145-146

Le 16. Le Sieur *Alexis Magito* Muſicien *Italien* donna à la grande Salle du Conſeil de Guerre au deſſus de la Grand' Garde un Concert Vocal & inſtrumental. L'une de ces Dames y chanta. Pluſieurs Officiers jouerent de quelques inſtrumens pour l'accompagner; car les *Franſais* accompagnent bien les Dames.

Figure 333 Alexis (an Italian!) in Maastricht in 1748.[858]

The above quote reads as follows:

> "The 16th [of July]. Mr Alexis Magito, Italian musician, gave a vocal and instrumental concert at the large Hall of the War Council above the Great Hall (the room of the guards). One of the ladies sang. Several officers accompanied with various instruments; because the French are good at accompanying ladies."

After Maastricht Alexis travels to Haarlem, where he shows his skills in 1749. The advert reads as follows:

> "On Monday, December 29th, 1749, in Haarlem at the Doele at 6 o'clock p.m., a concert will be given by the gentlemen Meyer and Alexis, accompanied by two eminent players on French horn. Tickets are to be had at H. Radeker, organist,[859] at the cost of 1 Guilder."[860]

In 1753 he gives two concerts in Groningen, the second of which is on request of the listeners who want to hear more after the first concert. The adverts read as follows:

June 5th:

> "Mr Bauermeester and [Mr] Alexis advertise to the music lovers, that today, being June 5th 1753, an instrumental concert will be given, at the house of wine merchant H. Veldman, in the Guldenstraat in Groningen. The Gentlemen music lovers are requested to arrive punctually at 5 o'clock in the afternoon. N.B. Tickets are to be had in the [before-] mentioned house."[861]

June 8th:

> "On request of Gentlemen music lovers, Mr. Bauermeister and [Mr] Alexis will give a final instrumental concert this Friday, being the 8th of this month, at the same house as last Tuesday. The price is one Carolus guilder each."[862]

---

[858] Bernard (1781), p. 121.

[859] Radeker was organist at the St. Bavo Church in Haarlem.

[860] Original: "Op Maandag, den 29 December, 1749, zal te Haerlem op de Doele 's avonds om 6 uuren Concert gehouden worden door de Heeren *Meyer* en *Alexis*, geaccompagneerd door twee voornaame Waldhoornisten. De Lootjes zyn te bekomen by *H. Radeker*, Organist, à 1 Gulden." Anonymous (1749, December 27). *Haerlemse Courant*, p. 2.

[861] Original: "Sr. BAUERMEESTER en Alexis adverteeren de Heeren Liefhebberen van de Musiq, dat heeden zynde den 5 Juny 1753, een Concert Instrumentaal zal gehouden worden, ten Huyze van de Wynhandelaar H. Veldtman, in de Gulden straat tot Groningen en worden de Heeren Liefhebbers der Musiq verzogt zig praecis 's agternamiddags om 5 uur aldaar te laten vinden. NB. De Lootjes zyn in 't gemelde Huys te bekoomen." Anonymous (1753, June 5). *Opregte Groninger Courant*, p. 2

[862] Original: "Door verzoek van Heeren Liefhebbers zal de Heer BAUERMEESTER en Alexis, aanstaande Vrydag zynde den 8 deezer Maand voor 't laaste een Concert Instrumentaal houden, ten zelfden huyze als Dinsdag laastleeden. De prys is een Car. Gulden den yeder Perzoon." Anonymous (1753, June 8). *Opregte Groninger Courant*, p. 2.

As said before, the last sign of life in the Low Countries is a concert in Utrecht in 1754. The newspaper advert reads as follows:

> "Mr. Alexis, master of the Violoncello, and Mr. Vermeulen, master of the Violin, with Mrs Barbarini, Italian singer, will give a concert in the hall of the College of Music on the Vredenburg, on Monday the 4th of February at 5 o'clock p.m.. Tickets cost 2 florins and are to be had at the "Caffé Italien" from Mr. van Rhijn."[863]

As shown before, Alexis must have arrived in England around 1760. The only sign of his concert life there dates from 1767, when he plays some concerts in Cambridge: a benefit on February 21st ('for Mr Alexis'), on March 28th a concert with 'violoncello Mr Alexis', and a benefit concert at Trinity on July 6th (Mr Alexis).[864] I have not been able to find more evidence of his concerts, but he must have had more musical activity, because in his will he is called "musician from Cambridge".

An engraving (dated 1767) in the former collection of the late Christopher Hogwood shows, amongst other musicians, a cellist who has been identified as 'Alexis' (see Figure 334).[865]

Figure 334 Sir Abraham Hume after Thomas Orde: *A concert in Cambridge* (1767).

[863] Anonymous (1754, January 28). *Gazette d'Utrecht*. Original: "Le sieur Alexis, Maître de Violoncello et le sieur Vermeulen, Maître de Violon, avec la Signora Barbarini, Chanteuse Italienne, donneront Lundi 4.du mois de Février prochain, à 5 heures du soir, un Concert dans la Salle du Collége de Musique au Vrybourg. Les Billets sont de 2 florins et se trouvent au Caffé Italien du sieur van Rhyn."

[864] Hogwood & Luckett (1983), p. XVIII

[865] With Mr Hogwood's permission, Ryan Mark (Musicological Assistant to Christopher Hogwood) kindly provided me with several photos of the engraving, some of which are reproduced here. Emails dated: August 2013.

Figure 335 Detail of Figure 334. Names of five musicians, amongst whom Alexis.

It is not 100% certain that this cellist is indeed Alexis, because in two other copies of this engraving the cellist has another name.[866]
However: the cellists' nose bears a clear likeness to the nose of Alexis' older brother Pieter (see Figs. 336-338). The name of the double bass player in all three copies is John Wynne. He was a music publisher in Cambridge and Alexis had his sonatas published at Wynne's firm. It is very likely that there was not only the publishing connection between these two men, but that they played together as well, and were depicted together on this engraving.
Hogwood states that the alternative name for the cellist (a certain "West") is not to be found in Cambridge documentation.[867] As is shown Alexis appears in the Cambridge music scene several times in 1767, in the same year as the engraving was made.

Figure 336 Pieter Magito in 1786.[868]

Figure 338 Detail of Figure 337.

Figure 337 Alexis? in 1767.

[866] London: British Museum, inv. no. 1868,0808.4451 & inv. no. 1852,1211.135 (first and second state, both dated 1770). In both engravings the cellist is identified as West, except that in no. 1868,0808.4451 the name Cervetto (also a cellist) is crossed out and replaced by West. I have no knowledge of other copies with names.
[867] Hogwood & Luckett (1983), p. XVIII.
[868] Jelgerhuis, R. (1786). *Portrait of Pieter Magito*. KWN 127146. An engraving (dated 1790) after this drawing is held by the Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-47.862.

4.2.6.3 Alexis - the engraver

As mentioned at the beginning of this Section, Alexis also worked as an engraver of music.[869] So far four books of music engraved by him have been discovered (see Figs. 339-342). On the title pages, three of these books show more proof that at some point Alexis must have moved back from Gouda to Rotterdam. The problem is that none of these books is dated. Rudolf Rasch has made an attempt, his dates are shown below.[870]

All four title pages look different, although there are similarities between the Hanot sonatas and the Lentz concerti. What stands out is that the distribution of letters on the Hanot publication is very uneven.

On the Duni edition Magito promotes himself to musicians as an engraver and music publisher. This is an indication that this book could have been his first to be published.

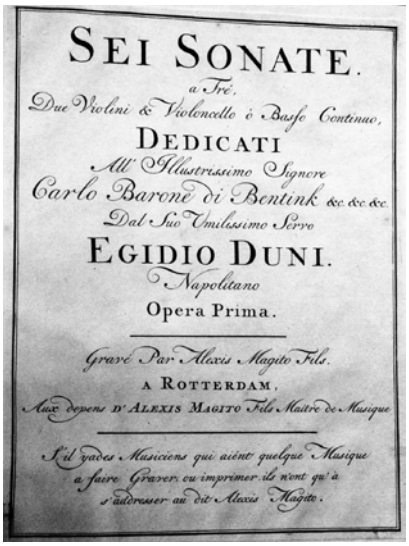
SEI SONATE.
a Tré,
Due Violini & Violoncello ò Basso Continuo,
DEDICATI
All' Illustrissimo Signore
Carlo Barone di Bentink &c. &c. &c.
Dal Suo Umilissimo Servo
EGIDIO DUNI.
Napolitano
Opera Prima.
Gravé Par Alexis Magito Fils.
A ROTTERDAM,
Aux depens D' ALEXIS MAGITO Fils Maitre de Musique.
S'il y a des Musiciens qui aient quelque Musique a faire Graver ou imprimer ils n'ont qu'à s'adresser au dit Alexis Magito.

Figure 339 Egidio Duni: Sei Sonate a Tre, around 1739.

VI. CONCERTI
ARMONICI
a
Quattro Violini obligati, Alto Viola, Violoncello obligato e Basso continuo
Dedicati
All' Illustrissimo Signore
IL SIGNORE CONTE
di BENTINCK
&c. &c. &c.
Dal suo humilissimo Seruitore, C. Ricciotti, detto Baccicia, e stampati à sue spese, alla Haye, in Hollanda.

Figure 340 Unico Wilhelm van Wassenaer: *Concerti Armonici*, ca. 1740.

SEI SONATE
à Flauto Traversa, o Violino Solo, e Basso Continuo.
DEDICATE
All' Illustrissimo Signore
LUIGI BARONE DI ROLL, DE EMMENHOLTZ &c &c &c
Ufficiale Nel Reggimento De Wilmer,
Dal Suo Umilis- -simo Servo
FRACESCO HANOT.
Opera Prima
Cravée par Alexis Magito
Prix en Blanc 5 Chez L'Auteur a LILLE en FLANDRE / Alexis Magito A ROTTERDAM

Figure 341 Francesco Hanot: sei Sonate a Flauto, early 1740s.

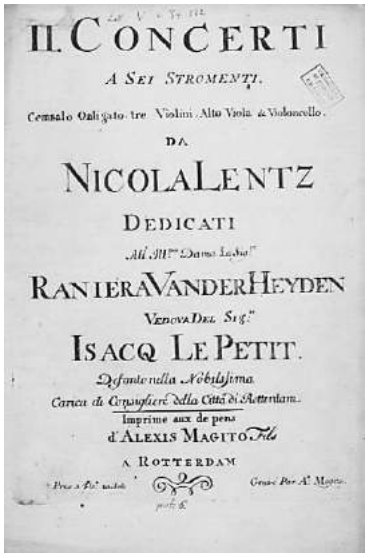
II. CONCERTI
A SEI STROMENTI.
Cembalo Obligato tre Violini, Alto Viola & Violoncello.
DA
NICOLA LENTZ
DEDICATI
All' Ill.mo Dama Lad.a
RANIERA VANDER HEYDEN
VEDOVA DEL Sig.r
ISACQ LE PETIT.
Defunto nella Nobilissima
Carica di Consigliere della Città di Rotterdam.
Imprime aux de pens
d'ALEXIS MAGITO Fils
A ROTTERDAM
Gravé Par A. Magito.

Figure 342 Johann Nicolaus Lentz: II. Concerti a Sei Stromenti, around 1750.[871]

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[869] As shown in Sub-section 4.2.4.1 Alexis was convicted for not paying Mr Florekin for producing some sheets of tin. It is very likely he used these sheets for his engraving work.

[870] Rasch (2009), p. 17.

[871] Many thanks to Ilse Wieërs of the Royal Conservatory in Brussels for providing me with this title page. Source: B-Bc 34122.

All editions are signed Alexis Magito (Fils) in one way or abother (see Figs. 343-346).

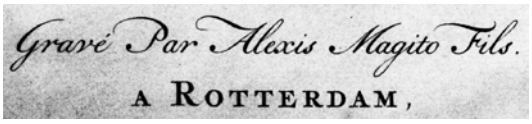

Figure 343 From title page of Duni's sonatas.

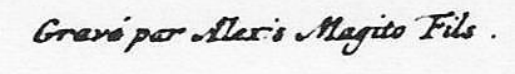

Figure 344 From one of the parts of the *Concerti Armonici.*

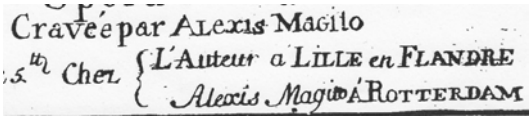

Figure 345 From title page of Hanot's sonatas.

Figure 346 From title page of Lentz *II. Concerti.*

4.2.6.4 Alexis - the composer

Magito's own cello sonatas suffer from the same problem as the music he engraved for others. Several attempts have been made to date these sonatas, but the result has never been conclusive.[872]

Recently two newspaper adverts (both dated 1759) have come to light, which enabled me to date the sonatas slightly better. In September of that year the Olofsen music firm in Amsterdam advertises that a "Violoncelwerk a VI Sonaten" by the "compositeur" Alexius Magito is available at his shop in Amsterdam and in other cities in Holland (see for an example Figure 347).[873] All known copies of this music, however, were printed in Cambridge by John Wynne.[874] Whether the advertised "Violoncelwerk" is this edition or an edition published by Olofsen himself does not become clear. It can now at least be assumed that Magito's sonatas were composed before 1759.

[872] Introduction to the modern edition Alexis Magito Six Sonatas, Grancino Editions no. 19: "ca. 1740". Cello catalogue from Muziekhandel Saul Groen, Amsterdam: "ca. 1760". Lindgren (2000): "ca. 1765", p. 153. Hogwood & Luckett (1983): "An undated publication from about this period [1767]", p. XVIII.

[873] Anonymous (1759, September 10). *'s Gravenhaagsche Courant* & Anonymous (1759, September 11). *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, p. 2.

[874] B-Bc, D-B, GB-Ckc, GB-Lbl & US-NYp.

AMSTERDAM den 10 September. Den 7 deezer zyn 19 Tuffel geroo Schepen binnen gekomen, maar uytgezeyld Pieter Reynders van Riga; Den Sqaam binnen Wafie Heifels van Riga, en uytgezeyld P. Meynders na London; Den 9 zyn binnen gekomen Jonn B. Pueweo en Joachim la Harnuso van Bilbao, Jacob Vifer van St. Sebastian, Meyndert Douwes van Bajonne, Gabbe Gerbrands van Cendren, Gerrit Koter van Archan, el. en Saske Siebeles van Wyborgs, en zyn uytgezeyld 's Lands Oorlogschip *de Triton*. Capiteyn W. Mey, na de Oostzee. Izaa Schilduow, Robbert Bryfort, John Vakelen Francis More na Nieuwjork, Jurriaan J. de Jonz na Eustatius Claas P. Bok na Rochelle, Claas Droft na Bergen, Claas Weike en Pieter Wit na Noorwegen, een Engelsman na St. Jan en Driemaal Galjoot en een Kof, de Namen onbekend; de bovengewelde Schippers van Bilbao rapporteeren onder het Hollands Convoy geweest te zyn, bestande in 43 Zeylen, uyt de West-Indiën herwaards Romende; hebbende dien morgen hooren schieren, denke dat morgen zullen binnen zyn. Aan deeze Stad zyn gekomen Geerlof Gerbrands van Petersburg, Oege J. Kuyper van Danzig, en Jurgen Nezer van Stokholm, en te Middelburg Dirk Hop van St. Eustatius, laatst uyt Bristol. Den 25 passato was door Sybrand Postma op de hoogte van Lezard met een Oost Zuyd-Oosten Wind in goede Staat zeyreyt Luytens Brandligt, van hier na Surinam en zedelthineerd. In Engelandt zyn wederom vrygekoot de Schepen en Ladingen van Jan Arnoot en Pieter Hanfz., van Curacao herwaards zedelthineerd. Te Genua waren gearriveerd Jan Hanse en Jan Buykes van hier, te Alicanten Willem Gaan van Carthagena; te St. Hubes Dirk Laurens van Havre de Grace; te Kroonsta Dirk Gerkes, Harmen Janfz., Pieter J. Les, Jurriaan C. de Koe, Jacob Jookes, Broer S. de Jonge, Sibe Annes S. Simon J. Kleyn en Broer Broeders, alle van hier, Jur. en Wakkerfeld, Dirlof Rouwert, Harmen Flokert J. Gerdes, J. P. Brand en M. Bruns van Lubek, Christiaan P. Molt en Clamor E. Ut of van Kopenhagen, Johan G. Kimberg, Laars Soderstroom, Johan Blom en Carsten Wis van Reval, R. Tekes van Bourdeaux, Fokke Lafes van Nantes, E. Otto en H. Blok van Rostok, D. Fonreyn van Danzig, en Ouwe Jenfz. van Ekerenfort; te Narva R. Janfz, en G. Tjeerts van hier; te Hamburg D. Dirks, van Gallipoly, te Bremen M. Bonje van Limrik; te Porta Port Y-br. Pieters van Riga, Rasmus Laurents van Stettyn, en Tonys Boosen van Memel; te St. Valory CL Johannes, en te Calais Sybr. Postma, beyde van hier; te Oostende Ipe Sjerks van Leevrooi; in de Pillau Jelle Jookes uyt de Kroonwyk, Marten Snyder junior van Bourneuf, Laurens Asmussen en Mads Bugdal van Bergen, Douwe Sybrands van deeze Stad, Robert Bughman van Leyth, Christ. Matthyssen van Aalburg, Asmus Christiaansen van Flensburg, Anders Jonson van Gothenburg, Johan Henrich Booy van Lubek, Peter Cammerath, Johan Frey, Agge Okkes, Cl. Lange, Johan Anderson, Bartel Fr. Stuymer, Johan Cornelisz., Paske Thiefen, Jacob Tjeerts, Broer Hendriks, Gabriël Wit, Jacob Hartlof, C. Adriaansz. de jonge, Tjebke Claasen, Olof Lockman, Nicolas Grouvahn, Bartel Booysen, Cl. Burmeester, Johan Heeker, Simon Rwouts, Henrich Tonneman, Hans Kark, Cornelis Kroon, Hans Sager, Marten Mertner, Magnus Jonas Lund, Foppe Anekes, Peter Korfchasen, Jacob Wiken, Peter Swennisson, Andr. Christman, Erich Holm, Jochem Zechau, Jes Holmstrom, Hidde Andries en 11 Russische Schepen van Riga en Petersburg.

Met Brieven van Embden heeft men, dat den 5 deezer 5 Engelse Transport Schepen, geconvoyeerd door 2 Oorlog-Schepen, aan boord hebbende een Reusort Troupen voor de Gealliëerde Armée, aldaar gearriveerd waren.

De Actien van de O. I. C. 392, West-Indische Comp. 324 ½ de Engelse Bank 123 ½, O. I. C. 1257, E. Z. C. 944 Annuitei 84 ½, ditto Nieuwe 85 ½, de Barbiejes 410.

De Cours van de WISSEL is heden op Parys 54 7/8 ½ ditto op 2 Uso 54 ½ ½, London 35, 10, 11 ½ ditto op 2 Uso 35, 6 ½ 7. Genève 89 Bourd 53 ½ ditto op 2 Uso 53 ½. Rochelle 54 ½. Bilbao en Madrid 97. Cadix 98 ½. Sevilien 97 ½. Lisbon 46 ½ ½. Venetien 91 ½ Genua 87 ½ 87 ½. Livorno 87 ½ ½. Breslau 28 ½. Weenen 161. Hamburg 36 ½. Danzig 362. Antw. en Gent 84. Brussel 83. Zeeland en Rotterdam ½. De Agio van de Bank 2 ½ per Cent.

HAARLEM den 10 September. Uyt eene overgekomene eyerse Nominatie zyn door haare Ed. Groot Mog. de Heeren Staaten van Holland en West Vriesland tot Burgemeesteren deezer Stad geëlleert de Ed. Groot Achtb. Heeren *Elbert Teffers*, Mr. *Arent de Raet*, Mr. *Matthaus Willemsen Valkenburg* en *Antoni Kuits*.

LEIPZIG den 2 September. Na dat de Pruyssische Stad Torgau wederom heroverd hebben, zo hooren nunne Hussaren tot 8 tot Eulenburg toe, alwaar de terug gebleevene Rykse Armée geposteerd is, welke deeze Stad met omtrent 8000 Man blyft bekeken, doch indien het voorst. Corps de niderende Pruyssische Macht niet kan tegenhouden, zullen wy eerstdags insgelyks wederom van Guarnisoen moeten veranderen.

MAAGDEBURG den 4 September. Na dat de Russische Armée over de 14 dagen na de Actie van den 12 passato by Frankfort bestyen beweegt gebleven is, zo heeft dezelve haaren Marsch den 29 dito over Mulstroe en Lieberose na Lusatien genomen. Zyne Koninglyke Majesteytyts 's dags daarnaan insgelyks van Fürstenwalde opgebroken, om de Vyanden op de hielen te volgen; hebbende den 30 passato Desselfs Hoofd Quartier te Borne by Beeskow, den 31 te Waldau, en den eersten September in de Stad Lubben gestaad. De General Major van Wunich heeft TURGAU insgelyks heroverd, en den Vyanden aldaar het groot Magazyn, in gelyken Toeland als het in Lunne Handen gevallen is, wederom afgenomen: Gemelde Generaal zal zyne twaare Artillery noch niet by zig, en deed slechts de Croaten in de Voorhoede attaqueeren, waar op de General Kleefeld de Chamade deed slaan.

BERLEN den 4 September. By Luccau, 4 Mylen van hier, word een Koninglyke Pruyssische Legertje afgestoken, vermoedelyk voor een Corps, het welk de Mark Brandenburg zoudekken. Voor het overige komen van alle kanten Reconvalescenten, voor verzorgen gebondene, ook eygene en vreemde Deserteurs, in groote menigte en dagelyks by de 100 alhier aan: Ook zyn een groot reeks Remonteer-Peerden uyt Poneren gearriveerd, welke met nieuw Geweer en andere Militaire Behoeftens na 1 nunne Reimentenen na de Armée gezamptpreteerd worden: Bovenden word in de Koninglyke Canongieterij de gewoone Arbeyd dag en nacht met verdubbelden yver vervorderd.

HAMBURG den 7 September. Dezen avond ontfingen men 4 different Tydingen, welke beyde Confirmatie weeyeschen: De eerste, dat de Stad LEIPZIG door de Rykse Troupen verlaten, en de andere, dat de Stad DRESDEN aan de Rykse Troupen, zonder dat men weet op wat wyze, overgegaan zy.

CLEVE den 7 September. Dagelyks word door ruym 100 Man, zo Boeren als Timmerlieden en Metzelaars, aan 't fortifieeren van 't Hof gearbeyd, en alle de Uytgangen van 't zelve na binnen en buyten toegemetzeld, blyvende die van de groote Hofpoort alleen open, alwaar de Soldaten de Wacht houden. De fraaye Tuynen en Lusthoven, aan de Buytenzyde van 't Hof gelegen, zyn door dien Arbeyd geslooptzen gerulweerd.

De Heeren BURGEMEESTEREN en REGEERDERS der STAD GOUDA zullen (ten overstaan van de Heeren Toezichtiers-Fabryk-Meesteren) op den 20 September, 1759, publyk aanbesteeden: Het afbreeken en weder opmaaken van de HAASTRECHTSEBRUG, leggende over de Rivier den Ysel even boven dezelve Stad, met Leveranties van al het Hout, Metzelwerk, Yzerwerk, Spykers, Steen, Kalk, Tras, Zand en Arbeydsloon, en het leggen van twee Veerdammen of Oprellen. De Conditien van gemelde Besteeding zyn te zien ter Secretarye van gemelde Stad, en by den Stads Onder Fabryk *Jan van Breede*.

Alzo het SCHOOLMEESTERS-AMPT TE WYK OP ZEE is vacant geworden, word die geene, welke voornoemens mogten zyn, aldaar bunne Gaven te laten hooren, by deezen kennis gegeven, dat zy zig kunnen aanmelden by den Schout of Predicant op de voornoemde Plaats, tot den laatsten Sondag in September aanstaande, zullende naar dien tyd niemand meer worden toegelaten.

Daar zyn des nachts tusschen den 2 en 3 September, 1759, uyt een Pakhuys op de Tweede Nieuwe-Gracht te Haarlem vermist 75 ps. SILESIER SLUYERS, genommerd als volgt: 5 ps. van No. 100, 5 ps. No. 99, 5 ps. No. 98, 5 ps. No. 97, 5 ps. No. 96, 4 ps. No. 95, 5 ps. No. 94, 5 ps. No. 93, 5 ps. No. 92 en 3 ps. No. 91, alle op het eynd gestempeld met een M en een H daarboven met een Cyffer; 4 daarop; en vervolgens 3 ps. van No 89, 5 ps. No. 88, 1 ps. No. 87, 3 ps. No. 85, 5 ps. No. 84 en 4 ps. No 81, alle op het eynd gestempeld met een Anker en in 't midden daarvan een HM; noch 7 ps., gemerkt of gestempeld met een dubbelde Drichoek en in 't midden daarvan een M, doch de Nommers onbekend: Die dezelve geheel of ten deele weet te recht te brengen by de Drukkers deezer Courant zal voor yder Stuk drie Gulden tot een Vereering hebben, zonder verder navraag; en word wyders verzogt, dat op dezelve geene Beleeningen gedaan of Geld geschooten word.

Des nachts tusschen den 7 en 8 September, 1759, is te Heyloo ten huyze van *W. Laarmen* pestonlen: Deeze navolgende Goederen, als een Bruyne Koffyklenrde Rok, Kamizoel en Broek, beet Laaken; een Blauwe met een Geele Weefsel tyn Ghsiß Japon; een Rotting met een gewerkte Zilvere Knop; een Fluweele Kap en Mofjes, twee paar Zilvere Kindere Gespen van 3 Guld. 't paar; een Goud rekart Jde Ring met een Gespje daar op; een Goude Ring met een fyn Granaat Steentje in 't midden en klyne Diamante Strentjes daar omme; een klyne Bybel met Zilvere Sloten, van binnen gemerkt J. D. R., met het Jaargetal; noch een grooter Bybel met Zilvere Sloten, gemerkt *Trynje Eernst Laarmen*, met het Jaargetal; een vol Stuk zeEls Chits, zynde een witte Grond met gecouleurde Bloemen; een Lopgernyt Frans Linnen van 124 13 ellen. Die hetgeheel of iets van 't zelve weetaan te wyzen, addresseers zig aan *Jan Krys*, Bierdrager, woonende in de Fandhoogstraat t'Amsterdam, zal eerlyk beloond worden.

De Directeuren der Secieteye TROOST IN DRUK, bestaande uyt 116 Leden, zo buyten als binnen Amsteldam woonende, en waarin noch maar zo Plaatsen open zyn, geeven te kennen, dat zy tot Inteekening zullen zitten op den 20sten September, deezes Jaars, ten huyze van *C. Hytland* in het Hof van Holland in de Kalverstraat t'Amsteldam, by wien en by *J. Stanhofius*, Boekverkooper in de Nes, tot dat eynde kan ingeschreeven worden.

Op Maandag, den 24 September, 1759, en volgende dagen, zal OTTHO VAN THOL, Boekverkooper in 's Hage, op de Groote Zaal van 't Hof verkoopen: Een zeer uytmuntende Verzameling van THEOLOGISCHE, REGTSGELEERDE, HISTORISCHE en andere BOEKEN, onder dezelve eenige zeer oude en nooyt gedrukte *Manuscripten* van *J. C. Westerman*; als mede een CABINET van OGGETTE VOGELS; *nagelaten door wylen den Wel Ed. Gestr. Heer Mr.* OTTHO SCHELTUS, *in zyn Wel-Ed. Leven Raad en Burgemeester der Stad Schoonhoven*; waar aan hier een *Appendix* van *Theologische Boeken*. De Catalogus is alom te bekomen.

Op Donderdag, den 27 September, 1759, zullen OTTHO en PIETER VAN THOL op de Groote Zaal van 't Hof in 's Hage verkoopen: Een zeer *kostrige Verzameling* van THEOLOGISCHE, HISTORISCHE en andere BOEKEN, meest net en fraay conditioneerd: *nagelaten door wylen den Heer en Mr. J.* WITTERT, *in zyn Ed. Leven Hof Raad van zyne Majesteyt den* KONING VAN POOLEN &c. &c. &c. De Catalogus is alom te bekomen.

By Pierre Gosse junior, Boekverkooper van Z. D. H. in 's Hage, is gedrukten word thans uytgezeeven: De Afbeelding van de Kamer en het Paradebed, waarop het Lyk van H. K. H. ANNA, KROON PRINCESSE VAN GROOT BRITANNIEN, PRINCESSE DOUARIERE VAN ORANJE en NASSAU, GOUVERNANTE DER VEREENIGDE NEDERLANDEN &c. &c. &c. gedurende verscheyde dagen in de Maand February, 1759, ten toon is geleid geweest; bestaande in a extra schoone fyne Koperne Plaaten, naauwkeurigtyk nagetekend door den Heer *P. de Swart*, Architect van het Hof, en in 't Koper gebragt door den vermaarden Heer *S. Fokke*, met een nette Beschryving, *Folio Magno*, de prys is f 4, item op groot Papier à f 5: Dezelve zyn mede te bekomen t'Amsterdam by *Magter*, *J. Smits* en *Ottens*; Leyden *Luchtmans* en *Honkoop*; Rotterdam *Arensberg*, *Burgollet*, *Ph. Lozel*, *Marovier* en *Smitsloef*; Dordrecht *Braam* en *Blussé*; Delft *Gravenhaan* en *Starck*; Maasslandsluys *van der Burg*; Gouda *Staal*; Gorcum *Gessies*; Utrecht *Spreys* en *Kribber*; Nymegen *van Goor*; Arnhem *Nyhoff*; Zutphen *van Bulderen*; Leeuwarden *Cholmes* en *Wigert*; Breda *van den Kieboom*; 's Hertogenbosch *Pallier*; Maastricht *Landmeester*; Brugge in Vlaanderen *de Sleenere*; Middelburg *Bakker*, *A. L. Callenfels*, *Gillissen* en *Tollefsen*. By dezelve Boekverkooper word redrukt: Afbeelding van de Lyk-Statie van HAARE KONINGLYKE HOOGHEYD &c. &c. &c. in de Wage-, Veene- en Hoogstraat in 's Hage, bestaande in 16 extra schoone Plaaten, geteekend door den Heer *La Fargue*, en in 't Koper gebragt door den Heer *Simon Fokke*; waardoor aan de Liefhebbers word med gedeeld, bovenden nette Afbeelding van dezelve Lyk-Staatsie in haare volle Ceremonie, 16 van de schoonste Gerichten van den Haag: alles op de Plaats nauwkeurig afgeteekend.

Cornelis Wilt, Boekverkooper t'Amsterdam op de Cingel over het West Indisch-Huys, heeft met Privilegie gedrukt: Het verniewde NAAM BOEKJE van de Wel-Ed. Heeren der Hooge Indische Regeering op Batavia: mitsgaders de Hooge en Mindere Bedienden op de Buyten-Comptoiren van Nederlands India; daar schier de Hooge Regeering en Bedienden op St. Eustatius, Guinea en Surinamen, alles veranderd zyn de laatst gearriveerde Schepen. Zynde by dezelve noch eenige Exemplaaren te bekomen van de Levensgeschiedenissen van verscheyde Personen, om derzelver vrayheyd aye haare Frans vertaald, en verciert met een cierlyke Twee-Plaat, à 6 Stuyv.

Te Haerlem, gedrukt by IZAAK en JOHANNES ENSCHEDE, Stade-Drukkers. Den 11 September, 1759.

Figure 347 Advert of music sold by Olofsen firm including Magito's sonatas in *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant* (inside black lines; enlargement of Magito detail shown in Figure 348).

Figure 348 Detail of Figure 347.

Rasch states that Magito did not engrave his own cello sonatas.[875] The title page of the cello sonatas (see Figure 349), however, shows a strong resemblance to the title page of the sonatas Magito engraved for Egidio Duni (see Figure 339). I wonder if it is possible that Magito engraved the music himself, and that John Wynne only printed and sold it (on the title page there is no mention of an engraver, it is only written that Wynne printed the sonatas for Magito).

[875] Rasch (2009), p. 16.

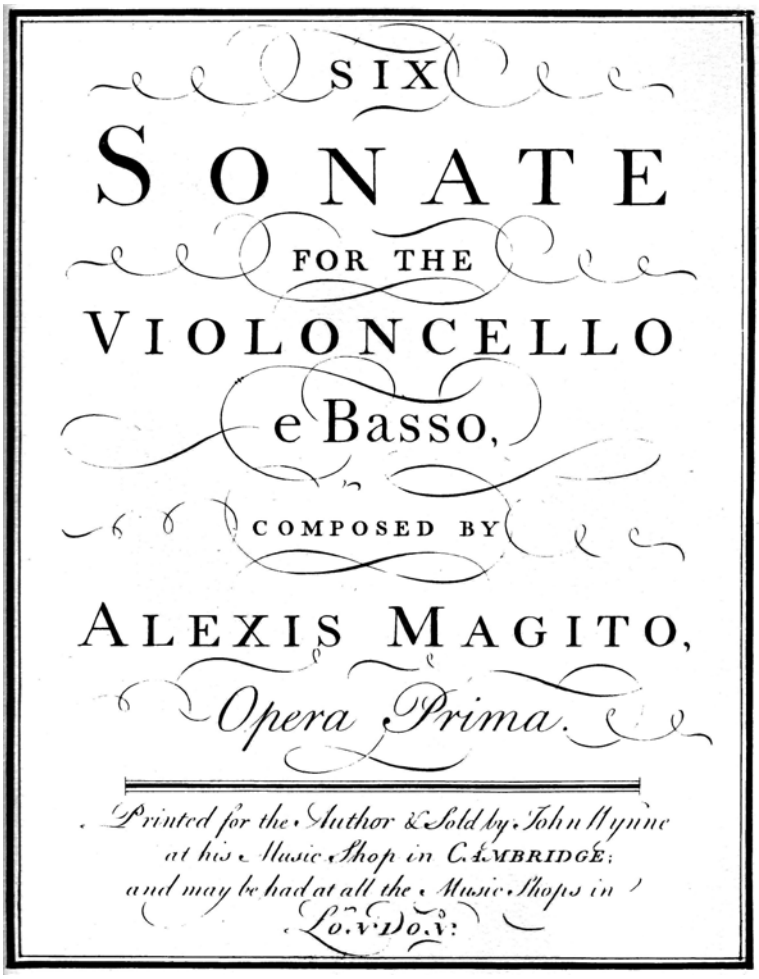
SIX
SONATE
FOR THE
VIOLONCELLO
e Basso,
COMPOSED BY
ALEXIS MAGITO,
Opera Prima.
Printed for the Author & Sold by John Hynne
at his Music Shop in CAMBRIDGE;
and may be had at all the Music Shops in
LONDON.

Figure 349 Alexis Magito, opus 1, Cambridge.

Two sonatas consist of just three movements, the other 4 sonatas have 4 movements:[876]

Sonata I	A minor	Adagio	Allegretto	Grave	Menuetto Primo/2do
Sonata II	F major	Largo	Allegro Moderato	Aria Vivace	
Sonata III	D major	Adagio	Allegro Moderato	Andante Piano	Menuetto Primo/2do Piano
Sonata IV	A major	Adagio	Allegro ma non Presto	Grave	Aria Andante/2do Piano
Sonata V	G major	Andante	Largo Cantabile	Menuetto Primo/2do Piano	
Sonata VI	D major	Adagio	Allegro	Ciciliana	Minuetto [sic] Primo/2do Piano

Table 33 Sonatas opus 1 by Alexis Magito.

The sonatas have technically been very well written for the cello. Clearly Magito knew what he was doing. The highest note is mostly a', just in a few exceptions higher notes are asked for. Various fingerings could be used in those exceptions, thumb position being one of them and the most practical.[877] For an example of this see Figure 350.

[876] A world premiere recording of the first two sonatas was made in 2012 by Elske Tinbergen on cello and Jörn Boysen on harpsichord: *Baroque music in the Netherlands. Music for cello & harpsichord*. NMI CD1202.

[877] In Dutch treatises this thumb position is for the first time mentioned in 1780, but it had been in use already long before (see for example Jacob Klein's opus 3 & opus 4 sonatas).

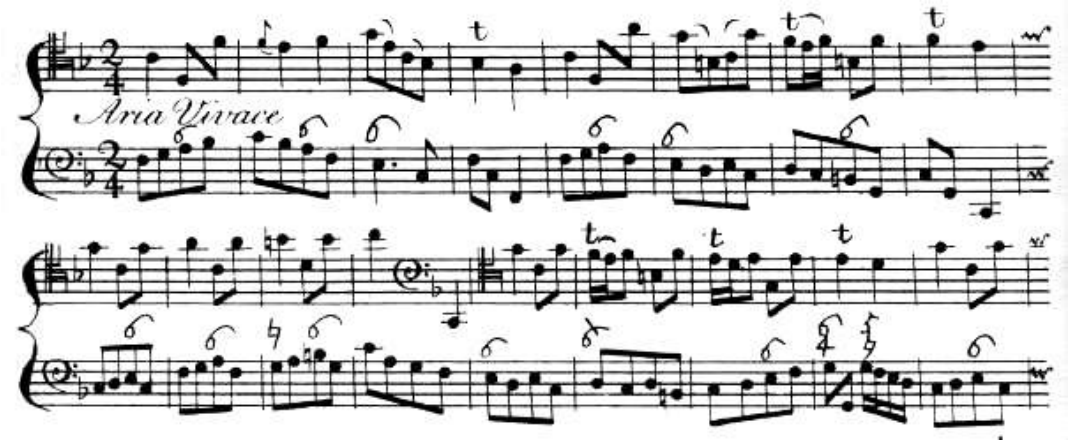

Figure 350 Sonata II: Aria Vivace. The first 4 bars of the second line are best played in thumb position.

The fast(er) movements sound very virtuosic, but are not extremely difficult. The virtuosity is mainly attained by passagework - as in Figs. 351 & 352.

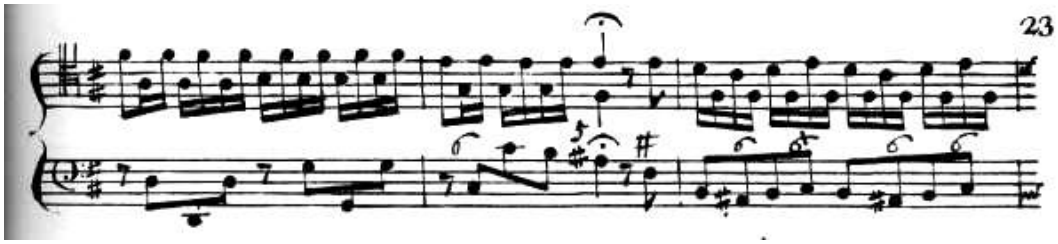

Figure 351 Sonata VI: Allegro. Passagework over two strings.

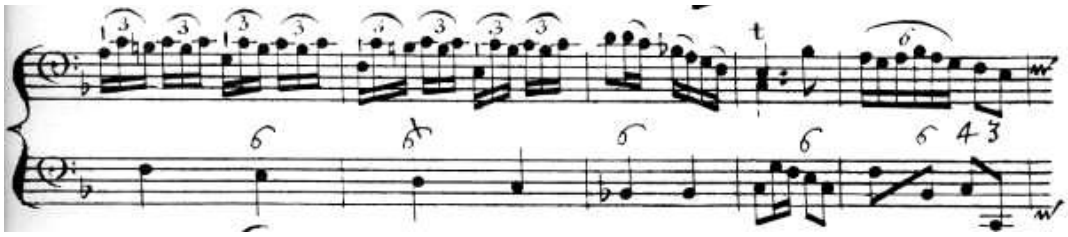

Figure 352 Sonata II: Allegro Moderato. Passagework.

In Figure 353 we can see Magito at work as a skillful cellist-composer. He uses alternately an open string and the same note on an other string, thus reaching different timbres.

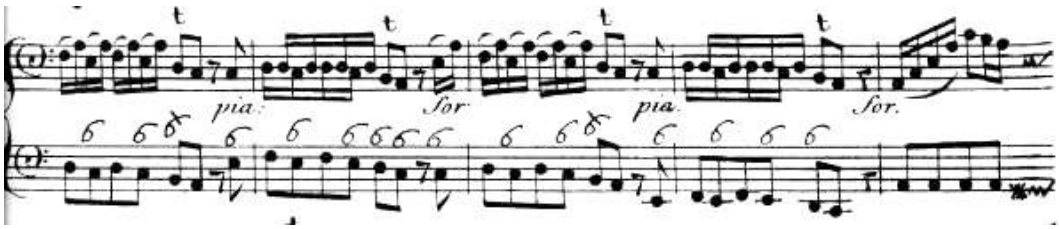

Figure 353 Sonata I: Allegretto. Passagework over two strings and the frequent use of forte and piano.

Another characteristic of these sonatas is the frequent use of forte and piano, of which an example is shown in Figure 353. The piano is mainly used as echo (of the same material in forte), in just a few cases the piano is used for a new idea or an answer.

As was shown before, in terms of date Magito's sonatas have been composed around the same time as the De Fesch opus 13 sonatas. Just as these De Fesch sonatas, Magito's sonatas ask more of the technical abilities of the cellist than the earlier sonatas composed by De Fesch. Also in style one can compare them with the De Fesch opus 13 sonatas as well as his opus 8 sonatas. In all

three opus numbers the majority of the last movements end in a minuet. The Hellendaal sonatas of 1780 demand even more of the technical abilities of the cellist (see Sub section 4.2.8).

4.2.7 Willem Gommaar Kennis (1717-1789)

Willem Gommaar Kennis (Guillaume Gommiare, or Gugl. Gomaro as he is called on the title page of his opus 6 trio sonatas) was a much admired violinist, who lived most of his life in Leuven. Charles Burney met him during his travels through Europe and wrote the following:

> "I therefore contented myself, with gaining what information I could, relative to the state of modern music in that city; and I found, that M. Kennis is the most remarkable performer on the violin in point of execution, not only of Lovain, but of all this part of the world. The solos he writes for his own instrument and hand, are so difficult, that no one hereabouts attempts them but himself…"[878]

The opus 6 trio sonatas (Paris, 1763)[879] has the following title page:

VI
TRIO
DA CAMERA
4 a Violoncello solo, Violino et Basso
Il V.° et l'ultimo sono a due Violoncelli
e Basso
Che si potrano facilmente essequi a 2 Violini e Basso
DEDICATE
All Illustriss Signore Il Sig.
ROUALLE DE BOISGELOU
Mousquetaire di SM Ch Amatore di Musica Virtuoso di Violino
Da Gugl Gomaro
KENNIS
Opera 6.ª
A PARIS

The last two sonates (for 2 cellos and bass) of this collection will be discussed here.
These pieces are definitely amongst the technically most advanced pieces for cello found in the Low Countries in the 18th century (together with the Hellendaal sonatas and Klein's opus 3 & opus 4).
Both cello parts make use of the normal f-clef and the tenor clef, but the first cello also plays in the soprano clef. For cello music from the Low Countries this is a first.
The bass part in these sonatas is meant for a string bass, considering chords, pizzicato, slurs and slurs with dots (see Figure 354).

[878] Burney (1775), p. 62.
[879] For this dissertation I have consulted the copy held by the Library of the Royal Conservatory in Brussels, inv. no. 13213.

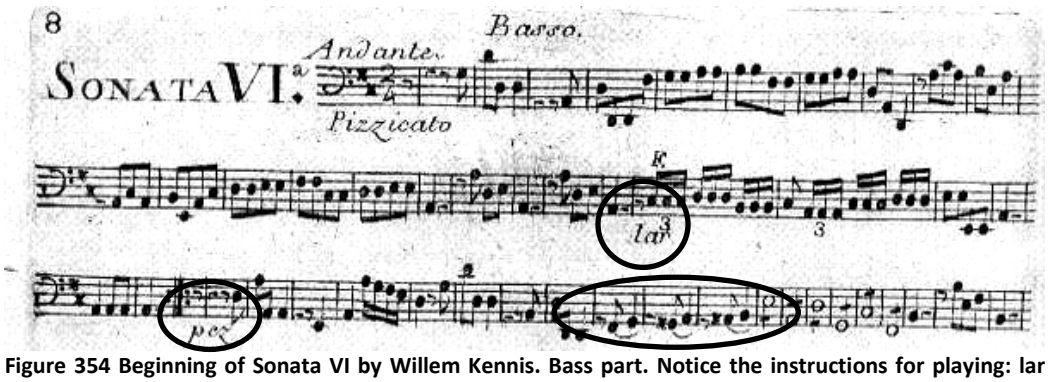

Figure 354 Beginning of Sonata VI by Willem Kennis. Bass part. Notice the instructions for playing: lar and pez (arco and pizzicato? Playing pizzicato on slurred notes, however, is difficult).

The ambitus of the first cello is D-g'', although the high notes above d''/e'' are used only once in the two sonatas. The first cello quite often needs to make use of the thumb position, specially in the passages written in soprano clef.
In a few spots fingerings have been written in (see Figs. 355 & 356). These fingerings must have been added by the cellist who used this music, they are exclusively in this copy and not in other copies. The fingerings are very logical, also for the time when this music was composed, although it was a transition period, slowly approaching Duport's fingerings. Unfortunately I do not know when they were written in.

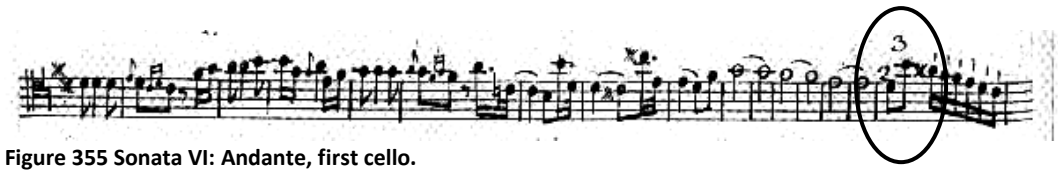

Figure 355 Sonata VI: Andante, first cello.

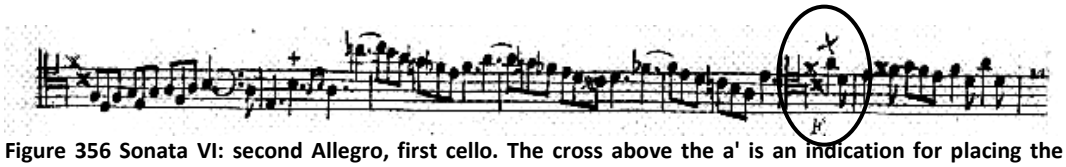

Figure 356 Sonata VI: second Allegro, first cello. The cross above the a' is an indication for placing the thumb.

Even though Kennis was a virtuosic violinist, his sonatas are well written for the cello (this is in contrast with the Hellendaal cello sonatas[880]). The higher positions are easy to reach, and the little finger rarely needs to be used (see Figs. 357 & 358).

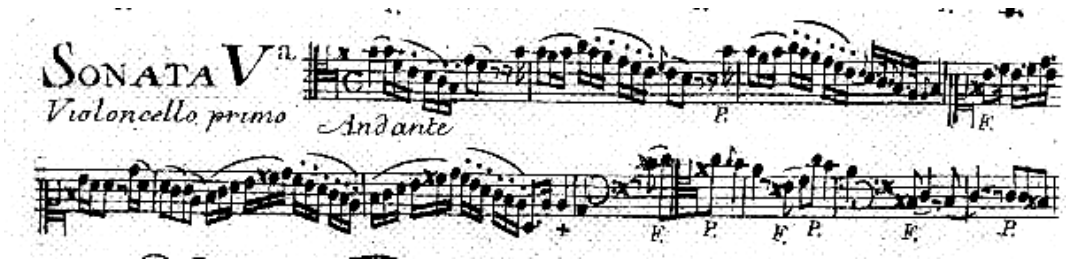

Figure 357 The beginning of sonata V, first cello. The thumb position in soprano clef is easy to reach. The frequent alternation between forte and piano is remarkable.

[880] Rasch states in his introduction to these sonatas that, although the sonatas are written for cello, the music is quite violinistic, especially considering the fingerings (Hellendaal (1981), p. XIV). In the Hellendaal sonatas one needs to make use of the little finger quite often in the higher positions. This is not very comfortable for a cellist (see Section 4.2.8).

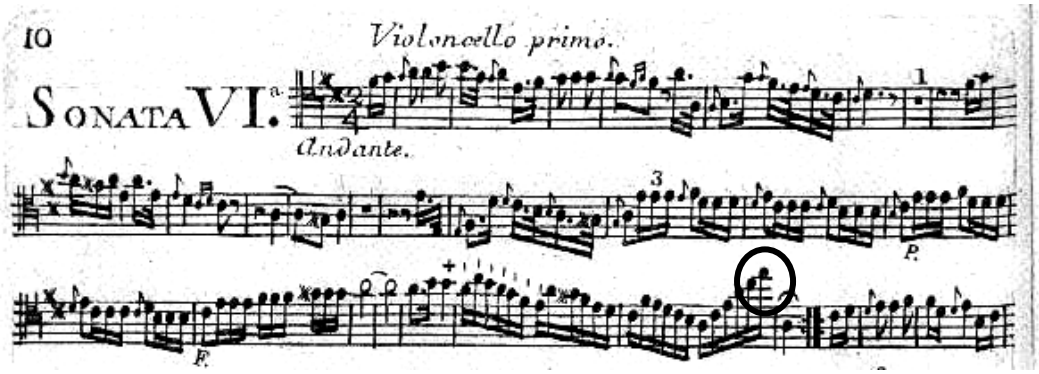

Figure 358 The beginning of Sonata VI, first cello. Just before the repeat, one needs to use the little finger.

The second cello is technically less demanding than the first. The ambitus of this part is D-b'.

4.2.8 Pieter Hellendaal (1721-1799)

Pieter Hellendaal was born in Rotterdam and lived and worked in several cities in Holland before moving to England (1751), where he finally settled down in Cambridge (1762). He worked as a violinist, organist, composer and teacher of the violin and of theory.[881] It is believed that the violinist Hellendaal is depicted in the same engraving as is Alexis Magito (see Figure 334). In the three copies of this engraving available to me, he is identified as either Hellendaal or Hellendall.

Figure 359 Pieter Hellendaal, around 1767.[882]

Hellendaal composed mainly rather complicated violin and vocal music, but he also composed 8 Solos for Violoncello and basso continuo, which will be discussed here.[883] The solos were published in Cambridge in 1780.

The title page reads as follows:

Eight
SOLOS
for the
Violoncello
with a
THOROUGH BASS
Composed

[881] Information taken from the article on Hellendaal by Leendert Haasnoot on www.oxfordmusiconline.com, last accessed: 2011, September 30.
[882] For further information on this engraving see Sub section 4.2.6.2. Reproduced with kind permission of the late Christopher Hogwood.
[883] The copy consulted for this dissertation is held by the Library of the Royal Conservatory in Brussels, inv. no. T5705.

and most Respectfully
Dedicated
To
M.R JOHN ANDERSON
Merchant of Cambridge
by his much obliged
most humble, and most obedient Servant
Peter Hellendaal
Op. V.ta

All sonatas are written in major keys and have 3 or 4 movements:

Sonata Prima	G major	Adagio	Allegro	Allegretto	
Sonata II	D major	Adagio	Allegro	Affettuoso	Rondo
Sonata III	B flat major	Allegro	Andante Affettuoso	Rondo Gavotta/ Menuetto/ Menuetto 2do	
Sonata IV	F major	Allegro	Affettuoso	Allegro	
Sonata V	G major	Adagio	Allegro	Andante Affettuoso	Rondo
Sonata VI	D major	Adagio	Allegro	Affettuoso	Pastorale Allegro
Sonata VII	C major	Larghetto	Allegro	Affettuoso	Allegretto
Sonata VIII	G major	Allegro	Affettuoso	Pastorale	

Table 34 Solos/Sonatas opus 5 by Pieter Hellendaal.

The Hellendaal cello sonatas are the youngest sonatas discussed in this dissertation. In terms of technique, these sonatas require more or less the same technical level as required in the Klein opus 3 & opus 4 sonatas and in the Kennis triosonatas. In most sonatas it is necessary to use the thumb position. The maximum ambitus is C-g''.
In sonata II and sonatas V-VIII a wavy line is drawn at several spots below the notes. This line indicates that all the notes underlined like this should be played one octave higher than is notated. These passages are notated in both bass and tenor clef (see Figure 360).

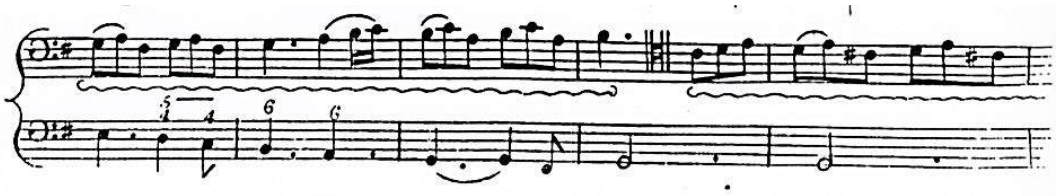

Figure 360 Sonata VIII: Pastorale. Passage with wavy line below the notes. Transition from bass clef to tenor clef, all to be played one octave higher. Specially the passage in tenor clef is difficult to read and play.

A characteristic of the Hellendaal sonatas is his frequent use of trills and other ornaments (see Figure 361), a characteristic which was already present in the De Fesch opus 13 sonatas (see Figs. 299 & 300).

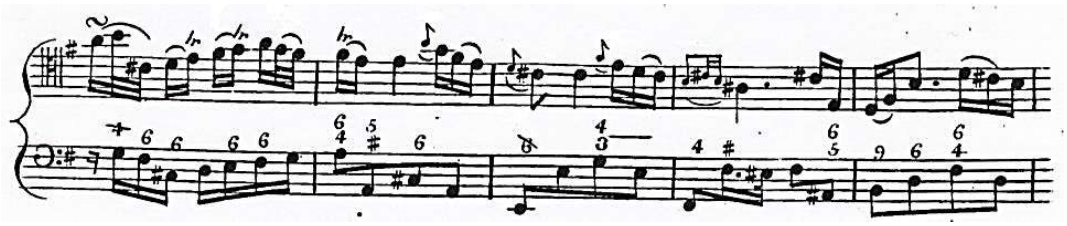

Figure 361 Sonata I: Adagio. A passage with many ornaments. Hellendaal frequently uses appogiaturas, trills and turns.

These embellishments require frequent shifting, sometimes more than would be necessary with less ornaments.

4.2.9 Lost 18th-century repertoire

In 1732 Johann Gotfried Walther writes the following about **Gerardo Han**:

> "Han (*Gerardo*) is carillonist at the city hall in Amsterdam. His first opus number containing sonatas for 3 parts (copper engravings) is to be had at Roger."[884]

And indeed in Roger's 1701 catalogue this music is mentioned: "Gerardo Han opera prima sonates à tre col violoncello."[885] According to the RISM[886] the official title of this opus number is: *Harmonie secolare, overo Dieci suonate da camera a due violini e violoncello obligato*[887] *col basso per il cembalo*. Until now, however, the cello part is considered lost.[888] Because the cello part was meant for cello obligato and the fact that this music was published around the turn of the century at the starting point of solo music for the cello, I would have loved to have been able to add Gerardo Han's music to my dissertation.
In the Oxford Music Online a cello sonata composed by **Unico van Wassenaer** is listed as lost.[889]
In Selhof's catalogue printed in 1759 a sonata by a certain Twicklo is found: "2165 *Twicklo*. I Sonate, ut supra [a Violoncello Solo col Basso Continuo]".[890] One of Wassenaer's homes and his castle in the countryside was called Twickel. Could this Twicklo be van Wassenaer? This sonata is listed in the manuscript section of Selhof's catalogue, which could well mean that it was the only copy existing.
In the printed music section of the same catalogue cello sonatas by **Jacob Nozeman** are listed: "448 *Giacomo Nozeman*, VI Sonate a Violoncello Solo e Basso continuo, opera quinta.".[891] Jacob Nozeman (1693-1745), composer, violinist and organist, was born in Hamburg during one of his father's travels. He not only composed sonatas for cello, but also sonatas for violin, music for solo harpsichord and vocal music. The style of his violin works is a mixture between sonate da camera, sonate da chiesa and the music typical of the transition from the late Baroque to the early pre-Classical style.[892] One can only guess at the style and technical difficulties of the cello sonatas. The very high quality of his violin music, however, is beyond doubt.

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[884] Walther (1732), p. 300. Original: "Han (*Gerardo*) ist Glockenist= oder Glocken=Spieler auf dem Stadt=Hause in Amsterdam. Sein erstes aus dreistimmigen Sonaten bestehendes Werck ist bei Roger daselbst im Kupferstich zu haben."
[885] Roger (1701), unpaginated.
[886] www.rism.info, last accessed: 2017, June 9.
[887] Underscore: ET.
[888] The violin parts are held at the British Library, London, inv. no. g.409.cc.(3.).
[889] www.oxfordmusiconline.com, last accessed: 2011, January 10.
[890] Selhof (1759), p. 209.
[891] Selhof (1759), p. 112. These sonatas were published as no. 92 by Gerhard Witvogel around 1742-1744. Info from: Dunning (1966), p. 53.
[892] www.oxfordmusiconline.com, last accessed: 2011, January 11.

Conclusions

In the Introduction it was shown that in the 20th century hardly anything was written about the 17th and 18th-century cello in the Low Countries. For the early history of the cello and its music, reference books concentrated mainly on Italy and some other European countries around the Low Countries. According to this modern literature, the history of the cello in this country started properly not until the 19th century.
Several of these reference books, however, were illustrated with Dutch paintings from the 17th century which made me wonder what the situation in the Low Countries actually was during that period until about 1800. The obvious paradox in 19th and 20th-century reference books between the lack of written information and the presence of Dutch images in these books relevant to the subject made me formulate the following research question: *What was the name, the appearance, development and the playing technique of the cello and was music composed for this instrument?* My research has shown that there is not one simple answer to this question.
The combination of sources used for this research and the (combined) results from the different chapters show unequivocally that the bass violin and cello were used in the Low Countries in the 17th and 18th centuries.
As far as the name, the appearance and the way of playing was concerned, there was a lot of variation. My research has shown that the Dutch 'cello' did not have one specific shape, that it was not played in one specific way and that people used several different names for the 8' bass instrument of the violin family (and these names could sometimes also be used for the viol). It was also shown that over two centuries the cello developed from a large instrument (with a few exceptions) playing a simple bass line to an instrument of more or less modern dimensions playing solo sonatas (and basso continuo!).
Furthermore I came across many names of cellists performing and studying in the NN, and among them were also many Dutch cellists. My research has shown that Dutch composers wrote (solo) music for the cello as well as Dutch violin makers were building cellos.
In the following paragraphs I will elaborate on a few striking results.

I was amazed that especially in the 17th century so very many paintings and other works of art (including luxury consumer goods) with representations of cellos and cellists had been created. The amount of images I found during the years of research went beyond expectations. These images, however, would be 'worthless' for my research in case they would not have been realistic. In Sub-chapter 2.1 I have quoted several authoritative art historians (Westermann, Dibbits, Hoogsteder) who stated that 17th-century visual art was indeed quite precise. Of course one image is more realistic than the other: as shown in the Section on tiles a left-handed bowing cellist could well have been a mistake by the artist using the transfer pattern the wrong way round and not a left-handed cellist taken from real life. In this sense especially the find of the collection of drawings made for Baron de Joursanvault was valuable. I was able to compare the pictured cello technique in these drawings with that found in all the images in my research corpus. Also from this point of view it was shown that many images are indeed very realistic even though they are often not as pronounced as the Joursanvault instruction drawings. Their precision was also confirmed by quotes from several cello methods and treatises and (parts of) remaining instruments.

In both NN and ZN quite some images of mixed shape instruments were produced. These instruments did not completely look like the 18th-century cello, but they could possibly still be considered a 8' bass instrument of the violin family. It was shown that the tuning of the strings was a decisive factor in determining whether an instrument belongs to the da braccio or the da gamba family. Since this cannot be deduced from images, many representations of mixed shape instruments were added to the research corpus.
The mixed shape instruments were mainly depicted in the 17th century and with larger numbers in the ZN than in the NN. In the ZN there were also some 18th-century examples. These mixed shape instruments could also explain the confusing array of names found in written sources. In Chapter 1 I explained that some names by themselves did not make clear what instrument was actually referred to.

It has been common knowledge that cellos used to have four and sometimes five strings, but I have also found a few images and (mostly non-Dutch: German, French and English) descriptions of 6-string cellos. A few times I got the reaction from my supervisor Ton Koopman that the 6-string instruments were not cellos but viols, even though they completely looked like a cello. Since I have also found descriptions of 6-string instruments, I am convinced that the few images I found of 6-string instrument are meant to be cellos. Regrettably these descriptions did not offer information about the tuning of the strings. And especially the tuning of the strings matters for the cellist: a tuning in fourths requires a different fingering and also different thinking than a tuning in fifths (as has been normal on the cello since the 18th century). An extra string with a complete tuning in fifths is less complicated than extra strings along with a tuning in, for example, fourths.

Even though some researchers had already written about underhand playing, as was shown in the Introduction, it was not clear whether playing with underhand grip was a common practice in the 17th century or that just some cellists played like that. My research has shown that at least in the Low Countries many cellists in fact did play with an underhand bow grip. The overwhelming evidence came from images supported by European written sources.
In the Introduction I shortly discussed the words "return" and "adopted", which, in my opinion, both pointed into the direction that before the 17th century quite possibly cellists used to play with overhand grip. Since the amount of images from the 16th century is so small, I am not able to draw definite conclusions. The very few images I have found, however, indeed show this trend: most 16th-century cellists in my research corpus do in fact play with an overhand grip. What does it say about all the depicted cellists in the 17th century playing with underhand grip, if it is true that in the beginning cellists played with an overhand grip, and not until viol players started playing cello as well does one find the underhand grip? Does it mean that all these cellists were in fact viol players switching to the cello? This is something which cannot be deduced from images and I have not found any convincing evidence in the matter. As a result this aspect remains inconclusive and more research is needed. From my own playing experience, however, I can say that changing a lifelong habit is not the easiest thing to do. Playing overhand or underhand requires a completely different technique.
Therefore the fact that in the 17th century apparently so many cellists played with underhand grip is new for many. When nowadays playing music from this century with an overhand grip, we, baroque cellists, should be aware that we might not be playing 'authentically'. I write 'might', because not all images show an underhand grip, but the majority of cellists is indeed depicted playing in this way.
Instead of 'authentically' I think at present one prefers the term: 'historically informed'. To say, as a cellist, "I am aware that cellists in the 17th century often played with an underhand grip, but I prefer the overhand grip" is one way of dealing with the information and in a way it is 'historically informed'. But in my own practice I very much prefer to also try and possibly use the underhand bow grip. There is definitely a difference between the sound and articulation produced by players bowing underhand and overhand. I am still in the process of learning this new technique, but it makes me, without doubt, a more versatile cellist to be able to play both underhand and overhand.

Regarding size, my research has shown that in the Low Countries more than a third of all depicted 17th-century instruments were larger than the instrument we play today. Quite often, however, baroque cellists in our times play both 17th and 18th-century music on the same (smaller) instrument. Apart from the difference in sound due to different tunings of the strings, instruments of different sizes sound differently as well. The sound of my bass violin (a modern copy of a large size Stradivari cello) is much rougher than the warm sound of my (original) 18th-century (English) cello. In the past, when I did not yet have this bass violin available, I used to play 17th-century repertoire on my baroque cello. This is possible since the music is technically not difficult, and even in case the music requires a somewhat lower tuning it is possible to play it on a cello tuned CGda by transposing some passages an octave higher. However, since I now own this bass violin, I have experienced a clearly audible sensation when noticing the changed sound of the ensemble. For mid-17th-century repertoire I will definitely use my bass violin more often.

In Chapter 4 I discussed the scordatura sonatas (opus 1 and opus 2 no. 6) composed by Jacob Klein. All sonatas were notated in grip notation, which shows what, at least for Klein, was the frame of thinking: a string tuning: CGda. It is very interesting that Klein's sonatas were composed around the same time as the scordatura suite composed by Johann Sebastian Bach.
As the different sizes of instrument influence the sound, also the scordatura tunings influence the sound and resonance of the cello. I find it a 'must' to use the intended tuning, in order to do justice to the evidence from the relevant period (and not, as is often done out of practical reasons, to play in 'modern' tuning). I have experienced myself that the resonance changes completely and that the piece of music undergoes a significant change.

When I started my research it was my hope that I would find conclusive evidence for the Dutch name of the 17th-century bass violin. My research, however, has shown that many different names for the 8' bass instrument of the violin family were used in treatises and other written sources. Some of these names were used for both bass violin and bass viol, and of some names the meaning was even indecipherable. Many of the names mentioned in the written sources, however, were not used in sheet music. Here other indications were used, for example: 'laeghste- geluid', a name not even specifically meant for bass violin.
The name used the most was: 'basviool'. In the future I will use this name when discussing the 17th-century instrument.
Apart from the instrument in Klein's opus 1 and Mr Carolo's sonatas, in the 18th century the instrument was always called: violoncello.

It was very surprising to find that a member of the well-known 18th-century Magito family was practically forgotten in modern times. Whereas Pieter Magito is still known today as the first Dutch circus director, the cellist-composer-engraver Alexis Magito is almost unknown. By chance I found his sonatas, music which is technically not extremely demanding but very entertaining and often really beautiful. I have been able to date the sonatas better than was done by others before and I have managed to find quite some details about Magito's life here and in England. His music is a very valuable addition to the cello music composed by other Dutch baroque composers.

I started this study by saying that until now hardly any research had been done on the cello in the Low Countries before 1800. The marginal references to music composed here and the Dutch images used in reference books indicated that the cello must have been used in the Low Countries. My research has revealed a large amount of new knowledge and information. The assumption that the cello hardly existed in the Low Countries in the 17th and 18th centuries and that only Willem de Fesch composed cello sonatas has been proven wrong. In short: over 850 images of cellos and cellists were retrieved: images showing what the instrument looked like and how cellists used to play in the Low Countries; the Dutch names for the 8' bass instrument of the violin family and several sets of cello sonatas were found (partly only references to, now lost, music).
The outcome of my research has changed me as a baroque cellist. Working as a historically informed cellist I will vary more the instruments I use for playing music of different periods (even though having more instruments is an expensive 'hobby') and I will experiment with playing with an underhand grip. Apart from the De Fesch cello sonatas, now also sonatas by for example Jacob Klein and Alexis Magito are available. In this respect I hope this research will also be inspiring and informative for the field of early music, i.e. my cello colleagues.
In the Introduction I stated that this research could only be done by a Dutch cellist. This has indeed been proven to be the case. I had to read many Dutch sources, and above all, many technical issues had to be tried out, for example fingerings and the way the cello was supposed to be held. I shall also be able now to show the results of my research in concerts and pre-concert talks.
My dissertation has become voluminous, but in order to get the best results I had to combine the written evidence with their pictorial, musical and instrumental counterparts.
I hope that my dissertation has changed the overall picture. My research will go on!

Musijcke

Musijck is als een toovery,
Die goed is voor melancoly.
Musijck is goed, Voor 't swarte bloed.
Diens oor vervremt is van Musijck,
Is meer een beest, als mensch ghelijck.
Een zoet musijck, Voeght by gheen lijck.
Musijck is goede medecijn,
Voor lien, die droef van gheeste zijn.
Musijck is d'ooghe van de oor.
Musijck verwijft een mans ghemoet,
En zacht' en zoete zinnen voedt.

(From: Brune (1636), pp. 450-451)

Summary

As a baroque cellist I am naturally interested in what instruments looked like in the Baroque, how they were played, what kind of music was composed for cello (solo) and in what way this music should be performed. As a Dutch baroque cellist I am above all most interested in the situation in the Low Countries from around 1600 up to 1800.

I have studied many reference books on the cello, and regardless of the language they have been written in, they hardly provide any information on the history of the cello in the Low Countries. The historiography about the cello has been mainly focussed on Italy and to a lesser extent on other European countries like France and Germany.
It was, however, rather remarkable that these reference books extensively use reproductions of paintings and other representations of cellos, mainly from the Noordelijke Nederlanden. Since so many works of art were produced in the Low Countries, it cannot be that the cello was not used there during the period these images were produced.
These reference books not giving the answers I was looking for prompted me to conduct this doctorate research, which deals with the following question:

What was the name, the appearance, the development and the playing technique of the cello in the Low Countries between 1600 and 1800 and what music was composed for it?

This question has been divided into four sub-questions, each of which are dealt with in one chapter of this dissertation.

In Chapter 1 I have investigated whether in written sources information is to be found about the name of the cello, and possible additonal information about the tuning of the strings and the technique.

Chapter 2 is based on a research corpus of over 850 17th and 18th-century representations of cellos and cellists (reproduced in Parts 2a and 2b of this dissertation). The following characteristics of the cello were scrutinized: size, scroll, shoulders, sound holes, frets, material and number of strings and the colour of the hairs of the bow, as well as how the instrument was played (how is the instrument held, the way the bow is held and the position of the left hand). The database with all results is reproduced in Part 3.
A case study about French instruction drawings meant for a cello method has also been added. The depicted technique here has been compared with that on Dutch images to determine how realistic the Dutch images are.

Chapter 3 focuses on the instruments still present in museums and private collections. An important question was whether the characteristics of these instruments are to be found on the images presented in Chapter 2.

Chapter 4 is divided into two Sub-chapters, about the music from the 17th and music from the 18th century respectively. By including the results from Chapter 1, I examined whether the name of the instrument, as mentioned in the 17th-century music, can shed light on which instrument should be used to play the bass line.
As for the 18th-century music: of the majority of the books containing sonatas for cello solo and basso continuo or for two cellos only a short description has been given. The composer Alexis Magito, however, has been researched more thoroughly, since until now hardly anything was known about him. The results of this research have been presented as an extensive case study.

The name 'cello' is a common term used mistakenly for the entire period of my dissertation. Therefore the word cello was placed between inverted commas in the title. The most correct term would be: *8' bass instrument of the violin family*. Since this description is too long to use each time, I have chosen, when speaking generally, to name the 17th-century instrument *'bass violin'* and the 18th-century instrument *'cello'.*

In general the conclusion may be drawn that during the period studied the cello was used far more in the Low Countries than 20th-century literature wants us to believe. Instruments were built, very many images were produced and also a sizable collection of music for cello was composed (cello as continuo instrument (possibly obligato) or as solo instrument).
The most surprising outcome has been that, in comparison to what was previously thought, the underhand bowing was used extensively. Moreover I found a lot of information about the composer, cellist and engraver Alexis Magito and I could date his sonatas more precisely than had been possible until now.

It is very important that (baroque) cellists examine the results of this research. It shows that also in the Low Countries the cello was widely used, that the instrument had many different characteristics and that it was played in many different ways.

Samenvatting

Als barokcellist ben ik van nature geïnteresseerd in hoe instrumenten er in de Barok uit zagen, hoe ze toen bespeeld werden, wat voor muziek er voor cello (solo) gecomponeerd werd en hoe deze muziek uitgevoerd moet worden. Als Nederlandse barokcellist ben ik daarnaast bijzonder geïnteresseerd hoe de situatie in de Lage Landen was in de periode van ongeveer 1600 tot 1800.

Ik heb een groot aantal naslagwerken over de cello bestudeerd, en ongeacht de taal waarin ze geschreven zijn, geven ze amper informatie over de geschiedenis van de cello in de Lage Landen. De geschiedschrijving heeft zich wat de cello betreft toegespitst tot in eerste instantie Italië en in mindere mate tot andere Europese landen zoals Frankrijk en Duitsland.
Wat echter opviel is dat de naslagwerken vaak wel uitgebreid gebruik maken van schilderijen en andere afbeeldingen van cello's afkomstig uit voornamelijk de Noordelijke Nederlanden. Als er zoveel kunstwerken gemaakt zijn, dan kan het toch niet zo zijn dat de cello, in de periode waarin die kunstwerken gemaakt zijn, niet ook gebruikt werd in de Nederlanden.
Omdat de genoemde naslagwerken hier geen antwoord op gaven, heb ik dit promotieonderzoek gedaan, waarbij de onderzoeksvraag was:

Wat was de naam, de verschijningsvorm, de ontwikkeling en de techniek van de cello in de Lage Landen tussen 1600 en 1800 en wat voor muziek is ervoor gecomponeerd?

Deze vraag is opgedeeld in vier subvragen die elk één hoofdstuk beslaan.

In Hoofdstuk 1 heb ik mij verdiept in de vraag of er in geschreven bronnen informatie te vinden is over de naam van de cello en wat er eventueel nog aan aanvullende informatie over stemming van snaren en techniek in te vinden is.

Hoofdstuk 2 is gebaseerd op een onderzoekscorpus van meer dan 850 17^{e}- en 18^{e}-eeuwse afbeeldingen van cello's en cellisten (gereproduceerd in Boek 2a en 2b van deze dissertatie). Er is gekeken naar kenmerken van de cello (grootte, krul, schouders, klankgaten, fretten, materiaal en aantal snaren & kleur van haren van de stok) en naar hoe het instrument bespeeld werd (hoe ondersteund, handhouding aan de stok & handhouding van de linkerhand). De database met alle resultaten is gereproduceerd in Boek 3. Daarnaast is er een case-study toegevoegd over Franse instructietekeningen voor een cellomethode. De hierop afgebeelde techniek is vergeleken met die op de Nederlandse afbeeldingen om te bepalen hoe realistisch deze laatste afbeeldingen zijn.

In Hoofdstuk 3 is er gekeken naar de instrumenten die nu nog in musea and particuliere collecties aanwezig zijn en of de kenmerken van deze instrumenten terug te vinden zijn in de afbeeldingen uit Hoofdstuk 2.

Hoofdstuk 4 in onderverdeeld is twee Sub-hoofdstukken over respectievelijk muziek uit de 17^{e} eeuw en muziek uit de 18^{e} eeuw. Gebruikmakend van onder andere de resultaten uit Hoofdstuk 1 is er voor de muziek uit de 17^{e} eeuw onderzocht of de naam van het instrument, zoals genoemd in de muziek, uitsluitsel kan geven op welk instrument de baspartij gespeeld zou moeten worden.
Wat betreft de 18^{e}-eeuwse muziek is voornamelijk een beschrijving gegeven van de verschillende bundels met sonates voor cello solo met basso continuo of voor 2 cello's. Naar de componist Alexis Magito is uitgebreider onderzoek gedaan, aangezien over hem tot nu toe amper iets bekend was. De resultaten van dit onderzoek worden behandeld in een case-study.

De naam 'cello' is een algemene term die ten onrechte voor de gehele periode van mijn proefschrift gebruikt wordt. Daarom heb ik in de titel het woord cello tussen aanhalingstekens geplaatst. De meest correcte term zou zijn: *8' bas instrument van de vioolfamilie*. Aangezien dit een te lange omschrijving is om telkens te gebruiken heb ik ervoor gekozen om, als er in algemene termen over het instrument gesproken wordt, het 17^{e}-eeuwse instrument *basviool* te noemen en het 18^{e}-eeuwse instrument *cello*.

Als algemene conclusie kan gesteld worden dat de cello in de Nederlanden in de 17e en 18e eeuw veel meer gebruikt werd dan de 20e-eeuwse literatuur ons wil doen geloven. Er werden in de Nederlanden instrumenten gebouwd, er werden zeer vele afbeeldingen geproduceerd en er is ook een omvangrijke collectie met muziek voor cello (als continuo-instrument (eventueel obligato) of als solo-instrument) gecomponeerd.
De meest verrassende uitkomst was wel dat er, in tegenstelling tot wat tot nu toe werd aangenomen, heel veel met een onderhandse streektechniek gespeeld werd. Daarnaast heb ik veel informatie kunnen vinden over de componist, cellist en graveur Alexis Magito en was het mogelijk zijn sonates beter te dateren dan tot nu mogelijk was.

Het is van groot belang voor (barok)cellisten kennis te nemen van de resultaten van dit onderzoek. Het laat zien dat ook in de Lage Landen de cello wijdverbreid was en dat er vele verschijningsvormen en speelwijzen waren.

Appendix 1 Modern editions of Dutch baroque cello music

	Opus no.	Instrumen-tation	Editor	Publisher	Year of publication
Willem de Fesch					
	Opus 1	2 cellos	Robert Tusler	Donemus	1999
	Opus 1	vc & bc	Werner Jaksch	Werner Jaksch (on IMSLP)	2014
	Opus 1 no. 3	vc & bc	Frits Noske	via NMI	19..?
	Opus 1 no. 1-3	2 cellos	Jean-Christophe Dassonville	Accolade	2016
	Opus 4	2 cellos	Robert Tusler	Donemus	1999
	Opus 4 no. 7	2 cellos	Kenneth Simpson	Peters	1960
	F major [= Opus 4 no. 11]	vc & piano	Alfred Moffat	Simrock	1905
	Opus 4 no. 11	vc & piano	Joseph Salmon	Ricordi	1914
	Opus 8	2 cellos	Robert Tusler	Donemus	2000
	Opus 8	vc & bc	Walter Schulz	Peters	1961
	Opus 8	vc & harpsichord	facsimile	Broude Brothers	ca. 1990
	Opus 8 no. 7-9	2 cellos	Ludwig Schäffler	Moeck	1940
	Opus 8 no. 7-8	vc & piano	Julius van Etsen	De Ring	ca. 1939
	Opus 8 no. 9 & 12	vc & piano	Julius van Etsen	De Ring	19..?
	Opus 8 no. 10-12	2 cellos	Ludwig Schäffler	Moeck	1940
	Opus 8 no. 10-12	2 cellos	Nathan Stutch	International Music Company	1998
	Opus 8 no. 7	2 cellos	Marguerite Chaigneau	Éditions Max Eschig	1925
	Opus 8 no. 1 [= no. 7]	vc & bc	Koch-Weigart	Schott	1968
	Opus 8 no. 2 [= no. 8]	vc & bc	Koch-Weigart	Schott	1968
	Opus 8 no. 3 [= no. 9]	vc & bc	Hugo Ruf	Süddeutscher Musikverlag	1961
	Opus 8 no. 3 [= no. 9]	vc & piano	Moffat-Whitehouse	Schott	1911
	Opus 8 no. 3 [= no. 9][893]	vc & piano	Joseph Salmon	Ricordi	1914
	Opus 8 no. 3 [= no. 9]	vc & piano	Moffat-Rapp	Schott	1950
	Opus 8 no. 3 [= no. 9]	vc & bc	Koch-Ewerhart	Schott	1967
	Opus 8 no. 3 &	vc & piano	Walter Schulz	Peters	ca. 2002

[893] In this edition the title of the third movement has been changed from 'Arietta Larghetto e Piano' to Andante Cantabile.

	4 [= no. 9 & 10]				
	Opus 8 no. 4 [= no. 10]	vc & bc	Koch-Weigart	Schott	1966
	Opus 8 no. 5 [= no. 11]	vc & bc	Koch-Weigart	Schott	1971
	Opus 8 no. 11	2 cellos	LR Feuillard	Delrieu	1946
	Opus 8 no. 6 [= no. 12]	vc & bc	Koch-Weigart	Schott	1965
	Opus 13	vc & bc	Robert Tusler	Donemus	2001
	Opus 13	vc & bc	Walter Kolneder	Süddeutscher Musikverlag	1982
	Opus 13 no. 1	vc & bc	Koch-Weigart	Schott	1963
	Opus 13 no. 2	vc & bc	Koch-Ewerhart	Schott	1967
	Opus 13 no. 3	vc & bc	Koch-Weigart	Schott	1964
	Opus 13 no. 4	vc & bc	Hugo Ruf	Bärenreiter	1959
	Opus 13 no. 4	vc & bc	Koch-Weigart	Schott	1964
	Opus 13 no. 5	vc & bc	Koch-Weigart	Schott	1984
	Opus 13 no. 6	vc & bc	Koch-Weigart	Schott	1964
Pieter Hellendaal					
	4 sonatas	vc & figured bass	Julius Röntgen	Vereniging Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis	1926
	Opus 5 no. 1	vc & piano	Hall-Oboussier	Musisca cello folios no 3	1983
	Opus 5 no. 2	vc & piano	Hall-Oboussier	Musisca cello folios no 4	1983
	Opus 5 no. 3	vc & piano	Willem Pijper	Oxford University Press	1928
	Rondo from Opus 5 no. 3	vc & piano	Freda Dinn	Schott	1971
	Opus 5 no. 7	vc & piano	Hall-Oboussier	Musisca cello folios no 5	1986
	Opus 5 8 Solos	vc & bc	Rudolf Rasch	Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis	1981
Jacob Klein					
	3 suites from opus 2	2 cellos	Adolf Hoffmann	Breitkopf & Härtel	1954
	Opus 2	2 cellos	Gerhart Darmstadt	Schott	1998
	Opus 3	vc & bc	Frank Wakelkamp	Wakelkamp	2016
Alexis Magito					
	Sonatas 1-3	vc & bc	Nona Pyron	Grancino Editions	1983
	Sonatas 4-6	vc & bc	Nona Pyron	Grancino Editions	1986

Appendix 2 Joursanvault's Avis

AVIS

AUX AMATEURS.

UN AMATEUR se propose de faire part au Public des connoissances qu'il a acquises sur le VIOLONCELLE, & des découvertes que quatorze ans de travail lui ont fait faire sur cet Instrument.

Il espere rendre ses principes assez lumineux, pour qu'il soit possible qu'un jeune homme laborieux & réfléchi apprenne la Musique sans le secours d'aucun Maître, place son Violoncelle, acquiert l'usage d'un bon Doigter, & parvienne à un degré de force assez grand pour n'avoir besoin que d'entendre d'habiles gens pour se perfectionner.

Son Ouvrage, qui sera divisé en cinq Parties, contiendra :

1°. Un Traité élémentaire de MUSIQUE aussi complet qu'on pourra le desirer.

2°. Un Traité d'ACCOMPAGNEMENT qui donne à un Éleve une idée de composition capable de lui former l'oreille aux accords & au choix des accords.

3°. Un Traité théorique & pratique du VIOLONCELLE, assez détaillé pour passer par degrés aux plus grandes difficultés.

4°. L'ART DU LUTHIER, *dans la facture du Violoncelle*, sa couppe, ses proportions relatives, son assemblage, sa monture, &c.

5°. Une Description détaillée des Instrumens de Méchanique qui ont rapport à la Musique-pratique, ou au Violoncelle, tels que les différens DIAPAZONS ou A-MI-LA, les différens MÉTROMETRES, &c.

Environ cent quatre-vingt pages d'impression, quatre-vingt planches de musique gravées, quarante planches dessinées & gravées par les plus habiles Artistes, formeront plus de trois cents pages de format *in*-4°., pour le corps de l'Ouvrage seulement.

Donner des principes de Muſique après les excellents Auteurs qui ont traité cette matiere, c'eſt riſquer de n'être pas lu : l'Auteur eſpere cependant que l'on approuvera ſes ſyſtêmes ; ils tendent tous à favoriſer l'étude de la Muſique, en ſimplifiant les opérations trop multipliées dont on a chargé ſes éléments ; il croit l'avoir rendue plus intéreſſante, en appliquant des exemples aux regles.

La ſeconde partie ſera un choix de pluſieurs ſyſtêmes muſicaux dont le diſcours préliminaire aura donné une ideé ſuccincte.

Il ſait que la troiſieme, quant à la pratique, n'offrira rien de nouveau ; que les poſitions du Violoncelle ont été développées par MM. TILLIÈRE, CUPIS &c. Ces hommes fameux ont eu peine à comprendre que les perſonnes pour leſquelles ils travailloient n'avoient pas toutes des idées juſtes des Sons, l'intelligence de la Muſique, l'uſage des poſitions.

Ils ont negligé, quant à la théorie, d'apprécier les ſons, de calculer les rapports, & de donner des Tables du Diapazon de cet Inſtrument.

En ne parlant pas, ou trop ſuperficiellement, des *ſons harmoniques* ou *flûtés*, ils ont éludé le ſyſtême pénible des fractions de la corde, de ſes differentes vibrations, & conſéquemment de ſes différents effets; une expérience nouvelle qui a réuſſi à l'Auteur, donnera à ce genre une plus grande étendue.

La partie du *Luthier*, *Facteur de Violon & Violoncelle*, traitée dans le Dictionnaire Encyclopédique, lui a paru ſuſceptible de plus de détails que ne lui en ont donné MM. DIDEROT, &c. L'intérêt que cette Société d'habiles Écrivains a jetté ſur les parties les plus arides de ce grand Ouvrage, fait regretter ce qu'ils auroient pu dire de plus, ſi la multiplicité des matieres les en eût laiſſé les maîtres. Dans l'Ouvrage annoncé, cette partie renfermera avec les proportions relatives du Violoncelle, le diametre relatif de ſes cordes, leur tenſion, leurs poids.

Il aura, dans la cinquieme partie, le foible avantage de réunir, ſous un même point de vue, les ſyſtêmes épars de M. SAUVEUR & autres, ſur les *Chrono-metres*, le détail d'un vrai *Metro-metre* que l'on exécute

d'après ſes deſſeins ; une autre machine qui, tendant en même temps par une force égale les quatre cordes du Violoncelle, diminuera l'ennui qu'éprouvent les Auditeurs au premier accord d'un Concert, ennui plus réel encore pour les Acteurs par le bruit confus qui réſulte de cet accord général, & le peu d'intelligence qui y regne ordinairement.

Si le Public indulgent applaudit à ſes travaux, en recevant favorablement cet Ouvrage, il haſardera d'ajouter au Dictionnaire de Muſique la partie inſtrumentale que M. ROUSSEAU n'a pas jugé à propos de traiter. Il ſent combien l'inégalité de talents doit mettre de diſtance entre l'Ouvrage & celui qui peut être regardé comme continuation. L'Auteur donnera dans ce ſecond Ouvrage les deſſeins, & autant qu'il ſe pourra, la partie hiſtorique des inſtruments anciens & étrangers, des principes & tablatures de ceux qui ſeront parvenus à ſa connoiſſance.

Il invite, à cet effet, *Meſſieurs les Amateurs, Muſiciens, Luthiers, Méchaniciens*, à l'aider de leurs lumieres, & concourir à perfectionner l'un & l'autre de ces Ouvrages, en lui envoyant des détails ſur les objets qu'ils renfermeront. Il leur demande la permiſſion de les décorer du nom de ceux auxquels il ſera redevable de quelques nouvelles découvertes.

LE BARON DE JOURSANVAULT, CHEVAU-LÉGER DE LA GARDE DU ROI, recevra, A BEAUNE EN BOURGOGNE, les paquets qu'on lui fera l'honneur de lui adreſſer juſqu'au

Il prie ceux qui lui communiqueront leurs recherches, de vouloir bien citer les Livres, les Éditions & les Pages où ils les auront puiſées, & marquer ſéparément ce qu'ils auront donné d'eux-mêmes.

Translation:

NOTE

FOR AFICIONADOS

"AN AFICIONADO intends to inform the public about the knowledge which he has gained of the CELLO and of the discoveries which 14 years of work have yielded concerning this instrument.

He hopes to express his principles sufficiently clearly, in order to make it possible that a diligent and thoughtful young person will learn to make music without the help of any teacher, will position his cello, obtain a good command of fingering and develop a certain amount of strength, enough to only listen to skilled people in order to perfect himself.

His work, which will be divided in 5 parts, will contain:

1. An elementary treatise on MUSIC, as complete as one could wish for.
2. A treatise on ACCOMPANIMENT, which gives the pupil an idea of composition, enabling him to form a sense of hearing for chords and the choice of chords.

3. A theoretical and practical treatise on the CELLO, detailed enough in order to, step by step, conquer the most severe difficulties.
4. THE ART OF THE VIOLIN MAKER, concerning the *manufacture of the cello*, its shape, its relative proportions, its integration, assembly, etc.
5. A detailed description of mechanical instruments relating to musical practice or to the cello, such as various TUNING-FORKS, or A-MI-LA, the different METRONOMES etc.

About 180 printed pages, 80 plates of engraved music, 40 plates drawn and engraved by the most skilled Artists, will form more than 300 pages in quarto-format of the main body of the work alone.

Giving music principles according to the eminent Authors who have treated this matter, entails the risk of not going to be read: the Author nevertheless hopes that his systems will be approved of; they all aim at stimulating the study of music, by simplifying the excessively extensive calculations with which it has been adorned; he thinks he has made this study more interesting by adding examples to the rules.

The second part will be a choice of several musical systems, of which the preceding introduction will have given a brief idea.

That is the reason why the third part, as far as the practice is concerned, will not offer anything new; the positions of the Cello have been developed by Messrs. TILLIERE, CUPIS etc.

These famous men have had difficulties in understanding that the persons for whom they worked, did not all have the right ideas about Tones, insight in Music and the use of the positions.

They have, as regards the theory, not appreciated the importance of the tones, to calculate the proportions, and to give the tables of the range of this instrument. By not speaking, or too superficially, about the *harmonics*, they have got around the tricky system of the fractions of the string, its various vibrations and therefore its several effects; a new experience in which the author has succeeded, will give more scope to this aspect.

The part about the *Violin maker, creator of Violin and Cello*, dealt with in the 'Encyclopedie', seems to the author to lend itself to more detail than Messrs DIDEROT etc. have given it.

The interest which the Association of skilled Writers has had for the driest parts of this big Work, makes the author regret [not knowing] what else they could have said if the extent of the material had allowed them.

In the announced Work, this part will contain along with the relative proportions of the Cello, the relative diameter of its strings, their tension and their weight.

He will have, in the fifth part, the slight advantage of bringing together the systems of Mr. SAUVEUR and others from the same point of view, about the *Chronometers*, the details of a true *Metrometer*, all executed according to his designs and another machine which, tightening all the strings of the Cello with equal force, will diminish the boredom, which Listeners have to put up with at the first chord of a Concert [the tuning, I would say], a boredom much more real for the musicians because of the disorderly noise which is the result of that general chord, and the lack of understanding which normally prevails.

If the appreciative audience applauds his efforts by receiving the Work favourably, the author will risk adding to the Music Dictionary the instrumental part, which Mr. ROUSSEAU did not see fit to treat. He realizes how much the inequality of the talents must create a distance between the Work and that which can be seen as continuation. The author will present the plans in this second Work, and as much as possible, the historical part of the early and foreign instruments, of the principles and the tablature of those he has come across.

He invites, with this goal, *Messrs. Aficionados, Musicians, Violin makers, Mechanics* to help him with their insights, and together strive for perfecting these Works, by sending him details about the subjects they contain. He asks them for permission to decorate them with the names of those to whom he is indebted for some new discoveries.

BARON DE JOURSANVAULT, OF THE LIGHT CAVALRY OF THE ROYAL GUARD, AT BEAUNE IN THE BOURGOGNE, will receive parcels, addressed to him until[894]

[894] Here the sentence stops. I imagine Joursanvault meant to fill in a date at this place, when sending the avis to people.

He requests those who will inform him of their investigations, to cite correctly the Books, Editions and Pages, on which they have drawn, and to indicate separately what they have contributed themselves."

Guiffrey's descriptions of the Prud'hon drawings:

G. 1016 M. de Bessey, père du baron de Joursanvault, tenant une basse
A mi-corps, de trois quarts à gauche, vêtu d'un habit dont le col est garni de fourrure, la main gauche sur le manche de la basse pour indiquer la position que doit avoir cette main
G. 1017 Le baron de Joursanvault
Assis de profil, tenant une basse dont il joue; devant lui, un cahier de musique sur un pupitre sculpté
G. 1018 Le baron de Joursanvault
Assis de profil, ses cheveux enveloppés dans une bourse, la main posée sur le manche de la basse
G. 1019: Le baron de Joursanvault
De trois quarts à droite, la main gauche sur les cordes d'une basse
G. 1020 M. le curé de Joursanvault
De trois quart à gauche, la main gauche sur les cordes de la basse.
G. 1021: Jeune homme
Vu de face et en pied, il tient entre les jambes une basse dont il joue
G. 1022 Main et basse pour indiquer la position de l'avant-bras et de la main pour tenir l'archet
G. 1023 Main et bras avec le manche du violoncelle pour faire comprendre la position de la main sur les cordes
G. 1024 Avant-bras et main entr'ouverte tenant un archet
G. 1025 Les doigts posés sur les cordes d'une basse
G. 1026: Un joueur de basse
Assis de face, en pied
G. 1027 Le baron de Joursanvault jouant de basse

Appendix 3 Instrument collections without NN and ZN cellos

Apart from the collections mentioned in Sub chapter 3.1, I have, unsuccesfully, contacted the institutions in the list below. None of these has cellos from the NN and the ZN.

Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum
Barcelona: Museu de la Música
Basel: Historisches Museum
Basel: Schola Cantorum Basiliensis
Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum
Coburg: Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg
Copenhagen: Teatermuseet i Hofteatret
Dortmund: Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte
Edinburgh: Musical Instrument Museums, University of Edinburgh
Eichenzell: Museum Schloss Fasanerie
Eisenach: Bachhaus
Estoril: Museu da Música Portuguesa
Florence: Galleria dell'Accademia di Firenze
Frankfurt am Main: Historisches Museum
Geneva: Musée d'art et d'histoire
Halle: Stiftung Händel-Haus
Hamburg: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe
Hessen: Kulturstiftung des Hauses Hessen
Klagenfurt am Wörthersee: Landesmuseum Kärnten
London: Royal College of Music
London: Victoria and Albert Museum
München: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum
Nürnberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum
Oxford: Bate Collection, Oxford University
Oxford: Ashmolean Museum
Poznan: Muzeum Narodowe w Poznaniu
Prague: Národní Muzeum - České muzeum hudby
Rosenborg: Kongernes Samling Rosenborg
Stockholm: Stadsmuseet
Stockholm: Scenkonst Museet
Toronto: Hart House
Trondheim: Ringve Musikmuseum
Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum
Weimar: Klassik Stiftung
Willisau: Musikinstrumentensammlung

Noordelijke Nederlanden

Year of manufacture	Violin maker	Collection	Inv.no.	Total length	Body length total	Body length front	Body length back	Length from top of body to top of sound holes	Length from top of body to notch in sound holes	Ribs	Ribs			Length of sound holes	Maximum/minimum width front			Maximum/minimum width back			String length from nut to bridge	Distanche between tops of sound holes
											Upper	C-bout	Lower		Upper	C-bout	Lower	Upper	C-bout	Lower		
1670																						
	Hendrick Jacobs 1675-1705	GM	MUZ-1938-0026	121,7*			74,2		39,15		11,7	11,7	11,9	13,1	34,4	24,1	43,8	34,35	22,9	43,5	67,9	10,4
	Cornelis Kleynman ca. 1675	PC				74,5	74,5			12,6				12	34,7	22,6	43,2				69	9,4
	Jan Boumeester 1676	GM	MUZ-1976-0019	92*		53,2	53,1	23,9	29,2		8,5	8,7	9	10	24,6	15,7	30,8	24,3	15,5	30,2	53,3	6
1680																						
1690	Willem van der Sijde 1690	TW			73,8										33,3	24	41,8					
	Hendrick Jacobs 1690	TW			73,5																	
	Hendrick Jacobs ca. 1690	NMF			74,6				38,8						33,6	23,9	42,3					8,18
	Pieter Rombouts ca. 1690	NMF			73,5				39,4						33,9	22,5	42,7					7,5
	Pieter Rombouts 1699	NMF			74,3				39,6						33,2	23,1	41,8					9,8
1700																						
	Hendrick Jacobs 1703	TW			72,3																	
	Hendrick Jacobs 1705	GM	MUZ-1962-0008	124,5*			77,2		41,8		11,8	12,3	12,25	13,6	35,6	24,6	44,2				71,3	9,1
	Pieter Rombouts 1705	PC				74	74	33			12	12	12		35	26	44	35			84	17,5

Year of manufacture	Violin maker	Collection	Inv.no.	Total length	Body length total	Body length front	Body length back	Length from top of body to top of sound holes	Length from top of body to notch in sound holes	Ribs	Ribs			Length of sound holes	Maximum/minimum width front			Maximum/minimum width back			String length from nut to bridge	Distanche between tops of sound holes
											Upper	C-bout	Lower		Upper	C-bout	Lower	Upper	C-bout	Lower		
1710																						
	Pieter Rombouts 1715	TW			74,2										33	23	40,9					
1720																						
	Pieter Rombouts 1722	TW																				
	Pieter Rombouts 1722	GM	MUZ-1962-0012	122,5*		76,2	76,7	33,9	41,4		11,5	11,7	12,1	14	35,1	24,3	44,4	34,6	23,6	43,6	70,1	7,8
1730																						
1740																						
1750																						
1760	Johannes Theodorus Cuypers 1760	TW			73,3																	
	Cuypers 1761	FL			75,2																	
	Johannes Theodorus Cuypers 1763	TW			76,5										36,3	25,7	43,9					
	Johannes Theodorus Cuyprs 1766	TW			71,5																	
	Johannes Theodorus Cuypers 1766	PC		123	72					12,5				13	33	23	41,5				68	

Year of manufacture	Violin maker	Collection	Inv.no.	Total length	Body length total	Body length front	Body length back	Length from top of body to top of sound holes	Length from top of body to notch in sound holes	Ribs	Ribs			Length of sound holes	Maximum/minimum width front			Maximum/minimum width back			String length from nut to bridge	Distanche between tops of sound holes
											Upper	C-bout	Lower		Upper	C-bout	Lower	Upper	C-bout	Lower		
1770	Johannes Theodorus Cuypers 1770	TW																				
	Johannes Theodorus Cuypers c. 1770	NMF			75				40,1						35,6	26	44,2					12,1
	Jacques Baptiste Lefebvre 1770	CS		113	68,5										31		41					
	Jacques Baptiste Lefebvre 1772	GM	MUZ-1933-0572	116,5*			70,45		38		9,9	9,8	10	11,9	31,3	21,5	40,05	31,7	21,8	40,05	66,3	9,9
	Johannes Theodorus Cuypers 1775	TW			72,7																	
	Johannes Theodorus Cuypers c. 1775	CW					73															
	Cuypers 1779	FL			73,3																	
1780																						
	Cuypers 1782	FL			73,1																	
	Johannes Theodorus Cuypers 1787	GM	MUZ-1983-0001	121*			73,2		39,5		11,7	11,8	11,8	13,2	35	23,9	43,3	34,7	23,9	43,3	67,7	11,1
1790																						
	Johannes Theodorus Cuypers 1793	GM	MUZ-1938-0018				73,4		40,1		11,5	11,6	11,6	12,8	34,8	23,8	42,7	34,3	23,8	42,5	68,7	11
1800																						
18th century	Rombouts	FL			72,5																	
	Pieter Rombouts	GM	MUZ-1941-0021			76,6	76,8	34,35	41,8		11,7	11,9	12,1	13,8	34,7	24,2	44	34,9	24,35	44,2	71,8	8,5
	Jean Baptiste Lefèbvre	NMF			72				39						32,4	22,3	42,3					9,6

* Dimensions received from GM

Zuidelijke Nederlanden

Year of manufacture	Violin maker	Collection	Inv.no.	Total length	Body length total	Body length front	Body length back	Length from top of body to top of sound holes	Length from top of body to notch in sound holes	Ribs	Ribs			Length of sound holes	Maximum/minimum width front			Maximum/minimum width back			String length from nut to bridge	Distanche between tops of sound holes
											Upper	C-bout	Lower		Upper	C-bout	Lower	Upper	C-bout	Lower		
1670																						
	Gaspar Borbon 1670	MIM	2856	121,5*		75,5	75,5	33,9	40,4		11,7	11,7	11,7	13,15	36,5	24,9		36	24,8	43,1		10,75
	Gaspar Borbon 1671	MIM	2857	123,7*		78,1	78	36	43		11,9	11,9	12,05	13,4	37,9	25,5	45,4	37,9	26,1	45,4		12,5
1680																						
	Gaspar Borbon 1688	MIM	1374	127,8*		78,4	78,1	35,7	42,4		11,7	11,65	11,65	12,9	38,4	26,45	46,2	38,2	26,45	45,5		12,2
1690																						
	Gasper Borbon 1691	FL			79																	
1700	Matthias Hofmans III 1700	TW			72,5																	
	Gaspar Borbon 1702	MIM	2879	129,2**	80,5**	80,7	80	37,8	44,7	13**	12,9	12,9	13,1	13,4	41	29,4	49,1	41	28,6	48,6	72,6	14,9
	Gaspar Borbon 1707	MIM	2.005.023	119,9*		73	73,4	32,4	39,3		11,1	11,3	11,25	13,4	33,8	23,8	41,9	33,6	23,5	41,9		9,3
1710																						
	Egidius Snoeck ca. 1715	NMF			80,7				43						44,9	23,2	42,5					8,9
	Gaspar Borbon 1717	FL			78																	
	Hendrik Willems 1717	MIM	2876	129,9*		78,2	77,8	35,2	43,1		13,6	13,6	13,7	15,1	37,6	28,8	46,1	37,9	28,2	46,4		12,6
	Marcus Snoeck 1718	MIM	1373	116,5**	72,2**	72,2	72,15	30,4	37,3	11,9**	11,7	12,15	11,75	13,2	33,4	22,9	42	32,6	22,5	41,5	65,7	9,3

Year of manufacture	Violin maker	Collection	Inv.no.	Total length	Body length total	Body length front	Body length back	Length from top of body to top of sound holes	Length from top of body to notch in sound holes	Ribs	Ribs			Length of sound holes	Maximum/minimum width front			Maximum/minimum width back			String length from nut to bridge	Distanche between tops of sound holes
											Upper	C-bout	Lower		Upper	C-bout	Lower	Upper	C-bout	Lower		
1720	Marcus Snoeck 1720	MFA		121,3	72,8					11,5					33	22,4	41,3				68	
	Egidius Snoeck c. 1720	TW			76										37,4	26,8	46,8					
	Marcus Snoeck 1721	MIM	2858	121,6*		78,4	77,8	35,2	42,7		11,6	11,7	11,7	13,5	36,4	25,1	46,4	36,3	25,5	46,6		11,7
	Marcus Snoeck 1722	MIM	2861	117,8*		73,3	73,2	33,5	40,4		10,7	10,7	10,7	13,4	32,9	22,3	41,4	32,7	22,3	41,1		9
1730	Etienne Simonet 1730	MIM	2866	125*		73,6	73,8	33,6	40,9		11,6	11,4	11,5	13,4	34,85	25,7	42,3	34,4	25,5	42,1	70,4	11,8
	Marcus Snoeck 1733	MIM	2860	121,5*		75	74,8	33,3	40,2		11,2	11,2	11,3	13,1	35,4	24	45,65	34,6	24,4	44,9		10,9
	Egidius Snoeck 1734	MIM	2875	130,2*		80,5	80,7	36,4	43,3		14,1	14,1	14,1	13,45	40,9	29,25	47,3	40,7	28,4	47,6		14,3
	Pierre Joseph Steveny 1738	MIM	2865	114,3*		71,6	71,8	32	38,4		12,3	12,3	12,3	13,1	33,4	24,3	41,7	33,2	24,3	40,9	65,2	10,1
	Etienne Simonet 1739	MIM	3994,01	119,4*		73,4	73,2	30,5	38,6		11,7	11,6	11,6	14,5	34,8	24,3	42,5	34,7	24,2	42,5		10,25
1740																						
	Ambroise de Comble 1741	CS		125	71										34		42,5					
	Ambroise de Comble 1745	MIM	1370	116,5*													41,8*					
1750																						
	Ambroise de Comble 1751	MIM	2867	114,4*													39,8*					
	Laurent Joseph de Ligne 1752	MIM	2864	113,2*		67,7	67,7	31,35	37,7		10,7	10,7	11	12,1	33,7	23	41,75	33,6	23,4	41,6	65,2	10
	Benoit Joseph Boussu 1752	MIM	2863	122,5*		76,5	76,5	34,3	40,9		12,4	12,5	12,5	12,7	34,2	22,05	43,4	33,7	22,15	43,6		9,9
	Ambroise de Comble 1752	PC				69,4	69,5	32,1	39,2		11,6	11,6	11,6	12,2	31,9	22	40,6	31,9	22,25	40,6	67,4	9,3
	Ambroise de Comble 1755	MIM	2868	116,6*													41,4*					
	Benoit Joseph Boussu 1755	MH		121,2*	75,5					11,5					33,7	21,9	43,1				68,7	
	Ambroise de Comble 1756	TW			72,5										32,8	22	41,8					
	Ambroise de Comble 1757	MIM	4275	114,3*													39,9*					
	Benoit Joseph Boussu 1757	MIM	1372	121,9*		75,3	75,1	33,7	40,2		11,2	11,3	11,2	12,5	33,8	22,7	43	33,3	22,2	42,8	68,7	9,7

Year of manufacture	Violin maker	Collection	Inv.no.	Total length	Body length total	Body length front	Body length back	Length from top of body to top of sound holes	Length from top of body to notch in sound holes	Ribs	Ribs			Length of sound holes	Maximum/minimum width front			Maximum/minimum width back			String length from nut to bridge	Distanche between tops of sound holes
											Upper	C-bout	Lower		Upper	C-bout	Lower	Upper	C-bout	Lower		
1760																						
	Marcus/ Egidius Snoeck 1761	MIM	2872	116,4*		72,35	72,35	30,8	38		11,8	11,7	11,7	13,4	35,2	25,5	42,7	34,95	25,4	42,8		10,8
	Laurent Joseph de Ligne 1761	MIM	1990,072	116,7*		70,9	70,9	33,3	39,5		11,2	11,2	11,2	12,1	35,1	24,6	43,55	34,8	24,7	43,5		10
	Ambroise de Comble 1761	TW			72,3																	
	Marcus Snoeck before 1762	MIM	2877	129,5*		80,2	80,6	37,8	45,1		12,4	12,2	11,6	13,3	40,4	28,3	47,4	39,9	28,3	47,5		12,4
1770																						
1780																						
	Ambroise de Comble 1782	MIM	2874	117,7*													41,7*					
1701-1750	Hendrick Willems	MIM	2855	124,5*		75,4	75,65	35,2	41,3		11,9	12,15	12	11,9	35,8	23,4	43,25	34,9	23	42,3		9,4
1701-1750	Bass violin Brussels	MIM	2878	135,5*		76,8	77	33,7	41,35		14,2	14,2	14,4	14,7	37,7	26,7	46,5	37,95	27,1	46,7	70,5	11
1733-1755	Flanders	MIM	2472	135,2*		83,6	84,35	36,7	45,1		13,15	13,35	13	15,35	39,3	26,5	49,8	38,3	26,95	48,45		11,3
18th century	Marcus Snoeck	FL			78																	
18th century	Ambroise de Comble	TW			69,7																	

* Dimensions taken from website MIM
** Dimensions taken from MH

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Curriculum Vitae

Elske Tinbergen was born in Leiden in 1973. She attended the Praedinius Gymnasium in Groningen and she was one of the few in her year combining languages (Dutch, English, German, Latin & Greek) with science (Algebra 2 and Biology). During her years at school she was a member of the Jeugd Orkest Nederland and the Haydn Jeugd Strijk Orkest in Groningen.
For her professional training Elske Tinbergen followed the unusual route of first studying baroque cello (Viola de Hoog; DM in 1999), then modern cello (Ran Varon; 1st phase in 2000) and finishing with a Master baroque cello at the Koninklijk Conservatorium with Jaap ter Linden and Lucia Swarts (2003). During her Master she specialised in playing the 5-string cello piccolo. The author feels very lucky that she was able to follow a few masterclasses with Anner Bijlsma.
She now plays modern cello, baroque cello, 5-string cello piccolo and basse de violon.
Elske Tinbergen loves teaching, both baroque and modern cello. Her baroque cello lessons are sought after by cellists from all over Holland. For many years now she is a welcome teacher at the courses organised by the 'Vereniging Huismuziek'.
Elske is the conductor and artistic leader of the amateur cello ensemble Spiccato, and at times she coaches the basso continuo group of the Zutphens Barok Ensemble.
Twelve years ago she co-founded the professional baroque ensemble Giardino Musicale, a small versatile chamber music ensemble which explores the world of early music and beyond.
With harpsichordist Jörn Boysen she has played many concerts and in 2012 recorded a cd with Dutch baroque music with solo sonatas by Willem de Fesch and Alexis Magito.
Elske also appears on other cd's: *'Rameau: une symphonie imaginaire'* (Musiciens du Louvre; Edison 2006) and *'Music at the court of Jülich-Berg'* (La Barca Leyden; Gouden Label 2012).
Her research trajectory took place in the framework of DocARTES, doctoral programme for music, organised for Dutch and Flemish universities and conservatoires by the Orpheus Institute in Gent.

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Noordelijke Nederlanden

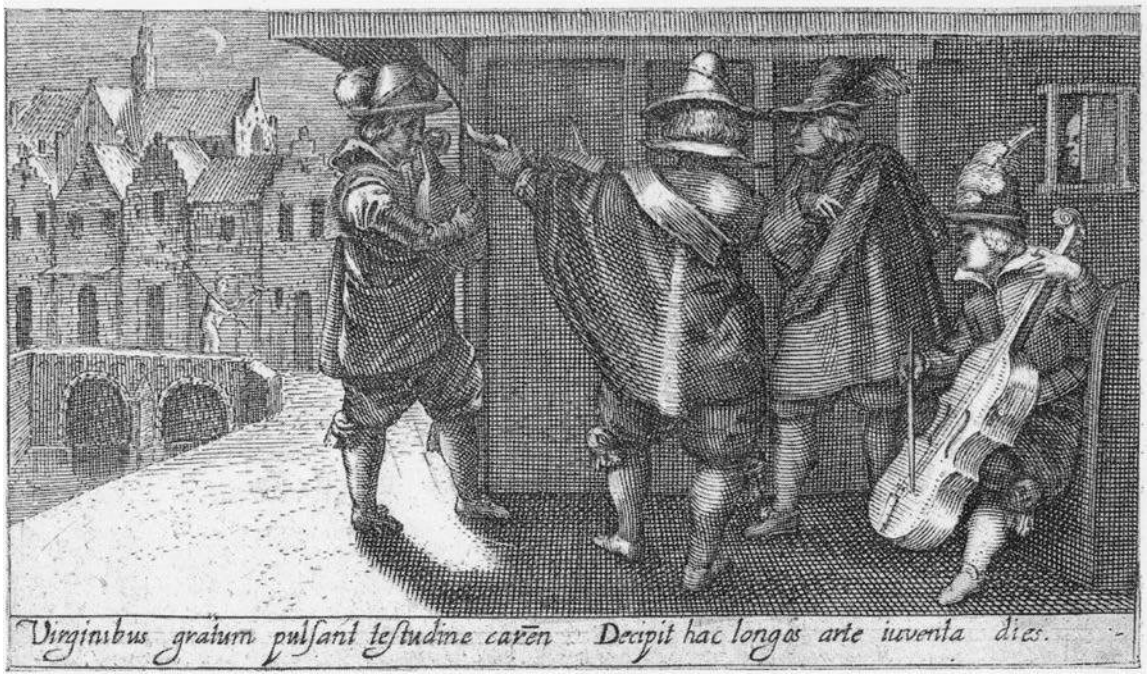
Aartman, Nicolaes (1713-1760)
Four musicians in front of a house (1725-1775).

Aartman, Nicolaes (1713-1760)
Interior with two musicians and a gentleman asking a lady to dance (1725-1775).

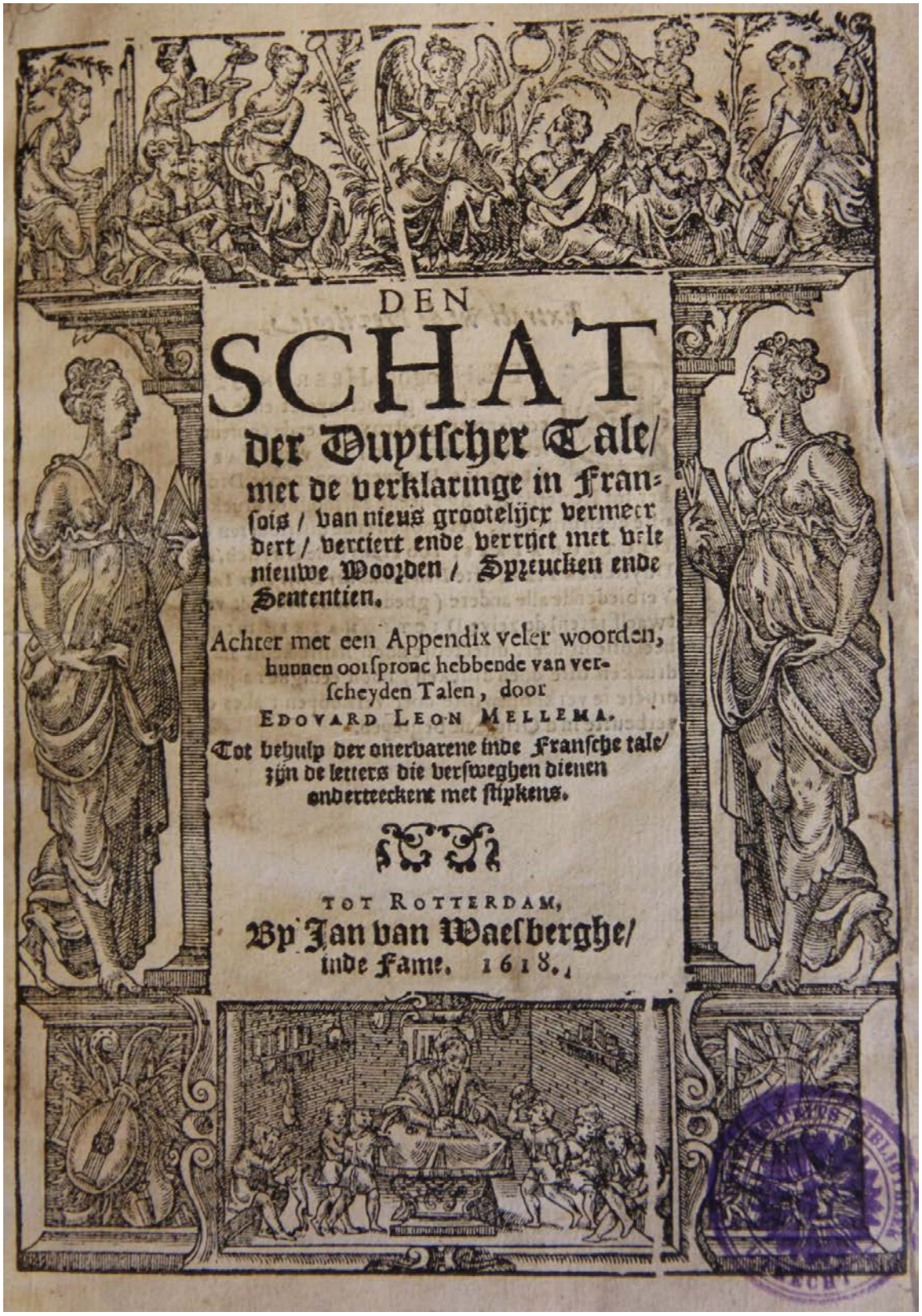
Aartman, Nicolaes (1713-1760)
Interior with company making music.

Allard, Carel (active 1663-170?)
Hearing.

Anonymous
Illustration from: Marcus, J. (1616). *Deliciae Batavicae.*



Anonymous
Title page of: Mellema, E. E. L. (1618). *Den schat der Duytscher Tale.*



DEN
SCHAT
der Duytscher Tale/
met de verklaringe in Fran-
sois / van nieus grooteliyck vermeer
dert / verciert ende verryket met vele
nieuwe Woorden / Spreucken ende
Sententien.

Achter met een Appendix veler woorden,
hunnen oorsprong hebbende van ver-
scheyden Talen, door
EDOVARD LEON MELLEMA.

Tot behulp der onervarene inde Fransche tale/
zijn de letters die verswegheu dienen
onderteeckent met stipkens.

TOT ROTTERDAM,
By Jan van Waelberghe/
inde Fame. 1618.

Anonymous
Illustration from: Starter, J. J. (1621). *Friesche lust-hof.*

Anonymous
Title page of: Hooft, W. D. (1630). *Heden-daegsche Verlooren Soon.*

VV. D. HOOFTS

Heden-daeghsche

VERLOOREN SOON.

Gheſpeeld' op de

AMSTERDAMSCHE

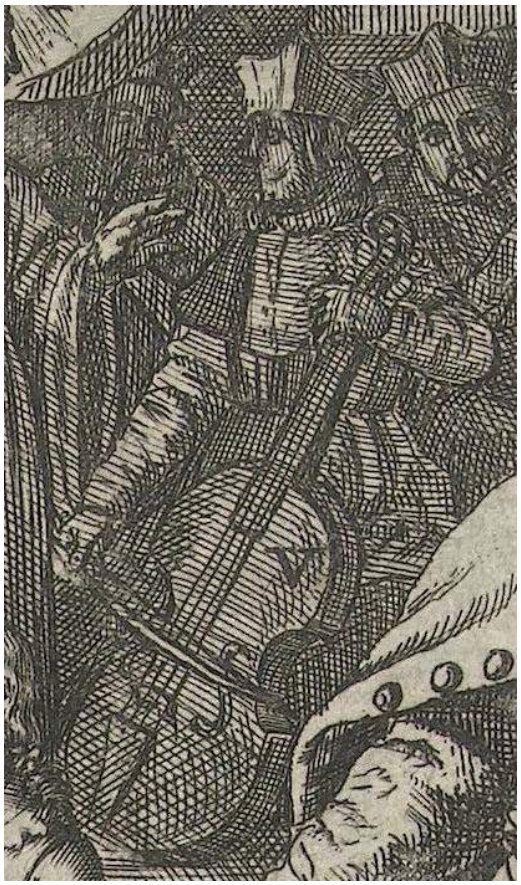
ACADEMI.

Op den 3. Februario, ANNO 1630.

t'AMSTERDAM,

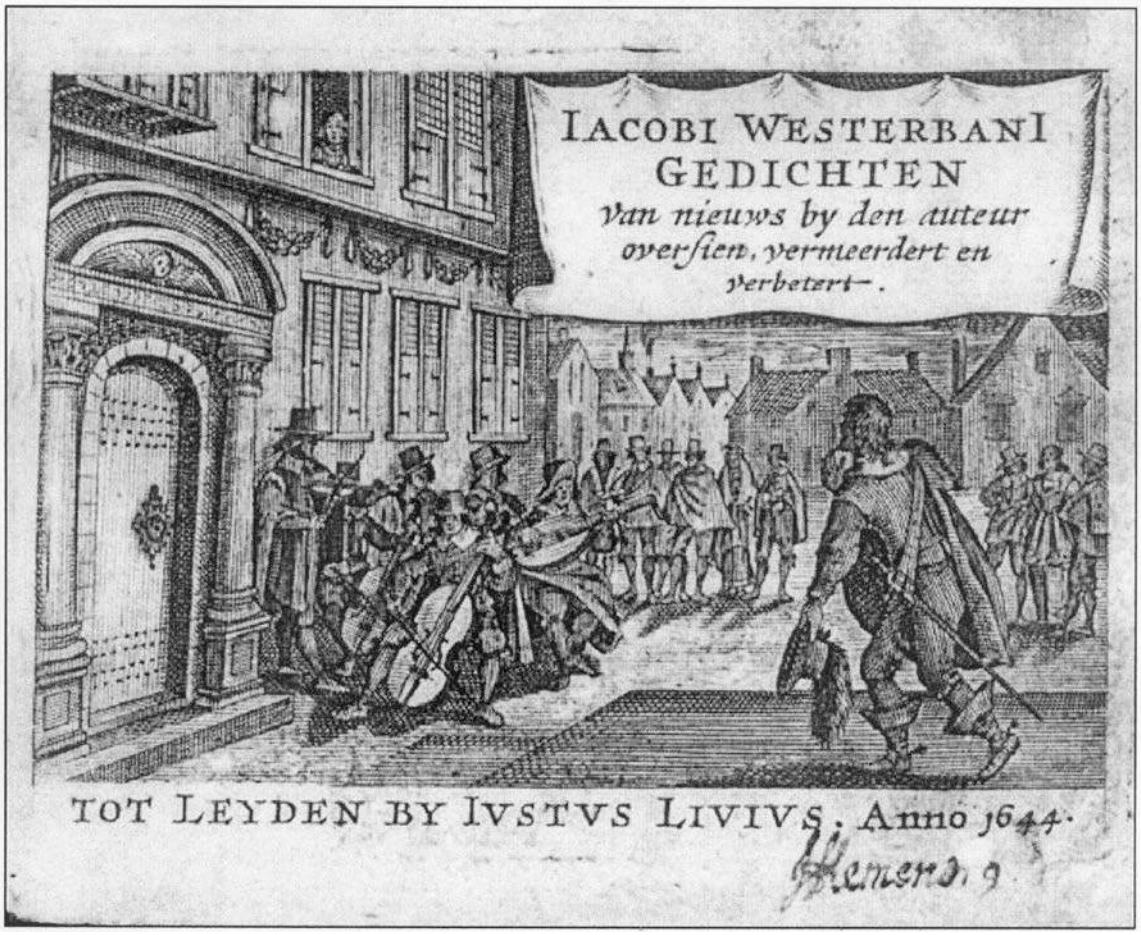
Door Cornelis VVillemſz Blaeu-laecken; Boeckverkooper inde Sint Ians-ſtraet, int vergulde ABC. ANNO 1630.

Anonymous
Satire on the negotiations for peace with Spain (1632).



Anonymous
Illustration from: Krul, J. H. (1644). *Pampiere wereld Ofte Wereldsche Oeffeninge.*

Anonymous
Title page of: Westerbaen, J. (1644). *Gedichten.*



Anonymous
Harmony. Illustration from: Ripa, C. (1644). *Iconologia.*

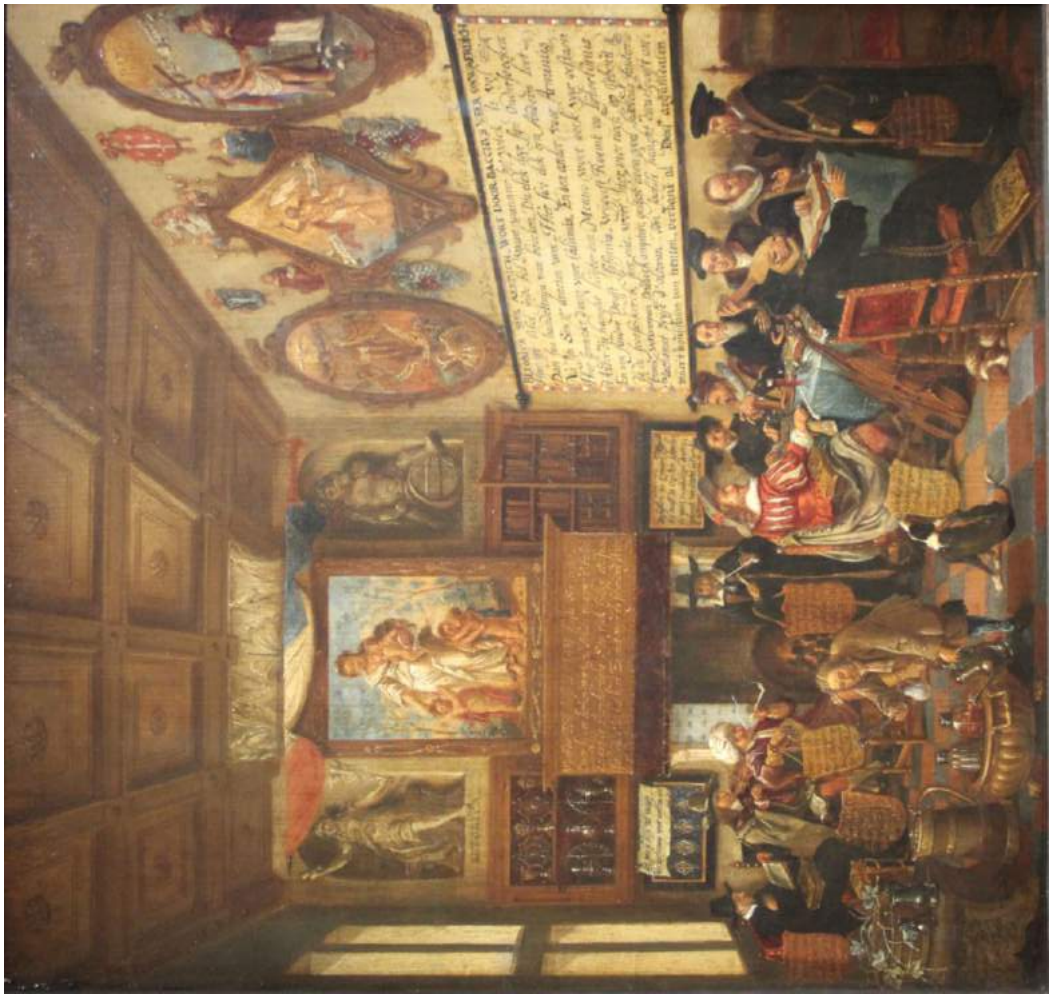
Anonymous
Poetry. Illustration from: Ripa, C. (1644). *Iconologia.*

Anonymous
Illustration from: Camphuysen, D. R. (1647). *Stichtelycke Rymen.*

Anonymous
Frontispiece of: Anonymous (1649). *Zang-prieeltjen*.

Anonymous
Company making music (1657).

Anonymous
The chamber of rhetoric 'Trou moet blijcken' in Haarlem, with a display of several teachers of religion (1659).



Anonymous
Musician (1694).

Anonymous
Harmony 1. Illustration from: Ripa, C. (1698). *Iconologie*.

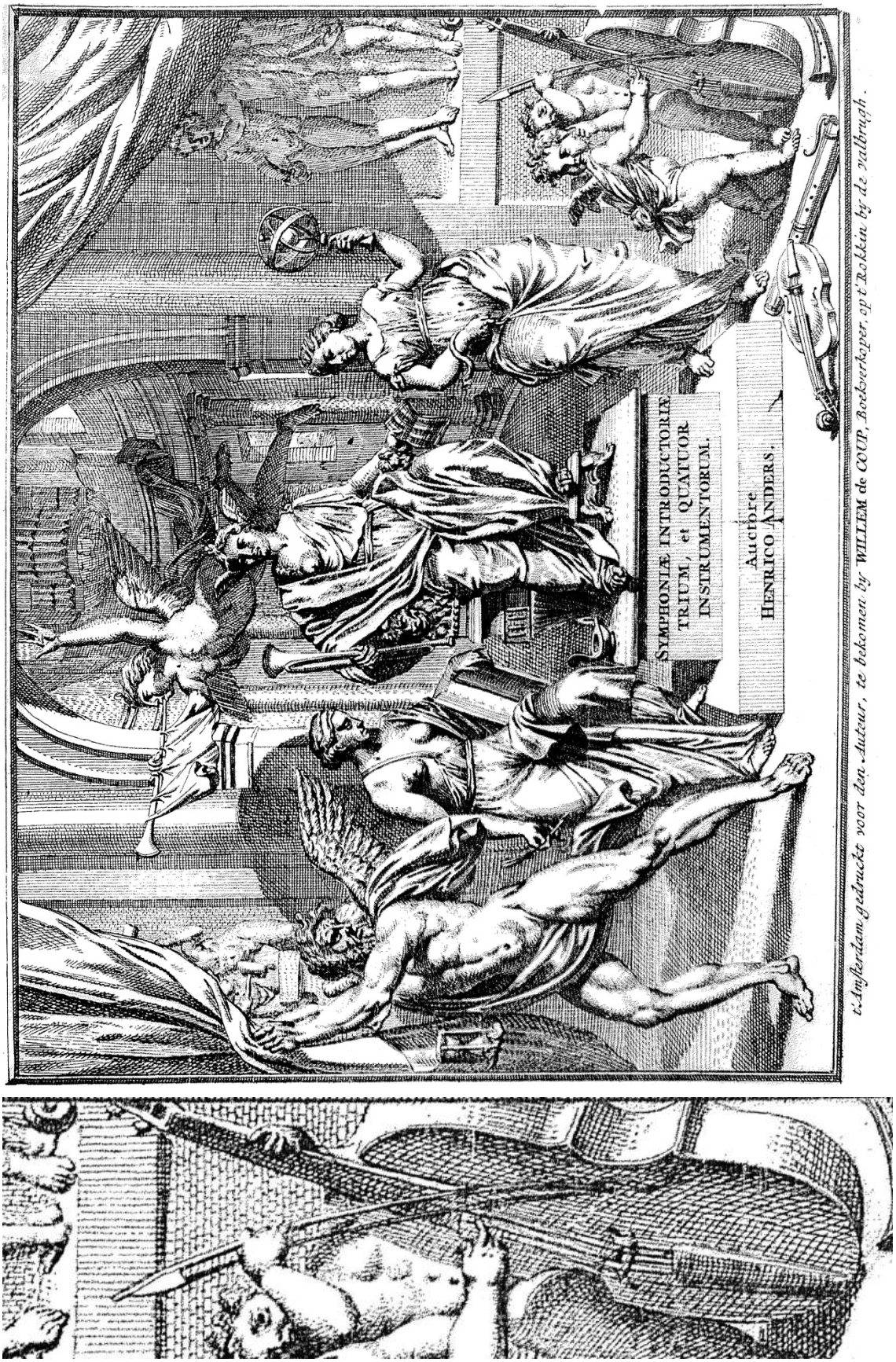
Anonymous
Harmony 2. Illustration from: Ripa, C. (1698). *Iconologie*.

Anonymous
Music. Illustration from: Ripa, C. (1698). *Iconologie*.

Anonymous
Poetry. Illustration from: Ripa, C. (1698). *Iconologie*.

Anonymous

Title page of: Anders, H. (1698). *Symphoniae introductoriae.*



Anonymous
Illustration from: Cats, J. (1700). *Twee en tachtigh-jarigh leven van zijn geboorte af tot zijn doot toe, aen desselfs veertien kints-kinderen, dienende tot naricht van de selve*.

Anonymous
Illustration from: Vincent, Y. (1712). *De Belachelyke Serenade.*

Anonymous
Music party in front of the council-hall of the (Provincial) States (1714).

Anonymous

"Dit is 't geselschap na de zwier; Mansingt, men pronkt, men mackt goet Cier" (1732).

Anonymous
Title page of: Croebelis, D. S. del (ca. 1750). *Het Nieuwe Hollands Speel-Huys.*

Het Nieuwe HOLLANDS
SPEEL-HUYS,
Waar in alle Soorten van DANS en SPEEL-STUKJES,
na de hedendaagse Gusto, voor de Viool, Fluit, Hoboïs en Cimbalo,
die geapproprieert Zyn tot Ligte Solos om tot Zwaarder op te Leiden,
en die men met Bas of Clavecimbaal kan Speelen.
Door
DOMINGO S. del CROEBELIS,
Muziek en Dansmeester.
Libro I.
t' AMSTERDAM by A. OLOFSEN Muziekverkoper aan de Nieuwe Kerk,
over de Voorburgwal.

Anonymous

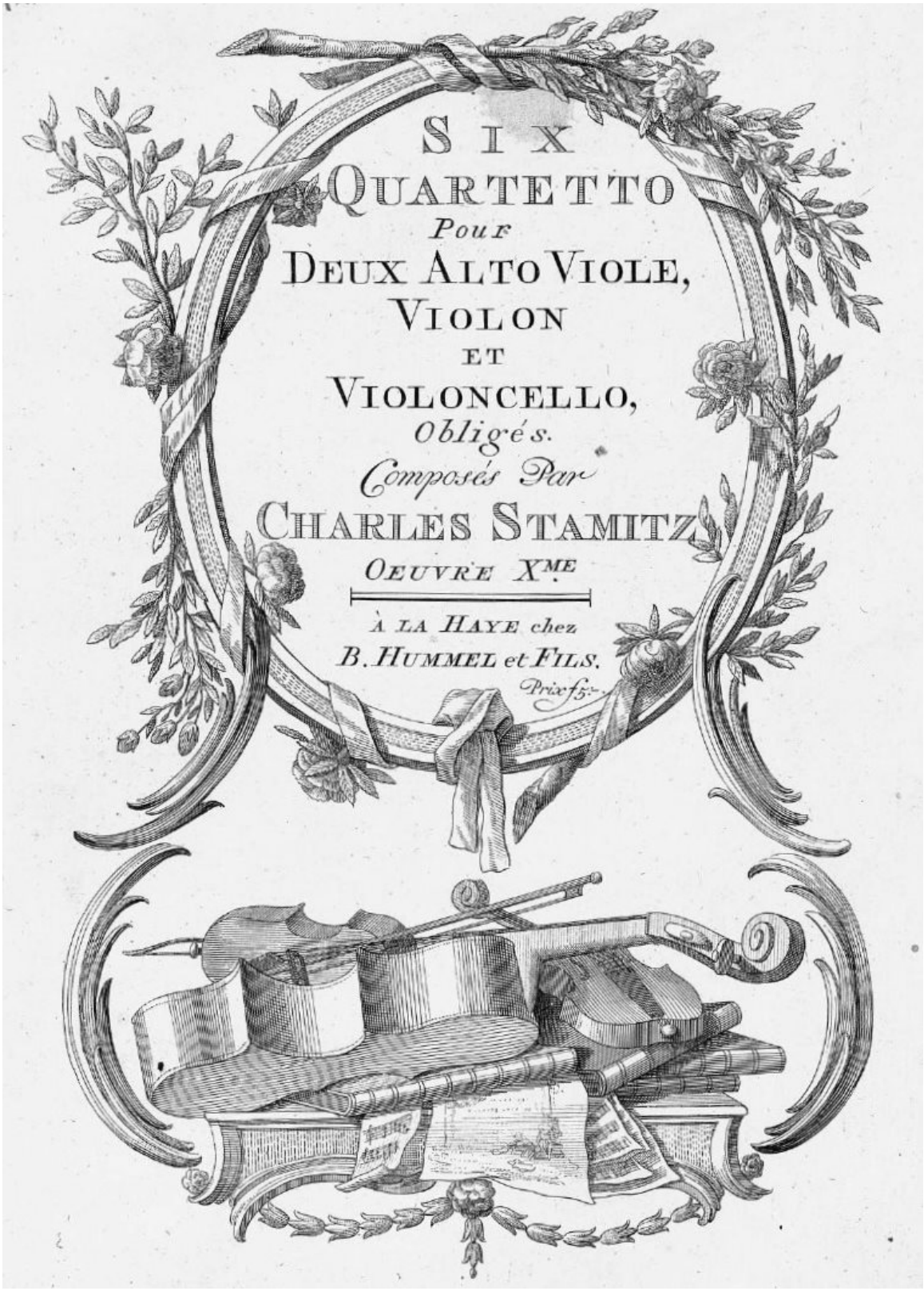
Frontispiece of: Anonymous (1755). *De zang-godin aan 't Y.*

Anonymous
Musicians (1762).

Anonymous
Title page of: Pool, Ph., Boutmy, J.-B. J., Ruppe, C. F. (1763). *Musicq Voor het Orgel.*

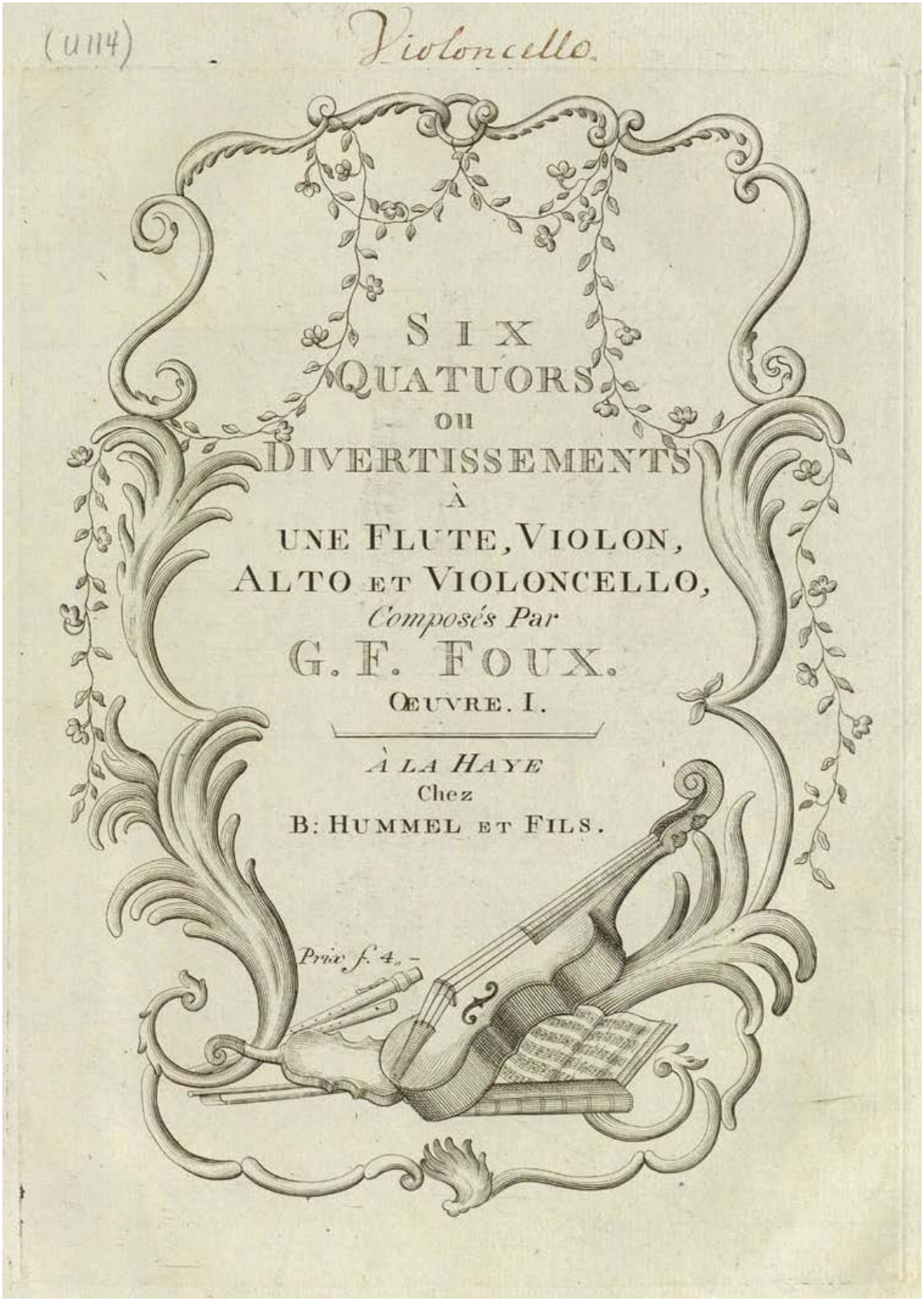
Anonymous
Title page of: *Extrait Des Airs Français* (1775-1780).

Anonymous
Title page of: Stamitz, C. [1777]. *Six Quartetto.*

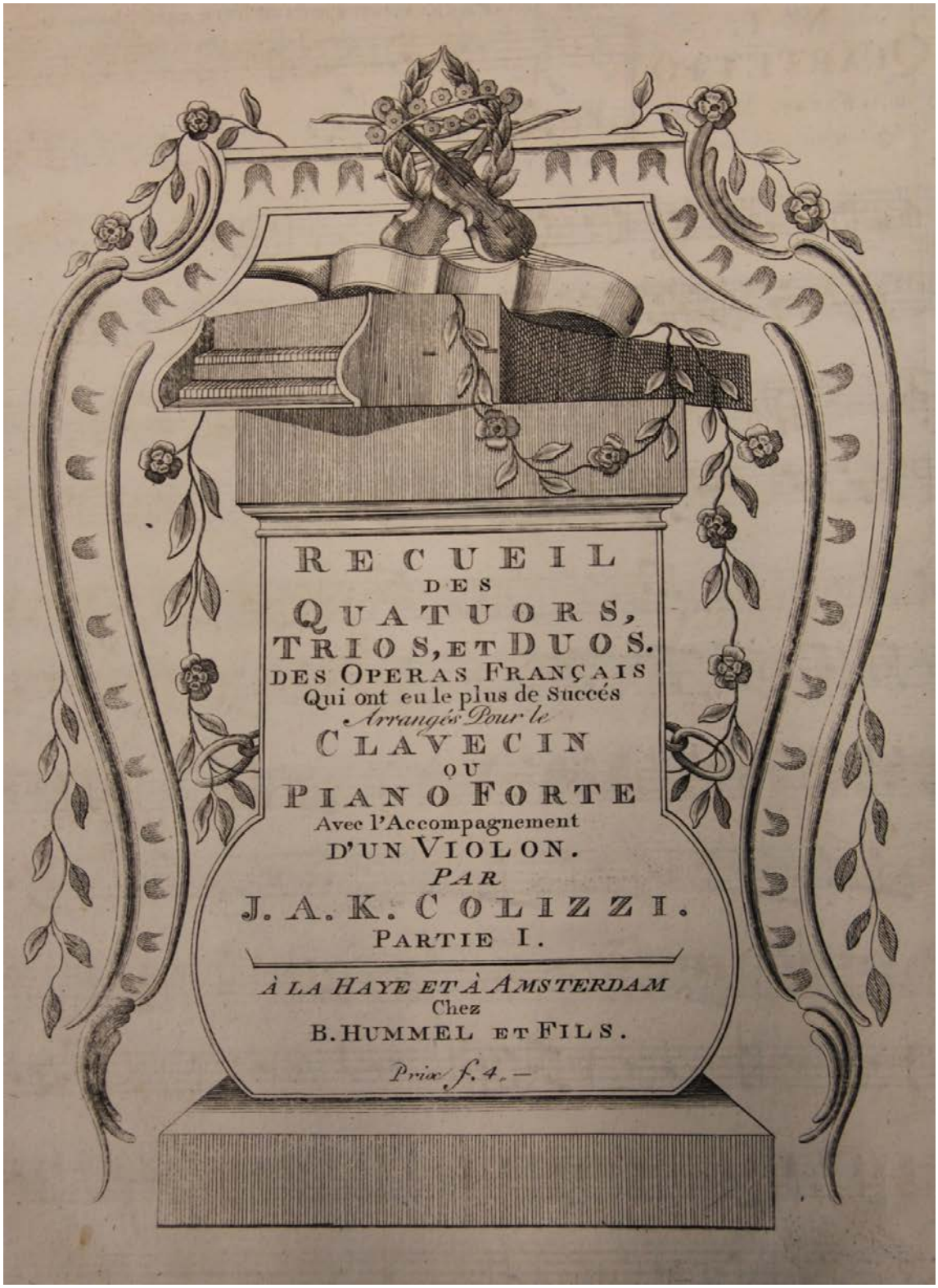


Anonymous
A man playing cello with overhand grip, while the cello leans on a block of wood (ca. 1780).

Anonymous
Title page of: Foux, G. F. (1781). *Six Quatuors ou Divertissements.*



Anonymous
Title page of: Colizzi, J. A. K. (ca. 1783). *Recueil des Quatuors, Trios, et Duos.*



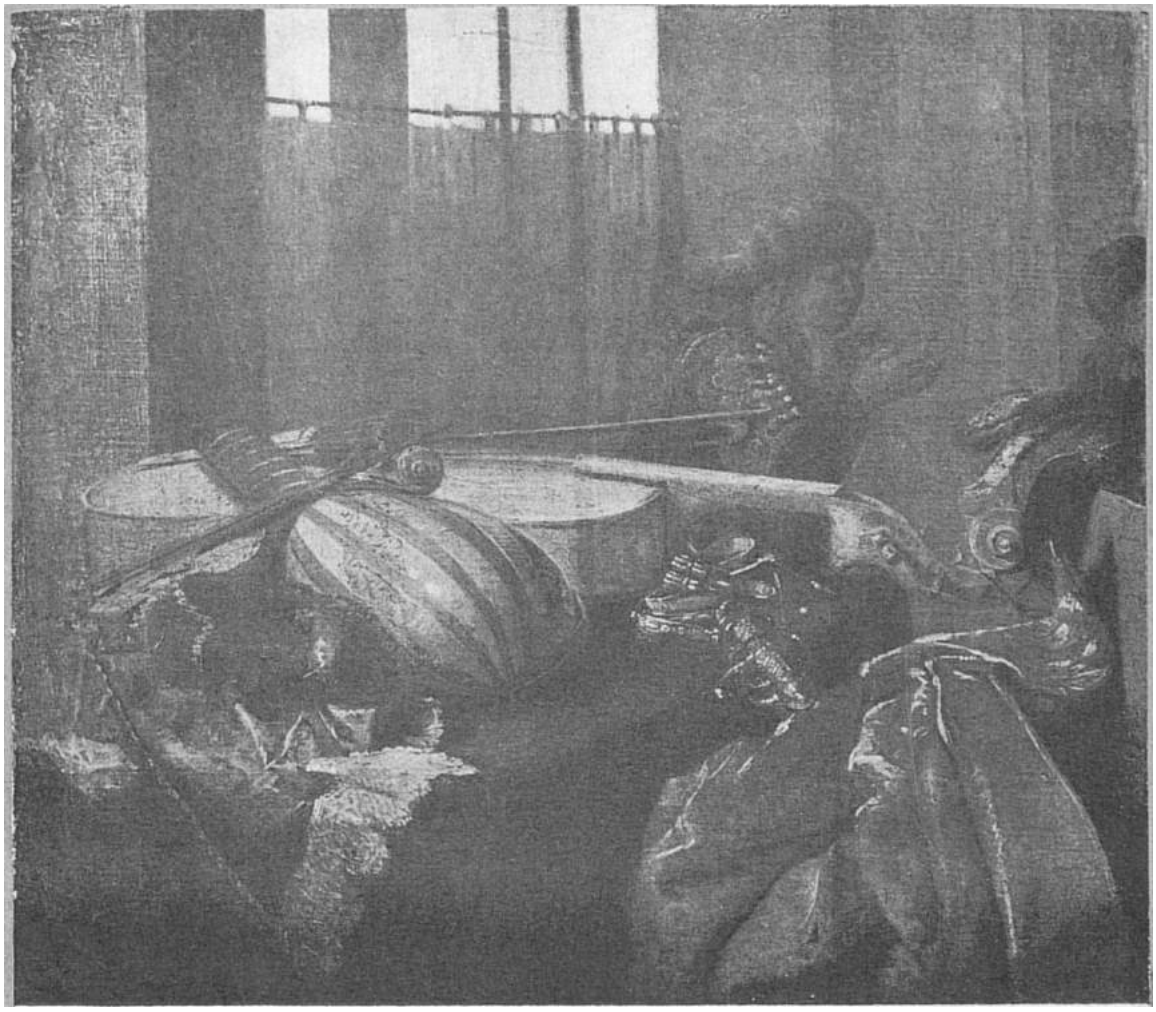
Anonymous
Title page of: Colizzi, J. A. K. (ca. 1785). *Sonatines Pour le Clavecin ou Piano Forte.*

Anonymous

Two love couples and a group of musicians playing music at a table in a wooded landscape (beginning 17th century).

Anonymous
A cellist and a violinist and a couple dancing (17th century).

Anonymous
A violin, lute and bass violin lie on a table (?) with some men standing behind it (17th century).



Anonymous
Ball room (17th century).

Anonymous
Trouble comes to the alchemist (17th century).

Anonymous
Merry Company (17th century, after ca. 1620).

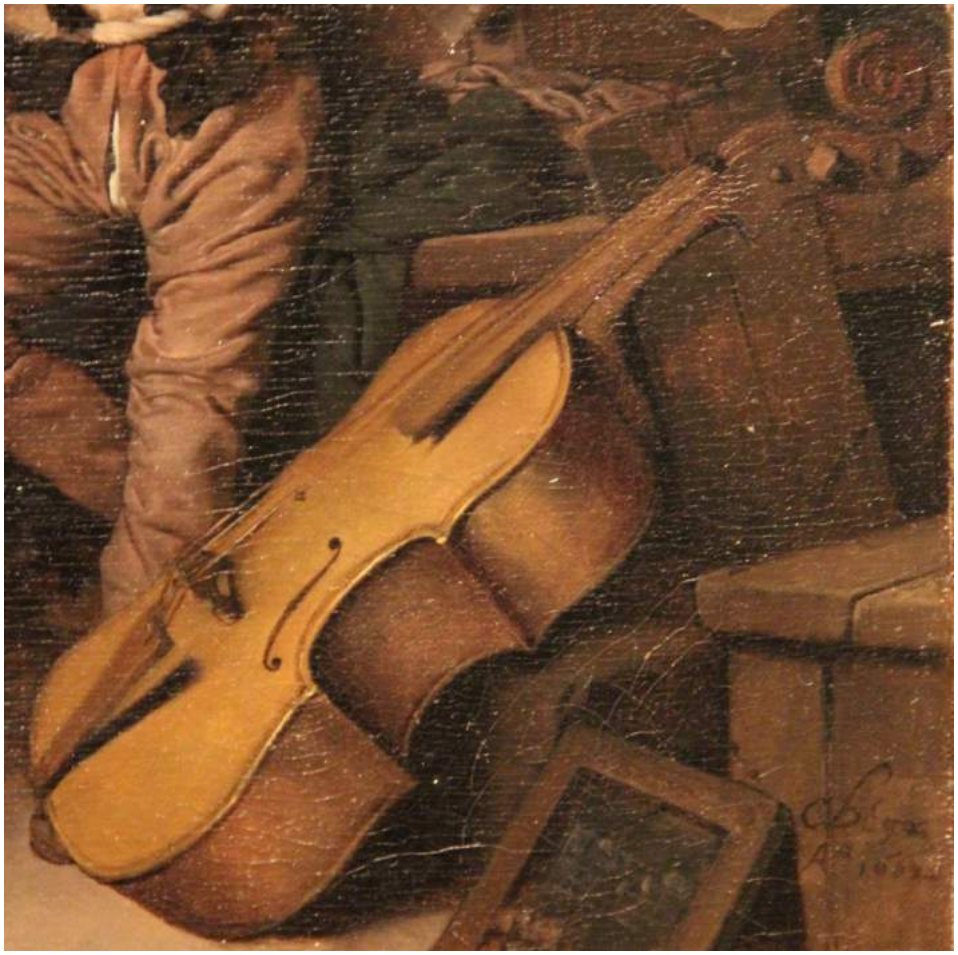
Anonymous
Cellist (18th century).

Anonymous
Family portrait with cello (18th century).

Anonymous
Merry company in an interior (18th century).

Bega, Cornelis Pietersz. (ca. 1631-1664)
Interior with woman playing a cithern and a singing man (1662).

Bega, Cornelis Pietersz. (ca. 1631-1664)
Two men singing (1662).



Bega, Cornelis Pietersz. (ca. 1631-1664)
The Music Lesson (1663).

Bega, Cornelis Pietersz. (ca. 1631-1664)
Peasants making music and dancing in an inn.

Berge, Pieter van den (1689-1737)
Title page of: Sweerts, C. (1695). *Mengelzangen en zinnebeelden.*

Berge, Pieter van den (1689-1737)
Title page of: Halmael, H. van (1711). *Het schynheilige weeuwtje.*

Berge, Pieter van den (1689-1737)
Title page of: Halmael, H. van (1711). *Overdaad en Gierigheid.*

Berge, Pieter van den (1689-1737)
Title page of: Halmael, H. van (1712). *Opwekkelyke zedezangen.*

Berghe, Christoffel van den (ca. 1590-after 1628)
Company playing music in a wodded [sic] park near a castle.

Berghe, Christoffel van den (ca. 1590-after 1628)
Summer.

Bijlert, Jan van (ca. 1597/1598-1671).
Group of figures playing musical instruments (1629).

Bijlert, Jan van (ca. 1597/1598-1671).
Merry company (ca. 1630).

Bijlert, Jan van (ca. 1597/1598-1671).
Two men and two women making music in an interior.

Bijlert, Jan van (ca. 1597/1598-1671).
Young man playing a cello.

Bisschop, Cornelis (1630-1674)
Women making music.

Bisschop, Jan de (1628-1671)
Minera and Apollo are tutoring a child in Arts and Sciences. The three Graces and Mercury are present.

Bloot, Pieter de (ca. 1601/1602-1658)
Musicians and dancers at a village party.

Bogaert, Hendrick (ca. 1626/1627-after 1675)
Interior of an inn, with drinking farmers, string players and a dancing man.

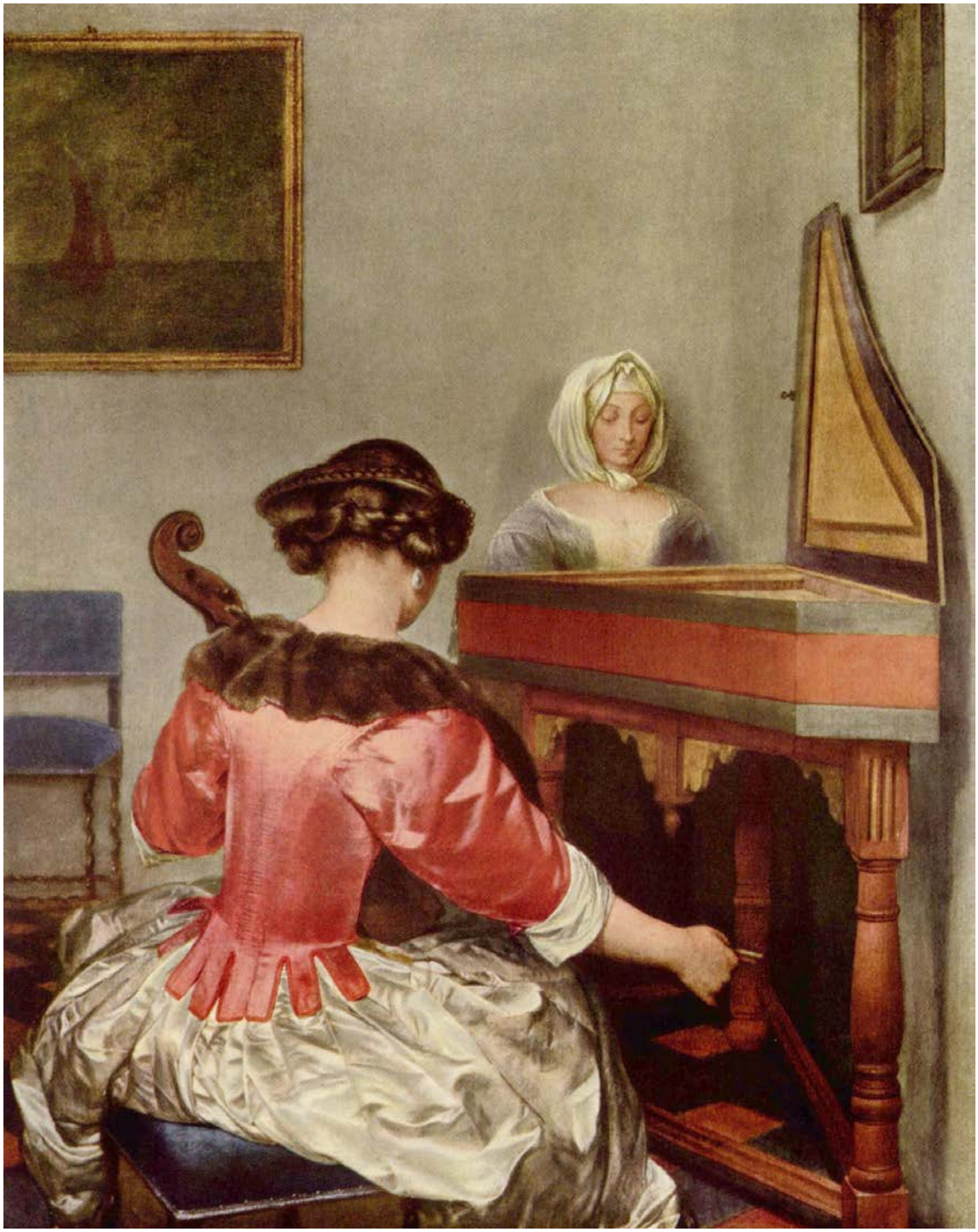
Bogerts, Cornelis (active 1771-1817)
Illustration from: Wolff, B. & Deken, A. (1782). *Historie van Mejuffrouw Sara Burgerhart.*

Bol, Ferdinand (1616-1680)
From: Krul, J. H. (1681). *Pampiere Wereld Ofte Wereldsche Oeffeninge.*

Borch II, Gerard ter (1617-1681)
A company of youngsters drinking, smoking and making music around a table (1632).

Borch II, Gerard ter (1617-1681)
Couple making music.

Borch II, Gerard ter (1617-1681)
Two women playing music in an interior.



Braij, Jan de (ca. 1626/1628-1697)
Company making music (1653).

Brakel, Gillius (active 1699-1714)
Title page of: Douwes, K. (1699). *Grondig Ondersoek van de Toonen Der Musijk.*

Brakenburgh, Richard (1650-1702)
Company partying (ca. 1680).

Brakenburgh, Richard (1650-1702)
An interior with figures drinking and making music.

Brakenburgh, Richard (1650-1702)
Monks and nuns on the run.

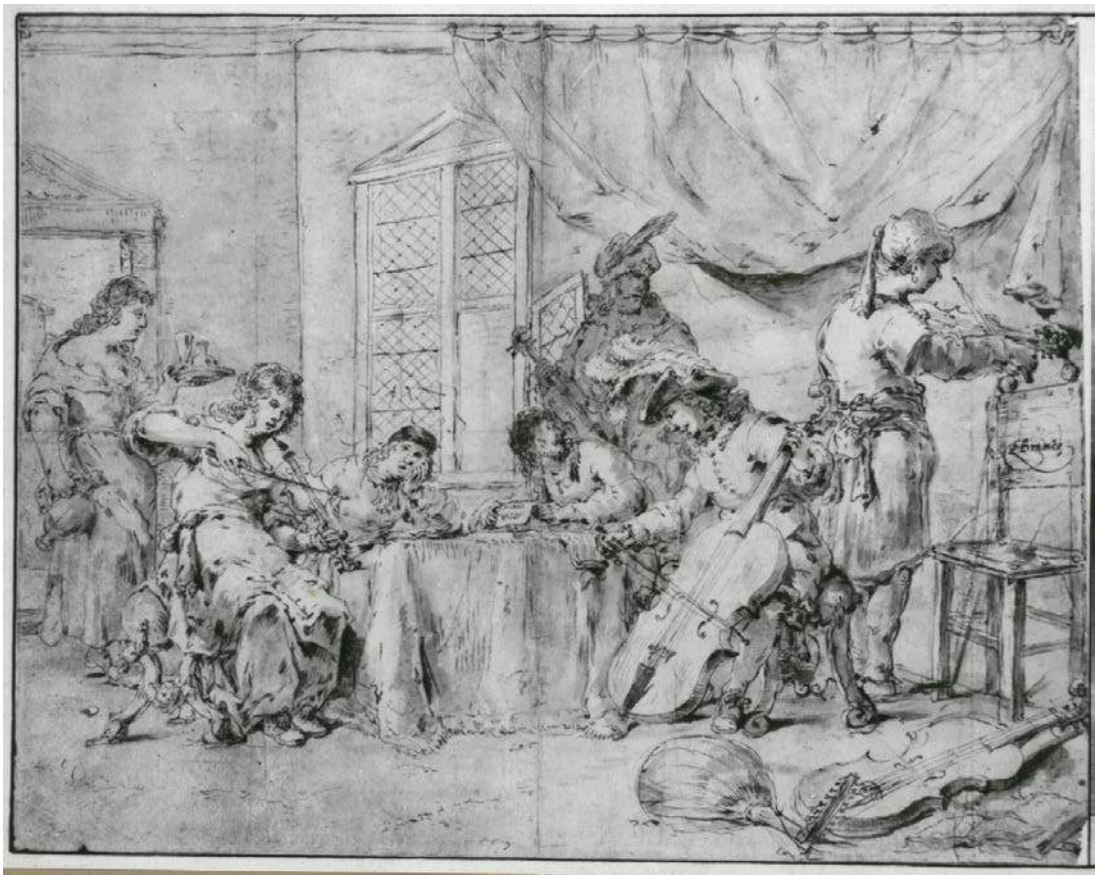
Bramer, Leonaert (1596-1674)
Study for a ceiling; Musical angels, circle of angels on clouds, playing various musical instruments, a group of putti at centre (1650-1655).

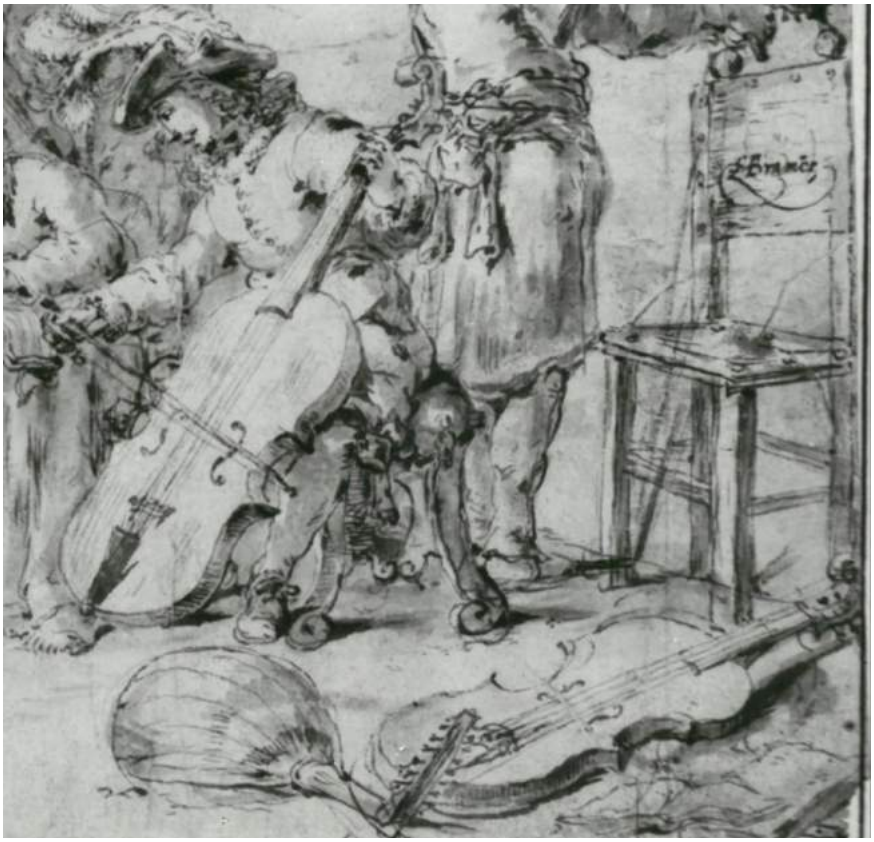
Bramer, Leonaert (1596-1674)
Musicians (1659).

Bramer, Leonaert (1596-1674)
Music making outside a palace (ca. 1660).

Bramer, Leonaert (1596-1674)
Allegory of Vanity.

Bramer, Leonaert (1596-1674)
Interior with people making music.





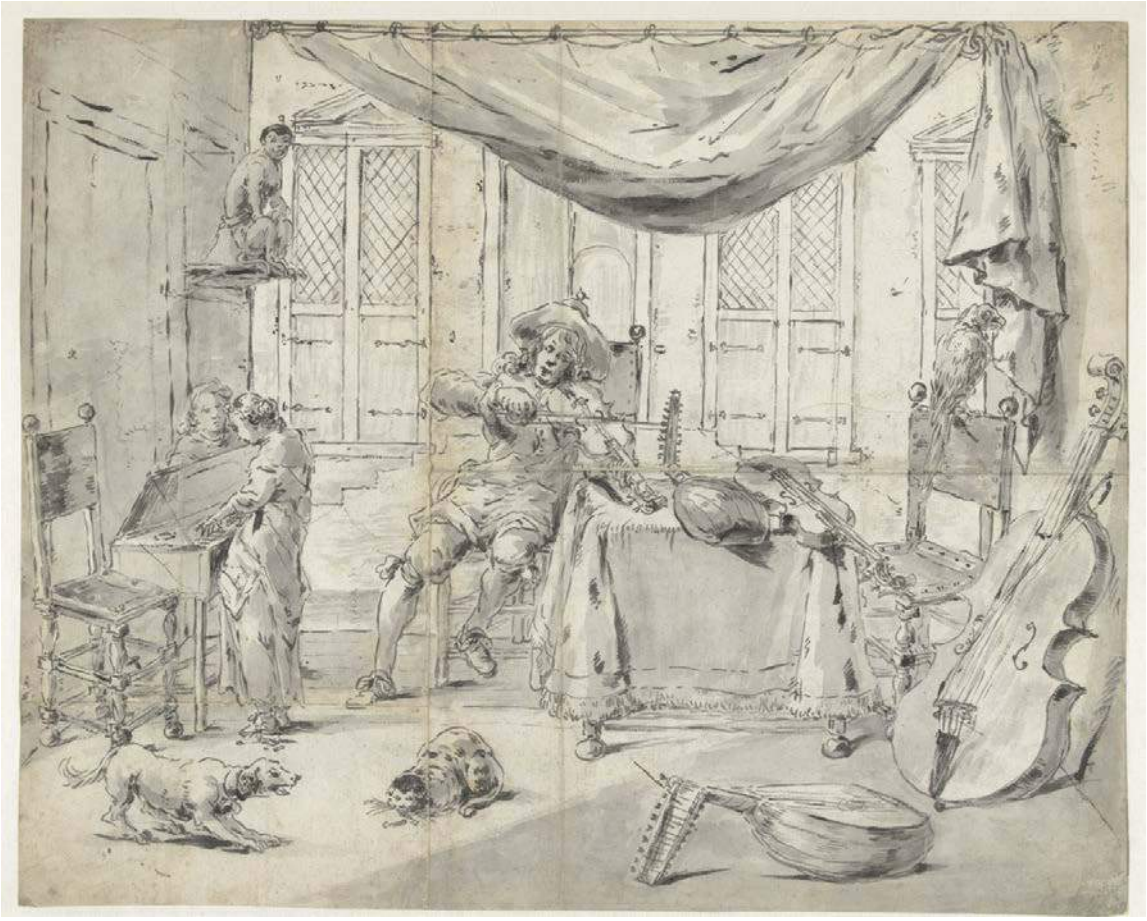
Bramer, Leonaert (1596-1674)
Lute player or Allegory on Vanity.

Bramer, Leonaert (1596-1674)
Musical company 1.

Bramer, Leonaert (1596-1674)
Musical company 2.

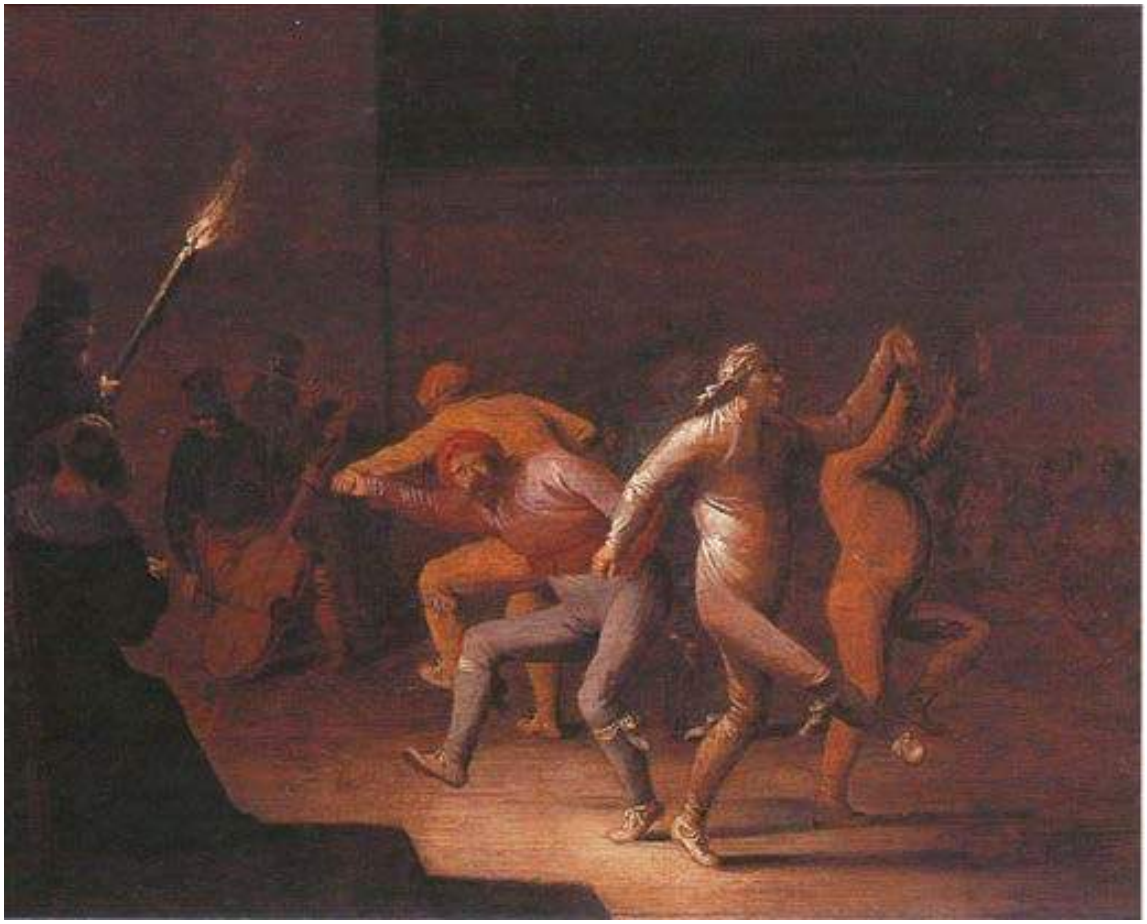
Bramer, Leonaert (1596-1674)
Musicians in a loggia.

Bramer, Leonaert (1596-1674)
Musicians in an interior.



Bramer, Leonaert (1596-1674)
Music making women.

Buesem, Jan Jansz. (ca. 1599/1600-in/after 1649)
Music making and dancing peasants by torchlight.



Buys, Jacobus (1724-1801)
Music making company (1782).

Buytewech, Willem Pietersz. (ca. 1591/1592-1624)
Interior with dancing Couples and Musicians.

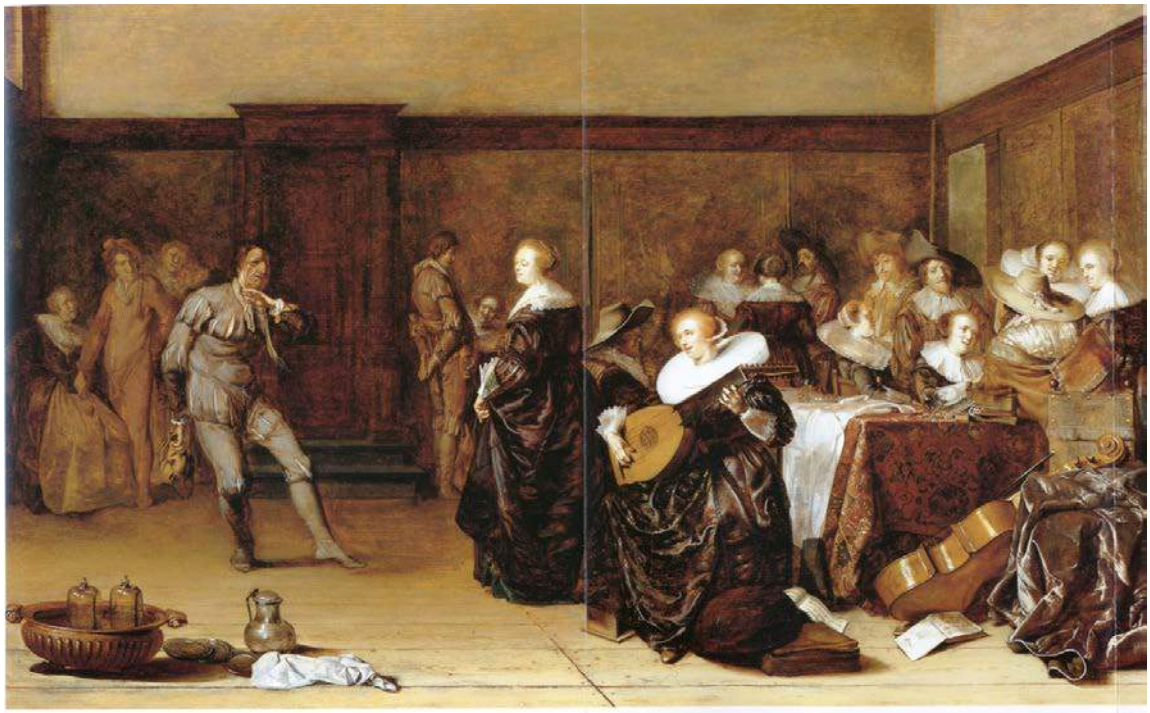
Buytewech, Willem Pietersz. (ca. 1591/1592-1624)
Party.

Carré, Hendrik (1656-1721)
Company making music and singing in an interior (1672-1680).

Claesz, Pieter (1597-1661)
Still life with musical instruments (1623).

Claesz, Pieter (1597-1661)
A still life.

Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
Elegant company playing music and dancing in an interior (1629).



Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
A Musical Party (163.).

Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
Company making music (ca. 1630).

Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
Elegant company conversing and singing in an interior (ca. 1630).

Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
An elegant company (1632).

Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
Elegant company conversing and singing in an interior (1632).

Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
Cheerful company (1633).

Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
Gallant company (1633).

Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
Merry company with masked dansers (1636).

Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
The contest of Apollo and Pan in which Midas gives judgement (1665).

Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
A company of cavaliers and women singing around a table. One gentleman is accompanying on a lute.

Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
A flute player and an elegant company in the background.

Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
A man and a woman singing and playing the lute, and people conversing in the background.

Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
*An elegant company making music in an interior***.**

Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
An interior with three figures around a table.

Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
Elegant company in an interior.

Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
Elegant company in an interior with musical instruments 1.

Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
Elegant company in an interior with musical instruments 2.

Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
Elegant company making music in an interior 1.

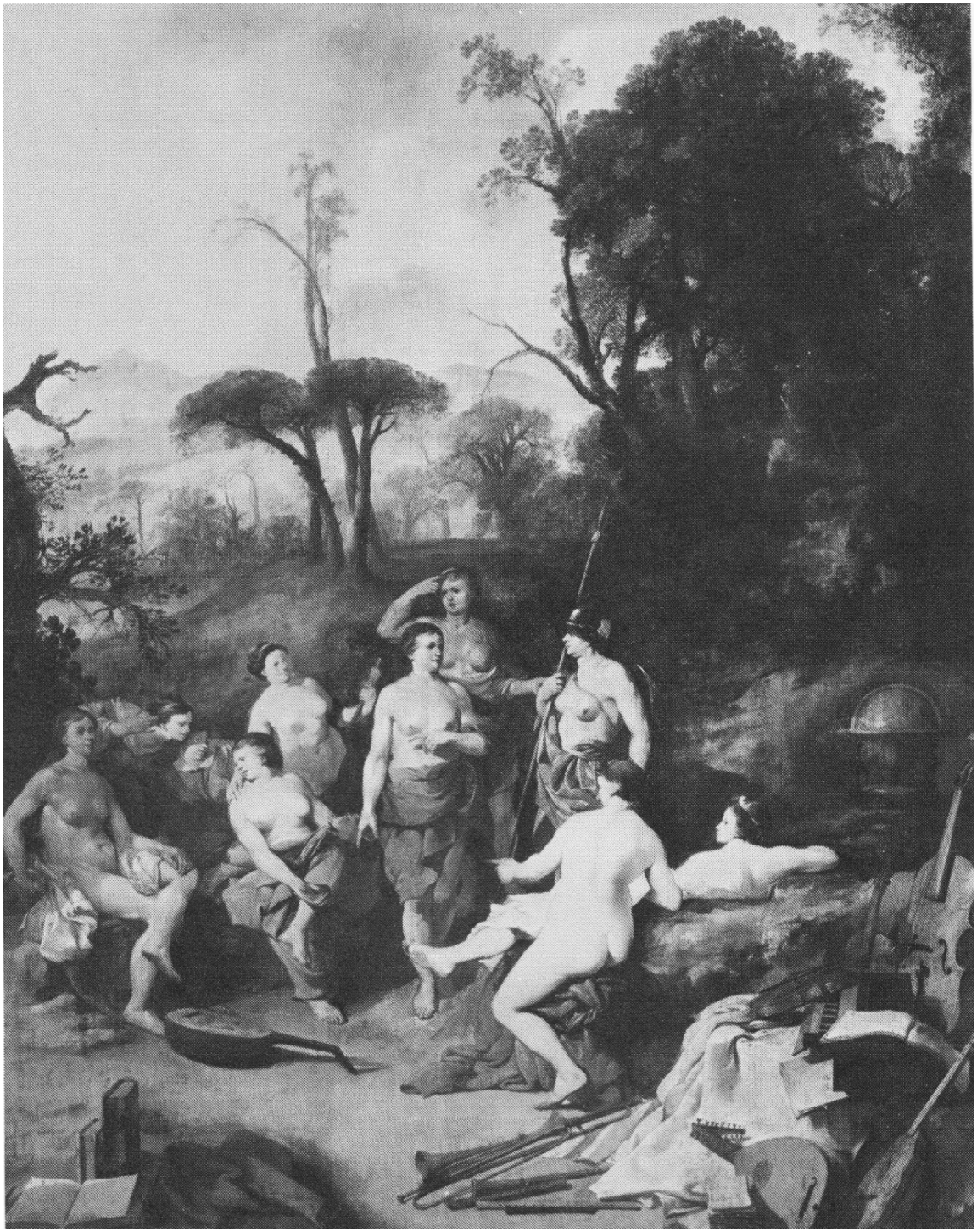
Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
Elegant company making music in an interior 2.

Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
Elegant company playing music and singing in an interior.

Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
Interior with a company making music around a table, with a man sleeping.

Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
Interior with musical gathering.

Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
Pallas Athene and the Muses.



Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
Portrait of a young man in a painter's studio with a viola da gamba [sic] and a lute.

Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
The concert.

Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
The music party.

Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
The Verdict of Midas.

Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
Three little groups of people talking in an interior 1.

Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
Three little groups of people talking in an interior 2.

Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
Three men, smoking and making music.

Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)
Two men beside a display of musical instrument, documents, weapons, various pieces of art and a skull.

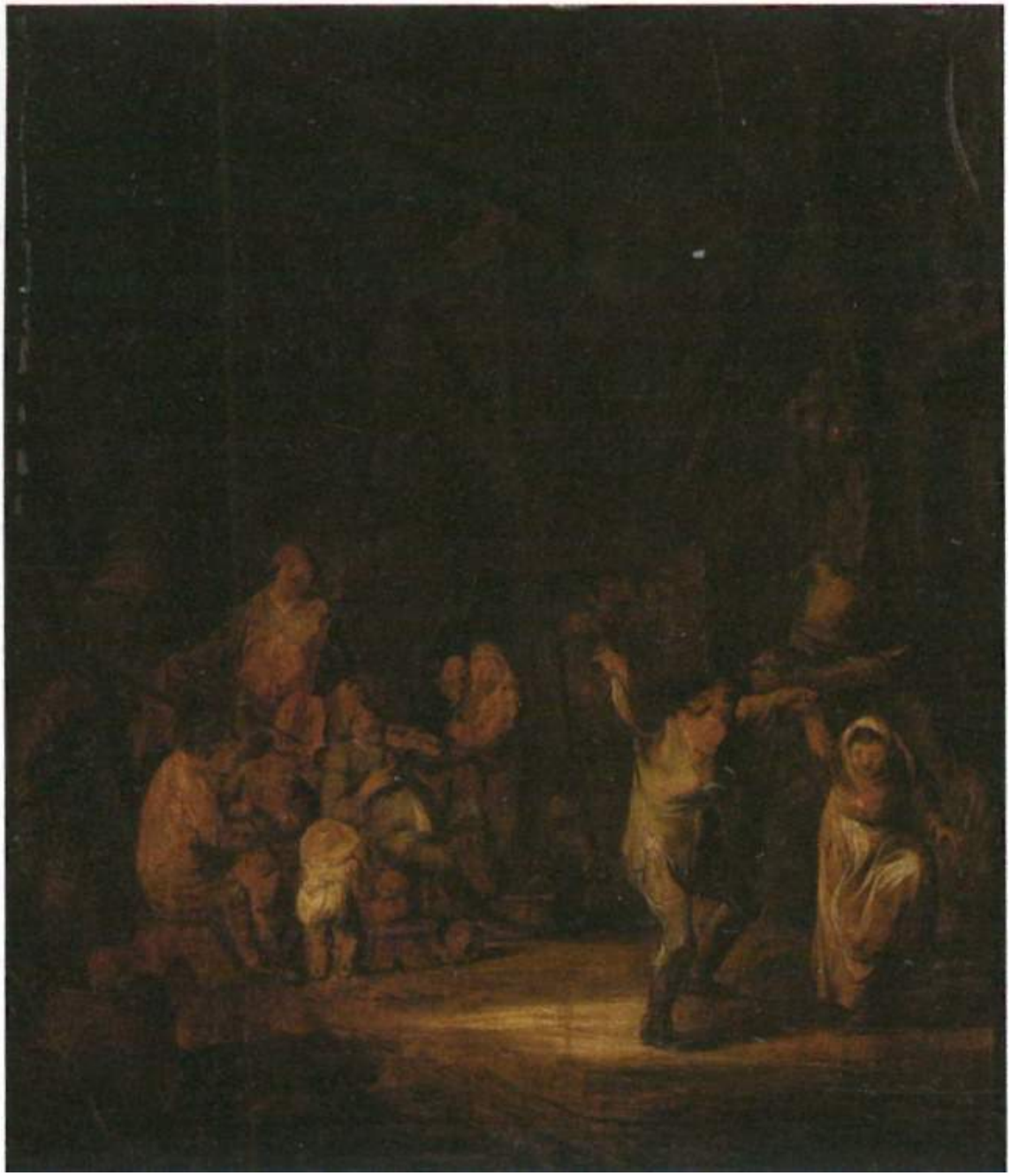
Collenius, Herman (active 1665-1720)
Vanitas: Lady World.

Collier, Edwaert (1642-1708)
Still Life with a Volume of Wither's 'Emblemes' (1696).

Collier, Edwaert (1642-1708)
Vanitas still life with decorative tableware, jewelry boxes, regalia, a clock, a Nautilus-shell beaker, musical instruments, a book and other objects.

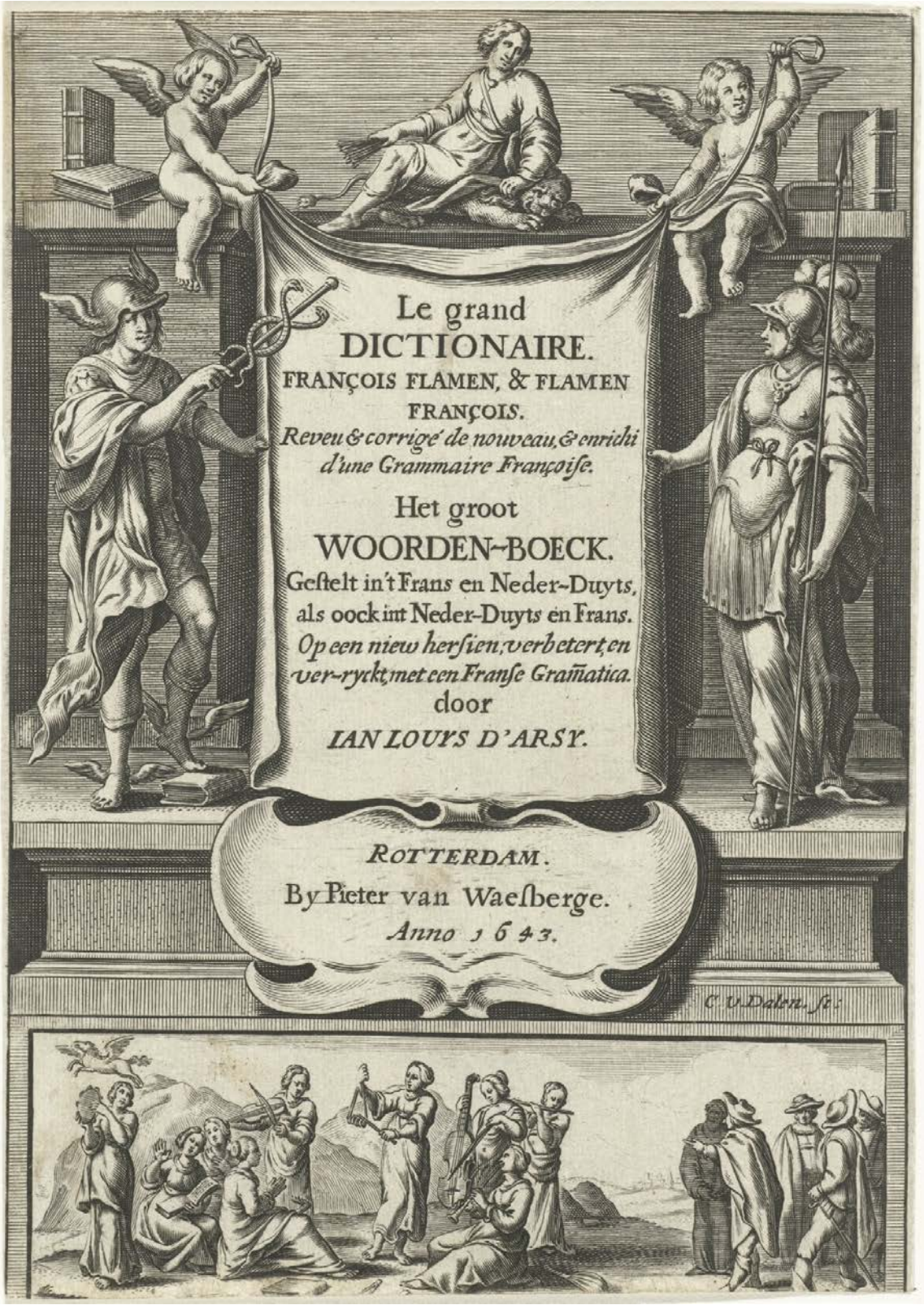
Cort, Cornelis (1533-1578)
Hearing (1561).

Cuyp, Benjamin Gerritsz. (1612-1652)
Farmers dancing and some musicians in the background.



Cuyp, Jacob Gerritsz. (1594-1652)
Putto blowing bubbles standing beside a table with a vanitas still life (ca. 1629).

Dalen I, Cornelis van (active 1622-1665)
Title page for: D'Arsy, I. L. (1643). *Le grand dictionaire François-Flamen.*



Dalen I, Cornelis van (active 1622-1665)
Title page of: Hobius, J. (1643) *T' [sic] Lof der vrouwen.*

Dalen I, Cornelis van (active 1622-1665)
The story of the Prodigal Son.

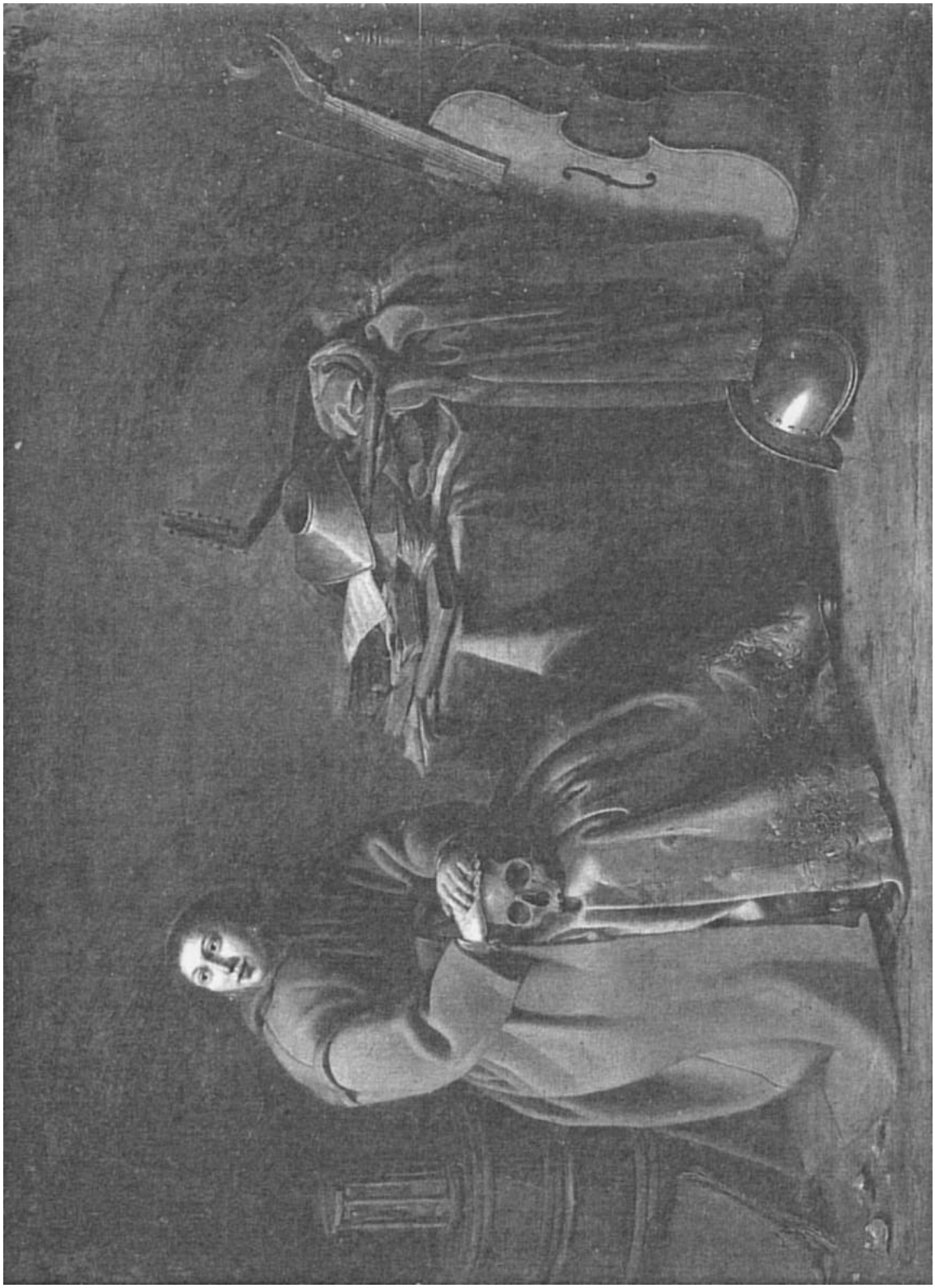
Danckerts, Cornelis (1597-1662)
The ball (ca. 1634).

Delen, Dirck van (1604/1605-1671)
An interior scene with elegant figures playing music (1632).

Delen, Dirck van (1604/1605-1671)
Company making music in a Renaissance palace.

Delff, Cornelis Jacobsz. (1570/1571-1643)
Kitchen interior with an amourous couple; in the background the Prodigal Son amidst the prostitutes.

Donck, Gerard (active 1627-1640)
Vanitas (ca. 1635).



Doncker, Herman (active 1633-1640)
Elegant dancing company in an interior (ca. 1634).

Droochsloot, Cornelis (after 1585-1666)
Interior with company making music (1645).

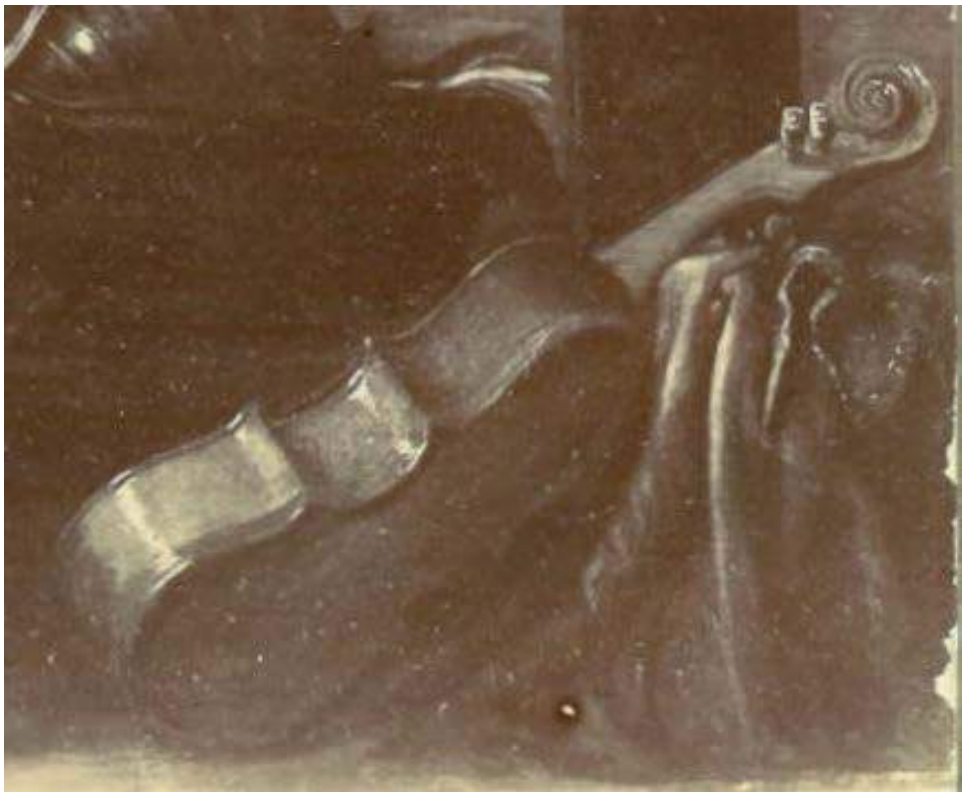
Duck, Jacob (ca. 1600-1667)
Company making music in an interior.

Duck, Jacob (ca. 1600-1667)
Elegant company in an interior with a young woman playing the lute and an officer smoking at the open window.

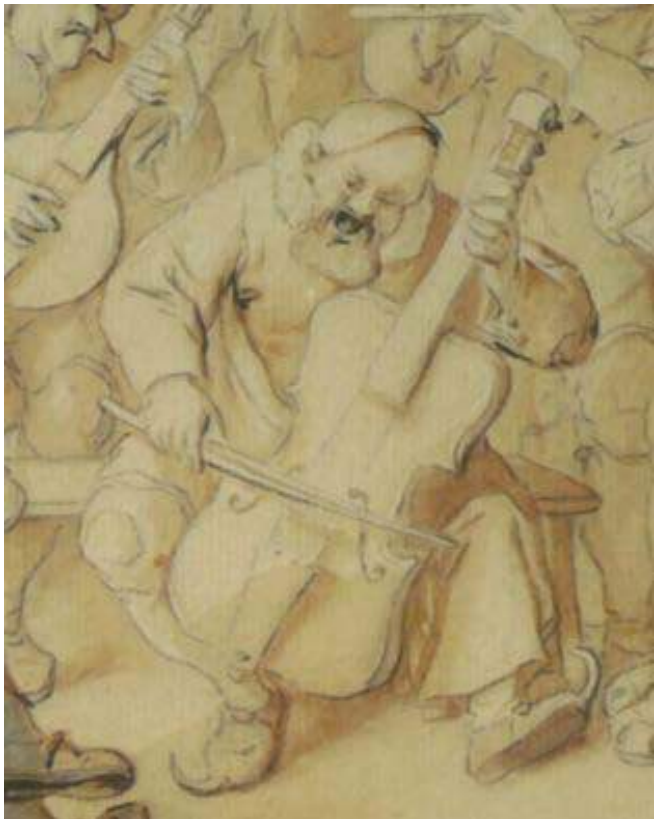
Duck, Jacob (ca. 1600-1667)
Interior with three men and a woman 1.

Duck, Jacob (ca. 1600-1667)
Interior with three men and a woman 2.

Duck, Jacob (ca. 1600-1667)
Two men and two women making music in an interior.



Dusart, Cornelis (1660-1704)
Figures making love and music in an inn (1690).



Dusart, Cornelis (1660-1704)
Interior with peasants merry-making; a large room with numerous figures including musicians playing violin and cello, a woman singing, a man on a ladder leading to a loft, other figures smoking pipes and drinking (1691).

Dusart, Cornelis (1660-1704)
Musicians in an inn (1691).

Dusart, Cornelis (1660-1704)
Country fair.

Duyster, Willem Cornelisz. (1599-1635)
Wedding feast, formerly called the Wedding of Adriaen Ploos van Amstel (..-1639) and Agnes van Bijlert.

Eijse, P. van (active 1661-1669)
A young man slumbering with a vanitas still life (Memento Mori) (1662).

Everdingen, Ceasar van (ca. 1616/1617-1678)
Four Muses and Pegasus.

Fargue, Paulus Constantijn la (1728/1729-1782)
Cartouche with a putto playing violin and caryatids.

Fokke, Simon (1712-1784)
Apollo surrounded by the Muses.

Fonteyn, Adriaen Lucasz. (active 1640-1661)
Elegant company playing music in an interior (ca. 1640).

Fonteyn, Adriaen Lucasz. (active 1640-1661)
Elegant company drinking and in conversation in an interior (1641).

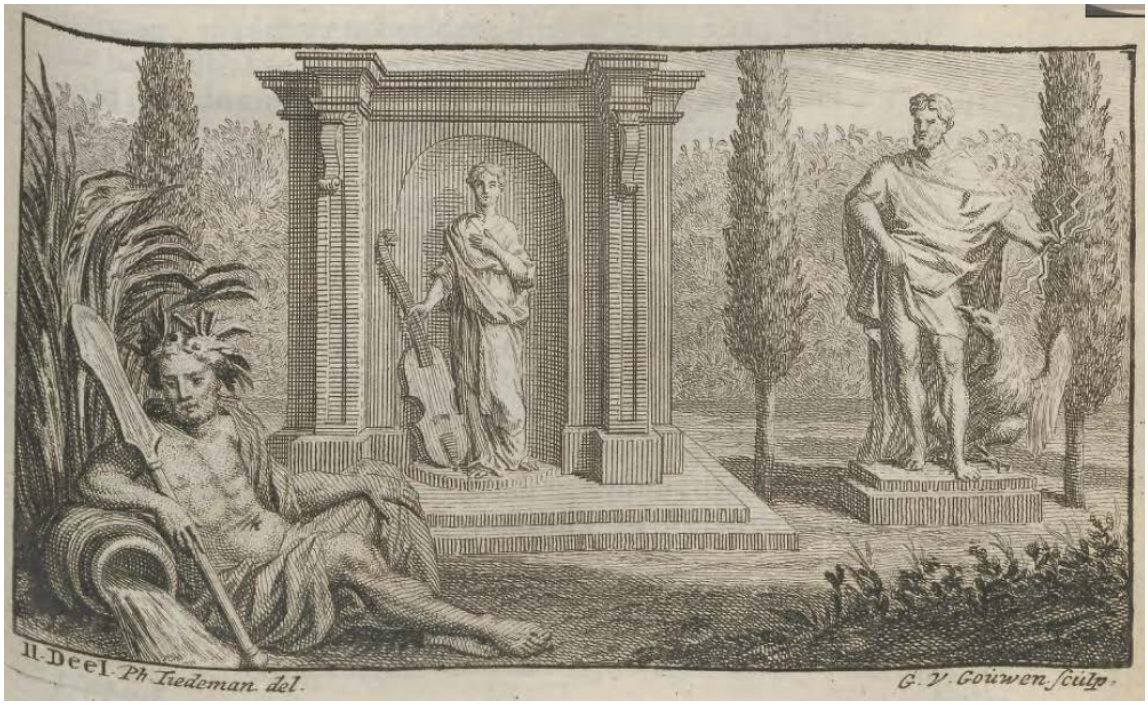
Gaesbeeck, Adriaen van (1621-1650)
An artist in his studio (ca. 1645).

Gijsbrechts, Franciscus (active 1672-1677)
Still life with musical instruments, decorative tableware and engravings on a silk tablecloth.

Gole, Jacob (1665-1724)
A rich man and Death.

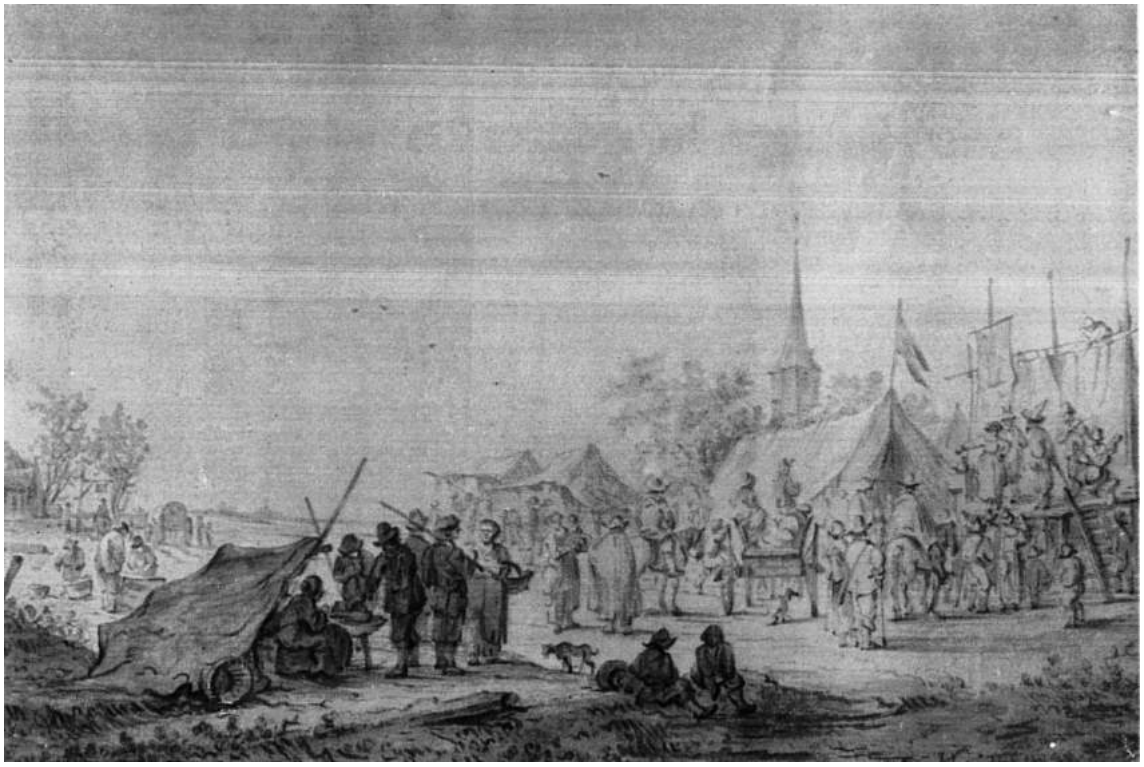
Goltzius, Hendrick (1558-1617)
The mystic marriage of Saint Catherine (ca. 1600-1602).

Gouwen, Gilliam van der (active 1669-1713)
Illustration from: Lairesse, G. de (1712). *Groot Schilderboek*.



Goyen, Jan Josefsz. van (1596-1656)
A village festival with musicians playing outside a tent (1653).

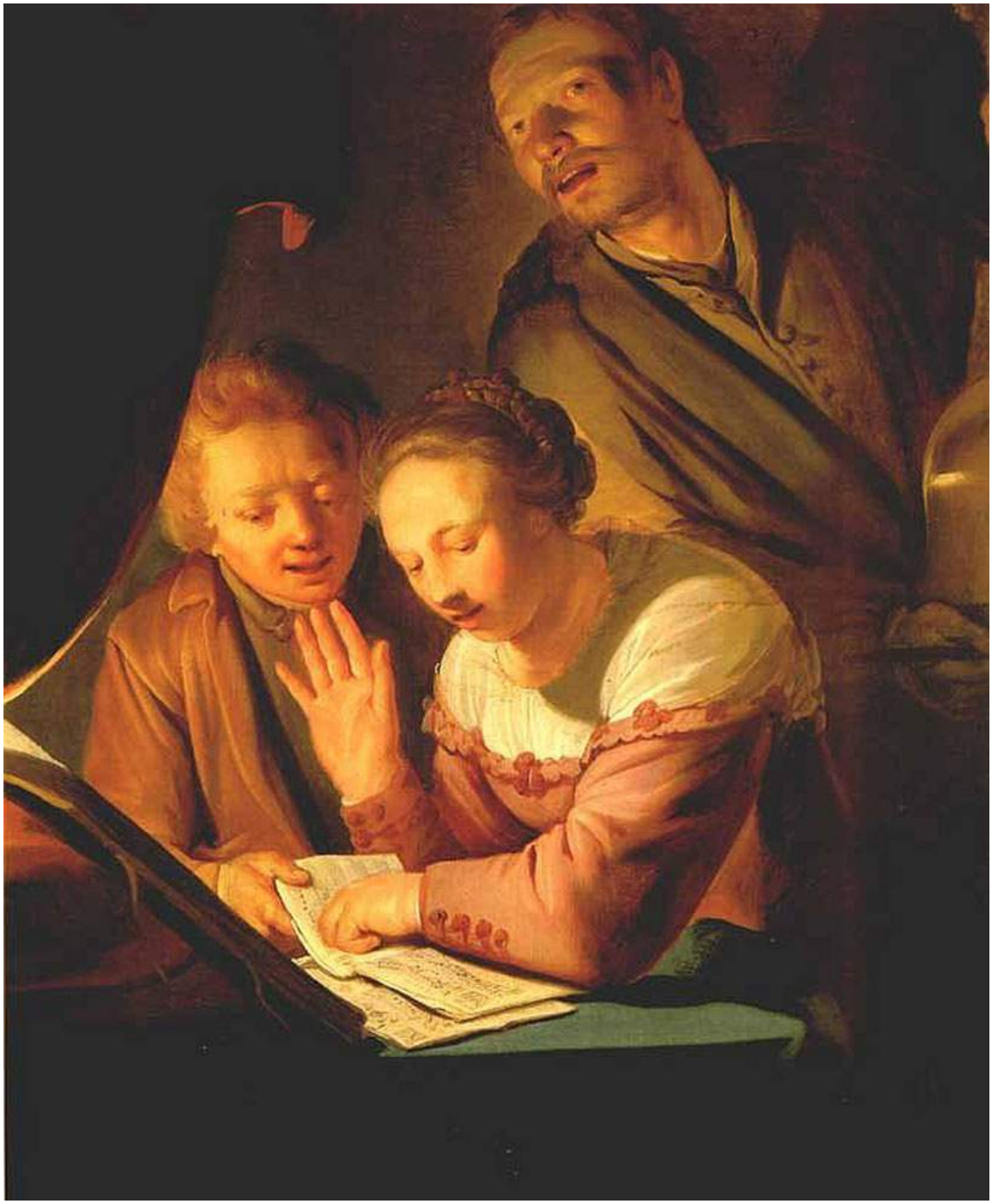
Goyen, Jan Josefsz. van (1596-1656)
A village festival 1, 2, 3 & 4 (1650, 1651, 1653 & 1656).



Goyen, Jan Josefsz. van (1596-1656)
A village festival 5 (1656).

Grebber, Pieter Fransz. de (ca. 1600-1652/1653)
Musicians (ca. 1620-1623).

Grebber, Pieter Fransz. de (ca. 1600-1652/1653)
Musical trio (1623).



Haarlem, Cornelis Cornelisz. van (1562-1638)
The Golden Age (Bacchanal) or the Garden of Love (1614).

Haarlem, Cornelis Cornelisz. van (1562-1638)
The depravity of mankind before the flood (1615).

Haarlem, Cornelis Cornelisz. van (1562-1638)
The wedding of Peleus and Thetis with in the background the judgement of Paris (1624).

Haarlem, Cornelis Cornelisz. van (1562-1638)
The Prodigal Son.

Halen, Arnoud van (1673-1732)
Young man with musical instruments.

Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)
Company making music on Shrove Tuesday (1615-1625).

Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)
Home Concert (1623).

Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)
Company making music in an interior (16[25]).

Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)
Elegant figures making music on a terrace (1625).

Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)
Interior with a cheerful company at a table (1627).

Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)
Elegant company conversing in a palatial loggia (1628).

Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)
Elegant company in a palatial room (1628).

Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)
Cheerful company with flute player (ca. 1630).

Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)
Elegant company playing music and drinking in an interior (ca. 1630).

Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)
Elegant company playing music in an interior 1 (ca. 1630).

Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)
Elegant company playing music in an interior 2 (ca. 1630).

Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)
Elegant company playing music in an interior 3 (ca. 1630).

Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)
Garden party with a company dancing and making music (ca. 1630).

Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)
The solo (ca. 1630).

Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)
Music company (1635).

Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)
Elegant company in an interior with three musicians (ca. 1635).

Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)
Cellist/The solo (after 1635).

Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)
Elegant company playing music in an interior (1636?).

Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)
Elegant company in an interior with a couple dancing and three musicians (1639).

Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)
Elegant company drinking in an interior (1640).

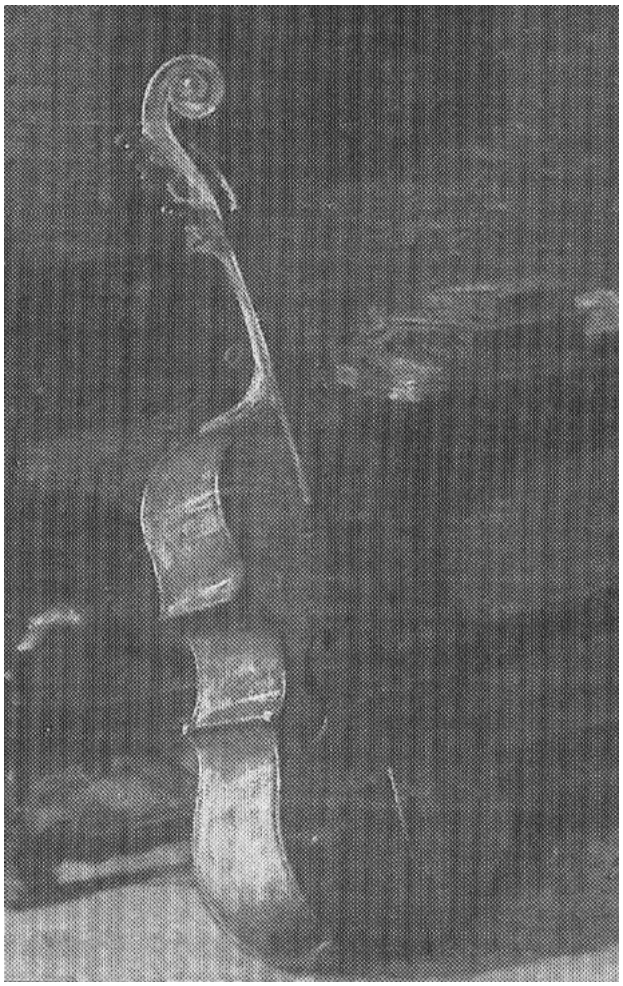
Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)
Elegant company smoking, drinking and playing backgammon in an interior (1640-1645).

Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)
Merry company (1630-1650).

Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)
Elegant company in an interior with musicians (ca. 1650).

Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)
An elegant company and several musical instruments.

Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)
An elegant company in an interior.



Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)
An oval painting with an elegant company and a lute player.

Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)
Company making music.

Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)
Company making music in an interior and playing cards lying on the floor.

Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)
Elegant company making music in an interior.

Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)
Merry company in a room.

Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)
Portrait of a family.

Hecken, Abraham van den (1615-1655)
A woman reading with maid combing her hair (164[1]).

Heerschop, Hendrick (1626/1627-1690)
Allegory of Truth and Vanity (167.).

Heerschop, Hendrick (1626/1627-1690)
The architectural painter (1672).

Hogers, Jacob (1614-1656)
David's triumph: the women of Israel come out to welcome David, singing, dancing, and playing tambourines and lyres; David holding the head of Goliath (Samuel 17: 53-54 en [sic] 18:6) (1654).

Holsteyn, Cornelis (1618-1658)
Open air theatre in a village.

Honthorst, Gerard van (1592-1656)
The concert 1 (ca. 1626-1627).

Honthorst, Gerard van (1592-1656)
The concert 2 (1628).

Honthorst, Gerard van (1592-1656)
Saint Francis of Assisi and Saint Bonaventure attend an apparition of the Virgin to Princess Colonna.

Honthorst, Gerard van (1592-1656)
Vision of Saint Paul.

Hooch, Pieter de (1629-after1684)
A Musical Conversation (1674).

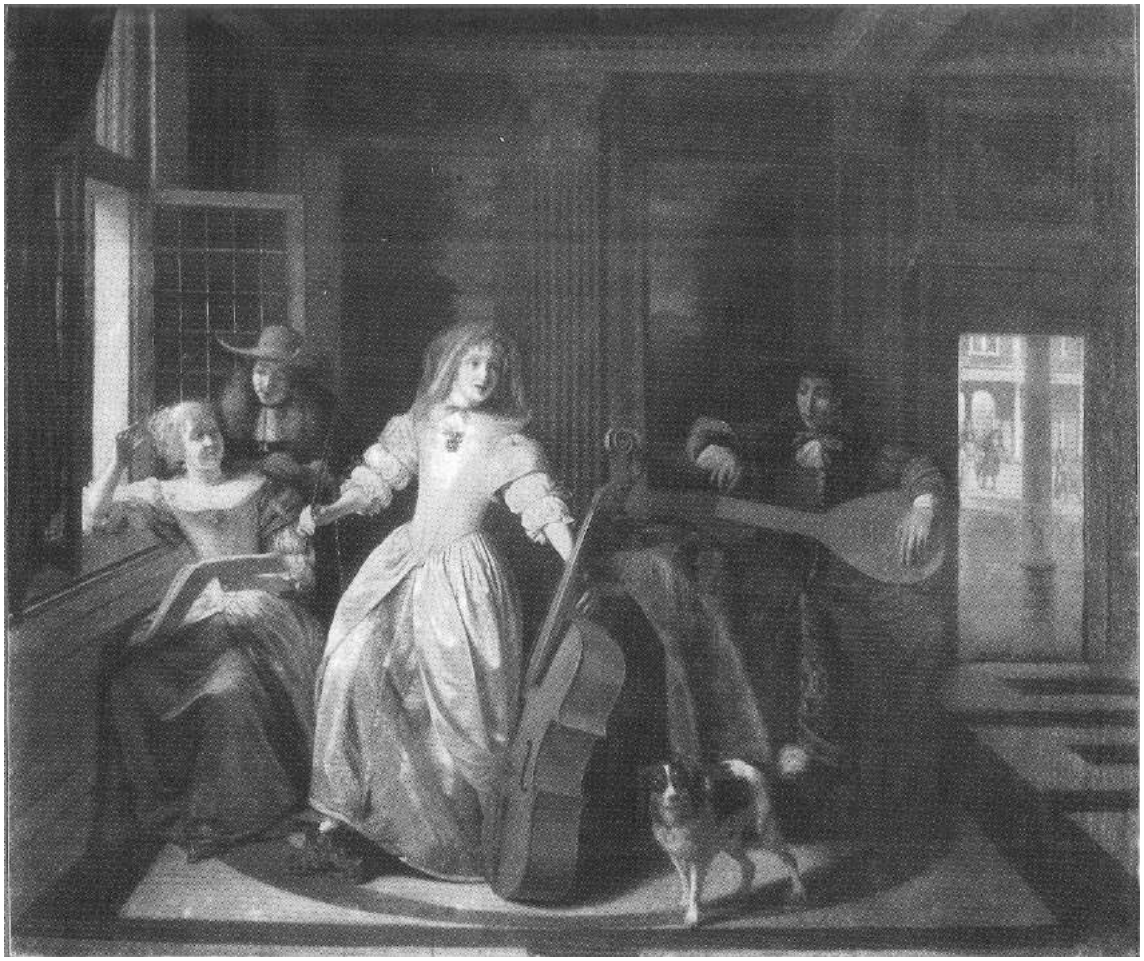
Hooch, Pieter de (1629-after1684)
A Musical Party.

Hooch, Pieter de (1629-after1684)
A Music Party.

Hooch, Pieter de (1629-after1684)
Interior of the Amsterdam city hall.

Hooch, Pieter de (1629-after1684)
Musical company in an interior 1.

Hooch, Pieter de (1629-after1684)
Musical company in an interior 2.



Hooch, Pieter de (1629-after1684)
Standing woman with a woman playing the cello (fragment).

Hooghe, Romeyn de (1645-1708)
Frontispiece of: Hacquart, C. (1674). *Cantiones sacrae*.

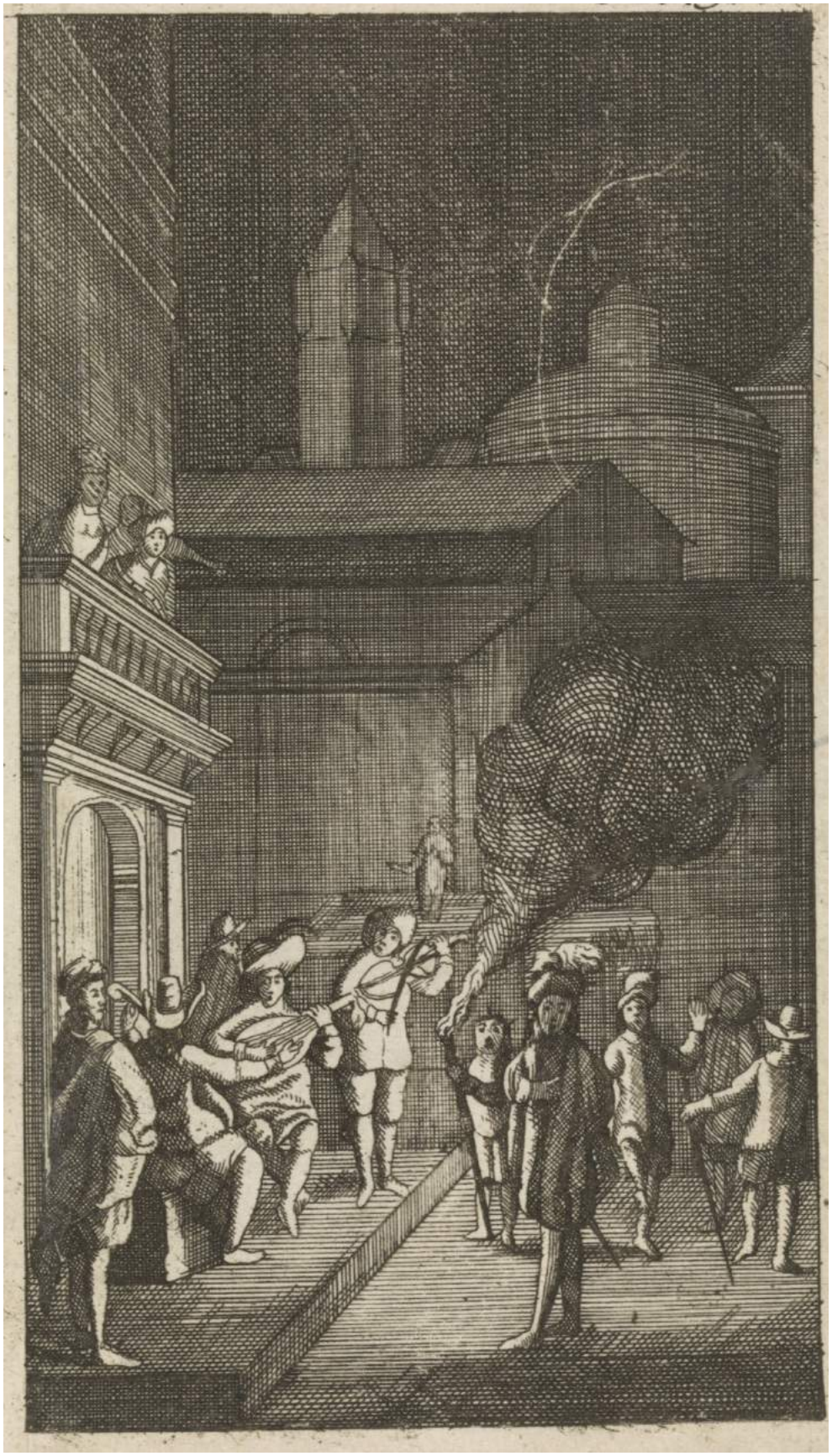
Hooghe, Romeyn de (1645-1708)
Cartoon on Jacobus II and Louis XIV as rope dancers (1689).

Hooghe, Romeyn de (1645-1708)
Koning-Spel Courant op 't Jaer 1689 (1689).

Hooghe, Romeyn de (1645-1708)
Title page of: Blasius, J. L. (1713). *De Malle Wedding of gierige Geeraard, Gierige Geeraards Voor en Naaspél*.

Horstok, Johannes Petrus van (1745-1825)
Allegory of the Liberal Arts (1792).

Jonge, Jan de (??-??)
Company making music at night.



Jongh, Jan de (17th century)
Street musicians by night.

Kittensteyn, Cornelis van (1597-1652)
Company at a table (1625-1650).

Kittensteyn, Cornelis van (1597-1652)
Man and woman making music (1627).

Kyckenburgh, Dirck van (1630-1662)
A lace-maker and a cello in the foreground.

Kyckenburgh, Dirck van (1630-1662)
Man and woman in an interior.

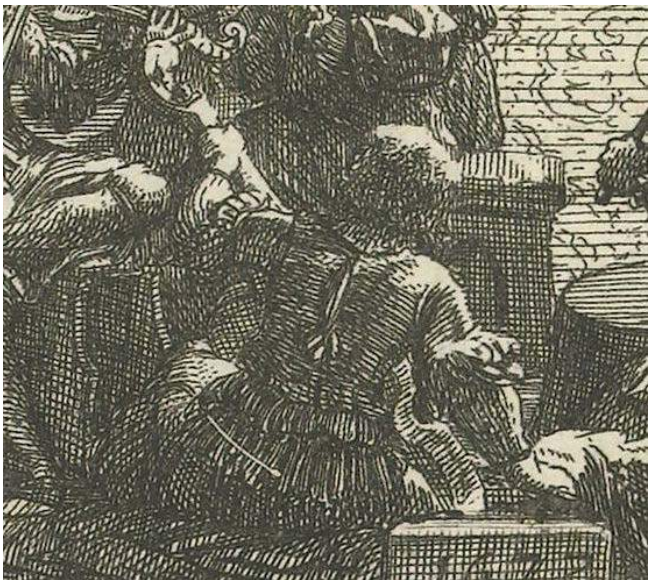
Koedijck, Isaac (1616/1618-1668)
Reveller (1650).

Koning, Cornelis (active 1608-1671)
Elegant company making a party in an interior (1620-1625).

Kuipers, Cornelis (1739-1802)
Allegory on music (1770).

Lairesse, Gerard de (1641-1711)
Banquet held by Willem III on March 1, 1672, in honour of his appointment to Captain General (1672).

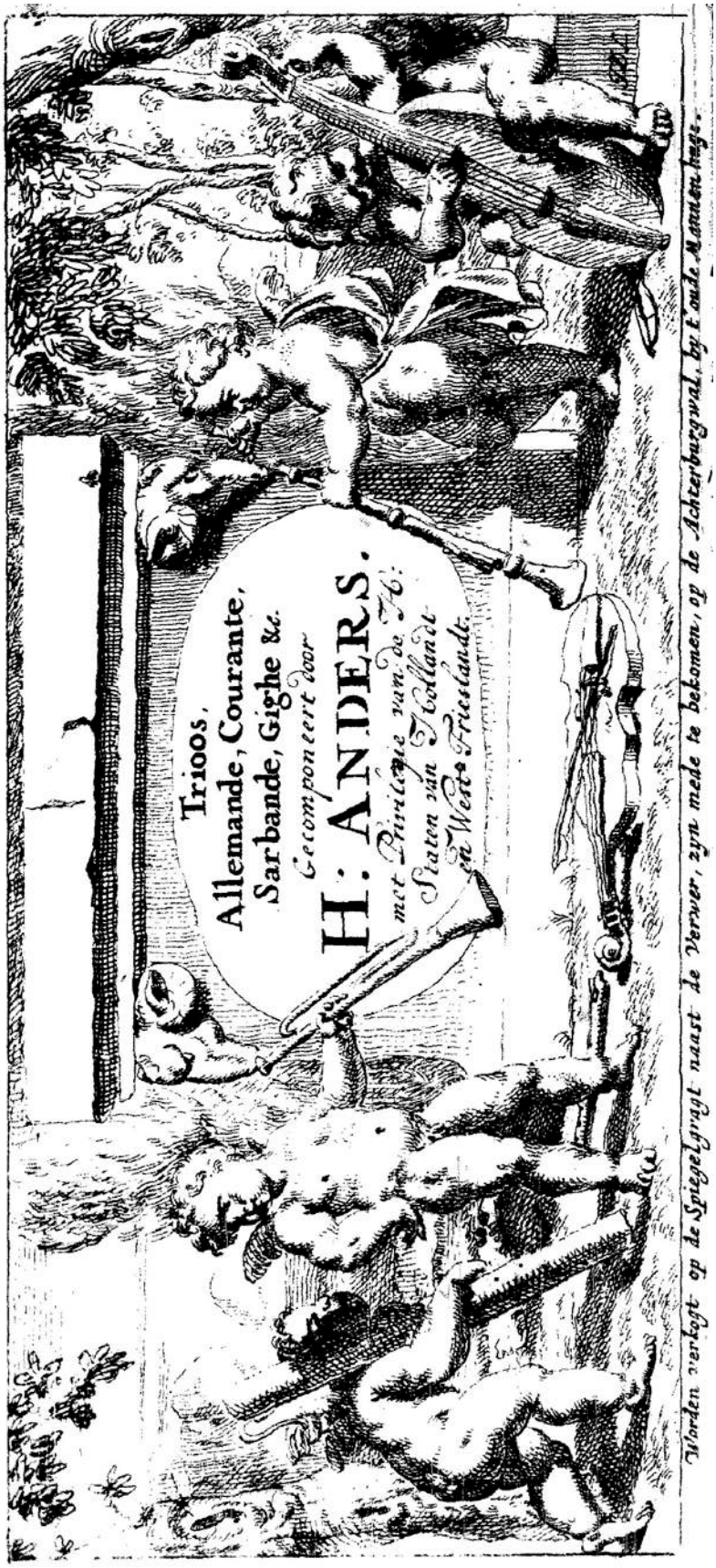
HET HEERLYCK FESTIN,
Gegeven door sijn HOOGHEYT
WILHELMUS de DERDE,
Prins van Orange, &c. Capiteyn Generael, en Admirael ter Zee, den eersten Maert 1672.



Lairesse, Gerard de (1641-1711)
Cadmus kills the dragon (1682).

Lairesse, Gerard de (1641-1711)
Elegant couple making music in an interior.

Lairesse, Johannes de (1673-1716)
Title page of: Anders, H. (1696). *Trioos, Allemande, Courante, Sarbande, Gighe &c*.



Langendijk, Dirk (1748-1805)
The hearing (1799).

Laquy, Willem Joseph (1738-1798)
Couple making music.

Lastman, Pieter (1583-1633)
Minerva (ca. 1616).

Leyster, Judith (1609-1660)
Man playing the cello 1.

Leyster, Judith (1609-1660)
Man playing the cello 2.

Lippoldt, Franz (1688-1768)
Portrait of Philip Damiaan Ludovicus Ignatius Victorius Graaf van Hoensbroek (1762).

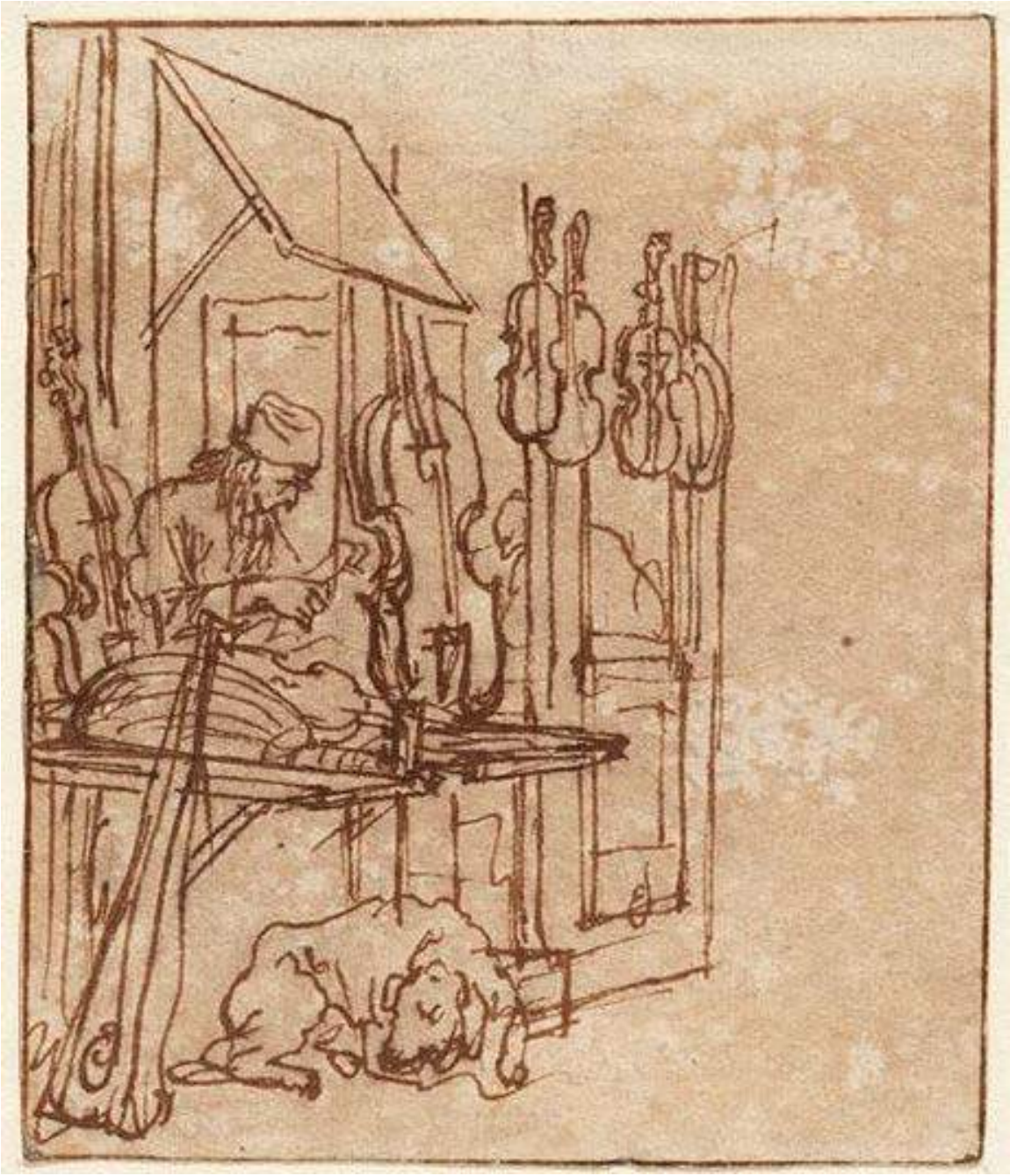
Lundens, Gerrit (1622-1686)
Bridal couple dancing in an interior (1646).

Lundens, Gerrit (1622-1686)
People dancing in a tavern (1670).

Lundens, Gerrit (1622-1686)
Bridal couple dancing in an inn, with musicians and spectators.

Luttichuys, Simon (1610-1661)
A still life with fruits, flowers and musical instruments.

Luyken, Jan (1649-1712) & Casper (1672-1708)
The instrument maker 1 (1694).



Luyken, Jan (1649-1712) & Casper (1672-1708)
The instrument maker 2 (1694).

Luyken, Jan (1649-1712) & Casper (1672-1708)
The instrument maker 3 (1694).

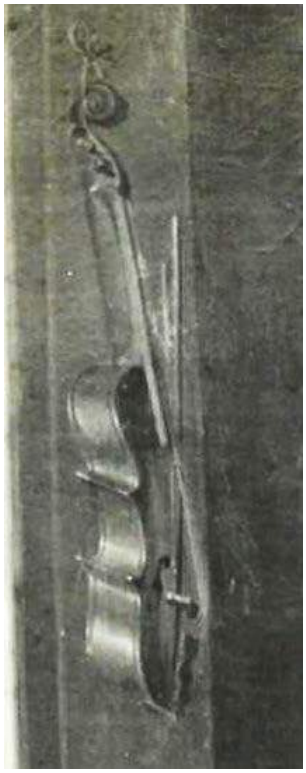
Luyken, Jan (1649-1712) & Casper (1672-1708)
The instrument maker 4 (1694).

Luyken, Jan (1649-1712) & Casper (1672-1708)
The musician 1 (1694).

Luyken, Jan (1649-1712) & Casper (1672-1708)
The musician 2 (1694).

Marienhof, Jan Aertsz. (active 1600-1649)
A company making music.

Marienhof, Jan Aertsz. (active 1600-1649)
A family portrait.

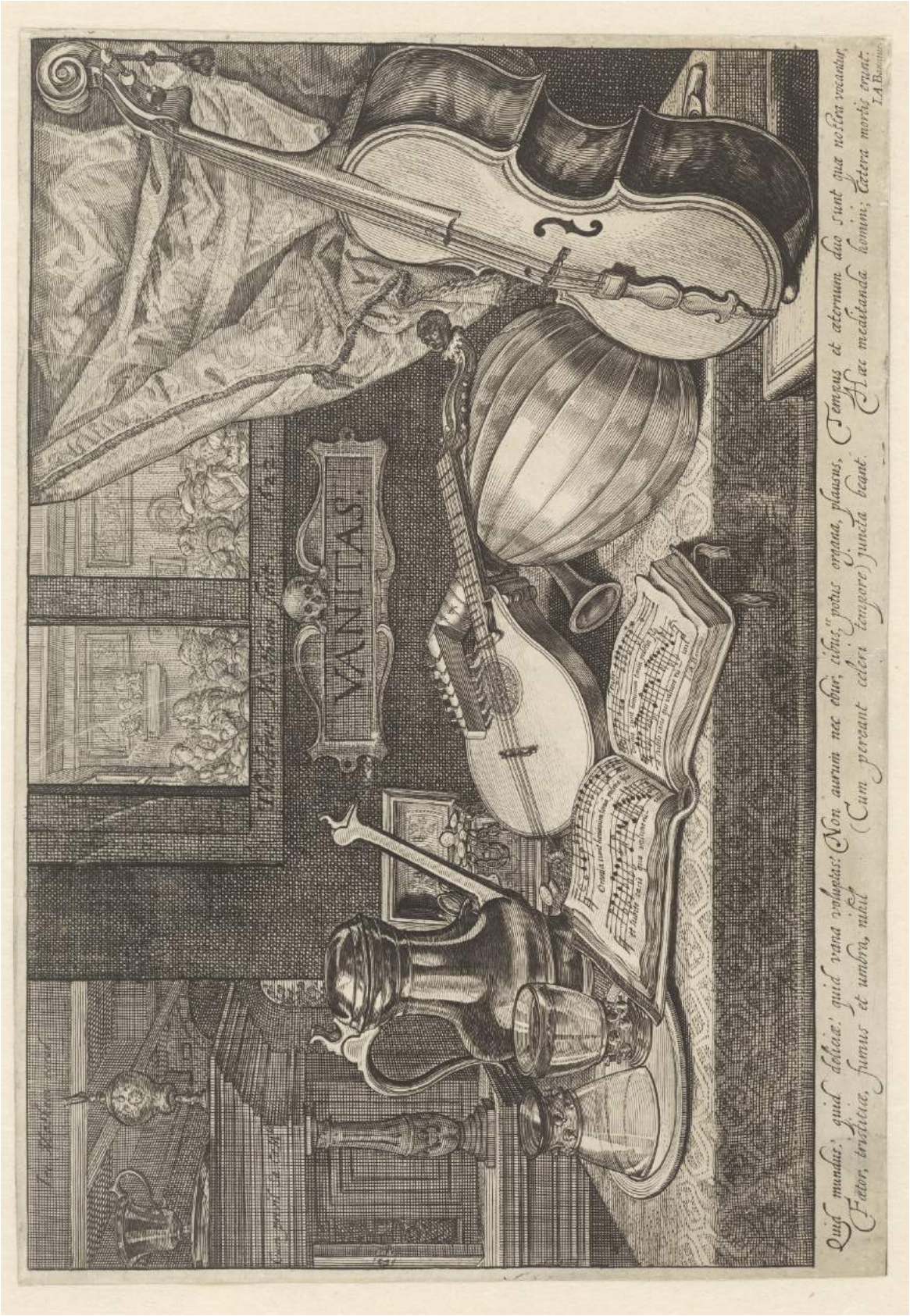


Marot I, Daniel (1661/1664-1752)
Ball in the 'Oranjezaal' in Huis ten Bosch on the occasion of the birthday of the Prince of Orange (1686).

Matham, Adriaen (ca. 1599-1660)
Interior with a wedding banquet (1620-1660).

Matham, Jacob (1571-1631)
Amorous Couple and Banquet of the Gods (ca. 1600-1605).

Matham, Theodor (1605/1606-1676)
Vanitas still life with musical instruments (1622).



Merck, Jacob Fransz. van der (ca. 1610-1664)
Elegant company playing music and dancing in an interior (ca. 1630).

Metsu, Gabriel (1629-1667)
The viol [sic] player (ca. 1700).

Metsu, Gabriel (1629-1667)
The Cello Player.

Metsu, Gabriel (1629-1667)
Woman at Her Toilette.

Moeyaert, Claes (1591-1655)
The assumption of the Virgin Mary (1649).

Molenaer, Jan Miense (1609/1610-1668)
Allegory of Marital Fidelity (1633).

Molenaer, Jan Miense (1609/1610-1668)
Allegory of Vanity (1633).

Molenaer, Jan Miense (1609/1610-1668)
Elegant couple playing music in an interior (ca. 1635).

Molenaer, Jan Miense (1609/1610-1668)
Probable self portrait with family (ca. 1635).

Molenaer, Jan Miense (1609/1610-1668)
Elegant company playing music in an interior (1636).

Molenaer, Jan Miense (1609/1610-1668)
The wedding of Willem van Loon and Margaretha Bas (1637).

Molenaer, Jan Miense (1609/1610-1668)
Elegant company playing music and drinking in an interior (ca. 1640).

Molenaer, Jan Miense (1609/1610-1668)
Cabaret concert (ca. 1645-1650).

Molenaer, Jan Miense (1609/1610-1668)
A company drinking and making music in an interior.

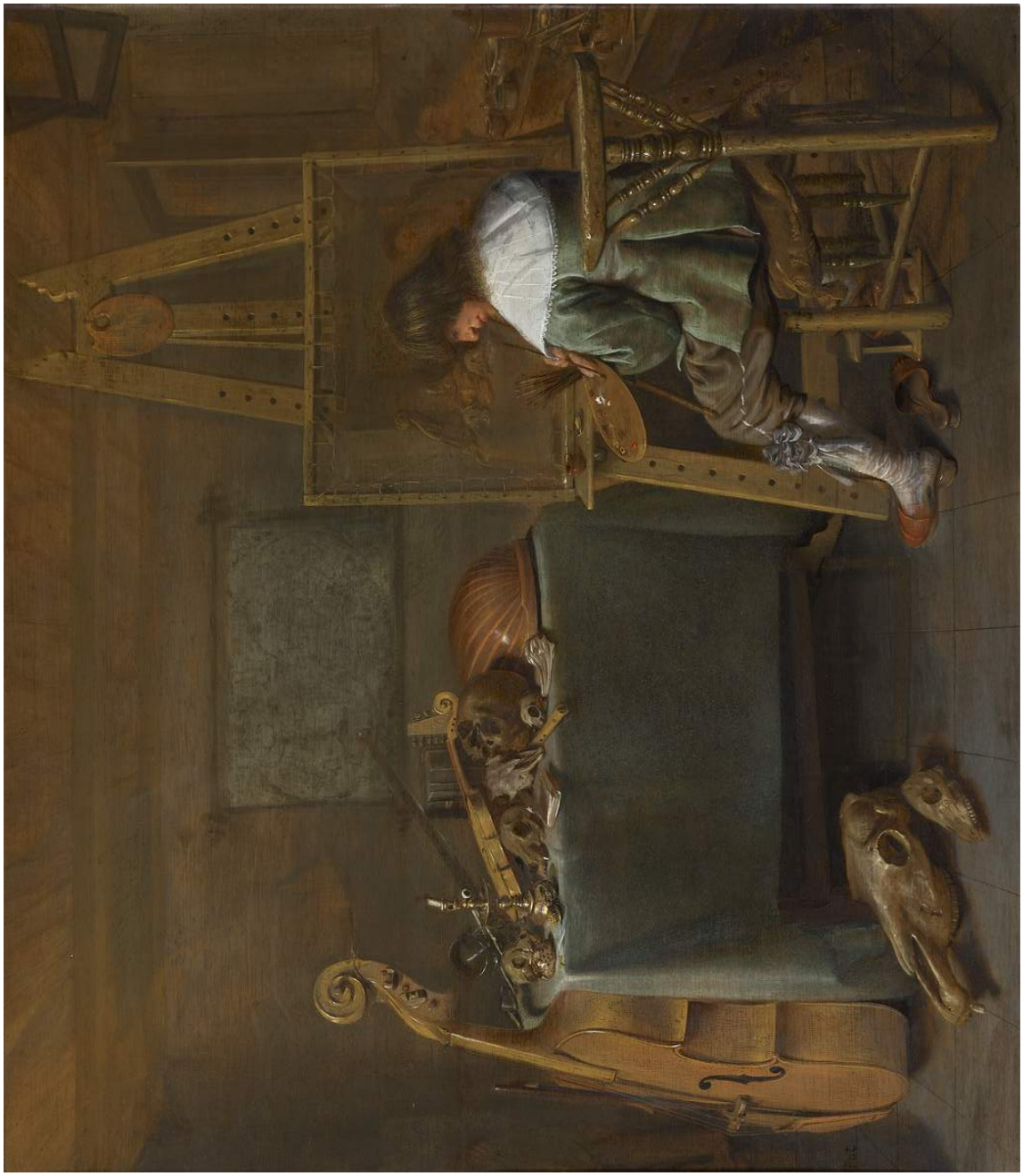
Molenaer, Jan Miense (1609/1610-1668)
A merry company dancing and making music in an interior.

Molenaer, Jan Miense (1609/1610-1668)
A merry company making music in an interior.

Molenaer, Jan Miense (1609/1610-1668)
A Young Man and Woman making Music.

Molenaer, Jan Miense (1609/1610-1668)
Elegant company playing music and peasants drinking in an interior.

Molenaer, Jan Miense (1609/1610-1668)
Painter in his workshop.

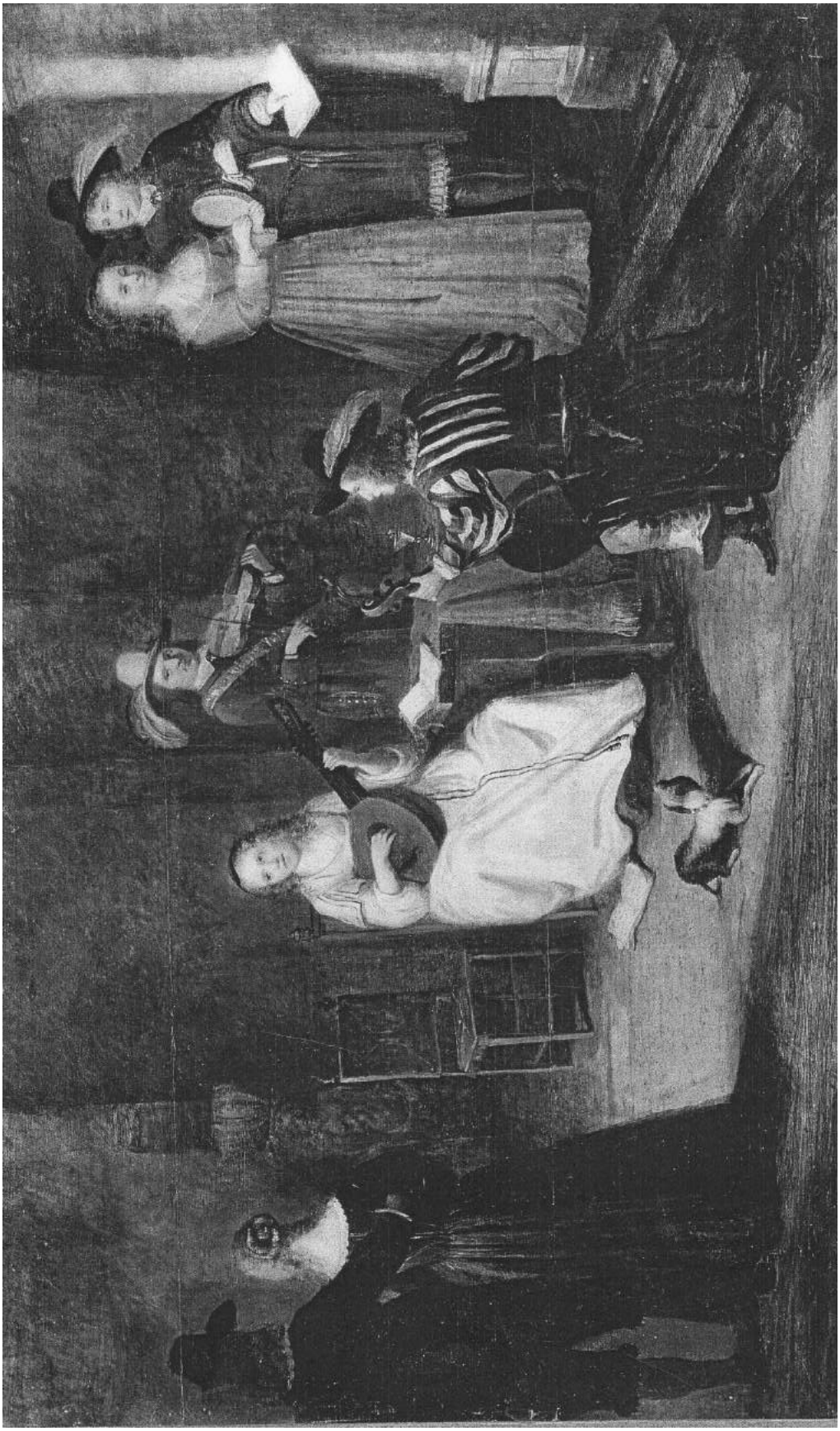


Molenaer, Jan Miense (1609/1610-1668)
Portrait historié of an unknown man with vanitas symbols.

Molenaer, Jan Miense (1609/1610-1668)
The concert.

Molenaer, Jan Miense (1609/1610-1668)
Vanity.

Moor I, Carel de (1627-1689)
An elegant company making music in an interior (1686).



Muller, Jan Harmensz. (1571-1628)
The baptism of Christ in the river Jordan (1590).

Muller, Jan Harmensz. (1571-1628)
Elegant company playing music and dancing in an interior.

Naiveu, Matthijs (1647-1726)
Epiphany (1706).

Naiveu, Matthijs (1647-1726)
Clowns in an open air play (1721).

Naiveu, Matthijs (1647-1726)
Spectators watching a dancing clown and musicians in an open air play.

Neter, Laurence (1600/1604-1652)
Elegant company courting, dancing and playing music in an interior (ca. 1635).

Netscher, Caspar (1635/1639-1684)
A man playing the cello and his wife showing the tempo with a song book in her hand (1660).

Nieulandt I, Adriaen van (1586/1587-1658) & **Persijn**, Reinier van (1613/1615-1668)
Title page of: Ripa, C. (1644). *Iconologia, of Uytbeeldinghe des Verstants.*

Nijmegen, Dionys van (1705-1798)
Design for a wall painting with youngsters making music .

Nijmegen, Dionys van (1705-1798)
Open air music party.

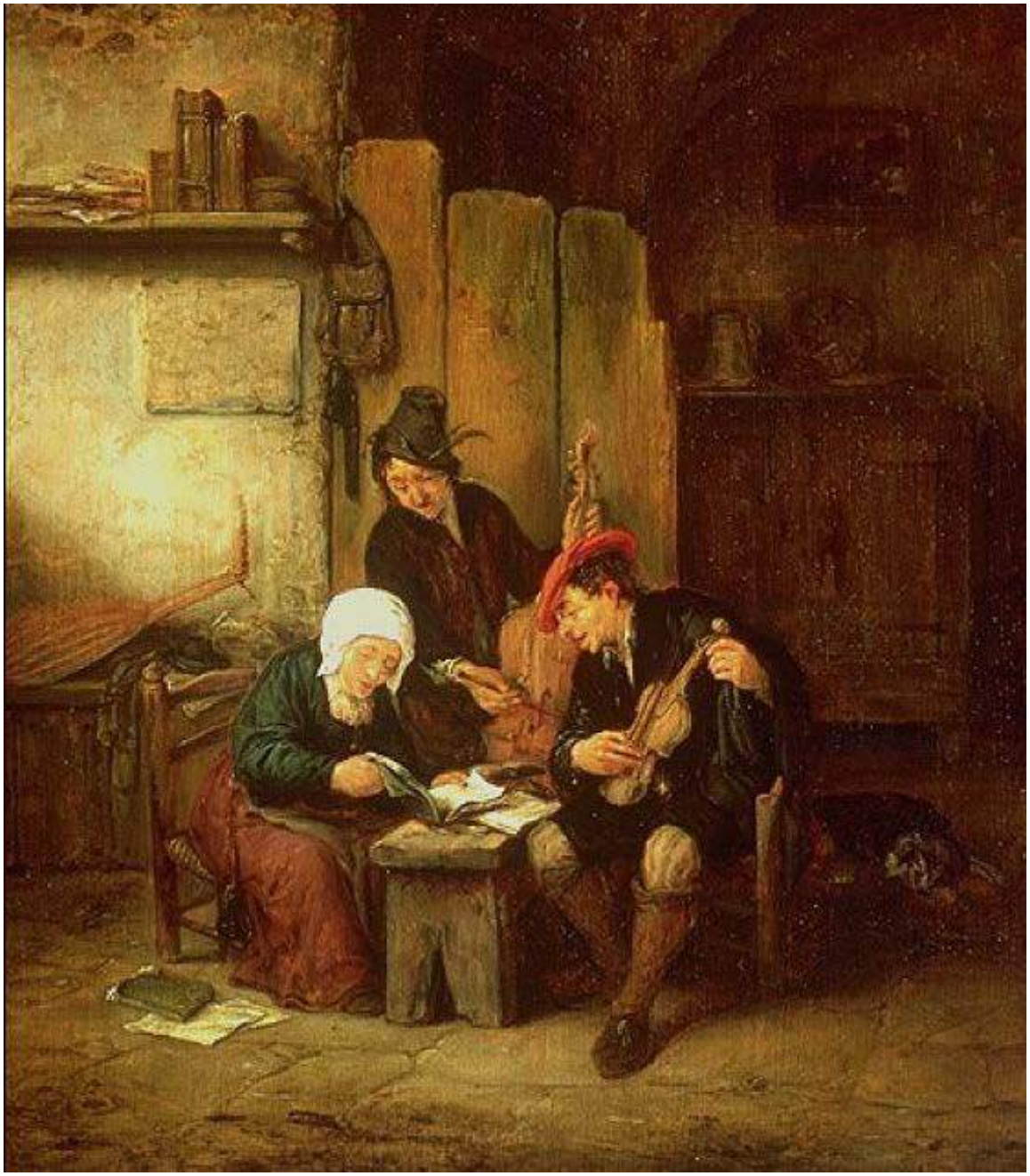
Nijmegen, Dionys van (1705-1798)
Three musicians.

Nijmegen, Elias van (1667-1755)
Medallion with a portrait of a woman, surrounded by musical instruments and flowers (1725-1750).

Noorde, Cornelis van (1731-1795)
Allegory on the 'coming of age' of Willem V (1766).

Ostade, Adriaen van (1610-1685)
Rural Musicians (1655).

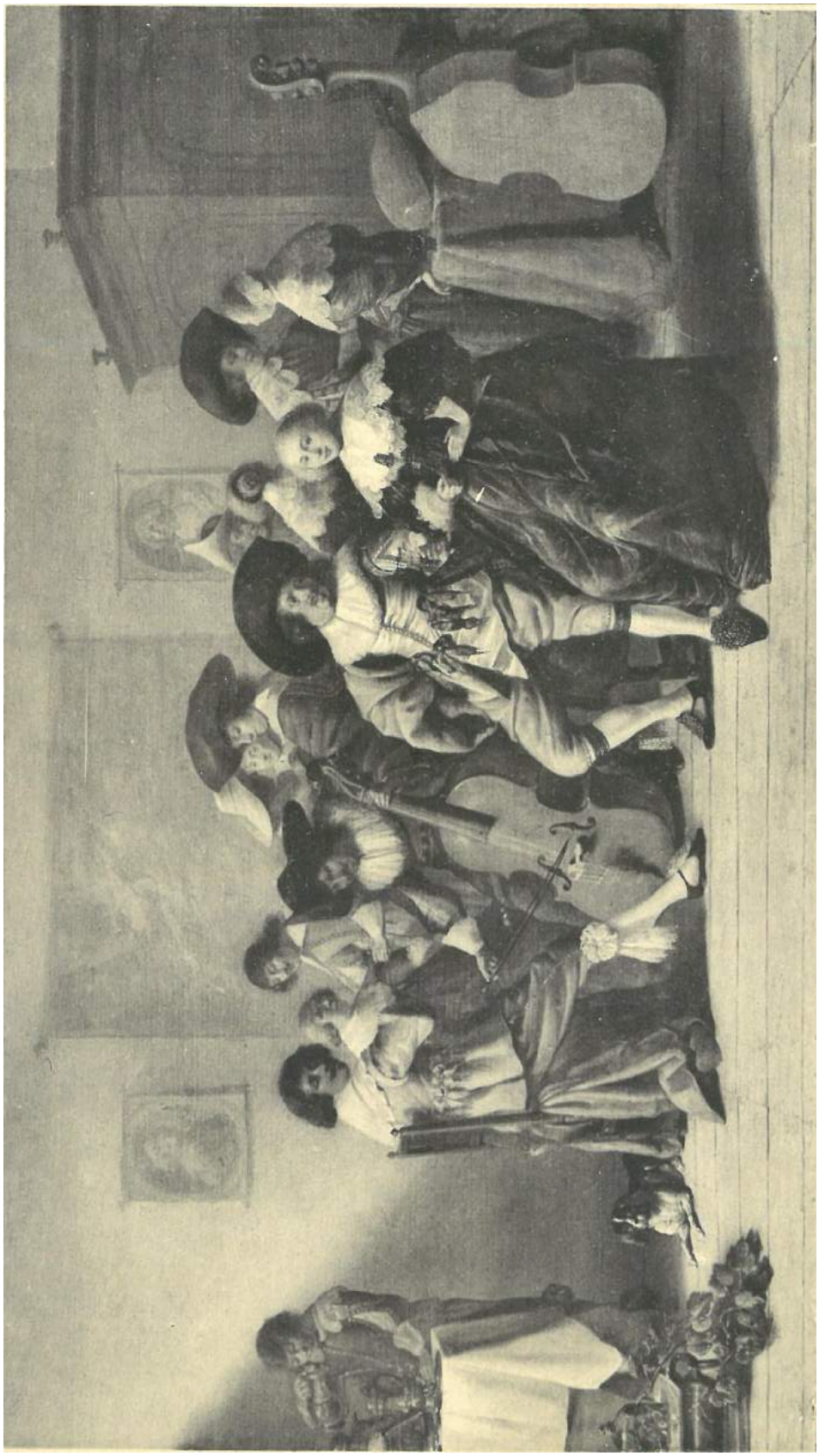
Ostade, Adriaen van (1610-1685)
Two men and a woman making music in a farmhouse interior (1661).



Palamedesz., Anthonie (1601-1673)
Company in conversation and drinking in an interior (ca. 1630).

Palamedesz., Anthonie (1601-1673)
Elegant company eating, drinking and playing music in an interior (ca. 1630).

Palamedesz., Anthonie (1601-1673)
Elegant company playing music and in conversation in an interior (ca. 1630).



Palamedesz., Anthonie (1601-1673)
Group portrait of an unknown family in an interior (ca. 1630).

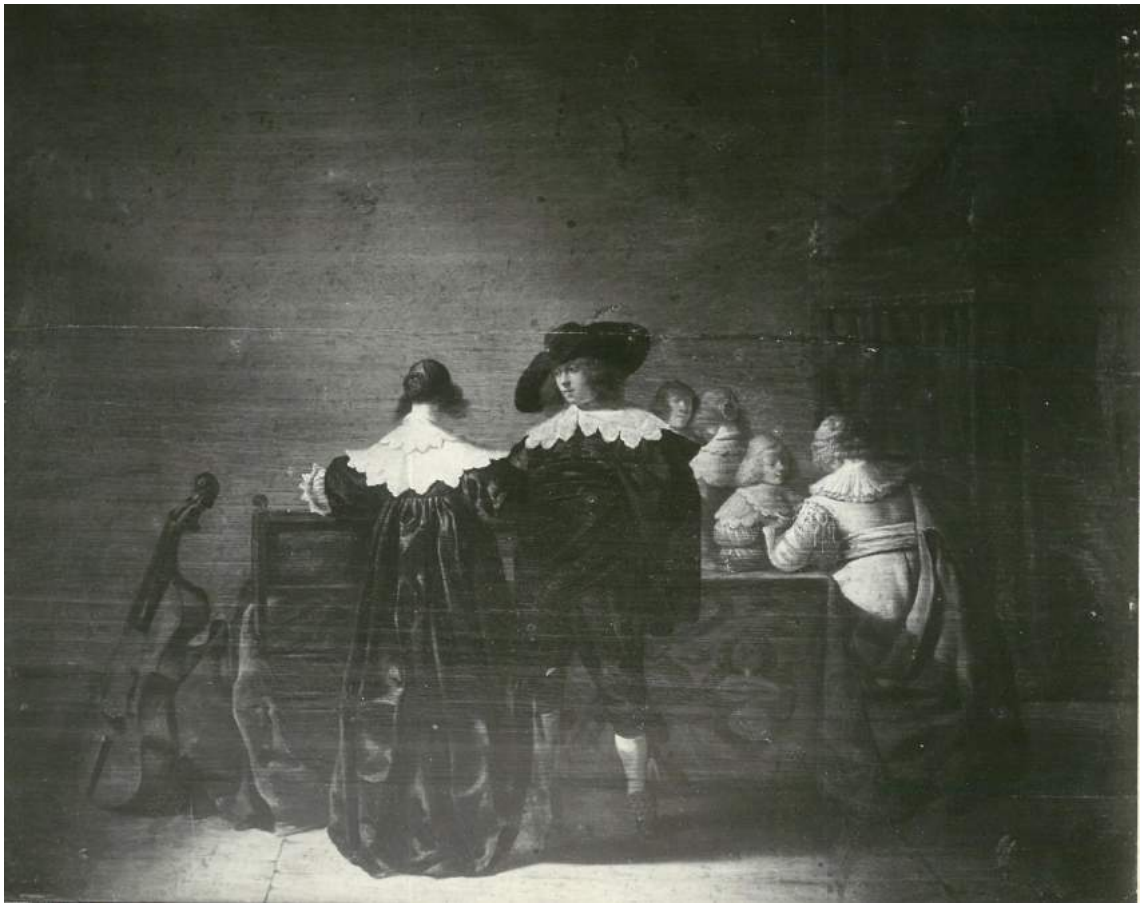
Palamedesz., Anthonie (1601-1673)
A musical company (1632).

Palamedesz., Anthonie (1601-1673)
Company making music and dining (1632).

Palamedesz., Anthonie (1601-1673)
Elegant company seated around a table in a park (1632).

Palamedesz., Anthonie (1601-1673)
A noble company (1634).

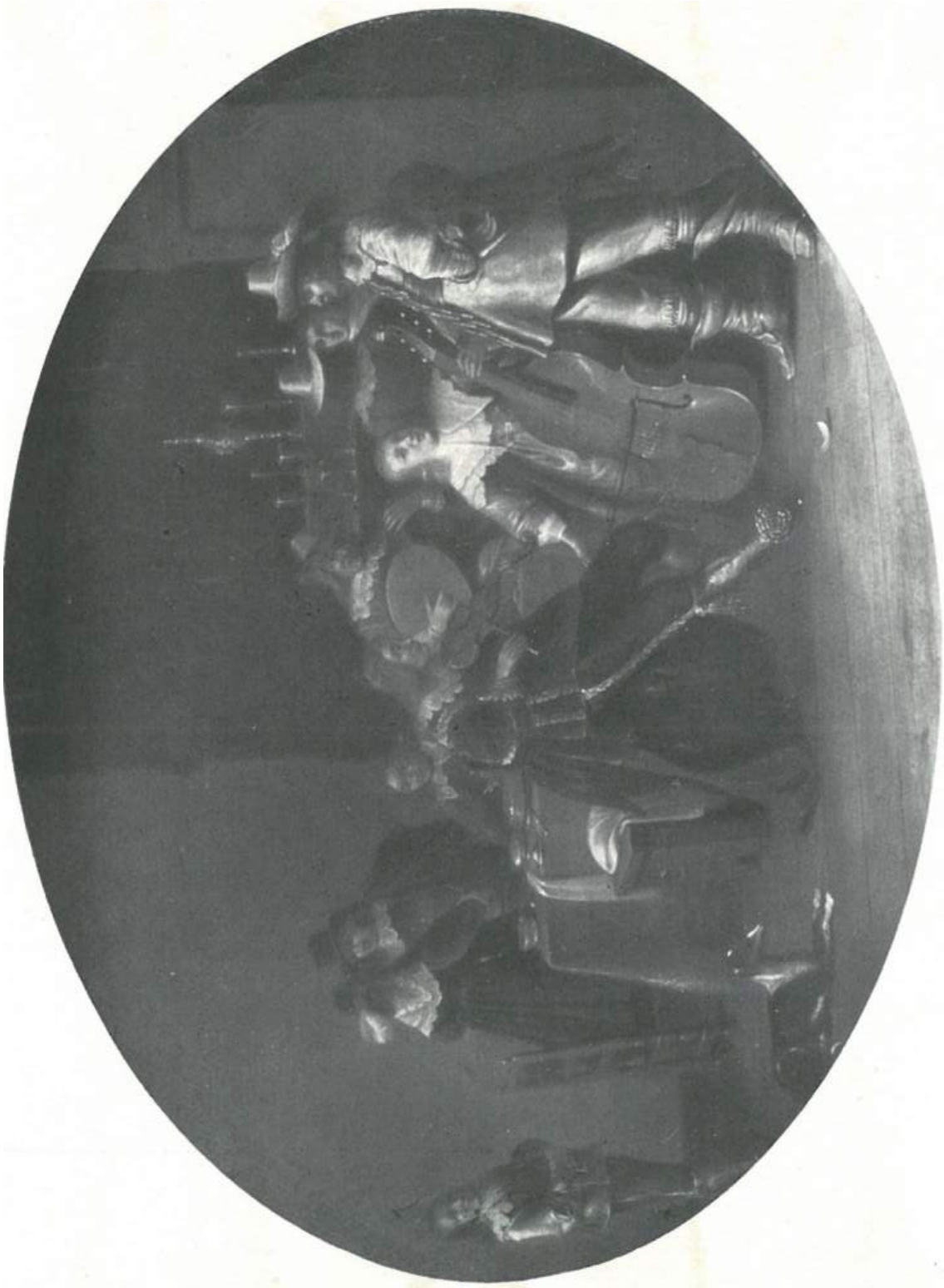
Palamedesz., Anthonie (1601-1673)
Elegant company in conversation in an interior (ca. 1635).



Palamedesz., Anthonie (1601-1673)
Concert of amateurs (1640-1649).

Palamedesz., Anthonie (1601-1673)
Merry company (1648).

Palamedesz., Anthonie (1601-1673)
An oval painting with an elegant company conversing and making music in an interior (1649).



Palamedesz., Anthonie (1601-1673)
A bourgeois interior with a gypsy telling a lady's fortune.

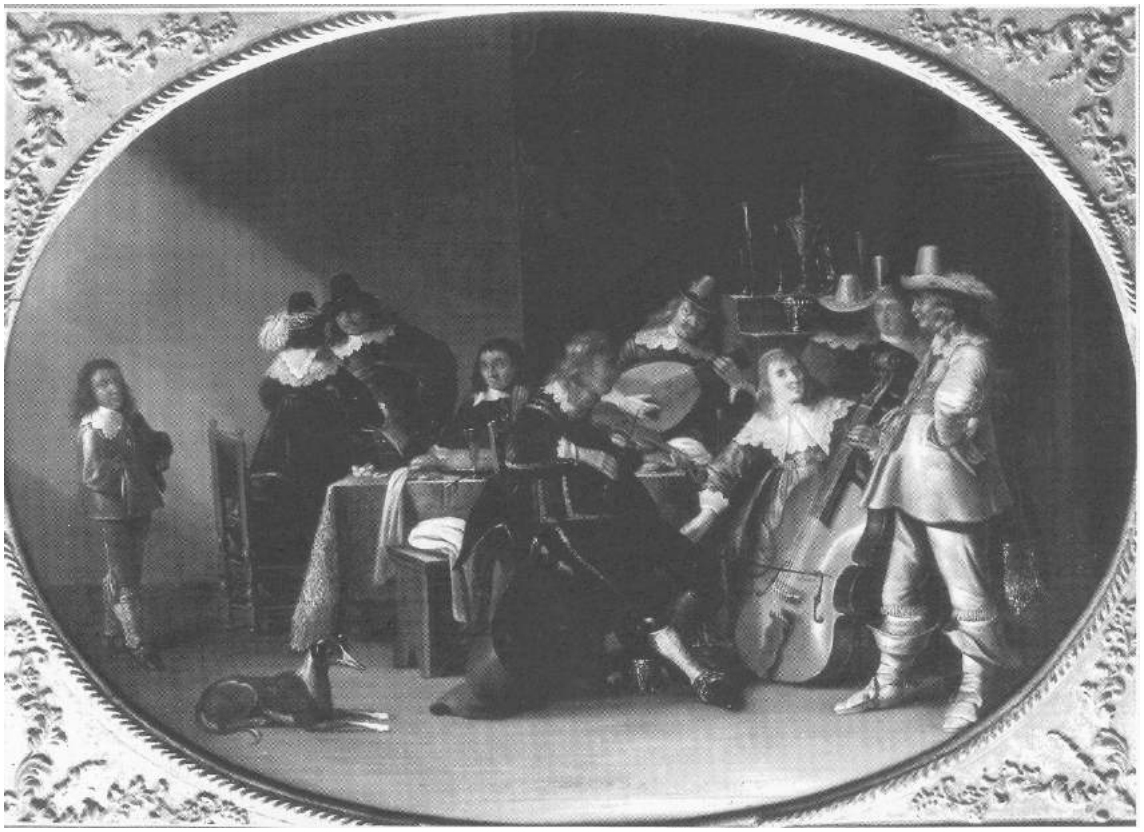
Palamedesz., Anthonie (1601-1673)
An elegant company at a concert.

Palamedesz., Anthonie (1601-1673)
An elegant company conversing and making music in an interior.

Palamedesz., Anthonie (1601-1673)
An elegant company drinking, conversing and making music in an interior.

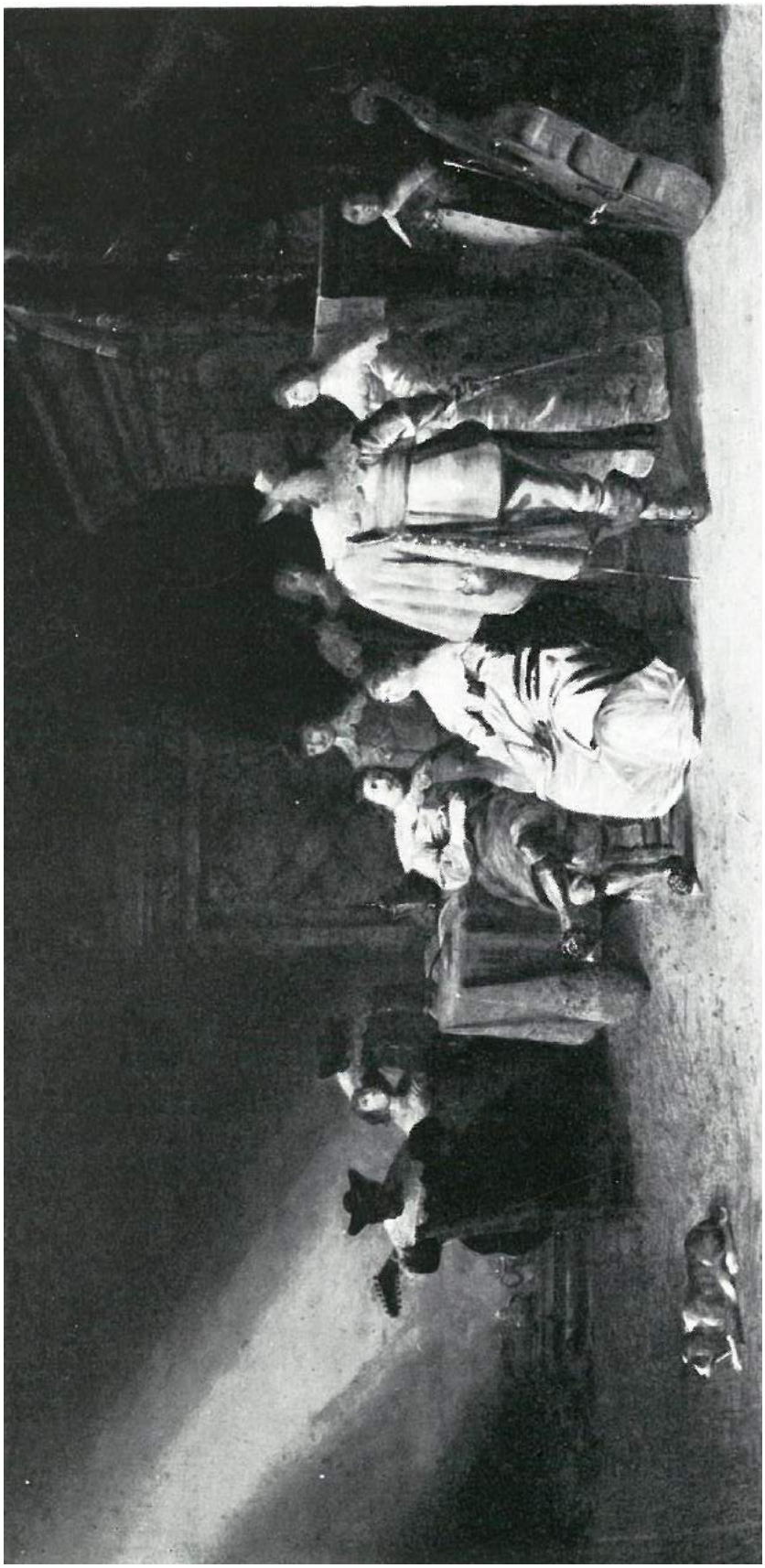
Palamedesz., Anthonie (1601-1673)
An elegant company making merry in an interior.

Palamedesz., Anthonie (1601-1673)
An oval painting with an elegant company conversing and making music in an interior.



Palamedesz., Anthonie (1601-1673)
Elegant company in an interior with a gentleman playing the cello.

Palamedesz., Anthonie (1601-1673)
Elegant company in conversation and playing music in an interior.

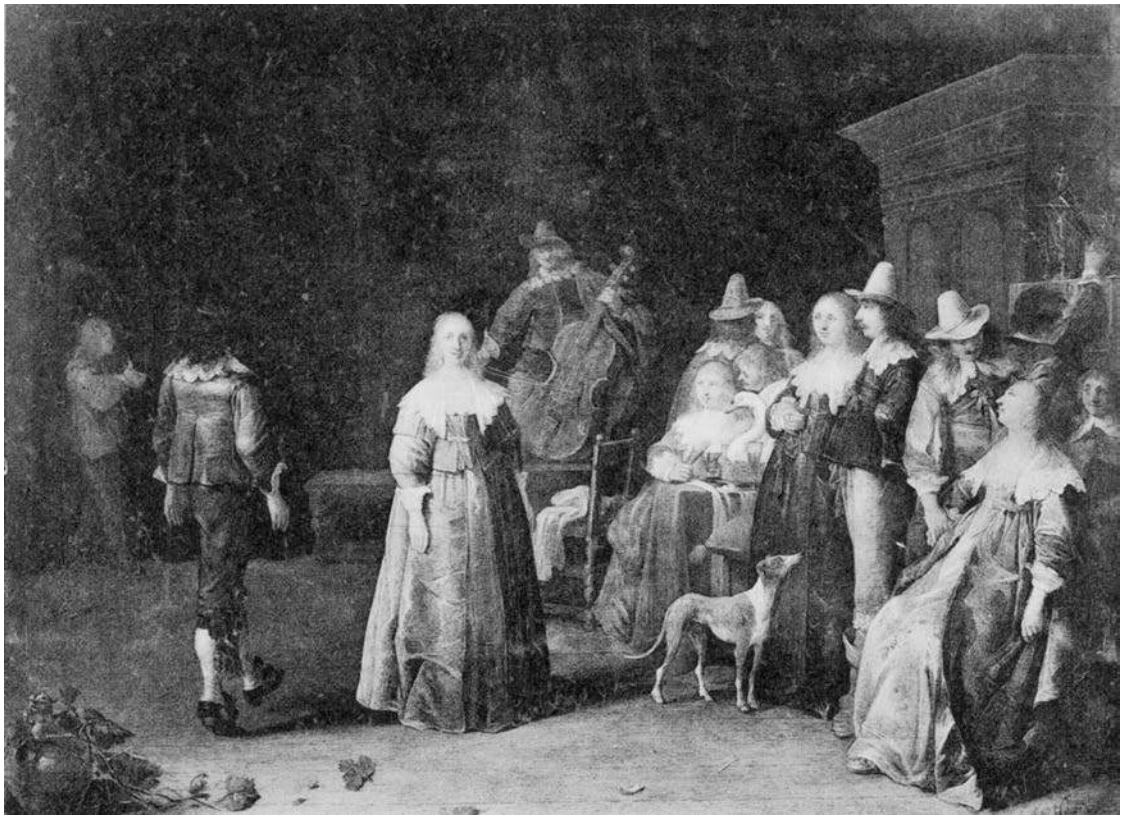


Palamedesz., Anthonie (1601-1673)
Elegant company making music in an interior 1.

Palamedesz., Anthonie (1601-1673)
Elegant company making music in an interior 2.

Palamedesz., Anthonie (1601-1673)
Elegant company playing music and drinking in an interior.

Palamedesz., Anthonie (1601-1673)
Elegant company playing music, drinking and in conversation in an interior.



Palamedesz., Anthonie (1601-1673)
Elegant company playing music in an interior 1.

Palamedesz., Anthonie (1601-1673)
Elegant company playing music in an interior 2.

Palamedesz., Anthonie (1601-1673)
Elegant company with a man playing the viola da gambe [sic] in a richly decorated interior.

Palamedesz., Anthonie (1601-1673)
Elegant figures making music in an interior.

Palamedesz., Anthonie (1601-1673)
Interior with festive company.

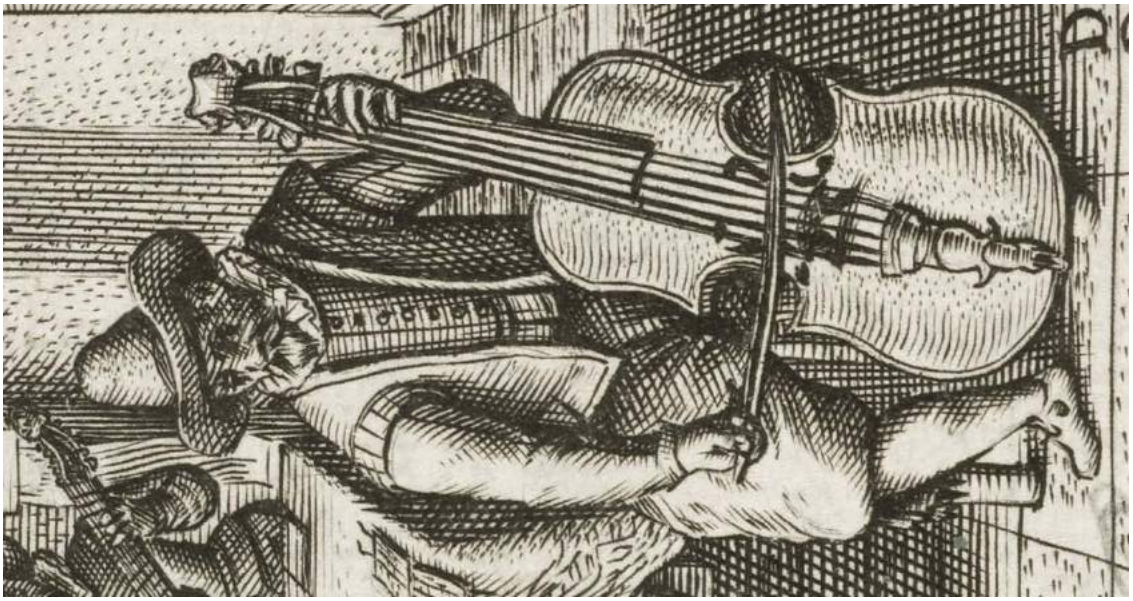
Palamedesz., Anthonie (1601-1673)
Portrait of an unknown family.

Palamedesz., Palamedes (1607-1638)
Garden party.

Passe II, Crispijn van de (1594-1670)
Making music (1612).

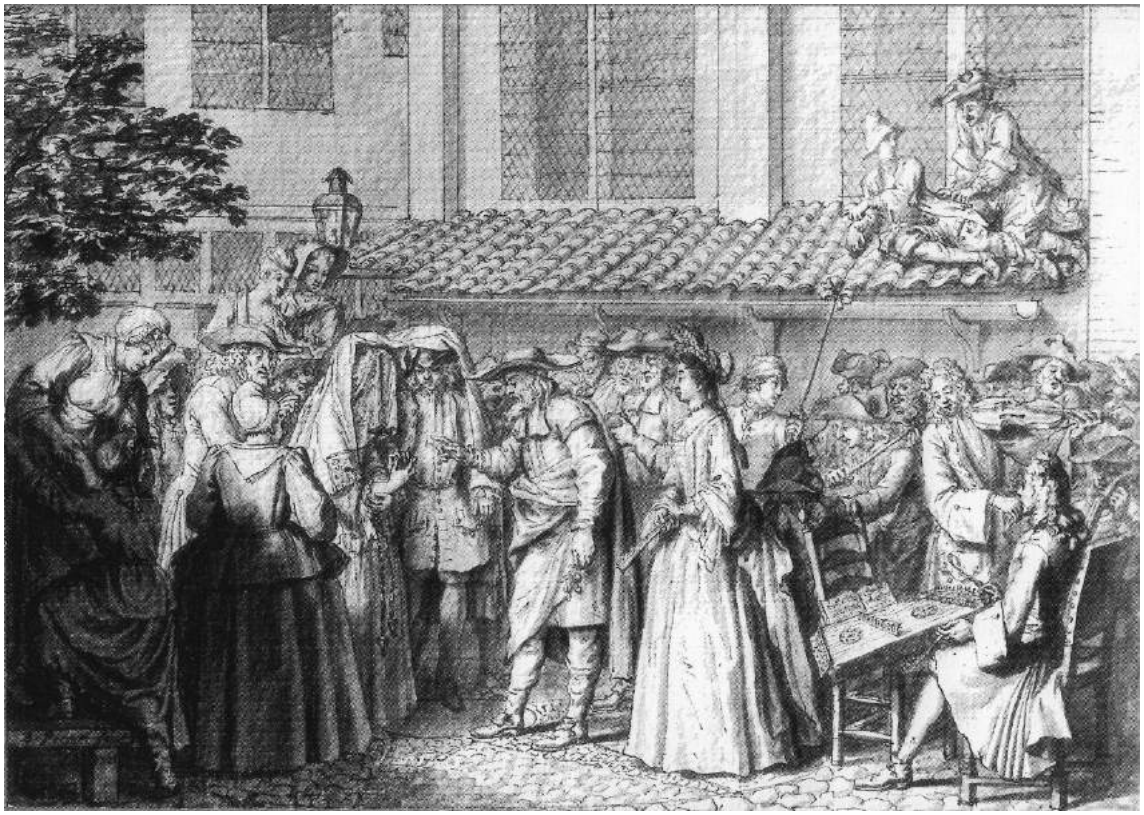
Passe II, Crispijn van de (1594-1670)
Satire on England 'Lion and Dog Fight' (1652).

Passe, Simon van (de) (1595-1647)
Musical company (1612).

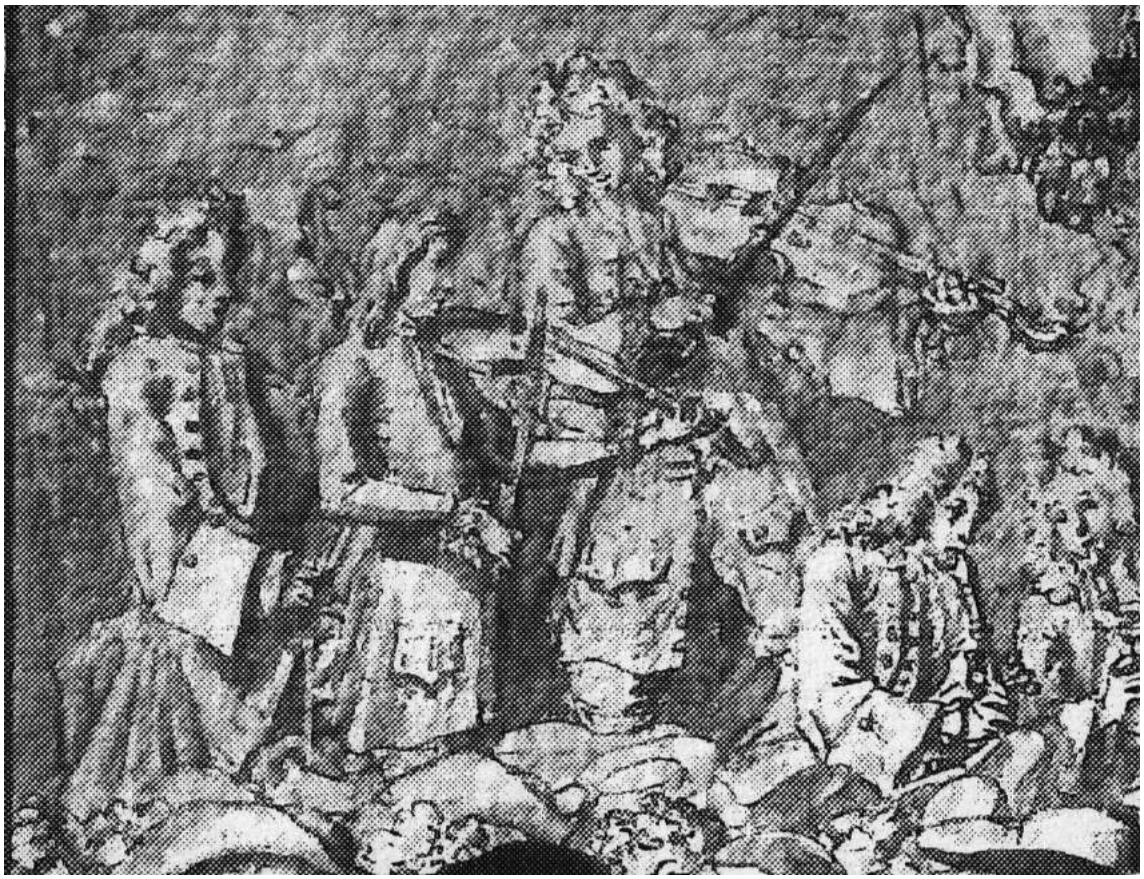


Philips, Jan Caspar (before 1700-1775)
Frontispiece of: Huydecoper, B. (1729/1730). *Proeve van taal- en dichtkunde; in vrijmoedige aanmerkingen op Vondels vertaalde herscheppingen van Ovidius*.

Picart, Bernard (1673-1733)
Wedding ceremony with German Jews (1721).



Picart, Bernard (1673-1733)
Wedding ceremony with Portugese Jews (1721).



Picart, Bernard (1673-1733)
Wedding ceremony of Portuguese and Ashkenazi Jews (1723).

A. le Marié cassant le verre.
B. la Mariée voillée.
C.C. les 2. personnes servant de Marraines a la Mariée.

CEREMONIE NUPTIALE
des
JUIFS PORTUGAIS.

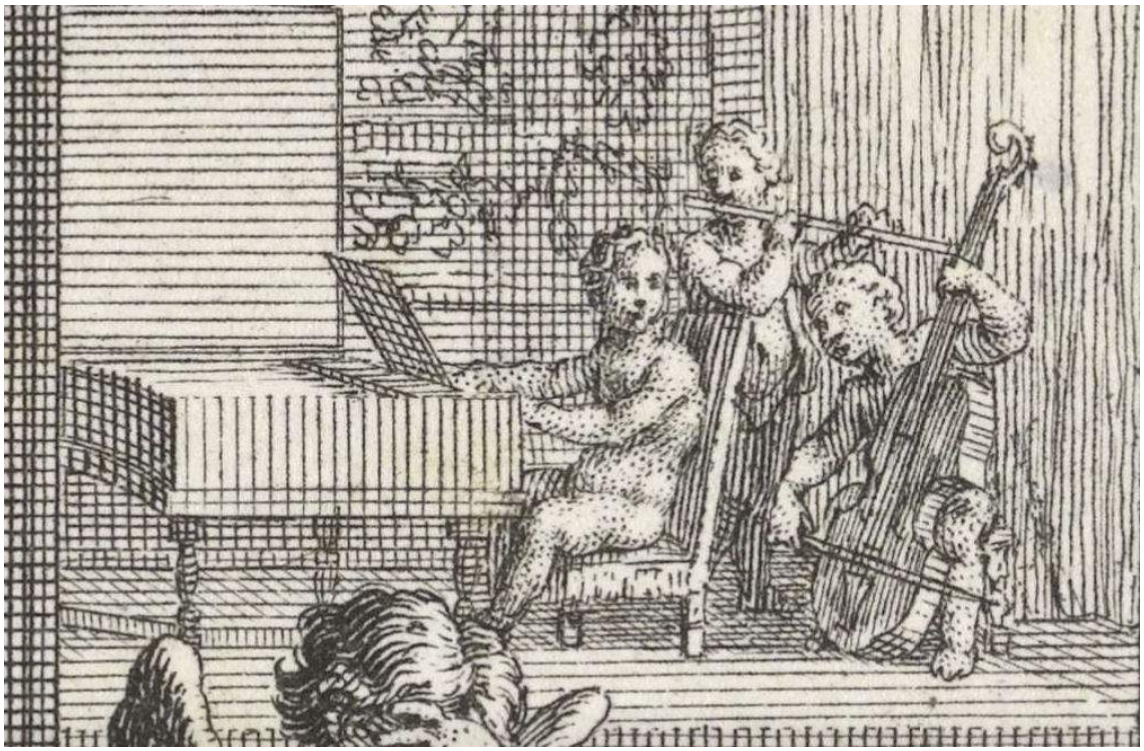
D.D. les 2. Personnes servant de Parrains au Marié.
E. le Rabin. F. les Chantres.
G. Celui qui écrit les Aumônes que les Assistans promettent.

A. le Marié donnant l'Anneau à la Mariée, tous deux sous le Tabel.
B.B. les 2. Marraines de la Mariée.
C.C. les 2. Parrains du Marié.

CEREMONIE NUPTIALE
des
JUIFS ALLEMANDS.

D. le Rabin.
E. le Chantre tenant la Bouteille pour faire Boire les Epoux.
F. deux garçons avec des Batons ornés qui marchent devant les Mariés.

Picart, Bernard (1673-1733)
Allegory on arithmetic and algebra (1729).



Pool, Matthijs (1676-1740)
Monkeys in skirts with whalebones, according to modern fashion (1716).

Pool, Matthijs (1676-1740)
Circus with monkeys (ca. 1720).

Poorter, Willem de (active 1630-1649)
Young woman and a skeleton holding a mirror, next to a display of precious cups and jewellery (1645-1649).

Portengen, Lumen van (1608/1609-1649)
Musical gathering (1643).

Portengen, Lumen van (1608/1609-1649)
A company making music.

Potter, Pieter Symonszoon (1597/1600-1652)
Company making music in an interior (1630).

Potter, Pieter Symonszoon (1597/1600-1652)
An aristocratic company making music.

Potter, Pieter Symonszoon (1597/1600-1652)
Elegant company in an interior.

Saftleven, Cornelis (1607-1681)
Self portrait of Cornelis Saftleven (1607-1681) with Herman Saftleven (1609-1685) (1632/1633).

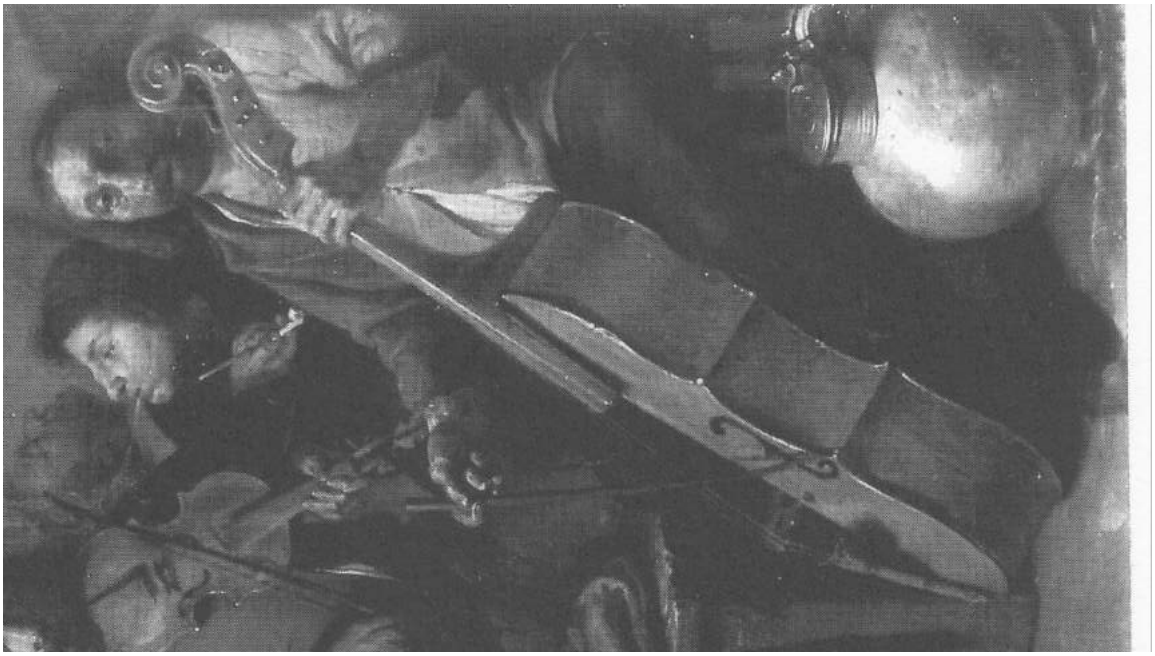
Saftleven, Cornelis (1607-1681)
A farmhouse interior with goats, a dog and musicians (1635).

Saftleven, Cornelis (1607-1681)
The cello player (1635).

Saftleven, Cornelis (1607-1681)
Young man playing cello (1636).

Saftleven, Cornelis (1607-1681)
A group of musicians, a barking dog and two goats in the background in a farmhouse interior.

Saftleven, Cornelis (1607-1681)
A group of musicians, a sleeping dog and a goat in the background.



Saftleven, Cornelis (1607-1681)
A group of musicians with a goat in the background.

Savery, Salomon (1593/1594-1683)
The vision of the Son of Man: Christ appears to the monarchs of the world.

Schagen, Gerrit van (1641-1690)
'Dit zijn de peeren die vrysters begeeren' (ca. 1680).

Schijndel, Bernardus van (1647-1709)
A company making music on a terrace.

Schijndel, Bernardus van (1647-1709)
Chamber music.

Schoor, Aelbert Jansz. van der (active 1643-1662)
The concert.

Sibersma, Gerrit (active 1747-1749)
Title page of: Anonymous (1743). [*Verzameling van 'airs', dansen en marsen, gezet voor twee violen*].

Sichem II, Christoffel van (ca. 1581-1658)
Angelic choirs around the Christ child (1617).

Sichem II, Christoffel van (ca. 1581-1658)
Maria surrounded by angels making music (1629).

Mijne ziele maeckt groot den HEERE.
Ende mijnen gheeſt heeft hem verheught in GODT mijnen Salighmaecker.
Want hy heeft aenghesien d'ootmoedigheyt ſijnder dienſt-maeght: want ſiet van deſen tijdt af ſullen my ſaligh noemen alle gheboorten. *Luc.* 1.

Sillemans, Experiens (1611-1652/1653)
'Drie Coningen Spel' (ca. 1653).

Slingelandt, Pieter Cornelisz. van (1640-1691)
A Music Party (ca. 1675).

Slingelandt, Pieter Cornelisz. van (1640-1691)
Musical party.

Spanjaert, Jan (active 1605-1665)
Salome asking the head of Saint John the Baptist from King Herod.

Stangerus, Cornelis (1616-1667)
A man playing a small broken cello and another man drinking.

Steen, Jan (1625/1626-1679)
Village fair (ca. 1648).

Steen, Jan (1625/1626-1679)
The Family Concert (1666).

Steen, Jan (1625/1626-1679)
A wedding party (1667).

Steen, Jan (1625/1626-1679)
A peasant wedding (ca. 1670).

Steen, Jan (1625/1626-1679)
A peasant marriage (1672).

Steen, Jan (1625/1626-1679)
The Marriage Feast at Cana (1672).

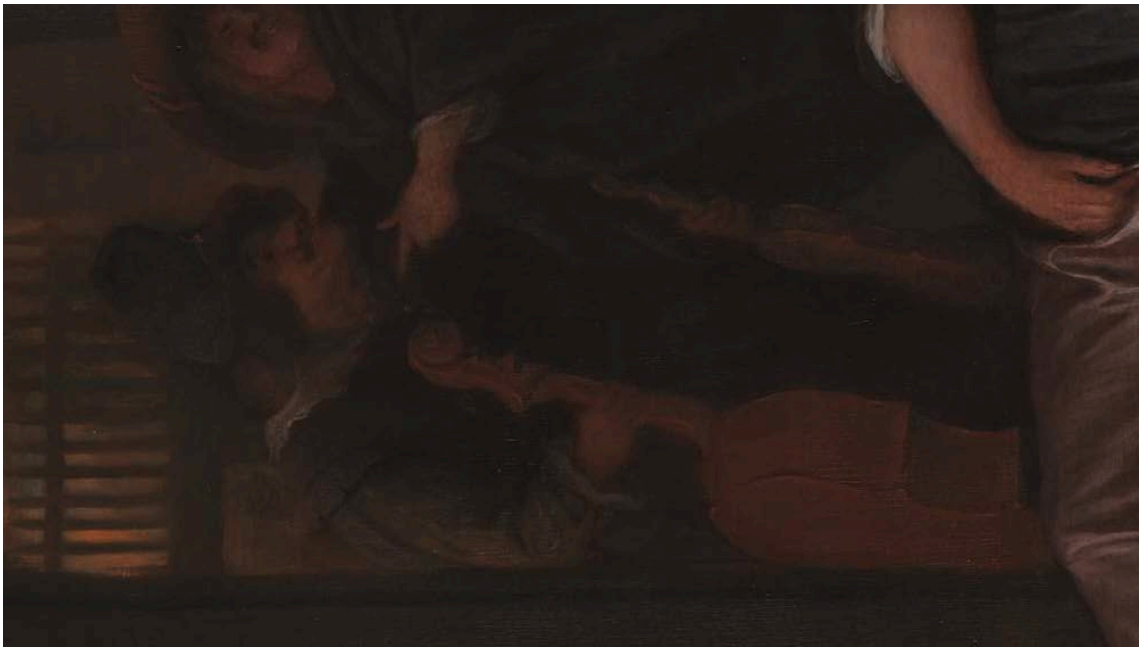
Steen, Jan (1625/1626-1679)
Brothel scene.

Steen, Jan (1625/1626-1679)
Happy family meal.

Steen, Jan (1625/1626-1679)
Horse market in Valkenburg.

Steen, Jan (1625/1626-1679)
Merry company in an interior.

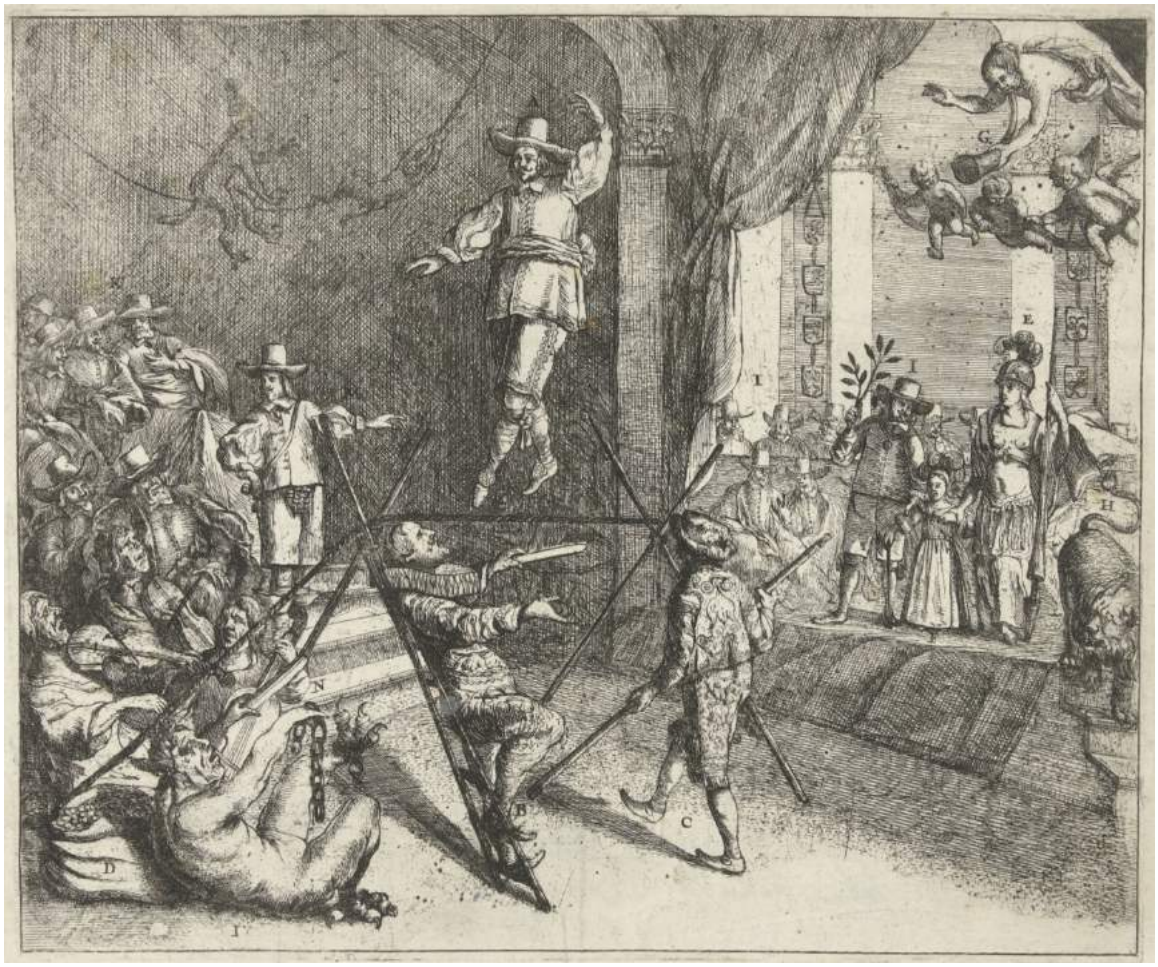
Steen, Jan (1625/1626-1679)
The drunken couple.



Steenwijck, Hendrick van (1580/1582-1649)
Lady Playing the Lute.

Stegeren, Jochem van (??-??)
Allegory on psalmes and sacred songs. Title page of: Sluiter, W. (1661). *Psalmen, lof-sangen, ende geestelike liedekens*.

Stoop, Dirk (ca. 1618-1686)
Cromwell as rope dancer (1652).



Stoop, Maerten (active 1638-1647)
A man is being seduced in a brothel, with liquor and women 1.

Stoop, Maerten (active 1638-1647)
A man is being seduced in a brothel, with liquor and women 2.

Stoop, Maerten (active 1638-1647)
A merry company.

Stoop, Maerten (active 1638-1647)
The hair of a young woman is styled by a maid.

Stopendaal, Daniël (1672-1726)
Petersburgs gesigt van de groote Laen, na de nieuwe Fontein. Illustration from: Anonymous (1719). *De zegenpraalende Vecht vertoonende verscheidene Gesichten van Lustplaatsen, Heeren huysen en dorpen, Beginnende van Uitrecht en met Muyden besluytende.*

Strij I, Abraham van (1753-1826)
Company making music in an interior.

Troost, Cornelis (1696-1750)
Portrait of a man, possibly Johannes van der Mersch (1707-1773) (1736).

Tuer, Herbert (??-1685)
Young woman playing a cello (1669).

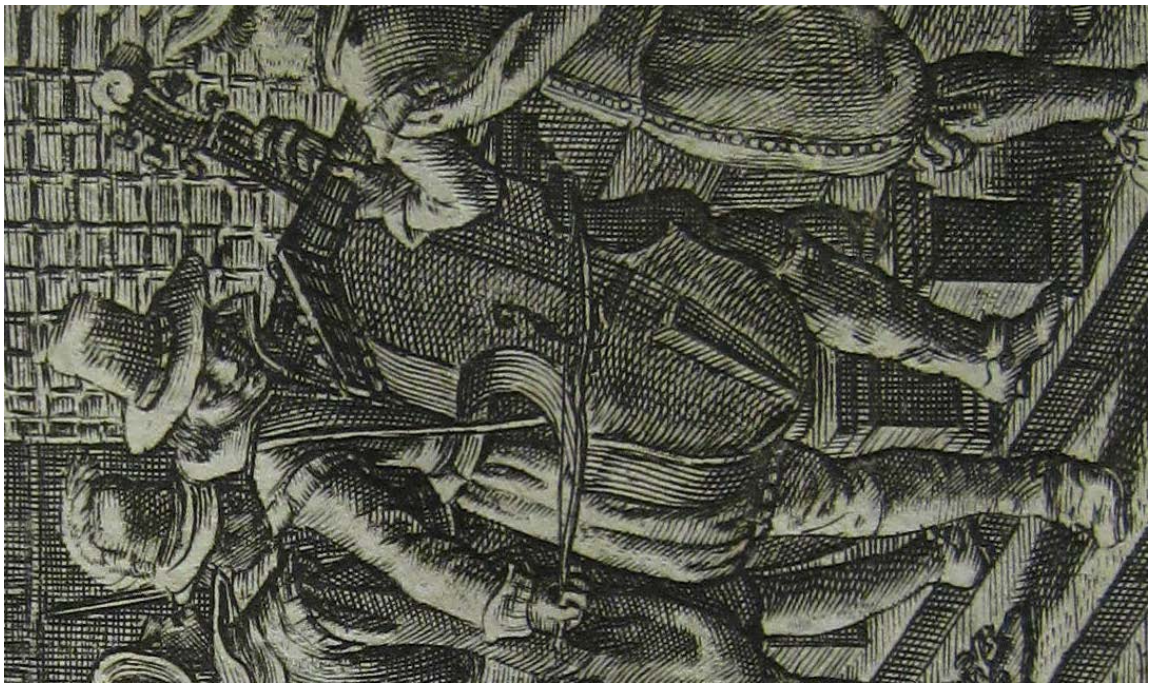
Velde, Esaias van de (1587-1630)
Company making music ([16]29).

Venne, Adriaen Pietersz. van de (ca. 1589-1662)
Fishing for souls (1614).

Venne, Adriaen Pietersz. van de (ca. 1589-1662)
Allegory of the Twelve Years Truce of 1609 between Albert, the Archduke of Austria, Governor of the Southern Netherlands, and the Northern Netherlands represented by the Princes of Orange (1616).

Venne, Adriaen Pietersz. van de (ca. 1589-1662)
Illustration from: Heemskerk, J. van (1622). *Pub. Ovidii Nasonis Minne-kunst, Gepast op d'Amsterdamsche Vryagien: Met noch andere Minne-Dichten ende Mengel-Dichten, alle nieu ende te voren niet gesien.*

Venne, Adriaen Pietersz. van de (ca. 1589-1662)
Illustration from: Brune, J. de (1624). *Emblemata of Zinne-Werck*.



Venne, Adriaen Pietersz. van de (ca. 1589-1662)
Love teaches Music (1626).

Venne, Adriaen Pietersz. van de (ca. 1589-1662)
Interior of a circus tent, with a man performing on a vaulting horse, a female trapeze artist and various other performing humans and monkeys (1628).

Venne, Adriaen Pietersz. van de (ca. 1589-1662)
Illustration from: Quintijn, G. J. (1629). *De Hollandsche Lijs met de Brabandsche Bely: Poeetischer wijse voorgestelt en gedicht*.

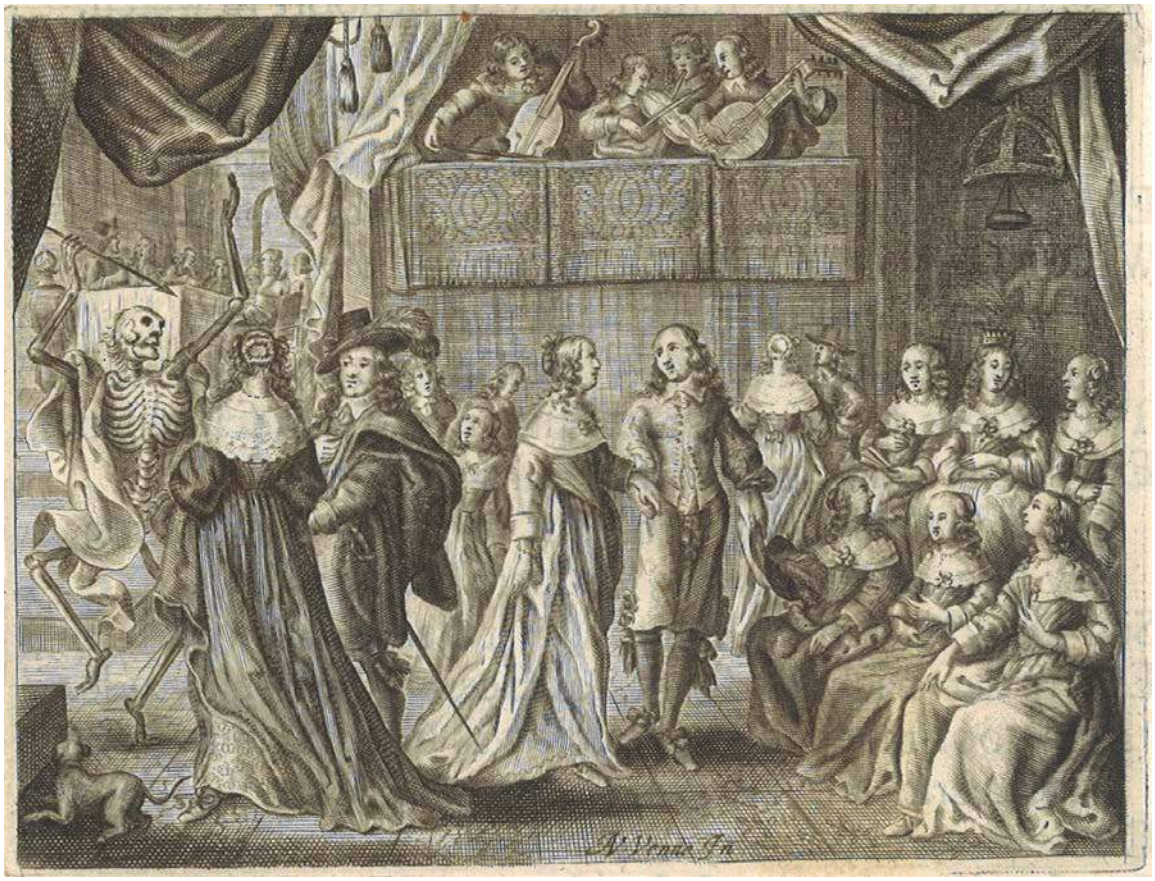
Venne, Adriaen Pietersz. van de (ca. 1589-1662)
Company making music (163.).

Venne, Adriaen Pietersz. van de (ca. 1589-1662)
Illustration from: Cats, J. (1637). *Trouringh*.

Venne, Adriaen Pietersz. van de (ca. 1589-1662)
Allegory on marriage.

Venne, Adriaen Pietersz. van de (ca. 1589-1662)
Company playing music in an interior.

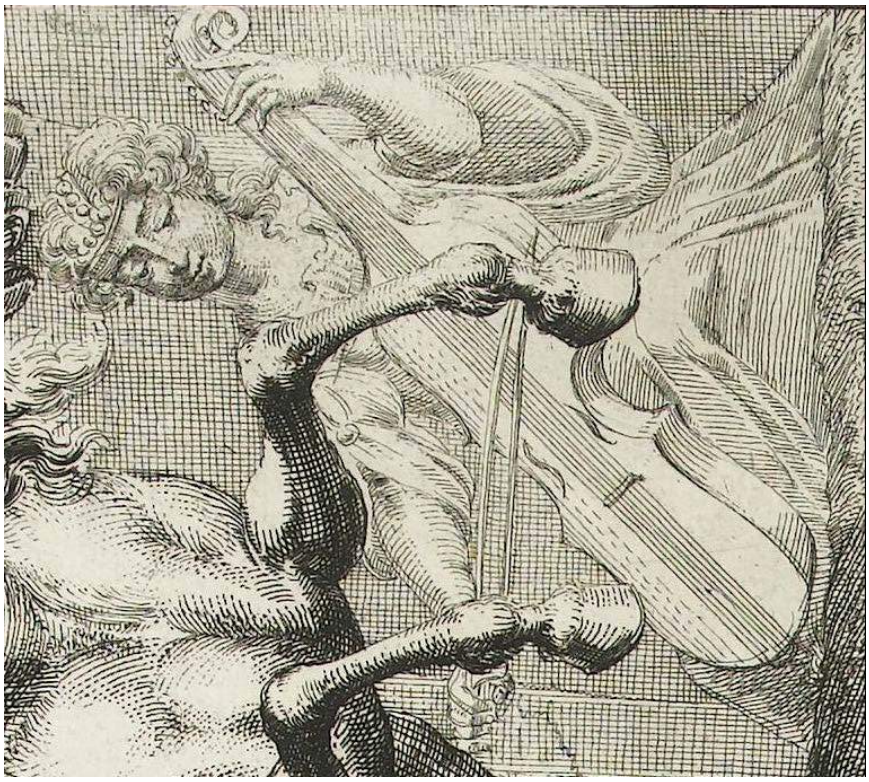
Venne, Adriaen Pietersz. van de (ca. 1589-1662)
Illustration from: Cats, J. *Samenspraeck.*



Venne, Adriaen Pietersz. van de (ca. 1589-1662)
The parable of the Prodigal Son.

Verbeeck, Pieter Cornelisz. (active 1635-1654)
A company making music in an interior.

Vianen, Jan van (ca. 1660-after 1726)
Triumph of King Willem III (1697).



Vinckboons II, David (1622/1623-1679)
An elaborate fête on the grounds of a chateau.

Vinckboons II, David (1622/1623-1679)
An extensive view of a palace garden with elegant figures dancing and making music in the foreground and boats on moats, with the palace and bridges in the background.

Vinkeles, Reinier (1741-1816)
Woman playing harp with 5 putti making music (1764).

Vinkeles, Reinier (1741-1816)
Ball in the 'Burgerzaal' of the City Hall of Amsterdam, in honour of the visit of Prince Willem V and Wilhelmina van Pruissen, June 1768 (1768-1772).

Vinkeles, Reinier (1741-1816)
Title page of: Huydecoper, B. (1782). *Proeve van taal en dichtkunde in vrymoedige aanmerkingen op Vondels vertaalde Herscheppingen van Ovidius*.

Werff, Adriaen van der (1659-1722)
Chessmen (1679).

Westerveld, Abraham Evertsz. van (ca. 1610-1692)
Musical company in an interior.

Wit, Frederick de (active 1645-1706)
't leven en bedryf van den verlooren soon.

Wtewael, Joachim (1566-1638)
The marriage-feast of Peleus and Thetis in the clouds (1602).

Wtewael, Joachim (1566-1638)
The Apulian shepherd is changed into an oleaster as punishment for mocking dancing nymphs (Ovid, Met. 14:514-526).

Zijl, Gerard Pietersz. van (1607/1608-1665)
Elegant company with musical instruments.

Zijl, Roeloff van (1586-1656)
Organ door of the Jacobichurch in Utrecht (1608-1609).

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Zuidelijke Nederlanden

Aelst, Pieter van (active 1644-1654)
The Ommegang on the Meir in Antwerp (1664).

Alsloot, Denis van (ca. 1570 - ca. 1626)
The 'Ommeganck' in Brussels on 31 May 1615: The Triumph of Archduchess Isabella (1616).

Anonymous
Funeral procession at the Groenkerkhof (1597).

Anonymous
Elegant company celebrating in front of a castle (the month of May) (1600-1615).

Anonymous
Glorification of trade and science (1625-1649).

Anonymous
Mortales volunt decipi (The mortals want to be deceived) Carnival scene on the Grote Markt in Antwerp. (ca. 1630).

Anonymous
Monkeys and cats at a masked ball (1632).

Anonymous
Apollo making music with the nine muses on the Helicon (1650-1695).

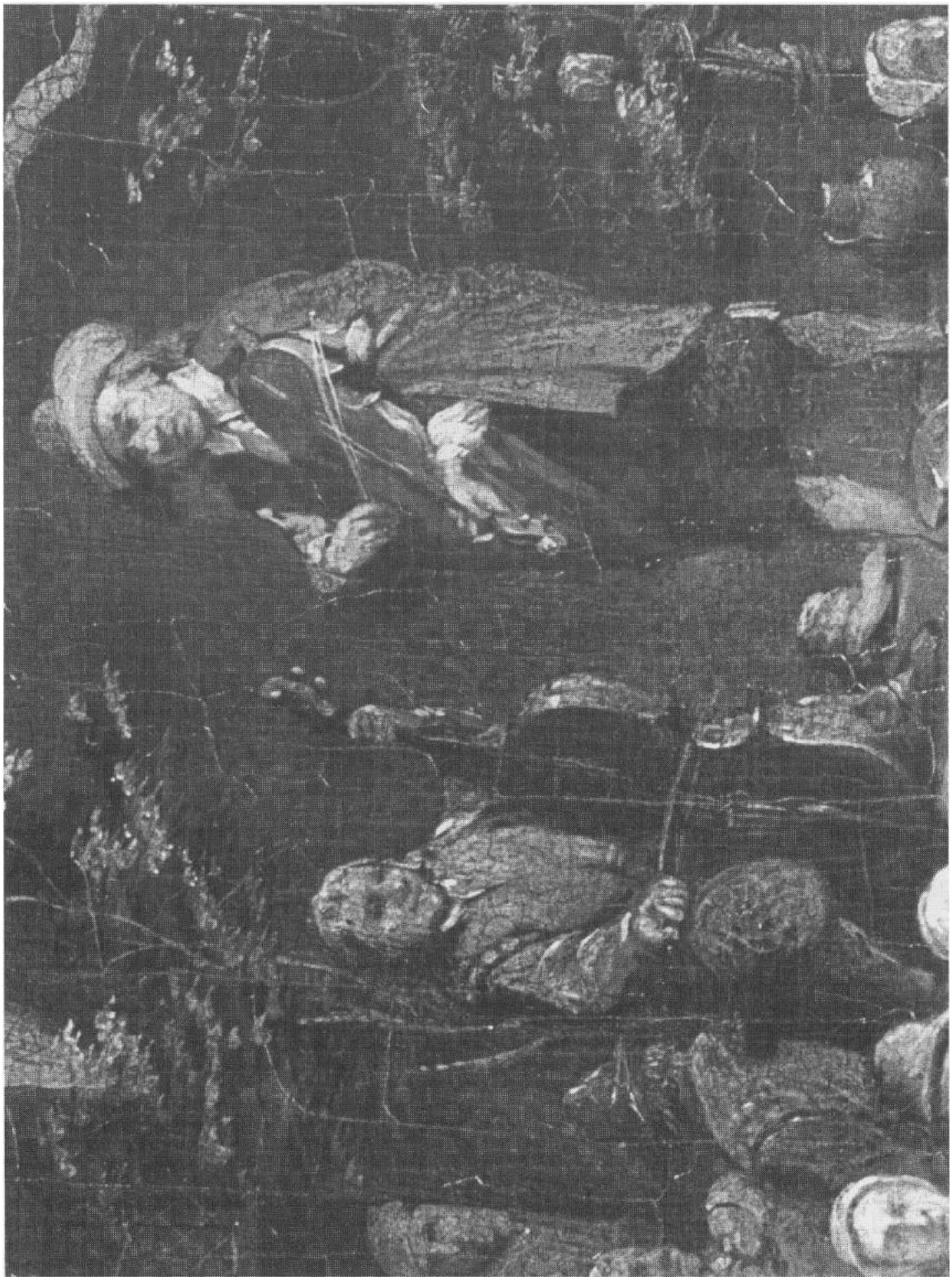
Anonymous
Marriage feast at Cana (17th century?).

Anonymous
Ball (17th century).

Anonymous
Peasants playing musical instruments (17th century).

Anonymous
The Italian Comedians (17th century).

Anonymous
Village fair (17th century).



Anonymous
Wedding party (17th century).

Anonymous
Company with a young couple (Antwerp, 1709-1757).

Anonymous
Company partying in a park (3rd quarter 18th century).

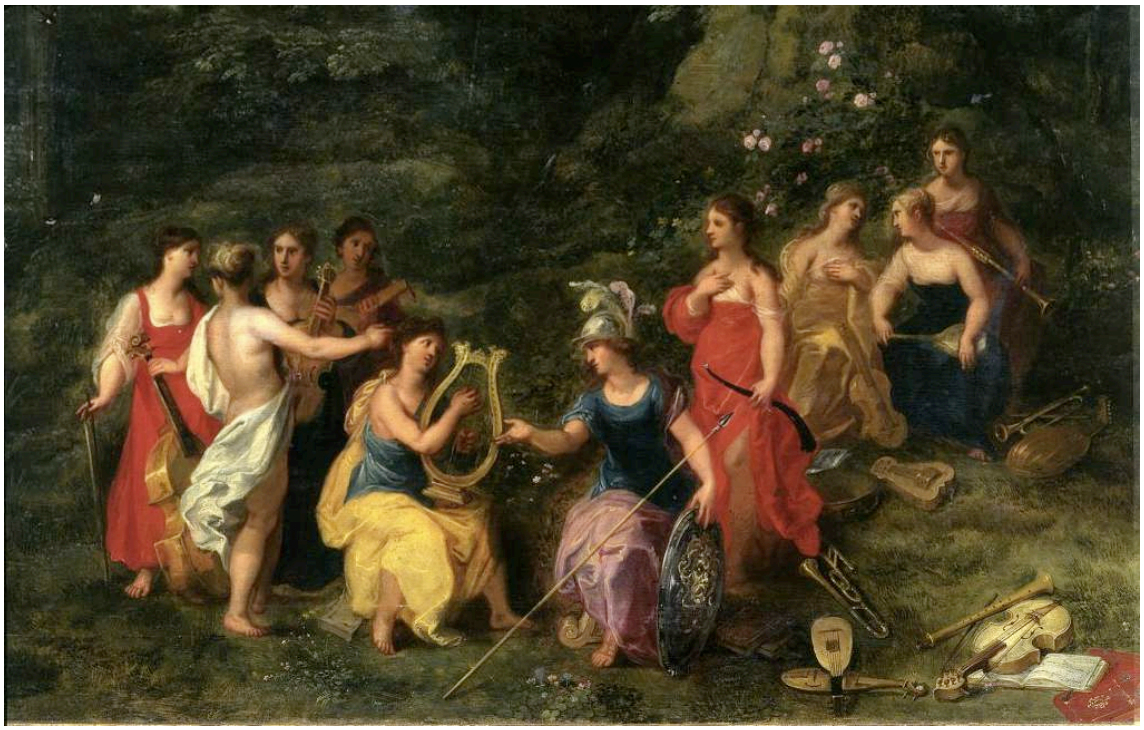
Anonymous
Elegant company playing music on a terrace (18th century).

Baellieur I, Cornelis de (1607-1671)
Saint Cecilia playing the organ with a vision of an orchestra of angels in heaven (1647).

Baellieur I, Cornelis de (1607-1671)
The Virgin and Child enthroned with angels making music.

Balen I, Hendrick van (1573-1632)
Minerva visits the nine Muses (1608?).

Balen I, Hendrick van (1573-1632)
Minerva among the Muses (ca. 1615).



Balen I, Hendrick van (1573-1632)
Allegory of the five senses (1617-1618).

Balen I, Hendrick van (1573-1632)
The Banquet of the Gods. The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis (1617-1618).

Balen I, Hendrick van (1573-1632)
The Wedding of Thetis and Perseus with Apollo and the Concert of the Muses, or The Feast of the Gods (ca. 1618).

Balen I, Hendrick van (1573-1632)
Apollo and the nine muses on Mount Helicon.

Balen I, Hendrick van (1573-1632)
Concert of angels.

Balen I, Hendrick van (1573-1632)
Landscape with Apollo, the Muses and putti playing music.

Balen I, Hendrick van (1573-1632)
Minerva's visit to the Muses.

Balen I, Hendrick van (1573-1632)
The feast of the Gods.

Balen, Jan van (1611-1654)
Apollo and the Muses on Mount Helicon near the spring of Hippocrene.

Balen, Jan van (1611-1654)
Pallas Athene and the Muses.

Balen, Hendrick or Jan van
The Parnassus.

Beerblock, Johannes (1739-1806)
A meal is served to a man in a red baret.

Beken, Ignatius van der (1689-1774)
Elegant company playing music on a terrace.

Berterham, Jan Baptist (active 1696-1721)
Dancing woman with tambourine, surrounded by playing naked boys (1696-1721).

Berterham, Jan Baptist (active 1696-1721)
Title page of: Abaco, E. F. dall' (1712). *Concerti a quatro da chiesa Cioè due Violini, Alto Viola, Violoncello e Basso Continuo.*

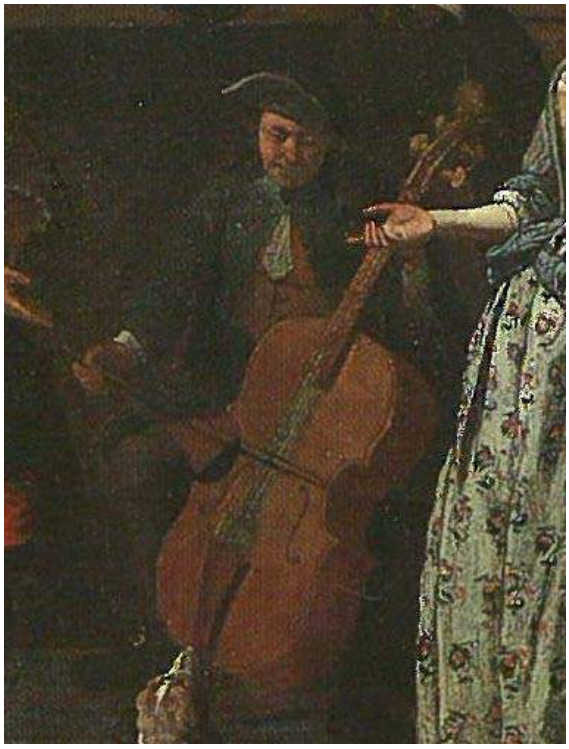
Beschey, Balthasar (1708-1776)
Portrait of Jacob-Johannes Cremers (....-1762) and Cornelia Johanna Nicolai (....-1786) at their wedding (1768).

Beschey, Balthasar (1708-1776)
La Commedia dell'Arte.

Beschey, Balthasar (1708-1776)
Minerva visiting the Muses.

Beschey, Balthasar (1708-1776)
Musical company.

Blommaert, Maximiliaan (active 1696-1697)
An elegant company dancing and making music in an interior.



Blommaert, Maximiliaan (active 1696-1697)
Dancing company in an interior.

Blommaert, Maximiliaan (active 1696-1697)
The concert.

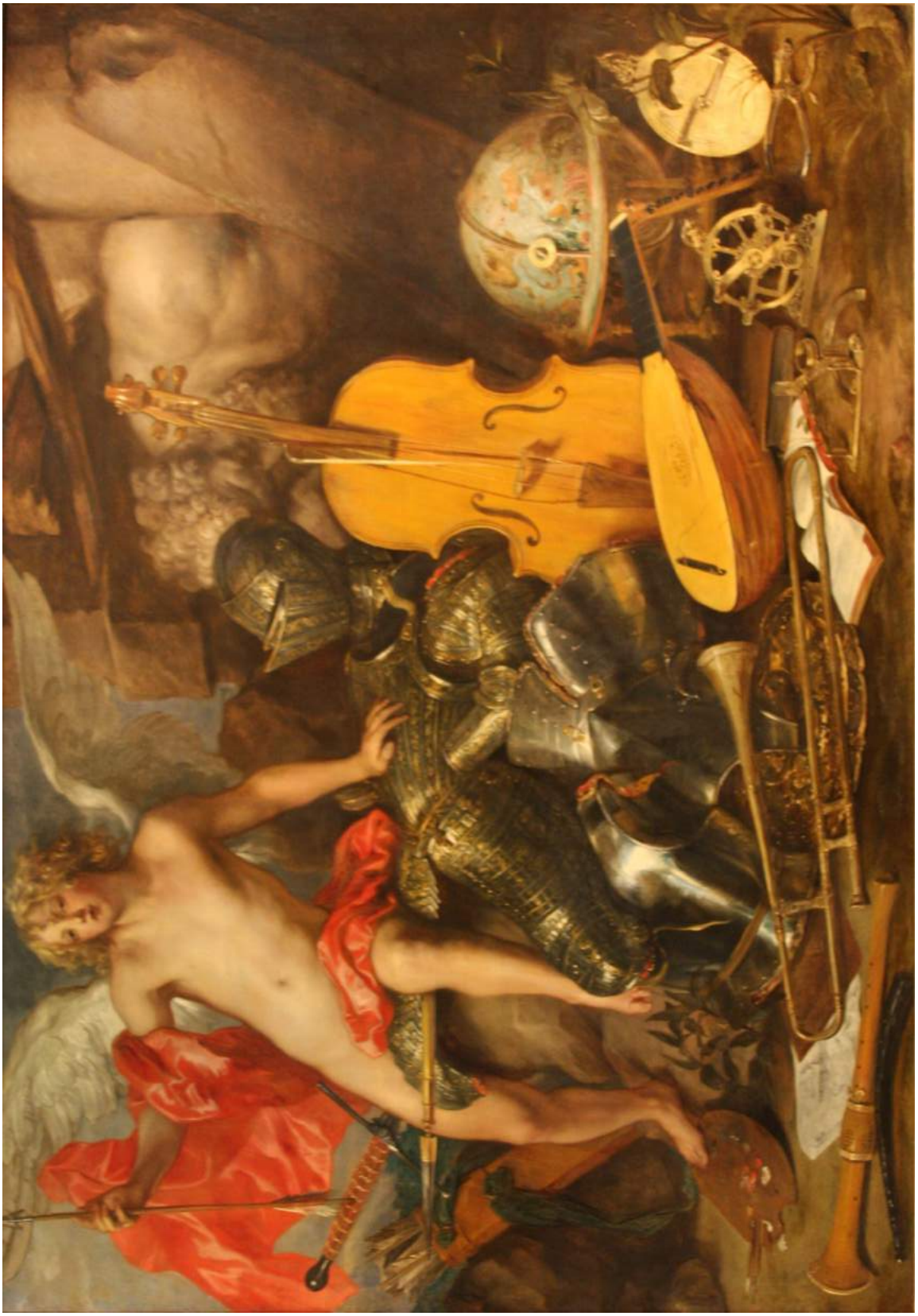
Boeijermans, Theodor (1620-1678)
Allegory of the City of Antwerp (ca. 1660).

Boel, Peeter (1622-1674)
Still life with musical instruments.

Bonnecroy, Philips (1720-after 1771)
Dancing couple and a company conversing on a terrace and musicians on a balcony.

Bonnecroy, Philips (1720-after 1771)
The dance.

Bosschaert, Thomas Willeboirts (1613/1614-1654)
Triumphant Cupid among Emblems of Art and War.



Bossche, Balthasar van den (1681-1715)
An elegant company on a terrace of a palatial building (1713).

Bossche, Balthasar van den (1681-1715)
Allegory of painting, sculpture and music.

Bossche, Balthasar van den (1681-1715)
A musical gathering in an elegant interior.

Bossche, Balthasar van den (1681-1715)
Company making music on a terrace.

Bossche, Balthasar van den (1681-1715)
Elegant company making music, with a servant.

Bouttats, Gaspar (active 1668-1691)
Adversity teaches us to pray (1679).

VOOR TEGENSPOEDT. 19

TEGENSPOEDT
Leert ons bidden.

Sy hebben geroepen tot den Heere, als zy in lijden waeren. Psalm. 106. ℣. 6.

SINNE-BEELDT.

Uyt bedwanck,
Komt den klanck.

ICk sien den Organist, en oock den herder 't samen
Met vingeren 't clawier, met handen 't moessel pramen:
Den lierman, violist die spannen even sterck,
't Is om den klanck gedaen dat ider is in't werck;
Wat soeten klanck is dit! van alderhande snaren!
Men speelt hier wel soo soet al oft het Engels waren:

B 2 O

Brassauw, Melchior (1709-after 1757)
A company making music (1724-1757).

Bredael, Alexander van (1663-1720)
The 'Ommegang' on the Meir in Antwerp (on the occasion of Maria Ascension on August 15) (1689).

Bredael, Alexander van (1663-1720)
A festival in Antwerp (1697).

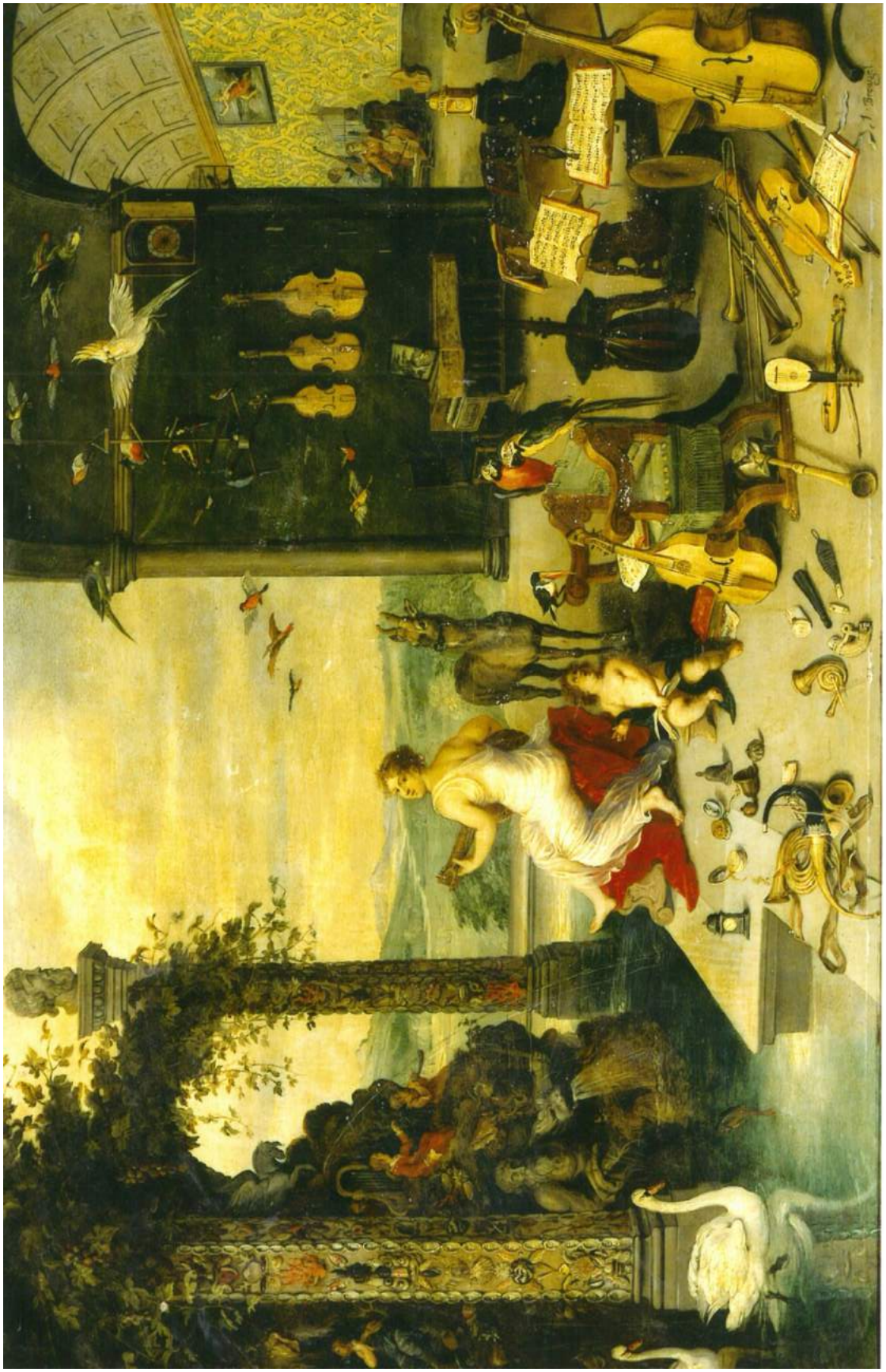
Bredael, Peeter van (1629-1719)
The Prodigal Son is being chased from the brothel after spending all his money (Luke 15:13).

Bredael, Peeter van (1629-1719)
The feast after the return of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:13).

Breughel II, Jan (1601-1678)
Allegory of hearing (ca. 1645-1650).

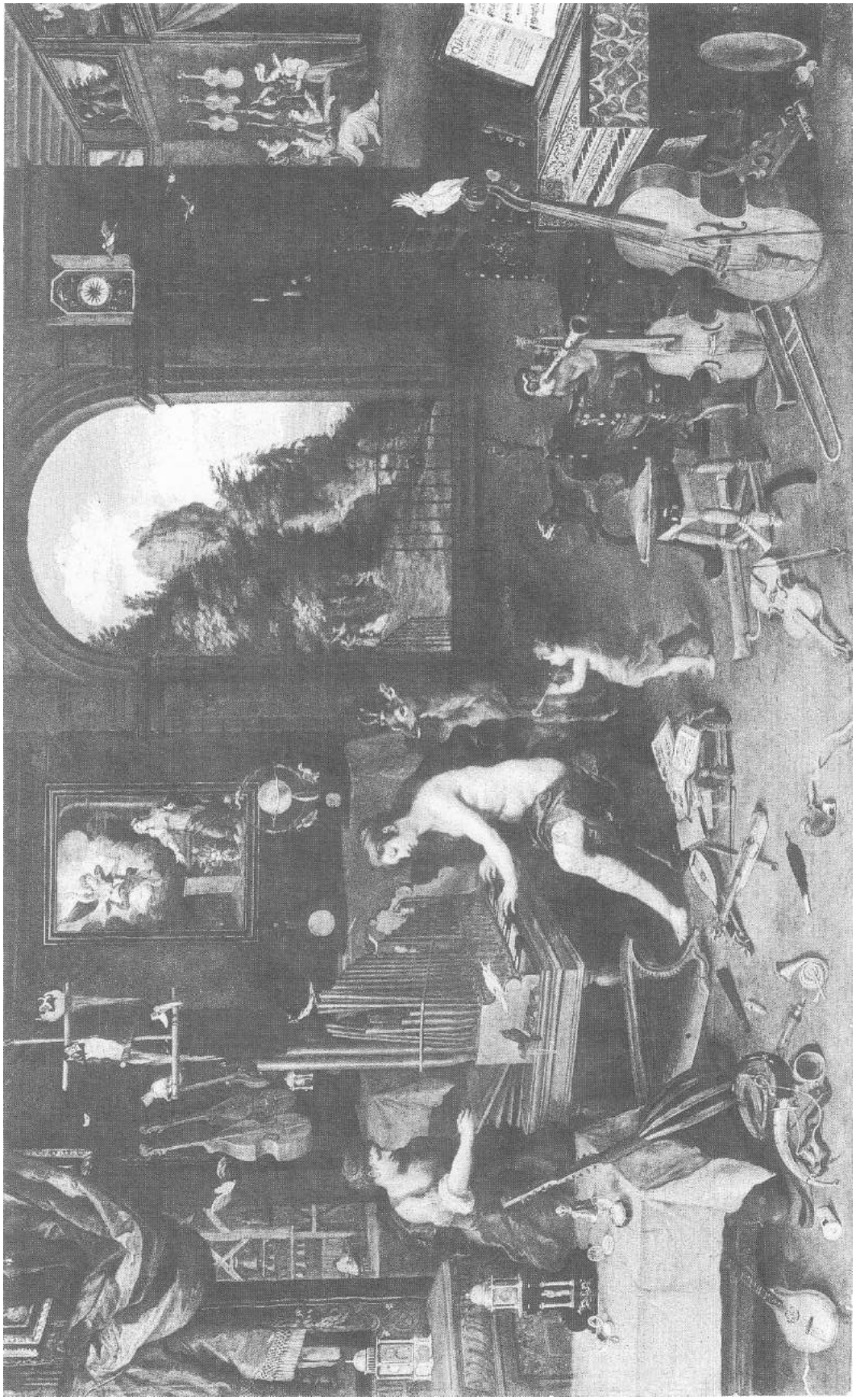
Breughel II, Jan (1601-1678)
Allegory of hearing.

Breughel II, Jan (1601-1678)
Allegory of hearing: a woman making music.



Breughel II, Jan (1601-1678)
Allegory of hearing (one of the 5 senses): a woman making music.

Breughel II, Jan (1601-1678)
Hearing.



Breughel II, Jan (1601-1678)
Landscape with Mercury and his children.

Breydel, Frans (1679-1750)
Palace interior with an orchestra and a dancing company dressed as people from Turkey (1715).

Breydel, Frans (1679-1750)
Masked ball in a palace.

Brueghel I, Jan (1568-1625)
Country wedding (1612).

Brueghel I, Jan (1568-1625)
Wedding Banquet Presided Over by the Archduke and Infanta (1612-1613).

Brueghel I, Jan (1568-1625)
The winter (1616).

Brueghel I, Jan (1568-1625)
Feast of the Gods with Musical Nymphs (ca. 1618).

Brueghel I, Jan (1568-1625)
Farmers dancing for the archduke (1623).

Brueghel I, Jan (1568-1625)
The children of Mercury and 'monkeying'.

Brueghel I, Jan (1568-1625)
View of the village of Schelle (Village street).

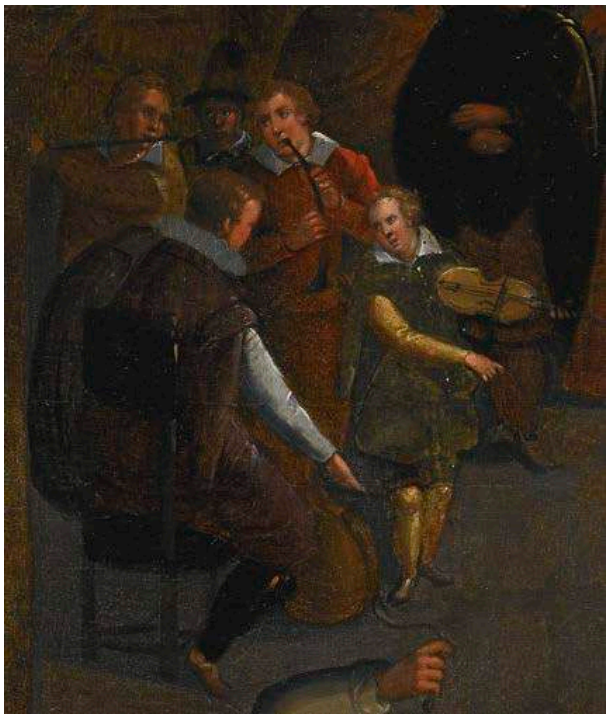
Bruyn, Nicolaes de (1571-1656)
Party in the garden of a palace (1604).

Caullery, Louis de (1579/1581-1621)
A courtyard of a Venetian Palace (ca. 1620).

Caullery, Louis de (1579/1581-1621)
An interior with elegant figures and musicians (1630).

Caullery, Louis de (1579/1581-1621)
A ball in a palace.

Caullery, Louis de (1579/1581-1621)
A masked ball.



Caullery, Louis de (1579/1581-1621)
Banquet scene in a palace interior.

Caullery, Louis de (1579/1581-1621)
Company partying at night.

Caullery, Louis de (1579/1581-1621)
Elegant company conversing on a terrace, musicians making music and a covered walk in the background.

Caullery, Louis de (1579/1581-1621)
Elegant company in a palace interior.

Caullery, Louis de (1579/1581-1621)
Elegant couples, ball at court.

Caullery, Louis de (1579/1581-1621)
Garden with Human Figures.

Caullery, Louis de (1579/1581-1621)
Palace garden with dancing company and musician.

Caullery, Louis de (1579/1581-1621)
Party in a palace in Venice.

Caullery, Louis de (1579/1581-1621)
The Parable of the Prodigal Son.

Caullery, Louis de (1579/1581-1621)
Venus, Bacchus and Ceres with mortals in a love-garden.

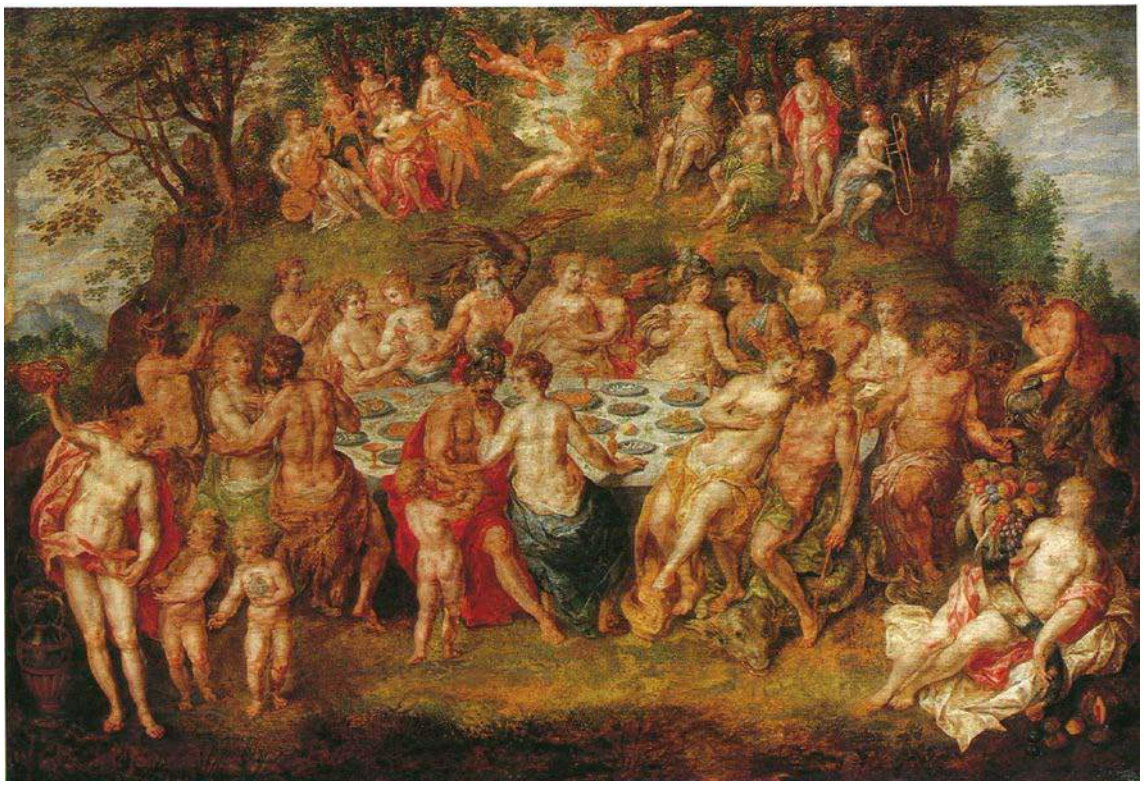
Clerck, Hendrik de (1560-1630)
Minerva and the muses (ca. 1610?).

Clerck, Hendrik de (1560-1630)
A group of female musicians.

Clerck, Hendrik de (1560-1630)
Apollo and the Muses.

Clerck, Hendrik de (1560-1630)
Concert of the muses.

Clerck, Hendrik de (1560-1630)
Feast of the Gods.



Clerck, Hendrik de (1560-1630)
Meeting of the Gods.

Clerck, Hendrik de (1560-1630)
Minerva and the Muses.

Clerck, Hendrik de (1560-1630)
Minerva visiting the muses.

Clerck, Hendrik de (1560-1630)
Mount Parnasse.

Clerck, Hendrik de (1560-1630)
The marriage of Thetis and Perseus or the Feast of the Gods.

Collaert, Adriaen (active 1580-1618)
Angels, seraphim and cherubs making music (ca. 1590).

Coques II, Gonzales (1614/1618-1684)
Charles II dancing at The Hague May 1660? (ca. 1660).

Coques II, Gonzales (1614/1618-1684)
Allegory of music.

Ehrenberg, Wilhelm Schubert van (active 1645-1687)
Colonnade with an elegant company playing music (1666).

Floquet, Simon (active 1634-1635)
Apollo, the Muses and Pegasus on Mount Parnasse (1634-1635)

Floquet, Simon (active 1634-1635)
Minerva visits the Muses on Mount Helicon to see the fountain Hippocrene, which Pegasus had just brought forth (1634-1635).

Floris, Frans (1516-1570)
The celebration of David after the fight with Goliath (1550-1575).

Francken, Ambrosius (1544/1545-1618)
Triumph of the Christ child (1605-1610).

Francken II, Frans (1581-1642)
Allegory of Music: Angels and women with musical instruments (1st half 17th century).

Francken II, Frans (1581-1642)
The Prodigal Son at the inn (after 1618).

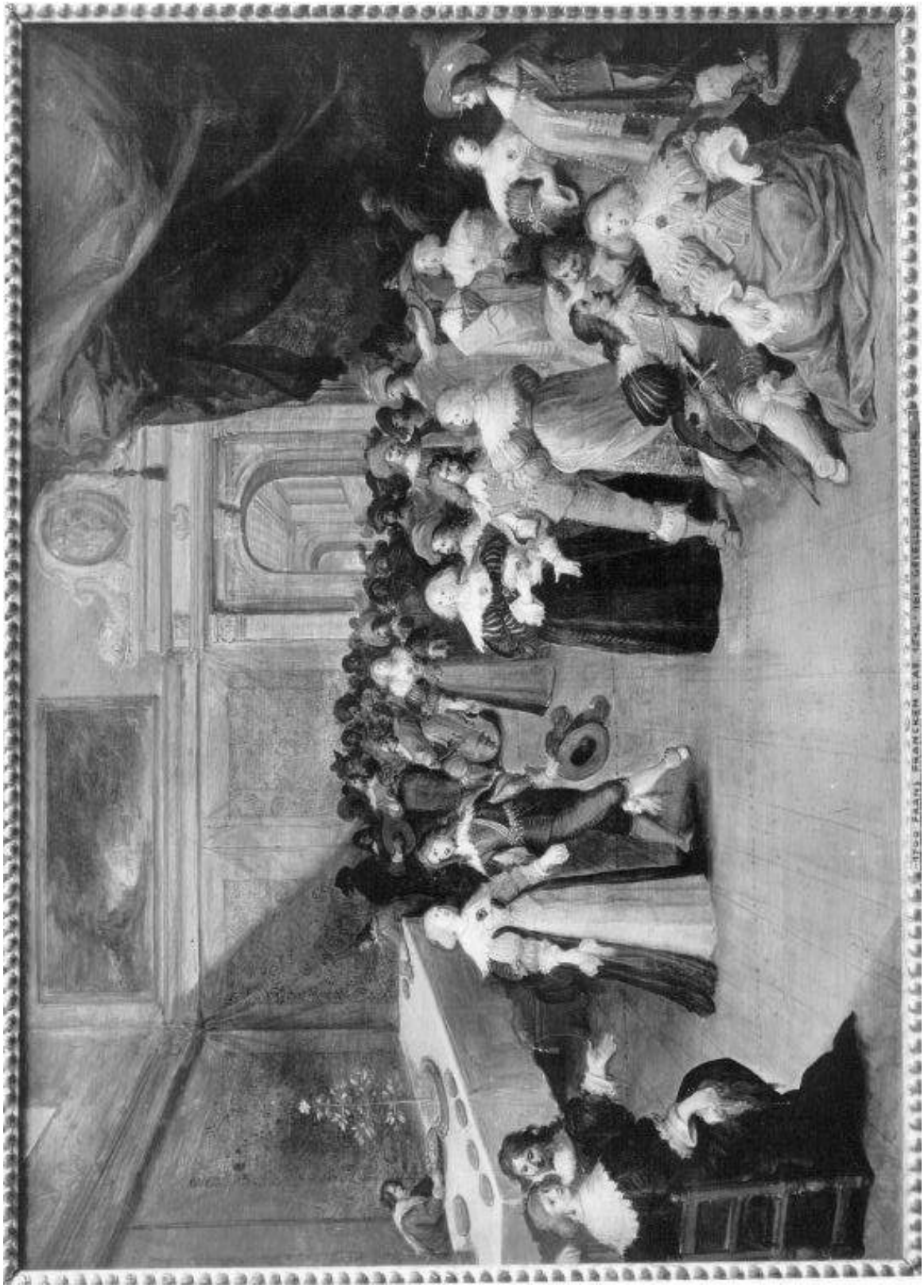
Francken II, Frans (1581-1642)
The Madonna with angels in a garland of flowers (ca. 1630').

Francken II, Frans (1581-1642)
An elegant company dancing with musicians in the background.

Francken II, Frans (1581-1642)
Art cabinet.

Francken II, Frans (1581-1642)
Company dancing to music in a palace interior.

Francken II, Frans (1581-1642)
Company making music and dancing.



Francken II, Frans (1581-1642)
Concert of the Muses.

Francken II, Frans (1581-1642)
Dance of the Cupids in front of Nymphs. Preparations of the concert of the Muses.

Francken II, Frans (1581-1642)
Elegant figures dancing in an interior.

Francken II, Frans (1581-1642)
Genre scene.

Francken II, Frans (1581-1642)
Mankind's eternal dilemma, the choice between virtue and vice.

Francken II, Frans (1581-1642)
Parnassus.

Francken II, Hieronymus (1578-1623)
Ball (1607).

Francken II, Hieronymus (1578-1623)
Dansers and musicians in an interior.

Francken II, Hieronymus (1578-1623)
Festive company.

Francken II, Hieronymus (1578-1623)
The marriage at Cana.

Francken, Frans or Hieronymus
A ball scene.

Francken, Frans or Hieronymus
Adoration of the Kings.

Francken, Frans or Hieronymus
Madonna with child and angels.

Francken, Frans or Hieronymus
The feast of Balthasar.

Gijsels, Peeter (1621-1690)
A village scene with figures dancing.

Gijsels, Peeter (1621-1690)
Elegant company in a garden.

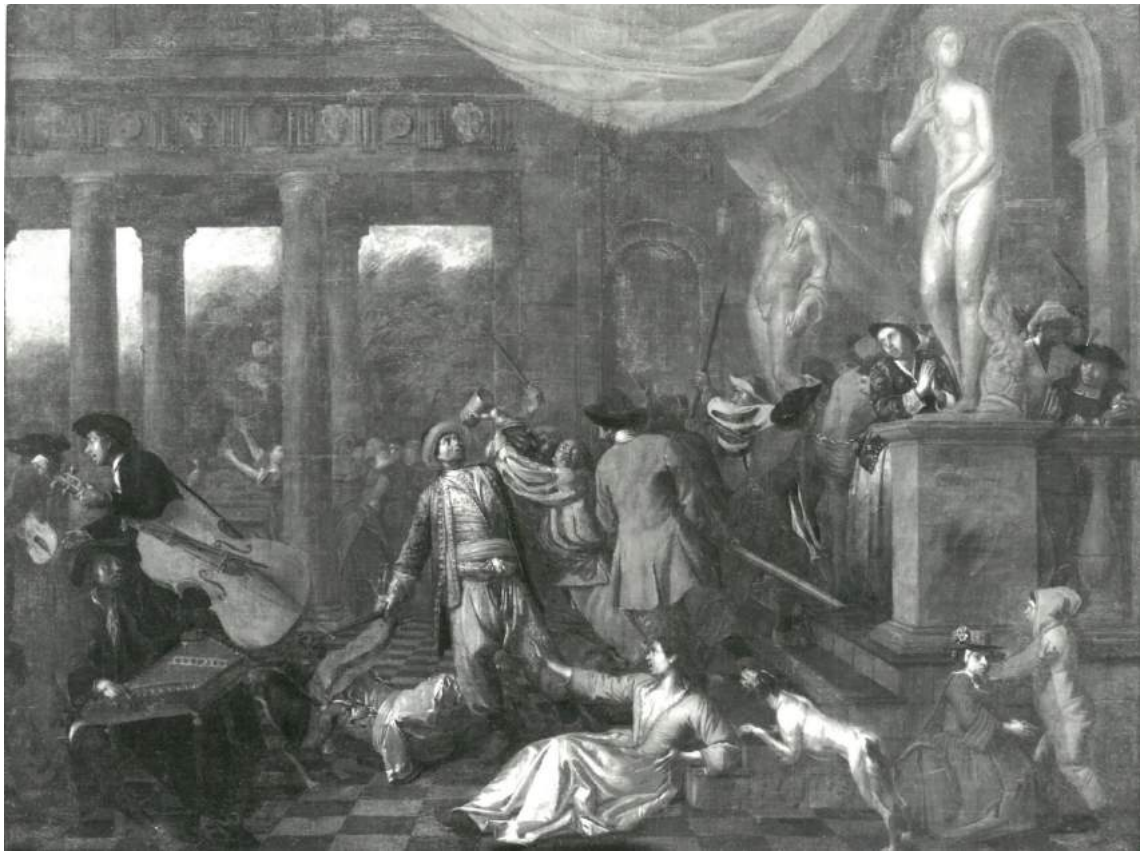
Gijsels, Peeter (1621-1690)
Elegant figures playing musical instruments around a maypole.

Gijsels, Peeter (1621-1690)
Village dance at the entrance of a village.

Gijsels, Peeter (1621-1690)
Village fair.

Govaerts, Hendrick (1669-1720)
A couple dancing to music (17..).

Govaerts, Hendrick (1669-1720)
Fight in a palace (171.).



Govaerts, Hendrick (1669-1720)
A dancer, a female cellist and two couples courting.

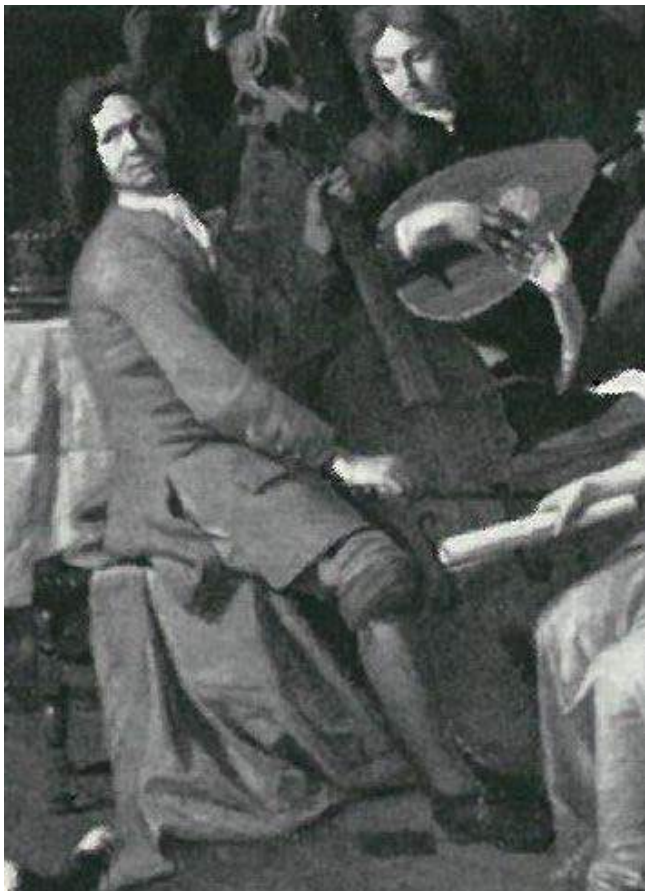
Govaerts, Hendrick (1669-1720)
Allegory of the arts: painting, sculpture, music.

Govaerts, Hendrick (1669-1720)
A Party with Music and Actors Entertaining the Company.

Govaerts, Hendrick (1669-1720)
Ball in a palace.

Govaerts, Hendrick (1669-1720)
Dancing couple.

Govaerts, Hendrick (1669-1720)
Masquerade.



Govaerts, Hendrick (1669-1720)
Meeting of musicians.

Govaerts, Hendrick (1669-1720)
Merry company making music and dancing.

Govaerts, Hendrick (1669-1720)
Musical company.

Govaerts, Hendrick (1669-1720)
Musicians in an elegant interior.

Govaerts, Hendrick (1669-1720)
Musicians on a terrace.

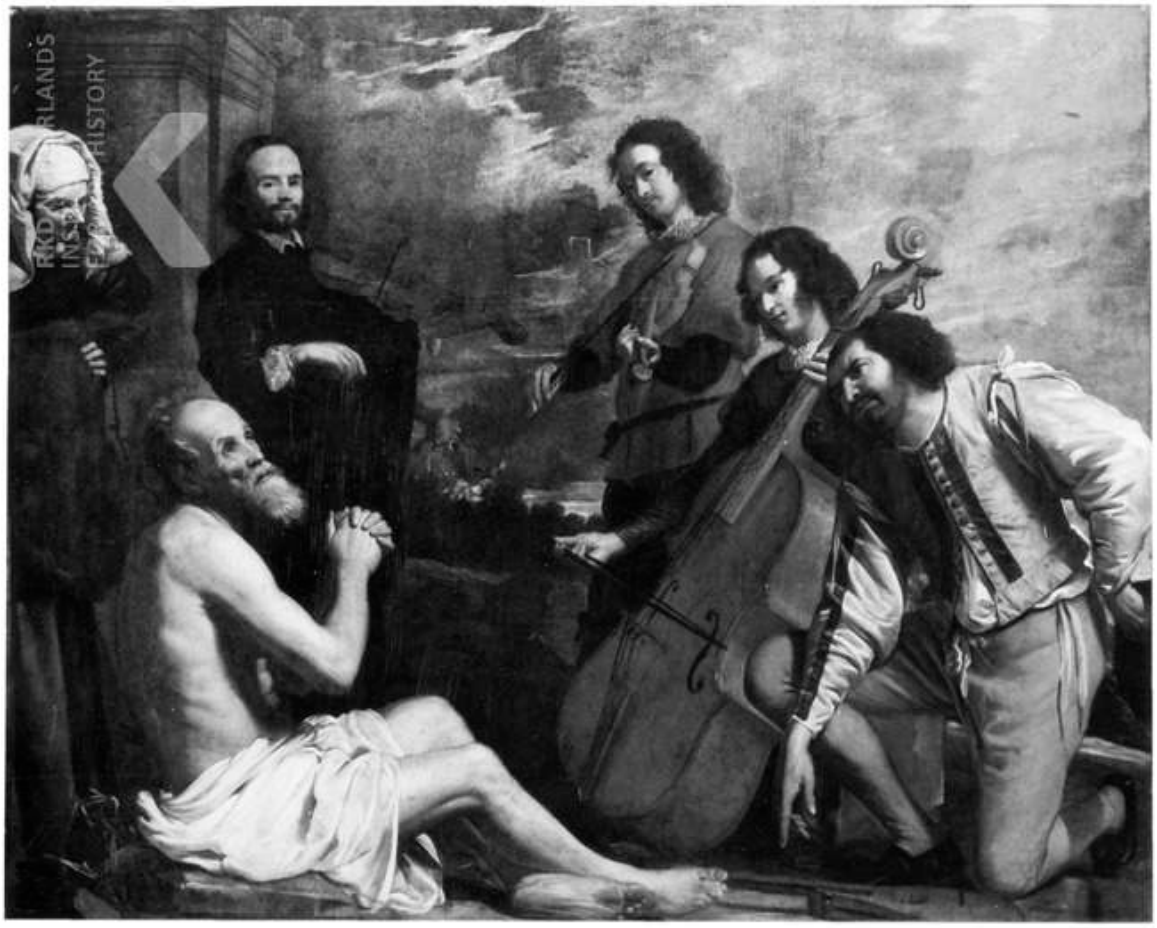
Govaerts, Hendrick (1669-1720)
The concert.

Govaerts, Hendrick (1669-1720)
The dance step.

Helmont, Mattheus van (1623-after1678)
A peasant's feast in the countryside in front of an inn.

Helmont, Mattheus van (1623-after1678)
A peseant's feast in the village square.

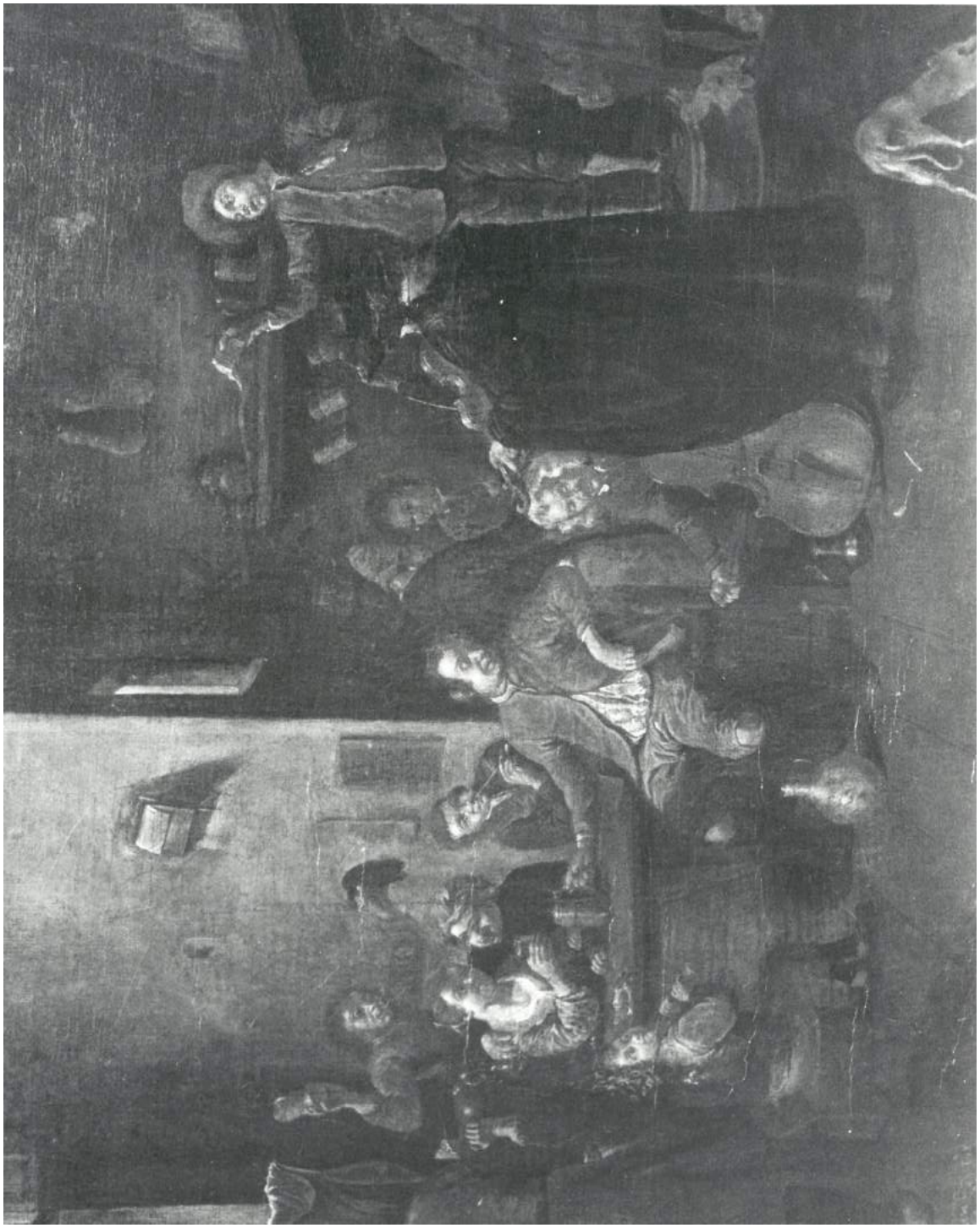
Hoecke I, Caspar van der (active 1603-1641)
Job on the dunghill comforted by his friends with music (ca. 1650).



Hollar, Wenzel (1607-1677)
Cherubs making music (1646).

Horemans I, Jan Josef (1682-1759)
Family gathering in an interior (1716).

Horemans I, Jan Josef (1682-1759)
A company drinking and making music in an inn.



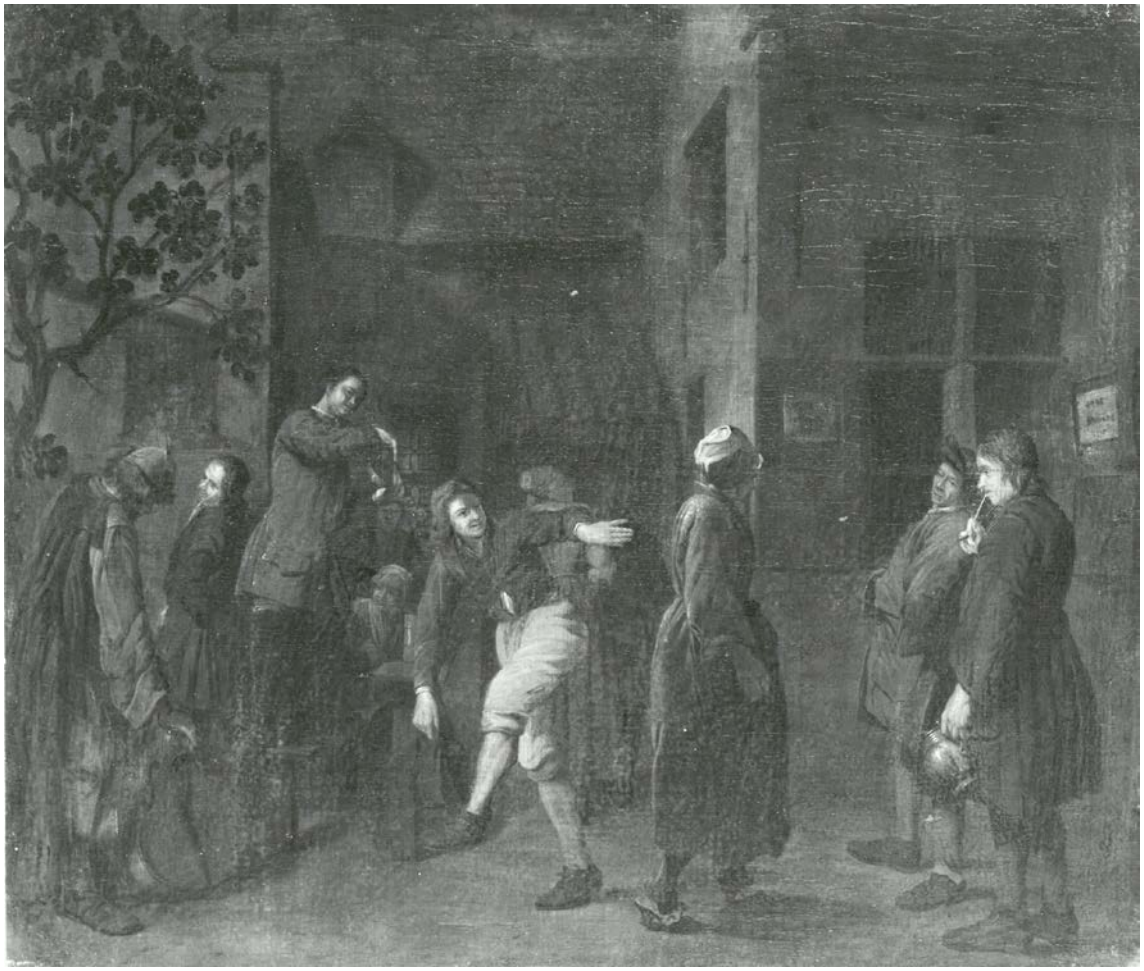
Horemans I, Jan Josef (1682-1759)
A couple and a dog dancing to music made by two musicians in a courtyard.

Horemans I, Jan Josef (1682-1759)
A couple dancing to music and a company conversing in an interior.

Horemans I, Jan Josef (1682-1759)
An elegant company making music.

Horemans I, Jan Josef (1682-1759)
A wedding dance: An interior with peasants dancing to the music of a fiddler and a cellist.

Horemans I, Jan Josef (1682-1759)
Dancing couple, musician and spectators in a courtyard.



Horemans I, Jan Josef (1682-1759)
Elegant company making music on a terrace.

Horemans I, Jan Josef (1682-1759)
Merry company making music.

Horemans I, Jan Josef (1682-1759)
The concert.

Horemans I, Jan Josef (1682-1759)
The gallant concert.

Horemans I, Jan Josef (1682-1759)
Young man playing the cello in a landscape with classical statue and ruins.

Horemans II, Jan Josef (1714-1792)
Genre scene (1759).

Horemans II, Jan Josef (1714-1792)
Concert in an interior (1764).

Horemans II, Jan Josef (1714-1792)
A couple and a dog dancing to music in an interior.

Horemans II, Jan Josef (1714-1792)
A couple dancing to music in a courtyard.

Horemans II, Jan Josef (1714-1792)
A musical company in an interior.

Horemans II, Jan Josef (1714-1792)
Musicians

Horemans II, Jan Josef (1714-1792)
Villagers merrymaking.

Isaacz., Isaac (1598-1649)
A feast (1622).

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
A ball on a terrace (ca. 1650).

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
Company eating and dancing on a terrace (1652).

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
Elegant company partying on a terrace of a country-seat (165[6]).

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
Ball on the terrace of a palace (1658).

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
Charles II dancing at a ball at court (ca. 1660).

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
Minuet (ca. 1660-1665).

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
The ball (1660-1665).

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
Company in an interior, eating, making music and dancing (ca. 1670).

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
Company on a terrace of a palace (1670's).

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
Characters making music in front of a palace (1672).

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
Palatial interior with elegant figures dancing and banquetting (ca. 1675).

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
A ball scene (1679).

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
Merry company in a palace, entertained with music (1681).

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
A couple making music and a boy petting a dog in an interior.

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
A Distinguished Society Dancing.

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
A gathering in the Royal Gardens.

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
An elegant company.

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
An elegant company at music before a banquet.

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
An elegant company conversing and dancing to music in a garden.

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
An elegant company conversing and dancing to music in an interior.

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
An elegant company conversing and dancing to music on a palatial terrace.

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
An elegant company conversing in an interior and some musicians in the foreground.

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
An interior with elegant ladies and gentlemen dancing and an orchestra playing music in the background.

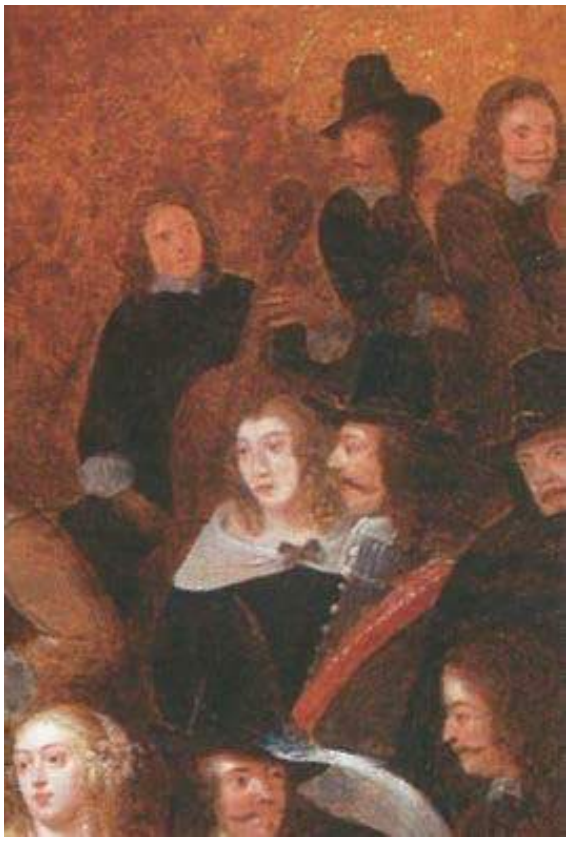
Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
A wedding feast.

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
Charles II dancing with Queen Catherine, the widow Princess of Orange, at a ball hosted by the 'Staten Generaal' in The Hague, 1660.

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
Company dancing in an interior.

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
Company eating and making music in a loggia.

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
Dancing company in an interior.



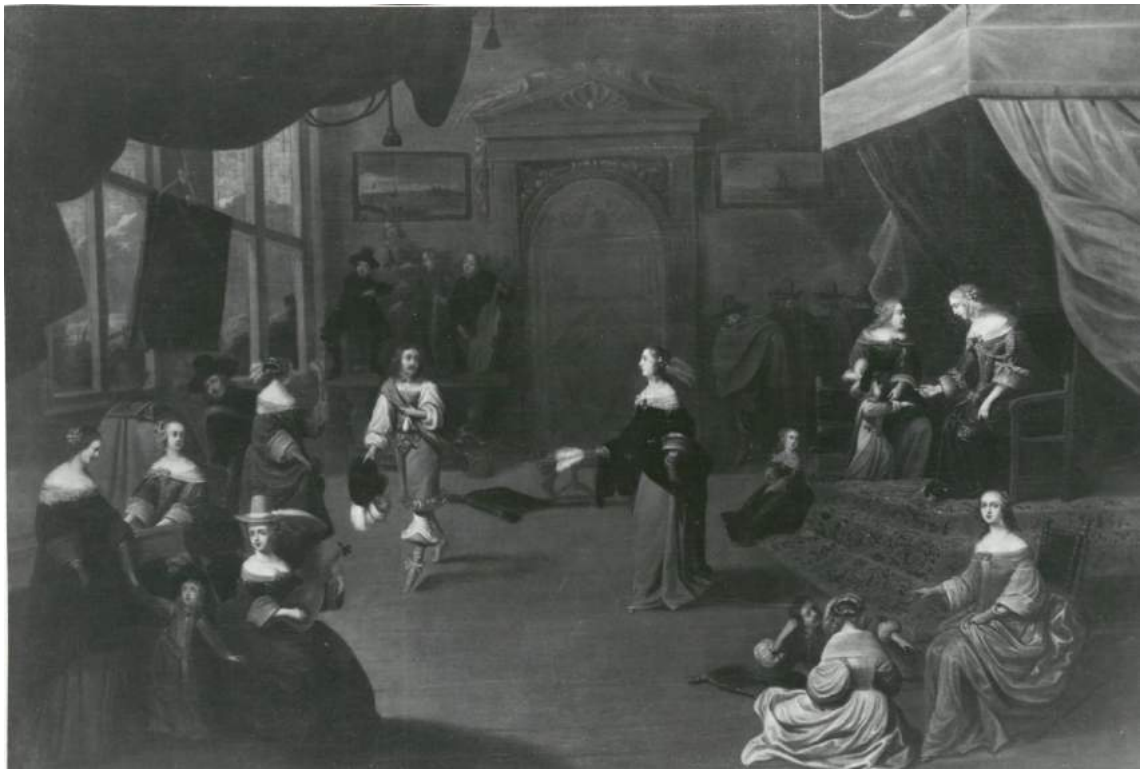
Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
Elegant ball in a palace.

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
Elegant company.

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
Elegant company conversing, dancing and playing cards in a drawing-room with music of a string quartet.

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
Elegant Company Dancing and Conversing on the Terrace of a Country House.

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
Elegant company dancing and playing music in an interior.



Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
Elegant company dancing and playing music on a terrace.

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
Elegant company dancing in an interior 1.

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
Elegant company dancing in an interior 2.

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
Elegant couple dancing in an interior with spectators.

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
Elegant company in an interior.

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
Elegant company in an interior with a couple dancing a minuet.

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
Elegant company making music at a table in a landscape.

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
Flemish Ladies' Party.

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
Interior with an elegant lady and two men making music.

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
Landscape with Peasants Dancing [?].

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
Merry company in a palace.

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
The ball.

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
The minuet.

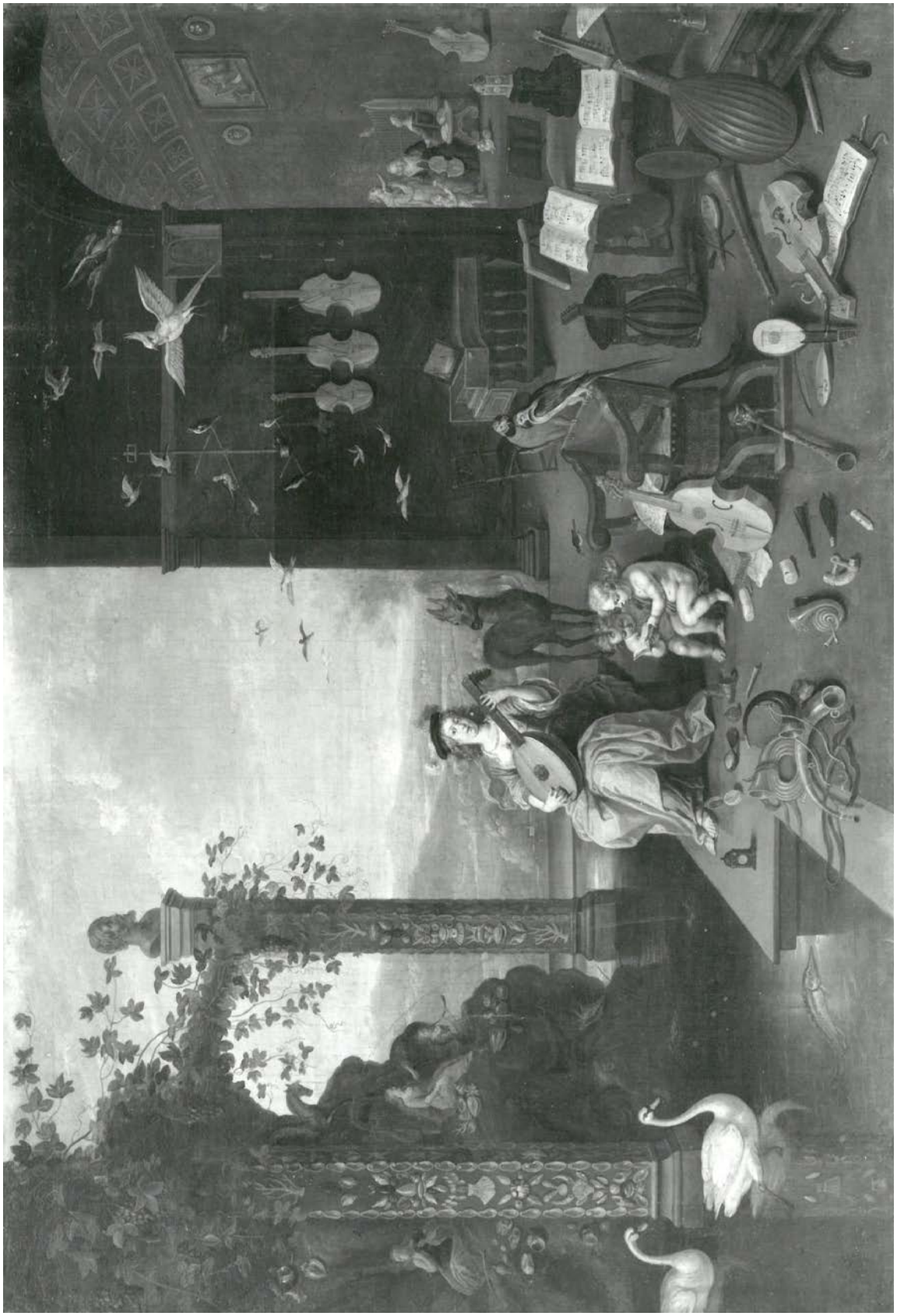
Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)
The Prodigal Son.

Jordaens I, Jacob (1593-1678)
Allegory of Love teaching Music (ca. 1644).

Kessel I, Jan van (1626-1679)
Allegory of Hearing, one of the five senses (ca. 1640).

Kessel I, Jan van (1626-1679)
Allegory of Hearing.

Kessel I, Jan van (1626-1679)
Allegory of Hearing, one of the five senses.



Kessel I, Jan van (1626-1679)
Landscape with animal satire: the hares rule the hunters (hunting prize becomes the hunter).

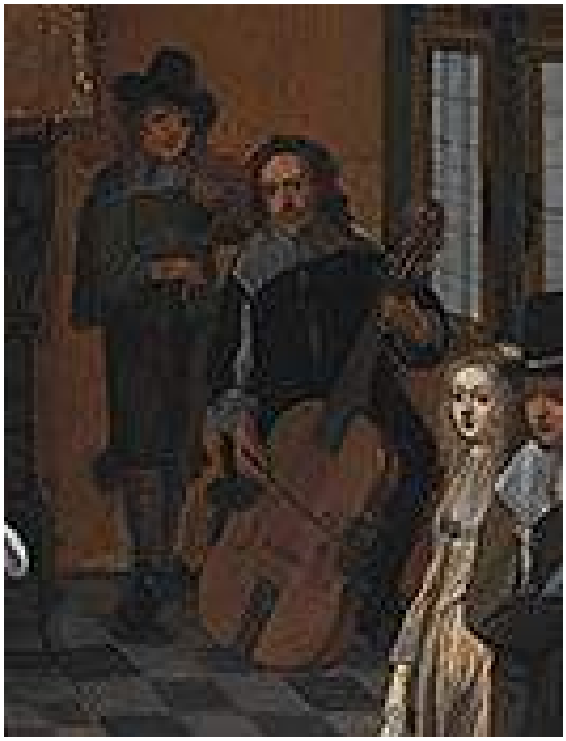
Laemen, Christoffel Jacobsz. van der (1606/1615-1651)
Elegant company in an interior with a dancing couple (1640').

Laemen, Christoffel Jacobsz. van der (1606/1615-1651)
An elegant company conversing and dancing to music in an interior.

Laemen, Christoffel Jacobsz. van der (1606/1615-1651)
An elegant company dancing and making music in an interior.

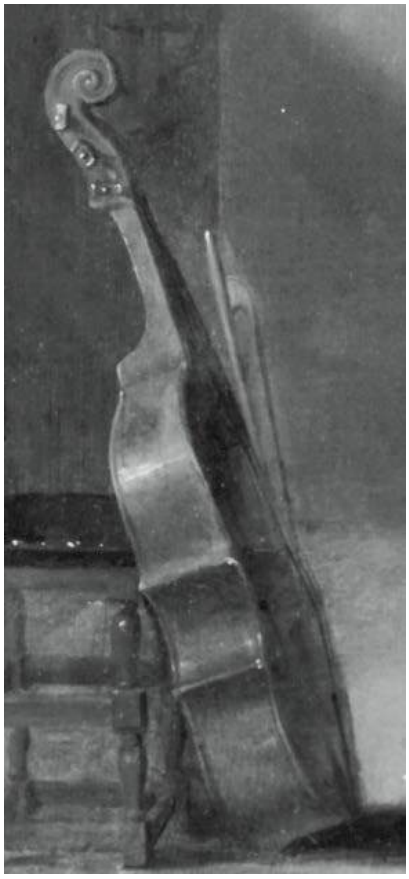
Laemen, Christoffel Jacobsz. van der (1606/1615-1651)
An elegant couple dancing to music.

Laemen, Christoffel Jacobsz. van der (1606/1615-1651)
Dancing party in an Interior.



Laemen, Christoffel Jacobsz. van der (1606/1615-1651)
Elegant company.

Laemen, Christoffel Jacobsz. van der (1606/1615-1651)
Elegant company in an interior.



Laemen, Christoffel Jacobsz. van der (1606/1615-1651)
Elegant company playing music in an interior.

Laroon II, Marcellus (1679-1772)
Soldiers making merry in a tent (1707).

Liemaker, Nicolaas (1601-1646)
The krowning [sic] of Maria (1636).

Lisaert, Pieter (1574-after 1604)
The annunciation of the birth of Christ to the Virgin Mary.

Loon, Theodor van (1581/1582-1649)
Assumption of the Virgin.

Maes, Godfried (1649-1700)
Minerva visits the Muses.

Meulener, Pieter (1602-1654)
Elegant company in a garden (1652).

Michau, Theobald (1676-1765)
A village fair by a river.

Michau, Theobald (1676-1765)
Peasants making merry in a landscape.

Michau, Theobald (1676-1765)
The village fair.

Monteyne, Jan-Baptist (active 1717-1718)
An elegant company making music on a terrace.

Monteyne, Jan-Baptist (active 1717-1718)
An elegant company watching a cellist.

Monteyne, Jan-Baptist (active 1717-1718)
Company making music at a temple.

Monteyne, Jan-Baptist (active 1717-1718)
Elegant company in an interior.

Monteyne, Jan-Baptist (active 1717-1718)
Elegant company on a terrace.

Orley II, Richard van (1663-1732)
Title page of: Abaco, E. F. dall' (1705). *Sonate Da Camera a Violino, e Viol., overo Clavicembalo solo*.

Orley II, Richard van (1663-1732)
Women making music under a baldachin.

Pepijn, Marten (1575-1643)
Ball scene in a palace (1608).

Pepijn, Marten (1575-1643)
A ball.

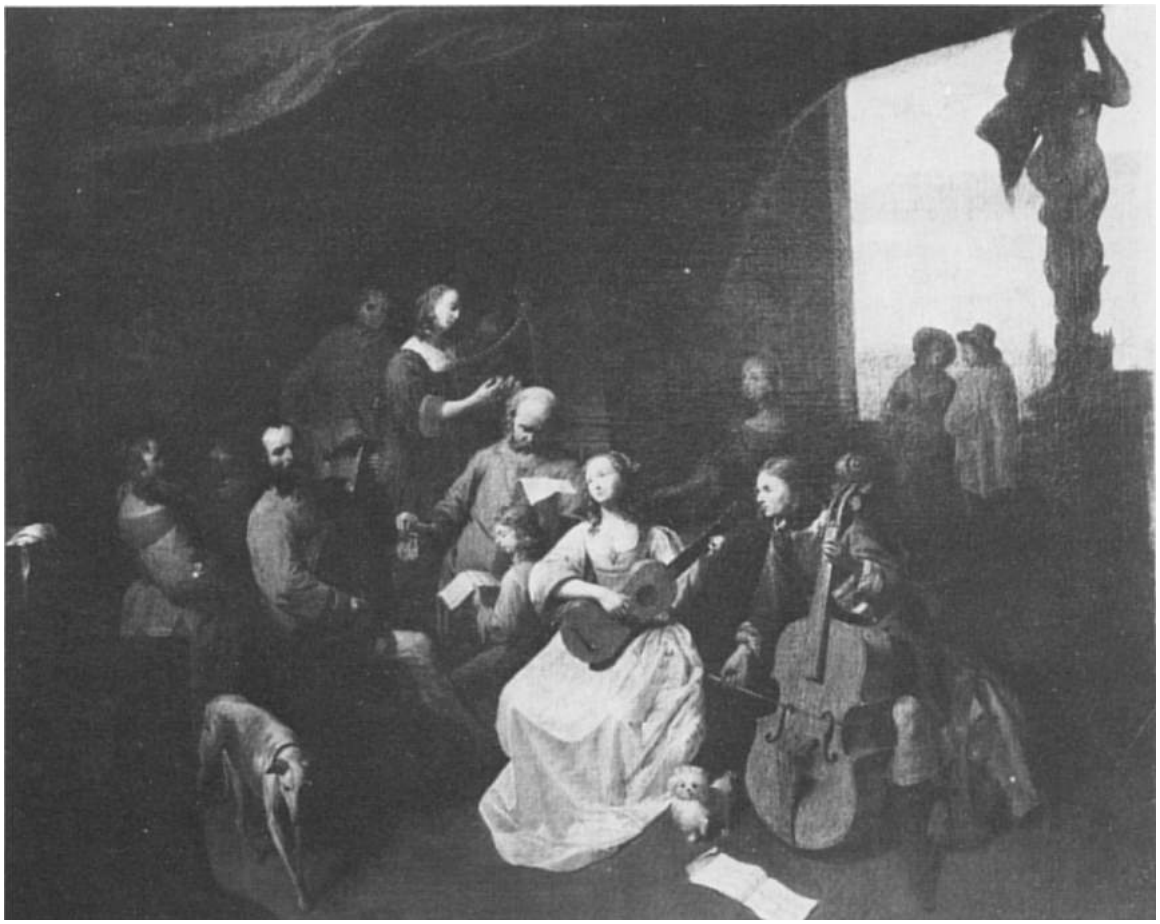
Reysschoot, Petrus Norbertus van (1738-1795)
Allegory on music.

Reysschoot, Petrus Norbertus van (1738-1795)
Design for a ceiling with the representation of the marriage of Jupiter and Juno.

Rijckaert III, David (1612-1661)
An elegant company making music in an interior 1 (1650).

Rijckaert III, David (1612-1661)
An elegant company making music in an interior 2 (1650).

Rijckaert III, David (1612-1661)
Musical company.



Rijckaert III, David (1612-1661)
Social gathering in the country.

Rintel, Jan van (active 1658-1674)
Peasants conversing (1693).

Rubens, Peter Paul (1577-1640)
The Adoration of the Eucharist (ca. 1626).

Rubens, Peter Paul (1577-1640)
Angels playing music (1626-1628).

Rubens, Peter Paul (1577-1640)
Angels playing music (1628).

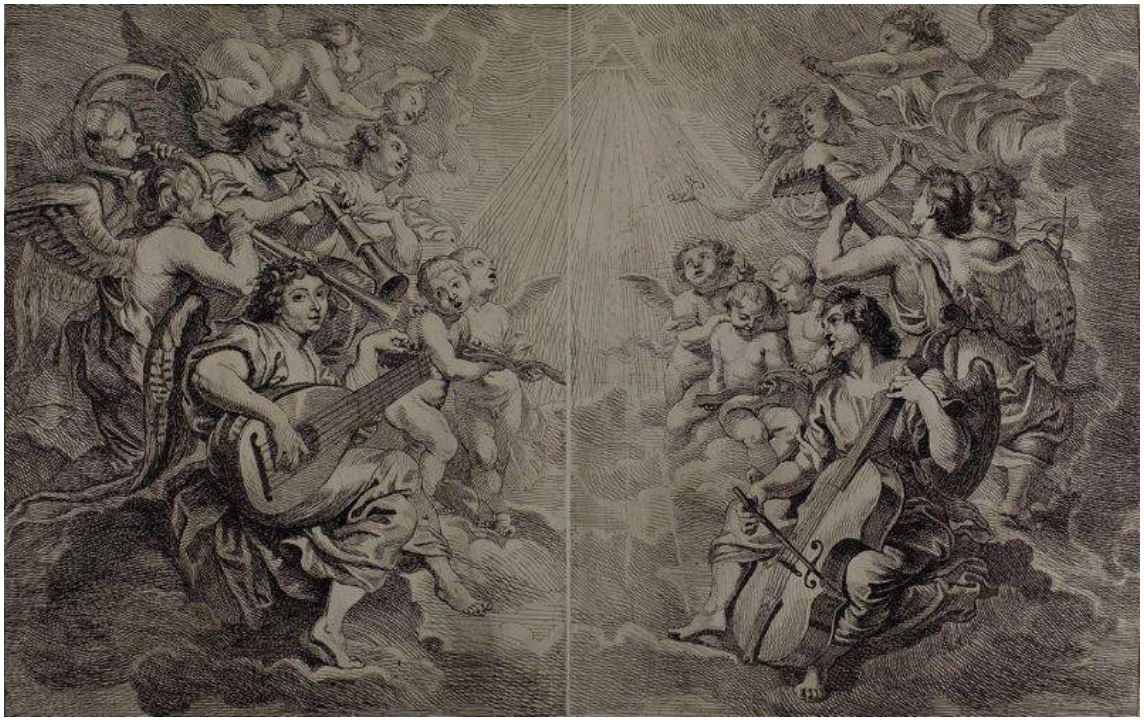
Rubens, Peter Paul (1577-1640)
Angels on a cloud.

Sallaert, Antoine (ca. 1590-1650)
The Legend of the Church of the Virgin in Alsemberg: Saint Elisabeth orders the construction of the Church in Alsemberg at the specifications of the Virgin (1645-1649).

Sallaert, Antoine (ca. 1590-1650)
Interior with elegant figures singing and making music by candle light.

Schoevaerdts, Matthijs (active 1682-1702)
Village 'kermis' with peasants making merry.

Schut, Cornelis (1597-1655)
Angels making music (ca. 1650).



Schut, Cornelis (1597-1655)
The seven liberal arts.

Seldron, Elisabeth (1674-1761)
Company feasting before a house, a harbour and a ruin beyond (ca. 1690).

Seldron, Elisabeth (1674-1761)
A Flemish country fair.

Seldron, Elisabeth (1674-1761)
A village dance.

Seldron, Elisabeth (1674-1761)
Company partying in front of an inn.

Seldron, Elisabeth (1674-1761)
Village party by a river.

Seldron, Elisabeth (1674-1761)
Villagers feasting outside an inn.

Seldron, Elisabeth (1674-1761)
Villagers partying in front of an inn.

Seldron, Elisabeth (1674-1761)
Wooded landscape with peasants feasting.

Sion, Peeter (ca. 1620-1695)
Apollo playing with the nine muses on Mount Helicon (ca. 1630).

Teniers I, David (1582-1649)
Landscape with the flight into Egypt.

Teniers II, David (1610-1690)
Music making family on a terrace (ca. 1644-1645).

Teniers II, David (1610-1690)
The painter and his family (ca. 1645-1646).

Teniers II, David (1610-1690)
A wedding party in a village (1675).

Teniers II, David (1610-1690)
The cellist (18th century).

Teniers II, David (1610-1690)
Large village fair with a dancing couple.

Teniers II, David (1610-1690)
Musicians at a tavern.

Teniers II, David (1610-1690)
Peasant's wedding.

Teniers II, David (1610-1690)
Portrait of the Wife and Son of the Painter.

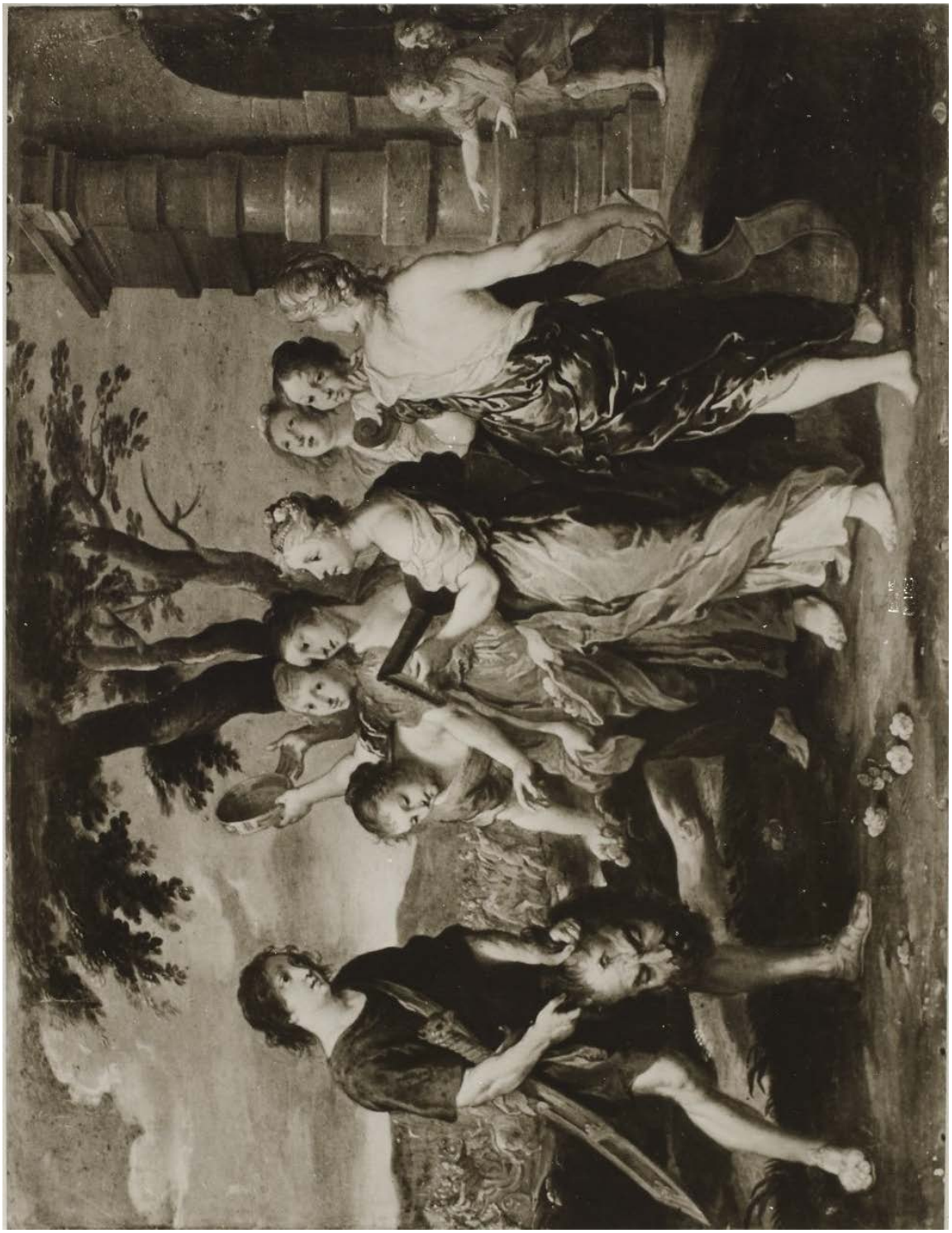
Thulden, Theodoor van (1606-1669)
Allegory of vice (1630).

Thulden, Theodoor van (1606-1669)
Celestial concert.

Thulden, Theodoor van (1606-1669)
Christ welcoming the Virgin in Paradise after the Assumption 1.

Thulden, Theodoor van (1606-1669)
Christ welcoming the Virgin in Paradise after the Assumption 2.

Thulden, Theodoor van (1606-1669)
David holding the head of Goliath.



Thulden, Theodoor van (1606-1669)
The apotheosis of St Francis of Paola 1.

Thulden, Theodoor van (1606-1669)
The apotheosis of St Francis of Paola 2.

Thulden, Theodoor van (1606-1669)
The Glorification of the Eucharist.

Thulden, Theodoor van (1606-1669)
The resurrected Christ appearing to his mother.

Thulden, Theodoor van (1606-1669)
The resurrected Christ appears to the Virgin Mary.

Tilborgh, Gillis van (active 1654-1678)
An elegant company making music in a park.

Tilborgh, Gillis van (active 1654-1678)
An elegant company making music in an interior.

Tilborgh, Gillis van (active 1654-1678)
A rural party in a village.

Tilborgh, Gillis van (active 1654-1678)
A rural party in the village square.

Tilborgh, Gillis van (active 1654-1678)
Hunting Party Outside an Inn.

Tilborgh, Gillis van (active 1654-1678)
Portrait of a family in a 'Kunstkammer'.

Tilborgh, Gillis van (active 1654-1678)
The rejection of the marriage-broker.

Tilens, Jan (1589-1630)
Apollo and the Muses on the Parnassus (1600-1624).

Verbeeck, François Xaver Henri (1686-1755)
Company making music 1 (1729).

Verbeeck, François Xaver Henri (1686-1755)
Company making music 2 (1729).

Verbeeck, François Xaver Henri (1686-1755)
Company making music 3 (1729).

Verbeeck, François Xaver Henri (1686-1755)
Company making music.

Verbeeck, François Xaver Henri (1686-1755)
Concert in a park 1.

Verbeeck, François Xaver Henri (1686-1755)
Concert in a park 2.

Verbeeck, François Xaver Henri (1686-1755)
Concert with tympanon.

Verbeeck, François Xaver Henri (1686-1755)
Elegant company at a meal.

Verbeeck, François Xaver Henri (1686-1755)
Elegant company making music.

Verbeeck, François Xaver Henri (1686-1755)
Elegant company playing music and a young man presenting a dead hare on a terrace.

Verbeeck, François Xaver Henri (1686-1755)
Interior with a musical company.

Verbeeck, François Xaver Henri (1686-1755)
The musician and the drinker.

Vierpeyl, Jan Carel (active 1697-1723)
Concert 1.

Vierpeyl, Jan Carel (active 1697-1723)
Concert 2.

Voet, Alexander (1608-1689)
Hearing (1628-1689).

Vos, Cornelis de (1584-1651)
The seven liberal arts.

Vos, Maerten de (1532-1603)
The Seven Liberal Arts / Musica (ca. 1600).

Vos, Simon de (1603-1676)
Masquerade in an interior.

Vos, Simon de (1603-1676)
The home-coming of the Prodigal Son (1641).

Vrancx, Sebastiaan (1573-1647)
Company outside (ca. 1620).

Vrancx, Sebastiaan (1573-1647)
An elegant company on a palatial terrace.

Vrancx, Sebastiaan (1573-1647)
Elegant company feasting in a park.

Vrancx, Sebastiaan (1573-1647)
Parable of the Prodigal Son at the Feast among the Courtesans.

Wierix II, Antonius (ca. 1555/1559-1604)
Cor exulta, quid moraris? (1585).

Wierix II, Antonius (ca. 1555/1559-1604)
Canta puer, quid moraris? (before 1619) .

Wierix, Hieronymus (active 1573-1619)
Angels making music around a coat of arms (1611-1619).

Wierix, Hieronymus (active 1573-1619)
The adoration of the infant (before 1619).

Winghe, Joos van (1544-1603)
Company in a tavern at night.

Winghe, Joos van (1544-1603)
Elegant company, making music at the light of torches.

Witte, Gaspar de (1624-1681)
Concert in the Park (1650).

Wouters, Frans (1612-1659)
A rural concert (1654).

Applied Arts

Anonymous
Set of tiles with a blue and white décor with figures including a cellist (1620-1640).

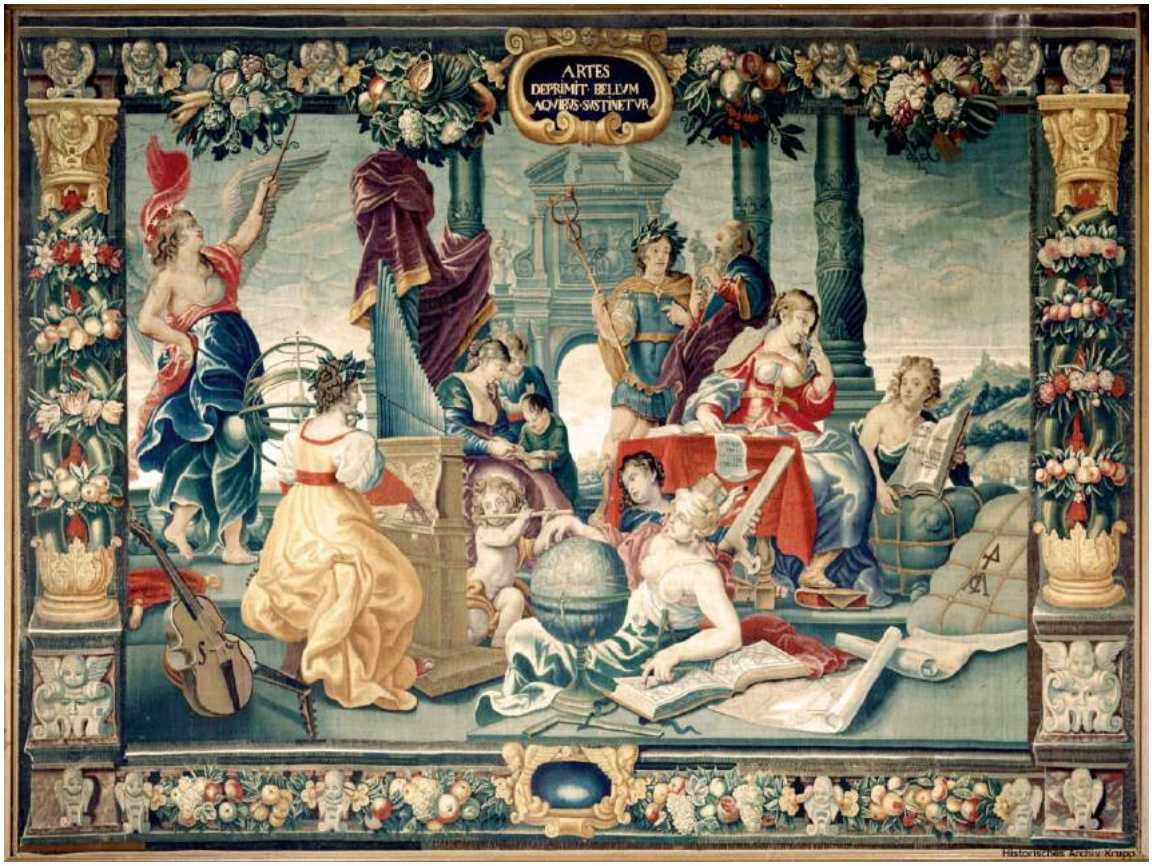
Anonymous
Tile with a blue and white decor of a cellist playing underhand (in reverse, 1625-1649).

Anonymous
Tile with a blue and white decor of a man with a viol [sic] (1640-1660).

Anonymous
The Apotheosis of the Seven Liberal Arts (1650).

Anonymous
Tile with a blue and white decor of a cellist playing overhand (1650-1675).

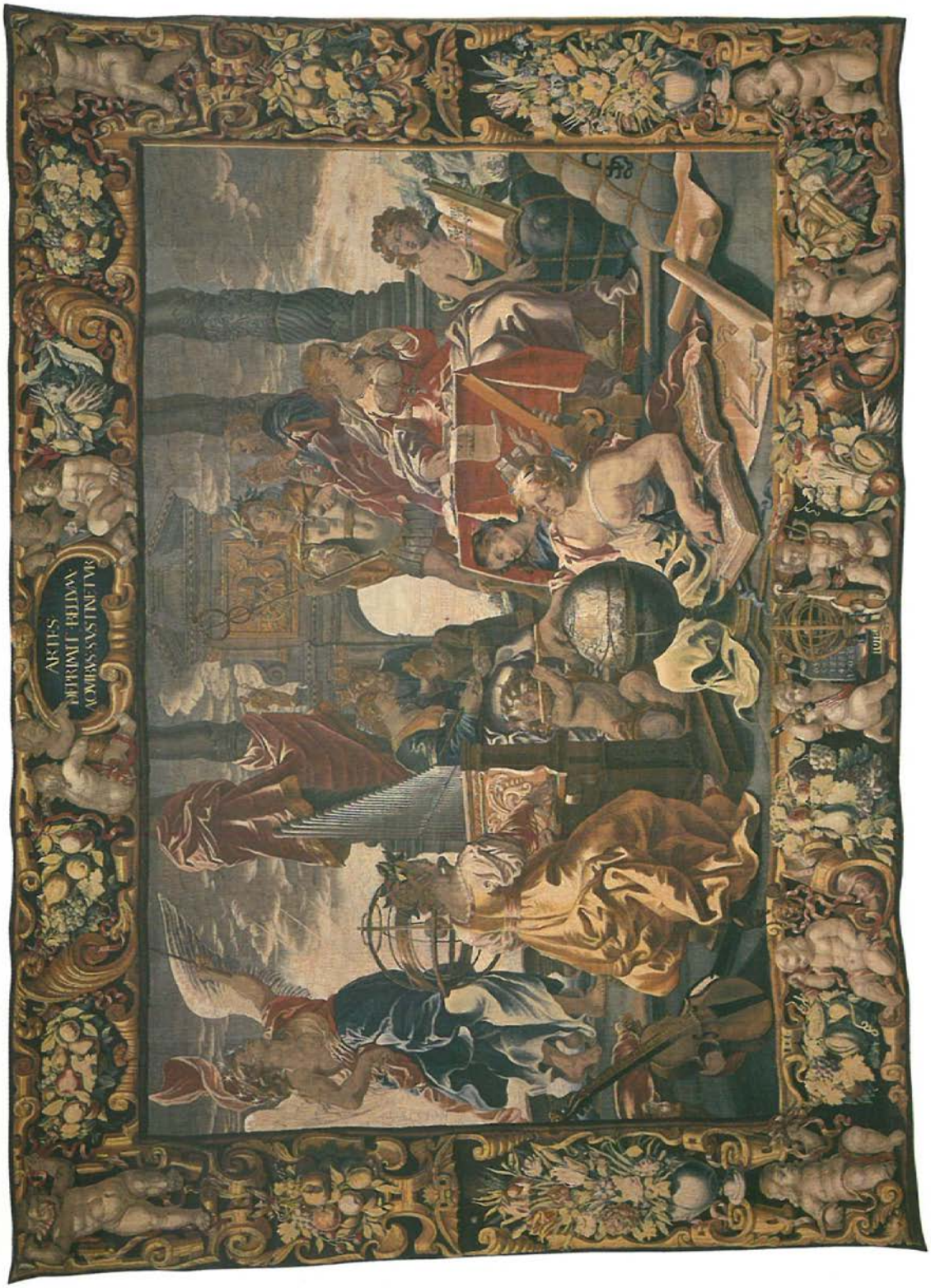
Anonymous
The Apotheosis of the Seven Liberal Arts (ca. 1650-1675).



Anonymous
The Seven Liberal Arts (1654).

Anonymous
Tile with a blue and white decor of a music lesson (1670-1720).

Anonymous
The Apotheosis of the Seven Liberal Arts (ca. 1675).



Anonymous
Cello in the doll's house of Petronella de la Court (ca. 1680).

Anonymous
Brandy bowl with images of the seven virtues (1686).

Anonymous
Story of Sappho and Phaon (ca. 1700).

Anonymous
Violin (ca. 1705-1710).

Anonymous
Lace (1720-1740).

Anonymous
Earthenware bowl with cellist and singer (ca. 1730).

Anonymous
Chalice engraved with Apollo and the nine Muses with opposite the statue of Erasmus (1739).

Anonymous
Dish of multicolored painted faience (ca. 1750 - ca. 1780).

Anonymous
Set of 6 pancake dishes from Delft (1754).

Anonymous
Cello in the doll's house of Sara Rothé (17th century).

Anonymous
Hercules at the cross-roads (17th century).

Anonymous
Stained glass; Panel made up of thirteen seventeenth century roundels of Dutch musicians (17th century).

Anonymous
The Apotheosis of the Seven Liberal Arts.

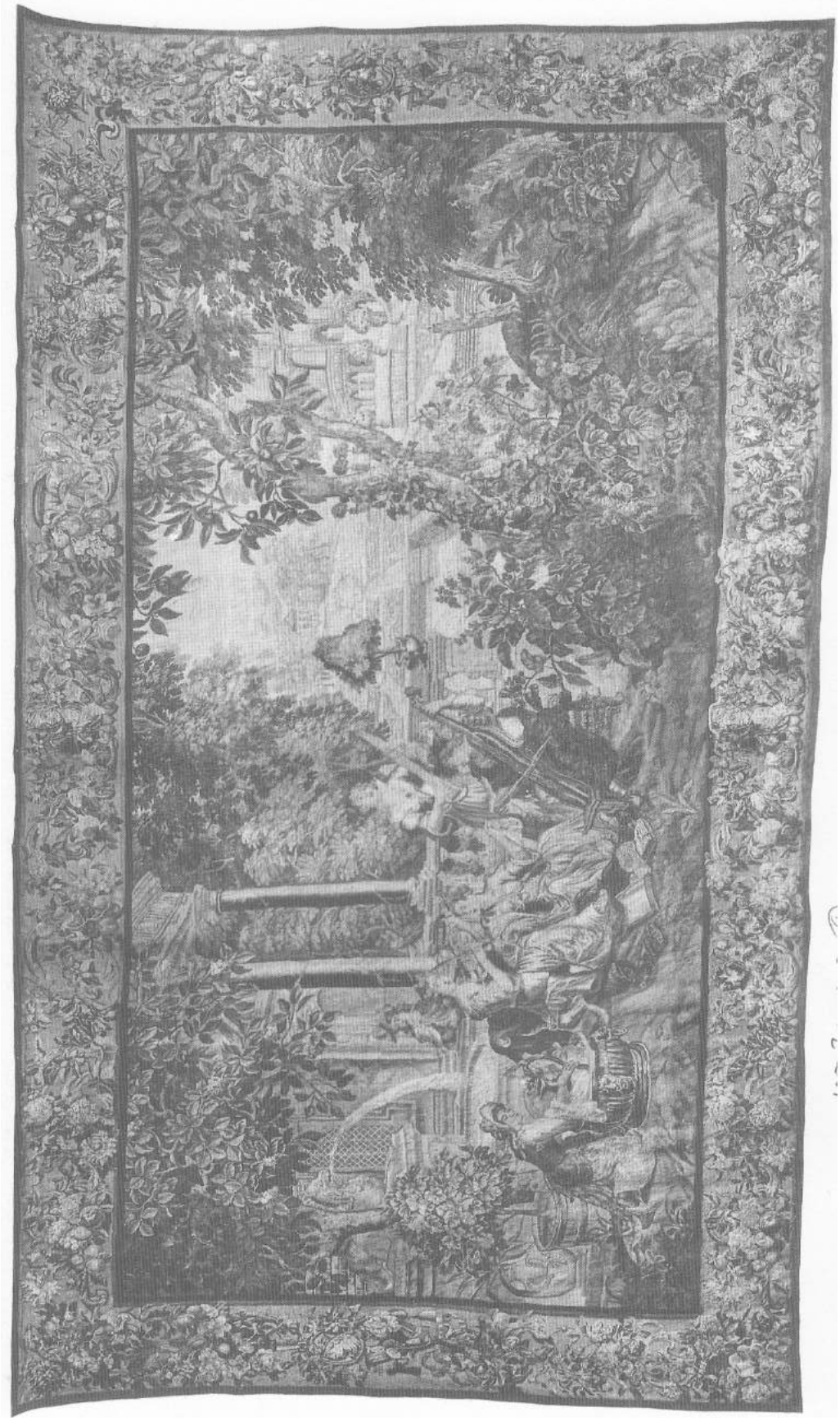
Anonymous
Tile (broken) with cellist playing overhand (17th century).

Anonymous
Tile with cellist playing overhand on a three-stringed cello 1 (17th century).

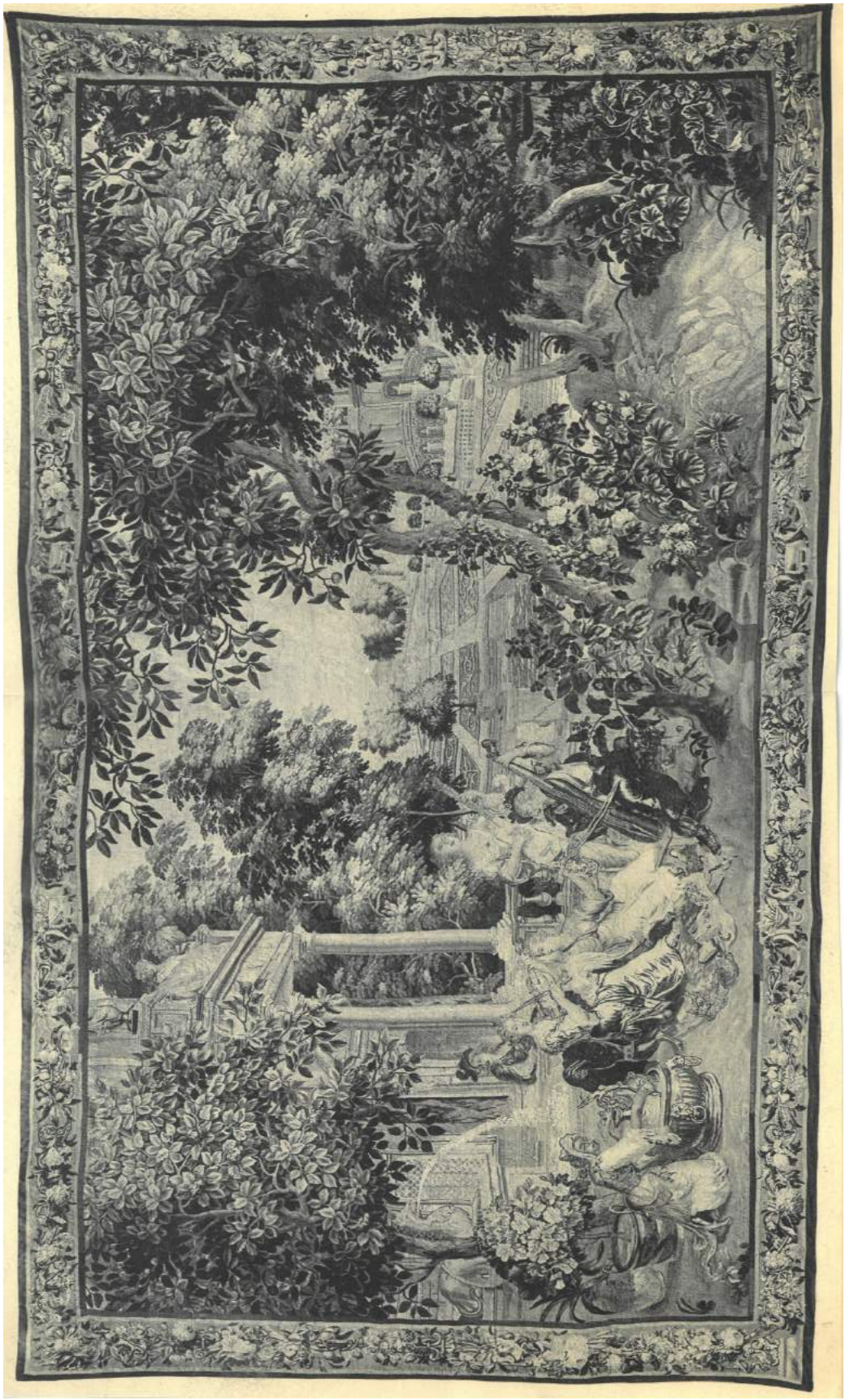
Anonymous
Tile with cellist playing overhand on a three-stringed cello 2 (17th century).

Anonymous
Triumph of love (17th century).

Anonymous
Women making music in a garden 1 (17th century).



Anonymous
Women making music in a garden 2 (17th century).



Anonymous
The Apotheosis of the Seven Liberal Arts (after 1650).

Anonymous
Two cachepots from Delft (late 17th century).

Anonymous
Flemish wall tapestry (end 17th century).

Anonymous
Banquet of a Moorish sovereign (18th century).

Anonymous
Magic lantern slide: one out of a series of *Four professions after Het menselyk bedryf* (1700-1790).

Anonymous
A Flemish verdure tapestry, depicting Saint Cecilia amongst Musicians, the figures all robed in the Classical manner, the saint seated in the centre and surrounded by a harpist, a violin player, an organist and other musicians, portrayed in a verdant landscape and beneath the boughs of a tree, a parrot perched on a lower branch (18th century).

Anonymous
Tapestry from Brussels (18th century).

Anonymous
Wall tapestry with musicians (18th century).

Anonymous
Arti Liberari: Musica.

Biltius, Jentje Harings
Silver brandy bowl (1711).

Borcht, Frans van der (1720-1765)
Apollo and the Muses (2nd half 18th century).

Borcht, Frans van der (1720-1765)
Apollo playing the lyre.

Borcht, Frans van der (1720-1765)
Peasants carousing.

Borcht, Jacob van der (active 1676-1707)
Apollo and the Muses (ca. 1690).

Borcht, Jacob van der (active 1676-1707)
Apollo and the Nine Muses (18th century).

Borcht, Jasper (Gaspard) van der (?-1742)
Apollon and the Muses (1720).

Borcht III, Pieter van der (ca. 1590-1662)
Banquet of a Moorish sovereign (1750).

Brouwer, Gerloff (ca. 1627-1676)
Baby-linen basket with a representation of putti making music (1660).

Buttner, Jurriaan (before 1737-1767)
Pegasus surrounded by the Seven Arts (ca. 1743).

Fortuyn, Willem (active 1752-1762)
Chalice with a woman behind a spinet (ca. 1750, before 1757).

Grauda, Pieter (1640-??)
Tile with cellist playing underhand while seated on a bench (17th century).

Grauda, Pieter (1640-??)
Tile made of earthenware and tin glaze, depicting a female cellist, behind her a man with sheet music or song book (ca. 1660-1690).

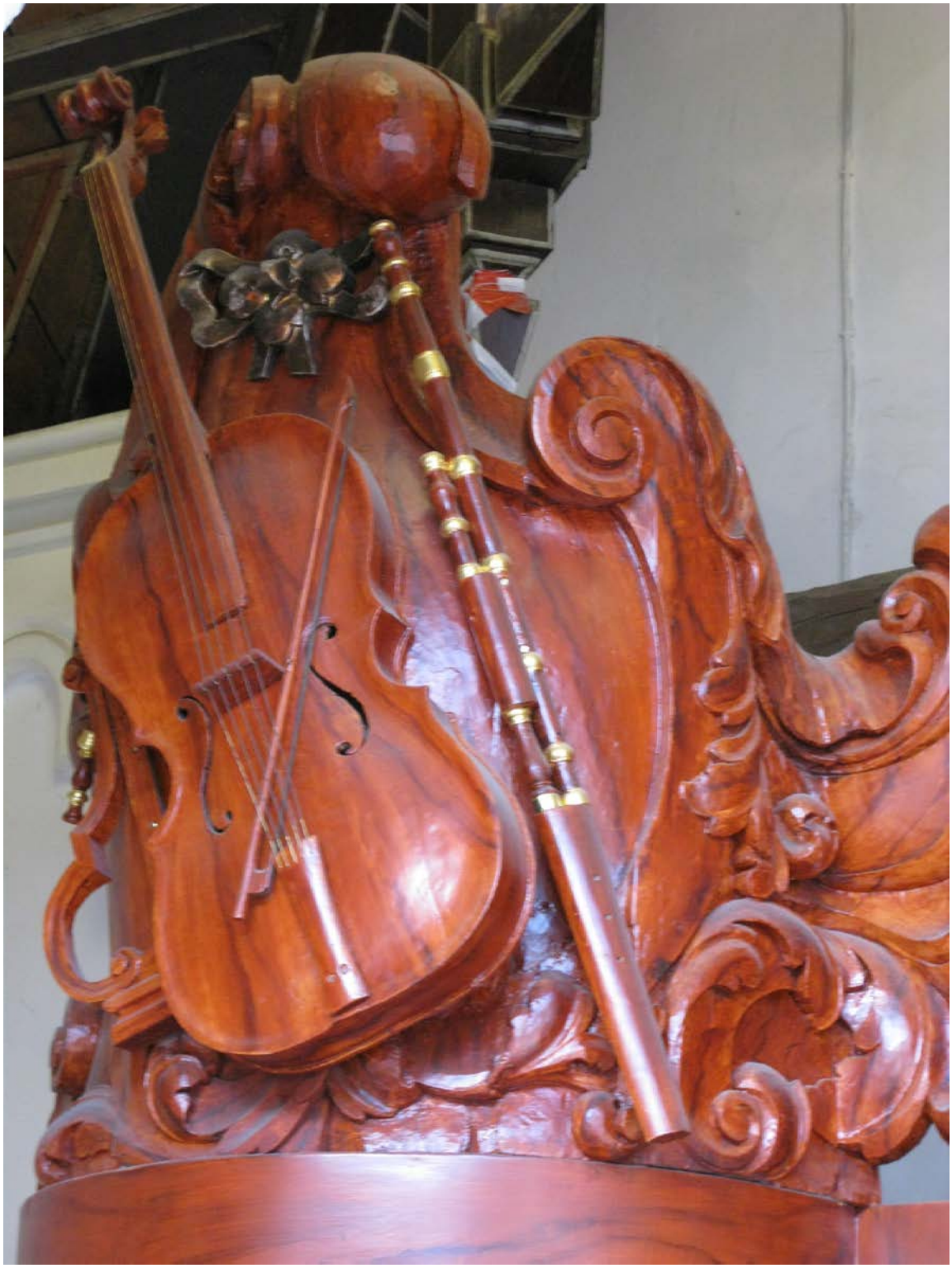
Grauda, Pieter (1640-??)
Tile with a female cellist playing underhand and a man holding a song book.

Haven, Theodorus van der (active 1720-1750) & **Struiwigh**, Casper (1698-1747)
Cellist on the organ case of the Hinsz organ in the Petruskerk in Leens (ca. 1734).

Logteren, Jan van (1709-1745)
Cellist on the organ case of the Müller organ in the St Bavo Church in Haarlem (ca. 1738).

Orley, Jan van (1665-1735) & **Coppens**, Augustin (1668-1740)
Telemachus and Mentor dining with Calypso.

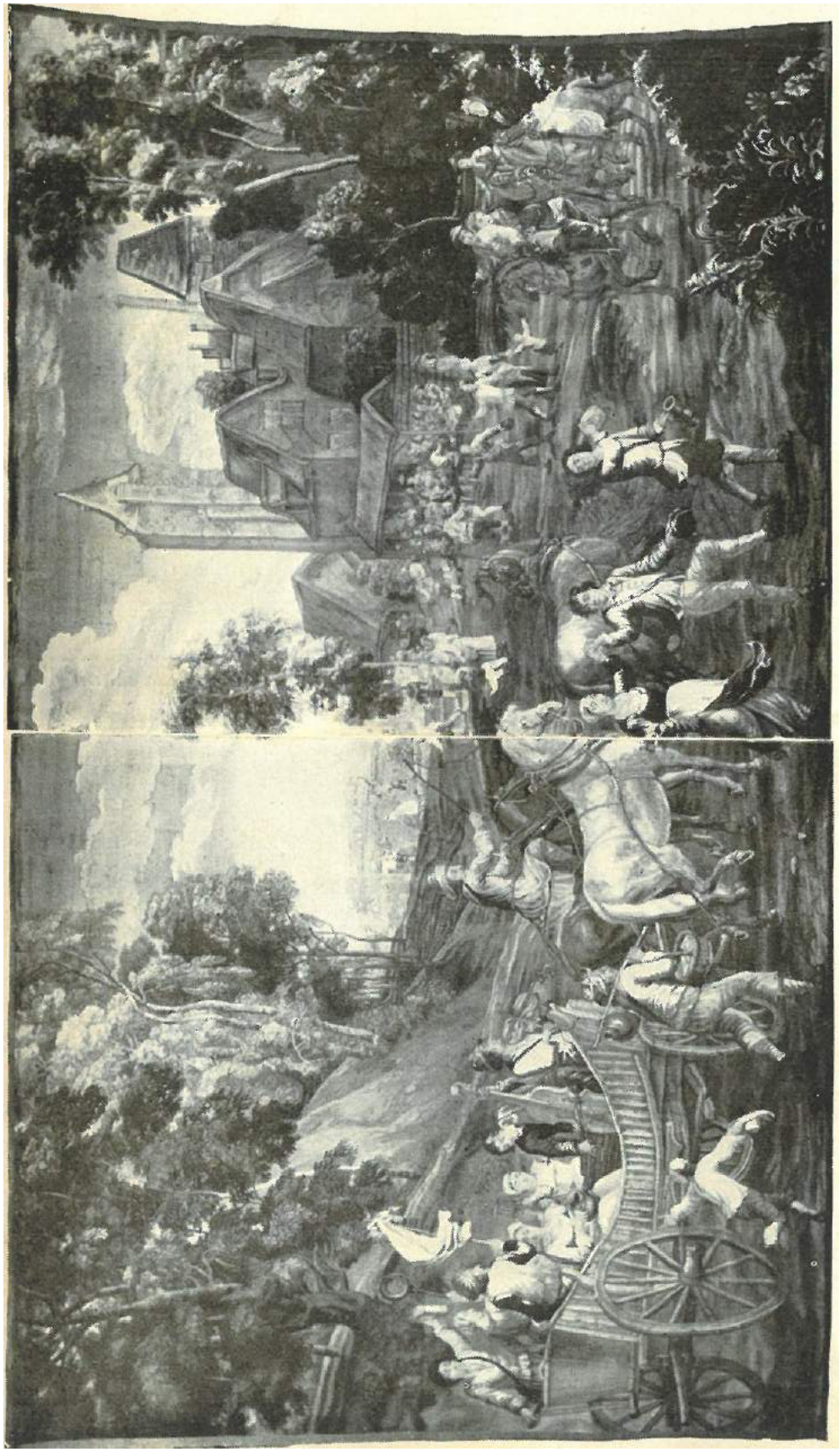
Romans, Johannes (????-????)
Cello on the organ case of the Garrels organ in the Koepelkerk in Purmerend (ca. 1740).



Rubens, Peter Paul (1577-1640)
Angels playing music (1626-1628).

Schut, Cornelis (1597-1655)
The music (2nd half 17th century).

Teniers, David (1610-1690)
Burgheer's Flemish Feast (17th century).



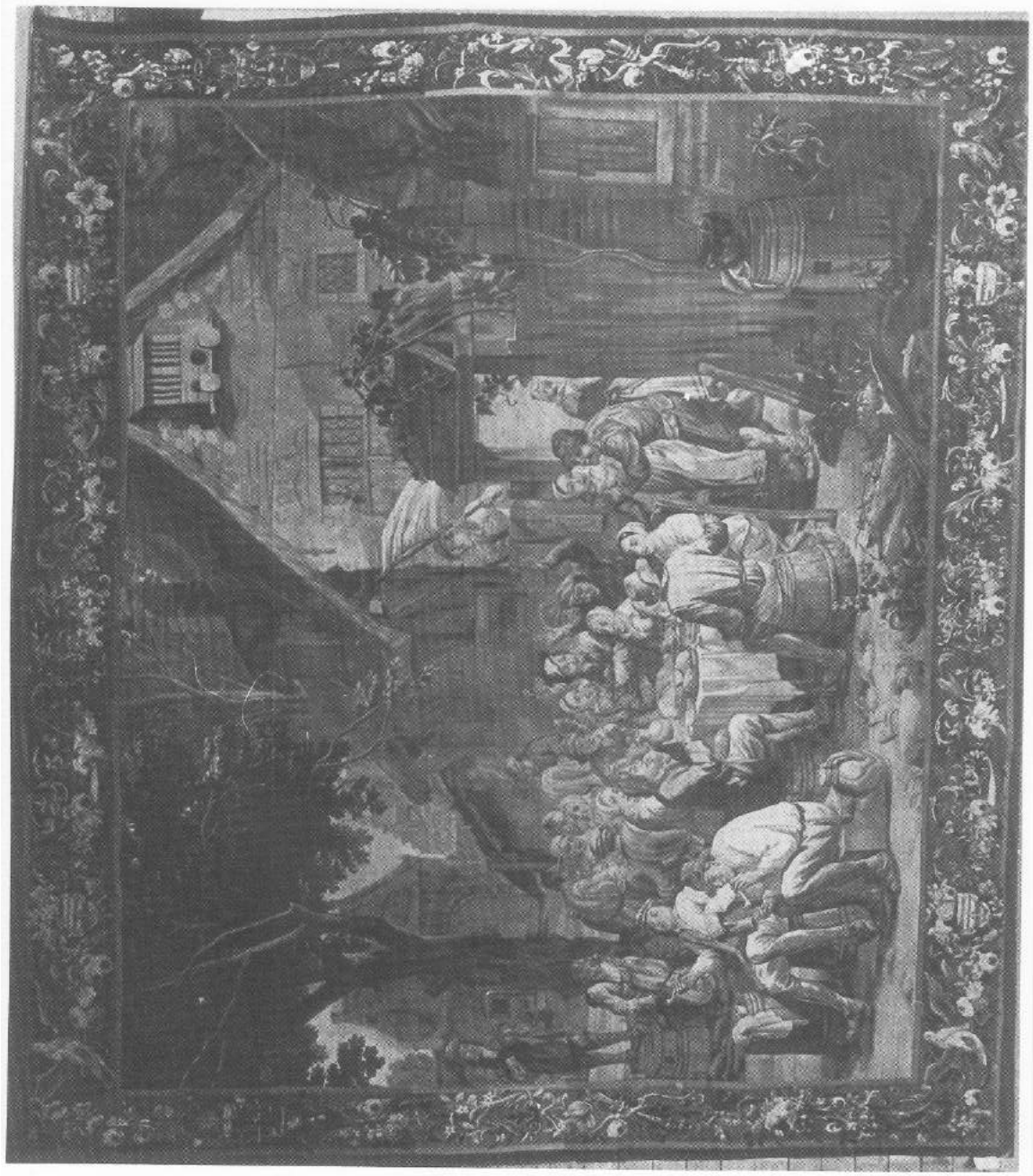
Teniers, David (1610-1690)
Musical company in a riverside landscape (1st half 18th century).

Teniers, David (1610-1690)
A merry company dancing to music in a wooded landscape (18th century).

Teniers, David (1610-1690)
Kermesse (18th century).

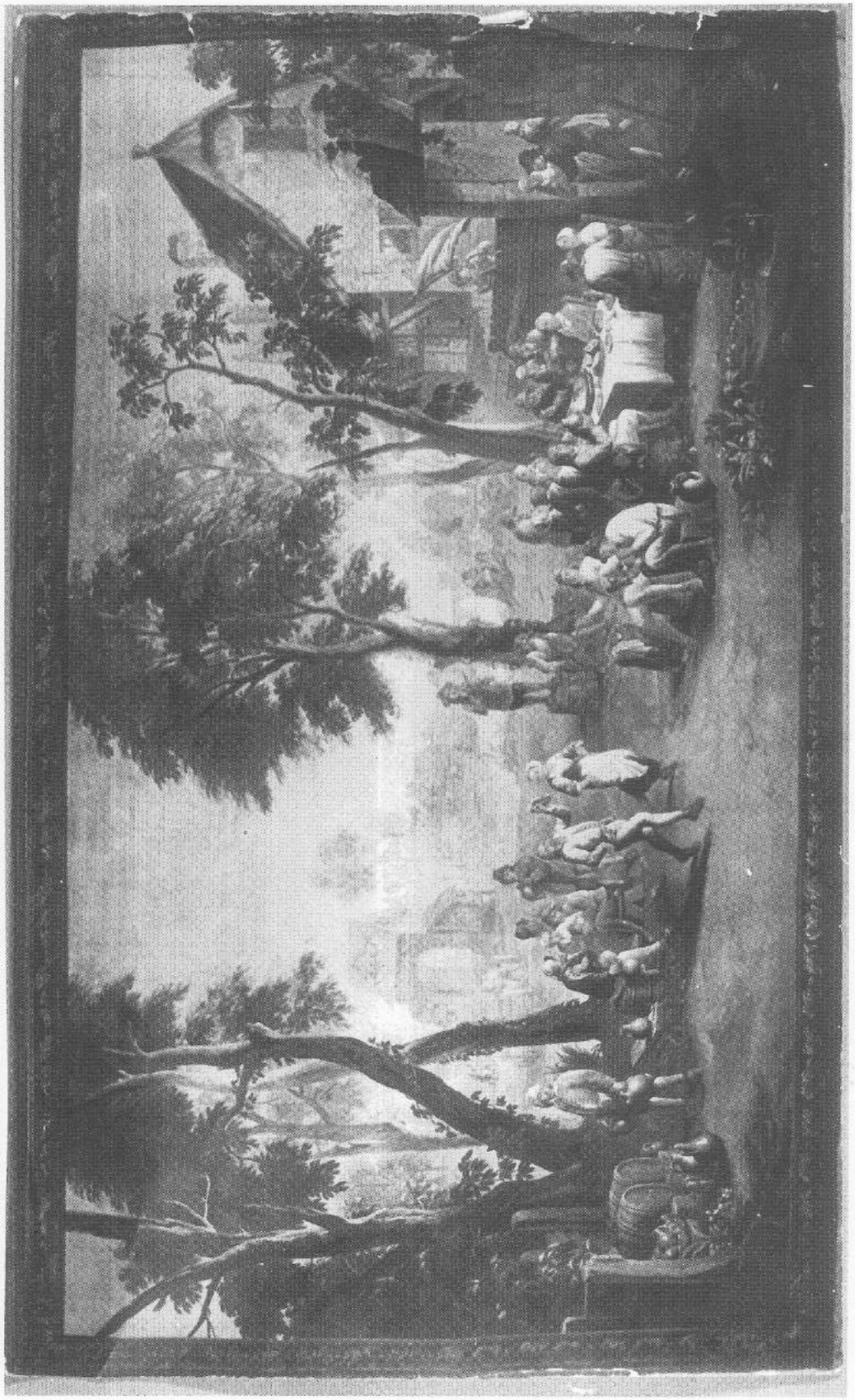
Teniers, David (1610-1690)
A merry couple dancing to music in a wooded landscape.

Teniers, David (1610-1690)
A rural company at a table outside an inn.



Teniers, David (1610-1690)
A rural company dancing and conversing in a wooded landscape.

Teniers, David (1610-1690)
A rural company eating, drinking and dancing outside an inn.



Teniers, David (1610-1690)
Peasants dancing.

Teniers, David (1610-1690)
The May pole Dance.

Research corpus cello images

The following list contains all images used in my database of representations of cellos in the Low Countries in the 17th and 18th centuries. The construction of this research corpus is the same as that of the database: Noordelijke Nederlanden, Zuidelijke Nederlanden and finally the Applied arts.
As much information as possible has been added, including the artists with years of birth and death or if these are unknown the years of activity, the title of the work of art, the year of production and the source where it can be found now.

I have made extensive use of the collections of the Rijksburo voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie (hereafter RKD). Part of their collections is to be found online (www.rkd.nl). In the research corpus the images from their online database will be referred to with the abbreviation KWN (= kunstwerknummer = number of work of art) and a number. Of the images not in the online database I have tried to retrieve in which museum or collection the works of art are held. If that was not possible, I have written down the information I found in the physical databases at the RKD and added: (via RKD).

For the images from the RKD with a KWN, the following applies: I have not only copied the KWN to the research corpus but also the museum or collection the work of art is held in. In case the museum or collection website provided a title, I have reproduced that title. In all other cases I have reproduced the title found on the RKD website.

Most titles in the research corpus consist of an English title and often also a title (in a different language) between brackets. The title between brackets is in the language (Danish, Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Hungarian, Russian, Swedish) of the original locations. In case no English title was available at these locations, I have translated the titles into English myself. A few titles were impossible to translate because of their idiomatic use of Dutch or because they are a title of, for example, a book.

On the RKD website many titles were found in both Dutch and English; some, however, were only found in Dutch. These titles I have translated myself, and I have marked them with an asterisk (*). If a title was found in both English and Dutch, I have copied them both to my research corpus, even though sometimes they are not identical. Also, not all English titles on the RKD website are written in the best idiomatic English. I have not attempted to improve these titles, but I have copied them literally.

The Rijksmuseum and Amsterdam Museum websites only provided titles in Dutch. These were all translated by me.

For several images I have not been able to find a title at all. As is the practice among art historians, in these cases I have 'constructed' a title myself. I have marked these titles with a ◊.

Some titles contain obvious mistakes, mainly in referring to a viola da gamba instead of referring to a cello. I have kept these titles as they were, but added [sic].

Works which belong to a school of a certain painter or are attributed to a painter have been listed under the name of this artist.

Works of art I found myself have been mentioned with the website I found them on added.

The years of birth and death or the years of activity of the artist have been taken from the RKD's online database. The production dates of the images have also been copied from the website of the RKD or from other original locations. Some of these dates include full stops and/or brackets to take the place of a missing number.

The listing of each work of art will have the following order (including several types of brackets):
Title (production year). Last known location, inventory number or date of auction or date of last sighting. KWN if available (attribution etc). [type of work of art]

The works of art by one specific artist are arranged in the following order:
Works with production date: in order of year, followed by the rest in alphabetical order.

In the NN and ZN categories the listing of each work of art ends with the type of work of art set between square brackets. In the Applied arts category the text between brackets refers to the title of the Section in which the work of art is discussed.

NOORDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN

Aartman, Nicolaes (1713-1760)

- *Four musicians in front of a house* (*Vier muzikanten voor een huis)* (1725-1775). Design for one of 60 cards for a lottery game. Amsterdam: Amsterdam Museum, inv. no. TA 38342. [drawing]
- *Interior with two musicians and a gentleman asking a lady to dance* (*Interieur met twee muzikanten en een heer die een dame ten dans vraagt)* (1725-1775). Design for one of 60 cards for a lottery game. Amsterdam: Amsterdam Museum, inv. no. TA 38341. [drawing]
- *Interior with company making music (Interieur met musicerend gezelschap)*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-T-1890-A-2260. [drawing]

Allard, Carel (1648-1709)

- *Hearing ('t gehoor - l'ouie)*. Bussum: Collection Ton Koopman, inv. no. TK01525. [engraving]

Anonymous

- Illustration from: Marcus, J. (1616). *Deliciae Batavicae. Variæ elegantesque picturæ omnes Belgii antiquitates, & quicquid præterea in eo visitur, representantes, quæ ad album studiosorum conficiendum deservire possunt*. Lvgdvni Batavorvm: Sub signo Mercurij. Leiden: Leiden University Library, inv. no. 20651 E 17. [engraving]
- Title page of: Mellema, E. E. L. (1618). *Den schat der Duytscher Tale/ met de verklaringe in françois/ van nieus grootelijcr vermeerdert/ verciert ende verrijct met vele nieuwe Woorden/ Spreucken ende Sententien. [...].* Rotterdam: Jan van Waesberghe. Utrecht: Utrecht University Library, inv. no. Z OCT 3138. [engraving]
- Illustration from: Starter, J. J. (1621). *Friesche lust-hof, Beplant met verscheyde stichtelyke Minne-Liedekens/Gedichten/ende boertige Kluchten*. Amsterdam:

Dirck Pietersz. Voscuyl, p. 2 from '*Boertigheden*'. www.books.google.com. [engraving]

- Title page of: Hooft, W. D. (1630). *Heden-daegsche Verlooren Soon. Ghespeeld op de Amsterdamsche Academi*. Amsterdam: Cornelis Willemsz Blaeu-laecken. London: British Library, inv. no. BLL01001726949. [engraving]
- *Satire on the negotiations for peace with Spain (Spotprent op de vredesonderhandelingen met Spanje)* (1632). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-81.358. [engraving]
- Illustration from: Krul, J. H. (1644). *Pampiere wereld Ofte Wereldsche Oeffeninge, Waer in begrepen zijn meest alle de Rijmen, en Werken Van J. H. Krul. Al te zamen merkelijk door hem verbetert, en met veel nieuwe Rijmen verrijkt, doorgaens met schoone kopere platen verçiert. Afgezondert In Vier Deelen*. Amsterdam: Jan Jacobsz. Schipper, p. 313. Utrecht: Utrecht University Library, inv. no. LMY 229. [engraving]
- Title page of: Westerbaen, J. (1644). *Gedichten. Van nieuws by den auteur oversien, vermeerdert en verbetert*. Leiden: Justus Livius. Den Haag: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, inv. no. KW 174 H 19. [engraving]
- *Harmony (Harmonia)*. Illustration from: Ripa, C. (1644). *Iconologia, of Uytbeeldinghe des Verstants.* Amsterdam: Dirck Pietersz. Pers (p. 341). Utrecht: Utrecht University Library, inv. no. 226 E 6. [engraving]
- *Poetry (Poesia. Dichtkonst)*. Illustration from: Ripa, C. (1644). *Iconologia, of Uytbeeldinghe des Verstants.* Amsterdam: Dirck Pietersz. Pers (p. 88). Utrecht: Utrecht University Library, inv. no. 226 E 6. [engraving]
- Illustration from: Camphuysen, D. R. (1647). *Stichtelycke Rymen, Om te lesen ofte singhen. Onderscheyden in III. Deelen. Op nieuws over-sien en grootelijckx vermeerdert, oock de Noten van Druck-fauten ghecorrigeert, en verrijckt met vele Copere Figuren*. Amsterdam: Iacob Colom (p. 138). Leiden: Leiden University Library, inv. no. 20643 G 7.
- Frontispiece of: Anonymous (1649). *Zang-prieeltjen. Daerinne de aerdighste Liedekens/uyt 't Amsterdams Minne-Beekje, 't Haerlems Mey-Somer-ende Winter-Bloemtje, Sparens Vreughden-Bron, Ende andere de Nieuste en waerdichste by een ghebrachtt sijn. Verciert en verrijckt met verscheyde Coopere Plaetjes*. Utrecht: Lucas de Vries. www.dbnl.nl. [engraving]
- *Company making music (Musicerend gezelschap)* (1657). Amsterdam: Amsterdam Museum, inv. no. TA 18184. [drawing]
- *The chamber of rhetoric 'Trou moet blijcken' in Haarlem, with a display of several teachers of religion* (De rederijkerskamer 'Trou moet blijcken' in Haarlem, met voorstelling van verschillende godsdienstleraren)* (1659). Haarlem: Frans Halsmuseum, inv. no. os I-552. KWN 22983. [painting]
- *Musician (Muzikant)* (1694). Amsterdam: Amsterdam Museum, inv. no. A 46292 (after Jan & Caspar Luyken). [engraving]
- *Harmony 1 (Harmonie).* Illustration from: Ripa, C. (1698). *Iconologie où la science des emblèmes, devises, &c. qui apprend à les expliquer dessiner et inventer. Ouvrage tres utile aux orateurs, Poëtes, Peintres, Sculpteurs, Graveurs, & generalement à toutes sortes de Curieux des beaux arts et des sciences.* Amsterdam: Adrian Braakman (p. 515). Utrecht: Utrecht University Library, inv. no. VA: 169812. [engraving]
- *Harmony 2 (Harmonie).* Illustration from: Ripa, C. (1698). *Iconologie où la science des emblèmes, devises, &c. qui apprend à les expliquer dessiner et inventer. Ouvrage tres utile aux orateurs, Poëtes, Peintres, Sculpteurs, Graveurs, & generalement à toutes sortes de Curieux des beaux arts et des sciences.* Amsterdam: Adrian Braakman (p. 105). Utrecht: Utrecht University Library, inv. no. VA: 169812. [engraving]
- *Music (Musique).* Illustration from: Ripa, C. (1698). *Iconologie où la science des emblèmes, devises, &c. qui apprend à les expliquer dessiner et inventer. Ouvrage tres utile aux orateurs, Poëtes, Peintres, Sculpteurs, Graveurs,*

& generalement à toutes sortes de Curieux des beaux arts et des sciences. Amsterdam: Adrian Braakman (p. 152). Utrecht: Utrecht University Library, inv. no. VA: 169812. [engraving]

- *Poetry (Poesie).* Illustration from: Ripa, C. (1698). *Iconologie où la science des emblèmes, devises, &c. qui apprend à les expliquer dessiner et inventer. Ouvrage tres utile aux orateurs, Poëtes, Peintres, Sculpteurs, Graveurs, & generalement à toutes sortes de Curieux des beaux arts et des sciences.* Amsterdam: Adrian Braakman (p. 515). Utrecht: Utrecht University Library, inv. no. VA: 169812. [engraving]
- Title page of: Anders, H. (1698). *Symphoniae introductoriae trium, et quatuor instrumentorum.* Amsterdam: Willem de Coup. Leiden: Leiden University Library, inv. no. THYSIA 2220. [engraving]
- Illustration from: Cats, J. (1700). *Twee en tachtigh-jarigh leven van zijn geboorte af tot zijn doot toe, aen desselfs veertien kints-kinderen, dienende tot naricht van de selve*. Amsterdam: Daniel van den Dalen, François Halma, de wed. van A. van Someren & Utrecht: J. en Wilhem vande Water. The Netherlands: private collection. [engraving]
- Illustration from: Vincent, Y. (1712). *De Belachelyke Serenade*. Amsterdam: Jacob Lescailje. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, Central Library, inv. no. OK 63-8161. [engraving]
- *Music party in front of the council-hall of the (Provincial) States (Muziekfeest voor de Statenkamer)* (1714). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-83.456-12. [engraving]
- *'Dit is 't geselschap na de zwier; Men singt, men pronkt, men mackt goet Cier'* (1732). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1989-32. [engraving]
- Title page of: Croebelis, D. S. del (ca. 1750). *Het Nieuwe Hollands Speel-Huys, Waar in alle Soorten van Dans en Speel-stukjes na de hedendaagse Gusto, Voor de Viool, Fluit, Hoboïs en Cimbalo, die geapproprieert Zyn tot Ligte Solo's om tot Zwaarder op te Leiden, en die men met Bas of Clavecimbaal kan Speelen*. Amsterdam: A. Olofsen. Den Haag: Nederlands Muziek Instituut, inv. no. NMI 26 K 24. [engraving]
- Frontispiece for: Anonymous (1755). *De zang-godin aan 't Y; Inhoudende zo wel eenige Bekende als Onbekende in 't Muzycq-gebragte Hollandsche zang-liederen, Over verscheidene Voorwerpen.* Eerste deel. Amsterdam: A. Olofsen. Den Haag: Nederlands Muziek Instituut, inv. no. NMI 19611. [engraving]
- *Musicians (Muzikanten)* (1762). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1994-221. [etching]
- Title page of: Pool, Ph., Boutmy, J.-B. J. & Ruppe, C. F. (1763). *Musicq Voor het Orgel*. Leiden: Dirk Haak. [engraving]
- Title page of: Anonymous (1775-1780). *Extrait Des Airs Français. De tous les Opéras Nouveaux qui ont eté Representés. Appropriés Pour le Chant Avec la Basse Continue. Partie X*. Den Haag: B. Hummel et Fils. Bussum: Collection Ton Koopman, inv. no. TK01036. [engraving]
- Title page of: Stamitz, C. [1777]. *Six Quartetto Pour Deux Alto Viole, Violon et Violoncello, Obligés. Oeuvre Xme*. Den Haag: B. Hummel et Fils. Amsterdam: Openbare Bibliotheek Amsterdam (former Toonkunst Collection). [engraving]
- *A man playing cello with overhand grip, while the cello leans on a block of wood* ◊ (ca. 1780). Berlin: auction Bassenge, website last accessed: 21-5-2009. [drawing]
- Title page of: Foux, G. F. (1781). *Six Quatuors ou Divertissements à une Flute, Violon, Alto et Violoncelle, Oevre 1.* Den Haag: B. Hummel et Fils. Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Bibliotek, inv. no. Gieddes Samling IV,23, U114, mu 6212.2407. [engraving]
- Title page of: Colizzi, J. A. K. (ca. 1783). *Recueil des Quatuors, Trios, et Duos. Des Operas Français Qui ont eu le plus de Succes Arrangés Pour le Clavecin ou Pianoforte Avec l'Accompagnement d'un Violon.* La Haye & Amsterdam:

B. Hummel et Fils. Den Haag: Nederlands Muziek Instituut, inv. no. NMI 19353. [engraving]

- Title page of: Colizzi, J. A. K. (ca. 1785). *Sonatines Pour le Clavecin ou Piano Forte Avec l'Accompagnement d'un Violon.* La Haye & Amsterdam: B. Hummel et Fils. [engraving]
- *Two love couples and a group of musicians playing music at a table in a wooded landscape* ◊ (beginning 17th century). Berlin: auction Kon. Musea, 5-11-1907, no. 24 (via RKD). [drawing]
- *A cellist and a violinist and a couple dancing* ◊ (17th century). Besançon: Musée des Beaux Arts, inv. no. D 631. [drawing]
- *A violin, lute and bass violin lie on a table (?) with some men standing behind it* ◊ (17th century). Last known whereabouts: Luzern: auction, 27-7-1926, no. 172 (via RKD). [painting]
- *Ball room (Balzaal)* (17th century). Amsterdam: Collection de Boer (via RKD). [drawing]
- *Trouble comes to the alchemist* (17th century). http://www.chemheritage.org/discover/collections/collection-items/fine-art/trouble-comes-to-the-alchemist-fa-2000-001-269.aspx, last accessed: 19-10-2015. [painting]
- *Merry Company (Vrolijk gezelschap met muzikanten in een interieur)* (17th century, after ca. 1620). Stockholm: auction Bukowskis, 29-11/2-12-2005, no. 682. KWN 184747. [painting]
- *Cellist* (18th century). Den Haag: Gemeentemuseum. [drawing]
- *Family portrait with cello (Familieportret met cello)* (18th century). The Netherlands: private collection. Seen at the exhibition *Muziek!* at the Stedelijk Museum, Zwolle: 14-11-2015. [painting]
- *Merry company in an interior* (Vrolijk gezelschap in interieur)* (18th century). Amsterdam: auction Mak de Waay, 28-11-1972, no. 444. KWN 46276. [drawing]

Bega, Cornelis Pietersz. (ca. 1631-1664)

- *Interior with woman playing a cithern and a singing man (Interieur met cister spelende vrouw en zingende man)* (1662). Luxembourg: Villa Vauban. KWN 36815. [painting]
- *Two men singing* (1662). Dublin: National Gallery of Ireland, inv. no. NGI.28. [painting]
- *The Music Lesson (Musiklektionen)* (1663). Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, inv. no. NM 310. KWN 259301. [painting]
- *Peasants making music and dancing (Musicerende en dansende boeren)*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-24. KWN 25141. [painting]

Berge, Pieter van den (1689-1737)

- Title page of: Sweerts, C. (1695). *Mengelzangen en zinnebeelden*. Den Haag: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, inv. no. KW 8 C 32. [engraving]
- Title page of: Halmael, H. van (1711). *Het schynheilige weeuwtje*. Amsterdam: Hendrik van de Gaete. Den Haag: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, inv. no. KW 300 F 58 [6]. [engraving]
- Title page of: Halmael, H. van (1711). *Overdaad en Gierigheid* [also containing: *Opera, Of zingende Tragédie van Piramus en Thisbe*]. Amsterdam: Hendrik van de Gaete. [engraving]
- Title page of: Halmael, H. van (1712). *Opwekkelyke zedezangen, eenige verrykt met twee vioolen*. Amsterdam: Hendrik van de Gaete. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-22.553. [engraving]

Berghe, Christoffel van den (ca. 1590-after 1628)

- *Company playing music in a wodded [sic] park near a castle (Musicerend gezelschap in een park bij een kasteel)*. Amsterdam/London: art dealer Douwes Fine Art, 3-2017. KWN 262324 (attributed to van den Berghe). [painting]
- *Summer (De zomer)*. Brussels/Paris: Galerie De Jonckheere, 2012. KWN 234382. [painting]

Bijlert, Jan van (ca. 1597/1598-1671)

- *Group of figures playing musical instruments* (1629). England: private collection. [painting]
- *Merry company* (ca. 1630). Baltimore: Walters Art Museum, inv. no. 37.707 (workshop of Van Bijlert). [painting]
- *Two men and two women making music in an interior* ◊. Lillehammer: collection Sverre Myhrvold (after Van Bijlert) (via RKD). [painting]
- *Young man playing a cello*. Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, inv. no. B05.0502. KWN 185185. [painting]

Bisschop, Cornelis (1630-1674)

- *Women making music*. Last known whereabouts: Luzern: auction Fischer, 13-6-1961, no. 1954 (via RKD). [painting]

Bisschop, Jan de (1628-1671)

- *Minera and Apollo are tutoring a child in Arts and Sciences. The three Graces and Mercury are present (Minerva und Apollo unterweisen ein Kind in den Künsten und Wissenschaften, dabei die drei Grazien sowie Merkur).* Frankfurt am Main: Graphische Sammlung im Städelschen Kunstinstitut, inv. no. 3825. KWN 206588 (after Peter Paul Rubens). [drawing]

Bloot, Pieter de (ca. 1601/1602-1658)

- *Musicians and dancers at a village party* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Amsterdam: art dealer A. Sikkink, August 1985 (via RKD). [painting]

Bogaert, Hendrick (ca. 1626/1627-after 1675)

- *Interior of an inn, with drinking farmers, string players and a dancing man* (Herberginterieur met drinkende boeren, strijkers en dansende man)*. Wien: auction Dorotheum, 6-10-1999, no. 229. KWN 61870. [painting]

Bogerts, Cornelis (active 1771-1817)

- Illustration from: Wolff, B. & Deken, A. (1782). *Historie van Mejuffrouw Sara Burgerhart*. Den Haag: Isaac van Cleef. www.books.google.com. [engraving]

Bol, Ferdinand (1616-1680)

- Illustration from: Krul, J. H. (1681). *Pampiere Wereld Ofte Wereldsche Oeffeninge, waer in begrepen zijn meest alle de Rijmen en Werken van I. H. Krul*. Amsterdam: by de Weduwe van Jan Jacobsz. Schipper, p. 63 of the section *'In de Tooneel Speelen'*. Utrecht: Utrecht University Library, inv. no. RAR LMY KRUL 3/a. [engraving]

Borch II, Gerard ter (1617-1681)

- *A company of youngsters drinking, smoking and making music around a table (Gezelschap van drinkende, rokende en musicerende jongelui rond een tafel)* (1632). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-T-1887-A-793. [drawing]
- *Couple making music (Musicerend echtpaar)*. Zwolle: Stedelijk Museum, on long-term loan from the Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, Amersfoort. (attributed to Ter Borch). [painting]

- *Two women playing music in an interior (Twee musicerende vrouwen in een interieur)*. Berlin: Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, inv. no. 791 G. KWN 70273. [painting]

Braij, Jan de (ca. 1626/1628-1697)
- *Company making music (Musizierende Gesellschaft)* (1653). Köln: Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud, inv. no. Z 02799. KWN 66337. [drawing]

Brakel, Gillius (active 1699-1714)
- Title page of: Douwes, K. (1699). *Grondig Ondersoek van de Toonen Der Musijk*. Franeker: Adriaan Heins. Den Haag: Nederlands Muziek Instituut, inv. no. NMI 4 H 26. [engraving]

Brakenburgh, Richard (1650-1702)
- *Company partying (Feestend gezelschap)* (ca. 1680). Haarlem: Frans Hals Museum, inv. no. os 2010-20. [painting]
- *An interior with figures drinking and making music*. London: auction Sotheby's, 12-2-2008, no. 141. [painting]
- *Monks and nuns on the run (Moines et religieuses en goguette)*. Bernay: Musée des Beaux-Arts. [painting]

Bramer, Leonaert (1596-1674)
- *Study for a ceiling; Musical angels, circle of angels on clouds, playing various musical instruments, a group of putti at centre* (1650-1655). London: British Museum, inv. no. 1966,0723.2. KWN 55569. [drawing]
- *Musicians* (Muzikanten)* (1659). München: Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, inv. no. 1189. KWN 116919. [drawing]
- *Music making outside a palace* (ca. 1660). New York: Richard L. Feigen and Co. [painting]
- *Allegory of Vanity (Allegorie der Eitelkeit).* Wien: Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. 413. [painting]
- *Interior with people making music* (Interieur met musicerende figuren)*. Paris: Fondation Custodia, inv. no. I 991. KWN 66071. [drawing]
- *Lute player or Allegory on Vanity*. London: British Museum, inv. no. 1880,0214.1. [engraving]
- *Musical company 1*. London: Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. 9289 (attributed to Bramer). [drawing]
- *Musical company 2*. www.pubhist.com, last accessed: 16-8-2016. [drawing]
- *Musicians in a loggia (Muzikanten in een loggia)*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-T-1989-108(V). KWN 65318. [drawing]
- *Musicians in an interior (Muzikanten in een interieur)*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-T-1989-108(R). [drawing]
- *Music making women (Musicerend vrouwengezelschap)*. Berlin: Galerie Gerda Bassenge, 29/31-5-2014, no. 6196. KWN 248087. [drawing]

Buesem, Jan Jansz. (ca. 1599/1600-in/after 1649)
- *Music making and dancing peasants by torchlight (Musicerende en dansende boeren bij fakkellicht)*. Köln: auction Lempertz, 4-12-1999, no. 1220. KWN 3375. [painting]

Buys, Jacobus (1724-1801)
- *Music making company (Musicerend gezelschap)* (1782). Berlin: auction Bassenge, 27-5-2016, no. 6596. KWN 253983. [drawing]

Buytewech, Willem Pietersz. (ca. 1591/1592-1624)

- *Interior with dancing Couples and Musicians.* Paris: F. Lugt Collection, inv. no. I 4103. [drawing]
- *Party*. From an unknown source on the internet, present whereabouts unknown (follower of Buytewech). [painting]

Carré, Hendrik (1656-1721)

- *Company making music and singing in an interior* (Musicerend en zingend gezelschap in een interieur)* (1672-1680). London: auction Christie's, 14-12-2001, no. 38. KWN 108215. [painting]

Claesz., Pieter (1597-1661)

- *Still life with musical instruments (Nature morte aux instruments de musique)* (1623). Paris: Musée du Louvre, inv. no. RF 1939. KWN 544. [painting]
- *A still life (Stilleben)*. Köln: Wallraf-Richartz Museum, inv. no. WRM 1505. [painting]

Codde, Pieter (1599-1678)

- *Elegant company playing music and dancing in an interior (Elegant musicerend en dansend gezelschap in een interieur)* (1629). Wassenaar: private collection. KWN 189854. [painting]
- *A Musical Party* (163.). Hartford: The Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, inv. no. 1962.447. KWN 190099. [painting]
- *Company making music (Musizierende Gesellschaft)* (ca. 1630). Schwerin: Staatliches Museum, inv. no. G74. KWN 190110. [painting]
- *Elegant company conversing and singing in an interior (Elegant converserend en zingend gezelschap in een interieur)* (ca. 1630). New York: private collection. KWN 190459. [painting]
- *An elegant company* (1632). Chicago: Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, inv. no. 1933.1069. [painting]
- *Elegant company conversing and singing in an interior (Elegant converserend en zingend gezelschap in een interieur)* (1632). Den Haag: art dealer/collection H.A.J. Stenger, 1943. KWN 190093 (attributed to Codde). [painting]
- *Cheerful company (Fröhliche Gesellschaft)* (1633). Wien: Akademie der bildenden Künste, inv. no. GG-1096. KWN 189930. [painting]
- *Gallant company (Galant gezelschap)* (1633). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-4844. KWN 189827. [painting]
- *Merry company with masked dansers* (Vrolijk gezelschap met gemaskerde dansers)* (1636). Den Haag: Mauritshuis, inv. no. 392. KWN 17981. [painting]
- *The contest of Apollo and Pan in which Midas gives judgement (Het oordeel van Midas; Apollo en Pan (Ovidius, Metamorphosen II:146-193))* (1665). London: auction Sotheby's, 3-5-2017, no. 112. KWN 2281. [painting]
- *A company of cavaliers and women singing around a table. One gentleman is accompanying on a lute (Eine Gesellschaft von Kavalieren und Damen singend um einen Tisch versammelt. Ein Mann begleitet auf der Laute)*. Last known whereabouts: Köln: Heinrich Moll, 13-11-1917, no. 116 (via RKD). [painting]
- *A flute player and an elegant company in the background* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Collection Baron Hugo Hamilton (via RKD). [painting]
- *A man and a woman singing and playing the lute, and people conversing in the background* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Amsterdam: art dealer M. Wolff, before 1938 (via RKD). [painting]
- *An elegant company making music in an interior*. London: auction Sotheby's, 6-12-2012, no. 361. [painting]
- *An interior with three figures around a table*. www.artnet.com, last accessed: 22-8-2016 (follower of Codde). [painting]

- *Elegant company in an interior* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Düsseldorf: auction Carl Eugen Pongs, 23/25-3-1939, no. 17 (via RKD). [painting]
- *Elegant company in an interior with musical instruments 1 (Elegant gezelschap in een kamer met muziekinstrumenten)*. Zürich: Schuler Auktionen, 9/12-12-2002, no. 3893. KWN 53714. [painting]
- *Elegant company in an interior with musical instruments 2* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Basel: collection W. Zaugg, 1965 (via RKD). [painting]
- *Elegant company making music in an interior 1 (Musicerend gezelschap in een interieur)*. Köln: Van Ham Kunstauktionen, 21/23-11-2002, no. 1320. KWN 191638 (after Codde). [painting]
- *Elegant company making music in an interior 2 (Galant musicerend gezelschap in een interieur)*. New York: auction Sotheby's, 29-1-2005, no. 41. KWN 116278 (attributed to Codde). [painting]
- *Elegant company playing music and singing in an interior (Elegant musicerend en zingend gezelschap in een interieur)*. Amstelveen: private collection Mrs H.J. Konijn-Bunck. KWN 189949. [painting]
- *Interior with a company making music around a table, with a man sleeping (Interieur met een musicerend gezelschap rond een tafel, een man zit te slapen)*. New York: auction Sotheby's, 25-5-2000, no. 202. KWN 65302. [painting]
- *Interior with musical gathering*. Auction Koller, lot no. 6420, via www.the-saleroom.com, last accessed: 7-10-2015 (attributed to Codde). [painting]
- *Pallas Athene and the Muses*. Bremen: Kunsthalle, inv. no. 193319. [painting]
- *Portrait of a young man in a painter's studio with a viola da gamba [sic] and a lute (Portret van een jongeman in een schildersatelier met viola da gamba [sic] en luit)*. München: art dealer Heinemann, 1929. KWN 189432. [painting]
- *The concert.* Private collection, image via Bonhams London. [painting]
- *The music party*. Nottingham: Nottingham Castle Museum and Art Gallery, inv. no. NCM 1904-89 (attributed to Codde). [painting]
- *The Verdict of Midas.* Leipzig: Museum der bildenden Künste, inv. no. 999. KWN 2280. [painting]
- *Three little groups of people talking in an interior 1* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Köln: auction Lempertz, 21-4-1939, no. 662 (via RKD). [painting]
- *Three little groups of people talking in an interior 2* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Berlin: auction B. A. Mayer, 25-6-1934, no. 12 (via RKD). [painting]
- *Three men, smoking and making music (Drie mannen, rokend en musicerend)*. Amsterdam: auction Christie's, 14-5-2002, no. 39. KWN 107380. [painting]
- *Two men beside a display of musical instrument, documents, weapons, various pieces of art and a skull (Twee mannen bij een uitstalling van muziekinstrumenten, documenten, wapenrusting, kunstvoorwerpen en een schedel)*. Luzern: Galerie Fischer, 15/21-5-2002, no. 1012. KWN 55935 (attributed to Codde). [painting]

Collenius, Herman (active 1665-1720)

- *Vanitas: Lady World (Allegorie op de Vergankelijkheid van wereldse zaken)*. Den Haag: De Mesdag Collectie, inv. no. 59A. KWN 204173. [painting]

Collier, Edwaert (1642-1708)

- *Still Life with a Volume of Wither's 'Emblemes'* (1696). London: Tate Gallery, inv. no. N05916. [painting]
- *Vanitas still life with decorative tableware, jewelry boxes, regalia, a clock, a Nautilus-shell beaker, musical instruments, a book and other objects (Vanitasstilleven met siervaatwerk, juwelenkistje, regalia, horloge, een nautilusbeker en ander siervaatwerk, muziekinstrumenten, een boek en andere voorwerpen)*. Wien: auction Dorotheum, 20-10-2015, no. 88. KWN 111399. [painting]

Cort, Cornelis (1533-1578)

- *Hearing (Het gehoor (Auditus))* (1561). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1887-A-12002 (after Frans Floris I). [engraving]

Cuyp, Benjamin Gerritsz. (1612-1652)

- *Farmers dancing and some musicians in the background* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Berlin: auction L. Loewenthal, 25-11-1931, no. 139 (via RKD). [painting]

Cuyp, Jacob Gerritsz. (1594-1652)

- *Putto blowing bubbles standing beside a table with a vanitas still life (Bellen blazende putto staande naast een tafel met een vanitasstilleven)* (ca. 1629). New York: auction Sotheby's, 27-1-2011, no. 277. KWN 232772. [painting]

Dalen I, Cornelis van (active 1622-1665)

- Title page of: D'Arsy, I. L. (1643). *Le grand dictionaire François-Flamen. De nouveau Revû, Corrigé, & Augmenté de plusieurs mots & Sentences.* [...]. Rotterdam: Pierre de Waesberghe. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1886-A-10396. [engraving]
- Title page of: Hobius, J. (1643) *T' [sic] Lof der vrouwen*, Amsterdam: Cornelis Janssen. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1886-A-10382. [engraving]
- *The story of the Prodigal Son (Verhaal van de verloren zoon)*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1893-A-18138. [engraving]

Danckerts, Cornelis (1597-1662)

- *The ball (Het bal)* (ca. 1634). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1903-A-23239. [etching]

Delen, Dirck van (1604/1605-1671)

- *An interior scene with elegant figures playing music (Elegant gezelschap in een interieur)* (1632). London: auction Sotheby's, 30-4-2014, no. 788. KWN 275534. [painting]
- *Company making music in a Renaissance palace (Musizierende Gesellschaft in einem Renaissance Palast).* Salzburg: Residenzgalerie, inv. no. 432. [painting]

Delff, Cornelis Jacobsz. (1570/1571-1643)

- *Kitchen interior with an amourous couple; in the background the Prodigal Son amidst the prostitutes (Keukeninterieur met amoureus paar. Op de achtergrond de Verloren Zoon bij de courtisanes)*. Amsterdam: auction Sotheby's, 1-12-2009, no. 21. KWN 20925. [painting]

Donck, Gerrit (active 1627-1640)

- *Vanitas* (ca. 1635). Béjar: Museo Principal, inv. no. 44. [painting]

Doncker, Herman (active 1633-1640)

- *Elegant dancing company in an interior (Elegant dansend gezelschap in een interieur)* (ca. 1634). Paris: Marcus Gallery. KWN 192218. [painting]

Droochsloot, Cornelis (after 1585-1666)

- *Interior with company making music (Interieur met musicerend gezelschap)* (1645). Utrecht: Centraal Museum, inv. no. 15950. [painting]

Duck, Jacob (ca. 1600-1667)

- *Company making music in an interior* (Musicerend gezelschap in een interieur)*. London: auction Christie's, 3-12-1997, no. 134. KWN 44491. [painting]

- *Elegant company in an interior with a young woman playing the lute and an officer smoking at the open window* (Elegant gezelschap in een interieur met een jonge vrouw die de luit bespeelt en een officier die zit te roken bij een open venster)*. New York: auction Sotheby's, 5-6-2008, no. 41. KWN 71910. [painting]
- *Interior with three men and a woman 1 (Interiör med tre män och en kvinna)*. Stockholm: Hallwylska Museet, inv. no. XXXII:B.151. KWN 194052 (after Duck). [painting]
- *Interior with three men and a woman 2* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Amsterdam: auction Frederik Muller, 26-5-1914, no. 305 (via RKD). [painting]
- *Two men and two women making music in an interior* ◊. Present whereabouts unkown (via RKD). [painting]

Dusart, Cornelis (1660-1704)
- *Figures making love and music in an inn* (Musicerende en minnekozende figuren in een herberg)* (1690). Amsterdam: auction Christie's, 5-11-2003, no. 110. KWN 49318. [drawing]
- *Interior with peasants merry-making; a large room with numerous figures including musicians playing violin and cello, a woman singing, a man on a ladder leading to a loft, other figures smoking pipes and drinking* (1691). London: British Museum, inv. no. 1876,1209.623. [drawing]
- *Musicians in an inn* ◊ (1691). Paris: Collection Frits Lugt. [drawing]
- *Country fair (Bauernkirmes)*. Wien: Albertina, inv. no. 15169. [drawing]

Duyster, Willem Cornelisz. (1599-1635)
- *Wedding feast, formerly called the Wedding of Adriaen Ploos van Amstel (..-1639) and Agnes van Bijlert (Bruiloftsfeest, vanouds bekend als 'De bruiloft van Adriaen Ploos van Amstel en Agnes van Bijlert).* Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-C-514. KWN 10241. [painting]

Eijse, P. van (active 1661-1669)
- *A young man slumbering with a vanitas still life (Memento Mori)* (Een jonge man sluimert bij een vanitasstilleven (Memento Mori))* (1662). Wien: auction Dorotheum, 3-10-2001, no. 152. KWN 50005. [painting]

Everdingen, Caesar van (ca. 1616/1617-1678)
- *Four Muses and Pegasus (Vier Muzen en Pegasus)*. Den Haag: Paleis Huis ten Bosch. KWN 246065. [painting]

Fargue, Paulus Constantijn la (1728/1729-1782)
- *Cartouche with a putto playing violin and caryatids (Cartouche met vioolspelende putto en kariatiden)*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1908-1. [engraving]

Fokke, Simon (1712-1784)
- *Apollo surrounded by the Muses (Apollo omringd door de Muzen)*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1905-5763X. [engraving]

Fonteyn, Adriaen Lucasz. (active 1640-1661)
- *Elegant company playing music in an interior (Elegant musicerend gezelschap in een interieur)* (ca. 1640). Amsterdam/Laren: art dealer D. Komter, 1918. KWN 195518. [painting]
- *Elegant company drinking and in conversation in an interior (Elegant drinkend gezelschap in conversatie in een interieur)* (1641). München: auction Hampel, 25/26-3-2015, no. 678. KWN 202581. [painting]

Gaesbeeck, Adriaen van (1621-1650)

- *An artist in his studio* (ca. 1645). Milwaukee: Milwaukee Art Museum, inv. no. M1989.6 (attributed to Gaesbeeck). [painting]

Gijsbrechts, Franciscus (active 1672-1677)

- *Still life with musical instruments, decorative tableware and engravings on a silk tablecloth (Stilleven met muziekinstrumenten, siervaatwerk en gravures op een zijden tafelkleed)*. London: auction Christie's, 29-10-1999, no. 40. KWN 27095. [painting]

Gole, Jacob (1665-1724)

- *A rich man and Death (Rijke man en de Dood).* Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1982-300. [engraving]

Goltzius, Hendrick (1558-1617)

- *The mystic marriage of Saint Catherine* (ca. 1600-1602). Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. KdZ 371. [drawing]

Gouwen, Gilliam van der (active 1669-1713)

- Illustration from: Lairesse, G. de (1712). *Groot Schilderboek*. [engraving]

Goyen, Jan Josefsz. van (1596-1656)

- *A village festival with musicians playing outside a tent* (1653). Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 85.GG.296. [drawing]
- *A village festival 1* ◊ (1650). (via RKD). [drawing]
- *A village festival 2* ◊ (1651). (via RKD). [drawing]
- *A village festival 3* ◊ (1653). Last known whereabouts: Paris: auction Drouot, 17-3-1943, no. 5 (via RKD). [drawing]
- *A village festival 4* ◊ (1656). (via RKD). [drawing]
- *A village festival 5* ◊ (1656). Last known whereabouts: Oldenzaal: collection H. E. ten Cate (via RKD). [drawing]

Grebber, Pieter Fransz. de (ca. 1600-1652/1653)

- *Musicians (Músicos)* (ca. 1620-1623). Bilbao: Museo de Bellas Artes, inv. no. 69/114. [painting]
- *Musical trio (Muzikaal trio)* (1623). http://www.schilderijen.nu/?n=Pieter-de-Grebber-Muzikaal-trio&i=11019, last accessed: 21-10-2015. [painting]

Haarlem, Cornelis Cornelisz. van (1562-1638)

- *The Golden Age (Bacchanal) or the Garden of Love (Az Aranykor (Bacchanália))* (1614). Budapest: Szépmüvészeti Múzeum, inv. no. 2062. KWN 41868. [painting]
- *The depravity of mankind before the flood (Genesis 6:5-8; Matt. 24:37-39) (De losbandige mensheid voor de zondvloed (?) (Genesis 6:5-8; Mattheus 24:37-39)* (1615). London: Arcade Gallery, 1965. KWN 32037. [painting]
- *The wedding of Peleus and Thetis with in the background the judgement of Paris (Het huwelijk van Peleus en Thetis, met op de achtergrond het oordeel van Paris)* (1624). Brussel: art dealer Jan De Maere, 1995. KWN 68253. [painting]
- *The Prodigal Son (Le fils prodigue)*. www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 11-6-2016. [painting]

Halen, Arnoud van (1673-1732)

- *Young man with musical instruments (Jonge man met muziekinstrumenten)*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1906-3345. [engraving]

Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)

- *Company making music on Shrove Tuesday* (Musicerend gezelschap op Vastenavond)* (1615-1625). Cape Town: Michaelis Collection, inv. no. 14/24. KWN 7540. [painting]
- *Home Concert (Домашний концерт)* (1623). St Petersburg: Hermitage, inv. no. ET-2814. KWN 43005. [painting]
- *Company making music in an interior* (Interieur met musicerend gezelschap)* (16[25]). London: art dealer Johnny van Haeften, 2004. KWN 14054. [painting]
- *Elegant figures making music on a terrace (Elegante musikalische Gesellschaft auf einer Terrasse)* (1625). http://www.kunstkopie.nl/a/hals-dirck/elegante-musikalische-ges.html, last accessed: 21-10-2015. [painting]
- *Interior with a cheerful company at a table (Interieur mit fröhlicher Tischgesellschaft)* (1627). Berlin: Gemäldegalerie der Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. no. 816B. KWN 196087. [painting]
- *Elegant company conversing in a palatial loggia (Elegant converserend gezelschap in een paleisachtige loggia)* (1628). Wien: Akademie der bildenden Künste, inv. no. 684. KWN 195564. [painting]
- *Elegant company in a palatial room* (Elegant gezelschap in een paleisachtige ruimte)* (1628). London: art dealer Richard Green, 1998. KWN 45059. [painting]
- *Cheerful company with flute player (Fröhliche Gesellschaft mit Flötenspieler)* (ca. 1630). Leipzig: Museum der bildenden Künste, inv. no. 1015. KWN 195474. [painting]
- *Elegant company playing music and drinking in an interior (Elegant musicerend en drinkend gezelschap in een interieur)* (ca. 1630). London: art dealer Leonard Koetser, 1958. KWN 195476. [painting]
- *Elegant company playing music in an interior 1 (Elegant musicerend gezelschap in een interieur)* (ca. 1630). Los Angeles: USC Fischer Museum of Art. KWN 195495. [painting]
- *Elegant company playing music in an interior 2 (Elegant musicerend gezelschap in een interieur)* (ca. 1630). Solingen: art dealer Kurt J. Müllenmeister, 1965. KWN 195532. [painting]
- *Elegant company playing music in an interior 3 (Elegant musicerend gezelschap in een interieur)* (ca. 1630). London: art dealer Johnny van Haeften, 2009-2012. KWN 195545 (attributed to Hals). [painting]
- *Garden party with a company dancing and making music (Buitenpartij met musicerend en dansend gezelschap)* (ca. 1630). Haarlem: Frans Hals Museum, inv. no. os I-637. [painting]
- *The solo (Das Solo)* (ca. 1630). Wien: Akademie der bildenden Künste, inv. no. GG-734. KWN 194148. [painting]
- *Music company (Muziekgezelschap)* (1635). Aachen: Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, inv. no. GK 180. KWN 282004. [painting]
- *Elegant company in an interior with three musicians (Elegant gezelschap met drie muzikanten in een interieur)* (ca. 1635). Zürich: auction Bukowskis, 8-11-1984, no. 67. KWN 195591 (attributed to Hals). [painting]
- *Cellist/The solo (Cellospieler/Das Solo)* (after 1635). Köln: Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, inv. no. WRM 2983. KWN 194149 (after Hals). [painting]
- *Elegant company playing music in an interior (Elegant musicerend gezelschap in een interieur)* (1636?). New York: art dealer Victor D. Spark, 1960. KWN 195550. [painting]
- *Elegant company in an interior with a couple dancing and three musicians (Elegant gezelschap met dansend paar en drie muzikanten in een interieur)* (1639). London: auction Christie's, 3/4-7-2012, no. 164. KWN 195575. [painting]
- *Elegant company drinking in an interior (Elegant drinkend gezelschap in een interieur)* (1640). Moscow: The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts. 195507. [painting]

- *Elegant company smoking, drinking and playing backgammon in an interior (Elegant rokend, drinkend en triktrakspelend gezelschap in een interieur)* (1640-1645). Wien: auction Dorotheum, 11-12-2008, no. 382. KWN 195889. [painting]
- *Merry company (Vrolijk gezelschap)* (1630-1650). Braunschweig: Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, inv. no. 1054. KWN 224461 (surroundings Hals). [painting]
- *Elegant company in an interior with musicians (Elegant gezelschap in een interieur met muzikanten)* (ca. 1650). New York: auction Christie's, 18-5-1995, no. 130. KWN 195595. [painting]
- *An elegant company and several musical instruments* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Berlin: auction E. von Goldschmidt-Rothschild, 23-3-1931, no. 5 (via RKD). [painting]
- *An elegant company in an interior* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Amsterdam: art dealer Goudstikker (via RKD). [painting]
- *An oval painting with an elegant company and a lute player* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Den Haag: art gallery Galerie Internationale, 1929 (via RKD). [painting]
- *Company making music (Musizierende Gesellschaft)*. Köln: auction Lempertz, 22-11-2008, no. 1279 (surroundings Hals). [painting]
- *Company making music in an interior and playing cards lying on the floor* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Den Haag: art gallery Galerie Internationale, ca.1930 (via RKD). [painting]
- *Elegant company making music in an interior*. www.wikigallery.com, last accessed: 15-8-2016. [painting]
- *Merry company in a room*. London: auction Sotheby's, 9-12-1992, no. 68. [painting]
- *Portrait of a family (Familienbild)*. www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 4-6-2016. [painting]

Hecken, Abraham van den (1615-1655)

- *A woman reading with maid combing her hair (Lezende vrouw laat haar haar opmaken)* (164[1]). London: auction Bonhams, 17-4-2002, no. 207. KWN 105032. [painting]

Heerschop, Hendrick (1626/1627-1690)

- *Allegory of Truth and Vanity (Allegorie op vergankelijkheid en waarheid)* (167.). Stockholm: art dealer Bertil Rapp, 1948.KWN 2390. [painting]
- *The architectural painter (Der Architekturmaler)* (1672). Schwerin: Staatliches Museum, inv. no. G 86. KWN 239215. [painting]

Hogers, Jacob (1614-1656)

- *David's triumph: the women of Israel come out to welcome David, singing, dancing, and playing tambourines and lyres; David holding the head of Goliath (Samuel 17: 53-54 en [sic] 18:6) (De triomf van David: de vrouwen van Israël halen hem in met zang, dans en muziek (Samuel 17: 53-54 en 18:6))* (1654). Current whereabouts unknown. KWN 234746. [painting]

Holsteyn, Cornelis (1618-1658)

- *Open air theater in a village* ◊. Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, inv. no. C. Holsteyn 1. [drawing]

Honthorst, Gerard van (1592-1656)

- *The concert 1 (Het concert)* (ca. 1626-1627). Roma: Galleria Borghese, inv. no. 31. KWN 240651. [painting]
- *The concert 2* (1628). Last known whereabouts: Brussel: auction, 31-3–2-4-1987, no. 817 (via RKD). [painting]

- *Saint Francis of Assisi and Saint Bonaventure attend an apparition of the Virgin to Princess Colonna (Saint François d'Assise et saint Bonaventure assistent à une apparition de la Vierge à la princesse Colonna)*. www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed 10-6-2017. [painting]
- *Vision of Saint Paul (Vision de Saint Paul)*. www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed 10-6-2017. [painting]

Hooch, Pieter de (1629-after1684)
- *A Musical Conversation* (1674). Honolulu: Honolulu Museum of Art, inv. no. 3798.1. KWN 258027. [painting]
- *A Musical Party*. London: Wellington Museum, Apsley House, inv. no. WM1487–1948. KWN 114136. [painting]
- *A Music Party (Musicerende selskab)*. Copenhagen: Statens Museum for Kunst, inv. no. KMSsp613. KWN 258026. [painting]
- *Interior of the Amsterdam city hall (Interieur van het Stadhuis te Amsterdam)*. Leipzig: Museum der bildenden Künste, inv. no. 1031. [painting]
- *Musical company in an interior 1 (Musicerend gezelschap in een interieur)*. England: private collection, 1980. KWN 258025. [painting]
- *Musical company in an interior 2* ◊. Last known whereabouts: London: auction Christie's, 21-11-1952, no. 22 (via RKD). [painting]
- *Standing woman with a woman playing the cello (fragment) (Staande vrouw en een vrouw die cello speelt (fragment)).* Germany: private collection, 1980. KWN 248192. [painting]

Hooghe, Romeyn de (1645-1708)
- Frontispiece of: Hacquart, C. (1674). *Cantiones sacrae*. London: British Library, inv. no. Music Collections F. 17. [engraving]
- *Cartoon on Jacobus II and Louis XIV as rope dancers (Spotprent op Jacobus II en Lodewijk XIV als koorddansers)* (1689). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-55.187. [engraving]
- *Koning-Spel Courant op 't Jaer 1689* (1689). London: British Museum, inv. no. 1875,0710.806. [etching]
- Title page of: Blasius, J. L. (1713). *De Malle Wedding of gierige Geeraard, Gierige Geeraards Voor en Naaspél* (design by de Hooghe). [engraving]

Horstok, Johannes Petrus van (1745-1825)
- *Allegory of the Liberal Arts (Allegorie op de zeven Vrije Kunsten)* (1792). Amsterdam: auction Sotheby's, 14-11-2006, no. 127. KWN 119146. [painting]

Jonge, Jan de (??-??)
- *Company making music at night (Musicerend gezelschap, bij nacht).* Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1935-1080. [etching]

Jongh, Jan de (17th century)
- *Street musicians by night*. Leiden: Prentenkabinet der Rijksuniversiteit, inv. no. PK-T-AW 486. [drawing]

Kittensteyn, Cornelis van (1597-1652)
- *Company at a table (Gezelschap aan tafel)* (1625-1650). Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, inv. no. BdH 24473 (PK). [engraving]
- *Man and woman making music (Muziekmakende man en vrouw)* (1627). Darmstadt: Hessisches Landesmuseum, inv. no. 748. KWN 255051. [drawing]

Kyckenburgh, Dirck van (1630-1662)
- *A lace-maker and a cello in the foreground* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Den Haag: art dealer S. Nijstad, 1954 (via RKD). [painting]

- *Man and woman in an interior* ◊. Last known whereabouts: auction Borg de Balzan, 2-4-1894, no. 130 (via RKD). [painting]

Koedijck, Isaac (1616/1618-1668)
- *Reveller (Гуляка)* (1650). St Petersburg: Hermitage, inv. no. ET-1862. KWN 38688. [painting]

Koning, Cornelis (active 1608-1671)
- *Elegant company making a party in an interior (Feestend elegant gezelschap in interieur)* (1620-1625). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-BI-6189. [engraving]

Kuipers, Cornelis (1739-1802)
- *Allegory on music (Allegorie op de muziek)* (1770). Wien: auction Dorotheum, 10-10-1991, no. 2. KWN 276110. [drawing]

Lairesse, Gerard de (1641-1711)
- *Banquet held by Willem III on March 1, 1672, in honour of his appointment to Captain General (Feestmaal door Willem III op 1 maart 1672 gegeven ter ere van zijn benoeming tot kapitein-generaal)* (1672). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1878-A-1198. [engraving]
- *Cadmus kills the dragon (Cadmus doodt de draak)* (1682). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-46.718. [engraving]
- *Elegant couple making music in an interior*. www.artnet.com, last accessed: 18-8-2017 (circle of de Lairesse). [painting]

Lairesse, Johannes de (1673-1716)
- Title page of: Anders, H. (1696). *Trioos, Allemande, Courante, Sarbande, Gighe &c*. University Library of Leiden University, shelfmark: Thysia 2148 [engraving]

Langendijk, Dirk (1748-1805)
- *The hearing (Het gehoor)* (1799). Amsterdam: Amsterdam Museum, inv. no. A 10656. [drawing]

Laquy, Willem Joseph (1738-1798)
- *Couple making music (Musicerend paar)*. Amsterdam: art dealer Jacques Fijnaut, 1986. KWN 2109. [painting]

Lastman, Pieter (1583-1633)
- *Minerva* (ca. 1616). Present whereabouts unknown (via www.pubhist.com, last accessed: 20-8-2016) (attributed to Lastman). [painting]

Leyster, Judith (1609-1660)
- *Man playing the cello 1 (Cello spelende man)*. New York: auction Sotheby's, 26-1-2012, no. 186. KWN 251683 (workshop of Leyster). [painting]
- *Man playing the cello 2* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Den Haag: art dealer Gans (via RKD) (without date). [painting]

Lippoldt, Franz (1688-1768)
- *Portrait of Philip Damiaan Ludovicus Ignatius Victorius Graaf van Hoensbroek* (1762). Hoensbroek: Kasteel Hoensbroek. [painting]

Lundens, Gerrit (1622-1686)
- *Bridal couple dancing in an interior* (Dansend huwelijkspaar in een interieur)* (1646). London/München: art dealer Konrad O. Bernheimer, 2013. KWN 46852. [painting]

- *People dancing in a tavern* (1670). www.jeanmoust.com, last accessed: 4-2-2018. [painting]
- *Bridal couple dancing in an inn, with musicians and spectators (Dansend bruidspaar in een herberginterieur met muzikanten en toeschouwers)*. New York: auction Christie's, 4-10-2007, no. 126. KWN 227842. [painting]

Luttichuys, Simon (1610-1661)
- *A still life with fruits, flowers and musical instruments* ◊. Last known whereabouts: London: J. Leger & Son, 1935 (via RKD). [painting]

Luyken, Jan (1649-1712) & Casper (1672-1708)
- *The instrument maker 1 (De instrumentmaaker)* (1694). Amsterdam: Amsterdam Museum, inv. no. TA 13420. [drawing]
- *The instrument maker 2 (De instrumentmaaker)* (1694). Amsterdam: Amsterdam Museum, inv. no. TA 13419. [drawing]
- *The instrument maker 3 (De instrumentmaaker)* (1694). Amsterdam: Amsterdam Museum, inv. no. A 15781. [engraving]
- *The instrument maker 4 (De instrumentmaaker)* (1694). Amsterdam: Amsterdam Museum, inv. no. A 46242. [engraving]
- *The musician 1 (De musikant)* (1694). Amsterdam: Amsterdam Museum, inv. no. TA 13453. [drawing]
- *The musician 2 (De musikant)* (1694). Amsterdam: Amsterdam Museum, inv. no. A 15813. [engraving]

Marienhof, Jan Aertsz. (active 1600-1649)
- *A company making music* ◊. Present whereabouts unknown: private collection (via RKD). [painting]
- *A family portrait* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Dieren: art dealer D. Katz, 1938 (via RKD). [painting]

Marot I, Daniel (1661/1664-1752)
- *Ball in the 'Oranjezaal' in Huis ten Bosch on the occasion of the birthday of the Prince of Orange (Bal in het Huis ten Bosch ter ere van de verjaardag van de prins van Oranje)* (1686). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-AO-12-157. [engraving]

Matham, Adriaen (ca. 1599-1660)
- *Interior with a wedding banquet (Interieur met een huwelijksbanket)* (1620-1660). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1937-2255. [engraving]

Matham, Jacob (1571-1631)
- *Amorous Couple and Banquet of the Gods* (ca. 1600-1605). www.pubhist.com, last accessed: 20-8-2016. [engraving and pen]

Matham, Theodor (1605/1606-1676)
- *Vanitas still life with musical instruments (Vanitasstilleven met muziekinstrumenten)* (1622). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1904-30. [engraving]

Merck, Jacob Fransz. van der (ca. 1610-1664)
- *Elegant company playing music and dancing in an interior (Elegant musicerend en dansend gezelschap in een interieur)* (ca. 1630). Amsterdam: private collection. KWN 199490. [painting]

Metsu, Gabriel (1629-1667)
- *The viol [sic] player* (ca. 1700). London: auction Phillips, 21-4-1998, no. 95 (after Metsu) (via RKD). [painting]

- *The Cello Player*. London: The Royal Collection, Buckingham Palace, inv. no. RCIN 405534. KWN 247085. [painting]
- *Woman at Her Toilette.* Pasadena: Norton Simon Museum, inv. no. F.1972.15.1.P. KWN 246724. [painting]

Moeyaert, Claes (1591-1655)

- *The assumption of the Virgin Mary (De tenhemelopneming van Maria)* (1649). Amsterdam: Begijnhofkapel. KWN 47626. [painting]

Molenaer, Jan Miense (1609/1610-1668)

- *Allegory of Marital Fidelity* (1633). Richmond: Virginia Museum of fine arts, inv. no. 49.11.19. KWN 199826. [painting]
- *Allegory of Vanity* (1633). Toledo: Toledo Museum of Art, inv. no. 1975.21. KWN 2623. [painting]
- *Elegant couple playing music in an interior (Elegant musicerend paar in een interieur)* (ca. 1635). Berlin/The Hague/Amsterdam/New York: Gallery Van Diemen & Co. KWN 199430. [painting]
- *Probable self portrait with family (Waarschijnlijk zelfportret met familieleden)* (ca. 1635). Haarlem: Frans Halsmuseum, inv. no. OS 75-332. KWN 2512. [painting]
- *Elegant company playing music in an interior (Elegant musicerend gezelschap in een interieur)* (1636). Present whereabouts unknown: private collection. KWN 199783. [painting]
- *The wedding of Willem van Loon and Margaretha Bas (De bruiloft van Willem van Loon en Margaretha Bas)* (1637). Amsterdam: Museum van Loon, inv. no. 158. KWN 12290. [painting]
- *Elegant company playing music and drinking in an interior (Elegant musicerend en drinkend gezelschap in een interieur)* (ca. 1640). Cambridge: The Fitzwilliam Museum. KWN 199817. [painting]
- *Cabaret concert (Concert de cabaret)* (ca. 1645-1650). Genève: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, inv. no. CR 0108. [painting]
- *A company drinking and making music in an interior* ◊. Braunschweig: Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, inv. no. 1054. [painting]
- *A merry company dancing and making music in an interior* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Wien: collection Zerner, 1938 (via RKD). [painting]
- *A merry company making music in an interior* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Luzern: auction Rübner, 26-8-1938, no. 1684 (via RKD). [painting]
- *A Young Man and Woman making Music.* London: National Gallery, inv. no. NG1293. KWN 199218. [painting]
- *Elegant company playing music and peasants drinking in an interior (Elegant musicerend paar met drinkende boeren in een herberg)*. London: auction Christie's, 5-7-2013, no. 76. KWN 266255. [painting]
- *Painter in his workshop (Schilder in zijn atelier)*. Den Haag: Museum Bredius, inv. no. 191-1946. KWN 23015. [painting]
- *Portrait historié of an unknown man with vanitas symbols (Portrait historié van een jonge man met vanitassymbolen)*. Sweden: private collection. KWN 199479 [painting]
- *The concert (Das Konzert).* www.pinterest.com, last accessed: 18-8-2017. [painting]
- *Vanity (Vanité)*. www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 11-6-2016. [painting]

Moor I, Carel de (1627-1689)

- *An elegant company making music in an interior* ◊ (1686). Last known whereabouts: London: auction Christie's, 29-7-1937, no. 139 (via RKD). [painting]

Muller, Jan Harmensz. (1571-1628)

- *The baptism of Christ in the river Jordan* (De doop van Christus in de Jordaan)* (1590). München: Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, inv. no. 1013. KWN 106738. [drawing]
- *Elegant company playing music and dancing in an interior (Elegant musicerend en dansend gezelschap in een interieur)*. Amsterdam: Stichting P. en N. de Boer. KWN 230295. [drawing]

Naiveu, Matthijs (1647-1726)

- *Epiphany (Bohnenkönigsfest)* (1706). Köln-Wahn: Schloβ Wahn, inv. no. 98/343. [painting]
- *Clowns in an open air play* (Potsenmakers in een toneelopvoering in de open lucht)* (1721). Zürich: auction Koller, 16-3-2005, no. 3054. KWN 67900. [painting]
- *Spectators watching a dancing clown and musicians in an open air play* ◊. http://www.dbnl.org/atlas/topobeeld.php?id=delft001, last accessed: 13-6-2013 (after Naiveu). [painting]

Neter, Laurence (1600/1604-1652)

- *Elegant company courting, dancing and playing music in an interior (Elegant hofmakend, dansend en musicerend gezelschap in een interieur)* (ca. 1635). Kiev: private collection Chanenko. KWN 199900. [painting]

Netscher, Caspar (1635/1639-1684)

- *A man playing the cello and his wife showing the tempo with a song book in her hand* ◊ (1660). Last known whereabouts: Stockholm: collection Dr. Perman, 1951 (via RKD). [painting]

Nieulandt I, Adriaen van (1586/1587-1658) & **Persijn**, Reinier van (1613/1615-1668)

- Title page of: Ripa, C. (1644). *Iconologia, of Uytbeeldinghe des Verstants.* Amsterdam: Dirck Pietersz. Pers. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1884-A-7928. [engraving]

Nijmegen, Dionys van (1705-1798)

- *Design for a wall painting with youngsters making music (Ontwerp voor een kamerbeschildering met musicerende jongelui)*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-T-1968-172. [drawing]
- *Open air music party*. Newbury: auction Dreweatts and Bloomsbury, 11-5-2016. [drawing]
- *Three musicians (Trois musiciens)*. Last known whereabouts: Paris: Artcurial, 26-3-2014. [drawing]

Nijmegen, Elias van (1667-1755)

- *Medallion with a portrait of a woman, surrounded by musical instruments and flowers* (Medaillon met portret van een vrouw, omgeven door muziekinstrumenten en bloemen)* (1725-1750) Part of a door. Rotterdam: Het Schielandshuis, inv. no. 11046. KWN 107283 (workshop of Van Nijmegen). [painting]

Noorde, Cornelis van (1731-1795)

- *Allegory on the 'coming of age' of Willem V (Allegorie op de meerderjarigheid van Willem V)* (1766). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1883-A-6932. [etching]

Ostade, Adriaen van (1610-1685)

- *Rural Musicians (Деревенские музыканты)* (1655). St Petersburg: Hermitage, inv. no. ET-904. KWN 39946. [painting]
- *Two men and a woman making music in a farmhouse interior* ◊ (1661). Last known whereabouts: Vancouver: collection J. F. van Santen, 1985 (via RKD). [painting]

Palamedesz., Anthonie (1601-1673)

- *Company in conversation and drinking in an interior (Converserend en drinkend gezelschap in een interieur)* (ca. 1630). Dunkerque: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dunkerque, inv. no. P.87. KWN 206965. [painting]
- *Elegant company eating, drinking and playing music in an interior (Elegant etend, drinkend en musicerend gezelschap in een interieur)* (ca. 1630). Paris: auction, 14-5-1908, no. 67. KWN 206970 (attributed to Palamedesz.). [painting]
- *Elegant company playing music and in conversation in an interior (Elegant musicerend en converserend gezelschap in een interieur)* (ca. 1630). London: Alan Jacobs Gallery Ltd., 1972. KWN 206968. [painting]
- *Group portrait of an unknown family in an interior (Groepsportret van een onbekende familie in een interieur)* (ca. 1630). London: auction Sotheby's, 8/9-7-2015, no. 117. KWN 62284. [painting]
- *A musical company (Soittoa ja seurustelua)* (1632). Helsinki: Sinebrychoff Art Museum, inv. no. S 121. KWN 206940. [painting]
- *Company making music and dining (Musicerend en dinerend gezelschap)* (1632). Den Haag: Mauritshuis, inv. no. 615. KWN 206632. [painting]
- *Elegant company seated around a table in a park (Elegant gezelschap rondom een tafel in een park)* (1632). Zürich: auction Koller, 19-3-2018, no. 3042. KWN 113428. [painting]
- *A noble company (Geselschaftsszene)* (1634). Wien: Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. 6047. [painting]
- *Elegant company in conversation in an interior (Elegant converserend gezelschap in een interieur)* (ca. 1635). Milano: Castello Sforzesco, inv. no. 126. KWN 206230. [painting]
- *Concert of amateurs (Concert d'amateurs)* (1640-1649). Genève: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève, inv. no. CR 0119. KWN 206586. [painting]
- *Merry company* (1648). Mainz: Landesmuseum. [painting]
- *An oval painting with an elegant company conversing and making music in an interior* ◊ (1649). Last known whereabouts: München: auction Helbing, 1-12-1932, no. 274 (via RKD). [painting]
- *A bourgeois interior with a gypsy telling a lady's fortune*. Private collection, Christie's images. [painting]
- *An elegant company at a concert*. Last known whereabouts: New York: auction Sotheby's, 29-1-2010 (attributed to Palamedesz.). [painting]
- *An elegant company conversing and making music in an interior* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Amsterdam: auction E. Moll sr., 15/16-12-1908, no. 110 (via RKD). [painting]
- *An elegant company drinking, conversing and making music in an interior* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Budapest: collection Count M. Karolyi (via RKD). [painting]
- *An elegant company making merry in an interior*. London: auction Sotheby's, 4/5-7-2012, no. 131. KWN 236014. [painting]
- *An oval painting with an elegant company conversing and making music in an interior* ◊. Present whereabouts unknown (via RKD) (after/copy Palamedesz.). [painting]
- *Elegant company in an interior with a gentleman playing the cello (Elegant gezelschap in een interieur)*. Delft: Museum Prinsenhof, inv. no. PDS 283. KWN 116935. [painting]

- *Elegant company in conversation and playing music in an interior (Elegant musicerend en converserend gezelschap in een interieur)*. London: auction Sotheby's Parke Bernet, 15-12-1982, no. 143. KWN 207013 (follower of Palamedesz.). [painting]
- *Elegant company making music in an interior 1*. Last known whereabouts: London: auction Christie's, 13-4-2011, no. 101. [painting]
- *Elegant company making music in an interior 2*. www.daatselaar.com, last accessed 18-9-2016. [painting]
- *Elegant company playing music and drinking in an interior (Elegant musicerend en drinkend gezelschap in een interieur).* Oldenburg: Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte. KWN 195514 (follower of Palamedesz.). [painting]
- *Elegant company playing music, drinking and in conversation in an interior (Elegant musicerend, drinkend en converserend gezelschap in een interieur)*. Amsterdam: auction G.H.G. Braams, 24/26-9-1918, no. 170. KWN 206236. [painting]
- *Elegant company playing music in an interior 1 (Musicerend gezelschap in [een] interieur)*. Amsterdam: auction Christie's, 14-11-2007, no. 22. KWN 24518. [painting]
- *Elegant company playing music in an interior 2 (Elegant musicerend gezelschap in een interieur)*. Spa: private collection Mme H. Berens, 1962. KWN 206978. [painting]
- *Elegant company with a man playing the viola da gambe [sic] in a richly decorated interior (Elegant gezelschap met een viola da gamba [sic] spelende man in een rijk interieur)*. Köln: Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, inv. no. 1058. KWN 206277. [painting]
- *Elegant figures making music in an interior*. Last known whereabouts: London: Sotheby's, 27-10-2011. [painting]
- *Interior with festive company (Feestend gezelschap in interieur)*. Paris: Fondation Custodia, inv. no. I. 6801. KWN 122881. [drawing]
- *Portrait of an unknown family (Portret van een onbekende familie)*. London: auction Christie's, 22-4-1994, no. 5. KWN 142619. [painting]

Palamedesz., Palamedes (1607-1638)

- *Garden party (Fête champêtre)*. Barnard Castle: The Bowes Museum, inv. no. B. M. 635 (circle of Palamedesz.). [painting]

Passe II, Crispijn van de (1594-1670)

- *Making music* (1612). Den Haag: Gemeentemuseum, inv. no. PM 62zj. [engraving]
- *Satire on England 'Lion and Dog Fight' (Spotprent op Engeland 'Leeuw en Honden Geveght')* (1652). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-81.746A. [engraving]

Passe, Simon van (de) (1595-1647)

- *Musical company (Musizierende Gesellschaft)* (1612). Coburg: Kunstsammlungen Veste Coburg, inv. no. VII 308.26. [engraving]

Philips, Jan Caspar (before 1700-1775)

- Frontispiece of: Huydecoper, B. (1729/1730). *Proeve van taal- en dichtkunde; in vrijmoedige aanmerkingen op Vondels vertaalde herscheppingen van Ovidius*. Amsterdam: Evert Visscher & Isaak Tirion. www.books.google.com. [engraving]

Picart, Bernard (1673-1733)

- *Wedding ceremony with German Jews (Trouwplechtigheid bij de Duitsche Joden)* (1721). Amsterdam: former collection Museum Fodor. [drawing]
- *Wedding ceremony with Portugese Jews (Trouwplechtigheid der Portugeesche Joden)* (1721). Amsterdam: former collection Museum Fodor. [drawing]

- *Wedding ceremony of Portuguese and Ashkenazi Jews (Huwelijksplechtigheid bij Portugese en Asjkenazische Joden)* (1723). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-51.706. [2 engravings]
- *Allegory on arithmetic and algebra (Allegorie op rekenkunde en algebra)* (1729). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-51.156. [engraving]

Pool, Matthijs (1676-1740)
- *Monkeys in skirts with whalebones, according to modern fashion (Apen in de hedendaagse mode van rokken met baleinen)* (1716). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-70.021. [engraving]
- *Circus with monkeys (Circus met apen)* (ca. 1720). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-9424. [engraving]

Poorter, Willem de (active 1630-1649)
- *Young woman and a skeleton holding a mirror, next to a display of precious cups and jewellery (Jonge vrouw en een skelet met een spiegel, bij een uitstalling van kostbaarheden in een interieur)* (1645-1649). Stockholm: auction Bukowski, 28/30-5-1997, no. 351. KWN 207477. [painting]

Portengen, Lumen van (1608/1609-1649)
- *Musical gathering (Réunion musicale)* (1643). Le Mans: Musée de Tessé. [painting]
- *A company making music* ◊. Last known whereabouts: London: auction Sotheby's, 16-7-1980, no. 166 (via RKD). [painting]

Potter, Pieter Symonszoon (1597/1600-1652)
- *Company making music in an interior (Musicerend gezelschap in een interieur)* (1630). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-3338. [painting]
- *An aristocratic company making music (Vornehme musizierende Gesellschaft).* www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 11-6-2016. [painting]
- *Elegant company in an interior* (Elegant gezelschap in een interieur)*. Köln: auction Lempertz, 6-12-1997, no. 1215. KWN 14726. [painting]

Saftleven, Cornelis (1607-1681)
- *Self portrait of Cornelis Saftleven (1607-1681) with Herman Saftleven (1609-1685) (Zelfportret van Cornelis Saftleven (1607-1681) met Herman Saftleven (1609-1685))* (1632/1633). Wien: Akademie der bildenden Künste, inv. no. 696. KWN 240031. [painting]
- *A farmhouse interior with goats, a dog and musicians* ◊ (1635). Prague: Rudolfinum, inv. no. 535.[painting]
- *The cello player (Cellospelare)* (1635). Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, inv. no. NMH 2183/1863. [drawing]
- *Young man playing cello (Cello spelende jongeman)* (1636). Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. no. C.S. I. KWN 13210. [drawing]
- *A group of musicians, a barking dog and two goats in the background in a farmhouse interior* ◊. Last known whereabouts: collection J. C. Grootenhuys, 1930 (via RKD). [painting]
- *A group of musicians, a sleeping dog and a goat in the background* ◊. Münster: art dealer Frye & Sohn (via RKD). [painting]
- *A group of musicians with a goat in the background* ◊. Wien: auction A. Kende, 5-11-1920, no. 36 (via RKD). [painting]

Savery, Salomon (1593/1594-1683)
- *The vision of the Son of Man: Christ appears to the monarchs of the world (Het visioen van de Mensenzoon: Christus verschijnt aan de monarchen van de wereld)*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-5511. [etching]

Schagen, Gerrit van (1641-1690)

- *'Dit zijn de peeren die vrysters begeeren'* (ca. 1680). Taken from: Boerma, N. (2014). *Kinderprenten, volksprenten, centsprenten, schoolprenten: populaire grafiek in de Nederlanden 1650-1950.* Nijmegen: Vanthilt, p. 524. [engraving]

Schijndel, Bernardus van (1647-1709)

- *A company making music on a terrace* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Den Haag: auction Stern Hedikhuizen, 21-9-1927, no. 5 (via RKD). [painting]
- *Chamber music (Musique de chambre)*. www.gallica.bnf.fr, last assessed: 10-6-2017. [painting]

Schoor, Aelbert Jansz. van der (active 1643-1662)

- *The concert*. Bucharest: The National Museum of Art of Romania. [painting]

Sibersma, Gerrit (active 1747-1749)

- Title page of: Anonymous (1743). [*Verzameling van 'airs', dansen en marsen, gezet voor twee violen*]. Den Haag: Nederlands Muziek Instituut, inv. no. NMI 4 G 87. [engraving]

Sichem II, Christoffel van (ca. 1581-1658)

- *Angelic choirs around the Christ child (Engelenkoren rond het Christuskind)* (1617). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-30.297. [woodcut]
- *Maria surrounded by angels making music (Maria omringd door musicerende engelen)* (1629). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-2015-17-21-2(R). [woodcut]

Sillemans, Experiens (1611-1652/1653)

- *'Drie Coningen Spel'* (ca. 1653). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1908-1934. [engraving]

Slingelandt, Pieter Cornelisz. van (1640-1691)

- *A Music Party* (ca. 1675). Bristol: Bristol Museum & Art Gallery. [painting]
- *Musical party*. http://www.greatbassviol.com/iconography/singe.jpg, last accessed: 22-11-2012 (on this website as Pieter van Singeland). [painting]

Spanjaert, Jan (active 1605-1665)

- *Salome asking the head of Saint John the Baptist from King Herod (Salomé vraagt het hoofd van Johannes de Doper van Herodes)*. Köln: Van Ham Kunstauktionen, 16-11-2007, no. 348. KWN 191461 (attributed to Spanjaert). [painting]

Stangerus, Cornelis (1616-1667)

- *A man playing a small broken cello and another man drinking* ◊. Hollviken: Collection S. Fingal (via RKD). [painting]

Steen, Jan (1625/1626-1679)

- *Village fair (Dorpskermis)* (ca. 1648). Den Haag: Mauritshuis, inv. no. 664. KWN 27686. [painting]
- *The Family Concert* (1666). Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, inv. no. 1891.65. KWN 230849. [painting]
- *A wedding party* (1667). London: Apsley House. [painting]
- *A peasant wedding (Een boerenbruiloft)* (ca. 1670). New York: auction Christie's, 27-1-2010, no. 22. KWN 5771. [painting]
- *A peasant marriage (De boerenbruiloft)* (1672). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-388. KWN 6384. [painting]

- *The Marriage Feast at Cana* (1672). Dublin: National Gallery of Ireland, inv. no. NGI.4534. [painting]
- *Brothel scene* ◊. Last known whereabouts: collection Charles E. Duits, 1932 (via RKD). [drawing]
- *Happy family meal (Joyeux repas de famille)*. Paris: Musée du Louvre, inv. no. M.I. 983. [painting]
- *Horse market in Valkenburg (Paardenmarkt in Valkenburg)*. http://www.scheveningen1813-2013.nl/huifkarren/steen/steen3/index.html, last accessed: 14-11-2013. [painting]
- *Merry company in an interior (Vrolijk gezelschap in een interieur)*. London: auction Christie's, 9-12-2005, no. 167. KWN 47091. [painting]
- *The drunken couple (Het dronken paar)*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-C-232. KWN 6383. [painting]

Steenwijck, Hendrick van (1580/1582-1649)

- *Lady Playing the Lute (Lutspelerska)*. Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, inv. no. NM 1520. KWN 253857. [painting]

Stegeren, Jochem van (??-??)

- *Allegory on psalmes and sacred songs (Allegorische voorstelling op de psalmen en geestelijke liederen).* Title page of: Sluiter, W. (1661). *Psalmen, lof-sangen, ende geestelike liedekens*. Deventer: Jan Colomp. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1884-A-7815. [engraving]

Stoop, Dirk (ca. 1618-1686)

- *Cromwell as rope dancer (Cromwell als koorddanser)* (1652). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1891-A-16538A (attributed to Stoop). [engraving]

Stoop, Maerten (active 1638-1647)

- *A man is being seduced in a brothel, with liquor and women 1* (Een man wordt verleid in een bordeel met drank en vrouwen)*. Amsterdam: private collection, 1962. KWN 68547. [painting]
- *A man is being seduced in a brothel, with liquor and women 2* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Köln: auction v. Ham, 20-10-1965, no. 1301 (via RKD). (after Stoop). [painting]
- *A merry company (Joyeuse compagnie)*. www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 11-6-2016. [painting]
- *The hair of a young woman is styled by a maid* (Jonge vrouw wordt gekapt door een dienstmeid)*. Zürich: auction Koller, 8/9-9-1999, no. 14. KWN 60570. [painting]

Stopendaal, David (1672-1726)

- *Petersburgs gesigt van de groote Laen, na de nieuwe Fontein*. Illustration from: Anonymous (1719). *De zegenpraalende Vecht vertoonende verscheidene Gesichten van Lustplaatsen, Heeren huysen en dorpen, Beginnende van Uitrecht en met Muyden besluytende.* Amsterdam: Andries de Leth. The Netherlands: private collection. [engraving]

Strij I, Abraham van (1753-1826)

- *Company making music in an interior* (Musicerend gezelschap in interieur).* The Netherlands: private collection, 2000. KWN 57565. [drawing]

Troost, Cornelis (1696-1750)

- *Portrait of a man, possibly Johannes van der Mersch (1707-1773) (Portret van een man, mogelijk Johannes van der Mersch (1707-1773))* (1736). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-3948. KWN 41874. [painting]

Tuer, Herbert (??-1685)

- *Young woman playing a cello (Jonge vrouw die cello speelt)* (1669). London: auction Sotheby's, 22-4-2009, no. 121. KWN 217533. [painting]

Velde, Esaias van de (1587-1630)

- *Company making music* (Musicerend gezelschap)* ([16]29). Cambridge: The Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. no. 3167. KWN 107349. [drawing]

Venne, Adriaen Pietersz. van de (ca. 1589-1662)

- *Fishing for souls (De zielenvisserij)* (1614). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-447. KWN 219482. [painting]
- *Allegory of the Twelve Years Truce of 1609 between Albert, the Archduke of Austria, Governor of the Southern Netherlands, and the Northern Netherlands represented by the Princes of Orange (Allégorie de la trêve de 1609 entre Albert, archiduc d'Autriche, gouverneur des Pays-Bas du Sud, et les Pays-Bas du Nord représentés par les princes d'Orange)* (1616). Paris: Musée du Louvre, inv. no. 1924. KWN 264658. [painting]
- Illustration from: Heemskerk, J. van (1622). *Pub. Ovidii Nasonis Minne-kunst, Gepast op d'Amsterdamsche Vryagien: Met noch andere Minne-Dichten ende Mengel-Dichten, alle nieu ende te voren niet gesien.* Amsterdam: Dirck Pietersz. Voskuyl, p. 97. [engraving]
- Illustration from: Brune, J. de (1624). *Emblemata of Zinne-Werck*. [engraving]
- *Love teaches Music (Amor docet Musicam)* (1626). Washington: Library of Congress. [engraving]
- *Interior of a circus tent, with a man performing on a vaulting horse, a female trapeze artist and various other performing humans and monkeys* (1628). Amsterdam: auction Sotheby's, 4-11-2003, no. 36. KWN 68084. [drawing]
- Illustration from: Quintijn, G. J. (1629). *De Hollandsche Lijs met de Brabandsche Bely: Poeetischer wijse voorgestelt en gedicht*. Den Haag: J. Ockersz. Den Haag: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, inv. no. KW 174 F 13 [1]. (after Van de Venne). [engraving]
- *Company making music (Musicerend gezelschap)* (163.). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-1769. KWN 24563. [painting]
- Illustration from: Cats, J. (1637). *Trouringh*. Dordrecht: Hendrick van Esch. Bussum: Collection Ton Koopman, inv. no. TK00019o. [engraving]
- *Allegory on marriage* (Allegorie op het huwelijk)*. Amsterdam: auction Christie's, 9-3-1999, no.81. KWN 58331. [painting]
- *Company playing music in an interior (Musicerend gezelschap in een interieur)*. Köln: auction Lempertz, 18/20-5-2017, no. 1058. KWN 209225. [painting]
- Illustration from: Cats, J. *Samenspraeck*. Bussum: Collection Ton Koopman, inv. no. TK00019m. [engraving]
- *The parable of the Prodigal Son (Das Gleichnis von Verlorenen Sohn)*. www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 11-6-2016. [painting]

Verbeeck, Pieter Cornelisz. (active 1635-1654)

- *A company making music in an interior* ◊. Bremen: Kunsthalle, inv. no. 79. [drawing]

Vianen, Jan van (ca. 1660-after 1726)

- *Triumph of King Willem III (Triomf van koning Willem III)* (1697). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-82.901. [engraving]

Vinckboons II, David (1622/1623-1679)

- *An elaborate fête on the grounds of a chateau*. New York: auction Sotheby's, 6-6-2012, no. 97 (manner of Vinckboons). [painting]
- *An extensive view of a palace garden with elegant figures dancing and making music in the foreground and boats on moats, with the palace and bridges*

in the background. Amsterdam: auction Sotheby's, 2-11-2004, no. 114 (studio of Vinckboons). [painting]

Vinkeles, Reinier (1741-1816)

- *Woman playing harp with 5 putti making music (Harpspelende vrouw met vijf musicerende putti)* (1764). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-66.057. [engraving]
- *Ball in the 'Burgerzaal' of the City Hall of Amsterdam, in honour of the visit of Prince Willem V and Wilhelmina van Pruissen, June 1768 (Bal in de Burgerzaal van het Stadhuis van Amsterdam ter ere van het bezoek van Prins Willem V en Wilhelmina van Pruisen, juni 1768)* (1768-1772). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-T-00-1240. [drawing]
- Title page of: Huydecoper, B. (1782). *Proeve van taal en dichtkunde in vrymoedige aanmerkingen op Vondels vertaalde Herscheppingen van Ovidius*. Leyden: A. & J. Honkoop. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1907-4155. [engraving]

Werff, Adriaen van der (1659-1722)

- *Chessmen (Schachspieler)* (1679). Schwerin: Staatliches Museum Schwerin, inv. no. G511. KWN 259214. [painting]

Westerveld, Abraham Evertsz. van (ca. 1610-1692)

- *Musical company in an interior (Musicerend en converserend gezelschap in een zaal)*. London: auction Bonhams, 9/10-7-2002, no. 314. KWN 49636. [painting]

Wit, Frederick de (active 1645-1706)

- *'t leven en bedryf van den verlooren soon*. Bussum: Collection Ton Koopman, inv. no. TK00479. [engraving]

Wtewael, Joachim (1566-1638)

- *The marriage-feast of Peleus and Thetis in the clouds (De bruiloft van Peleus en Thetis in de wolken)* (1602). Braunschweig: Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, inv. no. 174. KWN 242439. [painting]
- *The Apulian shepherd is changed into an oleaster as punishment for mocking dancing nymphs (Ovid, Met. 14:514-526) (De Apulische herder verandert in een olijfboom als hij de nimfen bespot (Ovidius, Metamorfosen 14:514-526))*. New York: private collection, 2011. KWN 60569. [painting]

Zijl, Gerard Pietersz. van (1607/1608-1665)

- *Elegant company with musical instruments* (Elegant gezelschap met muziekinstrumenten)*. Amsterdam: auction Sotheby's, 8-5-2000, no. 3. KWN 114885. [painting]

Zijl, Roeloff van (1586-1656)

- *Organ door of the Jacobichurch in Utrecht* (1608-1609). Utrecht: Centraal Museum, inv. no. 2247/001-008. [painting]

ZUIDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN

Aelst, Pieter van (active 1644-1654)

- *The Ommegang on the Meir in Antwerp* (1664). www.jeanmoust.com, last accessed: 14-11-2013. [painting]

Alsloot, Denis van (ca. 1570 - ca. 1626)

- *The 'Ommeganck' in Brussels on 31 May 1615: The Triumph of Archduchess Isabella* (1616). London: V&A Museum, inv. no. 5928-1859. [painting]

Anonymous

- *Funeral procession at the Groenkerkhof (Begrafenisstoet bij het Groenkerkhof)* (1597). Antwerpen: Museum het Vleeshuis, inv. no. AV.1149. [painting]
- *Elegant company celebrating in front of a castle (the month of May)* (Feestvierend elegant gezelschap voor een kasteel (de maand mei))* (1600-1615). London: auction Sotheby's, 10-7-2002, no. 165 c. KWN 59143. [drawing]
- *Glorification of trade and science (Verheerlijking van handel en wetenschap)* (1625-1649). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-3027. KWN 25928. [painting]
- *Mortales volunt decipi (The mortals want to be deceived) Carnival scene on the Grote Markt in Antwerp. (Mortales volunt decipi (Die Sterblichen wollen betrogen werden) Karnevalsszene auf dem Grote Markt in Antwerpen)* (ca. 1630). Berlin: auction Bassenge, 25-11-2016. [drawing]
- *Monkeys and cats at a masked ball* (1632). New York: private collection Lawrence Steigrand Fine Arts. [painting]
- *Apollo making music with the nine muses on the Helicon (Apollo musicerend met de negen muzen op de Helicon)* (1650-1695). Schloss Ahlden: auction Florian Seidel, 23/30-4-2016, no. 1362. KWN 274657. [painting]
- *Marriage feast at Cana* (17th century?). www.1st-art-gallery.com, last accessed: 29-10-2015. [painting]

- *Ball (Bal)* (17th century). Last known whereabouts: Köln: Abels Gallery 1935 (via RKD). [painting]
- *Peasants playing musical instruments* (17th century). Barnard Castle: The Bowes Museum, inv. no. B. M. 202. [painting]
- *The Italian Comedians* (17th century). Calais: Musée des Beaux Arts. [painting]
- *Village fair (Dorpskermis)* (17th century). www.jansmed.be, last accessed: 15-5-2013. [painting]
- *Wedding party* (17th century). https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Flemish_Wedding_17th_century.jpg, last accessed: 29-10-2015. [painting]
- *Company with a young couple (Gesellschaft mit jungem Paar)* (Antwerp, 1709-1757). https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gesellschaft_mit_jungem_Paar.jpg, last accessed: 5-11-2013. [painting]
- *Company partying in a park* (Feestvierend gezelschap in een park)* (3rd quarter 18th century). The Netherlands: private collection. KWN 103280. [painting]
- *Elegant company playing music on a terrace (Elegant musicerend gezelschap op een terras)* (18th century). London: auction Bonhams, 14-6-2006, no. 64. KWN 217308. [painting]

Baellieur I, Cornelis de (1607-1671)

- *Saint Cecilia playing the organ with a vision of an orchestra of angels in heaven* (De H. Cecilia orgel spelend met een visioen van een orkest van engelen in de hemel)* (1647). London: auction Christie's, 7-12-2007, no. 117. KWN 52671. [painting]
- *The Virgin and Child enthroned with angels making music (Tronende Madonna met musicerende engelen)*. New York: auction Christie's, 30/31-1-2013, no. 271. KWN 243566. [painting]

Balen I, Hendrick van (1573-1632)

- *Minerva visits the nine Muses* (1608?). Wien: auction Dorotheum, 19-4-2016, no. 52. [painting]
- *Minerva among the Muses (Minerwa wśród Muz)* (ca. 1615). Wilanów: Museum of King Jan III's Palace, inv. no. Wil. 1759. [painting]
- *Allegory of the five senses (Allegorie op de vijf zintuigen)* (1617-1618). London: art dealer Johnny Van Haeften, 2002. KWN 66161. [painting]
- *The Banquet of the Gods. The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis (Gudernes festmåltid. Peleus' og Thetis' bryllupsfest)* (1617-1618). Copenhagen: Statens Museum for Kunst, inv. no. KMSsp744. KWN 194917. [painting]
- *The Wedding of Thetis and Perseus with Apollo and the Concert of the Muses, or The Feast of the Gods (Les Noces de Thétis et de Pélée avec Apollon et le concert des Muses ou Le Festin des dieux)* (ca. 1618). Paris: Musée du Louvre, inv. no. D.L. 1973-21. [painting]
- *Apollo and the nine muses on Mount Helicon* (Apollo en de negen muzen op de Helicon)*. New York: auction Sotheby's, 5-6-2002, no. 52. KWN 61525. [painting]
- *Concert of angels (Concert d'anges)*. www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 11-6-2016. [painting]
- *Landscape with Apollo, the Muses and putti playing music (Landschap met Apollo, de Muzen en putti, musicerend)*. New York: auction Christie's, 27-1-2010, no. 331. KWN 225643 (surroundings of Van Balen). [painting]
- *Minerva's visit to the Muses (Bezoek van Minerva aan de Muzen)*. Antwerpen: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. no. 957. [painting]
- *The feast of the Gods*. Amsterdam: auction Christie's, 11-5-2011, no. 19 (studio of Van Balen). [painting]

Balen, Jan van (1611-1654)

- *Apollo and the Muses on Mount Helicon near the spring of Hippocrene (Apollo en de Muzen op de berg Helicon, bij de bron Hippocrene)*. Wien: auction Dorotheum, 29-9-2004, no. 43. KWN 193060 (attributed to Van Balen). [painting]
- *Pallas Athene and the Muses*. St Petersburg: State Open-air Museum Peterhof. [painting]

Balen, Hendrick or Jan van

- *The Parnassus (Le Parnasse)*. www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 11-6-2016 (attributed to Van Balen). [painting]

Beerblock, Johannes (1739-1806)

- *A meal is served to a man in a red baret (Een man met rode baret wordt de maaltijd geserveerd)*. Roma: Babuino Casa d'Aste, 7/9-7-2015, no. 163. KWN 266256. [painting]

Beken, Ignatius van der (1689-1774)

- *Elegant company playing music on a terrace (Elegant musicerend gezelschap op een terras)*. Paris: auction Piasa, 27-6-2008, no. 46. KWN 227594 (possibly Van der Beken). [painting]

Berterham, Jan Baptist (active 1696-1721)

- *Dancing woman with tambourine, surrounded by playing naked boys (Dansende vrouw met tamboerijn, omringd door spelende naakte jongetjes)* (1696-1721). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-BI-1113. [etching]
- Title page of: Abaco, E. F. dall' (1712). *Concerti a quatro da chiesa Cioè due Violini, Alto Viola, Violoncello e Basso Continuo.* Amsterdam: Estienne Roger. London: British Museum, inv. no. 1874,0411.1. [engraving]

Beschey, Balthasar (1708-1776)

- *Portrait of Jacob-Johannes Cremers (....-1762) and Cornelia Johanna Nicolai (....-1786) at their wedding (Portret van Jacob-Johannes Cremers (....-1762) en Cornelia Johanna Nicolai (....-1786) tijdens hun huwelijk)* (1768). Amsterdam: auction Christie's, 11/13-12-2012, no. 357. KWN 242012. [painting]
- *La Commedia dell'Arte* (one of a pair). Paris: auction Christie's, 30-3-2015, no. 15 (one of a pair). [painting]
- *Minerva visiting the Muses (Het bezoek van Minerva aan de Muzen)*. Aachen: private collection H. Ernest Opdenhoff. KWN 33080. [painting]
- *Musical company*. Present whereabouts unknown. [painting]

Blommaert, Maximiliaan (active 1696-1697)

- *An elegant company dancing and making music in an interior* ◊. Last known whereabouts: London: auction Phillips, 10-4-1990, no. 191 (via RKD). [painting]
- *Dancing company in an interior* (Dansend gezelschap in een interieur)*. München: Hampel Kunstauktionen, 4-12-2009, no. 352. KWN 3292. [painting]
- *The concert*. http://www.brightcecilia.net/gallery2/v/Music-in-Paintings/?g2_page=3, last accessed: 29-10-2015. [painting]

Boeijermans, Theodor (1620-1678)

- *Allegory of the City of Antwerp* (ca. 1660). Last known whereabouts: Paris: Gallery de Jonckheere, 5-11-2013. [painting]

Boel, Peeter (1622-1674)

- *Still life with musical instruments*. London: The Courtauld Gallery, inv. no. D.1952.RW.4496. [drawing]

Bonnecroy, Philips (1720-after 1771)

- *Dancing couple and a company conversing on a terrace and musicians on a balcony* ◊. Last known whereabouts: London: auction Christie's, 29-11-1935, no. 13 (via RKD). [painting]
- *The dance (La danse)*. www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 11-6-2016. [painting]

Bosschaert, Thomas Willeboirts (1613/1614-1654)

- *Triumphant Cupid among Emblems of Art and War (Amor triumferande bland konstens och krigets emblem)*. Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, inv. no. NM 410. KWN 249336. [painting]

Bossche, Balthasar van den (1681-1715)

- *An elegant company on a terrace of a palatial building* ◊ (1713). Last known whereabouts: London: auction Christie's, 16-3-1956, no. 48 (via RKD). [painting]
- *Allegory of painting, sculpture and music (Allégorie de la peinture, de la sculpture et de la musique)*. www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 5-6-2016. [painting]
- *A musical gathering in an elegant interior (Musicerend gezelschap in een stijlvol interieur)*. London: auction Christie's, 5-7-2006, no. 81. KWN 192280. [painting]
- *Company making music on a terrace* (Musicerend gezelschap op een terras)*. London: auction Sotheby's, 16-4-1997, no. 44. KWN 16920. [painting]
- *Elegant company making music, with a servant (Musicerend elegant gezelschap, met een bediende)*. Amsterdam: auction Christie's, 7-5-2013, no. 142. KWN 274781. [painting]

Bouttats, Gaspar (active 1668-1691)

- *Adversity teaches us to pray (Tegenspoedt leert ons bidden)* (1679). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1911-392. [engraving]

Brassauw, Melchior (1709-after 1757)

- *A company making music (Musicerend gezelschap)* (1724-1757). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-57. KWN 19837. [painting]

Bredael, Alexander van (1663-1720)

- *The 'Ommegang' on the Meir in Antwerp (on the occasion of Maria Ascension on August 15)* (De Ommegang op de Meir te Antwerpen (t.g.v. Maria Hemelvaart op 15 augustus))* (1689). London: auction Bonhams, 7-7-2004, no. 136. KWN 17688. [painting]
- *A festival in Antwerp* (1697). Lille: Musée des Beaux Arts. [painting]

Bredael, Peeter van (1629-1719)

- *The Prodigal Son is being chased from the brothel after spending all his money (Luke 15:13) (De Verloren Zoon wordt berooid verjaagd uit het bordeel (Lucas 15:13)).* Köln: auction Lempertz, 15-3-2017, no. 7. KWN 195192. [painting]
- *The feast after the return of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:13) (Het feestmaal na de terugkeer van de Verloren Zoon (Lucas 15:13)).* Wien: auction Dorotheum, 24-4-2007, no. 147 B. KWN 195187. [painting]

Breughel II, Jan (1601-1678)

- *Allegory of hearing* (ca. 1645-1650). Genève: Collection Diana Krüger. [painting]
- *Allegory of hearing*. Saint Germain en Laye: Musée Municipal (school of Breughel). [painting]
- *Allegory of hearing: a woman making music (Allegorie van het gehoor: een musicerende vrouw)*. London: auction Christie's, 13-12-2000, no. 8. KWN 102396. [painting]

- *Allegory of hearing (one of the 5 senses): a woman making music* (Allegorie van het gehoor (een van de vijf zintuigen): een musicerende vrouw)*. London: auction Sotheby's, 10-7-2002, no. 49. KWN 58403. [painting]
- *Hearing*. Present whereabouts unknown. [painting]
- *Landscape with Mercury and his children* (Landschap met Mercurius en zijn kinderen)*. London: auction Christie's, 7-12-2007, no. 110. KWN 209264 (attributed to Breughel). [painting]

Breydel, Frans (1679-1750)

- *Palace interior with an orchestra and a dancing company dressed as people from Turkey* (Paleisinterieur met als Turken vermomd dansend gezelschap en orkestje)* (1715). Versailles: auction Gilles Chausselat, 15-5-2011, no. 132. KWN 32893 [painting]
- *Masked ball in a palace* (Gemaskerd bal in een paleis)*. Amsterdam: auction Christie's, 13-11-1990, no. 48. KWN 32889 (attributed to Breydel). [painting]

Brueghel I, Jan (1568-1625)

- *Country wedding (Boda campestre)* (1612). Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. no. P01441. [painting]
- *Wedding Banquet Presided Over by the Archduke and Infanta (Banquete de bodas presidido por los Archiduques)* (1612-1613). Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. no. P01442. [painting]
- *The winter (Der Winter)* (1616). München: Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Staatsgalerie Neuburg a. d. Donau, inv. no. 13712. [painting]
- *Feast of the Gods with Musical Nymphs* (ca. 1618). Angers: Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. no. 358. [painting]
- *Farmers dancing for the arch duke* (Boerendansen voor de aartshertog/Baile campestre ante los Archiduques)* (1623). Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. no. P001439. KWN 18819. [painting]
- *The children of Mercury and 'monkeying' (Les Enfants de Mercure et singerie).* www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 5-6-2016. [painting]
- *View of the village of Schelle (Village street) (Вид деревни Схелле (Улица в деревне)).* St Petersburg: Hermitage, inv. no. ET-428. [painting]

Bruyn, Nicolaes de (1571-1656)

- *Party in the garden of a palace (Feest in de tuin van een paleis)* (1604). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1887-A-12036. [engraving]

Caullery, Louis de (1579/1581-1621)

- *A courtyard of a Venetian Palace* (ca. 1620). London: Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. 698-1883. KWN 254587 (attributed to De Caullery). [painting]
- *An interior with elegant figures and musicians* (1630). Last known whereabouts: London: auction Sotheby's, 11-12-1996. [painting]
- *A ball in a palace* (Een bal in een paleis)*. Paris: auction Etude Tajan, 12-12-1995, no. 66. KWN 9488. [painting]
- *A masked ball*. http://www.wikigallery.org/wiki/painting_314384/(after)-Louis-De-Caullery/A-masked-ball, last accessed: 9-7-2013 (after De Caullery). [painting]
- *Banquet scene in a palace interior*. https://www.pinterest.com/pin/444167581969402782/, last accessed: 9-7-2013. [painting]
- *Company partying at night* (Feestvierend gezelschap bij avond)*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-4292. KWN 28655 (manner of De Caullery). [painting]
- *Elegant company conversing on a terrace, musicians making music and a covered walk in the background* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Oxenfoord Castle: collection Earl of Stair, no. 7045 (via RKD). [painting]
- *Elegant company in a palace interior* (Elegant gezelschap in een paleisinterieur)*. Kraków: Zamek Królewski na Wawelu, KWN 59522. [painting]

- *Elegant couples, ball at court*. www.jeanmoust.com, last accessed: 9-7-2013. [painting]
- *Garden with Human Figures (Сад с фигурами)*. St. Petersburg: Hermitage, inv. no. ET-6194 (circle of De Caullery). [painting]
- *Palace garden with dancing company and musician [sic] (Paleis tuin met dansende gezelschap en muzikanten).* Present whereabouts unknown: private collection. KWN 246529. [painting]
- *Party in a palace in Venice (Fête dans un palais à Venise)*. Quimper: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Quimper, inv. no. 873-1-237. KWN 96. [painting]
- *The Parable of the Prodigal Son (La Parabole de l'enfant prodigue)*. Quimper: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Quimper, inv. no. 873-1-126. [painting]
- *Venus, Bacchus and Ceres with mortals in a love-garden (Venus, Bacchus en Ceres met stervelingen in een minnetuin)*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-1956. KWN 25899. [painting]

Clerck, Hendrik de (1560-1630)

- *Minerva and the muses* (ca. 1610?). http://www.kimballtrombone.com/files/2010/04/clerck-minerva-and-muses.jpg, last accessed: 9-7-2013. [painting]
- *A group of female musicians (Vier musicerende vrouwen).* New York: auction Christie's, 26-1-2012, no. 92. KWN 280982. [drawing]
- *Apollo and the Muses*. http://www.wikigallery.org/wiki/painting_322127/(after)-Hendrick-De-Clerck/Apollo-and-the-Muses, last accessed: 9-7-2013 (by or after De Clerck). [painting]
- *Concert of the muses (Concert des Muses)*. www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 5-6-2016. [drawing]
- *Feast of the Gods* (Een godenmaaltijd)*. London: auction Sotheby's, 29-10-1998, no. 32. KWN 3127 (workshop of De Clerck). [painting]
- *Meeting of the Gods*. www.tajan.com, last accessed: 10-7-2013 (studio of De Clerck). [painting]
- *Minerva and the Muses*. https://picasaweb.google.com/lh/photo/YCP4coxviRMYfG7yhc3vwNMTjNZETYmyPJy0liipFm0?full-exif=true, last accessed: 15-5-2013 (studio of De Clerck). [painting]
- *Minerva visiting the muses (Visite de Minerve aux Muses)*. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84277251.r=clerck, last accessed: 10-7-2013 (attributed to De Clerck). [painting]
- *Mount Parnasse (Parnassus)*. Antwerpen: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. no. 894. [painting]
- *The marriage of Thetis and Perseus or the Feast of the Gods (Les noces de Thétis et de Pélée ou Le Festin des dieux)*. Paris: Musée du Louvre, inv. no. R.F. 1945-17. [painting]

Collaert, Adriaen (active 1580-1618)

- *Angels, seraphim and cherubs making music (Musicerende engelen, serafijnen en cherubijnen)* (ca. 1590). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1938-1831. KWN 235833. [engraving]

Coques II, Gonzales (1614/1618-1684)

- *Charles II dancing at The Hague May 1660?* (ca. 1660). London: National Maritime Museum, inv. no. BHC0281. [painting]
- *Allegory of music (Allegorie van de Muziek)*. Last known whereabouts: München: auction Baron Huppmann-Valbella, 29-11-1919, no. 1 (via RKD). [painting]

Ehrenberg, Wilhelm Schubert van (active 1645-1687)

- *Colonnade with an elegant company playing music (Zuilengalerij met een elegant musicerend gezeschap [sic])* (1666). London: auction Christie's, 16/17-4-2014, no. 308. KWN 257533. [painting]

Floquet, Simon (active 1634-1635)

- *Apollo, the Muses and Pegasus on Mount Parnasse* (Apollo, de muzen en Pegasus op de Parnassus)* (1634-1635) part of an art cabinet. New York: Otto Naumann Ltd., 1999. KWN 57646. [painting]
- *Minerva visits the Muses on Mount Helicon to see the fountain Hippocrene, which Pegasus had just brought forth* (Minerva bezoekt de muzen op de Helicon om de door Pegasus gemaakte fontein Hippocrene te aanschouwen)* (1634-1635). New York: Otto Naumann Ltd., 1995. KWN 56892. [painting]

Floris, Frans (1516-1570)

- *The celebration of David after the fight with Goliath. (Die Bejubelung Davids nach dem Kampf mit Goliath)* (1550-1575). Zürich: auction Koller, 22-3-2016 (surroundings Floris). [painting]

Francken, Ambrosius (1544/1545-1618)

- *Triumph of the Christ child (Triomf van het Christuskind)* (1605-1610). Zürich: auction Koller, 17/23-3-2016, no. 3025. KWN 277963. [painting]

Francken II, Frans (1581-1642)

- *Allegory of Music: Angels and women with musical instruments (Allegorie op de Muziek: musicerend gezelschap vrouwen met engelen)* (1st half 17th century). Amsterdam: auction Sotheby's, 6-11-2001, no. 66. KWN 120847 (follower of Francken II). [painting]
- *The Prodigal Son at the inn (De verloren zoon in de herberg)* (after 1618). Aachen: Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, inv. no. GK 126. KWN 237724 (follower of Francken). [painting]
- *The Madonna with angels in a garland of flowers (Maria met kind en musicerende engelen in een bloemkrans)* (ca. 1630'). Paris: Millon & Associés, 9-4-1998, no. 35. KWN 70132 (studio of Francken). [painting]
- *An elegant company dancing with musicians in the background* ◊. Last known whereabouts: London: auction Christie's, 9-7-1976 (via RKD). [painting]
- *Art cabinet*. Amsterdam: Onse lieve Heer op Solder. [painting]
- *Company dancing to music in a palace interior* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Leixlip: collection Mr. Roger Greene, 1954 (via RKD). [painting]
- *Company making music and dancing (Musik- und Tanzgesellschaft)*. Neuburg an der Donau: Staatsgalerie Neuburg an der Donau, inv. no. 1993. KWN 190112. [painting]
- *Concert of the Muses*. http://www.recorderhomepage.net/wp-content/uploads/images/franckenF_II_muses.jpg, last accessed: 29-10-2015. [painting]
- *Dance of the Cupids in front of Nymphs. Preparations of the concert of the Muses (Danse d'Amours devant des nymphes: Préparatifs du concert des Muses)*. www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 11-6-2016. [painting]
- *Elegant figures dancing in an interior*. www.artnet.com, last accessed: 10-6-2016 (studio of Francken II). [painting]
- *Genre scene (Scène de genre)*. www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 3-6-2016 (school of Francken). [painting]
- *Mankind's eternal dilemma, the choice between virtue and vice (Het eeuwige dilemma van de mensheid, de keuze tussen deugd en ondeugd)*. London: art dealer Johnny Van Haeften, 2012. KWN 225124. [painting]
- *Parnassus (Le Parnasse)*. www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 3-6-2016. [painting]

Francken II, Hieronymus (1578-1623)

- *Ball (Бал)* (1607). St Petersburg: Hermitage, inv. no. ET-2628. [painting]
- *Dansers and musicians in an interior*. New York: auction Christie's, 31-1-2013, no. 277. [painting]

- *Festive company (Festliche Gesellschaft)*. Zürich: auction Koller, 22-3-2013, no. 3032. [painting]
- *The marriage at Cana*. Amsterdam: auction Christie's, 26-2-2008, no. 12 (circle of Francken). [painting]

Francken, Frans or Hieronymus
- *A ball scene (Scène de bal)*. www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 3-6-2016. [painting]
- *Adoration of the Kings (Anbetung der Könige)*. www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 11-6-2016. [painting]
- *Madonna with child and angels (Die Madonna mit dem Kind und Engeln)*. www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 3-6-2016. [painting]
- *The feast of Balthasar (Festin de Balthazar)*. www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 3-6-2016. [painting]

Gijsels, Peeter (1621-1690)
- *A village scene with figures dancing*. www.johnnyvanhaeften.com, last accessed: 17-6-2016. [painting]
- *Elegant company in a garden* (Elegant gezelschap in een tuin)*. London: Phillips, Son & Neale, 5-12-1995, no. 73. KWN 8606. [painting]
- *Elegant figures playing musical instruments around a maypole*. www.bjws.blogspot.nl, last accessed: 10-6-2016. [painting]
- *Village dance at the entrance of a village*. www.dejonckheere-gallery.com, last accessed: 9-7-2013. [painting]
- *Village fair (Kermesse villageoise)*. www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 11-6-2016. [painting]

Govaerts, Hendrick (1669-1720)
- *A couple dancing to music* ◊ (17..). Last known whereabouts: Wien: auction Dorotheum, 10/12-9-1953, no. 337 (via RKD). [painting]
- *Fight in a palace* (Vechtpartij in een paleis)* (171.). London: auction Christie's, 22-4-1994, no. 158. KWN 32747. [painting]
- *A dancer, a female cellist and two couples courting* ◊. Last known whereabouts: auction Sotheby's, 12-12-1973, no. 82 (via RKD). [painting]
- *Allegory of the arts: painting, sculpture, music (Allegori över konsterna; måleri, skulptur, musik)* . www.artnet.com, last accessed: 22-8-2016. [painting]
- *A Party with Music and Actors Entertaining the Company*. London: Wellcome Collection, inv. no. 45038i. [painting]
- *Ball in a palace (Scène de bal dans un palais)*. Paris: auction Drouot, 22-6-2011, no. 120. [painting]
- *Dancing couple* (Dansend paar)*. Paris: auction Etude Tajan, 30-3-1998, no. 66. KWN 45732. [painting]
- *Masquerade* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Köln: auction Lempertz, 25/30-4-1968, no. 43 (via RKD). [painting]
- *Meeting of musicians (Réunion de musiciens)*. www.artnet.com, last accessed: 22-8-2016. [painting]
- *Merry company making music and dancing* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Amsterdam: auction Brandt (via RKD) (manner of Govaerts). [painting]
- *Musical company*. www.askart.com, last accessed: 9-7-2013. [painting]
- *Musicians in an elegant interior* ◊. Last known whereabouts: London: auction T. M. Baring, 1986, no. 210 (via RKD). [painting]
- *Musicians on a terrace* ◊. Cape Town: South African National Gallery, inv. no. 354. [painting]
- *The concert (Le concert)*. www.artnet.com, last accessed: 22-8-2016 (attributed to Govaerts). [painting]
- *The dance step (Le pas de danse)*. Paris: Rossini Maison de Ventes aux Enchères 12-12-2013. [painting]

Helmont, Mattheus van (1623-after1678)

- *A peasant's feast in the countryside in front of an inn* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Berlin: auction John L. Wallach, 14-12-1909, no. 92 (via RKD). [painting]
- *A peasant's feast in the village square*. Amsterdam: auction Christie's, 11-5-2011, no. 11. [painting]

Hoecke I, Caspar van der (active 1603-1641)

- *Job on the dunghill comforted by his friends with music (Job op de mestvaalt getroost door zijn vrienden met muziek)* (ca. 1650). Olomouc: Olomouc Museum of Art, inv. no. 772. KWN 71681. [painting]

Hollar, Wenzel (1607-1677)

- *Cherubs making music (Musicerende cherubijnen)* (1646). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-11.231. [etching]

Horemans I, Jan Josef (1682-1759)

- *Family gathering in an interior (Familiebijeenkomst in een interieur)* (1716). Brussel: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. no. 10221. [painting]
- *A company drinking and making music in an inn* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Riverside: collection Mrs. Marion L. Eaton, 1969 (via RKD). [painting]
- *A couple and a dog dancing to music made by two musicians in a courtyard* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Wiesbaden: auction Weichmann, 27-5-1978, no. 244 (via RKD). [painting]
- *A couple dancing to music and a company conversing in an interior* ◊. Last known whereabouts: New York: art dealer Wildenstein, 1951 (via RKD). [painting]
- *An elegant company making music* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Berlin: auction, 24-5-1932, no 489 (via RKD). [painting]
- *A wedding dance: An interior with peasants dancing to the music of a fiddler and a cellist*. www.artnet.com, last accessed: 21-8-2016 (follower of Horemans). [painting]
- *Dancing couple, musician and spectators in a courtyard* (Dansend paar, muzikant en toeschouwers op een binnenplaats)*. London: auction Phillips, 28-10-1997, no. 60 A. KWN 35296. [painting]
- *Elegant company making music on a terrace*. www.1st-art-gallery.com, last accessed: 9-7-2013. [painting]
- *Merry company making music (Lustige musizierende Gesellschaft).* Köln: auction van Ham 30-6-2005. [painting]
- *The concert (Le concert)*. www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 5-6-2016 (attributed to Horemans). [painting]
- *The gallant concert (Le concert galant).* www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 5-6-2016. [painting]
- *Young man playing the cello in a landscape with classical statue and ruins (Jonge man die een cello speelt in een landschap met antiek beeldhouwwerk en ruïnes)*. Firenze: art dealer Grassi, 2014. KWN 216486. [painting]

Horemans II, Jan Josef (1714-1792)

- *Genre scene (Жанровая сцена)* (1759). St Petersburg: Hermitage, inv. no. ET-5397. [painting]
- *Concert in an interior (Concert in een interieur)* (1764). Antwerpen: Snijders Rockox Huis. KWN 239352. [painting]
- *A couple and a dog dancing to music in an interior* ◊. Last known whereabouts: New York: auction The Metropolitan Museum, 18-6-1982, no. 1 (via RKD). [painting]
- *A couple dancing to music in a courtyard* ◊. Last known whereabouts: London: auction Sotheby's, 14-12-1977, no. 247 (via RKD). [painting]

- *A musical company in an interior*. London: auction Sotheby's, 24-4-2008, no. 55. [painting]
- *Musicians (Hudebníci).* www.galeriepetrbrandl.cz, last accessed: 29-10-2015. [painting]
- *Villagers merrymaking*. London: Rafael Valls Gallery. [painting]

Isaacz., Isaac (1598-1649)

- *A feast (Et gæstebud)* (1622). Copenhagen: Statens Museum for Kunst, inv. no. KMSsp228. KWN 198324. [painting]

Janssens, Hieronymus (1624-1693)

- *A ball on a terrace (Elegant dansfeest op een terras)* (ca. 1650). Dresden: Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv. no. 983. KWN 191885 (follower of Janssens). [painting]
- *Company eating and dancing on a terrace* (Etend en dansend gezelschap op een terras)* (1652). Stockholm: auction Bukowski, 29-11/1-12-1995, no. 234. KWN 8541. [painting]
- *Elegant company partying on a terrace of a country-seat* (Feestvierend elegant gezelschap op het terras van een buitenplaats)* (165[6]). London: auction Sotheby's, 6-7-2000, no. 126. KWN 69579. [painting]
- *Ball on the terrace of a palace (Bal sur la terrasse d'un palais)* (1658). Lille: Palais des Beaux-Arts, inv. no. 186. [painting]
- *Charles II dancing at a ball at court* (ca. 1660). London: Royal Collection inv. no. RCIN 400525. [painting]
- *Minuet (Менуэт)* (ca. 1660-1665). Moscow: The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. F-414. KWN 238862. [painting]
- *The ball* (*Бал*) (1660-1665). St Petersburg: Hermitage, inv. no. GE-7357. [painting]
- *Company in an interior, eating, making music and dancing* (Etend, musicerend en dansend gezelschap in een interieur)* (ca. 1670). Paris: auction Tajan, 19-12-2001, no. 53. KWN 109077. [painting]
- *Company on a terrace of a palace* (*Общество на терраce дворца*) (1670's). Moscow: The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. F-2094. [painting]
- *Characters making music in front of a palace* (1672). Dunkerque: Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. no. P. 179. [painting]
- *Palatial interior with elegant figures dancing and banquetting (Elegant dansend en dinerend gezelschap in een rijk interieur)* (ca. 1675). Düsseldorf: art dealer Gierhards, 2011-2012. KWN 196017. [painting]
- *A ball scene* (1679). www.jeanmoust.com, last accessed: 10-6-2016. [painting]
- *Merry company in a palace, entertained with music* ◊ (1681). Braunschweig: Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, inv. no. 1136. [painting]
- *A couple making music and a boy petting a dog in an interior* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Wien: auction Dorotheum, 8-7-1941, no. 38 (via RKD). [painting]
- *A Distinguished Society Dancing (Vornehme Tanzgesellschaft)*. Basel: Kunstmuseum, inv. no. 927. [painting]
- *A gathering in the Royal Gardens*. Sheffield (USA): Le Trianon Fine Art & Antiques, inv. no. Art J5. [painting]
- *An elegant company* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Mr. C. M. Kuyper, January 1929 (via RKD). [painting]
- *An elegant company at music before a banquet*. http://www.wikigallery.org/wiki/painting_197883/Hieronymus-Janssens/An-Elegant-Company-at-Music-Before-a-Banquet, last accessed: 17-10-2013. [painting]
- *An elegant company conversing and dancing to music in a garden* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Wien: auction Dorotheum, 2-6-1924, no. 21 (via RKD). [painting]
- *An elegant company conversing and dancing to music in an interior* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Berlin: auction Count Lassus, 17-4-1928, no. 24 (via RKD). [painting]

- *An elegant company conversing and dancing to music on a palatial terrace* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Amsterdam: art dealer Goudstikker, ca. 1943, no. 5187 (via RKD). [painting]
- *An elegant company conversing in an interior and some musicians in the foreground* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Monaco: auction Sotheby's, 15/16-6-1990, no. 422 (via RKD). [painting]
- *An interior with elegant ladies and gentlemen dancing and an orchestra playing music in the background*. *A view of a garden through a door behind*. Amsterdam: auction Sotheby's, 2-11-2004, no. 11. [painting]
- *A wedding feast*. Inverness: Inverness Museum and Art Gallery. [painting]
- *Charles II dancing with Queen Catherine, the widow Princess of Orange, at a ball hosted by the 'Staten Generaal' in The Hague, 1660 (Charles II danst met Koningin Catherine, de weduwe Prinses van Oranje, op een bal gegeven door de Staten Generaal te Den Haag, 1660)*. Last known whereabouts: Malahide Castle: collection Lord Talbot de Malahide, inv. no. 54 (manner of/after Janssens). [painting]
- *Company dancing in an interior (Dansend gezelschap in een interieur).* London: auction Sotheby's, 5/6-12-2012, no. 148. KWN 258716. [painting]
- *Company eating and making music in a loggia* (Etend en musicerend gezelschap in een loggia)*. London: auction Sotheby's, 3-7-1996, no. 278. KWN 11000. [painting]
- *Dancing company in an interior* (Dansend gezelschap in een interieur)*. London: auction Sotheby's, 5-7-1995, no. 113. KWN 3263. [painting]
- *Elegant ball in a palace* ◊. Braunschweig: Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, inv. no. 1137. [painting]
- *Elegant company*. http://www.brightcecilia.net/gallery2/key/Janssens?g2_itemId=2154, last accessed: 23-11-2008. [painting]
- *Elegant company conversing, dancing and playing cards in a drawing-room with music of a string quartet* (Elegant gezelschap converserend, dansend en kaartspelend in een salon bij de muziek van een strijkkwartet)*. London: auction Sotheby's, 8-7-2004, no. 273. KWN 117062. [painting]
- *Elegant Company Dancing and Conversing on the Terrace of a Country House*. London: auction Sotheby's, 6-7-1994. [painting]
- *Elegant company dancing and playing music in an interior (Elegant dansend en musicerend gezelschap in een interieur)*. Stellenbosch: Gedenkmuseum Phillimore Ives, inv. no. 11. KWN 246151. [painting]
- *Elegant company dancing and playing music on a terrace (Elegant dansend en musicerend gezelschap op een bordes)*. Wien: auction Leo Schidlof, 23-2-1922, no. 21. KWN 246136. [painting]
- *Elegant company dancing in an interior 1* (Elegant gezelschap dansend in een interieur)*. London: auction Sotheby's, 3-7-1996, no. 277. KWN 11001. [painting]
- *Elegant company dancing in an interior 2 (Elegant dansend gezelschap in een interieur)*. London: Matthiesen Gallery, 1946. KWN 250337. [painting]
- *Elegant couple dancing in an interior with spectators (Elegant dansend paar in een interieur met toeschouwers)*. Pommersfelden: Schloss Weissenstein der Grafen von Schönborn, inv. no. 310. KWN 246147. [painting]
- *Elegant company in an interior* (Elegant gezelschap in een interieur)*. London: auction Sotheby's, 5-7-1995, no. 112. KWN 3264. [painting]
- *Elegant company in an interior with a couple dancing a minuet (Elegant gezelschap in een interieur met een paar dat een menuet danst)*. Dieren: art dealer J. Katz, 1938. KWN 250605. [painting]
- *Elegant company making music at a table in a landscape*. http://www.niceartgallery.com/Hieronymus-Janssens/Elegant-Company-Making-Music-At-A-Table-In-A-Landscape%3B-And-Elegant-Company-Listening-To-A-Recital-In-A-Classical-Landscape-oil-painting.html, last accessed: 10-7-2013 (follower Janssens). [painting]

- *Flemish Ladies' Party*. Lamport: Lamport Hall inv. no. 241. [painting]
- *Interior with an elegant lady and two men making music* (Interieur met een elegante dame en twee musicerende heren)*. London: auction Christie's, 1-11-1996, no. 40. KWN 17924. [painting]
- *Landscape with Peasants Dancing [?]*. New York: Historical Society, inv. no. 1919.6 (via RKD). [painting]
- *Merry company in a palace* ◊. Last known whereabouts: München: auction Neumeister, 14-3-1990, no. 504 (via RKD). [painting]
- *The ball*. http://www.wikigallery.org/wiki/painting_197882/Hieronymus-Janssens/The-Ball, last accessed: 9-7-2013. [painting]
- *The Minuet (Das Menuett)*. Schleiβheim: Staatsgalerie im Neuen Schloss, inv. no. 5675. [painting]
- *The Prodigal Son* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Den Haag: art dealer Galerie Internationale, 1961 (via RKD). [painting]

Jordaens I, Jacob (1593-1678)

- *Allegory of Love teaching Music (Allegorie op de muziek die de liefde onderwijst)* (ca. 1644). Mettingen: private collection Draiflessen Collection, 2012. KWN 251912. [painting]

Kessel I, Jan van (1626-1679)

- *Allegory of Hearing, one of the five senses (Allegorie op het Gehoor, een der vijf zintuigen)* (ca. 1640). Present whereabouts unknown: private collection. KWN 246536. [painting]
- *Allegory of Hearing (Allégorie de l'Ouïe)*. www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 3-6-2016. [painting]
- *Allegory of Hearing, one of the five senses (Allegorie op het Gehoor, een der vijf zintuigen)*. London: auction Christie's, 7-4-1995, no. 18. KWN 7268. [painting]
- *Landscape with animal satire: the hares rule the hunters (hunting prize becomes the hunter)* (Landschap met dierensatire: hazen heersen over jagers (jachtbuit wordt jager))*. London: auction Sotheby's, 8-12-2005, no. 347. KWN 35079 (follower van Kessel). [painting]

Laemen, Christoffel Jacobsz. van der (1606/1615-1651)

- *Elegant company in an interior with a dancing couple (Elegant gezelschap met dansend paar in een interieur)* (1640'). Bern: auction Dobiaschofsky, 9/12-11-2005, no. 827. KWN 196885 (attributed to Van der Laemen). [painting]
- *An elegant company conversing and dancing to music in an interior* ◊. Last known whereabouts: London: auction Christie's, 8-7-1994, no. 174 (via RKD). [painting]
- *An elegant company dancing and making music in an interior*. Amsterdam: auction Christie's, 19/20-6-2012, no. 64 (attributed to Van der Laemen). [painting]
- *An elegant couple dancing to music* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Den Haag: art dealer J. Hageraats, September 1928 (via RKD). [painting]
- *Dancing party in an Interior (Selskab med dansende par i interiør)*. Copenhagen: National Gallery of Denmark, inv. no. KMSsp181 (attributed to Van der Laemen). [painting]
- *Elegant company (Gesellschaftsszene)*. Köln: auction Lempertz, 20-11-2004, no. 1149. [painting]
- *Elegant company in an interior* (Elegant gezelschap in een interieur)*. Amsterdam: auction Christie's, 6-5-1998, no. 5. KWN 45893. [painting]
- *Elegant company playing music in an interior (Elegant musicerend gezelschap in een interieur)*. Wien: auction Dorotheum, 10-12-2014, no. 159. KWN 265971 (workshop of Van der Laemen). [painting]

Laroon II, Marcellus (1679-1772)
- *Soldiers making merry in a tent* (1707). London: Courtauld Institute of Art Gallery. [drawing]

Liemaker, Nicolaas (1601-1646)
- *The krowning [sic] of Maria (De kroning van Maria)* (1636). Gent: Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. no. 1883 A. KWN 33576. [painting]

Lisaert, Pieter (1574-after 1604)
- *The annunciation of the birth of Christ to the Virgin Mary (De annunciatie aan Maria van Christus geboorte)*. Brussel: Pierre Bergé & Associés, 28/29-11-2006, no. 16. KWN 192404 (attributed to Lisaert). [painting]

Loon, Theodor van (1581/1582-1649)
- *Assumption of the Virgin*. Present whereabouts unknown. [painting]

Maes, Godfried (1649-1700)
- *Minerva visits the Muses (Minerva bezoekt de muzen (Metamorfosen))*. Paris: art dealer F. Baulme Fine Arts, 2012. KWN 252949. [drawing]

Meulener, Pieter (1602-1654)
- *Elegant company in a garden* (Elegant gezelschap in een tuin)* (1652). Wien: auction Dorotheum, 21-6-1960, no. 61. KWN 25957. [painting]

Michau, Theobald (1676-1765)
- *A village fair by a river* (Dorpskermis bij een rivier)*. London: auction Christie's, 10-7-1998, no. 127. KWN 46805. [painting]
- *Peasants making merry in a landscape (Feestvierende boeren in een landschap)*. Wien: auction Dorotheum, 18-10-2016, no. 309. KWN 275160. [painting]
- *The village fair*. http://www.1st-art-gallery.com/Theobald-Michau/The-Village-Fair.html, last accessed: 15-5-2013. [painting]

Monteyne, Jan-Baptist (active 1717-1718)
- *An elegant company making music on a terrace* ◊. Last known whereabouts: New York: auction Christie's, 10-1-1980, no. 45 (via RKD). [painting]
- *An elegant company watching a cellist* ◊. Auction on: www.ebay.com, auction ended: 15-4-2014. [painting]
- *Company making music at a temple* (Musicerend gezelschap bij een tempel)*. London: auction Bonhams, 19/20-2-1997, no. 237. KWN 20117. [painting]
- *Elegant company in an interior* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Genève: art dealer E. A. Zumkeller, 1973 (via RKD). [painting]
- *Elegant company on a terrace* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Amsterdam: auction Christie's, 29-5-1986, no. 135 (via RKD). [painting]

Orley II, Richard van (1663-1732)
- Title page of: Abaco, E. F. dall' (1705). *Sonate Da Camera a Violino, e Viol., overo Clavicembalo solo*. Amsterdam: Estienne Roger. Bussum: Collection Ton Koopman, inv. no. TK00694. [engraving]
- *Women making music under a baldachin (Musicerende vrouwen onder een baldakijn)*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum inv. no. RP-P-OB-24.313. [engraving]

Pepijn, Marten (1575-1643)
- *Ball scene in a palace (Scène de bal dans un palais)* (1608). Paris: Galerie Claude Vittet, www.galerievittet.com last accessed 18-9-2016. [painting]
- *A ball (Бал)*. Moscow: The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. F-1833. [painting]

Reysschoot, Petrus Norbertus van (1738-1795)

- *Allegory on music* (Allegorie: de muziek)*. Paris: art dealer Paul Prouté, 1967. KWN 56023. [drawing]
- *Design for a ceiling with the representation of the marriage of Jupiter and Juno (Ontwerp voor een plafond met het huwelijk van Jupiter en Juno)*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-T-1942-101. [drawing]

Rijckaert III, David (1612-1661)

- *An elegant company making music in an interior 1* ◊ (1650). Last known whereabouts: Switserland: collection Diane SA (via RKD). [painting]
- *An elegant company making music in an interior 2* ◊ (1650). Last known whereabouts: Vaduz: collection Fürst von Liechtenstein, 1956/1957 (via RKD). [painting]
- *Musical company*. Pommersfelden: Collection Von Schönborn-Wiesentheid, inv. no. 582. [painting]
- *Social gathering in the country*. Last known whereabouts: auction Christie's, 10-4-1970. [painting]

Rintel, Jan van (active 1658-1674)

- *Peasants conversing* ◊ (1693). Last known whereabouts: München: auction H. Ruef, 8/10-12-1982, no. 1662 (via RKD). [painting]

Rubens, Peter Paul (1577-1640)

- *The Adoration of the Eucharist* (ca. 1626). Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, inv. no. 1937.1012. KWN 243827. [painting]
- *Angels playing music (Musicerende engelen)* (1626-1628). Torino: Biblioteca Reale di Torino, inv. no. 16430. KWN 242647 (after Rubens). [drawing]
- *Angels playing music (Musizierende Engel)* (1628). Potsdam: Bildergalerie im Park Sanssouci, inv. no. GK I 7745. KWN 24951. [painting]
- *Angels on a cloud (Engelen op een wolk)*. Haarlem: Teylers Museum, inv. no. KG 17245. KWN 24952 (after Rubens). [engraving]

Sallaert, Antoine (ca. 1590-1650)

- *The Legend of the Church of the Virgin in Alsemberg: Saint Elisabeth orders the construction of the Church in Alsemberg at the specifications of the Virgin (De legende van de O.L.V Kerk te Alsemberg: De H. Elisabeth geeft opdracht om de kerk te Alsemberg te bouwen in opdracht van de H. Maagd)* (1645-1649). Alsemberg: Onze-Lieve-Vrouw Kerk van Alsemberg. KWN 232422. [painting]
- *Interior with elegant figures singing and making music by candle light*. Amsterdam: auction Sotheby's, 30-11-2010, no. 77 (attibuted to Sallaert). [painting]

Schoevaerdts, Matthijs (active 1682-1702)

- *Village 'kermis' with peasants making merry (Dorpskermis met feestvierende boeren)*. Asterdam: auction Christie's, 9-11-2010, no. 25. KWN 226224. [painting]

Schut, Cornelis (1597-1655)

- *Angels making music* (ca. 1650). Chicago: Art Institute Chicago, inv. no. John H. Wrenn Memorial Endowment, 1994.721 (after Rubens). [etching]
- *The seven liberal arts (Septem artes liberales)*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-33.263. [engraving]

Seldron, Elisabeth (1674-1761)

- *Company feasting before a house, a harbour and a ruin beyond (Feestvierend gezelschap voor een huis, een haven en een ruïne in de achtergrond)* (ca. 1690). London: auction Christie's, 23-4-2008, no. 23. KWN 227912. [painting]

- *A Flemish country fair*. www.jeanmoust.com, last accessed: 20-9-2015 (according to Jean Moust: London: Gallery Johnny van Haeften). [painting]
- *A village dance*. www.jeanmoust.com, last accessed: 17-6-2016. [painting]
- *Company partying in front of an inn* (Feestend gezelschap voor een herberg)*. Stockholm: auction Bukowskis, 29/31-5-2001, no. 438. KWN 57839. [painting]
- *Village party by a river* (Dorpsfeest bij een rivier)*. London: auction Christie's, 10-12-1993, no. 234. KWN 32769. [painting]
- *Villagers feasting outside an inn (Feestvierende dorpelingen voor een herberg)*. Paris: auction Artcurial, 21-6-2010, no. 79. KWN 226041. [painting]
- *Villagers partying in front of an inn* (Feestvierende dorpelingen voor een herberg)*. Paris: Hôtel George V, 28-6-1994, no. 27. KWN 32777. [painting]
- *Wooded landscape with peasants feasting (Boslandschap met feestvierende boeren)*. London: auction Bonhams, 4-7-2007, no. 34. KWN 107790. [painting]

Sion, Peeter (ca. 1620-1695)

- *Apollo playing with the nine muses on Mount Helicon (Apollo musicerend met de negen muzen op de Helicon)* (ca. 1630). Barcelona: private collection. KWN 121922 (attributed to Sion). [painting]

Teniers I, David (1582-1649)

- *Landscape with the flight into Egypt (Landskap med flykten till Egypten)*. Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, inv. no. NM 6870. KWN 260891. [painting]

Teniers II, David (1610-1690)

- *Music making family on a terrace (Musicerende familie op een terras)* (ca. 1644-1645). London: auction Sotheby's, 9-7-2008, no. 23. KWN 3225. [painting]
- *The painter and his family (Der Maler mit seiner Familie)* (ca. 1645-1646). Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. no. 857. KWN 250738. [painting]
- *A wedding party in a village* (1675). London: auction Christie's, 7-7-2010, no. 143. [painting]
- *The cellist (Le joueur de violoncelle)* (18th century). www.artnet.com, last accessed: 18-6-2016 (follower of Teniers II). [painting]
- *Large village fair with a dancing couple (Große Dorfkirmes mit dem tanzenden Paar)*. Dresden: Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv. no. Gal.-Nr. 1083. [painting]
- *Musicians at a tavern*. Present whereabouts unknown. [painting]
- *Peasant's wedding (Boerenbruiloft)*. Roma: Galleria Doria Pamphilj, inv. no. 350. KWN 257900. [painting]
- *Portrait of the Wife and Son of the Painter*. Torino: Galleria Sabauda. [painting]

Thulden, Theodoor van (1606-1669)

- *Allegory of vice (Allegorie op de ondeugd)* (1630). Den Bosch: Het Noordbrabants Museum, inv. no. 10914. KWN 62940. [painting]
- *Celestial concert (Concert celeste).* www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 10-6-2017 (after Van Thulden). [drawing?]
- *Christ welcoming the Virgin in Paradise after the Assumption 1 (Le Christ accueillant la Vierge au Paradis après l'Assomption)*. www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 10-6-2017. [drawing]
- *Christ welcoming the Virgin in Paradise after the Assumption 2 (Le Christ accueillant la Vierge au Paradis après l'Assomption)*. www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 10-6-2017. [painting]
- *David holding the head of Goliath (David tenant la tête de Goliath)*. www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 10-6-2017. [painting]
- *The apotheosis of St Francis of Paola 1 (Apothéose de Saint François de Paule).* www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 3-6-2016 (attributed to Van Thulden). [painting]
- *The apotheosis of St Francis of Paola 2 (Apothéose de Saint François de Paule)*. www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 3-6-2016 (attributed to Van Thulden). [painting]

- *The Glorification of the Eucharist*. www.1st-art-gallery.com, last accessed: 9-7-2013 (by/after Van Thulden). [painting]
- *The resurrected Christ appearing to his mother (Le Christ ressuscité apparaissant à sa mère)*. www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 10-6-2017. [painting]
- *The resurrected Christ appears to the Virgin Mary (Le Christ ressuscité apparaissant à la Vierge, sa mère)*. Paris: Musée de Louvre, inv. no. 1904. KWN 46680. [painting]

Tilborgh, Gillis van (active 1654-1678)

- *An elegant company making music in a park* ◊. Last known whereabouts: London: art dealer J. Leger & Son, 1935 (via RKD). [painting]
- *An elegant company making music in an interior*. Amsterdam: auction Sotheby's, 31-10-2005, no. 1408 (manner of Van Tilborgh). [painting]
- *A rural party in a village* ◊. Milano: Museo Castello Sforzesco, inv. no. 1159. [painting]
- *A rural party in the village square* ◊. Last known whereabouts: London: auction Christie's, 9-5-1947, no. 78 (via RKD). [painting]
- *Hunting Party Outside an Inn*. Dundee: Dundee's Art Gallery and Museum, inv. no. 6-1912 (follower of Van Tilborgh). [painting]
- *Portrait of a family in a 'Kunstkammer' (Groepsportret in een kunstgalerij).* London/Brussel: art dealer J. Leger & Son, 1932. KWN 123001. [painting]
- *The rejection of the marriage-broker (Die Abweisung des Freiwebers)*. Oldenburg: Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte. [painting]

Tilens, Jan (1589-1630)

- *Apollo and the Muses on the Parnassus (Apollo en de Muzen op de Parnassus)* (1600-1624). Belgium: private collection. KWN 114137 (is/was Tilens). [painting]

Verbeeck, François Xaver Henri (1686-1755)

- *Company making music 1 (Musizierende Gesellschaft)* (1729). Köln: auction Lempertz, 17-11-2012, no. 1238. [painting]
- *Company making music 2 (Musizierend Gesellschaft)* (1729). Düsseldorf: Ralph Gierhards Antiques, website last accessed: 4-2-2018. [painting]
- *Company making music 3 (Musizierend Gesellschaft)* (1729). Düsseldorf: Ralph Gierhards Antiques, website last accessed: 4-2-2018. [painting]
- *Company making music*. Wien: auction Dorotheum, 17-6-2008 (surroundings Verbeeck). [painting]
- *Concert in a park 1 (Concert dans un parc).* www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 3-6-2016. [painting]
- *Concert in a park 2 (Concert dans un parc).* www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 3-6-2016. [painting]
- *Concert with tympanon (Concert avec tympanon).* www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 3-6-2016 (attributed to Verbeeck). [painting]
- *Elegant company at a meal (Elegant gezelschap in een interieur)*. Wien: auction Dorotheum, 17-10-2012, no. 735. KWN 255169. [painting]
- *Elegant company making music* (Elegant musicerend gezelschap)*. London: auction Christie's, 9-7-2008, no. 188. KWN 187907. [painting]
- *Elegant company playing music and a young man presenting a dead hare on a terrace (Elegant musicerend gezelschap en een jonge man met een dode haas op een terras)*. Amsterdam: auction Sotheby's, 27/29-3-2007, no. 62. KWN 228898. [painting]
- *Interior with a musical company (Interieur met musicerend gezelschap)*. Copenhagen: auction Bruun Rasmussen, 6/9-6-2005, no. 1186. KWN 194193. [painting]
- *The musician and the drinker (Musicien et le buveur).* www.gallica.bnf.fr, last accessed: 4-6-2016. [painting]

Vierpeyl, Jan Carel (active 1697-1723)

- *Concert 1 (Концерт)*. Moscow: The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. F-403. KWN 268004. [painting]
- *Concert 2 (Концерт)*. Moscow: The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. F-3986. [painting]

Voet, Alexander (1608-1689)

- *Hearing (Gehoor)* (1628-1689). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1882-A-5922. [etching & engraving]

Vos, Cornelis de (1584-1651)

- *The seven liberal arts*. Present whereabouts unknown. [painting]

Vos, Maerten de (1532-1603)

- *The Seven Liberal Arts / Musica* (ca. 1600). London: British Museum, inv. no. 1868,0612.457 (after de Vos). [engraving]

Vos, Simon de (1603-1676)

- *Masquerade in an interior* ◊. Last known whereabouts: New York: art dealer S. Hartveld, 1948 (via RKD). [painting]
- *The home-coming of the Prodigal Son (De terugkeer van de Verloren Zoon)* (1641). München: Hampel Kunstauktionen, 15/16-9-2011, no. 246. KWN 224700. [painting]

Vrancx, Sebastiaan (1573-1647)

- *Company outside (Gezelschap buiten)* (ca. 1620). Paris: Musée des arts décoratifs, inv. no. 18.510. [drawing]
- *An elegant company on a palatial terrace* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Brussel: art dealer Jean Willems, 1990, no. 8 (via RKD). [drawing]
- *Elegant company feasting in a park (Feestend elegant gezelschap in een park)*. Braunschweig: Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, inv. no. Z. 325. KWN 70045. [drawing]
- *Parable of the Prodigal Son at the Feast among the Courtesans*. Present whereabouts unknown. [painting]

Wierix II, Antonius (ca. 1555/1559-1604)

- *Cor exulta, quid moraris?* (From a series: *Cor jesu amanti sacrum – Cor exulta, quid moraris?*, 1585) Brussel: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, inv. no. M 440.1. [engraving]
- *Canta puer, quid moraris?* (before 1619) Brussel: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, inv. no. M 408. [engraving]

Wierix, Hieronymus (active 1573-1619)

- *Angels making music around a coat of arms (Musicerende engelen rond een wapenschild)* (from a series: *Salve Regina, Mater Misericordiae*, 1611-1619). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-66.987. [engraving]
- *The adoration of the infant* (before 1619). London: British Museum, inv. no. 1859,0709.3110. [engraving]

Winghe, Joos van (1544-1603)

- *Company in a tavern at night (Nächtliche Gesellschaft in einer Taverne)*. Köln: auction Lempertz, 19-11-2011, no. 1220. [painting]
- *Elegant company, making music at the light of torches* (Elegant gezelschap, musicerend bij fakkellicht)*. Wien: auction Dorotheum, 6-10-1999, no. 184. KWN 61861. [painting]

Witte, Gaspar de (1624-1681)

- *Concert in the Park* (*Концерт в парке*) (1650). St Petersburg: Hermitage, inv. no. GE-3323. [painting]

Wouters, Frans (1612-1659)

- *A rural concert (Le concert champêtre)* (1654). Dole: Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. no. 241. [painting]

APPLIED ARTS

Anonymous

- *Set of tiles with a blue and white decor with figures including a cellist (Tegelveld met een blauwwit figuurdecor)* (1620-1640). Leeuwarden: Museum Princessehof, inv. no. N.O. 8406. [tiles]
- *Tile with a blue and white decor of a cellist playing underhand* ◊ (in reverse, 1625-1649). Delft: Museum Prinsenhof, Bruikleen RCE, inv. no. LM 1500. [tiles]
- *Tile with a blue and white decor of a man with a viol [sic] (Tegel met blauwwit decor van een man met een viola da gamba [sic])* (1640-1660). Leeuwarden: Museum Princessehof, inv. no. N.O. 8581 B. [tiles]
- *The Apotheosis of the Seven Liberal Arts* (1650). Castrojeriz: Santo Domingo. [tapestries & lace]
- *Tile with a blue and white decor of a cellist playing overhand* ◊ (in reverse, 1650-1675). Leiden: former collection Jan Meijers. [tiles]
- *The Apotheosis of the Seven Liberal Arts (De Apotheose der Zeven Vrije Kunsten)* (design Cornelis Schut, ca. 1650-1675). Essen: Villa Hügel. KWN 235331. [tapestries & lace]
- *The Seven Liberal Arts* (1654). Zamora: Museo Catedralicio. [tapestries & lace]
- *Tile with a blue and white decor of a music lesson (Tegel met een blauwwit decor van een muziekles)* (1670-1720). Leeuwarden: Museum Princessehof, inv. no. N.O. 04799. [tiles]
- *The Apotheosis of the Seven Liberal Arts (De Apotheose der Zeven Vrije Kunsten)* (design Cornelis Schut, ca. 1675). Brugge: Stedelijke Musea Brugge, inv. no. 0.12.XVII. KWN 235318. [tapestries & lace]
- *Cello in the doll's house of Petronella de la Court* ◊ (ca. 1680). Utrecht: Centraal Museum, inv. no. 5000/066 a. [doll's houses]
- *Brandy bowl with images of the seven virtues* (Bolsward, 1686). Present whereabouts unknown. [silver]

- *Story of Sappho and Phaon* (ca. 1700). Last known whereabouts: Tyninghame: auction Sotheby's, 28/29-9-1987, no. 767 (via RKD). [tapestries & lace]
- *Violin (Viool)* (ca. 1705-1710). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. BK-NM-12400-91. [ceramics]
- *Lace* (1720-1740). New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 2009.300.3500. [tapestries & lace]
- *Earthenware bowl with cellist and singer* ◊. Bowl, Chinese ('blauw onder het glazuur'), handpainted in the Low Countries, so-called 'Amsterdams bont' ('clobbered ware') (ca. 1730). The Netherlands: private collection. [ceramics]
- *Chalice engraved with Apollo and the nine Muses with opposite the statue of Erasmus (Kelkglas gegraveerd met Apollo en de negen muzen en daar tegenover het standbeeld van Erasmus)* (Rotterdam? 1739). Rotterdam: Museum Rotterdam, inv. no. 105. [glass]
- *Dish of multicolored painted faience (Schotel van veelkleurig beschilderde faïence)* (ca. 1750 - ca. 1780). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. BK-NM-12400-178. [ceramics]
- *Set of 6 pancake plates from Delft* ◊ (1754). Brouwershaven: former Collection Koos Limburg. [ceramics]
- *Cello in the doll's house of Sara Rothé* ◊ (17th century). Den Haag: Gemeentemuseum. [doll's houses]
- *Hercules at the cross-roads (Herkules am Scheidewege)* (17th century). (via RKD). [tapestries & lace]
- *Stained glass; Panel made up of thirteen seventeenth century roundels of Dutch musicians* (17th century). Collection of Sir Thomas Neave of Dagnam Park, Essex. [glass]
- *The Apotheosis of the Seven Liberal Arts*. www.renatetakkenberg.es, last accessed: 8-7-2013. [tapestries & lace]
- *Tile (broken) with cellist playing overhand* ◊ (17th century). The Netherlands: private collection. [tiles]
- *Tile with cellist playing overhand on a three-stringed cello 1* ◊ (17th century). The Netherlands: private collection. [tiles]
- *Tile with cellist playing overhand on a three-stringed cello 2* ◊ (17th century). The Netherlands: private collection. [tiles]
- *Triumph of love* ◊ (17th century). Last known whereabouts: Berlin: auction Lepke, 26-2-1907, no. 90 (via RKD). [tapestries & lace]
- *Women making music in a garden 1* ◊ (17th century). Last known whereabouts: 15-5-1914, no. 102 (via RKD). [tapestries & lace]
- *Women making music in a garden 2* ◊ (17th century). Last known whereabouts: Collection Fried??? 26/27-5-1921, no. 214 (via RKD). [tapestries & lace]
- *The Apotheosis of the Seven Liberal Arts (De Apotheose der Zeven Vrije Kunsten)* (design Cornelis Schut, after 1650). Milano: Castello Sforzesco. KWN 235336. [tapestries & lace]
- *Two cachepots from Delft* ◊ (late 17th century). Aachen: Couven Museum. [= ceramics, see: Case study Pieter van Avont & Wenzel Hollar]
- *Flemish wall tapestry* ◊ (end 17th century). Last known whereabouts: Paris: auction Drouot, 25/26-4-1906, no. 193 (via RKD). [tapestries & lace]
- *Banquet of a Moorish sovereign (Gastmahl eines Mohrenfürsten)* (Brussel, 18th century). (via RKD). [tapestries & lace]
- Magic lantern slide: one out of a series of *Four professions after 'Het menselyk bedryf'* (1700-1790). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. BK-NM-3334-Q (after Jan & Caspar Luyken). [magic lantern slides]
- *A Flemish verdure tapestry, depicting Saint Cecilia amongst Musicians, the figures all robed in the Classical manner, the saint seated in the centre and surrounded by a harpist, a violin player, an organist and other musicians, portrayed in a verdant landscape and beneath the boughs of a tree, a parrot*

perched on a lower branch (18th century). Newbury: Dreweatts and Bloomsbury Auctions, 11-5-2016. [tapestries & lace]
- *Tapestry from Brussels* ◊ (18th century). www.allposters.nl, last accessed: 12-6-2016. [tapestries & lace]
- *Wall tapestry with musicians* ◊ (18th century). Brugge: City Hall. [tapestries & lace]
- *Arti Liberari: Musica*. Vatican: Gallerie Pontificie (via RKD). [tapestries & lace]

Biltius, Jentje Harings
- *Silver brandy bowl (Zilveren brandewijnskom)* (1711). Sneek: Fries Scheepvaart Museum, inv. no. 1994-517. [silver]

Borcht, Frans van der (1720-1765)
- *Apollo and the Muses* (2nd half 18th century). London: auction Sotheby's, 31-10-2006, no. 313 (workshop of Van der Borcht). [tapestries & lace]
- *Apollo playing the lyre*. Last know whereabouts: München: auction Neumeister, 15/16-11-1980, no. 423 (via RKD). [tapestries & lace]
- *Peasants carousing*. Turin: Royal Palace. [tapestries & lace]

Borcht, Jacob van der (active 1676-1707)
- *Apollo and the Muses* (ca. 1690). Weltkunst, 1-11-1967 (via RKD). [tapestries & lace]
- *Apollo and the Nine Muses* (18th century). Last known whereabouts: Littlecote House: auction Sotheby's, 22-11-1985, no. 1132 (via RKD). [tapestries & lace]

Borcht, Jasper (Gaspard) van der (?-1742)
- *Apollon and the Muses* (1720). Last known whereabouts: Antwerpen: Bernard Blondeel (via RKD). [tapestries & lace]

Borcht III, Pieter van der (ca. 1590-1662)
- *Banquet of a Moorish sovereign* ◊ (1750). West Yorkshire: Nostell Priory, inv. no. NT 960144.2. [tapestries and lace]

Brouwer, Gerloff (ca. 1627-1676)
- *Baby-linen basket with a representation of putti making music (Luiermand met een voorstelling van musicerende putti)* (1660). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. BK-15753 (attributed to Brouwer). [silver]

Buttner, Jurriaan (before 1737-1767)
- *Pegasus surrounded by the Seven Arts* (detail of the left outer door of the doll's house of Sara Rothé, ca. 1743). Haarlem: Frans Hals Museum. [doll's houses]

Fortuyn, Willem (active 1752-1762)
- *Chalice with a woman behind a spinet (Kelkglas met een vrouw achter een spinet)* (ca. 1750, before 1757). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. BK-KOG-145. [glass]

Grauda, Pieter (1640-??)
- *Tile with cellist playing underhand while seated on a bench* ◊ (17th century). The Netherlands: private collection. [tiles]
- *Tile made of earthenware and tin glaze, depicting a female cellist, behind her a man with sheet music or song book. (Tegel van aardewerk met tinglazuur, voorstellende een celliste, achter haar een man met bladmuziek of liedboek)* (ca. 1660-1690). Otterlo: Nederlands Tegelmuseum, inv. no. 0229-12454. [tiles]
- *Tile with a female cellist playing underhand and a man holding a song book* ◊. Otterlo: Nederlands Tegelmuseum, inv. no. 10024 (Grauda factory; possibly designed by Gesina ter Borch). [tiles]

Haven, Theodorus van der (active 1720-1750) & **Struiwigh**, Casper (1698-1747)

- *Cellist on the organ case of the Hinsz organ in the Petruskerk in Leens* ◊ (ca. 1734). Photo made by me [organ-cases]

Logteren, Jan van (1709-1745)

- *Cellist on the organ case of the* Müller organ in *the St Bavo Church in Haarlem* ◊ (ca. 1738). www.ellykooiman.com, last accessed: 11-9-2016. [organ-cases]

Orley, Jan van (1665-1735) & **Coppens**, Augustin (1668-1740)

- *Telemachus and Mentor dining with Calypso (Télémaque et Mentor au diner de Calypso)*. Last known whereabouts: Paris: auction Drouot, January 2006, no. 213 (via RKD). [tapestries & lace]

Romans, Johannes (????-????)

- *Cello on the organ case of the Garrels organ in the Koepelkerk in Purmerend* ◊ (ca. 1740). [organ-cases]

Rubens, Peter Paul (1577-1640)

- *Angels playing music (Musicerende engelen)* (1626-1628). Madrid: Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales. KWN 242646. [tapestries & lace]

Schut, Cornelis (1597-1655)

- *The music (Музыка)* (2nd half 17th century). St Petersburg: Hermitage, inv. no. T-2947. [tapestries & lace]

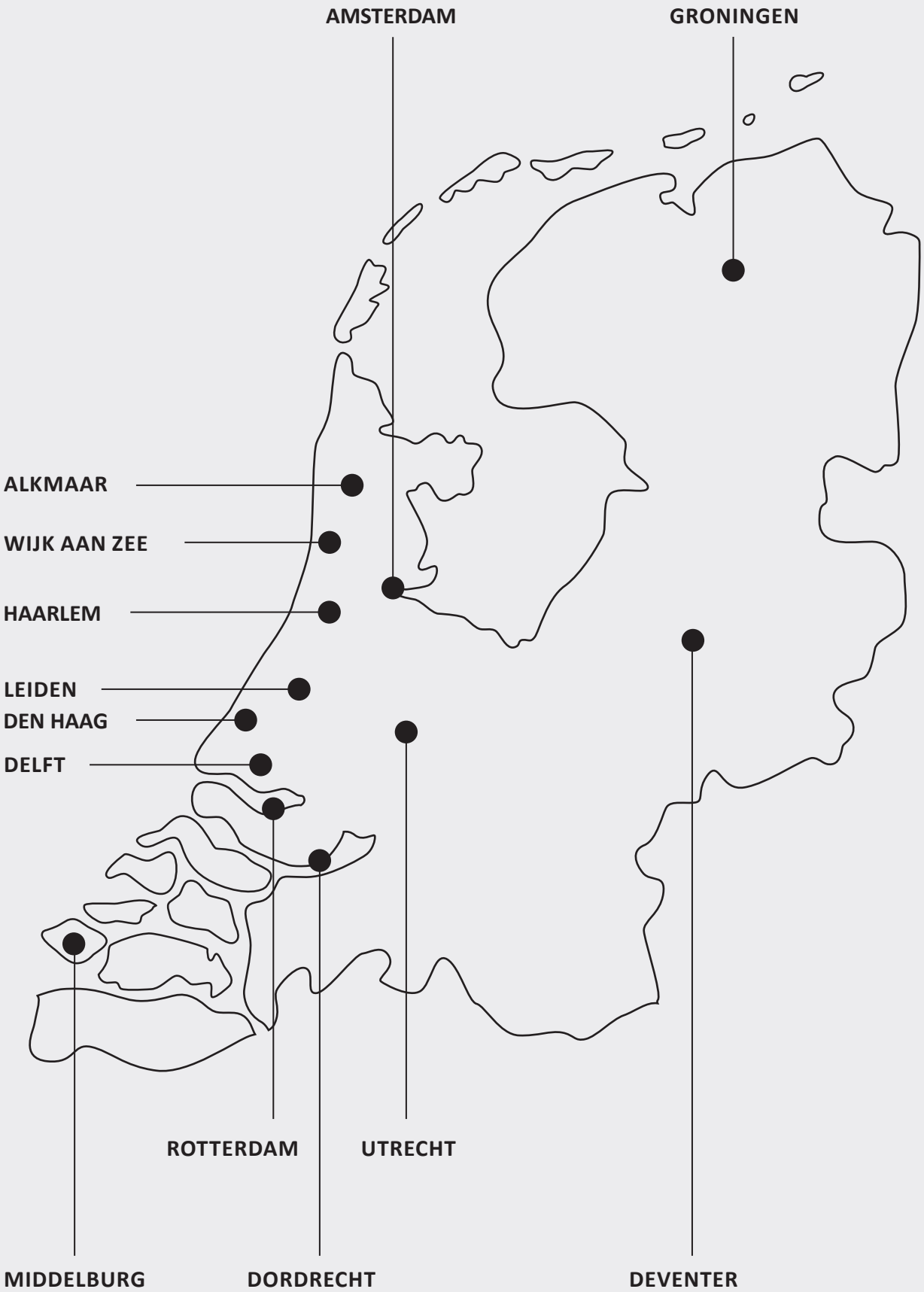
Teniers, David (1610-1690)

- *Burgheer's Flemish Feast* (17th century). (via RKD). [tapestries & lace]
- *Musical company in a riverside landscape* (1st half 18th century). Wien: auction Dorotheum, 3-4-2017, no. 47. [tapestries & lace]
- *A merry company dancing to music in a wooded landscape* ◊ (18th century). Last known whereabouts: Brussel: Palais des Beaux Arts, 11/13-6-1947 (after Teniers) (via RKD). [tapestries & lace]
- *Kermesse* (18th century). Last known whereabouts: Paris: auction Drouot, 8-3-1933, no. 114 (via RKD). [tapestries & lace]
- *A merry couple dancing to music in a wooded landscape* ◊. Last known whereabouts: Exhibition Scaldis 1956 (via RKD). [tapestries & lace]
- *A rural company at a table outside an inn* ◊ (via RKD, 504 Da 78.27). [tapestries & lace]
- *A rural company dancing and conversing in a wooded landscape* ◊ (via RKD, 995 Da 78.26). [tapestries & lace]
- *A rural company eating, drinking and dancing outside an inn* ◊ (via RKD, 1601 Da 78.30). [tapestries & lace]
- *Peasants dancing*. Chastleton: Chastleton House. [tapestries & lace]
- *The May pole Dance.* From: Marillier, H. C. (1932). *Handbook to the Teniers tapestries*, p. 64 (via RKD). [tapestries & lace]

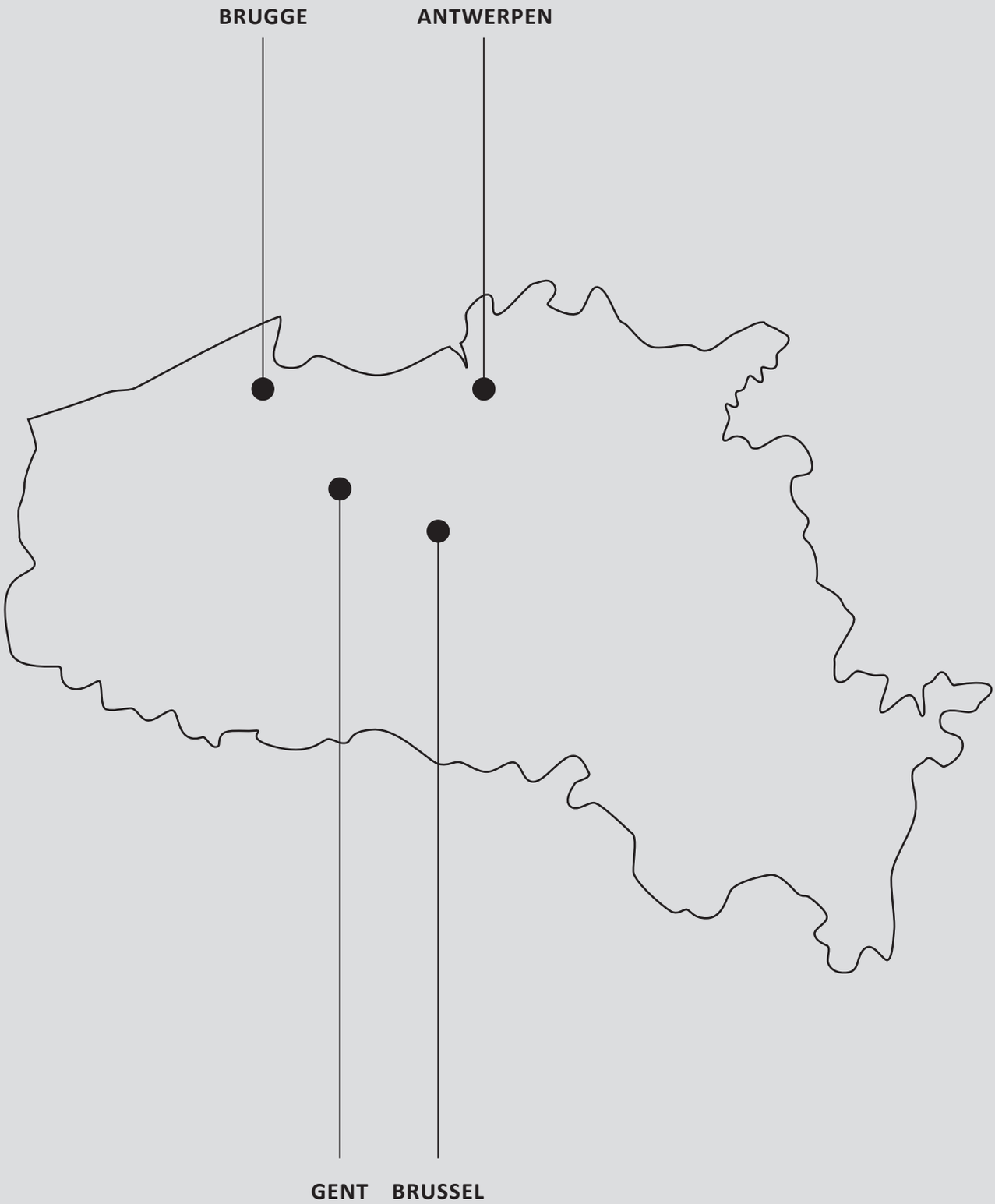
Databases

A total summary of Noordelijke Nederlanden, Zuidelijke Nederlanden and Applied Arts is to be found at the end of the book.

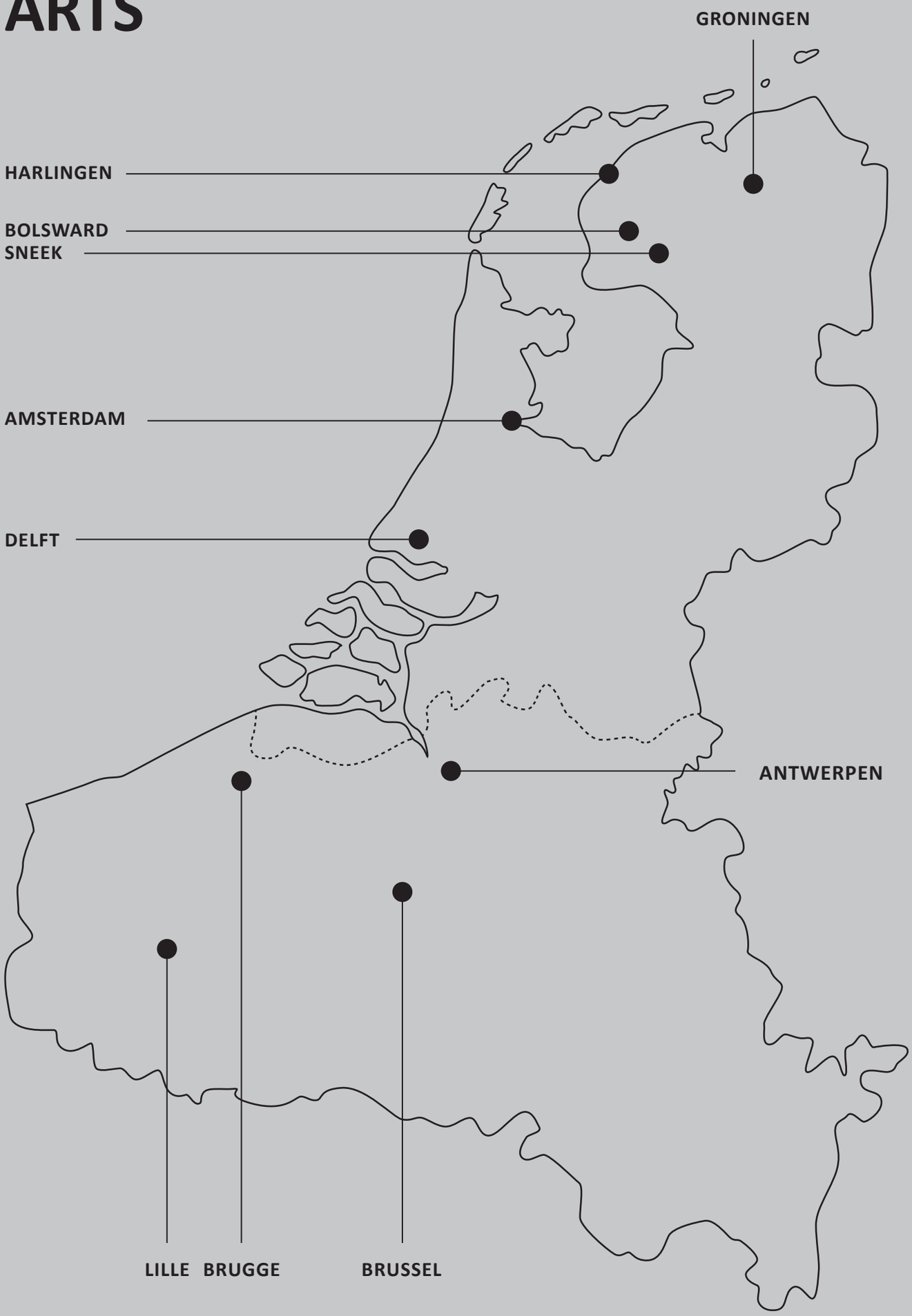
NOORDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN



ZUIDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN



APPLIED ARTS



3 DATASHEETS

APPLIED ARTS

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NOORDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN

Unknown period · Before 1600 · 17th century · 18th century · 1600-1625 · 1625-1650 · 1650-1675 · 1675-1700 · 1700-1725 · 1725-1750 · 1750-1775 · 1775-1800

Active in · Artist · Period of activity · Date · Invisible · Unplayed · No · Yes · Black · White

				Played instrument?		Size of cello				How is the cello held?						Shape of cello: Schoulders			Shape of cello: Sound holes			Shape of cello: Frets			Shape of cello: Scroll			Number of strings and pegs					Colour of strings		Bow hold				Colour hairs of bow			Position of left hand on instrument						Sex of the player				Location: Inside		Location: Outside			Particularities
				✓	✗	Small	Normal	Large	∅	Between legs	On floor	Endpin, stool, foot, etc.	Hangs	∅	♪	Violin	Viol	∅	F-shape	C-shape or flames	∅	✗	✓	?	Violin shape	Human or animal	∅	4	5	6	Irregular	∅	Brown	Brown and silver	Over-hand	Under-hand	♪	∅	●	○	∅	♪	∅	Tunes	Fingers closely together	Fingers far apart from each other	Thumb along/ around neck	♂	♀	♪	∅	Posh	Inn	Posh	Farm	Other-wise	
Unknown	17th century	17th century		4	2		2	4		1	3				2	2	3	1	2		4	4		2	4	1	1	1			1	4				3	3				6	1	2		3			4		2		5		1			
			1618	1				1			1						1		1			1			1				1					1				1						1				1						1		
			1621	1			1				1						1				1	1			1			1						1							1				1			1					1				
			1630	1			1				1						1		1			1					1	1													1							1					1				
			1632	1			1				1					1			1			1			1			1							1							1			1				1				1					
			1644	3		1	1	1		2	1					1	2		2		1	1		2		1	2	1				2			1	1		1			3		1		2			2			1			2		1	
			1649	1				1			1					1			1			1			1							1						1			1				1			1						1			
			1657	2			2				2					1	1		1		1	1	1		1		1	1				1				1	1				2				1		1	2					2					Playing in higher position, scroll turned backwards
			1659		1		1								1	1			1			1			1			1					1				1			1			1									1					
			1694		1	1									1	1			1			1					1	1								1					1	1											1					
	18th century	18th century		3		1	2			1		2				3			3			3			3			3					1		3				2	1		1			1	1	3				3					Thumb position
			1712	1				1			1							1	1					1	1						1						1			1			1				1						1			
			1714	2		2								2		2					2			2	2						2						2			2		2					2						2			
			1732	1		1							1					1			1	1				1				1				1						1			1				1						1			3rd position
			ca. 1750	1		1								1		1				1				1	1						1						1			1		1					1				1					
			1755	1				1			1					1			1			1			1			1								1					1				1				1						1	
			1762	1			1				1					1			1			1				1		1							1						1			1				1						1		2nd position
			1763	1				1			1					1			1			1			1			1								1			1					1											1		
			ca. 1780	1			1					1				1			1			1			1							1			1				1					1				1					1				Given way how hand is placed, thumb should be against neck
			ca. 1783		1			1							1	1					1	1					1	1									1				1	1								1					1		
			ca. 1785		1				1						1	1			1			1					1	1									1				1	1								1					1		
	Gillius Brakel	1699-1714	1699		1			1							1	1			1			1			1			1									1			1		1							1						1	Title page treatise
	Franz Lippold	lived: 1688-1768	1762	1			1							1		1			1			1			1			1					1			1			1							1	1					1				
	Gerrit Sibersma	1747-1749	1743		1				1					1				1			1			1	1						1					1				1	1							1							1	
Active in several cities	Jan de Bisschop	1644-1671		1		1					1					1			1			1			1							1			1				1								1	1								1	Left hand with unclear position along the neck
	Richard Brakenburgh	1670-1702		1	1	1	1				1				1	1	1		2			2			1		1					2				1	1		1		1	1			1				1	1	1		1	1			Very flat instrument
			ca. 1680	1			1				1					1			1			1			1			1					1			1			1					1				1					1			Child
	Leonaert Bramer	1614-1674		6	2			7	1		4			2	2	7	1		7		1	8			5	2	1	5	1			2			2	4	2	1		7	2	1		5			4	2	2		5		1		2	Several cellos are very flat
			1640-1645		1			1							1	1			1			1			1					1		1				1				1	1								1			1				Very large cello
			1640-1650		1			1							1	1			1			1			1					1						1				1	1								1			1				
			1659	1			1						1			1			1			1			1				1							1				1				1				1						1		
			ca. 1660		1			1							1	1			1			1			1							1				1				1	1									1					1		
	Willem Pietersz. Buytewech	1606-1624		2			2			1				1		2			2			2			2						1	1				2		1		1				2						2				2			
	Edwaert Collier	1663-1708			2	1	1								2	1	1		1		1	2			1	1		2									2		1		1	2								2				2			
	Cornelis Cort	1550-1565	1561		1		1								1	1			1				1		1			1									1			1	1								1						1	
	Dirck van Delen	1625-1668		1			1							1		1					1	1			1					1			1					1		1			1						1				1				
			1632	1				1						1		1			1			1			1					1			1					1	1			1						1				1				
	Jacob Duck	1621-1667		1	4		3	2		1	2				2	2	3		4		1	4		1	4	1		3	1		1					1	4		2		3	3			1		1	3		2		5					Pegs very closely together, impossible to tune, thumb completely around neck
	Adriaen van Gaesbeeck	1646-1650	ca. 1645		1		1								1	1			1			1			1			1					1				1				1	1								1				1			
	Franciscus Gijsbrechts	1672-1677			1			1							1	1					1	1			1			1									1				1	1								1				1			

Cities

Artists

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NOORDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN

Unknown period · Before 1600 · 17th century · 18th century · 1600-1625 · 1625-1650 · 1650-1675 · 1675-1700 · 1700-1725 · 1725-1750 · 1750-1775 · 1775-1800

Active in · Artist · Period of activity · Date · Invisible · Unplayed · No · Yes · Black · White

				Played instrument?		Size of cello				How is the cello held?						Shape of cello: Schoulders			Shape of cello: Sound holes			Shape of cello: Frets			Shape of cello: Scroll			Number of strings and pegs					Colour of strings		Bow hold				Colour hairs of bow			Position of left hand on instrument						Sex of the player				Location: Inside		Location: Outside			Particularities
				✓	✗	Small	Normal	Large	∅	Between legs	On floor	Endpin, stool, foot, etc.	Hangs	∅	♪	Violin	Viol	∅	F-shape	C-shape or flames	∅	✗	✓	?	Violin shape	Human or animal	∅	4	5	6	Irre-gular	∅	Brown	Brown and silver	Over-hand	Under-hand	♪	∅	●	○	∅	♪	∅	Tunes	Fingers closely together	Fingers far apart from each other	Thumb along/ around neck	♂	♀	♪	∅	Posh	Inn	Posh	Farm	Other-wise	
Active in several cities	Pieter de Hooch	1652-1679		4	2		6				5	1				5	1		6			6			4	2		4				2			1	4	1		1		5	2			4			2	4			6					Does not play, but holds bow overhand
			1674		1		1				1					1			1			1			1							1					1				1	1							1			1					Long neck
	Cornelis Holsteyn	1640-1658		1				1			1							1			1			1			1					1			1						1		1									1			1		
	Gerard van Honthorst	1610-1656	ca. 1626-1627	1			1				1					1			1			1			1				1				1			1			1								1	1				1					
			1628	1			1							1		1			1			1			1				1				1			1			1								1	1				1					
				2		2					1			1		2			1		1	2			1		1					2				2			2					1	1		1	1								2	
	Joannes de Jongh	1677-1684		1				1			1							1			1			1	1							1			1						1			1					1					1			
	Isaac Koedijck	1651-1668	1650	1				1			1					1			1					1	1							1				1					1						1	1				1					Hand and thumb completely around neck
	Cornelis Kuipers	1756-1802	1770	1		1						1				1			1			1			1							1			1				1					1				1							1	Putti
	Gerard de Lairesse	1641-1689		1				1			1					1			1					1	1							1				1					1							1				1					
	Aert Jansz. Marienhof	1640-1651		1	1		1	1			1				1	2			2			2			2			1	1							1	1	1	1	1		1			1				1	1	1		2					
	Adriaen Matham	1620-1660		1			1					1				1			1			1			1							1				1					1				1			1				1					
	Jacob Fransz. van der Merck	1628-1664		1			1				1					1			1			1			1			1								1			1						1			1				1					2nd position
	Gabriel Metsu	1644-1667		1	1		2				1				1	2			2			2			2			1				1	1			1	1		1		1	1		1				1		1		2					Cellist bows and tunes
			ca. 1700	1			1				1					1			1			1			1			1								1			1					1				1				1					Cellist bows and tunes
	Matthijs Naiveu	1667-1726		1				1			1					1			1			1			1			1								1				1					1			1						1			
			1706	1			1					1				1			1					1			1					1				1					1				1			1				1					
			1721	1					1					1		1					1	1			1							1						1			1						1	1						1		
	Caspar Netscher	1642-1684	1660	1			1				1					1			1			1			1			1							1					1						1	1				1					Thumb completely around neck
	Bernardus van Schijndel	1671-1709		2			1	1			2					2			2			2			2			1				1				2		1		1				2			1	1			1		1			
	Aelbert Jansz. van der Schoor	1643-1662		1				1						1		1			1			1			1			1					1			1				1					1			1				1					
	Hendrick van Steenwijck	1604-1649			1			1							1	1			1			1			1			1					1				1			1	1								1			1					
	Crispijn van de Passe II	1613-1670	1612	1				1				1				1			1				1		1			1							1					1						1	1				1					Cello on foot, very strange left hand
	Jan Spanjaert	1632-1664		1		1								1		1					1			1			1					1					1			1		1						1				1					
	Cornelis Stangerus	1654-1667		1		1				1						1			1			1			1				1						1			1								1	1					1				Cello on knees
	Jan Steen	1648-1679		1	4	2	2	1						1	4	4		1	3		2	4		1	2		3	1				4				4	1			5	4	1						1		3	1		4		1		Cellist is sitting on a ladder
			ca. 1648	1				1			1						1				1			1			1					1					1			1		1									1			1		
			1666	1			1				1					1			1				1		1			1					1	1				1								1	1				1					Pipe used as bow, strange left hand
			1667		1		1								1						1	1			1							1				1				1	1						1					1				
			ca. 1670	1				1			1					1			1			1					1					1				1				1				1			1					1				
			1672	2				1	1		1			1		1		1	1		1	1		1	1	1		1				1	1			1		1	1		1				2				2					1		1		
	Herbert Tuer	1649-1685	1669	1			1			1						1			1			1			1			1					1			1		1							1					1				1				
	Pieter Cornelisz. Verbeeck	1635-1654		1		1				1						1			1			1			1				1							1					1				1			1				1					
	Jan van Vianen	??-??	1697	1			1							1		1			1			1			1						1				1					1				1					1					1			
	David Vinckboons	1579-1629		2		1	1			1				1			2				2			2			2					2				1		1			2		1			1		2						2			

Cities

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NOORDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN

Unknown period · Before 1600 · 17th century · 18th century · 1600-1625 · 1625-1650 · 1650-1675 · 1675-1700 · 1700-1725 · 1725-1750 · 1750-1775 · 1775-1800

Active in · Artist · Period of activity · Date · Invisible · Unplayed · No · Yes · Black · White

Active in	Artist	Period of activity	Date	Played instrument? ✓	Played instrument? ✗	Size of cello: Small	Size of cello: Normal	Size of cello: Large	Size of cello: Invisible	How is the cello held? Between legs	On floor	Endpin, stool, foot, etc.	Hangs	Invisible	Unplayed	Shape of cello: Schoulders: Violin	Schoulders: Viol	Schoulders: Invisible	Sound holes: F-shape	Sound holes: C-shape or flames	Sound holes: Invisible	Frets: ✗	Frets: ✓	Frets: ?	Scroll: Violin shape	Scroll: Human or animal	Scroll: Invisible	Number of strings and pegs: 4	5	6	Irregular	Invisible	Colour of strings: Brown	Brown and silver	Bow hold: Over-hand	Under-hand	Unplayed	Invisible	Colour hairs of bow: ●	○	Invisible	Position of left hand on instrument: Unplayed	Invisible	Tunes	Fingers closely together	Fingers far apart from each other	Thumb along/ around neck	Sex of the player: ♂	♀	Unplayed	Invisible	Location: Inside: Posh	Inside: Inn	Outside: Posh	Outside: Farm	Outside: Other-wise	Particularities
Den Haag	Anonymous	18th century	1775-1780		1				1						1			1			1			1			1	1								1					1	1								1							1		
			1777		1				1						1	1					1	1			1							1				1					1	1								1							1		
			1781		1				1						1	1			1			1			1			1								1					1	1								1							1		
	Hendrick Carré I	1669-1721		2		1	1				2					2					2			2			2					2				2				2		2						2					2				
	Paulus Constantijn la Fargue	1744-1782			1			1			1					1			1				1		1			1									1			1															1				1	
	Jan van Goyen	1620-1656	1650-1656 4 imag-es	4		4				4								4			4			4			4					4						4			4		4										4				4	
			1653	1			1			1								1			1			1			1					1						1			1		1						1							1		
			1656	1			1				1							1			1			1			1					1						1			1		1											1				
	Daniel Marot I	1679-1752	1686	4			4					1		3		2		2	1		3	2		2	4			2				2			3			1	1	1	2			2		2	4				4						Cello leaning on balustrade
	Esaias van de Velde	1618-1630	[16]29	1		1				1						1			1				1			1						1				1					1			1				1				1					
	Adriaen Pietersz. Van de Venne	1605-1662		3	1		1	2	1		2			1	1	3	1		3		1	3		1	3	1						4				3	1		2		2	1		3				3		1		2		2			Very wide fingerboard, sound holes very high
			1614	1		1						1					1		1			1			1							1				1				1				1				1						1			
			1616	1			1			1						1			1			1				1		1								1				1				1				1							1		
			1622	1			1			1						1			1			1			1				1							1					1			1				1							1		
			1626	1			1			1								1	1			1			1						1					1					1						1	1					1				Stangely angular shape
			1628	1		1				1						1			1			1			1							1						1			1			1				1								1		3rd position?
			1629	1		1				1						1			1			1			1			1								1					1			1				1						1			
			163.		1		1								1	1			1			1					1					1					1		1			1								1				1		1		
			1637	1			1						1					1			1			1	1							1				1					1			1				1							1		
A'dam	Anonymous	17th century	1616	1			1				1					1			1			1			1							1				1					1				1		1	1						1		
			1644	1	1		1	1				1			1	2			2			1	1		2			2								1	1				2	1			1					2						2
			1647	1			1				1					1			1					1			1	1								1					1				1				1						1		
			1698	3	2	2	2	1			1	2			2	5			2		3	4		1	3		2	1		1		3			1	2	2		1	1	3	2				2	1	1	4			1					No location, scroll differently shaped, listed under violin scroll
	Nicolaes Aartman	1733-1760		1			1					1				1			1			1					1					1				1					1			1					1				1				
			1725-1775	1	1		2					2				2			2			2			1		1	1				1			1		1				1	1			1				2				1		1		
	Carel Allard	1663-170.		1				1			1					1			1			1			1				1							1			1					1					1				1				
	Pieter van den Berge	1694-1737	1695	1				1		1						1			1			1				1						1				1					1			1					1				1				
			1711	1				1			1					1					1			1							1						1			1		1					1				1				
			1711	1					1					1				1			1			1	1						1						1			1		1					1				1				
			1712	1				1			1					1			1			1			1				1									1	1					1				1								1
	Hendrick Bogaert	??-after 1675		1				1			1					1			1			1			1			1								1					1						1	1					1			
	Cornelis Bogerts	1771-1817	1782		1		1								1		1		1			1					1	1									1			1	1								1			1					Enormous bow, in text instrument is called 'bas'
	Ferdinand Bol	1635-1680	1681	1			1			1						1			1			1			1							1						1	1				1					1							1		
	Gerard ter Borch II	1625-1681		2			2							2				2			2			2	2							2				2				2		2							2				2				
			1632	1			1			1								1			1			1		1						1				1				1		1							1				1				
	Jan Jansz. Buesem	1637-1649		1			1				1						1		1					1			1					1			1						1			1				1						1			
	Jacobus Buys	1743-1801	1782	1			1					1					1		1						1			1						1			1			1				1				1				1					

Cities

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NOORDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN

Unknown period · Before 1600 · 17th century · 18th century · 1600-1625 · 1625-1650 · 1650-1675 · 1675-1700 · 1700-1725 · 1725-1750 · 1750-1775 · 1775-1800

Active in · Artist · Period of activity · Date · Invisible · Unplayed · No · Yes · Black · White

				Played instrument?		Size of cello				How is the cello held?						Shape of cello: Schoulders			Shape of cello: Sound holes			Shape of cello: Frets			Shape of cello: Scroll			Number of strings and pegs					Colour of strings		Bow hold				Colour hairs of bow			Position of left hand on instrument						Sex of the player				Location: Inside		Location: Outside			Particularities
				✓	✗	Small	Normal	Large	👁	Between legs	On floor	Endpin, stool, foot, etc.	Hangs	👁	🎜	Violin	Viol	👁	F-shape	C-shape or flames	👁	✗	✓	?	Violin shape	Human or animal	👁	4	5	6	Irre-gular	👁	Brown	Brown and silver	Over-hand	Under-hand	🎜	👁	●	○	👁	🎜	👁	Tunes	Fingers closely together	Fingers far apart from each other	Thumb along/ around neck	♂	♀	🎜	👁	Posh	Inn	Posh	Farm	Other-wise	
A'dam	Pieter Codde	1623-1678		2	20	1	13	6	2		1			1	20	19		3	13		9	19		4	14		8	8	5			9	5			2	20		2	4	16	20	1		1			1	1	20		21				1	Enormous scroll
			1629		1			1							1	1					1			1	1				1							1				1	1								1				1				
			ca. 1630		1		1								1			1	1					1			1	1								1				1	1								1		1						
			ca. 1630		1		1								1			1	1					1			1					1					1				1	1								1		1						
			163(1)		1			1							1	1					1	1			1							1					1		1			1								1			1				
			1632		1			1							1	1			1			1			1				1								1		1			1								1				1				
			1632		1			1							1	1			1			1			1				1								1		1			1								1				1				
			1633		2		2								2	2			1		1	2			1	1		1	1				1				2		1		1	2								2				2				
			1636		1			1							1	1			1			1			1			1								1			1		1	1								1				1				
			1665		1			1							1	1			1			1					1					1				1				1	1								1								1	
	Cornelis van Dalen I	1622-1665		1			1				1					1					1	1					1					1				1				1			1						1				1				1	
			1643	1	1		1	1			1				1	2			1		1	1	1				2	1				1			1	1				2	1			1				1	1			1				1	Plays wrong way round as does the violinist
	Cornelis Danckerts	1630-1656	ca. 1634	1			1							1		1			1			1			1			1							1				1								1	1				1					
	Gerard Donck	1627-1640	ca. 1635		1			1							1	1			1			1			1							1				1				1	1								1				1				
	Willem Cornelisz. Duyster	1625-1635	ca. 1625	1			1			1							1		1			1			1				1				1			1			1								1	1				1					
	Simon Fokke	1727-1784		1			1							1		1				1		1			1				1						1				1								1		1							1	Plays wrong way round, strange left hand
	Jacob Gole	1682-1723			1	1									1	1					1			1			1					1				1				1	1								1				1				
	Willem van der Gouwen	1681-1713	1712		1		1								1	1					1			1			1					1				1				1	1								1								1
	Arnoud van Halen	1700-1723			1	1									1	1			1					1			1					1				1				1	1								1				1				
	Abraham van den Hecken	1635-1655	164[1]		1		1								1	1			1			1			1				1							1				1	1								1				1				
	Romeyn de Hooghe	1663-1682	1674	1				1			1					1					1			1			1					1					1			1			1										1			1	
			1689	1			1			1						1			1			1			1							1			1					1					1				1				1				
			1713	1				1			1					1					1	1					1	1							1					1					1					1							1	
	Gerard de Lairesse	1664-1711	1672	1					1					1				1			1			1		1						1			1				1							1	1				1					
			1682	1		1					1						1		1			1				1		1							1			1				1						1								1	
	Johannes de Lairesse	lived: 1673-1716	1696	1					1		1						1		1			1			1			1										1			1			1				1								1	Pizzicato and tuning
	Willem Joseph Laquy	1753-1798			1	1									1		1		1			1			1			1								1			1		1								1				1				
	Pieter Lastman	1607-1633	ca. 1616	1	1			2						1	1	1		1	2			1		1			2					2				1	1			2	1	1							1	1							2
	Gerrit Lundens	1637?-1688?		1			1				1					1			1			1					1	1							1				1					1				1				1				
			1646	1			1			1								1	1					1			1					1				1				1		1					1						1			
			1670	1				1			1					1			1			1			1			1					1			1			1					1				1						1			
	Simon Luttichuys	1649-1661			1		1								1	1					1	1			1							1				1				1	1								1				1				
	Jan and Casper Luyken	1673-1712	1694		6		6								6	6			5	1		6				3	3	1			4	1				6				6	6								6				6				
	Nicolaes Moeyaert	1612-1655	1649	1				1			1					1			1			1			1			1					1			1			1					1					1								1	
	Jan Harmensz. Muller	1591-1628		1				1			1							1			1			1	1							1				1				1		1							1								
			1590	1			1					1				1					1	1					1					1			1				1						1			1								1	
	Laurens de Neter	1625-1649		1		1					1					1			1				1		1					1					1				1					1				1				1				
	Adriaen van Nieulandt I & Reinier van Persijn	1607-1658 & 1642-1644	1644		1			1							1	1			1			1				1		1								1				1	1									1							1	

Cities

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NOORDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN

Unknown period · Before 1600 · 17th century · 18th century · 1600-1625 · 1625-1650 · 1650-1675 · 1675-1700 · 1700-1725 · 1725-1750 · 1750-1775 · 1775-1800

Active in · Artist · Period of activity · Date · Invisible · Unplayed · No · Yes · Black · White

				Played instrument?		Size of cello				How is the cello held?						Shape of cello: Schoulders			Shape of cello: Sound holes			Shape of cello: Frets			Shape of cello: Scroll			Number of strings and pegs					Colour of strings		Bow hold				Colour hairs of bow			Position of left hand on instrument						Sex of the player				Location: Inside		Location: Outside			Particularities
				✓	✗	Small	Normal	Large	👁	Between legs	On floor	Endpin, stool, foot, etc.	Hangs	👁	🎜	Violin	Viol	👁	F-shape	C-shape or flames	👁	✗	✓	?	Violin shape	Human or animal	👁	4	5	6	Irregular	👁	Brown	Brown and silver	Over-hand	Under-hand	🎜	👁	●	○	👁	🎜	👁	Tunes	Fingers closely together	Fingers far apart from each other	Thumb along/ around neck	♂	♀	🎜	👁	Posh	Inn	Posh	Farm	Other-wise	
A'dam	Crispijn de Passe II	1613-1670	1652	1				1						1		1			1			1			1					1					1						1				1				1				1					
	Jan Caspar Philips	1736-1775	1729		1	1									1	1			1			1			1			1								1					1								1							1	
	Bernhard Picart	1693-1733	1721	1			1							1				1			1	1			1							1					1				1	1						1					1				
			1721	1			1							1				1			1			1	1						1				1					1			1					1				1					
			1723	2			2							2				2			2			2	2						2						2				2		1	1				2						2			
			1729	1				1			1					1			1					1	1			1							1				1			1									1		1				
	Matthijs Pool	1696-1740	1716	1					1		1						1		1			1			1						1				1				1					1				1								1	Monkeys
			ca. 1720	1		1					1						1			1		1			1							1				1				1					1				1								1	Circus with monkeys, cello is played wrong way round
	Salomon Savery	1610-1665		1				1		1						1			1			1			1						1					1					1				1				1								1	
	Christoffel van Sichem II	1606-1658	1617	1			1				1					1			1				1		1											1					1				1					1							1	
			1629	1			1				1					1			1			1			1			1													1				1					1							1	
	Experiens Sillemans	1611-1652/1653	ca. 1653	1			1					1				1				1		1				1					1				1				1					1				1				1					Very long neck
	Jochem van Stegeren	??	1661		1				1						1	1			1			1					1	1								1			1			1							1								1	
	Daniël Stopendaal	1685-1713	1719	1			1			1						1			1			1					1					1				1			1			1					1							1		
	Cornelis Troost	1712-1750	1736		1		1								1	1			1			1			1			1					1			1				1	1							1				1		1			
	Reinier Vinkeles	1762-1816	1764	1		1					1					1			1			1			1			1							1					1						1							1			1	
			1768-1772	1					1					1				1			1			1			1					1					1				1												1	1				
			1782	1				1				1				1			1			1			1			1									1				1			1								1				1	Tunes and plays pizzicato. Putto. For a putto the instrument is large
	Frederick de Wit	1645-1706		1			1				1						1				1			1			1					1				1			1			1					1					1					Engraving: cello played wrong way round
	Gerard Pietersz. van Zijl	1629-1665			1		1								1	1			1			1				1					1		1			1			1			1							1								Very wide fingerboard
Haarlem	Cornelis Bega	1653-1663		1				1			1					1			1			1			1			1					1			1			1					1				1					1				
			1662		1			1							1	1			1			1			1			1					1				1				1	1							1				1				
			1662		1			1							1	1			1			1			1			1					1				1				1	1								1				1				
			1663		1			1							1	1			1			1			1			1					1				1				1	1								1				1				D string has a knot
	Jan de Bray	1648-1697	1653		1	1									1	1					1	1			1			1								1				1	1								1				1				
	Pieter Claesz.	1620-1660			1			1							1		1		1			1				1			1							1			1		1												1				
			1623		1			1							1	1			1			1					1		1				1				1			1		1												1				
	Herman Doncker	1633-1640	ca. 1634	1				1				1				1			1			1			1							1			1				1					1				1					1				
	Cornelis Dusart	1679-1704		1			1				1					1			1			1			1						1						1			1				1				1							1		Square shoulders
			1690	1			1			1						1			1			1			1							1			1					1				1				1					1				Dented shoulders
			1691	1			1			1						1			1			1				1					1				1				1							1	1					1				Square shoulders
			1691	1		1				1						1			1			1			1			1							1				1				1				1					1				Square shoulders
	P. van Eijse	1661-1669	1662		1			1							1			1			1	1			1			1								1			1	1								1				1				
	Cesar van Everdingen	1632-1678	ca. 1648-1652		1				1						1			1			1			1			1					1				1			1			1								1				1				
	Hendrick Goltzius	1591-1617	ca. 1600-1602	1			1					1				1			1			1					1					1				1				1				1							1					1	
	Pieter Fransz. de Grebber	1621-1653	ca. 1620-1623	1				1						1				1	1			1			1							1	1				1				1	1							1				1				
			1623	1				1						1				1			1			1			1					1				1				1		1						1				1				

Cities

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Heerschop, Hendrick (1626/1627-1690) **p. 15**
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NOORDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN

Unknown period · Before 1600 · 17th century · 18th century · 1600-1625 · 1625-1650 · 1650-1675 · 1675-1700 · 1700-1725 · 1725-1750 · 1750-1775 · 1775-1800

Active in · Artist · Period of activity · Date · Invisible · Unplayed · No · Yes · Black · White

				Played instrument?		Size of cello				How is the cello held?						Shape of cello: Schoulders			Shape of cello: Sound holes			Shape of cello: Frets			Shape of cello: Scroll			Number of strings and pegs					Colour of strings		Bow hold				Colour hairs of bow			Position of left hand on instrument						Sex of the player				Location: Inside		Location: Outside			Particularities
				✓	✗	Small	Normal	Large	∅	Between legs	On floor	Endpin, stool, foot, etc.	Hangs	∅	♪	Violin	Viol	∅	F-shape	C-shape or flames	∅	✗	✓	?	Violin shape	Human or animal	∅	4	5	6	Irre-gular	∅	Brown	Brown and silver	Over-hand	Under-hand	♪	∅	●	○	∅	♪	∅	Tunes	Fingers closely together	Fingers far apart from each other	Thumb along/ around neck	♂	♀	♪	∅	Posh	Inn	Posh	Farm	Other-wise	
Haarlem	Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem	1580-1638		1					1					1				1			1	1					1	1										1			1				1			1								1	
			1614	1		1						1				1			1			1			1						1					1				1						1				1						1	Cello on foot
			1615	1			1				1					1			1					1	1						1				1					1						1	1								1	Left hand over neck, thumb almost used as finger on fingerboard
			1624	1		1					1					1					1	1				1		1					1		1					1				1				1								1	Strange bend in left wrist
	Dirck Hals	1618-1656		2	6		5	3			1			1	6	7		1	5		3	5		3	6		2	3	2			3				1	6	1	2		6	6			1		1	2		6		7		1			Very thick neck
			1615-1625	1			1				1					1			1			1			1			1					1			1			1						1			1				1					
			1623	1				1			1					1			1			1			1			1					1			1			1						1			1				1					
			16[25]		1		1								1	1			1			1			1						1					1				1		1	1							1				1			
			1625	1				1			1					1			1			1			1			1							1			1						1				1						1			
			1627		1		1								1	1					1	1			1						1					1		1				1								1			1			
			1628		1			1							1	1			1			1					1				1					1					1	1								1			1			
			1628	1				1						1		1			1			1			1			1										1	1					1			1				1					
			ca. 1630		1		1								1	1			1			1			1						1					1					1	1								1			1			
			ca. 1630	1				1				1				1				1		1			1				1							1			1							1	1						1			
			ca. 1630		1			1							1	1					1	1			1				1							1					1	1								1			1			
			ca. 1630		1			1							1	1			1			1			1				1							1					1	1								1			1			
			ca. 1630	1				1				1				1			1			1			1				1				1			1			1								1	1						1			Thick neck
			ca. 1630		1			1							1	1					1	1			1						1					1					1	1								1			1			
			ca. 1630		1			1							1	1					1	1			1				1							1					1	1								1			1			
			1635	1			1				1					1			1					1			1					1		1		1			1						1			1				1			
			ca. 1635	1			1				1					1					1			1			1					1				1					1			1						1			1			
			after 1635	1				1				1				1			1			1			1				1							1			1						1			1				1			
			1636?	1			1				1					1					1	1			1				1									1			1				1			1				1			
			1639	1			1			1						1					1			1	1						1					1			1						1			1				1			
			1640	1			1						1			1					1			1	1						1					1					1						1	1				1			
			1640-1645		1			1							1	1			1			1			1			1					1				1					1	1								1			1			
			1630-1650		1		1								1	1			1			1			1			1									1			1			1								1			1			
			ca. 1650	1			1							1		1			1			1			1				1						1					1				1				1				1					
	Hendrick Heerschop	1642-1661	1672		1			1							1		1		1			1			1						1					1					1	1								1			1			
			167.		1			1							1		1		1			1					1				1					1					1	1								1			1			
	Romeyn de Hooghe	1686-1708	1689	1			1			1						1			1			1			1						1				1					1				1				1				1				Musician is called 'opper violon'
	Cornelis van Kittensteyn	1623-1652	1625-1650		1		1								1	1			1			1			1				1							1					1	1								1			1			
			1627		1		1								1		1				1	1			1						1					1					1	1								1			1			
	Cornelis Koning	1608-1671	1620-1625	1			1			1						1			1			1					1		1							1				1							1	1				1				
	Judith Leyster	1629-1660		2		2						2				2			2			2				2		2					1			2			2							2	2				2				Cello on table, fingers around neck
	Jacob Matham	1598-1631	ca. 1600-1605	1		1					1							1			1			1			1					1			1					1						1		1					1		
	Theodor Matham	1621-1676	1621		1	1									1	1			1			1			1				1							1					1	1								1			1			

Cities

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Fonteyn, Adriaen Lucasz. (active 1640-1661) **p. 12**
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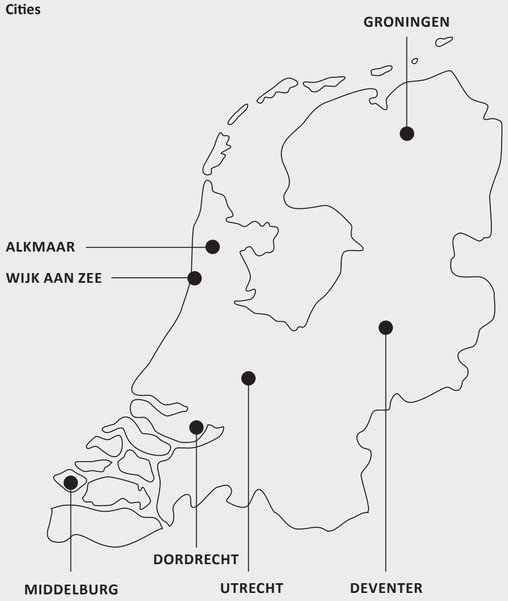
NOORDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN

Unknown period · Before 1600 · 17th century · 18th century · 1600-1625 · 1625-1650 · 1650-1675 · 1675-1700 · 1700-1725 · 1725-1750 · 1750-1775 · 1775-1800

Active in · Artist · Period of activity · Date · Invisible · Unplayed · No · Yes · Black · White

				Played instrument?		Size of cello				How is the cello held?						Shape of cello: Schoulders			Shape of cello: Sound holes			Shape of cello: Frets			Shape of cello: Scroll			Number of strings and pegs					Colour of strings		Bow hold				Colour hairs of bow			Position of left hand on instrument						Sex of the player				Location: Inside		Location: Outside			Particularities
				✓	✗	Small	Normal	Large	👁	Between legs	On floor	Endpin, stool, foot, etc.	Hangs	👁	🎜	Violin	Viol	👁	F-shape	C-shape or flames	👁	✗	✓	?	Violin shape	Human or animal	👁	4	5	6	Irre-gular	👁	Brown	Brown and silver	Over-hand	Under-hand	🎜	👁	●	○	👁	🎜	👁	Tunes	Fingers closely together	Fingers far apart from each other	Thumb along/ around neck	♂	♀	🎜	👁	Posh	Inn	Posh	Farm	Other-wise	
Haarlem	Jan Miense Molenaer	1624-1668		6	6	2	2	8			3	2		1	6	12			8		4	12			11		1	6	3			3	5				6	6		5	1	6	6			3		3	5	1	6		10	2				Possibly large viola, and not a small cello. Very narrow instrument. Cello on foot.
			ca. 1630		1		1								1	1			1			1			1				1							1			1			1									1		1				
			1633		1				1						1	1			1			1					1		1				1				1		1			1									1		1				
			1633	1				1			1					1			1			1			1				1				1			1			1						1				1						1			
			1636	1			1					1				1			1			1			1				1							1			1						1				1				1					Cello on foot
			1637	1					1					1				1			1	1			1			1					1				1				1				1				1				1				
	Cornelis van Noorde	1745-1795	1766		1	1									1	1					1			1	1							1				1					1	1							1			1				
	Adriaen van Ostade	1627-1684	1645	1			1			1						1			1			1			1						1		1						1			1							1				1			
			1661	1				1						1		1			1			1			1				1			1				1					1						1	1					1			
Delft	Cornelis Jacobsz. Delff	1595-1643		1				1						1		1					1			1			1					1						1			1		1						1					1			
	Anthonie Palamedesz.	1621-1673		11	11	2	14	6		1	8			2	11	21		1	20		2	17		5	13	1	8	3	5	1		13	6			11	11		9	3	10	11	3		6		2	10	1	11		22					Very wide instrument
			ca. 1630	1			1				1					1					1			1	1							1				1					1		1					1				1				
			1631	1				1			1					1			1			1			1			1								1			1						1				1				1				
			1632	1				1			1					1			1			1			1						1					1				1					1				1						1			
			1632	1			1				1					1			1			1			1			1								1				1					1				1				1				
			1634	1			1				1					1			1			1			1				1							1			1								1	1				1				
			ca. 1635		1		1								1	1			1			1					1	1								1					1	1								1			1				
			1640-1649		1		1								1	1			1					1			1					1				1					1	1								1			1				
			1648		1			1							1	1			1			1			1							1				1					1	1								1			1				
			1649	1				1			1					1			1			1					1			1						1					1				1					1			1				
			ca. 1650		1			1							1	1			1			1			1							1	1			1				1		1								1			1				Long neck, f- holes on strange place
	Palamedes Palamedesz.	1626-1638		1				1			1						1				1			1			1					1				1					1				1				1				1			
Rotterdam	Pieter de Bloot	1616-1658		1			1				1					1			1			1			1			1							1					1						1			1						1	
	Adriaen Luscasz. Fonteyn	1640-1661	ca. 1640	1					1					1				1			1			1	1							1				1					1			1					1				1			
			1641		1		1								1	1			1			1			1							1					1					1	1								1			1		
	Dirk Langendijk	1763-1805	1799	1			1					1				1			1			1			1							1						1			1		1					1				1			
	Dionys van Nijmegen	1743-1798		2	1		2	1				1		1	1	1	2		2		1	3			3			1	1			1				1	1	1			3	1	1		1					2	1				3		
	Elias van Nijmegen	1682-1755	1725-1750		1				1						1	1			1			1			1							1		1			1				1	1									1						1
	Cornelis Saftleven	1632-1681		3	1	1	1	2			3				1	4			4			3		1	2	1	1	1	1			2				3	1		1	1	2	1			2		1	3		1		1	3			
			1635		1			1							1	1			1			1			1				1							1					1	1								1					1		
			1635	1				1			1					1			1			1			1			1								1					1				1				1					1		
			1636	1				1			1					1			1			1					1	1								1					1						1	1							1	
	Adriaen van der Werff	1676-1696	1679		1				1						1			1	1					1			1	1				1	1				1				1	1								1			1			
	Abraham Evertsz. van Westerveld	1647-1692	1649	1				1			1					1			1			1			1				1							1					1				1				1				1			
Leiden	Dirck van Kyckenburgh	lived: 1630-1662			2		1	1							2	2			2			2			2			2								2				2		2								2				2			
	Carel de Moor	??-??	1686	1			1				1						1				1			1	1			1										1			1			1					1				1			
	Pieter Symonsz. Potter	1620-1649		2			2				2					2			1		1	1		1	1		1	1				1				2			1		1				1	1			2				2			
			1630	1			1				1					1			1			1			1			1					1				1			1					1				1				1			
	Pieter Cornelisz. van Slingelandt	1653-1691			1			1							1	1			1			1			1			1				1					1				1	1									1			1			
			ca. 1675		1			1							1	1			1			1			1			1									1			1			1									1			1			

Cities



Artists

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NOORDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN

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Active in · Artist · Period of activity · Date · Invisible · Unplayed · No · Yes · Black · White

Place	Artist	Date	Instrument	Played instrument?		Size of cello				How is the cello held?						Shape of cello: Schoulders			Shape of cello: Sound holes			Shape of cello: Frets			Shape of cello: Scroll			Number of strings and pegs					Colour of strings		Bow hold				Colour hairs of bow			Position of left hand on instrument						Sex of the player				Location: Inside		Location: Outside			Particularities
				✓	✗	Small	Normal	Large	∅	Between legs	On floor	Endpin, stool, foot, etc.	Hangs	∅	♪	Violin	Viol	∅	F-shape	C-shape or flames	∅	✗	✓	?	Violin shape	Human or animal	∅	4	5	6	Irre-gular	∅	Brown	Brown and silver	Over-hand	Under-hand	♪	∅	●	○	∅	♪	∅	Tunes	Fingers closely together	Fingers far apart from each other	Thumb along/ around neck	♂	♀	♪	∅	Posh	Inn	Posh	Farm	Other-wise	
Dordrecht	Cornelis Bisschop	1650-1674		1			1			1						1			1			1			1				1						1			1					1					1			1					
	Benjamin Gerritsz. Cuyp	1631-1652		1			1					1				1					1	1					1	1							1					1				1			1					1				
	Jacob. Gerritsz. Cuyp	1617-1652			1			1							1	1			1			1			1				1				1				1				1								1			1			
	Abraham van Strij I	1768-1826			1		1								1	1			1					1			1					1					1				1								1			1			
Utrecht	Jan van Bijlert	1624-1671		2	1		3				2			1		3			3			3			2		1					3				3		1	2				1	1		1	1	2			1	2				Instrument is tuned
			1629	1			1				1					1			1			1			1						1					1			1									1				1				
			ca. 1630	1			1				1					1			1			1			1				1				1			1										1			1				1			
	Cornelis Droochsloot	1655-1673	1645	1			1				1					1				1		1			1							1				1				1				1				1			1				
	Simon van de Passe	1612-1647	1612	1				1			1					1			1			1			1					1					1					1				1				1			1				
	Lumen van Portengen	1617-1649	1643	1				1						1		1			1				1		1				1				1			1			1					1				1			1					Special frets. Is instrument standing on floor?
				1				1						1		1					1	1			1							1					1			1						1	1			1					
	Dirk Stoop	1633-1686	1652	1			1							1		1			1			1				1			1						1			1					1				1			1					
	Maerten Stoop	1638-1647			6	3	3								6	6			1		5	3		3	4		2	1				5					6				6	6							6			6			
	Joachim Wtewael	1592-1638	1602	1			1				1					1			1			1				1						1			1					1				1					1						1	“gekke extra krulletjes bij c-bout”
				1				1						1				1			1			1	1							1		1					1					1				1						1	
	Roelof van Zijl	1608-1631	1608-1609	1				1						1		1			1			1			1				1				1			1			1					1					1			1				Middle string attached to tail piece in a nice way. Cello held in front of lap
Middelburg	Christoffel van den Berghe	1616-1628		2		2				1				1		2				1	1	1		1	2							2				1		1	1		1							2					2		
	Jan de Jonge	??-??	1701	1		1							1					1			1			1	1							1				1				1					1			1						1	
Groningen	Herman Collenius	1665-1720			1		1								1	1			1			1			1							1					1				1	1							1			1			
Deventer	Jacob Hogers	1642-1656	1654	1				1						1		1			1			1			1							1				1			1					1				1							1	
Wijk aan Zee	Willem de Poorter	1630-1649	1645-1649		1				1						1	1					1			1			1					1					1				1	1								1			1			
Alkmaar	Johannes Petrus van Horstok	1773-1825	1792		1			1							1	1			1			1			1							1					1			1									1						1	

	Played instrument?		Size of cello				How is the cello held?						Shape of cello: Schoulders			Shape of cello: Sound holes			Shape of cello: Frets			Shape of cello: Scroll			Number of strings and pegs					Colour of strings		Bow hold				Colour hairs of bow			Position of left hand on instrument						Sex of the player				Location: Inside		Location: Outside			Particularities
	✓	✗	Small	Normal	Large	∅	Between legs	On floor	Endpin, stool, foot, etc.	Hangs	∅	♪	Violin	Viol	∅	F-shape	C-shape or flames	∅	✗	✓	?	Violin shape	Human or animal	∅	4	5	6	Irre-gular	∅	Brown	Brown and silver	Over-hand	Under-hand	♪	∅	●	○	∅	♪	∅	Tunes	Fingers closely together	Fingers far apart from each other	Thumb along/ around neck	♂	♀	♪	∅	Posh	Inn	Posh	Farm	Other-wise	
TOTAL 16th, 17th and 18th centuries	258	170	59	200	144	25	39	130	34	5	59	161	339	39	50	295	8	125	322	9	97	287	33	108	141	62	7	23	195	62	2	44	164	171	49	110	41	276	170	56	6	140	11	45	204	54	153	17	272	35	49	12	56	
TOTAL 16th century	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	
TOTAL 17th century	218	149	45	175	132	15	37	118	21	3	45	143	296	32	39	259	5	103	283	8	77	243	32	92	117	59	7	21	163	59	0	31	152	150	34	99	35	233	148	42	4	125	8	40	173	47	136	11	249	35	35	11	33	
TOTAL 18th century	39	20	14	23	12	10	2	12	12	2	14	17	41	7	11	35	3	21	38	0	20	43	1	15	23	3	0	2	31	3	2	12	12	20	15	10	6	42	21	14	2	15	2	5	31	6	16	6	23	0	14	1	21	

NOORDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN (Summary per town and period) 1/2

NOORDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN
(summary per town and period) 1/2

Unknown period · Before 1600 · 17th century · 18th century · 1600-1625 · 1625-1650 · 1650-1675 · 1675-1700 · 1700-1725 · 1725-1750 · 1750-1775 · 1775-1800

Active in · Artist · Period of activity · Date · Invisible · Unplayed · No · Yes · Black · White

		Played instrument?		Size of cello				How is the cello held?						Shape of cello: Schoulders			Shape of cello: Sound holes			Shape of cello: Frets			Shape of cello: Scroll			Number of strings and pegs					Colour of strings		Bow hold				Colour hairs of bow			Position of left hand on instrument						Sex of the player				Location: Inside		Location: Outside			Particularities
		✓	✗	Small	Normal	Large	∅	Between legs	On floor	Endpin, stool, foot, etc.	Hangs	∅	♫	Violin	Viol	∅	F-shape	C-shape or flames	∅	✗	✓	?	Violin shape	Human or animal	∅	4	5	6	Irre-gular	∅	Brown	Brown and silver	Over-hand	Under-hand	♫	∅	●	○	∅	♫	∅	Tunes	Fingers closely together	Fingers far apart from each other	Thumb along/ around neck	♂	♀	♫	∅	Posh	Inn	Posh	Farm	Other-wise	
Unknown	17th century	4	2	0	2	4	0	1	3	0	0	0	2	2	3	1	2	0	4	4	0	2	4	1	1	1	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	6	1	2	0	3	0	0	4	0	2	0	5	0	1	0	0	
	1600-1625	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	
	1625-1650	6	0	1	3	2	0	2	4	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	5	0	1	4	0	2	2	1	3	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	3	0	2	0	0	6	0	2	0	4	0	0	4	1	0	1	1	1	3	0	1	
	1650-1675	2	1	0	3	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	2	0	1	2	1	0	2	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	
	1675-1700	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	
	18th century	3	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	
	1700-1725	3	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	2	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	2	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	
	1725-1750	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	
	1750-1775	5	0	1	2	2	0	0	3	0	0	2	0	5	0	0	4	1	0	4	0	1	4	1	0	4	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	3	0	1	1	1	3	0	1	0	2	1	1	3	1	0	1	2	0	1	0	2	
	1775-1800	1	2	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	3	0	0	2	0	1	3	0	0	1	0	2	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	2	
Several places of residence	Before 1600	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	
	1600-1625	5	0	1	3	1	0	2	0	1	0	2	0	3	2	0	3	0	2	2	1	2	3	0	2	1	0	0	1	3	0	0	1	3	0	1	1	0	4	0	1	0	2	1	1	5	0	0	0	3	0	2	0	0	
	1625-1650	20	11	4	10	16	1	2	12	1	0	7	9	25	5	1	24	0	7	27	0	4	23	3	5	12	6	2	3	8	7	0	3	12	11	5	10	1	20	10	5	0	12	1	3	16	4	9	2	24	0	2	1	4	
	1650-1675	19	11	4	16	9	1	2	15	1	1	3	8	27	1	2	25	0	5	26	0	4	23	3	4	13	2	0	0	15	5	0	4	14	10	2	7	1	22	11	2	1	10	1	5	17	6	6	1	16	8	3	2	1	
	1675-1700	7	3	2	6	2	0	0	6	0	0	1	3	7	2	1	8	0	2	9	0	1	8	1	1	5	0	0	1	4	1	0	2	5	3	0	5	0	5	3	1	1	5	0	0	4	3	3	0	6	1	3	0	0	
	1700-1725	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	
	1750-1775	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
Den Haag	1600-1625	6	1	1	3	2	1	2	2	1	0	1	1	5	2	0	6	0	1	6	0	1	5	2	0	1	1	0	0	5	0	0	0	6	1	0	4	0	3	1	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	1	0	2	0	5	0	0	
	1625-1650	5	1	3	3	0	0	4	0	0	1	0	1	4	0	2	5	0	1	4	1	1	4	1	1	1	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	4	1	1	1	0	5	1	0	0	4	0	1	5	0	1	0	4	1	1	0	0	
	1650-1675	6	0	4	2	0	0	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	5	0	0	0	6	0	
	1675-1700	6	0	1	5	0	0	0	2	1	0	3	0	4	0	2	1	0	5	2	0	4	4	0	2	2	0	0	0	4	0	0	3	2	0	1	1	1	4	0	2	0	2	0	2	6	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	
	1750-1775	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	
	1775-1800	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	1	1	0	2	2	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	
Amsterdam	16th century	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
	1600-1625	4	1	0	2	3	0	0	3	0	0	1	1	3	0	2	4	0	1	2	1	2	3	0	2	1	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	3	1	1	0	0	5	1	2	0	1	1	0	2	2	1	0	1	0	1	0	3	
	1625-1650	17	35	2	31	17	2	4	8	1	0	4	35	41	2	9	35	0	17	37	3	13	32	4	16	19	11	1	2	19	9	0	3	13	35	1	10	6	36	35	6	0	9	0	2	10	10	32	0	38	3	3	0	8	
	1650-1675	8	3	0	4	5	2	0	5	1	0	2	3	9	1	1	6	1	4	8	0	3	4	2	5	4	0	0	2	5	1	0	2	5	3	1	4	1	6	3	2	0	4	0	2	7	0	3	1	6	2	0	0	3	
	1675-1700	9	8	3	10	3	1	3	4	2	0	0	8	15	2	0	13	1	3	16	0	1	7	5	5	4	1	1	4	7	0	0	2	5	8	2	4	1	12	8	1	1	4	2	1	5	6	6	0	10	0	1	0	2	
	1700-1725	11	3	3	6	3	2	1	5	0	0	5	3	7	2	5	4	1	9	6	0	8	9	0	5	1	1	0	1	11	0	0	1	4	3	6	4	0	10	4	5	1	4	0	0	10	1	3	0	5	0	4	0	5	
	1725-1750	3	3	1	4	1	0	0	1	3	0	0	2	6	0	0	6	0	0	5	0	1	4	0	2	4	0	0	0	2	0	1	2	1	3	0	1	0	4	3	1	0	2	0	0	3	0	2	1	4	0	1	0	1	
	1750-1775	3	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	2	0	1	1	1	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	2	
	1775-1800	2	2	1	2	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	1	3	0	4	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	1	0	2	2	2	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	2	1	3	0	0	0	1	
Haarlem	1600-1625	11	2	4	4	4	1	1	5	2	0	3	2	9	0	4	9	0	4	10	0	3	6	1	6	4	3	0	1	5	5	0	1	8	3	1	3	2	8	3	1	0	6	0	3	9	1	2	1	7	0	1	0	5	
	1625-1650	26	28	4	22	25	3	2	9	9	1	5	28	49	2	3	35	1	18	46	0	8	43	3	8	16	19	0	1	18	13	0	2	20	28	4	25	2	27	29	1	0	15	0	9	25	1	28	0	47	3	4	0	0	
	1650-1675	2	7	1	0	8	0	0	1	0	0	1	7	6	2	1	7	0	2	9	0	0	8	0	1	6	0	0	0	3	4	0	0	2	7	0	1	0	8	7	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	7	0	7	2	0	0	0	
	1675-1700	5	0	1	4	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	4	1	0	1	0	0	2	2	0	0	2	2	0	1	1	3	1	0	0	0	4	0	1	5	0	0	0	1	3	0	1	0	
	1750-1775	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	
Delft	1600-1625	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	
	1625-1650	18	15	2	19	12	0	1	15	0	0	2	15	31	1	1	29	0	4	25	0	8	20	1	12	6	6	2	1	18	7	0	0	18	15	0	11	6	16	15	4	0	11	0	3	16	2	15	0	31	0	2	0	0	

NOORDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN (Summary per town and period) 2/2

NOORDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN
(summary per town and period) 2/2

Unknown period · Before 1600 · 17th century · 18th century · 1600-1625 · 1625-1650 · 1650-1675 · 1675-1700 · 1700-1725 · 1725-1750 · 1750-1775 · 1775-1800

Active in · Artist · Period of activity · Date · Invisible · Unplayed · No · Yes · Black · White

		Played instrument?		Size of cello				How is the cello held?						Shape of cello: Schoulders			Shape of cello: Sound holes			Shape of cello: Frets			Shape of cello: Scroll			Number of strings and pegs					Colour of strings		Bow hold				Colour hairs of bow			Position of left hand on instrument						Sex of the player				Location: Inside		Location: Outside			Particularities
		✓	✗	Small	Normal	Large	∅	Between legs	On floor	Endpin, stool, foot, etc.	Hangs	∅	♪	Violin	Viol	∅	F-shape	C-shape or flames	∅	✗	✓	?	Violin shape	Human or animal	∅	4	5	6	Irre-gular	∅	Brown	Brown and silver	Over-hand	Under-hand	♪	∅	●	○	∅	♪	∅	Tunes	Fingers closely together	Fingers far apart from each other	Thumb along/ around neck	♂	♀	♪	∅	Posh	Inn	Posh	Farm	Other-wise	
Rotterdam	1625-1650	8	3	1	3	6	1	0	7	0	0	1	3	10	0	1	10	0	1	9	0	2	8	1	2	4	3	0	0	4	0	0	1	7	3	0	2	1	8	3	1	0	5	0	2	8	0	3	0	4	5	0	1	1	
	1675-1700	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	
	1725-1750	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	
	1750-1775	2	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	2	0	2	0	1	3	0	0	3	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	3	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	
	1775-1800	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
Leiden	1625-1650	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	2	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	3	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	
	1650-1675	0	4	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	0	0	4	0	0	4	0	0	4	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	3	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	4	0	0	0	0	
	1675-1700	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	
Dordrecht	1625-1650	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	
	1650-1675	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	
	1775-1800	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	
Utrecht	1600-1625	4	0	0	1	3	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	3	0	1	3	0	1	3	0	1	3	1	0	0	1	1	0	2	1	0	2	2	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	3	1	0	1	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	
	1625-1650	7	7	3	9	2	0	0	5	0	0	3	6	14	0	0	7	1	6	10	1	3	11	0	3	1	2	0	1	10	2	0	0	7	6	1	2	4	8	6	0	1	4	0	3	4	4	6	0	10	4	0	0	0	
	1650-1675	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	
Middelburg	1600-1625	2	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	
	1700-1725	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	
Groningen	1675-1700	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	
Deventer	1650-1675	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
Wijk aan Zee	1625-1650	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	
Alkmaar	1775-1800	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	

11/12

NOORDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN (Summary per town; 16th and 17th centuries)

NOORDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN (Summary per town; 18th century)

NOORDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN

Unknown period · Before 1600 · 17th century · 18th century · 1600-1625 · 1625-1650 · 1650-1675 · 1675-1700 · 1700-1725 · 1725-1750 · 1750-1775 · 1775-1800

Active in · Artist · Period of activity · Date · Invisible · Unplayed · No · Yes · Black · White

NOORDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN
(summary per town; 16th and 17th centuries)

	Played instrument?		Size of cello				How is the cello held?						Shape of cello												Number of strings and pegs					Colour of strings		Bow hold				Colour hairs of bow			Position of left hand on instrument						Sex of the player				Location					Particularities
													Schoulders			Sound holes			Frets			Scroll																										Inside		Outside			
	✓	✗	Small	Normal	Large	∅	Between legs	On floor	Endpin, stool, foot, etc.	Hangs	∅	♫	Violin	Viol	∅	F-shape	C-shape or flames	∅	✗	✓	?	Violin shape	Human or animal	∅	4	5	6	Irre-gular	∅	Brown	Brown and silver	Over-hand	Under-hand	♫	∅	●	○	∅	♫	∅	Tunes	Fingers closely together	Fingers far apart from each other	Thumb along/ around neck	♂	♀	♫	∅	Posh	Inn	Posh	Farm	Other-wise	
Unknown	14	5	2	9	8	0	3	11	0	0	0	5	9	9	1	12	0	7	14	1	4	11	2	6	9	1	0	1	8	1	0	3	7	7	2	2	1	16	4	4	0	10	0	1	11	2	5	1	10	2	4	0	3	
Active in several cities 16th century	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	
Active in several cities 17th century	51	25	11	35	28	2	6	33	3	1	13	20	62	10	4	60	0	16	64	1	11	57	7	12	31	8	2	5	30	13	0	10	34	24	8	23	2	51	24	9	2	29	3	9	42	13	18	3	49	9	10	3	5	
Den Haag	23	2	9	13	2	1	11	5	2	1	4	2	13	2	10	12	0	13	12	1	12	13	3	9	4	1	0	1	19	0	0	3	12	2	8	6	1	18	2	8	0	12	0	3	18	0	2	5	12	1	6	6	0	
Amsterdam 16th century	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
Amsterdam 17th century	38	47	5	47	28	5	7	20	4	0	7	47	68	5	12	58	2	25	63	4	19	46	11	28	28	12	2	8	35	10	0	7	26	47	5	18	8	59	47	11	1	18	3	5	24	18	42	1	55	5	5	0	16	
Haarlem	44	37	10	30	37	4	7	16	11	1	9	37	69	4	8	56	1	24	70	0	11	61	5	15	27	22	0	4	28	22	0	5	32	38	6	30	7	44	39	2	0	26	0	14	41	2	37	1	62	8	5	1	5	
Delft	19	15	2	19	13	0	1	15	0	0	3	15	32	1	1	29	0	5	25	0	9	20	1	13	6	6	2	1	19	7	0	0	18	15	1	11	6	17	15	5	0	11	0	3	16	3	15	0	31	0	3	0	0	
Rotterdam	8	4	1	3	6	2	0	7	0	0	1	4	10	0	2	11	0	1	9	0	3	8	1	3	4	3	0	0	5	1	0	1	7	4	0	2	1	9	4	1	0	5	0	2	8	0	4	0	5	5	0	1	1	
Leiden	4	4	0	5	3	0	0	4	0	0	0	4	7	1	0	6	0	2	6	0	2	7	0	1	6	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	3	4	1	2	3	3	4	0	0	3	1	0	4	0	4	0	8	0	0	0	0	
Dordrecht	2	1	0	2	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	3	0	0	2	0	1	3	0	0	2	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	1	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	
Utrecht	12	7	3	11	5	0	0	7	0	0	6	6	18	0	1	11	1	7	14	1	4	14	2	3	1	4	1	1	12	3	0	2	9	6	2	3	4	12	6	0	1	8	1	3	6	7	6	0	13	4	0	0	2	
Middelburg	2	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	
Deventer	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
Wijk aan Zee	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	
Groningen	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	

NOORDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN
(summary per town; 18th century)

	Played instrument?		Size of cello				How is the cello held?						Shape of cello												Number of strings and pegs					Colour of strings		Bow hold				Colour hairs of bow			Position of left hand on instrument						Sex of the player				Location					Particularities
													Schoulders			Sound holes			Frets			Scroll																										Inside		Outside			
	✓	✗	Small	Normal	Large	∅	Between legs	On floor	Endpin, stool, foot, etc.	Hangs	∅	♫	Violin	Viol	∅	F-shape	C-shape or flames	∅	✗	✓	?	Violin shape	Human or animal	∅	4	5	6	Irre-gular	∅	Brown	Brown and silver	Over-hand	Under-hand	♫	∅	●	○	∅	♫	∅	Tunes	Fingers closely together	Fingers far apart from each other	Thumb along/ around neck	♂	♀	♫	∅	Posh	Inn	Posh	Farm	Other-wise	
Unknown	13	3	5	5	4	2	1	4	3	1	5	2	13	0	3	10	1	5	11	0	5	12	1	3	9	0	0	1	6	2	0	6	3	3	4	2	3	11	3	4	0	5	2	2	12	1	2	1	6	0	5	0	5	
Active in several cities	3	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	3	0	0	2	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	1	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	
Den Haag	0	4	0	0	1	3	0	1	0	0	0	3	3	0	1	2	0	2	3	0	1	3	0	1	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	0	1	0	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	4	
Amsterdam	19	8	6	13	5	3	1	7	5	0	7	7	16	5	6	15	2	10	16	0	10	18	0	9	10	2	0	1	14	1	1	5	6	8	8	6	2	18	9	7	2	7	0	2	14	2	7	4	13	0	5	0	9	
Haarlem	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	
Rotterdam	3	2	0	3	1	1	0	0	2	0	1	2	3	2	0	4	0	1	5	0	0	5	0	0	1	1	0	0	3	0	1	0	1	2	2	0	0	5	2	2	0	1	0	0	1	2	2	0	1	0	3	0	1	
Dordrecht	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	
Middelburg	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	
Alkmaar	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	

NOORDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN (Summary per period)

NOORDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN
(summary per period)

Unknown period · Before 1600 · 17th century · 18th century · 1600-1625 · 1625-1650 · 1650-1675 · 1675-1700 · 1700-1725 · 1725-1750 · 1750-1775 · 1775-1800

Active in · Artist · Period of activity · Date · Invisible · Unplayed · No · Yes · Black · White

	Played instrument?		Size of cello				How is the cello held?						Shape of cello												Number of strings and pegs					Colour of strings		Bow hold				Colour hairs of bow			Position of left hand on instrument						Sex of the player				Location					Particularities
													Schoulders			Sound holes			Frets			Scroll																											Inside		Outside			
	✓	✗	Small	Normal	Large	👁	Between legs	On floor	Endpin, stool, foot, etc.	Hangs	👁	🎵	Violin	Viol	👁	F-shape	C-shape or flames	👁	✗	✓	?	Violin shape	Human or animal	👁	4	5	6	Irre-gular	👁	Brown	Brown and silver	Over-hand	Under-hand	🎵	👁	●	○	👁	🎵	👁	Tunes	Fingers closely together	Fingers far apart from each other	Thumb along/ around neck	♂	♀	🎵	👁	Posh	Inn	Posh	Farm	Other-wise	
Before1600	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	
17th century	4	2	0	2	4	0	1	3	0	0	0	2	2	3	1	2	0	4	4	0	2	4	1	1	1	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	6	1	2	0	3	0	0	4	0	2	0	5	0	1	0	0	
18th century	3	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	
1600-1625	35	4	8	14	15	2	6	14	4	0	11	4	26	6	7	26	1	12	26	2	11	24	4	11	8	6	1	2	22	6	0	6	23	5	5	11	2	26	5	7	0	20	3	4	26	8	4	1	15	1	12	0	11	
1625-1650	111	102	20	104	81	8	15	63	12	2	22	99	183	13	17	153	2	58	166	5	43	146	14	53	65	48	5	9	86	40	0	10	88	101	14	63	21	129	101	19	1	67	2	23	92	22	96	3	164	18	15	2	14	
1650-1675	40	26	9	28	26	3	8	24	2	1	8	23	51	5	10	47	1	18	52	1	13	43	6	17	28	4	0	2	32	11	0	6	24	26	10	13	7	46	26	10	1	19	1	9	30	8	21	7	38	12	3	8	5	
1675-1700	28	15	8	27	6	2	7	14	3	0	4	15	34	5	4	31	1	11	35	0	8	26	7	10	15	1	1	7	19	2	0	9	14	15	5	12	5	26	15	4	2	16	2	4	21	9	13	0	27	4	4	1	3	
1700-1725	17	3	6	7	4	3	1	6	1	1	8	3	11	2	7	6	1	13	7	0	13	14	0	6	1	1	0	1	17	0	0	1	6	3	10	4	0	16	4	8	1	6	0	1	16	1	3	0	6	0	8	1	5	
1725-1750	4	5	2	4	1	2	0	1	3	1	1	3	7	0	2	7	0	2	7	0	2	6	0	3	4	0	0	1	4	0	2	3	1	5	0	1	0	7	5	1	0	3	0	0	5	0	3	1	4	0	2	0	3	
1750-1775	11	3	4	5	4	1	0	5	2	0	5	2	11	2	1	9	2	3	11	0	3	12	1	1	7	2	0	0	5	1	0	4	4	3	3	4	1	9	3	3	0	4	1	3	4	5	1	4	4	0	4	0	6	
1775-1800	4	9	1	5	3	4	0	0	4	0	0	9	9	3	1	10	0	3	10	0	2	8	0	5	8	0	0	0	5	1	0	1	1	9	2	1	3	9	9	1	1	2	0	0	3	0	9	1	6	0	0	0	7	

Cities

Artists

Anonymous	**pp. 29-30**
Aelst, Pieter van (active 1644-1654)	**p. 29**
Alsloot, Denis van (ca. 1570 - ca. 1626)	**p. 29**
Baellieur I, Cornelis de (1607-1671)	**p. 30**
Boel, Peeter (1622-1674)	**p. 31**
Brassauw, Melchior (1709-after 1757)	**p. 32**
Brueghel I, Jan (1568-1625)	**p. 33**
Helmont, Mattheus van (1623-after1678)	**p. 37**
Laroon II, Marcellus (1679-1772)	**p. 41**
Loon, Theodor van (1581/1582-1649)	**p. 41**
Michau, Theobald (1676-1765)	**p. 41**
Rintel, Jan van (active 1658-1674)	**p. 42**
Rubens, Peter Paul (1577-1640)	**p. 42**
Teniers II, David (1610-1690)	**p. 43**

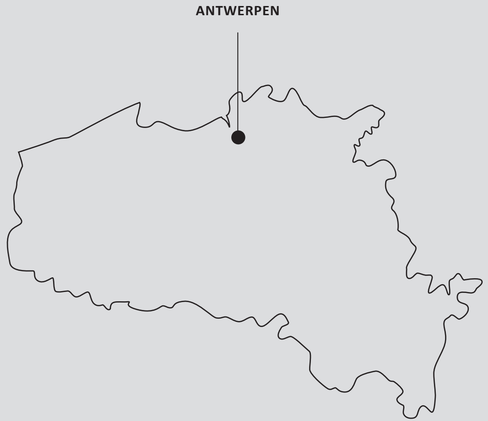
ZUIDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN

Unknown period
Before 1600
17th century
18th century
1600-1625
1625-1650
1650-1675
1675-1700
1700-1725
1725-1750
1750-1775
1775-1800

Active in
Artist
Period of activity
Date
Invisible
Unplayed
No
Yes
Black
White

				Played instrument?		Size of cello				How is the cello held?						Shape of cello: Schoulders			Shape of cello: Sound holes			Shape of cello: Frets			Shape of cello: Scroll			Number of strings and pegs					Colour of strings		Bow hold				Colour hairs of bow			Position of left hand on instrument						Sex of the player				Location: Inside		Location: Outside			Particularities
				✓	✗	Small	Normal	Large	∅	Between legs	On floor	Endpin, stool, foot, etc.	Hangs	∅	♪	Violin	Viol	∅	F-shape	C-shape or flames	∅	✗	✓	?	Violin shape	Human or animal	∅	4	5	6	Irre-gular	∅	Brown	Brown and silver	Over-hand	Under-hand	♪	∅	●	○	∅	♪	∅	Tunes	Fingers closely together	Fingers far apart from each other	Thumb along/ around neck	♂	♀	♪	∅	Posh	Inn	Posh	Farm	Other-wise	
Unknown	17th century	17th century	1600-1615	1				1			1						1		1				1		1						1						1			1		1						1						1			
			1625-1649		1	1									1	1			1				1		1				1			1				1				1	1								1				1			
			ca. 1630	1			1							1		1					1			1			1				1						1			1		1						1						1		Clown playing cello
			1632	1					1		1					1			1					1			1		1					1					1					1				1				1					Cats and monkeys, posh therefore relative
			1650-1695	1				1			1					1			1			1			1							1				1			1					1					1						1
				5	1	1	3	2		1	3	1			1	3	3		2		4	3		3	1		5	2				4	2			4	1	1	3	1	2	1	1		4			1	4	1	1		3	1		1	1	
	18th century	18th century		1				1				1				1			1			1			1			1					1		1				1							1	1					1		1		
			1750-1775	1			1				1					1			1			1			1							1	1		1				1						1				1					1		
	Denis van Alsloot	??- ca. 1627	1615	1				1					1			1			1			1			1			1					1			1				1					1		1						1			
	Peeter Boel	1647-1674			1	1									1	1			1			1			1							1				1					1	1								1		1				
	Marcellus Laroon II	1700-1774	1707	1			1			1						1			1			1			1			1									1		1	1				1				1					1			In soldiers camp
	Jan van Rintel	1658-1674	1693		1		1								1		1		1					1		1					1					1				1	1	1							1				1			Carried on the back, very flat instrument
Active in several cities	Melchior Brassauw	lived: 1709-after 1757	1724-1757		1	1									1	1			1			1				1					1	1				1			1			1								1			1				Woman holds cello
	Jan Brueghel I	1568-1625		1	1	1	1						1		1	2			2			1		1	1		1	1				1				1	1			2	1	1					1		1					1	1	
			1612	1		1							1				1		1			1			1			1					1		1				1					1				1					1		
			1612-1613	1		1							1				1		1			1			1			1					1		1						1				1				1					1		
			1616	1					1					1		1					1	1			1					1					1						1				1				1				1			
			ca. 1618	1			1				1						1		1			1			1			1							1						1				1					1					1	
			1623	1				1			1					1			1			1					1					1			1				1						1			1						1		
	Mattheus van Helmont	1645-1679		2				2			1			1		2			1	1				2			2	1				1	1		1	1					2		1				1	2						2	
	Theodor van Loon	1602-1632		1				1			1					1			1			1			1			1								1			1					1					1							1
	Theobald Michau	1686-1765		2	1		2	1			1		1		1	3					3			3			3					3			1	1	1	1		2	1	2					2		1					3		Played wrong way round
	Peter Paul Rubens	1589-1640	1625-1627	1				1		1						1			1			1			1							1	1		1				1					1					1						1	
			1626-1628	1				1		1						1			1			1			1							1			1				1						1				1						1	
			ca. 1626	1			1			1							1				1			1			1					1		1						1			1					1						1	
			1630-1750	1			1			1						1			1			1			1				1						1						1				1				1						1	
	David Teniers II	1626-1690		2	2		1	3			2				2	4			4			2		2	2		2	3		1			1			2	2		1	3	2	1		1				2		2		1	1	1	1		
			1700-1799	1			1				1					1			1			1			1							1		1						1						1	1						1			
Antwerpen	Pieter van Aelst	1644-1654	1664?	1		1				1						1			1					1			1	1				1		1						1								1						1		
	Anonymous	??	1597	1			1						1				1				1	1					1					1					1			1			1				1						1		
			1709-1757	1			1					1						1			1			1			1					1		1					1								1				1					
	Cornelis de Baellieur I	1616-1671		1			1				1					1			1					1			1	1					1			1			1							1				1						1	
			1647	1				1			1						1		1			1			1			1					1		1				1							1			1						1	

Cities



Artists

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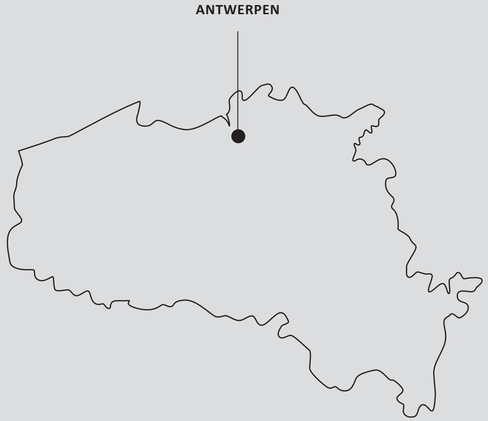
ZUIDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN

Unknown period · Before 1600 · 17th century · 18th century · 1600-1625 · 1625-1650 · 1650-1675 · 1675-1700 · 1700-1725 · 1725-1750 · 1750-1775 · 1775-1800

Active in · Artist · Period of activity · Date · Invisible · Unplayed · No · Yes · Black · White

				Played instrument?		Size of cello				How is the cello held?						Shape of cello: Schoulders			Sound holes			Frets			Scroll			Number of strings and pegs					Colour of strings		Bow hold				Colour hairs of bow			Position of left hand on instrument					Sex of the player				Location: Inside		Location: Outside			Particularities
				✓	✗	Small	Normal	Large	∅	Between legs	On floor	Endpin, stool, foot, etc.	Hangs	∅	♪	Violin	Viol	∅	F-shape	C-shape or flames	∅	✗	✓	?	Violin shape	Human or animal	∅	4	5	6	Irre-gular	∅	Brown	Brown and silver	Over-hand	Under-hand	♪	∅	●	○	∅	♪	∅	Tunes	Fingers closely together	Fingers far apart from each other	Thumb along/ around neck	♂	♀	♪	∅	Posh	Inn	Posh	Farm	Other-wise	
Antwerpen	Hendrick van Balen I	1589-1632		5		1		3	1		4			1		4		1	3		2	4		1	4		1	1	3			1	3		1	3		1	4	1			1		2	1	1		5							5	
			1608?	1			1				1					1			1			1			1						1		1			1			1					1					1							1	
			ca. 1615		1		1								1		1				1	1			1			1									1			1			1						1							1	
			1617-1618	1	1			2						1	1	1	1		2			1	1				1	1				1					1	1	1		1	1			1					1	1						2	
			ca. 1618	1			1				1					1			1			1			1							1			1						1			1										1		1	
	Jan van Balen	1635-1639		2				2			1			1		1		1	1		1			2	2							2				2				2				1		1				2							2	
	Hendrick or Jan van Balen	??-??		1				1			1					1					1	1					1					1				1					1			1					1							1	
	Ignatius van der Beken	1701-1774		1				1				1				1			1			1			1			1					1		1					1						1	1					1					
	Baltashar Beschey	1730-1776		3			2	1			1	2				3			1		2			3	1		2					3				1		2	1		2			2			1	1	2					1	1	1	
			1768	1			1					1				1			1			1			1			1						1	1					1					1				1									
	Maximiliaan Blommaert	1696-1697		3			1	2			2	1				2		1	2		1	1		2	2		1					3			2	1			2		1		2		1				3					3			
	Theodor Boeijermans	lived: 1620-1678	ca. 1660		1		1								1	1			1			1			1			1					1				1		1				1							1						1	
	Philips Bonnecroy III	lived: 1720-after 1771		2			1		1			1		1		1		1	1		1	1		1	2			1				1				1		1				2			2				1			1	1		1			Enormous end pin
	Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert	1628-1654			1	1									1	1			1			1			1			1									1			1										1					1			
	Balthasar van den Bossche	??-1715		3	1		1	3			1	2			1	4			4			4			4			4					3	1	2		2		3		1	1		1		2	3		1		4					
			1713	1					1					1		1					1	1			1							1					1				1					1	1				1					
	Gaspar Bouttats	1668-1691	1679	1			1					1					1		1			1			1			1								1					1			1				1					1			
	Alexander van Bredael	lived: 1663-1720	1689	1			1							1				1			1			1			1					1					1				1							1						1		
			1697	1			1				1					1					1			1			1					1				1					1			1				1						1		
	Peeter van Bredael	1648-1719		1	1	1		1			1				1	2			1		1	1		1	2			1	1				1				1	1	1		1	1		1				2					1		1			Because of a fight, musicians walk away
	Jan Breughel II	1625-1678		2	11	4	4	4	1	2					11	7	5	1	8		5	7		6	8	1	4	7		1		5				2	11		1	2	10	1	10		2					2	11		12				1	
			1645-1650	1	3	2	1	1		1					3	2	2		1	1	2	4			2	1	1		2			2	2			1	3				4	3		1					1	3		4				
	Frans Breydel	1694-1750			1			1							1	1					1	1			1			1								1					1									1			1		1		
			1715	1				1						1		1			1			1			1			1										1			1					1		1							1		
	Nicolaes de Bruyn	1601	1604	1		1				1						1					1			1			1					1				1				1					1		1						1		
	Louis de Caullery	1594-1621		13		2	8	3		6	6			1		4	8	1	5	4	4	2		11	5		8	1				12	1		6	4		3	1		12		3		7	1	2	13				8		4		1	Plays left handed, cello next to legs, but in database as between legs
			ca. 1620	1		1				1							1		1					1			1					1				1			1						1			1						1		
	Adriaen Collaert	1580-1618	ca. 1590	1		1							1			1					1		1		1			1							1					1					1					1						1	
	Gonzales Coques II	1626-1684	1660	1			1							1		1					1			1			1				1							1			1		1					1					1			
					1		1								1	1					1			1			1				1					1					1	1									1			1		1		
	Wilhelm Schubert van Ehrenberg	1645-1687	1666	1			1			1						1					1			1	1							1				1					1			1				1					1			
	Simon Floquet	1634-1635	1634-1635	2			1	1				2				2					2			2	1		1					2			1	1			1		1		2						2							2	
	Frans Floris I	1535-1570	1550-1575	1			1					1				1			1			1				1					1		1			1			1					1					1							1	Beautiful scroll with lion, old instrument with modern shape
	Ambrosius Francken I	1559-1618	1605-1610	1			1				1						1		1				1		1				1							1					1						1		1						1	

Cities



Artists

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Francken II, Hieronymus (1578-1623) **pp. 35-36**
Francken, Frans or Hieronymus **p. 36**
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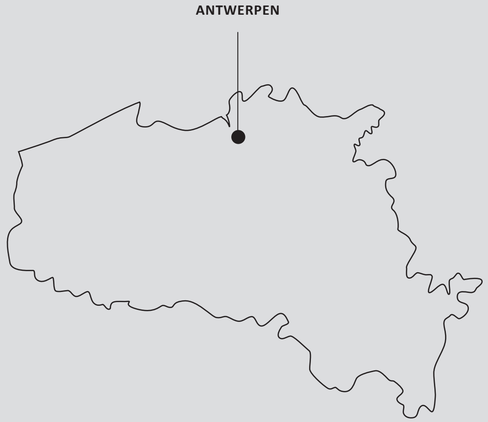
ZUIDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN

Unknown period · Before 1600 · 17th century · 18th century · 1600-1625 · 1625-1650 · 1650-1675 · 1675-1700 · 1700-1725 · 1725-1750 · 1750-1775 · 1775-1800

Active in · Artist · Period of activity · Date · Invisible · Unplayed · No · Yes · Black · White

				Played instrument?		Size of cello				How is the cello held?						Shape of cello: Schoulders			Sound holes			Frets			Scroll			Number of strings and pegs					Colour of strings		Bow hold				Colour hairs of bow			Position of left hand on instrument					Sex of the player				Location: Inside		Location: Outside			Particularities
				✓	✗	Small	Normal	Large	∅	Between legs	On floor	Endpin, stool, foot, etc.	Hangs	∅	♪	Violin	Viol	∅	F-shape	C-shape or flames	∅	✗	✓	?	Violin shape	Human or animal	∅	4	5	6	Irre-gular	∅	Brown	Brown and silver	Over-hand	Under-hand	♪	∅	●	○	∅	♪	∅	Tunes	Fingers closely together	Fingers far apart from each other	Thumb along/ around neck	♂	♀	♪	∅	Posh	Inn	Posh	Farm	Other-wise	
Antwerpen	Frans Francken II	1599-1642		9	2	1	5	5			6	1	1	1	2	6	4	1	9	1	1	1	4	1	1	9	9				1		3		2	7	2		7		4	2	2		7			5	5	1		3		2		6	
			after 1618	1			1				1					1			1			1			1							1				1			1							1	1	5	1			1				Cello played by a child, measured with adults
			ca. 1630'	1			1				1					1					1			1		1						1				1			1				1					1							1	
	Hieronymus Francken II	1605-1623		3		1	2			1	2						3		1	2		1	2		1		2	3					2		1	2			3						3			3				3					
			1607	1		1					1						1		1			1					1					1				1			1					1			1				1					
	Frans of Hieronymus Francken	??-??		5			4	1		1	2			2		5			4		1	2	1	2	1		4	1				4			1	2		2	3		2		1		1	1	2	3	2			3				2	
	Peeter Gijsels	1642-1690		5		2	1	2			3		2			4	1		1	3	1			5			5					5			2			3		1	4		4		1		4				1			2	3		
	Hendrick Govaerts	1699-1720		11	2	1	1	10	1	2	2	2		6	1	10	1	2	9		4	6		7	9	1	3	6				7	1		6	2	2	3	3	2	8	2	1		6		4	8	4	1		9		3		1	Beautiful endpin and scroll
			17..	1				1			1					1			1					1			1					1			1				1								1				1					
			171.		1			1							1	1			1					1	1			1									1			1			1							1				1				
	Caspar van der Hoecke	1603-1641		1				1			1					1			1			1			1			1								1			1					1			1						1			
	Wenzel Hollar	1644-1652	1646	1				1			1						1		1				1		1						1					1					1				1			1								1	Size of instrument difficult to define, is played by putto. In database as male
	Jan Josef Horemans I	1694-1759		11			2	5	4		6	5				8		3	11			7		4	6		4	5			6	2		7	4		4		7			4		3		4	11				4	4	2	1		Long end pins, bows with left hand
			1716	1				1			1							1	1					1			1	1							1						1			1					1				1					
	Jan Josef Horemans II	1729-1792		5			3	1	1		2	2		1		3	1	1	4	1		3		2	3		2	3				2			3	2				2	3		1			1	2	4	1			3		1	1		
			1759	1			1							1				1	1					1			1					1				1					1						1	1				1					
			1764	1			1							1		1			1			1			1							1			1					1						1	1				1					
	Isaac Isaacsz	??-??	1622	1					1					1				1	1					1			1	1					1			1					1			1					1				1				
	Hieronymus Janssens	??-1693		36	1	1	14	19	3		13	2		21	1	25	10	2	21		16	16		21	23		14	8	1		1	27	1		2	19	1	15	6		31	1	10		21	1	4	36		1		30		6		1	Left hand in higher position. White nut + higher position
			ca. 1650	1			1				1					1				1		1			1							1				1			1					1			1						1			
			1652	1				1						1		1					1			1			1					1						1			1			1			1				1					
			165[6]	1				1						1			1				1			1			1					1				1					1		1					1						1			
			1658	1				1			1					1			1			1						1								1					1						1	1					1			
			ca. 1660	2			2							2		2			1		1			2	1		1					2				1		1			2			2					2				2				
			ca. 1660-1665	1				1			1					1			1					1			1					1						1			1		1					1				1				
			1660-1665	1				1						1		1					1			1	1			1								1					1			1				1				1				
			ca. 1670	1					1			1						1			1			1			1					1				1			1					1			1				1				
			1670-1680	1				1						1				1			1			1			1					1				1					1			1				1						1		
			1672	1			1				1					1			1					1			1					1				1					1			1				1						1		
			ca. 1675	1					1					1				1			1			1	1			1										1			1			1				1				1				
			1679	1		1								1		1					1			1			1					1				1					1			1				1				1				
			1681	1				1						1		1			1			1			1			1								1					1				1			1				1				
	Jacob Jordaens I	1607-1678	ca. 1644	1		1				1							1				1			1	1							1						1			1			1			1								1	
	Jan van Kessel I	1640-1679		3	4	1		6		1	2				4	6	1		2	2	3	1		6	1		6				1	6			1		4	2			7	4	3					1	2	4						7	Painting with hare, size of instrument therefore difficult to determine
			ca. 1640		1		1								1	1			1			1			1			1					1				1					1	1							1			1				
	Christoffel Jacobsz. van der Laemen	1636-1651		5	2		6	1			4			1	2	5	1	1	6		1	4		3	3		4	2				5	1			5	2		2		5	2	1		3			5		2			7				
			1640'	1			1			1						1			1			1					1					1				1					1				1			1				1					

Cities



Artists

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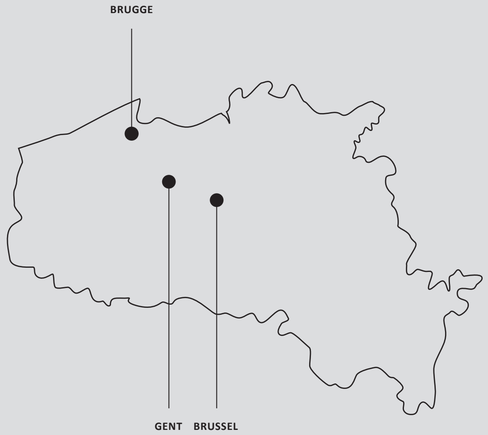
ZUIDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN

Unknown period · Before 1600 · 17th century · 18th century · 1600-1625 · 1625-1650 · 1650-1675 · 1675-1700 · 1700-1725 · 1725-1750 · 1750-1775 · 1775-1800

Active in · Artist · Period of activity · Date · Invisible · Unplayed · No · Yes · Black · White

				Played instrument?		Size of cello				How is the cello held?						Shape of cello: Schoulders			Shape of cello: Sound holes			Shape of cello: Frets			Shape of cello: Scroll			Number of strings and pegs					Colour of strings		Bow hold				Colour hairs of bow			Position of left hand on instrument						Sex of the player				Location: Inside		Location: Outside			Particularities
				✓	✗	Small	Normal	Large	∅	Between legs	On floor	Endpin, stool, foot, etc.	Hangs	∅	𝅘𝅥𝅯	Violin	Viol	∅	F-shape	C-shape or flames	∅	✗	✓	?	Violin shape	Human or animal	∅	4	5	6	Irre-gular	∅	Brown	Brown and silver	Over-hand	Under-hand	𝅘𝅥𝅯	∅	●	○	∅	𝅘𝅥𝅯	∅	Tunes	Fingers closely together	Fingers far apart from each other	Thumb along/ around neck	♂	♀	𝅘𝅥𝅯	∅	Posh	Inn	Posh	Farm	Other-wise	
Antwerpen	Godfried Maes	1664-1700			1		1								1	1			1			1			1							1					1				1		1	1						1						1		
	Pieter Meulener	1631-1654	1652	1				1			1					1			1			1			1			1							1				1						1			1							1		
	J.B. Monteyne	1717-1718		5				5			1	1		3		5			3		2	4		1	5			3				2	1		4			1	4		1					5	5				4		1			
	Marten Pepijn	1600-1643		1			1					1					1		1					1			1					1				1				1						1	1				1					
		1608		1			1					1						1			1			1			1					1				1			1				1					1				1					
	David Rijckaert III	1636-1661		2				2			1			1		2			1		1	2			2			2								1		1			2			2				2					1		1			
		1650		1			1							1		1					1	1			1			1								1					1					1	1				1					
		1650		1				1						1		1			1			1			1							1						1			1			1				1					1				
	Cornelis Schut	1618-1655	1635-1645		1		1								1	1			1			1					1					1					1				1								1							1		
			ca. 1650	1			1				1					1			1			1			1				1							1					1				1				1							1		
	Peeter Sion	1637-1695	ca. 1630	1				1						1		1				1				1	1							1				1				1						1				1						1		
	David Teniers I	1595-1649		1				1			1					1			1			1			1			1					1			1				1				1				1							1		
	David Teniers II	1626-1650	1644-1645	1			1					1				1				1		1			1				1				1			1					1				1				1						1		
			1645-1646	1			1					1				1				1		1			1							1	1			1				1						1	1						1		
	Theodoor van Thulden	1621-1669	1630		1	1									1	1			1			1			1			1					1				1			1			1						1				1			
				9			6	3		2	5	2				7	1	1	3		6	4		5	7		2	1				8	1			9			2		7		3		4	2			9						9	
	Jan Tilens	1589-1630	1600-1624	1				1			1					1			1			1			1							1				1					1			1				1							1	
	Francois Xaver Henri Verbeeck	1710-1755		7	2	2	2	5				4		3	2	9			6		3	7		2	6		3	5				4	2	1	3	2	2	2	5		4	2	2		3		2	7		2		7		2			
		1729		1					1		1					1					1			1			1					1			1						1							1									
		1729		1				1						1		1					1	1			1							1						1			1					1	1						1			
		1729		1				1						1		1					1	1			1							1			1						1			1				1							1		
	Jan Carel Vierpeyl	1697-1723		2			1	1				1		1		2			2			2			2			1				1			2					1	1			1		1	1	1			1		1			
	Alexander Voet I	1628-1689		1				1				1				1					1	1			1							1				1					1						1						1			Neck put on cello in strange way
	Cornelis de Vos	1599-1651			1			1							1	1			1			1					1					1	1				1				1	1							1						1	
	Maerten de Vos	1558-1603	ca. 1600		1		1								1	1					1	1			1				1								1				1								1			1				
	Simon de Vos	1620-1676		1				1			1						1		1					1			1	1								1			1				1					1				1				
		1641		1				1			1						1		1				1		1				1				1						1						1				1						1	
	Sebastiaan Vranck	1600-1647		3				3			3						2	1			3			3			3					3			1	1		1			3		2				1	3						3		
		ca. 1620		1				1			1						1				1			1	1							1						1			1		1								1		1			
	Antonius Wierix	1579-1604	1585	1			1				1					1			1			1					1	1							1					1				1					1							1	
			before 1619	1			1				1					1			1			1			1			1								1			1					1			1								1	
	Hieronymus Wierix	1573-1619	1611-1619	1			1				1					1			1			1			1			1								1					1				1				1							1	Beautiful to see: difference in thickness of strings
			before 1619	1			1				1					1			1			1			1			1								1					1						1	1							1	
	Gaspar de Witte	1650-1681	1650	1			1				1					1					1			1	1							1						1			1			1				1						1		
	Frans Wouters	1629-1659	1654		1		1								1	1					1			1	1							1					1				1	1							1						1		

Cities



Artists

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Berterham, Jan Baptist (active 1696-1721) **p. 31**
Clerck, Hendrik de (1560-1630) **p. 34**
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Sallaert, Antoine (ca. 1590-1650) **p. 42**
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ZUIDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN

Unknown period · Before 1600 · 17th century · 18th century · 1600-1625 · 1625-1650 · 1650-1675 · 1675-1700 · 1700-1725 · 1725-1750 · 1750-1775 · 1775-1800

Active in · Artist · Period of activity · Date · Invisible · Unplayed · No · Yes · Black · White

				Played instrument?		Size of cello				How is the cello held?						Shape of cello: Schoulders			Shape of cello: Sound holes			Shape of cello: Frets			Shape of cello: Scroll			Number of strings and pegs					Colour of strings		Bow hold				Colour hairs of bow			Position of left hand on instrument						Sex of the player				Location: Inside		Location: Outside			Particularities
				✓	✗	Small	Normal	Large	∅	Between legs	On floor	Endpin, stool, foot, etc.	Hangs	∅	🎵	Violin	Viol	∅	F-shape	C-shape or flames	∅	✗	✓	?	Violin shape	Human or animal	∅	4	5	6	Irregular	∅	Brown	Brown and silver	Over-hand	Under-hand	🎵	∅	●	○	∅	🎵	∅	Tunes	Fingers closely together	Fingers far apart from each other	Thumb along/ around neck	♂	♀	🎵	∅	Posh	Inn	Posh	Farm	Other-wise	
Brussel	Jan Baptist Berterham	1696-1721		1				1			1					1			1			1									1				1					1				1							1					1	Putti
			1712		2		1		1						2	2			2			1		1		1	1				1					2				2	2								2						2	Title page music
	Hendrick de Clerck	1590-1630		10		1	6	2	1		7			3		5	3	2	6		4	3		7	5		5	2				8			5	4		1	4		6		3		4	1	2		10						10	
			ca. 1610	1			1				1						1		1			1			1			1					1			1				1					1					1						1	
	Richard van Orley II	1683-1732	1700-1730	1			1				1						1		1			1					1	1										1			1				1					1						1	
	Richard van Orley II & Jan Baptist Berterham		1705	1				1			1					1			1			1			1			1								1					1							1	1							1	
	Antoine Sallaert	1613-1650		1				1			1					1				1		1					1					1				1					1			1					1				1				
			1645-1649	1				1			1					1					1	1			1							1						1	1						1									1		1	
	Matthijs Schoevaerdts	1682-1702		1		1					1					1					1			1			1					1			1					1					1				1						1		
	Elisabeth Seldron	1690-1761	ca. 1690	1			1							1		1					1			1			1					1						1			1						1	1						1		
				7			4	3			7					7			4		3	1		6	1		6	2				5	1		3	1		3		2	5		1			1	4	7						7	
	David Teniers II	1650-1690	1675	1			1				1					1			1					1	1							1				1					1			1				1						1	
	Gillis van Tilborgh	1654-1675		7			2	4	1		5			2		6	1		5		2	6		1	7			3	1			3	3			6		1		1	6			1			6	7				2		4	1		
	Joos van Winghe	1568-1585		2				2			2					2			1		1			2			2					2			2					1	1							2				2					
Brugge	Johannes Beerblock	lived: 1739-1806	1790-1806		1		1								1	1					1	1			1							1					1			1	1									1				1			
Gent	Nicolaas Liemaker	1625-1646	1636	1				1			1					1			1			1					1						1			1				1				1						1						1	
	Petrus Norbertus van Reysschoot	1753-1795		2			1	1			1			1		2			1		1		1	1			2		1			1	1		1	1			1		1			1			1			1		1				2	

	Played instrument?		Size of cello				How is the cello held?						Shape of cello: Schoulders			Shape of cello: Sound holes			Shape of cello: Frets			Shape of cello: Scroll			Number of strings and pegs					Colour of strings		Bow hold				Colour hairs of bow			Position of left hand on instrument						Sex of the player				Location: Inside		Location: Outside			Particularities
	✓	✗	Small	Normal	Large	∅	Between legs	On floor	Endpin, stool, foot, etc.	Hangs	∅	🎵	Violin	Viol	∅	F-shape	C-shape or flames	∅	✗	✓	?	Violin shape	Human or animal	∅	4	5	6	Irregular	∅	Brown	Brown and silver	Over-hand	Under-hand	🎵	∅	●	○	∅	🎵	∅	Tunes	Fingers closely together	Fingers far apart from each other	Thumb along/ around neck	♂	♀	🎵	∅	Posh	Inn	Posh	Farm	Other-wise	
TOTAL 16th, 17th and 18th centuries	299	55	37	141	154	22	28	145	41	10	76	54	255	70	29	213	20	121	176	12	166	193	8	152	120	18	2	8	206	58	3	85	146	56	67	102	27	225	41	96	1	128	23	62	217	83	47	7	159	12	62	27	94	
TOTAL 16th century	6	0	1	3	2	0	0	3	1	2	0	0	5	1	0	3	0	3	3	1	2	1	1	4	2	0	0	1	3	1	0	4	1	0	1	2	1	3	0	3	0	2	1	0	3	3	0	0	2	0	1	0	3	
TOTAL 17th century	216	44	33	109	105	13	25	112	17	7	55	44	174	66	20	148	19	93	122	10	128	140	4	116	78	17	2	6	157	43	0	38	129	44	49	72	15	173	31	75	1	106	18	28	148	69	38	5	112	5	47	14	82	
TOTAL 18th century	77	12	4	29	47	9	3	30	23	1	21	11	77	3	9	63	1	25	52	1	36	52	4	32	40	1	0	2	46	15	3	43	16	13	17	28	12	49	11	18	0	20	4	34	66	11	10	2	46	7	14	13	9	

ZUIDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN (Summary per town and period)

ZUIDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN
(summary per town and period)

Unknown period · Before 1600 · 17th century · 18th century · 1600-1625 · 1625-1650 · 1650-1675 · 1675-1700 · 1700-1725 · 1725-1750 · 1750-1775 · 1775-1800

Active in · Artist · Period of activity · Date · Invisible · Unplayed · No · Yes · Black · White

		Played instrument?		Size of cello				How is the cello held?						Shape of cello: Schoulders			Sound holes			Frets			Scroll			Number of strings and pegs					Colour of strings		Bow hold				Colour hairs of bow			Position of left hand on instrument					Sex of the player				Location: Inside		Location: Outside			Particularities
		✓	✗	Small	Normal	Large	∅	Between legs	On floor	Endpin, stool, foot, etc.	Hangs	∅	♪	Violin	Viol	∅	F-shape	C-shape or flames	∅	✗	✓	?	Violin shape	Human or animal	∅	4	5	6	Irre-gular	∅	Brown	Brown and silver	Over-hand	Under-hand	♪	∅	●	○	∅	♪	∅	Tunes	Fingers closely together	Fingers far apart from each other	Thumb along/ around neck	♂	♀	♪	∅	Posh	Inn	Posh	Farm	Other-wise	
Unknown	17th century	5	1	1	3	2	0	1	3	1	0	0	1	3	3	0	2	0	4	3	0	3	1	0	5	2	0	0	0	4	2	0	0	4	1	1	3	1	2	1	1	0	4	0	0	4	1	1	0	3	1	0	1	1	
	1600-1625	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	
	1625-1650	2	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	3	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	2	1	0	2	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	2	1	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	
	1650-1675	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	
	1675-1700	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
	18th century	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	
	1700-1725	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
	1750-1775	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	
Active in several cities	1600-1625	6	1	3	2	1	1	0	2	0	3	1	1	4	3	0	6	0	1	6	0	1	5	0	2	4	0	0	1	2	2	0	5	0	1	1	2	0	5	1	1	0	5	0	0	5	1	1	0	1	0	3	1	2	
	1625-1650	5	0	0	2	3	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	4	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	1	1	1	0	0	3	1	0	1	4	0	0	3	1	1	0	0	1	2	2	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	
	1650-1675	4	2	0	1	5	0	0	3	0	0	1	2	6	0	0	5	1	0	2	0	4	2	0	4	4	0	1	0	1	2	0	1	3	2	0	0	0	1	5	2	2	0	1	0	1	4	0	2	0	1	1	1	3	0	
	18th century	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	
	1700-1725	2	1	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	
	1725-1750	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	
Antwerpen	Before 1600	4	0	1	3	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	3	1	0	2	0	2	3	1	0	1	1	2	2	0	0	1	1	1	0	2	1	0	1	2	0	2	0	1	0	2	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	
	1600-1625	56	5	8	31	20	2	10	35	3	1	7	5	31	24	6	37	7	17	27	6	28	25	1	35	23	5	0	1	32	12	0	13	34	5	9	28	2	31	4	15	0	25	7	10	37	19	3	2	22	1	13	0	25	
	1625-1650	34	10	5	23	16	0	5	20	6	0	3	10	32	9	3	25	4	15	25	2	17	28	1	15	9	5	0	1	29	12	0	2	31	10	1	15	3	26	9	10	0	16	5	3	12	22	10	0	16	1	2	0	25	
	1650-1675	70	19	9	31	42	7	5	25	5	2	33	19	64	18	7	42	6	41	34	0	55	49	1	39	25	1	1	2	60	3	0	7	34	19	29	11	3	75	8	36	0	37	2	6	63	6	18	2	56	1	19	3	10	
	1675-1700	9	2	2	5	4	0	0	4	2	0	3	2	8	1	2	6	0	5	5	0	6	7	0	4	3	1	0	0	7	1	0	2	5	2	2	3	0	8	2	4	0	5	0	0	8	3	0	0	7	0	2	1	1	
	1700-1725	36	5	1	5	29	6	2	12	11	0	12	4	34	1	6	33	0	8	26	0	15	30	1	9	23	0	0	0	18	7	1	23	6	6	6	16	3	22	4	7	0	11	1	18	32	6	3	0	28	4	7	1	1	
	1725-1750	12	2	2	3	8	1	0	1	6	0	5	2	13	0	1	7	0	7	10	0	4	9	0	5	6	0	0	0	8	3	1	7	2	2	3	6	1	7	2	4	0	4	0	4	12	0	2	0	11	0	3	0	0	
	1750-1775	11	0	0	8	2	1	0	3	5	0	3	0	8	1	2	8	1	2	5	0	6	6	0	5	4	0	0	0	7	0	1	5	4	0	2	1	4	6	0	3	0	1	1	5	8	3	0	0	6	0	2	2	1	
Brussel	Before 1600	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	
	1600-1625	11	0	1	7	2	1	0	8	0	0	3	0	5	4	2	7	0	4	4	0	7	6	0	5	3	0	0	0	8	1	0	5	5	0	1	5	0	6	0	3	0	5	1	2	0	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	
	1625-1650	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	
	1650-1675	8	0	0	3	4	1	0	6	0	0	2	0	7	1	0	6	0	2	6	0	2	8	0	0	3	1	0	0	4	3	0	0	7	0	1	0	1	7	0	1	0	1	0	6	8	0	0	0	2	0	4	2	0	
	1675-1700	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	
	1700-1725	3	2	0	2	2	1	0	3	0	0	0	2	4	1	0	5	0	0	4	0	1	1	2	2	3	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	2	1	0	1	4	2	0	0	2	0	1	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	5	
	1725-1750	7	0	0	4	3	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	4	0	3	1	0	6	1	0	6	2	0	0	0	5	1	0	3	1	0	3	0	2	5	0	1	0	0	1	4	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	
Brugge	1775-1800	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	
Gent	1625-1650	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
	1750-1775	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	

ZUIDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN (Summary per town; 16th and 17th centuries)

ZUIDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN (Summary per town; 18th century)

ZUIDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN (Summary per period)

ZUIDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN
(summary per town; 16th and 17th centuries)

Unknown period · Before 1600 · 17th century · 18th century · 1600-1625 · 1625-1650 · 1650-1675 · 1675-1700 · 1700-1725 · 1725-1750 · 1750-1775 · 1775-1800

Active in · Artist · Period of activity · Date · Invisible · Unplayed · No · Yes · Black · White

	Played instrument?		Size of cello				How is the cello held?						Shape of cello: Schoulders			Shape of cello: Sound holes			Shape of cello: Frets			Shape of cello: Scroll			Number of strings and pegs					Colour of strings		Bow hold				Colour hairs of bow			Position of left hand on instrument						Sex of the player				Location: Inside		Location: Outside			Particularities
	✓	✗	Small	Normal	Large	∅	Between legs	On floor	Endpin, stool, foot, etc.	Hangs	∅	𝄞	Violin	Viol	∅	F-shape	C-shape or flames	∅	✗	✓	?	Violin shape	Human or animal	∅	4	5	6	Irre-gular	∅	Brown	Brown and silver	Over-hand	Under-hand	𝄞	∅	●	○	∅	𝄞	∅	Tunes	Fingers closely together	Fingers far apart from each other	Thumb along/ around neck	♂	♀	𝄞	∅	Posh	Inn	Posh	Farm	Other-wise	
Unknown	10	4	3	5	5	1	1	6	1	1	1	4	9	5	0	9	0	5	6	2	6	6	0	8	3	2	0	0	9	4	0	1	6	4	3	5	2	7	4	3	0	6	1	0	9	2	3	0	5	2	3	2	2	
Active in several cities	15	3	3	5	9	1	4	6	0	3	2	3	14	4	0	15	1	2	12	0	6	11	0	7	9	1	1	1	6	5	0	7	7	3	1	5	2	11	3	3	1	8	2	1	9	6	3	0	2	1	4	4	7	
Antwerpen	173	36	25	93	82	9	20	85	17	5	46	36	138	53	18	112	17	80	94	9	106	110	4	95	62	12	1	5	129	29	0	26	105	36	42	59	8	142	23	66	0	85	15	19	121	53	31	4	101	3	37	4	64	
Brussel	25	0	2	11	10	2	0	19	0	0	6	0	18	5	2	14	1	10	12	0	13	15	0	10	6	1	0	0	18	4	0	8	13	0	4	6	3	16	0	7	0	8	1	9	13	11	0	1	5	0	4	4	12	
Gent	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	

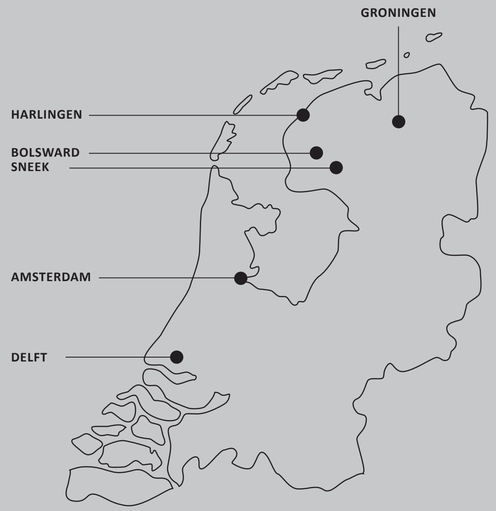
ZUIDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN (summary per town; 18th century)

	Played instrument?		Size of cello				How is the cello held?						Shape of cello: Schoulders			Shape of cello: Sound holes			Shape of cello: Frets			Shape of cello: Scroll			Number of strings and pegs					Colour of strings		Bow hold				Colour hairs of bow			Position of left hand on instrument						Sex of the player				Location: Inside		Location: Outside			Particularities
	✓	✗	Small	Normal	Large	∅	Between legs	On floor	Endpin, stool, foot, etc.	Hangs	∅	𝄞	Violin	Viol	∅	F-shape	C-shape or flames	∅	✗	✓	?	Violin shape	Human or animal	∅	4	5	6	Irre-gular	∅	Brown	Brown and silver	Over-hand	Under-hand	𝄞	∅	●	○	∅	𝄞	∅	Tunes	Fingers closely together	Fingers far apart from each other	Thumb along/ around neck	♂	♀	𝄞	∅	Posh	Inn	Posh	Farm	Other-wise	
Unknown	3	0	0	2	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	2	0	2	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	
Active in several cities	3	2	1	3	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	2	5	0	0	2	0	3	2	0	3	1	1	3	0	0	0	1	4	1	0	1	1	2	1	1	1	3	2	2	0	0	0	1	3	0	2	0	1	1	0	3	0	
Antwerpen	59	7	3	16	39	8	2	16	22	0	20	6	55	2	9	48	1	17	41	0	25	45	1	19	33	0	0	0	33	10	3	35	12	8	11	23	8	35	6	14	0	16	2	27	52	9	5	0	45	4	12	3	2	
Brussel	10	2	0	6	5	1	0	10	0	0	0	2	11	1	0	9	0	3	5	0	7	2	2	8	5	0	0	1	6	1	0	4	2	2	4	0	3	9	2	1	0	2	1	5	8	1	2	1	0	0	0	7	5	
Brugge	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	
Gent	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	

ZUIDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN (summary per period)

	Played instrument?		Size of cello				How is the cello held?						Shape of cello: Schoulders			Shape of cello: Sound holes			Shape of cello: Frets			Shape of cello: Scroll			Number of strings and pegs					Colour of strings		Bow hold				Colour hairs of bow			Position of left hand on instrument						Sex of the player				Location: Inside		Location: Outside			Particularities
	✓	✗	Small	Normal	Large	∅	Between legs	On floor	Endpin, stool, foot, etc.	Hangs	∅	𝄞	Violin	Viol	∅	F-shape	C-shape or flames	∅	✗	✓	?	Violin shape	Human or animal	∅	4	5	6	Irre-gular	∅	Brown	Brown and silver	Over-hand	Under-hand	𝄞	∅	●	○	∅	𝄞	∅	Tunes	Fingers closely together	Fingers far apart from each other	Thumb along/ around neck	♂	♀	𝄞	∅	Posh	Inn	Posh	Farm	Other-wise	
Before 1600	6	0	1	3	2	0	0	3	1	2	0	0	5	1	0	3	0	3	3	1	2	1	1	4	2	0	0	1	3	1	0	4	1	0	1	2	1	3	0	3	0	2	1	0	3	3	0	0	2	0	1	0	3	
17th century	5	1	1	3	2	0	1	3	1	0	0	1	3	3	0	2	0	4	3	0	3	1	0	5	2	0	0	0	4	2	0	0	4	1	1	3	1	2	1	1	0	4	0	0	4	1	1	0	3	1	0	1	1	
1600-1625	75	6	12	40	25	4	10	46	3	5	11	6	41	32	8	52	7	22	38	7	36	38	1	42	31	5	0	2	43	16	0	23	40	6	12	35	3	43	5	20	0	35	9	12	44	31	4	2	23	1	18	1	38	
1625-1650	44	11	6	26	22	1	9	25	6	0	4	11	42	10	3	32	5	18	32	3	20	34	1	20	10	9	0	1	35	15	0	4	37	11	3	21	4	30	10	12	1	21	7	3	15	28	11	1	18	1	3	1	32	
1650-1675	83	22	10	35	52	8	5	35	5	2	36	22	79	19	7	55	7	43	44	0	61	61	1	43	32	2	2	2	67	8	0	8	45	22	30	12	5	88	11	39	0	40	2	13	75	7	21	2	60	2	24	8	11	
1675-1700	11	3	3	7	4	0	0	5	2	0	4	3	10	2	2	7	0	7	5	0	9	7	0	7	3	1	0	0	10	1	0	3	5	3	3	3	1	10	3	4	0	6	0	1	11	3	0	0	7	1	2	3	1	
18th century	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	
1700-1725	42	8	1	10	32	7	3	16	11	1	12	7	42	2	6	39	0	11	31	0	19	32	3	14	27	0	0	1	22	7	1	24	8	9	9	18	4	28	7	9	0	14	1	19	36	7	6	1	28	5	7	4	6	
1725-1750	19	3	3	7	11	1	0	8	6	0	5	3	21	0	1	12	0	10	12	0	10	10	1	11	8	0	0	1	13	5	1	10	3	3	6	6	4	12	3	5	0	4	1	8	19	0	3	0	12	0	3	7	0	
1750-1775	14	0	0	10	3	1	0	5	5	0	4	0	11	1	2	10	1	3	6	1	7	7	0	7	4	1	0	0	9	2	1	7	5	0	2	3	4	7	0	4	0	2	2	5	9	4	0	1	6	0	3	2	3	
1775-1800	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	

Cities



Artists

Anonymous **pp. 47-49**
Biltius, Jentje Harings **p. 49**
Brouwer, Gerloff (ca. 1627-1676) **p. 49**
Buttner, Jurriaan (before 1737-1767) **p. 49**
Fortuyn, Willem (active 1752-1762) **p. 49**
Grauda, Pieter (1640-??) **p. 49**
Haven, Theodorus van der (active 1720-1750) & **Struiwigh**, Casper (1698-1747) **p. 50**
Logteren, Jan van (1709-1745) **p. 50**
Romans, Johannes (????-????) **p. 50**

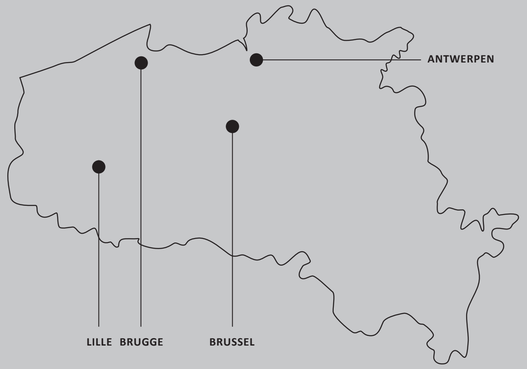
APPLIED ARTS NN

Unknown period · Before 1600 · 17th century · 18th century · 1600-1625 · 1625-1650 · 1650-1675 · 1675-1700 · 1700-1725 · 1725-1750 · 1750-1775 · 1775-1800

Active in · Artist · Period of activity · Date · Invisible · Unplayed · No · Yes · Black · White

				Played instrument?		Size of cello				How is the cello held?						Shape of cello: Schoulders			Shape of cello: Sound holes			Shape of cello: Frets			Shape of cello: Scroll			Number of strings and pegs					Colour of strings		Bow hold				Colour hairs of bow			Position of left hand on instrument						Sex of the player				Location: Inside		Location: Outside			Particularities
				✓	✗	Small	Normal	Large	∅	Between legs	On floor	Endpin, stool, foot, etc.	Hangs	∅		Violin	Viol	∅	F-shape	C-shape or flames	∅	✗	✓	?	Violin shape	Human or animal	∅	4	5	6	Irre-gular	∅	Brown	Brown and silver	Over-hand	Under-hand		∅	●	○	∅		Invisible	Tunes	Fingers closely together	Fingers far apart from each other	Thumb along/ around neck	♂	♀		∅	Posh	Inn	Posh	Farm	Other-wise	
Unknown	Anonymous	17th century		6	1		6	1		3	3				1	6	1		6	1		6	1		6	1		4			1	2	1		4	2	1		3		3				5			4	2	1		1				2	No location: tile. Glass panel: monkey/cat?? Counted as male
		Tile	1620-1640	1			1			1						1			1			1			1			1							1						1				1				1								No location
		Tile	1625-1649	1			1			1						1			1			1				1						1			1						1			1					1								No location
		Tile	1640-1660	1			1			1						1			1			1			1							1			1						1				1				1								No location
		Tile	1650-1675	1			1			1						1			1			1			1			1							1						1				1				1								No location
		Tile	1660-1690	1				1			1					1			1			1			1						1					1					1							1				1							No location
		Tile	1670-1720	1			1					1				1					1			1	1							1				1					1				1					1								No location
		Magic lantern slide	1700-1790		1		1								1	1			1			1					1					1					1				1	1											1					
		Bowl Chinese		1			1					1					1		1								1				1				1				1								1	1			1				1			
	Willem Fortuyn	1750-1757			1				1						1	1			1			1				1						1					1				1	1									1			1				
Amsterdam	Doll's house		ca. 1680	1		1						1				1			1			1				1		1							1				1				1						1				1					
	Gerloff Brouwer	??-1676	1660-1661	1				1			1						1		1			1			1				1							1				1					1		1					1					Played by putto, therefore size doubtful
	Jurriaan Buttner	1737-1767	1743	1		1						1				1			1			1					1		1				1			1				1					1				1				1				Cello leans on knee
	Jan van Logteren	1734-1745	ca. 1738	1			1					1				1			1			1			1			1							1						1				1							1				1	Putti
	Johannes Romans	??-??	1740		1				1						1	1			1			1			1				1								1		1			1					2					1				1	Organ case
Delft	Anonymous		late 17th century	2				2			2						2		2			2			2			2								2				2							2		2								Unclear location
			1705-1710	1				1						1		1			1			1			1			1								1						1					1		1				1				
			1754	2	1	1	1	1		2					1	3			3			2	1		3				3				3			2	1		3			1			2			2		1		3				
			1750-1780	1			1			1						1			1			1			1			1								1					1				1			1						1			
Harlingen	Pieter Grauda	17th century		1				1			1					1			1			1			1							1				1									1			1									No location
Bolsward	Anonymous		1686	1				1			1					1				1		1				1			1						1						1				1				1							1	
Groningen	Theodorus van der Haven & Casper Struiwigh		ca. 1734	1		1							1			1			1			1			1					1						1						1				1				1							1	
Sneek	Biltius Jentje Harings		1711	1				1			1					1				1		1				1			1						1						1				1				1							1	Strange long neck
TOTAL NN				27	5	4	16	10	2	10	10	5	1	1	5	27	5	0	28	3	1	29	2	1	23	6	3	12	8	1	3	8	5	0	13	14	5	0	12	0	18	4	2	0	18	4	2	18	8	5	1	10	0	2	0	7	

Cities



Artists

Anonymous **pp. 47-49**
Borcht, Frans van der (1720-1765) **p. 49**
Borcht, Jacob van der (active 1676-1707) **p. 49**
Borcht, Jasper (Gaspard) van der (?-1742) **p. 49**
Borcht III, Pieter van der (ca. 1590-1662) **p. 49**
Orley, Jan van (1665-1735) & **Coppens**, Augustin (1668-1740) **p. 50**
Rubens, Peter Paul (1577-1640) **p. 50**
Schut, Cornelis (1597-1655) **p. 50**
Teniers, David (1610-1690) **p. 50**

APPLIED ARTS ZN (mostly tapestries)

Unknown period · Before 1600 · 17th century · 18th century · 1600-1625 · 1625-1650 · 1650-1675 · 1675-1700 · 1700-1725 · 1725-1750 · 1750-1775 · 1775-1800

Active in · Artist · Period of activity · Date · Invisible · Unplayed · No · Yes · Black · White

				Played instrument?		Size of cello				How is the cello held?						Shape of cello: Schoulders			Shape of cello: Sound holes			Shape of cello: Frets			Shape of cello: Scroll			Number of strings and pegs					Colour of strings		Bow hold				Colour hairs of bow			Position of left hand on instrument						Sex of the player				Location: Inside		Location: Outside			Particularities
				✓	✗	Small	Normal	Large	👁	Between legs	On floor	Endpin, stool, foot, etc.	Hangs	👁	🎵	Violin	Viol	👁	F-shape	C-shape or flames	👁	✗	✓	?	Violin shape	Human or animal	👁	4	5	6	Irre-gular	👁	Brown	Brown and silver	Over-hand	Under-hand	🎵	👁	●	○	👁	🎵	Invisible	Tunes	Fingers closely together	Fingers far apart from each other	Thumb along/ around neck	♂	♀	🎵	👁	Posh	Inn	Posh	Farm	Other-wise	
Brugge/ Antwerpen	Cornelis Schut	1618-1655	1675		1		1								1	1			1			1			1				1							1			1	1								1							1		
			1650-1675		2		2								2	2			2			2			1		1					2					2			2	2								2							2		
	Anonymous		1654		1		1								1	1			1					1	1							1					1			1	1								1				1					
		17th century		1			1							1		1					1	1			1							1				1				1				1					1							1		
Brugge/ Brussel	Cornelis Schut		1650-1700	1				1						1		1					1	1			1			1					1			1			1					1					1				1				
Flemish	Anonymous	17th century		4	1	2		3			1	3			1	3	2		2		3	3		2	2	1	2	4				1				2	1	2	1	3	1	2			2		1		4	1				2		3	Cello very flat
		18th century		4			1	3			2	2				3	1		3		1	2		2	4			3				1	1		2	2			1	2	1			2		2	3	1				2	1	1	Cello very detailed, despite it coming from a tapestry
	Lace		1720-1740																																							1														
	Pieter van der Borcht III	1604-1662	1750	1			1					1				1			1			1					1					1	1	1					1					1			1					1			
Flemish/ possibly Brussel	Cornelis Schut		1650-1675		2		2								2	2			2			2			1		1	1		1			2				2													2						2	
Brussel	Anonymous	18th century		1			1					1				1			1					1			1					1					1			1		1						1					1			
		17th or 18th century		1	1			2				1			1		1	1	1		1			2	1		1	1				1	1			1	1			2	1					1		1	1						1	
	Frans van der Borcht	1720-1765		2	3	1	1	3			1	1			3	4		1	3		2	2		3	3		2					5				3	2			5	3	2							2	3					5	
	Jasper van der Borcht	1700-1742	1720	1	1		1	1						1	1	1		1	1		1			2	1		1					2				1	1			2	1	1							1	1					2	
	Jacob van der Borcht	18th century		1	1		1	1			1				1	1		1	1		1			2	1		1	1				1				1	1			2	1	1							1	1					2	
	J. van der Borght		1690	1	1		1	1			1				1	1		1	1		1			2	1		1	1				1				1	1			2	1	1							1	1					2	
	Peter van den Hecke/ David Teniers	fl. 1750		1			1				1					1					1			1			1					1			1					1			1						1						1		
	Jan van Orley/ Augustin Coppens	1685-1735	1729-1745	1				1			1					1			1			1			1			1							1											1			1						1	
	Peter Paul Rubens	1589-1640	1626-1628																																									1											
	David Teniers II		1st half 18th century	1			1					1				1			1			1			1			1					1			1					1				1			1						1		
		18th century		1			1				1					1			1					1	1							1				1				1		1						1					1			
Flemish/ Antwerpen	Anonymous		ca. 1700		1	1									1	1			1			1			1			1								1				1									1						1	
	David Teniers II	17th century		2			1	1			2					2			2			1	1		2			1				1			1	1			2				1				2					2			
			?	4			3	1			3	1				4			2		2			4	2		2					4			1	3				2	2		2		1		1	4				2	2		
Lille	David Teniers		1700-1730	1			1				1					1					1			1			1					1				1				1			1						1						1		
TOTAL ZN				29	15	4	22	18	0	0	15	11	0	3	15	35	4	5	28	0	16	19	1	24	27	1	16	16	0	2	0	26	7	0	7	14	15	8	6	9	29	14	12	0	11	1	5	15	14	15	0	2	0	11	6	24	

APPLIED ARTS
TOTAL NN & ZN

APPLIED ARTS
NN & ZN
(summary per period)

APPLIED ARTS TOTAL NN & ZN

Unknown period
Before 1600
17th century
18th century
1600-1625
1625-1650
1650-1675
1675-1700
1700-1725
1725-1750
1750-1775
1775-1800

Active in Artist
Period of activity Date
Invisible Unplayed
No Yes
Black White

	Played instrument?		Size of cello				How is the cello held?						Shape of cello: Schoulders			Shape of cello: Sound holes			Shape of cello: Frets			Shape of cello: Scroll			Number of strings and pegs					Colour of strings		Bow hold				Colour hairs of bow			Position of left hand on instrument						Sex of the player				Location: Inside		Location: Outside			Particularities
	✓	✗	Small	Normal	Large	∅	Between legs	On floor	Endpin, stool, foot, etc.	Hangs	∅	♪̸	Violin	Viol	∅	F-shape	C-shape or flames	∅	✗	✓	?	Violin shape	Human or animal	∅	4	5	6	Irre-gular	∅	Brown	Brown and silver	Over-hand	Under-hand	♪̸	∅	●	○	∅	♪̸	Invisible	Tunes	Fingers closely together	Fingers far apart from each other	Thumb along/ around neck	♂	♀	♪̸	∅	Posh	Inn	Posh	Farm	Other-wise	
TOTAL 17th and 18th centuries	56	20	8	38	28	2	10	25	16	1	4	20	62	9	5	56	3	17	48	3	25	50	7	19	28	8	3	3	34	12	0	20	28	20	8	18	9	47	18	14	0	29	5	7	33	22	20	1	12	0	13	6	31	
TOTAL 17th century	27	9	3	20	13	0	7	13	5	0	2	9	29	6	1	27	2	7	28	2	6	26	5	5	17	2	2	2	13	4	0	11	13	9	3	10	3	21	7	3	0	17	3	2	15	12	9	0	5	0	4	0	14	
TOTAL 18th century	24	10	5	15	12	2	3	9	9	1	2	10	29	2	3	26	1	7	20	1	13	21	2	11	10	6	1	1	16	7	0	8	11	10	5	8	4	22	10	9	0	11	2	3	14	9	10	1	7	0	7	4	16	
TOTAL 17th or 18th century	5	1	0	3	3	0	0	3	2	0	0	1	4	1	1	3	0	3	0	0	6	3	0	3	1	0	0	0	5	1	0	1	4	1	0	0	2	4	1	2	0	1	0	2	4	1	1	0	0	0	2	2	1	

APPLIED ARTS NN & ZN (summary per period)

	Played instrument?		Size of cello				How is the cello held?						Shape of cello: Schoulders			Shape of cello: Sound holes			Shape of cello: Frets			Shape of cello: Scroll			Number of strings and pegs					Colour of strings		Bow hold				Colour hairs of bow			Position of left hand on instrument						Sex of the player				Location: Inside		Location: Outside			Particularities
	✓	✗	Small	Normal	Large	∅	Between legs	On floor	Endpin, stool, foot, etc.	Hangs	∅	♪̸	Violin	Viol	∅	F-shape	C-shape or flames	∅	✗	✓	?	Violin shape	Human or animal	∅	4	5	6	Irre-gular	∅	Brown	Brown and silver	Over-hand	Under-hand	♪̸	∅	●	○	∅	♪̸	Invisible	Tunes	Fingers closely together	Fingers far apart from each other	Thumb along/ around neck	♂	♀	♪̸	∅	Posh	Inn	Posh	Farm	Other-wise	
Unknown	5	1	0	3	3	0	0	3	2	0	0	1	4	1	1	3	0	3	0	0	6	3	0	3	1	0	0	0	5	1	0	1	4	1	0	0	2	4	1	2	0	1	0	2	4	1	1	0	0	0	2	2	1	
17th century	14	2	2	8	6	0	3	7	3	0	1	2	13	3	0	11	1	4	12	2	2	12	2	2	9	0	0	1	6	1	0	5	7	2	2	6	3	5	2	0	0	10	0	1	7	7	2	0	1	0	4	0	6	
1625-1650	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
1650-1675	5	6	0	8	3	0	2	2	0	0	1	6	10	1	0	10	0	1	10	0	1	9	0	2	3	1	2	1	4	3	0	2	3	6	0	1	0	10	4	0	0	3	1	1	3	2	6	0	3	0	0	0	5	
1675-1700	6	1	1	2	4	0	0	4	2	0	0	1	4	2	1	4	1	2	4	0	3	4	2	1	4	1	0	0	2	0	0	2	3	1	1	3	0	4	1	2	0	2	2	0	3	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	3	
18th century	7	2	0	5	4	0	0	4	3	0	0	2	7	1	1	7	0	2	3	0	6	6	0	3	4	0	0	0	5	1	0	2	3	2	2	1	2	6	2	3	0	2	0	2	5	2	2	0	1	0	4	1	3	
1700-1725	5	2	1	3	3	0	0	2	1	0	2	2	6	0	1	4	1	2	4	0	3	4	1	2	3	1	0	0	3	1	0	1	3	2	1	0	1	6	2	2	0	2	1	0	3	2	2	0	1	0	0	2	4	
1725-1750	8	4	3	4	4	1	0	3	4	1	0	4	10	1	1	9	0	3	8	0	4	7	0	5	2	2	1	1	6	1	0	4	2	4	2	3	1	8	4	4	0	3	1	1	2	5	4	1	1	0	1	1	9	
1750-1775	4	2	1	3	1	1	3	0	1	0	0	2	6	0	0	6	0	0	5	1	0	4	1	1	1	3	0	0	2	4	0	1	3	2	0	4	0	2	2	0	0	4	0	0	4	0	2	0	4	0	2	0	0	

TOTAL SUMMARY:
NN & ZN & APPLIED ARTS

TOTAL SUMMARY: NN & ZN & APPLIED ARTS

TOTAL SUMMARY:
NN & ZN & APPLIED ARTS

Unknown period
Before 1600
17th century
18th century
1600-1625
1625-1650
1650-1675
1675-1700
1700-1725
1725-1750
1750-1775
1775-1800

Active in Artist
Period of activity Date
Invisible
Unplayed
No
Yes
Black
White

	Played instrument?		Size of cello				How is the cello held?						Shape of cello											
													Schoulders			Sound holes			Frets			Scroll		
	✓	✗	Small	Normal	Large	∅	Between legs	On floor	Endpin, stool, foot, etc.	Hangs	∅	♫	Violin	Viol	∅	F-shape	C-shape or flames	∅	✗	✓	?	Violin shape	Human or animal	∅
Unknown	5	1	0	3	3	0	0	3	2	0	0	1	4	1	1	3	0	3	0	0	6	3	0	3
Before 1600	7	1	1	5	2	0	0	3	2	2	0	1	7	1	0	4	0	4	4	2	2	2	1	5
17th century	23	5	3	13	12	0	5	13	4	0	1	5	18	9	1	15	1	12	19	2	7	17	3	8
1600-1625	110	10	20	54	40	6	16	60	7	5	22	10	67	38	15	78	8	34	64	9	47	62	5	53
1625-1650	157	113	26	132	103	9	26	88	18	2	26	110	227	23	20	187	7	76	200	8	63	181	16	73
1650-1675	128	54	19	71	81	11	15	61	7	3	45	51	140	25	17	112	8	62	106	1	75	113	7	62
1675-1700	45	19	12	36	14	2	7	23	7	0	8	19	48	9	7	42	2	20	44	0	20	37	9	18
18th century	12	2	1	8	5	0	1	5	6	0	0	2	12	1	1	12	0	2	8	0	6	11	0	3
1700-1725	64	13	8	20	39	10	4	24	13	2	22	12	59	4	14	49	2	26	42	0	35	50	4	22
1725-1750	31	12	8	15	16	4	0	12	13	2	6	10	38	1	4	28	0	15	27	0	16	23	1	19
1750-1775	29	5	5	18	8	3	3	10	8	0	9	4	28	3	3	25	3	6	22	2	10	23	2	9
1775-1800	4	10	1	6	3	4	0	0	4	0	0	10	10	3	1	10	0	4	11	0	2	9	0	5

	Number of strings and pegs					Colour of strings		Bow hold				Colour hairs of bow			Position of left hand on instrument						Sex of the player				Location					Particularities
																									Inside		Outside			
	4	5	6	Irre-gular	∅	Brown	Brown and silver	Over-hand	Under-hand	♫	∅	●	○	∅	♫	Invisi-ble	Tunes	Fingers closely together	Fingers far apart from each other	Thumb along/ around neck	♂	♀	♫	∅	Posh	Inn	Posh	Farm	Other-wise	
Unknown	1	0	0	0	5	1	0	1	4	1	0	0	2	4	1	2	0	1	0	2	4	1	1	0	0	0	2	2	1	
Before 1600	3	0	0	1	4	1	0	5	1	1	1	3	1	4	1	3	0	2	2	0	3	4	1	0	2	0	1	0	5	
17th century	12	0	0	2	14	3	0	5	14	6	3	9	4	13	4	3	0	17	0	1	15	8	5	0	9	1	5	1	7	
1600-1625	39	11	1	4	65	22	0	29	63	11	17	46	5	69	10	27	0	55	12	16	70	39	8	3	38	2	30	1	49	
1625-1650	76	57	5	10	122	55	0	16	125	112	17	84	25	161	111	32	2	90	9	26	109	50	107	4	182	19	18	3	46	
1650-1675	63	7	4	5	103	22	0	16	72	54	40	26	12	144	41	49	1	62	4	23	108	17	48	9	101	14	27	16	21	
1675-1700	22	3	1	7	31	3	0	14	22	19	9	18	6	40	19	10	2	24	4	5	35	15	14	0	35	5	6	4	7	
18th century	8	0	0	0	6	3	0	7	3	2	2	2	4	8	2	4	0	2	1	5	10	2	2	0	4	1	5	1	3	
1700-1725	31	2	0	2	42	8	1	26	17	14	20	22	5	50	13	19	1	22	2	20	55	10	11	1	35	5	15	7	15	
1725-1750	14	2	1	3	23	6	3	17	6	12	8	10	5	27	12	10	0	10	2	9	26	5	10	2	17	0	6	8	12	
1750-1775	12	6	0	0	16	7	1	12	12	5	5	11	5	18	5	7	0	10	3	8	17	9	3	5	14	0	9	2	9	
1775-1800	8	0	0	0	6	1	0	1	1	10	2	1	3	10	10	1	1	2	0	0	3	0	10	1	6	1	0	0	7	