

The Guitar as an “Open-air” Instrument in the Early Romantic Era

By Panagiotis Pouloupoulos

*The guitar, currently the favorite instrument of the ladies, rightly earns the respect which is paid to her by her admirers. [...] Already the ability to carry it everywhere comfortably contributes to the increase of social pleasures, both in the room as well as in the garden and in the countryside.*¹

Johann Gottlob Thielemann, *Ueber die Gitarre* (Berlin 1810)

*Come where the Aspens quiver,
Down by the flowing river;
Bring your guitar, bring your guitar,
Sing me the songs I love.*

Song lyric by Alexander Lee (London 1830)²

Introduction³

A largely neglected but quite fascinating aspect of the guitar’s history involves its use outdoors—*al fresco*—during the early nineteenth century. For decades academic studies have mostly focused on the presence of the guitar either in domestic settings or in public concerts, while relatively little has been written about the instrument’s frequent presence in music-making events outside the home, or concert hall, and even beyond the confines of the city.

Playing the guitar outdoors was not a new phenomenon around 1800. One need only recall the Baroque instrument’s frequent appearance in Watteau’s *Fêtes galantes* paintings of ca. 1717–21. However the vogue of music-making in the open air reached a peak in bourgeois society during the first decades of the nineteenth century. What lay behind this movement was the Romantic ideal of coming closer to nature, whose allure played a significant role in contemporary literature, poetry, art, philosophy, pedagogy, and of course music.

This tendency was largely the result of important cultural changes which occurred in the western world by the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Influenced by the American and French Revolutions in the political, economic and social spheres, as well as the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution in the theoretical and technical spheres, a new class of citizens emerged. They now had more money, time, and curiosity for leisure activities. Especially after the long Napoleonic wars (1799–1815), there was an opportunity for thousands of people to live in relative peace and quiet. In such an environment, the fine arts and music could flourish anew.

Pictorial and verbal evidence suggests that large numbers of passionate dilettantes started taking pleasure in outdoor music-making: while sitting in the garden or the park, during a walk with friends in the forest, while resting after hiking in the countryside, or when travelling on a weekend excursion. In order to satisfy the increasing demand of the wider public for music to “take with,” several existing

instruments were significantly altered and new portable instruments were developed.⁴ Arguably one of the most fashionable among them would be the emerging six-string guitar.

The transformation of the guitar around 1800

Although the guitar had been used to some extent in social circles throughout the eighteenth century, around 1800 the instrument enjoyed a new popularity. In comparison to its Baroque predecessors, the guitar was now mostly strung with six single strings instead of the usual five courses. Moreover, by the beginning of the nineteenth century the guitar typically had fixed frets and a pegged bridge, a thinner and narrower body, and overall a more attractive and comfortable form. New ways of bracing along with lighter decoration and an emphasis on functionality improved its sound considerably (**Figure 1**).



Figure 1. Guitar with case by Johann Georg Stauffer, Vienna, ca. 1810. Deutsches Museum, Munich (Accession No.: 80/473, 1–2) (© Deutsches Museum).

The guitar was additionally changed through the use of metal components. Firstly, the application of tuning machines with metal gears made the tuning of the instrument easier and more reliable. Secondly, the use of metal frets on a raised fingerboard improved the instrument's intonation and playability. Thirdly, the use of silk bass strings overwound with silver or copper wire made the sound of the guitar's lower register stronger and better defined.⁵ After such crucial technical developments, the guitar became established as a favorite instrument for the drawing room and the salon. However, the guitar also had several practical advantages for use outdoors, especially in comparison to other popular instruments such as the pianoforte or the harp.

Firstly, the guitar was pennies-on-the-pound cheaper than a pianoforte or a harp. Newspaper ads show that in European capitals such as Vienna, Paris, London or St. Petersburg, but sometimes also in smaller cities, one could always buy a variety of inexpensive guitars. In 1797 the author of the article "Scale for the guitar" ("Tonleiter zur Gitarre") in the *Journal des Luxus und der Moden*, an early and highly influential German fashion magazine, remarked that "there are numerous types of guitars, as this instrument is known in almost every country in a different form and is played everywhere in a different way. There are English, French, Spanish guitars etc." They were offered for the "lovers of this instrument, which is so highly recommended for the *accompaniment of singing in the open air* and because of its relative convenience."⁶

In addition, the guitar was reckoned as easy to learn, since with only limited training a beginner could immediately play a few chords or an uncomplicated melody on the instrument. Furthermore, any amateur musician could quickly tune the six strings of the guitar, whereas for the tuning of most keyboard instruments or the harp one needed a specialist. The influential guitarist Francesco Molino (1768–1847), in his *Nouvelle Méthode Complète pour la Guitare ou Lyre* (Paris, 1817), mentioned among other things "the ease of learning, the speed with which the instrument can be tuned, and the graceful pose,"⁷ as key merits of the guitar.

However, the biggest advantage of the guitar was its portability. In comparison to cumbersome keyboard instruments or the unwieldy harp, the guitar was compact and light and thus easy to transport. Already in 1801 the guitar was presented in the *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* as an elegant, fashionable and, above all, a convenient accessory for ladies:

THE GUITAR, A NEW FASHION ITEM. The guitar, since it has been able to ingratiate itself to our beauties by its charming tone, by its attractiv shape, by the charm which her handling gives to the player, by its never-burdensome companionship, whether *sitting, standing, or walking*, and by the ease with which one becomes familiar with it—certainly deserves a leading position among the most popular fashion items.⁸

The author reported that one could even carry the guitar, "attractively enlaced with a colored strap according to the fashion."⁹ Two years later in the same magazine the guitar was proposed as an instrument particularly suitable for accompanying outdoor singing: "The guitar is a lovely embellishment for the trained singer [...] Its melodic sound surrounds his pure voice, and he is pleased to have with him an accompaniment instrument *requiring so little space* in his room, on *rural outings*, or in social circles [...]"¹⁰

Besides, in 1806 the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* maintained that the guitar had won many fans owing to "its elegant, pleasing form, its easy portability, its novelty, which is fashionable, the ease of learning something on it, the low cost of the instrument."¹¹ For young ladies, the guitar was "a quite graceful instrument as an accompanist of song" and "also students readily sang their songs to the guitar and went with it from house to house."¹² Natasha, the young heroine in Tolstoy's *War and Peace*, was so amazed when she heard "Uncle's" singing, accompanied on the guitar, in his country house that "[S]he resolved to give up learning the harp, and to play only the guitar."¹³

Many musical instrument makers and dealers, music teachers, and composers were of the same opinion, most likely to enhance their businesses. In his article "Ueber die Gitarre" (Berlin 1810), Johann Gottlob Thielemann (1766–1821), an important manufacturer of guitars in Berlin (see **Figure 2**), wrote:

The guitar, currently the favorite instrument of the ladies, rightly earns the respect which is paid to her by her admirers. It cannot be denied that compared to a harp or pianoforte, it remains an imperfect instrument; but once one is happy to accompany natural singing with full chords, and tries to avoid all artificial tinkling, then its advantage becomes obvious. Already the ability to carry it everywhere comfortably contributes to the increase of social pleasures, both in the room as well as in the garden and in the countryside, and even its most strident critics must fall silent when on a warm summer evening, from the dark bower, a simple song is heard from a beautiful voice, accompanied by melancholic chords on the guitar.¹⁴



Figure 2. Lyre guitar by Johann Gottlob Thielemann, Berlin, 1811 (Accession No.: 64021) (© Deutsches Museum).

The Guitar as an “Open-air” Instrument ... (cont.)

According to Ferdinando Carulli (1770–1841), the guitar allowed song accompaniment while walking, as he commented in his *Première suite à la méthode de guitare ou lyre ou méthode pour apprendre à accompagner le chant*, Op. 61 (Paris, 1813): “The guitar has the advantage over the piano and the harp that it is easy to transport. One can even sing and accompany oneself while strolling.”¹⁵

For the aforementioned Francesco Molino “the ease of transporting it”¹⁶ was an important feature of the guitar. Around 1823 Molino invented a new guitar, clearly influenced by the construction of bowed instruments, intended to have a louder volume and a somehow lighter weight.¹⁷ In 1824 the writer of an essay on the guitar similarly noted that “the guitar has many recommendations. It is easily learned, easily played, *easily transported from place to place*.” He added that “one of the best qualifications of the guitar is *its portable nature*, and thus (as is so often the case) in travelling any national air, romance, or chanson may be immediately fixed on the memory, or committed to paper.”¹⁸ By the mid-1820s the guitar was already seen everywhere, as its popularity among musicians had reached its zenith.

Nature-loving artists, idyllic countrysides, and the guitar

The rising guitar craze, humorously dubbed the “guitar-mania” (*guitaromanie*) by Charles de Marescot in France around 1825, evidently began a bit earlier in central Europe than elsewhere. Throughout the Biedermeier¹⁹ period the instrument was “integrated into everyday life” and it “*was heard on boat trips and walks*.”²⁰

The Viennese artists who belonged to the circle of the prominent composer Franz Peter Schubert (1797–1828) apparently were entertained musically with a guitar more than once during their outings. In images such as the painting *Ballspiel in Atzenbrugg* (ca. 1823) (Figure 3),²¹ or in four lithographs from the series *Die Landpartie auf den Leopoldsberg* (1825) by von Schwind,²² a guitar is depicted in the hands of one or another of Schubert’s friends, most likely Johann Michael Vogl (1768-1848) or Johann Umlauff (1796–1861) (Figures 4, 5, 6 and 7).²³



Figure 3. *Ballspiel in Atzenbrugg* [Ball game in Atzenbrugg] (ca. 1823) by Franz von Schober, Ludwig Mohn, and Moritz von Schwind.



Figure 4. *Die Ausfahrt* [The departure]. The lithographs in Figures 4–7 are from the series *Die Landpartie auf den Leopoldsberg* (1825) by Moritz von Schwind. The gentleman with the mortarboard hat has an indispensable guitar strapped to his shoulder.



Figure 5. *Der Leopoldsberg* [The arrival at Leopoldsberg]. The guitar is almost invisible under the arm of the gentleman with the mortarboard.



Figure 6. *Das Mittagsmahl* [The noon meal]. The guitarist seems to be reaching for his guitar after a meal.



Figure 7. *Die Nachmittagsruhe [The siesta]*. Here the guitarist serenades the group at nap-time.

The Schubert-confidant and poet Karl Theodor Körner (1791–1813), of Dresden, frequently traveled with a guitar. He wrote, “I always take my guitar and ramble through the neighboring villages ... the guitar ... occupies me in moments when I’m resting.”²⁴ But also female artists, such as the court actress and singer Corona Schröter of Weimar, who reportedly sat and sang “wearing a flesh-colored jersey, a guitar in her arms, at one of the loveliest points of the park,”²⁵ employed the instrument at picturesque locations. Evidently it was a way to enhance and make memorable their public images.

The guitar had a similar role in other places. In Bristol, England, a group of artists amused themselves regularly during their summer picnics in Nightingale Valley at Leigh Woods with sketching, reciting poetry and playing the guitar. John Eagles (1783–1855), a contemporary observer who belonged to this group, asserted that “the guitar was, as usual, in frequent use”²⁶ on such occasions. Eagles wrote these florid thoughts in the beginning of the 1830s: “The sound of the guitar ... stole upon the ear with great tenderness. [...] For here the very rocks seem to arch themselves to hear it; the air in stillness to receive it; the waters to glide in more gently, and fall to its cadence; it brought out the stars.”²⁷ The tone of the guitar was for him “so peculiarly vibrating and *adapted to the open air*,”²⁸ while for later commentators the instrument was “a truly appropriate accessory to the Cottage Concert, the Pic-nic, or the Fête ‘under the Greenwood Tree.’”²⁹ This is also documented iconographically, since depictions of guitars are found in the aquarelle *A sketching party in Leigh Woods* (ca. 1830) by Samuel Jackson (1794–1869), as well as in the half-finished sketch of the same name (1828) by Edward Villie (1789–1859)—both members of the so-called Bristol School of Artists.³⁰

That the guitar should be an indispensable part of the picnic, which was initially referred to as the “gypsy party,” was also advocated in the *Giulianiad* (1833), the first of many guitar magazines:

In a gypsy [*sic*] party, also—where there must be a sprinkling of romance, and an oblivion of the dull cares of the world ... what instrument can be listened to with so much reverence and buoyant pleasure? ... In all such situations of festive mirth and convivial recreation, the guitar is the instrument of joy and gladness.³¹

The guitar was similarly used during voyages on water. In his satirical story *The Steam Excursion*, originally published in 1834, Charles Dickens describes a pleasure cruise on the Thames during which three sisters, the “Misses Briggs,” perform, after several comical incidents, a new Spanish composition for three voices and three guitars for the amusement of their fellow passengers.³² A water-borne guitar shows up a little later in Edward Lear’s Victorian-era poem “The Owl and the Pussycat” (1871), where the protagonists aptly float in their “beautiful pea-green boat.” The Owl “looked up to the stars above, and *sang to a small guitar*”

Being practical to carry around, the guitar became a constant companion for many a wandering artist. Contrary to most itinerant musicians who played for money, it seems that the more affluent used it purely for recreation. In 1831 the renowned French composer Hector Berlioz (1803–1869) took a guitar along on his trip to Italy and played it frequently outdoors. In his own words:

I need to be on my own again. [...] *I take a bad guitar with me, a double-barrelled gun, albums to make notes and a few books; such modest baggage cannot tempt brigands, though in truth I would be delighted to meet them.*³³

I am going back to mine at Subiaco. There is nothing I like more than this life of wandering among woods and rocks, with all these good-natured peasants, sleeping during the day beside a torrent, and in the evening dancing the saltarello with the men and women who frequent our inn. *I entertain them with my guitar*; before I came they would only dance to the *sound of the tambourine*, so they are delighted with this *tuneful instrument*.³⁴

I am here, by the great waterfall; I am writing to you from the interior of a little temple of Vesta three-quarters of which are preserved; it is next to the inn; there is a table in the middle, perhaps on the spot where in antiquity the sacred fire was kept. It is right on the edge of the abyss into which the water plunges. *I have just had tea and my guitar brought to me.*³⁵

There were four or five of us sitting by moonlight around the fountain on the little staircase which leads to the gardens; lots were drawn for someone to fetch my guitar [...].³⁶

Travelers like Berlioz might have been inspired by the very titles of earlier printed guitar music, like the series *Le Troubadour Ambulant—Journal de Guitare* (first published in 1817), in which sometimes illustrations of travelling guitarists could be found.³⁷ These popular publications both captured and contributed to the image of the guitar as an apt traveling companion.

But there are also countless stylized portraits of respectable ladies and gentlemen depicted with guitars in gardens or parks. Perhaps the best-known is the painting by Joseph Willibrord Mähler (1778–1860), dated 1804–1805, of Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827), sitting in nature holding a lyre guitar. It has also been stated that “there are many extant paintings from the time, showing scenes in drawing rooms, gardens, and even on boats on the river in which

The Guitar as an “Open-air” Instrument ... (cont.)

gorgeous young women are holding equally gorgeous lyre-guitars.”³⁸ This trend was soon exported to North America, as the paintings *The Picnic* (1846) by Thomas Cole (1801–1848) or *An Afternoon Concert and Picnic on the Hudson* by James McDougal Hart (1828–1901) demonstrate. Such pictures clearly suggest that the sound of the instrument was welcomed both indoors and outdoors.³⁹

Guitars “on the go”– the harp guitar and the “hat” guitar

As discussed earlier, the guitar found a privileged place as an “open air” instrument mainly due to its easy transport. But there were also variants or hybrids of the guitar, such as the small, triangular “harp guitar” developed around 1800 in London by Edward Light (**Figure 8**). Being often decorated on the soundboard and head with neoclassical floral motives evoking nature, harp guitars were usually advertised as light and portable instruments in Regency England.⁴⁰



Figure 8. Harp guitar by Phipps & Co, London, ca. 1800. Musical Instrument Museums Edinburgh (MIMEd) (Accession No.: 1072). The instrument, which is signed “Phipps & Comp^y / London” on the front of the headstock, combines a triangular harp-inspired body with the bridge, neck and head of a guitar. (© MIMEd).

According to Light, harp guitars were quite suitable for fashionable travelers as well as for members of the polite society seeking to continue their musical activities at “watering places” or at “the country, garden, the fire-side, &c.,” as evidenced in the following announcements:

MUSIC—THE NEW HARP-GUITAR, &C. The Harp-Guitar, a most commodious, pleasant little Instrument, and now almost the only one of the Guitar kind, used in the fashionable circles; it so nearly resembles the real Harp, that heard, unseen, it can scarcely be distinguished from it. The Harp-guitar [...] is admirably *well calculated for travelling, or to take to watering places, &c.* They are to be had only of Mr. Light (sole-inventor), and teacher of it, at his Musical Academy, No.9, Duke-street, Portland-place, where Ladies and Gentlemen may receive the necessary instruction, or be attended at home to any part of London, or *in the Country*, reasonable.⁴¹

MUSIC. HARP-GUITAR, AND OTHER INSTRUMENTS [...] TO BE SOLD [...] the new and much admired Harp-Guitars, which are recommended above all others—as first, they possess the sweet and almost perfect tone of the Harp, are very portable, the

purchase but a small price, easy to learn [...] are a most charming accompaniment and help to the voice, &c. *for convenience in travelling, to take into the country, garden, the fire-side, &c.* [...]”⁴²

NEW INVENTED HARP-GUITAR, &C. MUSIC. Mr. Light thus informs Lovers of Music, he has now a choice of his little elegant, fashionable, and much admired Harp-Guitars [...] They are very *light and portable*, and of different sizes, to suit grown persons and children, or *for travelling, as a small size one of them, with a desk, music, &c. will go within a coach seat or portmanteau.*⁴³

Light’s claims—and to a certain extent his industrious marketing—are also confirmed by pictures in surviving tutors showing ladies playing harp guitars in scenic rural landscapes (**Figure 9**).



Figure 9. Early nineteenth-century print showing an elegantly dressed lady playing the harp guitar in an idyllic landscape (reproduced in Armstrong, 27).

The same image would be inconceivable, for instance, with a double action harp by Sebastien Erard. Although reportedly 3500 harps of the “Grecian” model were sold by Erard between 1811 and 1820,⁴⁴ due to its size and weight the instrument was rarely used outside the four walls of a Regency house, as verified in contemporary literature and portraiture.

Some creative individuals pushed the idea of a portable guitar even further. For instance, a small “hat” guitar is described in the notebooks dating from 1829 (**Figure 10**) of Karl Wirth (1800–1882) of Augsburg, who became a successful musical instrument manufacturer in St. Petersburg:

GUITAR TO BE CARRIED IN A HAT. The body is a round box as large as can fit in a hat and quite deep. The neck is attached on the top with a setting pin and on the bottom with a screw. The tuning pegs are inserted from the side in the headstock in which each peg passes through a square hole from the top whereby the string is wound on the peg. The pegs can be made of thick brass wire or ebony and have a tuning key. On the bridge the strings can be fastened in the usual way with endpins.⁴⁵



Figure 10. The drawing and description of the “guitar to be carried in a hat” (“Guittarre, in Hute zu tragen”) in Karl Wirth’s notebooks. Deutsches Museum, Munich (Accession No: DMA HS7868 IV. Theil 10) (© Deutsches Museum).

That no example of Wirth’s “Guitar to be carried in a hat” is known to have survived may suggest that his idea remained only on paper and was never put into practice.⁴⁶ Indeed one wonders if a guitar body made to fit in a cylindrical top-hat, fashionable for men at that time, could have provided an effective resonator, let alone a strong and straight joint for the detachable neck. Interestingly, Wirth’s notebooks also include a drawing and description of a detachable hammer mechanism for a seven-string guitar.⁴⁷ This may indicate Wirth’s source of inspiration for his “hat” guitar, since guitars with seven strings tuned in open G, which were typical in Russia, often had adjustable—hence detachable—necks.⁴⁸

On the other hand, almost forty years later the guitar maker George Lewis Panormo (1815–1877), together with the celebrated guitar teacher Catharina Josepha Pratten or “Madame Pratten” (1821–1895), developed a travel guitar with a conventional shape, which on account of its small dimensions was called “Bambina.”⁴⁹ It is no wonder that Madame Pratten was involved in such a project, since allegedly she “invariably took her guitar” during her visits to Brighton, where she occasionally enjoyed practicing at the seafront.⁵⁰

Regardless of their limited commercial success, such efforts in one way or another influenced the design and manufacture of the guitar and similar plucked and bowed instruments. From a technical perspective, more durable materials, such as metal alloys, were now implemented for sound-sensitive parts such as bridges, frets and tuners. Moreover, detachable parts (necks in particular) began to be used on guitars, enabling their more effective packing and storage; they also allowed speedy adjustments, replacements or repairs after neck-to-body-joint damage that sometimes occurred while transporting the instruments. This is evident, for example, in the removable and adjustable necks used on guitars by J. G. Stauffer and other Viennese makers, in the majority of seven-string guitars manufactured in Russia in the nineteenth century, and even in some large bowed instruments, such as cellos and double basses.⁵¹

Connections with woodwind instruments: the case of the csakan

Apart from its low cost, ease of learning and portability, the guitar was also musically quite flexible despite its rather weak volume. In addition to its great potential for solo music and song accompaniment, the guitar was well suited to small ensembles. For instance, the guitar could easily be played together with relatively quiet, soft-sounding instruments, especially those of fixed temperament, like woodwinds or free reeds, by tuning down or “capo-ing” up.

The musical pairing of plucked instruments with woodwinds is quite old. Nevertheless, the “marriage” of the guitar with the csakan, a Hungarian type of recorder often built in the form of a walking stick (Figure 11), which took place ca. 1810, made especially good sense in a world growing ever fonder of nature and the outdoors. The csakan—basically an oversize tenor recorder (lowest note usually A₂), first mentioned in print in 1807—was one among several instruments such as the violin, flute, clarinet, oboe, even trumpet, which in the beginning of the nineteenth century were commonly built in the form of a walking stick, or could be lengthened with extensions to serve that purpose. The csakan was, like the guitar, fashionable, cheap and easily portable. The dual functionality that some models possessed—as a walking stick and a musical instrument—made it an ideal device for Sunday excursions. It has been claimed that even Beethoven used the csakan, at least to support his walking, if not to play while on the move.⁵²



Figure 11. Csakan by Augustin Rorarius (1788–1848), Vienna, ca. 1815. Deutsches Museum, Munich (Accession No.: 25963) (© Deutsches Museum).

The fact that the csakan was tuned in A₂ was a disadvantage if one wanted to play it with pianoforte or harp.⁵³ However, the guitar offered an ideal accompaniment to the csakan because, when the guitarist tuned all the strings down a semitone,⁵⁴ he or she could easily play along using familiar chords in the left hand, particularly for compositions in E_b, A_b or D_b. Alternatively a musician could simulate playing in a flat-friendly key by using a capotasto on a normally tuned guitar’s fourth fret. The three bass strings would then sound (ascending): A_b-D_b-B_b.

From 1810 onwards, published duets for csakan and guitar became ever more common. They were offered for sale in the larger cities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, such as Vienna, Ofen (Pest), and Pressburg, and in other German-speaking regions as well. For example, already in 1813 the *Variations sur l’Air “Gestern Abend war Vetter Michel da,”* by C. Scheindienst, for csakan with guitar accompaniment, was published in Leipzig.⁵⁵ Additionally, some music teachers offered lessons for both instruments, as shown in the following newspaper advertisement by Johann Bauernhuber from 1825:

The Guitar as an “Open-air” Instrument ... (cont.)

Those highly respected friends of music who want to get convenient instruction on *the guitar, flute or the csakan*, should kindly leave their addresses at the home of the undersigned (Grosse Bruckgasse no. 642 on the 2nd floor in Pest).⁵⁶

There is also a technological/metallurgical link between the csakan and the guitar. Evidence has come to light that the same alloy of copper, zinc and nickel (known by its Chinese name, *packfong*) that was used for the construction of the keys on the csakan,⁵⁷ also was found to be ideal for the manufacture of guitar frets. In 1822 the pioneering Viennese guitar and violin maker Johann Georg Stauffer (1778–1853) claimed the exclusive legal “privilege” to use it in that manner.⁵⁸

The successful connection of the guitar with the csakan was strengthened when the latter became integrated in the concert life of the Biedermeier era and caught the attention of the public. In 1810 and 1811 Anton Heberle (flourished 1806–1816), who is widely regarded as the inventor of the csakan, together with the guitarist and cellist Vincenz Schuster,⁵⁹ gave numerous concerts in Vienna, but also in Marburg, Ragusa (today’s Dubrovnik), Trieste and Venice. Ernest Krähmer (1795–1837), one of the best-known exponents of the csakan, composed the *Introduction und Variationen über ein Original-Thema für den Csakan mit Begleitung des Pianoforte oder der Gitarre*,⁶⁰ and possibly the *Sonata tradetta per Csakan e Chitarra da Ernest Krähma*.⁶¹ Krähmer’s association with the guitar was not coincidental, since in 1823 he had performed together with the young guitarist Leonard Schulz (1814–1860) at a concert in Vienna.⁶²

Several other guitar composers and teachers, such as Franz (Francesco) Bathioli (?-ca. 1832), Conradin Kreutzer (1780–1849), and Wenzel Matiegka (1773–1830), wrote pieces for guitar and csakan.⁶³ Wilhelm Klingensbrunner (1782–1850) also played guitar and csakan and composed works for both instruments,⁶⁴ such as the *Serenade pour la Guitarre et Csákan*, Op. 33 (1812).⁶⁵ The enterprising Viennese publisher Anton Diabelli (1781–1858) broadened the common repertoire of these two instruments with a wide variety of works.⁶⁶

Influences on keyboard instrument design: the case of the orphica

In view of its portability, the guitar also seems to have had an influence on keyboard instrument design—as much as it was influenced by it. The main problem with keyboard instruments, such as the harpsichord or the pianoforte, was that they were large and quite heavy. Already in the late eighteenth-century musical instrument manufacturers in England and Germany had tried to equip plucked instruments, such as the wire-strung guitar (“English guitar”)⁶⁷ and the gut-strung guitar (“Spanish” or “French” guitar), with small keyboards in an attempt to develop hybrid plucked-keyboard instruments. In London the German Christian Claus (flourished 1783–1799) patented in 1783 a “pianoforte guitar” and his idea was soon followed by other British instrument makers.⁶⁸ Similarly, in Berlin



Figure 12. Orphica by unknown maker, possibly Vienna, around 1810. Deutsches Museum, Munich (Accession No.: 18651) (© Deutsches Museum).

Anton Bachmann (1716–1800) introduced in 1799 a keyed guitar,⁶⁹ which was “one of many similar experiments (e.g. orphica, harp-piano) to apply the hammer mechanism of the piano to stringed instruments.”⁷⁰ The culmination of these endeavors can be seen in the orphica, a small keyboard instrument which was invented in Vienna in 1795 (**Figure 12**).

According to its inventor, Carl Leopold Röllig, the orphica was an improved alternative to existing plucked instruments, such as the lute or guitar, which he found problematic in many ways: “In this way an instrument was created, whose construction is quite different from that of the *theorbo*, *lute*, *the English and Spanish zither (guitar)*, and which surpasses all of them in beauty of tone and variety of modulation.”⁷¹

Röllig maintained that the orphica could be played “sitting on the sofa, the chair, or on the grass; on the lap, it can be held firmly with a strap.”⁷² Interestingly, in Röllig’s 1795 brochure as well as in an engraving in the *Journal des Luxus und der Moden*, the male and female players of the orphica are portrayed in a natural setting.⁷³ This supports the notion that the instrument was designed primarily for music in the open air. It is thus no coincidence that in England the orphica became known as the “weekend piano.”⁷⁴

Röllig named his instrument the *orphica* because it resembled the form of Orpheus’s lyre. Nevertheless, it is possible that the outline of the orphica was equally inspired by the form of the lyre guitar which was in fashion around 1800.⁷⁵ August Harder (1775–1813), in his *Neue vollständige theoretische und praktische Guitarre-Schule* (Berlin ca. 1820),⁷⁶ remarked that during this time guitars were frequently built in the form of a lyre⁷⁷ or a lute—two instruments that Röllig evidently hoped his orphica would replace. For instance, the orphica in Röllig’s brochure is described and drawn with a kind of “capotasto” (transposing) mechanism, typically used on the necks of plucked instruments. It also appears that certain strings on the orphica were sometimes retuned to favor certain keys, as on the lute

or guitar.⁷⁸ He also highlighted that “the orphica in relation to the choice of instruments stands as an intermediate species between the lute and the fortepiano.”⁷⁹ Röllig was certainly familiar with the plucked instruments he mentioned in his brochure and presumably played some of them himself, since a lute was listed in his will.⁸⁰

Röllig’s idea of combining a portable string instrument with some kind of keyboard mechanism was subsequently imitated by other inventors,⁸¹ although their efforts seemed destined more for an interior environment—a drawing room or salon—than for the rugged outdoors. In France in 1806, Joseph-Anne-Adolphe le D’Huy, from Coucy-le-Château in Aisne, devised a “lyre organisée.”⁸² This instrument was essentially a large lyre guitar with three necks and six key-levers fixed on the bass side of the soundboard, intended for the hammering of the strings of the middle neck.

Even as late as 1839, when the fashion of the lyre guitar had waned, Frédéric Fischer, an ivory turner in Paris, experimented with the same principle on his “Piano-lyre.”⁸³ Despite its name, this was neither a piano nor a lyre-like instrument, but a conventional guitar with a keyboard mounted externally on its soundboard. All these initiatives to convert the guitar or similar plucked instruments into portable keyboard instruments by means of internal or external mechanisms, proved to be less than successful from an aesthetic, functional or commercial viewpoint.

The orphica had the same fate. Later versions of the instrument were so heavy that carrying them around with a shoulder strap, as illustrated in contemporary images, must have been quite a strain.⁸⁴ Hence the orphica gradually disappeared. The merits of her voice aside, she now rests peacefully in the world of museums.⁸⁵

Conclusions

The turn of the nineteenth century witnessed not only the Europe-wide acceptance of a standard or typical six-string guitar—the instrument of Sor, Giuliani and their contemporaries, but also some novel experiments aimed at making the instrument more practical, more versatile, or more fashionable in public places. The guitar, like other “open-air” instruments that were developed around 1800,

was affordable, elegant, comfortable to hold and play, relatively easy to learn and, above all, portable. In addition, through its use in outdoor music-making the guitar became associated with “nature” in the Romantic sense, signifying both the pastoral and the idyllic.⁸⁶ Thus, although frequently criticized in the press for its weak volume, the guitar and its variants clearly remained desirable in the eyes of enthusiastic amateurs and professional musicians alike, who often used such instruments to recapture outdoors the musical experiences that they enjoyed at home or in the concert hall.

This largely explains the introduction in London of the small, triangular harp guitar as a substitute for the harp among travelling music lovers. The same factors led to the invention in Vienna of the orphica, a string instrument-cum-keyboard offered as a portable alternative to the piano.

Many experiments, from Wirth’s “guitar to be carried in a hat” in St. Petersburg to Fischer’s “piano-lyre” in Paris, were responses to a demand for new musical instruments in small, compact forms. In the early (pre-1820) Biedermeier period, both the fashionable csakan and the equally popular guitar attracted enthusiastic audiences, probably because of their playability coupled with the availability of easy *Spielmusik* (including duets) in handsome editions. Later, both instruments were taken up by virtuosi and acquired whole new musical identities.⁸⁷

From the 1830s forward, several portable free-reed instruments, such as aeolinas, accordions, harmonicas, concertinas, harmoniums, or the guitar-like mélophone,⁸⁸ proved themselves to be capable substitutes for the piano or organ. Iconographic evidence suggests that such handy “squeeze-boxes” were sometimes used outdoors along with a guitar for song accompaniment.⁸⁹

The guitar in its various travel-friendly guises, along with such unique inventions of the early Romantic era as the csakan and the orphica, clearly indicate important crosscurrents among musical instruments in one of the most fascinating periods of music history. After two centuries in relative silence, it is now time to re-create their enchanting sounds—preferably on a warm summer evening under blue skies.

Works cited

- Amersfoort, Jelma van. “‘The notes were not sweet till you sung them’: French vocal music with guitar accompaniment, c.1800–1840.” *Early Music* 41.4 (2013): 605–619.
- Anonymous. “Neue musikalische Werke der Leipziger Musikhandlungen zur Ostermesse 1813.” *Journal für Luxus, Mode und Gegenstände der Kunst* 28 (August 1813): 466–487.
- Anonymous. “Ein Wort zu seiner Zeit über das Modeinstrument der Ghitarre.” *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* 18 (August 1803): 429–433.
- Anonymous. “Die Gitarre, ein neuer Modeartikel.” *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* 16 (November 1801): 623–624.
- Anonymous. “Tonleiter zur Gitarre.” *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* 12 (January 1797): 24–26.
- Armstrong, Robert Bruce. *English Musical Instruments, Part II: English and Irish Instruments*. Edinburgh: Constable, 1908.
- Baldassarre, Antonio. “The Iconographic Schubert: The Reception of Schubert in the Mirror of his Time.” *RIDIM/RCMI Newsletter*, 22.2 (1997): 39–52.
- Betz, Marianne. *Der Csakan und seine Musik: Wiener Musikleben im frühen 19. Jahrhundert, dargestellt am Beispiel einer Spazierstockblockflöte*. Tutzing: Schneider, 1992.
- Bieber, Alain. “Removable and Adjustable Necks for Classical Guitars.” *American Lutherie* 80 (2004): 38–45.
- Birsak, Kurt. “Orphica: Ein handliches Klavier für Orpheus und die Damenwelt.” *Das Kunstwerk des Monats*, Salzburger Museum Carolino Augusteum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte der Stadt und des Landes Salzburg 17, Blatt 190 (2004): 1–3.
- Bran-Ricci, Josiane. “Erfindung und Eleganz im 19. Jahrhundert: das französische Melophon.” *Harmonium und Handharmonika*. Ed. Lustig, Monika, 51–60.
- Michaelsteiner Konferenzberichte 62. Blakenburg: Kloster Michaelstein, 2002.
- Britton, Andrew. “The guitar and the Bristol school of artists.” *Early Music* 41.4 (2013): 585–594.

The Guitar as an “Open-air” Instrument ... (cont.)

- Elste, Martin. “Berlin als Zentrum des Großstadtgeigenbaus.” *Handwerk im Dienste der Musik: 300 Jahre Berliner Musikinstrumentenbau*. Eds. Droysen-Reber, Dagmar, Martin Elste, and Gesine Haase, 11–27. Berlin: Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 1987.
- Focht, Josef. “Der süddeutsche Gitarrenbau im langen 19. Jahrhundert.” *Faszination Gitarre*. Eds. Conny, Restle and Christopher Li, 14–33. Berlin: Nicolai, 2010.
- Gill, Donald. “The Orpharion and Bandora.” *The Galpin Society Journal* 13 (1960): 14–25.
- Griffiths, Ann. “Erard.” *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*. Ed. Stanley Sadie. London: Macmillan, 1984.
- Harder, August. *Neue vollständige theoretische und praktische Gitarren-Schule*. Berlin: Schlesinger, ca. 1820.
- Hermann, Georg. *Das Biedermeier im Spiegel seiner Zeit: Eine Sammlung aus Briefen, Tagebüchern, Memoiren, Volksszenen und ähnlichen Dokumenten*. Oldenburg und Hamburg: Stalling, 1965.
- Hofmann, Erik Pierre, Pascal Mougin, and Stefan Hackl. *Stauffer & Co. – The Viennese Guitar of the 19th Century*. Germolles sur Grosne: Les Éditions des Robins, 2011.
- Hoffmann, Freia. *Instrument und Körper: die musizierende Frau in der bürgerlichen Kultur*. Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1991.
- Hurtig, Martin. *Johann Gottlob Thielemann und der Berliner Gitarrenbau um 1800*. Diplomarbeit, Westsächsische Hochschule Zwickau (FH), Fachbereich Angewandte Kunst Schneeberg, Studiengang Musikinstrumentenbau Markneukirchen, 2008.
- Kinsky, Georg. *Musikhistorisches Museum von Wilhelm Heyer in Köln, Katalog Zweiter Band: Zupf- und Streichinstrumente*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1912.
- Kopitz, Klaus Martin. “Beethoven as a Composer for the Orphica: A New Source for WoO 51.” *The Beethoven Journal* 22.1 (2007): 25–30.
- Lomtev, Denis. “Karl Wirths Notizbücher: Ideenwelt eines Musikinstrumentenbauers.” *Deutsches Museum Preprint* 10 (2014). 2 Volumes.
- Mattingly, Stephen Patrick. “Franz Schubert’s Chamber Music with Guitar: A Study of the Guitar’s Role in Biedermeier Vienna.” Ph.D. diss., Florida State Univ., 2007.
- Meer, John Henry van der. *Musikinstrumente: von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*. Munich: Prestel, 1983.
- Michel, Andreas. “Thüringisch-sächsischer Gitarrenbau im späten 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert.” *Faszination Gitarre*. Eds. Conny, Restle and Christopher Li, 34–59. Berlin: Nicolai, 2010.
- . “Tastengitarre (Pianoforte-Gitarre).” Accessed December 3, 2014. http://www.studia-instrumentorum.de/MUSEUM/GITARREN/QB/tasten_git.htm.
- Molino, Francesco. *Grande Méthode Complète pour Guitare ou Lyre Dediee a S.A.R. Madame Duchesse de Berry Composee par François Molino*, Op. 33. Paris: Molino, 1823.
- . *Nouvelle Méthode Complète pour la Guitare ou Lyre dediee a Madame la Duchesse de Dalberg par François Molino*. Paris: Gambaro, 1817.
- Müller, Johann Christian Ernst. “Die Orphica, ein neues musikalisches Instrument, erfunden von Hr. C. L. Röllig zu Wien.” *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* 11 (Februar 1796): 87–98.
- Ophee, Matanya. “The Story of the Lyre-Guitar.” *Soundboard* 14.4 (1987–8): 235–243.
- Page, Christopher. “The Guitar, the Steamship and the Picnic: England on the Move.” Accessed December 29, 2014. <http://www.gresham.ac.uk/lectures-and-events/the-guitar-the-steamship-and-the-picnic-england-on-the-move.html>.
- . “An Essay of 1824 on the Guitar.” *Soundboard* 38.4 (2012): 53–60, 75.
- Poulopoulos, Panagiotis. “Das Musizieren im Freien in der Zeit des Biedermeier: Die Beispiele der Orphica, der Gitarre und des Csakans.” *Phoibos: Zeitschrift für Zupfmusik* 2015.1 (2015): 43–68.
- . “A Pioneering Guitar Design by Francesco Molino.” The Consortium for Guitar Research at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. Accessed December 9, 2014. <http://guitarconsortium.wordpress.com/2014/08/27/a-pioneering-guitar-design-by-francesco-molino/>.html.
- . “‘Wha sweetly tune the Scottish lyre’: A Guitarr by Rauche & Hoffmann and its Connection to Robert Burns.” *The Galpin Society Journal* 67 (2014): 40–44, 143–170.
- . “The Influence of Germans in the Development of ‘this favourite Instrument the Guitarr’ in England.” *Soundboard* 38.4 (2012): 55–71.
- . “‘A complete Accompaniment to the Female Voice’: The Guitarr and its Role in the Culture of Georgian England.” *Phoibos – Zeitschrift für Zupfmusik* 2012.1 (2012): 97–120.
- . “The Guitarr in the British Isles, 1750–1810.” Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Edinburgh, 2011.
- Röllig, Carl Leopold. *Orphica, ein musikalisches Instrument. Erfunden von C. L. Röllig*. Vienna: Blumauer, 1795.
- Reichenbach, Michael. “Die Harp-Lute und andere Instrumente des 18. Jahrhunderts von Edward Light.” *Phoibos – Zeitschrift für Zupfmusik* 2012.2 (2012): 67–84.
- Schlegel, Andreas and Joachim Lüdtke, eds. *The Lute in Europe 2: Lutes, Guitars, Mandolins and Citterns*. Menziken: The Lute Corner, 2011.
- Stenstadvold, Erik. “‘The Worst Drunkard in London’: The Life and Career of the Guitar Virtuoso Leonard Schulz.” *Soundboard* 38.4 (2012): 9–16, 52.
- . *Guitar Methods, 1760–1860: An Annotated Bibliography*. Hillsdale, New York: Pendragon, 2010.
- Tarasov, Nik. “Neues von Beethoven, 1. Teil: Csakan-Recherchen in Beethovens Konversationsheften.” *Windkanal* 3/2000 (2000): 6–10.
- Tarasov, Nik. “Neues von Beethoven, 2. Teil: Csakan-Recherchen beim großen Wiener Klassiker.” *Windkanal* 4/2000 (2000): 6–9.
- Timofeyev, Oleg. “The Russian Seven-String Guitar ca. 1800: Organology and Search for Origins.” In *Gitarre und Zister: Bauweise, Spieltechnik und Geschichte bis 1800*. Monika Lustig, 229–246. Michaelsteiner Konferenzberichte 66. Blackenburg: Stiftung Kloster Michaelstein und Verlag Janos Stekovic, 2004.
- Tolstoy, Leo. *War and Peace*. Maude translation revised by Amy Mandelker. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Vogel, Benjamin. “Orphicas: Genuine, Less Genuine and Fakes.” *The Galpin Society Journal* 57 (2004): 19–45, 204–205.
- Wedemeier, Ulrich. *Gitarre – Zister – Laute: Sammlung Historischer Zupfinstrumente*. Hannover: Wedemeier & Brinkmann, 2012.
- Weigmann, Otto, ed. *Schwind: Des Meisters Werke in 1265 Abbildungen*. Stuttgart and Leipzig: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1906.
- Wells, Headlam Robin. “The Orpharion: Symbol of a Humanist Ideal.” *Early Music* 10.4 (1982): 427–440.
- Wells Sarudy, Barbara. “19C American picnics.” Accessed December 8, 2014. (<http://bjws.blogspot.com/2013/07/19th-century-america-picnics.html>).
- Westbrook, James. “Louis Panormo: ‘The only Maker of Guitars in the Spanish style.’” *Early Music* 41.4 (2013): 571–584.
- . *The Century that Shaped the Guitar*. Brighton: Crisp Litho, 2006.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Cited in Hurrting 133. Original German in note 14, *infra*. For the reader's convenience, the contemporary quotations which follow have been included in their original language as footnotes, and translated freely in the main text. In all quotations the original spelling and punctuation has been retained, while the use of italics for emphasis is the author's. The author is grateful to Petra, Lea and Gerhard Fixl for their help with translations of historical sources used in this article. The author would also like to thank Thomas Heck for his careful editorial work and for his useful suggestions during the preparation of this article.
- ² The quotation is the first verse of *Come where the Aspens quiver / a Ballad / sung by / Mrs. Waylett / at the / Theatre Royal Drury Lane / composed for her by / Alexander Lee / Arranged for the / GUITAR / by / B. Sperati*. The song was composed about 1830; the guitar version dates from ca. 1843; a modern edition appears in *English Romantic Songs & Ballads of the Early 19th Century with Guitar Accompaniments of the Period*, ed. Brian Jeffery (Tecla Editions, 1983).
- ³ An earlier and shorter version of this article was recently published in German. See Pouloupoulos, "Das Musizieren im Freien."
- ⁴ For an overview of these instruments see Meer, 259–272.
- ⁵ For the development of the guitar around 1800 see Schlegel and Lüttke, 322–330; Hofmann, Mougin, and Hackl, 44–95; and Focht, 17–29. For various examples of guitars built during the early nineteenth century (ca. 1800–1830) see Wedemeier, 24–55.
- ⁶ "Es giebt bekanntlich mehrere Arten von Guitarren, da dies Instrument fast in jedem Lande auf eine andere Weise einheimisch ist, und überall anders gespielt wird. Es gibt englische, französische, spanische Guitarren u.s.w. [...] Liebhaberinnen und Liebhabern dieses für die Begleitung des Gesanges im Freyen und wegen seiner passenden Fügigkeit so empfehlungswürdigen Instruments." Anonymous, "Tonleiter zur Gitarre," 24–25.
- ⁷ "la facilité de l'apprendre, la vitesse avec laquelle on peut le mettre d'accord, et la pose gracieuse." Molino, *Nouvelle Méthode Complète*, 14.
- ⁸ "Die Gitarre, ein neuer Modeartikel. Die Gitarre, seitdem sie bei unsern Schönen durch ihren bezaubernden Ton, durch ihre niedliche Form, durch den Reiz, den ihre Handhabung der Spielerin giebt, durch ihrer weder beim Sitzen noch beim Stehen oder Gehen je lästige Gesellschaft und durch die Leichtigkeit mit ihr vertraut zu werden, sich einzuschmeicheln gewußt hat - verdient gewiß unter den beliebtesten Modeartikeln eine vorzügliche Stelle." Anonymous, "Die Gitarre, ein neuer Modeartikel," 623.
- ⁹ "mit seinem nach der Mode gefärbten Trageband niedlich umschlungen." Anonymous, "Die Gitarre, ein neuer Modeartikel," 623–624.
- ¹⁰ "Die Ghtarre ist eine liebliche Auszierung für den gebildeten Sänger [...] Ihr melodischer Ton ründet sich um seine reine Stimme, und er freut sich, ein so wenig Raum erforderndes Begleitungsinstrument in seinem Zimmer, auf ländlichen Partien, oder im geselligen Zirkel bei sich zu haben [...]." Anonymous, "Ein Wort zu seiner Zeit über das Modeinstrument der Ghtarre," 432.
- ¹¹ "seine geschmackvolle, gefällige Form, seine leichte Transportabilität, seine Neuheit, welche durch die Mode unterstützt wird, die Leichtigkeit, etwas Weniges darauf zu erlernen, die Wohlfeilheit des Instruments." Cited in Michel, 36.
- ¹² "ein durchaus anmutiges Instrument als Begleiterin des Gesanges [...] Auch Studenten sangen ihre Lieder gern zur Gitarre und zogen mit ihr von Haus zu Haus." Hermann, 120.
- ¹³ Tolstoy, 549.
- ¹⁴ "Die Gitarre, gegenwärtig das Lieblings-Instrument der Damen, verdient mit Recht die Achtung, welche ihr von ihren Verehrern gezollt wird. Zu läugnen ist es nicht, daß sie gegen eine Harfe oder Fortepiano verglichen, ein unvollkommenes Instrument bleibt; sobald man aber zufrieden ist, kunstlosen Gesang mit vollen Akkorden zu begleiten, und alle künstliche Klimpereien darauf zu vermeiden sucht, so springt ihr Vorzug von selbst in die Augen. Schon die Möglichkeit, sie aller Orten bequem transportieren zu können, trägt zur Erhöhung gesellschaftlicher Freuden, im Zimmer sowohl auch im Garten und auf dem Lande außerordentlich viel bei, und selbst ihre ärgsten Gegner müssen verstummen, wenn an einem warmen Sommerabende, ein einfaches Lied aus schönem Munde, begleitet von melankolischen Akkorden der Gitarre, aus den dunkeln Laube tönt." Cited in Hurrting, 133.
- ¹⁵ Cited in Amersfoort, 609–610.
- ¹⁶ "la commodité de le transporter." Molino, *Grande Méthode Complète*, 1.
- ¹⁷ For more details see Pouloupoulos, "A Pioneering Guitar Design by Francesco Molino."
- ¹⁸ Cited in Page, 57–58.
- ¹⁹ The Biedermeier is commonly defined as the historic period from 1815 (Congress of Vienna) until 1848 (beginning of the European Revolutions). The term Biedermeier additionally refers to a predominantly domestic culture that developed due to restrictive state policies in German-speaking regions during this time. Its distinctive style was mostly expressed in the visual arts, interior design, literature and music. The author is thankful to his colleagues Silke Berdux and Sonja Neumann from the Department of Musical Instruments of the Deutsches Museum for their useful remarks about musical life during the Biedermeier.
- ²⁰ "in den Alltag integriert [...] erklang bei Kahnpartien und Spazierfahrten." Hoffmann, 157.
- ²¹ The *Ballspiel* drawing (Figure 3) is attributed to Franz von Schober (1796–1882), with figures by Moritz von Schwind (1804–1871). Its etching is attributed to Ludwig Mohn (1797–1857). See Weigmann XIX; see also Baldassarre 41, figure 2. A color reproduction is viewable in Wikimedia Commons, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ballspiel_in_Atzenbrugg.jpg.
- ²² Weigmann 41–42; see also Hofmann, Mougin, and Hackl, 251 and 253, figures 107 and 108.
- ²³ The public domain source for Figures 3–7 is *Schwind: Des Meisters Werke in 1265 Abbildungen*, ed. Otto Weigmann (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1906). Thanks to the University of Michigan for the provision of jpegs. Figure 3 is on p. xix, Figures 4 & 5 on p. 41, and Figures 6 & 7 on p. 42.
- ²⁴ Cited in Mattingly, 17.
- ²⁵ "in fleischfarbenen Tricot gekleidet, eine Gitarre im Arm, an einem der lieblichsten Punkte des Parkes." Cited in Hoffmann, 155.
- ²⁶ Cited in Britton, 591.
- ²⁷ Cited in Britton, 592.
- ²⁸ Cited in Britton, 591.
- ²⁹ Cited in Britton, 591.

³⁰ See Britton, 592 and 593, Figures 4 and 5.

³¹ Cited in Page, “The Guitar, the Steamship and the Picnic,” 5.

³² See Page, “The Guitar, the Steamship and the Picnic,” 6–7.

³³ This and the following quotations by Berlioz can be found in *The Hector Berlioz Website* (www.hberlioz.com), searching the keyword “guitar.” Accessed December 8, 2014.

The author is grateful to Jelma van Amersfoort for pointing out Berlioz’s connections to the guitar.

³⁴ *The Hector Berlioz Website*, <http://www.hberlioz.com>.

³⁵ *The Hector Berlioz Website*.

³⁶ *The Hector Berlioz Website*.

³⁷ See Amersfoort, 608, Figure 2.

³⁸ Ophée, “The Story of the Lyre-Guitar,” 240. For instance, a lady holding a lyre guitar is depicted in the painting *The Coppennath family on a boating party* (“Die Familie Coppennath bei einer Kahnpartie”) (1807) by Johann Christoph Rincklake (1764–1813), in the Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, Münster (Accession No.: 3817).

³⁹ See Wells Sarudy, “19C American picnics.”

⁴⁰ For more details about the harp guitar and other instruments developed by Light see Reichenbach, 71–80, and Pouloupoulos, “A complete Accompaniment to the Female Voice,” 112–113. In the last few years Hayato Sugimoto has done extensive research on the history and development of these heretofore ignored instruments and has recently submitted a PhD thesis on this subject at the University of Edinburgh. It should be understood that the term “harp guitar” at this early date had nothing to do with the “harp guitar” of more recent times, with its wealth of extra bass strings, as illustrated on the website of Gregg Miner, <http://www.harpguitars.net>, accessed February 16, 2015.

⁴¹ *Morning Post and Gazetteer* (London, England), 14 June 1800. The author is thankful to Hayato Sugimoto for drawing his attention to this and the following quotations relating to the harp guitar.

⁴² *Morning Post and Gazetteer* (London, England), 15 August 1800.

⁴³ *Morning Post and Gazetteer* (London, England), 19 March 1801.

⁴⁴ See Griffiths, 715.

⁴⁵ “Guitarre, in Hute zu tragen. Der Korpus ist einer runden Schachtel gleich so groß als es der Hut leidet und zimlich tief der Hals ist forne mit einem Stellstiften und hinten mit einer Schraube darauf zu befestigen. Die Wirbel gehen von der Seite in das Wirbelbret in welchem von oben bey jedem Wirbel ein 4-eckichtes Loch durch geht worin die Saite auf dem Wirbel gewickelt ist. Die Wirbel können von dickem Messingdrath oder auch von Ebenholz seyn und einen Stimmschlüssel haben. Im Steege können die Saiten auf gewöhnliche Weise mit Stifen eingesteckt werdn.” See Wirth’s “Akustik. IV Theil 1829,” as cited in Lomtev, Vol. 1, 58 and Vol. 2, 55. Next to the drawing of the instrument it is written “better [leave] the soundboard complete and [add] holes in the back” (“besser der Resonanz [boden] ganz und in bode[n] Öffnungen”).

⁴⁶ Tony Bingham, a London dealer of historic musical instruments, currently owns a curious small guitar with a removable and adjustable neck, which is not so far from Wirth’s concept. However, the body of this instrument, which was probably built around 1800, resembles the form of a *pochette* (a small violin with a thin narrow body), while the headstock is furnished with six metal dulcimer-style pins fixed vertically for the attachment of the strings. The author is grateful to Tony Bingham for providing details of this instrument.

⁴⁷ See Lomtev, Vol. 1, 63, and Vol. 2, 17.

⁴⁸ For details on the historical and technical features of the seven-string Russian guitar see Timofeyev, 229–246.

⁴⁹ Westbrook, “Louis Panormo,” 584, footnote 38.

⁵⁰ Westbrook, “The Century that shaped the Guitar,” 7.

⁵¹ For more details on the advantages of removable and adjustable necks on guitars see Bieber, 38–45. There are also several extant “folding” theorbo lutes and bass viols, dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which were made with removable necks to enable their easier transport, showing that this idea is quite old.

⁵² For more details on Beethoven’s connection to the csakan and for his arrangements for csakan and guitar see Tarasov, “Neues von Beethoven, 2. Teil: Csakan-Recherchen beim großen Wiener Klassiker,” 6–9 and Tarasov, “Neues von Beethoven, 1. Teil: Csakan-Recherchen in Beethovens Konversationsheften,” 6–10.

⁵³ See Betz, 111.

⁵⁴ In Hofmann, Mougín, and Hackl, 262, it has been rather erroneously suggested that the guitar had to be tuned a third down.

⁵⁵ “pour le Czakan (oder Flute douce) avec accomp. de Guitarre.” Anonymous, “Neue musikalische Werke,” 470. See also Betz, 140. About a decade later, the enterprising Viennese publisher Diabelli & Co. brought out several duo editions, such as the *Abend-Unterhaltungen für Csakan und Gitarre*. A copy is at Duke University Library. WorldCat (www.worldcat.org) references more than a hundred catalogued scores for csakan, solo and in various combinations. Accessed February 5, 2015.

⁵⁶ “Diejenigen pl.t. Musik Freunde, welche auf der Guitarre, Flöte oder dem Csákán leichtfaßlichen Unterricht zu erhalten wünschen, belieben ihre Adressen in der Wohnn des ergebenst Gefertigten (große Bruckgasse Nro 642 im 2ten Stock in Pesth) gefälligst abgeben zu lassen.” Announced in the *Vereinigte Ofner und Pester Zeitung*, Nr. 52 (30 June 1825), 876, as cited in Betz, 96.

⁵⁷ See Betz, 79.

⁵⁸ See Hofmann, Mougín, and Hackl, 58.

⁵⁹ See Betz, 175. Schuster also played a kind of bowed guitar, which today is commonly known as arpeggione, and in 1825 published the *Anleitung zur Erlernung des von Herrn Georg Staufer neu erfundenen Guitarre-Violoncells*. See Hofmann, Mougín, and Hackl, 60–61.

⁶⁰ See, for instance, the list for *Csakanmusik* in the *Intelligenz-Blatt of the Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, Vol. 35 (1833), 881.

⁶¹ Betz, 112.

⁶² See Stenstadvoid, ““The Worst Drunkard in London,”” 10.

- ⁶³ Bathioli composed for guitar or csakan, but no work exists by him for both instruments. On the other hand, there are two trios for guitar, viola and csakan by Kreutzer and Matiegka respectively. See Betz, 112.
- ⁶⁴ See Mattingly, 29.
- ⁶⁵ Betz, 136.
- ⁶⁶ See, for example, the list in Betz, 238.
- ⁶⁷ The *guittar*, commonly known as “English guitarr,” is a small plucked instrument of the cittern family which typically had ten wire strings, arranged in two single and four double courses, tuned in open C. In most contemporary sources the instrument, which became popular in the British Isles during the second half of the eighteenth century, is usually referred to as “guittar” (and more rarely as “guitar”); it was only by the end of the eighteenth century that it adopted its present name “English guitarr.” For more details on the history of the guitarr see Pouloupoulos “The Guittar in the British Isles,” 78–186.
- ⁶⁸ For more details on the invention and further development of the “pianoforte guitarr” see Pouloupoulos, “The Guittar in the British Isles,” 439–549, and “The Influence of Germans,” 68 and 74–75.
- ⁶⁹ See Lomtev, Vol. 2, 17, footnote 40.
- ⁷⁰ “eines von vielen ähnlichen Experimenten (z. B. Orphika, Klavierharfe) den Hammermechanismus des Pianoforte auf Zupfinstrumente anzuwenden.” See Elste 12. A keyed guitar in the Museum für Musikinstrumente der Universität, Leipzig (Accession No.: 605), which was probably made by Anton Bachmann’s son, Carl Ludwig (1748–1809), was unfortunately lost during WWII. See Kinsky, 170, and 172–173. Another extant keyed guitar in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Accession No.: 89.4.3145) has an unusual body outline and is equipped with six keys on the bass side of the body. This instrument was presumably built in the early nineteenth century by Mathias Sprenger in Karlsruhe, most likely following the design of Franz Fiala, who in 1819 received a four-year privilege to manufacture the “so-called keyed guitars invented by him” (“auf vier Jahre, vom 1ten Jenner 1820. an, gegen die Nachfertigung und den Verkauf der von ihm erfundenen sogenannten Tasten-Guitarre”). For further details see Michel, “Tastengitarre (Pianoforte-Guitarre).”
- ⁷¹ “Auf solche Weise entstand ein Instrument, das, seinem Baue nach, von der Theorbe, der Laute, der Englischen und Spanischen Zither (Cithara) ganz verschieden ist, und sie alle an Lieblichkeit des Tones und Mannigfaltigkeit der Modulation auch weit übertrifft.” Röllig, 4.
- ⁷² “auf dem Sopha, dem Stuhle, oder im Grase sitzend, auf den Schooss, worauf sie vemittelst eines Bandes fest gehalten.” Röllig, 14.
- ⁷³ See Röllig, figures 14 and 16 and Müller, table 69. These figures have also been reproduced in Vogel, 25, figure 3, and 204, figure 2; and in Birsak, 1 and 2, figure 2–4.
- ⁷⁴ Cited in Vogel, 24–25.
- ⁷⁵ It is important to note that by the end of the sixteenth century the orpharion, a plucked instrument with wire strings, appeared in England. The name of this instrument, whose performance practice was similar to the lute, derived from Orpheus and Arion, both poets and musicians of the Greek mythology. For more details about the orpharion see Gill, 14–25 Wells, 427–440.
- ⁷⁶ Harder, 9. Harder’s *Guitarre-Schule* was published around 1819–1820, although it was certainly written before 1813. See Stenstadvold, *Guitar Methods*, 1760–1860, 108.
- ⁷⁷ Around 1800 the word “lyre” was often used as a synonym for the guitar or similar plucked instruments. See Pouloupoulos, “Wha sweetly tune the Scottish lyre,” 160–161.
- ⁷⁸ Vogel, 29–30.
- ⁷⁹ “Die Orphica in Beziehung auf die Wahl ihrer Tonstücke, stehet als Mittelgattung zwischen der Laute und dem Fortepiano.” Röllig, 17.
- ⁸⁰ Vogel, 23.
- ⁸¹ Wirth, the designer of the “hat” guitar mentioned earlier, included in his notebooks a short description and a drawing of the orphica. See Lomtev, Vol. 1, 24, and Vol. 2, 16–17.
- ⁸² See the patent number 1BA373 by Joseph-Anne-Adolphe le D’Huy (1806) in the website of the Institut National de la Propriété Industrielle (<http://bases-brevets19e.inpi.fr>); search the keyword “lyre.” Accessed December 4, 2014. Some sources suggest an alternate spelling of the creator: Adolphe Ledhuy.
- ⁸³ See the patent number 1BA7309 by Frédéric Fischer (1839) in the website of the Institut National de la Propriété Industrielle (<http://bases-brevets19e.inpi.fr>); search the keyword “lyre.” Accessed December 4, 2014.
- ⁸⁴ It has been claimed that a surviving orphica in the Salzburger Museum Carolineo Augusteum, Salzburg (Accession No.: B 15/24) weighed 8.80 kilos (“8,80 Kilo schwer”) while a contemporary guitar (“Biedermeiergitarre”) weighed only about 800 grams (“nur etwa 80 Dekka”). See Birsak, 3.
- ⁸⁵ However, it is worth noting that among the surviving works for orphica there are two pieces written ca. 1796–98 by Beethoven (WoO 51). See Kopitz, 25–30.
- ⁸⁶ The author is thankful to Silvan Wagner for his interesting remarks regarding the multifaceted character of the guitar and other plucked instruments.
- ⁸⁷ In contrast to the original, simple (“einfacher”) csakan, which had only one key, the later advanced (“complicirter”) csakan had several metal keys and a tuning slide to increase its compass and musical capabilities. See Betz, 17–24. Improvements in the construction and sound of the early Romantic guitar were aimed at obtaining similar results.
- ⁸⁸ See Bran-Ricci, 52–54.
- ⁸⁹ See, for instance, the engraving *A pleasant Viennese Sunday outing* (“Ein gemütlicher Wiener Sonntagsausflug”) by Vinzenz Katzler (1823–1882), Vienna, c.1875, presented in Hofmann, Mouglin, and Hackl, 17, which depicts music-making in the countryside with guitar and accordion.