

‘SO THAT THE SOUL WOULD DANCE IN YOU’

The Guitar in Finland before the Twentieth Century



Jukka Savijoki





JUKKA SAVIJOKI's debut concert at London's Wigmore Hall was reviewed very favourably in *The Times* in 1977. Since then he has broadened his career as a solo guitarist through international concerts and recordings. In addition to his native Finland, Savijoki has performed across Europe, Japan and both North and South America. In the United Kingdom, his debut was followed by further concerts at Wigmore Hall, as well as at English festivals including those at Harrogate, King's Lynn and Cheltenham. His commercial recordings comprise a wide-range of repertoire from Baroque music to contemporary works. Many of these have received high critical acclaim and his first recording Baroque Suites for Guitar was voted 'The Best of the Month' by *Hi-Fi News* and *Record Review*. As well as for the Finnish Broadcasting Company, Savijoki has recorded for many European radio stations, most notably the BBC. Given his interest in contemporary music, several Finnish and foreign composers have written works for him and for ensembles in which he plays. Among these composers are many leading figures of Finnish music, such as Paavo Heininen, Erik Bergman, Kaija Saariaho and Magnus Lindberg. Important musical collaborations have included those with the flautist Mikael Helasvuo and the renowned English tenor Ian Partridge.

In 1983 Savijoki was appointed Head of Guitar Studies at the Sibelius Academy in Helsinki, a position from which he retired in 2016. In 1997 he graduated as a Doctor of Music and has published a book on the guitar works of the Viennese composer Anton Diabelli. This also marked the start of a more pronounced interest in guitar history and period instruments. Savijoki has served on the juries of a number of international guitar competitions and taught master-classes at a range of music academies around the world. As of 2016 he is a member of the advisory board of the Conservatorio della Svizzera Italiana in Lugano. This same year Savijoki was awarded the honour of Knight of the Order of the Lion of Finland by the Finnish president.

*'So that the soul would dance in you'
The Guitar in Finland before the Twentieth Century*

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'SO THAT THE SOUL WOULD DANCE IN YOU'
THE GUITAR IN FINLAND BEFORE THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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Preface

The public defence of a doctoral thesis in 2005 may be seen as the starting point of the present book. On that occasion, an official of the National Library of Finland, rightly assuming that many researchers were present, informed the audience of the launch of an online archive of historical Finnish newspapers. While today databases of this kind are increasingly common, the National Library of Finland was certainly among the first to offer such a service and, what is more, one that from the outset was open to the public and free of charge. Over the years the archive's contents have grown steadily, comprising today digital copies of not only all of the newspapers published in Finland between 1771 and 1929 but also numerous journals and other ephemera, thus offering a powerful tool for a great many types of research.

This database ignited in me a curiosity to investigate if any guitar-related material was contained therein. The prospect of learning about the guitar's (possible) past seemed especially enticing given that today the instrument enjoys a steady popularity in Finland with every new generation presenting a higher standard of performance than the last; in addition, more and more new music is written for the instrument each year. In 2005, however, even among professional Finnish guitarists practically nothing was known about the guitar's history in Finland, and it therefore seemed as if the instrument's popularity had arisen from nowhere.

With this *tabula rasa* as my foundation, the very first searches of the database of the newspaper archive turned out to be very intriguing: the hits emerging indicated that the instrument indeed had had a role to play in the cultural life of nineteenth-century Finland. For instance, the search term 'Carulli' produced dozens of hits, some dating from as early as 1825, as did the names of some other well-known guitar composers. Pursuing this path, more material was uncovered and after some years of perusing this resource out of sheer curiosity and in an arbitrary manner, it became clear that, if consulted methodically, these

newspapers could provide a base for rigorous research on the guitar's past in Finland. Although this was far from the only source called upon to write the book, the rich and diverse information that Finland's newspaper archive disclosed certainly offered a solid starting point.

As for the scope of this project, when studying the guitar's past, one must bear in mind that, over the centuries, the instrument and its usage have undergone many changes: the guitar has served both serious and popular musical styles and therefore been at home both at court and on the street. This study considers both of the styles, although often more can be said about the former, as the latter has left fewer traces. In addition, the lute, the so-called Swedish lute and a few others will be discussed briefly because, as plucked instruments, they are not only intrinsically linked to the pre-history of the guitar in Finland but their role in their own right in the country has so far been unaccounted for.

The book presents the guitar in Finland until the end of the nineteenth century.¹ There are various reasons for setting this limit, some purely practical. When I began this project in 2005, the newspaper archive of the National Library of Finland only extended to 1899, subsequent years having been added only very gradually. Moreover, another important source, the country's auction protocols, do not exist after 1898, when they ceased to be compulsory. Although 1917, the year of Finnish independence, could in many ways have served as a more natural time limit, this bound was forgone at an early stage for the practical reasons mentioned above. Furthermore, additional random searches in the newspaper archive have shown that the guitar's situation as it was at the end of the nineteenth century remained virtually unchanged in the first two decades of the twentieth century. While it is true that advertising became geographically more wide-spread, which is indic-

1 Here 'Finland' is understood to be the geographical area it comprised at the end of the nineteenth century. This included an eastern region, Karelia (with the town Vyborg as its main centre), which today belongs to Russia. At this point the country was an autonomous part of the Russian Empire and was called the Grand Duchy of Finland. This arrangement was a consequence of the Russian Empire's victory over the Kingdom of Sweden in the Finnish War (1808–1809) and lasted until 1917, the year of the country's independence. In the six hundred years prior to 1809, Finland had formed the eastern part of the Kingdom of Sweden.

ative of the instrument's growing popularity, no real change in guitar culture *per se* can be detected. Therefore, observations made regarding the guitar's situation in the late nineteenth century are equally valid for the instrument in the early twentieth century.

This study focuses upon the guitar culture of a chosen period and nation. While research on the guitar has to a large extent been centred on 'big names' like Sor, Carulli and Giuliani, there has been a growing interest in situating the instrument in its broader social and musical context or placing it within a national narrative. Examples of recent attention paid to the instrument from a national perspective include Peter Schmitz's *Gitarrenmusik für Dilettanten* (1998), William Stuart Button's *The Guitar in England 1800–1924* (1984) and Stefan Hackl's *Die Gitarre in Österreich* (2011), the former in particular accentuating the socio-cultural role of the instrument. Two further books, both focusing on England, are Christopher Page's *The Guitar in Tudor England* (2015) and *The Guitar in Stuart England* (2017). On the Scandinavian scene, Erling Møldrup's *Guitaren, et eksotiskt instrument i den danske musik* (1997) and Kenneth Sparr's numerous articles on the guitar in Sweden have been inspirational forerunners.

THE SOURCES

Each researcher is at the mercy of their sources, but some luck is also required. The central importance of the source material yielded by Finnish newspapers has already been emphasised. Here one finds all manner of sales advertisements ranging from those for guitars and printed music to guitar strings and other paraphernalia, but also miscellaneous news items and articles that are pertinent to the present discussion. Other important resources have been the auction protocols and probate inventories of Helsinki and Turku. These have uncovered names of Finnish guitar amateurs and sundry other types of information, such as the price of instruments and the names of individuals who purchased guitar music. Yet another key resource has been the sales and auction catalogues housed in the National Library of Finland. The

former are lists of (usually) a bookshop's or a music shop's assortments, while the latter are catalogues of books and printed music that were for sale in an auction of the estate of a shop or private person.

Databases of students and university personnel have proved useful for charting the backgrounds of many guitar amateurs, as has the database of the Genealogical Society of Finland (*Suomen sukututkimusseura*). Additional tools for researching the backgrounds of many individuals have been census records, tax records and address books, while instruments, concert programmes and printed music in the collections of Finnish museums have also offered material on their respective specialisms.

Although the guitar's past vicissitudes in Finland have not previously been researched, there are several general studies on Finnish music history that have been helpful in piecing together an overarching image of the musical life of the country. Of these texts, *Suomen musiikin historia* 1 by Fabian Dahlström and Erkki Salmenhaara has been of great help and the short, but informative, book by the former called *Finländsk klavertillverkning före år 1900* (Finnish Piano Manufacture before 1900) was similarly instructive. That said, little has been written about performing musicians, music teachers or Finnish instrument makers, an important shortage to consider when shaping certain chapters of the book. In order to position Finnish guitar culture within a wider perspective, various international studies on the guitar, its players and repertoire have been consulted.

THE VERACITY OF THE SOURCES

No source is without its problems and a general and obvious shortcoming is that the material is overall incomplete. As regards this research, for example, the fact that some of the sales catalogues of Finland's most important bookshops have been lost means that our knowledge of the guitar works sold in Finland is doomed to remain imperfect. The auction protocols and probate inventories also leave certain questions un-

answered and, in part, this is true of the database of historical Finnish newspapers as well.

The issue with this database is that the optical character recognition technique (OCR) used by its search function is not one hundred per cent infallible. In consequence, it is possible that relevant information could be overlooked and lead, in a worst-case scenario, to some erroneous conclusions. On the other hand, considering that the time span of the newspapers consulted ranges from 1771 to 1899 there would have been no other practical way to peruse this vast quantity of data. Moreover, it seems clear that in employing the traditional method of reading through this material page-by-page, an impossible task for any individual, one would have been bound to overlook more information than does the OCR system.

The newspapers also pose a further challenge. Unlike, for instance, in France, England or Sweden where their first newspapers were already in circulation in the seventeenth century, Finland's first publication, *Tidningar utgifne av et sällskap i Åbo*, only printed its first issue on 15 January 1771 in Turku. Moreover, for almost forty years – until 1810 – this remained the only town in Finland with a newspaper. While this stemmed from and reflects Turku's importance as a cultural hub in the country, it was also a consequence of the scarcity of printing houses elsewhere in Finland. In fact, the Turku-based printing house Frenckell & Son virtually retained a monopoly over this trade until the second decade of the nineteenth century, when printing houses eventually began to be founded in other towns, meaning newspapers could be published. From the perspective of the present research this means that, as regards newsprint information prior to the 1830s (or even later), large geographical areas of the country remain in the dark. It should also be remembered that, well into the second half of the century, the active reading audience of Finland was solely composed of the Swedish-speaking upper classes from the coastal towns. Until the 1830s this group numbered only around sixteen thousand.² Newspapers were

² Landgrén 1988, 282.

quite naturally directed at this select group, whereas the wider population (some of them in fact also Swedish-speaking) living in either these areas or in inland regions was not able to have its voice heard so easily.³

As for auctions, in Sweden and Finland people traditionally held the free right to sell their belongings by means of private auction. By the eighteenth century, however, a change had taken place as the state had gradually seized more and more control over the organisation of these events. This meant that auctions became officially superintended by town functionaries, who also bore the responsibility of maintaining a protocol of proceedings. Although this may not always have been a wholly pleasant arrangement from the point of view of the masses, from a researcher's perspective the survival of these protocols is a stroke of good fortune as they contain a wealth of information. For this project it would have been ideal to consult all of these documents, but since auction protocols were kept by nearly every town, this would have been an insurmountable task due to the massive volume of sources. To give an example, for the period in question, the protocols of Helsinki alone number over 120,000 pages. Thus, as a manageable middle way, a complete run of the protocols for the whole period (until 1898) has only been consulted in Helsinki. To allow comparison, those of Turku for the period 1815–1830, and every fifth year thereafter, have also been examined.⁴ This may be regarded as somewhat inadequate, but considering that even the auction protocols of Turku turned out to yield very little additional information on the subject, it seems probable that the data from other smaller towns would not have significantly impacted the final conclusions.

A more important issue to tackle is that, while these protocols disclose the seller's and buyer's names, we do not know if either person in a transaction was actually a guitar amateur or rather someone acting on behalf of a third party. There is, in fact, no way of ascertaining if the registered individual acquired the material for his or her own use.

3 Tommila 1963, 129.

4 The auction protocols of Turku between 1779 and 1815 are lost.

One aspect of this is that the auctions, despite being open to all, were predominantly attended by men, and if women were present, they were – save for a few exceptions – merchants. Therefore, if a female amateur wanted, for instance, a guitar, it seems probable that a father, brother or husband would have acted on her behalf. Some uncertainty prevails and conjectures need to be made on occasion, but there are also several cases in which it has been possible by means of other sources to verify that a buyer or seller indeed was a guitar player.

In many ways, the probate inventories (*perukirja*) pose similar problems. While a probate inventory is a list of a person's possessions at the time of his or her death, it must be remembered that it does not only include objects acquired during the person's own lifetime, but also those inherited from past generations or sometimes from a deceased spouse. In other words, if an inventory included, for instance, a guitar or scores of guitar music this is not necessarily concrete proof that the deceased person was a player of the instrument. What it does show, however, is that someone in the family played, or had played the guitar, and in this way the probate inventory situates the instrument within a certain social milieu; this has proved to be of significance in some cases. The probate inventories resemble auction protocols in that they also include prices, or more correctly the estimated value, of the listed objects. These have to be considered with a critical eye because, just as today, there was a tendency to round down the value of the possessions in order to avoid taxation.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

The book is divided into ten chapters, each discussing one particular topic. This approach was chosen in place of a chronological narrative of events because, in many cases, the source material does not easily lend itself to a structure of this latter kind.

The first chapter discusses the various plucked instruments played in Finland prior to the nineteenth century and presents a hypothesis

for the introduction of the guitar into the country.⁵ We then proceed to the individuals who played the instrument, the repertoire they played and the teachers with whom they could study. There are also chapters dedicated to Finnish luthiers, guitar commerce and concerts in which the instrument could be heard in public. One chapter discusses guitar playing from an economic perspective, determining the costs of both guitars and their accessories and comparing this to the general cost of living at the time. Another topic of a fairly material nature is guitar strings, their production, use and sale, for which one chapter is dedicated, while the chapters on the guitar's presence in Finnish art as well as in sundry examples of newspaper chitchat offer a lighter take on the instrument. Given this approach, the chapters are largely independent of one another and it is therefore possible to read each one separately. Owing to fairly frequent cross-referencing, however, it is advisable to read the book from beginning to end.

One final word regarding the language. English was elected in order that this study can be accessible to a wide readership and its findings can be integrated into the general history of the guitar in Europe. The disadvantage of the source material being largely in Swedish and Finnish is that quotations from such materials demand translation. It is inevitable that some of the 'local' colour of certain expressions is lost in this process and therefore, when deemed necessary, original text has been provided in a footnote.

⁵ In the present study 'plucked instruments' refer, apart from the guitar, to instruments of the necked-lute family and the mandolin.

Acknowledgements

Considering the vast amounts of material and expansive field of enquiry involved in the present research, it should be immediately clear that this project could not have been realised without the assistance of not only numerous collections and libraries but, above all, the indispensable help and support of friends and colleagues.

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Among the colleagues who offered their guidance and support, Erik Stenstadvold stands above all others and deserves to be mentioned first. The numerous discussions we have had about various aspects of this

research have enriched my thinking and clarified my views, but also encouraged me to keep going during the more difficult moments of the project. In addition, the many comments and challenges that surfaced when he selflessly read every chapter of my book proved invaluable. Without these observations, the final version would certainly be of a lesser quality; for all this trouble, I wish to express my very sincerest and most humble thanks.

Kenneth Sparr has helped me a great deal by clarifying my queries about the guitar in Sweden and also reading and commenting upon some chapters of the book. Luis Briso de Montiano helped to track down and edit a number of images and James Westbrook was very generous in giving his opinion about the extant guitars made by Finnish luthiers. Both have also read parts of the book and offered their valuable insights. I am very grateful to these fine colleagues as well as to Christopher Page who deserves thanks for his comments about my research and writing. One more person to whom I wish to extend my gratitude is Jere Jäppinen, a researcher from the Helsinki City Museum, who not only generously placed some of his unpublished research at my disposal but also read and provided feedback about some chapters of the book. Moreover, special thanks goes to Sakari Heikkinen for his advice and positive feedback about Chapter Eight and to Anna-Maria von Bonsdorff who read and gave comments on Chapter Nine.

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Lastly, the support of my Finnish colleagues, many of whom encouraged me to follow through with this project, certainly deserves to be acknowledged.

List of abbreviations

- ARPH Auction Room Protocols of Helsinki
ARPT Auction Room Protocols of Turku
FHA The Finnish Heritage Agency
HCA The Helsinki City Archives
HK Historical Picture Collection
NAF The National Archives of Finland
NLF The National Library of Finland
PI Probate inventory
TCA The Turku City Archives

CHAPTER ONE

Royal lutes, ladies' citterns and the guitar's first steps on Finnish soil

It is a winter's evening during the Russo-Swedish War (1555–1557). In the Castle of Turku, King Gustavus Vasa of Sweden (1496–1560) and his entourage are gathered around a fireplace, enjoying some after-dinner entertainment. In a dimly-lit corner a lute player plucks sweet sounds from his precious instrument, distracting the group from their fatigue and offering a pleasant backdrop to their quiet conversation.

This image may not be based upon factual information, but such a scene would have been quite possible because King Gustavus Vasa resided in Finland for a year during his successful campaign against the Russian Tsar, Ivan the Terrible, and a lute player is known to have been among his men at this time.⁶ Who knows, perhaps in some select moment even the king himself grabbed the lute – his favourite instrument – to entertain his fellow comrades-in-arms.

Royal visits were the only time when more sophisticated instrumental music would have been heard in Finland prior to the seventeenth century, and they thus also provided the rare opportunity to encounter the lute on Finnish soil. Little information is available, but, as the music historian Fabian Dahlström has observed, it is ‘impossible to imagine that the many Swedish kings residing in the Castle of Vyborg would have travelled without a group of musicians; even the etiquette required that’.⁷ In contrast, beyond the castle walls, the vernacular music of Finland was mainly vocal in style, although there were also fiddlers and other itinerant players, the so-called *leikari* and *piipari*, who gave people

⁶ Sparr 2018a.

⁷ Dahlström and Salmenhaara 1995, 54.

the chance to enjoy a lighter type of instrumental entertainment.⁸ Such interactions may have occurred as early as the fifteenth century, but this detail does not alter our sense of singing as the primary means of music making in Finland until the seventeenth century.

Indicators of this musical landscape include the almost total absence of organs in Finnish churches before the seventeenth century, the fact that the earliest evidence of a clavichord in a Finnish home dates from as late as the mid-seventeenth century and that the first known violin to have been made in Finland was produced later still, in the early eighteenth century.⁹ A real change in the dissemination of instrumental music across Finland only occurred in the second half of the eighteenth century, mainly caused by the augmenting musical interests of the country's emerging middle class. The first centres of this growth, as with elsewhere in Europe, were private musical societies and middle-class households. As Finland's capital, Turku was an important hub of cultural activity, but this type of music-making also became increasingly popular in Helsinki, and especially in the manor houses of its surrounding provinces. However, in contrast to most Central European countries, in which instrumental music had been actively composed and cultivated since the sixteenth century, Finland was at this time still a backwater.

The Central European music-making tradition favoured bowed and keyboard instruments, although prior to the eighteenth century plucked instruments, either played with the fingers or with the aid of a plectrum, also had an important role to play and were even heard at royal courts. Of these, the most frequently used were the lute (with its numerous variants), the mandolin, the cittern and many varieties of guitar. As a consequence of changing musical tastes and social developments, however, practically all such plucked instruments, with the exception

8 The names referred to the instruments the musicians played: the former were players of harp and bowed instruments, and the latter played 'pipes', e.g., flutes and other wind instruments.

9 Vainisto 2006; Korhonen 2007, 15.

of the guitar and the mandolin, had fallen out of common usage by the second decade of the nineteenth century.¹⁰

LUTES, CITTERNS AND SOME OTHER PLUCKED INSTRUMENTS IN FINLAND

As well as the guitar, other plucked instruments such as the lute, the cittern, and the mandolin were all played in Finland, albeit to a far lesser extent than in Central Europe. In fact, before the guitar became popular, it appears that rather than any of these instruments it was in fact the Swedish lute, itself developed from the cittern, which was the plucked instrument of choice in the country. Therefore, the lute, the cittern and the mandolin all occupied a marginal position, but some information on their use has come down to us.

The lute

Little is known of the cultivation of lute playing on Finnish soil, and no information has been passed down about the country's possible lute players. This was generally the case for the western part of the kingdom as well, save for the fact that the Central European lute tradition extended its influence to the royal court in Stockholm and some stately homes. During Gustavus Vasa's reign, for instance, the lute was a favoured instrument at court, with a central role in its music production; between 1536 and 1546 no fewer than three lutenists were simultaneously on the royal payroll.¹¹

Interest in the lute seems to have been hereditary because Gustavus Vasa's son Duke John (1537–1592), later King John III of Sweden, also

10 Although Baroque lutes and Baroque guitars were no longer played, plucked instruments such as the Regency lute, the lyre-guitar and the English guitar were still in use quite widely in certain pockets of Europe until about 1815–1820.

11 Sparr 2018a.

knew how to handle the instrument. This is noteworthy from a Finnish perspective, because in 1556, as the newly appointed Duke of Finland, John set up his residence in the Castle of Turku. Upon arrival, his entourage included a music group of four or five instrumentalists. One of these players was probably a lutenist, as we know for certain that there was one among John's party when he sojourned in the Castle of Vyborg later the same year.

This player's name was Bertil Larsson, a Swede with the alias of *Berthil luthenslagere*. His presence at this time is exceptional because the musicians at the Swedish court were, as a rule, of foreign origin. Employed by the court since the early 1540s, Bertil Larsson was sent to study abroad at the end of the decade, indicating the considerable degree of respect he held in royal circles.¹² At the end of the court's stopover in Vyborg, Bertil followed the Duke to Turku, but then left the country in 1557. Duke John's residence lasted until 1563 and, following his marriage to the Polish Princess Catherine Jagiellon (1526–1583) in 1562, his final months in the country are remembered for the Renaissance-like court the pair established in Finland.

After Duke John's departure, the Turku Castle remained an important meeting place for the burghers of the town for several decades. It was also the setting for an additional piece of important information regarding lute playing in Finland. In 1580 a lutenist called Casparus is known to have been one of four musicians who participated in a Christmas feast hosted there.¹³

In the proceeding century Count Per Brahe the Younger (1602–1680), another lute-playing member of the Swedish establishment, served twice as the General Governor of Finland, first from 1637 to 1640 and then from 1648 to 1654. While no surviving evidence documents his musicianship during this time, if he did perform on the instrument he would most certainly have played it in the company of others, meaning

¹² Sparr 2018a.

¹³ Dahlström and Salmenhaara 1995, 75. A lutenist by the name Caspar Hoffmann was employed at the Swedish court in 1544. It is possible, but improbable, that this was the same person.



Figure 1. The first page of John Dowland's *Fantasie* from Per Brahe the Younger's lute book.

that a few fortunate Finns would also have heard the lute's pleasing sounds. Brahe's lute playing had its roots in his early years in Giessen, Germany, where he had taken lute lessons and compiled, probably as a result of his studies, his own book of lute music. Its contents are especially interesting because a large portion of it consists of English material, including, for instance, several pieces by the eminent John Dowland (1563–1623). As an indication of Brahe's technical skills, among the works by Dowland are both the demanding *Frog Galliard* and his most famous *Fantasie*, the latter entitled 'Fuga' in the manuscript.¹⁴

Some decades following Per Brahe's Finnish sojourn, a young organist and lute composer, who later earned a certain international recognition, arrived in Turku. This was the German David Kellner (c.1670–1748) who first set foot on Finnish ground in 1692. Kellner's fame developed following his treatise *Treulicher Unterricht im General-Bass* (Hamburg, 1732), however his single lute-music collection *XVI auserlesene Lauten-Stücke* (Hamburg, 1747) is also celebrated, with some of his pieces still performed today.

Kellner was born, the youngest of four brothers, in a small village near Leipzig around 1670. His elder brother Christian held the pres-

¹⁴ Rudén 1977, 47–62. The 'Fuga' is the first one of the fantasies in *The Collected Lute Music of John Dowland*, ed. by Diana Poulton and Basil Lam.

tigious position of organist at Turku Cathedral from 1680, which was no doubt an influencing factor behind Kellner's own move to the town some ten years later. More specific reasons behind his relocation are unknown, but it is clear that Kellner enrolled at Turku's university, the Royal Academy of Turku, in the autumn of 1692.¹⁵ We also know that Kellner deputised for his brother at the cathedral and, seeing that he did this on more than one occasion, he must also have been a capable organist.

Kenneth Sparr suggests that Kellner's stay in Finland lasted for roughly one and a half years, but this may be somewhat of an underestimate. The exact time that he left the country is unknown, but we do know that Kellner became enrolled at Tartu University in Estonia on 27 June 1694.¹⁶ Therefore, if he had left only shortly before this, his stay in Finland would have been closer to two years.

After his departure from Turku, Kellner pursued a legal career in Tartu. This was followed by a period in the army that brought him back to Finland for the Great Northern War (1700–1721). During this time he resided in Vyborg on a couple of occasions. In his later life, Kellner moved to Stockholm where he worked as an organist and carillon player.¹⁷

The cittern

The cittern was, after the lute, the most common plucked instrument in Central Europe during the Renaissance. It was strung with metal strings and played with a quill plectrum. By the seventeenth century it was enjoyed across all social strata and 'one could encounter the instrument in a barber's shop just as well as at court'.¹⁸ In the eighteenth century, the instrument became one of the most popular of its kind in

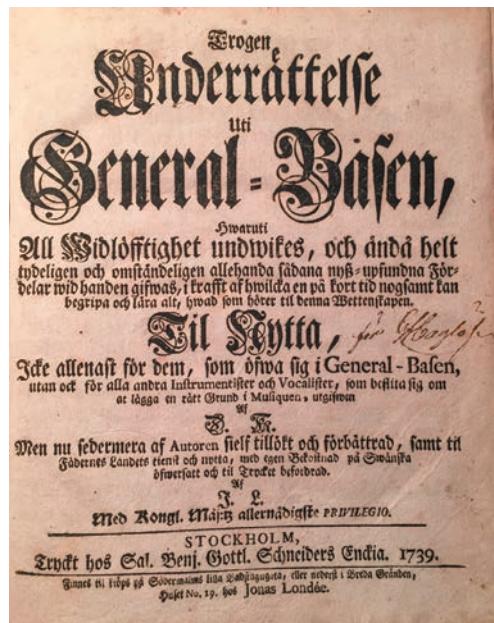
15 Kotivuori 2005.

16 Kotivuori 2005.

17 Sparr 1994, 63–90.

18 Forrester 2011, 144, 156.

Figure 2. The title page of the Swedish edition of David Kellner's *Treulicher Unterricht im General-Bass* (1739).



middle-class households. Thanks to the ease with which it is learned, it soon also gained popularity as a folk instrument.

In the seventeenth century, the cittern was the leading plucked instrument in Sweden. Accordingly, it must have also held some degree of this popularity among the Finnish population. Although this assumption is not supported by a great deal of evidence, two sixteenth and seventeenth-century sources mention instruments called *sitter* and *cithara*, and while it is hard to establish exactly what type of instruments they were, it seems probable that the names referred to variant members of the cittern family.

The earliest of these references dates from 1585 and is a list of goods imported into Finland, recording, among miscellaneous sundries, a demand for harp and *sitter* strings.¹⁹ The second reference dates from roughly one hundred years later, when in 1686 a *cithara* is mentioned in the protocol of a court case concerning a civil offence. The disagree-

¹⁹ Jäppinen 2003, 8–9.

ment in question involved two students, brothers Andreas and Mathias Wargh, and an honourable burgher. According to the court's record of the incident, the two students had been playing a *cithara* and shouting loudly in a Helsinki street in the early hours of the morning, causing considerable disturbance to the respectable citizens of the area. Mr Lang, the claimant, finally lost his patience. Rushing out of his house he whipped the students and, in the furore, the instrument was broken into pieces.²⁰

Further information on the presence of citterns in Finland is provided by one or two probate inventories and an auction protocol. Torsten Burgmann's probate inventory of the year 1712 lists cittern strings, while a slightly later auction protocol from Helsinki mentions one such instrument. Moreover, the probate inventory of the chemist Johan Magnus Tingelund lists two citterns in 1765.²¹ In the early nineteenth century the probate inventories of two shops in Helsinki also mention cittern strings, their respective entries reading: '3 reels of metal cittern thread' and '29 reels of cittern thread'.²² Given how inconsistently instruments were named in this period, the second entry, which does not specify the material of the strings that it lists and dates from 1819, could as readily refer to the Swedish lute as it could to the cittern. The first reference, however, cannot refer to the Swedish lute because this instrument was strung with gut strings. On the other hand, because this entry dates from 1806, it indicates that there still was a demand for cittern strings at this late stage.

The Swedish lute

During the second half of the eighteenth century, citterns were built in Sweden by Johann Öhrnberg the Elder in Stockholm and Carl Johan

²⁰ Jäppinen 2003, 74–75.

²¹ I am grateful to Jere Jäppinen for providing me with this information.

²² PI, no. II20 (numbering by Åkerman 1937) and PI, Ec:II, no. 275 (HCA). '3 rullar Messings Zitterträd'; '29 ringar Zittersträng'.

Broberg in Gothenburg. Towards the end of the century, however, this instrument was subject to considerable restructuring, finally resulting in the uniquely Swedish instrument that is today called the Swedish lute. The development of this instrument owes a great deal to one person, Mathias Petter Kraft (1753–1807), the Swedish court's instrument maker. Perhaps unlike the cittern, the Swedish lute was also of notable popularity in Finland.

The restructuring of the instrument

The Swedish lute may be characterised as a hybrid instrument, a cross-breed between the cittern, guitar and lute.²³ ‘The Swedish lute’ is the term preferred by modern organology, but in eighteenth and nineteenth-century sources the instrument has varying names. In more recent times, it is sometimes called the *Kraftlute* – in honour of its inventor – while older names for the instrument include *sittra*, *zittra*, *citra* and *lutha*. Unfortunately, these varying appellations result in some ambiguity because it becomes difficult to ascertain whether the terms refer to the Swedish lute or to the older types of the cittern that preceded it. Considering that no evidence has been found to suggest that the cittern was popular in Finland, and that it is all the more improbable that it would have been so in the nineteenth century when these names mostly appear in the sources, the three first appellations have here been interpreted as names for the Swedish lute. We may ask, however, whether the last one, *lutha* (lute), also connoted this instrument, or if instead it might have referred to the ‘real’ lute, which by this time had become obsolete in Central Europe? This seems highly unlikely, particularly given that several extant advertisements corroborate that ‘lutha’ was just another name for the ‘citra’. One of them reads: ‘Lessons for lute or citra and guitar are given [...].’²⁴ The use of both ‘or’ and ‘and’ in the same sentence quite clearly indicates

23 Sparr 2001, 176.

24 ‘Information å Lutha eller Zittra och Guitarre meddeles [...]. *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 21 August 1852.



Figure 3. A Swedish lute made by Carl Fredrik Thusberg in Turku (no date, but prior to 1814).

that the lessons offered here concerned the playing of two types of instruments, not three.

As mentioned, the Swedish lute was the product of an improvement project undertaken by Kraft. The principal modifications introduced by him were the use of single gut strings instead of metal courses and the replacement of a glued-on bridge with a movable one. He also increased the number of strings to fifteen: eight on the fingerboard and seven diapasons. A further change was the reshaping of the traditionally flat back of the cittern into a vaulted one. In this process, another lute and violin maker, Johan Jerner, may have played an important role.²⁵ By the end of the eighteenth century the Swedish lute had reached its standard form, the most elaborate fifteen-string model being tuned in the following way: A, B, c[#], d, e, f[#], g[#], a, b, c^{#1}, d¹, e¹, a¹, c^{#2} and e². According to Carl Magnus Envallsson, the author of an early Swedish music dictionary, *Svenskt musikaliskt lexikon* (1802), this instrument had a greater perfection and more pleasant sound than its predecessor.²⁶

Swedish lute manufacture was a dynamic industry in Sweden between roughly 1780–1820. After this time, the instrument's rate of production dropped radically. The main reason for this was that the import prohibition on instruments, enforced in the country since 1755, was

²⁵ Sparr 2009, 214–215.

²⁶ Sparr 2018b.

lifted in 1816 and resulted in a considerable rise in the popularity of the guitar. Therefore, while the introduction of this prohibition probably prompted the development of the Swedish lute, at the same time it impeded the introduction of the guitar to Sweden and its eastern part, Finland.²⁷

The Swedish lute in Finland

Many traces of the Swedish lute remain in Finland. Several such instruments, as well as some music books, are housed in Finnish museums and information related to it may be found in the country's newspapers, probate inventories and auction protocols.

Around two-dozen instruments have survived. Of these, more or less half were manufactured by Kraft, a reflection of his central role in the production of this unique instrument.²⁸ Three instruments by Mollenberg, Kraft's apprentice, are still in existence and were built towards the end of this maker's life in 1815, 1817 and 1820. The instrument's popularity also inspired Finnish luthiers to try their hand at producing them and four instruments, each by a different Finnish maker, survive. The oldest one dates from 1794 and was made by Anders Grönberg who worked in Sveaborg, an island outside of Helsinki. The Swedish lute made by Carl Fredrik Thusberg (1754–1814) in Turku is unfortunately undated, although it must have been made before 1814, the year of Thusberg's death. It is important to note that Thusberg is better described as a military musician than as an instrument maker, but he may, nevertheless, have manufactured several Swedish lutes. This is suggested by an advertisement placed in September 1800 in which Thusberg wanted to auction off 'zittror', which (being the plural form of the noun) means that several were on offer.²⁹

27 Before the Russian rule starting in 1809, this prohibition was of course in force in Finland as well.

28 The majority of these instruments are housed in the Sibelius Museum in Turku and in the National Museum of Finland in Helsinki.

29 *Abo Tidning* 27 September 1800.



Figure 4. Enoch Järnfeldt's signature and, underneath it, the questionable date of manufacture of this Swedish lute.

As for the other Finnish makers, one Swedish lute was built by Carl Petter Sundqvist (1803–1845) and another by Enoch Järnfeldt (1798–1849) who are both more renowned as guitar makers. Järnfeldt's instrument has only recently surfaced, and its dating is still to be determined.³⁰ In addition to the fact that the year of manufacture written on its label is unclear – it could either read as '1810' or '1816' – both of the possible readings are problematic. This is because in 1810 Järnfeldt was only twelve-years old and in 1816 he was not yet living in Turku (Åbo), which according to the label is where the instrument was built (see figure 4). One possibility is that the label is false, were it not for the fact that Järnfeldt's signature is identical to those on the labels of his guitars. Thus, the year of manufacture remains open, but if the instrument was indeed built in Turku, Järnfeldt settled there in 1823.³¹

The Swedish lute by the violin and guitar maker Sundqvist is noteworthy because he produced it in 1832. It is therefore not only the latest example of all extant Swedish lutes in Finland, but the latest known of any such instrument in Europe.³² So, despite the rapidly fading popu-

³⁰ This instrument is in private hands. I am grateful to Inger Jakobsson-Wärn, director of the Sibelius Museum in Turku, for putting me in contact with the owners. See Chapter Six for more information on Järnfeldt.

³¹ The instrument has undergone fairly extensive repair work. Its label's pencilled information tells that at least some was carried out in Åmol, Sweden in 1898 at 'S. P. Gerdins Instrument- och strängfabrik'. Sven Peter Gerdin's workshop was responsible for modernising many Swedish lutes. I am grateful to Kenneth Sparr for this information.

³² Sparr 2018c.

larity of the instrument in Sweden in the 1820s, some were still being made in Finland in the 1830s, implying that there continued to be an interest in this instrument among music amateurs.

Although no instruments by Anders Lindros (1796–1832) have survived, he also potentially built Swedish lutes. This assumption is based on the advertisements he placed between 1825–1827, which announce that he had returned from St. Petersburg to Helsinki and was now manufacturing ‘all sorts of Musical Instruments’. Lindros’ extensive assortment included harps, lutes, bassoons, organs and pianos.³³ Precisely because of this abundant selection, however, one is led to suspect that Lindros did not necessarily manufacture all of these instruments himself and, if he did indeed sell instruments by other makers, Swedish lutes may well have been among them.

Instruments also appear in the sales columns of newspapers, the first such example occurring in 1795. Listed was ‘a modern cittra with a Contrabass, of the newest kind’.³⁴ Here the expressions ‘newest kind’ and ‘contrabass’ refer to the advances made to the instrument by Kraft, its seven bass strings in particular.³⁵ The maker of the lute was a certain Graftman, of whom nothing is known today, save for the information disclosed by this advertisement that tells us that his workshop was in Stockholm. On the whole, only two-dozen or so sales advertisements were placed. Other than a few examples from the first years of the century and then two from the 1870s – the latest date is 1876 – the majority of these advertisements were placed in the 1820s and 1830s.³⁶ Over half of these date from the late 1830s, which raises the question as to whether this is proof of a prevailing interest in the Swedish lute in Finland or the very opposite. In other words, does this propensity to sell the instrument actually demonstrate that people wanted to get rid of their Swedish lutes at this time? Interestingly, in 1841, Carl Petter

³³ The first advertisement appeared in *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 22 November 1825.

³⁴ *Åbo Tidningar* 2 March 1795.

³⁵ ‘Contrabass’ is the appellation Envallsson uses for these extra strings in his *Svenskt musikaliskt lexikon* (1802).

³⁶ *Tapio* 3 January 1876.

Sundqvist offered a ‘lutha’ in ‘excellent condition’ for sale that was made by Mollenberg, demonstrating that this instrument maker did not only sell his own products.³⁷

In Helsinki, the Swedish lute and material related to it, such as strings, are occasionally mentioned in auction protocols and probate inventories. The information dates largely from the first half of the century, the earliest mention in both sources being the year 1812.³⁸ Some later references can also be found and, for instance, a couple of shops had strings amidst their assortments as late as the 1870s. One such example occurs in the stock-check taken at the time that the store of a merchant called Danilof was closed and went under the hammer in 1874. Included in this list are ‘7 reels of cittra string’.³⁹ Finally, in the 1890s a selection of ‘zittras’ – these being unredeemed pledges – were auctioned off. It seems very doubtful, however, that these were Swedish lutes and the instruments in question were probably either the so-called Scholander lutes, or Austrian zithers.⁴⁰

As for their pricing, the auction information available from Turku and Helsinki shows that Swedish lutes could be more expensive than guitars. For instance, in 1812, during a visit to Finland, the Swedish actor Fredrik Julius Widerberg purchased a Swedish lute that must have been of high quality, or attractive in some other way, because he was willing to pay almost four times the asking price for it.⁴¹ The fact that Widerberg did this suggests that a bidding contest occurred between at least one other interested buyer and himself, and may furthermore indicate that there was a shortage of top-end Swedish lutes in Finland in the 1810s. Moreover, the sum paid by Widerberg was only slightly less than the highest paid for *any* guitar in the auctions of Helsinki or

³⁷ *Åbo Tidningar, Åbo Underrättelser* 9 January 1841.

³⁸ Somewhat surprisingly, the auction protocols of Turku from 1800–1830 only twice list material related to the Swedish lute.

³⁹ ARPH, Ca:68 (HCA). Strings for the Swedish lute were only advertised a few times in the press, the latest advertisement dating from 1858. *Helsingfors Tidningar* 15 December 1858.

⁴⁰ ARPH, Ca:108–118 (HCA).

⁴¹ ARPH, Ca:24 (HCA).

Figure 5. The portrait of Nils Abraham Ursin, a medical doctor who in 1821 bought a particularly valuable Swedish lute.



Turku over the course of the entire nineteenth century. Another buyer of a quality instrument was the manufacturer Röö who gave more than double of what Widerberg had paid ten years earlier.⁴² The highest amount that we know to have changed hands for a Swedish lute was paid by Nils Abraham Ursin (1785–1851), a renowned medical doctor raised to nobility in 1845 who also served as the Imperial Alexander University's rector for a period.⁴³ Ursin acquired an instrument in an auction in 1821 for the incredible sum of one hundred and two *riksdaler banco*.⁴⁴ This was twice again what Röö had paid, indicating that at least some Swedish lutes were high-class, even luxurious instruments.

42 ARPH, Ca:28 (HCA). During the four first decades of the century, the prices fluctuated between five and one hundred and two *riksdaler banco*, suggesting a considerable variation in the quality of the instruments.

43 This was the university's official name during the Russian period 1809–1917.

44 ARPT, P1a 30, 19 IV (TCA). This equalled more than a hundred days' worker's wages at the time. See Chapter Eight for more information on prices of instruments.

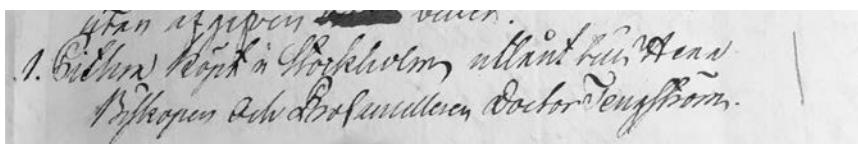


Figure 6. An extract from the inventory of the Musical Society of Turku corroborating that a cittra or 'cithra' was lent to Archbishop Tengström.

Assuming that Ursin acquired the instrument for his own use, he must also have known how to play it.⁴⁵ If this was the case, he would not have been the only member of the higher social milieu to have demonstrated an interest in the Swedish lute. For instance, the inventory of the Musical Society of Turku (*Musikaliska Sällskapet i Åbo*) shows that the future archbishop Jacob Tengström (1755–1832) had a 'cittra' on loan from it, the society having acquired the instrument in Stockholm (see figure 6).⁴⁶ Similarly, a list of lost property that was compiled after the Great Fire of Turku, which in 1827 destroyed almost the whole town, reveals that Baron Tandefeldt lost a 'cittra' in 'good and complete condition' and Johan Josef Pippingsköld (1792–1832) 'an old one with a case'. We also learn that Pippingsköld's instrument was made by Kraft.⁴⁷

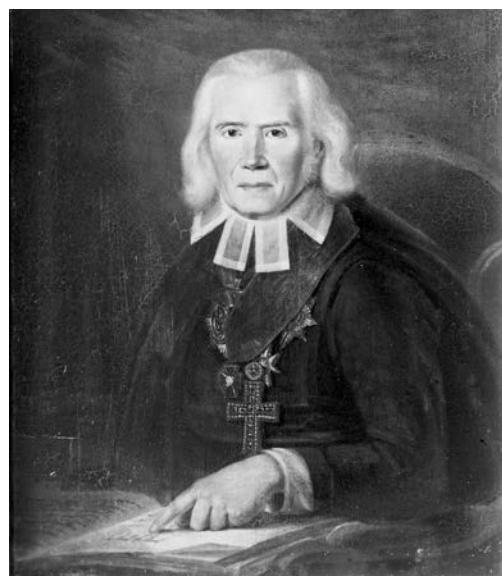
It is probable, therefore, that Tengström, Tandefeldt and Pippingsköld played the instrument, which is an interesting prospect given that they were all influential men. We have no additional information about either Tengström or Tandefeldt, except for the fact that Tengström was a renowned musical amateur who mastered many instruments (the flute was his favourite). As for Pippingsköld, he was a lawyer, but also a versatile music amateur who posterity remembers as the founder of Finland's first academic choir. With regard to Pippingsköld's 'cittra' playing, it may well be that he learned the skill with the help of his stepmother Beata Maria Arnell, one of the few fe-

⁴⁵ Ursin's first child was born in 1816. Therefore, none of the children can have been players of this instrument. Kotivuori 2005.

⁴⁶ Paper documents, The Musical Society of Turku, Handlingar över perioden 1808–1826 (Sibelius Museum, Turku).

⁴⁷ Dahlström 1990, 42–53.

Figure 7. Portrait of Archbishop Jacob Tengström.



male amateur-musicians of Turku. We also know that he occasionally sang for his friends, self-accompanied on the 'zittra'.⁴⁸ To complete the list of amateurs based in Turku we have C.N. Molin, a violinist of the Musical Society of Turku orchestra, who is said to have been 'skilful on the zittra'.⁴⁹

The cultural life of Helsinki in the two first decades of the century cannot be compared to that of Turku, even though Swedish lutes were also played there. Local probate inventories disclose that in 1812 two 'cittreas' were to be found in the household of Major Pehr Herman Olivenstam and, in 1820, another in the home of Mrs Hedwig Eleonora Dannij.⁵⁰ Moreover, in 1818, the Russian War Commissioner Baraskoj sold a 'citra' to Captain Baraskoj, perhaps a son or a relative, for the reasonably high price of forty *riksdaler banco*.⁵¹ It should be noted that Baraskoj was far from the only member of the Russian military to

48 Andersson 1921, 33–34, 75.

49 Andersson 1952a, 15.

50 The Archive of the Porvoo Judicial District, Probate inventory of the parish of Helsinge, ES 3601 (NAF); PI, Ec:11, 372 (HCA).

51 ARPH, Ca:25 (HCA).

appear in source material on the Swedish lute, this suggesting that the instrument enjoyed a certain popularity in these circles, perhaps especially among those of higher ranks.

Some music books that offer material for the Swedish lute uncover additional names of amateur players. For instance, three books housed in the National Library of Finland have the initials ‘F.d.l.M’ on their title pages, most probably standing for Elisabeth Fredrika Charlotta de la Myhle (1792–1857).⁵² This individual may well have been an able player because some of the pieces included in these books are technically quite demanding.

Although we only have material in newspapers regarding amateurs of the Swedish lute from Turku and Helsinki, six music books show that the instrument was also cultivated in other regions. These are presently housed in the Sibelius Museum in Turku, although originally belonged to Sophia Clasén née Wacklin (1802–1824) as her signature on their title pages indicates. She was born in Oulu, where she married and, then, died in childbirth at the age of twenty-one.⁵³ It is reasonable to assume that she spent her short life in this northern Finnish town and practised playing the Swedish lute while there. Her interest in music is not surprising because Sophia’s father was a merchant and a consul and her own husband a chief judge (*laamanni*), careers that would have allowed the family to cultivate a cultured lifestyle. The manuscripts are professional copies made in Stockholm, bound into books ranging in size from around thirty to one hundred and fifty pages. In other words, they contain a considerable amount of material. Sophia Wacklin married in July 1820, so the three books autographed ‘Wacklin’ must date from prior to this and, since the copies were made in 1818 and 1819, she must have been between sixteen and seventeen when she acquired them.⁵⁴ One of the books within the collection is a brief method for the 15-string

⁵² This information is given on a separate leaf attached to these books. The books were a donation by the Finnish composer and choirmaster Heikki Klemetti, so there may be a link between the de la Myhle and Klemetti families.

⁵³ Linjama-Mannermaa 2018a.

⁵⁴ Linjama-Mannermaa 2018a.

Skala för Luthar

Luthans Strängar

Contrabass

Grafia Timo

Fingrar

Tillammen

Skala för Luthand Rummet

Vänster

Höger

Exempel

korp framför en Not upphöjtes en half Ton. (B) b. för nedvar
Noten en half Ton: (graduation) åter ställen Noten uti sin
vanliga Läge.

Figure 8. A manuscript found among Sophia Clasén's papers enumerating the open strings of a 15-string Swedish lute.

Swedish lute, which suggests that she used the fully-developed version of the instrument (see figure 8).

Collectively, this information about Finnish amateurs confirms a presence of the Swedish lute among society's higher strata. It is less likely that people from lower social classes played the instrument, one barrier being the high cost of the instrument. The auction protocols of Helsinki and Turku endorse this view. Aside from merchants (who probably only engaged with these instruments with business in mind), the largest group of buyers and sellers were military personnel, they are followed by learned individuals, then a few civil servants, craftsmen and a student.

In contrast to many other instruments, the Swedish lute was in its element within a domestic setting rather than on the concert stage. Hence, information on its use in public concerts is scarce. That said, some evidence is available of a few performances in Sweden, as well as some in Finland, the latter being of interest here.⁵⁵

In 1782 the Royal Swedish *Hof- och Kammar-Musicus* Johan Gottfrid Zaar gave 'a grand full-voiced Vocal-and-Instrumental Concert' in Turku. An advertisement placed by Zaar informs of his intention to play solos on the violin and sing 'many carefully chosen solo arias', and that, moreover, he was going to accompany himself on a 'cittra' in one arietta with Swedish lyrics.⁵⁶ Zaar (1754–1818) was a versatile man: a musician (between 1800 and 1810 he was a cantor of the town of Örebro), an actor and also an innkeeper.⁵⁷ Zaar's concert in Turku has previously been described as the first given by an itinerant musician in Finland, but other researchers have justly pointed out that this is incorrect given that several others had performed in Finland prior to this date.⁵⁸ The concert did not leave many traces. There was no review, for example, but Zaar's name does intriguingly reappear in the press in 1854 in a somewhat fanciful article discussing ancient music

⁵⁵ Sparr 2018b.

⁵⁶ *Tidningar Utgifne af et Sällskap i Åbo* 5 December 1782.

⁵⁷ Sparr 2018b.

⁵⁸ Andersson 1952a, 35.

history in Finland.⁵⁹ The writer assumes that Zaar had to accompany himself (and play violin solos) in the aforementioned concert because there would have been no competent local amateurs to assist him. This is in fact untrue as there were several of them at the time, for instance, the composer Erik Tulindberg (1761–1814).⁶⁰ The choice not to involve the local amateurs must therefore have been Zaar's own and, as an excellent violin and *cittra* player, he managed to entertain the public quite competently by himself.⁶¹ Even so, from today's point of view it is interesting that Zaar's visit did not go wholly unnoticed, even by later generations.

Another public concert involving the Swedish lute did occur in Turku, leaving even less traces in the press than the Zaar concert. We only know of it because of a letter from 1760 by the Finnish lawyer Per Juslén, who was an official of the state administration in Stockholm and a central figure in the founding of the Aurora Society (*Aurorasällskapet*) in Turku.⁶² In the letter we learn that Johan Wilhelm Ankar (1759–1816), who had cooperated with Kraft in the development process of the Swedish lute, had performed (together with a violinist called Grafström) in the hall of the Royal Academy of Turku.⁶³ The letter does not disclose an exact date, but the performance must have taken place before April 1792 – this being the date of Juslén's letter – and after 1780, when Ankar settled in Stockholm and became acquainted with Grafström.⁶⁴ Thus, this concert could have preceded the one delivered by Zaar and, given that Ankar also composed for the instrument, there is the chance that his own music was heard at the event.

There is also record of two nineteenth-century performances. The

59 Åbo Underrättelser 6 October 1854.

60 Korhonen 2015, 31.

61 Andersson 1952a, 35.

62 This society was a patriotic-literary secret society, modelled after the *Utile dulci*-society in Stockholm, of which Juslén was a member. See Tarkiainen 2012. The letter is cited in Sparr 2018b.

63 Juslén also mentions that Grafström was Ankar's colleague in the court orchestra and shared an apartment with him.

64 Karle 2000, 211.

first one took place in 1801, when a quartet for ‘zittra, flute, violin and viola’ composed by Erik Jakob Knölke (1771–1804) was presented in a concert by the Musical Society of Turku. We do not know who the other players were but, as an able Swedish lute player, Knölke must have performed on that instrument himself. Knölke was not a regular member of the society. Instead, he was one of the musicians that it paid for services rendered and the concert was organised to ‘support his musical talent’.⁶⁵ A fourth, and last, example of a public performance – again from Turku – took place considerably later, in 1839, when Johann Peter Wollberg, a resident of Stockholm, advertised a ‘Musical Soirée’ on the ‘lutha’.⁶⁶

The popularity of the Swedish lute subsequently fostered a market for teachers. In 1799 the above-mentioned Knölke offered his services in the press and one assumes that as a professional musician he must have been a proficient teacher.⁶⁷ Unfortunately, the locals could not enjoy his talents for long because Knölke died in 1804. It was almost two decades until lessons were next advertised. Here, the young ladies of Turku were specifically addressed and the last advertisement for ‘lutha’ lessons was placed in 1852.⁶⁸ Apart from Knölke, only two other teachers are known by name, the above-mentioned Wollberg, and Maria Fredrica (Frederique) Thusberg, both of whom also offered guitar lessons.

A peculiarity of the Swedish lute was that hardly any of its music was published in print. Instead, it was almost solely available in manuscript copies that were usually prepared by professional copyists in Stockholm. The number of these that were produced may not have been very high but this has not prevented the music from surviving, as is corroborated by the around seventy-five manuscript books now housed in Swedish and Finnish museums that contain well over a thousand pieces.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Lagus 1890, 24–25.

⁶⁶ Åbo Tidningar 31 July 1839.

⁶⁷ Åbo Tidningar 18 February 1799.

⁶⁸ Åbo Allmänna Tidning 27 November 1817; Finlands Allmänna Tidning 21 August 1852.

⁶⁹ Sparr 2001, 182.

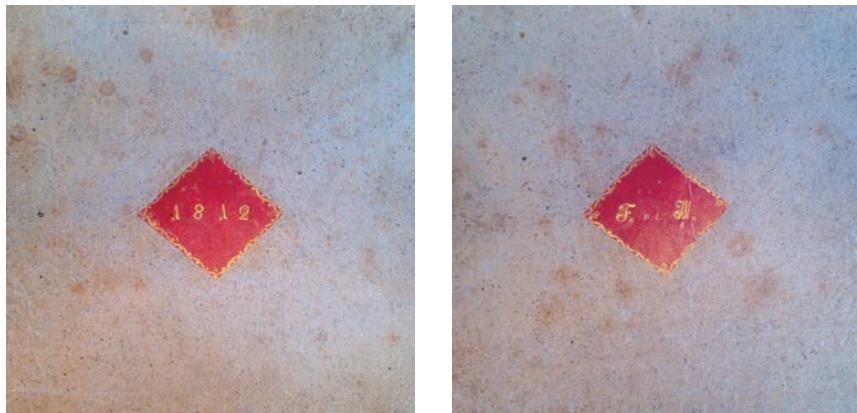


Figure 9. The front and back covers of Fredrika Charlotta de la Myhle's music book.

The Finnish manuscripts contain mostly chamber music, either accompanying voice or violin, alongside some solo pieces. The music books in the Sibelius Museum in Turku date from the 1810s and through to the late 1820s. The majority of them are prepared by the hand of Johan Jacob Preusmark, who was probably the most industrious of the copyists active in Stockholm in this period.⁷⁰ In Helsinki, one of the manuscript books belonging to Fredrika Charlotta de la Myhle dates from 1812 (the year is printed on its back, see figure 9) while the date of the others in her possession remains unknown.⁷¹ Unlike the manuscripts in Turku, a private person, not a professional copyist, compiled these books; whether de la Myhle did this herself, is uncertain, although quite possible.

The problem posed by the many appellations for the Swedish lute is discussed above, but the manuscript books create one additional dilemma in this respect. This is because, occasionally, some have the word 'guitarre' (and its variant spellings) written on top of the first music page, while the title page lists the instrumentation as 'citra' instead. An example is the first page of the 1812 de la Myhle manuscript, which reads 'Allegretto pur [sic] la Gittarre [sic]' (see figure 10).

⁷⁰ Sparr 2018b.

⁷¹ The Manuscript Collection, Ms.Mus. 53:1–3, Notebooks of F.D.L.M. (NLF).



Figure 10. The first line of the piece of de la Myhle's music book with its title 'Allegretto pur la Gittarre'.



Figure 11. Bars 1–8 of the first variation of Johann Sterkell's *Adagio med variationer* from a manuscript copy that belonged to Sophia Clasén.⁷²

So, should we consider this as the earliest Finnish manuscript of guitar music or was this music for the Swedish lute? The answer is that it was for the latter, the primary reason for this being certain textural features of the music. Many passages that are idiomatic on the Swedish lute, for example, would be less comfortable and also less natural on the guitar. Thus, although the sixth bar of Figure 11 is quite possible to play on a guitar in the standard nineteenth-century tuning, it does not lie comfortably under the fingers. Instead, played on the Swedish lute, all the notes – save for three on the first string (a^2 , $g^{#2}$ and $f^{#2}$) – are open strings, making this passage very idiomatic of this particular instrument.

In a similar way, the parallel thirds in the seventh bar of the example – again quite possible on a guitar – become considerably more idiomatic on the Swedish lute since the second and fourth of them are open strings. Furthermore, the arrangement of the chords and the voice leading do not look like typical guitar texture. For instance, the first chord of the second bar, with its doubled $c^{\#}$, is awkward. Many similar examples demonstrate that these pieces, despite the heading 'guitarre',

⁷² Collection of Manuscripts at the Sibelius Museum, Turku (no shelf number).

were written for the Swedish lute. Therefore, it seems that 'guitarre' was yet one more, albeit rare, appellation for this instrument.

In conclusion, the Swedish lute appears to already have been popular in Finland in the eighteenth century, although more traces of its cultivation can be found in the early nineteenth century. Moreover, some scattered information may be found up until the 1850s, when instruction in its playing was still offered in the press. This shows that after the 1820s the instrument did not completely disappear from favour and, although the guitar gradually became Finland's plucked instrument of preference, thus consuming most of the Swedish lute's living space, the two instruments coexisted for a while.

A few observations on the use of mandolins in Finland

Instruments belonging to the mandolin family have a history dating back more than four hundred years. There are two quite distinct variants of mandolin. The older one was tuned mainly in fourths, was gut strung, had a fixed bridge, and usually had five or six double courses. After 1750 the newer Neapolitan mandolin (tuned like a violin in fifths, with a floating bridge and end pins to secure the strings, which were a mixture of metal and gut strings) made its appearance, and by the nineteenth century had become the standard model.⁷³ Unlike the instruments of the lute family the mandolin continued to be played throughout the nineteenth century, although its popularity was less pronounced from the late 1830s until the closing decades of the century. The mandolin was brought to Finland by Russian visitors and officers rather than arriving through Sweden, where it was lesser-known.⁷⁴ Even so, the instrument seems also to have been somewhat of a rarity

73 Sparks 2001.

74 Sillanpää 1982, 26, 84–91.

in Finland until the last decades of the nineteenth century, and little information is available.⁷⁵

When the mandolin was mentioned in the Finnish press in the nineteenth century, it usually served to add an Italian flavour to a story. Some concrete evidence of the instrument's presence in the country also survives, however; at times mandolins were offered for sale and a few mandolin players are documented having visited the country. As suggested above, the instruments they used were almost certainly of the Neapolitan type.

The details of an auction organised in Turku in 1824 provide the earliest mention of a mandolin in Finland, and some years later Friedrich Anton Meyer's (1771–1831) bookshop, also in Turku, lists a mandolin among its assortment.⁷⁶ It was made of walnut with decorations of mother-of-pearl and ivory, and sold for twenty-nine *banco roubles*, slightly less than half of the price listed for a guitar in the same sales catalogue. The mandolin's appearance in Meyer's shop is a marked incident because the instrument was not generally sold in Finland before the 1890s, at which time its popularity had increased so much so that several shops had them in their assortments.⁷⁷ This late 'blooming' is also reflected in the availability of mandolin lessons, which are first advertised in 1893 by the German musician Josef Binnemann (1865–1942), who also provided guitar tuition.⁷⁸

Even if the instrument was not generally played by locals, people did have the chance to hear it in concerts. Over the course of the nineteenth century, several solo-mandolin players visited the country and groups including mandolin players could also be heard, especially towards the end of the century. By way of contrast, itinerant mandolin virtuosi were more abundant at the beginning of the century, the earli-

⁷⁵ The intention is not to give a detailed account on mandolin's history in Finland, but rather to outline its presence in the country in the nineteenth century.

⁷⁶ Åbo Tidningar 14 February 1824; Meyer 1829, 20.

⁷⁷ See, for example, *Hufvudstadsbladet* 4 April 1897; Åbo Underrättelser 19 December 1899; *Hufvudstadsbladet* 30 December 1899 and *Wiborgs Nyheter* 30 December 1899.

⁷⁸ Uusi Suometar 16 March 1893.

est musicians visiting the country in the 1820s. The first one we know of was the Italian mandolin and guitar player Franz Anton Ferrario who arrived in Vyborg in December 1824, having resided in St. Petersburg prior to this. No sources reveal public performances during this particular visit, but five years later he is recorded having played in several Finnish towns, among them some relatively remote locations such as Sortavala.⁷⁹ Another known musician was 'Musikus J. Koch', who played six instruments, although in his advertisements he mentions only the pan flute and the mandolin. He visited Helsinki in 1826, but no reports of performances exist. This is likely because he offered to play 'every afternoon in private company (*slutet sällskap*)' and therefore may not have prepared a more formal concert.⁸⁰

All was very different, however, when the Milanese professor Pietro Vimercati was about to embark on a tour of the country: his concerts were enthusiastically publicised and their adverts describe the maestro's excellence as a mandolin virtuoso.⁸¹ This should come as no surprise, given that Vimercati was one of the most famous travelling mandolin virtuosi of the early nineteenth century. He was in Finland between the end of 1836 and January 1837, giving concerts both in Turku and Helsinki.⁸² As a former violinist of the orchestra of the famous opera house *La Scala*, Vimercati's repertoire consisted mainly of violin music arranged for the mandolin.⁸³ In Finland the musician's programme included, among others, violin concertos by Rodolphe Kreutzer (1766–1831) and Joseph Mayseder (1789–1863), but also his own variations of Giovanni Paisiello's (1740–1816) *La Molinara*.⁸⁴

In the 1840s some solo-mandolin players continued to come to the country, one of whom was Giuseppe Zella, and in the 1850s a few more

79 See Chapter Five for more information.

80 *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 12 August 1826.

81 See, for example, *Helsingfors Tidningar* 3 December 1836.

82 *Åbo Tidningar* 14 December 1836.

83 Aonzo 2001.

84 *Åbo Underrättelser* 12 December 1836, and a concert programme housed in the Ephemera Collection, NLF.

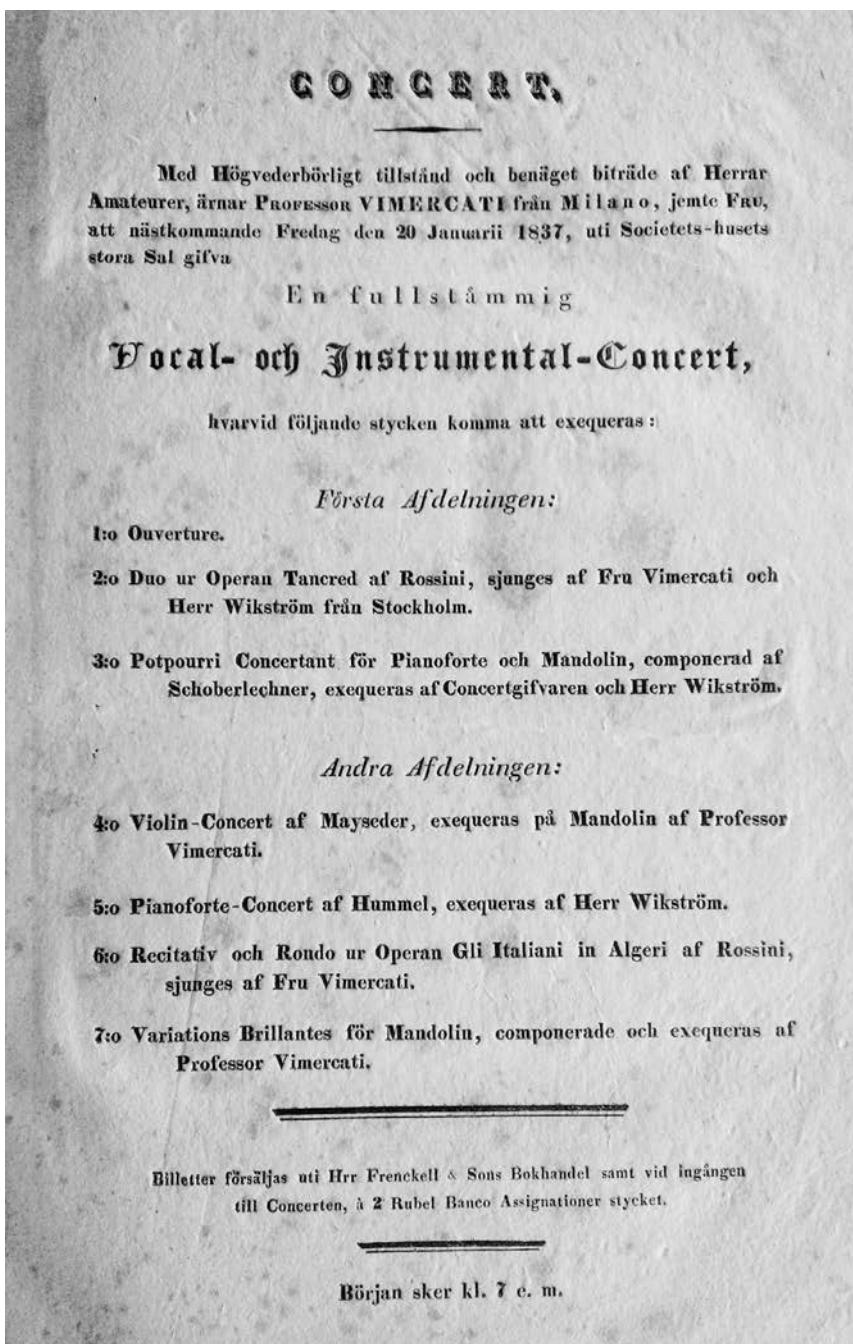


Figure 12. The programme for Pietro Vimercati's concert in Helsinki on 20 January 1837.

mandolinists visited as members of the so-called Alpine music groups.⁸⁵ Following this, no more solo mandolin players of the Vimercati type are mentioned in the press in the nineteenth century. That said, in the 1890s the instrument gained a foothold in the *variété* shows, in which many mandolin groups preformed.

THE GUITAR IN SWEDEN AND RUSSIA AND THE BEGINNINGS OF FINNISH GUITAR CULTURE

As discussed above, the Swedish lute began to fall from favour in Finland by the first decades of the nineteenth century. Such a decline in use was all the more acute for the cittern, if indeed it ever was practiced in the country on a wide scale. In contrast, the guitar began to become more and more popular.

The first newspaper advertisement that specifically mentions the guitar was published in 1814 in Turku in *Åbo Allmänna Tidning* and offers 'a big type of a guitar in good condition' for sale.⁸⁶ The word choice 'a big type' is interesting here as it suggests that, at this point, the public in Turku were already familiar with the guitar, knew its dimensions and were capable of distinguishing between a 'big' and, accordingly, a 'small' model. The earliest guitar-related information from Helsinki also dates from 1814: an auction protocol which discloses that Captain Baraskoj sold a guitar to Lieutenant Neballschin.⁸⁷ According to the entry, Neballschin was willing to pay over double the asking price (*ten riksdaler banco*), meaning that there were at least two interested buyers. This indicates that a minimum of several individuals with an interest in the guitar were to be found in Helsinki at this time even though the

85 See Chapter Five for more information on Zella and the Alpine groups.

86 *Åbo Allmänna Tidning* 3 December 1814. 'En större sort Guitarr, i godt stånd, är till salu [...].'

87 ARPH, Ca:24 (HCA). Captain Baraskoj must have been the same person who acquired a 'cittara' in an auction four years later.

town, host to only a few thousand inhabitants, was still on the cultural margins of the country.⁸⁸

The first advertisements for printed music date from the following year, 1815, and the very first one can be credited to the bookshop of F.A. Meyer. We read that, in the shop ‘musikalier’ for piano-forte, violin, guitar and flute were available, although unfortunately without any further specification as to which works were on sale.⁸⁹ Guitar lessons got their first mention in the same year when a Frenchman – ‘un françois, auteur de plusieurs ouvrages de litterature’ – tendered his services.⁹⁰ He sought a position as a private tutor in a house of high standing (*de considération*) either in Finland or Russia and, thus, was probably not yet living in the country. Along with tuition in French, geography and history, our Frenchman offered instruction in music and how to ‘princer [sic] de la Guittare [sic] Espagnol’.

For any further guitar-related information we have to wait until 1821, at which time the sales catalogue of J.C. Frenckell’s bookshop in Turku lists one guitar work, Fredrik Wilhelm Hildebrand’s (1785–1830) *Sex svenska folk-wisor*.⁹¹ It is during this period that the guitar also begins to be mentioned on-and-off in a variety of anecdotes published in sections of the newspaper other than just advertisements, suggesting that general interest in the instrument was growing. From around this time, November 1822, we also have the first mention of a public concert in which the guitar was used in accompaniment, a pantomime including an Italian aria.⁹²

In sum, the sources reveal only some scattered information regarding the presence of the guitar in Finland prior to the early 1820s. From this time onwards the sources become gradually more bountiful, and

⁸⁸ Although the capital of Finland since 1812, Helsinki grew gradually and only started to become culturally more active towards the end of the 1820s, this being when the university had relocated there. Even so, it took several decades for Helsinki to gain the position of the most important commercial, cultural and administrative centre in the country.

⁸⁹ *Åbo Allmänna Tidning* 19 December 1815.

⁹⁰ *Åbo Allmänna Tidning* 14 October 1815.

⁹¹ Frenckell 1821, 20.

⁹² *Åbo Tidningar* 2 November 1822.

references to both the instrument itself and printed music start to occur far more frequently. Guitar strings are the single exception to this and only begin to appear in advertisements in the 1830s.

The preceding discussion has already touched upon the popularity of plucked instruments in Sweden, with the exception of the guitar. So, when did the guitar become popular in the Kingdom of Sweden, as well as in Russia and what bearing does this have upon our understanding of the Finnish guitar culture?

One decisive difference between Finland and Sweden is that Stockholm, as the royal capital, had far greater contact with European music trends than did the kingdom's eastern reaches and this also had consequences for the guitar.⁹³ For instance, unlike in Finland, some iconographic evidence suggests that the instrument was already used in Sweden in the sixteenth century. We also know that, in the seventeenth century, the Governor Gustaf Adam Banér (1631–1681) owned Baroque-guitar books by Antonio Carbonchi, while Queen Christina (1626–1689) had Italian guitar players on the court's payroll. One of them, Angelo Michele Bartolotti (1615?–1681?), even dedicated a guitar book to her, its title page reading 'Secondo Libro di Chitarra [...] alla real' maesta della Regina di Svetia'. Yet further sources reveal that the widow of Charles X, Queen Regent Hedwig Eleonora (1636–1715), employed a guitar master for the young princesses Magdalena Sibylla and Juliana.

Aside from these royal examples, seventeenth century manuscripts of guitar music survive within Swedish collections, amidst them some tablatures, which are possibly in the French Rémy Médard's hand and a unique printed copy of his *Pièces de guitarre* (1676). Of the few guitars from this period that have survived in Sweden, most noteworthy is one by the illustrious German maker Joachim Tielke (1641–1719).

In the eighteenth century, citterns and Swedish lutes became the most favoured plucked instruments in Sweden. Nevertheless, since sales advertisements for 'guitarre' (probably guitars with five or six-courses) and some advertisements for public guitar performances may be found

93 The following information on the guitar in Sweden is largely based on Sparr 2018d.

in the Swedish press, this instrument certainly also enjoyed some popularity in eighteenth-century Sweden.⁹⁴ Towards the century's close there are also a few traces of the six-string guitar's presence in the country. These take the form of one or two probate inventories which demonstrate that there were at least some people in possession of these instruments. Moreover, we know that in 1800 Mathias Petter Kraft constructed a six-string guitar. Around the same time, however, the newspaper *Dagligt Allehanda* advertised Trille Labarre's (1758–1797) *Nouvelle Méthode pour la Guitare*, a method for the five-course guitar which suggests that there was still some residual interest in this older version of the instrument.⁹⁵ Nevertheless, despite these few instances, a notable increase in the popularity of the guitar only occurred after the lift of the import prohibition in 1816.

Until the beginning of the eighteenth century, Russian musical life remained in a primitive state with no composers of international standing and no real instrumental tradition about which to speak. These were consequences of the Orthodox Church's disapproving attitude towards instrumental music. As a result of Peter the Great's (1672–1725) efforts to westernise Russian culture, however, foreign musicians (largely of German or Italian origin) began to arrive into the country. This tendency continued throughout the reign of Catherine II (1729–1796) and in a relatively short time Russia evolved from 'a cultural backwater devoid of almost any musical culture into a society brimming over with musical talent and artistic institutions'.⁹⁶ This state of affairs enticed numerous musicians, composers, ballet masters and other artists to take residence in Moscow and St. Petersburg. Towards the end of the eighteenth century this diverse group of immigrant-musicians was also joined by guitar players. Among the first to arrive were two Italians, Giuseppe Sarti (1729–1802) and Carlo Canobbio (1741–1822), and they were followed by a better renowned guitarist, the French Antoine de

94 See, for example, *Dagligt Allehanda* 4 October 1783 and 13 July 1785.

95 *Dagligt Allehanda* 22 September 1801. Labarre's method is the most thorough French guitar method of the eighteenth century. Stenstadvold 2010, 118; Sparr 2018e, 17–34.

96 Norris and Muir 2011.

Lhoyer (1768–1852), who began his ten-year sojourn in the country in 1803.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, printed music began to be published in Russia and, whether it is a sign of the guitar's popularity or not, pieces for this instrument were among the first editions to be issued. In 1796, for example, the aforementioned musician Canobbio brought some works for the five-string guitar to market and Jean-Baptiste Hainglaise began to publish his *Journal d'Airs Italiens, Français et Russes avec accompagnement de guitare*.⁹⁷

Although the six-string guitar was debuted in Russia by immigrant-guitarists, there was another variety of guitar that had no need for an introduction from abroad: the native seven-string guitar. This instrument's structure has some unique characteristics but, most importantly, its tuning differs from its Western cousin in that it is based on thirds rather than fourths. The seven-string guitar was often used to accompany romances and is associated 'with the very essence of Russian urban folk-music'.⁹⁸ It was, nevertheless, also employed as a solo instrument and in the early nineteenth century, Andrei Sychra (1773?–1850), the first to compose and publish music for it, played a major role in the diffusion and popularisation of the seven-string guitar, a popularity that endures to this day.

To conclude, the Central European culture of plucked instruments began to manifest itself in Sweden, to a certain degree, as early as the sixteenth century. At this time, lutes and citterns were popular in higher social circles (if not more widely), and the Baroque guitar was also known. Contrastingly, the six-string guitar had to wait until the early nineteenth century to become regarded with any great favour. In Russia, immigrant-guitarists were far from exceptional by the end of the eighteenth century, by which time printed guitar-music was also available. Moreover, the Russian seven-string guitar meant that the country fostered its own distinctive guitar culture.

97 Ophee 1987, 8–11.

98 Ophee 1986, iv.

By contrast, we face a lag of around two decades before information regarding the six-string guitar materialises in Finland and nothing is known of the use of earlier guitar types, such as the Baroque guitar, in the country. A comparison with the Russian situation is especially interesting because the eastern border of the Grand Duchy of Finland was only a few dozen kilometres from St. Petersburg. Yet, despite its vicinity to the country, St. Petersburg's early guitar culture does not seem to have influenced Finland in any way.

The question we must ask, therefore, is whether this was really what happened or if our impression is skewed by the scarce number of reliable sources that are available? As discussed in the Preface, the source material we do have (newspapers, sales catalogues, auction protocols and probate inventories) all pose certain problems with regard to the period under discussion here. For instance, Helsinki's first newspaper was founded in 1820 and Vyborg's a year later still. Moreover, while the sales catalogues of bookshops and, later, music shops are informative for our purposes, the fact that the earliest extant example dates from 1821 means that, again, these sources cannot assist in piecing together the opaque early decades. The earliest auction protocol mentioning a guitar in Helsinki dates from 1814, but the first probate inventory does so only in 1832.⁹⁹

The definitive truth on this matter remains to be known, but the available auction material seems to tip the scale in favour of a hypothesis that the guitar became popular in Finland a decade or two later than it did in Sweden and Russia.

99 ARPH, Ca:24 (HCA); PI, Ec:15, no. 1113 (HCA).

CHAPTER TWO

‘I then played on the guitar such sweet sounds...’ – Professional musicians and amateur guitarists

The compelling quotation above comes from the Finnish writer Zacharias Topelius (1818–1898), who was a young student in Helsinki in the early 1830s when he expressed his feelings about the guitar in such an ebullient manner.¹⁰⁰ Far from being alone in his interests, Zacharias not only shared his passion for the instrument with several other university students, but also with intellectuals and artists. Indeed, even an archbishop and a composer exchanged views about it in the early 1820s.

Most of those who demonstrated an interest in the guitar were music enthusiasts, *dilettanti*, amateurs, of which there were an increasing number across Europe in the first decades of the nineteenth century. This growth was instigated by the manifold social and economic changes that the continent had undergone at the end of the preceding century and was assisted by the move from the complex contrapuntal Baroque style to a homophonic Classical one, the simplicity of which favoured the amateur. The increased enthusiasm of *dilettanti* in turn stimulated a lucrative market for printed music, instruments and other music-related paraphernalia.

In accordance with this development, by the early nineteenth century some shops in Finland sold printed music, with a few also carrying instruments. This represented a marked change for the country as, prior to this point, private persons had experienced considerable dif-

¹⁰⁰ Topelius 1918a, 142.

ficulty in sourcing these items. While their supply had now improved, the cost remained fairly high. One way of overcoming this problem was becoming a member of a musical society, through which – most fundamentally – one could encounter like-minded people, but also borrow instruments and printed music.

Early examples of musical societies in Finland are the Academic Orchestra (1747), the Aurora Society (1770), and its successor the Musical Society of Turku (1790). The latter in particular became a venue for music amateurs to play both socially and perform publicly. Contrastingly, the Academic Orchestra and the Aurora Society had exercised a somewhat more minor influence on the musical life of Turku.¹⁰¹ The musical society had an extensive library – one of the best of its time in the Nordic countries – and, as suggested above, it also owned instruments for its members to borrow; among these being at least one Swedish lute. As was the case elsewhere, the society had a strong academic flavour and its membership mainly consisted of professors, university teachers and students. Therefore, although its first period (1790–1808) has been regarded as the earliest flourishing of Finnish music culture, the society's activities were in fact restricted to a limited circle of educated individuals.¹⁰² That said, during the society's first period its members reached around nine hundred in number and it is also noteworthy that the society concentrated on the performance of *instrumental* music.¹⁰³

Turku was the first centre of active amateur music production in the country, but its musical society, the cradle of this activity, was forced to cease its functions in 1808. This was partly a consequence of the change from Swedish to Russian rule, the new authorities exercising a degree of political pressure due to the society's strong Swedish overtones, but

101 The Academic Orchestra (*Akademiska Kapellet*, later *Akademiska Orkestern*) was affiliated with the Royal Academy of Turku, and relocated with the university to Helsinki in the late 1820s after the Great Fire of Turku.

102 A few provincial towns also had music societies, most importantly Kokkola, led by the vicar Anders Chydenius. In the 1790s he sold his extensive music library to the Musical Society of Turku.

103 Huttunen 2002, 325.

another reason was the death of its director, Erik Ferling (1733–1808). This by no means marked the conclusion of all musical activity in the town, but Helsinki gradually came to replace Turku as Finland's cultural centre when it acquired its status as the country's capital in 1812. This was a major change, and certainly not a straightforward one because these two towns differed considerably. The main distinction was that Turku shared a common history, spanning several centuries, with the royal Stockholm, whereas Helsinki remained a mere provincial town in this period. However, the decision to move the capital had been motivated by political factors rather than cultural ones, the primary reason being the need to relocate it closer to the influence of St. Petersburg.

The musical life of Helsinki prior to the nineteenth century has been described as very modest. According to some, there was 'no audience for the arts, no orchestral musicians and only a few miserable fiddlers'. It has even been claimed that 'the town's inhabitants had inherited from their ancestors a strange interest in noise and roar'.¹⁰⁴ These interpretations are certainly exaggerated because research has shown that a budding instrumental culture did exist in Helsinki in the eighteenth century and, for instance, violin strings were fairly regularly available from several suppliers. It was its upgraded status to capital, however, which was the real catalyst that changed the town's cultural profile, especially following the transfer of the Senate in 1819 and the university in 1828. This spurred the organisation of social gatherings by the educated classes, who were eager to manifest their former lifestyle in their new place of residence. As for music, two musical societies were established in the 1820s, one called the 'Musical Rehearsal Society' (*Musikaliska Öfningssällskapet*) and the other the Musical Society of Helsinki (*Musikaliska Sällskapet i Helsingfors*). Their membership was composed of officers of the Senate and wealthy merchants.¹⁰⁵ We know that the guitar was also heard in these new social contexts, its role being demonstrably more prominent than was once assumed.

¹⁰⁴ These citations originate in unpublished research by Jere Jäppinen. I am grateful to the author for providing me with his manuscript.

¹⁰⁵ Koponen 2003, 164; Lappalainen 2015, 44–51.

THE POPULARITY OF THE GUITAR

The guitar was introduced to Finland in the very first decades of the nineteenth century, as discussed in the previous chapter. In order to understand this new and growing interest in the guitar, we may study the advertisement of printed music, guitar lessons and the instrument itself.

The advertising of guitar music did not grow steadily, as one perhaps might assume, but rather shows three distinctive periods. The first of these was one of gradual increase that lasted from the mid-1810s to the early 1830s. This was followed by a period of active advertising until the early 1860s, while the third and last period is characterised by a radical decrease both in the number of advertisements and the number of titles on offer. What is more, the second period distinguishes itself clearly from the other two because it was during its roughly thirty-year span that the vast majority of the titles for sale in Finland were marketed. In fact, only a mere ten per cent of pieces were advertised outside of this time frame.

Guitar teachers also appear to have experienced a better market for their services during the first half of the century. Over forty tutors offered instruction on the pages of Finnish newspapers prior to the 1850s, with a significant drop in advertisements occurring after this time. Quite surprisingly, by the 1890s guitar teachers advertising lessons are almost singularly to be found in Helsinki.

Unlike printed music and guitar lessons, there was no interruption in advertisements for the instrument itself, which in fact became more prevalent as the century progressed. It is perhaps surprising, then, that this development was not reflected in the auctions of Helsinki, which instead indicate a decrease in the number of guitars offered for sale.¹⁰⁶ This phenomenon is hard to explain, not least because in the closing decades of the century all of the guitars that were put up for auction

106 A drastic increase occurred in the 1830s, reaching a climax in the 1850s when over fifty guitars were sold. A rapid decline of fifty per cent took place over the following decade, a trend that continued until the end of the century.

in Helsinki – low as their number may have been – found a buyer, and therefore there does not seem to have been lack of demand. The role of music shops as suppliers of guitars certainly became more prevalent towards the century's close. Contrastingly, only a few guitar makers seem to have been active in the country during the century's second half, as the significant drop in the number of advertisements placed by them testifies.

The radical decrease, and in fact almost total disappearance, in the advertising of guitar lessons and printed music after the 1860s evinces that, just like in the rest of Europe, so too in Finland interest in more serious and technically demanding guitar playing had begun to fall from favour. The dried-up market for both printed music and guitar teachers, in turn, entailed that there was no longer a need for their advertisement. This does not mean, however, that following this decline of popularity, the instrument no longer had a place in Finland. In fact, it only lost its charm among the upper classes, whereas more common people came to take a greater interest in the guitar. We have a number of testimonies to this effect. One is an advertisement placed in 1897 for a guitar method stating that the guitar is 'generally well known among the people'.¹⁰⁷ In similar vein, an article discussing life on the island of Åland reveals that, at the close of the century, the guitar was a popular instrument on its shores. Describing the character of the locals as 'generally more extrovert, polite and [...] finer than that of the Finns', the writer states that the cultivation of music was widespread and 'as for the played instruments, the guitar is very popular'.¹⁰⁸ This is an important piece of information because it is one of few concrete statements we have about the guitar's popularity in Finland at this time.

With regard to the geographical spread of Finland's amateur guitarists, the majority of them were, not unexpectedly, to be found in the country's main cultural centres of Helsinki and Turku, especially during the first half of the century. How early and extensively interest

107 *Tampereen Uutiset* 15 June 1897. See Chapter Three for more information on this method.

108 *Salmetar* 30 August 1899.

in the guitar radiated beyond these towns is harder to establish. This is because, as previously mentioned, many smaller towns did not have newspapers, our main source of information, before the second half of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the first guitar-related advertisement outside of Helsinki or Turku was printed in 1825 in Vyborg when guitar music was advertised in a newspaper that had only been in operation for two years.¹⁰⁹ Perhaps this indicates that there was more interest in the guitar here than in Oulu, where the first publicity for guitar-related material appeared in 1837, a whole decade after the founding of its local newspaper.¹¹⁰ In Porvoo and Vaasa advertisements were placed fairly regularly between the period 1840 to 1870, however, while this evidence provides more comprehensive geographic information about the availability of the guitar, these details are still predominantly restricted to Finland's coastal towns. The newspapers of inland populations very seldom mention the guitar, but one news item published in Helsinki suggests that there indeed were some guitar amateurs in provincial towns in the 1840s.¹¹¹ We learn that the most popular tunes by Fredrik August Ehrström (1801–1850), the admired song composer, were sometimes accompanied 'ex-tempore' on the guitar 'in the countryside, in the homes of priests'. This in itself is easy to accept due to the natural and simple style of this composer's songs, the piano accompaniments of which were easy to adapt on the guitar. It is also intriguing that this music making took place in parsonages, from which the instrument therefore does not seem to have been banned. The scarcity of advertisements in the provincial newspapers only changed towards the closing decades of the century, when various social movements began to favour the instrument.

109 *Wiburgs Wochenblatt* 12 February 1825.

110 *Oulun Viikko-Sanomia* 29 July 1837.

111 *Helsingfors Tidningar* 9 December 1846.

A BROAD SPECTRUM OF FINNISH GUITAR AMATEURS

As the above discussion suggests, the guitar scene in nineteenth-century Finland was divided between two types of players. The first one, largely a phenomenon of the first half of the century, had a profile similar to that of piano amateurs of the time. These individuals took lessons for the instrument, were able to read music and their repertoire included solo works, songs with guitar accompaniment and chamber music. The second group, on the other hand, started to grow larger during the second half of the century and its use of the instrument was less demanding both musically and technically. Guitar amateurs from this category were content with accompanying songs and probably only a handful knew how to read music; in fact, hardly any printed guitar music was available in the shops, which in itself reveals a drastic decrease in its demand. The reason for this was that during the second half of the century the circles in which earlier guitar amateurs had originated started to orientate towards the piano, an instrument that was rapidly becoming fashionable throughout Europe.

The 'second group' of guitar enthusiasts originated in the lower social classes and has left far fewer traces than its counterpart. While we have information of guitar-playing composers, artists, university students and people from the higher strata of Finnish society, individuals from lower social groups often only remain as names in an auction protocol or advertisement. Even so, in some isolated cases a few pieces of information can be provided about these persons as well.

Professional musicians, Topelius, the ladies von Wright and other guitar devotees

Professional musicians

We know that many professional musicians working in Finland in the nineteenth century knew how to play the guitar because they were advertising lessons for it. That said, the precise level of their technical

ability is difficult to establish, but the fact that only a handful of these individuals played the instrument publicly might suggest that hardly anyone was a guitar player of a professional standard. Therefore, the guitar was probably a ‘side-line’ instrument for most of these musicians who include Josef Gehring, Carl Theodor Möller, Johan Christopher Downter, Axel Gabriel Ingelius, Rudolf Lagi, Ludwig Beuermann and Richard Faltin. Given, however, that especially during the first half of the century professional musicians were relatively few in Finland, the number of those who played the guitar is noteworthy. In addition, all these individuals are acknowledged in Finnish music history books and thus clearly played a certain role in Finnish musical life in their own time.¹¹² Since most of the above-mentioned musicians gave guitar lessons, they will be discussed in Chapter Four while the rest are covered below.

Johan Christopher Downter (1795–1842) was a violinist and conductor of Baltic origin, but because he reported having lost a guitar (and a violin) in the damage lists of the Great Fire of Turku he may have been a guitar player as well.¹¹³ If he was, however, not the guitar player of the family, the other possibility is his wife, because at this time Downter’s son was only a couple of years old and does, therefore, not come into question here.¹¹⁴ In the damage list, the guitar has an estimated value of thirty *banco roubles* and the violin fifty. Compared with contemporary guitar prices in Finland, the value of Downter’s guitar is reasonably high, unlike that of the violin, which is closer to the average.¹¹⁵ Thus, although we cannot be certain that Downter played the guitar, we at least know that a decent guitar had been acquired by his household.

In Finnish music history, Downter is considered an important musical force of his time.¹¹⁶ He worked as the conductor of the Musical

¹¹² By modern standards these individuals were not all musicians of a professional standard, although their skills must have been much higher than those of the ordinary amateur.

¹¹³ Dahlström 1990, 47.

¹¹⁴ Kotivuori 2005.

¹¹⁵ See Chapter Eight for information on the cost of guitars.

¹¹⁶ Huttunen 2002, 333.

Society of Turku orchestra, performed occasionally as a soloist on his violin and was also the music teacher for the Royal Academy of Turku.

More concrete evidence is available regarding the guitar playing of Richard Faltin (1835–1918), a German musician who immigrated to Finland in 1856. Faltin's short autobiography was published in a newspaper in Vaasa, a small town on the west coast of Finland, in 1894 and from this account we learn that, along with numerous other instruments, he knew how to play the guitar. Additionally, Faltin reports that in his youth he had not been allowed to study music because his amateur-musician father had other plans for him. Therefore, Faltin was only allowed to listen to music lessons that were provided for his 'unmusical' brothers:

I had to be content with following the lessons as a listener [...]. Whereas my brother made no progress at all, I learned – on the strength of what I heard – to play in all secrecy [...]. In this same way, by listening to my younger brother's flute lessons, I learned to play the flute – and completely by myself I learned to play the violin, viola and guitar.¹¹⁷

Nothing suggests that Faltin ever performed on the guitar in Finland or gave instruction in its playing; the level he had reached as an autodidact is open to question as well. From our point of view it is nevertheless intriguing that Faltin, a versatile musician, a former pupil of Ignaz Moscheles (1794–1870) and a very significant force in Finnish music culture, had a connection with the guitar, at least in his youth. After arriving in Finland, Faltin first worked in Vyborg, moving thirteen years later to Helsinki. His main employment in the capital was as an organist at the cathedral, a position he held for over four decades. A musician of diverse talents, Faltin also worked as an opera conductor, composer and teacher; indeed, he was successor to Fredrik Pacius

¹¹⁷ *Wasa Tidning* 17 June 1894.

(1809–1891) as the Imperial Alexander University's music teacher.¹¹⁸ Among his pupils, the most notable were Martin Wegelius (1846–1906), Robert Kajanus (1856–1933) and Jean Sibelius (1865–1957), the three great reformers of Finnish musical life.

The fact that a number of professional musicians, some quite important in Finnish music history, played the guitar perhaps reflects the instrument's status in the music culture of the nineteenth century: it was quite acceptable to play it. Having said this, the fact that hardly any of these individuals performed publicly also speaks for the guitar's role as a *social* instrument, one that was portable and easy to use for sundry kinds of music making, mainly domestic.

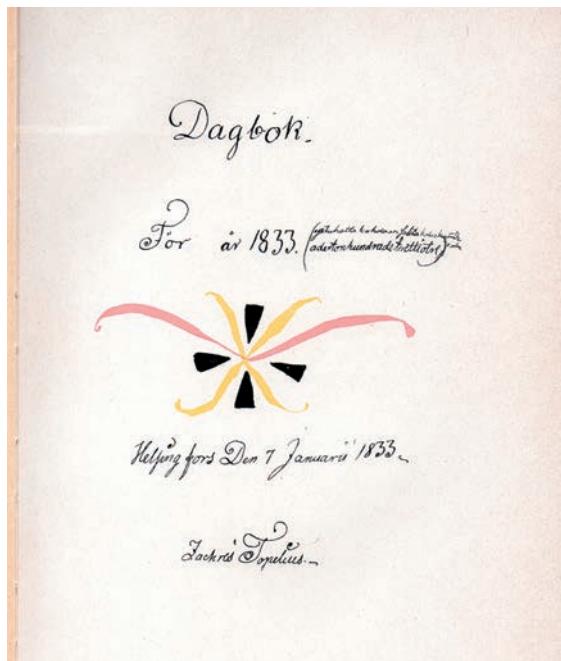
Apart from these guitar-playing musicians, there were also musicians who may not have played the instrument, but certainly had a connection with it. Therefore, even if the abovementioned Pacius was not a guitar player himself, there was one in his family. Before discussing that, we return to Topelius, whose words were cited at the beginning of this chapter.

Writers and composers

Zacharias Topelius (1818–1898), a writer, journalist and rector of the Imperial Alexander University, is a household name in Finland because of his fairy-tale books and historical novel *The Tales of a Barber-Surgeon* (*Välskärin kertomuksia*). Topelius' love of music dates back to his youth, when he took piano lessons. This instrument remained his companion,

¹¹⁸ Fredrik Pacius was a German-born musician who settled in Helsinki in 1834. Apart from being the music teacher of the university, he influenced Finnish musical life in multiple other ways. He was, for instance, a choir and orchestra conductor as well as the composer of the first Finnish opera, *Kung Karls jakt*. For his merits, he is sometimes called the 'Father of Finnish music'. When the university was transferred from Turku to Helsinki, its name was changed from the Royal Academy of Turku to the Imperial Alexander University (*Suomen Keisarillinen Aleksanterin Yliopisto*) in accordance with the new Russian rule. Since 1919, the university has been called the University of Helsinki (*Helsingin yliopisto*).

Figure 13. The title page of Zacharias Topelius' diary for the year 1833.



but he also enjoyed singing and even dabbled in composition throughout his long life.¹¹⁹

Topelius' interest in the guitar is detailed in his diaries, that he kept regularly for a few years from the age of fourteen.¹²⁰ Given their repeated mention of the guitar, they are of obvious interest to the present theme, but Topelius' journals are also more generally considered a unique cultural-historical source. The names of, for instance, the national poet Johan Ludvig Runeberg (1804–1877) – Topelius lived in his household as a young student – and the future statesman Johan Vilhelm Snellman (1806–1881) frequently appear on their pages. Moreover, much of their charm derives from Topelius' exceptionally perceptive understanding of the world and the people around him, a remarkable quality for such a young man.

The entries mentioning the guitar total around two-dozen; as con-

119 Dahlström 1998.

120 Topelius' diaries cover the years 1832–1840, i.e., until he was twenty-three years old.

cern Topelius' own playing, three are worth citing here. The first, from 23 October 1833, discloses that Topelius was in want of a guitar. He writes that 'I drank a cup of coffee and then went to Logren, obtaining a promise to borrow a guitar from Gronow'.¹²¹ The following day he goes to collect the instrument, playing on it 'such sweet sounds as [only] a string could produce'. In March 1834, however, the instrument had to be returned, a fact Topelius lamented by writing that 'our beautiful guitar must be sent back home'.¹²² The use of such expressions as 'sweet sounds' and 'our beautiful guitar' no doubt demonstrates the affection he showed towards the instrument during his formative years. Incidentally, the reason for borrowing a guitar in the first place was a move to an apartment that, unlike the old one, did not have a piano. It is therefore noteworthy that the instrument to replace it was the guitar and not, for instance, the flute, which was very popular among amateurs of the time.¹²³ Perhaps, then, Topelius sought an instrument to use for the accompaniment of songs in social gatherings. Indeed, as we shall soon learn, he did participate in several functions at which guitar music was performed, although we do not know whether he himself played during these evenings.

Unfortunately, this is all we know of Topelius' own guitar playing, and the question about how well or how frequently he played the instrument remains unanswered. This said, the diaries include other entries that reference the guitar. In one of these, perhaps unsurprisingly from the future commentator on the musical events of Helsinki, he expresses his opinion on the quality of another guitarist's performance. On 10 October 1838, Topelius records his assessment of a guitar-accompanied vocal concert given by a certain Lieutenant Rosenbom. The accompanist in this concert was the performer's own wife. Topelius writes:

¹²¹ Logren was a friend of Topelius, but nothing is known of 'Gronow'.

¹²² Topelius 1918a, 142, 194. In original: 'klingade sedan på gitarrn så ljufliga det med en sträng kunde ske'; ' [...] vår vackra gitarr måste hemskickas'.

¹²³ Koponen 2003, 230.

Rosenbom is a handsome fellow who does not sing badly, but slightly artificially [...]. But the wife is a slob, having no voice at all and her accompaniment on the guitar is – at best – mediocre.¹²⁴

In this comment we see that the Finnish writer held a firm opinion on what good guitar playing was like. This is no wonder as he was certainly able to assess others using his own musical knowledge, but Topelius' ideas about competent guitar playing may also have been influenced by his friends, several of whom played the instrument. If he was comparing the talents of Madame Rosenbom to one of his companions, a good choice would have been Jakob Fredrik Blank (1808–1860). Blank was Topelius' roommate in Helsinki and a fairly able player judging by the technically demanding guitar music he acquired at some local auctions.

The other guitar playing members of Topelius' circle of friends were mostly female, among them his future wife, Emilie Lindqvist (1821–1885). In connection with the guitar, however, Josephina Calamnius and Jeana Backman are mentioned more frequently, both relatives of Topelius' mother. On occasion, a young man called Westling is also noted. This is probably Svante Teofil Westling, a student from Central Finland.¹²⁵

Emilie Lindqvist's guitar playing is mentioned only once, in July 1835, when Topelius was back in his home town for the summer. According to the entry, Emilie was visiting Sophie, the sister of Topelius, and 'she played the guitar and sang'.¹²⁶ Emilie also played the piano, so the couple shared an interest in both of these instruments.

Another entry, from a Sunday in November 1834, is interesting as it reports a social gathering at which several guitar players were present. We read that Topelius, Blank and Westling were invited for supper at the house of Baroness Augusta Rosenkampff, the step-sister of the writer's mother. Jeana Backman was also present. The annotation continues: 'Guitar sounds: Westling played and after him Jeana sang

124 Topelius 1921, 379–380.

125 Kotivuori 2005.

126 Topelius, 1920, 106.

and played'.¹²⁷ Thus, four people, including Topelius, who could play the guitar were in the same room at the same time, although apparently only two performed. This was not the only time that the Rosenkampff house served as a venue for guitar music. A few weeks later Topelius and Blank repeated their visit and, although this time the diary entry does not specify who played, perhaps Blank did, since Topelius would certainly have mentioned doing so if he had played himself.¹²⁸

This type of evening gatherings must have been fairly common and Topelius' diaries are valuable in their disclosure of the use of the guitar in these contexts. More broadly speaking, however, the social life that Topelius was able to lead in the capital, with visits and dinners at the houses of prosperous relatives, was rather exceptional. 'Ordinary' students had no-one to go to and were forced to stay in small rented rooms, eating whatever was left of the provisions from their last visit home.¹²⁹

Returning to Jeana Backman, an entry from July 1834 simply states that she played.¹³⁰ In contrast, Josephina Calamnius (1813–1880) is mentioned several times, especially when she accompanied dancing, another of Topelius' great passions. Therefore, although the guitar is not a loud instrument, it was nevertheless used for this purpose, but perhaps only when a piano was not available. Another time this occurred was during a visit to the Collander family, when, apart from 'eating waffles and apples, and drinking wine', people also danced 'to Josephina's guitar'. The dances were waltzes, potpourris and mazurkas, and people had 'a great time'.¹³¹ Josephina Calamnius was probably a fairly proficient player given that she was able to provide this music. Another diary entry also indicates that she played guitar solos.

127 Topelius 1918b, 321.

128 Topelius 1920, 178.

129 Castrén 1951, 493.

130 Topelius 1918b, 256.

131 Topelius 1920, 178.

Josephina's birthday.–She played the guitar.–Then an officer entered, a Finnish Russian, (donner wetter! [sic] they are in my eyes under the real Russians)–He ordered la mademoiselle to sing and play.¹³²

As we can read, this entry was written not only to report upon Josephina's playing, but to record Topelius' discontent with the officer's behaviour. A musical moment was certainly interrupted and, apart from being annoyed by this, we may perhaps also hear a slight political overtone as regards the Russian administration in the writer's voice.

The image painted by the Topelius diaries of the guitar's use in social contexts in the 1830s is highly intriguing because, although no information has been passed down about such practices in social circles other than his own, there is no reason to believe that this particular example of the guitar's usage was in any way unique. In addition, it seems probable that instrumental chamber music with guitar was also cultivated.

As for other writers with an affection for the guitar, the poet Jakob Gabriel Leistenius (1821–1858) makes his sentiments clear in a letter to his sister. Leistenius writes that he 'conjured' such chords from his guitar 'that the soul would dance in you, if you would hear them'. We also read that the guitar was 'the friend of his lonely hours'.¹³³ Leistenius was a talent nurtured by the poet Runeberg, whose advice he, nevertheless, choose not to follow and he died very young.¹³⁴ Topelius called him 'the happy poet' in his funeral speech, which no doubt referred to Leistenius' humorous poems. The idea of he and Topelius sharing views about the guitar, and the prospect that Runeberg heard Leistenius play, is thrilling.

Topelius was not alone in having a guitar-playing wife. A portrait of Nina Martin (1817–1907), the future spouse of Fredrik Pacius, shows

¹³² Topelius 1918a, 175. 'Josephinas födelsedag.–Hon spelte Guitarr.–Då kom dit en officer, en finsk Rysse, (donner wetter! [sic] de stå i mina ögon under de verkeliga Ryssarne)–Han obligerte la mademoiselle att sjunga och spela [...].'

¹³³ *Finsk Tidskrift* June 1892.

¹³⁴ Schoolfield 1993, 327.

that she was also an amateur of the instrument, at least in her youth. This picture, in which Nina is depicted holding a guitar, was painted by J.E. Lindh (1793–1865) and, although the year of its creation is unknown, it precedes her marriage to Pacius in 1842. Nina Martin, the daughter of a civil servant of fairly high standing – he had the honorary title of *valtioneuvos* – did not just play the guitar but was a girl of many artistic interests. She actively participated in the capital's cultural life, sang in oratorios and studied singing privately with Pacius. Not surprisingly, the latter pursuit ended in a romantic relationship between the two, Pacius still being young and unmarried. At first, Nina's father did not approve of his daughter's affection to 'a German fiddler with an uncertain future ahead of him', but in the end he assented to their marriage.¹³⁵ Nothing more is known of Nina Martin's guitar playing, but it is of course quite possible that even when married she sometimes took up the instrument and played privately. By this means, her husband would also have had the chance to hear guitar music.

Even if so, Pacius' first encounter with the instrument was not through his future wife. In fact, knowing the guitar's popularity in Germany, it must have happened while he was still resident there, especially given that Pacius studied with Louis Spohr (1784–1859) in the 1820s, a composer well acquainted with the guitar.¹³⁶ We also know for certain that among Pacius' colleagues in the court orchestra of Stockholm, of which he was a member prior to coming to Finland, were three guitar players: Fredrik Wilhelm Hildebrand, Johan Jakob (Jean) Nagel (1807–1885) and Gustav Brandes (born 1804). Moreover, when Wilhelm Bürow, a Prussian singer and guitarist, who was later to perform in Finland, gave a concert in Stockholm, Pacius was one of the musicians to share the stage with him.¹³⁷

While it is impossible to ascertain how well Pacius knew the instru-

¹³⁵ Vainio 2009, 154–159.

¹³⁶ Spohr used the guitar to accompany a romance in his opera *Zemire und Azor*. During the first decades of the nineteenth century, several of Spohr's *Lieder* were also published with guitar accompaniments, although probably not arranged by the composer. See Spencer 1984.

¹³⁷ Vainio 2009, 53.

ment, a humorous autobiographical article written by one 'Paganini Grönqwist' that was published in two issues of *Helsingfors Tidningar* in 1862 offers a small insight.¹³⁸ Considering Grönqwist's age – he was sixteen by the time of the reported incident – the meeting with Pacius had probably taken place in the late 1830s. The account goes as follows:

One day, in order to have violin lessons, the sixteen-year-old Grönqwist – 'tall, skinny and snub-nosed' – paid a visit to Pacius. The composer started the meeting by enquiring about the young man's former music studies, to which Grönqwist replied: 'I have been my own master'. This seemed to amuse Pacius greatly, who went on by remarking that 'monsieur appears to be very content with his master'. Finally, Pacius invited Grönqwist to demonstrate on a violin resting on a nearby sofa 'what his teacher was good for'. To this our writer had to reply that he did not play the violin, but the guitar, and that he was also fairly talented at whistling. Hearing this, Pacius shook his head impatiently, asking if his guest was familiar with Carulli's guitar method. The interview was rapidly coming to an end when Grönqwist replied: is that printed music? I will never in my life want to have anything to do with that!

If we believe this little story, Pacius knew which method to use when one wanted to learn to play the guitar: the one by Ferdinando Carulli (1770–1841), this being the most popular guitar method of the time. He may have come across it in Germany, or perhaps his future wife had a copy, but the method had also been available in Finnish shops since the early 1830s and, more specifically, in Helsinki since 1833.¹³⁹

We also know that the composer Fredrik Lithander (1777–1823) held an opinion about the guitar because he expresses his views regarding the instrument in a letter sent in March 1821 from St. Petersburg to Jacob Tengström, at this stage Archbishop of Finland.¹⁴⁰ This letter is a late reply to one from the archbishop some five months earlier.

¹³⁸ *Helsingfors Tidningar* 28 and 30 January 1862.

¹³⁹ *Helsingfors Morgonblad* 18 October 1833.

¹⁴⁰ The Manuscript Collection, Jacob Tengström's archive, Coll. 234.5 (NLF).

Lithander's fairly expert opinion leads one to assume that he may have played the instrument himself.¹⁴¹ No sources corroborate this, but because he is said to have been (apart from piano playing) 'skilful on several other instruments', this remains a possibility.¹⁴²

Lithander had become acquainted with Tengström during the period he had spent in Turku prior to his move to St. Petersburg. He worked in the town as an accountant and private piano teacher but, foremost, the paths of the two men crossed at the musical society. The archbishop was an especially prominent figure, being one of the founding members of this organisation, but Lithander also held positions of trust. He sat on the society's board for a while and also served as its librarian. In addition, Lithander was responsible for organising the society's teaching provision for talented youths.

The letter mentioned discusses Karl von Gärtner, a German guitarist of minor repute whom Tengström had heard perform in Turku in late October 1820 and, while it discloses information of the German guitarist, it most importantly shows that the guitar interested the two gentlemen insomuch as to exchange views about it.¹⁴³

It is remarkable that the concert affected the archbishop to the extent that he felt the need to write to Lithander and express his thoughts about Gärtner, who after his sojourn in Finland would play in St. Petersburg. Perhaps the impulse behind this was the fact that Tengström's sentiments were not those of admiration, as we may judge from Lithander's reply. He may even have been slightly irritated and, therefore, it seems somewhat unfair that he asked Gärtner to personally deliver his letter to Lithander.

Half a side of Lithander's four-page reply is dedicated to other questions, including which were the best local 'Flygel- och Tafel-fortepianos', while the rest of it deals with Gärtner and the guitar. This is quite sig-

¹⁴¹ This letter is lost.

¹⁴² Lagus 1890, 24.

¹⁴³ This concert is discussed in Chapter Five. We know that Gärtner was still in Stockholm on 12 October 1820 and given that Tengström's letter is dated '1 November 1820', his concert in Turku must have taken place between these dates. *Dagligt Allehanda* 12 October 1820.

nificant and Lithander apologises for this lengthy account by remarking that 'I felt it my duty to be slightly more verbose than otherwise would have been appropriate' because 'the archbishop has an interest in him [Gärtner]'.¹⁴⁴ Therefore, it seems clear that the main focus of Tengström's letter had also been the German guitarist.

Lithander begins by agreeing 'in all respects' with Tengström's views about the guitar's unsuitability as a concert instrument. Lamentably, there is nothing new here: the two men agree that the instrument is 'unrewarding' when 'treated as a Concert-instrument', but Lithander adds that it possesses 'many graces' when accompanied by a beautiful song.¹⁴⁵ As for Gärtner's playing, Lithander seizes on the German's habit of performing left-hand solos, remarking that using the instrument in this manner only exacerbates its difficulties and degenerates it into a 'nothing among musical instruments'.¹⁴⁶ Lithander assures his colleague that he has tried to make Gärtner understand this but, despite being otherwise really a 'good and modest' person, in musical matters he 'possesses a good deal of self-complaisance'.

Despite the above-mentioned critical observations, Lithander's letter also conveys empathy towards Gärtner calling him 'compliant' and a 'poor fellow', adding that he 'truly does not lack talent'. The Finnish composer's critical opinion expressed at the beginning of his letter about the guitar's suitability as a concert instrument is not repeated here. So he seems to attribute Gärtner's difficulties to the man's poor technical choices rather than seeing them as shortcomings of the guitar itself. Somewhat peculiarly, the praise is not even accompanied by a regret that was common in nineteenth-century reviews: that an otherwise talented individual had chosen the wrong instrument to play. Perhaps, therefore, Lithander's opinion about the guitar was not wholly

144 [...] att jag vågat mig i en så lång detail om v. Gaertner, men som jag tycker att Herr Arkbiskopen interesserar sig för honom, så ansåg jag det för min skyldighet att vara något vidlöttigare i min berättelse än ejdest varit tillåtet'.

145 This is what Lithander writes, although one thinks that the guitar accompanies the song and not vice versa.

146 [...] så förefaller det verkligen till ett intet bland andra musikaliska instrumenters antal' (underlining by Lithander).

nig det rojat, att tidigare affända mitt för, förrän nu.

Herr Arkobiskopens mening om Guitarnens önsk
famhet, bidraller jeg på allt fritt och vis, nemlig den be-
traktad som Concert-instrument. Detta instrument
har sikkert sina flora behag, när det accompagneras
af en vacker sang, eller — i omvänt fortföljande.
Men, när man, som Dr. o. Gæ. Suer gör, annu tillgå-
par nya förmögheter (v.g. att spela eller grämma och
pincera med samma hand) så förfaller det verkeligen
till ett intet bland andra musikaliska instrumentens
antal. — Jeg har, för min s. del, bjudit till att göra
honom uppmärksam den uppå; men så god och mäest
han ej ätt verkeligen tyckes vara, så har han tillika en
god portion af egenkäsk i detta fitt fritt, att traktere
ett instrument. Lika fö entente är han med fitt hör-
lände, som är bra förligt. Det tyckes nästan, som om
han trode, att det vore ett donum naturae, som slott
han och ingen annan af denna vart attas moder, fitt
monopolium uppå. Men olycklighetsvis för honom,
ägde vi här i Petersburg förl flera år tillbakas en
Musikus (Forte-pianist) vid namn Oswald, som excel-
lerade i pianplings konsten vida över honom. Back-
tadt Oswald redan förl många år tillbakas är död,
så levver liksom hans minne annu gaufta lifligt
hos dem, som hört honom i muntra och glada privata
fältskap, men alldrig i publika Concerter. — Utomel.

Figure 14. An extract from Fredrik Lithander's letter to Jacob Tengström
written on 29 March 1821.

negative after all. Incidentally, the letter reveals that he had also heard local guitar players in St. Petersburg, when he mentions one called 'Axionow', who 'in all aspects surpasses Gärtner'.¹⁴⁷

It is clear that Tengström wanted to hear Lithander's opinion about the *guitarist* Gärtner. One gets the impression, however, that the archbishop also had a more personal motivation behind his asking. For, why else would Tengström have bothered with a guitarist whose playing had not impressed him? One hypothesis is that, as a player of the Swedish lute, he may also have played the guitar and, because of this, potentially felt offended by the way Gärtner handled it. Either way, the fact remains that the first Archbishop of Finland held a significant interest in the instrument.

We now turn to Jean Sibelius (1865–1957), whose father, Christian Gustaf, a medical doctor, was an amateur guitar player. Christian Gustaf Sibelius (1821–1868) had picked up this skill as a young man as we know that his younger sister, Evelina, reminisced about how she often fell asleep to her brother's guitar playing.¹⁴⁸ The father Sibelius is known to have played the instrument until his death in the 1860s, but since at that time Jean was only two-years old, the son would certainly have had no memory of his father's playing. After the father's decease, the instrument stayed in the household, but was later donated to Thekla Hultin (1864–1943), the first woman to achieve a Doctor of Philosophy degree in Finland. A photograph taken prior to 1904 shows this same guitar hanging on the wall in the salon of her apartment and it seems logical to assume that she also played the instrument.¹⁴⁹

Our last composer, Armas Järnefelt (1869–1958), was the brother of Sibelius' wife. No source corroborates his guitar playing, but we know that he owned at least two instruments. One of these is presently held in the collection of the Sibelius Academy and another one, presented to him after a concert in Russia in the early twentieth century, is in

¹⁴⁷ Semyon Nikolayevich Aksyonov was a former student of Sychra and, at this point, almost fifty years old. See Prat 1934, 17.

¹⁴⁸ Tawaststjerna 1989, 82–35.

¹⁴⁹ *Helsingin Sanomat* 4 April 2014.



Figure 15. The guitar that belonged to Jean Sibelius' father and, later, to Thekla Hultin. The luthier is unknown.

private hands.¹⁵⁰ Järnefelt appears to have also had a connection to the guitar through his wife Maikki Pakarinen-Järnefelt (1871–1929). She was a famous singer and the promotional material for one of her tours in Germany included a postcard picturing her with a guitar.¹⁵¹ So perhaps she was in fact the actual guitar player of the family. Armas' brother, the painter Eero Järnefelt, also played the instrument, as will be discussed later.

In addition to being a composer, Armas Järnefelt was one of Finland's first successful conductors. As well as numerous engagements in his native country, he also worked as the principal conductor of the Royal Swedish Opera for many years. As a composer Armas found the genius of Sibelius 'confusing, even crippling', but nevertheless performed many of his illustrious brother-in-law's works throughout his life.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ I am grateful to Mårten Falk for this information. The guitar was manufactured by the factory of Julius Heinrich Zimmermann in 1902 and had originally seven strings.

¹⁵¹ *Päivälehti* 1 January 1898.

¹⁵² Lappalainen 2014.

Painters

In paintings from almost any epoch we find images of musical instruments, not least in portraits of individuals who were amateur musicians. Artists would also picture them because of their own affinity to music. We know, for instance, that in Bristol, England, there was in the early nineteenth century an artist community in which the guitar had an important role to play.¹⁵³ Although nothing comparable appears to have existed in Finland, some painters did play the instrument, while others had a connection to it through a family member. That said, to find the former, we have to wait until the end of the nineteenth century and, even then, only four such painters may be named: Ellen Thesleff, Elin Danielson (after her marriage, Danielson-Gambogi), Ester Helenius and Eero Järnefelt.

The first of these, Ellen Thesleff (1869–1954), is one of the most esteemed painters of the Finnish Golden Age.¹⁵⁴ Despite this, she practised music almost as passionately as she did painting and she liked to play the guitar and the piano as well as to sing. Her two sisters, Gerda and Thyra, were music amateurs as well and, what is more, both probably knew how to play the guitar. Not surprisingly, then, music was in one way or another present in many of Thesleff's paintings, two of them actually portraying a guitar.¹⁵⁵ Even while the artist's images may not always explicitly depict music, many of her canvases still allude to this subject. At times the painting's title – *A Chopin Waltz, Barcarole, Composition* – serves this purpose, while occasionally the artist's use of colours alone creates a 'feeling of musical presence'.¹⁵⁶

Nothing much is known of Ellen Thesleff's guitar playing, but several photographs do show her with the instrument. In one we see her

153 Britton 2010.

154 'The Golden Age' approximately covers the years 1870–1910, when the country's collective consciousness and, in particular, its rebellious attitude towards Russian political influence became interwoven in the Finnish arts. On Ellen Thesleff's relation to music, see Konttinen 2007, 35.

155 These paintings are discussed in Chapter Nine.

156 Sarajas-Korte 1998, 44.



Figure 16. Ellen Thesleff playing the guitar in the company of her sisters and some friends.

sitting on the grass strumming it, another one shows the instrument on the wall of her summer house and in a third one we see her plucking the guitar in the company of friends. In this last one, the gentleman sitting next to her also plays the instrument (an old specimen with tuning pegs) and one of the sisters performs on a mandolin (see figure 16). The role the guitar played in Ellen's life was definitely one of joy and entertainment, but since this photograph shows her in front of a music stand with music upon it, we can assume that her attitude to the guitar may have been somewhat ambitious.

Elin Danielson-Gambogi (1861–1919) has also left behind three canvases that portray guitars.¹⁵⁷ An independent soul, she was more at home in Paris, or some other European centre, than in Finland. She differed from her Finnish female colleagues in her urge to live like male painters did: she smoked, drank wine, travelled abroad on her

157 These paintings are discussed in Chapter Nine.

Figure 17. Elin Danielson-Gambogi and her guitar.



own and drove a car along the streets of Paris.¹⁵⁸ In her homeland this unsurprisingly invoked criticism, making Finland a difficult place for her to live. Ultimately, she married an Italian and spent the rest of her life in the homeland of her husband Raffaello Gambogi (1874–1943). Today, Danielson-Gambogi is respected as one of the most representative Finnish exponents of French *plein air* painting, but by the time of her death she was all but forgotten in her home country.

A photograph shows Danielson-Gambogi with a guitar and nothing suggests that the instrument is only there as a prop; the positions of her hands look very appropriate and the way she holds the instrument seems confident. We see that she supports the little finger of her right hand on the instrument's soundboard, which shows significant signs of wear in this spot. This particular guitar must, therefore, have often been played using this technique and it may have been her own.

158 Konttinen 2003, 336.

Supporting the left hand in this manner gradually fell from favour during the second half of the nineteenth century, but some guitar tutors still recommend this practice in its closing decades.¹⁵⁹ Hence, although this picture is the only evidence of Danielson-Gambogi's guitar playing, it indicates that she must have known how to handle the instrument. That said, one gets the sense that for her, as for most in Finland in the 1890s, the instrument was probably one used for diversion, not for practising demanding guitar solos. The photo was probably shot in Turku in the early 1890s in the living room of the painter Victor Westerholm (1860–1919), whom Elin had befriended.¹⁶⁰

Our third painter, Ester Helenius (1875–1955), came from a musical background. Her father in particular, a vicar with an affection to music and an aesthetic, had a decisive influence on the daughter's artistic aspirations. Apart from painting, Ester Helenius was interested in theosophy and Catholicism but she also collected rhymed folk songs.¹⁶¹ It is not known whether she played any other instrument but a photograph and an early biography both corroborate that she indeed played the guitar. According to the latter source, music could even have been a strong rival in her choice of artistic orientation.¹⁶² She herself claimed that the barrier to her pursuit of musicianship had been the difficulties she faced in learning to read music. One assumes, then, that when she did play the guitar it was mainly in accompaniment. This is also suggested by a story Helenius told to her early biographer. We learn that, when residing in Paris, she accompanied herself on the guitar as she sang some of her rhymed folk songs at the request of a French musicologist. The Frenchman was extremely impressed by the 'ancient' music that Helenius performed to her own accompaniment on the guitar, which she had 'of course [...] brought along' to Paris. This fact alone strongly

¹⁵⁹ Holecek 1996, 194–205.

¹⁶⁰ I am grateful to Virve Heininen for this information.

¹⁶¹ Keskitalo 2001, 341. The original Finnish word is *rekilaulu*. Although the first part of this word translates as 'sleigh', the song has nothing to do with this means of transportation. Instead it is a somewhat phonetic translation of a German song-genre called *Reigenlied* or *Reihenlied*, i.e., a round-dance song.

¹⁶² Tirranen 1950, 71.

Figure 18. Ester Helenius playing the guitar. Notice the position of the little finger of her right hand.



indicates the important role the instrument had to play in her life during this early period.¹⁶³

Her playing position in the photograph suggests a degree of competency, but, again, the bracing of her little finger against the soundboard is a somewhat 'archaic' technique, as mentioned above (see figure 18). The guitar is old-fashioned, since it has tuning pegs (unlike the instruments of the Thesleff and Danielson-Gambogi photographs). In addition, it looks slightly small.

The only male artist of this group, Eero Järnefelt (1863–1937), was born to a family in which *fennomania*, a movement aiming for the consolidation of the status of Finnish language and culture in the Grand Duchy of Finland, was strongly supported. His first name was Erik, but as an artist name he preferred to use 'Eero'. The Järnefelt family left a strong mark on Finnish cultural history, given that one of Eero's

163 Helenius s.a., 22.



Figure 19. Eero Järnefelt's painting of the hall of his estate *Suviranta*, the guitar hanging on the left-hand side of the doorway.

brothers, Arvid, was a writer, another was a conductor and composer and their sister, Aino, married Sibelius. The siblings were descended from Baltic Germany on their mother's side – she was in fact a Baroness – and their father originated in Finland. He worked as a governor in several Finnish provinces and at the end of his career was promoted to a senator.¹⁶⁴

Järnefelt was strongly supported by his family in his pursuit of an artistic career. His father urged the young Eero to go and study, first in St. Petersburg and then later in Paris. A drawing survives from his first sojourn in the French capital that depicts his Norwegian painter-friend Carl Dørnberger (1864–1940) playing the guitar.¹⁶⁵ It was during a later visit to Paris in the 1890s, however, that Järnefelt's wife Saimi actually

164 Kontinen 2004, 590–592.

165 See Chapter Nine.

mentions her husband's guitar playing. This occurs in a letter to Eero's sister, Aino, and we read that 'He [Eero] sits here right now and plucks the guitar [...]'¹⁶⁶.

The painter's interest in the instrument was gradually eclipsed by the piano, although a painting from 1916 does indicate that Järnefelt still had a guitar hanging on the wall (see figure 19). This is all we know of Järnefelt's guitar playing, but some of his diary entries disclose that he came across the instrument during visits to Italy and, as mentioned above, his brother Armas may also have been a player of the instrument. Additionally, we know that a domestic worker for the family in the early 1900s, one Fanny Borisoff, played the guitar, as is testified by a photograph.¹⁶⁷

As an artist, Eero Järnefelt is considered 'a sharp-eyed, profound interpreter of human character' and it was with a lyrical, even awe-inspiring, style that he immortalised Finnish landscapes in his many paintings. Järnefelt's art falls somewhere between that of Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905) and Akseli Gallen-Kallela (1865–1931): psychologically he was sharper than Edelfelt but, as an observer he was less subjective than Gallen-Kallela.

These are the four guitar-playing painters of whom we are aware. In addition, three no less eminent painters of the Golden Age, Albert Edelfelt, Akseli Gallen-Kallela and Pekka Halonen (1865–1933), are known to have had guitar playing relatives. The earliest example, however, comes from the von Wright family, whose three sons – Magnus, Wilhelm and Ferdinand – were painters of minutely-accurate representations of animals and plants, for which they are still today known to every Finn. As well as these illustrious brothers, to the family also belonged a pair of twins, two girls named Fika (Frederika, 1818–1902) and Mina (Wilhelmina, 1818–1905). In 1844 the brother Wilhelm (1810–1887) drew their portraits and, as tradition has it that a person is pictured with an object held dear to them, it is not too risky to assume that the

166 Toppi 2009, 105. 'Hän juuri istuu täällä kitarria knäppien [...].'

167 This photograph is reproduced in Toppi 2009, 335.

two girls indeed played the guitar, as both are holding one.¹⁶⁸ At the time of the drawing, they were twenty-six years old, thus implying that, for them, guitar playing was not simply a whim of their earliest youth.

Turning to the first of the three eminent painters just mentioned, Albert Edelfelt produced several canvases that include guitars and Swedish lutes. Intriguingly, save for possibly two watercolours to be discussed in Chapter Nine, a guitar never appears in the handful of paintings that Edelfelt produced of his younger sister Berta (1869–1934), a keen amateur of the instrument. Some solace is to be found in the fact that in one painting she is pictured with a Swedish lute, an instrument she may also have mastered.

Berta, like her brother, was a cultured individual. She translated poetry, offered French lessons (obtaining the title *Officier d'Academie*) and sang in choirs.¹⁶⁹ Furthermore, she also wrote a novel based on the life of the poet Johan Ludvig Runeberg.

A number of newspaper articles disclose that Berta appeared in public to accompany either her own vocals or others on the guitar. The latter was the case for a gala organised by the *Alliance française*. Berta performed together with Mademoiselle Anna Ehrnrooth who sang – strangely enough for a ‘French’ evening – Italian songs.¹⁷⁰ It is probable that she was a more advanced guitarist than an ordinary amateur because she knew how to read music, as the selection of scores that belonged to her suggest.¹⁷¹ Additional information on Berta Edelfelt’s relation to the guitar is provided by a photograph that shows her sitting on a sofa with the instrument on her lap as well as by a guitar that belonged to her, now housed in the Museum of Porvoo.¹⁷²

The photograph dates from the end of the nineteenth century and

¹⁶⁸ These two drawings are discussed in Chapter Nine.

¹⁶⁹ *Hufvudstadsbladet* 25 July 1899.

¹⁷⁰ See, for example, *Päivälehti* 15 December 1892.

¹⁷¹ There are two volumes of Louis-Ferdinand Hérold’s *Ouverture und Lieblingsgesänge aus der komischen Oper Zampa* (A. Cranz in Hamburg) in the Collection of Printed Music at the Sibelius Museum, Turku (no shelf number).

¹⁷² HK10000:2944 (FHA).

Figure 20. Berta Edelfelt posing on a sofa in Haikko with a guitar on her lap.



was shot in Haikko, the Edelfelt summer estate. The guitar is small and, thus, old-fashioned; the bridge pins enhance this impression (see figure 20). She has placed a capo (probably a metal one) on the first fret and the positions of her hands look natural, that of the right hand almost emblematic according to modern standards. One wonders whether she was a natural talent, or if someone had taught her this good hand position? Enlarging the photograph shows that she played without nails.

The guitar housed in the Porvoo Museum looks so similar to the instrument in the photograph that it must be the same one. Someone has incised '1884' onto its soundboard, possibly marking the year that it was purchased.¹⁷³ If Berta owned the guitar at this time, she was only fifteen years old. Since the guitar does not have a label, it is hard to know the year of its manufacture, but the bridge suggests that it is an Austro-German model, and probably German.¹⁷⁴

The question of Berta's possible teacher was discussed earlier and the answer may be a straightforward one: her mother, Alexandra Edelfelt (1833–1901). This hypothesis is based upon a photograph shot in 1892 and in it we see the matriarch of the Edelfelt family playing the

¹⁷³ Porvoo Museum, Item Collection, inv. 34-187.

¹⁷⁴ I am grateful to James Westbrook for suggesting this.



Figure 21. The incision '1884' on the soundboard of Berta Edelfelt's guitar.

guitar on the veranda of the Haikko estate.¹⁷⁵ She holds the instrument on her lap and, like Berta, her hand position looks very natural.

Music making was certainly a common pastime in the Edelfelt summer resort. One reference to this is a newspaper article dating from 1897 which, following eloquent praise of Haikko's surroundings, the house itself and its distinguished patron, mentions that 'over the course of the evening people took walks, had dinner, admired the brilliant Louis-Seize-style furniture and made music'. A few sentences later we learn that 'in the house you do not hear just the piano, but also the guitar'.¹⁷⁶ It seems very probable that Berta or her mother played here; others may well have done so as well, given that Berta was acquainted with several guitar players. In 1895, for instance, an individual called Miss Ester Lucander played the guitar in the same benefit concert that Berta played the mandolin.¹⁷⁷

The second famous painter, Akseli Gallen-Kallela, had a musically-talented wife, Mary (née Slöör, 1868–1947), and although she actually

¹⁷⁵ HK19590619:234 (FHA).

¹⁷⁶ *Nya Pressen* 18 September 1897.

¹⁷⁷ *Päivälehti* 10 March 1895.

trained as a pianist, she also played the guitar. Mary had studied the piano with the great Ferruccio Busoni (1866–1924) himself during his stay in Finland in 1888–1890, whereas the guitar she had, with the help of various guitar methods, learned by herself.¹⁷⁸ Among the printed music Mary left behind one finds Alois Mayer's *Neue praktische und leichtverständliche Schule zum Selbstunterricht*, so this is likely one of the methods that she used.¹⁷⁹ Music was Mary's favourite recreation and she often played whilst her husband painted; this is said to have been indispensable to the artist, whose restless soul this soothed.¹⁸⁰ On such occasions she usually played the piano but, from time-to-time, she also played the guitar; the latter perhaps when an even quieter atmosphere was needed. Interestingly, in the collection of the Gallen-Kallela Museum there is also a book of technical studies for the guitar by Adolph Julius Eggers called *Tekniske studier*. This did not belong to Mary but rather to Gallen-Kallela's sister, Viola. It seems, therefore, that the great Finnish painter had two guitar-playing ladies within his close circle.¹⁸¹

Gallen-Kallela did not only experience the guitar through his wife and sister. He also had a guitar-playing friend from his time spent in Paris, the Norwegian painter Carl Dørnberger. In fact, this Norwegian's guitar may be said to belong to Finnish art history, since Gallen-Kallela has immortalised it in two of his most significant paintings. An additional proof that the Finnish painter was particularly fond of the guitar is that when he invited Dørnberger to Finland he reminded the artist not to forget his instrument.¹⁸²

Pekka Halonen's connection to the guitar is through the sister of his wife, whom we see holding a guitar on her lap in one of the artist's

178 Gallen-Kallela 1964, 64.

179 The Akseli and Mary Gallen-Kallela Library Collection, GKM 5359 (Gallen-Kallela Museum, Espoo).

180 Karvonen-Kangas 1992, 37.

181 The Akseli and Mary Gallen-Kallela Library Collection, GKM 5389 (Gallen-Kallela Museum, Espoo).

182 See Chapter Nine for more information on Dørnberger and his guitar in the paintings of Gallen-Kallela.

most famous paintings, *After the Music Lesson*. Halonen was himself a music lover and his wife Maija, just like Gallen-Kallela's spouse, had also studied the piano, thus sharing this important interest with her husband. She played, and occasionally gave lessons, in the same atelier in which Pekka Halonen painted. Whether guitar sounds were ever heard during the visits of his wife's sister is not known.

Academic amateurs and school boys

In the nineteenth century, music retained a certain relevance in Finnish academic life, with singing being especially popular among its student population. During the first decades of the nineteenth century the popularity of instrumental music similarly grew and by the 1840s it had become an integral part of the soirées of university students' associations.¹⁸³ The appointment of Pacius as the university's music teacher in Helsinki in 1834 further contributed to this expansion because the Academic Orchestra (conducted by Pacius) encouraged many students to play wind and bowed instruments. This, however, did not prevent the guitar from remaining popular as well.

We have to thank the official records of the estate of Meyer's bookshop for the information that survives about the existence of guitar-playing academic amateurs. Among these records, the most important are the catalogue of the shop's stock and the protocols of the auctions at which it was sold in Helsinki and Turku between 1834 and 1842.¹⁸⁴ These demonstrate unequivocally that the majority of the buyers of guitar music in these auctions were students and other academics.

183 Kantola 1953, 29–43.

184 There were two types of auctions. At a general auction all kinds of goods, ranging from underwear to musical instruments, were sold, while books, maps, music and other printed materials were sold almost exclusively at book auctions. Sometimes a private individual's estate included such an extensive library that it was auctioned off, but more generally this type of auction was used to distribute the estate of a bookshop. In both cases a sales catalogue was printed. The survival of these catalogues is of utmost importance, since by comparing these documents with their auction protocols it is possible to determine the item that was sold. This is because the auction protocol only mentions the sales catalogue number of each item, not its title.

Beginning among the higher ranks, Professor Friedrich Argelander (1799–1875) is detailed having bought ten guitar works, but also music for the violin, a string quartet and a few treatises on music.¹⁸⁵ Argelander, therefore, may have played both the violin and the guitar. This combination was not uncommon and the history of the guitar has many examples of persons who mastered both instruments, Paganini being the most prominent. However, having no other proof that Argelander actually played the guitar, he may have purchased the material for his wife (in 1835, the year of the purchase, their children were too young). The guitar music included works by Mauro Giuliani (1781–1829) and Leonhard von Call (1767–1815), a French version of the guitar method by (André-Joseph?) Fauvel and several duos for violin and guitar by Joachim Pettoletti (1792–?) and Francesco Molino (1768–1847).¹⁸⁶ All of these works require an above-average knowledge of guitar technique, suggesting that they were acquired for a relatively advanced player.¹⁸⁷

Argelander, a German by birth with a Finnish grandfather, worked between 1828 and 1837 as a university professor of astronomy in Helsinki, but then returned to his native land where he forged a most brilliant career.¹⁸⁸ He is said to have been a man who defended progressive values, as opposed to some of his colleagues who were accused of cowardice and conservatism in their relations with the Russian authorities.¹⁸⁹ August Schauman (1826–1896), the chronicler of all possible aspects of everyday life in Helsinki, provides yet another glimpse of Argelander's character, mentioning that his move to Bonn provoked 'general longing and woe'.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁵ ARPH, Ca:33 (HCA).

¹⁸⁶ The title page of this method gives the author's name as 'M. Fauvel'. This may stand for 'monsieur' and in that case the author could be André-Jose(ph) Fauvel ('l'ainé'), a violinist and composer who wrote several method books. Van Boer 2012, 189.

¹⁸⁷ An obvious proviso to this statement is that people in the nineteenth century, just as today, certainly also bought music that was too difficult for them to play.

¹⁸⁸ Autio 2004.

¹⁸⁹ Castrén 1951, 477.

¹⁹⁰ Schauman 1967, 148–149.



Figure 22. A lithograph of Friedrich Argelander made in February 1837, some months before he left Finland.

While Argelander bought ten works, three students were in need of far more: around two-dozen each. One of them has already been introduced in this chapter, Jakob Fredrik Blank, the friend of Topelius. While the information on Blank is relatively substantial, we know next to nothing about the two other students, ‘Dahl’ and ‘Fabritius’. Their identities alone are somewhat challenging to ascertain as the auction protocols do not list their first names.

The most likely candidates for ‘Stud. Dahl’ are one of two brothers, Oskar Emil or Joakim Erik, sons of assistant judge Samuel Dahl of the Court of Appeal in Turku.¹⁹¹ Between them, the scale tips slightly in favour of Oskar Emil because it must have been him who bought a guitar in an earlier auction of 1832, at which time Joakim Erik was

¹⁹¹ Kotivuori 2005. The original Finnish reads: *hovioikeuden asessori*.

not yet enrolled as a student in Helsinki.¹⁹² The identity of 'Fabritius' is equally hard to establish, the choices being either Gabriel Johan or Fredrik Vilhelm.¹⁹³ The father of the latter was a chaplain, whereas Gabriel Johan was the son of a sexton. If we assume that music ran in the family, Gabriel Johan could be the man that we are after.

Dahl's acquisitions were technically not quite as demanding as the works that Argelander bought, whereas those 'Stud. Fabritius' was interested in were fairly demanding. For instance, he bought a large-scale work by Anton von Gräffer, *Gran Fantaisie*, op. 15, and ten Giuliani works. Additionally, both Dahl and Fabritius wanted Anton Diabelli's (1781–1858) *7 Préludes progressifs* and Giuliani's op. 57, *12 Walzer*, which corroborates that more than one copy of at least some works was available.

As for Jakob Fredrik Blank, neither the number of acquired guitar works nor their respective difficulty cause him to stand out from the aforementioned students. The reason that he becomes more prominent than the others is simply that thanks to Topelius' diaries we know more about him. Topelius and Blank (who was ten years older than the writer, but still a student) shared a room in Helsinki and, in light of their daily dealings, Topelius mentions Blank regularly and also occasionally refers to his guitar playing.

Through the Finnish writer's diary entries we learn that he clearly enjoyed Blank's company and one is not surprised at that, since he appears to have been an amiable man, ready for fun and games, once even dressing up as a woman in an elaborate prank.¹⁹⁴ They went fishing, attended balls and drank punch together, and in true companionable fashion, they were also known to play practical jokes on each other. One example of a joke at Blank's expense occurred on his name day in 1835, when Topelius and his sister Sophie congratulated him 'dressed up as musicians' (whatever that means), performing 'the most dishar-

¹⁹² ARPH, Ca:31 (HCA). This was an auction of the instrument maker Anders Lindros' estate.

¹⁹³ Kotivuori 2005.

¹⁹⁴ Topelius 1918b, 261.

monious tones' on a broken violin and an out-of-tune guitar.¹⁹⁵ Topelius may have been the one upon the guitar because nothing is known of his violin playing – not that any playing skills would have been required on this occasion.

Blank's acquisitions (in 1835 and 1836) comprised almost singularly of solo music: a dozen of Giuliani works (most notably the *Sonata*, op. 15), *Exercices* by Carl Blum (1786–1844) and three works by Carulli, including the *Sonata*, op. 25. Additionally, he purchased the Spanish edition of the Fauvel method. One wonders whether he could actually read Spanish or if he bought this edition because it happened to be the only one available, Professor Argelander having bought the method's French edition in the same auction. The works that Blank purchased are demanding, suggesting a much more competent player than the average amateur. It is also thrilling to think that Topelius may have heard Blank practising some of these works, perhaps even the *Sonata*, op. 15 by Giuliani?

Blank also sang to his own guitar accompaniment. Topelius mentions this in his diary entry from 16 August 1834, writing that 'We and our guests spent the day in; Mr Blank sang and played the guitar in the gazebo'.¹⁹⁶ The visits Topelius and Blank paid in November 1834 to the Rosenkampff house are mentioned above. During one 'music was made mainly on the guitar and piano' and Blank 'hummed' a popular melody.¹⁹⁷

During his time in Helsinki, Blank did not just play the guitar, but in fact studied medicine. After his graduation, he worked as an administrator for the National Board of Health in Helsinki and, at the end of his career, he took up a post as physician in Uusikaarlepyy, a town near his native Vaasa. Coincidentally, or perhaps not, Topelius' father had been responsible for the same post some years earlier.

The rest of the students, around a dozen, bought fewer items and, save for what the university register informs us, very little else is known

¹⁹⁵ Topelius 1920, 112–113.

¹⁹⁶ Topelius 1918b, 267.

¹⁹⁷ Topelius 1918b, 330.

of these individuals. One aspect we can ascertain is that some of them came from prestigious families, such as the students Lagus and Spåre. Of interest is also a student called Blåfield because he bought two works of high technical difficulty: Dionisio Aguado's (1774–1849) *Trois Rondo brillants*, op. 2 and Carulli's variations on *La Molinara*, op 107. Yet one further student, Fredrik Stenvik (1810–1845), is deserving of comment. He was one of the best Finnish amateur musicians of the 1830s and, as a flute player, a key member of the Academic Orchestra. Despite his infamously mercurial temper, which often got him into trouble, Stenvik's talent ensured that Pacius was among his most magnanimous patrons. The span of his life was short and filled with misfortune. His final years were spent in a mental asylum in Turku, where he died aged only thirty-four.¹⁹⁸ Stenvik bought five works in the aforementioned auctions: three for solo guitar, one for a guitar duo and one for flute and guitar. No sources document his guitar playing but we at least know that he was acquainted with some others who played it, among them his school friend, the future explorer Georg August Wallin (1811–1852).¹⁹⁹ Stenvik also befriended Downer, together with whom he once gave an *ex tempore* concert in a rowing-boat on the river *Aura* in Turku.²⁰⁰ The instruments on which the music was performed are not known, but if they did not perform duos on their main instruments, the flute and the violin, perhaps Downer accompanied Stenvik's flute on the guitar or possibly Stenvik provided the accompaniment, if he indeed was also a guitar player.

While in the Meyer auctions in Helsinki the majority of the buyers of guitar music were university students, in those organised in Turku we find several school boys who are each referred to as a 'gymnasist' (sixth former) in the protocol.²⁰¹ Some thirty works for the guitar were

198 Lehtonen 2008, 41–45.

199 *Suomalainen Virallinen Lehti* 11 January 1872. Wallin mentions the instrument several times in his journals. He records, for instance, how he was involved in locating a second-hand guitar for a friend while in London. Wallin 2015, 209–210.

200 Marvia, 1958, 61.

201 ARPT, P1a 45, 19V; P1a 47, 19V (TCA).

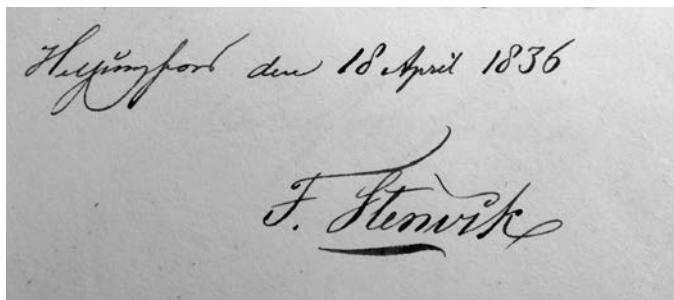


Figure 23. Fredrik Stenvik's signature.

put up for sale and, again, not a single one remained unsold. From the dozen buyers or so that are listed, a school boy 'Nummeli' stands out as he alone was responsible for the purchase of one third of the pieces that were offered. He was one Josef Nummeli who, after matriculating with the highest marks of his cohort, went to study law in Helsinki.²⁰² The most interesting of his acquisitions, both from the point of view of supply and demand, is Diabelli's *Grand Trio*, op. 62 for three guitars because it is quite fascinating that a school boy acquired such a challenging large-scale work but also intriguing that Meyer's shop had it among its selection. This of course leads us to question the identity of the two other amateurs who, together with Nummeli, could have been able to meet the requirements of Diabelli's opus. This obviously remains unanswered, although some of the other school boys with an interest in the guitar are a possibility. Yet another possible choice is a certain 'lector Ahlstedt' because he purchased guitar music in the same auctions as Nummeli and was a teacher of mathematics in the latter's gymnasium.²⁰³ Another noteworthy purchase was completed by 'gymnasist' Lindeqvist, who acquired the only work by Fernando Sor (1778–1839) that is known to have been available in Finland during the entire nineteenth century. Perhaps it comes as no surprise that this was the Catalan composer's op. 9, these being his still today very popular variations based on a Mozart theme.

Academic amateurs are also listed as buyers in many other auc-

202 Kotivuori 2005.

203 Kotivuori 2005.

Figure 24. Adolf Moberg, once the rector of the Imperial Alexander University, bought some guitar music by Küffner at an auction in Helsinki in 1875.



tions of Helsinki and Turku. The purchased items were usually guitars because printed music for the instrument was very rarely put up for sale, the auctions of private estates or book shops offering the only exception to this rule. From the material that survives about these two types of auction, we know, for example, that there was a copy of Carulli's method and some chamber music with guitar in the personal library of Ulrik Wallenius, teacher of Arabic and other exotic languages at the university in 1874.²⁰⁴ Wallenius was a bachelor, so he may very well have acquired the guitar music for his own use. One of the buyers in the auction of Wallenius' library was Adolf Moberg (1813–1895), a man who had a brilliant academic career. He was a professor of physics, rector of the Imperial Alexander University and, towards the end of his life, a Counsellor of State (*valtioneuvos*). Moberg purchased a *Serenade* for flute (or violin) and guitar by Joseph Küffner (1776–1856).²⁰⁵ At this time

204 Wallenius 1874, 60–62.

205 ARPH, Ca:69 (HCA).

all of Moberg's children were grown-up but his second wife could have been the guitar player of the household if the professor did not play the instrument himself.

Another character of interest is Professor Johan Magnus Tengström (1793–1856), one of the sons of the archbishop who has already been mentioned on a number of occasions. Tengström bought a guitar in 1834, suggesting that the interest in plucked instruments had not yet dried up in the family.²⁰⁶ Knowing his father's affection for music, it is quite possible that Johan Magnus played the guitar himself, but if not, his wife is another candidate, given that their sons would have been too young.²⁰⁷ Judging by its price, the instrument was a relatively modest one.

In conclusion, guitar playing was popular in Finland's university sphere, if not throughout the century at least during its first half. A noteworthy point that still requires mention is that following their graduation, students may have, in their move from city to country, played an important role in the dissemination of guitar culture in Finland if they indeed upheld their youthful enthusiasm for the instrument in their later lives.

Lawyers, civil servants and other 'fine folk'

Aside from university professors and students, we also find guitar amateurs among civil servants, medical doctors, lawyers and officers; even some noblewomen played the instrument.

Carl Mauritz Crusell, a licentiate of philosophy, school teacher and member of the university's administration is one such example. When he died in 1852, aged forty, his personal library included a copy of Carulli's method.²⁰⁸ For our purposes, however, a more noteworthy civil-servant was Nils Henrik Pinello (1802–1879), a cultural personal-

206 ARPH, Ca:32 (HCA).

207 Autio 2004.

208 Crusell 1853, 11.

Figure 25. Nils Henrik Pinello, a versatile cultural personality, also owned a guitar.



ity who is still remembered today. At an auction in Turku in 1850, he bought a guitar worth over five silver roubles, this being the most money we know to have been paid at the auctions of either Turku or Helsinki throughout the entire century.²⁰⁹ One may therefore assume that the instrument in question was not only exceptional, but that Pinello also had high requirements for the quality of his guitar. The idea that he indeed was a player of the instrument is supported by the fact that around thirty years later, at the time of his death, Pinello still owned a guitar. Confusingly, however, this instrument sold for less than ten per cent of the price of his '1850' model and it therefore seems unlikely that we are discussing the same article.²¹⁰ If this is the case, however, it speaks of a tremendous drop in the esteem of, and demand for, guitars in Turku.

Posterity remembers Pinello for his early work in state administra-

209 ARPT, P1a 59, 20 I (TCA). The reader is reminded that a complete run of the Turku auction protocols has not been scrutinised. See the Preface for more information on this matter.

210 ARPT, P1a 91, 20 V (TCA).

tion and his political activities, which included participation as a delegate in the diets of 1863, 1867 and 1872. More importantly, Pinello was a writer and journalist engaged in numerable cultural projects, including writing an opera libretto for the composer Axel Gabriel Ingelius. This provided him with an additional link to the guitar, for, as mentioned above, Ingelius also played the instrument.²¹¹

As for medical doctors, one called Robert Reinhold Ringbom, who died very prematurely in Helsinki, left behind two violins and a guitar. Since he was a bachelor, he must have played the instruments himself. An interesting detail is that when Ringbom commenced his studies in Turku, Blank was also a student at the institution.²¹² Considering how small the university community was at this time, it is virtually impossible that their paths would not have crossed; moreover, they both studied medicine.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the lawyer J.J. Pippingsköld was a player of the Swedish lute, but the damage lists of the Great Fire of Turku disclose that he also owned guitar music.²¹³ Pippingsköld was a bachelor at the time of the fire (he married later), meaning that the music must have been his own because otherwise he could not have claimed compensation for it. Another representative of the state administration was Court Counsellor Pierre Devienne.²¹⁴ He sold a guitar in an auction in 1860 and, if he was not a player of the instrument, he had certainly come into contact with it having a few years earlier lived in the same courtyard as the guitar teacher Eduard Heinrichsohn (1828–1894).²¹⁵

The auction protocols also list several Russian officers as buyers and sellers of guitars. Finnish officers owned guitars as well, Arvid von Cederwald being one of them. He owned two at the time of his

²¹¹ Ingelius' guitar activities will be discussed in Chapter Four.

²¹² PI, Ec:15, no. 1184 (HCA).

²¹³ Dahlström 1990, 49.

²¹⁴ 'hovråd', 'hovineuvos'.

²¹⁵ ARPH, Ca:52 (HCA); *Helsingfors Tidningar* 8 October 1856.

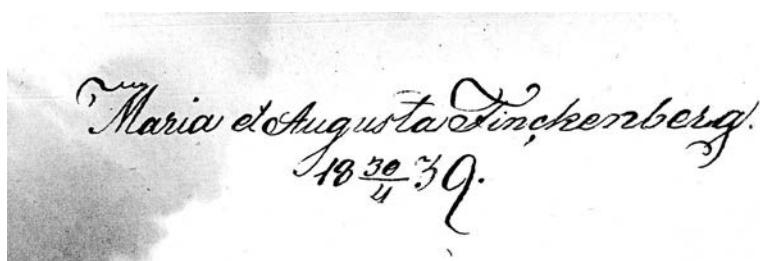


Figure 26. A signature from a copy of Ferdinando Carulli's guitar method showing that its ownership was shared by two ladies, Maria and Augusta Finckenberg.

death and, judging by the money for which his guitars sold, both were reasonably decent instruments.²¹⁶

As well as being an officer, Cederwald was a nobleman, and not the only person of noble status with an interest in the guitar. This is corroborated by two extant copies of Carulli's method now held at the Sibelius Museum that are signed by three ladies of noble birth.²¹⁷ The first one reads on its title page 'Maria Hellens, 1836' and 'Maria de Hellens' on its second. This signature indicates that its namesake was a relative of Carl Niclas Hellenius, ennobled in 1816 when the surname was changed accordingly to 'de (von) Hellens'. The second copy was signed on 30 April 1839 by two sisters, Maria and Augusta Finckenberg. Their father, Bernd Fredrik Finckenberg (1780–1853), was a knight and at the end of his career he was appointed as the Vice President of the Court of Appeal (*hovioikeus*).²¹⁸ One can assume that both of the sisters played the guitar because they each signed this copy of the Carulli method.

²¹⁶ ARPH, Ca:36 (HCA).

²¹⁷ Collection of Printed Music, Sibelius Museum, Turku (without shelf number).

²¹⁸ Kotivuori 2005; Wasastjerna 1916, 186.

Other guitar amateurs

Merchants, craftsmen and people from the lower classes

One large group that both sold and bought guitars in the auctions of Helsinki were merchants and the shops they ran ranged from grocery stores to confectioneries and cigar shops. W.M. Koch, the owner of the latter, bought two guitars in 1851 and yet another in 1856, the confectioner Johan Kestly having also purchased one far earlier in 1830.²¹⁹ Despite the enthusiasm demonstrated by these merchants, it is reasonable to assume that there was no special interest in guitar playing among this group. Instead, it seems more probable that, although certainly some must have bought guitars for personal use, a great majority of merchants acquired the instrument for reselling.

As for the rest, craftsmen who bought guitars range in their trades from carpenters and cabinetmakers to goldsmiths, cobblers and tailors. It is hard to bring anyone into focus, but perhaps a tailor's apprentice by the name of Saurén is as good an example as any of how things could sometimes go wrong. In 1850 Saurén bought a guitar, a mirror and a few other items in an auction in Helsinki but the protocol of one organised a year later discloses that he had been unable to pay for this purchase. Consequently, to cover the debt the items he had acquired, the guitar included, were auctioned off. The money this sale raised, however, amounted to only half of what poor Saurén owed, leaving him with a debt of almost two silver roubles, and, obviously, no guitar.²²⁰

People from the lower classes are seldom mentioned in our sources; when they are, they are prison guards, waiters, sheet metal workers and such. However, one group in particular stands out: *waktmästare* (janitors). Although the reason for this is unknown, several such individuals bought guitars at auction, with one janitor called Öhman being especially active. He acquired eight instruments within eleven years

219 ARPH, Ca:30, 46 and 48 (HCA).

220 ARPH, Ca:45 (HCA).

(between 1840–1851).²²¹ The most plausible explanation for this accumulation is that Öhman was engaged in small-scale trade. Interestingly, not all of his guitars were cheap ones. For some our janitor had paid as much as two-and-a-half silver roubles, well above the average selling price. The probate inventories of Helsinki similarly only list two or three individuals from the lower classes. Again, one is a janitor called Robert Nummelin, who died a bachelor in 1853, leaving behind a guitar and a violin.²²²

The Temperance movement and the Salvation Army

During the second half of the nineteenth century, following a gradual softening of restrictions on political and ideological activities, several social movements came to set foot in Finland. Of these, the Temperance movement, and the Salvation Army in particular, found the guitar to be a powerful tool by which to spread their message. The advertisements for the meetings of these two organisations, as well as an array of other social movements (often political in character), suggest that there were an increasing number of people playing the guitar at such occasions. Unfortunately, most of these people remain anonymous. The guitar's role in these activities is discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

WOMEN AS GUITAR PLAYERS

In the nineteenth century, for as long as the guitar managed to resist the increasing popularity of the piano, an important share of its amateur players in Europe were women. The reason for this was not so much the charm of the guitar but the fact that musical instruments were still at this time categorised into those which were and were not

221 The first one is reported in ARPH, Ca:36 (HCA), and the last one in ARPH, Ca:45 (HCA).

222 PI, Ec:23, no. 3053 (HCA).

appropriate for the ‘fairer sex’.²²³ For instance, singing was acceptable for both men and women, whereas instruments that required one to depart from a graceful pose, such as wind instruments (the use of lips) and most other orchestral instruments, were judged to be inappropriate for a woman to play. Consequently, the ones recommended for females – in fact, those left over for them – were the harpsichord, harp and lute, of which the latter, following its fall in favour, was replaced by the guitar.²²⁴ In accordance with these ideas, the pursuit of music as a profession by women was, in reality, forbidden. Thus, those of *le deuxième sexe* were condemned to practise their instruments in private. This inferior status finds its origin in the idea of a woman’s subservience to men, situating her at home rather than in the public gaze. Away from the ‘evil’ world, women were thought to flourish in domestic surroundings and were expected to bring gentleness, graciousness and pleasantness into the everyday life of their husbands. Moreover, the nowadays highly offensive view that women were not capable of attaining higher levels of education prevented them from having the opportunity to study. This, unfortunately, extended to the study of music.

In Finland, the situation with regard to the practise of music by women was much as it was in the rest of Europe: women played instruments in private settings and some gave music lessons, but performing female musicians were few and far between, especially during the first half of the century. As for female interest in guitar playing specifically, and how the Finnish situation corresponded to that of the rest of Europe, it is difficult to reach a conclusive answer. We know already that there were female painters, painters’ and composers’ wives, women within Topelius’ circle and others still who all played the instrument. Moreover, it is perhaps not a coincidence that the few extant manuscripts and signed copies of printed guitar music also all originally belonged to women. One of them is in the hand of Maria Louise Clasén (1821–1890), daughter of the *cittara* amateur Sophia Clasén (mentioned in

223 For a general discussion on this subject, see Hoffmann 1991.

224 Britton 2010, 79.

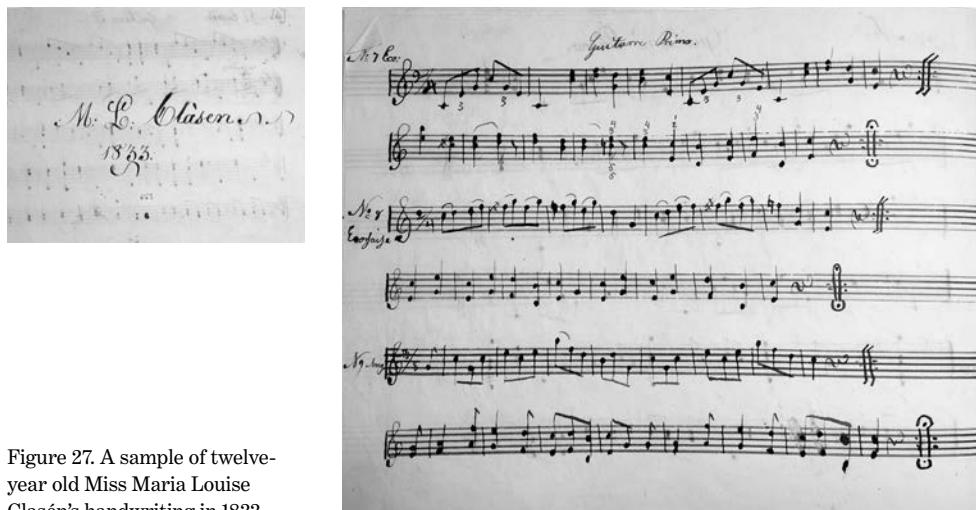


Figure 27. A sample of twelve-year old Miss Maria Louise Clasén's handwriting in 1833.

the previous chapter).²²⁵ Its date, '1833', shows that Maria Louise played the guitar from an early age.²²⁶ At this point in time she was just twelve years old, a fact that her handwriting also corroborates. Hence, we see that even young girls played the instrument in Finland.²²⁷

Trying to pin down the nature of women's relationship with the instrument through auction material does not help either, since auction houses were primarily a male domain. That said, it was not entirely unprecedented for women to attend and, although most of them were merchants, on occasion a 'damsel' is recorded as having honoured an auction with her presence.²²⁸ Those who bought guitars could have been

²²⁵ Maria Louise Clasén married Emil Westerlund in 1842 (Linjama-Mannermaa 2018b).

Their son, Robert Emil Westerlund, acquired Anna Melan's music shop in Helsinki in 1897 (together with Konrad Georg Fazer) and they developed it into a successful business that is still in operation today. The manuscripts in the Sibelius Museum in Turku were a donation by the Westerlund Estate in 1932.

²²⁶ Collection of Manuscripts at the Sibelius Museum, Turku (no shelf number).

²²⁷ Mary Jane Burdett was a student of Fernando Sor in England at the age of nine or ten. Page 2013, 557–569.

²²⁸ A 'damsel' ('mamsell' in Swedish, 'mamselli' in Finnish) was an unmarried woman, not necessarily a young one. Many 'damsels' instructed privately to make ends meet. One or two may even have carried out other small-scale trades on the side.

teachers or simply amateurs of the instrument. This second instance was perhaps more often the case, since none of the ‘damsels’ of the Helsinki auctions are known to have given guitar lessons.

Further indication of women’s interest in the instrument may be revealed by the extant guitars of Finnish makers. Out of the eight surviving instruments, six can be classified as ‘female’ models due to their approximately sixty-centimetre scale lengths. If they were indeed intended for women to play upon, we may ask whether the high proportion of small models that survive is coincidental or if it indicates that women were an important clientele of local guitar makers and, consequently, formed a significant group among Finland’s amateur players.

In sum, although no definite answer may be given, Finnish women had an, if not dominant, at least significantly active role in the country’s guitar culture.

A LOOK ACROSS THE BORDERS

Although some professional musicians played the guitar, generally speaking there were few paragons to draw inspiration from as a Finnish amateur. We know that a breath of fresh air arrived in Finland in the form of Karl von Gärtner, who the amateurs of Turku had the brief chance to hear perform in 1820. Other than von Gärtner, however, there are few other musicians who can be added to this list. In addition, compositions or guitar methods by Finnish guitarists are practically non-existent in the nineteenth century. Thus, from the point of view of an amateur guitarist, both Russia and Sweden were livelier and more nourishing environments.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, foreign players began to visit Russia at the end of the eighteenth century, and the turn of the century did not bring an end to this trend. In fact, some of those who took the journey even made Russia their permanent place of residence.

Without question, the most illustrious visit was made by Fernando Sor, whose three-year sojourn in the Eastern Empire began in late 1823. During his stay Sor performed in noble houses and before the

Imperial family on several occasions, even having the honour to compose a march for the funeral service of Tsar Alexander I.²²⁹ Although Sor was no doubt impressed by Russia, he in turn made an impact on its local guitar-scene as is evidenced by the transcriptions of his guitar music for the Russian seven-string instrument.²³⁰ In March 1826, when attending the funeral service of the recently deceased Tsar in St. Petersburg, Sor came very close to the Finnish border, which was then only a few dozen kilometres away. It is titillating to imagine that he may have stepped on Finnish soil, perhaps craving a little *paseo* in the countryside? That said, it is very possible that some Finns could have heard the great Catalan play *in situ* because several thousand were residing in the town in the 1820s.²³¹

During the first decades of the nineteenth century, Marco Aurelio Zani de Ferranti (1801–1878), a player and composer of considerable repute, although not quite of Sor's calibre, also resided in Russia.²³² A guitarist of at least equal note was Antoine de Lhoyer (1768–1852) who spent the years 1803–1812 in St. Petersburg, where he offered music lessons.²³³ Yet another musician who is worth mentioning is Mauro Giuliani's son, Michele (1801–1867), who stayed in the Russian capital while visiting his uncle Nicola (1778–?).²³⁴ In addition to these, numerous lesser-known players, mainly from German-speaking Europe, stayed in the country for shorter or longer periods. It is impossible that these great guitarists would not have also performed in the company of Russian amateurs, who would have through this had the chance to hear some of the epoch's great players.

229 Jeffery 1994a, 81.

230 Ophee 2003, 96–103.

231 Engman 2004, 112. The majority of these people were workers and craftsmen, but there were also some educated individuals and army officers among them.

232 Van de Cruys 2005, 20–27.

233 Stenstadvold 1997 and 2007.

234 A report on the musical life of St. Petersburg, published in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (October 1823), praises Nicola as one of the most eminent local singing teachers, while his nephew Michele is referred to as the town's best guitarist and singer. Heck 1995, 15–16.

Although its seven-string guitar was the native speciality, there were some Russian advocates of the Western guitar variant as well. One of the most well-known was Nikolai Petrovich Makaroff (1810–1890), who is remembered today for having organised a competition for guitar composers in Brussels in 1856. Among its most illustrious entrants were Napoléon Coste (1805–1883) and Johann Caspar Mertz (1806–1856).

In comparison with Russia, Swedish guitar culture does not appear quite as glamorous and international. Nevertheless, several guitarists, both native and foreign, took Sweden as their country of residence. Of these, the German Fredrik Wilhelm Hildebrand (1785–1830) – violinist of the *Hofkapelle*, composer and arranger of guitar music – was the most important. Another individual of note was Jean Nagel (1807–1885) who, like Hildebrand, was a violinist and guitarist. Of the local players, Jöns Boman (1798–1849) and a later guitarist, Oscar Ahnfelt (1813–1882), deserve mention. Ahnfelt began his career in the 1830s and must have been an accomplished player, as suggested by a concert programme of his, including a *Duo Concertante* for flute and guitar by Giuliani and works by Mertz.²³⁵ Interestingly, Ahnfelt used a ten-string guitar, which he claimed to be of his own invention.

There were also visiting guitarists, such as Karl von Gärtner, who stayed in Sweden prior to his arrival in Turku in 1820. Similarly, only a few years later the Italian brothers Joachim (Gioacchino) and Pietro Pettoletti (1795?–1870?) played concerts in Stockholm and Uppsala. Following this, Joachim spent the rest of his days in Denmark, while Pietro settled in Russia, making him a member of its guitar culture as well as that of Sweden.²³⁶

In Sweden, just as in Finland and the rest of Europe, the repertoire became more popular as the century progressed. Although this did not entail a complete disappearance of the guitar, it was thereafter considered a ‘maid’s instrument’. Moreover, at the end of the nineteenth century, just as in Finland, it became favoured by religious movements

235 Sparr 2018d.

236 Møldrup 1997, 74–76.

across Sweden, thus acquiring the popular (but somewhat derogatory) nickname *Jesusknäppa*.²³⁷ Nevertheless, not all guitar amateurs had religious inclinations and one who certainly did not was the writer August Strindberg. Apart from playing the instrument, the playwright also wrote one song with guitar accompaniment.

In this respect, Finland appears peripheral: there are no visiting artists of note and the known local guitarists did not meet the same professional, or even semi-professional, standards that we find elsewhere at the same time. On their home ground, therefore, Finnish amateurs had fewer exemplars than their counterparts in neighbouring countries. That said, one must remember that people from the upper classes were able to travel often and, as such, had exposure to musical influences elsewhere. To what extent this actually had an effect on the Finnish guitar scene is impossible to say but, as the above discussion has demonstrated, there were many individuals who found the instrument inspiring and sought to learn to play it.

237 The word 'knäppa' means plucking.

CHAPTER THREE

‘Dear Mr Meyer, do you have any guitar music by Joseph Küffner?’ – The repertoire of the Finnish amateurs

In the bookshop of Friedrich Anton Meyer (1771–1831) in Turku in the late 1820s the question above would have been answered in the affirmative, since the German composer’s *Pot-pourri en Quintuor*, op. 156 was among its selection of guitar music. To a local client interested in this repertoire the answer would not have come as a surprise because the shop had advertised music for the instrument for the first time in 1815.²³⁸ Although no sources corroborate it, some may well have been on offer when the shop was opened two years earlier.

BOOKSHOPS AND OTHER CHANNELS FOR ACQUIRING PRINTED MUSIC

It was in a bookshop that printed music (and occasionally musical instruments) could be purchased in early nineteenth-century Finland because music shops were only founded towards the century’s mid-point. Moreover, an unfortunate hindrance for many of the country’s music amateurs was that during the first decades of the century bookshops were a luxury in just a handful of towns. The situation improved gradually but not radically, and even by 1845 there were no more than a good dozen of them in the whole country. In many towns, therefore,

²³⁸ Åbo Allmänna Tidning 9 December 1815.

music amateurs were unable to have direct access to printed music.²³⁹ This does not mean, however, that an individual would have been completely deprived of the opportunity to acquire printed music because he or she could procure it using the delivery service that some Finnish bookshops offered for their provincial clients. One of these was the *Wasenii bok- och musikaliehandel* in Helsinki, which is known to have established a network of representatives in a wide range of Finnish towns soon after its opening in 1823. In addition, some foreign bookshops and publishers also had authorised dealers in Finland.²⁴⁰

A less direct channel for acquiring printed music was via foreign music shops. Although we can only guess how many private persons utilised this method, Jakob Tengström's estate includes a catalogue of the Amsterdam-based music shop of Jean Julien Hummel in which the future archbishop seems to have pencil-ticked the works that he wanted to acquire or, possibly, had already ordered. Unsurprisingly, these include many works for the flute, his favourite instrument.²⁴¹

One more option was to attend an auction of either a bookshop's estate or the private library of a deceased person. As regards the guitar, a prime example of the former are the Meyer auctions discussed in Chapter Two. The downside was that book auctions were organised infrequently and, as their focus was of course on books, the selection of printed music available could be extremely poor at times. This was even more true of general auctions – those selling sundry kinds of goods – where printed music was only exceptionally available. Again, if one did not restrict himself to local auctions, the desired material could be acquired from another town or even abroad. We know of no guitar music purchased this way, but the correspondence between J.H. Schröder, a Swedish librarian and professor of archaeology, and J.J. Pippingsköld shows that the latter obtained music by this means. At the Finn's request, Schröder attended some auctions in Stockholm and, although

239 Hakapää 2008, 374.

240 Hakapää 2008, 258.

241 The Manuscript Collection, The Collection of Musicaliska Sällskapet i Åbo, Coll. 501.2 (NLF).

| CATALOGUE | | |
|--|----------|---|
| DES LIVRES de MUSIQUE tant <i>Vocale</i> qu' <i>Instrumentale</i> , gravés & imprimés chez JEAN JULIEN HUMMEL, Marchand au grand Magazin de Musique, sur le Rockin, vis-à-vis de la Chapelle, à Amsterdam, 1791. | | |
| | | |
| | | |
| Symphonies & Ouvertures à 8 Parties. | fl. fol. | fl. fol. |
| <i>Abel</i> , 6 Symphonies op. 1. | fl. fol. | Lidel, 6 Quat. Violoncel Obl. op. 4. |
| — 6 — op. 7. | — | — 3 Quintets avec Flute op. 5. |
| — 6 — op. 10. | — | — 6 Quat. avec Flute op. 7. |
| — 6 — op. 14. | — | Meszer, 6 Quat. avec Flute op. 5. |
| — 1 gr. Simph. lib. 1. | — | Miliszecki, 6 Quat. |
| — 1 gr. Simph. op. 19, lib. 1. | — | Michaels, 6 Quat. op. 1. |
| — 1 — lib. 2. | — | Mozart, gr. Quint. 1791. |
| — 1 — lib. 3. | — | Nicolaï, 6 Quat. avec Flute op. 4. |
| — 1 Simph. Concertante. | — | Otolina, 3 Quat. Flute & Violon. |
| Bernhard Simph. à diverses Instrum. 1-10 | — | Pfeiffer, 6 Quat. Fagotto op. 1. |
| Fichtner, 3 Simph. op. 1. | — | Pichl, 6 Quat. concert. op. 2. |
| Glafe, 5 Simph. op. 1. | — | — 6 Quintets op. 5. |
| Glaeche, Marche, la Gardapasse, variété. | — | — 3 Serenades op. 9. |
| Graaf, 6 Simph. op. 7. | — | — 3 Quat. Flut. & Viol. op. 12. |
| — 6 — op. 9. | — | — 3 — op. 13. |
| — 6 — op. 11. | — | Zingal, 8 Simph. op. 1. |
| — 6 — op. 14. | — | Diverses Aut. 6 Simph. op. 1. |
| — 6 — à div. Instrum. op. 16. | — | — op. 2. |
| — 3 — op. 29. | — | — op. 3. |
| Grainz, 9 Simph. op. 2. | — | On vend ces Symphonies des Diverses Auteurs séparément |
| Groß, Symphonie Concertante op. 2. | — | 1-10 |
| Holland. Entré. Acte de Hamlet. | — | |
| Haydn, 8 Simph. op. 10. | — | Quintettes & Quartets pour 2 Violons, Alto & Bass. |
| — 8 gr. Simph. à 10 parties op. 15. | — | <i>Abel</i> , 6 Quintuors op. 8. |
| — 2 — op. 15. lib. 1. | — | — 6 Quint. Flute Violon. op. 12. |
| — 2 — lib. 2. | — | Adam, 6 Quat. avec Flute op. 1. |
| — 2 — lib. 3. | — | Albrechtsberger, 6 Quat. en Flug. op. 2. |
| — 3 — Period. | — | Aitz, 3 Quat. Flut. & Viol. op. 1. |
| — 3 — lib. 1. à 3. chaque. | — | Bach, 6 Quat. Flute & Violon. op. 3. |
| — 3 — Simph. op. 22. | — | — 6 Quintets, 4 Flutes & Violon. |
| — 3 — op. 24. | — | — 6 — lib. 2. 1790. |
| — 3 — op. 28, lib. 1. à 3. 1-10 | — | — 3 Quatuors, op. 9. |
| — 3 — lib. 4. | — | — 3 — op. 11. |
| — 3 — gr. Simph. op. 33, lib. 1/2. 1790. | — | — 3 — op. 12. |
| Hausberg, 6 Simph. op. 3. | — | — 3 — op. 14. |
| Kammel, 6 Simph. op. 11. | — | — 3 — op. 15. |
| Kloßter, Simph. N. | — | — 3 Quat. Fl. & Viol. op. 19 lib. 1. |
| Kujosai, (Baron de) 3 Simph. op. 1. | — | — 3 — op. 19 lib. 2. 1790. |
| Kreüller, 6 Simph. op. 21. | — | — 3 — op. 30. 1791. |
| — 6 — op. 5. | — | — 3 — op. 31. 1791. |
| — 6 — op. 7. | — | Pugnani, 3 Octuors. |
| — 6 — op. 9. | — | — 3 Quintets op. 7. |
| — 3 — op. 13. | — | — 3 Quat. Flute & Violon. |
| — 3 — op. 15. | — | Raimondi, 3 Quat. Flute & Violon. |
| — 3 — op. 16. | — | — 6 — op. 10. |
| — 3 — gr. Simph. op. 33, lib. 1/2. 1790. | — | Redwards, 3 Quat. Flute op. 8. |
| Hausberg, 6 Simph. op. 3. | — | Rosetti, 3 — op. 6, lib. 1. |
| Kammel, 6 Simph. op. 11. | — | — 3 — op. 6, lib. 2. |
| Kloßter, Simph. N. | — | Rigol, 3 Quat. Flut. & Viol. op. 1. |
| Kujosai, (Baron de) 3 Simph. op. 1. | — | Sachini, 6 Quat. op. 2. |
| Kreüller, 6 Simph. op. 21. | — | Schmitt, (J.) 6 Quat. Fl. & Viol. op. 3. |
| — 6 — op. 5. | — | — 6 — op. 5. |
| — 6 — op. 7. | — | — 3 — Flute & Viol. op. 9. |
| — 6 — op. 9. | — | — 3 — op. 10. |
| — 3 — op. 13. | — | Stamitz, 6 Quat. à une Clarinette, Flute Cors de Chasse op. 8. |
| — 3 — op. 15. | — | — 6 Quat. Fl. op. 11. |
| Meder, 6 Simph. op. 1. | — | Tiefchi, 6 Quat Flute & Violon. op. 1. |
| — 3 — gr. Simph. op. 3. | — | — 6 — op. 2. |
| — 1 — Simph. percut. op. 4. | — | Finocchio, 6 Quat. op. 1. |
| Hofmuthayen, Bœuf de Simph. op. 5. 1790. | — | Fodor, 6 Quat. op. 8. |
| Nauman, 2 gr. Simph. de l'opéra Cora & Elita op. 2. | — | — 6 — op. 12. |
| Ouverture du Roi des du Roi des Taurins de Seville | — | — 6 — op. 13. |
| — des deux Taurins | — | Gafman, 6 Quat. op. 1. |
| — de Chimene ou le Cid | — | — 6 — op. 2. |
| Pichl, 6 Simph. à gr. Orchestre op. 1. | — | Golzi, 6 Quat. op. 1. |
| — 1 — Concertante op. 6. | — | — 6 — op. 3. |
| — 1 — op. 8. | — | Graaf, 6 Quintets, Flute & Violon. op. 5. |
| — 3 — op. 15. 1790. | — | — 6 — op. 4. |
| — 3 — gr. Simph. dédiée à sa Majesté l'Empereur Leopold II & aux Sérénissimes Electeurs de St. Empire Romain, 1790. | — | Hofstetter, 6 Quat. Flute & Violon. op. 12. |
| Pleyel, 2 Simph. op. 3. | — | — 6 — op. 17. |
| — 2 — à gr. Orchestre op. 4. | — | Hofmeijer, 1 Quat. avec Flute op. 7. |
| — 2 — op. 5. | — | — 3 — Quat. Flute & Viol. op. 3. |
| — 2 — op. 21. 1790. | — | Hoffbauer, 6 Quat. op. 1. |
| — 2 — op. 22. 1791. | — | — 6 — op. 8. |
| — 2 — Senates lib. 1. 1791. | — | Kämmel, 6 Quat. op. 4. |
| Recréation d'Apollon, Part. I. | — | — 6 — op. 8. |
| Ricci, 6 Simph. op. 2. | — | — 3 — Quat. Flute & Viol. op. 14. |
| Richter, 6 Simph. op. 2. | — | — 6 — op. 9. |
| — 6 — op. 4. | — | Kreüller, 6 Quat. Flut. & Viol. op. 8. |
| Rosetti, 3 Simph. à gr. Orchestre op. 5. | — | — 6 — op. 10. |
| Schmitt, (J.) Simph. op. 1. | — | Kraus, 6 Quint. Flute & Viol. op. 6. |
| — 6 — Simph. op. 6. | — | — 6 — op. 12. |
| — 1 — lib. 1. | — | Kraus (J.) 6 Quat. op. 1. |
| | | — 6 — |
| Concerts pour le Violon. | | |
| Benda, 2 Concerts op. 2. | — | Benda, 2 Concerts op. 2. |
| Borghi, 3 Conc. op. 2. | — | — 3 — op. 3. |
| — 3 — op. 4. | — | — 6 — op. 1. |
| Erlé, Conc. op. 1. | — | Ernö, Conc. op. 1. |
| Feyer, 1 Conc. op. 1. | — | — 6 — op. 1. |
| Fischer, Viol. l'heure Hambourg. Conc. 2. | — | Fischer, Viol. l'heure Hambourg. Conc. 2. |
| Fisher, 3 Conc. op. 1. | — | — 3 — op. 2. |
| Florillo, 3 Conc. op. 3. lib. 1. | — | — 6 — op. 14. |
| Fodor, 4 Conc. op. 5. | — | — 7 — op. 9. |
| — 2 — op. 14. | — | Giardini, 3 Conc. op. 4. |
| — 6 — op. 15. | — | — 3 — op. 5. |
| Giovannichi, 3 Conc. op. 1. lib. 1. | — | — 6 — op. 10. |
| — 3 — op. 2. | — | — 3 — op. 11. |
| — 3 — op. 3. | — | — 6 — op. 12. |
| — 3 — op. 4. | — | — 6 — op. 13. |
| — 6 — op. 5. | — | — 6 — op. 14. |
| — 3 — op. 6. | — | — 6 — op. 15. |
| — 3 — op. 7. | — | — 6 — op. 16. |
| — 6 — op. 9. | — | — 6 — op. 17. |
| — 6 — op. 10. | — | — 6 — op. 18. |
| — 6 — op. 11. | — | — 6 — op. 19. |
| — 6 — op. 12. | — | — 6 — op. 20. |
| — 6 — op. 13. | — | — 6 — op. 21. |
| — 6 — op. 14. | — | — 6 — op. 22. |
| — 6 — op. 15. | — | — 6 — op. 23. |
| — 6 — op. 16. | — | — 6 — op. 24. |
| — 6 — op. 17. | — | — 6 — op. 25. |
| — 6 — op. 18. | — | — 6 — op. 26. |
| — 6 — op. 19. | — | — 6 — op. 27. |
| — 6 — op. 20. | — | — 6 — op. 28. |
| — 6 — op. 21. | — | — 6 — op. 29. |
| — 6 — op. 22. | — | — 6 — op. 30. |
| — 6 — op. 23. | — | — 6 — op. 31. |
| — 6 — op. 24. | — | — 6 — op. 32. |
| — 6 — op. 25. | — | — 6 — op. 33. |
| — 6 — op. 26. | — | — 6 — op. 34. |
| — 6 — op. 27. | — | — 6 — op. 35. |
| — 6 — op. 28. | — | — 6 — op. 36. |
| — 6 — op. 29. | — | — 6 — op. 37. |
| — 6 — op. 30. | — | — 6 — op. 38. |
| — 6 — op. 31. | — | — 6 — op. 39. |
| — 6 — op. 32. | — | — 6 — op. 40. |

Figure 28. A page from the catalogue of Jean Julien Hummel's music shop showing works with pencil ticks next to them, probably added by Jacob Tengström.

the letters do not reveal exactly what Pippingsköld was seeking, we know that the music he required was for ‘all the local amateurs’. By this he must have been referring to the members of the Musical Society of Turku. Who knows, perhaps this lot included guitar music, bearing in mind the interest that some of the society’s members (likely including Pippingsköld himself) had for the instrument.²⁴²

These were, therefore, the options available to an amateur and although the private methods of acquiring guitar music have left no trace of what was available and purchased, the bookshops and auctions indeed have.

THE FINNISH REPERTOIRE: ITS TEMPORAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL SPAN

It goes without saying that a bookshop or a music shop would not – or perhaps more precisely, could not – advertise its complete assortment in a newspaper. Even so, the advertisements placed by these shops are a rich source from which to draw when investigating the guitar repertoire available in Finland. Equally valuable, if not more so, are the sales catalogues of shops and those of book auctions, although many of these must have been lost. Despite their obvious shortcomings, these sources have greatly contributed to the compilation of a comprehensive list of the repertoire of music to which the Finnish guitar amateur had access in the nineteenth century – one that is, of course, necessarily incomplete. Based on these sources, the Finnish repertoire included nearly six hundred titles by over one hundred and thirty different composers, a figure that can be considered high in a region that was somewhat detached from the trends of Central European guitar culture.

A particular feature of this supply is that it was practically all offered within a forty-year span, from c.1825 to c.1865. Only some items were available for purchase prior to this, one example being the afore-

242 Andersson 1952b, 12.

mentioned Meyer, whose shop sold guitar music in 1815, if not before.²⁴³ The high point of supply came in the 1830s, followed by a gradual downturn that led to a situation whereby, after 1865, no shops are known to have stocked any guitar music worthy of mention and very few advertisements were placed in newspapers. Another aspect of note is that, over the course of the whole century, there are two shops with exceptional assortments: Meyer's shop in the early 1830s and Hermann Paul's shop in the early 1860s, both in Helsinki. While it is understandable that Meyer had a wide selection of guitar music at the time when musically and technically more advanced guitar playing remained popular, it is harder to know the reason behind the extensive stock acquired by Paul in 1863 when general interest in this type of guitar repertoire had already been waning for some time. Nevertheless, Paul decided to procure a selection of around one hundred and fifty guitar works.²⁴⁴ It is impossible to know how many copies were sold by the shop, or the precise level of Finnish amateur's interest for these works, but we can at least assume that Hermann Paul (1827–1885) understood his local market conditions, having settled in Finland in 1859. Thus, perhaps, some residual interest in printed guitar music endured into the second half of the century.

One final important aspect to remember when discussing the actual selections of these shops is that, even if printed guitar music ceased to be advertised after a certain point, this does not mean that the material was unavailable. Many shops must have had old copies on their shelves and, therefore, their final advertisements or sale catalogues do not mark a termination of supply.

Little is known about the guitar music sold outside of Finland's three main centres Turku, Helsinki and Vyborg. In Vaasa, for example, one shop was in operation from the end of the 1820s but given that there was no local newspaper at this time and, similarly, no sales catalogues have survived, we do not know whether or not it stocked guitar music. When

243 *Åbo Allmänna Tidning* 9 December 1815.

244 Paul 1863, 122–124, 146–147.

the merchant C.G. Wolff (1800–1868) founded a new bookshop in 1838, adding the newspaper *Wasa Tidning* to his empire a year later, people were soon informed that guitar music was available for purchase in his store.²⁴⁵ This is notable for providing the earliest information about guitar music sales outside of the country's largest cities. The advertisement was followed by half a dozen others, all by Wolff's shop, which leads one to assume a vivid guitar interest in this seaport. After just a few years, however, this advertising came to a halt and quite astonishingly this interlude lasted until the early 1890s. An even more curious case is offered by Oulu, another important seaport. Although guitar strings were advertised fairly regularly in the town's local newspaper, the only item of printed guitar music advertised in the press appears to have been Carulli's method.²⁴⁶ It is almost impossible to accept that the Italian's method was the only guitar music available in Oulu but this is what the sources imply. Contrastingly, in two smaller towns, Kuopio and Porvoo, guitar music was advertised during the first half of the century although the selections in both of them were not particularly ambitious and the advertising was fairly sporadic.

Information from a further few towns could be cited, but this would not alter the overarching argument: that outside of Helsinki, Turku and Vyborg, guitar music was only available in a couple of provincial towns, each with relatively limited selections. This reading can of course be contested by claiming that shops may well have kept a representative stock of guitar music for the benefit of a number of enthusiastic local amateurs even if they did not advertise their merchandise. The lack of any traces that point towards this, however, mean that such an argument seems improbable. It is safe to conclude, therefore, that the selling of guitar music was mainly concentrated in Turku and Helsinki and, to a lesser degree, in Vyborg.

245 *Wasa Tidning* 10 August 1839.

246 *Oulun Viikko-Sanomia* 26 March 1859.

A CHANGE OF TASTE

To determine the reason behind the drastic drop in the advertising of guitar music after the 1860s one need not look far: it must have simply been caused by a decreasing demand for printed music for the instrument. As mentioned, those interested in it may still have found left-over copies in the shops of Gustaf Otto Wasenius (1789–1852), J.C. Frenckell (1757–1818) and Hermann Paul in Helsinki, but the truth of the matter is that after the mid-1860s just a few new titles, only a dozen or so in total, were added to the assortments of Finnish shops. An individual, therefore, would have encountered great difficulty in locating more substantial guitar repertoire. This was all the more so because none of the ‘new’ pieces would have met this requirement as they were all of an elementary standard, taking the form of religious music, folk songs with guitar accompaniment and a few simple guitar methods, including the first one published in Finland. A further indication of this decline in interest is demonstrated by the fact that, during the final four decades of the century, the previously popular method by Carulli is advertised only once, in 1884, in Tampere.²⁴⁷ In a handful of book auctions one is able to find mention of one or two guitar pieces but, despite these few bright spots, at the end of the day amateurs had to suffice with a significantly reduced supply. This paints a sombre picture of the ‘later’ repertoire of the nineteenth century and, compared to the almost two hundred and fifty works available in the 1830s, the contrast is dramatic.

This was the situation faced by the guitar amateur, although Finland was not alone in experiencing this trend, with guitar culture in the rest of Europe falling victim to the same development. In those circles where a more advanced style of guitar playing had previously been favoured, the piano now took centre stage. This did not mean, as mentioned in the previous chapter, that people abandoned the instrument, but only that it found a footing in other social surroundings. Now the guitar was

247 *Tammerfors Aftonblad* 5 February 1884.

used more for accompanying songs and other lighter repertoire that did not require the use of printed music, causing demand for this to decrease drastically.²⁴⁸ That said, there was still a prevailing interest in more serious guitar playing during the last decades of the century. Professor Moberg acquired guitar music at auction in the 1870s, for example, and in 1878 the one or two guitar works offered in the auction of the master printer Theodor Sederholm's estate also found a buyer.²⁴⁹

MAINLY FROM THE WEST – THE ORIGIN OF THE EDITIONS

When Johan Christopher Frenckell II established the *Frenckellska bokhandeln i Åbo* in 1783, his personal contacts with Swedish publishers were crucial to the future success of his shop. Indeed, at the end of the eighteenth century the shop announced that it had editions by every Swedish publisher within its assortment.²⁵⁰ A few decades later the shop's array of guitar music clearly reflects this, as it was largely compiled of editions printed in Finland's neighbouring country. Frenckell's personal contacts no doubt also advanced his dealings with Central-European publishing houses and enabled him to sign exclusive contracts with a number of them at Leipzig's annual book fair.²⁵¹ F.A. Meyer's visits to Leipzig were a similar success and, in January 1824, we learn that he had accumulated – aside from 'an important collection of music for all instruments' – direct business contacts with several European music publishers. Those mentioned are André, Simrock, Weigel [sic] and Böhme.²⁵² In addition, from an advertisement

²⁴⁸ How widespread the skill of reading music was in nineteenth-century Finland has not been researched, but with the improving standard of music education in schools it may have become more common towards the end of the period. Kurkela 2009, 24–26.

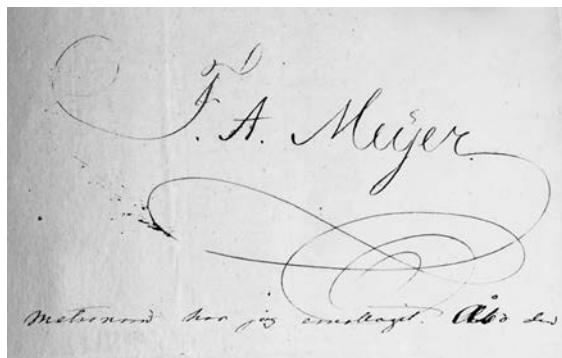
²⁴⁹ ARPH, Ca:73 (HCA).

²⁵⁰ Hakapää 2008, 147.

²⁵¹ Hakapää 2008, 453.

²⁵² Åbo Underrättelser 10 January 1824.

Figure 29. The signature of Friedrich Anton Meyer.



in *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* we learn that Meyer also sold ‘scores by Breitkopf und Härtel, Peters, Whistling, Schott und Söhne and Steiner & Co’ on commission.²⁵³

German-speaking Europe was indeed the most important area from which to import guitar music because much of it was printed there. Notwithstanding this, over two hundred titles of guitar music were also published in Sweden. Furthermore, the music shop of Ludwig Beuermann (1824–1868) imported printed music from St. Petersburg, but according to the shop’s catalogues, no Russian guitar editions were available.

Therefore, it is not surprising that two-thirds of the guitar music available in Finland was edited by publishing houses from German-speaking areas. Of this material, two thirds came from Germany itself, while the rest was printed in Vienna. The share that was sourced from Swedish publishers equalled that from Austrian ones (approximately one hundred pieces respectively), while there are only eight editions from Finland. Even less material was available from French, Russian or Italian publishing houses; Russian editions number a mere two. The low number of Italian and French guitar editions is explained by the fact that business relations with these countries were not ordinarily very active. Instead, Finland’s main commercial activity was with the other Scandinavian countries and Germany. This statistic is also somewhat reflected by the fact that the editions of Carulli’s music sold in Finland

253 *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 12 February 1824.

were the ones published in Vienna and Germany rather than those that the Italian had brought to the French market.

FROM SOLOS TO QUINTETS,
FROM SUPERFICIAL TO SERIOUS
AND FROM EASY TO DIFFICULT –
A PORTRAIT OF THE FINNISH REPERTOIRE

Instrumentation

It was not only music for solo guitar or voice and guitar that was available in Finland. The supply in the shops comprised of music for groups of up to five players, and the total number of different instrumental combinations amounted to well over two dozen; quite understandably, only one or two works were ever available for more unusual groupings.

The majority of the works were for guitar and voice or for solo guitar, these making up nearly half of the whole supply. Music for solo guitar is at the top of this list, which is slightly surprising because the former option was typically the more popular combination in the rest of Europe. A good example of this is Vienna where, during the first four decades of the nineteenth century, publications for voice and guitar were nearly twice as numerous as guitar solos, and also in France ‘the musical diet of a guitar player between 1800 and approximately 1840 would have principally comprised song accompaniments of many styles and degrees of sophistication’.²⁵⁴ Nevertheless, it is worth remembering that guitar solos also were a popular genre in Central Europe and we know, for example, that in Germany between 1788–1815 solos made up almost half of the printed guitar repertoire.²⁵⁵ As for guitar-accompanied songs, nearly one hundred individual songs and song collections were available in Finland. Even so, knowing that the works offered for

254 Edblom 1993; Amersfoort 2013, 605.

255 Hindrichs 2012, 17–18.

solo guitar were double this quantity, we have to consider the number of guitar-accompanied songs to be a slightly low figure both in comparison with the rest of Europe and especially with Sweden, where most published guitar music was composed to accompany voice.

Turning to what was offered for guitar ensembles, for the guitar duo – traditionally no doubt the most popular of the grouping – only less than two dozen titles were available. As a curiosity, one of these was Giuliani's *Trois Rondò*, op. 66, the first guitar part of which requires the use of either a *capo tasto* or a Terz guitar. The latter, according to the piece's first edition, was the composer's preference: 'meglio poi con una Terz Chitarra'.²⁵⁶ At first glance, one would assume that this would not have had any commercial potential because a Terz guitar was next to impossible to get hold of in Finland at the time, although the same was perhaps not true for a *capo tasto*.²⁵⁷ Despite this, in the Meyer auctions (1834, 1836) the three copies of this piece each found a buyer.²⁵⁸

In the nineteenth century music was rarely written for guitar ensembles larger than a duo and quartets are especially few in number. This is reflected in the fact that no quartets, and only a single trio, were available in Finland in the period. By contrast, the trio formation of guitar, flute (or violin) and viola was very popular among guitar amateurs, as corroborated by the large selection of music available for it across Europe. In this light, it is bewildering that only four such works were offered in Finland. One wonders why – to name but one composer – Diabelli's many substantial contributions to this ensemble were not among the country's assortments, particularly when a number of his other works were available.²⁵⁹

More exotic ensembles included guitar in duo with mandolin and

²⁵⁶ Giuliani 1816.

²⁵⁷ A Terz guitar may have been sold in an auction in Turku in 1819 (see Chapter Six for details). *Capo tastos* were advertised for the first time in 1850 in *Helsingfors Tidningar* 4 December 1850.

²⁵⁸ ARPH, Ca:33 (HCA); ARPT, P1a 45, 19V (TCA).

²⁵⁹ Savijoki 2003.



Figure 30. The beginning of the fourth song from the collection *Amanda, walda sånger*, vol. 2, with an accompaniment unusually scored for two guitars.

csakan.²⁶⁰ Leonhard von Call wrote four works for the former pairing, one of which was sold in Meyer's bookshop, and two editions for *csakan* and guitar were on offer. The first of those for the *csakan* and guitar was a collection of small pieces by a minor Viennese composer named Joseph Dobihal and the second was Diabelli's *Grande Sérénade*, op. 67, a substantial twenty-minute opus. Interestingly, Meyer did not only offer music for these instruments, but also had *csakans* and mandolins for sale in 1829.²⁶¹ As a curiosity, the song 'Herdegossen' (Shepherd Boy) from *Bibliothek för Guitarr-spelare* has a three-bar solo for the French horn, while *Amanda, walda sånger med Guitarre accompagnement* contains a song accompanied by two guitars.²⁶² The music example below shows that the guitar part with its three-against-two rhythms could not be executed on just one instrument (see figure 30).

²⁶⁰ The *csakan* is 'a flute in the shape of a walking stick or an oboe, popular in and around Vienna from about 1807 until the 1840s'. The instrument is related to the shepherds' flutes of Hungary, Slovakia and Croatia. Betz 2001.

²⁶¹ Meyer 1829, 20, 46.

²⁶² Anon. 1835; 1840.

Demanding and less demanding guitar repertoire

In nineteenth century Europe, the music of earlier periods, most notably that of Baroque, gradually began to be rediscovered and played in concerts. For guitar music, however, this impulse is observable to a far lesser extent. The few exceptions take the shape of Napoléon Coste's transcriptions of Robert de Visée's Baroque-guitar pieces and the J.S. Bach arrangements by Francisco Tárrega (1852–1909) later in the century. As a whole, however, nineteenth-century guitar repertoire (including transcriptions) consisted of music of its own time. Even so, not all of this body of material can be described as having been cut from the same cloth. To facilitate discussion a division into 'Repertoire for the amateur' and 'Repertoire for advanced players' has been adopted here. In their named order, these groups refer to works written for the player to enjoy in the domestic sphere and to works that can loosely be defined as concert repertoire.

Repertoire for the amateur

When admiring and enjoying the great music of the major composers, we often forget that, especially during the first half of the nineteenth century, it was a somewhat different recreational repertoire that formed the real nucleus of a music amateur's daily experience. Moreover, although there were certainly male amateurs, the majority were females as their breeding required knowledge of the art. The target audience for this popular repertoire was therefore understood to be women, the best qualities of whom – prettiness, charm and simplicity – this music was expected to reflect. Partly owing to prevailing sexist attitudes, but certainly also because these premises hindered the production of any particularly profound music, music critics have often labelled this repertoire as second-rate. Nevertheless, it held a place in people's hearts and some of it is truly beautiful.

The majority of these recreational pieces of music were written for quick consumption and, consequently, most of their authors have dis-

appeared from the historical record. The only exceptions are a couple of great composers who happened to write the odd piece for this genre. As regards guitar repertoire, the forgotten composers form a long list. For instance, Josef Fahrbach, Paolo Sandrini and Friedrich Dittrich can serve as examples of nineteenth-century guitar composers whose names are not familiar today even to a well-informed professional.²⁶³ Nevertheless, as a clear sign of how dominant this type of music was, seventy per cent of the Finnish guitar repertoire that was available for sale at the time can be placed into this category.

Typical examples of the recreational repertoire are song collections, often compiled of arrangements of a single composer's operatic works or including music by several composers in varying musical styles. Of those sold in Finland, the first type is represented by François-Adrien Boieldieu's (1775–1834) *Ausgewählte Stücke aus der Oper Johann von Paris*, while *Orphaea, Walda Sångstycken med accompagnement för Gitarre* with its music by over twenty composers exemplifies the second. The songs were short as a rule, often just one page in length, and their guitar parts were undemanding.

Another category often accompanied by the guitar was folk songs. European, Swedish and Finnish examples were among the assortments of some shops. Perhaps strangely, Finnish folk songs only emerge for sale at the end of the century, while Hildebrand's collection of Swedish folk songs, *Sex svenska folk-wisor*, was available as early as 1821.²⁶⁴ If the folk music of people from further afield happened to arouse interest, Persian folk songs were to be found in the collection *Bardale, Sammlung auserlesener Volkslieder*.²⁶⁵

As for instrumental music, the collections of small solo pieces did not significantly differ from those for voice and guitar because their material was, similarly, largely drawn from opera. Dance music, such

263 This phenomenon is obviously not restricted to guitar repertoire alone and applies to much of the lighter repertoire of the nineteenth century.

264 *Satakunta* 13 December 1898; Frenckell 1821, 20.

265 *Helsingfors Tidningar* 1 March 1837.

as Hildebrand's *Verschiedene Tänze und ein Marsch* and Giuliani's *Le Papillon*, op. 50 was also available.

It is likely that many of the more extended pieces that shops offered already pushed the limits of an ordinary amateur's abilities. Waltzes by Johann Strauss the Elder (1804–1849), Joseph Lanner (1801–1843), Joseph Labitzky (1802–1881) and Giuliani's *12 Walzer*, op. 57 could fall into this category. Instead, numerous Rossini arrangements for flute and guitar, Gaspard Kummer's (1795–1870) *Introduction et Variations*, op. 10 and Küffner's operatic-based *Récréations musicales*, op. 321 were all no doubt within the amateur's easy reach. The final example was recreational music *par excellence*, as its title in fact tells us.

Repertoire for advanced players

More demanding repertoire formed less than a third of the entire corpus of available material. This is not surprising, since the market for technically and musically challenging pieces was generally limited throughout Central Europe, and particularly so in Finland. From this perspective, the quantity of advanced works offered in Finnish shops may in fact be considered quite high. This is also noteworthy because it allowed the amateur to see what was demanded by professional-level guitar playing.

Almost half of the works were sets of variations, the form favoured by the instrumentalist-composer. The majority of them were for solo guitar, although some were also for guitar and flute (or violin). The former works placed the highest technical demands on the guitarist, while a basic chamber-music part solicited less instrumental command. To itemise some of the most virtuosic variation works, one may note Giuliani's *Six Variations sur l'air favori de La Molinara*, op. 4, which requires a truly solid technique and two works by Luigi Legnani (1790–1877), *Introduzione, tema e variazioni*, op. 224 and *Tema e variazioni*, op. 237, which are no less demanding.

Other type of brilliant repertoire was also offered: Aguado's op. 2, *Trois Rondo brillants* is a highly demanding work, even by today's standards, and the sixteen volumes of Mertz's *Opern-Revue*, op. 8 also pose

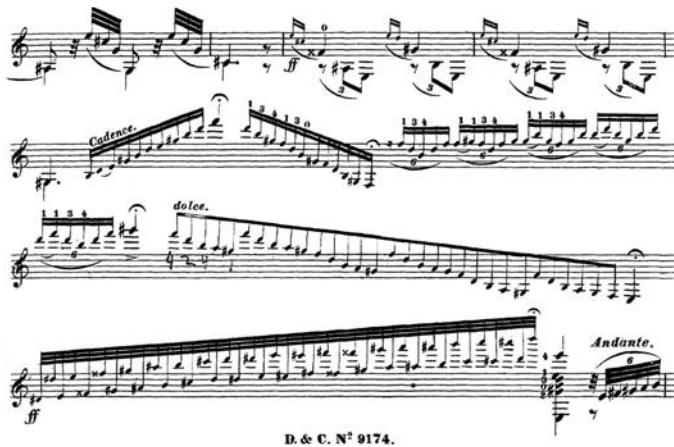


Figure 31. The last four lines of the Allegretto-introduction to Johann Dubez's *Fantaisie sur des motifs hongrois*.

a number of challenges to even the accomplished player. Furthermore, Giuliani's *Pot-pourri*, op. 26, reminiscent of his more famous set of six *Rossiniane*, requires a professional-level of playing. Yet one more unmistakably virtuosic piece was Johann Dubez's (1828–1891) *Fantaisie sur des motifs hongrois*, a work inspired by Franz Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsodies and written for the European seven-string guitar (see figure 31).

The aforementioned pieces emphasise technical virtuosity and, while such works are abundant in the guitar's concert repertoire, sonatas and works employing polyphony are far fewer in number. Among the best nineteenth-century sonatas for guitar are probably the well-structured ones by Diabelli, Sor, Matiegka and Giuliani, but of these only Giuliani's was available for purchase in Finland. Meyer's shop had it in its assortment together with Molino's *Trois Sonates*, op. 6. These, however, pose a lesser demand on the player than the Giuliani sonata and cannot be described as particularly challenging works.

Although much of the repertoire for advanced players was for the solo guitar, the Finnish amateur could also find chamber music with challenging guitar parts. Giuliani's works again stand out in this category, his two serenades, op. 19 and op. 127 (for violin, guitar and cello and flute and guitar respectively) being prime examples of high-class chamber music with guitar.

Guitar methods and studies

Private guitar lessons were, at minimum, available in the larger towns of Finland but, for many, a guitar method would have been the way to learn the rudiments of the instrument. All in all, eighteen different methods came to market and, like in the rest of Europe, the most popular in Finland was the one written by Carulli. The success of this particular method was due to the fact that it had a ‘well-considered and easy-to-follow methodical approach’, it progressed gradually and was not too detailed.²⁶⁶ The edition offered in Finland was usually a Swedish one, either *Fullständig Guitarr-Skola*, based on the Italian’s op. 27, or *Guitarr-Skola*, based on his op. 241.²⁶⁷ Both of these editions were reissued several times and, because the title used in advertisements does not always correspond to the title of a specific edition, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the two – not to mention which reissue was in question. Even so, the more elementary of the two, the *Guitarr-Skola*, seems to have been favoured slightly more often by its sellers. In addition to the two Swedish editions, two German ones were sold: one ‘corrected and augmented’ by J.N. de Bobrowicz, a student of Giuliani, and another published in Hamburg by A. Cranz.

There was also a Swedish edition of Giuliani’s *Studio per la chitarra*, op. 1, the title page of which designated it as a ‘Guitarr Skola’ (Guitar Method).²⁶⁸ In reality, Giuliani’s first opus is a collection of exercises and not a method but, apart from its title, the Swedish edition remains faithful to the original. It was first advertised in the Finnish press in 1844 but, following this, it appears far less frequently than the numerous editions of the Carulli method.²⁶⁹ The first advertisement was placed in Kuopio in the newspaper *Saima*, which was founded and run by J.V. Snellman. Kuopio is an inland town and the advertising of guitar-

266 Stenstadvold 2010, 9.

267 Stenstadvold 2010, 68–69.

268 Several French editions of Giuliani’s op. 1 also called it a ‘method’. Stenstadvold 2010, 103–104.

269 *Saima* 17 October 1844.

related material in such a location was extremely rare. Not surprisingly, then, the three advertisements placed in *Saima* were the only ones for guitar music in any inland town before the 1880s. Another noteworthy detail is that Carl Theodor Möller, whose guitar compositions will be discussed below, was involved in the marketing of the method, the cover of its third reissue specifying that it was available from him in Turku.

A third method of some weight was Carl Blum's *Neue vollständige Guitarren-Schule*, an opus of two volumes totalling nearly sixty pages in length. Despite this, it is not quite as comprehensive as Carulli's tutor book. In fact, its substance was sometimes discussed in the press, *The Harmonicon* reporting in 1826 on the divided opinions expressed about 'the judgement and good taste shown in the practical selection of pieces' included in the method's second part.²⁷⁰

The writer of the only guitar method published in nineteenth-century Finland operated under the pseudonym 'N. H.', calling his work *Pieni kitaransoittaja, kitaran aakkoset* (*The Little Guitar Player, the Alphabet of the Guitar*). It was distributed through the bookshops of missionary societies and was definitely targeted for religious use. The method's title reveals that we are dealing with an elementary introduction to guitar playing. One advertisement, citing from the preface of this method, discloses the author's objectives:

In this booklet the author wants to organise and slightly develop, as well as explain according to the rules of general music theory, the simple and practical way of playing the guitar, an instrument nowadays generally well-known among the people of many regions.²⁷¹

It would be interesting to know how 'N. H.' had developed his 'simple and practical way' of playing the guitar, but no further information is available.

The rest of the methods are more elementary than those by Carulli and Blum. To this category belong the methods by J. Müller, A.G.

²⁷⁰ *The Harmonicon* December 1826, 247.

²⁷¹ *Tampereen Uutiset* 15 June 1897.

Figure 32. The German guitarist and composer Carl Blum.



Dannström, (A.-J.?) Fauvel, F.A. Bodstein, J.H.C. Bornhardt and yet some others. Curiously, the method by Bornhardt was for the first time for sale in Finland in 1851, although it had been published in 1802 and long since very popular in Central Europe.²⁷²

In addition to methods, studies are also useful for learning to play an instrument and, therefore, in the nineteenth century small instrumental pieces of this kind were written in their hundreds – if not thousands – and the guitar was no exception in this respect. Of those still in use today, Giuliani's *Esercizio*, op. 48, Diabelli's *30 sehr leichte Übungsstücke*, op. 39 and Matteo Carcassi's (1792–1853) *25 Etudes mélodiques et progressives*, op. 60 were available for purchase in Finland. A lesser-known collection is one by Carl Blum, a three-volume set called *Exercises*. It is

272 Beuermann 1851, 31.

not a collection of individual studies. Instead it consists of short variation works and other technically challenging pieces that make use of specific techniques, such as left-hand slurs.

Religious music

Religious songs with guitar accompaniment became popular in Finland towards the end of the century in the wake of the Salvation Army and other religious movements. Prior to this there were only a few editions available, one being Oscar Ahnfelt's collection of hymns called *Andelige Sånger* that was for sale in 1851.²⁷³ Ahnfelt's name was cited earlier as one of Sweden's brilliant guitarists but he was also a travelling minister of the pietistic movement. His hymns became known as far away as North America where Jenny Lind (1820–1887), the world-famous Swedish soprano and a fellow follower of the pietistic movement, performed them. Another collection of religious songs that were accompanied by the guitar was *Källan*, which was intended for the church, Sunday school and temperance meetings. These songs were arranged and published by a certain P.J. Sjöberg, who also wrote a guitar method.²⁷⁴

THE COMPOSERS OF THE FINNISH REPERTOIRE

Guitarist-composers

Mauro Giuliani, Ferdinando Carulli and Joseph Küffner were the top three guitarist-composers of the Finnish repertoire: two-dozen or more works by each were available to the public here. In stark contrast, Fernando Sor's music was as good as absent from the shelves of

²⁷³ *Abo Tidningar* 25 November 1851.

²⁷⁴ *Hufvudstadsbladet* 15 June 1894.

the shops, but that said, in this ‘neglect’ he was not alone: Legnani and Zani de Ferranti also shared in his fate to a certain extent; in addition, considering their large outputs, Carcassi’s and von Call’s music was also quite poorly represented.

The highest number of works, nearly forty, were by Giuliani. These included collections of small pieces, studies, variations, one sonata and six works for chamber ensembles – in sum, a fairly good selection of the Italian’s production. It is noteworthy that also his more demanding works were among those on offer, these including the *Sonate brillant*, op. 15, *Pot-pourri*, op. 26 and the large-scale serenades, op. 19 and op. 127. Quite astonishingly, the latter was the only Giuliani work for flute and guitar to have been sold in Finland even though he wrote nearly twenty for this ensemble. Even more surprisingly, his oeuvre for voice and guitar was completely overlooked.

In addition to his methods, there were twenty-one works by Carulli within the Finnish repertoire. His different ensembles range from solo guitar, guitar duo or violin and guitar to piano and guitar. Unlike Giuliani, however, this represented a fraction of his enormous output of three hundred and sixty-six works with opus numbers – the amount of unnumbered pieces remains anybody’s guess.²⁷⁵ Carulli is often perceived as a composer of trivial solo pieces, but the works of his that were sold in Finland represent the more technically-challenging end of his production. *Fantaisie et Variations*, op. 98 and *Solo avec Variations sur l’air de la Molinara*, op. 107 serve as examples of such works.²⁷⁶ A short incipit of the latter convinces one that this version, with its rich ornamentation, was not intended for the average amateur (see figure 33):

Carulli was a master of guitar-duo writing and the works available for this ensemble would not have disappointed Finnish amateurs either. That said, the most noteworthy Carulli works to have been offered in Finland are his challenging solo pieces.

Joseph Küffner, a military musician, wrote music for almost all in-

275 Torta 1993.

276 Carulli 1817 (?).



Figure 33. The three first lines of the theme from Ferdinando Carulli's *Solo avec Variations sur l'air de la Molinara*, op. 107.

struments and anybody who has studied the guitar is familiar with his elementary guitar pieces. It is interesting therefore that, as with Carulli, the majority of the solo works by Küffner that were sold in Finland could from today's point of view be considered even concert material. To give an example, the two volumes of operatic music, *Mélange pour la Guitare*, op. 270, have nothing to be ashamed of in front of, for instance, Mertz's opera fantasies.

Somewhat surprisingly, the works of Francesco Molino were more plentiful among Finnish assortments than those of von Call, although the latter's pleasingly-gallant chamber music was very popular in German-speaking areas and one thinks that Finnish guitar amateurs would also have enjoyed this music. Carcassi was another popular guitar composer but, apart from his studies (op. 60) there were only a few variation works available in Finland. Perhaps it should be added that the studies were offered for the first (and only) time as late as 1863, decades after their original publication. The only piece by the Bohemian composer Wenceslaus Matiegka (1773–1830) was his op. 3, *Douze pièces faciles*.

The generation proceeding the aforementioned composers was quite poorly represented in Finland and, as mentioned, only included a few works by Legnani and Zani de Ferranti. In Zani de Ferranti's case, at least, this is certainly explained by the fact that many of his editions were published in France or Belgium, although his *La Marche de*



Figure 34. The beginning of the sixth variation on a Polish theme by Carl Blum.

Wittgenstein was published in St. Petersburg.²⁷⁷ Regarding these later guitar composers, Mertz is a slight exception because Paul's music shop, apart from stocking the already-mentioned *Opern-Revue*, op. 8, also sold the multi-volume *Portefeuille* and a few shorter pieces.

The ephemerality of fame means that the reputation of a number of successful nineteenth-century composers, among them those for the guitar, is now, at most, a faded memory. In Finland, one may find particularly clear examples of this within the assortments of Paul's and Beuermann's music shops. Among these 'forgotten' guitar composers are Blum, Bornhardt, Dittrich, Fahrbach and Theodor Gaude as well as many others. Carl Blum could be ascribed as the most noteworthy of this group, given the excess of a dozen works by him that were for sale in the local shops. Indeed, compared to some of his more illustrious colleagues, he was considerably better represented in the Finnish repertoire than they were.

Blum was a versatile composer who had studied composition with Antonio Salieri (1750–1825) in Vienna. It is also conceivable that he played other instruments, but he certainly played the guitar and was said to be 'a perfect master' of it.²⁷⁸ Blum may have been a performer as well because Josef Zuth mentions a performance of the popular *Der*

277 Van de Cruys 2005, 223–224.

278 *The Harmonicon* January 1830, 7.

Abschied der Troubadours – a joint composition of Mayseder, Moscheles and Giuliani – in which Blum had played the part for the Terz guitar.²⁷⁹ His output, both for and with the guitar, is extensive and shows a capable hand in writing for the instrument. The beginning of the sixth of his variations on a Polish theme, published as part of his *Divertissements progressifs*, is a clear demonstration of this skill (see figure 34).²⁸⁰

Eduard Bayer (1822–1908) is a good example of a figure of an even more marginal status than Blum. Yet, when his *100 Récréations agréables*, a collection of one hundred short arrangements of popular opera melodies, was for sale in Paul's music shop in the 1860s, the number of individual volumes from this collection outnumbered the pieces on offer in the same store by Carulli, Carcassi and Giuliani combined. Bayer thus seems to have been in high demand, which also clearly demonstrates how, by this time, the more serious style had lost people's hearts in favour of a more popular and simpler one. Like many others, Bayer appears to have constructed his easy arrangements without a great deal of effort.

Non-guitarist composers

Nineteenth-century composers of guitar music were, as a rule, players of the instrument. The challenge to write technically workable music for the guitar is certainly greater for a non-guitarist than for someone who is well-acquainted with the instrument, although many composers, despite this, manage to do so today. This requires careful study and in the nineteenth century the education of composers did not include the mastering of guitar texture. Therefore, many shared Hector Berlioz's idea that 'one cannot write pieces in several parts for the guitar, full of passagework and using all the instrument's capabilities without playing the instrument oneself'.²⁸¹ As elsewhere, there were only a few

279 Zuth [1926] 1978, 43.

280 Blum c.1817.

281 Macdonald 2002, 82.

pieces by non-guitarist composers in Finland's music and bookshops: these included Joseph Mayseder, Anton Fürstenau, Gaspard Kummer and Gottfried Weber.

Swedish composers

Unlike in Finland, guitar music was not only imported into Sweden in the nineteenth century but was also published there. Although arrangements for voice and guitar formed the main part of these editions, some original compositions were brought to market as well. The most notable composers (and arrangers) were three immigrants, Jean Nagel, Fredrik Wilhelm Hildebrand and Gustav Brandes, all of whom made their careers in Sweden as members of the, then, still-active court orchestra, as discussed in Chapter Two.

Hildebrand was a former Spohr student and must have been a skilful violinist as the German master mentions him several times in his memoirs, but the guitar appears to have been an important instrument for him as well.²⁸² This is suggested by the fact that all of Hildebrand's published (and known) works are either for solo guitar or contain a guitar part. Four of Hildebrand's 'Swedish' compositions were available among the assortments of Finnish shops together with his *Divertissement*, op. 5, a work published in Leipzig prior to his arrival in Stockholm. Musically, Hildebrand's output is not the most inspiring, whereas Brandes' *Six pièces agréables*, op. 1 is a work that is considered by some to be the best guitar music written in Sweden during the nineteenth century.²⁸³ As for Jean Nagel, he published arrangements of operatic music, pieces for two guitars and also an original song dedicated to Jenny Lind, 'Nordmön i Söder'. Brandes' single work for the guitar, as well as most

282 Jacobson 2015. Hildebrand performed on the guitar at least on one occasion, on 14 December 1819, playing a serenade by Küffner for flute and guitar. *Dagligt Allehanda* 10 December 1819.

283 Sparr 2018d. In a concert on 3 March 1832 Brandes played on the guitar a variation work by Mauro Giuliani. So, he was also a performing guitarist, although his main instrument was the cello. *Skånska Correspondenten* 3 March 1832.

of Nagel's material, was for sale in Finland. It is therefore only Nagel's revised and augmented edition of Carulli's *Guitarr-skola* that does not appear to have been available.

Of the guitar composers of Swedish birth, the most active was Jens Boman. Boman wrote songs and a collection of guitar duets but also published a weekly magazine entitled *Necken*. Boman's production also found its way onto the shelves of Finnish shops.

Finnish composers

As has now become apparent, original Finnish guitar music from the nineteenth century is practically non-existent. Apart from the first guitar method published in Finland mentioned above, only a couple of other works were available. Although these pieces are of no great artistic value, they have historical importance as the modest beginnings of original Finnish guitar music and are therefore worthy of our discussion in what follows.

'Gossen vid kvarnen' by Axel Gabriel Ingelius

The earliest known Finnish guitar piece is 'Gossen vid kvarnen' (The Boy by the Mill), a short song with guitar accompaniment by Axel Gabriel Ingelius (1822–1868), published in the children's magazine *EOS* in 1865.²⁸⁴

The song has Swedish lyrics, is thirty-one bars long and, although fairly conventional in most ways, contains some five-bar phrases. The guitar part is simple but its texture is quite varied and the notation is precise, especially as regards the duration of the notes, the voice leading and the dynamics. One performance instruction, however, piques curiosity: in the song's nineteenth bar we find an instruction to play 'morendo ma lusingando', the meaning of which is 'dying away, but

²⁸⁴ Ingelius 1865; Collection of manuscripts, F8262 (Sibelius Academy Library, University of the Arts Helsinki).

U. S. 1865. N. 13.

Gossen vid Gullerön.

A. G. Ingelius

Sång
Guitar.

Soprano. *S.S.* *A. G. Ingelius*

Fine

du givner oss dälen, här dena fjäl öfö slin! da
 var den härlig gäta, var tyt jay hem jay till! da väntas du hig
 gäta, var tyt jay hem jay till! *Dalsigno*
al fine. *Klötiger.*

*Betänk i det år väntas du möjan gö sig medan du ärslangere
 dena visa för annat instrument än gitarr.
 (Körp. ansy).*

Figure 35. The manuscript of the earliest guitar composition published in Finland, a song with guitar accompaniment by Axel Gabriel Ingelius.

flatteringly' (or possibly 'seductively'). How this should be executed is anybody's guess.

At the bottom of the (single) page we come across another oddity. The text reads that 'it is not worth the effort for someone to go to the trouble of arranging this song for any other instrument than the guitar'.²⁸⁵ It is difficult to understand what Ingelius means. Even the tone of his statement, whether intended positively or negatively, remains a question. Does he want to say that the song works best with guitar accompaniment, the sound and timbre of this ensemble being just right for this little song? Or instead, does he think that the song is so trivial that only a guitar would be appropriate to accompany it? There is no available answer, although one is tempted to think that, if nothing else, the eccentric and ambivalent personality of Ingelius shines through here.²⁸⁶

'A. v. K.'

At the very end of the century a very plainly titled song 'Laulu' (A Song), written by someone with the pseudonym 'A. v. K.', was advertised in Tampere.²⁸⁷ Behind these initials most probably lurked Alexander von Knorring (1853–1924) because some of his guitar pieces were issued by the publishing house Fazer at the beginning of the twentieth century. Nothing is known of von Knorring's guitar skills but, since he composed for the instrument, it is not far-fetched to assume that he also played it. This assumption is supported by the fact that he played the so-called Scholander lute, which is practically a guitar. Von Knorring also occasionally performed with Josef Binnemann, a guitar teacher and active musician who is discussed further on. Unfortunately, this song has not been found.

²⁸⁵ 'Det är icke värdt att någon gör sig mödan att arrangera denna visa för annan instrument än ghitarr [sic].'

²⁸⁶ Ingelius is discussed in more length in Chapter Four.

²⁸⁷ *Tampereen Lehti* 5 January 1899.

Finnish guitar music in manuscripts

The two works just discussed are the only original compositions for the guitar published in Finland in the nineteenth century. In addition to this pair, some guitar music has been passed down to us in manuscript form.

Carl Theodor Möller

Carl Theodor Möller's (1813–1889) guitar playing was briefly mentioned in the previous chapter, and his teaching will be discussed in Chapter Four. Along with these guitar activities, he also composed for our instrument.²⁸⁸ Möller's compositions date from the time that he was still living in Sweden, but having spent most of his life in Finland he first and foremost belongs to Finnish music history. For this reason, his guitar production is documented here. Another very famous example of such a musician is Pacius, who was German by birth, but is universally considered a Finnish musician.

Möller's guitar pieces date from 1832–1834 and they were written when he was between eighteen and twenty years of age.²⁸⁹ Comprising six titles, all are composed for a standard six-string guitar, although the *Allegretto* and the *March* employ an E-major *scordatura* tuning.²⁹⁰ They are the following:

- *Allegretto*
- *Marsch* (March)
- *Rondo Polacka* [sic] per *Chittara* [sic]
- *Thema varierad för Guitarre* (Theme and variations)

288 Möller's compositions comprise, apart from the works for the guitar, almost a hundred songs and a few instrumental pieces. Save for a couple of songs, nothing has been published.

289 Jansson gives for the *March* the date '24.3.1837', but a closer examination of the manuscript shows that it reads 'den 24 November 33'. Jansson 1976, 179.

290 This tuning was sometimes employed by other composers as well. One early example is Carulli's op. 223, *Trois divertissements* (1826). Torta 1993, 497–498.

- *Thema med Variationer A-dur för Guitarre* (Theme and Variations in A major)
- *Smärre Guitarre Stycken* (Small guitar pieces)

When reading through the manuscripts, one is surprised by the secure hand with which Möller writes for the guitar and exploits its idiomatic potential. His frequent use of high positions, for instance, indicates a thorough knowledge of the fingerboard. This begs the question of Möller's possible studies. The only information we have is that when studying in Lund in the 1830s, he became acquainted with a guitar player by the name of Gotthard Ljunggren, who was said to have played the instrument 'in a virtuosic manner'.²⁹¹ It is likely, however, that Ljunggren simply helped Möller to polish his guitar skill, because given the technical demands of his guitar music, Möller must have already been familiar with the instrument prior to his arrival in Lund – one does not learn to play the guitar in just a few years.

Möller's compositions are, musically-speaking, fairly conventional and offer no revelations, save perhaps for the minor-key variation of the *Thema varierad*.²⁹² That said, Möller's natural and imaginative use of rhythm is worthy of compliment. It is also noteworthy that, in comparison to the music of countless other minor guitar-composers, Möller's pieces have, despite their flaws, nothing to be ashamed of.

Save for the two variation works and the polonaise, the rest of his pieces are short. The twenty works that make up his collection *Smärre Guitarre Stycken* are each around sixteen bars and the *March* and the *Allegretto* are no exceptions in this regard. These pieces therefore clearly represent student repertoire, whereas the polonaise and the variation works could easily be included in a modern concert programme. When writing variations, Möller employs the traditional technique of diminutions, although without aiming for virtuosic effect in their final applications. For instance, instead of a flamboyant display of maximal

²⁹¹ Jansson 1976, 154.

²⁹² Möller's guitar compositions are in Turku in the collection of the Sibelius Museum.



Figure 36. The concluding bars of Carl Theodor Möller's *Polacca*.



Figure 37. The first six bars of the fourth variation from Carl Theodor Möller's *Thema varierad*.

finger-dexterity, the *Thema med Variationer A-dur* finishes with an ornamented recurrence of the theme. Möller's guitar texture is often imaginative and he sometimes writes even the most basic cadence as varyingly as in this *Polacca* (see figure 36).

Another example of inspired writing, this time using broken chords, scales and chromaticism, is at the beginning of the fourth variation of his *Thema varierad*, which could easily have been penned by the great Giuliani (see figure 37).

Ms. 1847

Another manuscript of guitar music is housed in the National Library of Finland. The manuscript consists of a collection of miscellaneous music dated 4 October 1847. It is written in several hands over a period



Figure 38. The beginning of the *Polonaise* from a manuscript by an unknown hand, possibly intended for the Russian seven-string guitar.

of time and is of an unknown provenance.²⁹³ Most of the material is for wind instruments, but there are a few guitar pieces as well. As for the manuscript's origin, the guitar material suggests Finland. A strong point in favour of this argument is a guitar arrangement of Pacius' song 'Vårt land', later to become Finland's national anthem.²⁹⁴ What is more, this piece is followed by a one-voiced version of 'Porilaisten marssi', a march that is played in state ceremonies even today. Lacking harmonies, the march was possibly not intended for the guitar, yet nevertheless still supports a hypothesis of the Finnish origin of this manuscript. The individual responsible for notating the guitar material was clearly a 'true' amateur, as the several mistakes in the manuscript – such as the wrong rhythms of the national anthem – evince.

The rest of the guitar material in the manuscript includes short waltzes, one anglaise, a polonaise and two mazurkas. The arrangement of chords in some of these pieces leads one to suspect that they were intended for the Russian seven-string guitar. Whether this 'dance' music was original or arranged, or even Finnish for that matter, is hard to confirm. Either way, the polonaise and the two mazurkas are entertaining pieces and one can imagine them being played as dance accompaniments.

293 The Manuscript Collection, Ms.Mus. 54:2 (NLF).

294 Given that Pacius' 'Vårt land' was performed for the first time in May 1848, this part of the manuscript was obviously written later than that.

Jean Sibelius

Although composed in the early twentieth century, and therefore outside of the scope of the present research, it should be mentioned that Jean Sibelius prepared two songs with guitar accompaniment in 1909 for a production of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* (op. 60, no. 1–2). The guitar parts are chordal but, considering that both of their autographs have no mistakes, Sibelius may at least have known how to play chords on the instrument.²⁹⁵ Moreover, as the reader may remember, the composer's brother-in-law Eero Järnefelt was a guitar player and may also have played through the accompaniments, thus assuring their accuracy.

The composers of the arrangements

With almost three hundred titles, guitar arrangements form approximately half of the instrument's Finnish repertoire. As elsewhere, the majority of these works consisted of operatic music, while items in the 'serious' style were in a distinct minority.

The composers who prevailed in this field were, of course, the three stars of the Italian opera, Gioacchino Rossini, Gaetano Donizetti and Vincenzo Bellini, although French opera also had its voice heard through the works of Daniel Auber and F.-A. Boieldieu. Later in the century, the arrangements of Giuseppe Verdi's and Jacques Offenbach's operas were also on offer and excerpts from Richard Wagner's *Tannhäuser* were even available, adapted by the German J.G. Busch for flute (or violin) and guitar.

The waltzes by Lanner, Labitzky and Johann Strauss the Elder that have already been mentioned represent the small number of pieces that were available in this lighter style. Contrastingly, the *Lieder* by Franz Schubert, Ludwig van Beethoven and Felix Mendelssohn, together with Beethoven's *Sehnsuchtwalzer* which was available both in an arrange-

295 The Manuscript Collection, Ms.Mus.Sibelius, Ö.33.5 (NAF).

ment for one and two guitars, represent the more serious offering of this category. The W.A. Mozart selections included, along with some operatic arrangements, his popular song ‘Die Warnung’.

From the present point of view, however, it is more interesting that several songs by the Finnish-born Bernhard Henrik Crusell (1775–1838) were available as voice and guitar arrangements.²⁹⁶ With just one exception, all were adapted by the above-mentioned Hildebrand and, bearing in mind that at the time of their publication both men were colleagues in the *Kungliga Hovkapellet* in Stockholm, there is a compelling possibility that Crusell might have authorised them.²⁹⁷ The arranged material originates in two works by Crusell, the song collection *Frithiofs Saga* and the operetta *Den lilla Slafvinnan*; in addition to these there is a short song published in a collection by an unknown arranger. The works for sale in Finland were the following:

- *Fyra sånger ur Frithiofs Saga*
- *Tre sånger ur Frithiofs Saga*
- *Två sånger ur Frithiofs Saga*
- *Tre arier utur Operetten Den lilla Slafvinnan*
- ‘Nordens enhed’ from *Sånger af Häffner, Crusell, Geijer, Wennerberg m.fl.*

Taking its inspiration from old Icelandic tales, *Frithiofs Saga* is a collection of poems by Esaias Tegnér (1782–1846), of which even Goethe thought highly. Crusell composed music for twelve of the poems,

²⁹⁶ Crusell spent most of his life in Sweden and, therefore, rightfully belongs to Swedish musical history. Despite this, Finland often refers to Crusell as a *Finnish* composer. For instance, the National Biography of Finland (*Kansallisbiografia*), a book of biographies of distinctive Finns, also includes one about him.

²⁹⁷ Some sources also mention a ‘Trio’ by Crusell for three guitars, basing the information on Wilhelm Berg’s book on the musical life of Gothenburg. According to Berg, Joachim and Pietro Pettoletti (and a third person) performed the mentioned trio in a concert there in 1820. Although no work for this combination of instruments by Crusell is known, it could of course have been an arrangement. Berg is, however, in error because the advertisement for this concert clearly informs that the ‘Trio’ was by Ferdinando Carulli. Berg 1914, 157; *Aftonbladet* 22 April 1820.

Figure 39. The portrait of the Finnish-born composer Bernhard Henrik Crusell.



Hildebrand in turn selecting nine for his guitar arrangements. Three volumes were published in total, the first four-song set advertised in Finland in 1827, a year after the publication of Crusell's original; the rest of the volumes were among the assortment of Frenckell's bookshop in Turku in 1830.²⁹⁸

The three songs Hildebrand arranged from *Den lilla Slafvinnan* (The Little Slave-girl), this being Crusell's only stage work, are interesting because of the involvement of a violin in two of the three arias. Perhaps Hildebrand felt that the guitar in isolation was not able to convincingly replicate the orchestral accompaniment (see figure 40)?²⁹⁹

298 *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 6 December 1827. In 1841 a newspaper article mentions four volumes of Hildebrand's arrangements from *Frithiofs Saga* (*Borgå Tidning* 5 June 1841). This must be a mistake, since only three were ever published. Another spurious claim occurs in an article published in *Säveleitä, suomalainen soitannollinen kuukaus-lehti* on 1 February 1888. The article was probably written by the magazine's editor P.J. Hannikainen and it mentions 'small solo pieces for guitar'. It seems highly improbable that such pieces have ever existed.

299 Crusell 1828.



Figure 40. Fredrik Hildebrand's arrangement of a song from Crusell's *Den lilla Slafvinnan* is scored for voice, violin and guitar.

THE BEST SELLERS OF THE FINNISH REPERTOIRE

We know that several shops stocked a reasonably good choice of guitar music, but most individual pieces of music were uniquely to be found within the selection of only one particular store. To illustrate this, in the 1830s and 1840s Frenckell and Wasenius, the two rival bookshops in Helsinki, kept an assortment of over seventy and nearly fifty guitar works respectively, but of these only eighteen titles were available for purchase in both outlets.

At the top of the list of works that were sold by several shops are guitar methods. The one by Carulli, for example, or rather the many different editions of it, could be found in the assortments of over a dozen shops. Giuliani's *Studio per la chitarra*, op. 1 also found its way onto the shelves of slightly over half a dozen establishments and, in addition, a couple of other methods were included in the selections of three or four shops.

One of the most popular single works was Johann Nepomuk Hummel's (1778–1837) song 'Krigaren', which was sold by five shops in the early 1830s. It is interesting that 'Krigaren' was published as a



Figure 41. The beginning of 'Krigaren' from a version for voice and guitar, a song composed by Alexandre Etienne Choron, the Swedish edition attributing it to Johann Nepomuk Hummel.

Hummel composition because it was in fact only his arrangement of the French composer Alexandre Etienne Choron's song 'La Sentinelle', a popular tune on which many European composers wrote variations.³⁰⁰ Although Choron (1771–1834) was well-known as the composer of this song in France and Britain, when the French invaded Vienna in 1809 the song was transmitted orally and the information on its composers was lost. As a consequence, no Viennese edition of the song ever credited Choron and it was instead regarded as a military folk song.³⁰¹ Hummel did compose a famous chamber music setting (which he performed with Giuliani and others) and the attribution to him probably came about as a result of this. Therefore, while this highly popular song had a resonance in Finland, we also see that it was not transmitted to its Swedish publisher directly from its original source.

As for the rest of the individual songs, Beethoven's 'Adelaide' was available in the assortments of four shops. 'Adelaide' was one of the German master's most popular *Lieder* and, in Central Europe, it was

³⁰⁰ Hutchings and Audéon 2001.

³⁰¹ Sparks 1984.

frequently included in the programmes of benefit concerts.³⁰² Although perhaps not the most gratifying to arrange for voice and guitar, this version enabled Finnish guitar amateurs to enjoy a beautiful piece of music ‘first-hand’ and, as several shops stocked it, the song’s fame had clearly emanated as far as to this country.

Swedish guitar journals, such as *Bibliothek för Guitarr-spelare*, *Lördags-Magasin* and *Necken*, together with most of the collections for voice and guitar, such as *Philomele*, *Euphrosyne*, *Orphea* and *Penelope*, were held by several shops. *Lördags-Magasin* may be taken as a typical example of these journal-type publications. It was a weekly booklet with a standard length of eight pages, which included three to five pieces of music for voice and guitar. Occasionally, a short solo piece was also offered.

Solo-guitar works that were sold by more than one shop were, as a rule, modest both in their level of technicality and their musical demands. Examples of such a repertoire include *Lättare Tonstycken för En och Två Guitarrer*, Hildebrand’s *Six Polonoises* [sic] and Brandes’ *Six pièces agréables*.

A LOOK AT THE ASSORTMENTS OF INDIVIDUAL SHOPS

Bookshops and music shops

At the end of the eighteenth century, Magnus Swederus and Johan Christoph Frenckell II founded the first bookshops in Turku. While Swederus only operated for a few years, Frenckell’s shop flourished well into the second half of the nineteenth century. The next booksellers to follow in Turku were Friedrich Anton Meyer (1813), Jakob Delphin (1821) and Christian Ludvig Hjelt (1827), while Gustaf Otto Wasenius founded one in Helsinki in 1823. It was around this time

³⁰² Weber 2008, 145.

that Frenckell also extended his activities to the new capital. Music shops entered into trading later, the first one being established by Ludwig Beuermann in 1849. He was then followed by a fellow German, Hermann Paul, in 1863.³⁰³ With the exception of the outlets of Swederus and Delphin, the rest of these shops were all involved in the supply of guitar music. Of these, Meyer's and Paul's shops, both in Helsinki, stand out for their impressive catalogues of around one hundred and fifty titles each, although this is not to say that some of the other shops did not also have satisfactory selections. In light of their admirable assortments, these two will be discussed in further detail.

Meyer and Paul: two large selections of guitar music

Friedrich Anton Meyer's bookshop was generally appreciated for having a fine selection of Central-European books and printed music. This was the result of his good business relations with foreign publishers, with another important basis for the shop's success being its status as the university's official bookseller. Despite these strengths, by the end of the 1820s Meyer's business had run into difficulties and, after relocating his shop to Helsinki, Meyer was forced to attempt to sell the premises. Unfortunately, death came first and the shop went under the hammer. From the historian's point of view this was a stroke of luck as we have its auction material to thank for our present knowledge of the shop's abundant selection of guitar music. This is especially important because Meyer scarcely advertised his merchandise owing to the problems that he had with J.C. Frenckell and C.L. Hjelt (1786–1849), the respective owners of the local newspapers the *Åbo Tidningar* and the *Åbo Underrättelser*.³⁰⁴

Unlike Meyer, Hermann Paul was a musician, a violinist, and it was in this capacity that he had first travelled to Finland, although he soon

303 Hakapää 2008, 70–85.

304 Hakapää 2008, 253–258.

came to try his hand at music publishing. This activity did not catch on and he settled for selling music and instruments. Even so, Paul's business was short-lived, coming to an end only five years later as a consequence of his appointment as the teacher of German language at the Imperial Alexander University. Paul was also one of the first to write concert reviews in Finnish newspapers. Like Meyer, Paul advertised his wares very rarely, but unlike in Meyer's case, the reasons for this are not clear and no advertisements for guitar music by him are known to exist. As luck would have it, the shop's sales catalogue, printed in 1863, is now preserved in the collection of the National Library of Finland.³⁰⁵

Thirty years stand between the records we have of the selections of these two shops, which is obviously a key factor to take into account when discussing their similarities and differences. Meyer's contacts with the German publishers are clearly evidenced in the selection of guitar music within his assortment, practically all of which is from the German-speaking area and Leipzig in particular. While still operating in Turku, Meyer did sell Swedish editions of music but, as none appear to have been placed for sale in Helsinki, he must have dropped these works from his selection by the 1830s.³⁰⁶ A large share of the shop's stock was for solo guitar, although numerous titles for different chamber ensembles were also on offer. Furthermore, the assortment included music by the key guitar composers of the time. In sum, Meyer's selection was fairly successful in its mirroring of the Central-European guitar scene, save for the lack of Fernando Sor's music that has already been mentioned. It is also noteworthy that practically the entirety of the guitar music available from Meyer consisted of original works, with less than two-dozen arrangements being stocked on his shelves.³⁰⁷

Thirty years on, Paul's shop still offered works by Giuliani, Carulli and Küffner but, overall, his selection of similar composers was much sparser than had been provided by Meyer. Mertz was represented by several works, but with regard to Coste and Giulio Regondi (1823–1872)

³⁰⁵ Paul 1863.

³⁰⁶ *Abo Tidningar* 20 August 1823.

³⁰⁷ Meyer 1829, 1834a–c, 1836, 1837, 1839, 1840 and 1842.

– the two other ‘romantic’ guitar composers who remain well-known today – nothing of theirs was offered. This was not a choice that was at the shop’s discretion, however, because Coste’s French editions were not readily available outside of France (if even there) at this time and Regondi’s guitar works started only to be published in 1863.³⁰⁸ Thus, instead of well-established names, Paul’s catalogue is bursting with music by composers who have now disappeared from concert programs, such as the aforementioned Eduard Bayer and J.J. Müller. Furthermore, half of the assortment was for voice and guitar, solo guitar works forming but one third of the material, with the rest consisting of a few dozen works for other ensembles. Stylistically, Paul’s shelves were dominated by operatic works and an astounding eighty per cent of it was arrangements.

Comparing these selections we may see the radical change of taste that had taken place in thirty years.³⁰⁹ The ‘operatic’ works by Küffner that were sold by Meyer, for instance, were through-composed *pot-pourris*, such as *Dixième Pot-pourri tiré de l’Opéra Euryanthe*, whereas Paul’s shop had a large selection of the composer’s *Récréations musicales*, op. 312, a collection of themes rather than developed musical forms.

Other shops

The selections of a further four bookshops are worthy of mention. Hjelt’s shop in Turku and Wasenius’ in Helsinki each offered a choice of around eighty guitar works, while Frenckell and Beuermann reached no more than half of this figure.

The share of the ‘great’ guitar composers within Hjelt’s catalogue was comparatively minor to that of Meyer but, nevertheless, around twenty-five per cent of the assortment was ‘serious’ guitar repertoire. In contrast to Meyer, the shop sold a high proportion of arrangements

308 Amisich 1995, 117–118.

309 This was an impact that, quite clearly, did not only concern guitar repertoire but also that of other instruments, for example, the piano.

as well as a number of Swedish song collections. Then again, even more Swedish editions – accounting for seventy-five per cent of its whole selection – were included in Wasenius’ catalogue. The reason for this could not have been the shop’s poor international connections because the very opposite was true.³¹⁰ Therefore, the abundance of Swedish guitar editions may be understood as a deliberate choice on the shop’s part. As these editions were mostly guitar-accompanied songs, one can posit that Wasenius’s shop wanted to direct its supply towards a clientele that was not interested in demanding guitar repertoire. If this was the shop’s policy, however, it seems curious that Wasenius was the only proprietor to offer the challenging concert works by Legnani. Given that these pieces had only been published in Italy in 1847, the year of Wasenius’ advertisement, the shop was clearly very ‘up-to-date’ – at least in this instance.³¹¹

From 1828 onwards, Frenckell had shops in both Helsinki and Turku, but the branches were independent of one another to a certain degree and, correspondingly, their music selections differed. Despite this, a unifying feature is that both shops practically only sold Swedish publications; in fact, Johann Peyer’s *Musikalische Taschenbibliothek* was the only work among their stock to not have been printed there. Thus, even if Wasenius also seems to demonstrate a preference for Swedish material, the selections of the two Frenckell shops read like a catalogue of ‘Guitar Music Printed in Sweden’.³¹²

Beuermann’s shop was able to offer a large selection of printed music, as a catalogue from 1869 containing over six thousand titles corroborates.³¹³ Compared to this, the approximately three-dozen guitar works that were available in this early Finnish music shop are a disap-

³¹⁰ Hakapää 2008, 32; *Helsingfors Tidningar* 20 November 1847; Wasenius & Comp. 1833, 1837 and 1838.

³¹¹ *Helsingfors Tidningar* 20 October 1847; Mustardino 2009, 43–56.

³¹² Frenckell, J.C. & Son 1821, 1822, 1826, 1828, 1830a, 1830b, 1832–1842, 1850, 1852, 1861 and 1866; Wasenius & Comp. 1833, 1837 and 1838.

³¹³ Kurkela 2009, 34.

pointingly small number.³¹⁴ Giuliani and Carulli were only represented by their methods and Küffner by two volumes of *Mélange*, op. 270. Two Zani de Ferranti works – the only ones to be sold in Finland during the nineteenth century – and Aguado's *Douze Valses*, op. 1 should also be mentioned as incidental bright spots. These were the only 'serious' works and Beuermann's guitar catalogue was, as a whole, not all that ambitious. Knowing that he gave guitar lessons, this seems strange as one would assume a certain affection or preference for the instrument.

Examining these varying assortments, there are distinctive differences between each shop. The period that the shops were in operation certainly proves an influential factor in this, as the Meyer and Paul assortments show. Yet, comparing those shops that were active during the same period still reveals significant variation. For instance, Meyer kept a large selection of 'serious' guitar music while Wasenius, and Frenckell above all, made less ambitious choices in this regard. The same was also true, at least to an extent, of Beuermann and Paul, the latter selling large-scale opera fantasies by Mertz, while the former had nothing comparable to offer. For a serious amateur in Helsinki, not to mention one in the provinces, it must have been quite challenging to locate musically and technically demanding guitar repertoire, not only in the roughly thirty years between the dissolution of Meyer's shop and the establishment of Paul's, but then again after Paul's shop also ceased its operations. Reversing the argument, this also shows that the number of ambitious amateurs had diminished radically by this time.

As a final thought, it would also be valuable to know how many copies of each advertised guitar work were sold but, unfortunately, the account books that could have provided this information are not extant. However, a letter sent by the Swedish publisher G.W.K. Gleerup to Wasenius can give a clue of how many copies a shop may have kept of single work. Here the Swedish publisher asks for Wasenius to return Brandes' *Six pièces agréables*, op. 1 and Bengt Berckenmeijer's (1807–1845) *Tolv Sångstycken*. The letter shows that Brandes' guitar pieces had

³¹⁴ Beuermann 1850, 1851, 1853, 1857, 1864, 1866, and 1867.

not been a commercial success and that, consequently, seven copies had to be returned. By contrast, Berckenmeijer's songs sold out in Sweden and, for this reason, the publisher asked for 'as many copies as may be spared' to be sent back.³¹⁵ Thus, Wasenius verifiably kept several copies of at least certain guitar works although we also learn that his shop did not always manage to sell them. Furthermore, as briefly mentioned above, the Meyer auctions corroborate that this shop also held several copies of at least some works.

³¹⁵ Hakapää 2008, 124.

CHAPTER FOUR

The middle ground between the ‘Italian method’ and Mr Laurén’s ‘popular classes of accompaniment’ – Guitar teachers in Finland

For centuries, musicians were trained by their family members or through apprenticeships. This changed when, as a result of the shift of political and cultural authority from church and monarchy to the state and private associations, institutions offering education in music gradually began to be founded at the end of the eighteenth century. There was reason for this because many musicians were now needed to meet the growing demand for concerts, and the opera above all, which had grown to an unprecedented level of popularity. In most countries the way to a formalised music education was, however, a slow process, Finland being no exception. That said, the *Konglig Svänsk Musicalisk Akademien* (The Royal Swedish Academy of Music) had been active in Stockholm as early as 1771. Despite its high aspirations, however, the organisation was not a music academy as we would recognise it today because, for many decades, it had difficulty in finding enough students and its taught subjects were mainly singing and music theory. Owing to the lack of students, there were also breaks in the tuition.³¹⁶ From the Finnish perspective this was not problematic given that at the time (and indeed long into the nineteenth century) there was no great demand for higher-level music education in the country. The reason for this was that outside of the army and the church there was very little

³¹⁶ Kuha 2017, 71–72.

demand for professional musicians. At the end of the eighteenth century, however, the Musical Society of Turku began to provide musical instruction and, as interest in musical education increased towards the midpoint of the following century, some independent music schools were founded. Those by Wilhelm Friedrich Siber (originally founded by Downer), Carl Theodor Möller and Fredrik August Ehrström deserve to be mentioned here; they all operated in the 1830s and 1840s, although none were long-lived. As for other institutions, there were special schools for organists, albeit only after 1877, and military bands also offered music tuition and thus an opportunity to enter the music trade. The most famous example of a Finnish-born musician who choose the latter path is Bernhard Henrik Crusell, whose songs were discussed in the previous chapter. A crucial step forward was, however, not taken until 1882 when Finland's first proper music institute, Helsinki Music Institute (*Helsingfors musikinstitut, Helsingin musiikkiopisto*), was founded. This was the predecessor to the Sibelius Academy of the University of Arts Helsinki and was modelled on the Leipzig Conservatory, where its first director Martin Wegelius had studied.³¹⁷

Given the lack of formal institutions for the purpose, an individual's music education was provided by primary schools and colleges where the focus was on singing, although the playing of instruments was occasionally instructed.³¹⁸ The rigour of such instruction was not enough for someone with a serious interest in music, however, especially if one wanted to learn to play an instrument. This created a vast market for private tuition which was in demand not least because music was considered to be a fundamental part of a cultured person's education, and that of a lady's in particular.

Precisely how this line of work developed in Finland has not yet been investigated, but private lessons were advertised from at least the end of the eighteenth century. Lessons in 'claver' playing (probably meaning a clavichord or harpsichord), for instance, were available as well as for

³¹⁷ Dahlström 1982.

³¹⁸ Peisa 1990, 57.

the ‘citra’.³¹⁹ Growing demand stimulated an increase in supply and by the 1820s private tuition was available fairly regularly in the bigger towns, especially for the piano, flute, violin and guitar.

Despite the fact that the formal organisation of music education with the founding of the Helsinki Music Institute spurred the serious study of piano, string instruments and voice, it did not affect the guitar. As is well-known, the instrument was determinedly excluded from European music academies long into the twentieth century, and given that Finland formed no exception in this respect, the guitar was always the object of private study also in this country.

GUITARISTS AS TEACHERS IN CENTRAL EUROPE

As with any instrument, only a small selection of nineteenth-century guitarists were celebrated as performing artists and composers, while the majority had to be content with a more modest career. The fortunate few gave brilliant concerts and published virtuosic pieces, while the rest perhaps managed to place a simple method or some easy arrangements on the market. Despite this striking difference one thing remained in common: everyone gave lessons in guitar playing. Through public performances, the celebrated artist was able to forge valuable contacts with the higher strata of society and, through this, acquire well-paying students. For the less-renowned this must have been considerably harder, although teaching certainly was an even more important source of income for the more moderately successful guitar player than for a virtuoso.

Mauro Giuliani, for example, was a highly-esteemed musician and the most respected guitarist in Vienna and as such, he experienced no difficulty in sourcing students, even ones of high birth. This is evidenced by the pupils to whom he dedicated his works, including princesses,

³¹⁹ *Abo Tidningar* 1 July 1793; 18 February 1799.



Figure 42. The title page of Pietro Pettoletti's *Variations* dedicated to the Swedish nobleman Baron Uno de Troil.

barons and counts. Fernando Sor also cultivated a wide circle of students and we know that while he was in London (1815–1822) a number of his tutees came from the city's most fashionable quarters.³²⁰ We also know that lesser-known guitarists such as Johann Christian Gottlieb Scheidler (c.1750–c.1815) – ‘the last lutenist and the first German guitarist’ – considered teaching to be an important element of his work, although he was certainly also a performer and composer. The same was true of another German, Johann Carl Heinrich Bornhardt.³²¹

Closer to Finland, the dedication of Karl von Gärtner’s *Six Ländlers* to Dorothée de Engeström ‘par son maître’ (1819?) shows that Gärtner tutored at least one student in Sweden. The Italian Pietro Pettoletti, who often resided in Sweden, also had a student, as corroborated by a dedication printed on the title page of his *Variations*, op. 7 reading: ‘à Monsieur le Baron Uno de Troil, Son Elève’. We also notice that the students Gärtner and Pettoletti had were of high birth.

³²⁰ Page 2013, 557–569.

³²¹ Zuth 1920; Hindrichs 2012, 119–126, 131.

These examples show that, just as elsewhere in Europe, visiting guitarists in Sweden gave lessons to the country's local amateurs but we are short of such information when it comes to Finland. The reason is that, as mentioned in Chapter Three, save for a few short pieces no guitar music was published in the country in the nineteenth century and, therefore, dedications revealing names of Finnish guitar amateurs are wanting. Consequently, although we know of many guitar teachers operating in Finland, we have no knowledge of their pupils.

MEN AND WOMEN OF VARYING NATIONALITIES – GENERAL ASPECTS OF GUITAR TEACHERS IN FINLAND

The honour of being the first person to advertise guitar lessons in Finland goes to a Frenchman who offered instruction upon 'princer [sic] de la Guittare Espagnol' in Turku in 1815.³²² Following this first advertisement no others were placed in the 1810s but, come the new decade, guitar lessons started to be offered fairly frequently in the newspapers of both Turku and Helsinki, with some single advertisements also appearing in one or two smaller towns (Porvoo, Vaasa and Vyborg). This development continued until the century's second half when advertising activity dried up in Turku, with Helsinki remaining the only place where tuition was regularly offered. Based on their advertising (no other sources reveal information on guitar teachers), the total number of guitar teachers operating over the course of the century was around sixty. In reality their number must have been higher because it is certain that not everyone publicised their availability. In smaller communities advertising was not necessary and, even in bigger towns, teachers often offered their services by leaving calling cards in shops. Understandably, this method has left no trace.

The provision of guitar lessons, even if by some sixty teachers, was

³²² *Åbo Allmänna Tidning* 14 October 1815.

neither regular nor geographically balanced. The bigger towns dominate with regard to the availability of teaching and, even if some of the information about guitar lessons offered in smaller towns may escape us, it is highly improbable that there was significant demand for guitar tuition in these provincial places. The irregularity of the supply, on the other hand, was caused by the fact that many teachers were not permanent residents of the country. One of these was P. Michailowitsch, a violinist of the Tallinn Theatre, who 'during his stay hereabouts' offered violin and guitar lessons.³²³ He was far from the only one and several others' advertisements also state that they were just on a brief visit to the country. People also changed their minds, as was the case for Maria Westergren who offered guitar lessons during her 'visit in the country' in 1845, but apparently decided to stay because ten years later we still find her living in Turku.³²⁴

The majority of teachers appear to have been foreigners, although their exact nationalities are hard to establish. Judging by their surnames, the largest group was formed of Swedes even if we bear in mind that among these there were also some Finns with a Swedish surname. Quite a few teachers had German last names, while only a couple had French and Russian ones. An Englishwoman, Miss Colvin, completes our list.³²⁵ In sum, mirroring the situation of Finnish musical life, which until the second half of the nineteenth century was still very dependent on foreign labour, there are not many Finns among these teachers and none with a Finnish surname.

With regard to the gender of the teachers, Miss Colvin was not the only woman to provide guitar lessons in Finland, let alone the only woman to work as a music teacher. Teaching was a typical career for nineteenth-century women wanting to work with music because it took a long time for them to be admitted to other fields within the music trade. The historical role of women in music has been studied in much of Europe but, unfortunately, hardly any studies have been conducted

³²³ *Helsingfors Tidningar* 5 June 1839.

³²⁴ Census records of Turku, I: 31 (TCA); *Åbo Underrättelser* 23 July 1845.

³²⁵ *Hufvudstadsbladet* 25 September 1898.

about the gender aspect of the history of Finnish music teachers.³²⁶ That said, one relatively small survey of piano teachers advertising in Helsinki between 1878 and 1882 shows that eighteen of the twenty-five were women.³²⁷ Nevertheless, due to the limited scope of this survey one should be wary of drawing conclusions. The gender distribution seems to have been quite different for guitar teachers, however, and out of a total of fifty-four in Finland, eleven were women and thirty-seven men, while the gender of the remaining half a dozen is unknown. Note that this reflects the situation from 1815 to 1899, a considerably longer period than that of the aforementioned study. For some reason, almost all of the known female guitar teachers operated during the first half of the century, while we know of only two from after 1850. Moreover, both of these women were in fact not active until the final decade of the 1800s.

THE VARYING JOB DESCRIPTIONS OF THE GUITAR TEACHERS

Multi-instrumentalism

Unlike today when an instrument teacher is usually specialised in teaching of one particular musical instrument only, in the nineteenth century it was quite normal for such teachers to instruct upon an array of them. Among Finnish guitar teachers, the most common ‘additional’ ones were the piano and the violin, but singing lessons were also often part of a teacher’s repertoire. One teacher appears to have been versatile enough to give lessons in eight different instruments and the long list advertising this tutor’s range is in fact followed by an *et cetera*, thus suggesting that even more were in reserve.³²⁸ Needless to say, one can hardly suspect that all of these instruments were mastered equally

326 See, for example, Hoffmann 1991.

327 Rahkonen 2004, 165.

328 *Helsingfors Tidningar* 5 November 1851.

well. But these were exceptions and most teachers offered lessons in guitar playing in addition to one or, at most, two other instruments. Apart from the piano and violin, a natural combination with the guitar was another plucked instrument, such as the Swedish lute or (later in the century) the mandolin or *kantele*.³²⁹ The combinations varied a lot, a more exotic pairing being the guitar and cornet. The chance to learn this coupling was kindly facilitated by two teachers.³³⁰

When several instruments were on a teacher's programme, the guitar may not have been the main one, especially if the other instrument was the piano. Lessons for this latter one must simply have been more sought after than those for guitar, given that there were more piano amateurs than guitar amateurs. That said, at times the situation was the opposite, with a guitar teacher offering piano lessons on the side. Several multi-instrumentalist teachers were professional musicians but some had other occupations too; among those falling into the latter category were, for instance, army officers.

Music teaching as a side-line

Another distinctive group of guitar teachers but also of music teachers in general, was composed of people who, aside from giving guitar lessons, had little else to do with music. Next to nothing is known about the background of these individuals, but they are interesting in that they reveal the sort of company our instrument occasionally kept.

As one example, the above Frenchman claimed to have written 'many literary oeuvres' and to be 'maître de langue', a language teacher. Apart from the Spanish guitar, he was capable to instruct on 'French language, proper pronunciation, prosody, orthography, geography, history and music', a breath-taking list indeed.³³¹ The Frenchman wished to find a position as a private tutor, as did many women who placed

³²⁹ *Hufvudstadsbladet* 1 October 1893; *Uusi Suometar* 5 September 1897.

³³⁰ See, for example, *Wiborgs Tidning* 4 March 1876.

³³¹ *Åbo Allmänna Tidning* 14 October 1815.

similar advertisements – albeit far less grand ones. The skills that they advertised were expectedly more feminine: embroidery, sewing, house-keeping, painting and drawing. A certain Miss Broström, for instance, was willing to teach guitar playing and sewing and also offered to read to children.³³²

Miss Colvin, the aforementioned Englishwoman, and Carl Heinrich Alexander Graeflé, a native of Trieste who is discussed in more detail below, gave language lessons.³³³ In contrast, Augusta Liphart gave tuition in the latest popular dances, such as French contradances, the mazurka, gavotte, English quadrille ‘à la Sontag’ and Polish quadrille. Yet another example of this great versatility is Lieutenant Julius Modensvärd who, when visiting Vaasa in the 1840s, offered ‘thorough instruction in piano, flute and guitar playing’, but also promised that ‘the one who does not know how to write, can learn the mentioned skill in twelve hours’.³³⁴

These persons may appear as charlatans, often promising too much, but the breadth of their provision also indicates the limited possibilities that one faced when trying to earn a living as a private teacher: with only one skill to offer it was extremely difficult to maintain a sufficient number of pupils. Lieutenant Modensvärd was no doubt overly optimistic in his promise that an illiterate individual might learn to write within twelve lessons, but in essence there is little to no difference between this style of advertising and that of today. It is also worth remembering that many female private teachers were either single women or widows and it was even harder for them to make ends meet than it was for single men, thus requiring them to be particularly resourceful.

³³² See, for example, *Abo Tidningar* 17 August 1842; *Helsingfors Tidningar* 4 April 1835.

³³³ *Wasa Tidning* 5 April 1845; *Hufvudstadsbladet* 25 September 1898.

³³⁴ *Wasa Tidning* 4 July 1846. Modensvärd may have been a capable guitarist because he performed publicly a few months after the visit to Finland, on 18 September 1846, playing a varied selection of chamber music by Küffner and von Call. *Nytt Allvar Och Skämt* 15 October 1846.

Different teaching methods and guitars

Guitar teachers usually did not mention a specific teaching method in their advertisements, although there are a few exceptions that may be brought forward. The most interesting is ‘a guitar player’ offering ‘thorough guidance according to the uniform methods of the gentlemen Pettoletti [sic] and Giuliani [sic] in an advertisement placed in Helsinki in 1841.³³⁵ This teacher also promised that ‘the more advanced amateurs of the instrument will even be able, with the aid of the instruction, to try to further overcome those difficulties which arise when handling the guitar in the right and appropriate manner’.³³⁶

The expression ‘the right and appropriate manner’ and the mention of Giuliani and Pettoletti suggest that the advertiser was a better schooled guitar teacher than average; the mention of ‘advanced amateurs’ further supports this assumption. By ‘uniform methods’, our guitar player surely refers to the teaching methods or playing style of Pettoletti and Giuliani, not to a published instruction book (neither of the Pettoletti brothers, Pietro nor Joachim, authored one), the implication being that he would have known this from first-hand experience, true or not. Whether Pettoletti and Giuliani in reality shared a technical or methodical ‘uniformity’ remains an open question. Even so, the advertisement is exceptional both in its mention of the technical challenges of the instrument and of the two Italian guitarists.

Another individual in favour of the Italian method of guitar playing was C.H.A. Graefl , briefly mentioned above, who offered both guitar and singing lessons in accordance with this tradition.³³⁷ When Mr H. Laur n publicised his ‘popular classes of guitar accompaniment’ at the end of the century, however, the Italian tradition of playing the guitar

³³⁵ *Helsingfors Tidningar* 17 November 1841.

³³⁶ ‘mera f r sig komne dilettanter   instrumentet  r v n i tillf lle att, i f ljd av erh l nde undervisning, widare s k  bek mpa de sv righeter, som wid guitarrens r tta och  ndam lsenliga handterande f rekomma’. It seems somewhat surprising that this teacher thought that difficulties arise when an instrument is played using a proper technique and not the opposite.

³³⁷ *Åbo Tidningar* 27 October 1847.

Figure 43. A portrait of the Italian guitarist Pietro Pettoletti.



(or indeed any other sophisticated way) had become a mere memory. Laurén guaranteed to teach the skill in a single month and, if this is to be believed, his ‘method’ of choice must have been very efficient or the accompaniments extremely unchallenging.³³⁸

Although the Russian-type seven string guitar was certainly known in Finland, very little information regarding its use has come down to us. As regards lessons for it, they were only offered in the press on three occasions in the entire nineteenth century.³³⁹ The first two of these advertisements are not signed, while ‘M. F. Thusberg’ placed the third one. There is, however, good reason to believe that the unsigned advertisements were Maria Fredrica (Frederique) Thusberg’s as well,

³³⁸ *Hufvudstadsbladet* 5 February 1899.

³³⁹ *Åbo Tidningar* 8 and 12 October 1825; *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 31 January 1826.

since they all offered instruction in ‘Italian or Russian guitar’ using a practically identical choice of words. More noteworthy than this is the fact there appears to not have been much of a market for lessons upon an instrument that was so highly-favoured by the amateurs in St. Petersburg and elsewhere in the Russian Empire.

THE TEACHERS

In what follows, Finnish guitar teachers will be presented chronologically.³⁴⁰ Only the more noteworthy ones are introduced, while those of whom nothing more is known than what their advertisements tell us are not included in the discussion.

The earliest teachers

Other than the Frenchman who is mentioned above, no one else placed advertisements for guitar lessons in the press in the first two decades of the century. By the 1820s, however, already five people did so.

To start with a hypothesis, the first guitar teacher of the 1820s may have been Karl von Gärtner, who, as mentioned in Chapter Two, stayed in Turku for a few months in 1820 and performed a concert while he was there. Since we know that he had at least one student in Sweden, we may surmise that he was prepared to give guitar lessons in Finland as well. Perhaps some members of the local musical society were interested, potentially even Archbishop Tengström.

Speculation aside, the most noteworthy of those who we definitely know to have given guitar lessons is Josef Gehring. Two other teachers also stand out: Johan Widerberg and Maria Fredrica (Frederique) Thusberg. Widerberg is an example of an artist’s hardships and Thusberg was an active guitar teacher for several decades. More im-

³⁴⁰ Some teachers continued to teach for several decades. The date of the first advertisement of each one determines their place in this chronology.

portantly, Thusberg is the first woman known to have provided guitar lessons in Finland.

In February 1827, an advertisement in the *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* in Helsinki informed its readers that the Austrian Josef Gehring offered lessons in ‘violin, guitar, etc.’.³⁴¹ Gehring, who had previously worked in Turku, was moving on to the country’s capital and was, thus, seeking work. For some reason, however, ‘a music lover’ placed this advertisement on his behalf, so perhaps Gehring felt that it was less fitting for him to do so.

Although Gehring is regarded as a vital force of Finnish musical life, little is known of his background and even the date and location of his birth remain to be known. When he arrived in the early 1820s, he titled himself ‘K. K. Österrikisk Concertmestare’ (Imperial and Royal Austrian Concert Master) suggesting that he may already have had a career of note in his native Austria. Furthermore, on his way to Finland he, as so many other musicians, resided in St. Petersburg. Gehring was therefore likely to have been in his late-twenties, perhaps even older, when he settled in Finland in 1822 (a diary annotation by J.J. Pippingsköld indicates he visited Turku the previous year, but he was probably still living in St. Petersburg at this time).³⁴²

The Austrian’s first appointment in Finland was as leader of the Musical Society of Turku orchestra, although he also found time to play in a string quartet and concerts of his own. These performances took him to Oulu in Finland as well as to Stockholm and Copenhagen.³⁴³ Finally, in 1827, Gehring moved to Helsinki after having accepted an invitation to lead the Musical Society of Helsinki (*Musikaliska Sällskapet i Helsingfors*).³⁴⁴

341 *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 15 February 1827.

342 Vainio 2009, 75. I am indebted to Kimmo Korhonen for the information concerning Pippingsköld’s diary. Although in Finnish music history the year 1822 is usually accepted as the one when Gehring settled in Finland, his advertising in Sweden in July 1823 somewhat contradictorily mentions that he was ‘newly arrived from St. Petersburg’. *Dagligt Allehanda* 2 July 1823.

343 *Oulun Viikko-Sanomia* 20 June 1829; Marvia 1977a.

344 The biographical information on Gehring is based on Rosas 1952.

Returning to the aforementioned advertisement of 1827 for Gehring's services, we can read that

The Concertmaster Gehring will spend some time hereabouts and, according to his own words, he would like to give instruction in violin, guitar etc. It would be desirable if each inhabitant of this our town would support this generally acclaimed artist, so that we could always have him here amongst us.³⁴⁵

It is uncertain whether Gehring acquired any students, but John Rosas assumes that this must have been the case. From our point of view the advertisement is interesting in its specification of the violin and the guitar as the instruments instructed upon, whereas all the other ones are passed off with an 'etc.'. Perhaps, therefore, Gehring had mastered these two instruments best. Or perhaps this choice reflects a local demand for lessons on these two instruments specifically.

Nothing is known of Gehring's formation as a guitarist, although in Austria the guitar was not only popular in Vienna but also in Tyrol, where it is still commonly used today in folk music.³⁴⁶ Hence, Gehring could easily have encountered the instrument in his motherland, before perhaps deepening his skills in St. Petersburg where many guitar amateurs and professional players lived. Zani de Ferranti, for instance, had arrived there a year before Gehring journeyed to Finland.³⁴⁷

No more advertisements reference Gehring's guitar instruction, but since he played the instrument publicly in 1832, it seems that he had a continuing rapport with it. How well he mastered the guitar remains an open question, but his skill as a violinist was reported to have equalled that of the French violin virtuoso Pierre Rode (1774–1830).

³⁴⁵ 'På någon tid kommer Concermästarem Gehring att uppehålla sig härstädes; enligt hans egna ord, ville han sysselsätta sig med a lemma lectioner uti Violin, Guitarre &c - Det vore önskeligt om denne vår Stads respective innevänare skulle understödja denne allmänt erkände Konstmästare, för att derigenom för alltid få bibehålla honom inom vår krets. En Musikälskare.'

³⁴⁶ Hackl 1996, 21–26.

³⁴⁷ Van de Cruys 2005, 21.

Furthermore, in Finland he was generally regarded to be more competent than Johan Christopher Downer, his colleague in the Musical Society of Turku orchestra.³⁴⁸ Based on this, it is tempting to think that he was also a skilful guitarist, or, judging by his general musical ability at least a knowledgeable teacher of the instrument. In general, it seems that Gehring held teaching close to his heart and did not see it as a necessary evil. This is suggested by his offer of *gratis* music lessons to students ‘who in Turku have participated in the activities of the local musical society’.³⁴⁹ Moreover, this was not a unique occurrence, since August Schauman states that Gehring’s ‘untiring assiduity and warm devotion’ and his ‘ever-present unselfishness’ were reminisced about long after his departure from Finland.³⁵⁰

Gehring’s later activity remains largely unaccounted for. We know that he left Finland for St. Petersburg in 1832, although perhaps not entirely of his own will. One of the reasons must have been that his inclination to consume one-too-many glasses rendered him without the necessary authority to lead the musical society’s activities. Contemporary anecdotes describe how, at balls and other merriments, apart from overseeing the musical entertainments, he ‘at least with equal zeal took care of the wine bottles and amused the party with juicy anecdotes’.³⁵¹

Gehring’s life did not calm down after he had left Finland, as we may read in an account published some two years later in *Helsingfors Tidningar*. It discloses that ‘Mr Gehring is again idle because of work having once more become too heavy for him, but also due to the fact that he so much cherishes his independence’. We also learn that, in the company of a certain Prince Gallitzin, he continued his journey from the Russian capital to a town called Karpov, intending from there to go to Siberia to ‘play something for the wolves’.³⁵² With these somewhat colourful observations Josef Gehring disappears from our view.

348 Frenckell 1943, 381.

349 *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 23 October 1828.

350 Schauman 1967, 89.

351 Frenckell 1943, 381.

352 *Helsingfors Tidningar* 6 December 1834.



Figure 44. Josef Gehring's signature.

Johan Widerberg, the second of our early teachers, was a Swedish actor who in 1822 was employed by Anders Petter Berggren's theatrical company in Helsinki, first as an actor and then as the company's music master. The first information on Widerberg's whereabouts in Finland comes from Turku where he advertised lessons for the violin, guitar, Swedish lute and singing in June 1821.³⁵³ A few more advertisements followed suit and two benefit concerts were also announced, one in June and another in August of that year; whether he played the guitar on these occasions is not recorded.³⁵⁴ The charms of the old capital of Finland did, however, not manage to captivate Widerberg for long and he moved to Helsinki after less than a year to join the aforementioned Berggren's theatrical company. Unfortunately, this did not prove a successful career move and his luck soon faded when another musician of the group, Johan Gustaf Lemke, became the favourite.³⁵⁵ When in Helsinki, Widerberg advertised guitar lessons only scantily, mostly during the year of his arrival.³⁵⁶

Regarding Widerberg's actual music qualifications, the information we have is vague due to the confusing manner in which he signed his advertisements. In fact, at times Widerberg's listings lead one to believe that he was a high-status musician, a state of affairs that is certainly not in accordance with reality. The Swede had called himself a 'Kammar-Musicus' (chamber musician) while in Turku, but after settling in Helsinki he becomes 'a former member of the Royal Court Orchestra

³⁵³ *Åbo Tidningar* 20 June 1821.

³⁵⁴ *Åbo Tidningar* 20 June and 25 August 1821.

³⁵⁵ Lemke may have played the Swedish lute, as among the printed music of his estate we find some for this instrument. See Lemke 1825.

³⁵⁶ See, for example, *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 27 July 1822.



Figure 45. *Hämeentulli*, a watercolour by Magnus von Wright.

of Stockholm' (*Kungliga Hovkapellet*). In a subsequent advertisement he is described as a 'former Royal Swedish Chamber Musician', transforming himself yet again a few months later into a 'Music Director'.³⁵⁷ Ester-Margaret von Frenckell has pointed out that Widerberg's name does not appear among the members of the court orchestra, and therefore suggests 'Music Director' to be the most appropriate one of the titles that Widerberg offered.³⁵⁸

This exploitation of 'grand' titles suggests a conscious marketing strategy, which may have developed because of Widerberg's financial circumstances. His vulnerable monetary situation may also reveal itself in the decision to include more and more instruments in his teaching programme. These were, according to Widerberg's last advertisement

³⁵⁷ *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 25 May 1822; 27 July 1822; 28 September 1822.

³⁵⁸ Frenckell 1943, 381.

from 1822, the cello, alto, fortepiano and ‘klaver’, this meaning the clavichord.³⁵⁹

Widerberg was married to an actress and the couple lived in a hostelry near the *Hämeentulli* (the Custom House of Tavastland), a place that was felt to be far away from the centre of Helsinki at the time. He sold printed music and ‘songs from most of the operas’, yet in spite of this selection Frenckell suggests that Widerberg was largely unable to ‘wheedle people’ to visit the far-away hostelry. In addition to financial difficulties, both Widerberg and his wife suffered from mental-health problems.³⁶⁰

Widerberg’s situation with perhaps only a few students to bring the bread to the table (still fewer of them probably in need of guitar lessons) depicts a sombre picture of a freelance musician’s everyday life in Helsinki in the early 1820s. This image is in no way remedied by the added detail that Widerberg perished insane.

The third of the early teachers, Maria Fredrica Thusberg (born 1793), was the daughter of Carl Fredrik Thusberg, a military musician who is occasionally mentioned in Finnish music history and whom the reader may remember as a manufacturer of Swedish lutes. In her advertising she called herself ‘Frederique’, although her first names were actually ‘Maria Fredrica’ – perhaps this sounded more ‘artistic’ than her real name.³⁶¹

Thusberg was active both in Turku and Helsinki, her first advertisement appearing in the former town in 1825.³⁶² She was thirty-two years old at this point and one wonders whether this late start has a connection to her mother’s death, announced in the press only four days later.³⁶³ The following year Thusberg was in Helsinki, living in the painter Borgström’s courtyard in ‘Nyländska förstad’, but we find her

³⁵⁹ *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 28 September 1822.

³⁶⁰ The information in this paragraph is based on Frenckell 1943, 382–383.

³⁶¹ The Archive of Turku Cathedral Congregation, Birth records of the Finnish speaking parish 1789–1808, I C1:6 (NAF).

³⁶² *Åbo Tidningar* 8 October 1825.

³⁶³ *Åbo Tidningar* 12 October 1825.

back in Turku again in 1832, living near the Cathedral.³⁶⁴ From 1841 until July 1849 she only advertised in Helsinki, after which point any traces of her disappear. Supposing that Thusberg did not leave Finland during the breaks in her advertising, her career as a guitar teacher lasted some twenty-four years.

Thusberg's array of instruments included the piano, the Swedish lute and the 'Russian and Italian guitar'. It is logical to assume that she received her musical training from her father who, although a military musician, as a maker of Swedish lutes also had an interest in plucked instruments. Incidentally, a Swedish lute of his manufacture came into Maria Fredrica's hands after her father's decease and is, as mentioned in Chapter One, one of the four extant ones by Finnish makers.³⁶⁵

After 1841 the Russian guitar is not mentioned in Maria Fredrica's advertisements, suggesting that thenceforward she had dropped it from her body of teaching.³⁶⁶ At the same time some other small adjustments in the wording of her postings took place: although she continued to assure 'thorough instruction', it was now to be done 'according to the newest methods'. A new feature from 1846 onwards is that instruction for beginners began to be mentioned, but it seems rather unlikely that this meant that she had not provided this service previously.

Nothing more can be said about Thusberg but the extent of her career, the fact that she taught the Russian guitar and that she was a woman makes her a noteworthy early teacher.

364 *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 31 January 1826; *Abo Tidningar* 29 September 1832. The district of *Nyländska förstaden* comprised some Western and Southern parts of the town, outside the original Ehrenström town plan; today these regions form part of the very centre of Helsinki.

365 This instrument is presently in the Porvoo Museum (Item Collection, inv. 292). See Figure 3.

366 *Helsingfors Tidningar* 10 July 1841.

Teachers of the 1830s

In the 1830s, the number of individuals offering guitar lessons grew almost threefold in comparison with the previous decade. The most noteworthy is Carl Theodor Möller (1813–1889) who holds a certain status in Finnish music history due to his role as a factotum of musical life in Turku; because of this, he will be introduced at some length. Möller's brother Fritz was also a guitar teacher who, as a resident of several Finnish towns, may have been able to spread his guitar expertise more widely than most others. A third teacher who is elaborated upon is Wilhelm Siber, a musician who is also noted in Finnish music-history books and was in many ways like Möller. In addition, one or two minor figures of the 1830s will be briefly touched upon.

Born in 1813 in Kristianstad, Sweden, Carl Theodor Möller's initial contact with music happened at home: his father was a music director and several other family members were considered 'musical notabilities'.³⁶⁷ Based on the training he received from his family circle, his musical skills were fairly advanced from an early age and, consequently, at only seventeen Möller was already considered qualified to give music lessons to 'the families of some professors'. In 1830 he began his law-studies in the legendary Lund University, the oldest in Scandinavia, a sojourn that is noteworthy because his guitar compositions date from that time.³⁶⁸ On his way to Finland, and having left Lund, Möller still made a brief stopover in Stockholm, where he studied harmony and worked as a music seller.

In the autumn of 1837, at the age of twenty-four, Möller finally moved to Turku, a town whose cultural life had barely overcome the shock caused by a devastating fire some ten years earlier. The specific reasons for his relocation are unknown. What is clear, however, is that he had been in the country for a few months before settling in Turku for good. During this earlier visit he probably accompanied his sister Henriette,

³⁶⁷ Most of the biographical information is based on Jansson 1976.

³⁶⁸ For a discussion of these compositions, see Chapter Three.

Figure 46. A portrait of Carl Theodor Möller,
the factotum of Turku cultural life and
a guitar composer.



a singer, in the concerts that she gave in Turku and Helsinki.³⁶⁹ Thanks to his congenial personality, Möller soon became accepted in his new hometown and, when Wilhelm Siber moved to Turku the following year, their near simultaneous arrival was felt as if ‘fresh winds were suddenly blowing’.³⁷⁰ Consequently, Downer, once so highly esteemed, was now reminisced of as a representative of the ‘olden days’.

Möller’s achievements in the field of choral music are especially significant and, indeed, one of his first actions in Turku was to establish a singing society named ‘Aura’, after the river running through the town. As an active man Möller also became involved in an array of other musical and non-musical activities. For instance, he founded

369 *Åbo Underrättelser* 15 July and 19 August 1837; *Helsingfors Morgonblad* 21 July and 4 August 1837.

370 Jansson 1976, 155.

a music school in 1839 and was appointed as singing master of the musical society and the *gymnasium*, having by this time also become the cathedral's organist. As if this was not enough, Möller also sold music and ran his own piano factory, an international patent for the instrument's tuning machinery testifying for his resourcefulness and entrepreneur spirit. In addition, to mention one pursuit that had nothing to do with music, he also tried his hand at brewing. His brewery was called *Amalienborgs bryggeri* but his obituary suggests that it was not a successful enterprise.³⁷¹ Möller also managed to make a few journeys abroad: to England, France and Germany. He married twice, had five children and was economically fairly well off. Paul Jansson describes Möller's personality as follows:

An exceptionally versatile person with wide-ranging interests, supported by broad, both practical and technical talents. The lyrics of his songs and his poems both speak of a rich inner life, revealing an extensive emotional scale from sentimentality to humour.³⁷²

Returning to the year 1837, after his arrival Möller let only two weeks pass before he advertised piano, singing and guitar lessons in the local newspaper *Åbo Underrättelser*.³⁷³ Given that another two weeks later a second advertisement informed that 'yours truly has still one or two appointments free', one feels that he had successfully picked up some students in this time – providing the phrase was not simply a promotional tactic.³⁷⁴

Over the years Möller did not advertise a great deal, usually only at the beginning of the season, either in September or October. As a rule this was coupled with the advertising of his music school, the last mention of guitar lessons dating from 1845.³⁷⁵ Interestingly, apart from

³⁷¹ *Åbo Tidning* 17 July 1889.

³⁷² Jansson 1976, 169.

³⁷³ *Åbo Underrättelser* 25 October 1837.

³⁷⁴ *Åbo Tidningar*, *Åbo Underrättelser* 11 November 1837.

³⁷⁵ *Åbo Tidningar* 23 August 1845.

the normal-priced lessons Möller offered, he occasionally advertised some for a ‘moderate’ price to the students of the local *Fruntimmerskola* (Women’s Institute).³⁷⁶ Though we do not know which instruments he taught, it is more than probable that some girls would have wanted to learn to play the guitar. In a similar vein, even if Möller did not advertise guitar instruction after 1845, it is difficult to believe that, if he were asked, he would not have helped out someone who was seeking to learn to play the instrument. Therefore, Möller probably remained a ‘reserve’ guitar teacher in Turku for several decades.

No reports of Möller’s public or private guitar playing are known but some of his performances as a singer, organist and pianist were reported in the press. For instance, a concert review from 1843 discloses that Möller had ‘played the brilliant overture by Kuhlau’, some organ pieces and ‘also let his beautiful and sonorous tenor voice be heard’.³⁷⁷ He being a singer, it is not far-fetched to suppose that in more private settings he occasionally sang to his own guitar accompaniment.

Carl Theodor must have soon felt at home in Turku and it is perhaps for this reason that his younger brother Fritz (1819–1879) also moved to Finland; moreover, their sister Henriette (1816–1852), a singer, was also a long-standing resident of Turku. Fritz arrived around a year after his brother, in July 1838, and it was only a matter of weeks before the siblings jointly placed an advertisement for ‘music lessons’.³⁷⁸ No instruments were specified, but two months later we learn that Fritz’s instruments were the guitar and the piano. In 1841 this selection widened to include the violin, alto and cello, and later still, singing and – somewhat surprisingly – a wind instrument called the *Kenthorn* (Royal Kent bugle).³⁷⁹

If the birth date disclosed by Fritz Möller’s obituary holds true, he was six years younger than Carl Theodor who outlived him by the

³⁷⁶ *Åbo Tidningar* 23 August 1845.

³⁷⁷ *Åbo Underrättelser* 3 June 1843.

³⁷⁸ *Åbo Tidningar* 14 July 1838; *Åbo Underrättelser* 1 September 1838.

³⁷⁹ *Åbo Underrättelser* 3 November 1838; 4 September 1841; 1 February 1843. *Kenthorn* is the precursor of the modern flugelhorn.

same number of years.³⁸⁰ Like Carl Theodor, it is more than possible that Fritz got his basic music training in the family circle. Furthermore, even if Carl Theodor had developed his guitar-playing skills with the help of a guitarist residing in Lund, as discussed in Chapter Three, the fact that Fritz was also a guitar player suggests the two brothers shared a common background in this respect. Perhaps the guitar was one of the instruments played in their childhood home?

After less than a year's stay in Finland Fritz travelled back to Stockholm, a fact confirmed by the list of passengers travelling on-board the steam ship *Solide* in June 1839.³⁸¹ The purpose of Fritz's trip must have been to fine-tune his music skills at the Royal Academy of Music in Stockholm because upon his return to Finland his advertisements began to be signed 'Student of the Royal Academy' and, on one occasion, 'Kammar-Musikus' (Chamber Musician). Incidentally, only a day after Fritz's departure for Sweden, his older brother Carl Theodor publicised music lessons 'during the summer months', something he had never previously done.³⁸² This is almost as if he immediately hoped to profit from the newly diminished competition. Fritz Möller's sojourn in Sweden lasted just over two years, at most, for in September 1841 he was again offering guitar tuition in the press in Turku.³⁸³

Just like Carl Theodor, the younger Möller's public performances also involved both singing and organ playing, but nothing documents him having ever played the guitar in public. After two years in Turku it was time for Fritz to move on when he, in 1843, became appointed as the organist of Porvoo Cathedral, a fairly prestigious post.³⁸⁴ Regrets were expressed in the press that the local music scene lost a tenor voice with 'power and charm', showing that Fritz had achieved a certain acclaim in the local music scene.³⁸⁵ For reasons unknown, Fritz's

³⁸⁰ *Morgonbladet* 10 October 1879.

³⁸¹ *Åbo Underrättelser* 15 June 1839.

³⁸² *Åbo Underrättelser* 15 June 1839.

³⁸³ *Åbo Underrättelser* 4 September 1841.

³⁸⁴ *Borgå Tidning* 14 October 1843.

³⁸⁵ *Åbo Tidningar* 23 September 1843.

stay in Porvoo did not last long either and after less than a year a move to Tammisaari, a town on the southern coast of Finland, was on the cards. It seems that Fritz Möller had finally found his footing because it was here that he spent the remaining thirty-five years of his life as organist for the local church. No more advertising of music lessons took place now, but since Tammisaari was an even smaller community than Porvoo, it was hardly necessary. One more reason may have been that he took on the running of the local bookshop in 1853 and therefore had less time for other activities.³⁸⁶ On the other hand, given that also guitar strings were sold in his shop, there must have been some local interest in the instrument.³⁸⁷ As a mere parenthesis, it seems that the Möller brothers shared an interest in entrepreneurship as well as in music, although this may have been dictated more by necessity than desire; in fact, many other musicians did the same.

With regard to his teaching, Fritz Möller accepted beginners, including children (at least for the piano).³⁸⁸ We also know that he gave group lessons, the price for this option being lower per individual pupil.³⁸⁹ His advertisements claim that he adopted the 'best methods' and also expressed a wish that 'the Gentry would be content with both the progress of the pupils and the easy method applied'.³⁹⁰ Despite all of this, one is left to believe that while Fritz Möller tried to give the impression of being a versatile music master, his brother Carl Theodor was a higher calibre musician and more accomplished in other fields as well. This may have been the reason why Fritz choose to leave Turku, a town where his elder brother was highly respected.

Fritz left Turku in 1843, but this did not mean that the offering of guitar lessons singularly fell upon his brother's shoulders. Another competent musician, Wilhelm Siber (1817–1855), had taken up residence

386 Hakapää 2008, 364.

387 *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 16 March 1854.

388 *Åbo Underrättelser* 3 November 1838; *Åbo Underrättelser* 24 April 1839.

389 *Åbo Underrättelser* 27 August 1842.

390 *Åbo Underrättelser* 1 February 1843.

in the town five years prior to Fritz's departure.³⁹¹ A Baltic German by origin, he initially travelled to Helsinki, where alongside his musical activities (which included the provision of guitar lessons) he also occasionally appeared as an actor although, according to contemporary sources, without any success worth mentioning.³⁹² Siber came to Turku as a member of the aforementioned theatrical group, but the company dissolved soon after its arrival in 1838. He then joined forces with Downer, who had established a music school in the town in 1837. Finally, in 1843 Siber was given a privilege to teach music and run the town's orchestral activities.³⁹³ This appointment granted him exclusive rights to practise music, but also included the obligation to teach musical instruments to the town's youngsters. While Siber's position appears fairly secure, this was only so in theory because he was far from the only musician in the town, which meant that he faced considerable rivalry for his role. When the threat of this got too great, Siber raised complaints about violations of his territory 'in true town-musician fashion', as Dahlström puts it.³⁹⁴

Following Downer's passing, Siber's took over his music school and its *Kapell*. Under his guidance both proved successful and it was said that 'all the merry youngsters' of the town danced to the orchestra and the pupils of the music school were praised in the press.³⁹⁵ The musician's obituary applauds his achievements in the field of music education

³⁹¹ We come across different spellings of Siber's name in the press. The earliest advertisements from 1838 are signed 'W.F. Sieberg'. In 1839 the form 'W. Siber' appears for the first time, and thereafter both spellings are used; other spellings, such as Sieber and Siebert also occur. There is no doubt, however, that the same person is in question. This is because on October 20, 1840 advertisements with identical texts were published in the two newspapers of Turku, the *Åbo Underrättelser* and the *Åbo Tidningar*, the only difference between them being that the former was signed 'Siber' and the latter 'Sieberg'. The form 'Siber' is adopted here as it is the spelling that is normally used in Finnish music-history books.

³⁹² Hirn 1999a, 128.

³⁹³ Kuha 2017, 90–100.

³⁹⁴ Dahlström and Salmenhaara 1995, 322.

³⁹⁵ *Åbo Tidningar* 16 April 1845; *Helsingfors Tidningar* 11 April 1855.

and compliments his skill in keeping the *Kapell* going despite the very scarce means he had at his disposal.

Siber's first advertisement appeared in 1837 while he was still living in Helsinki. It offered lessons for the guitar, piano and violin but, when he advertised in Turku for the first time around a year later, only the guitar is mentioned.³⁹⁶ This may reflect the instrument's popularity in the town, from which Siber as 'a fresh guitar teacher' wanted to benefit. Interestingly, at precisely the time that Siber publicised his teaching Carl Theodor Möller was away from Turku, although he would be back only a few weeks later bringing along his brother Fritz.³⁹⁷ Thus, in 1838 there were suddenly three persons endowed with good general qualifications in music who were competing for the favour of Turku's guitar amateurs.

Despite stiff competition, Siber enjoyed steady success as an all-round musician. He arranged dance music, sold printed music and strings (including those for the guitar) and copied scores by hand.³⁹⁸ From 1840 onwards, however, no instruments are specified in Siber's advertisements, which only notify of 'information uti musik' (music instruction). Whether this meant that he no longer gave instruction in guitar playing, or any other instrument for that matter, is hard to tell. As an interesting detail, Siber lived for a while in the same courtyard as Carl Petter Sundqvist, the prominent guitar maker, so, there is always the chance that he also played one of the Finnish maker's instruments.³⁹⁹

The visit of one more guitar teacher deserves to be mentioned, although he only spent one month in Turku. This was Isidor Dannström (1812–1897), a celebrated Swedish singer and singing teacher, who during his stay in 1837 offered to give guitar and singing lessons, the latter 'in the Italian style'.⁴⁰⁰ Some of Dannström's songs with guitar accom-

396 *Helsingfors Tidningar* 8 April 1837; *Åbo Tidningar* 7 July 1838.

397 *Åbo Tidningar* 14 July 1838.

398 *Åbo Underrättelser* 10 October 1840.

399 *Åbo Tidningar* 9 October 1839.

400 *Åbo Tidningar* 13 May 1837.



Figure 47. The title page of Johan Isidor Dannström's *Romance* for voice and piano or guitar.

paniment were published in Sweden, of which one 'Romance' and a collection of four songs were sold in Finland.

Regarding Helsinki, the general impression is that nothing comparable to the supply of guitar lessons in Turku was available for the local amateur in the 1830s. Gehring had left the town in 1832 and although a certain 'Wönig', music director of the German Theatre, advertised guitar, piano and violin lessons in 1833, we do not know how long he stayed in the Finnish capital.⁴⁰¹ Of course Siber also gave lessons in Helsinki, as mentioned, but only in 1837.

Little is known of teaching occurring in the provincial towns, save for Fritz Möller who offered guitar instruction in Porvoo as well as possibly in Tammisaari.⁴⁰² In Vaasa, however, one C.J. Sjöberg publicised his 'thorough instruction for beginners in the playing of the six-string guitar'.⁴⁰³ The interesting feature of his posting is that it situates Sjöberg among the very few who uniquely advertised guitar lessons and he may therefore have been 'just' a guitar teacher.

⁴⁰¹ *Helsingfors Morgonblad* 23 September 1833.

⁴⁰² *Borgå Tidning* 4 October 1843.

⁴⁰³ *Wasa Tidning* 9 February 1839.

All of the above teachers gave their lessons privately, whereas in Carolina Stenborg's *pension* (boarding school) guitar was taught as part of the curriculum. Including music in the programme of such an institute was necessary and Stenborg had the required musical training for the role being the daughter of Carl Stenborg who was, in his time, a very famous and distinguished Swedish opera singer. Moreover, Finland was no novelty to Carolina when she came to settle there, since she had already performed in Turku with her parents as a ten-year-old girl in 1804.⁴⁰⁴ The exact year of her move is unknown, but it must have been prior to 1836 when she established her *pension* for young girls in Porvoo. The institute's first piece of publicity catalogues the subjects in its curriculum, among them several foreign languages, history, geography and painting. The musical instruments taught included the piano, harp and guitar – the archetypical female instruments; singing 'according to the Italian method' was also instructed.⁴⁰⁵ Carolina Stenborg herself played the piano and harp and could therefore have instructed upon these instruments, and as a harp player the possibility that she also taught the guitar cannot be ruled out. The study of music was not obligatory at the institution, indeed it had to be paid for separately, but some young girls must have studied guitar playing nevertheless. In 1840 the pension moved to Heinola, a small country town, and then from there to a 'respectable country house' near Hämeenlinna.⁴⁰⁶ Later that year Stenborg established a new institute in Oulu, but after 1842 the *pension* ceases to be mentioned in the Finnish press.⁴⁰⁷ From our perspective it is noteworthy that a guitar teacher was briefly present in the provincial town of Heinola and in the neighbourhood of Hämeenlinna in the early 1840s.

404 Frenckell 1943, 45–46; *Åbo Tidning* 15 August 1804.

405 *Helsingfors Tidningar* 4 May 1836; *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 16 August 1837.

406 *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 27 July 1841.

407 *Oulun Viikko-Sanomia* 11 December 1841.

Teachers of the 1840s

The Möller brothers and Siber continued their teaching activities through the 1840s, but some new guitar teachers also appeared on the scene. In total, the number of known teachers amounted to nearly two-dozen. Guitar instruction was also newly offered in Vyborg.

These new teachers were mostly akin to those who instructed upon music as a side-line and most of them appear to only have stayed in the country for a short period. That said, there were also some professional musicians among these new teachers. ‘A musician from Sweden’ advertised his services in 1841 and Gustaf Schellenberg presented himself as a piano, guitar and violin teacher in 1846.⁴⁰⁸ Next to nothing is known of most of these musicians, save for the detail that Schellenberg was a member of the *Neumannsche Kapell* in Vyborg. In contrast, a third musician who offered guitar instruction in the late-1840s certainly left a mark in Finnish music history. He is Ludwig Beuermann (1823–1867), whose music shop has already been alluded to many times.

Beuermann, of German parentage, moved to Finland around 1846, probably as a member of the *Tyska Kapellet* (the German Orchestra), an ensemble performing in Helsinki.⁴⁰⁹ Pacius considered Beuermann a master of several instruments and it is reported that during the first years of his stay in Helsinki Beuermann played ‘in all the music events of the town’.⁴¹⁰ He also had an entrepreneurial spirit and, in 1849, he managed to get permission to establish a music shop, opening it in December of that year. The shop’s first advertisements were for printed music, which Beuermann acquired both from St. Petersburg and Central Europe. The music could either be purchased or rented, as both the shop’s early advertisements and its sales catalogues clearly explain.⁴¹¹ Although musical instruments and strings are not mentioned

⁴⁰⁸ *Abo Tidningar* 20 November 1841; *Kanawa* 14 October 1846.

⁴⁰⁹ Hirn 1999b, 21.

⁴¹⁰ Hirn 1997, 30.

⁴¹¹ *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 8 December 1849; *Helsingfors Tidningar* 1 March 1851; Beuermann 1850, ‘Anmälan’.

in the marketing at first, Beuermann had been privately selling these items, including guitars and guitar strings, for more than a year prior to the founding of his shop. These articles were surely within the new shop's assortment, therefore, and indeed two months later an advertisement from Beuermann was signed 'music and instrument seller'.⁴¹²

Beuermann offered private lessons only rarely but, when he did, guitar lessons, as well as those for violin and three wind instruments, the flute, French horn and trumpet were available.⁴¹³ Unfortunately, we are again without record of how Beuermann learned to play the guitar, although he must have picked up the skill in Germany where it was not unusual for professional musicians to know how to play the instrument. It is plausible that Beuermann only gave private lessons in the early years of his career because he may have been too busy to do so later on.

This is all we know of Beuermann and the guitar but it is striking that the owner of the first music shop in Finland also gave guitar lessons. Beuermann's interest in the instrument also manifested itself in the shop's assortment of guitars, strings and other guitar-related material, although admittedly his catalogue of printed guitar music was not very extensive.

Another teacher of the 1840s, C.H.A. Graeflé (1804?–1855), is interesting in his provision of guitar lessons 'according to the Italian method' in (at least) three different Finnish towns: Vaasa, Turku and Porvoo.⁴¹⁴ Graeflé came to Finland from Sweden, where he had given concerts in 1839–1840 with a German harpist called Frederique Franzow and in 1842 and 1843 with the Italian guitarist and mandolinist Giuseppe Zella. The first one of Graeflé's public performances there took place in Gothenburg in October 1839, the programme showing that he both sang – in the Swedish press he was sometimes called an Alpine singer – and played the guitar. As a guitarist, however, Graeflé appears to have taken the role of an accompanist, as no information is available

412 *Helsingfors Tidningar* 19 February 1848; *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 15 February 1850.

413 *Helsingfors Tidningar* 1 November 1848.

414 *Wasa Tidning* 5 April 1845; *Åbo Tidningar* 27 October 1847; *Borgå Tidning* 15 April 1848.

of his solo performances.⁴¹⁵ In addition, a few advertisements corroborate that during his sojourn in Sweden he also offered guitar lessons.⁴¹⁶

Graeflé arrived in Finland in October 1844 at the latest because this is when his daughter was baptised in Oulu.⁴¹⁷ The baptismal record cites Graeflé's profession as 'a singing and music teacher' but he was involved in a host of other activities as well. The first advertisement of 'Professor Graeflé from Trieste' dating from the spring 1845 discloses that he offered the following services:⁴¹⁸

- Lessons in French and German
- *Conversations-Soirées*
- Singing and guitar lessons according to the Italian method
- An Institute for girls and boys, and singing exercises for Ladies and Gentlemen

In his subsequent publicity, singing lessons are not always mentioned while those for guitar are, once again, suggesting that there was a significant market for tuition and also that the guitar was potentially Graeflé's main instrument.⁴¹⁹ As regards his level as a guitar player, in October 1842 a reviewer of the newspaper *Den Flygande Posten* called him 'extremely talented', while not thinking quite as highly of his musician's skills. Therefore, Graeflé may have been a relatively proficient player of the instrument.

The 'Institute' mentioned in the fourth item above was also promoted some two years later in Turku, but now only 'young ladies over ten

⁴¹⁵ See, for example, *Göteborgs Handels- Och Sjöfarts-Tidning* 23 and 28 September 1839 and 3 September 1842.

⁴¹⁶ See, for example, *Alfwär Och Skämt* 23 November 1843.

⁴¹⁷ A newspaper announcement discloses that Graeflé got married only slightly over eight months prior to the birth of his daughter. *Nytt Allvar Och Skämt* 29 February 1844; The Archive of the Parish of Oulu, Birth records of non-residents 1844–1848, IC:9, October 1844 (NAF).

⁴¹⁸ *Wasa Tidning* 5 April 1845.

⁴¹⁹ This hypothesis is supported by the publicity for his concerts in Sweden which does not mention him playing any other instrument than the guitar.

years of age' were accepted. Judging by the wording of his later posting, the students were given both board and lodging.⁴²⁰ It is not known, however, if the 'Institute' ever got off the ground. Guitar lessons are mentioned at the end of this advertisement but it is not clear whether they formed part of the curriculum or whether Graeflé only sought to publicise them in the same advertisement.

There are many lapses in Graeflé's advertising, especially during the winter months, and it may be that he spent some of this time elsewhere, perhaps in Trieste. On the other hand, he may at least have spent the winter of 1847 in Finland if his 'Institute' had indeed opened in Turku. The somewhat sporadic advertising may also have had other reasons because Graeflé was married and had several young children (as testified by his obituary) and therefore may not have gone away for such long spells. Either way, following a hiatus of a few years, Graeflé re-emerges in the press when permission to establish a 'läroanstalt för gossar' (an educational institution for boys) in Helsinki is reported in July 1853. In 1855 the public could also read of his appointment as a lecturer in French language at the Turku *gymnasium*.⁴²¹ However, only nine months after this appointment Graeflé died at the age of fifty-one leaving behind 'four already motherless, under-aged children who now after the father's passing away were without any support'.⁴²² The obituary suggests that 'philanthropy together with Providence will take their natural course and give shelter to the poor children'. It appears that this wish was fulfilled, since only two weeks later it was reported that the sizeable sum of around one hundred and forty silver roubles had been collected for the children's benefit.⁴²³

Graeflé performed publicly also in Finland but none of his known performances involved the guitar. For instance, a *Soirée musicale et dramatique* that was organised in Turku in 1847 had a mixed programme of music and piano-accompanied melodrama recited by

420 Åbo Tidningar 27 October 1847. The verb used in the original text is 'inackordera'.

421 Finlands Allmänna Tidning 1 July 1853; Helsingfors Tidningar 24 March 1855.

422 Åbo Underrättelser 14 December 1855.

423 Åbo Underrättelser 28 December 1855.

Graeflé's wife, Lovisa (née Dahlberg). She and her husband also sang a song by the Swedish Erik Gustaf Geijer (1783–1847). The concert was organised by Graeflé but, as tradition had it, local amateurs were also given the chance to showcase their talents. One of them was the young violin star Carl Gustaf Wasenius (1821–1899) who was later to dominate the musical life of Turku.⁴²⁴

Another public appearance took place in Helsinki in 1849. This was an amateur staging of Rossini's *Il Barbiere di Siviglia*, an account of which we owe to August Schauman. The star of the performance was Betty Boije, the wife of the above-mentioned Isidor Dannström, while one of the four male roles had been entrusted to Graeflé, 'a certain teacher of French language residing hereabouts'.⁴²⁵ Graeflé could therefore sing well enough to be given a role in this opera, but he may also have played the guitar part that Rossini's original scoring includes. In addition, Schauman's report corroborates Graeflé's presence in Helsinki in 1849. Therefore, although no press information exists to this end, the information also allows for the possibility that he gave guitar lessons in the Finnish capital.

Graeflé has been presented here in some length because it is possible that he gave guitar instruction in as many as six Finnish towns, despite the fact that he advertised only in Vaasa, Porvoo and Turku.⁴²⁶ Moreover, Graeflé is (again) an example of someone who needed to amass his income from various sources. Compared to Beuermann, a successful businessman operating in the centre of the country's capital,

⁴²⁴ Åbo Underrättelser 20 October 1847.

⁴²⁵ Schauman 1967, 267.

⁴²⁶ One of Graeflé's obituaries mentions that he had worked in the army as a deputy medical doctor. This may be true because, starting from mid-April in 1855 one 'Alexander Graeffler' was employed as a medical doctor in a battalion in Turku (*I. Turun Ruotujakoinen Tarkk'ampujapataljoona*). It seems very plausible that the same person is in question as 'Graefl' must be a French form of 'Graeffler'. The latter may even have been his real name and in fact he was once called 'Graefler' in the Swedish press. Moreover, the appointment was made only a month or so after Graeflé's nomination as French teacher at the Turku *gymnasium*. If he worked in other battalions, is not known, but this would explain why he took residence in several Finnish towns. *Dagligt Allehanda* 27 November 1839; *Helsingfors Tidningar* 24 March 1855; *Sanomia Turusta* 18 December 1855; Wirilander 1985, 160.

his life must have been a fairly difficult one, not least because his wife died at a relatively early age, leaving him with offspring to provide for single-handedly.

Teachers of the second half of the nineteenth century

The main difference between the first and second halves of the nineteenth century is that the second is marked by a significantly decreased number of guitar teachers offering their services in the press. Those who were active in the later decades of the century account for only one third of the total number of Finland's guitar teachers in the 1800s as a whole.⁴²⁷ The ratio between professional musicians and amateurs also shifts drastically in favour of the latter with only a few of the former group to represent the most skilful tier. Despite being in great minority, they are still important to examine. Following this, as a closing feature, three teachers promoting their lessons with exceptional zeal will be discussed. One of this trio enjoyed a career lasting over five decades, a rare thing indeed in nineteenth-century Finland.

To commence with a more minor detail, we do know that P. Björklund offered guitar lessons for beginners in 1866.⁴²⁸ Obviously, he was just one of several who did so, but notable in this instance is that he operated in Kuopio, an inland town. This is unfortunately both the first and last piece of information on guitar teaching in this region in the whole century. That aside, nothing relevant can be added to what has already been said about the many amateurs giving guitar lessons. In contrast, the three professional musicians who provided them during the century's second half, Rudolf Lagi, Axel Gabriel Ingelius and Carl Blom, are worth our interest.

⁴²⁷ The information from the century's first half covers only three decades (1820–1849) and therefore the low number of persons advertising guitar lessons during its second half is even more striking.

⁴²⁸ *Tapio* 3 November 1866.

The first one to advertise was Rudolf Lagi (1828–1868), a musician who has left a mark on Finnish music history in many ways. Born in Kuopio, he moved from his hometown as a nine-year-old boy to go to school in Helsinki. It was here that he also studied the cello, probably under the Dane E.F. Graedener, as well as music theory of his own volition. Lagi's appointment as singing teacher of the Kuopio *gymnasium* in 1845 caused him to return to his native town but in the long run this was not the right place for an ambitious and talented young man. Thus, when an organist's post in the Nikolai Church (nowadays Helsinki Cathedral) became vacant, Lagi applied and succeeded in getting it in 1851. To the well-informed music amateurs of the town this came as no surprise because he possessed, as Pacius wrote in his letter of recommendation for the post at Kuopio *gymnasium*, 'an extraordinary musical talent united with thorough theoretical knowledge and practical skills'.⁴²⁹

Although the organist post was (and remained) his main means of employment, Lagi was very active in many other fields of music as well. He organised concerts, conducted orchestras, gave music lessons and composed and revised hymns, this last contribution being that for which Lagi is remembered by posterity.⁴³⁰ As well as his musical endeavours, he also worked as a language teacher and translator. Lagi's command of languages comprised Swedish, German, French and English, this alone being quite exceptional at that time.

The guitar was only one of the instruments upon which Lagi was able to instruct. This becomes clear from an advertisement placed in 1851 that publicises his 'theoretical and practical instruction in music', the itemised instruments in the posting being the piano, organ, violin, viola, cello and guitar, flute and French horn.⁴³¹ This very long list suggests (just as with some other teachers) that all the instruments upon it may not have been mastered to the same degree, and the gui-

⁴²⁹ Lappalainen 1958, 80; Tuppurainen 2012, 48–49.

⁴³⁰ The most famous of the hymns Lagi composed is 'Mä silmät luon ylös taivaaseen', no. 490 in the hymnal of the Finnish Evangelic-Lutheran church.

⁴³¹ *Helsingfors Tidningar* 29 October 1851.



Figure 48. Theodor Tigerstedt and Rudolf Lagi (on the right) playing the piano four-handedly.

tar may have been one of those of which Lagi only had a rudimentary knowledge. After 1851 Lagi dropped most of the instruments from his advertisements, the guitar included, retaining only music theory and piano and adding singing as a new subject. In sum, although Lagi's connection to the guitar may have been fairly loose, it is nevertheless of note that this respected musician gave lessons in its playing at one point in his life.

While Lagi was productive, respected by his contemporaries and able to lead a comfortable middle-class existence, our next guitar teacher contrasts starkly with this image. He was found dead in the woods in late spring 1868, covered with snow, save for the right arm and face. The winter had indeed been exceptionally hard with a lot of snowfall. This was the end of the controversial and somewhat enigmatic Axel Gabriel Ingelius (1822–1868) whose song with guitar accompaniment was discussed in Chapter Three.

The list of Ingelius' various activities is breath-taking: he was a composer, but also one of the first Finnish novelists. He worked as a private music teacher, but also taught in schools. In addition, he was a journalist and music critic, often stirring up trouble in the latter role.

Finnish music history does mention him, but today Ingelius' music is performed only as a curiosum and his novels have disappeared into total oblivion. In fact, the most intriguing aspect of Ingelius' life is his controversial personality, as Jukka Sarjala has pointed out.⁴³²

As a young man, inspired by the Swedish writer Carl Jonas Love Almqvist, Ingelius had already decided to live a 'poetic life'. His manifesto read that 'a poet's best poems are those left unwritten, just as it is probable that the best poets have never expressed themselves in words'. Hence, Ingelius fancied himself a poet of words and music, perhaps even a genius, but it was a view his coevals did not fully share. What is more, his eccentricity did not diminish over the years. A remark attached to a musical theme scribbled in the guest book of his friend Nils Henrik Pinello demonstrates this clearly. It states that the theme is 'taken from one of the many symphonies which have not been composed and which, incidentally, will also remain so'.

Ingelius' contemporaries may have accepted his idiosyncrasies had it not been for his very difficult personality, often bordering on arrogance and ungratefulness. What is more, his drinking habits were uncontrollable, although it seems that they did not directly cause his death.

Ingelius was considered a musical talent but, unfortunately, he lacked formal musical training. Topelius was a supporter and, in his letters, would remind the composer of the talent that he possessed, but on the other hand would not miss the opportunity to express his concern about Ingelius' conduct and alcohol consumption. His substance abuse was often a real problem, causing some of his public performances to end in disaster.

Many sources corroborate Ingelius' connection to the guitar. One is a newspaper article published some years after the composer's death describing how, when living in Turku, he used to walk at sunrise to the river shore 'dressed in a blouse, wearing a big straw-hat, a flute in his pocket and a guitar under the arm'.⁴³³ Ingelius' daughter also rem-

432 The biographical information on Ingelius is largely based on Sarjala 2005.

433 *Åbo Underrättelser* 8 January 1877.

Figure 49. A photograph of the controversial Axel Gabriel Ingelius.



inisces about how, in the evenings, her father used to play the various instruments he had mastered. Since the guitar was one of these, there is good reason to think that she would have heard his guitar playing as well, although she does not mention it specifically.⁴³⁴ Moreover, an early biographer states of Ingelius that ‘he was known to fairly skilfully handle several different instruments like the piano, flute, guitar and violin’.⁴³⁵ Finally, Ingelius’ advertisements for guitar lessons verify that he indeed played our instrument.

Ingelius’ advertising was not very frequent and covers only the years 1856–1858, but he was acquainted with the instrument long before this.⁴³⁶ This is suggested by a newspaper article Ingelius wrote in defence of accompanied singing in 1847.⁴³⁷ In it, he expressed some opinions about the guitar and its players including the acuteness of their

⁴³⁴ Sarjala 2005, 77.

⁴³⁵ Öller 1920, 176.

⁴³⁶ The first advertisement was published in *Åbo Tidningar* 10 April 1856.

⁴³⁷ *Åbo Underrättelser* 13 November 1847. The article is singed ‘agis’, one of Ingelius’ several *noms de plume*.

hearing. His writing shows a certain expertise as regards the guitar, but the article also offers two more points of interest. First, Ingelius states that good accompaniment does not simply refer to the use of the three basic chords but instead a far more sophisticated and varied employment of harmony. Secondly, he champions music-reading skills because ‘printed music is the newspaper of the music world’ and if one does not know how to read music one ‘shares the destiny of the blind man’. So, it seems probable that Ingelius’ guitar students would have needed to comply with these requirements.

Ingelius knew several Finnish notables personally, among them the poet Runeberg. When he visited the latter’s hometown Porvoo in 1849, Carl Frans Blom (1820–1865), the third guitar teacher in focus here, had the questionable pleasure of making Ingelius’ acquaintance. This happened very soon after Ingelius’ arrival and, as Sarjala colourfully describes, upon entering Blom’s house he, without so much as a word, rushed to the piano and began to play his own compositions. With this he hoped to signal that ‘the Artist had arrived in the town’ while in reality ‘a dilettante with an irresponsible lifestyle, having just failed in organising a concert in Helsinki, had entered Blom’s abode’.⁴³⁸

Blom and Ingelius were poles apart. Unlike the latter, Blom had studied music seriously, first three years with Downer in Turku and then at the Royal Academy of Music in Stockholm.⁴³⁹ After finishing his studies in the Swedish capital, Blom worked for a brief period as an organist in Sweden, but when he was appointed as the singing teacher of the Porvoo *gymnasium* in 1857 it was time to return home.⁴⁴⁰ This was the right choice as over the years Blom became an influential and respected figure of the town’s musical life. He conducted orchestras and choirs, organised concerts and, in 1849, also founded a school for aspiring organists. Blom’s obituary reveals that the locals valued his

438 Sarjala 2005, 81–82.

439 Lagerspetz 1995, 72–73.

440 Marvia 1977b.

services so highly that his funeral was attended by ‘unusually many of the town’s inhabitants’.⁴⁴¹

Blom only advertised guitar lessons towards the end of the summer 1853, but since the advertisements inform that ‘during the incoming autumn I will continue to give lessons [...] in guitar playing’, we know that he had been teaching prior to this date.⁴⁴² Nothing suggests that he did not in fact continue doing so after placing these advertisements.

To sum up the three teachers just discussed, despite their shortcomings, Lagi, Ingelius and Blom represent persons who had relatively high professional and cultural profiles. The deaths of each were reported in several newspapers with extensive obituaries and all three also have deserved mentions in later Finnish music dictionaries. In this respect, the three guitar teachers who will be covered in the following do not stand out as prominently but, owing to their copious advertising, they must have been very active and thus deserve a mention here. All operated in Helsinki, the earliest one of them, Eduard Heinrichsohn (1828–1894), embarked on a long teaching career in the 1850s, whereas the two others, Magda Kempe and Josef Binnemann, were only active from the last decade of the century onwards.

Eduard Heinrichsohn’s first advertisement was placed in October 1856 and was followed by another hundred or so, his last one appearing in November 1891. This means that, in the light of present knowledge, he had the longest teaching career of any nineteenth-century guitar teacher in Finland.⁴⁴³ Yet, no trace of Heinrichsohn is to be found in Finnish music dictionaries, nor was his passing away, save for a brief mention in the column of deceased persons, acknowledged by the press. With snippets of information from various sources, however, it has been possible to piece together an account of his career.

Two sources provide the birth and death years of Heinrichsohn: the death notice and a census record. The newspaper documents that at the time of his death in 1894 Heinrichsohn was sixty-six years, one

441 *Borgå Tidning* 26 January 1850; *Borgåbladet* 4 March 1865.

442 *Borgå Tidning* 10 August 1853.

443 *Helsingfors Tidningar* 8 October 1856; *Hufvudstadsbladet* 10 November 1891.

month and three days old. This is in accordance with the census record that reports 1828 as his birth year.⁴⁴⁴ Given that it may have taken two or three days before the notice was published, Heinrichsohn must have been born in late April or early May 1828. His birthplace is not known, but he died in Helsinki.

The question of Heinrichsohn's parentage remains unanswered, although his family name suggests a German or Austrian descent. If he did not come to Finland directly from Central Europe, he may have first resided in St. Petersburg, where several persons with the family name 'Heinrichsohn' were living in this period.⁴⁴⁵ One more point in favour of a sojourn in Russia is Heinrichsohn's wife Olga Paraskovia who, with her Slavic name and, as corroborated by the census records, Russian Orthodox faith, must have been from there.⁴⁴⁶

When Heinrichsohn started to advertise in the press in 1856, he did not do so as a first-time visitor to Helsinki. This is because he had purchased two guitars at auction there a few years earlier, in May and June 1851, and yet another in February 1852.⁴⁴⁷ All the more, in November 1855 we find another trace of him in the Finnish capital, this time, instead of buying, actually auctioning off some of his belongings, among them one guitar and two guitar cases.⁴⁴⁸ It is possible, then, that Heinrichsohn was out of the country between the auctions of 1851–1852 and 1855, but since the later one was organised to pay a debt, twenty-two silver roubles 'plus interest and expenses', he must have at least been back for some time to run into this level of debt. This also means that Heinrichsohn's teaching career in Helsinki may have started already in 1851.

Save for a couple of interruptions of around one year a piece, Heinrichsohn's advertising was regular with three or four advertisements per year. Through these he promoted his work both as a music

⁴⁴⁴ *Nya Pressen* 18 June 1894; Census records of Helsinki, Gk:70–71 (HCA).

⁴⁴⁵ See, for example, *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 26 January 1870.

⁴⁴⁶ Census records of Helsinki, Gk:42 (HCA).

⁴⁴⁷ ARPH, Ca:45–46 (HCA).

⁴⁴⁸ ARPH, Ca:48 (HCA).

teacher and dance musician, always mentioning these two activities in the same advertisement. The early ones offered piano and guitar lessons, the dance music – performed on the piano – being intended for ‘baler och familjenöjen’ (for balls and family entertainments).⁴⁴⁹ In 1858 the violin and flute were also added to the array of instruments he had available for instruction. The flute was soon dropped but the three other instruments, guitar, violin and piano, remained those that were always included.⁴⁵⁰ Despite the long time-span of Heinrichsohn’s career, the wording of his advertisements hardly changed. This gives the impression that he carried on as usual, without unnecessarily introducing new methods or other pedagogic novelties.

To make ends meet, no doubt, Heinrichsohn ran a small-scale business selling instruments. He may in fact have already been doing this in the early 1850s because it seems improbable that the three guitars he purchased within just seven months at the two aforementioned auctions were all for his own use. In any case, by the 1860s the sale of instruments began to be mentioned regularly, when ‘pianos for sale and hire’ and guitars (it seems only for sale) were available.⁴⁵¹ This notwithstanding, Heinrichsohn was not all that financially successful, as the tax records of Helsinki reveal.

His name first appears in these records in 1866.⁴⁵² This can mean one of two things, that either prior to this date he did not earn enough to be liable for tax or that he only stayed in the country for such brief periods that his earnings did not exceed the limit of liability. Heinrichsohn’s advertising contradicts the latter assumption, however, and it is therefore probable that he did not earn very much until 1866. During the taxation years 1866–1868, Heinrichsohn seems to have managed reasonably well, but after this his earnings dropped by approximately a

449 The first advertisement was published in *Helsingfors Tidningar* 25 October 1856.

450 The first advertisement mentioning violin and flute was published in *Helsingfors Tidningar* 30 October 1858.

451 *Helsingfors Tidningar* 23 August 1865; *Hufvudstadsbladet* 5 June 1867.

452 I am grateful to Pekka Hahle from the City Archive of Helsinki for checking Heinrichsohn’s tax records.

half. A drastic decrease took place again in 1875 when his income halved once more, with yet other drops in his income to follow.

As a whole, then, Heinrichsohn's economic situation was probably never very stable and we should also bear in mind that, by 1855, he had already been in so much debt that he was forced to auction off many of his possessions.⁴⁵³ The same unsteadiness appears to have characterised his living conditions because Heinrichsohn frequently changed addresses, the advertisements disclosing over twenty moves in thirty years. After the early 1870s he, as a rule, lived in the district of *Kruununhaka* and although this is in the very centre of the town nowadays, at the time it was not a very fashionable quarter. In 1892 a tram driver, washerwoman and some ordinary workmen were all living on the same staircase.⁴⁵⁴

Heinrichsohn's career as a guitar teacher lasted nearly four decades and, although he may have spent some shorter periods out of Finland, this makes him a unique specimen among Finnish guitar teachers. Unfortunately, we see that for him, once again, this occupation proved far from glorious.

When the second of our three 'late' guitar teachers, Magda Kempe, was born in Sweden in 1861, Heinrichsohn was already well established in Helsinki and actively advertising his guitar lessons. In August 1892, however, when Kempe began to publicise her availability as a recently-arrived teacher who could offer 'complete instruction in guitar playing', there was no competition to be feared from the now elderly Heinrichsohn, who was to die less than a year later.⁴⁵⁵ Apart from music, which may well have been Kempe's main occupation, she engaged in 'unmusical' activities as well. The address books of Helsinki report her profession as a 'private teacher in guitar playing and needlework'.⁴⁵⁶

After her initial listing, Kempe regularly placed advertisements,

⁴⁵³ ARPH, Ca:48 (HCA). Forty-seven items were listed in the protocol, among them two violins, a guitar, a French horn and a flute. The general impression is that most of the household had to be sold.

⁴⁵⁴ Census records of Helsinki, Gk:66–67 (HCA).

⁴⁵⁵ *Uusi Suometar* 30 August 1893.

⁴⁵⁶ *Adressbok och Yrkeskalender för Helsingfors* 6, 182 (1894–1895).

their number rising to nearly forty in the remaining seven years of the century. Soon piano lessons also begin to be mentioned and the instruction is described as ‘following the best methods for both beginners and advanced students’.⁴⁵⁷ As a guitar teacher Kempe was more qualified than most, it seems, because from her advertisements we learn that she had ‘ten years of teaching experience’. What is more, her advertisements inform us, quite correctly, that her guitar arrangements of ‘songs and folk songs’ were published by Abraham Lundqvist in Sweden.⁴⁵⁸

Like Heinrichsohn, Kempe also vended guitars, having begun to do so no later than 1897, after which time this enterprise is usually referenced in her publicity.⁴⁵⁹ Kempe emphasised that the instruments were ‘välvästämnda’ (well-tuned), probably meaning that the frets were correctly placed. Her assortment consisted of both cheaper and more expensive models. ‘Prime quality’ guitar strings were also available for purchase. After the turn of the century, Kempe continued to give guitar lessons in Helsinki for a few more years before returning to Sweden in 1907.⁴⁶⁰ The fact that she managed to publish her arrangements, was possibly qualified to instruct also advanced students and possessed a long teaching experience elevates her above the ordinary teacher.

The German Josef Binnemann (1865–1942) arrived in Finland in early January 1891 at the latest, became a permanent resident in the country and continued his career there well into the twentieth century. The first information on Binnemann regards a ‘dinner *avec* music’, for which the entertainment was provided by Eduard Schmidt’s orchestra. Binnemann was a member of this ensemble and, as part of the pro-

457 *Nya Pressen* 29 September 1895.

458 *Hufvudstadsbladet* 9 January 1896. The collection included songs by, among others, Geijer, Hallström and Reichardt. Catalogue of Music (Musikkatalogen), card no. 32522 (National Library of Sweden). Kempe’s guitar album was published prior to May 1889 because this is when it was mentioned in the Swedish press. As for her teaching experience, Kempe’s first advertisement for guitar lessons in Sweden dates from January 1883 corroborating that she indeed had been teaching for almost ten years before she started her career in Helsinki. *Stockholms Dagblad* 20 January 1883; *Svenska Dagbladet* 4 May 1889.

459 The first advertisement was published in *Hufvudstadsbladet* 8 September 1897.

460 The Police Department of Helsinki, Register of addresses, part I, 1907–1948, Bal:369 (HCA).

gramme, he played a solo piece on the *zittra*, an Austrian-Bavarian folk instrument. The *zittra* was dear to him; he published a method for it and, in the early twentieth century, also founded a society called *Suomen Sitra* (The Finnish Zither). This being said, Binnemann also played the guitar. He first did so publicly a couple of weeks after his performances on the *zittra*, this time as part of the orchestra's popular concert.⁴⁶¹

Around half a year later Binnemann announced music lessons, his instruments being the *zittra*, guitar, violin and *stråkzittra*.⁴⁶² Following this first piece of publicity, Binnemann's advertising was breathtakingly active and regular with over a hundred advertisements being placed in the nine remaining years of the century.

Although Binnemann also played the violin, one gets the impression that he favoured plucked instruments. In 1893 the mandolin, and a few years later, the *kantele*, were added to the selection of instruments for which he gave lessons.⁴⁶³ In fact, even the lute is mentioned on one occasion, this certainly referring to the Scholander lute, an instrument that, for instance, Alexander von Knorring occasionally used when accompanying Binnemann.⁴⁶⁴

Nothing is known of Binnemann's teaching methods as his early advertisements only promise 'thorough instruction'.⁴⁶⁵ As a curio-sum, Binnemann claimed that he could teach in Swedish, German and French. He would seem to have picked up Swedish very quickly, but that said, the marriage to the Swedish-speaking Elina von Brandenburg undoubtedly improved his chances of learning this language and more generally his integration into the new homeland.

461 *Päivälehti* 1 February 1891.

462 *Hufvudstadsbladet* 19 October 1891; *Nya Pressen* 17 February 1892. A *stråkzittra* (Ger.

Streichzither, Engl. psaltery viol), an instrument invented in Germany in 1823, is essentially a zither that can be either plucked with fingers or played with a bow, distinguished by its peculiar 'reversed' tuning. Sachs 1976, 362. One of Binnemann's advertisements gives, in parenthesis, the instrument another name: 'melodeon'. This seem very curious because a 'melodeon' is either a reed organ or a certain type of an accordion; moreover, neither is played with a bow (*stråk*). Smith 2001.

463 *Uusi Suometar* 5 September 1897.

464 *Nya Pressen* 13 June 1899.

465 *Hufvudstadsbladet* 19 October 1891.

Figure 50. The title page of Josef Binnemann's *Snabbmetod i Guitarr-spel*.



Unlike Heinrichsohn and Kempe, Binnemann is briefly mentioned in a few Finnish music dictionaries. This is mainly in relation to his music shop and publishing house, both of which he founded in the early 1900s; Binnemann also ran a music school. He arranged and composed for the guitar and other instruments in abundance but also wrote elementary methods, among them a couple for the guitar. One, published sometime between 1910 and 1920, is a 'quick method' for learning to accompany songs without knowing how to read music, as the title page informs. This method could also be used for the 'luta' (the lute) and as the picture on its title page reveals, this was the Scholander lute mentioned above (see figure 50).

As a part of his business activities Binnemann not only repaired instruments but also made some, such as the *kantele* and *balalaika*.⁴⁶⁶ If he produced any guitars, they have disappeared.

Although Binnemann only established his music shop at the beginning of the twentieth century, his advertisement in 1893 already mentions that instruments could be hired or purchased from him, and that printed music was available in addition. This means that during the closing years of the nineteenth century his job description was much the same as those of Kempe and Heinrichsohn, albeit more professional.⁴⁶⁷

As a closing thought, the distinctive difference between teachers of the first and the second halves of the nineteenth century is that the former were often musicians with sundry kinds of projects across the field of music, some leaving a mark on Finnish music history, whereas the latter appear to have been somewhat more on the periphery from today's point of view. Compared to Carl Theodor Möller, for instance, who was a central force in the local musical life of Turku and a piano manufacturer, Heinrichsohn's role within Helsinki's music scene was inferior. As perhaps the only teacher towards the close of the century, Binnemann had a higher profile.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE FINNISH GUITAR TEACHERS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The following chart provides a comprehensive overview of the chronological and geographical division of guitar teaching in Finland by displaying all the teachers offering guitar lessons in the press during the nineteenth century. A question mark after a teacher's name indicates that he or she was still a resident of the country but had ceased to advertise in that period.

466 Forslin 1977.

467 During the first decades of the twentieth century, Binnemann's role became more prominent in the musical life of Helsinki. He established his music shop and also performed in concerts together with many notable musicians. Kurkela 2017, 15–37.

| | Turku | Helsinki | Vyborg | Porvoo | Vaasa | Other towns |
|--------------|--|--|------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|
| 1820s | Widerberg Bergren Thusberg 2 Anon. Gehring? | Gehring Thusberg Widerberg | | | | |
| 1830s | Siber Möller, C.Th. Möller, J.F. Dannström Hummel Wollberg Anon. | Wönig Broström Michailowitsch Liphart Siber 2 Anon. Gehring? | | Stenborg | Sjöberg | |
| 1840s | Möller, C.Th. Möller, J.F. Graeflé Westergren 3 Anon. Siber? | Pempel Beuermann 4 Anon. | Schellenberg Sjölin | Möller, J.F. Graeflé Gille | Modesvärd 1 Anon. | Stenborg Möller, J.F.? |
| 1850s | Ingelius Westergren? Graeflé? Siber? Möller, C.Th.? | Lagi Åhman Heinrichsohn Anon. Beuermann? | | Blom | | Möller, J.F.? Ingelius |
| 1860s | Möller, C.Th.? Ingelius? | Heinrichsohn Beuermann? Lagi? | | Blom? | | Björklund Möller, J.F.? |
| 1870s | Möller, C.Th.? | Heinrichsohn | Krüger | | | Möller, J.F.? |
| 1880s | Möller, C.Th.? | Heinrichsohn 1 Anon. | | | | |
| 1890s | Augenscheller | Heinrichsohn Binnemann Colvin Kempe Liljeström Gyllström Laurén 1 Anon. | Laurén | | Pettersson | |

Table 1. An overview of the Finnish guitar teachers.

CHAPTER FIVE

From Leonhard von Call's trio to guitar playing clowns – The many faces of public guitar playing in Finland

In the preceding chapters, the guitar in Finland has already been discussed from various angles. We now know there were many guitar amateurs in Turku and Helsinki, particularly during the first half of the nineteenth century, and that some professional musicians also played upon the instrument. Advertisements for teaching appeared in the press reasonably often and a number of shops also stocked a good selection of guitar music. The instrument's presence at private evening gatherings, such as the ones frequented by Topelius, has also been made clear. That having been said, did guitar players ever perform in formal concerts or even in semi-public ones and, if there were such performances, what were they like?

In the early nineteenth century, the guitar was not a separate musical phenomenon with concert traditions of its own, its role in performance adhered to the period's prevalent practices. However, midway through the century, at which time the guitar's popularity had drastically diminished across Europe, the instrument had also parted ways with general concert custom and Finland, for the most part, proved no exception to this trend.

A SHIFT FROM COURT AND CHURCH TO PUBLIC VENUES

Without a second thought, one would consider music to be an independent art form. However, for centuries music mainly served to accompany assorted social activities, the church and the court also making extensive use of it. A move towards autonomy began to take place in the early seventeenth century when the earliest concert-type performances were organised in Italy, Germany and England. Moreover, the modern consumer is used to a concert tradition that distinguishes between serious and popular styles, whereas until the 1830s a concert was typically a mixture of the both – a miscellany. From an audience's viewpoint this required good-will and tolerance towards different tastes and styles; the performers, instead, needed to have 'collegiality', as William Weber describes it.⁴⁶⁸

Musical soirées and so-called 'benefit concerts' were typical examples of these miscellaneous programmes and the stage was typically shared by several performers, both amateurs and professionals. The main attraction was the variety that they offered, vocal music often occupying pride of place. Therefore, the difference between these and modern recitals, which consist of one performer who takes the stage for a whole evening or a single string quartet that offers a homogenous programme of one composer's works, is striking. This more formal concert type began to become established in the 1840s, while symphonic concerts as we know them today are an even more recent phenomenon.

The two different approaches to concerts described above brought about a division in performances that were either targeted for music connoisseurs or for the general public. The rise of the former owes much to the utopian idea, rooted in Romanticism, that music could reflect 'a higher ideal' and that, through music, it was possible to reach an 'artistic truth'. Those who promoted these ideas were in fact a small number of influential writers (mainly German) with a purposeful pro-

468 Weber 2008, 15.

ject and, consequently, this development leading to the establishment of ‘Classical’ music’s imperious status proved so successful that concerts in this style today still largely follow the same principles. That said, it is good to remember that while the classical repertoire has dominated formal concert life for almost two centuries, more popular styles have always enjoyed larger audiences. Later in the nineteenth century, promenade concerts and other performances for a non-specialised audience nevertheless included a certain link to the ‘Classical’ repertoire, although their programmes continued to be put together according to the tradition of benefit concerts and musical soirées.⁴⁶⁹

The increasingly pronounced division between serious and popular styles also meant that the guitar – an instrument with an ‘inferior’ repertoire – was excluded from these new higher circles. The territory of guitarists was the benefit concert, which they either organised themselves or, alternatively, partook in those organised by other musicians. Guitar players were also invited to private musical soirées, even to those hosted in noble houses, as the careers of the instrument’s great names such as Giuliani and Sor clearly show. They and their peers were in fact perfectly able to equal other instrumentalists as performers in such settings. Nevertheless, this happened mainly during the century’s first half and, the aforementioned changes in concert life and the guitar’s diminishing popularity meant that the venues in which the instrument could be heard became significantly less grand.

THE EARLY CONCERT LIFE IN FINLAND

Finland was very late to start organising public concerts. The orchestra of the Musical Society of Turku (founded in 1790) was the first to offer them on a somewhat regular basis, whereas concerts given by the Academic Orchestra (beginning in 1747) and the Aurora Society (between 1773 and 1779) were not extended to the general public.⁴⁷⁰

469 The above account is largely based on Weber 2008.

470 Korhonen 2007, 37.

Around this time some foreign musicians also came to perform their skills in the country, one such figure being the *cittara* player Zaar discussed in Chapter One.

Prior to this, live instrumental music was usually to be heard in less concert-like, but nevertheless, public settings. For instance, organ music could be heard in churches and some organists also provided secular music at weddings and other social functions. There were also military bands and itinerant players.

Returning to the eighteenth century, we notice that, just as elsewhere, private musical societies in Finland primarily served to facilitate socialising through music. Both the Aurora Society and the Musical Society of Turku are considered historically significant and, while the weekly public rehearsals of the latter represent an early budding of Finnish concert life, an orchestral concert organised by the former in 1773 is noteworthy for being the first such concert ever performed in the country. Concerts of the Musical Society of Turku were always either benefit concerts or musical soirees and differed in no major way from the usual European formula. In the nineteenth century, some did also involve guitar players.

Proper concert halls were only built in Finland in the twentieth century, meaning that prior to this the venues of music performances varied greatly as regards how fit they were for this purpose. In the early nineteenth century, however, the building of community halls (*seurahuone, societethus*) was an important step forward as they provided a place for public music making although not primarily built for this purpose.⁴⁷¹ In Helsinki, as was appropriate for the country's capital, the inauguration of the Imperial Alexander University's new building and its Festival Hall in 1832 meant that the conditions for concerts with larger ensembles improved considerably. Indeed, this venue would become the setting for symphonic concerts and host to many a glorious musical spectacle later in the century. Somewhat a different picture is painted by the many concerts that were given in less grand surround-

⁴⁷¹ The first one was established in Turku in 1812 and, before long, there was a community hall in each of Finland's larger towns.

ings. Community halls were favoured above all, and Finland's bathing institutes (from the late 1830s onwards) and restaurants were also used. The guitar was to be heard in all of these settings save for – perhaps needless to say – the university's Festival Hall.

GUITAR PLAYERS OF EVERY DESCRIPTION

We know of over a hundred public performances that involved the guitar in Finland prior to the twentieth century. As for their programmes, looking from the idealised Romanticist angle discussed above, none included repertoire that would have fulfilled the requirements of profundity demanded by 'music connoisseurs'.⁴⁷² Some did, however, include operatic music and instrumental pieces – both solo and chamber music – that we today would call 'repertoire for the classical guitar'. This was especially true in the first half of the century, after which time the music chosen for performance on the guitar became markedly more popular in style. Manifestations of this change may be seen in the religious movements, as well as in the guitar's increased popularity in other more common social settings. This explains why the number of public guitar performances radically increases towards the end of the century, despite the fact that its more 'serious' public usage significantly diminished.

Towards the century's close, technically and musically demanding guitar-repertoire was hardly ever to be heard in public in Finland, and in truth it had not been a common occurrence prior to this either.⁴⁷³ The fact that no solo-recitals were given in Finland in the nineteenth century is also unsurprising and, indeed, is in accordance with the rest of Europe where guitarists usually shared the stage with other

472 It should be pointed out that the group that could be called 'music connoisseurs' remained until the following century very small in Finland.

473 No research has been conducted on this subject but the first full-scale classical guitar recital played in Finland may very well have been the one Andrés Segovia gave in Helsinki in 1949.

players. With this in mind, it is quite intriguing that as early as 1830 Pietro and Joachim Pettoletti gave a concert in Gothenburg, Sweden, where they offered a chamber-music programme in which each piece involved the guitar.⁴⁷⁴ From the late 1840s onwards, solo recitals of the most common instruments such as the piano and violin were fairly frequent occurrences in Finland, but even the accordion had an exponent, the Danish-German Martin Paul, who toured the country in 1879–1893 with solo concerts in forty different locations, albeit with very popular repertoire.⁴⁷⁵ There is nothing comparable on the guitar front and, as a solo instrument, it was as good as absent on the Finnish concert circuit. Instead, as mentioned above, the performances that did involve the instrument consisted of guitar-accompanied operatic arias and other type of works for voice and guitar.

In stark contrast to this, performances of more popular type were numerous and of every description. For instance, the Alpine-music groups used the guitar to accompany yodelling and, in the later part of the century, we find that the instrument even occasionally provided accompaniment to dancing in some *variété* performances. It is around this time that the Temperance movement and the Salvation Army also adopted the instrument to serve their own ideological goals. If this is not enough, guitars were sometimes used as props in circus and other comic shows.

To sum up the above and bearing in mind the large repertoire available for guitar amateurs in Finland's shops, we notice that next to nothing found its way to public performance. In consequence, the nineteenth-century Finnish audience was left ill-equipped to discover the guitar's potential as a musical instrument.

The earliest mention of a public guitar performance dates from 11 November 1822 when two Italians, Signori Fr. Cetti and Ant. Finardi, announced their soirée in the press. The programme was composed of a remarkable number of elements ranging from 'sundry kinds of phys-

⁴⁷⁴ Sparr 2018d.

⁴⁷⁵ Lepistö 2014, 52–53.

ical, meteorological and optical experiments together with gymnastic exercises' to a pantomime and *dulcis in fundo*, an Italian aria with guitar accompaniment.⁴⁷⁶

These two gentlemen performed their show in Turku, where the majority of Finland's concerts were organised at the beginning of the century. This clearly demonstrates the strong cultural importance that this town retained despite having lost its status when Helsinki became the capital of the country. This situation, however, changed after the Great Fire and gradually more and more concerts and other entertainments were put on in both Helsinki and Vyborg, as well as in other coastal towns (Oulu, Kokkola, Porvoo). Even the northern towns of Oulu and Kokkola were visited by musicians because, in light of the lack of boat traffic between Stockholm and Turku in the winter, travellers were forced to cross the border between Finland and Sweden at the northerly point of Tornio.

The Italian Franz Anton Ferrario and his son Johan are one example of musicians who took this route. On their way to Vyborg the pair visited Kokkola and Oulu, reaching Helsinki from the latter town in July 1829, as a list of arriving passengers in the newspaper *Tidningar ifrån Helsingfors* corroborates. After sojourning in the Finnish capital, they still also stopped in both Lappeenranta and Sortavala before finally arriving in Vyborg.⁴⁷⁷ Apart from, as far as we know, not making a visit to Turku, their route more or less exemplifies the path taken by any winter-time traveller wishing to cross the border. No performances are known to have been given on the way to Vyborg but, when the Ferrarios did arrive in the town in October 1829, they quickly served up entertainment on mandolin, guitar and psaltery, the latter an instrument of the zither family. The advertisement informs that Johan, the son, took care of this instrument, while his father played the guitar and man-

476 Åbo *Tidningar* 2 November 1822.

477 *Tidningar ifrån Helsingfors* 20 July 1829; Hirn 1999b, 34. Ferrario was called 'an Austrian subject', which probably means that he originated in North-Eastern Italy, at that time a province of the Austrian Empire.

dolin.⁴⁷⁸ Only this advertisement survived but one must assume that this father-son duo would have performed in all of the places that they visited. This is furthermore suggested by an advertisement of theirs, which details that the duo was available for performances in private homes, occasions which would not have been reported in the press. Their visits to Lappeenranta and Sortavala are intriguing because in these small places the guitar, and the mandolin even more so, must have been rare instruments; perhaps the psaltery would have raised some eyebrows as well. Incidentally, this was not their first time in Finland because the press also reports the Ferrarios' arrival in Vyborg from St. Petersburg in 1824.⁴⁷⁹

Although during the first decades of the century touring musicians usually only performed in Finland's coastal towns, improving transport links brought an end to this and numerous performers started to visit also less central communities. Austrian folk-music groups and some small family ensembles that occasionally also included guitar players were among those who made extensive tours in the country. One example of a touring family is that of Carl Otto Meyer's, an ensemble of husband, wife and several children who performed, including upon the guitar, in at least a dozen Finnish towns in the 1840s.⁴⁸⁰

THE PERFORMANCES

After these preliminary observations, we shall look more in detail into some of the individual performances. Even though only a handful of concerts included – often alongside lighter numbers – so-called ‘classical-guitar repertoire’, these are dealt with first and are then followed by the many different performances that offered music of a more popular character.

⁴⁷⁸ *Wiburgs Wochenblatt* 17 October 1829.

⁴⁷⁹ *Wiburgs Wochenblatt* 11 December 1824.

⁴⁸⁰ Hirn 1997, 34–35.

Performances of ‘classical’ repertoire

Instrumental music

Although the event is not acknowledged by the press, the earliest performance in front of an audience by a guitarist in Finland was by Karl von Grtner who played in Turku in 1820, as the reader may remember. We do not know of Grtner’s programme in Finland, but since the programmes of the concerts he gave in Sweden prior to arriving in Finland show very little variation, it is safe to assume that his repertoire would have been much the same.⁴⁸¹ The performances in Sweden included, among others, a *Fantaisie sentimental* of Grtner’s own writing, a duet by Carulli for violin and guitar and concertos by Giuliani and Carulli. These two latter works the German had the honour to perform with the *Kungliga Hovkapellet* in March 1820.⁴⁸² In addition, we know that Grtner had ‘the famous Fandango’ in the repertoire because he had played the piece on a private occasion in Sweden; this work may therefore have been heard in Finland as well.⁴⁸³ Either way, the two concertos are the ones to catch the attention because the prospect that one of these large-scale works was performed in Turku in 1820 is in itself thrilling. As for the identity of the Giuliani concerto, it must have been his op. 30 because one advertisement mentions ‘29’ as its opus number, one that was erroneously printed on the title page of its first edition. The Carulli concerto must have been his op. 8 because op. 140 (the only other one the Italian wrote) was published in early 1820 when Grtner was already in Sweden and would certainly not have had access to it.⁴⁸⁴

Grtner has not left any significant mark on guitar history but he is mentioned in a few guitar reference books and a concert review from

481 *Lunds Weckoblad* 12 January 1820, *Dagligt Allehanda* 11 March 1820, *Weckoblad Frn Gefle* 27 May 1820, *Gtheborgs Tidningar* 11 August 1820.

482 *Dagligt Allehanda* 11 March 1820.

483 Sparr 2018d. Nothing more specific is known of this ‘famous Fandango’.

484 Heck 1970, 2:36; Torta 1993, 358–360.

Paris serves to shed light on his playing.⁴⁸⁵ No source provides us with Gärtner's birth and death dates, although given that in 1819 he is referred to as 'a very young man', he may have been born around 1800. Gärtner's birth place was Cassel (Germany) but he studied in Venice before embarking on a concert career that carried him around Europe. In 1820 his work took him first to Sweden and then to St. Petersburg by way of Finland. Gärtner may have sojourned in the Russian capital for over two years given that a review of a concert he gave in Vienna in 1824 mentions that he was returning to this town from St. Petersburg and was on his way to Paris.⁴⁸⁶ At some later stage, Gärtner continued from the French capital on to Germany, where he gave a concert together with his wife, a singer, in Leipzig in 1831. The German *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* reviewed this performance favourably, describing Gärtner as 'a very skilful guitarist'.⁴⁸⁷ A few other testimonies of Gärtner's guitar playing are also extant and although some of these are positive, even putting him on the same pedestal as the great Carulli, others are less flattering.⁴⁸⁸

We have a chance to read an eyewitness testimony of Gärtner's playing in Fredrik Lithander's letter to Archbishop Tengström (discussed in Chapter Two). In fact, it also enables us to imagine the German's performance in Turku because Lithander saw Gärtner perform only a few months after he had appeared there and at least some of his repertoire must have been the same.

The letter sheds light on three of the German's performances in St. Petersburg, two of which Lithander had attended personally. Starting with the one he did not attend, the Finn records how he had been informed that the performance was a disaster because of the guitarist's whistling, a show act he apparently often included. Gärtner had in fact been forced to leave the stage to the audience's resounding laughter. The second concert, this time in the Grand Theatre, was judged by

⁴⁸⁵ Prat 1934, 144; Zuth [1926] 1978, 111; Heck 1995, 96–98.

⁴⁸⁶ *Wiener allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 27 March 1824, 47.

⁴⁸⁷ *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 18 April 1831, 246.

⁴⁸⁸ Sparr 2018d; Zuth [1926] 1978, 111.

Lithander to have been a greater success and he notes that the musician was applauded ‘as he deserved’. An interesting detail with regard to this concert is Lithander’s comment that, although his seat was far away from the stage, he had been able to hear almost every single note. Finally, Gärtner’s third public performance was given jointly with the famous pianist John Field, a resident of the Russian capital since 1811. This time Gärtner performed what he clearly thought to be his ‘bravura’, his own *Fantaisie* ‘mostly for the left hand’, despite having been criticised for this gimmick in a Parisian review as well as, it seems, elsewhere. Not surprisingly, then, both Lithander and the Russian audience once again disapproved and Gärtner was booed off the stage without even being allowed the chance to finish his piece.

Thus, left-hand solos and whistling were too much for the cultured audiences of both Central and Northern Europe to digest. Lithander found the whistling ‘ridiculous’ and tried, unsuccessfully, to reason with Gärtner about some other undesirable elements of his playing such as his left-hand solos. The German was *entêté* (stubborn) but, despite this, Lithander expressed sympathy for him. He wished that the tribulations Gärtner had gone through in the Russian capital would impact him in a ‘beneficial way’ and keep him henceforth within the ‘limits of truth and reason’. Lithander’s verdict was in some ways quite harsh but, as a serious-minded person, he clearly did not look upon trickery, charlatancy and showmanship with a favourable eye.

Even if we do not have a review, these insights allow us to construct what the audience in Turku likely experienced and, in particular, Lithander’s letter allows one to deduce that Archbishop Tengström would also have disapproved, for instance, of left-hand solos.

A couple of years later in 1824, the Swedish Otto Torp (died in 1841) advertised a ‘full-voiced’ concert to be given in the local theatre in Turku with the kind assistance of ‘herrar amateurer’ (*messrs. amateurs*).⁴⁸⁹ Torp was a guitarist, but we know that he also played the bassoon and cello. He may, therefore, have performed on all of these instruments or just

489 *Abo Tidningar* 24 July 1824. A ‘full-voiced’ concert usually referred to the involvement of an orchestra.

one or two of them. The only one of Torp's guitar compositions to have been brought to market in Sweden was his *Six Laendlers*, issued in the 1820s, but after moving to the United States he published, among others an *Instruction Book for the Spanish Guitar* (ca. 1834) in New York. He had worked as a guitar teacher in Sweden, but according to a piece in the *New York Evening Post* from 1830 he had also offered guitar instruction in several other European metropoles prior to embarking for the New World. In New York Torp founded a music shop and a piano factory that became very successful. His life ended in tragedy in 1841 when a fire broke out on board the steamship *Erie* killing one hundred and seventy people, among them Otto Torp and his family.⁴⁹⁰

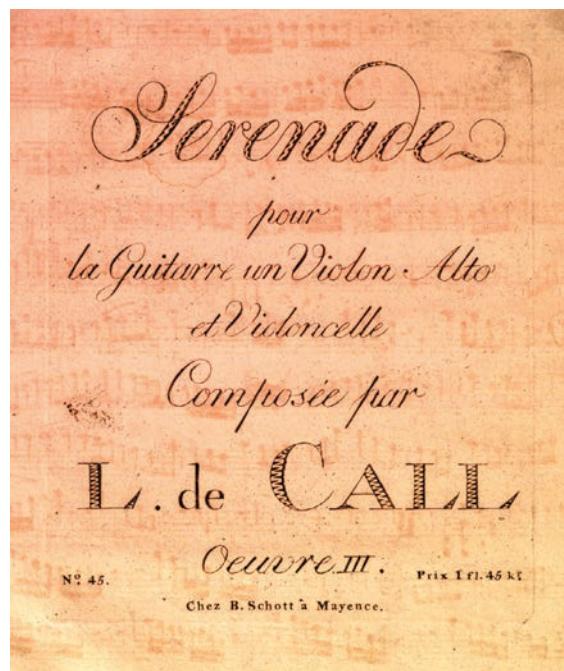
While Otto Torp's guitar playing in Finland remains an open question, an advertisement placed by Josef Gehring on 4 March 1832 for his 'Instrumental-Concert' at the *Rådhus-Salongen* (the parlour of the town hall) in Helsinki very clearly informs us that, apart from the violin, the artist was going to play the guitar.⁴⁹¹ Due to his work as a concert organiser under the auspices of the Musical Society of Helsinki, Gehring was already very well known to the local audience. This concert was, however, not another of the society's arrangements but his private undertaking. The programme mainly featured him as a violinist and included, among others, one of J.W. Kalliwoda's (1801–1866) concertos and a variation work by Ch.Ph. Lafont (1781–1839). In his penultimate number the Austrian changed from violin to guitar (a footnote in the programme specifically mentions this) and joined in the performance of Leonhard von Call's *Notturno* for guitar, violin, viola and cello. No work with such a title can be found among von Call's oeuvre for this particular ensemble; bearing in mind, however, that 'Serenade' and 'Notturno' were frequently interchangeable titles, the work may have been the *Serenade*, op. 3, dating from 1808.⁴⁹² The guitar part of this piece is quite simple, meaning that Gehring did not have to be particularly skilful to play it.

490 Sparr 2018d; Kloe 2018, 30–31.

491 *Helsingfors Tidningar* 3 March 1832.

492 Mauerhofer 1974, 120–138.

Figure 51. The title page of Leonhard von Call's op. 3, a serenade for guitar, violin, viola and cello.



Along with Gehring's employer, the Musical Society of Helsinki, the Academic Musical Society (*Akademiska Musiksällskapet*) was also in operation in the country's capital between 1828–1835. Singing played a major part in its activities but an article in *Morganbladet* reveals that 'lighter instrumental music' on 'a few instruments' was sometimes also performed. The guitar is the only instrument that the article's writer singles out and more interestingly, he also reports on one occasion when a guitar trio was performed.⁴⁹³ Since this comes up in the article's section discussing the society's history prior to 1832, the performance must have taken place between its foundation in 1828 and 1832. Yet one more interesting piece of information mentioned by this writer is that guitarists did not only play chamber music amongst themselves, but alongside other instruments as well. The latter detail is noteworthy for its

⁴⁹³ *Morganbladet* 8 April 1852. Although the article dates from 1852, the (unknown) writer based his information on the society's concert programmes.

unequivocal disclosure that chamber music of this kind was cultivated in at least one of Finland's musical societies in the nineteenth century. As for the guitar trio, early nineteenth century guitar compositions for three guitars were few and far between and a player's choice of music for this ensemble similarly limited. It seems more probable that a trio by von Call or Gragnani was played than, for instance, Diabelli's *Grand Trio*, op. 62 as this is quite a technically demanding work.

A year or so after Gehring's concert in the town hall, the Italian singer and guitarist Francesco Annato also gave a concert there. He described himself as 'an Italian buffo singer from Rome' and was therefore presumably more a singer than he was a guitarist.⁴⁹⁴ The concert was given with the 'kind assistance' of local amateurs who performed a 'Sinfonia' and Annato's wife participated as well on the violin. The programme consisted mainly of Italian opera arias but its eighth item is an intriguing work from our perspective: Ferdinando Carulli's *Scherrzo [sic] militare* for guitar 'med trumslag' (with percussion) and flageolet. The latter refers to a pastoral pipe, whereas the percussion instrument is more difficult to identify, although the work's title obviously identifies it as a military drum of some description. A composition corresponding either to the above work's title or its instrumentation is not known among the Italian guitarist's oeuvre, which begs the question as to whether the work was by Carulli at all.

Three days after their concert in Helsinki, Annato and his party gave another on the island of Sveaborg. Their journey then continued on to Vyborg, where the group performed before they departed for their final destination, St. Petersburg.⁴⁹⁵ The programmes of these two other concerts are not known but it is improbable that any significant changes would have been made. Annato was back in Finland two years later, this time with some pantomime artists, his assignment being to sing during the intervals of their show. Its advertisement informs that he was to perform 'several arias by Rossini and Tonisetti [sic].'⁴⁹⁶ Given the circumstances, it is quite possible that he accompanied himself on the guitar, although this

⁴⁹⁴ *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 13 August 1833; *Helsingfors Tidningar* 10 August 1833.

⁴⁹⁵ *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 16 August 1833; Hirn 1997, 49.

⁴⁹⁶ *Åbo Underrättelser* 28 October 1835.

is not mentioned. In the early 1850s Annato's name appears in the press alongside these pantomime artists once again so the Finnish audience may have had a further opportunity to hear him sing and play his guitar.

An Austrian folk-music group who arrived in Turku in August 1839 attracts our interest because of its guitarist.⁴⁹⁷ This is the German Adam Darr (1811–1866) who has the honour of today being the best-known of all the guitar players who visited Finland before the twentieth century. Although certainly not one of the grand names of the guitar, in recent years he has received some attention, even having been chosen as the subject of a dissertation.⁴⁹⁸

Before setting foot on Finnish soil, Darr had been on the move around Europe for a good number of years, even performing before the royal courts. He arrived in Sweden in late June 1839 and about three months later in Finland.⁴⁹⁹ From there Darr continued the journey to St. Petersburg where his sojourn is said to have lasted for up to three years (c.1837–c.1840); definitive proof of this is, however, lacking. After the time spent in the Russian capital, Darr returned to his native land for the remainder of his life, which ended in suicide caused by 'disappointments of a private nature', as Zuth expresses it.⁵⁰⁰ While back in Germany, Darr took up zither playing, of which he became an esteemed advocate. Of the many variants of this family of instruments, it is most probable that he played the concert zither because he published a tutorial for this instrument in 1866.⁵⁰¹

In 1839, however, Darr was still very much a guitarist, one of the generation that followed the Golden Age of Giuliani, Sor and Carulli. Some of his works are occasionally performed today but, despite this,

497 *Åbo Underrättelser* 24 August 1839.

498 Costello 2005.

499 *Göteborgs Handels- Och Sjöfarts-Tidning* 29 June 1839; *Åbo Underrättelser* 24 August 1839.

500 Costello 2005, 1–2; Zuth [1926] 1978, 76.

501 Costello 2005, 116–125. Apart from the above-mentioned concert zither, there are many other types such as the Alpine zither. These two differ from each other in the number of strings, the latter one having as many as forty-two. Because of this, the instrument requires an extension to its body to support both the longer additional contrabass strings and their tuners.

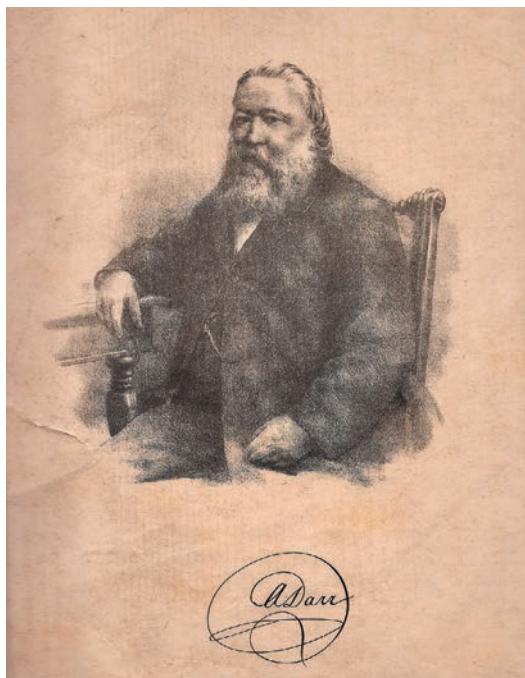


Figure 52. The German guitarist and zitherist Adam Darr and his signature.

he does not stand on an equal footing to his contemporaries Coste, Regondi and Mertz. He should rather be compared to the many lesser-known German guitar players, such as Eduard Bayer and Friedrich (Frederik) Brand (1815–1883).

Darr's oeuvre includes works for solo guitar and guitar duo and he was also a collector of folk songs. This perhaps explains why he arrived in Turku on 21 August 1839, aboard the steamship *Solide*, as a member of a folk-music group. Wasting no time at all, the musicians gave a concert in the town's community hall on the day following their arrival with a second one to follow two days later.⁵⁰²

⁵⁰² According to Joseph Costello, these two concerts are noteworthy for being, of all the concerts Darr gave outside of Germany, the only ones to have left a trace. Furthermore, Costello suggests, basing his idea on the group's concert programmes, that Darr was on his way back to St. Petersburg in 1839, when in fact these documents read that the group was 'på deras genomresa till St. Petersburg' (passing through [Finland] to St. Petersburg). Therefore, these programmes cannot be used to corroborate any earlier visit by Darr to the Russian capital.

Figure 53. The programme for the 'Vocal- and Instrumental-Concert' that Adam Darr and his group gave in Turku on 22 August 1839.



The two programme leaflets of the concerts in Finland are headed by the English royal crest, with a text underneath this emblem stating that the group was under the patronage of 'H. M. the King and the Royal Family of England'. Research on this matter has not revealed any evidence to suggest a visit to England by the group, so its presence on their paraphernalia may have just been a daring form of marketing on their part.

Their programmes in Turku and Helsinki included mainly Tyrolean folk-music but, save for just a few numbers, were not identical for the two evenings. Darr was tasked with accompanying most of the items, he probably also sang and in both the concerts he performed a guitar solo. It is not clear whether this solo was different on each evening from the programme leaflet but one can easily imagine that Darr simply played

what pleased him in the moment. This is all the more likely because, unlike the rest of the items that were specified, this one was simply inputted as a ‘Solo-Pièce’. Moreover, it is very plausible that he played one of his own works. A review of the first concert was published in the local press but Darr’s performance is not mentioned. The article instead divulges the most important piece of information about the group, at least for our purposes, which is that Mr Daburger, the leader and singer of the group, was also a guitar player.⁵⁰³

After these performances, Darr and the group continued their journey to Helsinki. This was again done by steamboat, although this time on the *Furst Menschikoff*, the passenger list of which shows that there was one more musician, the Royal Danish ‘Kammer-Musikus’ Christian Kellermann, on board.⁵⁰⁴ Kellermann was a cellist of some fame whom Darr may have met in St. Petersburg in 1837, providing that the hypothesis of the guitarist’s earlier sojourn there holds true. Either way, a few days following their arrival in Helsinki, Darr and the group participated in a ‘full-voiced’ concert given by the Danish cellist. The concert’s programme, published in *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* on 30 August, does not mention any performers by name, with the exception of Kellermann, but because many of the programmed works were the same that the group had played in Turku, there is little doubt as to their participation.⁵⁰⁵ This was the last of Darr’s recorded performances in Finland and on 3 September he and his party sailed off to Reval (Tallinn). From there they continued on to their final destination of St. Petersburg, as their concert programmes in Turku had informed.

At the time of Darr’s visit to Turku the town’s musical society was inactive, a fissure that had been instigated by the Great Fire in 1827. In 1843 local enthusiasm and energy to revive it had, nevertheless, risen to such a level that an invitation for a meeting to discuss the matter appeared in the press.⁵⁰⁶ The outcome was positive and the society re-

⁵⁰³ Åbo Underrättelser 24 August 1839.

⁵⁰⁴ Åbo Underrättelser 28 August 1839.

⁵⁰⁵ Finlands Allmänna Tidning 30 August 1839.

⁵⁰⁶ Åbo Tidningar 4 November 1843.

sumed its functions – albeit only for three years – and once again offered concerts for the music-loving public of the old capital of Finland. The society's fifth concert of the 1845 season is of particular note because it included a duo for two guitars by Wilhelm Neuland (1806–1889).⁵⁰⁷ The programme was of a high calibre, boasting both a 'Symphony by Haydn' and J.W. Kalliwoda's *Concert-Overture*, and therefore it is interesting that a guitar work was deemed to be acceptable repertoire in this setting. Furthermore, this performance provides us with the earliest information of guitar music being played in a concert of the Musical Society of Turku. This notwithstanding, one feels that, despite the lack of proof, guitar music must have been heard in its concerts prior to this date, as was the case for the Academic Musical Society in Helsinki. As for Neuland, he is one of the near-forgotten early nineteenth-century guitar composers whose guitar production has not been looked much into; because of this, no comprehensive list of Neuland's compositions exists, but Zuth mentions three guitar duets, but there may have been others.⁵⁰⁸

This concert marks the beginning of a break of nearly fifty years in the information on the public performance of more serious guitar repertoire. The next performance of such a work in concert was by Josef Binnemann, whose activities as a guitar teacher were discussed in the previous chapter. He was not only a teacher but also an active musician who performed on all of the numerous instruments that he had mastered: the mandolin, the violin, the *zittra* and the guitar. In 1891 he played a solo called *Kaipaus* (Yearning) by 'Meijer' on the guitar. Again, it is hard to identify this work and, in this case, its composer remains equally elusive.⁵⁰⁹ There are many nineteenth-century guitar composers with surnames like 'Meijer', 'Mayer' and 'Mayr' who could be potential contenders but, lacking any more information, it is impos-

507 Åbo Underrättelser 19 April 1845.

508 Zuth [1926] 1978, 207–208. A proof of Neuland's popularity in Scandinavia are the over a dozen guitar works in the Rischel and Birket-Smith Collection of the Royal Danish Library.

509 Päivälehti 1 February 1891.

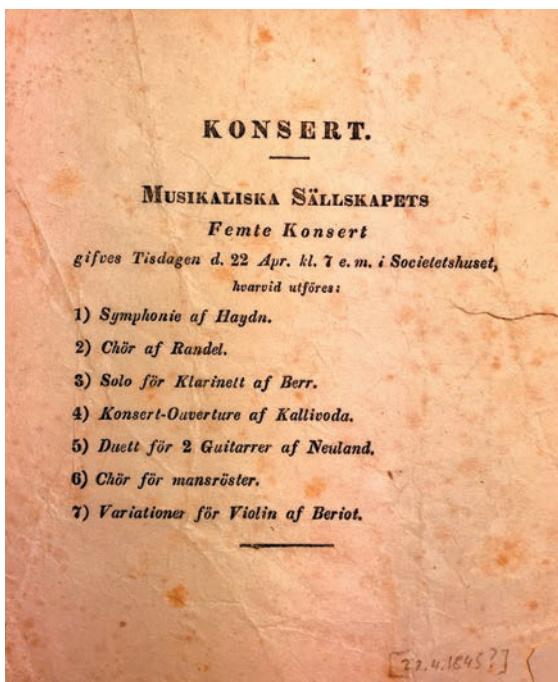


Figure 54. A programme for the fifth concert of the 1845 season of the Musical Society of Turku including Wilhelm Neuland's *Duett* for two guitars.

sible to choose between these options.⁵¹⁰ Binnemann also played concerts in Finland's provinces and a few months after his performance in Helsinki, a solo-guitar piece was again on his programme, this time in Vyborg.⁵¹¹ More important for our purposes is a concert given in 1898, a soirée in the provincial town of Heinola because it was noted by the press. Binnemann received a good review and we learn that the audience had been 'unusually numerous considering the local conditions' and that 'generous applause' was given. He again called upon several instruments, performing a piece by 'Reichardt' on the guitar in which the pianissimo at its close had been 'absolutely unsurpassed'.⁵¹²

While Binnemann was praised here, the promenade concert of the Musical Society of Turku in 1895 faced criticism for a work played on the violin and guitar. The audience had enjoyed the concert and, in

⁵¹⁰ See, for example, Zuth [1926] 1978.

⁵¹¹ *Wäipurin Sanomat* 30 May 1891.

⁵¹² *Nya Pressen* 14 September 1898; *Päivälehti* 13 September 1898.

fact, wanted this work repeated, while the critic felt that this simply demonstrated how capricious public taste could be.⁵¹³ The review does not identify the piece but it may have been either *Abendandacht* by 'Grossmann' or *Herzliebchen* by 'Meissner' because the performers, Messrs Eibenschütz and Bröckel, had played these two pieces in another concert two weeks earlier.

Accompanied songs

The character of guitar-accompanied singing is often light and entertaining, and it is for this reason that audiences often find it easy to relate to. Just as elsewhere, there was an abundance of performances in Finland that drew from this rich repertoire.

The earliest one on record was given by a certain Sibilla Lazar who sang opera arias to her own guitar accompaniment. She toured the country extensively in 1828 together with her brother Joseph Binnes, their show taking them from Vyborg to Helsinki and Turku, then along the coast up north, where they finally left Finland.⁵¹⁴ From today's viewpoint, the programme was a strange combination of elements: operatic music and imitations of animal sounds, which Sibilla's brother executed in addition to showing his ventriloquist skills. When they entered the country at Vyborg in April 1828, the press called Joseph a 'theatre artist', whereas in the pair's own advertising in Helsinki Binnes was labelled a 'musicus'.⁵¹⁵

In a performance on 7 May in Helsinki, Sibilla Lazar's part of the programme comprised of the following songs:

- Cavatina from *Achilles*
- Cavatina from *Tancred* [sic] by Rossini
- A Tyrolean aria
- A Comic Romance by Castelli

513 *Aura* 6 March 1895.

514 Hirn 1997, 46–47.

515 *Wiburgs Wochenblatt* 12 April 1828; *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 6 May 1828.

After this Binnes took to the stage to imitate birds and other animals. He claimed to have developed his skills ‘to such a degree of perfection and congruence which only a few have managed to accomplish without the support of an instrument’.⁵¹⁶ Binnes and Lazar gave these performances across the country and they are an extreme example of the diverse novelty acts that could be woven into musical performance. When Binnes and Lazar returned to Finland in 1836 they had transitioned to Tyrolean folk music, although Binnes still concentrated on ventriloquism and the imitation of animal sounds. Accordingly, their attire had also changed from full evening dress to Tyrolean national costume.⁵¹⁷

Returning to 1828, the year of Lazar’s and Binnes’ first visit to the country, we can find another singer who gave a concert in which he accompanied himself on the guitar. This was the tenor Wilhelm Bürow, a native of Elbing, a town in Eastern Prussia that is nowadays part of Poland.⁵¹⁸ Bürow was exceptional in two ways: he was blind and he played a nine-string guitar of his own invention. The latter detail can be gleaned from the advertisements he placed in Sweden some years earlier between 1825–1826.⁵¹⁹ Where he resided after this period is not known, but a few years later he was back in Sweden and, on his way to St. Petersburg at the turn of the years 1828–1829 he passed through Finland. While here he gave two concerts, one in Turku in the local community hall and another in the *Rådhuset* (Town Hall) of Helsinki.⁵²⁰

Bürow’s concert in Turku on 12 November was quite exceptional because it did not involve the participation of local amateurs. We do not know its programme, but since in his concerts in Sweden Bürow

⁵¹⁶ *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 6 May 1828. No review is available from Finland but when Lazar and Binnes performed in Sweden a few months after leaving Finland, the press was not very enthusiastic about Mrs Lazar’s singing. Her ‘alto voice’ was described as ‘not unpleasant but small’. Lazar’s guitar playing was not commented upon but Binnes’ imitations got some praise. *Stockholmsposten* 11 December 1828.

⁵¹⁷ Hirn 1977, 352.

⁵¹⁸ See *Abend-Zeitung* 29 August 1822; *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* 25 May 1822.

⁵¹⁹ See, for example, *Dagligt Allehanda* 20 April 1825.

⁵²⁰ *Åbo Tidningar* 8 November 1828.

had sang to his own guitar accompaniment the aria 'Voi che sapete' from W.A. Mozart's opera *Le Nozze di Figaro* and 'Andante e Polacca' by Michele Carafa (1787–1872), these two works are very likely to have been in the Finnish programme as well.⁵²¹ As Bürow's performance in Turku took place only a year or so after the Great Fire, in his early history of the Musical Society of Turku Wilhelm Lagus supposes that this was the only concert organised there over the whole season. This was not the case, as we already know, because Lazar and Binnes also performed there that same year. Lagus cites Bürow's concert as an example of the poor state of the town's musical life, adding that it was 'accompanied by guitar alone!'.⁵²² The exclamation mark could be interpreted as meaning that this was far from a positive attribute, although perhaps he was simply astonished that it was possible to do this.

A month or so passed and Bürow was in Helsinki. He offered piano tuning in the press, as he intended to stay in the town 'until the coming Christmas holidays'. In reality he stayed slightly longer, giving a concert on 3 January 1829. The programme was not listed in the advance publicity, but since the concert was publicised as a 'full-voiced vocal and instrumental' one, the local amateurs must have given their 'kind assistance'.⁵²³ It is probable, therefore, that some small orchestral pieces were also included. Unfortunately, it was not a success, Bürow falling 'victim to the same destiny as numerous others before him', this being 'low attendance'.⁵²⁴ According to the writer of this review, a strong reason for this misfortune was the proximity to the holiday season as well as 'a few coincidences'. Exactly what these were remains in the dark but what is clear is that the critic was not blaming Bürow for his small audience.

An itinerant blind musician in the early nineteenth century may seem somewhat of an aberration but Bürow was not the only individual

521 *Stockholms Dagblad* 21 April 1825. The Carafa work was probably one of the composer's most popular arias, the 'Cavatina alla Polacca', from his opera *Adele di Lusignano*.

522 Lagus 1890, 47.

523 *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 30 December 1828.

524 *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 4 December 1828; *Helsingfors Tidningar* 10 January 1829.

to fit this category. Others who visited Finland included the German flautist Gottlieb Grünberg, roughly contemporaneous to Bürow, who gave concerts in Vyborg and Helsinki. The clarinettist Carl Wohllebe was another fairly regular visitor and, in 1846, he even decided to come and live in the country permanently.⁵²⁵

Bürow's concert is the last one that we know to have contained guitar-accompanied operatic repertoire until the 1890s when the Italian Silvio Ballini and his group advertised their performances in Turku. The ensemble's baritone singer was the recipient of special praise for his impressive vocal command in an aria from Verdi's *Il Trovatore*, which was not just accompanied by the guitar but by four mandolins in addition.⁵²⁶ Another singer to offer opera arias with guitar accompaniment towards the end of the century was Filippo Linares, perhaps a Spaniard or an Italian, who performed in the community hall of Oulu in 1899. Quite curiously, this concert was in collaboration with a local military band, although it was to his own guitar accompaniment that Linares sang a vocal pot-pourri. Advertisements for the event boasted that 'each number is performed wearing different elegant operatic and national dresses'.⁵²⁷

Although the family group Kirchheim, supported by a violinist called Haase, also performed some opera arias, their repertoire embraced a wider array of musical styles. The family arrived in Turku from Sweden in October 1845, announcing a few days later that their *soirées musicales* would take place in the 'buffet-rum' of the *Societetshuset*, the local community hall. This venue suggests that drinks and food were served during the evening performances, which included both vocal and instrumental numbers, and the group's song choices ranged from opera arias to a piece by the Swedish composer Otto Lindblad.⁵²⁸ Three of the four children played the guitar and one of the sons, Hermann, was specifically praised for being 'confident and accurate' on this in-

⁵²⁵ Hirn 1997, 51.

⁵²⁶ Åbo Underrättelser 22 February 1897; Åbo Tidning 26 February 1897.

⁵²⁷ Oulun Ilmoituslehti 2 January 1889.

⁵²⁸ Åbo Tidningar 25 October 1845; Åbo Underrättelser 29 October 1845.

strument when accompanying his sister's singing.⁵²⁹ It is even possible that the group's violin pieces were guitar-accompanied as none of the advertisements mention piano playing.

By February 1846, the Kirchheims had moved from Turku to Helsinki where they entertained at the *Hotel de Bellevue*. The group performed each evening from eight to eleven o'clock, suggesting that their repertoire was more versatile there than it had been in Turku and also that they may have played dance music.⁵³⁰ Apart from the appearances at the hotel, the family occasionally performed in the Ullanlinna bathing establishment. After spending almost eight months in Finland and having enjoyed a degree of success, it was, nevertheless, time to continue the journey.⁵³¹ This visit has been reported here because the group's regular performances, first in Turku and then in Helsinki, offered the music amateurs of these two towns the chance to hear guitar playing publicly on most evenings of the week. Furthermore, if Hermann Kirchheim was indeed a proficient player, perhaps he would occasionally have thrown in a guitar solo.

Guitar-accompanied dancing

In 1830 David and Caroline Tyron's theatrical group appeared in both Helsinki and Turku, offering a programme of songs, dances and small scenes extracted from popular plays. A compelling detail of their work, and a feature that they were sure to promote through their advertising, was a ballet number, *Pas de trois Anacreontique*, which was accompanied by a guitar 'without an orchestra'.⁵³² Understandably, a piano was not always available but it is quite telling that a guitar was used to replace it or, in fact, a whole orchestra. By the end of the century, ballet numbers were sometimes accompanied by the guitar in Finland's *variété* shows, which will be discussed below.

529 *Åbo Tidningar* 28 January 1846.

530 *Helsingfors Tidningar* 18 February 1846.

531 *Helsingfors Tidningar* 13 June 1846.

532 *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 3 August 1830.

Performances of popular music

Performances of lighter music in nineteenth-century Finland were of every variety. As regards the guitar, three types may be distinguished: concerts given by the Alpine-music groups, *variété* shows and the guitar's appearances in various types of soirées that were called *iltama* in Finnish.⁵³³

Alpine-music groups

A characteristic feature of the folk music of the Austrian Tyrol and Steiermark regions is yodelling. Typically, a group is composed of a singer and one or two players of plucked instruments (the zither, the guitar or both) and potentially a further violin player as well. In order to add folksy colour, sometimes the most 'earthly' of accessories were utilised as instruments, these including pieces of birch bark.

Yodelling spread throughout Europe and the United States in the early nineteenth century when declining living conditions in Tyrol and Steiermark forced many people, folk musicians among them, to seek their fortunes elsewhere. Despite being a fairly curious music form, many people warmed to it and itinerant Alpine-music groups remained decidedly in vogue for several decades. A certain Hauser family were early pioneers of the genre and they performed with great success in Paris, Sweden and St. Petersburg throughout the 1820s. For some reason the group did not make the customary stopover in Finland on their way to Russia, but this can almost be considered an exception, as numerous other groups did indeed visit the country from the mid-1830s onwards.

In Finland, alpine-music groups were usually heard in venues such as community halls and other respectable places, their performances being referred to as either a 'concert' or a 'soirée musicale', epithets one might not immediately associate with folk music. On the other hand, when this music form grew more and more popular over the years,

533 The Finnish term is derived from *iltta* (evening).

its prevalence also opened up a market for less qualified groups who were forced to perform in bars and inns, if not on the street.⁵³⁴ From the guitar's perspective the extensive touring of many of these Alpine groups is important because their travelling helped to acquaint a new and broad audience with the guitar.

The first group to visit Finland that had a guitarist in its midst was run by Aloys Hauser, a trio of husband, wife and friend. Prior to their visit to Finland, they had stayed in St. Petersburg for a considerable period and, while there, had even performed in the presence of the Tsar and Tsarina. The group then passed through Finland on their way to Stockholm and, no doubt owing to their successes in the Russian capital, received an enthusiastic reception from the Finnish press when they arrived in the country in 1835. We may read, for instance, that their musical standard was considered to be well above the usual level of Alpine music ensembles.⁵³⁵ The trio gave concerts in the community halls of Helsinki and Turku, as well as probably in Vyborg – all, no doubt, less grand surroundings than that of the Russian court.⁵³⁶ After these concerts, Hauser's party sailed on to Sweden only to return to Finland in November of the following year. On this occasion the journey was completed in reverse, commencing from Turku in the direction of St. Petersburg.

The programmes of Hauser's group show that the guitar furnished the accompaniment to most of their concert pieces, of which only some were instrumental whereas songs predominated. As a curiosity, in one of the concerts a set of Strauss' waltzes were played on the *Schlagzither* and the guitar, which reveals that the repertoire did not consist exclusively of Alpine music.⁵³⁷

Which of the group's members was the guitar player is not clear, although as its advertisements mention Aloys Hauser's zither playing, it is more likely that either Madame Hauser or the group's third per-

534 Hirn 1977, 351.

535 *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 30 April 1835.

536 *Helsingfors Tidningar* 29 April 1835.

537 A *Schlagzither* is a small zither without bourdon tuning, played with fingers. Michel 2001.

former was the guitarist (if not both). The zither is a core instrument of Alpine music and it is this that gives it its traditional sound, but the guitar also had an important role to play. It was, in fact, sometimes the sole instrument that these groups would employ for accompaniment, this being the case for the Rosenbaum brothers, Salomon and Nathan, who visited Finland in 1838.⁵³⁸

By the 1840s Alpine-music groups had become fairly commonplace and their use of the guitar remained largely unchanged. The same formulae for yodelling and echo effects were repeated time and again, and it therefore became more and more difficult to impress an audience. Finally, after the Crimean War interest in the Alpine style faded drastically. This was partially due to dwindling enthusiasm for the genre but was also impacted by the declining popularity of the Ullanlinna and other bathing establishments, where many later groups had performed. Johan Hosp, from Inntal, performed in the country in 1859 and his group was the last one of which we know to have had a guitarist among its members.⁵³⁹

In context, then, as trivial as they may seem, the visits of Alpine groups to Finland had significant ramifications, as Sven Hirn has pointed out.⁵⁴⁰ Their widespread touring helped to foster interest in local folk-music traditions and, thus, played a role in their rediscovery. On the concert front this led to the emergence of a new market for instruments such as the *kantele*. Classical performers also adopted Austrian folk melodies and as one example, the cellist Kellermann played a fantasy on Alpine-tunes in his aforementioned concert in Helsinki at which Adam Darr also performed.

Varieté and restaurants

Many bathing establishments were already offering music programmes in their restaurants in the 1830s. One early guitarist to perform in

⁵³⁸ Åbo Tidningar 17 October 1838.

⁵³⁹ The Ephemera Collection (NLF).

⁵⁴⁰ Hirn 1977, 361–366.

these venues was the Italian Giuseppe Zella who toured the coastal towns with his wife in 1846. Their performance venues varied from confectioneries to bathing institutes, Zella playing both the guitar and the mandolin while his wife sang. According to one review, their performance was executed with ‘the appropriate mimicry accompanied by dark flashing eyes’.⁵⁴¹ The Finnish press did not describe Zella’s playing in more detail but we have a favourable review of one of the concerts which the Italian played in Sweden (together with C.H.A. Graeflē). In October 1843 the *Östgöta Correspondenten* writes that Zella is ‘unquestionably the most skilful guitar player who so far has let himself publicly heard in Sweden’.⁵⁴² The Swedish press material also discloses that Zella played, for instance, a solo called *Grandes exercices à la Paganini* while among the pieces performed together with Graeflē (who played the second guitar) was a variation work based on a theme called ‘Le petit Suisse’.⁵⁴³ The identity of these two works remains a question but they may of course have been Zella’s own compositions. So, in 1846 the Finnish audiences had the opportunity to hear high-quality guitar playing, perhaps even – no doubt virtuosic – Paganini-style exercises.

Other types of restaurants were less quick to lend their space to performers and it became standard practice only towards the end of the century as the *variété* grew in popularity. Such performances were comprised of a number of elements including music, dance, acrobatics and still other forms of entertainment. *Variété* has sometimes been described as ‘unity in multiplicity’ because it does not have a conjunctive dramatic theme and it therefore takes the shape of something between a theatrical performance and a circus act.⁵⁴⁴ In sum, a *variété* was a pleasant way to spend an enjoyable evening in good company.

In the closing decades of the century, if one desired to attend such a performance in Finland, Helsinki was the place to go. The sheer number of first-rate performers who were passing through the Finnish capital

541 *Wasa Tidning* 25 July 1846.

542 *Östgöta Correspondenten* 15 October 1842.

543 *Gefleborgs Läns Tidning* 11 January 1843.

544 Günther 1978, 11–12.

on their way from Stockholm to St. Petersburg meant that restaurants were able to consistently offer enticing shows to their patrons. This even improved when in the 1890s a law forbidding the serving of alcoholic beverages during *variété* performances was passed in Sweden because this made it easier for Finnish restaurateurs to find entertainers. The situation in Sweden quite understandably had caused demand there to diminish and, consequently, forced many performers to seek work elsewhere.⁵⁴⁵

By way of example, the Italian Armanini family took part in a *variété* show at the restaurant *Hesperia* in Helsinki in 1889.⁵⁴⁶ They, the ‘chamber musicians of H.R.H., the Duke of Edinburgh’, sang Italian songs accompanied by three mandolins and a guitar, but despite their status they also needed to share the stage with, among others, two clowns. The group’s performance was rated well above the average because of their melodious singing and ‘deeply-moving’ songs.⁵⁴⁷ A few years later and in a similar vein, another Italian group, *Compagnia Margherita*, performed in a musical programme that featured several artists whose repertoire ranged from a waltz by Johann Strauss the Younger to a sung couplet; there was even an appearance by a comedian, demonstrating the mix-and-match quality of such shows. Our Italian group both performed songs and danced to the accompaniment of mandolins and guitars.⁵⁴⁸

Yet another group which excelled in *variétés* was the ‘Spanish song, music and ballet company Sanchez Domingo Arriaza’ with several appearances in the community hall’s parlour in Helsinki in the late summer of 1890. The press called both Domingo and Aurora Arriaza ‘dancers of the Royal Theatre of Madrid’ and it seems that the main focus of their act was dancing. But the group also included a baritone sing-

545 Hirn 1999b, 97.

546 *Uusi Suometar* 23 June 1889.

547 Hirn 1999b, 59.

548 *Program-Bladet: Tidning för Helsingfors Teatrar och Konserter* 24 February 1895.

Figure 55. The Italian mandolinist Pietro Armanini.



er Jozè [sic] Bayo whose singing was accompanied by Signora Elvira Arriaza on the mandolin and guitar.⁵⁴⁹

Troubadours, social evenings and other miscellaneous performances

A new phenomenon that developed towards the end of the century was miscellaneous social evenings that offered richly varied musical and non-musical programmes. The same appellation, *iltama*, is used for any such social evening, regardless of the prestige, or otherwise, of its programme. One organised in Helsinki by the *Alliance française* featured Berta Edelfelt who accompanied French and Italian songs on the guitar. A world apart from this must have been an *iltama* put on by the Fire Brigade of Vyborg, which included a *tintamarresque* and a silhouette show.⁵⁵⁰

549 *Nya Pressen* 29 September 1890.

550 A *tintamarresque* is a billboard with a face cut-out.

As a rule, the programme of an *iltama* was composed of a speech, poetry recital, music and dancing. In these, the role of the guitar seems mainly to have been to accompany songs but it was occasionally also part of the chamber music that was performed. In an *iltama* organised by railway personnel, a duet for violin and guitar was presented, at another in Vyborg, a guitar duet could be heard and, finally, a social evening in Helsinki, organised by the famous youth society *Hermannin Nuorisoseura*, included a trio for violin, guitar and mandolin.⁵⁵¹ The meetings of worker's associations followed the structure of *iltama* and accordingly, the guitar was often heard; the *kantele* and accordion were also popular in this setting.

Charity raffles for the benefit of a diverse range of noble causes commonly featured music entertainment. Typically, the composition of programmes for these events did not significantly differ from the social evenings that have already been described. That said, one organised in 1895 is noteworthy for its inclusion of Italian folk songs arranged for mixed choir with the accompaniment of mandolin, guitar and violin by Robert Kajanus, the famous conductor, friend of Sibelius and champion of his music.⁵⁵² Nothing more is known of these arrangements and whilst their creation must have been a trivial job for Kajanus it is nonetheless regrettable that they are lost. Similarly, at a lottery, which was held in Jyväskylä for the benefit of a new theatre building, Italian songs for a choir to guitar accompaniment were also performed. Whether these were the aforementioned Kajanus arrangements is impossible to ascertain.⁵⁵³

While social evenings certainly cannot be considered concerts *per se*, there were, in fact, even more casual performances of the guitar to be enjoyed in nineteenth-century Finland.

Lars Petter Westerdahl (1812–1864) signed his publicity as 'Royal Chamber Musician from Stockholm' because he had played the flute

551 *Rautatienv-lehti* 5 December 1896; *Wiipuriin Sanomat* 26 September 1897; *Uusi Suometar* 22 October 1899.

552 *Uusi Suometar* 9 March 1895.

553 *Keski-Suomi* 17 March 1898.

in the orchestra of the Swedish court.⁵⁵⁴ For some reason, however, Westerdahl choose to leave this, no doubt, prized position in favour of a career as a touring musician. He played a vast array of musical instruments, among them the guitar, but also used some non-musical novelties such as a lorgnette and a cigarette holder.⁵⁵⁵ All were included in his show called *The Musical Instrument-Maker, a comic-musical quodlibet*. What is more, apart from playing his many instruments, Westerdahl impersonated the famous Swedish soprano Jenny Lind in an aria from Bellini's *La Sonnambula*; this must have belonged to the comic portion of the show. Reactions were mixed: the audience liked it, his critics were less taken. One reviewer commented that 'Westerdahl's achievements were as modest as the public's applause was overflowing'.⁵⁵⁶ Westerdahl first visited Finland in 1850 and then again in 1861. His second trip seems to have comprised of a more extensive tour through several coastal towns on his way to St. Petersburg.

Another original figure was the Danish J.F.Th. Baas who, in 1859, performed on a mouth organ as well as upon an instrument of his own design, the *kornopeon*. Baas accompanied his musical numbers on the guitar and glass harmonica, an arrangement which is best understood with visual reference to one of his advertising images (see figure 56):

His programme included waltzes by Strauss, the famous *Champagne-Gallop* by his fellow countryman Hans Christian Lumbye (1810–1874) and other popular repertoire.⁵⁵⁷ The concert's reception was far from enthusiastic, partly because the *kornopeon* turned out to just be a horn, which Baas used to amplify the sound of his mouth organ. Some critics deemed the performance more suitable for a fair than a concert hall.⁵⁵⁸

From concert stage to circus ring, the Krasucki brothers are but one example of entertainers who made use of the guitar in this unex-

554 Åbo Underrättelser 6 August 1850; Hirn 1997, 50.

555 Åbo Underrättelser 2 March 1861. A 'lorgnette' is a pair of spectacles with a handle.

556 Hirn 1999b, 82–83.

557 Åbo Underrättelser 17 May 1859.

558 Åbo Underrättelser 24 May 1859.



Figure 56. The image reproduced in the programme leaflet of J.F.Th. Baas' concert offers a clear indication of the type of role the guitar had to play in this performance.



Figure 57. The two Deltorelli brothers, the 'most ultra-comical' clowns, holding their instruments.

pected venue. The siblings played both guitars and mandolins and the press praised their handling of both, although as 'musical clowns' their act must also have included some comical elements.⁵⁵⁹ If the Krasucki brothers were funny, the Deltorelli brothers were 'most ultra-comical' (mest urkomiska) – at least according to their own publicity. The pair called upon a wide array of instruments for their show, one of which was the guitar, while 'a concert on four-hundred sleigh bells' served as an additional attraction.⁵⁶⁰

Returning to more familiar territory than these fairly eccentric settings, we now turn to guitar-playing troubadours who began to gain popularity towards the end of the century. Noteworthy among this group is a reviver of the old Bellman song tradition, Sven Scholander

⁵⁵⁹ *Hufvudstadsbladet* 31 August 1892.

⁵⁶⁰ *Helsingfors Dagblad* 3 July 1888.

(1860–1936), who was very popular in his native Sweden and Finnish audiences also approved of his work. Scholander accompanied himself using an instrument he had developed from the Swedish lute, which is nowadays called the ‘Scholander lute’ in recognition of his efforts. The name is somewhat misleading as although it is called a ‘lute’, its tuning and stringing means it is, in essence, a guitar. One of Scholander’s Finnish followers was the painter and sculptor Bruno Aspelin (1870–1941) who occasionally gave *soirées musicales* in Scholander’s style using the instrument that the Swede had designed. According to *Hufvudstadsbladet*, however, on one occasion he played an ‘old Italian guitar’.⁵⁶¹ This may very well have been the case but, given that organology frequently proved a challenge to many journalists, it is not improbable that this in fact refers to some other plucked instrument, although perhaps not the Scholander lute.

With his Bellman songs, Aspelin would no doubt have seemed a fairly conventional figure in comparison to the Italian Jesse Brandani (1851–1938) who may have been the most eccentric of all the guitar-playing performers to have visited Finland in the nineteenth century. Brandani’s comings and goings were eagerly reported in the press, partly due to his idiosyncratic lifestyle and partly because he broke his guitar during one of his performances in Helsinki.

The advance publicity informed readers that Brandani had ‘made a bet to – without a single penny in his pocket – visit all the most important cities of the world within ten years and to do so without begging and using only Italian, the sole language he knows’.⁵⁶² This story was published in several Finnish newspapers within a short space of time, its text surely penned by the artist himself. What was not revealed to the public was that Brandani was sentenced to imprisonment in Italia, leading one to suspect that this was the real motivation behind his foreign travels.⁵⁶³

In any case, in July 1897 Brandani was in Helsinki from where he,

⁵⁶¹ *Hufvudstadsbladet* 8 April 1899.

⁵⁶² *Åbo Tidning* 25 March 1897.

⁵⁶³ Gianni 2008.

Figure 58. The globetrotter 'Il Trovatore' Jesse Brandani who visited Finland in 1897.



self-styled as 'Il Trovatore', intended to continue his journey to Russia, Japan and Australia. He was certainly more a charlatan than a musician and, accordingly, the *Wasa Tidning* writes that before embarking on his world tour, Brandani had 'acquired a good-sounding guitar, an instrument he did not previously know how to play, learned to play it by himself and had also tried to find his voice which Nature had clearly not meant for singing'.⁵⁶⁴ Apart from music, which included Mozart's 'Cavatina del Figaro' and Italian folk songs, the show consisted of poems and anecdotes from his travels. According to one individual, the singing corroborated the performer's own view that 'if he still had his old voice, the honoured public would have a far more enjoyable time'. Clearly, a lack of self-criticism was not a trait of Brandani's. The aforementioned incident of the broken guitar took place during a concert in Helsinki, when the Italian lost his balance and fell from the stage. The reason for

564 *Wasa Tidning* 11 July 1897.

this blunder could have been, at least in the opinion of one reviewer, his gigantic hat which had 'Il Trovatore' written along its brim (see figure 58). The guitar broke into pieces but, luckily, a replacement was soon found and allowed the show to go on.⁵⁶⁵

The guitar in the civil and social movements

From the end of the eighteenth century, a selection of civil movements began to spread their roots in Finland. This era is now described as the 'time of secret publicity' as many clandestine societies such as the Freemasons first emerge in this period. Early in the proceeding century cultural groups such as Saturday Society (*Lauantaiseura*, *Lördagssällskapet*), a society which discussed patriotic issues with a decidedly Romantic lean, were founded and the country's first religious societies also started their own activities. Finally, in their wake, temperance societies, various women's associations and others besides all sprang into action. Authorities kept a close eye on the spread of civil activity of this kind and it was not until the 1860s that it really became possible for such movements to operate freely. Religious groups had particular success in the 1880s and attracted large memberships, but it was also around this time that the country's first worker's associations were formed.⁵⁶⁶

As varied as the objectives of these various movements were, the guitar had a part to play in nearly all of them. At their meetings, the instrument largely reprised the role it had fulfilled at *iltama*. That being said, the Salvation Army was somewhat of a special case because music had, and still has, a clearly defined role in its operations.

The Salvation Army was founded in London in 1865 with the objective of relieving the sufferings of the poor who had fallen victim to the dismal consequences of the Industrial Revolution; it was a religious movement with a social cause. In the 1880s the movement began to

565 *Program-Bladet: Tidning för Helsingfors Teatrar och Konserter* 12 September 1897.

566 Alapuro and Stenius 1989, 21–23; Heikkilä and Seppo 1989, 82.

spread abroad, reaching Finland in 1889. William Booth (1829–1912), father of the movement, saw music as a means to an end, reasoning that it helped to attract people to the Army's meetings and, through this, facilitated the delivery of their message of salvation. Much of the Army's music-making was centred on brass bands because this was a reasonably portable mode of playing and could also be brought outdoors. The guitar of course shared these advantages and was in fact even easier to bring along when preaching the gospel. It is unsurprising, therefore, that many advertisements for the Salvation Army's meetings in Finland mention guitar playing as part of the evening's programme.

The power of the guitar to entice people to adopt the teachings of the Bible had, in fact, already been emphasised in Finland prior to the arrival of the Salvation Army. In 1888, for instance, an advertisement for a three-week training course for evangelists stressed the importance of one's guitar-playing skills, advising each applicant to source a guitar and begin to learn to play it. The reason was stated clearly: that the instrument 'has proved to be a powerful tool both for attracting people to meetings and for bringing the truth into their hearts'.⁵⁶⁷ Interestingly, a religious monthly publication considered the guitar to be so influential that it suggested that Finland's priests would have more success if guitar playing was taught to them at university!⁵⁶⁸

To offer a few names of those who played the instrument in these circles, one may start with the Swedish pair Nelly Hall and Ida Nihlén. According to one report, Nihlén played the guitar in a way which was 'worth all the attention'.⁵⁶⁹ Another guitar player within the Salvation Army was also often mentioned by name, Hedvig von Haartman (1862–1902), who was one of the founders of its Finnish network.⁵⁷⁰

The spreading of the gospel was no easy task and sometimes there would be persons present at the Army's meetings who had only come to mock and ridicule. An article in the newspaper *Lappeenrannan Uutiset*

567 *Finska Veckobladet* 18 October 1888.

568 *Hengellinen kuukauslehti* 1 November 1888.

569 *Waasan Lehti* 23 January 1889.

570 KÖNÖNEN 1964, 41–51.

describes one such incident, remarking, perhaps slightly apologetically, that the singing and playing at the Army's meetings was not always 'uplifting'. According to the writer, anyone was entitled to perform and because of this, the standard of performances was even known to evoke laughter from time-to-time. On the other hand, beautifully performed solo pieces had the power to 'inspire real devotion'.⁵⁷¹ As we may imagine, however, the standard of guitar playing must have been extremely variable.

Although the guitar was embraced by many religious movements as a tool for teaching the word of the gospel, at times it was received more negatively. In 1889, for example, when participating in a Baptist meeting a vicar of the Lutheran Church was scathing of the fact that 'even guitar was played'.⁵⁷² Contrastingly, a few years later, another writer assessed the use of guitars in religious meetings far more positively. He records how a dozen young men and women had played the guitar in ensemble with some folk musicians and his article commends how 'the sound of these instruments now generally accompanies melodies borrowed from folk songs and other types of music'.⁵⁷³

To conclude, an annual report of the Kotka Temperance Society illuminates the guitar's central role in their meetings. They were held at least once a month and ran as follows: speech, recitation, singing – either a choral piece or a vocal solo with guitar accompaniment – and then a discussion upon a theme concerning the temperance cause. During every meeting, tea was also served.⁵⁷⁴

571 *Lappeenrannan Uutiset* 19 March 1898.

572 *Waasan Lehti* 14 September 1889.

573 *Åbo Tidning* 7 April 1895. The borrowing of 'ready-made' melodies was common also in the Salvation Army. This facilitated the singing, since people knew the melody and needed only to learn the new words.

574 *Kotka* 31 May 1890.

CHAPTER SIX

An imported guitar or one of Finland's own?

That the first Finnish music shop was only established at around the nineteenth century's midpoint has already been alluded to on several occasions in previous chapters. Owing to a lack of these specialised selling venues in the first half of the century, guitars and other musical instruments were sold in a variety of other establishments such as bookshops, general stores and second-hand retailers. When music shops did enter the market, they obviously accounted for a large share of music sales, but the assortments of the unspecialised retailers also improved in response. In fact, during the second half of the century some bookshops even stocked fairly good selections of guitars. On the other hand, if one did not want to, or indeed could not, purchase an instrument at a store, another option was to buy a guitar by way of a newspaper advertisement, at an auction or directly from the workshop of a Finnish maker.

The overall scale of the demand is hard to ascertain and the number of instruments the shops sold is anybody's guess, but the sales advertisements by private individuals show how many guitars were placed for sale through this channel. In the period 1830–1860, for example, around a dozen guitars were on offer each decade, whereas in the following decade, 1870–1879, we see a radical increase in advertisements with as many as fifty-six guitars offered up for sale. Although there is no way of knowing precisely how many of these instruments found a buyer, it seems reasonable to estimate that, over the course of the century, a few hundred guitars may have changed hands this way.

With regard to the auctions, the protocols of those organised in Helsinki (1712–1898) indicate that no guitars were put up for sale in the eighteenth century, but in the nineteenth century over two hundred

were available. Moreover, save for two or three exceptions, all found a buyer. How this compares to the rest of the country remains to be investigated, but spot checks of Turku protocols suggest that a considerably lower number of guitars featured in the auctions of this town. If this was indeed the situation in a centre as important as Turku, the supply in the provincial towns must have been even poorer. Although their auction protocols have not been perused, the low number of guitars listed in the advertisements for auctions organised in the provinces supports this view.

The total production of Finnish guitar makers is even more challenging to estimate. There are two main reasons for this: only a few such guitars are extant and only one maker, Carl Gustav Florvall (1806–1857) from Porvoo, actually numbered his instruments. While nothing can be sensibly deduced from the scarce quantity of guitars that survive, which may be for any number of reasons, the labels of Florvall's three extant guitars are more informative. They bear the numbers '94', '242' and '443', the highest figure suggesting that he may have manufactured this many of the instrument. We do not know, however, if Florvall used a single numbering system for all of the instruments he produced or a separate one for each type. Even if the former were the case, given that the maker's advertising suggests that guitars were his primary output, somewhere between three and four hundred guitars may very well be close to the truth. If this in any way compares with the production of Finland's other luthiers, combined they may have contributed several hundred guitars to the Finnish market and thus played an important role in the supply.

Although guitars were available relatively consistently especially in Helsinki, there were those who nevertheless sought to procure an instrument by advertising their interest in a newspaper; in smaller places this was obviously all the more necessary. It is unsurprising therefore, that we have one such advertisement from Oulu, where no shops appear to have offered guitars during the last decades of the century and thus forced those who needed one to look further afield.⁵⁷⁵ The posting reads

575 *Uleåborgs Tidning* 23 February 1882.

that a certain 'Captain Nordberg' was in need of a guitar, violin and violin case. He must also be the same 'Captain Nordberg' who five years earlier had put two Spanish guitars up for sale in Helsinki. Although he was a sea captain, Nordberg seems to have engaged in small-scale trade because he also advertised Spanish wine in Helsinki's newspapers.⁵⁷⁶ Another person in want of a guitar was the conductor Ernst Schnéegoigt (1835–1905) who, as a musician, placed a request for an instrument 'in good condition'.⁵⁷⁷ This was in July 1893 and the advertisement might be explained by the fact that there were no guitars being offered at auction or sold by private persons at the time. Incidentally, his son Georg became one of the first Finnish conductors to achieve an international career, but this is not to say that Ernst Schnéegoigt was not himself a musician of note.

MANY TYPES OF VENDORS

The assortments of the shops

Although bookshops did not usually stock musical instruments, Meyer's shop in Turku did offer a selection of flutes, mandolins and 'some extremely good guitars' in 1826. It is noteworthy that this wording suggests that not only was there more than one guitar available but that the instruments were of decent quality.⁵⁷⁸ Three years later Meyer's shop still had musical instruments among its assortment, but if the shop's 1829 sales catalogue is to be trusted, only a single guitar remained in stock: 'eine sechs-seitige Gitarre'.⁵⁷⁹ While the 1826 advertisement does not record any prices, the later sales catalogue does, documenting that this six-string guitar was quite expensive and, there-

576 *Hufvudstadsbladet* 23 November 1877.

577 *Hufvudstadsbladet* 1 July 1893.

578 *Abo Underrättelser* 13 December 1826.

579 Meyer 1829, 31.

fore, possibly a left-over from the ‘extremely good’ ones that the shop had on offer some years earlier. In other bookshops, such as those by Frenckell, Wasenius and Hjelt, guitars were available on occasion, but until the mid-1840s they seem to have been second-hand instruments left by clients to be sold on rather than forming a part of the shop’s main assortment. This means that Meyer’s shop was the only bookshop to maintain an at least modest selection of guitars during the early decades of the century.

In 1846, however, Wasenius & Comp. suddenly advertised its own selection of ‘good and sonorous guitars constructed by Mr Florvall in Porvoo’ and a year or so later ‘especially good guitars’ for the price of four silver roubles.⁵⁸⁰ These latter were probably not by Florvall, since one would assume that this important information would have been worthy of mention. After a considerable break, the shop again publicised guitars (and other instruments) in the two last years of the 1850s. The reason for this new and sudden burst of advertising is hard to tell, especially as there was no sudden increase in competition. Beuermann’s shop had been on the market for almost a decade, and Hermann Paul’s shop was still a few years away from opening.

The bookshop of Frenckell & Son had branches in both Helsinki and Turku, but when guitars were advertised in the Turku shop for the first time in 1863, it was no longer in the hands of the Frenckell family, despite its name remaining unaltered.⁵⁸¹ This change in ownership explains why guitars were only to be found in this branch of Frenckell’s shop and not in Helsinki. While its first advertisement was a general one with no specific information, three years later we learn that guitars were available in four price categories, the lowest-priced model being one for children.⁵⁸² This detail is noteworthy for being the sole information we have about the supply of children’s guitars in this period.

⁵⁸⁰ *Helsingfors Tidningar* 20 May 1846; *Helsingfors Tidningar* 11 December 1847.

⁵⁸¹ *Åbo Underrättelser* 30 June 1863; Hakapää 2008, 365–366.

⁵⁸² *Åbo Underrättelser* 6 September 1866; 14 December 1867.

Figure 59. An advertisement placed in Turku in September 1866 by Frenckell's bookshop announcing a sale of musical instruments, among them several guitar models.

Stor prisnedsättning
INSTRUMENTER
 m. m.
uti Frenckellska Bokhandeln
 under loppet af september måned.

| | Första priset. | Nedsatta priset. |
|---|----------------|------------------|
| | m.k p:i. | m.k p:i. |
| Valdhorn n:o 1 | 28:- | 15:- |
| d:o " 2 | 24:- | 13:- |
| d:o " 3 | 16:- | 10:- |
| d:o " 4 | 10:- | 7:- |
| Fjöjt af elsenben med | | |
| 14 klappar | 200:- | 120:- |
| d:o med 10 d:o | 100:- | 50:- |
| d:o med 6 d:o | 26:- | 16:- |
| Klarinett med 8 klappar | 36:- | 20:- |
| d:o med 5 d:o | 20:- | 14:- |
| d:o med 5 d:o | 12:- | 9:- |
| Violonceller | 120:- | 80:- |
| Altviooler | 40:- | 25:- |
| Violer | 28:- | 19:- |
| d:o | 20:- | 15:- |
| d:o | 14:- | 10:- |
| d:o | 10:- | 7:- |
| Barnviooler | 4:- | 3:- |
| Guitarer | 60:- | 32:- |
| d:o | 44:- | 25:- |
| d:o | 28:- | 16:- |
| d:o | 4:- | 3:- |
| Harmonikor | 24:- | 12:- |
| d:o | 10:- | 5:- |
| d:o | 8:- | 4:- |
| Metronomer med klocka | 40:- | 25:- |
| d:o | 32:- | 20:- |
| d:o | 12:- | 9:- |
| Jordglober | 92:- | 46:- |
| d:o | 60:- | 30:- |
| d:o | 28:- | 18:- |
| d:o | 12:- | 6:- |
| Himmels d:o | 80:- | 40:- |
| d:o | 40:- | 20:- |
| Wejlandts karta öfver Europa | 26:- | 18:- |
| Matkorgar med servis för | | |
| jägare | 24:- | 12:- |
| Fransyskt postpapper pr ris | 40:- | 28:- |
| d:o | 32:- | 24:- |
| <i>Requisitioner till landsorten expedieras ofördröjlingen.</i> | | |

Mot kontant & betalning

Whether Frenckell's shop continued selling its selection of guitars after this time is not known, but a break in its advertising of twenty-two years would suggest that it did not do so. This was until 1888, when a small advertising campaign was suddenly launched in order to sell guitars and other musical instruments.⁵⁸³ The motivation behind this may have been that Anna Melan (1847–1897) added musical instruments to her selection in 1888, three years after her shop was founded. That said,

583 The first one of these advertisements was published in *Åbo Underrättelser* 24 February 1888.

she did not advertise them before the autumn of that year, six months after Frenckell's publicity campaign.⁵⁸⁴

Regarding bookshops of provincial towns, advertisements for guitars only begin to appear from the 1850s onwards. In Kuopio, for instance, a local bookshop offered guitars and a wide selection of other musical instruments in 1854, while Otto Palander's bookshop in Pori and Abraham Falck's bookshops in Vyborg and Sortavala advertised guitars in the 1860s.⁵⁸⁵ Towards the close of the century missionary stores and those ran by the Salvation Army also offered many guitars, albeit cheaper models.

As the century progressed from its beginning to its midpoint, one could find a guitar in a bookshop with ever-increasing ease. That being said, the music shops of Ludwig Beuermann (and his successor Axel E. Lindgren) and Anna Melan were the century's main commercial players, whereas Paul's music shop – whilst indeed selling instruments within its assortment – does not seem to have stocked guitars.⁵⁸⁶

Ludwig Beuermann opened his music shop in December 1849, but he had already been selling instruments for a year and a half prior to this from his private lodgings in the 'Palmqwistska stenhuset, rummet no. 9'.⁵⁸⁷ His supply included French horns, trumpets, violas, flutes, guitars, Roman strings (probably for guitar as well) and other accessories.⁵⁸⁸ Beuermann's advertising over the following decades clearly corroborates that he continued to offer this abundant supply and the shop had guitars and other instruments available in Helsinki until the end of the century.⁵⁸⁹ It can be stated, therefore, that the shop was an important supplier of guitars in the capital but its delivery service meant that it had an influential role to play in the provinces as well.

⁵⁸⁴ The first one of Melan's advertisements in Turku was published in *Aura*, September 2, 1888.

⁵⁸⁵ *Kuopio Tidning* 8 April 1854; *Björneborg* 7 September 1867; *Wiborgs Tidning* 28 September 1864; 21 April 1869.

⁵⁸⁶ *Helsingfors Dagblad* 26 September 1864.

⁵⁸⁷ *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 8 December 1849.

⁵⁸⁸ *Helsingfors Tidningar* 19 February 1848.

⁵⁸⁹ See, for example, *Hufvudstadsbladet* 7 December 1899.

What the assortment was like is harder to tell. This difficulty arises from the fact that the shop never informed potential customers of the origin, let alone the maker or other more specific details, of its guitars. The price therefore remains the only information we have from which to judge the store's guitar selection. We know, for instance, that one guitar type (the only one available in 1853) cost six silver roubles, which would suggest, considering the going rates for guitars at this time, that a fairly good-quality instrument was on offer.⁵⁹⁰ In 1853 Beuermann sold most other of the instruments that he stocked across several price categories and, accordingly, by autumn of this year his shop had added some more choice to its array of guitars as well. Exactly how many different models this meant is difficult to determine, but it seems that the selection of less expensive ones had increased, since the prices now ranged from four to six silver roubles.⁵⁹¹ This is all that can be said about the quality of Beuermann's assortment because, from 1858 onwards, the majority of the shop's advertisements either do not describe the guitars they mention or else do so very curtly, such as detailing they were 'bättre och sämre' (better and poorer).⁵⁹²

In the shop's later years, we know that in 1889 Axel E. Lindgren (1836–1919) enlarged the assortment of guitars to include six different price categories.⁵⁹³ This may have been a reaction to the increased competition he faced in the wake of Anna Melan, who had opened her music shop in 'Grönqvistska huset vid Norra Esplanaden' in January 1885. Moreover, by 1888 Melan was publicising the shop's delivery service in many of the country's provincial newspapers, selling both six and seven-string guitars, in three and two price categories respectively.⁵⁹⁴ The shop soon enlarged its selection of guitars to include seven-string models in three and six-string ones across five different price ranges,

⁵⁹⁰ *Helsingfors Tidningar* 12 January 1853. See Chapter Eight for more information on guitar prices.

⁵⁹¹ *Helsingfors Tidningar* 22 October 1853.

⁵⁹² *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 10 December 1858.

⁵⁹³ *Uusi Suometar* 19 November 1889.

⁵⁹⁴ *Finland* 26 January 1885; *Nya Pressen* 30 August 1888.



Figure 60. A guitar constructed in 1902 in the factory of Julius Heinrich Zimmermann. This instrument was donated to the Finnish composer and conductor Armas Järnefelt after a concert he gave in St. Petersburg (see Chapter Two).

as seen in its sales catalogue from 1889.⁵⁹⁵ The guitars were certainly imported, although for the most part we do not know from where. From one advertisement we can deduce that at least in 1896 some were Spanish and Italian.⁵⁹⁶

Towards the end of the century the shops of Melan and Beuermann-Lindgren were no longer the only ones to engage in the professional trade of guitars in the capital. The music shop of K.F. Wasenius, for instance, and the piano manufacturer J.A. Bask (1853–1917) were newly active and some guitar teachers such as Binnemann and Kempe also participated in this business privately. In Helsinki these various sellers definitely faced competition from one another, which in turn suggests a lively demand for guitars.

Helsinki was not the only town in which stores were vying for business. In Vyborg, for example, two local shops, those owned by Emil Sivori and I.I. Todder, both had guitars. Moreover, the famous German music seller Julius Heinrich Zimmermann had a branch in St. Petersburg and since he also advertised the shop's assortment of musical instruments – guitars among them – in Finnish newspapers, this added an international dimension to the already stiff competition. Zimmermann's guitar prices

⁵⁹⁵ Melan 1889, 5.

⁵⁹⁶ *Nya Pressen* 9 September 1896.

Figure 61. Gustaf Lucander, an organist active in Helsinki, owned two guitars at the time of his death.



ranged from three to one hundred and twenty-five roubles, which shows that he maintained a good selection of products and that some guitars were fairly sophisticated (see figure 60).⁵⁹⁷

Commenting upon the supply of the other shop does not require many words. None of these outlets, be they antiquarian, grocery, cigar or of any other type of shop, stocked a steady selection of guitars. As a general rule, they sold one-off instrument acquisitions sourced through miscellaneous channels and guitars were often also sold on commission on a customer's behalf. The first advertisements of these shops were placed in the 1830s and they may continue to be found in the press throughout the century. It seems, therefore, that in their modest way these shops also played a role in satisfying the demand for guitars.

Private persons selling their guitars

Some of the many private individuals who offered their guitars for sale through newspaper advertisements are worth our attention. One of them, Gustaf Lucander (1795–1838), was an organist of Helsinki

597 *Åbo Tidning* 23 February 1892.

Cathedral who despite this did not have a hugely successful career because his suitability for this task was disputed multiple times.⁵⁹⁸ In the 1820s he put a guitar up for sale on two separate occasions and the gap of over a year between the advertisements suggests that two different guitars were in question.⁵⁹⁹ Lucander may in fact have run a small-scale business selling musical instruments since, according to his probate inventory, he owned several of them at the time of his death in 1838.⁶⁰⁰ As the inventory mentions along two guitars also a guitar method, this could indicate that the organist indeed played the instrument.

Although Lucander may or may not have known how to play the guitar, another private seller definitely did. This was Carl Theodor Möller, who, as the reader may remember, apart from his work as a musician was engaged in sundry types of other businesses. In December 1837, only a few months after his arrival in Finland, advertisements informed that he had for sale guitars that were 'extraordinary good' and available at 'a moderate price'.⁶⁰¹ A couple of months later another advertisement described the instruments more precisely. They were both six- and seven-string ones, 'after the famous Lignani's [sic] model, thoroughly constructed and with a good tone'; the price remained 'moderate'.⁶⁰² Like so many other advertisements from this period, those by Möller reveal nothing of the manufacturer or origin of the guitars he sold. It seems improbable, however, that they were made in Finland because it is highly unlikely that Möller could have acquired them locally, given that his first sales advertisement only dates from a few months after his arrival in the country.

Like his older brother, Fritz Möller also offered guitars for sale. While Carl Theodor very clearly held several guitars among his assortment, Fritz only had one instrument available in 1842 and then two in

598 Jäppinen 2003, 145.

599 *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 4 August 1825; 28 October 1826.

600 PI, Ec:17, no. 1682 (HCA).

601 *Åbo Tidningar* 16 December 1837.

602 *Åbo Tidningar* 28 March 1838.

1844. Of the latter pair, the first was Spanish and the other Swedish made.⁶⁰³ One wonders if this might be a clue as to the origin of Carl Theodor's guitars as well.

A particularly intriguing advertisement was placed in July 1841 by Carl Otto Meyer, a German musician who visited Finland with his group in the 1840s. Here, a 'Contra-Gitarre med Pedaler' (A contra-guitar with pedals) manufactured by the Swedish luthier Otto Fredrik Selling (1804–1884) was listed for sale.⁶⁰⁴ This instrument is worth dwelling upon given that the appellation 'Contra-Gitarre' was not common prior to the end of the nineteenth century; its use in Meyer's advertisement is therefore somewhat strange.⁶⁰⁵ It is hard to determine exactly what instrument this advertisement refers to, although most probably it had two necks and between four and six extra strings. All the more interesting is the detail that the guitar had pedals because Selling is not known to have built any such guitars. That said, many European makers experimented with pedal mechanisms and, therefore, the Swede – famous for his unprejudiced approach to guitar construction – may also have tried his hand at this design.⁶⁰⁶ If this was indeed so, a pedal guitar of Selling's making must have come into Meyer's possession whilst, prior to coming to Finland, he had been performing in Sweden with his group. When entering Finnish soil, he for some reason decided to part with the instrument. Another question altogether is whether anyone in Finland was interested in such a specialised guitar. That being said, given that Meyer stayed in the country for several months, but only advertised four times over the course of just a few days, it may indicate that the instrument found a buyer.⁶⁰⁷

603 *Åbo Tidningar* 31 December 1842; *Borgå Tidning* 10 February 1844.

604 *Åbo Tidningar* 24 July 1841.

605 I am grateful to Stefan Hackl for this information. The guitars by Selling with extra strings housed in the Swedish Museum of Performing Arts are all called 'bass guitars'.

606 One example is the pedal guitar by Knaffl-Lenz (1844). I am grateful to Kenneth Sparr for the information concerning Selling.

607 Hirn 1997, 43–45.



Figure 62. A ten-string guitar probably manufactured by Otto Fredrik Selling.

Another German musician, Carl Ganszauge (1820–1868), is today a far better-known personality in Finland than Carl Otto Meyer and, due to his important role in the musical life of Helsinki both as an orchestral conductor and as a music teacher, he is occasionally mentioned in Finnish music-history books. It is noteworthy therefore that he had a guitar for sale in 1855.⁶⁰⁸ In his advertisement Ganszauge lists a large collection of musical material ranging from printed music for small and large orchestras to an array of musical instruments. In light of this selection, it is unclear whether he actually played the instrument or simply owned one.

Private persons selling guitars, albeit in a more professional way, were also the three key guitar teachers of Helsinki: Eduard Heinrichsohn, Josef Binnemann and Magda Kempe. Binnemann's activity in the late 1890s is best described as semi-professional, only to

608 *Helsingfors Tidningar* 6 October 1855.

become fully professional when he opened his own music shop at the beginning of the following century.

Save for their names, next to nothing is known about other persons offering guitars for sale in Finland's press or the auctions. What is more, at times, individuals operated under pseudonym, especially if they deposited an instrument for sale in a shop. Perhaps the most significant information to be drawn from this evidence is that a number of individuals put several guitars up for sale. Given that ordinary people, as a rule, would not have owned more than one instrument, or two at most, this implies that there was a niche in the market for this type of small-scale instrument vending. One example of such a seller was Mr Öhman, a janitor, who bought six guitars at auctions over the course of only a handful of years.⁶⁰⁹ Since it is hard to imagine that he purchased all of these for his own use, it seems plausible that he procured them for retail.

When a guitar was offered for sale, the same advertisement often appeared two or three times within a few weeks. If no further advertising occurred, it may be assumed that a buyer had been found. This was, of course, not always the case and, for instance, the publicity of a general store in the centre of Helsinki – 'vid Esplanaden' – regularly mentions that a 'Spanish guitar' was available over a period of more than two months.⁶¹⁰ This suggests that the instrument did not quickly find a buyer; indeed, it perhaps never sold because within the year the shop again began advertising a 'Spanish guitar'.

THE PLACES OF ORIGIN OF GUITARS AND THE VARIOUS GUITAR TYPES AVAILABLE

The origin of most guitars to have been sold in Finland remains in the dark. Some may even have been the product of unknown Finnish

609 ARPH, Ca:42, 44 and 45 (HCA).

610 See, for instance, *Helsingfors Tidningar* 16 February 1856.

makers whose names, for one reason or another, did not find their way into the advertisements. That being said, it is most probable that a great majority of the guitars for sale in Finland were foreign made. To verify this, official statistics about the country's imports could have been of great help, but these only exist from 1856 onwards and because guitars are not handled separately in these records, they provide little useful information. The statistics disclose, nevertheless, that from 1856 the value of imported musical instruments grew, albeit with strong yearly fluctuations, and by the late 1870s it had increased by more than six-hundred per cent.⁶¹¹ To what extent guitars contributed to this growth is, of course, hard to ascertain and it is entirely plausible, for example, that it was mainly caused by the rising popularity of the piano.

We are, nevertheless, not totally void of information about the origin of the guitars sold in Finland. In addition to a few auction protocols and sales catalogues, details about origin appear in a hundred or so newspaper advertisements. In such instances, it was most commonly claimed that the guitar in question had been manufactured in Spain. One assumes that this probably enhanced the instrument's commercial potential, as the Iberian Peninsula was generally perceived as the guitar's homeland.⁶¹² Thus, when 'two guitars, one of them Spanish' were for sale in Helsinki in 1847, it is clear that the Spanish origin – true or not – was a significant detail. The other instrument could have been made in Germany, Sweden or even Finland, but this information was not considered a necessary inclusion.⁶¹³ Guitars of claimed Spanish origin were, as a rule, first to be found in the advertisements placed by private persons, whereas at the end of the century shops also began to advertise their own supplies of them.

Melan's music shop advertised its 'Genuine Spanish guitars' from

611 *Bidrag till Finlands Officiella Statistik* I, 49 (1866); *Suomenmaan virallinen tilasto* I.5, 42 (1883).

612 In light of this, among the several advertisements that mention Spain, some probably only referred to the style of the instrument. There are, however, also advertisements that state that the instrument was 'genuinely' Spanish.

613 *Helsingfors Tidningar* 27 February 1847.

1897 onwards and, although these were possibly a new addition to its guitar assortment, the shop's other guitars were certainly not locally manufactured either, even prior to this.⁶¹⁴ For instance, Melan's 1889 catalogue informs that the shop's instruments were imported from several Italian and German towns, as well as from Vienna, and there is reason to believe that among these would have also been guitars.⁶¹⁵ Another vendor publicising that its guitars were Spanish made was Josef Binnemann, whose first publicity mentioning this dates from May 1899.⁶¹⁶

Regarding Italian guitars, it is possible that Melan's shop stocked them at the century's close but, apart from this, only two press advertisements for them are known. The first one was placed in Turku as early as 1824 and the second one appeared about ten years later in Helsinki; interestingly, the latter instrument had tuning machines, which were still reasonably rare in Finland at this time.⁶¹⁷

The supply of German guitars, on the other hand, may very well have been more profuse than the sources reveal. For instance, the guitars in Meyer's bookshop were probably German because all the other instruments it sold originated from there and Beuermann, as a native German, would most likely have imported instruments from his home country. That said, conclusive evidence about the sale of German guitars only arises at the very end of the century when Binnemann is recorded having sold them in Helsinki, as is a musician called Max Dörner in Turku.⁶¹⁸

On the subject of Finnish and Swedish guitars, the former are of course mentioned in the advertisements that the makers placed themselves but, these aside, Finland's own instruments are hardly ever mentioned. We know even less about Swedish guitars because no makers

⁶¹⁴ *Hufvudstadsbladet* 16 May 1897.

⁶¹⁵ Melan 1889.

⁶¹⁶ *Hufvudstadsbladet* 28 May 1899.

⁶¹⁷ *Abo Tidningar* 3 April 1824; *Helsingfors Morgonblad* 20 July 1835.

⁶¹⁸ *Abo Underrättelser* 8 April 1898; *Hufvudstadsbladet* 15 November 1899.

advertised their instruments in Finland and other publicity for these guitars is as rare as for Finnish ones.⁶¹⁹

When it comes to guitars with more than six strings, the source material suggests that the seven-string variant may have been far more popular in Finland than one might assume. For instance, several Finnish makers constructed instruments of this variety as early as the 1820s and, although infrequent, advertisements for them appeared throughout the nineteenth century, some even into the 1890s.⁶²⁰ These same sources also indicate that the seven-string guitars offered in Finland were generally European (as opposed to Russian) models. Those sold by Möller were constructed after Legnani's design and were, therefore, without a shadow of doubt not of the Russian type. This was clearly also the case as regards Melan's assortment. We in fact know of only one advertisement that explicitly states that a Russian type seven-string guitar was for sale. This is exceptional, bearing in mind after all that a certain proportion of the Grand Duchy's population was of Russian origin.⁶²¹

Guitars with more than seven strings were also sold. The first record of one to have been advertised in Finland was a ten-string guitar in 1843. It was a 'quite new construction' and the posting notes that further information of its features could be had by contacting the editorial office of *Åbo Tidningar*, the newspaper in which this was published.⁶²² Three years later, again in Turku, another such instrument was left for sale in Frenckell's shop.⁶²³ Finally, after a long break, in the closing years of the century several of these exotic guitar variants were offered both by Josef Binnemann and in the shop of K.F. Wasenius. Binnemann's selection included twelve-string and 'big' bass guitars,

⁶¹⁹ See, for instance, *Helsingfors Tidningar* 14 April 1838 (a Swedish guitar) and *Helsingfors Dagblad* 27 May 1863 (a Finnish guitar).

⁶²⁰ *Wasa Tidning* 6 June 1840; *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 10 December 1858; *Wiborgs Tidning* 8 February 1865.

⁶²¹ *Oulun Viikko-Sanomia* 29 July 1837.

⁶²² *Åbo Tidningar* 11 September 1843.

⁶²³ *Åbo Tidningar* 20 June 1846.

Figure 63. Josef Binnemann's advertisement for the selection of guitar models available in his shop in 1899.



while K.F. Wasenius' advertisement simply stated that the number of strings varied between six and fifteen.⁶²⁴ What these guitars were like is anybody's guess.

The guitars with more than six strings may have had larger bodies than normal, but other types of guitars with a varying body size were also sold. The children's guitars that Frenckell & Son had in its selection have already been mentioned. Additionally, Melan advertised 'dam-guitarer' – guitars for women – in 1895 and the guitar maker Florvall also manufactured one type 'suitable for women in particular'.⁶²⁵ Especially interesting is an auction protocol from Turku (1819) that mentions a 'bigger guitar' and a 'Terz guitar'.⁶²⁶ Considering the early date, the existence of a Terz guitar in Finland is fascinating as the instrument had only been in use in Vienna for half a dozen years or so.

As for guitars made in accordance with a certain tradition, the Legnani model was discussed previously. Spanish and Italian guitars may also be seen as representing different traditions of guitar construc-

⁶²⁴ *Hufvudstadsbladet* 4 February 1899; *Nya Pressen* 22 December 1895.

⁶²⁵ *Nya Pressen* 18 July 1895; *Borgå Tidning* 2 March 1844.

⁶²⁶ ARPT, P1a 28, 19 IV (TCA).

tion and, at a very minimum, the Spanish style was known to some Finnish makers who manufactured guitars in this vein.⁶²⁷

FINNISH GUITAR MAKERS AND REPAIRMEN

We now turn to the guitar makers active in Finland in the nineteenth century. Eleven of them have been identified by name, although there were clearly others, as a few unsigned newspaper advertisements corroborate. One, published in 1856, informs us of a workshop for violins, cellos and guitars in 'postman Lundgren's courtyard'.⁶²⁸ While this person was probably a professional maker, it is very possible that some amateurs did also construct their own instruments because we know violinist-folk-musicians to have done so.

In chronological order, the eleven known makers are as follows:

- Olof Granfeldt (1823)
- Enoch Järnfeldt (1823)
- Anders Lindros (1825)
- Carl Petter Sundqvist (1832)
- A. Cajander (1834)
- Erik Gustaf Granholm (1835)
- Franz Hiekisch (1836)
- Carl Gustaf Florvall (1840)
- J.G. Hammarström (1842)
- Carl Gustaf Alander (after 1858)
- E. Pettersson (1891)

The dates in parenthesis show the first known year of activity for each maker and as we can see, practically all of them started their trade during the first half of the century. After the early 1840s, a decrease in

⁶²⁷ *Borgå Tidning* 5 April 1843.

⁶²⁸ *Åbo Tidningar* 23 June 1856.

the number of new manufacturers is significant and as by the 1860s all except (obviously) Pettersson may have ceased making instruments, this suggests a drastic depletion in the supply (and probably demand) of locally-produced guitars. This may have been a consequence of an increasing number of imported instruments, but perhaps changing tastes in the century's second half also somewhat dampened demand for these instruments. This perhaps left space in the market for less-qualified makers because the two that started after the middle of the century, C.G. Alander and E. Pettersson, are minor figures in comparison to some of the makers from earlier in the century.

Carl Gustaf Alander (1812-1871) had a short career and, according to Dahlström, he cannot be considered a successful instrument maker. He worked actively for a dozen or so years, in that time producing roughly twenty-five square pianos. The number of guitars that Alander made is unknown, although three were among his possessions when his estate was auctioned off in 1873.⁶²⁹

Pettersson, on the other hand, had a workshop in Vaasa, far away from the centres of Helsinki and Turku, and his primary occupation was the running of a small music shop. Moreover, it is highly improbable that he was a trained instrument maker.

Details about the manufacturing practices of these eleven Finnish makers vary considerably because we only have extant instruments by three of them. As already suggested above, the reason for this low number is uncertain, although one might postulate that it could be owing to small production numbers, remissness or both. Either way, the outcome makes it difficult to form a comprehensive picture of Finland's guitar makers. Moreover, the instruments that have survived number only eight; two of Enoch Järnfeldt guitars have stood the test of time, while three each by Carl Petter Sundqvist and Carl Gustaf Florvall are also extant.

The three makers just mentioned will be discussed first, followed by three more: Olof Granfeldt, Anders Lindros and Erik Gustaf Granholm,

629 Dahlström 1978, 26–27; *Abo Underrättelser* 27 November 1873.

all noteworthy Finnish instrument makers. The country's remaining makers will be handled only briefly.

Enoch Järnfeldt

Enoch Järnfeldt (1798–1849) was born in the village of Kangasniemi and was one of the many apprentices and journeyman who learned instrument-making skills under Henrik Blomqvist (1777–1828), the legendary progenitor of Finnish piano manufacture. In his mid-twenties Järnfeldt became a journeyman in Blomqvist's workshop in Porvoo, having prior to this resided in St. Petersburg for a period. He presumably learned instrument making while there, although no documentary evidence of his studies survives. After this detour, Järnfeldt finally arrived in Porvoo in mid-October 1822 and began his activities in Blomqvist's workshop.⁶³⁰ This did not last long, however, and, although it seems that he originally had plans to return to Russia, he instead decided to move to Turku in 1823 where he registered as a new resident in October.⁶³¹ From these dates it becomes clear that he worked in Blomqvist's workshop for less than one year.

In December 1824, just over a year after settling down in the old capital of Finland, Järnfeldt married Ulla Christina Wahlstén, a woman who already had a son from a previous relationship born in 1822. Subsequently, the couple had four sons and two daughters.⁶³²

Järnfeldt's first engagement was in the workshop of Olof Granfeldt, another Blomqvist apprentice and guitar maker, but he seems to have quickly started longing for independence because in 1824 he tried to obtain an instrument maker's privilege of his own. The application was denied at this time and it took until 1827 before he became accepted into the local carpenters' guild, a nomination that finally enabled Järnfeldt

⁶³⁰ Linjama-Mannermaa 2018c.

⁶³¹ The Archive of Turku Cathedral Congregation, Moving in register of the Swedish speaking parish 1820–1836, I Ba2:1 (NAF).

⁶³² Linjama-Mannermaa 2018c.

to operate as an independent instrument maker.⁶³³ His later doings are largely unknown but he at some point moved to Masku, a nearby parish which was to become his last place of residence. The cause of his relatively early death was dropsy.⁶³⁴ A final detail that can be added to Järnfeldt's personal portrait comes from the parish books of Turku, which tell us that, in 1832, he was convicted of drunkenness. This was, however, the 'första resan', which is to say 'the first time'.⁶³⁵ Whether a second occurrence ever took place, is unrecorded.

Two guitars and one Swedish lute survive from Järnfeldt's instrument production.⁶³⁶ One assumes, however, that he manufactured other instruments as well, or otherwise carried out sundry kinds of carpentry jobs because in the 1820s and 1830s the contemporary market for guitars and Swedish lutes cannot have been large enough to bring sufficient work to support a family of nine people. This is all the more so given that Järnfeldt did not work alone but in fact at least for a period employed two journeymen.⁶³⁷

Turning now to the two extant Järnfeldt guitars, we see that despite their slightly differing body forms, they share numerous common features. For instance, both are seven-string instruments (although one of them was later transformed into a six-string model) and have short scale lengths of around sixty centimetres.⁶³⁸ Because of their seven strings, we must ask whether these two guitars are Russian or European models, especially in a country so close to Russia. To establish this with absolute certainty is sometimes difficult, but in Järnfeldt's

⁶³³ The Archive of the Local Register Office of Turku, Local register office protocols, A1a:42 (TCA); Hyvönen 1990, 125.

⁶³⁴ The Archive of the Parish of Masku, Death records 1764–1875, I F:1 (NAF).

⁶³⁵ The Archive of Turku Cathedral Congregation, Communion book of the Swedish speaking parish 1831–1844, I Aa2:17 (NAF).

⁶³⁶ The two guitars are in the Sibelius Museum in Turku (Instrument Collection, no. 0266) and in the Kuopio Cultural History Museum (Object Collection, no. 1929). Neither has a date or serial number; the Swedish lute, discussed in Chapter One, is in private ownership.

⁶³⁷ Hyvönen 1990, 126.

⁶³⁸ I am grateful to James Westbrook for his valuable comments regarding all the extant guitars by Finnish makers.



Figure 64. One of Enoch Järnfeldt's guitar labels.

case an indication that a Russian design is not in question is the lack of a very common and essential feature of this eastern variant: an adjustable neck. This would in fact be impossible in a guitar with a flush fingerboard, a component present in both of Järnfeldt's instruments. It is therefore relatively safe to state that these two seven-string guitars are of the European type.⁶³⁹ As for the sixty-centimetre scale length, this is short for a 'normal' guitar, even by early nineteenth-century standards, but also too long for a Terz guitar.⁶⁴⁰ The most plausible explanation is that Järnfeldt's two guitars were *Damengitarren*.

Other shared features include their tuning pegs and the identical bracings of the rounded backs. The frets are of bone, which together with the somewhat archaic flush fingerboards suggest a fairly early date for their manufacture. The earliest possible is October 1823 because the labels on both instruments note Turku as the location and this is when the maker first arrived in the town. One more interesting feature is that the fifth, seventh and ninth frets are marked in a rather original way with dots placed on the treble side of the fingerboard instead of the bass side of the neck (see figure 66). Intriguingly, this appears to have been somewhat of a local practice because it is rarely found in Central European guitars and, as we shall see later, other

⁶³⁹ I am grateful to Oleg Timofeyev for his comments regarding Finnish seven-string guitars.

⁶⁴⁰ Hofmann, Hackl and Mougin 2011, 134.

Figure 65 The two guitars to have survived from Enoch Järnfeldt's production.



Figure 66. The dots here pictured mark the fifth, seventh and ninth frets.



Finnish makers employed it as well. Both the guitars have pin bridges and the bracing of the soundboard is Central-European, not Spanish, with three transversal bars.

Järnfeldt's craftsmanship was of a professional standard, but the materials he used were of a somewhat inferior quality; the fingerboards, for instance, are not made of ebony, a material that must have been expensive as well as hard to acquire. At present, the two extant instruments of Finland's first guitar maker are not in good condition. In addition, over the years they have undergone several repairs and, therefore, it is not possible to know all their original design details with any certainty.

Carl Petter Sundqvist

On the labels of two of his extant guitars, Carl Petter Sundqvist (1803–1845) calls himself a ‘carpenter, violin maker and saddler’, but this luthier engaged in a wide array of other activities as well. While some of his furniture, three guitars and a Swedish lute survive, none of his violins are extant.

A blacksmith’s son, born in the parish of Finström on the island of Åland, Sundqvist moved to Turku towards the end of the 1820s. The old capital of Finland was to remain his permanent place of residence until his death, which was caused by dropsy, the same disease that took Järnfeldt to the grave.⁶⁴¹ Sundqvist had twelve children, of whom several died in childhood.⁶⁴²

Some official records offer information about Sundqvist’s life and of particular interest in this regard is a newspaper article published in the maker’s home town in 1844.⁶⁴³ Although probably not written by Sundqvist himself – there is no signature to prove this either way – the article contains many details of the maker’s life that lead one to suspect that he may have personally furnished the writer with this information. It is slightly strange, therefore, that the article gives 1804 (instead of the correct 1803) as his birth year.

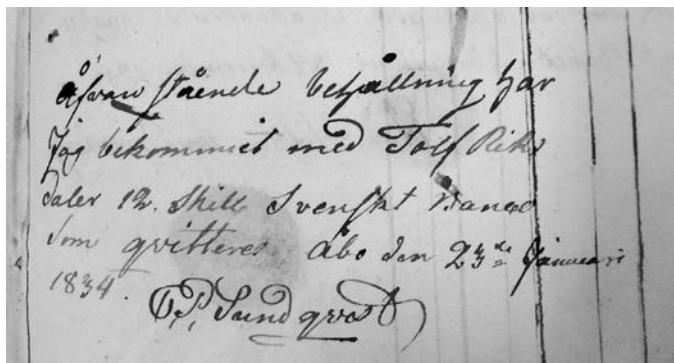
We learn that the luthier’s first steps towards a professional career were taken at the age of fifteen in Stockholm, where he studied organ building under an instrument maker named Strand. This sojourn was, however, not to last long because of financial problems, and after only a few months, Sundqvist was forced to return to his homeland. This was only a temporary setback, it seems, and the future guitar maker soon managed to gather the necessary resources to travel on to St. Petersburg. At this time, the Russian capital was a celebrated centre of instrument production, but Sundqvist went there to study carpentry. This is made

⁶⁴¹ The Archive of Turku Cathedral Congregation, Birth, marriage and death records of the Swedish speaking parish 1843–1850, Death records, I C2:6 (NAF).

⁶⁴² Linjama-Mannermaa 2018d.

⁶⁴³ *Åbo Underrättelser* 20 July 1844.

Figure 67. Carl Petter Sundqvist's signature as found on the protocol of an auction organised on 9 December 1833.



clear by an advertisement from 1832 reading that thanks to 'his Imperial Majesty's gracious consent', Sundqvist held privileges to practice as a carpenter and saddler.⁶⁴⁴ The length of his sojourn in the Russian capital is unclear but it must have lasted several years because the achievement of the professional standard necessary for such privileges would certainly have required that of him. The sojourn started either in 1818 or 1819 and lasted, at the very most, until 1828, at which point Sundqvist was back in his home village of Finström in Finland. The reason for this relocation was a fairly good one: he was getting married to Anna Gustafva Lindgren, a local girl.⁶⁴⁵ A year or so later, the couple had moved to Turku because a baptismal record corroborates the birth of their second child there in October 1829.⁶⁴⁶ A lyre guitar with a label stating that the 'violin maker' Sundqvist had repaired it in Turku in 1829 also confirms his presence in the town and, in addition, it clearly indicates that he had embarked upon his career as a professional instrument maker. This was to last another sixteen years, until the end of his rather short life.⁶⁴⁷

Thus, Sundqvist was a trained carpenter and saddler, but how and why

644 Åbo Underrättelser 6 October 1832.

645 The Archive of the Parish of Finström, Marriage records 1809–1882, JK:688, Marriage records 1827 (NAF).

646 Linjama-Mannermaa 2018d. Although there is a slight possibility that Sundqvist and his wife were already settled in Turku in 1828, the fact that the town's census records register the couple for the first time in 1830 makes this less probable.

647 This instrument is housed in the Museum Centre of Turku (Object Collection, TMM1772).

did he transition from this to a professional luthier? The aforementioned article suggests an answer, recounting that ‘in his more mature years Sundqvist could not resist his newly kindled desire for instrument making’. Leaving aside the question as to whether the age of twenty-six may be described as ‘more mature’, it becomes clear that this occupation was a passion project for Sundqvist. We also learn that he first began to construct instruments ‘without any previous theoretical or practical knowledge’, thus verifying that he had not studied instrument making in St. Petersburg. It is therefore possible that Sundqvist started out by copying the instruments of other Finnish makers, perhaps even those by Järnfeldt who was his senior and, indeed, had himself studied instrument making. That said, Sundqvist also owned Gustav Adolph Wettengel’s *Lehrbuch für Instrumentenmacher und Musikfreunde*, published in 1828, which a certain ‘director Nyberg’ had given to him as a present.⁶⁴⁸ Given that this magnum opus includes a large and thorough section concerning guitar and violin construction, it would have furnished Sundqvist, a skilful carpenter, with all the necessary information he needed about the construction of these instruments.

Like many of his contemporaries, Sundqvist maintained several lines of work, such as tuning and repairing keyboard instruments and building organs. Among his assignments for the latter, noteworthy was the construction of an organ for a church in Saltvik, a town on his native island of Åland. If we trust a newspaper report, his skill-level was good because when the instrument was inaugurated in December 1837 it was praised for its strong sound and grand appearance by the press.⁶⁴⁹ Continuing his affinity with this instrument, towards the end of his life Sundqvist marketed his own design for a miniature organ ‘the size of a big dressing table’, which was perfect for almost any church and, one presumes, easy to install as well.⁶⁵⁰

⁶⁴⁸ ‘Nyberg’ is a very common name but, considering the circumstances, the person in question was probably the Music Director Johan Abraham Nyberg. The book the article refers to is Gustav Adolph Wettengel’s *Vollständiges, theoretisches-praktisches Lehrbuch der Anfertigung und Reparatur aller noch jetzt gebräuchlichen Gattungen von italienischen und deutschen Geigen. Lehrbuch für Instrumentenmacher und Musikfreunde* (1828).

⁶⁴⁹ *Åbo Tidningar* 16 December 1837.

⁶⁵⁰ *Åbo Underrättelser* 20 July 1844.

Figure 68. One of Carl Petter Sundqvist's label designs.



The first information connecting Sundqvist with the guitar, when he placed guitar strings for sale, dates from 1831, but a year or so later we learn about his production of the instrument itself.⁶⁵¹ He had 'various models' to offer and, interestingly from our perspective, guitars were the only musical instruments cited in his first advertisement. Although violin bows and some furniture were also publicised in this same posting, we again see that it was important to let the public know that guitars were available. That said, this is the only advertisement of its kind by Sundqvist and the instruments that he mainly produced must have been the violin and the guitar because they, as a rule, are the ones mentioned in his marketing. We can assume, therefore, that at the end of the day organ manufacture probably played a minor role in his commercial enterprise. Whether he saw himself more as an instrument maker or a carpenter is hard to tell; however, Sundqvist did frequently refer to himself as 'a violin maker', whereas the title 'master carpenter' only occurs very occasionally. On this basis, the former activity seems to have been closer to his heart and this is indeed what the above-mentioned article also suggests.

Sundqvist's last advertisement for guitars dates from around only six months prior to his death, thus corroborating that he had them within his assortment over the whole span of his active career as an

⁶⁵¹ Åbo Tidningar 8 January 1831; Åbo Underrättelser 3 March 1832.

instrument maker. He produced both six-string and seven-string guitars, with other options on offer to his customers including the choice between wooden pegs or tuning machines; one advertisement even mentions the possibility of silver frets. This latter suggests that bone, not unsurprisingly, was the fret material that he normally employed.⁶⁵²

Sundqvist's three extant guitars show a high level of craftsmanship, boasting ornamented bridges and other beautiful details, as might be expected from a carpenter who produced furniture for the respectable families of Turku (see figures 69 and 70). Even his carefully designed and printed labels give a more professional impression than those of Järnfeldt and Florvall, both of whose were handmade.

The instruments date from 1831, 1834 and 1838 and they differ in size, form, number of strings and numerous further details, thus proving that Sundqvist, just as his advertising tells us, produced a variety of guitar models.⁶⁵³ Two of the trio are small models with scale lengths of slightly less than sixty centimetres and only the latest one (1838) is a 'normal' instrument measuring sixty-three in scale-length. The 1831 guitar is a European type seven-string variety because it, just like Järnfeldt's seven-string guitars, has a flush fingerboard.

Although Sundqvist first mentioned the possibility of choosing tuning machines instead of wooden pegs in his advertisement of 1840, both his 1834 and 1838 guitars are furnished with them. This might suggest the possibility that they are not original, but none of the guitars show traces of having had their heads remodelled, meaning that the tuning machines were not installed at a later stage. This is noteworthy because they were certainly not common in the 1830s, but since their manufacture is described in Wettengel's book, it is quite possible that Sundqvist (or someone on his request) made these tuning machines.⁶⁵⁴ This idea is further supported by the fact that they look handmade and fairly robust

⁶⁵² Åbo Underrättelser 18 January 1840; Åbo Tidningar 24 March 1841.

⁶⁵³ These instruments are housed in Museum Centre Vapriikki, Tampere, (Object Collection, HM 1009:1), Sibelius Museum, Turku, (Instrument Collection, no. 006) and The Museum Centre of Turku (Object Collection, TMM 8555), respectively.

⁶⁵⁴ Wettengel 1828, 431–435.



Figure 69. The three guitars that have survived from the production of Carl Petter Sundqvist, dating from a) 1831, b) 1834 and c) 1838.

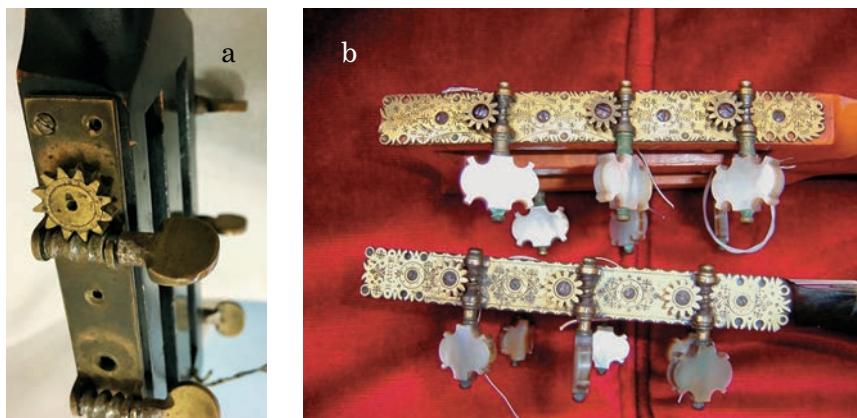


Figure 70. A detail of the tuning machine of Sundqvist's 1834 guitar (a) compared with two high-quality ones designed by Rance and Baker at about the same time (b).

and are, thus, in stark contrast to, for instance, those manufactured in England by Rance and Baker, which were machine-made and had already achieved a high level of sophistication at this time.

The bridge types used by Sundqvist clearly varied: two of the instruments have pin bridges and one a tie bridge made out of one piece of wood. This was old-fashioned (just as its moustache ornamentation), and another slightly archaic feature in the 1830s would have been the flush fingerboards of his 1831 and 1838 guitars; an unusual element also being the neck of the 1838 guitar which has a V-shape instead of a U-shape profile. In addition, Sundqvist also employed the ‘Järnfeldt system’ for marking the fifth, seventh and ninth frets on his 1831 and 1834 guitars.

The wood materials of Sundqvist’s guitars are more sophisticated than those that Järnfeldt or Florvall were able to call upon. For instance, all three of them have ebony fingerboards, while maple or mahogany has been used for the sides. Although these woods were more expensive, as a master carpenter Sundqvist would definitely have had access to them.

For his 1834 guitar Sundqvist employed Spanish fan bracing, but how often he did so is obviously impossible to tell. Moreover, how generally this system was employed by Finnish makers remains an open question. As far as we know, this feature is absent in Järnfeldt’s guitars and even Sundqvist’s Spanish fan bracing only included three braces. Another Spanish feature of this guitar is its tie bridge. As for bracing more generally, none of the three guitars have identical solutions and, therefore, Sundqvist may have wanted to experiment with this important aspect of guitar construction. By contrast, one of the guitars (1831) includes a less forward-looking element that was still occasionally used in the 1830s: a transversal bar placed behind the bridge. This is somewhat obsolete and, for instance, neither Louis Panormo (1784–1862), René Lacôte (1785–1855) nor any of the Spanish makers used it because it blocks off many of the vibrations.⁶⁵⁵

Apart from constructing guitars and violins, Sundqvist manufac-

⁶⁵⁵ I am grateful to James Westbrook for this observation. See also Westbrook 2012.

tured citterns and Swedish lutes, although it seems that he only did so during the first years of his career. A single Swedish lute by him has survived, but no citterns are extant.⁶⁵⁶ These two instruments were certainly dropped from the assortment because by this time both had become rather antiquated and their demand must have decreased radically. This is also supported by the fact that, after 1832, not only had they disappeared from the maker's publicity but so had any mention of their strings. Guitar strings, however, continued to be advertised.

Little more is known about Sundqvist's guitar making, but some final evidence completes our portrait of probably the most skilful Finnish luthier of the nineteenth century. We know, for instance, that his carpentry creations ranged from glass doors to tables and chairs in addition to coffins of 'various sizes'.⁶⁵⁷ Furthermore, at some point prior to 1835, Sundqvist acquired a farm in the civil parish of Patis, near Turku; a few advertisements even testify that he sold agriproducts.⁶⁵⁸ What is more, Sundqvist's involvement in farming grew beyond a mere hobby, since in 1841 he invented a machine for harvesting hayseed in a more efficient way than had previously been possible.⁶⁵⁹ Yet one further way that Sundqvist made a living was to rent out rooms, which he did in his lodgings in the *Lilla Aningaisgatan*.⁶⁶⁰

Sundqvist's ownership of a house in Turku and a farm in the provinces leads one to conclude that he was quite well-off. As early as October 1832, however, he had mortgaged his house against a loan of almost seven hundred *riksdaler*, and four years later he needed a loan three times this size.⁶⁶¹ Sundqvist's finances were therefore not always

⁶⁵⁶ See, for example, *Åbo Underrättelser* 6 October 1832. The Swedish lute is in the National Museum of Finland (NM 20000038).

⁶⁵⁷ *Åbo Tidningar* 30 January 1841. Some of Sundqvist's chairs are housed in Finnish museums.

⁶⁵⁸ Patis (Paattinen) is nowadays a suburb of Turku. *Åbo Tidningar* 14 February 1835; 14 August 1839; *Åbo Underrättelser* 15 August 1835.

⁶⁵⁹ *Åbo Tidningar* 26 May 1841.

⁶⁶⁰ The first advertisement was published in *Åbo Underrättelser* 13 April 1833.

⁶⁶¹ This information is mentioned in the Dahlström card index of names, Bdgr 1:51, Strö-Syv, Turku branch of the NAF.



Figure 71. The ornamented bridge of Sundqvist's 1834 guitar.

entirely in check. Indeed, in March 1842 the people of Turku could read that the instrument maker had gone bankrupt and a few months later, in November, both the house and the farm went under the hammer.⁶⁶² These problems were probably also the reason that Carl Petter and his wife Anna began to live separately in 1842. One assumes that a reconciliation did take place at some point as his wife was pregnant again at the time of her husband's death.⁶⁶³

These difficult circumstances led the last years of the luthier's life to be wrought with worry, although an advertisement from the autumn of 1843 gives the impression that this setback had not taken all the wind out of the man's sails. Here Sundqvist fairly optimistically wrote that 'the undersigned has moved to baker Hällström's court and continues with not only all of his violin making and carpentry works but also keeps on building and repairing both church and other organs'.⁶⁶⁴ Two months following this he even advertised for apprentices, the consequence of this being that two were living in the Sundqvist household by 1845.⁶⁶⁵ It is possible, then, that some good times followed after 1843,

⁶⁶² Åbo Tidningar 16 March 1842; Åbo Underrättelser 23 November 1842; Finlands Allmänna Tidning 5 November 1842.

⁶⁶³ Finlands Allmänna Tidning 1 April 1842.

⁶⁶⁴ Åbo Underrättelser 7 October 1843.

⁶⁶⁵ Census records of Turku, I: 22 (TCA).

short-lived as they were because Sundqvist was once again bankrupt in 1845.⁶⁶⁶ This second grave adversity may have proved the tipping point for his health because he passed away only just over three months later. The instrument maker's probate inventory discloses that, at the time of his death, he had four times as many liabilities as he did possessions.⁶⁶⁷

After their father's demise, the family certainly found itself in financial dire straits and, only a few months later, Sundqvist's widow sought out employment for two of her sons 'in a pharmacy or a shop'.⁶⁶⁸ The striking aspect of the advertisement is that the boys are described as knowing Latin and being able to 'read and calculate', which speaks of their proficient level of education.

Carl Gustaf Florvall

Like Järnfeldt, Carl Gustaf Florvall (1806–1857) was also an apprentice of Henrik Blomqvist, whose workshop he joined in 1821 and remained at for five years. His training, it would therefore seem, was very thorough.⁶⁶⁹ Florvall's production may have been fairly extensive, as suggested above, but his instruments have suffered the same fate as those of his contemporaries, which is to say that only four of them have survived: one psalmodikon and three guitars.⁶⁷⁰

Born in Pernaja, near Porvoo, Florvall's original family name was 'Munter', which for reasons unknown he had changed to 'Florvall' no later than 1831.⁶⁷¹ A short time prior to this, possibly in early 1830,

⁶⁶⁶ *Åbo Underrättelser* 19 March 1845.

⁶⁶⁷ Probate inventories of Turku, Blc:51 (TCA).

⁶⁶⁸ *Åbo Underrättelser* 19 July 1845.

⁶⁶⁹ Hyvönen 1990, 117–118. The paths of Järnfeldt and Florvall crossed in 1823 when they were both working in Blomqvist's workshop.

⁶⁷⁰ A *psalmodikon* is a bowed box-zither that was used in Scandinavian countries to regulate choral singing during the first half of the nineteenth century. It was in great demand in schools but fell from use with the introduction of the harmonium.

⁶⁷¹ 'Munter' was a soldier's name and, indeed, Carl Gustaf's father was one. The Archive of the Parish of Pernaja, Birth records 1793–1811, ES:254 (NAF).

the luthier also married one Lovisa Sahlberg. The couple's first child, Lovisa Theodora, was baptised in March 1831, with eight more still to come, although of whom two died very young.⁶⁷²

Florvall had completed his training by 1826 but, rather curiously, no advertisements by him have been traced prior to 1840. Whether this means that he was not active as an instrument maker or that he was so successful that he did not need to advertise is hard to tell. Either way, when he did begin to advertise this only pertained to the sale of guitars, suggesting that this instrument was his main specialism. In addition, the repair of 'fortepianos and claviers' was occasionally offered in his listings.⁶⁷³ In the mid-1840s Florvall began to promote his skills in glass work and picture framing, the following year adding the sharpening of razor blades and scissors to his portfolio.⁶⁷⁴ Given this detail, and the fact that guitars disappear from his advertisements after 1846, one can assume that Florvall's instrument making began to take a backseat to allow these other sundry kinds of services to become his primary source of income. This notwithstanding, he clearly continued with his guitar production for his whole life since one of the extant guitars by him was constructed in 1856, a year prior to his death. What is more, its serial number '443' suggests that Florvall must have manufactured instruments quite regularly, especially as he is not known to have had any apprentices or journeymen.⁶⁷⁵

An interesting detail that speaks for Florvall's status as a guitar maker, as well as for a sizeable production, is that his guitars were occasionally sold in the shop of Wasenius & Comp. in Helsinki (as mentioned above) and in a bookshop in the maker's home town. When in 1846 Wasenius & Comp. offered Florvall's 'good and sonorous' guitars for sale, the use of the plural form corroborates that there was not just

⁶⁷² The Archive of the Swedish Speaking Cathedral Congregation of Porvoo, Birth records 1826–1832, ES:294 (NAF).

⁶⁷³ *Borgå Tidning* 2 March 1844.

⁶⁷⁴ *Borgå Tidning* 2 December 1846; 31 July 1847.

⁶⁷⁵ Hyvönen 1990, 155.

one guitar but several available.⁶⁷⁶ Moreover, this stock was certainly composed of new instruments and not second-hand ones, suggesting that the two shops may have entered into an agreement with Florvall to ensure a certain number of instruments were delivered annually.

Through Florvall's advertising we learn that he produced several types of guitar. The maker's very first advertisements in 1840 offered one 'efter spansk model' (according to the Spanish style) and the following year the customers already had the widened choice of six- or seven-string guitars designed 'according to the recently invented style and form'.⁶⁷⁷ It is difficult to conclude what this expression means, as it could hardly refer to, for instance, the Legnani model (which this guitarist had designed in co-operation with the Viennese luthier Johann Georg Stauffer in 1821). In 1843 Florvall again had guitars for sale in the Spanish style as well as 'of other new forms'.⁶⁷⁸ The latter expression is partially explained by a later posting that mentions four different guitar types, including one that suited ladies 'superbly'.⁶⁷⁹ The rest of Florvall's advertising does not add anything new and we may sum up his offering by detailing that he produced one guitar type based on the Spanish tradition, six- and seven-string guitars designed after the 'new' model and, as a fourth variety, a guitar for women. Unfortunately, we only have one specimen of Florvall's range of models since his three extant guitars are practically identical in their design and construction.

The instruments date from 1840, 1845 and 1856. In other words they were made during the maker's mature years.⁶⁸⁰ They all have many elements taken from the Spanish style of guitar construction, such as the soundboard's fan bracing: the two earlier guitars have three and the 1856 one has four braces. Other Spanish characteristics include the

⁶⁷⁶ *Borgå Tidning* 23 November 1844; *Helsingfors Tidningar* 20 May 1846.

⁶⁷⁷ *Borgå Tidning* 9 July 1840; *Borgå Tidning* 6 October 1841.

⁶⁷⁸ *Borgå Tidning* 5 April 1843.

⁶⁷⁹ *Borgå Tidning* 2 March 1844.

⁶⁸⁰ The two later guitars are housed in the Ekenäs Museum Centre Ekta (Object Collection, inv. no. 242) and in the Porvoo Museum (Item Collection, inv. 27-10, respectively. The 1840 guitar is in private ownership.



Figure 72. The three extant Florvall guitars, dating from (a) 1840, (b) 1845 and (c) 1856.

form of their heads – in truth, fairly primitive-looking wood plates – and the inlaid back of the 1845 model (see figure 73). The main difference between these instruments is that the 1840 and 1845 guitars originally had seven strings and that the 1840 instrument was clearly intended for ladies. In sum, these three guitars must represent Florvall's Spanish model – 'etter spansk model' – and, although they are extant only by chance, the possibility remains that this was indeed Florvall's main model. Further in support of this is the fact that the 'etter spansk model' guitar is the one most frequently mentioned in the maker's publicity.

With regard to further characteristics, all the guitars have tuning pegs, which is an old-fashioned feature considering their date of manufacture. Perhaps this was the result of financial constraints because both Järnfeldt and Sundqvist had tuning machines on some of their guitars, demonstrating that it was possible to source them in Finland or possibly to even manufacture them there. Overall, the three Florvall instruments do not show a very convincing craftsmanship and the bridges, for instance, look fairly simple (see figure 74). The materials are not of a high quality either and all the guitars lack ebony fingerboards.

Figure 73. Two Spanish features of Florvall's guitars: the inlaid back (a) and the head (b).

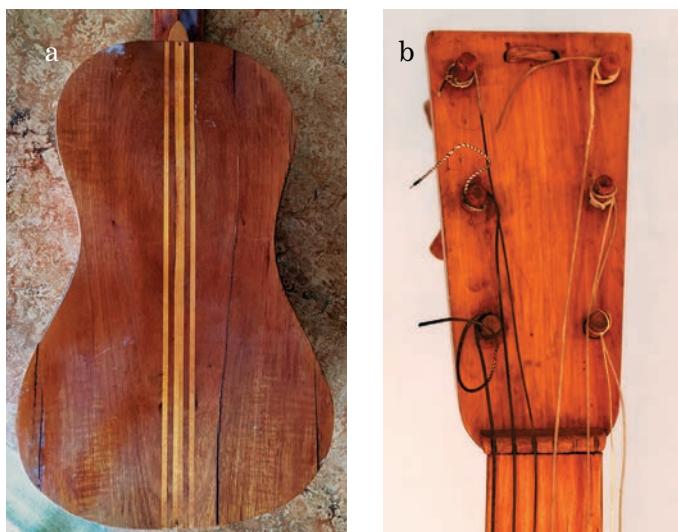


Figure 74. Florvall's bridge design.



In one way, Florvall did not differ from Järnfeldt and Sundqvist: he too employed the 'Järnfeldt system' for marking the frets. He did, however, provide a slight personal touch by marking the twelfth fret instead of the ninth in two of his guitars, whereas the 1840 guitar has four markings: the fifth, seventh, ninth and twelfth frets.

The end of Florvall's life was tragic, as the public could discover in a small news item that appeared in *Borgå Tidning* on 17 October 1857. It informs that 'late in the evening of the first day of the local fair the instrument maker Florvall was found drowned in the water near

the riverside'.⁶⁸¹ The newspaper speculates that the accident had been caused 'by the fair's downside', no doubt referring to the excessive consumption of alcohol that was usual during such festivities. It is naturally hard to tell whether this assumption specifically arose out of the fact that Florvall's drinking habits left something to be desired but, if this was the case, it was probably general knowledge in a small place like Porvoo. Moreover, when in the 1870s and 1890s two of Florvall's sons appear in the press, their inclination towards immoderate drinking is remarked upon on both occasions.⁶⁸² Perhaps, then, drinking was a hereditary taint. In these articles we also learn that one of Florvall's sons, Johan Engelbert, had artistic talents of his own; in his leisure time he 'both composed music and wrote poems'. More importantly, he also played the guitar and it is not too far-stretched to suppose that he possessed an instrument made by his father.

Olof Granfeldt

Olof Granfeldt (1793–1850) was Swedish by birth but he studied in St. Petersburg, coming to Finland in 1822 to join Blomqvist's workshop in Porvoo. From there the Swede moved a year later to Turku, where he made instruments in his own workshop until the Great Fire in 1827. This disaster obviously had devastating consequences for Turku as a whole, but one particularly pertinent impact was that, owing to the considerably worsened living conditions, there was no longer a demand for musical instruments in the ruined town. Granfeldt, therefore, decided to return to his native Sweden. There he became one of the country's leading piano manufacturers and he was accepted as an *associé* of the Royal Swedish Academy of Music in 1844.⁶⁸³

After Granfeldt arrived in Turku in 1823, he obtained his instrument maker's privilege in October of that year and was then ready to

⁶⁸¹ *Borgå Tidning* 17 October 1857.

⁶⁸² *Borgåbladet* 4 January 1879; *Typografinen muistolehti* 1 January 1892.

⁶⁸³ Dahlström 1978, 47.

establish his instrument factory, which he named 'Musica'. Despite the grand appellation 'factory' it was probably no different to any other workshop. In fact, the defining characteristic may have been, considering the extent of Granfeldt's piano production, that he had unusually many journeymen and apprentices to help him. The maker's first advertisement is explicit about the factory's assortment: it consisted of 'David's harps with or without pedals, smaller and larger types of *Flygelfortepianos* (with either English or Viennese mechanisms), ordinary forte pianos of varying sizes, citterns and guitars, along with other string instruments'.⁶⁸⁴ We also learn that Granfeldt made repair jobs and offered to tune instruments, the latter no doubt referring to keyboard maintenance. It is noteworthy that citterns and guitars are mentioned specifically because this (once again) implies that there must have been demand for them.

None of Granfeldt's guitars have survived, so nothing specific can be said about them. However, given that we know that he had 'diverse sorts of lutes and guitars' for sale, he probably manufactured guitars of different sizes and may also have offered a seven-string model like his Finnish colleagues.⁶⁸⁵

During the last two years of his sojourn in Finland Granfeldt did not advertise a great deal and when he did, guitars are not mentioned. This may indicate, since the years 1827–1828 were the most active in the factory's piano production, that guitar making had been suspended.⁶⁸⁶

Anders Lindros

The pianos manufactured by Anders Lindros (1796–1832) only number approximately one dozen, but alongside this activity he made various other musical instruments such as guitars, organs, David's harps,

684 *Åbo Tidningar* 29 November 1823.

685 *Åbo Tidningar* 4 January 1826. Because Granfeldt employed several journeymen, it is possible that guitars were occasionally made only under his supervisions.

686 Dahlström 1978, 50.

Swedish lutes, bassoons and clarinets. The manufacture of the last two items on this list is in fact a little surprising because woodwind was played far more rarely than string or brass. This was likely the reason that in one of his earliest advertisements Lindros felt the need to emphasise that ‘in my workshop are produced all kinds of instruments, even wind instruments’.⁶⁸⁷

Lindros started his training as a carpenter’s apprentice in Helsinki, but, like so many others, he moved to St. Petersburg in order to learn instrument making there. These studies must have gone well, since (according to his own report) he managed to practice his trade in the Russian capital itself. During the early 1820s it was, however, time for Lindros to return to Helsinki, where he obtained civic rights in 1825. In his application he claims to be well known among ‘varje höga Herrskaper’ (all gentility) of the town, suggesting that he had already manufactured and repaired instruments in Helsinki prior to this date.⁶⁸⁸

The array of instruments Lindros declared to be able to manufacture is exceptionally wide-ranging and this may raise suspicion regarding the viability of his claims. An auction protocol and the instrument maker’s probate inventory prove that he at least made, in addition to pianos (of which one is extant), guitars, clarinets, flutes and violins.⁶⁸⁹ The maker left three guitars behind, their value in the inventory jointly estimated at fifteen *banco roubles*. This is noteworthy because, apart from an uncompleted piano, none of the other instruments were worth all that much money. For instance, the inventory’s four violins amounted to only four *banco roubles*, making the value of a violin only a fifth of that of a guitar. This potentially indicates the good quality of the guitars in his possession, although one can equally well assume that the violins were of a particularly modest standard.

Lindros always mentions guitars and Swedish lutes in his publicity, whereas many other instruments are occasionally passed off under the

⁶⁸⁷ *Helsingfors Tidningar* 8 December 1830. Italics not in the original.

⁶⁸⁸ Dahlström 1978, 78–79.

⁶⁸⁹ ARPH, Ca:31 (HCA); PI, Ec:15, no. 1113 (HCA).

category of ‘various other instruments’.⁶⁹⁰ Lindros also provided a repair service, tuned pianos and sold ‘all kinds of strings’, which probably included those for the guitar. If this was indeed the case, the maker’s first advertisement dating from 1828 becomes the earliest information on their commercial selling in this country.⁶⁹¹

Erik Gustaf Granholm

In 1835, within two weeks of having settled in Helsinki, Erik Gustaf Granholm (1807–1872) published a series of advertisements to make it known that he had launched an instrument-making business in the town.⁶⁹² We learn that alongside his main product, the piano, he also sold both violins and guitars. Over the years, Granholm’s piano factory became very successful, continuing in its activities until 1866. The last advertisement to make reference to the guitar dates from 1839, when the maker had acquired a workshop of his own, and it is possible that all smaller instruments were eventually dropped from his production over time.⁶⁹³

Born on the island of Åland, Granholm studied with Granfeldt in Turku from 1824, first following his master to Stockholm before moving from there to St. Petersburg in 1833 to seek training in the workshop of the German instrument maker Grasse. After a sojourn of about two years Granholm was finally back in Finland and ready to establish his own workshop in the capital.

Granholm’s piano factory turned out to be one of the most long-lived and successful in the whole country, its sales growing steadily throughout the three decades of its existence. Testament to this are the almost two-dozen persons who were on the factory’s payroll during its peak period. The production of square pianos, grand pianos and upright pianos amounted to several hundred, and many professional musicians appreciat-

690 See, for example, *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 15 November 1827.

691 *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 9 October 1828.

692 The first one was published in *Helsingfors Tidningar* 3 January 1835.

693 *Helsingfors Tidningar* 9 October 1839.

ed their quality. Furthermore, the fact that most foreign artists visiting the Finnish capital chose to perform on Granholm's pianos is a case in point.⁶⁹⁴

It is difficult to know how significant a space guitars, violins and other 'smaller' instruments took up on the production line. An article published in *Tidning för musik* in 1914, however, claims that even as many as around five hundred of them could easily have been manufactured.⁶⁹⁵ We also read that the workshop produced the folk instrument *kantele* and, as is particularly intriguing, did so under the guidance of Elias Lönnrot (1802–1884) himself, the creator of the national epic *Kalevala* in which this instrument plays a key role. As regards the guitar, it is intriguing if the quantity of small instruments produced by Granholm was indeed as high as the article claims because, going by this figure, the number of guitars must have been at least several dozen, if not more. Knowing the high professional standard of Granholm's instrument making, it is a great pity that none has survived.

Over the course of his life Granholm achieved a high social status and was granted some positions of trust, such as his appointment as a member to the group of the town's confidants, persons consulted in various matters of its administration.⁶⁹⁶ Financially, Granholm was able to live without undue stress, as the sizeable net sum of his estate of seventy-five thousand marks clearly indicates.⁶⁹⁷

Anders Cajander and Franz Hiekisch

To finish this discussion on Finnish luthiers, two more makers, Anders Cajander and Franz Hiekisch, deserve some credit. Anders Cajander placed advertisements in Helsinki in 1834 informing that he made violins and guitars and repaired 'older instruments, such as barrel or-

694 Dahlström 1978, 51–53.

695 *Tidning för musik* 1 April 1914.

696 Dahlström 1978, 53.

697 PI, Ec:33, no. 5828 (HCA). At this time a worker's daily wage was slightly over a mark. Vattula 1983, 438–441.

gans'.⁶⁹⁸ Later advertisements by him were placed in Turku and, although his skills as an instrument maker are no longer mentioned, one in which he tried to find a lodger is still signed 'guitar maker'.⁶⁹⁹ This supports the assumption that the guitar was Cajander's primary output. Although next to nothing is known about his life, it is apparent that he had studied instrument making because when he was married in 1835 he is registered as 'an instrument maker's apprentice'. Three years later he had started his professional activity, as the baptismal record of his first child corroborates listing the father's profession as 'instrument maker'. Starting from 1841, however, Cajander's profession in the baptismal records changes to that of 'carpenter' so, perhaps instrument making alone did not bring sufficient bread to the table.⁷⁰⁰

In 1836 Franz Hiekisch took over in the direction of Henrik Blomqvist's piano factory in Porvoo when, some ten years after the decease of its founder, it resumed its activities once more. In his publicity Hiekisch (fl. c.1836–c.1873) promotes a tuning and maintenance service for pianos, but also informs that he manufactured musical instruments, among them 'several types of guitars, also with tuning machines'.⁷⁰¹ Like Cajander, Hiekisch may only have focused on guitars for a brief period. According to Dahlström, he was 'a proficient craftsman', although over the years his production of furniture came to be more significant than that of musical instruments.⁷⁰²

A Finnish school of guitar makers?

Can we speak of a Finnish school of guitar makers? One fact pointing in this direction is that several makers were influenced by Henrik

⁶⁹⁸ *Helsingfors Tidningar* 13 August 1834.

⁶⁹⁹ *Abo Tidningar* 2 September 1837.

⁷⁰⁰ The Archive of Turku Cathedral Congregation, Birth records of the Swedish speaking parish 1823–1842, I C2:4, April 1841 (NAF).

⁷⁰¹ *Helsingfors Tidningar* 19 October 1836.

⁷⁰² Dahlström 1978, 71.

Blomqvist and some also by the many instrument makers who were active in St. Petersburg. These were, in turn, often of German origin and therefore one is inclined to assume that this influence was also felt in Finland to some degree. To this group Sundqvist must also be added because, although to our present knowledge he did not learn instrument making in St. Petersburg, he did use a German book to learn the trade. On the other hand, one of his guitars has some Spanish features and Florvall similarly produced a Spanish model. Therefore, this question should remain open, not least due to the very low number of extant instruments.

An overview of the Finnish makers and the time and location of their activity is given in Table 2.⁷⁰³

| | Turku | Helsinki | Vyborg | Porvoo | Vaasa |
|-------|--|----------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|------------|
| 1820s | Granfeldt Järnfeldt | Lindros | | | |
| 1830s | Sundqvist Järnfeldt? Cajander | Cajander Granholm Lindros? | | Hiekisch Florvall? | |
| 1840s | Sundqvist Cajander Hammarström Järnfeldt? | Granholm? | | Florvall Hiekisch? | |
| 1850s | Alander Cajander? | 1 Anon. Granholm? | Hiekisch? | Florvall | |
| 1860s | Alander? | Granholm? | Hiekisch? | | |
| 1870s | Alander? | | | | |
| 1880s | | | | | |
| 1890s | | | | | Pettersson |

Table 2. An overview of the active periods of Finnish luthiers.

703 A question mark after a maker's name means that, although he remained active, it is uncertain if he continued to manufacture guitars.

Repairmen

In Finland, as elsewhere, there was also a market for sundry kinds of repairmen, including those of musical instruments. Accordingly, guitar-repair services were offered in the press by around two-dozen persons over the course of the century, but especially towards its close.

A distinctive group of guitar repairmen are quite naturally among those who also manufactured these instruments: Lindros, Granholm, Florvall, Alander and Pettersson all provided a repair service.⁷⁰⁴ One further craftsman was the Swedish-born instrument maker Carl Gustaf Brunström who offered repair services for guitars in Helsinki and Hämeenlinna in the 1840s.⁷⁰⁵ We do not know which instruments Brunström manufactured, but because his estate included two guitars, there is a possibility that they were of his own making.⁷⁰⁶

Perhaps more unusual from today's point of view is that some professional musicians also repaired guitars. One of them was Wilhelm Siber, who, as the reader may remember, gave guitar lessons in Turku in the 1830s. Anna Sundqvist also offered guitar repair soon after the death of her husband Carl Petter, but this work was probably carried out by one of the two apprentices who were still employed in the Sundqvist workshop.⁷⁰⁷

Finally, in accordance with the large number of music shops that emerged in the 1890s, the supply of repair services also increased, especially in Helsinki. For instance, the Helsinki branch of 'Petersburska Harmonika Magasinet', an accordion factory based in St. Petersburg, offered to repair guitars, as did the piano factory of J.A. Bask. A third, the workshop of a certain Russian by the name of Matuschevski, ad-

⁷⁰⁴ *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 5 November 1827 (Lindros); *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 1 January 1835 (Granholm); *Borgå Tidning* 5 April 1843 (Florvall); *Åbo Underrättelser* 8 February 1872 (Alander); *Wasa Tidning* 28 May 1891 (Pettersson).

⁷⁰⁵ *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 17 November 1840; *Helsingfors Tidningar* 2 December 1843.

⁷⁰⁶ Dahlström 1978, 39.

⁷⁰⁷ *Åbo Tidningar* 7 July 1838; *Åbo Underrättelser* 4 April 1846.

vertised that it had ‘repairmen from St. Petersburg’ to carry out the work.⁷⁰⁸

Everything considered, no one could have made a comfortable living from the repair of guitars alone and, although their work profiles all differed, those who did advertise guitar repair were always engaged in other activities as well. One, for example, was an instrument maker, another a piano tuner and a third one a music-shop keeper.

708 *Hufvudstadsbladet* 27 September 1890; 28 June 1894; *Uusi Suometar* 5 June 1892.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Strings, a necessity

While the timbre of a musical instrument depends upon its design and the quality of craftsmanship, these are not the only factors to influence the result. In woodwind instruments the reed is of utmost importance, while strings have a key role to play with bowed and plucked instruments. Nowadays strings are machine-made, but their manufacture was once a sophisticated craft because makers had to contend with issues such as the string's durability, reliability of pitch and yet other aspects.

Prior to the twentieth century, the material used for the strings of plucked and bowed instruments was either gut, silk or wire. Silk was most frequently adopted in Asia, whereas Europeans only utilised it occasionally, except as the core material of wound strings.⁷⁰⁹ While wire was (and still is) the material of piano and harpsichord strings, in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries it was also used for some bowed and plucked instruments. Among the latter category, we find the chitarrone, orpharion, cittern and the English guitar, whereas the *chitarra battente* is the best-known wire-strung instrument of the guitar family. Occasionally this material was also adopted in other varieties of guitars and, indeed, such instruments were said to be so fashionable in mid-eighteenth-century Rome that its local gut string makers complained to the Papal administration about losing business.⁷¹⁰ Nevertheless, by the beginning of the nineteenth century wire strings were rarely applied to bowed and plucked instruments in Europe, with the exception of the Neapolitan mandolin and the English guitar. Gut had become the standard. As time progressed, the manufacture of gut

⁷⁰⁹ Downing 2002, 38–42.

⁷¹⁰ Barbieri 2006, 177.

strings became a highly-refined process and, like many other crafts, was often a family-run trade.⁷¹¹

Strings have been made everywhere, but by the beginning of the seventeenth century Italian ones, especially those from Rome and Naples, were considered the best.⁷¹² Their superiority remained undisputed over the years, the eminent German Louis Spohr for example recommends Italian strings in his *Violinschule* of 1832, preferring them to the products of his own country.⁷¹³ The particular attributes of these strings that the players appreciated are set out in an 1843 advertisement in *The Musical World*, which states that Italian trebles had qualities such as 'clearness and brilliancy of tone' and 'strength and durability'.⁷¹⁴

The stringing of an instrument is a complicated matter and, although gut as a material works well for thinner strings, problems arise with the thicker diameter needed for bass strings. The core dilemma is that the process of applying more gut strands to a string tends to cause it to lose its overtones and produce a dull sound. One solution is to lengthen the string, because the diameter then does not have to be increased quite as much. This works well for harps and several types of larger lutes with extended necks but not for instruments with strings of equal length, such as violins and guitars. After several attempts – one of them was soaking the string in fine heavy-metal powder – the final solution to this problem took the shape of a silk or gut string overspun with wire.⁷¹⁵ The first known report of this revolutionary invention appears in a manuscript dating from 1659.⁷¹⁶ Five years later, a back-cover

⁷¹¹ A detailed account of the complex manufacturing procedure is given in an article by Denis Diderot. Diderot 1754, 205–207.

⁷¹² Barbieri 2006, 148.

⁷¹³ 'Es gibt Italiänische und Deutsche Saiten. Letztere sind aber viel schlechter wie jene und zum Solospiel gar nicht zu gebrauchen. Auch die Italiänischen Saiten sind von ungleicher Güte und in der Regel die Neapolitanischen den Römischen und diese denen von Padua und Mailand vorzuziehen.' Spohr 1832, 13–14.

⁷¹⁴ *The Musical World* 6 April 1843. I am grateful to James Westbrook for providing me with this information.

⁷¹⁵ Peruffo 1994, 72–84.

⁷¹⁶ Peruffo 1997, 158–159.

advertisement in the fourth edition of John Playford's *An Introduction to the skill of musick* read as follows:

There is a late invention of Strings for the Basses of Viols and Violins, or Lutes, which sound much better and louder then the common Gut String, either under the Bow or Finger. It is Small Wire twisted or gimp'd upon a gut string or upon Silk. I have made tryal of both, but those upon Silk do hold best and give as good a sound [...].⁷¹⁷

It can be said that the overspinning of basses was in some ways the 'ultimate' solution to the problem posed by bass strings. The new type of string was soon accepted all over Europe and their production technique has remained more or less unchanged to the present day.

GUITAR STRINGS IN FINLAND

The earliest information we have about commercially sold guitar strings in Finland comes relatively late, 1830, but this cannot reflect the actual situation regarding their availability. This question will be discussed below, but when advertisements for guitar strings did start to appear in the press, their quantity continued to rise quite steadily until the end of the century.

Strings from Italy and from closer to home

Central European strings

Approximately half of all Finnish sources to mention guitar strings offer details about their place of origin. In ninety per cent of these cases the claimed source was Italy, which clearly shows that the country's European-wide market dominance in this arena had travelled as

717 Playford 1664.

far as the continent's eastern reaches. It is, however, important to remember that the term 'Italian' was also used generically and some of the strings described as 'Italian' may therefore not have actually been manufactured in this country.⁷¹⁸ Occasionally Rome is provided as a more specific place of origin, as in an advertisement by Hjelt's bookshop offering strings 'inkomne ifrån A. Ruffinis fabrik i Rom' (from the Roman workshop of A. Ruffini).⁷¹⁹ French strings were promoted in only around a dozen advertisements in the 1860s, but German ones were offered more and more regularly as the century progressed.⁷²⁰ This was partly because the string manufacturers in the latter country had managed to improve the standard of their product over time, but this also speaks to the fact that their wares were not as expensive as Italian strings. For instance, in the 1890s Melan's music shop had a selection of both German and Italian guitar strings, with the price of the Italian variety being almost double that of the German ones.⁷²¹ In general, the advertising of Italian strings, and therefore presumably their supply, dropped after the 1870s which again reflects a diminished interest in more sophisticated guitar playing habits and, as a consequence, in more expensive high-quality strings.

Strings from the neighbouring countries

As for most of the nineteenth century Italy was synonymous with high quality guitar strings, no businessman would sensibly have left this origin unmentioned in their publicity. The same may also have been true of strings from France and Germany, but as these had a reputa-

⁷¹⁸ It is difficult to know when this was the case and when the strings were truly Italian, save for obvious phrases such as 'newly arrived from Rome'. In England Italian immigrants manufactured strings, but this was not the case in Finland nor probably in Russia either. See Jeans 1960, 90.

⁷¹⁹ Åbo Underrättelser 23 September 1840. By this time Ruffini was a leading string manufacturer in Rome, since through mergers the number of workshops had gone down to only two, those of 'Pica & C.' and 'A. Ruffini'. See Barbieri 2006, 148.

⁷²⁰ Åbo Underrättelser 3 December 1863.

⁷²¹ See, for example, Hufvudstadsbladet 29 August 1891. Barbieri 2006, 169.

tion for being of a lesser quality, their origin was therefore perhaps not a strong selling point. We cannot know the conclusive truth, but one may ask whether among these unspecified strings some might have come from Sweden or Russia? Or, perhaps, if there were even people who manufactured strings in Finland?

We know that in Sweden in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries privileges for the manufacture of strings for musical instruments were granted to several individuals. Moreover, although instrument makers were among these people as one might expect, privileges were also granted to other professionals, some of whom even lived in the provinces rather than Stockholm.⁷²² An example of someone who expanded string manufacture beyond the country's capital is a musician from Landskrona, a town on the south-west coast of Sweden. He was at first denied an exclusive privilege on the grounds that manufacturing strings was 'not new or unknown in the Kingdom', but he was finally granted a standard one because his strings were judged to be 'of better quality than foreign strings and in all their aspects equalled the so-called Roman strings'.⁷²³ It seems, thus, that Sweden was able to manufacture gut strings to a reasonably high standard, but there is information that shows that wound strings were also made. For instance, a certain Erich Sahlman was engaged in this trade because in 1776 he applied for permission to import silver thread for overspinning bass strings. As he justified his application by claiming that suitable silver thread could not be sourced in Sweden, Eva Helenius-Öberg has suggested that overspun strings had not been manufactured in the country prior to this date.⁷²⁴ The later history of string manufacture in Sweden has never been researched, but it seems probable that, once instigated, this skill prevailed, especially bearing in mind that interest in guitar playing grew from the first decades of the nineteenth century onwards. As a whole, it is noteworthy that the craft of manufacturing both gut

722 Helenius-Öberg 1977, 37–38.

723 '[...] ei är nytt eller uti Riket obekant'; '[...]; af bättre godhet än de utländske, samt till alla delar swara emot de så kallade Romanska strängarne'.

724 Helenius-Öberg 1977, 38.

Undertecknad har härmad åran underrätta den musikäfstande publiken, att hos honom erhålls utmärkt goda strängar, till violin och guitarre; afven önskar han att, under sin korta vistelse härstädes, winna den konstahändande publiken förtroende, uti forteynano stämningar. Boende uti Nomakor Illmans görd, vid hörnet af Maties och Kyrkogatorne.

Hauschmidt,
Strängmakare från S:t Petersburg.

Figure 75. In 1843 the string maker Hauschmidt offered violin and guitar strings to 'the music-loving public' of Helsinki.

Sinnad att tillbringa wintern här, har jag åran överiera ett högtåradt Publikum att hos mig kunna erhållas alla slags öfver- spunna strängar för guitarre, altvio, violin, violoncelle och harpa de sistnämnde dock blott på särstild beställning. De som önsla violin G. täcktes ha godheten sjelfva lämna mig den dertill erforderliga sensträng. — Äsven kan hos mig erhållas en i Paris förfärdigad violoncellstråle för 30 Rubel.

I. Brültos,
Pensionerad Kejserlig Rysk Hof-Musiker,
boende i Handlanden Dahls gård vid
Trekantiga torget N:o 18.
qvarteret Skatan.

Figure 76. I. Brültos, a retired cellist, offered strings of his own manufacture in Helsinki in 1840.

and wound strings was already known in Sweden in the eighteenth century. Consequently, we may assume that some of these strings found their way onto the shelves of Finnish shops and that private individuals would also have brought them across the border.

By way of contrast, we know nothing definite about string manufacture in Russia, although the guitar's popularity there manifests itself in many advertisements for Italian guitar strings in the local press.⁷²⁵ That said, a few individuals from St. Petersburg residing in Helsinki in the 1830s and 1840s seem to have been involved in this trade. The first one to advertise was 'strängfabrikantskan A. Hauschmidt' and since the title is a feminine form of 'string maker', the advertiser in question was the wife of the manufacturer. Her posting, dating from 1830, de-

725 I am grateful to Oleg Timofeyev for this information.

scribes that she had come from St. Petersburg to Helsinki to sell ‘good Italian strings’ and if we assume that the term ‘Italian’ in this case referred to the style of the strings rather than to their actual origin, as a string maker’s wife she may well have been vending her husband’s own products; indeed, why else would she make reference to his profession?⁷²⁶ Three years passed and a *widow* named ‘Hauschmidt’ sold Italian strings in Helsinki. She resided at the ‘rope maker Schildt’s [house] in Elisabethsgatan’ and because this is the same address where ‘A. Hauschmidt’ had lived in 1830, we must be dealing with the same person. This advertisement, however, was not the last we hear of ‘Hauschmidt’ because in 1837 one ‘A. E. Hauschmidt’ sold Italian violin and guitar strings, in 1842 a ‘Mrs Hauschild’ [sic] sold strings for violin and cello and, finally, in 1843, ‘Hauschmidt, a string maker from St. Petersburg’ had ‘the honour to inform the music-loving public that from him can be acquired extremely good strings for violin and guitar’.⁷²⁷ It seems clear that more than one individual was behind these advertisements and, more importantly, both A. Hauschmidt’s late husband and the ‘last’ Hauschmidt must have been string makers (and very possibly family). Overall what proves most notable is that guitar strings by two separate makers from St. Petersburg were made available in Helsinki in the 1830s and 1840s.

At around the same time, I. Brültos, a retired musician of the Russian Imperial *Hofkapelle*, advertised ‘all sorts of wound strings for guitar, viola, violin cello and harp’.⁷²⁸ After mentioning that harp strings

⁷²⁶ *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 10 July 1830.

⁷²⁷ See, for example, *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 3 and 6 June 1837; *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 5 August 1842; *Helsingfors Tidningar* 6 December 1843.

⁷²⁸ *Helsingfors Tidningar* 4 and 11 January 1840. There is some uncertainty as regards the surname of this person. The first advertisements published in 1840 give it as ‘Brültos’, while some subsequent ones (for example, *Helsingfors Tidningar* 10 March 1841 and 26 February 1842) use the form ‘Bültos’ or ‘Bultos’. ‘Brültos’ has been accepted here as it is the form used in this string maker’s first publicity. Furthermore, the above-mentioned advertisement from March 1841 suggests that his first name was ‘Jean’. One additional piece of information comes from John Rosas. He mentions an entry in the account books of the Musical Society of Helsinki reading that one ‘I. B. Bültos, pensioner of the ‘hoff [sic] Capelle’ was paid twelve silver roubles for his services as a musician during the concert season 1846–1847. This must have been the same person, and it would therefore appear that Brültos continued to perform whilst in Finland. See Rosas 1952, 468–469.

Violiner och stråkar, gitarrer och gitarrbaser, af Instrumentmakar Sundqvists tillverkning i Åbo. Närmare underrättelse lämnas i Bagar Sundbecks gård vid lilla Robertsgatan, i byggningen till venster inne på gården.

Figure 77. The guitar basses put up for sale in this posting from 1843 may have been manufactured by the luthier Sundqvist.

had to be ordered well in advance, he added that ‘the one who wishes to have his violin G-string wound, should kindly provide me with the necessary gut string for it’.⁷²⁹ This may indicate that Brültos did not actually sell gut strings, but at the same time it also implies that he manufactured the wound strings himself. Two years later a few advertisements confirm this supposition, the Russian now offering ‘all kinds of wound strings which I myself manufacture’. In fact, guitar strings are not specifically mentioned in this posting, but they must also have been in his assortment.⁷³⁰ In his first piece of publicity, Brültos informed the public of his plans to spend the winter in Helsinki, but he in fact stayed for considerably longer as he is mentioned in the census records of Helsinki from 1842 to 1849. After this we lose trace of him.

It is noteworthy that Brültos manufactured wound strings *in situ*, because this could be considered ‘Finnish string manufacture’. There is also a slight possibility that the guitar maker Sundqvist would have done the same. None of the luthier’s own postings, however, specify the origin of the strings he vended, and therefore this idea does not arise from the maker’s own advertising.⁷³¹ Instead, our evidence comes in the form of a few advertisements in which ‘Violins, bows, guitars and basses for guitar, manufactured by the instrument maker Sundqvist in Turku’ were offered for sale in Helsinki by an unknown individual staying ‘at the baker Sundbeck’s premises near lilla Robertsgatan, in

⁷²⁹ The expression ‘the one who wishes’ implies that some violin players still used an all-gut G-string; moreover, it is noteworthy that the core of the string was gut and not silk, which was considered to be the best material.

⁷³⁰ *Helsingfors Tidningar* 26 February and 2 March 1842.

⁷³¹ The first of these advertisements was published in *Åbo Tidningar* 8 December 1830.

the building on the left side inside the courtyard'.⁷³² The text is unambiguous in naming Sundqvist as the maker of all the advertised items, but because this is the only reference to the luthier's possible string manufacture, some doubt remains.⁷³³

As a closing detail about local string manufacture, we know that the players of the two Finnish folk instruments, the *kantele* and the *jouhikko*, manufactured their own strings from metal, gut or horse hair.⁷³⁴ This is understandable because a commercial supply of strings was non-existent. The fact that gut was called upon by amateur makers for the strings of the *jouhikko* is intriguing, but they probably bore little resemblance to the sophisticated Italian gut strings for the guitar. Therefore, although in theory some guitar amateurs may have used handcrafted strings of this nature, at least the wealthier ones would have been able to afford to purchase the Italian variety.

The varying options for sourcing strings and some démodé means of their supply

Given that the earliest information about the commercial selling of strings comes in the form of an advertisement from 1830, the channels through which they were procured prior to this date are unclear.⁷³⁵ We know that some general stores already stocked violin strings in Helsinki in the eighteenth century and they may have added guitar

732 *Helsingfors Tidningar* 2, 9 and 16 December 1843. Sundqvist was in severe financial difficulties at this time and perhaps someone had got the advertised items as payment for a debt. This would explain why Sundqvist, uniquely, had not placed the advertisement himself.

733 The idea that a guitar maker would manufacture wound strings is not far-fetched. There is evidence of players winding their own strings as early as the eighteenth century. One such piece of information occurs in the writings of Jean Baptiste Ludovico de Castillon. This text introduces a manuscript collection of guitar music by François Le Cocq (Brussels, Conservatoire Royal de Musique, MS 5.615). Castillon began writing the manuscript in 1730 and, in it, mentions the fact that he winds his own strings. The original French text is cited in Tyler and Sparks 2002, 130.

734 Laitinen 2010, 31, 80; Nieminen 2007, 148–151.

735 *Åbo Tidningar* 8 December 1830.



Figure 78. An English string tin indicating that the same string could serve as a violin's or guitar's first string.

strings to their supply as interest in this instrument gradually increased; the same trend would then also apply to Finland's bookshops. An additional possibility is that some guitarists used violin strings, a practice that many sources corroborate. For instance, a catalogue of the Neapolitan firm *Fratelli Avallone* states that a violin's first string could serve as a guitar's second one, and its second as a guitar's third one.⁷³⁶ Several guitar methods, such as those of Sor and Carulli (*Première Suite à la Méthode*, op. 61), also refer to this practice. Though not in accordance with *Fratelli Avallone*'s claim, Carulli states of the guitar, that '[...] you mount it with strings of the same diameter as those of a violin'.⁷³⁷ Sometimes this dual usage was written on the packaging itself, as some English string tins show.

One further option to note is that, just like with its music, guitar strings could also be ordered from abroad, perhaps from Sweden or another continental music shop. One example of the latter is J.J. Hummel's firm in Amsterdam whose 1791 catalogue lists guitar strings and also states that it offered a delivery service to the 'East and West Indies, and all the other countries'.⁷³⁸

⁷³⁶ Barbieri 2006, 180.

⁷³⁷ '[...] on les monte avec des cordes de la même grosseur que celles d'un violon [...]. Carulli 1813, 2.

⁷³⁸ Hummel 1791. This catalogue is in the Collection of the Musikaliska Sällskapet i Åbo (The Manuscript Collection, Coll. 501.2, NLF).

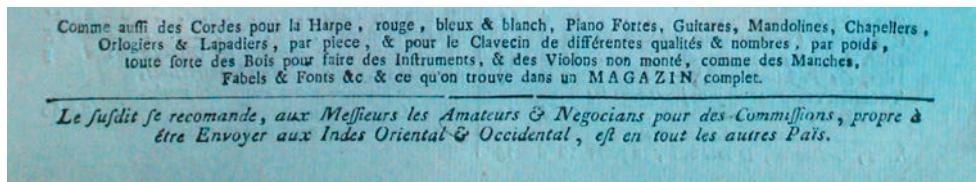


Figure 79. The 1791 sales catalogue of Jean Julien Hummel's music shop advertising the availability of guitar strings.

Separate strings or a *mazzo*

Contrary to today's custom, guitar strings were, as a rule, sold separately rather than in sets of six. In fact, in Finland only two music shops, those of Beuermann and Paul, appear to have offered them in 'complete' sets.⁷³⁹ In Central Europe this practice did not mean that strings were sold as *single* items because each string was usually sold in bulk quantities, a common unit being that of thirty strings. The Italian name for this unit was a *mazzo* (a bundle) and this practice is evinced, for instance, by the above-mentioned sales catalogue of the *Fratelli Avallone*.⁷⁴⁰ In Finland, Beuermann sold a *mazzo* of violin strings (save for the fourth string which was wound), but did not offer an equivalent option for other instruments. This put a guitar amateur at a disadvantage because, just as the shop's 1861 catalogue points out, purchased this way the price of a single string was much cheaper.

The fact that gut strings were prone to breakage sparked another trading practice that does not exist anymore today. This was the vending of first strings, the so-called *qvint*, and on occasion other non-wound strings, in a length of eighty-four inches.⁷⁴¹ The sellers called this length 'four *tirate*' because it would have sufficed for four violin strings. This system was also applied to guitar strings, although it was

⁷³⁹ Beuermann 1861, a separate advertisement at the catalogue's end (no page number); Paul 1863, a separate advertisement in the catalogue's beginning (no page number).

⁷⁴⁰ The quantity of thirty strings was common, but it did vary. In Spain, for instance, some advertisements mention as many as seventy. I am grateful to Luis Briso de Montiano for this information.

⁷⁴¹ In the metric system: 213.36 centimetres.

slightly impractical for that instrument. This is because eighty-four inches for a guitar with a ‘normal’ scale-length of sixty-three centimetres would probably have only sufficed for two strings, leaving quite a long piece of string over. The advertisements in Finland are not clear about the length of the strings sold, but there is no reason to believe that local practices would have differed in any significant way from those of Central Europe. In fact, the 1861 catalogue of Beuermann’s shop corroborates that this was the case in these premises because it lists the guitar’s three treble strings in the aforementioned lengths. As regards the length of wound strings, one assumes that, although nothing is specified, the price listed for these was for one *tirata* only.

The bass strings for guitar were always wound at this time, but the material used for both the winding and the core of the string varied. For the latter, either gut or silk was used, silk being more common by far and considered of superior quality.⁷⁴² In Finnish advertisements the core material is mentioned very rarely and it is therefore difficult to ascertain which of the two materials was used more frequently in the country. The catalogues of Beuermann and Paul nevertheless corroborate that, at least, these two shops offered basses with the more typical option of a silk core.⁷⁴³

The material used for overspinning was, as a rule, silver, but others were employed as well. One example comes again from Beuermann’s shop, which in 1863 offered French bass strings overspun with platinum wire.⁷⁴⁴ Finally, as a curiosum, an advertisement from 1894 promoted bass strings overspun with aluminium.⁷⁴⁵ One suspects that this was not very resistant to wear.

The substance used for treble strings was always gut. Unlike modern nylon or carbon strings, gut strings posed certain special challenges to the vendor. For example, their freshness was of utmost importance because a dried-up string would break easily. Therefore, gut strings had

⁷⁴² Peruffo 2002, 60.

⁷⁴³ *Helsingfors Tidningar* 4 December 1850.

⁷⁴⁴ *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 26 November 1863.

⁷⁴⁵ *Nya Pressen* 20 December 1894.

| För Guitarre. | | | | | |
|---|-----|------------|------|---|----|
| | | stycketals | från | — | — |
| E-sträng af tarm | d:o | 15 | till | — | 25 |
| H-sträng | d:o | 20 | till | — | 25 |
| G-sträng | d:o | 20 | till | — | 25 |
| D-sträng, öfverspunne på silke | d:o | 15 | till | — | 20 |
| A-sträng, d:o d:o | d:o | 18 | till | — | 25 |
| E-sträng, d:o d:o | d:o | 20 | till | — | 25 |
| En hel omgång af bästa sorters strängar | 1 | 20 | — | — | — |

Figure 80. Ludwig Beuermann's music shop detailed the prices of the guitar strings it retailed in an advertisement dating from the 1850s.

a relatively short shelf-life and the vendor needed to sell them quickly. So, it is unsurprising that so many advertisements stressed the aspect of freshness, using such expressions as 'nyligen inkomna' and 'i dessa dagar inkomna' (both meaning 'recently arrived'), if not directly stating the fact that the strings were 'fresh'.

Many types of vendors

Until the mid-nineteenth century, bookshops were the main retailers of printed music, but we do not know whether this was also the case for strings for, until the century's mid-point, these shops only placed a handful of advertisements for this product. Furthermore, none of the sales catalogues of the bookshops dating from this period list strings. Despite these observations, it is highly probable that strings were held in stock but were not considered an item in need of promotion. This hypothesis is, however, somewhat problematised by the fact that, later in the century, several bookshops indeed advertised their selections of guitar strings fairly frequently.

The first store to promote its supply of guitar strings was Wasenius & Comp. in Helsinki in 1836.⁷⁴⁶ The treble strings were 'genuine Roman' and of 'exceptionally good quality', and bass strings were also available. The shop placed a few more postings in 1838, but then the advertising

746 *Helsingfors Tidningar* 26 October 1836.

of strings petered out.⁷⁴⁷ In Porvoo, Öhman's bookshop demonstrated more perseverance with over a dozen announcements between 1839 and the mid-1850s, while in the early 1840s Hjelt's bookshop in Turku and Cederwaller in Vyborg also offered guitar strings. These were all leading Finnish bookshops, but Frenckell & Son was in some ways the most important of the lot and it is therefore remarkable that it did not advertise guitar strings at all during the century's first half.

As already alluded to, the later part of the century saw an increasing enthusiasm for the advertisement of guitar strings and their supply also became geographically more wide-spread as time pushed forward. The numerous advertisements of Barck's bookshop in Oulu between 1858 and 1883 are clear testament to this trend.⁷⁴⁸ Other towns gradually came to include some inland ones, such as Hämeenlinna, Mikkeli and Tampere, albeit only towards the close of the nineteenth century.⁷⁴⁹ Wasenius' disinterest in advertising guitar strings never gave way, however, and no postings by the shop are known in the second half of the century. In contrast, the two independent branches of the bookshop Frenckell & Son behaved in the opposite manner and they both advertised profusely in Turku and Helsinki between 1851 and 1877.

The increase in advertising activity indicates a clear growth in demand for guitar strings, which no doubt reflects the rising popularity of the instrument across wider social strata. Indeed, while prior to 1850 only four out of a Finland's total of approximately two dozen bookshops publicised guitar strings, more than half of the sixty or so of those operating in the second part of the century placed advertisements at one point or another.⁷⁵⁰

Turning now to music shops, when Ludwig Beuermann opened his store in Helsinki, its supply soon came to include guitar strings, with

747 See, for example, *Helsingfors Tidningar* 6 June 1838.

748 See, for example, *Oulun Viikko-Sanomia* 16 October 1858; 10 March 1866.

749 See, for example, *Hämeen Sanomat* 4 November 1893; *Mikkeli* 20 September 1899; *Tampereen Sanomat* 20 July 1875.

750 Regarding the number of bookshops in Finland, see Leino-Kaukiainen 1988, 429.

the shop's first listing of them dating from 1850.⁷⁵¹ This was followed by almost sixty more in the course of the following two decades, which reveals that Beuermann's shop was a reliable supplier of guitar strings, especially of those from Italy, as most of the advertisements indicate. Contrastingly, Hermann Paul's shop, the main rival to Beuermann's in Helsinki in the 1860s as far as music sales were concerned, advertised guitar strings only very scantily. Those that Paul's did place were for 'genuine Viennese strings', the 1863 catalogue disclosing that the basses had red or white silk as their core.⁷⁵² This selection, however, was not unique in Finland because Beuermann had already advertised Viennese guitar strings three years earlier, mentioning that they were 'considered the best'.⁷⁵³ In general, when comparing the selections of these two music shops in Helsinki, Beuermann's 1861 catalogue shows that it kept an assortment of many types of guitar strings across different price ranges, whereas Paul's assortment was less impressive. That said, the latter shop was smaller and only managed to survive for a few years, whereas Beuermann's store, through many mergers, remains in operation today. Provincial music shops also sold guitar strings, but many may have in fact obtained them from Beuermann.

In addition, several other shops ranging from antiquaries to general stores occasionally stocked guitar strings, although they must have been a fairly marginal contributor to the market. The tapestry shop of Georg Riek, however, proves a somewhat exceptional case. Its publicity reveals that not only did it stock guitar strings but that, between 1863 and 1869, the assortment included both Italian and French ones.⁷⁵⁴ The shop was 'in Alftan's courtyard on the Nyland Street' in Turku, but the actual wallpaper factory was located in Helsinki; this notwithstanding, no strings appear to have been sold there.⁷⁵⁵ The reason for this was almost certainly that Riek was not allowed to sell them in the capital

751 *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 4 February 1850.

752 The first one was published in *Helsingfors Dagblad* 5 June 1863; Paul 1863.

753 *Helsingfors Tidningar* 20 October 1860.

754 See, for example, *Åbo Underrättelser* 1 October 1863.

755 *Åbo Underrättelser* 18 April 1865.



Figure 81. The tapestry shop of I.G. Riek had French guitar strings in its assortment in 1864.

because he procured his strings from ‘Mister Beuermann’s famous stock in Helsinki’.⁷⁵⁶

One more venue for acquiring guitar strings were the country’s auctions but, at least in Helsinki, strings were only offered a few times and, even then, the vendors were always merchants. Somewhat surprisingly, half a dozen or so of these sellers were ‘viktualienhandlare’, which means a ‘grocer’.

Back in more musical surroundings, the possible string production of the guitar maker Carl Petter Sundqvist was discussed above. Irrespective of what the final truth on that matter is, it is undeniable that he sold strings. Sundqvist’s advertising occurs between 1830 and 1844 (a span which, in essence, covers his whole career as a guitar maker) and virtually all the advertisements call attention to the fact that ‘both trebles and basses’ were available, but only a couple mention that the strings were ‘Roman’.⁷⁵⁷ The guitar teacher Wilhelm Siber also offered guitar strings in the early 1840s, as did two other teachers towards the close of the century, E. Pettersson in Vaasa and Magda Kempe in Helsinki.⁷⁵⁸ Other guitar teachers and luthiers may obviously have done the same, although no evidence remains.

⁷⁵⁶ Åbo Underrättelser 14 November 1863.

⁷⁵⁷ Åbo Tidningar 8 December 1830; Åbo Underrättelser 17 January 1844.

⁷⁵⁸ Åbo Underrättelser 10 October 1840; Wasa Tidning 28 May 1891; Nya Pressen 1 November 1897.

Strängar samt Guitarr-baser, färdiga Guitarrer samt Violinstråkar och stall, finnes till salu; åfwen emottages reparationer hos
undertecknad.
Anna G. Sundqvist.

Figure 82. Anna Sundqvist advertising the sale of her late husband's stock-in-trade, including treble and bass strings for the guitar.

All the vendors considered thus far were, in one way or another, involved in music retail or commerce more generally, but there were also those who sold strings privately. Anna Sundqvist, the widow of the guitar maker, does not quite qualify for this category because she was most probably selling what was left over of her late husband's workshop and she only advertised twice. In March 1846, Anna Sundqvist offered, among other things, guitars and guitar strings, both trebles and basses, although without mentioning whether these items had been manufactured by her husband.⁷⁵⁹ It seems more than likely, however, that, even if not the strings, the guitars and violin bows were of his creation. If this was the case, we also learn that Carl Petter Sundqvist left some finished guitars behind.

In contrast, some private individuals who sold guitar strings in the press appear to have been semi-professional string vendors. Two ladies from Turku are worth mentioning, both of whom advertised regularly over a period of around ten years, one following the other: Ulrika Dahlgren from 1848 to 1857 and Wilhelmina Lindbom from 1859 to 1868. Dahlgren had a daughter called Wilhelmina and one could easily assume that Lindbom was this daughter continuing her mother's business after her death. In reality, however, there seems to have been no family relationship between the two as the census records of Turku establish that Wilhelmina Lindbom was a *mamsel*, in other words an

759 Åbo Underrättelser 28 March 1846.

unmarried woman, and therefore her maiden name could not have been 'Dahlgren'.⁷⁶⁰

Dahlgren was a goldsmith's widow and over sixty years old at the time she placed her first advertisement, in which she offered 'all kinds of Roman violin and guitar strings'.⁷⁶¹ She was probably an impoverished widow who needed to make ends meet through small-scale trading such as this. When she started her advertising in 1848, she must have had her own ways by which to acquire the merchandise she sold because Beuermann's music shop was not founded until a year later. The reason for the cessation of her advertising may have been death, considering her age.

Ulrika Dahlgren placed her last advertisement on 24 November 1858, and within less than one year, on 4 November 1859, Wilhelmina Lindbom began her advertising 'career'. She placed almost three dozen advertisements, usually offering 'excellent Roman strings for violin and guitar'.⁷⁶² When her marketing, and presumably vending, stopped in 1868 it must have happened by choice because she was still living in Turku in 1890.⁷⁶³ Quite intriguingly, although many shops also sold strings, it seems that for a certain period these two ladies assured a continuity in the supply of guitar strings for the amateurs living in the old capital of Finland.

The seventh string and metal strings

Seven-string guitars were advertised in Finland from as early as 1823 and we know that Finnish guitar makers also manufactured them, but only a handful of advertisements actually mention a seventh *string*. It is therefore hard to tell where those who played this type of guitar

⁷⁶⁰ Census records of Turku, I:22 and I:41 (TCA).

⁷⁶¹ Åbo Underrättelser 7 November 1848.

⁷⁶² Åbo Tidningar 4 November 1859.

⁷⁶³ Census records of Turku, E1b:3 (TCA).

Strängar,
som inkommitt direkte från Italien, för Violin, Alt-viol, Violonecell, Contrabass, Guitarr till 6 och 7 strängar, Harpa och Luta, 15 strängig. Dessutom finnas vanliga Tyska strängar för ofvannämnda instrumenter hos

Ludw. Beuermann.

Figure 83. Beuermann's shop sold strings for both six- and seven-string guitars, as corroborated by this advertisement placed in 1858.

managed to source the essential extra string.⁷⁶⁴ The earliest advertisement for a seventh string only appears in 1858 when strings 'directly from Italy' for six-string and seven-string guitars were offered by Beuermann's shop.⁷⁶⁵ We are left in some doubt about which type of seven-string guitar they were meant for because this is not specified in the publicity. Considering that Finnish makers appear to have almost exclusively manufactured the European type, the seventh string was most probably for this model. More importantly, however, a Russian-type guitar requires a completely different set of strings, not just an additional seventh string, and it is questionable if Italian firms would have manufactured complete sets of strings for this special type of seven-string guitar.

The only other shop to advertise a seventh string was Melan's music shop and, giving 'C' as its pitch, the string was clearly for the European model.⁷⁶⁶

Towards the close of the century, metal makes a comeback as a material for guitar strings. This was partly because the American Orville Gibson (1856–1918) invented a new, stronger guitar design that could be mounted with metal strings and, as is well-known, his guitars became

⁷⁶⁴ The sixth string can be used for this purpose, but if the seventh string needs to be tuned down to C (as often happens), it no longer works as effectively.

⁷⁶⁵ *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 10 December 1858.

⁷⁶⁶ *Nya Pressen* 30 August 1888.

very popular over the course of the proceeding century.⁷⁶⁷ Although this was a decisive development in many respects, metal strings were already being used in guitars in the nineteenth century prior to Gibson's invention, albeit rarely. In Sweden, steel strings for guitars were advertised in 1886 by Carl Nordin's bookshop, while in Finland the first advertisement for metal strings was placed in Vaasa in 1893.⁷⁶⁸ That same year, a few more were placed by a local bookshop of the same town, but for some reason we find none in Helsinki.⁷⁶⁹

PEGS, PINS AND OTHER SMALL OBJECTS

A guitar player did not only need strings to make his or her instrument work, some other small accessories were also indispensable. These included tuning pegs and bridge pins, and a replacement tuning machine would also have come in handy if the original was out of order or a player was tired of slipping pegs. Many guitar amateurs also took advantage of a *capo tasto* which facilitated the playing of accompaniments in less familiar keys.

Capo tastos

The earliest published guitar music requiring the use of a *capo tasto* is by Leonhard von Call, Louis Wolf and Vincenzo Galli and dates from around 1809–1810.⁷⁷⁰ Thus, the fact that in 1823 the Frenchman Henry included a section dealing with the use of *capo tasto* in his *Nouvelle Méthode*, op. 21 perhaps indicates that the practical device had reached a level of general popularity by this time.⁷⁷¹ In reality it was not a new

⁷⁶⁷ Martin 1998, 86.

⁷⁶⁸ *Dalapilen* 10 September 1886; *Sanomia Turusta* 8 August 1893.

⁷⁶⁹ *Wasa Tidning* 19 September 1894; *Vasabladet* 11 September 1894.

⁷⁷⁰ I am indebted to Gerhard Penn for this information.

⁷⁷¹ Henry 1823, 87.

invention as similar devices had been employed for the English guitar some hundred years earlier, albeit with a different mechanism than the one used for guitars, and in Europe for other instruments even earlier than that.⁷⁷²

Beuermann's shop was the first one to advertise *capo tastos* in Finland when announcing its selection of 'särskilda tillbehör till Violiner, Guitarrer & c.' (special accessories for violins, guitars etc.) in 1850.⁷⁷³ After Beuermann's posting, the next time we know that they were for sale for certain is when Melan's music shop advertised the product in 1888.⁷⁷⁴ After this, a few more advertisements may be found, but the general impression is that these devices were advertised very rarely. Given that the guitar was often used for accompanying song, the shops probably had them in their assortments without deeming it necessary to mention this in their marketing.

Wooden pegs or tuning machines?

Wooden tuning pegs were traditionally used for both plucked and bowed instruments. While this tradition still prevails for the latter, in the early nineteenth century instrument makers experimented by replacing tuning pegs with tuning machines in guitars as well as some other plucked instruments. Eventually, English manufacturers managed to develop worm-gear tuning machines, which were superior to those previously made in Germany. Indeed, England came to lead in the development of tuning machines, the key figure being one G. Rance

⁷⁷² In 1885 a certain L. Lignell placed an advertisement for a 'mandolin guitar with tuning machines and a capo tosto [sic]'. This was very probably an English guitar, although the owner was not able to classify it and call it by its correct name. So, in 1885 it would have been possible to see this older type of *capo tasto* in Turku. *Abo Underrättelser* 17 August 1885. The term *capo tasto* was mentioned in 1635 by Giovanni Battista Doni in his *Compendio del trattato de' generi et de' modi della musica*. He did not refer to guitar but to an instrument called 'violone panarmonico'. See Doni 1635, 28. I am grateful to Luis Briso de Montiano for bringing this information to my attention.

⁷⁷³ *Helsingfors Tidningar* 4 December 1850.

⁷⁷⁴ *Nya Pressen* 30 August 1888.

who counted even the eminent luthier Louis Panormo among his clients. In contrast, in Italy, Austria and Spain the change from tuning pegs to tuning machines was considerably slower. The reasons for this may range from economic factors to the restricting influence of guilds, as well as the simple preference of many for sticking with tradition.⁷⁷⁵

In Finland, the demand for *guitarreskrufvar* (as the wooden tuning pegs were called) seems to have prevailed until the end of the century. Although they were not often advertised, Beuermann certainly stocked them in the 1850s and 1860s and Melan's music shop still offered them at the end of the 1880s and into the early 1890s.⁷⁷⁶ This suggests that, unsurprisingly, many amateurs held onto their old instruments which were set up in this manner. What is perhaps more surprising is that they would still sometimes buy new guitars furnished with tuning pegs; Melan's sales catalogue from 1893 unequivocally corroborates that she did sell such guitars.⁷⁷⁷

The frequent use of tuning pegs may also be seen in the extant guitars of Finnish makers: six are furnished with them, while only two have tuning machines. Contrary to what one might assume, the two extant guitars with tuning machines are not the most recent ones, but date from the 1830s. Both are by Sundqvist. He was, however, not the only Finnish maker to use tuning machines because Franz Hiekisch writes in his publicity from 1836 that his instruments were also furnished with them.⁷⁷⁸ In general, the tuning mechanism, be it pegs or machine, was rarely specified in the various adverts for the instrument. On the few occasions that it was, tuning machines were mentioned far more often than tuning pegs. We may therefore conclude that guitars with tuning machines were more exceptional whereas, as the 'status quo', tuning pegs did not need to be commented upon. It is nevertheless noteworthy that some Finnish guitars indeed had tuning machines as early as the 1830s.

⁷⁷⁵ In Spain the tradition of wooden tuning pegs continues in flamenco guitars.

⁷⁷⁶ *Nya Pressen* 30 August 1888; 6 September 1893.

⁷⁷⁷ Melan 1893, 14.

⁷⁷⁸ *Helsingfors Tidningar* 19 October 1836.

Bridge pins

The bridges of nineteenth-century guitars differ from modern ones in that they have string holes, through which the strings, with a knot tied at the lower end, are slipped. Bridge pins are then wedged into these holes to keep the strings in place. Over time the fittings of these pins could become loose or the pins could actually go missing, so demand for replacements was high. Again, one must wait until the 1850s for these little objects to be mentioned in the press but, as was discussed on the subject of advertising *capo tastos*, this marketing was probably never a necessity. In the nineteenth century the growing prominence of modern-type bridges gradually began to impinge upon demand for bridge pins, although guitars with metal strings did preserve the market for this mechanism. That said, just like tuning pegs, bridge pins were still sold in Finnish shops into the 1890s because they were indispensable for the continued use of older guitar models.

CHAPTER EIGHT

What did it cost to play the guitar?

To approach the guitar in Finland from yet another angle, this chapter discusses the cost of guitar playing with regard to the price of guitars, printed music, strings and private lessons. Before dealing with this in more detail, however, it is necessary to clarify the somewhat complex selection of currencies in use in Finland during the nineteenth century.

RIKSDALERS, ROUBLES, SHILLINGS AND MARKS

At the end of the eighteenth century, two parallel monetary systems were in use in the Kingdom of Sweden: *riksdaler banco* issued by the Bank of Estates and *riksdaler riksgälds* (*rgs*) issued by the *Riksgälds Contor* (National Debt Office). In addition, early eighteenth-century Russian notes and coins also remained in circulation, having been introduced to Finland when it was occupied by the Russian empire between 1713–1721 and 1742–1743.⁷⁷⁵

Come the nineteenth century, this complex state of affairs did not subside because, following Sweden's defeat against Russia in the Finnish War (1808–1809), a new currency was introduced: the Russian paper or *banco rouble*. This did not mean, however, that Swedish notes and coins were no longer accepted. Indeed, it was not until 1840 that a degree of clarity was reached when the *banco rouble* was replaced by the silver rouble and Swedish money was finally withdrawn from circulation.

⁷⁷⁵ Kuusterä and Tarkka 2011, 47–56.

The exchange rates of these currencies did, of course, cause considerable confusion. The Finnish journalist and politician August Schauman has described this situation as ‘a mess of Swedish, Finnish and Russian coins and notes’, adding – perhaps slightly exaggeratedly – that it was ‘virtually impossible to explain the nature of the prevailing monetary circumstances of the first decades of the nineteenth century to someone not having personally experienced them, not to mention the impossibility of enumerating all the currencies in circulation’.⁷⁷⁶

Although it did become the only currency in the Grand Duchy of Finland, the instability of Russia’s economy meant that the new silver rouble proved problematic to the country, especially as the Crimean War threw Russia into even more turmoil than before. In order to resolve this dilemma, in 1859 the Bank of Finland (established in 1811) decided to apply for permission for the country to have its own currency and, with the Tsar’s blessing, Finland finally could have an independent currency – the mark – for the first time in its history. That said, its rate still fluctuated with the rouble until 1865, when it was linked to a silver standard and thus became a wholly autonomous currency.⁷⁷⁷

Owing to these circumstances, the prices given in our source material are in as many as five different currencies, some of them occasionally used side by side. For instance, probate inventories occasionally entered the value of one item in roubles and that of another in *riksdaler*; we also find this practice in newspapers.⁷⁷⁸ Consequently, the various prices are as a rule not commensurable, especially as they also originate from different points in time. To facilitate their comparison and discussion, the original nominal prices have been converted to equal

776 Schauman 1892, 161–164.

777 Talvio 2003, 18, 36.

778 Ojala 1990, 370.

1913 prices.⁷⁷⁹ Furthermore, to give an idea of how they related to earnings, comparison is made to a worker's daily wages.⁷⁸⁰

CHEAP AND NOT SO CHEAP GUITARS

The discussion of Finnish guitar prices is impeded by one general deficiency: the sources hardly reveal any information about the quality (or any other specifics) of the vended instruments and, therefore, only in extremely rare cases it is possible to discuss the price-quality ratio. This situation remained unchanged until the closing decades of the century when some shops began to describe the characteristics of their differently priced guitars but, even then, the information is not all that enlightening. Moreover, when guitars by Finnish makers were occasionally sold by shops at a price that differed from a maker's own asking price, it then becomes hard to pin down which one of a given maker's models is in question. While it is therefore possible to discuss the general cost of guitars, as well as their highest and lowest prices, their price-quality ratio remains rather in the dark. This being said, we must assume that a higher price implied a better quality, just like today.

Due to the obligation to register all purchases at auctions, their protocols prove to be the source of most guitar prices. They not only reveal how much was actually paid for a guitar at these events, but one or two asking prices are also recorded (they are from the 1810s).⁷⁸¹ In one instance the customer was willing to pay double the requested price, while in another the price paid was slightly less than the one

779 In his research Jari Ojala has calculated coefficients (actually dividers), with the aid of which Finland's different currencies can be converted to the single 1913 rate. Coefficients of this sort are fairly complex to develop as they take into account a number of variables including inflation, changing wages and the price of foodstuffs. Ojala's system has been accepted here and is referred to with the expression 'at 1913 prices'. Ojala 1990, 369–374.

780 Vattula 1983, 438–441. A worker's daily wage is only used as a tool for proportioning the prices and does not imply that workers actually purchased guitars.

781 The reader is reminded that the discussion is based on the auction material from Helsinki (and partially from Turku).

hoped for.⁷⁸² Regarding the prices that were actually paid, the most noteworthy feature is the huge difference between the highest and lowest values. The array of prices was in fact so broad that with the money paid for the most expensive guitar the same individual could have acquired seventy-six guitars of the cheapest variety! The average price paid was slightly over ten marks at 1913 prices (four days of a worker's wages) with a good half of the instruments sold for less than this; those costing over twenty marks accounted for only ten per cent of the total items exchanged. Some of the cheapest ones were so inexpensive that a mere quarter of a worker's daily wages would have sufficed, whereas the most expensive guitar would have required seventeen days' worth of earnings. Even so, an auction was a good choice if one did not want to pay a great deal, because, as we shall see later, outside of these auctions the prices were significantly higher.

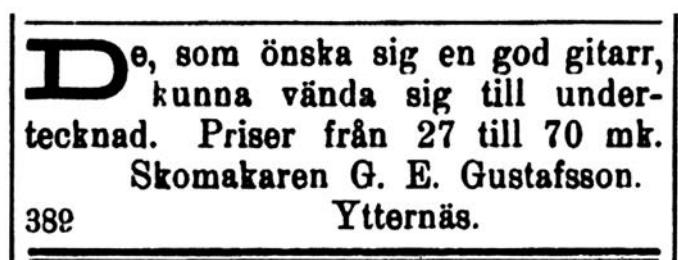
Apart from the auctions, second-hand instruments were also put up for sale in the press whereas new ones had to be, as a rule, purchased in a shop or directly from the maker. The sales catalogues and advertisements of shops, as well as postings by private individuals, mention prices fairly liberally and the prices we have from these two sources are therefore less numerous than those drawn from the auction material. That said, they nevertheless provide an overview of the price level of these two commercial platforms, which was, as already suggested, significantly higher than that of the auctions. The average 1913 price was forty-six marks (shops, private individuals) as opposed to the ten marks of the auctions. The cheapest guitars cost up to five times more than their corresponding items at auction and the top-end models were also considerably more expensive.⁷⁸³ In contrast, the price distribution was far narrower than that found at auction.

The first advertisement by a private individual to include an asking price was placed in 1837 by Mr Hasselblatt who wanted to sell a Russian seven-string guitar for twelve *riksdaler rgs*; since this was a

782 ARPH, Ca:24 (HCA).

783 When discussing guitar prices outside of Finland's auctions, the expression 'average' refers to this value of forty-six marks at 1913 prices.

Figure 84. Shoemaker G.E. Gustafsson's advertisement for his selection of guitars.



second-hand instrument, the asking price was clearly under the average of forty-six marks.⁷⁸⁴ The instruments sold by private individuals were, generally speaking, second-hand, but one exception seems to have been a shoemaker by the name of Gustafsson who in 1898 invited 'those who wished to acquire a good guitar' to contact him.⁷⁸⁵ His prices ranged from 'twenty-seven to seventy marks' (from thirty-nine to ninety-nine marks at 1913 prices), so some of the shoemaker's guitars may have been not only new but also of a very high quality. In fact, Gustafsson's top model was worth in excess of a worker's monthly salary and was one of the most expensive guitars available for purchase in nineteenth-century Finland.

Finnish luthiers were reluctant to publicly announce the cost of their instruments and we therefore only have the prices for the guitars of Carl Gustaf Florvall and E. Pettersson. While no instruments by Pettersson survive, three by Florvall have stood the test of time, thus enabling some exploration of the price-quality ratio of this maker's guitars; moreover, a few prices of his retailed instruments have also come down to us.⁷⁸⁶

As regards the price of Florvall's own guitars, in his first posting from 1840 a guitar 'built in the Spanish style' was sold for ten *riksdaler rgs*, while a year later both six-string and seven-string guitars were offered at the price of four silver roubles. Since this latter sum

784 *Oulun Viikko-Sanomia* 29 July 1837.

785 *Åland* 16 March 1898.

786 Florvall's first advertisement was placed in *Borgå Tidning* 29 July 1840 and the ones by the retailers in *Helsingfors Tidningar* 12 March 1845, 7 October 1846 and *Borgå Tidning* 6 October 1841.

equals more or less the former ten *riksdaler rgs*, no increase in the prices had taken place. Two more years passed and Florvall had expanded his selection to include more affordable models: now the guitars were priced from '2 ½ till 4 Rub. S.r.' (two and a half to four silver roubles).⁷⁸⁷ Measured in workers' wages this would have required a work contribution of nine to fifteen days. If Florvall indeed did not produce guitars in the higher price bracket, the cost of his instruments, although certainly not within everybody's reach, was still considerably less than the average of forty-six marks of the guitars sold in shops and by private persons. Given, as stated in Chapter Six, that Florvall's guitars were not very sophisticated, this certainly shows itself in the maker's relatively moderate pricing policy. Based on this, it may be assumed that the guitars by Sundqvist and Järnfeldt, with their more refined craftsmanship and use of more high-quality wood materials, may very well have been more expensive, even by a considerable margin.

As the reader may remember, in the 1840s Florvall's guitars were sold in two bookshops, but there was also a third retailer of his wares.⁷⁸⁸ This was Mrs Koch who, nevertheless, offered only one instrument which someone had left for her to resell. According to the advertisement, the guitar's original owner had paid six silver roubles for it, whereas now in *Fru Kochs Tobakbod* – a tobacconist – it was possible to acquire this instrument for only three and a half silver roubles. If we are not dealing with up-selling as a marketing tactic here, then Florvall indeed had higher priced instruments than his own publicity leads us to believe. This idea is supported by the fact that also the price listed in Wasenius' shop was one rouble above the highest mentioned in the maker's own postings.

Alongside running a music shop in Vaasa in the 1890s, E. Pettersson also built guitars. From one of his advertisements we learn that 'Guitars, elegant, well-adjusted, are being manufactured on order for eighteen to even a hundred marks'.⁷⁸⁹ This clearly demonstrates that

⁷⁸⁷ *Borgå Tidning* 6 March 1844.

⁷⁸⁸ See Chapter Six for more information.

⁷⁸⁹ *Wasa Tidning* 23 October 1891.

Pettersson was able to meet the requirements of clients with varying financial resources. More importantly, Pettersson's top model was among the most expensive of the century, its price exceeding even the prestigious models held in Melan's and Beuermann's shops. Indeed, to acquire this instrument a worker would have needed forty days of wages and this fact alone makes it lamentable that none of Pettersson's guitars have survived.

Guitar makers produced instruments of differing types and quality, but bookshops and music shops were more generally the ones that could offer a wide selection of musical instruments. That said, this only started to become more common in the second half of the century when, for instance, the first of Finland's bookshops, Frenckell & Son, publicised its large assortment of guitars in 1866 and 1867.⁷⁹⁰ The prices of these instruments speak of a considerable choice because they ranged from five to ninety-one marks (at 1913 prices), this wide price range also indicating a notable variation in quality between the cheaper and more expensive models. Moreover, although we do not know the exact criteria behind the different prices (save for the cheapest one, a children's guitar), the top-end instrument must have been of a high quality because it was among the century's ten most expensive guitars.

In Beuermann's music shop, perhaps somewhat surprisingly, the guitar selection mainly comprised mid-priced instruments in the first decades of its activity. An advertisement from 1853 quotes just one price (six silver roubles), but another one from the same year shows that the prices in fact ranged from four to six silver roubles.⁷⁹¹ They were therefore more costly than Florvall's guitars, but not as expensive as the top model stocked by Frenckell's bookshop discussed above. This may have been a conscious choice but either way, by the end of the 1880s, when the shop had already been run by A.E. Lindgren for many years, the guitar assortment had been upgraded. Now seven different price categories were detailed and most of the models were priced above the average.⁷⁹²

790 The first of these advertisements was placed in *Åbo Underrättelser* 6 September 1866.

791 *Helsingfors Tidningar* 12 and 19 January 1853.

792 The first advertisement was placed in *Nya Pressen* 5 December 1889.



Figure 85. Anna Melan's sales catalogue from 1893 detailing various guitar prices.

Kitarreja,

ruuveilla, 6-kielisiä à Smk. 25,
koneistolla ja hienosti koristettu
à Smk. 35, 45, 50, 60.
Sam. sam. ja 7-kielinен à Smk.
60, 75, 90.

One reason for Beuermann-Lindgren's wider selection may have been the increased competition posed by Melan's music shop, given that it too was selling guitars in this price range at the same time. Compared to other sellers, we know slightly more about the instruments retailed by Melan's shop because its sales catalogues and advertisements provide at least some rudimentary details. Guitars were offered across nine price ranges in three categories: guitars with tuning pegs, guitars with tuning machines and seven-string guitars. In addition, we learn that the instruments in the last two categories were 'fin utsirad' (finely decorated); however, the criteria that determined the prices within each

of these three categories are unknown.⁷⁹³ That being said, it is fairly obvious that in the manufacture of the more expensive models better materials and more sophisticated craftsmanship were involved. The seven-string guitars may also have required more manual labour, given that their physical proportions were probably larger.

Unsurprisingly, guitars with tuning pegs were the cheapest available, while the most expensive seven-string model represented the other end of the spectrum. Prices ranged from slightly over twenty to over a hundred marks (at 1913 prices) and therefore the most expensive models were some of the century's costliest. The difference between the prices (and quality, one assumes) of the three categories were significant. For instance, the most expensive six-string guitar with tuning machines cost the same as the lowest-priced seven-string instrument. More remarkable still is that the lowest-priced instrument of the second group with tuning machines was seventy-five per cent more expensive than the lowest priced guitar with tuning pegs. All in all, it is noteworthy that Melan offered guitars both for the well-established and for the less so.

Another shop that mentioned prices of what seems to have been a wide selection of guitars was the music shop of I.I. Todder in Vyborg. At the very end of the century the shop's assortment included instruments that were, for the most part, radically cheaper than any available in Melan's shop. That being said, Todder's most expensive model cost ten per cent more than Melan's top model.⁷⁹⁴ It is clear, therefore, that high-calibre guitars were not only available in the country's capital.

All of the above examples refer either to the money people actually paid for instruments or to their asking prices. The probate inventories differ in this respect as we here find estimated values of guitars and, in Helsinki, these ranged from less than one mark to forty marks at 1913 prices, the mean being slightly over eight. This was clearly above the average price attained at auctions, but much less than one would usually have paid in a shop. It should be remembered, however, that due to the

793 *Nya Pressen* 29 August 1891; Melan 1889, 3.

794 *Wiipurin Sanomat* 24 May 1899.

pressures of inheritance tax, there was a tendency to undervalue the registered items in these records, but despite this, they still document a colossal difference between the lowest and highest values of guitars, the largest figure being fifty times higher than the former. Some instruments must therefore have been significantly more sophisticated than others, although the estimated value of even the most expensive guitar – one belonging to a bank officer's wife, Fanny Pagvalén – was still around ten per cent below the forty-six marks average.⁷⁹⁵ This could be interpreted as either meaning that none of the guitars in the probate inventories were of top quality or that, indeed, values were typically rounded down. If the latter was the case, it is of course impossible to estimate by how much, but we do know that when the three guitars of Anders Lindros' estate were auctioned off, they only sold for around ten per cent more than their estimated values in the maker's probate inventory.⁷⁹⁶

One also finds estimated values of guitars in the damage lists of the Great Fire of Turku.⁷⁹⁷ Five instruments were reported lost, the value of each estimated notably higher than the majority of guitar prices in the auctions. The most expensive was Johan Christopher Downer's instrument valued at nearly double that of any other of the damaged guitars but also over twice as much as the highest known price of a Florvall guitar.

As a curiosity, it may be interesting to know that the century's most expensive guitar was put up for sale in 1829, when Meyer's shop had one in its selection that cost sixty-five banco roubles, almost six times more

795 The Archive of the District Court of Helsinki, Probate Inventories of Helsinki, Ec:51, 10906 (NAF).

796 ARPH, Ca:31 (HCA); PI, Ec:15, no. 1113 (HCA).

797 Dahlström 1990, 42–53.

than the most expensive guitar produced by Florvall. This equalled more than seventy days of a worker's wages in the late 1820s.⁷⁹⁸

How did the guitar prices compare to those of bowed instruments? Could one buy a guitar for the price of a violin? We do not have any material available for such a comparison from the century's first half, but in 1853, when an advertisement by Beuermann's music shop gave six silver roubles as the only guitar price, those of the shop's violins ranged from three to thirty-five.⁷⁹⁹ In Frenckell's shop ten years later, the most expensive guitar cost the double of the shop's most expensive violin, while the price of a cello was no more than double that of the mentioned guitar.⁸⁰⁰ As a third example, in 1889 Melan's shop had, as its highest-priced category, copies of Stradivarius, Guarneri and Amati violins, the least expensive one costing more or less the same as the shop's highest-priced six-string guitar.⁸⁰¹

In sum, the bowed instruments stocked in shops seem not to have cost radically more than guitars. Lacking precise data on the quality of any of these instruments, it is not possible to draw further conclusions. One suspects, however, that during this period the bowed instruments that were sold in Finnish shops were not of a particularly high standard – albeit that this may have been equally true of guitars as well.

PRINTED MUSIC

As mentioned in Chapter Two, guitar music was practically only offered in Finnish shops between the early 1820s and the early 1860s and, therefore, information on prices falls within this period. Printed music

⁷⁹⁸ Meyer 1829, 31. Britton mentions that the guitar prices of Stephen Pratten of Bristol varied between three and fifty guineas in 1828. The highest price is roughly five times more than the price of the aforementioned guitar in Meyer's shop. According to the National Archives' converter, in England this sum was equivalent to eight months' worth of a skilled tradesman's wages. See Britton 2010, 253 and the National Archives 2018.

⁷⁹⁹ *Helsingfors Tidningar* 12 January 1853.

⁸⁰⁰ *Abo Underrättelser* 6 September 1866.

⁸⁰¹ Melan 1889, 3.

was rarely sold at auctions, the notable exceptions being the sales of bookshops' estates as well as handful of listings placed by a few private individuals. The auction material of the estate of Meyer's bookshop again deserves comment, although it obviously only gives a notion of what printed music cost at auctions in the 1830s.

The overall tendency during this period of forty years was that the price of printed music steadily decreased. In fact, its cost in the 1860s was on average only half of what it had been in the 1820s.⁸⁰² Moreover, even if the nominal price of a piece remained unchanged for a number of years, which happened quite frequently, inflation and rising wages assisted in making printed music more affordable. As for pricing, the cost of printed music or a book as a rule depended on its number of pages, but there were exceptions as demonstrated by some fairly extensive editions that clearly sold for substantially less than their far shorter counterparts. Worth mentioning also is that prices were practically the same across all the shops because they were dictated by the publishing houses.⁸⁰³

The pieces costing up to two marks (at 1913 prices) constituted around forty per cent of the shops' assortments. The maximum price of two marks, although still two thirds of a worker's daily wage, tells us that we are dealing here with editions of just a few pages. These were single songs, petite solo pieces and brief chamber music works of which Johan Fredrik Berwald's (1787–1861) one-page song *Romance till Comedien Amanda* holds the honour of having been the most inexpensive. An example that the 'number of pages' rule did not always apply is Herman Wilhelm Neupert's *Sexton solo pjeser*, an edition of nine pages that in Finland's shops cost only fractionally more than Berwald's romance.

Over fifty per cent of printed guitar music fell into the price category

802 In Britain printed music always had a high price printed on its cover, but nobody was ever expected to pay that amount. There was a commonly-known convention whereby all music was sold at half price, or even less. See *Musical Opinion & Music Trade Review* March 1891. We have no information on such a system in Finland.

803 Hakapää 2008, 255–256.

of between two and five marks (at 1913 prices), which was already quite a significant expense for the average buyer, but if one could afford this price the selection included some substantial solo and chamber music. Beuermann's shop, and especially those of Meyer and Paul, were able to offer this kind of repertoire. For three and a half marks, the average price of this category, it was possible to purchase one of the volumes of Mertz's *Opern-Revue* or alternatively, Giuliani's *Serenade*, op. 19, a substantial chamber work for violin, guitar and cello.

The most expensive editions formed, quite understandably, only a minor part of the total supply, and included extensive collections of songs, weekly music journals, methods and concert-type solo music. An example of an extensive song collection is *Orpheus*, the three volumes of which amounted to nearly one hundred pages. Each edition cost around fifty per cent more than the most expensive mid-priced scores, equaling two and a half days' worth of a worker's wages. The weekly music journals such as *Nytt Lördags-Magasin*, *Necken* and a few others were also costly because the price covered three months of material and a complete collection usually had a fairly high number of pages.

Guitar methods, save for a few elementary ones, also had a reasonably high price, the most expensive one being Carl Blum's *Neue vollständige Guitarrenschule*, an opus of more than fifty pages. In Hjelt's bookshop one needed to pay nearly three silver roubles (four times more than any of the mid-priced works) and this would have called for seven days' wages from a worker's pocket.⁸⁰⁴ Blum's method represented the most expensive guitar music offered by Finnish shops in the entire nineteenth century. In comparison, the Swedish editions of Giuliani's op. 1 and Carulli's methods sold for only a third of this price, although both comprised around forty pages. Why this was so is hard to tell, but one feels that it cannot have singularly been the result of their lower transportation costs.

Regarding the prices at auctions, despite the fact that the printed music sold among Meyer's estate was not second-hand, it cost consider-

804 Åbo Underrättelser 11 March 1843.

ably less at this venue than it retailed for in shops. In fact, for the price of the aforementioned Berwald song, one could have acquired as many as four scores at the Meyer auctions. What is more, these could have included, for instance, Joachim Pettoletti's *Variations concertantes* for violin and guitar, a fairly substantial piece of six pages. This example alone suffices to illuminate the huge price difference between Finland's shops and auctions, also suggesting that from the contemporary amateur's point of view it was a pity that music was so rarely sold at auctions.

Printed music was more or less equally expensive for all solo instruments, save for piano music, which was costlier due to the higher number of pages called for by its two-stave layout. The prices of songs published as alternative editions with either guitar or piano accompaniments exemplify this, as the latter version may have cost up to fifty per cent more. For instance, in 1839 Nagel's 'Nordmön i söder' had the price of twelve shillings with guitar and sixteen shillings with piano accompaniment.⁸⁰⁵

STRINGS

Hundreds of advertisements for guitar strings were published in the press, but only exceptionally furnished with a price. Advertisers, again, preferred to use vague expressions such as 'facila priser', 'moderata priser' or 'billiga priser' ('good prices', 'affordable prices' or 'cheap prices') and we therefore have little exact information from this source. String prices may also be found in the sales catalogues of some music shops, whereas the sales catalogues of bookshops never even list strings, although they certainly were sold at these venues. Thus, the available information is scarce, and also temporally limited as it mainly dates from the second half of the century. In the following discussion, these shortcomings should be borne in mind.

The first observation is that strings were expensive and, although

805 *Helsingfors Morgonblad* 1 August 1839.

their prices did decrease towards the century's close, this drop was not significant. As a matter of fact, the nominal prices of strings hardly changed, and therefore the actual alteration in the cost for customers primarily depended on how their purchasing power developed over time.⁸⁰⁶ For instance, in 1850 the price of one treble string in Beuermann's shop varied between fifteen and twenty-five kopecks and a dozen or so years later treble strings could still be purchased for twenty, twenty-five and thirty kopecks.⁸⁰⁷ Another example of this are the prices of Wilhelmina Lindbom and Melan's music shop: in 1868, Lindbom sold bass strings for eighty pence apiece, and in 1893 Melan's shop charged almost the same, seventy-five.

Looking from today's perspective, another curiosum is that treble strings were at least as expensive as basses. This was so in Beuermann's shop and, towards the end of the century, Melan's cheapest treble string still equalled the price of a bass string; moreover, the shop's most expensive first string cost almost a third more than any of the three wound strings.⁸⁰⁸ The explanation is the time-consuming manufacturing process of gut strings; it should also be borne in mind that a treble string usually had the length of two strings, as mentioned in Chapter Seven.

While we only have some prices for single strings, those for string sets are even rarer because in the nineteenth century strings were seldom sold in this way. Beuermann's set was 'composed of best quality strings' and it sold in 1850 for 'one silver rouble and twenty kopecks' (over nine marks at 1913 prices), slightly less than half the money one would have needed to buy Blum's *Neue vollständige Guitarrenschule*. We do not know the composition of this set, but assuming that it was made up of the highest-priced single strings (enumerated in the same

806 In general, from the 1850s to the end of the century purchasing power increased by around twenty per cent.

807 *Helsingfors Tidningar* 4 December 1850; *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 17 December 1855 and 26 November 1863.

808 *Nya Pressen* 6 September 1893.

publicity), the price was around twenty per cent lower than if one had purchased the strings separately.

Just as with the price of printed music, there were no significant differences in the cost of strings between the various shops. The only place where strings could be bought more cheaply were at the auctions, but they were only available here on occasion. In Helsinki, the seller was always a merchant, possibly seeking to get rid of old stock; the fact that a bundle of as many as one hundred and twenty strings was sometimes offered strongly suggests this. In this specific instance, the strings were basses and their price per string was only a tenth of what one had to pay five years later in Beuermann's shop and a twentieth of Hjelt's price at around the same time.⁸⁰⁹ This remarkable difference cannot depend on the quality of the strings but on the fact that auction prices simply were much lower, just as we have seen with guitars and printed music.

Even if strings were not sold in sets of six, this is what players required for their guitars and therefore needed to purchase them separately. Composing a set in this manner would have cost nine marks on average at 1913 prices. This was a lot of money considering that a cheap guitar model in a shop or a staggering twelve instruments at auction rates could have been acquired for the same price in Helsinki.

In comparison to the prices of gut strings for bowed instruments, they sold for virtually the same amount of money as those for the guitar, whereas wound strings were several times more expensive. For instance, a violin's fourth string – overspun with silver thread and polished – cost seventy-five kopecks in Beuermann's shop, while the most expensive guitar bass-string was priced at twenty.⁸¹⁰ Only German wound strings cost about the same for both, but they were generally considered to be of an inferior quality.

809 ARPH, Ca:40 (HCA).

810 *Helsingfors Tidningar* 4 December 1850.

LESSONS

Guitar teachers were also ungenerous when it came to announcing the price of a lesson. That said, they formed no exception, as this information is generally wanting in the advertisements of all kinds of private teachers in the nineteenth century. The pool of available evidence is again exiguous, but this notwithstanding it gives some indication as to what the price level may have been.

The guitar teachers who publicly revealed the price of their lesson are only around a dozen. A further shortcoming is that, save for one teacher, this information dates from a relatively brief period, 1836 to 1852. The money these teachers charged per lesson varied roughly between one and a half marks and four (at 1913 prices); interestingly, this was still more or less the price level of the piano teachers later in the century, at the end of the 1870s and early 1880s.⁸¹¹ Only two teachers, Graeflé and Pettersson, are an exception, as they were willing to give lessons for around a half of the cheapest price of the other teachers; that being said, it is possible that Graeflé required his pupils to commit themselves to a minimum of twenty-four lessons.⁸¹² On the upper end of the price range were two professional musicians, Fritz Möller and Rudolf Lagi, the latter charging the highest price known to us. In this light, it is somewhat strange that yet another professional musician, Wilhelm Siber, asked for only half of what Lagi did. Finally, we do not know what Fritz Möller's elder brother Carl Theodor, a capable musician in his own right, requested for his services, but if it was the same as he charged beginners on the piano, it was only marginally more than his brother's fee for guitar lessons.

In general, the price of guitar lessons is fairly low. For instance, Carulli's guitar method would have cost the same as two or three lessons, something unthinkable today, especially as we are here speaking

⁸¹¹ Rahkonen 2004, 165–166.

⁸¹² *Abo Tidningar* 7 October 1847.

about professional musicians. Furthermore, we must assume that lessons were cheaper if given by an amateur.

MR ANDSTEN AND MRS BÄCKMAN TAKE UP GUITAR PLAYING

We know that a certain Mr Andsten bought a guitar at auction in Helsinki in 1841 and that Mrs Bäckman did the same in 1888.⁸¹³ Nothing more can be said about these two individuals, although in the following it is assumed, as a flight of fancy, that both wanted not just to take up guitar playing, but also had the desire to learn it seriously. To realise this wish, both would have needed, apart from the guitar, at least one a guitar method book (if not some other printed music as well), a teacher and, we might assume, two sets of strings, of which one was a spare because gut strings broke easily.

As the auction protocol recording Mr Andsten's purchase tells us, he paid around nineteen marks for his guitar.⁸¹⁴ Two sets of guitar strings would have cost him some seventeen marks, eight and a half per set being a reasonable estimate given that in 1841 six single strings (no sets were available) would have cost this in Hjelt's shop in Turku.⁸¹⁵ A standard choice for a guitar method in the 1840s would have been one by Carulli, the price of which varied from slightly over six marks to just over eight. Finally, although guitar lessons with a price were not advertised in Helsinki at this time, in Turku Fritz Möller's price was two marks and thirty pennies. If we say that a good beginner's deal was ten lessons, Mr Andsten's initial expenses would have totalled around sixty-three marks.

Over forty years later, Mrs Bäckman paid twelve marks for her instrument, and for her guitar method she could have chosen the *Fullständig guitarrskola* by the Swedish Adolf Edgren, which was pres-

⁸¹³ ARPH, Ca:37 and 78 (HCA).

⁸¹⁴ The following sums are all 1913 prices.

⁸¹⁵ Åbo Underrättelser 11 November 1841.

| | | | |
|---|---------------|----------------|--------|
| a | 1. Rollgardin | Gard: Lieftest | 1. 88. |
| | 1. Sjöhylla | Stad: Bäckman | 35. |
| | 1. Guitare | Andsten | 2. 6. |
| | 1. St Lateral | Hans: Steffoff | 32. |
| | | Transport | 13 36 |

| | | | | |
|---|----|-------------|--------------------|------|
| b | 9 | 1. Kottgarn | Ju Maria Sandelin | 7 15 |
| | 10 | 1. Tafelwäg | Provvisor Cajander | 7 . |
| | 11 | 1. Guitars | Jus Bäckman | 7 . |
| | 12 | 1. Knuth | Gördesana Rantauen | 10 . |

Figure 86. Auction protocol entries recording the acquisitions of Mr Andsten (a) and Mrs Bäckman (b).

ently advertised in the press. This is all the more probable because Carulli's method had not been publicised in Helsinki since 1863 and, thus, perhaps no longer available. She would have acquired her two sets of strings at the newly-opened Melan's shop where the only available strings were German, costing between slightly under seven and eight marks, depending on the quality. Finally, for her teacher Mrs Bäckman could have elected Eduard Heinrichsohn, the veteran teacher in Helsinki. Heinrichsohn never announced his prices, but if we assume that as a professional musician he charged a solid double of Pettersson's rate, a teacher active in a small provincial town around the same time, Heinrichsohn could have charged one mark and fifty pennies per lesson. In this case, Mrs Bäckman's total expense would have amounted to around fifty marks.

This calculation is of course a rough estimation, save for the prices of the guitars that we know our two hypothetical guitar students actually paid. One could obviously have spent less or more, but even so, these sums may be considered quite realistic. In the auction protocol Andsten was simply labelled a 'Mr' and Bäckman a 'Mrs', so we have

no idea of their social status, but given these sums, who could possibly have afforded a total expense of fifty marks, not to mention over sixty?

The first hindrance for most would have been a lack of liquid assets because the majority of Finland's population was self-sufficient and only very few people were paid wages in cash. Those belonging to this latter group, such as civil servants, doctors, and lawyers, mainly lived in the towns, for in the countryside basically only hired farm workers earned wages. Moreover, even if an individual did earn a wage, it is obvious that before he or she could afford to buy a guitar, many other expenses would need to be covered. As an example, in Helsinki in 1890 a skilled worker spent ninety per cent of his income on sheer essentials such as food, rent and lighting while only ten per cent was left over for other goods and services, a situation that had largely remained unchanged for several decades.⁸¹⁶ A worker's daily wages at 1913 prices were three marks and, therefore, the complete earnings of between sixteen and twenty-one working days would have been required to afford the costs of starting to play the guitar seriously; in addition, each new string-set would have required an additional three days' worth of income. If we then consider that in reality, at the very most, ten per cent of income was available to be invested in this way, it becomes clear that one had to be relatively well off or earn good wages to afford this kind of luxury.

We know that during the century's first half most guitar amateurs came from the society's higher strata, in which paying this sort of money would not have been a problem. In the second half of the century, an upper-tier civil servant earned as much as eleven times more than the ordinary worker and even mid-level white-collar workers could earn over three times this base rate.⁸¹⁷ For the majority of people, nevertheless, serious guitar playing would have been out of reach, both because of the costs connected with it but also the lack of free time to spend on an 'unproductive' pastime. On the other hand, along with changes in the use of the guitar in the second half of the century, playing the instrument also became more affordable. A guitar that was merely play-

816 Heikkinen 1997, 173, 177.

817 Kortteinen 1985, 234.

able, perhaps one that was bought in an auction for very little money, sufficed for the amateur. That said, strings remained a fairly important item of expenditure.

CHAPTER NINE

Dalin's Spring Song and Bellman entertaining the King – Guitars, lutes and citterns in Finnish art works

Musicians and musical instruments in Finnish art have been little studied; this notwithstanding, two surveys are useful in relation to our theme. The first examines images of instruments in Finnish art works before 1720, while the other, apart from concentrating on the tradition and evolution of ecclesiastical art in Finland between 1720 and 1880, also presents a list of the motifs it employed, musical instruments among them.⁸¹⁸ These two surveys suggest that no guitars were depicted in Finnish churches prior to 1880 whereas some images of lutes, citterns and undefined plucked instruments exist from before this time.

In medieval Finland, just as elsewhere, art was only accessible to a fortunate few and those images that were available to the ordinary man and woman were the paintings and sculptures of the local churches. As a viewing experience these sights must have been powerful because their decoration offered a degree of grandeur unknown in the everyday life of its parishioners. This high standard of decoration, even in Finland's farthest reaches, was a product of the Catholic Church, which was coherent in its use of not just Latin but also religious imagery.⁸¹⁹

Early images of musical instruments in Finnish churches are usually found in frescoes, but a few wooden sculptures and illustrated holy books also survive. The instruments depicted have in most cases been inspired by the Western musical tradition, with imaginary ones seldom

⁸¹⁸ Vierimaa 1986; Hanka 1997.

⁸¹⁹ Vierimaa 1986, 22–24.



Figure 87. An altar cabinet with two lute-playing angels.

appearing. Wind instruments are portrayed three times more often than string instruments of which the violin and lute were the most frequent ones. Irma Vierimaa suggests that this may be due to the absence of courtly life in the country, as a result of which sophisticated string instruments were not as well-known as in Central Europe or even Sweden.⁸²⁰ After the Reformation, the artistic decoration of churches became less elaborate because the new faith no longer considered religious imagery to be appropriate or necessary.

Three frescoes and an equal number of sculptures with images of

820 Vierimaa 1986, 186.



Figure 88. *The Holy Family*, one of the art works of the Church of Karuna.

lute-type instruments survive in Finnish churches that date from before 1720. One of the three sculptures is an altar cabinet showing two angels playing what looks like an instrument of the lute family (see figure 87) while also some liturgical books include illustrations of instruments of this type.

This aside, the rest of the plucked instruments one may find in Finnish churches are harder to classify but may represent various types of citterns, such as the instrument seen in an Italian renaissance painting brought to Finland in 1680 and displayed in the Church of Karuna (see figure 88).

For reasons mentioned above, the present decoration in Finnish churches mainly dates from the pre-Reformation period because the use of images gradually diminished towards the eighteenth century. Quite naturally, the representation of musical instruments in religious artworks also became less frequent in parallel. A single image survives from the eighteenth century, a painting with two lutes on the organ loft



Figure 89. Alexander Lauréus, *The Flute Player and the Lutenist*.

of the Närpiö church dating from 1749; none are known from the nineteenth century.⁸²¹ Finnish secular paintings tell the same story and as regards the guitar, no representations of the instrument prior to this exist, surely reflecting the fact that the instrument had been largely unknown in the country.

GUITARS (AND LUTES) IN FINNISH PAINTINGS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Paintings of the nineteenth century show plucked instruments, mostly guitars, both in quite accurate representations and in more fanciful appearances. Those of the first group are most often seen in connection with naturalistic portraits of often named individuals playing the instrument; the more fanciful representations appear in paintings evoking a romanticised past where the instrument serves as a prop to enhance those sentiments.

One of the first artists to use musical objects in his paintings was Alexander Lauréus (1783–1823), whose one oil painting shows a fiddler entertaining his audience in a tavern. Another picture, *The Flute Player and the Lutenist* (ca. 1808), depicts a flautist and a player of a plucked instrument, making music by candlelight (see figure 89). The latter instrument is difficult to identify precisely. It has more the shape of a cittern than a lute and may be a creation of the artist's imagination rather than the precise representation of a real instrument. We do not know who has given the work its title but from the point of view of modern organology, instruments of the plucked family were often misnamed in the nineteenth century and very few were able to distinguish between a lute and a cittern.

Following Lauréus, many other painters included musical instruments in their canvases. When, for instance, interest in Finnish heritage became highly popular from the mid-1850s onwards, the *kantele* also

821 Hanka 1997, 373.

found its place in many paintings, some even portraying *Väinämöinen*, the mythical figure of the national epic *Kalevala*, playing upon the instrument. Somewhat curiously, he is also shown performing on a harp – perhaps in homage to Orpheus' lyre – even though the instrument obviously has nothing to do with traditional Finnish music.⁸²² The paintings of the two closing decades of the century also favoured musical subjects, partly because the French Symbolism had an affinity with music; on these canvases we also occasionally see guitars.

While, in total, there are not a great number of paintings with guitars it seems pertinent to present them here. The reader should, however, bear in mind that the following discussion does not claim to be exhaustive. The images will be introduced chronologically according to their year of creation, although an exact dating is lacking in some cases. If relevant, the instruments they depict are also commented upon.

Lars Johan Källström

Little is known of Lars Johan Källström (1809–1878) but some of his altarpieces have survived. While it is also significant that he, together with his former teacher Johan Erik Lindh, founded a school for painters in Helsinki in 1846, Källström is probably better defined as a craftsman than an artist.⁸²³ In his only painting with a guitar motif, a young girl plays the instrument in a fanciful romanticised setting, evoking the past. The work dates from 1835 (see figure 90).

We are not dealing with a realistic portrait here, but rather with a painting designed to convey a certain mood – in this instance one of nostalgia. Apart from a slightly unnatural position, many of the instrument's elements look wrong: it only has nine frets, the bridge is fairly fanciful and the neck very wide. All this suggests that the object depicted had no counterpart in reality and that Källström specifically pictured the guitar in this particular manner for artistic reasons (he must surely have known

822 Luostarinen 1997, 5.

823 Hätkönen, 2012. In Finnish he would have been called *maalarimestari*.



Figure 90. Lars Johan Källström's painting of a girl holding a rather distinctive seven-string guitar.



Figure 91. The sisters Nina and Eleonora Martin portrayed by Johan Erik Lindh.

what a real guitar looked like). Quite interestingly, however, the depicted guitar has two elements that are found in some Finnish-made instruments of the period: it has seven strings and the tuning pegs are arranged so that instead of placing three on one side and four on the other, both sides have three and the seventh is in the middle of the head. Perhaps Källström copied this particular feature from a guitar he had seen.

Johan Erik Lindh

The portrait that the Swedish artist J.E. Lindh (1793–1865) painted of the sisters Nina and Eleonora Martin has already been mentioned in Chapter Two. It shows Nina (1817–1907), the future wife of Pacius, holding a guitar while her sister has a music book in her hands. The

specific date of the portrait is unknown but it was definitely painted before 1842 when, at the age of twenty-five, Nina was married.

Johan Erik Lindh emigrated to Finland in 1817 and, although he trained as a decorator, he also painted portraits. In this capacity he is said to have immortalised ‘almost every one of his Finnish contemporaries, no matter in how modest a way the person was distinguished’.⁸²⁴ Moreover, despite the pace of his production, he is praised for having had a great talent for convincingly capturing a person’s character. Indeed, famed for his quick and accurate portraits, he was the only painter of his time who managed to make a living in Finland singularly through the practice of his art. Considering all this, one may assume that Nina Martin’s guitar is painted truthfully. The instrument looks sophisticated and the rosette perhaps slightly ornamented, which indicates that it could have been a guitar of higher quality and possibly foreign-made (see figure 91). This would not be surprising as Johan Martin (1787–1855), Nina’s father, held an important position in state administration. The instrument has a flush fingerboard, which is noteworthy because by this time this feature was becoming rare. Given that the neck joins the body at the twelfth fret, one can tell the guitar was not produced prior to 1810.⁸²⁵

Wilhelm von Wright

The two portraits that Wilhelm von Wright (1810–1887) made of his twin sisters have also been touched upon before. Considered to be the technically most brilliant of the brothers, Wilhelm spent most of his career in Sweden where he took up citizenship in 1834. The masterful drawings he produced for a catalogue of Scandinavian fishes, *Skandinaviens fiskar*, while there, are considered to represent the peak of his career.⁸²⁶

In 1844, on a visit to his home land, Wilhelm made several portraits

824 Salonen 2005, 195–196.

825 I am grateful to James Westbrook for this observation.

826 Ervamaa 2007, 701–711.



Figure 92. Wilhelm von Wright's portrayal of his guitar-playing twin sisters Frederika (a) and Wilhelmina (b) completed in January 1844.

of his family members and from their signatures we see that he worked rapidly; on some days he even completed more than one. The portrait of Frederika (Fika) was finished on 6 January and that of Wilhelmina (Mina) followed some nine days later (see figure 92).

The two portraits show the guitars from different angles and it is therefore difficult to tell whether the instrument in each portrait is the same one or if the sisters each possessed a guitar of their own. We can ascertain that Mina's guitar had tuning pegs and it looks somewhat robust and large for her hands. Fika is holding her guitar in a slightly unorthodox position, whereas Mina's left-hand position and the posture of her body seem fairly correct by modern standards.

Both the form of the body and the bridge of Fika's guitar and the head (with its tuning pegs) of the instrument that Mina is holding bear a great deal of resemblance to an extant guitar by Florvall.⁸²⁷ Thus, if one was called upon to guess its manufacturer, this luthier would be a good choice. This is all the more likely given that Florvall was actively manufacturing instruments at this time; the tie bridge more precisely suggests that this may have been Florvall's Spanish model.

Bernd Godenhjelm

Bernd Godenhjelm (1799–1881) has pictured a guitar and a Swedish lute in two of his works. One is in oil from the 1850s called *The Guitar Player* while the other is an undated pencil drawing picturing a player of the Swedish lute. This feature of Godenhjelm's work, that of leaving a painting or a drawing undated, was unfortunately more a habit than an oversight as he frequently did not even sign his works.⁸²⁸

The oil painting shows a lady holding a guitar in her left hand. Judging by the setting it could be thought of as a portrait if it were not for the title *The Guitar Player*. It is therefore more probable that the woman featured is a model, one who was perhaps unfamiliar with the instrument.

827 See Chapter Six for more information on Florvall.

828 Wirilander 2004, 228–229.



Figure 93. Bernd Godenhjelm's *The Guitar Player*.

With the landscape in the background, the painting's mood is slightly archaic. This quality is also reflected in her somewhat antiquated dress.

The pictured guitar has a couple of odd features: an unusually deep body and an exaggerated distance between its strings. The shape of the contour of the bridge with its moustache form is beautiful, although it would have been somewhat old-fashioned in the 1850s; another old feature is the flush fingerboard. Providing that the instrument was not a few decades old, it could be either German or Austrian because the saddle is of metal (and not bone) and because tuning pegs were still used in these two countries in the 1850s.

Godenhjelm made a career of religious painting, working for many years in St. Petersburg. He also drew upon non-religious mundane subjects, these occasionally including topics inspired by the *Kalevala*. In addition to this, he also produced some portraits. That said, Godenhjelm is remembered more for the significant contribution he made as a teacher of the generation of painters that followed him than for his own artistic creation.

Adolf von Becker

In 1863 Adolf von Becker (1831–1909) spent four months in Madrid studying painting and paying regular visits to the magnificent collections of the Prado Museum. Unsurprisingly, therefore, Spanish themes are recurrent in much of his art. Some of his 'Spanish' canvases Becker painted only after he had returned to Finland, basing these works on the sketches he had made while on the Iberian Peninsula. His piece called *A Spanish Lute Player* is probably one such example. The image itself is lost but we know of its existence because it was on show in a meeting of the Artists' Association of Finland (*Konstnärsgillet i Finland*) in Helsinki, reported by the press in December 1865.⁸²⁹

⁸²⁹ *Hufvudstadsbladet* 11 December 1865. No further source verifies the existence of this painting, the catalogue of von Becker's works also relies on the *Hufvudstadsbladet*. This catalogue gives the painting two titles, the one above and *A Spanish cittern player*. See Koskimies-Envall 2002, 107.

It is impossible to tell if the portrayed instrument was really a lute but there is reason to doubt it. Given that, as an exponent of Realism, we may assume that von Becker's themes were taken from everyday life, the possibility that he would have encountered a Spaniard playing the lute is small. The instrument had become obsolete in Europe by this time and, more importantly, it never took root in Spain. So, if the painting is not a copy of an old master work – von Becker produced several of them – or a creation of the artist's own fantasy, the depicted instrument could be in fact a guitar. A piece of press information dating from some twelve months following the aforementioned exhibition supports this hypothesis.⁸³⁰ We read that several painters had donated their works as prizes for an auction, again in Helsinki, among these one called *A Spanish Guitar Player* by von Becker. This might, of course, have been a completely different painting but it could just as well have been the 'lute' painting.

Despite being a skilful and respected painter, the historical significance of von Becker is more so the result of his other activities. He was, for instance, the teacher of many of the most brilliant exponents of the Golden Age of Finnish painting, introducing painters including Albert Edelfelt, Helene Schjerfbeck (1862–1946), Elin Danielson-Gambogi and Akseli Gallen-Kallela to the secrets of the French style and to Realism.⁸³¹

Albert Edelfelt

Among Becker's masterful students, Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905) was one of the most prominent of the Golden Age and he is also revered for opening up Finnish art to an international audience in Paris. In addition, like many of his socially and politically astute colleagues, Edelfelt is known to have been a keen defender of the Finnish national cause.⁸³²

⁸³⁰ *Helsingfors Dagblad* 15 February 1867.

⁸³¹ Reitala 2003a, 518–519.

⁸³² Reitala 2003b, 435–438.

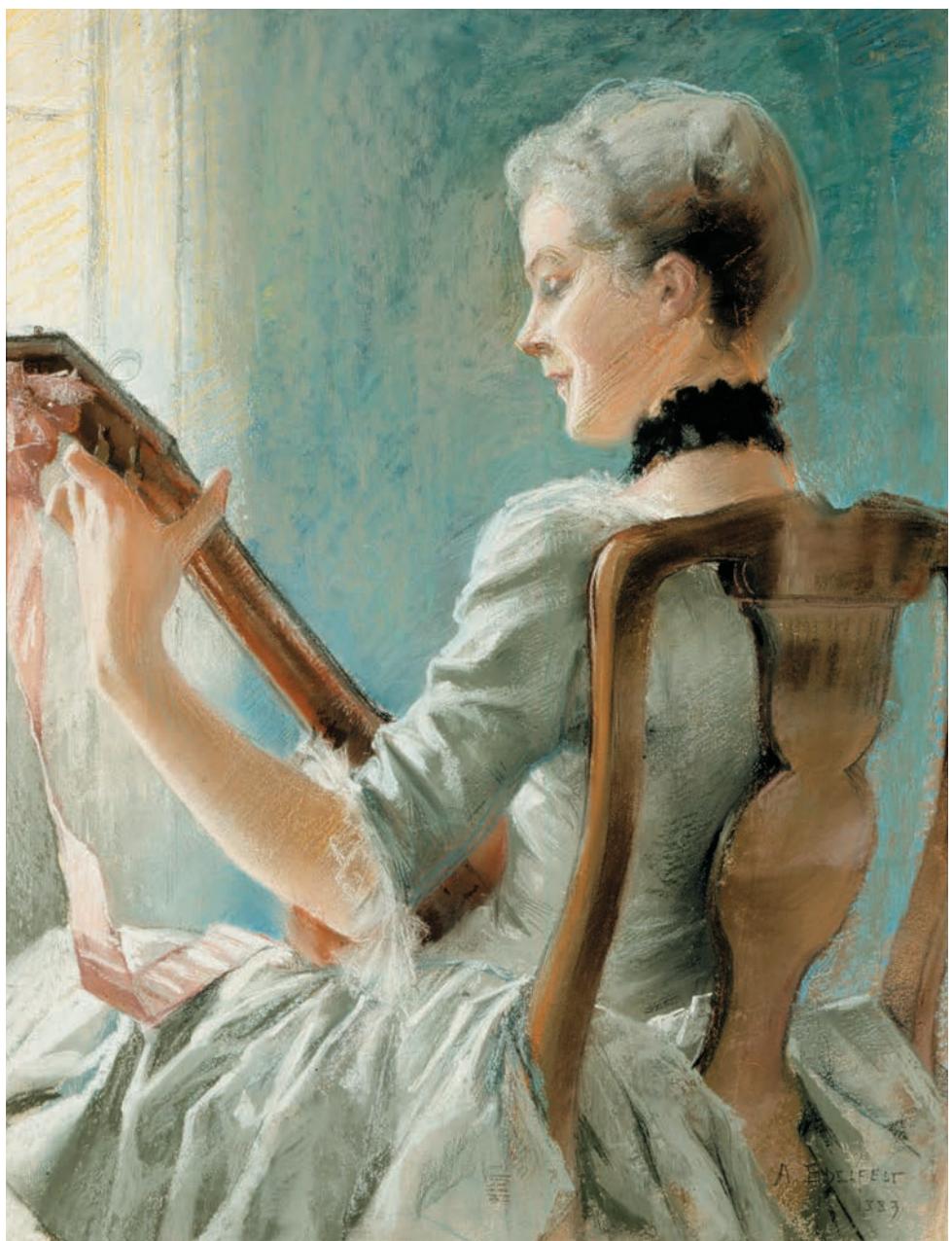


Figure 94. Albert Edelfelt's pastel *Dalin's Spring Song*.

Edelfelt had inherited his enthusiasm for music from his father's side, an interest that is reflected by his art, in which musical instruments appear from time to time. Among those portrayed are guitars and Swedish lutes, and indeed both of these instruments were familiar to Edelfelt. His sister probably played each of them, and the guitar without question, while the artist himself owned a Swedish lute. His instrument is now among the collection of musical instruments in the Sibelius Museum in Turku.⁸³³

The earliest work that we know of in which Edelfelt included a guitar was an aquarelle from 1881. It is unfortunately lost but known to have existed because it was one of the works exhibited at the annual exhibition of The Finnish Art Society (*Suomen Taideyhdistys, Finska konstföreningen*). In an article reporting on this event we learn that Edelfelt's aquarelle was entitled *A Spanish Girl Playing the Guitar*. According to the critic it was realised 'without higher artistic aspirations', although one is reluctant to believe that Edelfelt would have exhibited such a work.⁸³⁴ The aquarelle was no doubt inspired by the artist's visit to Spain in the spring of 1881 and it may even have been produced there. More generally, Edelfelt's journey to the Iberian Peninsula is considered a formative time in his creative development because it resulted in a more refined use of colour and a more relaxed brush technique.⁸³⁵

Chronologically, Edelfelt's next painting to include a guitar is *Dalin's Spring Song* ('Dalins vårvisa') from 1883 (see figure 94). It belongs to the artist's so-called historical paintings, these being canvases with subjects either taken from Finnish history or representative of an idealised past, in this case the rococo.

The work is in pastel, its elegant colours and subdued light evoking the painters Watteau and Fragonard. The picture is so skilfully executed that some art historians have even considered it to be the very

⁸³³ 'Johan Jerner, Stockholm 1817', Instrument Collection, no. 0129 (Sibelius Museum, Turku).

⁸³⁴ *Morgonbladet* 10 November 1881.

⁸³⁵ Hinze 1953, 138.

pinnacle of the artist's creations in this medium.⁸³⁶ Judging by her playing position, especially that of the left hand, Edelfelt's model was not an experienced guitar player. Additionally, noting the piece's year of completion and the instrument's wooden tuning pegs, the pictured guitar is certainly an old one, perhaps even dating from the early part of the century. We do not know, however, if this type of guitar was intentionally chosen by the artist to enhance his picture's historical atmosphere, although it seems quite plausible. The Dalin painting is a good example of Edelfelt's admiration for the Gustavian Era of Sweden, the home of his father. The painter had come into contact with this style at the Kiiala estate, near Porvoo, where he had spent much of his childhood.

Another expression of Edelfelt's reverence for the Gustavian Era are his canvases portraying the singer and poet Carl Michael Bellman (1740–1795), one of that period's epitomising figures. Two of these pictures show the poet with a plucked instrument in hand. One is an oil painting entitled *Bellman Plays the Lute for Gustav III and Gustaf Mauritz Armfelt* while the other, *Bellman Sings for the Last Time*, is an Indian ink and watercolour. They date from 1884 and 1887 respectively (see figures 95a and 95b).

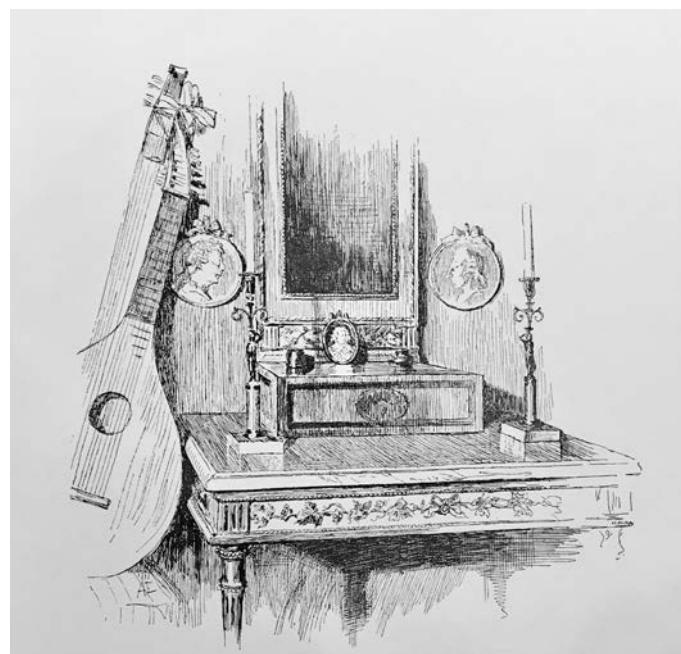
From an organological point of view, one of Edelfelt's canvases truthfully represents his subject while the other does not. *Bellman Sings for the Last Time* correctly depicts the man with a cittern, which we know to have been the Swedish poet's instrument; pictorial proof of this is provided in the famous portrait by Per Krafft the Elder (1724–1793), the only contemporary one to show Bellman with his cittern. In contrast, the instrument in the oil painting *Bellman Plays the Lute for Gustav III* is inaccurate because with its eight-shaped form this is quite clearly a guitar, an instrument that Bellman certainly did not play (in fact, he did not play the lute either). This must have been a case of poetic licence on Edelfelt's part because he most certainly knew the difference between a guitar and a lute. As for the cittern, this instrument was largely un-

836 Hinze 1953, 176–177.



Figure 95. Two Edelfelt paintings depicting the Swedish poet and musician Carl Michael Bellman.

Figure 96. An accurate image of a Swedish lute by Edelfelt.



available by the 1880s and, consequently, Edelfelt may have copied it from Kraft's Bellman portrait or an alternative unknown source.

On the other hand, when a thorough representation was required, Edelfelt knew how to deliver, as his various book illustrations corroborate. One example of these paintings is Carl Snoilsky's collection of poems, *Svenska bilder* (Swedish images), which contains several accurate images of the Swedish lute (see figure 96).⁸³⁷

One further instrument is pictured in *Dreaming* ('Svärmeri'), a painting from a series of small impressionistic canvases that were created in 1892. In this painting we see the artist's sisters Berta, who is shown playing the Swedish lute, and Annie together with their mutual friend Anna Ehrnrooth. The image shows an idyllic scene of tranquillity and happiness, notwithstanding the fact that, at the time of the painting,

837 Tamminen 1992, 41.



Figure 97. Edelfelt's sister Berta playing the Swedish lute on a rowing boat.

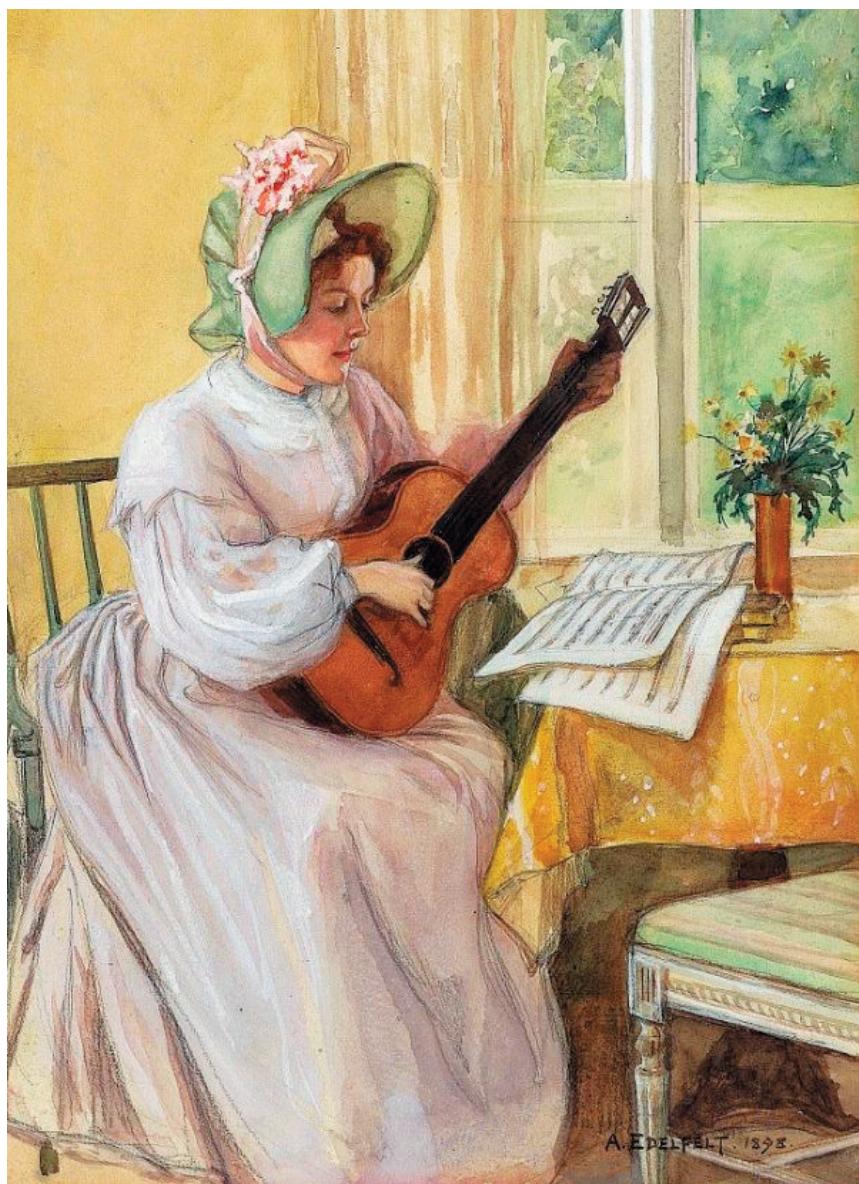


Figure 98. *The Old Tune*, a watercolour by Edelfelt.

Anna Ehrnrooth was in the process of divorcing from her stormy marriage with Alexander von Knorring (who is mentioned in Chapter Three and Six because of his connection to the guitar and the Swedish lute). This aside, Edelfelt has depicted the head of the Swedish lute very accurately, as we see Berta holding a fully developed fifteen-string version of it (see figure 97). Incidentally, this is the only source that suggests that she may have played the Swedish lute in addition to the guitar.⁸³⁸

Chapter Two suggested that it is possible that Edelfelt pictured his younger sister Berta with a guitar in two paintings. The earliest is a watercolour from 1898 called *The Old Tune* placed in a room in the Edelfelt family's summer estate Haikko.⁸³⁹ It shows a woman playing the guitar in front of a table with some leaves of music folded out on it and, while it is hard to tell unequivocally whether she is Berta, the woman does bear resemblance to her; the guitar also looks very much like the one she had (see figure 98).

The second picture that perhaps portrays Berta with a guitar is also a watercolour, although this time undated. We know nothing more of this aquarelle but, purely speculatively, the sofa on which the two ladies are seated looks like the one we see in the photograph of Berta discussed in Chapter Two (see figure 99). It is possible, thus, that she is the guitar player in this painting, even if the execution is approximate; nothing can be said about the instrument it captures.

Akseli Gallen-Kallela, Eero Järnefelt and Carl Dørnberger's guitar

Many Finnish artists who resided in Paris in the 1880s mixed socially with those from other Nordic countries and Akseli Gallen-Kallela

⁸³⁸ There is an unsigned painting by Edelfelt called *Summer Evening* that is set in the same scenery as *Dreaming*. It depicts two ladies in a rowing-boat, one of whom is playing the guitar. It looks more like a sketch for *Dreaming* than a finished, independent painting.

⁸³⁹ Edelfelt also portrayed his mother in this room in the painting *Alexandra Edelfelt in the Yellow Salon* (1902). The artist's mother had, however, died a year before so Berta posed instead because she was the one who resembled her the most. See Kakkuri s.a.



Figure 99. An undated watercolour by Edelfelt possibly painted in Haikko.

(1865–1931) was no exception in this respect. Thus, when he arrived in the French capital in 1884, it was in these social circles that he started to develop his friendships. One person with whom he had close contact proves particularly interesting from our perspective: the Norwegian painter Carl Dørnberger (1864–1940), an amateur guitarist, whose instrument Gallen-Kallela portrayed some years later in two of his paintings. A few years after Gallen-Kallela's arrival in Paris, Eero Järnefelt (1863–1937) also came to the city and forged a friendship with the Norwegian. A drawing, a little snapshot, that Järnefelt sketched of Dørnberger playing his guitar lives on as testament to their friendship. This Norwegian painter thus has a certain place in Finnish art history.

Dørnberger was infamous for his scandalous behaviour, leading a

life of wild adventures and excessive drinking, often in the company of his artist friends, Järnefelt and Gallen-Kallela among them. Next to nothing is known of the Norwegian's guitar playing but it must have had a role to play in the social life of this Parisian circle for, in 1887, when inviting Dørnberger to Finland, Gallen-Kallela reminded him to not forget his instrument. This being said, his guitar was never to be heard in the country because the visit never materialised.⁸⁴⁰

The two Gallen-Kallela paintings in which Dørnberger's guitar appears, *Démasquée* (Unmasked) and *Mother with Sick Child*, were both generated in 1888 and the former in particular is considered to be one of the most significant canvases of the artist's Parisian period.⁸⁴¹ Gallen-Kallela worked on both of the paintings for several months in 1888, but in September of that year when he was putting the finishing touches to *Démasquée*, Dørnberger's guitar was no longer available for him to consult. The Norwegian had left Paris and returned to Oslo at the end of May, so the Finnish painter must therefore have worked from memory or sketches.

Démasquée was a commission by the famous Finnish physicist Herman Frithiof Antell, who was a patron of the arts and possessed an impressive collection of paintings by Paul Cézanne, Paul Gauguin and Edvard Munch. Along with the works by these respected masters, Antell also had a small collection of erotic art, which he now sought to expand with the help of Gallen-Kallela. The Finnish painter accepted this commission but Antell did not want the painting when he saw it finished. It has been suggested that the shameless manner in which the woman defies masculine omnipotence inhibits the male spectator from dreaming of possessing her.⁸⁴² The picture therefore could not fulfil its patron's requirements.

Apart from the guitar, the painting includes many symbolic objects such as a skull (the transience of life) and lilies (the fading of life or innocence; see figure 100). The guitar has previously only been under-

840 Pelin 2013.

841 Hoeven 2006a, 90.

842 Huusko 2007, 43.



Figure 100. *Démasquée*, one of Akseli Gallen-Kallela's most famous paintings.



Figure 101. Another Gallen-Kallela painting, *Mother with Sick Child*, depicting the guitar that belonged to the Norwegian painter Carl Dørnberger.

stood to represent music, a sister art, in this context but elsewhere it has been interpreted as a feminine and *vanitas* symbol that combines transitory sounds with feminine curves.⁸⁴³ Bearing in mind the painting's year of creation, 1888, the guitar it shows is old-fashioned, perhaps an early French instrument, with its small body, tuning pegs and flush fingerboard.

The setting of *Mother with Sick Child* is the same as that of *Démasquée*: Gallen-Kallela's studio in Paris (see figure 101). Its sombre atmosphere perhaps reflects the artist's desolate mood at the time of its painting. This impression is supported by a letter to the artist's friend Elin Danielson-Gambogi in which Gallen-Kallela complains that his

⁸⁴³ Kämäräinen 1994, 24; Kauppinen and Mattheiszen 2005.



Figure 102. Eero Järnefelt immortalised this convivial mood towards the end of the 1880s.

'despair just grows and grows as time ticks by'.⁸⁴⁴ The intense contrasts between light and dark colours and the rosy lamplight which dominate the scene can also be interpreted as manifestations of this mood. It is possible that Dørnberger's guitar, though only half of it is visible, is similarly included to symbolise the transience of life and the anxiety of the mother for her sick child.

Looking upon Eero Järnefelt's drawing, the mood changes all together. Dating from 1887 (or early spring 1888), Järnefelt's small incidental picture of Dørnberger and an unknown person seems as if it was sketched during a cheerful drinking evening: here life seems full of joy, with no worries on the horizon (see figure 102). The scene must have taken place in Paris, since the two did not meet anywhere else. Järnefelt liked the Norwegian and in a letter to his sister Aino, the future wife

⁸⁴⁴ Hoeven 2006b, 100.

of Sibelius, he described Dørnberger as a ‘very funny chap’.⁸⁴⁵ They also shared an interest in guitar playing, as discussed in Chapter Two.

Having said this, life goes on and circumstances change. When Järnefelt was back in Paris in 1890 – this time in the company of his newly-wedded wife Saimi (née Swan) – the atmosphere was not as light-hearted as it must have been two or three years earlier. When the couple met the Norwegian painter, Dørnberger and Järnefelt’s wife could not stand each other. The antipathy must have been exceptionally strong on Dørnberger’s part as he many years later still referred to her as a ‘rotten Finnish hag’.⁸⁴⁶

Gunnar Berndtson

Gunnar Berndtson’s (1854–1895) meticulously realised canvases brought him great success during his relatively short lifetime, but it was this very skill that also led him to be denigrated as a ‘parlour painter’. He remained uncelebrated for decades after his death and it was only towards the end of the twentieth century that his paintings again began to arouse interest. The lack of recognition may also have been due to Berndtson’s relatively small production and the fact that his sophisticated, international artistic profile did not align with the nationalist tendencies of the Finnish art scene in the early twentieth century.⁸⁴⁷

Berndtson was one of the first Finnish artists to reside in Paris, the new quivering metropolis of the arts, where he went together with his childhood friend Edelfelt. Musical instruments can be seen in several of Berndtson’s works and, indeed, his first major success was a painting called *Chamber Music* (1878). Berndtson pictures the guitar in two paintings and the Swedish lute, along with a rather ambiguous instrument, in two more. Only one of the guitar paintings has survived. It is

845 Pelin 2013.

846 Pelin 2013.

847 Arell 2003, 578–580.

Figure 103. Gunnar Berndtson's undated portrait of a guitar-playing Bedouin.



titled *A Guitar-playing Bedouin* and, although one might wonder about the subject, the explanation is simple: employed by the French newspaper *Le Monde Illustré*, Berndtson had spent some time in Egypt in 1882. His task was to record through his drawings the events of a court case of international interest in Cairo, an offer he had very enthusiastically accepted. The stay also proved an economic success because many locals commissioned portraits from Berndtson and payed considerably more handsomely for his services than did his Finnish customers.⁸⁴⁸

The work is undated but it must either have been painted in Egypt or following his return, meaning that the earliest possible date for its composition is 1882. The painting is peculiar for the fact that it depicts an Egyptian, a Bedouin, with a guitar because one would be far less surprised to see an Arabic lute, the *oud*, in the man's hands (see figure

848 Arell 2003, 579.

103). It is possible, therefore, that this was not actually a portrait of a real person but rather a work inspired by the Egyptian atmosphere he had absorbed.

The lost guitar painting is mentioned in the painter's obituary in 1895. First enumerating the most significant canvases of the deceased painter, the obituary regrets that a great number of the artist's works had ended up in foreign collections. While these are not specified, a painting called *A Guitar-playing Woman* is included in a shortlist of the artists' later works that deserve to be 'especially mentioned'.⁸⁴⁹ We also learn that all of these were in Finnish ownership.

The painting that incorporates the Swedish lute takes its inspiration from the past, somewhat in the manner of Edelfelt's historical canvases. Titled *An Old Song* it dates from 1889 and we see that the instrument is depicted very accurately. By contrast, the other painting, *A Game of Chess*, is undated and the instrument in the background is a strange mixture of a mandolin and a guitar (see figure 104).

The fact that Swedish lutes occur in this genre of historical paintings means that they came to be seen as epitomes of a bygone age in Finland. From a practical perspective it also indicates that these instruments were still available for use as artists' props as late as the 1880s. One might even dare to suggest that the Swedish lute pictured in *An Old Song* was borrowed from Berndtson's old friend Edelfelt.

Ellen Thesleff

Ellen Thesleff (1869–1954) played the guitar and it is probable that her two sisters were also players of it, in addition to various other musical instruments, as mentioned in Chapter Two. The two paintings in which Thesleff depicted a guitar are called *A Girl and a Guitar* and *Guitar Song*.

A determined person with high self-esteem, Thesleff knew from a young age that she wanted to become an artist and since her father was

⁸⁴⁹ *Päivälehti* 10 April 1895.



Figure 104. Two Berndtson paintings inspired by the olden days:
An Old Song (a) and *A Game of Chess* (b).



Figure 105. Ellen Thesleff plays the guitar.

an amateur painter, she was fortunate to have his full support in this pursuit. After studying with Berndtson, Thesleff continued her training in Paris. It was Italy, however, that was to become her favourite country for artistic inspiration, Florence in particular.

Stylistically, Thesleff belongs to the Symbolist movement and in her works ‘the profundity and melancholy of this style achieves a nearly monochromatic manifestation’.⁸⁵⁰ The early twentieth century saw a development in her art towards a richer use of colour, the ascetic tones of her youth giving way to a more liberated style. Thesleff’s mature manner of painting has been described as ‘subtle expression of the finest shades of her most secret dreams’.⁸⁵¹

The artist’s own deep interest in music articulated itself in her

⁸⁵⁰ Sinisalo 2007, 738–740.

⁸⁵¹ Sarajas-Korte 1998, 23.

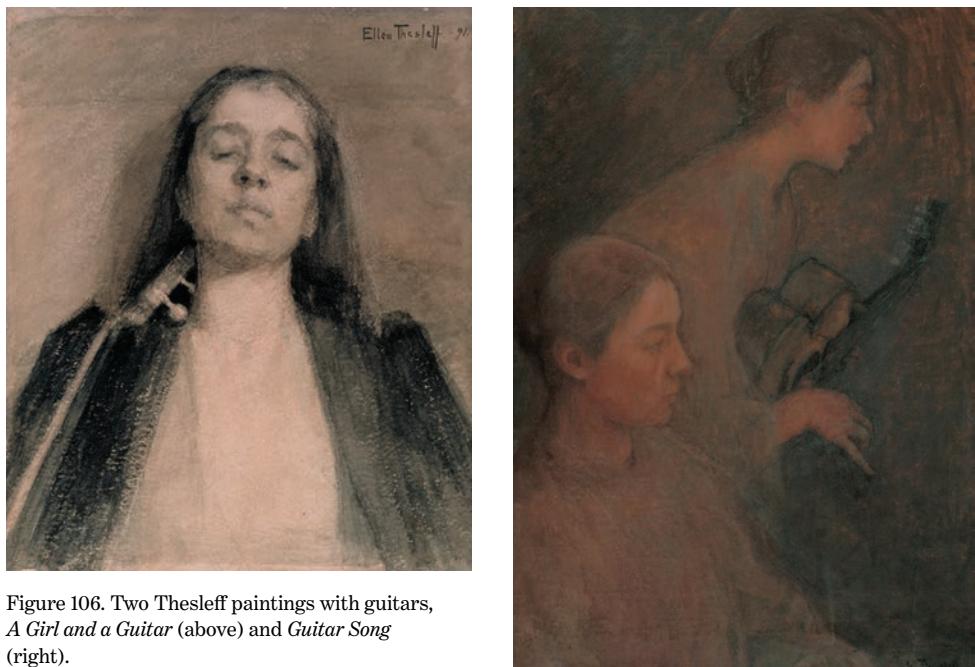


Figure 106. Two Thesleff paintings with guitars,
A Girl and a Guitar (above) and *Guitar Song*
(right).

choice of subjects, but more generally, her oeuvre may be seen as an expression of the Symbolist idea that all art has a correspondence in other arts. Accordingly, the artist's responsibility was to unveil the celestial harmony shared by all types of art, which in its purest form was to be found in the ethereal beauty of music. Thus, 'the visual arts were at their most unadulterated and universal when their expression approached that of music'. To achieve this, all unnecessary material had to be eliminated and, through this process, painting became simple and reduced, with balanced colours and lines.⁸⁵²

Thesleff's two paintings with guitars arrive early in her career. *A Girl and a Guitar* dates from 1891 and *Guitar Song* from 1897. In the former we see Thesleff's sister Gerda holding a guitar and in the latter

852 Konttinen 2007, 35, 43.

Gerda appears again, this time together with their third sister, Thyra, who now holds the guitar on her lap (see figure 106).

Both canvases represent the painter's colour ascetic style discussed above. In the year of its creation *Guitar Song* was offered as a prize in the Art Society's raffle and a merchant called Låstbom from Pori won it. It was valued at five hundred marks, roughly equivalent to three thousand euros, a pittance compared to the high prices paid for her paintings today.⁸⁵³

The only thing that can be said about the guitars she includes is that they have machine heads and, therefore, seem more modern than, for instance, Dørnberger's guitar in the Gallen-Kallela paintings.

Elin Danielson-Gambogi

Like Thesleff, Elin Danielson-Gambogi (1861–1919) also both played the guitar and portrayed it in some of her paintings. Noteworthy for being one of Finland's leading advocates of French Naturalism, in some respects she was later seen as a conservative painter. She had to endure criticism by a number of her contemporary commentators because of her traditional style although, simultaneously, she was praised for her innovative way of portraying women.⁸⁵⁴ Danielson-Gambogi had a strong will, a character trait that was not to everybody's liking, while her choice of subjects also aroused occasional disapproval. Moreover, the nationalism and Karelianism of the 1890s left her disaffected and the general provincialism made her feel a stranger in her own home. This precipitated her move from Finland to Italy in the late 1890s.⁸⁵⁵ Although for a long time she and her work was ignored in Finland, Danielson-Gambogi is nowadays considered one of the great artist women of the Finnish Golden Age.

Danielson-Gambogi offers us three paintings involving a guitar, *In*

853 *Satakunta* 7 December 1897.

854 Konttinen 2003, 336–338.

855 Konttinen 2007, 317–332.

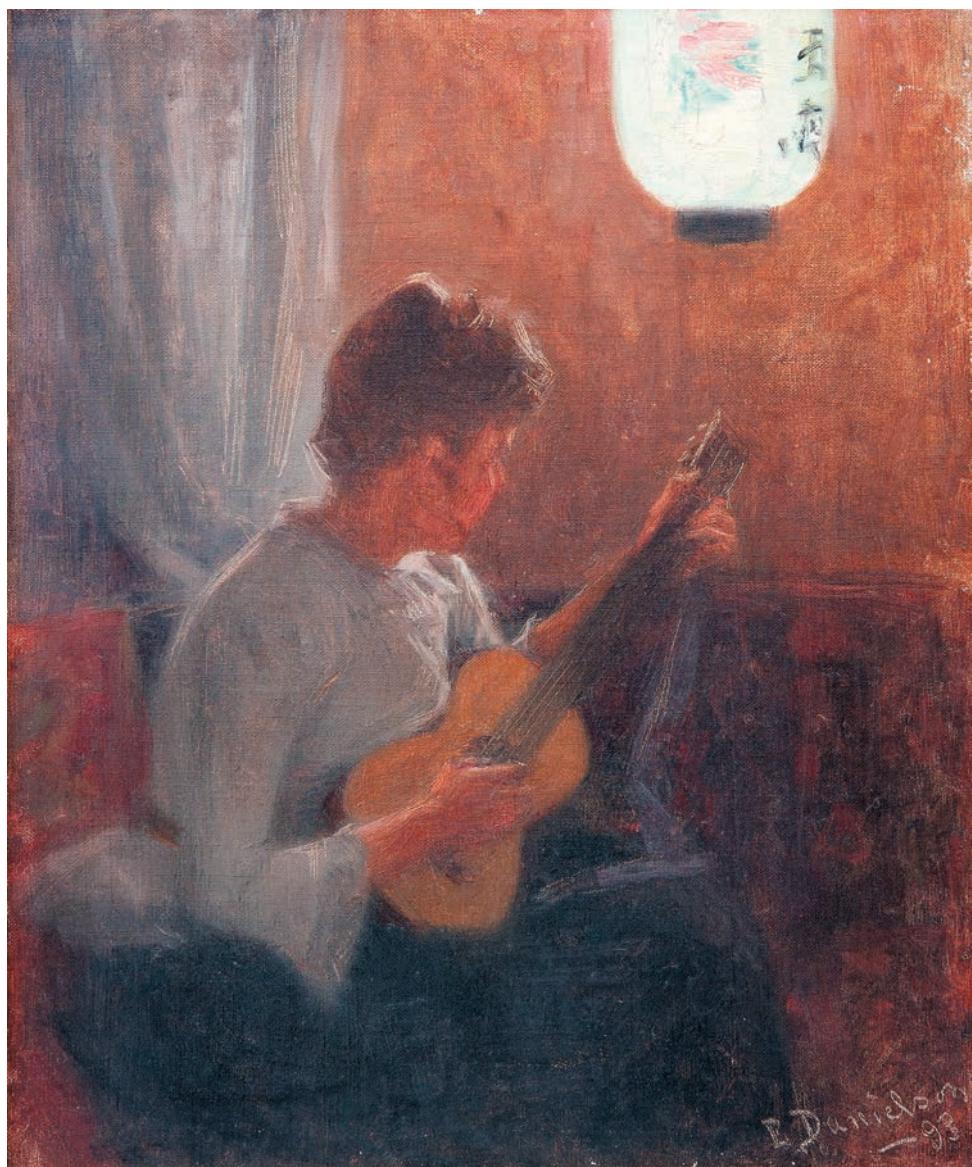


Figure 107. Elin Danielson-Gambogi's impression of a woman playing the guitar in Japanese lamplight.

the Dark, Winter Evening and *After Dinner*, dating from 1893, 1898 and 1901 respectively. Like many of her works, *In the Dark* is a study on the effect of light. Sunlight was one of Danielson-Gambogi's initial focuses as a result of her first visit to Bretagne in 1884, but later she also began to experiment with lamplight; the painting in question is a good example of the latter investigation.⁸⁵⁶ A Japanese rice-paper lamp is hanging from the ceiling, a detail indicative of the influence of *japonisme*, an aesthetic trend shared by many artists of the period (see figure 107).⁸⁵⁷ A photograph of Danielson-Gambogi's studio from the 1880s showing that it was furnished with Japanese arts and crafts provides further evidence of her interest in the country's culture.⁸⁵⁸

Since Danielson-Gambogi played the guitar, she very clearly knew what it looked like, but despite this, the instrument pictured in her first 'guitar painting' seems too small in proportion to the player's body. Perhaps she sought to portray a *Damengitarre*, a lady's guitar, but it is also possible that the perspective of the painting somewhat distorts the instrument's true proportions. Then again, accuracy of this type may simply not have been a priority of the artist. After its completion, the painting was on display at the Turku Art Society's (*Turun Taideyhdistys*) annual exhibition. A press report described Danielson-Gambogi's piece in great detail, stating, somewhat dismissively, that 'in the dark certainly all things look pretty' and wondered 'how all would look in full light'. The answer to this question was left 'to the imagination of the reader'.⁸⁵⁹

After her move to Italy, Danielson-Gambogi settled with her husband in Torre del Lago, a village that was also home to the opera composer Giacomo Puccini. She mentions this in one of her letters, alongside the detail that two local painters were excellent guitar players.

⁸⁵⁶ Konttinen 2007, 320.

⁸⁵⁷ Japanese wood-block prints inspired a simplification of the surface, a taste for concision and a static calmness in the works of many Nordic artists. In painting, for instance, an ascetic palette and dark outlines became popular. Nordic interest in *japonisme* started later than in Central Europe, but eventually reached a crescendo between 1889–1900. See Bonsdorff 2016 and Weisberg 2016.

⁸⁵⁸ Bonsdorff 2016, 181.

⁸⁵⁹ *Aura* 30 April 1893.



Figure 108. Raffaello Gambogi listening to a guitar player in Danielson-Gambogi's *Winter Evening*.



Figure 109. Danielson-Gambogi's *After Dinner*.

Her paintings from this period take their inspiration from residents of the village, the nature surrounding it and the peaceful domesticity of her own relationship. The last two of her guitar paintings fall into this final category.

In *Winter Evening* we see a man playing the guitar in lamplight while Raffaello Gambogi, a guitar player himself, listens attentively (see figure 108). The atmosphere is pleasant, an opened wine bottle adding to the atmosphere. The identity of the guitarist is not known, but he could presumably have been one of the two artists Danielson-Gambogi referred to in her letter. The instrument has an ornamented *rosetta* but nothing more can be said about it; the player gives a confident impression.

Danielson-Gambogi's third guitar painting, *After Dinner*, falls outside the temporal boundaries of this study and does not add to what has just been said. For instance, the lamp light – and indeed the lamp itself – and the intimate setting captured by the piece are similar to the previous painting. This time the guitar player is Raffaello Gambogi and the instrument may very well be the same as the one depicted in *Winter Evening* because its head looks similar (see figure 109).

Pekka Halonen

Pekka Halonen (1865–1933) is remembered, with unusually unanimous consent, as a truly 'Finnish' painter. This is because, as a farmer's son, he did not speak Swedish, his subjects were taken from the daily life of common people and his works took their inspiration from local landscapes. It is said that his art is best described with the words 'sincerity, authenticity and (in a positive sense) simplicity'.⁸⁶⁰ Halonen came into contact with French Symbolism when studying in Paris in the early 1890s but as a basis for his own art he favoured Realism. Nevertheless, he too shared an interest in *japonisme*.

Like Thesleff, Halonen had a strong affinity with music. This fondness had its roots in childhood when he often heard his mother play the

⁸⁶⁰ 860 Waenerberg 2004, 524–527.

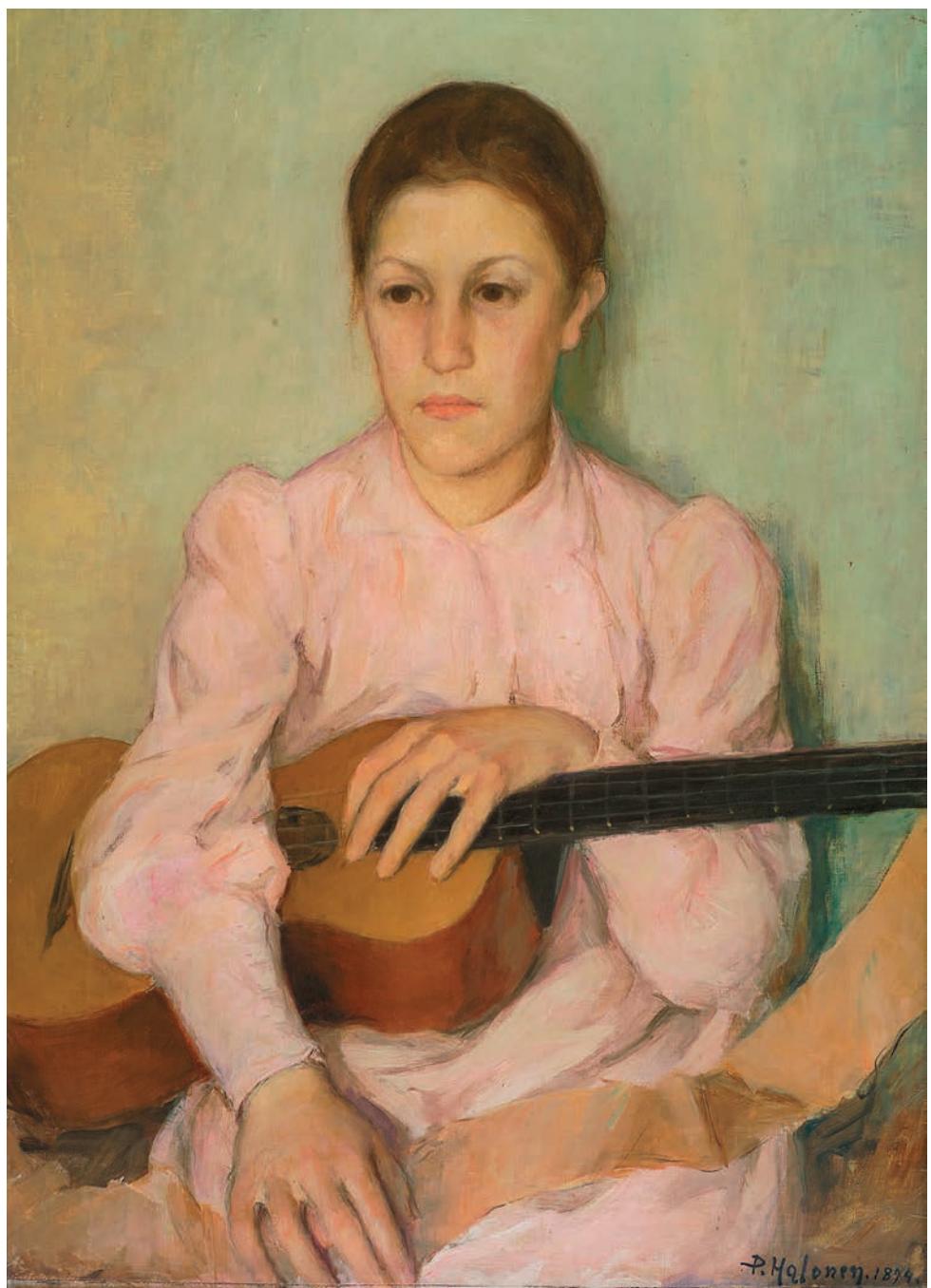


Figure 110. One of Pekka Halonen's most valued early paintings, *After the Music Lesson*.

kantele, which also became the painter's own instrument of choice. In fact, a famous portrait by Järnefelt shows him playing it in the Parisian studio of Gallen-Kallela, with the *ryijy* (rug) of the latter's *Démasquéée* in the background to evoke their distant homeland.

In 1894 Halonen painted a canvas entitled *After the Music Lesson*, a portrait of his future sister-in-law Aino Mäkinen holding a guitar on her lap (see figure 110).

The work is regarded as one of the most beautiful from Halonen's early period and is strongly influenced by Gauguin, who was his teacher in Paris. Art historians have, for instance, pointed out the resemblance of his subject to the women portrayed by this French master. The transversely posed guitar with its black fingerboard balances the picture and the instrument's clearly marked contours are of Japanese influence.⁸⁶¹ The painting shows a woman with 'her gaze unfocused, sunk in her thoughts and memories', as if totally unaware of being watched. The atmosphere is melancholic, the ascetic form of the painting emphasising its strong spirituality.⁸⁶² This was not unusual in Halonen's works as he sometimes instructed his *personae* not to look at their spectator and, in fact, in some paintings one can only see the back of their subject, which creates a strange feeling of exclusion.⁸⁶³

Fredrik Ahlstedt

Fredrik Ahlstedt (1839–1901) was also a music-loving painter who, for a short period, had even played the flute in the Musical Society of Turku orchestra. Truth be told, this painter's career was not a brilliant one. In its stead he made an important contribution, together with Adolf von Becker, as a teacher to the next generation of Finnish artists.⁸⁶⁴

The only information we have of an Ahlstedt painting with a gui-

861 Lindström 1957, 83.

862 Bonsdorff 2008, 30.

863 Lukkarinen 2007, 18–19.

864 Reitala 2003c, 128–129.

tar originates in a newspaper report about the Finnish Art Society's spring exhibition in Helsinki in 1895. It states that the painting was entitled *Appassionata* and was an image of 'a sturdy woman with dark hair, big deep eyes, a guitar in hand'. We also learn that that 'no doubt the strong woman, portrayed with distinct colours and having simple features, radiates the same feeling that the well-known composition from which it has lent its title'.⁸⁶⁵ Here the writer refers to Beethoven's Piano Sonata, op. 57, which has this sobriquet.

Väinö Blomstedt

Like so many of his Finnish colleagues, the early symbolist Väinö Blomstedt (1871–1947) drew his inspiration from France and Italy, considering the former to be his second homeland. Having studied in Finland, he and his friend Pekka Halonen continued their training under Gauguin, whose influence on Blomstedt was much more decisive than it was on his companion. He even called his master as 'the apostle of freedom in art' and like Gauguin, 'Väinö Blomstedt's art is thus founded on the longing for a primeval paradise'.⁸⁶⁶ Despite his French influences, Blomstedt was also a firm believer in 'an imminent Scandinavian renaissance' and later in his career he somewhat distanced himself from symbolist ideals and turned to more local themes such as the *Kalevala*.

Coming from a family who, at one stage, even formed their own orchestra, music undoubtedly played an important role in Blomstedt's life. As a violinist he was skilful enough to play in the Academic Orchestra of Helsinki where the brothers Jean and Christian Sibelius used to play as well.

Considering the strong significance of music for the painter, it is somewhat surprising that only a small number of his canvases include musical objects. Nevertheless, one entitled *A Scene in the Park* from 1895 pictures

865 *Uusi Suometar* 29 May 1895.

866 Bonsdorff 2009, 94.



Figure 111. A guitar depicted in a pastoral scene by Väinö Blomstedt.

a guitar-playing woman (see figure 111).⁸⁶⁷ It is one of the first paintings Blomstedt created in the symbolist spirit and has been described as ‘a good example of the emotional symbolism of the artist’.⁸⁶⁸ It has also been characterised as ‘a praise of pastoral bliss and midsummer’ in its emphasis on naturalism with a boy and girl by the river at sunset.⁸⁶⁹ By

⁸⁶⁷ In some newspaper accounts the painting was called *The Old Park*.

⁸⁶⁸ Reitala 2003d, 688–689.

⁸⁶⁹ Luostarinen 1997, 23.

contrast, some contemporary critics such as I.K. Inha (1865–1930), the revered master of Finnish photography, also expressed less enthusiastic views. In spite of the fact the painting conveyed the sentiments aroused by an old park fairly well, he wrote that it was ‘perhaps too decorative and because of this [...] slightly empty’.⁸⁷⁰ Another reviewer was even harsher, writing that the painting is ‘well drawn [sic], but the colours are poor and tedious, as Blomstedt’s canvases often are’.⁸⁷¹

The girl playing the guitar was Blomstedt’s sister Elna, but her playing position looks so awkward that she probably did not know how to play the instrument and had simply been asked to hold it on her lap. This is somewhat strange because one would expect that Blomstedt would not have wanted to picture anyone playing a musical instrument in an atypical manner. In fact, a critic for *Päivälehti* commented on this unnatural pose (while giving an otherwise favourable review).⁸⁷²

Maria Wiik

The last painter to be discussed is Maria Wiik (1853–1928) who is one of Finland’s best-known female painters. Stylistically she was among the country’s most persistent representatives of French *plein-air* realism and she is especially appreciated for her paintings of women and children. We have two canvases by her that include guitars, painted in 1897–1898.

Wiik grew up in a wealthy home and her childhood was secure and carefree. The family, her brother and two sisters in particular, remained a source of support throughout her life, especially as she never married. Wiik studied painting in both Finland and France, the latter becoming ‘the motherland of her palette’, as she used to say. Following her father’s sudden death, she was forced to return home, although in the 1880s Wiik often travelled back to Paris as well as Bretagne to work.

870 *Uusi Suometar* 16 November 1895.

871 *Suomalainen* 27 December 1895.

872 *Päivälehti* 21 November 1895.



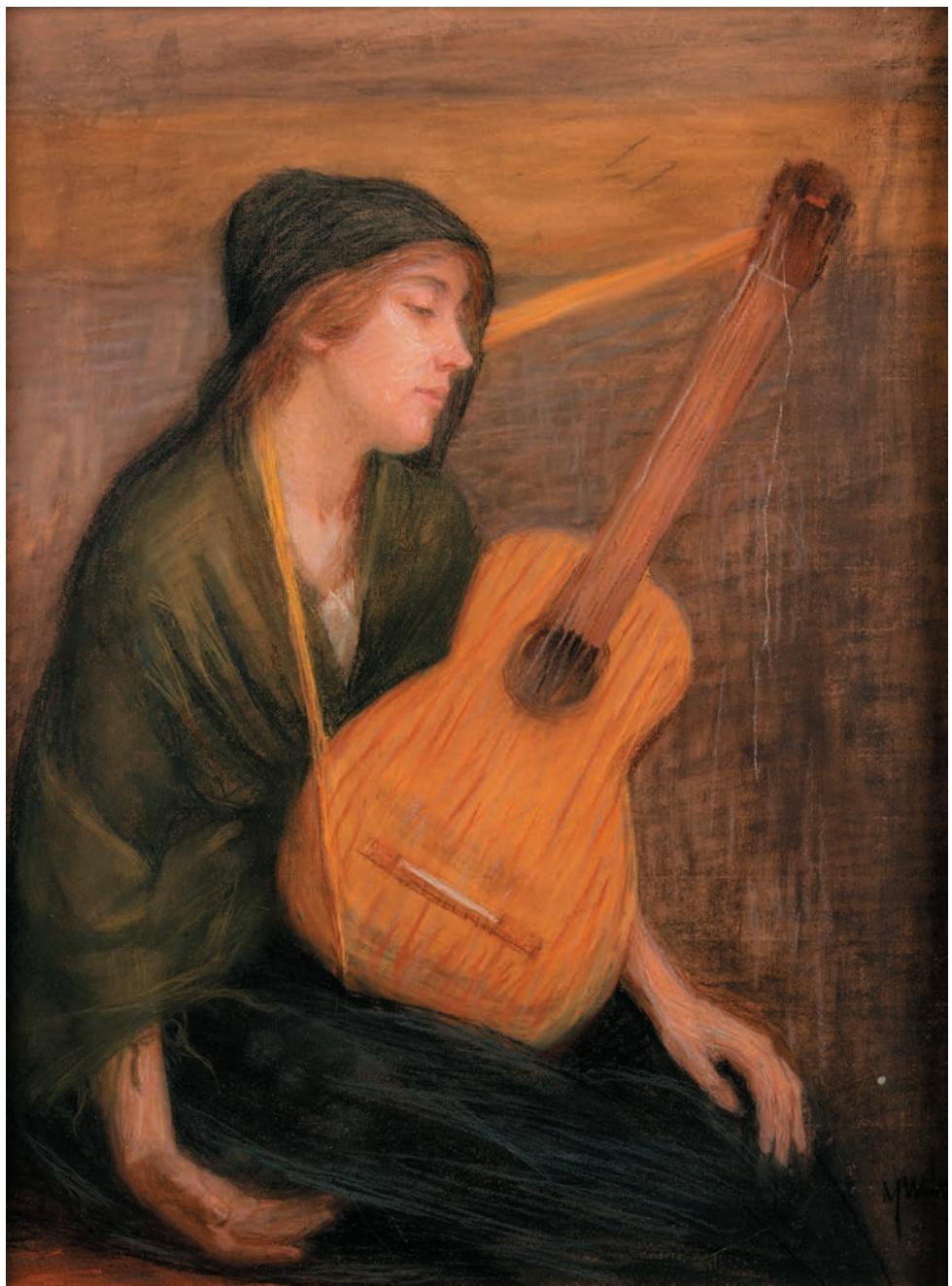


Figure 112. Two paintings by Maria Wiik, *Ballade* (left) and *Finale* (above)

In the 1890s the mood of her canvases changed and became gradually more sombre. This was partly due to her own ill health and the death of her beloved sister Hilda, which hit her profoundly. During this period, her themes vary from loneliness and alienation to death and sorrow. Although Wiik enjoyed some fame at first, towards the end of the 1890s she became somewhat excluded from the Finnish art circles, which had taken on a decisively masculine and nationalistic turn. Today, nevertheless, Wiik is considered one of the notable painters of the Golden Age.⁸⁷³

Two of Wiik's oil paintings, *Finale* and *Ballade*, show a woman with a guitar (see figure 112). Typical of her work at the close of the century, the atmosphere is serious – save for the enigmatic hint of a smile of the woman in the *Ballade* – and the colours are subdued. According to the artist's notebooks, the two paintings were originally intended to form an altarpiece-like whole, but this project never materialised. The *Finale* depicts a woman who has ceased to play her guitar, her hands hanging loosely at her sides, perhaps as a symbol of a life prematurely coming to an end. Looking closely, one string appears to be broken, further sustaining this sentiment. In comparison, the *Ballade* looks less gloomy with its brighter colours and ornamented guitar. It is hard to say anything relevant about the two instruments, as they are not depicted in much detail. We see, however, that two different guitars are represented and both appear to have tuning machines. The neck of the guitar in *Ballade* looks too long – it is clearly longer than the instrument's body – whereas that of the instrument in the other painting looks perhaps slightly too short.

In conclusion, a number of the guitars portrayed in the Finnish paintings were somewhat imaginary, often serving the ideals of symbolism, while the most faithful representations of the instrument are to be found in portraits. The guitar Nina Martin is holding, for instance, looks very accurate, the same being true for the portraits of the von Wright girls; the detailed depictions of Swedish lutes by Edelfelt were also exemplary. This spectrum of accuracy was obviously intentional and not caused by the artists' lack of competence.

⁸⁷³ Konttinen 2007, 503–505.

CHAPTER TEN

‘Huerta has played on Bellini’s grave’ and other miscellaneous guitar news in the Finnish press

The advertisements section of Finland’s newspapers are a rich source from which to draw when seeking information about guitar amateurs, teaching, concerts and other guitar-related issues in Finland. Beyond these subjects, newspapers also provide interesting guitar-related reports of another sort. Some of these stories are based upon hard fact, although fictitious stories also abound. A typical article is a mixture of both. All the more, while some stories express views that are now very out-dated, others offer occasionally quite amusing attitudes. That being said, the cultural influence of these newspapers must not be underestimated: individuals gained knowledge from, and based their opinions upon, what was written within their pages. This material therefore offers us an insight into what helped to shape, reliably or otherwise, an individual’s opinion of the guitar.

GIULIANI THE CELLO PLAYER AND THE GREAT VIOLINIST ZANI DE FERRANTI?

It is only very rarely that any of the great guitar players of the nineteenth century were mentioned in the Finnish press, but Mauro Giuliani’s name does come up on 7 February 1883 in a piece of advance publicity for a concert to be given a few days later by the then one-

year-old Helsinki Orchestral Society (*Helsingfors Orkesterförening*).⁸⁷⁴ Beethoven's Seventh Symphony was one of the works listed in its programme and the article describes how the German composer, by then almost deaf, had given the symphony's first performance with an orchestra composed of musicians such as Spohr, Mayseder, Hummel, Salieri and the last name on this list: Giuliani. This description holds true and refers to a benefit concert for the Austrian war chest organised by Johann Nepomuk Mälzel, the inventor of the metronome, where Giuliani indeed participated, probably playing the cello.⁸⁷⁵

The article was signed by *Bis*, this being the *nom de plume* of Karl Fredrik Wasenius (1850–1920), son of the violinist and conductor Carl Gustaf Wasenius who was a pillar of Turku's music culture in the 1860s and 1870s. Karl Fredrik ran a music shop in Helsinki but was also a music critic, a dreaded one at that, thus honouring the 'great' tradition of that occupation. Wasenius most probably based his knowledge on Alexander Wheelock Thayer's three-volume Beethoven-biography, published between 1862 and 1877, the first volume of which quotes the story of the first performance of the Seventh Symphony.⁸⁷⁶ It seems unlikely that *Bis* knew who Giuliani actually was because, like Thayer, he does not mention Giuliani's own instrument, the guitar.

Although no guitarist, it is also interesting that Mauro's elder brother Nicola is mentioned in the Finnish press.⁸⁷⁷ This was in a correspondent's report for the newspaper *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* in 1841 and dealt with political and cultural events in the Russian capital where also Nicola had resided since the early years of the nineteenth century. In the article we learn that he was employed by the local Patriotic Women's Institute and had offered to give singing lessons *gratis* to children who 'have shown clear aptitude to singing, but whose parents lack

⁸⁷⁴ *Helsingfors Dagblad* 7 February 1883.

⁸⁷⁵ Heck 1995, 56–58. Although Mälzel is often referred to as the inventor of the metronome, his work was greatly influenced by Dietrich Nikolaus Winkel who had, for instance, managed to reduce the size of this machine considerably. See Fallows 2001.

⁸⁷⁶ Stevenson 2001; Forbes 1964, 566.

⁸⁷⁷ Heck 1995, 15. Nicola Giuliani had a son born in Trieste in 1809 and therefore he did probably not arrive in St. Petersburg prior to this date. See Confalone and Leclair 2015, 67.

the means and possibility to let them develop this talent'.⁸⁷⁸ It seems, therefore, that Nicola had a social conscience and this generosity must be the reason behind his inclusion in the newspaper's cultural section.

The Italian guitarist Marco Aurelio Zani de Ferranti also took up residency in St. Petersburg for a number of years, but it is not because of this that he is mentioned by the Finnish press. Instead, the little news report, published in the *hwarjehanda* (miscellaneous) section of *Åbo Tidningar* in 1836, explains that 'of all violin players, Paganini ranks one called Zani de Ferranti highest, probably because nobody else comes as close to him [Paganini] in the skill of playing on one string'.⁸⁷⁹ A brilliant violin player by the name 'Zani de Ferranti' has never existed and, therefore, this account must be in error about Zani de Ferranti's instrument and thus refers to our guitarist. The original source for this may have been an article published in the French journal *Revue Musicale* reporting on a meeting between Paganini and Zani de Ferranti in 1834. After this encounter the former had, either inspired by Zani de Ferranti's playing or perhaps rather because he had just been asked to do so, penned a brilliant letter of recommendation.⁸⁸⁰ Paganini wrote, quite complimentarily, that 'I have with great satisfaction heard Ferranti play several of his guitar compositions' and that 'the said artiste [Zani de Ferranti] is superior to all other famous guitarists I have heard in Europe'. This story may have been cited by newspapers around Europe but, it seems, not always very accurately. The article in the *Revue Musicale* gives Paganini's letter of recommendation in the original Italian as well as a French translation, which both very clearly read that Zani de Ferranti had played 'his guitar compositions' and do not mention anything about playing on one string.⁸⁸¹ Therefore, while it is certainly true that Paganini applauded Zani de Ferranti's playing, the rest of the story appears to be erroneous.

878 *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 16 December 1841.

879 *Åbo Tidningar* 1 June 1836.

880 *Revue Musicale* 30 March 1834, 98.

881 Van de Cruys 2005, 52–53.



Figure 113. The Italian guitar virtuoso and globetrotter Marco Aurelio Zani de Ferranti.

Paganini's own guitar playing was also mentioned a few times. One example is the letter of an Italian correspondent who describes the glorious city of Rome and its nightly serenades.⁸⁸² After remarking that the mandolin was the main instrument in Rome and Naples, the writer states that in all other parts of Italy the guitar was the favourite. He adds that 'Paganini was a passionate guitarist and in fact he has let slip the somewhat strange comment, that he is a more outstanding a guitarist than violinist'. Paganini was presumably a very skilful guitarist but certainly a violinist of the highest order, so this is more likely to be a piece of fiction. The writer may have got this information from various sources as, during the nineteenth century, most of the books on Paganini were 'the fabrication of benevolent amateurs'.⁸⁸³ One possible source is a book on the lives of famous musicians written by Marie and Léon Escudier in 1856, which expresses very similar ideas about the guitar's role in Paganini's life.⁸⁸⁴ Returning again to the correspond-

⁸⁸² *Uleåborgs Tidning* 3 February 1879.

⁸⁸³ Prefumo 2010, 33.

⁸⁸⁴ Escudier and Escudier 1856, 365.

ent's letter, it recorded that 'nowadays [the 1870s] the so-called "Blind man from Crema" is considered a phenomenon all over Northern Italy', but it also advises the reader that despite producing 'incredible things from his guitar' his performance retained something 'unrefined and nerve-wracking'.⁸⁸⁵ While this may very well be an accurate description of the playing of the 'Blind man from Crema', the fact is that this individual was not a guitarist but a mandolinist called Giovanni Vailati.⁸⁸⁶

By contrast, P.J. Hannikainen (1854–1924), a musician, composer and editor of the magazine *Säveleitä*, writes about Paganini in 1888 with a fairly knowledgeable touch, even mentioning some of his sonatas for violin and guitar.⁸⁸⁷ The same factual expertise is not shared by a story published in 1898 that reports upon one of Paganini's tragically-concluded love affairs, after which 'his hand would never touch the guitar again'.⁸⁸⁸ Many, among them François-Joseph Fétis, claimed that Paganini only played the guitar as a result of his 'infatuation' with a lady from the high aristocracy. The brilliant Italian had, however, started to play the instrument in his early youth and the guitar remained a companion for the rest of his life.⁸⁸⁹

Trinidad Huerta (1800–1874), the Spanish guitarist, composer and son-in-law of the famous guitar maker Louis Panormo, is twice mentioned by the press. This first was in 1840, when *Helsingfors Tidningar* informed its readers about a private memorial ceremony held in Paris on the grave of the composer Vincenzo Bellini who had died in 1835.⁸⁹⁰ He was buried in the *Père-Lachaise* cemetery where, according to the report, 'the famous guitarist' Huerta had sung numerous songs, accompanying himself on his guitar, in honour of the celebrated opera composer. As far as we know, Huerta spent the most part of the year of

⁸⁸⁵ [...] någonting sträft och nervretande [...].

⁸⁸⁶ Mai 2015.

⁸⁸⁷ *Säveleitä, suomalainen soitannollinen kuukauslehti* 1 June 1888.

⁸⁸⁸ *Lördagsvännen* 27 August 1898.

⁸⁸⁹ Gazzelloni 1987, iv; Fétis 1876, 25.

⁸⁹⁰ *Helsingfors Tidningar* 21 October 1840.

1840 in Paris so this story might be watertight, although no reference to it is made in Huerta's biography.⁸⁹¹

The Spaniard's name appears in the papers for a second time as the composer of the so-named 'Himno de Riego', a song which served as the national anthem of Spain for a short period.⁸⁹² This idea circulated in the European press although the hymn was actually composed by José Melchor Gomis (1791–1836). It is true, however, that Huerta had taken part in Riego's insurrection.⁸⁹³ The article, after quoting the story of how the hymn had come into being and commenting on its high quality, describes Huerta's adventures in America and how he was currently living in Paris 'in utmost pauperism'. The writer concludes by suggesting that Spain should grant a pension to her 'Rouget d'Isle [sic]', here referring to Rouget de Lisle (1760–1836), the composer of *La Marseillaise*. An article with almost identical text was published in *La Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* and it would be logical to assume this to be the source of the Finnish writer were it not for the fact that the French article was actually published six days after it. Both writers must therefore have used a third, unknown, source for their cookie-cutter stories.⁸⁹⁴

Another Spanish player of plucked instruments, the *vihuelist* Luis de Narváez, is discussed in a review of an 1894 book entitled *Charles-Quint musicien*, a work by the musicologist Edmond Vander Straeten.⁸⁹⁵ Quoting from it, the reviewer mentions that the favourite melody of Charles V (1500–1558), King of Spain, was *Mille regretz*, a composition attributed to the eminent Josquin des Prez. We subsequently learn that in 'a very rare tablature book for the old Spanish guitar entitled *El delphin de musica* by Narbaez [sic]' one may find an arrangement of this song with the title 'Cancion del Emperador'. A few lines later, the

⁸⁹¹ Coldwell and Suárez-Pajares 2006.

⁸⁹² *Helsingfors Dagblad* 19 October 1868. Rafael de Riego was a Spanish General and a liberal politician, who was in power in 1820–1823 during the so-called *Triennio Liberal* until the French restored the crown to Ferdinand VII.

⁸⁹³ Coldwell and Suárez-Pajares 2006, 8.

⁸⁹⁴ *La Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 25 October 1868, 341–342.

⁸⁹⁵ *Borgå Nya Tidning* 24 August 1894.

writer more accurately identifies this 'old Spanish guitar' as a '*vihuela de mans* [sic]'. Vander Straeten apparently knew what he was talking about and we learn that the book even included a notated version of Narváez' original.⁸⁹⁶ The review was originally written for a different publication, probably a Central European newspaper, and had only been translated into Swedish so that it might be published in Finland. In spite of this, it is interesting that people in 1894 were offered details about the background of a Narváez piece that remained unknown to most guitarists until Emilio Pujol included a transcription of it in his famous anthology of vihuela music in the 1950s.⁸⁹⁷

The guitar and *Bis* crossed paths once more when the music critic published a lengthy article on Hector Berlioz in 1894. As is known, Berlioz (1803–1869) played the guitar in his youth and also arranged a selection of French romances with guitar accompaniment. This latter detail is not present in *Bis'* article but Berlioz' guitar playing receives its deserved mention.⁸⁹⁸

As for Scandinavian guitarists, the deaths of the Swedish guitar players Oscar Ahnfelt and Jean Nagel are both acknowledged by obituaries in the Finnish press. Ahnfelt's guitar playing is said to have 'aroused high respect because of its unusual artistry' and the fact that he had constructed a ten-string guitar 'should also be reminded of'.⁸⁹⁹ Johan (Jean) Nagel's obituary is more extensive in its summary of the violinist's long career, but it does also reference his work with the guitar.⁹⁰⁰ We learn, for instance, that for many years Nagel was the guitar teacher of Prince Gustaf (1858–1950), the future King of Sweden, even dedicating a collection of guitar compositions to his royal pupil. While the former fact is certainly true, if perhaps somewhat exaggerated, the latter detail may not be because none of Nagel's known guitar works

896 Straeten 1894, 32–34.

897 Pujol 1956.

898 *Hufvudstadsbladet* 11 April 1894.

899 *Abo Underrättelser* 5 November 1882.

900 *Helsingfors Dagblad* 15 July 1885.

bear such a dedication.⁹⁰¹ Also of interest is the obituary's information that 'in the opera *Don Juan*' – no doubt the one by W.A. Mozart – Nagel always accompanied 'the famous serenade' on the guitar, whereas 'nowadays the accompaniment is played on the violin'. This was possibly standard practice for the Royal Opera in Stockholm in 1885 when the obituary was written, but the original scoring is of course for the mandolin.

A STEINWAY GUITAR?

Steinway pianos are today played all over the world. Less well-known is that Heinrich Engelhard Steinweg (1797–1871), the founder of this legendary piano factory, was an amateur guitarist in his youth as well as a maker of guitars. This could however be read in Steinway's obituary published in *Helsingfors Dagblad* a month or so after his passing in 1871. Indeed, the reference to 'Steinweg' in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* corroborates that this is correct.⁹⁰² Another newspaper informed its readers that 'the gentlemen Lacôte and Carully [sic] have in Paris constructed a *Dekachords* [sic], a guitar with ten strings, which, along with five-fretted ones has five on the side of the neck'. Further still, the article discloses that 'the free sounding basses' were intended to give the instrument a 'fuller, more pleasant and rounder tone'.⁹⁰³ This is perfectly true because Ferdinando Carulli and René Lacôte indeed designed a ten-string guitar, a *décacorde*, patented in 1826. The project was probably important for Carulli because he also wrote a method for this instrument, according to the preface of which his objective had been to develop a guitar that would be easier for amateurs to play than a 'normal' one, especially when accompanying songs. Due to its increased number of strings this may initially seem contradictory.

901 Sparr 2018d.

902 *Helsingfors Dagblad* 25 March 1871. The surname was anglicised to 'Steinway' when Heinrich Steinweg immigrated to New York in 1850. See Zimmermann 1893, 22–25.

903 *Helsingfors Morgonblad* 7 December 1835.

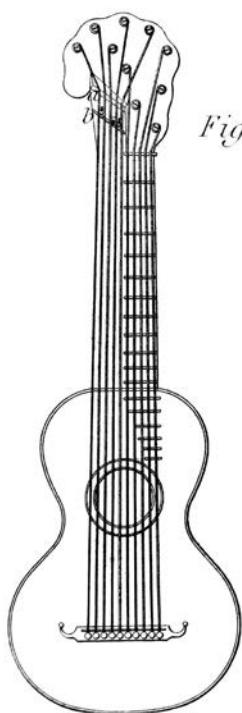


Fig. 1. Figure 114. An image of Ferdinando Carulli's and René Lacôte's *décacorde* dating from 1832.

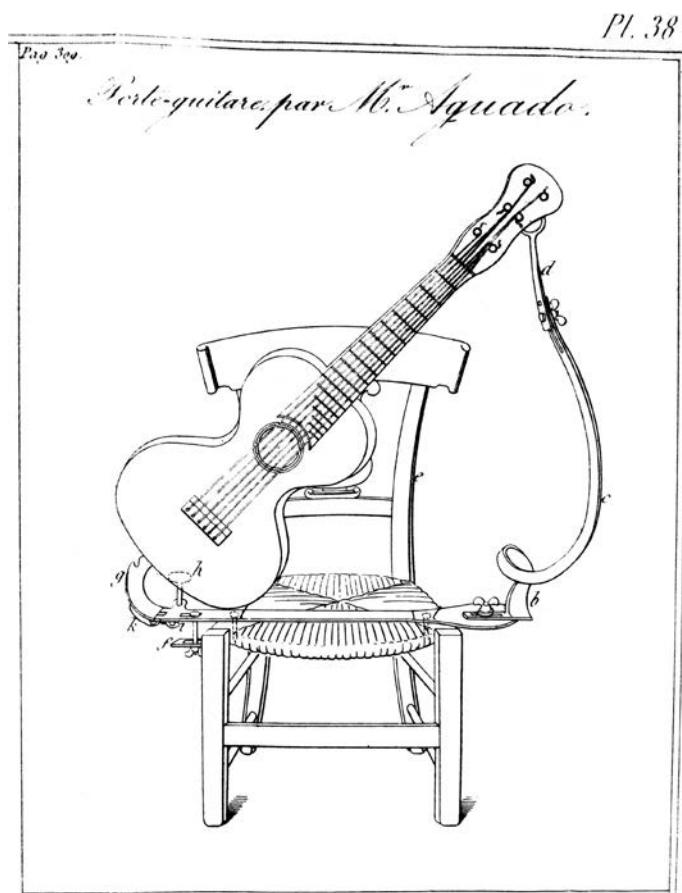


Figure 115. Dionisio Aguado's *Porte-guitare* (1830), a prototype preceding his later *tripódison*.

Carulli explains, however, that compared to a six-string guitar, fewer left-hand fingers were needed to play bass notes because one could use the many open strings instead. In the preface, the instrument's improved resonance is pointed out as another of its benefits, a detail also mentioned in the Finnish account of it.⁹⁰⁴

On 2 November 1831, *Helsingfors Tidningar* reported that a notably high number of patents had been granted in France within just a few months and that several of these were for 'somewhat peculiar' innovations such as a 'cloth woven of feathers' and an 'apparatus for holding the guitar in its right place'.⁹⁰⁵ Could the latter refer to the three-legged supporting device of guitarist Dionisio Aguado's invention? This seems very probable because, in April 1830, Aguado applied for a patent in Paris for an 'Apareil pour fixer la guitare, appareil Aguado'. The patent application shows that this was an early version of the *tripódison*, a prototype one might say, which at this stage was still a chair with the device attached to it (see figure 115). Aguado's final, better-known design was developed some years later and the patent for it was granted in 1837.⁹⁰⁶ So, when Aguado performed in the *Salle Chantereine* in March 1832 he probably used this earlier construction, a fact that is often ignored.⁹⁰⁷ His *tripódison* did not catch on, in spite of eager promotion of it both by himself and his colleague Sor, who advocated the item in the preface to his *Fantaisie Elégiaque*, op. 59.

Summarising the above, it is evident that the guitar was only mentioned in the Finnish press sporadically and, even so, the information that was included is certainly not always accurate – if not wholly fictitious. The fact remains, however, that this information was published because it was thought to be of interest to the readership.

904 Carulli 1826, 1.

905 *Helsingfors Tidningar* 2 November 1831.

906 I am grateful to Luis Briso de Montiano for information concerning Aguado's patents.

907 See, for instance, Jeffery 1994b, xviii.

TALES ABOUT GUITAR HISTORY

The origins of the guitar were also a theme that editors considered to be of interest to the public. One article attributed it to the Greeks, stating that the instrument had developed from the 'citra', while another delivered a good deal of fanciful information, some of it deeply entertaining.⁹⁰⁸ According to this latter article, it was 'needless even to mention that the guitar originates in the Pyrenean peninsula' and that 'the romance – the guitar's twin brother – and the serenade [...] have the same origin and are inseparable from the guitar or mandolin'. The text continues by asserting that a young Spaniard without a guitar is 'un être [sic] contre la nature' and that in the Spanish (or Portuguese) army a guitar is as essential as a musket. The article subsequently claims that, following one combat during the Portuguese Restoration War (1640–1668), eleven thousand guitars were found abandoned on the battlefield. The reader is finally told that, during the War of Spanish Succession (1701–1714), a cavalier happened to come across a Portuguese sentry – an enemy – playing a particularly badly tuned guitar. The cavalier was so outraged that he wrenched the guitar from the man's hands, tuned it and while returning it remarked: 'Achora [sic] es templado', meaning 'now it is in tune'. Aside from its reflection of the complex origins of the guitar, this specific narrative, as entertaining as it may be, has a fairly loose connection with reality. Similar stories are to be found in newspaper reports and serialised fiction all over Europe, attesting to the instrument's Romantic allure.

How the instrument was to be titled in Finnish also provoked some controversy. In 1860 a short exchange of opinions on this topic took place in the columns of two periodicals, the *Mehiläinen* and the *Suometar*, when the usage of the spelling 'qwitarri' for 'guitar' by the first was criticised in the second by a certain Antti Barbarus.⁹⁰⁹ The

908 *Helsingfors Morgonblad* 3 June 1833; *Sanomia Turusta* 5 June 1890. The name of the Greek instrument was actually 'kithara' and it was a large flat-based lyre.

909 *Suometar* 6 and 7 July 1860; *Mehiläinen* 1 August 1860. One suspects that the surname 'Barbarus' is fictitious, perhaps referring to the opponent's qualities.

point of his criticism was that the letter ‘q’ does not occur in the instrument’s name in any other European language, whereas ‘guitare’ (and its variants) spelled with a ‘g’ is common. Given that this letter is slightly complicated for Finns to pronounce, he suggested either ‘kitari’ or ‘kitara’ for its spelling; the latter has since become standard.

GUITAR OR KANTELE?

Perhaps because both are plucked instruments, the order of hierarchy of the guitar and the Finnish folk instrument *kantele* was also an occasional topic for discussion.

One such example is a somewhat nationalistic article published in 1863 in the weekly *Tähti* which, apart from poetically praising Finland’s nature and other marvels, strongly opposed certain foreign influences that were gradually gaining ground in the country. In this vein, *Tähti* expresses concern that the ‘*kantele* has [...] been abandoned in favour of the guitar and the piano’.⁹¹⁰ The writer of the article was possibly Johan Fredrik Granlund (1809–1874), the owner and editor of the magazine, who was a strong supporter of the national cause.

Some thirty years later, the eminent poet Eino Leino (1878–1926) expressed similar views about these two instruments when reviewing Arvid Mörne’s and Nino Runeberg’s recently published poetry collections, both of which were written in Swedish.⁹¹¹ These poems inspired Leino to consider the differences between Finnish and Swedish mentalities, which led him to suggest that a foreign tongue was never truly able to express Finnish sentiments. Using the guitar as a simile for Sweden’s culture and its people, he wrote that ‘the more arrogantly and bellicosely the strings of the Swedish guitar sounded the more awkward it felt that the same music could be used to describe the tranquillity of our [Finland’s] woods’. He then mentions the pioneers who went into

⁹¹⁰ *Tähti* 28 August 1863.

⁹¹¹ *Päivälehti* 15 December 1899.

Figure 116. The Finnish poet Eino Leino.



the backwoods and there found a 'Finnish song' and 'in the heart of the wilderness', the *kantele*. Leino's review clearly demonstrates that he promoted the idea of a genuine Finnish culture, one that had nothing to be ashamed of in comparison to the rest of Europe. For him it was the *kantele*, and not the guitar, which formed an integral part of Finland's culture and identity.

GUITAR ON THE THEATRE STAGE

When the guitar was used in theatrical performance, its function was usually to add a decorative, atmospheric element. A play staged at the Finnish Theatre (*Suomalainen Teatteri*), for example, included a scene in which 'an abandoned suitor [...] grabs a guitar, while the young woman [...] who had just given him the brush-off, overwhelmed by sudden

tenderness, rushes into his lap'. This scene was particularly appreciated in one enthusiastic review.⁹¹² The guitar was also a part of the action in the popular play *Elinan surma* (The Death of Elina), in an early drama by Ibsen called *Gildet på Solhaug* (The Feast at Solhaug) and also in a play written by Topelius.⁹¹³ In this final instance, a minuet from Mozart's *Don Giovanni* was played on the guitar 'over and over again' by one character 'in a moment of greatest humiliation'.⁹¹⁴

At times the *kantele* also replaced the guitar in the theatre, as is reported by the music magazine *Säveleitä* in 1887. In a production of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Faust* the instrument had been used 'to imitate the guitar' and, if we are to believe the article, proved extremely well-suited for this purpose. The writer also states that this must have been the first time anything like this, the use of a *kantele* instead of a guitar, had been done on the Finnish stage and expressed a wish for other theatres to follow suit.⁹¹⁵ This they may well have done, but it was not considered newsworthy.

‘NOISE AND RATTLE’ – A MOTLEY ARRAY OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE GUITAR

Negative and prejudiced attitudes towards the guitar were not unusual in the European press. One of the reasons for this was the gendering of music, as has been touched on previously. According to this thinking, the guitar was judged to be a women's instrument and therefore relegated to the domestic sphere, deemed inappropriate for concert performance.⁹¹⁶ Finnish sources do not reflect these attitudes but this is probably attributable to the fact that local conditions were somewhat different. Concert life was less-developed in Finland than in Central

⁹¹² *Päivälehti* 11 October 1890.

⁹¹³ *Pohjalainen* 3 November 1891; *Päivälehti* 22 April 1898.

⁹¹⁴ *Uusi Suometar* 7 April 1894.

⁹¹⁵ *Säveleitä, suomalainen soitannollinen kuukauslehti* 1 June 1887.

⁹¹⁶ Stenstadvold 2013, 595–604.

Europe, which in turn meant that music criticism was not a regular occurrence. This being said, a few news items do comment upon the guitar in ways that are less than flattering.

In 1871 musical entertainments at the Ullanlinna bathing establishment were criticised for being both unwanted and too expensive for those who simply sought to enjoy the tranquillity of the salon after their meal. This commentator continues by reasoning that 'the management will never receive praise for hiring persons to sing miserable songs or to sit on a stool plucking a guitar and looking indecent'.⁹¹⁷ Whilst this example does not directly target the guitar, its evaluation nevertheless establishes a connection between our instrument and 'indecency'.

A dispute broke out in the press of Turku in 1859 concerning the musical family Zedeler, whose soirées in the community hall were commented upon favourably by a 'music connoisseur'.⁹¹⁸ He claimed that the ensemble could 'compete with the accomplishments of our best concerts' and, all the better, the audience was 'not forced to listen to classical music'. It was the second comment that irked another music lover who had also heard the ensemble and, while acknowledging the merits of its violinist and pianist, he could not stand it when they were joined by 'two guitars, another second violin, one miniature cello and a triangle'. According to him, the outcome was 'noise and rattle'.⁹¹⁹ Again, one cannot help thinking that this statement would have adversely tainted one's perception of the guitar.

Yet another example comes in the form of a review of a promenade concert organised by the Musical Society of Turku in 1895, at which a guitar soloist performed. Tradition has it that the programme of such concerts was light and, accordingly, one of the works chosen for this concert was the popular *Drømmebilder* (Visions in a Dream) by the Danish composer Hans Christian Lumbye (1810–1874).⁹²⁰ The original work has no guitar part but on this occasion a guitar solo was inserted.

917 *Helsingfors Dagblad* 17 July 1871.

918 *Åbo Tidningar* 2 August 1859.

919 *Åbo Underrättelser* 5 August 1859.

920 *Aura* 30 January 1895.

The review does not disclose how and why this was done, the reason escaping the critic as well, it simply posits, ‘Why?’. It is hard to tell whether the writer’s problem was the tampering with original material or some larger prejudice against the guitar, but it could easily have been the latter.

‘THE GUITAR’S SOUND IS GOLDEN’

The guitar was also mentioned regularly beyond its ‘normal habitat’ in stories that dealt with nearly every possible topic. Thus, when an invention for transmitting musical sounds was considered worth reporting in 1825, our instrument also gets a mention.⁹²¹ The text describes this new device in some detail but, in spite of this, its actual structure remains unclear, although we do learn that the guitar’s function was to amplify sound. Another news item reported of *chromesthesia*, a neurological phenomenon in which perceived sounds automatically and involuntarily evoke an experience of colour. According to the article, there are persons who not only experience certain pitches and keys in colours but also the sounds of certain instruments. Readers were informed that the flute has a red sound, the clarinet a yellow one and the guitar’s sound is golden!⁹²²

A more professional touch comes from an anonymous person who, in his letter to the editor in *Åbo Tidningar* in 1855, complained about the difficulty of sourcing proper music paper. The writer was displeased about the considerably higher price that a customer had to pay for it in the old capital of Finland than in Helsinki. Worse still was the limited choice one faced: usually only a single type of music paper, suitable for the piano and ‘perhaps for the guitar’.⁹²³ The fact that the writer mentioned the guitar suggests his acquaintance with the instrument, while the polemical style and expert attitude brings to mind a certain

921 *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 8 October 1825.

922 *Rauman Lehti* 23 May 1885.

923 *Åbo Tidningar* 29 November 1855.

a person we already know: Axel Gabriel Ingelius. Of course, it is impossible to know if he is our author, but it is certainly true that Ingelius was often in Turku in the 1850s.

Finally, in Helsinki, the court case of a betrayed instrument maker is reported in 1899, although quite disappointingly the account does not mention maker's name. The heart of the issue was that the maker had asked a certain Mr Mörk to sell a number of his instruments, the lot including several guitars, but while Mörk had indeed carried out the assignment he then went on to embezzle the money he had earned. The instrument maker took the matter to the police who decided that the courts should settle it. What happened after this is not known but, based on the information provided by the article, the case seems clear.⁹²⁴

ANECDOTES AND OTHER FICTIONAL STORIES

The guitar was sometimes present in reports that from modern point of view contain fairly offending attitudes. That said, some other stories mentioning the guitar are humorous as well – although perhaps not so intended.

An article that falls into this indecorous category was entitled 'The American Negro'.⁹²⁵ Although the article does refer to the legal inequality of the black man, we also read that the African-American population has shown an 'inclination to intellectual growth in many respects' and that the black man, despite his social standing or whether he has a place to stay for the night, is always in a good mood and hopeful. Following this comes the part concerning the guitar. It states that 'the Negro sings and plays, but cannot tolerate wind instruments. The guitar and mandolin are his favourites, and the accordion too'. Times have

924 *Hufvudstadsbladet* 28 June 1899.

925 *Kaiku* 11 December 1899.

of course changed, but when this article was published in 1899, there were many who actually believed what was written.

Another story published in a newspaper in Tammisaari reported on prison conditions in America. It states how the prison authorities in Columbus, Ohio, had granted a certain Fred Roth, a wife killer but ‘a great guitar artist’, the permission to play the instrument while in custody.⁹²⁶ Unfortunately, this entertainment was not to last long since Roth was condemned to death and to be executed the following year.

A man in America who sought money for a new instrument called a *wiona* seems to also have fallen onto the wrong side of the law. The instrument was built like a piano but could also be used as a guitar; precisely how remains unclear. Since ten thousand dollars were needed to bring the *wiona* to the production line, the man in question appealed to young wealthy women to lend him the money. In return, he offered to marry the one who would accept his proposition and, in the case that no young and wealthy women rose to the offer, he would extend his reward to include a widow or a black woman. What is more, the man assured that whoever married him would experience ‘sheer happiness’.⁹²⁷ One hopes that nobody fell into the trap.

A relative of the German composer Felix Mendelssohn (1809–1847) is also mentioned in connection with instrument construction. Entitled ‘The New Mendelssohn’, a news item tells of a man living in New York who not only knew how to play almost any instrument imaginable but how to construct them from almost any object or material. The long list of his creations included a guitar made out of a shoehorn.⁹²⁸ Since the story also speaks of a ‘cat organ’, an instrument made of stuffed cats and operated by pulling their tails, this article should not be taken too seriously.

Guitar playing could also have positive mental effects, if we are to believe the newspaper *Päivälehti* that reported about how the executive of a mental institution in Alicante, Spain, had become tired of waiting

926 *Ekenäs Notisblad* 10 January 1888.

927 *Uusi Suometar* 15 October 1887.

928 *Uusi Suometar* 20 September 1894.

for financial support from the local authorities and decided to take matters into his own hands. Since the people running the institution were music amateurs with guitar players among them, and because they also taught music to their patients, the executive decided to embark on a concert tour with the institution. This turned out to be a great success and many patients reported feeling 'considerably better' upon their return.⁹²⁹

Breaking one's instrument may not always have been a disaster or, at least, this was not the case for a French busker. The story goes as follows: in 1892 this busker had been singing to his own guitar accompaniment in a Parisian café where, for reasons unknown, a dispute broke out between him and a customer. The quarrel soon developed into a physical fight, during which the angry customer smashed the busker's guitar. The two ended up at a police station and it was here that twelve thousand francs were found inside the instrument. This sum probably belonged to an uncle from whom this busker had inherited the guitar. The impoverished busker was over the moon and thanked the trouble-maker, who in turn tried to request a finder's reward!⁹³⁰

Last but not least, the old cliché of the guitar as an instrument of amorous sentiments was also promulgated by some Finnish newspapers. In 1894 one could read that a Swedish member of the Salvation Army had married a Native American, 'a redskin', but only after the man had converted to Christianity. He was a great preacher, able to compose his sermons so well that 'people cried as if having been whipped', while she was known to play the guitar 'absolutely divinely'.⁹³¹ The article informs us that the man had fallen in love with the Swede's guitar playing and she in turn with his oratorical mastery. This story may well have some traction, whereas another about a doctor in Chicago who had discovered 'a love germ' and successfully inoculated others with it was certainly meant to be taken less seriously.⁹³² One of

929 *Päivälehti* 2 December 1894.

930 *Päivälehti* 7 July 1892.

931 *Hufvudstadsbladet* 23 September 1894.

932 *Tampereen Sanomat* 2 May 1890.

the reported results of his ‘treatment’ was that a man of fifty felt so amorous that he acquired ‘a light-coloured suit, new teeth and a guitar’. The guitar is here directly connected to affect, just as ‘a calendar of anecdotes for bachelors’ had done half a decade earlier. It claimed that sixteen-year old young men held a propensity to read novels, while at the age of seventeen they ‘experience their first everlasting love, start writing poems, learn to play the guitar and take up smoking’.⁹³³ Some of these pursuits, at least, are definitely to be applauded.

933 ‘Anekdotkalender för Ungkarlar’. *Wasa Tidning* 28 September 1844.

Conclusions

The preceding chapters have reshaped our former understanding of the guitar's role in Finnish musical life prior to the twentieth century. We now know that the instrument was introduced to the country in the early nineteenth century, first favoured mainly by the society's higher classes and only gradually adopted by the less wealthy majority. Although the general popularity of guitar playing has subsequently experienced both ebbs and flows, it is noteworthy that from the early decades of the nineteenth century up to the present day we may witness a more or less unbroken interest in the instrument in Finland.

On the subject of earlier plucked instruments, practically none of them (save for the *kantele*, obviously) featured to any noteworthy extent in the Finnish musical landscape. While it is true that the lute and the cittern were occasionally heard on Finnish soil – the former during visits by the royalty and the latter instrument also played by some local people – their general influence was minimal. Moreover, unlike in the Swedish Kingdom's western part where some Baroque guitars and music for this instrument have survived, no evidence of the use of any earlier guitar variants in Finland has come down to us. Therefore, the only early plucked instrument favoured more widely in the country was the Swedish lute. This developed from the cittern in around the 1770s, becoming popular in Finland soon after its invention and was played there well into the nineteenth century.

In Central Europe the guitar strung with six single strings started to grow in favour in the early nineteenth century and it was this instrument that was introduced to Finland. Two of the most important hubs for the development of this guitar variant were Vienna and Paris but, closer to home, at the turn of the century guitar activity was also germinating in Russia. With this in mind, the fact that scarce guitar-related information starts to appear in Finland's press and some other sources in the 1810s (with an important increase not really occurring before the end of the 1820s), has to be considered a late date. That said,

Finland shared this timeline with Sweden, at least to a certain extent. One of the reasons for this was a prohibition on the import of musical instruments into the Kingdom of Sweden. Enforced from 1755 to 1816, this was a law to which Finland obviously also had to accede prior to it becoming an autonomous Grand Duchy under Russia in 1809. Even so, once the guitar had gained a foothold in the country, the general characteristics of its popularity over the rest of the nineteenth century bear much resemblance to what happened elsewhere in Europe.

One common feature is that enthusiasm for the guitar tended to be found within the higher strata of the society. This lasted in Finland until the 1860s (at the latest), by which time the instrument was completely superseded by the piano as the favourite of the upper classes. The guitar may of course have been played outside of these circles even prior to the 1860s, but it is only at this time that the instrument really began to find its home in the lighter, less demanding music making practiced by commoner people. This sphere had been an established setting for the guitar in several European countries for decades and therefore, generally speaking, the real change experienced all over the continent was that this more relaxed variety of music production came to be more dominant, whereas the technically and musically advanced use of the instrument now had a minor role. One manifestation of this popular trend in Finland was the guitar's gradual appropriation by various social movements. It was now heard as a part of the programme of social evenings called *iltama* as well as in meetings of the Salvation Army and other religious movements.

As for other common features, it is possible that the majority of Finnish guitar amateurs were women, just as they were in many other countries. This is suggested by the high percentage of extant guitars with short scale lengths; surviving music books whose owners were females speak also in favour of this hypothesis.

Guitar lessons were also available and considering the country's remote location, the number of foreign individuals who gave them was fairly high. That said, some of these teachers only made brief sojourns to the country, but obviously offered a breath of international air to Finnish guitar circles. Whether their percentage was higher than in

Central Europe is hard to tell, but this is a valid possibility given that long into the nineteenth century a general characteristic of Finnish musical life was the country's dependence on foreign labour as far as professional musicians go.

As well as a teacher, printed music was a requisite and it is noteworthy that until around the 1860s the selections of at least some shops were rather varied and up-to-date. The number of individual titles amounted to several hundred and music by most well-known guitar composers was available; Mauro Giuliani and Ferdinando Carulli were unsurprisingly among the most popular. The majority of shops' assortments were composed of scores printed in the German speaking lands whereas guitar strings were very often of Italian origin, both phenomena familiar to us from the rest of Europe.

A number of Finnish luthiers studied in St. Petersburg where many workshops were run by German makers and even if perhaps the most illustrious Finnish luthier, Carl Petter Sundqvist, did not study instrument making there he did use a German tutor to learn the trade. It is therefore this influence above any other that may be observed in extant Finnish guitars from the period. As a general observation, it is noteworthy that instruments were not exclusively imported.

These are the echoes of Central European guitar culture that were heard in Finland, but there were dissimilarities as well. For instance, as already suggested, prior to the century's midpoint the guitar appears not to have had any significant role to play beyond the bounds of the educated classes and interest in it was also geographically rather limited, concentrating on the country's three biggest towns (Turku, Helsinki and Vyborg). While this trend was similar in Central Europe, we know that in some places, such as Spain, the instrument could be encountered in *bodegas*, barbershops, theatres and at many outdoor activities well before the nineteenth century.

There were also differences as regards the selections of guitar music. For instance, unlike in most European countries (even including Sweden and Russia), the Finnish assortments were practically singularly composed of imported material. The reason for this is quite simply that in the nineteenth century close to no editions of guitar

music were printed locally. While this certainly was influenced by the country's somewhat under-developed publishing industry, one may also ask whether there would have been much to publish because, save for Carl Theodor Möller, Josef Binnemann and a few others, nobody else seems to have engaged in composition for the guitar. The difference to Sweden here is noteworthy. For instance, several members of the court orchestra in Stockholm were serious players of the instrument and contributed both as composers and arrangers to the fairly good selection of guitar music available in that country. Another special characteristic of the assortments of Finnish shops was that unlike, for instance, in Paris and Vienna, guitar-accompanied *Lieder* and operatic arias did not dominate the selections. In contrast, public guitar performances in Finland relied heavily on this repertoire (or even lighter material), while works by the guitar's canonised composers of the early nineteenth century were largely absent in these concerts. This latter fact reveals a clear disparity between the performances in the livelier centres of guitar cultivation and those in Finland, although full-scale guitar recitals were a rarity anywhere at this time.

Owing to Finland's remote location, relatively few itinerant guitar virtuosi visited the country. As a northern territory, Finland was understandably not able to attract them, but on the other hand we know that several travelled to St. Petersburg, a town even further east. It is therefore unfortunate that only a few chose to visit Turku or Helsinki.

In many Central European countries local makers were able to satisfy the demand for guitars, but this was not the case in Finland even though the production by Finnish guitar makers may have been quite considerable in the century's first half. Many instruments were therefore imported, probably from Germany and, closer to the century's end, also from Spain. It goes without saying that the Finnish manufacture could not compete in quality with the products of top European makers such as Johann Georg Stauffer and René Lacôte, but the extant guitars by Carl Petter Sundqvist do, however, show a certain sophistication. Curiously, the European-type seven-string guitar may have been fairly popular in Finland whereas its Russian variant hardly comes up in the

available sources. This makes it difficult to judge how well this instrument was known and how popular it was in the country.

The above discussion briefly summarises our knowledge of the history of the guitar in Finland until the twentieth century as presented in this book. Given that it is a general and indeed the first study on this subject, the ambition of surveying such a wide period has meant that many interesting areas for potential analysis have had to be set aside for future study. For instance, it was only possible to concentrate on the background and career of a select few individuals who played the guitar or gave instruction in its playing. This meant a process of prioritisation and, in each case, a decision had to be made regarding how thoroughly a specific person or topic warranted researching. Therefore, although many questions have indeed been answered herein, others are raised. The Finnish history of the lute and cittern obviously deserve a more thorough study than has been possible to conduct here. Another interesting topic for further research are the many illustrious and distinguished persons who had a connection with the guitar, such as Archbishop Jacob Tengström, the composer Fredrik Lithander, the writer Zacharias Topelius and some painters of the Golden Age. The students who purchased guitar music in Friedrich Anton Meyer's auctions, of whom the most interesting one is perhaps Jakob Fredrik Blank, are also a possible future research subject. Finnish luthiers certainly warrant more detailed study. Given that instruments by only three of them have survived, a future discovery of a guitar by even one more of these makers could significantly add to our knowledge about these pioneers of Finnish guitar manufacture. To mention yet one further topic, it would also be interesting to know whether in the first half of the nineteenth century there was in fact more guitar interest among the lower classes than the present study has been able to uncover.

To conclude this survey, in what follows the guitar's vicissitudes in Finland are put into a chronological perspective to demonstrate the gradual development of Finland's early guitar culture.

On Saturday 3 December 1814, the readers of the newspaper *Abo Allmänna Tidning* in Turku could find a small advertisement of a guitar for sale in 'Nordenswanska gården vid Slåttsgatan'. No-one at the time

would have realised that this advertisement, printed on the newspaper's fifth page, was in fact the first guitar-related information ever published in the Finnish press. The century's very first public guitar-sale, however, appears to have taken place at an auction in Helsinki around half a year earlier, in March 1814. The following year, now back in Turku, a slight increase of activity in advertising may be discerned when a Frenchman wished to start giving guitar lessons and the bookseller F.A. Meyer announced his assortment of guitar music. When we still add that the first guitar that changed hands in Turku was at one of the local auctions in 1819, we have summed up the guitar events of the century's second decade.

If the 1810s demonstrate only a budding interest in the guitar, the following decade exhibits a marked increase in guitar activity across all the various fields of the instrument's cultivation from public performances to guitar construction. At the very beginning of the decade, in the autumn of 1820, an international dimension was brought by the German Karl von Gärtner who gave a concert in Turku. It is plausible that he also instructed local amateurs but, either way, at this time there were six other teachers who offered guitar lessons both in Turku and Helsinki. The guitar could be heard in a few other concerts as well, but only for accompanying opera arias. In November 1823, Frenckell's bookshop publicised its selection of guitar music for the first time while Meyer's shop was the only bookshop to have guitars within its assortment. As a further indication of the growing interest in guitar playing, the selling of printed guitar music had spread to Helsinki and Vyborg. The number of guitars sold in the auctions of Helsinki also increased slightly, but more noteworthy are the first three Finnish guitar makers, Olof Granfeldt, Anders Lindros and Enoch Järnfeldt, who began their careers in the century's third decade.

In the 1830s, the popularity of the guitar starts to manifest itself in the radically larger selections of guitar music offered by the bookshops. Meyer's shop, now located in Helsinki, had almost one hundred and fifty titles of guitar music in the very early 1830s and Hjelt's shop in Turku could also cater for its guitar playing customers reasonably well. On the whole, the number of individual titles offered was a staggering ten

times more than what was available in the previous decade. Moreover, the shops in Turku, Helsinki and Vyborg no longer completely dominated this market because now some provincial bookshops also held selections of guitar music. By the decade's midpoint (if not before) the instrument had also gained popularity amongst university students in Helsinki, among these the writer Zacharias Topelius. We also know that guitar music was performed in concerts by the Academic Musical Society (*Akademiska Musiksällskapet*) active in the Finnish capital. The number of teachers offering guitar instruction also kept on growing and over a dozen of them advertised in the press. Among these were several professional musicians such as Josef Gehring and Carl Theodor Möller. Gehring also performed as a guitarist and the German guitarist Adam Darr played the instrument publicly during his brief visit to Turku and Helsinki in 1839. Moreover, around this time the first Alpine-music groups, often with a guitar player as a member, began to set their feet upon Finnish soil. Järnfeldt and Lindros continued to construct guitars, but four new luthiers also entered the stage, the most important of these was certainly Carl Petter Sundqvist; he was also the first person to advertise guitar strings for sale in Finland. The increasing number of guitars sold in the auctions of Helsinki – around three dozen – also offers strong evidence of a growing interest in the instrument's playing.

The bookseller Meyer had died in 1831 and the shop's selection of guitar music was auctioned off in Helsinki and Turku between 1834 and 1842. This in some respects marked an end point in abundant selections of guitar music in Finnish shops as no other retailer was able to maintain such an extensive range. Even so, coming to the 1840s seventy different titles were still available in several shops. The number of guitar teachers advertising in the press peaked in this decade with almost twenty newcomers; the best-known of these today is Ludwig Beuermann. Three portraits, one made of the future wife of Pacius and two of the twin sisters of the von Wright family, corroborate that guitar playing continued to be favoured in cultured circles. Most public guitar performances now involved the above-mentioned Alpine groups, but a guitar duet by Neuland was heard in a concert organised by the Musical Society of Turku. The advertising of strings was gradually increasing,

although remained geographically fairly limited. At the same time, guitars were still usually put up for sale by private individuals rather than shops, meaning that retail of the instrument remained somewhat unorganised. The luthier Sundqvist was active until his death in 1845, while among those guitar makers who started manufacturing in the 1840s the most significant is Carl Gustaf Florvall.

The number of guitars offered in the auctions of Helsinki increased in the 1840s and reached its pinnacle in the 1850s with around four dozen instruments. As each one appears to have found a buyer, there was apparently still a demand for them. The supply of strings had also become more extensive and geographically widespread by this time and even some private individuals were dealing semi-professionally in string vending. That said, early signs of a decreasing interest in the more serious cultivation of the instrument were already starting to appear in other sectors. For instance, although it is noteworthy that three renowned musicians, Axel Gabriel Ingelius, Rudolf Lagi and Carl Frans Blom, taught the guitar, the overall number of teachers was declining. Significantly, however, in 1856 Eduard Heinrichsohn did commence his career as a guitar teacher, one that was to span more than four decades. The number of shops selling at least some guitar music increased, but only Beuermann's assortment represented some quality. That said, the choice even in this shop was significantly less attractive than some of the assortments of earlier shops had been. No new luthiers emerged and Florvall died in 1857.

The developments of the four last decades of the century are best discussed as a whole. On the concert front, very little happened that is worth reporting and a general tendency was that towards the century's end performances of a lighter nature, often given in restaurants if not the circus, became more commonplace. A similar phenomenon, albeit of another character, are the numerous religious affiliations that the guitar began to develop. Overall one witnesses a decrease in the number of guitars offered in the auctions of Helsinki, although there was a slight temporary increase in the 1880s. Guitar teachers advertised less and less, but in the 1890s several individuals again publicised their services, albeit mainly in Helsinki. Of these, Josef Binnemann

and Magda Kempe were especially active. Regarding printed music, the abundant selection of guitar scores in Hermann Paul's music shop in the 1860s should be acknowledged. As more positive developments may be seen the publication of the first Finnish guitar composition (a song by Ingelius) in 1865 and the fact that gradually more and more shops offered guitars and strings.

If after this summary the gaze is turned towards the early twentieth century, we notice that the guitar scene remained largely as it had been at the close of the previous one. A search in the National Library of Finland's database of historical newspapers for the period 1900–1920 demonstrates this clearly with no relevant hits appearing for names such as Giuliani, Sor and Carulli, while instead the several Finnish and Swedish spellings of the word 'guitar' produce thousands of results. These include advertisements for social evenings with guitar music in their programmes, guitar lessons (mainly offered by a single individual), auctions and advertisements by music shops. This all suggests that little had changed since the last decades of the nineteenth century.

So, during the first half of the twentieth century the more popular styles of guitar playing gained ground, and it took until 1950, the year of the founding of the Helsinki Guitar Society (*Helsingin kitaraseura*), before newly kindled interest in a musically and technically more sophisticated use of the guitar may be seen in Finland. The instigator of this undertaking was Ivan Putilin, a Russian immigrant, who later became the teacher of the first generation of Finnish professional guitarists. An even more important milestone may be considered the guitar's acceptance as a major degree subject by the Sibelius Academy in 1967.

This development has also brought along an accumulation of a Finnish guitar repertoire. The country's first generation of professional guitar players in the 1970s took the initial steps in this direction as many were, apart from being generally active in the field of contemporary music, particularly keen to commission works by Finnish composers; the subsequent generations have followed this trail. Therefore, today guitar music has been written by nearly all of the country's leading composers. The honour of having been the first person in the twentieth century to do just so goes to the grand-old-man of Finnish mod-

ernism, Erik Bergman (1911–2006). His *Suite for guitar* was composed in Switzerland in 1949 and, for that reason, dedicated to the Swiss guitarist Hermann Leeb.⁹³⁴ The rest of Bergman's guitar oeuvre was, however, inspired by Finnish players.

934 Bergman, quite intriguingly, sent the manuscript of this work to Andrés Segovia, although he did not dedicate it to him. I am grateful to Angelo Gilardino for this information.

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Figure 116: Finnish Heritage Agency, HK10000:1057. Photo by Atelier Apollo.

Appendix

Guitar music for sale in Finland until the end of the nineteenth century

The present catalogue lists all the guitar works that are presently known to have been available for purchase in Finland until the end of the nineteenth century. Four categories of information are given for each individual work, these being the work's composer, its title, instrumentation and the date it was first available in Finland. Although, for instance, the place where a work was sold or the possible current location of an extant copy could also be provided, this information is not offered to prevent overburdening the catalogue with details that, in this context, are of a lesser relevance than the aforementioned four categories.

COMPOSER

The composer's surname and the initials of their first name are given whenever possible. An unknown first name is indicated with the sign '[?]', whereas if a composer's identity is debatable, the surname and the initials are followed by a question mark. In addition, 'Anon.' has been used in those few instances that a composer's identity remains to be known. The many collections containing music by several composers are catalogued as 'Collection' without itemising the individual composers. The same policy applies to certain collections of transcriptions, such as Eduard Bayer's 'Le Guitarriste [sic] au Salon'.

TITLE

In the sources, the titles are often given with a certain freedom, often involving abbreviations and translations, and orthographical errors are far from uncommon. Transcribing these as they are found would only create confusion and therefore, whenever possible, the titles have been given as they are written on the title page of the edition itself. The separate volumes of collections published under a general title, such as Caspar Joseph Mertz's '*Opern-Revue*', have been listed under their general heading followed by the number(s) of those volumes that were sold in Finland.

DATE

The date listed represents the earliest known date a work was for sale in Finland. This is an important historical fact and while later selling dates could be interesting as well, providing this information has, here, not been deemed as important a detail and, as such, it would again unnecessarily burden the catalogue. The auctions of Friedrich Anton Meyer's estate form an exception as regards the selling date because they were organised from 1834 to 1842, when the owner had already been dead for several years. This means that the shop's assortment of guitar music must have been for sale in Helsinki in the very early 1830s (if not already in Turku in the late 1820s). Lacking any advertisements placed by the shop, and because none of Meyer's sales catalogues from these years survive, the dates of the auctions are the earliest ones we have and are cited for this reason.

INSTRUMENTATION

The abbreviations used for the various instrumentations are the following:

ad. lib. ad libitum

fl flute

gt guitar

2gt guitar duo

3gt guitar trio

mand mandolin

obbl. obbligato

pf piano

vcl violoncello

vl violin

vla viola

THE CATALOGUE

| Composer | Title | Instrumentation | Date |
|-----------------|---|------------------------|-------------|
| A.v.K. | Laulu kitaran säestyksellä | voice, gt | 1899 |
| Aguado, D. | Douze Valses, op. 1 | gt | 1869 |
| —. | Trois Rondo brillants, op. 2 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Six petites pièces, op. 4 | gt | 1836 |
| Ahnfelt, O. | Andeliga Sånger | voice, gt/pf | 1851 |
| 'An amateur' | Kitara-Albumi | voice, gt | 1899 |
| Anon. | Album lyrique, vol. 1 | gt | 1842 |
| —. | Auswahl von Opernarien no. 197, 201, 205, 208, 209, 236 and 239–242 | voice, gt | 1834 |
| —. | Auswahl von Arien und Romanzen no. 207, 209, 221, 232, 233 and 238 | voice, gt/pf | 1834 |
| —. | Coupletter ur Vaudevillen 'Den nya Garnisonen' | voice, gt | 1837 |
| —. | Différentes Pièces pour la Guitare à sept cordes | 7-string gt | 1830 |

| Composer | Title | Instrumentation | Date |
|-------------------------------|--|-----------------|------|
| —. | Diverse nya noter för Pianoforte och Guitarre | gt, pf (?) | 1844 |
| —. | Liten visbok (till gitarr) | voice?, gt | 1899 |
| —. | Soldaten och hans flaska | voice, gt/pf | 1834 |
| —. | Sångstycken för Guitarre, vol. 1–2 | voice, gt | 1855 |
| Arnold, [?] | Auswahl von Gesängen | voice, gt | 1840 |
| —. | Quodlibet aus der 'Eheteufel auf Reisen', no. 5 | voice, gt | 1834 |
| Arnold, J., arr. | Walze favorite de l'Opéra 'Olimpia' | fl, gt | 1829 |
| Auber, D.F.E. | 4 sångstycken ur Operan 'Fra Diavolo' | voice, gt | 1875 |
| —. | Deux airs de l'Opéra 'Le Mançon' | voice, gt/pf | 1834 |
| —. | Nio sånger ur Operan 'Min Ondes Andel' | voice, gt | 1845 |
| —. | Sångstycken ur Operan 'Fra Diavolo' | voice, gt | 1833 |
| —, arr. P. Grabeler? | Ouverture de l'Opéra 'La Muette de Portici' | fl, vl, gt | 1863 |
| Banck, C. | Der Liebesbote | voice, gt/pf | 1845 |
| —. | Die Stunde schlägt | voice, gt/pf | 1845 |
| —. | Frühlingsauszug | voice, gt/pf | 1845 |
| —. | Gedenke mein! | voice, gt/pf | 1845 |
| —. | In der Ferne | voice, gt/pf | 1845 |
| —. | Sonst und jetzt | voice, gt/pf | 1845 |
| Baschny, J. | 3 Polonaises, op. 1 | gt | 1834 |
| Bayer, E. | 100 Récréations agréables et instructives, vol. 1–4 | gt | 1863 |
| —. | Concert-Fantasia über das Lied 'Die schönsten Augen', op. 17 | gt | 1863 |
| —. | Le Guitarriste [sic] au Salon, vol. 1, 4, 5, 12, 13 and 17 | gt | 1863 |
| Becker, W. | Sérénade facile, op. 36 | vl, gt, vcl | 1863 |
| Beethoven, L. van | Andante favori | 2gt | 1863 |
| —. | Sehnsuchtswalzer | 2gt | 1863 |
| —. | Sehnsuchs-, Schmerzens- und Hoffnungswalzer | gt | 1869 |
| —. | Adelaide. Romance | voice, gt | 1836 |
| —, arr. A. Diabelli? | Adelaide | voice, gt | 1863 |
| Beethoven, Mozart and Weber | 3 berömda valser | gt | 1863 |
| Bellini, V., arr. M. Giuliani | 2 Motifs favoris de Bellini, vol. 1–2 | gt | 1842 |
| Bellman, C.M. | Nio valda sånger | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —, arr. J. Boman | Musiken till 'Fredmans Epistlar', vol. 2 | voice, gt | 1828 |
| —, arr. A. Drakenberg | Musiken till 'Fredmans Epistlar', vol. 1 | voice, gt | 1839 |
| Bengzon, F. | Nyaste Gitarrskolan för sjelfstudium | method | 1891 |
| Bérat, F. | Ma Normandie, Romance | voice, gt | 1845 |

| Composer | Title | Instrumentation | Date |
|------------------------------------|--|-----------------|------|
| Berckenmeijer, B. | Tolf Sångstycken | voice, gt | 1837 |
| Berwald, J.F. | Coupletter utur Operetten 'Felsheims Husar' | voice, gt | 1832 |
| —. | Duett ur Vaudevillen 'Felsheims Husar' | voice, gt | 1832 |
| —. | Romance till Comedien 'Amanda' | voice, gt | 1832 |
| —. | Romance ur Operetten 'Felsheims Husar' | voice, gt | 1834 |
| —. | Romance ur Skädespelet 'Birger Jarl' | voice, gt | 1836 |
| Berwald, J.F.? | Sångerna ur National-Divertissementet | voice, gt | 1843 |
| Blomqvist, J., arr. | Valda sånger ur 'Hemlandstoner', vol. 1–2 | voice, gt | 1888 |
| Blum, C. | Caprices, op. 25 | gt | 1863 |
| —. | Das deutsche Lied | voice, gt | 1840 |
| —. | Divertissements progressifs, vol. 1–2 | gt | 1825 |
| —. | Divertissements, op. 39 | gt | 1863 |
| —. | Excercises, vol. 1–3 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | 'Le Bouquet', Trois Nocturnes, op. 64, no. 1–2 | fl, vl, gt | 1834 |
| —. | 'Le Bouquet', Trois Nocturnes, op. 64, no. 3 | fl, vl, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Marche, Danse et Marmotte des Savoyards | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Neue vollständige Guitarren-Schule | method | 1843 |
| —. | Rondoletto avec Piano, op. 38 | gt, pf | 1863 |
| —. | Sérénade | fl, gt | 1863 |
| Bodstein, F.A. | Anweisung die Guitarre zu spielen, zum Gebrauch beim Selbst Unterricht | method | 1851 |
| Boieldieu, A. | Aria ur Operan 'Hvita Frun' (Komm tjusande sköna) | voice, gt | 1830 |
| —. | Arie 'Ach welche Lust Soldat zu sein' | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Ausgewählte Stücke aus der Oper 'Johann von Paris' | voice, gt | 1825 |
| —. | Romance utur 'De båda Talismanerne' | voice, gt | 1832 |
| —, arr. F. Carulli | Ouverture: Hvita Frun | fl, gt | 1863 |
| —, arr. P.E. Hünten? | Ouverture de la 'Dame Blanche' | fl/vl, vla, gt | 1863 |
| Bolten, [?] | Drei Gesänge | voice, gt | 1837 |
| Boman, J. | Ätta duetter för två guitarrer | gt and 2gt | 1835 |
| —. | Necken, Weckblad för Guitarr-spelare (1832) | gt | 1833 |
| —. | Necken, Weckblad för Guitarr-spelare (1833) | gt | 1833 |
| —. | Sångstycken | voice, gt/pf | 1836 |
| Bornhardt, J.H.C. | Anweisung die Guitarre zu spielen | method | 1851 |
| —. | Unterhaltungen | fl, vl, gt | 1834 |
| Bornhardt, J.H.C and J.P.C. Schulz | Canzonetten und Romanzen aus 'Rinaldo Rinaldini' | voice, gt/pf | 1829 |
| Brage, [?] | Sånger | voice, gt | 1834 |
| Brand, A. | Choix d'Airs de l'Opéra 'Le Solitaire' de Carafa | vl, vla, gt | 1836 |
| —. | Trio | fl, vla, gt | 1834 |
| Brandes, G. | Six Pièces agréables | gt | 1836 |

| Composer | Title | Instrumentation | Date |
|----------------|---|-------------------|------|
| Busch, J.G. | 'Abendsterne', eine Sammlung Potpourris vol. 1, 3, 5 and 9 | vl/fl, gt | 1863 |
| Call, L. von | Sérénade, op? | vl/fl, gt | 1830 |
| —. | Sérénade, op. 23 | gt | 1836 |
| —. | Sérénade, op. 24 | 2gt | 1834 |
| —. | Sérénade, op. 91 | vl, gt | 1834 |
| —. | Sonate concertante, op. 108 | vl, gt | 1834 |
| —. | Variations pour la Mandoline ou le Violon et la Guitarre | vl/mand, gt | 1834 |
| —. | Variations, op. 27 | gt | 1836 |
| Capeller, J.N. | Sérénade | fl, vla, gt | 1834 |
| Carcassi, M. | 25 Etudes mélodiques et progressives, op. 60 | gt | 1863 |
| —. | Air des 'Mystères d'Isis' varié, op 24 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Air suisse varié, op. 20 | gt | 1847 |
| —. | 4 Airs favoris variés | gt | 1847 |
| Carulli, F. | 24 Duos (op. 27?) | 2gt | 1841 |
| —. | Deux Pot-pourris variés, op. 78 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Deux Duos très faciles, op. 176 | vl, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Deux Pot-Pourris variés, op. 78 | gt | 1825 |
| —. | Etrennes aux amateurs, op. 40 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Fantaisie avec variations, op. 98 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Fantaisie sur un Air national anglais, op. 102 | vl, gt | 1834 |
| —. | Fullständig Guitarre-Skola (A.W. Möller) | method | 1834 |
| —. | Gran Duo concertant, op. 328 | 2gt | 1841 |
| —. | Guitarr-Skola af Ferdinand Carulli. Öfversättning efter den nyaste Upplagan [...] af C.F. Bock | method | 1833 |
| —. | Les Folies d'Espagne variées de deux manières, op. 75 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Neue Guitarre-Schule (A. Cranz) | method | 1851 |
| —. | Rondeau avec Introduction, op. 290 | 2gt | 1841 |
| —. | Six petits duos dialogués, op. 34, no. 1 | 2gt | 1834 |
| —. | Solo avec variations, op. 107 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Solo stycken och duetter | gt and 2gt | 1836 |
| —. | Trois Duos, op. 89 | 2gt | 1834 |
| —. | Trois Fantaisies, op. 95, no. 1-2 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Trois Solos, op. 76 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Trois Sonates, op. 47 | gt, vl (ad. lib.) | 1836 |
| —. | Trois Valzes | gt, pf | 1863 |
| —. | Vingt-quatre morceaux très faciles, op. 121 | gt | 1863 |
| —. | Vollständige Guitarren-Schule. Neu, durchaus umgearbeitete Ausgabe von J.N. von Bobrowitz | method | 1842 |

| Composer | Title | Instrumentation | Date |
|-----------------|---|--------------------------|------|
| Collection | 'Amanda', tolf sånger af åtskillige tonsättare | voice, gt | 1835 |
| —. | 'Amanda', walda sånger, vol. 1 | several voices, gt/pf | 1837 |
| —. | 'Amanda', walda sånger, vol. 2 | several voices, gt/pf | 1836 |
| —. | 'Arion', eine Sammlung von Liedern und Gesängen, vol. 1–6. | voice, gt | 1850 |
| —. | Bibliothek för Guitarr-spelare, vol. 1–3 | voice, gt | 1841 |
| —. | 'Euphrosine', samling av valda sångstycken, vol. 1 | voice, gt | 1834 |
| —. | 'Euphrosine', samling av valda sångstycken, vol. 2 | voice, gt | 1835 |
| —. | 'Euphrosine', samling av valda sångstycken, vol. 3–4 | voice, gt | 1836 |
| —. | 'Källan', sånger för Kyrkan, Söndagskolan och Nykterhetssaken | voice, gt | 1894 |
| —. | Lördags-Magasin | gt; voice, gt | 1840 |
| —. | Nio favoritsånger | voice, gt | 1857 |
| —. | Nytt Lördags-Magazin | gt; voice, gt | 1844 |
| —. | 'Orphaea', walda sångstycken, vol. 1 | voice, gt | 1832 |
| —. | 'Orphaea', walda sångstycken, vol. 2 | voice, gt | 1833 |
| —. | 'Orphaea', walda sångstycken, vol. 3 | voice, gt | 1834 |
| —. | 'Penelope', wald samling af lätta sångstycken, vol. 1 | voice, gt | 1837 |
| —. | 'Penelope', wald samling af lätta sångstycken, vol. 2 | voice, gt | 1839 |
| —. | 'Philomèle', vald samling af lätta sångstycken, vol. 1 | voice, gt | 1837 |
| —. | 'Philomèle', vald samling af lätta sångstycken, vol. 2 | voice, gt | 1838 |
| —. | Quartetter, kupletter, sånger med gitarr | voice, gt | 1894 |
| —. | Samling af favorit romancer, vol. 1 | voice, gt | 1830 |
| —. | Six Romances françaises | voice, gt | 1823 |
| —. | Sånger af Häffner, Crusell, Geijer, Reichardt, O. Lindblad, Wennerberg m. fl. Samt Svenska och Danska Folkvisor | voice, gt/pf | 1848 |
| —. | 'Urania', wald samling af lätta sångstycken | voice, gt | 1839 |
| Crusell, B.H. | Fyra Sånger ur 'Frithiofs Saga' | voice, gt | 1827 |
| —. | Tre arier utur Operetten 'Den lilla Slafwinnan' | voice, gt | 1830 |
| —. | Tre Sånger ur 'Frithiofs Saga' | voice, gt | 1830 |
| —. | Två sånger utur 'Frithiofs Saga' | voice, gt | 1830 |
| Crusell, B.H.? | Pieniä kappaleita kitaransoittajille | gt | 1888 |
| Dannström, A.G. | Guitarre-Skola, efter Molinos, Carullis och Guillanis [sic] methoder | method | 1833 |

| Composer | Title | Instrumentation | Date |
|--------------------|--|-----------------|------|
| —. | Kärlekens snaror | voice, gt/pf | 1838 |
| Dannström, I. | Fyra Sånger | voice, gt | 1843 |
| —. | Romance | voice, gt/pf | 1843 |
| Davidov, S.I.? | Onze Ariettes de l'Opéra 'Rusalka' | gt | 1827 |
| Diabelli, A. | 30 sehr leichte Übungsstücke, op. 39 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | 7 Préludes progressives, op. 103 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Grand Trio, op. 62 | 3gt | 1836 |
| —. | Grande Sérénade, op. 67 | csakan, gt | 1836 |
| —. | Witz und Laune, vol. 2–6 | voice, gt | 1834 |
| Dittrich, F. | 24 Beliebte Stücke, op. 1, vol. 2–4 | gt | 1869 |
| —. | 'Der Guitarrensänger' Sammlung beliebter Gesänge, vol. 1, 2, 3, 9 and 11 | voice, gt | 1869 |
| Dobihal, J. | Différentes pièces | csakan, gt | 1836 |
| Donizetti, G. | Cavatina (Lucrezia Borgia) | voice, gt | 1850 |
| —. | Sex Sånger ur Operan 'Kärleksdrycken' | voice, gt | 1841 |
| —. | Sex Sånger ur Operan 'Lucie eller Bruden från Lammermoor' och 'Kärleksdrycken' | voice, gt | 1841 |
| —, arr. J. Küffner | Airs favoris de l'Opéra 'Marino Faliero' | gt | 1847 |
| —. | Airs favoris de l'Opéra 'Lucia di Lammermoor' | gt | 1847 |
| —. | Six airs favoris de l'Opéra 'La fille du Régiment' | gt | 1847 |
| —, arr. J. Nagel | Tolf walda Sånger ur Operan 'Lucie eller Bruden från Lammermoor' | voice, gt/pf | 1840 |
| Drexel, F. | Douze Marches, op. 12 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Recueil des pièces faciles et agréables, op. 31 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Trois polonoises, op. 18 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Sechs Lieder | voice, gt | 1842 |
| Droüet, L. | Svenska folksången med variationer | fl, gt | 1863 |
| Dubez, J. | Fantaisie sur des motifs hongrois | 7-string gt | 1852 |
| Dullyé, J.M. | Sechs Lieder | voice, gt | 1839 |
| Dunst, E. | Caprice, op. 5 | gt | 1834 |
| Edgren, A. | Fullständig gitarrrskola | method | 1888 |
| 'En sångens vän' | 'Melpomene', tolf sånger af åtskillige tonsättare | voice, gt | 1835 |
| Ernst, P. | Air de l'Opéra 'Cenerentola' par Rossini | fl, gt | 1832 |
| —. | Air de l'Opéra 'Jean de Paris' | fl, gt | 1832 |
| —. | Air de l'Opéra 'La Gazza Ladra' | fl, gt | 1832 |
| —. | Air de l'Opéra 'Le Barbier de Séville' | fl, gt | 1832 |
| —. | Air de l'Opéra 'Le Solitaire' de Carafa | fl, gt | 1832 |
| —. | Air de l'Opéra 'Semiramide' | fl, gt | 1834 |
| —. | Air de Rossini | fl, gt | 1836 |
| —. | Bollero de Carafa (Alta ragion di stato) | fl, gt | 1832 |

| Composer | Title | Instrumentation | Date |
|---------------------------|--|-----------------|------|
| —. | Cavatina alla Polacca de l'Opéra 'Adelaide' de Carafa | fl, gt | 1832 |
| —. | Cavatina de l'Opéra 'Le Barbier de Seville' | fl, gt | 1832 |
| —. | Cavatine de l'Opéra 'Italiana in Algeri' | fl, gt | 1832 |
| —. | Oh dolce concerto, varié et chanté par Madame Catalani | fl, gt | 1832 |
| —. | Thème de Carafa varié par Madame Metzger Vespermann | fl, gt | 1832 |
| —. | Thème de Carafa | fl, gt | 1837 |
| Fahrbach, J. | Stunden der Muse, op. 51, vol. 1–2 | gt | 1869 |
| Faubel, B. | 24 Valses favorites | fl, gt | 1829 |
| Fauvel, M. | Méthode élémentaire | method | 1834 |
| —. | Metodo y principios de Guitara [sic] | method | 1834 |
| Fiola, [?] | 10 Valses, op. 1 | gt | 1834 |
| Flotow, F. | Lieblings-Gesänge aus der Oper 'Alessandro Stradella', vol. 1–5 | voice, gt | 1850 |
| —. | Lieblings-Gesänge aus der Oper Alessandro Stradella', vol. 6 | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Potpourri: Martha | fl, vl, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Sechs Lieblingsmelodien aus der Oper 'Martha' | voice, gt | 1850 |
| Foreit, A. | Choix d'Airs pour une Flûte avec accompagnement de Guitare des Opéras [...], vol. 6 and 14 | fl, gt | 1878 |
| Fürstenau, A.B. | Variations, op. 5 | fl, gt | 1832 |
| —. | Variations, op. 53 | fl, gt | 1832 |
| —. | Variations, op. 54 | fl, gt | 1832 |
| —. | Variations, op. 55 | fl, gt | 1832 |
| Gänsbacher, J. | Sonate, op. 10, no. 1–2 | vl, gt | 1834 |
| Gärtner, K. von | Six Ländlers | gt | 1822 |
| Gaude, T. | 3 Themas variirt, op. 27 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Serenade (op. 40?) | fl, gt | 1840 |
| —. | Sonate, op. 24 | fl, gt | 1832 |
| —. | Sonate, op. 25 | fl, gt | 1836 |
| —. | Variations sur diverses thèmes, op. 29 | gt | 1834 |
| Gaude, T. and R. Gernlein | Solo stycken och duetter | gt and 2gt | 1836 |
| Geijer, E.G. | Förgät ej mig | voice, gt/pf | 1848 |
| —. | Kolargossen | voice, gt | 1830 |
| Giuliani, M. | 2 Rondo, op. 68 | gt, pf | 1834 |
| —. | 3 Rondo, op. 66 | 2gt | 1834 |
| —. | 6 Ländler, 6 Walzer, 6 Ecossaises, op. 58 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | 6 Variazioni, op. 60 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | 12 Variations faciles, op. 47 | gt | 1834 |

| Composer | Title | Instrumentation | Date |
|-------------------|---|--------------------|------|
| —. | 12 Walzer, op. 57 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | 14 Balli Nazionali, op. 24b | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Amusemens, op. 10 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Anfangsgründe für den ersten Unterricht bestehend aus XII Lectionen | gt | 1863 |
| —. | Divertimenti, op. 37, no. 2? | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Divertimenti, op. 40, no. 3–4? | gt | 1836 |
| —. | Divertimenti, op. 56, no. 1–2 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Divertissemens, op. 29 | gt | 1836 |
| —. | Esercizio, op. 48 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Le Papillon, op. 30, no. 1–3 | gt | 1863 |
| —. | Les Variétés Amusantes, op. 54 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Ländler, op. 55 | 2gt | 1834 |
| —. | Mauro Giuliani's Guitarr-Skola Samling af Melodiska Original-Öfningar | method | 1844 |
| —. | Otto Variazioni, op. 6 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Pot-Pourri, op. 26 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Quattro Variazioni e Finale, op. 140 | gt | 1843 |
| —. | Sérénade, op. 19 | vl, gt, vcl | 1863 |
| —. | Serenata, op. 127 | vl/fl, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Six Variations faciles, op. 32 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Six Variations sur l'air de Molinara, op. 4 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Six Variations, op. 2 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Sonata, op. 15 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Trois Rondeaux, op. 8 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Trois Rondeaux, op. 17 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Trois Rondo, op. 3 | gt | 1829 |
| —. | Vari Pezzi del Balletto 'Il Barbiere di Siviglia', op. 16b | gt | 1834 |
| Gräffer, A. | Grande Fantaisie, op. 15 | gt | 1825 |
| Gustaf, F.O. | Prins Gustafs sånger | voice, gt | 1855 |
| Halevy, J.F. | Romans | voice, gt/pf | 1848 |
| Haslinger, T. | Gran Trio concertant, op. 9 | fl, vla, gt | 1834 |
| Henkel, M. | Divertissement pour le pianoforte avec guitare obligée, op. 35 | pf, gt (obbl.) | 1823 |
| Hildebrandt, F.W. | Divertissement, op. 5 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Fantaisie lugubre | gt | 1825 |
| —. | Fantaisie, op. 4 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Journal för Guitarre, vol. 1 | gt; 1–2 voices, gt | 1823 |
| —. | Journal för Guitarre, vol. 2 | gt; 1–2 voices, gt | 1825 |
| —. | Journal för Guitarre, vol. 3 | gt; 1–2 voices, gt | 1830 |
| —. | Sex svenska folk-wisor | voice, gt | 1821 |
| —. | Six Polonoises | fl/vl and pf/gt | 1825 |

| Composer | Title | Instrumentation | Date |
|----------------|--|-----------------|------|
| —. | Verschiedene Tänze und ein Marsch | gt | 1823 |
| Himmel, F.H. | 9 Lieblingsmelodien aus 'Fanchon' | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | An Alexis send ich dich | voice, gt | 1863 |
| Hofer, F. | Variations, op. 1 | fl, gt | 1832 |
| —. | Variations, op. 2 | fl, gt | 1832 |
| —. | Variations, op. 3 | fl, gt | 1832 |
| Horetzky, F | Rondo, op. 11 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Valses brillantes, op. 10 | gt | 1834 |
| Hummel, J.N. | Krigaren | voice, gt | 1829 |
| Ingelius, A.G. | Gossen vid qvarnen | voice, gt | 1865 |
| Krebs, C. | Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung der Gitarre, vol. 1-12 | voice, gt | 1863 |
| Krebs, F.X. | Sechs schottische Tänze, op. 9 | 2gt | 1834 |
| —. | Walses et Polonoise, op. 8 | 2gt | 1834 |
| Kreutzer, C. | Romanze aus dem 'Nachtlager in Granada' | voice, gt | 1850 |
| Kummer, G. | Amusements, op. 18, no. 1-2 | fl, gt | 1832 |
| —. | Introduction et Variations sur un thème de Mozart, op. 10 | fl, gt | 1832 |
| Kücken, F. | 2 Lieder: 'Wo still ein Herz voll Liebe glüht', 'Gut' Nacht, fahr' wohl mein treues Herz' | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Ave Maria, op. 19 | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Das Mädchen von Juda | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Du bist wie eine Blume | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Frühlingsglaube | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Ich sass im Grünen | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Maurisches Ständchen, op. 31, no. 1 | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Wenn du wärst mein eigen | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Zwei Lieder (von Geibel) | voice, gt | 1851 |
| Küffner, J. | 10ème pot-pourri tiré de l'Opéra 'Euryanthe', op. 144 | fl/vl, vla, gt | 1834 |
| —. | 11ème Pot-Pourri tiré de l'Opéra 'Euryanthe', op. 145 | fl/vl, vla, gt | 1834 |
| —. | 12 Duos a l'usage des commençants, op. 87 | 2gt | 1834 |
| —. | 15ème potpourri sur des thèmes du 'Concert à la Cour', op. 180 | vl/fl, gt | 1836 |
| —. | 16ème potpourri sur des thèmes de 'Corradino' et 'Moïisé in Egitto' (in the source erroneously marked as the 15th potpourri) | fl, gt | 1834 |
| —. | 25 Sonatinas ou Exercices faciles, op. 80 | gt | 1863 |
| —. | Dixhuitième potpourri sur des thèmes favoris de l'Opéra 'Il Crociato in Egitto', op. 187 | fl/vl, vla, gt | 1834 |
| —. | Mélange sur les motifs des Opéras nouveaux, op. 270, vol. 1-2 | gt | 1869 |

| Composer | Title | Instrumentation | Date |
|------------------------------|--|-------------------------|------|
| —. | Pantomime en célébration de jubilé de 'Sa Majesté le Roi de Bavière', op. 165 | 2gt | 1834 |
| —. | Pot-pourri en Quatuor, op. 155 | fl, vl, vla, gt | 1834 |
| —. | Pot-pourri en Quintuor, op. 156 | fl/vl, vl, vla, vcl, gt | 1829 |
| —. | Pot-pourri, op. 56 | vl/fl, gt | 1832 |
| —. | Quatorzième potpourri sur des thèmes favoris de l'Opéra 'Le valet de Chambre' par Carafa | fl, gt | 1834 |
| —. | Récréations musicales, op. 312, vol. 1, 3, 5, 7, 10, 12, 19 and 22 | vl/fl, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Répertoire de nouvelles danses favorites (3 unidentified volumes) | gt | 1847 |
| —. | Répertoire de nouvelles danses favorites, vol. 7 and 8 | gt | 1851 |
| —. | Sept Sonatines, op. 93 | 2gt | 1834 |
| —. | Sérénade, op. 65 | vl, vla, gt | 1834 |
| —. | Sérénades, op. 158 | fl, gt | 1834 |
| —. | Treizième pot pourri tiré des thèmes de l'Opéra 'La Gazza Ladra', op. 152 (op. 151?) | fl, vla, gt | 1836 |
| Köhler, H. | Recueil de petites pièces agréables et progressives, op. 114 | fl, gt | 1832 |
| Labitzky, J. | De vackraste dansar [sic] | gt | 1863 |
| —. | Die Nordländer. Walzer, op. 37 | gt | 1843 |
| —. | Immergrün-Galopp, op. 65 | gt | 1842 |
| —. | Neue Aurora Walzer, op. 69 | gt | 1842 |
| —. | Quadrilles, op. 86 | gt | 1842 |
| Labitzky, J.? | Woronzow-Walzer, op. 27 | gt | 1842 |
| Lanner, J. | Die Sonderlinge, op. 183 | gt | 1842 |
| —. | Elite-Tänze, op. 182 | gt | 1842 |
| —. | Les Adieux, op. 185 | gt | 1842 |
| —. | Original Oberösterreicher-Ländler von op. 186 | gt | 1842 |
| Legnani, L. | Introduction, thème et variations, op. 224 | gt | 1847 |
| —. | Introduction et thème, op. 237 | gt | 1847 |
| Leidesdorf, M.J. | Ungdomen. Romans | voice, gt | 1832 |
| Liedberg, F., arr. | 'Polyhymnia'. En samling af romancer | voice, gt/pf | 1836 |
| Lindblad, A.F. | Skjuts-gossen på hemvägen | gt | 1839 |
| Lindblad, A.F. and A. Randel | Sånger | gt | 1841 |
| Lindblad, O. | Sex sånger | voice, gt/pf | 1862 |
| —. | Sånger | voice, gt/pf | 1851 |
| Lindpaintner, P.J. von | Die Fahnenwacht | voice, gt | 1863 |
| Lortzing, A. | Sonst spielt' ich mit Szepter | voice, gt | 1863 |
| Malibran, M. | Tyrolenskans hemkomst | voice, gt | 1836 |

| Composer | Title | Instrumentation | Date |
|---|---|-----------------|------|
| Matiegka, W. | XII pièces faciles, op. 3 | gt | 1834 |
| Mayseder, J. | Variations sur un thème grec | vl, gt | 1834 |
| —, arr. A. Diabelli | 4te Grosse Polonaise | vl, gt | 1834 |
| Mehul, E. | Romanze aus der Oper 'Joseph' | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —, arr. E. Dunst | Ouverture de l'Opéra 'La Chasse du jeune Henry' | 2gt | 1834 |
| Melliant, [?] de | Fantaisie | gt | 1834 |
| Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, F., arr. F.L. Schubert | Lieder und Gesänge, vol. 1–10. | voice, gt | 1863 |
| Mertz, J.K. | Deux Polonoises favorites d'Oginsky, op. 13 (vol. 12 and 13 of 'Bardenklänge'?) | gt | 1863 |
| —. | El Olé; La Madrileña, (op. 89?) | gt | 1863 |
| —. | Le Carnaval de Venise, op. 6 | gt | 1863 |
| —. | Opern-Revue, op. 8, vol. 1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 12, 14, 17, 21, 23, 25, 27, 30, 32 and 33 | gt | 1863 |
| —. | 'Portefeuille' für Gitarre-Spieler | gt | 1863 |
| Meyer, G. | 'Harfenklänge', heitere und ernste Lieder, vol. 1 | voice, gt | 1859 |
| Meyerbeer, G. | Arioso: Ach mein Sohn ('Der Prophet') | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Cavatine: Es füllt allein mein Herz ('Die Hugenotten') | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Le Ranz de Vaches d'Appenzell | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | O gebt, o gebt ('Der Prophet') | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Romanze: Ihr Wangenpaar ('Die Hugenotten') | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —, arr. J.N. Bobrowitz | Lied des Pagen | voice, gt | 1863 |
| Molino, F. | 12 Walses, op. 9 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | 3 Duos, op. 10 | vl, gt | 1834 |
| —. | Deux Fantaisies, op. 13 | gt | 1836 |
| —. | Le plaisir de tous les goûts ou 30 variations sur l'air Fleuve du Tage, op. 35 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Premier Nocturne, op. 36 | gt, pf | 1843 |
| —. | Premier Nocturne, op. 37 | vl/fl, gt | 1841 |
| —. | Second Nocturne, op. 44 | gt, pf | 1841 |
| —. | Six Rondeaux, op. 11 | gt | 1836 |
| —. | Six thèmes avec variations, op. 12 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Trois Duos faciles, op. 3 | vl, gt | 1834 |
| —. | Trois Sonates, op. 6 | gt | 1834 |
| —. | Trois Trios, op. 4 | fl, vla, gt | 1836 |
| Mozart, W.A. | Arie: Lass dich am Fenster sehen ('Don Giovanni') | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Warnung | voice, gt | 1863 |

| Composer | Title | Instrumentation | Date |
|--|---|----------------------|------|
| —, arr. [?] Mayer | Ouverture: Figaro | fl, vl, gt | 1863 |
| Müller, J. | Guitarre-Skola, eller Anvisning att Stämma och Spela Guitarre efter Bornhardts, Carullis, Guileaniis [sic], Harders et Molinos Methoder | method | 1829 |
| Müller, J.J. | Potpourris sur des thèmes d'Opéras, vol. 1-8 | fl, vl/vla, gt | 1863 |
| Müller, W. | Aline-Walzer | gt | 1834 |
| N.H. | Pieni kitaransoittaja | method | 1897 |
| Nagel, C. | Serenade | fl, gt | 1875 |
| Nagel, J. | 'Cecilia', samling af lätta tonstycken | gt or 2gt | 1836 |
| —. | Nordmön i Söder | voice, gt | 1839 |
| —. | Potpouri för 2:ne Guitarre öfver åtskilliga favoritthema ur nyare Operor | 2gt | 1836 |
| —. | Serenad | voice, gt/pf | 1844 |
| Nentwich, A. | 6 Romanzen | voice, gt/pf | 1826 |
| Neupert, H. | Sexton solo pjeser | gt | 1835 |
| Neupert, H. and 'En ung Musik-Älskare' | Solo stycken och duetter. | gt; 2gt | 1836 |
| Neupert, H. and A.G. Dannström | 'Polymnia', samling af valda sångstycken | voice, gt | 1836 |
| Offenbach, J. | Sånger ur 'Orpheus i Underjorden', 'Den Ondes Besegrare' och 'Den Svaga Sidan' | voice, gt | 1863 |
| Oginsky, M. | Favorit Polonaise | gt | 1863 |
| Padowetz, J. | 'Bouquet', sehr leichte und angenehme Stücke für die ersten Anfänger der Guitarre | gt | 1841 |
| Pagliara, R. | Divertimenti spagnuoli, vol. 1 | gt | 1834 |
| Paisiello, G. | Canzonetta aus 'Der Schuster' | voice, gt/pf | 1834 |
| Pettoletti, J. | Variations concertantes | vl, gt | 1834 |
| Peyer, J. | Musikalische Taschenbibliothek für Guitarrespieler, vol. 1, 3, 4 and 6 | voice, gt; fl/vl, gt | 1859 |
| Pixis, J.P. | Der Schweizerpub | voice, gt | 1832 |
| Pleyel, I. | Sonatinas | vl, gt | 1836 |
| Proch, H. | An die Sterne, op. 6 | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Das Alpenhorn, op. 18 | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Das Erkennen, op. 36 | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Schweizers Heimweh, op. 38 | voice, gt | 1863 |
| Randel, A. | Trädgårdsflickan | voice, gt | 1839 |
| Reichardt, G. | Das Bild der Rose | voice, gt | 1863 |
| Reissiger, C.G. | Auswahl beliebter Lieder und Gesänge, vol. 1-6 | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Die Grenadiere | voice, gt | 1863 |
| Righini, V. | Adieux de Marie Stuart à la France par elle même | voice, gt | 1828 |
| Ritter, P. | Sérénade de l'Opéra 'Le Mandarin' | fl, vla, gt | 1834 |

| Composer | Title | Instrumentation | Date |
|--------------------|---|-----------------|------|
| Rossini, G. | Cavatine aus 'Der Barbier von Sevilla' | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Ouverture de l'Opéra 'Il Barbiere di Siviglia' | vl/fl, gt | 1863 |
| —, arr. F. Carulli | Ouverture: Il Barbiere di Siviglia | fl, vl, gt | 1863 |
| Salzmann, A. | Sérénade, op. 3 | fl, gt | 1832 |
| Sandrin, P. | 6 Cavatine, op. 13 | voice, gt | 1836 |
| —. | Sonata concertante, op. 15 | fl, gt | 1834 |
| Schordan, C.F. | Sammlung ausgewählter Liederweisen, Märsche, Tänze und anderer kleinen Stücke | gt | 1825 |
| —. | Valses de Muzio Clementi | vl, gt | 1834 |
| Schubert, F. | Ave Maria | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Das Fischermädchen | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Der Wanderer | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Die Forelle | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Erlkönig | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Liebesbotschaft | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Lob der Thränen | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Ständchen | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Trost in Thränen | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Ungeduld | voice, gt | 1863 |
| Schulze, C.A. | Rondo | fl, gt | 1828 |
| Sjögren, J.P. | Den fullständigaste stora Gitarrskolan | method | 1894 |
| Sor, F. | Introduction et variations sur un thème de Mozart, op. 9 | gt | 1836 |
| Spintler, C. | Amusements sur des thèmes de l'Opéra 'Il Trovatore' | fl, vl, gt | 1863 |
| Steibelt, D. | Rondo favorit | vl/fl, gt | 1832 |
| Stigelli, G. | Die schönsten Augen, op. 2 | voice, gt | 1863 |
| Strauss, J. | De vackraste Danser | gt | 1863 |
| —. | Elektrische Funken | gt | 1842 |
| —. | Exotische Pflanzen | gt | 1842 |
| —. | Myrthen Walzer | gt | 1842 |
| —. | Palmzweige | gt | 1843 |
| —. | Paris Walzer | gt | 1842 |
| —. | Rosa-Walser | fl, gt | 1839 |
| —. | Taglioni Walzer | gt | 1842 |
| —. | Tanz-Recepte | gt | 1842 |
| Stössel, N. | Divertissement, op. 33 | fl, gt, pf | 1836 |
| Süssmann, P. | 'Melodienbuch', Sammlung beliebter Volks- Opern und Tanzmelodien, vol. 1-3 | gt | 1863 |
| Teichmüller, C. | Potpourri op. 7 | fl, gt | 1832 |
| Torp, O. | Six Laendlers | gt | 1825 |
| Trad. | 'Bardale', Sammlung auserlesener Volkslieder, vol. 1-6 | voice, gt/pf | 1837 |

| Composer | Title | Instrumentation | Date |
|---------------------------|--|-------------------|------|
| —. | La Cachucha, La Gitana. Zwey spanische Nationaltänze | gt | 1842 |
| —. | Russisches Volkslied: Der rothe Sarafan | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Steyerisches Volkslied | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —. | Svenska folk-visor, vol. 1 | voice, gt? | 1839 |
| —. | Volkslied aus Thüringen | voice, gt | 1863 |
| —, arr. | 40 sovitelmaa sitraa ja kitaraa varten | gt | 1895 |
| J. Binnemann | suomalaisista ja ruotsalaisista sävellyksistä ja kansanlauluista | | |
| Uddén, O.W. | Sånger, vol. 1 | voice, gt/pf | 1838 |
| Weber, C. von | Ouverture: Der Freischütz | vl/fl, gt | 1863 |
| Weber, G. | Barcarolle venitienne variée, op. 38 | vl/fl, gt | 1832 |
| —. | Etude de Flute en Dix Variations, Oeuv. 39 | fl, gt (ad. lib.) | 1832 |
| —. | Thème favori de l'Opéra 'Der Freischütz' varié, op. 37 | fl, gt (ad. lib.) | 1832 |
| Wennerberg, G. | Sånger, vol. 1 | voice, gt | 1850 |
| Zani de Ferranti, M.A. | Collection complète, vol. 1 and 7. | gt | 1869 |

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Abstract

Jukka Savijoki

'So that the soul would dance in you'

The Guitar in Finland before the Twentieth Century

The present research is a study of the guitar's history in Finland prior to the twentieth century. This subject has not been the object of research until this point – in fact hardly an article dealing with it has been written – and therefore the chosen approach is an overview of the guitar's vicissitudes in the country rather than an immersion in one specific area of the instrument's past. The field of study is divided into ten subjects, of which each one receives one chapter.

Finnish guitar history begins, belatedly, in the early nineteenth century, at which time the country had only been established as the Grand Duchy of Finland for a handful of years, but other types of plucked instrument were present in the country when it had still formed a part of the Kingdom of Sweden. The first chapter of the book, therefore, presents what we know about the cultivation of these earlier instruments, most notable among them the lute, the cittern and the Swedish lute. In addition, this chapter discusses the date of the guitar's arrival in Finland.

The subsequent two chapters study the Finnish guitar amateurs and the repertoire they had at their disposal in the country's shops. We learn that a number of guitar enthusiasts came from the society's higher strata and that among these were also several women; the fairly representative selections of guitar music offered by the Finnish shops is also an interesting finding. The fifth chapter is dedicated to individuals who gave instruction on the instrument's playing. It is noteworthy that their number was fairly high and that some continued giving lessons over several decades. On the other hand, many of the teachers were travelling musicians who stayed only a brief period in the country; moreover, most were of foreign birth. The following chapter discusses the public performances on the guitar. These were of sundry kind and, just as elsewhere in Europe, they did not take the form of solo recitals but rather conformed to the tradition of the so-called benefit concerts and musical soirées. An essential theme is also the commerce of guitars and their local manufacture. The known Finnish luthiers number around a dozen and

while all their extant instruments are discussed in detail in this chapter, in addition it presents an overview of the various individuals and shops that sold the instruments. The next chapter attends to a somewhat specialised subject: the strings. Starting with a brief introduction to their manufacture, it then discusses the possible local produce of strings as well as their general supply in the country; bridge pins, tuning machines and tuning pegs are also briefly commented. Following this, the attention is focused on the cost of guitar playing, while the two last chapters deal with themes more indirect to guitar music: the guitar's appearance in Finnish paintings and the miscellaneous information regarding the guitar that may be found in the press of the time.

A selection of DocMus Research Publications

2. Tuppurainen, Erkki (toim.), *Codex Westh: Westhin koodeksin kirkkolaulut* (2012)
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14. Hilkka-Liisa Vuori, Marika Räsänen & Seppo Heikkinen, *The Medieval Offices of Saint Thomas Aquinas* (2019)

The present book is a study of the guitar's history in Finland prior to the twentieth century, a subject that has not been researched before. Each chapter of the book centres around a specific theme, starting with early plucked instruments in Finland and the beginnings of Finnish guitar culture. The chapters that follow introduce the country's first amateur guitarists – prominent figures in music, literature and the fine arts among them – and discuss the public performance culture of the guitar, the sale of its music and the manufacture and distribution of guitar strings. In addition, the cost of guitar playing as a hobby is provided in overview, while contemporary anecdotes and other miscellaneous press reports paint a lighter-hearted picture of the instrument. Owing to the pioneering nature of this study, most of its findings are here presented to the general public for the first time. The reader will find out, for instance, who wrote the first Finnish composition for the guitar as well as Fredrik Lithander's thoughts about the instrument.



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