

## Domenico Scarlatti in the Netherlands: a hitherto unknown Scarlatti printed edition

Jasper van der Klis, March 2026

In recent decades, many institutions worldwide have taken to digitising (historical) newspapers. Examples of these are the ANNO project (AustriaN Newspapers Online, launched 2003), the British Newspaper Archive (launched 2011), and Delpher (launched 2013). The latter – a Dutch project by the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (Royal Library) – currently hosts some 2 million papers totalling more than 17 million pages.

To ascertain the publishing dates of some extant Scarlatti collections we used these digital archives to look for evidence. Music publishers often published advertisements in local or national newspapers. While these do not necessarily tell us how popular a certain edition was, they do tell us more about when an edition was first printed and what may have prompted the undertaking.

As I was looking through the Delpher database I came across an advertisement in the *Leydse courant* (Leiden) of 2 December 1739. The advertisement reads (Figure 1):

‘By Adrianus vander Hoeven, Boekverkoper te Leyden, is gedrukt: Effercizii per il CEMBALO di domenico SCARLATTI Opera prima apart, op loffe Vellen tot gerief der Liefhebbers ... En zyn te bekomen te Amfterdam by *Oloff* in de Graveftraat, te Utrecht by *Mulder* [Muller?], en in ‘s Hage by *Selhof* en *Berkoske*’

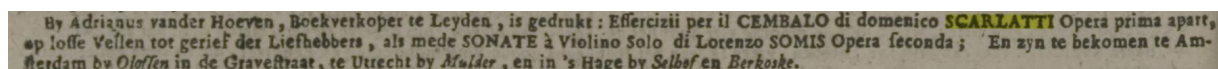


Figure 1. Adrianus van der Hoeven’s advertisement in the *Leydse courant*, 2 December 1739

Freely translated:

‘Adrianus van der Hoeven, bookseller in Leiden, has printed: *Essercizi per il Cembalo di Domenico Scarlatti, Opera prima, separately on loose sheets for the convenience of [music] lovers ... Available in Amsterdam at Olofsen’s in de Gravestraat, in Utrecht at Muller’s, and in The Hague at Selhof’s and Berkoske’s*’

To Scarlatti scholars, Van der Hoeven's name will not ring a bell. In fact, this edition had never been mentioned in secondary sources until Rudolf Rasch's 2018 work on musical advertisements in Dutch newspapers (1621-1794). In this work, Van der Hoeven's advertisement is given without further commentary and relevance within the wider Scarlatti transmission history. With great thanks to Rudolf Rasch, who provided further information in private correspondence, as well as thanks to work by the Dutch musicologist Albert Dunning – who in 1964 published a monograph on the Amsterdam-based publisher Witvogel – we are now able to provide a more accurate account of how the Scarlatti craze in London spread to mainland Europe, and particularly within the Netherlands.

In 1739, two publishers in the Netherlands caught wind of the enormous success of the *Essercizi* (1738/39; see Ife 2020) which led to the English cult of Domenico Scarlatti (Newton 1939). As is well-known to Scarlatti scholars, the first and most impactful of these two was the Amsterdam publisher Gerhard Fredrik Witvogel. The second – and hitherto unknown to Scarlatti scholars – was the Leiden bookseller Adrianus (or Adrianis) van der Hoeven, whose shop could be found in the Maarsmansteeg just off the Breestraat (one of the most important streets in Leiden).

As mentioned in Dunning 1964, Witvogel was by no means the most prominent Dutch music publisher: much more important were the firms of Roger-Le Cène and Hummel. Despite this, Witvogel – an organist in some of Amsterdam's Lutheran churches – was an interesting man who may have claimed that divine intervention led him to start publishing musical works. As far as we know, Van der Hoeven was a minor figure by comparison. According to Dunning, many of the eighteenth-century Dutch publishers regularly printed pirated editions or published reprints, but this was not a practice unique to the Dutch industry: Scarlatti scholars have long questioned the relationship between the Boivin and Roseingrave editions.

From 1731 to 1746 – the year of his death – Witvogel published 93 editions: the Scarlatti edition is numbered 73. According to a 1756 account by Jacob Wilhelm Lustig – a prominent figure in Dutch music publishing – Witvogel's engraver was the 'extraordinary copper plate cutter C. Koek'. Based on other contemporary Dutch music publications I have examined, this engraver worked together with most of the leading Dutch publishers of the time, including Roger/Le Cène. After his death, Witvogel's plates were acquired by the

Amsterdam publisher Johannes Covens de Jonge (1722-1794). This Gioanni Covens Junior – as his name appears on later reprints of the Witvogel edition – seems to have profited considerably from this acquisition, as many of his reprints have survived.

Dunning identifies five types of Witvogel publications: 1) authentic prints; 2) pirated prints; 3) reprints; 4) publications of uncertain authenticity; and 5) arrangements. The Scarlatti edition is categorised as a reprint of the Essercizi, and not a pirated print, as the composer’s original manuscript was unlikely to have been consulted for its publication. Though no publication date is present on the Witvogel edition, based on its catalogue number it is likely that it was first published in 1739.

In an advertisement in the Leydse courant of 7 September 1739 (Figure 2) – the same paper in which Van der Hoeven advertised his Scarlatti edition in December of that year – Witvogel tells us that he has just reprinted eight of his editions, and that a forthcoming print of Geminiani violin sonatas will be available soon. Among the catalogue numbers of the editions mentioned by Witvogel in this advertisement are 68, 70, 71, and 72, and the forthcoming Geminiani print is number 74. With this in mind, and the fact that Van der Hoeven was independently working on an Essercizi reprint at the same time, it is unlikely that Witvogel’s edition (number 73) was published in 1742 as proposed in Deutsch 1946 and Deutsch 1961 (and consequently in Sheveloff 1970). Based on Witvogel’s extant catalogues, he was acutely aware of what was popular in other European cities at the time, and it would be unlike him to wait three years before cashing in.

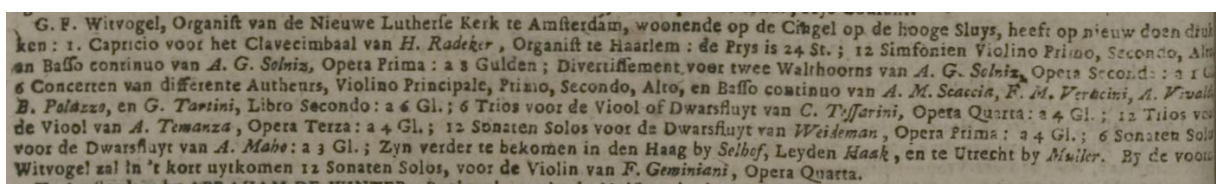


Figure 2. Witvogel’s advertisement in the Leydse courant, 7 September 1739

While Witvogel’s reprint of the Essercizi appears to have been quite successful, Van der Hoeven’s loose sheets did not survive. It is unlikely that the sonatas were printed in large numbers despite repeated advertisements by Van der Hoeven in both the Leydse courant as well as the Amsterdamse courant in 1741. That the sonatas were sold as loose sheets rather than as bound volumes would also have affected the survival chances of this edition. I have

not been able to ascertain how expensive any of the thirty sonatas would have been. Witvogel's complete edition, as advertised by Johannes Covens Junior in 1747, was sold for 6 florins: this was roughly equivalent to the average weekly salary of a trained labourer.

What we do know from the advertisement of the Van der Hoeven edition is that it was undoubtedly based on the *Essercizi* and not on Witvogel's reprint. This is confirmed by the fact that Van der Hoeven explicitly names the sonatas 'Effercizii' and not 'XXX Sonate' as in Witvogel. Additionally, while the instrument is simply referred to as 'cembalo' by Van der Hoeven, Witvogel's title page has 'clavicembalo' (the title page of the *Essercizi*, of course, has 'gravicembalo').

While the *Essercizi* print has 110 pages of music, Witvogel's edition only contains 86 pages. This is a result of the different page orientation in Witvogel and the less spacious arrangement of the musical text. All of the *Essercizi* are printed on either two or four modern pages: it is assumed that Van der Hoeven's sheets would either have been bifolios (four pages) or, for the shorter sonatas, a single folio (two pages). According to Rasch, the preparation of an edition of this size would have taken approximately two to three months. That both Witvogel and Van der Hoeven were able to advertise their editions within three months of one another – with different titles and specifications – supports the idea of two parallel, independent undertakings.

The practice of selling single sonatas, rather than an entire volume, was likely a decision made by Van der Hoeven to increase his profit margins. If people were only interested in the *Cat's Fugue*, for instance, they only needed to buy one sheet – perhaps for as much as 4 *stuivers*, or the equivalent of an hour or two of work – rather than the entire Witvogel volume at 6 florins (or 120 *stuivers*). Reprinting just one sonata would have therefore been a small investment for Van der Hoeven. That these single sheets were available in at least five different locations – Leiden, Amsterdam, Utrecht, and two shops in The Hague – would have certainly helped sales.

Adrianus van der Hoeven was just one of many publishers active in the 1730s and 1740s in the Netherlands. Like Witvogel, he may have been trying to take advantage of the popularity of Scarlatti's music in London. Unlike Witvogel, Van der Hoeven called himself a 'bookseller' and not a musician or music specialist: it appears, therefore, that even non-specialists were trying to ride the Scarlatti wave. Today, almost none of Van der Hoeven's publications survives: to my knowledge, only three copies of Locatelli's *6 Concerti a quattro*

Op. 7 survive in Leiden, Stockholm, and Moscow (<https://rism.online/sources/990038270>). No adverts of musical works published by Van der Hoeven appear after April 1741. The only archival material to have survived is a printer's mark dated 1732 (in the collection of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam; Figure 3) and some minutes of a 1736 meeting with the notary Hendrik Isacq Kreet in the collection of the Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken (Figure 4). Unfortunately, Van der Hoeven's Scarlatti sheets have not survived.



Figure 3. Van der Hoeven's printer's mark, 1732. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.177339>

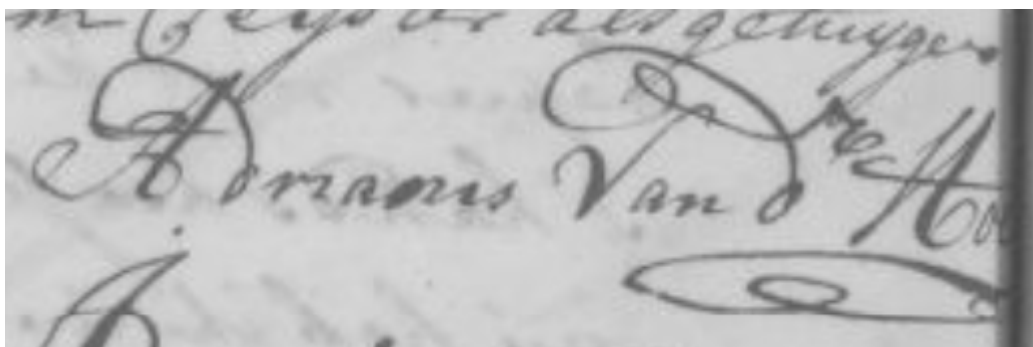


Figure 4. Van der Hoeven's signature under his declaration made in the office of Leiden notary Hendrik Isacq Kreet. Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, 0506 Inventaris van de Oude notariële archieven van Leiden, 1564-1811; archief van notaris Hendrik Isacq Kreet, 1724-1774, item 1926 (1736).

<https://www.erfgoedleiden.nl/collecties/archieven/archievenoverzicht/file/bc068e90-4059-3f0f-a80b-393e96b3635a>

I would like to thank Professor Rudolf Rasch (Utrecht University) for his kind assistance. Rasch's work on music in the Dutch republic (mostly in Dutch) is accessible online at <https://muziekinderepubliek.sites.uu.nl/>. Transcriptions of musical advertisements in Dutch newspapers collected by Rasch in the period 1621-1794 are available online at <https://muziekinderepubliek.sites.uu.nl/muzikale-advertenties/> (Rudolf Rasch, Muzikale advertenties in Nederlandse kranten 1721-1794).