

## A European Music Treatise Published in Late Eighteenth-Century Batavia (Jakarta)

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In 1792, the sixth volume of the *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (Proceedings of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences; figure 2-1) was published in colonial Batavia (Jakarta). It included a 302-page treatise on music, titled “Redeneeringen over nuttige Muzikaale Onderwerpen, Tot onderzoek van Kenners, tot verlustiging van Geoeffende en tot onderrichting van weetgierige Muziek-liefhebbers” (Arguments on useful musical topics, for the investigation of connoisseurs, for the delight of the practiced, and for the education of curious music lovers; figure 2-2).<sup>1</sup> Discussing diverse aspects of European music aesthetics, genres, theory, and history, as well as considering music’s place in (European) society, it takes up some two-thirds of the volume and is attributed to “Johannes Vranciscus [*sic*] Gratiæn” (Jan Frans Gratiæn).<sup>2</sup> This person was employed for most of his life by the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, or VOC). Born in Bruges in 1727, he moved to Ceylon (Sri Lanka) in 1747 and resided there (apart from a brief period in southern India) until his death in 1788. The work bearing his name was printed posthumously. It appears to be the most extensive literary text on European music published in Southeast Asia before the nineteenth century.

The “Redeneeringen over nuttige Muzikaale Onderwerpen,” although concerned solely with European music, is relevant for Indonesian music historiography to the extent that it demonstrates the concerns of the colonial elite in late eighteenth-century Batavia (as well as other settlements of the VOC) and the networks of musical thought and discourse that enabled its publication.<sup>3</sup> It has remained somewhat obscure since its first appearance but has not gone unnoticed in musicology.<sup>4</sup> In her doctoral dissertation of 2001, Els Strategier made a startling

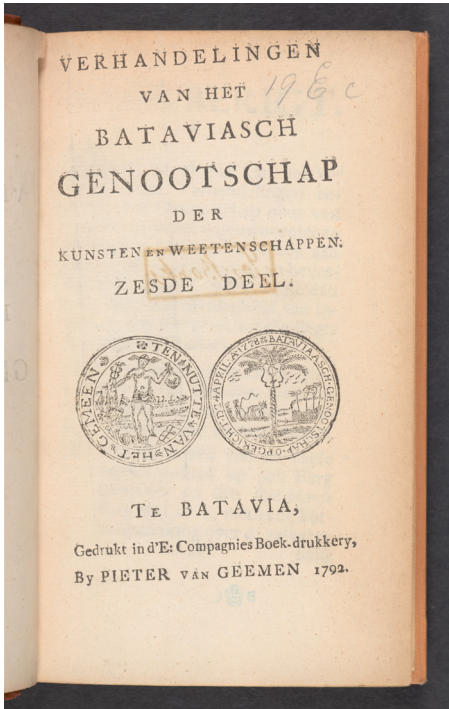


FIGURE 2-1. Title page of the sixth volume of the *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (Batavia [Jakarta]: Pieter van Geemen, 1792). © The British Library Board 438.k.13-27

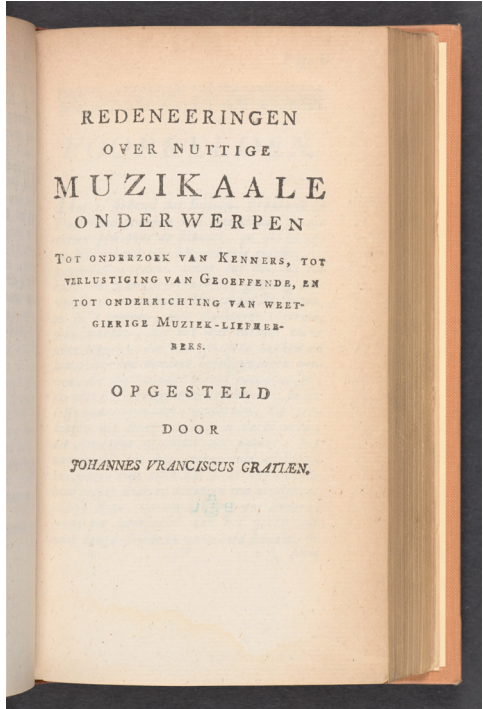


FIGURE 2-2. Johannes Vranciscus Gratiaen, "Redeneeringen over nuttige Muzikale Onderwerpen, Tot onderzoek van Kenners, tot verlustiging van Geoeffende en tot onderrichting van weetgierige Muziek-liefhebbers," *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* 6 (1792): seventh section, title page. © The British Library Board 438.k.13-27

observation about it. She found that Gratiaen's text is a paraphrase of two treatises by Jacob Wilhelm Lustig (1706–96), a musician born in Hamburg who later became organist at the Martini church in Groningen.<sup>5</sup> Lustig was a prolific writer who produced, in Dutch, a large corpus of writings on music, including translations of historical writings by Charles Burney (1726–1814) and of treatises by Johann Joachim Quantz (1697–1773), Andreas Werckmeister (1645–1706), Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1718–95), and Nicolò Pasquali (ca. 1718–57)—as well as his own works. The last category includes Lustig's *Inleiding tot de Muziekkunde* (Introduction to the study of music, 1751, reprinted 1758; second edition, 1771) and *Twaalf redeneeringen over nuttige Muzikale Onderwerpen* (Twelve arguments on useful musical topics, 1756), the two texts that Gratiaen plundered for his "Redeneeringen."<sup>6</sup> According to Strategier, there is no mention of Lustig's name anywhere in the Batavian document of 1792; she further observes that Gratiaen

claims authorship of the entire work in a fourteen-page preface (“Voorreeden”). In that portion of the text, occasional mentions of the “East Indies” or “Indies” might indeed lead one to believe that Gratiaen had composed at least this introductory section, even if the chapters that follow are taken from Lustig. Closer examination shows, however, that this preface was also adapted and pasted together from snippets of multiple editions of Lustig’s *Inleiding* and *Twaalf redeneeringen*, published between 1751 and 1771.

These features raise many questions. The present chapter investigates the circumstances surrounding this curious publication that emanated, perhaps rather unexpectedly, from the VOC’s press in Batavia in 1792 (and again in a reprint of 1827, which used updated Dutch orthography). We begin by examining the wider context for music in colonial Batavian society, leading up to the establishment of the Bataviaasch Genootschap and establishment of the *Verhandelingen*. Subsequently, we investigate issues pertaining to authorship, intended audience, chronology of the text’s production, and the relation of the contents to Lustig’s writings. To close, we offer some thoughts about the possible reception of the document.

#### COLONIAL BATAVIA AND THE BATAVIAASCH GENOOTSCHAP VAN KUNSTEN EN WETENSCHAPPEN

The settlement established by the Dutch at the Javanese port of Jacatra and named Batavia (after the ancient Roman term for the low countries) in 1619 became a major hub in an extensive network of knowledge transfer mediated by VOC shipping. Its routes spread eastward through the Southeast Asian archipelago and as far as Japan, west across the Indian Ocean to Ceylon and southern Africa, and to the Netherlands.<sup>7</sup> Within the ranks of the VOC (which employed only men, although it permitted a limited number of women to travel from the Netherlands to the colonies), there were various people who were practitioners and patrons of art music. A prominent example is Ferdinand Dejean (1731–97), a German-born surgeon for the company based in Batavia from 1759 to 1767 and an amateur flute player. During his time in Asia, he traveled as a surgeon on ships running routes that extended from the Bay of Bengal through the Malay-Indonesian archipelago; he also amassed considerable wealth. Once back in Europe, he commissioned Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–91), whom he met in Mannheim in 1777, to write concertos and quartets for the flute, offering a handsome fee.<sup>8</sup>

For certain long-term residents of the colony, the practice of music from Europe was a desirable activity and one associated with social prestige. Jean Gelman Taylor, who has authored an extensive study of cultural life in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Batavia, points out that tuition in this art from an early age was part of the education of the local elite.<sup>9</sup> However, it must be noted that much labor of music in wealthy households was performed by enslaved people, about whom relatively little is yet known but whose activities can occasionally be glimpsed in the archive. For instance, the Dutch lady Cornelia van Beek, writing

from Batavia in 1689, described a group of enslaved musicians who “played on the harp, viol and bassoon at mealtimes.”<sup>10</sup> Such groups, performing for domestic and public entertainment, were patronized by a number of Europeans and other wealthy residents. They sometimes appear in pre-1800 iconography; for example, four musicians playing cello, flute, and two violins are depicted in a drawing by the Dutch (Lutheran) minister and artist Jan Brandes (1743–1808) of a wedding celebration in Batavia around 1779–85.<sup>11</sup> One of the more extravagant patrons of art music was the Eurasian Augustijn Michiels (ca. 1769–1833), who adopted a “musical mixture” of Javanese and European traditions; in his city house and country estates, Michiels patronized various ensembles of musicians and dancers who performed in Javanese or European styles.<sup>12</sup> After his death, an ensemble of enslaved musicians—listed as playing fiddle, French horn, bassoon, sackbut, clarinet, flute, and bass violin, together with “music of the latest editions, imported from Europe”—were advertised for auction in Batavia.<sup>13</sup>

Michiels was a leading member of the community known as *Mardijkers*, people claiming descent from earlier generations of Portuguese colonialists in South and Southeast Asia who had married among the local population.<sup>14</sup> They spoke Portuguese and made up a sizeable community of the Dutch Reformed Church in Batavia.<sup>15</sup> At the beginning of the eighteenth century, a major music publication was produced by the VOC Press in Batavia for their use: a Portuguese translation of the entire Genevan Psalter, printed complete with staff notation.<sup>16</sup> For the Calvinist contexts of Dutch colonial society, the singing of monophonic psalms was one of the most prominent forms of Christian sacred music. Nevertheless, there were at least three church organs in the late eighteenth century, as noted by book historian and hymnologist Katharine Smith Diehl (1906–89).<sup>17</sup> One was in the Evangelical Lutheran Church (constructed in 1747–49 and demolished in 1833 because of disrepair), in which Brandes served as minister in the years 1779–85.<sup>18</sup> Imported from the Netherlands in 1746, this instrument (with *rückpositiv*, a small auxiliary organ placed behind the organist), is visible with considerable detail (from the left) in a watercolor-over-pencil depiction of the church made at that time (beneath the organ appears the pulpit holding the preacher, possibly Brandes himself); the front-on view also appears in an earlier watercolor of 1753.<sup>19</sup> Regarding secular contexts, Diehl also observes that there was an “opera house . . . completed before 1800” and that during the British occupation of 1811–16, there was constructed a new building named the Harmonie, “a combination of large auditorium and dining room at which all sorts of pleasant events, banquets, and other functions could be held.”<sup>20</sup>

Beyond these contexts for cultural life, however, Taylor observes that for most of the eighteenth century in Batavia, “there were still no coffee houses or other places where upper class men could gather informally, as there were in Dutch cities.”<sup>21</sup> This situation changed with the establishment of the *Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences) in 1778. The organization owes its foundations to Jacobus Cornelis

Mattheus Radermacher (1741–83), who also donated a house for the meetings.<sup>22</sup> A Dutchman who had arrived in Batavia as a teenager, Rademacher had risen quickly through the ranks of the VOC; he married a stepdaughter of a councilor extraordinary of the city and in 1762 established the city's first Masonic Lodge.<sup>23</sup> After a stint in the Netherlands studying law between 1763 and 1767, he returned to Batavia full of inspiration from new scholarly movements in the Netherlands and founded the society in 1778, by which stage his father-in-law Reynier de Klerk (1710–78) was governor general.<sup>24</sup>

From its beginnings the Bataviaasch Genootschap—described by Taylor as “the first association for intellectual pursuits established in a tropical European settlement”—had almost two hundred members, with more than half based in Batavia.<sup>25</sup> The charter of the society stated that it would “attempt to stimulate all arts and sciences and will eagerly receive anything which deals with the natural history, antiquities, customs and mores of the peoples”; it prioritized studies of subjects that could “be beneficial to the agriculture, trade, and particular welfare” of the colony.<sup>26</sup> Rademacher donated a number of items that, according to Diehl, laid “the foundation for both library and museum”; as well as books and specimens of natural history, they included coins and “Javanese musical instruments.”<sup>27</sup> The library of the Bataviaasch Genootschap experienced several vicissitudes over the first half of the nineteenth century relating to damage inflicted by insects (and likely humidity) as well as deliberate damage and loss, but it began to grow from the time its first catalog was made (in 1846).<sup>28</sup> A new site for the society, next door to the Harmonie building, was established during the British occupation and another home for it built in 1862–68.<sup>29</sup> The last edifice was ultimately incorporated into the Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia (National Library of Indonesia), as were its bibliographic holdings.<sup>30</sup>

The *Verhandeligen*, first issued in 1779 and published (with some breaks) until 1950, promoted learning and research in the colony and concerned itself mainly with history, culture, and natural sciences of the region.<sup>31</sup> Reflecting the aims of the society, its contents included articles on such topics as “agriculture, fisheries, local manufactures, water control, medicine, and languages.”<sup>32</sup> Diehl estimates that the print run of the first volume was no greater than 225 copies.<sup>33</sup> The extent to which this periodical was read by Asians is unknown; for instance, it was only around 1860 that the first Indonesian members of the Bataviaasch Genootschap are noted.<sup>34</sup> The journal's first four volumes (dated 1779, 1780, 1781, and 1786) contained sixty articles—a quarter by Radermacher himself—which are mostly on topics related to the archipelago. Volumes 5 and 6, published respectively in 1790 and 1792, on the other hand, “constituted only a pale shadow of accomplishment,” in the words of Lian The and Paul W. Van der Veur.<sup>35</sup> According to Hans Groot, the inclusion of Gratiaen's treatise in volume 6 was, for lack of other content, something of a stopgap measure, and it was unusual since it did not address the kinds of local subjects that were the focus of articles in previous volumes.<sup>36</sup> What, then,

is the story behind this text? What do we know about Gratiaen, and how did his writings come to be published in Batavia?

#### JAN FRANS GRATIAEN

Relatively few details are known about this writer's life and less still about his musical training. In 1888–91 a short entry was published in a biographical dictionary by J. G. Frederiks and F. Jos. van den Branden, stating the following:

Gratiaen (*Jan Frans*), musician from the early eighteenth century, was born in Bruges, [and] settled in Paris, where he became a pupil of J. M. Leclair [*Jean-Marie Leclair* (1697–1764)], musician at the French court, in 1731. He subsequently traveled to the East Indies, where already in 1750, he was engaged with an important work entitled: *Arguments on useful musical topics, for the investigation of connoisseurs, for the delight of the practiced and for the instruction of curious music-lovers*.<sup>37</sup>

Details in this entry can be challenged by data drawn from recent research. Articles published in 2012 and 2013 by, respectively, Peter de Baets, an archivist familiar with sources in the Brugge Stadsarchief (Bruges City Archive), and Lutgard Mutsaers, a scholar of Indonesian music and popular music, revisited the life and times of this man.<sup>38</sup> De Baets, for instance, confirms that Gratiaen was born on March 1, 1727.<sup>39</sup> Therefore, he cannot realistically have been studying with Leclair in 1731. However, his studies may well have occurred later; in the “Voorreeden” of the 1792 treatise, Gratiaen does mention his time in Paris and his studies with Leclair, as both de Baets and Mutsaers have noted.<sup>40</sup>

According to VOC records, Gratiaen left the Netherlands on the ship *Zee-landia*, departing January 10, 1746.<sup>41</sup> It appears that he changed to another vessel in southern Africa (the ship arrived at False Bay on June 9), since it was on the *Krabbendyk* (*Krabbendijke*) that he landed at Ceylon in 1747, according to a genealogy of the Gratiaen family published in Colombo in 1913.<sup>42</sup> He married Anna Aletta Kokaart (1733–85) the year after his arrival; they had seven children and were the founders of a local family dynasty.<sup>43</sup> Among their direct descendants is the well-known author Michael Ondaatje (b. 1943), whose mother's surname was Gratiaen, a fact that de Baets and Mutsaers have highlighted.<sup>44</sup> In the 1750s to 1780s, Gratiaen held a range of VOC posts in Ceylon and also for some time in southern India. These included *ambtenaar* (civil servant) and *consumptie boekhouder* (“clerk in the consumer goods registration office”) in Calpetty (now Kalpitiya) from 1758.<sup>45</sup> Mutsaers notes that “in 1770 he oversaw the areek [betel nut] trade in Colombo, involving the buying, storing and selling of areca palm tree nuts.”<sup>46</sup> He then took up the post *fiscaal en secretaris* (treasury official and secretary) from 1772 in Tutucorin (now Thoothukudi), Tamil Nadu.<sup>47</sup> Returning to Ceylon, he held in Galle the post of junior merchant from 1776, then *fiscaal* and cashier from 1783.<sup>48</sup> He died there in 1788.



Mutsaers speculates that Gratiaen's son-in-law Willem Sebastiaan Boers (d. 1792), who was then a member of the Batavian Society and listed as an *onderkoopman en dispensier* (junior merchant and dispenser [of grain]) based in Colombo, may have suggested the treatise as content for the 1792 volume of the journal.<sup>49</sup> However, whether he saw it in print before his death in November that year is unknown, and whether he traveled to Batavia is also yet to be established. As Mutsaers comments, "It would have been too late for Boers to check the origins of his father-in-law's manuscript. Or perhaps Boers was instructed by the Gratiaen family in Ceylon. In any case, Batavia's learned men were unable to recognize an existing text."<sup>50</sup> The frontmatter of the 1792 volume of the *Verhandelingen* offers the following statement pertaining to its inclusion, describing the contents as follows:

One part of a Discourse on Music, [created] while he was in Ceylon by the junior merchant Johannes Franciscus Gratiaen, member of this society. [It is on] a subject which does not directly belong to the society's plan, yet it is not entirely foreign and not deemed unworthy to fill out the present mix of more unusual materials, to which end the sequel will be set aside for a subsequent edition.<sup>51</sup>

Although Gratiaen is mentioned here as a member of the Bataviaasch Genootschap, his name never appears in the detailed membership lists published in volumes 1–3 or in 5–6 (published after his death in 1788). However, the name and occupation of his son-in-law Boers does appear in volumes 5 and 6.<sup>52</sup> Despite the promise of a continuation of this article being published in subsequent volumes of the *Verhandelingen*, there is no evidence that this stated intention was ever followed through. The treatise's table of contents, headed "Hoofd deelen in dit werk vervat" (Main parts contained in this work), lists a total of twenty chapters (as we discuss below and reproduce in the appendix), but only twelve chapters are included in the 1792 publication. It seems that the remaining eight were kept for "the sequel." This raises the question of who "set aside" the complete manuscript of Gratiaen: Was it kept by family members or deposited in the library of the Bataviaasch Genootschap, and how many copies of the manuscript existed? One also wonders whether the readers realized the extent to which it reused the texts of Lustig and whether the society may have refrained from printing the promised continuation for that reason. Further research may shed light on such matters.

#### AUTHORIAL APPROPRIATION AND QUESTIONS ABOUT GRATIAEN'S INTENDED READERSHIP

Lustig ended his preface in the 1751 and 1758 editions of his *Inleiding* by quoting a passage from Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*: "I am not inventing, I am not misrepresenting, am I? I long to be refuted. For why am I exerting myself except to get the truth in every problem unravelled?"<sup>53</sup> Intriguingly, Gratiaen chose not to reproduce this quotation. Instead, he elected to finish his preface with the

quotation used in Lustig's new preface to his 1771 edition of the same treatise (not the previous versions), this time taken from the biblical apocrypha, the book of Ecclesiasticus, also known as the Book of Sirach (chapter 18, verse 6): "When a man hath done, then shall he begin: and when he leaveth off, he shall be at a loss."<sup>54</sup> In his use of this verse it seems possible to detect something of Gratiaen's religious perspective. While he reproduces verbatim the verse in the *hoogduitsche* (High German) wording of Martin Luther, exactly as used by Lustig, Gratiaen prefaces this by quoting the translation given by the Synod of Dordrecht, thus perhaps revealing to the reader an adherence to the Dutch Reformed Church. Personal interventions such as this are relatively few and far between, but unraveling the true extent to which Gratiaen copied and adapted Lustig's writings is still a painstaking task. In what follows, we will highlight a few representative instances of invention and misrepresentation to illustrate the complex relationship between the texts of the two men.

As mentioned earlier, one might assume Gratiaen's authorship of his foreword because of occasional mentions of "India," "the Indies," and "the East Indies" (to where Lustig, by contrast, did not travel). However, a closer examination reveals that even this part of the publication is a collage of passages, many taken verbatim from the two editions of Lustig's *Inleiding* (1751 [apparently reprinted in 1758] and 1771). Some are rearranged, others adapted to the contemporary context, and a few invented to glue the stolen passages together. The risk of deception is particularly grave when passages are examined in isolation, rather than alongside the relevant passage in Lustig's treatises. Consider, for example, the most substantive comment on musical life in Ceylon in Gratiaen's preface:

After all, we here in the Indies know nothing of church and stage music, and we say we know little even of delightful concerts and vocal music, and thus because of an absence of exchange we are unaware of any fashions. So one should not stretch the bow too wide [in other words, set the bar too high], since there is much opportunity for the advancement and cultivation of music.<sup>55</sup>

This comment might easily be taken at face value as an honest assessment of music in his immediate environment, if it were not for its very close resemblance to the corresponding passage in Lustig's 1751 treatise: "After all, since we in this country know nothing of church and stage music, yes, even of so-called vocal music, we know little, and thus, due to lack of exchange remain unaware of any fashions. One should not stretch the bow too wide [set the bar too high], since the advantage of gallant readers of music is great."<sup>56</sup> Given such a close likeness to Lustig's passage, Gratiaen's comment on the apparent state of music in "the Indies" cannot be taken completely seriously. The only element that might be considered plausible in this passage is the writer's desire to cultivate music in colonial outposts such as Ceylon (or even southern India during his posting there, given that Gratiaen must have written this preface after 1771). For this purpose, Lustig's writings were



the perfect models to appropriate, as they were written in the Dutch language and were aimed primarily at educated readers who were not professional musicians.

One of the more interesting subtle adaptations of Lustig's writings in the preface involves a consideration of the glory of the Dutch empire and a perceived lack of concomitant global recognition of the nation's musical contributions. To this end, Gratiaen again subtly adapts a passage from Lustig's *Inleiding*, albeit with a shift of context from a national to an international perspective. Lustig writes:

Being pleased with the glory of the educated Netherlands, it began to dawn on me that the learned Brossard, compiler of a certain renowned *Dictionaire [sic] de Musique*, printed in Amsterdam, after having counted 900 musical authors, from all kinds of nations, boldly declared that he had never been able to discover any musical treatise in the Dutch language, much less in Danish, Swedish, Polish and Hungarian.<sup>57</sup>

In light of this comment, Lustig's wide range of writing on music can be viewed as a response to Brossard's observation concerning the paucity of Dutch musical texts during the eighteenth century.<sup>58</sup> Gratiaen refashions this passage as follows (with the sentence immediately prior including the comment that "I find myself here in India [used generically, which could include Ceylon], after many years firmly engaged outside the bustle of the great world"):

Being pleased with the glory of the Netherlands, so in Europe as in the East Indies, it began to grieve me that the learned Brossard, compiler of the well-known *Dictionaire [sic] de Musique*, printed in Amsterdam, after nearly 900 musical authors, from all kinds of nations, added up on page 361, boldly dared to declare never to have discovered a musical investigation in the Dutch language, much less in Swedish, Polish and Hungarian.<sup>59</sup>

Gratiaen thus seems to imply that he is addressing this lacuna identified by Brossard—almost a century later and in the wake of Lustig's works, some of which were issued in multiple editions. This statement is daring and risky to the point of appearing curious. Does it suggest a brazen confidence that none of his readers will have come across Lustig's writings? Or does he think that close emulation is the highest form of flattery? Perhaps more revealing is his change of emphasis from the Netherlands' national identity within a European context to praise of the Dutch colonial enterprise around the globe, as seen in his phrase "so in Europe as in the East Indies." Might it suggest that those living in colonial outposts, like Gratiaen, were much more aware of and concerned with maintaining the expansive networks and power of the Dutch empire, than were domestic readers in Amsterdam, Haarlem, and other cities of the Netherlands and Europe?

Taking a broader, even global, perspective on this issue works well when put into dialogue with questions of the text's potential audience. As mentioned above, the *Verhandeligen* often included a list of members of the society, offering

unusual clarity pertaining to the social composition of the audience receiving the print. One such list is found in volume 6. It is divided by type of member, listing for each person (all men) his occupation and location, the latter presumably current, to the best of local Batavian knowledge, at the time of publication. Categories of members include “Ordinaire Leden” (ordinary members); “Extra-Ordinaire Leden” (extraordinary members), living in other places, which include Ambon, Banda, Makassar, Melaka, the Coromandel Coast, Ceylon, the Cape of Good Hope, “Java’s northeast coast,” Bengal, Surat, “Sumatra’s west coast,” Malabar, Banten, Japan (which must imply the Dutch trading factory at Deshima), Cirebon, Timor, and Palembang; “Correspondeerende Leden” (corresponding members) in the Netherlands; and “Buitenlandsche Correspondenten” (foreign correspondents) in other parts of the world. The last category included the famous naturalists Joseph Banks (1743–1820) and Carl Peter Thunberg (1743–1828), both of whom had musical interests and had visited Batavia, as well as “supercargos” in China and “the missionaries [presumably Jesuits] in Beijing” (these last two entries do not give individual names or an indication of numbers).<sup>60</sup>

The 1792 membership of the society stretched from the Malay–Indonesian archipelago to Japan and China, to Ceylon and southern Africa, and to countries in Europe. Its intercontinental reach suggests that Gratiaen’s text was not published by the society solely for a local Batavian audience, even though the latter constituted the majority of the journal’s intended readership. Many members of the society were based in other outposts in Asia (see map 2–1). This point about reception plays into questions of the text’s utility and application in social contexts. (The “utility of music” is, incidentally, the topic of one of the chapters in the treatise, as discussed below.) As with Lustig, Gratiaen’s concern was the cultivation of music not among specialists but among people like himself, those employed as merchants, government clerks, lawyers, medical personnel, seafarers, and others—all people broadly involved in setting up Dutch colonies and trading posts across several continents—who were also music enthusiasts.

With so much of the treatise paraphrased from Lustig’s writings, one might wonder whether there remains anything substantive within the prose to be gleaned about Gratiaen’s personal life. To this end, a passage detailing Lustig’s early musical training that Gratiaen adapted to showcase his own musical background is worth noting. Lustig originally writes in his *Inleiding*:

In order to find and present something useful, in the days of my youth, in Hamburg, alongside the constant enjoyment of beautiful church, stage, and chamber music, I researched not only various old and new musical writings, but even attended a private colloquium on the study of music (*de Scientia melodica*) with the universally renowned Mr. Kapellmeister *Matheson* [*sic*; Johann Mattheson (1681–1764)]. But, not finding absolute certainty anywhere, I found myself powerfully engaged, outside the bustle of the great world, though in a lower musical rank than perhaps I might have wished for, to consider the whole matter thoughtfully, and in a manner, as though it had never been studied before.<sup>61</sup>



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MAP 2-1. Members of the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen based in Asia, according to the “Naam lyst” in *Verhandelungen* 6 (1792): 25–50, weighted by number of members resident in any given location. © 2024 Mapbox © OpenStreetMap

Gratiaen adapts this passage to offer details concerning his own musical biography (if true):

In order to discover something new about music and musical knowledge, the burning desire for knowledge in the days of my youth, in Bruges in Flanders, the town of my birth, [I went] eventually to Paris, where I enjoyed a steady stream of delightful church, stage and chamber music, and researched not only various old and new musical texts, but even [studied] with the famous Mr. Le Clair, who was a disciple of the great Somis [Giovanni Battista Somis (1686–1763)] at the court of Sardinia, [who held] a private collegium of musical science of Scientia Melodica.<sup>62</sup>

Somis, a student of Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713), was based at the court in Turin and gave violin lessons to Leclair (widely considered the founder of the French violin school).<sup>63</sup> It does seem plausible, then, that Gratiaen would have had the opportunity to study with Leclair in Paris (but not in 1731, as claimed in the late nineteenth-century dictionary of Frederiks and van den Branden, cited above). As Neal Zaslaw notes, Leclair was invited by Anne, Princess of Orange (1709–59), to her court in the Netherlands, where he was based three months of each year from 1738 to 1743.<sup>64</sup> From 1740 to 1743, he spent the remaining nine months in The Hague, where he was appointed maestro di cappella to François Du Liz.<sup>65</sup> Thus, if

we were to take Gratiaen's word that he traveled to Paris to study with Leclair, this may have happened when Leclair returned from the Netherlands to Paris in 1743. Gratiaen departed for the Cape in 1746, and so the most likely time frame for his claimed musical study with Leclair in Paris is between 1743 and 1746.

We see, then, that the few extant sources offering insight into Gratiaen's life are brief and often in conflict. For instance, Frederiks and van den Branden must have assumed an earlier birth date (as discussed above), given the claim that his studies with Leclair began in 1731; they also state that after Gratiaen went to the East Indies he was, by around 1750, already engaged in working on the "Redeneeringen."<sup>66</sup> However, given that Gratiaen's "Voorreeden" in that source clearly reuses text from the prefaces in both the 1751 and 1771 editions of Lustig's *Inleiding* (the latter containing new material), it follows that Gratiaen must have worked on the "Redeneeringen" between 1771 and his death in 1788. Gratiaen's selection and adaptation of specific editions of Lustig's works are thus helpful in verifying and resolving conflicting biographical details.<sup>67</sup>

Table 2-1 shows how Gratiaen carefully selected and rearranged the chapters—some of which are taken verbatim from Lustig's works and others adapted in a manner similar to that used in the preface—to form this new text. (For the purposes of initial comparison, we use the 1751 edition of the *Inleiding*.) Four thematic clusters emerge from the topics listed in the table of contents: first, the initial two chapters, which are much more heavily adapted from the *Twaalf redeneeringen*, treat vocal music and the origins of music (chapters 1–2); second, a series of six chapters (3–8) are on philosophical approaches to musical practice (four on the effects, utility, value, social purpose, and essence of music followed by two on church music, pleasure and displeasure in music); third, a series of ten chapters (9–18) deal with more technical aspects of music, such as the properties of intervals, harmony, forms, and other themes (the treatise describes musical sound in prose, including names of notes, and does not include any examples in staff notation). Finally, the last two chapters (19 and 20) discuss the scope and utility of the study of music. As mentioned above, only twelve chapters were published in 1792, despite twenty chapter titles being listed in the table of contents. We are nevertheless able to extrapolate from Gratiaen's titles of the unpublished chapters the parts of the Lustig texts from which they would have drawn, and these are also indicated in the table.

Of Gratiaen's chapters, the most heavily adapted texts (as opposed to the ones copied more or less verbatim) offer insight into his biases and approach in constructing the treatise. The first two are drawn from Lustig's *Twaalf redeneeringen*, a work that is divided into "Samenspraaken" (literally "dialogues"), in which the text is set up as a conversation between two imaginary characters, Musander and Aurelia, to debate various ideas related to music. Gratiaen, however, dispensed with this dialogic form, adapting his text to the first person, presumably to be consistent with the rest of the treatise and possibly also to hide his plagiarism. In chapter 1, treating the use of song in community, he omits two large portions of Lustig's text. One of these is a section outlining the "Golden Verses" of Pythagoras, including comments on the value of song in ancient Greek tragedy and (pagan)

TABLE 2-1 Content of “Redeneeringen over nuttige Muzikaale Onderwerpen, Tot onderzoek van Kenners, tot verlustiging van Geoeffende en tot onderrichting van weetgierige Muziek-liefhebbers,” attributed to Gratiaen, and its relationship with Lustig’s texts

(UNPUBLISHED CHAPTERS OF GRATIAEN’S TEXT, THE TITLES OF WHICH ARE KNOWN FROM THE 1792 TABLE OF CONTENTS, ARE INDICATED IN BOLD.)

| Gratiaen, “Redeneeringen over nuttige Muzikaale Onderwerpen, Tot onderzoek van Kenners, tot verlustiging van Geoeffende en tot onderrichting van weetgierige Muziek-liefhebbers” (Batavia, 1792) | Lustig, <i>Inleiding tot de muzykkunde</i> (Groningen, 1751) | Lustig, <i>Twaalf redeneeringen over nuttige Muzikaale Onderwerpen</i> (Amsterdam, 1756) |
|--|--|--|
| 1. Het rechte gebruik der Zangmuziek [The proper use of vocal music], 1–19   |  | Chapter 5, 207–41 (heavily revised by Gratiaen)  |
| 2. Den oorsprong der Muziek [The origin of music], 20–37   |  | Chapter 6, 259–85 (heavily revised by Gratiaen)  |
| 3. De werking en nuttigheid der Muziek in ’t gemeen [The effects and utility of music in the community], 38–58   | Chapter 11, 263–83   |  |
| 4. De waarde der Muziek [The value of music], 59–64  | Chapter 12, 284–88   |  |
| 5. Het oogmerk der Muziek [The purpose of music], 65–75  | Chapter 13, 289–96   |  |
| 6. Het wezen der Muziek-kunst [The essence of musical art], 76–93  | Chapter 14, 297–310  |  |
| 7. De Geestelyke of Kerk-Muziek [Spiritual or church music], 94–106  | Chapter 15, 311–22   |  |
| 8. Het Muziekaal begaagen den mishagen [On musical pleasure and displeasure], 107–21   | Chapter 16, 323–33   |  |
| 9. De Muziek in ’t gemeen [On music in general], 122–44  | Chapter 1, 1–18  |  |
| 10. De Muziek-kunde of Theorie <sup>1</sup> [The science of music, or theory], 145–63  | Chapter 2, 19–33   |  |
| 11. De Toon-kunde [On musical art], 164–255  | Chapter 3, 34–93   |  |
| 12. De Muziekaale stoffe [On musical materials], 256–86  | Chapter 4, 94–121  |  |
| 13. <b>De eigenschappen der gebruikelykste Intervallen</b> [On the properties of the most common intervals]  | Chapter 5, 121–47  |  |
| 14. <b>De tempering der Muziekaale Intervallen</b> [On tempering musical intervals]  | Chapter 6, 148–52  |  |
| 15. <b>Den Muziekaalen Geest</b> [On the musical spirit]   | Chapter 7, 153–67  |  |
| 16. <b>De Muziekaale Harmonie in ’t gemeen</b> [On musical harmony, in general]  | Chapter 8, 168–86  |  |
| 17. <b>Het vormelyke der Muziek</b> [On musical forms]   | Chapter 9, 187–208   |  |

(Continued)

<sup>1</sup> This is the title in the table of contents, but the chapter title on page 145 is simply given as “De Muziek-kunde.”

TABLE 2-1 (Continued)

|   |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| Gratiae, “Redeneeringen over nuttige Muzikaale Onderwerpen, Tot onderzoek van Kenners, tot verlustiging van Geoeffende en tot onderrichting van weetgierige Muziek-liefhebbers” (Batavia, 1792) | Lustig, <i>Inleiding tot de muzykkunde</i> (Groningen, 1751) | Lustig, <i>Twaalf redeneeringen over nuttige Muzikaale Onderwerpen</i> (Amsterdam, 1756) |
| 18. <b>De Muziekaale geschied-kunde</b><br>[On music history]   | Chapter 10, 209–62   |  |
| 19. <b>Den geheelen omtrek der Muziek en Muziek-kunde</b> [On the entire scope of music and the study of music]   |  | “Over de Muziek en de Muziek-kunde in ’t gemeen,” 7–37                                   |
| 20. <b>De nuttigheid der Muziek-kunde</b><br>[On the utility of the study of music]   | Chapter 17, 334–40   |  |

worship services. Gratiae also excludes large portions of the same chapter by Lustig that focus on instrumental musical expression, as well as sections on Italian opera seria. One might surmise that Gratiae carefully considered his audience with these amendments; he was writing for Dutch settlers, most of whom would have participated in Dutch Calvinist worship traditions and probably had varying degrees of access to musical instruments. While evidence of musical instruments has yet to be discovered for Batavia, it is known that in Cape Town, a music store was operating by 1780.<sup>68</sup> Of course, performances of opera seria were unlikely to interest his readership, particularly since this repertory required highly specialized singers whose skills may not have been easily found among enthusiasts in colonial outposts.

Even when chapters are less heavily revised, Gratiae appears to have selected musical topics that would have been of interest or perhaps deemed useful. His third chapter, dealing with the effects and utility of music in the community, offers insights on the potentially positive and adverse effects of music on the nervous system. Practical applications of these ideas are then referenced, including examples from biblical times, which would have been familiar to Dutch settlers. For instance, the treatise suggests that during the time of Moses, instrumental music could be used to cultivate courage in the face of war or that it could assist in the healing of insanity, using the example of David and Saul.<sup>69</sup> Music’s uses also include “restoring mental and physical strength after labor,” restoring the human spirit, and offering delightful amusement.<sup>70</sup> The choice to focus on these themes suggests that Gratiae was interested in cultivating amateur and community music making rather than professional performances in local settings. Discussions of the value of music in chapter 4, in which he states that “music is a mirror of order” and that “music is a sign of a blossoming, well-governed Republic,” reveal ideals of music as a means of cultivating well-functioning political and social structures.<sup>71</sup>

Following an investigation of music for church, stage, and chamber (in chapter 6), “Spiritual or Church Music” receives its own chapter (7), which includes



a historical commentary dating back to the singing of the Psalms of David and music in early Egyptian Christian communities and ranging to musical practices such as antiphons in the early medieval church at the time of Ambrosius (Ambrose), Athanasius, and Hieronymus (Jerome), going on to consider Gregorian chant. Musical forms such as Lutheran hymns and other Dutch and German musical practices of the Reformation are covered, as are descriptions of Jewish music for worship, leading to discussions of instrumental music for church use by composers such as Mattheson. This eclectic history of church music provides the reader with an overview of the rich and varied possibilities for music in worship, including the use of instrumental music.

Explorations of “music in general” (including theoretical aspects of musical sound) and “The Science of Music” (chapter 10) must, according to Gratiaen/Lustig, have practical outcomes: “All musical arts must have a use in practice.”<sup>72</sup> The section on “acoustical properties of sound” in chapter 12 explains basic principles of sound production, for example using the metaphor of ripple effects in water to explain sonic vibrations, thus rendering this information accessible to the general reader.<sup>73</sup> This is followed by discussions of bells, trumpets, and the construction of organ pipes, keyboard instruments, and the like; then, crucially, it factors temperature into sound production on string instruments: “The warmer a music room becomes, the more the tension dissipates, which causes strings to move more slowly, as though they are less stretched, thus producing lower tones.”<sup>74</sup> One wonders if Gratiaen may have considered it useful for inhabitants of the tropics to include Lustig’s detailed remarks on the impacts of humid weather and climates as they pertain to keyboard instruments. The text states that strings maintain their tuning best in cooler weather, though “excessive dryness causes the wood to shrink, which, with regard to organ registers, cannot be stopped, and thus some pipes join [in sounding] uninvited. There is no better remedy for this than patience to wait for humidity to return.”<sup>75</sup> This practical information would have been relevant to music making in the varied and more extreme climates inhabited by the widely dispersed members of the Batavian Society. Chapter 12, “On Musical Materials” (“De Muziekaale [S]toffe”), is clearly aimed at enthusiasts, as it offers basic instruction in understanding music notation: “one counts musical letters from the bottom to the top, or from lower tones to higher ones.”<sup>76</sup> A description of the various types of musical intervals follows, and with this the published text ends abruptly.

#### CONCLUSION: SPECULATION ON RECEPTION

While Mutsaers has already pointed out the unlikelihood of scholars in Batavia recognizing the inherent intertextuality (or more plainly, plagiarism) of Gratiaen’s text, one wonders whether some other contemporaneous readers of the *Verhandelingen* elsewhere, especially those in the Netherlands, may have identified its contents as the work of Lustig.<sup>77</sup> Given that Lustig was still alive in 1792—he died

in Groningen in May 1796—it is theoretically possible that even he might have been aware of this Batavian publication. Certainly, two of the Bataviaasch Genootschap's corresponding members were based in the same city as he.<sup>78</sup> However, any evidence of literary reception—in Asia, Europe, or elsewhere—has yet to emerge. For now, we can comment only on the existence of copies that were separated from the *Verhandeligen* and that became part of various library collections. A self-standing copy of Gratiaen's text was apparently contained in the British Library; the catalog lists the date in square brackets as "1780" but notes that it was destroyed (at a time not specified).<sup>79</sup> Nevertheless, a set of the journal volumes belonging to Joseph Banks remains there; the volume in question has his stamp of ownership on the reverse of the title page (its bleed-through is visible in figure 2–1) but has no annotations or visible signs of his having read it.<sup>80</sup> The 1877 published catalog of the library of François-Joseph Fétis (1784–1871) lists a copy that was likewise seemingly detached from the journal.<sup>81</sup> Its publication details are given as "s. l. n. D." ("sans lieu ni date," without place or date); however, the second name of the author is spelled "Vranciscus," which implies that it was probably the 1792 edition, since in the reprint of 1827, it appeared as "Franciscus."<sup>82</sup> The same catalog includes a copy of Lustig's *Twaalf redeneeringen over nuttige Muzikaale Onderwerpen*, so a comparison by Fétis or another reader would theoretically have been possible.<sup>83</sup> Another separatim of the first edition is held in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.<sup>84</sup> The 1893 catalog of the music library of Dutch musicologist Daniel François Scheurleer (1855–1927) lists a copy of the 1827 version of Gratiaen's text within a section headed "Algemeene Beschouwingen.—Aesthetik" (General ideas—aesthetics).<sup>85</sup> Like Fétis, Scheurleer possessed a copy of each edition of another work of Lustig—in this case the *Inleiding* (1751 and 1771 editions)—and one wonders whether he also could have noted their similarity with the work of Gratiaen.<sup>86</sup>

Despite the author's plagiarism, it can be acknowledged that Gratiaen was responsible for reordering and restructuring Lustig's work in a unique way, and presumably through a process that was meaningful and useful for him in his local context—even if at the same time disingenuous. It is not clear whether Gratiaen ever intended the "Redeneeringen" for publication, given its posthumous production and the role of his son-in-law in delivering the manuscript. At the same time, one must ask why he would have taken the trouble to assemble and adapt the segmented portions of Lustig's text, deliberately changing biographical details in the process, if he did not mean to claim the work as his own (whether in printed form or as a manuscript for private use or circulation). For musicologists and cultural historians looking at the complex societies of colonial Batavia and Colombo, the history of the production and publication of the treatise nevertheless invites new ways of thinking about long-distance intellectual and musical connections that existed between people involved with a transnational company such as the VOC. It also inspires us to look further into vestiges of their musical activities that can be drawn from archives dispersed around the world. In these senses among others, Gratiaen's text

becomes a useful and inspiring source to provoke additional questions about the place of music within VOC society, and the ways in which its members attempted to transplant their cultural practices to diverse outposts along their trading routes.

## NOTES

1. Johannes Vranciscus Gratiaen, “Redeneeringen over nuttige Muzikaale Onderwerpen, Tot onderzoek van Kenners, tot verlustiging van Geoeffende en tot onderrichting van weetgierige Muziek-liefhebbers,” *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* [hereafter *Verhandelingen*] 6 (1792): seventh section, “Voorreeden” (1–14), contents (1–2), and main text (1–286); 95–299 in the reprint of the volume published in Batavia in 1827.

2. Extant source documents use varying spellings of his name. The Flemish spelling, Gratiaen, appears on the document and is used by his many descendants today. The Dutch spelling, Gratiaan, is used in the VOC documents, among other sources. We are grateful to Rebekah Ahrendt for clarifying this distinction.

3. This is not the only extensive music treatise from the late eighteenth century to be printed by Europeans in Asian cities. In 1792, the famous essay by Sir William Jones “On the Musical Modes of the Hindoos” appeared in the journal *Asiatick Researches*, published in Calcutta. See Sir William Jones, “On the Musical Modes of the Hindus: written in 1784, and since much enlarged—By the President,” *Asiatick Researches: Or, Transactions of the Society, Instituted in Bengal, for Inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia* 3 (1792): 59–87.

4. An early mention of it in anglophone scholarship is in Katharine Smith Diehl, *Printers and Printing in the East Indies*, vol. 1, *Batavia* (New Rochelle, NY: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1990), 166.

5. P. E. M. Strategier, “De taal der hartstochten: De visie van drie achttiende-eeuwse Nederlandse schrijvers op muziek en haar relatie met de dichtkunst” (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 2001), 16.

6. Strategier, “De taal der hartstochten,” 16.

7. On the establishment of this Dutch colonial outpost, see Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia: Europeans and Eurasians in Colonial Indonesia*, 2nd ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 3–19. On networks, see Siegfried Huigen, Jan L. de Jong, and Elmer Kolfin, eds., *The Dutch Trading Companies as Knowledge Networks* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

8. Such a request provides an example of European musical patronage possibly connected to wealth drawn from colonial contexts. On Dejean, see Otto Bleker, “Ferdinand Dejean (1731–97): Surgeon of the Dutch East-India Company, Man of the Enlightenment, and Patron of Mozart,” *The Historian* 78, no. 1 (2016): 57–80; J. S. Jenkins, “Mozart’s Indian: Dr Ferdinand Dejean,” *Journal of Medical Biography* 2, no. 1 (1994): 53–58; Stephen Martin, “The Symbolic Portrait of Mozart’s Patron Dr. Ferdinand Dejean,” *Hektoen International: A Journal of Medical Humanities* 10, no. 4 (2018), <https://hekint.org/2018/04/12/symbolic-portrait-mozarts-patron-dr-ferdinand-dejean/>. Mozart, for his part, referred to Dejean as “the Indian Dutchman, that true friend of humanity,” with the last comment probably referring to Dejean’s medical work. Jenkins, “Mozart’s Indian,” 56.

9. Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia*, 139–40.

10. In Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600–1800* (London: Hutchinson, 1965), 270.

11. See the drawing (with watercolor) held in the Rijksmuseum (object number NG-369) by Jan Brandes, “Hollands bruidsfeest te Batavia, Jan Brandes, 1779–1785,” *Rijksmuseum*, [www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/NG-369](http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/NG-369), accessed March 2, 2023. Reproduced in Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia*, 65. Brandes traveled widely and produced artworks depicting everyday scenes—some including music—in Dutch settlements within Java, Sri Lanka, and southern Africa. See reproductions and extensive discussion in Max de Bruijn and Remco Raben, eds., *The World of Jan Brandes, 1743–1808: Drawings of a Dutch Traveller in Batavia, Ceylon and Southern Africa* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2004).

12. Danielle Fosler-Lussier, *Music on the Move* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2020), 22–23; Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia*, 61.
13. Fosler-Lussier, *Music on the Move*, 24–25. The list of people to be sold, along with their birth-places and occupations, is transcribed in C. A. Gibson-Hill, “Documents Relating to John Clunies Ross, Alexander Hare and the Early History of the Settlement on the Cocos-Keeling Islands,” *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 25, no. 4 (1952): 168–69.
14. See Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia*, 47–49, 61.
15. Hendrik E. Niemeijer, “The Free Asian Christian Community and Poverty in Pre-Modern Batavia,” in *Jakarta–Batavia: Socio-Cultural Essays*, ed. Kees Grijns and Peter J. M. Nas (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2000), 85.
16. For discussion of this source, see David R. M. Irving, “The Genevan Psalter in Eighteenth-Century Indonesia and Sri Lanka,” *Eighteenth-Century Music* 11, no. 2 (2014): 239–41.
17. Diehl, *Printers and Printing*, 146. Diehl undertook pioneering archival research in Jakarta in the early 1970s and connected the history of printing in this city to its urban musical past.
18. Max de Bruijn, “The Lutheran Church,” in *The World of Jan Brandes, 1743–1808: Drawings of a Dutch Traveller in Batavia, Ceylon and Southern Africa*, ed. Max de Bruijn and Remco Raben (Zwolle: Waanders, 2004), 182.
19. Brandes’s watercolor over a pencil sketch, now in a private collection, is reproduced in Max de Bruijn, “Interior of the Lutheran Church,” in *The World of Jan Brandes, 1743–1808: Drawings of a Dutch Traveller in Batavia, Ceylon and Southern Africa*, edited by Max de Bruijn and Remco Raben (Zwolle: Waanders, 2004), 185; for the front-on view from the earlier watercolor of 1753, see 186, and for context about the organ, see 187.
20. Diehl, *Printers and Printing*, 179.
21. Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia*, 86.
22. Lian The and Paul W. Van der Veur, *The Verhandeligen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap: An Annotated Content Analysis* (Athens: Ohio University, Center for International Studies, 1973), 3; Diehl, *Printers and Printing*, 155; Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia*, 86. As Huib J. Zuidervaart and Rob H. van Gent point out, however, the immediate inspiration for its foundation had been the astronomical observations of clergyman Johan Maurits Mohr (1716–75) from the 1760s. Huib J. Zuidervaart and Rob H. van Gent, “A Bare Outpost of Learned European Culture on the Edge of the Jungles of Java: Johan Maurits Mohr (1716–1775) and the Emergence of Instrumental and Institutional Science in Dutch Colonial Indonesia,” *Isis* 95, no. 1 (2004): 21–25.
23. Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia*, 85–86.
24. The and van der Veur, *The Verhandeligen*, 1–2.
25. Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia*, 85–86. See also Diehl, *Printers and Printing*, 154.
26. Translation in The and van der Veur, *The Verhandeligen*, 3.
27. Diehl, *Printers and Printing*, 155.
28. See discussion in The and van der Veur, *The Verhandeligen*, 13.
29. Diehl, *Printers and Printing*, 158.
30. S. W. Massil, “The History of the National Library of Indonesia: The Bibliographical Borobudur,” *Libraries & Culture* 24, no. 4 (1989): 475–88. Diehl points out that the Bataviaasch Genootschap later “had its own printing establishment” and that it produced work for other organizations; she gives the example of a program for a cantata performed “at Willems Kerk (now Immanuel Church [Gereja Immanuel]) on 16 July 1843 celebrating the newly installed pipe organ (in excellent condition in 1972).” Diehl, *Printers and Printing*, 160.
31. For an overview of the journal, see The and van der Veur, *The Verhandeligen*. For a discussion of content in the early volumes, see Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia*, 86.
32. Diehl, *Printers and Printing*, 153.
33. Diehl, *Printers and Printing*, 154; The and van der Veur, *The Verhandeligen*, 3. Further research is required to understand the circumstances and practicalities of its distribution.
34. The and van der Veur, *The Verhandeligen*, 16.

35. The and van der Veur, *The Verhandeligen*, 5.
36. Hans Groot, *Van Batavia naar Weltevreden: Het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1778–1867* (Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij, 2009), 120.
37. Johannes Godefridus Frederiks and F. Jos van den Branden, *Biographisch Woordenboek der noord- en zuidnederlandsche Letterkunde*, 2nd revised ed. (Amsterdam: L. J. Veen, 1888–1891), 294. Transcription at [www.dbnl.org/tekst/brano38biog01\\_01/brano38biog01\\_01\\_1599.php](http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/brano38biog01_01/brano38biog01_01_1599.php).
38. Peter de Baets, “Michael Ondaatje: Een Brugse connectie,” *Biekorf: West-Vlaams Archief voor Geschiedenis, Archeologie, Taal- en Volkskunde* 112, no. 2 (2012): 169–70; Lutgard Mutsaers, “Jan Frans Gratiaen: Michael Ondaatje’s Ancestor from Flanders,” *The Low Countries* 21 (2013): 284–85.
39. De Baets, “Michael Ondaatje,” 169.
40. De Baets, “Michael Ondaatje,” 170; Mutsaers, “Jan Frans Gratiaen,” 285.
41. Nationaal Archief, VOC, Opvarenden (passengers), Nummer toegang: 1.04.02, inventarisnummer: 13017, folio 242, [www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/index/ntoo444/c638724c-c864-11e6-9d8b-0050569300id](http://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/index/ntoo444/c638724c-c864-11e6-9d8b-0050569300id), accessed February 28, 2023. Many thanks to Rebekah Ahrendt for pointing out this source. See also Huygens Instituut, “The Dutch East India Company’s Shipping between the Netherlands and Asia 1595–1795: Details of voyage 3347.1 from Rammekens to Batavia,” <https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/das/detailVoyage/94420>, accessed February 28, 2023.
42. F. H. de Vos, “Genealogy of the Family of Gratiaen of Ceylon,” *Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union* 6, no. 1 (1913): 16. That ship set out from the Cape on January 18, 1747, and arrived at Ceylon on August 17, 1747; see Huygens Instituut, “The Dutch East India Company’s Shipping between the Netherlands and Asia 1595–1795: Details of Voyage 3368.3 from Texel to Ceylon,” <https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/das/detailVoyage/94441>, accessed February 28, 2023.
43. De Vos, “Genealogy of the Family of Gratiaen of Ceylon.”
44. De Baets, “Michael Ondaatje”; Mutsaers, “Jan Frans Gratiaen.” Ondaatje is renowned for a number of prize-winning novels, including *The English Patient* (1992). He has written about his family in the book *Running in the Family* (London: Picador, 1984).
45. De Baets, “Michael Ondaatje,” 170.
46. Mutsaers, “Jan Frans Gratiaen,” 285.
47. De Baets, “Michael Ondaatje,” 170; Mutsaers, “Jan Frans Gratiaen,” 285. These appointments are also found in the annual *Naam-boekje*, a catalog of VOC employees and officials, in which he is listed variously as “Johannes François Gratiaan” and “Johannes Franciscus Gratiaan.” See, for example, *Naam-boekje van de wel. ed. Heeren der Hooge Indische Regeeringe, gequalificeerde personen, enz. en bedienden op Batavia; Mitsgaders de Respectie Gouverneurs, Directeurs, Commandeurs en Op-perhoofden op de Buiten Comptoiren van Nederl. India, zoo als dezelve ultimo September 1759. in wezen zyn bevonden. Als meede alle de Gouverneurs Generaal, zedert het jaar 1610. Nevens de hooge en mindere Collegien en Bediendens op de Buyten Comptoiren van Nederlands India* (Amsterdam: Cornelis Wilt, 1760), 71, where “Johannes Francois Gratiaan” is listed as “Consumptie Boekhouder” with the date of commencement given as 1758.
48. De Baets, “Michael Ondaatje,” 170.
49. According to de Vos, Gratiaen’s daughter Johanna Gerardina (1768–1836) married de Boers (who was from Gouda) on October 28, 1787. See de Vos, “Genealogy of the Family of Gratiaen of Ceylon,” 16.
50. Mutsaers, “Jan Frans Gratiaen,” 285.
51. “Voorberigt,” *Verhandeligen* 6 (1792): first section, 2–3.
52. In “Naam lyst der heeren Directeuren, Dirigeerende en andere Leden van het Bataviaasch Genootschap der Kunsten en Weetenschappen &c.” (dated February 7, 1791), *Verhandeligen* 5 (1790): first section, 53; also in a list with the same title (dated February 17, 1792), *Verhandeligen* 6 (1792): first section, 40.
53. Translation in Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, translated by J. E. King, Loeb Classical Library 141 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927), 281. The original Latin (280) is: “Num fingo, num mentior? Cupio refelli; quid enim laboro nisi ut veritas in omni quaestione explicetur?” Lustig adapts it as follows, citing Cicero: “Si mentor, si fingo, refelli cupio; quid enim laboro, nisi ut veritas in omni quaestione explicetur. Cicero. Quæst. tusc. 3.” Jacob Wilhelm Lustig, *Inleiding tot de muzykkunde: uit*

*klaare, onwederspreekelyke gronden, de innerlyke geschapenheid, de oorzaaken van de zonderbaare uitwerkselen, de groote waarde, en 't regte gebruik der muzykkonst aanwyzende* (Groningen: printed for the author by Hindrik Vechnerus, 1751), page 9 of unnumbered "Voorrede." Coincidentally, Johann Mattheson had also used this quote in his *Der musicalische Patriot* (Hamburg, 1728), 203–4. Lustig, who studied with Mattheson in Hamburg, is likely paying homage to his teacher here.

54. Gratiaen, "Redeneeringen," "Voorreeden," 14.
55. Gratiaen, "Redeneeringen," "Voorreeden," 6.
56. Lustig, *Inleiding*, page 6 of unnumbered "Voorrede."
57. Lustig, *Inleiding*, pages 4–5 of unnumbered "Voorrede."
58. See Sébastien de Brossard, *Dictionnaire de musique, contenant une explication des termes grecs, latins, italiens & françois les plus usitez dans la musique* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1703), page 3 of unnumbered section titled "Catalogue des auteurs qui ont écrit en toutes sortes de Langues, de Temps, de Païs &c.," under "Cinquième classe."
59. Gratiaen, "Redeneeringen," "Voorreeden," 4–5.
60. "Naam lyst," in *Verhandelingen* 6 (1792), first section, 49.
61. Lustig, *Inleiding*, page 4 of unnumbered "Voorrede."
62. Gratiaen, "Redeneeringen," "Voorreeden," 4.
63. Neal Zaslaw, "Leclair, Jean-Marie," *Grove Music Online*. Retrieved 28 Feb. 2023, from [www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-90000380313](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-90000380313).
64. Zaslaw, "Leclair, Jean-Marie."
65. Zaslaw, "Leclair, Jean-Marie."
66. Frederiks and van den Branden, *Biographisch Woordenboek*, 294.
67. The information offered in Frederiks and van den Branden's *Biographisch Woordenboek*, including their proposed date for Gratiaen's study in France, is reproduced without comment by De Baets in his short essay on Gratiaen. See De Baets, "Michael Ondaatje," 169.
68. Jan Bouws, *Solank daar musiek is . . . Musiek en musiekmakers in Suid-Afrika (1652–1982)* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 1982), 33.
69. Gratiaen, "Redeneeringen," 45, 49.
70. Gratiaen, "Redeneeringen," 53.
71. Gratiaen, "Redeneeringen," 59, 60.
72. Gratiaen, "Redeneeringen," 161.
73. Gratiaen, "Redeneeringen," 189–93.
74. Gratiaen, "Redeneeringen," 212.
75. Gratiaen, "Redeneeringen," 230–31.
76. Gratiaen, "Redeneeringen," 263.
77. Mutsaers, "Jan Frans Gratiaen," 285.
78. They are listed as J. A. Engelhard and N. G. Schroeder. "Naam lyst," *Verhandelingen* 6 (1792): first section, 46.
79. British Library, General Reference Collection D-7898.1.26.
80. British Library, General Reference Collection 438.k.13–27.
81. Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de F. J. Fétis, acquise par l'état belge* (Brussels: Librairie Européenne C. Muquardt, 1877), 813 (no. 6915).
82. This same copy is held in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek / Bibliothèque royale (Royal Library of Belgium), and the catalog entry for it lists "Batavia" and "1792" in square brackets. It also gives a reference to RISM (Répertoire International des Sources Musicales) B VI, 375.
83. Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de F. J. Fétis*, 811 (no. 6891).
84. Bibliothèque nationale de France, V-25231.
85. Daniel François Scheurleer, *Catalogus der muziekbibliotheek van D. F. Scheurleer* (The Hague: printed by Gebr. Giunta d'Albani, 1893), 38.
86. Scheurleer, *Catalogus*, 25.