

Op de Haubois of Basson meesterlyk spelen:
Contextualising the Roles and Repertoire of
Double-Reed Instruments in the Republiek der
Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden, 1677–1725

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Abstract

This study seeks to illuminate a body of forgotten repertoire, documented in the Dutch Republic's courts, theatres, military, amateur circles, and churches. Comprising of a dissertation and two appendices, this study explores how double-reed instruments were used in the Dutch Republic in the years 1677–1725, focusing on seven types and sizes of instruments made by Richard Haka (<1646–1705). This critical period in double-reed history marks Europe's transition from the direct descendants of Renaissance-type instruments to the French-style instruments of the high Baroque period. The Dutch Republic, being the origin of one quarter of all pre-Classical oboes and the earliest-surviving datable bassoon, was one of the first places to adopt these French instruments outside of France — though the older forms of double-reed instruments continued to be used throughout the period of study. One could question the need for having so many of these instruments in a region which is largely unexplored in terms of historical performance practice and repertoire. Double-reed players of the Republic served in a variety of capacities and could be found playing several genres of music, but due to the historically-inconsistent use of terminology, determining the exact introduction and extinction of these instruments is nearly impossible; however, by contextualising an array of seemingly-unconnected primary sources and analysing details in the iconography of the period, a more-informed perspective on the matter can be gained.

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Literature Review and Methodology

This study's results have been presented both as this dissertation and as a more-interactive online version. The aim of this study is to connect several snippets of historical information in order to explore the Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden's¹ double-reed players variety of roles, as well as the repertoire which they played. This was greatly inspired by the work of Samantha Owens. I consulted every provincial archive in the Netherlands, as well as some smaller archives such as the Koninklijke Verzameling in The Hague, in the search for relevant information — often just sentences in lengthy notary records. I also inspected every Netherlandish newspaper from the period of study, as well as plays, poems, and songs, all of which proved useful in constructing an overview of double-reed culture in the Republic.

There has been a substantial body of work written about Dutch woodwind instruments, including double-reed instruments from the period of study. This has largely been restricted to organological analyses, such as those by Rob van Acht,² Jan Bouterse,³ and Mathew Dart.⁴ Although useful from a contextual perspective, the works cited in these authors' studies have been imperative in finding lesser-known primary sources and relevant secondary literature. A recent article by Giovanni Paolo Di Stefano⁵ also provided

¹ "Republic of the Seven United Netherlands", henceforth referred to as "the Republic".

² Van Acht, Rob, Bouterse, Jan, and Dhont, Piet, *Niederländische Doppelrohrblattinstrumente des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts / Dutch double reed instruments of the 17th and 18th centuries* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1997).

³ Bouterse, Jan, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments and Their Makers*, trans. Koenig, Ruth (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2005).

⁴ Dart, Mathew, 'The Baroque Bassoon: Form, Construction, Acoustics, and Playing Qualities' (Doctor of Philosophy, London, London Metropolitan University, 2011).

⁵ Di Stefano, Giovanni Paolo, 'The Rijksmuseum's Remarkable Collection of Oboes', *The Double Reed* 44, no. 2 (2021): 93–127.

further insight into the instruments from the period of study. Regarding musical culture in the Republic as a whole, the writings of Rudolf Rasch, particularly *Muziek in de Republiek* and his work on the publishing house of Estienne Roger, complemented the archival material well.

Once most of the information was collected, I was able to categorise each source as being relevant to different sectors of music. These sectors have been divided into Chapters 4–8. I chose to focus on the instruments listed in Chapter 2 as those were the instruments which seemed to appear the most in my research. To understand the terminology used in the period, I consulted every known surviving dictionary of the period of study, both in Dutch and in other languages. This resulted in the material in Chapter 3 becoming the basis of interpreting the instrument terminology to which sources of the period refer. Much of the existing body of knowledge regarding the theatres of the Republic is, unfortunately, based on research from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁶ In cases where newer secondary sources cited these works, I was able to compare the findings with archival material, sometimes arriving at different conclusions.

The content of Appendix A was mainly compiled by inspecting the catalogues of Estienne Roger, all of which are available as scans online. Other information, such as the libraries which hold published works, was retrieved from Rasch's website on the publishing house of Estienne Roger⁷ and from Répertoire International des Sources Musicales⁸ (RISM). Rasch's descriptive lists of works, while certainly comprehensive, do

⁶ For example, Worp, Jacob Adolf, *Geschiedenis van den Amsterdamschen Schouwburg, 1496–1772* (Amsterdam: S. L. van Looy, 1920); Balfoort, Dirk J, *Het muziekleven in Nederland in de 17de en 18de eeuw* (Amsterdam: P. N. van Kampen & Zoon, 1938).

⁷ Rasch, Rudolf, 'The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger and Michel-Charles Le Cène', Utrecht University, 2018, <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/>.

⁸ "International Inventory of Musical Sources".

not list the instrumentation of each work, rather only providing the information from the title pages and partbooks. Appendix A differs in this regard as I have provided the instrumentation of all double-reed-related works, based on not only the works' title pages and partbooks, but on information from Roger's catalogues which categorise the works by instrumentation, national style, and genre.

Appendix B is by no means comprehensive; several works of art are kept in private collections, the extent of potentially-relevant works is unknown, and it is possible that some art is incorrectly dated. With that being said, I consulted the catalogues and collections of all historical art museums in the Netherlands, in addition to RKD-Nederlands Instituut voor Kunstgeschiedenis to find as many examples of iconography as possible. These artworks were valuable in forming a greater overview of Netherlandish culture, seeing how double-reed instruments and players were portrayed in art, regardless of each work's realism.

As this study aims to contextualise the subject matter, I have avoided personal speculation, reserving this for external presentations on the subject matter. In the process of writing this dissertation, I presented two lectures on extrapolative information from this study at the Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Graz.⁹ These lectures assisted me in separating my own speculations from the historical facts presented in sources.

⁹ Athayde Santos, Luis Tasso, 'The Context and Repertoire of Richard Haka's Kleine Schalmei' (Lecture, Eröffnungstag des Instituts 15, Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst, Graz, 30 September 2024); Athayde Santos, Luis Tasso, 'Richard Haka's Schalmeien' (Lecture, Instrumentenkunde, Historische Oboenklasse der Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Graz, Graz, 15 November 2024).

Chapter 1: Introduction

Around the turn of the eighteenth century, European double-reed instruments underwent several organological changes. Changes in bore and turning profiles accompanied a shift in the role of these instruments in society.¹⁰ While there has been extensive research on what societal changes double-reed instruments underwent within England¹¹ and the German-speaking lands of the Holy Roman Empire,¹² an inquiry into the instruments' context within the Republic — that is, much of the modern-day Netherlands — has yet to be conducted. Although a relatively small nation, the Republic produced many of the earliest-surviving double-reed instruments of the French Baroque style, including 25% (97 out of 388) of all pre-Classical oboes¹³ and the earliest-surviving datable bassoon.¹⁴

As the context of double-reed instruments in the Republic has hitherto not been explored from a non-organological perspective, the purpose of this study is to demonstrate the various roles of these instruments in the period between the reopening of the Amsterdamse Schouwburg (1677) and the beginnings of a more cohesive and organised integration of double-reed players into military regiments (ca. 1725). Although

¹⁰ Haynes, Bruce, *The Eloquent Oboe: A History of the Hautboy 1640–1760* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 6–8.

¹¹ For example, Owens, Samantha, “Seven Young Men on Hautboys”: The Oboe Band in England, c. 1680–1740’, in *Musical Exchange between Britain and Europe, 1500–1800: Essays in Honour of Peter Holman* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2020), 257–68.

¹² For example, Owens, Samantha, ‘Upgrading from Consort to Orchestra at the Württemberg Court’, in *From Renaissance to Baroque: Change in Instruments and Instrumental Music in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Holman, Peter and Wainright, Jonathan (National Early Music Association Conference, York, 1999, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 227–40.

¹³ Haynes, Bruce, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 63.

¹⁴ Kopp, James, *The Bassoon*, Yale Musical Instrument Series (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 84.

this is not an organological study, the instruments relevant to this research are defined and compared in Chapter 2.

Utilising the few extant primary sources and even fewer secondary sources, this study connects several fragments of Netherlandish music history. Despite the over 250 surviving Dutch woodwind instruments from 1675–1750,¹⁵ there is disproportionately little repertoire in the region specifically for double-reed instruments. The social context of these instruments, informed by both fiction and non-fiction literature, has been essential in discovering the genres of music which the Netherlandish people may have heard played on double-reed instruments. As many of the surviving oboes in question are made of luxurious materials (such as ebony, ivory, and silver) and/or are ornately decorated (Figures 1.1 and 1.2), it has been speculated that there was a considerable wealthy amateur class of oboists,¹⁶ making the lack of published repertoire even more puzzling. Despite this, a sizeable list of published works and manuscripts which may have been performed on double-reed instruments in the Republic during the period of study has been compiled as Appendix A. This has been possible as some of the works published in the period are prescribed for a flexible instrumentation. There are also examples of works listed in catalogues as being for double-reed instruments, even in cases where an instrumentation is not provided in the score, itself.

¹⁵ Bouterse, Jan, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments*, 2.

¹⁶ Di Stefano, Giovanni Paolo, 'The Rijksmuseum's Remarkable Collection of Oboes', 101.



Figure 1.1: Three oboes (ca. 1720) by Hendrik Richters (1683–1727)¹⁷ made from expensive materials.

Left to right: BK-2018-73,¹⁸ BK-15605,¹⁹ BK-NM-11182.²⁰



Figure 1.2: The C key of an oboe (Ea 436-1933)²¹ by Hendrik Richters.

Given the sheer number of surviving instruments and the new comprehensive list of complementing repertoire that this study provides, there is little reason to disregard the unique aspects of double-reed instruments' context within the Republic. It is my hope that, with further interest and funding, more information about Netherlandish double-reed culture can be discovered.

¹⁷ For biographical data, see Bouterse, Jan, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments*, 83–85.

¹⁸ Rijksmuseum, 'Hobo, Hendrik Richters, ca. 1720 - ca. 1730', n.d., <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.703378>.

¹⁹ Rijksmuseum, 'Hobo, Hendrik Richters, ca. 1720', n.d., <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.335383>.

²⁰ Rijksmuseum, 'Hobo, Hendrik Richters, ca. 1720', n.d., <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.351434>.

²¹ Bouterse, Jan, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments*, photos, Richters, no-HR02, Md01-HRichters2.

Chapter 2: The Instruments

2.1 Richard Haka and His Invoice

Richard Haka (<1646–1705)²² was an English-born woodwind instrument maker based in Amsterdam, considered the patriarch of the Amsterdam school of woodwind making.²³ Specifically, he was probably the first Dutch maker to stamp his name on instruments²⁴ and, according to Jan Bouterse, “[t]here is consequently no evidence of a continuous tradition in double-reed woodwind instrument production”, despite some surviving instruments predating Haka.²⁵

A 1934 report by Otto Thulin (1886–1959), a conservator of the Göteborgs Stadsmuseum, states that Haka had sent several instruments between 1682 and 1688 to the Swedish navy.²⁶ Only one invoice, dated 15 June 1685, survives (Figure 2.1.1),²⁷ addressed to a Mr Dittelar and Johan Otto of Calmar, survives. It is separated into three parts: “Teutscher schalmeijen”, “Fransche haubois”, and “Fleutte deuse”.²⁸ At the end of the invoice, Haka includes charges for reeds, a bocal, and boxes. This study concerns the first two categories of Haka’s invoice (Figure 2.1.2).

²² Another Richard Haka of “Keysers graft” was buried in Amsterdam’s Oude Kerk on 22 November 1709, but it was likely a son of his.

‘Adij den 4 Novemb[er]’ (Amsterdam, 22 November 1709), 46v, DTB Begraven, Amsterdam: Stadsarchief Amsterdam, 1048, 46.

For a more comprehensive biography, see Bouterse, Jan, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments*, 71–74.

²³ Dart, Mathew, ‘The Baroque Bassoon’, 65.

²⁴ Bouterse, Jan, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments*, 14 (book).

²⁵ Bouterse, Jan, 419, 523–24.

²⁶ Bouterse, Jan, 73, 95.

²⁷ Haka, Richard, ‘gelevert aan mijn Heer Dittelar dese onderstaende blasinstrumenten voor Johan Otto tot Calmar’, Invoice, 15 June 1685, Amiralitetskollegium, kansliet, Krigsarkivet, Täby: Riksarkivet i Täby, Series E II a (2).

²⁸ “German shawms”, “French oboes”, and “Recorders”.

bombard with a conical bore, as early as the three 1594 shawms of the Freiberg Cathedral which are kept in the Grassi Musikinstrumenten-Museum Leipzig.³² Many, but not all, surviving instruments were originally fitted with a key. Aside from having six finger holes (and possibly keys), Deutsche schalmeien have two or three resonance holes in the bell.³³

The instrument was not exclusive to the Republic, implied by the term “Teutscher” used in Haka’s invoice. In the manuscript catalogued as Christ Church Mus 1187, the James Talbot Papers, it is described as a Saxon instrument, “used Much in German Army, etc. Sweeter than Hautbois. Several sizes & pitches.” The treble size of this “schalmey(e)” is supposedly in two parts whereas the instrument described as an “English hautbois” or “Waits treble/tenor” (depending on the size) is in one part and is an earlier type of shawm in C.³⁴ Aside from Haka’s instruments, there are 33 surviving Deutsche schalmeien.³⁵

The term, “velt-schalmei”, is one of the terms that was used historically for the instrument, describing its function as an outdoor instrument. The term was even used in a newspaper notice (Figure 2.2.1)³⁶ referring to a death hoax which was probably perpetuated by Haka’s nephew,³⁷ Coenraad Rijkel (ca. 1664–1726) who was contracted to study under Haka for seven years starting at the age of 15.³⁸

³² Amy Power, personal communication.

Others may use it to refer exclusively to late-seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century shawms; cf. Thompson, Susan E., ‘Deutsche Schalmei: A Question of Terminology’, *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 25 (1999): 33.

³³ Haynes, Bruce, “‘Sweeter than Hautbois’: Towards a Conception of the Schalmey of the Baroque Period’, *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 26 (2000): 64.

³⁴ Talbot, James, ‘Wind Instrum[en]Ts’, in *James Talbot Papers* (England, 1698), 662–64, Oxford: University of Oxford, Christ Church Mus 1187/D2.

³⁵ Andres, Katharina, ‘Schalmey, Bombardino, Piffaro: Die hohen Doppelrohrblattinstrumente des ausgehenden 17. und beginnenden 18. Jahrhunderts im deutschsprachigen Raum’ (Master of Arts, Basel, Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, Musik-Akademie der Stadt Basel, 2010), 14–15.

³⁶ ‘Also Richard Haka’, *Amsterdamse Courant*, 5 April 1691, sec. Advertentie.

³⁷ Bouterse, Jan, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments*, 85–86.

³⁸ ‘Coenraad Rikel will learn to make flutes and other wind instruments from his master’ (Amsterdam, 12 September 1679), Notariële Archieven Amsterdam, Amsterdam: Stadsarchief Amsterdam, 4875, 96.

Chapter 2: The Instruments

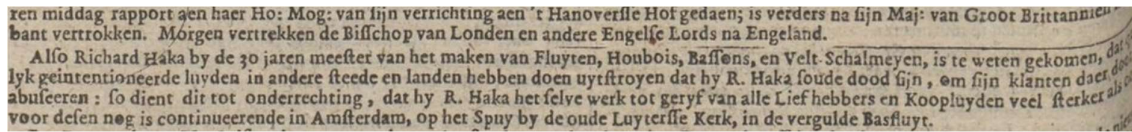


Figure 2.2.1: A declaration commenting on rumours of Haka's death (1691).³⁹

Ten of Haka's velt-schalmeien survive: nine in the "discant"⁴⁰ size and one in the "midelbas"⁴¹ size (Figure 2.2.2). The descants' lowest note is a written D₄ ranging between A-1 and A-2,⁴² though one exemplar at Yale University's Collection of Musical Instruments survives with a key for low C which was certainly not made by Haka. As none of them have an original groove in which to insert a key, their fontanelle is purely decorative. The bore and turning are both slender — the minimal bore being only 4.0–4.6mm — but with a long, flared bell. The instruments also bare a peg hole in their bells to hold a pirouette in place when the instrument is not in use. The instrument at Yale has a surviving pirouette, though its lack of craftsmanship brings its authenticity into question.⁴³ The only surviving alto instrument by Haka has a nominal pitch of G. It is uncertain whether its key is original and its fontanelle, pirouette, and bell peg are missing.⁴⁴ According to Piet Dhont, it plays around A-1.⁴⁵ Only three other alto Deutsche schalmeien survive.⁴⁶

³⁹ "It has come to the notice of Richard Haka, a master-maker of recorders, oboes, bassoons and shawms for some 30 years now, that evil-intentioned people in other towns and regions have been circulating the rumour of the said R. Haka's death in order to mislead his clients. For their enlightenment, the said R. Haka continues to do the same work for the enjoyment of all music-lovers and customers and to a greater extent than ever, in Amsterdam, on Spuy near the old Lutheran Church, at De Vergulde Bas-Fluyt." Translation from Bouterse, Jan, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments*, 73.

⁴⁰ "Descant".

⁴¹ Literally "middle-bass" but now referred to as alto or tenor. Due to its nominal pitch relationship with the Renaissance alto bombard (both in G), it will henceforth be referred to as an alto instrument.

⁴² Bouterse, Jan, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments*, 487.

⁴³ Bouterse, Jan, 483–85.

⁴⁴ Van Acht, Rob, Bouterse, Jan, and Dhont, Piet, *Niederländische Doppelrohrblattinstrumente des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, 118.

⁴⁵ Bouterse, Jan, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments*, 487.

⁴⁶ Andres, Katharina, 'Schalmey, Bombardino, Piffaro', 14–15.



Figure 2.2.2: A descant velt-schalmei (BK-NM-11430-82)⁴⁷ and alto velt-schalmei (BK-2010-18)⁴⁸ by Haka.

Although Haka's velt-schalmeien are the only surviving Dutch models, he was certainly not the only maker making them in the Republic. An advertisement from 1691 (Figure 2.2.3)⁴⁹ states that Jan Jurriaensz van Heerden (1638–1691)⁵⁰ was making “Velt-scharmeyen” in his workshop, De Gekroonde Fagot.⁵¹

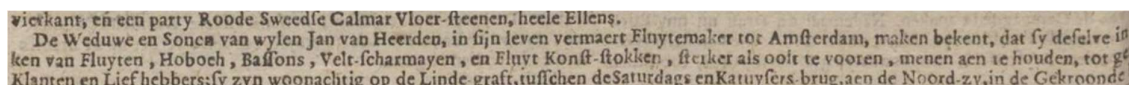


Figure 2.2.3: A newspaper advertisement for van Heerden's workshop (1691).⁵²

⁴⁷ Rijksmuseum, 'Sopraanschalmei (Duytse Schalmei), Richard Haka, ca. 1680', n.d., <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.351206>.

⁴⁸ Rijksmuseum, 'Altschalmei (Duytse Schalmei), Richard Haka, ca. 1680', n.d., <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.493284>.

⁴⁹ 'De Weduwe en Sonen van wylen Jan van Heerden', *Amsterdamse Courant*, 1 May 1691, sec. Advertentie.

⁵⁰ For biographical data, see Bouterse, Jan, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments*, 75–76.

⁵¹ "The Crowned *Fagot*". The last word may refer to a dulcian or a bassoon, given the ambiguity of the term in this period. See Chapter 3 for commentary on terminology of the period.

⁵² "The widow and sons of the late Jan van Heerden, the renowned Amsterdam *Fluytemaker*, announce that they will continue to make recorders, oboes, bassoons, shawms and recorders on an even larger scale than hitherto for the convenience of customers and music-lovers; they live on Lindengracht, between the Saturdays- and Katuyfers-brug, on the north side, in De Gekroonde Fagot." Translation from Bouterse, Jan, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments*, 75–76.

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Shawms are also depicted in the margins of Rijkel's visitor card (Figure 2.2.4) among other instruments. Several shawms were sold in inventory sales, but most records do not indicate their origin — and it is not known whether the instruments sold were velt-schalmeien or older shawms. However, the 1768 sale of the property of a Mr de Jong van Campes Nieuwland in Middelburg included “Een Schalmey door Terton in een Koker”,⁵³ referring to the instrument-maker Engelbert Terton (1676–1752).⁵⁴ Unlike Haka's instruments, some shawms in the Republic had seven finger holes: “daar sijn seven gaten tot seven vingeren / gelijk in de Fluyten / maar achter is geen gat tot de duim”.⁵⁵

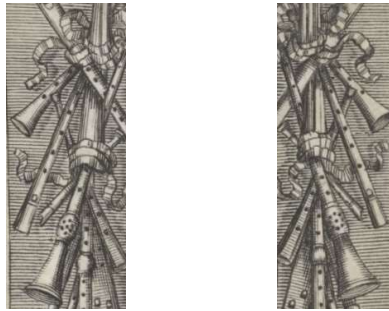


Figure 2.2.4: Details of Rijkel's visitor card (ca. 1705), designed by Ignatius Lux (fl. 1650–1694).⁵⁶

The third instrument listed amongst the “Teutscher schalmeijen” is the “bas dulsian”,⁵⁷ of which there are no extant Dutch exemplars. Fortunately, several Dutch artworks depict dulcians, usually played by putti (Figure 2.2.5). Haka's instruments would almost certainly have had a nominal pitch of F. Bass dulcians of this period typically have two keys; one key to play low F and another to play low E.

⁵³ “A shawm by Terton in a case”.

Verloop, Gerard, *Het Muziekinstrument op de Boekenveiling, 1623–1775*, vol. 1 (Schagen: Stichting Collectie Verloop, 2002), 42–43.

⁵⁴ For biographical data, see Bouterse, Jan, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments*, 90–91.

⁵⁵ “There are seven holes for seven fingers, like the recorder, but there is no hole for the thumb.”

Douwes, Klaas, *Grondig Onderzoek van de Toonen der Musijk* (Franeker: Adriaan Heins, 1699), 114.

⁵⁶ Lux, Ignatius, *Visitor card of Coenraad Rijkel*, 1705, Engraving on paper, 17 × 12.4 cm, 1705, Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.142394>.

⁵⁷ “Bass dulcian”, or curtal.



Figure 2.2.5: Detail from the title page of an arrangement of Jean-Baptiste Lully's (1632–1687) *tragédie en musique, Persée*, titled *Ouverture avec tous les airs de violons de l'opera de Persée* (1682).⁵⁸

Haka's surviving velt-schalmeien play in a range between A-1½ and A-1, with some experiments of reed and staple setups going as low as A-2.⁵⁹ In Haka's invoice, the descant variety is referred to as being in *trompettenton*.⁶⁰ If the alto instruments in this shipment were intended to play together with the descant instruments, it can be assumed that the term, *trompettenton*, refers to a pitch centre at A-1 or slightly lower. Unlike the velt-schalmeien, the bass dulcians are described as "Coor mes:". ⁶¹ This may be related to an incident in Lüneberg in 1652, when a 1553 organ in A-1 by the Dutch maker Hendrik Niehoff (ca. 1495–1560) was rebuilt by Friedrich Stellwagen (<1635–1659), raising the pitch to A+1 to be "Chormässig".⁶² If the velt-schalmeien were in A-1 and the bass dulcians were at A+1, this would mean that the three

⁵⁸ *Titelpagina voor Johan Philip Heus's Ouverture avec tous les airs de violon de L'opera de Persée*, 1682, Etching on paper, 16 × 20 cm, 1682, London: British Library.

⁵⁹ Bouterse, Jan, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments*, 487.

⁶⁰ Jan Bouterse believes that the invoice says "trompettenbon", but — based on studying several examples of Dutch handwriting in preparing this dissertation — there are examples of t's like the one in, what I believe to be, Haka's *trompettenton*; cf. Bouterse, Jan, 7 (Appendix D).

⁶¹ Possibly "Coor mesig", meaning appropriate for use with singers.

⁶² "Appropriate for use with singers".

Haynes, Bruce, *A History of Performing Pitch: The Story of 'A'* (Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2002), 77.

instruments could play together if the dulcians were treated as having a nominal pitch of G in A-1, like the alto velt-schalmeien. Realistically, though, there is no certainty about what “mes:” — an abbreviation — means.⁶³ Haka’s invoice also includes “twee Partije Muciek Stucken verschotten”.⁶⁴ If found, this music could suggest how the dulcian was used alongside the shawms, either through transposed parts, choice of keys, or ambiti.

2.3 The French Hautbois

There are three instruments in the “Fransche haubois” category: two sizes of oboes and a bassoon. The origin of these instruments is shrouded in mystery, largely because the term *hautbois* can refer to several types of instruments in French, including both what would today be considered shawms and oboes. The oboe was developed between the 1640’s and 1670’s in France, with the Philidor and Hotteterre families considered the founders of the school of French “haubois”.⁶⁵ This new form of the *hautbois* differs from shawms by being constructed in three parts, two or three keys (one for low C and the other(s) for E-flat), and six finger holes.⁶⁶ Oboes from the Republic in the period of study are mainly A2 and A3 type instruments,⁶⁷ with double holes for the third and fourth fingers. Only three surviving Dutch eighteenth-century oboes have a single hole for the third and/or fourth finger, all of which are later than the period of study.⁶⁸

⁶³ Bruce Haynes supposedly agreed with the theory of “Coor mes:” equating to the German “Chormaß”. Bouterse, Jan, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments*, 8 (Appendix D).

⁶⁴ “Two sets of music paid in advance”.

Haka, Richard, ‘gelevert aan mijn Heer Dittelar’, 15 June 1685.

⁶⁵ Haynes, Bruce, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 6, 14.

⁶⁶ Burgess, Geoffrey and Haynes, Bruce, “Oboe”, ‘The European Treble Oboe’, in *Grove Music Online*, 2001, <https://www-1.oxfordmusiconline-1.com-1000008z90212.han.kug.ac.at/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000040450>.

⁶⁷ Haynes, Bruce, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 353.

⁶⁸ Bouterse, Jan, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments*, 449–50.

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The “discant hautbois” of Haka’s invoice refers to an oboe with a nominal pitch of C. Haka’s oboes had two main pitch centres: A-1 and A±0 (Figure 2.3.1). These two sizes were likely made concurrently for different practices.⁶⁹ The oboes sent to Sweden were in *Coortoon*. Assuming that the “coor” portion of *coortoon* relates to the indication given to the dulcian on the invoice (with A-1 being an appropriate pitch for working with singers), the pitch of the French oboes sent to Sweden could be A-1.



Figure 2.3.1: An A-1 oboe (BK-2018-68)⁷⁰ and an A±0 oboe (BK-2018-67)⁷¹ by Haka.

The “tenor Hautbois” refers to a larger form of the previous instrument, with a nominal pitch of F. Two such instruments by Richard Haka survive and are owned by the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien. As the strict policies of this organisation prohibit playing these instruments and the publication of comprehensive measurements, it is not

⁶⁹ Di Stefano, Giovanni Paolo, ‘The Rijksmuseum’s Remarkable Collection of Oboes’, 99.

⁷⁰ Rijksmuseum, ‘Hobo, Richard Haka, ca. 1690 - ca. 1700’, n.d., <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.703373>.

⁷¹ Rijksmuseum, ‘Hobo, Richard Haka, ca. 1680 - ca. 1690’, n.d., <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.703372>.

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possible to determine the pitch centre of Haka's surviving tenor oboes. However, the tenor oboe of Hendrik Richters supposedly has a remarkably similar bore profile to the two Haka instruments in Vienna.⁷² This instrument plays around A-1½, though Richters's descant oboes have all been documented to play at A-1 or higher.⁷³



Figure 2.3.2: The four joints of a bassoon by Haka.

Top: wing joint (L), bass joint (R). Bottom: bell (L), boot joint (R).⁷⁴

The final instrument listed on Haka's invoice that will be considered in this study is the bassoon. On the invoice, it is unusually listed as "dulsian Basson in 4 Stucken".⁷⁵ Haka is an important figure in the history of the bassoon as the one surviving exemplar (Figure 2.3.2), housed in the Schlossmuseum Sondershausen in Germany, is "probably the earliest datable Baroque bassoon".⁷⁶ Four-piece bassoons of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have a nominal pitch of F and typically have three or four keys; one

⁷² Lucas van Helsdingen, personal communication.

⁷³ Bouterse, Jan, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments*, 476, 481.

⁷⁴ Bouterse, Jan, photos, Haka, no-38.

⁷⁵ "Dulcian bassoon in four parts".

⁷⁶ Kopp, James, *The Bassoon*, 84.

key for low B or B-flat, one key for low D, one key for low F, and usually a key for G-sharp/A-flat.⁷⁷ The current G-sharp/A-flat key on Haka's bassoon was made in 1985, and it is unknown whether the previous key (now missing) was original, let alone the hole underneath it.⁷⁸ Two fingering charts for a three-keyed bassoon survive (one in the Talbot Papers which gives the fingerings of three notes,⁷⁹ and the other in Joseph Majer's 1732 treatise)⁸⁰ but there are numerous contemporaneous examples of four-keyed bassoons, including one by Rijkel — the only other surviving bassoon from the Republic in the period of study. Rijkel's visitor card (Figure 2.3.3) also depicts a bassoon with a G-sharp/A-flat key, though it is on the wrong side of the instrument likely due to an engraving error.⁸¹

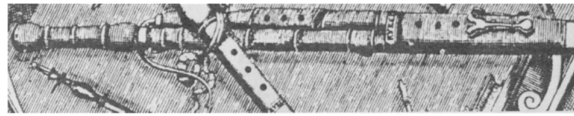


Figure 2.3.3: Detail of Rijkel's visitor card, designed by Ignatius Lux, depicting a bassoon.⁸²

Haka's bassoon does not survive with an original bocal, a key part of determining the approximate pitch centre. With recently-made bocals, a pitch centre of both A-1 and A-2 have been produced.⁸³ It seems unlikely that the bassoon sent to Malmö would have a pitch centre as low as A-2 as it would have probably been in the same pitch as the descant and tenor oboes of the invoice, particularly if all of Haka's surviving descant oboes are in either A-1 or A±0.

⁷⁷ White, Paul J., 'Early Bassoon Fingering Charts', *The Galpin Society Journal* 43 (March 1990): 72–74.

⁷⁸ Dart, Mathew, 'The Baroque Bassoon', 70.

⁷⁹ White, Paul J., 'Early Bassoon Fingering Charts', 84–85.

⁸⁰ Majer, Joseph Friedrich Bernhard Caspar, *Museum Musicum Theoretico-Practicum, das ist: Neueröffneter Theoretisch- und Praktischer Music-Saal* (Schwäbisch Hall: Georg Michael Majer, 1732), 34–35.

⁸¹ Dart, Mathew, 'The Baroque Bassoon', 73.

⁸² Lux, Ignatius, *Visitor card of Coenraad Rijkel*.

⁸³ Bouterse, Jan, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments*, 2 (Appendix C: R. Haka-no. 38).

2.4 The *Kleine Schalmei*

Aside from the six double-reed instruments listed on Haka's invoice, there is a seventh instrument by Richard Haka that will be discussed in this study. As there are no written historical references to this instrument, I have chosen to adopt the nomenclature used by the oboe maker, Lucas van Helsdingen, *kleine schalmei*.⁸⁴



Figure 2.4.1: A kleine schalmei (BK-NM-11430-81)⁸⁵ by Haka.

There is one surviving instrument of this kind (Figure 2.4.1) and it is a uniquely Dutch instrument with currently uncertain historical functions. A distinct instrument in its own right, it cannot be considered another of Haka's velt-schalmeien, nor an oboe. There are great differences in the bore dimensions between other types of instruments

⁸⁴ See van Helsdingen, Lucas, 'kleine schalmei', Lucas me fecit, 2020, <https://lucasmefecit.nl/bouwer/instrumenten/hobo-soorten/hobo-s/haka/haka-kleine-schalmei>.

⁸⁵ Rijksmuseum, 'Hobo of schalmei, Richard Haka, ca. 1680', n.d., <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.351205>.

(Figure 2.4.2),⁸⁶ as well as differences in the outer construction of the instruments. This includes the materials used; the velt-schalmeien are all made from boxwood and brass,⁸⁷ whereas the kleine schalmei is made from ebony and silver.⁸⁸ The kleine schalmei plays well at A±0.⁸⁹ Furthermore, shawms of this period — at least in the Republic — are described as not having a thumb hole,⁹⁰ which is unique to the kleine schalmei.

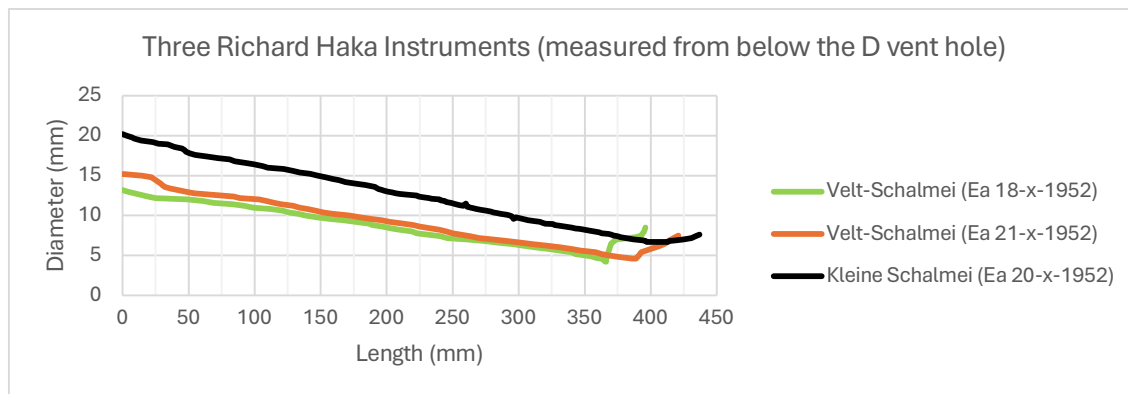


Figure 2.4.2: The bore profiles of two velt-schalmeien and the kleine schalmei, all by Haka.

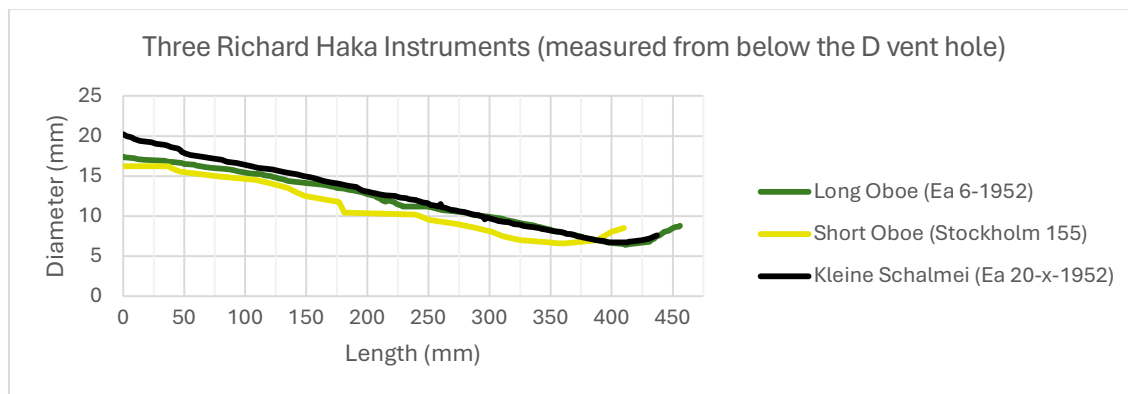


Figure 2.4.3: The bore profiles of two oboes and the kleine schalmei, all by Haka.

⁸⁶ Van Acht, Rob, Bouterse, Jan, and Dhont, Piet, *Niederländische Doppelrohrblattinstrumente des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, 112–17, 122–27.

⁸⁷ Bouterse, Jan, 'Making Woodwind Instruments 10: Double Reed Instruments', *Fellowship of Makers and Researchers of Historical Instruments Quarterly* 139, Communication 2077 (December 2017): 3.

⁸⁸ However, there are iconographic examples of lighter colours of wood.

⁸⁹ Bouterse, Jan, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments*, 1 (Appendix C: R. Haka-no. 27).

⁹⁰ Douwes, Klaas, *Grondig Onderzoek van de Toonen der Musijk*, 114.

The kleine schalmei, despite its top joint bearing some resemblance to Haka's oboes' outer profile, also functions differently to an oboe. And despite the kleine schalmei playing well at A $\pm$ 0, the bore profile of its top joint is more similar to that of the longer A+1 oboes,⁹¹ rather than the A $\pm$ 0 oboes⁹² (Figure 2.4.3). Although its acoustic length is longer than that of Haka's A $\pm$ 0 oboes, the kleine schalmei's tone holes are very large (like a shawm) and would make the pitch high enough to play in A $\pm$ 0.⁹³ The kleine schalmei's lowest note is a C $\sharp$ ₄, unlike the oboes' C₄.

There are several features of the kleine schalmei which, when seen in combination, are unique to the instrument. These are: that it has only one key, which is covered by a fontanelle; it has a thumb hole, six single finger holes, and no holes in the bell; the bell is short and wide; and that some of the outer profile resembles that of early A-type oboes (including pirouette-like turning at the top of the instrument, the shape and degree of the baluster of the top joint, and a bulb around the socket of the middle joint). The one extant instrument is also heavily-decorated with silver furnishings. For these reasons, it is neither simply a type of Deutsche schalmei nor an oboe; the kleine schalmei is its own type of instrument, outright.

Summary

Richard Haka's 1685 invoice lists most of the instruments that he was making, forming the basis of which instruments are discussed in this study. Aside from his German and French categories (that is, the shawm family and the oboe family,

⁹¹ Van Acht, Rob, Bouterse, Jan, and Dhont, Piet, *Niederländische Doppelrohrblattinstrumente des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, 122–33.

⁹² Bouterse, Jan, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments*, 2 (Appendix C: Haka-18), 2 (Appendix C: Haka-22), 1-2 (Appendix C: Haka-23).

⁹³ Haynes, Bruce, 'Sweeter than Hautbois', 66.

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respectively), his unique kleine schalmei is also part of this study. It seems that Haka's instruments came in two or three pitch centres. This study hypothesises that, on his invoice, the velt-schalmeien were in A-1, the dulcian was in A+1, and the oboes and bassoons were in A-1. With this disposition, all the German-type instruments could play as an ensemble, as could the French-type instruments. The kleine schalmei, belonging to neither group, has several distinctive features and is presented in this study as such.

Chapter 3: Conflicting Terminology

The period of study concerns a transitional time in the development of double-reed instruments — that is, the shift from the direct descendants of Renaissance-type instruments to the instruments developed for the French court in the mid-seventeenth century. Consequently, the terminology used to describe said instruments is inconsistent and contradictory. The term *hautbois* in French can refer to several types of double-reed instruments, specifically to what are considered shawms and oboes in today’s terms.⁹⁴ This is still the case today, evident in French texts such as a 2024 auction featuring shawms (Figures 3.1 and 3.2).

1174	Lot de quatre hautbois . En l'état.	40 / *
1175	Lot de trois instruments dont une flûte à décor sud américain. Bon état.	40 / *
1176	Lot de deux hautbois . Déformation au pavillon. En l'état	30 / *
1177	Lot de quatre flûtes. En l'état	40 / *
1178	Clarinette double à une corde. En l'état.	20 / *
1179	Trompe. En l'état	20 / *
1180	Lot de quatre hautbois traditionnels dont un décoré, pays diverses. En l'état	40 / *
1181	Lot de deux hautbois traditionnels. En l'état	30 / *
1182	Clarinette avec sa calebasse. En l'état	20 / *
1183	Lot deux instruments et leurs calebasses, et une trompe en corne	20 / *
1184	Lot de trois flûtes traversières dont deux flûtes en bambou et os, écriture gravée, travail asiatique, et une flûte travail mélangé. En l'état.	30 / *
1185	Lot de trois flûtes droites dont une flûte en bambou, à décor de dragon coloré et écriture chinoise, estampillé KCF 111. Fentes aux bagues, usure. En l'état.	30 / *
1186	Lot de quatre trompes et trompettes pour charivari. Sud de la France. Assez bon état.	80 / *
1187	Lot de quatre flûtes, différents bois, différentes origines. En l'état	40 / *
1188	Lot de deux instruments : une flûte en bambou et un hautbois .	20 / *

Figure 3.1: An excerpt from an auction⁹⁵ featuring five lots that include “hautbois”.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Haynes, Bruce, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 6.

⁹⁵ The highlighting is not original.

⁹⁶ Vichy Enchères, ‘Vente aux Enchères: Mercredi 25 Septembre 2024 à 14 H 00’ (Vichy Enchères, Vichy), 5, https://docs.prod-indb.io/2024/09/19/165158_129649944_bc138a3ef5037fe957a26af435527e23.pdf.



Figure 3.2: The “hautbois” referred to in Figure 3.1.⁹⁷

As many sources relevant to this study are written in French, tracing the exact moment that the oboe was introduced to the Republic is difficult. However, the presence of French musicians in the Republic⁹⁸ may have resulted in the early dissemination of the oboe, at least in Amsterdam.⁹⁹

The Dutch term *schalmei* (in a variety of spellings) was common within the period of study. The earliest use of a Dutch cognate of the French *hautbois* was in 1678,¹⁰⁰ with the French term continuing to be used as a loanword throughout the eighteenth century.¹⁰¹

In many German-language sources from the Holy Roman Empire, the use of the adjective *Französische* (or other spellings) confirms that what is being referred to is what is presently considered an oboe, rather than a shawm.¹⁰² Some Dutch-language sources are clear enough to make this distinction (Figure 3.3), including Haka’s invoice, but this is

⁹⁷ Interenchères, ‘Instruments d Etude’, 2024, <https://www.interencheres.com/art-decoration/instruments-d-etude-638957>.

⁹⁸ See Ahrendt, Rebekah Susannah, ‘A Second Refuge: French Opera and the Huguenot Migration, c. 1680 – c. 1710’ (Doctor of Philosophy, Berkley, University of California, 2011).

⁹⁹ Haynes, Bruce, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 153.

¹⁰⁰ ‘Inventaris van alle de goederen ende middelen naergelaten ende metter Doot Ontruymt by Elias de Pommare’ (Amsterdam, 1678), 507, Notariële Archieven Amsterdam, Amsterdam: Stadsarchief Amsterdam, 4088_KLAB09783, 498–535.

¹⁰¹ For an example from 1795, see Verloop, Gerard, *Het Muziekinstrument op de Boekenveiling, 1776–1810*, vol. 2 (Schagen: Stichting Collectie Verloop, 2002), 30.

¹⁰² Owens, Samantha, ‘Seminar 2’ (Lecture, Hautboisten 2023, Graz, 16 November 2023).

usually not the case. But since there are no examples of lexica using Dutch cognates of the French *hautbois* to refer to shawms, it can be presumed that sources which only use these Dutch cognates are referring exclusively to oboes.

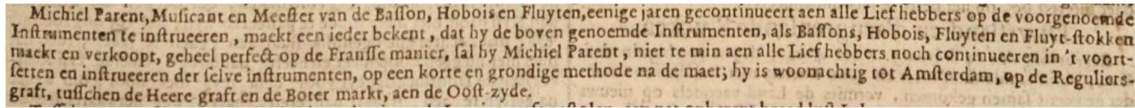


Figure 3.3: A newspaper advertisement for Michiel Parent's (1663–1710)¹⁰³ instruments (1691).¹⁰⁴

There are also examples of both terms being used in the same source, implying that these instruments coexisted. Aside from Haka's invoice, the earliest example of this is a set of military rules for the English and Scottish regiments who were based in the Republic (Figure 3.4), mentioning both oboists and shawm players.

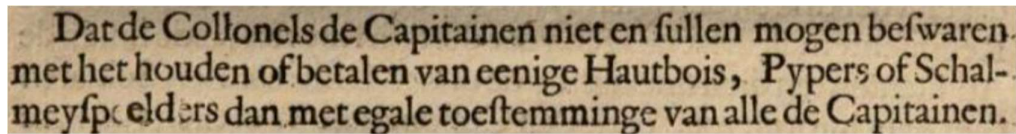


Figure 3.4: A military source describing the treatment and payment of musicians (1687).¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ For biographical data, see Bouterse, Jan, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments*, 80–81.

¹⁰⁴ “Michiel Parent, musician and master of the bassoon, oboe, and flutes — who, for some years, has instructed all enthusiasts of the aforementioned instruments — would like to inform everyone that he makes and sells the aforementioned instruments; bassoons, oboes, flutes, and walking stick flutes, entirely perfectly in the French manner. He, Michiel Parent, not least to all enthusiasts, will continue to play and instruct the same instruments, on a short and thorough method. He lives in Amsterdam, on the Reguliersgracht, between the Heerengracht and the Botermarkt, on the east side.”

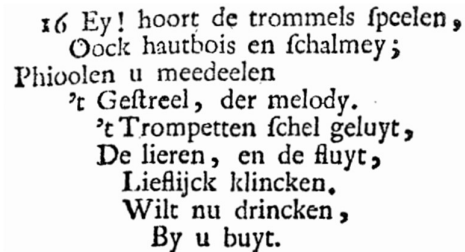
‘Michiel Parent’, *Amsterdamse Courant*, 27 February 1691, sec. Advertentie.

¹⁰⁵ “The Colonels and Captains are prohibited from withholding or keeping payment from any oboist, piper, or shawm player except with the equal consent of all Captains.”

‘Naeder ordre ende reglement, voor de Engelsche ende Schotsche regimenten, zijnde in dienst van den Staet’ (The Hague: Jacobus Scheltus, 1687), 4.

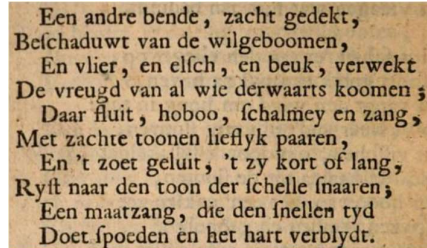
Chapter 3: Conflicting Terminology

Two poems mention both shawms and oboes (Figures 3.5 and 3.6) and there were five auctions in the Republic where both a shawm and an oboe were sold, one in 1764,¹⁰⁶ one in 1770,¹⁰⁷ one in 1787, and two in 1790.¹⁰⁸



16 Ey! hoort de trommels speelen,
Oock hautbois en schalmey;
Phioolen u meedeelen
't Gestreel, der melody.
't Trompetten schel geluyt,
De lieren, en de fluyt,
Lieflijck klincken.
Wilt nu drincken,
By u buyt.

Figure 3.5: Lyrics to verse 16 of “Battalje of veltslagh”¹⁰⁹ by Jan van Westerhoven (1716).¹¹⁰



Een andre bende, zacht gedekt,
Beschaduw't van de wilgeboomen,
En vlier, en elsch, en beuk, verwekt
De vreugd van al wie derwaarts koomen;
Daar fluit, hoboo, schalmey en zang,
Met zachte toonen lieflyk paaren,
En 't zoet geluit, 't zy kort of lang,
Ryft naar den toon der schelle snaaren;
Een maatzang, die den snellen tyd
Doet spoeden en het hart verblydt.

Figure 3.6: Part of a poem by Daniël Willinks (1723).¹¹¹

Lexica only complicate the matter of differentiating between shawms and oboes. The earliest relevant such complications are two entries from a 1681 French-to-Dutch dictionary published in Rotterdam:

¹⁰⁶ Verloop, Gerard, *Het Muziekinstrument op de Boekenveiling, 1623–1775*, 1:36–37.

¹⁰⁷ ‘Inventaris Den 9 October 1770’ (Amsterdam, 1770), 307, Notariële Archieven Amsterdam, Amsterdam: Stadsarchief Amsterdam, 10586_NOTD02968, 304–312.

¹⁰⁸ Verloop, Gerard, *Het Muziekinstrument op de Boekenveiling, 1776–1810*, 2:16, 20–22.

¹⁰⁹ “Battle” [two words with the same meaning].

¹¹⁰ “Hey! Hear the drums play, / the oboes and shawms, too; / violins share / a scene with you, the melody. / The trumpets sound shrill, / the lyres and the flute / sound sweet. / Wants to drink now, / by your booty.” Westerhoven, Jan van, *Zeedelycke en Natuurlycke Gezangen* (Haarlem: Izaak vander Vinne, 1716), 88.

¹¹¹ “Another group, softly covered, / Shaded from the willow trees, / And elder, and alder, and beech, arouse / The joy of all who come thither; / There flute, oboe, shawm and song, / With soft tones sweetly pair, / And the sweet noise, whether short or long, / Rises to the tone of shrill strings; / A hymn which the quick time / Hastens and binds the heart.”

Willinks, Daniël, *Amsterdamsche Buitensingel* (Amsterdam: Andries van Damme, 1723), 112.

“*Anches de haubois, f. De tongetjens van een Schalmeij.*”¹¹²

“*Haûbois, ou Hautbois, m. Schalmeije.*”¹¹³

To further complicate matters, there are also entries which translate non-double-reed instruments as shawms.

“*Buccïne, f. Een fluite, of Schalmeijë.*”¹¹⁴

“*Chalemie, Chalemêlle, f. Chalumeau, m. Schalmeije*”¹¹⁵

The next mention of double-reed instruments in a dictionary is in 1694, where *hauf[t]bois* is still being used to refer to shawms.

“*Anchés de haubois, f. De tonghskens van een schalmeye.*”¹¹⁶

“*Haubois, ou hautbois, m. Schalmeye.*”¹¹⁷

The same dictionary also suggests that the term “[h]aubois” can refer to a “Basuyn”,¹¹⁸ a term which may appear to be cognate with the French *basson* but actually

¹¹² “The reeds of a shawm.”

d’Arsy, Jean Louis and Ende, Casparus van den, ‘Anches de haubois’, in *Le Gazophilace de la langue Françoise et Flamande* (Rotterdam: Isaac Næran, 1681).

¹¹³ d’Arsy, Jean Louis and Ende, Casparus van den, ‘Haûbois’, in *Le Gazophilace de la langue Françoise et Flamande* (Rotterdam: Isaac Næran, 1681).

¹¹⁴ “A flute, or shawm.”

d’Arsy, Jean Louis and Ende, Casparus van den, ‘Buccïne’, in *Le Gazophilace de la langue Françoise et Flamande* (Rotterdam: Isaac Næran, 1681).

¹¹⁵ d’Arsy, Jean Louis and Ende, Casparus van den, ‘Chalemie’, in *Le Gazophilace de la langue Françoise et Flamande* (Rotterdam: Isaac Næran, 1681).

¹¹⁶ “The reeds of a shawm.”

d’Arsy, Jean Louis and La Gruë, Thomas, ‘Anchés de haubois’, in *Le grand dictionnaire françois-flamand* (Amsterdam: A. Wolfgang, 1694).

¹¹⁷ d’Arsy, Jean Louis and La Gruë, Thomas, ‘Haubois’, in *Le grand dictionnaire françois-flamand* (Amsterdam: A. Wolfgang, 1694).

¹¹⁸ d’Arsy, Jean Louis and La Gruë, Thomas, ‘Aubois’, in *Le grand dictionnaire françois-flamand* (Amsterdam: A. Wolfgang, 1694).

refers to a type of brass instrument, cognate with the term “Buccine”¹¹⁹ which was used in 1681 to refer to a flute or shawm.¹²⁰

The third edition of Sébastien de Brossard’s (1655–1730) *Dictionaire de Musique*¹²¹ was published in Amsterdam by Estienne Roger sometime between 1705 and 1708. This source provides some useful information on instrument combinations, translating between Italian and French.¹²²

“*BOMBARDO*. Espece d’Instrument à vent qui sert de Basse aux Haut-bois. C’est nôtre *BASSON*.”¹²³

“*CORNETTINO*. diminutif de *Cornetto*. [...] On les peut suplêr par nos Haut-bois.”¹²⁴

“*DULCINO*, ou *Dulcin*, ou *Dulce suono*. C’est un Instrument à vent, qu’on nomme autrement *Quart-Fagotto*, qui répond à nos *Taille sou Quints* de *Haut-bois*. C’est un petit *Basson*.”¹²⁵

“*FAGOTTINO*. Diminutif de *Fagotto*. Veut dire un petit *FAGOT*, ou *Basson*.”¹²⁶

¹¹⁹ Sijs, Nicoline van der, ‘Bazuin - (Blaasinstrument)’, in *Etymologiebank* (Netherlands: Instituut voor de Nederlandse Taal, n.d.), <https://www.etymologiebank.nl/trefwoord/bazuin1>.

¹²⁰ d’Arsy, Jean Louis and Ende, Casparus van den, ‘Buccine’.

¹²¹ “Dictionary of Music”.

¹²² Malnati, Andrea, ‘Sébastien de Brossard’, Examenapium, 2003, <https://www.examenapium.it/libri/brossard.htm>.

¹²³ “*Bombardo*: a type of wind instrument that serves as a bass for oboes. It is our bassoon.” Brossard, Sébastien de, ‘Bombardo’, in *Dictionaire de Musique* (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1705).

¹²⁴ “*Cornettino*: diminutive of “cornetto”. They can be supplemented by our Haut-bois.” Brossard, Sébastien de, ‘Cornettino’, in *Dictionaire de Musique* (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1705).

¹²⁵ “*Dulcino*, or *dulcin*, or *dulce suono* [sweet sound]. This is a wind instrument, also known as a quart-fagotto, that corresponds to our *Taille sou Quints* de *Haut-bois*. It is a small bassoon.”

Brossard, Sébastien de, ‘Dulcino’, in *Dictionaire de Musique* (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1705).

¹²⁶ “*Fagottino*: diminutive of “fagotto”. This is a small bassoon.”

Brossard, Sébastien de, ‘Fagottino’, in *Dictionaire de Musique* (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1705).

“*FAGOTTO*. Instrument à vent, qui répond à nôtre BASSON, ou *Basse de Chromorne*.”¹²⁷

“*PIFFARO*. Espece d’Instrument qui répond à nôtre *Haute-Contre de Haut-bois*.”¹²⁸

“*PIVA*. Veut dire Haut-bois.”¹²⁹

Aside from this source and its later editions, there are no mentions of small bassoons and chromornes in the period of study in the Republic. Unlike the *kleine schalmei*, there are also no surviving examples. It is, therefore, difficult to discern if all of these instrumentation principles apply to music in the Republic, or only in France where the first two editions (1703 and 1705) of this text were published. But although this dictionary uses the term *hautbois* (consistently spelled as “Haut-bois”), the use of the term *basson* likely indicates that “Haut-bois” refers to an oboe rather than a shawm. This theory would be further supported by the fact that the words “Haut-bois” and “Basson” tend to be prefaced by the word “nôtre”,¹³⁰ just as German-language sources (and Haka’s invoice) categorise shawms of the period as being German instruments whereas oboes and bassoons are French instruments.¹³¹

A 1709 French dictionary by César-Pierre Richelet (1626–1698)¹³² contains a few definitions for double-reed instruments, separating older, obsolete instruments from

¹²⁷ “*Fagotto*: a wind instrument which corresponds to our bassoon or bass chromorne.”

Brossard, Sébastien de, ‘Fagotto’, in *Dictionnaire de Musique* (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1705).

¹²⁸ “*Piffaro*: a type of instrument which corresponds to our Haute-Contre de Haut-bois.”

Brossard, Sébastien de, ‘Piffaro’, in *Dictionnaire de Musique* (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1705).

¹²⁹ “*Piva*: a[n] Haut-bois.”

Brossard, Sébastien de, ‘Piva’, in *Dictionnaire de Musique* (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1705).

¹³⁰ “Our”, referring to France, not the Republic.

¹³¹ Owens, Samantha, ‘Seminar 2’.

¹³² For biographical data, see Bray, Laurent, *César-Pierre Richelet (1626-1698): Biographie et oeuvre lexicographique*, vol. 15, Lexicographia, Series Maior (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1986).

their more modern relatives by providing a definition for three related bass instruments; the bassoon, the courtaut,¹³³ and the dulcian. It should be considered that the first edition of the dictionary was published in Geneva in 1680,¹³⁴ meaning that not all of the information he provides may be accurate for the Republic in the period of study.

“BASSON, s.m. [*Gravioris soni tibia*.] Instrument de musique à vent & à anche, qui est fait de bois, & est long de quatre piez, qui se démonte & qui sert de basse aux concerts de flutes, de hautbois & un cuivre, au bout duquel on met l’anche lors qu’on se veut servir du *basson*. Un bon *basson* vaut bien quatre ou cinq pistoles. (Hauteterre fait des bassons, & montre à jouer du basson & de tous les instruments à vent.)”¹³⁵

“*Courtaut*. Instrument à anche & à vent; qui a plusieurs trous, & qui n’est autre chose qu’une espee de basson racourci, qui sert de basse aux musettes, & qui a la figure d’un gros bâton.”¹³⁶

“*†*Fagot*. Espee de grand haut-bois qui se brisant en deux parties, & qui alors ressemblant à deux morceaux de bois liez ensemble est apellé *fagot*. *Mers.l.5*. Cet instrument est hors d’usage.”¹³⁷

¹³³ Like the chromorne, there are no other references to this instrument in the Republic in the period of study.

¹³⁴ Petrequin, Gilles, ‘Le dictionnaire françois de Richelet: un « aventurier » de la lexicographie’, *L’Information Grammaticale* 114 (2007): 5–6.

¹³⁵ “*Basson*: a wooden wind instrument with a reed, and is long, which can be assembled with four parts. It serves as the bass in concerts of flutes and oboes. It has a brass [tube] on which the reed is mounted. A good *basson* is worth four or five *pistoles* [a currency]. Hotteterre made and played *bassons*, as well as all the other wind instruments.”

Richelet, César-Pierre, ‘Basson’, in *Nouveau Dictionnaire François* (Amsterdam: Jean Elzevir, 1709).

¹³⁶ “*Courtaut*: a wind instrument with a reed. It has several holes and is a type of shortened bassoon which serves as a bass for musettes and has the appearance of a large stick.”

Richelet, César-Pierre, ‘Courtaut’, in *Nouveau Dictionnaire François* (Amsterdam: Jean Elzevir, 1709).

¹³⁷ “*Fagot*: a type of large *haut-bois* which can be assembled in two parts. It resembles two pieces of wood put together like what is known as a *fagot*. This instrument is no longer used.”

Richelet, César-Pierre, ‘Fagot’, in *Nouveau Dictionnaire François* (Amsterdam: Jean Elzevir, 1709).

Chapter 3: Conflicting Terminology

The term “basson” was first used within the period of study in an anonymous text from 1677, detailing what “Monsr. Be B.” would do to serve and impress his “Juffer”.¹³⁸ This included “zingen, en springen, veelen, en speelen den Basson, of Marot.”¹³⁹ While it is not known if this source refers to either a dulcian or a bassoon, its association with noble characters may infer that the instrument was one of a certain status.

Richelet also defines the “haut-bois”¹⁴⁰ but there are no mentions of shawms in this dictionary.

A Dutch-to-French dictionary by Pieter Marin includes translations for three relevant instruments, only one of which seems to correspond to other definitions.

“Basson, Muzyk instrument. *Un Tuorbe*.”¹⁴¹

“HOBBOO, Muziek instr. *Un hautbois*.”¹⁴²

“SCHALMEY, zekere veld-fluit. *Chalumeau*. M. *chalémie*. F. *certaine flute champêtre*.”¹⁴³

Marin associating the term “basson” with theorboes is especially confusing, as is the French translation of “schalmey” where both *chalumeau* and *chalémie* are

¹³⁸ A term for a nobleman’s daughter.

¹³⁹ “Singing, and jumping [dancing], fiddling, and playing the *Basson*, or trinket.”

Den Vermakelycken Opdisser, vol. 2 (Hoorn: Jan Claesz., 1677), 101.

¹⁴⁰ Richelet, César-Pierre, ‘Haut-bois’, in *Nouveau Dictionnaire François* (Amsterdam: Jean Elzevir, 1709).

¹⁴¹ “*Basson*: musical instrument. *A theorbo*.”

Marin, Pieter, ‘Basson’, in *Dictionnaire Portatif of Nederduits en Frans Woorden-boekje* (Amsterdam: Hendrik van Eyl, 1716).

Tuorbe is supposedly a variant of *théorbe* according to Littré, Émile, ‘Tuorbe’, in *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie., 1874).

¹⁴² “*Hoboo*: musical instrument. *An oboe*.”

Marin, Pieter, ‘Hoboo’, in *Dictionnaire Portatif of Nederduits en Frans Woorden-boekje* (Amsterdam: Hendrik van Eyl, 1716).

¹⁴³ “*Schalmey*: a certain field flute. *Chalumeau*. *Shawm*. *A certain field flute*.”

Marin, Pieter, ‘Schalmey’, in *Dictionnaire Portatif of Nederduits en Frans Woorden-boekje* (Amsterdam: Hendrik van Eyl, 1716).

considered appropriate translations. This may explain why Jacques-Philippe Dreux's (ca. 1670–1722)¹⁴⁴ *Fanfares* (Book 1 first published in 1704) are described as being suitable for “les Chalumeaux & les Trompettes, propres aussi à jouër sur les flûtes, violons & Hautbois”¹⁴⁵ where “Chalumeaux” could refer to either shawms or the cylindrically-bored single reed instrument known today in English as a chalumeau. As the range of these pieces is generally D₄–A₅ — a range too large for any size of chalumeau — the only possibility for the range to fit the instrument would be to play it on the soprano chalumeau and transpose a minor third higher, as this size of chalumeau supposedly has a larger ambitus than the other sizes.¹⁴⁶ However, this ambitus suits Haka's descant velt-schalmeien perfectly, without needing to transpose.

In 1716, Matthias Kramer (1640–1729)¹⁴⁷ published a Dutch-to-German dictionary in Nuremberg. It provides two relevant translations.

“*Schalmey*, f. Schallmey¹⁴⁸ / *Schalmeyen*, Schalmey-blasen”¹⁴⁹

He published another two dictionaries in 1719; a German-to-Dutch dictionary in Nuremberg and a Dutch-to-German dictionary in Amsterdam.

¹⁴⁴ For biographical data, see Rasch, Rudolf, ‘Dreux, Jacques-Philippe’, in *Grove Music Online*, 2001, <https://www-1oxfordmusiconline-1com-1000008sm0032.han.kug.ac.at/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000008169>.

¹⁴⁵ “The chalumeaux and the trumpets. Also appropriate to play on flutes, violins, and oboes.” Rasch, Rudolf, ‘The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: D’Alay-Duval’, July 2018, 27–31, <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/wp-content/uploads/sites/416/2018/07/Dalay-Duval.pdf>.

¹⁴⁶ Majer, Joseph Friedrich Bernhard Caspar, *Museum Musicum Theoretico-Practicum*, 32.

¹⁴⁷ For biographical data, see Bray, Laurent, *Matthias Kramer et la lexicographie du français en Allemagne au XVIIIe siècle*, vol. 99, Lexicographia, Series Maior (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2000), 17–58.

¹⁴⁸ “*Schalmey*: Shawm”.

Kramer, Matthias, ‘Schalmey’, in *Grund-richtig-Vollkommene, doch kurtz gefaßte Nider-Teutsch-, oder Holländische Grammatica* (Nürnberg: Johann Daniel Tauber, 1716).

¹⁴⁹ “*Schalmeyen*: to blow a shawm”.

Kramer, Matthias, ‘Schalmeyen’, in *Grund-richtig-Vollkommene, doch kurtz gefaßte Nider-Teutsch-, oder Holländische Grammatica* (Nürnberg: Johann Daniel Tauber, 1716).

“**mond-gat** *n.* Mund-loch it. Mund-stuck. v. **mondstuk**. | *Mondgat van een Fluit, Schalamei, Hoboei &c.* Mund-loch einer Flöte, einer Schalmey, Hoboi &c.”¹⁵⁰

“**pyp**, Pfeif *i.e.* Flöte it. Schalmey, it. Hoboi. v. **fluit**.”¹⁵¹

“**tongetje**, *n.* Zünglein. [...] *t Tongetje van een Schalmei, Hoboi &c.* das Zünglein von einer Schallmay, Hoboi &c.”¹⁵²

It is curious that the Kramer purports that the terms *mond-gat* and *tongetje* can both be used for both the shawm and oboe. This sort of possible inaccuracy may be the because this is not a specialised musical lexicon, rather a general dictionary where industry-specific terms may not be accurate.

The latest relevant dictionary from the period of study is a French-to-Dutch dictionary by l'Académie Française and Pieter Marin, published in Dordrecht and Amsterdam in 1720.

“**ANCHE**, tuyau de hautbois. f. *Tongetje, ruispyp in een schalmey of hoboo*.”¹⁵³

“**BASSON**. m. Basse de hautbois. *Casson* [sic], *bas van de hoboo*.”¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁰ “*Mond-gat*: Mouthpiece. | Mouthpiece for a flute, shawm, oboe, etc.”

Kramer, Matthias, ‘mond-gat’, in *Het Koninglyk Neder-Hoog-Duitsch en Hoog-Neder-Duitsch Dictionnaire* (Amsterdam: Matthias Kramer, 1719).

¹⁵¹ “*Pyp*: Pipe, that is flute, shawm, oboe.”

Kramer, Matthias, ‘pyp’, in *Het Koninglyk Neder-Hoog-Duitsch en Hoog-Neder-Duitsch Dictionnaire* (Amsterdam: Matthias Kramer, 1719).

¹⁵² “*Tongetje*: The reed of a shawm, oboe, etc.”

Kramer, Matthias, ‘tongetje’, in *Het Koninglyk Neder-Hoog-Duitsch en Hoog-Neder-Duitsch Dictionnaire* (Amsterdam: Matthias Kramer, 1719).

¹⁵³ “*Anche*: reed for “hautbois” [French] [...] shawm or oboe [Dutch].”

Académie Française, ‘Anche’, in *Compleet Fransch en Nederduitsch woordenboek* (Dordrecht: J. van Braam, 1720).

¹⁵⁴ “*Basson*: bass of the oboe.”

Académie Française, ‘Basson’, in *Compleet Fransch en Nederduitsch woordenboek* (Dordrecht: J. van Braam, 1720).

“CHALEMIE. f. Sorte de chalumeau, fluste champestre. *Boere fluit of schalmey, herders riet, herders fluit.* / Chanter sur la chalemie. *Op de boere of herders fluit speelen.*”¹⁵⁵

“CUIVRETTE. f. Petite anche de cuivre qu’on applique sur les Bassons ou Hautbois, lorsque leur longueur empêche de les emboucher commodément. *Kopertongetje op de Hoboos die te lang zyn om gemakkelyk op te blaazen.*”¹⁵⁶

“HAUBOIS. m. Instrument de Musique assez connu. *Hoboo, bekend Muzicaal instrument.* Jouer du haubois. *Op de hoboo speelen.*”¹⁵⁷

“LANGUETTE d’une Cornemuse, d’un Hautbois. f. La petite piece de cuivre &c, qui se hausse & se baisse, pour en ouvrir & fermer les trous. *Tongetje van een Zakpyp, van een Schalmey, koper tuigje om de gaten open of toe te schuiven.*”¹⁵⁸

Within this dictionary, the French *hautbois* is translated as both shawm and oboe. Complicating matters is the definition for *chalemie*, which, in modern terms, simply

¹⁵⁵ “*Chalemie*: a type of “chalumeau”, pastoral flute. [French] Farmer flute or shawm, shepherd’s reed, shepherd’s flute. / *Chanter sur la chalemie*: to play on a farmer or shepherd’s flute. [Dutch]” Académie Française, ‘Chalemie’, in *Compleet Fransch en Nederduitsch woordenboek* (Dordrecht: J. van Braam, 1720).

¹⁵⁶ “*Cuivrette*: a small brass reed [sic] applied to bassoons or oboes when their length prevents them from being played comfortably. [French] A small brass reed for oboes that are too long to play easily on. [Dutch]” Presumably, this is referring to staples and bocals. Académie Française, ‘Cuivrette’, in *Compleet Fransch en Nederduitsch woordenboek* (Dordrecht: J. van Braam, 1720).

¹⁵⁷ “*Haubois*: a well-known musical instrument. *Jouer du haubois*: playing the oboe.” Académie Française, ‘Haubois’, in *Compleet Fransch en Nederduitsch woordenboek* (Dordrecht: J. van Braam, 1720).

¹⁵⁸ “*Languette*: such as for a bagpipe or oboe. The small piece of brass etc., which is raised and lowered to open and close the holes. [French] Reed [sic] of a bagpipe or shawm, a piece of brass which opens and closes the holes. [Dutch]” Presumably, although confusingly, this is referring to keys. Académie Française, ‘Languette’, in *Compleet Fransch en Nederduitsch woordenboek* (Dordrecht: J. van Braam, 1720).

means “shawm”.¹⁵⁹ In this dictionary, it seems to be related to three instruments; the chalumeau, the flute, and the shawm. While there is evidently ambiguity around if *chalumeau* refers to a shawm, Dutch-language sources of the period likely refer to shawms and not a single-reed instrument when using the term *schalmei*. Chalumeau were certainly present in the Republic, though, as evidenced by estate sales. For example, the estate sale of Michiel van Bolhuis in Groningen in 1764 featured both two “Chalameau[x]” by J[an] Steenbergen (1676?–1733?)¹⁶⁰ and a “Schalmey”. The same sale includes a clarinet by “van Heerde”,¹⁶¹ meaning that the shawm and the chalumeau were distinct from one another, as well as the chalumeau from the clarinet.¹⁶²

The pastoral association of the definition of “chalemie” in this dictionary can be substantiated by several examples in Chapters 6 and 7, as well as by the anonymous song, *Vryagie tusschen een Jonker en een Herderin* (1719).¹⁶³ At the end of this pastoral song, musicians playing “Schalmeijen” appear.¹⁶⁴ The forty-ninth chapter of Jacob Campo Weyerman’s satirical *Den Amsterdamsche Hermes*¹⁶⁵ (1723) features a story of farmers’ wives dancing to music played a shawm, trumpet, and violin. It is accompanied by a picture of Hermes playing the shawm for a farmer and some cows (Figure 3.7), with the following epigraph from Lucius Annaeus Seneca the Younger’s (ca. 4–65) *Epistulae Morales ad Lucilium*.¹⁶⁶

¹⁵⁹ Encyclopædia Universalis, ‘Chalemie’, in *Encyclopædia Universalis* (Encyclopædia Universalis, n.d.), <https://www.universalis.fr/encyclopedie/chalemie/>.

¹⁶⁰ For biographical data, see Bouterse, Jan, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments*, 89–90.

¹⁶¹ Likely Albert(us) or Jan. For biographical data, see Bouterse, Jan, 75–76.

¹⁶² Verloop, Gerard, *Het Muziekinstrument op de Boekenveiling, 1623–1775*, 1:36–37.

¹⁶³ “Courtship between a Jonker [the son of a nobleman] and a Shepherdess”.

¹⁶⁴ *Het amoureuze lusthof, of ’t vervolg van Thirsis Minnewit* (Amsterdam: Jacobus van Egmont, 1719), 22.

¹⁶⁵ “The Amsterdammer Hermes [as in, the Greek deity]”.

¹⁶⁶ “Moral Letters to Lucilius”.

Weyerman, Jacob Campo, *Den Amsterdamsche Hermes*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Jacob Campo Weyerman, 1723), 385, 387.

“Doces me, quomodo inter se acutae et graves voces consonent, quomodo nervorum disparem reddentium sonum fiat concordia. Fac potius, quomodo Animus secum meus consonet, nec consilia mea discrepent.”¹⁶⁷



Figure 3.7: Hermes playing a shawm.¹⁶⁸

Combined with the examples presented later in this study, double-reed instruments were certainly associated with pastoral scenes in the Republic.

Summary

The surviving material regarding definitions of double-reed instruments are inconsistent and contradictory, including in modern examples. Some sources refer to both shawms and oboes, while others seem to use the terms rather interchangeably. Later editions of French-language dictionaries are difficult to trust as they do not necessarily reflect the circumstances of the Republic. There is also uncertainty around the chalumeau, as that term was sometimes used to refer to shawms. Additionally, some examples associate double-reed instruments with pastoral scenes.

¹⁶⁷ “You, sir, are teaching me how the treble and the bass are in accord with one another, and how, though the strings produce different notes, the result is a harmony; rather bring my soul into harmony with itself, and let not my purposes be out of tune.”

Translation from Seneca, Lucius Annaeus, *Ad Lucilium epistulae morales*, trans. Gummere, Richard M., vol. 2 (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1917), 354–55.

¹⁶⁸ Weyerman, Jacob Campo, *Den Amsterdamsche Hermes*, 2:385.

Chapter 4: In Courts

4.1 The Hague

In the period of study, the Court of The Hague was headed by William III, Prince of Orange (1650–1702, r. 1672–1702) who was the Stadtholder of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Guelders, and Overijssel. From 1689, he was also the King of England, Scotland, and Ireland which led to him rarely visiting the Republic from then on.¹⁶⁹ One could not characterise his Dutch court as one of plentiful music-making,¹⁷⁰ however, there are certainly traces of the presence of double-reed instruments at his court.



Figure 4.1.1: *Bal in het Huis ten Bosch ter ere van de verjaardag van de prins van Oranje*¹⁷¹ (ca. 1686) by

Daniël Marot I (1661–1752).¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ Rasch, Rudolf, *Muziek in de Republiek* (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2018), 37.

¹⁷⁰ Haynes, Bruce, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 152.

¹⁷¹ “Ball at Huis ten Bosch in honour of the Prince of Orange's birthday”.

¹⁷² Marot, Daniël I, *Bal in het Huis ten Bosch ter ere van de verjaardag van de prins van Oranje*, ca. 1686, Etching on paper, 81 × 56 cm, ca. 1686, Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.393474>.



Figure 4.1.2: Detail of Figure 4.1.1, showing oboes, bassoons, and a violin band.

One key piece of iconography (Figures 4.1.1 and 4.1.2) shows an oboe band (“de Speelders op de Haubo”/“les Haubois”) playing for a ball alongside a violin band (“de Violisten”/“les Violons”), led by someone holding a baton and what seems to be a score. The ball was held by William III’s wife, Mary II, the then-Princess consort of Orange (1662–1694, r. 1677–1694), for his birthday.¹⁷³ There are four oboists and two bassoonists, as well as 14 violinists/violists, and four bass violinists. Based on the playing angle, if the disposition of instruments is identical on both sides of the ensemble, they are all playing descant oboes (like those in Figure 2.3.1). One oboist is not playing, making it possible to see his reed (Figure 4.1.3). The violin band, the director, and at least one bassoonist are clearly equipped with a sword each, implying they had other functions at the court.



Figure 4.1.3: Detail of Figure 4.1.1 depicting a resting oboist and his reed.

¹⁷³ Rasch, Rudolf, *Muziek in de Republiek*, 35.

After becoming King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, William III brought over several of his musicians for a tour to the Republic. The first mention of this tour is a list of musicians (called “servants”) from 8 December 1690, designated “to attend his Majesty” on his journey to the Republic. This list includes “five Hooboyes”, unnamed. Another document from that December states that their salary was £40 per year and that they were paid “travelling charges” of 3 shillings per day. Each of them was given an advance payment of £20 for this tour,¹⁷⁴ which would last 103 days, from 1 January to 13 April 1691.¹⁷⁵ These “Five Hautboys” were mentioned again, in an undated document from between April and June 1691. They were named here as George Sutton, “Francis Larich”/“La: Rich” (François La Riche, 1662–ca. 1733),¹⁷⁶ “Granvelle”, “Bresong” (Pierre Bressan, 1663–1731),¹⁷⁷ and “Baptist”. These musicians were described as “Hoboys only for this voyage & not to bee established but to bee payd for attending His Ma^{ie} into Holland”, meaning that they were no longer fixed employees of William III’s court.¹⁷⁸ It is unclear whether these five oboists’ instruments consisted of various sizes of French oboes or simply five treble oboes.

Early into William III’s rule, 16 members of the Private Music were fired straight after a 1690 performance of Queen Mary’s birthday ode, *Arise, my muse*, including Henry Purcell (1659?–1695). La Riche and James Paisible (ca. 1656–1721),¹⁷⁹ both oboists, were

¹⁷⁴ Ashbee, Andrew, ed., *Records of English Court Music*, vol. 1 (Farnham: Ashgate, 1986), 34–35.

¹⁷⁵ Ashbee, Andrew, ed., *Records of English Court Music*, vol. 2 (Farnham: Ashgate, 1987), 40.

¹⁷⁶ For biographical data, see Athayde Santos, Luis Tasso, ‘Ein Überblick über die vier Oboisten von Telemanns „La petite musique de chambre“’, *Der forschende Musicus* # 1 (2024): 53–55.

¹⁷⁷ For biographical data, see Byrne, Maurice and Lasocki, David, ‘Bressan, Peter’, in *Grove Music Online*, 2015, <https://doi-org-1000008ft0979.han.kug.ac.at/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.L2275369>.

¹⁷⁸ ‘Including Dr. Nicholas Staggs, Master; Keeper of the Instruments, John Morley; and Chamberkeeper to the Music, William Browne’, 1691, Kent History and Library Centre, Kent Archives, U269/O67/2–4.

¹⁷⁹ For biographical data, see Lasocki, David, ‘Paisible [Peasable], James’, in *Grove Music Online*, 2001, <https://www-1oxfordmusiconline-1com-1000008ft09fc.han.kug.ac.at/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000020716>.

among these, and were to be replaced due to their Roman Catholic faith.¹⁸⁰ This did not mean that William III would no longer employ oboists in England, as a warrant from 23 June 1691 stated that liveries were to be provided for “four hautboyes”, as well as “three trumpeters, a kettle-drummers [sic] [...] and two drummers”, who were with the Earl of Marlborough’s Troop of Guards.¹⁸¹

4.2 Leeuwarden

Two relevant stadtholders ruled over Friesland and Groningen in the period of study: Henry Casimir II of Nassau-Dietz (1657–1696, r. 1664–1696) and John William Friso (1687–1711, r. 1696–1711). While there is relatively little known about the musical happenings of the court in Leeuwarden, more is known about the presence of double-reed instruments there than in The Hague.

An undated letter from Amsterdam-based composer, Johannes Schenck (1660– $\geq$ 1712), to Henry Casimir II states that Schenck has found a bassoon and three “haubois”, as well as three new “operas”,¹⁸² for the court.¹⁸³ This letter would have been written in 1696 or earlier as Schenck moved to Düsseldorf that year,¹⁸⁴ and that was the year of Henry Casimir II’s death. Presuming that the “haubois” in question are oboes, this would mean that one-per-part four-part music would be playable with the set-up of three oboes

¹⁸⁰ Pinnock, Andrew and Wood, Bruce, ‘Come, Ye Sons of Art—Again: Court Cross-Subsidy for Purcell’s Opera Orchestra, 1690–1695’, *Early Music* 37, no. 3 (August 2009): 458.

¹⁸¹ Ashbee, Andrew, *Records of English Court Music*, 1987, 2:41.

¹⁸² “Operas” may refer to any musical opus, not necessarily an opera.

¹⁸³ Schenck, Johannes to Henry Casimir II of Nassau-Dietz, ‘Brief, ingekomen van Joan Schenk betreffende de aanschaf van een “basson” en drie “haubois” en toezending van drie nieuwe opera’s’, Letter, n.d., A26-IB4 Particulieren, Hendrik Casimir II, vorst van Nassau-Dietz (1657–1696), stadhouder en kapitein-generaal van Friesland, The Hague: Koninklijke Verzamelingen, A26-197.

¹⁸⁴ Dirksen, Pieter, ‘Schenck [Schenk], Johannes [Johann, Johan, Jan]’, in *Grove Music Online*, 2001, <https://www-1oxfordmusiconline-1com-1000008gu00d2.han.kug.ac.at/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000024798>.

(likely one being a tenor instrument) and one bassoon, as is shown in a carving on the bell of an oboe stamped — but not necessarily by — “W: BEUKERS”¹⁸⁵ (Figure 4.2). This bell depicts two descant oboes, a tenor oboe, and a bassoon playing from partbooks and can be dated to the 1690’s based on the clothing of a dancer carved on the other side of the bell.¹⁸⁶ The maker of this instrument is unknown as the stamp covers another stamp, but it is probably not by the Amsterdam-based Willem Beukers, neither Senior nor Junior.¹⁸⁷



Figure 4.2: The bell of an oboe (O58639), stamped “W: BEUKERS”.¹⁸⁸

Arguably the most important composer in Friesland in this period was Johann Christian Schickhardt (ca. 1681–1762) who worked under both stadtholders. He left for Hamburg by 1711 but maintained a connection to the Republic, publishing several of his works in Amsterdam at the publishing house of Estienne Roger (ca. 1665–1722) and his

¹⁸⁵ For biographical data, see Bouterse, Jan, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments*, 67–68.

¹⁸⁶ Halfpenny, Eric, ‘A Seventeenth-Century Oboe Consort’, *The Galpin Society Journal* 10 (1957): 61, <https://doi.org/10.2307/841806>.

¹⁸⁷ Bouterse, Jan, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments*, 493.

¹⁸⁸ Victoria and Albert Museum, ‘Oboe, ca. 1700’, n.d., <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O58639/oboe-beukers-w/>.

successors.¹⁸⁹ Sales of his scores are listed in seven different newspaper advertisements of the period — all in 1709 and 1710 — and 18 publications of his works for oboe are listed in Appendix A, including a now-lost *Principes du hautbois, contenant des airs à deux hautbois sans basse* (1712). Five tunes of his are also included in *The Compleat Tutor to the Hautboy* (1715), published by John Walsh in London.¹⁹⁰

Of the five relevant publications which were certainly published prior to Schickhardt's move to Hamburg, only one combines oboe with other non-*continuo* instruments, and that is his *Six Sonates, Op. 5* for flute,¹⁹¹ two oboes, viola da gamba, and continuo.¹⁹² Of the four other publications, three are for oboe and continuo and one is for two oboes and continuo.¹⁹³ Roger's publications of Schickhardt's music between 1711 and 1725 include similar instrumentations (see Appendix A for exact instrumentation per publication) but it is uncertain whether this is a reflection of the performance practice in Friesland or Hamburg.

There may also be a Frisian oboe method from around 1730, titled *Friesche Oboeboekje*.¹⁹⁴ References to this work can only be found in secondary sources, and attempts to locate this manuscript have been unsuccessful.¹⁹⁵

¹⁸⁹ Drummond, Pippa and Lasocki, David, 'Schickhardt [Schickhard], Johann Christian', in *Grove Music Online*, 2001, <https://www-1oxfordmusiconline-1com-1000008w40155.han.kug.ac.at/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000024845>.

¹⁹⁰ *The Compleat Tutor to the Hautboy or The Art of Playing on That Instrument* (London: John Walsh, 1715), 14, 19, 23, 28.

¹⁹¹ "Flute" on the cover page and "Flauto" in the header, in G2 clef.

¹⁹² "Basse continue" on the cover page and "Organo" in the header, with figures.

¹⁹³ Rasch, Rudolf, 'The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Saint-Hélène-Swaen', July 2018, 22–31, <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/wp-content/uploads/sites/416/2018/07/Saint-H%C3%A9l%C3%A8ne-Swaen.pdf>.

¹⁹⁴ "Little Frisian oboe book."

Komter-Kuipers, Aafke, *Muzyk yn Fryslân oant 1800*, De Fryske Librije 18–19 (Bolsward: Printerij Osinga, 1935).

¹⁹⁵ Robert de Bree, personal communication.

The more extensive documentation of double-reed music related to the Frisian court — at least, in comparison with the court of The Hague — may indicate the popularity of the instrument in the region if Schenck was tasked with procuring instruments for the court. The fact that there are several works for oboe by a court composer may be testament to the fact that the instrument was, indeed, used in the court — perhaps even the very same instruments that were found by Schenck. What is, unfortunately, missing is evidence for how the three oboes and bassoon were used in combination at the court, particularly as there are no surviving obligato bassoon parts by Schickhardt, nor any surviving Frisian publications from the period which refer to the bassoon.

Summary

The two major Dutch courts from the period of study, The Hague and Leeuwarden, both used French-style double-reed instruments, namely the oboe and the bassoon. While, musical information regarding the court in The Hague is fairly limited due to William III being more present at his English court, England-based double-reed players visited the Republic, accompanying William III. Fortunately, one of Leeuwarden's court composers, Johann Christian Schickhardt, had several of his works for oboes published during his time in the Republic — including a now-lost method — and continued to maintain a relationship with the Roger publishing house after his departure from the court.

Chapter 5: In Theatres

5.1 Amsterdam

On 8 June 1672, the Amsterdam Schouwburg was closed due to the *Rampjaar*.¹⁹⁶ Following five years of closure, the theatre reopened on 29 November 1677 with three performances of Jean-Baptiste Lully's *Isis*.¹⁹⁷ This event seems significant enough that it was not only mentioned in the *Amsterdamse Courant*, but also twice in the proceedings of the Amsterdamsche Kerkenraad¹⁹⁸ — who may have been responsible for the extended closure of the theatre — detailing that it would be a staged theatrical event.¹⁹⁹ This performance of *Isis* was likely played by French musicians, and may have contributed to the spread and popularisation of the new style of French woodwind instruments in the Republic,²⁰⁰ as the earliest written reference to the oboe in the Republic is from the following year, in December 1678.²⁰¹

Before the nineteenth century, the performers employed by the Amsterdam Schouwburg only performed Dutch-language works. Works in other languages were performed exclusively by either foreign troupes or troupes from other theatres in the Republic. Almost no opera was performed in Amsterdam between 1688 and 1750 as

¹⁹⁶ Worp, Jacob Adolf, *Geschiedenis van den Amsterdamschen Schouwburg, 1496–1772*, 136.

¹⁹⁷ ‘Op Maandagh near middagh ten vier uren, den 29 November 1677’, *Amsterdamse Courant*, 27 November 1677, sec. Advertentie.

¹⁹⁸ “Amsterdam Church Council”.

¹⁹⁹ Amsterdamsche Kerkenraad, ‘Ordinaire vergaderinge gehouden den 25^e November 1677 [...] Extraordinaire vergaderinge gehouden den den 28^e November 1677’, in *Protocol Beginnende 1673. Eijndigt 1678.*, vol. 13, 42 vols (Amsterdam, 1677), 296–97, File 1 (Algemeen), Document 13, Archief van de Hervormde Gemeente; Kerkenraad, 1578–1975, Amsterdam: Stadsarchief Amsterdam, 376/173.

²⁰⁰ Haynes, Bruce, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 153.

²⁰¹ ‘Inventaris van alle de goederen ende middelen naergelaten ende metter Doot Ontruymt by Elias de Pommare’, 507.

another staged genre formed the main musical pillar of the theatre, the *zangspel*.²⁰² The theatre played works of this genre by Amsterdam-based composers such as Carolus Hacquart (ca. 1640–1700), Johannes Schenck, Hendrik Anders (ca. 1657–1714), and Servaas de Konink (1654–1701). Only small fragments of zangspelen by Anders and de Konink survive, but Hacquart and Schenck both have more substantial surviving material,²⁰³ none with explicit parts for double-reed instruments. The most-complete surviving work from this period is Hacquart’s music for a play by Dirk Buysero (1644–1708), *De Triomfeerende Min*²⁰⁴ (1678). There are no surviving parts, but indications for “muzijk van schalmeien, fluiten en zakpypen”,²⁰⁵ as well as for “kromhoorens”.²⁰⁶

In October of 1680, the core ensemble of the Schouwburg consisted of twelve musicians (including Rijkel on “fagot”),²⁰⁷ as well as some extra personnel such as a trumpet player (Figure 5.1.1). There are no indications regarding how the bassoon was used. The precise functions of the Schouwburg’s musicians are unknown, but musicians’ names occasionally come up in payment records, rarely including their instrument (Figure 5.1.2). While conclusions cannot be drawn about the exact repertoire and combinations of instruments used, future research may unearth more about the names listed in the Schouwburg’s records.

²⁰² Rasch, Rudolf, “‘Niederlande,’ Kunstmusik, Die nördlichen Niederlande 1580–1800”, in *MGG Online*, ed. Lütteken, Laurenz (RILM, Bärenreiter, Metzler, December 2021), <https://www-1mvgg-2online-1com-1000046oo02cc.han.kug.ac.at/mgg/stable/499704>.

²⁰³ Rasch, Rudolf, ‘The Dutch Republic’, in *The Late Baroque Era: From the 1680s to 1740*, by Buelow, George John (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1993), 399.

²⁰⁴ “Love Triumphant”.

²⁰⁵ “Music for shawms, flutes, and bagpipes”.

Buysero, Dirk and Hacquart, Carolus, *De Triomfeerende Min*, ed. Andriessen, Pieter and Strengers, Tom, *Monumenta Flandriae Musica* (Leuven: Alamire, 1996), 57.

²⁰⁶ “Crumhorns”.

Buysero, Dirk and Hacquart, Carolus, 71.

²⁰⁷ ‘Ontfang en Uitgift aengaande den Schouburg’, 1681, 18, File 1 (Archief Burgerweeshuis), Document 431, Archief van het Burgerweeshuis: oud archief, Amsterdam: Stadsarchief Amsterdam, 367.A.

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f ^o 44 Pieter Pickart	f2"-
f ^o 45 Rockus Eeckhout	[f]1["]5"-
f ^o 46 Mighiel Nuijts	[f]1["]5"-
f ^o 47 Pieter Jansens	[f]1["]5"-
f ^o 48 Eduart de Coer	[f]1["]5"-
f ^o 49 Koenraet van Rijckel	[f]1["]5"-
f ^o 50 Anthonij Eeckhout	[f]1["]5"-
f ^o 51 Joseph du Plessis	[f]1["]5"-
f ^o 52 Jacobus Kokuit	[f]1["]5"-
f ^o 53 Franciscus Gresse	[f]1["]5"-
f ^o 54 Wessel Kleijnman	[f]1["]5"-
f ^o 55 Joan Philip Heus	[f]1["]5"-
f ^o 56 Frans de Loges Trompetter	[f-"]15"-

Figure 5.1.1: List of core musicians and a trumpeter at the Amsterdam Schouwburg (1680).²⁰⁸

Name	Description	Year
Coenraad Rijckel	[Den 8 ^e October 1680] f ^o 49 Koenraet van Rijckel ... [f]1"5"- ²⁰⁹	1680
	f ^o 49 [31 decemb[er], Betaalt] Aan Coenraed Rijkkel voor 41 malen op de fagot hebbende gespeelt tot den 30 deser [maand] inclus ... f[-"]51"- ²¹⁰	1680
	f ^o 49 [25 februari] Aan Coenraet Reijckel musicant[,] neeff van Richart Haka[,] voor 30 malen speeloop op de fagott van 23 mej tot 2 Septemb[er] 1680 ... f37"10"- ²¹¹	1681
	f ^o 49 [15 april] Aen Coenraet Reijckel[,] neeff van Rigsard Haka[,] voor 31 reijsen op de fagot speelen tot 14 april 1681 in cluijs ... [f]30"15"- ²¹²	1681
Philip van Quoijsen	[7 January] Aan Philip van Quoijsen voor twee mael op de Hooboy tehebben gespeelt tot 6 deser [maand] inclus [...] f2["]10"- ²¹³	1681

Figure 5.1.2: List of references to double-reed musicians in Amsterdam Schouwburg payment records.

²⁰⁸ ‘Memoriael aengaande de Schouburg’, 1681, fol. 22, File 1 (Archief Burgerweeshuis), Document 430, Archief van het Burgerweeshuis: oud archief, Amsterdam: Stadsarchief Amsterdam, 367.A.

²⁰⁹ ‘Memoriael aengaande de Schouburg’, fol. 22.

The nature of his payments for 1680 and 1681 can be found in fol. 58.

²¹⁰ “31 December, paid to Coenraad Rijckel for having played bassoon 41 times until the 30th of this month, inclusive”.

‘Ontfang en Uitgift aengaande den Schouburg’, 18.

²¹¹ “25 February, to Coenraad Rijckel, musician, nephew of Richard Haka, for having played bassoon 30 times between 23 May and 2 September 1680”.

‘Ontfang en Uitgift aengaande den Schouburg’, 25.

²¹² “15 april, to Coenraad Rijckel, nephew of Richard Haka, for having played bassoon 31 times until 14 April 1681, inclusive”.

‘Ontfang en Uitgift aengaande den Schouburg’, 30.

²¹³ “7 January to Philip van Quoijsen voor having played oboe twice until this month, inclusive”.

‘Ontfang en Uitgift aengaande den Schouburg’, 18.

It is uncertain as to when exactly the bassoon overtook the dulcian as the bass double-reed instrument of choice in the Republic. As Rijkel was apprenticing under Haka during his time at the Schouwburg, he would have had access to both instruments and it is entirely possible that he used both in the theatre. The immense influence of French culture and music in Amsterdam since the reopening of the Schouwburg,²¹⁴ however, likely lead to the use of the bassoon in the theatre, rather than the dulcian. Furthermore, Rijkel's visitor card only depicts a bassoon, no dulcian,²¹⁵ and the few examples of dictionaries and lexica which define "fagot" (see Chapter 3) are unclear and not the most reliable sources for shaping an accurate understanding of performance practice in the Republic. Regardless, Rijkel's visitor card was made around two decades after the end of his employment at the Schouwburg and older types of wind instruments, such as the shawm, were still being used in the Schouwburg as late as 1680,²¹⁶ so there is no certainty as to exactly what kind of instrument was used.

The payment records of the Schouwburg also mention a Philip van Quoijsen only once, having played oboe there twice until 6 January of 1681.²¹⁷ The fact that he only played twice may indicate that the oboe was either rarely used in the Schouwburg, or that he was simply a replacement oboist who was not regularly rostered to play. The latter would suggest that at least one of the twelve core members of the Schouwburg may have been responsible for playing oboe when necessary as the oboe is, otherwise, not mentioned in any other Schouwburg payment record. It would also imply that Rijkel's

²¹⁴ See Ahrendt, Rebekah Susannah, 'A Second Refuge'.

²¹⁵ Lux, Ignatius, *Visitor card of Coenraad Rijkel*.

²¹⁶ Balfoort, Dirk J, *Het muziekleven in Nederland in de 17de en 18de eeuw*, 84.

²¹⁷ 'Ontfang en Uitgift aengaande den Schouburg', 18.

(probable) bassoon playing was seen as a more essential instrumental fixture to the Schouwburg than having a specialised oboist.

In the Schouwburg, there may have been music performed between before and/or after performances, as well as between acts. It is not known what type of music was played for these occasions but it has been hypothesised that the chamber music of the Schouwburg's composers may have been one example, such as works by de Konink and Anders.²¹⁸ De Konink's *Trios, Op. 1* (1696) depicts several instruments on the cover page; two recorders, two oboes, and a bassoon (Figure 5.1.3). This does not mean that these instruments were always used in the Schouwburg, but it may have been a possible instrumentation for some of the instrumental music performed around the main staged performances.



Figure 5.1.3: Title page of Servaas de Konink's *Trios pour la Flute le Violon le Hautbois et toutes Sortes d'Instruments [...]* Premier Oeuvre (1696).²¹⁹

²¹⁸ Rasch, Rudolf, *Muziek in de Republiek*, 146.

²¹⁹ Titelpagina voor Servaas de Koninks *Trios pour la Flute le Violon le Hautbois et toutes Sortes d'Instruments [...]* Premier Oeuvre, 1696, Print, 1696, Durham: Durham Cathedral Library, obl. sm. 8o.

David Lingelbach (1641–1688), a former hairstylist at the Amsterdam Schouwburg, opened a theatre in Buiksloot for French opera in 1686. This happened to coincide with the peak of Huguenot migration to Amsterdam. The Regents attempted to shut down Lingelbach's company but this failed due to a lack of their jurisdiction in Buiksloot.²²⁰ Only two titles of works performed here seem to be known; *De liefde van Amintas en Amarillis*, with text by Lingelbach,²²¹ and Lully's *Atys*. The success of *Atys* in Buiksloot allowed French tragédies to return to the Amsterdam Schouwburg temporarily from January of 1687. Performances alternated between Lully's *Amadis* and spoken Dutch text, with the response to the tragédie en musique being so positive that their Dutch actors were eventually fired in May 1687. Following several²²² performances of *Amadis*, Lully's *Cadmus et Hermione* and *Atys* were performed.²²³

The following season, from 22 September 1687, Lingelbach and Johannes Koenerding (1632–1705) were the directors of the Schouwburg. French tragédies continued to be performed in Amsterdam in 1688 as Lingelbach and Koenerding contracted a French opera troupe from The Hague in March, led by Victor Amedée Le Chevalier (<1660–1720). That summer, two unknown French operas were performed (*Bacchus* and *Andromaque*), as well as two Lully tragédies en musique, *Persée* and *Proserpine*. Even though the contract with this troupe was supposed to last eight months, the theatre returned to Dutch stage performances in September²²⁴ and had to close on 23 November due to financial difficulties. These aforementioned Lully tragédies all call

²²⁰ Ahrendt, Rebekah Susannah, 'A Second Refuge', 54.

²²¹ Rasch, Rudolf, *Muziek in de Republiek*, 143.

²²² Accounts differ between 19 and 25 performances.

²²³ Ahrendt, Rebekah Susannah, 'A Second Refuge', 54.

²²⁴ Rasch, Rudolf, *Muziek in de Republiek*, 144.

for oboes and it would have been customary for Lully to have had bassoons in these works; however, it is not known whether these performances used arrangements, nor if oboists were certainly used in these performances. Le Chevalier proposed opera to the Schouwburg once again in 1689²²⁵ and led performances of at least five unnamed French stage works there in 1690.²²⁶ Due to a lack of surviving scores and information, it is not possible to discern the extent to which double-reed instruments were used in the Schouwburg in later years until the end of the period of study.

Another theatre in Amsterdam was that of Dirck Theodoor Strijker, the son of a former Dutch consul in Venice. Strijker was responsible for several productions of Italian opera in Amsterdam since at least 1678.²²⁷ On 25 December 1680, Strijker opened his own theatre for Italian opera in Amsterdam but it closed down in 1682.²²⁸ Of the operas known to have been performed by Strijker, none have distinct parts or score indications for double-reed instruments. Matteo Bataglia and his wife, Eleonora, both connected to the Court in Düsseldorf are the only two known troop members of this theatre, aside from Pietro Antonio Fiocco (1654–1714) whose function in connection with the theatre is unknown.²²⁹ For the purposes of this study, this theatre irrelevant as there is no evidence of double-reed instruments participating, and none of the known performed works contain indications or parts for double-reed instruments.

²²⁵ Ahrendt, Rebekah Susannah, 'A Second Refuge', 58–59.

²²⁶ Rasch, Rudolf, *Muziek in de Republiek*, 144–45.

²²⁷ Worp, Jacob Adolf, *Geschiedenis van den Amsterdamschen Schouwburg, 1496–1772*, 153–54.

²²⁸ Rasch, Rudolf, 'The Dutch Republic', 408.

²²⁹ Rasch, Rudolf, 'Muziek in de Republiek (Oude Versie): Hoofdstuk Tien: De theaters I: Amsterdam: Documentatie', 2018, 9, <https://muziekinderepubliek.sites.uu.nl/wp-content/uploads/sites/413/2018/12/MR-Documentatie-10-Theaters-1.pdf>.

5.2 The Hague

The first reports of opera in The Hague are from 1682, when visiting troops came to perform. In the years 1687 and 1688, many names from the Amsterdam Schouwburg appear in the opera company of Augustin Fleury and Carolus Martinelli. This suggests that they may have been performing similar repertoire, if not the same. William III would visit The Hague throughout the 1690's (see Chapter 4.1), including visits with his "Comédie française" in The Hague where Charles Babel (1636–1716) played bassoon in the years 1697–1698.²³⁰ Babel first appears in payment records from 1697,²³¹ though he may have been in The Hague as early as 1696, given that he a manuscript of Lully arrangements of his survives from that year (see Chapter 7).²³² In order to produce his 1696 manuscript, Babel may have had some kind of prior connection to the Republic before that year as his whereabouts before and after his time in Hanover (1688–1690) are unknown.²³³ In his time with the Comédie française, Babel collected two volumes of music for two dessus and a bass line by various composers, published by Roger in Amsterdam. Volume 1 (1697)²³⁴ is principally music by Lully, as well as a few pieces by "Maynon" (including a "Trio de Hautbois"), one work by Jean-Claude Gillier, and a "Trio de Hautbois" from Pascal Collasse's *Achille et Polixène*.²³⁵ Volume 2 (1698)²³⁶ opens with a

²³⁰ Gustafson, Bruce, "'Babel,' Charles", in *MGG Online*, ed. Lütteken, Laurenz (RILM, Bärenreiter, Metzler, November 2016), <https://www-1mgg-2online-1com-1000046sm00a3.han.kug.ac.at/mgg/stable/55481>.

²³¹ Gustafson, Bruce, 'The Legacy in Instrumental Music of Charles Babel, Prolific Transcriber of Lully's Music', in *Actes Du Colloque / Kongreßbericht*, ed. La Gorce, Jérôme de and Schneider, Herbert (Jean-Baptiste Lully, 1987, Saint-Germain-en-Laye / Heidelberg: Laaber-Verlag, 1990), 496.

²³² Babel, Charles, 'Balets de Lully' (The Hague: Charles Babel, 1696), *Musiksammlung*, Hamburg: Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, ND VI 2762.

²³³ Gustafson, Bruce, 'The Legacy in Instrumental Music of Charles Babel', 495–96.

²³⁴ Babel, Charles, ed., *Trios de Différents Auteurs, Choisis & Mis en Ordre par Mr. Babel*, vol. 1, 2 vols (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1697).

²³⁵ Gustafson, Bruce, 'The Legacy in Instrumental Music of Charles Babel', 506–7.

²³⁶ Babel, Charles, ed., *Trios de Différents Auteurs, Choisis & Mis en Ordre par Mr. Babel*, vol. 2, 2 vols (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1698).

march by André Danican Philidor, *l'ainé* (ca. 1652–1730).²³⁷ The rest is also mainly music by Lully, as well as some yet-to-be-identified anonymous movements.²³⁸

On 26 October 1700, Gerhard Schott, founder of the Oper am Gänsemarkt in Hamburg, was given permission by the mayors of The Hague to run an opera company there for three years.²³⁹ Their first production was one of Lully's *Armide*, premiering 1 October 1701, using materials from a production of *Armide* in Kiel from around 1696.²⁴⁰ In another contract, dated 31 May 1701, Lully's *Thésée* and André Campra's (1660–1744) *L'Europe galante* were scheduled to be played, as well as another work by Lully yet to be decided.²⁴¹ This likely refers to *Atys*, which is mentioned alongside *Armide* in the company's financial documents on 13 February 1702.²⁴² The aforementioned 1701 contract divided the company's proceeds and direction in three equal parts, one third to Schott, one third to Jean-Jacques Quesnot de La Chênée, and one third to Louis Deseschaliers and his wife, Catherine Dudard (a dancer). Deseschaliers was responsible for procuring singers²⁴³ and possibly also conducting, with his “petit Rouleau de papier pour battre la mesure”.²⁴⁴ *Thésée* ended up not being played in that season as one

²³⁷ For biographical data, see Rushton, Julian and Harris-Warrick, Rebecca, 'Philidor, André Danican [l'ainé; Le Père after 1709]', in *Grove Music Online*, 2001, <https://www-1oxfordmusiconline-1com-1000008iu0005.han.kug.ac.at/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-90000380335>.

²³⁸ Gustafson, Bruce, 'The Legacy in Instrumental Music of Charles Babel', 507–9.

²³⁹ Rasch, Rudolf, *Muziek in de Republiek*, 159.

²⁴⁰ Ahrendt, Rebekah Susannah, 'A Second Refuge', 113.

²⁴¹ 'Grossoijé Contract', 31 May 1701, 64 (223r), Minuutakten, 1666–1717, Notarieel archief Den Haag, The Hague: Haags Gemeentearchief, 0372-01-749-3, 64–68 (223r–225r).

²⁴² 'Aghtervolgende de mondeling appt. Commissoriaal', 13 February 1702, 41, Minuten van de verbalen van comparitie voor schepenen gecommiteerd tot het tot stand brengen van een vergelijk, 1677–1810, Rechterlijke archieven 's-Gravenhage, The Hague: Haags Gemeentearchief, 0351-01-312, 41–42.

²⁴³ 'Grossoijé Contract'.

²⁴⁴ "Little roll of paper to beat time".

Quesnot de La Chênée, Jean-Jacques, *L'Opéra de La Haye: Histoire instructive et galante* (Cologne: Les Héritiers de Pierre le Sincere, 1706).

audience member writes that he watched works titled *Amadis*²⁴⁵ in January 1702 and *Thésée* in January 1703.²⁴⁶ These tragédies were somewhat altered from their original versions, most notably Lully's *Armide* which needed such significant alterations that a composer was required to recompose its prologue. It is not known which composer was responsible for this but it may have been Deseschaliers, himself, or more likely Quirinus van Blankenburg, who is discussed further in Chapter 9.3. Van Blankenburg had experience setting French texts to music and had been the Franse Kerk's²⁴⁷ organist, attended by William III. Van Blankenburg's ties to the William III's court may have also been useful in finding patronage for the theatre — a necessity for such a company to rewrite and recompose works.²⁴⁸

While not much is known about how the theatre stopped, there were issues of debt in 1702 from having purchased costumes using credit²⁴⁹ and several arguments between Quesnot de La Chênée and Dudard. They, along with Deseschaliers, appeared in court at least eight times between 1 February and 22 March 1702.²⁵⁰ Given this tumultuous period and no real financial success at the theatre, it is unlikely it stayed open for much longer after the 1703 performances of *Thésée*. All of the operas known to have been performed at this theatre call for oboes, but just like the French works performed in Amsterdam, there is no absolute certainty that an arrangement without oboes was not

²⁴⁵ This was not necessarily Lully's *Amadis*, but Roger did publish *Ouverture avec tous les airs à jouer de l'opéra d'Amadis* in 1702.

Roger, Estienne, 'Catalogue', in *Histoire des Sévarambes*, by Vairasse, Denis, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1702), 5.

²⁴⁶ Ahrendt, Rebekah Susannah, 'A Second Refuge', 127.

²⁴⁷ "French Church".

²⁴⁸ Ahrendt, Rebekah Susannah, 'A Second Refuge', 139–40.

²⁴⁹ 'Aghtervolgende de mondeling appt. Commissoriaal'.

²⁵⁰ Ahrendt, Rebekah Susannah, 'A Second Refuge', 149–50.

played, instead. This is particularly the case with *Armide* where so much of it was rewritten.

In December 1710, a German traveller named Zacharias Conrad van Uffenbach claimed that he heard three tragédies en musique in The Hague; Campra's *Télémaque*, Lully's *Phaëton*, and André Cardinal Destouches's (1672–1749) *Issé*.²⁵¹ While these works call for oboes, there is nothing known about these performances other than van Uffenbach's account. This source does not provide sufficient information to discern any element of performance practice.

Between 1715 and 1718, the Portuguese plenipotentiary minister João Gomes da Silva Count of Tarouca (1671–1738) had an opera hall built in The Hague in honour of Infante Manuel, Count of Ourém's (1697–1766) visit to the city. Here, tragédies en musique were performed, including Lully's *Atys* and *Phaëton*, both of which call for oboes, as well as Destouches's *Télémaque et Calypso* which also requires oboes. Upon Manuel's departure, a man by the name of Jean Francisque, funded by the Sephardic merchant Francisco de Lis, set up a theatre named the Académie de Musique. It opened with Campra's *Tancredi* and lasted two seasons under Francisque's leadership before being replaced by Jean Sérancour and Pierre Drouet who directed Campra's *L'Europe galante*. Both *Tancredi* and *L'Europe galante* require oboes. The performances were likely not of high quality as Voltaire (1694–1778) labelled the company as detestable in 1722. The company closed later that year.²⁵²

²⁵¹ Van Uffenbach, Zacharias Conrad, *Merkwürdige Reisen durch Niedersachsen, Holland und Engelland*, vol. 3 (Leipzig: Gaum, 1753), 362, 368.

²⁵² Rasch, Rudolf, *Muziek in de Republiek*, 160, 162.

The seventh volume of *Hollantsche Schouburgh, en plugge dansen vermengelt met sangh airen*²⁵³ was published by Jeanne Roger (1701–1722) in Amsterdam in 1721. It contains a short melody referring to opera in The Hague, “De Haagse nuwe Opera”²⁵⁴ (Figure 5.2). It is a unique title as there are no such examples in any of the series’s volumes referring to opera in Amsterdam. Speculatively, there may be a connection between this melody and an opera company from The Hague.



Figure 5.2: “De Haagse nuwe Opera” from volume seven of *Hollantsche Schouburgh, en plugge dansen vermengelt met sangh airen* (1721).²⁵⁵

5.3 References to Instruments in Stage Works

Although, evidently, very little Dutch stage music from the period of study survives, a number of references to double-reed instruments can be found in scripts and libretti, largely published in Amsterdam. The ways in which these instruments are referenced, as well as their relationship to the plot of these works, is a portrayal of how these instruments were viewed by the public in the period of study.

²⁵³ “Holland Theatre, and folk [undistinguished] dances mixed with sung arias”.

²⁵⁴ “The new Hague Opera”.

²⁵⁵ *Hollantsche Schouburgh, en plugge dansen vermengelt met sangh airen*, vol. 7 (Amsterdam: Jeanne Roger, 1721), 24.

Govert Bidloo's (1649–1713) zangspel *Zonder Spijs, en Wijn, Kan geen Liefde zyn*²⁵⁶ was published in 1686 and references several instruments playing while people drink wine, including flute, shawm, “bom”,²⁵⁷ “ruispyp”,²⁵⁸ and “trom”.²⁵⁹ The setting implies that this may be an appropriate combination of instruments for a particularly lively gathering where wine is drunk.²⁶⁰ One piece of iconography (Figure 5.3.1) illustrates a double-reed player accompanying dancing and drinking outdoors. Further examples of double-reeds used in similar settings can be found in Chapter 7 and Appendix B.



Figure 5.3.1: Detail from Adriaen van Ostade's (1610–1685) *Dansende boeren voor een herberg*,²⁶¹ printed by Gerrit de Broen I in 1705.²⁶²

The character of Rosani in Jan Harmenszoon Krul's *Pampiere Wereld* (1681), in a moment of Godly worship, associates “snaren en schalmeyen” with heavenliness and

²⁵⁶ “Without Food, and Wine, Can be no Love”.

²⁵⁷ Possibly short for “bombard”, like the alto size of Haka's velt-schalmei.

²⁵⁸ Literally a “noise pipe”, but perhaps a bagpipe.

²⁵⁹ Short for either “trompette” (trumpet) or “trommel” (drum).

²⁶⁰ Bidloo, Govert, *Opera, Op de Zinspreuk: Zonder Spijs, en Wijn, Kan geen Liefde zyn* (Amsterdam: Albert Magnus, 1686), 8.

²⁶¹ “Dancing peasants in front of an inn”.

²⁶² Ostade, Adriaen van, *Dansende boeren voor een herberg*, 1705, Etching on paper, 30.4 × 18.3 cm, 1705, Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.463787>.

priests.²⁶³ The anonymous lyrics in the song “Wilt singen En springen”²⁶⁴ (1682) list trumpets, cornetti, shawms, and transverse flute(s) as providing a sweet through “het Christenrijk”.²⁶⁵ Just a few years later, Elizabet Hartloop’s (1655–1685) *Tobias* (1688) evokes a comparable connotation between holiness and double-reed instruments; that of shawms and drums with sacred majesty.²⁶⁶ The imagery evoked by both Krul’s and Hartloop’s references to priests, holiness, and God suggests that there is a somewhat religious element to these instruments that is otherwise difficult to find in other sources, aside from illustrations of *putti* holding double-reed instruments (though one later example of an oboe playing in a church is discussed in Chapter 8).

Although an Antwerp-based writer, Willem Ogier’s (1618–1689) play, *De Seven Hooft-Sonden*,²⁶⁷ was published both in Antwerp and Amsterdam in 1682, as was its second edition in 1715.²⁶⁸ In a poem depicting fantasy creatures such as Pegasus and Satyr, recited by the character Crispyn, shawms are briefly mentioned as gracing people’s ears, as if they were singing.²⁶⁹ The inclusion of shawms in a play about the seven deadly sins emphasises the connection between shawms and Christianity, even if the setting of the shawms in this play is not directly religious.

Thomas Asselijn’s (ca. 1620–1701) *De Kwakzalver*,²⁷⁰ published in 1692, is the earliest known stage work which directly references the “Haubois”. The character,

²⁶³ Krul, Jan Harmenszoon, *Pampiere Wereld* (Amsterdam: Jan Jacobsz. Schipper, 1681), 331–32.

²⁶⁴ “Wanting to sing And jump [dance]”.

²⁶⁵ “The Christian Kingdom”.

Het Nieuwe Princesse Liedt-Boeck, Of het Haeghse Spelde-kussentje (Amsterdam: Casparus Loots-Man, 1682), 91.

²⁶⁶ Hartloop, Elizabet, *Tobias* (Amsterdam: David Ruarus, 1688), 48.

²⁶⁷ “The Seven Deadly Sins”.

²⁶⁸ Bolckmans, Alex, “De Seven Hooft-Sonden” van Guiliam Ogier’, *Documenta* 7, no. 3 (1989): 154, <https://doi.org/10.21825/doc.v7i3.11037>.

²⁶⁹ Ogier, Willem, *De Seven Hooft-Sonden* (Antwerp: Henderick van Duriswalt, 1682), 313.

²⁷⁰ “The Quacksalver”.

Andries, is described as being able to play the instrument, as well as the flute, full of “vertelling en snakerij”.²⁷¹ The characterful description of Andries as a knowledgeable lover of the arts implies that the “Haubois” is an admirable instrument to play, being one of the several positive qualities used to characterise him.²⁷² Similarly, Pieter Langendijk’s (1683–1756) 1711 play, *Don Quichot op de Bruiloft van Kamacho* also uses a double-reed instrument to describe the positive qualities of one of its characters. Kamacho, in describing Bazilius to Don Quichot and Sanche, says one of his redeeming qualities is his abilities to “speulen op de veel, en de schalmy.”²⁷³

In the stage instructions of Emanuel van der Hoeven’s (1660–1727) 1712 play, *De Waarzegster*,²⁷⁴ a march is to be played by trumpets, “haubois”, and violins in the setting of a large forest with a waterfall. Although double-reed instruments had previously been depicted in fictional works as outdoor instruments for the purpose of war (see Chapter 6), this pastoral scenery places double-reed instruments in a more peaceful outdoor setting.²⁷⁵ What is ambiguous, however, if the only instruments involved are precisely trumpets, shawms/oboes, and violins or if a band of each (that is, trumpets and drums; oboe band with tenor oboe and bassoon; and violin band with viola and bass violin) could realistically be combined. While iconography of trumpets playing alongside a double-reed instrument (Figure 5.3.2), as well as that of oboe band with violin band (see Figure 4.1.1) does survive, there are no clear descriptions, nor evidence, of the three combined bands of the aforementioned description playing together.

²⁷¹ “Storytelling and yearning”.

²⁷² Asselijn, Thomas, *De Kwakzalver* (Middeldam: J. Lescaillie, 1692), 7.

²⁷³ “[Play] the fiddle and the shawm.”

Langendijk, Pieter, *P[iete]r Langendyks Gedichten*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Haarlem: J. Bosch, 1760), 79.

²⁷⁴ “The Fortune Teller”.

²⁷⁵ Vander Hoeven, Emanuel, *De Waarzegster*, First (Amsterdam: J. Lescaillie & D. Rank, 1712), 111.



Figure 5.3.2: Detail from Jan Lamsvelt's (1674–1743) *Processie*²⁷⁶ (n.d.), depicting two trumpeters and a shawm or oboe player in a fictional, religious setting.²⁷⁷

Summary

The reopening of the Amsterdam Schouwburg marked a period of Francophilia in Amsterdam. The *tragédies de musique* of Jean-Baptiste Lully were among the most-performed works in Amsterdam, with most of the other repertoire being Dutch *zangspelen*. Most of these *zangspelen* do not survive and do not provide enough information on how double-reed instruments were utilised, but all of the Lully works that are known to have been performed in the Schouwburg in the period of study include indications for oboes. What is not known, however, is if the parts used for their performances included these indications. Of the known players, Coenraad Rijkel was certainly playing the bassoon, and an oboist was hired for at least two performances in 1681.

²⁷⁶ “Procession”.

²⁷⁷ Lamsvelt, Jan, *Processie*, n.d., Etching on paper, 17.9 × 14.1 cm, n.d., Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.135243>.

Chapter 5: In Theatres

The Hague also saw an increase in French stage works performed, though from a larger variety of composers. While Lully's music formed the bulk of the known tragédies performed, including works by André Campra and André Cardinal Destouches. Similar to the situation in Amsterdam, all of the known French works featured indications for oboes but it cannot be confirmed whether there were any oboists taking part in these performances.

Stage works performed and published in the Republic contain references to double-reed instruments in various contexts. These fragments of information provide insight into the perception of double-reed instruments of the period. The instruments were sometimes described as admirable to play, and were often placed outdoors. Interestingly, there are also several examples of there being an association between Christianity and double-reed instruments.

Chapter 6: In the Military

The double-reed players throughout the German-speaking parts of the Holy Roman Empire, and England, had a significant role as military musicians.²⁷⁸ Unfortunately, military musical records in the Republic are not as detailed and organised as those in what is now Germany, especially before 1707.²⁷⁹ The first possible instance of Dutch military double-reed activity cited in a newspaper in the period of study was in 1717,²⁸⁰ though more concrete examples begin to appear in 1724. However, this is not to say that there was no musical military activity until 1717. An array of primary sources provide a glimpse into the roles and status of double-reed instruments in a military function in the Republic, though not enough information can be collated to construct a comprehensive outline. Furthermore, the use of the prefix “velt” (or “veld”)²⁸¹ in written sources (see Chapter 3) infers that there are military undertones in reference to this instrument.²⁸²

Throughout England and the German-speaking parts of the Holy Roman Empire in the period of study, the main military and outdoor ensemble seemed to be the double-reed bands, whether that be with *Deutsche schalmeien* or French oboes.²⁸³ The Republic differed in this regard, as the favoured ensemble — for the most part — was the trumpet band; several trumpets and drums (Figure 6.1). Most examples of double-reed

²⁷⁸ Owens, Samantha, ‘Seminar 2’.

²⁷⁹ Several lists of military personnel can be found at ‘1.01.19 Inventaris van het archief van de Raad van State, (1574) 1581–1795 (1801)’, Online archive, Nationaal Archief, n.d., <https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/archief/1.01.19/invnr>.

²⁸⁰ ‘s Gravenhage den 12 September’, *Amsterdamse Courant*, 14 September 1717, sec. Nederlanden.

²⁸¹ Both meaning “field”.

²⁸² Di Stefano, Giovanni Paolo, ‘The Rijksmuseum’s Remarkable Collection of Oboes’, 97.

²⁸³ Owens, Samantha, ‘Seminar 2’.

performances relating to the Republic within a military context are of English and Scottish musicians, certainly due to William III ruling as both King of England, Scotland, and Ireland and as Stadtholder of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Guelders, and Overijssel. As close by as Flanders, double-reed bands were more-commonly used, sometimes together with trumpet bands!²⁸⁴



Figure 6.1: Detail from Pieter Janszoon Post's (1608–1669) *De begrafenisstoet van Frederik Hendrik* (1647), depicting a trumpet band.²⁸⁵

Due to the aforementioned unorganised nature of Dutch military records, very few names of military musicians of the period of study are known. There are only three such instances where a double-reed instrument is explicitly mentioned in connection with a military musician within the period of study; Johannes de Heurder, Philip Keyman, and Jan Ernst Broes. In a 1685 notary document from Zierikzee, De Heurder is named as a “hautbois speelder”²⁸⁶ in the “Dragonders”²⁸⁷ of the Prince of Orange under Colonel Eppinger, along with Philippo de Moretti who is only labelled as a musician.²⁸⁸ Brinckman

²⁸⁴ For example, ‘Brussel den 15 Maert’, *Oprechte Haerlemsche courant*, 19 March 1693, sec. Nederlanden; ‘Brussel den 4 Mey’, *Oprechte Haerlemsche courant*, 11 March 1698, sec. Nederlanden.

²⁸⁵ Post, Pieter Janszoon, *De begrafenisstoet van Frederik Hendrik* (plaat nr. 9), 1647, Etching on paper, 21.2 × 55.2 cm, 1647, Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, <https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200501140>.

²⁸⁶ “Hautbois player”.

²⁸⁷ “Dragoons”.

²⁸⁸ ‘Op huijden den 6e febr[uari] 1685’ (Zierikzee, 1685), Rechterlijke, Weeskamer en Notariële Archieven Schouwen-Duiveland, 1498–1811, Notulen van de Staten van Zeeland, Middelburg: Zeeuws Archief, 5025-4026, 13–14.

was an oboist in the First Battalion of the Van Hessen Regiment. His name is only known as he was tried in 1706 for mortally wounding someone named Philip Keyman.²⁸⁹ Broes was an oboist in the regiment of Beveren, living in the Brabant town of Grave. His name is found in a notary document in 1713 in which he was allowing his wife, Henderina Alegonda van Batenburgh, to divide her parents' assets.²⁹⁰ In each of these three cases, the fact that they were double-reed players is merely supplementary information that is not essential to the original purpose of their respective documents.

Several works of fiction provide information on potential military instrumental combinations — or at least an artistic representation of what instruments have similar associations in military contexts. Titia Brongersma's (1650–1700) 1686 collection of poems, *De bron-swaan, of mengeldigten*, mentions velt-schalmeien twice. Brongersma contextualises the instrument with war and the battlefield, “Daar d' Oorlog moort, en bloetdorst queekt / In 't steeken van de velt Schalmeyen.”²⁹¹ Another poem in the same collection combines the instrument with “Kornetten, en Klaroen”. It is unclear as to what exactly these instruments are, but they may be cornetti or horns,²⁹² and trumpets.²⁹³

²⁸⁹ Nationaal Archief, ‘Coenraet Brinckman, oboe player of the First Battalion is tried for mortally wounding Philip Keyman’, Online archive, Nationaal Archief, n.d., <https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/index/nt00212/d78dffa8-ff1b-102c-aa81-005056a23d00>.

²⁹⁰ ‘Jan Ernst Broes, hobo onder het regiment van Beveren machtigt Henderina Alegonda van Batenburgh zijn vrouw, om te schiften, scheiden en delende goederen van haar ouders’ (Grave, 1713), Index notarieel protocol Grave, 's-Hertogenbosch: Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum, 7128.31, 87–88.

²⁹¹ “There the war spurs, and bloodlust quickens / at the sound of the velt-schalmeien.”

Brongersma, Titia, ‘Op de nieuwsgierigheyt van Juffer E. J. die midden door de Ruitery hene drong, en geen vrese had voor 't Paarde trappelen, en 't Schieten, daar sy gebeden wierd' niet te gaan’, in *De bron-swaan, of mengeldigten* (Groningen: Carel Pieman, 1686), 70–71.

²⁹² Sijs, Nicoline van der, ‘Kornet - (Blaasinstrument; Vaandrig; Hoofddekseel)’, in *Etymologiebanc* (Netherlands: Instituut voor de Nederlandse Taal, n.d.), <https://etymologiebanc.nl/trefwoord/kornet1>.

²⁹³ Sijs, Nicoline van der, ‘Klaroen - (Koperen Blaasinstrument Zonder Kleppen)’, in *Etymologiebanc* (Netherlands: Instituut voor de Nederlandse Taal, n.d.), <https://etymologiebanc.nl/trefwoord/klaroen1>.

Lukas Rotgans's (1653–1710) 1698 epic poem, *Wilhem de Derde*, offers three instrumental combinations with shawms. In a battle against the French, the sounds of shawms, drums, and field trumpets could supposedly be heard.²⁹⁴ Arriving at London's court palace,²⁹⁵ flutes and shawms could be heard playing festive music.²⁹⁶ Another instrumentation is the combination of drums, shawms, and "bazuinen".²⁹⁷

The instrumentation of shawms, trumpets, and drums also appears in Johannes Sande's 1703 book, *Der hooge bondgenooten zegepraal, of Voorspoed van wapenen, tegens de Spaansche en Fransche kroonen*²⁹⁸ — "Het zwaar geschut begint te donderen, men speelt / Inmids verheugd op Veld-schalmeyen, op trompetten, / En Keteltrommels om de herten meer te wetten / Tot scherpe dapperheid"²⁹⁹ — as well as in the second stanza of Carolus Tuinman's (1659–1728) "Oorlogs Gruwel",³⁰⁰ "Trompet en trom, harpauk, schalmei, / Die hitzen het krijgs-heir onzinnig ten strijd."³⁰¹ Combined with non-fictional examples of this instrumentation (mentioned later in this chapter), there is a possibility of shawms, trumpets, and drums being combined as an ensemble, like what certainly happened in Flanders.³⁰²

²⁹⁴ Rotgans, Lukas, *Wilhem de Derde, door Gods genade, Koning van Engeland, Schotland, Vrankryk en Ierland* (Utrecht: François Halma, 1698), Part 1: 53.

²⁹⁵ Rotgans never specifies which palace but it is likely Hampton Court Palace.

²⁹⁶ Rotgans, Lukas, *Wilhem de Derde*, Part 2: 78.

²⁹⁷ The definition of this instrument is discussed in Chapter 3.

Rotgans, Lukas, Part 2: 87.

²⁹⁸ "The allies' great triumph, or Prosperity of arms, against the Spanish and French crowns".

²⁹⁹ "The heavy artillery is starting to thunder, in the meantime [velt-schalmeien], trumpets, and kettle drums [timpani] are playing to further whet the hearts to fearless bravery."

Translation from Di Stefano, Giovanni Paolo, 'The Rijksmuseum's Remarkable Collection of Oboes', 96.

Sande, Johannes, *Der hooge bondgenooten zegepraal, of Voorspoed van wapenen, tegens de Spaansche en Fransche kroonen* (Leeuwarden: Hero Nauta, 1703), 33.

³⁰⁰ "The Horrors of War".

³⁰¹ "Trumpet and drum, timpani, and shawm, / that render the war-hero senseless to battle."

³⁰² See footnote 284.

The sixteenth stanza of Jan van Westerhoven's "Battalje of veltslagh" combines several instruments in a depiction of battle; (in order of appearance) drums, oboes, shawms, violins, trumpets, lyres, and flutes.³⁰³ The inclusion of violins and lyres may be fantastical due to the impracticalities of playing these instruments in a battlefield; however, they are included nonetheless as this combination of instruments within this context could only be informed by van Westerhoven's own social context. It would also be far from the first time that such an instrumental combination occurs; Francis I, King of France (1494–1547, r. 1515–1547) had an outdoor ensemble (his *Écurie*) from the mid-1520's which consisted of violins, trumpets, sackbuts, shawms, and fife and drums.³⁰⁴ The only discrepancy is the lack of lyres in Francis I's ensemble.

An anonymous song, "Af-scheyt Lied van de Soldaten"³⁰⁵ is the only fictional military source to mention the bassoon. The sixth stanza combines one drum and field flutes and shawms with bassoon.³⁰⁶ In using both the terms "Schermeijen" and "Bason", the author infers that these two instruments may have played together (as opposed to the shawm and dulcian combination). Given that Haka's surviving velt-schalmeien tend to be in A-1³⁰⁷ and that several of his French-style instruments are also in A-1 (see Chapter 2), it would not be an impractical combination. This source is also very late in the dulcian's historical lifespan, 1717, which may be the reason as to why such an instrument is not mentioned. That being said, the date of a piece cannot always be the determining

³⁰³ Westerhoven, Jan van, *Zeedelycke en Natuurlycke Gezangen*, 88.

³⁰⁴ Lesure, François, "'France', Art Music", in *Grove Music Online*, 2001, <https://www-1oxfordmusiconline-1com-1000008ft045d.han.kug.ac.at/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000040051>.

³⁰⁵ "The Soldiers' Farewell Song".

³⁰⁶ *De nieuwe vermeerderde Haagse joncker, of 't Amsterdamse salet juffertje* (Amsterdam: Jacobus Conijnenberg, 1717), 81–82.

³⁰⁷ Bouterse, Jan, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments*, 487.

factor for whether the piece is for dulcian or bassoon. For example, in Dresden, Johann David Heinichen's (1683–1729) cantata, *Herr, nun lässest du deiner Diener*, was performed in 1714, 1720, 1723, and 1729 and has parts for both "Fagotto" and "Bassone" in different keys to compensate for the different pitch centres.³⁰⁸ There is insufficient historical information to determine the dulcian's nomenclature in the Republic (see Chapter 3); however, the little which does survive may indicate that the author's use of "Bason" refers to a bassoon, rather than a dulcian.

Aside from fictional writings, there are several factual documents which touch on the use of double-reed instruments in the military. Daniël Marot I's 1686 illustration of an instrumental ensemble at the Court of The Hague (see Chapter 4.1) depicts several musicians (including at least one bassoonist) equipped with a sword.³⁰⁹ It is, unfortunately, unclear whether all of the "Speelders op de Haubo" had swords, but this would mean that these musicians also had a military function within the court, similar to other court musicians around Europe.³¹⁰

A 1687 set of rules for English and Scottish military musicians based in the Republic refers exclusively to double-reed instruments, not trumpets. It discusses the payment of oboists, pipers, and shawm players (see Figure 3.4),³¹¹ implying that both French-and German-type instruments were being used in a military capacity around 1687. Unfortunately, it is not clear whether it is the same set of players playing these two

³⁰⁸ Haynes, Bruce, *The Story of 'A'*, 139, 214.

³⁰⁹ Marot, Daniël I, *Bal in het Huis ten Bosch ter ere van de verjaardag van de prins van Oranje*.

³¹⁰ Owens, Samantha, 'Seminar 2'.

³¹¹ 'Naeder ordre ende reglement, voor de Engelsche ende Schotsche regimenten, zijnde in dienst van den Staet', 4.

types of instruments, nor if they had distinct functions for different occasions. The terminology used might also include sizes of oboes and shawms other than descant.

One of the Republic's subsidy troops from the period of study was that of Hesse-Kassel. On 10 July 1688, it was agreed that Charles I, Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel (1654–1730, r. 1670–1730) would supply three regiments; a cavalry, an infantry, and dragoons. In 1690, the dragoons included four “Hautbois” in its regimental staff, as well as a trumpet major. In 1693, this was elevated to twelve “Hautbois” and a timpanist, with no mention of a trumpet major.³¹²

On 15 October 1710, an agreement in Middelburg between The Prince & Duke of Marlborough and the Baron of Bothmer led to the establishment of a drummer and eight “hautbois” players in the *Estat Major* and just two *tambours* in the *Compagnie Colonelle*.³¹³ Again, the exact instrumental components of this set of hautbois players is uncertain. By this period, it is almost certain that they would be playing French instruments, rather than shawms, but there is no clarity regarding the use of tenor oboes and bassoons.

An account from 1717 concerning John Jeshua Kettler's (1659–1718) journey with the Dutch East India Company to Lahore (present-day Pakistan) reports on a concert held on 26 April for the Persian Duke “Mortusa Coelie Chan”. This concert included several instruments but only violins, “hautbois”, bassoon, and viola da gamba are mentioned.

³¹² Sapherson, Alan, *The Dutch Army Of William III* (Leigh-on-Sea: Partizan Press, 1997), 57–58.

³¹³ ‘Conventie’ (Middelburg, 1710), Staten van Zeeland en Gecommitteerde Raden, (1574) 1578–1795 (1799). Notulen van de Staten van Zeeland. Middelburg: Zeeuws Archief, 2-3426 [126], 309–311 (pp. 51–53).

Chapter 6: In the Military

Supposedly, the audience was in admiration of the bassoon's strong sound and were already familiar with the viola da gamba due to contact with previous missionaries.³¹⁴

On 12 September 1717, the imperial ambassador for The Hague, Baron Arnold von Heems, celebrated a victory against the Turks in the Siege of Belgrade with a performance of a *Te Deum Laudamus* which was accompanied by trumpets, timpani, “Haubois”, and other instruments. This took place in “his church”,³¹⁵ which is possibly the Vreugde Tempel in The Hague (Figure 6.2). As von Heems was working in an imperial capacity, it is possible that the musicians used in this performance were military musicians.

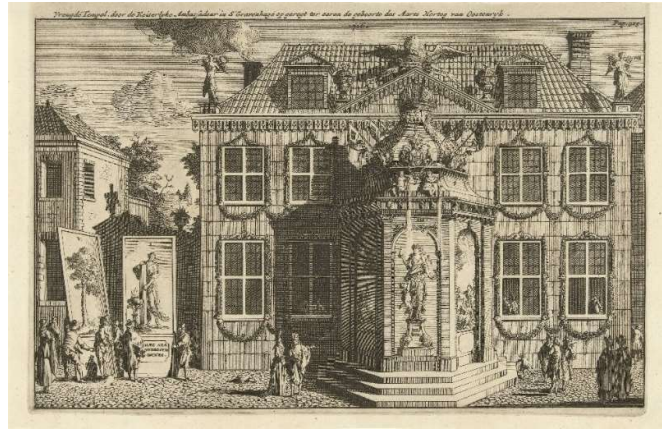


Figure 6.2: An etching of the Vreugde Tempel in The Hague (1716).³¹⁶

The only distinctly military piece of iconography relevant to this study is a depiction of five oboists in Constantinople in 1718 (Figure 6.3). The procession was for the arrival of Count Coljer, the Ambassador to the Republic in Constantinople. Only one of these oboists has a sword. There is no label given to describe these musicians, but

³¹⁴ Vogel, Jean Philippe, *Journal van J. J. Ketelaar's hofreis naar den groot mogul te Lahore, 1711–1713* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1937), 108.

³¹⁵ ‘s Gravenhage den 12 September’.

³¹⁶ *Tempel opgericht voor het huis van de keizerlijke ambassadeur te Den Haag ter ere van de geboorte van aartshertog Leopold Johan*, 1716, Etching on paper, 17.6 × 26.5 cm, 1716, Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, <https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200513251>.

there are no other musicians visible in the procession; there are no bassoons, drums, trumpets, or horns. In a description of troops and inventory of military personnel stationed in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) in 1723, five “Hautboisten” are included. They were employed to perform “een langsaame Marsch”.³¹⁷ Given that the Hautboisten in Constantinople consisted of just five oboes of one size, it may very well be that the ones in Ceylon were also five oboes of one size. In a separate section of the Ceylon source, six drummers and four trumpeters are listed, working alongside 72 Hand Grenadiers.³¹⁸ This would mean that the oboe band and trumpet band in Ceylon each served different functions, to the extent that they were not just lumped into one category as musicians, but by their function.



Figure 6.3: Five oboists marching in Constantinople (1718).³¹⁹

In 1723, it is possible that shawms were still being used in the “Blaauwe Garde” [sic].³²⁰ The preface to Weyerman’s *Den ontleeder der gebreeken*³²¹ includes a brief

³¹⁷ “A slow march”.

³¹⁸ ‘Ceylon den 20 Juny 1723’, *Leydse Courant*, 16 August 1724, sec. Oostindien.

³¹⁹ Laan, Adolf van de, *Aankomst van de nieuwe Nederlandse ambassadeur Colyer te Constantinopel, 1718*, ca. 1718, Etching on paper, 16 × 18.3 cm, ca. 1718, Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.477137>.

³²⁰ “Blue Guards”. The modern spelling would be “Blauwe Garde”.

³²¹ “The Parser of Faults”.

reference to the Blauwe Garde's "Schalmei" players, "leev' lustig en rustig op uw fluitend Tongetje, gelyk als een Schalmeispeeler van de Blaauwe Guarde".³²² In a later section of this book, from 1724, he refers to the bagpipe as "die Basson der Bedelaars".³²³ But this is not enough information to indicate its use in the military as Weyerman never connects the bassoon to what he calls the "Schalmei".

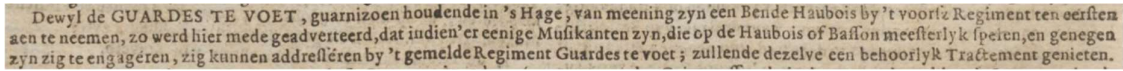


Figure 6.4: A newspaper advertisement for masterful oboists and bassoonists (1724).³²⁴

It is possible that what Weyerman refers to as a "Schalmei" could actually be an oboe as a call for players of the "Haubois" was placed in the 's *Gravenhaegse courant* by the Guardes te Voet³²⁵ of The Hague in 1724 (Figure 6.4), with Blauwe Garde being a nickname for this regiment due to their blue uniform (Figure 6.5).³²⁶ The namesake of this study is this very article which appeared three times in February of 1724, calling for those who can play the oboe or bassoon masterfully. The fact that such a regiment is scouting for musicians in this manner may indicate that there was no official or organised manner for recruiting at this point. As they were looking for players who already played masterfully, they probably did not have a basis for teaching music in the military — or, at least not in this sector. The fact that both the oboe and the bassoon are mentioned

³²² "Live joyfully and quietly on your whistling Tongue [possibly reed], like a *Schalmei* player of the Blauwe Garde".

Weyerman, Jacob Campo, *Den ontleeder der gebreeken*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Hendrik Bosch, 1724), ivr.

³²³ "That Bassoon of Beggars".

Weyerman, Jacob Campo, 1:114.

³²⁴ "Because the Foot Guards, garrisoned in The Hague, are of the opinion to hire a band of Haubois at the aforementioned Regiment first, it was hereby advertised, that if there are any musicians who play the oboe or bassoon masterfully, and are inclined to engage, they can address themselves to the aforementioned Regiment Foot Guards; they will receive a proper remuneration."

'Dewyl de Guardes te Voet', 's *Gravenhaegse Courant*, 2 February 1724, sec. Advertentie.

³²⁵ "Foot Guards". The modern spelling would be "Garde te Voet".

³²⁶ Sapherson, Alan, *The Dutch Army Of William III*, 28.

suggests that the term “Haubois” did not always encompass both instruments, even in a military setting; something which can be observed in some German-language sources,³²⁷ as well as in Daniël Marot I’s depiction of “de Speelders op de Haubo” (see Figure 4.1.1).³²⁸ Using the term “Bende Haubois”,³²⁹ though, does signify that the term can be inclusive of bassoons. They are also asking for players of either instrument, not both, implying that they were not expected to be equally proficient on both instruments; that a specialisation of instruments was becoming common.

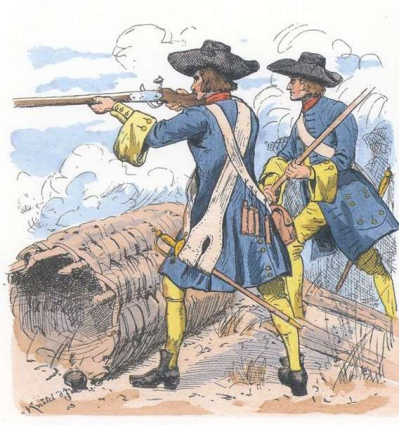


Figure 6.5: *Niederlande. Infanterie. 1680–1690.* (1921) by Herbert Knötel (1893–1963).³³⁰

On 26 May 1724, there was a performance of drums, “Haubois”, and horns as part of a procession with several noblemen and military representatives in The Hague.³³¹ There is no evidence to suggest that this would have included the same oboe and bassoon players who responded to the advertisement in February, but this is the first source describing such an outdoor performance with double-reeds for high-ranking people in the Republic in the period of study. A similar performance took place in Leiden in 1725 to

³²⁷ Owens, Samantha, ‘Seminar 2’.

³²⁸ Marot, Daniël I, *Bal in het Huis ten Bosch ter ere van de verjaardag van de prins van Oranje*.

³²⁹ “Oboe Band”.

³³⁰ Knötel, Herbert and Knötel, Richard, *Uniformenkunde*, vol. 18 (Rathenow: Max Babenzien, 1921), 14.

³³¹ ‘s Gravenhage den 26 Mey’, *Leydse Courant*, 29 May 1724, sec. Nederlanden.

celebrate the third fiftieth anniversary of Leiden University. But this is specifically labelled as a performance and was played by timpani, trumpets, horns, “Hautbois”, and other instruments.³³² Music for winds and percussion became more commonplace within the Republic throughout the rest of the eighteenth century, eventually leading to a true military culture of wind music by the end of the century.³³³

While determining the exact repertoire of the Republic’s military double-reed musicians is not currently possible, a “Dragonders Mars”³³⁴ (Figure 6.6) can be found in the third volume of *Hollantsche Schouburgh, en plugge dansen vermengelt met sangh airen* (1716). Given that there are at least two examples of double-reed players in dragoon regiments in the period of study (Johannes de Heurder and the subsidy troops of Charles I), it would not be implausible that this march was played by actual military musicians.

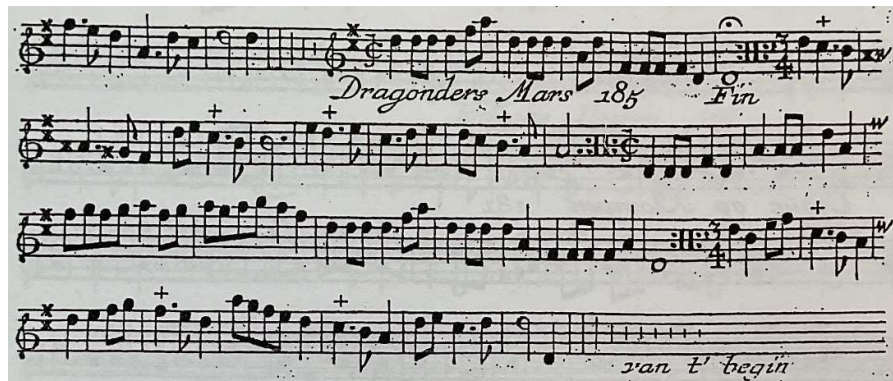


Figure 6.6: “Dragonders Mars” from volume three of *Hollantsche Schouburgh, en plugge dansen vermengelt met sangh airen* (1716).³³⁵

³³² ‘Leyden den 8 February’, *Leydse Courant*, 9 February 1725, sec. Nederlanden.

³³³ Rasch, Rudolf, *Muziek in de Republiek*, 45, 48.

³³⁴ “Dragooners’ March”.

³³⁵ *Hollantsche Schouburgh, en plugge dansen vermengelt met sangh airen*, vol. 3 (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1716), 23.

Summary

As the Republic's favoured military ensemble was the trumpet band, rather than the oboe band, it is difficult to discern the level of double-reed players' involvement in the military during the period of study. Although only a few names of military double-reed players are known, there were certainly more. Some sources mention both shawms and oboes, but military references to shawms decreases over time. The number of musicians in a military band varies, but tends to be either five multiples of four. The depiction of sword-wielding double-reed players at the court of The Hague features six double-reed players, but alongside eighteen string players to make a total of twenty-four musicians. Double-reed bands do not seem to inherently include trumpets and drums, as those are mentioned separately in sources. By around 1723, descriptions of military double-reed players become more common in the Republic. Notably, a 1724 source suggests that the Foot Guards of The Hague did not have a formal recruitment process for double-reed musicians, with an expectation that employed musicians were already masters of their instrument. Later in the eighteenth century, the number of references to military double-reed players increases, overtaking the popularity of trumpet bands in the military sector.

Chapter 7: Amateur Music

One theory as to why so many Dutch instruments survive is that there may have been a large amateur music-making scene in the Republic. While there is insufficient existing relevant information on amateur double-reed players,³³⁶ there are certainly sources which show that there was an extant culture. The Republic had several amateur music societies, known as *collegia musica*, as well as societies of professional musicians, such as the collegium musicum of Johann Schenck and John Abell (1653–1716<), or that of Hendrik Anders. Schenck and Abell’s collegium musicum is the oldest such society, started in 1696.³³⁷ Anders’s society was started in 1697 and included distinguished musicians such as Carl Rosier (1640–1725) — as well as his daughters Maria Petronella and Maria Anna — Nicolas Ferdinand le Grand (ca. 1660–1710), Nicolas Desrosiers (ca. 1645–1702<), Jacobus Cockuyt, and Michiel Parent.³³⁸ These musicians had their compositions published in Amsterdam, many of which include double-reed instruments. Surviving published works from Anders, Rosier, and Desrosiers indicate that there was a market for works for amateurs, even for double-reed instruments.

In 1696, Anders published his *Trioos, Op. 1* in Amsterdam. This work has been cited as music for the kleine schalmei due to one being pictured on its cover page (Figure 7.1).³³⁹ Here, the kleine schalmei is depicted alongside (from left to right) a dulcian, a trumpet, a recorder, a violin, and a four-string bass instrument. To claim that this work is

³³⁶ Di Stefano, Giovanni Paolo, ‘The Rijksmuseum’s Remarkable Collection of Oboes’, 101.

³³⁷ Rasch, Rudolf, *Muziek in de Republiek*, 211–12.

³³⁸ ‘Op huijden den 18e Meij 1697’ (Amsterdam, 1697), File 126 (Pieter Padthuijzen), Document 2936, 148–152, Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam, Amsterdam: Stadsarchief Amsterdam, 5075.

³³⁹ See Post, Nora, ‘The 17th-Century Oboe Reed’, *The Galpin Society Journal* 35 (March 1982): 63–64, <https://doi.org/10.2307/841232>; Di Stefano, Giovanni Paolo, ‘The Rijksmuseum’s Remarkable Collection of Oboes’, 98.

appropriate for *kleine schalmeien* purely due to the fact that one is depicted artistically on the cover page would be misinformed performance practice. While there is no prescribed instrumentation for the work, the two descant partbooks both say “Violino”³⁴⁰ in the header of each page.

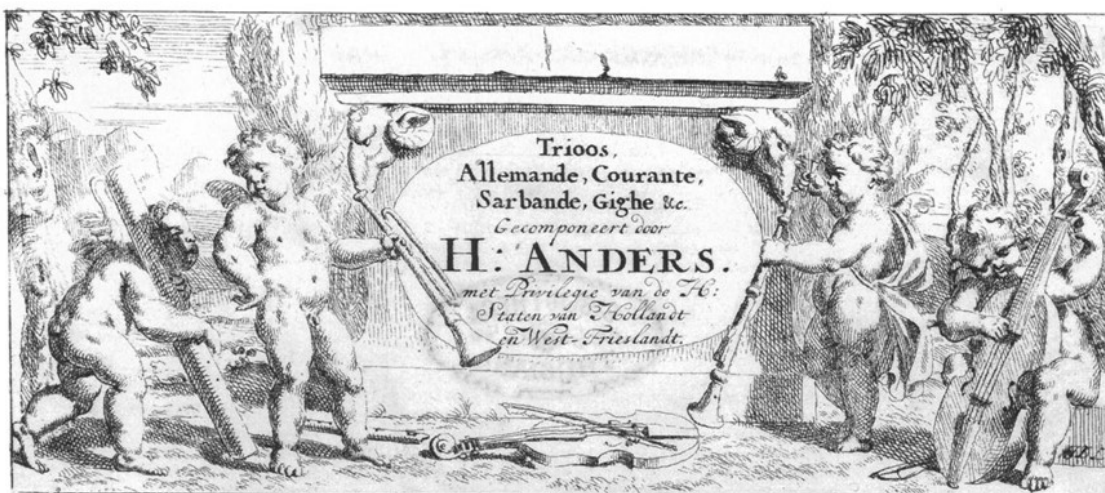


Figure 7.1: Title page of Anders's self-published *Trioos*, *Op. 1* by Jan de Lairese (1696).³⁴¹

A second edition of Anders's *Trioos* was published by the publishing house of Roger in 1697, under the pseudonym of Utrecht's Klaas Klaase Knol.³⁴² As Roger was selling this edition, it appeared in his catalogues. From 1701, this work was listed in the category of “Livres de pieces pour les Flûtes, les Hautbois & pour les violons à la Françoisse a 3 & 4 parties”.³⁴³ Anders's *Symphoniæ introductoriæ*, *Op. 2* was self-published in 1698, though a version may have also been published by Roger as it appears in his catalogues, starting in 1698.³⁴⁴ In the same 1701 catalogue, this work is not listed

³⁴⁰ “Violin”.

³⁴¹ De Lairese, Jan, *Titelpagina voor Hendrik Anders, Trioos*, 1696, Etching on paper, 1696.

³⁴² Rasch, Rudolf, ‘The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Abeille–Antoniotti’, July 2018, 42, <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/wp-content/uploads/sites/416/2018/07/Abeille-Antoniotti.pdf>.

³⁴³ “Books of French pieces for flutes, oboes, and violins in three and four parts”.

Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue des Livres de Musique’, in *Sacri concerti, a una e più voci, con instrumenti, e senza [Op. 1]*, by Fiocco, Pietro Antonio (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1701), 1.

³⁴⁴ Rasch, Rudolf, ‘The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Abeille–Antoniotti’, 43.

in the same category as the *Trioos*, but rather the category of “Sonates pour les violons à deux violons & une Basse Continue, la pluspart avec un violoncello ou viole de Gambe.”³⁴⁵ From 1712, the work continues to be catalogued exclusively in violin-related sections, with the instrumentation of two violins, viola, and basso continuo.³⁴⁶ However, this indication has not prevented modern-day musicians performing and recording this work with a misinformed instrumentation such as on *kleine schalmeien* and *dulcian*.³⁴⁷

Rosier, although principally living in Cologne, worked in the Republic in the years 1683–1699, retaining his title of vice-Kapellmeister in Cologne during this period.³⁴⁸ His *Pièces choisies à la manière italienne* (1691) are written principally for two flutes and *basone*, though the instrumentation of “autres Instruments”³⁴⁹ is also given.³⁵⁰ One work of his, *Quatorze Sonate* (1697), was written for “les violons et le Haubois” (first edition)³⁵¹ or “les violons & les Haubois” (second edition, 1710).³⁵² The parts are for *dessus 1* (G₂, C₄–C₆), *dessus 2* (G₂, G₃–C₆),³⁵³ *dessus 3* (the part says “Trompette” in the header; G₂, C₄–C₆), *hautcontre* (C₃, E₃–C₅),³⁵⁴ *basse* (F₄, C₂–E₄), and *basse continue* (F₄, C₂–A₄).³⁵⁵ The

³⁴⁵ “Sonatas for the setting of two violins and basso continuo, most of them with a cello or viola da gamba.” Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1701, 2.

³⁴⁶ Roger, Estienne, *Catalogue de la Musique* (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1712), 41.

³⁴⁷ Les Corsaires du Roy and Frank, Elsa, *Die Deutsche Schalmei Ou La Naissance Du Hautbois Baroque*, Compact Disk, Album (Ricercar, 2003), tracks 19–21.

³⁴⁸ Niemöller, Ursel, ‘Rosier [Rosiers, de Rosier], Carl [Charles]’, in *Grove Music Online*, 2001, <https://www-1oxfordmusiconline-1com-1000008ft0491.han.kug.ac.at/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000023856>.

³⁴⁹ “Other instruments”.

³⁵⁰ Rosier, Carl, *Pièces choisies à la manière italienne* (Amsterdam: P. & J. Blaeu, 1691), Title Page.

³⁵¹ Rosier, Carl, *Quatorze Sonate Pour les Violons et le Hautbois*, 1st ed. (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1697).

³⁵² Rosier, Carl, *Quatorze Sonates Pour les Violons et les Hautbois*, 2nd ed. (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1710).

³⁵³ The range of this part is almost entirely contained to C₄–A₅, with the exception of the final section of the eighth sonata which is the only instance of the notes G₃, B₃, and C₆.

³⁵⁴ The range of this part is almost entirely contained to G₃–C₅, with the exception of one note in the ninth sonata which is the only instance of the note E₃.

³⁵⁵ The range of this part is almost entirely contained to C₂–D₄, with the exception of the “canzona” of the thirteenth sonata where one and a half bars are in C₄ with a range to E₄, and one and a half bars are in C₃ with a range to A₄, neither of which are doubled by higher parts.

work is described as being particularly for violins or “le hautbois” (plural in 1705)³⁵⁶ in all of Roger’s catalogues, until 1712 when it receives an entirely new description; “Quatorse Sonates à une Trompette ou Hautbois, deux dessus de Violon, une Haute contre, une Basse & une Basse Continue ou tous Hautbois”.³⁵⁷ This implies that the third dessus part can be played on trumpet or oboe (with the rest on string instruments), or that there are five parts played by oboe band, plus basso continuo. This indication is present on every Roger catalogue from 1712 onwards, as well as those of his successors. In any case, the ambiti of the parts fits the range of an oboe band (three descant oboes, one tenor oboe, one bassoon) very well, with only two notes in the second dessus and one note in the haute-contre being problematic.

Desrosiers — sometimes misleadingly referred to as De Rosier — was responsible for several publications in Amsterdam, both of his own and by other composers. Many of these publications are appropriate for double-reed instruments. Antoine Pointel, his brother-in-law, published an arrangement of Lully’s *Cadmus et Hermione* for him, titled *Les airs de l’opera de Cadmus et d’Ermione* (1687). It does not survive but it was described as being appropriate for “tout sorte d’Instruments”.³⁵⁸ Pointel published his *Concerts* in 1688, supposedly also for “tout sorte d’Instruments” according to catalogues, but the three versions of this work are only described as being for flute and/or violin in the works, themselves, though no copies survive.³⁵⁹ The same can be said for his

³⁵⁶ Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, in *Nouvelles aventures de l’admirable Don Quichotte de la Manche*, by Avellaneda, Alonso Fernandez de (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1705), 8.

³⁵⁷ “Fourteen sonatas for one trumpet or oboe [dessus 3], two violins, one haute-contre, a bass [instrument], and one basso continuo [part], or all [playing] oboe”. Roger, Estienne, *Catalogue*, 1712, 26.

³⁵⁸ “All sorts of instruments”.

Rasch, Rudolf, ‘The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: La Barre–Lully’, July 2018, <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/wp-content/uploads/sites/416/2018/07/La-Barre-Lully.pdf>.

³⁵⁹ Rasch, Rudolf, ‘The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: D’Alay–Duval’, 15–16.

*La fuite du Roi d'Angleterre*³⁶⁰ (1688), though it survives and, from 1701, it is listed amongst oboe music in Roger's catalogues.³⁶¹ Desrosiers published an instrumental arrangement of Lully's *Armide* for violin or flute ca. 1688, printed by Johannes Stichter. Unlike the two earlier Pointel publications, there is no indication that it would be suitable for all sorts of instrument, but it does include a "Menuet pour les hautbois".³⁶² Desrosiers's own composition, *Suittes en trio*, was published in three volumes by Roger in 1703 and again by Pieter Mortier (1661–1711) ca. 1710. Unfortunately, they do not survive but it is known that they were intended for flutes, violins, and oboes.³⁶³

Le Grand worked in the Amsterdam Schouwburg in the years 1706–1710.³⁶⁴ He composed exclusively vocal music, including the music for a zangspel, *Triomf der Batavieren*³⁶⁵ (1709).³⁶⁶ There is little surviving information on Cockuyt, aside from the fact that he played a bass instrument in the Schouwburg³⁶⁷ in the years 1678–1681 (see Figure 5.1.1).³⁶⁸

Parent, although not known to be a composer, was a maker of both oboes and bassoons, as well as flutes.³⁶⁹ While most surviving sources concern Parent's instrument-

³⁶⁰ "The flight of the King of England".

³⁶¹ Roger, Estienne, 'Catalogue', 1701, 1.

³⁶² Lully, Jean-Baptiste, *Recueil de tous les airs à jouer sur le violon et sur la flûte de l'opéra d'Armide* (Amsterdam: Nicolas Derosiers, 1688).

³⁶³ Rasch, Rudolf, 'The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: D'Alay-Duval', 17–18.

³⁶⁴ Rasch, Rudolf, 'Muziek in de Republiek (Oude Versie): Hoofdstuk Tien: De theaters I: Amsterdam: Documentatie', 8.

³⁶⁵ "Triumph of the Batavians".

³⁶⁶ Rasch, Rudolf, 'Le Grand, Nicolas Ferdinand', in *Grove Music Online*, 2001, <https://www-1oxfordmusiconline-1com-1000008ft0495.han.kug.ac.at/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000042269>.

³⁶⁷ 'Ontfang en Uitgift aengaande den Schouburg', 30.

³⁶⁸ Rasch, Rudolf, 'Muziek in de Republiek (Oude Versie): Hoofdstuk Tien: De theaters I: Amsterdam: Documentatie', 8.

³⁶⁹ 'Michiel Parent'.

making, the advertisements refer to him principally as a musician, with bassoon being his priority. Supposedly, he also showed his customers how to play their instruments.³⁷⁰

Another Schouwburch musician, Servaas de Konink, had several works published by Roger. Of his oboe music, this included two sets of trios in 1695 and 1698, twelve lost sonatas with continuo in 1698, and twelve lost sonatas for two dessus also in 1698,³⁷¹ as well as a book of minstrel and drinking songs which only survives as a Mortier edition from 1709. A manuscript of 12 flute sonatas works in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel may be a handwritten version of the 1698 sonatas with continuo.³⁷² Three volumes of *Hollantsche Schouburgh, en plugge dansen vermengelt met sangh airen* were published by Estienne Roger and edited by “Servaas de Konink”,³⁷³ but likely refers to his son, Servaas de Konink Jr who also worked in the Schouwburch in the years 1705–1718.³⁷⁴ De Konink Jr’s departure from the Schouwburch seems to coincide with the publication of the series’s fourth, fifth, and sixth volumes in 1718, with his name no longer mentioned. A seventh surviving volume was published in 1721, followed by four more volumes in 1729,³⁷⁵ of which only the eleventh volume survives.³⁷⁶

Roger’s reach through England, France, Italy, German-speaking areas, and Scandinavia allowed the Republic’s amateurs to acquire works by composers from

³⁷⁰ Bouterse, Jan, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments*, 82.

³⁷¹ This is possibly the same as the set of sonatas with continuo but with the bass part transposed to fit a second descant part.

³⁷² Rasch, Rudolf, ‘The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Keller-Kühnel’, July 2018, 6–11, <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/wp-content/uploads/sites/416/2018/07/Keller-K%C3%BChnel.pdf>.

³⁷³ Rasch, Rudolf, ‘The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Hacquart-Hotteterre’, July 2018, 16–19, <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/wp-content/uploads/sites/416/2018/07/Hacquart-Hotteterre.pdf>.

³⁷⁴ Rasch, Rudolf, ‘Muziek in de Republiek (Oude Versie): Hoofdstuk Tien: De theaters I: Amsterdam: Documentatie’, 8.

³⁷⁵ Rasch, Rudolf, ‘The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Hacquart-Hotteterre’, 19–24.

³⁷⁶ *Hollantsche Schouburgh, en Serieuse Dansen Vermengelt met Sangh Airen*, vol. 11, 11 vols (Amsterdam: Michiel Carel le Cene, 1729).

beyond the local scene. Visiting composers were able to collaborate with Roger to publish their works in Amsterdam. The lack of international copyright laws allowed Roger to reprint many works from abroad without the original publisher or composer's consent.³⁷⁷ As a result, several foreign works were disseminated throughout the Republic, several of which for double-reed instruments, and have been compiled as part of Appendix A. Aside from Rosier's *Quatorze Sonate*, only one work published is explicitly for oboe band, *12 Sonates à un hautbois de concert* (ca. 1711) by Johann Michael Müller (1683–1743). Some other works with open instrumentation and sufficient voices may also be appropriate for oboe band, depending on the ambit of the parts.

One of the most common publications of the period was arrangements of (sections of) Lully's tragédies en musique. These arrangements are for three or four parts — reduced from the original five parts — and are usually designated the generic instrumentation of all sorts of instruments. These arrangements must have been popular as they were published by both Pointel and Roger, and again ca. 1715 by Roger with a Dutch-language title page instead of French. Roger's arrangements are listed in his catalogues amongst three- and four-part French oboe music. Other relevant Lully publications include selections of arias and trio sonata arrangements.³⁷⁸ A manuscript by Charles Babel from 1696, titled "Balets de Lully",³⁷⁹ contains several excerpts from Lully's works, arranged for two dessus parts, a missing haute-contre part, a taille part, a "basse concert" part, and a missing second bass part. According to the library which

³⁷⁷ Rasch, Rudolf, 'Estienne Roger's Foreign Composers', in *Musicians' Mobilities and Music Migrations in Early Modern Europe: Biographical Patterns and Cultural Exchanges*, by Nieden, Gesa zur and Over, Berthold, vol. 33, Mainzer Historische Kulturwissenschaften (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2016), 295–96, 299.

³⁷⁸ Rasch, Rudolf, 'The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: La Barre-Lully', 40–87.

³⁷⁹ "Lully's Ballets".

Babel, Charles, 'Balets de Lully'.

holds this manuscript, the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, there was never a *quinte* part, like the other Lully arrangements published by Pointel and Roger.³⁸⁰ The carving on the oboe stamped “W: BEUKERS” (see Figure 4.2) may be an example of how amateurs may have played these four-part arrangements; with partbooks on a table. The instrumental disposition also matches an instrumentation which — for the most part — suits the ambiti of these Lully arrangements well.

Instrument methods and music theory books were also published by Roger, two of which were for oboe. The first of these was a new 1709 edition of Jacques-Martin Hotteterre’s (“Le Romain”) 1707 treatise, *Principes de la flûte traversière [...]*,³⁸¹ which includes a brief section on the oboe (“Methode pour apprendre ajouer du Haut-Bois”).³⁸² Schickhardt’s oboe method, *Principes du hautbois, contenant des airs à deux hautbois sans basse*,³⁸³ was published by Roger between 1710 and 1712. There are no extant copies but it was featured in the catalogues of Roger and his successors until 1744.³⁸⁴

³⁸⁰ Schneider, Herbert, ‘Un manuscrit de Charles Babel restitué à sa bibliothèque d’origine’, *Revue de Musicologie* 87, no. 2 (2001): 372.

³⁸¹ “Principles of the transverse flute”.

³⁸² Hotteterre, Jacques-Martin, *Principes de la flûte traversière, ou flûte d’Allemagne, de la flûte à bec ou flûte douce, et du haut-bois, Divisez par traitez* (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1709), 44–46.

³⁸³ “Principles of the oboe, containing airs for two oboes without a bass”.

³⁸⁴ Rasch, Rudolf, ‘The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Saint-Hélène–Swaen’, 38.



Figure 7.2: Jan Steen's *Kinderen leren een poes dansen* (<1679).³⁸⁵

Artistic depictions of folk musicians provide a less formal overview on amateur music culture in the Republic. Jan Steen's (ca. 1626–1679) *Kinderen leren een poes dansen* (also known as *De dansles*)³⁸⁶ is an oil painting from early in the period of study, or earlier. Set with a homely backdrop, a girl accompanies a kitten's "dancing" on the shawm (Figure 7.2). She plays without a score, meaning it is likely that a known tune is being played, possibly one that may have appeared in a published collection of melodies.

Double-reed instruments were also used in outdoor folk settings. One example from 1705 shows a shawm accompanying outdoor dancing (see Figure 5.3.1).³⁸⁷ A 1716 example depicts several instruments fulfilling a similar function (Figure 7.3), including at least one double-reed instrument. As a relatively late example, the mix of left- and right-handed playing may be evidence that these musicians were not formally-educated.

³⁸⁵ Steen, Jan Havickszoon, *Kinderen Leren Een Poes Dansen, Bekend Als 'De Dansles'*, n.d., Oil on panel, 68.5 × 59 cm, n.d., Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.5502>.

³⁸⁶ Children teaching a kitten to dance; The Dance Lesson.

³⁸⁷ Ostade, Adriaen van, *Dansende boeren voor een herberg*.



Figure 7.3: Detail from the front matter of Jan van Gijsen's (1668–1722) songbook, *Het vermaaklyk*

Buitenleven, of de Zingende en Speelende Boerenvreugd (1716).³⁸⁸

The image's accompanying poem by "A. v. H." refers to a sweet sound being sung, accompanied by a transverse flute and "Hoboön". The fourth verse of "Bedelmans Lied"³⁸⁹ in the songbook refers to dance music played by violins, flutes, an oboe, and a bass instrument.³⁹⁰ Along with the pastoral terminology discussed in Chapter 3, there was certainly an association of shawms and oboes with the outdoors, specifically in an amateur sense.

Summary

The *collegia musica* of the Republic were responsible for producing both amateur and professional music. Several composers connected to the Amsterdam Schouwburg — namely Anders, Desrosiers, de Konink, and Rosier — published music in the period of study appropriate for amateur double-reed players. Aside from these local works,

³⁸⁸ "The easy outdoor life, or the Singing and Playing Peasant Joy".

Gijsen, Jan van, *Het vermaaklyk Buitenleven, of de Zingende en Speelende Boerenvreugd* (Haarlem: Hermanus van Hulkenroy, 1716).

³⁸⁹ "Beggar's Song".

³⁹⁰ Gijsen, Jan van, *Het vermaaklyk Buitenleven*, 42.

arrangements of Lully's tragédies were evidently popular, given that they were published numerous times over almost the entire period of study, with an open instrumentation. With the international reach of Roger's publishing house, the residents of the Republic were able to purchase scores from a variety of composers, including an oboe band piece by Müller. Some works published by Roger do not necessarily include indications for being appropriate to play on double-reed instruments but are sometimes placed in double-reed-inclusive categories in the publishing house's catalogues. This is also the case for a work by Rosier which may be appropriate for oboe band. Aside from more formal music, Roger published several volumes of popular melodies, described as being suitable for any (treble) instrument. These melodies may have been the musical basis for outdoor folk gatherings found in iconography. As these folk melody publications are all monodic, it is not currently possible to determine how these melodies would be played by several musicians in a performance; that is, whether there would be any harmonisation or accompaniment.

Chapter 8: In the Church

As mentioned in Chapter 5.3, shawms sometimes had sacred connotations in stage works. Poetry and songs of the period are no different, such as in Cornelis van Eeke's songbook, *De Koninklyke Harp-Liederen*³⁹¹ (1698). Four songs in this collection refer to double-reed instruments, two with religious imagery. Number 98 claims that the one could be stirred to sing along with shawms and shrill flutes. This is followed by a booming trumpet blown at the sight of God. Number 118 instructs to play shawm and flute to sound God's praise above all.³⁹²

François Halma's self-published *Davids Harpzangen*³⁹³ (1707) features a song based on the text of Psalm 68. The twelfth stanza of the song refers to a procession of God into a sanctuary where flutes and shawms are playing.³⁹⁴

The second stanza of "Laudate Dominum in Sanctis"³⁹⁵ from Jan van Hoogstraten's (1662–1736) *Zedezangen En Stigtelyke Liederen*³⁹⁶ (1708) refers to unusual instrumental combinations, including "hoboos, en cytersnaar".³⁹⁷ The instruments listed in this stanza are supposed to praise God all around.³⁹⁸

Hubert Korneliszoon Poot's (1689–1733) poem, "Op de voortreflyke muzykoefening van den heere Dirk Schol, orgel- en klokspeler der Nieuwe Kerk te Delf",³⁹⁹

³⁹¹ "The Royal Harp Songs".

³⁹² Van Eeke, Cornelis, *De Koninklyke Harp-Liederen* (Amsterdam: Cornelis van Hogenhuysen, 1698), 331, 393.

³⁹³ "David's Harp Songs".

³⁹⁴ Halma, François, *Davids Harpzangen* (Amsterdam: François Halma, 1707), 226–27.

³⁹⁵ "Praise the Lord in His holiness".

³⁹⁶ "Hymns and Spiritual Songs".

³⁹⁷ "Oboes and cittern".

³⁹⁸ Hoogstraten, Jan van, *Zedezangen En Stigtelyke Liederen* (Gouda: Lucas Kloppenburg, 1708), 111.

³⁹⁹ "To the continuing music practice of Mr Dirk Schol, organ and carillon of the Nieuwe Kerk in Delf".

references several instruments (bass [violin?], fiddle, harpsichord, flutes, shawms, and brass instruments) and singing. These instruments are not described as one instrumental group, but are described as producing a Godly sound altogether.⁴⁰⁰ Given that the poem concerns a church musician, the shawm inherits a Christian association both by its very mention and by being said to produce a Godly sound. Another poem from the same collection, *Mars en Venus beddepraet*,⁴⁰¹ also has religious overtones, referring to shawms in association with “heiligh kerkgebaer”⁴⁰² and hymns.⁴⁰³

These religious ties are not isolated incidents, given that there are relatively sufficient examples to demonstrate a general cultural association between double-reed instruments and Christian worship; but this did not necessarily reflect reality. Music played only a minor role in the Republic’s main churches due to the overwhelming presence of Calvinist culture and the Reformed Church. The little music that was being performed was restricted largely to vocal and organ music.⁴⁰⁴ Music with other instruments took place in only four of Amsterdam’s 61 Catholic churches in 1656.⁴⁰⁵

An undated eighteenth-century document details the use of the oboe in the collegium musicum of the Begijnhof’s *schuilkerk* in Amsterdam.⁴⁰⁶ In a complicated arrangement, Bregje Jacobs was the cantor and was replaced by Ariaan Reijerse when she was unavailable. Reijerse was also expected to play the oboe, at least until Ariaan

⁴⁰⁰ Poot, Hubert Korneliszon, *Mengeldichten* (Rotterdam: Arnold Willis, 1716), 35.

⁴⁰¹ “Mars and Venus talking in bed”.

⁴⁰² “Sacred church mannerisms”.

⁴⁰³ Poot, Hubert Korneliszon, *Mengeldichten*, 49.

⁴⁰⁴ Rasch, Rudolf, *Muziek in de Republiek*, 76–77.

⁴⁰⁵ Rasch, Rudolf, 113.

⁴⁰⁶ A “clandestine church”, where religious minorities were allowed to practice.

Albertse would be able to play (alone). No one would be allowed to begin singing before the oboe “intoned”, or else they would be fined one *stuiver*.⁴⁰⁷

One major piece of iconography of the *kleine schalmei* is Gerard de Lairesse’s (1641–1711) 1686 artwork on the *rugwerk*⁴⁰⁸ organ shutters of the Westerkerk in Amsterdam (Figure 8). Other oboe-like instruments are also painted, but there is no evidence to suggest that these instruments ever played in the Westerkerk. Moreover, in the second volume of de Lairesse’s book, *Het Groot Schilderboek* (1707), does not seem to indicate any particular accuracy regarding instrumental combinations and the setting of the painting — though it does suggest to include the reed of the oboe or bassoon.⁴⁰⁹



Figure 8: The *rugwerk* organ shutters in Amsterdam’s Westerkerk (1686), painted by Gerard de Lairesse, featuring a *kleine schalmei* and several other oboe-like instruments.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁷ ‘Order waar naar de zangers en zangsters zig zullen reguleren, op de boete als volgt’ (Amsterdam, n.d.), 1, File 1.2.3 (Het Begijnhof, Stukken Betreffende Bijzondere Onderwerpen, Personeel), Document 81, Archief van het Begijnhof, Amsterdam: Stadsarchief Amsterdam, 740.

⁴⁰⁸ More commonly known by the German term, “Rückpositiv”.

⁴⁰⁹ De Lairesse, Gerard, *Groot Schilderboek* (Amsterdam: Hendrick Desbordes, 1712), 265–66.

⁴¹⁰ De Lairesse, Gerard, *Het Interieur van de Westerkerk: Beschilde Deuren van Het Rugpositief Opgesteld Tegen Een Der Muren Onder Het Orgel (Links)*, 1686, Organ shutter, 1686, Amsterdam: Westerkerk.

De Lairesse, Gerard, *Het Interieur van de Westerkerk: Beschilde Deuren van Het Rugpositief Opgesteld Tegen Een Der Muren Onder Het Orgel (Rechts)*, 1686, Organ shutter, 1686, Amsterdam: Westerkerk.

© Martin Alberts 1978.

The lack of an established culture of double-reed instruments playing in churches does not instil confidence in the reliability of the fictional portrayals of their inclusion in sacred rituals. Despite this, the instruments' association with Christian spectacle cannot be denied, even if it is only the case in works of fiction.

Summary

Due to the tremendously Calvinist culture of the Republic, there are very few examples of double-reed instruments actually participating in sacred contexts within the period of study. Regardless, double-reed instruments — principally shawms — are portrayed in works of fiction as instruments appropriate for Christian worship. Unfortunately, there is only one (undated) example of a double-reed instrument being used as part of a church service, at the Begijnhof schuilkerk. It seems that the oboe plays a major role in this church, with members of the church being fined for singing before the oboe has played. The rugwerk organ of Amsterdam's Westerkerk depicts several oboe-like instruments on its shutters, but there is no evidence to suggest that such instruments participated in services of the Westerkerk.

Chapter 9: Commentary on Repertoire

9.1 For the Kleine Schalmei

Without any historical sources that discuss the performance practice of using the kleine schalmei, it is difficult to discern what repertoire is appropriate for the instrument, both from a practical and historical approach. Possible instrumental combinations can be discerned from iconography, whereby the instrument is depicted alongside other instruments. Two similar artworks (Figures 9.1.1 and 9.1.2) by Gerard de Lairese from 1670 depict a kleine schalmei on the ground while putti play a violin, a traverso, some other kind of shawm, and a dulcian, all conducted by another putto holding some sheet music. But this (as well as Figure 8) combined with the knowledge that de Lairese does not advocate for accurate reflections of real-life instrumental combinations,⁴¹¹ does not mean that this combination is indicative of actual performance practice.

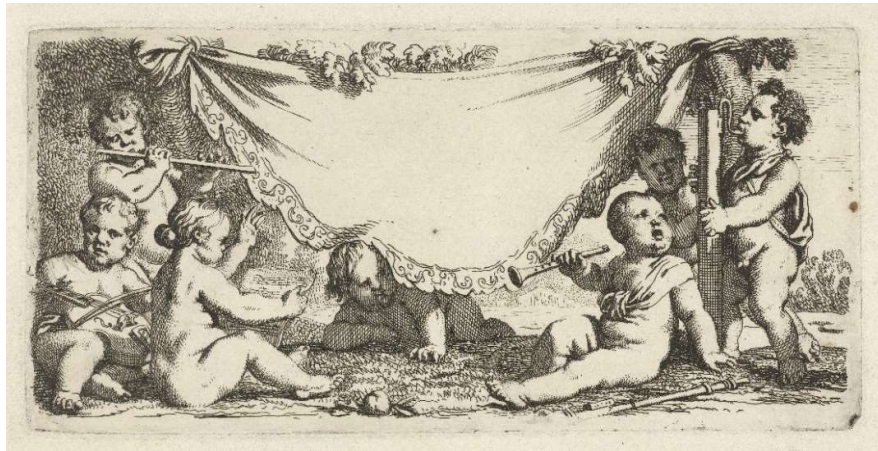


Figure 9.1.1: Gerard de Lairese's *Musicerende putti*⁴¹² (1670).⁴¹³

⁴¹¹ De Lairese, Gerard, *Groot Schilderboek*, 265–66.

⁴¹² “Musical putti”.

⁴¹³ De Lairese, Gerard, *Musicerende Putti*, 1670, Etching on paper, 8.4 × 17.3 cm, 1670, Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.134972>.



Figure 9.1.2: Gerard de Lairese's *Musicerende putti met Pegasus*⁴¹⁴ (1670).⁴¹⁵

An undated sketch by Jacob de Wit (1695–1754) is another example of putti with a *kleine schalmei* (Figure 9.1.3). Just like these two de Lairese examples, the *kleine schalmei* is not being played, but it is paired with a *traverso*.



Figure 9.1.3: *Allegorie op het Gezicht en het Gehoor*⁴¹⁶ (n.d.) by Jacob de Wit.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁴ “Musical putti with Pegasus”.

⁴¹⁵ De Lairese, Gerard, *Musicerende Putti Met Pegasus*, 1670, Etching on paper, 8.4 × 17.3 cm, 1670, Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.134973>.

⁴¹⁶ “Allegory of Sight and Hearing”.

⁴¹⁷ De Wit, Jacob, *Allegorie op het Gezicht en het Gehoor*, n.d., Pencil on paper, 21.3 × 14.2 cm, n.d., Weimar: Stiftung Weimarer Klassik und Kunstsammlungen, <https://research.rkd.nl/nl/detail/https%3A%2F%2Fdata.rkd.nl%2Fimages%2F200126>.

A different kind of shawm is pictured in de Lairese's *Cadmus doodt de draak* (Figure 9.1.4).⁴¹⁸ This artwork is featured on the cover of an arrangement of sections from Lully's *Cadmus et Hermione*, titled *Ouverture avec tous les airs à jouer de l'opéra de Cadmus*⁴¹⁹ (1682), published by Johan Philip Heus (d. 1714). It has been described as being similar to the *kleine schalmei*,⁴²⁰ but aside from the short bell, it bears little resemblance as it has no key, nor fontanelle, nor any visible similar turning or metalwork.



Figure 9.1.4: Detail from *Cadmus doodt de draak* (1682), by Gerard de Lairese.⁴²¹

Heus published an arrangement of Lully's *Phaëton* in 1683, with the title page (Figure 9.1.5) depicting both a *kleine schalmei* (right) and two shawm-like instruments (left).⁴²² The argument that shawms would be appropriate for a piece (for example, the Anders pieces in Chapter 7), becomes trivial when Lully's arrangements are brought into question. There is no evidence to support the use of shawms in Lully's original tragédies,

⁴¹⁸ "Cadmus slays the dragon".

⁴¹⁹ "Overture [suite] with all the airs [pieces] for playing from the opera *Cadmus*".

⁴²⁰ Post, Nora, 'The 17th-Century Oboe Reed', 56–57.

⁴²¹ De Lairese, Gerard, *Cadmus doodt de draak; Titelpagina voor Johan Philip Heus's Ouverture avec tous les airs de L'opera de Cadmus*, 1682, Etching on paper, 16 × 19 cm, 1682, Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.134975>.

⁴²² *Titelpagina voor Johan Philip Heus's Ouverture avec tous les airs de violon de L'opera de Phaeton*, 1683, Etching on paper, 16 × 20 cm, 1683, London: British Library.

as it seems that oboes were regularly used in Lully's works from 1670 (after a period of six years without any "hautbois" writing).⁴²³ As there are no written sources on the performance practice of the *kleine schalmei* and every depiction of the *kleine schalmei* in iconography utilises it in a purely decorative manner, there is no justification to use it in pieces where it is pictured on the cover page.⁴²⁴



Figure 9.1.5: Title page of *Ouverture avec tous les airs de violons de l'opera de Phaëton* (1683).⁴²⁵

Anders's *Symphoniæ introductoriæ*, Op. 2 (see Chapter 7) has been recorded on two *kleine schalmeien*,⁴²⁶ on the basis of there being a *kleine schalmei* depicted on the cover of Anders's *Trioos*, Op. 1 (see Figure 7.1).⁴²⁷ As would be the case with Heus's

⁴²³ Haynes, Bruce, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 124.

⁴²⁴ Athayde Santos, Luis Tasso, 'The Context and Repertoire of Richard Haka's *Kleine Schalmei*'.

⁴²⁵ *Titelpagina voor Johan Philip Heus's Ouverture avec tous les airs de violon de L'opera de Phaëton*.

⁴²⁶ Les Corsaires du Roy and Frank, Elsa, *Die Deutsche Schalmei Ou La Naissance Du Hautbois Baroque*, tracks 19–21.

⁴²⁷ Elsa Frank and Jérémie Papasergio, personal comments.

arrangement of Lully's *Phaëton*, it is uncritical to determine a piece's instrumentation purely based on the title page artwork of the work, let alone that of a different work.

The only other documented commercial recording which uses a *kleine schalmei* is one of Arcangelo Corelli's (1653–1713) *Sonata con Aboé, et Violini, Anh. 14*.⁴²⁸ This work is an arrangement of Corelli's *Sonata, WoO 4* for trumpet, strings, and continuo, transposed from D major to C major. The authorship of the arrangement is not certainly of Corelli, surviving only as a manuscript copy, never published.⁴²⁹ The supposed reason for using the *kleine schalmei* for this recording was because of the fact that Roger published several of Corelli's works in Amsterdam.⁴³⁰ However, by the time Roger was publishing in Amsterdam,⁴³¹ the oboe had already been introduced to the Republic. There is also no evidence that the manuscript made its way to the Republic and, regardless, the work was never published. There is, therefore, no historical reason for the work to be considered appropriate for the *kleine schalmei*, even if the part fits the range of the instrument.

9.2 For Oboe Band

Oboe band repertoire of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was seldom explicitly written as being for an exact set-up.⁴³² As information which would normally be

⁴²⁸ Musica Gloria, Paganini, Beniamino, and Vertommen, Nele, *Encounters in Rome*, Compact Disk (Etcetera Records, 2023), tracks 15–19.

⁴²⁹ Pavanello, Agnese, 'Corelli "inedito": composizioni dubbie o senza numero d'opera. Percorsi tra fonti, attribuzioni e fortuna della trasmissione', in *Arcomelo 2013: Studi nel terzo centenario della morte di Arcangelo Corelli (1653-1713)*, ed. Olivieri, Guido and Vanscheeuwijck, Marc (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2015), 403.

⁴³⁰ Nele Vertommen, personal communication.

⁴³¹ Roger was an apprentice under Pointel and Jean-Louis de Lorme 1691–1695, and was publishing alone by 1697.

Pogue, Samuel, 'Roger, Estienne', in *Grove Music Online*, ed. Rasch, Rudolf, 2001, <https://www-1oxfordmusiconline-1com-1000008ft05a4.han.kug.ac.at/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000023665>.

⁴³² Owens, Samantha, 'Seminar 2'.

indicative of oboe band repertoire is not as present in the Republic as it is for music abroad (for example; court double-reed culture, military oboe bands, and surviving repertoire), it is difficult to determine which works were certainly played by oboe bands, regardless whether the work was appropriate or prescribed for double-reed instruments. There is only one publication in Appendix A which directly prescribes a band of double-reed instruments, Müller's *12 Sonates à un hautbois de concert* (Figure 9.2). There are two instrumentations given for this work; solo oboe (G2, C₄–C₆), two violins or ripieno oboes (G2, C₄–B₅/A₅), viola or “taille” (presumably tenor oboe; C3, G₃–D₅), and two figured bass parts (bassoon and harpsichord or bass violin on the cover, but “organo” and violoncello in the header; F4, B₁–E₄). These sonatas are well-written for oboe band, with the parts never going outside of the range of the prescribed instruments — unlike Rosier's *Quatorze Sonate* and some arrangements of Lully's tragédies — to the extent that the bass part has a B-flat in the twelfth sonata, making it more appropriate for the wind option (bassoon) than the string option (violoncello).⁴³³

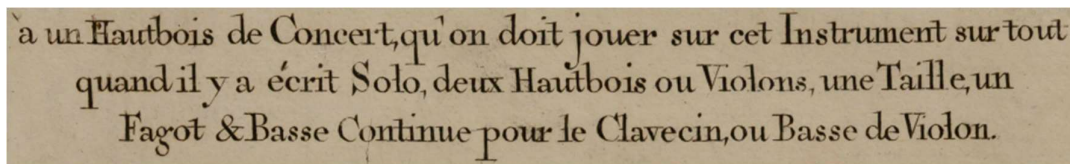


Figure 9.2: The cover page of Müller's *12 Sonates*, describing the instrumentation.⁴³⁴

Rosier's *Quatorze Sonate*, despite being referred to as an oboe band piece in Roger's catalogues 1712 and later,⁴³⁵ has no indication in the score that it can be

⁴³³ If a bass violin were to be used, this B-flat would be possible to play as the lowest open string.

⁴³⁴ “For one *concertante* oboe, two oboes or violins, a taille, a bassoon & basso continuo for the harpsichord, or bass violin.”

Müller, Johann Michael, *XII Sonates* (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, n.d.).

⁴³⁵ Roger, Estienne, *Catalogue*, 1712, 26.

performed in that setting. The first edition's use of the singular "le haubois", even if unintended, implies that only one oboe can be used.⁴³⁶ With the unclear indication of "les haubois" in the second edition,⁴³⁷ it is ambiguous to a performer whether the work is entirely for oboe band without having first read a catalogue which includes the statement "ou tous Hautbois". Therefore, while it may be appropriate to perform the piece in an oboe band setting, it is not immediately clear to the performers that that could be an option.

Of the several works with open instrumentation published in Amsterdam, none specify the possible instrumentation of a family of double-reed instruments. Regardless, the art on the oboe stamped "W: BEUKERS" (see Figure 4.2) depicts two descant oboes, a tenor oboe, and a bassoon playing from partbooks,⁴³⁸ meaning that this combination of instruments may have been present in the Republic. But there are no four-part works for an open instrumentation, aside from several arrangements of Lully's works. It is difficult to say what other repertoire would have been appropriate for this instrumentation, especially as there are no surviving examples of pieces from a court or military regiment within the period of study which would fit this four-part oboe band setup.

The four-part arrangements of Lully's works are generally suitable for the oboe band setup depicted on the "W: BEUKERS" oboe; however, there are a few instances of the parts' ambitus being too wide for the oboes of the period. In any case, these arrangements suit a violin band better than an oboe band, including the publications which are said to be for all sorts of instruments rather than being "airs de violons",⁴³⁹ for example. Nevertheless, there still plenty of movements and entire suites which are,

⁴³⁶ Rosier, Carl, *Quatorze Sonate Pour les Violons et le Hautbois*.

⁴³⁷ Rosier, Carl, *Quatorse Sonates Pour les Violons et les Hautbois*.

⁴³⁸ Victoria and Albert Museum, 'Oboe, ca. 1700'.

⁴³⁹ "Airs for violins".

indeed, suitable for a four-part oboe band — though, arguably, not as intrinsically written for double-reed instruments as Müller’s *12 Sonates*.

9.3 By Quirinus van Blankenburg

A collection of music by Quirinus van Blankenburg was written for Friedrich Ludwig, Hereditary Prince of Württemberg (1698–1731) for his visit to The Hague in the years 1713–1715. Friedrich Ludwig became a harpsichord pupil of van Blankenburg in this time and was provided a manuscript of his, consisting of various pieces for the Hereditary Prince’s enjoyment.⁴⁴⁰ One of the works copied by van Blankenburg is an aria for two voices, “Son guerriero”, from the opera, *Il Padre parziale*. The music is possibly by Johann Hugo von Wilderer (ca. 1670–1724) and premiered at the court theatre of John William II, Elector Palatine (1658–1716, r. 1690–1716) in Düsseldorf in 1707, possibly reaching van Blankenburg through the van Wassenaer family.⁴⁴¹ While the original is scored with oboe(s)⁴⁴² and strings (Figure 9.3.1), the version copied by van Blankenburg does not have any instrumental parts (Figure 9.3.2). This is made more peculiar by the fact that other works in the collection *do* have instrumental parts. Aside from this, there are very few changes to the work, such as slight rhythmic alterations and some additional figures for the bass. Ironically, van Blankenburg titles his copy “Aria con stromenti”.⁴⁴³ Another example of his arrangements of double-reed music is his harpsichord arrangement of a

⁴⁴⁰ Verhagen, Reinier Franciscus, ‘Quirinus en de andere Van Blankenburgs: Drie generaties musici in de zeventiende en eerste helft van de achttiende eeuw’ (Doctor of Theology, Kampen, Theologische Universiteit van de Gereformeerde Kerken, 2019), 228, 232.

⁴⁴¹ Verhagen, Reinier Franciscus, 331–32.

⁴⁴² Possibly two oboes, doubling the violins, as there are other parts of the opera with two oboes.

⁴⁴³ “Aria with instruments”.

five-part march for two oboes, two horns, and bassoon by Johann Georg Christian Störl (1675–1719),⁴⁴⁴ found in *Clavierbuch des Friedrich Ludwig*.⁴⁴⁵



Figure 9.3.1: The opening system of the original “Son guerriero” (1707) with indications for “VV e Haub”.⁴⁴⁶



Figure 9.3.2: The opening system of van Blankenburg’s copy of “Son guerriero”, “Aria con strumenti” (ca.

1713).⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁴ For biographical data, see Thomas, Günter, ‘Störl, Johann Georg Christian’, in *Grove Music Online*, 2001, <https://www-1oxfordmusiconline-1com-1000008iu000a.han.kug.ac.at/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000026871>.

⁴⁴⁵ “Friedrich Ludwig’s Keyboard Book”.

Verhagen, Reinier Franciscus, ‘Quirinus en de andere Van Blankenburgs’, 335.

⁴⁴⁶ Abbreviation for “violins and oboe(s)”.

‘Il Padre parziale: drama in tre atti’, 1707, 5r, Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España, M/2223–M/2225.

⁴⁴⁷ Van Blankenburg, Quirinus, ‘Sammelband Mit Französischen Solokantaten Und Trinkliedern, Tanzsätzen Und Italienischen Arien’, 1713–1714, 79, Rostock: Universitätsbibliothek Rostock, Mus. Saec. XVII.18-49.6-28.

Conclusion

This study has collated the known examples of double-reed activity in the period of study in the Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden in an attempt to craft a Dutch double-reed identity in a time of great organological developments. Beginning with the effects of French contact in 1677, the Republic began its shift towards not only French music, but to their instruments. The effect of Lully's *tragédies de musique* on the Dutch musical landscape cannot be understated, forming the documentable beginnings of the French oboe in the Republic.

By evaluating the terminology used in the period, inconsistencies and contradictions within the pool of primary sources can be identified. Early on in the period of study (1685), the instrument maker Richard Haka categorised the double-reed instruments he made into the categories of German and French. As the period of study concerns period of time in which French woodwinds were likely first introduced to the Republic, it is only natural that irregularities would arise, but such issues with interpreting sources makes it more complicated to discern appropriate the instrumentation for certain works of the period. The *kleine schalmei* suffers greatly from this issue, without any clear terminology of the period to define it, with today's performers resorting to title page iconography as an excuse to use it for certain works. This study has posited an argument against this idea, providing observations of instrumental combinations which may suit the instrument as well as more typical shawms of the period.

The two principal terminology issues are the conflation of shawms with oboes and of shawms with chalumeaux. Although references to shawm-related words in fictional

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works decreases over time, the inclusion of them persists throughout the period of study. The use of oboe-related words is more ambiguous due to the fact that the French term, “hautbois”, can refer to several kinds of double-reed instruments, including shawms, oboes, and bassoons, making it a problematic exercise to determine which exact instruments are being referenced. This becomes clearer when sources refer to instruments as being French or German, or when imagery is used. Regardless of the ambiguous use of terminology, double-reed instruments can be found throughout the Republic in a variety of settings, with several works — both lost and surviving — prescribing double-reed instruments.

Despite the Republic’s courts of the period generally lacking in musical documentation — at least, in comparison to German-speaking regions and England — there were certainly double-reed instruments present in the courts of both The Hague and Leeuwarden. In The Hague, there was at least one instance of an oboe band being utilised for a court function, consisting of four oboes and two bassoons. After William III’s move to England, there is not much to say about musical activity in the court, aside from visits from prominent England-based double-reed players. Leeuwarden had three oboes and a bassoon since at least 1696, procured by Johannes Schenck. The court’s employment of composer and oboist Johann Christian Schickhardt led to Roger’s publication of several of his works for oboe, including a now-lost oboe method. Schickhardt’s relationship with Roger’s publishing house continued even after he left for Hamburg in 1711.

In the period of study, the two cities with relevant theatre troops were Amsterdam and The Hague. Very little original music survives from the Amsterdam Schouwburg, but

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the works of Lully were incredibly popular in both cities. As the Amsterdam Schouwburg's payment records almost never included the instruments played by each musician, it is only known that Coenraad Rijkel was playing "fagot", and that an oboe was certainly used for at least two performances. The Hague's theatre performances included French works not just by Lully, but also Destouches and Campra. All of the known French works from both theatres include indications for oboes.

The settings in which double-reed instruments are referred to in fictional works include pastoral scenes, outdoor dancing scenes, military scenes, and religious scenes. These settings are a reflection of the public perception of double-reed instruments, demonstrating the instruments' variety of roles in society. Interestingly, some of these fictional depictions include instruments from both the German and French traditions (as Haka described them). A subject of great interest is which non-double-reed instruments played alongside double-reed instruments. Works of fiction provide examples, principally of trumpets and/or drums. There are also examples of double-reed and string instruments playing together, but no concrete evidence of *bands* of trumpets, oboes, and violins as an ensemble.

While there are very few surviving names of military double-reed musicians in the Republic, they were certainly present. The predominant military ensemble in the Republic during the period of study was the trumpet band, though double-reed bands were also present early on in the period of study. This, as well as the fact that trumpet bands and double-reed bands were generally listed separately in documents, may imply that they served different roles, even within the same military regiment. Due to a lack of comprehensive primary sources, little can be said as to what exactly these musicians

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did; however, by the end of the eighteenth century, double-reed instruments played a more important role in the military culture of the Republic. The beginnings of this shift can be seen in the final years of the period of study, when double-reed instruments are mentioned more frequently in association with military regiments.

The greatest portion of known relevant repertoire is music for amateurs, mostly from Amsterdam-based publishers. As the operas of Lully were some of the most popular works in the Republic, it is unsurprising that so many instrumental arrangements of these operas were also produced — generally in three or four parts. Very few of these arrangements prescribe certain instruments, with the majority being for an open instrumentation. Of these arrangements for open instrumentation, almost all of them suit the ambiti of double-reed instruments. Aside from these Lully arrangements, only two sets of works are prescribed for double-reed band; one by Carl Rosier and one by Johann Michael Müller. There are also examples of amateurs playing double-reed instruments in iconography, probably playing well-known popular melodies.

Several works of fiction imply that there is a correlation between double-reed instruments (particularly shawms) and sacredness, often describing the instruments as appropriate for (Christian) worship. Ironically, the overwhelming cultural presence of the Reformed Church essentially prohibited music in churches, aside from vocal and organ music. The little which survives is one undated eighteenth-century document — which briefly refers to how the oboe was used in the Begijnhof's schuilkerk in Amsterdam — and several double-reed instruments painted on the shutters of the Westerkerk's rugwerk organ in Amsterdam.

Conclusion

While this study demonstrates the variety of settings in which double-reed instruments could be found in the Republic, it still cannot explain why so many Dutch oboes survive, aside from there being plenty of published music for amateurs to play. No other written historical references to the *kleine schalmei* have been found, meaning that there is no conclusive repertoire that is certainly intended for this instrument — only repertoire that was *not* intended for it. With the popularity of double-reed instruments rising throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century, the logical chronological continuation of this study would be to look into the sectors listed in this dissertation, principally the military and theatres. A deeper inquiry into Richard Haka's relationship with Sweden may also provide a greater insight into both Dutch and Swedish double-reed musicians in the early days of the dissemination of the French oboe.

Appendix A: List of Repertoire

This list consists of published works and manuscripts for double-reed instruments from the period of study. This includes works which were not published in the Republic, but were sold by Estienne Roger. Where applicable, the spelling of the title and publisher have been preserved as the original. Theatrical works from the Amsterdam Schouwburg have been included as they may have had a bassoon playing. Works with an open instrumentation have been included as being potentially suitable for double-reed instruments. Where possible, the type of flute — recorder or traverso — is listed. If the instrumentation does not specify which type of flute is prescribed, “flute” is written.

This section uses the RISM’s library sigla. An explanation of these sigla can be found at <https://rism.info/community/sigla.html>.

Composer	Title	Year	Publisher	Instrumentation	Library
Anonymous	Premier dessus a jouer de 12 opera pour la flute, le violon & le hautbois ⁴⁴⁸	n.d. ⁴⁴⁹			Lost
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Recueil de tous les plus beaux airs de l’opéra de Roland	1685	Amsterdam: Anthoine Pointel	“toutes sortes [...] d’Instruments”, ⁴⁵⁰ 2	F-BO I-Bc

⁴⁴⁸ Likely dessus partbook(s) for Heus and Pointel arrangements of Lully.

⁴⁴⁹ Advertised in the years 1698–1699.

Rasch, Rudolf, ‘The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: La Barre–Lully’, 87.

⁴⁵⁰ “All sorts of instruments”.

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				voices, basso continuo ⁴⁵¹	
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Les Airs de la tragédie d'Atys	1687	Amsterdam: Anthony Pointel	"all sorts / of Instruments"	F-BO F-Pn F-RS I-Bc
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Les airs de l'opera de Cadmus et d'Ermione	1687	Amsterdam: Anthoine Pointel	"toute sorte d'instruments"	I-Bc
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Temple de la Paix	ca. 1687 ⁴⁵²	Amsterdam: Antoine Pointel	2 dessus, basse	GB-Lbl ⁴⁵³
Anonymous	Premier recueil des dances et contre-dances	1688	Amsterdam: Antoine Pointel	Dessus, basso continuo	Lost
Anonymous	Deusiesme recuiel [sic] des dances et contre-dances	1688	Amsterdam: Antoine Pointel	"toutes sortes d'Instruments"	F-Pn
Desrosiers, Nicolas	Concerts	1688	Amsterdam: Antoine Pointel	"toutes sortes d'instruments" ⁴⁵⁴	Lost
Desrosiers, Nicolas	La fuite du Roi d'Angleterre	1688	Amsterdam: Anthony Pointel	2 flutes and bass violin or 2 violins and basso continuo ⁴⁵⁵	NL-At NL-DHnmi
Lully, Jean-Baptiste & Collasse, Pascal ⁴⁵⁶	Achille et Polyxène	1688	Amsterdam: Anthoine Pointel	Orchestra (tragédie)	B-Bc B-Br CDN-Tu

⁴⁵¹ Occasionally, there are two extra violin parts.

⁴⁵² Rasch, Rudolf, 'The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: La Barre-Lully', 75.

⁴⁵³ "Basse" part missing.

⁴⁵⁴ There are three known versions of this work, none of which prescribe oboe. See Chapter 7 and Rasch, Rudolf, 'The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: D'Alay-Duval', 15–16.

⁴⁵⁵ Listed in the category "Livres de pieces pour les Flûtes, les Hautbois & pour les violons à la Française a 3 & 4 parties" in Roger, Estienne, 'Catalogue', 1701, 1.

⁴⁵⁶ Lully wrote the first act and Collasse wrote the prologue and acts 2–5.

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					CH-Zjacobi D-Bsommer D-Dl D-HEms D-Hs D-Mbs F-AM F-Nm F-Pc F-RS GB-Lbl GB-Lcm GB-Lgc S-St US-CA US-Wc
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Les airs de la tragédie d'Armide	1688	Amsterdam: Anthony Pointel	"toutes sortes d'instruments"	Lost
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Les airs de la tragédie de Persée	1688	Amsterdam: Anthony Pointel	"all sorts of Instruments"	CDN-Lu F-G F-Pn GB-Lbl I-Bc
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Les airs de la tragédie du Triomphe de l'amour	1688	Amsterdam: Anthoni Pointel	"all sorts of Instruments"	CDN-Lu GB-Lbl NL-Dhnmi
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Les airs de la tragédie de Persée	1688	Amsterdam: Anthony Pointel	"all sorts / of Instruments"	CDN-Lu F-G F-Pn GB-Lbl

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					I-Bc
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Les airs de la tragédie du Triomphe de l'amour	1688	Amsterdam: Anthoni Pointel	“all sorts of Instruments”	CDN-Lu NL-DHnmi
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Les airs de l'opéra d'Acis et Galatée	ca. 1688	Amsterdam: Antoine Pointel	“toutes sortes d'instruments”	Lost
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Recueil de tous les airs à jouer sur le violon et sur la flûte de l'opéra d'Armide	ca. 1688	Amsterdam: Jean Stichter & Nicolas de Rosier	“violons et sur la flute”; ⁴⁵⁷ 2 dessus, basso continuo	S-Uu
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Les Aires de la tragédie de Proserpine	1689	Amsterdam: Anthony Pointel	“all sorts of Instruments”	F-Pn GB-Lbl
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Les airs de La grotte de Versailles et de La mascarade	1690	Amsterdam: Antoine Pointel	“toutes sortes d'instruments”	Lost
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Les trios des opéra [Book 1]	1690	Amsterdam: Amadée de Chevallier & P[ieter] & J[oa]n Blaeu	“la Flute, le Violon, & / autres Instruments”; ⁴⁵⁸ two dessus, basso continuo ⁴⁵⁹	D-Bsa D-Dl D-FU ⁴⁶⁰ F-Pa ⁴⁶¹ F-Pn ⁴⁶² GB-Lbl ⁴⁶³ GB-Ob ⁴⁶⁴ NL-Lu RUS-Mrg S-N

⁴⁵⁷ Page 5 contains a “Menuet pour les hautbois”.

⁴⁵⁸ “The Flute, the Violin, and / other Instruments”.

⁴⁵⁹ Listed in the category “Livres de pieces pour les Flûtes, les Hautbois & pour les violons à la Française a 3 & 4 parties” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1701, 1.

⁴⁶⁰ Basso continuo only.

⁴⁶¹ Dessus 2 only.

⁴⁶² Basso continuo missing.

⁴⁶³ Dessus 2 missing.

⁴⁶⁴ One full set and one set missing basso continuo.

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					US-OX ⁴⁶⁵
Lully, Louis	Orphée	1690 ⁴⁶⁶	Paris: Christophe Ballard	Orchestra (tragédie)	B-Bc CDN-HNu D-Mbs D-Sl F-B F-Dc F-LYm F-Mc F-Pc ⁴⁶⁷ F-Pn ⁴⁶⁸ F-Po ⁴⁶⁹ F-Sim F-TLc F-V GB-Cfm GB-Lbl GB-Oharding GB-T S-Uu US-AUS US-BEm ⁴⁷⁰ US-Wc

⁴⁶⁵ Basso continuo only.

⁴⁶⁶ First advertised in the Republic in Roger, Estienne, 'Catalogue des Livres de Musique', in *Les Choses Memorables de Socrate*, by Xenophon (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1699), 9.

⁴⁶⁷ Three exemplars.

⁴⁶⁸ Two exemplars.

⁴⁶⁹ Two exemplars.

⁴⁷⁰ Incomplete exemplar.

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Lully, Jean-Baptiste	La passecaille d'Armide	ca. 1690	Amsterdam ⁴⁷¹	Three parts	Lost ⁴⁷²
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Les symphonies à 4 avec les airs et triots [sic] d'Alceste	ca. 1690	Amsterdam: A. Pointel	Dessus, haute-contre, taille, basse	A-Wn ⁴⁷³
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Les symphonies à 4 avec les airs et triots [sic] de Cadmus	ca. 1690	Amsterdam: A. Pointel	Dessus, haute-contre, taille, basse	A-Wn
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Les symphonies à 4 avec les airs et triots [sic] de Festes de l'amour et de Bacchus	ca. 1690	Amsterdam: A. Pointel	Dessus, haute-contre, taille, basse	A-Wn
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Les symphonies à 4 avec les les airs et triots de Phaëton	ca. 1690	Amsterdam: A. Pointel	Dessus, haute-contre, taille, basse	A-Wn
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Les symphonies à 4 avec les airs et troits [sic] de Psiché	ca. 1690	Amsterdam: A. Pointel	Dessus, haute-contre, taille, basse	A-Wn
Anonymous	Scelta delle più belle ariette e canzocine italiane	1691	Amsterdam: Amedée Le Chevallier	"Flauto, Violino, & altri Stromenti"; ⁴⁷⁴ voice, 2 dessus, basso continuo	GB-Lbl GB-Ob S-Uu
Gouy, Jacques de	Airs à quatre parties sur la Paraphrase des pseames de Godeau	1691	Amsterdam: Amedée Le Chevallier	Dessus, haute-contre, taille, "Bassecontre"	GB-Ge GB-Ob
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Les trios des opéra [Book 2]	1691	Amsterdam: Amadée de Chevallier &	"la Flute, le Violon, & / autres Instruments"; two	D-Dl D-FU ⁴⁷⁶ F-Pa ⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷¹ Either by Anointe Pointel or Nicolas Desrosiers.

Rasch, Rudolf, 'The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: La Barre-Lully', 47.

⁴⁷² Possibly reprinted in four parts in Estienne Roger's *Ouverture, chaconne et tous les airs à jouer de l'opéra d'Armide* (1709–1712).

⁴⁷³ Dessus only. This applies to all of *Les symphonies à 4* in A-Wn.

⁴⁷⁴ "Flute, Violin, and other Instruments."

⁴⁷⁶ Basso continuo part only.

⁴⁷⁷ One dessus only. Rasch, Rudolf, 'The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: La Barre-Lully' claims it is dessus 2 whereas RISM claims it is dessus 1.

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			P[ieter] & J[oa]n Blaeu	dessus, basso continuo ⁴⁷⁵	F-Pn ⁴⁷⁸ GB-DRc GB-Lbl GB-Ob NL-Lu RUS-Mrg ⁴⁷⁹ S-N US-OX ⁴⁸⁰
Rosier, Carl	Pièces choisies à la manière italienne	1691	Amsterdam: P[ieter] & J[oa]n Blaeu	“Propres à jouer sur le Flute, le Violon & autres Instruments”; ⁴⁸¹ 2 dessus, ⁴⁸² “basone”	F-Pn GB-Lbl ⁴⁸³ GB-Ob ⁴⁸⁴ NL-Lu
Du Buisson	Songs from Recueil d’airs nouveaux sérieux et à boire [Book 2]	1692	Amsterdam: Amadée Le Chevallier	Voice, dessus, ⁴⁸⁵ basso continuo	S-N
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Bellérophon	1692	Amsterdam: Amedée Le Chevallier	Orchestra (tragédie)	US-Wc

⁴⁷⁵ Listed in the category “Livres de pieces pour les Flûtes, les Hautbois & pour les violons à la Françoisise a 3 & 4 parties” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1701, 1.

⁴⁷⁸ Basso continuo missing.

⁴⁷⁹ Basso continuo missing.

⁴⁸⁰ Basso continuo only.

⁴⁸¹ “Suitable for playing on the Flute, the Violin, and other Instruments”.

⁴⁸² Prescribed for flutes in the partbooks.

⁴⁸³ Dessus 2 missing.

⁴⁸⁴ Dessus 2 missing.

⁴⁸⁵ Other books in this series list violin as the dessus, but this one does not.

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Various ⁴⁸⁶	Premier livre de trio des plus célèbres auteurs	1692	Amsterdam: Amedée Le Chevallier	“la Flute le Violon et autres Instruments”; 2 dessus, basse	B-Br
Desmarets, Henri	Didon	1693 ⁴⁸⁷	Paris: Christophe Ballard	Orchestra (tragédie)	B-Bc B-Br D-Tu F-Pa F-Pc F-Sim F-TLc F-V ⁴⁸⁸ GB-Lbl P-Mp S-Skma
Desmarets, Henri	Symphonies de la tragédie de Didon	1693 ⁴⁸⁹	Paris: Christophe Ballard	Orchestra (suite)	D-Tu F-Pa F-Pc F-V ⁴⁹⁰ GB-Lbl
Desmarets, Henri	Circe	1694	Paris: Christophe Ballard	Orchestra (tragédie)	A-Wn B-Bc B-Br D-AN

⁴⁸⁶ No composers known.

⁴⁸⁷ First advertised in the Republic by Pieter Mortier in 1711.

Rasch, Rudolf, ‘The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: D’Alay–Duval’, 19.

⁴⁸⁸ Two exemplars.

⁴⁸⁹ First advertised in the Republic in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1699, 9.

⁴⁹⁰ Two exemplars.

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					D-Mbs D-Sl F-B F-Pa F-Pc F-Pn F-Po F-TLc F-V GB-Cfm GB-Lbl GB-T NL-DHnmi RUS-Mk S-Smf S-Uu US-BEm US-NH US-Wc
Jacquet de la Guerre, Elisabeth-Claude	Cephale et Procris	1694 ⁴⁹¹	Paris: Christophe Ballard	Orchestra (tragédie)	B-Bc B-Br D-AN D-Mbs D-Sl D-Tu F-Pa F-Pc ⁴⁹²

⁴⁹¹ First advertised in the Republic in Roger, Estienne, 'Catalogue', 1702, 20.

⁴⁹² Two exemplars.

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					F-Pn ⁴⁹³ F-Po F-TLc ⁴⁹⁴ F-V GB-Cfm US-BEm
Desmarets, Henri	Les Amours de Momus	1695 ⁴⁹⁵	Paris: Christophe Ballard	Orchestra (ballet)	A-Wn F-Lm F-Pa F-Pc F-Pn F-Po F-Sc F-Sim F-TLc F-V GB-Lbl GB-Oharding PL-Kj US-BEm US-Cn US-NH US-Wc

⁴⁹³ Two exemplars.

⁴⁹⁴ Two exemplars.

⁴⁹⁵ First advertised in the Republic by Pieter Mortier in 1711.

Rasch, Rudolf, 'The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: D'Alay-Duval', 19.

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Desmarets, Henri	Théogène et Chariclée	1695 ⁴⁹⁶	Paris: Christophe Ballard	Orchestra (tragédie)	Lost
Konink, Servaas de	Trios [Op. 1, Book 1]	1695	Amsterdam: J. L. Delorme & E[stienne] Roger	“la Flute, le Violon, le Hautbois et toutes Sortes d’Instruments”; ⁴⁹⁷ 2 dessus, basso continuo	GB-DRc
Le Grand, Nicolas Ferdinand	Tweede deel der mengelzangen van Kornelis Sweerts	1695	Amsterdam: Kornelis Sweerts	“viool, fluit en andere instrumenten”; ⁴⁹⁸ voice, dessus, basso continuo	GB-Lbl NL-DHk
Lorenzani, Paolo	“Symphonie” from <i>Airs Italiens</i>	1695 ⁴⁹⁹	Paris: Christophe Ballard	2 dessus, basso continuo	A-Wn F-Pn
Anders, Hendrik	Trioos [Op. 1]	1696	Amsterdam: Hendrik Anders	2 violins, ⁵⁰⁰ basso continuo	NL-Lt
La Barre, Michel de	Pièces en trio [Book 1]	1696	Amsterdam: I. L. Delorme & E[stienne] Roger	“les Violons, flustes / et Haubois”; ⁵⁰¹ 2 dessus, basse	GB-DRc

⁴⁹⁶ First advertised in the Republic by Pieter Mortier in 1711.

Rasch, Rudolf, 20.

⁴⁹⁷ “The Flute, the Violin, the Oboe, and all Sorts of Instruments”.

⁴⁹⁸ “Violin, flute, and other instruments”.

⁴⁹⁹ First advertised in the Republic in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue des Livres de Musique’, in *Nouveau voyage du Nort*, by de La Martinière, Pierre Martin (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1698), 9.

⁵⁰⁰ This entry is included as the work’s second edition from 1697 may have been considered appropriate for oboes.

⁵⁰¹ “The Violins, flutes, / and Oboes”.

Appendix A: List of Repertoire

Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Balets de Lully	1696	Manuscript by Charles Babel in The Hague	2 dessus, haute-contre, taille, “b conc”, basso continuo	D-Hs ⁵⁰²
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Ouverture avec tous les airs à jouer de l'opéra du Triomphe de l'amour	1696	Amsterdam: D. L. and Estienne Roger	Unknown ⁵⁰³	Lost
Marais, Marin	Ariane et Bachus	1696 ⁵⁰⁴	Paris: Christophe Ballard	Orchestra (tragédie)	B-Br B-Earenberg CDN-HNu D-Mbs D-Sl F-LYm F-Pa F-Pc ⁵⁰⁵ F-Pn F-Po F-TLc F-V GB-Lbl ⁵⁰⁶ GB-Oharding US-NH US-Wc

⁵⁰² Haute-contre and basso continuo missing.

⁵⁰³ Listed in the category “Livres de pieces pour les Flûtes, les Hautbois & pour les violons à la Françoise a 3 & 4 parties” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1701, 1.

⁵⁰⁴ First advertised in the Republic in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1699, 9.

⁵⁰⁵ Three exemplars.

⁵⁰⁶ Two exemplars.

Appendix A: List of Repertoire

Le Quointe, Louis	Airs spirituels [Book 1] ⁵⁰⁷	1696 ⁵⁰⁸	Valenciennes: Gabriel-François Henry	“a 1. 2. 3 voix propres aussi pour les violons, les flutes, les hautbois, le clavessin et l’orgue en form de duo et de trio” ⁵⁰⁹	Lost
Various ⁵¹⁰	Duos Anglois de différents maîtres [Book 1]	1697	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 flutes or violins ⁵¹¹	Lost
Various ⁵¹²	Trios de Differents Autheurs, Choisis et mis en ordre par Mr. Babel [Book 1]	1697	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 dessus, basse ⁵¹³	GB-Dc D-W
Various ⁵¹⁴	Trios de différents auteurs	1697	Unknown ⁵¹⁵	“la flute, le violon &c.” ⁵¹⁶	Lost
Anders, Hendrik	Trioos [Op. 1]	1697	Utrecht: Klaas Klaase Knol ⁵¹⁷	2 dessus, basso continuo ⁵¹⁸	GB-DRc GB-Lbl

⁵⁰⁷ As the instrumentation for Book 2, also lost, is unknown, it is not known whether it would also be appropriate for double-reed instruments.

⁵⁰⁸ First advertised in the Republic in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1702, 20.

⁵⁰⁹ “For one, two, or three voices, also suitable for violins, flutes, oboes, the harpsichord, and the organ in the form of duos and trios”.

⁵¹⁰ No composers known.

⁵¹¹ Listed in the category “Pieces à l’Angloise & à l’Italienne pour les Flûtes[,] les Hautbois & les Violons” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1701, 1.

⁵¹² Pascal Collasse, Jean-Claude Gillier, Jean-Baptiste Lully, “Maynon”.

⁵¹³ Listed in the category “Livres de pieces pour les Flûtes, les Hautbois & pour les violons à la Française a 3 & 4 parties” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1701, 1.

⁵¹⁴ No composers known.

⁵¹⁵ Possibly Amsterdam: Le Chevalier.

Rasch, Rudolf, ‘The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Taglietti–Trios’, July 2018, 32, <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/wp-content/uploads/sites/416/2018/07/Taglietti-Trios.pdf>.

⁵¹⁶ Listed in the category “Livres de pieces pour les Flûtes, les Hautbois & pour les violons à la Française a 3 & 4 parties” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1701, 1.

⁵¹⁷ A pseudonym used by Estienne Roger to get around needing the privilege of Holland and West-Flanders that Anders had to publish. Anders made a public complaint to notary Michiel Bockx on 23 March 1699 and Roger had to appear in court.

Rasch, Rudolf, ‘The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Abeille–Antoniotti’, 42.

⁵¹⁸ Listed as being for “toutes sortes d’instr[uments]” in the category “Livres de pieces pour les Flûtes, les Hautbois & pour les violons à la Française a 3 & 4 parties” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1701, 1.

Appendix A: List of Repertoire

Desmarets, Henri	Vénus et Adonis	1697 ⁵¹⁹	Paris: Christophe Ballard	Orchestra (tragédie)	A-Wn B-Bc CDN-Vu D-LEm D-ROu F-LYm F-Pa ⁵²⁰ F-Pc ⁵²¹ F-Pn ⁵²² F-Po F-TLc F-V ⁵²³ GB-Lbl ⁵²⁴ GB-Lcm GB-Oharding NL-DHnmi S-Smf US-BEm US-Cn US-NYp US-Wc
Konink, Servaas de	Athalie [Op. 3]	1697	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Orchestra (tragédie)	F-Pc NL-Dhnmi

⁵¹⁹ First advertised in the Republic in Roger, Estienne, 'Catalogue', 1699, 9.

⁵²⁰ Four exemplars.

⁵²¹ Three exemplars, one of which is incomplete.

⁵²² Three exemplars.

⁵²³ Two exemplars.

⁵²⁴ Two exemplars.

Appendix A: List of Repertoire

La Coste, Louis de	Aricie	1697 ⁵²⁵	Paris: Christophe Ballard	Orchestra (ballet)	A-Wn B-Br D-Mbs F-Pa F-Pc F-Pn ⁵²⁶ F-Po F-Sim F-TLc F-V GB-Lbl ⁵²⁷ US-Wc
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Ouverture avec tous les airs à jouer de l'opéra de Phaëton	1697	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 dessus, taille, basse ⁵²⁸	GB-Lbl RUS-Mrg
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Les trios des opéra [Book 1]	1697	Paris: Christophe Ballard ⁵²⁹	“Propres à chanter, & à jouer sur la Flute, le Violon, & autres Instruments”; 2 dessus, basse ⁵³⁰	GB-DRc GB-Lbl ⁵³¹ GB-Ob GB-Och RUS-Mrg

⁵²⁵ First advertised in the Republic in Roger, Estienne, 'Catalogue', 1699, 9.

⁵²⁶ Two exemplars.

⁵²⁷ Two exemplars, one of which is incomplete.

⁵²⁸ Listed in the category “Livres de pieces pour les Flûtes, les Hautbois & pour les violons à la Françoisise a 3 & 4 parties” in Roger, Estienne, 'Catalogue', 1701, 1.

⁵²⁹ Supposedly, this is actually a publication by Estienne Roger in Amsterdam.

Rasch, Rudolf, 'The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: La Barre-Lully', 81–82.

⁵³⁰ “Suitable to be sung and to be played on the Flute, the violin, and other Instruments”. Listed in the category “Livres de pieces pour les Flûtes, les Hautbois & pour les violons à la Françoisise a 3 & 4 parties” in Roger, Estienne, 'Catalogue', 1701, 1.

⁵³¹ Dessus 2 only.

Appendix A: List of Repertoire

Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Les trios des opéra [Book 2]	1697	Paris: Christophe Ballard ⁵³²	“Propres à chanter, & à jouer sur la Flute, le Violon, & autres Instruments”; 2 dessus, basse ⁵³³	GB-DRc GB-Lbl ⁵³⁴ GB-Ob GB-Och RUS-Mrg
Marais, Marin	Pièces en trio	1697	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	“Flutes, Violons, & Dessus de Viole” ⁵³⁵	D-W
Montéclair, Michel- Pignolet de	Sérénade	1697 ⁵³⁶	Paris: Christophe Ballard	“violons, flûtes & haut-bois”; 2 dessus, basse	A-Wn ⁵³⁷ F-LYm F-Pn
Rosier, Carl	Quatorze Sonate	1697	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger Utrecht: Estienne Tabuteau	3 dessus, ⁵³⁸ haute- contre, basse, basso continuo	GB-Ckc GB-Lbl S-Uu US-BEm
Anonymous	Toutes les contredances angloises [Book 1]	1698	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Unknown ⁵³⁹	
Anonymous	Toutes les contredances angloises [Book 2]	1698	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Unknown ⁵⁴⁰	

⁵³² Supposedly, this is actually a publication by Estienne Roger in Amsterdam.

Rasch, Rudolf, ‘The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: La Barre–Lully’, 86–87.

⁵³³ Listed in the category “Livres de pieces pour les Flûtes, les Hautbois & pour les violons à la Françoisise a 3 & 4 parties” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1701, 1.

⁵³⁴ Dessus 2 only, pages 1–8 missing.

⁵³⁵ Listed in the category “Livres de pieces pour les Flûtes, les Hautbois & pour les violons à la Françoisise a 3 & 4 parties” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1701, 1.

⁵³⁶ First advertised in the Republic in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1699, 9.

⁵³⁷ Two exemplars of dessus 1 and one exemplar of dessus 2. Basse missing.

⁵³⁸ Two violins and one trumpet or oboe.

⁵³⁹ Listed in the category “Pieces à l’Angloise & à l’Italienne pour les Flûtes[,] les Hautbois & les Violons” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1701, 1.

⁵⁴⁰ Listed in the category “Pieces à l’Angloise & à l’Italienne pour les Flûtes[,] les Hautbois & les Violons” in Roger, Estienne, 1.

Appendix A: List of Repertoire

Anonymous	Nouvelles contredances angloises (Toutes les contredances angloises [Book 3])	1698	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Unknown ⁵⁴¹	
Finger, Gottfried; Courteville, Raphael; Paisible, James	Quatorse Sonates	1698	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 flutes ⁵⁴²	US-Wc
Various ⁵⁴³	Trios de Differents Autheurs, Choisis et mis en ordre par Mr. Babel [Book 2]	1698	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 dessus, basse ⁵⁴⁴	GB-Dc D-W
Desmarets, Henri	Les fêtes galantes	1698 ⁵⁴⁵	Paris: Christophe Ballard	Orchestra (ballet)	F-Lm F-Pa F-Pc ⁵⁴⁶ F-Pn F-Po F-TLc F-V GB-Lbl US-BEm US-Wc
Finger, Gottfried & Keller, Gottfried	Six sonates	1698	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 flutes or violins, 2 oboes or violins, basso continuo	S-Uu

⁵⁴¹ Listed in the category “Pieces à l’Angloise & à l’Italienne pour les Flûtes[,] les Hautbois & les Violons” in Roger, Estienne, 1.

⁵⁴² Listed in the category “Pieces à l’Angloise & à l’Italienne pour les Flûtes[,] les Hautbois & les Violons” in Roger, Estienne, 1.

⁵⁴³ Anonymous, Jean-Baptiste Lully, André Danican Philidor.

⁵⁴⁴ Listed in the category “Livres de pieces pour les Flûtes, les Hautbois & pour les violons à la Française a 3 & 4 parties” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1701, 1.

⁵⁴⁵ First advertised in the Republic in ‘Estienne Roger’, *Gazette d’Amsterdam*, 7 November 1701, sec. Advertentie.

⁵⁴⁶ Two exemplars.

Appendix A: List of Repertoire

Konink, Servaas de	Trioos [Op. 4, Book 2]	1698	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	“fluiten, hautbois en violen”; 2 dessus, basse	GB-DRc
Konink, Servaas de	12 Sonates [Op. 5]	1698	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	“1 fluste, violon ou hautbois & 1 B. Continue”	Lost
Konink, Servaas de	12 Sonates [Op. 6]	1698	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	“2 flustes[,] violons ou hautbois” ⁵⁴⁷	Lost
Purcell, Daniel	Six sonates or solos	1698	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	“three for a violin and three for the flute with a through-basse for the harpsichord” ⁵⁴⁸	Lost
Various ⁵⁴⁹	Ouvertures, sonates et airs	1699	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 flutes ⁵⁵⁰	Lost
Various ⁵⁵¹	VI Sonates de differents maitres Italiens & Anglois [Book 1]	1699	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Flute or violin, basso continuo ⁵⁵²	Lost
Various ⁵⁵³	Six sonates de differents maîtres Italiens et Anglois	1699	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	“flûtes ou violons”; 2 dessus ⁵⁵⁴	Lost

⁵⁴⁷ Likely the same music as de Konink’s Op. 5, but with the basso continuo part transposed up at least one an octave.

Rasch, Rudolf, ‘The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Keller–Kühnel’, 11.

⁵⁴⁸ Listed in the category “Pieces à l’Angloise & à l’Italienne pour les Flûtes[,] les Hautbois & les Violons” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1701, 1.

⁵⁴⁹ “Barret”, Gottfried Finger, “Nicola”, “Simon”, “Walther”.

⁵⁵⁰ Listed in the category “Pieces à l’Angloise & à l’Italienne pour les Flûtes[,] les Hautbois & les Violons” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1701, 1.

⁵⁵¹ No composers known.

⁵⁵² Listed in the category “Pieces à l’Angloise & à l’Italienne pour les Flûtes[,] les Hautbois & les Violons” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1701, 1.

⁵⁵³ No composers known.

⁵⁵⁴ Listed in the category “Pieces à l’Angloise & à l’Italienne pour les Flûtes[,] les Hautbois & les Violons” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1701, 1.
Likely the same music as the 1699 sonatas for dessus and bass but with the bass part transposed up at least one an octave.

Appendix A: List of Repertoire

Destouches, André-Cardinal	Marthésie, première reine des Amazones	1699 ⁵⁵⁵	Paris: Christophe Ballard	Orchestra (tragédie)	A-Wn B-Bc D-B D-Mbs D-ROu D-Sl D-WINTj F-AG F-AM F-B F-Dc F-G F-Lm F-Mc F-Pa ⁵⁵⁶ F-Pc ⁵⁵⁷ F-Pn ⁵⁵⁸ F-Po ⁵⁵⁹ F-TLc F-V ⁵⁶⁰ GB-Lbl GB-Oharding GB-T NL-DHnmi
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⁵⁵⁵ First advertised in the Republic in Roger, Estienne, 'Catalogue', 1702, 20.

⁵⁵⁶ Three exemplars.

⁵⁵⁷ Four exemplars.

⁵⁵⁸ Two exemplars.

⁵⁵⁹ Two exemplars, title page missing.

⁵⁶⁰ Two exemplars, one of which is incomplete.

Appendix A: List of Repertoire

					S-Skma S-Smf US-BEm US-Cn US-NH US-PRV US-Wc
Keller, Gottfried ⁵⁶¹	Sonatas nos. 6–8 from 8 <i>Sonates à 3 Parties</i>	1699	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Flute, violin or oboe, basso continuo ("Basso Continuo [sic] e Violoncello")	US-Wc
Lenton, John	Trios	1699	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Three parts ⁵⁶²	Lost
Purcell, Henry	Recueil d'airs à 4 parties tirez des opéra, tragédies et comedies [Book 1]	1699	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 dessus, taille, basse ⁵⁶³	S-Skma
Purcell, Henry	Recueil d'airs à 4 parties tirez des opéra, tragédies et comedies [Book 2]	1699	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 dessus, taille, basse ⁵⁶⁴	S-Skma
Rogers; Paisible, James; Corelli, Arcangelo ⁵⁶⁵	Huit sonates	1699	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 flutes ⁵⁶⁶	Lost ⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶¹ The remaining sonatas from this collection are by Robert Orme.

⁵⁶² Listed in the category "Livres de pieces pour les Flûtes, les Hautbois & pour les violons à la Française a 3 & 4 parties" in Roger, Estienne, 'Catalogue', 1701, 1.

⁵⁶³ Listed in the category "Livres de pieces pour les Flûtes, les Hautbois & pour les violons à la Française a 3 & 4 parties" in Roger, Estienne, 1.

⁵⁶⁴ Listed in the category "Livres de pieces pour les Flûtes, les Hautbois & pour les violons à la Française a 3 & 4 parties" in Roger, Estienne, 1.

⁵⁶⁵ Six sonatas by Rogers, one by Paisible, and one by Corelli.

⁵⁶⁶ Listed in the category "Pieces à l'Angloise & à l'Italienne pour les Flûtes[,] les Hautbois & les Violons" in Roger, Estienne, 'Catalogue', 1701, 2.

⁵⁶⁷ The sonatas by Rogers are possibly the same sonatas printed by John Walsh in London in 1698.

Rasch, Rudolf, 'The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Saint-Hélène–Swaen', 68.

Appendix A: List of Repertoire

Anonymous	Airs de danses Angloises, Hollandoises et Françaises	1700 ⁵⁶⁸	Amsterdam: Antoine Pointel Paris: Christophe Ballard	Dessus, basse	F-V ⁵⁶⁹ NL-Dhnmi US-Wc ⁵⁷⁰
Anonymous	Contredances angloises [Book 4]	1700	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Unknown ⁵⁷¹	Lost
Anonymous	Le musicien maître de dance	1702	Paris & Amsterdam: Christophe Ballard	Dessus, basse ⁵⁷²	Lost
Various ⁵⁷³	Suittes faciles	1700	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Flute or violin, basso continuo ⁵⁷⁴	GB-DRc
Croft, William; anonymous Italian	Six sonates	1700	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Three for flute and basso continuo; three for violin and basso continuo ⁵⁷⁵	Lost ⁵⁷⁶

⁵⁶⁸ First advertised in Roger, Estienne, 'Catalogue', 1702, 22.

⁵⁶⁹ Basse only.

⁵⁷⁰ Dessus only.

⁵⁷¹ Listed in the category "Pieces à l'Angloise & à l'Italienne pour les Flûtes[,] les Hautbois & les Violons" in Roger, Estienne, 'Catalogue', 1701, 1.

⁵⁷² Listed in the category "Pieces à l'Angloise & à l'Italienne pour les Flûtes[,] les Hautbois & les Violons" in Roger, Estienne, 'Catalogue', 1702, 9.

⁵⁷³ Henrico Albicastro, James Paisible, Johann Christoph Pez.

⁵⁷⁴ Listed in the category "Livres de pieces pour les Flûtes, les Hautbois & pour les violons à la Française a 3 & 4 parties" in Roger, Estienne, 'Catalogue', 1701, 1.

⁵⁷⁵ Listed in the category "Pieces à l'Angloise & à l'Italienne pour les Flûtes[,] les Hautbois & les Violons" in Roger, Estienne, 2.

⁵⁷⁶ Possibly a reprint of a work published by John Walsh in London in 1700.

Rasch, Rudolf, 'The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Caix-Croft', July 2018, 78, <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/wp-content/uploads/sites/416/2018/07/Caix-Croft.pdf>.

Appendix A: List of Repertoire

Finger, Gottfried	Six sonates [Op. 2]	1700	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Three for flute and basso continuo; three for violin and basso continuo ⁵⁷⁷	Lost ⁵⁷⁸
Finger, Gottfried; anonymous Italian ⁵⁷⁹	Six sonates	1700	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Flute, basso continuo ⁵⁸⁰	Lost
Gouy, Jacques de	Airs à quatre parties sur la Paraphrase des pseames de Godeau	1700	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus, haute- contre, taille, “Bassecontre”	CH-ZU D-W F-Pc GB-DRc S-N
Keller, Gottfried	Six sonates	1700	Amsterdam: Stephen Roger ⁵⁸¹	Three for trumpet, two oboes or violins, viola (or taille?), violoncello, “Organo & Violoncello”; three for two flutes, two oboes or violins, violoncello, “Organo & Violoncello”	CH-Zz GB-Lbl S-Uu ⁵⁸²

⁵⁷⁷ Listed in the category “Pieces à l’Angloise & à l’Italienne pour les Flûtes[,] les Hautbois & les Violons” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1701, 2.

⁵⁷⁸ Possibly reprinted by John Walsh in London by 1702.

Rasch, Rudolf, ‘The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Facco–Fux’, July 2018, 11, <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/wp-content/uploads/sites/416/2018/07/Facco-Fux.pdf>.

⁵⁷⁹ Three sonatas by Finger and three by an anonymous Italian composer.

⁵⁸⁰ Listed in the category “Pieces à l’Angloise & à l’Italienne pour les Flûtes[,] les Hautbois & les Violons” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1701, 2.

⁵⁸¹ Certainly printed and published in England, but mentioned in documents published by Estienne Roger, as well as catalogues.

Rasch, Rudolf, ‘The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Keller–Kühnel’, 2.

⁵⁸² Incomplete.

Appendix A: List of Repertoire

Konink, Servaas de	15 Instrumental Pieces	1700	Manuscript	Flute, dessus, haute-contre, "taylor", "basson", basso continuo	D-W
La Barre, Michel de	Le triomphe des arts	1700	Paris: Christophe Ballard	Orchestra (ballet)	B-Br D-AROh D-BNms D-F D-Sl F-B F-G F-Pa F-Pc ⁵⁸³ F-Pn ⁵⁸⁴ F-Po F-Sim F-TLc F-V GB-Lbl GB-Oharding GB-T NL-DHk NL-DHnmi PL-Kj S-Skma S-Sm S-Uu US-Wc

⁵⁸³ Four exemplars.

⁵⁸⁴ Two exemplars.

Appendix A: List of Repertoire

Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Les airs de La grotte de Versailles et de La mascarade	1700	Amsterdam: Anthony Pointel	“all sorts of Instruments”; 1-4 voices, basso continuo	D-ZW F-BO F-Pn ⁵⁸⁵ US-PRVtpsc
Hacquart, Carolus	16 Geistliche Gesänge	ca. 1700	Manuscript	1–6 voices, 2 violins, “Fagotto”, basso continuo	D-B
Anonymous	Contredances de différentes nations de l’Europe	1701	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Unknown ⁵⁸⁶	Lost
Anonymous	Oude en nieuwe Hollantse boerenlietjes [Volume 1]	1701	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus ⁵⁸⁷	Lost ⁵⁸⁸
Various ⁵⁸⁹	50 Airs Anglois [...] choisis et mis en ordre par George Bingham [Book 1]	1701	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	20 for dessus, 10 for 2 dessus, 20 for dessus and basse ⁵⁹⁰	Lost ⁵⁹¹
Various ⁵⁹²	40 Airs Anglois et 3 Sonates [...] choisis et mis en ordre par George Bingham [Book 2]	1701	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 sonatas for 2 dessus, 1 sonata for dessus and basse ⁵⁹³	Lost ⁵⁹⁴
Campra, André	Hésione	1701	Paris: Christophe Ballard	Orchestra	AUS-Mml CDN-Lu CH-Gpu

⁵⁸⁵ Two exemplars.

⁵⁸⁶ Listed in the category “Pieces à l’Angloise & à l’Italienne pour les Flûtes[,] les Hautbois & les Violons” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1701, 1.

⁵⁸⁷ Listed in the category “Pieces à l’Angloise & à l’Italienne pour les Flûtes[,] les Hautbois & les Violons” in Roger, Estienne, 1.

⁵⁸⁸ Two reprints from after the period of study survive, one by Roger in NL-At and the other by Le Cène in NL-DHk.

⁵⁸⁹ George Bingham, Jeremiah Clarke, Albertus van Heerde, Edward Keen, Gottfried Keller, Nicola Matteis, Thomas Morgan, Henry Purcell, Thomas Tollet, Thomas Williams.

⁵⁹⁰ Listed in the category “Pieces à l’Angloise & à l’Italienne pour les Flûtes[,] les Hautbois & les Violons” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1702, 9.

⁵⁹¹ A later reprint by Le Cène in Amsterdam survives in B-Bc.

⁵⁹² George Bingham, Gottfried Finger, Robert King, James Paisible, Andreas Parcham, William Williams.

⁵⁹³ Listed in the category “Pieces à l’Angloise & à l’Italienne pour les Flûtes[,] les Hautbois & les Violons” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1702, 9.

⁵⁹⁴ A later reprint by Le Cène in Amsterdam survives in B-Bc.

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					D-AROh D-DI D-Lem D-Mbs E-Mn F-B ⁵⁹⁵ F-BO F-LYm F-Nam F-Pa ⁵⁹⁶ F-Pc ⁵⁹⁷ F-Pn F-Po F-TLc GB-Ge GB-Ob ⁵⁹⁸ GB-Oharding NL-Dhnmi RUS-SPk US-Aau US-Bem US-Bp US-CA US-Cn US-NH US-Nyp
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⁵⁹⁵ Two exemplars.

⁵⁹⁶ Four exemplars.

⁵⁹⁷ Two exemplars.

⁵⁹⁸ Two exemplars.

Appendix A: List of Repertoire

					US-R US-Su US-Wc
Destouches, André-Cardinal	Omphale	1701 ⁵⁹⁹	Paris: Christophe Ballard	Orchestra (tragédie)	AUS-Mml B-Bc CDN-Vu D-B D-Dl D-KNu D-Mbs D-Sl D-W D-WINTj F-A F-AIXc F-BO F-Dc F-G F-ME F-Mc F-Pa F-Pc ⁶⁰⁰ F-Pn ⁶⁰¹ F-Po ⁶⁰² F-R

⁵⁹⁹ First advertised in the Republic by Pieter Mortier in 1711.

Rasch, Rudolf, 'The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: D'Alay-Duval', 22.

⁶⁰⁰ Four exemplars.

⁶⁰¹ Two exemplars.

⁶⁰² Four exemplars, one of which is incomplete.

Appendix A: List of Repertoire

					F-Sim F-TLm F-V ⁶⁰³ GB-Lbl ⁶⁰⁴ GB-Oharding NL-DHnmi NL-Uim RUS-SPk S-Ssr S-Uu US-AAu US-BEm US-Cn US-DN US-NH US-R US-U US-Wc
D'Ève, Alphonse	Trios [second edition]	1701	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	“flûtes, violons et hautbois”	Lost
Dieupart, François	Six Suites de Clavessin	1701	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Harpsichord or “la Flûte ou le Violon avec une Basse Continue” ⁶⁰⁵	

⁶⁰³ Three exemplars, two of which are incomplete.

⁶⁰⁴ Two exemplars.

⁶⁰⁵ Listed in the category “Livres de pieces pour les Flutes, les Hautbois & pour les violons à la Française à 3 & 4 parties” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1702, 7–8. The instrumentation stated in the catalogue is “un violon, flûte ou hautbois & B[asse] C[ontinue]”.

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Finger, Gottfried	Dix sonates [Op. 3]	1701	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Flute, basso continuo ⁶⁰⁶	GB-Ckc ⁶⁰⁷ US-Wc
Finger, Gottfried	Six Sonatas [Op. 4]	1701	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 flutes, basso continuo ("Organo") ⁶⁰⁸	F-Pn
Heudeline, Louis	Trios Suites de Pièces	1701	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Two viols or violins, "Clavessin" ⁶⁰⁹	GB-DRc
La Barre, Michel de	Pièces en trio [Book 2]	1701	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	"Flûtes[,] Violons & Hautbois"; 2 dessus, basse	D-WD
de La Maillrie	Pièces en trio	1701	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	"flûtes, violons & hautbois"	Lost
Lambert, Michel	Pièces en trio	1701	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	"Violons[,] Flûtes ou / hautbois"; 2 dessus, basse	D-W
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Ouverture avec tous les airs à jouer de l'opéra de Bellérophon	1701	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 dessus, taille, basse ⁶¹⁰	B-Br GB-Lbl RUS-Mrg
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Ouverture avec tous les airs à jouer de l'opéra d'Isis	1701	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 dessus, taille, basse ⁶¹¹	GB-Lbl RUS-Mrg
Parcham, Andreas	12 Sonates [Op. 1]	1701	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Flute or violin, basso continuo ⁶¹²	Lost

⁶⁰⁶ Listed in the category "Pièces à l'Angloise & à l'Italienne pour les Flûtes[,] les Hautbois & les Violons" in Roger, Estienne, 10–11.

⁶⁰⁷ Incomplete.

⁶⁰⁸ Listed in the category "Pièces à l'Angloise & à l'Italienne pour les Flûtes[,] les Hautbois & les Violons" in Roger, Estienne, 'Catalogue', 1702, 11.

⁶⁰⁹ Listed in the category "Livres de pièces pour les Flûtes, les Hautbois & pour les violons à la Française à 3 & 4 parties" in Roger, Estienne, 7. The instrumentation stated in the catalogue is "le violon, la flûte, le hautbois & particulièrement le dessus de viole avec une B[asso] C[ontinue]".

⁶¹⁰ Listed in the category "Livres de pièces pour les Flûtes, les Hautbois & pour les violons à la Française à 3 & 4 parties" in Roger, Estienne, 'Catalogue', 1701, 1.

⁶¹¹ Listed in the category "Livres de pièces pour les Flûtes, les Hautbois & pour les violons à la Française à 3 & 4 parties" in Roger, Estienne, 'Catalogue des Livres de Musique', in *Dictionarium antiquitatum Romanarum et Græcarum*, by Danet, Pierre (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1701), 2.

⁶¹² Listed in the category "Pièces à l'Angloise & à l'Italienne pour les Flûtes[,] les Hautbois & les Violons" in Roger, Estienne, 3–4.

Appendix A: List of Repertoire

Anonymous	Le musicien maître de dance	1702	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus and basse ⁶¹³	Lost
Campra, André	Les fragments de M. de Lully	1702 ⁶¹⁴	Paris: Christophe Ballard	Orchestra (ballet)	US-NH
Campra, André	Tancrède	1702 ⁶¹⁵	Paris: Christophe Ballard	Orchestra (tragédie)	B-BRc B-Br CDN-Lu CH-Gpu CH-Zz D-AROh D-DI D-Klmi D-Mbs DK-Kk F-AM F-B F-BO F-Dc F-LYm F-Mc ⁶¹⁶ F-Pa ⁶¹⁷ F-Pc ⁶¹⁸

⁶¹³ Listed in the category “Pieces à l’Angloise & à l’Italienne pour les Flûtes[,] les Hautbois & les Violons” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1702, 9.

⁶¹⁴ First advertised in the Republic by Pieter Mortier in 1711.

Rasch, Rudolf, ‘The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Caix–Croft’, 10.

⁶¹⁵ First advertised in the Republic in Roger, Estienne, *Catalogue* (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1708), 19.

⁶¹⁶ Two exemplars.

⁶¹⁷ Four exemplars.

⁶¹⁸ Three exemplars.

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					F-Pn ⁶¹⁹ F-Po ⁶²⁰ F-Sim F-TLc ⁶²¹ F-V ⁶²² GB-Lbl ⁶²³ GB-Oharding GB-T J-Tma J-Tmi NL-DHnmi RUS-SPk S-Skma S-Smf S-Su US-AAu US-BEm US-Bp ⁶²⁴ US-Cn US-DN US-LAum US-NH US-NO US-PHu
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⁶¹⁹ Two exemplars.

⁶²⁰ Four exemplars, one of which is incomplete.

⁶²¹ Two exemplars.

⁶²² Three exemplars, two of which are incomplete.

⁶²³ Two exemplars.

⁶²⁴ Title page missing.

Appendix A: List of Repertoire

					US-PO US-R US-Su US-U US-Wc
Finger, Gottfried	2 Sonatas from <i>VIII Sonates</i> ⁶²⁵	1702	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	One sonata for trumpet or flute, oboe, and basso continuo; one sonata for violin, oboe, and basso continuo	Lost ⁶²⁶
La Barre, Michel de	Le triomphe des arts	1702	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Orchestra (ballet)	Lost
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Ouverture avec tous les airs à jouer de l'opéra d'Amadis	1702	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 dessus, taille, basse ⁶²⁷	GB-Lbl RUS-Mrg US-R
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Ouverture avec tous les airs à jouer de l'opéra de Cadmus	1702	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 dessus, taille, basse ⁶²⁸	GB-Lbl RUS-Mrg
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Ouverture avec tous les airs à jouer de l'opéra de Persée	1702	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 dessus, taille, basse ⁶²⁹	GB-Lbl RUS-Mrg

⁶²⁵ The remaining sonatas are by William Williams.

⁶²⁶ Possibly reprinted by John Walsh in London in 1703.

Rasch, Rudolf, 'The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Walther-Williams', July 2018, 3, <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/wp-content/uploads/sites/416/2018/07/Walter-Williams.pdf>.

⁶²⁷ Listed in the category "Livres de pieces pour les Flutes, les Hautbois & pour les violons à la Française à 3 & 4 parties" in Roger, Estienne, 'Catalogue', 1702, 5.

⁶²⁸ Listed in the category "Livres de pieces pour les Flutes, les Hautbois & pour les violons à la Française à 3 & 4 parties" in Roger, Estienne, 5.

⁶²⁹ Listed in the category "Livres de pieces pour les Flutes, les Hautbois & pour les violons à la Française à 3 & 4 parties" in Roger, Estienne, 5–6.

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Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Ouverture avec tous les airs à jouer de l'opéra de Proserpine	1702	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 dessus, taille, basse ⁶³⁰	B-Lc ⁶³¹ GB-Lbl RUS-Mrg ⁶³²
Paisible, James	Six sonates [Op. 1]	1702	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 flutes ⁶³³	Lost ⁶³⁴
Paisible, James; King, Robert	Pièces à 3 & à 4 parties	1702	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	“flûtes, violons & hautbois”	Lost
Anonymous	Oude en nieuwe Hollantse boerenlietjes [Volume 2]	1703	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus ⁶³⁵	Lost ⁶³⁶
Campra, André	Les muses	1703 ⁶³⁷	Paris: Christophe Ballard	Orchestra	A-Wn F-LYm F-Pa ⁶³⁸ F-Pc ⁶³⁹ F-Pn ⁶⁴⁰ F-Po F-TLc F-V ⁶⁴¹

⁶³⁰ Listed in the category “Livres de pieces pour les Flutes, les Hautbois & pour les violons à la Françoisse à 3 & 4 parties” in Roger, Estienne, 6.

⁶³¹ Incomplete.

⁶³² Incomplete.

⁶³³ Listed in the category “Pieces à l'Angloise & à l'Italienne pour les Flûtes[,] les Hautbois & les Violons” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1702, 11.

⁶³⁴ Possibly the same sonatas printed by John Walsh in London in 1702.

Rasch, Rudolf, ‘The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Paghetti–Purcell’, July 2018, 2, <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/wp-content/uploads/sites/416/2018/07/Paghetti-Purcell.pdf>.

⁶³⁵ Listed in the category “Pieces à l'Angloise & à l'Italienne pour les Flutes, les Hautbois & les Violons” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, in *Grammaire générale et raisonnée*, by Arnauld, Antoine and Lancelot, Claude (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1703), 6.

⁶³⁶ Two reprints from after the period of study survive, one by Roger in NL-At and the other by Le Cène in NL-DHk.

⁶³⁷ First advertised in the Republic in Roger, Estienne, *Catalogue*, 1708, 19.

⁶³⁸ Three exemplars.

⁶³⁹ Two exemplars.

⁶⁴⁰ Two exemplars.

⁶⁴¹ Handwritten title page.

Appendix A: List of Repertoire

					GB-Lbl GB-Oharding NL-Dhnmi S-Uu US-Wc
Campra, André	La Sérénade Vénétienne, entrée ajoutée aux fragments	1703 ⁶⁴²	Paris: Christophe Ballard	Orchestra	F-Pc ⁶⁴³ F-Pn F-Po GB-Lbl
Derosier, Nicolas	Suittes en trio [three volumes]	1703	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	“flûtes, violons et hautbois”	Lost
Destouches, André-Cardinal	Le carnaval et la folie	1703 ⁶⁴⁴	Paris: Christophe Ballard	Orchestra (ballet)	RUS-Mrg S-Uu
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Ouverture avec tous les airs à jouer de l’opéra du Temple de la paix	1703	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 dessus, taille, basse ⁶⁴⁵	GB-Lbl RUS-Mrg
Rebel, Jean-Ferry	Ulysse	1703 ⁶⁴⁶	Paris: Christophe Ballard	Orchestra (tragédie)	B-Bc CH-Bu D-SÜN F-Lm F-Pa F-Pc F-Pn

⁶⁴² First advertised in the Republic in Roger, Estienne, *Catalogue*, 1708, 19.

⁶⁴³ Four exemplars.

⁶⁴⁴ First advertised in the Republic by Pieter Mortier in 1711.

Rasch, Rudolf, ‘The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: D’Alay-Duval’, 22.

⁶⁴⁵ Listed in the category “Livres de pieces pour les Flutes, les Haut-bois & pour les violons à la Françoisise à 3 & 4 parties” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1703, 4.

⁶⁴⁶ First advertised in the Republic in Roger, Estienne, *Catalogue*, 1708, 19.

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					F-Po ⁶⁴⁷ F-Sim F-TLc F-V GB-Lbl NL-DEta NL-DHnmi S-Uu US-BEm US-NH US-Wc
Campra, André	Extrait de l'opéra Iphigénie	1704 ⁶⁴⁸	Paris: Christophe Ballard	Orchestra	F-Pa F-Pc F-Pn F-Po F-V S-Smf
Dreux, Jacques-Philippe	Fanfares [Book 1]	1704	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Duos and trios for "Chalumeaux", trumpets, flutes, violins, and oboes	Lost
Le Quointe, Louis	Pièces en trio	1704	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	"Flûtes[,] Violons & Hautbois"	Lost ⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴⁷ Three exemplars.

⁶⁴⁸ First advertised in the Republic in Roger, Estienne, *Catalogue*, 1708, 19.

⁶⁴⁹ Possibly the same sonatas printed in Valenciennes in 1696.

Rasch, Rudolf, 'The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: La Barre-Lully', 21.

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Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Ouverture avec tous les airs à jouer de l'opéra d'Atys	1704	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 dessus, taille, basse ⁶⁵⁰	GB-Lbl RUS-Mrg
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Ouverture avec tous les airs à jouer de l'opéra de Roland	1704	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 dessus, taille, basse ⁶⁵¹	GB-Lbl RUS-Mrg
Schulze, Andreas Heinrich	VI Sonate	1704	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Flute, "cimbalo o vero fagotto" ⁶⁵²	F-Pn
Schulze, Andreas Heinrich	VI Sonate	1704	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Oboe, basso continuo	Lost
La Coste, Louis de	Philomèle	1705 ⁶⁵³	Paris: Christophe Ballard	Orchestra (tragédie)	DK-Kk F-B F-Pc ⁶⁵⁴ F-Po ⁶⁵⁵ F-Sim F-TLm S-Uu
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Ouverture avec tous les airs à jouer du ballet de Psyché	1705	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 dessus, taille, basse ⁶⁵⁶	GB-Lbl RUS-Mrg

⁶⁵⁰ Listed in the category "Livres de pièces pour les Flûtes, les Hautbois, le Chalumeau, & pour les Violons à la Française à 2, 3, & 4 parties" in Roger, Estienne, 'Catalogue', in *Continuation de l'histoire universelle de Messire Jacques Bénigne Bossuet*, by de La Barre, Jean (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1704), 5.

⁶⁵¹ Listed in the category "Livres de pièces pour les Flûtes, les Hautbois, le Chalumeau, & pour les Violons à la Française à 2, 3, & 4 parties" in Roger, Estienne, 5.

⁶⁵² "Harpichord or bassoon".

⁶⁵³ First advertised in the Republic by Pieter Mortier in 1711.

Rasch, Rudolf, 'The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: La Barre-Lully', 6.

⁶⁵⁴ Two exemplars.

⁶⁵⁵ Three exemplars.

⁶⁵⁶ Listed in the category "Livres de pièces pour les Flûtes, les Hautbois, le Chalumeau, & pour les Violons à la Française à 2, 3, & 4 parties" in Roger, Estienne, 'Catalogue', 1705, 5.

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Anonymous	Oude en nieuwe Hollantse boerenlietjes [Volume 3]	1706	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus ⁶⁵⁷	Lost ⁶⁵⁸
Dreux, Jacques-Philippe	Fanfares [Book 2]	1706	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Duos and trios for “Chalumeaux”, trumpets, flutes, violins, and oboes	Lost
La Barre, Michel de	Pièces [Op. 4]	1706	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	“Flute traversiere / avec la Basse Continue / Propres aussi à jouer sur le Violon / & autres instrumens” ⁶⁵⁹	CH-Zjacobi D-WD
Marais, Marin	Alcyone	1706 ⁶⁶⁰	Paris: Marin Marais & Jean Hurel	Orchestra (tragédie)	B-Bc CDN-HNu CH-Bu D-Mbs F-B F-BER F-Dc F-LYm F-Pa F-Pc ⁶⁶¹ F-Pn

⁶⁵⁷ Listed in the category “Pièces à l’Angloise & à l’Italienne pour les Flûtes[,] les Hautbois & les Violons” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, in *Conférences de l’Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture*, by Félibien, André (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1706), 7.

⁶⁵⁸ Two reprints from after the period of study survive, one by Roger in NL-At and the other by Le Cène in NL-DHk.

⁶⁵⁹ “Transverse flute / with basso continuo / also suitable for playing on the violin and other instruments”.

Listed in the category “Livres de pièces pour les Flûtes, les Hautbois, le Chalumeau, & pour les Violons à la Française à 2, 3, & 4 parties” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1706, 6.

⁶⁶⁰ First advertised in the Republic in Roger, Estienne, *Catalogue*, 1708, 19.

⁶⁶¹ Three exemplars, one of which is incomplete.

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					F-Po ⁶⁶² F-TLc ⁶⁶³ GB-Lbl GB-Oharding NL-DHnmi S-Uu US-BEm US-NH US-Wc
Campra, André	Hippodamie	1708 ⁶⁶⁴	Paris: Christophe Ballard	Orchestra	CH-Gpu F-Pa F-Pc ⁶⁶⁵ F-Pn ⁶⁶⁶ F-Po F-TLc F-V GB-Lbl US-Bem US-NH US-Wc
Destouches, André-Cardinal	Issé [revised version]	1708 ⁶⁶⁷	Paris: Christophe Ballard	Orchestra	B-Bc B-Gc CDN-Lu

⁶⁶² Three exemplars with handwritten annotations.

⁶⁶³ Two exemplars.

⁶⁶⁴ First advertised in the Republic in by Pieter Mortier in 1711.

Rasch, Rudolf, 'The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Caix-Croft', 11.

⁶⁶⁵ Three exemplars.

⁶⁶⁶ Two exemplars.

⁶⁶⁷ First advertised in the Republic by Pieter Mortier in 1711.

Rasch, Rudolf, 'The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: D'Alay-Duval', 21.

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					D-Mbs D-ROu D-Sl D-WINTj F-Pa F-Pc F-Po ⁶⁶⁸ F-TLc F-TLm F-V GB-Lbl I-Rsc US-AAu US-CHH US-Cn US-NYp ⁶⁶⁹ US-Wc ⁶⁷⁰
Anonymous	Oude en nieuwe Hollantse boerenlietjes [Volume 1]	1709	Amsterdam: Pieter Mortier	Violin, flute, or oboe	NL-DHk
Anonymous	Oude en nieuwe Hollantse boerenlietjes [Volume 2]	1709	Amsterdam: Pieter Mortier	Violin, flute, or oboe	NL-DHk
Anonymous	Oude en nieuwe Hollantse boerenlietjes [Volume 3]	1709	Amsterdam: Pieter Mortier	Violin, flute, or oboe	NL-DHk
Anonymous	Oude en nieuwe Hollantse boerenlietjes [Volume 4]	1709	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus ⁶⁷¹	NL-At

⁶⁶⁸ Two exemplars, one of which is incomplete.

⁶⁶⁹ Incomplete.

⁶⁷⁰ Two exemplars.

⁶⁷¹ Listed in the category “Pièces à une Flûte ou un Hautbois seul” [“Pieces for one Flute or one Oboe solo”] in Roger, Estienne, *Catalogue*, 1712, 13.

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Anonymous	Oude en nieuwe Hollandse boerenlietjes [Volume 4]	1709	Amsterdam: Pieter Mortier	Violin, flute, or oboe	NL-DHK
Anonymous	Oude en nieuwe Hollandse boerenlietjes [Volume 5]	1709	Amsterdam: Pieter Mortier	Violin, flute, or oboe	NL-DHK ⁶⁷²
Various ⁶⁷³	Duos Anglois de différents maîtres	1709	Amsterdam: Pieter Mortier	2 flutes or violins ⁶⁷⁴	Lost
Campra, André	L'Europe Galante	1709	Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier	Orchestra	F-Pc
Dreux, Jacques-Philippe	Fanfares (Livre premier)	1709	Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier	Duos and trios for "Chalumeaux", trumpets, flutes, violins, and oboes	D-W
Dreux, Jacques-Philippe	Fanfares (Livre second)	1709	Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier	Duos and trios for "Chalumeaux", "Les Doubles Flûtes", ⁶⁷⁵ trumpets, flutes, violins, and oboes	D-W ⁶⁷⁶
Hotteterre, Jacques	Principes de la flûte traversière [...]	1709 ⁶⁷⁷	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Traverso, recorder, oboe	A-Wgm B-Bc D-B D-W F-Pn G-Lbl

⁶⁷² Sold by Roger after the period of study, a copy of which is held in NL-At.

⁶⁷³ No composers known.

⁶⁷⁴ Reprint of a work that is listed in the category "Pièces à l'Angloise & la à l'Italienne pour les Flûtes[,] les Hautbois & les Violons" in Roger, Estienne, 'Catalogue', 1701, 1.

⁶⁷⁵ It is not known to what this refers.

⁶⁷⁶ Incomplete.

⁶⁷⁷ Translated into Dutch as Hotteterre, Jacques-Martin, *Grond-beginselen over de Behandeling van de Dwars-fluit* (Amsterdam: Michel Charles le Cene, 1728).

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					I-Bc NL-At NL-Dhnmi US-Wc
Le Grand, Nicolas Ferdinand	Triomf der Batavieren	1709	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Orchestra (zangspel)	D-B
Le Grand, Nicolas Ferdinand	Triomf der Batavieren	1709	Amsterdam: Pieter Mortier	Orchestra (zangspel)	NL-At
Schickhardt, Johann Christian	Sonates [Op. 2]	1709	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Oboe or violin, basso continuo	Lost
Schickhardt, Johann Christian	Sonates [Op. 2]	1709	Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier	Oboe or violin, basso continuo	D-W
Stuck, Jean-Baptiste	Méléagre	1709 ⁶⁷⁸	Paris: Christophe Ballard	Orchestra (tragédie)	AUS-Mml B-Bc F-Pa F-Pc F-Pn F-Po F-TLc F-V GB-T US-AAu US-Wc
Anonymous	De leermeester [Volume 1]	1709–1712	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 dessus (flute, violin, or oboe), basse	Lost

⁶⁷⁸ First advertised in the Republic by Pieter Mortier in 1711.

Rasch, Rudolf, 'The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Saint-Hélène–Swaen', 76.

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Anonymous	De leermeester [Volume 2]	1709–1712	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 dessus (flute, violin, or oboe), basse	Lost
Anonymous	De leermeester [Volume 3]	1709–1712	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 dessus (flute, violin, or oboe), basse	Lost
Campra, André	Les airs à jouer du ballet de L'Europe galante	1709–1712	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Three parts ⁶⁷⁹	Lost
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Ouverture et tous les autres airs à jouer de l'opéra d'Alceste	1709–1712	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 dessus, taille, basse	GB-Lbl
Anonymous	Oude en nieuwe Hollantse boerenlietjes [Volume 5]	1710	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus ⁶⁸⁰	NL-At NL-DHk
Various ⁶⁸¹	50 Airs Anglois	1710	Amsterdam: Pieter Mortier	20 for dessus, 10 for 2 dessus, 20 for dessus and basse ⁶⁸²	Lost
Brunnenmüller, Elias	Fasciculus musicus	1710	Leeuwarden: F[rançois] Halma	One piece for oboe and harpsichord, four arias for voice, oboe, and harpsichord	GB-DRc GB-Lbl NL-Dhnmi
Corbett, William	VI Sonates	1710	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 violins, viola, trumpet or oboe or violin, trumpet or	S-Uu ⁶⁸⁴

⁶⁷⁹ Listed in the category “Pièces pour les Violons, les Flutes & les Hautbois à la Française à 3 & 4 parties” in Roger, Estienne, *Catalogue*, 1712, 17.

⁶⁸⁰ Listed in the category “Pièces à une Flûte ou un Hautbois seul” in Roger, Estienne, 13.

⁶⁸¹ George Bingham, Jeremiah Clarke, Albertus van Heerde, Edward Keen, Gottfried Keller, Nicola Matteis, Thomas Morgan, Henry Purcell, Thomas Tollet, Thomas Williams.

⁶⁸² Reprint of a work that is listed in the category “Pièces à l'Angloise & à l'Italienne pour les Flûtes[,] les Hautbois & les Violons” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1702, 9.

⁶⁸⁴ Two “Organo & Violoncello” parts.

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				oboe, basso continuo (organ and violoncello) ⁶⁸³	
Derosier, Nicolas	Suittes en trio [3 volumes]	1710	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	“flûtes, violons et hautbois”	Lost
Haym, Nicola Francesco; Bitti, Martino ⁶⁸⁵	VI Sonate da Camera	1710	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	“flauto traversa, haubois, o violin”	D-WD
La Barre, Michel de	Suittes [Op. 5, Book 3]	1710	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	“Violons, Flûtes, & Haubois”; 2 dessus, basso continuo	D-WD
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Persée	1710	Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier	Orchestra (tragédie)	D-Rou F-Pn
Rosier, Carl	Quatorse Sonates	1710	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	3 dessus, ⁶⁸⁶ haute-contre, basse, basso continuo ⁶⁸⁷	S-L
Schickhardt, Johann Christian	Six Sonates [Op. 5]	1710	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Flute, 2 oboes, viola da gamba, basso continuo	D-WD GB-Lam GB-Lbl US-Wc
Schickhardt, Johann Christian	XII Sonates [Op. 7]	1710	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 oboes or violins, basso continuo	Lost
Schickhardt, Johann Christian	Six Sonates [Op. 8]	1710	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Oboe or violin, basso continuo	CH-Zz US-Wc

⁶⁸³ The 1708 John Walsh edition also refers to “*flute de allmain* [transverse flute], bassoons, or harpsichord”.

⁶⁸⁵ Four sonatas by Haym and two by Bitti.

⁶⁸⁶ Two violins and one trumpet or oboe.

⁶⁸⁷ See Chapter 7 regarding the use of oboe band for this work.

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Anonymous	Oude en nieuwe Hollandse boerenlietjes [Volume 6]	1710–1712	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus ⁶⁸⁸	NL-At
Anonymous	Oude en nieuwe Hollandse boerenlietjes [Volume 7]	1710–1712	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus ⁶⁸⁹	NL-At
Anonymous	Oude en nieuwe Hollandse boerenlietjes [Volume 8]	1710–1712	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus ⁶⁹⁰	NL-At
Campra, André	Les airs à jouer du ballet Les fêtes Vénitiennes	1710–1712	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Three parts ⁶⁹¹	Lost
Schickhardt, Johann Christian	VI Sonates [Op. 10]	1710–1712	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Two oboes, violins, or flutes, basso continuo	Lost
Schickhardt, Johann Christian	Recueil de menuets [Op. 11]	1710–1712	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus, basse ⁶⁹²	Lost
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Phaëton	1711	Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier	Orchestra (tragédie)	B-Br F-Pc F-Pn F-Sim RUS-Mrg US-Wc
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Roland	1711	Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier	Orchestra (tragédie)	AUS-Mml D-Mbs D-Sl DK-Kk F-Ome F-Po

⁶⁸⁸ Listed in the category “Pièces à une Flûte ou un Hautbois seul” in Roger, Estienne, *Catalogue*, 1712, 13.

⁶⁸⁹ Listed in the category “Pièces à une Flûte ou un Hautbois seul” in Roger, Estienne, 13.

⁶⁹⁰ Listed in the category “Pièces à une Flûte ou un Hautbois seul” in Roger, Estienne, 13.

⁶⁹¹ Listed in the category “Pièces pour les Violons, les Flutes & les Hautbois à la Française à 3 & 4 parties” in Roger, Estienne, 17.

⁶⁹² Listed in the category “Pièces à la Française à une Flûte ou Hautbois seul et Basse Continue” in Roger, Estienne, 14.

Appendix A: List of Repertoire

					GB-Ltc NL-DHnmi RUS-Mrg
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Les trio[s] des opéra [Book 1]	1711	Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier	“la Flute, le Violon, & / autres Instruments” ⁶⁹³	F-Pn ⁶⁹⁴
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Les trio[s] des opéra [Book 2]	1711	Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier	“la Flute, le Violon, & / autres Instruments” ⁶⁹⁵	F-Pn ⁶⁹⁶
Pepusch, Johann Christoph	XII Sonates [Op. 3]	1711	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Two violins, oboes, or traversi, basso continuo	D-SWL
Müller, Johann Michael	XII Sonates à un hautbois de concert	1711–1712	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Solo oboe, 2 oboes or violins, “alto”/“taille”, “fagot”, basso continuo/“Organo o Violoncello” ⁶⁹⁷	D-WD S-L
Brunnenmüller, Elias	VI Sonates [Op. 3]	1712	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Oboe or violin, basso continuo	D-WD
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Ouverture, passacaille et tous les autres airs à jouer de l’opéra d’Acis et Galatée	1712	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 dessus, taille, basse ⁶⁹⁸	GB-Lbl

⁶⁹³ Reprint of a work that is listed in the category “Livres de pieces pour les Flûtes, les Hautbois & pour les violons à la Française a 3 & 4 parties” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1701, 1.

⁶⁹⁴ Dessus 1 only.

⁶⁹⁵ Reprint of a work that is listed in the category “Livres de pieces pour les Flûtes, les Hautbois & pour les violons à la Française a 3 & 4 parties” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1701, 1.

⁶⁹⁶ Dessus 1 only.

⁶⁹⁷ See Chapter 7 regarding the use of oboe band for this work.

⁶⁹⁸ Listed in the category “Pieces pour les Violons, les Flutes & les Hautbois à la Française à 3 & 4 parties” in Roger, Estienne, *Catalogue*, 1712, 16.

Appendix A: List of Repertoire

Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Ouverture, chaconne et tous les airs à jouer de l'opéra d'Armide	1712	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 dessus, taille, basse ⁶⁹⁹	GB-Lbl
Schickhardt, Johann Christian	VI Concerts [Op. 13]	1712	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 violins, 2 oboes or violins, violoncello, basso continuo ("Organo")	CH-Zz D-Mbs F-Pn GB-Lam
Schickhardt, Johann Christian	VI Sonates [Op. 14]	1712	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Flute, oboe, viola da gamba, basso continuo, "organo"	GB-Lam ⁷⁰⁰ GB-Lbl ⁷⁰¹
Schickhardt, Johann Christian	Principes du hautbois, contenant des airs à deux hautbois sans basse	1712	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Oboe and two oboes	Lost
Anonymous	Oude en nieuwe Hollantse boerenlietjes [Volume 9]	1713	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus ⁷⁰²	NL-At
Anonymous	Oude en nieuwe Hollantse boerenlietjes [Volume 10]	1713	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus ⁷⁰³	NL-At
Anonymous	Oude en nieuwe Hollantse boerenlietjes [Volume 11]	1713	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus ⁷⁰⁴	NL-At
Anonymous	Oude en nieuwe Hollantse boerenlietjes [Volume 12]	1713	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus ⁷⁰⁵	NL-At
Campra, André	Les airs à jouer de l'opéra d'Hypodamie	1713	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Unknown ⁷⁰⁶	Lost

⁶⁹⁹ Listed in the category "Pièces pour les Violons, les Flutes & les Hautbois à la Francoise à 3 & 4 parties" in Roger, Estienne, 16.

⁷⁰⁰ Basso continuo missing.

⁷⁰¹ Basso continuo missing.

⁷⁰² Listed in the category "Livres de Pièces pour les Chalumeaux, les Violons, les Flutes et les Hautbois à la Francoise" in Roger, Estienne, 'Catalogue de Musique', in *Histoire des Sévarambes*, by Vairasse, Denis, 2nd ed. (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1716), 305.

⁷⁰³ Listed in the category "Livres de Pièces pour les Chalumeaux, les Violons, les Flutes et les Hautbois à la Francoise" in Roger, Estienne, 305.

⁷⁰⁴ Listed in the category "Livres de Pièces pour les Chalumeaux, les Violons, les Flutes et les Hautbois à la Francoise" in Roger, Estienne, 305.

⁷⁰⁵ Listed in the category "Livres de Pièces pour les Chalumeaux, les Violons, les Flutes et les Hautbois à la Francoise" in Roger, Estienne, 305.

⁷⁰⁶ Listed in the category "Pièces pour les Violons, les Flutes & les Hautbois à la Francoise à 2, 3 & 4 parties" in Roger, Estienne, 312.

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Campra, André	Les airs à jouer de l'opéra de Tancrède	1713	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Unknown ⁷⁰⁷	Lost
Desmarets, Henri	Les airs à jouer de l'opéra Les fêtes galantes	1713	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Unknown ⁷⁰⁸	Lost
Destouches, André-Cardinal	Les airs à jouer de l'opéra d'Issé	1713	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Unknown ⁷⁰⁹	Lost
Destouches, André-Cardinal	Les airs à jouer de l'opéra d'Omphale	1713	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Unknown ⁷¹⁰	Lost
La Coste, Louis de	Les airs à jouer de l'opera de Philomèle	1713	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	"dessus & basse" ⁷¹¹	Lost
Stuck, Jean-Baptiste	Les airs à jouer de l'opéra de Manto la fée	1713	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Unknown ⁷¹²	Lost
Schickhardt, Johann Christian	XII Sonates [Op. 7]	1713–1722	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 oboes or violins, basso continuo	NL-LE US-Wc
Schickhardt, Johann Christian	VI Sonates [Op. 10]	1713–1722	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Two oboes, violins, or flutes, basso continuo	NL-DHnmi US-Wc
Schickhardt, Johann Christian	VI Sonates [Op. 14]	1713–1722	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Flute, oboe, viola da gamba, basso continuo, "Organo"	CH-Zz D-Bsa ⁷¹³
Anonymous	Oude en nieuwe Hollantse boerenlietjes [Volume 13]	1714	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus ⁷¹⁴	NL-At

⁷⁰⁷ Listed in the category "Pièces pour les Violons, les Flutes & les Hautbois à la Francoise à 2, 3 & 4 parties" in Roger, Estienne, 312.

⁷⁰⁸ Listed in the category "Pièces pour les Violons, les Flutes & les Hautbois à la Francoise à 2, 3 & 4 parties" in Roger, Estienne, 312.

⁷⁰⁹ Listed in the category "Pièces pour les Violons, les Flutes & les Hautbois à la Francoise à 2, 3 & 4 parties" in Roger, Estienne, 312.

⁷¹⁰ Listed in the category "Pièces pour les Violons, les Flutes & les Hautbois à la Francoise à 2, 3 & 4 parties" in Roger, Estienne, 312.

⁷¹¹ Listed in the category "Pièces pour les Violons, les Flutes & les Hautbois à la Francoise à 2, 3 & 4 parties" in Roger, Estienne, 312.

⁷¹² Listed in the category "Pièces pour les Violons, les Flutes & les Hautbois à la Francoise à 2, 3 & 4 parties" in Roger, Estienne, 312.

⁷¹³ "Organo" possibly missing.

⁷¹⁴ Listed in the category "Pièces à une Flûte ou un Hautbois seul" in Roger, Estienne, *Catalogue*, 1712, 13.

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Dreux, Jacques-Philippe	Fanfares [Book 3]	1714	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Two “chalumeaux” or trumpets ⁷¹⁵	Lost
Konink, Servaas de (ed.)	Hollantsche Schouburgh, en plugge dansen vermengelt met sangh airen [Volume 1]	1714	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	“op alle Instrumenten” ⁷¹⁶	NL-At NL-Dhnmi
Venturini, Francesco	Concerti di Camera [Op. 1, two volumes]	1714	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 violins, haute- contre, viola, tenor viola, violoncello and basso continuo (partially “Organo e Violoncello”), ripieno violins, 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons	B-Bc ⁷¹⁷ D-Bsa D-Dl D-Rtt ⁷¹⁸ D-SWl D-W F-Pn ⁷¹⁹ GB-Cu ⁷²⁰ GB-Lbl NL-At S-L ⁷²¹
Anonymous	Airs [Book 1]	1715	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Two “chalumeaux”, trumpets, oboes, violins, flutes, “Clarinelles”, or horns	Lost ⁷²²

⁷¹⁵ Might possibly include additional prescription for oboes like the previous two books. Roger’s catalogue states “&c.” regarding the possible instrumentation. Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1716, 309–10.

⁷¹⁶ On all instruments”. Listed in the category “Pièces à une Flûte ou un Hautbois seul” in Roger, Estienne, 306.

⁷¹⁷ Viola, violoncello and basso continuo, and oboe 1 only.

⁷¹⁸ Two exemplars, missing violin 1, oboe 1, and violoncello and basso continuo.

⁷¹⁹ Flute 1/ripieno violins and flute 2/bassoon 2 missing.

⁷²⁰ Incomplete.

⁷²¹ Volume 2 only.

⁷²² A later reprint by Estienne Roger & Le Cene in Amsterdam survives in B-Bc.

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Anonymous	Airs [Book 2]	1715	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Two “chalumeaux”, trumpets, oboes, violins, flutes, “Clarinelles”, or horns	Lost ⁷²³
Albinoni, Tomaso	Concerti a cinque [Op. 7]	1715	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	2 violins, viola, 2 oboes, violoncello, basso continuo	CH-Zz D-WD F-Pn ⁷²⁴ GB-Cu ⁷²⁵ S-L S-LI ⁷²⁶ S-Uu
Konink, Servaas de (ed.)	Hollantsche Schouburgh, en plugge dansen vermengelt met sangh airen [Volume 2]	1715	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	“op alle Instrumenten” ⁷²⁷	NL-At NL-Dhnmi
Schickhardt, Johann Christian	6 Sonatas, Op. 20 [Book 1]	1715	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Traverso, oboe, violin, basso continuo	B-Bc GB-CDp
Campra, André	Alle de Speel-Airen van De galant Europa ⁷²⁸	1715–1716	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus, basse ⁷²⁹	Lost
Campra, André	Alle de speel-airen van De feesten der Venetianen	1715–1716	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus, basse	Lost

⁷²³ A later reprint by Estienne Roger & Le Cene in Amsterdam survives in B-Bc.

⁷²⁴ Complete violin 1 and volume 2 of violin 2, viola, violoncello, and basso continuo only.

⁷²⁵ Two exemplars, one of which is incomplete.

⁷²⁶ Violin 1, violin 2, and oboe 1 only.

⁷²⁷ Listed in the category “Pièces à une Flûte ou un Hautbois seul” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1716, 306.

⁷²⁸ Likely the dessus partbook of the same arrangement as the Roger publication of the same work with a French title. The only difference would be the Dutch-language title page. This applies to all of the “speel-airen” in this appendix.

Rasch, Rudolf, ‘The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Caix–Croft’, 10.

⁷²⁹ All the “speel-airen” in this appendix are listed in the category “Pièces à une Flûte ou un Hautbois seul” in Roger, Estienne, ‘Catalogue’, 1716, 306–7.

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Campra, André	Alle de speel-airen van Hippodamia	1715–1716	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus, basse	Lost
Campra, André	Alle de speel-airen van Tancrede	1715–1716	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus, basse	Lost
Desmarets, Henri	Alle de speel-airen van De galanten feesten	1715–1716	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus, basse	Lost
Destouches, André-Cardinal	Alle de speel-airen van Issé	1715–1716	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus, basse	Lost
Destouches, André-Cardinal	Alle speel-airen van Omphale	1715–1716	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus, basse	Lost
La Coste, Louis de	Alle de speel-airen van Philomela	1715–1716	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus, basse	Lost
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Alle de speel-airen van Acis en Galatea	1715–1716	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus, basse	Lost
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Alle de speel-airen van Alcestus	1715–1716	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus, basse	Lost
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Alle de speel-airen van Amadis	1715–1716	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus, basse	Lost
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Alle de speel-airen van de opera van Armida	1715–1716	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus, basse	Lost
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Alle de speel-airen van de opera van Atys	1715–1716	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus, basse	Lost
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Alle de speel-airen van de opera van Bellerophon	1715–1716	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus, basse	Lost
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Alle de speel-airen van de opera van Cadmus	1715–1716	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus, basse	Lost
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Alle de speel-airen van de opera van Isis	1715–1716	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus, basse	Lost
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Alle de speel-airen van de opera van Perseus	1715–1716	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus, basse	Lost

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Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Alle de speel-airen van de opera van Phaëton	1715–1716	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus, basse	Lost
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Alle de speel-airen van de opera van Proserpina	1715–1716	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus, basse	Lost
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Alle de speel-airen van het ballet van Psyche	1715–1716	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus, basse	Lost
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Alle de speel-airen van de opera van Roland	1715–1716	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus, basse	Lost
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Alle de speel-airen van de opera van de tempel der vrede	1715–1716	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus, basse	Lost
Lully, Jean-Baptiste	Alle de speel-airen van de opera van de triumph der liefde	1715–1716	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus, basse	Lost
Stuck, Jean-Baptiste	Alle de speel-airen van d’opera Manto de fee	1715–1716	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	Dessus, basse	Lost
Konink, Servaas de (ed.)	Hollantsche Schouburgh, en plugge dansen vermengelt met sangh airen [Volume 3]	1716	Amsterdam: Estienne Roger	“op alle Instrumenten”; dessus ⁷³⁰	Lost ⁷³¹
Various ⁷³²	Concerti a cinque [Book 1]	1717	Amsterdam: Jeanne Roger	Oboe, 3 violins, viola, “Organo e Violoncello”	D-SWl GB-Lbl GB-Ob NL-Dhnmi S-Skma
Klein, Jacob Jr	Six sonates [Op. 1, Book 1]	1717	Amsterdam: Jeanne Roger	Oboe, basso continuo	Lost
Klein, Jacob Jr	Six sonates [Op. 1, Book 2]	1717	Amsterdam: Jeanne Roger	Oboe, basso continuo	Lost

⁷³⁰ Listed in the category “Pièces à une Flûte ou un Hautbois seul” in Roger, Estienne, *Catalogue des Livres de Musique* (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1725), 19.

⁷³¹ A later reprint by Estienne Roger & Le Cene in Amsterdam survives in NL-At and NL-DHnmi.

⁷³² Giuseppe Sammartini, Alessandro Marcello, Giuseppe Valentini, Giacomo Rampin, Antonio Vivaldi, Francesco Maria Veracini, Luca Antonio Predieri, Tomaso Albinoni.

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Loeillet, Jean-Baptiste	VI Sonates [Op. 5, Book 1]	1717	Amsterdam: Jeanne Roger	Traverso, oboe, or violin, basso continuo	GB-Lbl US-Wc
Loeillet, Jean-Baptiste	VI Sonates [Op. 5, Book 2]	1717	Amsterdam: Jeanne Roger	Traverso, oboe, or violin, basso continuo	GB-Lbl
Pepusch, Johann Christoph	X Sonates [Op. 7]	1717	Amsterdam: Jeanne Roger	Traverso or oboe, violin, basso continuo	Lost
Anonymous	Hollantsche Schouburgh, en plugge dansen vermengelt met sangh airen [Volume 4]	1718	Amsterdam: Jeanne Roger	“op alle Instrumenten” ⁷³³	NL-At NL-Dhnmi
Anonymous	Hollantsche Schouburgh, en plugge dansen vermengelt met sangh airen [Volume 5]	1718	Amsterdam: Jeanne Roger	“op alle Instrumenten” ⁷³⁴	NL-At NL-Dhnmi
Anonymous	Hollantsche Schouburgh, en plugge dansen vermengelt met sangh airen [Volume 6]	1718	Amsterdam: Jeanne Roger	“op alle Instrumenten” ⁷³⁵	NL-At NL-Dhnmi
Chauvon, François	Tibiades	1718	Amsterdam: Jeanne Roger	Flute, oboe	Lost ⁷³⁶
Pepusch, Johann Christoph	VI Concerts [Op. 8]	1718	Amsterdam: Jeanne Roger	2 recorders, 2 traversi, oboes, or violins, “Organo e Violoncello”	S-Uu ⁷³⁷

⁷³³ Listed in the category “Pièces à une Flûte ou un Hautbois seul” in Roger, Estienne, *Catalogue*, 1725, 19.

⁷³⁴ Listed in the category “Pièces à une Flûte ou un Hautbois seul” in Roger, Estienne, 19.

⁷³⁵ Listed in the category “Pièces à une Flûte ou un Hautbois seul” in Roger, Estienne, 19.

⁷³⁶ This is a reprint of a work published by Foucault in Paris in 1717, held in B-Bc, F-G, F-Pc, and F-Pn.
Rasch, Rudolf, ‘The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Caix–Croft’, 20.

⁷³⁷ Two “Organo & Violoncello” parts.

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Schickhardt, Johann Christian	Recueil de menuets pour le bal [Op. 11, Book 2]	1718	Amsterdam: Jeanne Roger	Dessus, basse ⁷³⁸	Lost
Schickhardt, Johann Christian	6 Sonatas, Op. 22	1718	Amsterdam: Jeanne Roger	2 recorders, oboe, “Organo”	S-Uu
Fesch, Willem de	Concerti nos. 2 and 4 from <i>VI Concerts</i> [Op. 3]	1719	Amsterdam: Jeanne Roger	2 oboes, bassoon, ⁷³⁹ “Organo”	CH-Zz NL-DHnmi ⁷⁴⁰ S-L US-NYhill
Schickhardt, Johann Christian	Recueil de menuets pour le bal [Op. 11, Book 3]	1720	Amsterdam: Jeanne Roger	Dessus, basse ⁷⁴¹	Lost
Schickhardt, Johann Christian	Recueil de menuets pour le bal [Op. 11, Book 4]	1720	Amsterdam: Jeanne Roger	Dessus, basse ⁷⁴²	Lost
Schickhardt, Johann Christian	Recueil de menuets pour le bal [Op. 11, Book 5]	1720	Amsterdam: Jeanne Roger	Dessus, basse ⁷⁴³	Lost
Anonymous	Hollantsche Schouburgh, en plugge dansen vermengelt met sangh airen [Volume 7]	1721	Amsterdam: Jeanne Roger	“op alle Instrumenten” ⁷⁴⁴	NL-At NL-DHnmi
Marchand, [Jean-Noël?]	XII Sonates [Op. 1]	1721	Amsterdam: Jeanne Roger	Traverso, oboe, or violin, basso continuo	A-Wgm

⁷³⁸ Listed in the category “Pièces à la Francoise à une Flute [à bec], ou une Flute Traversiere, ou Haubois seul et Basse Continue” in Roger, Estienne, *Catalogue*, 1725, 22.

⁷³⁹ Listed as two bass violins on the cover.

⁷⁴⁰ Incomplete.

⁷⁴¹ Listed in the category “Pièces à la Francoise à une Flute [à bec], ou une Flute Traversiere, ou Haubois seul et Basse Continue” in Roger, Estienne, *Catalogue*, 1725, 22.

⁷⁴² Listed in the category “Pièces à la Francoise à une Flute [à bec], ou une Flute Traversiere, ou Haubois seul et Basse Continue” in Roger, Estienne, 22.

⁷⁴³ Listed in the category “Pièces à la Francoise à une Flute [à bec], ou une Flute Traversiere, ou Haubois seul et Basse Continue” in Roger, Estienne, 22.

⁷⁴⁴ Listed in the category “Pièces à une Flûte ou un Hautbois seul” in Roger, Estienne, 19.

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Schickhardt, Johann Christian	VI Sonates [Op. 20, Book 2]	1721	Amsterdam: Jeanne Roger	Traverso, oboe, or violin, basso continuo	Lost ⁷⁴⁵
Albinoni, Tomaso	Concerti a Cinque [Op. 9]	1722	Amsterdam: Jeanne Roger	3 violins, viola, violoncello, 2 oboes, basso continuo	D-MÜs I-Nc ⁷⁴⁶
Baustetter, Johann Conrad	Trios [Op. 1]	1724	Amsterdam: Michel Charles Le Cene	Oboe, violin, violoncello or basso continuo ⁷⁴⁷	F-Pn S-Uu
Schickhardt, Johann Christian	Recueil de menuets pour le bal [Op. 11, Book 6]	1725	Amsterdam: Jeanne Roger	Dessus, basse ⁷⁴⁸	Lost

⁷⁴⁵ A later reprint by Le Cène in Amsterdam survives in B-Bc and US-R.

⁷⁴⁶ Violino Primo Principale only.

⁷⁴⁷ The part is titled “Basso Continuo e Violoncello”.

⁷⁴⁸ Listed in the category “Pièces à la Françoise à une Flute [à bec], ou une Flute Traversiere, ou Haubois seul et Basse Continue” in Roger, Estienne, *Catalogue*, 1725, 22.

Appendix B: List of Iconography

This list consists of images of double-reed instruments produced in the Republic. This does not necessarily include works produced by Dutch composers outside of the Republic. Where applicable, the spelling of the title has been preserved as the original.

n.d., Jan Havickszoon Steen: *Kinderen leren een poes dansen, bekend als 'De dansles'*⁷⁴⁹



⁷⁴⁹ Steen, Jan Havickszoon, *Kinderen Leren Een Poes Dansen, Bekend Als 'De Dansles'*.

n.d., Jan Lamsvelt: *Processie*⁷⁵⁰



⁷⁵⁰ Lamsvelt, Jan, *Processie*.

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n.d., Bernardus van Schijndel: *Gehoor: een herder en een herderin met een schalmei bij een fontein*⁷⁵¹



⁷⁵¹ “Hark: a shepherd and a shepherdess with a shawm at a fountain”.

Van Schijndel, Bernardus, *Gehoor: Een Herder Eene Herderin Met Een Schalmei Bij Een Fontein*, n.d., Oil on panel, 22.6 × 21 cm, n.d.

n.d., Vincent Laurenszoon van der Vinne: *Vanitasstilleven met een schedel, een kroon en muziekinstrumenten*⁷⁵²



⁷⁵² “Vanitas still life with a skull, a crown, and musical instruments”.

Van der Vinne, Vincent Laurenszoon, *Vanitasstilleven Met Een Schedel, Een Kroon En Muziekinstrumenten*, n.d., Oil on canvas, 52 × 43 cm, n.d.

n.d., Jacob de Wit: *Allegorie op het Gezicht en het Gehoor*⁷⁵³



1696: Titelpagina voor *Servaas de Koninks Trios pour la Flute le Violon le Hautbois et toutes Sortes d'Instruments [...] Premier Oeuvre*⁷⁵⁴



⁷⁵³ De Wit, Jacob, *Allegorie op het Gezicht en het Gehoor*.

⁷⁵⁴ Titelpagina voor *Servaas de Koninks Trios pour la Flute le Violon le Hautbois et toutes Sortes d'Instruments [...] Premier Oeuvre*.

Appendix B: List of Iconography

ca. 1670, Jan Havickszoon Steen (attributed): *De Fagotspeler*⁷⁵⁵

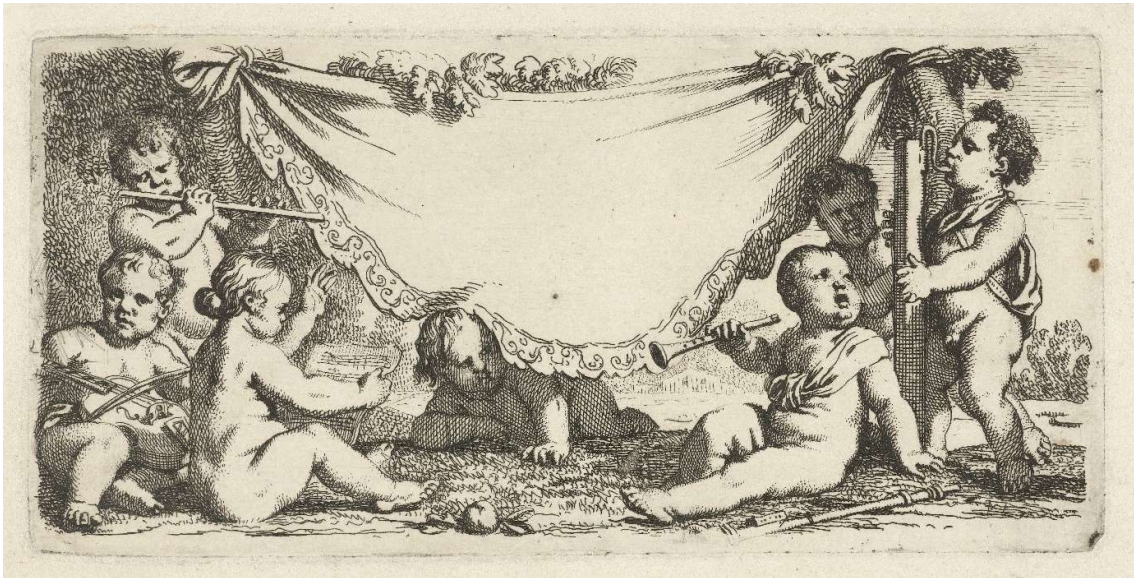


⁷⁵⁵ “The Bassoon Player”.

Steen, Jan Havickszoon, *De Fagotspeler*, ca. 1670, Oil on canvas, 77 × 64 cm, ca. 1670, Aachen: Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, <https://www.bildindex.de/document/obj00000050>.

Appendix B: List of Iconography

1670, Gerard de Lairese: *Musicerende putti*⁷⁵⁶



1670, Gerard de Lairese: *Musicerende putti met Pegasus*⁷⁵⁷



⁷⁵⁶ Lairese, Gerard de, *Musicerende Putti*.

⁷⁵⁷ Lairese, Gerard de, *Musicerende Putti Met Pegasus*.

1677, Pieter Corneliszoon van Slingelandt: *Man met een viool in een venster*⁷⁵⁸



⁷⁵⁸ "Man with a violin in a window".

Slingelandt, Pieter Corneliszoon van, *Man Met Een Viool in Een Venster*, 1677, Oil on panel, 23.5 × 19 cm, 1677, Schwerin: Staatliches Museum Schwerin, <https://www.pubhist.com/w15222>.

>1677, Pieter Corneliszoon van Slingelandt: *Man met een viool in een venster*⁷⁵⁹



⁷⁵⁹ Slingelandt, Pieter Corneliszoon van, *Man Met Een Viool in Een Venster*, ca. 1677, Oil on panel, 29 × 22 cm, ca. 1677, Sibiu: Muzeul Național Brukenthal, <https://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/s/slingela/violist.html>.

Appendix B: List of Iconography

1680, Evert Collier: Vanitasstillevens met boeken, muziekinstrumenten, een globe, een horloge en een zandloper⁷⁶⁰



⁷⁶⁰ “Vanitas still life with books, musical instruments, a globe, a watch, and an hourglass”.

1682: *Titelpagina voor Johan Philip Heus's Ouverture avec tous les airs de violon de L'opera de Persée*⁷⁶¹



⁷⁶¹ *Titelpagina voor Johan Philip Heus's Ouverture avec tous les airs de violon de L'opera de Persée.*

1682, Gerard de Lairese: *Cadmus doodt de draak*⁷⁶²



⁷⁶² Lairese, Gerard de, *Cadmus doodt de draak*.

1683: *Titelpagina voor Johan Philip Heus's Ouverture avec tous les airs de violon de L'opera de Phaeton*⁷⁶³



⁷⁶³ *Titelpagina voor Johan Philip Heus's Ouverture avec tous les airs de violon de L'opera de Phaeton.*

1684, Evert Collier: *Vanitasstilleven met schedel, muziekinstrumenten en globe*⁷⁶⁴



⁷⁶⁴ “Vanitas still life with skull, musical instruments, and globe”.

Collier, Evert, *Vanitasstilleven Met Schedel, Muziekinstrumenten En Globe*, 1684, Oil on canvas, 77 × 64 cm, 1684, The Hague: Kunstmuseum Den Haag.

Appendix B: List of Iconography

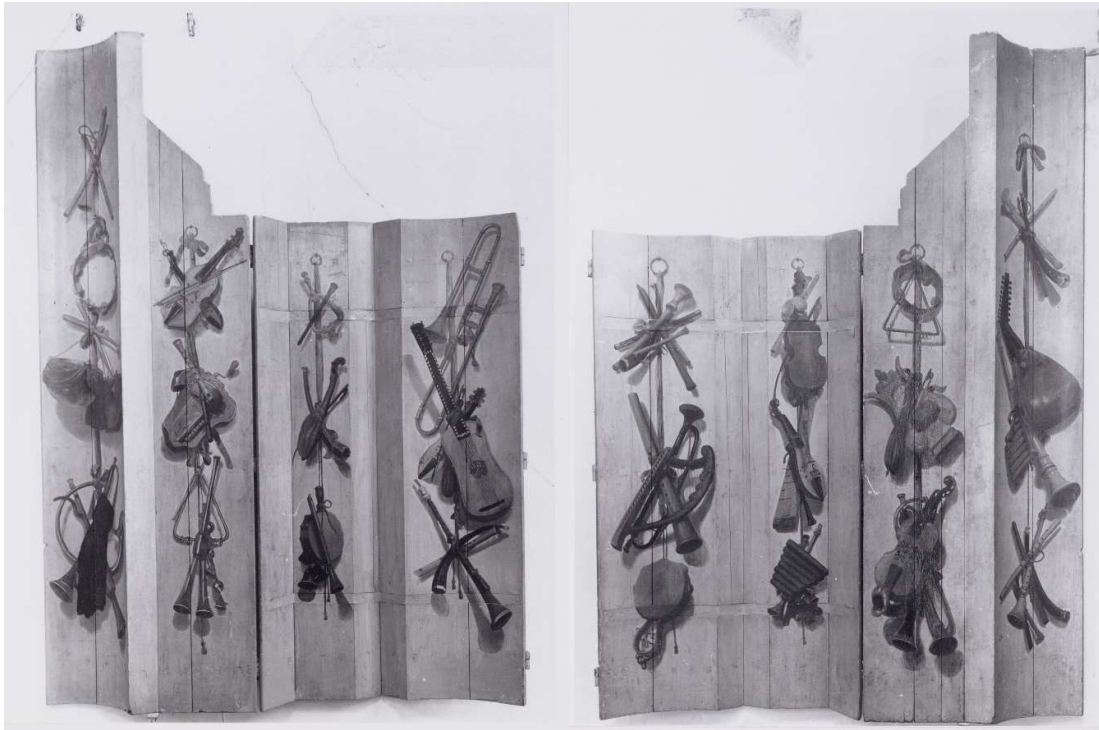
n.d. (1685–1689), Evert Collier: *Vanitasstilleven met muziekinstrumenten, stokbeurs en opgeslagen boek*⁷⁶⁵



⁷⁶⁵ “Vanitas still life with musical instruments, purse, and opened book”.
Collier, Evert, *Vanitasstilleven Met Muziekinstrumenten, Stokbeurs En Opgeslagen Boek*, n.d., Oil on panel, 28.5 × 23 cm, n.d.

Appendix B: List of Iconography

1686, Gerard de Laireesse: *Het interieur van de Westerkerk: beschilderde deuren van het rugpositief opgesteld tegen een der muren onder het orgel*⁷⁶⁶



⁷⁶⁶ “The interior of the Westerkerk: painted doors of the *rugpositief* lined up against one of the walls below the organ”.

Lairesse, Gerard de, *Het Interieur van de Westerkerk: Beschilderde Deuren van Het Rugpositief Opgesteld Tegen Een Der Muren Onder Het Orgel* (Links).

Lairesse, Gerard de, *Het Interieur van de Westerkerk: Beschilderde Deuren van Het Rugpositief Opgesteld Tegen Een Der Muren Onder Het Orgel* (Rechts).

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Appendix B: List of Iconography

ca. 1686, Daniël Marot I: *Bal in het Huis ten Bosch ter ere van de verjaardag van de prins van Oranje*⁷⁶⁷



⁷⁶⁷ Marot, Daniël I, *Bal in het Huis ten Bosch ter ere van de verjaardag van de prins van Oranje*.

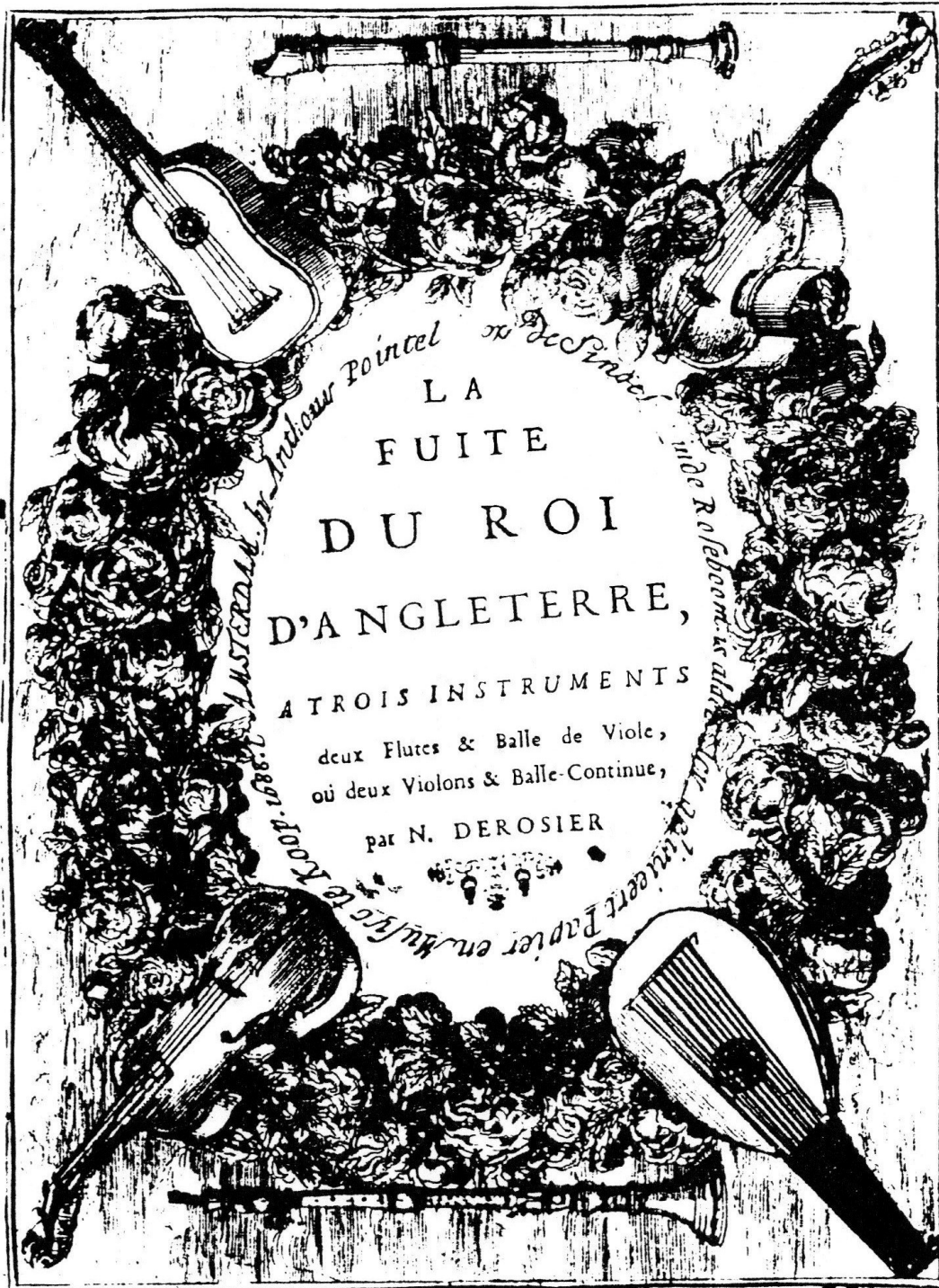
Appendix B: List of Iconography

1687, Evert Collier: Vanitasstilleven met muziekinstrumenten, globe en opengeslagen boek op een gedekte tafel⁷⁶⁸



⁷⁶⁸ “Vanitas still life with musical instruments, globe, and open book on a covered table”.
Collier, Evert, *Vanitasstilleven Met Muziekinstrumenten, Globe En Opengeslagen Boek Op Een Gedekte Tafel*, 1687, Oil on panel, 25 × 24 cm, 1687, London: Alan Jacobs Gallery.

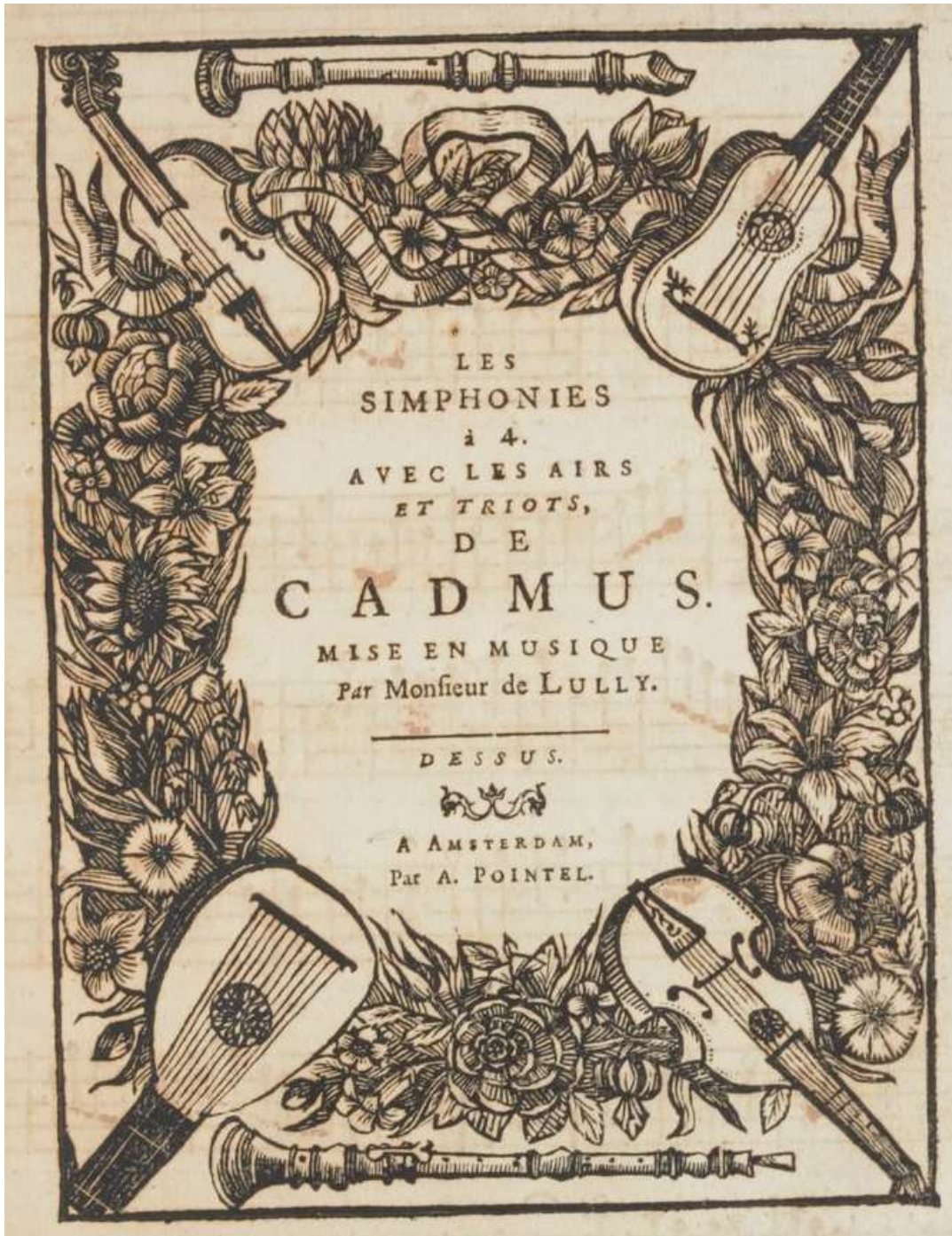
1688: Titelpagina voor Nicolas Desrosier, *La fuite du roi d'Angleterre*⁷⁶⁹



⁷⁶⁹ "Title page for Nicolas Desrosiers's *La fuite du roi d'Angleterre*".

Titelpagina voor Nicolas Desrosiers, *La fuite du roi d'Angleterre*, 1688, Print, 1688, The Hague: Nederlands Muziek Instituut, 111.1; 121.2.

ca. 1690: Titelpagina voor Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Les Simphonies a 4. Avec les Airs et Triots, de Cadmus*⁷⁷⁰



⁷⁷⁰ "Title page for Jean-Baptiste Lully's *Les Simphonies a 4. Avec les Airs et Triots, de Cadmus*".
Titelpagina voor Jean-Baptiste Lully, Les Simphonies a 4. Avec les Airs et Triots, de Cadmus, ca. 1690, Print,
ca. 1690, Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, SA.79.C.20.

Appendix B: List of Iconography

ca. 1690, Daniël Marot I: *Ontwerp voor wandtapijten bestemd voor Hampton*

*Court Palace*⁷⁷¹



⁷⁷¹ "Design for tapestries intended for Hampton Court Palace".

Marot, Daniël I, *Ontwerp Voor Wandtapijten Bestemd Voor Hampton Court Palace*, ca. 1690, Pen, ink, and chalk on paper, 28 × ? cm, ca. 1690, London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 8480:12.

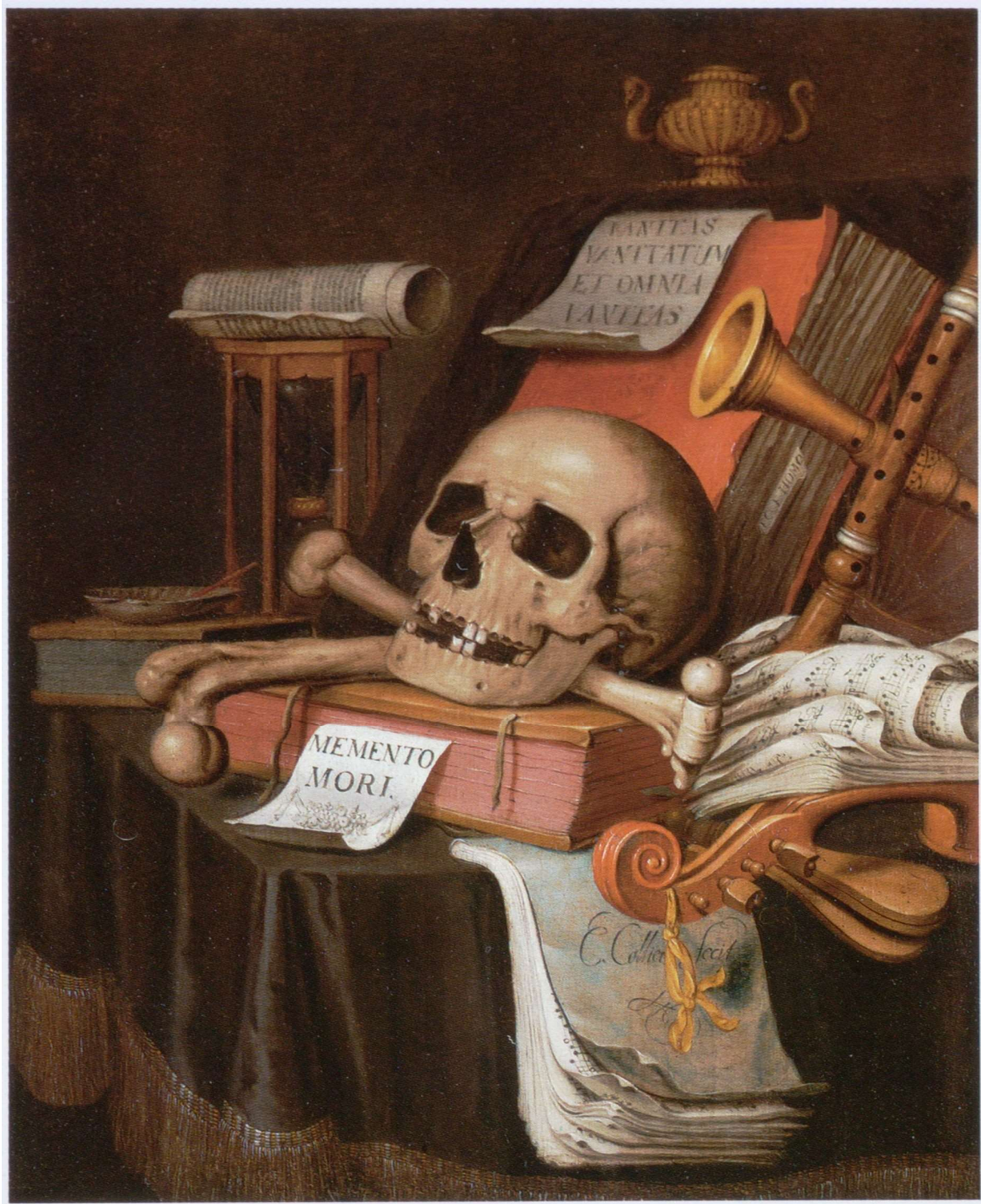
n.d. (1690's), "W: BEUKERS": Oboe.⁷⁷²



⁷⁷² Victoria and Albert Museum, 'Oboe, ca. 1700'.

Appendix B: List of Iconography

n.d. (1690's), Evert Collier: *Vanitasstillevens met een schedel en gekruiste botten, muziekinstrumenten en boeken, op een gedekte tafel*⁷⁷³



⁷⁷³ "Vanitas still life with a skull and crossbones, musical instruments, and books, on a covered table". Collier, Evert, *Vanitasstillevens Met Een Schedel En Gekruiste Botten, Muziekinstrumenten En Boeken, Op Een Gedekte Tafel*, n.d., Oil on panel, 76.5 × 62.3 cm, n.d.

Appendix B: List of Iconography

1692, Evert Collier: *Vanitasstillevens met boek, muziekinstrumenten en globe op een gedekte tafel*⁷⁷⁴



⁷⁷⁴ “Vanitas still life with book, musical instruments, and globe on a covered table”.

Collier, Evert, *Vanitasstillevens Met Boek, Muziekinstrumenten En Globe Op Een Gedekte Tafel*, 1692, Oil on canvas, 36 × 28.5 cm, 1692, London: Richard Green.

Appendix B: List of Iconography

1692, Evert Collier: *Vanitasstillevens met boeken, een hemelglobe en muziekinstrumenten*⁷⁷⁵



⁷⁷⁵ “Vanitas still life with books, a celestial globe, and musical instruments”.

Collier, Evert, *Vanitasstillevens Met Boeken, Een Hemelglobe En Muziekinstrumenten*, 1692, Oil on panel, 36 × 29 cm, 1692.

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1692, Evert Collier: *Vanitasstillevens met boeken, muziekinstrumenten en globe op een tafel met kleet*⁷⁷⁶



⁷⁷⁶ “Vanitas still life with books, musical instruments, and globe on a table with cloth”. Collier, Evert, *Vanitasstillevens Met Boeken, Muziekinstrumenten En Globe Op Een Tafel Met Kleet*, 1692, Oil on canvas, 34.9 × 26 cm, 1692, London: Rafael Valls Limited.

1693, Evert Collier: *Vanitasstilleven met globe, muziekinstrumenten en boeken*⁷⁷⁷



⁷⁷⁷ "Vanitas still life with globe, musical instruments, and books".

Collier, Evert, *Vanitasstilleven Met Globe, Muziekinstrumenten En Boeken*, 1693, Oil on panel, 42.5 × 32.4 cm, 1693.

1693, Evert Collier: *Vanitasstilleven met schedel, muziekinstrumenten en boeken op een sarcofaag*⁷⁷⁸



⁷⁷⁸ “Vanitas still life with skull, musical instruments, and books on a sarcophagus”.

Collier, Evert, *Vanitasstilleven Met Schedel, Muziekinstrumenten En Boeken Op Een Sarcofaag*, 1693, Oil on canvas, 33.8 × 31.1 cm, 1693, Rotterdam: C.P.A. & G.R. Castendijk Collectie.

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1694, Evert Collier: Vanitasstillevens met prent met het portret van keizer Augustus⁷⁷⁹



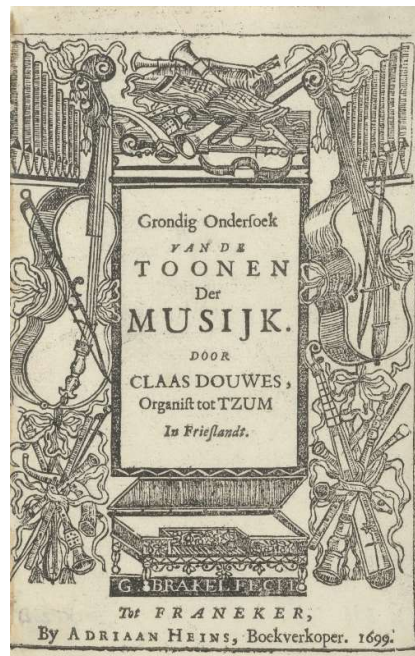
⁷⁷⁹ "Vanitas still life with print depicting the portrait of Emperor Augustus".
Collier, Evert, *Vanitasstillevens Met Prent Met Het Portret van Keizer Augustus*, 1694, Oil on canvas, 76.2 × 63.5 cm, 1694.

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1696, Jan de Lairese: *Titelpagina voor Hendrik Anders, Trioos*⁷⁸⁰



1699, Gillius Brakel: *Titelpagina voor Klaas Douwes, Grondig onderzoek van de toonen der musijk*⁷⁸¹



⁷⁸⁰ "Title page for Hendrik Anders's *Trioos*".

Lairesse, Jan de, *Titelpagina voor Hendrik Anders, Trioos*.

⁷⁸¹ "Title page for Klaas Douwes's *Grondig onderzoek van de toonen der musijk*".

Brakel, Gillius, *Titelpagina voor Klaas Douwes, Grondig onderzoek van de toonen der musijk*, 1699, Woodcut, 14.6 × 9.2 cm, 1699, Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.87249>.

Appendix B: List of Iconography

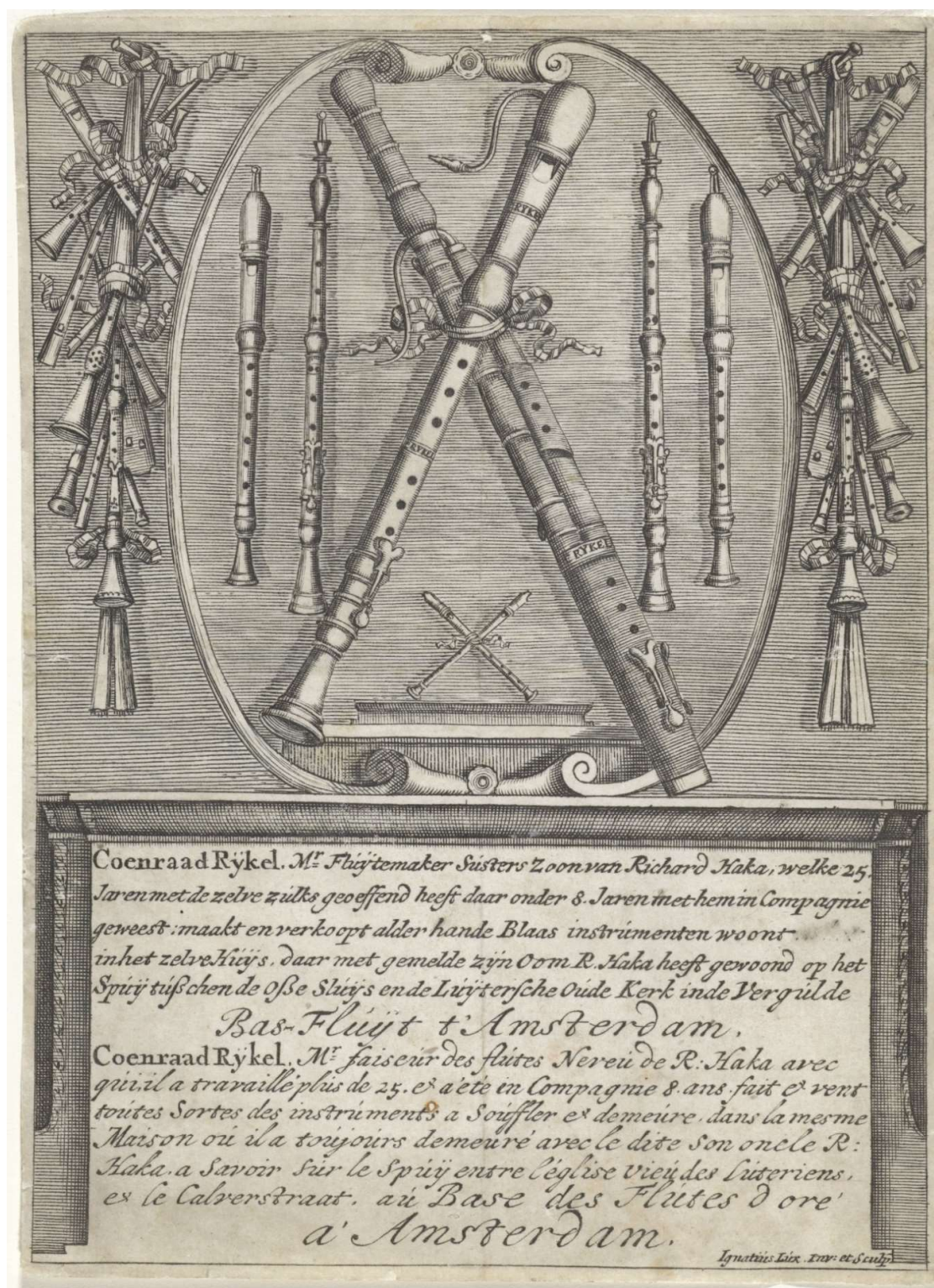
n.d. (eighteenth century), Daniël Marot II: *Musicerende en dansende figuren in een park*⁷⁸²



⁷⁸² “Figures making music and dancing in a park”.

Marot, Daniël II, *Musicerende En Dansende Figuren in Een Park*, n.d., Etching on paper, 22.8 × 44.1 cm, n.d., London: The British Museum, 1866,0407.36.

1705, Ignatius Lux: Visitor card of Coenraad Rijkel⁷⁸³



⁷⁸³ Lux, Ignatius, Visitor card of Coenraad Rijkel.

1705, Adriaen van Ostade: *Dansende boeren voor een herberg*⁷⁸⁴



⁷⁸⁴ Ostade, Adriaen van, *Dansende boeren voor een herberg*.

1716: Front matter from *Het vermaaklyk Buitenleven, of de Zingende en Speelende Boerenvreugd*⁷⁸⁵



⁷⁸⁵ Gijzen, Jan van, *Het vermaaklyk Buitenleven*.

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1718, Adolf van de Laan: *Aankomst van de nieuwe Nederlandse ambassadeur*

*Colyer te Constantinopel, 1718*⁷⁸⁶



1723: Hermes playing a shawm⁷⁸⁷



⁷⁸⁶ "Arrival of new Dutch ambassador, Colyer, in Constantinople, 1718".

Laan, Adolf van de, *Aankomst van de nieuwe Nederlandse ambassadeur Colyer te Constantinopel, 1718*.

⁷⁸⁷ Weyerman, Jacob Campo, *Den Amsterdamsche Hermes*.

Glossary

Pitch centre terminology ($A\pm x$): in this dissertation, pitch centres are described using terminology coined by Bruce Haynes.⁷⁸⁸ In short, it is based around the concept that “ $A\pm 0$ ” is $A\approx 440\text{Hz}$. From there, semitones are added and subtracted. This terminology has been adopted instead of precise hertz as measuring the exact pitch centre of double-reed instruments is dependent on reed and staple/bocal set-ups. Therefore, $A-2\approx 392\text{Hz}$; $A-1\approx 415\text{Hz}$; $A+1\approx 466\text{Hz}$. $A-1\frac{1}{2}$ is between $A-2$ and $A-1$.

Bocal: a bent, hollow, metal tube inserted into the wing joint of a dulcian or bassoon. A loose reed is inserted onto the end of the narrowest portion of the bocal. The combination of the reed and the length and conicity of the bocal affects the pitch and timbre of the instrument.

Deutsche schalmei (plural, Deutsche schalmeien): literally, “German shawm” in German; a type of European shawm from the seventeenth century with a conical bore.

Double reed: one piece of processed *Arundo donax* cane, folded over, shaped, and bound to be a reed; a vibrating piece of cane which produces sound for shawms, dulcians, oboes, and bassoons. Instruments which use this type of reed are double-reed instruments.

Fontanelle: a decorative portion of an instrument, used to cover holes which is operated by keys. On most shawms (and some early oboes), this is made from a turned piece of wood. On dulcians and the kleine schalmei, this is a rectangular metal object

⁷⁸⁸ Haynes, Bruce, *The Story of ‘A’*.

which is mounted onto the instrument. Richard Haka's velt-schalmeien have a fontanelle but they do not cover a key, only a hole.

Pirouette: a hollow, wooden, flared tube, intended to surround the reed of a shawm. The lips can be placed on the pirouette to make the reed free-blowing, rather than operated directly by the lips.

Rampjaar: meaning “disaster year”, refers to the year 1672, mainly in relation to the Franco-Dutch War and the Third Anglo-Dutch War. The ongoing wars were part of the reason for the Amsterdam Schouwburg's closure in 1672 until 1677.

Staple: a hollow, metal tube — generally straight — inserted into the top joint of an oboe. For treble oboes, cane is tied onto the narrowest portion of the staple to make a reed. For larger oboes, a loose reed is inserted onto the end of the narrowest portion of the staple. It is not known which of these options was most common with shawms. The combination of the reed and the length and conicity of the staple affects the pitch and timbre of the instrument.

Velt-schalmei (plural, velt-schalmeien): literally, “field shawm” in Dutch; a Dutch term referring to a local type of Deutsche schalmei.

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- . *Vanitasstilleven Met Boeken, Muziekinstrumenten En Globe Op Een Tafel Met Kleed*. 1692. Oil on canvas, 34.9 × 26 cm. London: Rafael Valls Limited.
- . *Vanitasstilleven Met Een Schedel En Gekruiste Botten, Muziekinstrumenten En Boeken, Op Een Gedekte Tafel*. n.d. Oil on panel, 76.5 × 62.3 cm.
- . *Vanitasstilleven Met Globe, Muziekinstrumenten En Boeken*. 1693. Oil on panel, 42.5 × 32.4 cm.
- . *Vanitasstilleven Met Muziekinstrumenten, Globe En Opengeslagen Boek Op Een Gedekte Tafel*. 1687. Oil on panel, 25 × 24 cm. London: Alan Jacobs Gallery.
- . *Vanitasstilleven Met Muziekinstrumenten, Stokbeurs En Opgeslagen Boek*. n.d. Oil on panel, 28.5 × 23 cm.
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