Lessons from inventories and sales of flutes and recorders, 1650–1800

In 2003, I was invited to give a lecture at the Utrecht Symposium on “The Renaissance Flute and Recorder Consort”. In order to prepare myself for that symposium, I compiled some lists relating to the instruments: surviving music, surviving instruments, early and modern writings, and performers. Eventually, I remembered that I had seen some inventories mentioned in books and articles that contained entries relating to flutes and recorders. I started from there, with the famous inventories – Henry VIII’s in London, Madrid, Stuttgart, Innsbruck – which modern writers seemed to have cited largely for the total number of flutes or recorders present, as if owning instruments was some kind of European Cup competition. Puzzled by why courts and cities would want to own dozens of instruments, I had a feeling that the detail of the inventories would prove more interesting and more revealing. So I set to work to find as many inventories as possible, then transcribe and translate the entries relating to flutes and recorders. Soon I discovered that references to purchases of instruments were equally valuable. For the Utrecht symposium, I began in the Middle Ages (with what I thought was the first reference to the purchase of a recorder in 1388) and went through to 1630 (when I believed that the Renaissance recorder consort had died out). Eventually, my listing of entries from inventories and purchases, along with English translations, took up more than 100 pages in the published proceedings of the Utrecht symposium, which appeared in 2005. The listing also appears on my website, and will be kept up to date there.

The detail of the inventories is indeed interesting and revealing. Several lecturers from that symposium, including myself, drew on my listing for the published versions of their papers. I also published an article, Tracing the Renaissance Flute in

1 In fact there is an earlier reference to the purchase of “flutes” in a letter from the Infante Don Juan (the future Juan I) to the chamberlain Pere d’Arrès, Zaragoza, 23 July 1378; see Jordi Ballester, La flauta dulce en la antigua corona de Aragón a finales del siglo XIV: nuevas aportaciones, in: Revista de flauta de pico 15 (2000), p. 11.

2 As we shall see in this article, consorts of recorders continued to be played until well into the eighteenth century; and the “Renaissance” types of recorders overlapped with the “Baroque” types in the late seventeenth century.


Contemporaneous Documents, in which I was able to use information from the listing to discuss terminology, groupings and containers, pitch standards, and makers.\(^5\)

Since the Utrecht symposium I have been expanding the boundary of the project forwards, up to 1800. This second instalment, covering 1631–1800, is still in progress, but I hope to be able to post it on my website during 2008. For this period, I have added two new types of source to the inventories and purchases, namely catalogues of book sales and newspaper advertisements by makers and dealers.

In a sense, the listings have been a collaborative project, as I have had a great deal of help from research colleagues in finding the entries, and especially translating them. The entries from Dutch book-sale catalogues are taken from three booklets compiled by Gerard Verloop.\(^6\) Those from American newspaper advertisements have come from two databases prepared by teams of scholars: The Performing Arts in Colonial American Newspapers, 1690–1783\(^7\) and Early American Newspapers, Series I, 1690–1896.\(^8\) Translation is always an interpretation, and translating early writings forces even native speakers to look more carefully at terms and expressions that seem familiar from modern prose but are subtly different and yield their secrets slowly. For the 1631–1800 instalment I have had essential help from Jan Bouterse, our greatest expert on Dutch woodwind makers.

I trust that in due course my listing, a compilation of primary research material, will help other scholars and musicians answer questions about the flute and recorder in the Baroque and Classical periods. In this paper I will draw some preliminary conclusions, emphasising the kinds of lessons that can be learned from such material. I should add that in the course of preparing this paper, I was impressed with the insights that a few scholars, notably Bouterse, Andrew Robinson, and William Waterhouse, have already drawn from the inventories with which they were familiar.\(^9\) Some of the conclusions I shall mention are theirs rather than mine.

**Terminology**

In France, where the Baroque type of recorder seems to have begun its development in the 1660s, the principal name for the instrument in the inventories is “flûte”. “Flûte douce”, a term found in Marin Mersenne’s Harmonie universelle (1636), first

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occurs in an inventory in 1648.10 “Flûte à bec”, the modern French name for the recorder, is a later invention. It is first found in 1707, in both Jacques Hotteterre’s well-known tutor, Principes, and in the opera Bradamante by Louis de Lacoste.11 The term does not show up in an inventory until 1723.12

The Renaissance French name for the transverse flute, “flûte d’Allemagne”, persisted into the seventeenth century, where it is found in an inventory of 1640.13 Jean-Baptiste Lully used the same term in 1681 in his ballet Le Triomphe de l’Amour, LWV 59. The alternative term “flûte traversière” is a later one, or more precisely, a later revival of an earlier one. I have not found an instance of it in the Baroque period before Michael de La Barre’s Pièces pour la flûte traversière, avec la basse continue (Paris, 1702).14 Of course, Hotteterre gives the two terms as alternatives in his tutor of 1707. “Flûte traversière” occurs in an inventory shortly afterwards, the inventory of his parents’ estate on the death of his mother in 1711.15

In German, the standard term in the inventories is the Renaissance one, “Flöte”, also rendered with other vowels, “Flauta”, “Flowit”, “Flette”, all in a variety of spellings. The Baroque type of recorder had clearly arrived in Kremsmünster by 1692, when the monastery bought “2 französische Fleten”.16 And in 1709, the monastery bought two more instruments, specifying their pitch-standard: “Neue Flauten von gemeinen Holz französisch Ton”.17 The almost-French term “Flautes douces” turns up in Danzig in 1731.18 And in the second half of the century there are two amusing instances of mixed language terms: “Floten a bec” (Darmstadt, 1768)19 and “Flauti […] a bec” (Stuttgart, 1783).20

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14 See also Jane M. Bowers, “Flûte traversière” and “Flûte d’Allemagne”: The Flute in France from the Late Middle Ages up through 1702, in: Recherches sur la musique française classique 19 (1979), p. 40.
18 Hermann Rauchning, Geschichte der Musik und Musikpflege in Danzig: Von den Anfängen bis zur Auflösung der Kirchenkapellen, Danzig 1931, pp. 312–313 (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Westpreußens 15).
19 Elisabeth Noack, Musikgeschichte Darmstads vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart, Mainz 1967, p. 269 (Beiträge zur Mittelalterischen Musikgeschichte 8).
The standard term for the transverse flute in the German-language inventories is "flûte traversière", or just "traversiere". A variant of the alternative French name, "flaud d'almanque", turns up in Nuremberg around 1720. The German equivalent of that, "teutsche Flöden", found in two inventories from Naumburg in the 1720s, may mean "recorders made in Germany".

When the Baroque type of recorder was introduced to England from France in 1673, it brought with it French names, "flute douce" or simply "flute", which overlapped with the traditional name until at least 1695. From 1673 to the late 1720s, "flute" in English meant recorder – a switch of terminology that has caused endless confusion among modern writers and editors. The Baroque type of transverse flute was known in England in the 1690s. A "Flute D'Allemagne" made by the famous woodwind maker Peter Bressan is cited in the Talbot manuscript, compiled between about 1692 and 1695. But the flute then took about twenty years to overtake the recorder in popularity. In the 1720s, the recorder began to be distinguished further by the terms "common flute", first documented in 1722, or "common English-flute" (1732), later contracted to "English flute" (used in a tutor of c. 1765). The transverse instrument was generally known as German flute, a direct translation of the earlier French term. John Grano's prison diary, dating from 1728–29, already uses "German flute" and "flute" interchangeably for the transverse instrument, although a few writers were still using "flute" to mean recorder until at least 1765.

The few inventories from England tend to confirm what we know. An inventory of the goods of the late Sir John Erne in Herefordshire (1686) mentions "two recorders". The estate inventory of the important recorder virtuoso James Paisible (1721) includes three sizes of "flute", or in other words recorder, and "an old cane flute", a

25 John Loeillet, Sonatas for Variety of Instruments viz for a Common Flute, a Hoboy or Violin, also for two German Flutes with a Bass for the Violoncello and a Thorough Bass for ye Harpsicord […] Opera Prima, London 1722.
26 Thomas Stanely Jr., A New System of the Flute a'be, or Common English Flute, London, c. 1732.
27 The Compleat Tutor for the Flute Containing the Best and Easiest Instructions for Learners to Obtain a Proficiency, London c. 1765.
29 The Compleat Tutor for the Flute (see footnote 27).
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record in the form of a walking stick. A similar inventory of Peter Bressan a decade later in 1731 lists "4 common flutes, one German flute".

In the American colonies, recorders are mentioned in inventories as far back as the 1630s. What would by then have been Baroque-style recorders, "lately sent over from London", were advertised for sale in Boston in 1716 under the name "flutes".

"German flute" for the transverse instrument first appeared in an advertisement for a New York concert in 1736 and remained the standard term into the nineteenth century. "English flute" for the recorder is first found in 1743, twenty-two years ahead of its documentation in British sources, and continued to be used in American advertisements into the early nineteenth century. In 1755, "common flute" was also introduced, persisting to the end of the century. Sometimes both terms turn up in advertisements by the same store around the same time, and they are even presented as alternatives – "English, or common Concert Flutes" (New York, 1773) – or combined – "English common Flutes" (Baltimore, 1785).

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The simplest name for the recorder in The Netherlands was "fluit" ("fluyt"), spelled with an I or a Y. It is found in 1653 and right through to the end of the eighteenth century, from the middle of the century becoming more and more likely to mean transverse flute. The French name came with it. Richard Haka's invoice for the sale of a consort of recorders to the Swedish navy in 1685 calls the instruments "fleutte deuse". Incidentally, if the name alone were not clear, Michiel Parent advertised in 1691 that he made and sold "Bassons, Hobois, Fluyten [...] perfect op de Fransse manier" (bassoons, oboes, recorders [...] to perfection in the French manner).

A Dutchified version of the French name, "fluyt douse", found in no fewer than thirty-two different spellings and variants, then became the main one for the instrument right through into the early nineteenth century, still used in a sale catalogue.

34 Advertisement by Mr. Enstone, in: *The Boston News-Letter*, 16 April 1716.
36 Inventory of estate of Colonel Henry Fitzhugh, 2 March 1743, Stafford County, Virginia, transcribed in: *Will of William Fitzhugh and Other Extracts from the Records of Stafford County*, in: *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 2, no. 3 (January 1895), p. 278.
37 Advertisement by Bremar and Neyle, in: *South Carolina Gazette*, 16 October 1755.
42 Bouterse, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments and their Makers* (see footnote 9), pp. 81–82.
from Amsterdam in 1827. The simpler French name “flûte” is found a few times during the first two decades of the eighteenth century. Hotteterre’s alternative name “flûte à bec” does not show up in Dutch inventories until 1741, already preceded by a mixed Dutch/French adaptation, “fluyt a bec” (1739), then followed by a pure Dutch translation, “bekfluit” (1763), and the same Italian/French one we have already noted in Stuttgart, “flauti a bec” (1770).

The principal Dutch term for the transverse flute was “dwarsfluit”, first found in an advertisement in 1690, and then appearing throughout the eighteenth century and beyond. The “fluyt” part was sometimes Frenchified: “dwarsfluten” (Amsterdam, 1727), as was the transverse component: “fluyt travers” (Amsterdam, 1741).

Few recorders are mentioned in Italian inventories. The term “flauto” continues right through from what must have been still the Renaissance style of recorder in 1666 to the Baroque style of instrument until at least 1729. In Padua, the inventory of Andrea Mantova Benavides (1696) calls the instruments “subioti seu flauti” (pipes or recorders). The consort of recorders that Haka supplied to the court in Florence in 1700 is called “flauti o zufoli”. This may not mean much for the Baroque period, but it is an important clue that “zufoli” was a local Florentine term for recorders. The Florentine inventory of 1463 mentions “Quattro zufoli firminghi” and “Trei zufoli nostrali” (“four Flemish zufoli” and “three of our zufoli”): and “zufoli” appear again in the inventory of 1492. Ardal Powell takes them to be fifes. “Zufoli” does seem to have been the standard Italian term for fifes after about 1520.

45 Sale at the house of Petrus van de Aa, Leiden, transcribed in Verloop, 1623–1775 (see footnote 6), p. 16.
46 G. A. Wumkes, Stads- en Dorpskroniek van Friesland (1700–1800), Leeuwarden 1930, p. 192; see also Bouterse, Dutch Woodwind Instruments and their Makers (see footnote 9), pp. 75, 243.
47 Sale of the belongings of Meinardus van Visvliet by Petrus Gillissen, Middelburg, 30 April 1770, transcribed in Bouterse, Dutch Woodwind Instruments and their Makers (see footnote 9), Appendix B, p. 7; Verloop, 1623–1775 (see footnote 6), p. 45.
50 Advertisement by Jan van Heerde, woodwind maker, in: Amsterdamse Courant, 5 May 1741, transcribed in Bouterse, Dutch Woodwind Instruments and their Makers (see footnote 9), p. 76.
But before that date there is little evidence for fifes, or even flutes, played by Italians in Italy. In contrast, there is evidence for recorders there in the fifteenth century, and we do know of at least two Flemish recorder makers but not fife or flute makers.

The Italian term for the transverse flute in the inventories, from 1652 to 1696, is invariably “traversa”.

In the Spanish language, the Renaissance term “flauta” continued to be used for the recorder until the mid-eighteenth century in Latin America. In Spain itself, it had become ambiguous by the 1760s. The modern Latin-American term, “flauta dulce”, is first documented in Spain in a Miserere by Pedro Rabassa in 1715. It is not found in an advertisement until 1758, then springs up only a year later in Mexico.

Where we would like some guidance about terminology is for those grey periods where the plain term “flute” in all the languages I have mentioned becomes ambiguous, referring to both recorder and flute, or begins to signify flute alone. The earliest clear double meaning is in 1749 in the will of the Amsterdam woodwind maker Willem Beukers Sr., who left his son Willem Jr.: “alle gereedschap van de testateur en alle opgemaakte fluiten, de patronen en modellen” (all the legator’s tools and all the assembled recorders/flutes, patterns, and models). The double meaning of recorders/flutes for “flutes” is implied by its alternation with “German and English flutes” or “common and German flutes” in advertisements from five individual stores in Boston, Charleston, and New York over the period 1746–1775.

“Flute” as transverse flute is suggested by the estate inventory of Nicolas Hotette-dit-Colin, in 1727: “les outils, bois et choses dont se servoit le defunt pour faire flutes traversieres ou allemandes, hautbois et autres instrument[s]” (the tools, wood, and things that the deceased used to make flutes, oboes, and other instruments). Note the juxtaposition of “flutes traversieres ou allemandes” with “hautbois”, and then “fluttes” with “hautbois”. I have already mentioned the Grano diary of 1728-1729. In sales in The Hague in 1762 and 1765, an instrument is described as “fluyt met drie middelsakken” (flute with three middle joints); this “fluyt” would have been a flute not a recorder, as recorders never seem to have been made with “corps de rechange”.

57 Robert Stevenson, Christmas Music from Baroque Mexico, Berkeley etc. 1974, pp. 30, 34.
58 Bouterse, Dutch Woodwind Instruments and their Makers (see footnote 9), p. 67.
60 Benoit, Dufourcq, Musiciens français du XVIIIe siècle (see footnote 12), pp. 203–204.
61 Sale of the belongings of Anthoni van Heurn, at the house of Pieter van Os, bookseller, The Hague, 1 March 1762, transcribed in Bouterse, Dutch Woodwind Instruments and their Makers (see footnote 9).
is particularly revealing as it also employs the terms “dwars fluyt” and “fluyt a bec”, so the compiler had these terms at his disposal: we are beginning to see the terminology change. The American usage of “flutes” as transverse flutes was not firmly established until the 1780s.\(^6\)

**Sizes**

It is well known that Renaissance recorders were made in a number of sizes. By the early seventeenth century, in his *Syntagma musicum* of 1619, Michael Praetorius could list a “gans Stimmwerck” or “Accort” consisting of no fewer than 21 instruments, which he said could be bought in Venice: “Groß-baß” in F, 2 “Baß” in B♭, 4 “Basset” in f, 4 “Tenor” in e¹, 4 “Alt” in g¹, 2 “Discant” in e², 2 “Discant” in d², and 2 “klein Flotelein” or “exilient” in g². Today in English we could call these sizes of recorder great bass, bass, basset, tenor, alto (treble), soprano (descant) in C or D, and soprannino.

During the late seventeenth century and the eighteenth, the surviving music and tutors tend to suggest, with a few notable exceptions, that the only size of recorder that existed any longer was the alto. The inventories tell a different story. Haka’s consort for the Swedish navy, 1685, consisted of “Bass fleutte does in 3 Stuken, quint fleutte does in 3 Stuken, talije fleutten does in 3 Stucken, alt fleutte does in 2 Stucken, discant fleutre does in 2 Stucken”. Bouterse has suggested that these were basset, tenor, alto, third flute or fourth flute, and soprano.\(^6\) But the terms are translations or adaptations of the French practice of the time, as documented by the acoustician Joseph Sauveur: basset, tenor, alto, soprano, and soprannino.\(^4\) The term “fourth flute” originated earlier, as an inventory of items belonging to the recently deceased Stadtpeifer Peter Pollack in Reval, Estonia, in 1666 included “2 kvart-flooti”, and from their position in the list it is clear that they are a fourth higher than the alto.\(^5\) Haka’s consort listed in an inventory of the Florentine court in 1700 comprised “quattro sopra acuti, quattro soprani, quattro contralti, due tenori e due bassi”: soprannino, soprano, alto, tenor, and basset. A further consort in this inventory consisted of “due soprani, tre contralti, quattro tenori e due bassi”: soprano, alto, tenor, and basset. In 1710, the widow of another Dutch maker, Michiel Parent, advertised “Fluyt-does, en Diskante, Octaven”: (alto) recorders, sopranos, sopranninos.\(^6\)

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\(^6\) Advertisement by Mr. Roth, in: *Pennsylvania Packet*, 23 September 1783: "flute with three middle pieces".

\(^{63}\) Bouterse, *Communication* (see footnote 41), p. 247. In *Dutch Woodwind Instruments and their Makers* (see footnote 9), p. 146, he mentions the possibility of a third flute.


In France, the tutors of Loulié, Freillon-Poncein, and Hotteterre mention only the alto. Yet French vocal music of the late Baroque employed a number of sizes. Lully’s *Le Triomphe de l’Amour* includes the celebrated “Prelude pour l’Amour”, which specifies “Tailles, Quinte de Flutes, Petite Basse de Flutes”, and “Grande Basse de Flutes”: alto, tenor, basset, and bass. Montéclair’s opera *Jephté* (1732) includes a piece for: “Petits dessus de flute à bec, haute contre de flute à bec, Taille de flute à bec, Quintes de flute à bec”, and “basses de flute à bec”: sopranno, soprano, alto, tenor, and basset. In other words, the French employed the full range of recorders from sopranno down to bass. All these sizes except the bass, and one more, seem to be found in the inventories. The inventory made on Hotteterre’s mother’s death mentions “petites flutes”, “tailles de flutes”, “grosses tailles de flutes”, “quintes de flutes”, and “basses de flutes”: probably soprano, alto, voice flute, tenor, and basset, respectively. Montéclair’s piece was unusual for its time: the 1734 inventory of the Naust workshop is the last mention of bassett recorders in France, when they are described as “vieilles” (old).67

The German-language inventories present less evidence of other sizes of recorder. Dietrich Buxtehude bought “drey Schallmeyen und 2 Quart-flöeten” (three shawms and two fourth flutes) for his Abendmusik concerts in St. Mary’s church in 1679, presumably still Renaissance types.68 Two sales by the Nuremberg maker Jacob Denner, in 1710 and c. 1720, feature what seem to be alto, tenor, and basset sizes in each case: “Flauten, Alt-Flauden, Bass-Flaiiden”; “Chor Flauden […] Primeur Flauden […] Second Flauden […] Basson”.69 The court at Darmstadt in 1752 owned “Quartflöten”, perhaps by that date flutes rather than recorders a fourth above the standard size.70

The inventories and advertisements in The Netherlands include a number of basset recorders, under the French name “basse-flûte” or the Dutch name “basfluit”, from 1713 up to as late as 1773.71 Thomas Boekhout advertised in 1713 that he made “Basses-Flûtes aussi completes que les Dessus” (bass recorder as complete as the altos), rendered in the Dutch version of the advertisement as “Baa-Flyuten die al haer toonen geven als op een gemeene Fluyt” (basset recorders that have all their notes as on a normal recorder).72 This sounds as if he was referring to a more extended range than usual. But Bouterse suggests that the statement refers to bassets that can be played with the same fingerings as an alto, which Boekhout in fact

achieved by putting a key on the third finger hole as well as the seventh, thus allowing the third hole to be put in its correct acoustical position.\footnote{Bouterse, \textit{Dutch Woodwind Instruments and their Makers} (see footnote 9), pp. 306–307.}

A couple of inventories relating to the Dutch publishing trade are particularly fascinating. The famous Amsterdam publisher Michel Charles Le Cène, the son-in-law and successor of Étienne Roger, left many recorders on his death in 1743.\footnote{Transcribed in Jan Bouterse, \textit{The Inventory of the Musical Instruments of Michel Charles Le Cène (1743)}, in: \textit{FoMRHI Quarterly} 90 (January 1991), pp. 18–19; see also Bouterse, \textit{Dutch Woodwind Instruments and their Makers} (see footnote 9), Appendix B, p. 3.}

He had owned, among others, a basset recorder, a voice flute, and a fourth flute by Bressan; two sopranoinos by Terton; and two fourth flutes and two sopranoinos by Van Heerde. The term for voice flute was translated into Dutch and put in quotation marks, "sang fluyt", probably implying that it was not customarily used in The Netherlands. The estate inventory (1759) of the bookseller Nicholas Selhof, who lived in Utrecht, included what may have been genuine bass recorders by Bressan ("Une Flute douce longue de Basse") and Deby, a fourth flute by Beukers, a soprano by Terton, and "Une premiere & seconde Flute a Bec" by Borkens, which I take to have been a matched pair of alto recorders with or without different tonal properties.\footnote{Catalogue d'une très belle bibliothèque de livres, curieux & rares, en toutes sortes de facultés & langues [...]. Auquel suit le catalogue d'une partie très considérable de livres de musique [...]. ainsi qu'une collection de toutes sortes d'instruments, délaissée par feu Monsieur Nicolas Selhof, libraire, The Hague 1759; facsimile, \textit{Catalogue of the Music Library, Instruments and Other Property of Nicolas Selhof}, Sold in The Hague, 1759, with an introduction by A. Hyatt King, Amsterdam 1973 (Auction Catalogues of Music, 1); see also Jan Bouterse, \textit{The Selhof Auction} (1759), in: \textit{FoMRHI Quarterly} No. 89 (October 1997), pp. 23–26. Curiously, the same instruments with the same numbers were offered for sale by Nicolaas van Daalen in The Hague on 24 November 1760, said to be a sale of the belongings of Hugo van Son, transcribed in Verloop, 1623–1775 (see footnote 6), pp. 26–30.}

The auction inventory of the belongings of the magistrate Michiel van Bolhuis in Groningen in 1764 contains the only specific indication I have found of the sixth flute, "Sext-Fluit".\footnote{Jan Bouterse, \textit{The Van Bolhuis Auction} (1764), in: \textit{FoMRHI Quarterly} Nr. 89 (October 1997), pp. 20–22; Verloop, 1623–1775 (see footnote 6), pp. 36–37.}

In England, the James Talbot manuscript (1692–1695) mentions recorders in the sizes "pedal or double bass" (bass in C), "bass" (basset), "tenor, voice flute" (alto in D), "consort" (alto), third higher, fifth higher (soprano), and octave higher (soprano).\footnote{Baines, \textit{James Talbot's Manuscript} (see footnote 24), p. 10.} (It seems ironic that the main solo instrument of the next forty years would be called a "consort flute"). As is well known, in the early eighteenth century, concertos were written for fifth flutes and sixth flutes by composers living in England such as John Baston, William Babell, Giuseppe Sammartini, and Robert Woodcock. One of the performers who specialised in playing such concertos was James Paisible, whose estate inventory (1721) mentions “two voice flutes, one consort flute and two small ones”.

The term "voice flute" for recorder in D seems to have been restricted to England around 1700. The same term reappears in America in the second half of the eighteenth century, clearly differentiated from flutes and recorders, e. g.: "German,
Voice and Common Flutes" (Charleston, 1762).\textsuperscript{78} Both German flutes and voice flutes by Schuchart were being sold in New York a year later.\textsuperscript{79} A few advertisements establish, however, that voice flutes were some kind of transverse flute, e. g.: “German flutes on all constructions, tip'd with silver key, ivory, voice and octavo sorts" (New York, 1772)\textsuperscript{80}; “Lost, on Monday last, the head-piece of a Voice German flute, stained brown, the maker's name Colquhoun” (Philadelphia, 1778)\textsuperscript{81}; “German flutes, three keys and voice” (New York, 1783)\textsuperscript{82}; “voice and other German flutes” (New York, 1787)\textsuperscript{83}; “voice and common German flutes” (New York, 1789).\textsuperscript{84} A further advertisement suggests that voice flutes were a particular size of flute: “concert flutes, [tipp'd with ivory]. thuds [thirds], d[irr]t.o. octaves, voice flutes, concert English d[irr]t.o.”.\textsuperscript{85} Fortuitously, non-standard sizes of flute by both Schuchart and Colquhoun are documented. The following instruments by Schuchart were advertised in Paris in 1759: “Deux grandes flutes traversieres d'Angleterre, dites flutes d'amour, toutes neuves, garnies en ivoire et faites par Schuchart le jeune, à Londres. Elles sont d'un bois violet de la Chine et ont chacune trois pieds d'Angleterre". (Two large transverse flutes from England, called flutes d'amour, quite new, decorated with ivory and made by Schuchart the younger in London. They are of a violet wood from China and are each three English feet in length).\textsuperscript{86} An alto flute by the Dublin maker Colquhoun has survived in Berlin.\textsuperscript{87} The flute d'amour is an alto flute in B, a minor third below the regular D flute, but with a similar bore to it. It may be recalled that Quantz in 1752 called it “noch die besten” (still the best) of the other sizes of flute.\textsuperscript{88} Three feet is about 90 centimeters. The average length of the surviving instruments that Young calls “alto flute” is 76 cm, the length of his “flutes d'amour”; 75 cm – presumably distinguished only by the narrower bore of the latter – and a couple of altos are as long as 83 and 85 cm; what he calls a "tenor" is 91 cm, and his “bass” flutes vary from 81 to 120 cm, with an average of 100 cm. The evidence of length is thus inconclusive, but we may at least deduce that “voice flute” was the eighteenth-century American term for some kind or kinds of lower flute.

\textsuperscript{78} Advertisement by James and William Lennox, in: \textit{South Carolina Gazette}, 5 June 1762.
\textsuperscript{79} Advertisement by Rivington and Brown, in: \textit{The New-York Mercury}, 14 November 1763.
\textsuperscript{80} Advertisement by James Rivington, in: \textit{New York Mercury}, 5 October 1772.
\textsuperscript{81} Advertisement, in: \textit{Pennsylvania Ledger}, 21 January 1778.
\textsuperscript{82} Advertisement by Valentine Nutter, in: \textit{New York Mercury}, 5 May 1783.
\textsuperscript{83} Advertisement by Francis Panton, in: \textit{The New-York Packet}, 2 January 1787.
\textsuperscript{84} Advertisement by Francis Panton, in: \textit{The New-York Packet}, 9 June 1789.
\textsuperscript{86} Advertisement by the Magazine de Musique in: \textit{Affiches, annonces, et avis divers}, 17 October 1759, transcribed in Eugène de Bréguelle, \textit{Les ventes d'instruments de musique, xviie siècle}, Paris 1908, p. 31.
\textsuperscript{87} Waterhouse, \textit{New Langwill Index} (see footnote 9), p. 69.
The flute d’amour is a common occurrence in Dutch book-sale catalogues. A longer middle joint that would turn a regular flute into a flute d’amour is mentioned in a sale in Groningen in 1764: “Een Fluit Travers van Scherer, met Yvoor, en vier middelstukken, en een onderstuk, om een Fluit d’Amour te maken.”\(^9\) The following year in Amsterdam, the possessions of the celebrated composer Pietro Antonio Locatelli included: “Een extra fraaije Dwarsfluit met een Zilvere Klep, waaraan ook een Fluit d’Amour, bestaande in tien Stukken en twee Aanvoegstukjes, gemaakt door Willem Beukers te Amsterdam” (An outstandingly handsome flute with a silver key, including a flute d’amour, consisting of ten joints and two additional pieces, made by Willem Beukers in Amsterdam).\(^9\)

American advertisements show that recorders were still being made in several sizes in the 1760s and 70s: “common Flutes of all Sizes, some of ‘em exceeding fine” (New York, 1762, etc.); “English flutes of all sizes” (Charleston, 1766); “common flutes of various sizes” (Philadelphia, 1766); “English flutes of all sorts” (Charleston, 1767); “common flutes of different sizes” (Williamsburg, 1770); “German and common flutes, hautboys, fifes, &c. of all sorts and sizes” (Annapolis, 1773); and “English flutes of all kinds” (Charleston, 1774). Only twice are the sizes specified. “Common Flutes, from a Concert to an Octave” (Philadelphia, 1762): from alto up to soprano. “English, or common Concert Flutes […] English, second Concert Flutes […] English, third Concert Flutes […] English, fourth Concert Flutes” (New York, 1777): alto recorders, and other recorders pitched a second, a third, and a fourth above them, all at concert pitch.

It may be that a survey of English advertisements would reveal the same kind of information. A list of instruments sold by Richard Bremner, a London music publisher, around 1765 includes “English flutes all sizes”.\(^10\) A catalogue of instruments

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\(^89\) Sale of the belongings of Michiel van Bolhuis by Hajo Spandaw, Groningen, 18 October 1764, transcribed in Bouterse, *The Van Bolhuis Auction* (see footnote 76), pp. 20–22; Verloop, *1623–1775* (see footnote 6), pp. 36–37.


\(^91\) Advertisement by “a Gentleman lately arrived from London”, in: *New York Gazette & Weekly Post Boy*, 5 August 1762; he later moved on to Philadelphia (August 1763), Newport, Rhode Island (October 1763), and Boston (June 1764).

\(^92\) Advertisement by Robert Wells, in: *South Carolina & American General Gazette*, 13 June 1766.


\(^94\) Advertisement by Robert Wells, in: *South Carolina & American General Gazette*, 19 June 1767.

\(^95\) Advertisement by the Post Office, in: *Virginia Gazette*, 29 November 1770.


\(^97\) Advertisement by Robert Wells, in: *South Carolina & American General Gazette*, 6 May 1774.


sold by Goulding, Phipps, & D'Almaine's in 1800 includes "English flutes" in six sizes: "concerts, plain," seconds, thirds, fifths, sixths, and octaves.101

Most American advertisements were taken out by shopkeepers who made their living from selling general goods, hardware, jewellery, books, etc. They tend to mention only the generic terms "common flutes" or "English flutes" for recorders and "German Flutes" for flutes. But occasionally there are some gems of detail. The celebrated bookseller and publisher James Rivington in New York listed a number of interesting instruments that he had "lately imported" in 1777:

"Florios, German Flutes, with six Silver Keys,
Ditto, with six Brass Keys,
Potter's fine toned German Flutes,
Potter's ditto on a new Construction,
Ditto, of inferior Price,
German Flutes with extra middle Pieces,
Second German Flutes
Third German Flutes
Fourth German Flutes
Mouth Pieces for German Flutes, [...] 
English, or common Concert Flutes,
English, second Concert Flutes,
English, third Concert Flutes,
English, fourth Concert Flutes."

Here we have not only recorders a second, third, and fourth higher than the regular alto recorder, as mentioned already, but flutes a second, third, and fourth higher than the regular flute in D. We have already noted "thuds" (i.e., thirds), or third flutes, being sold in New York in 1794. What seem to have been fourth transverse flutes are already found in an advertisement by the Dutch maker Klaas van Hallum, who lived in Franeker, in 1763: "maakt en verkoopt dwarsfluiten van 5 stukken en kwartfluiten van 3 stukken, alsmede bekfluiten" (makes and sells flutes of five pieces and fourth flutes of three pieces as well as recorders).102

When and where was the piccolo, the octave transverse flute, invented? Tula Giannini, who discovered the inventory of Martin Hotteterre's household on the death of wife in 1711, stated that this inventory includes piccolos.103 But it mentions only the following members of the flute family:

101 Catalogue of Instrumental and Vocal Music, Engraved, Printed, and Published by Goulding, Phipps, and D'Almaine, London 1800.
102 Wumkes, Stads- en Dorpskrant van Friesland I (see footnote 46), p. 192; see also Bouterse, Dutch Woodwind Instruments and their Makers (see footnote 9), pp. 75, 243.
103 Giannini, Jacques Hotteterre le Romain and His Father (see footnote 5), p. 380.
• “six flutes”: six recorders
• “neuf instruments tant basons que basses de flutes prisez avec trois basons et une basse de flutes” (nine instruments, both bassoons and basset recorders apprised with three bassoons and a basset recorder)
• “deux boites de petites flutes et flageolets imparfaits de buis” (two boxes of unfinished small recorders and flageolets made of boxwood)
• “six flutes traversiere dont deux garnies divoir six quintes de flutes quarte grosses tailles de flutes […] deux basses de flutes et deux imparfaites […] Cinq quintes tournés derable deux tailles de flutes de prunier trois flutes de buis quarte tailles de flutes garnies divoire” (ten flutes of which two are decorated with ivory, six soprano recorders, four tenor recorders […] two basset recorders and two unfinished […] five soprano [recorders] turned from maple, two alto recorders of plumwood, three recorders of boxwood, four alto recorders decorated with ivory)

Apart from one specific mention of “flutes traversiere[s]”, there is nothing in this inventory to indicate that the other “flutes” in it are anything but various sizes of recorder.\footnote{104}

One could make a better case for Richard Haka having invented the piccolo, as a sale of instruments by him in Leiden in 1709 included: “1 – Dwars-Fluyt […] 1 – dito kleynder […] 1 Ebbenhoute Dwars-Fluyt […] 1 dito kleynder” (1 flute, 1 same smaller, 1 ebony flute, 1 same smaller).\footnote{105} The flutes may have been still of the Renaissance tenor type, and the smaller ones alto flutes in A. But perhaps not: Abraham van Aardenberg, a former apprentice of Haka’s who died in 1717, made a surviving flute that would be in g\(1\) at a\(1\) = 440 Hz.\footnote{106} The first secure mention of the piccolo in Dutch inventories does not occur until a sale in The Hague in 1761: “Twee octave Dwarsfluyten van Borkens”.\footnote{107} Meanwhile, the estate inventory of the French maker Louis Corneil (d. 1741) included “six octave transverse flutes of which one of ebony mounted and another with a silver key”.\footnote{108} As is well known, Michel Corrette’s flute tutor of c. 1740 mentioned piccolos as if they were a recent invention: “On fait presentement a Paris des petites Flutes Traversieres a l’Octave qui font un effet charmant dans les Tambourins et dans les Concerto faits exprès

104 In reply to a letter to the editor of Early Music in which I made this point (22 [1994], pp. 186–188), Giannini disagreed on the grounds that because “flûte traversière” is mentioned once in the inventory, all the other “flutes” in it must be transverse. Given the history of the word “flute” as recorder, this seems highly unlikely to me.
105 Sale of the belongings of Burcherus de Volder by Johannis vander Linden Jr., Leiden, 14 October 1709, transcribed in Bouterse, Dutch Woodwind Instruments and their Makers (see footnote 9), Appendix B, p. 2; Verloop, 1623–1775 (see footnote 6), p. 11.
106 Bouterse, Dutch Woodwind Instruments and their Makers (see footnote 9), p. 380.
107 Sale of the belongings of Jean Charles Baron de Eck by M. F. L. Varon and J. Gaillard, The Hague, 7 December 1761, transcribed in Bouterse, Dutch Woodwind Instruments and their Makers (see footnote 9), Appendix B, p. 5; Verloop, 1623–1775 (see footnote 6), pp. 31–32.
108 Quoted only in English translation in Giannini, Great Flute Makers of France (see footnote 67), p. 49.
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pour la Flute. Voyez Ceux de Messieurs Boismortier, Corrette, Nadeau [Naudot], Braun, et Quantz.\textsuperscript{109}

**Special Kinds of Recorder**

The inventory of Archduke Siegmund Franz in Innsbruck in 1665 listed “12 größere und kleinere Schnabelpfeifen”.\textsuperscript{110} Since the inventory also includes “Flößten”, “Schnabelpfeifen” could well have been flutes with a recorder mouthpiece – at this time, of course, still Renaissance types.\textsuperscript{111} Praetorius mentions such an instrument in 1619 under the name “Dolzflöte”. There is one clear reference to a flute with a recorder mouthpiece from the eighteenth century: “Een Fluit Travers van J. W. Oerlender […] met een Mondstuk, als van een Fluit Doux” (Groningen, 1764).\textsuperscript{112}

Walking-stick recorders turn up eighteen times in the inventories and sales, particularly in The Netherlands. The Dutch called them “fluytstok”, “fluyt konststok”, or “fluitrotting”. They first appear in 1691 in advertisements by two different Amsterdam makers, Michiel Parent and Jan van Heerde’s widow and sons.\textsuperscript{113} Three “fluit canes”, including ones by Bressan and Harris, were auctioned in London in 1740.\textsuperscript{114} The estate inventory of Cornet included eight “cannes de flutes”.\textsuperscript{115} The last undoubted walking-stick recorder, “Een Wandelstok zynde een fluyt Doux”, was auctioned in The Hague in 1784.\textsuperscript{116} Meanwhile, the walking-stick principle was already being applied to other woodwind instruments. “Een Hobois en een dwars Fluyt aan een stuk, die kan dienen tot een Wandelstock” (an oboe and a flute in one piece, which can serve as a walking stick) was sold in The Hague in 1754.\textsuperscript{117} By the last quarter of the century, the flute type was well established. A “Dwars Fluyt Rotting” was sold in The Hague in 1778; and “Flute Walking Sticks”, recently

\textsuperscript{109} [Michel Corrette], \textit{Méthode pour apprendre aisément à jouer de la flute traversiere}, Paris and Lyon, c. 1740, p. 11.


\textsuperscript{111} See also “flute recorder” (Wellbeck, 1636; Norwich, 1638); “drey Dulce vnd drey Zwergflöten” (Kassel, 1638).

\textsuperscript{112} Bouterse, \textit{The Van Bolhuis Auction (1764)} (see footnote 76), pp. 20–22; Verloop, 1623–1775 (see footnote 6), pp. 36–37.


\textsuperscript{115} Giannini, \textit{Great Flute Makers of France} (see footnote 67), p. 49.


\textsuperscript{117} Sale by Cornelius Boucquet and Mattheus Gaillard, The Hague, 1 April 1754, transcribed in Verloop, 1623–1775 (see footnote 6), p. 21.
imported from London, were on sale in New York in 1799 and Charleston in 1800.\textsuperscript{118}

The idea of combining two duct flutes of slightly different tonal properties goes back to the mid-seventeenth century. In 1668, the diarist Samuel Pepys paid a visit to the woodwind maker Samuel Drumbleby, and wrote: "he doth show me [...] a fashion of having two pipes of the same note fastened together, so as I can play on one, and then echo it on the other, which is mighty pretty".\textsuperscript{119} Anthony à Wood reported about a visit to Oxford of the court violinist John Banister I two years earlier, "he played on a little pipe or flagellet in consort which hath bin about seven years in fashion".\textsuperscript{120} Sir John Hawkins wrote that Banister’s son, John Banister II, "was famous for playing on two flutes at once".\textsuperscript{121}

What may be combined recorders are found in the bequest of Jean-Baptiste Dandeleu, "surintendant" of the Count of Fürstenberg, commissary of the French armies in the Low Countries, in Brussels in 1667: "six flutes rares d’accord, qui sont de bouys, avec leurs escorces et nœuds [literally, barks and knots] [...] Trois caisses avec diverse flutes de bouys grandes et petites d’accord".\textsuperscript{122} In any case, in an advertisement in 1692, the Amsterdam maker Michiel Parent "maakt bekent aan alle Liefliebbers, dat hy heeft gepractiseerd en uytgevonden twee Fluyten in malkander die noyt bekent geweest zyn, waer mede men twee differente partyen te gelyk kan speelen in accort" (announces to all music lovers that he has devised and invented two combined recorders, the like of which has never been seen and on which two different parts can be played simultaneously).\textsuperscript{123} In 1710, his widow called such an instrument "dubbelde Fluyt".\textsuperscript{124} "Een Dubbelde [fluyt] met twee toonen" by Parent was auctioned in The Hague in 1740; and others by Robert Wyne in Middelburg in 1768 and one of the Richters brothers in The Hague in 1777.\textsuperscript{125}


\textsuperscript{121} Ibidem, Vol. 2, p. 824.

\textsuperscript{122} Edmond Vander Straeten, La musique aux Pays bas avant le XIXe siècle, Vol. I, Brussels 1867, p. 31.

\textsuperscript{123} Advertisement by Michiel Parent, in: Amsterdamse Courant, 23 September 1692, transcribed in Boutrúse, Dutch Woodwind Instruments and their Makers (see footnote 9), p. 82.

\textsuperscript{124} Advertisement by the widow of Parent, in: Amsterdamse Courant, 13 February 1710, transcribed in Boutrúse, Dutch Woodwind Instruments and their Makers (see footnote 9), pp. 82–83.

The relationship between the two parts of the double recorder is spelled out in two sale catalogues of the 1760s: “dubbelde Fluyt Abec, zynde het eene een Ters” (The Hague, 1760); “Een dubbele Ters stemmende Fluit a bee, van M. Parent” (Groningen, 1764). No fewer than seven double recorders by Parent have survived and are analysed by Bouterse; they are made of one piece of wood, with the two sets of finger holes parallel and close to one another. Such an instrument was not restricted to The Netherlands: “1 doppeltes Flöt” is mentioned in the bequest of the prior of the abbey in Kremsmünster in 1747.

Design Features

Abraham van Driel advertised in 1714: “alderhande soorten van uistrekkende goede Fluyten, die niet stoppen, en ’t speelen nooit afvallen, als mede Hautbois, bassons, Dwars en Bas-Fluyten, op een nieuwe manier door hem zelf uytgevonden, en nooit voor dezen van niemand so gemaekt” (all kinds of excellent recorders [...] which do not get clogged up and never let the player down, as well as oboes, bassoons, flutes and bassett recorders, constructed in a new manner of his own invention and never made by anyone else before). The grammar is not clear to me, but Bouterse connects the “new manner” with only the bassett recorders, and wonders whether Van Driel’s claim had anything to do with Boekhout’s new type of bassett recorder, mentioned above.

When were “corps de rechange”, the different sizes of upper-middle joint, developed and where? The estate inventory of Antoine Delarablee, husband of Jeanne Naust and master of the Naust workshop, includes a bill dated 1721 for a flute with three “corps”. I am not familiar with any earlier reference. Such flutes were sold by Bernard Hemsing in Leiden in 1733: “een pair Ebbchoute dwarsfluteen eijder met 3 middelstukken” (a pair of ebony flutes, each with three middle joints). The first maker to advertise more than three corps was Klaas van Hallum in 1763: “dwarsfluiten van 5 stukken” (flutes of five pieces). But flutes “with 2, 3, 4 or 5 middle Pieces to change the Tones and Voice” were already being advertised by

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126 Sale of the belongings of the widow of J. Fr. de Witte van Schooten and Baron G. N*** by Pieter van Os, The Hague, 21 April 1760, transcribed in Verloop, 1623-1775 (see footnote 6), p. 26; Bolhuis auction (see footnote 89), transcribed in Bouterse, The Van Bolhuis Auction (1764) (see footnote 76), pp. 20-22; Verloop, 1623-1775 (see footnote 6), pp. 36-37.
127 Bouterse, Dutch Woodwind Instruments and their Makers (see footnote 9), p. 312.
129 Bouterse, Dutch Woodwind Instruments and their Makers (see footnote 9), p. 306.
130 Giannini, Great Flute Makers of France (see footnote 17), pp. 8-10.
131 Invoice from Bernard Hemsing, “Anno 1733”; Gemeentearchief in Leiden, inv. no. 3989 a-e; private communication by Jan Bouterse.
"a gentleman" in New York in 1759. Six years later, Locatelli's flute, mentioned above, had ten joints and two additional pieces.

If we wonder why flautists needed so many middle joints during a period when pitch had become more standardised, an advertisement in New York in 1762 explained that they had the purpose "to lower the pitch to accompany the Voice, or any Wind Instrument". I can certainly understand the first purpose: to save singers having to transpose if their high notes were off one day. But Bouterse notes that in his experience, the extra joints of surviving eighteenth-century flutes are all shorter — and therefore higher in pitch — than the joint showing the most wear.

Jan van Heerde announced in 1741 that "door hem is gemaakt en by hem te bekomen, een zekere Fluyt Travers, die men hoog en laag kan stellen, met het zelve gemak en accuraethid als men een fiool doet" (a flute made by himself is available that can be tuned high and low with the same ease and accuracy as a violin). Was this just a flute with corps de rechange, or had he invented some kind of tuning slide? Bouterse suggests that it was a screw-cork mechanism for the head of the flute.

A school teacher named Robert Coe advertised in Philadelphia in 1754 that he proposed: "after the hour of five in the afternoon, to teach on that agreeable instrument the German flute, by an easy method; as some gentlemen are afraid to undertake it by reason of its taking more wind than they think they can well spare, the subscriber has invented a mouth-piece, made either of tin or silver, and does not in the least alter the tone of the flute, but does the same as if blown by the nicest lip". "Mouth pieces that render the blowing of the German Flute remarkably easy" and "German flutes [...] with mouth pieces, for ease and saving wind" were advertised by stores in the same city in 1763 and 1773. Ardal Powell told me that such mouthpieces were: "usually metal or metal-and-ivory devices that clip onto the head joint. They sometimes show up at auctions, but buyers (and museums) often take them off and put them aside as they are not considered part of the ‘work’."  

Makers

No fewer than 101 makers or families are named in inventories, sales, and advertisements of this period (see table in Appendix). Six makers were known to William

133 Advertisement, in: The New-York Mercury, 20 August 1759, "To be sold by a Gentleman [...] who is to go soon out of Town [...]".

134 Advertisement, in: The New-York Gazette, 9 August 1762, "To be disposed of by a Gentleman lately arrived from London".

135 Comment at my lecture, Universiteit Utrecht, 29 May 2006.


137 Bouterse, Dutch Woodwind Instruments and their Makers (see footnote 9), p. 371.


140 Ardal Powell, e-mail message to the author, 26 April 2006.
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Waterhouse’s *New Langwill Index* only from inventories or advertisements: Choulen, Mosca, L.-G. Popp, Serspiers, W. Telg, and David/Gottlieb Wolhaupter. Thirty-one makers in the table are not found, or probably not found, in the *New Langwill Index*.

Flutes by Austin from London were advertised as having been stolen from a store in Philadelphia in 1786. Is “Austin” perhaps an error for Astor? A recorder by J. N. S. B. was advertised for sale in Amsterdam in 1754.

Archibald Chisholm, a cabinetmaker in Annapolis, Maryland, announced in 1776 that “the partnership of Shaw and Chisholm is dissolved, and [...] he has removed from the house lately occupied by the company, to the opposite side of the same street [...] where he continues to carry on the cabinet, chair-making and turning business: He likewise makes sword scabbards, fifes, and billiard tacks, in the neatest manner”.

The estate inventory of the French court musician Jacques Danican Philidor in 1708 listed five tenor recorders, six bassett记录ers, and a box of instruments intended for instructing his two minor-age sons: 3 soprano recorders, 3 alto recorders, 4 tenor recorders, 4 oboes, 4 tenor oboes, and 2 flageolets. There is no indication in the inventory that he made any of these himself. But when his widow died the following year, her inventory mentioned “plusieurs outils et perces servant à faire des instruments de symphonie” (several tools and reamers used to make musical instruments).

A flute by G. T. Eckhardt was advertised for sale in The Hague in 1787. (A further flute by Eckhardt, “met vyf losse stukken” (with five additional corps), was advertised in the same city in 1811.) Flutes by Ferferman, just imported from England, were advertised in New York in 1766.

An ivory-turner in Boston named Isaac Greenwood first advertised in 1769 that he could supply fifes. Two years later he said that he made them. In 1773, he added that he “Tips German flutes, and other instruments of musick, with ivory.”

A year later, “gentlemen may have [...] German flutes, ditto tip[ped] with ivory[.]”

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147 Verloop, 1811–1859 (see footnote 6), p. 4.
150 Advertisement, in: *Boston Gazette*, 20 May 1771.
Finally, in 1778 he noted that he "continues to make German flutes, fifes [...]". But he soon found making false teeth more lucrative than turning other items, started fitting them on customers, and by 1786 had turned himself into a dentist. In 1788, however, he was still advertising that he sold German flutes and fifes. Isaac Greenwood Jr., presumably his son, advertised in Salem, Massachusetts in 1781 that he "makes flutes, fifes [...]".

- "Een Bas-fluit, met zy Koper Mondstuk door C. Han" (a basset recorder by C. Han with its copper crook) was sold in Middelburg in 1768.
- Flutes by Hasse, "imported in the last vessels from London", were advertised for sale in Philadelphia in 1764.
- "German Flutes, Made by M. Hermitage, London" were advertised for sale in New York in 1784.

John Holland, ivory turner, taking over Isaac Greenwood's premises in Boston in 1795, advertised that "he intends to carry on the turning business, in all its various branches. Makes and sells Flutes, Fifes [...]".

In 1767, Robert Home, a stringed-instrument maker who had just arrived in New York from London, advertised that he also made flutes. A recorder by P. J. was advertised for sale in Leiden in 1692. Recorders made by J. B. Jahn are mentioned in the inventory of the Darmstadt court in 1768. Raymond Jegu, who had just arrived in Philadelphia in 1779, advertised that he taught, made, repaired, and tuned flutes. In 1691, Johan Kiörning, a turner in Stockholm, was granted a licence to supply oboes, shawms, curtals, and recorders to the Swedish army. A recorder by J. de Langep "met een Yvoor Mondstuk" (with an ivory mouthpiece) was advertised for sale in The Hague in 1765. Two flutes by Lenker were adver-

152 Advertisement, in: Boston Gazette, 16 May 1774.
153 Advertisement, in: Boston Gazette, 2 February 1778.
154 Advertisement, in: The Massachusetts Centinel, 3 May 1788.
155 Advertisement, in: Salem Gazette, 3 July 1781.
156 Sale of the belongings of Raadshr de Jong van Campes Niewland by Petrus Gillissen, Middelburg, 5 October 1768, transcribed in Bouterse, Dutch Woodwind Instruments and their Makers (see footnote 9), Appendix B, p. 7; Verloop, 1623–1775 (see footnote 6), p. 43.
157 Advertisement by Rivington and Brown, in: The Pennsylvania Gazette, 1 March 1764.
159 Advertisement, in: The Mercury, 27 October 1795.
162 Noack, Musikgeschichte Darmstadts (see footnote 19), p. 269.
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In 1754, a flute with five corps by Leudwich (Ludwig?) was sold in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1754.167

In 1773, a magnificent flute made by Michel in The Hague was sold there.169 No eighteenth-century woodwind makers were previously known in that city.

But the same city in 1765, in the inventory of the belongings of the late Dirk Momnier, "mr. yvoordraaier en kunstwerker" (master ivory and wood turner), listed no fewer than 49 recorders and 18 flutes as well as a number of flute "verzetstukken", or corps de rechange.170 A pair of "Tersfleynten" (third flutes, perhaps already transverse flutes in F) by "Pauw" were advertised for sale in The Hague in 1760.171 A flute by J. B. de Pauw, presumably the same maker, was advertised in Middelburg in 1800.172 "Drums and fifes made in an approved manner, by Philip Pelton" were advertised in New York in 1776, the year of the Declaration of Independence, when they would certainly have been useful.173

"Cinq grandes Fluttes d’Allemagne, par Pilkem & autres" (five large flutes, by Pilkem and others) were advertised for sale in Amsterdam around 1685.174 "Drie Fluyten [...] Een Dito van Riet" (Three flutes or recorders [...] A ditto by Riet) were advertised for sale in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1768.175 But because the Dutch word "riet" means cane, despite the capital letter the meaning could just be a recorder made of that material.

A flute by Sateling was advertised for sale in The Hague in 1764.176 Edmund Smith advertised "German flutes, fifes, gentlemen and lady's crooked-combs, coarse and fine ditto, horse ditto, coat and vest buttons, made and sold by the subscriber".

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173 Advertisement by Philip Pelton, in: New York Packet, 1 August 1776.
at his house in New Haven in 1782.177 “Twee [...] fyne Fluit douse” (two [...] fine recorders) by Terrick were advertised for sale in Amsterdam in 1789.178 In New York in 1784, F. Walvahrt advertised that “being lately arrived from London, [he] acquaints the public that he has brought with him a number of Musical Wind Instruments, highly finished, such as German Flutes, Clarinets, Bassoons, &c. And that he makes and sells them at the lowest prices.”179

A certain amount of woodwind-making traffic existed between countries. It should not be surprising that an “accord Norenburger fluiten” (consort of Nuremberg recorders) should turn up in an inventory in Delft in 1653,180 as Nuremberg had been probably the most important centre of woodwind making since the late fifteenth century. The term “englische Flöten” appears in a letter that the woodwind virtuoso Michael Boehm wrote to his former employer in Darmstadt in 1729.181 It has been taken to mean “recorders from England”, or in other words, made by Peter Bressan, Thomas Stanesby Sr. or Jr., or some other maker working in London.182 Recorders by Bressan were known in Venice in 1729 and sold in The Netherlands in 1743 and 1759.183 “A beautiful ebony flute with four middle joints in a velvet bag” by Stanesby Jr. was advertised for sale in The Netherlands in 1795.184 Flutes by Schuchart, a German maker resident in London, were known in France and The Netherlands,185 as were flutes by Potter at the end of the eighteenth century.186

I have already mentioned that Haka sold recorders to the Swedish navy and the Florentine court. Recorders by Dutch makers – Boekhout, Van Driel, Van Heerde

178 Sale of the belongings of Jan Markon by Laurens van Hulst, Amsterdam, 1 April 1789, transcribed in Bouterse, Dutch Woodwind Instruments and their Makers (see footnote 9), Appendix B, p. 11; Verloop, 1776-1810 (see footnote 6), p. 19.
182 Ibidem.
183 T. P. M. Huys, Inventaire des archives de John Law et de William Law 1715–1734, Maastricht 1978; Bouterse, The Inventory of the Musical Instruments of Michel Charles Le Cine (see footnote 74); see also Bouterse, Dutch Woodwind Instruments and their Makers (see footnote 9), Appendix B, p. 3; Catalogue d’une très belle bibliothèque (see footnote 75).
185 Bricqueville, Les ventes d’instruments de musique (see footnote 86), p. 31; sale of the belongings of A. A. Grave van Pretorius and Baron van d’Errevaux by Pieter van Os, The Hague, 13 September 1762, transcribed in Verloop, 1763–1775 (see footnote 6), p. 33.
Lessons from inventories and sales of flutes and recorders, 1650–1800

were also known in German-speaking countries. Despite the plethora of local makers in The Netherlands, instruments by German makers – Crone, Eisenmenger, Grenser, Hirschstein, Oberlender, Scherer, Schlegel, Zick – were known there even more frequently. Recorders and flutes by French makers – Debe, Delarablé, Du Mont, three members of the Lot family, Naust, and Pellet – were also sold in The Netherlands. Instruments by Rottenburgh in Brussels were known in The Netherlands. A flute by the French maker Bizy was sold in Madrid.

The American colonies, of course, imported instruments from England. The makers named in the advertisements are: Austin, Collier, Ferferman, "Florio" and "Tacet and Florio",

Gedney, Hasse, Hermitage, Mason, Potter, Schuchart, and Stanesby Jr. (as well as a Dubliner, Colquhoun). In 1772, Alexander Gillon in Charleston advertised that he "has brought from Hamburgh and Holland, A very large assortment of goods", including "German Flutes".

In 1785, David and Benjamin Herr in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, announced that they "have opened for sale a large and general assortment of Goods of the first quality, which they have imported from Germany, among them are […] German flutes". In addition, there is one advertisement for "a Parcel of good German Flutes, imported here from Italy" (Philadelphia, 1759). We know a few Italian woodwind makers from the mid-eighteenth century: Joannes Maria Anciu, from Milan; Carlo Palanca and Prover, both from Turin; Joannes Panormo, from Naples; D. Petosa; and Montazzavi. A flute of Palanca's was sold in The Hague in 1759.

Recorders by certain Dutch makers were still being sold a surprisingly long time after the maker's death: Michiel Parent 54 years, Abraham van Driel 56 years, the Boekhouts 72 years, the de Jager and Van Heerde workshops around 77 years, Abraham van Aardenberg around 83 years, and Richard Haka the longest of all at 87 years. Clearly, not only did the recorder continue to be played in The Netherlands, older recorders by the better known makers retained their appeal. Flutes by the Peltiers (fl. 1722, 1734) are found in an inventory of instruments confiscated during the Reign of Terror in Paris in 1795. Surprisingly, in view of the developments

187 Flutes sold under the brand name "Florio" were not made by the flautist Pietro Grassi Florio but by the London makers Thomas Collier (to 1785), then John Hale. See Johann George Tromlitz, The Keyed Flute, trans, and ed. with an introduction by Ardal Powell, Oxford 1996, pp. 179–183. In any case, the term "Florio flute" may have been being used as a synonym for keyed flute. There are no surviving flutes marked with the names of both Florio and Joseph Tacet. In this case, almost certainly, the meaning is just "six-keyed flutes". Ardal Powell, e-mail message to the author, 7 September 2006.

188 Advertisement by Alexander Gillon, in: South Carolina Gazette, 19 May 1772.

189 Advertisement by David and Benjamin Herr, in: The Carlisle Gazette, and the Western Repository of Knowledge, 23 November 1785.


191 Catalogue d'une très belle bibliothèque (see footnote 75).

192 Inventory of Patrice Macmahon, Irish medical student, returned home around 1793, 1 Thermidor l'an III [19 July 1795], transcribed in Bruni, Un inventaire sous La Terreur (see footnote 186), p. 215.
in instrument-making over the ensuing years, two "fluits" (presumably flutes) by Van Aardenberg were sold in 1821, no fewer than 104 years after the maker's death.\footnote{Verloop, 1811–1850 (see footnote 6), p. 9.}

Thanks to inventories, sales, and advertisements we know that some makers of surviving instruments made other types that have not survived: Recorders were made by Louis Cornet, Klaas van Hallum, and Bernard Hemsing; flutes by the Bauduins and Debye. The most interesting case is the Richters brothers, Hendrik and Frederik, from whose workshop(s) no fewer than thirty-four oboes survive, but no recorders or flutes. Yet Hendrik's estate inventory in 1727 mentions forty-five recorders, including a fourth flute, three alts, three bassets, and four walking-stick recorders, as well as two flutes.\footnote{Bouterse, Dutch Woodwind Instruments and their Makers (see footnote 9), p. 84.}

Most of the makers represented by the largest numbers of surviving recorders are to be found in my table: in order, the Denner family, Bressan, the Oberlender family, Boekhout, Haka, Stanesby Jr, the Hotteterre family, Van Aardenberg, the Schlegel family, the Beukers family, the van Heerde family, Stanesby, Parent, Schuchart, Terton, Lot, Palanca, Wyne, Bizey, Rykel, and Zick.\footnote{Leading makers missing are Gahn, Heitz, Rippert, Schell, the Walch family, Ancluti, Bradbury, Fische, Sattler, Cahusac, Goulding, and Schuechbaur.}

Conclusions

To write the histories of the flute and the recorder, researchers have drawn on a number of types of evidence: surviving instruments, music, treatises, biographical sources, iconography and belles lettres. A further type of evidence – listings of instruments made by people of earlier times – has been used more selectively, although in recent years researchers such as Jan Bouterse and William Waterhouse have used it to good effect. I have been compiling a comprehensive listing of entries relating to the members of the flute family in inventories, sales, and advertisements from the period 1630–1800 (to complement an already published listing for 1380–1630). In looking at all surviving evidence of this type together in chronological order, we can gain unique insight into a number of aspects of flute and recorder history: (1) terminology: the variety of names for the instruments and their various sizes; (2) the development of instrumental design; and (3) the importance and even the existence of instrument makers.
Lessons from inventories and sales of flutes and recorders, 1650–1800

Appendix

Table 1

Flute and recorder makers mentioned in inventories, purchases, and advertisements, 1650–1800

Abbreviations:

A = ante; c = circa; d = died; fl. = flourished; incl. = including; p = post; A = alto; B = bass; Bt = basset; cane = walking-stick; D = double; Fd'A = flute d'amour; P = piccolo; S = soprano; So = sopranino; T = tenor; V = voice flute; 3rd = third flute; 4th = fourth flute; 6th = sixth flute


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maker (dates, place)</th>
<th>Number of recorders (dates)</th>
<th>Number of flutes (dates)</th>
<th>Number of surviving recorders</th>
<th>Number of surviving flutes</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aardenberg, Abraham van (1672–1717), Amsterdam</td>
<td>6 (incl. 1S) (1749–1796), advertised 1698</td>
<td>3 (incl. 1 smaller) (1771–1821)</td>
<td>11 (2So 2S 7A)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>See Bouterse, 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthony, Jacob (fl. 1764–1804), Philadelphia</td>
<td>advertised 1772</td>
<td>advertised 1772</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>See NLI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austin, London</td>
<td>advertised 1786</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Not in NLI, unless Astor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. N. S. B.</td>
<td>1 (1754)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Not in NLI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bauduin, Charles (fl. c1707–p1760), Charles Philippe (1727–1782), Namur</td>
<td>1 (1765)</td>
<td>2 (Fd'A) (1765)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>See NLI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beuker, Jan Berend (c1737–1816)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Beukers, Willem Sr. (1666–1750), Willem Jr. (1703–1781), Amsterdam</td>
<td>inventory 1749 (fluiten); 8 incl. 4th small (1759–1788, 1 made 1763)</td>
<td>9 incl. 1 small 1 Fd'A (1765–1811)</td>
<td>9 (4S 3A 2T)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>See Bouterse, 132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bizey, Charles (fl. 1716–p1752), Paris</td>
<td>2 (1765–1797)</td>
<td>3 (1A 1T 1Br)</td>
<td>13 (incl. 1B)</td>
<td></td>
<td>See Young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boekhout, Thomas (1666–1715), Coenraat, Jan (1696–1718), Amsterdam</td>
<td>32 (incl. 4So 2A, 1 small 3 smaller 1 large) (1731–1790); advertised 1713, 1718 (incl. Br)</td>
<td>1 (1763)</td>
<td>17 (2So 1S 6A 8Br)</td>
<td></td>
<td>See Bouterse, 134–135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borkens, Philip (1693–1765), Amsterdam</td>
<td>3 (1759–1774)</td>
<td>14 (incl. 2P) (1769–1841)</td>
<td>1 (S)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>See Bouterse, 137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bressan, Peter (1663–1731), London</td>
<td>inventory 1731; 35 incl. 1–4th 1V 2T 2Br 1B 1 cane (1729–1759)</td>
<td>1 (inventory, 1731) + 1 (1740)</td>
<td>59 (1S 27A 13V 12T 6Br)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>See Young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Inventory Dates</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Camus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>See NLI; communication by Nikolaj Tarasov</td>
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<tr>
<td>Choulen</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (1794)</td>
<td>See NLI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornet, Louis (c1678–1741), Paris</td>
<td>12 (incl. 8 cane) inventory 1745; 71 (incl. 6P) inventory 1745</td>
<td>71 (1745)</td>
<td>See NLI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crone, Gottlieb (fl.1744–1768), Leipzig</td>
<td>8 (incl. 1 smaller) (1765–1826)</td>
<td>5 (incl. 1A)</td>
<td>See Young</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Choulen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Not in NLI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornet, Louis (c1678–1741), Paris</td>
<td>12 (incl. 8 cane) inventory 1745; 71 (incl. 6P) inventory 1745</td>
<td>71 (1745)</td>
<td>See NLI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Crone, Gottlieb (fl.1744–1768), Leipzig</td>
<td>8 (incl. 1 smaller) (1765–1826)</td>
<td>5 (incl. 1A)</td>
<td>See Young</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Danican Philidor, Jacques (d1708), Paris</td>
<td>11 (5T 6Bt) + 14 (3So 4S 3A 4T) to teach his sons (1708)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Not in NLI</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Debel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>See Young</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Delarablé, Antoine (1686–1734), Paris</td>
<td>14 inventory (incl. 5B) (1734)</td>
<td>26 inventory (1734)</td>
<td>See NLI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Delusse, Jacques (fl.1748–1779), Christophe (fl. a1781–p1789), Paris</td>
<td>4 (1794–1795)</td>
<td>12 (incl. 2B)</td>
<td>See Young</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Denner</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denner, Jacob (1681–1735), Nürnberg</td>
<td>13 (7A 2T 4B) (1716–20)</td>
<td>18 (12A 6T)</td>
<td>See Young</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Driel, Abraham van (fl. 1714), Amsterdam</td>
<td>2 + unspecified (1768–1770); advertised 1714 (incl. Bt)</td>
<td>advertised 1714</td>
<td>See NLI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Du Mont (fl. 1692)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (1746)</td>
<td>See Young</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Eckhardt, G. T.</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (1787–1811)</td>
<td>Not in NLI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eerens, F.</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 (1769–1787)</td>
<td>See Bouterse, 139</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eisenmenger (family), Mannheim</td>
<td>2 (1764–1768)</td>
<td>2 (A)</td>
<td>See Young</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Elwe, H. van</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>See NLI</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ferferman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Not in NLI</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Advertised Dates</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Greenwood, Isaac, Sr.</td>
<td>Boston and Providence, RI; Salem</td>
<td>1774-1788; Jr. advertised 1781</td>
<td>Not in NLI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Grenser (family), Dresden</td>
<td></td>
<td>12 (1797-1847)</td>
<td>1A</td>
<td>See Young</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grieder</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>81 (incl. 1P)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Haka, Richard</td>
<td>(c1646-1705), Amsterdam</td>
<td>60 (incl. 4So 8S 2-3rd/4th 7A 3T 4Br 4 small 1 large 1 larger) (1685-1792); 1 with Rykel (1772); advertised 1691, 1698, 1700</td>
<td>7 (incl. 3 smaller) (1690-1759)</td>
<td>16 (incl. 3So 6S 3A 2T 2Br cane)</td>
<td>1 (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hallum, Klaas van</td>
<td>(1720-1791), Franeker</td>
<td>advertised 1763</td>
<td>advertised 1763</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>See Bouterse, 147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Han, C.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (Bt) (1768)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Not in NLI</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Harris, London?</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (cane) (1740)</td>
<td></td>
<td>See NLI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Heerde, Jan Jurriaenszoon</td>
<td>van (1638-1691), Albertus van (1674–c1720), Jan van (1704–c1750), Amsterdam</td>
<td>26 (incl. 3So 1–6th 2–4th 1 cane 1 large) (1728–1827); advertised 1691 (incl. cane)</td>
<td>advertised 1741; 19 (1758–1846)</td>
<td>9 (1 So 7A 1Br)</td>
<td>4 (incl. 1A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helt, L. G.</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (1780)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>See NLI (I. G. Helt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hemsing, Bernard</td>
<td>(c1730–1776), Leiden</td>
<td>11 (incl. 1 small 1 cane) (1731–1788)</td>
<td>18 (1733–1818)</td>
<td>3 (incl. 1A)</td>
<td>See Bouterse, 151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hermitage, M., London</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>advertised 1784</td>
<td>Not in NLI</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hirschstein, Mathäus</td>
<td>(c1695–1769), Leipzig</td>
<td>1 (1748)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (incl. 1 in A)</td>
<td>See NLI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holland, John, Boston</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>advertised 1795</td>
<td>Not in NLI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horne, Robert, New York</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>advertised 1767–1773</td>
<td>Not in NLI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name/Description</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>See Link</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hotteterre, Martin</td>
<td>24 wife's inventory, 1711</td>
<td>Mark belonging to father, him, and brother: 6 1A 4T 1Bc</td>
<td>See NLI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(incl. 6A 4V? 11T 3B)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hotteterre, Nicolas l'ainé</td>
<td>inventory has tools</td>
<td>Mark belonging to father, him, and 2 brothers (incl. Nicolas dit Colin): 4 1A 1T 2Bc</td>
<td>See NLI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(c1637–1694), Paris</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hotteterre, Nicolas dit Colín le cadet</td>
<td>widow's inventory, 1708, incl. unfinished recorders</td>
<td>inventory, unfinished (1727)</td>
<td>See NLI</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(1653–1727), Paris</td>
<td></td>
<td>see above</td>
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<tr>
<td>J., P.</td>
<td>1 1692</td>
<td></td>
<td>Not in NLI</td>
<td>Reindert Jansen, d1691</td>
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<tr>
<td>de Jager, Jan Juriaenszoon</td>
<td>14 (incl. 2 large) (1694–1781), advertised 1694</td>
<td></td>
<td>See Bouterse, 152</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c1658–1692), Fredrik (1685–1704), Amsterdam</td>
<td>advertised 1694</td>
<td>1 (A)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Jahn, J. B.</td>
<td>unspecified (1768)</td>
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<td>Not in NLI</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Jegu, Raymond, Philadelphia</td>
<td>advertised 1779</td>
<td></td>
<td>Not in NLI</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kiëning, Johan, Stockholm</td>
<td>unspecified (1691)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Not in NLI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Langep, J. de</td>
<td>1 1765</td>
<td></td>
<td>Not in NLI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Clerc, Jean Nicolas</td>
<td>2 1794</td>
<td></td>
<td>See NLI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d1752), Paris</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenker</td>
<td>2 1777</td>
<td></td>
<td>Not in NLI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lot</td>
<td>18 (incl. 1P 2–3rd 5th) (1761–1808)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Not in NLI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lot, Gilles</td>
<td>1 1769</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>See Young</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1720–p1775), Paris</td>
<td>7 (1763–1846)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lot, Martin</td>
<td>3 (1760–1797)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>See Young</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(1718–1785), Paris</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>City, Dates</td>
<td>Inventory Year</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lot, Thomas II</td>
<td>(1676-1750), La Couture, Thomas III</td>
<td>14 (1761-1792)</td>
<td>5 (2S 2A ID) 43 (incl. 6P 1Fd'A 2A 2B) See Young</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lott, D.</td>
<td></td>
<td>6 (1769-1829)</td>
<td>6                      See Young</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Leudwich&quot; (Ludwig)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (1754)</td>
<td>Not in NLI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mason, John</td>
<td></td>
<td>advertised 1762</td>
<td>1                      See NLI</td>
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<tr>
<td>Meyer, perhaps M. Meyer</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (1789)</td>
<td>1                      See NLI</td>
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<tr>
<td>Michel, The Hague</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (1773)</td>
<td>Not in NLI</td>
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<tr>
<td>Milot</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (1798)</td>
<td>1                      NLI</td>
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<tr>
<td>Monnier, Dirk (d1765), The Hague</td>
<td>49 (inventory 1765)</td>
<td>18 (inventory 1765)</td>
<td>Not in NLI</td>
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<td>Mosca</td>
<td></td>
<td>6 (4T 2Bt) (1700)</td>
<td>See NLI</td>
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<tr>
<td>Naust (workshop), Paris</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (1719-1721)</td>
<td>2 (1761-1798) 2 (15 1A) 7 See Young</td>
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<td>Nieuwenhooven, Johannes</td>
<td></td>
<td>advertised 1696</td>
<td>See NLI</td>
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<td>Oberlender, Johann Wilhelm I</td>
<td></td>
<td>8 (incl. 1Fd'A 1 with recorder mouthpiece) (1764-1792) 37 (1So 32A 4Bc) 10 (incl. 1Fd'A) See Young</td>
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<td>Johann Wilhelm II</td>
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<td>Wendelin (1714-1751), Nürnberg</td>
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<td>Palanca, Carlo</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 (+ 2 flautini) (1748-1759)</td>
<td>4 (3A 1T) 16 See Young</td>
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<td>Parent, Michiel</td>
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<td>7 (1 small 1 large 1D) (1716-1764); advertised 1691 (incl. cane), 1692 (incl. D); widow advertised 1710-1711 (incl. So S D cane)</td>
<td>8 (1A 7D) See Bouterse, 153</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Item(s)</td>
<td>Dates</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>de Pauw</td>
<td>2 (3rd) (1760)</td>
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<td>Not in NLI</td>
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<tr>
<td>Peltier, Charles II (fl. 1722), Charles III (fl. 1734), Paris</td>
<td>2 (1759–1795)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>See NLI</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pilkem</td>
<td>5 (large) (c1685)</td>
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<td>Not in NLI</td>
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<tr>
<td>Popp, L.-G.</td>
<td>1 (1795)</td>
<td></td>
<td>See NLI</td>
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<td>Prudent Thirriot I (d.1783), Prudent Thirriot II (fl. 1774–1782), Paris</td>
<td>1 (1794)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>See Young</td>
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<td>Richters, Hendrik (1683–1727), Frederik (1694–1770), Amsterdam</td>
<td>46 (incl. 1–4th 3A 3Bt 4 cane 1D) (1727–1777)</td>
<td>12 (incl. 3A 4B) (1727–1779)</td>
<td>only oboes (34)</td>
<td>See Bouterse, 155–157</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rieder/Grieder</td>
<td>2 (1773–1776)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Riet</td>
<td>1 (1768)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Not in NLI</td>
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<td>Roosen, J.</td>
<td>5 (1716–1762)</td>
<td>1 (Bt)</td>
<td>See Bouterse, 160</td>
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<td>Rottenburgh, Joannes Hyacinthus (1672–1756), Brussels</td>
<td>1 (A) (1759)</td>
<td>8 (1759–1803)</td>
<td>12 (8A 2T 2Bt)</td>
<td>17 (incl. 1P)</td>
<td>See Young</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rykel, Coenraad (c1664–1726), Amsterdam</td>
<td>1 (1765); 1 with Haka (1772) advertised 1699; trade card 1705;</td>
<td>3A</td>
<td>See Bouterse, 158–159</td>
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<td>Sateling</td>
<td>1 (1764)</td>
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<td>Scherer, Johannes II (1664–1722), Georg Heinrich (1703–1778), Butebach</td>
<td>2 (1768)</td>
<td>9 (1746–1806)</td>
<td>2 (1A 1Bt)</td>
<td>45 (incl. 5A 2 cane)</td>
<td>See Young</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Years</td>
<td>Advertised</td>
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<td>Schlegel, Christian</td>
<td>1 (1769)</td>
<td>10 (1763–1799)</td>
<td>11 (2So 4A 4Br 1D) 19 (incl. 2Fd'A) See Young</td>
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<td>Schuchart, John Just</td>
<td>ISo (1762–1763); V advertised 1763</td>
<td>3 (incl. 2Fd'A) (1759–1763); advertised 1759–1764</td>
<td>8 (1S 7A) 26 See Young</td>
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<td>Serspers</td>
<td>2 (1759–1761)</td>
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<td>See NLI</td>
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<td>Stanesby, Thomas, Jr.</td>
<td>1 (1795)</td>
<td>17 (4S 9A 4T)</td>
<td>48 (incl. 1 high, 3Fd'A) See Young</td>
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<td>Steenbergen, Jan</td>
<td>3 (incl. 1 canary) (1768–1772); advertised 1700</td>
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<td>9 (3S 5A 1Bt) See Bouterse, 160</td>
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<td>Teig, W.</td>
<td>1 (1778)</td>
<td></td>
<td>See NLI</td>
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<tr>
<td>Terrick</td>
<td>1 (1789)</td>
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<td>See NLI</td>
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<td>Terton, Engelbert</td>
<td>21 (incl. 1So 2A) (1731–1800)</td>
<td>6 (1739–1776) 8 (1S 7A) 1</td>
<td>See Bouterse, 163–164</td>
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<td>Tolcke, Heinrich Carl</td>
<td>1 (Fd'A) (1768)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (Fd'A) See NLI</td>
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<td>Tott, L.</td>
<td>2 (c1734)</td>
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<td>Villars, Paul</td>
<td>2 (3rd) (1795)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 See NLI</td>
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<td>Walfahrt, F., New York</td>
<td>advertised 1784</td>
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<td>Weydemuller</td>
<td>3 (1773–1780)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 See Bouterse, 165</td>
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<td>Wolhaupter, David</td>
<td>advertised 1770–1775</td>
<td>advertised 1761–1775</td>
<td></td>
<td>See NLI</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wyne, Robbert</td>
<td>6 (incl. 1 small 1D) (1748–1801)</td>
<td>16 (1760–1829) 4 (1S 2A 1D) 9 (incl. 1P) See Bouterse, 165–166</td>
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<td>Zick, Johann Georg</td>
<td>1 (1771)</td>
<td>3 (1S 1A 1Bt)</td>
<td>See NLI</td>
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