MARCELLO RIZZELLO

THOUGHTS ON THE EXTERNAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE OBOE IN FRANCE FROM 1650 TO 1810

IN MEMORIAM MARC ECOCHARD (1941-2022)

ABSTRACT

Obiettivo principale della presente ricerca è ricostruire lo sviluppo delle forme esteriori dell'oboe in Francia dal 1650 al 1810 circa. Vengono individuate diverse tipologie di strumento determinate dai gruppi di modanature che costituiscono i profili generali dei tre pezzi dell'oboe: quello superiore, il centrale e la campana. Le tipologie così stabilite rappresentano tappe cronologicamente ordinate di un processo storico attuato da diverse generazioni di costruttori francesi, che ebbero stretti rapporti (qui parzialmente discussi) anche con quelli italiani e tedeschi. L'indagine intende ampliare quanto già realizzato da E. Halfpenny e B. Haynes, il cui lavoro ha permesso di identificare i seguenti tipi di oboe: A1, A2, A3, B, C, D1, D2, D3 ed E. Qui si propone una riformulazione completa, con l'introduzione di quattro nuove tipologie: D4, F, G ed H.

PAROLE CHIAVE Oboe, Francia, costruzione ed evoluzione degli strumenti musicali, Settecento, analisi morfologico-stilistica

SUMMARY

The main aim of this research is to reconstruct the development of the external forms of the French oboe from 1650 to about 1810. Several different types of oboe are identified on the basis of the groups of turning elements which constitute the general profiles of the three joints of the instrument: the top joint, the centre one and the bell. The types thus established represent chronologically ordered stages of a historical process carried out by several generations of French makers, who also had close relationships (partially discussed here) with the Italian and German ones. This inquiry means to expand what has already been done by E. Halfpenny and B. Haynes, whose work allowed the following oboe types to be identified: A1, A2, A3, B, C, D1, D2, D3 and E. Here a comprehensive reformulation is proposed, with the addition of four new types: D4, F, G and H.

KEYWORDS Oboe, France, musical-instrument making and evolution, Eighteenth century, morphological-stylistic analysis

1. Introduction

The main aim of this research is to reconstruct the development of the external forms of the French oboe during the first one hundred and sixty years of its history. To do this, it is necessary to identify different types of oboe defined by the groups of turning elements which constitute the general profiles of the three joints of the instrument: the top joint, the centre one and the bell. Furthermore, the types thus identified must represent chronologically ordered stages of a historical process carried out by several generations of makers, often directly linked by apprenticeship or at least by simple imitation. This inquiry therefore means extending what has already been done by Eric Halfpenny[1] and Bruce Haynes,[2] whose work made it possible to identify the following types: A1, A2, A3, B, C, D1, D2, D3 and E.

Obviously, this kind of operation is not free from drastic simplifications: first of all, the different types to be established should follow a progressive temporal succession, but they inevitably overlap for a period of time, at least in the production of different makers, if not even in the work of the same craftsman. Furthermore, each instrument is a unique individual, also because it often has specific features, even if they are hidden in minute details; therefore, different oboes by the same maker, even when belonging to a single type, often show slightly different characteristics.[3] Finally, albeit assuming that a single craftsman is consistent throughout his production, he nevertheless personally interprets the salient features of a defined type and contributes to questioning its identity: and this can even happen to the point of creating new types, consciously or not.

That said, we must be aware of the high degree of abstraction required by a consideration of several dozen instruments: but I think that it is still possible, albeit with some difficulty, to group them into a few well-defined classes. In fact, these types are easily recognizable to a sufficiently trained eye, and they are a fruitful way of studying the history of the oboe, as a kind of philology of external forms which I hope will once again prove to be a good way of understanding, albeit partially, the instrument: this is because it allows to photograph the different crystallizations of an object that is always in motion and instantiated simultaneously by a myriad of very different specimens. As said, I intend to apply this morphological analysis to a specific group of oboes, which I will define shortly. Moreover, in further elaborating the taxonomy established so far, I will propose the addition of four new types: D4, F, G and H; also, Type D needs to be reformed as a whole, and the same goes for Type B.

A clarification regarding the chronological choice that I made is necessary: if, as we will see, the development of the oboe began in France as early as the 1650s, then the path I want to outline can ideally be continued until around 1810, when Guillaume Triebert (1770-1848) opened his own workshop in Par-

1. HALFPENNY, *The english 2- and 3-keyed hautboy*.
2. HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, pp. 78-88.
3. In most cases, however, I did not consider it appropriate to account for the variations which seemed evidently due to repairs or to other later interventions.

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is.[4] It must be said that from this point a very different history begins (and not only for the French oboe), albeit a gradual one and with the contribution of other important makers and players. Therefore, I have decided not to consider any of Triebert's instruments, mainly because their large number is sufficient for an autonomous investigation. Instead, I have included here a few other contemporary makers, most of whom were already active before 1810, and for the sake of completeness I have also considered some specimens which however were clearly made after this conventional date.

Another warning to the reader concerns the geographical extension. Indeed, I have also studied the instruments of some craftsmen who worked outside France, either because they were probably French-speaking or because they were directly influenced by Parisian trends: this is the case, for example, of the Rottenburghs in Brussels and the Schlegels in Basel. Furthermore, it will not be possible to avoid some comparisons with other oboe productions that would today be considered as national, in particular the Italian, German and Dutch ones: and this because they are clearly linked to the French tradition. But if it is clear that an influence exists when the same model of instrument is imitated and produced in different places, it is for this reason that its historical itinerary must be defined: this is the case of Type D, which was probably widespread throughout Europe from at least the 1760s and then remained in vogue, albeit in different forms, for most of the nineteenth century. Because of this, it is necessary to deal with such a critical moment in the history of the oboe, not to mention the success that Type D also had in France. Therefore, we will consider the work of the famous Carlo Palanca (*c.*1691-1783) and August Grenser (1720-1807), trying to clarify their mutual relationships and those with contemporary Parisian makers.

Despite the obvious importance of the subject, given the French origin of the oboe and the fundamental contributions made by French makers also in the later course of its history, to date there are no systematic studies concerning French oboes from the end of the seventeenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth. I believe that the value of this investigation lies not only in honoring the French tradition, but also in constituting a first step towards deeper research. But I understand the possible disappointment of some readers in front of a purely external consideration of musical instruments: after all, we are more often struck by their sound than by their appearance, and the acoustic qualities seem to have an aesthetic primacy. However, I believe that the prerequisite for an exhaustive comparative analysis of these features is precisely a grouping of instruments into types, according to the criteria adopted here. Only in this way will it be possible to delimit a coherent sample of oboes and then understand (for example) whether similar dimensions of the bore correspond to homogeneous external styles, or not.

Furthermore, I would like to point out that, particularly in the eighteenth century, given such a proliferation of different oboe types it seems to me inevitable to conclude that the appearance is an essential part of the instrument's

4. PIERRE, *Les facteurs d'instruments*, pp. 316-317.

identity, recognizable and with aesthetic value in the same way as the timbre; also, the continuous change in external style can only signal the extreme vitality of oboe making, especially at a historical moment in which the idea of progress is beginning to be affirmed.[5] However, another merit of the present inquiry is not only to clarify the chronological succession of instrument types, but also to associate them to geographical areas and then to repertoire (a step which, however, will not be made here). Finally, a possible result will be to better contextualize some anonymous instruments on stylistic grounds, by at least identifying their probable place of construction.

An integral and necessary part of this study is an appendix containing all the instruments considered, so that the reader can check the proposed itinerary, identify its defects and even get ideas for future research.[6] Unfortunately, there are several oboes whose existence is known to me but which I could not see; however, they are nevertheless included in the appendix. On the other hand, this is an inherent defect to any research on musical instruments, also because new specimens will certainly be found in the future: so it is clear that much remains to be understood. Not to mention the discouraging paucity of surviving historical oboes, compared to those that actually existed in past centuries:[7] unfortunately this problem can not be solved, and we must therefore distinguish historical reality from what can be said about it today.

2. Type A1

I will not deal with the cultural and historical circumstances that determined the birth of the oboe, simply assuming that experimentation began in France (more specifically between Paris and La Couture) before about 1650, with the main involvement of the well-known Hotteterre and Philidor families.[8] Furthermore, I judge correct the hypothesis according to which the first manifestation of what we can call (from a modern point of view) the «oboe» was initially known as «cromorne».[9] The first documentary evidence of this newly invented instrument dates from 1651, and the *cromorne* family has to be identified with the so-called protomorphic oboes (treble and tenor),[10] instruments

5. HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, pp. 3, 451.
6. The oboes mentioned in the footnotes of each section devoted to a single type are to be linked to that same type as it appears in the appendix, unless otherwise indicated. However, the full location of some non-French instruments is given here in the footnotes.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63, 116.
8. On this subject see HAYNES, *Lully and the rise*; HAYNES, *New light*; ECOCHARD, *Hautbois in Mersenne's Harmonie Universelle*; HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, pp. 12-61; HAYNES, *Baptiste's hautbois*; ECOCHARD, *Anciens et nouveaux*; ECOCHARD, *Le nouveau hautbois*.
9. This is confirmed by LACOMBE, *Dictionnaire portatif*, p. 197: «ce terme [«cromorne»] a été aussi employé pour signifier le haut-bois» (this source has been quoted for the first time by HAINE, *Les classifications*, p. 192, footnote 12). The use of the word «cromorne» is also attested at the Turin court at the end of the seventeenth century (see footnote 165).
10. ROBIN, *Hautbois et cromorne*. See also ECOCHARD, *Anciens et nouveaux*, pp. 60-67.

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which have been observed in some of the tapestries produced by the Gobelins manufactory from 1664 onwards, after drawings by Charles Le Brun (1619-1690) (Figure 1).[11] So it is possible that these two instruments correspond more or less to the *cromornes* mentioned in the French sources starting from 1651, and we will return to them later, since at least one such oboe appears to have survived.

The first group of instruments that I intend to analyse, Type A1, is necessarily very heterogeneous, because it includes all those specimens which, for one reason or another, can be considered very ancient, that is probably made in the second half of the seventeenth century or shortly after.[12] Unfortunately, the presence of many anonymous oboes does not help to establish a reliable chronology, and in many cases we know very little more than the name of some makers: it is therefore necessary to start from the instruments themselves and their appearance, with the help of those iconographic sources which can be dated with precision. First of all, there are several features that may indicate the antiquity of an instrument: for example, the absence of the Eflat-key.[13] A pronounced flaring of the bell is also to be considered an early element, more or less abandoned in the later Type A2,[14] but shared by almost all the instruments listed here under Type A1. Indeed, a couple of them still have a fontanelle to protect the keys, which is typical of the shawm.[15]

From the point of view of external style,[16] a first way of characterizing this group of oboes is to note the frequent overabundance of turning elements,[17] and also their irregularity: in the following specimens, starting with those of Type A2, they will tend to be softer and more standardized. However, this is too general a consideration, so one must define it better: even if some instruments seem at first sight to be very particular or even bizarre, nevertheless it is possible to develop some stylistic categories that allow a more accurate understanding. Furthermore, observing better, not all these oboes have a very com-

11. HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, pp. 30-34. There are also two anonymous specimens (1. Lisbon, Museu Nacional da Música, MNM0177; 2. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995.565) which seem to represent a medium stage between the shawm and the protomorphic oboes as drawn by Le Brun; however, further research is needed to confirm this hypothesis.
12. For the first discussion of Type A1 see *ibid.*, p. 79.
13. Anonymous #1, #3, #10. Some instruments (Anonymous #3, #7, #11, Naust) also have a single touch in the C-key: however, although this is undoubtedly an interesting and anomalous feature (especially when compared with later specimens), in some cases the actual keys may not be original.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
15. Anonymous #10, Dupuis. The Anonymous #6 has a peculiar decoration made of wooden mounting studs in the baluster of the bell, which clearly imtitates the holes of a fontanelle.
16. As for the terminology here used see *ibid.*, pp. 65-67.
17. For example, the top column beads of many instruments (Anonymous #2, #3, #7, #11, S. Martin), while remaining a single element, are composed by three distinct main mouldings well-spaced from each other, a feature that contributes to a greater complexity of the general profile.

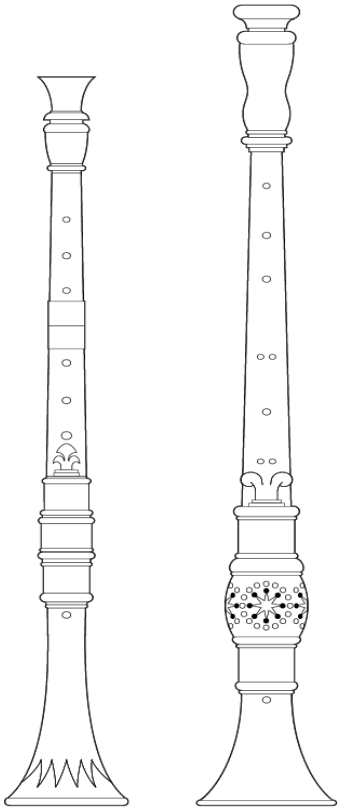

Figure 1. March Ecochard, reconstruction of protomorphic oboes, Type A1, ca.1660. Kindly provided by Marc Ecochard, all rights reserved

Figure 2. Rouge, oboe (bell), Type A1. Washington D. C., Library of Congress (Dayton C. Miller Collection, Music Division), DCM0423. Public domain

Figure 3. T. Blanchet & N. Auroux, frontispiece (detail) of Traité de la musette by Pierre Borjon, 1672. Public domain

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plex profile, at least from a quantitative point of view.[18] Before going on, given the richness and importance of the subject (these are the earliest instruments that can be defined as oboes), I stress that I will limit myself to investigating only a few features that I consider relevant, especially when seen in the light of what happened later. Therefore, the reader should know that my observations are far from exhaustive: on the contrary, they are the result of the particular approach of this research, and I am convinced that there is still much to be written about the birth of the oboe.

First of all, it is possible to choose different ways of looking at this complex group of instruments, hence making limited subsets. I will start with a feature which, as far as I know, has hitherto been unnoticed: the absence of beads immediately below the resonance holes of the bell (that is the lower waist beads) (Figure 2). This is of particular importance because in the following Type A2, the most common throughout Europe for the first half of the eighteenth century,[19] the lower waist beads are a structural feature, without exception (the same goes for the Dutch Type A3, whose diffusion is however more limited). Among the Type A1 instruments considered here, no less than eight do not have any moulding directly below the two resonance holes of the bell.[20] This is a good number of surviving specimens, and the absence of lower waist beads is also found in historical iconography very close to the origin of the oboe.[21] In particular, it seems to me possible to identify this type of bell in one of the earliest artistic evidences: the frontispiece of the *Traité de la Musette* attributed to Pierre Borjon de Scellery (1633-1691), dating from 1672 (Figure 3), where the two shown instruments only have the C-key.

On the other hand, it is easy to understand the origin of this feature (the absence of lower waist beads): this is precisely what normally happens in shawms with fontanelle. Furthermore, the same goes for the so-called deutsche schalmei,[22] an instrument that could represent a survival (in German- and Dutch-speaking areas) of the protomorphic oboes (*cromornes*),[23]

18. If two instruments have the same structural elements (that is the various mouldings that underlie the definition of a type), then they are qualitatively equivalent. However, they may not be such quantitatively: the same turning element with the same structural function can be composed of more or less particular elements, or with the same number of constituents but with different thicknesses and diameters. ADKINS, *Proportions*, p. 129, rightly distinguishes simple and complex mouldings.
19. HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, p. 79.
20. Anonymous #4, #6, #7, #8, #9, Lutringer, Naust, Rouge.
21. For example: 1. Étienne Compardel (1640-a.1692), *Graduel de Notre-Dame de Paris* (book III, p. 30), 1669 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Rés-Vma-ms-1412); 2. Pieter Cornelisz van Slingelandt (1640-1691), *The violinist*, 1677 (Schwerin, Staatliches Museum); 3. Bartolomeo Bismantova, fingering chart of the *Regola generale per suonare l'oboè*, 1688/9 (Bad Säckingen, Trompetenmuseum, 4017–002); 4. Gobelins manufactory, *Une danse des nymphes*, 1690 (Paris, Musée du Louvre, OA5040). The first work is reproduced in GÉTREAU, *Les images du serpent*, p. 15, while the other three are in HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, pp. 29, 35, 123.
22. On the origin and use of this name see THOMPSON, *Deutsche schalmei*, and HAYNES, *"Sweeter than hautbois"*, pp. 81-82.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 70-76; HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, pp. 36, 173-174.

which in turn do not have the lower waist beads, according to the iconographic evidence that allowed their reconstruction (Figure 1). Therefore it is easy to believe that this feature, which is clearly ancient, was an integral part of the first forms of oboe, only to be abandoned later in more mature and defined specimens (that is, those of Type A2). Unfortunately, as we will see shortly, this may not be entirely accurate.

However, with the exception of a couple of specimens,[24] this group of A1 instruments (without beads under the resonance holes) seems to be quite homogeneous also from the point of view of the presumed pitch: considering the various total lengths,[25] it is possible to place the A of these oboes between *c.*440 and *c.*466 Hz.[26] Obviously, this hypothesis is at the moment based only on a superficial parameter, so future and deeper investigations are necessary to confirm it. Anyway, it is interesting to note that in France, despite the famous preference for low pitches,[27] a standard with A set at *c.*466 Hz was also widespread at least until the end of the seventeenth century, probably to be identified with what the sources call *ton d'écurie*.[28] And it does not seem to me to be a coincidence that such a high pitch, for a long time associated with wind instruments (and the cornet in particular),[29] is also that of at least some of these oboes,[30] which are probably among the oldest surviving ones. However, it seems to me premature to consider them as confined to military use and/or outdoor performances, and it would be difficult to imagine such a purpose for the three ivory instruments.[31] But it is certain that, given the heavy alterations that some specimens have undergone,[32] one can deduce a good vitality of their historical use, which can even date back to the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Furthermore, since it seems to me undeniable that these instruments are already true oboes (in the modern sense), their presumed high pitch may indicate the need to question a frequent association made between the development of the oboe and the pitch lowering.[33] In fact, even admitting that some

24. Anonymous #8 (57,3 cm), #9 (58,1 cm).
25. Anonymous #4 (*c.*47 cm), #6 (52,6 cm), #7 (52,5 cm), Lutringer (54,5 cm), Naust (48,3 cm, but this instrument has been shortened), Rouge (50,4 cm).
26. When I refer to pitches with measures in Hz these are to be understood not as rigid levels, but on the contrary open to possible fluctuations with a tolerance of several Hz (see HAYNES, *A history*, pp. LI-LIII).
27. That is with A at *c.*392 Hz (*ton d'opéra* or *ton de chapelle*) and at *c.*403 Hz (*ton de la chambre du roy*) (see HAYNES, *A history*, pp. 97-98, 100-102, 116-123, 275-277, 369-370).
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 98-100, 123-124, 369.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 58-62, 78-82.
30. It is difficult to place those probably closer to *c.*440 Hz, but maybe at that time the *ton d'écurie* had a wider frequency range than that hitherto hypothesized: further research is needed.
31. Anonymous #6, Naust, Rouge.
32. Anonymous #4, Naust, Rouge.
33. HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, pp. 21, 24-25, 27, 42, 57; ECOCHARD, *Anciens et nouveaux*, pp. 43-46, 61; GIANNINI, *Hotteterre*. In fact, it is possible that oboes at high pitch (that is with A around 466 Hz) were continuously made from the origins of the instrument (when it was called «cromorne») until part of the eighteenth century. It is also clear that, in

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of these instruments are acoustically more similar to shawms, due to their pitch and bore dimensions, it is obvious that the difference between the ancient instrument and the modern one (which we call «oboe») is also made up of performance practice, repertoire, circumstances of use and finally external appearance, which is undoubtedly an integral part of the identity of a musical instrument. And I think that the surviving specimens themselves are good evidence of this, moving from the simplicity of the shawm to the complexity of the oboe's general profile,[34] already observable in early instruments.[35]

In any case, as for this model without lower waist beads, it is interesting to note the existence of two similar instruments presumably made in Venice by a member of the Castel family (maybe of French origin),[36] which can now be included in Type A1: no beads are present under the resonance holes of the bell, and (given the total lengths) the pitch of this specimens seems to be fixed presumably at no less than *c.*440 Hz. Moreover, it is likely to consider them among the first oboes made in Italy, stylistically speaking, because they are clearly a copy of the early French model just described, which must have had a good diffusion: all the more so since high pitches were much more widespread in northern Italy than in France at that time, with the names of «corista Veneto» (A = *c.*440 Hz) and «corista di Lombardia» (A = *c.*466 Hz).[37]

Made after this same French prototype, it seems to me that there are also two other instruments by the Dutch maker Richard Haka (1645/6-1705), active in Amsterdam perhaps as early as 1660, and until 1699.[38] These specimens,[39] to be included in Type A1, could be examples of the first oboes he made emulating those imported from France, even if they are not without original features.[40] The first, probably the older of the two, is well-known and still has

my opinion, the so-called protomorphic oboes already are true oboes (distinct from the shawm), and it is not necessary to wait for the development of Type A2, which is only one of the different historical forms of the instrument.

34. HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, p. 22, rightly considers it as one of its distinctive features, and ECOCHARD, *Le nouveau hautbois*, recalls the importance of the refined appearance of the new instrument as a symbol of contemporary French monarchical power. JENKINS, *Woodwind instruments*, p. 32, suggests that the typical mouldings of the oboe derive from the musette de cour, but then it should be ascertained that this latter was the first modern woodwind to be developed with such a profile. Certainly, the two instruments shared the same makers, players and much more (see KOPP, *Before Borjon*). It is also interesting to note that the musette by Lissieu (Morpeth, Chantry Bagpipe Museum), possibly from *c.*1672, has an ivory ornamental pattern in the bell of the grand chalumeau which is very similar to that of the treble oboe from the Gobelins tapestries.
35. Anonymous #2, #3, #8, #10, #11, Dupuis.
36. 1. Rome, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, 1092 (51 cm); 2. Rome, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, 1093 (52,2 cm). On the Castels see VOICE, *Venetian woodwind instrument makers*, and SILVESTRI, *Un nuovo flauto*.
37. HAYNES, *A history*, pp. 160-166, 270-271.
38. WATERHOUSE, *The new Langwill index*, p. 156.
39. 1. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, BK-NM-11430-81; 2. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, BK-2018-67.
40. In particular, I am referring to the fascia under the top column beads, an element probably introduced by Haka himself and then imitated by several Dutch and German makers of later generations. This feature is currently absent in French oboe production, even the oldest one, where on the contrary in most cases one can observe a symmetrical construc-

some typical characteristics of the shawm: all the finger holes are single and there is only the C-key, protected by a sort of metallic fontanelle.[41] However, this oboe does not have any resonance hole in its very flared bell, which has no beads below where the holes should be. Instead, the second specimen is very similar to Type A3 in the top and centre joints, and it seems to be its ancestor; however, the bell (unfortunately unmarked but probably original) has a single resonance hole below which, contrary to Types A2 and A3, there are no beads.

Returning to the French specimens, another way of subdividing Type A1 is to consider the beginning of the top joint, the finial. In fact, as we will see, this element is important for the study of the following Type A2, but let us proceed in order. Some instruments have a finial with a simple profile: an upward flaring (more or less pronounced) without upper finial beads, or in any case such as not to constitute a further element that alters the general shape (Figure 4).[42] However, exactly the opposite occurs in other specimens, where the upper finial beads are clearly identifiable (as we will see, this is the case of Figure 6).[43] These two alternatives will coexist for a very long time, and the shape of the finial is an important feature in defining some later oboe types. But which of the two is the older? In my opinion, a clear-cut answer is impossible, since these are two variants of the same structural element, the finial, inspired by the shawm's pirouette. Indeed, it seems that both are already present in the oboes of the Gobelins tapestries, according to the reconstruction made by Marc Ecochard (Figure 1). However, we will return to this later, and I anticipate that in France, unlike in the rest of Europe, the simple upward flaring (with or without non-altering little turning elements) will be a more appreciated and long-lasting solution.

Now I would like to focus on an important specimen, unfortunately anonymous (#10),[44] which has not received much attention.[45] At the moment, it is to be considered as the closest surviving instrument to the oboes of the Gobelins tapestries, of which it seems to be a slightly later development: it is therefore clear that due to its importance it would deserve a deep study of its own. Here I will limit myself to noting that many structural features of the external profile are already present and well-defined: in the top joint, the finial clearly patterned after the shawm's pirouette and the baluster placed between two groups of beads (that is, the lower finial and column beads); in the centre joint, again the baluster with its delimiting turning elements (the socket and

tion of the top column beads (from the point of view of its central moulding).

41. On this peculiar instrument see HAYNES, *"Sweeter than hautbois"*, p. 66.
42. Anonymous #1, #5, #6, #7, #8, #9, #11, Dupuis, S. Martin.
43. Anonymous #2, #3, #4, #10, Lutringer, Rouge. The Naust has been too much altered to be included in one of these two groups.
44. But following the famous letter written by Michel de La Barre (*c.*1675-1745), one could attribute this instrument to members of the Hotteterre and Philidor families, and the same goes for the other anonymous Type A1 oboes (see HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, pp. 36-37; KOPP, *The musette de Poitou*, pp. 140-141; ECOCHARD, *A commentary*; ECOCHARD, *Anciens et nouveaux*, pp. 56-67, 70; GIANNINI, *Hotteterre*; RUSHTON – HARRIS-WARRICK – KOPP, *Philidor*).
45. For a first but brief discussion see ECOCHARD, *Le nouveau hautbois*.

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Figure 4. Anonymous, oboe (top joint), Type A1. Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 0423. Photo by Anne Deknock. CC BY– RMAH / © ImageStudio Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels

Figure 5. Willem Beukers, oboe (centre joint). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, BK-NM-11194. Public domain

centre column beads), the rings for the C-key and the mouldings at the end of the joint (that is at the base shoulder). Finally we have the bell, with baluster, upper and lower waist beads (with resonance holes between them), and the beads placed towards the end of the flaring, with the last bead bordering the rim.

However, although it has three joints, this oboe has single finger holes, only the C-key is present (protected by a fontanelle), and at the end of the centre joint there is a further resonance hole, in addition to the two of the bell: all these shawm-like features clearly indicate still an ongoing transition (albeit at an advanced stage). I have just said that this instrument seems to represent a subsequent development of the oboes to be found in the Gobelins tapestries, which certainly existed before 1664 (and possibly as early as 1651, when we have the first evidence on the newly-invented *cromorne*). Yet at this point a problem arises: on the one hand, it is obvious to consider the absence of beads under the resonance holes of the bell as an essential feature of the first forms of the instrument (starting with the *cromornes* of the Gobelins tapestries). But this does not happen in the unique oboe just described: on the contrary, it may testify to the existence of lower waist beads before 1672, when we find the other well-defined form of the oboe, without lower waist beads on the bell, as attested in Borjon's treatise (Figure 3).

Indeed, the external profile of this anonymous specimen has almost the same structural elements of the subsequent Type A2, in particular the beads under the resonance holes that are also present in other A1 instruments,[46] some of which can be more or less contemporary with the other group (that with only the upper waist beads on the bell). Certainly this situation requires further research,[47] but there seems to be no doubt that there are two distinct groups based on the bell, one of which is slightly older (that without the lower waist beads); but they probably coexisted for a few decades.[48] The one with both beads around the resonance holes will have much more diffusion, finally stabilizing as Type A2 and losing the features inherited from the shawm. Still, instruments with only the upper waist beads will reappear, but likely they are not to be related to that very early form of the oboe.

Before concluding the discussion of Type A1, I would like to note other features common to some specimens. The first is the presence of one or more

46. Anonymous #1, #2, #3, #5, #11 (the bell of this specimen is similar to that of the bass *cromorne* illustrated in Borjon's treatise), Dupuis, S. Martin. These instruments must be considered as the direct antecedents of Type A2, but I preferred to include them in A1 due to the early features that they show.
47. One possible solution is to think that the actual bell of the only surviving 'protomorphic' oboe is not the original one, but this hypothesis needs to be demonstrated; or one may speculate that the appearance of the lower waist beads here should be considered as sporadic, and to be systematically confirmed later (Type A2).
48. It seems to me that both are present in some bas-reliefs depicting musical instruments, made between 1708 and 1709 in the Royal Chapel of Versailles, and reproduced in GÉTREAU, *Les images du serpent*, pp. 22-23. The two types of bell are also to be found in the frontispiece of the *Select preludes and voluntaries for the violin* (John Walsh, London 1705).

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beaded balusters (Figure 4).[49] All the three balusters of one of the two Castel oboes mentioned above (#2) are also beaded: but since this instrument is a copy of an early French model, then it is possible to deduce that this feature is typical of the oldest oboes, first of all French (but not only). As we will see, this is an element which subsequently disappeared quite quickly, especially in the balusters of the bell and top joint, but less so in that of the centre one. A different way of obtaining further complexity in a baluster (without introducing beads) is to realize it with a compound curve, a solution that is not always easily detectable (Figure 5, which is not a French oboe but still useful for comparison). This occurs quite frequently in the instruments considered here,[50] and it is also a feature to be found in several Dutch specimens as well as in some early German ones.[51] Looking at the surviving oboes, one can deduce that this is a more suitable decoration for the centre joint and bell balusters, also because the shape of the top joint one appears less alterable with this method (in almost all cases it is made with a much longer curve, which hardly lends itself to this addition).

Finally, another feature of some of these ancient French (or assumed to be) oboes is the presence, in the centre joint, of turning elements above the lower key ring (Figure 5),[52] in addition to the very thin and almost imperceptible ones that are normally combined on both rings, above and below. It is important to note how this further moulding is made asymmetrically, so without another one appearing below the lower ring key. This also happens in the second Haka oboe mentioned above, and there are several other Type A3 Dutch oboes where I noticed this same feature, that finally converges in German specimens,[53] some of which are probably among the oldest surviving, evidently inspired by the Dutch model.[54] However, this additional moulding

49. Anonymous #1 (top joint), #2 (top joint, bell), #5 (top and centre joints), #6 (top joint), #8 (all three balusters), #9 (centre joint, bell), #11 (top and centre joints), Lutringer (bell). When one refers to beaded balusters, or just to beads in general, it is not necessary that these are in relief, namely that they have an evidently greater diameter than the curve on which they are inserted. Even in simplest cases, they still are an element of complication of the profile: for example, sometimes a bead that has the function of separating two sections (such as the flaring of the bell and its rim) can even be replaced by a simple groove. However, these are rather rare cases, so I do not discuss them specifically.

50. Anonymous #1 (centre joint, bell), #2 (centre joint), #3 (top joint), #7 (centre joint, bell), #8 (centre joint, bell).

51. ADKINS, *The german oboe*, pp. 15, 18, 20, 26.

52. Anonymous #3, #8, #9. A bit different is the Anonymous #10, which has mouldings directly above the upper key ring.

53. For example, merging Types A2 and A3: 1. Johann Christoph Denner, Nuremberg (Nuremberg, Germanischen Nationalmuseum, MI155); 2. Peter Eggl, Berchtesgaden (Salzburg, Salzburg Museum, MI1005); 3. Johann Benedikt Gahn, Nuremberg (Milan, Museo Teatrale alla Scala, MTS-FA/01). Also many oboes by the Königsberger family from Roding show this turning element above the lower key ring.

54. This is not the place for an in-depth discussion, but I believe that the first oboes made in Germany (that is in and around Nuremberg) are direct copies of the Dutch Type A3, which is in turn an original reworking of ancient French models, probably codified by Richard Haka. One of its essential features is the fascia under the top column beads, but ADKINS, *The german oboe*, pp. 15-16, does not include it in what he calls the «Nuremberg

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seems to be completely absent in the later French production, and therefore it is to be considered a stylistic element that is linked to earlier instruments, at least in France, while a specific inquiry will be necessary for other countries.

3. Type A2

Type A2 is the first one for which a simpler and homogeneous description is possible. Its general profile is well-known, so I will briefly describe it and list its structural elements.[55] But I have already said that, apart from the elements still belonging to the shawm, the external characteristics of Type A2 are roughly fixed in the surviving protomorphic oboe examined above; furthermore, some other instruments of Type A1 are actually not far from A2.[56] Indeed, it is sure that the latter reached its mature definition at least towards the beginning of the 1680s, given that the earliest iconographic evidence which I have been able to find dates from 1683.[57]

Beginning with the top joint (Figure 6), as for the finial the matter is a little complicated, so I will discuss it later; anyway, there are two important groups of mouldings, one above (lower finial beads) and the other under (top column beads) the baluster. As for the centre joint (Figure 7), here also there is a baluster with beads above and under it, which are however less pronounced than those of the top joint; then there are two key rings, and other mouldings at the end of the joint (that is at the base shoulder). The bell (Figure 8) begins with a baluster, delimited below by the upper waist beads, to which follow the lower waist beads under the resonance holes.[58] Once the flaring has begun, there are two other successive groups of mouldings (upper and lower flare beads), the latter bordering the rim.[59]

style»: in doing so, he does not seem to be aware of those German specimens just mentioned above (see footnote 53), which are very close to Type A3. I think also that the imitation of the Dutch model took place despite the awareness that the oboe was actually of French origin, as reported by the Nuremberg documentary evidence from 1696 and mentioned by ADKINS, *The german oboe*, p. 12. Also HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, pp. 89-90 (footnote 63), 122, thinks that Johann Christoph Denner (1655-1707) began his production of oboes by directly copying French models. On the contrary, some relationships between Haka and Nuremberg (as for the deutsche schalmei) are foreseen by BOUTERSE, *The deutsche schalmeien*, pp. 90-91.

55. For the first discussion of Type A2 see HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, pp. 79-81.
56. See footnote 46.
57. Nicolas II De Larmessin (1632-1694), frontispiece for the *Almanach royal pour l'année 1683* (Laurent D'Houry, Paris 1683).
58. The importance of this feature, which I have already underlined, also emerges when considering that the two beads are also found in most oboes d'amore (which are also the oldest ones), despite the fact that their bell does not have any resonance hole. Later, also these instruments will loose the lower waist beads (see footnote 249) but there are at least two early exceptions: 1. Anonymous (Berlin, Musikinstrumenten-Museum, 5626); 2. J.I. Weigel, Breslau (Kamienna Góra, Muzeum Tkactwa Dolnośląskiego, MTD1363-S).
59. Because of the bulb bell, the two oboes d'amore by Schlegel (A2 α: #2, #5) are different

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Figure 6. Rouge, oboe (top joint), Type A2. Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.979.2.12. Photo by Jean-Claude Billing. Reproduced by permission

Figure 7. Rouge, oboe (centre joint), Type A2. Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.979.2.12. Photo by Jean-Claude Billing. Reproduced by permission

Figure 8. Rouge, oboe (bell), Type A2. Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.979.2.12. Photo by Jean-Claude Billing. Reproduced by permission

However, in my opinion it is necessary to divide the French production of Type A2 using the finial as distinguishing parameter:[60] a first subset (A2 α) clearly presents thick upper finial beads above the finial cove; therefore, this element has a characterizing value as for the general profile (Figure 6). Instead, in the second and slightly more numerous group (A2 β), either there is nothing present other than the finial cove (a simple upward flaring, a case identical to Figure 4)[61] or, where there is something more, anyway this is never such as to constitute an alteration of the simpler profile already established by the upward flaring (Figure 9);[62] and this happens either because the final moulding does not have a greater diameter than that reached by the underlying finial cove, or because it clearly fits into the continuation of the same upward flaring. Furthermore, these optional turnings are always very thin, with little thickness, and this is evident from the comparison with any instrument in the A2 α group. Therefore, between two extremes (clearly with or without the upper finial beads) there are several instruments which, while having some soft final mouldings, seem to be closer to a finial made in a simpler way, with some slight decoration of the upward flaring. It is for this reason that I decided to group them together with the other instruments which do not have any upper finial beads. Of course, all of them are still specimens belonging to Type A2, but it is important to keep in mind this sort of middle ground, because in France (and only here) it will have interesting developments.

So let us go back to the question mentioned earlier, during the discussion of Type A1: which of the two solutions for the finial is the older one? Observing the lists of instruments in the appendix, it seems to me that a clear chronological sequence can not be established between the two: not only are both already present in Type A1, as we have seen; but also admitting that the simple upward flaring is more ancient (perhaps because it is unadorned),[63] I do not think that much would be gained in terms of periodization, since the two forms coexisted for a long time and it would be difficult to obtain conclusions based on them alone. In fact, it is easy to verify the presence of rather ancient instruments in both categories into which I have for convenience subdivided Type A2. For example, in the α group we have the Rouge (Figures 6, 7 and 8): a Type A1 oboe also survives from this otherwise unknown maker, and in this A2 specimen the internal lip of the bell is missing, as on the shawm.[64] The instrument by Jean-Jacques Rippert (b.1668-1724), which has a beaded baluster in the centre joint, might also be quite ancient. As far as β group is concerned, the other Rippert specimen, which has all three balusters with beads, should be even earlier; instead, Etienne Fremont's oboe could have been made before

from this description, as is an instrument by Bizey (A2 β: #7) which I will discuss later.

60. But this is a distinction only introduced to make easier the present exposition, and therefore I do not intend to establish any further real differentiation within Type A2.
61. A2 β: Anonymous #2, #3, Desjardins #2, Fremont, Naust, Peltier, Rippert.
62. A2 β: Anonymous #1, #4, Bizey #1, #2, #3, #4, #5, #6, #7, Cornet, Desjardins #1, Schlegel. As for the Hotteterre, the finial is probably not original.
63. This is the thesis of HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, p. 74, with whom I do not agree.
64. *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 78 (footnote 38).

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Figure 9. Charles Bizey, oboe (top joint), Type A2. Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 0424. Photo by Anne Deknock. CC BY– RMAH / © ImageStudio Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels.

1692, the presumed year of this maker's death.[65] The instrument by Pierre Naust (*c.*1660-1709) is more difficult to date, but it was probably made between 1692 and 1709.[66]

Therefore, I repeat that it does not seem possible to establish a clear chronological priority between the styles of the Type A2 α and β groups; indeed, I believe that these were created almost simultaneously. That said, it is important to note how in the centre joint and bell the two subsets are actually indistinguishable, but in the few details inherent to each instrument; anyway, the structural turning elements are the same and differ in their particular construction, which can be more or less complex, depending on the style and era. And this seems a more than normal fact, considering that these specimens could have been produced in a period starting from about 1680 and possibly ending after 1750.

Now we are ready for a more specific discussion of the instruments of Charles Bizey (b.1716-*c.*1758): first of all, the baluster of the top joint has a more distributed curve, especially if compared to the instruments of the A2 α group

65. GIANNINI, *Great flute makers*, p. 4.

66. One must remember that his mark was used by his successors at least until 1734 (see *ibid.*, p. 12), but in the light of the subsequent developments that I will show, I think that this oboe (as similar others, for example the one marked «PELTIER») could hardly have been made after *c.*1720. Furthermore, according to an inventory from 1734, the workshop of the late Naust seems to have specialized mostly in flutes, because no oboes are mentioned in it, but only an old *cromorne* (see *ibid.*, pp. 10-12).

(but this also applies to some of the β group). Furthermore, a general streamlining can be noted in the top column beads, made more compact (evident in instruments #2 and #5), and also in the lower finial beads, much smaller and so producing an asymmetry with the same top column beads (Figure 9).[67] All this is clear in comparison with the Rouge instrument (Figure 6), which has a less elongated and more pronounced baluster with consistent beads both above and below (as well as above the finial cove, belonging to the α group). However, as a proof of how this simplification is to be only found in the top joint, it should be noted that in almost all of Bizey's instruments the baluster of the centre joint is beaded, and in some cases also that of the bell is such.[68] As the reader knows, this is not only an early feature,[69] but it is also a complication of the baluster profile. Furthermore, strangely this happens much more rarely among the oboes of the α group: only Rippert's instrument has a beaded baluster in the centre joint, as has been said. Instead, some specimens by Christian Schlegel (1667-1746) show balusters with a compound curve.[70]

It is interesting to note how the probably contemporary oboes by Louis Cornet (*c*.1678-1741) and Baptiste Desjardins (1681-1746) also follow more or less the same trends as Bizey's,[71] perhaps testifying to a rather widespread taste in Paris as early as the 1720s. Summing up, it consists of a general streamlining of the top joint, obtained by various means: as it has been said, not only the lengthening of the baluster (which would not be enough in itself), but also a more or less pronounced simplification of the beads above and below it. In particular, a clear hierarchy is created between the different structures of turning elements: the top column beads are the most prominent, in asymmetry with the other two beads located higher up (that is, the lower finial beads and the other very thin mouldings above the finial cove), which are much more simplified and almost equivalent in the most extreme cases.[72] The question naturally arises: why did these small modifications take place? As we will see, they are at the origin of the new Type E, but questions like this one are very difficult to answer. Certainly, since France is the country where the oboe has been made for the longest time, it should not surprise that it is also the one where the need for stylistic and aesthetic changes is evident, at least as for the appearance of the instrument.

Indeed, a kind of generational change seems visible in the oboes just mentioned: Cornet and Bizey were active in Paris from about 1710 and 1716 respectively;[73] the situation is a bit more complicated for Desjardins, an oboist at the French court, who in 1713 signed a six-year contract with Charles Pelletier

67. The only instrument that differs slightly from the others is #4, whose finial seems to be cut.
68. Bizey #1 (also bell baluster), #3, #4 (also bell baluster), #5, #6, #7 (also bell baluster). Also other oboes of β group have a beaded baluster in the centre joint: Anonymous #1, Cornet, Desjardins #1, #2 (also bell baluster), Peltier, Rippert (all three balusters).
69. HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, p. 76.
70. A2 α: Schlegel #1 (centre joint, bell), #2 (centre joint), #3 (centre joint), #5 (centre joint).
71. The same goes for the Anonymous #1 and #4 (A2 β).
72. Desjardins #2 is the only one adopting a simple upward flaring as a finial.
73. WATERHOUSE, *The new Langwill index*, pp. 34, 71.

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(probably Charles II) for the construction of musical instruments.[74] Therefore, probably the two oboes considered here are actually the work of Pelletier, built after 1713 and marked with the name of Desjardins.[75] But before continuing with a new type, we must mention the oboe by Jeremias Schlegel (1730-1792): probably made after 1752,[76] it is likely the most recent Type A2 instrument considered here, as is the oldest extant specimen from this maker. Its importance also lies in testifying to a further step: if the centre joint and bell are clearly Type A2 ones, albeit with some quantitative simplification, instead the top joint belongs to Type E,[77] which we will now discuss.

4. Type E (part I)

Before wondering about the origin of Type E, it is necessary to describe its profile.[78] A general simplification of the appearance is immediately evident, especially when compared with Type A2: in fact, Type E is entirely definable by subtraction, and the same goes for all the other types from B onwards. As will become clear in the end, the history of the external forms of the oboe during the eighteenth century can be summarized as a series of more or less conscious attempts (contemporary or successive) to find a different balance from that admirably achieved in Type A2 by unknown French makers at the end of the seventeenth century.

As for the top joint of Type E, we can recall what has been said about the instruments of the A2 β group: the finial can also be a simple upward flaring, but in most cases there are one or more subtle mouldings which complete the flaring, although not altering its profile[79] (Figure 10, but be aware that the upper finial beads of this oboe are more prominent than usual). Furthermore, as already observed in the instruments of Bizey, Cornet and Desjardins, there is a more or less consistent reduction in quantity, diameter and thickness of the

74. MARCONI, *Un hautbois*. The instrument marked «PELTIER» (A2 β) has a top joint similar to that of the oboe by Pierre Naust (who was the brother-in-law of Charles II), and I think that it was made by Pelletier before the collaboration with Desjardins. This because his son Charles III opened his own workshop in Paris in 1728, so it seems difficult to attribute to him an instrument that was by then stylistically outdated (on the Pelletier family see WATERHOUSE, *The new Langwill index*, p. 297, GIANNINI, *Great flute makers*, p. 22, and MARCONI, *Un hautbois*).
75. HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, p. 296.
76. WATERHOUSE, *The new Langwill index*, p. 354.
77. Therefore, this indicates a Parisian influence (namely of Bizey and/or his colleagues) present at least in Jeremias' youthful production, while his father Christian seems to have always remained faithful to traditional models (that is, Type A2 α).
78. Its first characterization is provided by HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, pp. 88, 419-420.
79. The oboe by Bizey is different: the finial has a simple parallel profile, evidently made to allow the insertion of a curious cylindrically-shaped wooden device for the protection of the reed, which is still associated with the instrument and so perhaps original. At the moment this is a unique case, because in almost all the other specimens the finial is an upward flaring accompanied by some light mouldings. Another notable exception is an instrument by Villars (#2), whose finial seems to be slightly tapering.

Figure 10. Gilles Lot, oboe (top joint), Type E. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, BK-2018-15. Public domain

Figure 11. Gilles Lot, oboe (centre joint), Type E. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, BK-2018-15. Public domain

Figure 12. Gilles Lot, oboe (bell), Type E. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, BK-2018-15. Public domain

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beads placed between the finial and the baluster (that is the lower finial beads): in this way, they assume often a completely different importance from that of the top column beads, which are always bigger. This is in contrast to the typical symmetry of many A2 oboes, that is achieved with the almost identical diameters and thicknesses of the lower finial and top column beads (Figure 6). Finally, a further element of simplification in the profile of the Type E top joint is the lengthening of the baluster, that has a soft and well-distributed curve: and this also happens in the other two joints, the centre one and the bell.

As for the former (Figure 11), it is important to note the systematic disappearance of two structural elements of the previous Type A2: first of all, the mouldings under the baluster (that is the centre column beads), which therefore becomes a simple swelling without delimitations; secondly, right at the end of the centre joint, at the base shoulder, no turnings are present, exactly as what usually happens in the top joint (at the column shoulder) of any type of oboe.[80] Presumably, this occurs to balance the general simplification of the residual mouldings, in particular those located at the jointing points. Another interesting element is how the keys are set: the presence of blocks, instead of the usual rings, seems quite characteristic of Type E.[81] However, although this happens in many specimens, the opposite certainly does not preclude belonging to this type, although it seems that the possibly oldest instruments have blocks (but I am not entirely sure of this).[82] Anyway, it is an important detail to be taken into account: as I have already noted,[83] it requires more work and time than the normal rings, and therefore it testifies to a precise desire on the part of the maker to achieve a high degree of simplicity in the appearance of the instrument, which is thus confirmed as very important.

Finally, concluding the stylistic analysis of Type E, the bell (Figure 12): compared to the A2 one, the baluster loses its immediately lower bead (that is the upper waist beads), similarly to what happens in the centre joint; and yet the lower waist beads remain, located under the two resonance holes. Then the flaring begins, towards the end of which two other beads (upper and lower) are placed, the second determining the final section of the bell, a more or less pronounced rim, exactly as in Type A2.[84] Finally it must be said that Type

80. The few exceptions I know are the Anonymous #4 listed here in Type A1, and a top joint by another unknown maker (Nuremberg, Germanischen Nationalmuseum, MIR369), which for the complexity of its turning style is also to be included in Type A1. However, I decided not to consider it of French origin due to the consistent fascia below the top column beads. As I have said (see footnotes 40 and 54), this is a feature that I have not found in any French oboe, but it is frequently present in Dutch ones (firstly those by Haka, who may be the inventor of both this stylistic element and Type A3) and in some German instruments.

81. Anonymous #1, #2, Bizey, Lenglet, M. Lot #1 (at least the lower one), #2, #3, #4, T. Lot #1, #2, #3, #6, Prudent #3, I.H. Rottenburgh #1, Villars #1, #2, Willems.

82. It is also difficult to decide whether the presence of the fourth single hole can give chronological indications: T. Lot #3 (but may be the result of a later intervention), #5, G.A. Rottenburgh, I.H. Rottenburgh #1, #3, #4, #5, Villars #1, #2, Willems.

83. RIZZELLO, *Something more*, p. 75.

84. This description of the bell does not apply to M. Lot's two tenor oboes (#2, #3), which

E, in its centre joint and bell balusters, almost always has a very thin upper edge (called socket bead),[85] located at the beginning of the joint: in this way, symmetry is also obtained with the end of the finial of the top joint, where are normally present similar small mouldings.

Actually, there are quite a few exceptions to this general description: if some do not seem particularly worthy of note,[86] I will deal with the more important ones later. However, another feature shared by almost all Type E specimens is the presence of ivory mounts (more rarely in horn or other material) in the finial, in the centre joint and bell balusters, and in the rim of the bell.[87] The number of keys[88] is much less consistent, because indifferently they can be three[89] (with the Eflat-key symmetrically doubled on the right) or two.[90]

As far as diffusion is concerned, the surviving specimens clearly indicate the popularity of Type E in Paris and France.[91] But another important city seems to be Brussels, with Jean-Hyacinth Rottenburgh (1672-1756), his son Godefroy-Adrien (1703-1768) and Jean-Baptiste Willems (perhaps Jean-Hyacinth's apprentice and relative),[92] while again a French influence is present on Jeremias Schlegel, active in Basel. It is certain that Type E, due to its specific diffusion, can be said to be a typically French product both in its origin and in its subsequent history. A similar case is that of the Dutch Type A3, but such a depiction would be completely inappropriate for those types who enjoyed an European success, like Types A2 and D (in its variants).

It is rather easy to understand why the presence of Type E is exclusive in the production of makers active in Paris, at least for a limited period of time:

have a bulb bell without beads, except for the delimitation (at the ends) of the baluster and the small final rim. We will return to these instruments later.

85. Exceptions: Anonymous #1 (in the bell), T. Lot #5 (in the bell, but the actual ivory may be a repair). Normally, the Type A2 bell is without socket beads, but there are some exceptions (A2 β: Bizey #7, Rippert, Schlegel, this last confirming its proximity to Type E).

86. Anonymous #1 (the top joint is similar to Type A2 α, but simplified; also, there are column beads in the centre joint, which has mouldings at the base shoulder: so, this instrument may testify to a further stage of development between Types A2 and E, but being anonymous it is not possible to expand this hypothesis), Willems (the top joint looks like simplified Type A2 α, and the centre joint has column beads).

87. Those without mounts are: Prudent #3, #6, Schlegel. Two other specimens (Anonymous #1, Willems) are entirely made in ivory.

88. Namely the original ones in the centre joint (C- and Eflat-keys). There are also specimens with added keys: M. Lot #3, Prudent #5.

89. Anonymous #1, Keller, Lenglet, G. Lot #2, M. Lot #2, T. Lot #2, #3, #4, #5, #6, Prudent #1, #2, G.A. Rottenburgh, I.H. Rottenburgh #1, #3, #4, #5, Schlegel.

90. Anonymous #2, Bizey, Hotteterre, G. Lot #1, M. Lot #1, #3, #4, T. Lot #1, Prudent #3, #4, #5, #6, Villars #1, #2, Vincent, Willems.

91. Some relevant iconographic sources are: 1. Anonymous, *Portrait of oboist* (Stockholm, Stiftelsen Musikkulturens Främjande; in the top joint of the instrument, above the first finger hole, one can read the number 178: may this be a hint of when the painting was made?); 2. GARSAULT, *Notionaire*, pl. XXIII; 3. Roland Delaporte (*c.*1724-1793), *La table du musicien* (Cambrai, Musée des Beaux-Arts); 4. Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin (1699-1779), *Les instruments de la musique civile*, 1767 (Paris, Musée du Louvre, RF201012).

92. WATERHOUSE, *The new Langwill index*, pp. 337, 430.

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let us briefly recall their many interpersonal relationships.[93] Paul Villars (?-1776), Gilles Lot (1721-1793) and Prudent Thieriot (1730-1786)[94] carried out their apprenticeships in Bizey's workshop. Prudent was the successor of his master, and he also married one of Bizey's sisters-in-law (in turn, Bizey had married a sister-in-law of Prudent in 1751). But for five years Gilles Lot also had been an apprentice to his cousin Thomas Lot (1708-1787), older brother of Martin (1718-1785), whose family is related to the equally famous one of Louis Hotteterre (1717-1801). Instead, in 1734 Denis Vincent was present at the marriage of Thomas Lot and Jeanne Naust, daughter of the famous maker Pierre, and widow of Antoine Delerablée (1686-1734), whose estate had recently been evaluated by Bizey; after Jeanne's death in 1764 Villars and Prudent were the experts responsible for the assessment of the deceased's assets. Furthermore, Vincent is together with Thomas Lot, Bizey and Villars among the opponents to Gilles Lot's welcoming into the *Communauté des Faiseurs d'Instruments de Musique* of Paris in 1752, an episode which ended in Gilles' favor.[95]

Returning for a moment to Type A2 β, the ancestors of Type E are precisely those by Bizey, but also by Louis Cornet, cousin of the Lots and best man at Thomas' wedding in 1734, who in turn upon Louis' death in 1745 estimated his estate, together with Villars. Cornet's son, Louis III, was probably his father's successor in the business, and also appears to have witnessed the marriage of his cousin Martin Lot who in 1743, after having worked in the Naust workshop (which in the meantime became that of his older brother Thomas), married Jeanne Julienne Delerablée, daughter of Antoine and Jeanne Naust, who from 1734 was the wife of Thomas Lot, as it has been said. Also, we have seen that the oboes marked with the name of Baptiste Desjardins were probably made by Charles II Pelletier, in turn related to the Lots: his son Charles III was a witness at the weddings of Thomas and Martin, and at that of the latter there was also Denis Vincent.

Of course, since we are dealing with craftsmen operating in a city during the *Ancien Régime*, it is not strange to note this dense network of personal ties: actually, there must have been many more than those we know today, and one would find similar ones in other professions, in other European cities, and in previous centuries. However, I believe that this situation[96] should stimulate us to reflect on the role of the appearance of a musical instrument as an element that contributes to the identity of a fairly homogeneous group of individuals, who share not only the same work but also the same well-defined aesthetic model for an object that they make. However, although this network of personal relationships is clearly underlying Type E, and the social dimension of the stylistic change is evident, I believe that it is possible to discover the origin of this new type: its inventor is likely Charles Bizey, as it has already been

93. If not otherwise indicated, as for everything that follows see the entries present in *ibid.*, and in LIBIN, ed., *The Grove dictionary*.
94. On him see JELTSCH, «*Prudent à Paris*».
95. PIERRE, *Les facteurs d'instruments*, pp. 40-46; GIANNINI, *Great flute makers*, pp. 13-14.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 34, underlines the nearness of the workshops of Lot, Pelletier, Cornet, Bizey, Prudent, Villars and Vincent.

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hypothesized.[97] Not only is he the earliest Parisian maker of whom a Type E specimen survive, but we have also seen the pronounced tendency towards simplification in the top joint of his Type A2 β oboes, which clearly anticipate Type E (compare Figures 9 and 10).

Therefore, Bizey influenced his apprentices and younger colleagues but not only, going beyond the French borders: it seems clear to me that the Rottenburgh family's Type E instruments are an imitation of his model. It is true that Jean-Hyacinth Rottenburgh was active long before Bizey, opening his own workshop in Brussels around the year 1700.[98] But I do not think that the invention of Type E should be attributed to him: first of all, because his A2 oboes belong to the α group, and therefore they do not show any of those trends present in the instruments of Bizey, Cornet and Desjardins (from the β group), which were at the origin of Type E. Furthermore, a marked French influence has also been detected in Rottenburgh's transverse flutes.[99]

However, we will soon see how the Rottenburgh family contributed a peculiar and later development of Type E. But first, I would like to focus on Bizey, in order to accredit the hypothesis according to which he is the creator of this new type: he was undoubtedly a very original and skilful maker (his surviving instruments also include one bass transverse flute, one bass recorder, plus some racketts).[100] Furthermore, it seems that Bizey was known above all for the quality of his oboes, and he was also one of the first makers to adopt the four-joints construction of the transverse flute.[101] At this point, it is very interesting to read this sort of advertisement published in the *Mercure de France* in December 1749:[102]

> Le sieur Bizey, inventeur de plusieurs instrumens à vent, avertit qu'il travaille toujours avec succès, & perfectionne plus que jamais ces sortes d'instrumens. Comme il a été malade pendant quelque tems, les jaloux de cet art ont publié méchamment, que le sieur Bizey étoit estropié, & même mort; ce qui est une fausseté. Cet artiste est en pleine vie & jouit d'une parfaite santé; il a même inventé depuis peu des haut-bois qui descendent jusqu'au Gerésol, comme le violon; il en a aussi inventé d'autres qui sont à l'octave des haut-bois ordinaires, imitant parfaitement le cor-de-chasse. Il demeure toujours rue Dauphine, à Paris.

It is almost superfluous to stress the references to the many inventions and improvements of Bizey: as for the oboes, those pitched an octave lower are

97. HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, p. 420, noting that Bizey's instruments display a transition between Types A2 and E, as I have shown here.
98. WATERHOUSE, *The new Langwill index*, p. 337.
99. OTTENBOURGS, *Rottenburgh*.
100. YOUNG, *4900 historical woodwind instruments*, pp. 22-23, but the list needs to be updated.
101. GIANNINI, *Bizey*.
102. ANONYMOUS, *Mercure de France decembre 1749*, p. 209. There is also an earlier announcement published in October 1748 where Bizey is referred to as «célèbre dans l'art de faire des instrumens à vent» (see ANONYMOUS, *Mercure de France octobre 1748*, p. 181).

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bass ones, and at least two specimens survive.[103] It is more difficult to identify the instrument which shares its lowest note with the violin, but we will return to it later. Bizey's experiments on the oboe are also enlightened by the fact that the first known application of the octave key is his:[104] this instrument, which should belong to Type E, was formerly in the private collection of Michel Piguet (1932-2004) but unfortunately I could not localize nor view it; its mark is said to bear the year of construction, 1749 (curiously the same as the announcement just mentioned), and also the letter «F»,[105] probably an abbreviation for the Latin word «fecit», to deliberately reaffirm Bizey's authorship.

But, even assuming that he was the inventor of Type E, it is still difficult to know what inspired the stylistic change: as I said before, France being the birthplace of the instrument, it should not surprise that soon (compared to other countries) is felt the need for an aesthetic reform. According to the surviving specimens, it seems clear to me that the path was gradual at least as far as the top joint is concerned, and in any case some influence of contemporary taste in architecture can not be excluded, because this has always been an influential discipline in the manufacture of musical instruments (as it is evident for the oboe's external conformation).[106] However, invoking a generic shift in the predominant aesthetic is as easy as unsatisfactory, since it does not really help us to understand the possible reasons for changing design, which are actually difficult to grasp. Certainly, in the case of musical instruments, among the possible causes of a desire to differentiate oneself, generational and artistic (that is properly musical) needs should be taken into consideration (in the latter case it is evident that the change must first take place in the idea one has of the instrument and its specific qualities).

Anyway, in the light of what has been said, Bizey's originality as a maker seems incontestable to me, and we will see it confirmed when dealing with the *taille de hautbois* and the *hautbois de forêt* later. Such a personality, perhaps comparable to the Italian Giovanni Maria Anciuti (1674-1744),[107] must be strongly suspected for the attribution of the new Type E. Not to mention the influence that the master Bizey undoubtedly had on other makers, above all those of the following generations: and this is evident at least in the case of his various apprentices and younger colleagues that were mentioned above. That said, I believe that it is possible to date the birth of Type E around 1730: it is obviously difficult to be certain of it, but I will now illustrate a brief reasoning

103. 1. Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.642; 2. Vermillion (South Dakota), National Music Museum, 13175. A discussion of these extraordinary instruments is not possible here, but it is interesting to note that the baluster of the top joint is absent (probably imitating the bassoon), while that of the centre joint is beaded. There is also a very similar anonymous instrument (Hamamatsu, Museum of Musical Instruments, A-0272R).

104. HAYNES, *The addition*, p. 45 (footnote 45); HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, pp. 70, 202 (footnote 86).

105. YOUNG, *4900 historical woodwind instruments*, p. 23.

106. ADKINS, *Proportions*; HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, p. 65; MEUCCI, *Strumentaio*, pp. 58-61, 124-125, 194, 212.

107. On him see BERNARDINI – MEUCCI, *L'oboe d'avorio*, CARRERAS – MERONI, *Giovanni Maria Anciuti*, and VOICE, *Venetian woodwind instrument makers*.

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to justify my proposal.[108]

If one observes the lists of instruments in the appendix, it is clear that Bizey is the only one whose Type A2 oboes also survive, with the exception of Jean-Hyacinth Rottenburgh, but whose Type E instruments could have been made by his sons and then marked with his name.[109] As for the other makers, so far there is nothing that stylistically comes before Type E:[110] but obviously this does not mean that none of them ever built an A2 oboe, because these may simply not survive. However, it is important to conclude that, given the known production of the various Lots, Villars, Vincent and Prudent, during the 1740s in Paris Type A2 was considered obsolete, if not virtually inexisting:[111] therefore, I would say that Bizey began making the earliest Type E oboes in about 1730, if he is its inventor. It is also interesting to note that in France by 1730 it is possible to place a change in musical style, with a growing Italian influence, which has been defined as the transition from the era and taste of Louis XIV (1638-1715) to those of his great-grandson, Louis XV (1710-1774).[112] I do not want to claim that the birth of Type E is directly related to this shift: I am not convinced of it, and it would not be easy to prove it; but what matters is to underline how the new type of instrument was probably established in Paris during a period of musical renewal.

Anyway, it is difficult to say which are the oldest surviving type E specimens: in fact, the one by Bizey could even date back to the early 1750s. Luckily, it is much easier to hypothesize which instruments are the most mature, but since they have anomalous features it is necessary to return to them once other types have been discussed, in the light of which these variants can be more easily understood and contextualised. So, let us continue with a new type that I thought it appropriate to introduce for the reasons that I will now illustrate.

5. Type F

Until now, this group of instruments had been included in Type E: indeed, if their appearance does not seem very different from that of the oboes just

108. Which is also more or less that of HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, pp. 88, 397-398, 420.
109. *Ibid.*, pp. 355, 446.
110. The only exceptions are Jeremias Schlegel, whose Type A2 β instrument however shows evident influences of Type E in the top joint, and the Willems specimen which, although very reminiscent of the Type A2 α Rottenburgh oboes, is similar to Type E in the general simplification, and in particular in the lack of the centre column beads.
111. Strangely there are also some rather late French iconographic evidences of it, but they may be the result of several decades of widespread diffusion: 1. Anonymous, *La famille Parguez*, 1754 (Pontarlier, Musée Municipal), reproduced in HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, p. 75; 2. ANONYMOUS, *Recueil de planches*, pl. VIII of the series *Lutherie, suite des instruments à vent* (plates of the *Encyclopédie* by Diderot and D'Alembert); 3. Michel Corrette (1707-1795), fingering chart of the *Méthode raisonnée pour apprendre aisément à jouer de la flûte traversière* (?, Paris 1773).
112. HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, pp. 289-294, 400, 410-415.

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examined, nevertheless there are some peculiarities. Therefore, I will claim that this is a variant of Type E, or rather a development that later became independent and quite well-defined, but which has escaped systematic investigation so far. I will now outline a general profile and then show the most important exceptions. The first evident difference from Type E is the bell (Figure 13): it normally has not the upper nor the lower waist beads (instead, Type E has only the latter). But there are lower flare beads, delimiting the rim;[113] moreover, compared to Type E, a pronounced flaring is evident, in some cases really extreme and unusual: we will return to this shortly. However, the two types share the presence of a thin socket beads above the baluster.

As for the top joint (Figure 14), a derivation from Type E seems clearer because of the lengthening of the baluster, and the essentiality of the beads placed at its ends. However, it is very important to note how in each specimen the finial has upper beads which are quite consistent, and therefore they are similar to those of Type A2 α (Figure 6) than the normal profile of Type E (Figure 10), that in turns derives from A2 β (Figure 9).[114] Moreover, almost always the finial cove has a parallel profile, different from the upward flaring which is the norm for Type E.

As for the centre joint (Figure 15), it is more difficult to establish an exact general profile: some instruments do not have the centre column beads, as happens in Type E, and therefore they are probably the earliest.[115] Instead, a few other specimens have them,[116] and this is a very important structural feature, being already well-established in Type A2. On the other hand, the absence of any moulding at the end of the centre joint is more consistent, as with Type E,[117] and the same goes for the thin socket beads above the baluster. But again it is difficult to establish a rule for the keys, which can be two[118] or three in number,[119] and set in blocks[120] or in more traditional rings.[121] Some specimens also have a single fourth hole.[122] Finally, the use of ivory mounts in the finial and in the balusters of centre joint and bell is systematic.[123]

Returning to the bell, I would like to point out the possibility of a very pronounced flaring, together with a rather thick rim.[124] Furthermore, the bell is an important element in trying to trace the origin of Type F, but let us proceed in order. The oldest specimens are probably those of Godefroy-Adrien

113. The only one exception is Willems.
114. Tuerlinckx's oboe is a bit different, having a bizarre ivory moulding as a finial: but it could be due to a repair, and anyway it is also very different from Type E.
115. Deschamps #1, G.A. Rottenburgh #1, #2, I.H. Rottenburgh #1, #2, Tuerlinckx, Willems.
116. Anonymous, Bühner & Keller #1, #2.
117. The only one exception is Anonymous.
118. Anonymous, Bühner & Keller #1, #2 (this one also has the Gsharp-key, but it could have been added later), Deschamps #1, G.A. Rottenburgh #2, I.H. Rottenburgh #1, #2.
119. G.A. Rottenburgh #1, Tuerlinckx, Willems (with added Gsharp-key).
120. Deschamps #1, G.A. Rottenburgh #1, #2 (at least the lower one), Tuerlinckx.
121. Anonymous, Bühner & Keller #1, #2, I.H. Rottenburgh #1, #2, Willems.
122. Anonymous, Bühner & Keller #1, #2, Deschamps #1, Tuerlinckx.
123. Ivory lacks only in the centre joint baluster of I.H. Rottenburgh #2.
124. Most extreme cases: Anonymous, Deschamps #1, Tuerlinckx.

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Figure 13. Godefroy-Adrien Rottenburgh, oboe (bell), Type F. Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 0966. Photo by Anne Deknock. CC BY– RMAH / © ImageStudio Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels

Figure 14. Jean-Hyacinth Rottenburgh, oboe (top joint), Type F. Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 0966. Photo by Anne Deknock. CC BY– RMAH / © ImageStudio Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels

Figure 15. Jean-Hyacinth Rottenburgh, oboe (centre joint), Type F. Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 0966. Photo by Anne Deknock. CC BY– RMAH / © ImageStudio Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels

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Rottenburgh, who could have made them at least starting from 1757, if not before by using his father's mark, as probably he was one of his apprentices.[125] Indeed, one instrument by Jean-Hyacinth (#2, Figures 13, 14 and 15) has the writing «RUE DE L'EMPEREUR» in the mark of the top joint, which indicates the address of the workshop: therefore we can assume that this oboe was made between 1757 and 1775;[126] moreover, the bell is marked «G.A. ROTTENBURGH», which confirms who the actual maker of this instrument was.

However, it is clear that Type F derives from Type E, and not only because of the stylistic reasons that I have shown: it has been said that there are several Type E specimens made by the Rottenburgh family, which must have been the basis for subsequent developments, even if they do not show details that allow us to guess. Instead, traces of experimentation can be found in a very particular instrument by Godefroy-Adrien, which I have included here in Type F (#2): the top joint baluster is absent, as in Type C (the so-called straight-top oboe), but the other structural mouldings are retained. I have already been interested in this specimen in the past, as it not only testifies to the probable influence of Anciuti through the presence of Giuseppe Sammartini (1695-1750) in Brussels between 1728 and 1729,[127] but also (in my opinion) to a desire for renewal which finally originated Type F: the centre joint and the bell of this oboe clearly belong to it, and this could be the oldest specimen currently known, because of the anomalous top joint. Finally, returning to the flared bell mostly without beads, its design may derive from the contemporary clarinet: and quite a few specimens by Godefroy-Adrien Rottenburgh survive.[128] At this point, it seems clear to me that he is the most likely creator of Type F, maybe because he wanted to differentiate his own oboes from the dominant Parisian model, Type E, finally producing a reworking which, for its originality, deserves a classification of its own.

But the differences with Type E are not only stylistic: in fact, being a development of it, Type F is younger and also seems to enjoy a longer life; for example, the instrument by Jean-Arnold-Antoine Tuerlinckx (1753-1827) can not have been made before 1782,[129] and above all the two instruments from the Bühner & Keller workshop in Strasbourg likely date from after the beginning of the nineteenth century.[130] This leads me to hypothesize a late success of Type F, despite the few surviving specimens, and in any case this is a phenomenon much more extended than the vitality of Type E, whose obsolescence is not easy to place, but which I would estimate at the latest in the 1780s.

The geographical distribution of Type F is also slightly different from that of Type E: two cities in Flanders, Brussels (for the Rottenburghs and Willems) and Malines/Mechelen (Tuerlinckx), and Strasbourg (Bühner & Keller). Yet, curiously, there is at least one Type F instrument made in Paris, the cradle and

125. WATERHOUSE, *The new Langwill index*, p. 337.
126. *Ibid.*
127. RIZZELLO, *Something more*, pp. 40, 43, 66-67.
128. YOUNG, *4900 historical woodwind instruments*, p. 192, but this list needs to be updated.
129. WATERHOUSE, *The new Langwill index*, pp. 404-405.
130. PIERRE, *Bühner & Keller*.

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stronghold of Type E: it is the one by Jean Deschamps,[131] who was related to the Lot, Hotteterre, Pelletier and Fremont families.[132] It is difficult to propose an exact dating,[133] but what is interesting about this instrument is a slight deviation from the normal profile described above: in fact, the bell has the upper waist beads, and the same goes for the only one Type F anonymous.[134] As we will see shortly, this is a structural feature of Type D (in all its variants): and it is probably from here that derive the upper waist beads of these two Type F instruments.[135]

6. Type D1

Let us now take a more linear path: which oboe type appeared in France after Type E? It is Type D1, the first form of the so-called classical oboe. However, a small detour will be necessary: in fact, Type D1 was not born in France; and where then? Most likely in Italy, and precisely in Turin, thanks to the maker Carlo Palanca. Obviously, it is not my intention to remain more than necessary on this turning point in the history of the instrument, but I must do it since Type D (in several variants) was widespread all over Europe, in some cases until the beginning of the twentieth century. Therefore, I will illustrate the reasons why I believe that Palanca should be considered the inventor of Type D,[136] and then I will critically consider an alternative theory.

First of all, from a chronological point of view Palanca is the first maker whose instruments of this kind survive: and not just a few sporadic specimens, but more than twenty oboes (excluding the anomalous ones).[137] Actually, as is normal, even those without eccentric features do not form a completely homogeneous group, but for one thing: the bell has the upper waist beads, but the lower ones have disappeared (Figure 16). The successive moulding occurs

131. His other specimen (#2) is actually lost, but I have included it in Type F on the basis of the description made by SNOECK, *Catalogue*, p. 178.
132. WATERHOUSE, *The new Langwill index*, pp. 87-88.
133. It should have been made after 1771, when Deschamps was welcomed in the *Communauté des Faiseurs d'Instruments de Musique* of Paris (see JELTSCH – WATEL, *Maîtrises et jurandes*, p. 23), but it can not be excluded that he had already started his activity as a maker.
134. Instead, the bell of I.H. Rottenburgh #1 has a beaded baluster.
135. As for the anonymous one the influence of Type D is also shown by the general appearance of the top joint, the column beads of the centre joint and the mouldings at the end of it.
136. This hypothesis was first exposed by HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, pp. 396-450. Here I intend to develop it but not without corrections: for example, the maker Giovanni Panormo (1743-a.1809), active in Naples, should no longer be considered, because his instruments necessarily date back to well after the invention of Type D (on of him and his family see DI STEFANO, *Panormo*). Furthermore, as we will see, Palanca seems to be also responsible for subsequent developments of Type D1, but for now the discussion refers to this first variant, unless otherwise indicated.
137. For a fairly updated list see SILVESTRI, *Carlo Palanca*, pp. 73-75.

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Figure 16. Martin Lot, oboe (bell), Type D1. Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 1980. Photo by Anne Deknock. CC BY– RMAH / © ImageStudio Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels

after the flaring of the bell has already begun, unlike what happens in Type A2, of which Type D can be seen as a sort of update (in particular as for the α group). This is not the only one defining feature of Type D,[138] yet in my opinion it is an excellent start, above all for the contrast that is created with the bells of Types A2, E and F.

However, before giving a more precise description of the external profile of Type D1, it is necessary to further illustrate the personality of Palanca. As for the biographical data,[139] we know that his father Giovanni Lorenzo was not only a musician but also a maker of woodwind instruments, so Carlo probably learnt the trade from him, as often happened at that time: in the Turin census from 1705 we find the fourteen-year-old boy working in the family workshop.[140] Furthermore, Carlo may have started making instruments marked with his own name after his father's death, which happened between 1718 and 1719; indeed, it can not be excluded that Palanca started doing so even earlier, since he appears to have had his own house at least since 1716, when he married for the first time.[141] However, we have certain information about his activity as a maker in 1748 and in 1755, when purchases of instruments by the Turin court are recorded.[142] As a musician, he was a bassoonist in the Royal Chapel

138. The reader may remember that the presence of only the upper waist beads is an important feature of a group of Type A1 oboes. However, I think this is just a coincidence: as we will see, in my opinion there were other influences that led Palanca to this small but significant change of the Type A2 bell.
139. BERNARDINI, *Palanca, Carlo Alberto Felice*.
140. ODLING – GIRODO, *Documenti sulla costruzione*, p. 32.
141. CIFANI – MONETTI, *I piaceri e le grazie*, pp. 326-327.
142. BERNARDINI, *Carlo Palanca e la costruzione*, p. 22.

from 1719 to 1770, the year of his retirement.[143] Reading the documents available to us, there is no son or other possible successor in the activity of musical instrument maker: for these reasons, it seems unlikely (at the moment) that anyone else produced instruments using his mark, least of all after his death.

But precisely, when is it possible to place the end of Palanca's activity as a maker? As it has been said, for that of musician we have the retirement year, 1770, after which he continued to get his salary until his death, that occurred in 1783 at the considerable age of about 92 years. However, since the motivation for the end of his employment at the court already hints at some health problems,[144] more than normal for an almost eighty-year-old person, one would think that his activity as a maker could have ended even before that as a musician, therefore towards the mid 1760s, when Palanca was already quite old. Certainly, as we will see shortly, he must have stopped making instruments in the 1770s, at least regularly and with satisfactory results: indeed, at the writing of his will in January 1783 are explicitly mentioned hand tremors and poor eyesight.[145]

Anyway, with the arrival in 1731 to Turin of the famous oboist Alessandro Besozzi (1702-1793) from Parma,[146] Palanca's oboe making must probably have undergone an increase, assuming that it did not start from this very moment. Indeed, it is not difficult to imagine that Besozzi had some role in Palanca's numerous and important production, as it has been hypothesized several times: we must not forget that Besozzi was one of the greatest oboists in history, as well as Palanca's colleague for almost forty years, and therefore a source of artistic needs which may have been the basis of the stylistic change observable in the oboes of the Turin maker.[147] On the other hand, some form of collaboration between the two musicians can be clearly guessed from a well-known 1773 letter, coming from Lisbon, in which it is written:[148]

> Da Torino se desiderano due oboè di Palanca, ed approvati dal sig.r Besozzi, e basta che tenga ogn'uno due pezzi; ciò è il primo pezzo che sia il tono naturale, e l'altro pezzo più basso, e ciascuno, che venga con mezza duzzine d'angie, e tutto sia fatta coll'intelligenza del s.r Besozzi, e con quella prestezza,

143. BOUQUET, *Musique et musiciens*, p. 215. Also, from 1744 to 1751 Palanca played in the celebrations of the Turin University, together with the Besozzi brothers and other colleagues that we will meet later (see CARATTI, «*Della maniera da tenersi per solennizzare le feste dell'università*»).
144. BERNARDINI, *Carlo Palanca e la costruzione*, p. 22.
145. *Ibid*.
146. BOUQUET, *Musique et musiciens*, pp. 26, 209.
147. I recall that, in addition to the appearance, Palanca's oboes are also innovative from an acoustic point of view, having an average minimum bore of about 5.2 mm: this is an important difference compared to most of the oboes from previous generations, which usually have a larger minimum bore (see HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, pp. 397-398). These features are of no interest to the present research, but it is certainly important to understand how actually Palanca's instrument appears to be new not only as for the external style; however, one must consider the possibility that the trend towards bore narrowing should be included in a wider phenomenon, also involving non-Italian makers.
148. MCCLYMONDS, *Niccolò Jommelli*, p. 365 (footnote 73).

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che si puole.

From this precious evidence emerges a notoriety of Palanca at European level; however we also know, from a subsequent letter of 1776, that he was not able to fulfill the order satisfying his client: some joints of the shipped instrument were defined as «velhos»,[149] that is old. Therefore, it is legitimate to deduce that in the 1770s, if not even earlier, Palanca could no longer be a fully active maker.[150]

Returning to Type D1, it is necessary to date its birth, assuming (as I believe) that Palanca is its inventor. First of all, it is important to remember that in 1735 the two Besozzi brothers, a few years after settling in Turin, performed at least five times in Paris at the Concert Spirituel from March to May,[151] obtaining unanimous approval.[152] It has been hypothesized that the two virtuosos had imported Palanca's new instruments to Paris on this occasion:[153] however, this seems to me unlikely for at least two reasons. First of all, the Besozzis only arrived in Turin in 1731, therefore the years in which to locate a possible collaboration between Carlo and Alessandro would not be many, especially in the development of a new kind of oboe; moreover, given the effective success of the two brothers at the Concert Spirituel, one should expect an almost immediate imitation of Palanca's oboe (played by Alessandro) by the Parisian makers: yet this probably did not happen before around 1760.[154]

On the contrary, a French influence[155] on Palanca's oboes seems to me to be more plausible, recalling that simplification present not only in Type E, but also in the immediately preceding instruments (Type A2 β) made by Bizey and his Parisian colleagues. Indeed, this is probably the beginning of these trends in the history of the instrument's appearance, if one accepts the dating of Type E that I have proposed (*c.*1730). Of course, Palanca also made a Type C oboe[156] inspired by the model of Anciuti,[157] who in turn probably conceived it before Giuseppe Sammartini's departure for Brussels, which happened in July 1728.[158] However, as for the Italian Type C the simplification of the profile is much more radical than in Type E, and it also took place slightly earlier: yet the fortune of Anciuti's instrument will not be in Paris (where it probably never arrived directly), and not even so much in Brussels, but instead in London and in England through the original reworking of Thomas Stanesby Jr. (1692-1754).[159] Anyway, it is a fact that Anciuti's influence is present in at least

149. *Ibid.*, p. 365 (footnote 74).
150. BERNARDINI, *Carlo Palanca e la costruzione*, p. 23.
151. PIERRE, *Histoire du Concert Spirituel*, pp. 98, 243-244.
152. HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, p. 411.
153. *Ibid.*, p. 399.
154. I agree with HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, p. 420.
155. Already hypothesized by BERNARDINI, *Carlo Palanca e la costruzione*, p. 24, it has been noted in Palanca's two surviving bassoons (see BERNARDINI, *Palanca, Carlo*).
156. Vindelle, Ecochard private collection.
157. RIZZELLO, *Something more*, pp. 37-38.
158. PREFUMO, *I fratelli Sammartini*, p. 111.
159. RIZZELLO, *Something more*, pp. 67-83.

one instrument by Palanca: yet, this same specimen has a pitch around 405 Hz,[160] that is the typical French standard called «ton de la chambre du roy».[161]

Instead, returning to the appearance of the instruments, other simplifications are found in some oboes by Palanca, more or less anomalous,[162] which in my opinion highlight his desire to experiment and his quest for originality. But it is not necessary to consider them all antecedents to the development of a defined profile of Type D1: on the contrary, the peculiarity of Palanca as a maker also lies in having continued to produce instruments with unusual characteristics. However, alongside them, there are many specimens which for the first time show the fundamental structures of Type D, features that are also present in its future developments: I am thinking in particular of the bell, which does not have the lower waist beads.[163]

That said, I claim that in the creation of Type D1 by Palanca a French influence (in particular of Type E) is more likely than that of Anciuti (Type C). In fact, it has been said that one of the most evident changes of Type E (compared to Type A2) is the elimination of the upper waist beads of the bell, so the ones that are below the baluster (Figure 12): and this also allows a symmetry with what happens in the centre joint, where in the same way the baluster does not have lower beads, and becomes a simple swelling (Figure 11). At this point, Palanca's choice is easier to understand: retaining the column beads under the baluster of the centre joint, as in Type A2, it is aesthetically more satisfying to keep the upper waist beads of the bell aswell; in this way, both balusters are inferiorly delimited and the two joints form a symmetrical pair. But the idea behind the two different choices (Types E and D) is the same: to try to overcome the well-defined Type A2, deciding what to save and what to abandon, in the awareness that adding complexity to an already very rich profile is almost impossible and probably out-of-date.

Therefore, I would estimate the birth of Type D1 around 1740 or shortly before, and in any case after the return of the Besozzi brothers from Paris in 1735. Actually, to certify the French influence on the creation of this new model it is not necessary to think that the two Besozzi imported specimens of the recent Type E to Turin (although this is very likely, given the importance and quality of Parisian oboe making). Indeed, the French cultural and political presence

160. ECOCHARD, *Regards*, p. 40.

161. HAYNES, *A history*, pp. 117-123, 208.

162. For example: 1. Berlin, Musikinstrumenten-Museum, 5336 (the flare beads of the bell are missing); 2. Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, 1800 (there are no centre column beads, as in Type E, but there is a curious swelling, and also the finial has unusual mouldings); 3. Modena, Museo Civico, SM36-1981 (blocks for the keys, and the flare beads of the bell are lowered, placed above the rim).

163. I know of only a couple of exceptions: the first is another instrument by Palanca (Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, 1801), now without top joint, whose bell has the lower waist beads. But this specimen does not seem a particularly early one (Type D4, as we will see). Other notable exceptions are a *taille de hautbois* dated 1776 (Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, IM0148) and a cor anglais (Kremsmünster, Stift, 52) from 1793, both made by Jakob Grundmann in Dresden.

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in Turin was secular and well-rooted:[164] it is sufficient to think of the permanent introduction of the oboe, which took place very early (at the latest during the 1670s),[165] probably before than in several other Italian cities. Also, one must consider the continuous presence of French musicians: to mention just one illustrious example, Jacques-Martin Hotteterre Le Romain (1674-1763), who was occasionally in Turin in the years between 1730 and 1735.[166] Because of these reasons, it can also be assumed that Palanca observed Type E French oboes directly in his own city. However, I repeat that my hypothesis does not claim a direct imitation of Type E, which is not to be found in Palanca's currently known production, but instead an inspiration to reform the old Type A2, simplifying it.

But then, when did Type D1 arrive in Paris? It is clear that to understand the diffusion of a new instrument it is necessary to find occasions that have wide public resonance, where famous musicians associate their virtuosity not only with a performing style and a repertoire, but also with the instrument on which they realize them. In the case of mid-eighteenth-century Paris, the continuous appearances at the Concert Spirituel of virtuosos often from abroad are very interesting: this was a prestigious and long-lived stage for countless performances, in which success sometimes became a premise for an extended stay in the city, and also for important employments at the French court and at the Opéra.[167] So, for example, a possible occasion in which to place the first appearance of Type D is the performance at the Concert Spirituel, on November 1st 1754, of a certain Palanca, probably an oboist, with a concerto by Besozzi (probably Alessandro).[168] This could hardly be Carlo himself, and it was rightly hypothesized the identification with Giacomo Palanca, whose possible relationships with the maker are currently unknown,[169] active as an oboist at the Turin court from 1751 to 1754.[170]

Instead, Filippo Prover (1727-1774) settled in Paris in 1756, an oboist and flautist present in the documents of the Savoy court starting from 1754.[171] In the French capital he enjoyed good success as a performer at the Concert Spirituel,[172] obtained a job at the court (until 1761),[173] and subsequently worked

164. As for music, but not only, see BOUQUET, *Musique et musiciens*, pp. 2-3, 5, 10, 12, 18, 36, 45, 47, 85, 148, 154, and also BOUQUET, *Il teatro di corte*, pp. 5-7, 18, 20, 42-43, 46, 49, 58-60, 62, 65, 68-69, 72-73, 77-78, 85, 95, 99, 110, 127, 238-242, 261-263, 329, 335-339, 433-435.

165. BOUQUET, *Musique et musiciens*, p. 25. It is also notable the use of the term «cromorne» in some documents of the Turin court from the years 1679, 1682 and 1685: it appears together or alternatively to the various Italianisations of «hautbois» and «musette» (see RICCHIARDI, *Musicisti in uniforme*, pp. 3-4); but it seems unfounded to believe that this instrument could be the old crumhorn from the Renaissance: therefore, these evidences may confirm the identification of oboe and *cromorne*.

166. BOUQUET, *Musique et musiciens*, p. 27.

167. PIERRE, *Histoire du Concert Spirituel*, pp. 11-226.

168. *Ibid.*, pp. 116, 268.

169. BERNARDINI, *Carlo Palanca e la costruzione*, p. 22.

170. BOUQUET, *Musique et musiciens*, p. 215.

171. *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 215.

172. PIERRE, *Histoire du Concert Spirituel*, pp. 128, 271-272.

173. GREENBERG, *Musical instruments*, p. 26; GREENBERG, *Le personnel*, p. 29.

for the prince of Conti, Luigi Francesco of Bourbon (1717-1776).[174] Prover's contemporary fame is also confirmed by a well-known watercolor drawing by Louis Carrogis Carmontelle (1717-1806), portraying four other musicians employed by the prince of Conti;[175] unfortunately, the oboe that Prover is playing is not clearly visible, but it could be a Type D one. It is also very interesting that he probably worked as a woodwinds maker.[176] So, my hypothesis is that he also contributed exporting Palanca's oboes from Turin to Paris, and he may have made similar ones himself: indeed, in 1780 an oboe by Prover was housed in the Royal Library of Versailles, together with two precious transverse flutes probably made by him in 1759.[177]

Anyway, even more important for establishing the arrival and diffusion of Type D in Paris is the presence, in December 1757, of Antonio Besozzi (1714-1781) together with a son, probably Carlo (1738-1791), performing at the Concert Spirituel three consecutive times.[178] As we will see, they were coming from London, on their way back to Dresden, where Antonio had settled in 1738, becoming first oboe of the Royal Chapel the following year.[179] Therefore, the two Besozzi did not arrive to Paris directly from Turin, but contacts with their uncles Alessandro and Paolo Girolamo (1704-1778) (and thus with Palanca) are likely: some Palanca Type D oboes could have arrived in Dresden already at the beginning of the 1740s, shipped from Turin to be played by Antonio Besozzi and then also by his son Carlo. And this would not be strange, in the light of the aforementioned order which reached Palanca in 1773 from Lisbon, where no Besozzi was present. In any case, from the 1750s onwards Dresden was to become an important center for the construction of woodwind instruments, and as far as the oboe is concerned, this success was based on the adoption and further development of the recent Type D, which however in my opinion originated in Turin, thanks to Palanca and Alessandro Besozzi; but we will return to this later.

To continue with the performances at the Concert Spirituel, in 1766 a certain Gioseffo Secchi is found there several times,[180] an oboist probably to be identified with Giuseppe Secchi (or Secco) (*c.*1728-1803) active at the court of Turin in 1756, and later (as first oboe, replacing Alessandro Besozzi) from 1776 to 1798,[181] after having spent several years in Munich.[182] But another Besozzi

174. For the first discussion of Prover and his family see BERNARDINI, *Carlo Palanca e la costruzione*, p. 24. The most important source on Filippo is LA BORDE, *Essai sur la musique*, vol. 3, pp. 527-528, who certifies his being a well-known virtuoso.
175. Chantilly, Musée Condé, Car424.
176. BERNARDINI, *Carlo Palanca e la costruzione*, p. 24, reports a transverse flute marked «PROVER A TURIN» (Rome, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, 2292).
177. MARCUSE, *The instruments*; GREENBERG, *Musical instruments*, pp. 26, 29, 71.
178. PIERRE, *Histoire du Concert Spirituel*, pp. 128, 274.
179. SALVETTI – KEAHEY, *Besozzi family*.
180. PIERRE, *Histoire du Concert Spirituel*, pp. 149, 289-290.
181. BOUQUET, *Musique et musiciens*, pp. 26 (footnote 8), 216; MOFFA, *Storia della Cappella Regia*, pp. 47, 54-55, 106, 296, 308.
182. HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, p. 405.

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appears at the Concert Spirituel in 1768: he is Gaetano (1725/7-1804),[183] Antonio's younger brother, who had arrived in Paris from Naples in 1765 (with a stop in Turin?), together with his son Girolamo, becoming first oboe of the French Royal Chapel until 1792.[184] Gaetano will continue to perform at the Concert Spirituel until 1788,[185] probably becoming in the meantime the most influential oboist in France: it seems to me that we can attribute the growing success of Type D here above all to his stable presence in Paris, as Type E will be supplanted during a few decades. Finally, in 1768 at the Concert Spirituel one also finds the famous Johann Christian Fischer (1733-1800),[186] who had worked at the Dresden court from 1760 to 1764, where Antonio Besozzi (and his son Carlo) had been permanently employed for several years. Furthermore, Fischer was a pupil of Alessandro Besozzi in Turin, but it is not clear when he went there (in any case, probably before his brief stay in Paris, having then settled in London forever).[187]

That said, it is now time to describe the profile of Type D1[188] having as a basis not only the French instruments, but also those Palanca specimens that were probably among the first to be made according to the new style;[189] actually, since it is a type that had much success in Europe, many considerations will be valid also for other national productions. However, before starting, I would like to expose a brief thought on the strategy used for dividing Type D into its three variants, to which I will add a new one. Never as in this case was it necessary to make such a great effort to reach a useful conceptualization, namely both cheap (in order not to increase excessively the types) and efficient (to account for the surviving production exhaustively). It is a proposal that I developed mainly on the basis of French oboes, but I am confident that it will also prove fruitful for those of other countries. In short, I proceeded on the basis of the bell, thus partially modifying the previous characterizations. I have decided to do so because, as far as the top and centre joints are concerned, it is much more difficult to distinguish the different forms of Type D: in fact, it would be impossible if one does not consider the bell, as it would end up creating heterogeneous and unmanageable groups.

183. PIERRE, *Histoire du Concert Spirituel*, pp. 149, 295.
184. GREENBERG, *Le personnel*, p. 29.
185. PIERRE, *Histoire du Concert Spirituel*, pp. 150, 339.
186. *Ibid.*, pp. 149, 293.
187. KEAHEY, *Fischer*. The possible diffusion of Palanca's instruments also through Fischer's stay in Turin has been hypothesized by BERNARDINI, *Carlo Palanca e la costruzione*, p. 24.
188. For its first discussion, which I will resume here, see HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, pp. 86-87.
189. For example: 1. Bern, Klingendes Museum, 2119; 2. Madrid, Museo del Real Conservatorio Superior de Música, O2; 3. Munich, anonymous private collection; 4. Rome, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, 1372 (this specimen has both upper and lower flare beads in the bell); 5. Salzburg, Bernardini private collection; 6. Ditto. These specimens are included in what SILVESTRI, *Carlo Palanca*, p. 79, calls Type B, but this group refers only to Palanca's production and it is not to be confused with the general oboe types.

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So let us start with the bell of Type D1 (Figure 16).[190] It retains only two structural complexes of beads: one (the upper waist beads) to delimit the baluster, above the resonance holes, and the other (the flare beads) below, when the flaring has already started, but before the rim. It is important to note how the curve of the flaring is simple, often slightly concave, and it forms the rim (more or less pronounced) without there being any sections where it clearly assumes a parallel profile; moreover, the rim itself, although sometimes consistent, is incorporated into the flaring, as it is not normally delimited by any bead;[191] and this is an important difference compared to Types A2, E and F. So it seems clear to me that this is a peculiarity, and it is one of the reasons why I decided to reform the internal subdivision of Type D on the basis of four distinct types of bell (one derived from the other, as we will see later). In this way, the shapes of all the three balusters are less important: in fact, ideally it is possible to combine them with any of the different bells, even with the one that will prove to be the latest. However, the softer curves that recall Type A2 are in most cases featured in Type D1, which is an evident simplifying reworking of the earlier type.

Indeed, as for the Type D1 top joint (Figure 17), Palanca has resumed the profile of Type A2, and in particular that of the α group: there are upper finial beads often symmetrical (as for diameter, thickness and complexity) with the next two groups of mouldings, namely those directly above (the lower finial beads) and below (the top column beads) the baluster. So the structural turning elements of Types A2 and D1 are the same, even if in the latter they are gradually made in order to neutralize the characteristic baroque richness.[192] And the same goes for the centre joint (Figure 18), where the groups of mouldings are clearly inherited from Type A2, albeit made increasingly lighter. Therefore in most cases there is a quantitative simplification, though there is also a qualitative one: and not only in the bell, since the centre joint will over time see the elimination of the mouldings placed at its lower end (the base shoulder). And this later development, which is difficult to date,[193] may perhaps indicate a further influence of Type E, where the turning elements at the base shoulder are structurally absent (Figure 11), unlike Type A2 (Figure 7).

Precisely this last feature allows us to divide the French Type D1 produc-

190. ADKINS, *The german oboe*, pp. 30-31, 33, 35, calls it the «early Dresden bell» or «type 1 Dresden bell», but actually it is the earliest one developed by Palanca, and is the basis of each future development of Type D.

191. It is interesting to note that the same thing happens in the bell of the only one straight-top oboe with metal ferrules by Anciuti, made in 1738 (Rome, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, 1094); therefore it can not be excluded that Palanca was consciously inspired by it.

192. This has given the idea of a return to complexity after a period of simplification due to the dominance of Types B, C and E (see for example HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, p. 79). Actually, if the first Type D1 instruments made by Palanca date from the early 1740s, it is obvious that this idea should be changed, because it is possible that in some areas (for example in Germany) some makers passed directly from the production of Type A2 to that of D1 oboes, without an intermediate phase of greater simplification.

193. It already appears in the (Palanca?) oboe of Sante Aguilar (*c.*1734-1808), portrayed in Naples in 1767 (Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, B11062?/B37747).

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Figure 17. Martin Lot, oboe (top joint), Type D1. Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 1980. Photo by Anne Deknock. CC BY– RMAH / © ImageStudio Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels

Figure 18. Martin Lot, oboe (centre joint), Type D1. Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 1980. Photo by Anne Deknock. CC BY– RMAH / © ImageStudio Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels

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tion into two groups: the oboes which retain these mouldings at the lower end of the centre joint,[194] and those that eliminate them (as in Figure 18).[195] However, if it is true that this simplification had already been tested in France with Type E, instead it seems to me that the oldest Type D1 French specimens are those which, like Palanca's first oboes,[196] retain the traditional mouldings at the base shoulder. Indeed, these French instruments should be direct or indirect copies of the oldest specimens by the Turin maker, and this can also be deduced from the shapes of the balusters, often soft and not very pronounced. As for the other probably later instruments, it is not possible to understand whether this simplification is a French specificity (as in the case of Type E): it would be necessary to take into account non-French specimens, so the question is deferred to a future inquiry. However, it must be said that this feature already appears in some oboes by Palanca, which are among the most mature of his production,[197] but on them we will return later.

An internal development of Type D1, concerning the shape of the bell, can be observed in several instruments considered here:[198] the section under the flare beads can be slightly lengthened, showing a beginning of verticality in the flaring, while the rim becomes less prominent and is lowered; however, a section of gradual transition between it and the previous flaring remains clearly visible. But as I just said, it is an evolution that I believe should be maintained within Type D1, and the path in which it must be inserted will become clearer later. Anyway, I recall how it is very important that the rim is never separated from the flaring, even though it may be partially made with an ivory mount.[199] Before moving on to the next type, it is interesting to note that some of these French instruments still have three keys (one for the C, and two symmetrical for the Eflat),[200] although I am not sure that only for this reason they are to be considered particularly early. Moreover, some specimens have socket beads above the baluster of the bell:[201] this is an evident legacy of Type E, as it is a feature rarely present in French Type A2 specimens,[202] and normally absent in the oboes of Palanca. But as we shall see, it will have much success in the future, at least in France.

194. Delusse #1, #9, Keller, Prudent #1, #3, #4, Roustagneq #1.
195. Adler, F. Amlingue, M. Amlingue, Boisselot, Camus, Delusse #2, #3, #4, #5, #6, #7, #8, M. Lot, Porthaux, Prudent #2, Roustagneq #2, Schlegel #1, #2.
196. See footnote 189.
197. See footnotes 206 (except the one in Leipzig, but it is perhaps a later addition), and 216 (except those in Bologna and Milan).
198. Adler, F. Amlingue, Clapisson, Delusse #2, #3, #6, #7, Porthaux, Prudent #2, Schlegel #1, #2.
199. Adler, F. Amlingue, Boisselot (the ivory ring is now missing), Camus, Delusse #2, #3, #4, Porthaux.
200. Boisselot, Delusse #1, #8, Prudent #1.
201. Adler, Porthaux, Prudent #1, Schlegel #1, #2.
202. See footnote 85.

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Figure 19. Christophe Delusse, oboe (bell), Type D2. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, BK-2018-26. Public domain

Figure 20. Dobner & Consort, oboe (bell), Type D3. Stockholm, Stiftelsen Musikkulturens Främjande (The Nydahl collection), ITB062. Reproduced by permission

7. Type D2

I propose to slightly reform this type, which has already been established,[203] on the basis of a more precise characterization of the bell. Indeed, Type D2 instruments have a more complex one than that of Type D1 (Figure 19): after the upper waist beads, the flaring (usually less concave) proceeds normally up to the flare beads, following which the profile becomes vertical, almost parallel, finally ending with a rim that can also be thin, but always clearly identifiable and distinct from the curve of the bell, even if not delimited by beads.[204] It is evident that this new bell derives from that of Type D1: it is more complicated, but this is not obtained with the addition of mouldings; indeed, as I have just said, the rim is not fused with the flaring, unlike what occurs in Type D1, yet it may not be clearly separated by beads. This happens because the rim is always formed by a change in the flaring, which goes from vertical (or almost) to horizontal, often radically.[205]

It is not within the purposes of this research to establish where and by whom this development took place: it is so evident to justify the adoption of a new type, but the structural elements of the other two joints do not change, if not in their particular realization (which however is inspired by the specific trends present in a place at a given time). In any case, it is possible to note that

203. HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, pp. 87-88.
204. This is the bell that ADKINS, *The german oboe*, pp. 33, 35, calls the «type 2 Dresden bell».
205. In some specimens (Raver #1, #2, Schlegel, Winnen) this passage is not so evident, but due to the above-placed parallel section I decided to include them in Type D2.

there are some Palanca oboes whose bell is already very similar to the description just outlined, and therefore they could be considered the origin of Type D2.[206] Certainly, the primacy of this development can not be attributed to a French maker, given the lack of success of this model in France, within which I also had to include some instruments not exactly fitting the described profile of the bell.[207] Finally, if most of these specimens (except the one by Schlegel) have abandoned the mouldings at the end of the centre joint, conversely the socket bead of the bell is present almost systematically,[208] probably as a form of balancing.

8. Type D3

It is even more necessary to update Type D3: I consider its current definition not very useful.[209] For this reason, let us start once again with the bell. Its general profile[210] is clearly derived from Type D2, the only difference being a compound curve for the flaring in the section between the upper waist and flare beads: a concave section is clearly visible, and then there is a convex one (Figure 20). The vertical part remains, below the flare beads, with a sharp rim even without delimiting beads. Type D3 seems to have had less luck than Type D2 in France. I have identified only four properly French specimens (thus excluding the Schlegel): one by the famous Christophe Delusse (1729-1793), a maker to whom we will return, and whose present instrument could be among his later oboes; another, more or less contemporary, is by Dominique Porthaux (1755-1839), a friend of Delusse.[211] The specimen by Dobner & Consort, produced in Strasbourg under German influence, has very pronounced shapes, and finally we have the instrument of an almost unknown and peripheral maker, Lemery, active in Clermont. As for the two parameters that are more interesting to note, the mouldings at the lower end of the centre joint are often absent,[212] while the socket bead of the bell is not always present (it is to be found only in the instruments by Delusse and Lemery). The origin of Type D3 is not easy to determine, also because no surviving Palanca instrument known to me has a similar bell. Indeed, it is very probable that in this case the development was due to German makers, and in particular to those ac-

206. For example: 1. ?, anonymous private collection (reproduced in WATEL, *Collection*, p. 24); 2. Leipzig, Musikinstrumentenmuseum der Universität, 1313; 3. Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.980.2.144; 4. Salzburg, Bernardini private collection. Obviously, the adherence of these instruments to Type D2 is variable, and in some cases one might not agree with my classification; but at least the first specimen seems to me indisputable.
207. In addition to those mentioned above (see footnote 205), Delusse #2 and Savary: they are suitable for Type D2 as for the flaring, but the rim is anomalous.
208. Exceptions: Delusse #1, Schlegel.
209. HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, p. 88.
210. ADKINS, *The german oboe*, pp. 33, 36, calls it the «type 3 Dresden bell».
211. GIANNINI, *Delusse*.
212. Exceptions: Dobner & Consort, Schlegel.

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tive in Dresden, such as Jakob Grundmann (1727-1800) and Heinrich Grenser (1764-1813). It is clear that for a deeper understanding of Type D3 one should examine its international diffusion, but this is beyond the present research.

9. Type D4

Finally, here is a new group of instruments that I have distinguished within Type D, and I will immediately explain why. As the reader knows by now, everything depends on the bell: yet, it is not so easy to identify that of Type D4, which is why it has so far escaped classification. This is the characterization I propose (Figure 21): the flaring curve is simple, as Type D1, but unlike this last it has generally a more vertical and less concave appearance. Furthermore, the rim is a completely different element from the flaring: it is flat, and can also be separated by beads, as well as being very pronounced[213] (but not necessarily). Sometimes, the rim is exclusively formed by a substantial ivory ring, which often extends well beyond the overlying flaring (but for some instruments this may be a later repair).[214] Then it seems that Type D4 is a sort of middle ground between Types D1 and D2, and this actually makes its identification difficult: sometimes it is not so clear where to place exactly some specimens. Also, it is evident that Type D4 should be related to those Type D1 instruments which already show an evolution of the profile of the bell.[215] But what differentiates them is the fact that in the latter specimens a gradual transition between the flaring of the bell and its rim is still clearly visible, without this last one being distinguishable from the flaring or delimited by beads, unlike what happens in Type D4.

However, with the renewal of Type D that I have proposed it is also possible to maintain a chronological succession: the bell of Type D2 probably derives from that of D1, and in the same way D3 derives from D2. The case of Type D4 is more difficult, but I believe that a similar bell is that of some Palanca oboes.[216] At this point, it seems that Type D4 is actually the first development of the Type D1 bell, increasing the verticality of the overall profile and separating the rim quite clearly. Instead, Type D2 is exactly an exaggeration of this trend, since the vertical section under the flare beads becomes extended, evidently contrasting the previous curve; also, the rim is more separated (even without beads), so that it forms an almost orthogonal angle with the flaring (thus confirming what already happens in Type D4).

However, within the French Type D4 the shapes of the balusters of the top

213. Most extreme cases: Darque, Guillier, Porthaux.
214. Amlingue (the ivory ring is now missing), Camus, Delusse #1, #2, Leroux, Prudent #1, #2, Savary #1 (the ivory ring is now missing), #2.
215. See footnote 198.
216. For example: 1. Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, 2812; 2. Milan, Museo Teatrale alla Scala, MTS-FA/06; 3. Salzburg, Bernardini private collection; 4. Toulouse, Musée Paul-Dupuy, D.59.12.7.

and centre joints are many, and this because I decided to group the instruments according to their bell: therefore, earlier and later specimens coexist. In particular, among the former I would certainly include the few[217] which at the lower end of the centre joint retain those traditional mouldings (inherited from Type A2) that are already absent from some rather mature Type D1 oboes.[218] They will become less and less frequent: their disappearance becomes almost mandatory[219] with the stable presence of the Csharp-key, whose hole is located right at the lower end of the centre joint;[220] but it should be remembered that, in this case, aesthetic simplification preceded practical necessity, since in Type E these turning elements at the base shoulder had already been eliminated.

Another important feature is the presence of a thin socket bead in the bell: actually, many instruments of Type D4 do not have it,[221] and this because it is not an element usually present in Type D as a whole, unlike Type E. However, it seems to me that in France the growing affirmation of the socket bead in the bell is evident, being systematically adopted starting from the first decades of the nineteenth century. The possible legacy of Type E has already been mentioned, but there are certainly two aesthetic reasons for adding socket beads to the bell: the symmetry that is thus created with the socket beads of the centre joint, whose absence of mouldings at the lower end is also compensated in this way directly on the bell; in fact, it is often virtually indistinguishable where the turning elements are, once the instrument is assembled,[222] so the important is that they are present at the interlocking points, on any of the joints.

Possibly produced in France starting from the 1770s, then Type D4 seems to become the main form of oboe there, given the scarcity of Type D2 and D3 specimens, as well as the evident decline of Type E, to which we will return shortly. However, one must hypothesize a period of coexistence at the end of which the preference for Type D4 emerges, because it is obvious that rigid temporal caesuras are very often inappropriate when it comes to style. Certainly, since the present research did not take into account the instruments by the Triebert family, any hypothesis concerning the early nineteenth century is provisional. But anyway a good indication is also given by the instruments grouped here for the first time, some of which must have been made well after 1810 (for example those by Adler, Leroux and Savary). Finally, as for the diffusion outside France, I do not doubt that there are many other 'transitional' specimens between Types D1 and D2, which can be said to belong to Type D4.

217. Roustagneq #1, #2.
218. See footnote 195.
219. However, it is possible to keep them, as happens for example in the oboes of Carl Theodor Golde (1803-1873), active in Dresden.
220. Excluding the cases where the key seems to have been added later: Adler #1, #2, #3, Leroux, Savary #1, #2. The same goes for some instruments of Type D1 (Adler) and D2 (Raver #2, Winnen).
221. Amlingue, Delusse #1, #2, Guillier, Porthaux, Prudent #2, Roustagneq #1, #2, Savary #1.
222. Unless, for example, there is an ivory or metal mount on the bell which clearly differs from the wood of the centre joint.

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10. Type E (part II)

Let us now return to Type E and examine some important exceptions. The first is Jeremias Schlegel's oboe: its bell lacks the upper flare beads, the centre joint has both the column beads and the mouldings at its lower end, and the bell baluster has a groove in the middle. These characteristics could be due to the persistence of Type A2, to which at least one surviving Schlegel instrument belongs, as it has been said; but perhaps some influence of Type D is also conceivable, because it must have begun to have a European diffusion at the beginning of Schlegel's activity, to be placed probably in 1752.[223] However, the role of Type D is much more discernible in other cases. The first is that of an instrument by Martin Lot (#4): the bell has the lower waist beads as usual, but then only the lower flare beads remain, as in Type D1; in this way, the rim is not delimited and blends into the flaring, like the Type D1 bell (Figure 16). The second case is an oboe by Prudent (#3): first of all, the upper finial beads of the top joint are more prominent than usual (in diameter and thickness);[224] what is most important happens in the bell, which has an elongated baluster with socket beads and lower waist beads, but otherwise belongs to Type D1. Instead, two other oboes by Prudent (#1, #6) have a bell completely identical to that of Type D1 (Figure 16), and another one (#2) to that of Type D4 (similar to Figure 21, but the original ivory rim is missing). Finally, Thomas Lot's tenor oboe (#5) also has a bell that belongs to Type D4.

These instruments are rather rare cases of contamination between different types, and in particular they seem to me to be a symptom of a progressive and unstoppable affirmation of Type D even in France. Indeed, it could hardly be a coincidence, unless one thinks that these are specimens whose original bell has been lost, only to be replaced later with another one, maybe in a casual way: composite instruments are not rare, made up of joints of different styles and/or makers which often do not function together. However, these ones do not seem cases of this kind, but even if this is assumed, at least the bell of a Prudent oboe (#3) certifies the affirmation of Type D1, being a clear hybridization with Type E (even though it no longer has the mark of its maker). Also, and it does not seem to me to be a coincidence, most of the change takes place in the bell, an element that I have chosen to reformulate the internal classification of Type D. Finally, it also seems legitimate to consider at least these last Parisian specimens among the most mature Type E ones, precisely because they were contaminated by the new type in vogue and destined to an unchallenged domain.

223. WATERHOUSE, *The new Langwill index*, p. 354.

224. This also happens more or less in other Type E instruments (G. Lot #1, M. Lot #2, #4, T. Lot #5, Prudent #1, #6), and seems to indicate a later dating; in fact, many of these correspond to the particular cases discussed in this section.

Figure 21. Christophe Delusse, oboe (bell), Type D4. Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.263. Photo by Claude Germain (2019). Reproduced by permission

Figure 22. Crone, oboe (top joint), Type G. Markneukirchen, Musikinstrumenten-Museum, 1116. Reproduced by permission

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Figure 23. Crone, oboe (centre joint), Type G. Markneukirchen, Musikinstrumenten-Museum, 1116. Reproduced by permission

Figure 24. Crone, oboe (bell), Type G. Markneukirchen, Musikinstrumenten-Museum, 1116. Reproduced by permission.

11. Type G

Now it is time to leave France and focus on a German model, probably created between Leipzig and Dresden, but perhaps under French influence. I have been able to find only five specimens, but they are so particular and stylistically homogeneous that the creation of a new Type G seems necessary. Indeed, the profile of the top joint is truly eccentric (Figure 22): very little of the traditional finial remains, as if it had been cut away; even the baluster, which becomes the predominant element, seems almost incomplete, as its curve reaches the apex of the diameter almost at the end of the length. The top column beads remain, but are reduced to the bare minimum. As for the centre joint (Figure 23), the distance with Type A2 is smaller, and it is in fact the same profile, albeit much simplified quantitatively: the beads above and below the baluster remain, as do the key rings and the mouldings at the base shoulder. Finally, also the bell (Figure 24) turns out to be a lightened version of the Type A2 one: there are the upper and lower waist beads, which are normally absent (in different ways) in Types D, E and F. Again, the subsequent upper and lower flare beads are derived from Type A2, the latter delimiting the rim.

It is very interesting to note that on Grenser's instrument the bell has the socket beads like Type E (assuming that the ivory mount is original, as it seems). Instead, a little different from what has just been said are the two anonymous instruments (#1 and #2): they are probably very late, and it can be guessed above all from the shape of the bell, which in the first case belongs to Type D1 (although with separated rim), and in the second to its most mature development, Type D3. However, the fourth finger hole is systematically single on all these Type G instruments, a typically German feature.

Maybe new specimens will emerge in the future and shed light on this mysterious oboe type: at the moment it is not easy to date its appearance, but it seems plausible to me to place its birth between Leipzig and Dresden, just before the 1740s; and this on the basis of the two non-anonymous instruments, namely that of August Grenser, active in Dresden from 1744, after an apprenticeship with Johann Poerschmann (*c.*1680-1757) in Leipzig,[225] the city where the Crone family made the other Type G specimen.[226] The Grenser instrument is marked: «[three five-pointed stars] / A. GRENSER», therefore it is likely that it dates from before 1753, when August was appointed official supplier of musical instruments to the Dresden court, then adding the two Saxon swords to his mark maybe for this reason.[227]

In any case, probably the few Type G specimens testify to a short life and limited diffusion, perhaps due to the success of the new Type D, which likely arrived from Turin to Dresden via the Besozzis during the 1740s. But if this

225. WATERHOUSE, *The new Langwill index*, p. 145.

226. The mark of this oboe has only the surname of its maker, but I think it should be attributed to the brothers Gabriel (1701-1763) and Gottlieb (1706-1768), rather than to Johann August (1727-1804), son of Gottlieb, also because he certainly used the mark containing the initials of his own name.

227. *Ibid.*

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had not been the case, Type G could have become a sort of German national model, as an original reform of the outdated Type A2, probably instigated by those same needs for simplification that are much more evident and precocious in French production, as has it been said. Certainly, things went differently, and perhaps we will never know who was the inventor of Type G, nor how much luck it really had: probably a little one, given the scarcity of surviving specimens (but the later one, with a Type D3 bell, could indicate a survival beside a more homogeneous stylistic situation).

However, the Parisian influences on the creation of Type G should not be underestimated,[228] and indeed I think that we must reflect briefly on the possibility that such ascendancy continued to persist on German makers throughout a good part of the eighteenth century, despite the beginning of an indigenous production of oboes starting at least from around 1696 in Nuremberg.[229] This is not the place to deal with this exhaustively, but in addition to the existence of Type G, I would like to note a few instruments which, due to some simplifications in the profile, could reveal a French influence (that is of Type E). For example, there are two *taille de hautbois* by the Scherer family from Butzbach, very similar to each other, which do not have the column beads in the centre joint, like Type E.[230] The bell also contributes to the general simplification, being without beads, like that of an oboe d'amore also by the Scherers[231] and those of two other ones by a certain Schefer,[232] probably from Germany.

Also a very special instrument, a contrabass oboe (whose current whereabouts is uncertain), made by Johann Conrad Heise (1703-1783) in Kassel, clearly exhibits its inspiration to a French model, being actually a bass *cromorne*, very similar to that made by Delusse (in turn probably dating back to 1781).[233] The specimen by Heise has some early features, as beaded balusters in the centre joint and bell, while this latter has no lower waist beads, like the Delusse *cromorne* and the various Type A1 oboes very close to the birth of the instrument that were discussed above.[234] Therefore, this confirms the connection between the *cromorne* (that is the new *hautbois*) and the various ancient stylistic features that I have pointed out at the beginning fo this research.

228. YOUNG, *4900 historical woodwind instruments*, p. 52, notices a French aspect in the top joint of the Crone instrument, while HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, p. 88 (footnote 58), considers the Anonymous #3 as a hybrid of Types E and B.

229. *Ibid*., pp. 143-144.

230. 1. Berlin, Musikinstrumenten-Museum, 2959; 2. Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 0978. This also happens in an instrument by H.C. Kilian, dated 1772 (Saragoza, Beltrán Plumed private collection). However, this may be a composite specimen, at least stylistically: the top joint (marked «DEVZMI» or perhaps «DLVZMI») is probably of Type D1, instead the bell is A2 (albeit very lightened), simply marked «K». As for the centre joint, this instrument could testify to French influences in Germany, but we do not know where Kilian worked.

231. Basel, Historisches Museum, 2005.366.

232. Meiningen, Meininger Museen, M32 and M33.

233. Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.150. On these two *cromornes* see SCHMID, *Kontrabass-oboe*, HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, pp. 37-45, and KOPP, *Cromorne*.

234. The same goes for the *cromorne* reproduced in GARSAULT, *Notionaire*, pl. XXXVI.

The continuation of French influence should also be sought in the personnel of the orchestras of the various German courts, although obviously (after the first decades of importation of the new instrument) autochthonous schools were soon formed, with a consequent increase of native German oboists.[235] An example, certainly not sufficient but interesting, is that of Ignazio Ceceri (or Cézar), a virtuoso oboist employed as a chamber musician at the court of Stuttgart from November 1744 to March 1755.[236] He came from Paris, where in 1736 he had performed at the Concert Spirituel,[237] as well as being in the renowned private orchestra of Alexandre Le Riche de La Pouplinière (1693-1762), where he would later return and then remain with the late patron's widow until his own death, which occured in 1778.[238] It is very probable that Ceceri played a French instrument (maybe a Type E one), also given his explicit request for Parisian reeds which was sent directly to the Duke of Württemberg when he was in Stuttgart.[239]

In addition to the musicians employed at the courts and present at the most important musical occasions, another way of corroborating the hypothesis of a continuous French influence in Germany is to trace the itinerary of the instruments themselves, even other than the oboe: for example, in 1719 and 1721 the workshop of the late Pierre Naust, run by his widow and son-in-law, sold some flutes to the Munich court;[240] and in the case of Rippert, we also know that his flutes were well-known and in demand in Germany.[241] Again in 1721 two Bizey oboes with silver mounts arrived at the court of Munich,[242] instruments that are currently lost but to which we will return later. Of course, at the moment these evidences are scarce and insufficient, but I also believe that it is only a small part of a much larger phenomenon, certainly to be investigated in the future.

12. Palanca or Grenser?

Now it is time to return to the birth of Type D. The hypothesis that I support is the one already proposed by Bruce Haynes: essentially, the invention by Palanca in Turin and then its diffusion throughout Europe thanks to the Besozzi family, with consequent imitation by other makers and the developments previously mentioned. Cecil Adkins totally disagreed with this theory, so I will critically discuss his position. To do this, two writings must be considered, the first of which concerns the development of the external forms of the

235. HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, pp. 134-145, 313-339.
236. OWENS, *An Italian oboist*, p. 65.
237. PIERRE, *Histoire du Concert Spirituel*, pp. 98, 244.
238. CUCUEL, *La Pouplinière*, pp. 336, 339, 350-351.
239. OWENS, *An Italian oboist*, p. 69.
240. SCHMID, *Die blockflöten*, p. 33.
241. GIANNINI, *Rippert*.
242. SCHMID, *Die blockflöten*, p. 33.

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German oboe in the eighteenth century, a work that I have already quoted several times, being very similar to the present one. First of all, since Adkins' study is limited a priori (albeit legitimately) to German production, it is not strange that he can not detect a possible influence by Palanca, who is barely mentioned in his study. However, it is quite surprising the assumption that, as in the case of all the other non-German makers, the influence must come from Germany without possibly arriving there from outside, this latter being a hypothesis not even considered by Adkins.

Furthermore, the scheme he provides is really beautiful and teleological,[243] but unfortunately false: I believe that the transition from Type A2 to Type D in Germany was much more tortuous than his theorization suggests. Even admitting the hypothesis of a continuous stylistic flow from city to city (specifically Nuremberg, Leipzig and finally Dresden), the problem lies not only in not considering possible external influences, but also in not taking account those internal and yet anomalous developments which do not fit into an ideal design. I am obviously referring to Type G, which was mentioned earlier: Adkins did not consider these instruments, and they can not even be fitted into his rigid schematization.

One more fact seems to me incontrovertible: August Grenser did not start his activity as a maker, in 1744 in Dresden, producing Type D oboes almost immediately, as Adkins suggests.[244] On the contrary, there are some of his instruments that indicate a later assimilation of the new Type D: first of all, the Type G specimen, mentioned above; secondly, a curious instrument[245] which is not easily classifiable into a precise type. The top joint seems to belong to Type A2, but with a very elongated and not pronounced baluster, similar to that of Type E; the centre joint could be a Type G one, while the bell is really unusual and recalls Type F, although it keeps the upper waist beads.[246] In any case, the fleur-de-lys of the top joint mark should indicate a date before 1753.[247] There is also an oboe d'amore by Grenser,[248] very traditional as for the mouldings of the top joint (Type A2), but with only the upper waist beads in the bell (like Type D),[249] so this feature could testify to the beginning of the influence of Palanca's instruments. Indeed, there is at least one Grenser instrument that seems to me to be a direct copy of the early Italian Type D1,[250] while another

243. For a graphic summary see ADKINS, *The german oboe*, p. 14.
244. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26, 28, 30, 33.
245. Leipzig, Musikinstrumentenmuseum der Universität, 1315.
246. A very similar one is that of an oboe by D. Lott (perhaps from Leipzig), reproduced in VERDEGEM – PONSEELE, *Fourteen Leipzig oboes*, p. 71.
247. WATERHOUSE, *The new Langwill index*, p. 145. The centre joint and bell are simply marked: «[star] / G / [star]».
248. Meiningen, Meininger Museen, M34.
249. This also happens in several other oboes d'amore, all quite late: 1. Jakob Grundmann, Dresden (La Couture-Boussey, Musée des Instruments à Vent, 402; Stuttgart, Fruchtkasten, 1990-50; these are two modern copies of the lost original instrument, which was dated 1774); 2. James Power, London (London, Horniman Museum, 14.5.47/204); 3. Christian Friedrich Riedel, Dresden (Munich, Deutsches Museum, 10198).
250. ?, anonymous private collection, reproduced in STRADNER, *Die klangwelt Mozarts*, p. 286.

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one has turning elements so rich as to recall Type A2.[251]

Now that the problems with the stylistic path traced by Adkins have been discussed, it is possible to examine why, according to him, it would not be appropriate to attribute the development of Type D to Palanca: his position is exposed in a review of the well-known book by Bruce Haynes (*The eloquent oboe*).[252] He argues that there is no evidence of Palanca's influence on the Grensers (uncle and nephew) and on Grundmann. However, Adkins' criticism is mainly based on the consideration of the minimum bore: there is no doubt that, as for this, a lot of work still needs to be done; however, it will be good to do it with the maximum possible transparency, at least indicating the individual instruments taken into account (a thing which Adkins himself is not used to doing). Anyway, nothing prevents us from hypothesizing that Palanca's tendency towards smaller bore dimensions was then taken over and developed by German makers;[253] the most important thing is to admit their direct and initial imitation of the Turin instruments as far as the external profile is concerned.

Indeed, what matters most is to point out that Palanca was almost surely the inventor of Type D1 as for its external characteristics, with the possible developments that I mentioned above. Furthermore, as for Adkins' statement according to which Palanca was still active as a maker in the 1770s,[254] it seems to me incredible, in the truest sense of the word. This means ignoring almost all the biographical knowledge available on Palanca; and then should we think that all his surviving oboes (or at least those Type D ones without anomalies) were made in the 1750s and 1760s, only to give time to the Dresden makers to influence Palanca, who was an entire generation older? Even if this is assumed, it would then be necessary to understand how the path of the instruments would have taken place: yet at the moment it would be difficult even to imagine it, because there is no positive evidence; on the contrary, it is the Besozzi family from Italy who was active in various European cities (Dresden, Paris, London).

Finally, the fact that Palanca's oboes have features to be found in later German specimens[255] has to be verified on the instruments themselves; but even if this is confirmed, it should not surprise: on the contrary, it is the most natural thing to believe if Palanca oboes really served as a model in Germany. However, this does not overshadow the work of the Grensers and Grundmann, still rightly held in high esteem: in fact, they were also able to intuit the potential of someone else's product, making it excellent and long-lived. In the light of what has been said so far, the prominent presence of members of the

251. Markneukirchen, Musikinstrumenten-Museum, 3825. But the Type G bell is not marked and does not seem to be original (see JORDAN, *Markneukirchen*, p. 16, and YOUNG, *4900 historical woodwind instruments*, p. 96).
252. ADKINS, *Review*.
253. See footnote 147.
254. ADKINS, *Review*, p. 282.
255. *Ibid.*, p. 283, generically mentions Leipzig ones from the 1760s, for example by Johann August Crone.

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Besozzi family in Dresden, from 1738, seems to me to be a good element for identifying links between the production of Palanca and that of Grenser (the same goes for Grundmann, who settled in Dresden in 1753).[256] Indeed, the resemblance of their oboes has already been noted, and it is also confirmed as for the transverse flutes made by August Grenser and his nephew Heinrich.[257]

Supporting the Italian origin of Type D is the name with which it was indicated in England: «Italian hautboy», as opposed to the «English hautboy», Type C (the so-called straight-top),[258] actually of Italian origin too but soon absorbed into English musical culture, becoming a sort of national type.[259] In the first months of 1757 in London are recorded some performances by two Besozzi, probably Antonio and his son Carlo,[260] who were in Paris at the end of the same year at the Concert Spirituel, as it has been said. However, the already mentioned Fischer must have played a decisive role in the affirmation of Type D in England, because in 1768 he settled in London until his death,[261] but Gaetano Besozzi was also in London from 1793 to 1798.[262] Finally, as for the French situation, even admitting the Dresden origin of Types D2 and D3 (more secure for the latter but not for the former), the prevailing German influence on Paris that Adkins claims[263] is weakened by the very few surviving French specimens which have been examined. Also the presence of the single fourth hole[264] can not certify a German model, because this feature is already found on some specimens of Type E.[265]

13. Type H

After this necessary detour, we can now return to France to examine the last new type that I propose to introduce. After the G, there could only be the H: under this letter I decided to group together a few but very particular instruments that more or less simplify the profile of Type D and then add some metal ferrules, but in a slightly different way from what happens in Anciuti's straight-top model (Type C). The instrument by Palanca (Figure 25), which

256. WATERHOUSE, *The new Langwill index*, p. 149.
257. BERNARDINI, *Palanca, Carlo.*
258. The distinction that the sources make is often referred to the fourth finger hole, systematically single in the 'English' while doubled in the 'Italian' oboe (see NICHOLSON, *The british encyclopedia*, who, at the entry «musical instruments», is wrong, pointing to the third and not the fourth hole; moreover see HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, p. 207, and LASOCKI, *New light*, pp. 80-82, 118-119, 129, 137).
259. RIZZELLO, *Something more*, p. 47.
260. PAGE, *The hautboy*, pp. 363-364, 370 (footnote 60).
261. *Ibid.*, pp. 363-364.
262. SALVETTI – KEAHEY, *Besozzi family.*
263. ADKINS, *The german oboe*, pp. 42-43, 46.
264. D1: F. Amlingue, Delusse #7, Keller, Porthaux. D2: Raver #1, Schlegel, Winnen. D3: Dobner & Consort, Schlegel. D4: Amlingue, Porthaux, Prudent #1, Savary #1, #2.
265. See footnote 82.

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Figure 25. Carlo Palanca, oboe, Type H. Salzburg, Bernardini private collection

Figure 26. Johannes van de Knikker, oboe (top joint), Type B. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, BK-NM-11430-86. Public domain

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is probably the oldest, has a ferrule as a finial, and also the other two joints have one at their beginning. There are two interesting details: first of all, the baluster of the centre joint is present, but there are no column beads under it; secondly, the metal ferrules are beaded (except for that of the top joint), so it is clear that the intention was to imitate the usual wooden mouldings. Finally, the keys set in blocks also contribute to the general streamlining, while the bell loses the baluster and any other bead.

The three Delusse oboes are slightly different from this description: the top joint has more beads (in particular the lower finial beads), with a metal ferrule at the upper end,[266] as on the other two joints. The centre one has a small but sharp baluster without the column beads, and again the bell has neither beads nor baluster, and its rim is partially made with a last metal ferrule.[267] Of these three specimens, only one (#1) has remained almost unchanged, and it has some interesting features: there is a certainly original Fsharp-key, being mounted in a block directly obtained from the wood. This instrument also stands out for its unusual and streamlined appearance, but it is true that also in other normal Delusse oboes there are blocks for the keys,[268] an unusual feature for Type D. On the other hand, Delusse is known to have been a remarkable maker: just think of the aforementioned bass *cromorne* and other surviving instruments, such as two bass transverse flutes and an octave bassoon.[269] Also, his numerous oboes were still appreciated and sought after in the first decades of the nineteenth century,[270] as evidenced by the various specimens subjected to more or less invasive interventions.[271]

Certainly, we know that a tendency towards simplification is typically French, and it has given Type E as its main result, but these Type H instruments pose a few more questions. Palanca's one is currently unique in his production, despite being an excellent evidence of the originality of its maker, and it should be remembered that Palanca also made at least one straight-top (Type C), as we said. But he is not the only one to have made specimens of both these types, whose most interesting features are the metal ferrules: there is an instrument by Delusse that belongs to Type C, to which we will return later. However, the two types are quite different: as we have seen, Type H retains the balusters of the top and centre joints, while as for the Italian straight-top (according to the model likely invented by Anciuti) the simplification is much more radical.

It is worth questioning on their possible relationships: could it be that Types C and H share a common origin? At the moment, I think the answer has to be negative. It is true that, as it has just been said, a point of contact can

266. The #3 does not have it, so the top joint may belong to another lost oboe by Delusse, even if this is a well-playing instrument (I thank its current owner for this information).
267. The #2 has two other metal rings which I think are due to a repair, while #3 has no metal ferrule in the rim.
268. D1: Delusse #2, #3, #6.
269. YOUNG, *4900 historical woodwind instruments*, pp. 53-55.
270. WATERHOUSE, *The new Langwill index*, p. 85.
271. D1: Delusse #3, #4. D2: Delusse #1, #2. D3: Delusse. D4: Delusse #1, #2.

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be found in the works of Palanca and Delusse, but nevertheless I think that these specimens are the result of two different influences: one from Anciuti, who may have been inspired by the use of metal ferrules on the bassoon and by the common essentiality in the realization of its wing joint;[272] the other influence (as for Type H) seems to derive from a particular model of transverse flute, which has metal ferrules together with shallow balusters.[273] Similar instruments were made by Bizey and above all by Thomas Stanesby Jr., of whom many survive.[274] Moreover, it seems to me that also a well-known oboe by Stanesby Jr. can be traced back to this peculiar style (and not to the Italian straight-top), because it has a simplified profile (when compared to Type A2) as well as beaded metal ferrules at the beginning of the centre joint and bell, which still retain light balusters without lower beads. However, due to the lack of the top column beads, it is preferable to place this Stanesby instrument within Type B, as we will see shortly.

A couple more things are interesting to note about Type H. First of all, the two oboes that Bizey supplied in 1721 to the Munich court were «garnis d'argent»;[275] unfortunately, instruments of this kind by Bizey are not currently known, but I would not be surprised if they were similar to Type H, given the originality of this maker and his transverse flutes produced according to this style.[276] Anyway, the other feature that I would like to stress is that there are beads on the metal ferrules, so imitating those normally made from the wood, as it has been said. Anciuti did the same thing, as one can see in his only surviving oboe with metal ferrules dated 1738,[277] as well as in the bass transverse flute from 1739.[278] Also, it is very interesting to note how a similar practice can be found in some instruments by Henri Brod (1799-1839) and Guillaume Triebert, where metal replaces the traditional ivory, while retaining any mouldings (these are mostly socket beads, placed above the centre joint and bell balusters). It is possibile that the origins of this phenomenon are the Type H oboes by Delusse, whose instruments were well-known to Brod[279] (and likely also to Triebert): but it is an issue that lies beyond the limits of this research. Certainly, the metal ferrules will become an essential feature of the oboe in its

272. Indeed, his famous contrabassoon (Salzburg, Salzburg Museum, MI1247) dated 1732 is, as for the appearance, an enormous straight-top: there are brass ferrules and an almost total absence of mouldings.
273. It is not within the purposes of this research to establish where and when such flutes began to be produced, but the *Méthode pour apprendre aisément à jouer de la flûte traversière* by Michel Corrette, published in Paris around 1740, already mentions the possibility of metal ferrules as an ornament (see GIANNINI, *Great flute makers*, p. 43).
274. YOUNG, *4900 historical woodwind instruments*, pp. 22-23, 221-222.
275. SCHMID, *Die blockflöten*, p. 33.
276. It is also possible that the silver mounts were simply additional, as happens in several Dutch A2 and A3 oboes: in this case, the metal material does not really impact on the type of instrument, because it does not modify the structural elements of the external profile.
277. See footnote 191.
278. Wien, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, 371.
279. WATERHOUSE, *The new Langwill index*, pp. 46, 85.

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modern form, which is still present today: the centre joint and bell balusters have disappeared, replaced by beaded metal rings.

14. Type B

We have almost reached the end of this path based on the different oboe types placed in succession, although not always in a chronological one. And this is especially true of Type B, which already exists: but having gradually emptied it, due to the introduction of the new types that I have proposed, it is time to reform its characterization.[280] Actually, my solution is quite simple: group in Type B all those oboes that do not have an important element of the top joint, the top column beads (Figure 26). But it is also necessary that an instrument, in order to be included, still has the top joint baluster, because otherwise it would belong to Type C.[281] I placed Type B last in the discussion: the reason is that many of its instruments are a clear degeneration of another type among those previously discussed, resulting from it for further simplification, both qualitative and quantitative; namely, in the first case by eliminating the top column beads, as it has been said, and then possibly removing other less evident elements, perhaps to obtain greater overall balance. Therefore, Type B must be handled with care: it contains very different instruments, from non-homogeneous geographical areas, styles and periods;[282] and this is an important difference compared to other types, in which some form of coherence is to be found.

So let us quickly see what is now in Type B, with this new characterization. Actually, some instruments are left there,[283] as that by Stanesby Jr., which has already been mentioned and derives (at least conceptually) from Type H. Also Thomas Lot's oboe had been identified as belonging to Type B, but its simplicity makes it a more unique than rare variant of Type E: not only do the top column beads disappear, but there are also blocks for the keys (already present in several Type E specimens),[284] and almost any bead is absent on the bell, with the exception of the socket beads and another very thin moulding placed above the ivory rim. An anonymous specimen (#1) is also clearly inspired to Type E, but it has the upper waist beads in the bell (and not just the lower ones).

The two oboes by Johannes van de Knikker (1731-1815) had already been

280. For the previous one see HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, p. 83.
281. I already used this characterization of Type B for Giovanni Panormo's vox humanas (see RIZZELLO, *Something more*, pp. 77, 82).
282. At this point it no longer makes sense to ask whether Type E could derive from Type B, as does HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, pp. 79, 88, precisely because it is hardly possible to generalize starting from the Type B specimens.
283. See the list of HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, p. 83, from which the instruments by Deschamps (now Type F) and Crone (now Type G) have been removed.
284. See footnote 81.

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registered as Type B instruments, but now their origin is clearer: they probably derive from Type F, having neither the upper nor the lower waist beads in the bell. Also the finial of the top joint (Figure 26), with the big upper finial beads, recalls Type F. No beads are present under the baluster of the centre joint, as well as at its lower end, but there are socket beads in the bell. Curiously, both instruments have three keys, which are mounted in rings, and this can not be said to be an element of simplification. Finally, as for the bell, oddly it has two flare beads, like Type E. But the place of production (Tilborgh, now Tilburg, in the Netherlands) and the possible rather late dating (up to the first decade of the nineteenth century),[285] again put these two specimens closer to Type F than to Type E.

Finally, among the already known instruments, that by the Schucharts, quite similar to the oboe of Thomas Lot, but more complex and perhaps directly inspired by Type E; however it must be said that, because of the rich English production of Type C specimens, it is not surprising to find other instruments which, if not so essential, nonetheless have such trends of simplification: this is also the case of the instrument by Georg Astor (1752-1813) that, similar to the Schuchart and the Stanesby in the top joint, recalls the English version of Type C in its centre joint and bell. More mysterious is an anonymous instrument (#2) which could be English, as its bell is not different from that of the Schuchart.

After this long path, it seems clear to me that a good way of studying the history of the oboe from its origins to the nineteenth century is to observe the subtle dialectic between the different types, in which stylistic elements are introduced, abandoned or reworked. Moreover, during the eighteenth century the direction of these developments was towards the simplest,[286] an almost obligatory choice having to start from an already quite complex model, Type A2, which is in turn the result of a selection made on Type A1 instruments that are often richer, at least quantitatively. That said, I also believe that simplification, to be distinguished in quantitative and qualitative terms,[287] often (but not always) takes on a generational value: just think of the evolution of the oboes by the Rottenburgh and Schlegel families. However, it is also true that the simplification does not take place according to coherent and fixed schemes: on the contrary, there are many ways of achieving it, and these can be combined to obtain different degrees of streamlining. In addition to the more obvious procedures (which concern the number, diameter and thickness of the mouldings), I would like to point out how the keys can also make a contribution: and not only as for the type of setting (rings or blocks), but also in their number and shape. In the first case, I am referring to the possible presence of an Eflat-key symmetrically doubled on the right, to be used by the left hand (Figures 7 and 23): but if this does not happen, it already contributes in some way to the simplification the general profile (Figures 11, 15 and 18). As

285. WATERHOUSE, *The new Langwill index*, p. 207.
286. ADKINS, *Proportions*, p. 124.
287. See footnote 18.

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far as the shape is concerned, a similar effect can be obtained if the right part of the touch of the C-key is eliminated (normally, it is symmetrical to the left one and it is used by the left hand to finger the centre joint); this happens in some French instruments.[288]

15. Indefinable specimens

The present research can demonstrate the value of the subdivision into types, but nonetheless there are some instruments (fortunately not many) that question it. However, I am not referring to the exceptions that have been discussed: in my opinion they are tolerable, and for this reason I have inserted them in the various types. But if it is true that for dozens, indeed hundreds of specimens, a letter and a number are enough to give immediately a general idea of the appearance, other oboes are so particular (not to say unique) that many words would be sufficient to characterize them, but useless for the purposes of any generalization. Because of this, I do not want to give an exhaustive account of them, also because there are probably many other specimens of which I am not aware.

So, I selected some interesting situations relating to French oboes. First of all, there is Roustagneq, a little-known maker active in Toulon presumably between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: one of his oboes is interesting because its centre joint and bell are to be classified as Type D1, but the top joint is almost identical to that of another instrument, by Cambet from Verdun. In this case, the derivation from Type E seems quite evident to me, but unfortunately only the top joint of Cambet's oboe survives, therefore no other comparison is possible with that of Roustagneq. So, at the moment it remains unclear whether these two instruments are to be considered as late variants of Type E, and anyway Roustagneq's one seems to be a case of stylistic contamination similar to those previously observed with Types D and E.

More or less the same goes for the three oboes by Hans Reist, which are very similar to each other and were probably made in Sumiswald, not far from Bern, in the second half of the eighteenth century:[289] the top joint recalls Type E, but the peculiar centre one and bell are similar to Type D1. So, these instruments seem to testify once again to the French influence in western Switzerland, a fact that has already been observed in the case of the early production of Jeremias Schlegel from Basel. Finally, two instruments by the Biglioni (Rome) and Grassi (Milan) families are similar to Type F as for the top joint, but at the moment I do not know how to explain a possible influence. Anyway, the centre joint and bell belong to Type D4, and it is curious to note how both have three different top joints for changing pitch.

288. A1: see footnote 13. A2 β: Schlegel. D1: Adler, Camus, Delusse #3, #6, Porthaux. D2: Delusse #1, Raver #1, #2, Savary, Winnen. D3: Schlegel. D4: Savary #1. E: Anonymous #1, M. Lot #3. H: Delusse #1. However, in some cases the C-key is clearly not original.

289. WATERHOUSE, *The new Langwill index*, p. 323.

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16. Coda I: the *hautbois de forêt*

Having concluded the long overview of the different oboe types, it is now possible to focus on an instrument with a rather particular name. So let us restart from an important and original oboe maker, Bizey: in 1756 he sold to the French court «deux haubois en corp de chasse», with reeds, case and «trois petite piéces de rechanges» for adapting the pitch.[290] Subsequently, in 1767 the two instruments were overhauled and called «hautbois de forest»,[291] as it happens in an inventory drawn up in 1780:[292]

> Deux hautbois de forêt garnis en cuivre, ayant chacun trois corps, qui servent a hausser et baisser le ton, et une petite boette ou il y a douze hanches; ils sont de la facon de Bizet.

It is well-known that these instruments are likely oboes da caccia,[293] also because the name itself seems to indicate it: the variant *oboe di silva* (and similar ones) is attested,[294] which translated into French becomes *hautbois de forêt*, and *waldhautbois* in German.[295] Not to mention the expression used by Bizey himself, «en corp de chasse», which clearly recalls the curved form of the French horn, inherited by this particular variant of the tenor oboe. Furthermore, in the document just quoted the two instruments are said to be «garnis en cuivre», but this is probably an error: in fact, I believe that one must read «cuir», namely leather, the material with which the oboe da caccia and the cor anglais are covered (the latter only when curved). On the other hand, the cor anglais is originally nothing more than an oboe da caccia with a bulb bell, instead of the more common flared one.[296]

Let us examine briefly some French sources that can shed light on the *hautbois de forêt*. Firstly, a pair of such instruments is recorded in a performance at the Concert Spirituel as early as April 1751,[297] and we know that the *hautbois de forêt* was in G, a fourth lower than the treble instrument, unlike the normal *taille de hautbois* in F.[298] At this point, it is good recalling the aforementioned announcement concerning Bizey which appeared in the *Mercure de France*

290. GREENBERG, *Musical instruments*, p. 23.
291. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
292. MARCUSE, *The instruments*, p. 35.
293. The only source that may question this is GARSAULT, *Notionaire*, p. 633, who writes about «le clarinet ou haut-bois de forêts».
294. HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, pp. 379-383.
295. There is also an Italian source, MATTEI, *I libri poetici*, p. 167, which reports the wording «oboe di bosco». Saverio Mattei (1742-1795), a man of letters with marked musical interests, could have referred to a widespread use of such a name in Italy, perhaps to indicate the cor anglais; but it can not be excluded that this is simply a display of erudition.
296. PILIPIUK, *The origins*.
297. PIERRE, *Histoire du Concert Spirituel*, pp. 116, 259.
298. BADOL-BERTRAND, *L'adoption du cor anglais*, pp. 21-23. The sources for this are a copy of FRANCOEUR, *Diapason général*, with handwritten annotations (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms.1843), and LA BORDE, *Essai sur la musique*, vol. 1, pp. 267, 275. *Hautbois de forêt* and *taille de hautbois* are also distinguished by COTTE, *Vocabulaire portatif*, p. 279.

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in December 1749: here an oboe with a range down to the low G of the violin is explicitly mentioned as an original invention. So, one can believe that this oboe is actually the *hautbois de forêt*, given that it is not a normal *taille de hautbois*: a simple G instrument would not be a novelty, being equal to a change of pitch (for example, an instrument in F at 440 Hz is also in G at 392 Hz). It seems clear to me that a further originality is hidden behind the laconicity of this evidence, precisely since the mere indication of the range is of little interest, and it would certainly not be the case to claim it as an invention.

Probably, Bizey was the first to make such an instrument in Paris (and possibly in France), although in light of the existence of the oboe da caccia in Leipzig as early as the 1720s[299] we can doubt that he created it, not to mention that the 1749 announcement in the *Mercure de France* indicates that the *hautbois de forêt* had been invented «depuis peu».[300] Therefore, it is likely that Bizey elaborated his own version of the oboe da caccia, translating its name into French, inspired by German specimens that somehow arrived in Paris in the years before 1749. But so far no such instrument bearing Bizey's mark has been found; also, it is difficult to say whether the French *hautbois de forêt* was closer to what we now call the «oboe da caccia» (with a flared bell of metal, sometimes of wood), or else it was simply a cor anglais (with a bulb bell, always of wood).[301] Moreover, we know that at least some specimens were made with two joints (upper and lower),[302] while the oboe da caccia normally has an entire body. Lastly, one can not exclude that the *hautbois de forêt* had undergone an evolution over the decades, assuming that also someone other than Bizey made it in Paris.

In any case, at least one identification hypothesis can be proposed, although it is very difficult to claim that it could be a Bizey instrument. It is a unique rather than rare specimen in its appearance, but unfortunately it is also anonymous:[303] it has an entire body, and the top is similar to that of Type E, with a shallow baluster but without the top column beads. The streamlining continues as the three keys are set in blocks, and other turning elements are absent. The wooden bell is flared, not unlike that of Type D1, but without the upper and lower waist beads, and there is a socket bead (perhaps due to a later intervention).

However, the existence of a sort of oboe da caccia in Paris is very interesting for at least two reasons: first of all, it reaffirms Bizey's originality as a maker, although this time for his receptiveness to someone else's model; moreover, this strengthens the hypothesis of a long-lasting link between French

299. HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, p. 381.

300. HUGOT – WUNDERLICH, *Méthode de flûte*, p. 7, still remember it as a recent invention in 1804, but it is not so sure which instrument they are actually referring to.

301. On the possible relationships between these two different versions of the curved tenor oboe see PILIPIUK, *The origins*, pp. 162-164.

302. LA BORDE, *Essai sur la musique*, vol. 1, pp. 266-267. Also the documentary evidence relating to Bizey's specimens refers to corps de rechange, and so it suggests an instrument made in several joints.

303. Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.314.

and German oboe making, even if I believe that in the case of the *hautbois de forêt* the influence must follow an inverse direction when compared to that which I had hitherto hypothesized. Indeed, it seems clear to me that the 1749 announcement tries to present as new an instrument that actually is the result of an imitation, all to the advantage of the no longer young Bizey, struggling with his detractors.

Anyway, it is interesting to note how the *hautbois de forêt* was one of the instruments occasionally present in the orchestra of the Opéra in 1778 and 1782,[304] this latter being the year when it is possible to place the first Parisian appearance of the cor anglais,[305] according to a negative review of a performance given at the Concert Spirituel on March 30:[306]

> M. de Montzani a joué du cor de chasse anglois ou du hautbois de forêt. Cet instrument n'a pas flatté l'oreille du public; on l'a trouvé ingrat & sans effet. Il donne des sons trop secs, trop âcres. On a dit qu'il n'étoit aucunement propre à jouer des solo; peut-être seroit-il plus supportable, s'il étoit uniquement employé dans les accompagneménts.

Unfortunately, not much else is known about this oboist,[307] unless he is to be identified with the famous Italian flautist Tebaldo Monzani (1762-1839).[308] However, towards the end of the eighteenth century the cor anglais (in F) gradually became popular in Paris and France: this is shown by the instruments of Jean-Jacques Baumann (1772-1845),[309] Frédéric-Guillaume Adler (1784-1854),[310] Bühner & Keller (from Strasbourg),[311] and obviously the many specimens by the well-known Guillaume Triebert.[312] Finally, the short *Méthode pour le cor anglais* by Frédéric Chalon was published in Paris between 1801

304. LA BORDE, *Essai sur la musique*, vol. 1, p. 407; ANONYMOUS, *Les spectacles de Paris*, p. 23.
305. However, the name «cor anglais» or «anglois» had already been used in at least three French sources: ANONYMOUS, *L'Avantcoureur*, pp. 385-386, ANONYMOUS, *Almanach général*, p. 608, and ANONYMOUS, *Le petit nouvelliste*, p. 31. All three describe the same instrument, called «taille d'amour» (a sort of clarinet?), which is said to be played by Bohemian musicians.
306. ANONYMOUS, *Almanach musical*, p. 179, but see also PIERRE, *Histoire du Concert Spirituel*, pp. 216, 320.
307. Another of his performances with the cor anglais took place on November 5 1783 in The Hague (see SMET, *La vie du violoniste*, p. 50).
308. FINKELMAN, *Die Oboenistrumente in tieferer Stimmlage*, p. 25.
309. 1. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008.24; 2. Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.2014.8.3. These two specimens, with the baluster in the top joint, are probably the earliest surviving French cors anglais. There is also a similar one made by Guillaume Triebert (Eisenach, Bachhaus, I-156).
310. 1. Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 3117; 2. Greenville (South Carolina), Sigal Music Museum, 2007.26; 3. Kunitachi, College of Music, 1295. This last instrument is angled, not curved, and seems quite late. A similar one is that by the Cuvillier family, active in Saint-Omer (Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 0976).
311. Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.191.
312. There is also an anonymous one which is very peculiar as for its appearance (being without balusters and beads), and it may be considered French (Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, IM0150).

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and 1802,[313] but it does not mention the *hautbois de forêt*; instead, it illustrates a two-keyed instrument very similar to those of the Venetian maker Andrea Fornari (*c.*1753-1841), without the top joint baluster, in a style which seems to have been the most successful in the nineteenth century, as for the curved cor anglais.

It is difficult to establish a repertoire for the *hautbois de forêt*, although there is no doubt that it existed.[314] Also, it would seem strange to me that when Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714-1787) was in Paris in 1774, for the first performance of *Orphée et Eurydice*, there were no instruments and musicians to perform the part of the cor anglais, present in the previous Italian version from 1762; and the same goes for the two *Alceste*, Italian in 1767 and French in 1776.[315] At the same time, it is unrealistic to think of a sudden appearance of the instrument thanks to the famous oboist Gustave Vogt (1781-1870), even if he was much admired for his skill on the cor anglais.[316] As we have seen, the French evidences for this instrument and the *hautbois de forêt* overlap and merge, so it seems that a curved form of the tenor oboe had never ceased to exist in Paris at least since the time of Bizey's activity as a maker.

17. Coda II: the *taille de hautbois*

But it is also true that the first form of the tenor oboe, straight like the treble instrument, continued to be made in the French capital. For example, there is again a specimen by Bizey, which I have included in Type A2 β (#7), but whose top joint is very similar to Type E. Its most interesting detail is to be found on the bell: it seems that there are no resonance holes[317] (as no lower waist beads). But as it is known, the bulb bell without resonance holes is one of the essential features of the oboe d'amore.[318] However, more in-depth inquiries are necessary, and it would be remarkable to ascertain the existence of a French oboe d'amore.[319] Anyway, stylistically this instrument seems to date from before

313. BADOL-BERTRAND, *L'adoption du cor anglais*, pp. 26-31.
314. For example, we know of a «recueil de pièces de hautbois de forêt dont une partie dans le ton de fa, l'autre dans le ton de mib», claimed by its owner (a certain Schencker, a clarinet and horn player) in 1763 after the death of the aforementioned La Pouplinière (see CUCUEL, *La Pouplinière*, pp. 360-361, 365). However, I suspect that in this case the name «hautbois de forêt» may refer to the clarinet, according to what writes GARSAULT, *Notionaire*, p. 633.
315. Instead, FLEUROT, *Le hautbois*, pp. 47, 94, claims that the cor anglais parts were replaced by clarinets because the former was unknown in Paris.
316. BADOL-BERTRAND, *L'adoption du cor anglais*, pp. 36-37.
317. YOUNG, *4900 historical woodwind instruments*, p. 23.
318. HAYNES, *The eloquent oboe*, p. 368.
319. It must be said that there is an alleged one by Johann Gottfried Geist (Colmar, Musée d'Unterlinden), which may have been made in Paris between about 1750 and 1775; but unfortunately I could not obtain more information about it.

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about 1730, as it has not yet fully developed the profile of Type E in the centre joint.[320]

It is evident that much remains to be understood, also because there are further specimens which do not have the resonance holes: for example, one of the two tenor oboes by the Scherers mentioned above,[321] and another similar specimen, unfortunately anonymous,[322] that belongs to Type B because of the absence of the top column beads. Finally, also a *taille de hautbois* by Christophe Delusse is without resonance holes: but it is a Type C (straight-top) one, and is very similar to the instruments made in Brussels by the Rottenburgh family,[323] which in turn are supposed to imitate the Anciuti model that came to Brussels in 1728, thanks to Giuseppe Sammartini.[324] However, in this case I believe that the Italian influence did not arrive directly in Paris, also because the Rottenburgh instruments could have been made as early as the end of 1728,[325] while that by Delusse should date from after 1758, when he entered the *Communauté des Faiseurs d'Instruments de Musique* in Paris.[326] So, it is likely that Delusse made it imitating the Rottenburgh specimens, especially since they share the absence of resonance holes.[327] Anyway, this unique Delusse tenor oboe is so far the only extraordinary example of an Italian version Type C made in the French capital.

We can now deal with the tenor oboes that have at least one resonance hole in the bell, such as those by Martin Lot and his brother Thomas which belong, with some peculiarities, to Type E.[328] First of all, Martin's two have a bulb bell, while that of Thomas has a normal flared one, which actually belongs to Type D4, as we have seen. However, these specimens may have been made up to the early 1780s,[329] when the cor anglais was likely widespread in Europe as the main form of the tenor oboe. Still, one of Martin Lot's instruments (#3) has undergone the addition of several keys (Bflat, Gsharp, F and Csharp), which is an unequivocal sign of a protracted use over time, and the same happened to the Delusse specimen (at least these were added: octave key, Gsharp, F and a second Eflat on the right, which is the only one of these still present).

Therefore it seems that in Paris, despite the simultaneous existence of the

320. However, in my opinion the presence of the wording «A PARIS» in the mark indicates a fairly mature production (as for the oboes), but this hypothesis should be confirmed by considering also the other instruments made by Bizey.
321. Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 0978.
322. Leipzig, Musikinstrumentenmuseum der Universität, 1338.
323. See Type C in the appendix.
324. RIZZELLO, *Something more*, pp. 40-43, 66-67.
325. Likely, the instruments marked with the name of Jean-Hyacinth were actually made by Godefroy-Adrien and/or his brothers. For example, the #1 has the bell marked «RUE DE L'EMPEREUR» so it should have been made between 1757 and 1775 (see WATERHOUSE, *The new Langwill index*, p. 337), and indeed the centre joint is by Godefroy-Adrien.
326. JELTSCH – WATEL, *Maîtrises et jurandes*, p. 22.
327. C: I.H. Rottenburgh #1, #2, #4, #5, and the resonance hole of #3 is possibly not original.
328. E: M. Lot #2, #3, T. Lot #5. As for the finial of the top joint, both Martin's instruments are different from the standard Type E, and #3 seems to have been altered.
329. WATERHOUSE, *The new Langwill index*, pp. 241-242.

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hautbois de forêt and then the cor anglais, the most traditional form of the tenor oboe also continued to be made and used, perhaps for the same repertoire. And indeed, at this point the existence of very late specimens becomes less enigmatic: there are at least two instruments by Jean Winnen (1795-1867),[330] which should date back to no earlier than 1833;[331] however these are not Type E specimens, being rather different from those by Martin and Thomas Lot. Similar, but with many more keys, is also a tenor oboe by Jean-Baptiste Tabard (1779-1845),[332] active in Lyon from 1812.[333] But this instrument should have been made after 1840, having the brille mechanism for the Fsharp[334] (assuming that it is original, as it seems): so it is necessary to consider it a straight cor anglais. This kind of instrument is thought to be an invention of Henri Brod, the so-called «cor anglais moderne ou hautbois alto», whose birth is to be placed between 1825 and 1830.[335] But given the straight tenor oboes by the Lots, Delusse and Winnen, is it still possible to consider it an original creation? Indeed, as we saw, until a few decades earlier the oldest form of the tenor oboe continued to exist in Paris. Of course, one thing is the appearance that Brod could have imitated, while the overall design of his instrument is quite another, and it is very different from the traditional *taille de hautbois*. But at this point we are dealing with something that goes far beyond the limits of the present research, which can be concluded here.

330. 1. ?, sold by Skinner (Marlborough) on 15/12/2021; 2. Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.181 (only the top joint survives, associated with an anonymous centre joint and bell, stylistically consistent, with the inventory number E.0270).

331. WATERHOUSE, *The new Langwill index*, p. 433. Even if we think that these two oboes were actually made by his father Nicolas (*c.*1758-1828), still they should have been made after 1787, the year in which he entered the *Communauté des Faiseurs d'Instruments de Musique* of Paris (see JELTSCH – WATEL, *Maîtrises et jurandes*, p. 25).

332. ?, sold by Skinner (Marlborough) on 15/12/2021.

333. WATERHOUSE, *The new Langwill index*, p. 394.

334. BURGESS – HAYNES, *The oboe*, p. 138.

335. These years are those of publication of the first and second part from the *Méthode pour le hautbois*, and in the latter one finds the description of the new instrument but together with the traditional curved form (see BURGESS, *Pedagogic material*, pp. 20, 27-28). It is interesting to note the absence of the top joint baluster in Brod's straight cor anglais: so it seems that he retained a typical feature of many earlier curved specimens, attested at least starting with those by Fornari of Venice.

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APPENDIX

The years in square brackets[336] refer to the mark, not the individual maker. Anonymous instruments are grouped together for the sake of brevity, and it is not intended that they were made by the same person (this is not even certain for those bearing the same mark). When nothing is known about the maker's biography, the period of activity is deduced from the style of the surviving oboes, and is therefore conjectural. Finally, each type admits the exceptions mentioned in the discussion.

ABBREVIATIONS:
A = oboe d'amore.
b. = bell.
c.j. = centre joint.
c. = circa.
prob. = probably.
T = tenor oboe.
t.j. = top joint.
+ = this sign indicates a closed chronological end, so when it is placed to the left of a year, it must be assumed that the mark was used only from that date onwards; used on the right of the year, it means that the mark was no longer used afterwards (but unfortunately this is often hypothetical). If the symbol is not present, then (according to current knowledge) the use of the mark may have preceded or exceeded the years indicated: these are therefore open ends.

TYPE A1

Anonymous [prob. France, second half 17th century]
1. ?, anonymous private collection.
2. ?, anonymous private collection.
3. Berlin, Musikinstrumenten-Museum, 3362. (prob. T)
4. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 17.1917.
5. Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 0423.
6. Greenville (South Carolina), Sigal Music Museum, 2003.43.
7. Nuremberg, Germanischen Nationalmuseum, MIR373.
8. Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.108.
9. Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.109.
10. Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.2005.8.1.
11. Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.980.2.149. (T)

Dupuis [Paris, 1692-*c.*1716?+]
Berlin, Musikinstrumenten-Museum, 2933.

336. Most of the information comes from the entries to be found in WATERHOUSE, *The new Langwill index*, and in LIBIN, ed., *The Grove dictionary*, but see also JELTSCH – WATEL, *Maîtrises et jurandes*.

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Lutringer [prob. France, second half 17th century]
Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia, 5.
Naust [Paris, +*c.*1692-*c.*1734+]
London, Royal College of Music Museum, RCM0097.
Rouge [prob. France, 17th-18th centuries]
Washington D. C., Library of Congress, DCM0423.
S. Martin [prob. France, second half 17th century]
Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.210.

TYPE A2 α

Anonymous [prob. France, 17th-18th centuries]
1. Oxford, Bate Collection, 200.
2. Paris, Musée de l'Armée, P532.

Debey, I. [prob. Belgium, first half 18th century]
Oxford, Bate Collection, 2.
Rippert [Paris, *c.*1668-1724+]
Leipzig, Musikinstrumentenmuseum der Universität, 1312.
Rottenburgh, I.H. [Brussels, +*c.*1700-1775]
1. Antwerp, Museum Vleeshuis, AV.1967.001.082.
2. Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 1984.024/JT315.
3. Greenville (South Carolina), Sigal Music Museum, 1997.11.

Rouge [prob. France, 17th-18th centuries]
Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.979.2.12.
Schlegel, C./Ch. [Basel, +1712-1746+][337]
1. Basel, Historisches Museum, 1878.16.
2. Basel, Historisches Museum, 1882.14. (A, b. unmarked)
3. Willisau, Musikinstrumentensammlung, 125.
4. Willisau, Musikinstrumentensammlung, 126.
5. Zurich, Allgemeinen Musik-Gesellschaft, 2687. (A)

Willems, I.B. [Brussels, 1758-1810]
Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 2606.

TYPE A2 β

Anonymous [prob. France, first half 18th century]
1. ?, formerly: Ecochard private collection.
2. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, ETNO4898.
3. Rome, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, 1371. (t. and c.j. only)
4. Stockholm, Scenkonstmuseet, M208.

Bizey [Paris, +1716-*c.*1758+]
1. ?, sold by Vichy enchères (Vichy) on 07/05/2022.
2. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 17.1910.

337. Active in Zurich as early as 1708 and in St. Gallen in 1711. As the name of the city lacks in the mark, some instruments may have been made before the definitive transfer to Basel.

3. Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 0424.
4. Greenville (South Carolina), Sigal Music Museum, 2003.62. («A PARIS»)
5. London, Oldham private collection.
6. Oxford, Bate Collection, 201.
7. Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.2351. («A PARIS»; T?)

Cornet, L. [Paris, +*c.*1710-1745]
La Couture-Boussey, Musée des Instruments à Vent, 2004.1.1.

Desjardins, Baptiste [prob. Paris, +?1713-1719?+]
1. Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.2020.9.1.
2. Winston-Salem (North Carolina), Wachovia Museum, 0113. («DESJARDIN»)

Fremont [prob. Etienne, Paris, ?-*c.*1692+]
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, BK-2022-181.

Hotteterre, N. [prob. Nicolas III, Paris, +1679-1727+]
Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 2320. (t. and c.j. only)

Naust [Paris, +*c.*1692-*c.*1734+]
Salzburg, Bernardini private collection.

Peltier [prob. Charles II, Paris, first half 18th century]
La Couture-Boussey, Musée des Instruments à Vent, 2021.6.1.

Rippert [Paris, *c.*1668-1724+]
Geneva, Fondation de La Ménestrandie.

Schlegel, Bâle [Jeremias, +*c.*1752-1792+]
?, formerly: Piguet private collection.

TYPE B

Anonymous [?, prob. second half 18th century]
1. Antwerp, Museum Vleeshuis, AV.1967.001.081.
2. Glasgow, Art Gallery and Museums, A.1942.68.an.

Astor, London [+*c.*1778-1797?+]
?, sold by Gardiner Houlgate (Corsham) on 13/06/2013.

Knikker, I.V.D. [Tilborgh, +*c.*1750?-1815+]
1. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, BK-NM-11430-86. («TILBORGH»)
2. The Hague, Kunstmuseum, Ea3-x-1993.

Lot, T. [III, Paris, +1734-*c.*1789?+]
Oxford, Bate Collection, 24.

Schuchart [John Just and/or Charles, London, +*c.*1731-1767+]
Glasgow, Art Gallery and Museums, A.1942.68.ao.

Stanesby Junior [London, +*c.*1713?-1754+]
Oxford, Bate Collection, 29.

TYPE C

Delusse, C., Paris [+1758-1793+]
Toulouse, Conservatoire, 44. (T)

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Rottenburgh, G.A. [Brussels, 1757-1803+]
Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.2184. (T)
Rottenburgh, I.H. [Brussels, +*c.*1700-1775]
1. Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 0180.[338] (T)
2. Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 2618. (T)
3. Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 2619. (T)
4. Oxford, Bate Collection, 248. (T)
5. Stockholm, Scenkonstmuseet, F288. (T)

TYPE D1

Adler, Paris [+*c.*1808-1857+]
Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.2002.11.2.
Amlingue, Paris [prob. François, 1816-1830+]
Stockholm, Stiftelsen Musikkulturens Främjande, ITB064.
Amlingue, Paris [prob. Michel, +1780-1816+]
?, formerly: Ecochard private collection.
Boisselot aîné, Montpellier [prob. second half 18th century]
Boston, BSO Casadesus Collection, 79.
Camus, C., Paris [1793-1822]
Salzburg, Bernardini private collection.
Clapisson, Lyon [prob. second half 18th century]
Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.711. (b. only)
Delusse, C., Paris [+1758-1793+]
1. ?, anonymous private collection.
2. Ithaca (New York), Kirkpatrick private collection.
3. Oxford, Bate Collection, 202.
4. Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.1186.
5. Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.1807. (c.j. and b. only)
6. Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.2180.
7. Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.2182.
8. Salzburg, Bernardini private collection.
9. St. Petersburg, State Museum of Theatre and Music, A248.

Keller, Strasbourg [prob. Isaac, +1785-*c.*1790+]
Eisenach, Bachhaus, I-151.
Lot, M., Paris [+1743-1785+]
Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 1980.
Porthaux, Paris [+1780-*c.*1824?+]
Stockholm, Stiftelsen Musikkulturens Främjande, ITB067.
Prudent, Paris [+1759-1786+]
1. ?, anonymous private collection.
2. Caen, Frank private collection.
3. Saragoza, Beltrán Plumed private collection.
4. Stockholm, Scenkonstmuseet, F280.

338. C.j. = «G.A. ROTTENBURGH». B. = «RUE DE L'EMPEREUR».

Roustagneq, Toulon [prob. 18th-19th centuries]
1. ?, anonymous private collection.
2. ?, sold by Vichy enchères (Vichy) on 23/05/2015. (two t. j.)

Schlegel, Bâle [Jeremias, +*c.*1752-1792+]
1. ?, formerly: De Vries private collection.
2. Basel, Historisches Museum, 1908.122. (t.j. unmarked)

TYPE D2

Delusse, C., Paris [+1758-1793+]
1. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, BK-2018-26.
2. Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.387.1.-2.-3. (three t. j.)

Raver, Bordeaux [1836-1837]
1. Stockholm, Stiftelsen Musikkulturens Främjande, ITB063.
2. Stockholm, Stiftelsen Musikkulturens Främjande, ITB065.

Savary, Paris [+*c.*1798?-*c.*1821?+]
Greenville (South Carolina), Sigal Music Museum, 2001.35.

Schlegel, Bâle [Jeremias, +*c.*1752-1792+]
Oxford, Bate Collection, x21.

Winnen, Paris [Jean, +1833-1867+]
Oxford, Bate Collection, 222.

TYPE D3

Delusse, C., Paris [+1758-1793+]
Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.1187.

Dobner & Consort, Strasbourg [+*c.*1800-1837]
Stockholm, Stiftelsen Musikkulturens Främjande, ITB062.

Lemery, Clermont [prob. second half 18th century]
La Couture-Boussey, Musée des Instruments à Vent, 2020.4.2.

Porthaux, Paris [+1780-*c.*1824?+]
Greenville (South Carolina), Sigal Music Museum, 1998.02. (three t. j.)

Schlegel, Bâle [Jeremias, +*c.*1752-1792+]
Leipzig, Musikinstrumentenmuseum der Universität, 1322. (c.j. and b. only)

TYPE D4

Adler, Paris [+*c.*1808-1857+]
1. ?, anonymous private collection.
2. Greenville (South Carolina), Sigal Music Museum, 2002.91.
3. Wilbraham (Massachusetts), Howe private collection.

Amlingue, Paris [prob. Michel, +1780-1816+]
Stockholm, Scenkonstmuseet, F282.

Camus, C., Paris [1793-1822]
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 89.4.894.

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Darque [prob. France, second half 18th century]
?, sold by Hôtel des ventes du Tarn (Albi) on 10/06/2021.
Delusse, C., Paris [+1758-1793+]
1. Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.263.
2. Sion, Pfefferlé private collection.

Guillier [prob. France, second half 18th century]
?, anonymous private collection.
Leroux aîné [prob. Mirecourt, 1839-*c.*1844+]
Mirecourt, Musée de la Lutherie et de l'Archèterie Françaises, 1996.2.2.
Porthaux, Paris [+1780-*c.*1824?+]
?, sold by Vichy enchères (Vichy) on 07/05/2022.
Prudent, Paris [+1759-1786+]
1. Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 3116. (b. unmarked)
2. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, IM0146.

Roustagneq, Toulon [prob. 18th-19th centuries]
1. ?, sold by De Baecque et associés (Lion) on 26/05/2020.
2. Reggio Emilia, Vezzani private collection.

Savary père, Paris [+*c.*1821?-*c.*1827]
1. Salzburg, Bernardini private collection.
2. The Hague, Kunstmuseum, Ea443-1933.

TYPE E

Anonymous [prob. France, mid 18th century]
1. Edinburgh, Musical Instrument Museums, 1032.
2. Vindelle, Ecochard private collection.

Bizey, Paris [+1716-*c.*1758+]
Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.1047.
Hotteterre, L. [prob. Louis IV, La Couture, 1750-1801+]
Tokyo, Toho Gakuen School of Music.
Keller, Strasbourg [Jean II and/or Jean III, 1765-1785+]
Oxford, Bate Collection, 22. (c.j. and b.)
Lenglet [prob. France, mid 18th century]
Kilmarnock, Dean Castle Museum, RIDC0000684.
Lot, G. [Paris, +1752-1793+]
1. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, BK-2018-15.
2. Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.2181.

Lot, M., Paris [+1743-1785+]
1. Berlin, Musikinstrumenten-Museum, 2947. (lost)
2. London, Royal College of Music Museum, RCM0076. (T)
3. Stockholm, Scenkonstmuseet, F290. (T)
4. Vermillion (South Dakota), National Music Museum, NMM4546.

Lot, T. [III, Paris, +1734-*c.*1789?+]
1. ?, formerly: Piguet private collection.
2. La Couture-Boussey, Musée des Instruments à Vent, 2020.3.1.

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3. Munich, Joppig private collection.
4. St. Petersburg, State Museum of Theatre and Music, A254
5. St. Petersburg, State Museum of Theatre and Music, A266. (T)
6. Torquay, Museum, V4949.

Prudent, Paris [+1759-1786+]

1. ?, formerly: Ecochard private collection.
2. La Couture-Boussey, Musée des Instruments à Vent, 2020.4.1.
3. Paris, Kampmann private collection, 1018. (b. unmarked)
4. St. Petersburg, State Museum of Theatre and Music, A257. (c.j. only)
5. St. Petersburg, State Museum of Theatre and Music, A258.
6. Tokyo, Ueno Gakuen University, 91.

Rottenburgh, G.A. [Brussels, 1757-1803+]

Jerusalem, Academy of Music and Dance, K32.

Rottenburgh, I.H. [Brussels, +*c.*1700-1775]

1. Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 0965.
2. Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 2608. (t.j. only)
3. Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 2609.
4. Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 4360.
5. Salzburg, Bernardini private collection. (c.j. and b. only)

Schlegel, Bâle [Jeremias, +*c.*1752-1792+]

Vermillion (South Dakota), National Music Museum, NMM05783.

Villars, Paris [+1729-1779]

1. Philadelphia, Burgess private collection. (c.j. and b. only)
2. Yale, Collection of Musical Instruments, 3418.1986.

Vincent, Paris [+1743-1769]

Greenville (South Carolina), Sigal Music Museum, 1999.14.

Willems, I.B. [Brussels, 1758-1810]

Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 2607.

TYPE F

Anonymous [?, second half 18th century]

?, sold by Bonhams (London) on 07/03/2012.

Bühner & Keller, Strasbourg [+*c.*1802-1850+]

1. Bern, Historisches Museum, H5548d. (four t. j.)
2. Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.980.2.142.

Deschamps, Paris [prob. Jean, +1771-1789]

1. ?, sold by Vichy enchères (Vichy) on 09/11/2019.
2. Berlin, Musikinstrumenten-Museum, 2934. (lost)

Rottenburgh, G.A. [Brussels, 1757-1803+]

1. Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 2610.
2. Stockholm, Scenkonstmuseet, F278.

Rottenburgh, I.H. [Brussels, +*c.*1700-1775]

1. Ann Arbor, Stearns Collection of Musical Instruments, 0667.

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2. Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 0966.[339]

Tuerlinckx, Malines [+1782-*c.*1840?+]
Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 0178.

Willems, I.B. [Brussels, 1758-1810]
Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 2317.

TYPE G

Anonymous [prob. Germany, mid 18th century]
1. ?, anonymous private collection.
2. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, BK-2018-65.
3. Oxford, Bate Collection, 292.

Crone [prob. Gabriel and/or Gottlieb, Leipzig, 1744-1768+]
Markneukirchen, Musikinstrumenten-Museum, 1116.

Grenser, A. [Dresden, +1744-1796+]
Washington D. C., Library of Congress, DCM1118.

TYPE H

Delusse, C., Paris [+1758-1793+]
1. Oxford, Bate Collection, 20.
2. Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.367.
3. Philadelphia, Burgess private collection.

Palanca, Carlo [Turin, +?1716-*c.*1770+?]
Salzburg, Bernardini private collection.

INCOMPLETE

Baumann, Paris [*c.*1791-1827?+]
Wilbraham (Massachusetts), Howe private collection. (t. j.)

Debey, I. [prob. Belgium, first half 18th century]
1. Antwerp, Museum Vleeshuis, AV.0.019.028. (c.j. and b.)
2. Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 2320. (b.)

Delusse, C., Paris [+1758-1793+]
1. Salzburg, Bernardini private collection. (t. j.)
2. Wilbraham (Massachusetts), Howe private collection. (three t. j.)

Dobner & Consort, Strasbourg [+*c.*1800-1837]
Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.1807. (t. j.)

Porthaux, Paris [+1780-*c.*1824?+]
Oxford, Bate Collection, 22. (t. j.)

Prudent, Paris [+1759-1786+]
1. ?, anonymous private collection. (t. and c.j.)
2. Leipzig, Musikinstrumentenmuseum der Universität, 1326. (t. j.)
3. St. Petersburg, State Museum of Theatre and Music, A257. (t. j.)

339. T. j. = «RUE DE L'EMPEREUR». B. = «G.A. ROTTENBURGH».

Rottenburgh, I.H. [Brussels, +*c.*1700-1775]
Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 2608. (c.j. and b.)
Schlegel, Bâle [Jeremias, +*c.*1752-1792+]
1. Basel, Historisches Museum, 2001.503.1.-2.-3. (two t.j. and c.j.)
2. Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.711. (c.j.)

INDEFINABLE

Biglioni, Roma [prob. second half 18th century]
Rome, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, 1376. (three t. j.)
Cambet, Verdun [prob. second half 18th century]
Brussels, Musical Instruments Museum, 3646. (t.j. only)
Grassi, Milan [1797-1802]
Washington D. C., National Museum of American History, 95298. (three t. j.)
Reist, H. [prob. Sumiswald, second half 18th century]
1. Bern, Klingendes Museum, 0452.
2. Bern, Klingendes Museum, 1900.
3. Bern, Klingendes Museum, 1915.
Roustagneq, Toulon [prob. 18th-19th centuries]
?, anonymous private collection.

UNTRACEABLE

Bizey, Paris, 1749
?, formerly: Piguet private collection.
Geist, I.G. [prob. Paris, +?1750-1775?+]
Colmar, Musée d'Unterlinden. (A)
Lot, T. [III, Paris, +1734-*c.*1789?+]
Bochum, Kulturbüro und Kulturhistorische Museen.
Porthaux, Paris [+1780-*c.*1824?+]
Geneva, Fondation de La Ménestrandie.
Prudent, Paris [+1759-1786+]
Lourdes, Musée Pyrénéen, 73.10.1-114.
Schlegel, C./Ch. [Basel, +1712-1746+]
Gonten, Roothuus.
Willems, I.B. [Brussels, 1758-1810]
?, formerly: Chirk Castle.
Winnen, Paris [Jean, +1833-1867+]
Périgueux, Musée du Périgord, 8.131.

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NOTA BIOGRAFICA Marcello Rizzello ha conseguito, col massimo dei voti, i diplomi di primo e secondo livello in oboi storici presso il Conservatorio di Parma, e la laurea in filosofia (corso triennale) all'Università di Parma. Attualmente è laureando in musicologia (corso magistrale) all'Università di Pavia. Ha pubblicato sul Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society, ed è coautore di *«Virtuoso ben noto, e di molto merito». Un ritratto dell'oboista Matteo Bissoli (1712-1780)* (Padova, 2023).

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE Marcello Rizzello has obtained, cum laude, the Bachelor's and Master's degrees in historical oboes at the Parma Conservatory, and a Bachelor in philosophy at the Parma University. Now he is graduating in musicology (Master) at the Pavia University. He has published on the Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society, and is coauthor of *«Virtuoso ben noto, e di molto merito». Un ritratto dell'oboista Matteo Bissoli (1712-1780)* (Padua, 2023).