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Deutsche Schalmei: A Question of Terminology¹

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IN RECENT YEARS the term *Deutsche Schalmei* has been used with increasing frequency to denote a type of slender shawm that was produced in Germany and the Low Countries during the latter half of the seventeenth and early decades of the eighteenth centuries (fig. 1). Usage of this term has become so common and widespread that whereas thirty years ago it appeared in only a handful of scholarly sources, today it can be found in a growing number of publications, most of them academic in nature but some clearly aimed at a more general audience. (See the appendix to this article for a list, in chronological order.) The heightened visibility of this term reflects the extent to which it has been incorporated into the language of instrument specialists: not only have English- and German-speaking authors adopted it, but Dutch authors have as well, translating it variously as *duytse schalmey*, *Duytsche schalmey*, *Duitse schalmei*, *Duytse Schalmey*, *Duytsche Schalmei*, *duitse schalmey*, etc.

The tendency toward universal acceptance of this term is of intellectual and historical significance, however, given that *Deutsche Schalmei*—in combinative adjective-noun form, functioning as a restrictive noun solely and clearly in reference to a particular type of slender German or Dutch shawm of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries—is

1. This article is dedicated to the memory of Anthony Cuthbert Baines (1912–1997), musician and instrument historian, whose pioneering work in the late 1940s and early 1950s led to the publication of *Woodwind Instruments and their History* (London: Faber and Faber, 1957; rev. ed. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1963) and, along with it, his useful terminology for distinguishing between shawms of older and newer design. An earlier version was presented as a paper at the Twenty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the American Musical Instrument Society at America's Shrine to Music Museum in Vermillion, South Dakota, May 15–19, 1996. I am indebted to Nicholas Renouf of the Yale University Collection of Musical Instruments for his forbearance in discussing of issues of terminology, and to Helen Bartlett and Eva Heater of the Yale University Music Library for their assistance in securing source materials for me on Inter-Library Loan. I also am grateful to Eschrat Rahimi-Laridjani and Matthew Hume, student assistants, who participated in the examination of numerous dictionaries and lexicons from the seventeenth through the twentieth centuries (the majority of which are not cited here) in search of the term *Deutsche Schalmei* and its cognates.

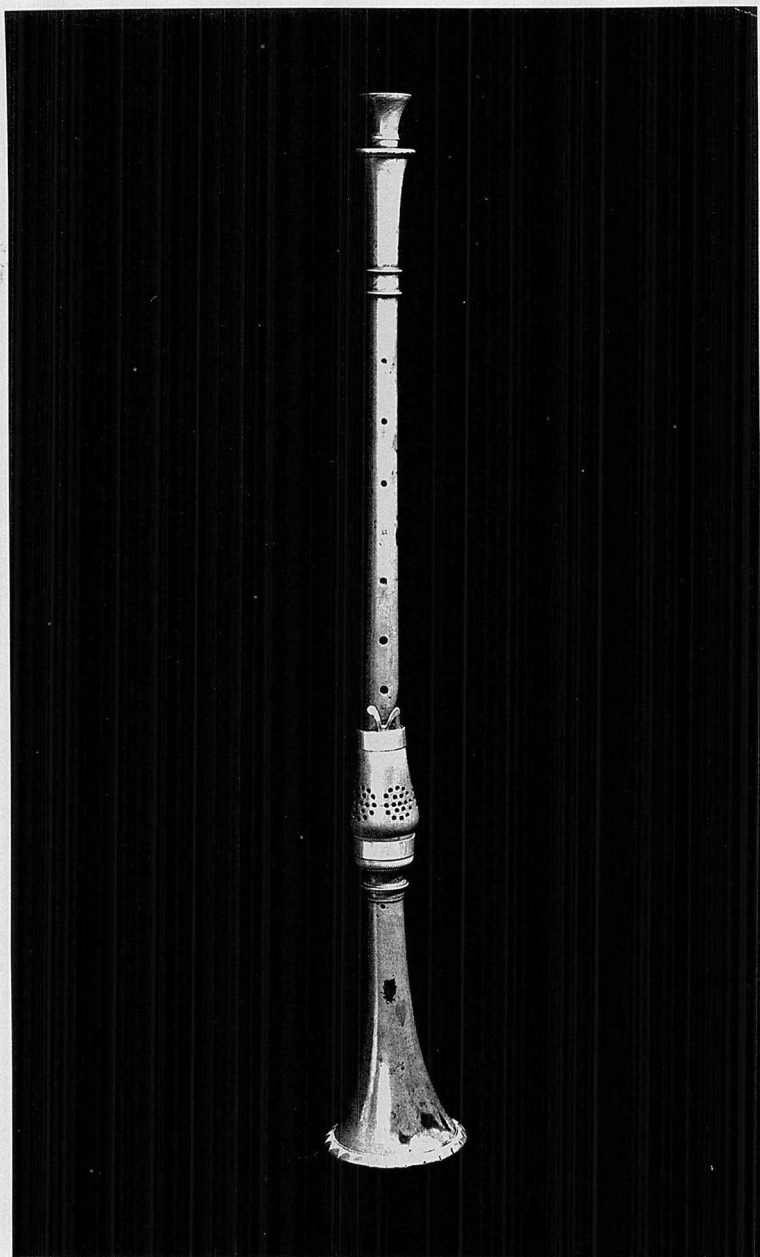


FIGURE 1. *Deutsche Schalmei* by Richard Haka, Amsterdam, late seventeenth century. New Haven, Yale University Collection of Musical Instruments, acc. no. 3410.68.

virtually absent from organological texts published before the mid-twentieth century. Music lexicons of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries often include an entry for *Schalmei*, but none contains an entry for the term *Deutsche Schalmei*, or even a definition under the heading of *Schalmei* for a specific type of shawm with the name *Deutsche Schalmei* or any of its variant spellings or translations.

The term does appear in print early in this century, however, in reference to balusterless, conically-bored discant *Schalmeien* in C made by the German firm of Oskar Adler and Co., Markneukirchen, and advertised in the company's catalogue of c. 1910. Made in two joints (body and bell), they were offered in either keyless or keyed versions having one, four, or six keys of nickel-silver, at prices ranging from 12 to 25 marks, reed included (fig. 2).² Though labelled *Deutsche Schalmeien*, these instruments are clearly unlike the long, slender *Schalmeien* with pirouettes, pear-shaped fontanelles, and flaring bells that we have come to associate with field musicians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and which are the subject of the present inquiry.

What, exactly, is wrong with modern-day use of the name *Deutsche Schalmei*? It is not an entirely inaccurate or ill-chosen term; indeed, in the final analysis it may be the right one for describing this group of *Schalmeien*. It is problematic only because there is virtually no concrete evidence to suggest that *Deutsche Schalmei*—in the singular—was a commonly accepted name three centuries ago for a narrow-bored shawm of slender design. This begs the question: If the term *Deutsche Schalmei* was not in general use during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, why are we using it today?

The present article, therefore, examines the origin of the term *Deutsche Schalmei*, traces its evolution through the end of the twentieth century, calls into question its suitability as a definitive noun, and offers alternatives to its usage in modern organological parlance.

2. See Gunther Joppig, "Holzblasinstrumente," in Hermann Moeck, ed., *Fünf Jahrhunderte Deutscher Musikinstrumentenbau* (Celle: Moeck Verlag, 1987), 67; and Andreas Masel, "Doppelrohrblattinstrumente," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., edited by Ludwig Finscher, vol. 2 (Kassel: Metzler, 1995), cols. 1397–98. See also Helmut Hoyler, *Die Musikinstrumentensammlung des Kölner Stadtmuseums* (Kassel: Merseburger, 1993), 180 and 182, where a "Schalmei, deutsche Form" from c. 1900 is described and depicted. This instrument appears to be an actual specimen of "Deutsche Schalmei Nr. 1070 mit 1 Neusilberklappe" [with one nickel-silver key], listed in the Adler catalogue at a price of 13.70 marks.

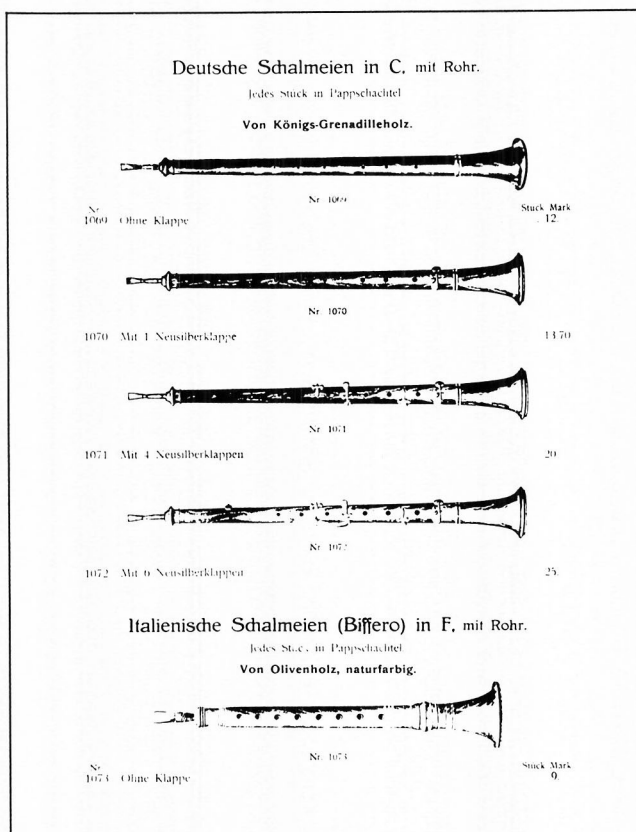


FIGURE 2. *Deutsche Schalmeien* in C as advertised by the woodwind-making firm of Oskar Adler and Co., Markneukirchen, c. 1910. Photo: courtesy of Moeck Verlag.

Terminology of Earlier Centuries

Modern historians use the term *Deutsche Schalmei* to differentiate between shawms of older and newer design. Shawms of sturdy construction, whose design is clearly rooted in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, are referred to as shawms, *Schalmeien*, *chalemies*, *piffari*, etc. Instruments of less substantial build, whose styling seems more akin to the Baroque, are referred to as *Deutsche Schalmeien*.

Historians of earlier centuries did not distinguish between shawms in this manner. Praetorius, for example, described the differences among individual members of the shawm family, but did not engage in compar-

isons between shawms of older and newer design.³ Shawms and their larger siblings were evaluated on the basis of physical and tonal properties: size, range, placement of tone and vent holes, number of keys, and the presence of a fontanelle and pirouette or bocal were the criteria by which he categorized family members as *Klein Schalmey*, *Discant Schalmey*, *Alt Pommer*, *Basset* or *Tenor-Pommer*, and *Bas Pommer*.

Similarly, lexicographers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries did not concern themselves with comparisons of shawms of older and newer design. If they engage in comparisons at all, they tend to contrast the newly developed *hautbois* and the pre-existing *Schalmey*.⁴ Physical and tonal characteristics are sometimes discussed, often with an emphasis on the shawm's declining status. Most writers observe that whereas the *Schalmey* had once been the more prevalent instrument, it was falling—or had already fallen—into disuse. The French *hautbois* had displaced it and was now being used nearly everywhere.

Occasionally a German author will define the *hautbois* as *eine Französische Schallmey*.⁵ This rather intriguing definition, if taken at face value, conjures up the image of a French shawm, perhaps even one patterned after German examples. But inasmuch as the likening of *hautbois* to *Französische Schallmey* occurs only in German sources, it is reasonably safe to assume that the writers' intention was not to describe a new type or different nationality of shawm. Rather, these German authors are merely

3. Michael Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici, Tomus Secundus: De Organographia* (Wolffenbüttel: Elias Holwein, 1619), 36–37 and Plate XI, Nos. 1–5; trans. and ed. by David Z. Crookes as *Michael Praetorius, Syntagma Musicum II: De Organographia, Parts I and II* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986). See also Marin Mersenne, *Harmonicorum libri* (Paris: Guillielm Baudry, 1636), Propositio IX, 87–88.

4. See Claas Douwes, *Grondig ondersoek van de toonen der musijk* (Franeker: Adriaan Heins, 1699; facs. ed. Amsterdam: Frits Knuf, 1970), 114–15; Johann Mattheson, *Das Neu-Eröffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg: Benjamin Schillers Wittwe, 1713; facs. ed. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1993), 268; Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musikalisches Lexikon oder musikalische Bibliothek* (Leipzig: Wolfgang Deer, 1732; facs. ed. Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1953), 304, 547; Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste* (Halle and Leipzig: Johann Heinrich Zedler, 1732–54), 12: col. 927 and 34: col. 839; *Kurtzgefaßtes Musicalisches Lexicon* (Chemnitz: Joh. Christoph and Joh. David Stöbel, 1749), 333.

5. Friederich Erhard Niedt, *Musicalischer Handleitung: Anderer Theil* (Hamburg: Benjamin Schillers Wittwe und Joh. Christoph Pißner, [1721]; facs. ed. Buren: Frits Knuf, 1976), 111. Niedt's complete definition reads: "Hautbois: eine Französische Schallmey; auch ein Register in Orgel-Wercken adimitationem" [Oboe: a French shawm; also an organ stop in imitation thereof]. See also the *Kurtzgefaßtes Musicalisches Lexicon*, 333, where *Hautbois* is defined as a *Französische Schallmey-Pfeiffe*.

defining the *hautbois* as the French “equivalent” of their *Schallmeyer*—i.e., the version of soprano double reed instrument with which they were more familiar. Whether *eine Französische Schallmeyer* was the triple-jointed, elegantly turned, three-keyed instrument we generally associate with French makers of the day is something that cannot be discerned from their definitions. But it is worth noting that nowhere in the whole of the available literature do German authors compare or contrast *Französische Schallmeyen* with *Deutsche Schallmeyen*.

Twentieth-Century Uses of the Term Deutsche Schalmei

Students of woodwind history are likely to encounter the term *Deutsche Schalmei* (or one of its many variants) in numerous sources today (see appendix). It appears in dictionaries, indices, texts devoted to instruments in general, texts devoted to the oboe in particular, periodical articles, exhibition catalogues, museum checklists, and book reviews. Taken literally, the term means German shawm—i.e., “shawm of Germany,” “shawm of German manufacture,” or at least “shawm of German design.” Modern use of the term has never been quite this restrictive, though, a circumstance which has resulted in a distorted sense of its meaning. For not only do we use *Deutsche Schalmei* to describe slender, military shawms of German origin, we use it to describe such shawms of Dutch origin as well.

As the list in the appendix reveals, the term *Deutsche Schalmei* (or one of its variants) often appears in conjunction with the name of Richard Haka (c. 1646–1705), the London-born émigré who established himself as a maker of woodwinds in Amsterdam about 1660.⁶ Haka is survived by nine descant and one tenor *Schalmeien* of this so-called *Deutsche* type.⁷ No evidence has been found to date, however, to demonstrate that he and his contemporaries ever referred to slender *Schalmeyen* of their own or anyone else’s manufacture as *Deutsche Schalmeien*, nor by one of the many Dutch cognates in use today (e.g., *duytse schalmey*, *Duytsche schalmey*, *Duitse schalmei*, *Duytse Schalmey*, etc.).

The only indications of how Dutch makers might have specifically referred to shawms of slender design are two notices published in consecutive issues of a periodical entitled *Amsterdamse Courant*. On 5 April 1691

6. William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993), 156.

7. For a list of these instruments, see Table 1 of Jan Bouterse’s article elsewhere in the present volume.

Richard Haka announced that he sold "Fluyten, Houbois, Bassons, en Velt-Schalmeyen" from his shop "op het Spuy by de oude Luyterse Kerk, in de vergulde Basfluyt" [on the sluice by the old Lutheran Church, at (the sign of) the gilded bass recorder];⁸ and on 1 May 1691 the widow and sons of Jan Juriaensz van Heerde (1638–1691)⁹ announced that they planned to carry on their husband's and father's business of making "Fluyten,¹⁰ Hoboen, Bassons, Velt-Schalmayen en Fluyt Konststokken" from his shop in Amsterdam on the Linde-Gragt at the sign of the "gekroonde Fagott" [crowned fagott or bassoon].¹¹

Clearly, late seventeenth-century Amsterdam makers employed a vocabulary that distinguished between oboe and shawm. The orthography differs—*Hoboen/Houbois*, *Velt-Schalmayen/Velt-Schalmeyen*¹²—but the implication of the words is certainly understood. That these two types of instruments—oboe and shawm—existed side by side in Amsterdam workshops at the end of the seventeenth century is further evidenced by the tradecard of Coenraad Rýkel (Amsterdam, c. 1705), where

8. S. A. C. Dudok van Heel and Marieke Teutscher, "Amsterdam als centrum van 'fluytenmakers' in de 17e en 18e eeuw," *Historische Blaasinstrumenten* (Den Haag: Haags Gemeentemuseum – Gemeente Kerkrade, 1974), 53.

9. Dates from Waterhouse, 169.

10. In this context *Fluyten* most likely means recorders. Though transverse flutes survive with the van Heerde stamp, they were presumably made by Jan Juriaensz's grandson, Jan (fl. Amsterdam 1720–1750: see Waterhouse, 169), according to a personal communication from Rob van Acht, February 5, 1999. Also, in 1694 the widow of Jan Jurianz de Jager (c. 1658–1692) announced that she was selling "wind and stringed instruments . . . finished and unfinished, consisting of *Hoboys*, *Bassons*, *Fluyten*, *Dwarsfluyten* [transverse flutes], *en eene Muzelle*," as well as other kinds of instruments from her husband's estate (*Amsterdamse Courant*, 27 November and 7 December 1694; quoted from Rob van Acht, "Niederländische Blasinstrumente, 1670–1820," *Tibia* 15 [1990]: 178–79, and Waterhouse, 192). From the language used in this advertisement, it is clear that the Dutch had a terminology in place for distinguishing between recorders and transverse flutes. Since the advertisement concerning van Heerde's instruments cites only *Fluyten* and makes no mention of *Dwarsfluyten*, one could infer that Jan Juriaensz van Heerde was a maker of recorders, but not of transverse flutes.

11. Dirk J. Balfoort, *Het muziekleven in Nederland in de 17de en 18de eeuw* (Amsterdam: P. N. Van Kampen & Zoon N. V., 1938), 74. See also Lyndesay G. Langwill, *An Index of Musical Wind-Instrument Makers*, 1st ed. (Edinburgh: Lyndesay G. Langwill, 1960), 50; Dudok van Heel and Teutscher, 54; and van Acht, "Niederländische Blasinstrumente," 178.

12. Discrepancies exist in the secondary sources with respect to the spelling and capitalization of the term used in the van Heerde advertisement: *Velt-Schalmayen* (Balfoort, 1938); '*Velt-Schalmajen*' (Langwill, 1960); *velt-schalmayen* (Dudok van Heel and Teutscher, 1974); and *Velt-scharmayen* [perhaps a printer's error] (van Acht, 1990). Because the relevant issue of the *Courant* was not available for study, I have been unable to ascertain how the original advertisement actually reads.

Schalmeyen are depicted in beribboned trophies on either side of the engraved card, and *Hoboes* or *Houbois* appear in the scrolled cartouche at center on either side of the *Basson* and *Basfluyt* (fig. 3).¹³ Two types of *Schalmeyen* are depicted. The long, slender instruments at the center of each trophy (with balusterless upper joints, ovalescent fontanelles, and scallopless flaring bells) are presumably descant *Velt-Schalmeyen*. The partially eclipsed instruments at the bottom of each trophy (with swallow-tailed keys, trapezoidal metal keyguards, and scalloped metal rims on their bells) may be a type of *Velt-Schalmeyen* as well. They are not unlike the shawm-oboe hybrid that has been preserved in The Hague,¹⁴ a silver-ornamented, ebony instrument which shares with each of the lower *Schalmeyen* depicted on the card a bulbous center socket and metal-trimmed bell. Also in common are the shapes of their swallow-tailed keys and metal keycovers.¹⁵

It is not clear why late seventeenth-century Amsterdam builders referred to their slender shawms as *Velt-Schalmeyen*. Though *Velt* implies "for use in the field," it is not known how these instruments actually functioned there. With narrow bores and small tone holes, they are capable of producing a tone that is less robust than that of their forebears.¹⁶ But because the quality of tone produced by a double reed instrument is largely determined by how a player makes and blows his reeds, it is impossible to say how these *Velt-Schalmeyen* really would have sounded.

13. Rykel (1664–1726) was the son of Haka's sister Maria, and apprenticed with his uncle from 1679 to 1686 (see Waterhouse, 341).

14. Haags Gemeentemuseum No. Ea 20-x-1952; see Anthony Baines, *European and American Musical Instruments* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1966), 101 and Illustration 540; Phillip T. Young, *Loan Exhibition of Historic Double Reed Instruments* (Victoria, BC: University of Victoria, 1988), No. 6; and Rob van Acht, Jan Bouterse, and Piet Dhont, *Niederländische Doppelrohrblattinstrumente des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts: Sammlung Haags Gemeentemuseum* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1997), 123 [color plate].

15. At one time van Acht referred to this instrument as a *Duitse schalmey* (in his "De Historische Ontwikkeling van de Blaasinstrumenten van de 16e tot in de 19e Eeuw," *Historische Blaasinstrumenten* [Den Haag: Haags Gemeentemuseum – Gemeente Kerkrade, 1974], 23); more recently he has called it an oboe or shawm [*Oboe oder Schalmey*] (van Acht et al., *Niederländische Doppelrohrblattinstrumente*, 122). Phillip T. Young categorizes it as an oboe (*4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments: An Inventory of 200 Makers in International Collections* [London: Tony Bingham, 1993], 119), while Clemens von Gleich and Henk Quast list it as a shawm (*Complete List of European Musical Instruments and Makers* [The Hague: Haags Gemeentemuseum, Music Department, 1989], 14). One wonders what Dutch woodwind builders of the late seventeenth century would have called it.

16. See van Acht et al., *Niederländische Doppelrohrblattinstrumente*, 112, and the review of this publication by Jeremy Montagu in *The Galpin Society Journal* 51 (1998): 228.

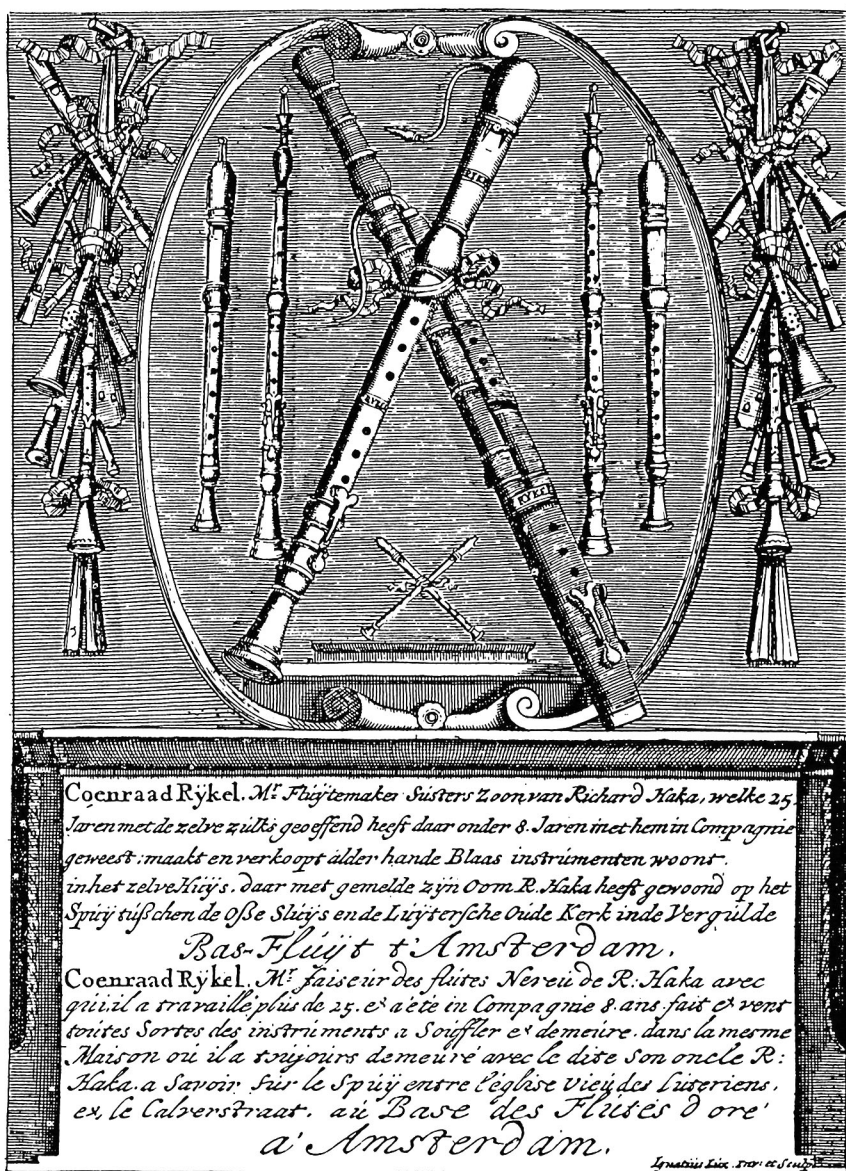


FIGURE 3. Tradecard of Coenraad Rykel from c. 1705.

Baines, Zedler, and the Origins of Current Practice

The first time the term *deutsche Schalmey* appeared in print in reference to a specific type of seventeenth- or eighteenth-century military shawm was in 1954, when Anthony C. Baines used it in an article on the shawm and its history for the fifth edition of *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. After a section describing the different members of the shawm family (treble through great bass), he wrote:¹⁷

Other designs built from time to time include one which is very often found in continental museums to-day. This is an elegant slender design of treble and tenor shawm made in Germany and the Netherlands from the latter part of the 17th century till after 1710. In Germany it was known as *deutsche Schalmey*, being used for a time in the Saxon army (two trebles and a tenor, with a *Dulcian* for the bass).^[fn] The treble (*PLATE* 60, No. 5) has neither hole nor key for the little finger, the hole under the barrel standing permanently open, and it is usually pitched a whole tone below the old treble . . . so that six fingers give d'. Its tone is more refined, but it arrived too late to take an important part in music, for oboes were becoming the fashion everywhere.

At the end of the third sentence quoted above, readers are directed by way of a footnote to an article entitled "Regimentspfeiffer" in Johann Heinrich Zedler's *Universal-Lexicon*.¹⁸ It is from this article, as well as from a small number of other pertinent seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources, that Baines seems to have deduced that shawms of elegant and slender design were "known as *deutsche Schalmey*[en]."

Regimentspfeiffer, Regimentshautbois. Die Regimentspfeiffer wurden vorzeiten auch Schallmeypfeiffer geheissen, indem damals solche Instrumente, als die einen hellen Laut von sich geben, vor dem Regimente her geblasen wurden, um die gemeinen Soldaten hierdurch desto mehr aufzumuntern. Nachdem sie aber schwer zu blasen, und in der Nähe auf eine gar unangenehme Art die Ohren füllen, so sind an statt der Deutschen Schallmeyen, nachgehends die Französische Hautbois angekommen, die nunmehr fast allenthalben im Gebrauche sind. Die Anzahl dieser Regimentspfeiffer ist unterschieden. Da die Schallmeyen noch Mode waren, hatte man nur vier Mann, als zwey Discantisten, einen Alt, und einen Dulcian. Nachdem aber die Hautbois an deren Stelle gekom-

17. Anthony Baines, "Shawm," *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5th ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1954), 7:747.

18. Johann Heinrich Zedler, "Regimentspfeiffer, Regimentshautbois," *Universal-Lexicon* 30 (1741): cols. 1844–45. Baines's footnote reads "Zedler, 'Universal-Lexicon', art. 'Regiments-pfeiffer'."

men, so hat man ietzo sechs Hautboisten, weil die Hautbois nicht so starck, sondern viel sachter klingen, als die Schallmeyen. Um die Harmonie desto angenehmer zu machen, hat man jetzund zwey Discante, zwey la Taillen, und zwey Bassons. Es machen die Hautboisten alle Morgen vor des Obristen Quartier ein Morgenliedgen, einen ihm gefälligen Marsch, eine Entree, und ein paar Menuetten, davon der Obriste ein Liebhaber ist; Und eben dieses wird auch des Abends wiederholet, oder wenn der Obriste Gastgebothe oder Assembleen anstellt, so lassen sie sich auf Violinen und Violons, wie auch Fleutdoucen und andern Instrumenten hören. . . .

Regimental pipers, Regimental oboists. In former times the regimental pipers were also called shawm pipers, for at that time such instruments, because they produce a loud sound, were played in front of the regiment, in order to enliven the common soldiers all the more. Because they are difficult to blow, however, and in close proximity fill the ears in a most unpleasant way, German shawms have been superseded by French oboes, which are now in use almost everywhere. The number of these regimental pipers varies. When shawms were still in vogue, there were only four men—two Discantists, an Alt, and a Dulcian. Now that oboes have replaced them, there are six oboists, because the oboes produce a sound that is not as strong as, but much gentler than, that of the shawms. In order to enhance the wind band, there are now two *Discante* [trebles], two *Taillen* [tenors], and two *Bassons* [bassoons]. Every morning in front of the Colonel's quarters the oboists play a short morning air or song, a march of his liking, an entrée, and a couple of minuets, of which the Colonel is an admirer; and this [routine] is also repeated in the evenings, or, when the Colonel entertains guests or assemblies, they [the oboists] are heard on violins and *Violons*, as well as on recorders and other instruments. . . .

As it happens, Zedler's text on *Regimentspfeiffer* is not really his own, but rather a nearly verbatim copy of a text published some fifteen years earlier by Hannß Friedrich von Fleming, a German aristocrat and army officer (fig. 4). Von Fleming had put forth a lengthy treatise in 1726 entitled *Der vollkommene teutsche Soldat* (*The Consummate German Soldier*), wherein he gives a highly detailed account of life in the royal Polish and Saxon military.¹⁹ In a chapter devoted to regimental oboists and drummers he describes the *Regiments-Pfeiffer* in words that reflect the

19. Hannß Friedrich von Fleming, *Der vollkommene teutsche Soldat* (Leipzig: Johann Christian Martini, 1726). In 1726, von Fleming had the titles of senior major in the royal army of Poland and lieutenant colonel in the infantry of the Elector of Saxony, as well as district squire, head forester, and head gamekeeper; baron of Böcke, Martentin, and Zebin; manor lord of Weißbach and Gahro, etc. See von Fleming's title page and Zedler, *Universal-Lexicon* 9 (1735): col. 1228.



FIGURE 4. Hannß Friedrich von Fleming. Photo: courtesy of Yale University Library.

orthography to which he was accustomed.²⁰ The similarities and dissimilarities to Zedler's passage are obvious:

§1.

Die Regiments-Pfeiffer wurden vor Zeiten auch Schallmeyer-Pfeiffer ge-heissen, indem damahls solche Instrumenta, als die einem [*sic*] hellen Laut von sich geben, vor dem Regiment hergeblasen wurden, um die gemeinen Soldaten hiedurch destomehr aufzumuntern. Nachdem sie aber schwer zu blasen, und in der Nähe auf eine gar unangenehme Art die Ohren füllen, so sind an statt der teutschen Schalmeyen nachgehends die Frantzöischen Hautbois aufgekommen, die nunmehr fast allenthalben im Gebrauch sind.

It is important to note that von Fleming uses the terminology *teutschen Schalmeyen* in the context of a comparison. He is observing that "in place of German shawms, French oboes have subsequently come onto the scene, [and] are now in use almost everywhere." *Frantzöischen Hautbois* (which is in the nominative case) and *teutschen Schalmeyen* (in the genitive) are not restrictive adjective-nouns of combinative form. *Hautbois* and *Schalmeyen* qualify as the nouns here, while *Frantzöischen* and *teutschen* are merely attributive adjectives modifying them—adjectives denoting geographic locale, nationality, or place of origin.

Frantzöische Hautbois are oboes with a French connection. They constitute a type of instrument that someone in von Fleming's day would naturally have associated with France. They might have been *Hautbois* made in France or modelled after French examples; in any case, there is something explicitly French about them. By the same token, *teutsche Schalmeyen* are shawms with a German connection, those which one would naturally have associated with Germany. The items being contrasted here are *teutsche Schalmeyen* and *Frantzöische Hautbois*, but not specifically "the German shawm" and "the French oboe." Von Fleming is not observing that "the shawm we Germans call *teutsche Schalmey*" has been superseded by "the oboe that the French call *Frantzöische Hautbois*"; rather, he is merely stating that the *Schalmey* of the Germans is being (or has been) replaced by the *Hautbois* of the French. This becomes clear in the next section of his text, where he continues his comparison of shawm and

20. Von Fleming, chapter 35, p. 181, "Von Regiments Hautbois und Tambours." The translation of Zedler's text given above can serve unchanged for this and the following passage from von Fleming.

oboe by using only common nouns, dropping the adjectives of geographical distinction:²¹

§2.

Die Anzahl dieser Regiments-Pfeiffer ist unterschieden. Da die Schalmeyen noch Mode waren, hatte man nur vier Mann, als zwey Discantisten, einen Alt und einem [*sic*] Dulcian. Nachdem aber die Hautbois an deren Stelle gekommen, so hat man jetzund sechs Hautboisten, weil die Hautbois nicht so stark, sondern viel *doucer* klingen, als die Schallmeyen. Um die Harmonie desto angenehmer zu completiren, hat man jetzund zwey Discante, zwey la Tailen, und zwey Bassons.

Von Fleming's spelling of *teutschen* with a lowercase "t" is typical for his day. It is not surprising that Zedler updated it to *Deutschen* with an uppercase "D" while preparing von Fleming's passage for the press some fifteen years later, since he was a publisher by profession.²² Zedler's own usage is inconsistent, however: in his article on "Schallmey," which appeared in the *Universal-Lexikon* only a year later, the shawm is described as "ein teutsches berohrtes Blas-Instrument" [a German reed wind instrument].²³

As to how Baines came to assert that the "slender design of . . . shawm made in Germany and the Netherlands from the latter part of the 17th century till after 1710 . . . was known as *deutsche Schalmey*," one of two things seems to have happened. Either he misinterpreted the grammar of Zedler's passage (taking *Deutschen Schallmeyen* as a restrictive adjective-noun, and thus assuming it to be the name by which shawms were known in Germany during the eighteenth century), or he associated the pairing of *Deutschen* and *Schallmeyen* in this source with similar pairings that he had seen elsewhere (thereby reinforcing his notion that the term *deutsche Schalmei* had indeed been used in earlier times to connote a slender type of shawm).

21. Ibid.

22. See Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (56 vols., Leipzig, 1875–1912; reprinted Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1971), 44:741–42, as well as Zedler's own *Universal-Lexikon* 61 (1749): cols. 309–11, where he treats readers to a humorous rendition of his autobiography.

23. Ibid., 34 (1742): col. 839.

Other Sources Known to Baines

The Talbot Manuscript (England, after 1685–before 1701). Early in his career, Baines became acquainted with a manuscript preserved in the library of Christ Church, Oxford (Music MS 1187), written by James Talbot, a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Regius Professor of Hebrew from 1689 to 1704. This manuscript is of exceptional value because it provides descriptive information and detailed measurements for a number of instruments found in London at the end of the seventeenth and turn of the eighteenth centuries. Baines's interest in the manuscript was apparently keen, leading him to collate Talbot's data on wind instruments for an article published in 1948.²⁴

Among the double reed instruments listed by Talbot is a shawm of narrow dimension which he described as follows:²⁵

SCHALMEYE. Martin Wise²⁶ / (Charter)²⁷ / [?]²⁸ Saxon used Much in German Army, etc. Sweeter than Hautbois. Several sizes & pitches.

This Schalmeye, with its "1st Joynt," "2d Joynt," "Fliew" [pirouette], "Barrel (moveable) with 3 Knots of holes" [fontanelle], and "head" and "Bowl [bell] tip'd with Brass," evidently reminded Baines of a type of shawm that he already had encountered elsewhere in instrument collections both at home and abroad. Using the dimensions provided by

24. Anthony Baines, "James Talbot's Manuscript . . . , I: Wind Instruments," *The Galpin Society Journal* 1 (1948): 9–26. Baines deduced (p. 10) that the manuscript had been written sometime after 1685 but before 1701.

25. *Ibid.*, 12.

26. Martin Wise may have been either the owner of the "Schalmeye" or the person from whom Talbot borrowed it. (A Michael Wise, possibly a relative, is recorded as having been musician "in ordinary for the cornet" to King Charles II in 1684: see Henry Cart de Lafontaine, ed., *The King's Musick: A Transcript of Records Relating to Music and Musicians, 1460–1700* [London: Novello, 1909; reprint New York: Da Capo, 1973], 367.) See also Baines, "James Talbot's Manuscript," 12, and Waterhouse, 433, where Wise's identity as a maker is questioned.

27. Apparently Talbot also was indebted to one Charter for reasons that, as with Martin Wise, are unclear. Perhaps Charter provided Talbot with measurements for this instrument: it is worth noting that Charter's name, though in parentheses here, is not parenthesized when cited earlier in connection with the English Hautbois or Waits Treble, whereas the name Bressan (a known woodwind maker) appears in parentheses in connection with both the French Hautbois/Treble and Tenor Hautbois described later in the manuscript. See Baines, "James Talbot's Manuscript," 11–14, and Waterhouse, 62.

28. The question mark would seem to be Baines's, as his annotations appear throughout in square brackets.

Talbot, he drew the Schalmeye to scale (fig. 5),²⁹ then observed that it seemed "closely to resemble the slender baroque version of the shawm, which was still being made by Schlegel of Basle after 1713 . . .," further noting that "A good example of this design is an instrument by Haka of Amsterdam, formerly in the collection of Canon Galpin,"³⁰ and that "Brussels No. 2334 shows another of the same type."³¹

It would seem, then, that Baines's awareness of *a*) the "SCHALMEYE. . . . [?] Saxon" described in detail by Talbot; *b*) a tenor shawm briefly described in the same source;³² *c*) the Haka shawm in Canon Galpin's collection;³³ and *d*) *Schalmey* No. 2334 in the Brussels Collection led him to conclude that treble and tenor shawms of slender design had been made in Germany and the Netherlands from the latter part of the seventeenth century to at least c. 1700. Also, because Talbot mentions that slender Schalmeyen had been made in "several sizes & pitches" and had

29. Baines, "James Talbot's Manuscript," 21.

30. Ibid., 24. Baines refers the reader to Francis W. Galpin's *Old English Instruments of Music* (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1910; 4th ed. *ibid.*, 1965), Plate XXXII, No. 3. Instrument no. 3 in this illustration, however, is not a slender schalmey but an alto or tenor pommer with an hourglass-shaped pirouette, cylindrical fontanelle, and long, straight bell. Rather, no. 2 in the same photograph appears to be the shawm by Haka. In fact, however, it is a replica of an authentic Haka *Schalmey* which Galpin is known to have owned, and which may be the one now in the Yale University Collection of Musical Instruments, no. 3410.68. For a depiction of this *Schalmey*, see *An Illustrated Catalogue of the Music Loan Exhibition . . . at Fishmongers' Hall, June and July, 1904* (London: Novello and Company, Ltd., 1909), 184. The author is indebted to Tony Bingham, Phillip T. Young, and Darcy Kuronen for providing her with information about Canon Galpin's set of replica shawms. See also Nicholas Bessaraboff, *Ancient European Musical Instruments* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Harvard University Press, 1941), 114–17 and Plate III, no. 129.

31. Baines, "James Talbot's Manuscript," 24. See Victor-Charles Mahillon, *Catalogue descriptif et analytique du Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire Royal de Musique de Bruxelles* 4 (Ghent: Ad. Hoste, 1912), 202–03, where no. 2334 is described as a *Schalmey*, a "Fac-similé, construit dans l'atelier du musée, d'un instrument appartenant également à la collection de M. P. de Wit à Leipzig. Il ressemble à un pommer alto mais la forme générale est plus élégante et moins lourde. Le no. 2334 est en *la*. . . ." [reproduction, constructed in the workshop of the museum, of an instrument also belonging to the collection of Mr. P. de Wit in Leipzig. It resembles an alto pommer but the general form is more elegant and less "heavy." No. 2334 is in *a*.]

32. Baines, "James Talbot's Manuscript," 13, where Talbot describes a "Tenor, having key to 7th hole." The only data provided concern the instrument's disposition (one key) and base pitch. With regard to the latter, Baines writes, "Only the bottom note (7 fingers) is given, and this (in alto clef) as: *g* & *f*."

33. Galpin, *Old English Instruments*, Plate XXXII, No. 2; and *idem*, *A Textbook of European Musical Instruments* (London: Williams & Norgate Ltd., 1937), 194–95, Plate VIII, No. 8.

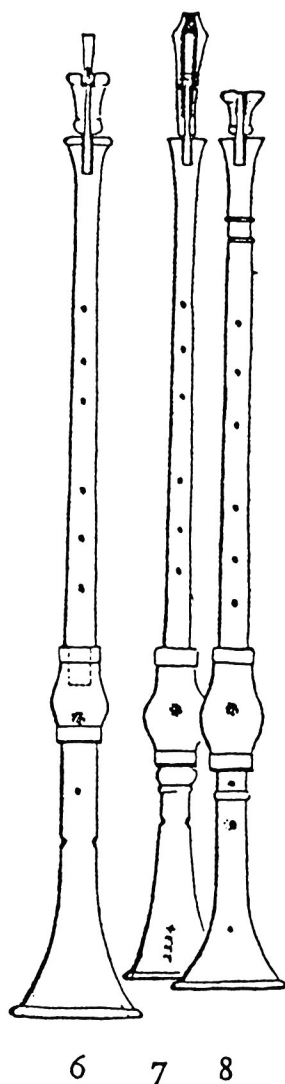


FIGURE 5. Three shawms, from fig. 1 of Anthony Baines, "James Talbot's Manuscript," *The Galpin Society Journal* 1 (1948): 21. Original caption: "Probable outlines of old English shawms, based upon the measurements in the Talbot MS, and compared with surviving specimens of similar dimensions. . . . 6. *Schalmey*, treble; 7. Brussels 2334, with ivory cap enclosing reed; 8. *Schalmey* by Haka, Amsterdam. . . ."

been used "Much in [the] German Army," Baines seems to have formed the impression that such instruments were intended primarily for use in the field, and it is this military association that he stresses from the outset in all discussions of the *deutsche Schalmey*.

Inventory from Ossegg (Bohemia, 1706). By 1951, Baines had become acquainted with a number of inventories listing musical instruments in the possession of noblemen, municipalities, or religious institutions at various points in time.³⁴ In examining these records, he would have observed that, for the most part, shawms are listed as *Schalmeyen* (or *Schallmeyen*) and their larger counterparts as *Bummart*, *Bommart*, *Bombartten*, or *Pommern*. His inspection of additional inventories after 1951 but prior to 1957³⁵ led him to discover one taken at the Marienkirche in Ossegg (Bohemia) in 1706, where reference is made to "Chorus tibiaram ex C vulgo Teutsche Schallmey," that is, "a consort of pipes [wind instruments] in C, commonly called *Teutsche Schallmey*."³⁶ At first glance, the liturgical context suggests that this was a consort of Renaissance-type double-reed instruments, of which the lowest, pitched in C, might have been either a *Bas Pommer* or a *Chorist-Fagott*.³⁷ However, given the relatively late date, the possibility also exists that these were instead shawms of newer design, perhaps comprising an ensemble similar to that described by von Fleming only two decades later, with two discants, an alto, and a dulcian for the bass.³⁸ Given the information at hand, it is impossible to know exactly what kinds of reed instruments were present at Ossegg in 1706, but the fact that this "Chorus tibiaram" was recorded as a group of instruments "commonly called *Teutsche Schalmey*" may have influenced Baines's perception of eighteenth-century vernacular terminology with respect to shawms.³⁹

34. Anthony C. Baines, "Two Cassel Inventories," *The Galpin Society Journal* 4 (1951): 30–38.

35. Idem, "Cornett," *Grove's Dictionary*, 5th ed., 2:450; and *Woodwind Instruments*, 366.

36. See Paul Nettel, "Weltliche Musik des Stiftes Ossegg (Böhmen) im 17. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 4 (1921–22): 357.

37. For depictions of these instruments, see Praetorius, Plate XI, no. 1 and Plate X, nos. 3 and 4, respectively; their ranges are given *ibid.*, pp. 22 and 23.

38. Talbot, after all, had noted some years earlier that German *Schalmeyen* were made in "several sizes & pitches," though he only mentions two: see Baines, "James Talbot's Manuscript," 12–13.

39. The same inventory includes a listing for "Flauta antiqua vulgo *Teutsche Flöten* duo" [two old flutes, commonly called German flutes], which might be either recorders or transverse flutes. Additionally, an inventory taken c. 1720 at the Wenzels-

Eisel (Erfurt, 1738). Yet another source known to Baines by 1957, and possibly also before 1954, was a didactic tutor written by Johann Philipp Eisel (1698–1763), in which can be found two instances of the adjective-noun combination “German shawms”—the first written as *teutschen Schalmeyen* and the second as *Teutschen Schallmeyen*.⁴⁰

Von dem hautbois.

1.

Was ist das Hautbois vor ein Instrument?

Das Hautbois, Italiänisch Oboe, ist ein blasendes Instrument, welches von den Frantzosen zu uns Teutschen kommen, und an statt der teutschen Schalmeyen getreten: Es ist dieses gleichsam redende Instrument, wenn es wohl tractiret wird, eines der angenehmsten unter allen, und das der menschlichen Stimme wohl am nächsten tritt. . . .

6.

Wie wird das Hautbois d'Amour tractiret?

Eben wie ein gemein Hautbois, darbey man nur dieses zu mercken hat: daß das Hautbois d'Amour um eine Tertia tiefer, als die ordentliche stehet. . . . Dieses Instrument ist ohngefehr Anno 1720. bekannt worden. Von den Teutschen Schallmeyen ist unnöthig etwas in diesen Bogen anzuführen, weil selbe nunmehr unter die verrosteten Instrumenta gediehen sind.

About the oboe.

1.

What kind of instrument is the oboe?

The hautbois (Italian: oboe) is a wind instrument, which comes to us Germans from the French, and is used instead of German shawms. This as it were “speaking” instrument is, when well played, one of the most agreeable of all, and indeed most closely resembles the human voice. . . .

6.

How is the Hautbois d'Amour played?

Just as an ordinary hautbois; however, one must observe that the hautbois d'amour is pitched a third lower than the regular [kind]. . . . This instrument became known about the year 1720. It is unnecessary in these pages to mention anything about German shawms, because these are now passé [*lit.*, because they now are thriving among the rusted instruments].

kirche in Naumburg (not mentioned in any of Baines's publications up to and including the revised edition of *Woodwind Instruments*) lists not only *teutsche Schallmeyen* and *teutsche Flöden* but also a *Chor teutsche Fagotten*: see Andreas Masel, “Doppelrohrblatt-instrumente,” *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., 2: col. 1361.

40. Johann Philipp Eisel, *Musicus autodidaktos* (Erfurt: Johann Michael Funcken, 1738; facs. ed. Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1976), 96–97 and 99–100.

The differences in orthography between the two mentions are readily apparent: lowercase “t” and single “l” in the first (*teutschen Schalmeyen*), uppercase “T” and double “l” in the second (*Teutschen Schallmeyen*). Because these differences occur within the same chapter of text, only five paragraphs apart, one could infer that at this time in Germany (or at least in Erfurt) approaches to spelling and capitalization were not standardized. More specifically, the capitalization of attributive adjectives of geographical distinction seems arbitrary, as is borne out by similar irregularities elsewhere in Eisel’s tutor.⁴¹ Thus, the capitalization of “teutsche” as an attributive adjective denoting geographical distinction and modifying nouns that are wind instruments does not seem to be dependent on context.⁴²

Even before Eisel’s day, “German flute” (*flûte d’Allemagne*) was an established term used to refer to the transverse flute.⁴³ As a combinative adjective-noun, it denoted a specific type of instrument within the category of flutes. Conversely, the term *teutsche* [or *Teutsche*] *Basson* does not have a history of being applied to a specific kind of bassoon. Eisel uses it as a collective noun to refer to older forms of bassoons.⁴⁴ Similarly, he uses *teutsche* [or *Teutsche*] *Schal(l)meyen* as a collective noun to refer to

41. In a section about the transverse flute, the question is raised (p. 81): “Wird sie nicht auch eine teutsche Flöthe geheissen?” [Is it not also called a German flute?]. Here “teutsche,” the attributive adjective denoting geographic locale or nationality, is not capitalized. But later, in a section about the German bassoon, the question is posed (p. 104): “Wie stehets um den Teutschen Basson?” [What is the status of the German bassoon?], and here the descriptive adjective “Teutschen” is capitalized. Further, these same two questions are presented in different versions in the table of contents at the front of the book, but in neither instance is the attributive adjective capitalized. The inquiry about the German flute is posed as “Ob sie nicht auch eine teutsche Flöthe zu heissen sey?” (p. 7) while that concerning the German bassoon is put as “Wie es um den teutschen Basson stehe?” (p. 8).

42. The few instances where *Teutschen* is capitalized all occur toward the end of the tutor, after page 96, which suggests that a different editor or typesetter may have been involved in the preparation of these final pages. This might also explain why *Schalmeyen* is spelled with only one “l” on page 96 but with two on page 100.

43. For contemporary references to the German flute, see, for example, Jacques Hotteterre, *Principes de la flute traversiere, ou flute d’Allemagne, de la flute a bec, ou flute douce, et du haut-bois* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1707); trans. and ed. by David Lasocki as *Principles of the flute, recorder and oboe* (New York: F. A. Praeger, 1968); Johann Mattheson, *Das Neu-Eröffnete Orchestre*, 270; and Michel Corrette, *Methode pour apprendre aisément à jouer de la flute traversiere* (Paris, [c. 1740]); ed. Mirjam Nastasi as *Methode de la flute traversière* (Buren: Frits Knuf, 1978), 7. See also note 39.

44. In a section on the *Teutsche Basson*, Eisel writes (p. 104): “Die Teutschen Bassons, Fagotte, oder Bombardi . . . sind nicht mehr im Gebrauch [The German bassoons (Fagotte or Bombardi) are not in use anymore].

shawms that are now passé, those that have been superseded by the modern *Frantzösische Hautbois*. Eisel's references to *teutsche Basson(s)* and *teutsche Shal(l)meyen* are generic in sense, and thus the attributive adjective *teutsche(n)* [or *Teutsche(n)*] is not part of a restrictive adjective-noun combination, but is merely a descriptive modifier.

Quantz (Berlin, 1752). A rather late reference to *deutsche Schallmeyen* is made by Johann Joachim Quantz, who, in discussing the virtues of German A chamber pitch (*Kammerton*), observes that the unpleasant tone quality produced by Italian oboes, whose base pitch is a whole tone higher than standard Roman pitch, can be likened to that of German shawms:⁴⁵

Denn obgleich der römische Ton tief, und für den Hoboe vorthailhaft war: so spielten doch damals die Hoboisten auf solchen Instrumenten, die einen ganzen Ton höher stunden, und mußten folglich transponiren. Allein diese hohen Instrumente thaten, gegen die übrigen tiefgestimmten, eine solche Wirkung, als wenn sie deutsche Schallmeyen wären.

For although the Roman pitch was low, and advantageous for the oboe, the oboists then played on instruments that were a whole tone higher, so that they were obliged to transpose. And these high instruments produced an effect like that of German shawms against the others that were tuned low.

Ultimately, it may have been this source—the latest here cited to contain the pairing of *deutsche* and *Schallmeyen*—that proved to be the most influential on Baines, at least in terms of orthography. For Quantz's spelling and capitalization is almost identical to that used by Baines in 1954, when he first put the term into print (in the singular) as *deutsche Schalmey*.⁴⁶

Weigel's Musicalisches Theatrum

One final source containing references to German *Schalmeyen* was probably unknown to Baines during the 1950s, since it is neither listed in the bibliography to his *Woodwind Instruments and their History* of 1957, nor referred to in any of his other publications prior to that time.

45. Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (Berlin: J. F. Voss, 1752), chapter XVII, part VII, §7, p. 243; trans. Edward R. Reilly as *On Playing the Flute* (London: Faber and Faber, 1966), 269. Quantz also refers to the shawm in the singular, as *Schallmey*, in chapter I, §5 p. 24.

46. Baines, "Shawm," *Grove's Dictionary*, 5th ed., 7: 747.

Johann Christoph Weigel's *Musicalisches Theatrum* contains an engraving entitled SCHALMEYEN (fig. 6)⁴⁷ that confirms without any doubt that slender shawms were in use in Germany during the early years of the eighteenth century. Moreover, it provides convincing evidence that such shawms functioned in settings other than the military. A shawmist is the prominent figure in the engraving. Seated on a four-legged bench at the edge of a walled portico, he appears to be serenading a wedding procession as it makes its way toward a rural church in the distance. The group is being led by a second shawmist (less distinctly pictured), who also is engaged in the act of playing. The attire worn by both the bridal party and the seated shawmist indicates that they are peasants.⁴⁸ This in itself would seem to signify that *Schalmeyen* belonged more among country folk than nobility, an association further substantiated by the unrefined tone of the poetic text beneath the image.⁴⁹

The instrument depicted here strongly resembles examples of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century treble *Schalmeien* preserved in South German and Austrian museums today.⁵⁰ Slender in profile, it appears to have been built in two sections, body and bell. The body is of simple construction, "baluster-free" but with a slight flare to its upper end. A single, decorative bead turned into the instrument's exterior can be seen between the body's upper end and the player's left index finger. Atop the instrument sits a pirouette, its reed barely visible. The player's cheeks are puffed, but only mildly so, suggesting that he is not blowing very hard.

47. Johann Christoph Weigel, *Musicalisches Theatrum* (Nuremberg: Johann Christoph Weigel, c. 1715–25; facs. ed. edited by Alfred Berner, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1961), Blatt 28. This is a collection of copper-plate engravings first published as separate sheets between 1715 and 1725.

48. The leather straps criss-crossing the seated shawmist's chest appear to be carrying his accoutrements, such as the leather pouch that can be seen protruding from beneath his coat to the right of his left thigh, which may be a bag for his instrument and reed accessories.

49. Reference to the shawm's provincial status is also made in the text accompanying Weigel's engraving of an HAUTOIST (Blatt 8), where the opening line of the poem reads: "Weg Bäurische Schallmey!" [Away, rural (boorish) shawm!].

50. For examples see Kurt Birsak, *Die Holzblasinstrumente im Salzburger Museum Carolino Augusteum* (Salzburg: Salzburger Museum Carolino Augusteum, 1973), 33–34; Heinrich Seifers, *Katalog der Blasinstrumente* (Munich: Deutsches Museum, 1980), 56; Renate Huber, *Verzeichnis sämtlicher Musikinstrumente im Germanischen Nationalmuseum Nürnberg* (Wilhelmshaven: Noetzel, Heinrichshofen-Bücher, 1989), 247–48; Martin Kirnbauer, *Verzeichnis der Europäischen Musikinstrumente im Germanischen Nationalmuseum Nürnberg* (Wilhelmshaven: Florian Noetzel Verlag, 1994), 119–24; and Phillip T. Young, *Die Holzblasinstrumente im Oberösterreichischen Landesmuseum* (Linz: Land Oberösterreich/OÖ. Landesmuseum, 1997), 105–09.



SCHALMEYEN

*Ne prangt du Erbarm Gfend, ich blaf auf besten backen,
 Komt nur fein bald zum Gfaß, du will ich lustig seyn,
 und lauten werd ich kan, laß alle zahn drob knacken
 springt du hernach gleichwohl die quer und lunge dran:
 man kan nicht alltag so frehlich Nothzeit machen,
 es folgt ohn dem gar oft ein Flan Maul auf diß lachen.*

FIGURE 6. Shawm player from Johann Christoph Weigel, *Musicalisches Theatrum* (Nuremberg, c. 1715–25). Photo: reprinted by permission of of Bärenreiter Music Corporation.

The overall length of the *Schalmey* relative to the player's body suggests that it is a treble and not a tenor instrument, and the absence of a key for the little finger of the player's lower hand corroborates this. Like so many museum examples, Weigel's *Schalmey* features an ovalescent fontanelle (with pierced holes and protective brass bands) and a long, gently flaring bell (with tuning holes and scalloped, metal trim) characteristic of a true *Deutsche Schalmey*, i.e., an authentically German shawm. (The wooden key inserted into the lower portion of the bell was intended for securing the pirouette within the confines of the bell's walls to prevent its being lost when not in use.)

Baines's apparent lack of familiarity with Weigel's set of engravings prior to 1954 would explain why he confined his initial discussion of *deutsche Schalmeyen* to military contexts, never mentioning their use by peasants. However, even after he did come into contact with Weigel's engravings,⁵¹ he never revised this outlook.⁵² What is more, even though the poem beneath Weigel's engraving is clearly entitled *Schalmeyen*, Baines repeatedly referred to the type of instrument depicted there as a *deutsche* (or *Deutsche*) *Schalmey*, i.e., with the attributive adjective always in place (see appendix). Weigel, then, seems to have made little impression on Baines, yet it is the one source available to modern historians that clarifies without doubt that slender shawms of the eighteenth century were called nothing more than *Schalmeyen*.

Conclusion

The study was undertaken to determine how a class of slender *Schalmeyen* that evolved during the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Germany and the Netherlands came to be known today as *Deutsche Schalmeyen*. From the evidence presented here, it is clear that Anthony Baines is responsible for having put this terminology into effect, starting with a remark in his article "Shawm" for the fifth edition of *Grove's Dictionary of Music*, published in 1954. Realizing that in the late

51. The facsimile reprint of Weigel's *Musicalisches Theatrum* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1961) is listed for the first time in the bibliography of the American edition of *Woodwind Instruments and their History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1963), 367.

52. See Baines, *Woodwind Instruments*, 3d ed. (London: Faber, 1967); idem, "Shawm," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), 17:238 and *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments* (ibid., 1984), 3:367; also his *The Oxford Companion to Musical Instruments* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 304.

seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries a species of shawm had existed that differed in design—and to some extent in function—from those in use during the Renaissance, he seems to have felt the need for a suitable terminology for this category of instrument. Because he knew that Talbot's Schalmeye was a German shawm of slender build, Baines apparently associated it (and similar instruments with which he was acquainted) with pairings of words he had seen in inventories and eighteenth-century German texts: *Teutsche Schallmey* (Osseg inventory, 1706), *teutschen Schalmeyen/ Teutschen Schallmeyern* (Eisel, 1738), *Deutschen Schallmeyern* (Zedler, 1741), and probably *deutsche Schallmeyern* (Quantz, 1752). Undoubtedly one, or perhaps all, of these instances of essentially pluralized pairings influenced his perception of earlier terminology in such a way that eventually he was led to believe that "this . . . elegant slender design of treble and tenor shawm made in Germany and the Netherlands from the latter part of the 17th century till after 1710 . . . was known as *deutsche Schalmey*."

As stated at the outset, the main problem with present-day usage of this term is that prior to the middle of this century it does not seem ever to have functioned as a restrictive noun solely and clearly in reference to a particular type of slender German or Dutch shawm. Only seven instances have been found in eighteenth-century German sources where the words for "German shawm(s)" are paired. Two of these occur in inventories, one in a military treatise, and another in a formidable dictionary (as an updated version of the relevant section in the military treatise); two further pairings appear in a single didactic music tutor, and the last in a prominent instrumental tutor. Almost without exception these pairings stand in the plural, suggesting that their authors used the words "German shawms" in a general rather than a specific sense. Additionally, four of the pairings occur within the context of a comparison: in three cases, German shawms are being compared to French oboes (*hautbois*), while in the fourth, Italian oboes are being compared to German shawms. This implies that the attributive adjective of geographical distinction was applied to the noun *Schalmey* only in contexts that required mass or group identification, as in the statement of von Fleming and Zedler that "German shawms have been superseded by French oboes." In other circumstances, however, the term commonly used to describe shawms in Germany during earlier times was simply *Schalmey* (or *Schallmey*), whether in the singular (as evidenced by Talbot's text), or in the plural (as in von Fleming's and Zedler's texts and the title of the poem accompanying Weigel's engraving).

Although *deutsche Schalmey* does not seem to have been used in a specialized way during earlier times, this need not preclude our use of the term today. Realistically, it has penetrated the language of instrument historians to such an extent that it would be pointless and counter-productive to even suggest change: by now, most people who have an active interest in woodwind organology know precisely what a *Deutsche Schalmey* is. Only with regard to the instruments of Richard Haka might one recommend a slightly different approach: because Haka himself called his instruments *Velt-Schalmeyen*, and because he worked in Amsterdam rather than in Germany, museum curators might do well to catalogue and label their Haka shawms as he did, perhaps parenthetically indicating that they are also known as *Deutsche Schalmeyen*.

Since this term's inception in 1954, its use by researchers and cataloguers of differing nationalities has led to a wildly inconsistent interpretation of its spelling and capitalization (see appendix). In recent years, however, efforts do seem to have been made by German and Dutch writers to standardize its usage as *Deutsche Schalmey* and *Duytse Schalmey* respectively. English-speakers might do well to follow the lead of the Germans, especially since Baines's original orthography with a lower-case "d" seems to be slipping from sight in nearly all works other than his own. Notwithstanding, however, Baines's "innovation" has clearly become an accepted and acceptable terminology for distinguishing between elegantly-styled, slender shawms of newer design and their somewhat more substantial predecessors.

APPENDIX

Use of the Term *Deutsche Schalmey* and its Variants during the Second Half of the Twentieth Century: A Comprehensive Listing of Sources with Exact Spellings, Capitalizations, and Italicizations

<i>Date</i>	<i>Variant</i>	<i>Source</i>
1954	<i>deutsche Schalmey</i>	Anthony Baines, "Shawm," <i>Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , 5th ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1954), 7:747; also Plate 60, no. 5.
1956	'Deutsche Schalmey'	Philip Bate, <i>The Oboe: An Outline of its History, Development and Construction</i> (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1956), 31; also <i>Deutsche Schalmey</i> (Plate II, no. 3: Haka); and <i>Deutsche schalmey</i> , 194 (Index of Instruments).
1957	<i>Deutsche Schalmey</i>	Anthony Baines, <i>Woodwind Instruments and their History</i> (London: Faber and Faber, 1957; rev. ed. 1962; first American edition, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1963), 285; also <i>deutsche Schalmeyen</i> (ibid.) and <i>deutsche Schalmey</i> (Plate XXX, no. 8: Haka).
1963	<i>Deutsche Schalmey</i>	Alfred Berner, "Schalmey," <i>Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> , ed. Friedrich Blume, vol. 11 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), col. 1593 (in reference to Baines's description).
1964	Deutsche Schalmey	Sybil Marcuse, <i>Musical Instruments: A Comprehensive Dictionary</i> (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1964), 144 (as entry header); also <i>deutsche Schalmey</i> , 462 (as cross-reference from <i>Schalmey</i>).
1966	<i>Deutsche Schalmey</i>	Anthony Baines, <i>European and American Musical Instruments</i> (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1966), 102, 168 (Index); but on p. 101, the instrument by Haka shown in Illustration 535 is described as a Treble shawm.
1973	Deutsche Schalmey	Kurt Birsak, <i>Die Holzblasinstrumente im Salzburger Museum Carolino Augusteum</i> (Salzburg: Salzburger Museum Carolino Augusteum, 1973), 33–34.
1974	Deutsche schalmey	Lyndesay G. Langwill, <i>An Index of Musical-Wind Instrument Makers</i> , 4th ed. (Edinburgh: Lindsay & Co. Ltd., 1974), 70 (s.v. Haka).
1974	duitse schalmey	Rob van Acht, "De Historische Ontwikkeling van de Blaasinstrumenten van de 16e tot in de 19e Eeuw," <i>Historische Blaasinstrumenten</i> (The Hague: Haags Gemeentemuseum et al., 1974), 22; also 23, <i>Duitse schalmey</i> (Haka).

<i>Date</i>	<i>Variant</i>	<i>Source</i>
1975	<i>Deutsche Schalmey</i>	Philip Bate, <i>The Oboe: An Outline of its History, Development and Construction</i> (3rd, rev. ed. London: Ernest Benn Limited; New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 1975), 36, 228 (Index of Instruments); also <i>Deutsche Schalmey</i> (Plate II, no. 3: Haka).
1975	Deutsche Schalmey	Sybil Marcuse, <i>Musical Instruments: A Comprehensive Dictionary</i> [paperback edition] (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1975), 144 (as entry header); also <i>deutsche Schalmey</i> , 462 (as cross-reference from <i>Schalmey</i>).
1976	<i>deutsche schalmey</i>	The Diagram Group, <i>Musical Instruments of the World: An Illustrated Encyclopedia</i> (London: Paddington Press Ltd., 1976), 47; also <i>Deutsche schalmey</i> , 47 and 282–83.
1976	Deutsche Schalmey	Heinrich Seifers, <i>Die Blasinstrumente im Deutschen Museum</i> (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1976), 52 and Abb. 6.
1977	Deutsche schalmey	Lyndesay G. Langwill, <i>An Index of Musical Wind-Instrument Makers</i> , 5th ed. (Edinburgh: Lindsay & Co. Ltd., 1977), 70 (s.v. Haka).
1979	Deutsche Schalmey	Jeremy Montagu, <i>The World of Baroque & Classical Musical Instruments</i> (Woodstock, NY: The Overlook Press, 1979), 47 (Haka).
1980	<i>deutsche Schalmey</i>	Anthony C. Baines, "Shawm," <i>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> (London: Macmillan, 1980), 17:238.
1980	'deutsche Schalmeyen'	Harold C. Hind/Anthony C. Baines, "Military band," in <i>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> (London: Macmillan, 1980), 12:311.
1980	Deutsche schalmey	Lyndesay G. Langwill, <i>An Index of Musical Wind-Instrument Makers</i> , 6th ed. (Edinburgh: Lindsay & Co. Ltd., 1980), 70 (s.v. Haka).
1980	Deutsche Schalmey	Heinrich Seifers, <i>Katalog der Blasinstrumente</i> (München: Deutsches Museum, 1980), 56–57.
1980	<i>Deutsche schalmey</i>	Phillip T. Young, <i>The Look of Music</i> (Vancouver, BC: Vancouver Museums & Planetarium Association, 1980), 81 (Haka).
1982	"Deutsche Schalmey"	Alfred Berner, "Schalmey," <i>Musikinstrumente in Einzeldarstellungen</i> , Band 2: <i>Blasinstrumente</i> (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1982), 70.
1982	Deutsche schalmey	Phillip T. Young, <i>2500 Historical Woodwind Instruments</i> (New York: Pendragon Press, 1982), 63 (Haka).
1983	"Deutsche Schalmeyen"	John Henry van der Meer, <i>Musikinstrumente von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart</i> (München: Prestel-Verlag, 1983), 134; also <i>Deutsche Schalmey</i> , Plate 232.

- 1984 'deutsche Schalmeyen' Anthony C. Baines, "Band," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments* (London: Macmillan, 1984), 1:123.
- 1984 *deutsche Schalmey* Anthony C. Baines, "Shawm," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments* (London: Macmillan, 1984), 3:367; also 1:559, Deutsche Schalmey (entry header of unsigned, one-sentence cross-reference to "Shawm" article).
- 1985 "deutsche Schallmey" Bruce Haynes, *Music for Oboe, 1650–1800: A Bibliography* (Berkeley, CA: Fallen Leaf Press, 1985), PREFACE.
- 1986 *deutsche Schalmei* Michael Seyfrit, "Shawm," *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music*, ed. Don Michael Randel (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1986), 747.
- 1987 Deutsche Schalmei Hermann Moeck, ed., *Fünf Jahrhunderte Deutscher Musikinstrumentenbau* (Celle: Moeck Verlag, 1987), 75.
- 1988 deutsche Schallmey[en] Bruce Haynes, "Lully and the Rise of the Oboe as Seen in Works of Art," *Early Music* 16 (1988): 324–38, p. 324 and elsewhere (plural deutsche Schallmey); also 325, "deutsche Schallmey".
- 1988 *Duytsche Schalmei* Rob van Acht, "Dutch Wind-Instrument Makers from 1670 to 1820," *The Galpin Society Journal* 41 (1988): 83–101, p. 86 and Plate XV (Haka); also 92, *Duytse Schalmey* (van Heerde); and 101, *Duytsche Schalmey* (Haka).
- 1988 *deutsche schalmei* Phillip T. Young, *Loan Exhibition of Historic Double Reed Instruments* (Victoria, BC: University of Victoria, 1988), Nos. 4 and 5 (Haka).
- 1989 schalmei, duytsche Clemens von Gleich and Henk Quast, *Complete List of European Musical Instruments and Makers* (The Hague: Haags Gemeentemuseum, Music Department, 1989), 46 (Haka).
- 1989 Deutsche Schalmei Renate Huber, *Verzeichnis sämtlicher Musikinstrumente im Germanischen Nationalmuseum Nürnberg* (Wilhelmshaven: Florian Noetzel Verlag, 1989), 247–48.
- 1990 deutsche Schalmei Rob van Acht, "Niederländische Blasinstrumente, 1670–1820," *Tibia* 15 (1990): 169–85, p. 172; also 177 (Abb. 3), 180 (Abb. 4), and 183–84, Deutsche Schalmei; 178, Deutsche Schalmeien (all: Haka); and 178, *Duytse Schalmey* (van Heerde).
- 1992 *Deutsche Schalmey* Anthony Baines, *The Oxford Companion to Musical Instruments* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 304 (s.v. shawm); also 90 (as entry header; cross reference to "Shawm").
- 1993 deutsche schalmei William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993), 156 (Haka).
- 1993 deutsche schalmei Phillip T. Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993), 119; also DEUTSCHE SCHALMEI (as sub-section heading) on 119 (Haka) and 144 (Kynseker); 264, Deutsche Schalmei (appendix).

<i>Date</i>	<i>Variant</i>	<i>Source</i>
1994	Duitse schalmei[en]	Louis Peter Grijp, "List of the Instruments Depicted," in Edwin Buijsen and Louis Peter Grijp, <i>The Hoogsteder Exhibition of Music & Painting in the Golden Age</i> (The Hague: Hoogsteder & Hoogsteder, 1994), 370.
1994	Deutsche Schalmei	Martin Kirnbauer, <i>Verzeichnis der Europäischen Musikinstrumente im Germanischen Nationalmuseum Nürnberg</i> (Wilhelmshaven: Florian Noetzel Verlag, 1994), 119–24.
1994	'Duytse schalmey'	Fred G. Meijer, "Edwaert Collier: Vanitas Still Life with Books and Manuscripts, a Skull and a Shawm," in Edwin Buijsen and Louis Peter Grijp, <i>The Hoogsteder Exhibition of Music & Painting in the Golden Age</i> (The Hague: Hoogsteder & Hoogsteder, 1994), 178 (translated as Dutch shawm).
1995	Deutsche Schalmei	Andreas Masel, "Doppelrohrblattinstrumente," <i>Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik</i> , 2nd ed., edited by Ludwig Finscher, vol. 2 (Kassel: Metzler, 1995), cols. 1359–62; also 1396–99 (in reference to musette).
1995	duytse schalmey	Rob van Acht, ed., <i>List of Technical Drawings of Musical Instruments in Public Collections of the World</i> (The Hague: Haags Gemeentemuseum, 1995), 18 (Haka).
1996	Deutsche schalmei	The Shrine to Music Museum, The University of South Dakota, <i>A Checklist of Oboes</i> (Vermillion, 1996), 1 (re: Acc. no. 4545: Haka).
1996	Deutsche schalmei	Yale University Collection of Musical Instruments, <i>Checklist</i> (New Haven, 1996), 6 (re: Acc. no. 3410.68: Haka).
1997	deutsche Schalmey	Rob van Acht, Jan Bouterse, and Piet Dhont, <i>Niederländische Doppelrohrblattinstrumente des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts: Sammlung Haags Gemeentemuseum</i> (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1997), 112 and elsewhere in German text (plural: deutsche Schalmeien); 'Duytse Schalmey/Schalmeyen' in English text (Haka).
1997	Deutsche Schalmei[en]	Phillip T. Young, <i>Die Holzblasinstrumente im Oberösterreichischen Landesmuseum</i> (Linz: Land Oberösterreich/Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum, 1997), 105–09 in German text; Deutsche schalmei[en] in English text.
1998	Duytse Schalmey	Jeremy Montagu, Review of Rob van Acht et al., <i>Dutch Double Reed Instruments of the 17th and 18th Centuries—Collection Haags Gemeentemuseum</i> , in <i>The Galpin Society Journal</i> 51 (1998): 226–30, p. 228 (Haka).