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## COMMUNICATION

### The following communication has been received from Jan Bouterse:

In the final footnote of my article “The Deutsche Schalmeien of Richard Haka” (this JOURNAL 25 [1999]: 61–94) I noted that I had been unable to discover the documentary basis for William Waterhouse’s statement that Haka’s instruments “enjoyed a wide reputation in his lifetime: the sale between 1682 and 1686 of many woodwind instruments to the Swedish navy has been reported by Thulin. . . .”<sup>1</sup> Since then, however, Mr. Waterhouse has kindly given me a copy of a 1934 letter written by Otto Thulin to Lyndesay Langwill, in response to Langwill’s questions about some musical instruments in the Göteborgs Museum, where Thulin was a staff member. (Mr. Waterhouse is the curator of the Langwill archive, currently located in his house in London). In this letter, Thulin remarks that the museum’s collection includes a bass recorder made by “Richard Haka in Amsterdam, who sold many instruments to the Swedish navy about 1682–1686, a fact that I just now have seen in old papers in the archives of the Swedish navy.”<sup>2</sup>

Armed with this crucial clue, I was able to contact the *Krigsarkivet* (military archives) in Stockholm, which since 1995 has been part of the National Archives in Sweden. In December 1999 I received a reply from Anders Degenström enclosing copies of two documents he had found concerning the delivery in 1685 of forty woodwind instruments made by Richard Haka of Amsterdam.<sup>3</sup> The more important of the two, written in Dutch (though probably not by Haka himself),<sup>4</sup> is a list of instruments and their prices with the heading “delivered to Mr. Dittelar the following wind instruments for Johan Otto at Calmar” [= Kalmar] in Sweden<sup>5</sup> (see fig. 1). Attached to it is a letter by Otto, written (in German) to a

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

2. This remark by Thulin is not reported by Langwill in his *An Index of Musical Wind Instrument Makers* (6th ed., Edinburgh: Langwill, 1980).

3. *Admiralitettskollegium, kansliet, serie EIIA, 1685:2*, fols. 152–53. Mr. Degenström wrote that he had not found any other documents from (or concerning) Haka, or concerning the delivery of woodwind instruments, in that period.

4. The handwriting of his name at the bottom of the page superficially resembles but does not match Haka’s known signature on official documents such as the registration of his marriage in 1676: see Gemeentearchief Amsterdam DTB register, microfiche 502, p. 346.

5. I have not yet been able to learn whether Otto was either a musician himself, or a dealer in musical instruments. As for Dittelar, I suppose that he was some kind of trader or transport agent.

163		163	
153		153	
Copy		Copy	
Gelijc geleverd aen mijn Heer Dittelaar dese onder staende			
Instrumenten voor Johan Otto tot Calmar.			
6	Stuks palmenhout middelbas Schalmeijen d. 10 gulden	60	0 0
6	Stuks Esdoren Hout Bas Dulcians Coor mes. 28 gulden	168	0 0
15	Stuks palmenhout Discant Schalmeijen Klarin trompocketten. a 6 gulden	84	10 0
franse Esdorenhout Dulcian Basson m 7 Stucken			
1		42	0 0
franse palmenhout tenor Hautbois onder beslagen			
1		19	0 0
franse palmenhout discant Hautbois alle Coortoon.			
7		32	0 0
palmenhout Bass flutte does m 3 Stucken			
1		26	0 0
palmenhout quind flutte does m 3 Stucken			
1		9	0 0
palmenhout taltje flutte does m 3 Stucken			
3		12	0 0
palmenhout alt flutte does m 2 Stucken			
2		4	0 0
palmenhout discant flutte does m 2 Stucken			
2		3	0 0
Rietten tot de Dulcians tot 6 Stucken			
12		1	0 0
Rietten tot de Dulcian Basson a 6 Stuyfver.			
7		1	0 0
Rietten tot de tenor Hautbois a 10 Stuyf:			
2		4	0 0
Rietten tot de discant Hautbois a 5 Stuyf:			
16		1	10 0
Korpsen Es tot de Dulcian Basson.			
1		1	10 0
voor Riet verschotten			
		7	10 0
voor twee partije Muzick Stucken verschotten			
		1	0 0
voor 4 Riet verschotten.			
Den ghevoet deses te.			
Daer ont vangen den			
15 Junij 1685 bij mij Richard Haka			
		Somme	475 0 0
		Richard Haka	

FIGURE 1. Invoice for forty woodwind instruments by Richard Haka, dated 1685. Stockholm, Swedish National Archives, Krigsarkivet, Admiralitetskollegium, kansliet, serie EIIA, 1685:2, fol. 153.

member of the staff of the Royal Swedish Navy, reporting some difficulties with the delivery or transport of the instruments after they had arrived in Sweden.<sup>6</sup> Written on 3 July 1685, in Kalmar, it is addressed to the *Hoch wohlgebohrner Herr, Koniglicher Rath Ammiral, Generall undt Genneral Gouverneur*—clearly a very important person in the Swedish navy, though his name is not mentioned. In the letter Otto says he has understood that there was a report on 27 June from Malmö that the *Schalmeyen* had been delivered in Kalmar, but that this is not true. Therefore, he is sending the list (which apparently already had arrived in Kalmar) to the Admiral, as evidence that the instruments would soon be forthcoming.

The list of instruments by Haka—Otto calls it a “Speceffi[c]ation”—is clearly one of the most important documents about woodwind instruments in the second half of the seventeenth century. I give here a transcription and translation of the original text, followed by some preliminary remarks on it.<sup>7</sup>

*1685 Junij, geleverd aan mijn Heer Dittelar dese onderstaende blas instrumenten voor Johan Otto tot Calmar*

	gul:	stuiver
<i>Teutsche [sc]halmeijen</i>		
<i>6 Stucks palmenhout midelbas Schalmeyen, a 10 gulden</i>	60	0 0
<i>6 Stucks Esdoren Hout bas dulzians. Coor mes: a 28 gulden</i>	168	0 0
<i>13 Stucks palmenhout discant Schalmeyen Klarin trompettenton: a 6 gul 10 st</i>	84	10 0
<i>[F]ransche [h]aubois</i>		
<i>1 franse Esdorenhout dulzian Basson in 4 Stucken</i>	42	0 0
<i>1 franse palmenhout tenor Haubois onder beslagen</i>	14	0 0
<i>4 franse palmenhout discant Hautbois alle Coortoon</i>	32	0 0
<i>[F]leutte deuse</i>		
<i>1 palmenhout Bass fleutte does in 3 Stuken</i>	26	0 0
<i>1 palmenhout quint fleutte does in 3 Stuken</i>	9	0 0
<i>3 palmenhout talijs fleutten does in 3 Stucken</i>	12	0 0
<i>2 palmenhout alt fleutte does in 2 Stucken</i>	4	0 0
<i>2 palmenhout discant fleutte does in 2 Stucken</i>	4	0 0

6. This letter by Otto is presumably the reason why the accompanying list of instruments ended up in the naval archives. It is somewhat difficult to read, and some words at the right margin have been lost due to damage to the paper. Among other things Otto makes the interesting remark that “I also know that they [i.e., the instruments] certainly cannot be obtained for a better price in Holland” (*Auch weiss ich woll, dass sie vor besser preys in hollandt nicht gar zu bekommen sein*).

7. These remarks are not intended as a complete or final discussion about the contents of the specification, because more research is needed about aspects of the instruments and the people involved with the transaction.

12 [?] Rietten tot de dulcians tot 6 Stuken	3	0	0
4 Rietten tot de dulcian Basson a 6 Stuijfuver	1	4	0
2 Rietten tot de tenor Haubois a 10 Stuijf:	1	0	0
16 Rietten tot de discant Haubois a 5 Stuij:	4	0	0
1 Kooper Es tot de dulcian Basson	1	10	0
voor Rielt verschotten	1	10	0
voor twee Partije Muciek Stucken verschotten	5	17	0
voor 't Kiste verschotten	1	0	0
Suma	475	0	0

den Inhout deses te:

danck ontvangen den

15 Junij 1685, bij mij Richard Haka

dienar

Richard Haka

Translation (with my remarks and additions in square brackets):

1685 June, delivered to Mr. Dittelar the following wind instruments for Johan Otto at Calmar

	guilders	stuivers
German shawms		
6 boxwood middle bass [size indication] schalmeijen at 10 guilders	60	0 0
6 maple bass dulcians Coor mes: [pitch indication?] at 28 guilders	168	0 0
13 boxwood discant shawms clarino trumpet pitch at 6 guilders and 10 stuivers	84	10 0
French oboes		
1 French maple dulcian bassoon in 4 joints	42	0 0
1 French boxwood tenor oboe mounted below	14	0 0
4 French discant oboes all in Chortoon [pitch indication]	32	0 0
Recorders		
1 boxwood bass recorder in 3 joints	26	0 0
1 boxwood quint recorder in 3 joints	9	0 0
3 boxwood taille recorders in 3 joints	12	0 0
2 boxwood alto recorders in 2 joints	4	0 0
2 boxwood discant recorders in 2 joints	4	0 0
12 [?] reeds for the dulcians in 6 joints [recte at 6 stuivers]	3	0 0
4 reeds for the dulcian bassoon at 6 stuivers	1	4 0
2 reeds for the tenor oboe at 10 stuivers	1	0 0
16 reeds for the discant oboes at 5 stuivers	4	0 0
1 brass bocal for the dulcian bassoon	1	10 0
for reeds paid in advance [by Haka]	1	10 0
for 2 sets of musical scores paid in advance	5	17 0
for boxes paid in advance	1	0 0
Total	475	0 0

The contents of this  
received with thanks

15th June 1685, by me Richard Haka

servant,

Richard Haka

The specification is important for several reasons. Haka gives the Dutch names of the instruments (including the number of joints for each one), their prices, some pitch indications, and—especially exciting—also the prices of the reeds and the bocal for the bassoon.

**Names.** The instruments are divided into three groups, with marginal headings *Teutsche schalmeijen*, *Fransche haubois*, and *Fleutte deuse*. The use of the term *Teutsche schalmeien* (i.e., Deutsche Schalmeien, “German shawms”) is of course important in connection with the discussion about the origin of the instruments.<sup>8</sup> *Teutsche* is a German word (for which the Dutch equivalent is *Duitse*; *schalmeijen* can be either Dutch or German). This means that Haka has identified these instruments using their original German names, which gives additional support to the hypothesis of their German origin. At least ten Deutsche Schalmeien by Haka can still be found in collections of musical instruments; I presume that the *discant* instruments of the specification correspond to the nine sopranos (with lowest note  $c'$  or  $d'$ , depending on the pitch of the instrument), and that the term *midelbas* designates the unique surviving specimen of a larger size, sounding a fourth or fifth lower, which I have called an alto.<sup>9</sup>

The name *dulsian basson* (“dulcian bassoon”) is a bit strange, as if Haka was not accustomed to plain *basson*, the name commonly used for the baroque bassoon in France as well as in Holland. The *tenor Haubois* was likely a long and straight oboe in  $f$ , and the *discant Haubois* the common oboe in  $c'$ . The description of the tenor oboe as *onder beslagen* (“mounted below”) refers to a brass ring on the rim of the bell.

The names that Haka gives for the five sizes of recorders are interesting as an example of contemporary terminology. All were made in two or three joints, and are thus of the new baroque type. I believe that the *Bass* was a bass in  $f$ , the *discant* a soprano in  $c''$ , and the *quint* a tenor in  $c'$ ; but the sizes of the *alt* and the *talijs* (*taille*) are not so obvious. Because Haka's *alt fleutte does* was in two joints, and had the same price as the soprano in  $c''$ , I believe it was only slightly larger, maybe a fourth flute (in  $b^b$ ) or a third flute (in  $a'$ ). The *taille*, of which Haka had made three instruments, was then probably in  $f'$ , like the modern alto recorder.

8. See Susan E. Thompson, “*Deutsche Schalmei: A Question of Terminology*,” this JOURNAL 25 (1999): 31–60.

9. For a list of these instruments and the problems of designating their pitches and bottom notes, see my article cited at the beginning of this Communication.

**Pitch.** Haka gives no pitch indications for the recorders, which suggests that this was not a point subject to misunderstanding between him and the other people in the transaction. As all surviving baroque recorders by Haka play at a pitch of between  $a' = 405$  and  $a' = 415$  Hz, I suppose that the recorders in the specification were also made in this “Kammer-ton.”<sup>10</sup>

For the *discant Haubois* Haka makes the remark: *alle Coortoon*. This might mean that the pitch of these oboes (maybe also including the tenor oboe and the bassoon) was different from the other instruments in this shipment (the recorders and/or the *Teutsche schalmeijen*), or that it was different from the pitch at which he usually made these instruments.<sup>11</sup>

The other pitch indications, for the *bas dulcians* and the *discant Schalmeijen*, are more enigmatic, as Haka used some abbreviations. I have not yet been able to discover what longer word was indicated by the abbreviation *Coor mes*: appearing in the description of the dulcians. Bruce Haynes has suggested (personal communication, December 16, 1999) that this term is identical to the German *Chormaß* or *Chormässig*, which was used in the seventeenth century and apparently meant “performable at Chorton.” That would mean that the dulcians were at the same pitch as the discant oboes, and perhaps in a different pitch than the discant schalmeien, which were made in *Karin trompettenton*. Here again it is obvious that Haka is making a connection to clarino trumpets, but again I do not know why he uses an abbreviation mark.<sup>12</sup>

10. I have traced fifteen recorders by Haka: two early instruments in one joint and at a relatively high pitch of about  $a' = 440$  Hz, one walking stick recorder, and twelve recorders in French baroque style. Several of those baroque recorders are incomplete, or in bad condition. More information about these instruments can be found in my dissertation “Dutch Woodwind Instruments and Their Makers, 1660–1760” for the University of Utrecht, to be completed and published later this year.

11. I know of eight oboes in  $c'$  by Haka. Four of the eight have shorter joints and play about a semitone (100 cents) sharper than the longer oboes, such as no. Ea-6-1952 in the collection of the Gemeentemuseum in Den Haag; see Rob van Acht, Jan Bouterse and Piet Dhont, *Dutch Double Reed Instruments of the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1997), 128–133. The question is which of these two pitches corresponds to the *Coortoon* in the specification. One of the shorter oboes by Haka, an instrument in boxwood with brass mounts, is kept in the Musik Museet in Stockholm (no. 155). It is tempting to suggest that this oboe was one of the instruments delivered in 1685, and thus in the *Coortoon*-pitch.

12. Both *Schalmeijen* and trumpets can be considered as military instruments. Bruce Haynes has suggested to me (personal communication, February 2000) that this pitch might be  $a' = 466$  Hz, a semitone above  $a' = 440$  Hz.

Much more can be said about the pitches of the instruments in the Haka specification, but I will offer only one preliminary conclusion: it is not likely that all these instruments were made to be played together, and I suppose that the three groups of instruments were made for different ensembles of musicians. One support for this theory is that Johan Otto mentioned only the *Schalmeijen* in his letter to the Swedish navy.

**Prices.** One Dutch guilder in 1685 is equivalent to about 50 to 100 Dutch guilders today, or about 25 to 50 American dollars.<sup>13</sup> The whole delivery was done for 475 guilders, or somewhere between \$12,000 and \$24,000, not a bad transaction for Haka!

As far as I know, there are no other reports of prices of reeds for double reed instruments in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Haka made one error, in the specification for the 12 reeds for the dulcians. Just after the prices of the recorders, he continued to write *tot 6 stucken* (in 6 joints), but apparently meant to say *a 6 stuivers*. However, 12 reeds at 6 stuivers should total 3 guilders and 12 stuivers (since one guilder equals 20 stuivers). That means that either Haka's multiplication was incorrect, or the number of reeds (maybe he made 10 reeds at 6 stuivers), or the price of the reeds (12 reeds at 5 stuivers also make 3 guilders).

The price of the bocal for the bassoon (1½ guilders) comes close to that of a descant recorder (2 guilders), but it is not clear why Haka charged separately for it, since he did not do so for the bocals of the dulcians.

Finally, it is interesting to see that Haka charged 1 guilder and 10 stuivers for the costs he had to pay in advance (*voor rielt verschotten*) for the reeds. The total price for 34 reeds was 9 guilders and 4 stuivers, resulting in a rather large markup of 7 guilders and 6 stuivers (about the price of an oboe), presumably all for labor. This is in contrast to the prices of the instruments, where the longer ones are much more expensive than the shorter instruments, suggesting that here the price of the material was higher than that of the labor.

13. The prices of instruments must be seen in relation to the income of the people at that time. For example, we know from the Amsterdam *Weddeboeck 1664–1667* (a register of wages and payments to people in official jobs, Gemeentearchief Amsterdam, Arch. no. 5039; Thesaurieren ordinarius 725) that a simple guard or night watchman earned 90 guilders per year, an ordinary workman 300 guilders, and a skilled workman in an official function 700 guilders.



The prices for the *discant Schalmeijen* are a bit lower ( $6\frac{1}{2}$  guilders for one instrument) than for the *discant Hautbois* (8 guilders). That is not surprising, as we know that an oboe is made in three joints and has three keys, compared to two joints and no key for a Schalmei. Similarly, it is understandable that the dulcians were cheaper (28 guilders each) than the bassoon (42 guilders).

In the foregoing comments I have only pointed out some of the most obvious and remarkable elements of the Haka specification. Some aspects are still unclear: there must have been costs for shipping, but how much, and who paid these costs? I am also very curious about what kind of music was in the two sets of musical scores which Haka has provided, but there is no clue at all to find an answer.

It is also interesting to compare the Haka transaction with a similar sale of instruments in 1720 by Jakob Denner to the Göttweig Monastery in Austria.<sup>14</sup> To take just one example, the price of a Denner bassoon was *fl* 20, the same as five of his *Hautbois*, and the price of his bass recorder was *fl* 12, the same as six of his *Premieur Flauden* (probably alto recorders). In the Haka specification we find exactly the same 5:1 ratio for the bassoon and the oboe, and nearly the same ratio (6.5:1) for the bass and alto (*talijs*) recorders.

Everyone with new or original ideas about the Haka specification is invited to send them to me (e-mail: mcjbout@cistron.nl), because further discussion is needed about this exciting and important document.

14. See Ekkehart Nickel, *Der Holzblasinstrumentenbau in der freien Reichsstadt Nürnberg* (Munich: Musikverlag Emil Katzschler, 1971), 252–54.