Jacques Hotteterre le Romain and His Father, Martin: A Re-Examination Based on Recently Found Documents

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Early Music is currently published by Oxford University Press.
Jacques Hotteterre le Romain has assumed an almost legendary place in the history of the flute. The well known picture of the flautist that appears as the frontispiece of his *Principes de la flûte traversière* (Paris, 1707) is assumed to be a portrait of Jacques himself; the instrument he plays is the archetype of the early three-piece flute (illus.2). Despite Jacques's importance, little documentation on his life has been available. In fact, major documents on the Hotteterre family have not been found since the posthumous inventory of Nicolas Hotteterre which was brought to light by Marcelle Benoit in 1969. Since published sources for instrument makers are extremely scarce the French archives provide the best (and perhaps the only) opportunity for new research on the Hotteterres.

This article presents some of the documents I have discovered at the Minutier Central, Archives Nationales de France. These give us a better view of the musical lives of the Hotteterres in their historical and social contexts, reflecting the positions they held as musicians to the court of Louis XIV. Of particular interest are the inventories of musical instruments, Martin Hotteterre's marriage contract and documents concerning the purchase of his house and shop in Paris.

These documents form a basis for the history of Jacques le Romain and his father, Martin; they make poss-

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The Hotteterre family (Asterisks indicate members of the family newly discovered from the documents presented here.)

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Jacques Hotteterre, *Principes de la flûte traversière* (Paris, 1707), frontispiece. This may well be a portrait of Jacques Hotteterre Le Romain himself.

The revision of the most recently published Hotterre genealogical charts, especially as they document three Hotteterre makers previously unidentified, including one who lived in London in the service of the King; and they offer clarification of the Hotteterre makers' marks, and alter our view of how the three-piece flute of the early Baroque developed into the four-piece flute with *corps de rechange*.

Unless otherwise indicated, the documents discussed are from the Minutier Central, Archives Nationales de France. An appendix reproduces transcriptions and translations of important portions of the documents. A full discussion of their implications is not possible within the scope of an article, since many documents consist of over 100 pages and cover many aspects of an individual's life.

**Marriage contract of Martin Hotteterre, 1666**

Martin Hotteterre, the son of Jean and Marguerite Delalande, married Marie Crespy on 2 September 1666. The marriage contract reveals that Martin's father was living on the rue St Louis in the parish of St Barthélemy, and establishes his address and presence in Paris in 1666 (document 1). In 1659 Martin received the *survivance* (legal succession to an office, nominated before the death of the existing holder) of his father's position at the court of Louis XIV of 'hautbois et musette du roy dans sa grande Ecurie'. It is significant that his brother, Jean *fils aîné*, a musician to the King (also 'musette ordinaire et hautbois de la Chambre du Roy'), and his wife, Marie Pellerin, were present at the marriage. Their only child, Marie, was named in her mother's testament written on 31 May 1719. By that date Jean had died and Marie Pellerin was married to Jean Louis Chaud. Surprisingly, Jean's existence has not been known until now: Martin was thought to have been the only son of Jean and Marguerite Delalande to have held a court position. (Jean had one other son, Hilaire (b 1648), who died very young.)

At the time of Jacques le Romain's birth on 29 September 1673 (his given name was Jacques Martin—see document 2) Martin and his father, Jean, were living at the Enclos du palais sur la petite porte at the sign of the musette. (Martin had taken up residence there by 1667, following his marriage, and Jean by 1668, the year his eldest son died (Arch. Nat., Maison du Roi, and document of 'Transaction', 1668).) This indicates that they were working together in the musical instrument business. These data allow us to clarify important observations on the Hotteterres made by their contemporary Borjon de Scellery in his *Traité de la musette*, in which he cites a father and two sons of the Hotteterre family as the 'most esteemed' makers of woodwind instruments and in particular of musettes and flutes. These makers can now be identified as Jean and his two sons, Martin and Jean *fils aîné*.

**Jacques Hotteterre (Martin's cousin), musician to the King of Great Britain, 1675**

A contract of sale dated 27 May 1675 establishes that Jacques Hotteterre, the son of Louis and Marie Mauger, was living in London where he was employed as an 'officier de la musique du Roy de La Grande Bretagne'. In that year, represented in Paris by François Cothereau, 'hautbois du Roy de France living on the rue St Marguerite, parish of St Sulpice', he sold to his brother Jean ('hautbois du Roy living in this city of Paris, rue des Fossés, St Germain des Prés, parish of St Sulpice') land in La Couture which he had inherited on his mother's death in 1669 (document 3). Years later (5 April 1710, described in a contract of 'vente d'heritages') Jean sold this property to Nicolas (*dit* Colin) Hotteterre. He was then living on the rue de la Harpe, parish of St Séverin (document 3).

It is somewhat surprising that Jacques's name has not
appeared on any known English documents, particularly in the light of extensive published research by David Lasocki on the introduction of the French oboe to England. Significantly, the French oboists he cites as the first to have come to England find their earliest documentation in a list of musicians who participated in a performance in 1675 of John Crowne’s masque Calisto, although Lasocki speculates that they arrived in 1673 by virtue of being in the company of Robert Cambert. While these oboists were all young musicians, Jacques Hotteterre would in 1675 have been a well established artist, at the mid-point in his career, with a name carrying the renown of the Hotteterres as performers and instrument makers; he can now be identified as probably the first French oboist known to have held an official position at the English court.

We can assume that Jacques not only played the oboe but was also likely to have been a woodwind maker, as was his brother, Jean, who is noted in the Livre commode (1692) as being among the most highly regarded master makers of woodwinds. From this it seems evident that Jacques brought to London examples of Hotteterre instruments. Comparing them to the English Baroque woodwinds, it is clear that they became the prototype and standard for English makers well into the 18th century. The outstanding examples are those by the Stanesbys and Bressan, whose instruments bear an unmistakable resemblance to those of the Hotteterres. We can conclude that French woodwinds were being used in England from about 1675, when they were apparently introduced by the Hotteterres, and were still being played there by leading musicians through the first quarter of the 18th century.

Evidently Jacques returned to France by 1692. In that year he succeeded Jean Ludet as ‘Basse de Hautbois et taille de violon’; Ludet had assumed that position on 10 April 1682 at the retirement of Michel Rousselet (Arch. Nat. 01 26, f.122). In about 1705 Jacques’s position was assumed by his nephew, Jacques le Romain.

**Martin purchases a house in Paris, 1678**

On 19 March 1678 Martin purchased a large house on the rue de Harlay from Achille de Harlay for 17,000 livres (a large sum at that time). It had four storeys above street level, where importantly there was a boutique (a shop for the sale of musical instruments) and atelier (workshop) (document 5). His brother Jean died in 1668, leaving Martin as the sole heir to his father’s estate. Martin and Marie Crespy had six children, two sons (Jacques Martin and Jean) and four daughters (Marie Anne, Angélique, Louise Marie and Louise).

**Sale of a house in La Couture, 1691**

In 1691 Martin sold a house in La Couture, which he had inherited from his father in 1689, to his brother-in-law Louis Hotteterre, ‘player of hautboys and other instruments living in the said city of Paris at the end of the Pont Marie Thérèse’ (document 4). (This could be Louis, son

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3 Marin Marais, *Pièces en trio* (Paris, 1692), title-page. This is thought to be the first illustration of the three-piece flute.
of Louis and Marie Francard, baptized in La Couture on 29 October 1674 (Arch. La Couture). The relationship which identifies Louis as Martin’s brother-in-law remains unclear. Since Martin did not have a sister, it seems likely that Louis married a sister of Mme Crespy or Mme Pellerin. Importantly, this document does not refer to Louis Hotteterre, the brother of Nicolas (dit Colin), who lived on the rue Marmousets in the parish of Ste Marie Magdelaine, but to the Louis whom I first identified in an earlier article: a letter written in 1712 by the French oboist Louis Rousselet mentions that he had left a musette for repair with Louis Hotteterre, who lived ‘proche le Pon [sic] Marie?’ We can thus identify this Louis as the master maker described in the Livre com- mode (1692) ‘living near St Jacques de la Boucherie for all woodwind instruments’, since St Jacques is located near the Pont Marie. On the back of Rousselet’s letter he adds: ‘I ask you please to give my regards to my sisters, to M. Colin, and to M. Louis Hotteterre at the Opéra and to M. Louis Hotteterre at the Opéra, my godfather, and to all my friends.’ This makes it clear that both Louis played at the Opéra.

Having now documented Louis’s address and instrument business near the Pont Marie Thérèse for the years 1691, 1692 and 1712, while the other Louis lived on the rue Marmousets and evidently worked in his brother Nicolas’s atelier (according to common practice, he would have used his brother’s stamp), we can conclude that the former made instruments stamped ‘L/Hotteterre’ with a fleur-de-lis above, whereas instruments by the latter would have been made in the workshop of Nicolas Hotteterre and stamped ‘N/Hotteterre’ with a six-pointed star above.

Posthumous inventory of Marie Crespy, 1711

The inventory of Marie Crespy, made one year before the death of Martin, lists the communal property from her marriage, including the contents of the musical instrument shop. Since an inventory was not taken after Martin’s death this document is of central importance. It states that in 1699 the succession of Martin’s post went to Jean fils ainé, while he advanced Jacques 3,000 livres to acquire a charge of post. The pension from his post also went to Jean, who was then living at home on the rue de Harlay and no doubt working with Martin in the instrument business (document 5).

Inventory of musical instruments

Besides the inventory of the shop, several stringed instruments and scores of operas by Lully were listed among the contents of Martin’s bedroom. In addition, Martin’s library contained hundreds of volumes, including bibles, dictionaries and histories.

It is noteworthy that Martin is described in the inventory as a ‘Maitre facteur d’instruments’, a designation rarely found for the Hotteterres; normally they are named in documents according to their official titles as musicians to the court. The inventory of the shop shows that Martin made recorders (flutes), bassoons, musettes and transverse flutes, the flute-type instruments being by far the most numerous. Of particular importance is the mention of transverse flutes: the inventories of the workshop of Nicolas Hotteterre, Martin’s cousin (one in 1708 made after the death of his wife and the other in 1727 after his own death), do not specify them; the first reads ‘hautbois, flutes [recorders], and other imperfect instruments valued together for the sum of 88 livres’ and the second lists ‘two dozen of which are flutes [sic] as well as hautbois priced 24 livres’. In fact, the mention of transverse flutes in Martin’s inventory seems to be the only such example for the Hotteterres. This makes it clear that Martin specialized in flutes and, indeed, was a maker of transverse flutes. Among the extant Hotteterre instruments there are only three transverse flutes, all of which are representative of the earliest three-piece model, and are stamped ‘Hotteterre’ with an anchor below. It has long been speculated that the sign of the anchor was the mark Martin inherited from his father. In the light of these new data, we can assume this to be correct; we may also assume that the extant Hotteterre flutes were made in Martin’s workshop. Although the inventory establishes that Martin made oboes, bassoons, musettes and piccolos, and Borjon included them among the woodwinds made by Jean and his sons, there are no known surviving examples. Of the two known Hotteterre oboes, one bears the mark of ‘L/Hotteterre’ and the other ‘N/Hotteterre’.

In summary, Martin emerges as a master maker renowned for flutes and musettes, who, after his marriage in 1666, established himself at the Enclos du palais (working with his father from at least 1668). In 1678 he established a workshop on the rue de Harlay, where his two sons, Jean ainé and Jacques le Romain, joined him in instrument-making. He remained at the rue de Harlay until his death in 1712.

The critical question as to whether Martin introduced the design of the three-piece Baroque flute may now be considered. Present documentation suggests that this occurred in the 1670s, the time of Martin’s period of activity. The evidence given above indicates that Martin
could well have accomplished this, particularly in the context of the significant advances he brought to the design of the musette, which demonstrate his innovative abilities as a maker. Furthermore, Jacques’s keen interest in the transverse flute as a performer, teacher and composer was no doubt inspired by his father’s example.

After Martin’s death his son Jean continued to reside at the rue de Harlay, and presumably became the master maker of the workshop. (Jacques had not been living at home at least from 1707, the year his Principes was published, which gives his address as rue Christine.) Upon Jean’s death in 1720 the shop was leased, ending the mark of ‘Hotteterre’ with an anchor below. However, the Harlay residence remained in the family, and Martin’s daughters still lived there; two bedrooms on the third floor and one on the fourth were rented. The house was eventually inherited by Jacques le Romain as the last surviving heir of Martin, and then by Jacques’s children.

Makers’ marks
There has been considerable confusion surrounding the Hotteterre makers’ marks. In the light of this new documentation and the physical evidence of the instruments, in addition to other published sources on the Hotteterres, the following comprehensive scheme for the makers’ marks is proposed.

The Hotteterre family of woodwind makers from the region of La Couture-Boussey in Normandy can be traced back to Loys de Haulteterre (d c.1625), who married Jehanne Gabriel. Of their six sons, only three—Jean (married to Marguerite Delalande), Nicolas (married to Anne Mauger) and Louis (married to Marie Mauger)—continued the Hotteterre line and had sons who worked as instrument makers in Paris. Borjon’s Traité de la musette establishes that a father and his two sons, whom I have shown to be Jean I and his sons, Martin and Jean fils aîné, worked together in instrument making. A declaration of 19 September 1693 by Anne Mauger, wife of Nicolas, makes clear that her husband and three sons, Nicolas aîné, Nicolas (dit Colin) and Louis shared in the same instrument business.39 Although we do not have such specific documentation for Louis I, married to Marie Mauger, and his sons—Jacques (-Jean), Louis and Jean—they too would have manufactured under a single family mark. Thus, each of the three sons of Loys de Haulteterre can be identified with a maker’s mark which was continued by his sons (and in some cases grandsons and great grandsons) as successors.

There are in fact three known marks for the Hotteterres, which we can associate with the three sons of Loys de Haulteterre as follows:

1 ‘NIHotteterre’ with a six-pointed star above: the mark of Nicolas I and successors
2 ‘LIHotteterre’ with a fleur-de-lis above: the mark of Louis I and successors
3 ‘Hotteterre’ with an anchor below: the mark of Jean I and successors

The line of Jean I ended with Jacques le Romain; that of Nicolas I had no successors beyond his three sons, and so ended with Nicolas (dit Colin) at his death in 1727. The line of Louis I was continued in La Couture through the descendants of his son Louis (married to Marie Francard), until the death of his great grandson, Louis, who appears to be the last known descendant of the Hotteterre makers. He was the son of Philippe and Anne Louise Narbonne and married Marie Anne Lot (great-aunt of Louis Lot, the illustrious 19th-century flute-maker) in La Couture on 5 November 1748 (Arch. La Couture). In a contract of sale dated 11 December 1750, in which he sold land in La Couture to Jean Plisson, he is described as a maker of musical instruments (Arch. Départementale de Chartres). An oboe dating from this
period of the mark 'L/Hotteterre' in the collection of the Tokyo School of Music is no doubt by this maker. If Louis, Martin's brother-in-law, was in fact the son of Louis and Marie Francard, then he would have been the last Parisian descendant of the line of Louis I. 11

Marriage contract of Jacques le Romain, 1728

It is perhaps surprising to find that Jacques married for the first time on 31 March 1728 at the age of 55. His wife, Marie Geneviève Charpentier, was the daughter of Nicolas Jean Charpentier 'conseiller au Roy, ancien notaire à Paris' and Marguerite Elizabeth Havire (document 6). They were to have six children (five sons and a daughter): Jean Baptiste (b 1732), Antoine Jacques (b 1733), François (b 1735), Eugène Menin (b 1737), Jacques Louis (b 1740) and Marie Geneviève. Sometime before Jacques married he had moved from the rue Dauphine St André des Arts, where he had lived from about 1714, to the rue de Seine, in the parish of St Sulpice, where he had a large five-storey house in which he lived for over 40 years until his death in 1763.

Because Jacques's parents were deceased, the marriage contract contains an inventory of his property; we thus know precisely what musical instruments were then in his possession. Listed are strings, theorboes and musettes, but surprisingly there are no flutes (document 6).

Jacques le Romain and the music of Lully

Among Jacques's 'Livres de Musique' (document 6) are found operas and ballets of Lully, some printed, some in manuscript, among which is Le triomphe de l'Amour, scored for transverse flutes and recorders; it was first performed in 1681, when Jacques was eight years old. Music by other composers includes motets by Bernier and Campra, cantatas by Clerambault and Bourgeois, and instrumental works of Corelli, Senaille and Marais. The 'Livres de Literature' include volumes by Molière, Racine, La Bruyère, La Fontaine and Rousseau (probably Jean-Baptiste).

Jacques's library contained nearly all of Lully's operas. 12 The inventoried music falls within the period of Lully to Campra, and interestingly does not extend to Rameau. It thus delineates a time when Martin and Jacques were active as court musicians. The instrumental music includes works by Marais, Senaille (violin sonatas) and Corelli (Sonatas, opp.1-5, for one or two violins and bass). Reference to the 'pieces de Marais' are probably the Pièces a une et a deux violes (1686) rather than the Pièces en trio pour les flûtes, violon & dessus de viole (1692), since the viol pieces (and not the ones for flute) are found in Jacques's posthumous inventory. Surpris-
ingly, his library did not contain works for flute.

Also inventoried was a portrait of Lully by Gestin. Jacques’s admiration for the composer is further expressed by the numerous musical examples drawn from the music of Lully in his *L’art de préluder sur la flûte traversière, sur la flûte à bec, sur le hautbois et autres instrumens de dessus* (Paris, 1719). (In addition to Lully, Jacques drew on Clérambault, Bernier, Campra and Corelli for musical examples, which shows that his own music library was his source of reference.) The dominance of Lully in Jacques’s musical life might seem unusual since he was only 14 years old when Lully died, but it reflects the continued interest in Lully’s music throughout Europe well into the 18th century.

Jacques was a contemporary of Lully’s children. Two documents written two days apart refer to actions of each family concerning the rights and inheritance of the heirs. On 19 July 1714 Martin’s children, by notarized document of ‘procuration,’ gave their sister Marie Louise the right to act on their behalf regarding payments from interest accounts. Two days earlier, acting on her own behalf and that of her children, the widow of Jean-Baptiste Lully, Madeleine Lambert, sold all the remaining books of Lully’s music to Jean Baptiste Christophe Ballard in accordance with a sentence handed down by the courts of Châtelet de Paris the previous day (16 July 1714). Ballard, music printer to the king, paid 5,154 livres for 2,821 volumes. Half of the money from the sale went to Madame de Lully, and the other half to Lully’s children. On the same day she also sold to Ballard ‘all the librettos [livrets de paroles] of the operas of the said S. de Lully’ for 250 livres. The substantial price paid by Ballard gives further indication that Lully’s music was still in demand (document 7). We may note with interest that this document, signed by Madame de Lully and Ballard, states that the opera *Zéphire et Flore* is the composition of Lully the father, whereas it has been attributed to his son Louis. (The composer’s name given on the title page of the original Ballard print is simply ‘Monsieur de Lully.’)

Madame de Lully’s principal residence continued to be the house on the rue St Anne, parish of St Roch, where she had resided with her husband, and where she died on 3 May 1720. Her son, Jean Baptiste, who assumed his father’s title of ‘Surintendent de la musique de Roy’, also lived there.

**Posthumous inventory of Jacques le Romain, 1763**

A few months before Jacques died on 17 July 1673 he attended the marriage of his only daughter, Marie Geneviève, who married the famed organist Claude Balbastre on 2 January 1763. Among the illustrious guests present were Rameau and his wife and daughter, Clérambault (presumably Evrard Dominique) and Mondonville, who signed as witnesses.13

Jacques’s inventory after death, an extensive document of 69 pages, lists his musical instruments kept ‘in another cabinet right next to the alcove’, which were essentially the ones inventoried among the contents of Martin’s bedroom (‘a basse de viole, a viole, a pardessus de viole, a violon’ by Pierres in its case, a child’s violin with a bow, a monocorus, a théorbe and a musette, priced at 100 livres’). Jacques’s scores, itemized with the library books, were clearly those he had inherited from his father (document 9).

We can note with interest that court records which list the instruments of the grand and petit choeur of the Opéra orchestra ([Académie Royale de Musique](https://www.paris-orchestre.org/), of which Jacques was a member, do not include a number of instruments (musettes and cromornes) inventoried above. These, however, are indicated in scores and livrets and noted by contemporary writers on opera performance. It has been proposed that these instruments were played by extra musicians.14 But Martin’s two posts (oboe and musette) and Jacques’s (flute and oboe), in addition to the instruments they owned, suggest that each played more than one of the above named instruments during an opera performance (a common practice today for theatre orchestra musicians), and were in addition skilled players of stringed instruments. Further evidence that court musicians played more than one instrument in the Opéra is indicated by the posts of the grand hautbois de Roy, such as those of Jean Rousselet and Guillaume de Granville, which were generally given as ‘hautbois et violon de la chambre du Roy et sa grande Ecurie’.

Jacques’s two court posts went to his eldest son Jean Baptiste in 1747. This is stated in the inventory and more fully explained in his son’s marriage contract of 29 March 1760 (document 8). Jean Baptiste, living at home on the rue de Seine, married Louise Marquin, daughter of Elizabeth Carré and the deceased Sieur Jean Marquin, ‘Intendant de maison et affaires de Seine’, who was also living on the rue de Seine. (Did they meet on the rue de Seine?)

It seems at first quite astonishing to learn that neither the inventory in Jacques’s marriage contract nor that made after death provides any evidence that he was a flute-player or maker; they seem to contradict the generally held view that he was a maker—a view which is supported by an entry in von Uffenbach’s diary which
records a visit he paid Jacques in 1715: ‘He [Jacques] led me into a tidy room and showed me there many beautiful transverse flutes that he himself makes and from which he wishes to gain special profit.’ The simple explanation would appear to be that Jacques worked in the family business on the rue du Harlay with his father and older brother Jean, Martin’s successor in 1712, until Jean’s death in 1720, when, as noted above, the workshop ceased, at which time the remaining stock would have been liquidated for reasons of inheritance.

By the year 1720 the three-piece flute was rapidly being replaced by the four-piece with corps de rechange, which was already being played by leading French flautists. This change affected not only the instrument’s sound but also the player’s technique. Furthermore, it coincided with a marked increase in both the technical demands of the music and the number of flute compositions being published. (It is useful to note that Jacques’s musical compositions belong to the pre-1720 period.) These developments, which produced a new generation of flute soloists (Blavet, Lucas, Desjardins et al.), seem to explain his apparent loss of interest in the flute indicated by the inventories.

Jacques’s famous Principes summed up an era of flute-playing, presenting a retrospective view, in a way comparable to the methods of Corrette (c. 1734), the first method for the four-piece flute, and that of Devienne (1795), the last significant French method for the one-keyed flute. Although Jacques retained his title of ‘flutte du Roi’ until his death (it appears on the first page of his inventory, 1763), this provides no clear indication of when he actually stopped performing, since musicians retained titles as property. Judging from the evidence provided in these documents, it appears that Jacques had essentially retired by the time of his marriage in 1728.

The transverse flute was an instrument Jacques knew and heard performed from a young age by players such as Pierre Pièce, the first to hold the position of solo flute at the Académie Royale de Musique. Jacques’s flute method, compositions and instrument were not only characteristic of the early Baroque flute but elegantly expressed its aesthetic virtually to perfection. Integral parts of a coherent musical expression, consistent with the time in which he flourished, they provide vivid illustration of the organic relationship between a musical repertory, the instrument for which it was written, and the performance practice. Critical to an understanding of Jacques le Romain’s music and pedagogical writings is that they were in essence an extension of the artistic milieu of his father’s generation.

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Marcelle Benoit is the author of a number of publications that discuss the Hotteterres presenting material from the French archives which have contributed significantly to the documentation available. For the inventory of Nicolas Hotteterre see M. Benoit and N. Dufourcq, ‘Documents du Minutier Central: musiciens francais du XVIIIe siecle’, Recherches sur la musique francaise classique, x (1970), pp.203–14.

Borjon du Scellery, Traite de la musette, avec une nouvelle methode pour apprendre de soye-mesme a jouer de cet instrument facilement & en peu de temps (Lyon, 1672), p.38.


‘See n. 7 below.

E. Thoinan, Les Hotteterres et les Chedeville, celebres joueurs et facteurs de flutes, hautbois, bassoons et musettes des XVII et XVIII siecles (Paris, 1894), pp.43. Jacques Hottettere was noted by Thoinan (referred to as Jacques-Jean) under ‘ascendances inconnus’; he did not identify his relationship to the Hotteterre family. Bowers writes, ‘My guess is that no Jacques-Jean ever existed’ and assumes that this Jacques was one and the same as Jacques le Romain: J. M. Bowers, ‘The Hotteterre family of woodwind instrument makers’, Concerning the flute, ed. R. de Rede (Amsterdam, 1984), p.42. Such confusion probably stems from the fact that Jacques was working in London.


Thoinan’s chart of notoriété establishing the absence of an inventory also provides the first accurate source for Martin’s death date, which was 15 November 1712.


Recently published genealogy charts for the Hotteterres are found in Bowers, ‘The Hotteterre family . . .’, insert; this chart also appears in New Grove dictionary of musical instruments and M. Benoit et al., ‘Les Hotteterre, facteurs et musiciens du Roi du France’, La Facture instrumentale europennew (Paris, 1985), pp.100–101. The chart in illus.1 presents additions and corrections based on the documents presented here.

‘The following is a list of works inventoried.

Jean-Baptiste Lully:

Opéras: Alceste (tragédie, 1674); Ays (tragédie, 1689—first performed 1676); Isis (tragédie, 1719—first performed 1677); Prosperine (tragédie, 1680); Persée (tragédie, 1682); Phaethon (tragédie, 1683); Armide (tragédie, 1684); Roland (tragédie, 1685); Hésione (tragédie, 1686); Acis et Galatée (pastorale héroïque, 1686).

Ballets: Le triomphe de l’Amour (1681); Fragments de Monsieur Lully (1702)

Pascal Colasse:

Thétis et Péleé (tragédie, 1689); Enée et Lavinie (tragédie, 1690); Achille et Polixène (with Lully, tragédie, 1687)

Elizabeth Jacquet de la Guerre:
Appendix

Documents

1  The marriage contract of Martin Hotteterre and Marie Crespy, 2 September 1666: first page

Furent presens sieur Jean Hotteterre, haultbois et musette du Roy, bourgeois de Paris, demeurant rue Saint Louis paroisse Saint Berthelemy [sic], [et] Marguerite De La Lande, sa femme, de luy auctorizee, au nom et comme stipulans en ceste partie, pour Martin Hotteterre leur filz, l'un des hautbois et musette ordinaires du roy en sa grande Escurie ou il a este receu en sur-vivance au lieu dudit sieur son pere, suivant les lettres de brevet de Sa Majesté de huit may MVIC cinquante neuf, signés Louis et plus bas De Guenegaud et scellés, au bas desquelles est l'acte de prestation de serment fait par ledit Hotteterre filz en mains de monseigneur le comte d'Harcourt, datté du vingt may 1659, signed Louis and below that, de Guenegaud, and sealed, at the bottom of which [document] is the text of the oath taken by the said Hotteterre fils, carried out in the presence of Monseigneur le comte d'Harcourt, dated 20 May 1659, the said Hotteterre fils [end of margin note] in this instance, with his will and consent, on the one hand, and on the other, Charles Crespy, bourgeois de Paris, and Cécile Bonnot, his wife, similarly authorized by him, living on the Ile de Notre Dame in the street and parish of Saint Louis, in the name of, and acting on behalf of, their daughter Marie Crespy, also in this instance and with her will and consent and in her name, and other parties, in the presence and with the advice and counsel of their parents and friends hereinafter named—to wit, on behalf of the said Hotteterre, his wife and their son, of Jean Hotteterre, brother of the said future husband and musician in ordinary to the musique du roy, Marie Pellerin, his wife, Nicolas Hotteterre, uncle, bourgeois of Paris, Master Estienne Roquier, bourgeois of Paris, amy et, de la part des ditz Crespy, sa femme et leur fille, de sieur . . . Cabart, marchand de vins, bourgeois de Paris, Françoise Crespy, sa femme soeur de ladite Marie Crespy, sieur Louis Lefebvre, aussy marchand de vins, bourgeois de Paris, beau frere a cause de Edmee Crespy, sa femme, Francois Piliache, marchand orphrebe et aussy bourgeois de Paris, amy et parain de la dite Marie Crespy, tous pour ce assemblez en la maison dudit sieur Cabart, rue Sainte Anne, paroisse Saint Roch.

2  The baptismal record of Jacques Martin Hotteterre (Archives de Paris)

Extrait des registres des baptêmes de l'Eglise royale et paroissiale de Saint Barthelemy en la cite a Paris

Extract from the baptismal registers of the royal parish church of St Barthelemy-en-la-cité, Paris
Le mercredi troisième Septembre de l’an mil six cent soixante et quatorze fut baptisé dans l’église de céans Jacques Martin né le vingt-neuvième Septembre dernier fils de Martin Hotteterre officier du Roi et de Marie Crespy sa femme demeurant dans l’enclos du palais sur la petite porte à l’enseigne de la musette de cette paroisse le parrain Jacques Lenorman M’ d’hôtel de M. Lehremier président demeurant dans son hôtel de cette dite paroisse représenté par Jean Hotteterre officier du roi demeurant dans l’enclos du palais sur la petite porte de cette paroisse, et la marriane Catherine Thomas veuve de Nicolas Delacoste vivant marchand libraire demeurant la dite Thomas dans la cour du palais aussi de cette paroisse

ainsi signé: Lachambre Catherine Thomas, Hotteterre et Hotteterre

Collectioné à l’original, et délivré par moi, prêtre habité et dépositaire des registres de la dite paroisse

A Paris, le dixième fèvrier de la présente année mil sept cent quarante cinq

signé Cochemer prêtre

Expédié et collectionné

M’ Meunié

On Wednesday 3 September 1674 was baptized in this church Jacques Martin, born 29 September last, son of Martin Hotteterre, king’s officer, and of Marie Crespy his wife, living in the palace enclosure above the little gate by the sign of the musette, of this parish; the godfather Jacques Lenorman, head waiter to M. Lehremier, president, living in his mansion in this said parish, represented by Jean Hotteterre [father Martin], king’s officer, living in the palace enclosure above the little gate, of this parish; and the godmother, Catherine Thomas, widow of Nicolas Delacoste, former book dealer, the said Thomas living in the palace court, also of this parish

Signed thus: Lachambre, Catherine Thomas, Hotteterre and Hotteterre

Taken from the original and delivered by me, priest and depositary of the register of the said parish

Paris, 10 February 1745

signed Cochemer, priest

Dispatched and collected

M’ Meunié

3 A contract of sale between Jacques Hotteterre and Jean Hotteterre, 14 May 1675

Ce jour’d’huy quatorziesme du mois de May L’an de Grace mil six cent Septante cinq stile d’Ang". Pardevant moy Nicolas Hayward Notaire et Tabellion Royal admis et jure demt en cette ville de Londres Et en la prnce des personnes cy apres nommés fut present Jacques Hautteterre officier de la musique du Roy de la Grande Bretaigne demeurant en cette ville de Londres, Lequel a faict et constitué son procureur general et special Francois Cothereau hautbois du Roy de France, Auquel led constituant donne pouvoir de pour luy et en son nom vendre ceder et transporter à Jean Hautteterre son frere demt en la ville de Paris une maison cour jardins et masure situe au lieu de La Couture en Normandie.

This 14th day of May in the year of Grace 1675 (English style). Before me Nicolas Hayward notary and royal scrivener, admitted and sworn, living in the city of London, and in the presence of the persons named hereafter, was present Jacques Hotteterre, officer of the musical establishment of the King of Great Britain, living in this city of London, the which has named and briefed as his general and special attorney François Cothereau, hautboy to the King of France, to whom the said briefing gives power for himself and in his name to sell, cede and transfer to Jean Hotteterre, his brother living in the city of Paris, a house, court, gardens and cottage situated in the locality of La Couture in Normandy.

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4 A contract of sale of a house in La Couture between Martin Hotteterre and Louis Hotteterre, 1691 (Arch. Départementale de Chartres)

Du dixe jour de Juillet mil six cens quatre vingt onze par devant Claude Coricon principal tabellion au bailliage du principauté fut present en sa personne Martin Hauteterre officier du Roy demeurant ordinairement a Paris rue de Harlay lequel a reconu avoir vendu cedé quité transporté et promis garantir de tous troubles et empechechemens generally quil conques a Louis Hauteterre joueur d’instruments hautbois et autres demeurant en lad ville de Paris au bout du pont Marie Thérèse le Sieur Louis Hotteterre son beau frere pres et acceptants pour lui et ses ayant cause autant a savoir Ceci a savoir une maison

On 10 July 1691 before Claude Coricon, principal notary of the court of the principality

Present in person was Martin Hotteterre, king’s officer, normally resident in Paris on the rue de Harlay, who has acknowledged to have sold, ceded, vacated, transferred, and promised protection from all let and hindrance whatsoever, to Louis Hotteterre, player of hautboys and other instruments, living in the said city of Paris at the end of the Pont Marie Thérèse, M. Louis Hotteterre his brother-in-law, present and accepting for him and his dependents namely this—to wit:
plus avec plusieurs bastiments cour et jardins situé à La Couture province de Normandie et tout et autant que Sieur Jean Hauteterre pere dud Sieur Martin Hauterre il a cy devant acquis de Jean de la lande suivant le contract d'acquisition passé devant les Tabellions d'Ivry le 24 fevrier 1689 . . .

5 Four sections from the posthumous inventory of Marie Crespy, 1711

(a) The purchase of the rue de Harlay house

Item une liasse de dix huit pieces La premiere est L expedition en parchemin dun contract passe le dix neuf mars mil six cent soixante dix huit par lequel Mre Achilles de Harlay procureur general a vendu aux Sieur et Dame Hotteterre une maison situee en cette ville en l'Isle du palais rue traversante appartences et dependances moyennant la somme de dix sept mil livres.

(b) The succession of Martin's post

Item six pieces La premiere est un brevet de survivance en faveur dud Sieur Martin Hotteterre de la charge de hautebois et musette de la grande Ecurie

La seconde sont les lettres de pension donnes au Sieur Martin Hotteterre a la Charge en datte du huit may 1659,

La troisieme est un contract de service, La quatreime sont les pensions donnees en favveur dud Sieur Jean Hotteterre de lad charge sur la demission dud Sieur Martin Hotteterre, lesd pensions dattees de seize may 1699 au bas desquels est l'acte de portant de somme du six octobre an suivant

La cinqieme est la demission et la sixieme et derniere est le brevet de survivance accordé au S. Jean Hotteterre [le 10 Mai] signé Louis de Loraine

Declare encore led S. Hotteterre pere que pour obtenir de Mr. Darmagnue en favveur dud S. Jean Hotteterre la survivance de lad charge de hautebois musette ordinaire il a deboussé des mesmes derniers de la comte la somme de quatre cent cinquante livres

(c) Instruments and music in Martin's bedroom

Dans la chambre ou couche led S Hotteterre pere

47 Item une basse de violle un dessus de violle un dessus de violon et une poche prisez vingt cinquante livres

48 Item trois operas qui sont prosperine Roland et phaeton reliez en veau prisez vingt cinq livres

a house with several buildings, court and gardens, situated in La Couture in the province of Normandy, and all and as much as the said M. Jean Hotteterre, father of the said M. Martin Hotteterre, has formerly acquired from Jean de Lalande, following the contract of purchase passed before the notaries of Ivry on 24 February 1689 . . .

Item: a package of 18 documents. The first is the copy on parchment of a contract drawn up on 19 March 1678, by which Master Achilles de Harlay, general attorney, sold to M. and Mme Hotteterre a house situated on the rue Traversante [later rue de Harlay] on the Ile du Palais in this city of Paris, [together with] appurtenances and outbuildings in return for 17,000 livres.

Item: six documents. The first is a certificate of succession, in favour of the said M. Martin Hotteterre, of the post of hautboy and musette of the Grande Ecurie

The second are the letters of pension given, with this post, to M. Martin Hotteterre, dated 8 May 1659

The third is a contract of service; the fourth are the pensions given in favour of the said M. Jean Hotteterre of the said post upon the resignation of the said M. Martin Hotteterre, the said pensions dated 16 May 1699, at the bottom of which is the act carrying payment of 6 October of the following year

The fifth is the resignation, and the sixth and last is the certificate of succession accorded to the said M. Jean Hotteterre on 10 May of the said year, signed Louis de Loraine

The said M. Hotteterre père makes known again that, in order to obtain from M. Darmagnue on behalf of the said M. Jean Hotteterre the succession of the said post of hautboy and musette in ordinary, he has payed from the same coffers of the account the sum of 450 livres

He makes it known again that, from the cash of the estate, he gave to the said Jacques Hotteterre the sum of 3,000 livres in advance, with which sum he acquired a post of grand hautbois du roy

In a room where the said M. Hotteterre père sleeps

47 Item: a bass viol, a treble viol, a violin and a pocket violin [i.e. a kit], valued at 50 livres

48 Item: three operas, which are [Lully's] Proserpine, Roland and Phaëton, bound in calfskin and valued at 25 livres
49 Item six livres de musique dont galateë et le triomphe
damour prisez dix livres

50 Item dix petites livres reliez en veau de l’opera d’isis prisez
six livres

(d) The shop

15. Item une armoire en forme de comode vielle de bois de
chesne un coffe de mesme bois fermant a clef quatre vieilles
chaisses de bois de noyer couverture de toille gris dont trois
avec leurs chaisses de soie verte garnisse de buis et crin un vieux
comptoir de bois de sapin et chesne un tour de mesme bois ser-
vant a fabriquer des instruments prise neuf livres

16. Item un tour, tour de perces terrières cyseaux limes etaux,
cisailles, et autres outils servans a la fabrication des instru-
ments evalué a la somme de dix livres

17. Item six flutes tournés non finis prisez six livres

18. Item neuf instrumens tant bassons que basses de flutes
prise avec trois basons et une basse de flutes quinze livres

19. Item une musette divoir avec sept bourdons tant divoir que
de buis prisez trente livres

20. Item deux boites de petites flutes et flageolets imparfaits de
buis prise avec une autre boite de parells instrumens impar-
faites prise sept livres

21. Item une musette organisée d’ivoir prisé quatre livres

22. Item dix musettes une autre musettes tant bonnes que
mauvaises quatre de buis et d’ebène prisez trente livres

23. Item dix flutes traversiere dont deux garnies divoir six
quinites de flutes quatre grosses tailles de flutes six haubois
deux basses de flutes et deux imparfaits un basson qui n’est
point achevé Cinq quintes tournés derable deux tailles de flutes
de prunier trois flutes de buis quatre tailles de flutes garnies
divoire prise le tout ensemble cent livres

24. Item Trois vieux tableaux representans differents sujets
prisez trente sols

6 The marriage contract of Jacques Martin Hotteterre and Marie Geneviève Hotteterre, 1728: books and
instruments

Livres de Musique

Trente volumes in folio contenans plusieurs opera des meill-
leurs de Lully imprimez ou gravez dont un armide deux Rol-
land dont un imprimé et l’autre gravé un alceste un Phaeton
amadis, Prosperine, Persée, le triomphe de Lamour galateë,

49 Item: six books of music including [Lully's Acis et] Galateë
and Le triomphe de l'Amour, valued at 10 livres

50 Item: ten little books bound in calf skin of [Lully's] opera Isis
valued at 6 livres

15 Item: a wardrobe in the form of an oak chest of drawers, a
lockable chest of the same wood, four old walnut chairs
covered with grey fabric, three of them with their green silk
seats trimmed with boxwood and horsehair, an old counter of
pine and oak, a lathe of the same wood used for making musi-
cal instruments, valued at 9 livres

16 Item: a lathe, a lathe for boring, augers, chisels, files, vices,
shears and other tools used for instrument making, evaluated
at 10 livres

17 Item: six flutes, turned [on the lathe but] unfinished, valued
at 6 livres

18 Item: nine instruments, bassoons as well as bass flutes,
valued with three bassoons and one bass flute at 15 livres

19 Item: an ivory musette with seven bourdons of both ivory
and boxwood, valued at 30 livres

20 Item: two boxes of piccolos [a very early reference to the pic-
colo] and imperfect boxwood flageolets, with another box of
similarly imperfect instruments, valued at 7 livres

21 Item: a musette decorated with ivory, valued at 4 livres

22 Item: ten musettes and another musette, good as well as bad,
four of boxwood and ebony, valued at 30 livres

23 Item: ten transverse flutes, of which two are decorated with
ivory, six quinces de flute, four grosse tailles de flute, six haut-
boys, two bass flutes and two imperfect ones, an unfinished
bassoon, five quinces turned from maple, two tailles de flute of
plum wood, three boxwood flutes, four tailles de flute deco-
rated with ivory, the whole lot valued at 100 livres.

24 Item: three old pictures depicting different subjects, valued
at 30 sols

Books of music

Thirty folio volumes containing several of the best operas by
Lully, either printed or engraved, among them one Armide,
two Rolands (one printed, the other engraved), one Aiceste, one
Phaeton, Amadis, Proserpine, Persée, Le triomphe de l’Amour,
[Acis et] Galateë,
Item Thetis et Pelee imprimée de la première édition Enée et Lavinie, achille et Polixene, Cephale et Procris

Item Atys, et Amadis relié ensemble manuscrit un autre Amadis manuscrit nonrelié Les Balets de Lully en quatre parties séparées manuscrit

Item Les motets de Berniers 1er livre gravé
Les motets de Campra 1er, 2e et 3e livres imprimez relié ensemble

Item Les Cantates de Clerambault 1er et 2e livre Relié ensemble

Item Les Cantates de Bernier 1er livre Relié ensemble

Item 2e et 6e. Relié ensemble avec Les Nymphes de Diane

Item 3 et 4 Livres relié ensemble

Item Les cinq premiers ouvrages de Corelli dont les 4 premiers doubles Brochez et imprimez le 5e Reliez en veau et gravé

Item Cantates de Clerambault 3 livres relié

Item quatre Livres du même non relié

Item Sonates de Senaille 1er et 2e livre et Les operas quintes de Michelle relié ensemble

Item 3 livres de Senaille

Item Cantates de Bourgeois

Item deux opera anglais

Item Les oeuvres de Michele

Environ vingt cinq operas in quarto imprimez dont sept ou huit Reliez dont deux Europe galante, issé omphale Les Fragmens de Lully issis en paroles Separez et Reliez en veau, pieces de Marais 2 livres gravez

Item huit in douze dont les parodies Bachiques les tendresse Bachiques les Brunettes le tout relié

Instruments
Deux Basses de viole
deux dessus dont un d’angleterre
deux dessus de violon et un etuy
deux Theorbes et une poche dans son etuy

une musette d’ivoire garnie de clefs dargent couverte de velour cercler de seize galonné d’argent dans une cassette couverte de cuir fermante a clef

une autre d’ébène garnye de clefs d’argent couverte de velour bleu galonné d’argent dans une cassette de bois de noyer

une autre dont les chalumeaux divoire garnye de clefs avec une couverture de velour couleur de cerise brodée dans une cassette
A contract of sale between Madame De Lully [Madeleine Lambert] and Jean-Baptiste Christophe Ballard, 17 July 1714

Fut presente Dame Madelaine Lambert Veuve de Jean Baptiste De Lully Ecuyer cour Secretaire du Roy maison couronne de France et de ses finances demeurante rue Saint Dominique au Couvent des dames de Bellechasse paroisse Saint Sulpice tant en son nom a cause de la communauté de biens qui a été entre eux, qu’en vertu du pouvoir a elle donné par la sentence du Chastelet du vingt-six juin dernier a l’effet de par la dite dame vendre la portion des livres cy apres enoncés appartenans a Louis De Lully Ecuyer son fils pour les causes expliquées par la dite sentence, et encore lad dame au nom et comme ayant le consentement ainsi quelle a du des Sieurs et Dames ses autres enfants Laquelle nomez a par ces presentes vendu et promis garantir de toutes remunerations au Sieur Jean Baptiste Christophe Ballard seul imprimeur du Roy pour la musique pourvu du privilege d'imprimer et vendre lesd opera en musique en outre livres par an par ce que led S Ballard a seul presentement le droit de vendre lesd opera en musique en outre moyennant le prix et somme de cinq mil cent cinquante quatre livres dont moitié appartient a lad dame De Lully et l’autre moitié appartient a lad dame De Lully et l’autre moitié aux Sieurs et Dae ses enfants laquelle somme de cinq mil cent cinquante quatre livres le Sieur Ballard a presentement paye comptant a lad d e de Lully et nomer aussi quelle le recevons en louis d’argent et monnaie . . .

Present were Mme Madeleine Lambert, widow of Jean Baptiste de Lully, esquire, secretary to the King, the crowned house of France and its finances, living in the rue St Dominique at the convent of the nuns of Bellechasse in the parish of St Sulpice, as much in [Lully’s] name because of the joint estate that existed between them, as by virtue of the power given her by the judgment at the Châtelet of 26 June last, with a view to the said lady selling the share of the books listed below belonging to Louis de Lully, esquire, her son, for the reasons explained in the said judgment, and thus the said lady—in the name of, and also having the consent of MM. and Mmes her other children, named hereafter—has herewith sold and promised to guarantee all remuneration to M. Jean Baptiste Christophe Ballard (sole printer to the King’s musical establishment and having the general privilege of the operas of the said deceased M. de Lully, living in the rue St Jean de Beavus in the parish of St Etienne Dumont), present and accepting the quantity of 2,821 volumes of opera scores, namely the Idylle de Sceaux [i.e. Idylle sur la paix], Zephire et Flore, Le temple de la Paix, Acis et Galatée, Bellerophon, Le triomphe de l’Amour, Isis and others composed by the late M. de Lully, motets or church music, perfect as well as imperfect, in good condition or damaged, that the said M. Ballard acknowledges to have in his possession as far as he knows. All these books hereby sold are the only ones that remain of those that were found after the death of the said deceased M. de Lully and of those that the said Mme de Lully had printed since his death, the operas Athys and Thésée, the rest having been sold by the commissioners and persons who were appointed for that purpose following the accounts that the said lady had given of them to MM. and Mmes her children, who had given her the responsibility for the parts and portions of it belonging to them, of which the last is of 7 July 1706. The present sale [is] also made to prevent the total dispersal of the books and to limit the cost of hiring a room which has been rented to house them at the rate of 60 livres per annum; by which the said M. Ballard now has sole privilege to print and sell the said opera scores over and above the price and sum of 5,154 livres, of which half belongs to the said Mme de Lully and the other half to MM. and Mmes her children, which sum of 5,154 livres M. Ballard has hereby paid in cash to the said Mme de Lully and has specified that she receive it in louis d’argent and coin . . .

7
A statement concerning the succession of Jacques's posts, from the marriage contract of his son Jean Baptiste Hotteterre and Elizabeth Carre, 1760

Il appartient aun S. futur epoux la survivance des deux charges de flute de la chambre du Roy et de grand hautbois de la chambre et grande Ecurie de S.M. a la charge lorsqu'il en deviendra titulaire, de payer a ses freres et soeurs se demeureront alors vivant, la somme de trois mille livres de retenu que le Roy a bien voulu par son brevet de vingt trois decembre mil sept cent quarante sept accorder en leur faveur, sous condition que led S. futur Epoux y pourant prendre . . .

To the said gentleman and future husband belongs the succession to the two posts of flute in the musique de la chambre du roy and of grand hautbois de la chambre et grande Ecurie de Sa Majeste, on condition that, when he comes to hold these posts, he pay to his remaining brothers and sisters still living the sum of 3,000 livres of reserve that the King stipulated in his warrant of 23 December 1747 accorded in their favour, on condition that the said gentlemen and future husband could take it . . .

The posthumous inventory of Jacques Martin Hotteterre, 1763: music inventoried with Jacques's library, items 14-17

No.14 Item: 15 folio volumes of operas by Lully, both engraved and manuscript, valued at 18 livres

No.15 Item: 12 folio volumes of motets and cantatas by Bernier, Clerambault, Baptiste [J.B. Stück?] and others, valued at 20 livres

No.16 Item: 25 quarto volumes, motets, operas, cantatas by different composers, valued at 12 livres

No.17 Item: a package of sonatas, concertos, viol pieces and a collection of airs by Michel [Mascitti], Senaille, Montéclair and others, valued at 9 livres
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[Footnotes]

3 The French Hautboy in England, 1673-1730
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