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Dolce Napoli: Approaches for performance

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DOLCE NAPOLI: Approaches for performance

Recorders for the Neapolitan Baroque repertoire, 1695-1759

Inês de Avena Braga

Dolce Napoli: Approaches for performance

Recorders for the Neapolitan Baroque repertoire 1695-1759

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Dit proefschrift is geschreven als een gedeeltelijke vervulling van de vereisten voor het doctoraatsprogramma docARTES. De overblijvende vereiste bestaat uit een demonstratie van de onderzoeksresultaten in de vorm van een artistieke presentatie.

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In samenwerking met de Universiteit Leiden, de Hogeschool der Kunsten Den Haag, het Conservatorium van Amsterdam, de Katholieke Universiteit Leuven en het Lemmensinstituut.

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Abbreviations

A: alto

B: bass

bap.: baptized

bc: basso continuo

c.: circa

db: double bass

fl.: flourished

hn: horn

n.a.: not applicable

n.d.: not dated

ob: oboe

op.: opus

PL: partial length

rec: recorder

S: soprano

SL: sounding length

T: tenor

TL: total length

tpt: trumpet

tra: traverso

trbn: trombone

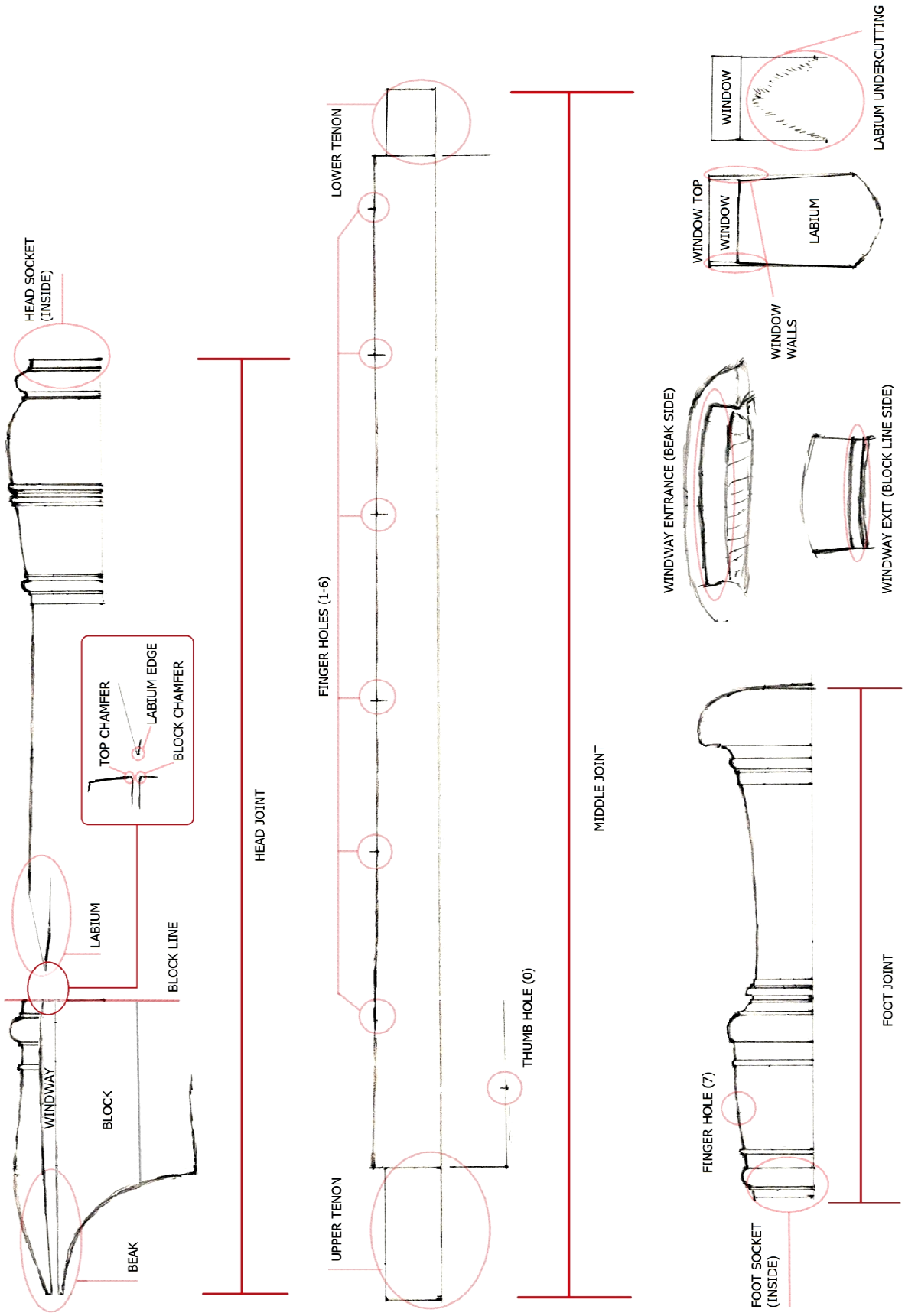
vc: violoncello

vl: violin

vla: viola

N.B. Library and museum siglas are given at the end, in the List of Consulted Collections.

Mechanics & Glossary



- Measurement figures were rounded to the next integer (e.g. 3.7 mm = 4 mm, 3.2 mm = 3 mm), except in Appendix 1 where these were kept exactly as they were.
- Lengths of instruments are always given in millimeters.
- Fingerings and finger holes are designated using modern finger numbering convention, i.e. 01234567 starting from the top of the recorder (0 being the left-hand thumb, 7 the right-hand pinky).
- Scientific pitch notation has been used by the present author. In this system, which was used throughout the present study, middle C is C4 (corresponding to c' in Helmholtz pitch notation, and cc in English pitch notation). In quotes in which the original author used a different system, this has been kept.
- For the sake of practicality in identifying the recorders and the musical works mentioned in this study, all have been assigned 'numbers', as an abbreviation of all the information pertinent to each of them. In the case of the recorders, these numbers are generally formed by the first three letters of a maker's name, followed by the first three letters of the size of instrument, followed by a two digit number (e.g. Anonymous Alto 'no. 1' = Ano.ALT.01). Soprano and sopranino needed to be distinguished and were therefore catalogued with the abbreviations SPO and SPI, respectively. In the case of the musical works, the numbers are also generally formed by the first three letters of a composer's name, followed by the first three letters of the type of work, followed by a two digit number (e.g. Anonymous Sonata 'no. 1' = Ano.SON.01). Porpora and Porsile needed to be distinguished and their works are therefore catalogued with the abbreviations POP and POS, respectively.

Baroque: The Portuguese word for an irregular pearl, "barroco," was first applied to the fine arts in 1733 by a French author, in a letter printed in the Mercure de France. The anonymous author used it to criticize an opera by Jean-Philippe Rameau for being 'baroque' because it "lacked coherent melody, was unsparing in dissonances, constantly changed key and metre, and speedily ran through every compositional device." Currently, 'baroque' is generally applied to the broad period or style of European music that roughly spans the years 1600 to 1750. Nonetheless, as Claude V. Palisca writes, "[t]here has been appreciable disagreement concerning the starting date of the period […]. [Heinrich] Wölfflin (*Renaissance und Barock*, 1888) recognized in art history an early phase from 1570, a high phase from 1680, and a

late phase extending from about 1700 until the rise of the 'Sturm und Drang'." More recent scholarly studies set a terminal date c. 1720s–1730s. Silke Leopold, for example, writes: "Die Frage, wann die Barockzeit zu Ende ging, läßt sich ebenso wenig präzise beantworten wie die Frage nach ihrem Beginn. Ab etwa 1720 mehren sich jedoch die Zeichen für ein neues Denken im Bereich der Musik, das nicht zuletzt mit einem neuen Menschenbild einhergeht." (Translation by the present author: "The question of when the Baroque era came to an end cannot be answered more precisely than the question of when it began. From about 1720, however, there are signs of a new way of thinking in the field of music, going hand in hand with a new human ideal.") There has also been considerable debate as to whether music and other art forms as painting and literature had the same chronological limits for the term, or whether it is productive to use the term at all, as Lorenzo Bianconi criticizes: "è dubbio che la sua estensione a tutta l'arte del periodo che va dal 1600 al 1750, o addirittura la sua dilatazione alla storia della musica, ancorché legittima, sia criticamente fruttuosa." (Translation by the present author: "it is doubtful whether its extension to the entire art of the period that goes from 1600 to 1750, or even its expansion in the history of music, even if legitimate, is critically fruitful.") In the present study, the word concerns both instruments and works, and encompasses the entire period of study, 1695–1759. These boundaries fall nearly perfectly within the period defined by Suzanne Clercx as "baroque tardif", and include both the "middle baroque" and the beginning of the "late baroque" as defined by Manfred F. Bukofzer, the music displaying already many Galant qualities.

Baroque recorder: the term 'Baroque recorder' is to be understood as the instrument in three parts (head joint, middle joint with seven finger holes, and foot joint with the remaining hole), with a mostly conical bore and extended range that appeared in Europe around the 1670s, alongside the appearance of a 'recorder specific', 'solo' repertoire. The instrument was ornamented in the joints with turned rings, had a mostly conical bore and an extended range in relation to its earlier counterpart.

Busta (Italian): case (in a library).

Corps de rechange (French): interchangeable joints of varying lengths which allow for an instrument to be used at different pitches.

Chamfer: a cut corner or transitional edge between two vertices of an object. The angle of the cut varies on a recorder block and windway top (if any at all are present).

Choke: the narrowest part of the bore of a (Renaissance or Early Baroque) recorder, which usually coincides approximately with the last finger hole.

Curvature: the degree of curving of a line or surface.

Duct flute: An aerophone whose essential feature is a head, partially blocked (by a block), leaving a windway that directs the player's breath to a rigid sharp edge (labium edge), such as a recorder.

Early-Baroque recorder: the instrument that stood in between the Renaissance and the Baroque recorder, chronologically, in external appearance, internal design and in its use in music.

Flute: in modern musical terminology flute usually refers to the transverse flute, an instrument made of metal or wood consisting of a long tube held sideways, having a hole near one end for the player to produce the sound. However, from the arrival of the Baroque recorder in England from France at the mid-1690s until the late 1720s, flute referred to the recorder (alluding to the *flute douce*). For the purpose of this study, the word 'recorder' has been used whenever the present author referred to this instrument; previous mentions of the instrument as 'flauto' and 'flute' were kept as in the original. When used by the present author, 'flutes' and 'flutists' are generalist terms which include both recorder and traverso.

Griffin: a mythological creature that has the body, tail, and back legs of a lion, and the head, wings, and front feet of an eagle. It is commonly depicted in heraldry.

Joint: a piece of a woodwind instrument, as well as the specific part of this piece which connects with another piece. On recorders, top and bottom joints have sockets in which the tenons of middle joints securely fit in. The tenons on historical woodwind instruments are usually adjusted with thread, whilst modern instruments' tenons are customarily covered with cork. The sockets of Baroque instruments are thicker for better resistance and usually ornate with turning rings for aesthetical reasons. On Baroque recorders the outside of the head socket (bottom of the head joint) is usually 'pear' shaped, whilst the foot socket (top of the foot joint) resembles a 'bulb' (especially on smaller sized instruments).

Lion rampant: in heraldry, rampant is one of the attitudes (positions). A lion rampant is depicted in profile standing erect with forepaws raised.

Nominal pitch: the lowest note to which an instrument is tuned. In the case of recorders these commonly include C, D, E♭, F, G, A and B♭, independently of sizes or pitches.

Pitchpipe: an aerophone used to aid tuning, usually by giving a number of standard pitches. Pitchpipes often consist of a recorder head with a movable piston, and marked notes on the outside.

Protrusion: a protuberance.

Reaming: to enlarge a previously bored object to the desired size by using of a reamer. In the making of recorders, several reamers are commonly used, specific to each model.

Renaissance recorder: this simple looking instrument was typically made in one part with nine finger holes (one of which usually covered with wax), mostly had a cylindrical bore and more limited range, and was usually played in consorts. As the predecessor of the Baroque recorder, the Renaissance recorder prevailed from the sixteenth century until the second half of the seventeenth century.

Scroll: a shape resembling a partially rolled scroll of paper.

Sounding length: also called speaking length, it is the distance between the block line and the bottom of the foot joint.

Total length: the distance between the tip of the beak and the bottom of the foot joint.

Voicing: a fundamental element of an instrument's design as well as a process that ensures that instruments speak correctly and with the desired uniformity of tone, volume, and tuning. In the case of recorders it refers to minute adjustments to the windway (including chamfers, windway curvature, block height and curvature), window and labium.

Wimple: an undulated shape.

... govern these ventages with your fingers and thumb,
give it breath with your mouth,
and it will discourse most eloquent music.

Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act 3 (c. 1600)

Introduction

This study emerged from my genuine passion for the Neapolitan Baroque[1] repertoire for the recorder,[2] with which I have lived and breathed for a good ten years. The questions I asked and the aspects I chose to research came from a practical wondering about how to further immerse myself in the performance of this music, which I not only deeply respect and admire but very much enjoy playing.

First, I wanted to know how much music was written specifically for the recorder in the Baroque period in Naples.[3] This is a relatively simple research question: only a matter of collecting and inventorying music written by Neapolitan composers or by composers whose lives were (mostly) spent in Naples.[4] This part of the research listed 144 vocal and instrumental works, a few unveiled here for the very first time.[5] Playing and analyzing these pieces for their most idiomatic traits, regarding the recorder, then followed. The exact period of study was set by the first and last dated works that I found during the research:

[1] As described in the Glossary, in the present study the term 'baroque' concerns both instruments and works, and covers the entire period of study, 1695–1759. For references on the definition of the term, see Claude V. Palisca, "Baroque." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed December 15, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com. Silke Leopold, "Barock," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Ludwig Finshcer (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1994). p. 1250. Lorenzo Bianconi, *Il Seicento*, 2nd ed., vol. 5, Storia della musica, Biblioteca di Cultura Musicale (Turin: EDT, 1991). p. xv. For a review of Clercx, by Bukofzer, see Manfred F. Bukofzer, "Le Baroque et la Musique by Suzanne Clercx," *The Musical Quarterly* 35, no. No. 4 (Oct.) (1949). pp. 652–655. Daniel Heartz, Bruce Alan Brown, "Galant." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed December 15, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[2] For the purpose of this study, the word 'recorder' has been used whenever the present author referred to the instrument, but previous mentions of the instrument as 'flauto' and 'flute' were kept as in the original, either in italics or between quotation marks. When used by the present author, 'flutes' and 'flutists' are generalist terms which include both recorder and traverso. See the Glossary for the definition of 'Baroque', 'Renaissance' and 'early Baroque' recorders.

[3] If taken literally this would be a rather restrictive search, for unless we have an autograph manuscript of a work, or can prove that the composer himself dated and placed the work, it would be impossible to ascertain that it was indeed written in Naples. In some cases there are historical accounts that indicate that a piece was performed in Naples, and the presence of many of the manuscripts in Neapolitan collections is convincing proof that these are connected to the city. Nonetheless, some might have been written outside of Naples, in Vienna, Rome etc. I have been flexible in this respect, and works by composers who demonstrably had an active part in the musical life of Naples are included in this study even if it is not always possible to determine precisely where they were written.

[4] E.g. Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725), who was originally from Palermo but made fame and spent a great deal of his life in Naples.

[5] For example, Man.SON.03b and Ano.SON.01 (see the Glossary for an explanation of these abbreviations). Many other works recently discovered have already appeared in editions but had yet to be discussed in any kind of study. For a description of and further discussion on all of these works, see Chapter 2 and Appendix 2.

1695 and 1759. As will be seen later, 1759 is not a date of composition for any of the repertoire considered here, but only the year in which a few sonatas were copied. It is nonetheless significant that recorder music was being copied at this date, and 1759 has been kept as the terminus for this study for that reason.

Second, I was seeking guidance for what instruments to use in playing the Neapolitan Baroque recorder repertoire. I wanted to know how these recorders sounded and where they came from. My interest lay in the instruments, the original recorders, a subject on which the existing literature is silent. Musicological and in this case, more specifically, organological studies have traditionally been focused on the north of Italy, for reasons that have to do with Italy's recent social-economic history. This is also true of Europe: in general, such studies have flourished in Northern Europe more than in the south of the continent. In the specific case of historical recorders, the reasons for the lack of studies about the subject can be explained simply by looking back c. 30 years: the recorders used by the pioneers of the Early Music movement have generally been the ones to receive praise and attention since; these instruments have been studied and copied the most, as a way of emulating and reverencing the charisma and success of these performers.

Despite the large number of studies devoted to Neapolitan music in the eighteenth century, not only the instrumental repertoire produced and consumed in Naples, but also the specific instruments used there in this period have been until now underestimated as well as neglected. As musicologist Dinko Fabris stated, in the seventeenth century, "Naples was like an island, where the dynamics of patronage and production and the consumption of music and spectacle were part of an entropic and self-sufficient mechanism with few or no links with the main Italian or European cultural centres."[6] We might ask the same of the eighteenth century: were there recorders made in this "island" to match the abundance of repertoire? And, if so, are they extant? If there were actual *Neapolitan* Baroque recorders, did they follow a particular design principle and thus enjoy particular technical qualities? Did these qualities match the music as far as recorder-specific traits are concerned? Did the instruments enhance the music? Or did they in fact come from abroad – from elsewhere on the Italian peninsula or indeed Europe?

The quest I took up was therefore not only to expand current knowledge of the recorder repertoire in Baroque Naples but also to combine that knowledge with information about the instruments that may have been used to perform this repertoire. For the latter I

[6] Dinko Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples, Francesco Provenzale (1624–1704)* (Cornwall: Ashgate, 2007). p. xv.

have drawn information from the constructional traits of the recorders themselves, which largely dictate the repertoire they are likely to have played. If recorders that originated outside the Neapolitan territory were used in Naples, the research had to be enlarged to the entire Italian peninsula. Therefore, it quickly became evident that considerable work still had to be done on the subject of Italian Baroque recorders in general, as it was uncharted territory, with little available research. This part of the research brought up twenty-seven signed Italian recorders, which are listed here for the first time altogether; one of the instruments had never been included in previous literature.[7] The study of comparing the Italian instruments – which is also presented here for the first time – further allowed to propose the inclusion of seven Anonymous recorders that share constructional traits with the Italian instruments that were studied. Furthermore, a few instruments were reproduced for use in performance, also in premiere, as a result of this study.

The research for the present study thus followed two paths, one relating to the recorders and one relating to the recorder repertoire in Naples (works, composers, venues, players). The first branch began with Naples, but progressively extended to include the rest of Italy (finally including all existing Italian Baroque recorders, with a detailed study of the most relevant ones for the purpose of this research). The two paths then converged, combining the repertoire with the instruments, producing an artistic result, which would not have been possible prior to the present study.

This thesis begins, in Chapter 1, by tracing the first, more demanding, path: the collection and production of the majority of the technical data on the recorders, which was absent so far, including the work of measuring and photographing the instruments;[8] the reconstruction of a few of these; and the final analysis of the data collected as a whole. The second path involved the collection and summarization of the music, cataloguing all the works with a simple analysis of some key features that may determine the use of one recorder or another; this is found in Chapter 2. Contextualization of the repertoire was needed, and a brief summary of players and patrons (and also institutions and venues) forms Chapter 3. The last chapter aims at uniting all into what one, as a player, may be able to do with this study.

The results I hoped for were straightforward: a more detailed overview of the available repertoire, more recorders to choose from when performing it and, as a whole, a

[7] Anc.ALT.04 (refer to the Glossary for an explanation of this abbreviation). For further details, see Chapter 1 and Appendix 1.

[8] I commissioned this work to recorder maker Fumitaka Saito.

new perspective on the intricate relationships that bind music and instrument – all aspects that directly influence a musician's playing, feeling and thinking about music.[9]

On the Neapolitan recorder repertoire

> The architecture of Naples is like its inhabitants: lively, colourful, and with a tendency not to keep the rules, or rather, to have its own rules, which are not those of other cities or other countries. If you go to Naples expecting its architecture to behave like that of Rome, you will be as surprised as if you expected its traffic to behave like Roman traffic, though you will be in less physical danger. On the other hand, if you go prepared to play according to Neapolitan rules, you will enjoy both – the architecture and the traffic – because Neapolitan drivers, like Neapolitan architects, are *virtuosi* in their own art, but, just as the architect likes to torture the marble to the limit of endurance, so the driver likes to exploit the nerves of his pedestrian to just short of breaking point; but both are experts in knowing how to stop in time to preserve life or marble.[10]

The excerpt above can be safely extrapolated to music: although by means of materials used elsewhere, Neapolitan Baroque music follows its own set of rules, and has its own standards. In particular, if one approaches the music of Naples after 1700 expecting that it conforms itself to Corellian stylistic templates,[11] one will most likely be disappointed or at least confused. If one accepts and appreciates its particular virtues, a world of mastery will become apparent.

The recorder repertoire in Naples in the Baroque period does not escape this analogy. From a distance, nothing is notably different. But up close, the many harmonic twists and surprises, the deep rooting of counterpoint, the special treatment of melody embroidered with appoggiaturas, the equality between *canto* and *basso*[12] and the effective drama that transpires from almost every piece – all in combination – make this repertoire unique among the recorder repertoires of the period.

The fact that almost all the composers involved in this singular repertoire were (mainly) opera composers (Alessandro Scarlatti, Francesco Mancini, Domenico Sarro,

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[9] One hopes that the repertoire list provided here will prove not to be exhaustive, so that more works can be discovered in years to come. One also hopes that the technical data that is provided here on many of the instruments, will allow for the production of new copies, in order to make the instruments available for more players.

[10] Anthony Blunt, *Neapolitan Baroque and Rococo Architecture* (London: A. Zwemmer Ltd, 1975). p. 5.

[11] It is worth recalling that Italy was only unified politically as a country in 1861. Despite this, a cultural division still remains that can be argued to be reminiscent of a diverse political and social history in each of the many regions. It would therefore be mistaken to expect music of the various Italian centers of the Baroque period all to conform to the same archetypes.

[12] The twelve sonatas by Mancini are wonderful examples of this equality. More details about these works can be found in Chapter 2 and Appendix 2.

Leonardo Leo, Leonardo Vinci, Nicola Porpora), makes it all the more surprising that a repertoire of over ninety instrumental works[13] would exist merely for a 'private-use' instrument such as the recorder. It is also interesting to note that of all these Neapolitan works, only two collections (Mancini's twelve and Giovanni Antonio Piani's six sonatas) were published (in London and Paris, respectively); the rest are found in various manuscripts, held in a number of collections.[14] The fame and high profile of all the forenamed composers in the European scene would certainly have made it possible for these works to have sold successfully, had these been published and distributed by the famous houses of the time, namely in London and Amsterdam. The fact that they were not, either means that a considerable amount of private commissions of (few) recorder lovers in Naples are responsible for this large production, or the instrument experienced a certain public 'boom' in the city itself, be it, in a limited time span.

Brushing through the history of the recorder in Italy

What we call the 'Baroque recorder' enjoyed a short-lived but brilliant existence in Italy, with numerous sonatas and concertos written to make its qualities evident, both as a virtuosic instrument in the hands of professionals as well as a joyful and sweet music-making pastime in the hands of amateurs. To be able to speak about the recorder in Italy in the Baroque period though, let us first sweep through its history in that country, if only briefly.

Duct flutes are the most common and widely spread types of flute in the world,[15] and their history is therefore long and complex. In its relevant form, with a duct formed by an internal wooden block which forms a windway, a thumbhole on the back side and eight or nine holes (nine, in its Medieval and Renaissance form, or eight holes, in its most common Baroque form), it was already widely used in Europe in the Middle Ages.

In Italy, pictorial evidence indicates its presence, though sparse, already in the early fourteenth century,[16] but it is only at the end of that century that the recorder begins to be

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[13] Surprisingly, these abundant works still do not form an integral part of the modern recorder repertoire, especially in the pedagogical programs of most (European) conservatories.

[14] All these works are discussed in detail in Chapter 2, and listed in Appendix 2.

[15] As seen in the Glossary, a duct flute is an "aerophone whose essential feature is a head, partially blocked, leaving a windway or duct to lead the player's breath to a rigid sharp edge or lip (voicing edge) at the base of the mouth ('window' or 'labium')." Jeremy Montagu, "Duct flute." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed December 8, 2012, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[16] As reported by Howard Mayer Brown, "the earliest depiction [of a recorder] may be the anonymous Sienese *Assumption of the Virgin* […] dated 1340". Now kept in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, the painting is believed to be by Simone Martini. Howard Mayer Brown, "The recorder in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance," in *The Cambridge Companion to the*

represented regularly in Italian artworks.[17] Although depictions of recorder trios are often to be found in the fifteenth century (such as the wonderful frescoes of Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara from c. 1470[18]), no 'designated repertoire' for the recorder has survived, though consorts of recorders were used to perform vocal music.[19]

In 1505, the Venetian wind player Giovanni Alvise offered Francesco II Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, a motet to be played on eight recorders.[20] In 1515, Bernardin Bortolomeo, Alvise Bassano, Gasparo Bernardo and Yipolito de San Salvador played recorders as well as cornettos, trumpets and shawms for processions of the Scuola di San Marco in Venice.[21] King Henry VIII of England "imported a consort of recorder players, five brothers of the Bassano family from Venice, in 1539–40."[22] It was also in the 1530s that the most elaborate Italian treatise for the recorder appeared (i.e. *La Fontegara*, which will be discussed next), and by then the presence of the recorder in the professional musical life of Italy is undeniable.[23]

The level of intellectual ability expected from sixteenth century 'recorder players' is noteworthy, as may be observed in the sophisticated 1535 Venetian treatise, *La Fontegara*. Written by a professional musician – Silvestro Ganassi was a member of the official wind

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Recorder, ed. John Mansfield Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). p. 5. For iconographical references, see, for example, Howard Mayer Brown, "Catalogus. A Corpus of Trecento Pictures with Musical Subject Matter, Part I, Instalment 2," *Imago Musicae* II (1985). pp. 179-282. Maurizio Della Porta, Ezio Genovesi, "The figure of the sheperd-musician from the late Middle Ages to the Renaissance: some iconographical examples from Central Italy," *Imago Musicae* VII (1990). pp. 25-39.

[17] According to Victor Ravizza, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, the instrument is found in a modest 1-2% of the paintings. In the second half of that century a steady rise in incidence begins to occur and shortly before 1500 the number is closer to 10%, continuing to rise afterwards. Victor Ravizza, *Das instrumentale Ensemble von 1400–1550 in Italien*, Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft (Bern: Paul Haupt, 1970). p. 24. For iconographical references, see also Elena Ferrari-Barassi, "La peinture dans l'Italie du nord pendant la Renaissance: problèmes d'investigation organologique," *Imago Musicae* IV (1987). pp. 255-269.

[18] On these frescoes see: Paolo D'Ancona, *I Mesi di Schifanoia a Ferrara* (Milan: Edizioni del Milione, 1954); Kristin Lippincott, "The frescoes of the Salone dei Mesi in The Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara: style, iconography and cultural context" (Ph.D., University of Chicago, 1987); Howard Mayer Brown, "The recorder in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance."

[19] Anthony Rowland-Jones, "The recorder's medieval and renaissance repertoire," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Recorder*, ed. John Mansfield Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). pp. 26–50.

[20] David Lasocki, "Recorder." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed December 8, 2012, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

[23] The recorder sediments its place in private spheres around this time, as becomes apparent in inventories such as that of the Accademia Filarmonica of Verona (founded in 1543), which accounts for a significant number of Renaissance recorders, many of which bear the mark identified by Lasocki as that of the Bassanos. Howard Mayer Brown, "The recorder in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance." p. 11. David Lasocki, "The Bassanos: Anglo-Venetian and Venetian," *Early Music* 14, no. 4 – November (1986). pp. 558–560.

band of the Venetian state – it not only teaches basic woodwind technique such as articulation, fingering and blowing, but more complex matters of diminution. In his fingering charts, three 'models' of recorders are shown: one with the mark of a stylized 'A', the other a trefoil and the third a 'B'. This is documentation of (at least) three different recorder makers whose instruments were known and used by Ganassi in his lifetime in Venice. At least two are of German (or rather, Bavarian) origins: 'A' was the stamp of the Schnitzer family, active in Nuremberg and Munich; the trefoil mark was used by the Rauch family, from Schrattenbach in Bavaria. The third mark, 'B', has not been identified.[24] The extant Schnitzer instruments have a very characteristic bore, enabling the high notes that Ganassi notably mentions, and explaining why this instrument is the most often used in his fingering charts.[25] It is important to note that the presence of these marks of (distinguished) consort makers in the illustrations of *La Fontegara* is significant testimony to the fact that in Ganassi's time, even if embryonic solo music was expected from 'recorder players', the instrument used for this music was taken from a consort, and was therefore still connected to a sound ideal of an ensemble of instruments, even if already placed in a more soloistic context. It is equally relevant to observe the direct link between makers and players, and how much the possibilities of the instrument was determinant of what the player could do in pushing its boundaries.

Generally speaking, the Renaissance recorder had a cylindrical section (from the block-line until more or less the first hole), an inverted conical section with a choke around the last hole, and a long flared bottom. It was made in one piece, or less often in two (usually the larger sizes), and had little or no external ornament. During the course of the seventeenth century – it is not at all clear when or where – the recorder underwent a transition that resulted in the new Baroque recorder made in three pieces, with ornaments on each of the tenons and an almost cylindrical head, followed by a tapering[26] body section (usually with various chambers), which tapered more dramatically after the fourth hole, with

[24] David Lasocki, "Recorder". Additionally, Adrian Brown's extensive study of Renaissance recorders can be consulted through his online database which includes a variety of invaluable information on a great number of instruments. Adrian Brown, "Renaissance recorder database." accessed January 14, 2015, http://www.adrianbrown.org/database/. References on the pitch of a variety of instruments can also be found in Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch / The story of "A"* (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2002). From Haynes we learn, for example, that the pitch of Rauch von Schrattenbach instruments is approximately A=455-460 Hz. p. 445.

[25] Giulia da Rocha Tettamanti, "Silvestro Ganassi: Obra Intitulada Fontegara / Um estudo sistemático do tratado abordando aspectos da técnica da flauta doce e da música instrumental do século XVI" (Master of Music, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2010). p. 132.

[26] Narrowing. To taper: to become thinner toward one end.

a relatively short foot (compared to its earlier counterpart), considerably smaller holes and a rounded off beak. With this, an expanded range was facilitated, the timbre became more refined (and varied) and the three sections made tuning easier to adjust (and created the possibility of interchangeable middle joints[27] which could perhaps have allowed for different pitches as well as permitted greater flexibility of tuning).



Figure A. Bartolomeo Cavarozzi (c. 1590–1625),[28] *Aminta's dream* (c. 1615, formerly attributed to Giovanni Battista *detto* Battistello Caracciolo, c. 1575–1637). Private collection.[29]

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[27] Although it appears that extant recorders do not confirm this hypothesis, it seems unlikely that the phenomenon of *corps de rechange* would be exclusive of oboes and four-pieced traversos, especially when these were made by the same makers. Chapter 1 presents instruments by Anciuti with numbered parts that may be representative of instruments that originally had alternative joints. On the purpose and inherent historical implications of the use of these extra joints, see Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch / The story of "A"*. pp. xlix–l.

[28] Luigi Spezzaferro, "CAVAROZZI, Bartolomeo." *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani - Volume 23*. Treccani, accessed March 10, 2015, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bartolomeo-cavarozzi_(Dizionario-Biografico)/. "The musical score shown to the spectator by the two young men reproduces pages 16 and 17 of *Aminta Musicale*, a musical adaptation by Erasmo Marotta (1578–1641) of Torquato Tasso's famous pastoral poem." Bartolomeo Cavarozzi, "Aminta's Lament." Web Gallery of Art, accessed March 10, 2015, http://www.wga.hu/html_m/c/cavarozz/aminta.html.

[29] My sincere appreciation for the search carried out by Anna Bianco for iconographical references to the recorder in the context of Naples, that brought on this painting as well as another by Giuseppe Bonito included in Chapter 3, in addition to a variety of other interesting works (depicting Renaissance-type recorders) by Mattia Preti, Giovanni Battista Beinaschi, Guido Reni, Luca Giordano, Domenico Brandi, among others.

The recorder would at last, although not for long, become a solo instrument, first as players lavishly embellished (known) vocal melodies, then in the first sonatas *per flautino*,[30] and finally with concertos and Baroque sonatas, performed by both virtuosi and a considerable and unprecedented number of amateurs.[31]

In the Baroque period, the recorder was often in the shadow of the oboe, its use most often being left at the hands of a multi-skilled player, who would be able to switch between a variety of woodwind instruments. The traverso also begins to make headway in this period, and a traverso player can be found in the payment sheets of Prince Francesco Maria Ruspoli (1672–1731) as early as 1698,[32] before Handel's visit. At this time, flute parts were often played by oboists: although *La Resurrezione* (written by George Frideric Handel under Ruspoli's patronage in 1708)[33] calls for two recorders (and one traverso), none are to be found on the payment sheets drawn for this special occasion, which list four oboes hired from outside Rome.[34] "Ignatio" was employed as principal oboist for *La Resurrezione*,[35] and he could be Ignatio Rion (teacher at the Pio Ospedale della Pietà in Venice between 1704 and 1705) or Ignatio Sieber (who also taught at the Pietà), as both were in Rome in this

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[30] "Flautino. diminutive de *Flauto*. veut dire, Petite FLUTE, ou Flageollet." Sébastien de Brossard, "Flauto," in *Dictionnaire de musique contenant une explication des Termes Grecs, Latins, Italiens, & François les plus usitez dans la musique* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1703). The *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* defines 'flauto' as "Strumento musicale di fiato, ritondo [sic], e diritto, e lungo intorno a un braccio." (third edition, 1691) and "Strumento musicale di fiato, ritondo [sic], diritto, forato, e lungo meno d'un braccio." (fourth edition, 1729–1738). As a curiosity, 'traverso' is defined as "Obbliquo, non diritto." Accademici della Crusca, "Flauto," in *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (Florence: Self-published and Domenico Maria Manni, 1691 and 1729–1738). Accademici della Crusca, "Traverso," in *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (Florence: Self-published and Domenico Maria Manni, 1691 and 1729–1738). All the editions of this dictionary can be consulted on http://www.lessicografia.it/. Bonanni's entry for "flauto" on his *Gabinetto armonico*, which is complemented by an illustration, reads "Il Pastore, che segue, mostra di suonare un'altro Stromento frà tutti antichissimo, detto dalli Latini *Tibia*, e in Italiano *Flauto* […]". The instrument actually shown in Bonanni's illustration has only four holes, but Bonanni goes on to mention that 'flauti' exist with a varied number of holes and in different sizes. It is worth mentioning that Bonanni has a separate entry for the "flauto doppio" as well as one for "flauto traversier," where he reaffirms the Teutonic origin of the traverso. Although Bonanni, writing in the 1720s, was certainly acquainted with Baroque instruments (confirmed by his inclusion of the oboe not the shawm in his *Gabinetto*), his descriptions and illustrations are of a more mythological than organological character. Filippo Bonanni, *Gabinetto armonico pieno d'instrumenti sonori*, 2nd ed. (Rome: Placho, 1723). pp. 59-60. The digitized work is available at http://digital.ub.uni-duesseldorf.de/ihd/content/pageview/3692099. My appreciation to Alfredo Bernardini, private communication, for reminding me of the latter source.

[31] Amateurs were important not only in Italy, but even more so in England, where a considerable amount of music by Italian composers was published and played.

[32] Indeed Jacques Hotteterre (*Le Romain* for precisely this reason) as well as Domenico Laurelli, a Neapolitan flutist, were in the Ruspoli household between 1698 and 1700. Federico Maria Sardelli, "Il flauto nell'Italia nel primo Settecento," *Ad Parnassum* II, no. 3 (2004). p. 105.

[33] HWV 47.

[34] Rome was justifiably less populated by woodwind instruments since the papal ban which prohibited their use in the church at the beginning of the century. Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch / The story of "A"*. p. 167.

[35] Ibid. p. 168.

period.[36] "Ignatio" is also listed as flutist in 1707 for the performances of *Il figliol prodigo* and *Il sogno* (both by Carlo Cesarini). "Niccolò" (probably Niccolò del Vò, roman flutist and double bass player) and "Monsù Giovanni" (probably Giovanni Sicuro, also a flutist active in Rome) were other oboists hired for *La Resurrezione*.[37] In 1707 and 1709, "Monsù Martino" (probably Alexis Saint-Martin, father of the Sammartini brothers Giuseppe and Giovanni Battista) was hired as recorder and oboe player.[38] As we can see, these players were interchangeably called flutists or oboists depending on the occasion, not necessarily (yet) ranking in hierarchy of importance.

In his 2004 article, Sardelli lists the names of various woodwind players documented in the first decades of the eighteenth century. In Venice, in 1692, two recorders were paid for Carlo Francesco Pollarolo's *Onorio in Roma*, and a year later, an oboe was used in *Furio Camillo* by Giacomo Antonio Perti; Onofrio Penati (Milanese) was admitted to the orchestra of the *Cappella di San Marco* in Venice in 1698. From 1704 Penati, Lodovico Erdtman (German oboist), Ignazio Sieber (German oboist) and Ignazio Rion (oboist probably related to Luigi Rion of Turin, of French origins) were all hired by the Pietà in Venice. Elsewhere in Italy we find Giacomo Mosso, Filiberto Perino, Giuseppe e Vincenzo Ricardo and Gian Francesco Mattis, all Italians (in Turin, from 1677); Aurelio Colla and Cristoforo Besozzi (in Parma, from 1701); Pietro Bettinozzi ("flauto", oboe and bassoon, in Bologna from 1702); Domenico Laurelli, "Niccolò", Ascanio Menegone and Giovanni Sicuro (all flutists; in Rome from 1698), and an oboe band including Giovanni Giorgio Maratti and Filippo Pagliati (also in Rome, in 1709); Domenico de Marchi (oboist from Vicenza, in Padova, 1713); Pietro Parri from 1710, and later also Pietro Fabri (in Mantova). As Sardelli points out, most of these oboists, and surely Penati, Platti, Menegone, Bettinozzi, Sicuro and Fabri were also flutists.[39]

Evidence of transposing oboe parts is found in music written for the Ruspoli palace:[40] Haynes mentions works by Antonio Caldara and an oratorio by Alessandro Scarlatti[41] marked "un ton più basso" and suggests that the exceptional high range of the solo oboe parts in Handel's *La Resurrezione* and *Il Trionfo* (1707)[42] would indicate the need for transposition of

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[36] Federico Maria Sardelli, "Il flauto nell'Italia nel primo Settecento." p. 112.

[37] Ibid. pp. 114-115.

[38] Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch / The story of "A"*. p. 168.

[39] Federico Maria Sardelli, "Il flauto nell'Italia nel primo Settecento." pp. 122-123.

[40] Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch / The story of "A"*. p. 168.

[41] In the present study, unless mentioned otherwise, Scarlatti refers to Alessandro.

[42] HWV 46a.

one tone lower. As the original parts of *La Resurrezione* are lost,[43] this cannot be easily verified. Although the oboe parts might benefit from the transposition, it is clear that the flute parts would not.

It is not difficult to imagine that forces already in the Ruspoli employment would have joined those extraordinary outsiders who were especially hired for *La Resurrezione*. Knowing that the pitch in Venice would have normally been higher than that of Rome (by approximately one tone),[44] it is possible to postulate that:

- either the transposed/transposing oboe parts were made in order to compensate for the pitch difference encountered by the Venetian oboists, who indeed did not play the flute parts, which were left at their usual pitch for the flutists already in the service of the Ruspoli;
- or the household had its own flutes (but no oboes) at the lower pitch, and these were used by the foreign musicians on this occasion.

In either scenario, at this early stage in the eighteenth century, it is clear that many of these players were in other instances enrolled as flutists, and that perhaps the oboe as a main woodwind instrument is not as omnipresent as we tend to believe,[45] especially in the earlier decades of the eighteenth century.

That 'in-house' musicians might have catered to more particular preferences and ideals can be seen by the vast amount of music for *flauto*[46] which is extant in private music collections stemming mostly from Italy at that time, such as that of Aloys Thomas Raimund,

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[43] Later manuscript parts are available from GB-Mp, but these do not show any indication for transposition. "These manuscripts were originally from the music library of Charles Jennens (who wrote the libretto to Messiah and several other Handel oratorios). He commissioned copies of all of Handel's repertoire during Handel's lifetime (so they are contemporary manuscripts) from John Christopher Smith. They were left to a relative of Jennens, the Earl of Aylesford, and were for many years known as the Aylesford manuscripts. The majority of the library was split up and auctioned in 1918 but Walter Newman Flower (the head of publishing house Cassells) bought many of the lots and also traced and bought as many of the lots as he could find which went to other buyers. Although he didn't manage to recreate the whole of Jennens original library he made a good attempt and recovered over two thirds of it. When he died in 1964 Manchester Libraries bought the collection for the Henry Watson Music Library. It is now usually referred to as the Newman Flower Collection." Ros Edwards, Service Development Co-ordinator (Music), Henry Watson Music Library, Manchester, private communication. About the collection, see John H. Roberts, "The Aylesford Collection," in *Handel collections and their history*, ed. Terence Best (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993). pp. 39-85.

[44] For a compilation and in depth discussion of a variety of sources on pitch, see Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch / The story of "A"*. According to Haynes, three approximate pitch standards had been common in Venice until the end of the seventeenth century: *mezzo punto* at A=464 Hz, *tutto punto* at A=440 Hz and *tuono corista* at A=413Hz (A=392 Hz being less usual). "In the early 18th century these levels continued to be current, although their names changed; the words *mezzo punto* and *tutto punto* were no longer used, and *corista* had probably taken on its modern meaning, that of a general "pitch standard." Ibid. p. 159.

[45] It is true though that when looking for traces of payments to flutists, it is essential to consider those entries for oboists, because they were often 'multi-skilled' players.

[46] In 1703 Brossard defines "flauto" as "Flauto. veut dire, FLUTE-à-bec." Op. cit., Sébastien de Brossard, "Flauto." Accademici della Crusca, "Flauto."

Count Harrach, who served as Austrian viceroy in Naples, and whose collection will be discussed later. In Venice (and perhaps elsewhere as well), most noble families of the time (Contarini, Grimani, Querini, Carminati, Marcello) would instruct their male offspring on the flutes or the violin.[47] It is also clear from the vast majority of chamber cantatas with recorder, as opposed to oboe parts, that the recorder enjoyed a certain measure of favor in aristocratic circles. These may largely have been amateur circles, but the range of technical difficulty present in some of the works tells another story.

The period that delimits the present study comprises the epoch of the true emancipation of the flutes, and in particular the recorder, in the very first decades of the eighteenth century, starting around the 1710s. This repertoire will be listed below as well as in detail (in the case of Naples) in Chapter 2.

On the developments that led to the new Baroque recorder type

Although it is often assumed that the new types of recorders were *invented* in France in the second half of the seventeenth century (1660–1670) by members of the Hotteterre and Philidor families, and were subsequently exported to be copied elsewhere, it is fair to entertain the rather more plausible idea that the transition from Renaissance to Baroque was a development gradually made throughout Europe at more or less the same time, in parallel to musical developments in each different country, with works of more soloistic character going hand in hand with the specification of instrumentation. As woodwind-maker and researcher Jan Bouterse writes:[48]

> Despite the limited information on the earlier instruments, I would suggest that the differences between the pre-Baroque instruments and the recorders in the new French style are not that radical. Several details, such as the division into more joints with a socket and tenon construction, the conical bore, and a compass of two octaves, can be observed on early instruments. I therefore suggest that there was a gradual development from the pre-Baroque recorders to the instruments in the new style.

The thought is corroborated by recorder player and researcher Peter Van Heyghen:[49]

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[47] Federico Maria Sardelli, "Il flauto nell'Italia nel primo Settecento." pp. 116-120.

[48] Jan Bouterse, "The Woodwind Instruments of Richard Haka (1645/6–1705)," in *From Renaissance to Baroque, Change in Instruments and Instrumental Music in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Jonathan Wainwright and Peter Holman (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2005). p. 66.

[49] Peter Van Heyghen, "The role of the transposition and pitch in the transition from the g-descant to the f-alto recorder," in *Symposium 'Stimmton und Transposition', Hochschule für Künste* (Bremen: Unpublished, 1999).

> Even the celebrated quotation of the court flutist Michel de la Barre, written long after the events in question (c. 1710-35) is extremely vague: it says only that the elevation of Lully to the French Court (and we know that he became *Surintendant de la Musique* in 1661) 'caused the [total] downfall of all the old instruments, with the exception of the *hautbois*, thanks to the Philidors and Hotteterres, who spoiled so much wood and countenanced so much music that in the end they succeeded in rendering it suitable for concerts. From that time on, the *musette* was left to shepherds; violins, *flutes douces*, theorboes, and viols took their places, for the transverse flute came only later.' De la Barre doesn't say anything about any redesigning of the recorder nor does any other French archival document for that matter.

In 1696 in Nuremberg, woodwind makers Johann Christoph Denner and Johann Schell applied to the municipal council to make the 'new instruments' they had introduced there, which were believed to have been developed in France about twelve years earlier. In England, the 'new' recorder seems to have arrived in 1673 with four French woodwind players brought by the opera composer Robert Cambert, the first mention of 'improvements' in the recorder being published by John Hudgebut in 1679. In Italy, Bartolomeo Bismantova (writer, composer and cornetto player) includes an illustration of a Baroque alto recorder in G in his *Compendio musicale* of 1677, but a much earlier anonymous manuscript treatise, dated 1630, shows a recorder with 'Hotteterre-like' fingerings. Bismantova's and the anonymous 1630 treatise will be discussed further below.

As De la Barre's comment, quoted by Van Heyghen, makes clear, music drove the (perhaps subtle, perhaps radical) redesign of instruments in France, and it is reasonable that it would have been the case elsewhere too. In Italy, this design transition was probably motivated by the rise of an instrumental repertoire that was independent from a vocal paradigm and as such could explore its own virtuosic possibilities. A recorder-specific repertoire, in other words, the very first works explicitly assigned for the recorder, be it in dramatic or secular, vocal or instrumental music appear at the very beginning of the seventeenth century, in works such as Jacopo Peri's *Euridice* (1600), Claudio Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo* (1609), Giovanni Battista Riccio's *Il primo libro delle divine lodi* (1612) and Monteverdi's Vespers (1619).[50] As shown by Van Heyghen, the list of assigned recorder parts in Italian early Baroque music is not vast but neither is it insignificant, even if, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the instrument involved is still, in essence, a Renaissance type recorder.

[50] Peter Van Heyghen, "The Recorder in Italian Music, 1600–1670," in *The Recorder in the Seventeenth Century / Proceedings of the International Recorder Symposium*, ed. David Lasocki (Utrecht: STIMU, 1995). pp. 3-63.

From there on, the further the repertoire departed from the former model of vocal ensembles, the more the means available became obsolete for modern intentions. A stable compass of over two octaves and the possibility of tuning the instrument to other different instruments became more important, and as the recorder became a *dessus*, so did the need for its range to be more similar to that of other *dessus* instruments, and therefore for its higher notes to become easier and less frail.

In general, long periods of transition show the overlap of many different traditions, and usually lead once again to mainstream solutions, born out of variegated experimental ideas. Although the historical accounts mentioned above point to a French development, it is naïve to believe that the recorder that 'reappeared' fully redesigned at the court of Louis XIV around the 1670s was the one and only 'genetic father' of all changes that would soon after be reported all over Europe. The fact that they may have already existed everywhere before they were called 'French' makes matters more complicated, but also more plausible.

The fact that pitch standards were not only diverse but also coexisted and even used together,[51] and that nominal pitches are not always possible to define with precision,[52] represents a further complication to the possibility of assigning the patent for the new Baroque alto in F[53] to the French. To add to this confusion, we know from German theorist, composer and organist Michael Praetorius that, during the first half of the seventeenth century, consort dispositions tuned in alternate fourths and fifths were around, entailing that the top instrument of such an ensemble would be an alto recorder in F.[54] Therefore we cannot grant this development to the French (meaning that Bismantova would indeed have been the first to report the new design). We know as well that small instruments in two pieces existed in the Renaissance or Early Baroque period,[55] and that small instruments in two pieces (sopraninos for instance) remained the norm throughout the Baroque period, so this change cannot be granted to the French either. Nor is the internal design of French Baroque recorders in this early period revolutionary: it is rather very similar to that of other 'early Baroque' instruments elsewhere in Europe.

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[51] This practice is seen often in cantatas by J. S. Bach, for example in BWV 182 (first version: Weimar, 1714), where the singers, strings and organ performed in c. A=466 Hz and the winds in c. A=396 Hz, the parts being written a minor third apart.

[52] A recorder's F in A=466 Hz is also a G in A=415 Hz.

[53] F refers to the nominal pitch of the recorder in question. Recorders are known to exist in almost all nominal pitches (C, D, E♭, F, G, A, B♭) and in different sizes (sopranino, soprano, alto, tenor, bass etc.).

[54] Peter Van Heyghen, "The role of the transposition and pitch in the transition from the g-descant to the f-alto recorder."

[55] Peter Van Heyghen, private communication.

Italian treatises for Baroque recorders in a European context

Unlike England, Italy seems to have had few amateurs in need of self-instruction manuals on the recorder, as can be judged from the scant number of available treatises from this period.[56] The only two that have come down to us are both from the seventeenth century, and feature the Baroque type recorder, rather than its predecessor. It is important to mention that, unlike their well-disseminated English counterparts, these two Italian treatises come to us only in manuscript form.

The anonymous, probably Venetian, manuscript *Tutto il Bisognevole per Sonar il Flauto da 8 fori con Pratica et Orecchia* is dated 1630[57] but this date has been previously questioned. Van Heyghen has suggested a date of 50–100 years later,[58] based on the fact that examples given by the author are written in G clef on the second line (as opposed to the more commonly used C clef on the first line at that time), on the presence of *boré* (bourrée) and *minueti* among the musical examples, on the indications for trills, and on the inclusion of key signatures up to three sharps and three flats. It is also noteworthy to point out that the fingering chart shows the same support finger technique presented much later by Hudgebut[59] and Hotteterre.[60] However, minuets are found as early as c. 1585[61] and bourrées date from already the first half of the sixteenth century,[62] and the word *balletto* (an Italian dance of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries)[63] is also found among the examples in the treatise. Furthermore, the depiction of such a simple looking, 'early profile' recorder would be naturally old-fashioned in 1680 and all the more by 1730. It is my opinion that none of the aforementioned aspects of the treatise are sufficient in proving or

[56] As opposed to the vast array of incredibly instructive and sometimes surprisingly complicated methods and tutors of the preceding century, e.g. Silvestro Ganassi's *La Fontegara* (1535). Many of the other sixteenth century treatises, though not aimed at the recorder, discuss important aspects of technique, such as articulation.

[57] Anonymous, "Tutto il Bisognevole per Sonar il Flauto da 8 fori con Pratica et Orecchia," (I-Vnm, Mss. Ital. Cl. IV. No. 486., 1630).

[58] Peter Van Heyghen, "The Recorder in Italian Music, 1600–1670." p. 27.

[59] John Hudgebut, *A Vade Mecum for the Lovers of Musick, Shewing the Excellency of the Rechorder* (London: N. Thompson, J. Hudgebut, 1679). Original: GB-Ob, M440.

[60] Jacques Hotteterre, *Principes de la flûte traversière, ou flûte d'Allemagne, de la flûte à bec, ou flûte douce, et du haut-bois, diviséz par traitéz op. 1* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1707). Original: F-Pn, Vm8 G1.

[61] Dinko Fabris, private communication.

[62] Lute book by Hans Neusidler (c. 1508–1563). Dinko Fabris, private communication.

[63] Richard Hudson, Suzanne G. Cusick, "Balletto." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed April 2, 2011, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

disproving the date of 1630.[64] In any case, if this is not the first treatise to depict a Baroque recorder, it is surely one of the first. The surviving manuscript, held in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice, was reported in *Tibia* magazine in 1976,[65] and depicts an instrument in F, with its fingering chart from F4 to G6[66] being provided, without F6 but with F♯6 – in practice the fingering shown is in fact for F6, the sharp sign being a mistake.

A few further details are worthy of mention: when the anonymous author writes about playing "canzone di Opera" on the recorder,[67] and being able to read its different clefs, it is interesting to remember that the first public opera house in Venice was opened in 1637 (Teatro di San Cassiano).[68] Who is the composer of the operas to which the treatise refers? In 1630 no spectacle at all could have been referred to as an "Opera" (the Florentine and Mantuan experiments were called "Favola in musica" and later on "drammi per musica").[69]

Furthermore, in the last written page of the treatise, when speaking of the "Modo di accordare il Flauto con li altri instrumenti", the author refers to "li due pezzi dal Flauto,"[70] which means he still speaks of an instrument in two parts although his drawing at the beginning of the treatise clearly shows an instrument in three.

Aside from the *Tutto il Bisognevole*, with its uncertain dating, the first depiction of the new Baroque recorder is found in Bartolomeo Bismantova's chapter *Regola per suonare il Flauto Italiano* from the manuscript *Compendio Musicale* (1677, revised in 1694).[71] Although his treatise concerns an instrument in G – which we hesitate to accept as being a part of Baroque culture and try to ground in the past – it is definitely a Baroque one, i.e. in three parts, conical, with the 'new' design and which he calls "flauto italiano". Why is it

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[64] Analysis of the language used in the treatise as well as paper dating would be useful in further expanding the argumentation, and perhaps determining a most probable date.

[65] Nikolaus Delius, "Die erste Flötenschule des Barock?," *Tibia* 1976.

[66] Scientific pitch notation has been used throughout this study, middle C being C4.

[67] p. 15r.

[68] Giulio Ongaro, et al, "Venice." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed October 8, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com. For a more detailed account, see also Lorenzo Bianconi, *Il Seicento*, 5. Ellen Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of a Genre* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

[69] This element could contribute to disproving the date of 1630. Dinko Fabris, private communication.

[70] p. 20v.

[71] Bartolomeo Bismantova, "Compendio Musicale. In cui s'insegna à Principianti il vero modo, A imparare con facilità, le Regole del Canto Figurato, e Canto Fermo; come anche A Comporre, e suonare il Basso Continouo [sic], il Flauto, Cornetto, e Violino," (I-REm, Ms. Reggiani E. 41, 1677, revised in 1694). The work is in two layers, the first of 1677 and the revisions of 1694. In 1694 Bismantova wrote that the treatise had not been published because of the death of the dedicatee, and he added to the previous work (on the recorder, basso continuo, cornetto etc.) the *regole* for the violoncello da spalla, double bass and oboe.

called Italian? It has been previously hypothesized that this was intended to distinguish it from a different type of recorder made in another country. As musicologist Marcello Castellani's very thorough 1977 article on the *Compendio*[72] points out, two possibilities come to mind:

- either the 'German flute' or traverso, which would mean that Bismantova intended to differentiate his "flauto" from something which is not a recorder;
- or the Italian recorder in G as opposed to the French recorder in F, as the latter is acknowledged in previous literature (and corroborated by Bismantova's reference to the *trillo alla francese*).[73]

There are reservations to be raised in regards to this latter hypothesis. As one of the first treatises to mention the Baroque recorder, it is no surprise to see Bismantova's work use an alto in G. Surely reminiscent of previous practice – G was the usual descant of the recorder family during the Renaissance, and had been crowned a solo instrument already by Ganassi – it stayed in practice throughout the Baroque, as Castellani also points out. The fingering chart Bismantova offers for his G alto goes as high as G6 without F♯6, or rather, with no accidentals in the second octave range,[74] and, interestingly, it is written in C clef on the first line. The explanation for the "flauto italiano" may lie in the already favorable flair it had acquired amongst Italians by then, as a somewhat 'national' instrument.[75] This would certainly be in keeping with the vast amount of music written specifically for the recorder in the Baroque period in Italy (as opposed to France for instance, where the traverso quickly dominated the scene). This will be discussed next.

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[72] Marcello Castellani, "The Regola per suonare il Flauto Italiano by Bartolomeo Bismantova (1677)," *The Galpin Society Journal* 30, no. May (1977). Aside from his work as a flutist and teacher, Castellani has written a variety of articles and contributed with critical prefaces to a number of facsimile editions of flute music.

[73] Referring to the trill B♭5-A5 on his recorder in G, which has the exact same fingering as the trill A5-G5 that would later be shown by Hotteterre for the F alto.

[74] The *Compendio* also gives an abbreviated fingering chart "*per suonare alla quarta scala"*, to play a fourth (below or above). In his article, Castellani sees this as a reference to a recorder in D, a fourth below, a voice-flute. This is corroborated by extant Italian instruments, as will be seen in Chapter 1. It is perhaps also plausible to understand this 'alla quarta' as an explanation on the earlier practice of transposing music a fourth up or down (a practice which amongst keyboard players, for example, seems to have been facilitated by the existence of transposing double harpsichords by Ruckers. One such instrument can be seen at the Russell Collection of Early Keyboard Instruments of the University of Edinburgh. Ton Koopman, private communication.)

[75] "Until about 1735, composers specified [*traversiere*,] *flauto traverse* or simply *traversa* (not *traverso*) when they intended the flute; the word *flauto* without modification invariably meant recorder (especially the treble), to which the terms *flauto a becco*, *flauto diritto* or *flauto dolce* also apply." David Lasocki, "Flauto." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed January 11, 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com. (Italics in the original, square brackets by the present author).

It is important to point out that both *Tutto il Bisognevole* and *Compendio Musicale* continue Ganassi's legacy, in presenting fingerings for rather high notes in those early times. These are the only two Italian treatises on the 'Baroque' recorder, and therefore to claim here that Italian recorder makers had been invested in proposing fingerings for high notes from early on is inconclusive, although relevant. The meager number of treatises in the seventeenth century in Italy, and the fact that no other treatise deals with the recorder in the eighteenth century, contrasts sharply with the enormous number of similar manuals available – and aimed mostly at amateurs – in other parts of Europe, especially England, as can be noted from Table A. The fact that most of these treatises were indeed aimed at a wide reach of amateurs might possibly explain why the fingering charts of so many of those do not include the higher notes – and neither does the repertoire intended for them. The range of the fingerings presented in Baroque treatises for the recorder is also shown in Table A.[76]

[76] For the sake of completion, and in order to show that the range mostly remains the same after the Baroque period (with only a few exceptions), Table A also includes treatises dated later than 1759. Susi Möhlmeier, Frédérique Thouvenot, eds., *Méthodes & Traités 8 – Flûte à Bec*, 4 vols., vol. 1-4, Série III – Europe (Courlay: J. M. Fuzeau, 2001–2006).

Table A: Seventeenth and eighteenth century recorder methods with evidence of range

City, year	Format	Author	Title	Fingering range	Remarks
Venice?,1630	MS	Anonymous	*Tutto il Bisognevole*	F4-G6 (no F♯6)	
Ferrara?, 1677–1694	MS	Bartolomeo Bismantova	*Compendio Musicale*	G4-G6 (no G♯4, F♯6)	G alto
London, 1679	print	John Hudgebut	*A Vade Mecum*	F4-D6	
London, 1683	print	Humphrey Salter	*The Genteel Companion*	F4-D6 (+E6-G6)	
London, 1686	print	John Carr	*The Delightful Companion*	F4-D6	
late 1680s, revised c.1701	MS	Etienne Loulié	*Méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la flûte douce*	F4-G6 (no F♯6)	
London, 1695	print	Anonymous	*The Compleat Flute Master*	F4-E6	
Franeker, 1699	print	K. Douwes	*Grondig Ondersoek van de Toonen der Musijk*	C4-D6 (no C♯4, D♯4)	soprano
Paris, 1700	print	J.-P. Freillon-Poncein	*La véritable manière*	F4-G6 (no F♯6)	
London, 1706	print	Anonymous	*The fifth book of the New Flute Master*	F4-F6	
Amsterdam, 1707	print	Jacques Hotteterre	*Principes de la flute traversiere*	F4-G6 (no F♯6)	
Amsterdam, 1720	print	J. C. Schickhardt	*Principes de la flûte*	F4-G6 (no F♯6)	
London, 1722	print	Anonymous	*The compleat Musick-Master*	F4-F6	
Valencia, 1720 (copied 1767)	MS	Pedro Rabassa	*Guia Para los Principiantes, que dessean Perfeycionarse en la Compossicion de la Mussica* [sic]	F4-G6 (no sharps or flats)	no fingerings
London, 1730	print	Pierre Prelleur	*Directions for playing on the flute*	F4-F6 (no F♯4, G♯4)	
London, c.1730	print	Anonymous	*The Bird Fancyer's Delight*	F4-F6	
Schwäbisch-Hall, 1732	print	J. F. B. C. Majer	*Museum Musicum Theoretico Practicum*	F4-B6	
London, c.1732	print	Thomas Stanesby	*A new system*	C4-D♯6	tenor
London, c.1735	print	Daniel Wright	*The compleat tutor*	F4-G6 (no F♯4, F♯6)	
Erfurt, 1738	print	J. P. Eisel	*Musicus autodidactos*	F4-G6 (no F♯4)	
London, 1746	print	William Tans'ur	*A new Musical Grammar*	F4-D6 (no F♯4, G♯4)	
London, 1750	print	Anonymous	*The Compleat Tutor for the Flute*	F4-F6 (no F♯4)	
Liverpool, 1754	print	John Sadler	*The muses delight*	F4-G6 (no F♯4, F♯6)	
London, 1772	print	William Tans'ur	*The elements of Musick*	F4-F6 (no F♯4, G♯4)	
Paris, 1772	print	L.-J. Francoeur	*Diapason Général de tous les Instruments a Vent*	F4-G6	no fingerings
Madrid, 1774	print	Pablo Minguet y Yrol	*Reglas, y advertencias generales*	F4-C7	
London, c.1775	print	Anonymous	*The Compleat Tutor*	F4-G6 (no no F♯4, F♯6)	
Paris, 1780	print	J.-B. Laborde	*Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne*	F4-G6	flageolet; no fingerings
London, 1780	print	Anonymous	*Compleat Instructions, for the Common Flute*	F4-G6 (no F♯4, F♯6)	
Paris, 1788	print	n.a.	*Encyclopedie methodique*	F4-G6 (no F♯6)	
London, c.1790	print	Anonymous	*New and Complete Instructions for the Common flute*	F4-G6 (no F♯4, F♯6)	
Amsterdam, 1795	print	Joos V. Reynvaan	*Muzijkaal Kunst-Woordenboek*	F4-B6	
London, n.d.	print	Anonymous	*Directions for playing on the flute*	F4-G6 (no F♯4, G♯4, F♯6)	
London, n.d.	print	Anonymous	*The Complete Flute Master*	F4-A6	

On the recorder repertoire in Italy during the Baroque period

Considering the great amount of instrumental music written in Baroque Italy specifically for the recorder,[77] it seems strange that the actual instruments have not been under complete scrutiny by organologists, makers and players alike, as information gleaned from such an investigation would be indispensable in the revival of both the instruments themselves and the music written for them.



Figure B. Italian engraving, mid-eighteenth century by Giovanni Cattini (c.1715–1804) entitled The Recorder Lesson, after a drawing by Giambattista Piazzetta (1682–1754), whose original painting is part of a private collection in Venice. Collection: Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.[78]

[77] Federico Maria Sardelli, "Il flauto nell'Italia nel primo Settecento." pp. 103-152, which treats not only the recorder but also the traverso repertoire in Baroque Italy, and especially in Venice. See also Richard A. McGowan, *Italian Baroque Solo Sonatas for the Recorder and the Flute*, vol. 37 (Detroit: Detroit Studies in Music Bibliography, 1978).

[78] Giovanni Cattini, "[The Recorder Lesson]." *The Library of Congress Performing Arts Encyclopedia*. Library of Congress, accessed October 10, 2014, http://lcweb2.loc.gov/diglib/ihas/loc.natlib.miller.0164/default.html.

Focusing on this rich Italian Baroque repertoire, let us try to draw a map of the places in which it was composed and/or published. Aside from the wealth of music that comes from Naples, and which will be discussed thoroughly in Chapter 2, the repertoire is largely concentrated in Venice. This is no surprise, given that Venice was an important breeding ground for wind instrument players[79] (we should not forget the importance of the Bassanos, the famous Venetian family of musicians, composers and instrument makers) as well as an established center of both composition and music printing. Italian music was very much in vogue everywhere in Europe in the early eighteenth century, partly because of the flood of various editions by John Walsh (c. 1665–1736); what was not published in Amsterdam or London, was often printed in Venice.

Venice was a recorder playing heaven, as shown in the list below, largely drawn from Sardelli's elucidating article of 2004:[80]

- Antonio Vivaldi (1678–1741) is represented by twenty concertos and sonatas for recorder: RV 52, 86, 87, 90 (chamber version), 92, 94, 95, 101, 103, 105, 108, 441, 443, 444, 445, 555, 556, 558, 566, 576, 577, 585 and the more recently discovered RV 806.
- A miscellaneous (Venetian) manuscript collection of sonatas for one or two recorders that stems from the Querini family is extant in Venice and includes, in addition to Vivaldi's RV 52, a sonata by Diogenio Bigaglia (c. 1676–c. 1745).[81]
- Allessandro Santini's six sonatas are extant in manuscript form, also stemming from the Querini collection.[82]
- An anonymous collection of *Minueti e Ariete da Batelo per Flauto dolce* that once belonged to the Venetian Carminati family is also extant.[83]
- Benedetto Marcello (1686–1739) published his *XII Suonate a flauto solo* Op. 2 with the Venetian publisher Giuseppe Sala (c. 1643–1727) in 1712 (the collection was reprinted in Amsterdam and London in 1732). Four further sonatas of

[79] David Lasocki, "Recorder".

[80] Federico Maria Sardelli, "Il flauto nell'Italia nel primo Settecento." Also: David Lasocki, "Recorder". On Venetian instrumental music in general, see Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *Venetian Instrumental Music from Gabrieli to Vivaldi* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1975). For a collection of essays on various aspects of music in Venice (as well as Rome) at the time of Vivaldi, see Michael Talbot, *Venetian Music in the Age of Vivaldi*, Variorum Collected Studies Series (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999). If not specified, the composers were born in Venice.

[81] Sonate à Flauto Solo, I-Vqs, Cl. VIII, Cod. 27. Federico Maria Sardelli, "Il flauto nell'Italia nel primo Settecento."

[82] I-Vqs, MS. 1129, Cl. VIII, Cod. 29. Ibid. Santini's dates, birth and work place are unknown.

[83] I-Vmc, fondo Carminati, busta n. 64. Ibid.

Marcello's are to be found in manuscript: three in the Bibliotheca Fürstenbergiana (with other three sonatas published in his Op.2),[84] and a further manuscript in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana which contains the Sonata Op. 2/II in D Minor (as well as another anonymous one).[85] A *Concerto di Flauti*[86] for seven recorders and strings by Benedetto's brother Alessandro Marcello (1669–1747) is also extant.

- The Florentine Francesco Maria Veracini (1690–1768) dated the Venetian manuscript of twelve *Sonate a Violino, o Flauto solo, e basso* in 1716.
- Ignazio Sieber (c. 1688–1761), an Austrian who taught at the Pietà in Venice, had his six sonatas printed[87] by Jeanne Roger (1701–1722) in Amsterdam c. 1717.
- Born in Ferrara, Paolo Benedetto Bellinzani (c. 1690–1757) published his twelve *Sonate a flauto solo* Op. 3 in 1720, with the Venetian printer Antonio Bortoli.
- Diogenio Bigaglia had his set of *XII Sonate a Violino Solo o Sia Flauto* Op.1 published in Amsterdam c. 1722 by Michel-Charles Le Cène.

The list is not less impressive outside of Venice (and Naples):[88]

- The six *Suonate Da Camera à Flauto è Basso Del Sig.r Garzaroli*[89] are accompanied in the same manuscript collection by another anonymous *Sonata à Flauto solo*.[90]

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[84] D-HRD, Fü3602a.

[85] I-Vnm, fondo Contarini, Cod. it. Cl IV, 472.5, 472.6. Federico Maria Sardelli, "Il flauto nell'Italia nel primo Settecento."

[86] His concerto is the fourth in the collection *Concerti di vari strumenti,* I-Vnm, Cod. It. IV-573(=9853). Ibid.

[87] Printed along with six more sonatas by Johann Ernst Galliard. The print can be found at D-MÜu, DK-Kk and GB-Lam. Sieber's sonatas share similarities with others by Vivaldi and Veracini, attesting to the Venetian birth of his sonatas. See: Federico Maria Sardelli, "Una nuova sonata per flauto dritto di Vivaldi," *Studi Vivaldiani: Rivista annuale dell'Istituto Antonio Vivaldi della Fondazione Giorgio Cini* 6 (2006). Nico Chaves, "Ignazio Sieber, the performer," in *Master's Research Paper* (Utrecht Conservatory, 2009).

[88] This list leaves out those works set for the recorder, but originally composed for other instruments as is the case with Dall'Abaco's violin sonatas *accomodées* in France (also) for recorder and Corelli's violin sonatas and *concerti grossi* heavily explored by Walsh, although the collection *Sinfonie di Varij Autori* included above does contain a fair amount of music which is adapted to the recorder from the violin. It should be noted that the list does not include those works that have been lost during World War II, such as the "Concertino Fl. à bec, str, bc" (in D Minor and in three movements, D-DS/Mus. 5278/22) by Giuseppe Antonio Brescianello. The work, now lost, was originally in Darmstadt as part of a collection of nine concertos by Brescianello. My appreciation to Ton Koopman for acquainting me with the existence of the work and to Dr. Nicola Schneider for providing me with the detailed reference. "For purposes of my researches of the war losses of German music libraries […] I let digitize that part of the Noack catalogue containing the items burned during the British air raid in 1944. The library now has made it accessible online at this address: http://picasaweb.google.com/117060377773607676574." Dr. Nicola Schneider, private communication. About the music collections lost in Germany during World War II (especially Karlsruhe, Darmstadt and Dresden), see: Nicola Schneider, "Die Kriegsverluste der Musiksammlungen deutscher Bibliotheken 1942–1945" (PhD, University of Zurich, 2013). This thesis can be found online: http://opac.nebis.ch/ediss/20141896.pdf.

- The manuscript collection *Sinfonie di Varij Autori*, originally from Lucca, now in Parma,[91] includes works by a variety of authors, also from Naples and Venice.
- Fifty "flauto" sonatas by the Milanese Giuseppe Sammartini (1685–1750) are found in manuscript form: seventeen held in Parma,[92] twenty-seven in Rochester,[93] and six in New York.[94]
- Twelve trios (Amsterdam, 1704) of Nicola Francesco Haym (1678–1729), who was Roman born but of German descent, are extant.
- Robert Valentine (c. 1674–c. 1735), an Englishman who spent his life in Italy, composed twelve sonatas Op. 2,[95] twelve sonatas Op. 3[96] and six sonatas Op. 5[97], as well as the three manuscript collections kept in Parma.[98]
- Martino Bitti's (c. 1655–1743) eight *Sonate a due, Violino, e Basso, Per suonarsi con Flauto, o'vero Violino* were published in London by J. Walsh and J. Hare c. 1711, and reprinted in 1712 as *Solos for a Flute with a thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin*.
- Giovanni Bononcini's (1670–1747) *Divertimenti da Camera pel [sic] Violino o Flauto*, were self-published in London in 1722 (and republished by J. Walsh in 1733 as *Sonatas or Chamber Aires for a German Flute, Violin, or Common Flute*).
- Francesco Barsanti's (1690–1772) six *Sonate a Flauto, o Violino solo con Basso* were published by an anonymous publisher in London in 1724 (and again c. 1727 by J. Walsh and J. Hare as *Sonatas or Solos for a Flute*).
- Three *Sonatas a Flauto solo, e Basso* by Antonio Micheli di Lucca (1723–c. 1805), dated 1749, 1750 and 1752, exist in manuscript form, with three distinct front pages.[99]

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[89] A-Wn, Estensische Musikalien, 32. Federico Maria Sardelli, "Il flauto nell'Italia nel primo Settecento." We do not know anything about Garzaroli but his last name.

[90] A-Wn, Estensische Musikalien, 66. Ibid.

[91] I-PAc/Ms. CF-V-23.

[92] I-PAc/Ms. CF-V-20.

[93] US-R/M241-S189.

[94] US-NYp/JOG 72-29, vol. 17.

[95] Four editions: Rome, 1708; Amsterdam, c. 1709–1712 and c. 1710–1713; London, c. 1730.

[96] Three editions: Rome, 1710; Amsterdam, c. 1712; London, c. 1730.

[97] Rome, undated.

[98] As reported by Sardelli, *Sinfonie di Roberto Valentini Inglese* (two collections of six sonatas for recorder and bass, and one collection of duets), I-PAp, Sanv. D. 145 (M.IV.11), and the twelve *Sinfonie di Roberto Valentini Opera XI,* I-Pap, Sanv. D. 146 (M.IV.10). Federico Maria Sardelli, "Il flauto nell'Italia nel primo Settecento."

The significance of this extensive repertoire can be summarized as follows:

- these works have the function of molding an idiomaticity for the recorder, even if – ironically – they are mostly composed by non-recorder players. In other words, these works show the possibilities and impossibilities of the recorder, and push the boundaries of the instrument further;
- the works carry a strong Italian 'accent';
- in addition, this repertoire is shaped by the constraints and capabilities of the actual recorders of the time.

The latter aspect did not last long if compared to the traverso and oboe, for example, which would go on to change considerably by the technical demands of evolving repertoires. But what little time the recorder had to mature, clearly affected the construction of the instrument itself during these golden decades. Italy being such a fertile ground for the musical writing for the instrument offered inspiration in the design and construction of the tools necessary to perform this repertoire. This will be examined in Chapter 1.

The explosion of the recorder repertoire in Naples

In the period between c. 1715 and c. 1730, the recorder seems to have enjoyed special attention from Neapolitan composers. Venice aside, no other Italian city saw such a high number of works written particularly for this instrument in the Baroque period. With appearances in operas and oratorios as well, it is difficult to say when it was introduced to Neapolitan musical life, and where this relative popularity stems from. The bulk of the repertoire referred to here is instrumental, and most of it dates from 1724–1728, as will be seen in Chapter 2.

In Italian vocal contexts, the recorder is usually seen as an ideal Arcadian, pastoral instrument. The extant instrumental repertoire has both an amateur facet and one of professional virtuosity. The fact that the bulk of the repertoire was not distributed in print points to a private market, and might explain the higher technical demand in many of the pieces. The status of the Neapolitan recorder (being present both in amateur as well as professional circles) is rather exceptional, especially when one remembers that the main monodic instrument in Italy from the second half of the seventeenth century onward was

[99] Manuscript location not found. Facsimile by Musica, Musica (Basel) and modern edition by Les Cahiers du Tourdion (Strasbourg).

the violin and that there was very little if any instrumental recorder music written in Spain or in Austria during the Baroque period.

The style of instrumental writing for the recorder in Naples during this period is, at its core, absolutely vocal. The music mostly does not demand flashy technical virtuosity, neither is it light entertainment; it calls for theatrical contrasts of moods and affects,[100] and its true virtuosity lies in being able to portray all of these with a recorder.

The intention of this study is to explore the finesse and richness of sound that I believe this music calls for. It is exactly this aspect of playing Neapolitan Baroque music that appeals so much to me as a player: its *cantabile* quality, the eloquence it brings out in such a straightforward instrument as a recorder.

[100] This trait can be especially observed in Mancini's sonatas and concertos, particularly between the first and second movements of Man.CON.11, and in the contrasting sections of the first movement of Man.SON.07. More details about these works can be found in Chapter 2 and Appendix 2.

Quanto più quest'instrumento è cognito, tanto più incognita è la fabrica sua…
Anonymous, *Tutto il bisognevole per sonar il flauto da 8 fori con pratica et orecchia* (1630)

Chapter 1: Italian Baroque Recorders

1.1 Brief overview

The process of studying, measuring, copying and playing on Italian Baroque[101] recorders has one way or another been left slightly by the curb line of the Early Music highway. Instruments by Peter Bressan, the Stanesbys (Sr. and Jr.) and Jacob Denner, amongst others, have (rightfully) enjoyed pride place as the models most studied[102] and copied, and therefore known and used, for all styles of Baroque music written for the recorder. It is no coincidence that the recorder pioneers of the Early Music revival owned or had access to originals from those makers, and that, enchanted by these early pioneers' virtuosity and charisma, pupils and makers would want to copy those models first. Yet it is high time to start turning some of our attention to other models of recorders, which, while slightly less famous today, might have enjoyed local and even international fame during the Baroque period, and which certainly imprinted their characteristics on the music written for them.

Given the vast amount of music written in Baroque Naples specifically for the recorder,[103] it seemed only natural to look for Neapolitan recorders that might enrich our understanding of this world. As no previous studies regarding Neapolitan recorders were

[101] See the Glossary and the Introduction for the application of the word 'baroque' in relation to the period of study as well as in regard to the type of recorders that were researched.

[102] Important studies, focused on the technical aspects of Baroque recorders, which also contain biographical information on the makers, include: Thomas Lerch, *Vergleichende Untersuchung von Bohrungsprofilen Historischer Blockflöten des Barock* (Berlin: Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Preussischer Kulturbesitz Musikinstrumenten-Museum, 1996). Jan Bouterse, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments and their Makers, 1660–1760*, trans. Ruth Koenig (Den Haag: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2005). Rob van Acht, Vincent van den Ende, Hans Schimmel, *Dutch Recorders of the 18th Century: Collection Haags Gemeentemuseum* (Celle: Moeck Verlag, 1991). Eric Halfpenny, "The English Baroque Treble Recorder," *The Galpin Society Journal* 9, no. June (1956). pp. 82-90. Relevant studies which include historical evidence around the instrument makers include: Martin Kirnbauer, Peter Thalhemer, Catherine Taylor, "Jacob Denner and the Development of the Flute in Germany," *Early Music* 23, no. 1, Flute Issue (February) (1995). pp. 82-100. David Lasocki, "New Light on Eighteenth-Century English Woodwind Makers from Newspaper Advertisements," *The Galpin Society Journal* 63 (2010). pp. 73-142. Maurice Byrne, "Pierre Jaillard, Peter Bressan," *The Galpin Society Journal* 36, no. March (1983). pp. 2-28. Eric Halfpenny, "Biographical Notices of the Early English Woodwind-Making School, c.1650–1750," *The Galpin Society Journal* 12, no. May (1959). pp. 44-52. Eric Halfpenny, "Further Light on the Stanesby Family," *The Galpin Society Journal* 13, no. July (1960). pp. 59-69. Maurice Byrne, "Some More on Stanesby Junior," *The Galpin Society Journal* 45, no. March (1992). pp. 115-122. For further complementary studies, see: Phillip T. Young, "Woodwind Instruments by the Denners of Nürnberg," *The Galpin Society Journal* 20, no. March (1967). Dale S. Higbee, "A Plea for the Tenor Recorder by Thomas Stanesby, Jr.," *The Galpin Society Journal* 15, no. March (1962).

[103] As will be seen in Chapter 2.

available,[104] and acknowledging that, surprisingly, the substantial amount of music written for the recorder in the Baroque period in Italy[105] as a whole had not inspired any collective research on the instruments, it seemed relevant to direct one's attention to the actual instruments made in Italy at that time, as means of better understanding this vast corpus of music. This study presents an overview of the currently known Italian Baroque makers and their extant instruments. Though not comprehensive,[106] it will examine a broad enough range of recorders to attempt to define 'Italian', but also present in-depth studies of a few particular instruments; as a part of this study, some of these recorders have been reproduced and used in concerts and recordings of the repertoire.

It is important to mention that this study does not include Italian Baroque double-recorders.[107] Although these technically belong to the recorder family, it seems more useful to focus on instruments of analogous physical characteristics, and which had obvious use in the repertoire which was considered. Also excluded from this study are the marble recorders

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[104] Information on the research available on the production of instruments in Naples in the eighteenth century can be found in Francesco Nocerino, "Gli strumenti musicali a Napoli nel secolo XVIII," in *Storia della musica e dello spettacolo a Napoli. Il Settecento*, ed. P. Maione F. Cotticelli, vol. 2 (Naples: Turchini Edizioni, 2009). Also in Giovanni Paolo Di Stefano, "Documentary Evidence Concerning the Early History of Vincenzo Trusiano and the Panormo Family of Instrument Makers in Italy," *Journal of the Violin Society of America* XXIV, no. 2 (Fall) (2014). pp. 51-61. Giovanni Paolo Di Stefano, "Panormo." *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, Vol. 80*. Treccani, accessed September 24, 2014, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/panormo_(Dizionario-Biografico). Complimentary to these is the very valuable research on notarial inventories examined by Renato Ruotolo, "Spazi per la musica e dipinti di soggetto musicale del Settecento napoletano, con qualche nota sul fenomeno del dilettantismo musicale," in *Il Tempo di Niccolò Piccinni, Percorsi di un musicista del Settecento*, ed. Clara Gelao and Michèle Sajous D'Oria (Bari: Mario Adda Editore, 2000). pp. 35-44.

[105] See Federico Maria Sardelli, "Il flauto nell'Italia nel primo Settecento," *Ad Parnassum* II, no. 3 (2004). pp. 103-152. Treats not only the recorder but also the traverso repertoire in Baroque Italy, and especially in Venice. See also Richard A. McGowan, *Italian Baroque Solo Sonatas for the Recorder and the Flute*, vol. 37 (Detroit: Detroit Studies in Music Bibliography, 1978).

[106] The present author is convinced that many extant instruments remain unreported and therefore unstudied, intentionally or not, in private collections.

[107] Such as the six Anciuti double recorders documented in: Alfredo Bernardini, Renato Meucci, "L'oboe d'avorio di Anciuti (1722)," in *Rassegna di Studi e di Notizie*, vol. 26 (Milan: Civica Raccolta Stampe Bertorelli, 2002). pp. 371-383. Early descriptions of 'flauto doppio' in general refer to types of tibia (the ancient Roman wind instrument) such as the one portrayed by Bonnani, where two individual instruments are played concomitantly. The double recorders made by Anciuti are of a different type though, probably similar to the instrument invented by Michel Parent in Amsterdam in 1692; Meucci describes Anciuti's double recorders as

> *"the fruit of brilliant turning: the two adjacent bores separated by a thin dividing wall were all made from a single piece of ivory […] The same divider also separates the finger holes, allowing one finger to close two holes at the same time and thus create two different notes. These notes are tuned in intervals of a third, hence the alternative name of 'flûte d'accord', these double recorders represent "a type of instrument that was widely made but for which there is no specific musical repertory."*

Franca Falletti, Renato Meucci, Gabriele Rossi-Rognoni, "Marvels of Sound and Beauty, Italian Baroque Musical Instruments," ed. Firenze Musei (Florence: Giunti, 2007). p. 219. Filippo Bonanni, *Gabinetto armonico pieno d'instrumenti sonori*, 2nd ed. (Rome: Placho, 1723). p. 63.

attributed to Grandi,[108] which are surely art works or curiosities more than musical instruments. All the instruments under scrutiny are included in Appendix 1: Catalogue of Italian Baroque recorders, as an overview of the entirety of the information gathered thus far.[109]

1.2 Italian Baroque makers and their twenty-seven extant recorders: what was studied

The Italian Peninsula is now especially famous for its manufacture of bowed and plucked instruments, from early times. In the so-called Early Music revival, woodwinds, and in particular recorders, have been associated more often with French (e.g. the Hotteterres, Jean Jacques Rippert), English (e.g. Bressan, Stanesby Sr. and Jr.), Dutch (e.g. Richard Haka and Jan Steenbergen) and German (e.g. Denner, Johann Wilhelm Oberlender) makers. Although some attention has since been paid to Italian woodwinds, mainly oboes and traversos, Italian recorders have been somewhat cast-aside, only being remembered when speaking of Renaissance consorts and the Bassanos,[110] or when original Baroque models close to A=440 Hz (namely, 'copies' of Giovanni Maria Anciuti recorders) are needed for modern reproduction.

Numbers are not in Italy's favor: Bruce Haynes listed 373 Baroque recorders in his Appendix 5 to *The story of "A".*[111] Out of his list, only thirteen were of Italian origin.[112] The

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[108] Michele Antonio Grandi (1635–1700): a recorder in white marble is housed at the Musée de la Musique (Paris) and one in white marble with a red stain is in the Galleria Estense (Modena). Franca Falletti, Renato Meucci, Gabriele Rossi-Rognoni, "Marvels of Sound and Beauty, Italian Baroque Musical Instruments." pp. 180-181.

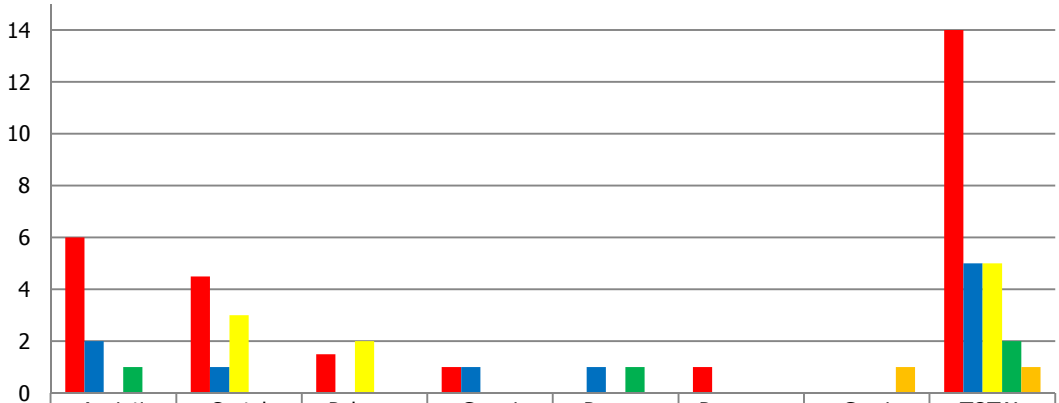
[109] The aim in Chapter 1 was to offer a basic understanding of the Italian Baroque recorders currently extant, a quest born out of my own frustration in not finding this information gathered elsewhere. This chapter was therefore written especially for those who are not recorder makers or researchers of recorder making – the latter being the ones who would have been capable of carrying out this study on their own. As only very little of what is presented here was previously available at all, this work shall naturally be expanded in the future, and I hope to have inspired others to do so. Since it was also the first time this data was collected in one place, until the overview was available it would have been rather difficult for anyone to assess what was there to be researched. All that was gathered is found in Appendix 1, and specialists in the field will naturally refer directly to it in order to draw their own conclusions. Written from the point of view of a performer, I have not described every instrument examined *in loco* in the same way, but in fact 'plucked out' what captivated me, offering a chance for those who will not hold the instruments in their hands to be able to 'see' them in their three-dimensionality. It is important to point out that the linking of technical details with sound and 'speaking' qualities is offered here precisely because this study was approached from the angle of artistic research, and my interest was always to 'translate' into the playing realm what the paper cannot; this could only have been done by a professional player, and this is therefore my personal contribution to the subject. Some of my remarks and conclusions are derived from practical experience with recorders (originals and copies, by various makers), from informal conversations with recorder makers and other players, and from the literature presented, for example, in footnote 101 (p. 27). Much of this is knowledge embodied over many, many years, and as such I also use myself as a source.

[110] About the Bassanos, please refer to the Introduction.

[111] Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch / The story of "A"* (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2002). p. 441.

present study increases this number of Italian instruments considerably, more than doubling it to the current twenty-seven instruments by seven makers, scattered in public and private collections around the world,[113] and ranging in size from sopranino to bass,[114] as shown in Chart 1.2.1.[115]

Chart 1.2.1: Extant Italian Baroque recorders in sizes and numbers



	Anciuti	Castel	Palanca	Grassi	Perosa	Panormo	Garsi	TOTAL
alto	6	4,5	1,5	1	0	1	0	14
sopranino	2	1	0	1	1	0	0	5
tenor	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	5
soprano	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
bass	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1

[112] Ibid. p. 452.

[113] See, at the end, the List of Consulted Collections. The majority of instruments in this compilation, contained in Table 1.2.1, is listed by Waterhouse and Young: William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index* (London: Tony Bingham, 1992). Phillip T. Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993). The information was otherwise completed in private communication with the respective collections and collectors or consulting the following: Laura E. Gilliam, William Lichtenwanger, *The Dayton C. Miller Flute Collection: A Checklist of the Instruments* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1961). Michael Seyfrit, *Musical Instruments in the Dayton C. Miller Flute Collection at the Library of Congress: A Catalog*, vol. I: Recorders, Fifes, and Simple System Transverse Flutes of One Key (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1982). Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch / The story of "A"*. Nicholas S. Lander, "Recorder Home Page: Original Recorders, Makers & Collections." accessed November 12, 2013, http://www.recorderhomepage.net/original.html. Franca Falletti, Renato Meucci, Gabriele Rossi-Rognoni, "Marvels of Sound and Beauty, Italian Baroque Musical Instruments." Anthony Baines, *Catalogue of Musical Instruments in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, vol. Part II: Non-Keyboard Instruments (London: V&A Publications, 2002). Guido Bizzi, Lorenzo Girodo, *La collezione di strumenti musicali del Museo Teatrale alla Scala* (Cinisello Balsamo, Milan: Edizioni Il Laboratorio da Amilcare Pizzi s.p.a. Arti Grafiche, 1991). *Historic Musical Instruments in the Edinburgh University Collection*, ed. Arnold Myers, vol. Part D, Fascicle i: Recorders and Flageolets, 1st edition. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments, 2000). Luisa Cervelli, *La Galleria Armonica: catalogo del Museo degli strumenti musicali di Roma* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1994). Richard Rephann, *A catalogue of the Pedro Traversari Collection of musical instruments* (Washington, D.C.: Organization of American States, 1978). Gerhard Stradner, *Musikinstrumente in Grazer Sammlungen (Grazer Öffentliche Sammlungen)*, vol. XI, Tabulae Musicae Austraiacae (Vienna: Verlag der Österr. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1986).

[114] The Garsi bass, although too late for the present study, has nonetheless been included in the instrument list as it is the only eighteenth-century Italian bass currently known. The fact that this instrument was even produced at such a late date is also puzzling.

[115] Voice-flutes are grouped as tenors in Chart 1.2.1.

Other makers certainly existed; we know of some makers who made recorders, but none seem to have survived. This is the case of Andrea Fornari: in a petition of 1791, as a true "flautajo,"[116] Fornari declared that he made, among a long list of other instruments, "Flauto a Becco Corista, Detto a Becco Terzetto, Detto a Becco Ottavin."[117]

Table 1.2.1 details all twenty-seven extant Italian recorders:[118] nine by Anciuti,[119] eight by Castel, one by Castel (head joint) and Palanca (middle and foot joints), one by Garsi, two by Grassi, three by Palanca (one of which with flageolet features[120]), one by Panormo and two by Perosa.[121] A very similar, though less detailed, table was published in

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[116] A craftsman of all wind instruments, such as traversos, recorders, oboes, bagpipes, trumpets, horns etc. Stefano Toffolo, "La costruzione degli strumenti musicali a Venezia dal XVI al XIX secolo," *Il flauto dolce* 14/15, no. April-October (1986). p. 25.

[117] Translation by the present author: "an alto recorder (in F), a third flute (in A, soprano or alto?) and an octave flute (sopranino in F)." Fornari lists later a "Flauto Traverso un ottava più basso del Corista," leaving no doubt he is not speaking of pitch, but of nominal sizes. Stefano Toffolo, *Antichi strumenti veneziani 1500–1800: Quattro secoli di liuteria e cembalaria* (Venice: Arsenale Editrice, 1987). p. 214. The term *corista*, as seen in the Introduction, should be understood as 'general pitch standard'. Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch / The story of "A"*. p. 159. In the fourth edition of the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, the following definitions of *corista* are given: "II. Onde Tuono corista, vale Tuono, che s'adatta alle voci comuni, e Strumento corista, vale: Che non è più alto, nè più basso di quello, che può servire pe' cori. […] III. Corista si dice ancora da' musici un Flautino, di cui si servono per accordare, e ridurre gli strumenti al tuono corista." Translation by the present author: "II. Chorister tone, that is, tone which adapts itself to the common voices, and chorister instrument, that which is neither higher nor lower, and can serve the choirs. […] III. Chorister is used also by the musicians to mean a small recorder, which they use to tune, and adapt their instruments to the chorister tone." Accademici della Crusca, "Corista," in *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (Florence: Domenico Maria Manni, 1729–1738).

[118] For the sake of practicality in identifying the recorders mentioned here and detailed in Appendix 1, all have been assigned 'numbers'. These are generally formed by the first three letters of a maker's name, followed by the first three letters of the size of instrument, followed by a two digit number, e.g. Anonymous Alto 'no. 1' = Ano.ALT.01. Soprano and sopranino needed to be distinguished and were therefore catalogued with the abbreviations SPO and SPI, respectively.

[119] Two more Anciuti recorders are signaled by Meucci, without confirmation of current ownership: a sopranino marked 'ANCIVTI / A MILAN / 1715' sold at Sotheby's on 17 November 1994 (LN6484, LOT 23) and an alto attributed to Anciuti sold at Christie's on 16 June 1999 (SALE 8419, LOT 40). Alfredo Bernardini, Renato Meucci, "L'oboe d'avorio di Anciuti (1722)." This alto cannot be verified on the sales records of that day at Christie's, though, and the Sotheby's website did not come up with a result for that sopranino either. A third instrument, a sopranino recently in the collection of Barons Nathaniel and Albert von Rothschild (Rothschild inv. no. AR1384), also attributed to Anciuti, was indeed sold at Christie's (along with three other recorders) at a different auction on 8 July 1999 (SALE 6179, LOT 40: http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot/an-ivory-sopranino-recorder-probably-milanese-in-1479890-details.aspx?from=salesummary&intObjectID=1479890&sid=cdb02e91-bb54-4aca-97c9-b58146203330, accessed November 14, 2013). Finally, a fourth instrument by Anciuti is said to be in a private collection in Switzerland, size unknown to me (Ralf Netsch, private communication). As neither of those could really be confirmed, they are not included in the lists of this chapter.

[120] This instrument is housed at the Copenhagen Musikhistorisk Museum (Danish Music Museum), and has always been listed as an alto recorder. It does possess all the physical qualities of a recorder but it also has a flageolet mouthpiece (with a sponge). Although this mouthpiece diverges from all the other instruments listed, considering that the rest of the instrument corresponds to a 'normal' recorder, it was deemed important to include it in the comparisons. The drawings and measurements very kindly drawn up by Ture Bergstrøm (curator) were therefore also included in Appendix 1.

[121] It is important to take into account that it is, unfortunately, in the nature of private collectors to conceal their collections from the public. I suspect the majority of extant Italian Baroque recorders to be indeed in private hands, and, in most cases, to have escaped attention thus far. As this study will continue further, I would be especially keen to find out how many extant instruments did not make it into the current list. Individually, these may seem irrelevant, but the fact that we are not able to group and compare them delays and impairs our knowledge. It is especially difficult to assert the

an article in 2013,[122] then also accounting for twenty-seven instruments; however, that list was slightly different. An instrument there attributed to 'Montazzavi' was in fact signed Montazeaud or Montazzaud,[123] and has not been included in Table 1.2.1, and the current list also includes a previously unknown alto by Anciuti in a private collection in Parma.[124]

Table 1.2.1: Italian recorder makers of the Baroque period and extant recorders

Maker	Maker's mark	Dates	Cities	Collections and extant instruments
ANCIUTI, Giovanni Maria[125]	[lion of Venice] ANCIVTI A MILAN[O]	1674–1744	Forni di Sopra, Venice, Milan	- Anc.ALT.01: alto in F (in boxwood, dated 1717), 10.484, A.G.lj, Landesmuseum Joanneum, Graz - Anc.ALT.02: alto in F (in boxwood, dated 1720), private collection (Vagge Family, currently kept by C. Cacco), Genova - Anc.ALT.03: alto in F (in boxwood, dated 1729), private collection (Moeck), Celle - Anc.ALT.04: alto in F (in boxwood, dated 1729), private collection (?), Parma - Anc.ALT.05: alto in F (in ivory, dated 1740), 20/5 (7469-1861), GB.L.v, Victoria & Albert Museum, London - Anc.ALT.06: alto in G (in ivory, undated), MTS-FD/03, I.M.ts, Teatro alla Scala, Milan - Anc.SPI.01: sopranino in F (in ivory, dated 1709), private collection (F. Velluti), Belluno - Anc.SPI.02: sopranino in F with missing head (in boxwood and ivory, dated 1733), 470, D.B.im, Musikinstrumenten Museum, Berlin - Anc.SPO.01: soprano in B♭ (in stained boxwood, dated 1725), 146 (MTS-FD/02), Conservatorio di Musica Giuseppe Verdi, Milan

brilliance of those Italian makers of which only a handful of instruments is available for study, in contrast with the vast number of instruments by Bressan and Denner, for example, which are known, studied, copied and used in performance. It should therefore lie in the interest of collections and collectors that the makers' output be further investigated, as only in this way the cultural (and economic) value of the 'collectable' can be ascertained.

[122] Inês de Avena Braga, "The Panormo Alto Recorder: A *Dolce Flauto Dolce*?," *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* XXXVIII (2012). pp. 34-46.

[123] In an incorrect deduction which clearly originated from only examining the mark on the foot of the instrument, this recorder had been listed in previous studies as marked 'Montazzavi', and, because of its name, was considered Italian (William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index*. p. 270.) No information on such a maker has come to the surface up till now. Upon our closer examination of the marks on the body and head of the instrument it is possible to affirm that this instrument is not by Montazzavi (if there ever was such a maker), but in fact by Montazeaud or Montazzaud, though no information was found on this maker either. The new name and the crude construction of the instrument have excluded it from detailed measurements for this study, but pictures are included in Appendix 1, for future reference.

[124] The existence of this instrument is only known thanks to the website of Francesco Li Virghi (Francesco Li Virghi, "J. M. Anciuti alto in F at A = 440 Hz." accessed January 12, 2015, http://www.livirghi.com/baroque-recorders/j-m-anciuti-alto-in-fa.) What is known is that the instrument is in a private collection (supposedly in Parma) and was measured during a Verdi exhibition in 1982-83 by Li Virghi, who very kindly provided a copy of his drawing and measurements. Current ownership is unknown to the present author.

[125] Francesco Carreras, Cinzia Meroni, "Giovanni Maria Anciuti: a craftsman at work in Milan and Venice," *Recercare* XX, no. 1-2 (2008). Alfredo Bernardini, Renato Meucci, "L'oboe d'avorio di Anciuti (1722)." pp. 181-215.

CASTEL & CASTEL, N. [126]	*[with or without stylized]* N or И CASTEL. [griffin/lion rampant]	fl. 1720–1750	Venice	- Cas.ALT.01: alto in F (in ebony and ivory), C168, F.NI.pl, Palais Lascaris, Nice - Cas.ALT.02: alto in F (in stained pearwood), 3261, EC.Q.t, Museo de Instrumentos Musicales Pablo Traversari, Quito - Cas.ALT.03: alto in F (in boxwood), 887|644,[127] I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome - Cas.ALT.04: alto in F (in stained pearwood?), 879|1421, I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome - Cas.SPI.01: sopranino in F (in ivory), 3323, GB.E.u, Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments - Cas.VOI.01: voice-flute in D (in boxwood), 170, I.R.an, Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, Rome - Cas.VOI.02: voice-flute in D (in boxwood and metal), 884|698, I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome - Cas.VOI.03: voice-flute in D or tenor in C (in stained pearwood), I.N.111, A.W.gm, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna
CASTEL/ PALANCA	*[head mark by Castel, body and foot by Palanca]*			- Cas/Pal.ALT.01: alto in F (in boxwood and ivory, with thumbhole bushing, and turned silver ferrules), DCM1359, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
GARSI, Francesco [128]	[stylized sun] GARSI PARMA [stylized sun]	1764–1856	Parma	- Gar.BAS.01: bass in F (in maple and brass), 3011, I.PA.mc, Conservatorio di Musica Arrigo Boito, Parma
GRASSI, Paolo? [129]	GRASSI [B?]RASSI [unclear sign] GRASSI ИИ МILAИ[130]	fl. 1797–1802	Milan	- Gra.SPI.01: sopranino in F (in boxwood and ivory), 1113, D.LE.u, Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig - Gra.ALT.01: alto in F (in boxwood, ivory and metal), 881|638, I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome
PALANCA, Carlo[131]	CARLO PALANCA [sun, star or flower]	c. 1691–1783	Palanca, Turin	- Pal.ALT.01: alto in F (in boxwood with ivory mountings and flageolet windcap), E86, DK.K.m, Musikmuseet, Musikhistorisk Museum & Carl Claudius' Samling, Copenhagen - Pal.TEN.01: tenor in C? (boxwood): private collection (V. Gilardone), Fontanelle - Pal.TEN.02: tenor in C (boxwood/fruitwood?), DCM 1321, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
PANORMO, Giovanni[132]	IOAN: PANORM:	1746–after 1783	Palermo, Naples	- Pan.ALT.01: alto in F (in ivory), DCM 327, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[126] Francesco Carreras, "Il Flauto traverso in Italia: Tre secoli di storia nella collezione Carreras / Flute-making in Italy: Three centuries of history in the Carreras collection," ed. MUSA-Museo degli strumenti musicali dell'Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia (Rome: Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, 2009).

[127] The recorders kept at the Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali in Rome are given with double inventory numbers: firstly those used by Cervelli in the museum catalogue, followed by the internal inventory number of the museum.

[128] Francesco Carreras, "Flute making in Italy during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries," *Geschichte, Bauweise und Spieltechnik der Qüerflöte* Band 74 (2006). pp. 71-102.

[129] Franca Falletti, Renato Meucci, Gabriele Rossi-Rognoni, "Marvels of Sound and Beauty, Italian Baroque Musical Instruments." p. 166.

[130] The marks on these two instruments by Grassi are different but the stamp for "GRASSI" seems to be the same, the 'S' is clearly recognizable.

[131] Francesco Carreras, "Flute making in Italy during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries." Alfredo Bernardini, "Carlo Palanca e la costruzione di strumenti a fiato a Torino nel settecento," *Il flauto dolce* 13 (1985). pp. 22-26.

[132] Francesco Nocerino, "Gli strumenti musicali a Napoli nel secolo XVIII." pp. 795-797. Giovanni Paolo Di Stefano, "Panormo".

PEROSA, Domenico[133]	∴ PEROSA *[in a wimple or scroll]* I	c.1693–after 1757	Venice	- Per.SPO.01: soprano in C (in boxwood), SAM 153, A.W.km, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna - Per.SPI.01: sopranino in F (in ivory), private collection (G. Klemisch), Berlin

In addition, there are seven anonymous instruments,[134] shown in Table 1.2.2, which may well be of Italian origin. These have all be identified as being of Italian origin either by the museums that hold them[135] or in previous studies,[136] or present characteristics similar to that of Italian recorders as uncovered by the present study.[137]

Table 1.2.2: Anonymous recorders (of possible Italian origins) studied

Maker	Collections and extant instruments
ANONYMOUS	- Ano.SPI.01: (stolen) sopranino in F (in ivory), DCM 329, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. - Ano.SPI.02: (stolen) sopranino in F (in ivory, with engraved decorations[138]), DCM 1259, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. - Ano.ALT.01: alto in F (in fruitwood, with tortoise shell, gold and mother of pearl inlay decorations), 1124-1869, GB.L.v, Victoria & Albert Museum, London - Ano.ALT.02: alto in F (in ivory), DCM 1351, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. - Ano.ALT.03: alto in G (in stained boxwood), SAM154, A.W.km, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna - Ano.TEN.01: tenor in C (in stained boxwood, palisander block), 1135, D.LE.u, Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig[139]
(fake) BRESSAN, possibly PEROSA	- Ano.ALT.04: alto in F (in boxwood), SAM155, A.W.km, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

[133] Francesco Carreras, "Flute making in Italy during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries."

[134] Two more instruments were inspected at I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome: two Anonymous ivory sopraninos, 874|2208 and 873|77. For conservation reasons, it was not possible to produce measurements of those instruments, and therefore they are not included in this compilation. The basic details collected are nonetheless included in Appendix 1.

[135] Ano.ALT.01 and Ano.TEN.01.

[136] Ano.ALT.03 and Ano.ALT.04, by Adrian Brown, private communication.

[137] Ano.SPI.01, Ano.SPI.02 and Ano.ALT.02.

[138] The picture of this beautifully turned instrument provided by the museum shows decorations of birds, grapes and grapevines, a seated figure playing what looks like an aulos, and, more interestingly, a lion. Might this be an engraved mark of Anciuti? The fact that the instrument displays no block chamfer and virtually no upper chamfer is a strong indication that it might indeed be by Anciuti, as will be seen below.

[139] This Anonymous tenor is believed, by the museum, to be of Italian origin: "[…] Ähnlich gefleckte Blockflöten waren im 17. Jh. in Italien bekannt, vgl. J. Schlossers Kommentar zur gebeizten Marmorflöte Wien […] Die Einstufung als italienische Arbeit beruht einmal auf der Überlieferung durch A. Kraus und G. Kinsky, zum anderen auf Eigenheiten des Bohrungsverlaufes […]." Translation by the present author: "[...] Similar colored recorders were known in Italy in the seventeenth century, c.f. J. Schlosser's commentary on the stained marble flute in Vienna. […] The classification as an Italian work is based by A. Kraus and G. Kinsky, among other aspects, in peculiarities of the design of the bore [...]." University of Leipzig - Museum of Musical Instruments, "ULEI:M0001131." *MIMO*. accessed December 3, 2014, http://www.mimo-db.eu/MIMO/Infodoc/ged/View.aspx?eid=OAI_ULEI_M0001131. The instrument has therefore been included in this study. Nonetheless, as will be seen further below, the bore comparisons with other Italian instruments does not corroborate this hypothesis.

The Italian Baroque recorders examined *in loco*[140] are shown in Table 1.2.3. Of those, three have been copied as a result of this study.[141] Also closely examined was one of the unsigned recorders,[142] which presents characteristics of Italian manufacture.

Table 1.2.3: Recorders studied *in loco*

Maker	Collections and extant instruments
ANCIUTI	- Anc.ALT.03: alto (in boxwood, dated 1729), private collection (Moeck), Celle
ANONYMOUS	- Ano.ALT.01: alto (in fruitwood, with turtle shell, gold and mother of pearl inlay decorations), 1124-1869, GB.L.v, Victoria & Albert Museum, London
CASTEL	- Cas.ALT.01: alto (in ebony and ivory), C168, F.NI.pl, Palais Lascaris, Nice[143] - Cas.SPI.01: sopranino (in ivory), 3323, GB.E.u, Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments - Cas.VOI.01: voice-flute (in boxwood), 170, I.R.an, Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, Rome - Cas.ALT.03: alto (boxwood), 887|644, I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome - Cas.ALT.04: alto (in stained pearwood?), 879|1421, I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome - Cas.VOI.02: voice-flute (in boxwood and metal), 884|698, I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome
CASTEL/ PALANCA	- Cas/Pal.ALT.01: alto (in boxwood and ivory, with thumbhole bushing, and turned silver ferrules), DCM 1359, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
GRASSI	- Gra.ALT.01: alto (in boxwood, ivory and metal), 881|638, I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome
PANORMO	- Pan.ALT.01: alto (in ivory), DCM 327, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[140] All with the invaluable collaboration of Fumitaka Saito, who measured and drew up plans for those instruments. Cas/Pal.ALT.01 (DCM1359, US.W.c) could only be partly measured, for constraints of time. What was collected is included in Appendix 1.

[141] Pan.ALT.01 (in 2011), Cas.ALT.01 (in 2013) and Cas.VOI.01 (in 2015), copied by Fumitaka Saito. A copy of Per.SPO.01 was purchased from Luca de Paolis in 2014.

[142] The wonderfully ornate anonymous alto in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, previously owned by Rossini.

[143] This instrument had previously been measured by Philippe Bolton. For the purpose of copying it though, details of voicing were missing, which were then added by Fumitaka Saito. The technical plan in Appendix 1 is thus by Philippe Bolton, with complementing details by Fumitaka Saito.

Other nine Italian and six possibly Italian recorders were studied by acquiring previously available measurements, in varying levels of completion and detail, listed in Table 1.2.4.

Table 1.2.4: Recorders studied through pre-existing technical data

Maker	Collections and extant instruments
ANCIUTI	- Anc.ALT.01: alto (in boxwood, dated 1717), 10.484, A.G.lj, Landesmuseum Joanneum, Graz[144] - Anc.ALT.05: alto (in ivory, dated 1740), 20/5 (7469-1861), GB.L.v, Victoria & Albert Museum, London[145] - Anc.ALT.02: alto (in boxwood, dated 1720), private collection (Vagge Family, currently kept by C. Cacco), Genova[146] - Anc.ALT.04: alto (in boxwood, dated 1729), private collection (?), Parma[147]
ANONYMOUS	- Ano.ALT.02: alto (in ivory), DCM 1351, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.[148] - Ano.ALT.03: alto (in stained boxwood), SAM154, A.W.km, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna[149] - Ano.SPI.01: (stolen) sopranino (in ivory), DCM 329, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. [150] - Ano.SPI.02: (stolen) sopranino (in ivory, with engraved decorations), DCM 1259, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.[151] - Ano.TEN.01: tenor (in stained boxwood, palisander block), 1135, D.LE.u, Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig[152]
(fake) BRESSAN	- Ano.ALT.04: alto (in boxwood), SAM155, A.W.km, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna[153]
GRASSI	- Gra.SPI.01: sopranino (in boxwood and ivory), 1113, D.LE.u, Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig[154]
PALANCA	- Pal.ALT.01: alto (in boxwood with ivory mountings and flageolet windcap), E86, DK.K.m, Musikmuseet, Musikhistorisk Museum & Carl Claudius' Samling, Copenhagen - Pal.TEN.02: tenor (boxwood/fruitwood?), DCM 1321, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.[155]
PEROSA	- Per.SPI.01: sopranino (in ivory), private collection (G. Klemisch), Berlin [156] - Per.SPO.01: soprano (in boxwood), SAM153, A.W.km, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna[157]

[144] Initially it proved difficult to obtain such drawings from the museum, though they had on record that the instrument had been measured and copied by James M. Scott already in the 1980s. A set of plans was kindly provided by Martin Wenner, who acquired them from the museum, with authorship unknown. Finally, a second set of drawings was obtained from the museum, drawn up by Johannes Skorupa (in which he refers to previous measurements by Guido Klemisch, which leads to believe that the first set of plans is by Klemisch).

[145] Measurements kindly provided by Adrian Brown

[146] Plan available by Riccardo Gandolfi, Valter Biella, "Flauto appartenuto a Angelo Vagge." accessed December 6, 2014, http://www.baghet.it/Flauto%20di%20Montoggio.pdf. An x-ray of the recorder made at the Scuola Internazionale di Liuteria di Cremona was published by Cristina Ghirardini, "Gli strumenti di Nicolò Bacigalupo, detto "u Grixiu", di Cicagna, e i ritrovamenti di Calvari e Montoggio," in *Il piffero in Fontanabuona*, ed. Centro di Documentazione della Civica Biblioteca di San Colombano Certenoli (Chiavari: Grafica Piemme, 2007). p. 38.

[147] Plan kindly provided by Francesco Li Virghi.

[148] Plans drawn up by Mark Gaydos and Bob Marvin, kindly provided by the museum.

[149] Measurements kindly provided by Adrian Brown.

[150] Plans drawn up by Richard Palm, kindly provided by the museum.

[151] Plans drawn up by Laura Beha, kindly provided by the museum.

[152] Measurements kindly provided by Stephan Blezinger.

[153] Measurements kindly provided by Adrian Brown.

[154] Plans kindly provided by Ralf Netsch, made in cooperation with Stephan Blezinger.

[155] Plans drawn up by Joanne Saunders, kindly provided by the museum.

[156] Kindly provided by Guido Klemisch (www.guido-m-klemisch.de).

Instruments that could not be studied in depth, but of which basic measurements were nonetheless collected, are listed in Table 1.2.5 and included in Appendix 1.

Table 1.2.5: Recorders of which only insufficient technical data could be collected

Maker	Collections and extant instruments
ANCIUTI	- Anc.SPI.01: sopranino (in ivory, dated 1709), private collection (F. Velluti), Belluno[158] - Anc.SPI.02: sopranino with missing head (in boxwood and ivory, dated 1733), 470, D.B.im, Musikinstrumenten Museum, Berlin[159] - Anc.SPO.01: soprano (in stained boxwood, dated 1725), 146 (MTS-FD/02), Conservatorio di Musica Giuseppe Verdi, Milan [160] - Anc.ALT.06: alto (in ivory, undated), MTS-FD/03, I.M.ts, Teatro alla Scala, Milan[161]

Impossible to be accessed for various reasons are the Italian instruments shown in Table 1.2.6. What little technical information was available is also included in Appendix 1.

Table 1.2.6: Recorders not examined in this study

Maker	Collections and extant instruments
CASTEL	- Cas.VOI.03: voice-flute (in stained pearwood), I.N.111, A.W.gm, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna - Cas.ALT.02: alto (in stained pearwood), 3261, EC.Q.t, Museo de Instrumentos Musicales Pablo Traversari, Quito
GARSI	- Gar.BAS.01: bass (in maple and brass), 3011, I.PA.mc, Conservatorio di Musica Arrigo Boito, Parma
PALANCA	- Pal.TEN.01, tenor (boxwood): private collection (V. Gilardone), Fontanelle[162]

Table 1.2.7 summarizes the recorders considered here.[163]

Table 1.2.7: Thirty-four recorders considered in this study

Numbers	Level of detail of the extant measurements
11 (10 Italian, 1 Anonymous)	Studied *in loco*
15 (9 Italian, 6 Anonymous)	Studied through pre-existing, sufficient technical data
4 (Italian)	Studied through pre-existing, insufficient technical data
4 (Italian)	Not studied

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[157] Kindly provided by Adrian Brown, with the permission of the museum.

[158] Franca Falletti, Renato Meucci, Gabriele Rossi-Rognoni, "Marvels of Sound and Beauty, Italian Baroque Musical Instruments."

[159] Partial plan by Friedrich von Huene, kindly provided by the museum.

[160] Ibid.

[161] Ibid.

[162] Alfredo Bernardini, "Carlo Palanca e la costruzione di strumenti a fiato a Torino nel settecento." In this article, Bernardini mentions the owner to be in Sardegna, and refers to Paolo Pollastri who spotted it. However from the catalogue of the exhibition where Pollastri probably saw it, one reads the owner is in Piemonte. See Roberto Leydi, Febo Guizzi, *Strumenti Musicali e Tradizioni Popolari in Italia* (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1985). p. 322.

[163] A further note regarding the instruments in Tables 1.2.5 and 1.2.6: Anc.SPO.01 and Anc.ALT.06 in Milan, Gar.BAS.01 in Parma and Cas.ALT.02 in Quito were not studied for lack of funds available for those trips. The sopranino in Berlin (Anc.SPI.02) was deemed less relevant as it is incomplete (missing the head joint). The private owner of Anc.SPI.01 could not be contacted. The private owner of the Palanca tenor (Pal.TEN.01) exhibited in Bologna in 1984 was not found. Lastly, it was impossible to access the recorder housed at the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Cas.VOI.01 ("Aus bestimmen [sic] Gründen ist es nicht gestattet Vermessungen der Instrumente unserer Sammlung durchzuführen." Günther Faimann, Archiv Bibliothek Sammlungen der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, private communication).

Though the instruments were studied with various degrees of thoroughness, the fact that a considerable number of the extant instruments has been included in this project allows for a first overview of what an 'Italian Baroque recorder' could be. This may offer interesting insights into the performance of the repertoire that most likely has been played with such instruments, by distilling performance practice information, such as pitch for instance, deducible from their physical traits.

As the current study focuses on Naples, the reasoning behind the decision to consider makers from other regions of Italy may not be immediately evident, as Italy was then still split into a number of states, and taxes were paid to import foreign goods. But, that connections between Naples, Rome and Venice were more frequent than perhaps at first imagined, is suggested by the mobility, both within Italy and abroad, of the Neapolitan composers that make up the repertoire in focus here (e.g. Domenico Sarro, Leonardo Leo, Leonardo Vinci) as well as by the equally great, and perhaps more obvious, mobility of the instrumentalists.[164] The connections between Naples and other cities, as well as those of musicians in transit shall be expanded further afield in Chapter 3.

1.3 Makers and extant recorders in more detail

Giovanni Maria Anciuti (Forni di Sopra, 1674 – Milan, 1744)

One of the most admired figures in woodwind making in the eighteenth century, Anciuti left a considerable legacy[165] of some of the most beautiful and expertly crafted instruments built in the Baroque period. His extant recorders are listed in Table 1.3.1.

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[164] The lists of leave of absence of the period 1720–1740 give a clear idea of how mobile the musicians connected to the Royal Chapel of Naples really were, with numerous requests to go mainly to Rome and Venice but also Milan and Turin for opera commissions. See: Francesco Cotticelli, Paologiovanni Maione, *Le Istituzioni Musicali a Napoli durante il Viceregno Austriaco (1707–1734)* (Naples: Luciano Editore, 1993). pp. 84-85. The absences must have been so frequent and so greatly abused that in 1737 the king himself determined that the musicians would have to sign a book at the sacristy to determine their presence in the requested days and hours; failing to comply would determine the payment of a fine as well as require justification. This decree did not last long, after strong complaints from the musicians. This was resolved by splitting the staff of the Chapel in a more efficient way. From 1740, leaves of absence would no longer be paid. Ibid. pp. 36-37. On the mobility of musicians across the three main Italian centers for music (Venice, Rome, Naples) as well as references to other places, see the results of the Musici Project (2010–2013): www.musici.eu.

[165] Bernardini and Meucci list seven recorders, six double recorders, a flute and a bass flute, fourteen oboes, as well as a contra-bassoon. Voice presents more or less the same list. Both lists are incomplete regarding Anciuti recorders: Voice, Bernardini and Meucci do not mention Anc.ALT.02 and Anc.ALT04, and Bernardini and Meucci exclude Anc.SPI.02. Alfredo Bernardini, Renato Meucci, "L'oboe d'avorio di Anciuti (1722)." Nichola J. Voice, "Turners' Guilds of Northern Italy: Their Role in Enabling Woodwind Instrument Manufacture from 1680–1844" (Doctor of Philosophy, University of Otago, forthcoming).

After countless conjectures about his name and possible connections with Venice and Milan (inferred from the mark on his instruments), the 2008 article by researchers Francesco Carreras and Cinzia Meroni[166] has been instrumental in finally painting a clearer picture of Anciuti's life. The forthcoming thesis by researcher Nichola Voice,[167] the most recent and updated study on the Venetian Turner's guilds, presents further detailed background information on the Anciutis, as will be seen below, elucidating a few more aspects of his work.

Anciuti was born in Forni di Sopra (Udine) in 1674, which partly explains his ties to the Republic of Venice (often referenced by marking his instruments with the winged lion of St. Mark). He died in 1744, at the age of seventy, in Milan, a city to which he was tied by marriage.

The research carried out which resulted in the thorough article of Carreras and Meroni also brought to light notary documents that help to date his move from Udine to Milan, and in addition further elucidate his connection to Venice. The first document is a debt contracted with his uncle Tomaso in 1693 in Venice;[168] the second is another debt, also in Venice, in 1700, contracted this time with Tomaso's son Carlo, for the purchase of ivory[169] (both debts were paid only in 1723, partly *in natura*, i.e. "piferi et flauti"). A third document is his father's will, of 1706, which names him as heir and states that he is now living in Milan ("… il signor Giovanni Maria suo figlio, ora dimorante in Milano…"[170]). This shows that, although already living in Milan at least since 1699, Giovanni Maria was back in Venice in 1700 to borrow money and ivory from his cousin, keeping therefore a work related link with Venice even when already settled in Milan.

The interpretation of the documentation unearthed in the 2008 article presents a few interesting facts about the social status of the Anciutis: at the age of nineteen, Giovanni Maria could write (signature on the notary act of 1693), denoting a person with a decent level of instruction. And upon his death, Giovanni Maria's father left a considerable amount

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[166] Francesco Carreras, Cinzia Meroni, "Giovanni Maria Anciuti: a craftsman at work in Milan and Venice."

[167] Nichola J. Voice, "Turners' Guilds of Northern Italy: Their Role in Enabling Woodwind Instrument Manufacture from 1680–1844."

[168] Francesco Carreras, Cinzia Meroni, "Giovanni Maria Anciuti: a craftsman at work in Milan and Venice." p. 258. Tomaso died in 1701.

[169] Ibid. "[Q]uesti auti [sic] ad imprestito in parte et in parte in roba di avolio." Translation by the present author: "Loaned partly in cash and partly in ivory." p. 259.

[170] Translation by the present author: "… his son Giovanni Maria, now living in Milan…" Ibid. p. 257.

of money, properties and land.[171] The research also shows that Giovanni Maria's uncle owned a shop in Venice and that he traded in precious metals.[172] Finally, his wife brought a high dowry to their marriage, an indication of his high financial status at that time.

There is further corroboration of his strong link with Venice:

- As Bernardini and Meucci recall,[173] the 1706 edition of Vincenzo Corronelli's *Guida de' forestieri* (reprinted many times from 1697) states that, in Venice, woodwind instruments are imported from Milan (Carreras and Meroni point that out to be the case also in the 1712 edition[174]). This could be a direct reference to Anciuti.
- Carreras and Meroni[175] point out what conductor and musicologist Federico Maria Sardelli[176] also wrote: in 1704 the Ospedale della Pietà in Venice hired two oboists, one of them Onofrio Penati who was from Milan and had been an oboist in the chapel of St. Mark's since 1696; in 1705 the *Pietà* ordered two oboes from Milan, maker unknown, but quite probably Giovanni Maria.

What remained uncertain after the article was how Anciuti came to be a master of woodwind making: where he apprenticed, and why exactly he stamped his instruments with both the Lion of St. Mark, and "MILAN" or "MILANO".

It seems probable that he learned his trade in Venice, once the home of the famous recorder-making family of the Bassanos, especially considering that he had close family in that line of business already working in Venice. In the regulations of the *Arte de' Tornidori,* Voice has found regulations relating to apprenticeship:[177]

> [A]nyone who wants to be a master in this *arte* must first study for five years with a Venetian master who has previously spent time as an apprentice with his own master, as decreed by the *Giustizia Vecchia*, and he must make a payment of two lire to have his name registered in the *Libro de Lavoranti*, the Book of Workers.
> If this worker then wants to become a master he must work for two years as a labourer before telling the steward that he wishes to become a master and that he would like to

[171] Ibid. pp. 261-264.

[172] Ibid. p. 266.

[173] Alfredo Bernardini, Renato Meucci, "L'oboe d'avorio di Anciuti (1722)." p. 372.

[174] Francesco Carreras, Cinzia Meroni, "Giovanni Maria Anciuti: a craftsman at work in Milan and Venice." p. 270.

[175] Ibid. p. 269.

[176] Federico Maria Sardelli, "Il flauto nell'Italia nel primo Settecento." pp. 146-147.

[177] Nichola J. Voice, "Turners' Guilds of Northern Italy: Their Role in Enabling Woodwind Instrument Manufacture from 1680–1844." p. 103.

> offer proof of his ability. The steward is obligated to allow the proof to be made in his own, or some other, atelier upon payment of ten *lire*.

Voice states, though, that "[t]here is no evidence yet found that any woodwind instruments makers were apprenticed in Venice during the eighteenth century, yet there is an acknowledged tradition of these instruments in use there."[178] She hypothesizes that "Giovanni Maria Anciuti is the only eighteenth-century maker that we can currently be reasonably certain did his apprenticeship in Venice […] through the bone tuner's guild."[179] However, his name is not to be found on the *Arte de' Tornidori* records.[180]

Voice did, however, find evidence linking three other Anciutis with the *Arte de' Tornidori* guild:[181]

> The surname Anzuti, (a spelling variant of Anciuti) first appears in 1675, with the abbreviated Christian name "Batta". The name "Baista" probably equates with Batta as these are both variants of the abbreviation for Battista, and this variant appears in February 1685. These names are followed eventually by the first names Tomaso, and then Carlo, in 1692 and 1703, respectively. These last two are known to be a father and son pairing, and are related to the instrument maker Giovanni Maria Anciuti, with Tomaso being Giovanni Maria's uncle and Carlo being Tomaso's son, and therefore the cousin of Giovanni Maria.

She hypothesizes further about why Anciuti did not apply to become a master of the guild in Venice, neither did he join the one of Milan, choosing to remain independent.[182]

> Part of the function of the guild was to pass the particular craft down from father to son, or master to apprentice, keeping the métier intact while safeguarding its secrets, thereby preserving the financial security of the next generation. Anciuti's apparent lack of guild membership is therefore curious, and may or may not be indicative of the actual working state of the guild at that time. That Anciuti may not have been a guild member results from his name not being found in guild papers in Milan where he was known to be working, or in Venice […].

It is pertinent to point out here that there were instrument makers, not only in Italy, who worked outside of the guild system, either independently or under the protection of a patron.[183]

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[178] Ibid. p. 155.

[179] Ibid. pp. 159-160.

[180] Ibid. p. 190.

[181] Ibid. p. 86.

[182] Ibid. p. 161.

[183] Renato Meucci, *Strumentaio: Il costruttore di strumenti musicali nella tradizione occidentale*. (Venice: Marsilio, 2008). pp. 129-131, 163-183.

Voice cites four reasons put forth by the organologist Cecil Adkins for the use of the Lion of St. Mark in the marks of Anciuti:[184]

1. It is a possible indication that the instrument was commissioned by someone in Venice.
2. It is a possible reference to Anciuti's roots in the Venetian province of the Udine.
3. It may have indicated that Anciuti was under the patronage or protection of the Serenissima, enabling him to retain a link to Venice from the Habsburg-dominated Milan.
4. It may have been a means of maintaining or taking advantage of a continued Venetian citizenship.

Of Adkins points, Voice writes:[185]

> The first three points sum up previous theories, but the last point has merit, given that Carreras' research has been unable to show that Anciuti ever become a citizen of Milan[.]

A quick consideration of the maker's mark on the surviving recorders[186] shows that he stamped all with the Lion of Venice,[187] his name and city of manufacture, with production spanning from 1709 to 1740.[188] Voice connects the high relief carving technique of mark application used by Anciuti in his wooden instruments with contemporary instruments from Nuremberg.[189]

Anciuti is credited with the development of the straight-top oboe, a significant, avant-garde aspect of his work.[190] However, no previous study deals in particular with the technological aspects of the recorder production left by Anciuti.[191] The visual appeal of many of these instruments (especially the ones of carved ivory) seem to overshadow some

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[184] Ibid. pp. 174-175. The work Voice refers to is unpublished. The present author attended a conference in which a related paper was presented: Cecil Adkins, "The Anciuti Enigma," in *AMIS-CIMCIM Conference* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: Unpublished, 2012).

[185] Nichola J. Voice, "Turners' Guilds of Northern Italy: Their Role in Enabling Woodwind Instrument Manufacture from 1680–1844." p. 175.

[186] As mentioned before, double recorders have not been included in this study. It has not been verified therefore whether the extant double recorders by Anciuti (all) display the Lion mark.

[187] The symbol of Venice might have been used as a marketing tool, resting on the fame of the city and its association with quality. Ton Koopman, private communication.

[188] Private correspondence with the Berlin museum confirms the now missing sopranino head joint to have been dated 1733. Bernd Wittenbrink, Bildarchiv und Fotothek, Musikinstrumenten-Museum Berlin, private communication.

[189] Nichola J. Voice, "Turners' Guilds of Northern Italy: Their Role in Enabling Woodwind Instrument Manufacture from 1680–1844." p. 506.

[190] Francesco Carreras, Cinzia Meroni, "Giovanni Maria Anciuti: a craftsman at work in Milan and Venice." p. 277.

[191] The abnormality in the absence of chamfers and the consequences of this are briefly mentioned in Guido Bizzi, Lorenzo Girodo, *La collezione di strumenti musicali del Museo Teatrale alla Scala*.

particularities in construction which seem puzzling for such a highly esteemed maker, such as the fact that his recorders present no chamfers, a significant detail with considerable consequences for the functioning of those instruments. Precisely because of his versatility and ingenuity as a maker, such a strange choice appears to serve a purpose rather than denote ignorance, and it may be that the absence of chamfers serves a sound ideal purpose. This will be discussed further below.

Table 1.3.1: Nine extant recorders by Anciuti

Instrument number	Maker's mark	Collection	Accession number	Size	Year	Material	Length (mm)	Pitch A/Hz	details
Anc.ALT.01	head: [lion of Venice] ANCIVTI A MILANO 1717 II body: ANCIVTI A MILANO I foot: ANCIVTI II	A.G.lj, Landesmuseum Joanneum, Graz	10.484	alto (F)	1717	boxwood	TL: 477 SL: 416	435 [192]	used by Nikolaus Harnoncourt
Anc.ALT.02	head: [lion of Venice] ANCIVTI A MILAN 1720	private collection (Vagge Family, currently kept by C. Cacco), Genova	–	alto (F)	1720	boxwood	TL: 476 SL: 418	440 [193]	cracked head and foot
Anc.ALT.03	head: [lion of Venice] ANCIVTI A MILANO 1729 I body: ANCIVTI A MILAN	private collection (Moeck), Celle	–	alto (F)	1729	boxwood	TL: 484 SL: 422	430 [194]	this could be the instrument sold in 78 by the Early Music Shop[195]

[192] Stradner gives 435. Gerhard Stradner, *Musikinstrumente in Grazer Sammlungen (Grazer Öffentliche Sammlungen)*, XI. Haynes writes "435 Hz. Lemberg gives 440, as does Museum." Bruce Haynes, "Pitch Standards in the Baroque and Classical Periods" (1995). p. 452. Meucci says the instrument is "so high that […] can be considered as pitched in g'." Franca Falletti, Renato Meucci, Gabriele Rossi-Rognoni, "Marvels of Sound and Beauty, Italian Baroque Musical Instruments." p. 215.

[193] Valter Biella and Riccardo Gandolfi, private communication. A video of a sound proof on the instrument is available at appennino4p, "Flauto dolce di G.M. Anciuti posseduto dal pifferaio Langin." accessed January 12, 2015, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CRkxylxexb4&feature=youtu.be.

[194] Haynes writes "427 Hz. Now at 430 but probably about 427 originally." Bruce Haynes, "Pitch Standards in the Baroque and Classical Periods." p. 452.

[195] Phillip T. Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments*. p. 5.

	I foot: ANCIVTI III								
Anc.ALT.04	[lion of Venice] ANCIVTI A MILAN	private collection (?), Parma	–	alto (F)	1729	boxwood	TL: 483 SL: 420	440 [196]	Ibid.[197]
Anc.ALT.05	head: [lion of Venice] ANCIVTI A MILAN 1740	GB.L.v, Victoria & Albert Museum, London	20/5 (7469-1861)	alto (F)	1740	ivory	TL: 475 SL: 420[19	440 [199]	octagonal body, carved beak & sockets; now at Horniman; top of middle joint too long
Anc.ALT.06	all 3 parts: [lion of Venice] *[in a scroll]* ANCIVTI A MILAN ▪	I.M.ts, Teatro alla Scala, Milano	MTS-FD/03	alto (G)	–	ivory	TL: 470 SL: 415	413 [200]	cracked windway
Anc.SPI.01	head: [lion of Venice] *[in a scroll]* ANCIVTI A MILAN 1709 body: unclear	private collection (F. Velluti), Belluno[201]	–	sopranino (F)	1709	ivory (and silver, added during restoration work[202])	TL: 264 SL: 222	?	two longitudinal cracks in head & foot; right/left holes for little finger
Anc.SPI.02	body: ANCIVTI O[203]	D.B.im, Musikinstrumenten Museum, Berlin	470	sopranino (F)	1733	boxwood and ivory	PL: 151	c.440	now 2 parts head joint: destroyed[204]

[196] Indication present in the plan by Francesco Li Virghi (private correspondence).

[197] Phillip T. Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments*. p. 5.

[198] This contradicts the 415 Hz reported by Meucci. Franca Falletti, Renato Meucci, Gabriele Rossi-Rognoni, "Marvels of Sound and Beauty, Italian Baroque Musical Instruments." p. 216. The museum reports 420 Hz (private correspondence), probably not accounting for the fact that the middle joint is too long.

[199] Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch / The story of "A"*. p. 452.

[200] This would mean the instrument is in G (or in F at a=464 Hz). Guido Bizzi, Lorenzo Girodo, *La collezione di strumenti musicali del Museo Teatrale alla Scala*. p. 117. Meucci writes: "This recorder may have already been part of the collection when the Museo Teatrale all Scala was established in 1914, that is, if it matches the laconic description: '71. Flauto d'avorio tornito' […] in the 1914 Catalogue (p. 16)." Franca Falletti, Renato Meucci, Gabriele Rossi-Rognoni, "Marvels of Sound and Beauty, Italian Baroque Musical Instruments." p. 215.

[201] This collection also holds an alto in G by Thomas Boeckhout. Renato Meucci, "Gli Strumenti Musicali," in *Musica nel Veneto, I Beni di Cultura*, ed. Paolo Fabbri (Milan: Rti Grafiche Motta, 2000). p. 75.

[202] Meucci suggests the restoration to be contemporary to the instrument. Franca Falletti, Renato Meucci, Gabriele Rossi-Rognoni, "Marvels of Sound and Beauty, Italian Baroque Musical Instruments." p. 211.

[203] Bernardini and Meucci suggest this "O" to refer to "Opus" but considering the marks "I", "II", and "III" found on other instruments, I would put forward the possibility of this being a "0" (zero). This issue of part numbering will be discussed further below. Alfredo Bernardini, Renato Meucci, "L'oboe d'avorio di Anciuti (1722)." p. 374.

Anc.SPO.01	head: [lion of Venice] ANCIVTI A MILANO 1725 body: ANCIVTI A MILAN foot: ANCIVTI	Conservatorio di Musica Giuseppe Verdi, Milan	146 (MTS-FD/02)	soprano (B♭)	1725	stained boxwood	TL: 377[20 SL: 327	430 [206]	stained marmorized; "a clear sound, a prompt attack, a marked propensity for use in the treble register, few dynamic possibilities, and excessive weakness in the bass register" [207]

N. Castel (Venice?, fl. 1720 – 1750)

Castel's[208] biography still eludes us, though it is clear by analyzing his instruments in the context of Italian Baroque recorders that his extant output is as significant as that of Anciuti, both in number and in the quality of craftsmanship of the instruments. The fact that so many of his instruments now share parts by other Italian makers[209] is perhaps a case in point for the distribution of his output in his time.

As I have discussed elsewhere,[210] nothing is known about when exactly N. Castel was born, lived or worked; indeed his first name remains unknown.[211] Sardelli[212] and Carreras[213]

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[204] The head of this instrument was destroyed during World War II, but seems to have had the mark "ANCIVTI / A MILAN" that is found on other instruments. Ibid. Otterstedt confirms that "The head of the instrument was lost in the war […] and there are no pre-war measurements and investigations save the entry in the catalogue of Curt Sachs (1922) which tell us that this instrument is an "Oktavflöte (f'')." As Sachs calculated from the then modern pitch of 435–440, the pitch of the instrument might have been somewhere around this." Dr. Annette Otterstedt, curator of the Musikinstrumenten-Museum in Berlin, private communication.

[205] Franca Falletti, Renato Meucci, Gabriele Rossi-Rognoni, "Marvels of Sound and Beauty, Italian Baroque Musical Instruments." p. 182. Young reports 373. Phillip T. Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments*. p. 5.

[206] The catalogue reports the instrument to be in B♭ at this pitch, the fundamental being at 455 Hz. *La collezione di strumenti musicali del Museo Teatrale alla Scala*, (Cinisello Balsamo, Milano: Edizioni Il laboratorio da Amilcare Pizzi s.p.a. Arti Grafiche, 1991); Guido Bizzi, Lorenzo Girodo, *La collezione di strumenti musicali del Museo Teatrale alla Scala*. p. 116.

[207] Franca Falletti, Renato Meucci, Gabriele Rossi-Rognoni, "Marvels of Sound and Beauty, Italian Baroque Musical Instruments." p. 182.

[208] Both Phillipe Bolton and Haynes write the maker's mark as 'CASTELL' for the Nice alto but this is not the case on that instrument or any of the recorders extant. Philippe Bolton, technical drawing, dossier d'oeuvre, Musée du Palais Lascaris, Nice. Haynes, op. cit.

[209] Composite instruments have parts by N. Castel and Giovanni Panormo, N. Castel and Carlo Palanca, and by N. Castel and Magazari. Francesco Carreras, private communication.

[210] Inês de Avena Braga, "Three Castel recorders: Rome, Edinburgh and especially Nice," *Recercare* XXV, no. 1-2 (2013). pp. 75-93.

suggest that he was from the Venice area, Young fails to mention him at all in either of his catalogues[214] and William Waterhouse simply listed five surviving instruments associated to three maker's marks with the surname Castel, which could possibly indicate more than one maker.[215]

Very recently, an undated copy of a seventeenth-century membership list of the *Arte de' Tornidori* guild in Venice was found with the name "Anzolo Castel," confirming the link of the surname with the city.[216] This document is presented by Voice, who argues that "[t]he rubric beside his name [on that list] could read 'and his son'."[217] Voice also writes that there is a second document

> dated 3rd February 1720, which contains both the names Anzolo Castel, and Domenico Perosa: it is either a list of masters, or a roll of those present at a chapter meeting. There is an additional notation of the name Anzolo Castelbergher, this name suggesting a Germanic origin, given in a list of masters who were providing merchandise to another guild, which may refer to the same person. There is no date on this [third] document.[218]

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[211] We also do not know anything about Giuseppe Castel, by whom a four-part traverso is extant; according to Sardelli, the instrument is in a private collection in Frankfurt. Sardelli assigns other instruments marked only "Castel" to Giuseppe, remarking though that the style of construction of these instruments is different. Federico Maria Sardelli, *La Musica per Flauto di Antonio Vivaldi* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2001). pp. 36-37.

[212] Ibid. p. 36.

[213] Francesco Carreras, "Il Flauto traverso in Italia: Tre secoli di storia nella collezione Carreras / Flute-making in Italy: Three centuries of history in the Carreras collection." p. 32.

[214] It is indeed very strange that Castel was not at all included in the revised version of the catalogue. Phillip T. Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments*.

[215] William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index*. p. 58. For what it is worth, the Castel surname is now found mostly in France. In Italy, it is concentrated in the Veneto. "Castel." *Names Encyclopedia*. accessed December 5, 2014, http://namespedia.com/img/Italy/Castel.jpg.

[216] It may be pertinent to point out that "Castello" was (and is) the name of a neighborhood of Venice; therefore, the surname "Castello" or "Castelli" must have been quite commonly used to indicate where a person came from.

[217] Nichola J. Voice, "Turners' Guilds of Northern Italy: Their Role in Enabling Woodwind Instrument Manufacture from 1680–1844." p. 89. The document is found in I-Vas, Documento Per Scola de Marzeri C. Arte Tornidori, stampe Peteneri e Tornidori. Arti, Scole dei Marzeri, b. 388. c.n.n.

[218] The presence of Anzolo Castel and Domenico Perosa on the same document is relevant, probably suggesting that N. Castel and Perosa knew each other. This third document which mentions "Castelbergher" is found in I-Vas, Documento Per Scola dei Marzeri Contro Arte Tornidori. Arti, Scole dei Marzeri, b. 388, c. 78. If indeed Anzolo Castel and Anzolo Castelbergher were the same person, it is worth noting that 'Castelbergher' would probably refer to someone who is *from* Castelberg. For what it is worth, the surname Castelberg is now mostly found in Switzerland. "Castelberg." *Names Encyclopedia*. accessed December 5, 2014, http://namespedia.com/img/Switzerland/Castelberg.jpg. "Die Ruine der Burg Castelberg liegt unterhalb von Luven am Eingang zum Val Lumnezia im Kanton Graubünden in der Schweiz." "Burg Castelberg." *Wikipedia*. accessed December 5, 2014, http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burg_Castelberg. „Die Familie [Castelberg] ist erstmals urkundlich erwähnt um 1289. Die Familie ist in Luven, Castrisch, Disentis, Schluein, Sumvitg und Peiden nachweisbar. Die Herren von Castelberg sollen mit den Herren von Übercastel (Surcasti) und Löwenstein stammesgleich oder verwandt sein. […] Der ursprünglichste Besitz der Castelberg ist die gleichnamige Burg bei Luven. Um 1400 waren die Burgen Surcasti, Löwenstein und Baldenstein im Besitz der Familie." "Castelberg (Familie)." *Wikipedia*. accessed December 5, 2014, http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Castelberg_(Familie). As Voice recalls "Herbert Heyde argues

One of the maker's marks revealed by Waterhouse is "J. C. Castel",[219] but this seems to be a misreading of the stylized "N" found, for example, on the Castel recorder in Nice. Some of the other "N" marks look like "M", "W" or "U," most probably due to an unclear stamp. If correct, four maker's marks for Castel would in fact exist: "[reversed] И. | CASTEL", "CASTEL", "N. | CASTEL" and "[stylized] N. | CASTEL", with or without a lion rampant/griffin. Only the last three marks are verified in Castel's eight extant recorders,[220] presented in Table 1.3.2: one sopranino, four altos and three voice-flutes.[221] Many other instruments have come down to us marked Castel,[222] and Waterhouse dates Castel's output to the last three quarters of the eighteenth century, meaning N. and Giuseppe Castel would probably not have been father and son but, in light of the information which helps range Anzolo's working period, perhaps brothers?

The iconographic part of his mark, described both as a lion rampant and a griffin, is not present on all the instruments, and this has given rise to the assumption that more than one person were associated with perhaps a bigger workshop which carried the name of the master. At the moment, the style of his instruments offers the best clue for defining N. Castel's work period.

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that the town symbols used by makers in the Netherlands, Britain, and the area now known collectively as Germany served not only as locators, but as workshop signs, and that these town symbols were often concurrently emblems that monarchy used." Nichola J. Voice, "Turners' Guilds of Northern Italy: Their Role in Enabling Woodwind Instrument Manufacture from 1680–1844." p. 237. A lion, such as is present in the Castel mark, has not been found to be associated with the family Castelberg, which is associated with a peacock; but the fact that they partially stem from Löwenstein may offer a possible connection, if indeed the Castel family originated there and migrated to Venice.

[219] William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index*. p. 58.

[220] One more recorder bears the mark of Castel but only in the head joint: an alto (DCM 1359/S.19) in the Dayton Miller Flute collection in Washington, D.C., made in boxwood with ivory rings, which Haynes says to be pitched at A=410 Hz. This instrument is only partly by Castel, the body and foot being stamped Carlo Palanca. Laura E. Gilliam, William Lichtenwanger, *The Dayton C. Miller Flute Collection: A Checklist of the Instruments*. Michael Seyfrit, *Musical Instruments in the Dayton C. Miller Flute Collection at the Library of Congress: A Catalog*, I: Recorders, Fifes, and Simple System Transverse Flutes of One Key.

[221] As can be observed, the mark "И. / CASTEL" is not found on any of the recorders extant.

[222] These are: a transverse flute datable to the 1730s marked "GIUSEPPE / CASTEL / lion rampant/griffin" (the only one with this mark), Pelzel Collection, Bensheim. William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index*. p. 59; Two other transverse flutes marked "N. / CASTEL" with what looks like a lion rampant/griffin, E.980.2.4 and E.980.2.14, Paris, Musée de la Musique. http://mediatheque.cite-musique.fr/, accessed December 12, 2013. Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch / The story of "A"*. p. 440; A transverse flute marked "CASTEL", M700, Stockholm, Musik & Teatermuseet. http://www.mimo-db.eu/, accessed December 12, 2013; Two oboes marked "N. / CASTEL / rampant / griffin," 1314, Leipzig, Museum für Musikinstrumente der Universität Leipzig and C.147, Nice, Musée du Palais Lascaris. http://www.mimo-db.eu/, accessed December 12, 2013; One oboe marked "N. / CASTEL" on the upper joints and "MAGAZARI / BOLOGNA" on the bell. M705, Stockholm, Musik & Teatermuseet. http://www.mimo-db.eu/, accessed December 12, 2013.

Table 1.3.2: Eight extant recorders by Castel

Instrument number	Maker's mark	Collection	Accession number	Size	Year	Material	Length (mm)	Pitch A/Hz	details
Cas.ALT.01	all 3 parts: [stylized] N. CASTEL [griffin/lion rampant]	F.NI.pl, Palais Lascaris, Nice	C168	alto (F)	–	ebony and ivory	TL: 509 SL: 449	407	double holes for 6 and 7
Cas.ALT.02	all 3 parts: N. CASTEL [griffin/lion rampant]	EC.Q.t, Museo de Instrumentos Musicales Pablo Traversari, Quito	3261	alto (F)	–	stained pearwood	TL: 508 SL: 448	–	
Cas.ALT.03	all 3 parts: N. CASTEL [griffin/lion rampant]	I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome	887|644	alto (F)	–	boxwood	TL: 512 SL: 452	403	
Cas.ALT.04	all 3 parts: N. CASTEL [griffin/lion rampant]	I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome	879|1421	alto (F)	–	stained pearwood	TL: 504 SL: 446	c.407	
Cas.SPI.01	both parts: CASTEL .	GB.E.u, Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments	3323	sopranino (F)	–	ivory	TL: 242 SL: 207	415	
Cas.VOI.01	N. CASTEL . [griffin/lion rampant]	I.R.an, Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, Rome	170	voice-flute (D)	–	boxwood	TL: 605 SL: 533	407	
Cas.VOI.02	all 3 parts: N. CASTEL. [griffin/lion rampant]	I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome	884|698	voice-flute (D)	–	boxwood and metal (ring)	TL: 578 SL: 509	c.427	
Cas.VOI.03	all 3 parts: N. CASTEL . [griffin/lion rampant]	A.W.gm, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna	I.N.111	voice-flute (D)	–	pearwood, stained black	TL: 614 SL: 535	c.396	possibly a tenor in C at A=443Hz[223]

Although three recorders by Castel are kept in the Museo Nazionale in Rome, which also holds many instruments originally in the collection of Alessandro and Benedetto Marcello,[224] none of the Baroque recorders in the collection of the museum originates from their collection.[225] They all stem instead from the Evan Gorga collection.[226]

[223] Günther Faimann, Archiv Bibliothek Sammlungen der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, private communication.

[224] Inherited by the Giusti del Giardino.

[225] Renato Meucci, private communication.

One further instrument by Castel exists, its construction being shared with Palanca.

Table 1.3.3: One extant recorder by Castel (head joint) and Palanca (center and foot joints)

Instrument number	Maker's mark	Collection	Accession number	Size	Year	Material	Length	Pitch A/Hz	details
Cas/ Pal.ALT.01	head: N. (reversed) CASTEL. [griffin/ lion rampant] body: CARLO PALANCA foot: CARLO PALANCA	US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.	DCM 1359	alto (F)	–	boxwood and ivory, with thumbhole bushing, and turned silver ferrules	TL: 503 SL: 441	410[227]	foot joint shaped like a traverso foot. Provenance: W. Howard Head, London, 30 July 1938[228]

Francesco Garsi (Parma, 1764 – 1856)

Almost no information is available on Garsi. Citing Gervasoni,[229] Waterhouse says Garsi was a good maker of clarinets and bassoons, but no such instruments seem to have survived, and in addition to this late recorder[230] only a one-keyed flute is extant.[231]

Table 1.3.4: One extant recorder by Garsi

Instrument number	Maker's mark	Collection	Accession number	Size	Year	Material	Length	Pitch A/Hz	details
Gar.BAS.01	[stylized sun] GARSI PARMA [stylized sun]	I.PA.mc, Conservatorio di Musica Arrigo Boito, Parma	3011	bass (F)	–	maple and brass	TL: 1120 SL: 1000	440	lowest note E; 4 keys; damaged labium

[226] Interestingly, so does the Castel alto now in Quito: it was originally in the Gorga collection and was acquired by Pedro Pablo Traversari in an instrument exchange between the two collectors in 1907. Richard Rephann, *A catalogue of the Pedro Traversari Collection of musical instruments*. On the Gorga collection in Rome, see: Luisa Cervelli, *La Galleria Armonica: catalogo del Museo degli strumenti musicali di Roma*. See also: Andrea Cionci, *Il Tenore Collezionista* (Florence: Nardini Editore, 2004).

[227] Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch / The story of "A"*. p. 452.

[228] "DCM 1359: Carlo Palanca; Castel / Treble (Alto) Recorder in F." *Dayton C. Miller Flute Collection*. Library of Congress, accessed December 2, 2014, http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/dcmflute.1359.

[229] Carlo Gervasoni, *Nuova teoria di musica* (Parma: Blanchon, 1812).

[230] Details obtained in communication with the museum of the Conservatorio di musica 'A. Boito'. The instrument has been inspected by Renato Meucci, Petr Zeifert, Fabio Biondi, and Francesco Trevisin. Alessandra Presutti, private communication.

[231] William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index*. p. 128.

Paolo? Grassi (Milan, fl. 1730)

Until 2007, all the information on Grassi had been connected to Barnaba Grassi, as discovered by Heyde (1978).[232] Meucci demonstrates this to be an error in translating the term "trombaio/trumbè" and suggests that the recorders are in fact by Paolo Grassi.[233]

Young lists sixteen extant instruments marked Grassi, of which two are recorders.[234] Most of the marks reported by Young are "GRASSI | IN MILAN" with or without the inverted 'N' of 'in' and 'Milan'. He reports the Leipzig sopranino to be marked this way but this is an inaccuracy, as it bears a mark that is perhaps unique to this instrument as shown below and in Appendix 1.

Table 1.3.5: Two extant recorders by Grassi

Instrument number	Maker's mark	Collection	Accession number	Size	Year	Material	Length	Pitch A/Hz	details
Gra.SPI.01	middle joint GRASSI [B?]RASSI [unclear sign]	D.LE.u, Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig	1113	sopranino (F)	–	boxwood and horn	TL: 252[235] SL: 217	c. 440[236]	in 3 parts
Gra.ALT.01	GRASSI ИИ МІЛАИ	I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome	881|638	alto (F)	–	boxwood, ivory and metal	TL: 476 SL: 417	c. 435	now in 2 parts, originally 3

Carlo Palanca (Palanca, c. 1691 – 1783)

According to Alfredo Bernardini,[237] Palanca is the Italian Baroque maker currently best represented by extant instruments, and also the one with the most diverse output. From Bernardini we learn that Carlo was the son of Lorenzo, who was from Palanca in Val Sesia. Haynes calls Carlo's father Giovanni (born c. 1645), who was an instrument maker in Turin in 1705, and says that Carlo studied with his father.[238] Bernardini writes that Carlo was

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[232] Herbert Heyde, "Flöten," in *Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig Katalog* (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1978).

[233] Paolo was the father of Antonio Grassi, born in 1736, who would be the maker of the instruments marked "GRASSI / FIGLIO". Franca Falletti, Renato Meucci, Gabriele Rossi-Rognoni, "Marvels of Sound and Beauty, Italian Baroque Musical Instruments." p. 166.

[234] Phillip T. Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments*. pp. 91-92.

[235] Ralf Netsch, private communication.

[236] This information was not available from the museum. Ralf Netsch says c. 440 Hz; Fumitaka Saito calculates c. 425 Hz; private communication.

[237] Alfredo Bernardini, "Carlo Palanca e la costruzione di strumenti a fiato a Torino nel settecento."

[238] Haynes only gives Giovanni as his first name (referencing Bernardini, who in turn was citing Francesca Oldling, "La costruzione degli strumenti a fiato a Torino tra '700 e '800," *Quaderni della Regione Piemonte, Artigianato*, 2/II (Oct. 1997), p. 45), Bernardini gives Lorenzo. Bruce Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe, a History of the Hautboy from 1640 to 1760*, Oxford

admitted to the Cappella Reale of Turin in 1719 as a bassoon player. Therefore, besides being a maker, he was also a musician, and well related with the most notable woodwind players of his time, the Besozzis. In Voice's recent work we read that

> [a] 1705 census document is the first dated documentary evidence of a professional woodwind instrument maker in Italy after the arrival of the modern French instruments.[239]
> This first reference to a flute maker in Turin appears in the census of 1705 as the registration of Giovanni Lorenzo Palanca (ca. 1645 – after 1705), who "fa flutte" (makes flutes), aged sixty. It gives the information that he lived at Casa Marchese di Pianezza, Isola di S. Emanuel along with his wife Maria (aged forty), and his son Carlo, working in the bottega (workshop) at the age of fourteen. Listed as living with him are sons Aymo (aged ten), Biaggio (aged eight), Bertolameo (aged three), and lastly a fifteen-year-old daughter, Angella Maria. This daughter is the artist known as Angela Maria Pittetti (1690–1783) who has painted a portrait of a flautist. A second sister, also a successful painter, is reported.[240]
> There are no extant instruments by this maker [Giovanni Lorenzo], but he was the father of Carlo Palanca, an Italian maker of the recorder, traverso, oboe, and bassoon, and records show that Carlo worked in his father's workshop.[241]

Voice later also writes that

> Carlo Palanca was born Carlo Pitteti, in Palanca, Val Sesia in northern Italy, and spent most of his life in Turin. His year of birth, 1691, can be ascertained by his age as given in the 1705 census, as shown above.[242]

Carlo Pitteti 'detto' Palanca received assignments for "flauti" in 1748 and 1755. In 1773, oboes were ordered from him from Lisbon ("coll'intelligenza del s.r Besozzi"),[243] conceding Palanca a certain air of fame. But three years later, the same commissioner writes again complaining that Palanca had sent an oboe in five parts [sic], three old and only two new.[244] This is an interesting contemporary account of what in fact can be observed on precisely the Castel/Palanca recorder in Washington,[245] where the head of the instrument by Castel was clearly re-turned to match the Palanca body. Details of this instrument can be

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Early Music Series (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). p. 404. Alfredo Bernardini, "Carlo Palanca e la costruzione di strumenti a fiato a Torino nel settecento." p. 22.

[239] Nichola J. Voice, "Turners' Guilds of Northern Italy: Their Role in Enabling Woodwind Instrument Manufacture from 1680–1844." p. 283.

[240] Ibid. p. 284.

[241] Ibid. p. 283.

[242] Ibid. p. 286.

[243] Alfredo Bernardini, "Carlo Palanca e la costruzione di strumenti a fiato a Torino nel settecento." p. 22.

[244] Ibid. p. 23.

[245] Already listed in the section on Castel above.

found on the website of the Library of Congress.[246] Aesthetically the instrument does look like one, with homogeneous wood; but the internal design does not really work as one, neither is its constructional quality comparable with other Baroque instruments listed here. Bernardini writes that the Portuguese letter is not the only reason to doubt the competence of Palanca, and says that his work shows "scadente qualità dei materiali utilizzati, l'approssimazione nella tornitura e la diversità poco convincente tra i suoi strumenti (non solo in dimensioni, ovvero altezza d'intonazione."[247] This is not actually observable on the three complete Palanca recorders that are extant, the mixed Castel and Palanca one being the odd one out, mostly in fact because the Castel head, very uncharacteristically, is feebly made.

Only one of Palanca's instruments, an oboe, is dated 1780. According to Bernardini,[248] Palanca suffered from loss of eyesight beginning in 1770. About this oboe, Voice writes: "[t]his date, an anomaly on the Palanca instruments, appears three years after he was retired out of service to the duke, due to failing eyesight. This would indicate to me the possibility of another maker using his mark, or perhaps doing the finer finishing work on the instrument."[249]

Young lists forty of Palanca's extant instruments,[250] including four recorders, three of which are listed here (the fourth is listed above as it is shared with Castel).

Bernardini states that Palanca instruments find more affinity with the Anglo Saxon school than with the French school, which might be assumed from his location in the environment of Turin.[251]

Table 1.3.6: Two extant recorders by Palanca

Instrument number	Maker's mark	Collection	Accession number	Size	Year	Material	Length	Pitch A/Hz	details
Pal.ALT.01	all 3 parts: CARLO PALANCA [sun, star or flower]	DK.K.m, Musikmuseet, Musikhistorisk Museum & Carl Claudius' Samling, Copenhagen	E86	alto (F)	–	boxwood with ivory mountings and flageolet windcap	TL: 535 SL: 421	c. 426–430	flageolet-like mouthpiece.

[246] "DCM 1359: Carlo Palanca; Castel / Treble (Alto) Recorder in F".

[247] Alfredo Bernardini, "Carlo Palanca e la costruzione di strumenti a fiato a Torino nel settecento." p. 23.

[248] Ibid. p. 22.

[249] Nichola J. Voice, "Turners' Guilds of Northern Italy: Their Role in Enabling Woodwind Instrument Manufacture from 1680–1844." p. 229.

[250] Phillip T. Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments*. pp. 172-174.

[251] Alfredo Bernardini, "Carlo Palanca e la costruzione di strumenti a fiato a Torino nel settecento." p. 24.

Pal.TEN.01	CARLO PALANCA	private collection (V. Gilardone), Fontanelle	–	tenor (C?)	–	boxwood	–	–	exhibited in Bologna in January, 1984.
Pal.TEN.02	all 3 parts: CARLO PALANCA	US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.	DCM 1321	tenor (C)	–	boxwood/ fruitwood, ivory	TL: 610 SL: 547	c. 438	provenance: Alec Hodsdon, Lavenham, Surrey, England, 15 Sept. 1937.[252]

Giovanni Panormo (Palermo, 1746 – Naples?, after 1783)

Only one recorder by Giovanni Panormo survives, an ivory alto with stunning turning work kept at the Library of Congress, marked "IOAN: | PANORM:" on all three sections. An article dedicated entirely to this recorder was published in 2012, but a number of developments since then require an update.[253]

Giovanni was the son of Gaspare Trusiano, a luthier from Palermo. Panormo, the ancient name for the city of Palermo in Sicily,[254] was the surname adopted by the Trusiano family upon their move to Naples after 1754. Theirs was indeed a *family* of makers, famously manufacturing violins, bows and guitars not only in southern Italy but also in Paris, Dublin and London; the Neapolitan branch of the family, though, seems to have specialized in woodwind instruments well into the nineteenth century.[255]

Giovanni Trusiano 'detto' Panormo was born in Palermo and baptized on March 24, 1746.[256] He was active as a woodwind maker in Naples and is known to have sold two *flautini* to the Teatro del Fondo in 1783.[257] These are late dates for a recorder, and the Washington alto indeed contradicts such late dating: the style of the turning work is typical of the early 1700s and it has a proportionally long foot, with a very wide bore – a design principle found in early instruments by Bressan and Stanesby Sr. As proposed in 2012, it is

[252] "DCM 1321: Carlo Palanca / Tenor Recorder in C." *Dayton C. Miller Flute Collection*. Library of Congress, accessed December 2, 2014, http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/dcmflute.1321.

[253] Inês de Avena Braga, "The Panormo Alto Recorder: A *Dolce Flauto Dolce*?."

[254] Giuliano Gasca Queirazza, "Palermo," in *Dizionario di toponomastica. Storia e significato dei nomi geografici italiani* (Turin: UTET, 1990). p. 469.

[255] Francesco Nocerino, "Gli strumenti musicali a Napoli nel secolo XVIII." pp. 795-797.

[256] Giovanni Paolo Di Stefano, "Panormo". The date given in this article is 1743 but Di Stefano confirms that the correct date is 1746. Giovanni Paolo Di Stefano, private communication.

[257] Francesco Nocerino, "Gli strumenti musicali a Napoli nel secolo XVIII."

possible this instrument was made in the end of the Baroque period but copying an earlier design.

Extant instruments reported to bear the same mark of the Washington, D.C. recorder include four transverse flutes,[258] one oboe,[259] one tenor oboe[260] and one clarinet.[261] Four other instruments carry similar marks.[262]

A few oboes by Giovanni Panormo have *corps de rechange* for the top joint. One of these has a longer joint which plays at A=400 Hz and another joint which is damaged but, considering its length, seems to be at A=415 Hz.[263] As reported in 2012, the Washington Panormo recorder is unfortunately unplayable, the "head joint [being] severely cracked into three pieces with other cracks and losses."[264] From the recorder's length and bore measurements, its pitch can be deduced to be around A=420 Hz.[265]

Table 1.3.7: One extant recorder by Panormo

Instrument number	Maker's mark	Collection	Accession number	Size	Year	Material	Length	Pitch A/Hz	details
Pan.ALT.01	IOAN: PANORM:	US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.	DCM 327	alto (F)	–	ivory	TL: 487 SL: 431	c. 420	head joint severely damaged; Provenance: Sumner Healey, New York, 25 Apr. 1923, formerly in the Tolbecque collection.

[258] 519: Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index*. p. 290); 809, 810, 822: Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome. There may be a fifth one in Rome (821) but the catalogue is not clear (Luisa Cervelli, *La Galleria Armonica: catalogo del Museo degli strumenti musicali di Roma*. pp. 322-323).

[259] 842: I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome. (Luisa Cervelli, *La Galleria Armonica: catalogo del Museo degli strumenti musicali di Roma*. p. 326).

[260] 1610: Musée de la Musique, Paris (William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index*. p. 290).

[261] 326 C/8: The Royal College of Music Museum of Instruments, Rome (ibid.).

[262] In the Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali in Rome, one oboe (830) and a tenor oboe (848) are both marked: "IOAN: / PANORM: / NEAPOLI". This is the same mark found on the oboe and *voce umana* in the private collection of Alfredo Bernardini (private communication). Also in Rome, a piccolo transverse flute (806) is marked "PANORM / E FIGLI / NAPOLI" (Luisa Cervelli, *La Galleria Armonica: catalogo del Museo degli strumenti musicali di Roma*. pp. 322, 324, 326). At the Musik- & Teatremuseet in Stockholm, another flute (698) is marked the same way. Waterhouse dates this latter mark to the early nineteenth century, as a manuscript list of 1835 now at Reggio Calabria details the woodwind and brass instruments made by 'Panorm' (William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index*. p. 291).

[263] Alfredo Bernardini (private collection), private communication.

[264] "DCM 0327: Joannes Panormo / Treble (Alto) Recorder in F." *Dayton C. Miller Flute Collection*. Library of Congress, accessed November 10, 2014, http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/dcmflute.0327.

[265] The author's copy of this instrument plays at A=425 Hz. Copy made by Fumitaka Saito (Amsterdam, 2011).

Domenico Perosa (Venice?, c. 1693 – after 1757)

We have only a few puzzle pieces to suggest the picture of Domenico Perosa's life. Waterhouse suggested that Perosa's instruments dated from the first half of the eighteenth century, and alluded to a kinship with Marco Perosa, who was an oboist at San Marco in Venice, c. 1760. Haynes[266] had also linked Perosa with Venice, and the proof of this link was shown by Sardelli in 2004,[267] when he presented payment records of the Ospedale della Pietà between the years 1753 and 1757.

The records related to recorders are transcribed here:[268]

Adi 10 Giugno 1753 Venetia
L'Ospital della Pietà deve dar per fatura di agiustar un Flauto
Mutatto l [`]anima et quello li ocoreva L. 2.10

Adi 11 Luglio 1753
Simile per haver agiustato due Flauti l [`] uno fatto
il capeletto di sopra di avolio e agiustato li altri L. 6

Adi 24 detto
Simile per agiustar altro Flauto fatura L. 1.10

Adi Primo Febraro 1754
Simile per agiustato un med:[mo] fatura L. 2.10

Io Domenico Perosa Profesor da Instromenti
Da fiato San Moise.

Sardelli writes that the traversos of Italian origin known so far (listing a flute by Giuseppe Castel, the early instruments by Palanca and the Anciuti flutes in Vienna), all share aesthetic and structural characteristics with German instruments, such as those of Denner, Johann Heinrich Eichentopf and Oberlender.[269]

The recent study of Voice has uncovered further details of Perosa's life. She writes:[270]

> The name Perosa is paired with the names Domenigo (in heteromorphic orthography), and Domenico in the Venetian *Arte de' Tornidori* papers, and appears for the first time in the membership list for the ivory turners in the *Arte de' Tornidori* in 1712. […] For Domenico Perosa to have been a master by 1712, he would have been apprenticed by 1705.

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[266] Bruce Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe, a History of the Hautboy from 1640 to 1760*. p. 407.

[267] Federico Maria Sardelli, "Il flauto nell'Italia nel primo Settecento." pp. 147-149.

[268] In this list, 'flauto' or 'flauti' is always in reference to the recorder, as other entries in the list speak of 'traverso' or 'traversie' when the transverse flute is meant (this is consistent with what was presented in the Introduction, and also with what will be shown in Chapter 3). As Sardelli explains, "mutatto lanima" means to re-ream the bore, the other terms seeming self-explanatory. It is interesting to note that Perosa re-made an ivory tenon or beak 'jacket' for one of those recorders, indicating that the Pietà could afford to own recorders with ivory decorations.

[269] Federico Maria Sardelli, "Il flauto nell'Italia nel primo Settecento." p. 150.

[270] Nichola J. Voice, "Turners' Guilds of Northern Italy: Their Role in Enabling Woodwind Instrument Manufacture from 1680–1844." p. 87.

Voice notes later that[271]

> Perosa is found in the *Arte de´ Tornidori* guild records in the years 1712, 1713, 1718, 1719, 1720, 1721, 1730, 1732 (he appears as Mengo in this listing), 1733, 1738, and 1745.

And she defines the degree of kinship between Domenico and Marco as follows:[272]

> This connection was questioned as a sibling relationship, but as Domenico must have been at least eighteen to twenty years old when he was first registered in the *Arte de´ Tornidori* in 1712, Marco may have been a son, a nephew […]

Voice then introduces a third Perosa:[273]

> There is a second person with the surname Perosa mentioned in a short undated list of masters with their apprentices and workers in the *Arte dei Intagliadori*, the woodcarvers' guild. He is named as Zorzi Perosa, and the information shows that he was a master. There is no information with which to establish a relationship with either Domenico Perosa, or with the oboist Marco Perosa who was listed as an oboist at San Marco in 1750. It frequently appears however that there are both makers and players in the one family; therefore a kinship between Domenico and Marco, and possibly even Zorzi, may one day be verified: at this stage it is a link still to be explored.

Apart from the two recorders, only an oboe marked "D. PEROSA *[in a wimple or scroll]* " survives.[274]

Table 1.3.8: Two extant recorders by Perosa

Instrument number	Maker's mark	Collection	Accession number	Size	Year	Material	Length	Pitch A/Hz	details
Per.SPO.01	head: ∴ D. PEROSA *[in a wimple or scroll]* I[275]	A.W.km, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna	SAM 153[276]	soprano (C)		boxwood	TL: 351 SL: 305	415[277]	instrument very bent

[271] Ibid. p. 280.

[272] Ibid. p. 282.

[273] Ibid. p. 89.

[274] 461: Copenhagen Musikhistorisk Museum, Copenhagen. William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index*. p. 299. Sardelli mentions "quattro buoni oboi oggi in Francia e in Danimarca" but doesn't give sources. Federico Maria Sardelli, "Il flauto nell'Italia nel primo Settecento." p. 147.

[275] The exact same mark is to be found on the Perosa oboe in Copenhagen. Adrian Brown, private communication.

[276] The old catalogue number is given by Waterhouse (8540.C164), along with the indication "ex-Catajo." William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index*. p. 299. This refers to the fact that this instrument originates from the collection of the Obizzi family, originally in Padua, moved to Vienna in 1870. Adrian Brown notes in his measurements (private communication) that the instrument was listed in the inventory of 1871. More information can be found at http://www.khm.at/en/visit/collections/collection-of-historic-musical-instruments/history-of-the-collection/, accessed December 31, 2013.

Per.SPI.01	head: PEROSA *[in a wimple or scroll]*	private collection (G. Klemisch), Berlin	–	sopranino (F)	ivory	TL: 259 SL: 226	415[278]	cracked on head and foot joints

1.4 Recorders studied: a selection

As mentioned before, all the instruments of which measurements, drawings and pictures could be collected are presented in Appendix 1: Catalogue of Italian Baroque recorders. This study offers a starting point for the continuation of the effort of measuring, studying and eventually reproducing these instruments.

Detailed information on selected instruments is presented below. With the exception of the Palanca alto of Copenhagen, all the instruments were examined by the present author and Fumitaka Saito.[279]

Anciuti alto, private collection, Celle

During a visit in 2013[280] it was possible to closely examine Anc.ALT.03, which is kept in good condition. It was observed that Anciuti's mark on the head of the instrument resembles mark "[a]" presented by Waterhouse,[281] with the addition that it is numbered "I". The middle joint is also numbered "I", whilst the foot is numbered "III". Out of Anciuti's recorders of which detailed information could be gathered, only the Graz alto of 1717 (Anc.ALT.01) presents similar numbering ("II", "I"," "II"), whilst what is left of the sopranino of Berlin (Anc.SPI.02) shows a sign which could either be a letter ("O", which Bernardini and Meucci suggest refers to "Opus") or a number ("0", which might be more in keeping with the rest of the numbering in the Celle and Graz altos).

Numbering of instrument parts was not uncommon, and facilitated the practical usage of *corps de rechange* at different pitches. In this case, that would be strange, considering that normally only an extra middle joint is made, but the 'original' head and foot

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[277] In his measurements (private communication), Adrian Brown gives 415 as a c instrument or 440 as a b instrument, but Haynes says 410. Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch / The story of "A"*. p. 452.

[278] Guido Klemisch, private correspondence.

[279] The present author could not attend the visit to the Edinburgh collection, so the observations on the Castel sopranino all stem from Saito.

[280] The present author would like to thank Mrs. Haase-Moeck for her permission to examine this instrument as well as her son, Jan Nikolai Haase, for his time accompanying our research.

[281] William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index*. p. 8.

remain, so I–I–III would be an anomaly, unless the 'third' joint did not originally belong to this instrument.

Observation of the wood grain patterns of the head and foot show that they coincide. The instrument is made of boxwood with reddish patches on the (right) side of the head and foot; this redness is not present in the body.

The Celle alto is dated 1729, a date also found on another alto in a private collection in Parma (Anc.ALT.04); it would have been interesting to verify whether Anc.ALT.04 also contained any numbering, but, unfortunately, direct access to the instrument was not possible.

It is also possible that marks were used inside Anciuti's workshop as some kind of internal control. Alfredo Bernardini postulates that "the I–I–III on the recorder might mean something else, as to combine some particular joints together according to their bore. Makers did that sometime (they still do now), like Denner put often a D, probably as approval of the head of the workshop before delivery."[282] This may well be the case, but why not I–I–I? Bernardini further notes that "the 1722 Anciuti oboe at Milan Castello Sforzesco is the only one by this maker that has alternative top joints in different lengths to offer two pitches. […] Usually the smaller number was for the longer/lower joint and vice versa."[283]

Prior history of the instruments in the Moeck collection is in possession of the Moeck family, and access to this information is not available, so it is not clear if Anc.ALT.03 is the instrument sold in 1978 by the Early Music Shop. If it is not, Anc.ALT.04 may be. "612" is written inside both sockets of the Celle alto, but this could not be linked to any inventories that would confirm the relation to the Early Music Shop sale.[284]

The block of the instrument has one crack and one small chip, which has been filled with resin or glue, most probably in a modern restoration. The block is now very thin on the beak side. There is no top chamfer and the block chamfer is virtually nonexistent. The sanding of the block surface seems to be done in a zigzag pattern towards the windway exit but in one direction (parallel to the windway) at the windway entrance.

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[282] Alfredo Bernardini, private communication.

[283] Alfredo Bernardini, private communication.

[284] Phillip T. Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments*. p. 5. Correspondence with the shop currently known as The Early Music Shop reveals only that "[t]he Early Music Shop started around 1968 and was very much part of the Early Music boom of the 1970s, unfortunately our sales records do not go as far back as that! We did not have a shop of our own in Rome, though there could certainly have been a shop using the 'early music' tag at that time." Peter Booth, private communication.

The surface of the bore of Anc.ALT.03, despite being blackened, was rather smooth. This alto has a very wide head bore, comparable to instruments of Stanesby Jr. which are pitched at approximately A=410 Hz. The large head bore, more conical than expected, might compensate the absence of chamfers in stabilizing low notes.

Fortunately, it was possible to play a little on the instrument, and the following remarks are based on that trial:

- it plays evenly throughout the whole range, with rather easy high notes;
- the sound is very restricted, requiring especially delicate blowing;
- probably because of the absence of chamfers it speaks fast but requires subtle articulation;
- it is pitched at approximately A=430 Hz but its tuning feels odd, with a very small C4–C5 octave. B♭4 works with 0123467 but B♭5 does not work with 012346.

A few conjectures can be made:

- a shorter foot, which might be numbered "I" would probably give a better overall tuning to this instrument, with the exception that F4 would be too high;
- isolating the "III" foot and re-assembling it with proportionally adequate "III" head and middle joints would probably result in A=440 Hz alto.

Finally, the turning work of the Celle alto is simple. The fact that it is made entirely in box, in a modest fashion, with numbered joints, suggests to me an instrument that was played rather than made as a collectible. This is confirmed by the worn out thumbhole.

Anonymous alto, 1124-1869, London

The website of the Victoria & Albert museum provides in depth information on this striking unsigned alto (Ano.ALT.01), made of "fruitwood, veneered in turtle shell inlaid with gold piqué, silver and mother of pearl, and set with turned ivory collars"[285]:

> This exquisitely decorated instrument is unsigned but was probably made between about 1730 and 1750 in Naples, where furniture veneered with inlaid turtle shell was a speciality.
>
> Treble recorder of three joints, of turned fruitwood, veneered in turtle shell inlaid with gold piqué, silver and mother of pearl, mounted with ivory, plainly turned. The sections are turned and bored, the outer surfaces wrapped with turtle shell, which is overlapped and welded to itself after heating. The turtle shell would then be polished so that no line of joining is apparent.

[285] "1124-1869." V&A, accessed December 1, 2014, http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O58920/top-joint-unknown/. Square brackets originate from the original text, with the exception of '[…]' which indicates the omission of irrelevant sections.

[Treble recorder] A slightly bulbous ivory mouthpiece is turned with plain mouldings at the base. It is cut away on the underside and the fruitwood core is visible, with the fruitwood infill. Below this the joint is veneered in turtle shell, turned in the shell with shallow collars at top and bottom and showing on the top and bottom edge a pattern in gold piqué of addorsed S-scrolls with pendants including small circles of mother of pearl. Below the voicing aperture (through which the fruitwood core is visible) the turtle shell is inlaid with two coats of arms in gold, below a closed crown which is deeply engraved into the turtle shell. The dexter shield is barry of five, the two gold bars each engraved with continuous curving motifs. The sinister shield is barry of six, the three gold bars each engraved with two horizontal lines, the three bars of shell each inlaid in gold with single fleurs-de-lys. The core of the joint is visible below the lower edge of the turtle shell, where it extends approximately 4 cm to provide the core for the ivory collar […].

[Collar] Collar of ivory, of barrel form, turned at top and bottom with small, plain mouldings.

[Main joint] A plain, turned section, veneered with turtle shell and inlaid with bands of gold and mother-of-pearl inlay at top and bottom. The core of the joint extends beyond the decorated area at each end to provide for connection with the adjacent sections of the recorder, the narrower areas bound with fine cord to provide a tight fit. The joint is set with five finger holes on the top surface, each with an inlaid, framing mount in the form of a baroque cartouche, of engraved silver and with an additional finger hole below these, which is set within the inlaid decoration and shows no framing mount. There is an additional finger hole, with a similar collar, on the underside at the top.

[Bottom joint] A bell-shaped foot joint, with a turned ivory collar at the top and an ivory edge section to the base. The upper edge of the turtle-shell collar is set with the freize of addorsed S-scrolls in gold piqué and mother of pearl. The upper ivory collar is pierced with one finger hole on the underside of the instrument.
This recorder was one of a number of historical wind instruments that formed part of a decorative trophy on the wall of the Paris apartment of the composer of light opera Giocchino Antonio Rossini (1782–1868). As yet the arms of the original owner (inlaid into the turtle-shell) have not been identified.

When it was acquired in 1869, the Museum's Art Referee, Matthew Digby Wyatt wrote from Paris on April 20th: 'This instrument in fine tortoiseshell inlaid with fine piqué work in gold is a fine and rare specimen of (I believe) Neapolitan work of the middle of the last century. It bears inlaid in gold the arms -[sketch added here]. It belonged to Rossini's well-known trophy, and was well worthy to do so as it is a really fine specimen of the feasibility of applying art to musical instruments of a similar class. It general form is somewhat this - [sketch added here] - and very elegant. Upon the whole I think the prices asked reasonable for this object and recommend the purchase.' […] This is an early acquisition for which there are no Registered Papers. It was bought from Mr M. Bauer on 12 July 1869 for £24.0.0. and was described as a flute à bec.

The technique of inlaying turtle shell with gold, silver and mother-of-pearl had originated in Naples at the end of the sixteenth century and the city remained noted for such work throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Pieces decorated with these materials were popular souvenirs for travellers making the Grand Tour. Turtle shell was extremely soft, and could be worked with gentle heat and polishing, so that joins in the pieces used for covering items could be 'welded' together, as on this

instrument, which shows not join lines in the veneer. The arms incorporated into the design of this instrument suggest that it was a particular commission.

The 'Rossini alto' is in storage since the Victoria & Albert virtually closed their instrument exhibition in 2011. We were very fortunate to have obtained special permission to examine this unique instrument in 2013.

It was not possible to remove the block and it was also not possible to play it. The instrument was measured, and those details are reproduced in Appendix 1. With the bore being discussed and compared with other instruments below, and with such a detailed description already available from the museum, only a few further observations seem necessary:

- small repairs can be seen on the Coat of Arms of the instrument. On the right side, the curvature of the tortoise shell and the gold inlay match, while on the left side a repair is discernible. The crown-shaped gold inlay of the top part of the Coat of Arms is missing;[286]
- the instrument is covered in *fleur de lis*; which may be another clue to its ownership;
- no undercutting of the labium is perceptible without removing the block, so it is probably very short;
- not only does this instrument display expertly made turning work and decorations, but its bore and voicing are those of an expertly constructed musical instrument;
- from the measurements we deduce it to be pitched at approximately A=403 Hz.

Castel alto, C168, Nice[287]

In the collection of the Palais Lascaris museum, bequested by Antoine Gautier (a collector born in Nice who had a strong penchant for Italy, and continued to trade and correspond with Italians, also after Nice became French in 1860), one finds a number of eighteenth-century recorders, including a stunning alto by N. Castel. Aside from its beautiful design and mint condition, it is unique in being the only Italian Baroque recorder with double holes (or twin holes), as will be seen below.

[286] The April 20, 1869 report by Wyatt does not mention either of those small imperfections. Art Referee Report by Digby Wyatt. V&A Registry file: RP/1869/18487 on MA/3/31.

[287] This section is a revised version of Inês de Avena Braga, "Three Castel recorders: Rome, Edinburgh and especially Nice."

This recorder – as well as the oboe by Castel and two other unidentified recorders, all in the collection of the museum – was in Gautier's possession already in 1878, as it is listed in an attachment to a letter from April 1st to Gaetano Gaspari (who was instrumental to the collection of the Liceo Musicale in Bologna). Gautier was close friends with Gaspari, and wrote that his visit to the Liceo was his inspiration for beginning to collect instruments himself.[288]

This beautiful alto is made of ebony, with beak, tenons and rings covered in thick ivory. Its elegant design and skilled turning work suggest a confident maker, whom we understand to be N. Castel from the maker's mark on all three sections of the recorder, which is accompanied by what Waterhouse describes to be a 'lion rampant'.[289] It is worthy of note to mention that this stylized 'N' is not the same as the 'N' marked on the oboe by Castel found in the same collection.[290]

The Nice Castel recorder was studied by Marc Ecochard in 1987, and a note by him from November of that year (written to the previous curator of the collection, Michel Foussard) reveals he found the animal under the maker's name to be a griffin, instead of a lion rampant.[291] He also notes that both this recorder and the oboe by Castel (which has beautifully ornate silver keys) were probably made for distinguished clients (and judging by the fact that their pitches do not match, probably different clients), and he judges the recorder to be at A=402 Hz and the oboe at A=415 Hz.[292] However, Ecochard fails to mention this recorder's most distinguishing feature: the fact that it has (equal sized) double holes for fingers 6 and 7.[293] No other extant, stamped, Italian recorder from the Baroque period displays this feature, and according to Van Heyghen only ten other Baroque recorders with similar characteristics have survived,[294] including instruments by Bressan, I. C. Denner, Stanesby Jr. and Steenbergen. Out of the high number of extant instruments with single holes, double holes are thus uncommon, but nonetheless mentioned in contemporary treatises, namely in France: Loulié's fingering for C♯6 suggests he had an instrument with

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[288] The letter is held in the International Museum and Library of Bologna, but the information was kindly provided by Robert Adelson, curator of instruments at the Lascaris Museum, in private communication.

[289] William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index*. pp. 58-59.

[290] It is interesting to note that this oboe, as well as the one in Stockholm, both have double holes for hole 4.

[291] Lascaris Museum, *Dossier d'oeuvre*.

[292] Drawings and measurements made in 1986 by Marc Ecochard, *Dossier d'oeuvre*.

[293] Modern finger numbering convention is used: 0 being the left-hand thumb, 7 being the right-hand little finger.

[294] Peter Van Heyghen, unpublished list, private communication.

double holes for finger 3,[295] and Hotteterre[296] reports that in his days instruments with double holes for fingers 3, 6 and 7 were common. This will be further discussed below.

1987 was also the year in which Philippe Bolton produced a fine set of technical drawings with measurements of the Castel alto.[297] Bolton set his tuning machine to A=410 Hz, already diverging from Ecochard. Curiously, Bruce Haynes seemed to disagree with both, listing it at A=404 Hz.[298] Bolton's drawings show the instrument to be of a design which resembles English instruments by Bressan. Its proportions are though quite unique: the ivory mounts being especially bulky and the wooden body rather slim.[299] The catalogue of a 1991 exhibition on music in painting, which includes a picture of the Nice Castel alto recorder, suggests that it recalls the instrument depicted in the paintings of János Kupezki.[300] Upon closer observation of one of the three paintings (Portrait of a man with a recorder, oil on canvas, 81.5×65.5 cm, Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, No. 685) one naturally concludes it to be a different instrument, that of the painting having different ivory mounts and clearly visible single holes for fingers 6 and 7.[301]

In the late 1980s a recording by the ensemble La Serenata (Sonates pour flûte a bec, label Pierre Verany, recorded on 17 and 18 May 1986, released in 1987) was made using instruments in the collection of the Nice museum. The recorder player of the ensemble, Christian Mendoze, played the Castel recorder in concerts preceding and following the recording (all in 1986),[302] but decided not to use it for the CD, because of intonation difficulties. In his plan, Bolton reports: "Dans l'état actuel le son est venteux (biseau affaissé) laissant le canal trop ouvert par rapport à celui-ci, et le bouchon trop haut. Par ailleurs il semble y avoir eu des tentatives de réaccordage car les notes du medium sont trop

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[295] Etienne Loulié, "Méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la flûte douce," (Paris late 1680s – revised 1701/1702). F-Pn, ms. n.a. fr. 6355, ms. xix, xx.

[296] Jacques Hotteterre, *Principes de la flûte traversière, ou flûte d'Allemagne, de la flûte à bec, ou flûte douce, et du haut-bois, diviséz par traitéz op. 1* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1707).

[297] It only missed a few details on voicing, completed by Fumitaka Saito during a visit to the Lascaris Museum in November 2012 at the commission of the present author.

[298] Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch / The story of "A"*. p. 452.

[299] The ivory mount on the bell is screwed in place, and has therefore thread to help the fit.

[300] Josiane Bran-Ricci, Jean Forneris, Béatrice Debrabandère-Descamps, "La Musique et la Peinture 1600–1900," ed. Musée de Beaux-Arts (Nice Les Arts Graphiques, 1991). p. 164.

[301] Nicholas Lander, "Recorder Homepage - Recorder Iconography (K)." accessed November 9, 2014, http://www.recorderhomepage.net/recorder-iconography/artists-k/.

[302] Reviews were made of three concerts but the current curator, Robert Adelson, informed me in private correspondence that nothing specific about the sound of the Castel alto is mentioned.

hautes."[303] This is probably due to modern attempts to retune and revoice the instrument, with obviously unsuccessful results and permanent damage to the instrument's historical conditions. Bolton remarks in his plan's tuning table that wax can be found on a few holes, probably an effort to correct the tuning. More personal impressions of the instrument's playing qualities from a visit in November 2012 alongside recorder maker Fumitaka Saito are the following:

- it seems to be in A=407 Hz (after being hand warmed for five minutes at 19.8° C and at 60% humidity);
- the instrument plays evenly throughout the entire range, with full low notes and quite easy high ones;
- dark, woody, warm sound though also sweet, and not particularly clear (probably due to the labium now being too low);
- slow articulation response;
- considerable dynamic range.

The following constructional traits could be observed by a more in depth observation of the instrument's voicing by Saito:

- the block is probably made of (very compact) cedar and its surface is very rough and sanded in different directions, but it is unclear why (perhaps to solve a wolf problem or too much harmonic noise, or solve a problem of condensation?)
- rather open window, with a very vertical top chamfer, which presents an unusual extra angle that produces what could be called a 'double chamfer'. The function of this 'double chamfer' still eludes us: might it perhaps be a way to achieve a free feeling of blowing as well as a stable tone?[304]
- the concavity at the bottom of the block is similar to that observed on English recorders of the time, and the top of the block is concave, as expected on historical instruments.

[303] *Dossier d'oeuvre*. Translation by the present author: "In its current state the sound is windy (labium collapsed), leaving the wind channel too open in relation to it, and the block too high. Moreover there seem to have been attempts to retune it because the middle range notes are too high."

[304] On a prior study realized by the author and Saito on a Panormo alto (Inês de Avena Braga, "The Panormo Alto Recorder: A *Dolce Flauto Dolce*?."), a different but equally puzzling voicing detail was observed, in the unusual angle to which the top of the window is cut. These are important examples of the refined work that was done on these instruments, which we do not always grasp, but which we are bluntly ignoring when leaving those unstudied.

In 2013, this instrument was copied by Fumitaka Saito, on my commission, and I used the copy in a CD recording.[305] The opportunity to play on this model for a prolonged period revealed a few more traits of Castel's work:

- when played alone, the feeling of the player is that of a refined but small and delicate sound. Surprisingly, it does not sound too soft when accompanied by a harpsichord; the sound does "carry."
- the double holes for 6 and 7 do not necessarily facilitate tuning but naturally are essential in making F♯4, G♯4 and A♭4 notes that can be heard as clearly as all others.

Castel sopranino, 3323, Edinburgh[306]

This beautiful ivory sopranino by Castel had never been suitably measured.[307] Stemming originally from the Shaw-Hellier Collection, the instrument is on permanent loan to the Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments since 1993, previous ownerships unknown.

Considering its good condition and the fact that it is housed in such a famous and accessible collection, the lack of previous measurements is indeed unexpected. Though unexceptional (i.e. good turning work, good design, good voicing) it would probably be a good instrument to copy, especially considering its reported pitch of A=415 Hz.[308] The maker's mark found on both parts of the instrument is a simplified version of the marks found on other recorders by Castel, and the only one marked in this manner, perhaps precisely because it is the only instrument ivory instrument by Castel.

It was not possible to play this instrument, but, fortunately, it was possible to remove the block for inspection, and thus, among other things, to observe better its chamfer. It is slightly damaged on the left side, as is the left back side of the beak as well as the front. The edge of the labium is slightly damaged, and the catalogue of the collection suggests the window to have been made widened.[309]

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[305] La Cicala, Inês d'Avena, *Dolce Napoli, Sonate & Concerti per Flauto (CD)*, Passacaille 1007 (2014).

[306] This section is also a revised version of Inês de Avena Braga, "Three Castel recorders: Rome, Edinburgh and especially Nice."

[307] This sopranino was measured in April 2013 by Fumitaka Saito, on the present author's commission.

[308] *Historic Musical Instruments in the Edinburgh University Collection*, Part D, Fascicle i: Recorders and Flageolets, 1st edition. p. 28.

[309] Ibid. p. 28.

Castel alto, 887|644, Rome MNSM

Along with three more instruments described here (Cas.ALT.04, Cas.VOI.02 and Gra.ALT.01), this fine Castel alto (Cas.ALT.03) was part of the Homeric collection of Evan Gorga, which became the Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali in Rome, with over 3000 musical items.

The Castel boxwood alto, Cas.ALT.03, is in good general condition, especially the labium, which aside from a small chip, seems to be in its 'original' condition (and not 'sunken' as is usually the case). However, the bottom of the block is severely damaged; it seems there were attempts to remove the block using an instrument that had a protrusion, which created small dents of various similar shapes on the bottom surface.

Further remarks, regarding its general condition:

- there is a small chip on the right side of the beak, and two on one of the turned rings on the foot;
- the top of the flat part of the beak is scratched, many times, in the same direction;
- inside the foot joint, two small cracks show the excellent repair carried out, in a sort of 'jacket' of the upper part. This can be observed more clearly when looking through the top of the foot joint, on the inside of the hole. This repair appears to be contemporaneous to the instrument;
- there are two signs of attempts to modify the instrument in an unsuccessful way: firstly, the block was made lower (windway bigger, therefore), making it out of line with the labium, which, as mentioned, is perfectly preserved. The modification damaged the block, and got rid of the block chamfer, which therefore is non-existent and in 'steps', broken. Secondly, the top of the middle joint was made shorter, and in a very crude manner;
- the thumbhole is worn, in a normal way for an instrument which was used.

The design of the head joint is similar to that of the alto in Nice (Cas.ALT.01), but in a less contrasting form (regarding the 'main' part and the ivory mounts, as seen above).

The design of the foot joint is more 'German' than that of the alto in Nice, which, as mentioned above, is rather 'English' looking. Observing the foot closely it is possible to see the connection line of the 'jacket' work done (which happens on the top of the third ring of the foot, from top to bottom). The mark is off to the right side of the foot, not centralized.

A few more observations regarding design:

- the entire instrument has matching wood grain patterns, except for the 'jacket' part;

- the bottom of the block is straight;
- the top chamfer is absolutely 'normal', not comparable to that of the alto in Nice.

The recorder is marked "N. | CASTEL. | [griffin/lion rampant]" on all three parts.

It was fortunately possible to play briefly on this instrument. Although the block is now too low, the instrument still sounds quite special; one can only imagine how it would have sounded with an adequate block. It sounds more open than the Nice alto, and also less sweet.

The scale played reveals an instrument very well in tune, pitched at approximately A=403 Hz.

Castel alto, 879|1421, Rome MNSM

Unlike the previous instrument, Cas.ALT.04 is in rather poor condition. This stained boxwood[310] alto has the same maker's mark by Castel as Cas.ALT.03, centralized on all three joints. Unlike Cas.ALT.03, the "N" part of the mark is not as clearly discernible on the middle and foot joints, giving the possible interpretation of a "U". Examination of the head joint clarifies this to be an "N" indeed.

There is a large vertical crack running from the right side of the beak, down the side of the windway, as far as the window. Another large vertical crack runs down the back of the head joint, starting at the larger ring on the beak, all the way to the lower end of the head joint at the socket. The joint is currently held with nylon thread, which needs to be removed to be able to separate head and middle joints, as the top tenon on the middle joint has expanded considerably. Inside this back crack, a considerable amount of dirt is deposited, the removal of which would lessen the tension on the joint.

Further remarks on the current condition of this alto:

- the beak is severely damaged on both sides, especially the left, which is missing the entire tip;
- the top crack which starts at the top of the beak is also partially filled, perhaps with wax or some kind of resin (probably in an attempt to avoid air leaking from the crack). It seems the same substance partially fills the back crack;

[310] The Cervelli catalogue suggests pearwood, but the wood grain pattern, especially in the middle joint, is more characteristic of boxwood. Luisa Cervelli, *La Galleria Armonica: catalogo del Museo degli strumenti musicali di Roma*. p. 343.

- the window seems to have been considerably enlarged, very crudely, altering the symmetry of the bottom of the ramp, which is now 'lower' on the left side. There are vertical scratch marks on the ramp as well as 'steps';
- the block has been altered on this instrument as well: it was also made 'lower', too low in relation to the labium;
- the bottom surface of the block is straight;
- It was easy to remove the block because of the large crack in the head joint. By removing it, it becomes visible that the block was altered more recently, in a way that removed the lower half of the block surface (with rough marks), and which by consequence, removed any chamfer. A new chamfer was clearly not attempted, though there are marks of extra coarse sanding at the end of the block surface. There is a crack that runs transversely. Furthermore, the tip of the block seems to have suffered some kind of denting as well as the back (part of the beak);
- there was a lot of accumulated dust, especially inside the middle joint, as well as what may be some insect cocoons;
- the thumbhole is worn, in a normal way;
- the foot tenon of the middle joint is covered in old thread and tape. Inside the foot socket, a small piece of paper was found which reads "SS/14" on one side, and "AT" on the other;
- a thick crack runs down from the foot socket to the middle of the foot, fading away until a little lower than the maker's mark. Another crack slightly more to the back runs down more or less until the same point. There is also a small horizontal dent on the front surface of the foot, under Castel's mark. Finally, there is a little chip at the bottom, at the bell ring.

In terms of design, the foot turning is more similar to that of English recorders, than is the turning of Cas.ALT.03; indeed, the turning work on the two feet of these Castel altos in Rome is sharply different. The shape of the foot joint of the stained alto is similar to that of the voice-flute in this same collection, described next.

The top chamfer on this instrument is made in a slightly more accentuated angle than that of the other Castel alto in this collection. Both altos have rather open windows, with window sides at an open angle.

Needless to say, this instrument is unplayable.

Castel voice-flute, 884|698, Rome MNSM

Cas.VOI.02 is marked "N. | CASTEL. | [griffin/lion rampant]" on all three parts, but the middle joint "N" could be confused with an "M". The stamps are centralized on all three joints and very much resemble the stamps on Cas.VOI.01, which will be discussed next.

Unlike Cas.VOI.01, this instrument is not in top condition. Cas.VOI.02 has a very large crack that runs down the side of the head joint, extending from the socket upwards halfway into the head joint. It is interesting to note that the crack does not follow a 'straight' line upwards, but seems to be 'redirected' after the last turned ring on the bottom, 'pear-shaped' part of the head.

Observing this joint closely, it looks as if there was a repair to fix this crack, probably contemporary to the instrument, and as we saw with Cas.ALT.03, a 'jacket' has been put in place. Therefore, the crack also does not coincide on the inside of the socket and the outside of the joint: one sees two circles cracked in different places, which would be very unlikely if it were one piece of wood. Looking inside, only one continuous crack can be seen, which confirms the previous observation that there was a 'jacket' repair.

The middle joint is in good condition except for a few chips on the joints. The thumbhole shows signs of extensive use. The top of the middle joint seems to have been shortened, as seen by the different color of the wood and the 'rounding' of the surface on the joint. The distance from the top hole is also too short: it was probably shortened by about 5 mm.

The foot has a narrow crack, which can only be seen on the outside and as far as the socket on the inside, even though it runs down deeper on the outside than just the socket. This crack is to be found on the 'bulbous' part of the foot joint, stopping at the ring under the finger hole.

Further comments concerning the general condition of this voice-flute:

- the joints are now covered with cork, instead of thread;
- the block has suffered from a very poor repair, which left traces of glue (of the kind used for violins) on the end side of the windway;
- the beak of the instrument is also damaged, in the front and on both sides of the back, where a large part is missing on the right side;
- the head joint now has a metal ring, probably because of the crack;
- the tip of the labium is broken, making the window too large.

Regarding design:

- the top chamfer looks normal, once again, not comparable to the alto in Nice. The window is narrower than Cas.VOI.01, which indeed has a particularly large window;
- the original block chamfer cannot be traced, considering how poorly the current repair was made. It was also impossible to remove the block, as the 'repair' left a considerable amount of glue on all surfaces: it is now a glued block.

Finally, this seems to be a recorder that endured considerable use (as observed by the thumbhole, the condition of the wood around the holes, the repairs on the head, the condition of the beak etc.), and perhaps different modern attempts to render it playable again are the reason the block is now glued, the window too large etc. The lower right hand corner of the window shows evident sign of this, possibly motivated by trying to fix the fact that the labium is now too low.

Although the instrument could be played, the condition of the labium does not allow it to produce any significant sound. We estimate it to be pitched at approximately A=427 Hz.

Castel voice-flute, 170, Rome MUSA[311]

The Castel voice-flute in the collection of the Museo di Strumenti Musicali dell'Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia is also in remarkably good condition, not only aesthetically but sonically. The instrument was donated in 1862 by Giocchino Pasqualini, the violinist and physicist, founder of the Associazione Nazionale Liuteria Artistica Italiana (ANLAI), who was responsible for the retake of the activities of the museum of the Accademia di Santa Cecilia, where he had once studied and been a member of the Santa Cecilia symphony orchestra.[312] Any prior history of the instrument is unknown at this moment.

Like the instrument in Nice, this recorder had previously been studied, cleaned and repaired, though no plans were available from the museum.[313] From the "Scheda di restauro" one learns the instrument was repaired in 1997 by Francesco Li Virghi and Giovanni Tardino, and that already then the instrument showed signs of a previous repair in the right side of the beak.[314] The report continues to mention that following this second restoration in 1997

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[311] This section is a revised version of Inês de Avena Braga, "Three Castel recorders: Rome, Edinburgh and especially Nice."

[312] *Scheda di restauro*, Rome, MUSA – Museo degli Strumenti Musicali, Accademia di Santa Cecilia.

[313] The instrument was thus measured in May 2013 by Fumitaka Saito, on the present author's commission.

[314] *Scheda di restauro*, Rome, MUSA – Museo degli Strumenti Musicali, Accademia di Santa Cecilia.

the block is no longer removable. It also mentions the crack on the foot (also repaired), which is indicated would affect stability.

During our study, it was thus regrettably not possible to remove the block because of the previous restoration work conducted on the beak of the instrument. The information on the report of the restoration was useful in describing the block:[315]

> Il blocco presenta un taglio orizzontale per metà della sua lunghezza nel quale è inserito un sottile spessore di legno. Questo accorgimento, adottato per ridurre l'altezza del canale d'insufflazione, era usato di frequente e potrebbe essere attribuito allo stesso costruttore; in ogni caso si tratta di un intervento eseguito allo scopo di migliorare le caratteristiche sonore dello strumento e quindi databile all'epoca del suo utilizzo musicale.

Though not removable, the block had visible, "normal" chamfers, and so did the top of the windway, which was very wide, for instance if compared to Bressan voice-flutes. The choices of voicing all converge to making this instrument loud (and loud it is).

A few details possible to observe up-close: it is exceptional that the top tenon of the body hasn't shrunk and in fact it seems that the fit is too tight on the head (which must have shrunk), as there is almost no thread left (as opposed to the bottom of the body, which is as usual). Maker's marks on each of the joints have different degrees of clarity, which would explain why in the "Scheda di restauro" it was attributed to "W. Castel". The mark on the middle joint is almost identical to that on the Castel oboe in Nice. Fortunately, playing was possible. These are a few of this author's subjective impressions:

- Very healthy, loud sound, rich in harmonics. It sounds 'as new' (or rather better).
- It seems the instrument is in fact around A=407 Hz.

It may be important to point out that, unlike English instruments, this Castel voice-flute has a range of over two octaves, as can be verified in Appendix 1.

Grassi alto, 881|638, Rome MNSM

The ivory decorations of this alto distinguish it from the maze of instruments in the pictures of the Gorga collection taken c. 1940, when the instruments were still in his apartments.[316]

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[315] Translation by the present author: "The block has a horizontal cut through half its length into which is inserted a thin strip of wood. This strip of wood, used to reduce the height of the windway, was used frequently and could be attributed to the same maker; in any case this is an intervention performed in order to improve the sound characteristics of the instrument and therefore dates from the time of its use for music." *Scheda di restauro*, Rome, MUSA – Museo degli Strumenti Musicali, Accademia di Santa Cecilia.

[316] Andrea Cionci, "Appendice Fotografica," in *Il Tenore Collezionista* (Florence: Nardini Editore, 2004). p. 116.

Gra.ALT.01 is made of boxwood, with ivory mounts and a metal ring. It is marked "GRASSI | ИИ MILAИ" on all three joints.

On the general condition of this alto:

- there is a large crack in the head joint, which runs down the front of the instrument, starting at the beak, and another crack in the wooden part as well as the ivory part of the 'pear-shaped' part at the bottom of the head joint;
- a similar crack is visible on the foot joint, affecting the ivory and continuing slightly into the wood;
- there is also a crack on the last ring/bell of the foot, which seems to stem from a natural knot in the wood;
- there is a 10 cm crack at the top of the middle joint, which justifies the placement of the metal ring. A piece of 'modern' paper was found stuck on the inside of the ring;
- the back of the beak is scratched and so is the block. It appears as if the block is too wide and too short for this windway/head;
- the two ivory mounts are slightly damaged, with various small chips;
- in the middle joint, a strange repair using sealing tape means it is now attached to the head of the instrument. The repair itself has a crack. The foot joint is also stuck to the middle joint.

It seems likely that both cracks on both joints originate from too much pressure on the joint, which is why both are now stuck together.

It is important to point out that the design of the instrument is strange, and the proportions are unusual:

- the beak is rather narrow;
- the windway is not centered with the window;
- the turning work on the top of the window is somewhat baroque but the turning on the 'pear-like' part of the head is of a later style (similar to other late Baroque instruments with simpler turning and fewer rings);
- the turning on the joint of the foot is similarly made in this later style, but the turning on the foot bottom bell is once again more Baroque, matching that of the top of the head joint.

Two hypothesis can be put forward: either Grassi was 'playing' with a more simple/late/classical/similar to traverso turning work design, or the ivory mounts were a later addition, along with a 'redesign' of the original shape.

Finally, there is no top chamfer on this alto, in a similar style to Anciuti. It seems likely that Grassi would have been apprenticed to Anciuti in Milan.[317]

Palanca alto, E86, Copenhagen

This unusual instrument has been kindly measured by Ture Bergstrøm, the curator of the Danish Music Museum, National Museum of Denmark where it is kept. The plan, with measurements and drawings, states:

> Boxwood recorder with ivory windcap and mountings. The flageolet-like windcap seems to be original. The upper end of the windway is badly damaged by pressure of the cap caused by moisture from the player's breath, and there is a heavy crack along the right side of the windway. The windway is so narrow due to the compression that inspection is very difficult and playing impossible. The front part of the beak (inside the windcap) has been removed. The pitch is estimated to a'=426–430 Hz. […] There are traces of a real beak, so the windway was originally 59 mm long.

Bergstrøm has provided a few further details:[318]

> There is room enough for a sponge inside, very much as the flageolet. […] The extra ivory ring at the top of the foot is very crudely made and is obviously not original.
> I would not hesitate to call this instrument a recorder with a flageolet-like mouthpiece. The tone holes and the tuning are typical for a 'normal' alto recorder in f', whereas the flageolet has its fundamental with 6 holes closed. Also the windway (apart from the cap) and the window are of a 'normal' recorder form.
> As the instrument was bought from Franciolini in Florence 1904, one has to be a little suspicious of its provenance, but the instrument has been intensively played after the (possible) conversion to the flageolet shape; this would not be the case if done by Franciolini. So I am pretty sure that the flageolet-like design stems from Palanca himself, but some of the ivory rings are more crudely made than you would expect from a renowned maker, and they could have been made at Franciolini's.

Leopoldo Franciolini was an "Italian dealer in and forger of antique musical instruments."[319] However, the 'mix and match' character of this instrument would not be unlike other work by Palanca, as has been seen before. At least aesthetically, this instrument very much resembles that of the Washington Castel/Palanca alto.

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[317] Similar conclusions were envisaged by Antonella Varvara, " Il serpentino, uno sconosciuto strumento musicale richiesto da Mozart a Milano" (Master Degree, Università degli Studi di Milano, 2013). p. 38, 61, 64. My appreciation to Renato Meucci for acquainting me with this study.

[318] Ture Bergstrøm, private communication.

[319] Edwin M. Ripin, "Franciolini, Leopoldo." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 2014, December 1, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com. On the catalogues of Franciolini, see Edwin M. Ripin, *The instrument catalogs of Leopoldo Franciolini*, ed. George R. Hill, vol. 9, Music indexes and bibliographies (Hackensack: Joseph Boonin, 1974). In those catalogues, in the instances a recorder is listed (p. 9, 18, 56, 64) the description does not correspond to the instrument in Copenhagen.

The iconographic part of Palanca's stamp on this alto, the sun or star or flower, is not reported by Waterhouse,[320] neither is it mentioned in other studies on Palanca, by Bernardini or Voice.[321]

Panormo alto, DCM 327, Washington, D.C.[322]

The Panormo ivory alto (DCM 327) is now kept at the Library of Congress in Washington, DC and is part of the vast collection of instruments, iconography, music scores, and books donated by Dr. Dayton C. Miller, the American acoustician and avid woodwind collector from the beginning of the twentieth century. It was acquired by Miller in 1923 – in pristine condition – from Sumner Healey of New York, and had previously been in the possession of Auguste Tolbecque.[323] The previous ownership of the instrument remains unknown, and it is unlikely it could be traced back three hundred years.

The instrument is marked "IOAN: | PANORM:" on all three sections. The website of the Dayton Miller collection states that the instrument shows "[h]ead joint severely cracked into 3 pieces with other cracks and losses."[324] The head joint of DCM 327 is indeed severely broken on its front and back sides. In fact, if it were not for the sticky transparent tape that holds it together, it would be in three *separate* pieces. It is damaged in such a way that the top of the labium has sunk much lower than it was originally. In short, it is impossible to play it.

Despite the poor condition of the recorder's head, when an elastic band is wrapped around it to bring it to its smallest diameter, the original block still fits perfectly. This may suggest the ivory has not shrunk much since it was turned into an instrument and that the instrument is probably close to its original pitch. The Panormo alto is a rather short instrument for that period, its sounding length being 431 mm (with its long foot).

From the length and bore measurements of DCM 327, its pitch is deduced to be around A=420 Hz, which is well within the range of the Italian recorders Bruce Haynes lists,

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[320] William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index*. p. 290. Ton Koopman raises the possiblity of the mark being faked by Franciolini. Ton Koopman, private communication.

[321] Alfredo Bernardini, "Carlo Palanca e la costruzione di strumenti a fiato a Torino nel settecento." Nichola J. Voice, "Turners' Guilds of Northern Italy: Their Role in Enabling Woodwind Instrument Manufacture from 1680–1844."

[322] This section is a revised version of Inês de Avena Braga, "The Panormo Alto Recorder: A *Dolce Flauto Dolce*?."

[323] Laura E. Gilliam, William Lichtenwanger, *The Dayton C. Miller Flute Collection: A Checklist of the Instruments*. p. 23. Michael Seyfrit, *Musical Instruments in the Dayton C. Miller Flute Collection at the Library of Congress: A Catalog*, I: Recorders, Fifes, and Simple System Transverse Flutes of One Key. p. 22.

[324] "DCM 0327: Joannes Panormo / Treble (Alto) Recorder in F".

i.e. between A=410 and 440 Hz.[325] Pitch in Naples is believed to have been between the low Roman pitch of around A=392 and the high Venetian pitch of A=440 Hz, so a recorder from Naples would be very acceptable at 415 or 420 Hz.

The character of the bore is similar to that of English recorders. It keeps to more or less the same degree of conicity and swells in similar ways in similar places. As the bore gives the instrument its sounding body, it determines to a great degree how low and high notes will function, usually one at the expense of the other. In the Panormo, as with Bressan and other English makers, the bore privileges low notes: it is what could be called a "slow-bore," not favoring a fast response. However, the voicing of this instrument is only partly similar to English recorders. In other ways, it follows principles more commonly found in Nuremberg instruments, like recorders by Denner. Appropriately called voicing, it can be bright and clean or rusty and velvety. In the case of this Panormo, its construction suggests a bit of both. Unlike Denner, it has a very small top chamfer, which would mean that its speaking would not be the most enunciated, and the articulation response – especially in the high notes – could be slow. On the other hand, the cutting on the bore part of the labium is very long[326] and parallel and touches the bore, just like Denner. This allows the air to flow faster and creates easier high notes, indeed increasing its speaking capabilities. It has a very concave windway length-wise, a feature common in historical recorders but rarely seen in modern instruments. Along with the opposite concavity in the block, this is key to creating a feeling of easiness in blowing. An extreme feature of this instrument is the inverted angle at which the window top is cut, the opposite being found on instruments by both Stanesby Sr.[327] and Jr.[328] and Steenbergen.[329]

Unlike what is often suggested with other ivory instruments, this recorder was certainly not simply a piece for display in the collection of a wealthy person: it shows signs of real use. This is very apparent from the black lines with mould on the windway, where there probably were superficial cracks (before the current, more severe ones) caused by extensive use, and is also obvious when observing the thumb hole area, which, in its worn state with a slight depression, is incredibly comfortable to hold.

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[325] Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch / The story of "A"*. p. 452.

[326] 34 mm long.

[327] Once in the private collection of Michel Piguet, measured by Fred Morgan. Its current location is unknown.

[328] Private collection of Frans Brüggen (Amsterdam), measured by Fred Morgan.

[329] Private collection of Frans Brüggen (Amsterdam), measured by Fred Morgan.

The fact that this instrument has such refined and personal turning work suggests a maker at the peak of his craft. The numerous balancing elements in the voicing and shaping of the bore also point to the desire for very specific sound character and playing possibilities.[330] It is at just as high a standard – and therefore should be as highly regarded – as instruments by Bressan and Denner.

[330] This instrument has been copied and used in concerts and a recording: La Cicala, Inês d'Avena, *Dolce Napoli, Sonate & Concerti per Flauto (CD)* Passacaille 1007 (2014).

1.5 Comparisons

Pitch

Using Haynes as a basis,[331] below is a compilation of the pitches that are known from the recorders studied. As Haynes remarks, two pitch centers are observed in Italy, around A=435 Hz and around A=418 Hz; the low recorders by Castel are therefore unusual.

Table 1.5.1: Italian and Anonymous recorders organized by pitch standards

A+0 (± 440 Hz)	- Anc.ALT.01, Graz (435 Hz) - Anc.ALT.02, Genova (440 Hz) - Anc.ALT.04, Parma (440 Hz) - Anc.ALT.05, London (440 Hz) - Anc.SPI.02, Berlin (c. 440 Hz) - Gar.BAS.01, Parma (440 Hz) - Gra.ALT.01, Rome (c. 435 Hz) - Gra.SPI.01, Leipzig (c. 440 Hz) - Pal.TEN.02, Washington D.C. (c. 438 Hz) - Ano.ALT.04, Vienna (440 Hz)
A-½ (± 430 Hz)	- Cas.VOI.02, Rome (c. 427 Hz) - Anc.ALT.03, Celle (430 Hz) - Anc.SPO.01, Milan (430 Hz) - Pal.ALT.01, Copenhagen (c. 430 Hz)
A-1 (± 415 Hz)	- Anc.ALT.06, Milan (413 Hz) - Cas.SPI.01, Edinburgh (415 Hz) - Cas/Pal.ALT.01, Washington D.C. (410 Hz) - Pan.ALT.01, Washington D.C. (420 Hz) - Per.SPO.01, Vienna (415 Hz) - Per.SPI.01, Berlin (415 Hz) - Ano.SPI.01, Washington D.C. (415 Hz) - Ano.ALT.03, Vienna (415 Hz) - Ano.TEN.01, Leipzig (415 Hz)
A-1½ (± 403 Hz)	- Cas.ALT.01, Nice (407 Hz) - Cas.ALT.03, Rome (403 Hz) - Cas.ALT.04, Rome (407 Hz) - Cas.VOI.01, Rome (407 Hz) - Ano.ALT.01, London (c. 403 Hz) - Ano.ALT.02, Washington D.C. (c. 406 Hz)
A-2 (± 392 Hz)	- Cas.VOI.03, Vienna (396 or 443 Hz[332])
Unknown	- Anc.SPI.01, Belluno - Cas.ALT.02, Quito - Pal.TEN.01, Fontanelle - Ano.SPI.02, Washington D.C.

Performers who specialize in music from earlier centuries are well aware of the profound consequences of playing at different pitches. The effect of pitch on woodwind

[331] Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch / The story of "A"*. p. liii.

[332] The very low Cas.VOI.03 would be more in keeping with the pitch of other instruments as a C tenor, A=443 Hz, but is better placed within Castel's own output as a voice-flute pitched lower, and therefore in D.

instrumentalists is powerful, and words such as 'velvety', 'round', 'smooth' are used freely to describe 'lower' instruments – for example, tuned to A=392 Hz – especially by modern performers who have become accustomed to the often used A=415 Hz. The opposite 'bright', 'clear', 'penetrating' is used to describe higher instances of for example 465 Hz. The effects seem to be physical in many ways (sopranos are especially vulnerable to higher pitch standards, but woodwind instrumentalists also suffer with uncomfortable hand positions of pitch standards which are too low)[333] as well as emotional. The impact pitch may have on *affect* is discussed by Haynes:[334]

> There is another element which may be relevant: the effect the music may have on the listener's psyche at different frequencies. In 1713 Johann Mattheson published his famous description of the *Affects* he associated with various keys. Since there were different pitch standards in Mattheson's day, if there was some intrinsic property of a tonality that have it its own particular flavor, would D-major have expressed the same *Affect* in *Chorton* as in *Cammerton*, a M2 or m3 lower?
> Mattheson gave us the answer. In introducing his comments on *Affects*, he says: "I am thinking here principally of *Cammerton*, not *Chorton*." From this we can conclude that in Mattheson's mind, *Cammerton* was the primary standard and other pitches were transpositions. In any case, the implications of his idea are startling. Put another way, playing a piece at A-440 when it was first conceived at 466 or 415 could vitiate its ability to move listeners, or alter the intended expression. Whether pitch levels really have such power is a moot point. […]

Though these are important points to consider, for the purpose of this study, which in this chapter deals principally with the characteristics of the design of Italian Baroque recorders, it may be necessary to set aside pre-supposed expectations of sound when comparing instruments which are originally at A=407 Hz with those originally at 435 Hz, for example. They may indeed sound differently purely based on pitch. However, in many cases, internal design and bore unite instruments under a construction concept that invariably has sonic implications, dare one say, regardless of their pitch.[335]

Understanding an instrument involves an appreciation of what the instrument has to offer and at what expense. This basic notion transcends pitch, and allows an attentive

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[333] For example, even at A=466 Hz, tenor Renaissance recorders are particularly taxing on players hands, for the already large spacing of the holes. If such instruments were made at A=415 Hz, the instrument would be longer and this spacing would be even more uncomfortable.

[334] Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch / The story of "A"*. pp. xl-xli.

[335] It must be taken into account that the process of copying instruments at different pitches than their originals involves a number of compromises, and therefore produces different instruments. Nonetheless, if the basic design of the instrument is maintained, although the perception of different timbres varies due to changes of pitch, the experience of the player regarding the primary feeling when playing that instrument will remain largely the same. This specific feeling makes it possible to identify specific models, even when instruments are made by different makers, at different pitches.

recorder player to be able to recognize a Denner at A=392 Hz, 415 Hz, 440 Hz, even though different compromises have to be made to have this same Denner 'design principle' translated into these different pitches.

The purpose of this chapter is to distil the very fundamental characteristics of these Italian Baroque recorders, and to see whether they share common points which may unite them under an umbrella of 'Italian Baroque recorders'. Furthermore, they may be linked, in their design, to instruments of other European Baroque makers, but in order to compare, we must go beyond pitch and take all that was mentioned above into consideration.

External design: aesthetic details

Whether or not it is useful, we tend to compare new things with the things we know well. Consequently, it is natural to compare the external designs of the Italian recorders studied here with their European counterparts already better known.

The designs of the rings and bulges found on Baroque recorders are signatures of style for many makers, and placing recorders by Denner and Bressan next to one another quickly reveals the considerable contrast present in the way these makers gave shape to their instruments.

Essentially, the only necessity from the point of view of good function is that the recorder be thicker at the joints, in order to better prevent cracks at the places that withstand the most stress from use. As Baroque recorders are fundamentally shaped as inverted cones in their bore, this shape is mirrored outside as well. How much wood is left at the top or bottom joints translates into different weight distributions of the recorder, which may be taxing on the hands of the player or not. For example, Bressan recorders have a bulkier foot joint in comparison to Denner, and to more sensitive players the Bressan instruments can create subtle discomfort at the support point of the right hand. Therefore, whilst the maker's decisions have minor implications for the comfort or discomfort of players, their design choices of the number, thickness and spacing of rings, for example, are primarily aesthetic. Design becomes then a signature in itself.

Observing the photos and drawings included in Appendix 1 it may become apparent that the instruments by each of the Italian makers that are well represented, although all individual, do follow an identifiable profile. Especially telling of this are the foot joints.

While collecting the work of colleagues who measured some of those instruments, it was common to find comments which compared the design of one with a 'German' instrument, another with an 'English' instrument. At the start of this study this was puzzling,

as these were not observations one would have expected. Just as with families, in order to recognize similarities and disparities, one needs to take someone as a point of departure.

This research began with the study of the Panormo alto (Pan.ALT.01), which quickly turned into a point of reference for the study of the other Italian instruments. It was only gradually that it became clear that the Panormo alto is even more unusual than realized at first. The elegant shape of its foot, for example, is one of a kind.

Indeed keeping foot joints as points of reference, the instruments can be divided into two categories: those resembling English recorders, and those resembling German ones. The smaller sizes are less distinct in this aspect, as the 'drop/bulb' design is more of a practical solution to the difficulties associated with turning thin rings in the making of such petit instruments rather than actual design concepts.

Table 1.5.2: Design of the foot joints of the recorders studied

'English'	'German'	Unique	'Drop/bulb'	Straight/'traverso'
Cas.ALT.01, Nice	Anc.ALT.01, Graz	Anc.ALT.05, London	Anc.SPI.01, Belluno	Cas/Pal.ALT.01, D.C.
Cas.ALT.04, Rome	Anc.ALT.02, Genova	Anc.ALT.06, Milan	Anc.SPI.02, Berlin	Pal.ALT.01, Copenhagen
Cas.VOI.01, Rome	Anc.ALT.03, Celle	Pal.TEN.02, D.C.	Anc.SPO.01, Milan	
Cas.VOI.02, Rome	Anc.ALT.04, Parma	Pan.ALT.01, D.C.	Cas.SPI.01, Edinburgh	
	Cas.ALT.03, Rome		Gra.SPI.01, Leipzig	
			Gra.ALT.01, Rome	
			Per.SPI.01, Berlin	

It is interesting to compare the design of the foot of Anc.SPO.01 and Gra.SPI.01: the unusual ring right under the last hole on the foot joint is another point in common between Grassi and Anciuti. As will be seen below, Anciuti and Grassi bores also coincide.

It is worth mentioning that Anciuti is the only Italian maker for whom carved instruments are extant. Anc.ALT.05, which displays exquisite craftsmanship, is his latest extant instrument, his *pièce de résistance*. Speaking of his carved instruments, Voice, drawing on Bernardini and Meucci, suggests a possible link between Anciuti and the French Aléxis Saint-Martin, who had moved to Milan by 1695. She writes:[336]

> The Saint-Martin oboe in Paris is carved. Stylistically it is quite different to Anciuti's carved instruments, with the carvings appearing only on the ivory mountings, but it has a classic Greek inspired theme of acanthus foliage. This may be a link between him and Giovanni Maria, given that no other Italian woodwind maker can be confirmed as carving woodwind instruments in the first half of the eighteenth century.

[336] Nichola J. Voice, "Turners' Guilds of Northern Italy: Their Role in Enabling Woodwind Instrument Manufacture from 1680–1844." p. 216. If indeed there is a link between father Sammartini and Anciuti, a further link could be made between Anciuti and Giuseppe Sammartini's music for recorder.

Table 1.5.2 shows that Anciuti had a penchant for 'German' looking turning work, and I propose that the carved instruments of Anciuti might be linked to carved instruments by Johann Benedikt Gahn and Oberlender. As seen above, Voice had already linked the technique used in his mark with makers of Nuremberg.

Voicing

As already described, many of the Italian instruments studied display unusual features of voicing: the Panormo alto has a very unique angle at the window top, Cas.ALT.01 has a 'double' top chamfer, Anciuti's instruments show the absence of chamfers,[337] and the Castel voice-flutes of Rome have exceptionally large windows.

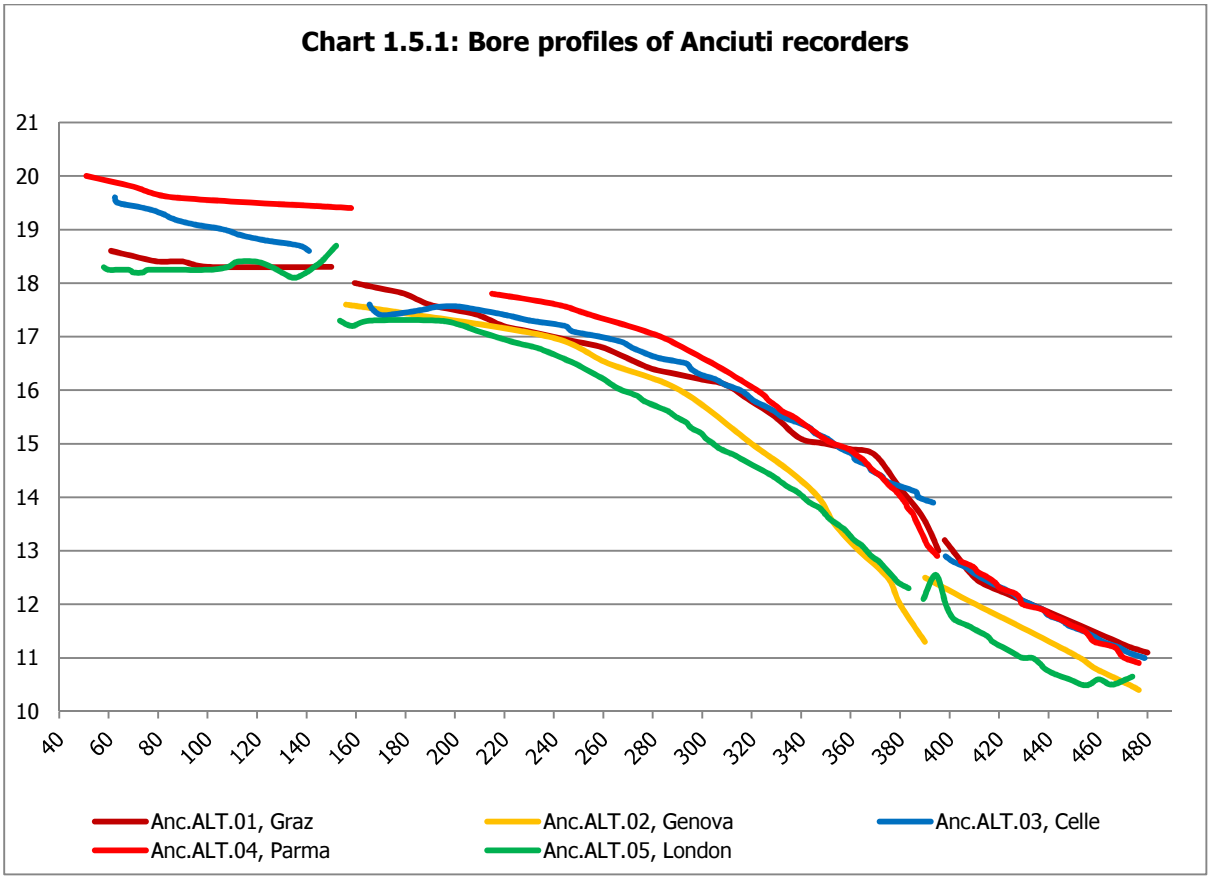
Although it is difficult to propose an explanation for each of these atypical features, in view of the considerable work in external and internal design these instruments display, it can only be assumed that the unusual voicing is intentional and a part of a design concept that translates into a particular sound ideal. Further studies as well as experiments in the reproduction of these instruments will be essential in clarifying the principles and ideas behind the execution of what now appears to be odd.

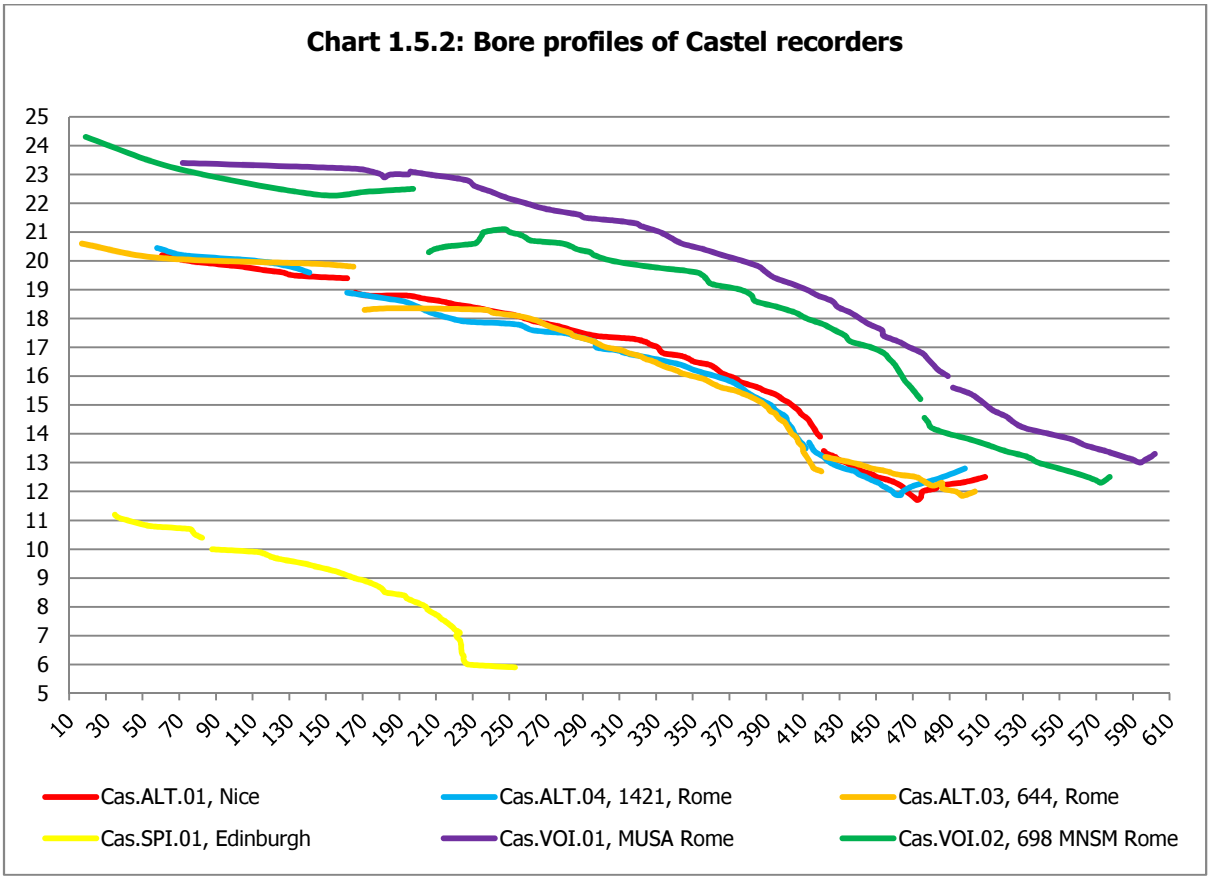
Bore profiles: l'anima

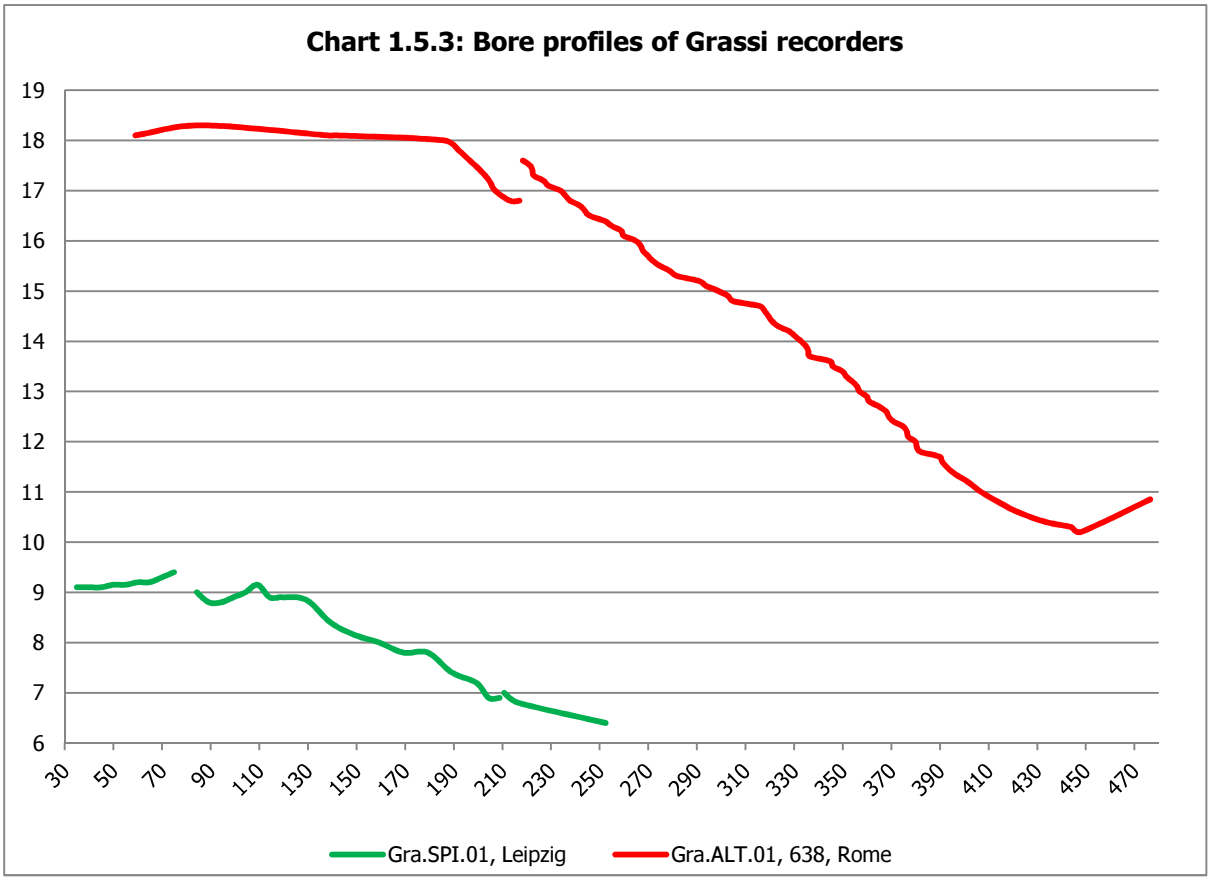
The following charts serve as useful means of succinctly transmitting the essence of the design concept of the recorders which were studied, firstly grouped by maker, and subsequently presenting various relevant comparisons among instruments and makers.[338]

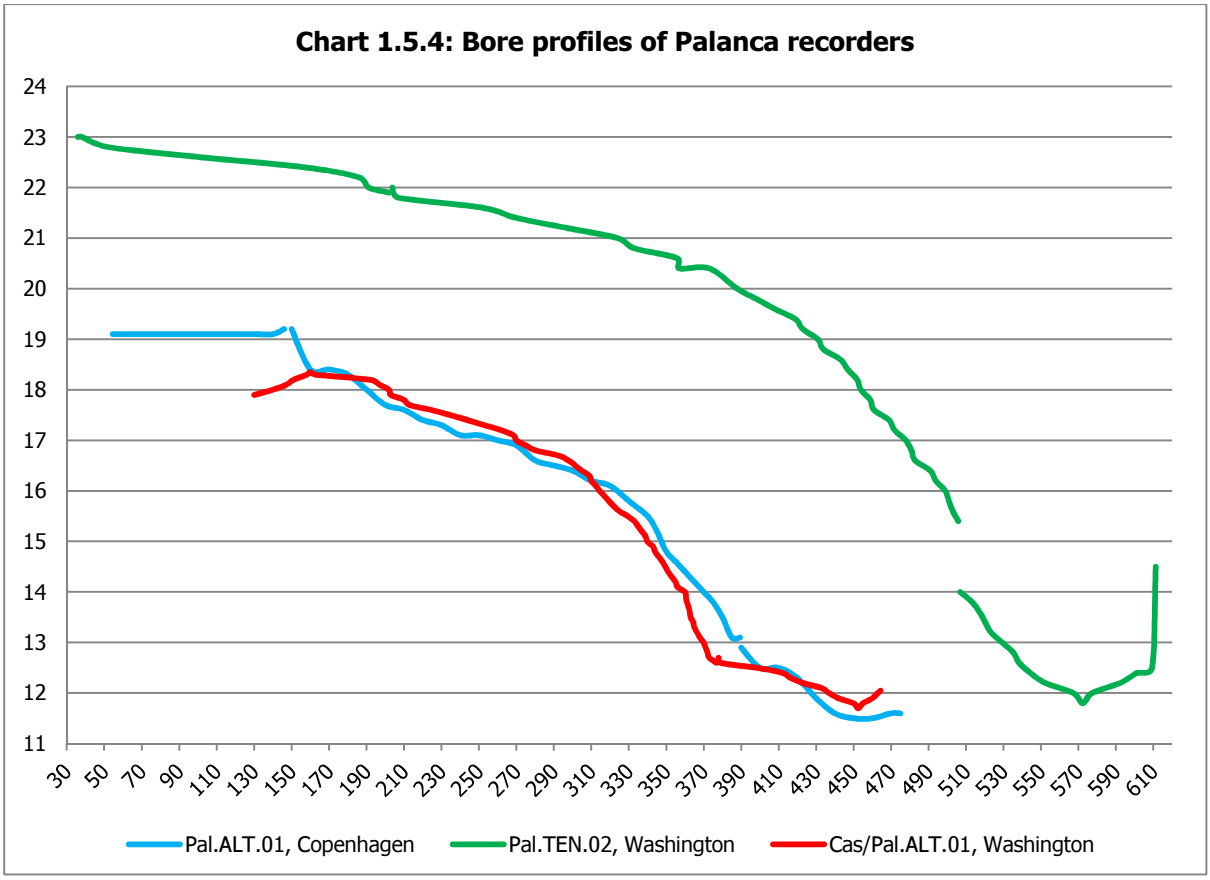
[337] Anc.ALT.02 does not have any top chamfer either. Riccardo Gandolfi, private communication.

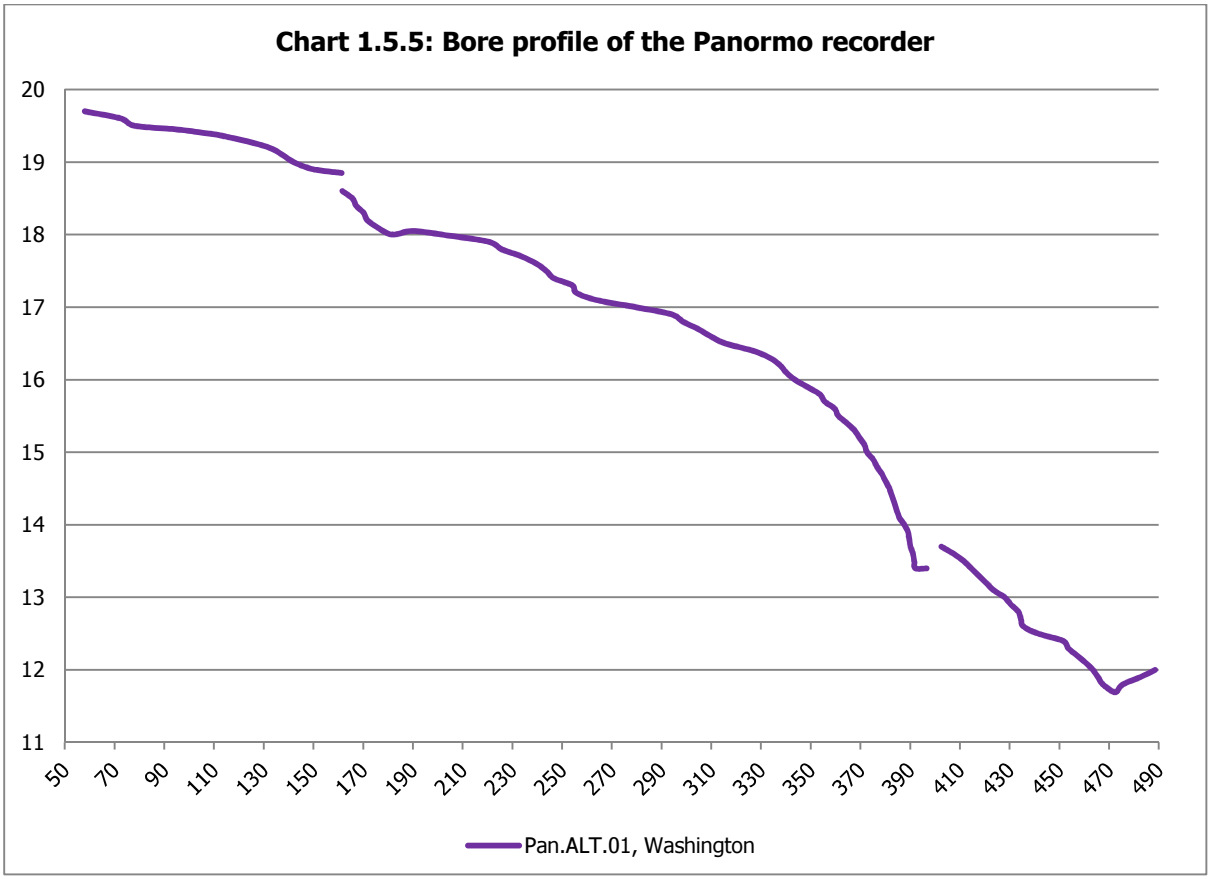
[338] In order to systematize the comparisons, only the bore measurements starting at the block line were used, in millimeters. N.B. The measurements of the bore of the head joint of Anc.ALT.02 as well as Cas/Pal.ALT.01 are missing. All the comparisons have been made with the instruments' original pitch, unless otherwise stated. In the scaled graphs, all the instruments have been re-proportioned to F altos, A=415 Hz.


Chart 1.5.1: Bore profiles of Anciuti recorders
21
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10
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60
80
100
120
140
160
180
200
220
240
260
280
300
320
340
360
380
400
420
440
460
480
Anc.ALT.01, Graz
Anc.ALT.02, Genova
Anc.ALT.03, Celle
Anc.ALT.04, Parma
Anc.ALT.05, London


Chart 1.5.2: Bore profiles of Castel recorders
25
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10
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70
90
110
130
150
170
190
210
230
250
270
290
310
330
350
370
390
410
430
450
470
490
510
530
550
570
590
610
Cas.ALT.01, Nice
Cas.ALT.04, 1421, Rome
Cas.ALT.03, 644, Rome
Cas.SPI.01, Edinburgh
Cas.VOI.01, MUSA Rome
Cas.VOI.02, 698 MNSM Rome


Chart 1.5.3: Bore profiles of Grassi recorders
19
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12
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10
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7
6
30 50 70 90 110 130 150 170 190 210 230 250 270 290 310 330 350 370 390 410 430 450 470
Gra.SPI.01, Leipzig
Gra.ALT.01, 638, Rome


Chart 1.5.4: Bore profiles of Palanca recorders
24
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14
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12
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30 50 70 90 110 130 150 170 190 210 230 250 270 290 310 330 350 370 390 410 430 450 470 490 510 530 550 570 590 610
Pal.ALT.01, Copenhagen
Pal.TEN.02, Washington
Cas/Pal.ALT.01, Washington


Chart 1.5.5: Bore profile of the Panormo recorder
20
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50 70 90 110 130 150 170 190 210 230 250 270 290 310 330 350 370 390 410 430 450 470 490
Pan.ALT.01, Washington

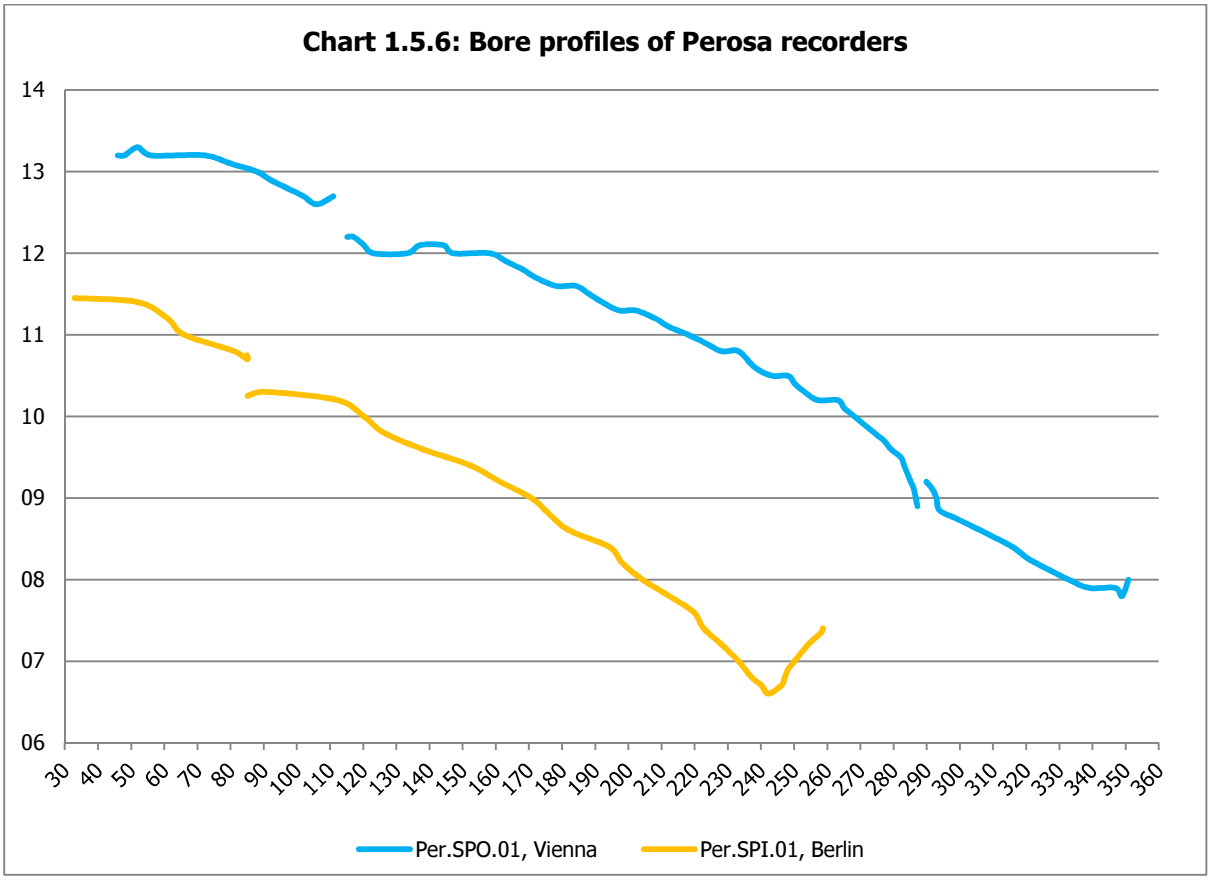

Chart 1.5.6: Bore profiles of Perosa recorders
14
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09
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07
06
30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140 150 160 170 180 190 200 210 220 230 240 250 260 270 280 290 300 310 320 330 340 350 360
Per.SPO.01, Vienna
Per.SPI.01, Berlin

Chart 1.5.7: Bore profiles of the sopraninos and soprano studied

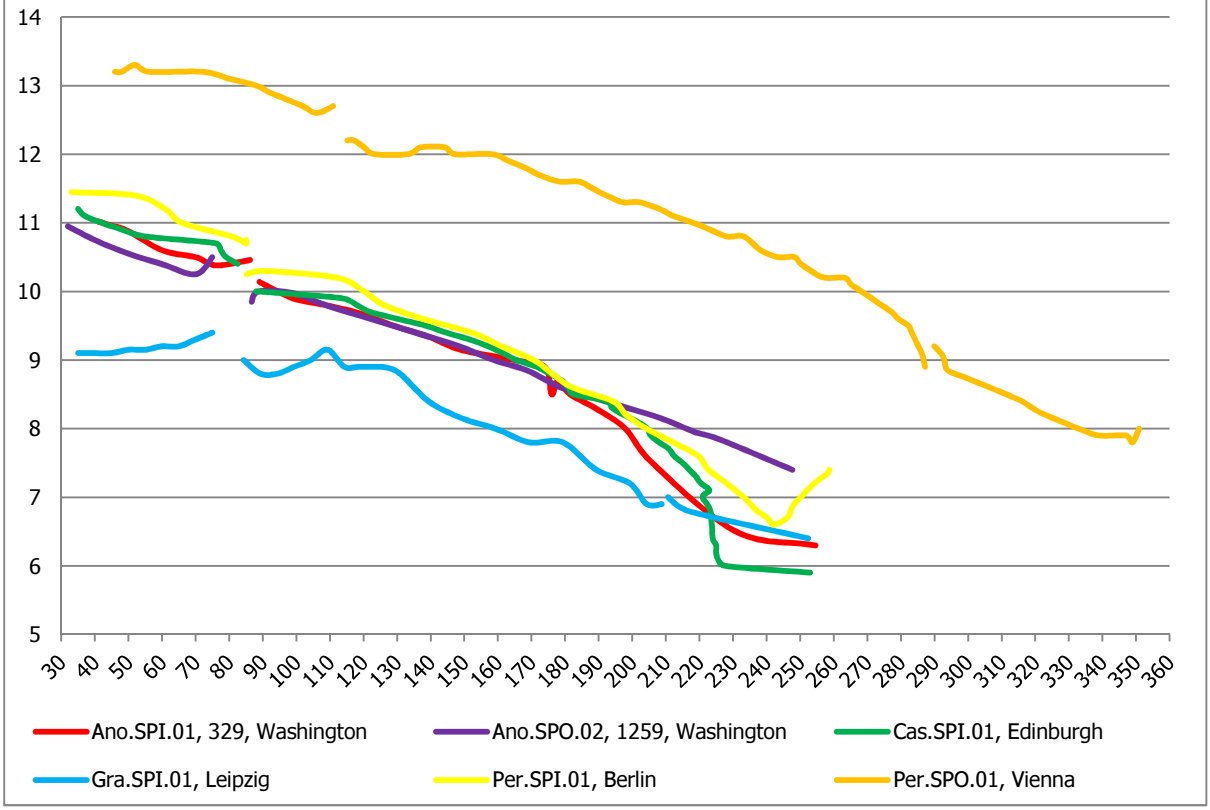


Chart 1.5.8: Bore profiles of the altos studied

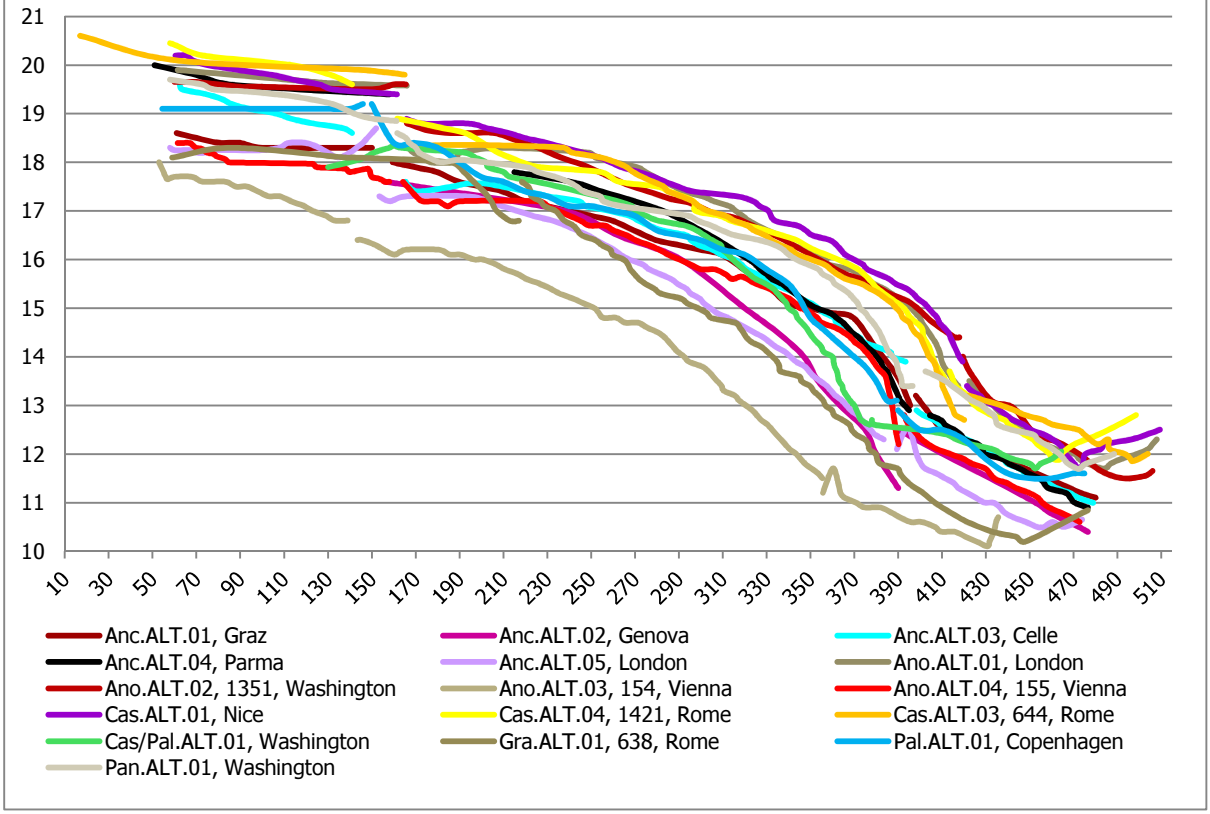


Chart 1.5.9: Bore profiles of the voice-flutes and tenor studied

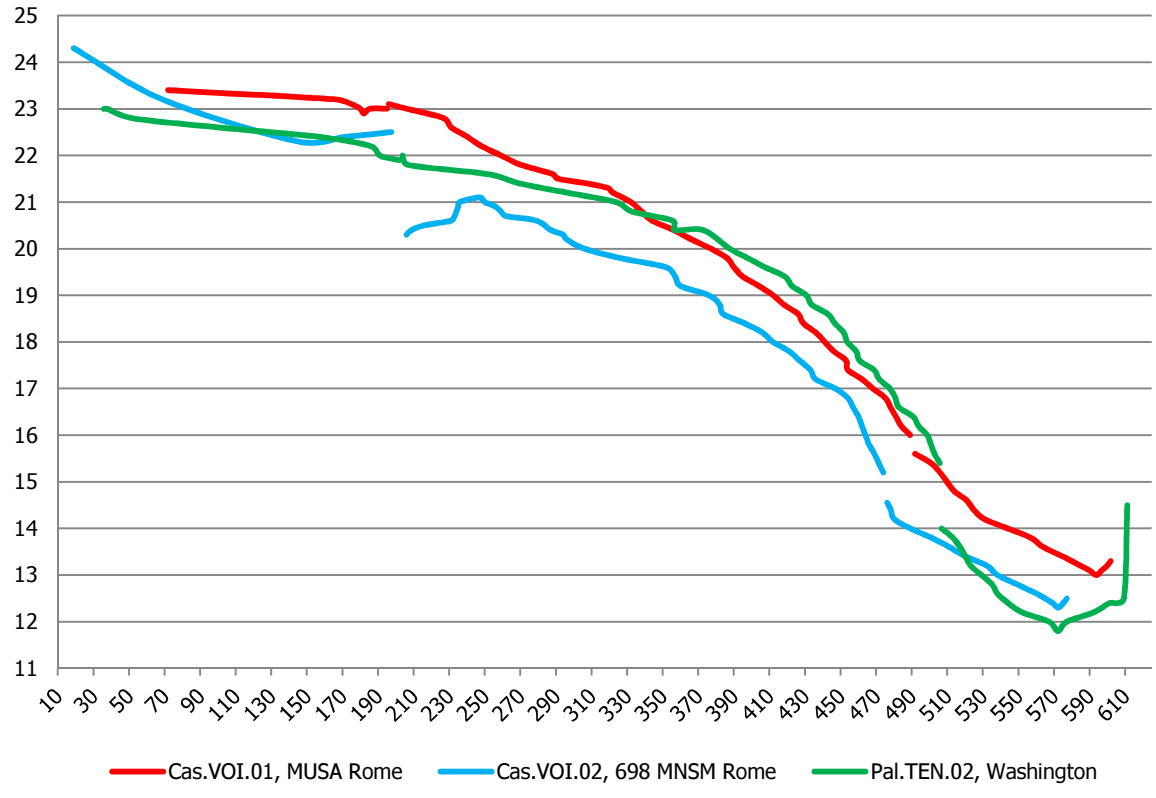


Chart 1.5.10: Bore profiles of Anonymous recorders possibly Italian

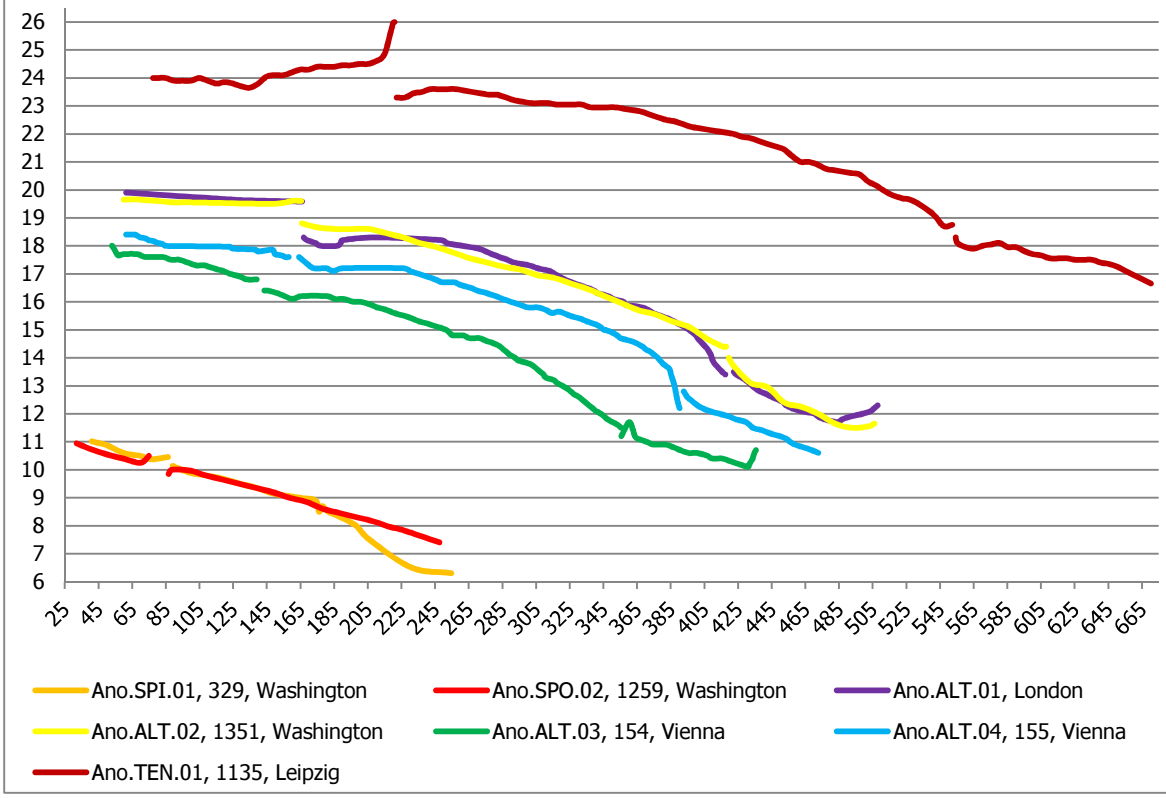


Chart 1.5.11a: Bore profiles of Panormo and Anonymous (Washington and London)

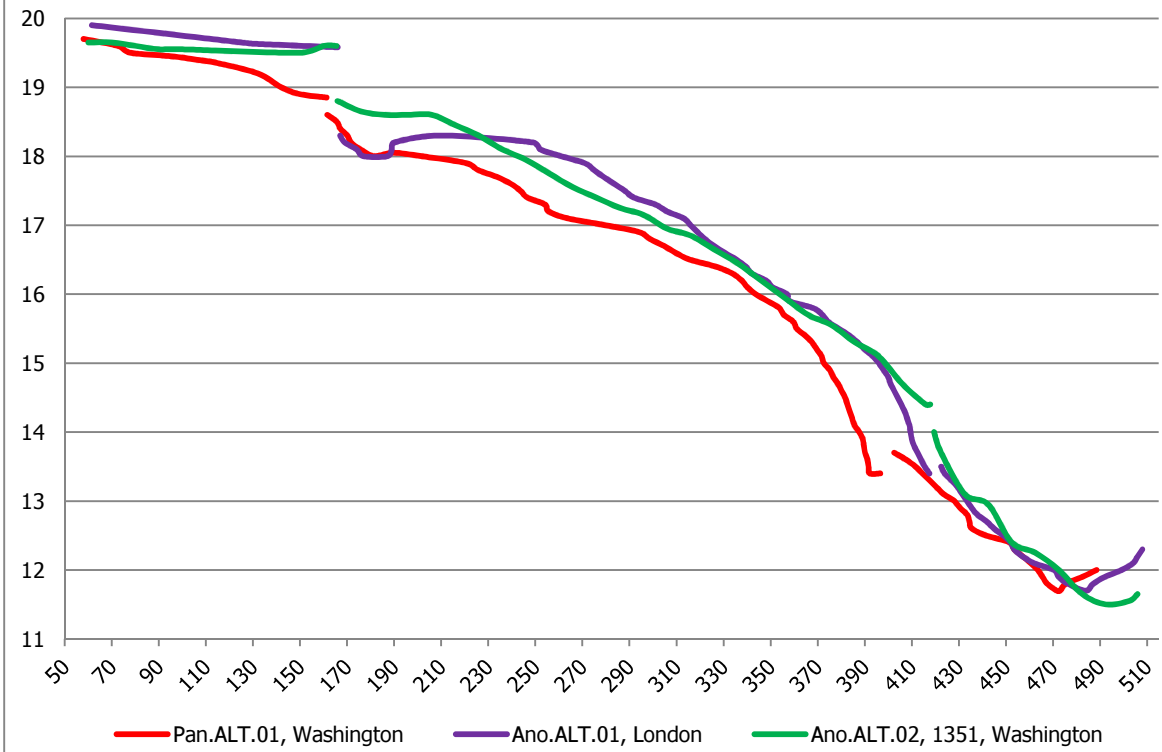


Chart 1.5.11b: Bore profiles of Panormo and Anonymous (Washington and London) - scaled to A=415 Hz -

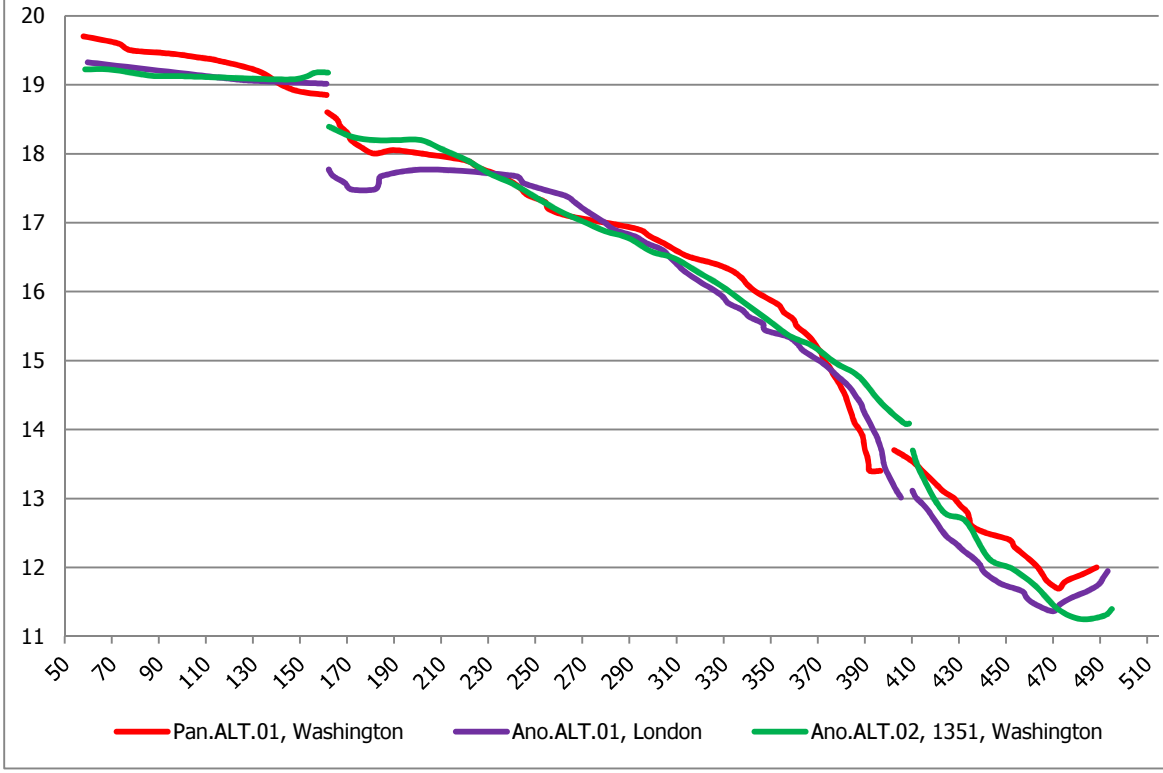


Chart 1.5.12: Bore profiles of Perosa and both Vienna Anonymous

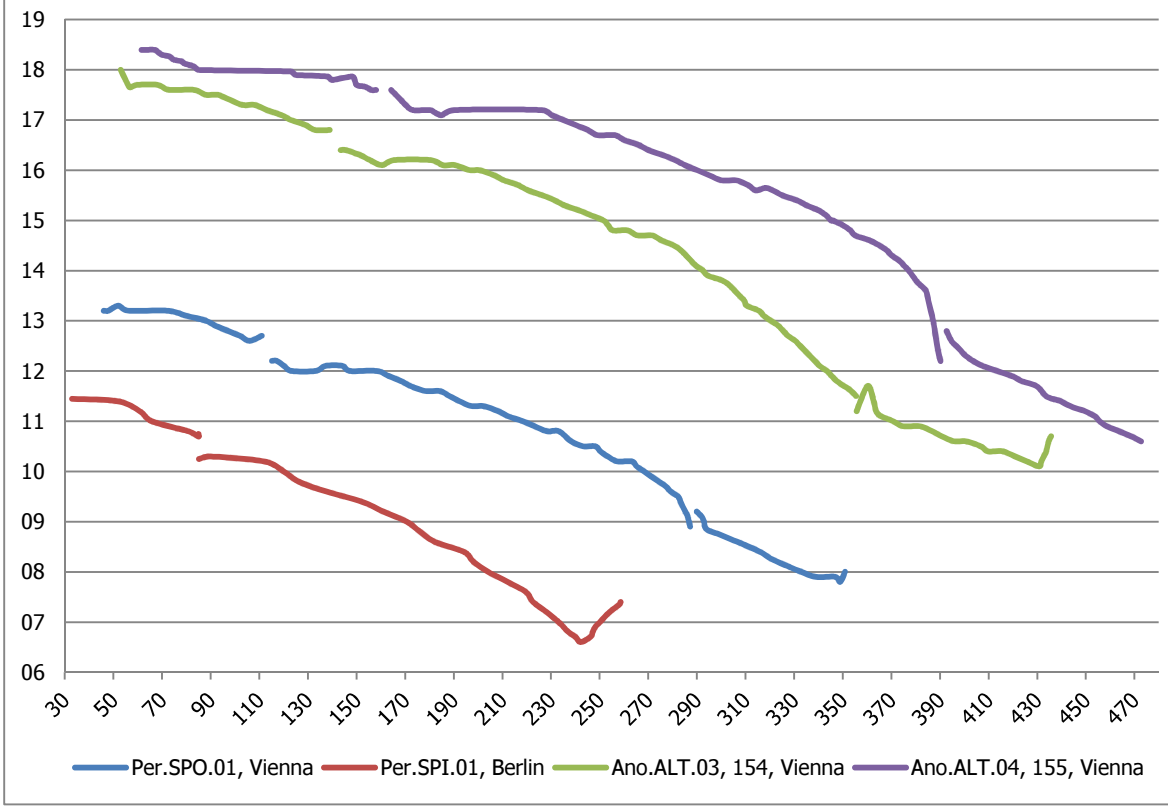
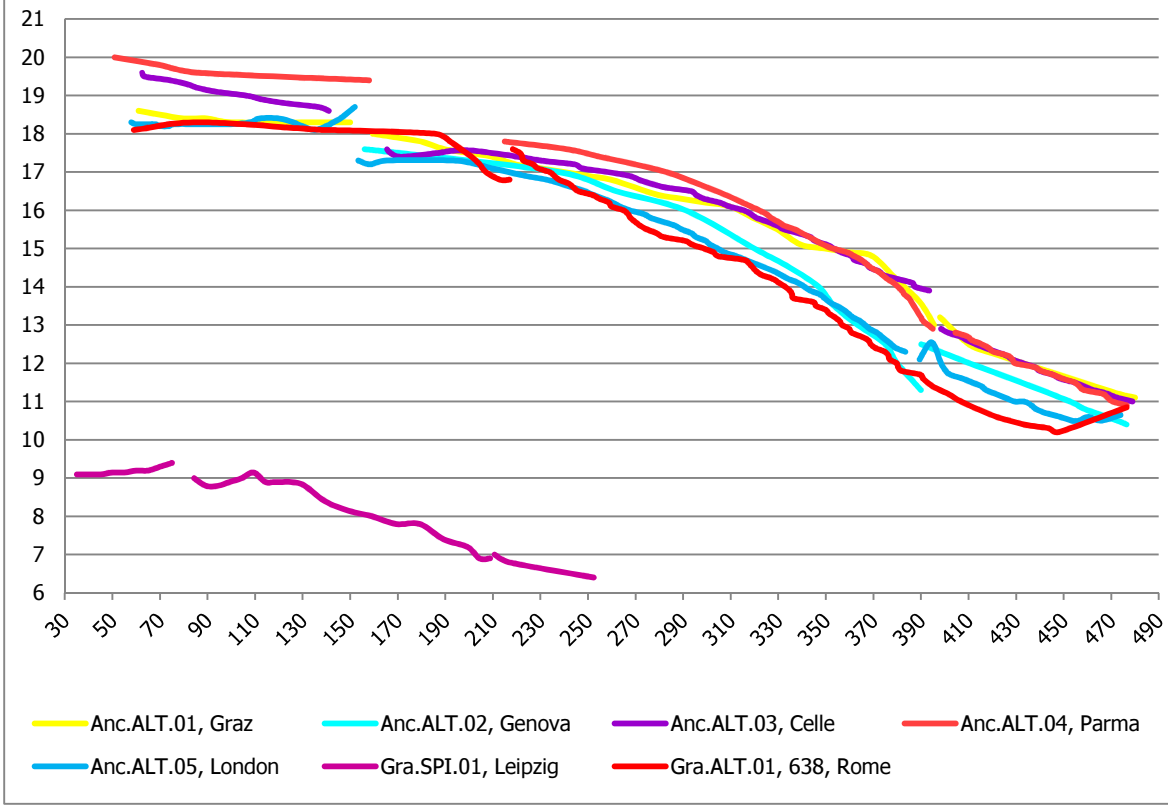
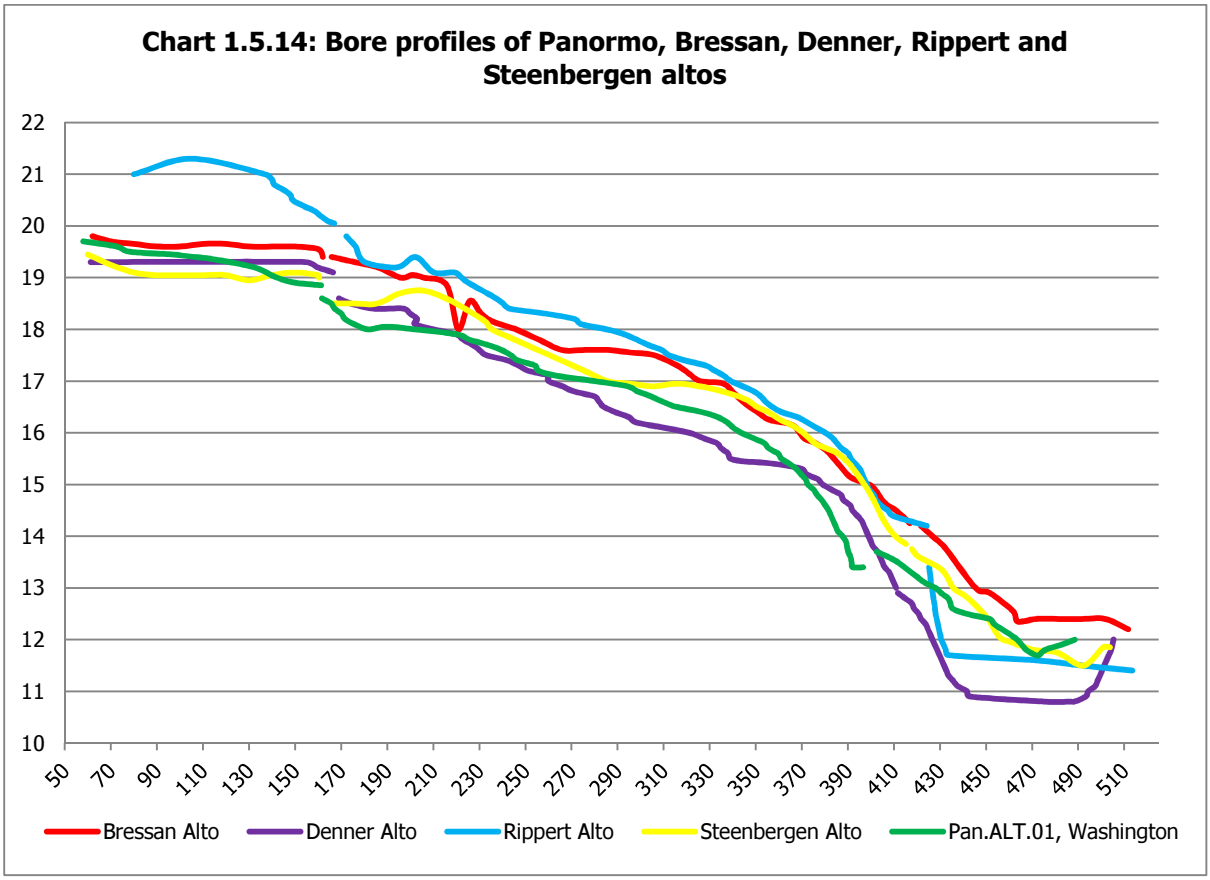


Chart 1.5.13: Bore profiles of Anciuti and Grassi recorders



Contextualization: bore comparisons with other European makers

Considering the extant output[339] of makers from four 'schools' that played a leading role in the development of the Baroque recorder, altos by Bressan, Denner, Rippert and Steenbergen have been chosen as examples for comparison with the Italian altos studied.[340]



[339] Charles Fischer, "Baroque Recorder Makers by Surviving Instruments." *Unicorn Music*. accessed November 9, 2014, http://www.buyrecorders.com/pdf_files/baroque%20recorder%20makers%20chart.pdf.

[340] The specific instruments used in the comparisons are as follows: Bressan alto recorder, private collection of Frans Brüggen, measured and drawn by F. G. Morgan, 1973 & 1979; Denner alto recorder, E33, Danish Music Museum, measured and drawn by F. G. Morgan, 1980; Rippert alto recorder, private collection in Paris, measured and drawn by Jean-François Beaudin, 1986; Steenbergen alto recorder, private collection of Frans Brüggen, measured and drawn by F. G. Morgan, 1978.

Chart 1.5.15: Bore profiles of London Anonymous, Bressan, Denner, Rippert and Steenbergen altos

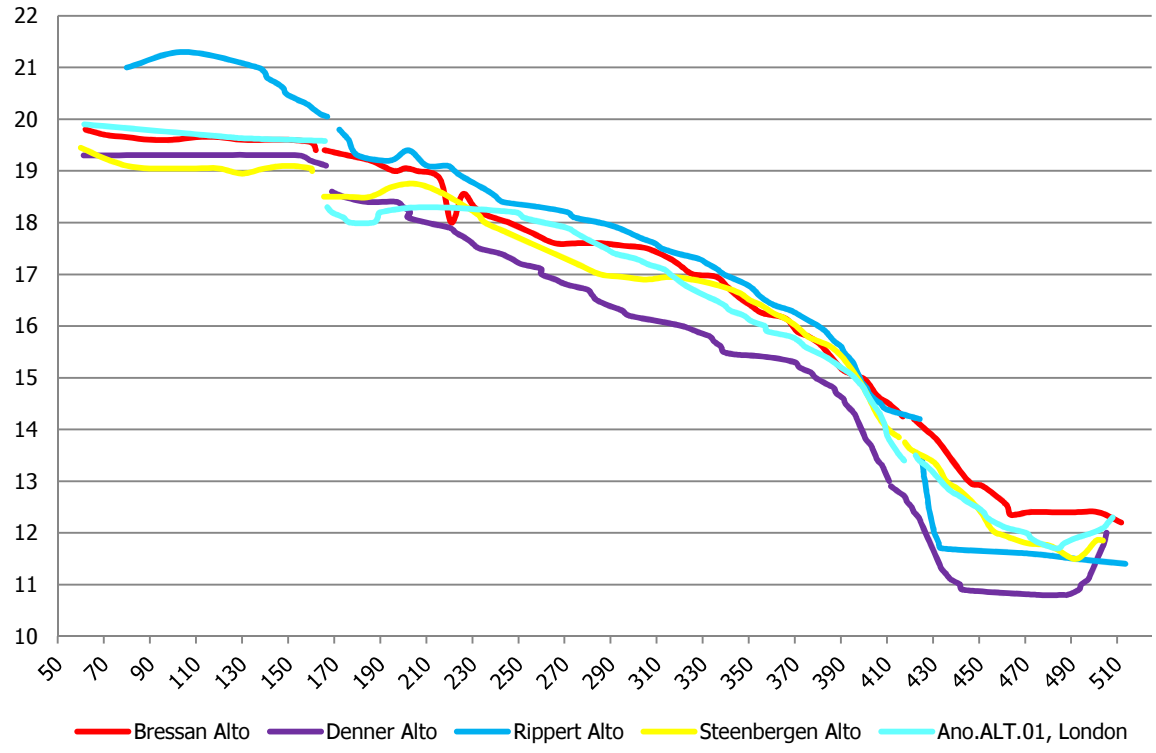


Chart 1.5.16: Bore profiles of Anciuti and Denner altos

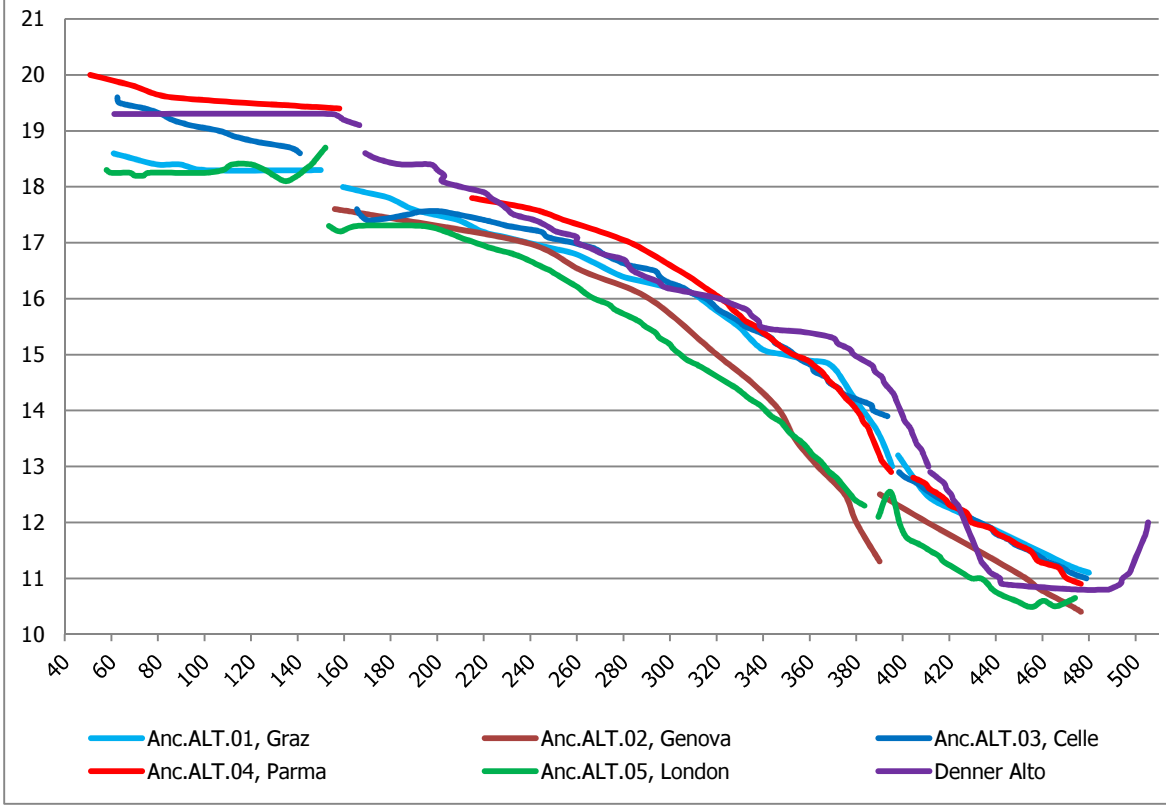
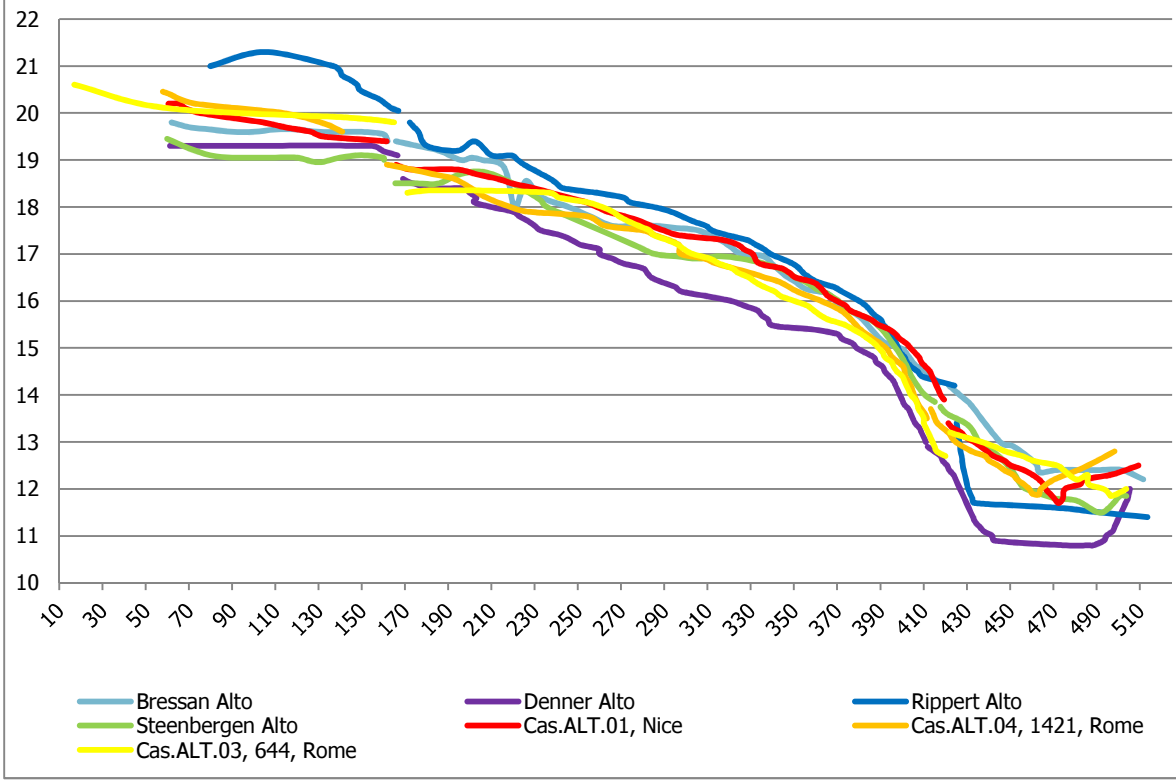
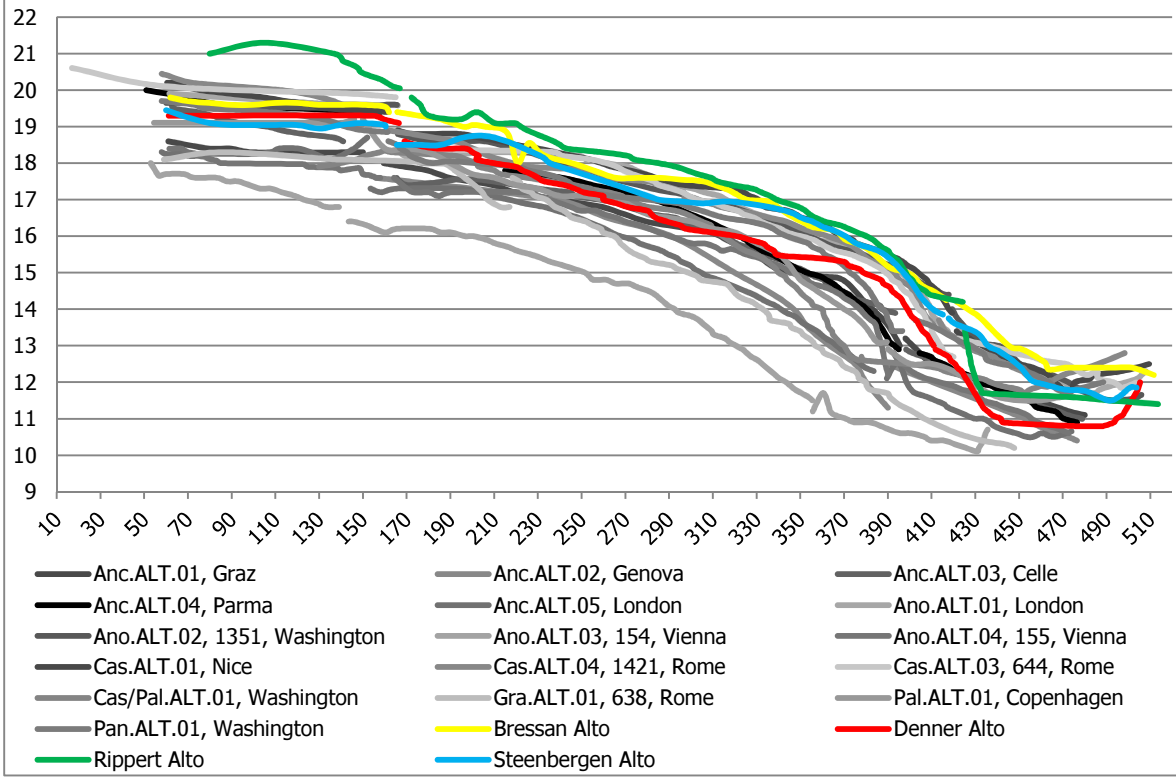
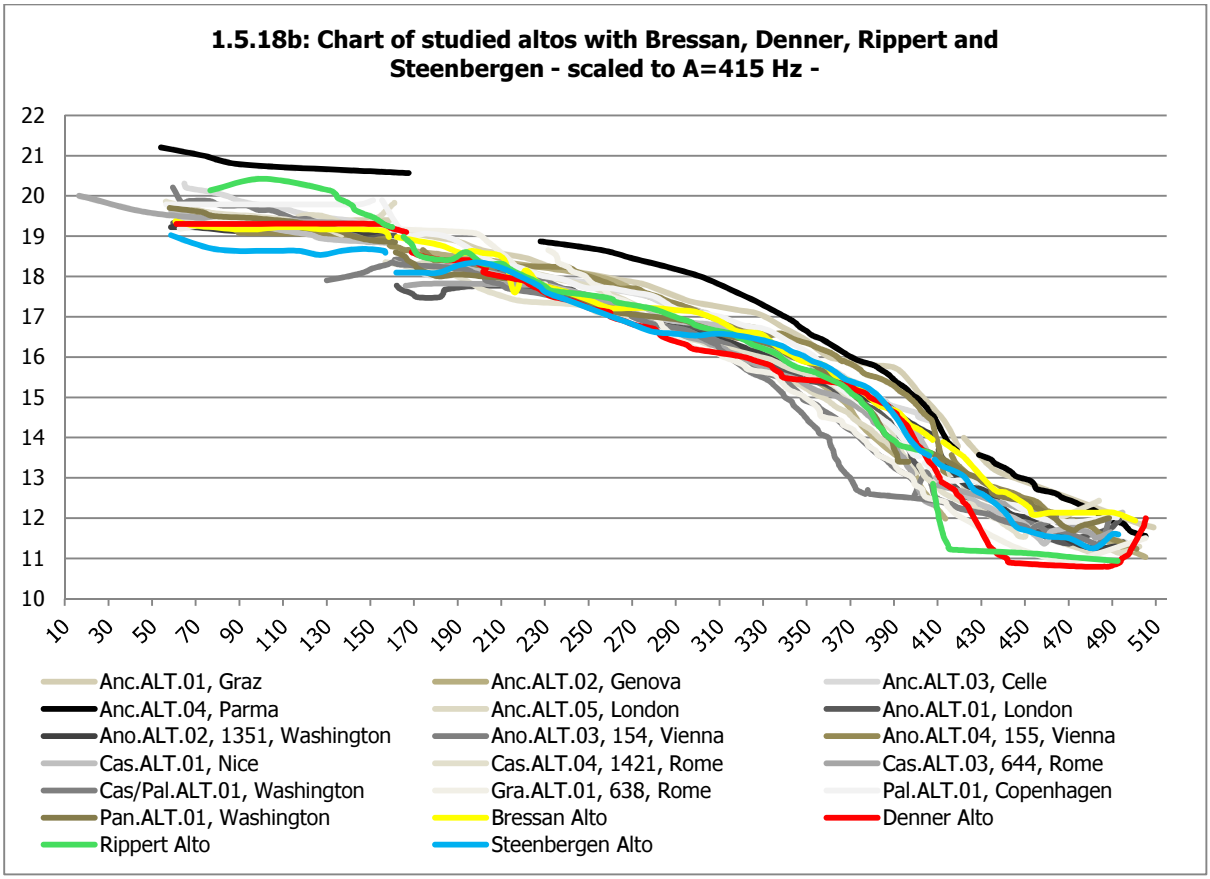


Chart 1.5.17: Bore profiles of Castel, Bressan, Denner, Rippert and Steenbergen altos



1.5.18a: Chart of studied altos with Bressan, Denner, Rippert and Steenbergen





The full interpretation of the data presented in Chapter 1 in relation to the repertoire which will be studied next will be given in Chapter 4. To summarize so far: the shapes of the bores of the Italian recorders presented above are mostly analogous to that of English recorders, though more conical. Combined with some unique aspects of the voicing (e.g. the absence of chamfers in Anciuti's instruments, the varied chamfers by Castel, the unusual window top by Panormo) these instruments demonstrate the wish for balancing a broad sound and easiness of speech.

All but one (Ano.TEN.01) of the Anonymous instruments postulated to be Italian do indeed present characteristics in common with the Italian instruments studied.

The cacophony of pitches, ranging from c. 403 Hz to 440 Hz, found in the recorders studied is an interesting mirror to the variety of pitches that co-existed in the Italian peninsula during the Baroque period. It is important to realize that although pitch standards did exist especially in institutional contexts, private music making was able to enjoy much more flexibility. Woodwind makers then (as now) were capable of providing instruments in an array of pitches, according to what their customers desired. The 'low' instruments of Perosa and Castel are great examples of this flexibility within a predominantly 'high' Venetian standard.

It is interesting to observe that out of the twenty-seven recorders listed, only one G alto was found (Anc.ALT.06), the other instruments being thirteen F altos, five sopraninos, three voice-flutes, two tenors, two sopranos and one bass. It is remarkable to see that Bismantova's iconic Baroque G alto is not better represented in the extant instruments made in the decades that followed his treatise. This can be interpreted in two ways:

- either the G alto had already fallen in disuse in the first decades of the eighteenth century and was therefore not commonly reproduced by Baroque makers, or, in other words, the fact that the instrument fell in disuse earlier than the F alto meant that owners disposed of their specimens and only kept those F altos that were still useful;
- the *G* alto was not, after all, what Bismantova meant to emphasize when he called it "flauto italiano".

As will be seen in Chapter 2, none of the works that form the Neapolitan Baroque repertoire absolutely calls for a G alto, unlike many of Vivaldi's chamber concertos, e.g. RV 90, 92, 94, 95, 101 and 108.

The two Italian centers for recorder music in the eighteenth century, Venice and Naples, are not equally represented in the extant instruments. If we consider Anciuti as one of the Venetian makers, his nine instruments can be added to the eight by Castel and the two by Perosa, totaling nineteen instruments which stem from *La Serenissima*, out of the twenty seven which are currently known. Compared to this, Panormo's alto stands alone as a unique specimen of a Neapolitan Baroque recorder. Even if we add to this comparison the two Anonymous altos which are very similar to Panormo, Naples still is at a great disadvantage. When placed into the context of the abundant repertoire that was written there (which will be seen next, in Chapter 2), this lack of instruments is particularly surprising. Possible explanations for this inconsistency will be explored in Chapter 3.

Porque a arte dá-nos, não a vida com beleza, que, porque é a vida, passa,
mas a beleza com vida, que, como é beleza, não pode perecer.

Fernando Pessoa, *Ideias Estéticas - Da Arte*

Chapter 2: The Neapolitan Baroque Recorder Repertoire

2.1 Overview of composers and works catalogued

The abundance of works composed in Naples during the Baroque period with interesting recorder parts was what initially drew me to this repertoire and eventually brought on the specific questions related to performance practice that in turn led to this research. At the start of this study, my work of cataloguing had already produced a list of sixty-one works, both vocal and instrumental. This gradually increased to the current 144 arias, cantatas, concertos, operas, oratorios, serenatas, sinfonias and sonatas (all including recorder parts), which are listed alphabetically by composer; these are divided into instrumental and vocal repertoire in Appendix 2: Inventory of Neapolitan Baroque Recorder Repertoire.[341] This number, and especially the number of vocal works, will, it is hoped, increase in years to come.

As can be seen in Chart 2.1.1, the bulk of the repertoire is instrumental and consists mainly of sonatas (46), followed by a significant number of concertos (28) and sinfonias (17). These ninety-one instrumental works will be the focus of this chapter.[342]

The use of the recorder in the Neapolitan vocal literature is also considerable, with cantatas (26) making up most of this repertoire. Recorder parts are also to be found in

[341] The information on the works included in Appendix 2 is relevant to identifying and finding those works, i.e. their location, accession numbers, dating, scoring, key and RISM ID numbers (whenever these have been entered there). All the information that is more relevant to aspects of performance, such as tempo indications, range of recorder parts etc. has been listed here in Chapter 2. For the sake of practicality in identifying works mentioned in this chapter and listed in Appendix 2, all have been assigned 'numbers'. These are generally formed by the first three letters of a composer's name, followed by the first three letters of the type of work, followed by a two digit number, e.g. Anonymous Sonata 'no. 1' = Ano.SON.01. Porpora and Porsile needed to be distinguished and their works are therefore catalogued with the abbreviations POP and POS, respectively.

[342] It is pertinent to point out that the works have been listed according to what they are originally called, e.g. the *Sinfonia a Flauto Solo e Basso* by Filippo Rosa was listed in Appendix 2 with the *Sinfonie di Concerto Grosso* by Alessandro Scarlatti, although the first would probably now be seen as a sonata. Works which do not have an original title indication or assignation have been listed in conformity with modern standards. In the case of the (twenty-four) works of c. 1725, the title page indicates *Concerti* but each individual work in the partbooks is entitled *Sonata*, a typical example of the informality of musical forms at that time. In this instance the works have been listed as concertos.

serenatas (8), oratorios (3) and operas (3). Furthermore, a number of loose arias (13) display rather charming writing for the recorder.

Four vocal works call for "flautino", and another four would necessitate some form of tenor recorder. The rest of the repertoire is to be played on alto recorders.[343] As can be verified in the title and first pages listed here and in Appendix 2, the entire repertoire is originally assigned for 'flauto' with only one exception, that of the sonatas by Giovanni Antonio Piani printed in Paris, which are clearly written for violin but bear an indication by Piani to make them attractive to recorder (and traverso) players. It may be pertinent to point out that, although the first print of Francesco Mancini's sonatas by Barrett and Smith bears the title "for a Violin or Flute", and although the first reprint by Walsh adapts this title to "for a Violin", the second reprint by Walsh carries the title "XII Solos for a Flute", so from a commercial point of view the violin and the recorder seemed to alternate in popularity. However, the musical text of these twelve sonatas leaves no doubt that the instrument on which Mancini intended these works to be played was a recorder: no piece for violin from this period would have a range restricted to F4-D6, and make no use of double or triple-stops or *bariolage*.[344] Any skepticism should dissipate with the presentation and identification here of a previously unknown manuscript copy of Mancini's Sonata III, which bears the title page "Sonata Di Flauto Solo". All these works will be reviewed in detail below.

The vast majority of the works is extant in manuscript form, scattered in library collections throughout the world, as would be expected by the fame of the composers. A great number of works is still kept in the library that today houses the inherited libraries of the four conservatories of Naples (and more local collections), the Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica San Pietro a Majella. But many works are found further afield, in cities as widely dispersed as Brussels, Budapest, London, Münster, New York, Paris and Washington, D.C.,[345] bequeathed or acquired individually, or as large parts of important eighteenth-century collections, as was the case with the works in the collection of Count Harrach.[346] The works that are dated present us with a chronological frame, starting in 1695

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[343] Regarding the fact that 'flauto' indeed refers to the recorder instead of the traverso, see the Introduction and Chapter 3. All the works included here and in Appendix 2 have been checked for range of the 'flauto' part as well as for their suitability to be played on the recorder regarding key signatures. Therefore, I deem all the works included as both intended and suitable for the recorder.

[344] See, for example, Francesco Geminiani's sonatas Op. 1 (1716) and Op. 4 (1739).

[345] All the collections consulted can be found in detail at the end of the study, in Appendix 2 as well as in the List of Consulted Collections.

[346] The Neapolitan works in this collection will be examined in detail below. Count Harrach will be further discussed in Chapter 3.

with the oratorio *La Giuditta* by Alessandro Scarlatti and ending with six sonatas dated 1759. The peak of production is in the years 1724 and 1725. Fifty works are undated. It is interesting to observe that the bulk of the composers who wrote instrumental works for the recorder were successful in their operatic careers, and clear traces of their vocal, dramatic writing can be found in the recorder works.

The pantheon of known and unknown composers of instrumental works includes Francesco Barbella, Nicolò Fiorenza, Leonardo Leo, Francesco Mancini, Giovanni Battista Mele, Giovanni Antonio Piani, Nicola Porpora, Giuseppe Porsile, Pietro Pullj, Filippo Rosa, Domenico Sarro, Alessandro Scarlatti, Robert Valentine and Leonardo Vinci. Some of these composers also wrote vocal works, and to them we add Giovanni Fischetti (who composed a cantata) and two anonymous cantatas. These names thus form the complete current list of composers who wrote for the recorder in Naples in the eighteenth century.

Along with the works in the collection of Count Harrach,[347] two more collections of works with diverse authorship are singled out here: that of Paolo Antonio Parensi[348] and the collection of twenty-four concertos kept in Naples.[349] The latter are collectively named *Concerti* on the title page but individually called *Sonata* on the first pages of each of the part books. Those three collections will be discussed in more detail below.

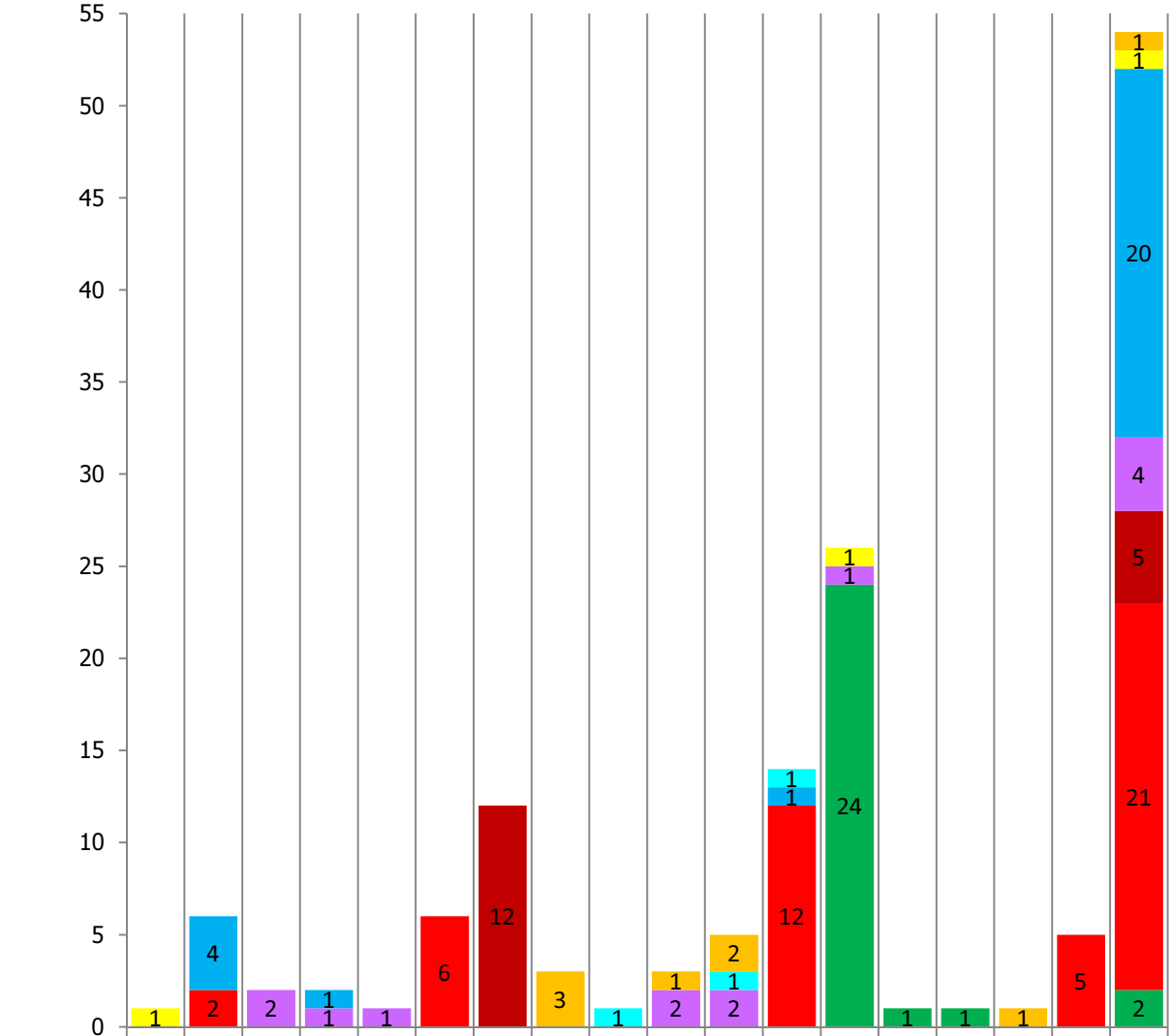
It was deemed useful also to include, at the end of Appendix 2, peripheral repertoire in the form of a non-exhaustive list of works by non-Neapolitan composers, which are to be found amongst Neapolitan collections, as well as works by Neapolitan composers that do not fit the description above.

[347] Sar.CON.02, Ano.SON.02-03, Fio.SON.01, Leo.SON.01-07, Pos.SON.01, Sar.SON.04, Vin.ARI.01, Sar.ORA.01.

[348] Ros.SIN.01, Sar.SON.01-03.

[349] Ano.CON.01, Bar.CON.01, Man.CON.01–12, Mel.CON.01, Sar.CON.01, Sca.CON.01–07, Val.CON.01.

Chart 2.1.1: the 144 works catalogued, by date



	1695	1699	1700	1701	1707	1712	1715	1716	1718	1722	1723	1724	1725	1726	1728	1732	1759	no date
Serenatas								3		1	2					1		1
Oratorios	1												1					1
Operas									1		1	1						
Cantatas		4		1								1						20
Arias			2	1	1					2	2		1					4
Sinfonias							12											5
Sonatas		2				6						12					5	21
Concertos													24	1	1			2

After this brief overview, we continue with an introduction to the composers (2.2), before delving more deeply into the style of a selection of the works themselves (2.3), with particular attention to aspects that connect the works with the recorders studied in Chapter 1.

2.2 The composers and a description of their recorder works

The aim of this section is to group by composer the compositions that were inventoried by genre in Appendix 2, while listing basic analytical information on their contents, such as tempo indications and keys, as well as the range of the recorder parts and whether the use of a recorder with double holes might be necessary or at least useful. This information is presented below in the form of tables, with a brief introduction on the life of the composers.

Anonymous

It is not easy to speak about the following six anonymous works as a collection, as these are unlikely to have been written by the same composer. Still, what all have in common is their survival in distinctly Neapolitan collections, and stylistic elements that are observable in the rest of the Neapolitan repertoire for the recorder, such as:

- theatrical elements such as contrasting fast/slow sections, abrupt pauses, surprising harmonic progressions;
- tempo indications such as Amoroso, Spiritoso, Comodo etc.;[350]
- fugal second movements;
- musical material evenly distributed among all instruments;
- interesting bass lines;
- abundance of works in minor keys;
- especially vocal melodic lines;
- a style on the border of the Galant, lighter style but still deeply rooted in a complex and well studied manner.

Table 2.2.1: Anonymous recorder works

Work number	Title	Time signature	Tempo indication	Key signature	Recorder range	Double holes
Ano.CAN.01	Cantata a Voce sola di contraldo [sic] con Flauto *Tornò la calda estate*	C 3/8	[ ] [ ]	F Major F Major	A4–D6	–
Ano.CAN.02	Non lasciarmi ò bella Speme | Cantata a Voce Sola | Con Flauto *Non lasciarmi o bella speme*	3/8 2/4	[ ] [ ]	F Major F Major	G4–E6	–
	[Collection title page:] Concerti di Flauto Violini | Violetta, e Basso | Di Diversi Autori					

[350] These terms are naturally not exclusive of this repertoire, and are also found, for example, in the works by Georg Philipp Telemann. Still it seems fitting to point out that they do appear often in the Neapolitan repertoire.

Ano.CON.01	- Sonata [sic] Quarta[351]	C 2/4 C 3/8	Largo[352] Allgº. Piano Tacet[353] Allegro	C Major	G4–D6	–
Ano.SON.01	[title page:] Sonata Di Flauto è | Basso | 1759	2/4 C C 12/8	Adagio Presto Largo Presto	F Major	F4–G6	–
Ano.SON.02	[title page:] Sonata à Flauto solo è Basso	C C C3/4 C3/8	Amoroso Allegro Largo Balletto	D Minor	A4–D6	–
Ano.SON.03	Sonata à Flauto Solo, e Basso	C ¢ C C3/8	Largo Presto Grave Staccato Allegro	F Minor	G4–F6	A♭4.

Francesco Barbella (Naples, c. 1692? – Naples, 1732)

Francesco Barbella studied at the Conservatorio di Santa Maria di Loreto, with Gian Carlo Cailò. In 1722, after the death of Cailò, he was appointed *maestro di violino*,[354] teaching, amongst others, Nicolò Fiorenza, his son Emanuele Barbella and Davide Perez.[355] In the *conclusione* of his appointment at Santa Maria di Loreto we learn he was a successful teacher at Sant'Onofrio already.[356]

His only extant work for the recorder is a quirky and lively concerto in C Major (Bar.CON.01) in the collection of twenty-four concertos extant in Naples. With very catchy thematic material, his Galant writing is freer in its form than other Neapolitan counterparts. His writing is harmonically adventurous, full of abrupt contrasts that often play with major and minor tonalities.

Besides the concerto for recorder, his extant output contains a *Concertino a quattro* (for three violins and bass), six *Duetti caratteristici* (for two violins and bass) and a concerto for mandolin and strings.[357]

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[351] An index written on the title page of the first violin part by a later hand lists two concertos by Barbella in this collection, while the first page of the anonymous concerto obviously has no composer attribution.

[352] Vl1 and vl2: Adagio Tacet.

[353] Vl1, vl2, vc, bc: Largo.

[354] Guido Olivieri, "Per una storia della tradizione violinistica napoletana del '700," in *Fonti d'archivio per la storia della musica e dello spettacolo a Napoli tra XVI e XVIII secolo*, ed. Paologiovanni Maione, *I Turchini sagi* (Naples: Editoriale Scientifica, 2001). pp. 239–240.

[355] Francesco Barbella, "Concerto II," in *Urtext Edition*, ed. Andrea Bornstein; Lucia Corini (Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 1996). p. V.

[356] Guido Olivieri, "Per una storia della tradizione violinistica napoletana del '700." p. 240.

[357] Francesco Barbella, "Concerto II."

Table 2.2.2: Recorder work by Barbella

Work number	Title	Time signature	Tempo indication	Key signature	Recorder range	Double holes
	[Collection title page:] Concerti di Flauto Violini | Violetta, e Basso | Di Diversi Autori					
Bar.CON.01	- Sonata [sic] Terza. Del Sig^{r} Franc^{o} Barbella	3/4 ¢ C 3/4	Amoroso All^{g}o. Flauto Solo[358] All^{o}.	C Major	G4–E6	Tricky passage, with A♭5 and B♭5.

Nicolò Fiorenza (Naples, 1700? – Naples, 1764)

Thus far, only scarce biographical information has been gathered on the life of virtuoso violinist Nicolò (or Nicola) Fiorenza, but what is known, shows a musician present in most musical institutions in Naples, where he lived and worked his entire life. Fiorenza studied at the Conservatorio di Santa Maria di Loreto, with Gian Carlo Cailò and Francesco Barbella,[359] both recognized string exponents in the Neapolitan Baroque scene. He was employed as a violinist in the Royal Chapel (where he began as a replacement for Francesco Alborea in 1726, was admitted officially as *soprannumerario senza soldo* in 1730,[360] and finally took Domenico de Matteis' place as first violin in 1758, staying until his death in 1764), the Teatro San Bartolomeo, the Teatro Nuovo and the Teatro San Carlo, often being paid significantly more than other musicians.[361]

Fiorenza was appointed as *maestro* of violoncello, violin and double-bass at his *alma mater* in 1743, eventually being dismissed in 1763 for his violent treatment of students on more than one occasion.[362] His string concertos and sinfonias, when dated, fall between the years 1726 and 1728, while one violin sonata is dated 1735.[363] One of his cello concertos, undated, was written "per esercitio dell'Ill.mo Sig. Marchese de Simone."[364]

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[358] Vl1 and vl2: Adagio Tacet.

[359] Giovanni Borrelli, "Introduction," in *Opera omnia / Nicola Fiorenza*, vol. I, *Napoli e l'Europa: la scuola napoletana dal XVII al XIX secolo* (Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 2010). p. xix.

[360] Francesco Cotticelli, Paologiovanni Maione, *Le Istituzioni Musicali a Napoli durante il Viceregno Austriaco (1707–1734)* (Naples: Luciano Editore, 1993). p. 78.

[361] Michael F. Robinson, "Fiorenza, Nicola." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed November 1, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[362] Michael F. Robinson, "The Governors' Minutes of the Conservatory S. Maria Di Loreto, Naples," *R. M. A. Research Chronicle*, no. 10 (1972). p. 51.

[363] Guido Gasperini, Franca Gallo, *Catalogo delle opere musicali del Conservatorio di Musica San Pietro a Majella di Napoli* (Parma: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1934). p. 591.

[364] Ibid. p. 589.

Fiorenza's compositional style is comfortably situated in the style that was in vogue in Naples in the second quarter of the eighteenth century: his works are discreetly Galant and openly oriented by melody. Counterpoint is a key ingredient of his personal style, and his use of short rhythmic motives, in particular in the faster movements, provides his works with a unique piquancy. In the Introduction to the first volume of Fiorenza's *Opera Omnia* edition, Borrelli describes his style in this way:

> His choice of incisive brevity of the thematic figure is also typical of the 18th century, almost never overcoming the breath and the circle of one or few beats. Such a choice could be explained only by an intuition of a purely instrumental kind. Fiorenza, skilful violinist, after the presentation of short main theme, places a series of small thematic episodes based on secondary melodic phrases with a colour and a texture of great lightness and virtuoso design that creates contrasts giving the piece a dynamic and lively rhythmic breathing.[365]

In his five extant compositions for recorder presented in the table below, the writing is usually surprisingly idiomatic. His style differs from that found elsewhere in more evidently amateur circles, by his frequent use of the higher range of the recorder in all of his works.

In addition to these five recorder works, Fiorenza's extant oeuvres consist of fourteen *concerti* and seven *sinfonie* for a variety of string formations, two violin sonatas, and at least twenty-three trio sonatas for two violins and continuo,[366] as well as two cantatas attributed to him.[367]

Table 2.2.3: Recorder works by Fiorenza

Work number	Title	Time signature	Tempo indication	Key signature	Recorder range	Double holes
Fio.CON.01	[Concerto] Del Sig. Nicola [sic] Fiorenza	C C C 3/8	Largo/Grave Allº Largo/Grave Allº assai	A Minor	A4–F6	–
Fio.CON.02	[title page:] Concerto | Di Flauto Violini e Violetta Vio= | longello [sic], e Basso | Del Sigr. Nicolò Fiorenza | 1728	C C 3/4 2/4	Largo Allº ma nõ presto Largo Allegro	F Minor	F4–E6	Tricky passages, with A♭5 and B♭5.

[365] Giovanni Borrelli, "Introduction." p. xx.

[366] All in I-Nc. Guido Gasperini, Franca Gallo, *Catalogo delle opere musicali del Conservatorio di Musica San Pietro a Majella di Napoli*. pp. 589-591.

[367] Giovanni Borrelli, "Introduction." The cantatas attributed to Fiorenza are "Se ti lascio amato bene" (*Cantata Di Fiorenza.* A, bc) and "Langue il Cor pena L'alma pena" (*Cantata Di Firenze* [sic]. A, bc). These are part of the collection *CANTATE | ALLA VIRTU` | DELLA SIGNORA | MARIA PIGNATELLI* (I-Pca/D.I.1367), for solo voice (S or A) and continuo, with works by many other composers, amongst which Alessandro Scarlatti, Mancini and Porsile.

Fio.SIN.01	[bass part:] Sinfonia a Flauto solo | con VV: e Basso | Del sigr.: Nicolò Fiorenza	3/4 ¢ 3/4 3/8	Moderato All^{o} Largo All^{o}	G Minor	A4–E6	–
Fio.SIN.02	[Sinfonia] Del Sigr. Nicola [sic] Fiorenza	C3/4 C 3/4 2	Largo amoroso Andante Largo All^{o}	C Minor	A4–F6	–
Fio.SON.01	Sonata à Flauto solo Del Sig. Fiorenza	C3/4 C C C3/8	Amoroso e Largo All. Largo All.	A Minor	G4–F6	–

Giovanni Fischetti (Naples, 1692 – Naples, 1743)

Giovanni Fischetti (or Fischietti) studied at the conservatoire of Santa Maria di Loreto, becoming substitute *maestro* in 1735 when Mancini fell ill.[368] From 1723 he was employed as an organist at the Royal Chapel, first as *soprannumerario* and from 1727 on as *ordinario*.[369] He is mentioned as "virtuoso maestro di cappella" in the church of the Concezione al Fiatamonte de' PP. Ministri degl'Infermi in 1721.[370] Fischetti seems to have composed operas, none of which are known to survive.[371]

Table 2.2.4: Recorder work by Fischetti

Work number	Title	Time signature	Tempo indication	Key signature	Recorder range	Double holes
Fis.CAN.01	Cantata à Voce Sola, e Flauto ~ Del Sig:^{r} Gio: Fischetti *Pur nel sonno almen fal'ora*	3/8 C	Lento, e amoroso And:^{e}, e Spiccato	C Major C Major	G4–E6	–

Leonardo Leo (S. Vito degli Schiavoni [now dei Normanni], 1694 – Naples, 1744)

Leonardo Leo arrived in Naples in 1709 and became a pupil of Nicola Fago at the Conservatorio di Santa Maria della Pietà dei Turchini. His operatic work caught the attention of the viceroy, and his sacred drama, *Santa Chiara*, was given its second performance at the Royal Palace in 1712. Once his studies were completed, he was engaged as supernumerary organist at the Royal Chapel. With Scarlatti's death in 1725, as Mancini became *maestro di*

[368] Michael F. Robinson, "The Governors' Minutes of the Conservatory S. Maria Di Loreto, Naples." p. 95.

[369] Francesco Cotticelli, Paologiovanni Maione, *Le Istituzioni Musicali a Napoli durante il Viceregno Austriaco (1707–1734)*. p. 80.

[370] Ausilia Magaudda, Danilo Costantini, *Musica e Spettacolo nel Regno di Napoli attraverso lo spoglio della "Gazzetta" (1675–1768) (*Rome: Ismez Editore, 2009). p. 54.

[371] "Fischietti, Giovanni." *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed November 1, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

cappella, Leo became first organist, and, finally, with Sarro's death, *maestro*, though only for nine months.[372]

Leo wrote over fifty operas, which were very well received throughout Italy and abroad. He was also an important teacher, engaged between 1734 and 1737 as *vice-maestro* at Santa Maria della Pietà dei Turchini (succeeding his own teacher, Fago, as *primo maestro* in 1741). In 1739 he became *primo maestro* at the Conservatorio di Sant'Onofrio. Some of his didactic material is still to be found in Naples; many of his *partimenti* and *solfeggi* are extant in manuscript and some were published posthumously more than once in Paris.[373]

Leo's extant output is considerable, and widely disseminated throughout the world, attesting to the popularity of his style. His seven recorder sonatas are to be found in the precious bundle of works gathered for posterity by Count Harrach.

Table 2.2.5: Recorder works by Leo

Work number	Title	Time signature	Tempo indication	Key signature	Recorder range	Double holes
Leo.SER.01	Serenata á [sic] 4º [sic] Voci| Amore, Diana, Edimione, Proteo | Musica | Del Sig^{r}. Leonardo Leo	C6/8 3/4	Larghetto, e amoroso [ ]	C Major F Major	D5–C6 C5–D6	–
Leo.SON.01	Sonata à Flauto Solo | Del Sig.^{r} Leonardo Leo	C ¢ C3/4 2/4	Largo Allº Larghetto Allegro assai	F Major	B4–D6	–
Leo.SON.02	[title page:] Sonata à Flauto Solo| Basso | Del Sig.^{r} Leonardo Leo	C 3/8 3/4 2/4	Largo [ ] Largo, Arpeggio Allegro	G Minor	$B_{\flat}4$–$E_{\flat}6$	Tricky passages, with $A_{\flat}5$ and $B_{\flat}5$.
Leo.SON.03	[title page:] Sonata á [sic] Flauto Solo | e Basso | Del Sig.^{r} Lonardo [sic] Leo	3/4 C C ¢	Largo All.º Largo All.º	D Minor	C5–E6	–
Leo.SON.04	[title page:] Sonata á [sic] Flauto solo | Del sig.^{e} Leonardo Leo	3/4 ¢ C 3/8	Largo All:º Largo Allegro	F Major	G4–D6	–
Leo.SON.05	Sonata à Flauto Solo, e Basso | Del Sig.^{r} Leonardo Leo	3/4 3/4 C 3/8	Larghetto All:º Largo All:º	C Major	A4–E6	–
Leo.SON.06	Sonata á [sic] Flauto solo | Del Sig.^{r} Leonardo Leo	3/4 2/4 3/4 6/8	Largo Allegro Largo All:º assai	D Minor	A4–E6	–

[372] Helmut Hucke, Rosa Cafiero, "Leo, Leonardo." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed November 1, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[373] Ibid.

Leo.SON.07	Sonata á [sic] Flauto solo | Del Sig.r Leonardo Leo	C ¢ C 3/8	Largo Allegro assai Largo Allegro assai	F Major	B4–F6	–

Francesco Mancini (Naples, 1672 – Naples, 1737)

The considerable Neapolitan instrumental recorder repertoire of the Baroque period is certainly indebted to Francesco Mancini for his sizeable contribution. The son of organist Nicola Mancini, Francesco entered Santa Maria della Pietà dei Turchini in 1688 to study organ with Francesco Provenzale and Gennaro Ursino.[374] His studies were completed in 1694, but he was obliged to stay for another six years as an organist in the service of the conservatoire.[375] By 1702 he was working for the Royal Chapel.

Mancini became the director of Santa Maria di Loreto in 1720, and the two keyboard toccatas that complete his instrumental output might have been intended for teaching purposes. Aside from his work as a successful international opera composer, he was Alessandro's Scarlatti's deputy at the Royal Chapel from 1708, finally becoming *maestro* in 1725.[376] He was also *maestro di cappella* at the church of San Domenico Maggiore.[377]

Dedicated to John Fleetwood (c. 1699?–1725), the English consul in Naples,[378] Mancini's *XII Solos* (Man.SON.01–12) were first printed in London, in 1724, and then twice again also in London, in 1727 and 1730,[379] attesting to the popularity Mancini had gained in

[374] Angela Romagnoli, "MANCINI, Francesco." *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, Vol. 68*. Treccani, accessed November 20, 2014, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-mancini_(Dizionario-Biografico)/.

[375] Ibid.

[376] Angela Romagnoli, "Mancini, Francesco." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed November 1, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[377] Ausilia Magaudda, Danilo Costantini, *Musica e Spettacolo nel Regno di Napoli attraverso lo spoglio della "Gazzetta" (1675–1768)*. p. 41.

[378] Fleetwood was consul from at least 1707, returning to England in 1722. He died in England on November 12, 1725. "Notes and Queries. Vol. 12. 1916." *London*. Forgotten Books, accessed November 2, 2014, http://www.forgottenbooks.com/readbook_text/Notes_and_Queries_v12_1000513377/325. Also: "The Historical Register, Containing an impartial relation of all transactions, foreign and domestick [sic]: with a Chronological diary of all the remarkable occurrences, viz. births, marriages, deaths, removals, promotions, etc. that happened throughout the year: together with the characters and parentage of persons deceased on the eminent rank...", *London*. C. Meere, accessed November 9, 2014, http://books.google.nl/books?id=DqU1AAAAMAAJ&dq=john%20fleetwood%20consul%20naples&pg=RA1-PA47#v=onepage&q=john%20fleetwood%20&f=false.

[379] The only changes in the reprints are the assignations on the title pages of the sonatas to only the violin and then to only the "flute" (recorder).

that city, through opera, already from the 1710s. The title and dedication pages of the first print read as follows:[380]

> [title page] XII | SOLOS | for a | VIOLIN | or FLUTE. | Dedicated to the Hon:[bte] John Fleetwood Esq:[e] Consull [sic] Gen:[ll] [sic] for the Kingdom of Naples | By | Sig:[ra] [sic] Francesco Mancini. | Which Solos are Proper | Lessons for the Harpsicord. [sic] | London Sold by Iohn [sic] Barret at the Harp & Crown in | Coventry Street near the Hay-markett. and W.[m] Smith at the | Orange Tree between Norfolk & Arundell Streets neat S.[t] Clements | Church in the Strand.
>
> [dedication page] Ill. [mo] Sig[re] | Le presenti Sonate da me composte per gli Amatori dell'Harmonia, non devono uscir alla Luce, che sotto gli auspicij gratiosi di V. S. Ill.[ma] per recreare specialmente L'animo suo nel sottrarsi dalle cure noiose de' privati, e publici [sic] affari: poiche si compiacqu' E'lla già in Napoli d'approvare i miei Componimenti. Queste per tanto io dedico con singolare riconoscente ossequio al dilei Nobilissimo Genio, ch'è sempre vôlto [sic] à favorire Li studiosi d'ogni bell'Arte: e confidando, che mi condonerà (come ne La supplico) L'ardire, spero, che degnerà di proteggerle ancora in Londra; ove in publicandole, altra gloria più vivamente non bramo, che quella di farmi conoscere. | di V. S. Ill.[ma] | Humil[mo] Devot.[mo] et Oblig.[mo] Serv.[e] | Francesco Mancini.[381]

Fleetwood was a patron of musical *soirées* during his stay in Naples, as attested by the *Gazzetta di Napoli*, where the following extracts are found:

> 18 dicembre 1714 (3) «Nella passata settimana il console della nazione britannica in questo Regno, il sig. D. Giovanni Fleetwood cominciò a celebrare la festa per tre sere per l'incoronazione del nuovo re della Gran Bretagna, Georgio I [...], ed avanti il suo palazzo per tutte dette tre sere fé scorrere una copiosa fontana di vino esquisito [...], con musica ed altri divertimenti».[382]
>
> 22 novembre 1718 (1) «La mattina dell'istesso giorno [17 novembre] questo console inglese D. Giovanni Fleetvvood [sic] diede un lauto pranzo a quest'eccellentissimo sig. ammiraglio Binghs in sua casa, con molti altri uffiziali [sic] di sua nazione, e nel tempo

[380] GB-Lbl/g.680. Twelve sonatas printed on fifty-five numbered pages, engraved by "W[m] Smith Sculp" (as can be read at the end of Sonata XII, p. 55).

[381] Translation by the present author: "Illustrious Sir, these sonatas, which I composed for lovers of Harmony, should not come to Light, unless under the graceful auspices of Your Illustriousness, to recreate especially the mood of escaping from the boring worries of private, and public affairs, since already in Naples You were pleased and approved of my Compositions. These nonetheless I dedicate with singular and grateful deference to Your Most Noble Genius, You who are always an encouraging face to studious of every Art; and trusting that you will condone (as I beg) the audacity, I hope, that You will deign to protect them still in London, by publishing them, higher glory I do not desire more than to make myself known. Your most devoted, humble and obliged servant, Francesco Mancini."

[382] Translation by the present author: "In the past week, the consul of the British nation in this Kingdom, Mr. Sir John Fleetwood began to celebrate the festival for three nights for the coronation of the new king of Britain, George I [...], and later in his palace for all those three evenings he made flow a copious fountain of exquisite wine [...], with music and other entertainment." Ausilia Magaudda, Danilo Costantini, *Musica e Spettacolo nel Regno di Napoli attraverso lo spoglio della "Gazzetta" (1675–1768)*. p. 246.

> della tavola vi fu continuamente sinfonia di scelti istromenti di musica e scelte voci, che durò sino all'ore 10 della notte, con gran soddisfazione di detto sig. ammiraglio».[383]

It is highly plausible that Fleetwood himself was an amateur recorder player,[384] though firm evidence for this is yet to be found.

Written in four movements (or five, as in three cases the first movement is composed of two contrasting sections), Mancini's bluntly keyboard-oriented writing of bass lines,[385] with richly filled harmonies, is worthy of mention. His style is not forward looking, but by staying comfortably placed in his own tradition Mancini manages to stamp his writing in these sonatas with so much personality that it's not hard to identify his works by ear. The sonatas in the collection that feature a first movement of two contrasting sections can be seen as a wink to his operatic life. Indeed his borrowing of operatic material must have flavored the sonatas to a greater extent than is superficially apparent: parts of the *Ouverture* (last beat of bar 7 until the first beat of bar 10) to Mancini's *Alessandro il grande in Sidone* (performed at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo in 1706) have almost identical melodic material to Man.SON.02 (last movement, Allegro, last beat of bar 14 to the first beat of bar 19). The melody is identical and the bass in the sonata is only a slight simplification of that of the *Ouverture*.

Contrasting sections and well-balanced fugues are also the traits of Mancini's writing in his concertos with strings (Man.CON.01–12). In the concertos, the recorder part is never of a virtuosic nature, but is treated more in the manner of a solo vocal line, especially in the slow movements.

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[383] Translation by the present author: "In the morning of the same day [November 17] this English consul Sir John Fleetvvood [sic] offered a hearty lunch to his Excellency Mr. Admiral Binghs in his house, with many other officers of his nation, and during the meal there was a continuous symphony of selected musical instruments and voices, which lasted until ten o'clock in the night, to the great satisfaction of the aforementioned Mr. Admiral." Ibid. p. 309.

[384] As suggested by Dinko Fabris, "Fantasie di Viaggio: Il Flauto a Napoli verso il 1725 (Liner notes CD: Una Follia di Napoli)," (Arles: Harmonia Mundi, 2012). Fabris refers to Tommaso Rossi, "Il Flauto a Napoli durante il Viceregno Austriaco (1707–1734)" (Master Degree, Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II, 2010). p. 3.

[385] The present author's practical experience demonstrates that Mancini's bass lines in the sonatas are not particularly comfortably played by cellists. For example, in the second movement of Man.SON.10 (Allegro), in bars 13-14, 35-37 and 44-45, the bass line is written in two voices; although not impossible on a cello this was probably written with a harpsichord in mind.

Table 2.2.6: Recorder works by Mancini

Work number	Title	Time signature	Tempo indication	Key signature	Recorder range	Double holes
	[Collection title page:] Concerti di Flauto Violini | Violetta, e Basso | Di Diversi Autori					
Man.CON.01	- Sonata [sic] P.ma - Del Sig.r Franc.sco Mancini	3/8 ¾ ¢ / C 3/8	Moderato Grave Moderato/Largo Allegro	C Minor	A4–D6	–
Man.CON.02	- Sonata [sic] Quinta - Del Sig.r Franc.o Mancini	C 3/2 ¢ C 3/8	Allg.o Largo Fuga-All.o Largo[386] All.o	G Major	G4–D6	–
Man.CON.03	- Sonata [sic] Sesta - Del Sig.r Franc.o Mancini	C C C ¢	Amoroso All.o.[387] Largo Allegro[388]	D Minor	G4–E♭6	–
Man.CON.04	- Sonata [sic] Ottava - Del Sig.r Franc.o Mancini	C 3/2 3/4 C 3/8	Vivace And.e staccato[389] Fuga[390] Largo All.o.	C Minor	G4–E♭6	–
Man.CON.05	- Sonata [sic] Decima - Del Sig.r Franc.o Mancini	3/4 C C 2/4	Larghetto Allg.o. Largo Allegro	B♭ Major	F4–E♭6	A♭4.
Man.CON.06	- Sonata [sic] Decima Terza - Del Sig.r Franc.sco Mancini	3/4 ¢ C 3/8	Largo Fuga Largo Spiritoso	G Minor	F♯4–D6	F♯4.
Man.CON.07	- Sonata [sic] Decima Quarta - Del Sig.r Franc.o Mancini	3/4 C C 2/4	Comodo Fuga[391] Larghetto Allg.o.	G Minor	G4–E♭6	–
Man.CON.08	- Sonata [sic] Decima Sesta - Del Sig.r Franc.o Mancini	C ¢ 3/4 2/4	Affettuoso Fuga Un poco and.e. And.e.[392]	F Major	G4–E6	–

[386] Rec: Larghetto.

[387] Vl1: Andante.

[388] Rec: And.e.

[389] Vl1: Largo. Vl2: Largo e Staccato.

[390] Vl1: All.o.

[391] Vl1: And.e.

[392] Vl1: All.o.

Man.CON.09	- Sonata [sic] Decima Settima - Del Sig.ʳ Franc.° Mancini	C 3/2 3/4 C 2/4	All°. And^e. Spiritoso[393] Largo All°.	A Minor	G4–E6	G♯4.
Man.CON.10	- Sonata [sic] Decima Ottava - Del Sig.ʳ Fran.^co Mancini	C ¢ 3/4 3/8	Largo Fuga a tempo giusto Allegro	F Major	G4–D6	–
Man.CON.11	- Sonata [sic] Decima Nona - Del Sig.ʳ Fran.^co Mancini	C 3/4 ¢ C 12/8	Allegrissimo[394] Largo[395] Fuga Moderato[396] Allegro	E Minor	G4–E6	–
Man.CON.12	- Sonata [sic] Vigesima - Del Sig.ʳ Fran.^co Mancini	C C 3/4 3/4	Comodo[397] Fuga[398] Largo[399] Comodo[400]	C Minor	G4–D6	–
	[Collection title page:] XII Solos for a Violin or Flute. | […] By | Sig:ʳᵃ [sic] Francesco Mancini. […] [John Barrett and William Smith, London]					
Man.SON.01	- Sonata I	C C 3/4 3/8	Amoroso Allegro Largo Allegro	D Minor	A4–D6	G♯4.
Man.SON.02	- Sonata II	3/4 C C ¢	Andante Allegro Largo Allegro	E Minor	F♯4–D6	F♯4, G♯4.
Man.SON.03a	- Sonata III	C 3/4 C 12/8	Largo Affettuoso Allegro Largo Allegro	C Minor	G4–D6	A♭4.
Man.SON.04	- Sonata IV	C C C 3/8	Spiritoso Allegro Largo Allegro Spiccato	A Minor	G4–D6	G♯4.

[393] Vl1 and vl2: Allº.

[394] Rec and vl1: Allegro.

[395] Rec and vl1: Larghetto.

[396] Vl2: Largo.

[397] Rec: [ ].

[398] Bc: Allegro.

[399] Rec and vls: Lento.

[400] Rec: Allegro.

Man.SON.05	- Sonata V	3/8 C ¢ C 3/8	Allegro/ Largo Allegro Largo Allegro	D Major	A4–D6	–
Man.SON.06	- Sonata VI	3/4 C C 2/4	Largo Allegro Largo Allegro	B♭ Major	G4–D6	–
Man.SON.07	- Sonata VII	3/4 C 3/8 C C	Spiritoso/ Largo Allegro Largo Allegro	C Major	G4–D6	–
Man.SON.08	- Sonata VIII	C 3/4 C 3/8	Largo Allegro [ ] Allegro	G Minor	G4–D6	A♭4.
Man.SON.09	- Sonata IX	3/4 C C 12/8	[ ] Allegro Largo Allegro	F Minor	F4–D6	A♭4; tricky passages with A♭5 and B♭5.
Man.SON.10	- Sonata X	3/4 2/4 C 3/8	Largo Allegro Largo Allegro	B Minor	G4–D6	G♯4.
Man.SON.11	- Sonata XI	C 3/8 C C	Un Poco Andante Allegro Largo Allegro	G Minor	G4–D6	A♭4.
Man.SON.12	- Sonata XII	3/4 C 2/4 3/4 3/8	Allegro Largo Allegro Andante Allegro	G Major	G4–D6	–
Man.SON.03b	[title page:] Sonata Di Flauto Solo è | Basso | 1759[401]	¢ 3/4 C 12/8	Largo Andante Largo All:	C Minor	G4–E6	A♭4.
Man.OPE.01	Trajano | Drama per Musica con intermezzi buffi | (Colombina e Pernicone) | Rappresentato nel Teatro S. Bartolomeo | nel Carnevale del 1723 | Poesia Anonimo | Musica di Francesco Mancini	3/8	[ ]	C Minor	G4–E♭6	–

[401] This 'anonymous' manuscript sonata is the same as Mancini's *Sonata III*, with the following exceptions: in *Sonata III*, first movement: bars 24 and 25 are slightly different (one bar less in the manuscript), one extra bar at the end, and the last three bars are slightly different; third movement: bar 16 is slightly altered, probably to avoid E6; last movement: three bars are missing (after bar 16), in which the range goes up to E6. Aside from that, a few differences are to be found in the time signatures and time indications as can be verified in Table 2.2.6. Considering Mancini died in 1737, the fact that this manuscript is dated 1759 means that it is a later copy of an earlier original. It seems probable that the printed version as well as this manuscript copy stem from a same original, and that the printed version was modified by the publishers in order to adapt it to the London market. This point will be examined later.

Giovanni Battista Mele (Naples, 1693/4 or 1701? – Naples, after 1752)

In 1710, Mele entered the Conservatorio dei Poveri di Gesù Cristo, where he studied with Gaetano Greco. His contribution to the manuscript of the twenty-four Neapolitan concertos was made before he left Naples for Madrid (in 1735), where he was active as an opera composer. He served with some success at the court of Philip V in Madrid, alongside Carlo Broschi *detto* Farinelli. All Mele's known operas and serenatas were composed during his period at the court.[402]

As a work by one of the younger composers in the collection, Mele's recorder concerto in F Major is among the most forward looking of the twenty-four. An entire movement of triplets and quick appoggiaturas is nonetheless followed by a traditional fugue, almost as if only to comply with the "requirements" of the rest of the collection. A short, reflective third movement, with a moving bass and violins in *durezze e ligature* suspensions, gives way to a lively final movement in 3/8, once again covered with triplets and quick appoggiaturas. The writing for the recorder is interesting in the last movement, exploring some virtuosic arpeggiated passages in the solos as well as using a two-octave range.

Table 2.2.7: Recorder work by Mele

Work number	Title	Time signature	Tempo indication	Key signature	Recorder range	Double holes
	[Collection title page:] Concerti di Flauto Violini | Violetta, e Basso | Di Diversi Autori					
Mel.CON.01	- Sonata [sic] Decima Quinta Del Sig^{r} Gio. Battista Mele	3/8 ¢ 3/4 3/8	And^{e}. Allg^{o}. Adagio Allg^{o}.	F Major	F4–F6	–

Giovanni Antonio Piani (Naples, 1678 – Vienna, after 1759)

Piani studied violin with Cailò and Vinciprova at the Conservatorio della Pietà dei Turchini, to which he was admitted in 1691.[403] In 1704 Piani moved to Paris (where he was known as Des Planes), where in 1712 his Op. 1 was published, full of detailed markings for dynamics, indications of tempo and character. By 1721 he joined his brother in Vienna,[404] where he

[402] Hanns-Bertold Dietz, "Mele, Giovanni Battista." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed November 1, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[403] Guido Olivieri, "Per una storia della tradizione violinistica napoletana del '700." p. 237.

[404] Tommaso Piani, violinist, who also studied with Cailò at the Pietà dei Turchini between 1698 and 1706, had been in Vienna since 1713, and stayed until he died in 1760. Ibid. pp. 237-238.

remained until 1757, as the highest paid instrumentalist in the imperial court and eventually as director of instrumental music.[405]

Piani's *Opera prima* is a set of twelve sonatas for violin, dedicated to his patron, Lodovico Alessandro di Borbone. In a typical marketing strategy to reach larger audiences, the bottom of the *Avertissement* page reads: "Il y a six Sonates dans ce Livre qu'on pourrá jouer sur les Flûtes á [sic] Bec, et Traversieres Sçavoir, La I.re III.e VI.e VII.e IX.e et X.e" Even if he had intended that these six sonatas (Pia.SON.01–06) could also be played on a voice-flute, in the case of recorders, the writing often goes below D4, and a few even have double stops, creating the need for some kind of arrangement before performance by any flutist.[406] It is not clear why he chose those particular six sonatas for the flutes.

In the *Avertissement*, Piani also presents very detailed explanations of the execution of the variety of symbols used in this print. These include signs for *crescendo*, *diminuendo* and *messa di voce* on long notes, as well as markings for articulation (staccato and a variety of slurs) and fingerings for the violin. It is interesting to note that he includes a "*battement, ou pincé*," which looks like the daggers found often in French Baroque music for the traverso, and described by Jacques Hotteterre[407] and Jean-Pierre Freillon Poncein[408] as a mordent.[409] In the case of Piani, though, this sign is most probably not to be taken in a French context but should rather be understood in the more usual European framework, daggers being used for detached notes, i.e. staccato,[410] as described by Johann Christian Schickhardt[411] and Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach.[412]

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[405] Neal Zaslaw, "Piani, Giovanni Antonio." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed November 1, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[406] As mentioned earlier, those six printed sonatas by Piani are included in the present list for the sake of thoroughness.

[407] Jacques Hotteterre, *Principes de la flûte traversière, ou flûte d'Allemagne, de la flûte à bec, ou flûte douce, et du haut-bois, diviséz par traitéz op. 1* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1707). See also the *Avertissement* of Jacques Hotteterre, "Premier Livre de Pieces Pour la Flùte-traversiere, et autres Instruments," (Paris: _, 1708, rev. 1715).

[408] Jean-Pierre Freillon Poncein, *La veritable maniere d'apprendre a jouer en perfection du haut-bois, de la flute et du flageolet, avec les principes de la musique pour la voix et pour toutes sortes d'instrumens* (Paris: Jacques Collombat, 1700). Original: F-Pn, Rés 442.

[409] "Mordent." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed October 15, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[410] Geoffrey Chew, Clive Brown, "Staccato." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed October 15, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[411] Jean Chrestien Schickhardt, *Principes de la Flûte Contenant La maniere d'en joüer & La Connoissance de Musique necessaire pour cela.* (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, c.1720). Original: GB-Lbl, a 19f.

[412] Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, "Chapter Three: Performance (18)," in *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, ed. William J. Mitchell (ed. and trans.) (New York: W. W. Norton & Norton, 1949, 1752). p. 154.

Piani's manuscript sonata in the Harrach collection (Pia.SON.07), although not in a comfortable key, is well within the range of the recorder. The work does not contain his more extraordinary markings; only trills and daggers are to be found.

Table 2.2.8: Recorder works by Piani

Work number	Title	Time signature	Tempo indication	Key signature	Recorder range	Double holes
	Sonate | a Violino [sic] solo e Violoncello col Cimbalo | [...] | Da' | Gio: An: Piani detto Des Planes Napolitane | [...] | Opera Prima | In Parigi | 1712					
Pia.SON.01	- Sonata I.ª	C 2 3/4 6/8	Largo, et affettuoso. Allemanda. | Allegro má [sic] non presto. Sarabanda. | Largo. et affettuoso. Poco allegro, et affettuoso	G Minor	B♭3–D6	n.a.[413]
Pia.SON.02	- Sonata III.ª	C 3/4 3 6/8	Preludio. | Poco andate [sic] e affettuoso. Corrente. | Allegro, é [sic] spiccato. Sarabanda. | Largo. Siciliana. | Larghetto, et affettuoso.	F Major	G3–D6	n.a.
Pia.SON.03	- Sonata VI.ª	3/4 C 3/2 2 6/8	Preludio. | Andate [sic], et affettuoso. Allemanda. | Allegro; ma non presto. Corrente alla Francese. | Andate. [sic] Allegro. Siciliana. | Larghetto	G Major	D4–D6	n.a.
Pia.SON.04	- Sonata VII.ª	C 3/4 3/4 2	Preludio. | Adagio, et affettuoso. Allegro. Larghetto. Allegro, é [sic] Spiccato.	C Minor	E4–D6	n.a.

[413] The range of these sonatas is clearly written for the violin, and therefore it is not relevant whether there are notes that would require double holes on the recorder.

Pia.SON.05	- Sonata IX.ª	C C 3/4 6/8	Preludio. | Grave, é [sic] affettuoso. Allemanda. | Allegro, má [sic] non presto. Grave. Giga.| Poco allegro.	A Minor	D♯4–C6	n.a.
Pia.SON.06	- Sonata X.ª	C 3/4 2 3/4 2	Preludio. | Grave, é [sic] affettuoso. Corrente. | Allegro, é [sic] spiccato. Aria. | Allegro Andate. [sic] Allegro.	D Major	D4–D6	n.a.
Pia.SON.07	Sonata per flauto di Gio: Ant: Drani [sic]	C 3/8 2	Adagio, ed Affettuoso Sostenuto Fuga | Allegro assai Allegro e spiccato	E Minor	A♯4–F♯6	–

Nicola Antonio Porpora (Naples, 1686 – Naples, 1768)

Porpora attained international fame as a celebrated composer and important singing teacher, working in Naples, Rome, Venice, London, Dresden and Vienna. He studied at the Conservatorio dei Poveri di Gesù Cristo, where he was probably a student of Gaetano Greco. Quickly becoming a "mastricello" (student teacher) there, he was later *maestro* at the Sant'Onofrio and S. Maria di Loreto (1739), *maestro di coro* at the three main Venetian *ospedali* (the Pietà, Ospedaletto and the Ospitale degli Incurabili). Later, in 1733, he formed the Opera of the Nobility company in London, as a rival of Handel's company; in 1748 Porpora became Kapellmeister to the Electoress of Saxony in Dresden. Among his private singing pupils were the great castrati Farinelli and Caffarelli.

Despite an enormous surviving corpus of works by Porpora, only a single recorder sonata remains.[414] Unfortunately, this work (Pop.SIN.01) survives only in a modern edition of 1963. In the preface to the edition, we learn about the following:

> In 1957 an auction house in Vienna offered for sale separate pages of a music book from the library of a local aristocratic family of the early 18th century. The collection contained various sonatas for recorder and figured bass by divers [sic] composers who had lived in Vienna during the period, among them works by Porpora and Vivaldi, recorder sonatas of the existence of which nothing had previously been known. It may be of interest that the Vivaldi manuscripts were sold at unexpectedly high prices, that

[414] It is entitled *sinfonia* but it must be noted that nomenclature at this time was not yet well established or standardized, as announcements in the *Gazzetta di Napoli* such as "concerto di sinfonie di molti strumenti" would make clear. It would now be categorized as a sonata. Ausilia Magaudda, Danilo Costantini, *Musica e Spettacolo nel Regno di Napoli attraverso lo spoglio della "Gazzetta" (1675–1768)*. p. 65.

they turned up again around 1960, in a catalog of the well-known English firm Otto Haas, at prices considerably higher yet – what has happened to them since is not known, as they have not yet appeared in print.[415]

Table 2.2.9: Recorder works by Porpora

Work number	Title	Time signature	Tempo indication	Key signature	Recorder range	Double holes
Pop.CAN.01	[Collection title page:] Composizioni vocali profane *Movo il piè lo sguardo giro*	3/4 3/8	Con spirito Allegro	F Major F Major	E4[416]–D6	F♯4, G♯4.
Pop.CAN.02	Cantata col flauto del Sig. Porpora *Freme il mar e col sussurro par che dica*	C3/4 C3/8	Amoroso And.e	F Major F Major	G4–D6	–
Pop.CAN.03	Cantata | Canto solo con il Flauto | Del Sig:r Nicola Porpora *Fille narrommi giorno il dotto alceo*	3/4 3/8	[ ] All:o	C Minor G Major	E4–E6	A♭4.
Pop.CAN.04	Cantata | Canto solo con il Flauto | Del Sig:r Nicola Porpora *Fille oh Dio chi t'asconde*	C 3/8	A tempo giusto All:o	G Minor F Major	A4–E♭6	–
Pop.CAN.05	Cantata a flauto solo | del Sr Nicolo Porpora *Di partita crudel numi*	12/8 3/8	Adag.o All.o	C Minor B♭ Major	F4–D6	F♯4, A♭4.
Pop.CAN.06	Cantata a flauto solo | del Sr Nicolo Porpora *Come al tornar del verno*	3/4 ¢	Larghetto All.o	A Major D Major	F♯4–D6	F♯4, G♯4.
Pop.SIN.01	*Sinfonia*	C 3/4 C 3/8	Adagio Allegro Adagio Allegro	D Minor	A4–D6	–

Giuseppe Porsile (Naples, 1680 – Vienna, 1750)

Giuseppe Porsile was the son of the musician Carlo Porsile, who is the author of a number of operas extant at the San Pietro a Majella conservatoire library in Naples. Giuseppe studied with Gennaro Ursino and Gaetano Greco at the Conservatorio dei Poveri di Gesù Cristo. In 1708 he received the post of vice-*maestro di cappella* at the chapel of Charles III in Barcelona, a position he held for only a short time.[417] There he was also chamber organist and his responsibilities included the composition of operas, serenatas, intermezzi, and church music. Sadly we know nothing of the works he composed there. He also served as

[415] Josef Marx, "Nicola Porpora: Sinfonia for Recorder and Piano [sic]," in *Music for Wind Instruments by 18th Century Masters* (New York: McGinnis & Marx, 1963). Introduction, p. 3. In a private communication, Paul Sadowski, of McGinnis & Marx Music Publishers, tells me, "I do not have the manuscript for this work. Our warehouse was liquidated a number of years ago. And with it, I'm afraid, many editorial materials."

[416] Pop.CAN.01, Pop.CAN.03 and Sca.CAN.05 all descend beyond the lowest note of the alto recorder (F4). This does not automatically exclude these as recorder cantatas (see Chapter 1 for extant Italian tenor-sized instruments).

[417] Interesting documents on the Neapolitan Royal Chapel in Barcelona are presented by Ulisse Prota-Giurleo, "Giuseppe Porsile e la Real Cappella di Barcellona," *Gazzetta Musicale di Napoli* II, no. 10 (1956). pp. 160-166.

singing-master to Charles' wife, Elisabetta Cristina. At the end of 1711, Charles returned to Vienna, becoming Charles VI, Holy Roman Emperor; Porsile probably arrived in Vienna in 1713.[418]

Porsile's cantatas contain particularly beautiful writing for the recorder, with very expressive melodies. In his three serenatas with recorder parts, the recorder(s) are very often paired with lute(s). His only extant sonata, stemming from the collection of Count Harrach, is unfortunately incomplete, with losses sustained perhaps when the works of the collection were bound in volumes.

Table 2.2.10: Recorder works by Porsile

Work number	Title	Time signature	Tempo indication	Key signature	Recorder range	Double holes
Pos.ARI.01	[Collection title page:] Il ritorno d'Ulisse | Arie con stromenti | Del Sig:r Giuseppe Porsile | 1707 *La costanza con amore*	C	Andante	F Major	C5–D6	–
Pos.SON.01	[Incomplete] Flauto Solo. Del Sig. [cut]	3/4 [2/4] 3	Entrée [ ] Menuet.	C Major	G4–E6	–
Pos.CAN.01	Cantata 25 à Flauto solo *Violetta gentil*	2/4 3/8	Allegro. Allegro.	B♭ Major F Major	A4–E♭6	–
Pos.CAN.02	Cantata 26 à Flauto solo *Posa sopra d'un faggio lieta la Tortorella*	2/4 3/8	Andante un poco A tempo giusto	C Minor D Minor	F4–D6	–
Pos.CAN.03	Cantata: 1:a | [by later hand:] de Porsile *E già tre volte sorse dall'onde il sole*	C 2/4	Largo. Allegro	C Minor F Major	G4–E6	G♯4.
Pos.SER.01	La Virtù, e La Bellezza | in Lega. | Serenata a. 3. Voci. | Festeggiandosi il Nome | di | Sua Altezza Serenissima | Maria Teresa, | Arciduchessa d'Austria | Infanta di Spagna &c: | Nell Anno | MDCCXXII. | Posta in Musica di Giuseppe Porsile Maestro di Cappella […]	3/8	[ ]	F Major	G4–D6	–
Pos.SER.02	Il Giorno felice. | Componimento per Musica allusivo al glorioso giorno| Natalizio | della | Sacra Cesarea, e Cattolica Reale Maestà | di | Elisabetta Cristina | Imperadrice [sic] Regnante | L'Anno 1723. | Poesia di Pietro Pariati […] | Musica di Porsile […]	3/4 3/8 3/8 2 3/8 2	Andante [ ] Allegro Allegro Andante Allegro	A Minor C Minor C Major C Major D Minor C Major	A4–C6 C5–A♭5 G4–C6 G4–D6 A4–D6 B4–D6	–

[418] Lawrence E. Bennett, "Porsile, Giuseppe." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed November 1, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

Pos.SER.03	Dialoge [sic] Pastorale a Cinque Voci | da Cantarsi | Nel Giorno del Felicissimo Nome | della | Augustissima Imperatrice Regnante. | 1732 | Musica del ~~Sgr Conte Schlik.~~ Porsile *Già per le vie del cielo*	3/8 3/8 2	Menuet 2º [ ] Aria [ ] Allegro	D Minor F Major C Major	C#5–D6 F4–D6 G4–C6	–

Pietro Pullj (Naples, c. 1710 – after 1759?)

Not much is known of the life of Pietro Pullj (or Pulli). His surviving works, mostly operatic, define his period of activity, and he is called "famosissimo sonatore di arceliuti" on the libretto of Leonardo Vinci's *La mogliere fedele*, for a revival of which he provided six arias.[419]

In September 1732, Pullj applied for a place in the Royal Chapel as "sonatore di arcileuto." The Captain of the Guard writes:

> Eccellentissimo Signore / Avendo Pietro Pulli, Andrea de Florio [double bass], e Giovanni Battista Pergolese [sic] supplicati Vostra Eccellenza con gli annessi memoriali, acciò […] si degnasse aggraziarli delle Piazze soprannumerarie alla Real Cappella al primo di sonatore di arciliuto, al secondo di sonatore di contrabasso, ed al terzo di organista.[420]

The Captain later wrote:

> [I]l primo che è Pietro Pulli, quale secondo l'informazione presa da periti è il migliore sonatore di arciliuto di questa città, vi ci concorre poi in questo soggetto anche la qualità d'un habile [sic] compositore, avendo egli di ciò dato saggio in avere composto anni sono nel teatro de' Fiorentini in quella orchestra.[421]

Pullj was admitted into the Royal Chapel in November of 1732. In 1739 he requested leave of absence to go to Rome. By then the Royal Chapel had tightened its rules, and he was told that any leave would not be compensated.[422] It is not clear whether he left that year anyway but it would seem so, as his later operas were all produced outside Naples.[423]

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[419] James L. Jackman, Marita P. McClymonds, "Pulli, Pietro." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed November 1, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[420] Translation by the present author: "Excellent Lord / having Pietro Pulli, Andrea de Florio [double bass], and Giovanni Battista Pergolese [sic] begged your Excellency with the attached memorials, to the end [...] would deign to award them the posts of supernumerary to the Royal Chapel, to the first as archlutenist, to the second as double bass player, and the third as organist." Francesco Cotticelli, Paologiovanni Maione, *Le Istituzioni Musicali a Napoli durante il Viceregno Austriaco (1707–1734)*. p. 33.

[421] Translation by the present author: "The first, Pietro Pulli, who according to information acquired from experts is the best player of archlute of this city, is also an accomplished composer, having attested to have composed years ago for the orchestra of the 'Fiorentini Theater." Ibid.

[422] Ibid. p. 37.

[423] James L. Jackman, Marita P. McClymonds, "Pulli, Pietro".

His four recorder sonatas (Pul.SON.01–04) are preserved in Naples and dated 1759. This is most certainly the dating of the copy, not the date of composition. All four sonatas are in three movements and feature Galant trademarks, such as short appoggiaturas.

Table 2.2.11: Recorder works by Pullj

Work number	Title	Time signature	Tempo indication	Key signature	Recorder range	Double holes
Pul.SON.01	[title page:] Sonata a Flauto Solo è Basso | Del Sigr: Pietro Pullj | 1759	3/4 C 3/4	And:^{e} as: Largo All:	G Major	G4–E6	–
Pul.SON.02	[title page:] Sonata a Flauto Solo è Basso | Del Sigr: Pietro Pullj | 1759	¢ 3/4 12/8	And:^{e} Grave All:	G Minor	G4–E♭6	–
Pul.SON.03	[title page:] Sonata a Flauto Solo è Basso | Del Sigr: Pietro Pullj | 1759	C 3/4 2/4	Comodo Largo All:	F Major	G4–E6	–
Pul.SON.04	[title page:] Sonata a Flauto Solo è Basso | Del Sigr: Pietro Pullj | 1759	C 3/4 3/8	And:^{e} Largo All:	B♭ Major	G4–E♭6	–

Filippo Rosa

Nothing is known of Filippo Rosa, and even the nature of his association with Naples cannot be confirmed. His name, though, immediately raises the question of whether he was perhaps related to Salvatore Rosa, the great Neapolitan painter (and musician). His *Sinfonia a Flauto Solo e Basso* is one of twenty-two works in a bound manuscript collection entitled *Sinfonie di Varij Autori*, which belonged to Paolo Antonio Parensi, a patrician of Lucca and possibly himself a recorder player. Rosa's F Major contribution to this collection appears along with three sonatas by Domenico Sarro.

Rosa's known output further consists of two concertos for strings, extant in the collection of the Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.).[424] It seems these two works came into the library along with a number of opera scores by Albinoni (performed at the Teatro San Angiolo in Venice, 1722), a mass for five voices by Leonardo Leo, a set of parts for Alessandro Scarlatti's *Concerti Sacri* and some fifty Venetian *Arie da Battelo*.[425] In both collections, Rosa's works are surrounded by both Venetian and Neapolitan contemporaries. Rosa is included in the present list for the sake of thoroughness, and pending further archival work that might confirm his origins.

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[424] US-Wc, M1012.R8 / no.13 case and M1012.R8 / no.14 case.

[425] "Full text transcript of 'Report of the Librarian of Congress [...] for the fiscal year ending June 30 1921'." *Library of Congress*. accessed January 4, 2015, https://archive.org/stream/reportoflibrar1922libruoft/reportoflibrar1922libruoft_djvu.txt.

Table 2.2.12: Recorder works by Rosa

Work number	Title	Time signature	Tempo indication	Key signature	Recorder range	Double holes
	[Collection title page:] Sinfonie di Varij Autori					
Ros.SIN.01	- Sinfonia [sic] a Flauto Solo e Basso | Del Sig:[e] Filippo Rosa	C C 12/8 C	Grave All[o] Andante All[o]	F Major	F4–D6	–

Domenico Sarro (Apulia, 1679 – Naples, 1744)

Sarro (or Sarri) must have arrived in Naples around 1686 (to study at the Conservatorio di Sant'Onofrio), never to leave again. His first operas were favorably regarded in Naples until the change from Spanish to Austrian ruling, in 1707, when his popularity seems to have waned until around 1718. In 1724 he set to music Metastasio's first major libretto, *Didone Abbandonata*. He was *maestro di cappella* to the city of Naples from 1728, and took Mancini's post at the Royal Chapel when the latter died in 1737. Shortly after, Sarro was commissioned to compose the opera that would open the newly erected Teatro San Carlo (named after Charles III), and the theater opened with his *Achille in Sciro* on Charles III's name day in 1737.[426] Following Scarlatti's death in 1725, Sarro became the most powerful musician active in Naples.[427]

His instrumental output for the recorder is restricted to two concertos and four sonatas, dispersed over different collections, which attests to his contemporary popularity. In his A Minor concerto the singing quality of the recorder is explored to its full potential, with insinuating melodies that carry strong dramatic content in both the first and third movements. Nevertheless, the fugal second movement very much grounds him in the "counterpoint, counterpoint, counterpoint" generation of Mancini.

Table 2.2.13: Recorder works by Sarro

Work number	Title	Time signature	Tempo indication	Key signature	Recorder range	Double holes
Sar.ARI.01	Aria della Sig[ra] Amerighi *Sento che va coprendo* (from *La Partenope*)	C	And[e]	E♭ Major	G4–C6	A♭4.
Sar.ARI.02	Aria della Sig[ra] Faustina *Begl'occhi del mio ben*	3/8	Amoroso	C Minor	B4–C6	–

[426] Michael F. Robinson, Dale E. Monson, "Sarri, Domenico Natale." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed November 1, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[427] See Giulia Veneziano, "Domenico Sarro (Sarri)," in *Operisti di Puglia. Dalle origini al Settecento*, ed. Lorenzo Mattei (Bari: Edizioni dal Sud, 2009). pp. 125-130.

Sar.CAN.01	Cantata a voce sola di Soprano con Flauto | Del Sig.r Dom:co Sarri *Se pur fosse il cor capace*	C 3/8	Arioso And.e	G Major G Major	B4–E6	–
Sar.CAN.02	Cantata Prima a 3 Voci con Istromenti Tra Daliso, Eurilla, e Fileno da Cantarsi nelle nozze delli Ec.mi Sig.ri Marchesi d'Arena Musica Del Sig.r Domenico Sarro	2/4 C	Andante senza Cembalo Ande	D Minor A Minor	A4–D6 D5–E6	–
	[Collection title page:] Concerti di Flauto Violini | Violetta, e Basso | Di Diversi Autori					
Sar.CON.01	- Sonata [sic] Undecima - Del Sigr Domco Sarri	C C 3/4 2/4	Largo Allgo. Larghetto Spiritoso	A Minor	A4–E6	–
Sar.CON.02	Basso | Concerto con VV: e Flauto | e Basso | Del Sigr: Domenico Sarri [sic]	C 3/4 C3/8	Amoroso Adagio All.	D Minor	A4–D6	–
Sar.SER.01	Serenata à Voci 4:o | con VV: Flauto & Oboé | Alcino Cirene Dalindo Rosmira | Del Sig:r Dom:co Sarri *Rida il mar*	2/4 C	[ ] [ ]	F Major F Minor	C5–D6 G4–D6	–
	[Collection title page:] Sinfonie di varij autori					
Sar.SON.01	- Sonata da Camera a Flauto Solo, e Basso Del Sig: Domenico Sarri [sic] | Sonata S.da [sic]	C 2/4 3/4	Ad:o All:o And.e	F Major	A4–E♭6	–
Sar.SON.02	- Sonata 2:a	3/8 2/4 C ¢ 3/4	Lento All:o Arioso Andante Minuetto	G Minor	G4–E♭6	–
Sar.SON.03	- Sonata 3:a	3/8 2/4 C ¢ 3/4	And:e All:o Larghetto [ ] Minuetto	D Major	A4–D6	–
Sar.SON.04	- [title page:] Sonata à Flauto Solo, e | Basso | Del Sig. Domenico Sarri [sic]	C 3/8 2	Allegro Largo Arioso | Balletto	F Major	G4–D6	–
Sar.ORA.01	[title page:] Sant'Ermenegildo | Oratorio à 5. con VV. Flauti[428] Oboè, e | Trombe da Caccia. | Del Sigr: Dom.co Sarro. Napolitano. | in Roma 1725. | S: Ermenegildo, Alto.// Ingonda, Soprano// | Leandro, Soprano// Leovigildo, Tenore// | Consigliere, Basso.	–	–	–	–	–

[428] The score is incomplete, missing the parts with 'flauti' mentioned in the title page (see Appendix 2).

> *"The 'missing' portion is not a part of another volume, all of which are well documented. Each volume is a different size, also making it less likely to be continued in another volume. This 'missing' portion has*

Alessandro Scarlatti (Palermo, 1660 – Naples, 1725)

Born into a Palermitan musical family, Scarlatti is one of the few composers included here who did not undergo his training in one of the Neapolitan conservatories. Instead, he studied in Rome, where he circulated in the highest circles of society.

In 1684 Scarlatti arrived in Naples for his first period as *maestro di cappella* to the court. Having obtained the position, through the connections of the viceroy, Marchese del Carpio, at the detriment of the then *vicemaestro* Francesco Provenzale, Scarlatti was met with great hostility from the chapel musicians, many of whom left. Their departures in turn opened positions for many musicians from Scarlatti's own circle in Rome, such as Gian Carlo Cailò.[429]

Scarlatti obtained various licenses to leave Naples between 1689 and 1702, and he moved back to Rome in 1702, returning to his post in Naples only at the end of 1708, after a series of unsuccessful attempts to obtain posts in other cities in Italy (such as Venice and Florence). Scarlatti's return ousted Francesco Mancini from the position of *maestro di cappella* at the Royal Chapel, a post that would only be placed back in Mancini's hands after Scarlatti's death. Although officially back in Naples, Scarlatti maintained his contacts in Rome, occasionally traveling there to stage operas.[430]

Around 1715, Scarlatti had operas, oratorios and serenatas staged in Naples (e.g. *Il Tigrane*, *La Santissima Trinità)*, and it seems probable that his *Sinfonie di Concerto Grosso* (Sca.SIN.01–12, also dated 1715) were composed for Naples. About these, musicologist Malcolm Boyd writes:

> Scarlatti probably decided on this unusual, perhaps unique, title to indicate that the string parts are to be played orchestrally (each sinfonia includes at least one wind instrument as well) rather than by one player to a part, but the title has perhaps wider implications. No. 7 in G is a straightforward Corellian da chiesa concerto in four movements, but the others are mostly five-movement works combining features of the three-movement operatic sinfonia and the da chiesa concerto. […] The opening Allegro abounds in the busy, rather empty semiquaver figuration associated with the first movement of an Italian overture (the figuration is even busier and emptier in some of

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> *probably been missing a long time since there is no indication of pages having been removed, and the binding (from before World War II) shows no indication that the volume has been altered."*

Dr. Bob Kosovsky, Curator, Rare Books and Manuscripts, Music Division, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, private communication.

[429] On this episode, see Dinko Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples, Francesco Provenzale (1624–1704)* (Cornwall: Ashgate, 2007). pp. 224-226.

[430] Roberto Pagano, et al, "Scarlatti." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed November 2, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

> the other works), while the final binary dance is a feature common to both genres; of the other movements, it is the central fugue that owes most to the example of the Corellian concerto. All 12 sinfonias are attractive, well-written pieces and unaccountably neglected.[431]

Furthermore, it is worth noting that in Scarlatti's *Sinfonie* the recorder has a double role, as both an equal part to the rest of the ensemble (in fugal entrances, for example) and as a solo instrument (especially in the slow movements). In the solo passages, which are never of high technical demand, the recorder is often accompanied by the cello, which, throughout all twelve works, has a separate line from the bass.

As musicologist Roberto Pagano has noted, many of Scarlatti's contemporaries attest to his greatness in writing for the voice, in theater, chamber and liturgical settings:[432]

> 'M. Hasse's opinion of Alex. [sic] Scarlatti, corresponds exactly with that of Jomelli [sic], who told me, at Naples, that his compositions for the church, tho' [sic] but little known, were the best of his productions, and perhaps the best of the kind'. Jommelli was only 11 when Scarlatti died and had arrived in Naples from his native Aversa in 1725; his evidence therefore indicates that Scarlatti's sacred music at least was studied with interest by the younger generation. In Naples, the 'baroque' Durante transformed 12 items from Scarlatti's cantatas into 12 *Duetti da camera* for use by singing teachers as a helpful contrast between the teacher's and the pupil's voice. The success of these duets gave the music of Scarlatti's cantatas an artificial after-life: in the middle of the 19th century the Marchese di Villarosa could claim that without them Scarlatti's name would have been consigned to oblivion. The pattern has persisted: although Alessandro Scarlatti is considered a composer of primary importance in all the literature, little attention is paid to his work, and even in recent explorations of the 'early music' repertory his music, for all its reputation, has played an exceedingly modest part.

Scarlatti's vocal output is impressive; the list of cantatas is seemingly endless.[433] The works with recorder parts make up a relatively small percentage of his vocal oeuvre, unlike his instrumental works, in which the recorder plays a significant role.

As Scarlatti was always moving between jobs and patrons, seeking better-paid opportunities,[434] it is not always easy to pinpoint which works were composed for which city.

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[431] Ibid. (This particular quote comes from the section on instrumental music by Scarlatti of the article written by Malcolm Boyd.)

[432] Ibid. Pagano is quoting Charles Burney.

[433] On the subject of his cantatas with recorder, see: Franz Müller-Busch, "Alessandro Scarlattis Kantaten mit obligaten Blockflöten," *Tibia* 16, no. 1 (1991). pp. 337–346. He discusses the works in which the range goes lower than F4, vowing for the use of tenor recorders.

[434] This behavior is not exclusive to Scarlatti: there are records of numerous musicians who applied for a position as *soprannumerario senza soldi,* not only to the Royal Chapel but also in the *Cappella del Tesoro di San Gennaro*, as a way of securing work in a sometimes unpredictable environment. See: Michael F. Robinson, "The Governors' Minutes of the Conservatory S. Maria Di Loreto, Naples." And also: Marta Columbro, Paologiovanni Maione, *Gli Splendori Armonici del*

Those that are still in Naples[435] are most probably of Neapolitan origin. Sca.ARI.02–04 are in a collection that contains other works by Neapolitan composers as well as works by Scarlatti produced in Naples.[436] Sca.ARI.05–6 are excerpts from *L'Eraclea*, produced at the San Bartolomeo in 1700, and come from a collection which includes works by other Italian composers, similarly to Sca.ARI.07–08 which are excerpts of *Erminia*, presented at the Stigliano Palace in 1723.

The works in the Santini Collection in Münster[437] are more difficult to pinpoint. Often dated (1699–1701), these all might have originally belonged to the same collection. Though they may have been composed outside of Naples their inclusion here as part of the Neapolitan recorder repertoire is intentional for the sake of thoroughness.

Table 2.2.14: Recorder works by Scarlatti

Work number	Title	Time signature	Tempo indication	Key signature	Recorder range	Double holes
Sca.ARI.01	Del S^{e} Alless^{o} Scarlatti | 1701 *Sconsolato Rusignolo*	C	Largo	C Minor	C5–B♭5	–
Sca.ARI.02	Aria con Flauti = All'Unisono // *Cor mio dopo le pene*	3/4	[ ]	A Minor	A4–A5	–
Sca.ARI.03	Aria con Flauto *Fatale è quest'impero*	C	[ ]	D Major	A4–B5	–
Sca.ARI.04	Aria con Flauto *Sento in seno un certo affetto*	C3/4	[ ]	D Major	A4–B5	–
Sca.ARI.05	Del Sig.^{r} Alessandro Scarlatti | Aria à 2. *Decrepito Adone t'ho pur compassione* (from *L'Eraclea*)	12/8	[ ]	F Major	E4–G5	G♯4.
Sca.ARI.06	Flautino solo. Del Sig.^{r} Alessandro Scarlatti. *Farfalletta ch'amante deliro* (from *L'Eraclea*)	12/8	[ ]	A Major	E4–C♯6	G♯4.
Sca.ARI.07	[ ] *Quando Irato il Toro mugge* (from *Erminia*)	¢	All:^{o}	B Minor	E5–D6	–
Sca.ARI.08	Aria *Mentre quel solco ara il bifolco*	C	All:^{o}	B♭ Major	D5–E♭6	–
Sca.ARI.09	*Spunta su l'alba vezzoso gelsomin*	3/8	Andante moderato	F Major	B4–D6	–

Tesoro: Appunti sull'attività musicale della Cappella tra Sei e Settecento (Naples: Deputazione della Real Cappella del Tesoro di San Gennaro, Arte Tipografica S.A.S., 2002). p. 24.

[435] Sca.CON.01–7, Sca.SIN.01–12, Sca.CAN.01–03, Sca.OPE.01, Sca.ORA.01, Vin.ORA.01, Sca.SER.01–02.

[436] E.g. an 'anonymous' *Aria con Oubuè* (D-MÜs/Hs3975 (Nr.6) from *Il prigioniero fortunato* presented at the Teatro San Bartolomeo in Naples on 14 December 1698.

[437] Sca.SIN.13, Sca.SON.01–05, Sca.ARI.01, Sca.CAN.05–11. Regarding Fortunato Santini and his music collection, see *Sammeln - Komponieren - Bearbeiten, Der römische Abbate Fortunato Santini im Spiegel seines Schaffens*, ed. Peter Schmitz and Andrea Ammendola (Münster: Agenda Verlag, 2011). Sergio Lattes, "Santini, Fortunato." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed March 12, 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

Sca.CAN.01	*Ardo, è ver, per te d'Amore*	C3/4 C	Lento And.te	D Minor C Minor	C5–F6	–
Sca.CAN.02	Bella Dama di nome Santa | Cantata per Camera | con Flauto, e Violini | Del Sigr: | Cavaliere Alessandro Scarlatti *Tu sei quella che al nome sembri*	C C3/4 C3/8	Adagio. Lento alla francese. Vivace.	F Major B♭ Major F Major	B♭4–E♭6	–
Sca.CAN.03	Filli che esprime la sua fede a Fileno, Cantata con VV.ni & Flauto | Del Sigr: Cavaliere Alessandro Scarlatti *Filen, mio caro bene*	C C3/8 C 12/8	Lento. / Allo. Adagio Ande. moderato.	F Minor E♭ Major F Minor	C5–E♭6	–
Sca.CAN.04	*Solitudini amene, apriche collinette*	*C* *2/4*	*Allegro più moderato* *Allegro mosso*	B♭ Major B♭ Major	*F4–G6*	–
Sca.CAN.05a/b	Cantata a Voce sola | Con Viol[in]o, e Flauto | Del Sig. Aless[andr]o Scarlatti | Quella Pace gradita	¢ 3/8 C C 3/8	Andante Andante Adagio Ritornello Andante Ritornello Adagio	G Minor G Minor E♭ Major B♭ Major D Minor	E♭4–D6	E♭4, F♯4.
Sca.CAN.06	Cantata a Voce sola | con flauti Ap[ri]le 1701. *Filli tu sai s'io t'amo*	3/4 C12/8	[ ] [ ]	C Major C Major	G4–B5	G♯4.
Sca.CAN.07	Cantata con Violini e Flauti | Del Signe. Alleso. Scarlatti *E perche non seguite o Pastorelle*	C / 3/4 C C C3/4	Sinfonia avanti Largo [ ] Menuet	C Major C Major D Major C Major	D4–C5	F♯4.
Sca.CAN.08	Con flauti | del Sig. Ales.o Scarlatti *Mentre Clori la bella sotto l'ombre d'un mirto*	C C3/4 C3/4	A tempo giusto Rito. [ ]	C Minor B♭ Major C Minor	F4–C5	A♭4.
Sca.CAN.09	Del Sig. Alessand[ro] Scarlatti | 26 Giug[no] 1699 *Augellin, vago e canoro*	C3/4 C3/8 C3/8	[ ] Allegro Rito. [ ]	D Minor F Major D Minor	A4–D6	–
Sca.CAN.10	Del Sigr: Aless.o Scarlatti | 18. Giug. 1699 | Cantata con flauto *Clori mia Clori bella*	C C3/4	Adag. [ ]	G Minor B♭ Major	G4–D6	–
Sca.CAN.11	Cantata a Voce sola con flauto *Chi sa dove è la speranza*	C C C	Ad.o Alleg.o [ ]	B♭ Major G Minor D Minor	F4–B♭5	F♯4.
Sca.CAN.12	Cantata à voce sola, concertata co'l Flauto *Non m'innamora un guardo*	3/4 12/8 C	Ritt.o Aria. Aria. andate. [sic]	E♭ Major B♭ Major G Minor	B♭3–A♭5	–
Sca.CON.01	[Collection title page:] Concerti di Flauto Violini | Violetta, e Basso | Di Diversi Autori - Sonata [sic] Settima - Del Sig.r Ales.dro Scarlatti	C 3/4 ¢ C 12/8	Allg.o Adagio Fuga Largo All.o	D Major	A4–C♯6	–

Sca.CON.02	- Sonata [sic] Nona - Del Sig.r Ales.o Scarlatti	C C ¢ 3/4 3/8	All.o Largo Fuga Solo Piano[438] Allgo	A Minor	A4–D6	–
Sca.CON.03	- Sonata [sic] Duodecima - Del Sig.r Ales.o Scarlatti	C ¢ C 3/4 3/8	Moderato Fuga Largo And.e And.e	C Minor	G4–E♭6	–
Sca.CON.04	- Sonata [sic] Vigesima P.ma - Del Sig.r Cav.~ Aless.o Scarlatti	3/4 C C 12/8	Andante Allegro Veloce/Lento Allegro	A Minor	A4–D6	–
Sca.CON.05	- Sonata [sic] Vigesima Seconda - Del Sig.r Cav.~ Aless.o Scarlatti	C ¢ C 3/4	Alleg.o Fuga Adagio Andante	A Major	A4–D6	–
Sca.CON.06	- Sonata [sic] Vigesima Terza - Del Sig.r Cav.~ Aless.o Scarlatti	C ¢ 3/4 3/8	Adagio Fuga Adagio Allg.o	C Major	G4–D6	–
Sca.CON.07	- Sonata [sic] Vigesima Quarta - Del Sig.r Cav.~ Aless.o Scarlatti	C ¢ 3/4 3/8	Allegro Fuga Solo Largo tutti Allgo.	G Minor	G4–D6	–
Sca.SER.01	Serenata a Cinque Voci | Con VViolini, Violette, Violoncelli, Oubue, Flauti, e Trombe | Primavera, Estate, Autunno, Inverno, e Giove | Musica | Del Sig.r Cavaliere Alessandro Scarlatti. (La Gloria di primavera) *Nato è già l'austriaco sole*	12/8 C	à tẽpo [sic] giusto adagio	G Major G Major	D5–D6 D5–D6	–
Sca.SER.02	Serenata a 4 Voci, con | Vary stromenti | Per l'ecc.mo sig.r Principe di Stigliano | In occasione de suoi sponsali | Musica | Del sig.r Cav.re Aless.dro Scarlatti | 1723 *Ove smarrita e sola*	12/8 12/8 C C C3/8 ¢	Allo. [‘prelude’] Allo. Allo. Allo. Moderato Allo.	F Major F Major F Major B♭ Major A Minor B♭ Major	E5–D6 F5–D6 C5–D6 D5–E6 D5–D6 B♭4–D6	–
Sca.SER.03	Serenata à 3. Voci | Due Canti, et Alto | con più Istromenti | Filli, Clori, e Tirsi | Musica | Del Sig. Cavaliere Alessandro Scarlatti *Dalle fiorite arene*	C3/8 C 3/8 C	Andante moderato Andante Lento [ ]	F Major G Major F♯ Minor F Major	B♭4–D6 D5–D6 F♯5–D6 A4–D6	passages with repeated A♯5–B5.
Sca.SIN.01	- [first page:] Cominciate al Po Giugno 1715 | Sinfonia Prima, di Concerto Grosso, con due Flauti | D’Alessandro Scarlatti	C 3/4 ¢ C 2/4	All:o Adagio All:o Adagio All:o	F Major	G4–E6	–

[438] Vl1: Largo.

Sca.SIN.02	- [Sinfonia Seconda]	C 3/4 ¢ C3/4 ¢	Spiritoso Adagio All:o Adagio Presto.	D Major	A4–D6	–
Sca.SIN.03	- [Sinfonia] 3	C C3/4 ¢ C C	Vivace Adagio And.e Adagio. All:o	D Minor	C5–D6	–
Sca.SIN.04	- [Sinfonia] Quarta	C ¢ C3/4 C12/8	Vivace/Adago. All:o Adagio All:o	E Minor	G4–D6	–
Sca.SIN.05	- [Sinfonia] Quinta	C C3/4 C C C3/8	Spiritoso, e Staccato Adagio. All:o Adagio. All:o assai.	D Minor	C5–E6	–
Sca.SIN.06	- [Sinfonia] Sesta	C C ¢ C3/4 C3/8	Vivace Adagio All:o Adagio All:o	A Minor	A4–D6	–
Sca.SIN.07	- [Sinfonia] Settima	C3/4 ¢ C 3/8	Moderato. Moderato Grave All:o	G Minor	C5–D6	–
Sca.SIN.08	- [Sinfonia] Ottava	C3/4 C C C3/4 ¢	Allegriss.o Adagio All:o Adagio. Vivace.	G Major	D5–E6	–
Sca.SIN.09	- [Sinfonia] Nona	C C3/4 ¢ C C C3/8	Vivace Adagio. Moderato Adagio. Allegriss.o Menuet.	G Minor	B♭4–E♭6	–
Sca.SIN.10	- [Sinfonia] Decima	C C ¢ C C3/4	Vivace Adagio. All:o Adagio. Allegriss.o	A Minor	D5–E6	–
Sca.SIN.11	- [Sinfonia] Undecima	C C ¢ C3/4 C3/8	Spiritoso Lento. All:o Adagio. All:o	C Major	C5–D6	–
Sca.SIN.12	- [Sinfonia] Duodecima | La Geniale	C ¢ C C3/8	Adagio. And.e giusto. Adagio. And.e moderato	C Minor	C5–D6	Passages with A♭5 and B♭5.
Sca.SIN.13	[title page parts:] Sinfonia à 3. Flauti | Del Sig: Scarlatti [untitled score]	C C C3/8	Adagio Allo Minuet	F Major	G4–E6	–

Sca.SON.01	Del S^{r}. Scarlatti | 26. Giug. | 1699	C3/4 C C3/2 C3/8	[ ] [ ] Largo Minuet	F Major	A4–C6	–
Sca.SON.02	Del S^{r}. Scarlatti	C 3/8 C C3/4 C3/2 C3/8 C12/8	[ ] [ ] Allegro Alleg. [ ] [ ] [ ]	G Major	G4–D6	–
Sca.SON.03	Sonata a 3.	C	[ ]	C Major	G4–G5	–
Sca.SON.04	Sonata [sic] con Flauto due Violini e Basso	3/4 C 3/4 3/8	Spiritoso Allegro Grave Allegro	F Major	F4–D6	–
Sca.SON.05	a due Flauti due Violini e Violoncello	C 2/4 3/8	Grave Allegro Minuet	A Major	D5–D6	–
Sca.OPE.01	Cambise | Atto p.° | Del Sig.r Cavalier Aless.° Scarlatti | Opera III. Napoli 1719 [Atto 2º and 3º: 1718]	¢	All°.	G Major	G4–E6	–
Sca.ORA.01	La Giuditta | Oratorio | à Cinque Voci con strumenti | Del Sig^{r} | Alessandro Scarlatti. | Questa fu la miglior Opera di Scarlatti la quale fù regalata dal medẽmo al Cardinal Fieschi	C3/8	Grave e staccato	C Major	A4–A5	–

Robert Valentine (bap. Leicester, 1673 – Rome, 1747)

The English born Valentine moved to Rome at the end of the seventeenth century, and became known as Roberto Valentini, "Monsu Valentine."[439] As shown by the musicologist Giancarlo Rostirolla, Valentine was employed as a composer, violin, flute, oboe and cello player at San Luca and other places from 1704. He also took part in the performances organized by Handel, Caldara and Corelli in 1708–10 in the Ruspoli Palace,[440] and later became a member of the Congregazione di Santa Cecilia, in which he remained until 1747, the year of his death.[441] His connection with Naples appears to have been mediated by one

[439] Giancarlo Rostirolla, "Domenico Scarlatti a Roma (1707–1719) tra impegni artistici nel mondo mecenatizio e presenza nelle istituzioni sacre," in *Domenico Scarlatti: musica e storia*, ed. Dinko Fabris and Paologiovanni Maione (Naples: Turchini, 2010). pp. 151-215.

[440] Martin Medforth, "Valentine, Robert." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed November 2, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[441] New documents on the musician, including the date of death, were published by Cecilia Lopriore, "Robert Valentine: nuovi documenti biografici," *Nuova Rivista Musicale Italiana* XXX (1995). pp. 193-208.

of his patrons, John Fleetwood, to whom Valentine dedicated his Op. 3 in 1710, the year he may have arrived in Naples.[442]

Valentine was a prolific composer of instrumental music, mostly amateur in its level of difficulty, with thirteen opuses published between c. 1708 and 1735[443]. His concerto in B♭ Major (Val.CON.01) is one of two in the collection that do not contain a fugue.[444] As Valentine is also the only 'foreigner' this seems to be a significant distinction between his style and that of the older generation of composers in this collection (e.g. Mancini, Scarlatti), which still permeates the writing of the new Neapolitan generation (e.g. Mele, Barbella).

Table 2.2.15: Recorder works by Valentine

Work number	Title	Time signature	Tempo indication	Key signature	Recorder range	Double holes
Val.CON.01	[Collection title page:] Concerti di Flauto Violini | Violetta, e Basso | Di Diversi Autori - Sonata Seconda. Del Sig^{r} Roberto Valentini	C 3/2 ¢ C 3/8	Allegro Largo Fuga-Allegro Larghetto Allegro	B♭ Major	G4–D6	–

Leonardo Vinci (Strongoli, 1696? – Naples, 1730)

Born in Calabria, Vinci entered the Conservatorio dei Poveri di Gesù Cristo in 1708 as a *convittore*,[445] studying composition with Gaetano Greco. By 1711 he had become an assistant teacher and was therefore no longer paying fees. After concluding his studies in 1718, Vinci briefly served as *maestro di cappella* to Prince Sansevero,[446] where his "principal task was the musical education of the prince's young nephew and heir."[447]

The following year saw the premiere of Vinci's first *commedia per musica*,[448] at the Teatro dei Fiorentini. The work received enthusiastic reviews and secured his position as

[442] Sally Drage, "Valentine family (per. c.1685–1845)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, accessed November 2, 2014, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/69649. His Op. 3 was published in Rome; Valentine did not publish any works in Naples.

[443] Please refer to the Introduction.

[444] The other concerto in this collection without a fugal movement is the Anonymous Sonata [sic] Quarta (Ano.CON.01).

[445] Paying student. Kurt Markstrom, "Vinci, Leonardo." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed November 21, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[446] Ibid.

[447] Daniel Heartz, *Music in European Capitals, The Galant Style, 1720–1780* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2003). p. 79.

[448] Comic opera in the Neapolitan language.

"virtual house composer at the Fiorentini" for the next three years.[449] In 1722 his first *dramma per musica* was performed at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo in 1722 and its great success made Vinci turn his attention to the *dramma per musica*, eventually securing him a stronger foothold outside of Naples. His first foreign commission came in 1724 for the Teatro delle Dame in Rome (where he would later be an impresario). Burney wrote that "so great was the success of this drama, that [Vinci] was called upon to furnish at least one opera every year till 1730, when he composed two."[450] Soon after Vinci had operas staged at the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo in Venice and in Parma, his success reaching a peak in 1725–26. Markstrom quotes De Brosses, saying that the Italians did not "want to see again any piece … that they have already seen another year, unless it is some excellent opera by Vinci."[451]

In the chain of events following the death of Scarlatti, in 1725, Vinci became pro-*vicemaestro* at the Royal Chapel, following in the footsteps of Domenico Sarro, to whom he appears to have been linked in his activities in Naples.[452] In 1728 Vinci taught at his former conservatoire where Pergolesi was among his pupils.

Two traverso sonatas by Vinci had been published by Walsh in London in around 1746, in a collection of *Twelve Solos for a German Flute or Violin…*[453] but his three instrumental works for recorder were published for the first time only in 2011.

Table 2.2.16: Recorder works by Vinci

Work number	Title	Time signature	Tempo indication	Key signature	Recorder range	Double holes
Vin.ARI.01	Alle Dame 1725. Del Sig.r Leonardo Vinci *Quell'usignuolo ch'innamorato*	C	À tempo giusto.	G Major	F♯4–E6	F♯4.
Vin.CON.01	[title page:] Basso | Concerto con V.V. e Flauto e Basso | Del Sig:r Leonardo Vinci	C3/4 C C2	Andante Adagio All:o	A Minor	G4–E6	–
Vin.SON.01	[title page:] Sonata a Flauto solo, e | Basso | Del Sigr Leonardo Vinci	C3/4 ¢ C C3/8	[ ] Presto Grave. Giusto	C Minor	G4–E♭6	Passages with A♭5 and B♭5.

[449] Kurt Markstrom, "Vinci, Leonardo".

[450] Quoted in ibid.

[451] Ibid.

[452] See Dinko Fabris, ""Adesso se ne conosce il merito, e vivente si lacerava". La fama europea di Leonardo Vinci," in *D'une scène à l'autre. L'opèra italien en Europe*, ed. Damien Colas and Alessandro Di Profio, vol. 1 (Les pérégrinations d'un genre) (Wavre: Mardaga, 2009). pp. 85-117.

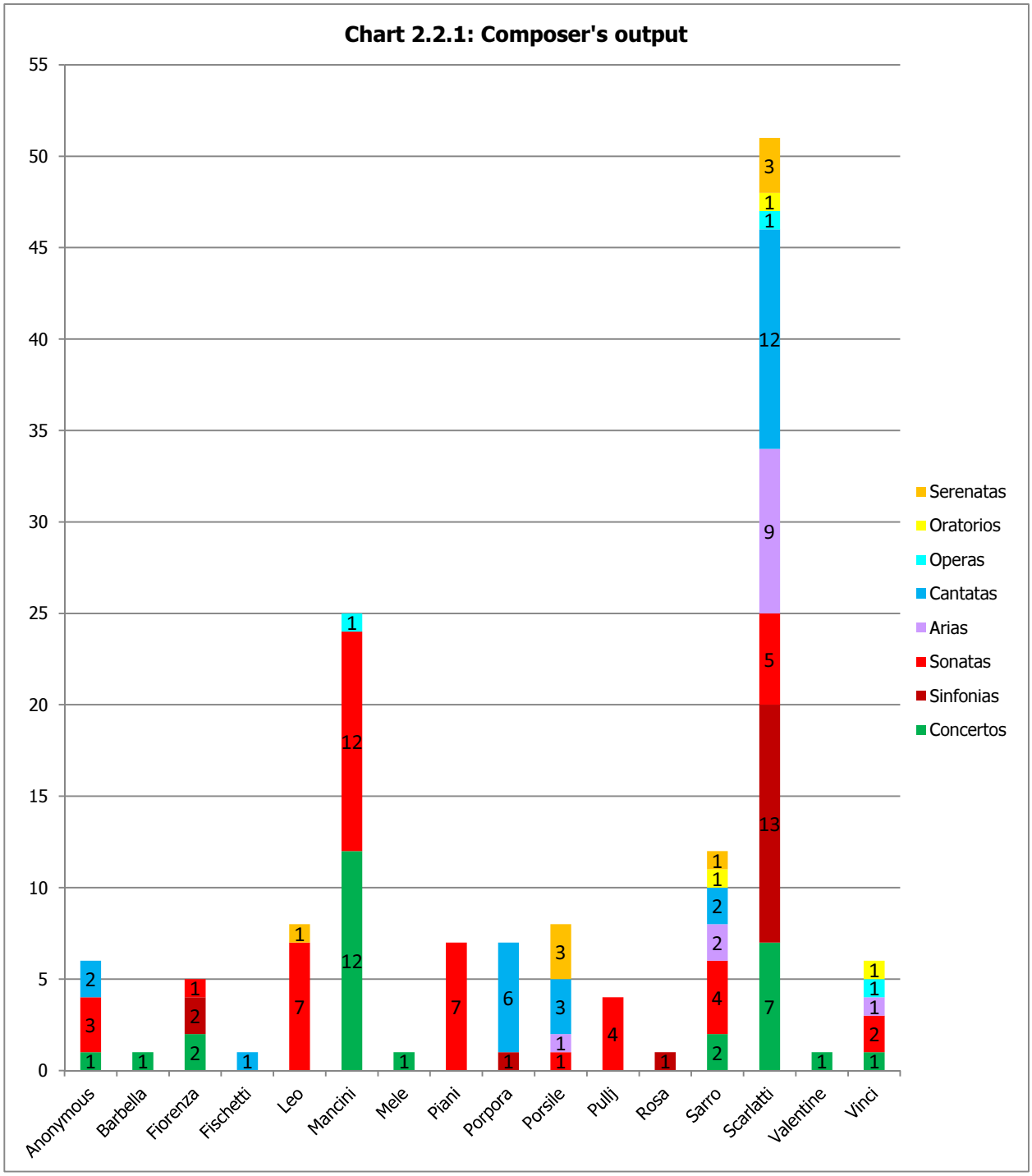
[453] Kurt Sven Markstrom, *The Operas of Leonardo Vinci, Napoletano*, vol. 2, Opera Series (Hillsdale, New York: Pendragon Press, 2007). p. 116.

Vin.SON.02	[title page:] Sonata à Flauto solo, e | Basso | Del Sig^{r} Leonardo Vinci	C C 3/4 C3/8 3/4	Arioso All:^{o} Largo Allegro Minuè	A Minor	A4–D6	–
Vin.OPE.01	Eraclea, drama [sic] per musica di Silvio Stampiglia tra gli Arcadi Palemone Licurio, poeta di sua maestà cesarea e cattolica, da lui rinovato, da rappresentarsi nel Teatro di S. Bartolomeo nell'autunno del 1724. Dedicato all'eminentissimo [...] Cardinale Michele-Federico D'Althann, vicerè [...][454]	C	[ ]	G Major	G4–D6 [partial range]	–
Vin.ORA.01	Oratorio à Quattro Voci | con Stromenti | Maria Angelo Alba Selim | Musica | Del Sig^{r}. Leonardo Vinci *Apre l'Alba con pompe odorose*	C 12/8	A' tempo Tempo Lento	C Major F Major	A4–E6 F4–E♭6	–

Chart 2.2.1 summarizes the output for recorder of each of the composers included in this chapter: 6 Anonymous works, 1 by Barbella, 5 by Fiorenza, 1 by Fischetti, 8 by Leo, 25 by Mancini, 1 by Mele, 7 each by Piani[455] and Porpora, 8 by Porsile, 4 by Pullj, 1 by Rosa, 12 by Sarro, 51 by Scarlatti, 1 by Valentine and 6 by Vinci.

[454] It was not possible to examine the work in its entirety, the reference included here stemming from ibid. p. 94, and from correspondence with Markstrom. Kurt Sven Markstrom, private communication.

[455] As mentioned above, Piani admittedly wrote originally for the violin. Still, the fact that he was trained in Naples and that in his Paris publication he does mention the possibility of using a recorder entitle the six works to be included here.


Chart 2.2.1: Composer's output
55
50
45
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
Anonymous
Barbella
Fiorenza
Fischetti
Leo
Mancini
Mele
Piani
Porpora
Porsile
Pulj
Rosa
Sarro
Scarlatti
Valentine
Vinci
Serenatas
Oratorios
Operas
Cantatas
Arias
Sonatas
Sinfonias
Concertos

2.3 A brief discussion of key instrumental works

While analysis of every work which was inventoried is outside the aims of this study, it is important to describe the more prominent features of the repertoire, and particularly the instrumental part of it. In this section I discuss a few representative works of various collections or sets, such as the twenty-four concerti of Naples, the Harrach Collection of New York, the twelve printed sonatas by Mancini, the manuscript sonatas of Naples dated 1759 (including the one by Mancini that I newly discovered as a slightly different version of one of his printed sonatas), and the three Vinci works of Chapel Hill.[456] A thorough study of all the works in the repertoire remains a welcome project for future that would undoubtedly benefit players and musicologists alike.

The twenty-four concerti of Naples

While the seven works by Scarlatti have been included in a few smaller studies since the 1960s and 1970s,[457] the other seventeen works in the collection of twenty-four concerti of Naples have not enjoyed such academic attention.[458]



Figure 2.3.1. Title page I-Nc/ MS 34–39 (38.3.13), "Flauto" part

[456] As mentioned before, matters more closely related to performance will be discussed in Chapter 4.

[457] E.g. Luciano Bettarini, "Appunti critici sulle 'Sette sonate' per flauto e archi di Alessandro Scarlatti," *Chigiana* 25 no. 5 (nuova serie) (1968). Edwin H. Alton (trans. Anna Cardosi), "La musica per flauto dolce di Alessandro Scarlatti," *Il flauto dolce* 4, no. July–December (1973). In their description, Alton and Cardosi mention a manuscript score with a different title page to the sonatas/concerti of Naples, exclusively with the works by Scarlatti ("Partitura delle / Sette Sonate / Per Flauto Violino Viola e Basso / Alessandro Scarlatti / 1725"), which is unknown to the present author. Their article further describes five of Scarlatti's instrumental works.

[458] On the other hand, recordings are abundant.

As can be verified in Appendix 2, three works in the collection have *violetta* parts – Man.CON.05 and 07, and Sar.CON.01 – all others are scored for recorder, two violins, cello and bass. The concertos are in either four or five movements, almost all including a fugal second or third movement. In most of the works, the recorder part is not a particularly soloistic one, mainly being treated as in a chamber concerto. The collective range of the recorder part fills two octaves: F4–F6.
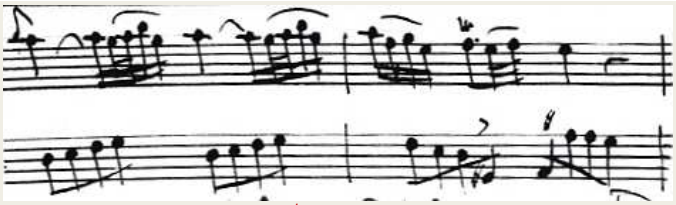
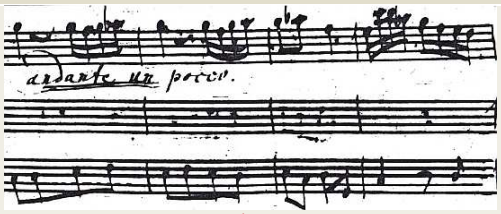
Key recorder works in the US-NYp Harrach collection

The important collection of the Austrian family Harrach was split after World War II and dispersed throughout the world, with the largest bundles now in Rohrau and New York. In the thirty-two volumes held by The New York Public Library are fifteen recorder works from Naples, which had been unknown until 2010. The works described here belonged to the private collection of the Austrian diplomat Aloys Thomas Raimund, Count Harrach, who served as viceroy in Naples from 1728 to 1733.[459]

❖ *Anonymous*

The two anonymous sonatas in the collection are in different volumes. Ano.SON.02 is in volume 31 and follows Sar.CON.02: could the sonata also be by Sarro? The thematic material found in the first movement of Ano.SON.02 is strikingly similar to that of the first aria of Pos.CAN.02 (see Table 2.3.1):[460] could it then be (inspired) by Porsile? This thematic similarity is too little upon which to draw any conclusions, but along with the positioning of the two works below, a relation might be suggested.

Table 2.3.1. Comparison of Ano.SON.02 and Pos.CAN.02

Ano.SON.02	Pos.CAN.02
	
Figure 2.3.2. 1st movement, from bar 1	*Figure 2.3.3. 1st aria, from bar 1*

[459] Fabris suggests that Harrach was a recorder player himself but unfortunately, although highly plausible, this still needs to be substantiated by information other than his large collection of music for recorder. Dinko Fabris, "Fantasie di Viaggio: Il Flauto a Napoli verso il 1725 (Liner notes CD: Una Follia di Napoli)."

[460] For space saving reasons, the bars in the examples are not always at the beginning of a line, and this means that clefs have not been included. Unless otherwise indicated, it should be assumed that the top stave is always written in G clef on the second line, and the bottom stave is in F clef on the fourth line.

Ano.SON.03 is found in volume 17, together with the sonatas by Fiorenza, Leo, Porsile and Sarro. Unlike the Anonymous C Major sonata also found in the collection, which particularly recalls works by Giovanni Battista Sammartini, Ano.SON.03 displays a few Neapolitan traits, exemplified in Table 2.3.2:

- first movement, end of bar 4 to bar 5: sudden modulation from A♭ Major to B♭ Minor with the melodic ascendant minor 2nd from the 5th degree (G♭ in the recorder part);
- first movement, bar 6: diminished 7th over leading tone reached by expanding in contrary motion (E + D♭);
- first movement, bar 7 (3rd and 4th beats): insisting Neapolitan 6th;
- second movement, bar 1: beginning theme as a fugal statement;
- second movement, bar 25: diminished 7th over leading tone reached by expanding contrary motion (E + D♭).

Table 2.3.2. Examples from Ano.SON.03

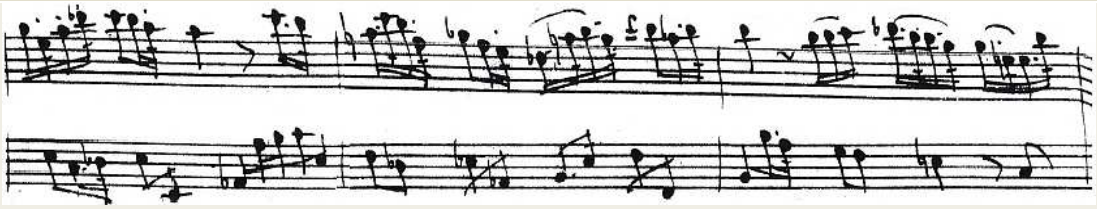


Figure 2.3.4. 1st movement, bars 4–6

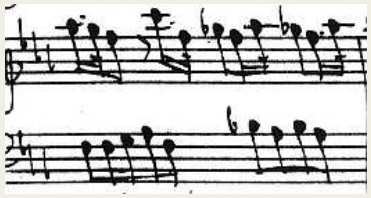


Figure 2.3.5. 1st movement, bar 7
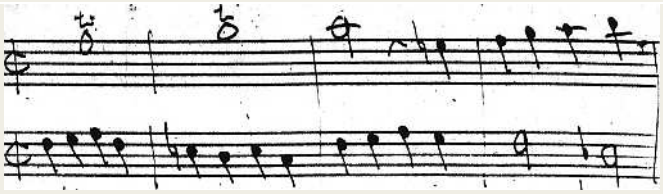


Figure 2.3.6. 2nd movement, bars 1–4
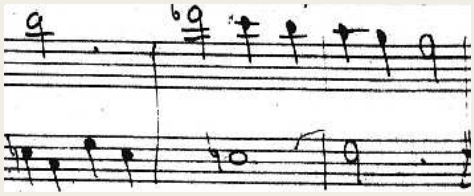


Figure 2.3.7. 2nd movement, bars 24–26

❖ *Fiorenza*

It is unexpected to find such virtuosic writing as in Fio.SON.01 in a collection that is otherwise comparable to other amateur collections of the time (such as the manuscript collection of Paolo Antonio Parensi). The range of Fiorenza's A Minor sonata, as well as the collective range of his other works with recorder, also fills two octaves, from F4 to F6, and this is equally foreign to amateur circles.

This sonata is comparable to other more technically demanding works in the same collection, such as the recorder concerto in C Major by Matthäus Nikolaus Stulick and the concerto in F Major by Johann Friedrich Fasch, which, in the technical level they demand from the recorder (for example, in arpeggiated fast passages), can be compared to concertos by Antonio Vivaldi. It remains unclear whether these more demanding works in the Harrach collection were meant to be played by the Count himself or by players in his employment or patronage.

❖ *Leo*

The seven sonatas by Leo are not especially striking when viewed within the myriad of Baroque recorder sonatas by Italian composers. They are of interest because their existence, in this collection in particular, substantiates the importance of the recorder in aristocratic circles in Naples, and confirms the involvement of thriving opera composers in the creation of this humble, chamber repertoire. In general terms, Leo's writing is formally more free than that of some other composers in this study, such as Mancini for example, and many of his faster movements seem to lack a motivic development that would give the pieces a more defined character. Repetition of single or groups of two bars are frequent, a trait also observed in the sonatas by Vinci.

Some of his sonatas, such as Leo.SON.07, catch the ear with their longer ornamented passages (reproduced further below in Table 2.3.9, Figure 2.3.109), something not usually seen in this repertoire, which is more commonly filled by appoggiaturas and trills. With ornamented passages in the first movement, a range that reaches F6 in the second movement, and interesting melodic twists in the third, it seems to be the most daring piece of the group. The ornaments found in Leo's sonatas are not always the most inventive, usually relying on sequences; the exception is the sonata in G Minor, Leo.SON.02, with its fluently melodious first movement. The two works in D Minor present more demanding technical passages than Leo's other sonatas. The tarantella-inspired final movements of Leo.SON.02 and 03 are also a feature found elsewhere in this repertoire.
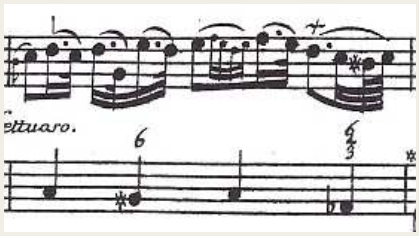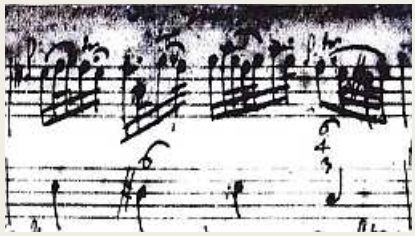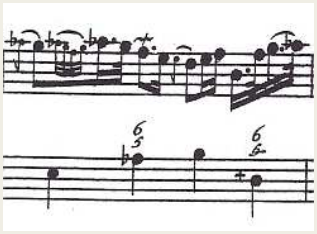
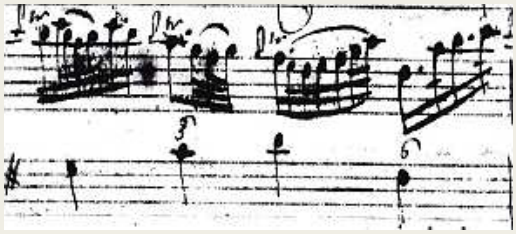
❖ *Piani*

Piani's manuscript sonata is the only composition by a Neapolitan composer in the Harrach collection that is clearly the work of a different copyist. This is easily explained by the fact that Piani had been in Vienna for seven years when Harrach was assigned his post in Naples. This sonata was most probably copied in Vienna, therefore, while the other works were likely brought back from Naples by Harrach upon his return.

Pia.SON.07 is in essence the same as the printed *Sonata VII.ª* (Pia.SON.04), without the third movement (Larghetto), and transposed from C Minor into E Minor, an unusual transposition of a major third upwards.[461] The more common transposition of flute music a minor third upwards for the recorder[462] would have resulted in the even more uncomfortable key of G♭ Minor.

Small discrepancies in ornamentation, articulation and the bass line can be verified in a few selected examples presented below:

Table 2.3.3. Comparisons of Pia.SON.04 (C Minor) and Pia.SON.07 (E Minor)

Paris print (Pia.SON.04)	New York MS (Pia.SON.07)
Preludio. | Adagio, et affettuoso.	**Adagio, ed Affettuoso Sostenuto**
	
Figure 2.3.8. bar 2	*Figure 2.3.12. bar 2*
	
Figure 2.3.9. bar 3	*Figure 2.3.13. bar 3*

[461] The present author finds these disparities enough to catalogue it as a different sonata.

[462] This transposition is suggested, for example, by Hotteterre, in the *Avertissement* of the first set of his suites. Jacques Hotteterre, "Premier Livre de Pieces Pour la Flûte-traversiere, et autres Instruments." Hotteterre himself also uses transpositions of a major third, however. Jacques Hotteterre, *L'Art de Preluder sur la flûte traversière, sur la flûte-abec, sur le haubois, et autres instruments de deßus*, vol. Op. 7 (Paris: Hotteterre & Boivin; also Hotteterre & Foucault, 1719). Peter Van Heyghen, private communication.
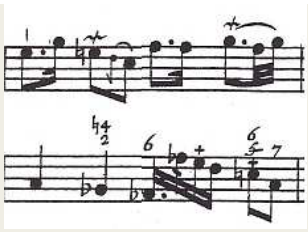


Figure 2.3.10. bar 8

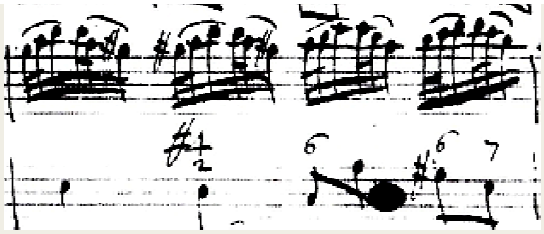


Figure 2.3.14. bar 8
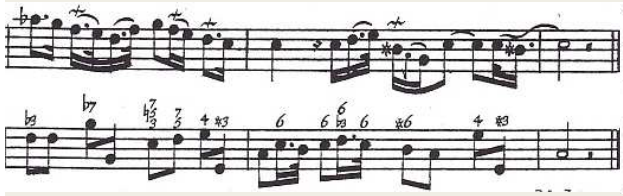


Figure 2.3.11. from bar 9

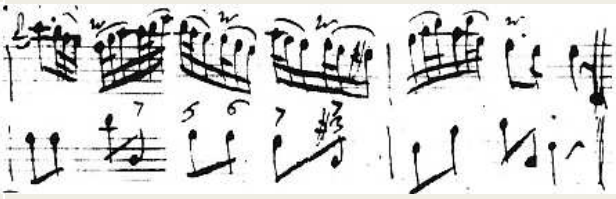


Figure 2.3.15. from bar 9

Allegro. [3/4]

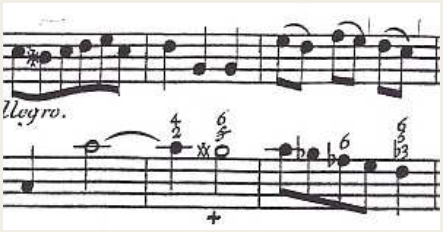


Figure 2.3.16. from bar 1

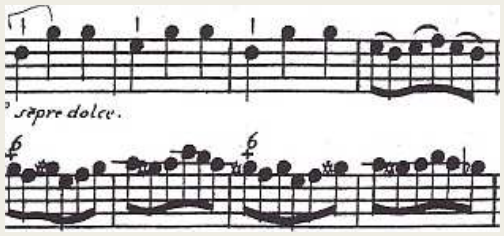


Figure 2.3.17. from bar 51
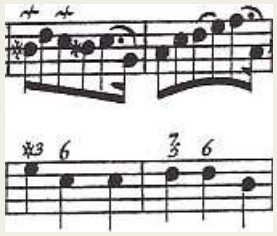


Figure 2.3.18. from bar 74
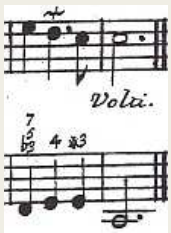


Figure 2.3.19. from bar 91

Larghetto.

Fuga | Allegro assai [3/8]
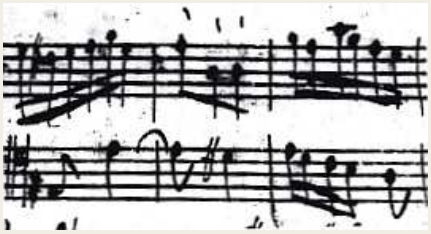


Figure 2.3.20. from bar 1
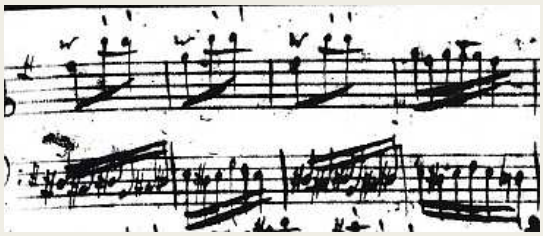


Figure 2.3.21. from bar 51



Figure 2.3.22. from bar 74
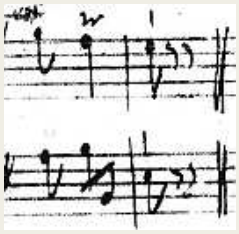


Figure 2.3.23. from bar 91

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Allegro, é [sic] Spiccato.
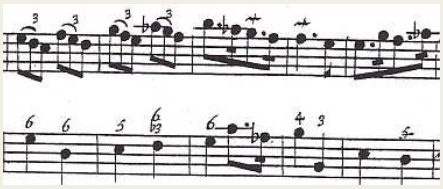


Figure 2.3.24. from bar 14

Allegro e spiccato
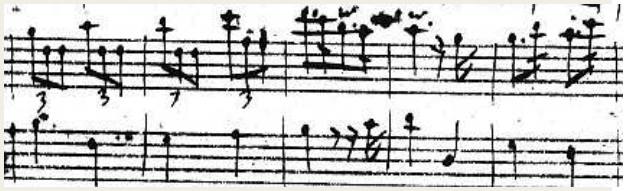


Figure 2.3.25. from bar 14

❖ ***Sarro***

Sarro is represented in the Harrach collection by two charming works: Sar.SON.04 and Sar.CON.02. The sonata in F Major is more charismatic than his other three recorder sonatas in the collection of Parma, Sar.SON.01–03. Like those of Parma, the 'Harrach' sonata ends with a dance movement, something that happens in this repertoire only in works by Scarlatti.

In contrast, the concerto in D Minor (Sar.CON.02) is less elaborate than his A Minor work extant in Naples (Sar.CON.01). Sar.CON.02 has a much more open, transparent texture, with violins often in unison and no viola part. Both concertos have very melancholic opening movements in common, Sar.CON.01 showing a more sophisticated thematic development, with longer phrases. The second movement of Sar.CON.02 is in the style of a *recitativo accompagnato* and gives way to a contrasting last movement in which the ensemble is often in unison, with a catchy theme.

The recorder sinfonias and concertos by Fiorenza

Fiorenza's writing has a very personal character: long appoggiaturas create a sense of mourning in the usually very dramatic first movements. His writing for the recorder, although it does not always lie completely comfortably under the fingers in some of the faster movements, brings out a cantabile quality that is particularly flattering for the instrument.

The recorder is treated as a soloist in his sinfonias and concertos, albeit in a modest, *concerto grosso* fashion. The work that displays the most brilliance in the recorder part is the concerto in F Minor (Fio.CON.02) dated 1728, in which the recorder has a kind of solo 'wandering recitation' in the beginning of the first movement, as seen in Figure 2.3.26.

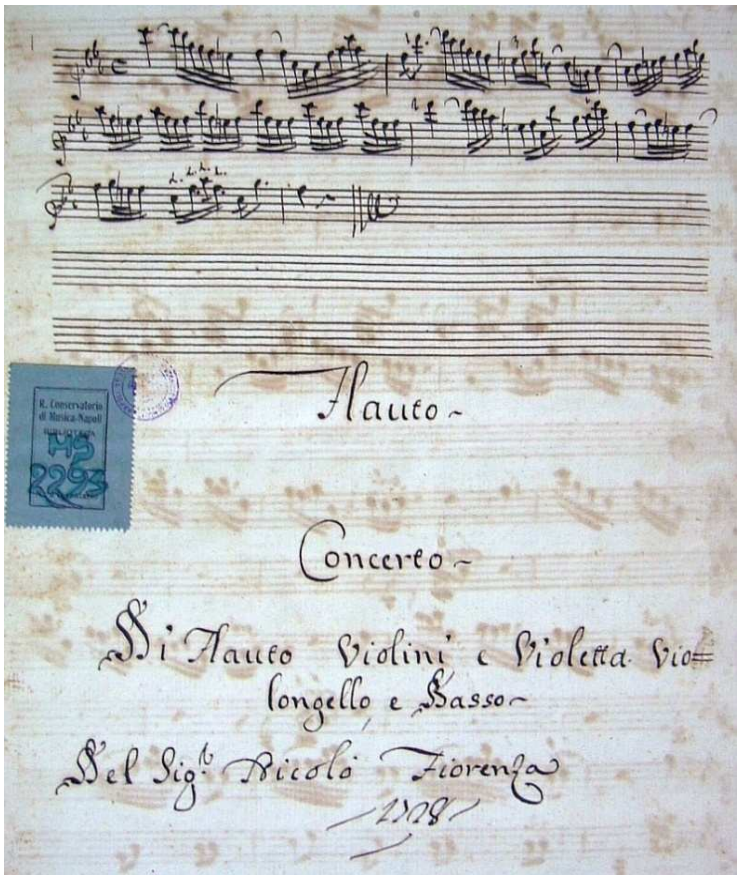


Figure 2.3.26. Title page I-Nc/ MS 2293-2297, "Flauto" part

The manuscript of Fio.CON.02 is extant in parts for recorder, two violins, viola and violoncello. In the first movement, all the parts are written in two staves: the first one for the recorder and the second one for the instrument in question (first violin, second violin, viola etc.). In the recorder part, the double stave system remains for the rest of the concerto and, curiously, the part written in the second stave does not match any of the other parts. It is clear that the bass must accompany something when it plays the introduction and the following interludes; one thus concludes that there is a violin part missing from the manuscript. Fio.CON.02 is therefore for three violins, missing an *obbligato* part.[463]

[463] This *Violino Obbligato* part has been "reconstructed" in an edition of 2007; most of what is added is Fiorenza's own writing. As in his other works, material was copied from the second violin – in other pieces called third – and only here and there from the first violin part – otherwise called second, keeping real additions to a minimum. Nicolò Fiorenza, "Concerto Di Flauto Violini e Violetta Violongello e Basso, 1728," ed. Inês d'Avena (The Hague: Master's Research Edition Royal Conservatoire, 2007). Girolamo Musikverlag also has an edited reconstruction, Ed. Nr. G 12.026, Celle, 2011. It is worth mentioning that Gasperini and Gallo list this work as "Concerto a 3 Violini e Basso," omitting the "flauto" part, and implying that all three violin parts were still extant, in 1934. Is it possible the part was lost (or misplaced) only recently? Guido Gasperini, Franca Gallo, *Catalogo delle opere musicali del Conservatorio di Musica San Pietro a Majella di Napoli*. p. 590.

The use of three violins is not exclusive to Fio.CON.02 but is found in most of his recorder works with violin, including Fio.SIN.01–02. About this phenomenon, Olivieri writes:[464]

> Una significativa presenza di sonate per questo tipo di organico è verificabile proprio in area napoletana nei primi decenni del XVIII secolo, in alcune composizioni di musicisti perlopiù legati al violinista romano [Cailò] (Avitrano, F. Barbella, Fiorenza, Ragazzi), che ripropongono lo stesso organico.
> È evidente che le ragioni che determinano una scelta così inusuale consistono nelle maggiori possibilità che questa forma offre nei confronti di una più elaborata scrittura contrappuntistica.

The aim for contrapuntal richness may indeed be the reason for the use of three violins in Fiorenza's works for strings only,[465] but this does not seem to be the case in his recorder works, in which the third violin usually doubles the first or fills the harmony in *tutti* passages.

Mancini's prints and manuscript sonata

With expertly composed fugues in all of the second movements (or in the case of sonatas V, VII and XII, third movements), Mancini's *XII Solos* are some of the most interesting works in the entire recorder repertoire of the Baroque period. The restriction of range in the recorder part to F4–D6 (on which more will be explored below) has always felt artificial though, especially in light of the other works in the repertoire, which make use of a larger upper range.
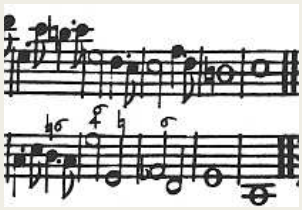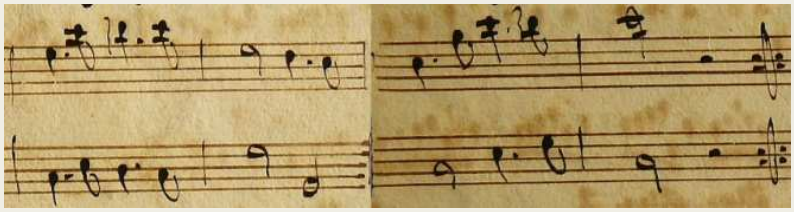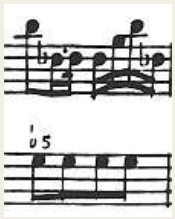
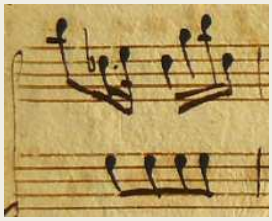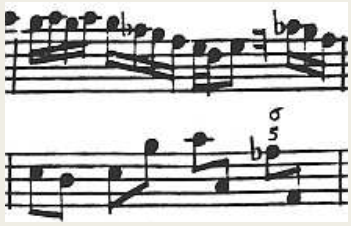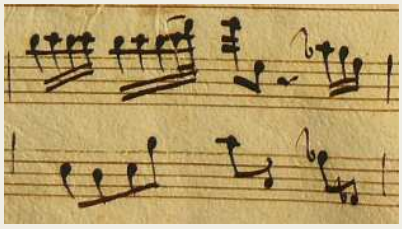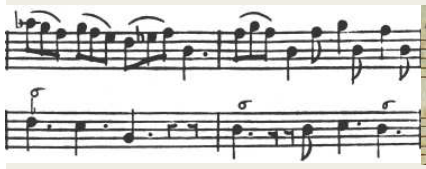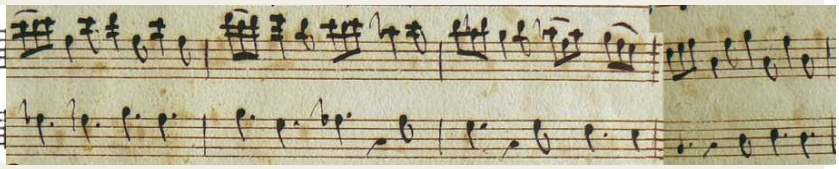
New light is shed on Mancini's use of a restricted range by the existence of a manuscript of one of his twelve sonatas in a version slightly different from the London print, at the library of San Pietro a Majella (Man.SON.03b). The manuscript is dated 1759, and has apparently not been noticed until now. Although the work is not ascribed to Mancini in the anonymous manuscript, it is actually *Sonata III* of the London print. Though the variants between the print and manuscript versions are few – indeed mostly matters of diminution – they are telling, for the manuscript version has a wider range than the London print.

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[464] Translation by the present author: "A significant number of sonatas for this type of instrumentation is verifiable precisely in the Neapolitan area in the early decades of the eighteenth century, in some compositions of musicians usually related to the Roman violinist [Cailò] (Avitrano, F. Barbella, Fiorenza, Ragazzi), which reproduce the same instrumentation. It is apparent that the reasons that determine such an unusual choice rely on this form offering more possibilities for more elaborate contrapuntal writing." Guido Olivieri, "Per una storia della tradizione violinistica napoletana del '700." pp. 242-243. Indeed a "Concertino a 4 del sig. Fran.co Barbella per 3 Violini e Basso" dated 1716 is listed by Gasperini and Gallo in Naples. Guido Gasperini, Franca Gallo, *Catalogo delle opere musicali del Conservatorio di Musica San Pietro a Majella di Napoli*. p. 558.

[465] E.g. I-Nc, M.S. 2218-2221; M.S. 2227-2230; M.S. 2205-2209.

Table 2.3.4. Comparisons of the two versions of Man.SON.03

London print (Man.SON.03a)	Naples MS (Man.SON.03b)
Largo Affettuoso	**Largo**
	
Figure 2.3.27. from bar 58	*Figure 2.3.28. from bar 58*
Allegro	**Andante**
[no differences in the music]	[no differences in the music]
Largo	**Largo**
	
Figure 2.3.29. from bar 12	*Figure 2.3.30. from bar 12*
	
Figure 2.3.31. from bar 16	*Figure 2.3.32. from bar 16*
Allegro	**All:**
	
Figure 2.3.33. from bar 17	*Figure 2.3.34. from bar 17*

It is worth mentioning that in two instances shown above, in the Largo (Figure 2.3.29–32) and in last Allegro (Figures 2.3.33–34) the differing passages avoid the use of E♭6, perhaps in order to conform to the performance practice by amateurs in London, and to accommodate the range in order to better match the possibilities of contemporary English recorders.[466] In his concertos, Mancini never extrapolates to F6, but E♭6 and E6 are used

[466] A similar observation was made in an article of 1993 (now available online on the website of Tibia, http://www.moeck.com/cms/fileadmin/tibia/alteHefte/1993/1993-2.pdf) which discussed the second movement of *Sonata I*, and footnoted later in *The Recorder*, 3rd edition. Ernst Kubitschek, "Eine Sonatensatz von Francesco Mancini.

commonly. It is therefore possible to postulate that other adaptations have been made in his printed *Solos* in passages where E♭6 and E6 were 'originally' used. Such instances are more clearly detectable in fugal movements, for evident reasons, and though such instances are also found in passages in the bass, it seems that there it happens in order to avoid extremely high bass lines, while the recorder passages would still be inside the 'normal' range. Though only a conjecture, as other manuscript versions of the sonatas have not been found, the selected examples below may be useful in attesting to this theory.

Table 2.3.5. Examples of possible octave change in the printed Sonatas by Mancini

Man.SON.01, 2nd movement

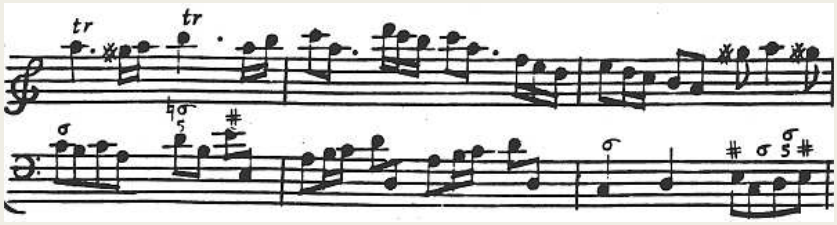


Figure 2.3.35. from bar 15

Man.SON.05, 3rd movement
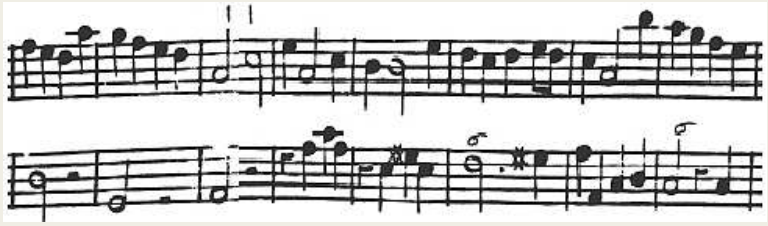


Figure 2.3.36. from bar 32

Man.SON.07, 3rd movement
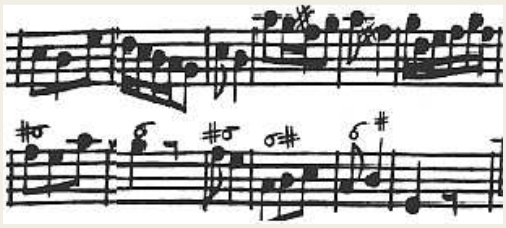


Figure 2.3.37. from bar 36
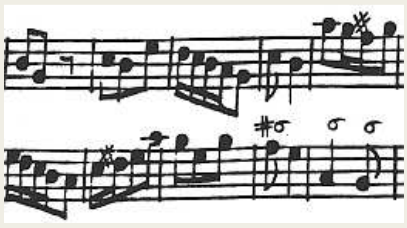


Figure 2.3.38. from bar 139

The manuscript sonatas dated 1759

The fact that Man.SON.03b is another version (with minor differences) of a Mancini sonata printed in 1724 shows that his music was still being copied in 1759. This also establishes

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Gedanken zu seiner Interpretation aus dem Blickwinkel der Komposition," *Tibia* 18, no. 2 (1993). xxix–xxxii. Richard Griscom, David Lasocki, The Recorder, (New York and London: Routledge, 2012). p. 879.

1759 as the manuscript copying date, rather than a composition date, and this applies as well to the other five works (Pul.SON.01–04 and Ano.SON.01), copied by the same hand.

Ano.SON.01, although catalogued under the same shelf mark as Man.SON.03b,[467] does not resemble other sonatas by Mancini. As seen above, all of Mancini's works for recorder contain fugal second (or third) movements, and Ano.SON.01 does not. Instead, the second movement is a *Presto* in which the recorder is in a *perpetuum mobile* of sixteenth and thirty-second notes, above a bass mostly in half notes. The second movement has some very beautiful written ornaments, not unlike the sonatas by Pullj.

Pullj's four manuscript sonatas are filed under a different shelf mark in Naples,[468] and although listed on *Grove Music Online*, appear to have escaped modern players, and musicologists alike. As with Mancini's work, the date of 1759 on the on the title pages of these sonatas, which seems more likely to be a copying than composition date, seems late for recorder works, but the range and writing give no reason to believe these to be meant for any other instrument. The sonatas are probably from before 1740.[469]

All four of Pullj's sonatas are written in three movements in transitional style, following the developments of the time when "the emphasis on counterpoint lessened [and] the texture became increasingly treble-dominated."[470] In the outer movements, Pullj's writing shows imagination and playfulness, through the alternation of varied rhythmical figures, the use of syncopations and quick ornaments that 'dot' the musical staff. His slow middle movements are often contemplative, and employ especially expressive harmonic progressions.[471]

The sonatas and concerto by Vinci

In the prefaces to the 2011 editions of the two sonatas and concerto by Vinci, David Lasocki suggests that they might have been conceived for an alto in G, as F4 is never used.[472] Although this is not impossible, it is rather more plausible that the low F was not used by chance and not because of an instrument's limitation. A great number of the F Major

[467] I-Nc, MS 146 (34.4.5).

[468] See Appendix 2. Surprisingly, these are also available on microfilm at US-BEm/ MUSI; MICROFILM A1589.

[469] As seen before, Pullj most probably left Naples around that time.

[470] Sandra Mangsen, "Sonata." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed November 20, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[471] See, for example, Pul.SON.01, at the end of this chapter.

[472] Leonardo Vinci, "Sonata in A Minor For Alto Recorder and Basso Continuo, *Preface*," ed. David Lasocki (Bloomington: Instant Harmony, 2011).

sonatas seen above do not go as low as F4, and naturally do not offer any reason to be performed with any other instrument than an F alto. Furthermore, a recorder in G would render the keys of the three Vinci works rather more uncomfortable to be played.

Written in the "new style […] characterized by the periodic treatment of melody,"[473] Vin.SON.01 and 02 are similar to those of Leo but display a much more pathos laden, theatrical approach. Music historians praise Vinci's treatment of melody; Burney wrote:[474]

> Vinci seems to have been the first opera composer who […] without degrading his art, rendered it the friend, though not the slave to poetry, by simplifying and polishing melody, and calling the attention of the audience chiefly to the voice-part, by disintangling [sic] it from fugue, complication, and laboured contrivance.

This simplification is observed in his sonatas as well as in Vin.CON.01. This simplified style is very appropriate for his vocal writing, where the text takes priority. In Vin.CON.01 an extreme frugality in the development of the thematic material, and the sometimes unbalanced treatment of *tutti* and solo sections, give a feeling of abruptness at the conclusion of the work. The more interesting movement is indeed the last, a playful piece with quick juxtaposition of motives. But, especially when compared to similar works by Fiorenza and Sarro, Vinci's A Minor concerto lacks depth.

Careful observation of the three manuscripts of the sonatas and concerto in Chapel Hill reveal further interesting facts. The three Vinci works are foliated sequentially: the sonata in A Minor from 27r to 32r, the concerto from 33r to 39v and the sonata in C Minor from 41r to 46r. While the writing on the title pages of both Vinci sonatas is clearly by one hand, the title page of the Vinci concerto seems to have been written by two different hands: "Basso | Concerto con VV e Flauto e Basso" by one quicker hand, and "Del Sig:^{r} Leonardo Vinci" by another more flowery writing. Remarkably, the concerto by Sarro in D Minor in the Harrach collection, which starts with a title page foliated 47r, shows the exact same 'double handwriting' for "Basso | Concerto con VV: e Flauto | e Basso" by a quicker kind of writing, and "Del Sig:^{r} Domenico Sarri" by a more flowery type. I am therefore convinced that the Vinci works originally belonged to the Harrach collection as well, and that the Sarro concerto (Sar.CON.02) directly followed the three Vinci works.[475]

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[473] Kurt Markstrom, "Vinci, Leonardo".

[474] Ibid.

[475] No provenance records have been found for the three works. Philip Vandermeer, Head of the Music Library, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, private communication.

Examples of ornamented passages in the recorder parts of the works studied

The tables below show examples of ornaments that were found in the instrumental works listed in this study. As a general comment on the recorder parts in this repertoire, I observed that the frequency of appoggiaturas is far greater than any other kind of ornament, though it is not always clear if appoggiaturas are written in the place of trills, or to suggest a trill (especially in cadential formulas). The examples below were not selected with the aim of portraying the most commonly found ornaments, nor necessarily aiming at grouping the ornaments in categories, but rather to display the variety of the written ornaments. Therefore, the excerpts are shown arranged per collection, in the order in which they appear.

Table 2.3.6. Examples of ornamented passages in the twenty-four concerti of Naples

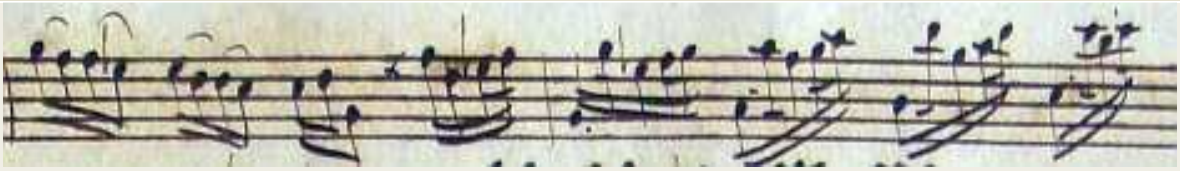


Figure 2.3.39. Val.CON.01, 1st movement, bars 5-6



Figure 2.3.40. Val.CON.01, 1st movement, bar 17



Figure 2.3.41. Val.CON.01, 1st movement, bar 20



Figure2.3.42. Val.CON.01, 1st movement, bar 24
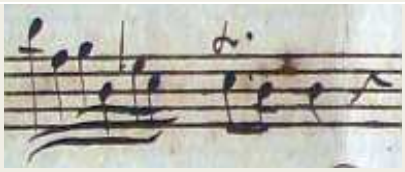


Figure 2.3.43. Val.CON.01, 1st movement, bar 28

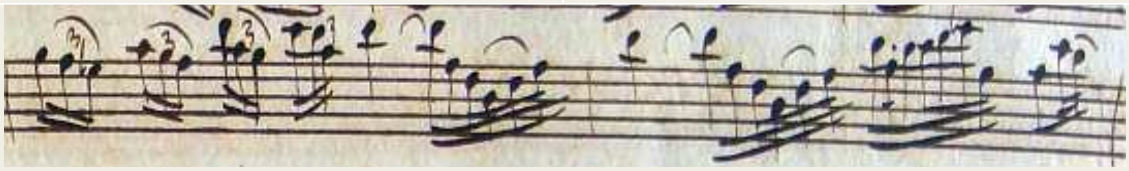


Figure 2.3.44. Val.CON.01, 1st movement, bars 26-27

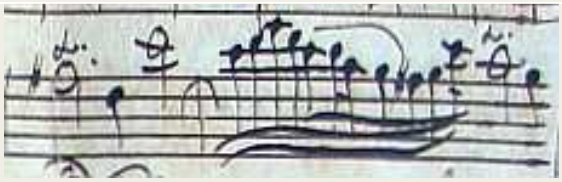


Figure 2.3.45. Val.CON.01, 3rd movement, from bar 22
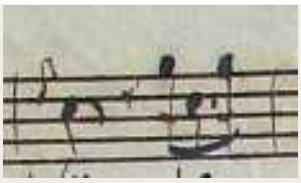


Figure 2.3.46a. Bar.CON.01, 1st movement, bar 11



Figure 2.3.46b. Bar.CON.01, 1st movement, bars 63-64



Figure 2.3.47a. Bar.CON.01, 3rd movement, bars 1-2
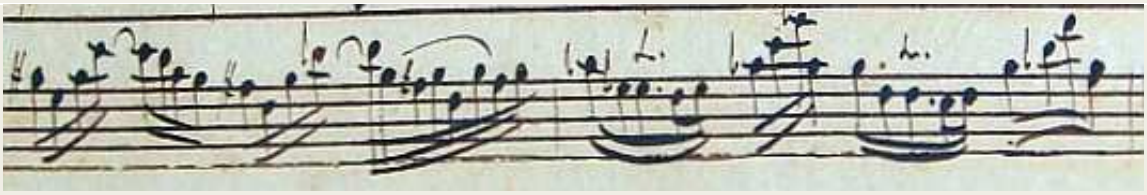


Figure 2.3.47b. Bar.CON.01, 3rd movement, bars 6-7

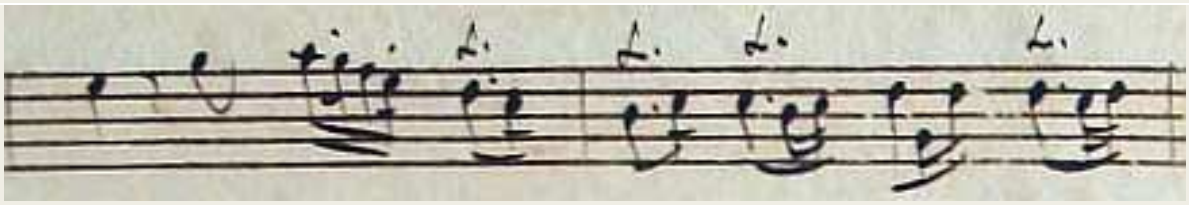


Figure 2.3.48. Ano.CON.01, 1st movement, bars 7-8



Figure 2.3.49. Mel.CON.01, 1st movement, bars 14-17
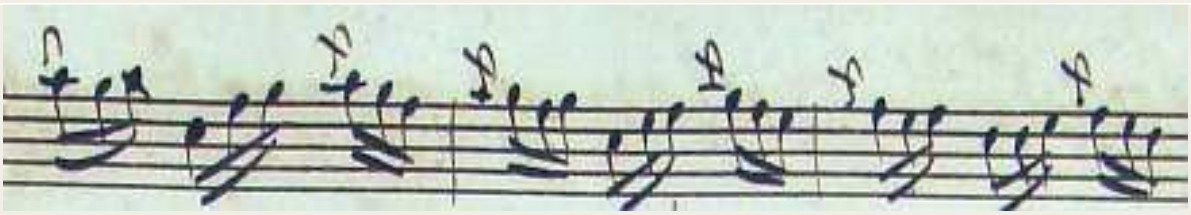


Figure 2.3.50. Mel.CON.01, 3rd movement, bars 20-22



Figure 2.3.51. Man.CON.12, 1st movement, bar 4

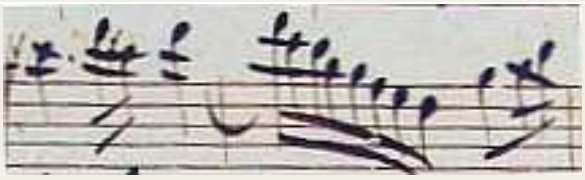


Figure 2.3.52.Sca.CON.07, 3rd movement, from bar 32



Figure 2.3.53. Man.CON.12, 3rd movement, from bar 22

Table 2.3.7. Examples of ornamented passages in the sinfonias and concertos by Fiorenza
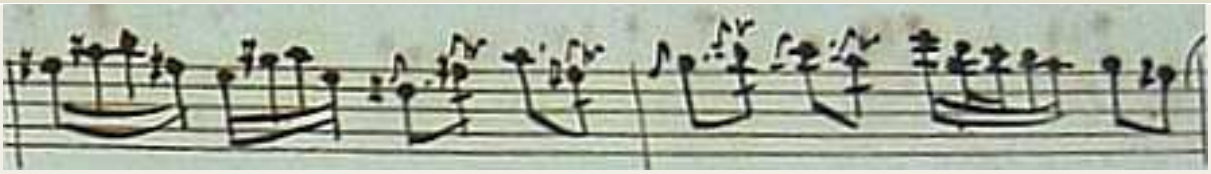


Figure 2.3.54. Fio.CON.01, 1st movement, from bar 10



Figure 2.3.55. Fio.CON.01, 2nd movement, bar 9
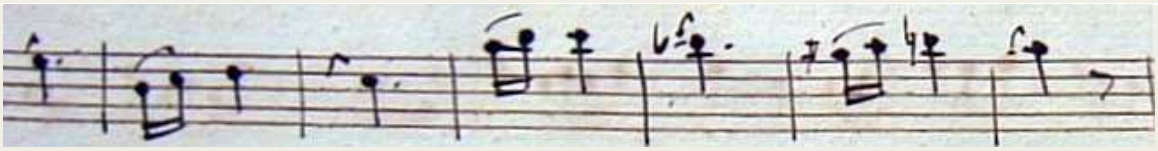


Figure 2.3.56. Fio.CON.01, 4th movement, from bar 79



Figure 2.3.57. Fio.SIN.01, 1st movement, from bar 22
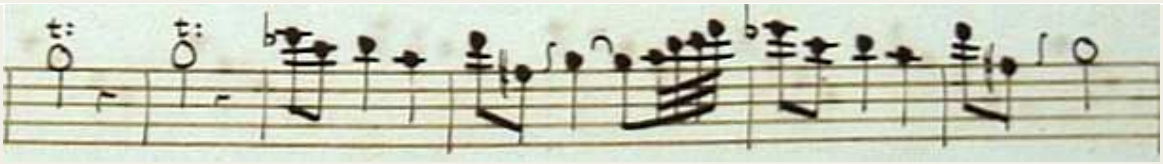


Figure 2.3.58. Fio.SIN.01, 1st movement, from bar 64
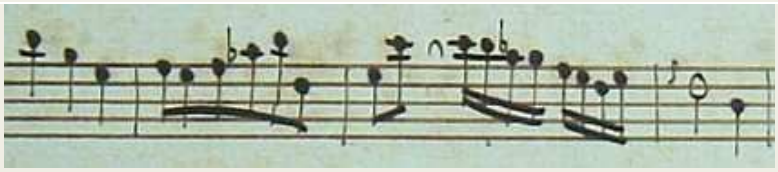


Figure 2.3.59. Fio.SIN.01, 3rd movement, from bar 1
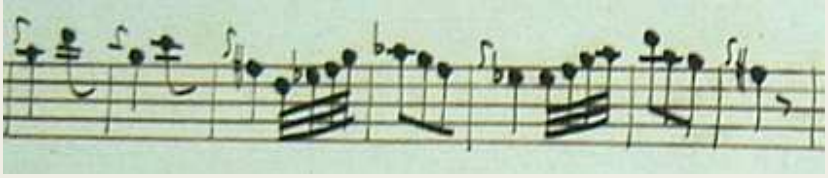


Figure 2.3.60. Fio.SIN.01, 4th movement, from bar 97

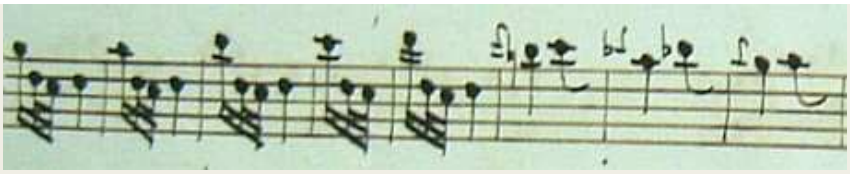


Figure 2.3.61. Fio.SIN.01, 4th movement, bars 204-211



Figure 2.3.62. Fio.CON.02, 2nd movement, from bar 49
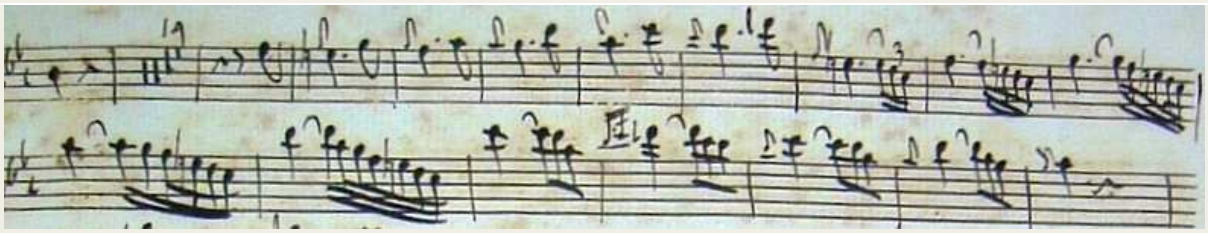


Figure 2.3.63. Fio.CON.02, 4th movement, from bar 90



Figure 2.3.64. Fio.SIN.02, 1st movement, bars 15-19



Figure 2.3.65. Fio.SIN.02, 2nd movement, from bar 60 (3rd beat)
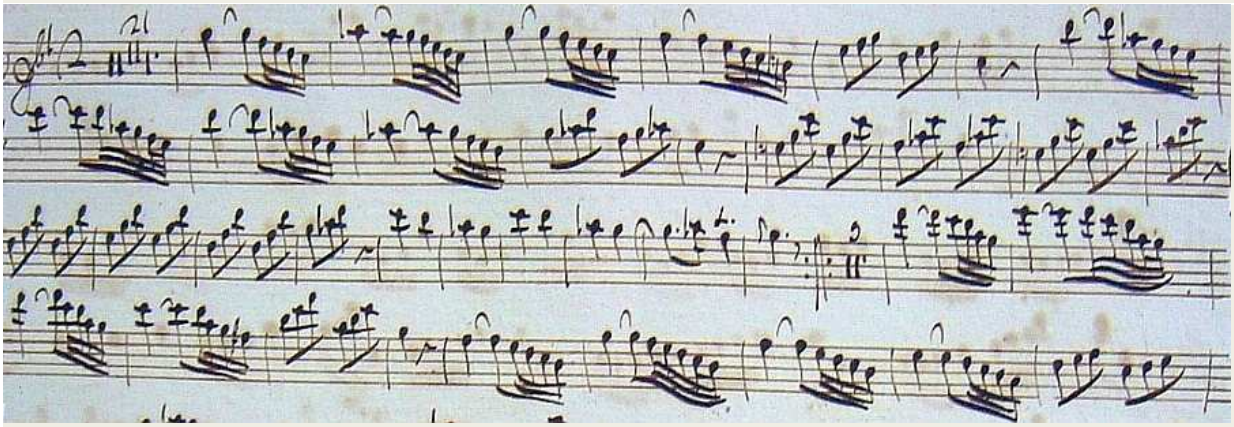


Figure 2.3.66. Fio.SIN.02, 4th movement, from bar 1

Table 2.3.8. Examples of ornamented passages in the sonatas by Mancini
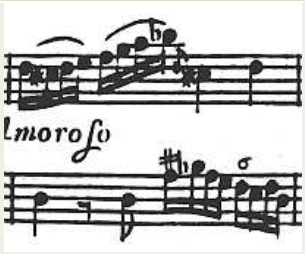


Figure 2.3.67. Man.SON.01, 1st movement, bar 1

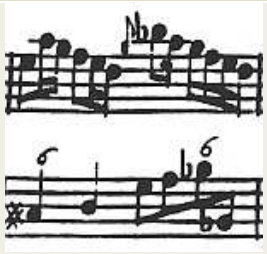


Figure 2.3.68. Man.SON.01, 1st movement, bar 4
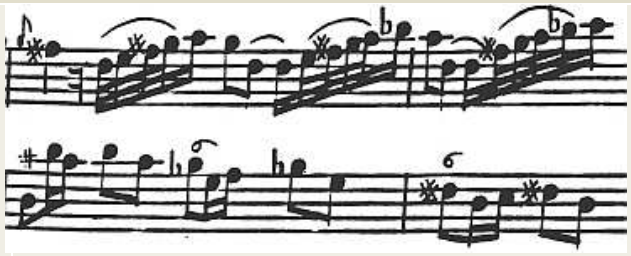


Figure 2.3.69. Man.SON.01, 1st movement, from bar 16

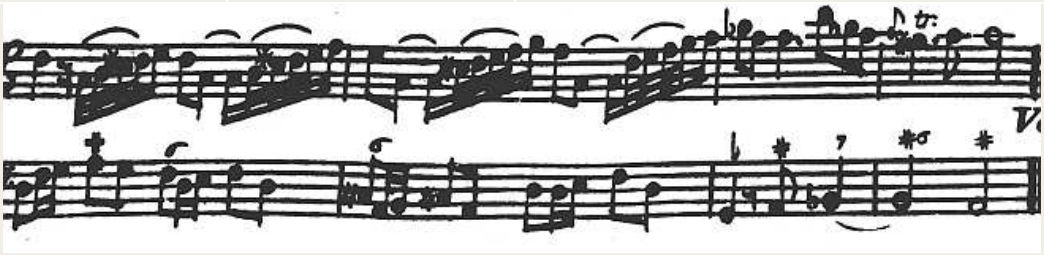


Figure 2.3.70. Son.MAN.01, 1st movement, bars 28-31
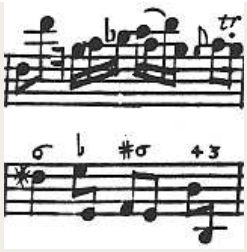


Figure 2.3.71. Son.MAN.01, 1st movement, bar 19
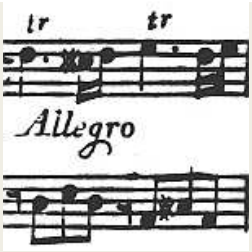


Figure 2.3.72. Man.SON.01, 2nd movement, bar 1

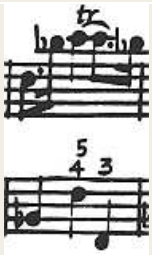


Figure 2.3.73. Son.MAN.01, 3rd movement, bar 11



Figure 2.3.74. Son.MAN.01, 3rd movement, bar 14
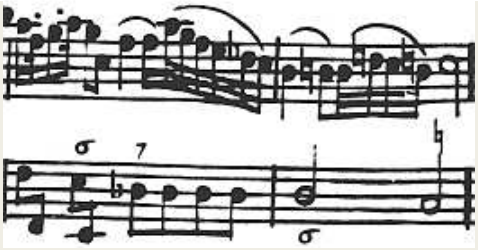


Figure 2.3.75. Son.MAN.09, 3rd movement, from bar 23
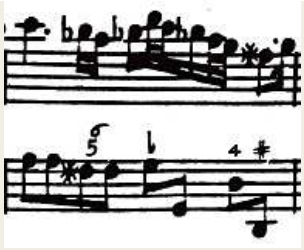


Figure 2.3.76. Son.MAN.02, 3rd movement, bar 7



Figure 2.3.77. Son.MAN.04, 3rd movement, bar 12
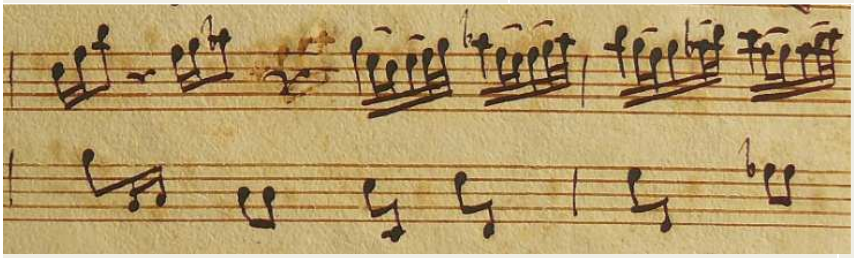


Figure 2.3.78. Son.MAN.03, 3rd movement, from bar 14

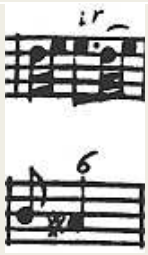


Figure 2.3.79. Son.MAN.01, 4th movement, bar 3
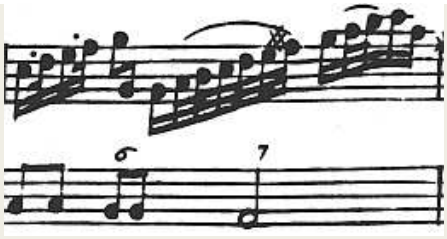


Figure 2.3.80. Son.MAN.07, 1st movement, bar 67
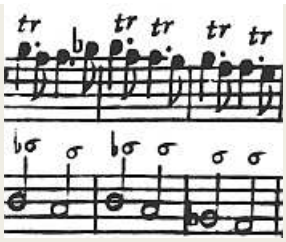


Figure 2.3.81. Son.MAN.07, 3rd movement, from bar 33
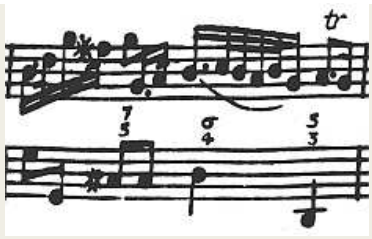


Figure 2.3.82. Son.MAN.08, 1st movement, bar 22
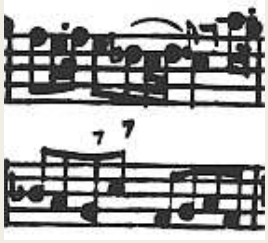


Figure 2.3.83. Son.MAN.09, 3rd movement, bar 2
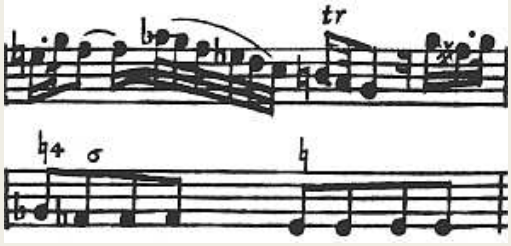


Figure 2.3.84. Son.MAN.07, 1st movement, bar 64

Table 2.3.9. Examples of ornamented passages in the Harrach works
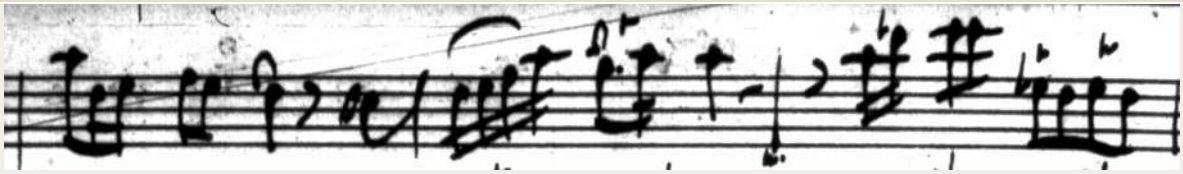


Figure 2.3.85. Sar.CON.02, 1st movement, from bar 9
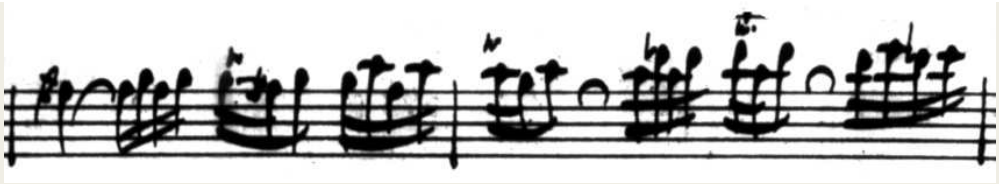


Figure 2.3.86. Sar.CON.02, 1st movement, from bar 13
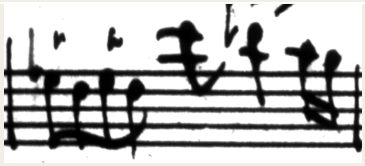


Figure 2.3.87. Sar.CON.02, 1st movement, bar 23
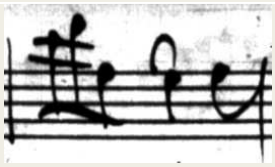


Figure 2.3.88. Sar.CON.02, 3rd movement, from bar 18



Figure 2.3.89. Sar.CON.02, 3rd movement, from bar 61

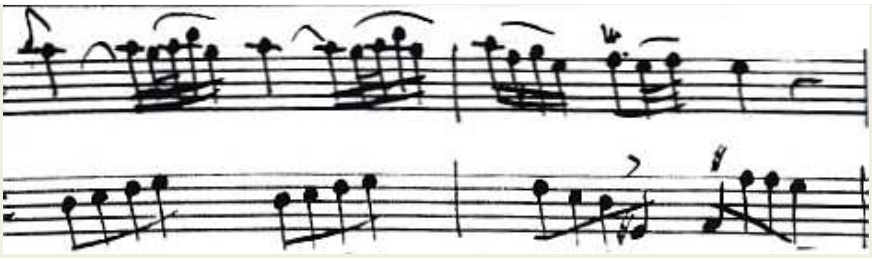


Figure 2.3.90. Ano.SON.02, 1st movement, from bar 1

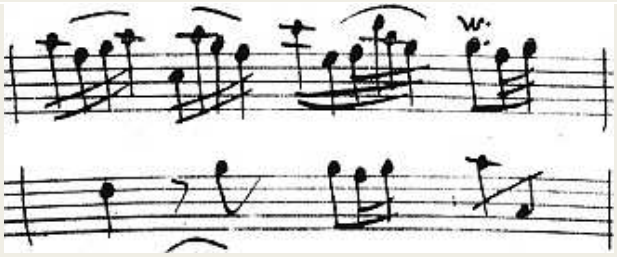


Figure 2.3.91. Ano.SON.02, 1st movement, bar 6
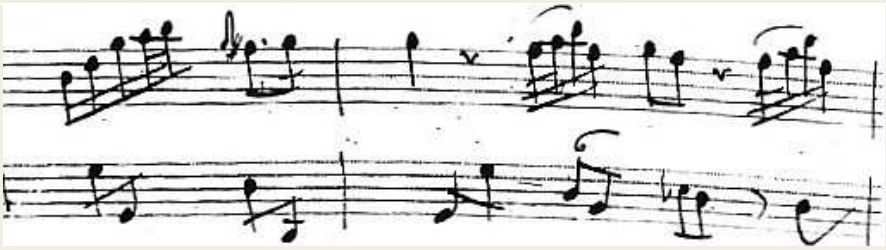


Figure 2.3.92. Ano.SON.02, 1st movement, from bar 9 (3rd beat)



Figure 2.3.93. Ano.SON.02, 1st movement, bar 12

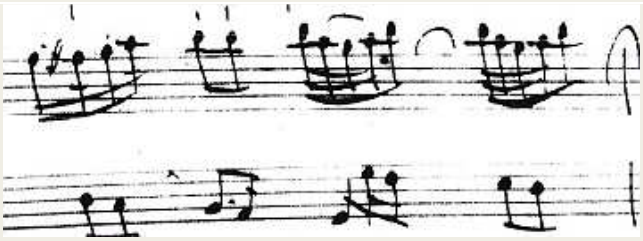


Figure 2.3.94. Ano.SON.02, 1st movement, bar 16
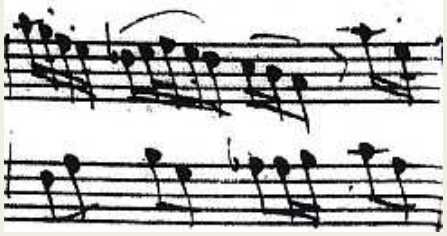


Figure 2.3.95. Ano.SON.03, 1st movement, bar 2
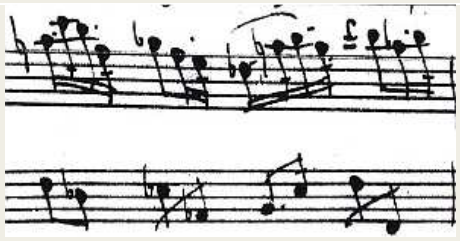


Figure 2.3.96. Ano.SON.03, 1st movement, bar 5
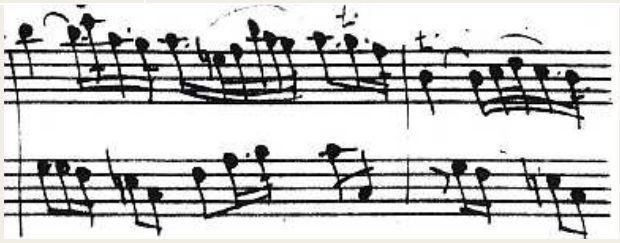


Figure 2.3.97. Ano.SON.03, 1st movement, from bar 8
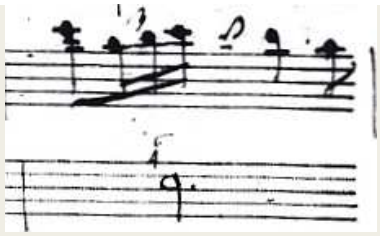


Figure 2.3.98. Fio.SON.01, 1st movement, bar 26
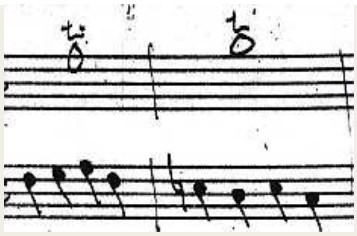


Figure 2.3.99. Ano.SON.03, 2nd movement, from bar 1
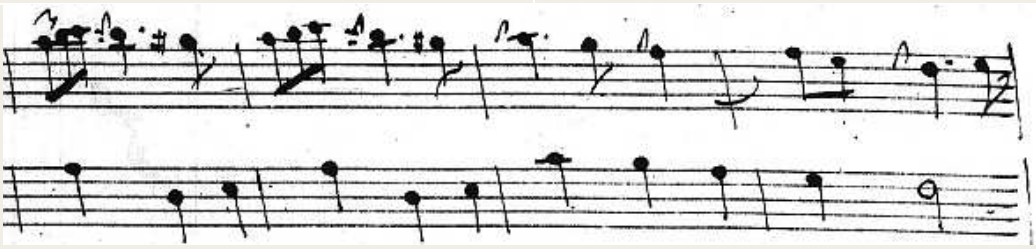


Figure 2.3.100. Fio.SON.01, 1st movement, from bar 1

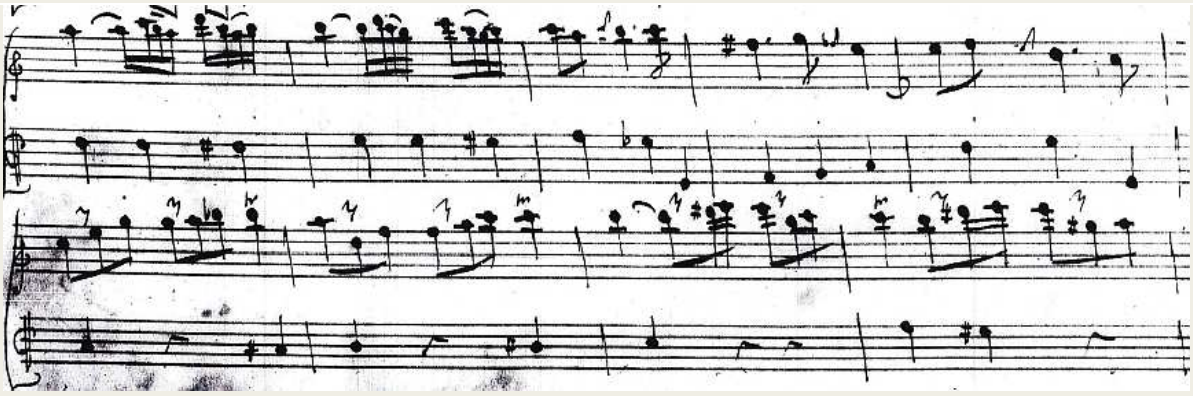


Figure 2.3.101. Fio.SON.01, 1st movement, from bar 10
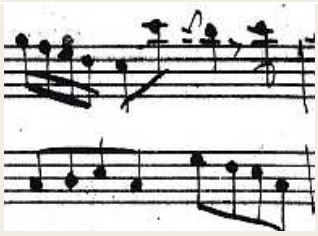


Figure 2.3.102. Fio.SON.01, 3rd movement, bar 1



Figure 2.3.103. Fio.SON.01, 4th movement, from bar 1
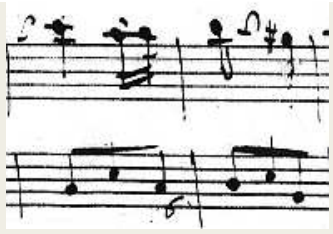


Figure 2.3.104. Fio.SON.01, 4th movement, from bar 12
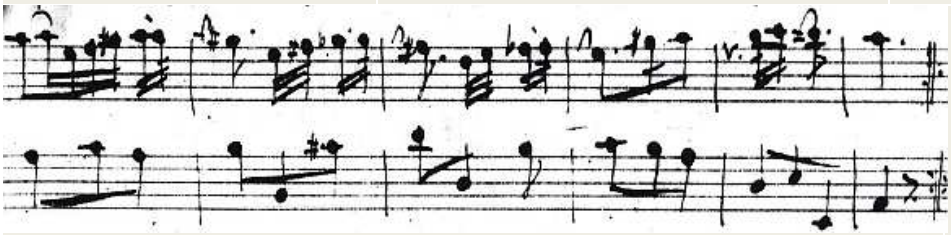


Figure 2.3.105. Fio.SON.01, 4th movement, from bar 26

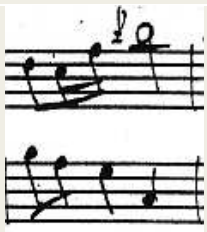


Figure 2.3.106. Leo.SON.04, 1st movement, bar 3
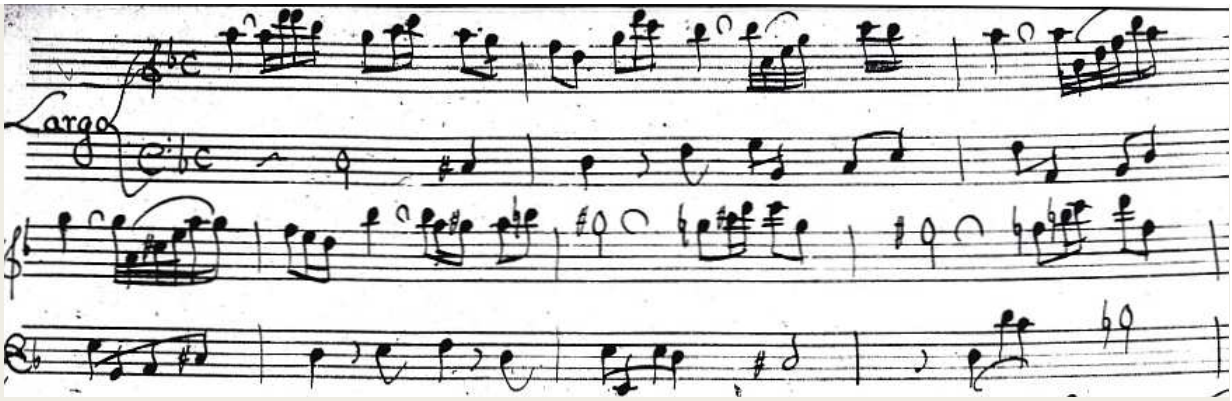


Figure 2.3.107. Leo.SON.04, 3rd movement, from bar 1
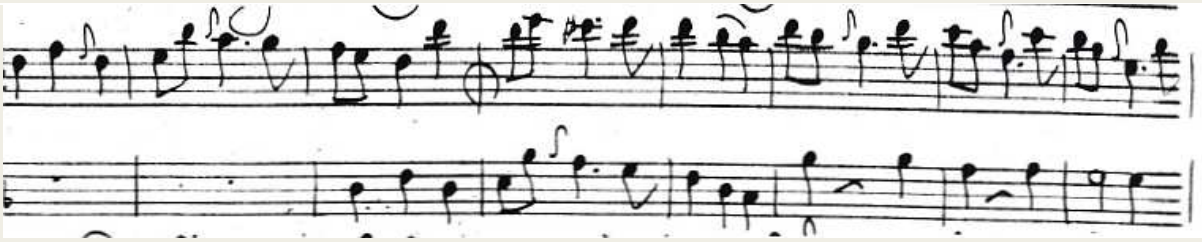


Figure 2.3.108. Leo.SON.06 1st movement, from bar 1
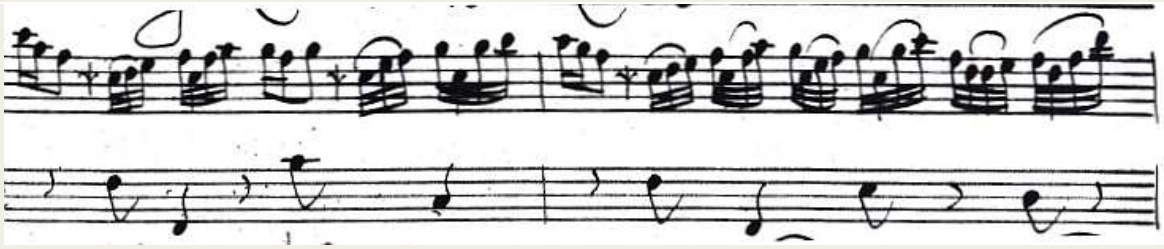


Figure 2.3.109. Leo.SON.07, 1st movement, from bar 1
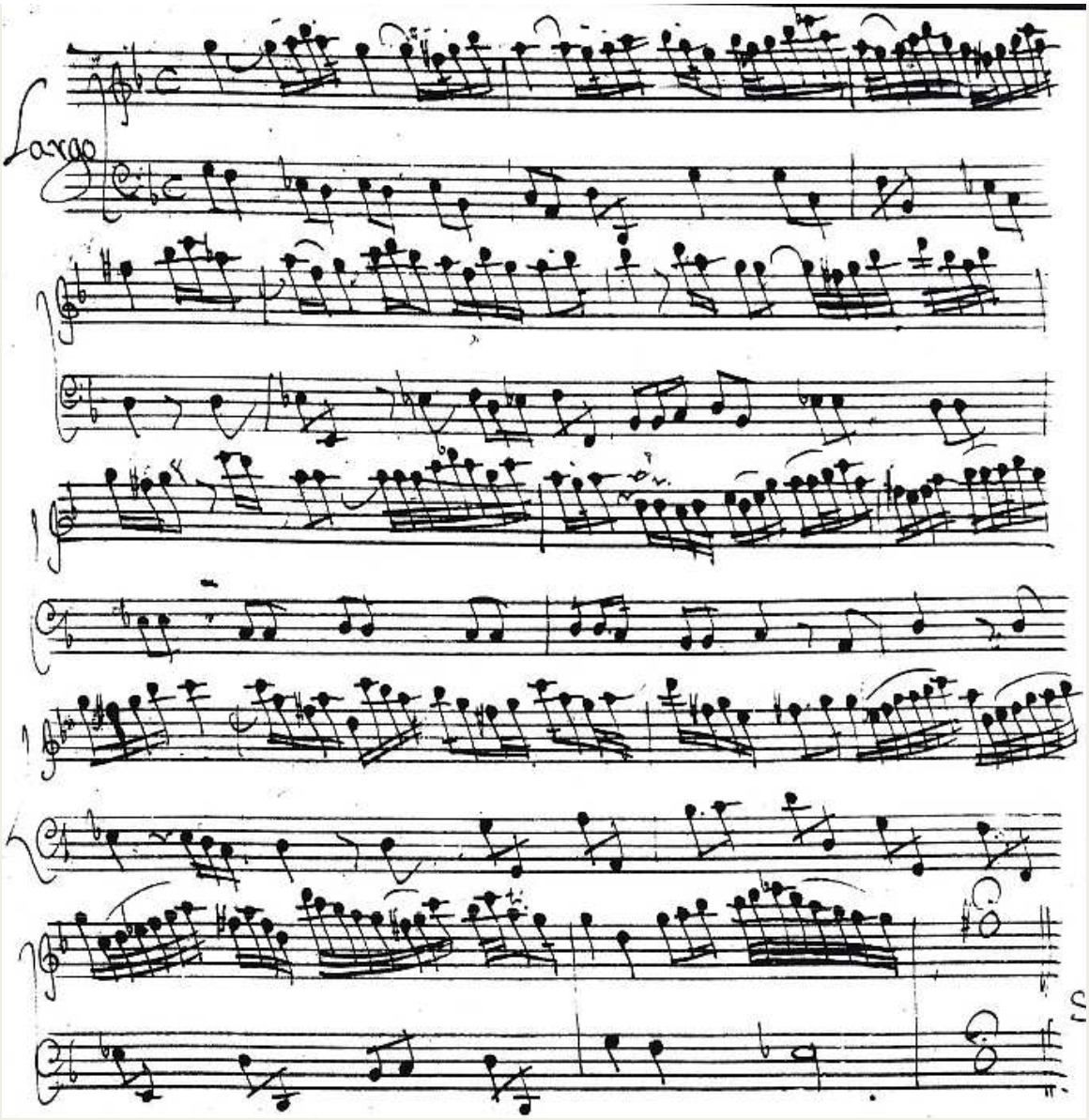


Figure 2.3.110. Leo.SON.02, 1st movement
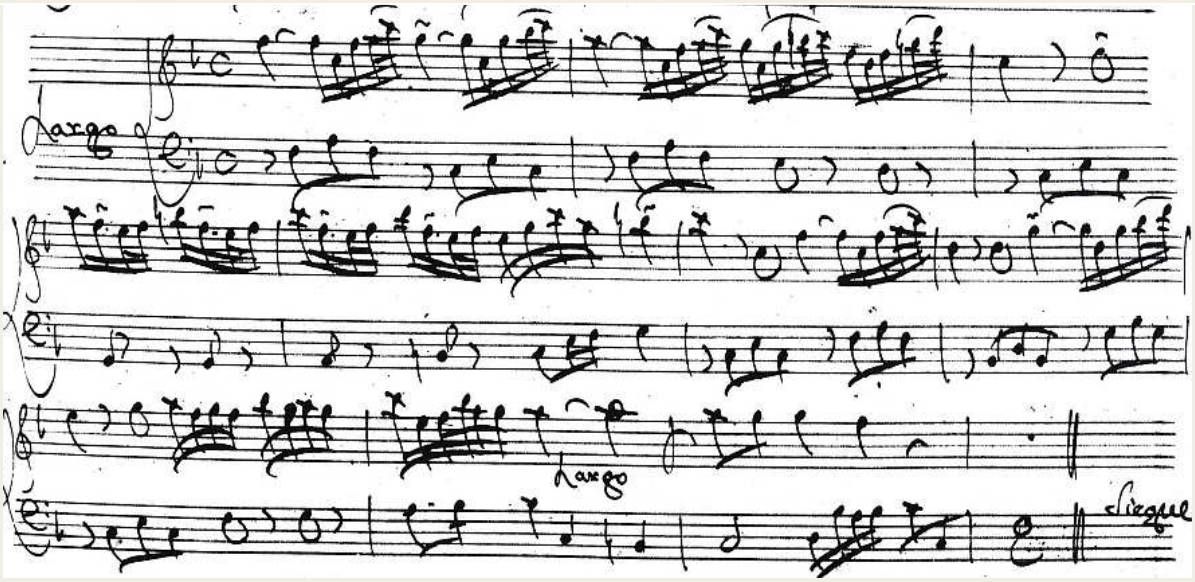


Figure 2.3.111. Leo.SON.03, 3rd movement

Table 2.3.10. Examples of ornamented passages in the works in the Parensi collection
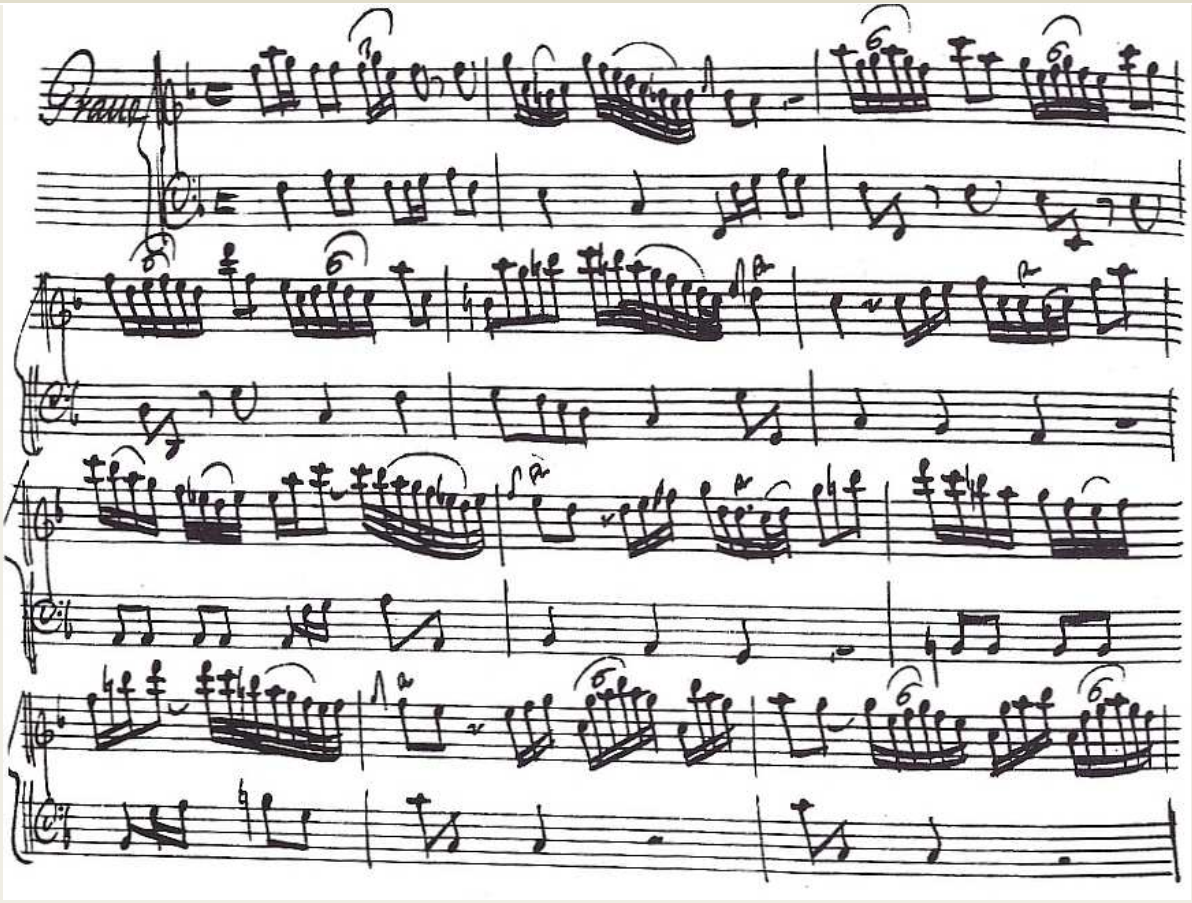


Figure 2.3.112. Ros.SON.01, 1st movement, from bar 1

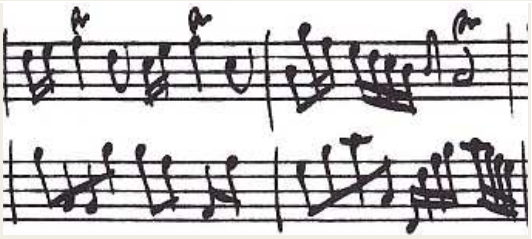


Figure 2.3.113. Ros.SON.01, 2nd movement, from bar 2
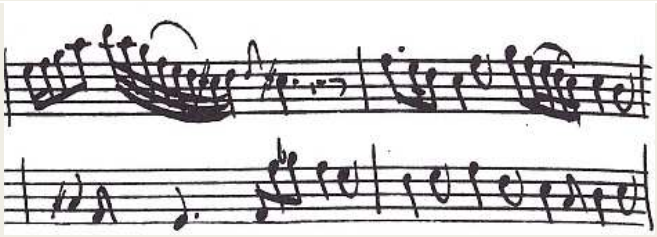


Figure 2.3.114. Ros.SON.01, 3rd movement, from bar 3
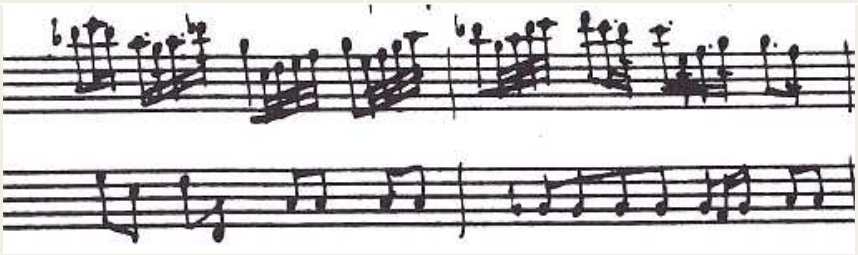


Figure 2.3.115. Sar.SON.01, 1st movement, from bar 16

Table 2.3.11. Examples of ornamented passages in the works by Vinci
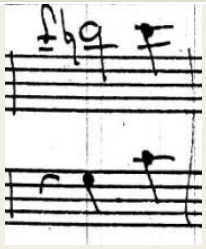


Figure 2.3.116. Vin.SON.01, 1st movement, bar 2
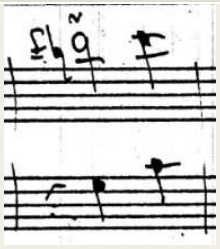


Figure 2.3.117. Vin.SON.01, 1st movement, bar 26
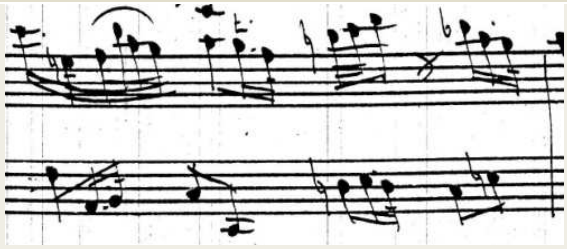


Figure 2.3.118. Vin.SON.01, 3rd movement, from bar 7
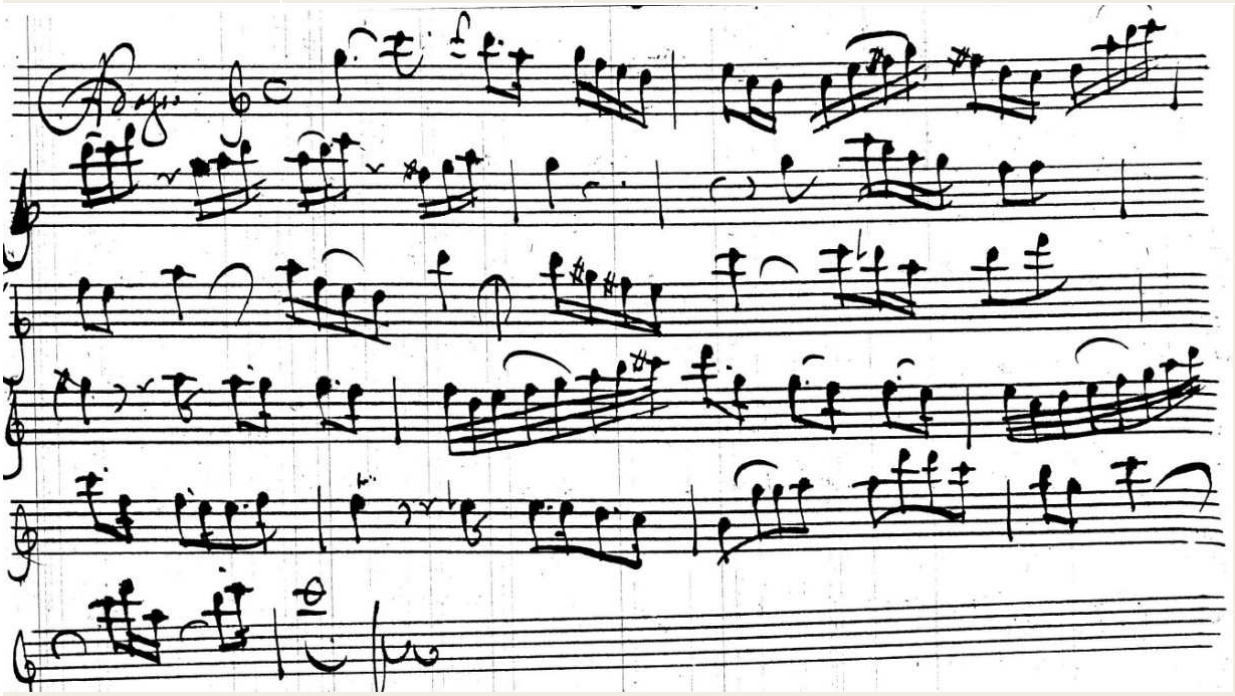


Figure 2.3.119. Vin.CON.01, 2nd movement

Table 2.3.12. Examples of ornamented passages in the 1759 sonatas
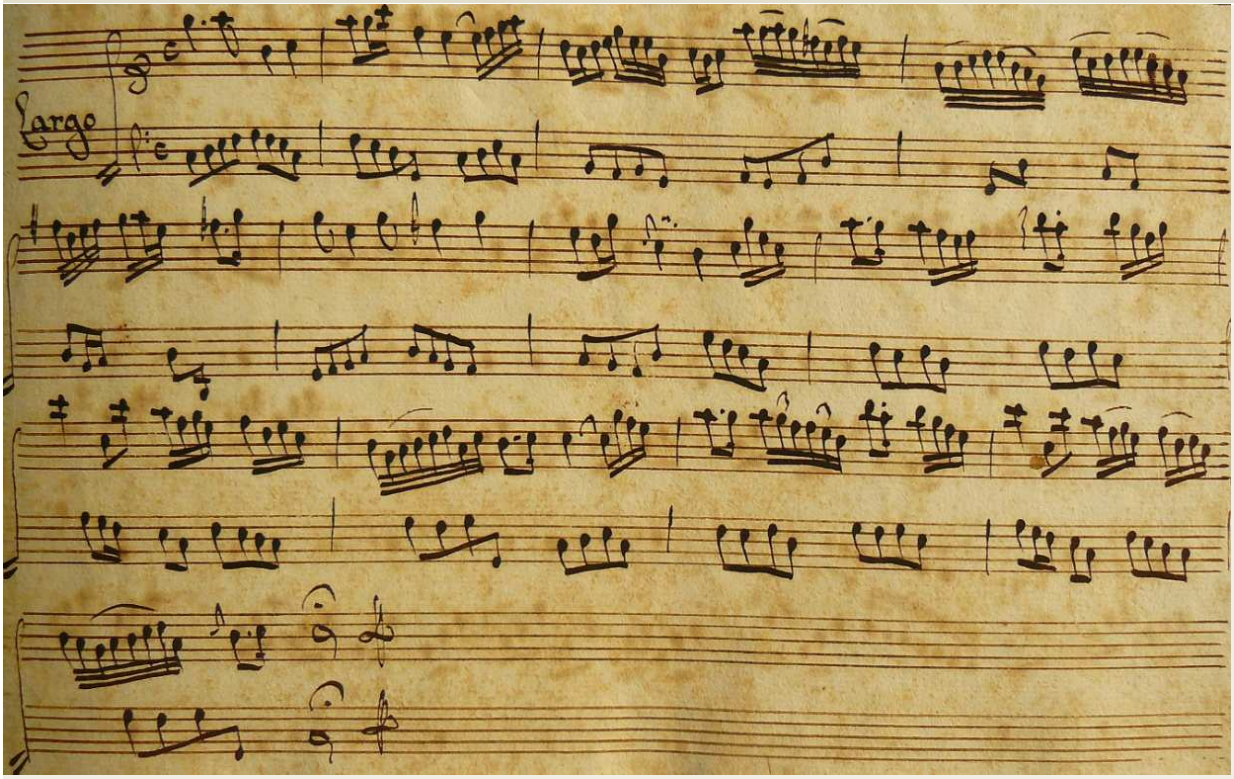


Figure 2.3.120. Ano.SON.01, 3rd movement
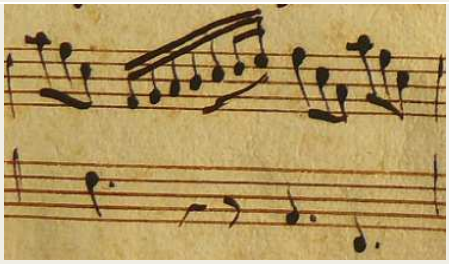


Figure 2.3.121. Ano.SON.01, 4th movement, bar 19
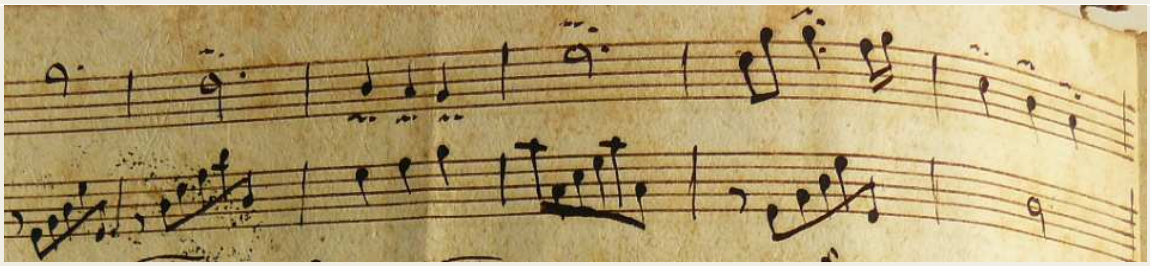


Figure 2.3.122. Pul.SON.01, 1st movement, from bar 1
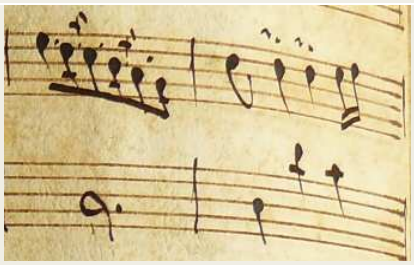


Figure 2.3.123. Pul.SON.01, 1st movement, from bar 13
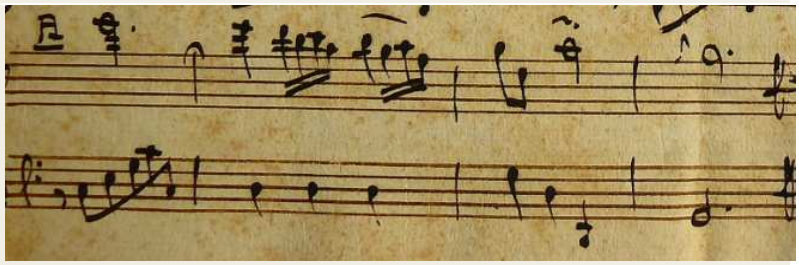


Figure 2.3.124. Pul.SON.01, 1st movement, from bar 62
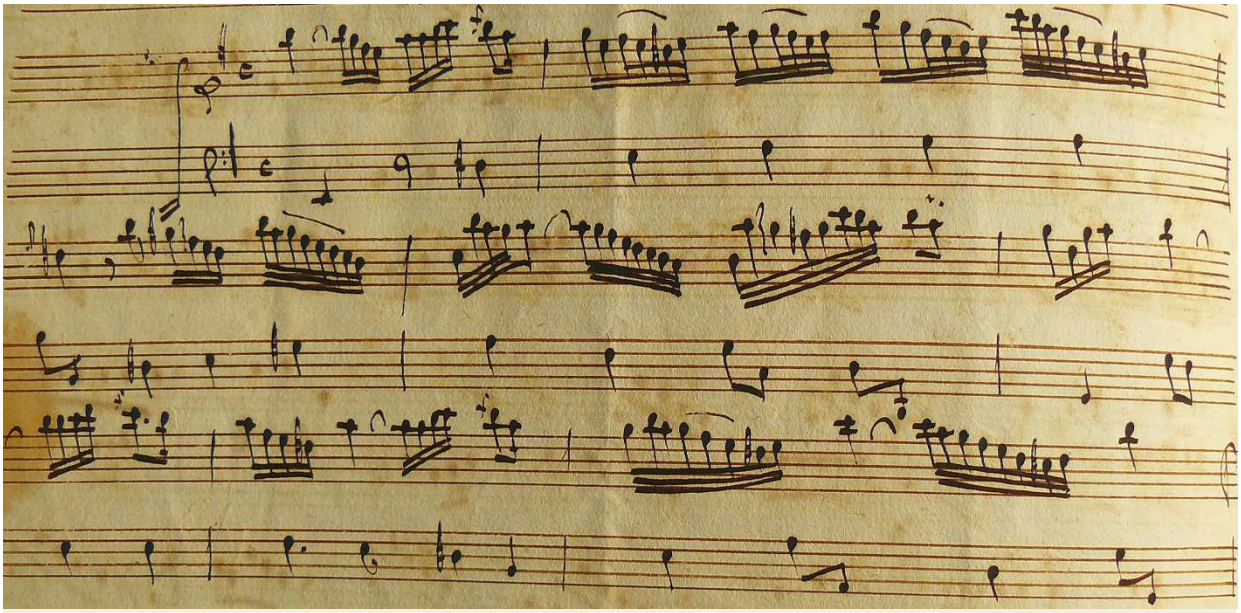


Figure 2.3.125. Pul.SON.01, 2nd movement, from bar 1
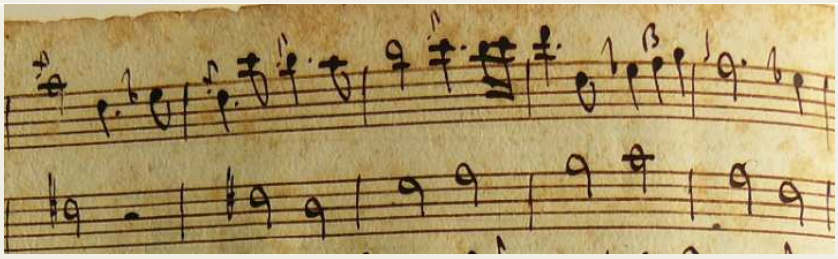


Figure 2.3.126. Pul.SON.02, 1st movement, from bar 2
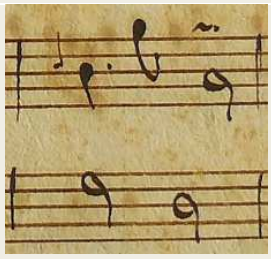


Figure 2.3.127. Pul.SON.02, 1st movement, bar 73
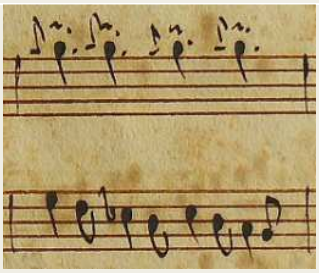


Figure 2.3.128. Pul.SON.02, 3rd movement, bar 14
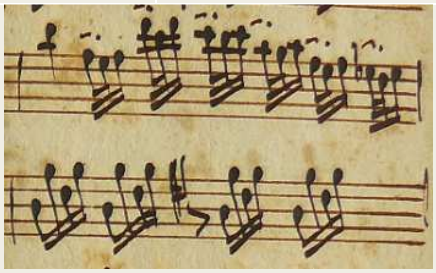


Figure 2.3.129. Pul.SON.03, 1st movement, bar 25
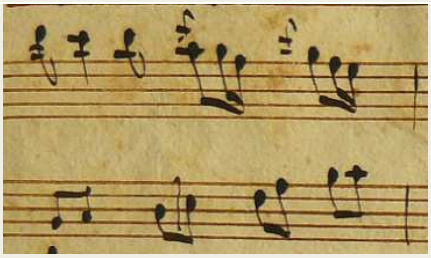


Figure 2.3.130. Pul.SON.04, 1st movement, bar7
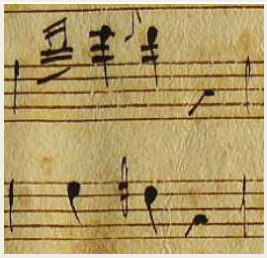


Figure 2.3.131. Pul.SON.04, 2nd movement, bar 2

Examples of ornamented passages in contemporary Solfeggi

It may be interesting to compare the ornaments presented above with those in the *Solfeggi* by Leonardo Leo, selected as being some of the earliest ones by a Neapolitan composer, and, as such, probably contemporary to the works studied. According to Gjerdingen:[476]

> *Solfeggi*, or studies in melody, were central to the training of European court musicians from the late 1600s until the late 1800s. They had their greatest influence first in Italian conservatories, especially at Naples, and then later at the Paris Conservatory, where the principles of the "Italian school" continued to be taught far into the twentieth century. Because learning the Italian style of music was a priority for almost any eighteenth-century musician, many well-known non-Italians also studied or taught solfeggi. This was especially true for famous singers or teachers of singing, but seems also to apply to instrumentalists and composers. […]
> In a sense, solfeggi and partimenti (instructional basses) were two sides of the same polyphonic coin. Partimenti provided a bass to which the student added one or more upper voices in a keyboard realization. Solfeggi provided exemplary melodic material, always in the context of a bass (and most probably a harmonic accompaniment). Thus the melody-bass duo at the heart of eighteenth-century music was taught and reinforced from both the top and the bottom. Collections of solfeggi were thus like a lexicon of stylistically favored melodic utterances. For the future improvisor, whether of whole compositions or merely of ornamented reprises and cadenzas, solfeggi provided a storehouse of memorized material from which the performer or composer could later draw.

Indeed, the examples of ornamentation shown in the *solfeggi* presented below[477] are not very different from the ornaments found in the sonatas and concertos that were shown above. In fact, these *solfeggi* serve as examples for further embellishment of those works, and certainly provide interesting material to be used by singers as examples of ornamentation for vocal works in this entire repertoire.

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[476] Robert O. Gjerdingen, "About Solfeggi." *Monuments of Solfeggi*. Northwestern University, accessed November 25, 2014, http://faculty-web.at.northwestern.edu/music/gjerdingen/Solfeggi/aboutSolfe/histOverview.htm.

[477] The selected excerpts included in the table below are taken from a collection that belonged to Benedetta Bonfil. Bonfil was a Venetian noblewoman who lived in the late eighteenth century. The collection is now in Dresden: D-Dl, Mus.2460-K-502, RISM ID no.: 211010199. Leonardo Leo, "Solfeggi." *[72] Solfeggi | Del Sigr Leonardo Leo*. *Sächsische Landesbibliothek - Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek*. accessed November 25, 2014, http://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/18037/1/cache.off. On the usage of *solfeggi* in musical training throughout Italy, see: Sylvie Mamy, "L'importation des solfèges italiens en France à la fin du xviiie siècle," in *L'opera tra Venezia e Parigi*, ed. Maria Teresa Muraro (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1988). pp. 67-89. Sylvie Mamy, "Une théorie italienne adaptée au goût français. L'enseignement du chant italien en France de la fin de l'Ancien Régime à la Restauration: transmission ou transformation?," in *Transmissione e recezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, vol. IMS Conference Bologna, III (Turin: EDT, 1988). pp. 198-213. Sylvie Mamy, "Tradizione pedagogica del canto a Napoli: Giuseppe Aprile," in *Musicisti nati in Puglia ed emigrazione musicale tra Seicento e Settecento*, ed. Detty Bozzi and Luisa Cosi (Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 1988). pp. 281-298.

Table 2.3.11. Examples of ornamented *Solfeggi* by Leo

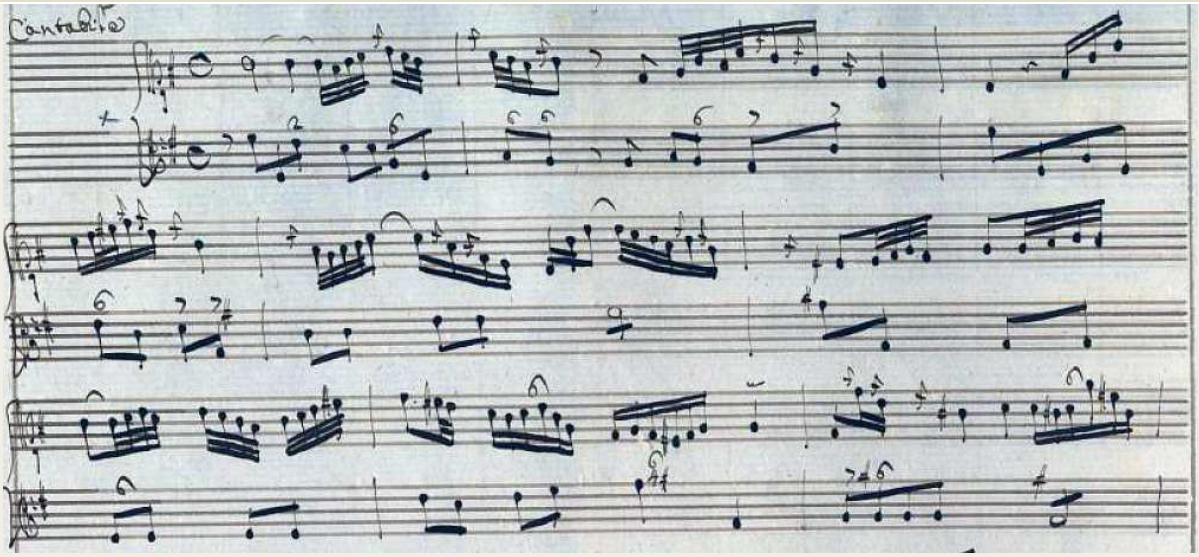


Figure 2.3.132. 1st solfeggio, from bar 1
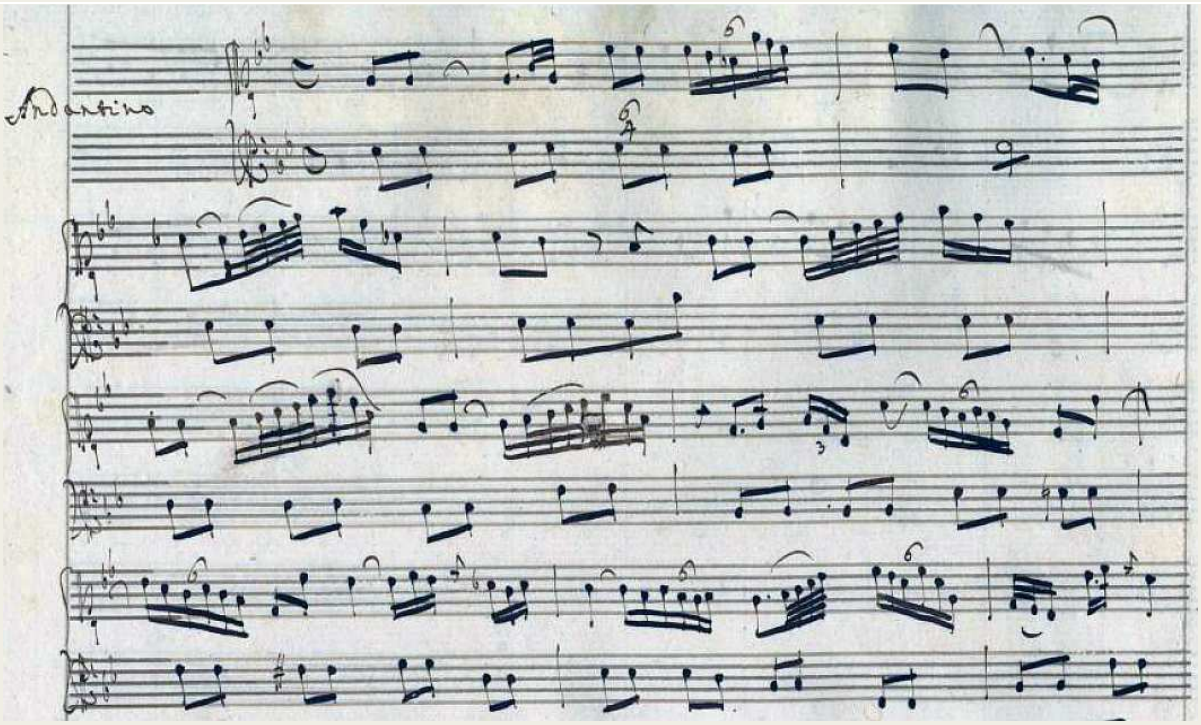


Figure 133. 7th solfeggio, from bar 1
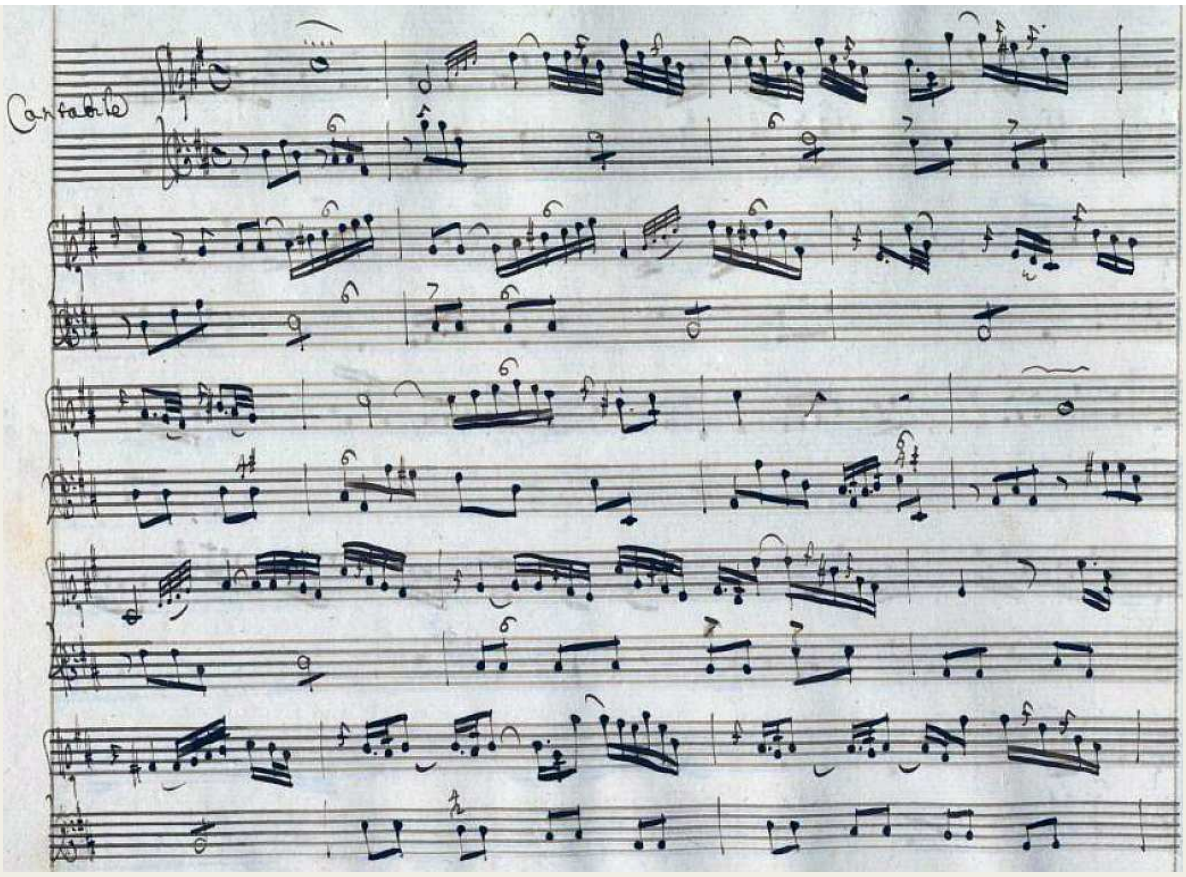


Figure 2.3.134. 3rd solfeggio, from bar 1
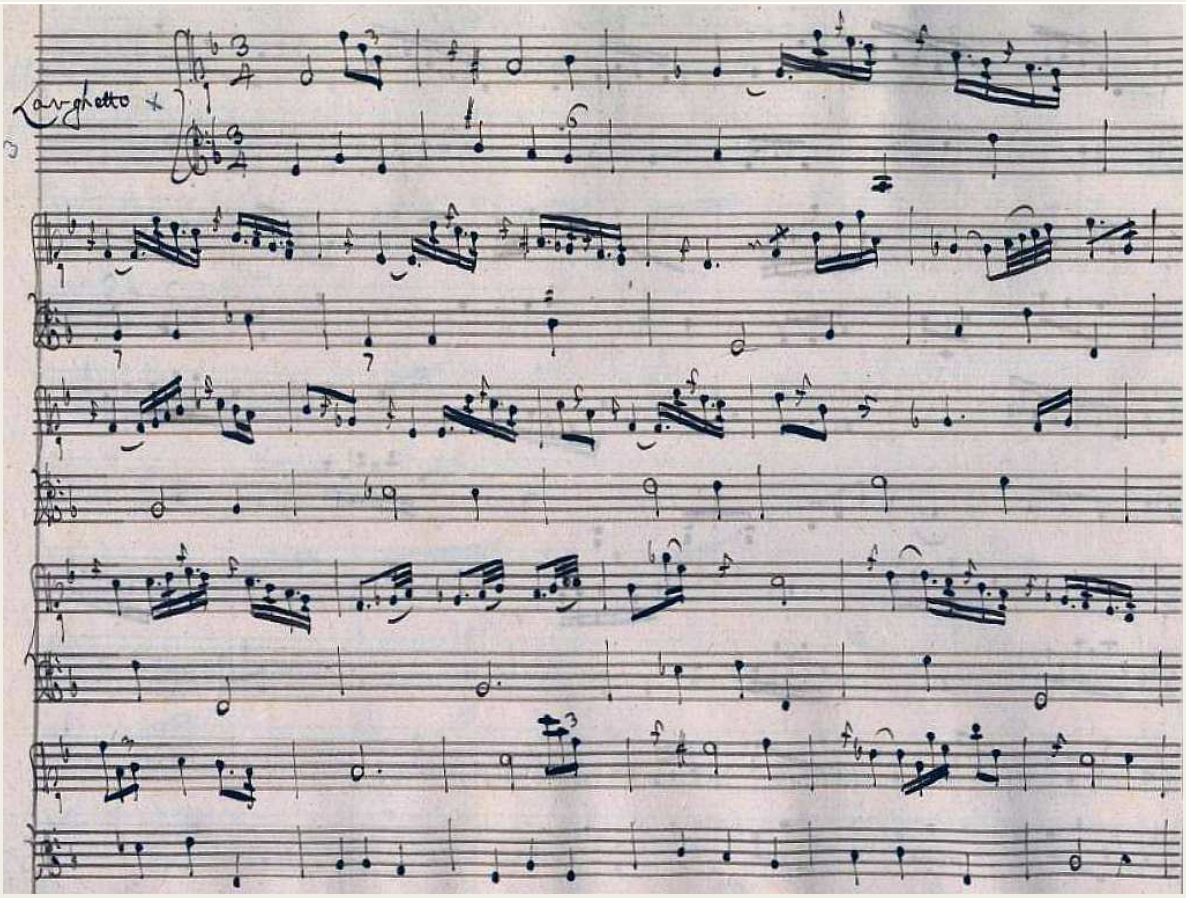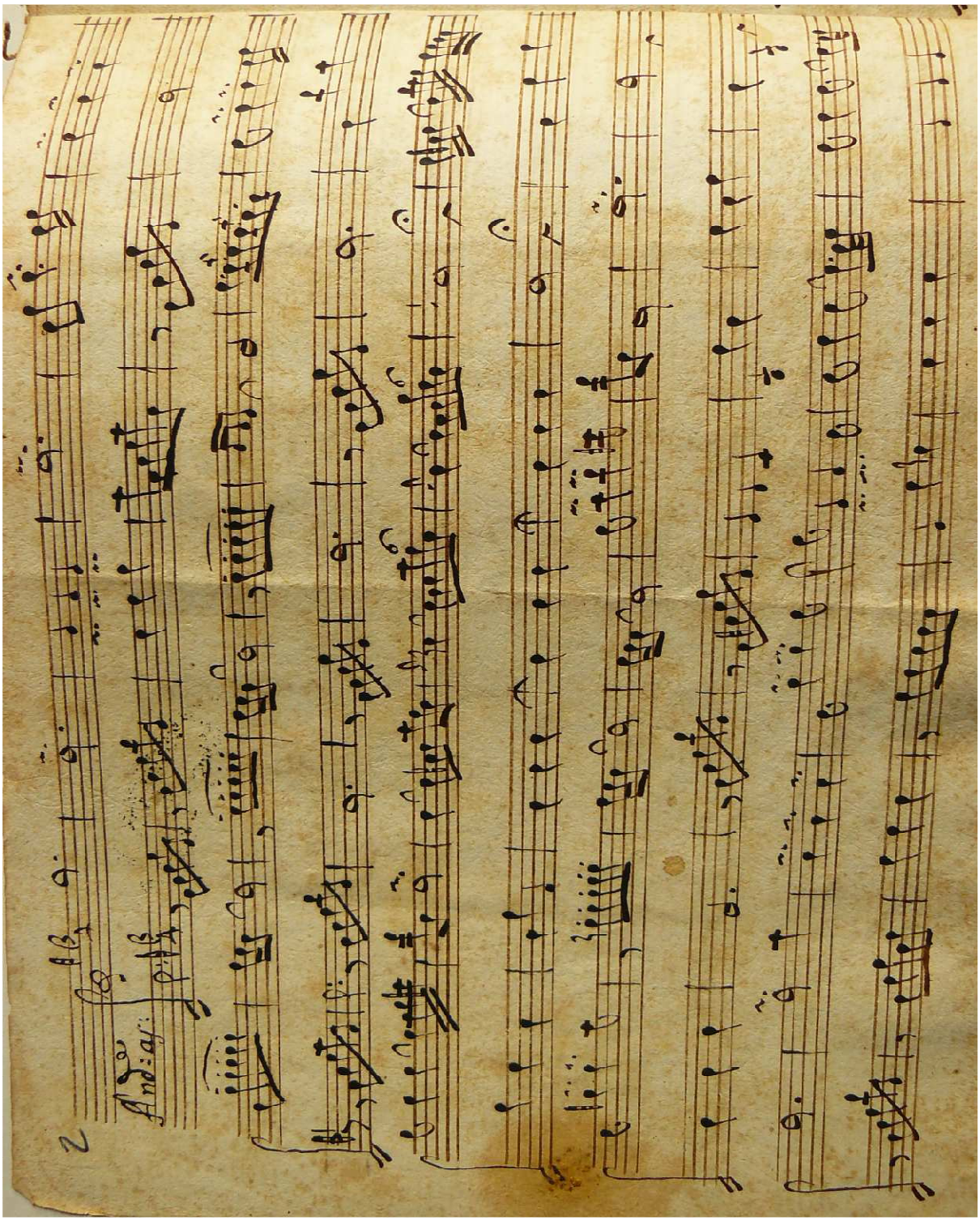
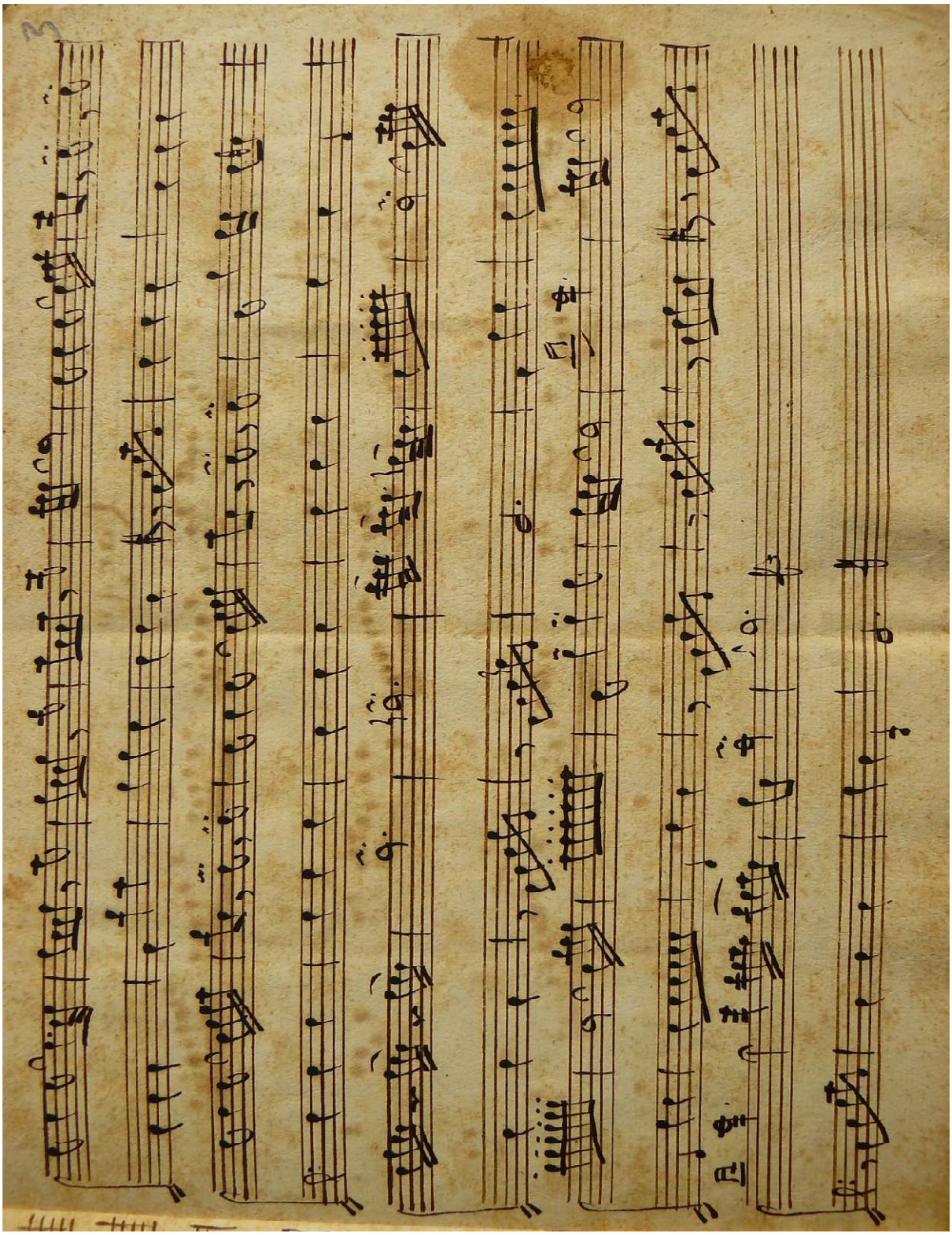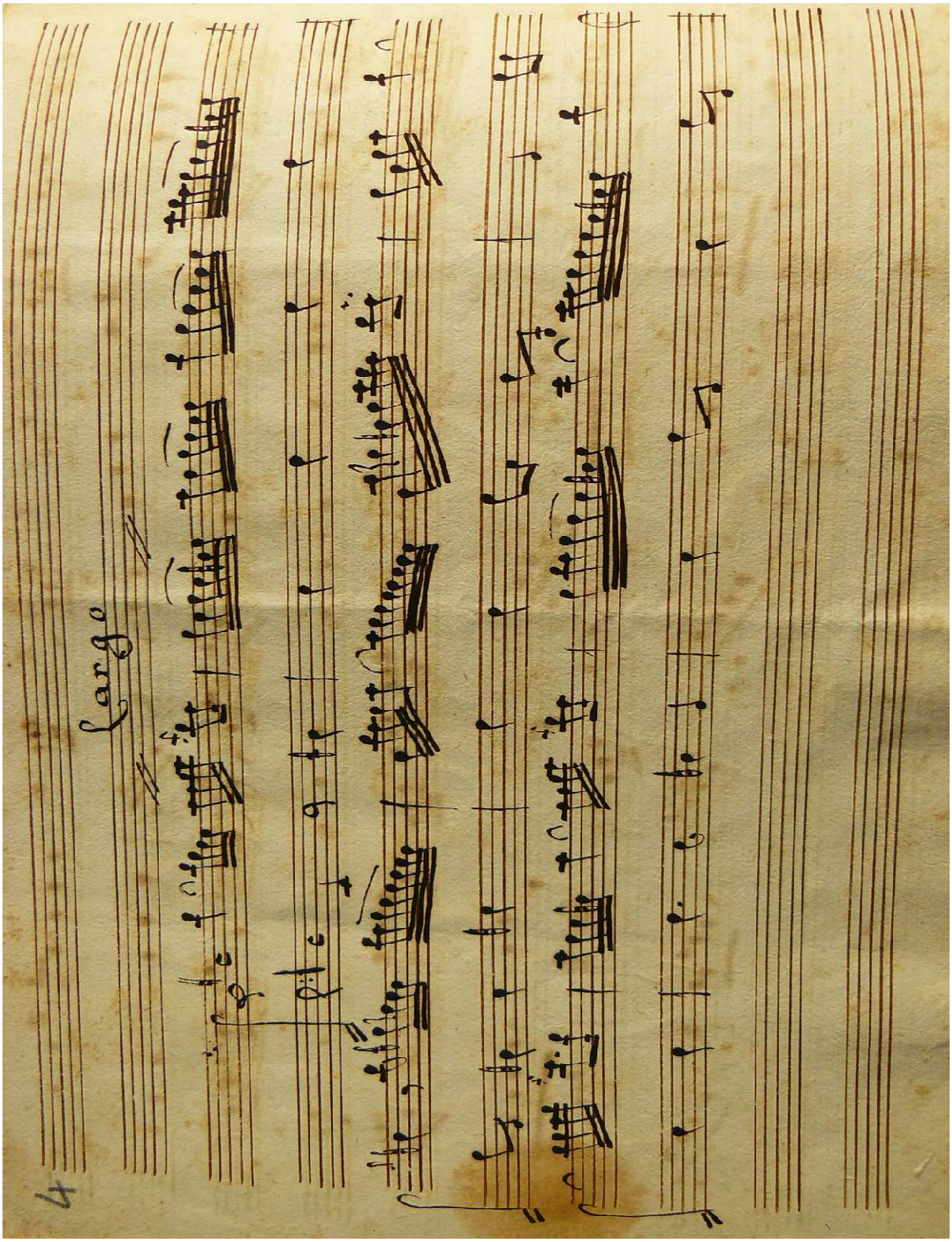


Figure 2.3.135. 5th solfeggio, from bar 1
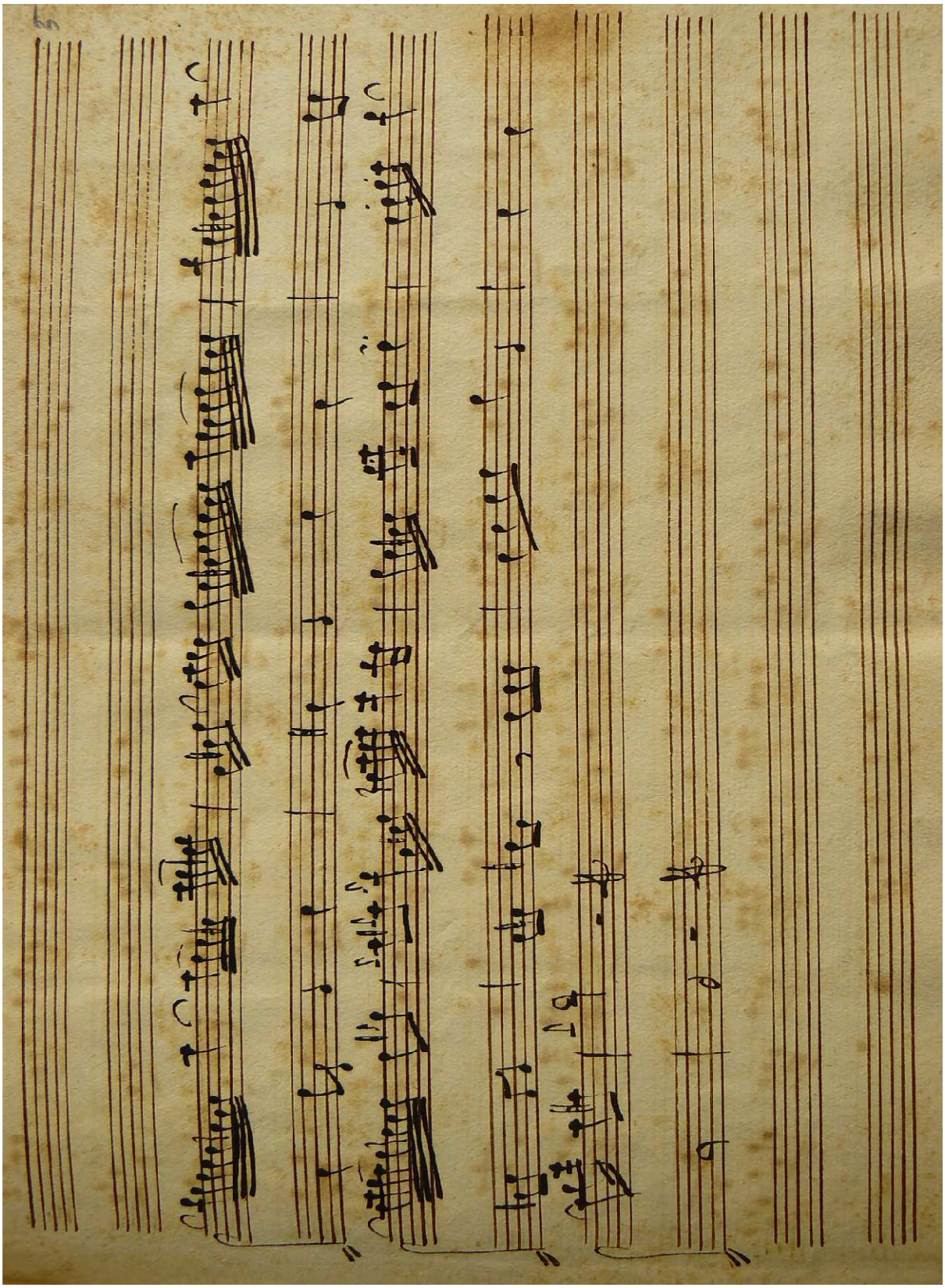
Scores of a few selected works: Pul.SON.01, Ros.SON.01 and Fio.SON.01

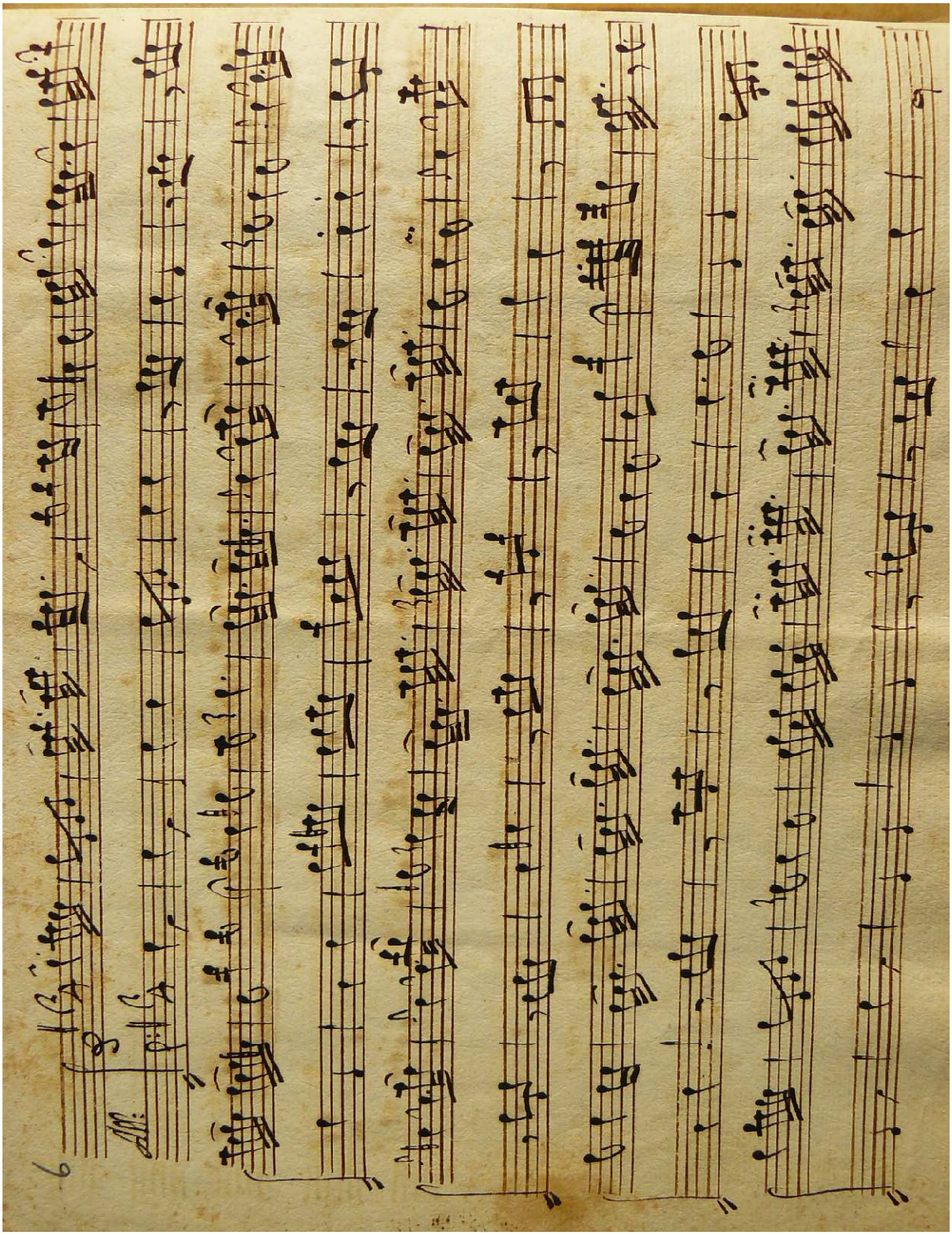
❖ *Pul.SON.01*
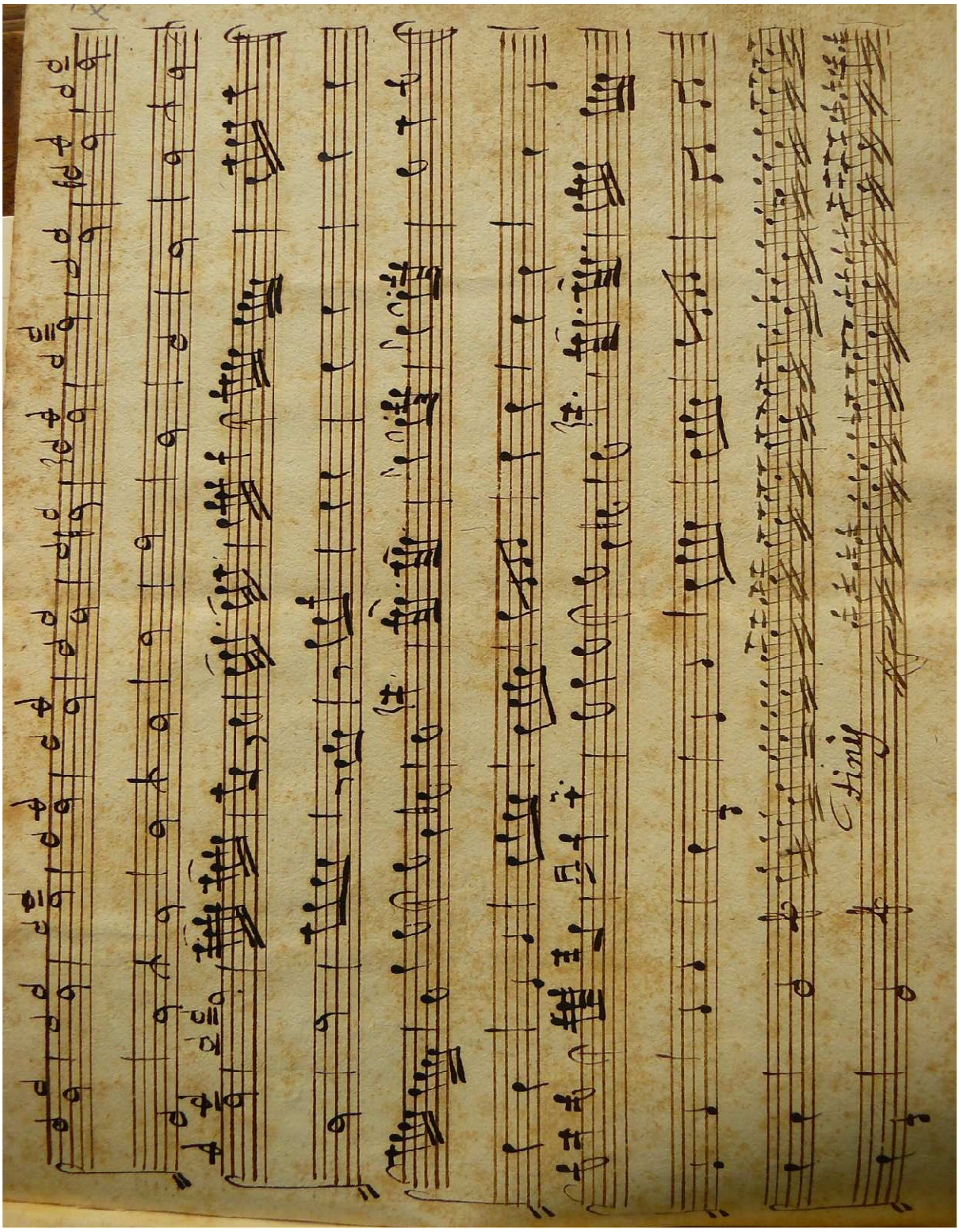




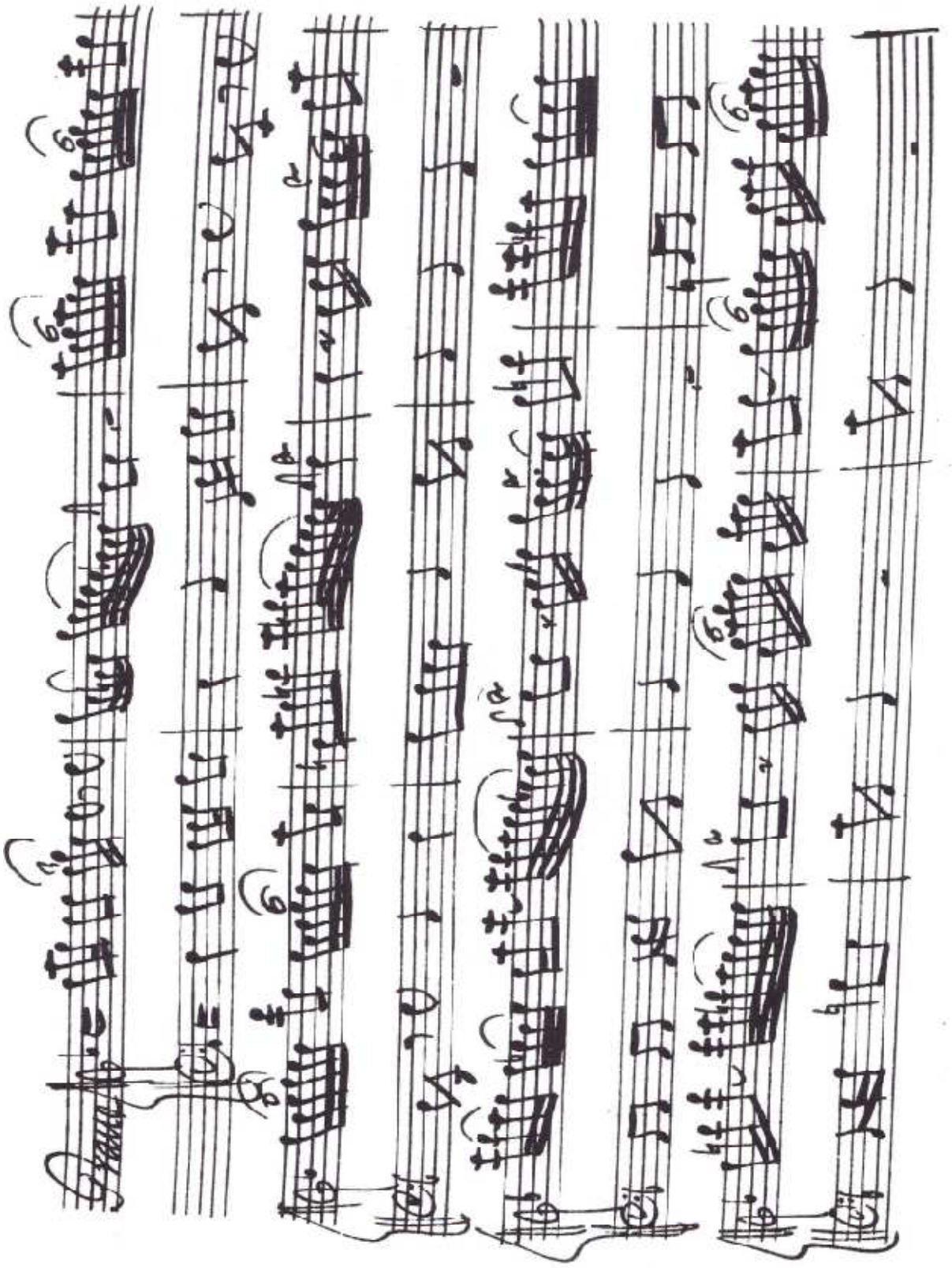

Largo
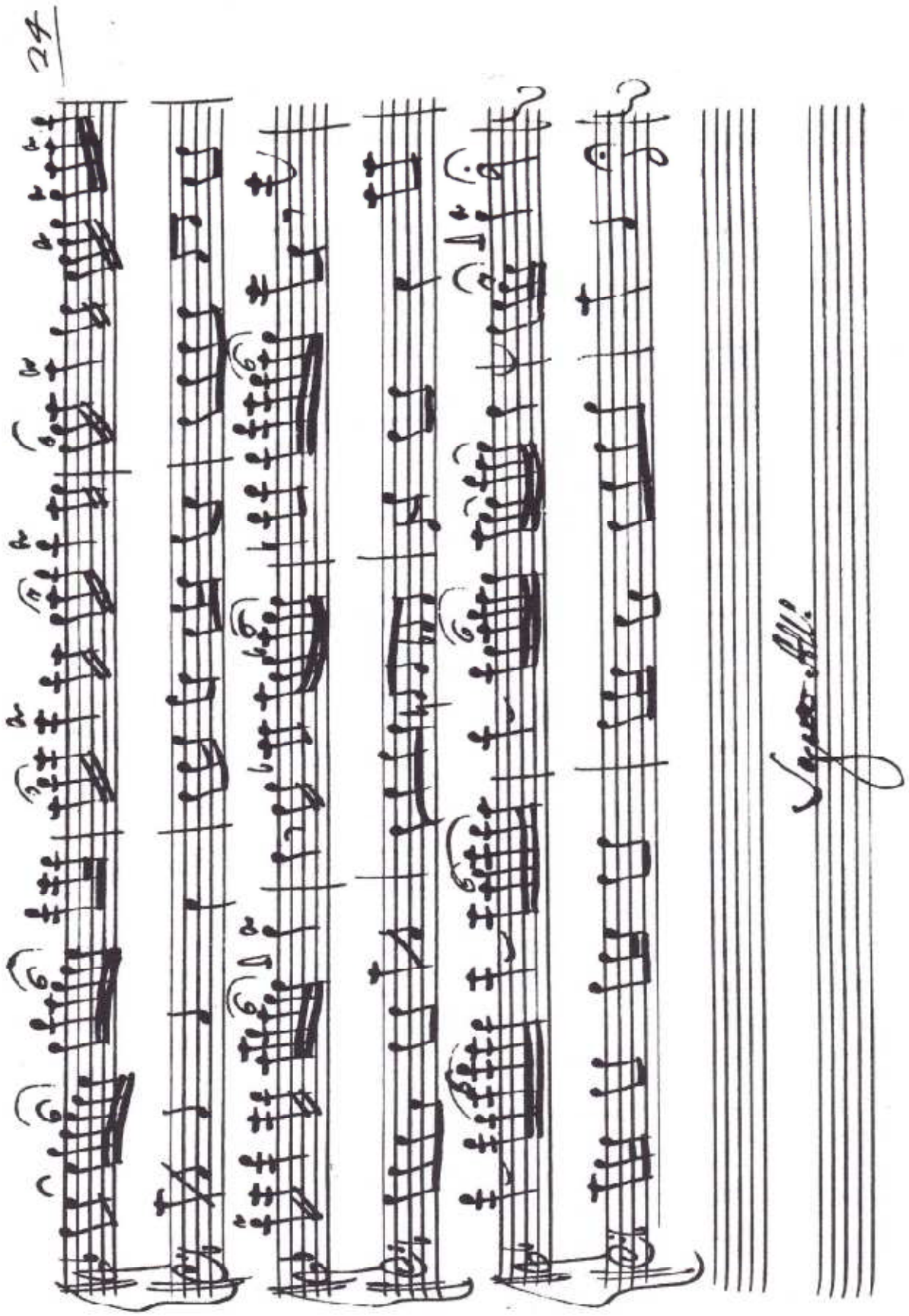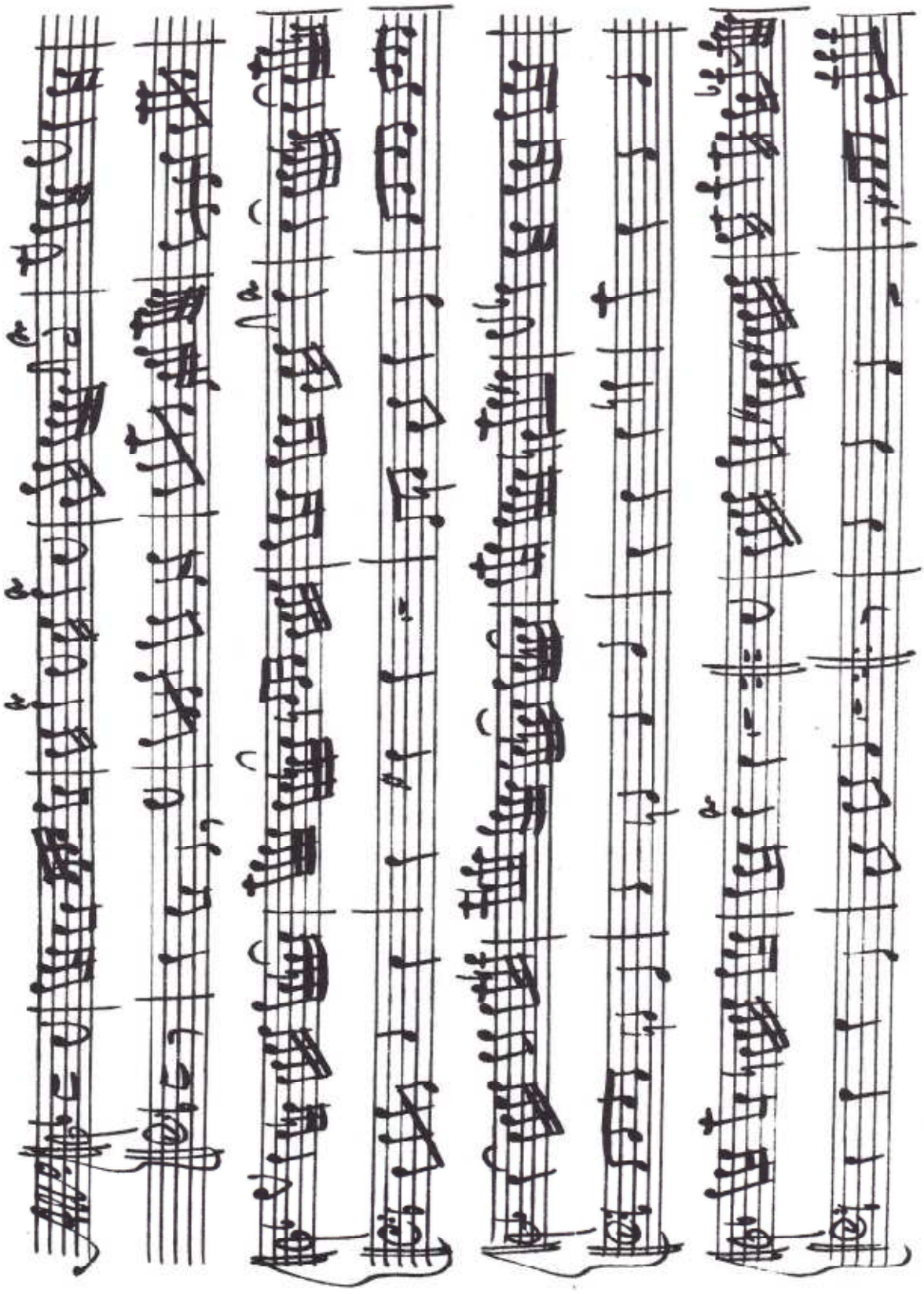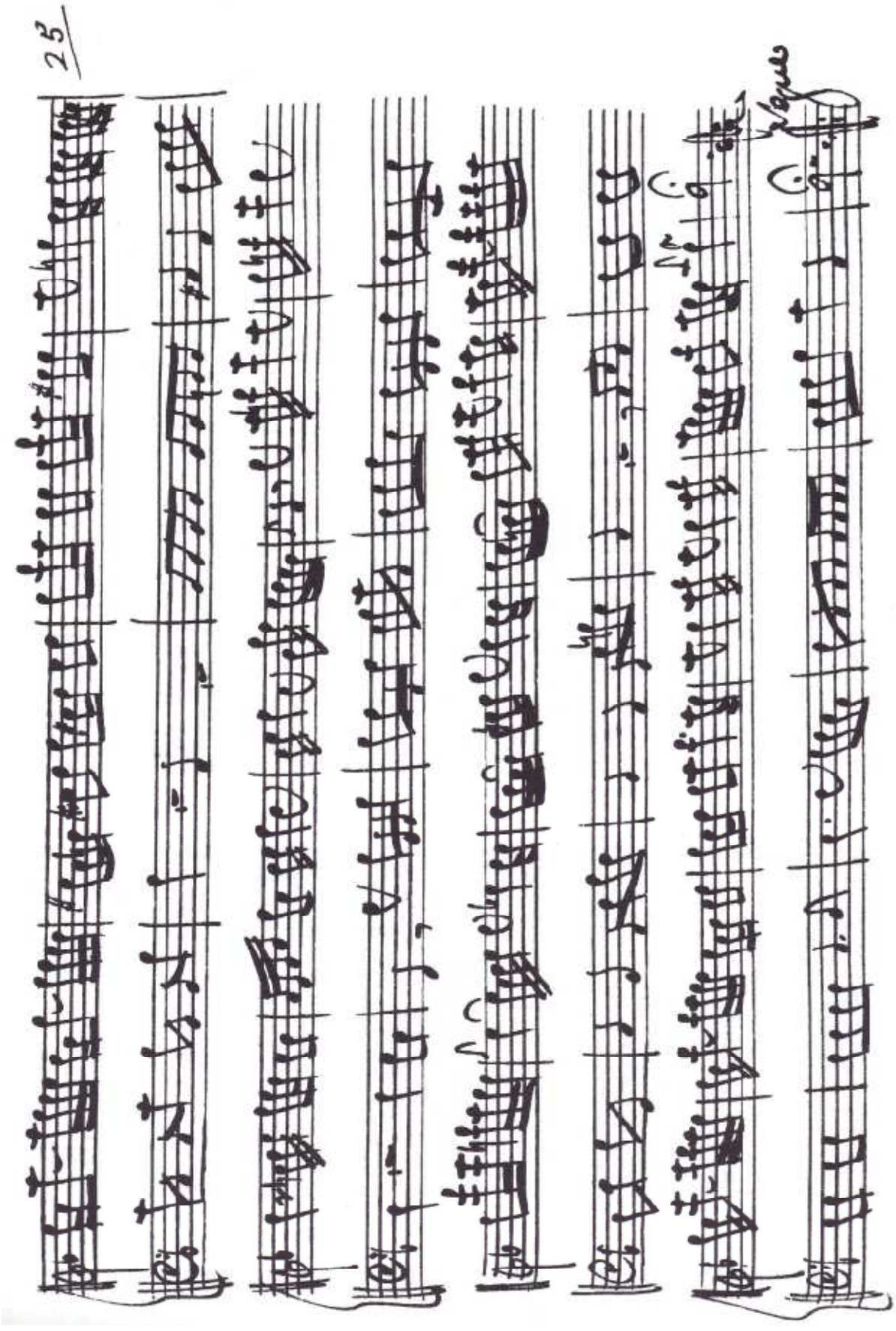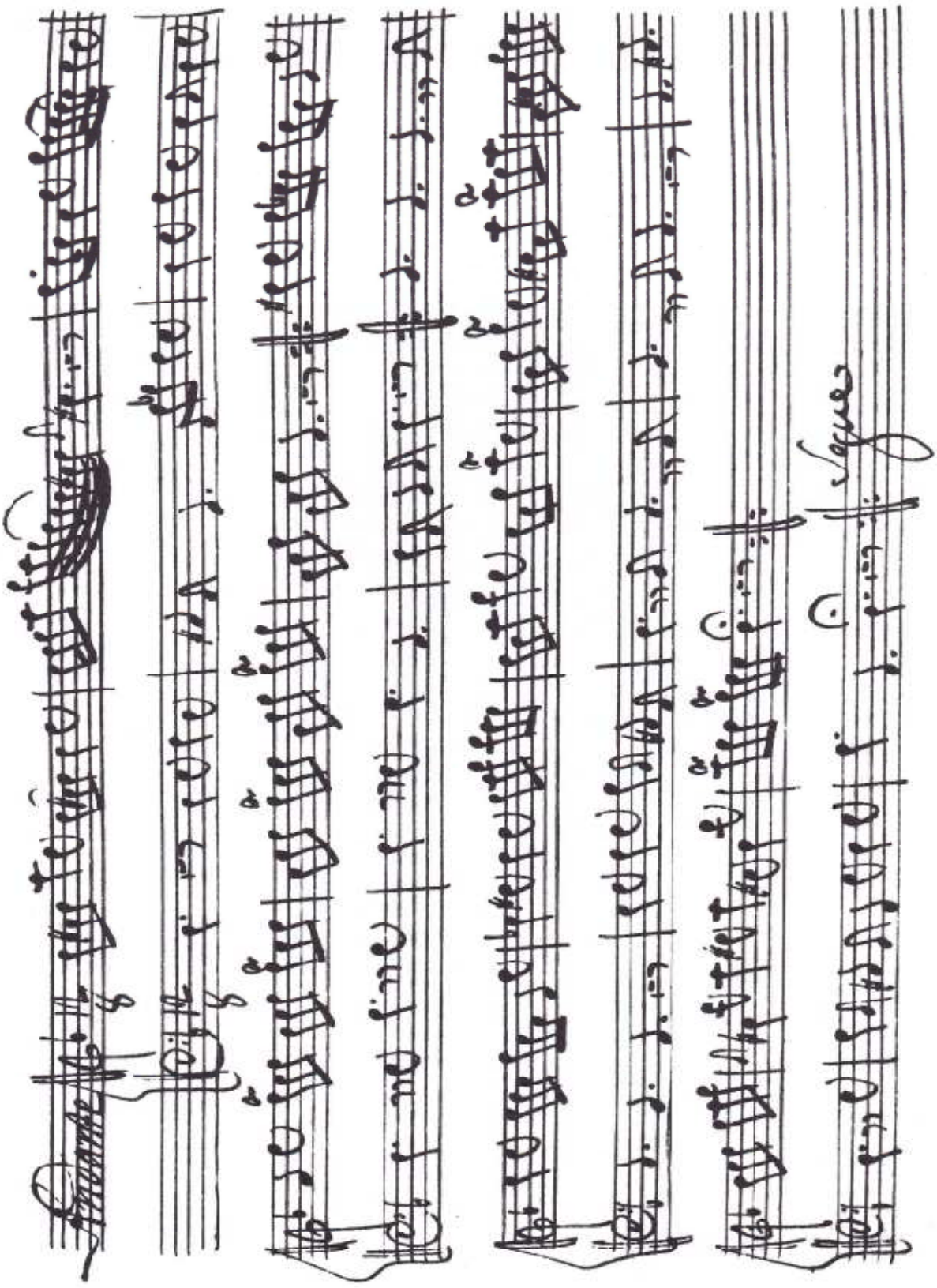






❖ *Ros.SON.01*

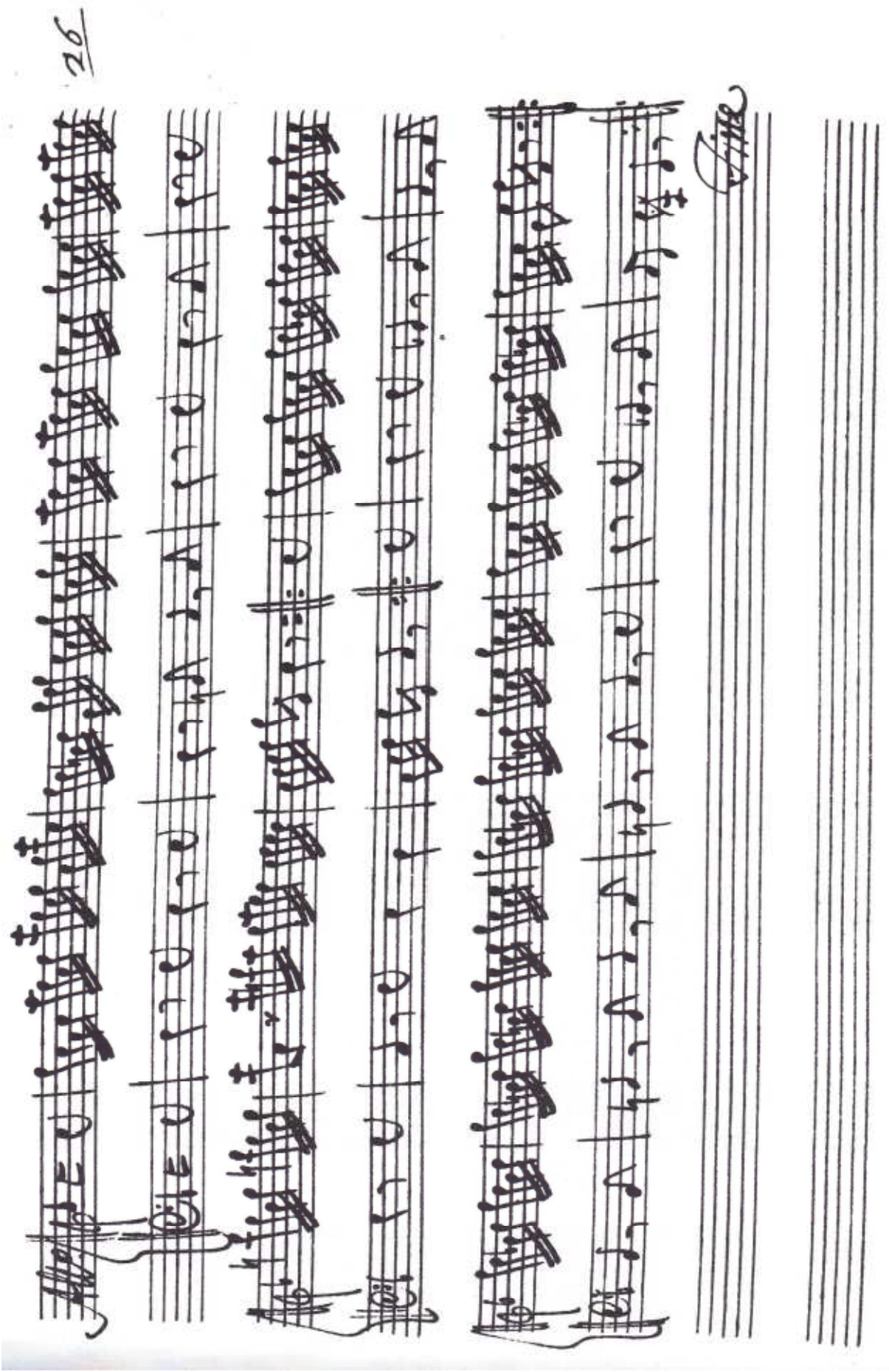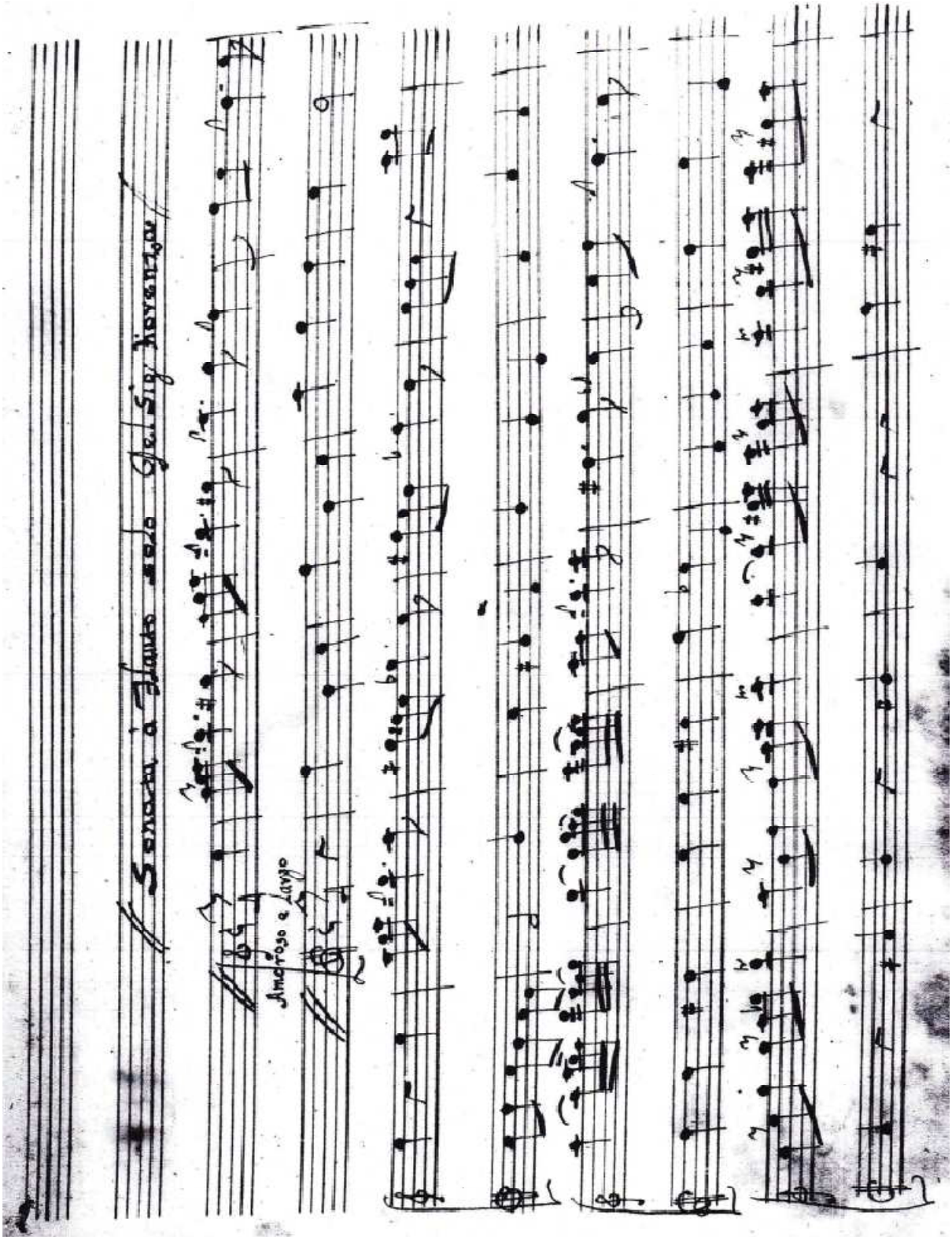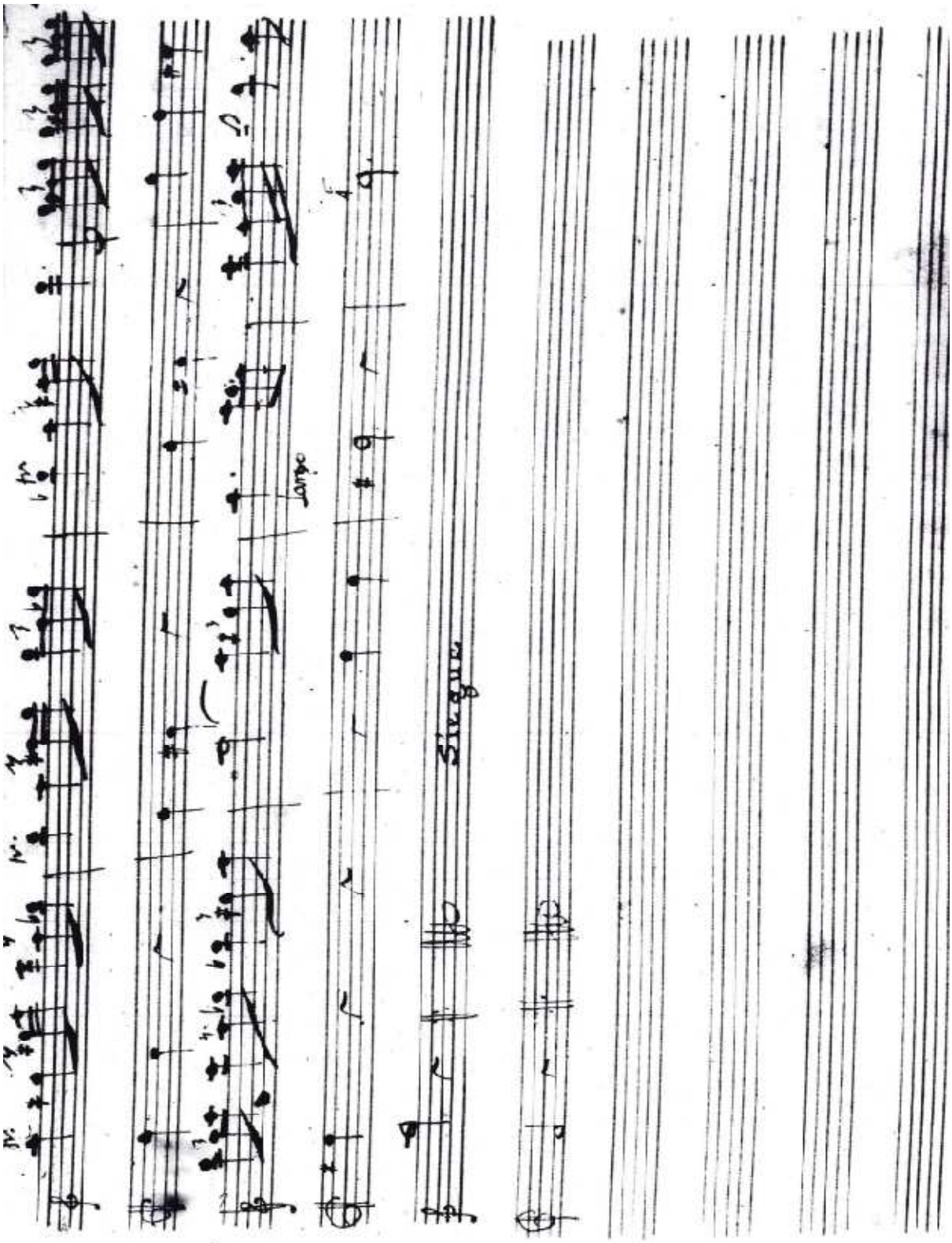







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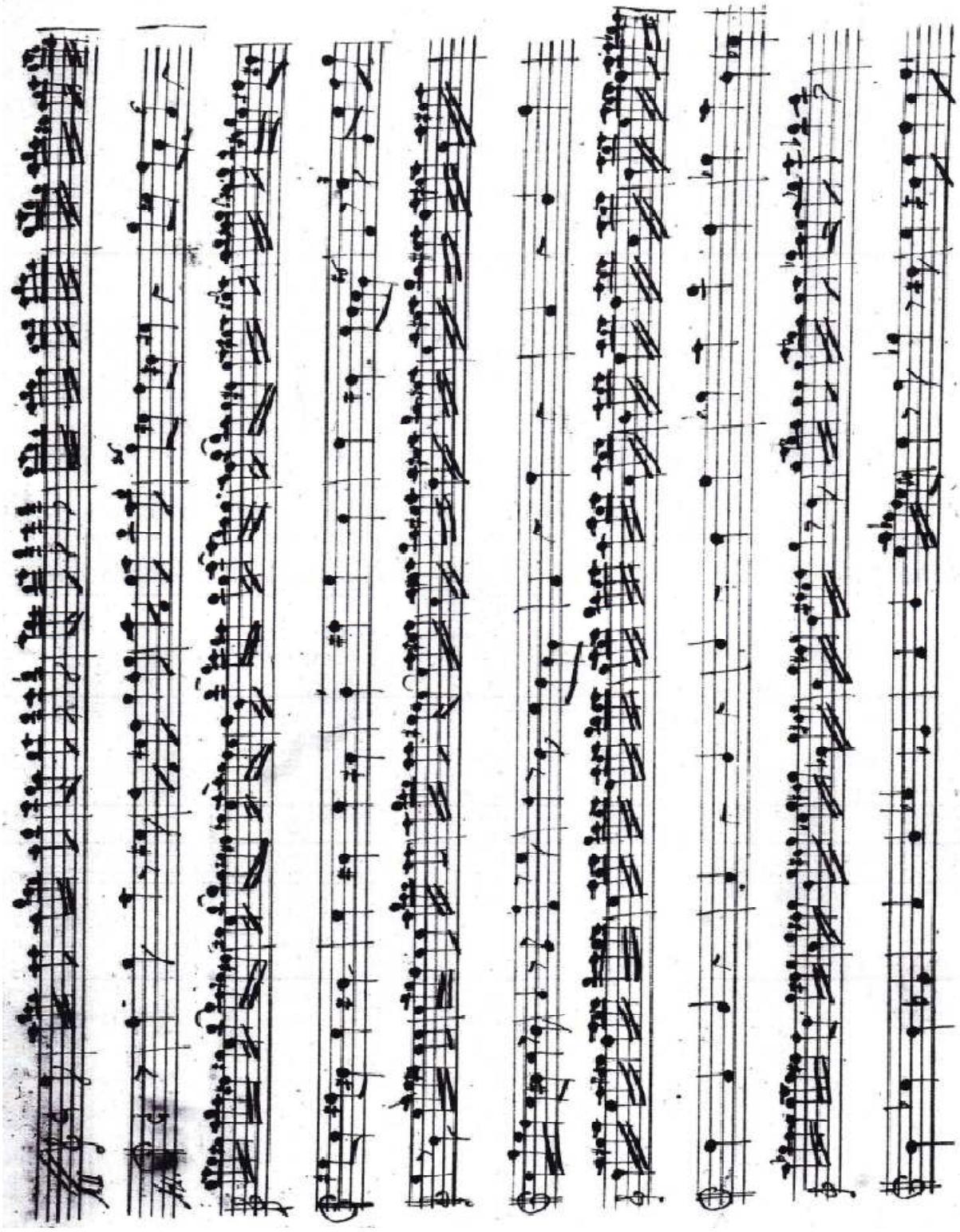


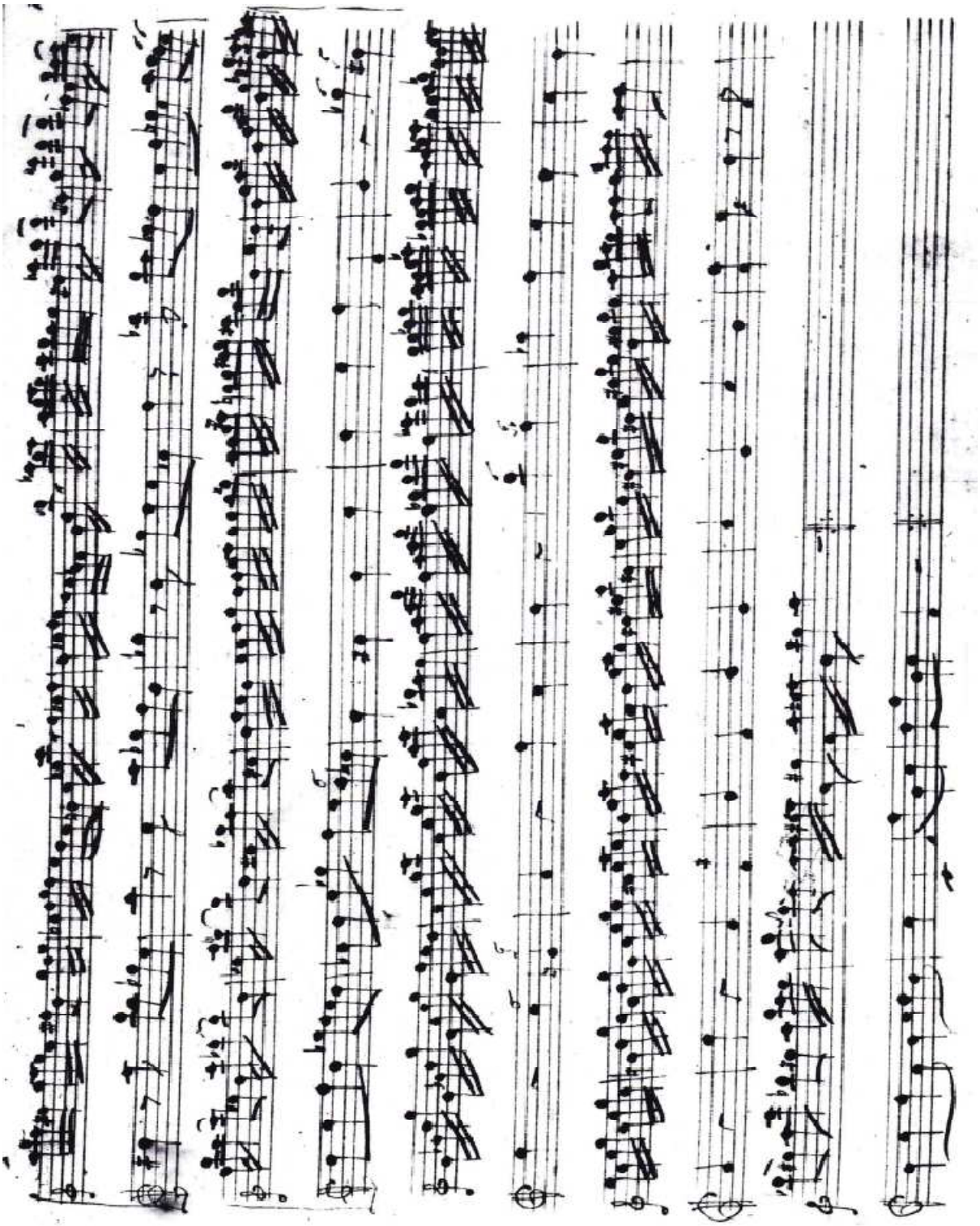

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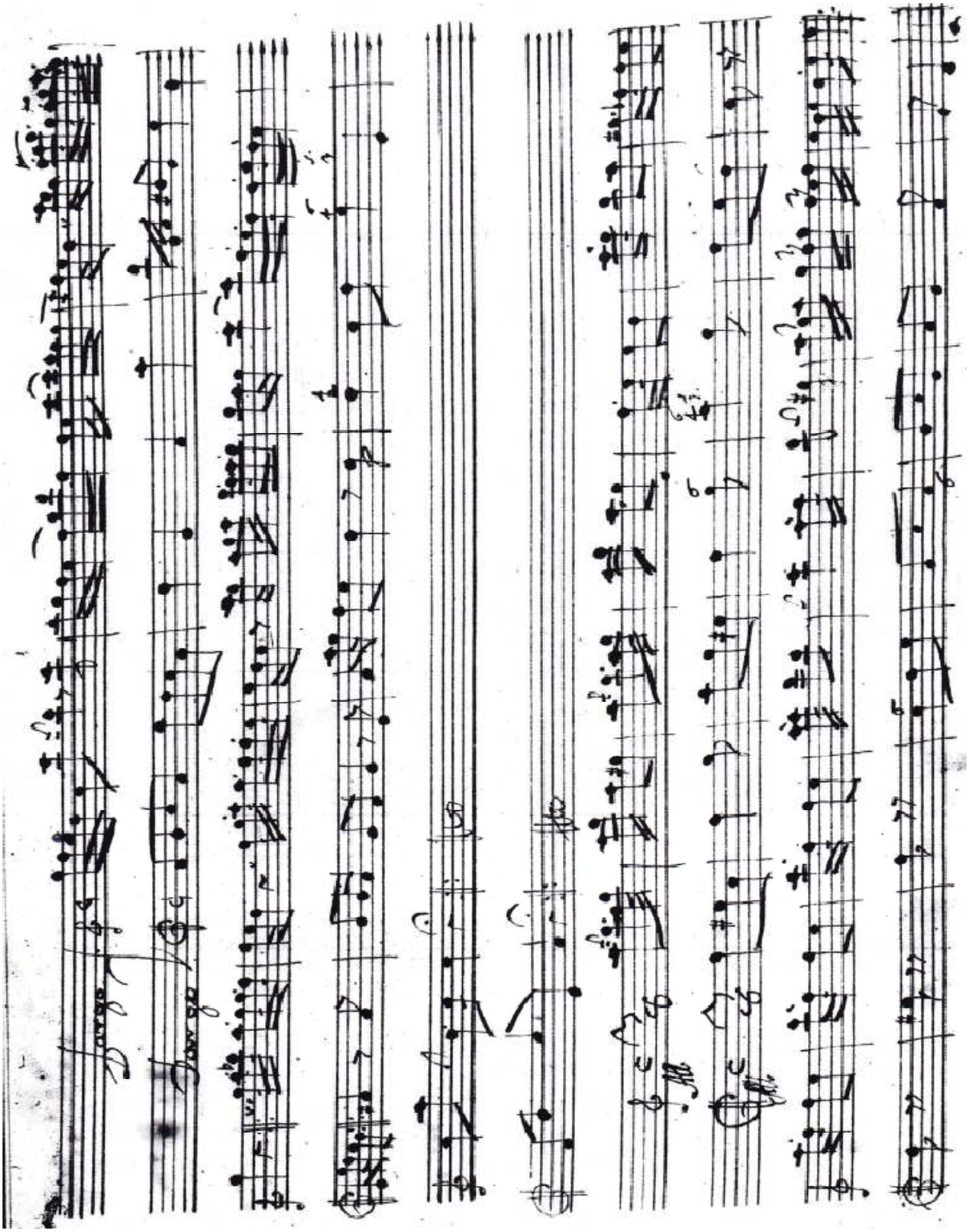
❖ *Fio.SON.01*

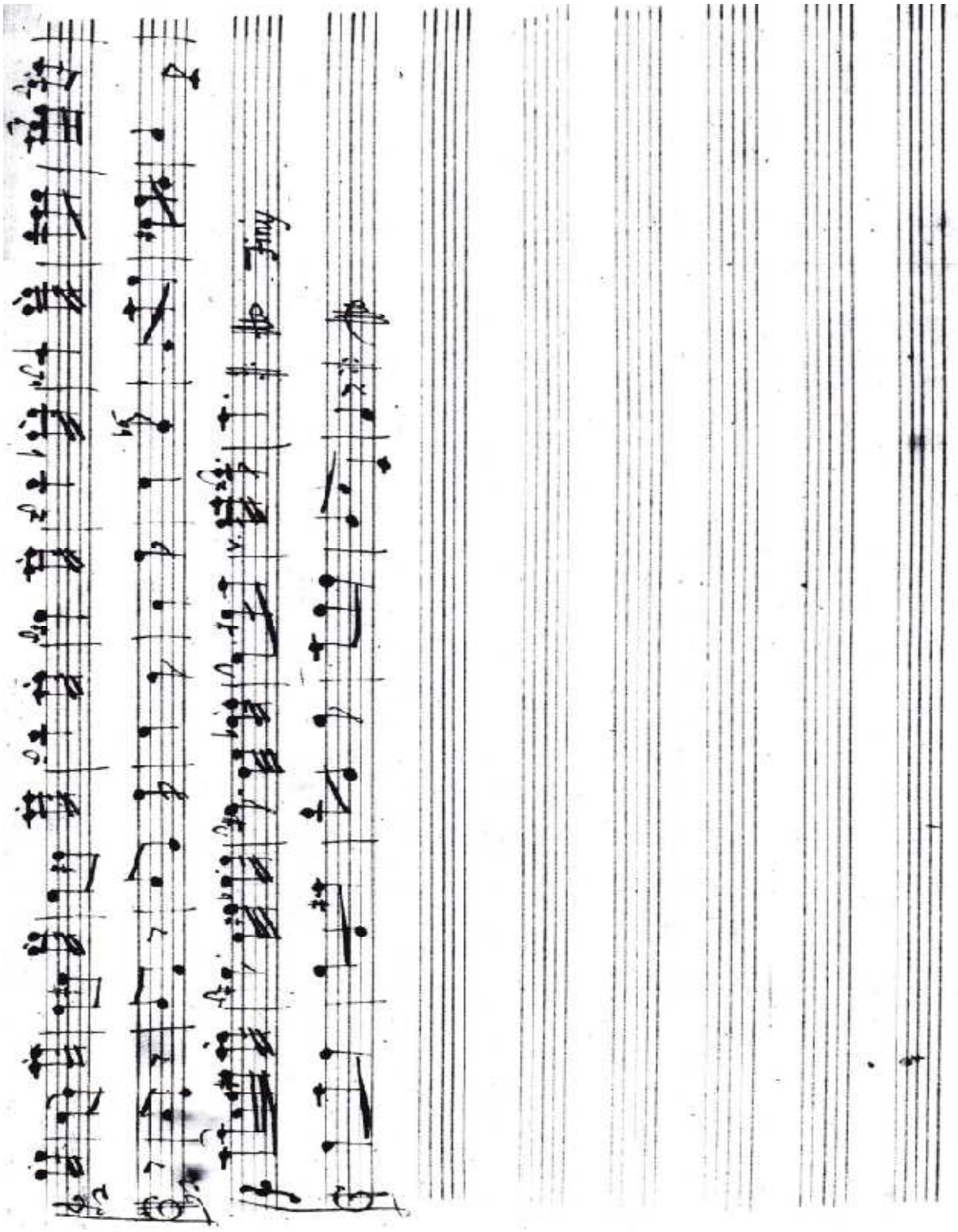



largo
Segue









We have seen here that Naples clearly rivaled Venice as a 'recorder capital of the Italian peninsula' in the eighteenth century. The ninety-one instrumental works that I have presented in detail above form a solid corpus of music, and one which is still mostly unfamiliar to modern performers. Unlike Venice, where the virtuosity of the recorder parts

often relies on technically demanding arpeggiated passage-work, the Neapolitan repertoire typically calls for virtuosity in expressing the theatricality of its melodies, underscored by surprising harmonic progressions – a clear influence from the operatic careers of the composers that wrote those works. The influence of traditional music is also perceivable, usually in the final movements of sonatas and concertos, often recalling a *tarantella.*

We have also seen that the Neapolitan works that call for high notes are indicative of the existence in Naples of recorders that work well in the higher range, and otherwise attest to the level of technical skill of the players for which the works were composed. As has been shown by the two versions of Mancini's Sonata III, it is safe to assume that in Naples the 'normal' recorder range was slightly higher than in England.

Only thirty of the 144 works listed here suggest the possible need for a recorder with double holes. This means that out of the extant works, the recorder player would benefit from an instrument with double holes in approximately 21% of the pieces; this is in contrast to what was seen in Chapter 1, since only one Italian recorder is extant with such characteristics. This suggests that our current expectations of how those notes should sound in order to be 'acceptable' may be far from the reality of how they sounded in the eighteenth century.

Fugal second (or third) movements are an important trademark of the style of the older generation of Neapolitan composers, which is shared with their younger colleagues.

The examples of ornamentation in the *solfeggi* and in the sonatas presented above denote that ornamenting was also a compositional skill that was taught and exercised. These ornaments are often restricted to simple appoggiaturas and trills, but in many other instances include diminutions in various rhythmical figures that not only add interest to the melodic line but also bring out interesting harmonies.

The fact that the vast majority of the Neapolitan recorder repertoire exists only in manuscript form is a case in point to the private life of the instrument in that city, but the fact that these works are dispersed in a variety of 'foreign' collections attests to the popularity of the composers outside of Naples. Although the greater part of the dated works falls within the years 1724–1725, it must not be forgotten that the instrumental works in the Harrach collection, for example, are not dated, and could have been written as late as 1733 when Harrach returned to Austria. In any case, the existence of more than ninety instrumental works for the recorder written and copied in Naples between the 1690s and the 1750s demonstrates the great popularity of the instrument in that city during the Baroque period – when the city reached a peak in music production and consumption.

Chillu primo lenguaggio ch'era grièco,
lo fece ermafrodito lo latino:
con 'mmesca pesca d'ogne oltramontano,
pòie s'accacciàje parlà napoletano.

Giovanni D'Antonio, *il Partenopeo* (ed. 1835)

Chapter 3: Places, Players, Patrons and Pictures

Having drawn with Chapters 1 and 2 the first plane of this thesis, I will now outline a backdrop, a perspective in which to view the study on the recorders and the compositions within a wider context. This landscape is delineated by the introduction of the musical institutions and the various artists of Naples. In sketching these institutions and people I hope to also capture the special atmosphere of the city.[478]

3.1 The view from Posillipo: "where sorrow ceases"



Figure 3.1. Pietro Fabris (active in Naples 1756–1792), *Scena di vita popolare in una grotta a Mergellina* (1756). Collection: London, Trafalgar Galleries.[479]

[478] It is not the intent for this chapter to comprehensively cover the broad social and cultural history of Naples; such a grand undertaking would go far beyond the scope of the present research. What I aim to show here are a few relevant aspects to the study of the music written for the recorder by Neapolitan composers at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

[479] Pietro Fabris, accessed February 7, 2015, http://www.napoliunderground.org/images/joomgallery/originals/le_grotte_di_napoli_e_dintorni_nellarte_attraverso_i_s

Between its foundation in the eighth century B.C. and 1759, Naples was Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Norman and Hohenstaufen, and also Angevin, Aragonese, Habsburg and Bourbon. The juxtaposition of such diverse cultures is still apparent in the various architectural and decorative styles as well as in the language the city (and region) preserves. The mere existence of its own language, Neapolitan, and its use and expression not only in daily life but also in music and literature,[480] further solidified Naples' foothold in gaining the reputation of exotic and unique. Mirroring the history of the city, the Neapolitan language draws from Latin, Spanish and Greek, with a colorful phonetic palette.



Figure 3.2. Anonymous (eighteenth century), *Veduta del Vesuvio dalla lanterna del Moro con il ponte della Maddalena ed i sobborghi di Napoli fino ai Cappuccini di Torre del Greco*. Collection: Unknown.[481]

Naples stands between the Mediterranean Sea and two volcanic areas – Vesuvius to the east and Campi Flegrei to the west – and the richness of soil that derives from this intense volcanic activity gives the region around Naples a strong agricultural presence. Vesuvius has fired the imagination of many visitors, whose recorded impressions give us a glimpse of what they experienced. The quality of the produce of the area did not escape Charles de Brosses, who referred, in a series of letters written in 1739/1740, to the vines

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ecoli_9/scene_di_vita_popolare_in_una_grotta_a_posillipo_20141226_1226525640.jpg. Roberto Middione, "FABRIS, Pietro." *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, Vol. 43*. accessed February 7, 2015, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pietro-fabris_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/.

[480] Written in Neapolitan, Giambattista Basile's *Lo cunto de li cunti* (which became better known as *Pentamerone*) was the first book of European fairytales, published posthumously in 1634.

[481] Unknown, "Veduta del Vesuvio dalla lanterna del Moro con il ponte della Maddalena ed i sobborghi di Napoli fino ai Cappuccini di Torre del Greco." *Arskey*. accessed February 5, 2015, http://www.teknemedia.net/pagine-gialle/artisti/harald_szeemann/galleria-dettaglio/39813/page-49.html.

that grow around the Vesuvius as producing some of the best wines in Italy.[482] Goethe's impression of the area was less practically grounded: "Denke ich an Neapel, […] so fällt es einem sowohl in der Erzählung als in Bildern auf, daß in diesen Paradiesen der Welt sich zugleich die vulkanische Hölle so gewaltsam auftut und seit Jahrtausenden die Wohnenden und Genießenden aufschreckt und irremacht."[483]



Figure 3.3. The Gulfs of Gaeta, Naples, and Salerno from *Campi Phlegraei, Observations on the Volcanos of the Two Sicilies* (Naples: Sir William Hamilton, 1776).[484]

It can be said in broad terms that the geographical turbulence caused by the constant 'brewing' of the volcanoes (as well as the devastation caused by outbreaks of the

[482] Charles de Brosses, *Lettres familières d'Italie: lettres écrites d'Italie en 1739 et 1740*, Le regard litteraire (Brussels: Complexe, 1995). p. 158.

[483] Johann Wolfgang Goethe, "Italienische Reise – Band 1." Project Gutenberg, accessed March 30, 2015, http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/2404/pg2404.html. Translation: "When I think of Naples, […] when I read their history, or look at views of them, it strikes me as singular that it would be even in these paradises of the world that the volcanic mountains manifest themselves so violently, for thousands of years alarming and confounding their inhabitants." Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Goethe's Travels in Italy*, trans. Alexander James William Morrison and Charles Nisbet (London: George Bell and Sons, 1892). p. 162.

[484] Hamilton's publication, in three volumes, is housed in the A. O. Woodford Collection on the History of Geology, Special Collections, Honnold/Mudd Library (QE423.V5 H36 1776).

plague) helped generate an even deeper connection of the people with faith.[485] Through the centuries, the population had endured various devastating eruptions which over time reinforced the strong importance of saints and church life in order to cope with the volatility of the environment. As De Brosses wrote:[486] "Ce n'est pas marchandise bien rare à Naples que les miracles. Le peuple, qui n'a que cela à faire, s'en occupe volontiers: *Et otiosa credidit Neapolis*."

De Brosses visited Naples during a bustling time: Charles Bourbon had ascended to the throne and was beginning his modernization of the city. De Brosses heard the performance of *Partenope* by Domenico Sarro at the recently inaugurated Teatro San Carlo, and visited the newest attraction of the region, the excavations of Herculaneum.

The varied geographical, social and cultural landscapes of Naples, together with the success of opera and the Neapolitan conservatories in the eighteenth century, all contributed to Naples' fame as a "city of spectacle"[487] – an entertaining and culturally rich city. For centuries, this fame drew Northern Europeans to visit Naples as part of the fashion of the Grand Tour.[488] The allure is undeniable and when seeing the gulf of Naples it is easy to understand how one could easily fall for the city's charms. Applying the *Sturm und Drang* notion of existential truth through sensory experience, Goethe's 1787 description of the magnetism of Naples is perhaps one of the most famous:[489]

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[485] As an example of this link, Fabris writes:

> "*Just one year after the terrible plague of 1630, there was the most terrifying eruption of Vesuvius since antiquity […] which threatened to destroy the entire city. This event further established the cult of S. Gennaro, long-time patron of the city (he appears in the oldest Neapolitan liturgies dating back to the fourteenth century), who had not been so popular until the eruption. […] When the lava threatened to destroy the eastern side of the city, Archbishop Buoncompagni decided to carry the miraculous blood and head of S. Gennaro in procession. The city of Naples was spared and the population tended to consider this a miracle by the saint.*"

Dinko Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples, Francesco Provenzale (1624–1704)* (Cornwall: Ashgate, 2007). p. 31.

[486] Charles de Brosses, *Lettres familières d'Italie: lettres écrites d'Italie en 1739 et 1740*. p. 150. Translation by the present author: "Miracles are not at all rare in Naples. The people, who have nothing else to do, are happy to spend their time with this: *and idle Naples believed*." De Brosses quotes Horace in his last sentence (Epodes V, verse 43), "showing that Naples has a tradition of laziness that dates back to ancient times." Tom Moore (musician and musicologist), private communication.

[487] Dinko Fabris, Federica Castaldo, *Napoli: città-spettacolo dal 14º al 19º secolo*, Forges-les-Eaux: Arts Graphiques Modernes (1999). p. 5.

[488] It was common for wellborn young men to travel Europe for an extended period of time, in order to conclude their education; Italy was then a popular destination. On the development of the Grand Tour as a phenomenon, see Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2014).

[489] Johann Wolfgang Goethe, "Italienische Reise – Band 1". Translation: "Vesuvius was on our left all the time, emitting copious clouds of smoke and my heart rejoiced at seeing this remarkable phenomenon with my own eyes at last. The sky grew steadily clearer and, finally, the sun beat down on our cramped and jogging quarters. By the time we reached the

Der Vesuv blieb uns immer zur linken Seite, gewaltsam dampfend, und ich war still für mich erfreut, daß ich diesen merkwürdigen Gegenstand endlich auch mit Augen sah. Der Himmel ward immer klärer, und zuletzt schien die Sonne recht heiß in unsere enge rollende Wohnung. Bei ganz rein heller Atmosphäre kamen wir Neapel näher; und nun fanden wir uns wirklich in einem andern Lande. Die Gebäude mit flachen Dächern deuten auf eine andere Himmelsgegend […]
Alles ist auf der Straße, sitzt in der Sonne, so lange sie scheinen will. Der Neapolitaner glaubt, im Besitz des Paradieses zu sein […]
[H]eute ward geschwelgt und die Zeit mit Anschauung der herrlichsten Gegenstände zugebracht. Man sage, erzähle, male, was man will, hier ist mehr als alles. Die Ufer, Buchten und Busen des Meeres, der Vesuv, die Stadt, die Vorstädte, die Kastelle, die Lusträume! […]
Ich verzieh es allen, die in Neapel von Sinnen kommen, und erinnerte mich mit Rührung meines Vaters, der einen unauslöschlichen Eindruck besonders von denen Gegenständen, die ich heut zum erstenmal sah, erhalten hatte. Und wie man sagt, daß einer, dem ein Gespenst erschienen, nicht wieder froh wird, so konnte man umgekehrt von ihm sagen, daß er nie ganz unglücklich werden konnte, weil er sich immer wieder nach Neapel dachte. […]
Von der Lage der Stadt und ihren Herrlichkeiten, die so oft beschrieben und belobt sind, kein Wort. "Vedi Napoli e poi muori!" sagen sie hier. "Siehe Neapel und stirb!" Daß kein Neapolitaner von seiner Stadt weichen will, daß ihre Dichter von der Glückseligkeit der hiesigen Lage in gewaltigen Hyperbeln singen, ist ihnen nicht zu verdenken, und wenn auch noch ein paar Vesuve in der Nachbarschaft stünden. Man mag sich hier an Rom gar nicht zurückerinnern; gegen die hiesige freie Lage kommt einem die Hauptstadt der Welt im Tibergrunde wie ein altes, übelplaciertes Kloster vor. […]
Den zweiten Fastensonntag benutzten wir, von Kirche zu Kirche zu wandern. Wie in Rom alles höchst ernsthaft ist, so treibt sich hier alles lustig und wohlgemut. Auch die neapolitanische Malerschule begreift man nur zu Neapel. […]
Aber weder zu erzählen noch zu beschreiben ist die Herrlichkeit einer Vollmondnacht, wie wir sie genossen, durch die Straßen über die Plätze wandelnd, auf der Chiaja, dem

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outskirts of Naples the sky was completely cloudless, and now we are really in another country. The houses with their flat roofs indicate another climate [...] Everybody is out in the streets and sitting in the sun as long as it is willing to shine. The Neapolitan firmly believes that he lives in Paradise […] We spent today in ecstasies over the most astonishing sights. One may write or paint as much as one likes, but this place, the shore, the gulf, Vesuvius, the citadels, the villas, everything, defies description. […] Now I can forgive anyone for going off his head about Naples, and think with great affection of my father, who received such lasting impressions from the very same objects as I saw today. They say that someone who has once seen a ghost will never be happy again; vice versa, one might say of my father that he could never be really unhappy because his thoughts could always return to Naples. […] I won't say another word about the beauties of the city and its situation, which have been described and praised so often. As they say here, 'Vedi Napoli e poi muori! – See Naples and die!' One can't blame the Neapolitan for never wanting to leave his city, nor its poets for singing the praises of its situation in lofty hyperboles: it would still be wonderful even if a few more Vesuviuses were to rise in the neighbourhood. I don't want even to think about Rome. By comparison with Naples's free and open situation, the capital of the world [Rome] on the Tiber flats is like an old wretchedly placed monastery. […] We have spent the second Sunday in Lent wandering from one church to another. What is treated in Rome with the utmost solemnity is treated here with a lighthearted gaiety. The Neapolitan school of painting, too, can only be properly understood in Naples. […] I can't begin to tell you of the glory of a night by full moon when we strolled through the streets and squares to the endless promenade of the Chiaia, and then walked up and down the seashore. I was quite overwhelmed by a feeling of infinite space. To be able to dream like this is certainly worth the trouble it took to get here. […] Every time I wish to write words, visual images come up, images of the fruitful countryside, the open sea, the islands veiled in a haze, the smoking mountain, etc., and I lack the mental organ which could describe them." Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Italian Journey (1786–1788)*, trans. Wystan Hugh Auden and Elizabeth Mayer (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1982). pp. 184-190.

> unermeßlichen Spaziergang, sodann am Meeresufer hin und wider. Es übernimmt einen wirklich das Gefühl von Unendlichkeit des Raums. So zu träumen ist denn doch der Mühe wert. […]
> Wenn ich Worte schreiben will, so stehen mir immer Bilder vor Augen des fruchtbaren Landes, des freien Meeres, der duftigen Inseln, des rauchenden Berges, und mir fehlen die Organe, das alles darzustellen.

Many other foreigners were fascinated by Naples, their (often judgmental) observations sometimes focused on particular types of inhabitants of the city, for example the *lazzaroni*, the poorest people in the city, who lived in the streets:[490]

> Cette ville est, relativement à sa grandeur, une des plus peuplées de l'Europe. […] Une […] classe d'hommes très-nombreuse à Naples, est celle du petit peuple, qui par paresse & à la faveur du climat, vit presque dans l'état de sauvage. C'est ce qu'on appelle les *Lazzaroni*: ils y habitant les rues, les rivages de la mer, sont très-peu vêtus, se nourissent de poissons secs & de légumes, n'ont aucune propriété & n'en veulent point avoir, couchent à l'air dans des places ou sur des terrasses, parce que la température d'un climat toujours serein le leur permet, & passent ainsi doucement leur vie sans soins ni soucis; leur langage, qui est le Napolitain du bas peuple, paroît rude, mais il est quelquefois énergique; ils y joignent un accent & des gestes animés. […] On peut dire que la paresse est le trait vraiment caractéristique de la Nation Napolitaine, mais qu'elle se manifeste d'une manière plus sensible parmi le bas Peuple, où l'on trouve toujours les vices & les vertus prononcées avec plus de force & d'énergie. […] Naturellement légers, les Napolitains sont emportés d'une affection à une autre ; mais l'amour du plaisir leur étant plus naturel, c'est la passion à laquelle ils s'abandonnent jusqu'à l'excès. Ils aiment plus qu'il ne sont attachés ; ils caressent plus qu'ils n'aiment ; leurs expressions sont tendres & vives, mais l'abus qu'ils en sont les refroidit.

These foreign observations were not limited to generalist descriptions of character but included also interesting insights into the varied manner in which the people of Naples dressed, for example:[491]

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[490] Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non, *Le Voyage Pittoresque ou la Description des Royaumes de Naples et de Sicile*, vol. 1 (Paris: Clousier, 1781). pp. 63, 236-237. Translation by the present author: "This city is, in relation to its size, one of the most populated of Europe. [...] A [...] very numerous class of men in Naples is that of the poor people, who by laziness & thanks to the climate, live almost in a wild state. These are who we call *Lazzaroni*: they live in the streets, the shores of the sea, are very scantily dressed, feed on dried fish & vegetables, have no property & do not want to have it either, sleep under the skies in public squares or terraces, because the temperature of an ever serene climate allows them, & thus slowly pass their lives without care or concern; their language, which is the Neapolitan of the common people, seems harsh, but it is sometimes energetic; they add an accent to it & animated gestures. [...] We can say that laziness is the really characteristic trait of the Neapolitan Nation, but that it manifests itself in a more obvious way among the low [class] People, where we always find the vices and virtues with more pronounced power & energy. [...] Naturally light-minded, the Neapolitans carried away from one emotional condition to another; but the love of pleasure is their more natural state, it's the passion to which they abandon themselves in excess. They love more those to whom they are not attached; they caress more those whom they don't love; their expressions are soft & bright, but the abuse which they feel cools them down."

[491] Ibid. p. 238. The work is available at http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k106179z. Translation by the present author: "As for the costumes of the Neapolitans, they are as varied as the language; in every neighborhood, in every village or town near Naples, the women all have some peculiarity in the way of dressing that distinguishes them [...]."

> Quant aux costumes des Napolitains, ils sont aussi variés que le langage; dans chaque quartier, dans chaque village ou ville des environs de Naples, les femmes ont toutes quelque particularité dans la manière de se vêtir qui les distingue […]

A certain fascination for the exotic was extended also to the arts, and music in particular, as Burney testified, in this account of his impressions of the traditional music of the region:[492]

> The national music here is so singular, as to be totally different, both in melody and modulation, from all that I have heard elsewhere. This evening in the streets there were two people singing alternately; one of these Neapolitan *Canzoni* was accompanied by a violin and *calascione* [sic]. The singing is noisy and vulgar, but the accompaniments are admirable, and well performed. The violin and calascione [sic] parts were incessantly at work during the song, as well as the ritornels. The modulation surprised me very much […] and the more so, as the return to the original key was always so insensibly managed, as neither to shock the ear, nor to be easily discovered by what road or relations it was brought about. […]
> This evening hearing in the street some genuine Neapolitan singing, accompanied by a calascioncino [sic], a mandoline, and a violin; I sent for the whole band up stairs, but, like other street music, it was best at a distance; in the room it was coarse, out of tune, and out of harmony; whereas, in the street, it seemed the contrary of all this: however, let it be heard where it will, the modulation and accompaniment are very extraordinary. In the canzone of tonight they began in A natural, and, without well knowing how, they got into the most extraneous keys it is possible to imagine, yet without offending the ear. After the instruments have played a long symphony in A, the singer begins in F, and stops in C, which is not uncommon or difficult; but, after another ritornel, from F, he gets into E flat, then closes in A natural; after this there were transitions even into B flat, and D flat, without giving offence, returning, or rather *sliding* always into the original key of A natural, the instruments moving the whole time in quick notes.

But, whatever outsiders saw or chose to see and describe, the city was not all charm. And Neapolitan art of the period had a realist streak that revealed a rawer side of common life in the city. Especially in the seventeenth century, Naples had been afflicted by volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, storms, war, famine and the plague.[493] Naples was then bursting full of people, many of which were poor and living in precarious conditions, allowing the plagues of 1630 and 1656 to spread quickly, the latter leaving the city almost empty. In 1631, Vesuvius had "the most terrifying eruption […] since antiquity."[494] The following ones (1660,

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[492] Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy*, 2nd ed. (London: T. Becket and Co., 1773). pp. 307-308, 321-322.

[493] Dinko Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples, Francesco Provenzale (1624–1704) (*Cornwall: Ashgate, 2007). pp. 31-34.

[494] Ibid. p. 31.

1661, 1685, 1689, 1694, 1707 ad 1767), though less strong, further confirmed the cult of San Gennaro, which was only really established after the terror of 1631.

> Storms might seem less of a danger than volcanic eruptions, but it must be remembered that a very large part of the Neapolitan lower classes lived almost on the street without a roof over their heads, while the predominant architecture of the city, with its buildings four to six storeys high, already noted by Capaccio in 1634 as the highest houses of Europe, was vulnerable to storms and earthquakes, especially given that these buildings were normally packed with inhabitants.[495]

It seems fitting therefore that contemporary artists in Naples would draw inspiration precisely from the sufferance of these destitute people to serve as models for sacred figures in their religious works. This is best seen in the works of painters such as Battistello Caracciolo, Salvatore Rosa and Jusepe de Ribera:[496]

> "Realist" painting arguably played its most profound role in seventeenth-century Naples. […] artists from Ribera to Preti developed forms of realism that transgressed the rules of decorum. Ribera, for example, painted religious, mythological, and allegorical subjects without contemplating the need to modify his realist style to suit a specific setting. […] Like Ribera, Preti — often seen as the last of the Neapolitan realists — depicted monumental religious subjects for many sacred and secular spaces while similarly not considering the need to change his artistic strategy.

In many such works, the legacy in Naples of Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio's tenebrism[497] is combined with the simplicity and dignity of ordinary people, giving the portrayal of figures of devotion, such as saints, for example, a new, more approachable, and more human face.

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[495] Ibid. p. 32. Dinko Fabris refers to *Il forastiero* (Naples: Roncagoglio, 1634) written by Giulio Cesare Capaccio.

[496] Devien Therien, "Transgressing Decorum in Neapolitan "Realist" Painting," in *The Renaissance Society of America Annual Meeting* (Montreal: Unpublished, 2011). The abstract can be found at http://c.ymcdn.com/sites/www.rsa.org/resource/resmgr/annual_meeting/montreal_abstract_book_final.pdf. About the evolution if Neapolitan painting in the Baroque period, see *Painting in Naples, 1606–1705, from Caravaggio to Giordano*, ed. Clovis Whitfield and Jane Martineau (London: Royal Academy of Arts, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982).

[497] Dramatic illumination or exaggerated *chiaroscuro*. Caravaggio (1571–1610) is credited as the forerunner of this style in Italy.



Figure 3.4. Jusepe de Ribera *detto* lo Spagnoletto (1591–1652), *Mater dolorosa* (1638). Collection: Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel, Kassel, Germany.[498]

Such a mixture of simple and complex, rich and poor, sacred and secular comes into play in the actual fabrication of artworks in Naples. As art historian Sabina de Cavi writes, the "synaesthetic and synergetic interplay of the high and popular arts in southern Italian baroque architecture and its impact on society" is paramount to the observation and understanding of Neapolitan Baroque art:[499]

[498] Jusepe de Ribera, "Mater dolorosa." accessed February 27, 2015, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jos%C3%A9_de_Ribera_-_Mater_Dolorosa_-_WGA19380.jpg.

[499] Sabina de Cavi, "Applied Arts in Naples: Materials and Artistic Techniques from Micro- to Macrocosmos," *West 86th* 19, no. 2 (Fall-Winter) (2012). pp. 197, 222. De Cavi's very interesting essay gives an overview of the decorative and

> the applied arts formed a compound of multifaceted artisanal skills and techniques, which produced an artistic phenomenon of *longue durée* that would characterize indoor and outdoor Neapolitan spaces well into the eighteenth century. This dynamic and sophisticated interaction of different craft skills and artistic impulses is what should be borne in mind when entering any Neapolitan church interior or when evaluating the artistic layering of southern Italian "surfaces." […] In the narratives of the Grand Tour, [Neapolitan] church sacristies were often seen as sacred *wunderkammers*, and church treasures as the gold mines of those same orders accused […] of delaying the Enlightenment. True or not, those 304 lavish churches certainly managed to shape and define a preindustrial production system of ready-made and bespoke luxury goods intended to be experienced and "consumed" first and foremost in situ, before being exported to faraway lands. Cult spectacle in baroque Naples thus surely depended on the educated hands and minds of painters, craftsmen, and architects to provide the overall design of scenes and architecture. But it equally depended on the insatiable need for devotion and protection, and on an infinite number of apotropaic acts.

Furthermore, Naples was also a breeding ground for a number of important personalities. Considered today a cultural anthropologist *avant la lettre*, the Neapolitan Giambattista Vico (1668–1744) studied philosophy and jurisprudence, and was a teacher of rhetoric at the University of Naples between 1699 and 1741.[500] "He attempted, especially in his major work, the *Scienza nuova* [first published in 1725], to bring about the convergence of history, from the one side, and the more systematic social sciences, from the other, so that their interpenetration could form a single science of humanity."[501]

Another (curious) personality that flourished in Naples was Raimondo di Sangro, Prince of Sansevero (1710–1777).[502] An extraordinary character, Raimondo di Sangro was a soldier, man of letters, science and art, publisher, Freemason and first Grand Master of the Neapolitan Lodge, inventor and patron. His commissions for the redesign of the family chapel left us with some of the greatest sculptural masterpieces of the Baroque era, such as the *Veiled Christ* by Giuseppe Sanmartino (1720–1793) and *Disillusion* by Francesco Queirolo (1704–1762). The realism in the treatment of the subject, and the exquisite

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corporative arts which can be observed abundantly in internal and external architecture in Naples. She also details the many materials used in the revetment (the ornamental facing of marble, stone, wood, silver and silk) of surfaces and ornaments in, mainly, Neapolitan churches.

[500] "Giambattista Vico (1668—1744)." Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy, accessed February 28, 2015, http://www.iep.utm.edu/vico/.

[501] Jules-Marie Chaix-Ruy, "Giambattista Vico." Britannica, accessed February 28, 2015, http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/627497/Giambattista-Vico.

[502] Alessandro Cutolo, "SANGRO, Raimondo di, principe di Sansevero." *Enciclopedia Italiana*. Treccani, accessed February 28, 2015, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/sangro-raimondo-di-principe-di-sansevero_(Enciclopedia-Italiana)/. The website of the Museo Capella Sansevero has lengthy information not only about the prince and his many inventions, but also about the wonderful chapel of the Sansevero family. "Museo Capella Sansevero." accessed February 28, 2015, http://www.museosansevero.it/.

execution of Sammartino's *Veiled Christ* leave us at a loss for words. The physical limitations and difficulties in the execution of elements such as Christ wounds, his frail and abandoned body, the drapes and folds in the shroud that cover him, the dimples in the pillow on which he rests his head, the pulsating vein in his forehead, all transcend this one piece of marble and what we are left with is the great impact of the humanity of the suffering of Christ. This sculpture, inserted in the context of the chapel that Raimondo di Sangro envisioned, stands alongside all the other various artworks he commissioned as a true common effort of many brilliant artists and craftsman under his passionate patronage.

As has been mentioned above, Neapolitan artworks contrast common life with sanctity, for example. In the same way, the equal consumption and appreciation of *buffa* and *seria*, the "context of fear, luster, and devotion"[503] framed by volcanos and a rich and alive traditional culture is placed against a setting for scientific innovation, rediscoveries of antiquity, and standardization of principles, for example, in the conservatories. All of these dichotomies need to be taken into consideration when viewing the Neapolitan Baroque repertoire for the recorder: these elements are behind the juxtaposition of affects and moods often found in this music.

3.2 Baroque Naples: a music capital of Europe

"Naples has played an essential role in the history of early modern Europe"[504] is a perhaps modest modern way of hinting at what contemporary writers would already more boldly assert in the Baroque period. "Naples est la capitale du monde musicien",[505] wrote Charles de Brosses in one of his letters from Italy written in 1739/1740. The city did enjoy fame as the city of music, linked to the myth of the siren Partenope, and to the masterful composers, singers and instrumentalists that the city nestled. De Brosses also wrote "Naples est la seule ville d'Italie qui sente véritablement sa capitale":[506] indeed it was the largest city in seventeenth century Europe, with a population of over 300,000,[507] and the second largest

[503] Sabina de Cavi, "Applied Arts in Naples: Materials and Artistic Techniques from Micro- to Macrocosmos." p. 222.

[504] Dinko Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples, Francesco Provenzale (1624–1704)*. p. xiv.

[505] Charles de Brosses, *L'Italie il y a cent ans; ou, Lettres écrites d'Italie a quelques amis en 1739 et 1740* (Paris: Alphonse Levavasseur, 1836). p. 383. Translation by Daniel Heartz: "Naples is the capital of the musical world." Daniel Heartz, *Music in European Capitals, The Galant Style, 1720–1780* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2003). p. 51.

[506] Charles de Brosses, *Lettres familières d'Italie: lettres écrites d'Italie en 1739 et 1740*. p. 152. Translation by Daniel Heartz: "Naples is the sole Italian city that seems truly a capital." Daniel Heartz, *Music in European Capitals, The Galant Style, 1720–1780*. p. 69.

[507] Domenico Sella, *Italy in the Seventeenth Century* (London & New York: Longman, 1997). p. 27.

by the eighteenth century, with an estimated 400,000[508] (twice the population of Venice and four times that of Rome), then only exceeded by Paris.



Figure 3.5. ***Le Royaume de Naples Divise en Douze Provinces sur les Memoires les plus Nouveaux. Par le Sr. Sanson […]*** **(Paris: Hubert Jaillot, 1696).**

Naples was the capital of the Kingdom of Naples, which took up almost half of the Italian peninsula, and included Sicily. The fact that it had one continuous (Spanish) government from the beginning of the sixteenth century until 1707 offered the environment for the city to peacefully become a major cultural and artistic center by European standards. Spain (and later Austria) controlled Naples by appointing viceroys, usually members of the aristocracy or clergy who implemented the king's orders. Between the years 1695 and 1759, the government of Naples was in the hands of:[509]

[508] Daniel Heartz, *Music in European Capitals, The Galant Style, 1720–1780*. p. 69.

[509] Tommaso Astarita, *A Companion to Early Modern Naples* (Leiden: Brill, 2013). pp. 493-495. All the viceroys governed under the rule of Holy Roman Emperor Charles VI, King of Naples. Both Althann and Harrach were especially important musical patrons, and their viceroyalties coincide with the core years of the recorder repertoire.

Luis Francisco de la Cerda, duke of Medinacelli	1696–1702
Juan Manuel Fernández Pacheco, marquis of Villena	1702–1707
Georg Adam von Martinitz	1707
Philipp von Daun	1707–1708; 1713–1719
Cardinal Vincenzo Grimani	1708–1710
Carlo Borromeo Arese, count of Arona	1710–1713
Wolfgang Hannibal von Schrattenbach	1719–1721
Marcantonio Borghese, prince of Sulmona	1721–1722
Michael Friederich von Althann	1722–1728
Aloys Thomas Raimund, Count of Harrach	1728–1733
Giulio Visconti Borromeo Arese	1733–1734
King Charles III of Bourbon	1734–1759

In 1707 the long reign of the Spanish viceroys ended, as Naples was taken over by the Austrian Habsburgs, becoming a viceroyalty of Austria for twenty-seven years, until 1734.[510] Only in 1734 did Naples regain its independence (lost as early as 1501), albeit still ruled by 'foreign' hands, as it was assigned to Charles Bourbon, formerly the Duke of Parma and Piacenza, who reigned as Charles III until 1759. Even under the rule of a viceroy, the city of Naples retained some degree of autonomy by electing representatives of the population, the six *Eletti*,[511] stemming from the higher circles of society. The elected also had the responsibility of organizing the many public celebrations, including processions and carnival entertainment.[512]

In the early part of the sixteenth century, a group of Neapolitan intellectuals had revived the legend of the city's foundation by the siren Partenope,[513] selecting her as a symbol of Naples' destiny to become the kingdom of music. This served to justify the distinct change of emphasis in the education of young Neapolitan noblemen – from the traditional pursuits of combat and chivalry, to arts and music – welcomed by the Spanish rulers of the city. The idealized image of the 'Prince of Music' was first embodied in the Prince of Salerno (Charles II of Naples, c. 1254–1309), who dominated musical life in Naples in the first half

[510] Renato Di Benedetto, et al, "Naples." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed December 15, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[511] Dinko Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples, Francesco Provenzale (1624–1704)*. p. 19.

[512] Ibid.

[513] In the legend of the Siren Partenope, she casts herself into the sea and drowns after her song fails to seduce Odysseus. Her body washes up in the shores of Naples, where the Castel dell'Ovo now stands.

of the sixteenth century, turned his palace into an auditorium for stage performances, and introduced the first comedies with music to Naples.[514]

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Naples gained fame as one of "the great centres of European culture, […] in science, philosophy, literature and figurative art, but […] even more […] in music,"[515] a reputation which still remains, partly tied up with the notorious concept of the "Neapolitan school" in music. On the role played by Naples in the history of music, and on the many controversies about whether or not to define this role as that of a school, musicologist Michael F. Robinson aptly writes:[516]

> Most musicians are aware that Naples was an extremely important musical centre in the eighteenth century. The reasons for Naples' importance were twofold: it was, firstly, a major centre for the performance of music, especially of vocal music and opera; it was also an educational training ground for a large group of composers who, together with their pupils and others influenced by them, constituted what has been called the eighteenth-century "Neapolitan school" of composers. We are not concerned here with definitions of the term "school" and whether the Neapolitan one was, as some would say, a group united by style and type of music it wrote, or was as others have claimed, a group whose members were all connected with Naples being taught by Neapolitans. It is a fact that large numbers of composers attached to the "school", whichever definition one chooses, were trained at one or other of the four music conservatories in Naples.

Indeed, the Neapolitan conservatories played an important role in creating and nurturing a 'musical lineage' discernible in the cohesive style of the works that belong to this 'school'.

As Naples gained notoriety, not only for its music but also "for its climate, for its nature and for the beauties of its gulf"[517], it attracted foreign visitors, and several of these published accounts of their perception of the city. One of these travelers was Charles Burney, who reached Naples in the 1770s in his trip through Italy. Enchanted by the fame the city had attained by then, he wrote: [518]

> I entered this city, impressed with the highest ideas of the perfect state in which I should find practical music. It was at Naples only that I expected to have my ears gratified with every musical luxury and refinement which Italy could afford. My visits to

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[514] Ibid.

[515] Renato Di Benedetto, et al, "Naples".

[516] Michael F. Robinson, "The Governors' Minutes of the Conservatory S. Maria Di Loreto, Naples," *R. M. A. Research Chronicle*, no. 10 (1972). p. 1.

[517] Dinko Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples, Francesco Provenzale (1624–1704)*. p. 1.

[518] Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy*. pp. 301–302. A transcribed text is also available online: ibid., 2014.

> other places were in the way of *business*, for the performance of a *task* I had assigned myself; but I came hither animated by the hope of pleasure. And what lover of music could be in the place which had produced the two Scarlattis, Vinci, Leo, Pergolese [sic], Porpora, Farinelli, Jomelli [sic], Piccini, Traetta, Sacchini, and innumerable others of the first eminence among composers and performers, both vocal and instrumental, without the most sanguine expectations? How far these expectations were gratified, the Reader will find in the course of my narrative, which is constantly a faithful transcript of my feelings at the time that I entered them in my journal, immediately after hearing and seeing, with a mind not conscious of any prejudice or partiality.

But the expectation did not always match the reality in the case of Naples,[519] as we will see later in Burney's comments about what he actually saw and heard of the musical life in Naples.

The Neapolitan music scene was not centralized around a court or a single power. Nevertheless, the post of *maestro di cappella* in the viceroy's Real Cappella was one of much prestige,[520] and all the elected *maestri* kept the position until their death. In 1704 the Royal Chapel consisted of a *maestro*, a *vicemaestro*, three organists, nineteen singers of the first rank (including the famous castrati Matteo Sassani and Nicolo Grimaldi *detto* Nicolini) as well as eight violins, two violas, two double basses and one harp.[521] By then, the Royal Chapel's duties had changed, and it was employed mostly in the opera performances in the palace and city theatres, and less in official liturgical ceremonies.[522] Four of the composers who wrote for the recorder in its golden years in Naples were *maestri* at the Royal Chapel: Alessandro Scarlatti (who served the Royal Chapel on and off between 1683 and his death in 1725), Francesco Mancini (from 1725 to 1737), Domenico Sarro (from 1737 to 1744) and Leonardo Leo (1744).

As noted above, the *Eletti* for the local government of Naples were responsible for organizing public ceremonies, such as processions and carnivals. The most important events took part in September, when, for three nights, celebrations were held in honor of San Gennaro, the most important of the twenty-two patron saints of the *Fidelissima Città*. The music which accompanied these occasions was entrusted to a *maestro di cappella* elected especially for the purpose.[523] As is witnessed by the surviving organs,[524] in the seventeenth

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[519] Dinko Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples, Francesco Provenzale (1624–1704)*. p. 1.

[520] On the complicated hierarchy of the Neapolitan governing forces, and the better placement of the *maestro di cappella* on a governmental post during the viceroyalty of Spain, Fabris presents a very useful table. Ibid. p. 16.

[521] Ibid.

[522] Renato Di Benedetto, et al, "Naples".

[523] Dinko Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples, Francesco Provenzale (1624–1704)*. p. 19.

and eighteenth centuries music was present and cultivated in a vast array of other secular and sacred institutions in the city, including:

- Tesoro di San Gennaro;
- Cathedral Musicians (employed by the Archbishop of Naples);
- Santa Casa dell'Annunziata: a charitable institution for orphans, which gradually came to specialize in providing the orphans with musical education;
- Chiesa del Gesù;
- various Neapolitan musical associations;
- Congregazione dell'Oratorio dei Girolamini (which still holds an important collection of Neapolitan sacred music);
- Four conservatories for boys: Santa Maria di Loreto, Sant'Onofrio a Porta Capuana, Santa Maria della Pietà dei Turchini (all three governed by civic and viceregal entities) and Poveri di Gesù Cristo (the only one under archiepiscopal jurisdiction);[525]
- many churches and convents: Monteoliveto, San Severino e Sossio, San Giacomo degli Spagnoli etc.;
- various theaters: Teatro di San Bartolomeo, dei Fiorentini, di San Carlo, Teatro Nuovo and Teatro della Pace. The old San Bartolomeo was demolished in 1737, when the new San Carlo was inaugurated by the first Bourbon king of Naples.

[524] Ibid. p. 22. Fabris writes further: "Given that no Neapolitan church was without an organ – and, after 1600, most had two, opposite each other – it seems that there were some 500 organs being used in the city." pp. 23-24.

[525] Ibid. p. 79. As shown by Robinson, the administration of these institutions was in some of the most important hands in Neapolitan political life and it is fascinating to see the network of people involved in this so called 'charity work'. Michael F. Robinson, "The Governors' Minutes of the Conservatory S. Maria Di Loreto, Naples." pp. 1-97.



Figure 3.6. *Napoli* (Augsburg: G. Bodenehr 1704-20).

As in other major Italian cities, and especially after the Council of Trent (1545–1563), various confraternities were established in Naples for the mutual support of craftsmen,[526] including instrument makers. The first confraternity of musicians, Santa Maria degli Angeli, was created in 1569, but others were not founded until the middle of the seventeenth century. In 1649 the Congregazione de Musici was created in the church of San Giorgio Maggiore. By 1655 it numbered approximately 150 members. In 1667 the confraternity (or rather, what was left of it after the 1656 plague) was split between the string players and the wind players. The musicians of the Royal Chapel also had their own confraternity, named after Santa Cecilia, documented from 1655.[527]

All the great Neapolitan musicians who were not noblemen belonged to some professional confraternity, but there existed also countless confraternities of craftsmen who sponsored musical performances in religious institutions or during public processions, usually employing professional musicians and conservatory students as the occasion required.

The huge number of institutions in which music was practiced required a growing number of performing musicians. From the middle of the sixteenth century, some of the many charitable institutions in Naples known as *conservatori,* and founded originally as orphanages, began to specialize in musical education,[528] in response to the increasing enthusiasm for music in the city. These charitable institutions provided religious and classical

[526] Dinko Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples, Francesco Provenzale (1624–1704)*. p. 21.

[527] Ibid. pp. 21-22.

[528] Ibid. p. 25.

education, but the nature of these establishments changed quickly, as they began taking in boys who were not orphans but who came from poor families, in order to prepare them for a musical career, or alternatively accepting pupils from wealthy families in return for paid tuition. All the institutions had one *maestro* for the string instruments (and sometimes an occasional *maestro* for lute as well), and one *maestro* for all wind instruments.[529]

The earliest *conservatorio* was the S. Maria di Loreto, founded in 1537. A *maestro di cappella* is mentioned from 1633, and between 1664 and 1675 it was Francesco Provenzale. Subsequent *maestri* include, among others, Alessandro Scarlatti, (for one month in 1689), Francesco Mancini (1720–1737), and Nicola Porpora (1739–1741 and 1758–1760).[530]

The Conservatorio di Sant'Onofrio was established in 1578, and the earliest musical activities mentioned are in 1653, but only after Francesco Rossi served as *maestro di cappella* (1669–1672) did it begin to rival the other institutions. Other than the *maestro di cappella*, the Sant'Onofrio conservatory had *maestri* who taught singing, violin, cornetto, and, from 1785, cello as well.

The Conservatorio di S. Maria della Pietà dei Turchini started as a confraternity in 1583. Musical activity at the Turchini was on the rise from the beginning of the seventeenth century, and *maestri di cappella* over the years include Francesco Provenzale (1673–1701) and Leonardo Leo (1741–1744) among others.

The S. Maria di Loreto and the Sant'Onofrio merged in 1797; the Pietà dei Turchini, which had been the wealthiest among them, joined in 1807, when all three formed the Real Collegio di Musica, and later, the Conservatorio di Musica S. Pietro a Majella (which still exists).

There was a fourth *conservatorio*, however, which did not merge with the other three. This was the Conservatorio dei Poveri di Gesù Cristo, which was founded in 1599, and dissolved in 1743. Musical activities in this institution are mentioned from 1603 onwards, and from about the middle of the seventeenth century its music teachers had sufficient renown to rival the other *conservatori*. Among them was Francesco Durante, who taught between 1728 and 1738. The most famous student of this conservatory was Giovanni Battista Pergolesi (1710-1736).

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[529] The boys were taught grammar, humanities, rhetoric, morals, logic, philosophy and of course music. Michael F. Robinson, "The Governors' Minutes of the Conservatory S. Maria Di Loreto, Naples." pp. 1-97.

[530] Specifically on the Conservatorio di Santa Maria di Loreto, refer to ibid.

On his impressions of the musical institutions of the city, Burney wrote:[531]

> There are three Conservatorios in this city, for the education of *boys* who are intended for the profession of music, of the same kind with those of Venice, for *girls*. As the scholars in the Venetian Conservatorios have been justly celebrated for their taste and neatness of execution, so those of Naples have long enjoyed the reputation of being the first *contrapuntists*, or composers, in Europe. […] I went again this afternoon to the Franciscan's church, where there was a larger band than the day before. The whole Conservatorio of the *Pietà*, consisting of a hundred and twenty boys, all dressed in a blue uniform, attended. The *Sinfonia* was just begun when I arrived; it was very brilliant, and well executed: then followed a pretty good chorus; after which, an air by a tenor voice, one by a *soprano*, one by a *contralto*, and another by a different tenor; but worse singing I never heard before, in Italy; all was un-finished and *scholar-like*; the closes[532] stiff, studied, and ill executed; and nothing like a shake could be mustered out of the whole band of singers. The *soprano* forced the high notes in a false direction, till they penetrated the brain of every hearer; and the base [sic] singer was as rough as a mastiff, whose barking he seemed to imitate. A young man played a solo concerto on the bassoon, in the same incorrect and unmasterly manner, which drove me out of the church before the vespers were finished. From hence I went directly to the comic opera, which, tonight, was at the *Teatro Nuovo*. This house is not only less than the *Fiorentini*, but is older and more dirty. The way to it, for carriages, is through streets very narrow, and extremely inconvenient. This burletta was called *Le Trame per Amore*, and set by Signor Giovanni Paesiello [sic], *Maestro di Capella* [sic] *Napolitano*. The singing was but indifferent; there were nine characters in the piece, and yet not one good voice among them; however, the music pleased me very much; it was full of fire and fancy, the ritornels abounding in new passages, and the vocal parts in elegant and simple melodies, such as might be remembered and carried away after the first hearing, or be performed in private by a small band, or even without any other instrument than a harpsichord. […]

He had equally harsh words for the conservatories of Santa Maria di Loreto and that of Sant'Onofrio. Upon meeting Jommelli, he learned why:[533]

> I told him my errand to Italy, and shewed [sic] him my plan, for I knew his time was precious. He read it with great attention, and conversed very openly and rationally: said, that the part which I had undertaken was much neglected at present in Italy; that the Conservatorios, of which, I told him, I wished for information, were now at a low ebb, though formerly so fruitful in great men.

Later still, Burney visited Sant'Onofrio himself, presenting us with vivid accounts of the daily lives of the students:[534]

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[531] Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy*. pp. 303-304, 314-316. It is interesting to note that Burney is not impressed by the performances but praises the quality of the music itself, the catchy, "elegant and simple melodies" typical of the period. His observation of the fact that the music was perfect to be "performed in private" is also characteristic of his own environment: publishing houses such as that of John Walsh in England had been very successful reducing famous arias of operas to melody and bass, to be enjoyed at home.

[532] Ends, cadences.

[533] Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy*. pp. 327-328.

> This morning I went with young Oliver to his Conservatorio of St. Onofrio, and visited all the rooms where the boys practise, sleep, and eat. On the first flight of stairs was a trumpeter, screaming upon his instrument till he was ready to burst; on the second was a french-horn, bellowing in the same manner. In the common practising room there was a *Dutch concert*, consisting of seven or eight harpsichords, more than as many violins, and several voices, all performing different things, and in different keys: other boys were writing in the same room; but it being holiday time, many were absent who usually study and practise there together. The jumbling them all together in this manner may be convenient for the house, and may teach the boys to attend to their own parts with firmness, whatever else may be going forward at the same time; it may likewise give them force, by obliging them to play loud in order to hear themselves; but in the midst of such jargon, and continued dissonance, it is wholly impossible to give any kind of polish or finishing to their performance; hence the slovenly coarseness so remarkable in their public exhibitions; and the total want of taste, neatness, and expression in all these young musicians, till they have acquired them elsewhere. The beds, which are in the same room, serve for seats to the harpsichords and other instruments. Out of thirty or forty boys who were practising, I could discover but two that were playing the same piece: some of those who were practising on the violin seemed to have a great deal of hand. The violoncellos practise in another room: and the flutes, hautbois, and other wind instruments, in a third, except the trumpets and horns, which are obliged to fag, either on the stairs, or on the top of the house.

As we learn from Robinson,[535] many more details about the life of the *figlioli* can be found in the four books of minutes of Santa Maria di Loreto. They studied and lived in the conservatories, along with most of their teachers, and all followed strict rules as to their behavior. There was at all times a *maestro di casa* (who was usually a priest) responsible for the boys, and who would accompany their excursions outside the conservatory, insuring they went out properly dressed, taking care of their clothing and books, and making sure that the conservatory got paid for the recruitment of the boys. The students were only allowed out of the conservatories for the fifteen days of vacation and to perform in the city, in small and large groups in funerals, processions, religious celebrations and general musical performances.

In the education of the pupils, the conservatory employed:

- many *maestri di scuola*, responsible for teaching humanities, grammar, rhetoric, religion and philosophy;
- later in the eighteenth century, *maestri di scienza* and *maestri di geometria*;

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[534] Ibid. pp. 336-338.

[535] Michael F. Robinson, "The Governors' Minutes of the Conservatory S. Maria Di Loreto, Naples."

- and the music teachers, divided into: *maestro di cappella* and *vicemaestro di cappella*, responsible for teaching partimento (composition and counterpoint),[536] singing and keyboard, as well as composing music for the boys to perform; *maestri* for specific instruments (violin, oboe etc.); and *sottomaestri*, usually senior students who shared the teaching of the juniors.

Regarding *partimento*, Gjerdingen writes that "[such] *partimenti* look similar to ordinary figured-bass accompaniments. Yet the goal seems to have been broader: the inculcation of motivic and consequently contrapuntal thinking."[537]

Burney's accounts on the conservatories in the late eighteenth century offer a glimpse at the decline undergone by music education in the city. But before that, in the early eighteenth century, the musical forces of the city reached great and mostly well-deserved acclaim. Influential musicians and composers were formed locally and exported everywhere, and included the likes of Leonardo Leo, Francesco Mancini, Domenico Sarro, Giuseppe Porsile, Nicola Porpora and Leonardo Vinci, all of whom composed for the recorder.

3.3 The recorder in Baroque Naples: actors and their stages

As in Venice, where the history of the recorder has been more widely explored,[538] the recorder was to be found in varied layers of the musical scene in Naples. The instrument was taught in the conservatories, and this gave rise to the need for didactic music; it is clear that the students of the conservatories performed throughout the city, in churches and in theaters, this being necessary also for the financial maintenance of these institutions. The recorder was also used in performances of the Royal Chapel, as well as in operas, cantatas and serenatas; it featured in instrumental works by the composers who worked for the court and the theaters, in venues such as the Teatro San Bartolomeo and the Palazzo Stigliano, as is evident from the list of larger scale works presented in Chapter 2 and Appendix 2. The exceptionally large instrumental repertoire, indicates that the recorder was also enjoyed in

[536] This is one of the main differences with the music teaching in Venice where only instruments were taught, and not composition. On *partimento*, see: Robert O. Gjerdingen, "Partimenti in Their Historical Context." *Monuments of Partimenti*. Northwestern University, accessed November 10, 2014, http://faculty-web.at.northwestern.edu/music/gjerdingen/partimenti/aboutParti/histOverview.htm. See also: Thomas Christensen, Robert Gjerdingen, Giorgio Sanguinetti, Rudolf Lutz, *Partimento and Continuo Playing in Theory and in Practice*, ed. Dirk Moelants, Collective Writings of the Orpheus Institute (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2010).

[537] Robert Gjerdingen, "Partimenti written to impart a knowledge of counterpoint and composition," in *Partimento and Continuo Playing in Theory and in Practice*, ed. Dirk Moelants (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2010). p. 59.

[538] Probably motivated at first by Vivaldi and his recorder concertos. See for example the studies by Sardelli, op. cit.

more private spheres, either by amateurs who themselves played the instrument and commissioned compositions or by the musicians sponsored by aristocrats for private musical gatherings.

Documentation of specific instances in which the recorder is present is fragmentary at best, and it is not immediately evident who the recorder players of those days were, or where they played. Nevertheless, puzzling together what little is currently known may offer interesting insights about the placement of the recorder in a musical society, as well as eventually lead to clearer conclusions about the repertoire and the instruments that were possibly used to perform it.

This chapter aims to present information about the musicians who played the recorder in Naples during the period under consideration. Particular attention will be given to the purely instrumental works, which are at the core of the repertoire. Instrumentalists need instruments, and this chapter will keep the recorders themselves always in view. Finally, I examine some depictions of recorders in contemporary artworks, from Naples and elsewhere, in an effort to identify the 'Baroque Italian recorder' (discussed in Chapter 1) in paintings of the time.

The table below summarizes the biographies of the composers presented in Chapter 2, with the specific purpose of showing their movement between and overlap in a few relevant musical institutions, focusing on the recorder.[539]

Table 3.2.1: Tracking the activities in the musical institutions of Naples (and abroad) of Neapolitan composers who wrote for the recorder

composer	studies	teaching	Royal Chapel	other	abroad	dated recorder works
Barbella	- S. Maria di Loreto (with Cailò)	- S. Maria di Loreto (1722: *maestro di violino*) - S. Onofrio	–	–	–	- c. 1725
Fiorenza	- S. Maria di Loreto (with Cailò and F. Barbella)	- S. Maria di Loreto (1743–1762)	- 1726: *soprannumerario* violinist; - 1758–1764: head violinist	- one work included in the Harrach collection: commissioned?	–	- 1726 - 1728
Fischetti	- S. Maria di Loreto (with Mancini)	- S. Maria di Loreto (1735: assistant to Mancini)	- 1723: *soprannumerario* organist; - 1727: *ordinario*		–	–

[539] For details, refer to Chapter 2.

Leo	- Pietà dei Turchini (1709 with Fago)	- Pietà dei Turchini (1734–1737: *vicemaestro*, 1741: *primo maestro*) - S. Onofrio (1739: primo maestro)	- 1713: *soprannumerario* organist; - 1725: first organist; - 1737: *vicemaestro;* - 1744:*maestro*	- 7 works included in the Harrach collection: commissioned?	–	–
Mancini	- Pietà dei Turchini (1688 organ with Provenzale and Ursino)	- Pietà dei Turchini (1694: organist) - S. Maria di Loreto (1720: *maestro di cappella*)	- 1702: admitted - 1704: principal organist; - 1708: *maestro,* then deputy; - 1725–1737: *maestro*	- received patronage of John Fleetwood, British consul in Naples until 1725	–	- 1724 - 1725
Mele	- Poveri di Gesù (1710–c. 1722 with G. Greco)	–	–	–	- Madrid (1735–1752: mainly opera composer)	- c. 1725
Piani	- Pietà dei Turchini (with Cailò and Vinciprova)	–	–	- one work included in the Harrach collection: commissioned?	- Paris (1704–c. 1721) – Vienna (1721–1757: violinist at court, then director of instr. music)	- 1712
Porpora	- Poveri di Gesù (1696 with G. Greco?)	- Poveri di Gesù (?1699: assistant teacher) - S. Onofrio (1715: *maestro*, 1760–1761: teaching position) - S. Maria di Loreto (1739–1741: *maestro di cappella*, 1760–1761: 'extra' *maestro di cappella*) - private lessons	–	- before 1711–1713: *maestro di cappella* to Philipp of Hesse–Darmstadt (general of the Austrian army)	- Rome (1713: *maestro di cappella* Portuguese ambassador) - Munich and Vienna (1724: operas) - Venice (until 1733: Ospedale degli Incurabili; 1741–1742: *maestro di coro* Pietà; 1744–1747: *maestro del coro* Ospedaletto) - London (1733–1736: Opera of the Nobility) - Dresden (1747: singing teacher, 1748–1750: Ober-Kapellmeister)	–
Porsile	- Poveri di Gesù (with Ursino, Giordano and G. Greco)	–	–	- one work included in the Harrach collection: commissioned?	- Barcelona (1708: *vice-maestro de capilla*) - Vienna (1713: dowager empress singing teacher)	–
Pullj	–	–	- 1732: archlute	- played and wrote for the Teatro dei Fiorentini	–	–
Sarro	- S. Onofrio (1686)	–	- 1704–1707, 1725–1737: *vicemaestro di cappella*;	- 1704: *vicemaestro di cappella* at the Arciconfraternita della SS Trinità de' Pellegrini;	–	- 1725 - c. 1725

			- 1737: *maestro di cappella*	- 1728: *maestro di cappella* to the city - his works are included in the Harrach collection: commissioned?		
Scarlatti	–	- S. Maria di Loreto (1689: *maestro di cappella*) - private lessons	- 1684–1702: *maestro di cappella* - 1708–1725: *maestro di cappella*	–	- Rome (1678–1682: *maestro di cappella* S. Giacomo degli Incurabili; until 1689: *maestro di cappella* Queen Christina of Sweden; 1682: *maestro di cappella* S. Girolamo della Carità; 1703–1705: assistant *maestro di cappella* Congregazione dell'Oratorio di S. Filippo Neri; 1703: assistant *maestro di cappella* Cappella Liberiana S. Maria Maggiore; 1705–1706: minister to Ottoboni; 1706: admitted to Arcadian Academy)	- 1695 - c. 1699 - 1699 - c. 1700 - 1701 - 1715 - 1716 - 1718 - 1719 - 1723 - c. 1725
Valentine	–	–	–	- received patronage of John Fleetwood, British consul in Naples c. 1715–1725	–	- c. 1725
Vinci	- Poveri di Gesù (1708–1718 with G. Greco, as *convittore*[540] for 3 years)	- Poveri di Gesù (1711–1718: *mastricello*; 1728: *maestro*)	- 1725: *provicemaestro di cappella*	- 1718: *maestro di cappella* Prince Sansevero. - 1728 *maestro di cappella* Congregazione del Rosario S. Caterina a Formiello	- Rome (1724: opera commission delle Dame; 1729–1730: impresario Teatro alle Dame/ex-Alibert) - Venice (1725: operas for Teatro S. Giovanni Grisostomo)	- 1725

The recorder was taught in the conservatories of Naples in the same manner in which the string instruments were taught: by one single teacher for all wind instruments. In the beginning, only cornetto and bassoon teachers were mentioned for the winds but it is clear that they taught a wide variety of other instruments. In 1727, the post of wind instrument teacher at the Conservatorio di Santa Maria di Loreto, for example, included teaching "l'oboe, flauto, flautino, flauto à traversino, tromba, tromba di caccia, trombone e

[540] A fee-paying student. Michael F. Robinson, "The Governors' Minutes of the Conservatory S. Maria Di Loreto, Naples." p. 52.

qualsiasi altro istrumento di fiato,"[541] which is not at all surprising, as the roles played by multi-instrumentalists were considerably blurred. The *maestri* of woodwinds at Santa Maria di Loreto were:[542]

- Pietro Baldassaro Frezzolino, from before 1702 until 1727;
- Paolo Pierro, from 1727 until 1748;
- Cherubino Corena, from 1748 until 1762.

Similarly, at Sant'Onofrio until 1742, the "cornetta, corno da caccia, tromba, trombone, oboe, flauto, traverso e traversino, fagotto" were taught by:[543]

- Francesco Basso, from 1658 until 1688;
- Pietro Manto, 1688–1701;
- Pietro Baldassarre Frezzolino, 1701–1727;
- Francesco Papa, 1727–1729;[544]
- Ferdinando Rossi, 1729–1734;
- Giovanni Comes, 1734–1742.

Pupils at the conservatoire were provided not only with shelter, food and clothes, but also with musical instruments. Therefore, these institutions bought and maintained a variety of instruments, and payments for the acquisition of reeds, strings, harpsichord quills, bows, as well as bassoons, violins, cellos, lutes etc. are extant in many payment sheets of all four conservatories, as early as 1690.[545] Payments were made either externally or internally, in other words, to those *trombari*, *cembalari* and *violinari* who were in the fixed payroll of the institution or not. Unfortunately no names for makers or repairers of recorders are mentioned.

[541] Amongst others in Tommaso Rossi, "Il Flauto a Napoli durante il Viceregno Austriaco (1707–1734)" (Master Degree, Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II, 2010). pp. 34-35. Note how the "flauto à traversino" is mentioned separately. This detail will be further explored again below.

[542] Information given only for the period regarded in the present study. Michael F. Robinson, "The Governors' Minutes of the Conservatory S. Maria Di Loreto, Naples." pp. 49-50, 97.

[543] Salvatore di Giacomo, *Il Conservatorio di S. Onofrio a Capuana e quello di S.M. della Pietà dei Turchini* (Palermo: Sandron, 1924). pp. 139-140.

[544] Francesco Papa is also mentioned as teacher of oboe and 'flauto' at the conservatory of the *Pietà dei Turchini* (1724–1752) and at the Teatro San Carlo (1742) as *primo oboe di Napoli.* Alfredo Bernardini, private communication.

[545] Giuseppe d'Aula received a fixed annual payment for keeping the bassoons and trombones of the Pietà dei Turchini. Dinko Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples, Francesco Provenzale (1624–1704)*. p. 85.

Tommaso Rossi has found a few payment entries for "flauti" in the *Libro Maggiore* of payment registers of Santa Maria di Loreto, in the period 1704–1714, under *spese di musica*:[546]

Ottobre 1705	- Per un flauto	1.4
Luglio 1706	- Per due flauti	5
Novembre 1710	- In compra di un flauto di tuono contralto	2.3.15
	- Per accomodare di un flauto del Conservatorio	1.4.10

Rossi proposes that "sembrerebbe proprio S. Maria di Loreto il conservatorio all'avanguardia nel recepire l'insegnamento dei nuovi strumenti a fiato, che rapidamente si erano diffusi in Italia grazie all'attività di strumentisti d'oltralpe nei primissimi anni del XVIII secolo."[547]

As seen before, Santa Maria di Loreto distinguished between "flauto" and "flauto à traversino". Considering also that the distinction "contralto" just seen is most pertinent to the recorder, the payments above should be considered to refer to recorders.

At the *Poveri di Gesù Cristo* Rossi has found one similar payment:[548]

1709	- Per un flauto	1.1.10

And at the *Pietà dei Turchini*, the following records have been found:[549]

Settembre 1723	- Per un flauto usado [sic]	0.60
Gennaio 1724	- Per un oboe ed un flauto usado [sic]	1.80
Marzo 1725	- Per fare un pezzo ad un flauto[550]	0.30

Rossi has also found a number of records of the Pietà dei Turchini from the years between 1734 and 1738 which confirm the distinction of nomenclature between recorder and traverso; "flauto" in all of the cases refers, undoubtedly, to the recorder:[551]

[546] Tommaso Rossi, "Il Flauto a Napoli durante il Viceregno Austriaco (1707–1734)." p. 34.

[547] Ibid. p. 41. Translation by the present author: "it would seem that S. Maria di Loreto was the conservatory at the forefront of incorporating the teaching of new wind instruments, which had spread rapidly in Italy thanks to the work of musicians from across the Alps in the early years of the eighteenth century."

[548] Ibid. p. 39.

[549] This information was transcribed from the Archivio Storico del Conservatorio di Musica San Pietro a Majella di Napoli and kindly provided by Tommaso Rossi, unpublished research.

[550] This is important proof that it was common practice then (and now) to replace parts of instruments, either because they had been damaged or lost. This may be the explanation for the mixed Castel and Palanca parts in Cas/Pal.ALT.01, for example. As the record above does not specify what part was replaced, we may also conjecture that this was a *corp de rechange* for a different pitch.

16 marzo 1735 (42 r.)	- Banco di S. Alessio delli denari ne paga dieci al Sig. Francesco Papa m[aest]ro di [o]boé, **flauto, e traversino** del d° Real Conservatorio per sua provisione di mesi quattro dal passato anno 1734 e finiti a ultimo del prossimo passato mese di febbraio; nel predetto giorno comincia di fatica alla ragion di 2.2.10 il mese. […]
6 agosto 1735 (65 r.) Papa M[aest]ro di Boe	- Banco del Popolo delli denari ne pagate 2 allo M° Papa M[aest]ro di [o]boe**, flauto e traversino** del real Conservatorio per la sua provvisione di mesi cinque dal mese di marzo dell'anno 1734 e finiti a ultimo del prossimo passato mese di luglio alla ragione di 2.2.10 il mese sit pagati per detta causa e resta [….]
11 gennaio 1736 (92 r.) Papa [o]Boe	- Banco di S. Eliggio delli denari ne paga ducati dieci più 2.10 al Sig Francesco Papa Maestro di [o]boé, **flauto e traversino** del detto Real Conservatorio per la sua provvisione di mesi cinque dal p[ri]mo di agosto del corrente anno 1735 per tutto lo precedente mese di dicembre alla ragione di 2.2.10. sit pagati per detta causa e resta soddisfatto……12.2.10
26 maggio 1736 (111 v.)	- Banco ut sopra delli denari per ne pagate dieci al Sig. Franc. Papa m[aest]ro di [o]Boe, **Flauto, e Traversino** del detto Conservatorio, sono per sua provisione di mesi quattro dal passato di Gennaro a tutto lo prossimo pagato mese di aprile dell'anno 1736, alla ragione di ducati 2.2.10 il mese.
25 settembre 1736 (126 v.) M[aest]ro di flauto	- Banco della Salute delli denari ne pagate diece al Sig. Francesco Papa m[aest]ro di oboe, **flauto e traversino** del detto Real Conservatorio e sono per provvisione di mesi quattro al p[ri]mo di marzo del pres[ente] anno a tutto lo prossimo pagato mese di agosto alla ragione di 2.2.10 il mese. sit pagati per detta causa e resta […]
18 luglio 1737 (166 r.)	- Banco ut sopra (S. Giacomo) delli denari ne paga ducati diece al Sig. Francesco Papa ma[e]stro d'oboe, **flauto e traversiero** del detto real Conservatorio, sono per sua provvisione di mesi quattro dal primo di gennaro per tutto aprile del corr[ente]. Anno 1737, alla ragione di d. 2.2.10 il mese sit pagati per detta causa e resta.

[551] This information was transcribed from the *Registro di Polise del real Conservatorio della Pietà de Turchini, Reh. 16* (which begins in June 1734) and kindly provided by Tommaso Rossi, unpublished research. Bold sections added by the present author. The distinction made in the teaching of recorder and flute at the Pietà dei Turchini should be extrapolated to the music presented in Chapter 2 and Appendix 2, confirming that the assignation of 'flauto' in the works listed refers to the recorder. (The records presented above have not been translated in detail as the important aspects that need to be pointed out have been made bold. For the sake of clarity, all the entries refer to payments made by the Bank of S. Alessio to Francesco Papa, who was a teacher of oboe, recorder and traverso at the "Royal Conservatoire", i.e. Pietà dei Turchini, for his services between 1734 and 1737. "Boè" and "boe" mean oboe.)

In his discussion of the twenty-four manuscript concerti of Naples, and focusing on Mancini (who assumed the direction of Santa Maria di Loreto in 1720), Rossi postulates that "[u]n'ipotesi potrebbe essere che abbia egli stesso [Mancini] provveduto alla fusione in unico manoscritto del repertorio fino allora a disposizione degli allievi del Conservatorio per questo particolare ensemble strumentale, che univa il flauto agli strumenti ad arco, e dunque era un punto d'incontro anche didattico tra l'attività degli strumentisti ad arco e di quelli a fiato."[552] That may have been the case, but these works did not stay only in the confinement of the conservatory, and this is confirmed by the fact that one of the works (by Scarlatti) is found not only in the c. 1725 copy in Naples (Sca.CON.01a) but also in another, later copy, in Bologna (Sca.CON.01b). Furthermore, such a nicely prepared manuscript as that of the works in Naples, with ornamental calligraphy on the title pages of each part book, seems to show the intention of presenting this collection to an important figure, patron or music lover, indicating again a life outside of the walls of the didactic musical institutions.

It is a pity that the purchase of instruments by the conservatories is not documented in more detail. The fact that so many of the composers who wrote for the recorder were directly linked to the conservatories, as seen in Table 3.3.1, makes the absence of details all the more frustrating. It is probable that, as *maestri*, Fiorenza, Sarro, Vinci, Mancini etc. would indeed have had to provide music for the students to perform. Information about the purchase of the instruments for the students would establish a direct link between instruments and music in Naples at least in the context of teaching.

We also do not know whether the instruments used in the conservatories were usually bought locally or whether they were brought from other parts of Italy and further afield in Europe. In the case of the strings, we see that 'foreign' instruments were probably not that foreign in Naples, as German *luthiers* seem to have been employed frequently in the city.[553] Some of the German makers active in Naples include Tommaso Eberle (or Heberle or Heberl), Georg Kaiser, Hans Man (or Mann), Mangno Longo, Lucas and Peter Steger, and possibly Benedikt Tentzel (or Denzel).[554] Olivieri mentions Alessandro Gagliano

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[552] Tommaso Rossi, "Il Flauto a Napoli durante il Viceregno Austriaco (1707–1734)." p. 61. Translation by the present author: "One hypothesis could be that he himself [Mancini] merged into a single manuscript the repertoire until then available to the students of the Conservatory for this particular instrumental ensemble, which joined the recorder with string players, and therefore was also a meeting point between the educational activities of the string and wind players."

[553] Fabris briefly mentions a German maker being paid for some instruments in 1674 at *Santa Maria della Pietà dei Turchini*. Dinko Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples, Francesco Provenzale (1624–1704)*. p. 85.

[554] Luisa Cervelli, "Brevi note sui liutai tedeschi attivi in Italia dal secolo XVIº al XVIIIº," *Analecta musicologica* (1968). pp. 299-337. After this pioneering article, the current reference on the German Lute makers established in Naples is Luigi Sisto,

when referring to *luthiers* trained in Nothern Italy.[555] Other links between Germany and Naples include Handel (who visited from the end of April to July 1708), Johann Adolf Hasse[556] (1699–1783, who arrived in Naples either in 1722 or 1724,[557] staying for six or seven years[558]), Franz Niederberger (an oboist active at the Royal Chapel from 1716),[559] and Prince Philip of Hesse-Darmstadt (commander of the imperial troops in Naples, 1711–1714, who employed Porpora).[560] Another interesting link is Johann Joachim Quantz (1697–1773), in Naples in 1724, who was to become the most famous German flute virtuoso of the time.[561] It is also worth recalling that, according to Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart (1739–1791, German composer and writer on music) the Denner "flutes are famous throughout the whole world. They reached as far as Constantinople and Ispahan, even via missionaries in China":[562] reaching Naples would not have been such a feat.

A brief detour regarding the use of Denner instruments in Italy: we must not forget the 1706–1710 correspondence between Prince Ferdinando de' Medici and Christoph Karl Grundherr of Nuremberg, on the subject of the manufacture and repair of some wind instruments (which musicologist Pierluigi Ferrari suggests were double-reeds) by Johann Christoph Denner and his son Jacob.[563] From the valuable written exchange between

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I liutai tedeschi a Napoli tra cinque e seicento: storia di una migrazione in senso contrario (Rome: Istituto Italiano per la Storia della Musica, 2010).

[555] Guido Olivieri, "Cello Teaching and Playing in Naples in the Early Eighteenth Century: Francesco Paolo Supriani's Principij da imparare a suonare il violoncello," in *Performance practice: issues and approaches*, ed. Timothy D. Watkins (Ann Arbor: Steglein Publishing, 2009). p. 111.

[556] Hasse often included recorder parts in his works, a few of which are listed in Appendix 2.

[557] "Johann Adolf Hasse." *Musicisti europei a Venezia, Roma e Napoli (1650–1750): musica, identità delle nazioni e scambi culturali*. *Berlin/Rome*. www.musici.eu accessed December 14, 2014, http://www.musici.eu/index.php?id=92&L=0&personId=pdrPo.002.766.000000070.

[558] David J. Nichols, Sven Hansell, "Hasse." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed December 14, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[559] "Franz Niederberger." *Musicisti europei a Venezia, Roma e Napoli (1650–1750): musica, identità delle nazioni e scambi culturali*. *Berlin/Rome*. www.musici.eu, accessed December 14, 2014, http://www.musici.eu/index.php?id=92&L=0&personId=pdrPo.002.766.000000186.

[560] Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *Venetian Instrumental Music from Gabrieli to Vivaldi* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1975). p. 266.

[561] Edward R. Reilly, Andreas Giger, "Quantz, Johann Joachim." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed January 20, 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com. It is worth mentioning here that Quantz bought a traverso during his stay in Italy, made by Giacomo Biglioni (active at least between 1721 and 1727) in Rome. Renato Meucci, "La costruzione di strumenti musicali a Roma tra XVII e XIX secolo, con notizie inedite sulla famiglia Biglioni," in *La musica a Roma attraverso le fonti d'archivio. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Roma 4-7 giugno 1992*, ed. Bianca Maria Antolini, Arnaldo Morelli, and Vera Vita Spagnuolo (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1994). p. 591.

[562] William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index* (London: Tony Bingham, 1992). p. 85. See also Jean-Christoph Friesch, *Le Baroque nomade* (Arles: Actes Sud, 2013).

[563] Pierluigi Ferrari, "Cercando strumenti musicali a Norimberga: Ferdinando de' Medici, Cristoforo Carlo Grundherr, Johann Christoph Denner e Jacob Denner," *Recercare* 6 (1994). pp. 203-220.

Christoph Karl (who seemed to be a kind of agent to the Denners) and the Prince we learn that, before those instruments reached the Prince in 1707, they stopped in Venice, where the Prince had another agent (Varisco Castelli);[564] it was probably customary for instruments coming from the north to enter the Italian peninsula through Venice.

Ferrari raises the question of why the Prince had sought a renowned German maker when reputed makers such as Anciuti and Palanca, were available in Italy:[565]

> Se non stupisce che il lavoro del maestro tedesco risultò del tutto soddisfacente, è invece un po' difficile capire perché il principe toscano si rivolgesse a un costruttore famosissimo, ma molto distante, e non a costruttori italiani, che dovevano essere ugualmente conosciuti ai musici della sua corte, se non a lui stesso. Ferdinando, infatti, aveva visitato due volte Venezia, nel 1688 e nel 1696, e non è credibile che non conoscesse l'operare dei costruttori veneziani.

However, Ferrari himself presents evidence that the practice of importing instruments from abroad was not new to the Medicis: an inventory of 1700 listed sixteen recorders signed "R. Haka," the famous English-born woodwind maker of Amsterdam,[566] and in 1708 the Prince once again commissioned instruments from the Denners through Christoph Karl. As Johann Christoph had died the year before, the order for "cornetti, e flauti" was fulfilled by his son Jacob.[567]

In his chapter on the four Neapolitan conservatories, Fabris speaks of patrons who supported the Conservatorio di Santa Maria di Loreto around the years 1668–1672.[568] Among those are Giuseppe Vandaynden (or Vanden Eyden),[569] a Flemish merchant, and Gaspar Roomer,[570] a Dutch banker. The question of the circulation of instruments, and in this case especially recorders, needs to consider also the ease with which these small

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[564] Ibid. pp. 204, 210.

[565] Ibid. p. 204. Translation by the present author: "If it is not surprising that the work of the German master proved entirely satisfactory, it is however a little difficult to understand why the Tuscan prince would turn to a very famous maker, but one which lived far, and not to Italian makers, who probably were equally popular with musicians of his court, if not to himself. Ferdinand, in fact, had visited Venice twice in 1688 and in 1696, and it is not credible that he did not know the work of Venetian makers."

[566] Lyndesay G. Langwill, "Haka, Richard." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed January 20, 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com. See also Jan Bouterse, "The Woodwind Instruments of Richard Haka (1645/6–1705)," in *From Renaissance to Baroque, Change in Instruments and Instrumental Music in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Jonathan Wainwright and Peter Holman (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2005).

[567] Pierluigi Ferrari, "Cercando strumenti musicali a Norimberga: Ferdinando de' Medici, Cristoforo Carlo Grundherr, Johann Christoph Denner e Jacob Denner." pp. 206-207.

[568] Dinko Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples, Francesco Provenzale (1624–1704)*. p. 80.

[569] Dinko Fabris, "The Collection and Dissemination of Neapolitan Music, c.1600–c.1790," in *New Approaches to Naples c.1500–c.1800*, ed. Melissa Calaresu and Helen Hills (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013). p. 107.

[570] Roomer was a collector of art and music books and scores. Ibid. p. 107.

instruments could be transported, by those who visited the city occasionally but also by those who made Naples their home, keeping links, especially in the case of trading businesses, with their original homes. To take the cases of Roomer and Vandaynden, if they were recorder players, they might well have owned Haka instruments.[571] This is, of course, only one possible scenario, offered to exemplify the many avenues through which a variety of foreign recorders could have entered Naples.

In the context of professional music making, the Royal Chapel can also only be explored tangentially: we know of musicians employed by the court, but no records related to specific instruments are extant. Nonetheless, we know of musicians who came from abroad, such as Rion, and we may propose a plausible picture of what instruments might have been in the hands of these musicians, as will be seen below.

In October 1708, before Scarlatti's return to Naples, the Royal Chapel, directed by *maestro di cappella* Mancini, included a considerable number of singers and instrumentalists, as well as an *organaro*, who was in charge of the maintenance of the organs (and possibly the harpsichords).[572] These included 4 organists, 4 sopranos, 5 altos, 5 tenors, 4 basses, 3 archlutes, 11 violins, 2 violas, 1 cello, 2 double basses, 1 bassoon and 1 *organaro*. This list differed only slightly from the list of the previous years, 1702–1704, which included a harp but no bassoon.[573]

The situation changed very little with Scarlatti's return: between the 1708 list above and that of 1714 presented below, the most significant change is the important addition of two oboes "con l'obbligo del flauto." The list then becoming the following:[574] *vicemaestro di*

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[571] Richard Haka (after 1646–1705) was born in London but moved to Amsterdam in 1652 and greatly influenced the next generation of Dutch woodwind makers (including Steenbergen). His instruments reached far beyond the Dutch Republic, in Sweden and Florence at the Medici Court. William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index*. p. 156.

[572] Further to that, Porsile is listed as "Vice M.ro di Capp.a che stà a Spagna." Guido Olivieri, "Cello Teaching and Playing in Naples in the Early Eighteenth Century: Francesco Paolo Supriani's Principij da imparare a suonare il violoncello." p. 110. Francesco Cotticelli, Paologiovanni Maione, *Le Istituzioni Musicali a Napoli durante il Viceregno Austriaco (1707–1734) (*Naples: Luciano Editore, 1993). pp. 17-18 and Appendix II Documento n. 1. Olivieri's list contradicts that of Cotticelli and Maione in the number of musicians and sometimes in the spelling of names, probably due to the fact that they seem to use different documents for sources. All the names 'added' by Olivieri are listed by him as "de Spagna," e.g. "Soprano de Spagna, Carlo Mengha," "Violino de Spagna, Angelo Ragazzi." Olivieri elucidates later in pp. 119-120 that the "de Spagna" musicians, appointed in 1707 to join the "Real Capilla de Barzelona," were those still employed by the Royal Chapel but in effect away from Naples until at least 1711.

[573] Francesco Cotticelli, Paologiovanni Maione, *Le Istituzioni Musicali a Napoli durante il Viceregno Austriaco (1707–1734)*. p. 18.

[574] A second list is not provided in Olivieri for the payments of 1714, and I infer therefore that the "de Spagna" musicians are missing from the list of Cotticelli and Maione. Alessandro Scarlatti (maestro di cappella), Giovanni Valletti (second oboe), Matteo Sassano (soprano), Antonio Manna (bass) and Francesco Supriani (cello) are not included in the list above, as their payments were made individually. Including them, the chapel had now been expanded to forty-four musicians and one *organaro*. Ibid. pp. 18-20.

cappella (Mancini), 4 organists, 4 sopranos, 4 altos, 6 tenors, 3 basses, 2 lutes, 10 violins, 1 viola, 1 *violoncello e contrabbasso* [sic], 1 *contrabasso*, 1 oboe (Ignatio Rion), 1 bassoon and 1 *organaro*.

The famous Ignatio Rion (who taught at the Pietà in Venice and was probably one of the oboists for Handel's *La Resurrezione*) is included in the "Supplica de Li Musici, et Instrumenti della Real Cappella della Città di Napoli, 12 Dicembre 1715" as "Sonatore di Boè[575] di detta Real Cappella," with a belated payment starting on July 22, 1713,[576] which places his arrival date in Naples as early as 1713. In 1721 he was also listed as a musician in the chapel of the Tesoro di San Gennaro.[577] Rion was active in Naples until at least the May 31, 1729,[578] when he was granted leave of absence "per poter andare per suoi affari prima per Palermo et poi in altri paesi."[579] It was a temporary license but he never returned. Upon leaving Naples, Rion went to Spain, where by 1731 he was in Oviedo. He died there in 1734, and the account of his belongings in the books of the Oviedo Cathedral lists, among other things, oboes, recorder(s) and 163 sonatas (which were lost by his successor, Barlet).[580] The "Supplica" of 1715 that lists Rion, also lists "Giovanni Valletti sonatore di Boè," who had been replacing Giuseppe Grippa since August 4, 1713.[581] In September 1722, Salvatore Licio appealed to the Royal Chapel to be included as the *soprannumerario* "Abbue,[582] i Flauta," and he was admitted in October. His requests for payment and raise show he was there, like Rion, at least until 1729.

Having come from Venice through Rome, Rion serves as an example of a direct connection between Venice, Rome and Naples, in the specific case of oboes and recorders, in the years 1704–1729. The repertoires he may have encountered on his journey south

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[575] As previously mentioned, "Boè" means oboe.

[576] Francesco Cotticelli, Paologiovanni Maione, *Le Istituzioni Musicali a Napoli durante il Viceregno Austriaco (1707–1734)*. p. 124.

[577] Alfredo Bernardini, "Oboe Playing in Italy from the Origins to 1800" (University of Oxford, 1985).

[578] Considering contemporary praise to his abilities as an oboist, and knowing he was previously engaged as a teacher at the Pietà in Venice, it may seem strange that Rion's name is not listed as a teacher in the records of the four conservatories whilst he was in Naples, but it was very much the preference of the directors of these institutions to assign open positions to alumni, as to maintain a lineage of teaching and, in that sense, very much consolidate a "Neapolitan School."

[579] Translation by the present author: "To be able to go for his affairs to Palermo and then to other countries."

[580] My appreciation to Alfredo Bernardini for acquainting and providing me with this valuable reference. Raúl Arias del Valle, "La Orquesta de la S.I. Catedral de Oviedo (1572–1933). En los orígenes y desarrollo de la música culta en Asturias," (Oviedo: Real Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, 1990).

[581] Francesco Cotticelli, Paologiovanni Maione, *Le Istituzioni Musicali a Napoli durante il Viceregno Austriaco (1707–1734)*. p. 124.

[582] As "Boè," "Abbue" also means oboe.

allow us to conjecture a set of instruments that would have been appropriate to those repertoires, and to the different pitch standards of Venice, Rome and Naples.

What instruments might Rion have carried with him? As seen in Chapter 1, although Anciuti had settled in Milan by 1699, the use of his instruments in Venice is suggested by the Pietà's order of oboes from Milan in 1705, which could have been Anciuti's.[583] If Anciuti's instruments were used in Venice, Rion may have owned some. He may also have carried with him some transalpine instruments: as Bernardini writes,[584] the

> supposition that the instruments used in Venice at the beginning of the Century came from Germany […] could be found in several elements:
> 1. The presence in Venice of oboists of German origin, as Erdmann and Siber.
> 2. Vivaldi wrote concertos for all winds that we know his contemporary J. C. Denner (1655–1707) had made, including the clarinet, which was not a typical French instrument.
> 3. The fact that several Italian collections own today German instruments, most of them very high pitch (certainly not suitable for the German 'Kammerton', possibly for the 'Chorton', still used in Germany for most of the organs at the beginning of the Century, but not much for woodwinds as J. S. Bach works show.) The Conservatorio 'Benedetto Marcello' owns by J. C. Denner an oboe and two bass recorders (one is in ivory!), an oboe by Schvechbaur and an oboe d'amore by Eichentopf; the Municipal Museum of Meran a chorist-fagott by J. C. Denner and a tenor oboe by Kress; the Bardini Mus[e]um in Florence another bass recorder by J. C. Denner.
> 4. There is no evidence of a Venetian woodwinds [sic] maker that early in Venice.[585]

And it is known than Ludwig Erdmann, who was paid by the Pietà in 1706 for an instrument, had been in Ansbach in the 1690s.[586]

With a set of 'Venice instruments', perhaps by Anciuti or by German makers, Rion made his way to Rome. We have seen (in the Introduction) that oboe parts in Rome were transposed to accommodate the pitch differences between the two cities, as was the case in *La Resurrezione* by Handel. The flute parts (both recorders and flute) are not transposed in *La Resurrezione*. It is clear, therefore, either that the oboes and flutes were, in this case,

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[583] Incidentally, the payment was made to Onofrio Penati supposedly for buying the instruments. In 1706, Penati was paid for the repair made to four recorders. Denis Arnold, "Instruments and Instrumental Teaching in the Early Italian Conservatoires," *The Galpin Society Journal* 18, no. March (1965). p. 76.

[584] Alfredo Bernardini, "Oboe Playing in Italy from the Origins to 1800." pp. 19-20.

[585] We know now that this is not really the case, as is evidenced by the information presented in Chapter 2 about Castel and Perosa.

[586] Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch / The story of "A"* (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2002). p. 163. Jacob Denner is known to have worked as a respected and admired oboe player, amongst other, in Ansbach and, naturally, Nuremberg. William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index*. p. 87. Denis Arnold, "Instruments and Instrumental Teaching in the Early Italian Conservatoires." p. 77.

not played by the same persons – that while the oboes came from 'abroad', the flutes were local – or that the 'foreign' players used 'Roman' recorders for this performance. Would Rion have acquired lower pitch instruments in Rome? If so, what might those have been like? So far no Roman recorder makers are known, so the instruments used there were most probably imported.[587] In the specific case of the Ruspolis it may be useful to remember that Hotteterre 'le Romain' stayed with the Ruspolis between 1698 and 1700, and could well have left low pitched, French instruments there. If Rion was the "Ignatio" that played in *La Resurrezione*, his 'meeting' with low-pitched instruments might have happened in the Ruspoli household.

Returning to Rion, in making his way further south to Naples, would he have taken his Anciuti or German instruments, or indeed brought instruments from Rome? The question of pitch is pertinent to the discussion. Haynes mentions contradictory information about Neapolitan pitch: lower than Rome,[588] the same as Rome[589] and higher than Rome.[590] He himself also suggests the most probable case, "that Naples, like many other places, used more than one pitch level."[591]

In 1757, Agricola clearly distinguished between the pitches of the three cities: "In Naples they keep to a middle path between this low [Roman] and very high [Venetian] tuning."[592] If Rome corresponded to approximately A=392 Hz and Venice to 440, Naples would have been at approximately 415.

Naples and Rome were connected by a shared operatic repertoire until opera was banned in the Papal States in 1698.[593] Though later, Naples and Venice were also closely connected through the opera repertoire, especially after 1707.[594] This could be an indicator

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[587] In Patrizio Barbieri's article of 2009, a rather remarkable, detailed account of documents concerning all kinds of instruments is given for the period Handel was in Rome, and indeed no single mention is made of woodwind instruments. Patrizio Barbieri, "An assessment of musicians and instrument-makers in Rome during Handel's stay, the 1708 Grand Taxation.," *Early Music* XXXVII, no. 4 (2009). pp. 597-619.

[588] Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch / The story of "A"*. pp. 70-71.

[589] Ibid. pp. 168-169, 272.

[590] Ibid. pp. 71, 268-269.

[591] Ibid. p. 71.

[592] Ibid. p. 266. Translation by Haynes.

[593] Reinhard Strohm, "The Neapolitans in Venice," in *Con che soavità, Studies in Italian Opera, Song, and Dance, 1580–1740*, ed. Iain Fenlon and Tim Carter (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995). p. 253.

[594] Ibid.

that, at least for operas, the pitch of these cities would have been similar.[595] Even though it has been accepted that pitch in Rome was low (c. 392 Hz),[596] from William Tans'ur's description of 1746 it is clear that there must have been one more pitch standard in Rome which corresponded to c. 415.[597]

One more piece of information corroborates the existence of a pitch of c. 415 in Naples as well: an anonymous pitchpipe in the collection of the Museo Civico Medioevale in Bologna, undated but either from the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, shows pitches for Naples and Milan.[598] Milan has two different ones: A=380 and 430 Hz. For Naples pitches are given from C4 to C5, roughly in meantone tuning, with 'A' corresponding to 416 Hz.[599]

Returning to Rion's arrival in Naples, there would certainly have been a problem of pitch difference if he had he kept his 'Venetian' instruments, unless he had *corps de rechange*.[600] If he did have them, however, we have at least one renowned woodwind player who brought Anciuti and/or transalpine instruments to Naples. Moreover, it would then be possible to say that, when he joined the Royal Chapel under Scarlatti in 1714, Rion would have used his Anciuti or German instruments to play in Scarlatti's *Sinfonie di Concerto Grosso* (1715), for example. Otherwise, if Rion bought instruments in Rome, it is possible that he came in contact there with instruments of French manufacture, such as those most probably used by Hotteterre while he was at the employment of the Ruspolis in Rome.

Even in the context of professional and institutionalized music making, the personal sphere often intervenes. As had been the case during the years of the Spanish viceroyalty, during the Austrian years the task of representing the king in Naples was placed in the hands of important members of the Austrian nobility (as shown earlier). The years 1724 and 1725, in which we see a peak of dated recorder works in Naples (as observed in Chapter 2),

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[595] Operatic vocal parts were often composed with specific singers in mind, especially taking into account their range. This meant that in a new production of a same opera, if the singer was replaced, often his or her part had to be transposed (or re-composed altogether); Handel did this several times. It would seem therefore that those works which were transported to a different city without any changes to the vocal parts imply not only that the singers were the same or had the same range, but also that the pitch standards of these cities were similar.

[596] Haynes reports that this is already mentioned, regarding organs, by Giovanni Battista Doni (*Annotazioni Sopra il Compendio de' Generi, e de' Modi della Musica*. Rome: Andrea Fei, 1640) and Antonio Barcotto (*Regola e breve raccordo*. Padua: MS, 1652). Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch / The story of "A"*. pp. 70-71.

[597] Ibid. p. 272.

[598] John Henry Van Der Meer, "Strumenti musicali europei del Museo Civico Medievale di Bologna, con Appendici dei Fondi Strumentali delle Collezioni Comunali d'Arte, del Museo Davia Bargellini e del Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale," (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editore, 1993). p. 38.

[599] These are the pitches given in the catalogue, Haynes gives A=375, 425 and 411 Hz, respectively. Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch / The story of "A"*. p. 271.

[600] Or unless music outside the church had already reached a 'common pitch denominator' by then.

fall within the government years of Cardinal Michael Johann Althann (1688–1734), who held the viceroyalty from 1722 until 1728. Born in Bohemia, Althann was a member of the Arcadian Academies of Rome and Naples, and as a supporter of the arts (as well as the highest ranking political figure in the city), he had a number of Neapolitan works dedicated to him, such as *Il Trajano* (1723) by Mancini and *Didone abbandonata* (1724) by Sarro.[601] It was Althann who overruled the decision of the Captain of the Guard and made Hasse a supernumerary *maestro* in 1729, despite the fact that the Chapel already had four *maestri*.[602]

Count Aloys Harrach's viceroyalty directly followed Althann's, from 1728 until 1733, and the large number of undated recorder works extant in Harrach's collection now in New York are probably from his years in Naples. Harrach was not only a politician and diplomat but also a patron of the arts: not, only music but also painting, as seen by the many Neapolitan works of art taken back to Austrian upon his return. The vast amount of recorder music privately collected by Harrach raises the question of what his influence might have been in both the production and execution of this repertoire during his tenure in Naples, when he was linked directly to the many composers involved in the Royal Chapel who wrote for the recorder.

Already blurring the borders into private music making, it is important to point out that some of the recorder music in Harrach's collection is very virtuosic: is it possible that such a gifted musician might have been hiding in an active and respected politician, a statesman? Whether the works in his collection were or were not within his technical skills as a musician – if he was indeed any kind of a recorder player – it would be helpful to know whether he brought his own instruments to Naples, and what those were like. This we do not know.

In 1706 the Vienna court organist and theorbist, Georg Reutter, inventoried the instruments of the Viennese Court Chapel. The impressive list includes 230 wind instruments of which fifty-eight were recorders (some were columnar, and must have been renaissance instruments). Some of the descriptions of the inventory allow a possible identification of a renaissance tenor by Rauch von Schrattenbach (fl. early sixteenth century)[603] now in the

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[601] Tommaso Rossi, "Il Flauto a Napoli durante il Viceregno Austriaco (1707–1734)." pp. 104-105.

[602] David J. Nichols, Sven Hansell, "Hasse".

[603] William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index*. p. 320. A small deviation must be made from the main subject here in order to recall, as seen in the Introduction, that Rauch von Schrattenbach is the maker identified with the trefoil mark present in Silvestro Ganassi's *La Fontegara*. The other two marks presented by Ganassi are a "B" (suggested to belong to the Bassano family, though Adrian Brown recalls that single capital letters are characteristic of seventeenth century

collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. This is, unfortunately, the only description of a recorder in the inventory that offers a link with a (transalpine, Renaissance) maker.[604]

Austria and Naples were connected by government between 1707 and 1734. This connection certainly extended to other realms, including, apparently, education. On the latter, an interesting note:[605]

> Franz Karl Drenger, 1718 hat als Flötist dem Kaiser gefallen, bittet um Scholarengehalt, um seine Studien fortsetzen zu können. Fux bemerkt: "Weil ich jüngst, da er sich abermals bei der Tafel hören liess ein sonderbares Naturell hab abnehmen können, so möge der Supplicant mit so viel consoliert werden, dass er in Neapel in einem Conservatorio sein Studium fortsetzen, und das Violoncell, welches nöthiger, als die Flöte, erlernen könne."

Drenger was reinstated as a cellist in Vienna in 1725,[606] so he had no connection with Harrach's stay in Naples, though perhaps his travel to study in Naples may well have been facilitated by Althann. It is not completely clear whether Drenger was a recorder or traverso player. In any case, we currently know of no Austrian Baroque recorder makers,[607] and this further increases curiosity as to what Drenger played in Vienna as a gifted flutist (perhaps a recorder player) before he went on to study cello in Naples. Regarding the recorder in Vienna, it may be relevant to bring up Haynes' observation:[608]

> Johann Joseph Fux, already engaged by the court in Vienna, published a "Nürnberger Partita" in 1701 for hautboy, "Flauto" (recorder), and continuo; the trio's title may refer to Christoph Denner or one of his fellow Nurembergers as the maker of the woodwind instruments for which it was written.

Nuremberg makers), and a stylized "A" (associated with the Schnitzer family of makers, active in Munich and Nuremberg). This is yet another strong connection between Venice and transalpine recorder makers, already from the sixteenth century. Giulia da Rocha Tettamanti, "Silvestro Ganassi: Obra Intitulada Fontegara / Um estudo sistemático do tratado abordando aspectos da técnica da flauta doce e da música instrumental do século XVI" (Master of Music, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2010). p. 133.

[604] Gerhard Stradner, "Die Blasinstrumente in einem Inventar der Wiener Hofkapelle von 1706," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 38 (1987). pp. 53-63.

[605] Ludwig Ritter von Köchel, "Johann Josef Fux: Hofcompositor u. Hofkapellmeieter d. Kaiser Leopold I., Josef I. u. Karl VI. v. 1698 bis 1740." *Google Books*. *Vienna*. A. Hölder, accessed December 13, 2014, http://goo.gl/JK5qjH. p. 250. Translation by the present author: "Franz Karl Drenger, who pleased the Emperor as a flutist in 1718, asks for a stipend that will allow him to pay and continue his studies. Fux noted, 'As he has to perform during meals, soon I could see a special talent in him, so may the supplicant be awarded enough so he can continue studies in a Conservatory in Naples, and learn the cello, more necessary than the flute/recorder'."

[606] Dagmar Glüxam, *Instrumentarium und Instrumentalstil in der Wiener Hofoper zwischen 1705 und 1740* (Tutzing: Verlegt bei Hans Schneider, 2006). p. 470.

[607] Neither Haynes nor Waterhouse list any. Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch / The story of "A"*. William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index*.

[608] Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch / The story of "A"*. p. 150.

If the connection between Vienna and Nuremberg was true for a little later in the eighteenth century, and extended to Jacob Denner, who overlapped and gave continuation to his father's workshop, it would be easy for Harrach (or Drenger perhaps) to have used a Jacob Denner recorder anywhere, including Naples, as Jacob's extant recorders range from A=392 Hz to 425, probably signifying simply that he made his instruments to order at whatever pitch suited his buyer.

Returning to the music composed for the private spheres in Naples, Borrelli has suggested that the various *concerti* and *sinfonie* of Fiorenza may have been appropriate to a variety of musical occasions at that time:

> Fiorenza's very appreciable musical productions demonstrate his activities as a skilful composer who was perfectly at home in 18th century Neapolitan music culture where, on the path already marked by the Duke of Oñate and the Spanish viceroys, the city nobility was increasingly inclined to be surrounded by musicians for the various festive and leisure activities that also allowed to represent, among other things, the splendor of the house. Various opportunities, such as 'walks in Posillipo', summer evenings in the gardens of the houses of nobility, both in and outside the city walls, called for musicians, but especially music performed for the occasion. The Concertos, Sinfonias and chamber works by Fiorenza seem well disposed for such purposes and it is likely that proponents of his musical works were indeed noble Neapolitan families, as demonstrated by the dedications on some manuscripts.[609]

It is significant then that a work by Fiorenza is found in the collection of Count Harrach. It is likely that the A Minor recorder sonata (Fio.SON.01) in his collection would also be from his years in Naples, and that Harrach would have heard the F Minor concerto of 1728 (Fio.CON.02) during his stay.

If Harrach did not bring his instruments to Naples, then he may have bought instruments there, and this would have implications for the works in his collection once they left the territory of the Kingdom of Naples. What instruments were Harrach or his musicians using when performing this repertoire upon his return to Austria?[610]

In the case of private music making, we have seen in Chapter 2 that foreign patrons such as John Fleetwood and Harrach surely benefited from, and perhaps instigated, the production of recorder music in Naples, certainly as patrons and possibly also as amateur players, and this is publicly documented both in newspapers and in printed dedication

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[609] Giovanni Borrelli, "Introduction," in *Opera omnia / Nicola Fiorenza*, vol. I, *Napoli e l'Europa: la scuola napoletana dal XVII al XIX secolo* (Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 2010). One of Fiorenza's concertos in I-Nc (RISM ID: 850008501) bears the title "*Concerto con Violongello | VV, Violetta | Basso | Del Sig. Nicolò Fiorenza per | Esercitio Del Ill.mo Sigr Marchese | de Simone.*"

[610] Despite communication with various museums in Austria it has not been possible to find any recorders that belonged to Harrach.

pages. As with Harrach, no evidence has been found that would confirm Fleetwood as a recorder player, beyond his clear appreciation for music. If Fleetwood was indeed an amateur player, coming from a fervent recorder market such as England and London specifically, he would have had at his disposal recorders by the famous Peter Bressan as well as the Stanesbys, Sr. and Jr. Would Fleetwood have taken his English instrument with him to Naples? For a matter of reference, the pitch of the extant instruments by those three English makers roughly fluctuates between A=395 and 424 Hz.[611]

Additional information on the 'indoor' life of the recorder in Naples can be gleaned from the surviving private records of patrician families who had an interest in music.[612] Aside from the mass of professional musicians turned out by the conservatories, a considerable number of competent and talented members of the aristocracy and bourgeoisie, as well as notable foreigners, were involved in giving space to the creation, cultivation, sponsorship and production of art. Renato Ruotolo has depicted the buoyant context of private musical gatherings in Naples in the eighteenth century.[613] From his interesting findings, it becomes clear that dedicated musical spaces in the private sphere were rare, as seen from the posthumous inventories of many of the elite families, which list the belongings according to where they 'stood', but the presence of music in a great number of these palaces is nonetheless beyond doubt.

A 1726 list of the belongings of Duke Giuseppe Maria Serra di Cassano, for example, includes a "cembalo, libri e carte da musica nonché ben otto flauti."[614] Interestingly, Domenico Sarro is listed among the duke's creditors, for unspecified reasons.[615] Notes on the possessions of Nicola Sergio Muscettola, prince of Leporano, upon his death in 1727, describe in his palace, among other things, the presence of "non solo il cembalo e la

[611] Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch / The story of "A"*. pp. 441-443.

[612] According to Fabris, the few inventories that have been researched so far have yielded no details on music collections or music libraries. Dinko Fabris, "The Collection and Dissemination of Neapolitan Music, c.1600–c.1790." pp. 103-119. Instruments are mentioned though, as will be seen next.

[613] Renato Ruotolo, "Spazi per la musica e dipinti di soggetto musicale del Settecento napoletano, con qualche nota sul fenomeno del dilettantismo musicale," in *Il Tempo di Niccolò Piccinni, Percorsi di un musicista del Settecento*, ed. Clara Gelao and Michèle Sajous D'Oria (Bari: Mario Adda Editore, 2000). My appreciation to Tommaso Rossi and Dinko Fabris for pointing out this helpful source.

[614] Translation by the present author: "harpsichord, music books and papers as well as eight recorders."

[615] Renato Ruotolo, "Spazi per la musica e dipinti di soggetto musicale del Settecento napoletano, con qualche nota sul fenomeno del dilettantismo musicale." p. 38.

spinetta ma pure due violini, un flauto, una tromba marina, un violoncello, un violone vecchio e una tromba rotta."[616]

The recorder was rarely, if ever, played professionally as a primary instrument; almost all recorder players were also known as oboists, and indeed, it was with the latter instrument that they were most often professionally identified. Yet the importance of the recorder as an instrument in private music making should not be underestimated, as has been seen above. Professionals played the instrument in chamber music, and the presence of recorders among the belongings of noblemen is another confirmation of the popularity of the recorder, and of its use in the vast, smaller-scale, instrumental repertoire extant for this instrument in Naples dating from the first three decades of the eighteenth century.

3.4 A few iconographical references to the Baroque recorder in Naples

Iconographical evidence, although not perfectly reliable as confirmation of actual practice, can be helpful in further contextualizing the recorder. Artworks depicting recorders are useful evidence about the instrument's physical traits. Representations of recorders also give us a glimpse into the recorder's social context, and the way they are depicted is a clue to the attitudes toward the instrument at the time.

Unlike northern Italy, where recorders are included in still-life works by Cristoforo Munari and Sebastiano Lazzari, with clear depictions that allow us to even recognize design features, the only work found from the south of Italy tells us less about the instrument than about its social context. This will be seen further below.

As mentioned before, Venice was a fertile ground for the composition and consumption of recorder music during the Baroque period. It is therefore to be expected, that the instrument would be depicted in Venetian artworks. This is especially true of still lifes by artists such as Munari. Born in Reggio nell'Emilia, he worked in Rome, Florence, Modena and Pisa.[617] Figure 3.7 is a particularly beautiful still life by Munari, depicting an alto recorder with ivory mounts, probably made of boxwood. The bulges on the joints display similarities with instruments included in Appendix 1, though none are akin enough to confidently propose a real model.

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[616] Ibid. Translation by the present author: "not only the harpsichord and the spinet but also two violins, one recorder, one *tromba marina*, one cello, one old *violone* and one broken horn."

[617] Beatrice Cirulli, "MUNARI, Cristoforo Ludovico." *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, Vol. 77*. Treccani, accessed March 30, 2015, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/cristoforo-ludovico-munari_(Dizionario-Biografico)/.

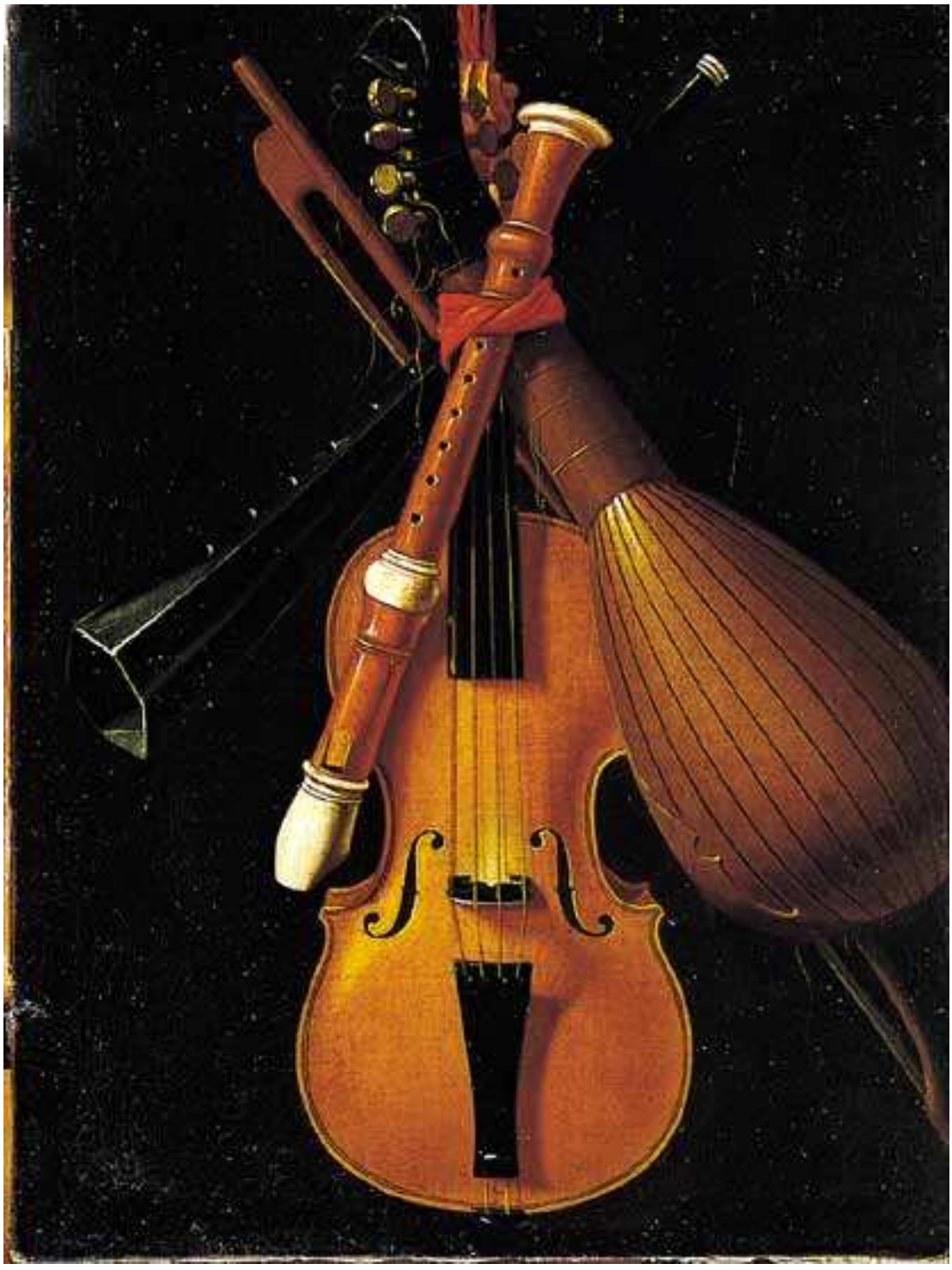


Figure 3.7. Cristoforo Munari (1667–1720), *Panoplia musicale* (c. 1707–1713). Collection: Firenze, Galleria Palatina.[618]

Munari used this same recorder again in a still life, shown in Figure 3.8.

[618] My appreciation to Alfredo Bernardini for forwarding the picture in 2007. Private communication.



Figure 3.8. Cristoforo Munari (1667–1720), *Still life*.
Private collection.[619]



Detail of Figure 3.8.

The 'pear' on the head joint of the recorder in Figure 3.7 and 3.8 is comparable to that on the Edinburgh sopranino by Castel (Cas.SPI.01), though in Munari's recorder it seems to be longer. The 'bulb' on the foot joint in Figure 3.7 resembles that of the Grassi

[619] Cristoforo Munari, "Still life." Recorder Home Page, accessed December 13, 2014, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cristoforo_Munari_-_Still-Life_-_WGA16336.jpg.

sopranino in Leipzig (Gra.SPI.01), with more simple turning work, as well as the Grassi alto of Rome (Gra.ALT.01). The overall design is also not far from that of the Perosa soprano of Vienna (Per.SPO.01). Traces of all of these instruments are also found in a *trompe l'oeil* by Sebastiano Lazzari, dated 1752 (Figure 3.9). The shape of the head joint on the recorder depicted by Lazzari is very similar to that of the recorder depicted by Munari in both Figure 3.7 and 3.8, though without the ivory mounts. Lazzari was active in the Veneto until 1766,[620] so a correspondence with 'Venetian' instruments such as those of Anciuti, Castel and Perosa is not at all strange.



Figure 3.9. Sebastiano Lazzari (2nd half 18th C.), *Trompe l'oeil con strumenti musicali*, Verona, 1752. Collection: Auction Sale Finarte, Milano 14 November 1990. Current location unknown.[621]



Detail of Figure 3.9.

[620] Francesca Rapposelli, "LAZZARI, Sebastiano." *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, Vol. 64*. Treccani, accessed December 13, 2014, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/sebastiano-lazzari_%28Dizionario_Biografico%29/.

[621] My appreciation to Alfredo Bernardini for forwarding the picture in 2007. Private communication.

A simpler-looking instrument like that in the Lazzari of Figure 3.9, appears in at least three further paintings by Munari, two of which are seen reproduced as Figures 3.10 and 3.11.[622] The traits observed in the instruments depicted in Figures 3.9 and 3.10 suggest that if they are not Italian instruments, these recorders allude much more towards German design than anything else.



Figure 3.10. Cristoforo Munari (1667–1720), *Still-Life with Musical Instruments and Fruit*. Collection: Palazzo Pitti, Florence.[623]

[622] The third, not represented here, is 'Allegory of the arts', in the collection of the Fondazione Pietro Manodori, Reggio Emilia (http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Munari,_Cristoforo_Munari_-_Allegoria_delle_arti_-_18th_c.%3F.jpg, accessed December 13, 2014).

[623] Cristoforo Munari, "Still-Life with Musical Instruments and Fruit." Recorder Home Page, accessed December 13, 2014, http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/8f/Munari%2C_Cristoforo_-_Still-Life_with_Musical_Instruments_and_Fruit_-_Galleria_Palatina.jpg.



Figure 3.11. Cristoforo Munari (1667–1720), *Still life with musical instruments*. Collection: Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.[624]

On the problems related to trying to recreate real scenarios based on depictions, see the painting by Lazzari shown in Figure 3.12. The score in the center is Corelli's sonata Op. 5 No. 1. Below in the background, on the left hand corner, a one piece, renaissance looking recorder is depicted. The juxtaposition of a renaissance recorder with a Corelli sonata – a work that could not possibly have been played on that instrument – underscores the need to view iconographical references with an extra dose of caution. Taken literally, this painting may lead us to significantly wrong and misleading conclusions.

[624] Cristoforo Munari, "Still life with musical instruments." Recorder Home Page, accessed December 13, 2014, http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Munari,_Cristoforo_-_Stilleben_mit_Musikinstrumenten_und_Fr%C3%BCchten_-_c._1706-03.jpg.



Figure 3.12. Sebastiano Lazzari (2nd half 18th C.), *Trompe l'oeil on still life*. Sold at Sotheby's, Sale N08952.[625]



Detail of Figure 3.12 (colors tempered to bring out the recorder).

[625] Sebastiano Lazzari, "Trompe l'oeil on still life." Recorder Home Page, accessed December 13, 2014, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sebastiano_Lazzari_Trompe_l'oeil_still_life_01.jpg.

Contrary to the abundance of northern Italy, no Baroque recorders were found in Neapolitan still lifes,[626] but Baroque recorders are included in two depictions of musical gatherings presented below.[627] In Figure 3.13, painted by Giuseppe Bonito (1707–1789), a few instruments are portrayed: a traverso, a three string double bass, a violin and, in the background, an oboe. A Baroque recorder can be seen on the table; under it a music sheet faintly reads "Aria di Soprano", the seated young lady probably being the singer.



Figure 3.13. Giuseppe Bonito (1707–1789),[628] *Company making music*. Sold at Sotheby's, 17.12.1998, lot 67.



Detail of Figure 3.13 (colors tempered to bring out the recorder).

[626] My sincere gratitude to Anna Bianco for kindly assisting me at the end of this search, for locating Figure 3.13 and for her descriptions of the paintings by Bonito and Amalfi.

[627] Hopefully more such depictions of the Baroque recorder in Naples will surface in years to come.

[628] Giuseppe Bonito, *RKD Netherlands Institute for Art History*. accessed March 3, 2015, https://rkd.nl/en/explore/artists/10378. Robert Enggass, "BONITO, Giuseppe." *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, Vol. 12*. Treccani, accessed March 3, 2015, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giuseppe-bonito_(Dizionario-Biografico)/.

Bonito apprenticed with Francesco Solimena (1657–1747) in Naples and

> his style is firmly rooted in the Neapolitan tradition, utilising bold colouring coupled with strong chiaroscuro. He became one of the most important artists active in the city in the 18th century and painted religious works, strongly influenced by Solimena and Giordano, as well as portraits for the Court from 1740s onwards, and genre scenes. This picture [*Company making music*] dates from the artist's early maturity, between 1735–40, and is one of the most ambitious of the multi-figured genre paintings that date from this period.
> The subject of a musical gathering was one which the artist treated on a number of occasions, and reflects, in part, the great interest in both opera and instrumental music which existed in the city and the time. Genre subjects, such as this, also served as a vehicle for pointed social commentary. In the present picture, for example, the cleric to the right of the composition is clearly leering in a lascivious manner at the pretty young soprano, who is looking down at the musical score. In his treatment of genre subjects Bonito has much in common with another Neapolitan artist, Gaspare Traversi (active 1749–1776), and their paintings have been sometimes confused. The gentle mockery that Bonito employs, however, is in contrast to the more biting satirical style of his contemporary.[629]

The other painting is uncertainly attributed to Carlo Amalfi,[630] a painter from Sorrento whose birth and death years are unknown. His style is also closely associated with that of Gaspare Traversi – a later Neapolitan artist who depicted musical scenes. Amalfi

> was [a] pupil of Sebastiano Conca, also known as *Il Gaetano*, active also in Rome at the beginning of the 18th century. He worked on sacred paintings for local churches (Basilica di S. Antonio, Congrega dei Servi di Maria of Sorrento, Chiesa di S. Antonino and the Church of Nocera dei Pagani where he painted portraits of the clerics) and he was commissioned the frescoes at the Capuano Castle, where he portrayed King Charles Borbone riding a horse and the first law writers of the Reign of Naples. He was particularly appreciated for his portraits. He worked for the controversial Raimondo di Sangro prince of Sansevero, who had among other interests those of mathematics and alchemy. He [the prince] himself developed the colors (*eleoidrici*) used by Amalfi for painting the vault of the Sangro chapel in the Church of the Pietà in Naples.[631]

Figure 3.14 shows nine figures in a musical gathering which suggests a family of musicians, some perhaps singers but most holding instruments: a lute, a recorder, a violin, a guitar and an instrument which could be a mandolin or a cittern. On top of the closed lid of a single manual harpsichord rests another violin. Slightly behind and to the left of the recorder player, a man with a hat holds a color palette: perhaps a self-portrait of the artist?

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[629] Anna Bianco, private communication. On Bonito's oeuvre, see Achille Della Ragione, *Giuseppe Bonito: Opera Completa* (Naples: Napoli Arte, 2014). On Neapolitan eighteenth century painting, see Nicola Nicola Spinosa, *Pittura Napoletana Del Settecento Dal Barocco Al Rococò*, vol. 1 (Naples: Electa, 1988).

[630] Amalfi worked in Sorrento, Naples and Nocera, and the two versions of the painting are found now in Milan and Naples. Raffaello Causa. Raffaello Causa, "AMALFI, Carlo." *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, Vol. 2*. Treccani, accessed December 13, 2014, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/carlo-amalfi_(Dizionario_Biografico)/.

[631] Anna Bianco, private communication.



Figure 3.14. Attributed to Carlo Amalfi, *Musical gathering* (c. 1725). Collection: Castello Sforzesco, Milan.[632]

Unlike Bonito's group of people making music, the personages in Amalfi's painting are all looking in the direction of the observer. The atmosphere is more calm, with no such more or less subtle gazes characterizing the former. It looks like Amalfi portrayed a family, or a group of friends in the act of making music. Actually only a couple of musicians are plucking the strings of their instruments (the woman on the right and the man in the center) whereas the woman on the far left is tuning her lute (?). Strangely enough she holds this instrument while sitting in front of the harpsichord. With a view on a possible performance she might have taken the notes from the keyboard in order to tune her instrument with the others; or she might have momentaneously taken the place of the young gentleman standing behind her chair. It looks like she is the eldest character of the group. Therefore it might be that she is actually giving the others the right note to tune, aiming to restore the harmony within the family.[633]

[632] Nicholas Lander gives a number of references of reproduction of this painting in publications: Geoffrey Hindley, *The Larousse Encylopedia of Music.* (London: Hamlyn, 1971). p. 208, b&w; Hermann Moeck, *Tibia-Calendarium 1984.* (Celle: Moeck Verlag, 1983). July, color; *TIBIA Musikbilder auf Postkarten*, Series (2), Moeck Nr. 1101, color. Carlo Amalfi, "Musical gathering." Recorder Home Page, accessed December 13, 2014, http://www.recorderhomepage.net/wp-content/uploads/images/amalfi_gathering_1.jpg. According to Lander another version of the painting is in Naples at the "Museum of Ancient Art (donation from Carolina Buschini, 1929). Ref. Paris RIdIM (1999)."

[633] Anna Bianco, private communication.



Details of Figure 3.14.

Unlike the still lifes by Munari and Lazzari, extracting any particular design features of the recorder depicted in Figures 3.13 and 3.14 is impossible. Both are clearly Baroque altos, and seem to be made in boxwood. The clothes of the women and men portrayed in Figures 3.13 and 3.14 denote a certain air of aristocracy, since they appear to be made of noble and colorful fabrics, beautifully draped. This confirms one of the most important settings for the recorder in the eighteenth century, all over Europe: that of the enjoyment of music in a private sphere.

As seen above, it may be the case that indeed most recorders reached the kingdom of Naples from the north. This makes the survival of such a significant repertory for the instrument, and evidence of its popularity in Naples, all the more intriguing. It would seem from the evidence that, in Naples, the recorder was not only much loved, but also difficult to come by – a collector's item.

I think that instruments from every period
have effects and colors that cannot be reproduced on today's pianos –
that compositions were always conceived with the instruments of their time in mind,
and only on those can they achieve their full effect;
played on today's instruments they sound at a disadvantage.

Anton Rubinstein (1892)

Chapter 4: The Artist's Choice: recorders for the Neapolitan Baroque repertoire

4.1 Drawing a map of possibilities

With the overtake of the Neapolitan government by the Austrian Habsburgs in 1707, Neapolitan works and composers began to be more widely known in the Austrian dominions of Bohemia, the Austrian Netherlands and Saxony. This becomes clear when we see the abundance of manuscripts, especially of sacred music, by composers such as Francesco Mancini and Domenico Sarro (as well as Francesco Durante and Nicola Fago) found in Belgium and in the Czech Republic.[634] This 'Habsburg music highway' lasted at least until 1734, when Naples regained independence; in this case a direct connection between Naples and these Habsburg-influenced northern territories was at a peak just at the time when the largest part of the Neapolitan repertoire for the recorder was being either published or copied (e.g. twelve Mancini sonatas of 1724, twenty-four miscellaneous concerti of c. 1725, two concerti of 1726 and 1728 by Nicolò Fiorenza and the many undated works in the collection of Count Aloys Harrach – who, as mentioned earlier, served in Naples between 1728 and 1733).[635]

The Galant style, "a simpler, more direct musical language"[636] which rejected "contrapuntal complexity and other intricacies of the past,"[637] is convincingly argued by Heartz to have its origins in works by composers such as Leonardo Vinci, Giovanni Battista

[634] Dietz details this when writing about Durante and the early spread of his music in these territories. Hanns-Bertold Dietz, "The Neapolitan School: Francesco Durante (1684–1755) - Aspects of Manuscript Dissemination, Misattributions, and Reception," *Música em Perspectiva: Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Música da Universidade Federal do Paraná, Departamento de Artes* vol. 2, no. 2 (2009). pp. 7-30.

[635] See Chapter 2 and Appendix 2 for details.

[636] Daniel Heartz, *Music in European Capitals, The Galant Style, 1720–1780* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2003). p. 999.

[637] Ibid.

Pergolesi and Johann Adolph Hasse, all of whom were trained in Naples.[638] This style spread to the north through Venice, "finding especially fertile ground in Dresden, where the musical establishment was closely tied to Venice, later to Naples."[639] At that time, Italian composers and their works – and with them their musical style – were absorbed by the culture in Dresden and other Italianate cities in Germany. And with composers and music, other aspects of musical life also spread, including performers as well as instruments. It is thus quite possible to imagine a fluid exchange of a variety of instruments throughout these territories; and this fluidity makes it difficult to pinpoint the 'appropriate instrument' for the Neapolitan recorder repertoire.

The strong links between Naples and Venice around this time are also important for the repertoire in this study. These links existed thanks mainly to sacred music and opera: "[l]a presenza di musicisti veneziani a Napoli nel Settecento parte da Cristoforo Caresana che fa ancora parte – dopo oltre un quarantennio – dell'organico della Cappella Reale come organista nello "Stato dei Musici di Palazzo" del giugno 1702."[640] Neapolitan *opera seria*, and the circulation of Neapolitan productions in Venice from especially the 1720s (but also the 1730s) was carried north by Venetian impresarios, in part due to the success of *opera buffa*.[641]

Considering the importance of Venice for the history of the recorder, and the role it played in the early eighteenth century in nurturing the publication and dissemination of a large corpus of music for that instrument, it is important to note that at least three of the Italian makers who were studied here had a foothold in Venice: Giovanni Maria Anciuti, N. Castel and Domenico Perosa. All three flourished within the years relevant to this study.

As already discussed, the presence of one recorder by Panormo and the magnificent Anonymous alto (Ano.ALT.01) believed to be of Neapolitan manufacture, do not by

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[638] Ibid.

[639] Ibid.

[640] Translation by the present author: "The presence of Venetian musicians in Naples in the eighteenth century begins with Cristoforo Caresana, who is still a part – after more than forty years – of the workforce of the Chapel Royal in the "Stato dei Musici di Palazzo" in June 1702 as organist." Marina Marino, "La musica sacra nel Settecento a Napoli," in *Storia della musica e dello spettacolo a Napoli, Il Settecento*, ed. Francesco Cotticelli and Paologiovanni Maione, vol. II (Naples: Turchini Edizioni, 2009). p. 2.

[641] Although the connection between the sacred and the secular repertoires and their composers is not self-explanatory, it must be remembered that the musicians in Naples in the early eighteenth century were employed numerous times in multiple musical institutions, playing not only in private palaces but also in opera houses and various religious services. Therefore, even if the recorder is not always used in these three spheres, its players were there, and their movements allowed for the possibilities of exchange of instruments. On the Neapolitans in the Venetian opera scene of the eighteenth century, see Reinhard Strohm, "The Neapolitans in Venice," in *Con che soavità, Studies in Italian Opera, Song, and Dance, 1580–1740*, ed. Iain Fenlon and Tim Carter (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995). pp. 249-274.

themselves attest to Neapolitan school of recorder making.[642] But the fact that Giovanni Panormo did make (at least) one recorder, makes it a model born out of the Neapolitan environment that nestled the composition of over ninety instrumental works, even though Panormo's recorder seems to be slightly anachronistic to the core period of the repertoire considered here.[643] It is *only one*, however, one which can be used as means of comparison to others, whatever the parameters may be. Furthermore, it seems improbable that this recorder would be *the* only one in a city where the recorder was intrinsic to private musical life. It is unlikely that Panormo's recorder was born out of his onetime inspiration or experimentation, without any prior examples for him to study, analyze, learn from, copy or develop.

I have previously outlined three main historical veins for the 'instrumentation' of the Neapolitan Baroque recorder repertoire: that which comes from a purely governmental influence (Habsburg territories), that which comes from the context of regular musical exchange with another Herculean music capital (Venice) and that which is born within the walls of the Parthenopean city. Other, lesser links, were also postulated in Chapter 3, leading us to England and, more remotely and hypothetically, to France and the Netherlands. All these avenues appear to offer a wide range of recorders to choose from for the performance of the Neapolitan Baroque repertoire: not only Panormo and the Anonymous recorders similar to Panormo (e.g. Ano.ALT.01) in their construction, but also instruments from Nuremberg (e.g. Jacob Denner), Venetian instruments by Castel or Perosa, and perhaps even Peter Bressan or Thomas Stanesby instruments from London.

We might also approach the question of instrument design from the other direction: considering the music and what it 'asks for' – what instruments are best suited to play this repertoire. With this in mind, let us review what has been presented in previous chapters in this regard.

In Chapter 1 I argued that the Italian recorders made in the Baroque period have unjustifiably been neglected. The construction of the majority of these instruments is significant in its quality, in both aesthetic and technological terms. No completely new

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[642] See Chapter 1 and Appendix 1.

[643] A few details presented before should be recalled here: the fact that Perosa was paid in 1753 and 1754 for working on the recorders of the Pietà in Venice also indicates that recorders were still generally being used. Furthermore, in 1759, recorder music was still being copied in Naples (as seen by Man.SON.03b, and the four Pullj sonatas). It is highly plausible that Giovanni Panormo, the son of an instrument maker, could have been making instruments at an early age, even if still as an apprentice. It is not impossible therefore that his recorder (Pan.ALT.01) would be from the 1760s and thus contemporary to the 1759 copies of sonatas by Mancini and Pullj.

design feature was found in the instruments for which measurements are now available, neither was this expected prior to the study. They are consistent with instruments of other European recorder schools of the time, especially in the most significant feature: the bore. The shapes of the bores of the Italian Baroque recorders studied here are mostly similar to English instruments, although more conical; the Italian instruments show a truly 'standard' design, with a diameter size that falls midway between the very wide instruments of London and the very narrow ones of Nuremberg.

Nonetheless, the voicing of the Italian instruments merits discussion: elements of the voicing point to unusual ideas, which are unique in execution and attest to personal and independent solutions to the balancing act that is the making of any recorder. Anciuti's instruments, with their absence of chamfers, which Grassi apparently copied, are extreme examples. All the other Italian recorders share similar voicing features, with small nods to other recorder schools: Castel has even wider windows than English recorders, and the long undercutting of the labium of the Panormo alto is characteristic of German instruments such as those of Denner.

We also saw that some of the Anonymous instruments are so similar in their bore, either to other Anonymous (such as Ano.ALT.01 and Ano.ALT.02), or to indeed signed instruments (Ano.ALT.03, Ano.ALT.04 and the Perosa soprano and sopranino), and we cannot ignore the possibility that other instruments now considered Anonymous may, with further studies, turn out to be Italian.

Furthermore, a very coherent, repetitive design concept can be seen in the work of Anciuti. He took what might be called a 'factory' approach of uniformity in both the bore and voicing of his recorders; only the pitch varies. It also became evident that, concerning bore and voicing, the Grassi alto of Rome is strikingly similar to the Anciuti altos. This is further confirmation of the link between the two makers, corroborating the conclusion that Grassi apprenticed with Anciuti. Further archival research might shed light on this relationship.[644]

The extant Castel recorders are all similar in design, but also show a more experimental, crafting approach, not only in the small variations of the bores but also in the less uniform voicing of the instruments examined. This variety may suggest that Castel was a mark associated with more than one maker within the family, but it seems more likely to me that Castel's goal was to create unique instruments each time. It is important to point out, though, that Cas.ALT.01 and Cas.ALT.03 share a remarkably similar bore design, even

[644] Questions such as this, which surpass the focus of the present study, remain unanswered, to be investigated in future research.

though the maker's marks of these instruments are not the exact same. This is important confirmation of the fact that the stylized 'N' and the simple 'N' are associated with the same person, therefore disproving the existence of a J. C. Castel, at least with regard to the recorders. In this same line of thought, I suggest, by the comparison of their bores, that Ano.ALT.01 and Ano.ALT.02 may also be in the 'school' of Panormo, and as such, represent other examples of Neapolitan recorders.

Chapter 1 also showed that none of the recorders that were studied and played displayed characteristics that would make them particularly suitable to very virtuosic music, in the way that Denner instruments are, especially regarding easiness of speech in the high register.[645] Still, the fact that these Italian recorders have a more conical bore than English instruments, and the details of voicing that determine how they speak, points to an intention to create a balanced instrument that can function well in repertoire that demands versatility.

Turning to the repertoire (discussed in Chapter 2), a number of Neapolitan works call for high notes, such as F6 (Fio.CON.01, Fio.SIN.02, Fio.SON.01, Leo.SON.04, Mel.CON.01, Sca.CAN.01). This might indicate the existence in that city of instruments, such as those of Denner, that function very well in the higher range, or it may be testimonial to the virtuosity of the players for which the works were composed. As the two versions of Mancini's Sonata III (Man.SON.03a and 03b) show, I am inclined to conclude that the 'normal' range of the recorder in Naples was slightly higher than that of the recorder in England, corroborating the observation that the Italian recorders in general follow a design path in between England and Germany. This cannot be affirmed with complete certainty by the existence of these two versions of a same sonata, but the adapted fugal entrances (shown in Chapter 2, Table 2.3.5) corroborate the claim.

Also in Chapter 2 we saw that fugal second (or third) movements were an important trademark of the style of the older generation of Neapolitan composers, and that this continued to inform the writing of their younger colleagues. The use of the term "dolce" instead of "piano" is, in my opinion, another point of unity amongst the Neapolitan composers; this will be discussed next.

The examples of ornamentation in the *solfeggi*, and in the sonatas presented in Chapter 2, point to a common language, which was *learned* at the Neapolitan *conservatori*. I see these ornaments much less as tools for expression of individuality by the musicians who performed these works – as is often considered to be the case especially at the moment the

[645] This observation will be exemplified with a practical account using a Panormo recorder copy later.

Galant style took over – but rather more as further compositional tools that reinforce the existence of a 'Neapolitan style'.[646]

Finally, the sheer number of purely instrumental works for the recorder written or copied between 1699 and 1759, prove that in these sixty years the recorder enjoyed great popularity, especially in the aristocratic circles that sustained the production of music in Naples.

As explained in the Introduction, the lack of music treatises offers no help in determining what type of recorders were used in Naples. But, although Naples lacks any treatise with mention of the Baroque recorder, a Spanish treatise may be of some use. The *Guía para los principiantes* (Valencia, dated 1720, copied 1767[647]), written by the composer and music theorist Pedro Rabassa (1683–1767), shows the range of the "flata [sic] dulce" to be from F4 to C6 but "aun sube tres o quatro puntos mas,"[648] therefore reaching G6.[649] Rabassa was educated in Barcelona, and, according to Miguel-Ángel Marín, "must have been influenced by the Austrian and Italian musicians employed at the court of Archduke Carlos III, who had temporarily settled in Barcelona during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14)."[650] From 1724, he was *maestro de capilla* in Valencia, a city in which he had lived since 1713,[651] and which had had connections with Naples since the fifteenth century.[652]

Quickly reviewing the list of the European treatises (presented in the Introduction) that include the recorder in the Baroque period, one sees that the first English treatise to include F6 was published by an Anonymous author in 1706, whilst the also Anonymous

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[646] In my opinion, this practice of composing ornaments as a part of the melodic line is not the same as, for example, J. S. Bach's practice of notating grace notes and embellishments in detail; Bach's intention was mostly to specify his preferred ornaments with precision (Johann Adolf Scheibe, 1708–1776, criticized this practice, referring specifically to Bach's *doubles* and arguing for simplicity in music). I see the ornaments in the Neapolitan recorder works that were examined as an intrinsic part of the melodic line, especially in the case of appoggiaturas.

[647] Rosa Isusi Fagoaga, "La Música en la Catedral de Sevilla en el siglo XVIII: la obra de Pedro Rabassa y su difusión en España e Hispanoamérica" (PhD, Universidad de Granada, 2012). p. 326.

[648] Translation by the present author: "still goes three or four tones higher."

[649] Rabassa also writes that "este ystrumento ay de diferentes especies pero esta es la mas comun," confirming the alto in F as the recorder size most used also in his context. The manuscript is conserved in E-Vacp, and available in a facsimile modern edition. Pedro Rabassa, *Guía para los principiantes, Edición facsímil*, ed. Francesc Bonastre, Antonio Martín Moreno, and Josep Climent (Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma, 1990).

[650] Miguel-Ángel Marín, "Rabassa, Pedro." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed November 29, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[651] Ibid.

[652] José Climent, "Valencia." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed December 18, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

Tutto il Bisognevole and Bismantova's *Compendio* had already included G6 in the seventeenth century. Although all three French treatises, Etienne Loulié, Jean-Pierre Freillon-Poncein and Jacques Hotteterre, do include these higher notes, in the very modest repertoire for the recorder in France they are not to be found. It may be postulated therefore that from early on, the recorder in Italy had many aspects in common with instruments of Germany, starting already at the time of Silvestro Ganassi.[653]

4.2 Performance practice

Ornaments found in the recorder parts of the works in this repertoire have been shown in Chapter 2, other aspects of performance practice will be described below.

Time signatures, and tempo, expression and dynamic indications

It would seem that the copyist that gathered the collection of the twenty-four concerti of Naples into one manuscript was very faithful to the dynamic indications of individual composers. Whilst Sarro, Francesco Barbella, and Mancini use *dolce* ("dol.") and *forte* ("f."), and Giovanni Battista Mele adds *assai* ("dol. assai," "f. assai"), Alessandro Scarlatti and Robert Valentine use *piano* ("p.") and *forte* ("f."), and the latter once indicates "eco." It seems significant therefore that in this collection the 'foreigners' use "p." instead of "dol." This theory is corroborated by Fiorenza's use of "for." and "dol." in his *concerti* and *sinfonie* for the recorder.

The use of tempo indications such as Amoroso and Spiritoso – besides the more common Largo, Allegro, and Presto – are useful clues of character more than actual tempo markings. "Rousseau (1768) equated it [Amoroso] with the French *tendrement*, with the qualification that *amoroso* had 'plus d'accent, et respire je ne sais pas quoi de moins fade et de plus passionné' ('more emphasis and is perhaps a little less insipid and more impassioned')."[654] Spiritoso, in the case of the works treated in this study, should be

[653] Although J. C. Denner petitions in 1696 to become a master, being granted the right to produce 'the new French instruments' in the next year, this should not be understood literally, but rather should imply 'the new instruments', i.e. Baroque oboes and recorders. "Some of the early instruments show clearly the influence of French models, but further developed through the experience born of musical practice." Martin Kirnbauer, "Denner." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed December 29, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com. Jacob Denner's recorders show no sign that would corroborate a link with actual French recorders, indicating his design had already evolved into his own.

[654] David Fallows, "Amoroso." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed December 29, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

understood as the more fiery definition of the word, connected to a swifter tempo.[655] "That meaning, which is the one most commonly used today, stretches back well into the 18th century: there are several movements in Domenico Scarlatti and Rameau, for instance, that are so marked and must be fast. Alessandro Scarlatti's *Genuinda* (1694) includes the tempo mark *allegrissimo e spiritoso.*"[656]

The divergences in the tempo indications between the various parts in a single piece – for example Man.CON.02 (all parts except recorder: Largo; recorder: Larghetto), Man.CON.03 (all parts except recorder: Allegro; recorder: Andante) – is most probably sloppiness on the part of the copyist. But it is tempting to hypothesize that it may be an interesting sign of the different expectations of tempo experienced by instrumentalists of different instruments.

Time signatures with mensural signs, such as C3/2, C3/4, C3/8, C12/8 (i.e. *tripla minore*,[657] according to Giovanni Maria Bononcini's *Musico prattico* of 1673), are used in conjunction with numerical proportions both in the vocal and in the instrumental repertoire studied, and are especially common in the works by Scarlatti. This is probably only a vestigial application of earlier practices, as described by Lorenzo Penna who, in *Li primi albori musicali* (1684) "omits the mensural sign (tempo) before the numerical proportion in his signatures. He mentions its former use but gives no reason for its exclusion."[658]

In 1714, Wolfgang Gaspar Printz explained these exclusions, in the second edition of his *Compendium musicae signatoriae & moulatoriae vocalis*, basing himself on Italian sources:[659]

> Wenn der Gesang mit einer *irrationalem Proportion* anfängt/ lassen die meisten neuen *Musici* das *Signum quantitatis mensuralis* weg/ und setzen unter die Zahlen/ so die *Proportion* andeuten/ allein: und zwar nicht ohne Ursache. Denn weil die untere Zahl der vorgeschriebenen *Irrationalen Proportion* schon die Krafft hat des Länge des Tactes

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[655] An example of this is found in Man.CON.09; most of the parts read Spiritoso, but violins I and II read Allegro.

[656] David Fallows, "Spiritoso." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed December 29, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[657] George Houle, *Meter in Music, 1600–1800 – Performance, Perception and Notation*, ed. Thomas Binkley, Music: Scholarship and Performance (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987). p. 23. Giovanni Maria Bononcini, *Musico prattico che breuemente dimostra il modo di giungere alla perfetta cognizione di tutte quelle cose, che concorrono all acomposizione de i Canti, di ciò ch'all'Arte del Contrapunto si recerca* (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1673). This first print is available online from http://conquest.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/9/9d/IMSLP126026-PMLP248460-musico_prattico_1673.pdf.

[658] George Houle, *Meter in Music, 1600–1800 – Performance, Perception and Notation*. p. 24. Lorenzo Penna, *Li primi albori musicali per li principianti della musica figurata*, 4th ed. (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1684).

[659] Ton Koopman, private communication.

> [sic] anzudeuten/ so ist das *Signum quantitatis mensuralis* uberflüssig/ unnöthig/ und also/ vermöge … abzuschaffen.[660]

As George Houle writes, "[e]ven in 1714, the fractional number of the time signature is explained as a proportion, but the omission of the mensural sign is explained as if it did not affect the proportional interpretation of the signature."[661] I believe this to be the case in the works examined in this study that include mensural signs.

Strings: one or more to a part[662]

In the *Sonata Decima nona* (Man.CON.11), Mancini indicates "soli" in bar 9 in the first violin part, at the second entrance of the recorder. The fact that the word is plural may indicate these works were to be performed with more than one violin to a part. It may also refer to the fact that the bass drops out, leaving the violins and recorder alone. This would show an inconsistency with the very beginning and other moments in the same movement in which the bass is silent, and which do not have any indication of solos.

In my experience, balance issues arise if the work is performed with more than one violin to a part: the recorder part is clearly audible in these concertante works if the strings are one to a part. Especially in the fugal movements, when all instruments have their equal entrances, it becomes clearly unbalanced between recorder and strings if the strings are played with more than one to a part. If the recorder part were written in a higher range, this might not have been an issue, but the fact that very often the recorder is in the middle, middle-high range, equal to the violin parts, means that it gets covered in performances with more than one string to a part. However, if it was indeed played with more than one to a part, this may be a strong indication of the qualities of volume and type of sound of the recorders used to perform these pieces at the time of their composition.[663]

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[660] Translation by George Houle: "If the music begins with an irrational proportion [3/1, 3/2, 3/4, 3/8], most of the new musicians omit the mensural sign, and use only the numbers that show the proportion. This is not without cause, as the denominator of the indicated proportion already has the ability to show the length of the tactus: therefore the mensural sign is superfluous, unnecessary, and should be abolished." George Houle, *Meter in Music, 1600–1800 – Performance, Perception and Notation*. p. 25. Wolfgang Caspar Printz, *Compendium musicae signatoriae & modulatoriae vocalis, das ist: kurzer Begriff aller derjenigen Sachen, so einem, der die Vocal-Musik lernen will, zu wissen von nöthen seyn* (Dresden: Mieth, 1689).

[661] George Houle, *Meter in Music, 1600–1800 – Performance, Perception and Notation*. p. 25.

[662] For an interesting discussion on this matter, see Richard Maunder, *The scoring of Baroque concertos* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydel Press, 2004).

[663] The choice for one or more strings to a part has also to do with the sizes of modern halls, and in that sense should be seen pragmatically in concert situations. Still, my opinion is that this music should maintain the character of chamber music, rather than be treated orchestrally.

In Sca.CON.01b, now in Bologna, the six staves are assigned to "Flauto, Violini [2 staves], Viole, Violoncello, Basso," and the fact that the added viola line is pluralized (in fact blank for the most part, except for the last Allegro, which reads "Viole col Basso") indicates that at the time of the later copy the work was performed with more than one to a part.[664] More than one to a part also seems possible in the case of Scarlatti's *Sinfonie di Concerto Grosso*. The recorder usually plays 'solos' accompanied only by the cello, playing a secondary textural role in many of the *tutti* sections. This may actually be the best indication that Scarlatti had meant the works to be performed by more players in the upper strings, the fact that precisely when the recorder needs to be heard, the texture is thinner, allowing for the 'soloist' to be audible.

It is my belief that all the Neapolitan *concertante* works for the recorder should be played with one to a part, in order to preserve the delicate balance between all instruments, save the exceptions mentioned above. This is especially important in the case of the Vinci concerto and Sar.CON.02, which are quartets in a sense, and have a more intimate kind of writing, therefore seeming out of character if played by a larger group. As mentioned before, in order to preserve a balance in the fugal movements, the twenty-four concertos would also benefit from a performance with one upper string to a part.

Continuo section

The continuo group in Naples in the eighteenth century is yet to be studied in detail. It is possible nonetheless to form an idea based on the evidence extracted from the documentation stemming from musical institutions of the time, as well as by analyzing the music itself for clues of what is requested by the composers.

As seen in Chapter 3, archlutes were employed in the Royal Chapel concomitantly to the addition of the oboes "con l'obbligo del flauto," but the only instance in which (two) archlutes explicitly appear alongside the recorder in this repertoire is in Leo.SER.01.

The harp was abolished from the Cappella del Tesoro di San Gennaro in 1699 because "l'instrum[en]to dell'Arpa non unisce bene con l'armonia dell'altri Istrum[en]ti precisam[en]te per lo ripieno che si costuma modernam[en]te. […] in contro cambio del

[664] All the viola parts found in recorder concertos in Naples are assigned to the "violetta." Though having different meanings through the centuries, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the term "violetta" was used commonly for the viola. Howard Mayer Brown, Stephen Bonta, "Violetta." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed December 28, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

quale se' determinerà appresso l'elettione d'altro Istrum[en]to a' corda."[665] As mentioned in Chapter 3, a harp was present in the Royal Chapel until at least 1704, but no longer mentioned in 1708.[666] The harp is not mentioned at all in any of the works that include recorder parts.

The first unequivocal mention of the cello in Naples is made in that same 1708 payment list of the Royal Chapel, which also lists double basses.[667] As Guido Olivieri writes[668]

> [I]t is unlikely that this instrument appeared so late and so abruptly in Naples. The characteristic elusiveness of terminology for string bass instruments around this time makes it extremely difficult to identify with certainty the instruments used and to determine exactly when the violoncello took the place of the violone or of other transitional instruments. Although thorough research on the continuo instruments used in Naples has yet to be done, it is reasonable to presume that the developments in the Neapolitan milieu were not very dissimilar from those that occurred in Rome, where the term "viola" was still commonly employed before the first quarter of the eighteenth century to describe the string instruments of the continuo group (including the 8' violone), and a widespread use of the term "violoncello" began only around the 1720's. This hypothesis seems to be confirmed by the existence of a set of 28 duets for 2 cellos written in 1699 by Rocco Greco (ca. 1650-1718), a teacher of string instruments at the Conservatorio dei Poveri di Gesù Cristo, which bears as a title "Sonate a due viole." Certainly by 1708 a fine cello school already existed in Naples. It is otherwise difficult to explain the sudden advent of several exceptional virtuosi such as Francesco Alborea, Rocco Greco, or Francesco Supriani coming from the Neapolitan training.[669]

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[665] Translation by the present author: "the Harp does not combine well with the other instruments, more precisely because of the *ripieno* that is customary now. […] in exchange, another [harmonic] string instrument will be elected." Marta Columbro, Paologiovanni Maione, *Gli Splendori Armonici del Tesoro: Appunti sull'attività musicale della Cappella tra Sei e Settecento* (Naples: Deputazione della Real Cappella del Tesoro di San Gennaro, Arte Tipografica S.A.S., 2002). p. 43. Squared brackets by Columbro and Maione.

[666] Francesco Cotticelli, Paologiovanni Maione, *Le Istituzioni Musicali a Napoli durante il Viceregno Austriaco (1707–1734) (*Naples: Luciano Editore, 1993). p. 18.

[667] In this context, a 16-foot.

[668] Guido Olivieri, "Cello Teaching and Playing in Naples in the Early Eighteenth Century: Francesco Paolo Supriani's Principij da imparare a suonare il violoncello," in *Performance practice: issues and approaches*, ed. Timothy D. Watkins (Ann Arbor: Steglein Publishing, 2009). pp. 109, 111-112.

[669] It is worthwhile to mention that Rocco Greco's sinfonias *Quinta* and *Sesta* are most likely the first source to shed light on the practice of chordal realization on the cello. Inés Salinas Blasco, "The cello in Naples in the early 18th century" (Master, Royal Conservatoire, 2015). p. 37. Although the title page may raise doubts as to whether or not "viole" could refer to the viola da gamba, it is clear the works are for cello for the following reasons:

> *"The highest pitch on the first voice is a f', and [it] rarely goes higher than d' (Helmholtz pitch notation). If they would have been meant for the viol, the composer would have probably used the upper register of this instrument more often.*
>
> *The 28 sinfonìe are entirely written in bass clef, except [for a] few bars in [the] first voice in the Sinfonìa Prima, which are in tenor clef. Solo music for viol is often written in alto clef.*
>
> *They are part of a large manuscript (which seems to be copied by the same copyist) which contains music for solo cello and continuo, namely two "Sinfonìe per Violoncello del Sigr. G. Bononcini" and 10 "Passagagli [sic] per Violoncello del Sigr. Gaetano Francone".*

Inés Salinas Blasco, private communication.

The indication "basso" in the title pages of each part book of the twenty-four concerti, should be taken with the knowledge that not only a "violongello" [sic] part is extant but also a fully figured bass part. This is also the case in the scores of all twelve *Sinfonie di Concerto Grosso* by Scarlatti, which show an independent line given to the "violoncello," above the unassigned, figured bass line. It seems logical that this 'generic' bass line would be played by a harpsichord as well as a double bass. On this assumption, Olivieri notes something else of interest:[670]

> The association of violoncello and double bass around the 1730s is also attested to by the *Sonate a Quattro* by Angelo Ragazzi. The edition of these works printed in Rome in 1736 follows the local practice and presents a single part for the violone, while the manuscript preserved in Naples (probably an earlier version) has the parts for "violoncello" and "contrabasso."

It is worth noting that it was common for the double basses to outnumber the cellos in the orchestra of the *Teatro di San Carlo*, for example; this was already noted in the 1770s by Charles Burney.[671]

In the case of the recorder works by Fiorenza, the instrumentation of the bass seems to be treated individually:

- The 1726 concerto (Fio.CON.01) has two sets of parts for each instrument, from different copyists. One of the sets has a figured bass part entitled "basso." The other has a part called "Controbasso, [sic] o Cembalo," also figured.
- The 1728 concerto (Fio.CON.02) is scored, as can be read in the title page, for "Violongello, [sic] e Basso" but the only bass part to be found is that of the "Violongello," unfigured.
- In the sinfonia in G Minor (Fio.SIN.01), the only bass part is not assigned to any specific instrument, but does contain figures, and one section at the end of the second movement indicates "tasto solo," which implies the use of a keyboard instrument as well.[672]
- In the sinfonia in C Minor (Fio.SIN.02) the only bass part is that of the "Violongello," which is unfigured. In the second movement though, there are markings for "Viol. solo" and "tutti" which denote the presence of another

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[670] Guido Olivieri, "Cello Teaching and Playing in Naples in the Early Eighteenth Century: Francesco Paolo Supriani's Principij da imparare a suonare il violoncello." p. 114 (footnote 13).

[671] Michael F. Robinson, *Naples and Neapolitan Opera* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972). p. 161.

[672] An archlute type instrument is not to be ruled out, although it is never explicitly requested in any of the instrumental works with the recorder.

continuo instrument besides the cello, be it a harpsichord or a plucked chordophone (e.g. archlute), another cello, or a double bass.

On the basis of the information already provided about the continuo instruments enumerated in the instrumental works that were examined, I propose a continuo section of at least cello, double bass and harpsichord for the concertante works, with the exception of the Vinci concerto and Sar.CON.02, in which cello and harpsichord seem more appropriate, for reasons mentioned above.

As for the Neapolitan sonatas, I often choose not to use a cello in the continuo, for I consider the writing of the bass line in these works to be more suitable for a keyboard instrument than for a bowed instrument. This is especially the case in the twelve sonatas by Mancini, and in Fiorenza's A Minor sonata. Furthermore, with the equality in the writing of the recorder and bass lines, especially in the works of Mancini, performance largely gains freedom when rendered by only two musicians.[673] However, stylistically later works, such as the four sonatas by Pullj, very much profit from an added melodic bass line. With the simplified texture of these sonatas, the cello is also freer to explore a chordal and embellished realization of the bass line, especially helpful in the slow movements in providing depth of sound and sustaining interesting harmonies.[674]

Pitch

Bruce Haynes has shown that the majority of Italian woodwinds in this period were pitched around A=410 Hz, as were the majority of German, English and Dutch woodwinds. Germany

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[673] These sonatas often seem to be written-out *partimenti*, with voices divided between two instruments. As such, they are based on structures normally thought and performed on a keyboard instrument. Furthermore, in many instances the bass lines have a range which reaches higher than what is usual in the rest of Italy, not only in the Neapolitan recorder sonatas but also in the concertos and sinfonias. Naturally, the extension of this upper range is more uncomfortable for a bowed bass instrument than for a keyboard one. As a curiosity, and supporting the idea that these pieces work well without a bowed bass instrument, Neapolitan harpsichords, including the soundboard, are typically made in maple instead of the more usual cypress. Maple is denser than cypress and harpsichords made with denser woods produce a clearer sound. The sound of a Neapolitan harpsichord, as described by Grant O'Brien, is a "strong, sweet sound, full of character and personality." Edward L. Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, vol. 1 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003); Grant O'Brien, "Why choose a Neapolitan harpsichord as a model for building a modern harpsichord?" accessed December 29, 2014, http://www.claviantica.com/Design_files/Reasons.html#_ftn1. p. 97. For wood density references see "Physical Properties of Common Woods." accessed December 29, 2014, http://www.csudh.edu/oliver/chemdata/woods.htm. On the various Neapolitan keyboard makers of the period (e.g. Giovanni N. Boccalari, the Sabbatino family), as well as regarding specific characteristics of the typical Neapolitan harpsichord (documented already in the sixteenth century and observed in the extant instruments of Onofrio Guarracino, for example), see Francesco Nocerino, "Gli strumenti musicali a Napoli nel secolo XVIII," in *Storia della musica e dello spettacolo a Napoli. Il Settecento*, ed. P. Maione F. Cotticelli, vol. 2 (Naples: Turchini Edizioni, 2009). pp. 775-780.

[674] On relatable issues on the instrumentation of the bass part in Corelli's Op. 5, see, for example, David Watkin, "Corelli's Op.5 Sonatas: 'Violino e violone o cimbalo'?" *Early Music* 24, no. 4 (November) (1996). pp. 645-646, 649-650, 653-654, 657-663.

has a second peak at A=415 Hz, and third at 405, whilst England and Holland both have a second peak at 405. The rest of Italian woodwinds are equally distributed by Haynes' graph at A=412, 422, 425, 430, 438 and 443 Hz.[675] Haynes equates the pitch of approximately A=415 Hz with "A-*Kammerton*" and with the pitch in Naples.[676] After all the divergent information presented in various chapters, it seems Haynes concludes A=410 Hz to be the approximate meeting point of a variety of sources on the pitch in Naples.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the auditory perception of musical instruments' timbral qualities, by players and listeners alike, changes from one pitch to another. Still, the sensory perception of the player can remain unchanged at different pitches. As an example of that, the fact that Denner recorders respond very easily in the high register is the same whether the instrument is at A=415 or 440 Hz, and the feeling of the player in producing these high notes is also unaffected. At 415 and 440 Hz, the color of the sound of the two instruments in this high register may be different, but the sound production, and the way it feels to produce that sound, remains the same. In this respect, the pitch of the instruments researched in Chapter 1 is irrelevant to the discussion of their suitability to the performance of the repertoire listed in Chapter 2; the shape of the bore and the details of voicing, the construction of the instruments and, consequently, the way they *feel* when played are decisive in this equation. Naturally, the 'original pitch' of an instrument is tied up in the design concept it presents, but once this concept is known, studied and understood, one can extrapolate these qualities independently of pitch.

Temperament

Speaking of temperament in the case of over 300 years old recorders is a complex matter for a variety of reasons. First, the instruments have often become distorted, from use and with the passing of time, and therefore how 'in- or out-of-tune' the instrument currently is, cannot always serve as an indication of how it used to be. Then, there is the issue of the changes made in subsequent eras to adapt the instrument to more modern ideals: shortening of joints, widening of holes and window etc. Finally, upon playing the instrument, most players will immediately try to adjust to their own 'inner tuning system', so whatever information we can infer is to be understood as 'filtered'. As Haynes wrote, "[w]ithout a fixed tuning, intonation is influenced by technical situations, subjective perceptions, even

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[675] "Graph 27: Woodwinds in Europe, 1700–1730." Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch / The story of "A"* (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2002).

[676] "Graph 35: Possible levels described by Agricola and Quantz." Ibid. p. 417.

differences in dynamics. Players of such instruments are incapable (even if they wanted it) of the level of consistency in intonation implied by a temperament."[677] That being said, recorders are less flexible in their tuning than violins, for example. Throughout the eighteenth century (as described by the literature of the period), the aim of string players and singers was 'just intonation', which was emulated in keyboards through a meantone temperament that fluctuated around 1/6 comma. My experience with original Baroque recorders has shown that indeed these instruments work best in meantone temperament.[678]

4.3 The Artist's Choice

Recorders for the Neapolitan Baroque repertoire, 1695–1759

We have seen that the instrumental repertoire produced in Naples for the recorder in the eighteenth century was cultivated in the highest spheres of society. We have also seen that through the fame and influential position of the composers who wrote those recorder works, the repertoire is part of a musical school that was unique and local in one sense but also fashionable enough to be exported and become cosmopolitan.

Music was circulated through the many cultural avenues that reached and even crossed Naples. A single approach to any part of this repertoire would be contrary to the multitude of characteristics one may want to emphasize in performance. The trail of clues left in the music itself, for the choice of instruments to be used in playing the recorder parts, leads to no single arrival point, but rather to several different ones.

In the Neapolitan works in which exploitation of the instrument's highest range is paramount, the best-suited instruments, in my opinion, seem to be those of the Nuremberg school.[679] This may not be the most obvious choice but, as seen before, it is also not a totally unlikely one. The Panormo alto also works well in these works but does not give the performer the same range of possibilities for performing those high notes, especially in regard to articulation response.

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[677] Bruce Haynes, "Beyond temperament: Non-Keyboard Intonation in the 17th and 18th Centuries," *Early Music* 19, no. 3 (August) (1991). p. 358.

[678] This is also the conclusion reached by, for example, Eugène Eijken, "Een onderzoek naar getempereerd spel op de houtblaasinstrumenten in de 17e en 18e eeuw, in het bijzonder op de blokfluit." (Scriptie Historische methodiek blokfluit, Royal Conservatoire, 1982). p. 28.

[679] See Chapter 1 for the connection between some of the recorders studied with those of Nuremberg, and the Introduction and Chapter 3 for the connection between Nuremberg and Venice as well as Naples.

In the works with a range reaching no higher than D6, the decision of which instrument to use may be influenced less by aspects of articulation and more by timbre. An artistic and performance-led selection for the timbre, fingering possibilities with the keys of the works, articulation response, and actual feeling brings out the following choices:[680]

- to use the hoarse, warm sound of the Pan.ALT.01 copy in the works in which the lyricism of the writing is the most significant, for example in Fio.CON.01 and Sar.CON.01. Although Fio.CON.01 does reach F6, it is not within a particularly soloistic passage but rather more as a theatrical outpour of the melodic line;
- to take advantage of the nasal quality of the sound of Cas.ALT.01, for example in works such as Leo.SON.02. Furthermore, this work is in G Minor, which also means the double-holes of the instrument serve an extra purpose in the performance of more secure B♭s;
- to pair spirited[681] works such as Fio.SON.01, Man.CON.11, and Pul.SON.01–04, with instruments from the Denner school, which allow for quick changes in air pressure, more varied articulation throughout the entire range of the instrument and have a clear and bright sound.

The Panormo anecdote

Prologue

During the course of this research, I was faced with the limitations and possibilities of instruments in relation to my expectations as a player. In a world that thrives on the false assumption that it is possible not to compromise, modern performers often forget that the instruments we use are *always* a compromise, in one aspect or another.[682] Take the simple example of double, unequally sized holes on an average 'Baroque' recorder. If the original instrument that inspired the 'copy' had single holes, as it most probably did, an obvious compromise is being made: in order to facilitate fingering combinations the overall sound of the instrument changes, and is often not only softer but also less stable. Neither solution can be condemned, but it is only by being aware of the compromise that we can decide

[680] These, and a few other choices have been put to practice by La Cicala, Inês d'Avena, *Dolce Napoli, Sonate & Concerti per Flauto (CD)*, Passacaille 1007 (2014).

[681] See above the definition of *spiritoso*, which is indeed still present in the modern connotation of the word 'spirited'.

[682] Compromises are constantly being made on pitch, for example: in a concert situation, it is impractical (and often impossible) to play music of a variety of eras, geographic regions and styles faithfully respecting every single aspect of their original setting.

which is preferable. When we are accustomed to playing on only one kind of instrument, we become so used to one kind of compromise that we may cease to notice it – the compromise becomes a *conditio sine qua non*.

Act 1

The very first concrete part of the present study was a visit to the Library of Congress in Washington in April 2011, which had the purpose of producing the technical drawings, measurements and pictures of the Panormo alto housed there.

After the trip, and after writing and publishing an article, it was time to copy the instrument so that it could once again be used for playing. It was then that the worrying began. After seeing it in Washington, and realizing that it looked not only beautiful but also very interesting from a constructional point of view, and that it would probably suit most of the repertoire, I started to doubt: what if it looked great in my hands and on paper but sounded bad? Or worse: what if it sounded mundane and nothing inspiring came out of this considerable effort? This was all the more disturbing as the original instrument is no longer playable, so the imagination of the sound of the instrument was entirely built on numbers and shapes, not on any practical experience.

The process I went through as a performer during the commission and subsequent use of the Panormo alto was interesting, to say the least. I would say it was inspiring, and certainly an experience that has enriched my playing and thinking about my instrument and music. I am not a maker, and prior to this doctoral research never had any real interest in recorder making. I knew the very basics, and did not ask many questions; it seemed to be something beyond my craft.

It quickly became clear, though, that if I wanted to write about it, I was going to have to learn a little bit more about the technical side of recorder construction. A brief acquaintance with books on instrument construction, acoustics, and historical organology followed. Why is the size of the window *this* on a Denner and *that* on a Stanesby? Why does the shape of the Denner bore produce better high notes? Why is the windway so curved on original instruments?

I do not pretend to have come very far in my theoretical understanding, it is still something beyond my craft and, beyond the knowledge that we can extrapolate from the instruments, I have the impression much of it can only be done well by feeling. Much of what governs the decisions of makers is not necessarily translatable into numbers; it has to do with concepts and sound ideals, practical knowledge and the acceptance of trial and error. Nonetheless, this study opened up for me a new way of looking at, understanding and

playing my instruments. Everything on a recorder serves a clear purpose; change one detail and the instrument will indeed be something else. This in turn gave me a sincere appreciation of what my instruments can and cannot do. Discovering this seemed in itself encouraging. It validated my reasoning in this research: instruments can and do inspire, and probably did inspire composers to write in one way and not another.

November 20, 2011: the day had arrived, the Panormo copy was finally ready. I had inadvertently set a concert date with my new instrument for December 9, only a couple weeks away. So it had to be ready and had to be good.

I filmed our first encounter, and I had coached myself to take short mental notes of this first moment, as I wanted to have a genuine but clear reaction from myself. Of course, it was difficult to express all of my thoughts, my expectations were enormous and the anticipation difficult to control. As I played the first notes on my new instrument, the words that came to mind were:

- open;
- cantabile;
- sweet;
- warm;
- and very different from anything I had ever played.

These are all lovely thoughts, and they would make anyone like their instrument, regardless of the music they intend to play. There was one more thought that came later, not so lovely, and which nagged me: the high notes spoke with 'difficulty'.

Since a wooden musical instrument is 'alive', the next day the recorder sounded differently, and the problem of the high notes, which I had been trying to forget, was even more disturbing. It was still open, cantabile, sweet, warm, and very different from anything I had ever played, but now it had also a slightly hoarse coating in the middle register and I was not so sure that would go well in my plans for the works to be performed three weeks later.

Breaking-in a recorder consists of not playing more than 5 minutes the first day, 10 on the second, 15 the third etc., and this meant that I only really got to know the instrument by the time the rehearsals started, on December 3. By that moment I had also added to my previous list of adjectives that I felt the instrument was a true alto, it did not feel like a *dessus* instrument, it felt deeper. I had experienced the opposite feeling when playing on Baroque altos in G, which although only one tone higher, *feel* and *sing* as a soprano.

By then I had also already convinced myself that such an infant instrument would not withstand the full length of a one-hour concert without either impairing it for future use or damaging the actual concert experience for the audience. And so I decided I would use it only for the three pieces with strings, and that the two sonatas with harpsichord would be played on my Denner alto.[683] This is an important point: since 2005, my main instrument was a Denner, and that had been my point of departure, a *conditio sine qua non*.

On the first day of rehearsals I deliberately did not say much to my fellow musicians. I wanted any comments from them to be spontaneous. Indeed they were: no one said a word about the recorder's sound during the three days of rehearsals. I switched between instruments a lot, exploring the works with their different qualities, and none of my colleagues asked me why, or had any comments about how 'I' was sounding. These colleagues have known me for the past twelve years, and we have played together extensively since at least 2006. I have had the same Denner alto throughout this time, and it is the only instrument they know me to play.

My doubts increased: was the instrument not sounding all that different after all? And if so, was my research still valid? Why would I be looking for a special instrument for this repertoire, if most people around me could not hear any difference between this and what I had played before?

It may be important to point out that I have tried out a variety of 'new' instruments throughout my life, but never without knowing what to expect, and never before playing a copy that no one knew, except for me.

I was going to give a lecture-presentation shortly after the second concert, and the preparation for it had forced me to solidify the thoughts on my new instrument. I decided to focus on my first – and continuing – impression of it. I also decided to concentrate on how much I had to change my own playing for those concerts, in a very short time, and how that was remarkably challenging. To be forced to let the instrument tell you what to do, what is possible and what is not: wonderful, but difficult.

Act 2

[683] It is important to point out that, for practical reasons, I used an alternative middle joint on the Panormo alto, so that the concert could be played entirely in A=415 Hz. Consequently, and luckily, the audience impressions which I narrate below have not been blurred by the possible differences caused by the impressions of timbre created by two different pitches.

On the program of the concerts that December weekend were five pieces with recorder. Of those, three were performed with my Panormo copy: three concertos by Sarro, Vinci and Fiorenza.

The Sarro concerto (Sar.CON.02) has a 'normal' range of A4–E6, thus no high F.[684] In the first movement I did not feel restricted by the instrument at all, and in fact I felt that the rusty alto sound it had developed was very welcome, and helped carry the wondrous melody. In the second movement though, it was problematic: having been mostly using a Denner copy since 2005, I was very much accustomed to high notes that speak in whichever way I play them, even with harsh articulations and focused blowing. It very rarely cracks and is usually quite powerful. So I went at it the same way on the Panormo, and got a loud squeak instead of a high D.[685]

Tone it down next time, I thought to myself. Retake from bar 11, and squeak again. That became annoying: I wanted that note to be strong, and sharply articulated, but that just did not work. I had decided in my head what the instrument had to do, but in practice that was not natural. The same problem happened in the last movement of the Vinci concerto (Vin.CON.01). I had to settle for a softer, rounder articulation for that passage, slightly changing the musical interpretation. It still worked, but it was different.

The third concerto in the program was by Fiorenza, Fio.CON.01, in A Minor. This is a piece I have played countless times since 2007. I have a variety of recordings of the piece in concert, up until 2011 always with my Denner recorder. Listening to the recordings made before discovering the Panormo in order to compare, I realized that my playing in the piece did not change that much with the new recorder, except that I had a much more docile articulation in the high notes, and my dynamics were less localized but were built up in an even more gradated way. Besides that, my sound is different with the Panormo, and my timing of things is more flexible. Having a truly new, unknown instrument forces one to take time, to listen to the color of the instrument's sound, to absorb what it does naturally and what it cannot be forced to do, *while* playing. I was making many more decisions 'in the moment.'

At the two December concerts in 2011, the audience had received a program booklet that indicated I was using two different instruments, and in which works I was using my new Panormo copy, but in a very understated way. During the first concert I said a few

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[684] F6.

[685] D6.

words as well, but did not emphasize that the Panormo should sound differently from the Denner, or why. At the second concert *I did* tell the audience I was using one instrument for the concertos and another one for the sonatas, and spoke a little about their differences, but only after we had already played the first half of the concert.

At the end of the first concert, audience members came to me to talk about the Panormo and to tell me how they enjoyed not only the pieces but also the sound of the instrument. They were not musicians, let alone, recorder players. 'Very beautiful sound' was the recurring comment. I suppose this comment did not mean my other instrument, the Denner copy, did not sound beautiful. What I do think is that *I* played differently on the Panormo alto, for the reasons stated above.

At the second concert, three audience members also came to me, in turns, with comments. One of them said she very much enjoyed the warmth of sound of the Panormo and that the music sounded therefore very optimistic (which was a special remark, since the entire program was in minor keys). The second person said she thought the Panormo sounded 'less high' than my other recorder, and that she liked this sound very much. The third one, told me that even before I revealed to the audience that I was using two different instruments, she had already realized there was a difference in sound every time I switched from one piece to the other (which was not necessarily obvious – my two Denner altos are made of boxwood and so is the Panormo copy, and in concerts I usually alternate between the two Denners anyway).

I had expected that the new instrument would sound perceivably different to my colleagues and all the members of the audience. My expectation originated in the surprisingly new feeling I had when playing this instrument, especially the first times. Although some people did notice something singular and different in the sound of my new instrument it was evidently something that was not bluntly obvious to all, or that radically changed their perception of the music and of my playing. This was of paramount importance: did this realization invalidate my hypothesis that the repertoire had an influence in the decisions of contemporary instrument makers, and that a well-matched instrument could thus enhance a specific repertoire? Whilst I have not really found an obvious direct relation between all the Neapolitan works and the design of the Panormo alto (and neither between Venetian instruments and the music of Vivaldi, for example), I do believe the alto by Panormo serves the music very well. If I had found more Neapolitan Baroque recorders, a direct relation might have existed; this is hypothetical, posed as an open question, and only a partial answer is offered here: the influence of an instrument is most profoundly felt by the performer, who is directly affected by the instrument and in turn may present a

different rendition of the works. The 'enhancement' comes therefore from how the performer experiences the repertoire with one or another instrument, and this translates into the music played. Whether this 'affected' rendition is an enhancement also for the audience is for the audience only to say. One more essential point should be considered though: is the audience always aware of what we, performers, do? And, does this matter to their musical experience? I do not have the answer. Still, not knowing what it was that the public in these concerts actually experienced, except for what little they told me, it seems pointless to draw important conclusions as to whether or not what I postulated holds true singularly based on what little feedback I received from the audience; it may be more appropriate to distill from this experiment conclusions based on what *I* experienced. Remaining true to my intentions, feelings and experiences as a performer is probably what translates best into a successful performance, for myself as well as for the audience.

Epilogue

Let us digress a little in order to review what I was looking for at the outset of my research. First, I wanted to know how much music was written specifically for the recorder in the Baroque period in Naples. The 144 vocal and instrumental works unveiled, including the few hitherto unknown, are, I believe, only a part of the total. I intend to continue to search for works, and I hope to be able to continue to add 'new' works to this list in the future. Having had the chance to perform and record only a small percentage of those works so far,[686] I look forward to acquainting myself further with the peculiarities of this repertoire in the years to come.

Second, I was seeking guidance for what instruments to use in playing the Neapolitan Baroque recorder repertoire. Out of the thirty-four recorders considered here, I now use four copies in my performance of this and other repertoire. I also regard the result of this study as a start, but it is certainly one that has proven to be both inspiring and gratifying. It is my intention to commission new copies, and I hope that more instruments will expand the present list as well. Adding 'new' recorders to the list would contribute to our understanding of the particularities of the instruments which were examined in the present study. With more instruments we might be able to identify which of the instruments we

[686] In order to acquaint the public with this still largely unknown repertoire (as well as the new recorders), a larger scale project of CD recordings began with eight of the instrumental works that were presented in detail in Chapter 2. This first recording included Fio.CON.01, Fio.SON.01, Leo.SON.02, Man.CON.11, Man.SON.07, Pul.SON.01, Sar.CON.01 and Ros.SIN.01. La Cicala, Inês d'Avena, *Dolce Napoli, Sonate & Concerti per Flauto (CD)* Passacaille 1007 (2014). The five remaining sonatas that are dated 1759 (Pul.SON.02-04, Man.SON.03b and Ano.SON.01) will be recorded in the summer of 2015.

have are really unique, and which are surviving representatives of a more general type. The aim is eventually to bring out more common points in the design of these Italian Baroque recorders.

My quest to find out how these 'Neapolitan' recorders sounded and where they came from had surprising results. Having found only one instrument that originates in Naples itself (and two others that resemble this one, and therefore can be included in this category) I am unable to say anything meaningful about the sound of the Neapolitan recorders of this time, I can only speak with confidence of *a* Neapolitan recorder. I have found no information on 'new' recorder makers in that city, nor have I found information about purchases made by the conservatories or the Royal Chapel that detailed any such makers. It is also impossible to affirm with certainty where the recorders used in Naples came from. Future archival research might uncover more of these details.

I posed the question of whether the Neapolitan recorders followed a particular design principle and thus enjoy particular technical qualities. Did these qualities match the music in what concerns recorder-specific traits? Did the instruments enhance the music? Or did they in fact come from abroad – from elsewhere on the Italian peninsula or indeed from the rest of Europe? The one surely Neapolitan instrument, by Panormo, does have a rather particular design, as was seen in detail before. For the majority of the repertoire this recorder does indeed 'match' the music, and I believe its special timbre does suit the music. The fact that Panormo's alto does not serve well the totality of the repertoire makes me think that instruments from *oltralpe* were also used, and in that case, pinpointing precisely what constitutes the 'Neapolitan' recorder is, after this research, perhaps less relevant, and maybe even impossible.

This conclusion – that there may in fact be no such thing as the 'Neapolitan' recorder – led me to reexamine my sense that there were qualities in the repertoire that pointed to a particular instrument. That this did not seem supported by the evidence I found was baffling and, at first, something of a disappointment. But when combining the two paths of my research, joining the music with the instruments that were copied, the artistic result was far from dispiriting. In getting to know and learning to understand these instruments I had myself changed as a player, and by playing the Neapolitan repertoire using these 'new' instruments, my horizons for performance have been considerably expanded.

I can say that the results I had hoped for were achieved to some degree: I do have a more detailed overview of the available repertoire, and I certainly make use of more recorders when performing this music. As I wrote, I had also hoped to gain a new perspective on the intricate relationships that bind music and instrument. What I had failed

to envision when I set out was the role I myself would play in this equation. I had certainly not expected that the possibilities and limitations of the instruments I studied would have such a profound impact on the way in which I play the Neapolitan repertoire, or any other recorder pieces for that matter. Having to change pre-conceived musical ideas in order to allow the instruments' particularities to guide me in a different rendition of those works was quite challenging. This is perhaps the most interesting result for me as a performer.

I am aware that the use of different instruments, especially when they are scaled to the same pitch, has little or no impact on the listening audience or, surprisingly, on my colleagues. But the impact the instruments have in my own playing is significant. As one of many examples, listening now to the recording I did with my ensemble in 2013, it is striking to me how much more mellow my articulation is, especially in slow movements; it is almost as if these Italian recorders gave me a different accent for this repertoire. Not really surprising if I recall the difficulties with harsh articulations that I encountered at the first tries of the Panormo alto, for example, but certainly an important outcome.

The most important result of this study seems to be the very simple understanding that, even within an Early Music context (where high quality copies of original instruments are nearly compulsory), we still naturally force our own interpretations of the music upon our instruments. In searching for renewed inspiration for performance, we might find new paths of discovery by inverting the way we utilize both scores and instruments. I have found it thrilling to be guided by the instruments into viewing the repertoire in a very pragmatic way, and discovering, by means of 'instrumentation,' what possibilities can unfold in instances where work and instrument finally match. Beyond this thesis, it is, for me, a truly motivating artistic application of what was distilled from the data, which can be applied to other instruments and repertoires.

"The more we know about the instrument, the more unknown is its making" – the Anonymous epigraph of Chapter 1. That still holds true. Since no one else could tell me how to solve the problems with the Panormo, I had to listen to *it*. This may sound a little crazy, but it is in fact rather refreshing. I have since applied this feeling to all other recorders I play and this rediscovery of my own instrument, twenty-seven years after our first encounter, is truly inspiring. What more could I have hoped for? In search of 'authenticity' and 'historicity', I found pure enjoyment in the simple sound of my instrument.

Minha intenção inicial era redescobrir o passado.
Acabei conseguindo muito mais do que isso: redescobri o presente.

Laura Rónai, *Em busca de um mundo perdido* (2008)

Overview of Conclusions

Chapter 1

The twenty-seven Italian Baroque recorders that are currently extant have unjustifiably been neglected in previous studies. One of these had never been included in any prior written study. The aesthetic, constructional and musical qualities of all these instruments confirm that in parallel to a blossoming repertoire, there was also high-level recorder making in Italy in the Baroque period. The seven makers identified thus far – Giovanni Maria Anciuti, N. Castel, Francesco Garsi, Paolo? Grassi, Carlo Palanca, Giovanni Panormo and Domenico Perosa – are all concentrated in the north (Venice, Milan, Turin etc.), the only exception being Panormo, who was active in Naples. The materials used in the Italian recorders that I studied range from simple fruitwood to ivory, and all are finely turned on the outside and carefully designed and bored on the inside. Using previously known designs as reference points for comparison, the observation of the external shapes of especially the foot joints of those recorders divide the instruments into five categories: 'similar to English', 'similar to German', unique, 'drop/bulb', and straight/'traverso-like'. With the data extracted from the technical information of the instruments studied it was evidenced that, as a whole, the bore of Italian Baroque recorders stands midway between English and German instruments. I conclude therefore that these instruments demonstrate the wish to balance a broad sound and ease of speech. The voicing of the recorders that were analyzed in detail is not uniform, with the exception of Anciuti's instruments, which lack chamfers, an important detail that identifies a conceptual link between Anciuti and Grassi. The pitches of all the recorders are also varied, ranging from c. A=403 Hz to A=440 Hz, with most instruments concentrated around A=415 Hz. This gives us a fascinating window on the variety of pitches that co-existed in the Italian peninsula during the Baroque period. Archival research on the biographical details of most of the makers is in its infancy, and future studies would certainly benefit from greater and more specific information regarding them. In particular, it would be useful to know more about their education, the geographical expansion of their work, and their clientele. Out of the twenty-seven Italian recorders which were listed, only one G alto was found, the other instruments being thirteen altos (in F), five sopraninos, three voice-flutes, two tenors, two sopranos and one bass. Finally, out of the seven Anonymous instruments included in the comparative studies here, six are particularly similar in internal and external design to the Italian instruments studied, and can therefore be considered as unsigned Italian Baroque recorders.

Chapter 2

The ninety-one instrumental works and fifty-three vocal works presented in detail in Chapter 2 form a sizeable repertoire for the recorder in the Baroque period in Naples, and one which is still mostly unfamiliar to modern performers. Furthermore, two of the works discussed in the present study had been hitherto unknown. The more demanding of these Neapolitan works, which make use of the higher range of the recorder, are indicative of the existence in Naples of recorders that work well in the higher range, and attest to the level of technical skills of the players for which the works were composed. As has been shown by the two versions of Francesco Mancini's Sonata III, it is safe to assume that in Naples the 'normal' recorder range was slightly higher than in England, for example. Only thirty of the 144 works listed here hint at the possible need for a recorder with double holes. Considering the scarcity of recorders with double-holes extant today, this suggests that our modern expectations of how those notes should sound in order to be 'acceptable' is far from the reality of how they sounded in the eighteenth century. Stylistic traits that are observable in the Neapolitan repertoire for the recorder include theatrical elements such as contrasting fast/slow sections, abrupt pauses, surprising harmonic progressions; tempo indications such as Amoroso, Spiritoso, Comodo etc.; musical material evenly distributed among all instruments; interesting bass lines; abundance of works in minor keys; especially vocal melodic lines; a style on the border of the Galant, lighter but still deeply rooted in a complex and well studied manner; and fugal second (or third) movements – an important trademark of the writing of the older generation of Neapolitan composers that is shared with their younger colleagues. The examples of ornamentation in the *solfeggi* and in the sonatas show that ornamenting was also a compositional skill that was taught and exercised. The vast majority of the Neapolitan recorder repertoire exists only in manuscript form. This attests to the private life of the instrument in that city, but the fact that these works are dispersed in a variety of 'foreign' collections serves as proof of the popularity of the composers outside of Naples. Although the greater part of the dated works falls within the years 1724–1725, the totality of the repertoire of vocal and instrumental music is dated between 1695 and 1759.

Chapter 3

Naples has a rich past, which has left a diverse and interesting cultural legacy. It was not only a musical capital in the eighteenth century, sought after by music lovers, but also made popular by the beauty of its geographic location. Naples was equally famous for the dramatic backdrop of the Vesuvius, its violent eruptions, and, ironically, the richness these created in the soil produced (and still produces) great wines, for example. The dichotomy created by beauty and pleasure on the one side, and turbulence and sorrow on the other, was explored by artists of the city, as well as described in the chronicles of visitors through the centuries. The recorder or "flauto" was present in the conservatories of Naples, where it was clearly distinguished from the traverso ("flauto à traversino," "traversino" or "traversiero"). Although the conservatories bought recorders for the students, as the expense lists show, we unfortunately have no mention of the names of makers. The presence in Naples of an abundant variety of foreign musicians and *luthiers* offers us the possibility of considering that the recorders used in the city also came from abroad. I postulated that if, for example, the famous instruments by the Denners reached not only the north of Italy but also as far as China, they could have easily reached Naples. The conservatories were financially supported by various patrons, some foreign, for example, from the Low Lands; diplomats (for example, John Fleetwod) and the viceroys of Naples (Cardinal Althann and Count Harrach) were also foreigners who had strong links with their own countries and who were art patrons during their Neapolitan stay. In this case, it is plausible to link Naples with instrument makers in these regions as well. A further avenue for the arrival of foreign instruments in Naples was found by retracing Ignatio Rion's travel south: having come from Venice (where he had access to Venetian but also transalpine instruments), passing through Rome and finally arriving in Naples, this famous oboe (and recorder) player serves as an example of how instruments might have entered Naples with the musicians themselves. Inventory lists of aristocratic figures of the time confirm the presence of the recorder in this private realm, a fact that is corroborated by two paintings, by Giuseppe Bonito and Carlo Amalfi, which portray the recorder exactly in this setting. A review of the Baroque recorders found in the iconography of the rest of Italy, especially Venice, for traces of their design, confirmed that the instruments depicted can actually be easily linked to some of the actual instruments studied in a variety of their design profiles.

Chapter 4

Reviewing all the information presented in the previous chapters, in view of combining all this knowledge with performance in mind, I confirmed in this chapter the main origins of instruments for the Neapolitan repertoire: from Habsburg cities, from Venice and made in Naples. Further to those, we noted that instruments brought to Naples by foreigners might have originated further afield, such as the instruments by Peter Bressan, among others. Reversing the order of inquiry, and looking at what the music tells us, I concluded that the majority of the repertoire can be played on (a copy of) the Panormo alto, for example, but that a few of the more technically virtuosic works would be better rendered by using an instrument with easier high notes, such as those by Jacob Denner. On further aspects of performance practice I proposed that the works with strings be performed with one player to a part, for textural as well as acoustic balance. We saw that the continuo group indicated for these kinds of works varies considerably, but includes cello, double bass and harpsichord, and possibly archlute. Still, I suggested that the sonatas be performed with only a harpsichord when the writing is one of equality between soprano and bass voices, and with harpsichord and cello in the works in which the bass is simpler and more Galant. On the matter of pitch in Naples, A=410–415 Hz seems to be the point where diverse sources meet, and that means that many of the recorders studied would be 'suitable'. Finally, combining the tuning found on the recorders with other relevant historical information, I proposed an adjusted form of 1/6 comma meantone to be what would work best for the performance of the Neapolitan repertoire, as a compromise demanded by the impossibilities of 'just intonation'. Last, my reflections on the impact of this study on my own playing made me realize that more than finding instruments for the Neapolitan repertoire that was mapped – my original quest – I discovered a world of possibilities for the performance of this music through re-evaluating my relationship with my instrument, through learning to listen to the instruments themselves, old and new. Being limited by the possibilities of the instruments I discovered during this study created a source of motivation, which has permeated other repertoires and my entire approach to music: I am less forceful of my pre-conceived ideas and more open to the inspiration already present in the music and also, constantly being offered by my recorders.

List of Consulted Collections

Instruments

_ Belluno, Velluti (private collection)

_ Berlin, Klemisch (private collection)

_ Celle, Moeck (private collection)

_ Fontanelle, Gilardone (private collection)

_ Genova, Vagge (private collection)

_ Milan, Raccolta Museale del Conservatorio "G. Verdi" di Milano

_ Parma, ? (private collection)

A.G.lj: Graz, Universalmuseum Joanneum

A.W.gm: Vienna, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde

A.W.km: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

D.B.im: Berlin, Musikinstrumenten Museum - Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung

D.LE.u: Leipzig, Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig (Grassi Museum)

DK.K.m: National Museum of Denmark (Musikmuseet - Musikhistorisk Museum & Carl Claudius Samling)

EC.Q.t: Quito, Museo Pedro Pablo Traversari

F.NI.pl: Nice, Musée du Palais Lascaris

GB.E.u, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments

GB.L.hm: London, Horniman Museum

GB.L.v: London, Victoria & Albert Museum

I.M.ts: Milan, Archivio del Museo Teatrale alla Scala

I.PA.mc: Parma, Museo Storico del Conservatorio Arrigo Boito

I.R.an: Rome, Museo degli Strumenti Musicali Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia

I.R.ms: Rome, Museo degli Strumenti Musicali di Roma

US.W.c: Washington, D. C., Library of Congress

Music

A-Wn: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung

B-Avh: Antwerp, Van Heyghen (private collection)

B-Br: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er/Koninlijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Section de la Musique

D-B (or D-Bsb): Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung

D-Hhg: Hamburg, Hasse-Gesellschaft Bergedorf e. V. - Hasse-Archiv

D-HRD: Arnsberg-Herdringen, Schlossbibliothek (Bibliotheca Fürstenbergiana, in D:Au: Augsburg, Universität Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek)

D-Hs: Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, Musiksammlung

D-MÜs: Münster, Santini-Bibliothek (in D-MÜp: Münster, Diözesanbibliothek/Bischöfliches Priesterseminar, Bibliothek)

F-Pn: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

GB-Ckc: Cambridge, King's College, Rowe Music Library

GB-Lbl: London, British Library

GB-Mp: Manchester, Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library

GB-Ob: Oxford, Bodleian Library

H-Bb: Budapest, Bartók Béla Zeneművészeti Szakközépiskola, Könyvtár (in H-Bl: Budapest, Liszt Ferenc Zeneművészeti Főiskola, Könyvtár)

I-Bc: Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale

I-Nc: Naples, Conservatorio di Musica San Pietro a Majella, Biblioteca

I-PAc: Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, sezione Musicale

I-Pap: Parma, Biblioteca Nazionale Palatina

I-Tf: Turin, Accademia Filarmonica, Archivio

I-Vmc: Venice, Museo Civico Correr, Biblioteca d'Arte e Storia Veneziana

I-Vnm: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana

I-Vqs: Venice, Fondazione Querini-Stampalia, Biblioteca

US-CHH: Chapel Hill (NC), University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

US-DLC: USA, Washington, D.C., Library of Congress

US-IDt: Independence (MO), Harry S. Truman Library

US-NYp: New York, Public Library at Lincoln Center, Music Division

US-R: Rochester (NY), Sibley Music Library, University of Rochester, Eastman School of Music

Appendix 1: Catalogue of Italian Baroque recorders

ANCIUTI **263**

ANC.ALT.01: ALTO (IN BOXWOOD, DATED 1717), 10.484, A.G.LJ, UNIVERSALMUSEUM JOANNEUM, GRAZ 263

ANC.ALT.02: ALTO (IN BOXWOOD, DATED 1720), PRIVATE COLLECTION (VAGGE FAMILY, CURRENTLY KEPT BY C. CACCO), GENOVA 271

ANC.ALT.03: ALTO (IN BOXWOOD, DATED 1729), PRIVATE COLLECTION (MOECK), CELLE 274

ANC.ALT.04: ALTO (IN BOXWOOD, DATED 1729), PRIVATE COLLECTION (?), PARMA 278

ANC.ALT.05: ALTO (IN IVORY, DATED 1740), 20/5 (7469-1861), GB.L.V, VICTORIA & ALBERT MUSEUM, LONDON 279

ANC.ALT.06: ALTO (IN IVORY, UNDATED), MTS-FD/03, I.M.TS, TEATRO ALLA SCALA, MILAN 283

ANC.SPI.01: SOPRANINO (IN IVORY, DATED 1709), PRIVATE COLLECTION (F. VELLUTI), BELLUNO 284

ANC.SPI.02: SOPRANINO WITH MISSING HEAD (IN BOXWOOD AND IVORY, DATED 1733), 470, D.B.IM, MUSIKINSTRUMENTEN MUSEUM, BERLIN 285

ANC.SPO.01: SOPRANO (IN STAINED BOXWOOD, DATED 1725), 146 (MTS-FD/02), CONSERVATORIO DI MUSICA GIUSEPPE VERDI, MILAN 286

CASTEL **287**

CAS.ALT.01: ALTO (IN EBONY AND IVORY), C168, F.NI.PL, PALAIS LASCARIS, NICE 287

CAS.ALT.02: ALTO (IN STAINED PEARWOOD), 3261, EC.Q.T, MUSEO DE INSTRUMENTOS MUSICALES PABLO TRAVERSARI, QUITO 290

CAS.ALT.03: ALTO (IN BOXWOOD), 887|644, I.R.MS, MUSEO NAZIONALE DEGLI STRUMENTI MUSICALI, ROME 291

CAS.ALT.04: ALTO (IN STAINED PEARWOOD?), 879|1421, I.R.MS, MUSEO NAZIONALE DEGLI STRUMENTI MUSICALI, ROME 295

CAS.SPI.01: SOPRANINO (IN IVORY), 3323, GB.E.U, EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY COLLECTION OF HISTORIC MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS 299

CAS.VOI.01: VOICE-FLUTE (IN BOXWOOD), 170, I.R.AN, ACCADEMIA NAZIONALE DI SANTA CECILIA, ROME 303

CAS.VOI.02: VOICE-FLUTE (IN BOXWOOD AND METAL), 884|698, I.R.MS, MUSEO NAZIONALE DEGLI STRUMENTI MUSICALI, ROME 309

CAS.VOI.03: VOICE-FLUTE (IN STAINED PEARWOOD), I.N.111, A.W.GM, GESELLSCHAFT DER MUSIKFREUNDE, VIENNA 313

CASTEL/PALANCA **314**

CAS/PAL.ALT.01: ALTO (IN BOXWOOD AND IVORY), DCM 1359, US.W.C, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, WASHINGTON, D.C. 314

GARSI **316**

GAR.BAS.01: BASS (IN MAPLE AND BRASS), 3011: I.PA.MC, CONSERVATORIO DI MUSICA ARRIGO BOITO, PARMA 316

GRASSI **317**
GRA.SPI.01: SOPRANINO (IN BOXWOOD AND IVORY), 1113, D.LE.U, MUSIKINSTRUMENTEN-MUSEUM DER UNIVERSITÄT LEIPZIG 317
GRA.ALT.01: ALTO (IN BOXWOOD, IVORY AND METAL), 881|638, I.R.MS, MUSEO NAZIONALE DEGLI STRUMENTI MUSICALI, ROME 322

PALANCA **325**
PAL.ALT.01: ALTO (IN BOXWOOD WITH IVORY MOUNTINGS AND FLAGEOLET WINDCAP), E86, DK.K.M, MUSIKMUSEET, COPENHAGEN 325
PAL.TEN.01: TENOR (IN BOXWOOD), PRIVATE COLLECTION (V. GILARDONE), FONTANELLE 327
PAL.TEN.02: TENOR (IN BOXWOOD/FRUITWOOD?), DCM 1321, US.W.C, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, WASHINGTON, D.C. 328

PANORMO **334**
PAN.ALT.01: ALTO (IN IVORY), DCM 327, US.W.C, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, WASHINGTON, D.C. 334

PEROSA **338**
PER.SPO.01: SOPRANO (IN BOXWOOD), SAM 153, A.W.KM, KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM, VIENNA 338
PER.SPI.01: SOPRANINO (IN IVORY), PRIVATE COLLECTION (G. KLEMISCH), BERLIN 344

OTHER INSTRUMENTS EXAMINED **346**
MONTAZEAUD OR MONTAZZAUD ('EX-MONTAZZAVI'): ALTO (IN BOXWOOD), PRIVATE COLLECTION (MOECK), CELLE 346
ANONYMOUS: SOPRANINO (IN IVORY), 874|2208, I.R.MS, MUSEO NAZIONALE DEGLI STRUMENTI MUSICALI, ROME 347
ANONYMOUS: SOPRANINO (IN IVORY), 77, I.R.MS, MUSEO NAZIONALE DEGLI STRUMENTI MUSICALI, ROME 348
ANO.SPI.01: (STOLEN) SOPRANINO (IN IVORY), DCM 329, US.W.C, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, WASHINGTON, D.C. 349
ANO.SPI.02: (STOLEN) SOPRANINO (IN IVORY, WITH ENGRAVED DECORATIONS), DCM 1259, US.W.C, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, WASHINGTON, D.C. 350
ANO.ALT.01: ALTO (IN FRUITWOOD, WITH TORTOISE SHELL, GOLD AND MOTHER OF PEARL INLAY DECORATIONS), 1124-1869, GB.L.V, VICTORIA & ALBERT MUSEUM, LONDON 352
ANO.ALT.02: ALTO (IN IVORY), DCM 1351, US.W.C, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, WASHINGTON, D.C. 356
ANO.ALT.03: ALTO (IN STAINED BOXWOOD), SAM154, A.W.KM, KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM, VIENNA 360
ANO.ALT.04: (FAKE BRESSAN) ALTO (IN BOXWOOD), SAM155, A.W.KM, KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM, VIENNA 362
ANO.TEN.01: TENOR (IN STAINED BOXWOOD, PALISANDER BLOCK), 1135, D.LE.U, MUSIKINSTRUMENTEN-MUSEUM DER UNIVERSITÄT LEIPZIG 365

ANCIUTI

Anc.ALT.01: alto (in boxwood, dated 1717), 10.484, A.G.lj, Universalmuseum Joanneum, Graz



Figure 1. Photo of 10.484, A.G.lj, Universalmuseum Joanneum, provided by the museum.



Figure 2. Detail of the maker's mark on the head joint. Extracted from Figure 1.



Figure 3. Detail of the maker's mark on the middle joint. Extracted from Figure 1.



Figure 4. Detail of the maker's mark on the foot joint. Extracted from Figure 1.

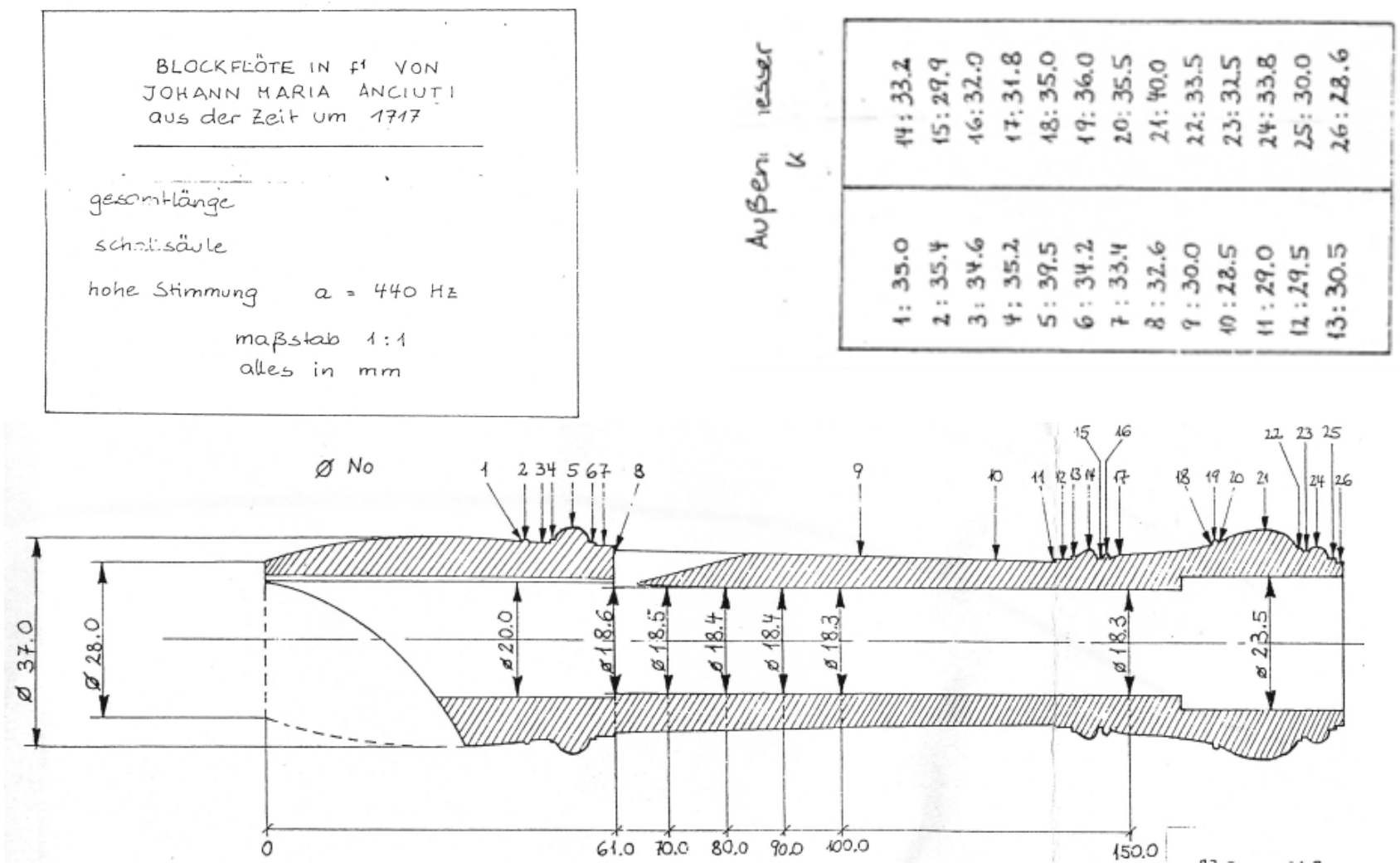
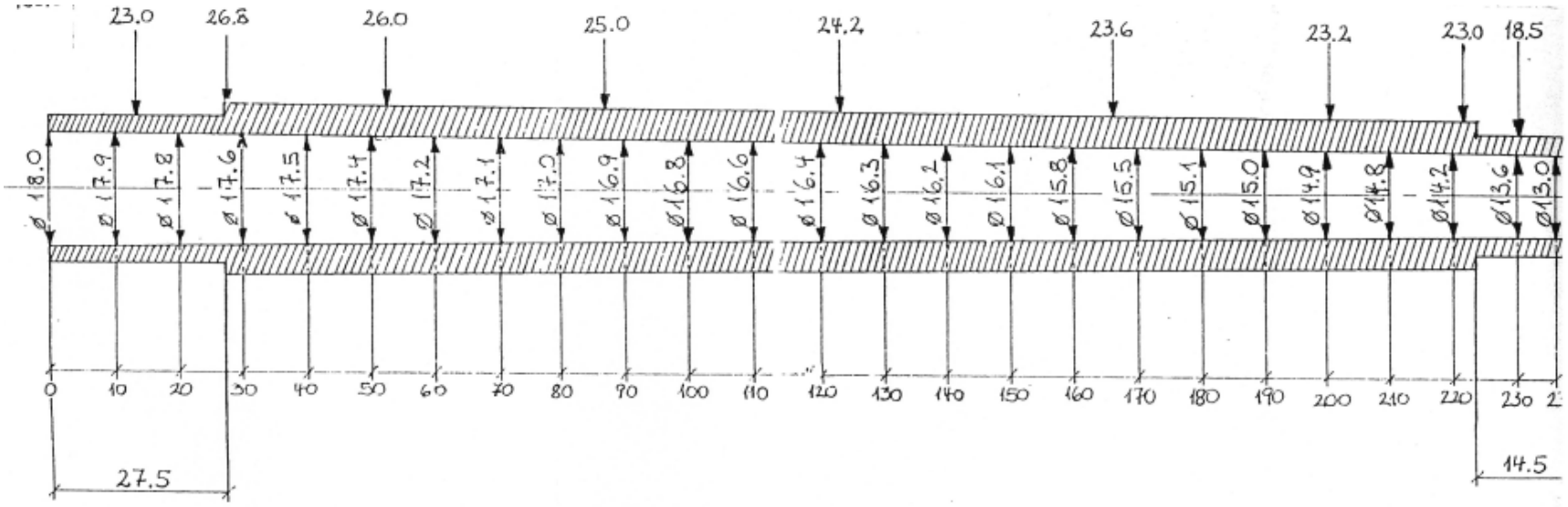


Figure 5. Drawing and measurements of 10.848, kindly provided by Martin Wenner, authorship unknown.



TONLOCHBOHRUNG D. ORIGINALS

Tonloch	Ø Bohrung [mm]	Abstand von Stirnfläche d. Fensters in mm
D	6.0	139.3
1	5.8	157.4
2	6.0	187.8
3	5.7	216.6
4	5.6	249.5
5	5.7	281.4
6	4.8	308.8
7	? wahrscheinl. 5.6	333.8

Außendurchmesser Fuß

1: 25.4	13: 25.0
2: 26.6	14: 23.0
3: 31.0	15: 22.0
4: 28.0	16: 21.0
5: 29.0	17: 28.5
6: 28.0	18: 30.0
7: 31.2	19: 32.0
8: 33.0	20: 36.0
9: 32.0	21: 34.5
10: 36.0	22: 37.0
11: 31.0	23: 43.0
12: 23.0	

Figure 6. Drawing and measurements of 10.848, kindly provided by Martin Wenner, authorship unknown.

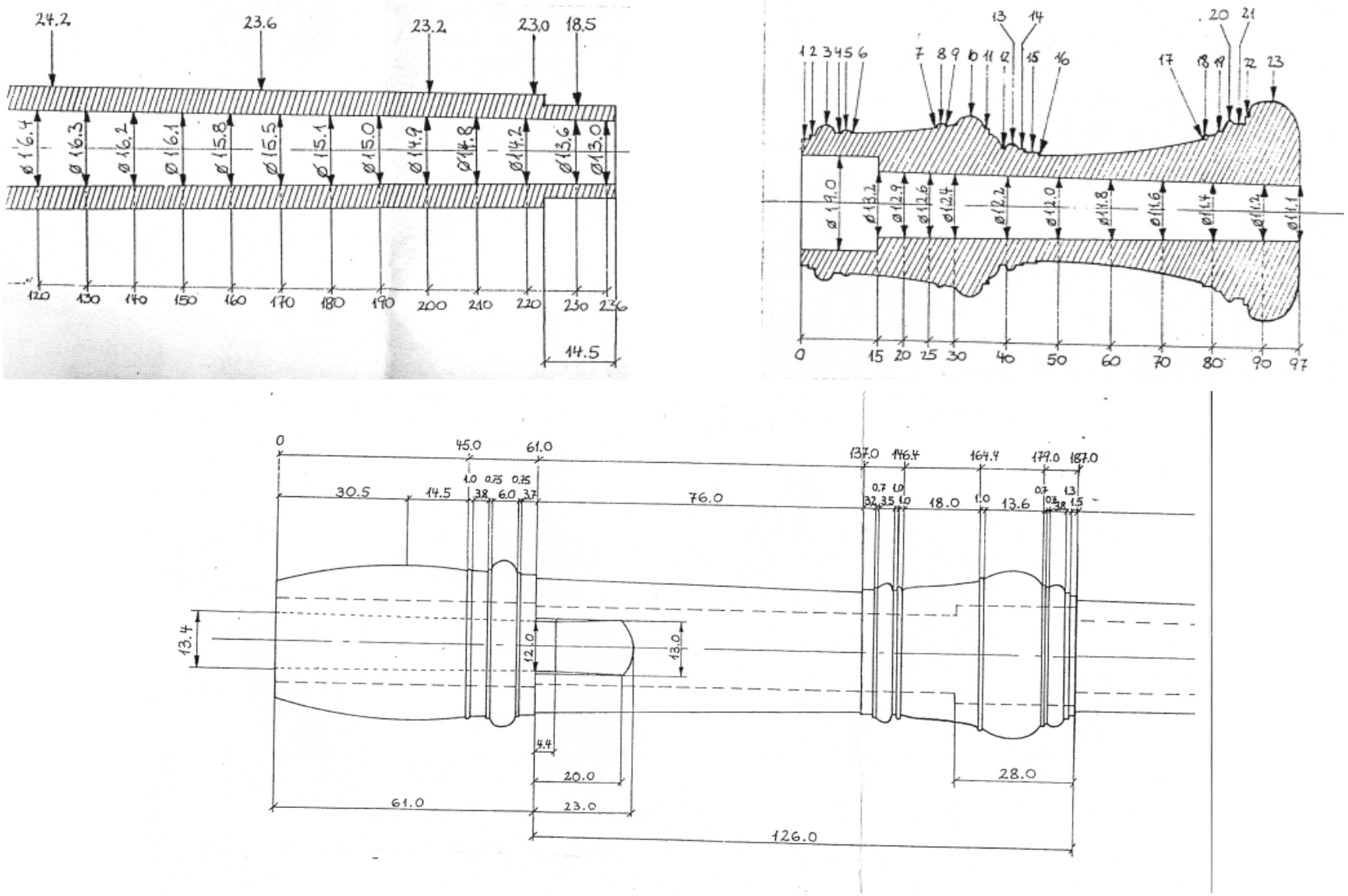


Figure 7. Drawing and measurements of 10.848, kindly provided by Martin Wenner, authorship unknown.

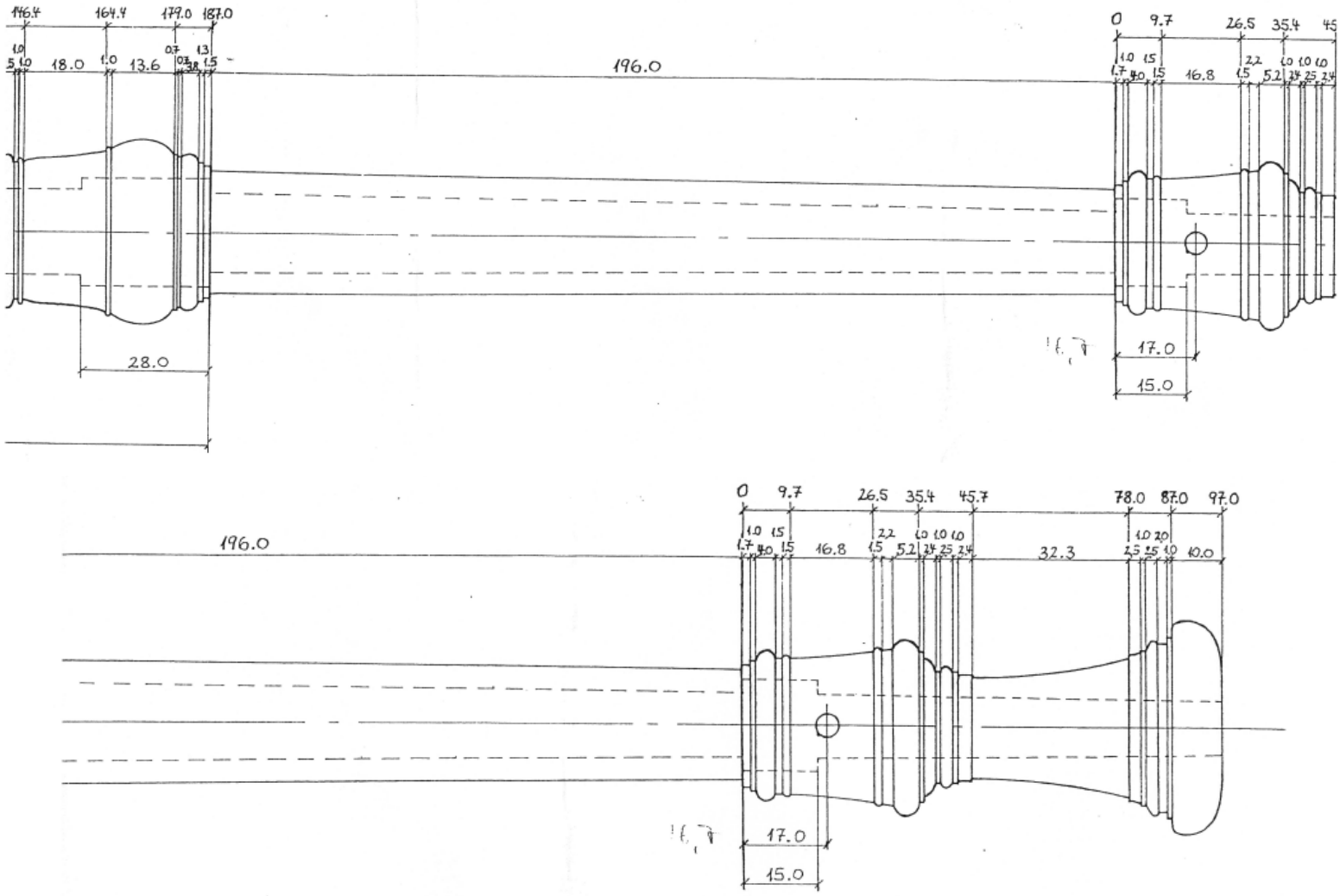


Figure 8. Drawing and measurements of 10.848, kindly provided by Martin Wenner, authorship unknown.

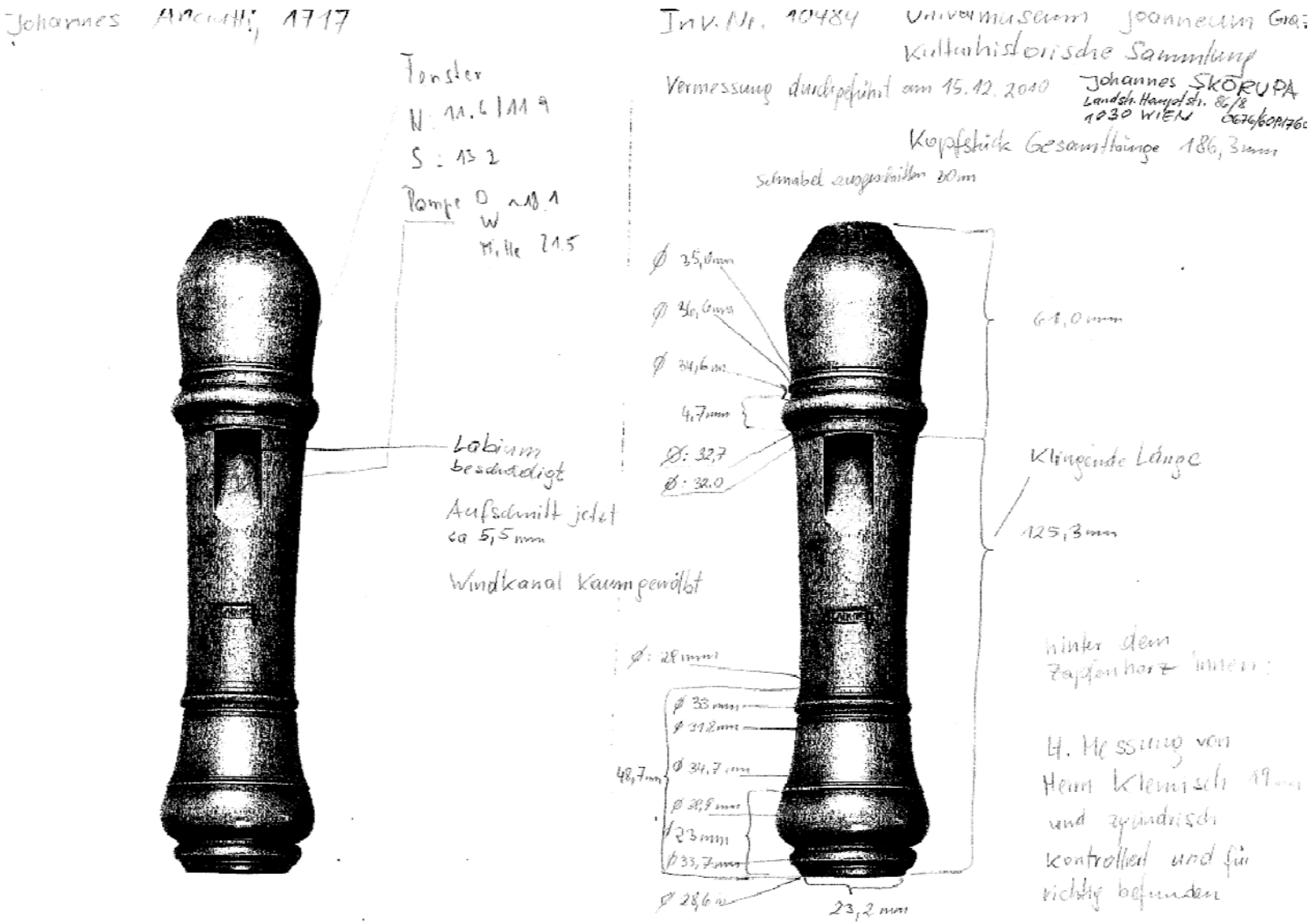


Figure 9. Drawing and measurements of 10.848 by Johannes Skorupa, kindly provided by the museum.

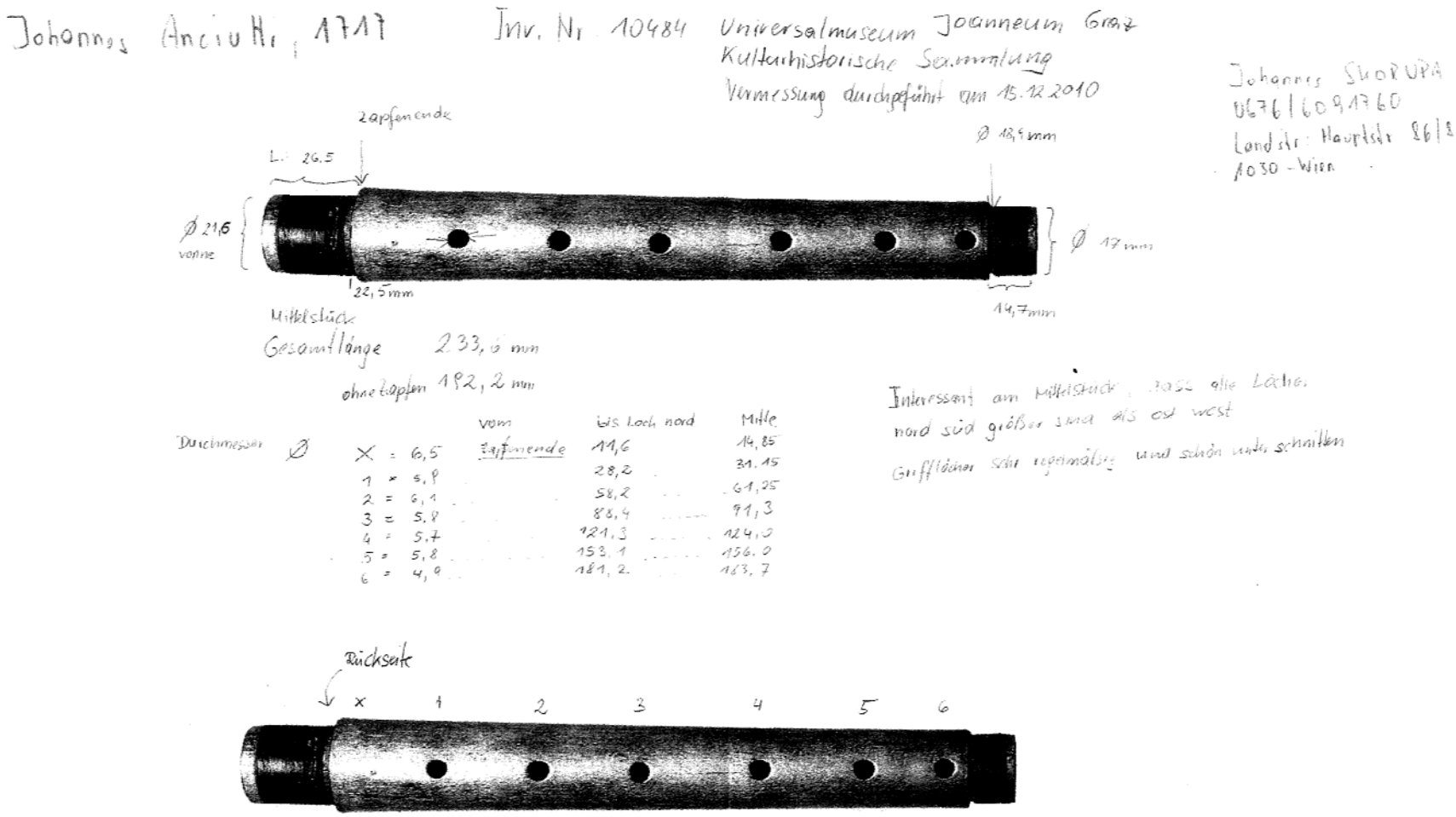


Figure 10. Drawing and measurements of 10.848 by Johannes Skorupa, kindly provided by the museum.

Johannes Anciutti, 1717 Inv. Nr. 10484 Universalmuseum Joanneum Graz
Kulturhistorische Sammlung

Fußstück
Gesamtlänge 98,6 mm
Zapfentiefe od Herztiefe 14,9 mm
Herz O = 19 mm Ø 14,9 - 17,9 mm

Vermessung durchgeführt 15.12.2010
Johannes SKORUPA
0676/6091760
Landstr. Hauptstr. 86/8
1030 WIEN

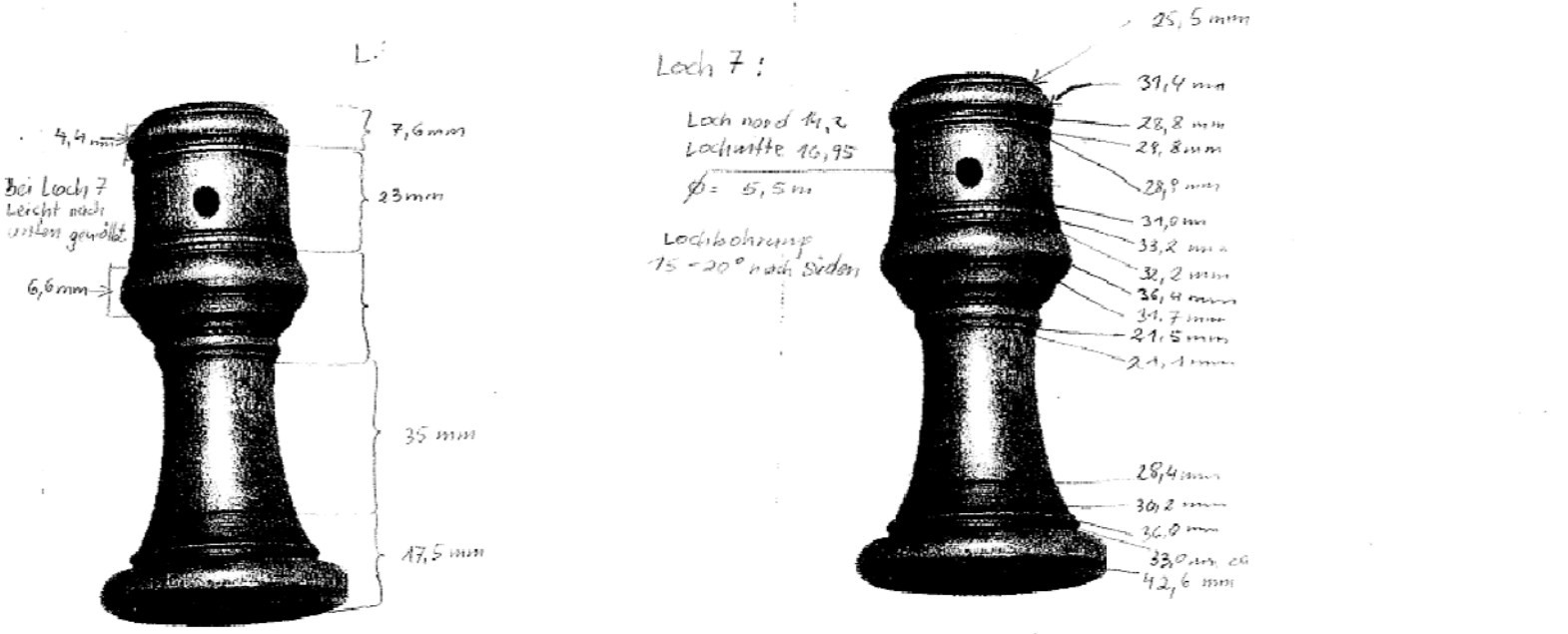


Figure 11. Drawing and measurements of 10.848 by Johannes Skorupa, kindly provided by the museum.

Anc.ALT.02: alto (in boxwood, dated 1720), private collection (Vagge Family, currently kept by C. Cacco), Genova



Figure 12. Photo of the 1720 Anciuti alto by Valter Biella, extracted from the technical drawing by Riccardo Gandolfi.



Figure 14. Photo of the back side of the 1720 Anciuti alto, kindly provided by V. Biella.



Figure 13. Maker's mark on the head of the 1720 Anciuti alto, extracted from a photo kindly provided by V. Biella.

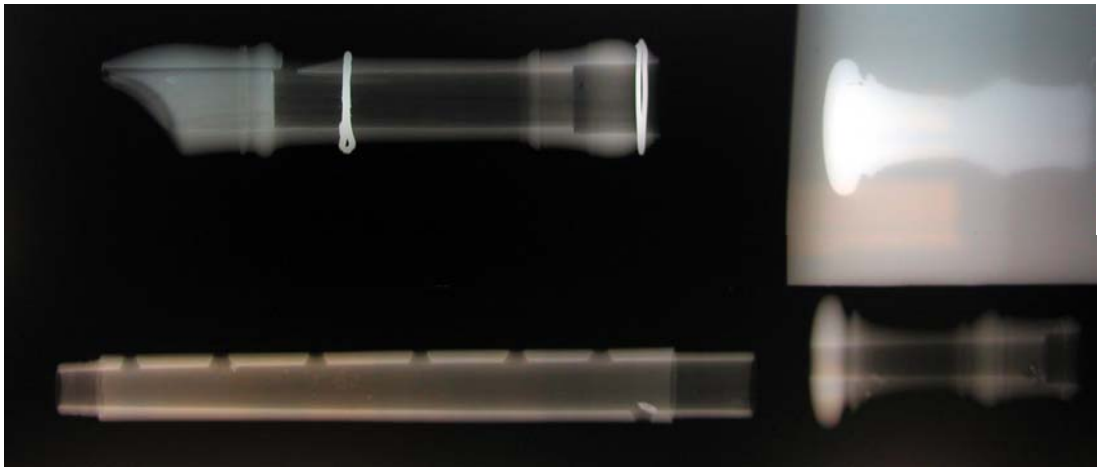


Figure 15. X-ray of the 1720 Anciuti alto, kindly provided by Cristina Ghirardini.

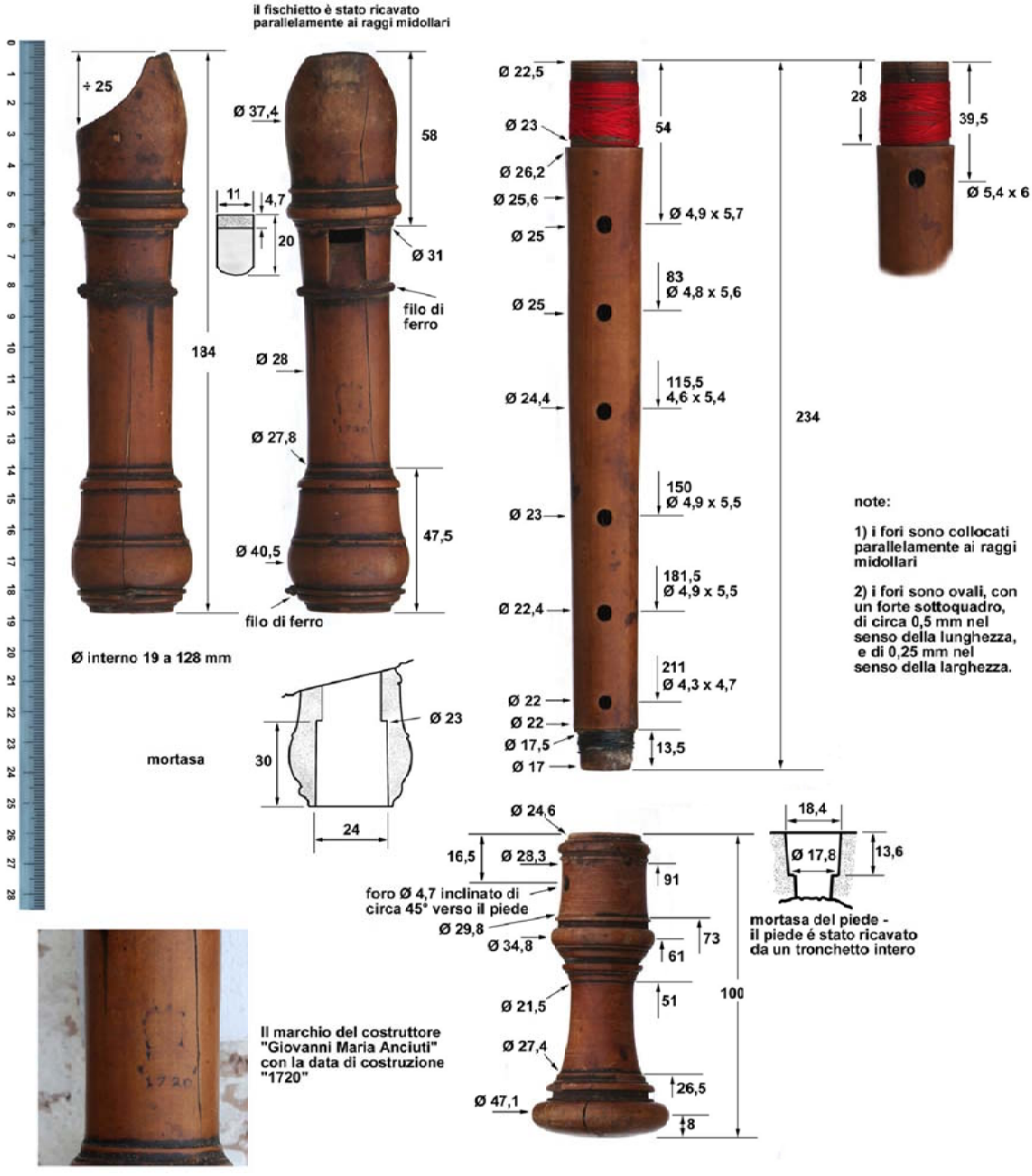
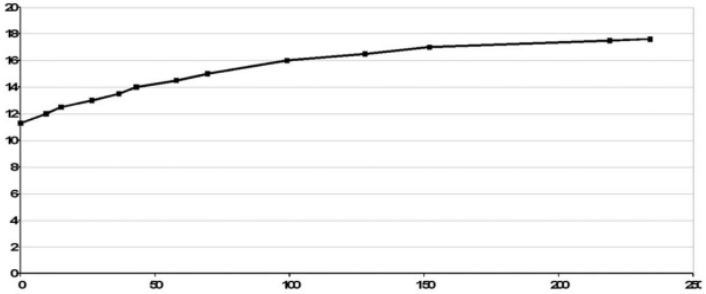


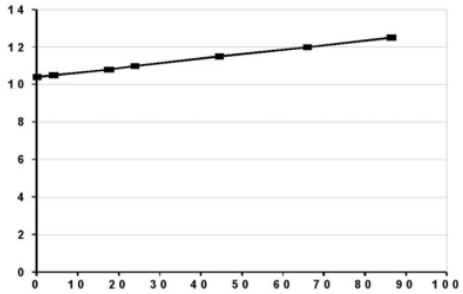
Figure 16. Drawings and measurements of the 1720 Anciuti alto, extracted from the plan by R. Gandolfi and V. Biella (http://www.baghet.it/Flauto%20di%20Montoggio.pdf).

Flauto appartenuto a Angelo Vagge "Angin", "Langin" : 1849-1936.

Pifferaio e musista di Chiappa di Montoggio (valle Scrivia). Era solito partecipare a battute di caccia raggiungendo a piedi la zona di Cosola (val Borbera), Bogli e Belnome (val Boreca), dove può facilmente aver conosciuto altri suonatori. Dei suoi cinque figli, tre erano apprezzati fisarmonicisti e uno bravissimo ballerino, ma nessuno si dedicò agli strumenti del padre. Percependo che nella sua zona la tradizione si stava estinguendo, avrebbe voluto essere seppellito insieme al suo piffero: ma i parenti non lo assecondarono, e lo strumento fu ritrovato a fine secolo da Claudio Cacco
fonte: www.appennino4p.it
bibliografia: AAVV, **Il piffero in Fontanabuona, "***Quaderni del Lascito Cuneo",* Centro di Documentazione della Civica Biblioteca di San Colombano Certenoli, Calvari (GE), novembre 2007)
È di proprietà dei discendenti, attualmente custodito da Caludio Cacco

Rilievi effettuati il 16 marzo 2012 . Misure, rilievi, note, grafico conicità e tabelle di Riccardo Gandolfi - © R. Gandolfi. Fotografia di Valter Biella - © V.Biella
Gruppo di lavoro per la consulenza, catalogazione e rilievo, composto da: Ettore Losini "Bani", Claudio Cacco, Claudio Gnoli, Fabio Paveto
www.baghet.it
www.appennino4p.it





profondità	diametro
234	17,6
219	17,5
152	17
128	16,5
99	16
69,5	15
58	14,5
43	14
36,5	13,5
26,5	13
15	12,5
9,5	12
0	11,3

qui sopra e a sinistra:
grafico e tabella della conicità
del corpo del flauto

qui sopra e sotto:
grafico e tabella della conicità
del piede del flauto

profondità	diametro
86,4	12,5
66	12
44,4	11,5
23,8	11
17,5	10,8
4	10,5
0	10,4

Figure 17. Details and measurements of the 1720 Anciuti alto, extracted from the plan by R. Gandolfi and V. Biella (http://www.baghet.it/Flauto%20di%20Montoggio.pdf).

Anc.ALT.03: alto (in boxwood, dated 1729), private collection (Moeck), Celle



Figure 18. Photo of the 1729 Celle Anciuti alto, by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 19. Detail of the maker's mark on the head joint, photo by Fumitaka Saito.

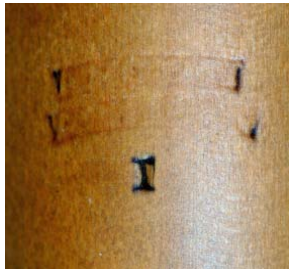


Figure 20. Detail of the maker's mark on the middle joint, photo by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 21. Detail of the maker's mark on the foot joint, photo by Fumitaka Saito.

Tuning (note, cents, fingering)

- F4 0 = 01234567
- G4 -15 = 0123456
- A4 -5 = 012345
- B♭4 +35 = 012346
  +5 = 0123467
- B4 +5 = 0123567
- C4 +20 = 0123
- C♯5 +20 = 01245
  -30 = 012456
  +10 = 012457
- D5 +5 = 012
- D♯5 +10 = 01356
  +5 = 0134
  +20 = 0135
- E5 -10 = 01
- E5 -10 = 01
- F5 +15 = 02
- F♯5 -5 = 12
- G5 +10 = 2
- G♯5 -3 = 23456
- A5 -10 = ø12345
- B♭5 +8 = ø12347
  -30 = ø12346
- B5 +10 = ø1235
- C6 +10 = ø123
- C♯6 -40 = ø124
  -30 = ø125
- D6 -20 = ø12
- D♯6 0 = ø12456
- E6 -30 = ø1245
- F6 -35 = ø145
- F♯6 -30 = ø13457
- G6 +10 = ø13467
  +30 = ø1346
- G♯6 0 = ø2356

Fumitaka Saito, 12 March 2013.
Commissioned by Inês d'Avena ©

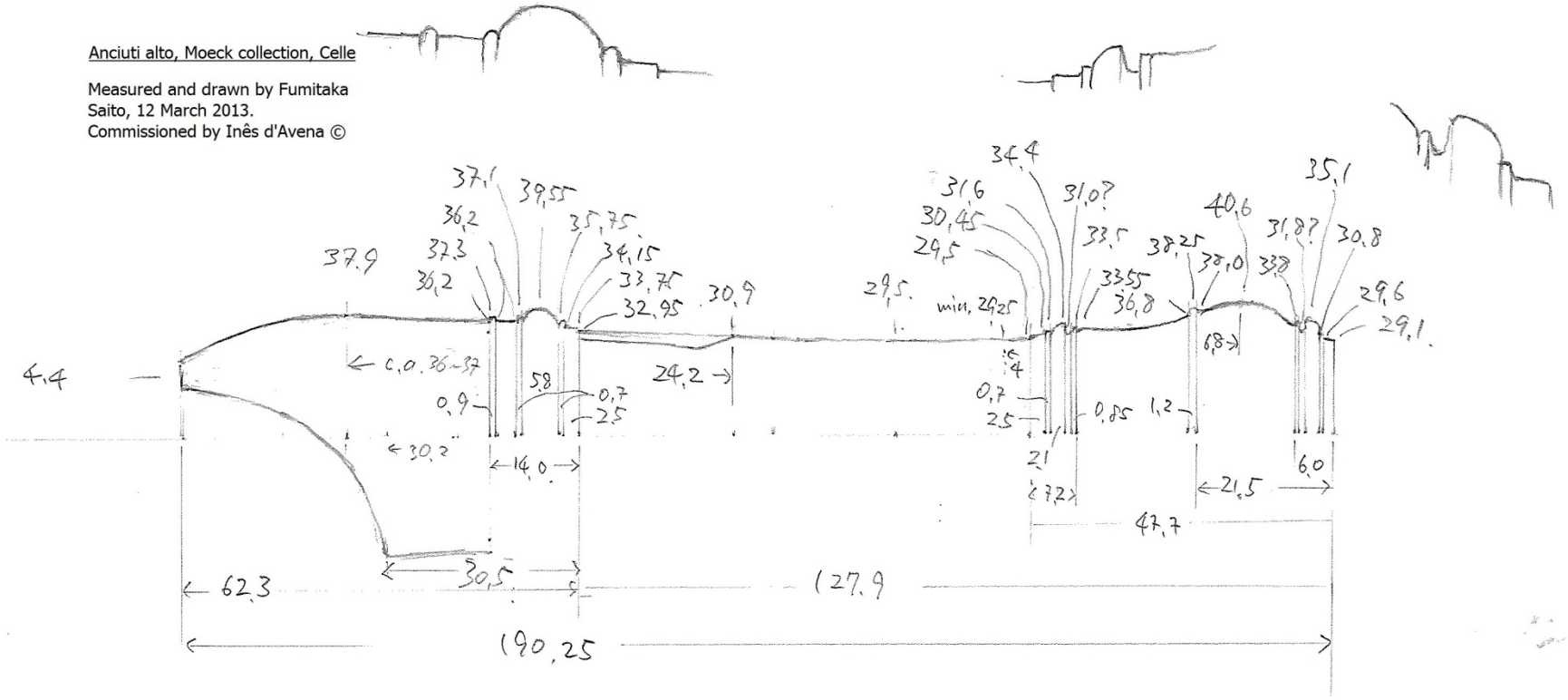


Figure 22. Profile drawing and measurements of the head joint of the 1729 Celle Anciuti alto, by Fumitaka Saito.

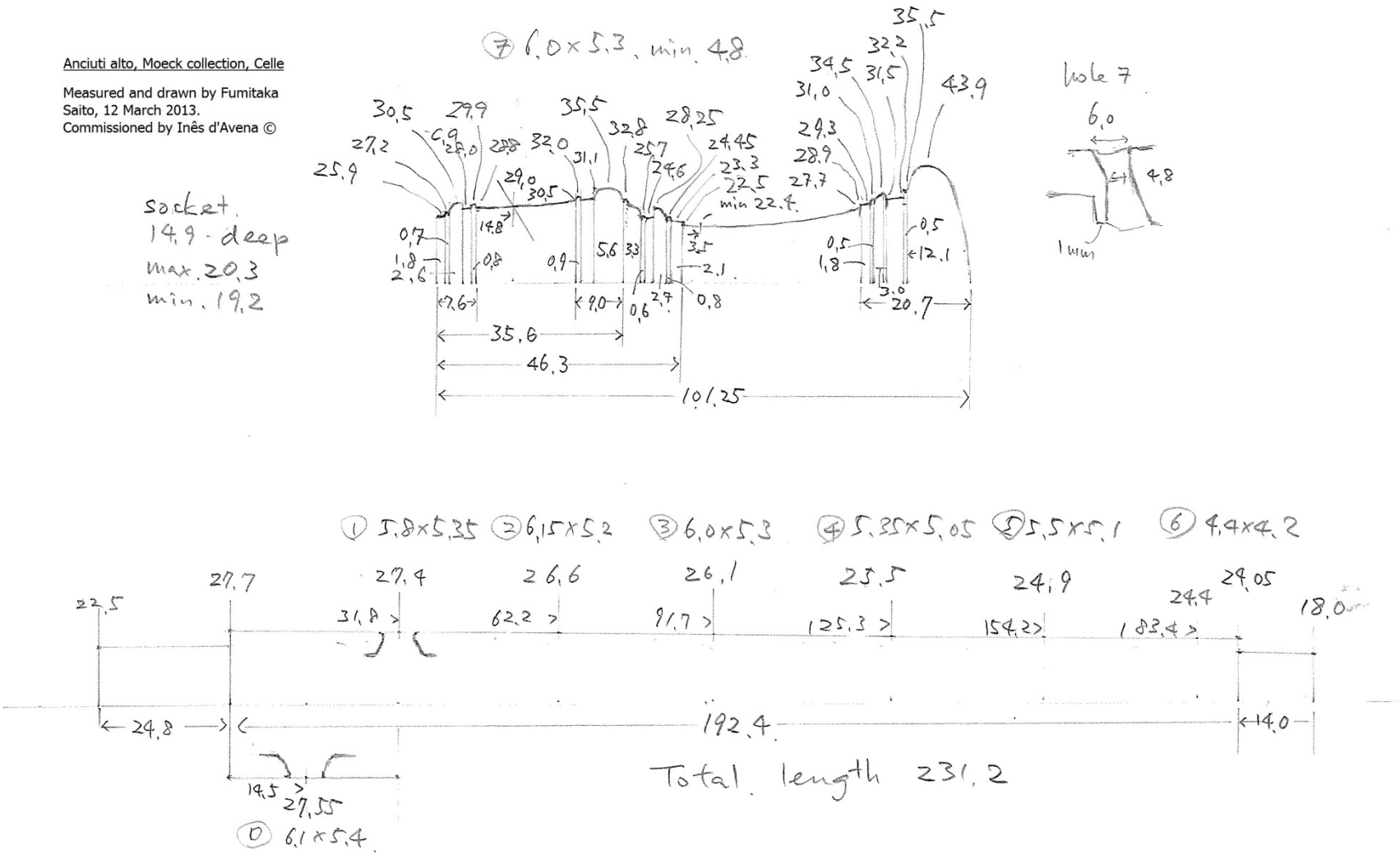


Figure 23. Profile drawing and measurements of the middle and foot joints of the 1729 Celle Anciuti alto, by Fumitaka Saito.

Anciuti alto, Moeck collection, Celle

Bore measurements

Head joint

Sounding length 127.9
Wind Way 62.3
Total head length 190.25

Joint
26.1 deep
min. 23.5 ø
max. 24.2 ø

from top
20.1 = 28
20.0 = 32
19.9 = 40
19.8 = 45.5
19.7 = 56
19.6 = 62.5 block line
19.5 = 63.5
19.4 = 74.4
19.3 = 81.5
19.2 = 86
19.1 = 94
19.0 = 106.5
18.9 = 113
18.8 = 123
18.7 = 137
18.6 = 141
18.5 = through

Middle joint

Total length 230
(192.4)
Joints 24.8 & 14.05

17.6 = 0
17.5 = 1.5
17.4 = 5.5
17.5 = 21.35
17.55 = 26.22
17.57 = 32.75
17.55 = 38
17.4 = 55.5
17.3 = 65
17.2 = 79
17.1 = 82
17.0 = 93
16.9 = 102
16.8 = 106
16.7 = 111
16.6 = 117
16.5 = 128
16.4 = 130
16.3 = 133.5
16.2 = 140
16.1 = 144
16.0 = 150
15.9 = 153
15.8 = 155.5
15.7 = 160
15.6 = 164
15.5 = 167
15.4 = 173
15.3 = 178
15.2 = 180
15.1 = 185
15.0 = 188
14.9 = 191
14.8 = 195.5
14.7 = 196.5
14.6 = 201.5
14.5 = 203
14.4 = 207
14.3 = 209
14.2 = 215
14.1 = 221
14.0 = 222
13.9 = 228
13.87 through

Foot joint

Total length 101.25
Joint 14.7 ~ 15.0 deep
min. 19.35 ø
max. 20.1 ø

12.9 = 17
12.8 = 20
12.7 = 25
12.6 = 28
12.5 = 31.5
12.4 = 35.5
12.3 = 40
12.2 = 44.5
12.1 = 47
12.0 = 51.5
11.9 = 56.5
11.8 = 58.5
11.7 = 64
11.6 = 67
11.5 = 73
11.4 = 77
11.3 = 81
11.2 = 87
11.1 = 91
11.0 = 97.5
10.9 through (c.a. 99)
11.0 end

Fumitaka Saito, 12 March 2013. Commissioned by Inês d'Avena ©

Anc.ALT.04: alto (in boxwood, dated 1729), private collection (?), Parma

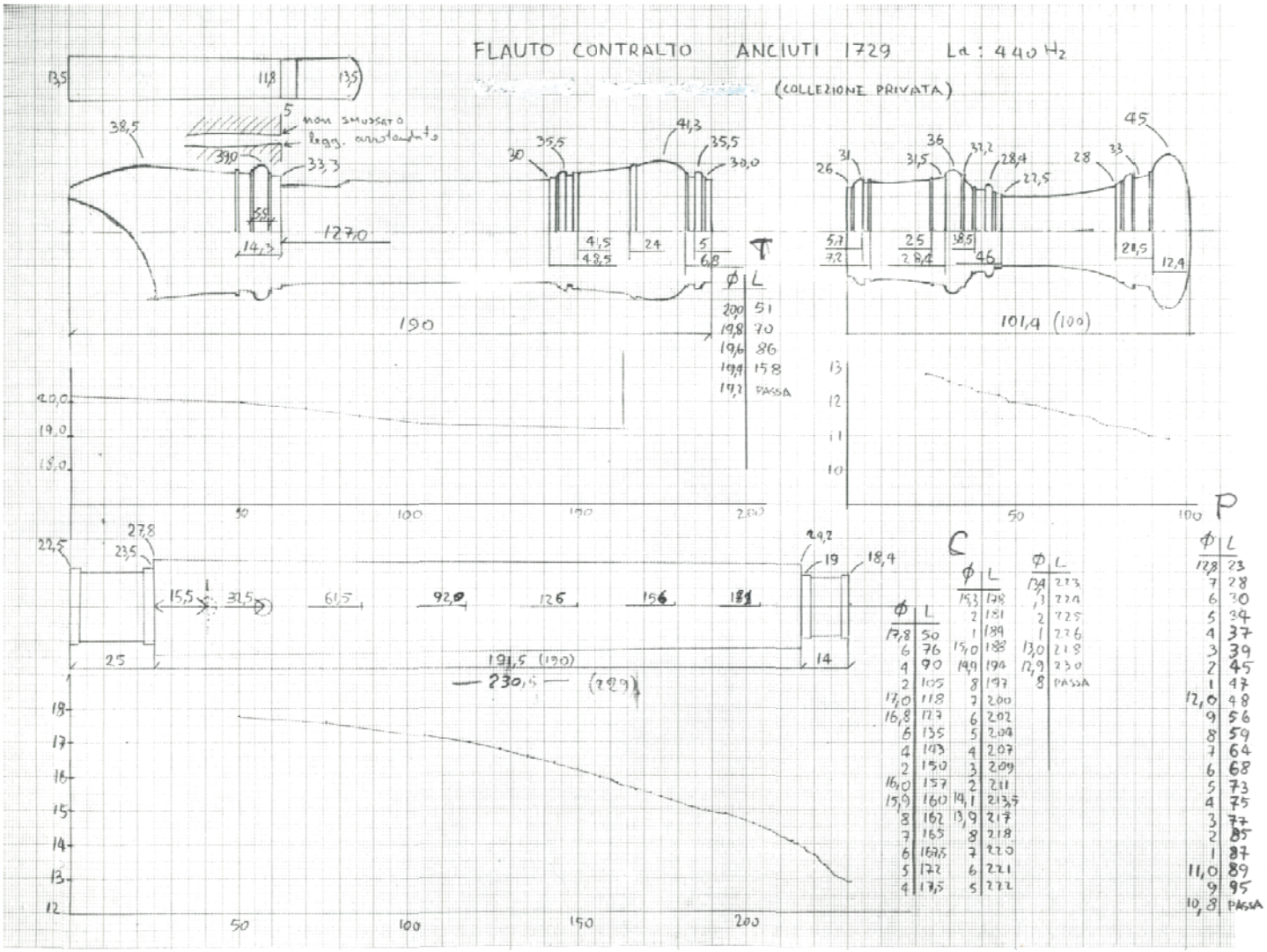


Figure 24. Drawings and measurements of the 1729 Anciuti Parma alto, kindly provided by Francesco Li Virghi.

Anc.ALT.05: alto (in ivory, dated 1740), 20/5 (7469-1861), GB.L.v, Victoria & Albert Museum, London



Figure 25. Photo of 20/5 (7469-1861), GB.L.v, Victoria & Albert Museum, London, downloaded from the website of the museum.



Figure 26. Detail of the maker's mark on the head joint. Extracted from Figure 25.



Figure 27. Detail of carving on the head joint. Extracted from Figure 25.



Figure 28. Detail of carving on the head joint. Extracted from Figure 25.



Figure 29. Detail of carving on the foot joint. Extracted from Figure 25.



Figure 30. Figure 29. Detail of carving on the foot joint. Extracted from Figure 25.

Search the Collections



Treble recorder

Place of origin: Milan, Italy (made)

Date: 1740 (made)

Artist/Maker: Anciuti, Giovanni Maria (maker)

Materials and Techniques: Carved ivory with ink inscription

Museum number: 7469-1861

Gallery location: On loan

Public access description

The treble recorder produces a softer version of the sound of the flute and it perfomed much the same function in a small ensemble that the flute would in a full-scale orchestra. By about 1800 the recorder was largely replaced by the flute and it was not until the 1880s that it was resurrected with the revival of early music by Arnold Dolmetsch (1858 - 1940). Giovanni Maria Anciuti of Milan was one of the greatest recorder makers of his day, and his surviving instruments are dated between 1717 and 1740.

On loan to the Horniman Museum.

Descriptive line

Treble recorder, made by Giovanni Maria Anciuti, Milan, 1740

Physical description

'Engraved and backened inscription on head joint: Anciuti/ A.Milan/ 1740 , under a wyvern. Ivory, in three joints octagonally shaped, with carved foliage in low relief and rings of pellets. The base of the head joint has been slightly shortened.' (Baines, Anthony. Catalogue of Musical Instruments in the Victoria and Albert Museum - Part II: Non-Keyboard Instrments. London: V&A Publications, 1998, p. 86.)

Museum number

7469-1861

Object history note

This object was acquired by the Museum in 1861 for £1 - 4 - 2

URL

http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O58917/treble-recorder-anciuti-giovanni-maria/

Figure 31. Description downloaded from the website of the museum (http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O58917/treble-recorder-anciuti-giovanni-maria/)

ANCIUTI

Skeleton measurement sheet

Location: V&A
Inv. N°: **7469-1861**
Measured: Adrian Brown
Date: 14/12/07

Pitch @ a=440hz: f ?
Mark: see attached pics
Material: Ivory

HEAD:	**Length**	**Ø**
TOL:	182	
WW length:	57	
BL - Jcint end:	125	
Socket:	26.7	23.4
SL:	98.3	

MIDDLE:	
TOL:	236
Upper tenon:	28.5
Lower tenon:	14
Between tenons:	193.8

FOOT:		
TOL:	99.2	
Socket:	14.8	19.4
SL:	84.4	

		FINGERHOLES		
		length		**diameter**
		(from top)	(from tenon)	east/w	north/s
	X	*198.8*	16.8	5.7	6.1
	1	*212.2*	30.2	5.2	5.7
	2	*241*	59	5.1	5.7
	3	*273*	91	5.0	5.5
	4	*306.2*	124.2	4.8	5.1
	5	*336.8*	154.8	4.8	5.1
	6	*366*	184	4.5	4.8
	7	*192.7*	17.7	5.1	5.2

	Step:	.9 - 1.0	
	Edge thickness:	0.35	
	Windway exit chamfers: up		
	down		
	W/W entrance: width	12.8	
	height	1.8	

		AF measurement	effctive diameter of Octagon
Beak cut away:	26	beak max	36.3	
		bl	28.8	31
Window width:	10.9	bott straight bit	25.8	27.5
Cutup	4.3	head max	38.5	
		upper mid jnt	24.0	25.5
		x	23.0	
Ramp width north	11.2	1	22.5	
south	11.7	2	21.7	
		3	21.0	22.8
		4	20.4	
Ramp length: west	18.3	5	20.3	
east	18.3	6	20.4	
middle	18.3	bott mid jnt	20.6	22
(due to octagon)		7	28.2	
		foot smallest	19.4	20.7
		bott oct	27	28.5
		bell	46.0	

NOTES: window north wall cu: back c. 1.0mm
Upper tenon is longer than head socket so SL = 423 - 3.5mm

7469-1881 Anciuti.xls Measurements 26/10/12 16:11

Figure 32. Measurements of 20/5 (7469-1861), GB.L.v, Victoria & Albert Museum, London, kindly provided by Adrian Brown.

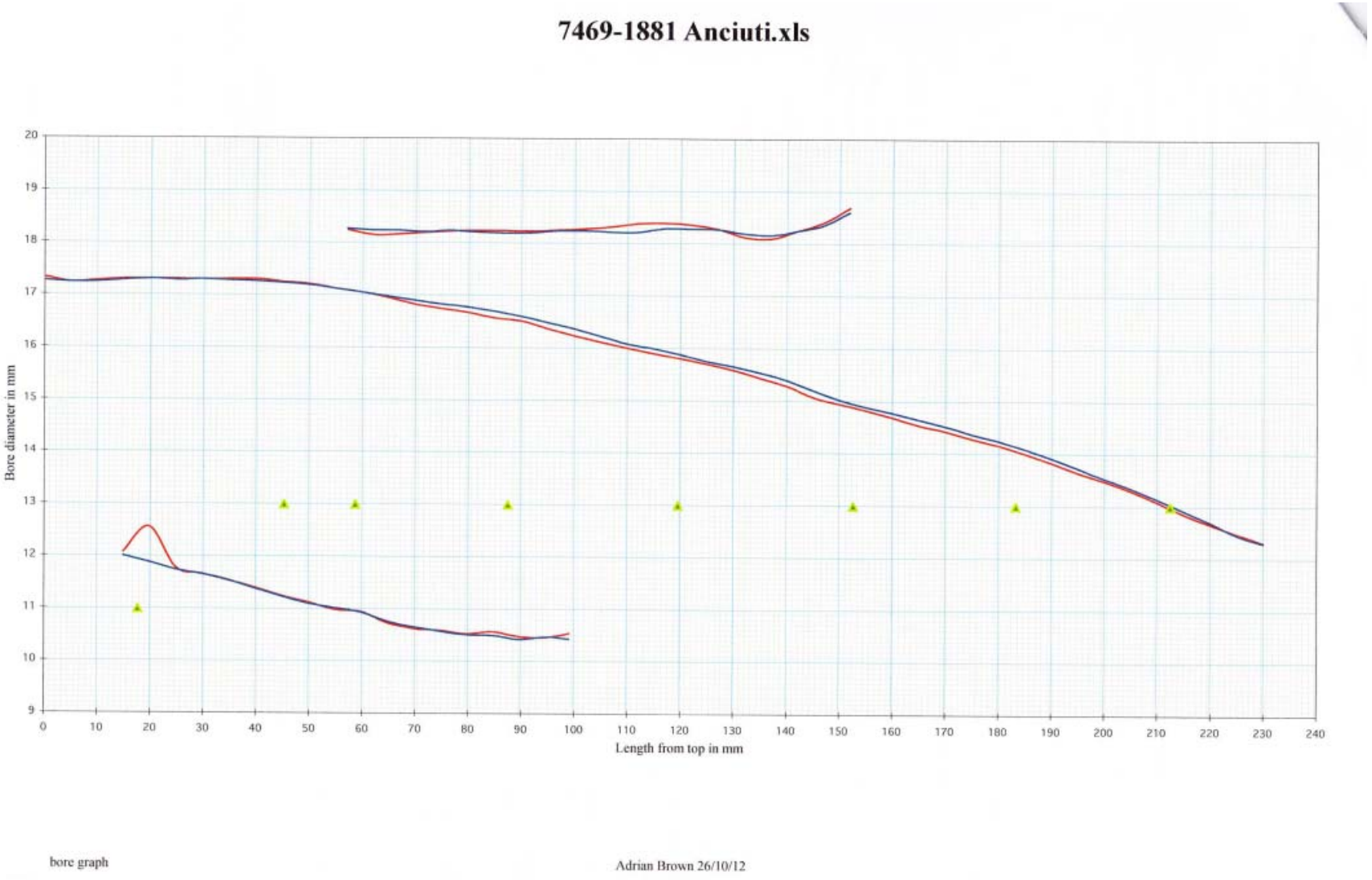


Figure 33. Bore measurements of 20/5 (7469-1861), GB.L.v, Victoria & Albert Museum, London, kindly provided by Adrian Brown.

Anc.ALT.06: alto (in ivory, undated), MTS-FD/03, I.M.ts, Teatro alla Scala, Milan

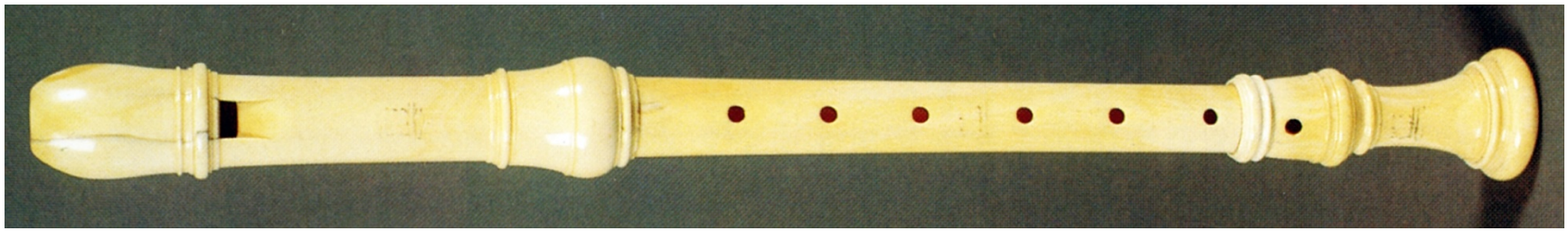


Figure 34. Photo kindly provided by the museum, extracted from the catalogue *La collezione di strumenti musicali del Museo Teatrale alla Scala*. Cinisello Balsamo, Milan: Edizioni Il laboratorio da Amilcare Pizzi s.p.a. Arti Grafiche, 1991. p. 117.



Figure 35. Photo of the maker's mark on the head joint of MTS-FD/03, kindly provided by Matteo Sartorio (Archivio del Museo Teatrale alla Scala).

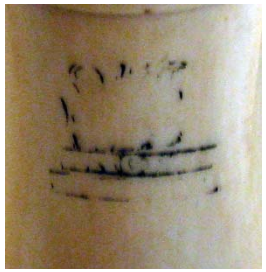


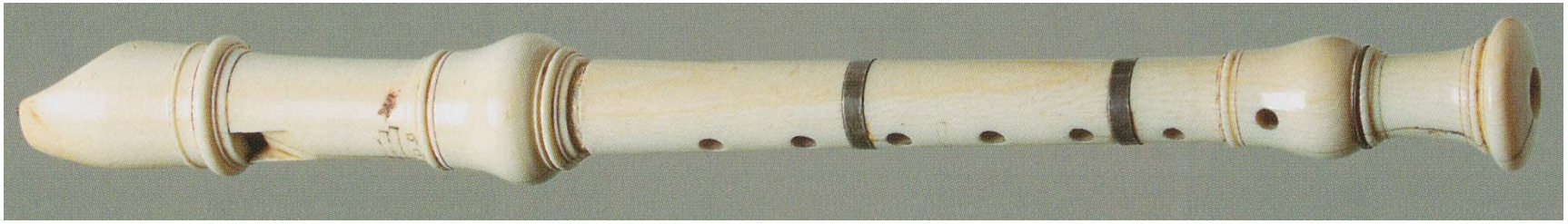
Figure 36. Photo of the maker's mark on the foot joint of MTS-FD/03, kindly provided by Matteo Sartorio (Archivio del Museo Teatrale alla Scala).

*"**Scheda tecnica***
Misure (in mm):
Lt: 470,5
Lr: 415,5
T: 180,0
C: 192,0
P: 98,5
øl: 19,0
Dl: 27,7
øm: 11,6
øu: 12,1
d0…7: 5,5 / 4,8 / 5,0 / 4,9 / 4,9 / 4,7 / 5,0
x0…7: 137,5 / 155,0 / 184,0 / 212,5 / 246,0 / 276,0 / 307,0 / 334,0
hf: 5,0
bf: 10,7"

"Giovanni Maria Anciuti, Milano, Ca. 1709-1740. Il marchio **ANCIUTI / A' MILAN**, sormontato dal leone di San Marco, è riportato sui tre pezzi dello strumento.
L'altezza della fondamentale è 368 Hz, corrispondente al sol3 al diapason la = 413 Hz o a fa3 al diapason la = 464 Hz.
La datazione dello strumento tiene conto del periodo di attività del costruttore, documentato dalle date riportate sugli strumenti conosciuti: oboe (1709), Roma, *Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali*, flauto dolce contralto (1740), Londra, *Victoria and Albert Museum*.
Lo strumento è in avorio. Le pareti sottili e la fattura accurata gli conferiscono un aspetto snello ed elegante. Il taglio in sol, testimoniato per uno strumento di forma barocca già da Bismantova e verosimilmente diffuso in Italia anche nel corso del '700, sembra il più probabile in base al diapason.
A causa delle deformazioni nell'apparato produttore del suono lo strumento non è in condizioni di suonare."

Details extracted from the catalogue *La collezione di strumenti musicali del Museo Teatrale alla Scala*. Cinisello Balsamo, Milan: Edizioni Il laboratorio da Amilcare Pizzi s.p.a. Arti Grafiche, 1991. p. 117. (The same measurements are found in Franca Falletti; Renato Meucci; Gabriele Rossi-Rognoni, "Marvels of Sound and Beauty, Italian Baroque Musical Instruments." p. 215.)

Anc.SPI.01: sopranino (in ivory, dated 1709), private collection (F. Velluti), Belluno



"**Measurements**

	Length	Inside diameter	Outside diameter
Total length	264		
Acoustical length	222		
Head joint	103	14.4	16.9 (max ring 25.7)
Body and joints	161 (tenon 18.5)	11.2 (tenon) / 7.5 (windway exit)	13.2 (tenon) / 24.3 (windway exit)
Window	8x3.3		
Hole diameters		speaker 3.7; 3.6; 3.7; 3.8; 3.7; 3.7; 3.4; 3.4 (right) / 3.4 (left)	
Distance of hole centres from the labium (bottom edge of the window)	speaker 70.7; 81.2; 97.1; 113.9; 131.8; 146.8; 163.6; 177.7 (right) / 177.7 (left)"		

"The instrument presents two longitudinal cracks, one traverses the beak starting from below the window, the other extends through the end part of the foot. The two silver rings were added during the restoration to contain the cracks which threatened the recorder's integrity, and most certainly to allow it to be played. The rings are closed with a sturdy and skillfully concealed joint that is not soldered.

Even in spite of the changes brought about by the restoration (probably in the eighteenth century) the recorder is most interesting. Firstly because, with the Rome oboe, it is the earliest evidence of Anciuti's work. Secondly it is the only one of Anciuti's sopranino recorders that is whole, since the head joint of the instrument in Berlin was destroyed […] Lastly, it has two holes for the little finger that can be used with the right hand above and the left below, or vice versa (the unused hole would be closed with wax). […] State of conservation: mediocre.

Renato Meucci"

All details and measurements extracted from Franca Falletti; Renato Meucci; Gabriele Rossi-Rognoni, "Marvels of Sound and Beauty, Italian Baroque Musical Instruments." p. 211.

Anc.SPI.02: sopranino with missing head (in boxwood and ivory, dated 1733), 470, D.B.im, Musikinstrumenten Museum, Berlin

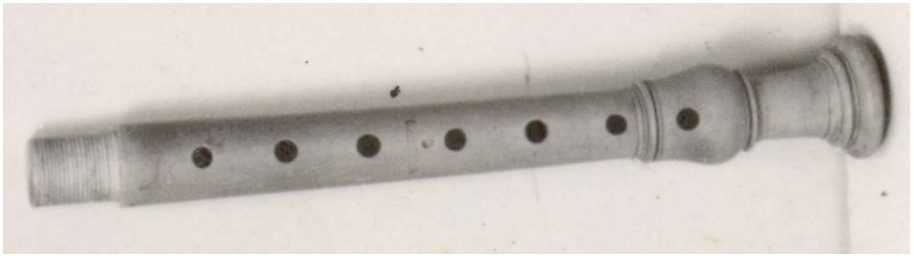
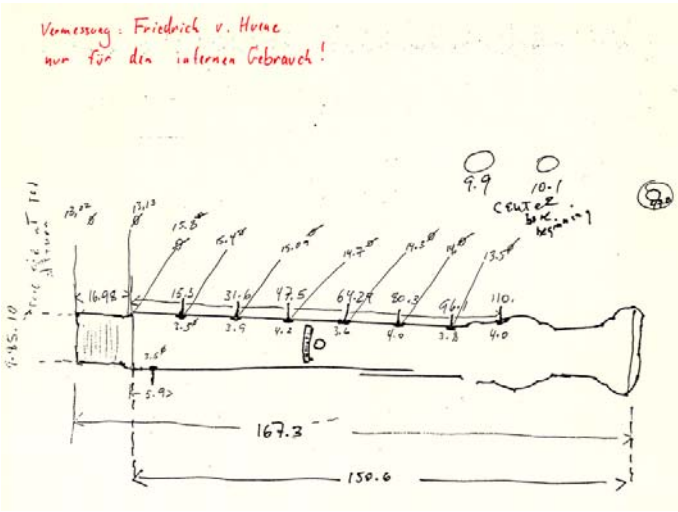
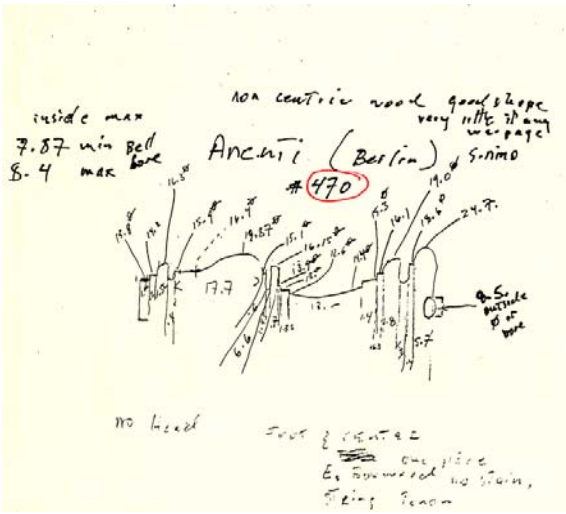


Figure 37. Photo of 470, D.B.im, Musikinstrumenten Museum, Berlin, kindly provided by the museum.



"Inv.-Nr. 470
Sopranino-Blockflöte in f'', Givanni [sic] Maria Anciuti, Mailand, 1733
Das Kopfstück mit der Datierung 1733 ging im Krieg verloren. Das Unterstück trägt zwischen 3. und 4. Tonloch den rechteckigen Stempel „Anciuti" darunter ein nach links geneigtes Oval. Die sauber unterschnittenen und versenkten Tonlöcher sind etwas rechts vom Spiegel gebohrt. Bei dem Material handelt essich um honigfarbenen Buchsbaum, der nicht gebeizt wurde. Er is leicht verzogen und neigt sich nach rechts. Das aus einem Teil gearbeitete Unterstück ist wie bei einem dreiteiligen Instrument mit sehr feinem tulpenförmigen Profil versehen. Die Profile sind sehr gut erhalten und nicht ausgebrochen.
An der Fußplatte sind zwei Risse zu vermerken, die allerdings nicht durchgehen, geschlossen sind und keiner Restaurierung bedürfen. Die Inventarnummer 470 auf der Platte wurde von mir entfernt. Außerdem wurde das Instrument mit Mandelöl behandelt. Eine grobe Vermessungsskizze von F.v.Huene liegt vor.

Steffen Hickel
Berlin, Februar 2007'



All details and measurements kindly provided by the museum (sketches by Friedrich von Huene).

Anc.SPO.01: soprano (in stained boxwood, dated 1725), 146 (MTS-FD/02), Conservatorio di Musica Giuseppe Verdi, Milan



Figure 38. Photo kindly provided by the museum, extracted from the catalogue *La collezione di strumenti musicali del Museo Teatrale alla Scala*. Cinisello Balsamo, Milan: Edizioni Il laboratorio da Amilcare Pizzi s.p.a. Arti Grafiche, 1991. p. 116.

*"**Scheda tecnica***
Misure (in mm):
Lt: 377,0
Lr: 327,0
T: 150,5
C: 153,5
P: 73,0
øl: 14,1
Dl: 24,4
øm: 7,7
øu: 77,7
d0…7: 3,9 / 4,1 / 4,2 / 3,8 / 3,8 / 4,0 / 3,3 / 3,1
x0…7: 113,5 / 126,5 / 151,5 / 176,0 / 201,0 / 226,0 / 247,0 / 266,0
hf: 3,5
bf: 8,4"

"Giovanni Maria Anciuti, Milano 1725.
Sulla testa, sotto il leone di San Marco, il marchio **ANCIUTI / A' MILANO, 1725**. Su corpo e piede rispettivamente ANCIUTI A' / MILAN e ANCIUTI.
L'altezza della fondamentale è di 455 Hz, corrispondente a sib3 al diapason la = 430 Hz. Il flauto è in bosso marmorizzato; l'effeto è probabilmente ottenuto con permanganato di potassio o acido nitrico. Strumenti marmorizzati se non marmorei erano conosciuti in Italia già nel XVII secolo (Chouquet, Schlosser).
Un discorso a sé meritano le qualità sonore dei flauti di Anciuti. Le caratteristiche del tutto particolari dell'apparato di produzione del suono - assenza delle consuete smussature all'estremità del canale di insufflazione, conseguente maggiore ampiezza della finestrella - conferiscono un suono nitido, un attacco pronto, una spiccata attitudine all'impiego nel registro acuto e, di contro, scarse possibilità dinamiche, eccessiva debolezza nel registro grave e un funzionamento generale critico anche nei riguardi di piccole deformazioni."

Details extracted from the catalogue *La collezione di strumenti musicali del Museo Teatrale alla Scala*. Cinisello Balsamo, Milan: Edizioni Il Laboratorio da Amilcare Pizzi s.p.a. Arti Grafiche, 1991. p. 116.

"This instrument's structure is typical of the period's recorders apart from the fact that it is a soprano, which was less common than the alto. Its unusual feature, however, is the colour that was achieved through the use of a chemical reagent that "marbleized" the wood. This rare procedure is yet another confirmation of what we stated in the introduction to the catalogue section on Giovanni Maria Anciuti's ivory instruments […] concerning this outstanding craftsman's propensity for experimentation. We can see a similar procedure in the tenor instrument in the Leipzig museum (Heyde 1978, p.47), which, although the coloration is less compact and was created with a very different procedure, does prove that the practice was not unknown to other makers of that period. […] This recorder also has an interesting and long history that we can reconstruct starting from at least 1881. The oldest core of instruments of the Conservatorio comes from the national exposition held that year in Milan; the instruments were donated by some of the exhibitors and are catalogued in De' Guarioni 1908, p. 81, where the donated instruments are marked with an asterisk before the identification number (in this case '*146', and the name of the donor (dono del [gift of] prof. Cesare Confalonieri). […] State of conservation: good, the instrument has not suffered any evident damage.
Renato Meucci"

Details extracted from Franca Falletti; Renato Meucci; Gabriele Rossi-Rognoni, "Marvels of Sound and Beauty, Italian Baroque Musical Instruments." p. 182.

CASTEL

Cas.ALT.01: alto (in ebony and ivory), C168, F.NI.pl, Palais Lascaris, Nice



Figure 39. Photo of C168, F.NI.pl, Palais Lascaris, Nice, by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 40. Detail of the maker's mark on the head joint, photo by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 41. Detail of the maker's mark on the middle joint, photo by Fumitaka Saito.

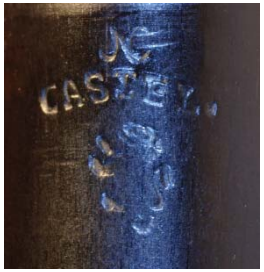


Figure 42. Detail of the maker's mark on the foot joint, photo by Fumitaka Saito.

Photos by Fumitaka Saito, 13 November 2012. Commissioned by Inês d'Avena ©

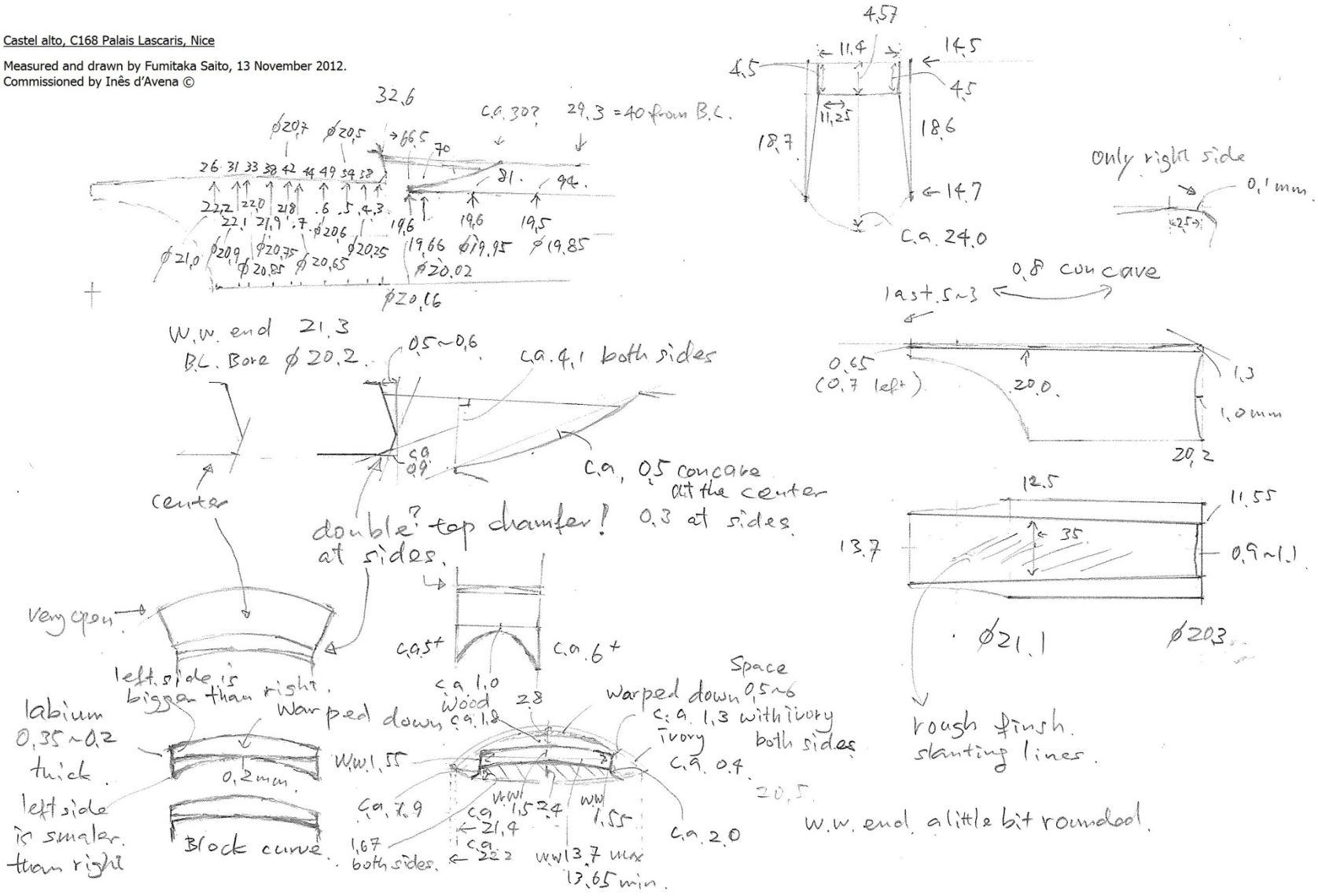


Figure 43. Voicing details measured by Fumitaka Saito.

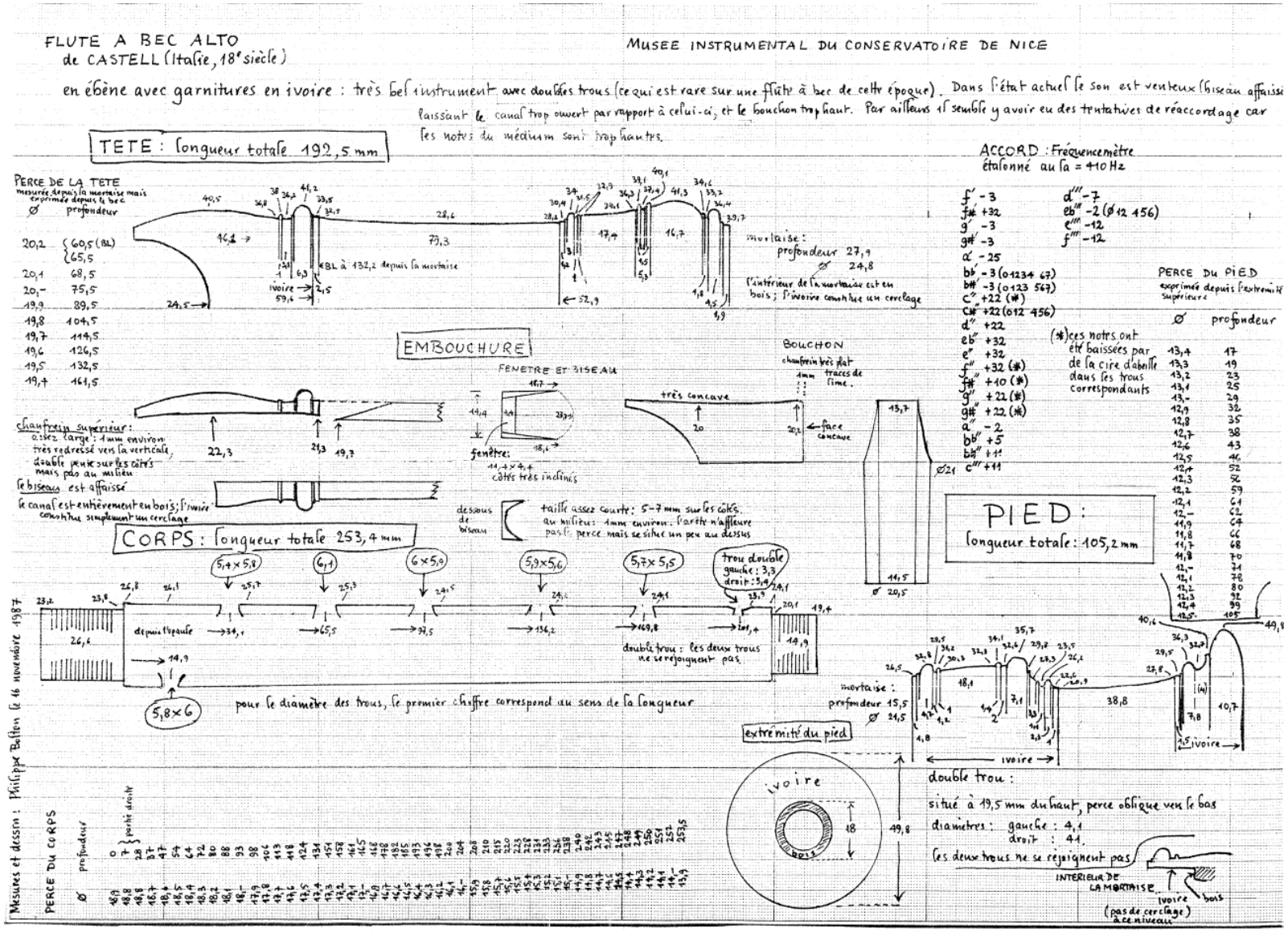
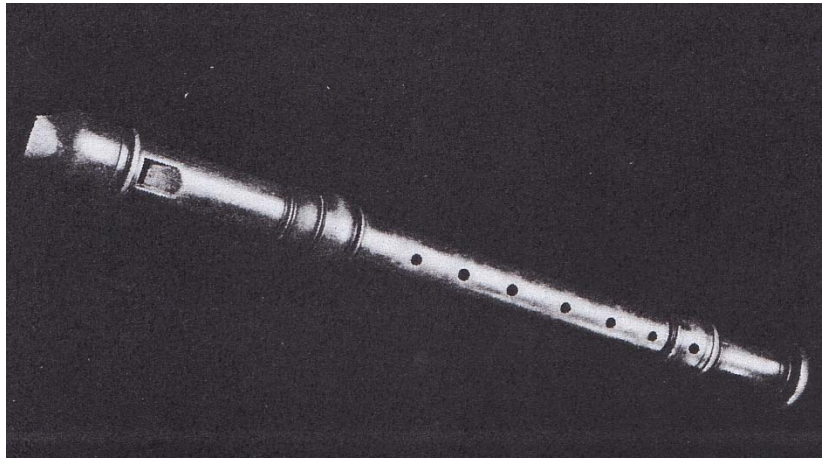


Figure 44. Measurements and drawings by Philippe Bolton, kindly provided by the museum.

Cas.ALT.02: alto (in stained pearwood), 3261, EC.Q.t, Museo de Instrumentos Musicales Pablo Traversari, Quito



"**3261** Recorder
Stained pearwood. 7+1 fingerholes. Made by Castel. Each joint stamped: "M (or N) Castel" with a lion rampant below. 18th c.

Overall length: 50.8 cm
Length of vibrating air column: 44.8 cm

	Length	Diameter of bore at top
Headjoint:	19.2 cm	1.9 cm
Middlejoint:	21.0 cm	1.9 cm
Footjoint:	10.06 cm	1.4 cm"

"Pedro Traversari Salazar, who was born in Quito, Ecuador in 1874, received a gift of a collection of musical instruments at the age f 12 from his teacher, Calisto Guerrero y Larraín, and as a result he developed an interest in collecting which would continue through most of his life. […] ".

A significant chapter in the history of the collection began in 1906 when Traversari traveled to Italy for an extended visit, took part of his collection with him and exhibited in Rome, where it attracted the attention of another collector, Evan Gorga. Even though Traversari refused an offer which Gorga made to purchase the collection, an agreement, dated 1 January, 1907, was nonetheless made between them which sanctioned an exchange of instruments. Traversari traded 70 instruments, which he called "prehistoric," in exchange for instruments from the Gorga Collection which were described as "Greek, Roman, and Persian trumpets; harpsichords, spinets, and virginals; and a large variety of mandolins, guitars, and violins." In view of the almost total absence of records from which the provenance of the instruments in the Traversari Collection might be established, this one source of information assumes considerable importance where the European instruments in the Collection are concerned. […] the fine recorder by Castel, and the superb oboe by Grassi were undoubtedly part of this exchange. […]"

Photo, details and measurements extracted from the catalogue Richard Rephann. *A catalogue of the Pedro Traversari Collection of musical instruments*. Washington, D.C. : Organization of American States, 1978. Preface and unnumbered page. (The photo is incorrectly labeled in the catalogue).

Cas.ALT.03: alto (in boxwood), 887|644, I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome



Figure 45. Photo of 887|644, I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome, by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 46. Detail of the maker's mark on the head joint, photo by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 47. Detail of the maker's mark on the middle joint, photo by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 48. Detail of the maker's mark on the foot joint, photo by Fumitaka Saito.

All by Fumitaka Saito, 25 February 2014. Commissioned by Inês d'Avena ©.

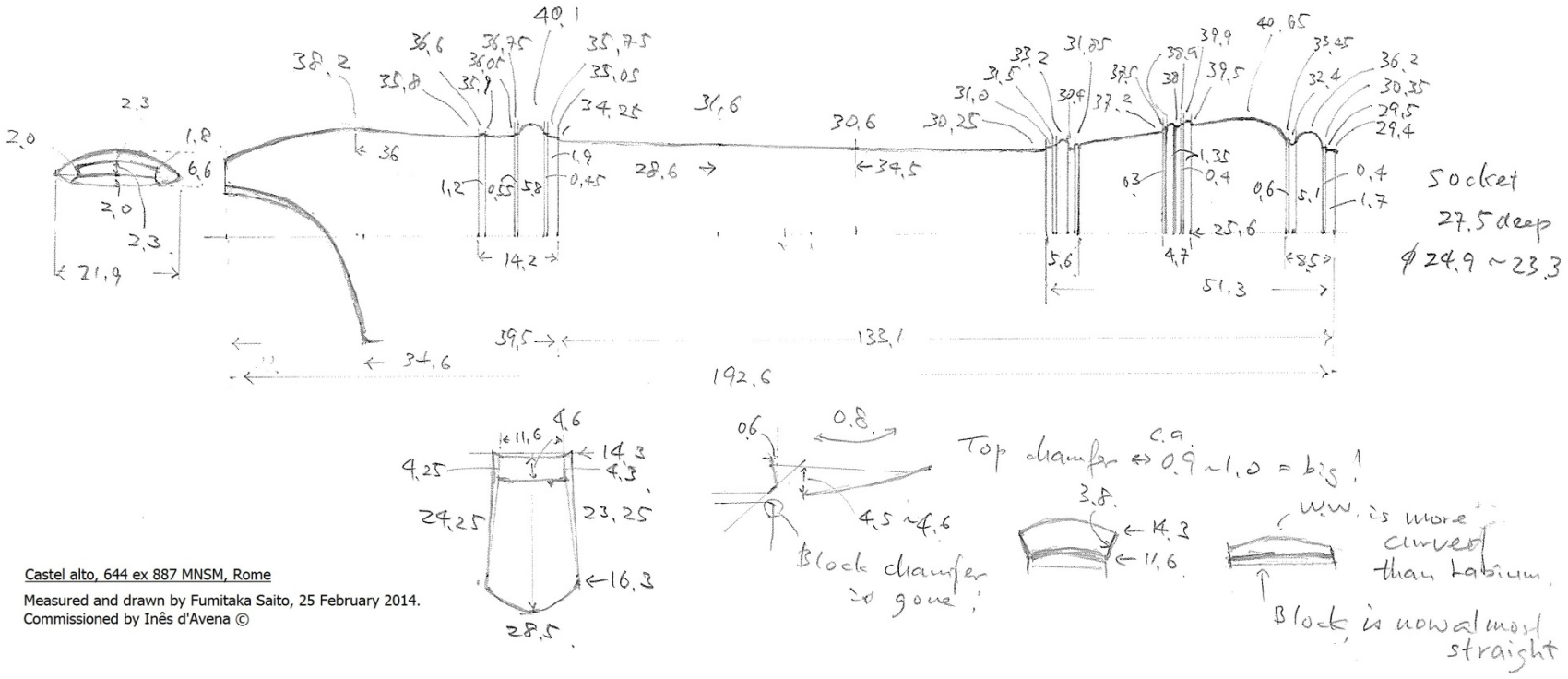


Figure 49. Profile and voicing drawing and measurements of 887|644, I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome, by Fumitaka Saito.

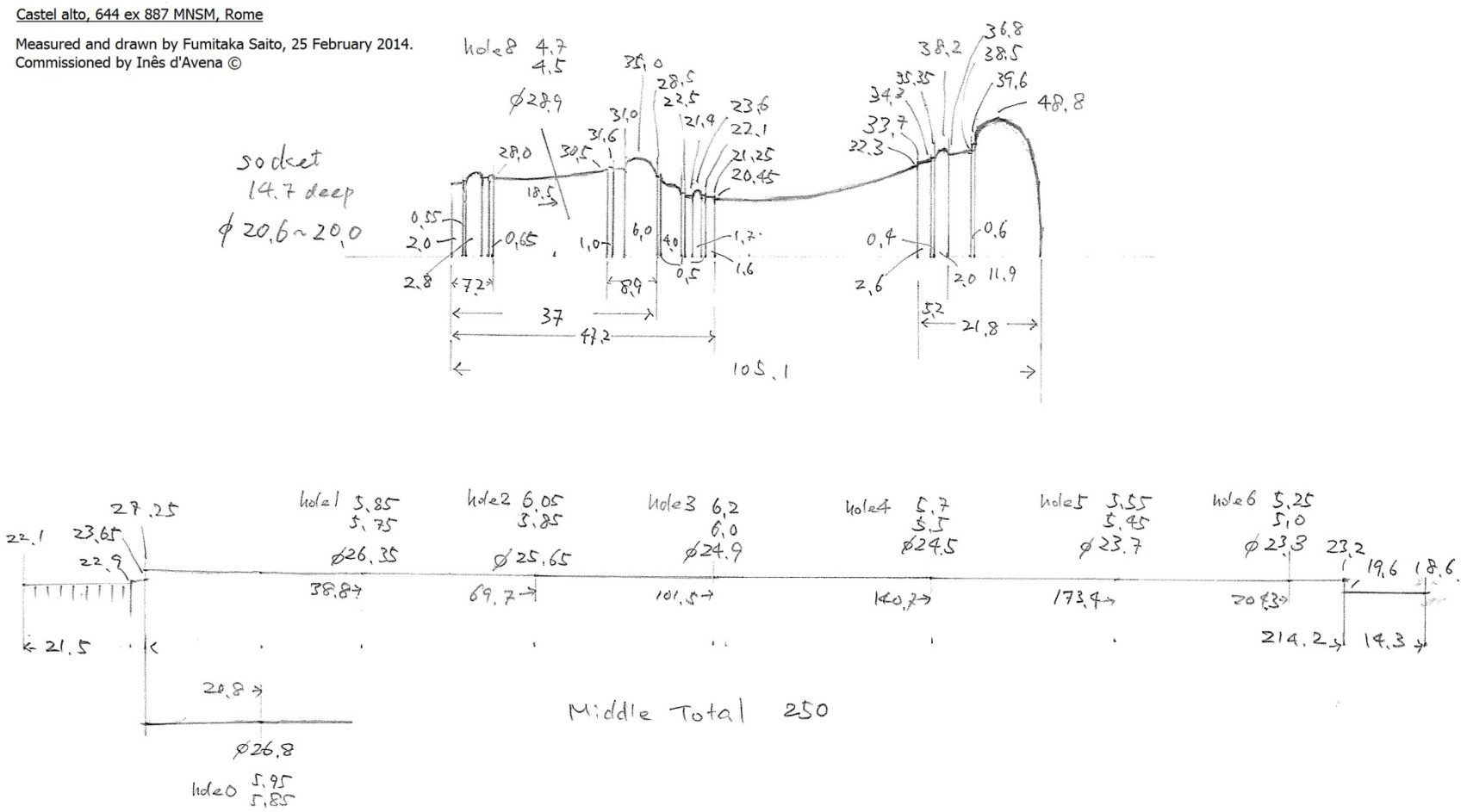


Figure 50. Profile drawing and measurements of 887|644, I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome, by Fumitaka Saito.

Castel alto, 644 ex 887 MNSM, Rome

Bore measurements

Head joint

Sounding length 133.1
Wind Way 59.5
Total head length 192.6

Joint
27.5 deep
min. 23.3 ø
max. 24.9 ø

(from bottom, not possible to take out the block)

20.6 = 17
c.a.20.1? = 60 / 0
19.9 = 144
19.8 = 165

Middle joint

Total length 250.0
(214.2)
Joints 21.5 & 14.3

Joint could be c.a. 27
(= +5.5)

18.3 = 0 / 171 whole length (171.1 = 192.6 - 21.5) / 111 sounding length

18.35 = 10 - 33
18.3 = 66
18.2 = 70
18.1 = 83
18.0 = 90
17.9 = 95
17.8 = 98
17.7 = 102
17.6 = 107
17.5 = 112
17.4 = 114
17.3 = 120
17.2 = 125
17.1 = 128
17.0 = 132
16.9 = 140
16.8 = 144
16.7 = 150
16.6 = 153
16.5 = 158
16.4 = 161
16.3 = 165
16.2 = 170
16.1 = 173
16.0 = 179
15.9 = 185
15.8 = 188
15.7 = 191
15.6 = 195
15.5 = 202
15.4 = 206
15.3 = 210
15.2 = 213
15.1 = 216
15.0 = 218
14.9 = 220
14.8 = 221
14.7 = 224
14.6 = 225
14.5 = 226.5
14.4 = 229
14.3 = 230
14.2 = 231
14.1 = 232
14.0 = 233
13.9 = 235
13.8 = 236
13.7 = 236.5
13.6 = 238
13.5 = 239
13.4 = 239
13.3 = 240
13.2 = 241
13.1 = 242
13.0 = 243
12.9 = 244
12.8 = 245
12.7 = 249 /
370 SL (370.1)

Foot joint

Total length 105.1
Joint 14.7 deep
min. 20.0 ø
max. 20.6 ø

13.2 = 15.5 / 371.3 SL
13.1 = 22.5
13.0 = 30
12.9 = 36
12.8 = 41
12.7 = 49
12.6 = 54
12.5 = 65
12.4 = 68
12.3 = 79
12.2 = 74
12.1 = 79.5
12.0 = 86.5
11.9 = 89
11.85 = 90
11.9 = 93(12)
12.0 = 97 (8)
12.05 = end / 476.4 SL (+60 = whole length 536.4)

Bore measurements of 887|644, I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome by Fumitaka Saito, 25 February 2014. Commissioned by Inês d'Avena ©

Cas.ALT.04: alto (in stained pearwood?), 879|1421, I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome



Figure 51. Photo of 879|1421, I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome, by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 52. Detail of the maker's mark on the head joint, photo by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 53. Detail of the maker's mark on the middle joint, photo by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 54. Detail of the maker's mark on the foot joint, photo by Fumitaka Saito.

All by Fumitaka Saito, 25 February 2014. Commissioned by Inês d'Avena ©.

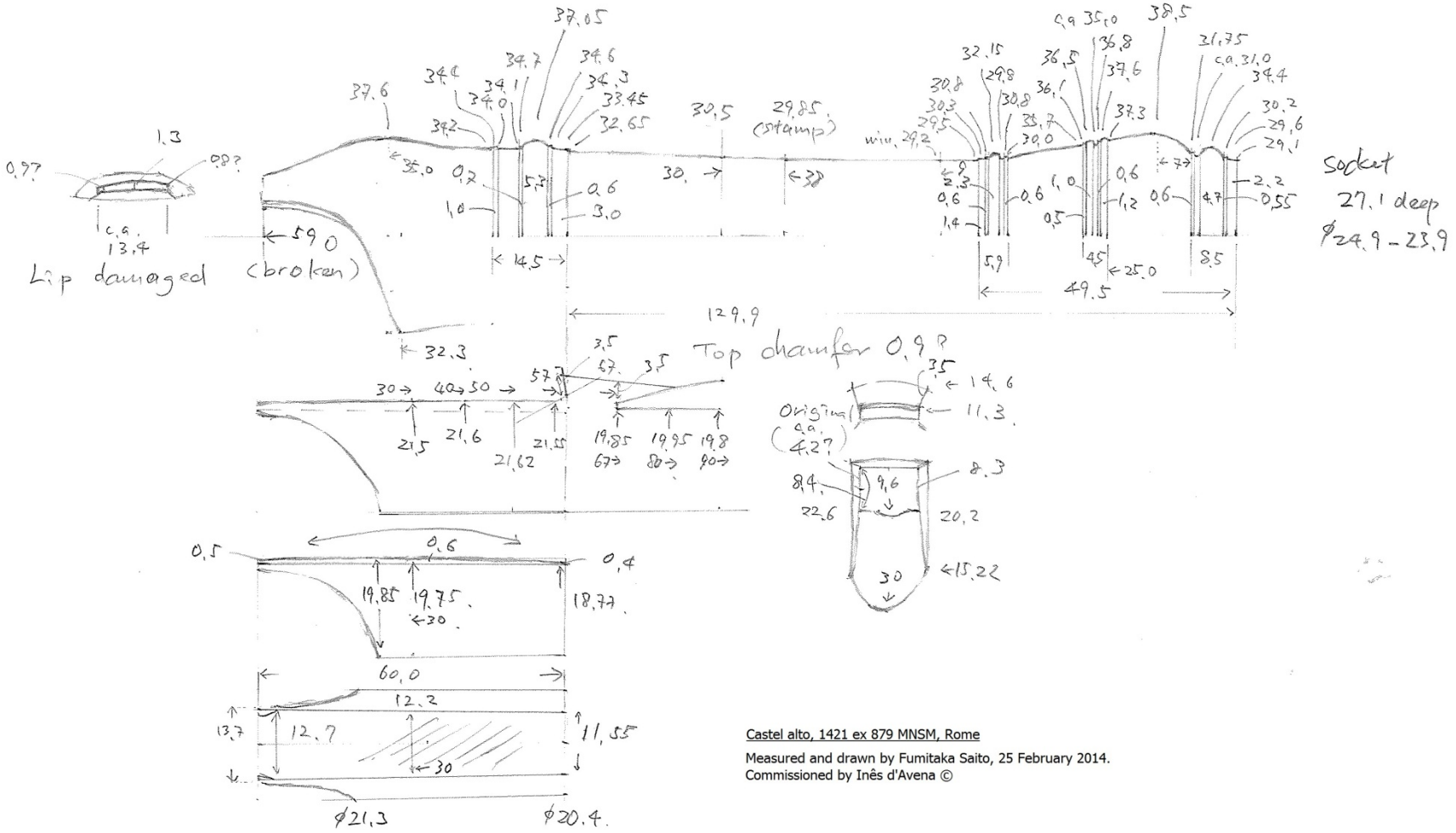


Figure 55. Profile and voicing drawing and measurements of 879|1421, I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome, by Fumitaka Saito.

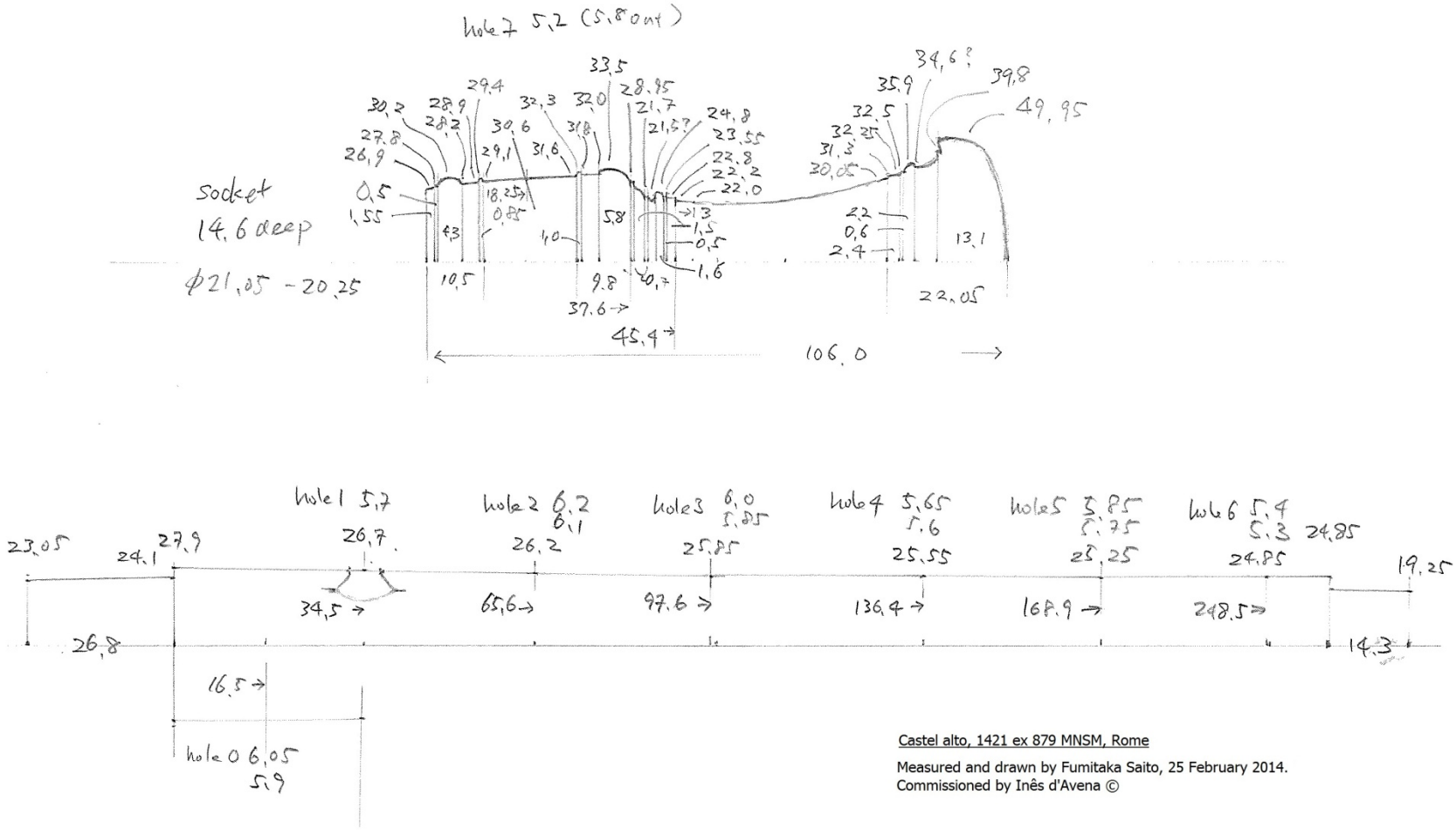


Figure 56. Profile drawing and measurements of 879|1421, I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome, by Fumitaka Saito.

Castel alto, 1421 ex 879 MNSM, Rome

Bore measurements

Head joint

Sounding length 129.9
Wind Way 58 (broken maybe 58.5)
Total head length 188.4

Joint
27.1 deep
min. 23.9 ø
max. 24.9 ø

21.6 = 18.8
21.4 = 21
21.2 = 28
21.0 = 40
20.8 = 49
20.6 = 56
c.a. 20.45 = 58 BL
20.4 = 61
20.2 = 72.5
20.0 = 113
19.8 = 131
19.6 = 141

Middle joint

Total length 251.1
(210.0)
Joints 26.8 & 14.3

18.9 = 0 / whole length 161.6 = 188.4 - 26.8 / 103.6 sounding length

18.8 = 11
18.7 = 21
18.6 = 31
18.4 = 39
18.2 = 46
18.0 = 57
17.9 = 65
17.8 = 92.5
17.6 = 101
17.5 = 118.5
17.4 = 124
17.2 = 135
17.0 = 136
16.9 = 147
16.8 = 152
16.7 = 160
16.6 = 168
16.5 = 175
16.4 = 182
16.2 = 190
16.0 = 201
15.8 = 210
15.6 = 215
15.4 = 219
15.2 = 225
15.0 = 231
14.8 = 234
14.6 = 239
14.4 = 240
14.2 = 242.5
14.0 = 244
13.8 = 246
13.6 = 249
13.5 = 250 353.6 SL

Foot joint

Total length 106.0
Joint 14.6 deep
min. 20.25 ø
max. 21.05 ø

13.7 = 15
353.9 SL (= 354)
13.6 = 16
13.4 = 18
13.2 = 23
13.0 = 26.5
12.8 = 34
12.7 = 40
12.6 = 42
12.5 = 46
12.4 = 49
12.3 = 53
12.2 = 55
12.1 = 58
12.0 = 60.5
11.9 = 62
11.88 = 65
12.0 = 66
12.2 = 72
12.4 = 83
12.6 = 92
12.8 = 100
12.9 = end 459.9 SL (= 460)

Cas.SPI.01: sopranino (in ivory), 3323, GB.E.u, Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments



Figure 57. Photo of 3323, GB.E.u, Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments, by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 58. Detail of the maker's mark on the head joint, photo by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 59. Detail of the maker's mark on the middle joint, photo by Fumitaka Saito.

All by Fumitaka Saito, 25 April 2013. Commissioned by Inês d'Avena ©.

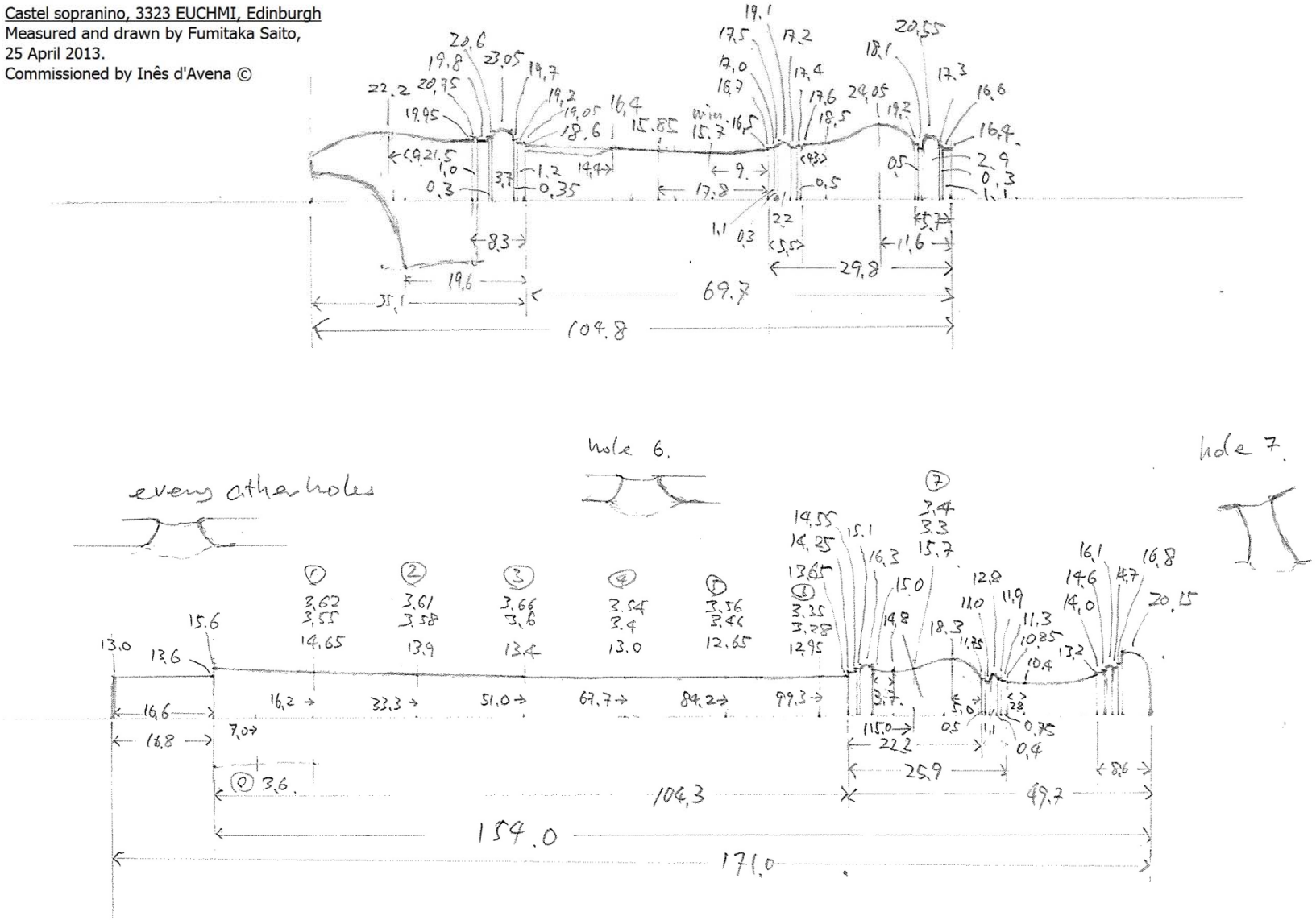


Figure 60. Profile drawing and measurements of 3323, GB.E.u, Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments, by Fumitaka Saito.

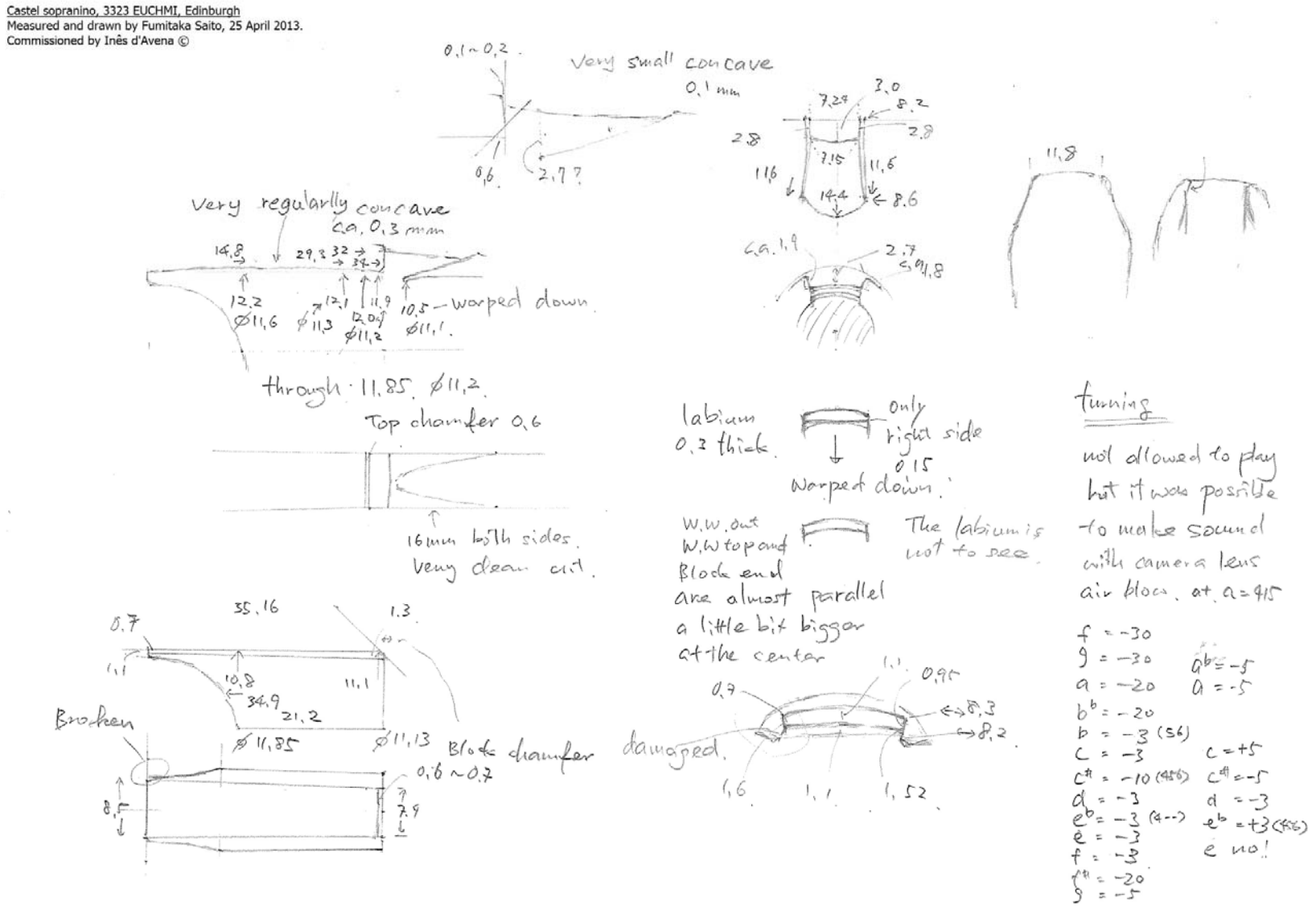


Figure 61. Voicing and tuning details of 3323, GB.E.u, Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments, by Fumitaka Saito.

Castel alto, 1421 ex 879 MNSM, Rome

Bore measurements

Head joint

Sounding length 69.6
Wind Way 35.1
Total head length 104.8

Joint
17.05 deep
min. 13.7 ø
max. 13.9 ø

11.6 = 12
11.5 = 22
11.4 = 26.5
11.3 = 30
11.2 = 35 block line
11.1 = 37
11.0 = 42
10.9 = 48
10.8 = 55
10.7 = 76
10.6 = 77.5
10.5 = 79
10.4 = 82.5
10.3 through

Middle joint and foot

Total length 171.0 (154.0)
Joints 16.8

10.0 = 0
9.9 = 25.5
9.8 = 30
9.7 = 34
9.6 = 42
9.5 = 50.5
9.4 = 56.5
9.3 = 63.5
9.2 = 69
9.1 = 73.5
9.0 = 77.5
8.9 = 83.5
8.8 = 87.5
8.7 = 91
8.6 = 93
8.5 = 94.5
8.4 = 104.5
8.3 = 106
8.2 = 109.5
8.1 = 113.5
8.0 = 116.5
7.9 = 117.5
7.8 = 120
7.7 = 123
7.6 = 124.5
7.5 = 127
7.4 = 129
7.3 = 131
7.2 = 132.5
7.1 = 135
7.0 = --
6.9 = --
6.8 = 135.3
6.7 = --
6.6 = --
6.5 = --
6.4 = 136
6.3 = 137
6.2 = 137
6.1 = 137.5
6.0 = 139.5
5.9 = 165
5.8 = through

last 0.7 mm rounded to c.a. 6.5

Bore measurements of 3323, GB.E.u, Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments, by Fumitaka Saito, 25 April 2013.
Commissioned by Inês d'Avena ©

Cas.VOI.01: voice-flute (in boxwood), 170, I.R.an, Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, Rome



Figure 62. Photo of 170, I.R.an, Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, Rome, by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 63. Detail of the maker's mark on the head joint, photo by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 64. Detail of the maker's mark on the middle joint, photo by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 65. Detail of the maker's mark on the foot joint, photo by Fumitaka Saito.

Tuning (note, cents, fingering)

D4	-40	All closed
E4	-70	0123456
F4	-30	0123457
F♯4	-75	012345
G4	-40	012346
G♯	-10	012356
	-60	0123567
A4	-35	0123
	-45	01236
	-30	0124567
B♭4	-25	01245
	-70	012456
B4	-35	012
C5	-30	01356
	-40	0134
C♯5	-45	01
D5	-20/25	02
D♯5	-35	12
	-25	1346
E5	-20	2
F5	-35	23456
	-45	123456
F♯5	-40	ø 12345
G5	-20/25	ø 12347 (very stable)
G♯5	-30	ø 1235
A5	-35/40	ø 123
B♭5	-80/85	ø 124
	-60	ø 125
B5	-60	ø 12
C6	-30	ø 12456
C♯6	-70	ø 1245
D6	-75	ø 145
D♯6	+30	ø 13457
E6	-35	ø 13467
	-25	ø 1346

temperature: 20,3°C

All by Fumitaka Saito, 7 May 2013. Commissioned by Inês d'Avena ©.

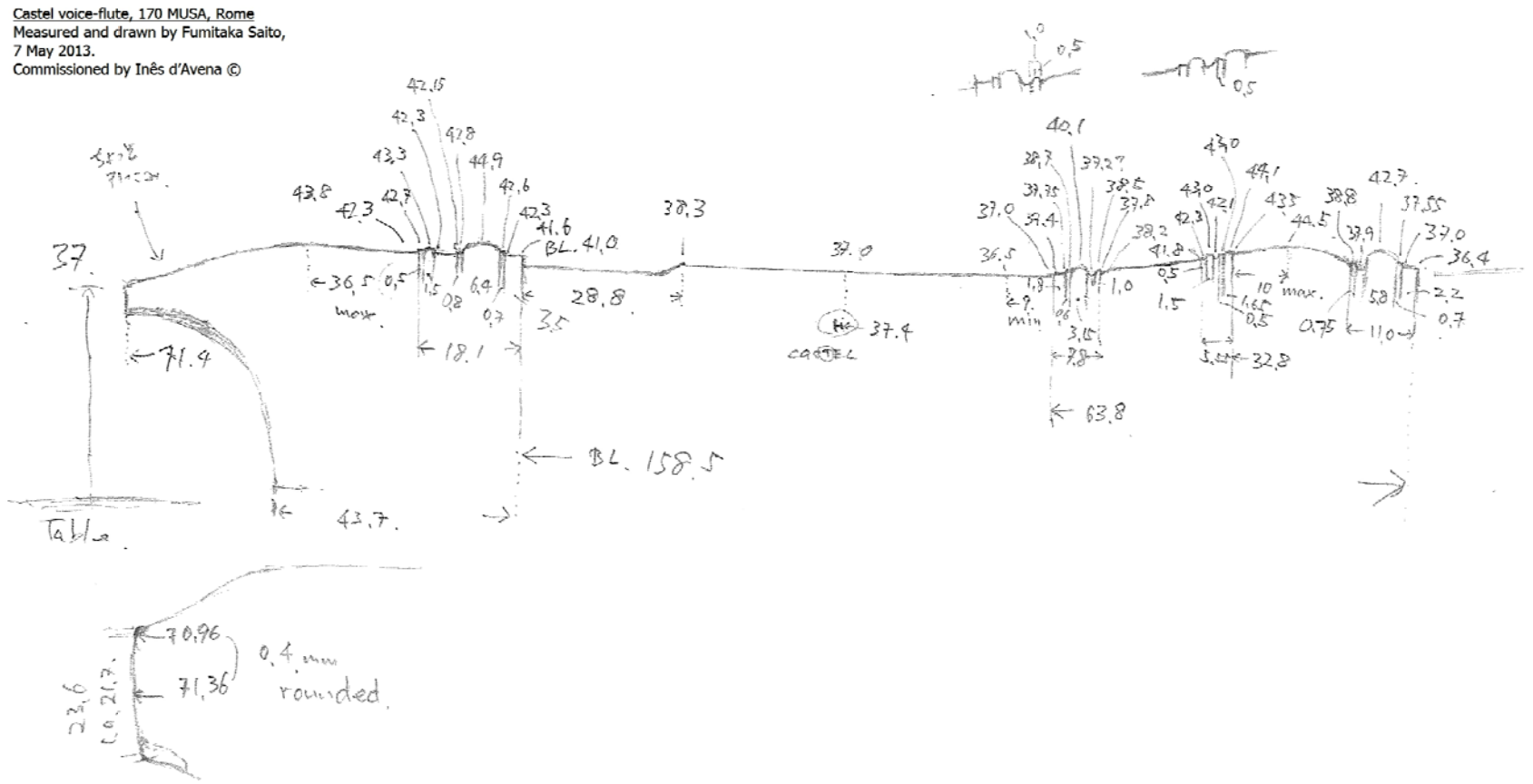


Figure 66. Profile drawing and measurements of 170, I.R.an, Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, Rome, by Fumitaka Saito.

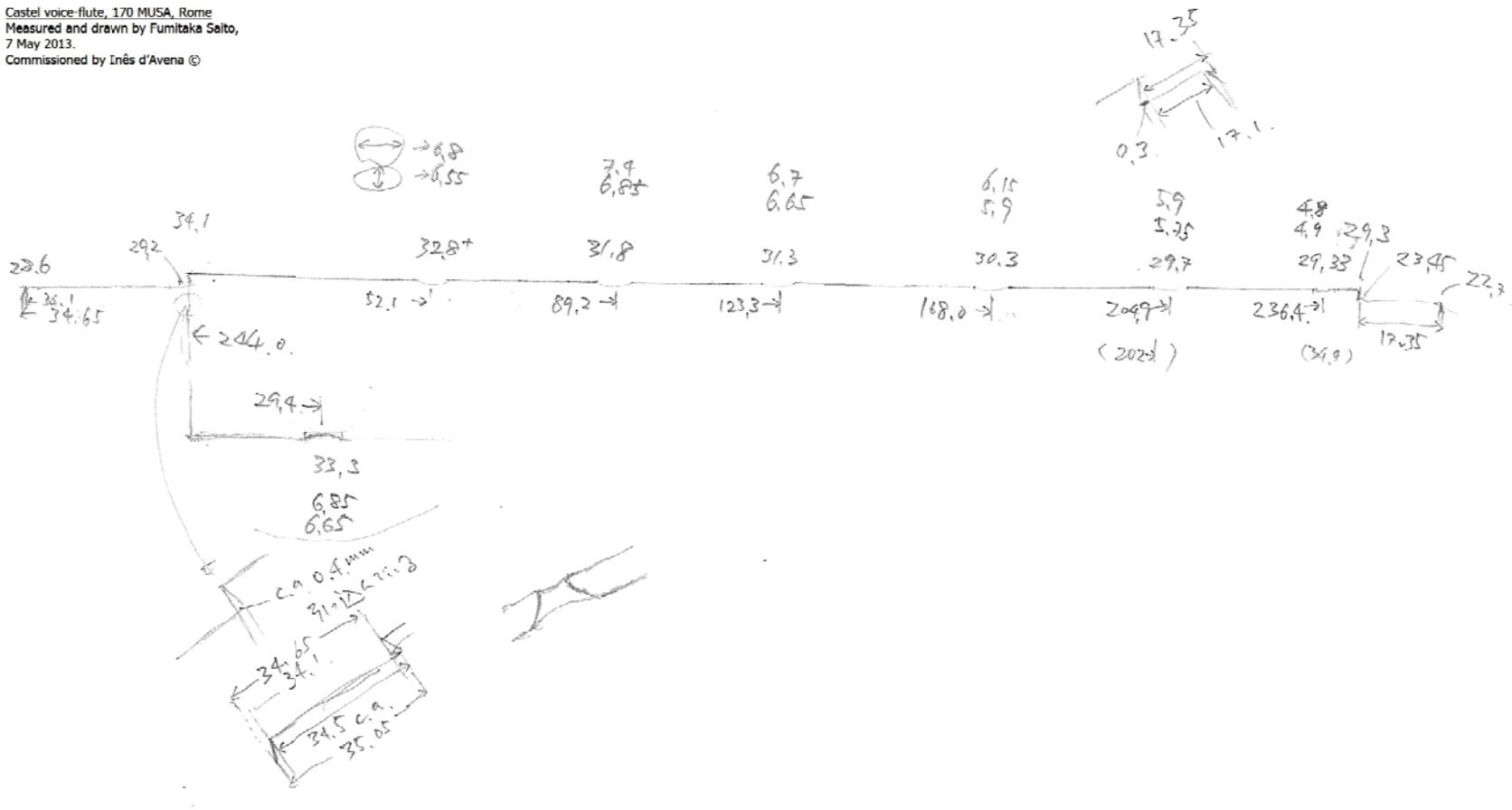


Figure 67. Profile drawing and measurements of 170, I.R.an, Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, Rome, by Fumitaka Saito.

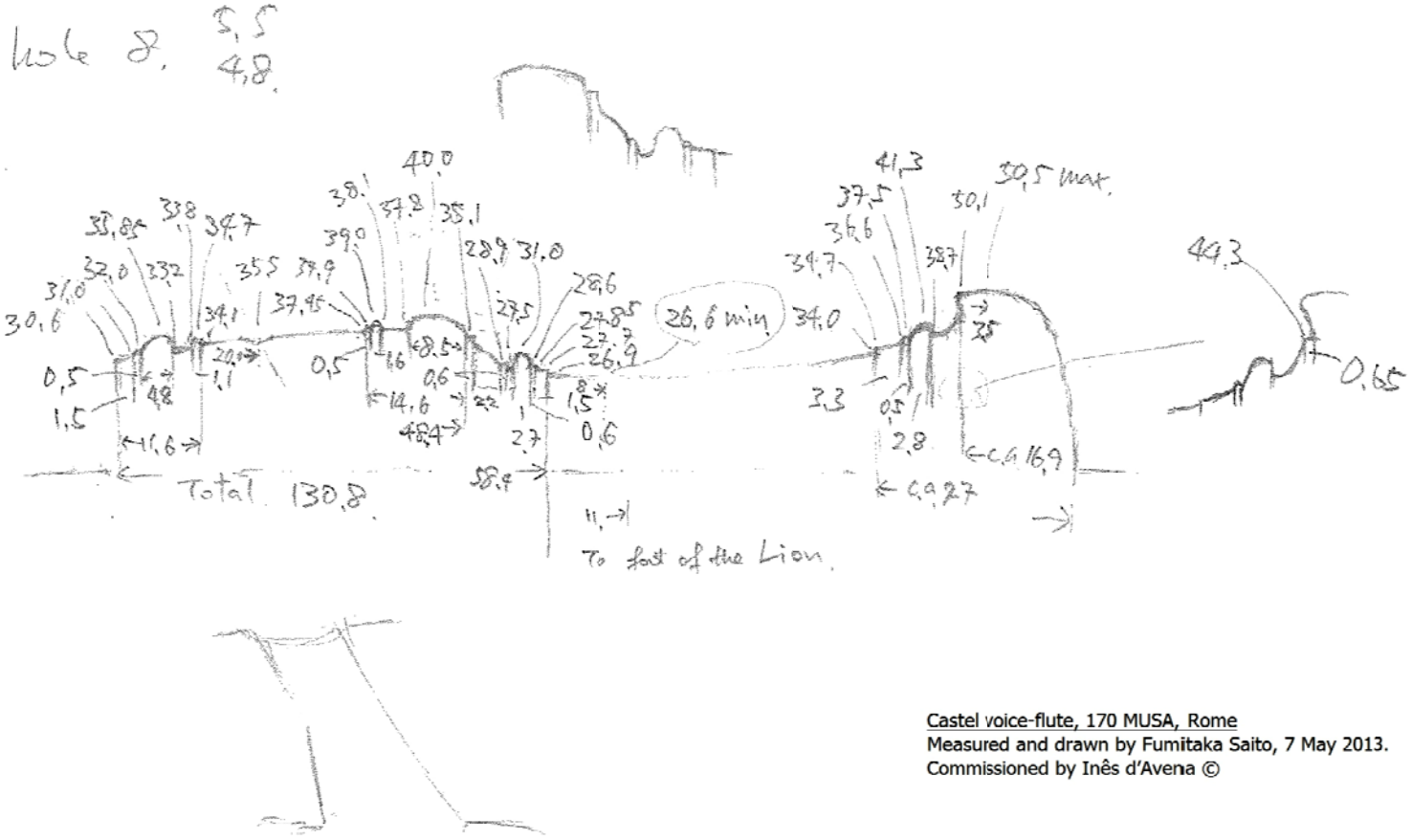


Figure 68. Profile drawing and measurements of 170, I.R.an, Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, Rome, by Fumitaka Saito.

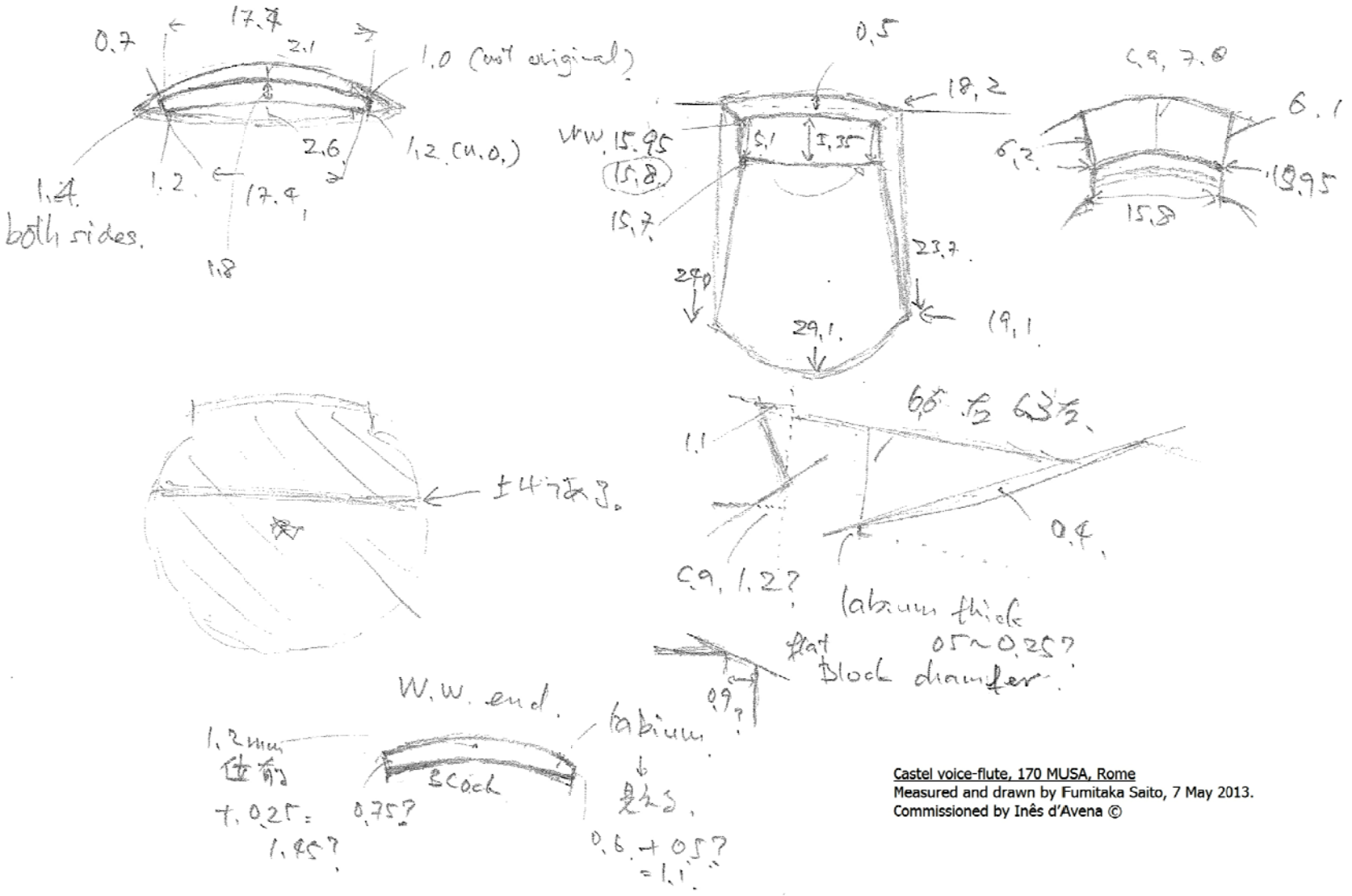


Figure 69. Details of voicing of 170, I.R.an, Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, Rome, by Fumitaka Saito.

Castel voice-flute, 170 MUSA, Rome

Bore measurements

Head joint

Sounding length 158.5
Wind Way 71.4
Total head length 229.9

Joint
34.7 deep
min. 28.6 ø
max. 29.5 ø

from bottom (not possible to take out the block)
end 35 = c.a. 195 / 23.0
44.5 = 185.5 / 23.0
48 = 182 / 22.9
50 = 180 / 23.0
55 = 175 / 23.1
64 = 166 / 23.2
Block line / 72 c.a. 23.4?
Block end / 28 = 24.5

Middle joint

Total length 295.2
(244)
Joints 33.8 & 17.4

23.1 x 22.6
23.0 = 10
22.8 = 30.7
22.6 = 35
22.4 = 44
22.2 = 52
22.0 = 63
21.8 = 74
21.6 = 92
21.5 = 95
21.4 = 111
21.3 = 123
21.2 = 126
21.0 = 136
20.8 = 142
20.6 = 148
20.4 = 160
20.2 = 170
20.0 = 181
19.8 = 190
19.6 = 194
19.4 = 199
19.2 = 208
19.0 = 216
18.8 = 222
18.6 = 230
18.4 = 233
18.2 = 240
18.0 = 245
17.8 = 250
17.6 = 257
17.4 = 258
17.2 = 266
17.0 = 272
16.8 = 279
16.6 = 282
16.4 = 285
16.2 = 288
16.0 = 293
15.85 end

Foot joint

Total length 130.8
Joint 17.6 deep
min. 23.1 ø
max. 23.7 ø

15.6 = 18
15.4 = 27
15.2 = 32
15.0 = 36
14.8 = 40
14.6 = 47
14.4 = 51
14.2 = 57
14.0 = 70
13.8 = 83
13.6 = 90
13.4 = 101
13.3 = 106
13.2 = 111
13.1 = 116
13.0 = 120
13.1 = 123
13.2 = 126
13.3 = 128
13.5 end (rounded to 14.7)

Bore measurements of 170, I.R.an, Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, Rome, by Fumitaka Saito, 7 May 2013.
Commissioned by Inês d'Avena ©

Cas.VOI.02: voice-flute (in boxwood and metal), 884|698, I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome



Figure 70. Photo of 884|698, I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome, by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 71. Detail of the maker's mark on the head joint, photo by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 72. Detail of the maker's mark on the middle joint, photo by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 73. Detail of the maker's mark on the foot joint, photo by Fumitaka Saito.

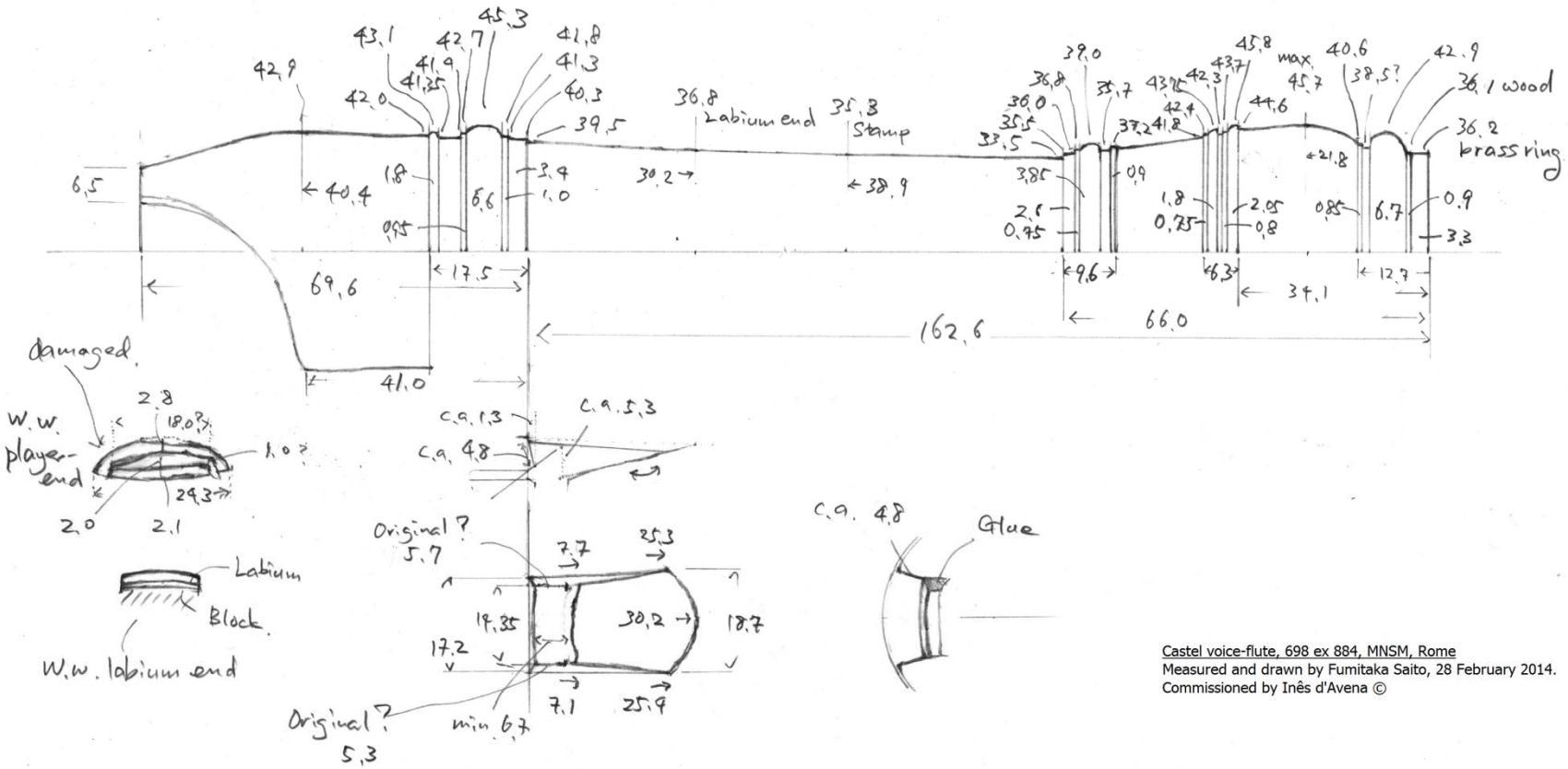


Figure 74. Profile and voicing drawings and measurements of 884|698, I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome, by Fumitaka Saito.

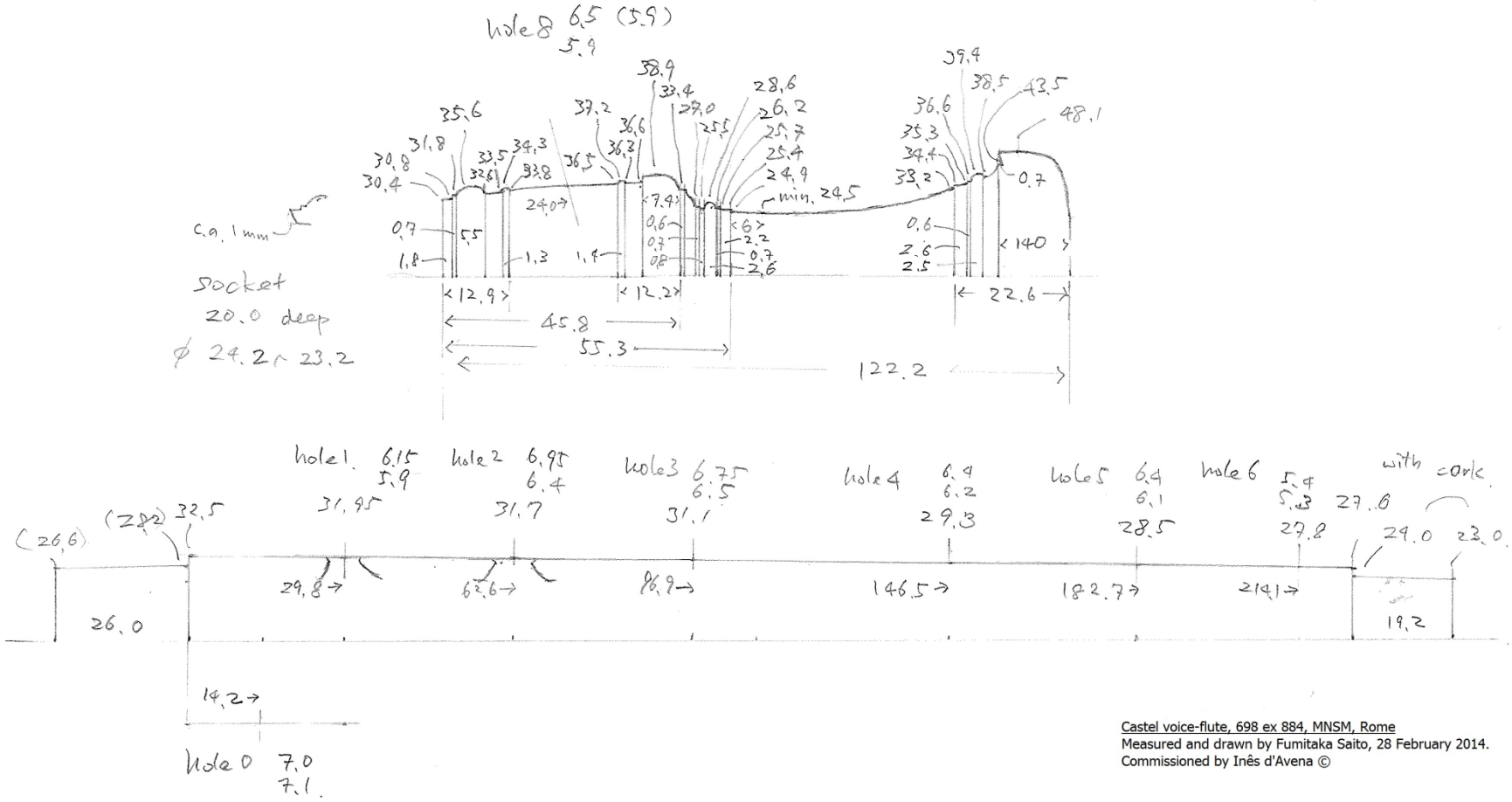


Figure 75. Profile drawings and measurements of 884|698, I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome, by Fumitaka Saito.

Castel voice-flute, 698 ex 884 MNSM, Rome

Bore measurements

Head joint

Sounding length 162.5
Wind Way 69.5
Total head length 232.0

Joint
34.5 deep
min. 28.0 ø
max. 28.65 ø

24.3 = 19
23.0-2 = 69
22.3 = 145
22.4 = 172
22.5 = 197.5

Middle joint

Total length 269.4
(224.3)
Joints 25.9 & 19.2

maybe ± 20 mm
shorted

20.3 = 0 / 206.1 =
206 total length
20.4 = 3
20.5 = 10
20.6 = 25
20.7 = 27
20.8 = 28
20.9 = 29
21.0 = 30
21.1 = 41
21.0 = 44
20.9 = 50
20.8 = 53
20.7 = 56
20.6 = 73
20.4 = 81
20.3 = 88
20.2 = 90
20.0 = 100

19.8 = 120
19.6 = 146
19.4 = 151
19.2 = 154
19.0 = 170
18.8 = 176
18.6 = 178
18.4 = 190
18.2 = 200
18.0 = 206
17.8 = 215
17.6 = 221
17.4 = 227
17.2 = 230
17.0 = 241
16.8 = 248
16.6 = 251
16.4 = 254
16.2 = 256
16.0 = 258
15.8 = 260
15.6 = 263
15.4 = 265.5
15.2 = 268
15.1 = end / 475.5 total
length

Foot joint

Total length 122.1
Joint 20.0 deep
min. 23.2 ø
max. 24.5 ø

14.55 = 20 / 476.3 = 476 total length
14.4 = 22
14.2 = 24
14.0 = 33
13.8 = 45
13.6 = 55
13.4 = 64
13.2 = 76
13.0 = 82
12.8 = 93
12.6 = 104
12.4 = 113
12.3 = 116
12.4 = 119
12.5 = 121
14.4 = end / 578.4 total length

Bore measurements of 884|698, I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome, by Fumitaka Saito, 28 February 2014.
Commissioned by Inês d'Avena ©

Cas.VOI.03: voice-flute (in stained pearwood), I.N.111, A.W.gm, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna



Figure 76. Detail of the maker's mark on the middle joint, photo kindly provided by the museum.

„[E]s existieren keine technischen Zeichnungen über die Flöte von Castel. Aus bestimmen Gründen ist es nicht gestattet Vermessungen der Instrumente unserer Sammlung durchzuführen. […] The instrument has a pitch of A 443Hz. […] [T]he speaking length of the recorder is approx. 53,5 cm."

Mag. Günther Faimann
Archiv Bibliothek Sammlungen der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien

„Die Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien gestattet keine Nachbauten derin ihrem Eigentum befindlichen historischen Musikinstrumente.
Daher sind von uns keine Pläne, Maßtabellen und dergleichen dieser Instrumente zu beziehen. Wir können Ihnen und Herrn Fumitaka Saito auch nicht gestatten, unsere Blockflöte I.N. 111 selbst zu vermessen."

Prof. DDr. Otto Biba
Direktor Archiv, Bibliothek und Sammlungen der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde

„ [T]he flute I.N.111 is made of pearwood and is black glazed. The mark of Castel is found on each of the three parts of the instrument. […] "Stimmung in C, Länge: 61,4cm, acht Grifflöcher"

Mag. Ingrid Leis
Archiv, Bibliothek und Sammlungen der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien

All details provided by the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna.

CASTEL/PALANCA

Cas/Pal.ALT.01: alto (in boxwood and ivory, with thumbhole bushing, and turned silver ferrules), DCM 1359, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.



Figure 77. Photo of DCM 1359, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 78. Detail of the maker's mark on the head joint, photo downloaded from the museum website. (http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/dcmflute.1359)



Figure 79. Detail of the maker's mark on the middle joint, photo downloaded from the museum website. (http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/dcmflute.1359)



Figure 80. Detail of the maker's mark on the foot joint, photo downloaded from the museum website. (http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/dcmflute.1359)

Castel/Palanca alto, DCM 1359 Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Bore measurements

Head joint
[not measured in detail
for time constraints]

sound length 132

bl 18.73
18.7 through

Middle joint

247 (204.5)

0 = 17.9
9.5 = 18.0
17 = 18.1
21 = 18.2
28 = 18.3
30 = 18.35
33 = 18.3
62 = 18.2
67 = 18.1
72 = 18.0
73 = 17.9
80 = 17.8
83 = 17.7
95 = 17.6
105 = 17.5
114 = 17.4
123 = 17.3
132 = 17.2
138.5 = 17.1
140 = 17.0
145 = 16.9
150.5 = 16.8
162.5 = 16.7
168 = 16.6
171.5 = 16.5
175 = 16.4
179 = 16.3
180 = 16.2
182.5 = 16.1
184.5 = 16.0
187 = 15.9
189.5 = 15.8
192 = 15.7
195 = 15.6
199.5 = 15.5
203 = 15.4
205 = 15.3
207 = 15.2
209 = 15.1
210 = 15.0
213 = 14.9
214 = 14.8
216 = 14.7
218 = 14.6
219.5 = 14.5
221 = 14.4
223 = 14.3
225 = 14.2
226 = 14.1
230 = 14.0
230.5 = 13.9
231 = 13.8
232 = 13.7
232.5 = 13.6
233 = 13.5
234.5 = 13.4
235 = 13.3
238 = 13.1
240 = 13.0
241 = 12.9
242 = 12.8
243 = 12.7
246.85 = 12.6 through

Foot joint

104.4

18 = 12.7
19 = 12.6
39 = 12.5
52 = 12.4
56.5 = 12.3
63 = 12.2
73 = 12.1
77 = 12.0
82 = 11.9
90 = 11.8
through 11.7
95 = 11.8
100 = 11.9
end 104.4 = 12.05

Bore measurements of DCM 1359 Library of Congress, Washington D.C., by Fumitaka Saito, April 2011.
Commissioned by Inês d'Avena ©

GARSI

Gar.BAS.01: bass (in maple and brass), 3011: I.PA.mc, Conservatorio di Musica Arrigo Boito, Parma



Figure 81. Photos of the Garsi Bass (Parma), by the *Soprintendenza* (left) and Alessandro Guerini (right, extracted from "progetto di restauro").

Description

- "Flauto dritto basso a 4 chiavi in FA.
- Garsi: Parma, sec. XVIII.
- In acero. In ottone: 4 anelli, chiavi e loro ponti, cannello a 'esse'.
- Marchio a fuoco: "Parma Garsi". Chiave centrale (do?): manca del tappo quadrato."

Condition

- "Labium rovinato, mancano mm 1-2 della lunghezza originale e quindi l'intonazione ora è diversa dall'originale (più acuta?).
- Lunghezza parziale, cioè dalla linea del blocco al piede: 100 cm.
- Lunghezza totale dello strumento: 112 cm.
- Altezza della fondamentale (Fa): non è determinabile, la chiave è rotta.
- Accordatura è La=440."

Remarks

- "la nota più grave è il Mi2
- il blocco è un po' sceso
- la chiave del Fa: è rotta (manca il pezzetto di metallo che chiude il buco)
- la chiave del Mi2, del Fa naturale e del sol diesis si suona con lo stesso dito
- la chiave del Fa diesis si suona col pollice della mano destra
- Ipotesi di uso storico: per continuo in chiesa con l'organo o accompagnare cori al bc. Fabio Biondi concorda sull'uso per musica sacra.
- Meucci: strumento strano per l'epoca; uno dei pezzi più interessanti della collezione.
- Zeifert: Manca forse beccuccio d'osso all'imboccatura? Datazione seconda metà del '700 in base alla struttura delle chiavi [chiavi quadrate si trovano però anche in cl primo '700], bombatura in alto, cerchi in ottone. Strumento da considerarsi prototipo o d'esperimento.
- Francesco Trevisin, liutaio: lo str. è in acero campestre detto'oppio'; non è l'acero dei balcani usato per fare i violini."

All details provided by Alessandra Presutti, Bibliotecario responsabile per Mediateca, Archivio storico, Museo, Conservatorio di musica 'A. Boito'.

GRASSI

Gra.SPI.01: sopranino (in boxwood and ivory), 1113, D.LE.u, Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig



Figure 82. Photo of 1113, D.LE.u, Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig, photo provided by the museum.



Figure 83. Detail of the maker's mark on the middle joint, extracted from Figure 82.

Inv.-Nr. 1113 "Grassi"
Quelle: handschriftliche Aufzeichung in Fotokopie, Autor unbekannt
Abschrift: Markus Bros g, 17.4.2012

Head bore from B.L.		Centre bore		
length	—	length	—	|
12	9,85	129,5	3,20	3,00
15	9,90	125	3,12	3,20
20	9,50	120	2,77	2,88
25	9,34	115	2,54	2,24
30	9,22	110	2,48	2,71
35	9,12	105	2,40	2,60
40	9,08	100	2,29	2,09
45	9,10	95	2,26	2,46
50	9,15	90	2,12	2,30
55	9,16	85	2,01	2,18
60	9,18	80	1,91	2,12
65	9,23	75	1,78	1,97
70	9,30	70	1,76	1,92
75	9,39	65	1,67	1,36
		60	1,54	1,72
		55	1,47	1,64
		50	1,32	1,03
		45	1,22	1,43
		40	1,06	1,30
		35	1,01	1,27
		30	1,00	0,74
		25	0,99	1,16
		20	1,03	1,15
		15	1,09	1,27
		10	1,09	1,25
		5	0,98	1,07
		0	0,80	0,68

Figure 84. Bore measurements of 1113, D.LE.u, Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig, photo provided by the museum.

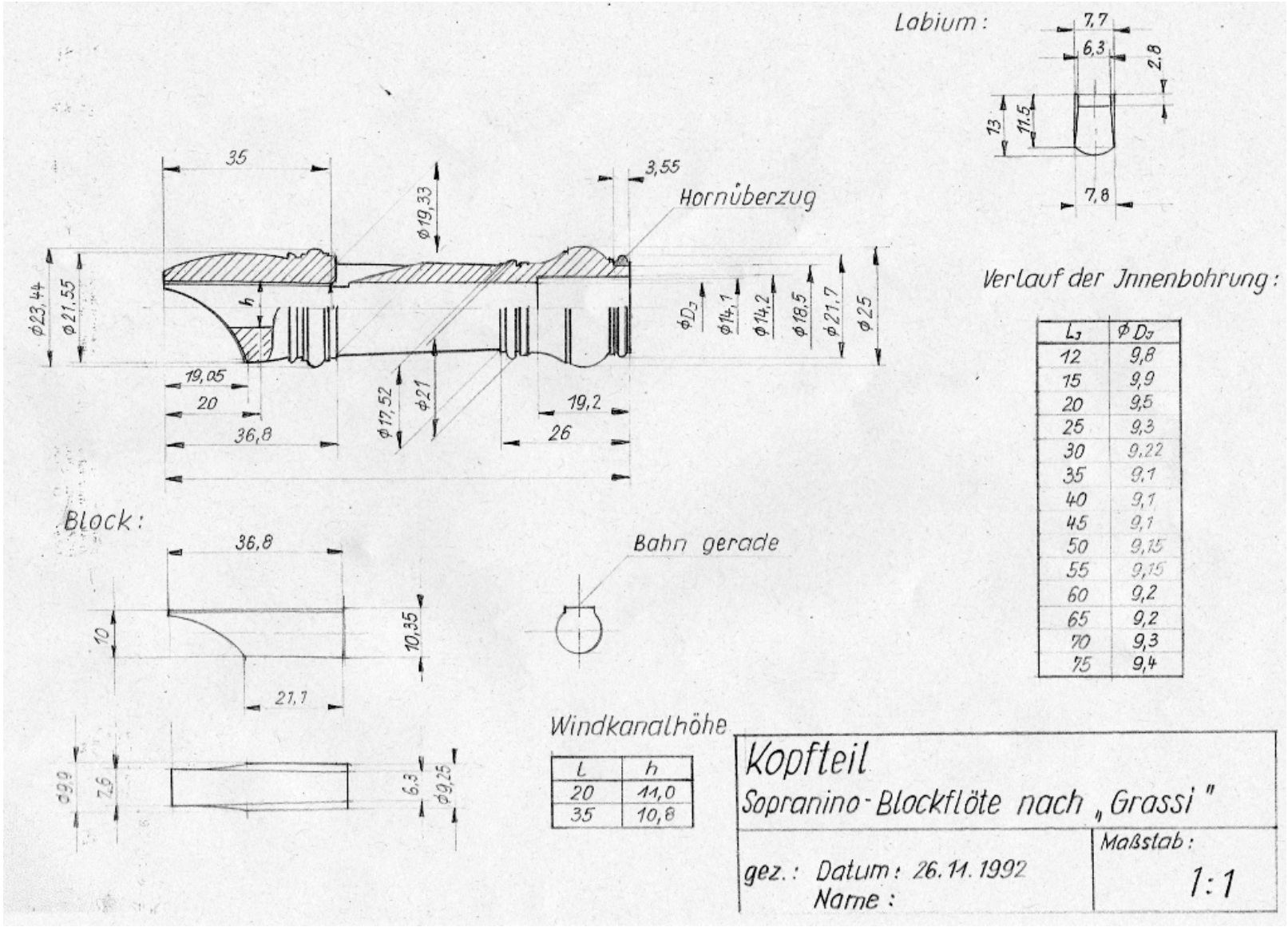


Figure 85. Plans kindly provided by Ralf Netsch, made in cooperation with Stephan Blezinger.

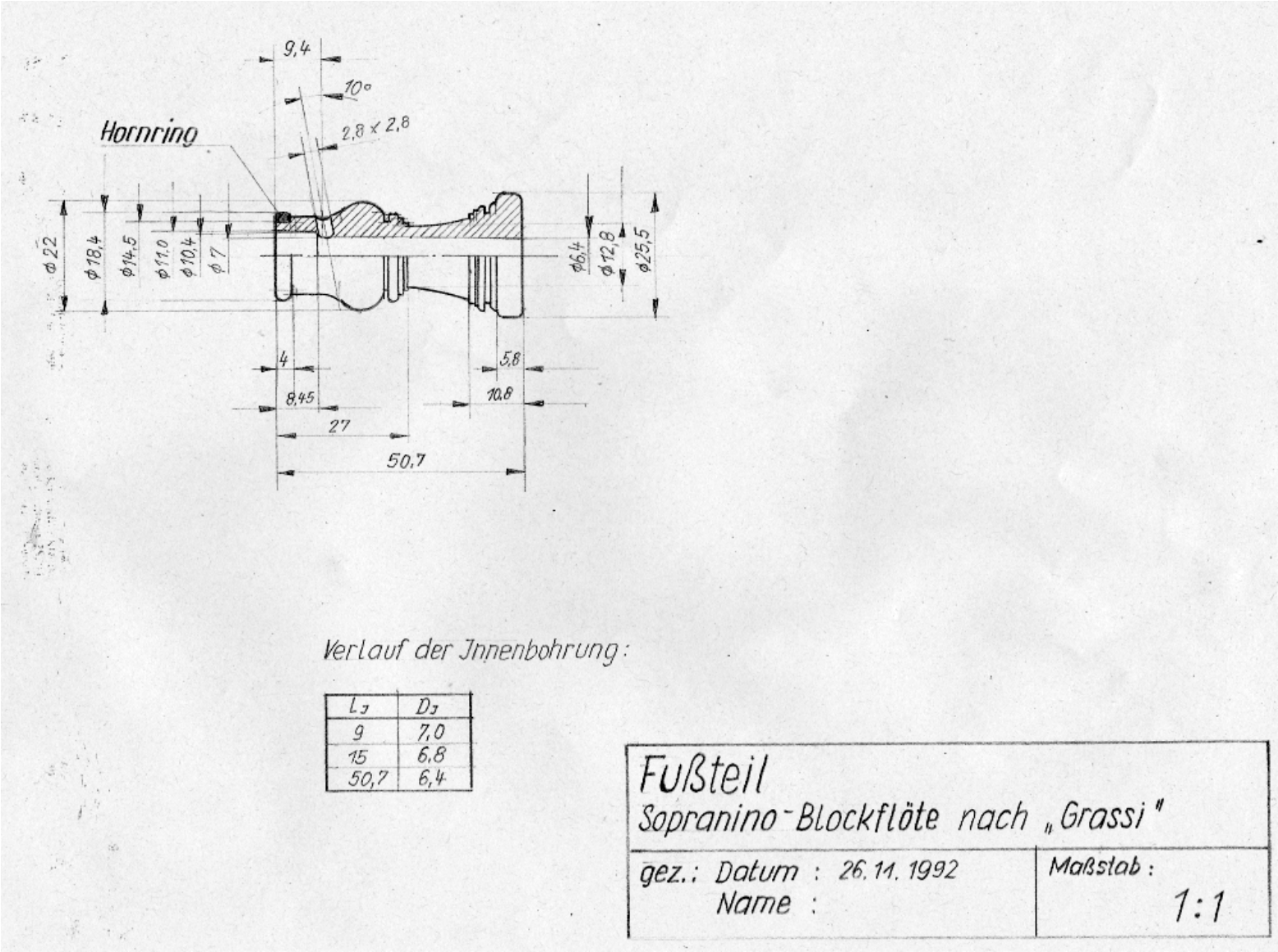
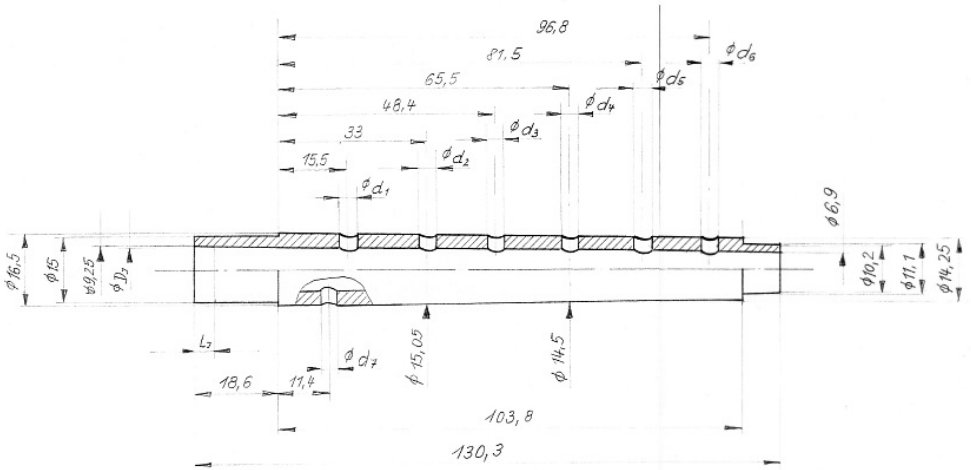


Figure 86. Plans kindly provided by Ralf Netsch, made in cooperation with Stephan Blezinger.



Tonloch - Durchmesser :

d_1	3,1
d_2	3,5 x 3,7
d_3	3,7
d_4	3,5
d_5	3,7 x 3,8
d_6	3,2
d_7	3,4

Verlauf der Innenbohrung :

L_1	ϕD_1	L_1	ϕD_1	L_1	ϕD_1
5	9,0	35	8,9	90	7,8
10	8,8	40	8,9	100	7,8
15	8,8	50	8,85	110	7,4
20	8,9	60	8,4	120	7,2
25	9,0	70	8,15	125	6,9
30	9,15	80	8,0	129,5	6,9

Mittelteil
Sopranino - Blockflöte nach „Grassi"

gez.: Datum : 26.11.1992
Name :

Maßstab : 1:1

Figure 87. Plans kindly provided by Ralf Netsch, made in cooperation with Stephan Blezinger.

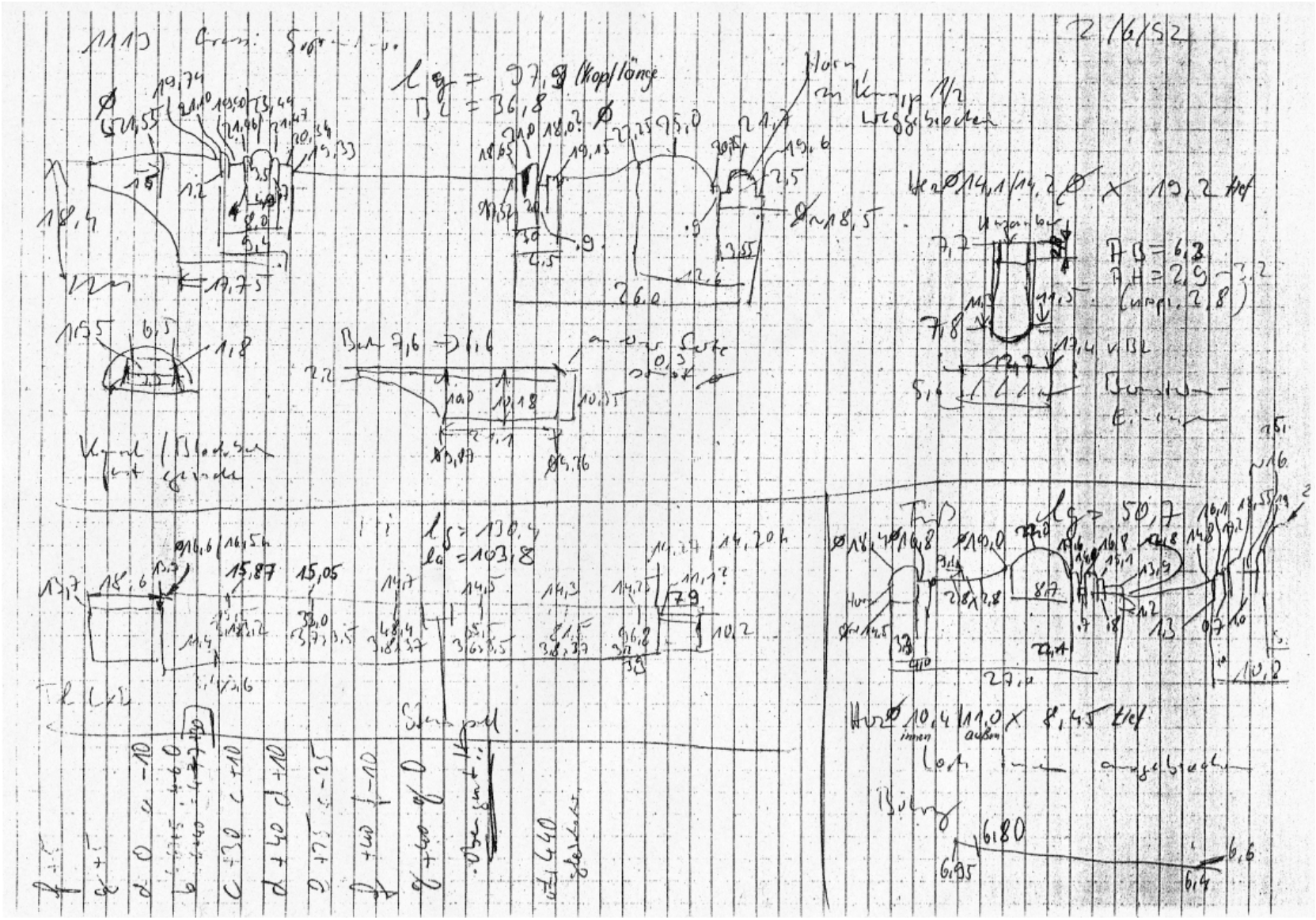


Figure 88. Plans kindly provided by Ralf Netsch, made in cooperation with Stephan Blezinger.

Gra.ALT.01: alto (in boxwood, ivory and metal), 881|638, I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome



Figure 89. Photo of 881|638, I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome, by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 90. Detail of the maker's mark on the head joint, photo by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 91. Detail of the maker's mark on the middle joint, photo by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 92. Detail of the maker's mark on the foot joint, photo by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 93. Photo of 881|638, I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome, by Fumitaka Saito.

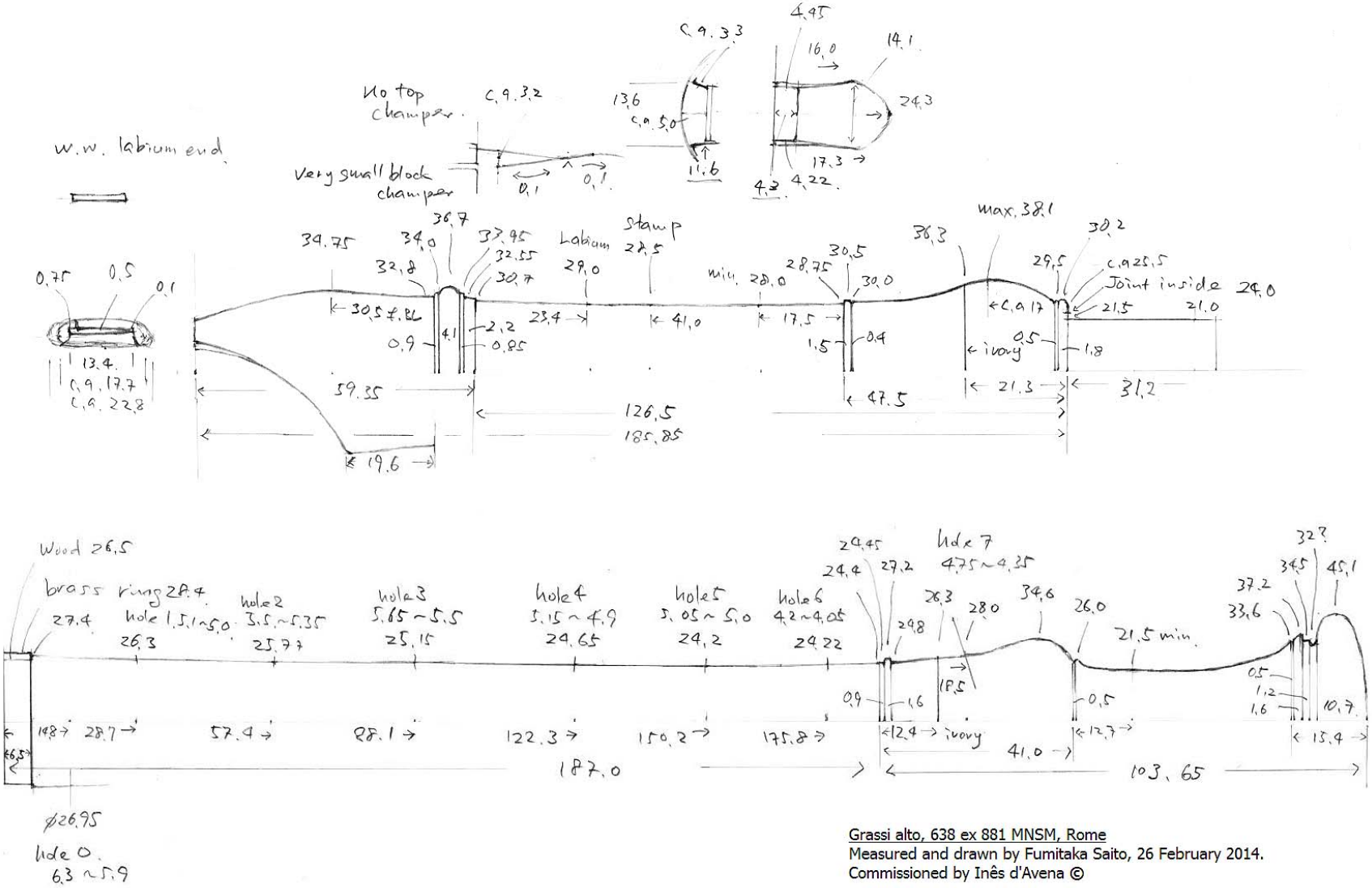


Figure 94. Profile and voicing measurements and drawings of 881|638, I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome, by Fumitaka Saito.

Grassi alto, 638 ex 881 MNSM, Rome

Bore measurements

head total 185.85 (sound 126.5)
middle 187 (without joint part)
foot 103.65

Head and part of middle joint

18.1 = 59 BL
>18.1 = 86.5
18.1 = 138 +4 = 142 = middle joint which is in the head
18.0 = 186
17.8 = 192
17.6 = 196.5
17.4 = 201
17.2 = 204.5
17.0 = 207
16.8 = 213 + 4 = 217

Middle and foot joint
(stuck together)

17.60 32.50 + 185.83 = 186 (head total length. without the joint part of middle joint which is in the head joint = 218.50)

17.50 35.50 = 221.50
17.40 36.50
17.30 36.50
17.20 41.00
17.10 43.00
17.00 48.00
16.90 50.00
16.80 52.00
16.70 56.00
16.60 58.00
16.50 60.00
16.40 66.00
16.30 69.00
16.20 73.00
16.10 74.00
16.00 79.00
15.90 81.00
15.80 82.00
15.70 84.00
15.60 86.00
15.50 89.00
15.40 93.00
15.30 96.00

15.20 105.00
15.10 108.00
15.00 113.00
14.90 117.00
14.80 119.00
14.70 130.00
14.60 132.00
14.50 133.50
14.40 135.00
14.30 137.50
14.20 142.00
14.10 144.50
14.00 147.00 = 333
13.90 149.00
13.80 150.00
13.70 150.50
13.60 159.00
13.50 160.00
13.40 164.00
13.30 165.50
13.20 168.00
13.10 170.00
13.00 171.00

12.90 174.00
12.80 175.00
12.70 179.00
12.60 182.00
12.50 183.00
12.40 185.00
12.30 189.00
12.20 190.50
12.10 190.50
12.00 194.00
11.90 194.00
11.80 196.00
11.70 204.00
11.60 205.00
11.40 209.00
11.20 215.50
11.00 221.00
10.80 228.00
10.60 236.00
10.40 247.50
10.30 258.00
10.21 262.00
10.85 290.65

Bore measurements of 881|638, I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome, by Fumitaka Saito, 26 February 2014. Commissioned by Inês d'Avena ©

PALANCA

Pal.ALT.01: alto (in boxwood with ivory mountings and flageolet windcap), E86, DK.K.m, Musikmuseet, Musikhistorisk Museum & Carl Claudius' Samling, Copenhagen



Figure 95. Photo of E86, DK.K.m, Musikmuseet, Musikhistorisk Museum & Carl Claudius' Samling, Copenhagen, photo kindly provided by the museum.



Figure 96. Details of the maker's mark, photo kindly provided by the museum.

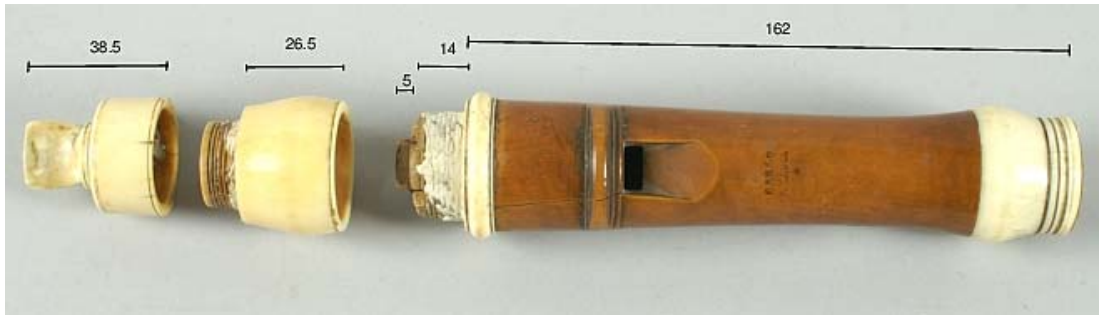


Figure 97. Disassembled head joint with measurements, photo kindly provided by the museum.



Figure 98. Assembled head joint, photo kindly provided by the museum



Figure 99. Disassembled head joint, photo kindly provided by the museum.

All kindly provided by the Musikmuseet, Musikhistorisk Museum & Carl Claudius' Samling, Copenhagen

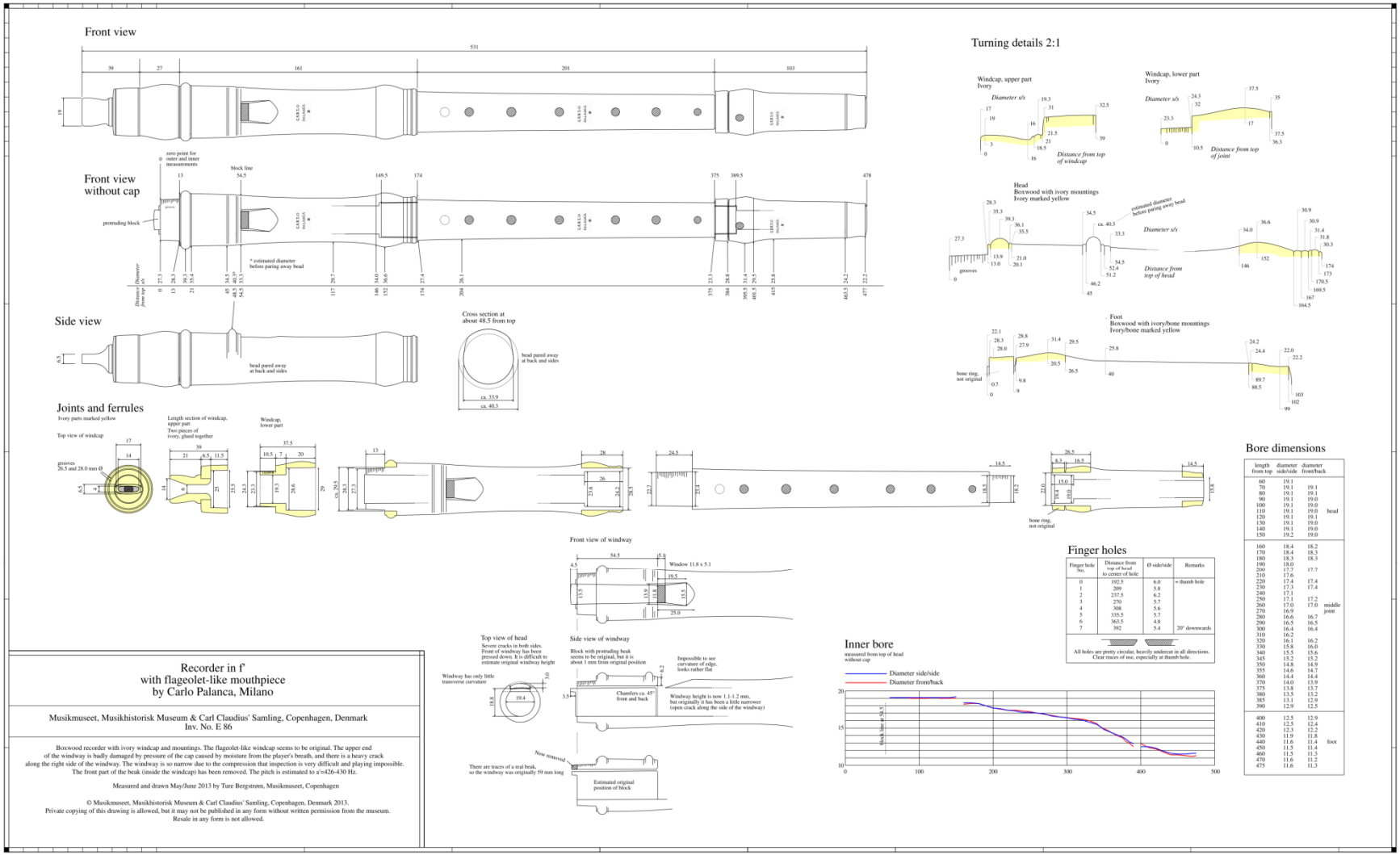


Figure 100. Measured and drawn by Ture Bergstrøm, kindly provided by the Danish Music Museum.

Pal.TEN.01: tenor (in boxwood), private collection (V. Gilardone), Fontanelle

All known details already presented in Chapter 1.

Pal.TEN.02: tenor (in boxwood/fruitwood?), DCM 1321, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.



Figure 101. Photo of DCM 1321, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., downloaded from the museum website. (http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/dcmflute.1321)



Figure 102. Detail of the maker's mark on the head joint, photo downloaded from the museum website. (http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/dcmflute.1321)

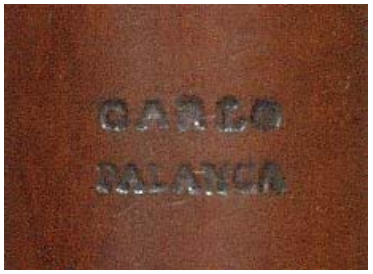


Figure 103. Detail of the maker's mark on the middle joint, photo downloaded from the museum website. (http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/dcmflute.1321)



Figure 104. Detail of the maker's mark on the foot joint, photo downloaded from the museum website. (http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/dcmflute.1321)

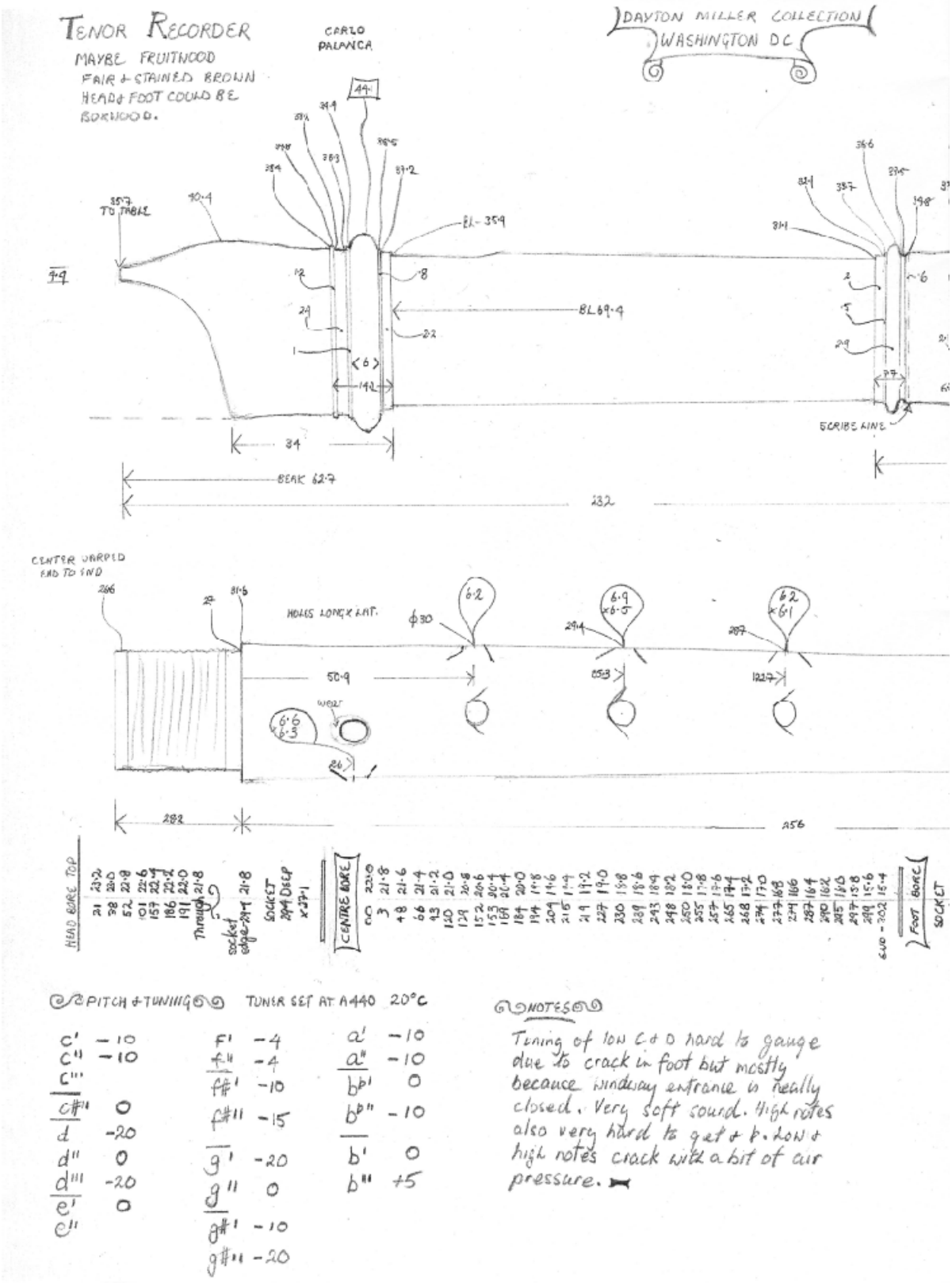


Figure 105. Drawings and measurements by Joanne Saunders, kindly provided by the museum.

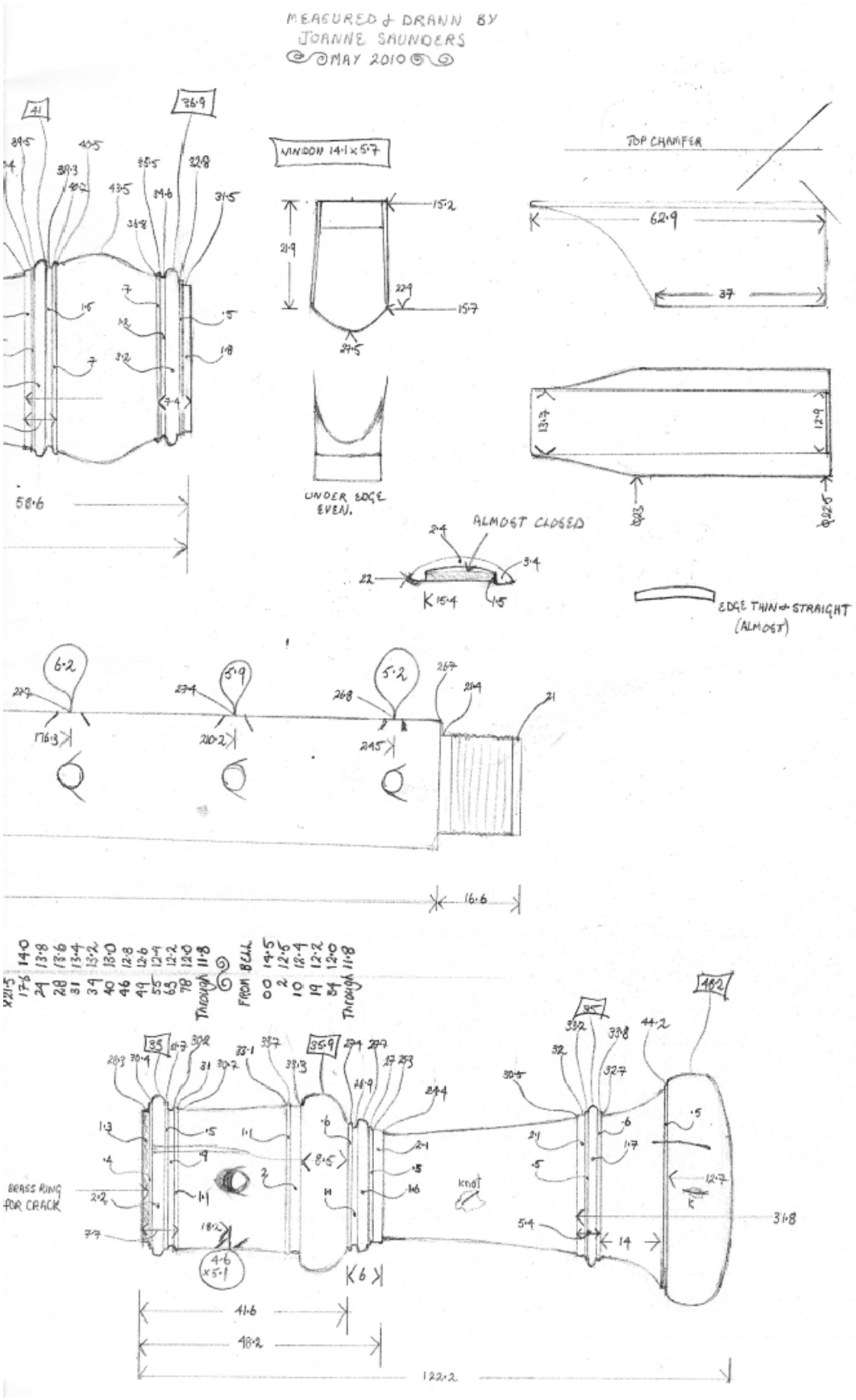


Figure 106. Drawings and measurements by Joanne Saunders, kindly provided by the museum.

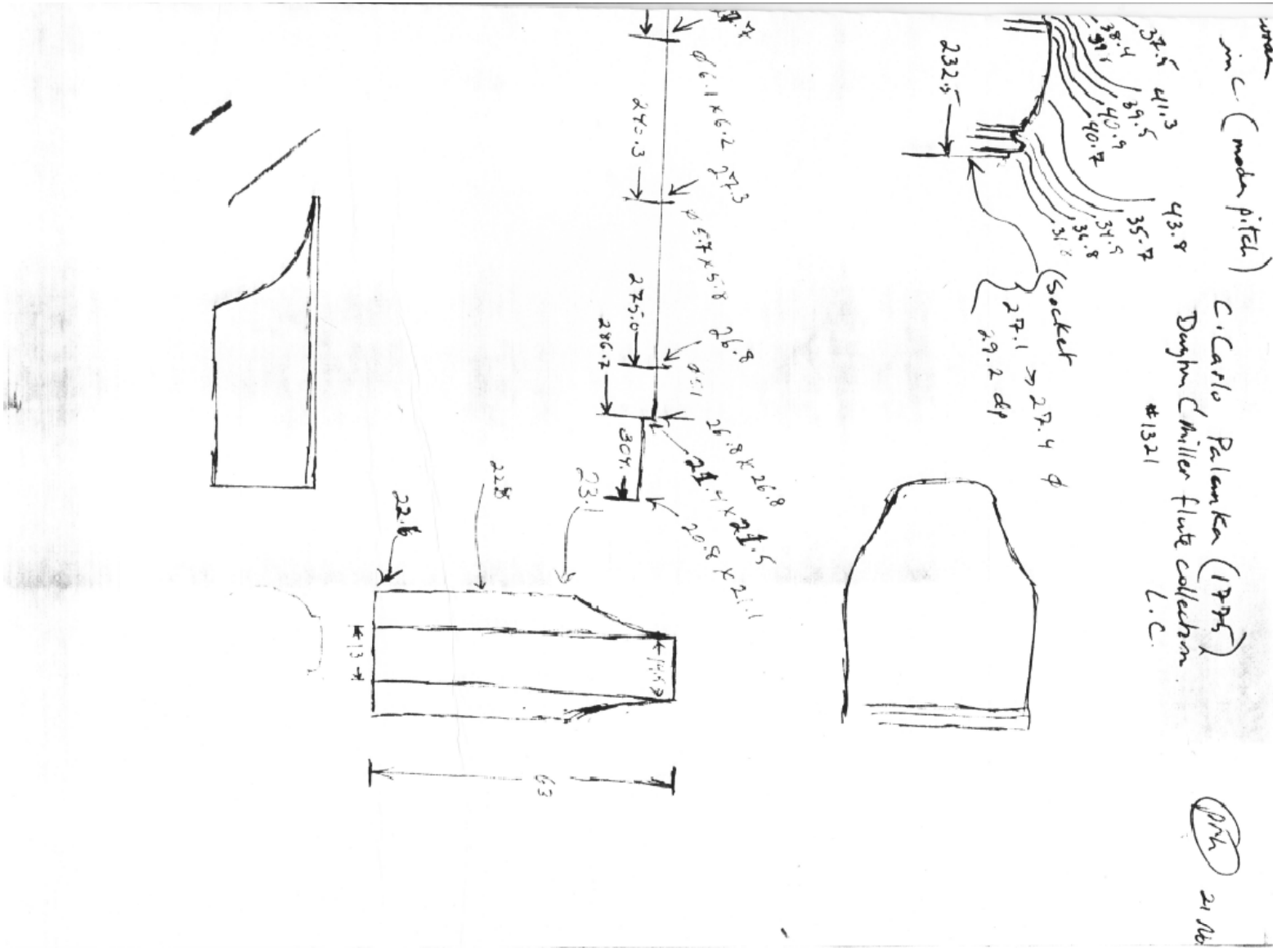


Figure 107. Drawings and measurements by unknown author, kindly provided by the museum.

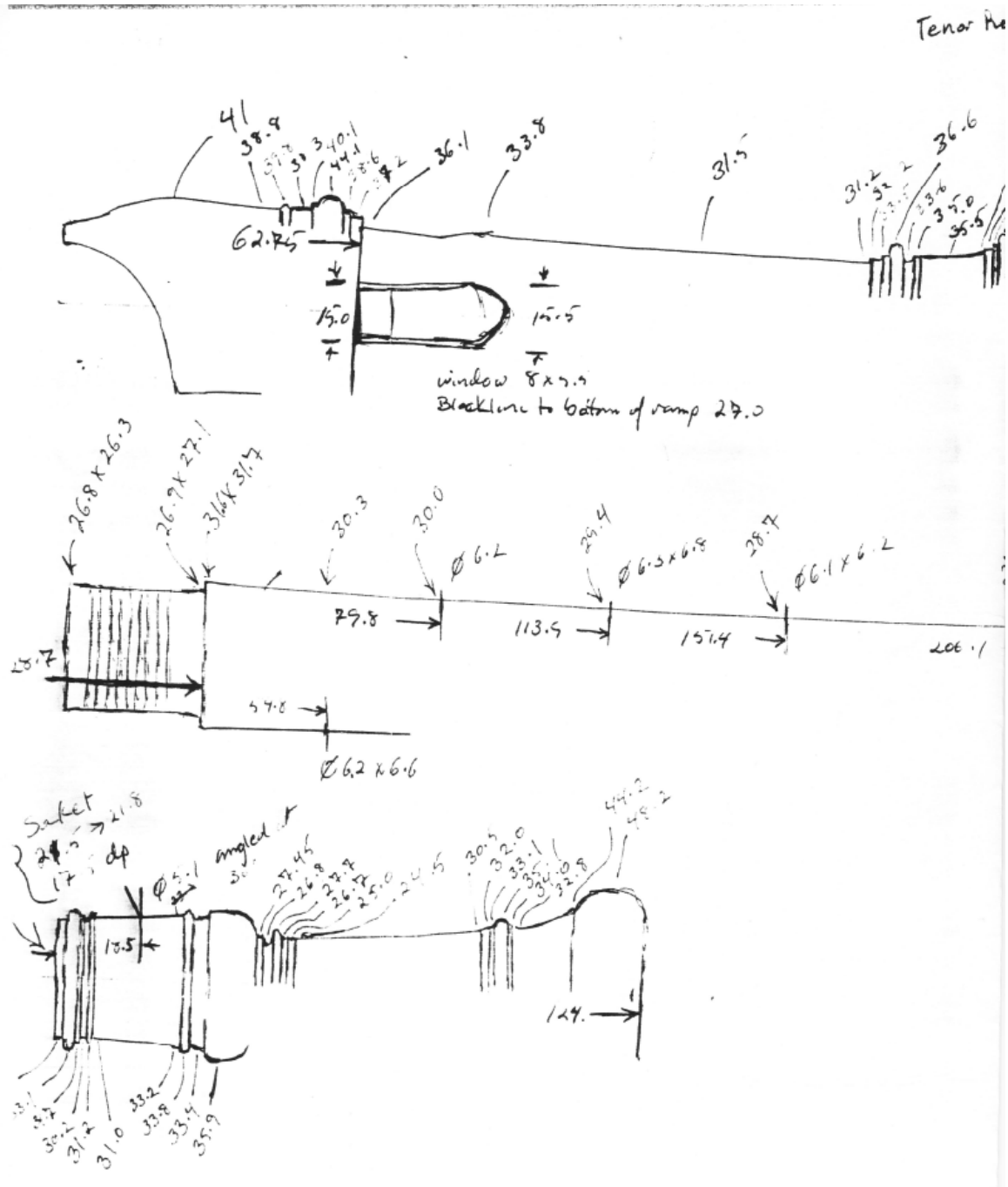


Figure 108. Drawings and measurements by unknown author, kindly provided by the museum.

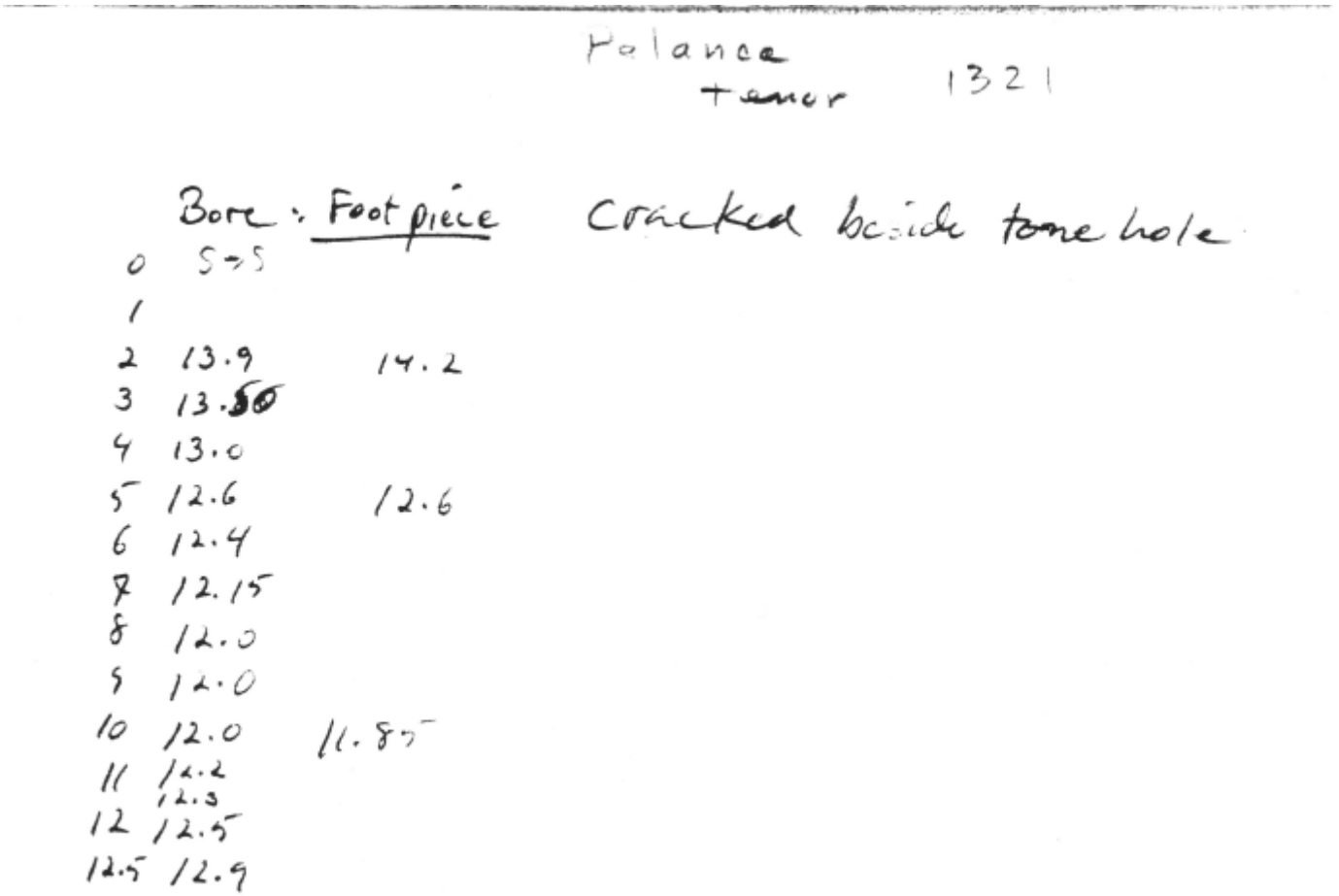


Figure 109. Drawings and measurements by unknown author, kindly provided by the museum.

PANORMO

Pan.ALT.01: alto (in ivory), DCM 327, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.



Figure 110. Photo of DCM 327, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., downloaded from the museum website. (http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/dcmflute.0327)



Figure 111. Detail of the maker's mark on the head joint, photo by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 112. Detail of the maker's mark on the middle joint, photo by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 113. Detail of the maker's mark on the foot joint, photo by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 114. Photo of DCM 327, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 115. Figure 114. Photo of DCM 327, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., by Fumitaka Saito.

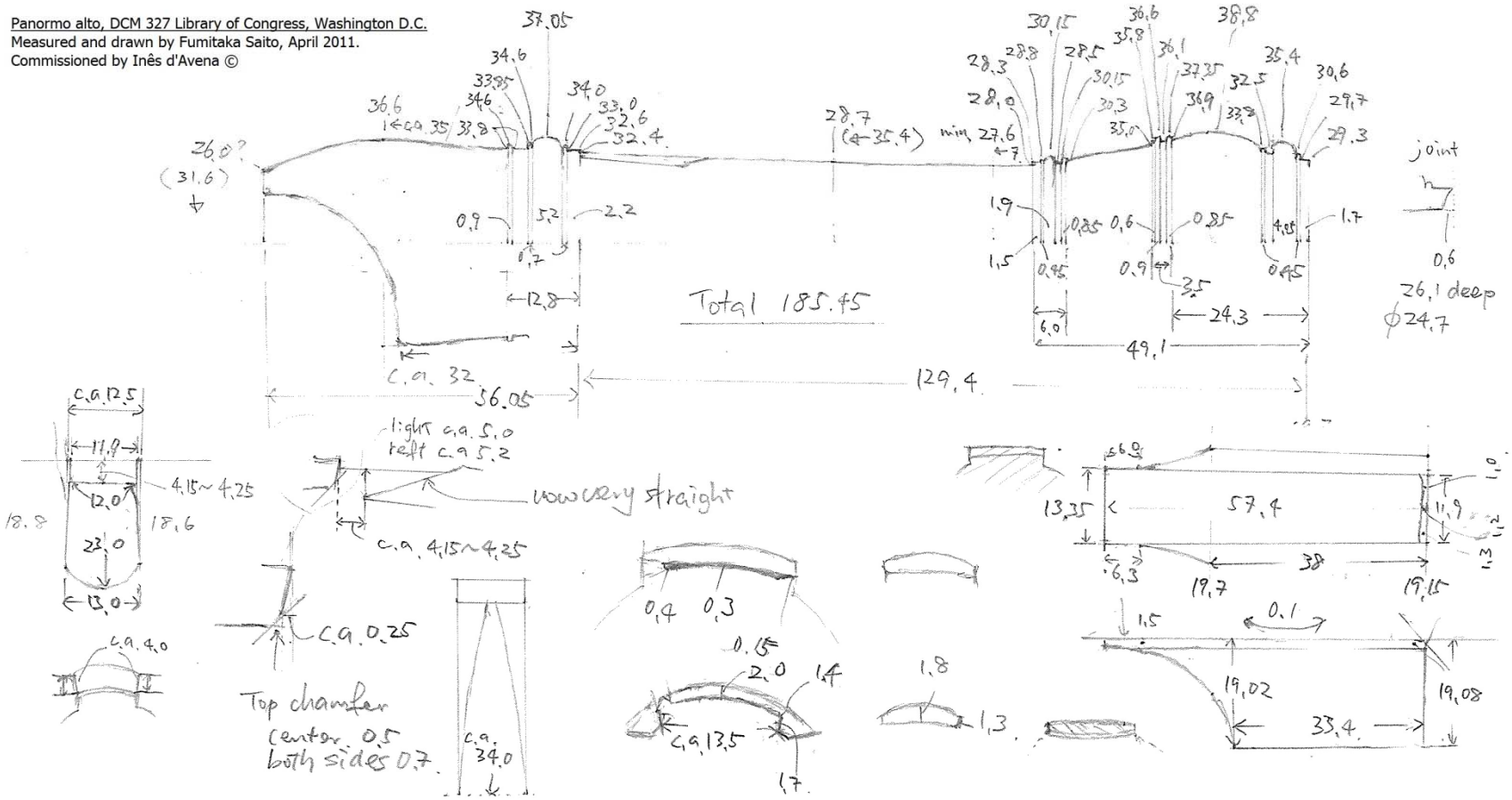


Figure 116. Profile and voicing measurements and drawings of DCM 327 Library of Congress, Washington D.C., by Fumitaka Saito.

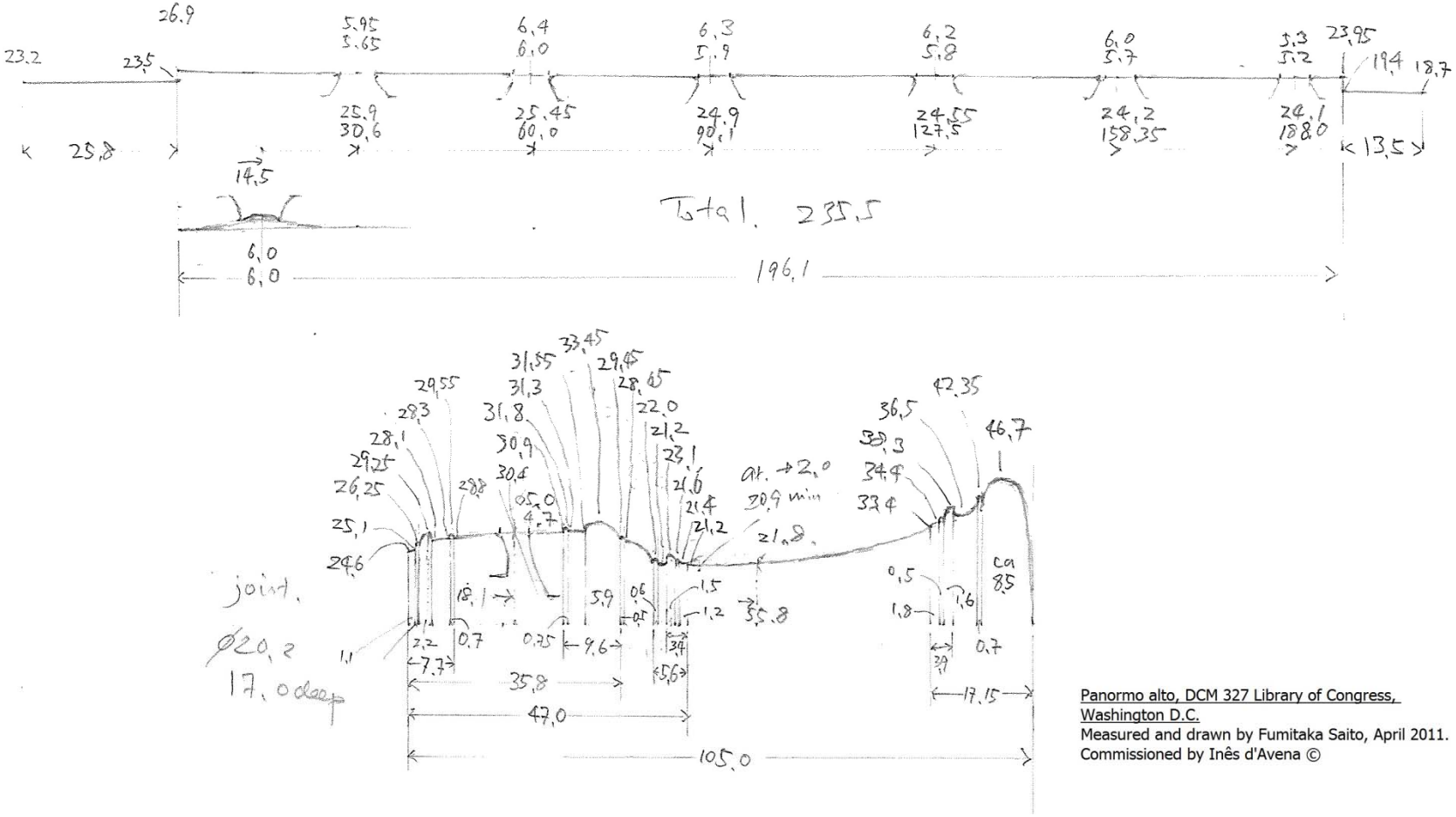


Figure 117. Profile measurements and drawings of DCM 327 Library of Congress, Washington D.C., by Fumitaka Saito.

Panormo alto, DCM 327 Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Bore measurements

Head joint	
22	20.0
27.5	19.9
36.5	19.8
53	19.7
58	ww end/BL (c.a.19.7)
72.5	19.6
78	19.5
95	19.45
106	19.4
115	19.35
132	19.3 = 19.1
142	19.0
150	18.9
161.3	18.85

Middle joint	
(+ 103.6 mm)	
0	18.6
4	18.5
5.5	18.4
8.5	18.3
10	18.2
14	18.1
20	18.0
28	18.05
40	18.0
59	17.9
64	17.8
72	17.7
78	17.6
82	17.5
85	17.4
92.5	17.3
94	17.2
102	17.1
118	17.0
132.5	16.9
137	16.8
143	16.7
148	16.6
154	16.5
165	16.4
172	16.3
176	16.2
178.5	16.1
182	16.0
187	15.9
192	15.8
194	15.7
198	15.6
199.5	15.5
203	15.4
206	15.3
208	15.2
210	15.1
211	15.0
213.5	14.9
215	14.8
217	14.7
218.5	14.6
220	14.5
221	14.4
222	14.3
223	14.2
224	14.1
226	14.0
227.5	13.9
228	13.8
228.5	13.7
229.5	13.6
230	13.5
230.5	13.4
235.5	13.4

Foot joint	
(+ 325.5 mm)	
19	13.7
24	13.6
28	13.5
31	13.4
34	13.3
37	13.2
40	13.1
44.5	13.0
47	12.9
50	12.8
51	12.7
52	12.6
58	12.5
68	12.4
70	12.3
73.5	12.2
77	12.1
80	12.0
82	11.9
84	11.8
88	11.7
89.5	11.7
92	11.8
99	11.9
105	12.0

Bore measurements of DCM 327 Library of Congress, Washington D.C., by Fumitaka Saito, April 2011. Commissioned by Inês d'Avena ©

PEROSA

Per.SPO.01: soprano (in boxwood), SAM 153, A.W.km, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna



Figure 118. Photo of SAM 153, A.W.km, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, kindly provided by the museum.



Figure 119. Detail of the maker's mark on the head joint, photo kindly provided by the museum.

Location: Vienna
Inv. N°: **SAM 153/C164/8540**
Measured: Adrian Brown
Date: 6/12/01

Pitch @ a=440hz: b'
(Would make it a soprano in c" at a=415hz)
Mark: D.PEROSA in scroll
Material: Boxwood

	Length	Ø
HEAD:		
TOL:	134.6	
WW length:	46.2	
BL - Joint end:	88.4	
Socket:	20.3	18.7
SL:	68.1	
MIDDLE:		
TOL:	174	
Upper tenon:	20.4	
Lower tenon:	9.3	
Between tenons:	144.3	
FOOT:		
TOL:	72	
Socket:	9.5	14.5
SL:	62.5	

	FINGERHOLES				
	length		diameter		direction
	(from top)	(from tenon)	east/w	north/s	⇧⇨⇩⇦
X	*145.9*	12.3	4.8	5.0	
1	*158.6*	24	4.3	4.5	
2	*178.9*	44.3	4.5	4.7	
3	*202.6*	68	4.5	4.6	
4	*227.1*	92.5	4.3	4.4	
5	*250.9*	116.3	4.4	4.5	
6	*271.4*	136.8	4.5	4.6	
7	*292.1*	13.2	4.2	4.4	⇩

					ex. Ø
				beak max	27.0
				bl	23.5
Step:	0.85	Window width:	8.9	bott straight bit	21.4
Edge thickness:	0.25	Cutup	3.1	head max	30.8
				upper mid jnt	20.8
Windway exit chamfers: up	0.9			x	20.2
45 deg		Ramp width north	10.4	1	19.8
down	0.5	south	12	2	19.1
45 deg				3	18.6
				4	18.1
W/W entrance: width	10.8	Ramp length: west	14.5	5	17.8
height	1.4	east	14.5	6	17.7
		middle	19.6	bott mid jnt	17.8
Beak cut away:	24.5			7	22.6
				foot smallest	15.9
				bell	33.0

NOTES
Instrument is very bent and the bore was difficult to measure accurately. The foot bore had a heavy incrusted deposit built up and could only be measured with removable gauges.

The turning is very sweet, in the style of small English recorders and the "D" sopranino in Basel
The labium and windway exit (ceiling and block) are completely flat and the under edge is very long (c. 30mm). The windway entrance is however curved. The shape of the beak cut away and the wood used for the block are also identical to SAM 155 and 154. I firmly believe all three instruments (SAM 153, 154 and 155 were made by the same hand.
This instrument is documented in the Catajo inventory of 1871
Waterhouse gives possible connection with Marco Percsa, c. 1760 oboist at St Marks, Venice. Lists oboe in Copenhagen, inv. nr 461 (ex Claudius) This could explain presence of double holes on SAM 154 and 155, if Perosa is indeed the maker of all three instruments.

SAM 153 Perosa.xls Measurements 26/10/12 15:04

Figure 120. Measurements of SAM 153, A.W.km, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, kindly provided by Adrian Brown.

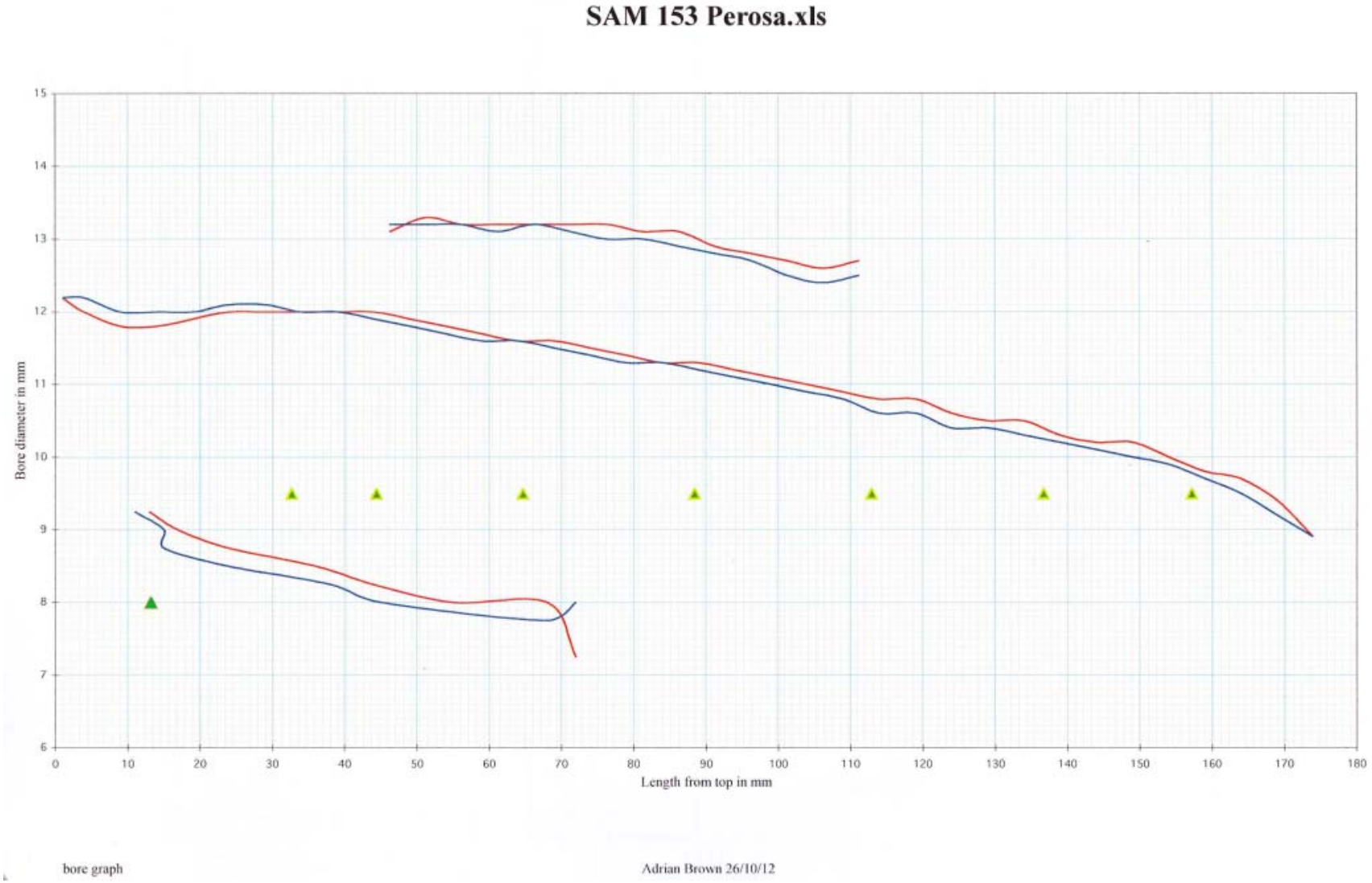


Figure 121. Measurements of SAM 153, A.W.km, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, kindly provided by Adrian Brown.

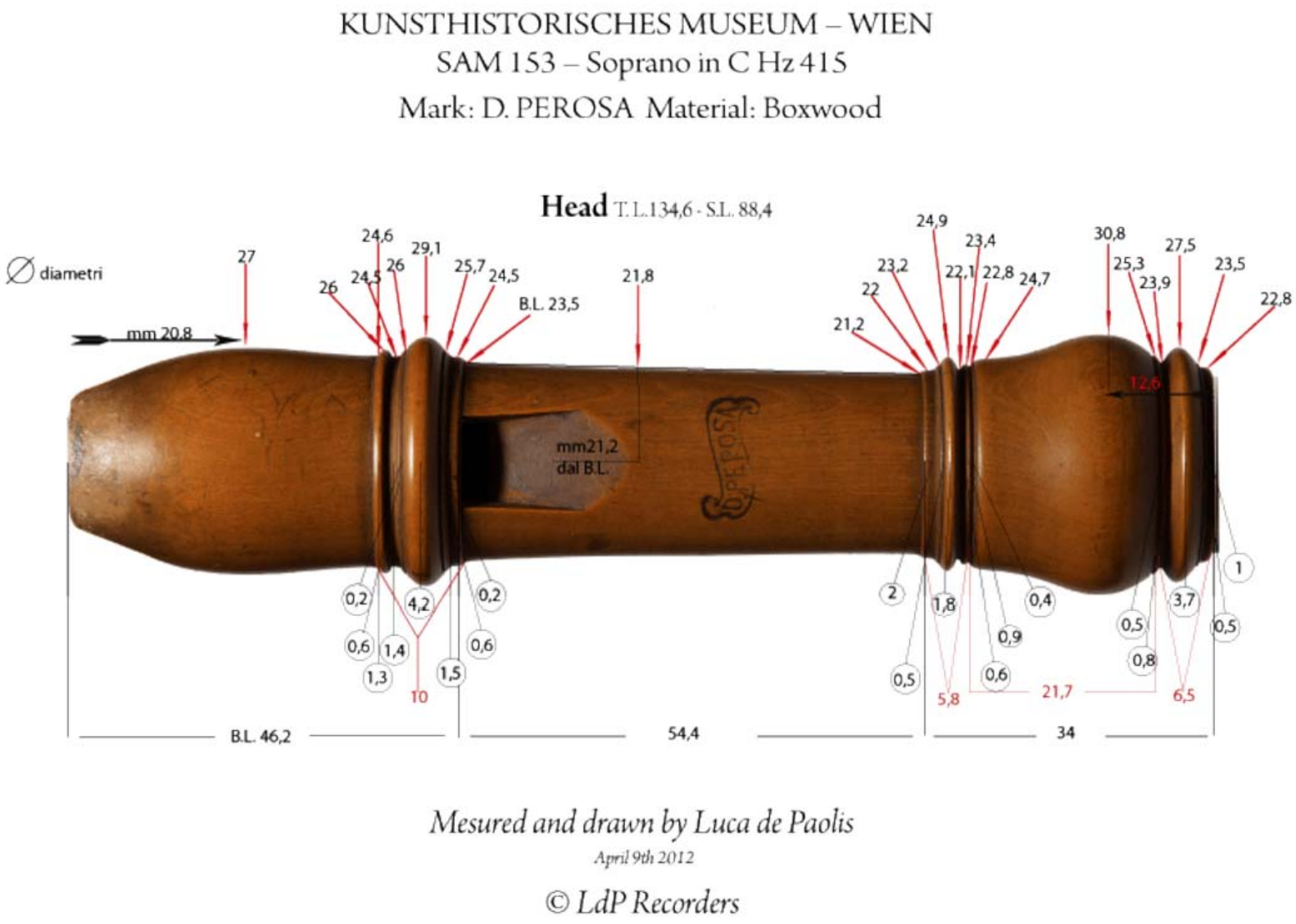
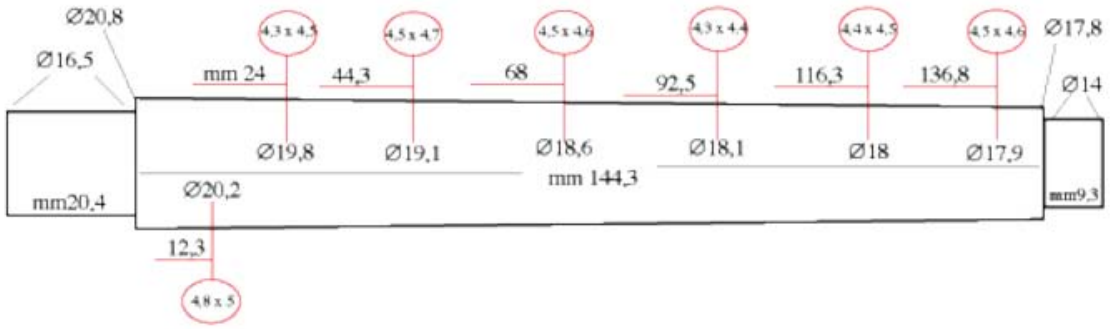


Figure 122. Measurements of SAM 153, A.W.km, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, kindly provided by Luca de Paolis.

KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM – WIEN
SAM 153 – Soprano in C Hz 415
Mark: D. PEROSA Material: Boxwood

Centre T.L. 174 - S.L. 144,3



Mesured and drawn by Luca de Paolis
April 9th 2012
© LdP Recorders

Figure 123. Measurements of SAM 153, A.W.km, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, kindly provided by Luca de Paolis.

Figure 124. Measurements of SAM 153, A.W.km, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, kindly provided by Luca de Paolis.

Per.SPI.01: sopranino (in ivory), private collection (G. Klemisch), Berlin



Figure 125. Photo of the Perosa sopranino in private collection, kindly provided by Guido Klemisch.



Figure 126. Detail of maker's mark on the head joint, extracted from Figure 125.

Domenico Perosa, Venedig, tätig bis 1755
Sammlung G.M.Klemisch, Berlin
vermessen GMK 1995
Sopranino Blockflöte in Elfenbein, a~415 2-teilig

s. auch Federico Maria Sardelli, Florenz

t.L. der Flöte	258,7
k.l. der Flöte	226

Mittel- + Fußstück

t.L.	173,5
k.L.	157,4

t	D
0	10,25
5	10,3
27	10,2
35	10
41	9,8
52,5	9,6
67	9,4
76	9,2
85,5	9
91	8,8
97	8,6
109	8,4
113	8,2
119	8
127	7,8
134,5	7,6
137,5	7,4
143	7,2
148	7
150	6,9
152	6,8
155	6,7
157	6,6 v.u.

t	d
16	6,6
12	6,7
11	6,8
10	6,9
8	7
4	7,2
0	7,35
0	7,4

Domenico Perosa, Venedig, tätig bis 1755
Sammlung G.M.Klemisch, Berlin
vermessen GMK 1995
Sopranino Blockflöte in Elfenbein, a~415

s. auch Federico Maria Sardelli, Florenz

t.L. der Flöte	258,7
k.l. der Flöte	226

Kopfstück

T	D	
26	11,6	
33	11,45	B.L.
52	11,4	
61	11,2	
66	11	
81	10,8	
85	10,7	
85	10,75	

t.L.	101,3
k.L.	67,7

Figure 127. Bore measurements kindly provided by Guido Klemisch.

OTHER INSTRUMENTS EXAMINED

Montazeaud or Montazzaud ('ex-Montazzavi'): alto (in boxwood), private collection (Moeck), Celle



Figure 128. Photo by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 129. Photo of the maker's mark on the head joint, by Fumitaka Saito.
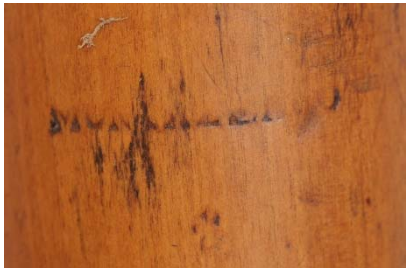


Figure 130. Photo of the maker's mark on the middle joint, by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 131. Photo of the maker's mark on the foot joint, by Fumitaka Saito.

Notes

- The cracks on the head, middle joint and labium seem to have been repaired in the recent past.
- Block probably not original, seems to be a blank.
- Very wide head bore.
- The middle joint bore is shaped like an hourglass.
- The foot joint bore is very narrow.
- Proportions of the foot are abnormal: the base is too small.
- The top chamfer is normal.
- Written inside both sockets: "815".
- The maker's mark on the foot is made laterally (not under the finger hole but off to the side).

Notes by the present author, March 2013.

Anonymous: sopranino (in ivory), 874|2208, I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome



Figure 132. Photo of 874|2208, I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome, by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 133. Detail of the maker's mark on the middle joint, photo by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 134. Detail of the maker's mark on the foot joint, photo by Fumitaka Saito.

Notes

Condition:

- For an ivory instrument, this recorder is well preserved. There are no cracks, except for the very fine one of the last rings on the bell of the foot, which seems to be superficial. The thumb hole is in good condition.

Design:

- The head of this recorder was surely not made together with the middle and foot joints, and the discrepancy in the style of the turning work is obvious. The head joint is not the work of a competent instrument maker: there is no proper windway, the "windway" follows the curvature of the head bore. The block is a 'stopper' and is too short, not reaching the block line. The head joint also seems out of proportion with the rest of the instrument. The turning work on the foot joint is charming and well made. Finally, the window is disproportionally large for an instrument of this size.
- It was not possible to measure the bore as the instrument does not come apart: it is stuck together.

Marks:

- The maker's mark on the middle and foot joints can be interpreted as an "A" or perhaps a "star", followed in both cases by the Roman numeral "I". Anciuti is the maker who comes to mind, this naturally being only a conjecture.

Photos by Fumitaka Saito, notes by the present author, 28 February 2014.

Anonymous: sopranino (in ivory), 77, I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome



Figure 135. Photo of 77, I.R.ms, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome, by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 136. Detail of mark at the top of the middle joint, photo by Fumitaka Saito.

Notes

Condition:

- The instrument I swell preserved except for the foot joint, with the exception of the foot joint which is severely cracked in three places. One of the cracks runs the entire length of the foot, requiring it to be held together with a metal 'choker'. The foot also has some flat surfaces which might be caused by the original piece of ivory being too small (narrow). The middle joint and the head have no cracks (only a few dips on the bottom ring of the head joint, once again probably because the ivory piece was too narrow). The thumb hole is in good condition. Curiously, turning marks (rings) can be observed in the head joint, and in the head joint only. The head 'tulip' has marks of turning only in the middle part (the slight 'wave'). A dark stain is to be seen in this area of the head, exactly at the place where a mark would have been stamped.

Design:

- Chamfers can be seen on the block and the top of the windway, though irregular. This instrument's external profile recalls German instruments, the foot 'bulb' especially resembling C. Denner. The turning work on the head and on the foot does not match precisely but is harmonious. The beak is now too short, and crude marks can be seen on the back of the beak and block. It looks like the beak was shortened later, as the 'wall' of the top of the windway entrance is too thick.

Marks:

- The General Inventory of the museum (MNSM) lists this instrument as by "Joan Panormo" but no reason has been found as to why. There are no maker's marks. The only marks visible are two horizontal dots at the top of the middle joint.

Photos by Fumitaka Saito, notes by the present author, 28 February 2014.

Ano.SPI.01: (stolen) sopranino (in ivory), DCM 329, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

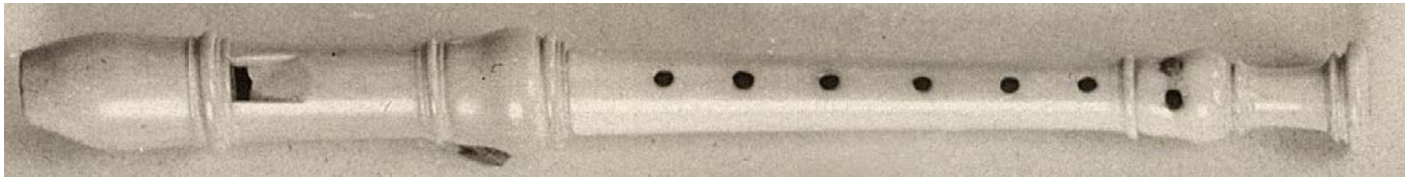


Figure 137. Photo of DCM 329, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., downloaded from the museum website. (http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/dcmflute.0329)

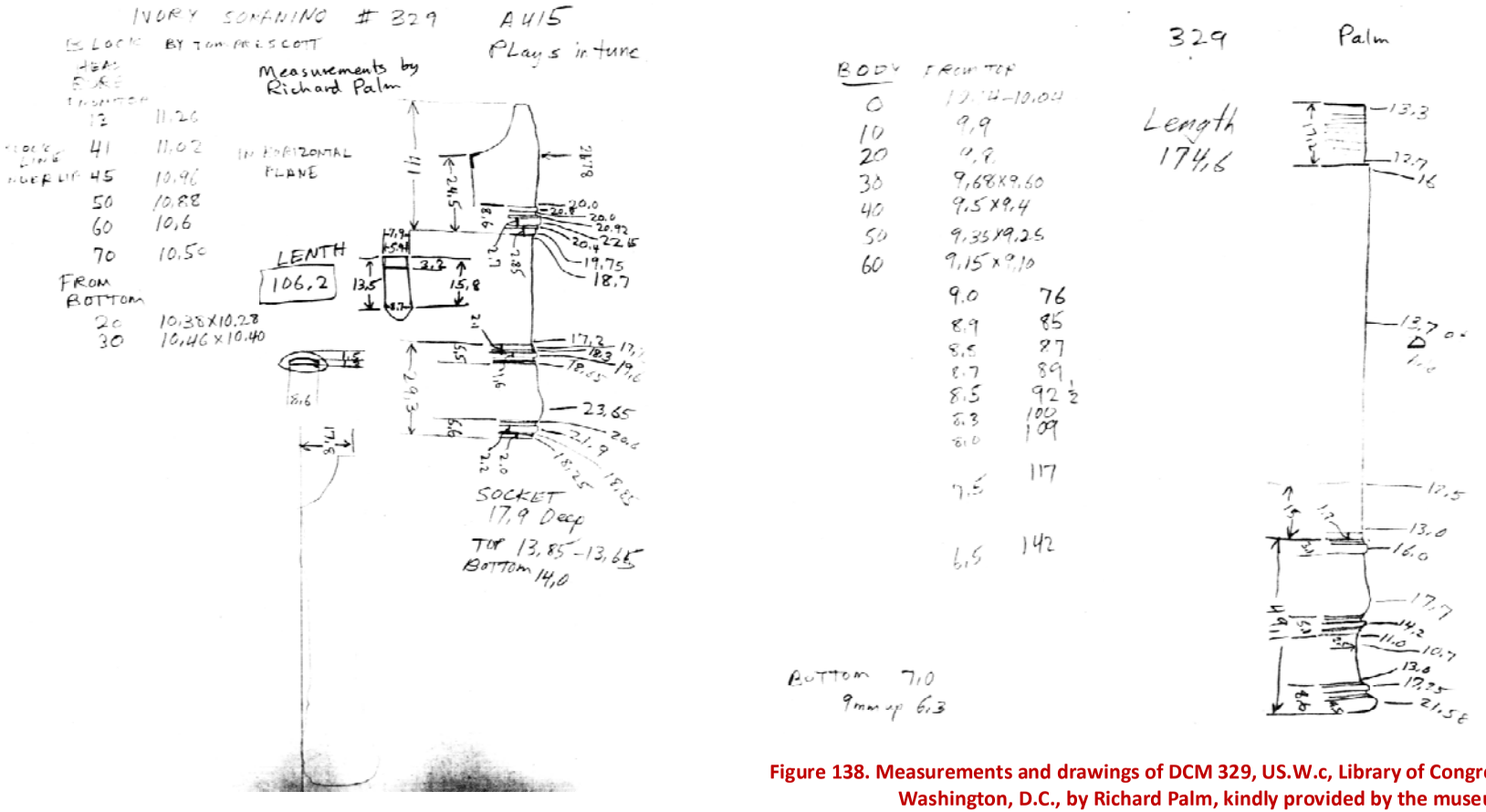


Figure 138. Measurements and drawings of DCM 329, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., by Richard Palm, kindly provided by the museum.

Ano.SPI.02: (stolen) sopranino (in ivory, with engraved decorations), DCM 1259, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.



Figure 139. Photo of DCM 1259, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., downloaded from the museum website. (http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/dcmflute.1259)

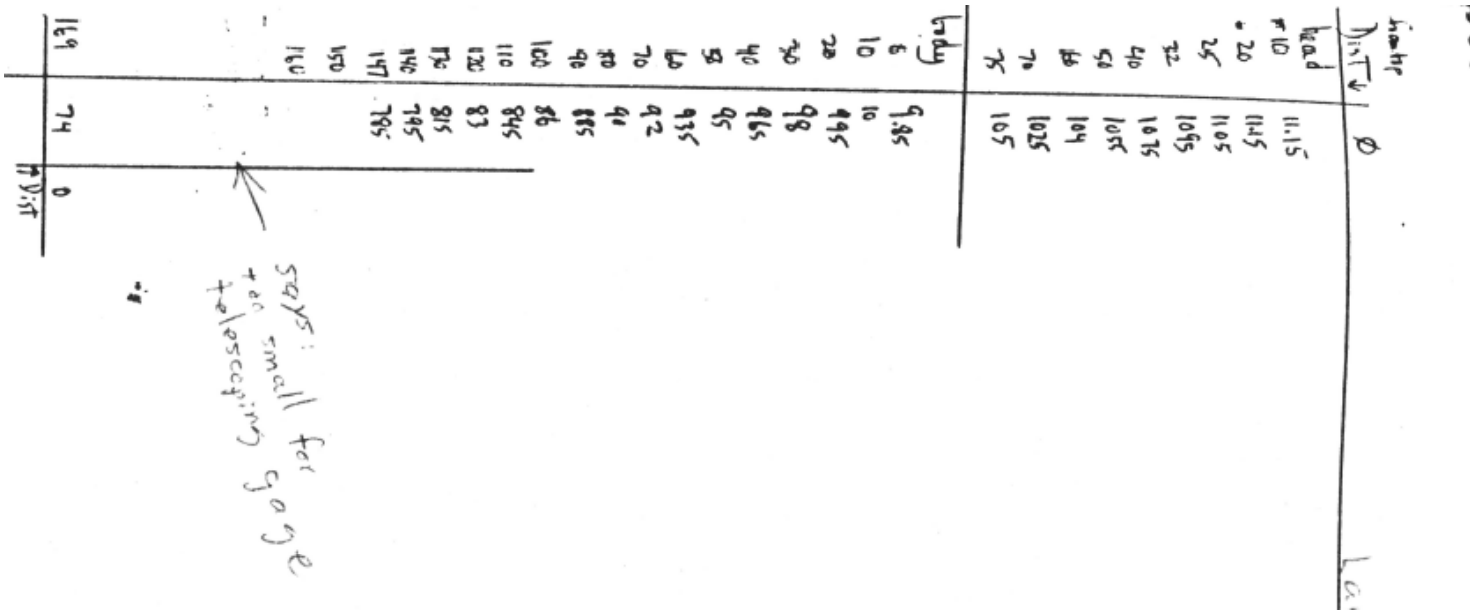


Figure 140. Extracted bore measurements of DCM 1259, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., by Laura Beha, kindly provided by the museum.



Figure 141. Detail of the engraving on the head joint, extracted from Figure 139.

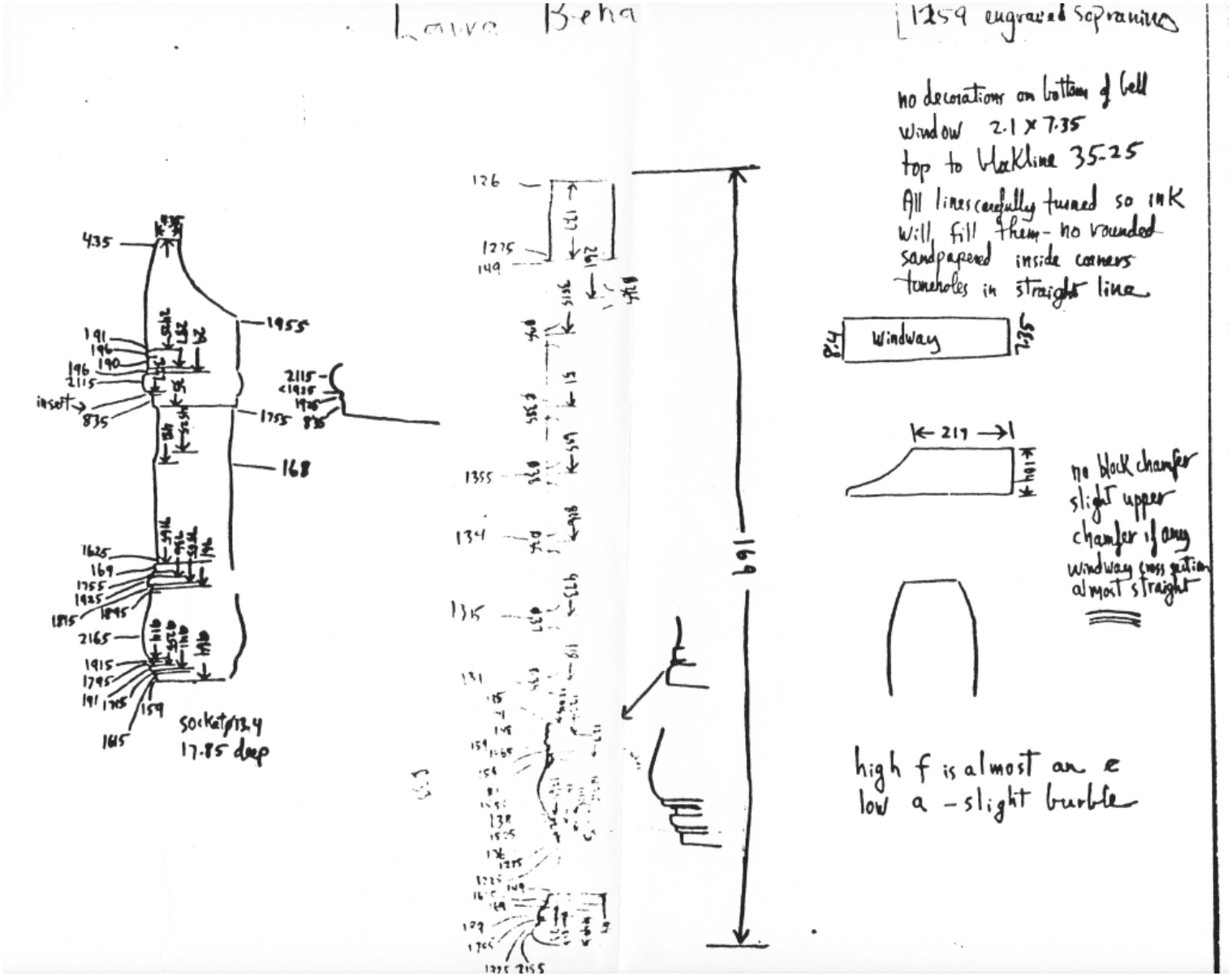


Figure 142. Drawings and measurements of DCM 1259, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., by Laura Beha, kindly provided by the museum.

Ano.ALT.01: alto (in fruitwood, with tortoise shell, gold and mother of pearl inlay decorations), 1124-1869, GB.L.v, Victoria & Albert Museum, London



Figure 143. Photo of 1124-1869, GB.L.v, Victoria & Albert Museum, London, by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 144. Detail of 1124-1869, GB.L.v, Victoria & Albert Museum, London, by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 145. Detail of 'Coat of Arms' on the head joint of 1124-1869, GB.L.v, Victoria & Albert Museum, London, by Fumitaka Saito.

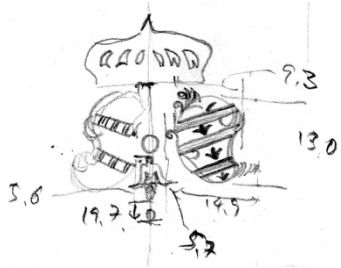


Figure 146. Drawing of decoration detail on the head joint, by Inês d'Avena.

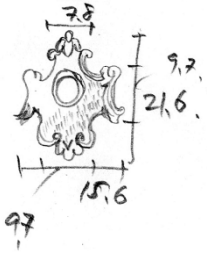


Figure 147. Drawing of decoration detail on the middle joint, by Inês d'Avena.

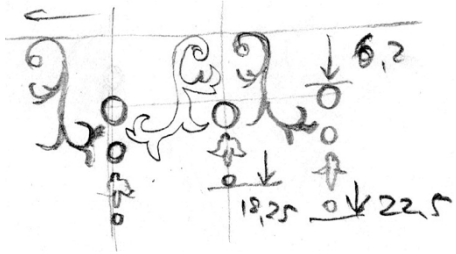
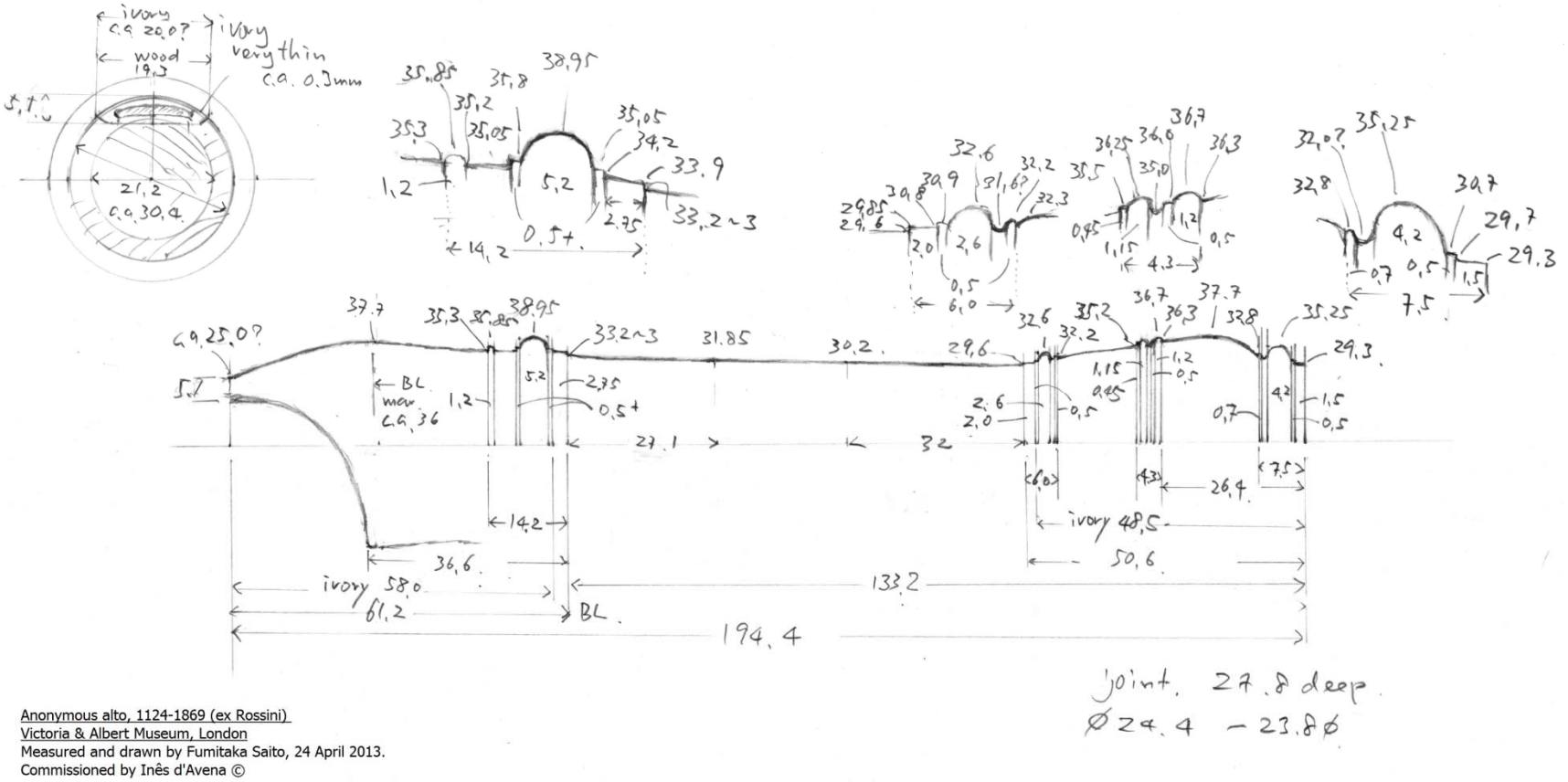


Figure 148. Drawing of decoration detail on the foot joint, by Inês d'Avena.



Anonymous alto, 1124-1869 (ex Rossini)
Victoria & Albert Museum, London
Measured and drawn by Fumitaka Saito, 24 April 2013.
Commissioned by Inês d'Avena ©

Figure 149. Profile measurements and drawings of 1124-1869, GB.L.v, Victoria & Albert Museum, London, by Fumitaka Saito.

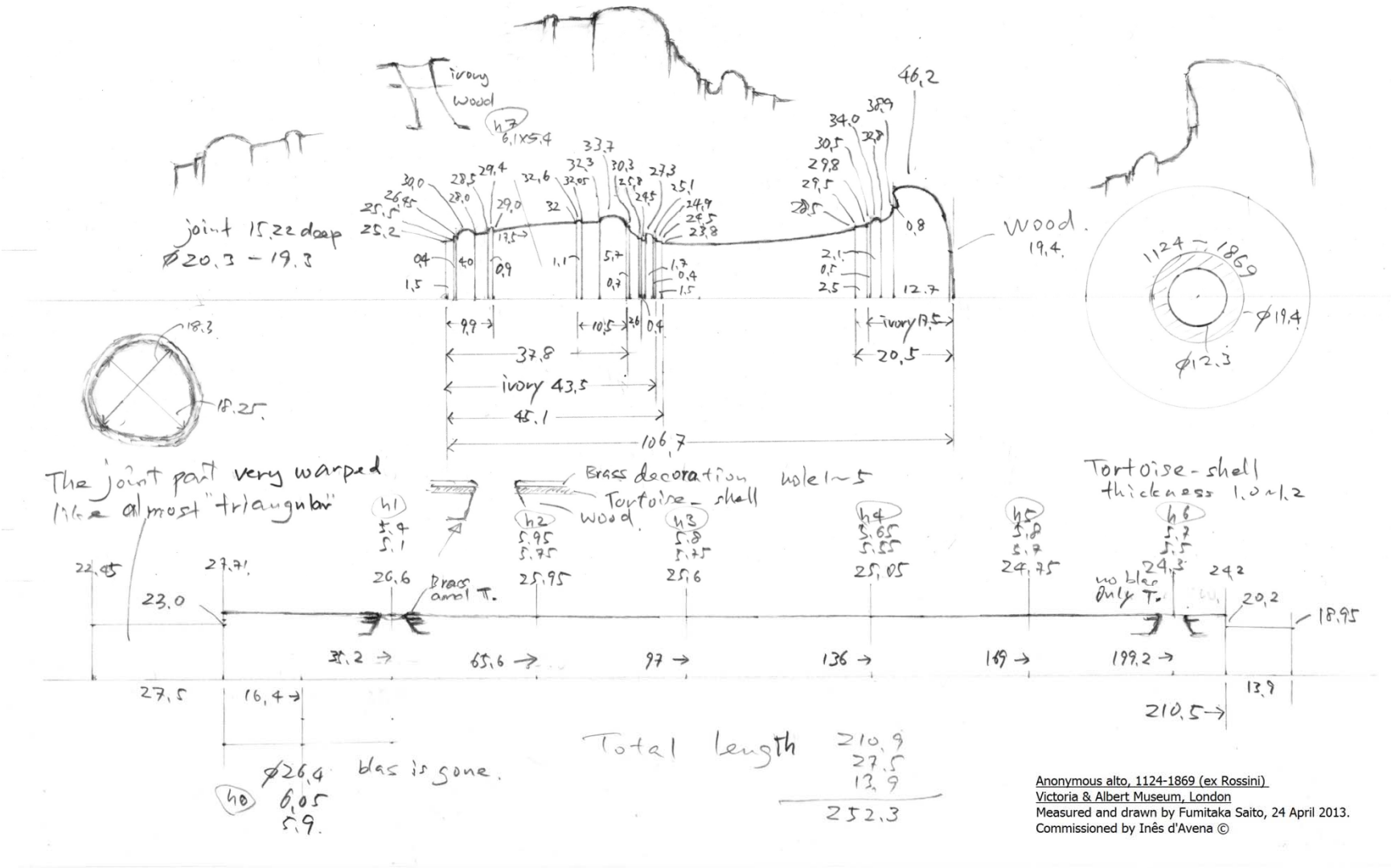


Figure 150. Profile measurements and drawings of 1124-1869, GB.L.v, Victoria & Albert Museum, London, by Fumitaka Saito.

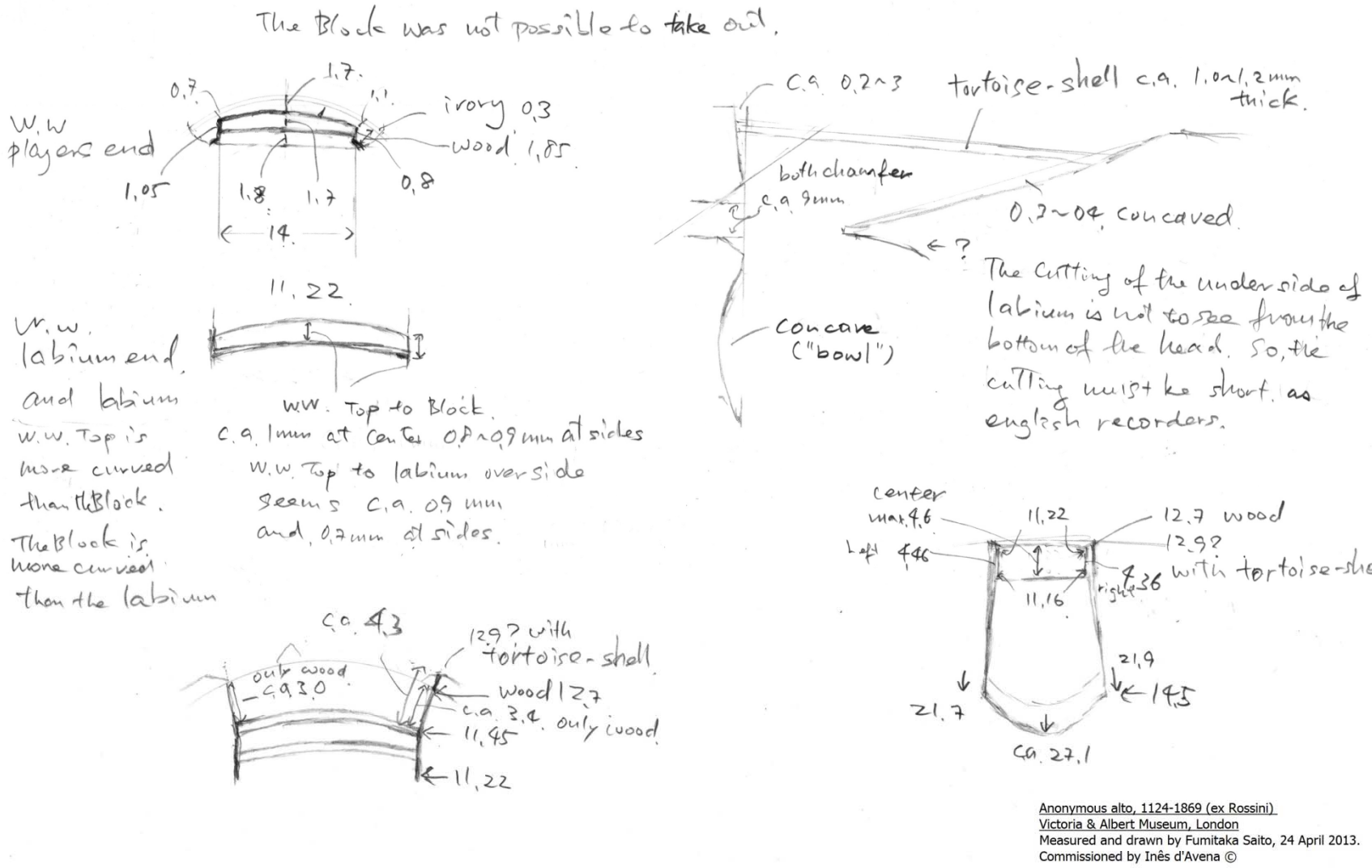


Figure 151. Voicing measurements and drawings of 1124-1869, GB.L.v, Victoria & Albert Museum, London, by Fumitaka Saito.

Ano.ALT.02: alto (in ivory), DCM 1351, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.



Figure 152. Photo of DCM 1351, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., downloaded from the museum website (http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/dcmflute.1351)



Figure 153. Detail of DCM 1351, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., photo by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 154. Detail of DCM 1351, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., photo by Fumitaka Saito.



Figure 155. Detail of DCM 1351, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., photo by Fumitaka Saito.

Bob Marvin

Ivory treble Miller # 1351 March 1966

head L from block 131
head socket 27.5 X 24.3
tap tenon L 27.1
block to blk tenon 340.5
total lengths 444, ~~505~~

two widths: 12.2, 13.6 heights .9 – 1.1 same across
block-edge 4.5 heavy block chamfer, little on roof
ODs at bl. edge 32.6, 32.0, window 13.0 wide at surface
ramp sides 21, extreme L 28, width extreme 14
ann. rings vert. in block

holes	dist.	152	167	196	230	270	300	330	360-15°(362)
	ID	6.0	~~5.6~~		6.0	5.5	5.2	5.0	4.8
	body OD	27.4	27.0	26.3	25.6	24.8	23.9	23.2	29.0
	undercut	5	4		4	4	3	3	1

bore d_1	d_2	
11.8	444	104 end
11.5	441, 422	101, 82
11.4	436, 427	96, 87
12.0	405	65
12.5	387	47
13.0	370	30
13.5	360	20
14.0	357	17
14.1	355	15.5 (end)
14.4	355.5	251.5 end
14.5	350	246
15.0	336	232
15.5	311	207
16.0	289	185
16.5	268	164
17.0	238	134
17.5	204	100
18.0	175	71
18.5	150	46
19.0	104	0
19.5	?	275 end, 0
19.4		root

semitone flat - poor voice
a''' flat, $f^{\#'''}$ sharp

Figure 156. Measurements of DCM 1351, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., by Bob Marvin, kindly provided by the museum.

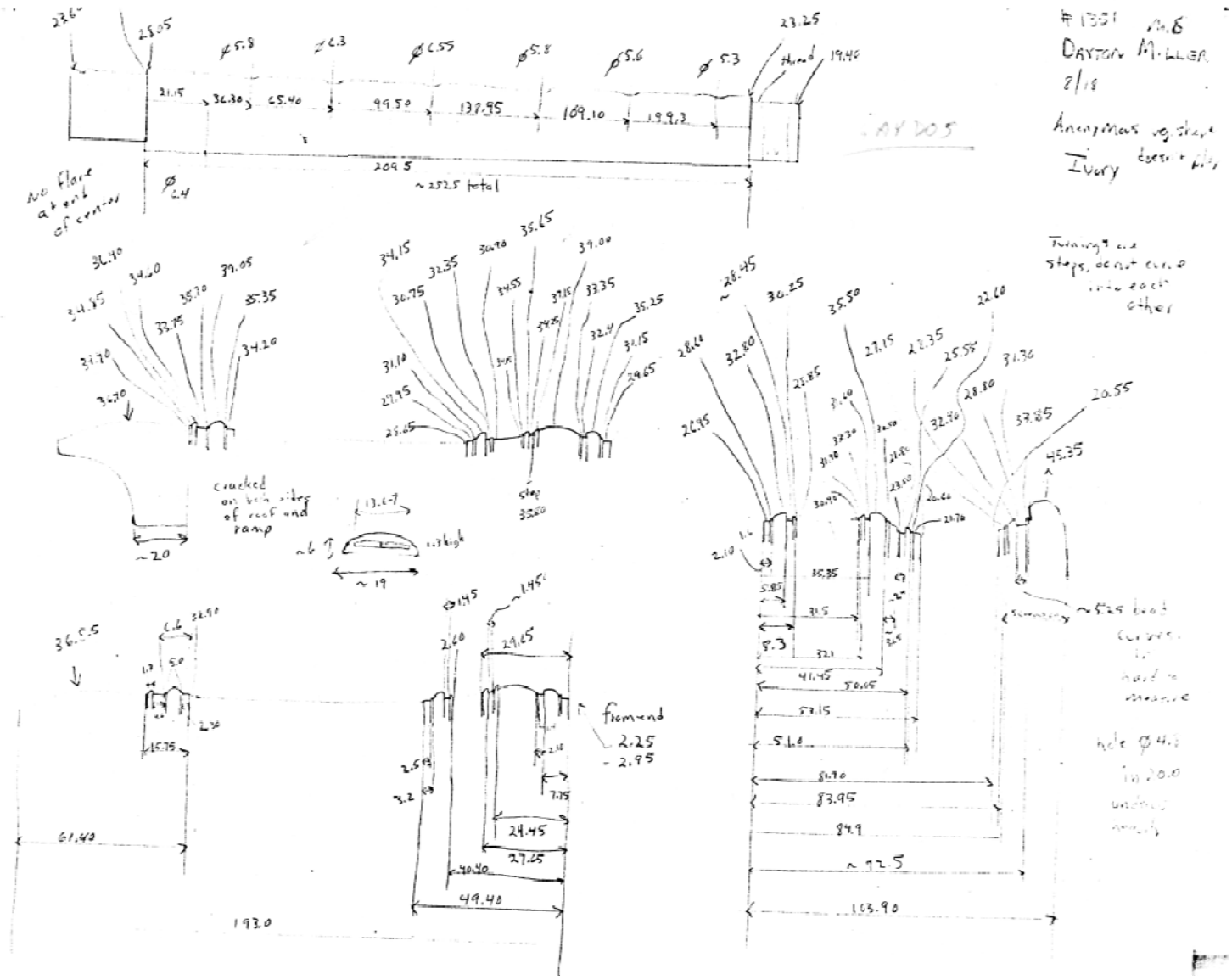


Figure 157. Measurements and drawings of DCM 1351, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., by Mark Gaydos, kindly provided by the museum.

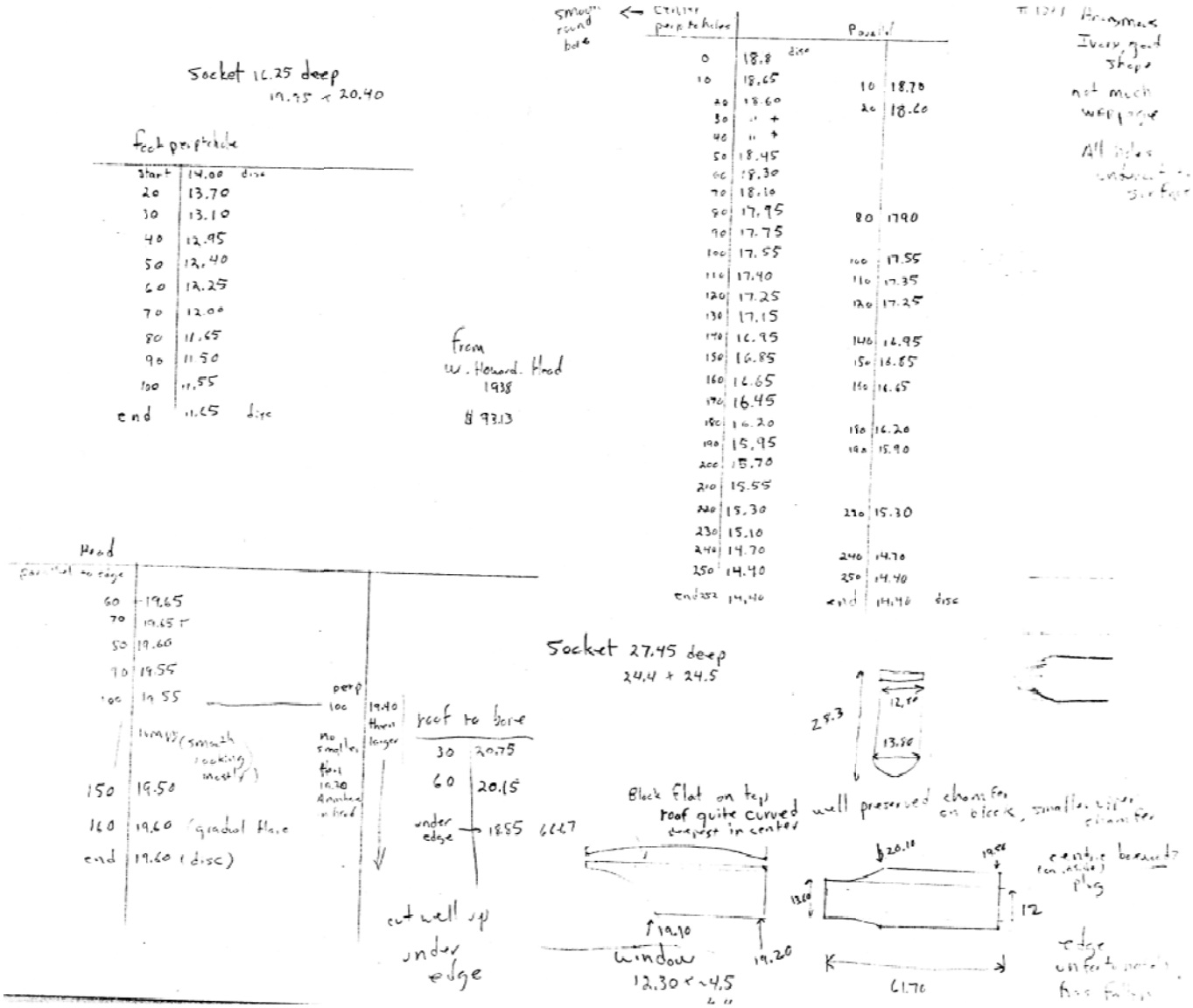


Figure 158. Measurements and drawings of DCM 1351, US.W.c, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., by Mark Gaydos, kindly provided by the museum.

Ano.ALT.03: alto (in stained boxwood), SAM154, A.W.km, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna



Figure 159. Photo of SAM154, A.W.km, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, kindly provided by the museum.

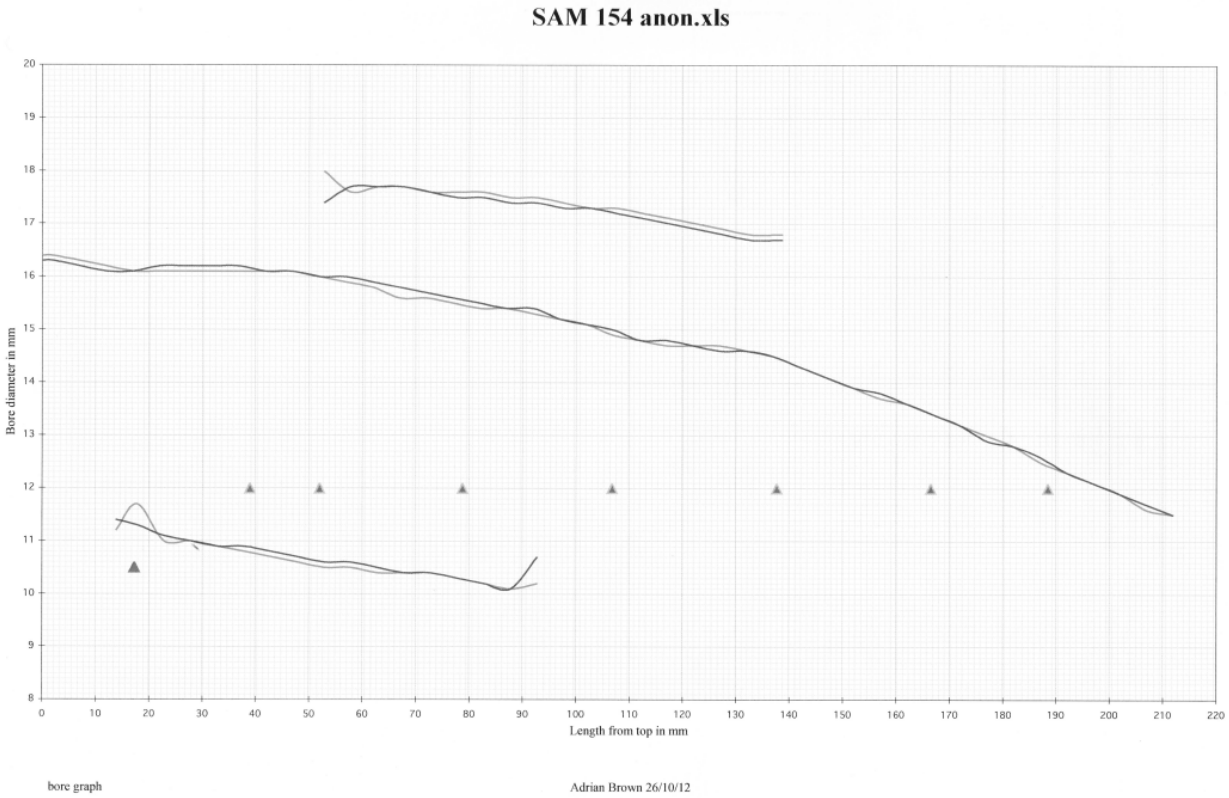


Figure 160. Bore measurements of SAM154, A.W.km, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, kindly provided by Adrian Brown.

Location: Vienna
Inv. N°: **SAM 154/C165/8541**
Measured: Adrian Brown
Date: 6/12/01

Pitch @ a=440hz: f#'+
(would make it a g' instrument at a=415hz)
Mark:
Material: Boxwood with a reddish stain

HEAD:	**Length**	**Ø**
TOL:	170	
WW length:	52.8	
BL - Joint end:	117.2	
Socket:	28.6	22.5
SL:	88.6	
MIDDLE:		
TOL:	212	
Upper tenon:	26.5	
Lower tenon:	12.8	
Between tenons:	172.7	
FOOT:		
TOL:	92.8	
Socket:	14	17.6
SL:	78.8	

FINGERHOLES

	length (from top)	length (from tenon)	diameter east/w	diameter north/s	direction ⇧⇨⇩⇦
X	*182.5*	12.5	5.2	5.3	
1	*195.5*	25.5	5.0	5.2	
2	*222.3*	52.3	5.2	5.2	
3	*250.3*	80.3	4.9	5.1	
4	*281.2*	111.2	4.8	4.9	
5	*310*	140	4.7	4.9	
6	*332*	162	4.5	4.7	
7a	*360*	17.3	3.4	3.4	⇩
7b	*359.9*	17.2	3.4	3.4	⇩

					ex. Ø
				beak max	33.2
				bl	29.8
	Step:	0.8	Window width:	11	bott straight bit 26.8
	Edge thickness:	0.35	Cutup	3.7	head max 35.7
					upper mid jnt 25.6
	Windway exit chamfers: up	1.0			x 24.9
		45°	Ramp width north	12.4	1 24.2
	down	0.6	south	13.8	2 23.3
		60° steep			3 22.5
					4 21.8
	W/W entrance: width	13.2	Ramp length: west	18	5 21.4
	height	1.6	east	17.5	6 21.3
			middle	22.8	bott mid jnt 21.3
	Beak cut away:	28.2			7 26.0
					foot smallest 19.1
					bell 40.0

NOTES:
The edge is damaged so the cutup may have originally been smaller.

The labium and windway exit (ceiling and block) are completely flat and the under edge is very long (c. 30mm). The windway entrance is however curved. The shape of the beak cut away and the wood used for the block are also identical to SAM 155 and 154. I firmly believe all three instruments (SAM 153, 154 and 155 were made by the same hand.
The instrument has one set of double holes on the foot joint.
The turning is very similar to German instruments from Nürnberg

SAM 154 anon.xls Measurements 26/10/12 15:07

Figure 161. Measurements of SAM154, A.W.km, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, kindly provided by Adrian Brown.

Ano.ALT.04: (fake Bressan) alto (in boxwood), SAM155, A.W.km, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna



Figure 162. Photo of SAM155, A.W.km, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, kindly provided by the museum.

Note	I = Tuner set to Cents deflection from 0	f' 440hz Pressure mm H₂O	Equal tempered Fingering, where different	Note	Temp. Humidity Cents deflection from 0	19 45% Pressure mm H₂O	Fingering, where different
I	-10	8		VIII	+15	16	
II	-5	10		IX	+10	17	--2-----
III	-15	12		X	0	20	
IV	+5	13		XI	+15	21	0/1234-6/-
					+20	22	0/123-5--
V	+15	14		XII	+5	23	
					0 (-50)	24	0/123a---- (0/12-4---)
VI	+15	15		XIII	-20	25	0/12-----
VII	+5	15		XIV	0	28	0/12-45--
				XV	-5	30	0/1--45--

The octaves III/X is wide and VI/XIII, very narrow.
The double hole 3 seems to work very well, being a great improvement on the normal fingering for XII#
The sound is very weak but has a pure quality in the upper register.

Figure 163. Tuning details of SAM155, A.W.km, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, kindly provided by Adrian Brown.

Location:	Vienna							
Inv. N°:	**SAM 155/C166/8542**							
Measured:	Adrian Brown							
Date:	6/12/01							
Pitch @ a=440hz:	f'							
Mark:	PUI BRESSAN with tudor rose							
Material:	Boxwood							
HEAD:	**Length**	**Ø**		**FINGERHOLES**				
TOL:	188.7				**length**		**diameter**	**direction**
WW length:	61			*(from top)*	(from tenon)	east/w	north/s	⇧⇨⇩⇦
BL - Joint end:	127.7		**X**	*200.7*	12	5.4	5.8	
Socket:	27.2	23.1	**1**	*213.7*	25	4.9	5.2	
SL:	100.5		**2**	*241.7*	53	5.1	5.4	
			3a	*271.7*	83	3.5	3.7	
MIDDLE:			**3b**	*271.7*	83	3.5	3.7	
TOL:	228		**4**	*308*	119.3	4.9	5.2	
Upper tenon:	26.5		**5**	*340.2*	151.5	4.8	5.2	
Lower tenon:	14.5		**6a**	*367.7*	179	3.1	3.2	
Between tenons:	187		**6b**	*367.4*	178.7	3.2	3.2	
			7a	*393.6*	17.9	3.5	3.5	⇩
FOOT:			**7b**	*393.4*	17.7	3.3	3.6	⇩
TOL:	98.1							
Socket:	14.9	19.2						
SL:	83.2							

						ex. Ø
					beak max	36.2
					bl	30.6
Step:		0.8	Window width:	11.3	bott straight bit	27.9
Edge thickness:		0.2	Cutup	3.5	head max	38.3
					upper mid jnt	27.0
Windway exit chamfers: up		0.8			x	26.4
	45 deg		Ramp width north	12.8	1	25.8
down		0.7	south	14.5	2	24.8
	45 deg				3	24.1
					4	23.6
W/W entrance: width		14.2	Ramp length: west	19.3	5	23.4
height		1.6	east	19.3	6	23.2
			middle	24.8	bott mid jnt	23.3
Beak cut away:		34.7			7	27.6
					foot smallest	20.0
					bell	40.8

NOTES: This instrument is an enigma.
The instrument has three sets of double holes. The labium is cracked and part of the edge is loose but not detatched.
Arguments against it being by Bressan:
The mark is unlike any other by Bressan and the workmanship, wood and details of manufacture are very close to that found on SAM 153 and 154.
The windway entrance has a nice curve but the exit is completely flat. Block is correspondingly low and the step is small, in the style of factory instruments
The pitch is high for a Bressan
The cutup is very small, 3.5 mm
The turning looks more German, (Nürnburg) than English.
Under edge is very long c. 35mm, not machine cut but crude.

SAM155 Bressan.xls Measurements 26/10/12 15:09

Figure 164. Measurements of SAM155, A.W.km, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, kindly provided by Adrian Brown.

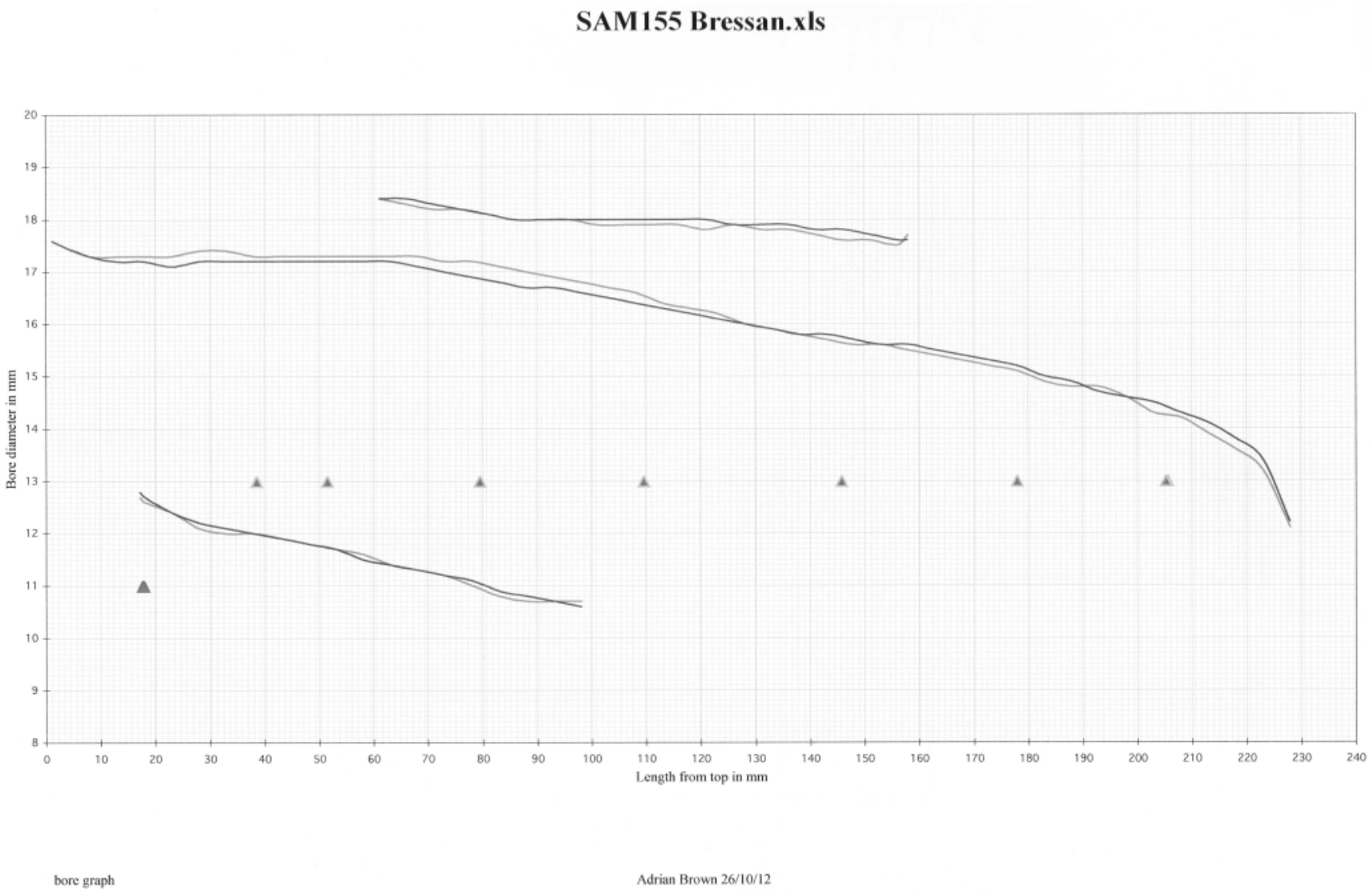


Figure 165. Bore measurements of SAM155, A.W.km, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, kindly provided by Adrian Brown.

Ano.TEN.01: tenor (in stained boxwood, palisander block), 1135, D.LE.u, Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig



Figure 166. Photo of 1135, D.LE.u, Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig, kindly provided by the museum.



Figure 167. Headjoint of 1135, D.LE.u, Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig, kindly provided by the museum.

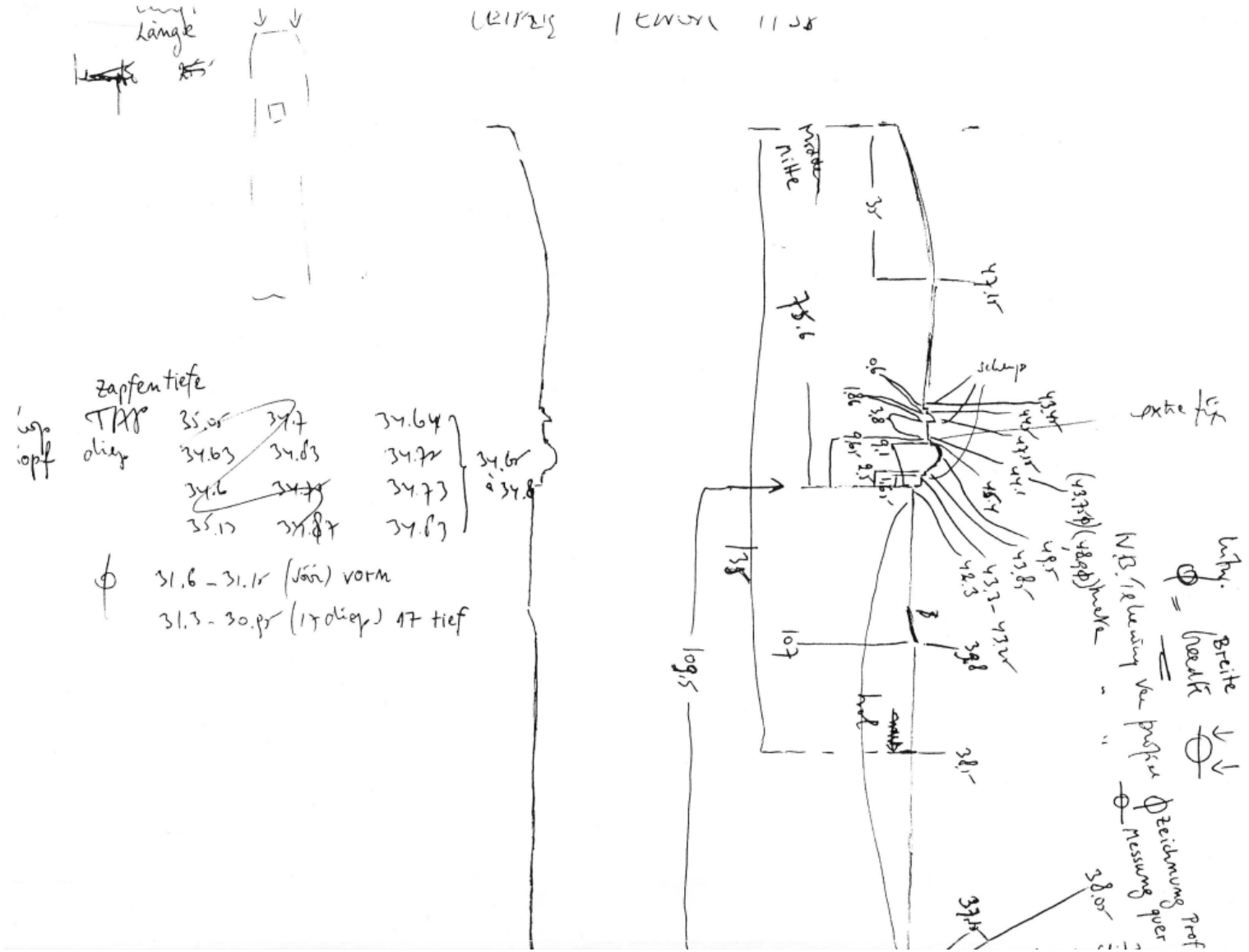


Figure 168. Measurements and drawings of 1135, D.LE.u, Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig, kindly provided by Stephan Blezinger.

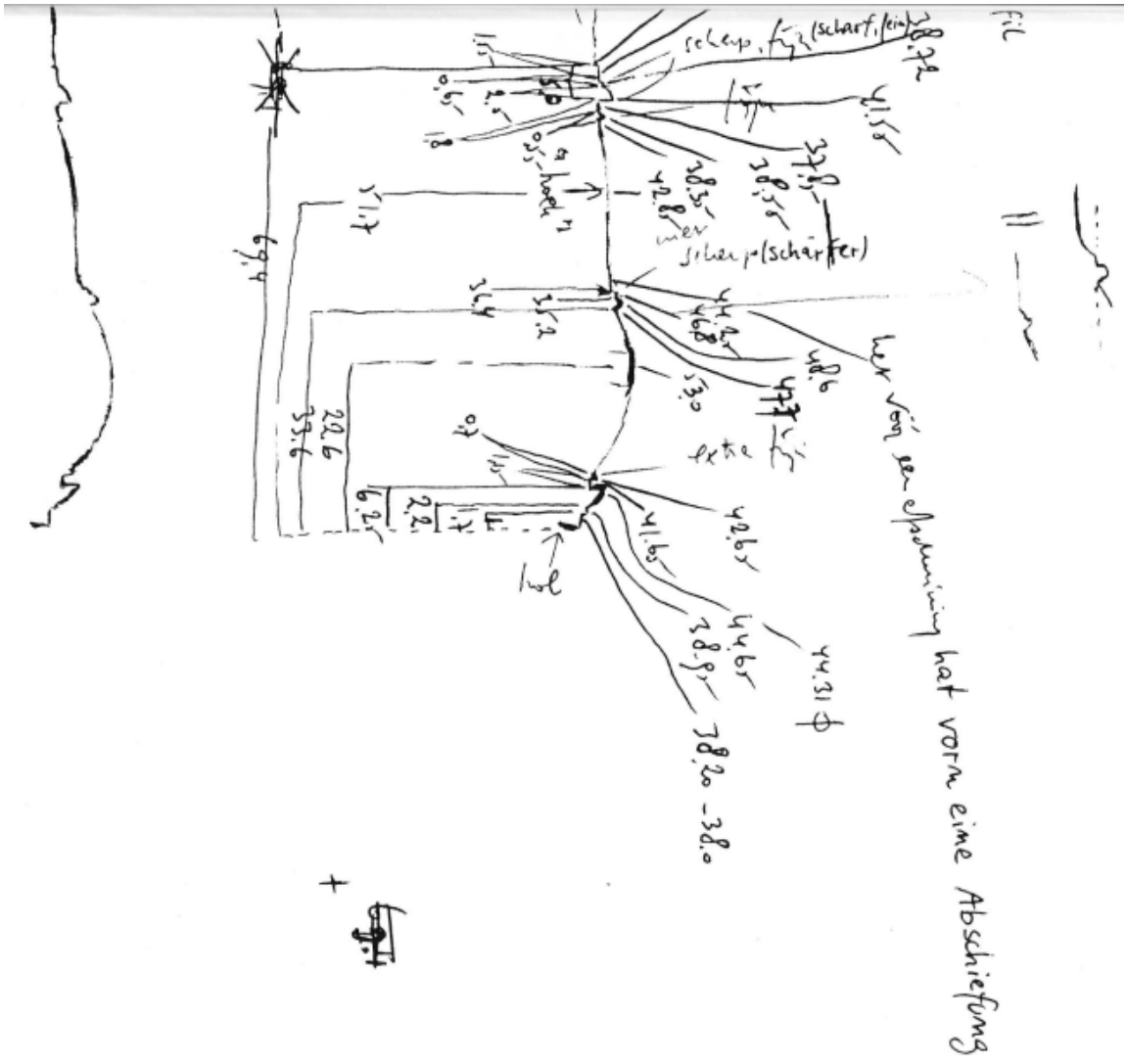


Figure 169. Measurements and drawings of 1135, D.LE.u, Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig, kindly provided by Stephan Blezinger.

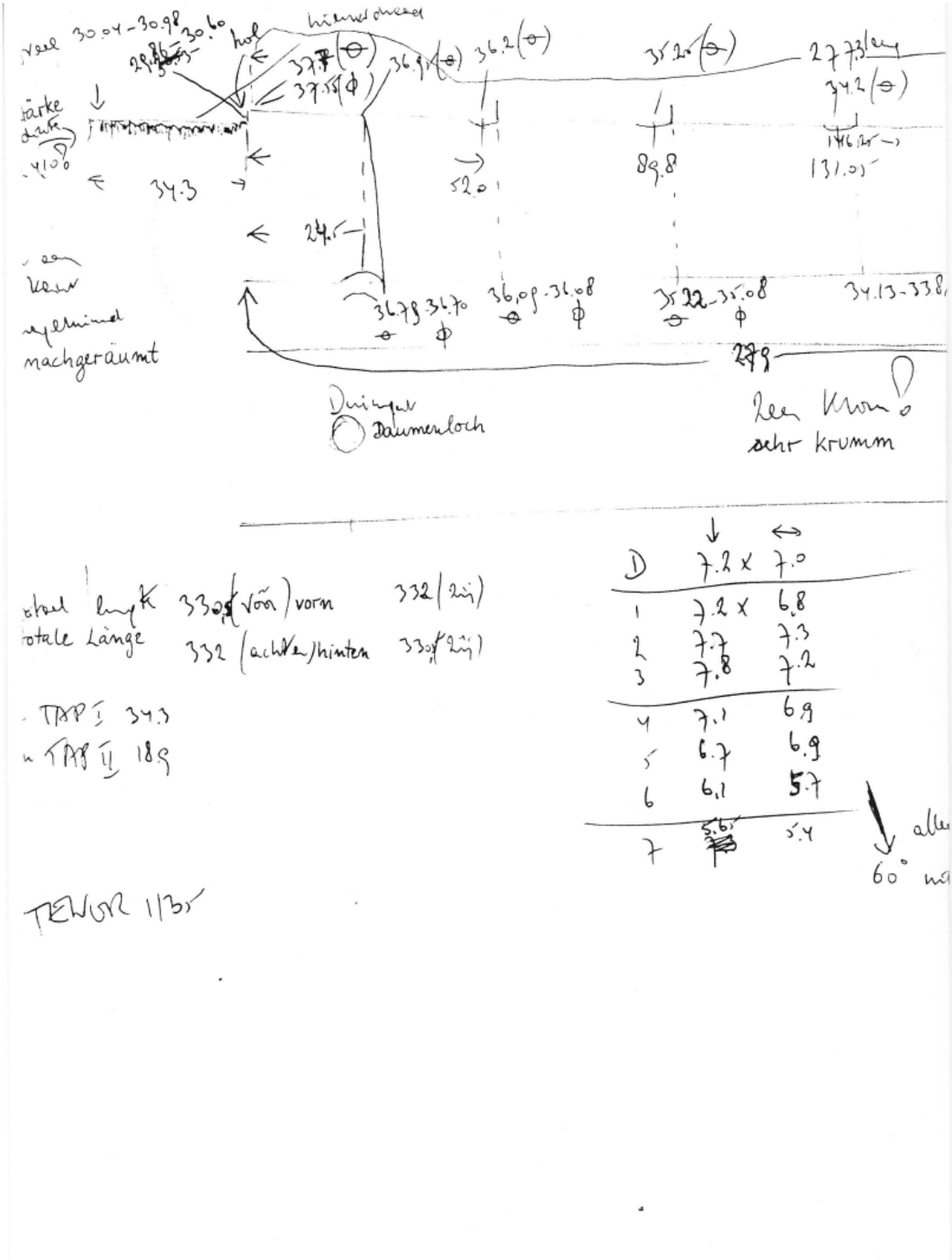
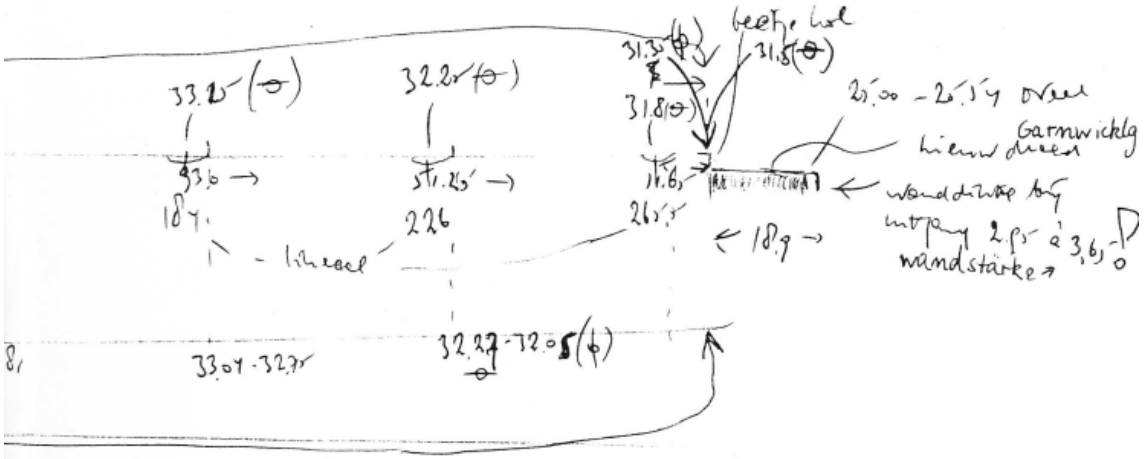


Figure 170. Measurements and drawings of 1135, D.LE.u, Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig, kindly provided by Stephan Blezinger.



Bux
Buchsbaum

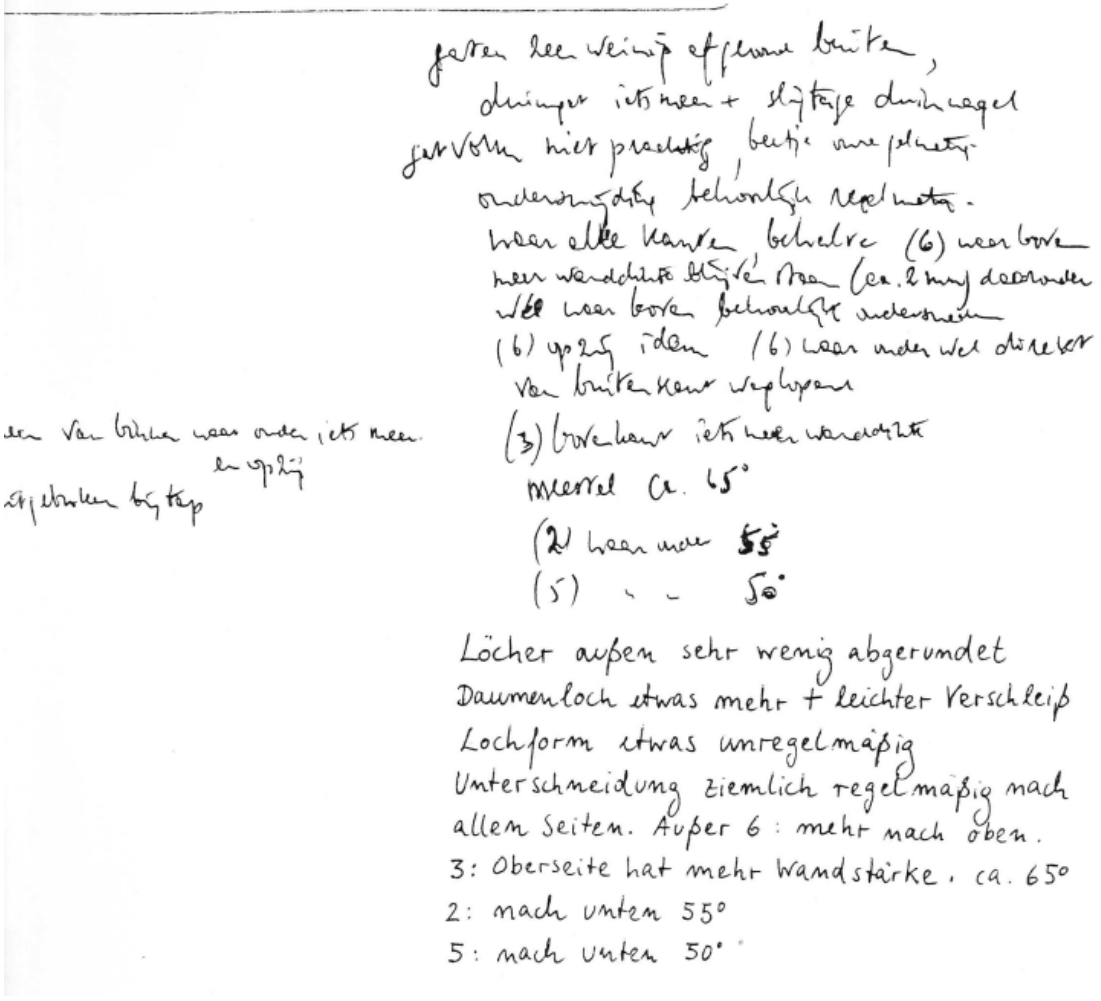
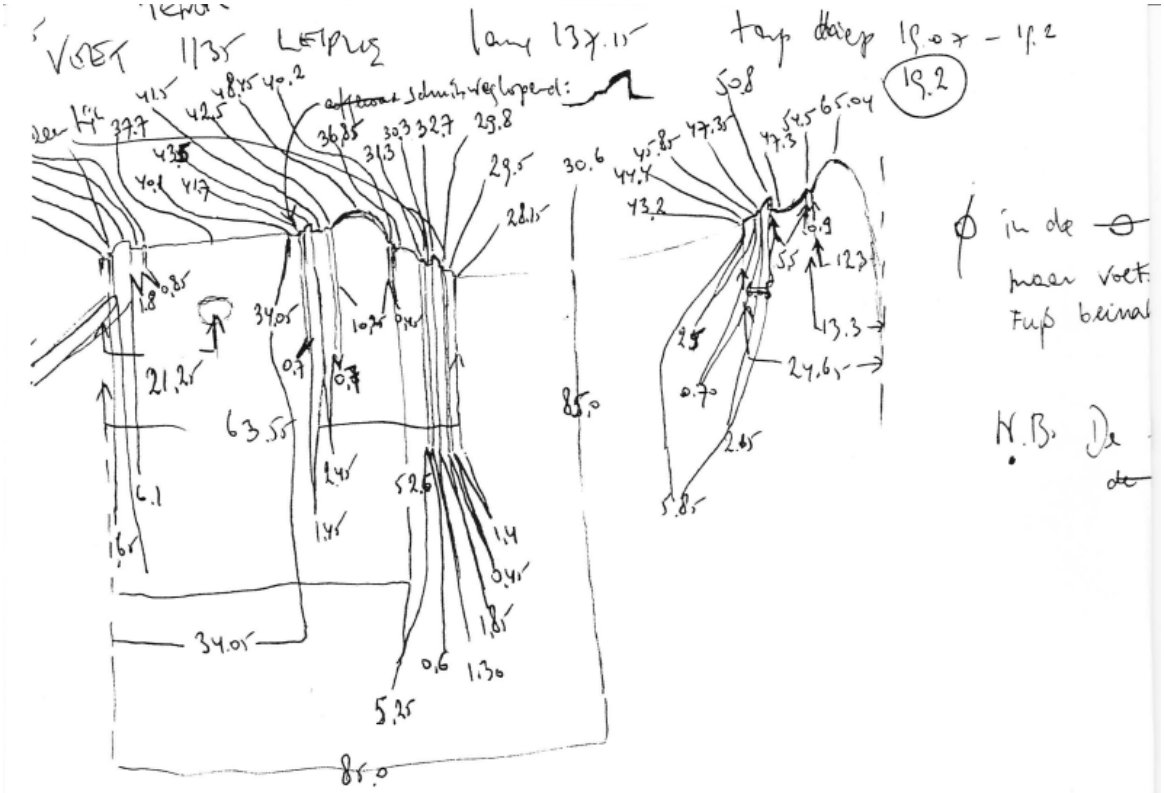


Figure 171. Measurements and drawings of 1135, D.LE.u, Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig, kindly provided by Stephan Blezinger.



rung Fuß:
sehr glatt. ab und zu korrigiert. Auf 2/3 Höhe von oben nachgestoche
Mittelstück:
deutliche Mulde (± 1 cm) ± 85 mm von unten. außerdem: gekratzte M
Mittelstück krumm — letzte Korrektur ± 10 mm und ± 15 mm von unten
Kopf:
geribbelt. Unterseite Labium setzt sich sehr weit fort. Nachgestochen. Sehr
Rip: Vorderseite Kopf, geht durch bis ins Dach
Windkanal: erst gerade, später gewölbt
Richtung: schief nach unten im Vergleich mit durchschnittl. Richtung

Figure 172. Measurements and drawings of 1135, D.LE.u, Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig, kindly provided by Stephan Blezinger.

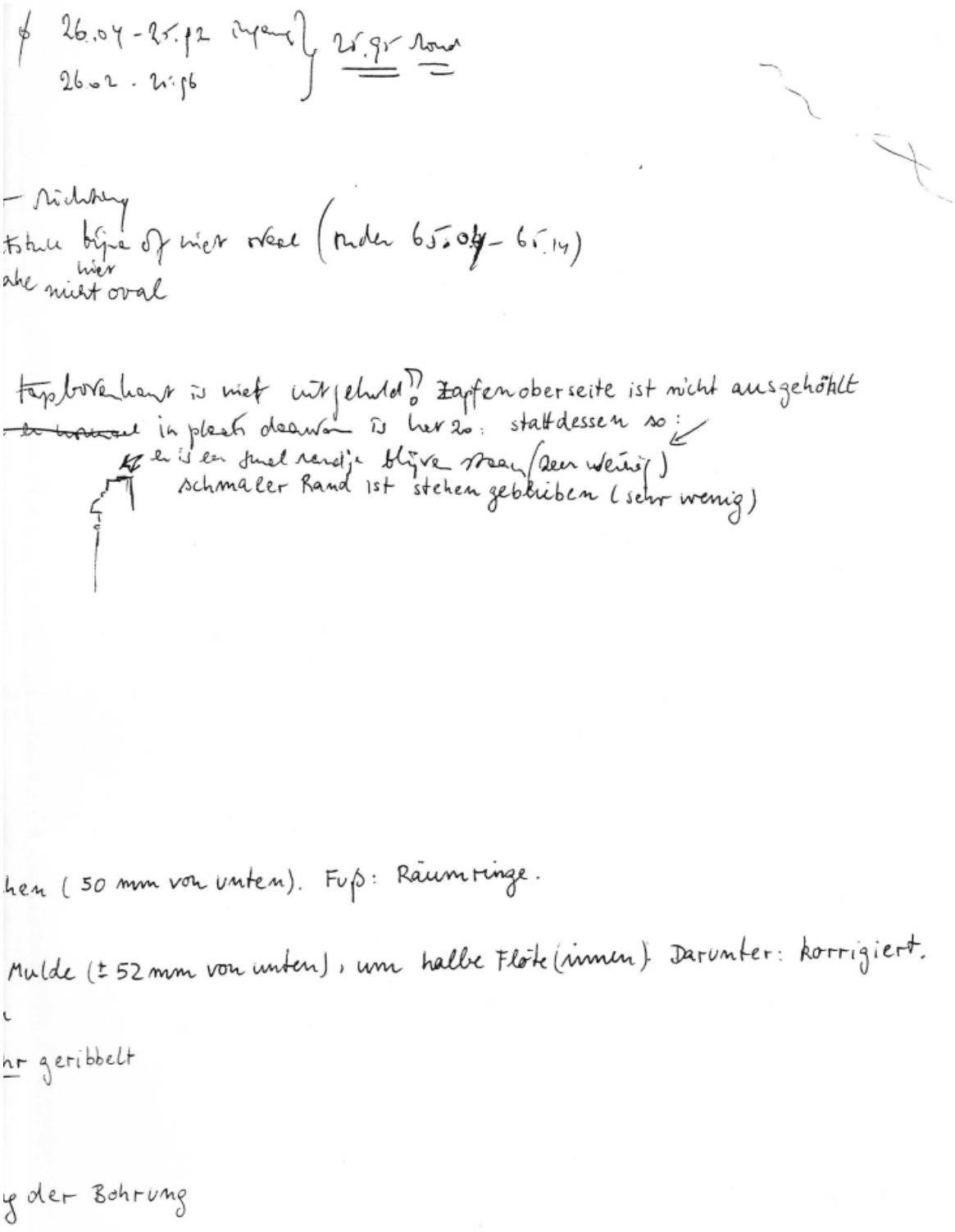


Figure 173. Measurements and drawings of 1135, D.LE.u, Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig, kindly provided by Stephan Blezinger.

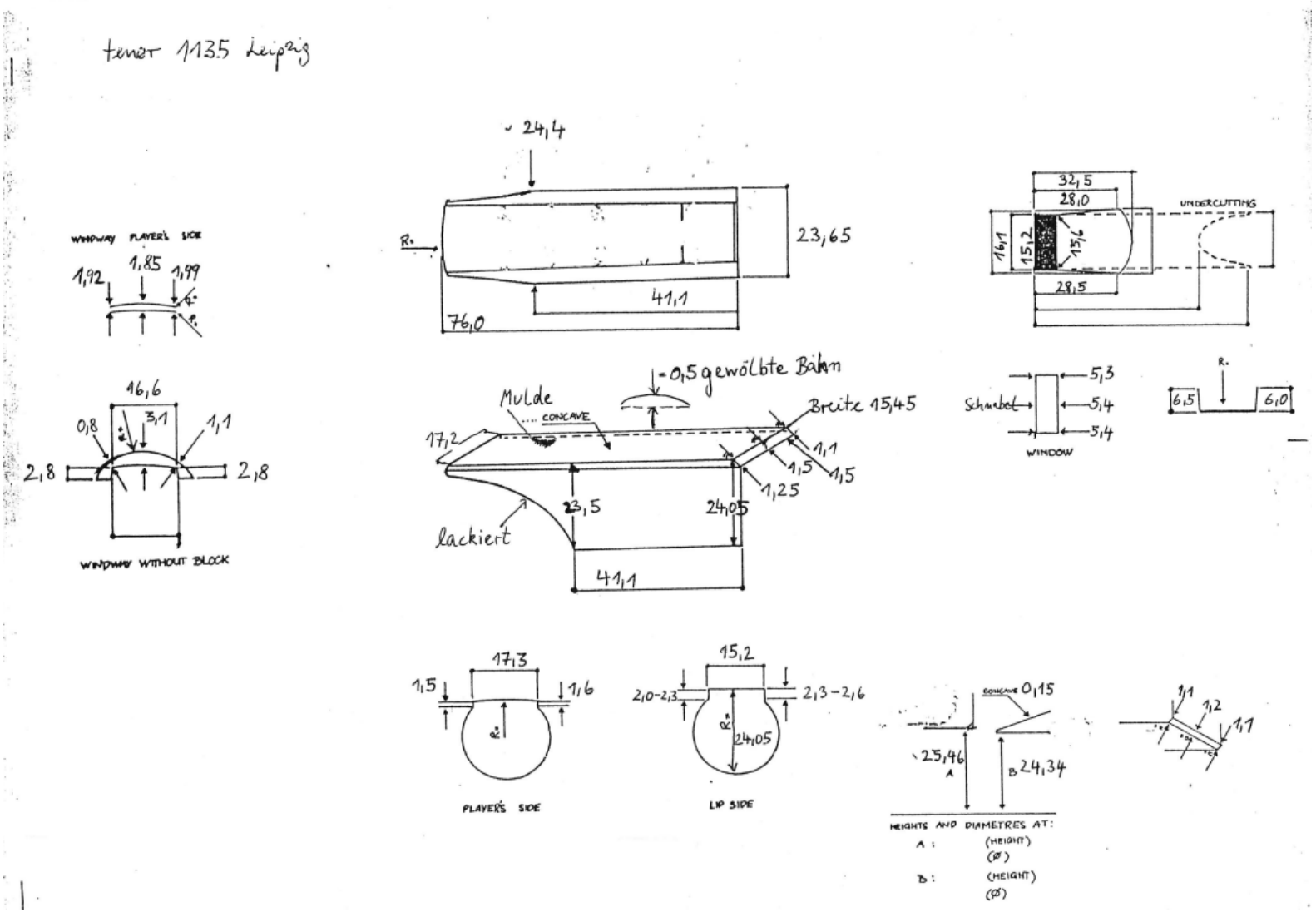


Figure 174. Voicing details of 1135, D.LE.u, Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig, kindly provided by Stephan Blezinger.

Tenorblockflöte
tenor recorder Italy? ± 1720
no. 1135, Musikinstrumentenmuseum der Karl Marx-Universität, Leipzig

Bohrungsmasse
Bore measurements
Kopf , von unten nach oben

	l	A ⌀	B ⌀
1	72	24,73	24,39
3	74	24,73	24,37
5	76	24,74	24,37
7	78	24,74	24,37
9	80	24,74	24,36
11	82	24,70	24,37
13	84	24,67	24,36
15	86	24,67	24,35
17	88	24,64	24,35
19	90	24,60	24,32
21	92	24,55	24,26
23	94	24,55	24,28
25	96	24,49	24,26
27	98	24,51	24,28
29	100	24,52	24,32
31	102	24,52	24,33
33	104	24,44	24,28
35	106	24,04	24,22

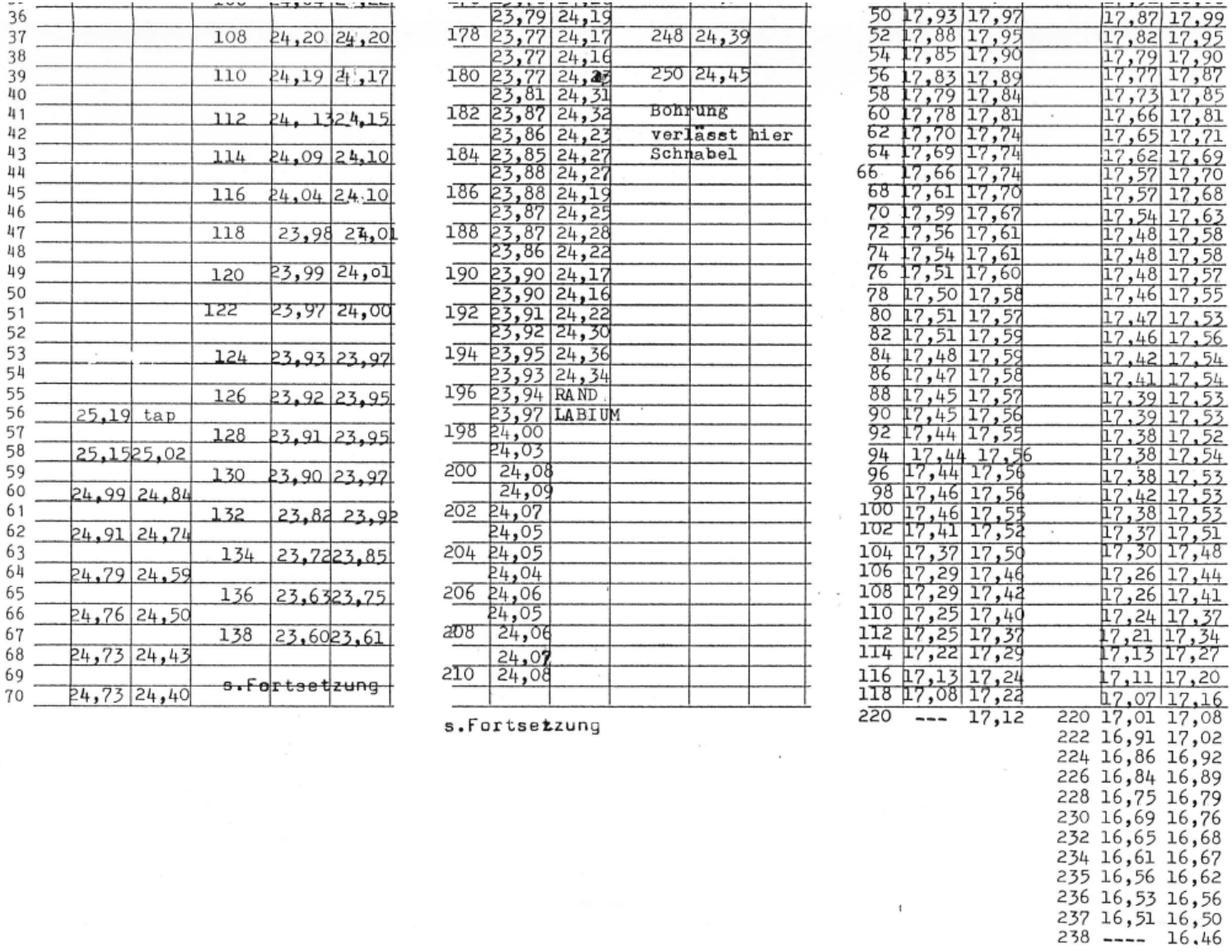
	l	A ⌀	B ⌀
140	23,62	23,58	
142	23,64	23,60	
146	23,68	23,60	
148	23,71	23,62	
150	23,71	23,64	
152	23,73	23,64	
154	23,72	23,73	
156	23,71	23,70	
158	23,75	23,66	
160	23,75	23,74	
	23,75	23,72	
162	23,75	23,75	
	23,75	23,80	
164	23,75	23,78	
	23,79	23,77	
166	23,80	23,80	
	23,77	23,84	
168	23,78	23,91	
	23,78	23,85	
170	23,78	23,83	
	23,77	23,90	
172	23,78	23,98	
	23,78	23,98	
174	23,78	24,00	
	23,76	24,08	
176	23,78	24,16	

l	A ⌀	B ⌀
212	24,10	
214	24,10	
216	24,07	
218	24,06	
220	24,09	
222	24,11	
224	24,12	
226	24,10	
228	24,13	
230	24,08	
232	24,10	
234	24,15	
236	24,14	
238	24,18	
240	24,26	
242	24,31	
244	24,35	
246	24,36	

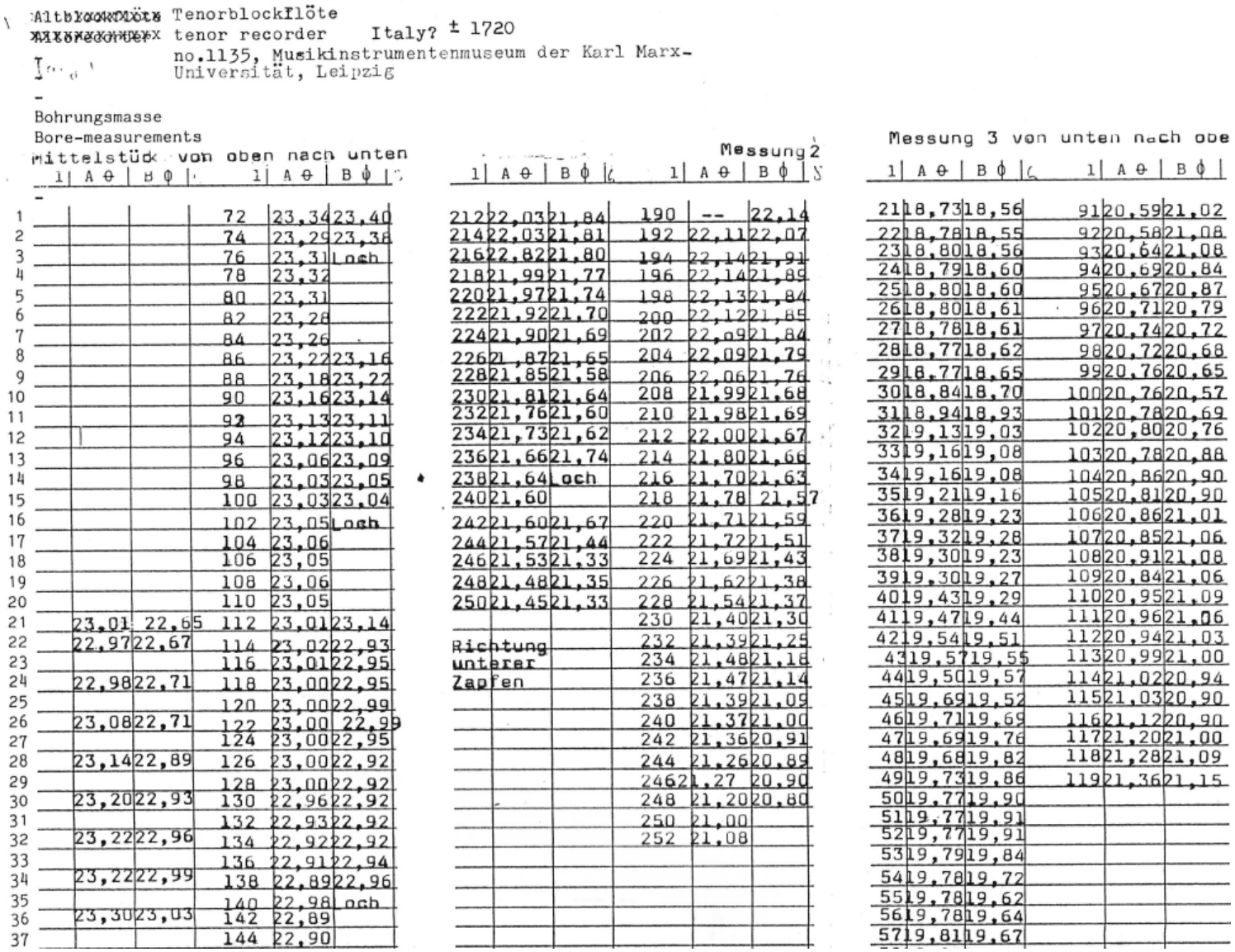
Fuss, von Zapfen nach unten gemessen
2 Vergleichsmessungen mit unterschdl. Diametern

	l	A ⌀	B ⌀		l	A ⌀	B ⌀
00							
02							
04							
	Zapfen						
06							
08							
10							
12							
14							
16							
18							
20	18,10	18,11					
22	17,91	18,04					
24	17,87	18,08					
26	17,82	18,07					
28	17,79	17,97					
30	17,80	17,95					
32	17,85	17,97					
34	17,90	18,01					
36	17,91	18,02					
38	17,92	18,06					
40	17,97	18,02			17,93	18,05	
42	18,00	18,19			17,94	18,08	
44	18,00	18,09			17,95	18,09	
46	18,02	18,07			17,95	18,08	
48	18,00	18,04			17,92	18,06	

Figure 175. Bore measurements of 1135, D.LE.u, Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig, kindly provided by Stephan Blezinger (author unknown).



| | | |



Altblockflöte Tenorblockflöte
tenor recorder Italy? ± 1720
no.1135, Musikinstrumentenmuseum der Karl Marx-Universität, Leipzig

Bohrungsmasse
Bore-measurements

Mittelstück von oben nach unten

	1	A ⌀	B ⌀		1	A ⌀	B ⌀
1				72	23,34	23,40	
2				74	23,29	23,38	
3				76	23,31	Loch	
4				78	23,32		
5				80	23,31		
6				82	23,28		
7				84	23,26		
8				86	23,22	23,16	
9				88	23,18	23,22	
10				90	23,16	23,14	
11				92	23,13	23,11	
12				94	23,12	23,10	
13				96	23,06	23,09	
14				98	23,03	23,05	
15				100	23,03	23,04	
16				102	23,05	Loch	
17				104	23,06		
18				106	23,05		
19				108	23,06		
20				110	23,05		
21	23,01	22,65		112	23,01	23,14	
22	22,97	22,67		114	23,02	22,93	
23				116	23,01	22,95	
24	22,98	22,71		118	23,00	22,95	
25				120	23,00	22,99	
26	23,08	22,71		122	23,00	22,99	
27				124	23,00	22,95	
28	23,14	22,89		126	23,00	22,92	
29				128	23,00	22,92	
30	23,20	22,93		130	22,96	22,92	
31				132	22,93	22,92	
32	23,22	22,96		134	22,92	22,92	
33				136	22,91	22,94	
34	23,22	22,99		138	22,89	22,96	
35				140	22,98	Loch	
36	23,30	23,03		142	22,89		
37				144	22,90		

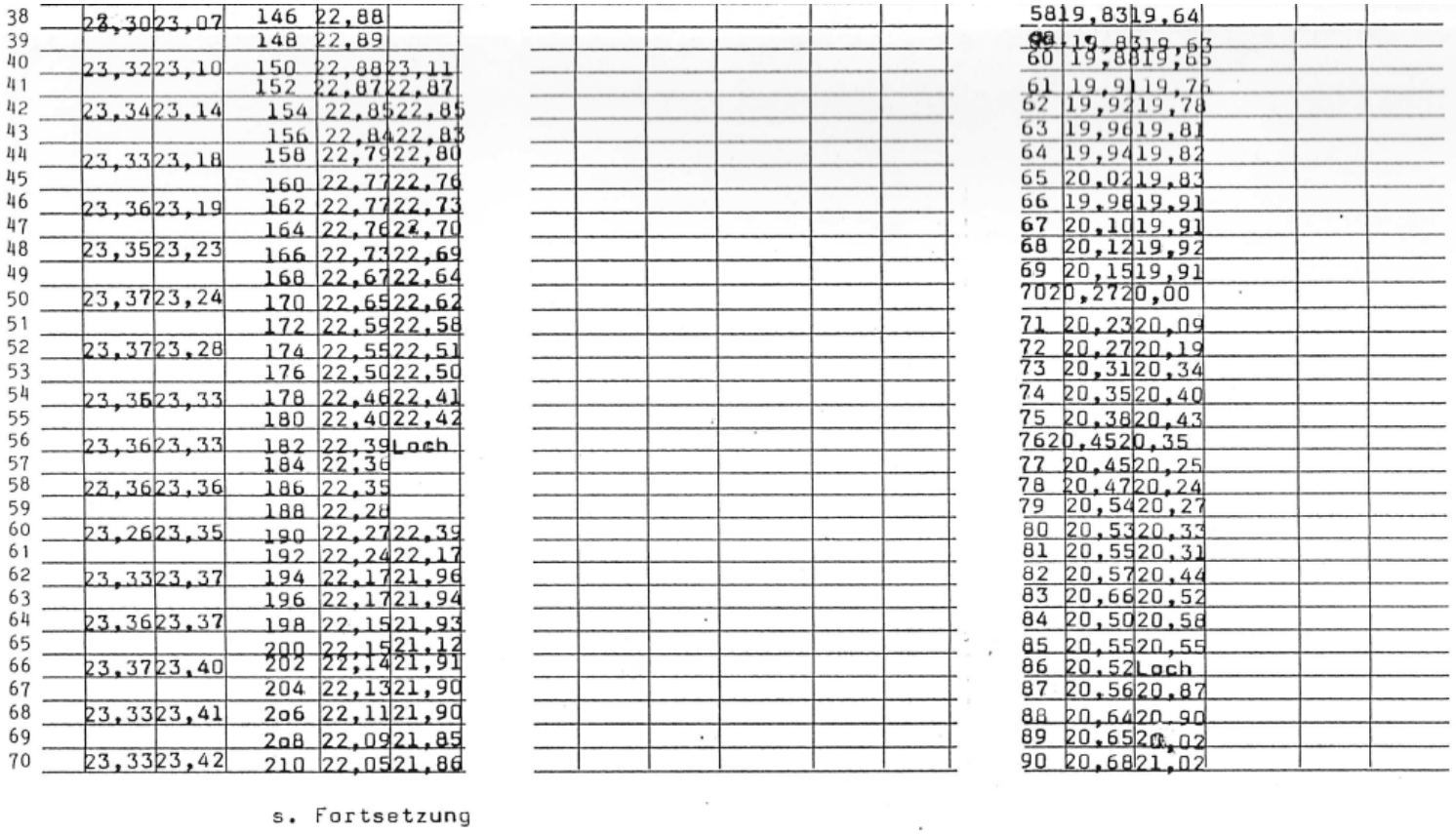
Messung 2

1	A ⌀	B ⌀		1	A ⌀	B ⌀
212	22,03	21,84	190	--	22,14	
214	22,03	21,81	192	22,11	22,07	
216	22,82	21,80	194	22,14	21,91	
218	21,99	21,77	196	22,14	21,89	
220	21,97	21,74	198	22,13	21,84	
222	21,92	21,70	200	22,12	21,85	
224	21,90	21,69	202	22,09	21,84	
226	21,87	21,65	204	22,09	21,79	
228	21,85	21,58	206	22,06	21,76	
230	21,81	21,64	208	21,99	21,68	
232	21,76	21,60	210	21,98	21,69	
234	21,73	21,62	212	22,00	21,67	
236	21,66	21,74	214	21,80	21,66	
238	21,64	Loch	216	21,70	21,63	
240	21,60		218	21,78	21,57	
242	21,60	21,67	220	21,71	21,59	
244	21,57	21,44	222	21,72	21,51	
246	21,53	21,33	224	21,69	21,43	
248	21,48	21,35	226	21,62	21,38	
250	21,45	21,33	228	21,54	21,37	
			230	21,40	21,30	
Richtung unterer Zapfen			232	21,39	21,25	
			234	21,48	21,18	
			236	21,47	21,14	
			238	21,39	21,09	
			240	21,37	21,00	
			242	21,36	20,91	
			244	21,26	20,89	
			246	21,27	20,90	
			248	21,20	20,80	
			250	21,00		
			252	21,08		

Messung 3 von unten nach oben

1	A ⌀	B ⌀		1	A ⌀	B ⌀
21	18,73	18,56	91	20,59	21,02	
22	18,78	18,55	92	20,58	21,08	
23	18,80	18,56	93	20,64	21,08	
24	18,79	18,60	94	20,69	20,84	
25	18,80	18,60	95	20,67	20,87	
26	18,80	18,61	96	20,71	20,79	
27	18,78	18,61	97	20,74	20,72	
28	18,77	18,62	98	20,72	20,68	
29	18,77	18,65	99	20,76	20,65	
30	18,84	18,70	100	20,76	20,57	
31	18,94	18,93	101	20,78	20,69	
32	19,13	19,03	102	20,80	20,76	
33	19,16	19,08	103	20,78	20,88	
34	19,16	19,08	104	20,86	20,90	
35	19,21	19,16	105	20,81	20,90	
36	19,28	19,23	106	20,86	21,01	
37	19,32	19,28	107	20,85	21,06	
38	19,30	19,23	108	20,91	21,08	
39	19,30	19,27	109	20,84	21,06	
40	19,43	19,29	110	20,95	21,09	
41	19,47	19,44	111	20,96	21,06	
42	19,54	19,51	112	20,94	21,03	
43	19,57	19,55	113	20,99	21,00	
44	19,50	19,57	114	21,02	20,94	
45	19,69	19,52	115	21,03	20,90	
46	19,71	19,69	116	21,12	20,90	
47	19,69	19,76	117	21,20	21,00	
48	19,68	19,82	118	21,28	21,09	
49	19,73	19,86	119	21,36	21,15	
50	19,77	19,90				
51	19,77	19,91				
52	19,77	19,91				
53	19,79	19,84				
54	19,78	19,72				
55	19,78	19,62				
56	19,78	19,64				
57	19,81	19,67				

Figure 177. Bore measurements of 1135, D.LE.u, Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig, kindly provided by Stephan Blezinger (author unknown).



| | | |

Tonhöhentabelle gemessen in moderner Stimmung, a' = 440 Hz

	hz (± cent)	hz absolut (± 0,5)
0|123|456|7	b(h) + 20	
0|123|456|-	cis − 30	
0|123|45-|-	dis − 40	
0|123|4-6|-	e − 20	
0|123|4-6|7		
0|123|-56|-		
0|123|-56|7		
0|123|---|-	fis −20	
0|12-|456|7		
0|12-|45-|-		
0|12-|456|-		
0|12-|---|-	gis −15	
0|1-3|-56|-		
0|1-3|4--|-		
0|1--|---|-	bes (b) −20	
0|-2-|---|-	b (h) − 15	
0|---|---|-		
-|12-|---|-		
-|-2-|---|-	cis −10	
-|-23|456|-		
-|-23|45-|-		
0|123|45-|-	dis −25	
0|123|4--|7	e 0	
0|123|4-6|-		
0|123|-5-|-		
0|123|---|-	fis −15	
0|12-|4--|-		
0|12-|-5-|-		
0|12-|---|-	gis − 25 + Rauschen	
0|12-|456|-	a − 10	
0|12-|-56|7		
0|12-|45-|-	bes (=b) − 35	
0|1--|45-|-	b (=h) − 25	
0|1-3|4-6|7	cis 0 + Rauschen + tiefer Nebenklang	

NB

NL: b / bes

D: h / b

Figure 179. Tuning scale of 1135, D.I.E.u., Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig, kindly provided by Stephan Blezinger (author unknown).

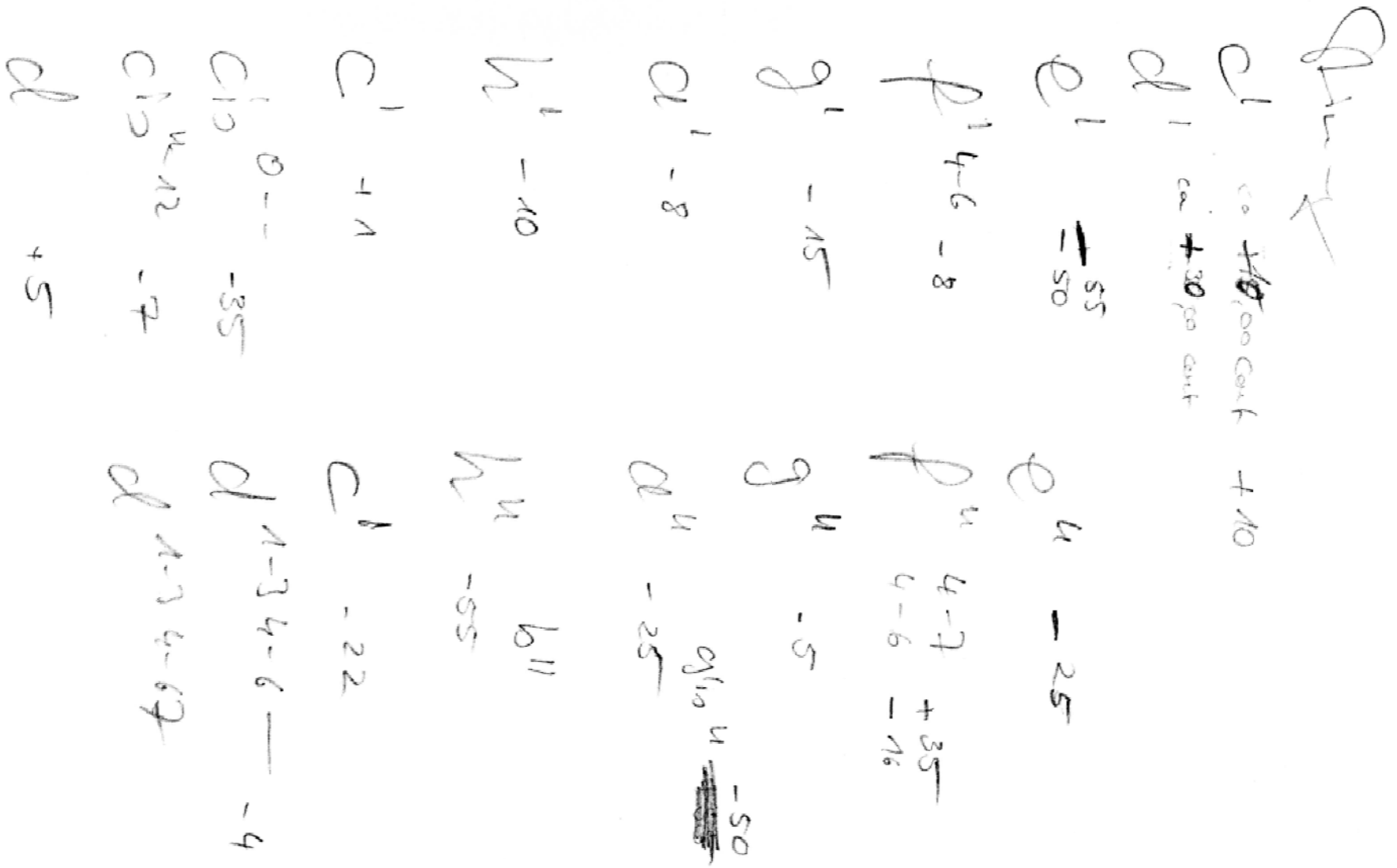


Figure 180. Tuning scale of 1135, D.LE.u, Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig, kindly provided by Stephan Blezinger.

Appendix 2: Inventory of Neapolitan Baroque Recorder Repertoire

INSTRUMENTAL REPERTOIRE **380**

CONCERTOS 380

SINFONIAS 382

SONATAS 384

VOCAL REPERTOIRE **387**

ARIAS 387

CANTATAS 389

OPERAS 392

ORATORIOS 393

SERENATAS 393

PERIPHERAL REPERTOIRE **395**

INSTRUMENTAL REPERTOIRE

Concertos

Work number	Composer	Title	Key	Date	Source	Scoring	Format	Location	RISM	remarks
Ano.CON.01	**Anonymous**	[Collection title page:] Concerti di Flauto Violini | Violetta, e Basso | Di Diversi Autori - Sonata [sic] Quarta	C Major	c. 1725	MS	rec, 2vl, vc, bc	parts, 4 movs.	I-Nc/ MS 34-39 (38.3.13)	ID no. 850003939	
Bar.CON.01	**BARBELLA, Francesco**	[Collection title page:] Concerti di Flauto Violini | Violetta, e Basso | Di Diversi Autori - Sonata [sic] Terza. Del Sig^{r} Franc^{o} Barbella	C Major	c. 1725	MS	rec, 2vl, vc, bc	parts, 4 movs.	I-Nc/ MS 34-39 (38.3.13)	ID no. 850003938	
Fio.CON.01	**FIORENZA, Nicolò**	[Concerto] Del Sig. Nicola [sic] Fiorenza	A Minor	1726	MS	rec, 2vl, bc	parts, 4 movs.	I-Nc/ MS 2210-2217	ID no. 850009567	"Controbasso, o Cembalo". 2 sets of parts.
Fio.CON.02		[title page:] Concerto | Di Flauto Violini e Violetta Vio= | longello [sic], e Basso | Del Sigr. Nicolò Fiorenza | 1728	F Minor	1728	MS	rec, [3]vl, violetta, bc	parts, 4 movs.	I-Nc/ MS 2293-2297	-	*Violino Obbligato* part missing.
Man.CON.01	**MANCINI, Francesco**	[Collection title page:] Concerti di Flauto Violini | Violetta, e Basso | Di Diversi Autori - Sonata [sic] P.^{ma} - Del Sig.^{r} Franc.^{sco} Mancini	C Minor	c. 1725	MS	rec, 2vl, vc, bc	parts, 4 movs.	I-Nc/ MS 34-39 (38.3.13)	ID no. 850003936	
Man.CON.02		- Sonata [sic] Quinta - Del Sig.^{r} Franc.^{o} Mancini	G Major	c. 1725	MS	rec, 2vl, vc, bc	parts, 5 movs.		ID no. 850003940	
Man.CON.03		- Sonata [sic] Sesta - Del Sig.^{r} Franc.^{o} Mancini	D Minor	c. 1725	MS	rec, 2vl, vc, bc	parts, 4 movs.		ID no. 850003941	
Man.CON.04		- Sonata [sic] Ottava - Del Sig.^{r} Franc.^{o} Mancini	C Minor	c. 1725	MS	rec, 2vl, vc, bc	parts, 5 movs.		ID no. 850003943	
Man.CON.05		- Sonata [sic] Decima - Del Sig.^{r} Franc.^{o} Mancini	B♭ Major	c. 1725	MS	rec, 2vl, violetta, vc, bc	parts, 4 movs.		ID no. 850024017	
Man.CON.06		- Sonata [sic] Decima Terza - Del Sig.^{r} Franc.^{sco} Mancini	G Minor	c. 1725	MS	rec, 2vl, vc, bc	parts, 4 movs.		ID no. 850024020	

Man.CON.07		- Sonata [sic] Decima Quarta - Del Sig.^{r} Franc.^{o} Mancini	G Minor	c. 1725	MS	rec, 2vl, violetta, vc, bc	parts, 5 movs.		ID no. 850024021	
Man.CON.08		- Sonata [sic] Decima Sesta - Del Sig.^{r} Franc.^{o} Mancini	F Major	c. 1725	MS	rec, 2vl, vc, bc	parts, 4 movs.		ID no. 850024023	
Man.CON.09		- Sonata [sic] Decima Settima - Del Sig.^{r} Franc.^{o} Mancini	A Minor	1725	MS	rec, 2vl, vc, bc	parts, 5 movs.		ID no. 850024024	Last page rec part: "Fine 1725".
Man.CON.10		- Sonata [sic] Decima Ottava - Del Sig.^{r} Fran.^{co} Mancini	F Major	1725	MS	rec, 2vl, vc, bc	parts, 4 movs.		ID no. 850024025	Last page rec part: "Fine 1725".
Man.CON.11		- Sonata [sic] Decima Nona - Del Sig.^{r} Fran.^{co} Mancini	E Minor	c. 1725	MS	rec, 2vl, vc, bc	parts, 5 movs.		ID no. 850024026	
Man.CON.12		- Sonata [sic] Vigesima - Del Sig.^{r} Fran.^{co} Mancini	C Minor	c. 1725	MS	rec, 2vl, vc, bc	parts, 5 movs.		ID no. 850024027	
Mel.CON.01	**MELE, Giovanni Battista**	[Collection title page:] Concerti di Flauto Violini | Violetta, e Basso | Di Diversi Autori - Sonata [sic] Decima Quinta Del Sig^{r} Gio. Battista Mele	F Major	c. 1725	MS	rec, 2vl, vc, bc	parts, 4 movs.	I-Nc/ MS 34-39 (38.3.13)	ID no. 850024022	
Sar.CON.01	**SARRO, Domenico**	[Collection title page:] Concerti di Flauto Violini | Violetta, e Basso | Di Diversi Autori - Sonata [sic] Undecima - Del Sig^{r} Dom^{co} Sarri	A Minor	c. 1725	MS	rec, 2vl, violetta, vc, bc	parts, 4 movs.	I-Nc/ MS 34-39 (38.3.13)	ID no. 850024018	
Sar.CON.02		Basso | Concerto con VV: e Flauto | e Basso | Del Sig^{r}: Domenico Sarri [sic]	D Minor	-	MS	rec, 2vl, bc	parts, 3 movs.	US-NYp/ JOG 72-29 (ZB-4354), vol. 31	ID no. 000109010	NYC Harrach Collection.
Sca.CON.01a	**SCARLATTI, Alessandro**	[Collection title page:] Concerti di Flauto Violini | Violetta, e Basso | Di Diversi Autori - Sonata [sic] Settima - Del Sig.^{r} Ales.^{dro} Scarlatti	D Major	c. 1725	MS	rec, 2vl, vc, bc	parts, 5 movs.	I-Nc/ MS 34-39 (38.3.13)	ID no. 850003942	
Sca.CON.02		- Sonata [sic] Nona - Del Sig.^{r} Ales.^{o} Scarlatti	A Minor	c. 1725	MS	rec, 2vl, vc, bc	parts, 5 movs.		ID no. 850024016	
Sca.CON.03		- Sonata [sic] Duodecima - Del Sig.^{r} Ales.^{o} Scarlatti	C Minor	c. 1725	MS	rec, 2vl, vc, bc	parts, 5 movs.		ID no. 850024019	

Sca.CON.04		- Sonata [sic] Vigesima P.^{ma} - Del Sig.^{r} Cav.$^{~}$ Aless.^{o} Scarlatti	A Minor	c. 1725	MS	rec, 2vl, vc, bc	parts, 4 movs.		ID no. 850024028	
Sca.CON.05		- Sonata [sic] Vigesima Seconda - Del Sig.^{r} Cav.$^{~}$ Aless.^{o} Scarlatti	A Major	c. 1725	MS	rec, 2vl, vc, bc	parts, 4 movs.		ID no. 850024029	
Sca.CON.06		- Sonata [sic] Vigesima Terza - Del Sig.^{r} Cav.$^{~}$ Aless.^{o} Scarlatti	C Major	c. 1725	MS	rec, 2vl, vc, bc	parts, 4 movs.		ID no. 850024030	
Sca.CON.07		- Sonata [sic] Vigesima Quarta - Del Sig.^{r} Cav.$^{~}$ Aless.^{o} Scarlatti	G Minor	c. 1725	MS	rec, 2vl, vc, bc	parts, 4 movs.		ID no. 850024031	
Sca.CON.01b		Prima Sonata [sic] per Flauto ed strumenti ad arco | Alessandro Scarlatti (1725)	D Major	1725	MS	rec, 2vl, vla, vc, bc	score	I-Bc/BB.408 (a/b)	-	Another copy of Sca.CON.01. A viola line has been inserted in some passages, otherwise "col basso". 4th and 5th movements in duplicate.
Val.CON.01	**VALENTINE, Robert**	[Collection title page:] Concerti di Flauto Violini | Violetta, e Basso | Di Diversi Autori - Sonata Seconda. Del Sig^{r} Roberto Valentini	B♭ Major	1725	MS	rec, 2vl, vc, bc	parts, 5 movs.	I-Nc/ MS 34-39 (38.3.13)	ID no. 850003937	Last page rec part: "Fine 1725".
Vin.CON.01	**VINCI, Leonardo**	[title page:] Basso | Concerto con V.V. e Flauto e Basso | Del Sig:^{r} Leonardo Vinci	A Minor	-	MS/ modern edition (2011)	rec, 2vl, bc	parts, 3 movs.	-	ID no. 000106028	MS now lost (US-CHH/ no call number), library has digital copies; Ed.: Lasocki.

Sinfonias

Work number	Composer	Title	Key	Date	Source	Scoring	Format	Location	RISM	remarks
Fio.SIN.01	**FIORENZA, Nicolò**	[bass part:] Sinfonia a Flauto solo | con VV: e Basso | Del sigr.: Nicolò Fiorenza	G Minor	-	MS	rec, 3vl, bc	parts, 4 movs.	I-Nc/ MS 2258-2262	-	
Fio.SIN.02		[Sinfonia] Del Sigr. Nicola [sic] Fiorenza	C Minor	-	MS	rec, 3vl, violetta, vc	parts, 4 movs.	I-Nc/ MS 2263-2268	-	"Sinfonia" written by another (later) hand on the cello part.
Pop.SIN.01	**PORPORA, Nicola**	Sinfonia	D Minor	-	modern edition (1963)		parts, 4 movs.	-	-	No original MS available. Ed.: McGinnis & Marx, NYC.

Ros.SIN.01	**ROSA, Filippo**	[Collection title page:] Sinfonie di Varij Autori - Sinfonia [sic] a Flauto Solo e Basso | Del Sig:^{e} Filippo Rosa	F Major	-	MS	rec, bc	score, 4 movs.	I-PAc/ ms. CF-V-23	-	P. A. Parensi Collection. In the same collection are 3 sonatas by Sarro (see below).
Sca.SIN.01–12	**SCARLATTI, Alessandro**	*see next entry*	-	1715	MS	2rec, 2vl, vla, vc, bc	parts, 5 movs.	GB-Lbl/ R.M.21.b.15	Collection ID no. 800247291	Set of later parts for the following score.
Sca.SIN.01		- [Collection first page:] Cominciate al P^{o} Giugno 1715 | Sinfonia Prima, di Concerto Grosso, con due Flauti | D'Alessandro Scarlatti	F Major	1715	MS	2rec, 2vl, vla, vc, bc	score 5 movs.	GB-Lbl/ R.M.21.b.14	Collection ID no. 800247278	An annotation by another hand in the last 2 bars of "Sinfonia Quinta" indicates oboes [sic] to switch parts (first to second and vice-versa).
Sca.SIN.02		- [Sinfonia Seconda]	D Major			tpt, rec, 2vl, vla, vc, bc	5 movs.			
Sca.SIN.03		- [Sinfonia] 3. [sic]	D Minor			rec, 2vl, vla, vc, bc	5 movs.			
Sca.SIN.04		- [Sinfonia] Quarta	E Minor			rec, ob/vl, 2vl, vla, vc, bc	4 movs.			
Sca.SIN.05		- [Sinfonia] Quinta	D Minor			2 rec, 2vl, vla, vc, bc	5 movs.			
Sca.SIN.06		- [Sinfonia] Sesta	A Minor			rec, 2vl, vla, vc, bc	5 movs.			
Sca.SIN.07		- [Sinfonia] Settima	G Minor			rec, 2vl, vla, vc, bc	4 movs.			
Sca.SIN.08		- [Sinfonia] Ottava	G Major			rec, 2vl, vla, vc, bc	5 movs.			
Sca.SIN.09		- [Sinfonia] Nona	G Minor			rec, 2vl, vla, vc, bc	6 movs.			
Sca.SIN.10		- [Sinfonia] Decima	A Minor			rec, 2vl, vla, vc, bc	5 movs.			
Sca.SIN.11		- [Sinfonia] Undecima	C Major			rec, 2vl, vla, vc, bc	5 movs.			
Sca.SIN.12		- [Sinfonia] Duodecima | La Geniale	C Minor			rec, 2vl, vla, vc, bc	4 movs.			

Sca.SIN.13		[title page parts:] Sinfonia à 3. Flauti | Del Sig: Scarlatti [untitled score]	F Major	-	MS	3rec, bc	score & parts, 3 movs.	D-MÜs (MÜp)/ SANT Hs 3957b (Nr. 6)	ID no. 451018974	Santini Collection. In: Quattro Quartetti a due Violini Viola e Basso | Sonata con Flauto, due Violini e Basso | Sonata a 3. Flauti e Violoncello | Sonata a due Flauti due Violini e Violoncello | Del Cavaliere Alessandro Scarlatti (ID no. 451018968).

Sonatas

Work number	Composer	Title	Key	Date	Source	Scoring	Format	Location	RISM	remarks
Ano.SON.01	**Anonymous**	[title page:] Sonata Di Flauto è | Basso | 1759	F Major	1759	MS	rec, bc	score, 4 movs.	I-Nc/ MS 146 (34.4.5)	-	Together with another unsigned sonata (by F. Mancini); see below.
Ano.SON.02		[title page:] Sonata à Flauto solo è Basso	D Minor	-	MS	rec, bc	score, 4 movs.	US-NYp/ JOG 72-29 (ZB-4354), vol. 31	ID no. 000109011	NYC Harrach Collection. 1st mov. "Amoroso". Together with the Sarro concerto ID no. 000109010 (see above).
Ano.SON.03		Sonata à Flauto Solo, e Basso	F Minor	-	MS	rec, bc	score, 4 movs.	US-NYp/ JOG 72-29 (ZB-4354), vol. 17	ID no. 000108955	Ibid.
Fio.SON.01	**FIORENZA, Nicolò**	Sonata à Flauto solo Del Sig. Fiorenza	A Minor	-	MS	rec, bc	score, 4 movs.	US-NYp/ JOG 72-29 (ZB-4354), vol. 17	ID no. 000108948	Ibid. f.1r, pencil: "ô bei Frank Altmann" (refers to the Kurzgefasstes Tonkünstler-Lexikon, compiled by Wilhelm Altmann and Paul Frank, in which Fiorenza is not to be found). Same annotation in a sonata by Francesco Sarti (same volume).
Leo.SON.01	**LEO, Leonardo**	Sonata à Flauto Solo | Del Sig.r Leonardo Leo	F Major	-	MS	rec, bc	score, 4 movs.	US-NYp/ JOG 72-29 (ZB-4354), vol. 17 (No.7)	ID no. 000108969	Ibid.
Leo.SON.02		[title page:] Sonata à Flauto Solo| Basso | Del Sig.r Leonardo Leo	G Minor	-	MS	rec, bc	score, 4 movs.	Ibid.	ID no. 000108970	Ibid.
Leo.SON.03		[title page:] Sonata á [sic] Flauto Solo | e Basso | Del Sig.r Lonardo [sic] Leo	D Minor	-	MS	rec, bc	score, 3 movs.	Ibid.	ID no. 000108971	Ibid.

Leo.SON.04		[title page:] Sonata á [sic] Flauto solo | Del sig.^{e} Leonardo Leo	F Major	-	MS	rec, bc	score, 4 movs.	Ibid.	ID no. 000108965	Ibid.
Leo.SON.05		Sonata à Flauto Solo, e Basso | Del Sig.^{r} Leonardo Leo	C Major	-	MS	rec, bc	score, 4 movs.	Ibid.	ID no. 000108966	Ibid.
Leo.SON.06		Sonata á [sic] Flauto solo | Del Sig.^{r} Leonardo Leo	D Minor	-	MS	rec, bc	score, 4 movs.	Ibid.	ID no. 000108967	Ibid.
Leo.SON.07		Sonata á [sic] Flauto solo | Del Sig.^{r} Leonardo Leo	F Major	-	MS	rec, bc	score, 4 movs.	Ibid.	ID no. 000108968	Ibid.
	MANCINI, Francesco	[Collection title page:] XII Solos for a Violin or Flute. | […] By | Sig:^{ra} [sic] Francesco Mancini. […] [John Barrett and William Smith, London]		1724	print	rec, bc	score	GB-Lbl/ Music Collections g.680	-	Reprints: Walsh & Hare, 1727, "XII Solos for a Violin […] carefully Revis'd [sic] and Corrected By Mr. Geminiani" (no changes to the musical text), GB-Lbl/Music Coll. i.11. & Music Coll. h.1729.yy.(1.); again c.1730, "XII Solos for a Flute" (once again, no changes to the musical text), GB-Ckc/ Rw 16.58/10.
Man.SON.01		- Sonata I	D Minor				4 movs.			
Man.SON.02		- Sonata II	E Minor				4 movs.			
Man.SON.03a		- Sonata III	C Minor				4 movs.			
Man.SON.04		- Sonata IV	A Minor				4 movs.			
Man.SON.05		- Sonata V	D Major				5 movs.			
Man.SON.06		- Sonata VI	B♭ Major				4 movs.			
Man.SON.07		- Sonata VII	C Major				5 movs.			
Man.SON.08		- Sonata VIII	G Minor				4 movs.			
Man.SON.09		- Sonata IX	F Minor				4 movs.			
Man.SON.10		- Sonata X	B Minor				4 movs.			
Man.SON.11		- Sonata XI	G Minor				4 movs.			
Man.SON.12		- Sonata XII	G Major				5 movs.			
Man.SON.03b		[title page:] Sonata Di Flauto Solo è | Basso | 1759	C Minor	1759	MS	rec, bc	score, 4 movs.	I-Nc/ MS 146 (34.4.5)	-	Same as Sonata III of "XII Solos", see above. Small changes in the range, and a couple added bars.
	PIANI, Giovanni Antonio	Sonate | a Violino [sic] solo e Violoncello col Cimbalo | […] | Da' | Gio: An: Piani detto Des Planes Napolitane | […] | Opera Prima | In Parigi | 1712		1712	print	vl/rec/tra, bc	score	US-DLC/ M312.A2.P58 op. 1, CASE	-	Also: F-Pn; GB-Lbl. Set of 12 sonatas. "Il y a six Sonates dans ce Livre qu'on pourra jouer sur les Flûtes a bec, et Traversieres… sçavoir, La I.^{re} III.^{e} VI.^{e} VII.^{e} IX.^{e} et X.^{en}". Not always within the range of any flute (B♭3), and some contain passages with double stops. These 6 "flute" sonatas were reprinted in Amsterdam by Roger before 1716 (cat. 190).
Pia.SON.01		- Sonata I.^{a}	G Minor				4 movs.			
Pia.SON.02		- Sonata III.^{a}	F Major				4 movs.			
Pia.SON.03		- Sonata VI.^{a}	G Major				5 movs.			
Pia.SON.04		- Sonata VII.^{a}	C Minor				4 movs.			
Pia.SON.05		- Sonata IX.^{a}	A Minor				4 movs.			

Pia.SON.06		- Sonata X.[a]	D Major				5 movs.			
Pia.SON.07		Sonata per flauto di Gio: Ant: Drani [sic]	E Minor	-	MS	rec, bc	3 movs.	US-NYp/ JOG 72-29 (ZB-4354), vol.17	ID no. 000108946	Almost same as Sonata VII[a] of Op.1: transposed 3rd higher, without the 3rd movement; small discrepancies in ornamentation.
Pos.SON.01	**PORSILE, Giuseppe**	[Incomplete] Flauto Solo. Del Sig. [cut]	C Major	-	MS	rec, bc	score, 2 movs.	US-NYp/ JOG 72-29 (ZB-4354), vol. 17	ID no. 000108956	NYC Harrach Collection. Bottom of 1st page: "Porsile" (different handwriting). RISM assigns it to L.-C. Daquin.
Pul.SON.01	**PULLJ, Pietro**	[title page:] Sonata a Flauto Solo è Basso | Del Sigr: Pietro Pullj | 1759	G Major	1759	MS	rec, bc	score, 3 movs.	I-Nc/ MS 7638	-	
Pul.SON.02		[title page:] Sonata a Flauto Solo è Basso | Del Sigr: Pietro Pullj | 1759	G Minor	1759	MS	rec, bc	score, 3 movs.	I-Nc/ MS 7639	-	
Pul.SON.03		[title page:] Sonata a Flauto Solo è Basso | Del Sigr: Pietro Pullj | 1759	F Major	1759	MS	rec, bc	score, 3 movs.	I-Nc/ MS 7640	-	
Pul.SON.04		[title page:] Sonata a Flauto Solo è Basso | Del Sigr: Pietro Pullj | 1759	B♭ Major	1759	MS	rec, bc	score, 3 movs.	I-Nc/ MS 7641	-	
Sar.SON.01	**SARRO, Domenico**	[Collection title page:] Sinfonie di varij autori - Sonata da Camera a Flauto Solo, e Basso Del Sig: Domenico Sarri [sic] | Sonata S.da [sic]	F Major	-	MS	rec, bc	score, 3 movs.	I-PAc/ ms. CF-V-23	-	P. A. Parensi Collection.
Sar.SON.02		- Sonata 2:[a]	G Minor	-	MS	rec, bc	score, 5 movs.	I-PAc/ ms. CF-V-23	-	
Sar.SON.03		- Sonata 3:[a]	D Major	-	MS	rec, bc	score, 5 movs.	I-PAc/ ms. CF-V-23	-	
Sar.SON.04		- [title page:] Sonata à Flauto Solo, e | Basso | Del Sig. Domenico Sarri [sic]	F Major	-	MS	rec, bc	score, 3 movs.	US-NYp/ JOG 72-29 (ZB-4354), vol. 17	ID no. 000108980	NYC Harrach Collection.
Sca.SON.01	**SCARLATTI, Alessandro**	Del Sr. Scarlatti | 26. Giug. | 1699	F Major	1699	MS	rec, bc	score, 4 movs.	D-MÜs (MÜp)/ Sant Hs 3975 (Nr. 13)	ID no. 451023636	Santini Collection.
Sca.SON.02		Del Sr. Scarlatti	G Major	c. 1699	MS	rec, bc	score, 7 movs.	D-MÜs (MÜp)/ SANT Hs 3975 (Nr. 14)	ID no. 451023637	Ibid.

Sca.SON.03		Sonata a 3.	C Major	-	MS	2rec, bc	score, 1 mov.	D-MÜs (MÜp)/ SANT Hs 3975 (Nr. 16)	ID no. 451023639	Ibid. Only 1 movement.
Sca.SON.04		Sonata [sic] con Flauto due Violini e Basso	F Major	-	MS	rec, 2vl, bc (vc, cemb.)	score and parts, 4 movs.	D-MÜs (MÜp)/ SANT Hs 3957b (Nr. 5)	ID no. 451018973	Ibid. In: Quattro Quartetti a due Violini Viola e Basso | Sonata con Flauto, due Violini e Basso | Sonata a 3. Flauti e Violoncello | Sonata a due Flauti due Violini e Violoncello | Del Cavaliere Alessandro Scarlatti (ID no. 451018968). 1st mov.: "Spiritoso".
Sca.SON.05		a due Flauti due Violini e Violoncello	A Major	-	MS	2rec, 2vl, vc	score, 3 movs.	D-MÜs (MÜp)/ SANT Hs 3957b (Nr. 7)	ID no. 451018975	Ibid. In: Quattro Quartetti a due Violini Viola e Basso | Sonata con Flauto, due Violini e Basso | Sonata a 3. Flauti e Violoncello | Sonata a due Flauti due Violini e Violoncello | Del Cavaliere Alessandro Scarlatti (ID no. 451018968). The 1st rec part goes down to D4 = voice-flute?
Vin.SON.01	**VINCI, Leonardo**	[title page:] Sonata a Flauto solo, e | Basso | Del Sig^{r} Leonardo Vinci	C Minor	-	modern edition (2011)	rec, bc	score, 4 movs.	-	ID no. 000106036	MS now lost (US-CHH/ no call number), library has digital copies; Ed.: Lasocki.
Vin.SON.02		[title page:] Sonata à Flauto solo, e | Basso | Del Sig^{r} Leonardo Vinci	A Minor	-	modern edition (2011)	rec, bc	score, 5 movs.	-	ID no. 000106029	MS now lost (US-CHH/ no call number), library has digital copies; Ed.: Lasocki.

VOCAL REPERTOIRE

Arias

Work number	Composer	Title	Key	Date	Source	Scoring	Format	Location	RISM	remarks
Pos.ARI.01	**PORSILE, Giuseppe**	[Collection title page:] Il ritorno d'Ulisse | Arie con stromenti | Del Sig:^{r} Giuseppe Porsile | 1707 *La costanza con amore*	F Major	1707	MS	A, rec, bc	score	I-Nc/ Cantate 236@39 (34.4.15)	-	

Sar. ARI.01	**SARRO, Domenico**	Aria della Sig[ra] Amerighi *Sento che va coprendo* (from *La Partenope*)	B♭ Major	1722	MS	A, rec, 2vl, 2vla, bc	score	I-Nc/ Cantate 258@16 (Coll. 31.3.13)	ID no. 850018767	Collection of 17 works. Incorrect attribution to "Sig.r Scarlatti" (also in the catalogue.) Another copy attributed to Vinci (I-Nc/ Arie 616@3/ 34.5.25).
Sar.ARI.02		Aria della Sig[ra] Faustina *Begl'occhi del mio ben*	B♭ Major	1722	MS	S, 2rec, 2vl, vla, bc	score	I-Nc/ Cantate 258@14	ID no. 850018765	Ibid.
Sca.ARI.01	**SCARLATTI, Alessandro**	Del S[e] Alless[o] Scarlatti | 1701 *Sconsolato Rusignolo*	C Minor	1701	MS	S, rec, 2vl, vla, bc	score	D-MÜs (MÜp)/ SANT Hs 3934 (Nr. 1)	ID no. 451023511	Santini Collection. For "flautino". Followed by *"Filli tu sai s'io t'amo".*
Sca.ARI.02		Aria con Flauti = All'Unisono *Cor mio dopo le pene*	A Minor	-	MS	S, 2rec, bc	score	D-MÜs (MÜp)/ SANT Hs 3975 (Nr. 9)	ID no. 451023632	Ibid. Contains other works from Naples; followed by "*Fatale è quest'impero".*
Sca.ARI.03		Aria con Flauto *Fatale è quest'impero*	D Major	-	MS	S, rec, bc	score	D-MÜs (MÜp)/ SANT Hs 3975 (Nr. 10)	ID no. 451023633	Ibid. Followed by "*Sento in seno un certo affetto".*
Sca.ARI.04		Aria con Flauto *Sento in seno un certo affetto*	D Major	-	MS	S, rec, bc	score	D-MÜs (MÜp)/ SANT Hs 3975 (Nr. 11)	ID no. 451023634	Ibid.
Sca.ARI.05		Del Sig.[r] Alessandro Scarlatti | Aria à 2. *Decrepito Adone t'ho pur compassione* (from *L'Eraclea*)	F Major	c. 1700	MS	S, B, 2rec, vl(s), vla(s), bc	score	GB-Lbl/ R.M.23.f.4	ID no. 800184733	Teatro S. Bartolomeo, 1700.
Sca.ARI.06		Flautino solo. Del Sig.[r] Alessandro Scarlatti. *Farfalletta ch'amante deliro* (from *L'Eraclea*)	A Major	c. 1700	MS	S, rec, bc	score	GB-Lbl/ R.M.23.f.4	ID no. 800184735	Teatro S. Bartolomeo, 1700.
Sca.ARI.07		[ ] *Quando Irato il Toro mugge* (from *Erminia*)	B Minor	c. 1723	MS	B, 2rec, 2bsn, vl(s), vla(s), bc	score	GB-Lbl/ Add. 14209	ID no. 806155773	Palazzo Stigliano, 1723.
Sca.ARI.08		Aria *Mentre quel solco ara il bifolco*	B♭ Major	c. 1723	MS	B, 2rec, 2ob, 2vl, vla, bc	score	GB-Lbl/ Add. 14209	ID no. 806155774	Palazzo Stigliano, 1723.
Sca.ARI.09		*Spunta su l'alba vezzoso gelsomin*	F Major	-	MS	S, 2rec, 2vl, vla, 2vc, bc	score	D-Hs/ ND VI 1075 (Nr. 22)	ID no. 451513087	The collection contains (only) excerpts of works by Scarlatti.

Vin.ARI.01	**VINCI, Leonardo**	Alle Dame 1725. Del Sig.ʳ Leonardo Vinci *Quell'usignuolo ch'innamorato*	G Major	1725	MS	S, 2rec, 2hn, 2vl, violetta, bc	score	US-NYp/ JOG 72-29 (ZB-4354), vol. 9	ID no. 000108904	NYC Harrach Collection. Part of collection of 10 vocal pieces by Vinci. "Flautino Pmo | Flautino 2.º". Based on range: sopraninos.

Cantatas

Work number	Composer	Title	Key	Date	Source	Scoring	Format	Location	RISM	remarks
Ano.CAN.01	**Anonymous**	Cantata a Voce sola di contraldo [sic] con Flauto *Tornò la calda estate*	-	1724	MS	A, rec, bc	score	I-Nc/ Cantate 26 (Coll. 33.5.24)	ID no. 850009597	At the end: "Fine 1724".
Ano.CAN.02		Non lasciarmi ò bella Speme | Cantata a Voce Sola | Con Flauto *Non lasciarmi o bella speme*	-	-	MS	A, rec, bc	score	I-Nc/ Cantate 26 (Coll. 33.5.24-6)	ID no. 850009592	Collection of 26 vocal works, includes cantata by Sarro and Porpora. Text by Emanuele d'Astorga and Giuseppe M. Orlandini (other cantatas by d'Astorga with the same text).
Fis.CAN.01	**FISCHETTI, Giovanni**	Cantata à Voce Sola, e Flauto ~ Del Sig:ʳ Gio: Fischetti *Pur nel sonno almen fal'ora*	-	-	MS	S, rec, bc	score	D-MÜs (MÜp)/ SANT Hs 1524 (Nr. 1136)	ID no. 451013931	1st aria: "Lento, e amoroso".
Pop.CAN.01	**(PORPORA, Nicola)**	[Collection title page:] Composizioni vocali profane *Movo il piè lo sguardo giro*	-	-	MS	A, [ ], bc	score	I-Nc/ Cantate 26 (Coll. 33.5.24)	ID no. 850009591	Although Anonymous in this copy, the same cantata can be found in D-MEIr/Ed. 82B as "Cantata. / Del Sig:r Nicolo Porpora". Range fits rec, except for one E4: tenor?
Pop.CAN.02	**PORPORA, Nicola**	Cantata col flauto del Sig. Porpora *Freme il mar e col sussurro par che dica*	-	-	MS	S, rec, bc	score	I-Nc/ Coll. 34.6.25 (olim Cantate 44-11)	-	Another copy in CH-Cg "Con flauto traversiero". 1st aria: "Amoroso".
Pop.CAN.03		Cantata | Canto solo con il Flauto | Del Sig:ʳ Nicola Porpora *Fille narrommi giorno il dotto alceo*	-	-	MS	S, rec, bc	score	B-Br/ Ms II 3952 Mus Fétis 2431	ID no. 700006600	Fétis Collection. 2 rec arias. Range fits rec, except for one E4: tenor?
Pop.CAN.04		Cantata | Canto solo con il Flauto | Del Sig:ʳ Nicola Porpora *Fille oh Dio chi t'asconde*	-	-	MS	S, rec, bc	score	B-Br / Ms II 3952 Mus Fétis 2431	ID no. 700006598	Ibid. 2 rec arias. Association of the recorder with the *tortorella*.

Pop.CAN.05		Cantata a flauto solo | del Sr Nicolo Porpora *Di partita crudel numi*	-	-	MS	S, rec, bc	score	F-Pn/ D-1729 (9)	-	
Pop.CAN.06		Cantata a flauto solo | del Sr Nicolo Porpora *Come al tornar del verno*	-	-	MS	S, rec, bc	score	F-Pn/ D- 1729 (8)	-	
Pos.CAN.01	**PORSILE, Giuseppe**	Cantata 25 à Flauto solo *Violetta gentil*	-	-	MS	S, rec, bc	score	H-Bb/ 1577a	ID no. 530003909	Other copies in B-Bc and A-Wn, both also "Cantata 25".
Pos.CAN.02		Cantata 26 à Flauto solo *Posa sopra d'un faggio lieta la Tortorella*	-	-	MS	S, rec, bc	score	H-Bb/ 1577a	ID no. 530003910	Another copy in B-Bc, also "Cantata 26". Association of the recorder with the *tortorella*.
Pos.CAN.03		Cantata: 1:[a] | [by later hand:] de Porsile *E già tre volte sorse dall'onde il sole*	-	-	MS	S, rec, bc	score	B-Bc/ 15155/1	ID no. 703002540	Another copy in H-Bb/ 1577a (missing rec part?). 2 rec. arias.
Sar.CAN.01	**SARRO, Domenico**	Cantata a voce sola di Soprano con Flauto | Del Sig.[r] Dom:[co] Sarri *Se pur fosse il cor capace*	-	-	MS	S, rec, bc		I-Nc/ Cantate 26 (Coll. 33.5.24)	ID no. 850021404	Collection of 26 vocal works, which includes other Anonymous works with rec. Previous owner: P. Giovanni M.a Pig.ti. [sic]
Sar.CAN.02		Cantata Prima a 3 Voci con Istromenti Tra Daliso, Eurilla, e Fileno da Cantarsi nelle nozze delli Ec.mi Sig.ri Marchesi d'Arena Musica Del Sig.r Domenico Sarro	-	-	MS	2S, A, rec, 2hn, 2vl, vla, vc, bc		I-Nc/ Coll. H.3.9, (Cantate 387) + Coll. H.3.10, (Cantate 388)	-	In 2 parts.
Sca.CAN.01	**SCARLATTI, Alessandro**	*Ardo, è ver, per te d'Amore*	-	-	MS	S, rec, bc	score	I-Nc/ 34.5.11		Other copies in I-Nc (34.5.10) as well as I-Vlevi.
Sca.CAN.02		Bella Dama di nome Santa | Cantata per Camera | con Flauto, e Violini | Del Sig[r]: | Cavaliere Alessandro Scarlatti *Tu sei quella che al nome sembri*	-	-	MS	A, rec, 3 vl, bc	score	I-Nc/ Cantate 264	ID no. 850018635	Same collection as "*Filli che esprime la sua fede a Fileno*".
Sca.CAN.03		Filli che esprime la sua fede a Fileno, Cantata con VV.[ni] & Flauto | Del Sig[r]: Cavaliere Alessandro Scarlatti *Filen, mio caro bene*	-	-	MS	A, rec, 2vl, bc	score	I-Nc/ Cantate 264 (33.3.10-6&7)	ID no. 850009040	2 copies, back to back. Coll. of 23 cantatas, same as "*Bella Dama di Nome Santa*".

Sca.CAN.04	*Solitudini amene, apriche collinette*	-	-	modern edition (c.1925)	S, rec, bc	score	-	-	Title comes from Grove and Eitner (*Quellen-Lexikon*, 1903). E. J. Dent (1905) refers to 'Royal Library'. Müller-Busch (1991) reports the work to have been lost during WWII, D-Dl confirms it is not extant. Ed.: Zimmermann, Frankfurt (Ary van Leeuwen, Leipzig). Very high rec parts in 1st aria (many high Gs): has probably been transposed an octave higher in some sections. Edition text contains mistakes; incipit: "*Solitudine avvenne, apriche colli notte*".
Sca.CAN.05a	Originale di Scarlatti *Quella pace gradita*	-	-	MS	S, rec, vl, vc, bc	score	D-MÜs (MÜp)/ Ms. 864	ID no. 451002571	Santini Collection. Autograph score. Association of the recorder with the *tortorella*. $E_{\flat}4$ in the flauto part: tenor?
Sca.CAN.05b	Cantata a Voce sola | Con Viol[in]o, e Flauto | Del Sig. Aless[andr]o Scarlatti | Quella Pace gradita	-	-	MS	S, rec, vl, vc, bc	parts	D-MÜs (MÜp)/ Ms. 3921	ID no. 451023498	Ibid. Each part book with bass.
Sca.CAN.06	Cantata a Voce sola | con flauti Ap[ri]le 1701. *Filli tu sai sai s'io t'amo*	-	1701	MS	S, 2rec, bc		D-MÜs (MÜp)/ SANT Hs 3934 (Nr. 2)	ID no. 451023512	Ibid.
Sca.CAN.07	Cantata con Violini e Flauti | Del Sign^{e}. Alles^{o}. Scarlatti *E perche non seguite o Pastorelle*	-	c. 1699	MS	A, 2rec, 2vl, bc	score	D-MÜs (MÜp)/ SANT Hs 3975 (Nr. 1)	ID no. 451023624	Ibid. Followed by "*Mentre Clori la bella*". 4 rec arias. 2nd rec: tenor?
Sca.CAN.08	Con flauti | del Sig. Ales.^{o} Scarlatti *Mentre Clori la bella sotto l'ombre d'un mirto*	-	c. 1699	MS	S, 2rec, bc	score	D-MÜs (MÜp)/ SANT Hs 3975 (Nr. 2)	ID no. 451023625	Ibid. Followed by "*Augellin, vago e canoro*". Another copy in US-IDt (Cantata a Voce sola. con 2. Flauti concertata).
Sca.CAN.09	Del Sig. Alessand[ro] Scarlatti | 26 Giug[no] 1699 *Augellin, vago e canoro*	-	1699	MS	S, 2rec, bc	score	D-MÜs (MÜp)/ SANT Hs 3975 (Nr. 3)	ID no. 451023626	Ibid. Followed by "*Clori mia Clori bella*".
Sca.CAN.10	Del Sig^{r}: Aless.^{o} Scarlatti | 18. Giug. 1699 | Cantata con flauto *Clori mia Clori bella*	-	1699	MS	S, rec, bc	score	D-MÜs (MÜp)/ SANT Hs 3975 (Nr. 4)	ID no. 451023627	Ibid.

Sca.CAN.11		Cantata a Voce sola con flauto *Chi sa dove è la speranza*	-	-	MS	S, rec, bc	score	D-MÜs (MÜp)/ SANT Hs 3975 (Nr. 8)	ID no. 451023631	Ibid.
Sca.CAN.12		Cantata à voce sola, concertata co'l Flauto *Non m'innamora un guardo*	-	-	MS	S, rec, bc	score	US-IDt/no call number	ID no. 000119108	p.58, at end of the piece: "del S^{re} Scarlatti". Rec part goes as low as B♭3.

Operas

Work number	Composer	Title	Key	Date	Source	Scoring	Format	Location	RISM	remarks
Man.OPE.01	**MANCINI, Francesco**	Trajano | Drama per Musica con intermezzi buffi | (Colombina e Pernicone) | Rappresentato nel Teatro S. Bartolomeo | nel Carnevale del 1723 | Poesia Anonimo | Musica di Francesco Mancini	-	1723	MS	2S, 3A, 2T, choir (S, A, T, B), 2rec, 2ob, 2bn, 2tpt, timp, 2vl, vla, vc, bc	score	I-Nc/ Olim Rari 7.1.26 (Coll. 32-2-1)	ID no. 850008686	1 aria with 2 rec.
Sca.OPE.01	**SCARLATTI, Alessandro**	Cambise | Atto p.° | Del Sig.r Cavalier Aless.° Scarlatti | Opera III. Napoli 1719 [Atto 2º and 3º: 1718]	-	1718-1719	MS	4S, 2A, T, B, 2rec, 2ob, 2tpt, 2hn, 2vl, vla, bc	score	I-Nc/ Coll.rari 6.7.24 (31.3.29)	ID no. 850009078	1 aria with 2 rec.
Vin.OPE.01	**VINCI, Leonardo**	Eraclea, drama [sic] per musica di Silvio Stampiglia tra gli Arcadi Palemone Licurio, poeta di sua maestà cesarea e cattolica, da lui rinovato, da rappresentarsi nel Teatro di S. Bartolomeo nell'autunno del 1724. Dedicato all'eminentissimo [...] Cardinale Michele-Federico D'Althann, vicerè [...]		1724	MS	3S, 3A, T, rec, 2ob, 2hn, 2tpt, 2vl, vla, bc	score	I-Nc/ Rari 10.2.10/8 (olim: 5.7.3/g)	-	1 aria with "flautino". Text speaks of "ruscelletto". Another copy in I-MC/6-C-4

Oratorios

Work number	Composer	Title	Key	Date	Source	Scoring	Format	Location	RISM	remarks
Sar.ORA.01	**SARRO, Domenico**	[title page:] Sant'Ermenegildo | Oratorio à 5. con VV. Flauti Oboè, e | Trombe da Caccia. | Del Sig^{r}: Dom.^{co} Sarro. Napolitano. | in Roma 1725. | S: Ermenegildo, Alto.// Ingonda, Soprano// | Leandro, Soprano// Leovigildo, Tenore// | Consigliere, Basso.	-	1725	MS	2S, A, T, B, *2rec*, 2ob, 2hn, 2vl, vla, bc,	score	US-NYp/ JOG 72-29 (ZB-4354), vol. 8	ID no. 000108897	NYC Harrach Collection. "Parte Seconda" is incomplete, ending abruptly. The 1st part doesn't contain any arias with rec.
Sca.ORA.01	**SCARLATTI, Alessandro**	La Giuditta | Oratorio | à Cinque Voci con strumenti | Del Sig^{r} | Alessandro Scarlatti. | Questa fu la miglior Opera di Scarlatti la quale fù regalata dal medẽmo al Cardinal Fieschi	-	1695	MS	2S, A, T, B, 2rec, tpt, trbn, 2vl, vla, vc, db, bc	score	I-Nc/ Sala Riviste 35 Oratorio 95 (Coll. 15-7-23 / XXI. 5. 29	ID no. 850009389	Performed in Rome in 1693/1694 and 1697, and in Naples and Vienna in 1695. 1 Aria with 2 rec (C Major).
Vin.ORA.01	**VINCI, Leonardo**	Oratorio à Quattro Voci | con Stromenti | Maria Angelo Alba Selim | Musica | Del Sig^{r}. Leonardo Vinci *Apre l'Alba con pompe odorose*	-	-	MS	2S, A, B, choir, 2rec, 2ob, 2hn, 2vl, vla, bc	score	I-Nc/ Oratori 93-94 (Sala Riviste 35.9.17-18/35.9.18-19)	ID no. 850009218	In 2 parts. The very beginning of the "Prima Parte" seems to be missing.

Serenatas

Work number	Composer	Title	Key	Date	Source	Scoring	Format	Location	RISM	remarks
Leo.SER.01	**LEO, Leonardo**	Serenata á [sic] 4º Voci| Amore, Diana, Edimione, Proteo | Musica | Del Sig^{r}. Leonardo Leo	-	-	MS	3S, B, 2 rec, 2ob, bn, 2hn, 2vl, vla, 2vc, 2db, 2 archlutes, bc	score	I-Nc/ Cantate 176 (I.2.7)	-	2 arias with 2 rec.

Pos.SER.01	**PORSILE, Giuseppe**	La Virtù, e La Bellezza | in Lega. | Serenata a. 3. Voci. | Festeggiandosi il Nome | di | Sua Altezza Serenissima | Maria Teresa, | Arciduchessa d'Austria | Infanta di Spagna &c: | Nell Anno | MDCCXXII. | Posta in Musica di Giuseppe Porsile Maestro di Cappella […]	-	1722	MS	S, A, T, rec, 2lutes, 2vl, bc	score	A-Wn/ Mus.Hs.17624 Mus	-	1 aria for "Flautto" [sic]; contains solo arpeggiated passages.
Pos.SER.02		Il Giorno felice. | Componimento per Musica allusivo al glorioso giorno| Natalizio | della | Sacra Cesarea, e Cattolica Reale Maestà | di | Elisabetta Cristina | Imperadrice [sic] Regnante | L'Anno 1723. | Poesia di Pietro Pariati […] | Musica di Porsile […]	-	1723	MS	S, S/T, B, 2rec, 2vl, 2lutes, bc	score	A-Wn/ Mus.Hs.17630 Mus	-	6 pieces with rec parts. Not titled Serenata.
Pos.SER.03		Dialoge [sic] Pastorale a Cinque Voci | da Cantarsi | Nel Giorno del Felicissimo Nome | della | Augustissima Imperatrice Regnante. | 1732 | Musica del ~~Sgr Conte Schlik.~~ Porsile *Già per le vie del cielo*	-	1732	MS	S, 2A, T, B, rec, 2vl, 2lutes, bc	score	A-Wn/ Mus.Hs.18005 Mus	-	3 pieces with rec parts. Not titled Serenata.
Sar.SER.01	**SARRO, Domenico**	Serenata à Voci 4:o | con VV: Flauto & Oboé | Alcino Cirene Dalindo Rosmira | Del Sig:r Dom:co Sarri *Rida il mar*	-	c. 1716	MS	4S, 2rec, 2 ob, 2vl, vla, bc	score	GB-Lbl/Add MS 22271	ID. no. 806036399	In 2 parts. 2 arias with 2 rec, one aria in each parts.
Sca.SER.01	**SCARLATTI, Alessandro**	Serenata a Cinque Voci | Con VViolini, Violette, Violoncelli, Oubue, Flauti, e Trombe | Primavera, Estate, Autunno, Inverno, e Giove | Musica | Del Sig.r Cavaliere Alessandro Scarlatti. (La Gloria di primavera) *Nato è già l'austriaco sole*	-	1716	MS	2S, A, T, B, rec, 2ob, bn, 2tpt 2vl, 2vla, 2vc, bc	score	I-Nc/ Cantate 271-272 (21.2.5-6)	ID no. 850009375	Other copies: I-Nc/34.6.34 (Cantate 273-274 and 275) and D-Mbs/ Mus.ms. 1623. 2 rec arias in "Seconda Parte". 1st aria: rec has repeated notes: "rosignuolo".

Sca.SER.02	Serenata a 4 Voci, con | Vary stromenti | Per l'ecc.mo sig.r Principe di Stigliano | In occasione de suoi sponsali | Musica | Del sig.r Cav.re Aless.dro Scarlatti | 1723 *Ove smarrita e sola*	-	1723	MS	S, A, T, B, choir (S, S, A, T), 2rec, 2ob, 2tpt, 2vl, vla, db	score	I-Nc/ Cantate 269 (21.2.7), 270 (6.4.29)	ID no. 850009682	Both copies in I-Nc contain only the "Prima Parte". 6 arias with rec. Other copy: I-MC/ 5-F-9.
Sca.SER.03	Serenata à 3. Voci | Due Canti, et Alto | con più Istromenti | Filli, Clori, e Tirsi | Musica | Del Sig. Cavaliere Alessandro Scarlatti *Dalle fiorite arene*	-	1716	MS	2S, A, 2rec, ob, 2vl, vla, vc, bc	score	D-B/ Mus.ms. 19647	ID no. 452507563	Another copy in D-MÜs. One aria with rec and ob ("Vaga ninfa semplicetta"), in which rec imitates an "augel"; another with "flauto solo" in which it imitates "l'usignolo". "Vaga ninfa" is also to be found as an excerpt in D-Hs/ ND VI 1075 (Nr. 25), RISM ID no. 451513090.

PERIPHERAL REPERTOIRE

Composer	Title	Key	Date	Source	Scoring	Format	Location	RISM	remarks
BONONCINI, Antonio Maria	Cantata con Flauto | Del Sig^{r}. Ant^{o} Bononcini *Idol mio bel tesoro*	G Major	-	MS	S, rec, bc	score	I-Nc/ 34.4.30 (6)	-	CANTATA. 1st aria: "Amoroso".
HÄNDEL, Georg Friederich	Aci, Galatea e Polifemo (HWV72) *Sorge il dì*	F Major (aria)	1708	MS	S, A, B, 2rec, ob, 2tpt, 2vl, vla, 2vc, bc	score	GB-Lbl/ R.M.20.a.1.	ID no. 800247268	CANTATA. "*S'agita in mezzo all'onde*" with 2 rec.
HASSE, Johann Adolf	Aria a solo con Flauto *Tu svenasti il mio tesoro*	E♭ Major	-	MS	A, rec, bc	score	I-Nc/ Cantate 157 (Coll. 33-2-17)	-	ARIA. Goes to high G. Other copies in GB-Lbl and D-Hhg.
	Aria a Solo col Flauto | Corro, volo *Corro volo*	B♭ Major	-	MS	A, rec, bc	score	I-Nc/ Cantate 157 (Coll. 33-2-17)	-	ARIA. Other copy in D-MÜs.
	Aria à solo con Flauto | Mi vuoi morto *Mi vuoi morto, io morirò*	F Major	-	MS	S, rec, bc	score	I-Nc/ Cantate 157 (Coll. 33-2-17)	-	ARIA. Other copies in D-MÜs and D-Dl.
	Aria á solo con Flauto del Sassone | Sento in riva	D Major	-	MS	A, rec, bc	score	I-Nc/ Cantate 157 (Coll. 33-2-17)	-	ARIA. Other copies in D-MÜs.
	Chi mi toglie il mio dolce compagno	F Minor	-	MS	A, rec, vl, vla, bc	score	I-Nc/ Cantate 157 (Coll. 33-2-17)	-	ARIA. Association of the recorder with the *tortorella*. Various other copies.

	Del Sig. Sassone *Per lei mi nacque amore*	G Major		MS	S, 2rec, 2vl, vla, bc	score	I-Nc/ Coll. 33-3-18/15		ARIA. Various other copies.
	Cantata | con Flauto | Del Sigr. | Gio: Adolfo Hasse | detto il Sassone	-	-	MS	A, rec, bc	score	D-MÜs (MÜp)/ SANT Hs 1940 (S.VII.D. 1, Nr. 607)	ID no. 451014817	CANTATA. Santini Collection, which contains various other Neapolitan works (e.g. Scarlatti, Fischetti).
	Cantata [sic] per Flauto | di Giov: Adolfo Hasse	B♭ Major	-	MS	rec, bc	score, 3 movs.	US-NYp/ JOG 72-29 (ZB-4354), vol. 17	ID no. 000108949	SONATA. NYC Harrach Collection. No text extant, or text missing it seems, i.e. sonata.
JOMMELLI, Niccolò	Luglio 1747 In Argentina Cantata A Quattro voci Del Sig. Nicolò Jommelli *Perché da l'alta reggia* [- Aria: "Qual Ape ingegnosa"]	E Major	1747	MS	2S, A, T, choir (A, B), 2rec/tra, 2ob, 2hn, 2tpt, 2vl, vla,	score & parts	I-Tf/ 9 VII 38	ID no. 850007193	CANTATA. Recorder parts in F Major. Further score copy in B-Avh (private). Parts I-Tf: "flautini" and "flauto traverso"; Score I-Tf: "flautini"; B-Avh: "flauti".
MANCINI, Francesco	[Collection title page:] All the song tunes for the flute in the last new opera call'd [sic] Hydaspes. [J. Walsh & John Hare, London]	-	1710	print	rec	-	GB-Ckc/ RW. 86.25	-	COLLECTION. Printed twice in 1710 and again in 1712, and also in 1710 for 2 rec+bc.
MARCELLO, Benedetto	Cantata à Flauto Solo *Pecorelle che pascete*	-	1724	MS	S, rec, bc	score	I-Nc/ Cantate 26 (Coll. 33.5.24)	ID no. 850009593	CANTATA. End of 1st aria: "V.S. Notri". End of the cantata: "finis" and "1724".
MATTEIS, Nicola	[Collection title page:] A collection of new songs, set by Mr Nicola […] [J. Walsh, 1699]	-	1699	print	rec	-	GB-Lbl/ K.4.i.23	-	COLLECTION. Other similar prints in 1685 (various instruments) and 1696 (2rec).
SCARLATTI, Alessandro	[Collection title page:] The most celebrated airs & duets in the opera of Pyrrhus […] [J. Walsh, 1709]	-	1709	print	2rec	-	GB-Lbl/ K.11.d.15.(2.)	-	COLLECTION. 3 other similar prints in 1709, and another c.1730.
TARTINI, Giuseppe	[bass part:] Concertino con Flauto solo | Violini Obligati [sic] | Del Sigre Giuseppe Tartini | Basso	F Major	-	MS	rec, 2vl, bc	parts, 3 movs.	I-Nc/ MS 9936-9939	ID no. 850009162	CONCERTO.

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Summary

This thesis examined two previously neglected topics, Baroque Italian recorders and the Neapolitan Baroque repertoire for the recorder, and then combined both aspects in an artistic outcome.

Chapter 1 presented a compilation of all Italian Baroque recorders currently extant, with comparisons of their technical qualities and information on their makers; all the details on the instruments which were studied are included in Appendix 1. This chapter showed that the twenty-seven Italian Baroque recorders that are currently extant have unjustifiably been neglected in previous studies. The aesthetic, constructional and musical qualities of all these instruments confirm that in parallel to a blossoming repertoire, there was also high-level recorder making in Italy in the Baroque period. The seven makers identified thus far are all concentrated in the north (Venice, Milan, Turin etc.), the only exception being Panormo, who was active in Naples. The materials used in the Italian recorders that were studied range from simple fruitwood to ivory, and all are finely turned on the outside and carefully designed and bored on the inside. With the data extracted from the technical information of the instruments which were studied it was evidenced that, as a whole, the bore of Italian Baroque recorders stands midway between English and German instruments, demonstrating the wish to balance a broad sound and ease of speech.

The ninety-one instrumental works and fifty-three vocal works presented in detail in Chapter 2 form a sizeable repertoire for the recorder in the Baroque period in Naples, and one which is still mostly unfamiliar to modern performers. Furthermore, two of the works discussed in the present study had been hitherto unknown. The more demanding of these Neapolitan works, which make use especially of the higher range of the recorder, are indicative of the existence in Naples of recorders that work well in the higher range, and attest to the level of technical skills of the players for which the works were composed. Only thirty of the 144 works that were listed hint at the possible need for a recorder with double holes. Considering the scarcity of recorders with double-holes extant today, this suggests that our modern expectations of how those notes should sound in order to be 'acceptable' is far from the reality of how they sounded in the eighteenth century. Stylistic traits that are observable in the Neapolitan repertoire for the recorder were described, e.g. theatrical elements such as contrasting fast/slow sections, abrupt pauses, surprising harmonic progressions; tempo indications such as Amoroso, Spiritoso, Comodo etc. The examples of ornamentation in the

solfeggi and in the sonatas that were included at the end of this chapter show that ornamenting was also a compositional skill that was taught and exercised. The vast majority of the Neapolitan recorder repertoire exists only in manuscript form, and this attests to the private life of the instrument in that city; but the fact that these works are dispersed in a variety of 'foreign' collections serves as proof of the popularity of the composers outside of Naples. Although the greater part of the dated works falls within the years 1724–1725, the totality of the repertoire of vocal and instrumental music is dated between 1695 and 1759. All the works are listed in detail in Appendix 2.

Chapter 3 provided a landscape for the surroundings of the music which was studied. Naples has a rich past, which has left a diverse and interesting cultural legacy. It was not only a musical capital in the eighteenth century, sought after by music lovers, but also made popular by the beauty and dramatic backdrop of its geographic location. The dichotomy created by beauty and pleasure on the one side, and turbulence and sorrow on the other, was explored by artists of the city, as well as described in the chronicles of visitors through the centuries. The recorder or "flauto" was present in the conservatories of Naples, where it was clearly distinguished from the traverso. Although the conservatories bought recorders for the students, as the expense lists presented in this chapter show, we unfortunately have no mention of the names of makers. The presence in Naples of an abundant variety of foreign musicians and *luthiers* offers us the possibility of considering that the recorders used in the city also came from abroad. Since, for example, the famous instruments by the Denners reached not only the north of Italy but also as far as China, they could have easily reached Naples. The conservatories were financially supported by various patrons, some foreign, for example, from the Low Lands; diplomats and the viceroys of Naples were also foreigners who had strong links with their own countries and who were art patrons during their Neapolitan stay. In this case, it is plausible to link Naples with instrument makers in these regions as well. A further avenue for the arrival of foreign instruments in Naples was presented by retracing Ignatio Rion's travel south. Inventory lists of aristocratic figures of the time confirm the presence of the recorder in this private realm, a fact that is corroborated by two paintings, by Giuseppe Bonito and Carlo Amalfi, which portray the recorder exactly in this setting. A review of the Baroque recorders found in the iconography of the rest of Italy, especially Venice, for traces of their design, confirmed that the depicted instruments can actually be easily linked to some of the actual instruments studied in a variety of their design profiles.

Reviewing all the information presented in the previous chapters, in view of combining all this knowledge with performance in mind, Chapter 4 confirmed the main origins of recorders for the Neapolitan repertoire: from Habsburg cities, from Venice and made in Naples. Further to those, it was noted that instruments brought to Naples by foreigners might have originated further afield, such as the instruments by Peter Bressan, among others. Reversing the order of inquiry, and looking at what the music tells us, it was possible to conclude that the majority of the repertoire can be played on (a copy of) the Panormo alto, for example, but that a few of the more technically virtuosic works would be better rendered by using an instrument with easier high notes, such as those by Jacob Denner. On further aspects of performance practice this chapter proposed that the works with strings be performed with one player to a part, for textural as well as acoustic balance. We saw that the continuo group indicated for these kinds of works varies considerably, but includes cello, double bass and harpsichord, and possibly archlute. Still, this chapter suggested that the sonatas be performed with only a harpsichord when the writing is one of equality between soprano and bass voices, and with harpsichord and cello in the works in which the bass is simpler and more Galant. On the matter of pitch in Naples, A=410–415 Hz seems to be the point where diverse sources meet, and that means that many of the recorders studied would be 'suitable'. Finally, combining the tuning found on the recorders with other relevant historical information, an adjusted form of 1/6 comma meantone was proposed to be what would work best for the performance of the Neapolitan repertoire, as a compromise demanded by the impossibilities of 'just intonation'. Last, the author's reflections on the impact of this study on her own playing made her realize that more than finding instruments for the Neapolitan repertoire that was mapped – the original quest – she discovered a world of possibilities for the performance of this music through re-evaluating her relationship with the recorder, through learning to listen to the instruments themselves, old and new.

Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift heeft twee, voorheen veronachtzaamde, onderwerpen onderzocht: Italiaanse barokblokfluiten en het Napolitaans barokrepertoire voor de blokfluit. De combinatie van onderzoek op deze twee gebieden heeft geleid tot artistieke conclusies.

Hoofdstuk 1 geeft een compilatie van alle bestaande Italiaanse barokblokfluiten, met vergelijkingen van hun technische kwaliteiten en informatie over hun bouwers (details over de bestudeerde instrumenten zijn weergegeven in Appendix 1). Dit hoofdstuk laat zien dat de 27 nog bestaande Italiaanse barokblokfluiten ten onrechte zijn veronachtzaamd in voorgaande studies. De esthetische, constructieve en muzikale kwaliteiten van al deze instrumenten bevestigen, dat er, parallel aan het florerende repertoire, in de barok ook op hoog niveau blokfluiten werden gemaakt in Italië. De zeven bouwers die tot nu toe zijn geïdentificeerd bevonden zich voornamelijk in het noorden (onder meer in Venetië, Milaan en Turijn). De enige uitzondering is Panormo, die actief was in Napels. Blijkens de studie varieerden de materialen die in de Italiaanse blokfluiten werden gebruikt van simpel vruchtenhout tot ivoor, en alle waren met zorg ontworpen, aan de buitenkant met precisie gedraaid, en aan de binnenkant geboord. Uit de gegevens die zijn verkregen uit technisch onderzoek naar de instrumenten werd duidelijk dat, over het algemeen, het boorprofiel van Italiaanse barokblokfluiten zich ergens halverwege de Engels en Duitse instrumenten bevindt. Dit demonstreert de wens naar een balans tussen een breed geluid en speelgemak.

In Hoofdstuk 2 worden 91 instrumentale en 53 vocale werken tot in detail besproken. Zij vormen samen een aanzienlijk repertoire voor de blokfluit in Napels ten tijde van de barok. Dit repertoire is nog steeds voor een groot deel onbekend bij hedendaagse musici. Twee werken die in deze studie worden besproken zijn tot nu toe zelfs geheel onbekend gebleven. De meer veeleisende Napolitaanse composities, die gebruik maken van het hogere register van de blokfluit, bewijzen het bestaan van blokfluiten in Napels met een hoog bereik en bevestigen het hoge technische niveau van de spelers voor wie dit repertoire was gecomponeerd. Op de mogelijke behoefte aan een blokfluit met dubbele boring wijzen slechts 30 van de 144 vermelde composities. Er bestaan nog heel weinig originele instrumenten met dubbele boring. De huidige opvattingen over hoe die noten moeten klinken staan mogelijk ver af van de realiteit in de 18^{e} eeuw. Vervolgens worden enkele stilistische eigenschappen in het Napolitaanse repertoire voor de blokfluit beschreven, bijvoorbeeld theatrale elementen zoals contrasterende snelle/langzame secties, abrupte

pauzes, verrassende harmonische progressies en tempo-indicaties als Amoroso, Spiritoso, Comodo etc. De voorbeelden van versieringen in de *solfeggi* en in de sonates, die zijn opgenomen aan het einde van dit hoofdstuk, laten zien dat het versieren ook een compositorische bekwaamheid was waarin werd les gegeven en geoefend. Het overgrote deel van het Napolitaans repertoire voor blokfluit bestaat alleen in manuscripten. Dit bewijst dat het instrument in die stad in kleine, privé-kring werd bespeeld; maar het feit dat het repertoire verspreid is over een verscheidenheid aan 'buitenlandse' collecties toont de populariteit van deze componisten buiten Napels aan. Hoewel het grootste gedeelte van de composities in de jaren 1724–1725 is gemaakt, is het totale repertoire van de vocale en instrumentale muziek gedateerd tussen 1695 en 1759. Alle bestudeerde werken zijn gedetailleerd vermeld in Appendix 2.

Hoofdstuk 3 verschaft een 'landschap' voor de omgeving van de bestudeerde muziek. Napels heeft een rijk verleden met een diverse en interessante culturele erfenis. Het was niet alleen een muzikale hoofdstad in de 18e eeuw, geliefd door muziekliefhebbers, maar ook populair vanwege de schoonheid en dramatische achtergrond van haar geografische ligging. De tweedeling, ontstaan enerzijds door schoonheid en plezier, anderzijds door onrust en leed, werd door de kunstenaars in de stad verkend en beschreven in kronieken van bezoekers door de eeuwen heen. De blokfluit of "flauto" was aanwezig in conservatoria in Napels, en werd duidelijk onderscheiden van de traverso. Hoewel de conservatoria blokfluiten kochten voor de studenten – wat blijkt uit de rekeningenoverzichten in dit hoofdstuk – worden de namen van de bouwers niet genoemd. De aanwezigheid van veel buitenlandse musici en instrumentenbouwers geeft aanleiding te veronderstellen dat de blokfluiten die werden gebruikt ook van buiten Napels kwamen. De beroemde instrumenten van de Duitse blokfluitbouwer Denner bijvoorbeeld bereikten niet alleen het Noorden van Italië maar zelfs China. Zij kunnen ook gemakkelijke hun weg hebben gevonden naar Napels. De conservatoria werden financieel ondersteund door beschermheren, soms uit het buitenland – onder meer uit de Lage Landen. Diplomaten en onderkoningen van Napels waren ook buitenlanders, zij onderhielden sterke banden met hun thuisland en ondersteunden de kunsten tijdens hun verblijf in de stad. Het is aannemelijk dat instrumentenbouwers in Napels eveneens contacten hadden elders in Europa. Een andere mogelijkheid voor de komst van buitenlandse instrumenten in Napels blijkt ook uit een bestudering van de reis van Ignatio Rion naar het zuiden. Inventarislijsten van aristocraten uit die tijd bevestigen de aanwezigheid van blokfluiten in particulier bezit. Dit wordt bevestigd door twee schilderijen van Giuseppe Bonito en Carlo Amalfi waarop de blokfluit in een dergelijke context is

afgebeeld. Onderzoek naar afbeeldingen van barokblokfluiten in de Italiaanse iconografie (vooral in Venetië) bevestigt dat het ontwerp van de afgebeelde instrumenten eenvoudig te herleiden is tot sommige van de onderzochte instrumenten van verschillende bouwers.

Alle informatie uit de vorige hoofdstukken overziende en deze kennis combinerende in relatie tot de uitvoeringspraktijk leiden tot de conclusie in Hoofdstuk 4, dat de belangrijkste bronnen van oorsprong van de blokfluiten voor het Napolitaanse repertoire niet alleen in Napels liggen maar ook in de Habsburgse steden en in Venetië. Verder werd duidelijk, dat instrumenten die door buitenlanders naar Napels werden gebracht nog van verder weg kwamen, zoals de instrumenten van o.a. Peter Bressan (Londen). Kijken we naar wat de muziek ons te vertellen heeft, dan concludeer ik dat het grootste deel van het repertoire kan worden gespeeld op bijvoorbeeld een kopie van de altblokfluit van Panormo. Echter, voor sommige composities die meer technische virtuositeit vereisen is een instrument raadzaam waarmee het gemakkelijker is hoge noten te kunnen spelen, bijvoorbeeld een instrument van Jacob Denner. Bepleit wordt dat in werken met strijkers deze in enkelvoudige bezetting worden gespeeld om reden van textuur en akoestische balans. De aanwijzingen voor het continuo, zo blijkt, verschillen aanzienlijk, maar noemen cello, contrabas, klavecimbel en soms de theorbe. Niettemin wordt in dit hoofdstuk voorgesteld om de sonates alleen met klavecimbel uit te voeren wanneer sprake is van gelijkwaardige partijen van sopraan en bas, dan wel met klavecimbel en cello als de baspartij eenvoudiger en meer galant van stijl is. Wat betreft de toonhoogte van de instrumenten in Napels, wijzen diverse onderzoeken op A=410–415Hz. Veel van de onderzochte blokfluiten zijn daarvoor geschikt. Combineren wij de aangetroffen toonhoogte met andere van belang zijnde historische gegevens, dan is de conclusie dat een 1/6 komma middentoonstemming het beste werkt bij de uitvoering van Napolitaans repertoire – bij wijze van compromis vanwege de onmogelijkheden van de 'reine intonatie'. Tenslotte: nadenkend over impact van deze studie op het eigen spel als uitvoerend musicus, concludeer ik, dat er voor de bestudeerde composities uit het Napolitaanse repertoire een wereld van mogelijkheden is wat betreft de uitvoeringspraktijk, en dit gekoppeld aan mijn hernieuwede verhouding met de blokfluit in het algemeen, door te luisteren naar de instrumenten zelf – of ze nu oud of nieuw zijn.

Curriculum Vitae

Born in 1983 in Rio de Janeiro, recorder player Inês d'Avena (Inês de Avena Braga) has been playing the recorder since the age of four. Inês moved to The Netherlands in 2001 to pursue her studies in Early Music. She holds Bachelor's, Master's and teaching diplomas from the Royal Conservatoire in The Hague, where she studied with Reine-Marie Verhagen and Sébastien Marq. Since graduating in 2007, Inês specializes in the research and performance of Neapolitan Baroque music. Inês has also been passionately working on the revival of forgotten Italian Baroque recorders, commissioning copies and premiering the instruments in concerts and recordings. In 2010, she was the winner of the II International Competition Prince Francesco Maria Ruspoli, and the year after, her duo LOTUS with Claudio Ribeiro won the second prize at the prestigious Premio Bonporti. Inês has performed as soloist and in chamber and orchestral formations throughout Europe and her native Brazil, with ensembles such as LOTUS, COLLEGIUM MUSICUM Den Haag and the Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra. In 2011, Inês founded the ensemble La Cicala, which is dedicated entirely to the research and performance of uncharted Neapolitan Baroque repertoire. She has recorded CDs for the labels ORF Edition Alte Musik, Passacaille and Channel Classics, as well as independent releases. Inês was awarded a PhD scholarship by the CAPES Foundation - Ministry of Education of Brazil in 2012 and in that same year became a Research Supervisor for the Master's Program of the Royal Conservatoire in The Hague. Inês is a CD reviewer for Early Music America Magazine and has had scholarly articles published in the Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society, Music+Practice and Recercare.