Dolce Napoli: Approaches for performance
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Citation
De Avena Braga, I. (2015, July 2). *Dolce Napoli: Approaches for performance*. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/33729

Version:	Corrected Publisher’s Version
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Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

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Title: Dolce Napoli : approaches for performance - Recorders for the Neapolitan Baroque repertoire, 1695-1759
Issue Date: 2015-07-02

... 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

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[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

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[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

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[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]

[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

[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

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[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]

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[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

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[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]

[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.