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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

*Chillu primo linguaggio ch'era grieco,
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

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 littéraire (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 Brosse 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 Brosse visited Naples during a bustling time: Charles Bourbon had ascended to the throne and was beginning his modernization of the city. De Brosse 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

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 Provenza (1624–1704)* (Cornwall: Ashgate, 2007). p. 31.

⁴⁸⁶ Charles de Brosse, *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 Brosse 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 14° al 19° 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

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 nourrissent 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

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,

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 Provenza (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 tenebrism⁴⁹⁷ 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.

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 of 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

corporate 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_\(Enciclopedia-Italiana\)/](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 à quelques amis en 1739 et 1740* (Paris: Alphonse Levavas seur, 1836). p. 383. Translation by Daniel Hartz: "Naples is the capital of the musical world." Daniel Hartz, *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 Hartz: "Naples is the sole Italian city that seems truly a capital." Daniel Hartz, *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 400,000⁵⁰⁸ (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 Hertz, *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 vicerealties 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

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 Provenza (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

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 Provenza (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).

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 closes⁵³² 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 Paesello [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

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*;

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: <i>maestro di violino</i>) - S. Onofrio	–	–	–	- c. 1725
Fiorenza	- S. Maria di Loreto (with Cailò and F. Barbella)	- S. Maria di Loreto (1743–1762)	- 1726: <i>soprannumerario</i> 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: <i>soprannumerario</i> organist; - 1727: <i>ordinario</i>		–	–

⁵³⁹ For details, refer to Chapter 2.

Leo	- Pietà dei Turchini (1709 with Fago)	- Pietà dei Turchini (1734–1737: <i>vicemaestro</i> , 1741: <i>primo maestro</i>) - S. Onofrio (1739: primo maestro)	- 1713: <i>soprannumerario</i> organist; - 1725: first organist; - 1737: <i>vicemaestro</i> ; - 1744: <i>maestro</i>	- 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: <i>maestro di cappella</i>)	- 1702: admitted - 1704: principal organist; - 1708: <i>maestro</i> , then deputy; - 1725–1737: <i>maestro</i>	- 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: <i>maestro</i> , 1760–1761: teaching position) - S. Maria di Loreto (1739–1741: <i>maestro di cappella</i> , 1760–1761: 'extra' <i>maestro di cappella</i>) - private lessons	–	- before 1711–1713: <i>maestro di cappella</i> to Philipp of Hesse–Darmstadt (general of the Austrian army)	- Rome (1713: <i>maestro di cappella</i> Portuguese ambassador) - Munich and Vienna (1724: operas) - Venice (until 1733: Ospedale degli Incurabili; 1741–1742: <i>maestro di coro</i> Pietà; 1744–1747: <i>maestro del coro</i> 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: <i>vice-maestro de capilla</i>) - 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: <i>vicemaestro di cappella</i> ;	- 1704: <i>vicemaestro di cappella</i> at the Arciconfraternita della SS Trinità de' Pellegrini;	–	- 1725 - c. 1725

			- 1737: <i>maestro di cappella</i>	- 1728: <i>maestro di cappella</i> to the city - his works are included in the Harrach collection: commissioned?		
Scarlatti	–	- S. Maria di Loreto (1689: <i>maestro di cappella</i>) - private lessons	- 1684–1702: <i>maestro di cappella</i> - 1708–1725: <i>maestro di cappella</i>	–	- Rome (1678–1682: <i>maestro di cappella</i> S. Giacomo degli Incurabili; until 1689: <i>maestro di cappella</i> Queen Christina of Sweden; 1682: <i>maestro di cappella</i> S. Girolamo della Carità; 1703–1705: assistant <i>maestro di cappella</i> Congregazione dell'Oratorio di S. Filippo Neri; 1703: assistant <i>maestro di cappella</i> 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 <i>convittore</i> ⁵⁴⁰ for 3 years)	- Poveri di Gesù (1711–1718: <i>mastricello</i> ; 1728: <i>maestro</i>)	- 1725: <i>provincemaestro di cappella</i>	- 1718: <i>maestro di cappella</i> Prince Sansevero. - 1728 <i>maestro di cappella</i> 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 strumento 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
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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 Vicereame 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 provvisione 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 provvisione 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

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 XVI^o al XVIII^o,” *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 Northern Italy.⁵⁵⁵ Other links between Germany and Naples include Handel (who visited from the end of April to July 1708), Johann Adolf Hasse⁵⁵⁶ (1699–1783, who arrived in Naples either in 1722 or 1724,⁵⁵⁷ staying for six or seven years⁵⁵⁸), 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

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 Medici: 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

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 Vandynden, 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*

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 Boè⁵⁷⁵ 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

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,

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 Rome⁵⁸⁹ 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

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),

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 Austria 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

⁶⁰¹ Tommaso Rossi, "Il Flauto a Napoli durante il Vicereame 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 Scholarengelt, 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. Hofkapellmeister 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

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 | Esercizio Del Ill.mo Sig^o 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.

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_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](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_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](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?

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 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_\(Dizionario_Biografico\)/](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 momentarily 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 Encyclopedia 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.