

# Families of Recorders in the Late Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: the Denner Orders and Other Evidence

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We have enough documentary evidence, and enough surviving instruments, to suggest that recorders were played in “choirs” throughout the Baroque period—well into the eighteenth century. There is, however, very little Baroque music scored for recorder ensemble, and it is difficult to see from those few pieces what the rest of its repertoire would have been. Instead, I think we have to look at the kind of music that oboe bands played, and make conjectures about unwritten performance practices.

This article puts together different kinds of evidence: documents, surviving instruments, iconography, and music. It was first published in two installments in *The Recorder Magazine* (December 2003 and spring 2004), and loosely follows on from a previous article in the same magazine: “Flexibility, Multi-instrumentation and Transposition in Baroque Music” (summer 2003). The article has since been placed on Nicholas S. Lander’s Web site, Recorder Home Page (Australia), along with a full bibliography that he compiled. Much of the music mentioned here is not easily available, so whenever possible I have put it onto the [sibeliusmusic.com](http://sibeliusmusic.com) Web site.(1)

## The Maker’s Lists

The three most interesting pieces of documentary evidence that survive are the lists of instruments ordered from Jacob Denner in 1710 and 1720, and Richard Haka in 1685. The Denner lists are well known, as they are vital to the histories of the chalumeau and clarinet, but I think they also deserve an important place in general writings about the recorder.(2)

### 1) Jacob Denner (1681–1735)

order by the Duke of Grönsfeld, in Nuremberg, 1710:

4 Hautbois, 1 Taillie, 2 Fagott  
4 Flaúten, 1 Alt-Flaúten, 2 Bass-Flaúten  
4 Chalimóu, 1 Alt-Chalimóu, 2 Chalimóu Basson(3)  
2 Clarinettes  
4 Violinen, 1 Viola, 1 Bass

### 2) also Jacob Denner

Order from Göttweig, a Benedictine abbey near Vienna, 1720:(4)

I Chor Hautbois mit 6 Stimen, alle von buxbaum:

3 Primeur Hautbois, 1 Taille, 2 Basson

I Chor Chalimou mit 6 Stimen:

3 Primeur Chalimou, 1 Second Chalimóu, 2 Basson

I Chor Flauden mit 6 Stimen:

3 Primeur, 1 Second Flauden, 2 Basson

2 Flaud d’Almanq

The orders show families of oboes, chalumeaux, and recorders being bought together, each in three sizes, along with extra instruments—clarinets or flutes. The first order also includes an ensemble of violins. A record of the delivery of the 1720 Denner order has also survived, and it is different from the original order: only one bassoon and one *primeur chalimou* were actually sent, and the amount paid for each instrument was less than the price quoted in the order. Most of the reductions are small, but there was a huge drop in the price of the flutes. The original

prices, in florins, for the oboe choir were: 5–9–22 for oboes, *Taille* (tenor oboe), and bassoon, but 4–8–20 was paid. The chalumeaux prices were 3–7–18, but 2/30–5–15 was paid. The *flauden* (recorders) were priced at 3–6–15 but 2–5–12 was paid. Most strikingly, the two *flaud d'Almanq* (transverse flutes) were priced at 45 florins the pair, but only 6 florins was paid for each.

One would expect the recorders to be alto–tenor–bass, which ties in well with the surviving instruments (see below). The name of the *primeur* recorder of 1720 is simply *flaúten* in 1710, without further qualification as to its size, so presumably it is an alto, making the *alt-flaúten* a tenor. The prices in 1720 support this: two florins for a *primeur* and five florins for a *second* means that the *second* is relatively expensive; this makes sense if the *second* was a keyed tenor, as making keys by hand is very time-consuming. (If the recorders were SAB instead of ATB, the prices are still disproportionate.)(5)

The prices of the recorders are lower than the other instruments; this could be a reflection of their availability and the number of other makers rather than the amount of work involved in making them. In the same way, the original quote of 22½ florins for a flute, as well as the 6 florins paid (compared with five florins for an oboe), might indicate that flutes were still rare in Germany at this date. An earlier list has also survived, remarkably similar to the two Denner lists, of instruments made for the Swedish navy. Here each group of instruments seems to have been made at a different pitch, implying that they were not played together, so each group would have had a different function. Prices, woods, and a description of a brass mounting were given in the order but are omitted here. The square brackets around the pitch details have been added to make them easier to read.(6)

### 3) Richard Haka (1646–1705)

Bill to Johan Otto of Calmer (Sweden), 1685:

Teutsche schalmeijen(7)

6 midelbas Schalmeijen

6 Hout bas dulsians (Coor mes)

13 discant Schalmeijen (Klarin trompettenbon)

[F]ransche [h]aubois

1 franse dulsian Basson in 4 stucken

1 franse tenor haubois

4 franse discant hautbois (alle Coortoon)

[F]leutte deuse

1 Bass fleutte does in 3 Stuken

1 quinte fleutte does in 3 Stuken

3 taliye fleutten does in 3 Stucken

2 alt fleutte does in 2 Stucken

2 discant fleutte does in 2 Stucken

The French *hautbois* are in *Coortoon*, or Chorton, which is the name for the old Renaissance high pitch, roughly a semitone above A440. Pitch dropped in the Baroque period, but church organs were not replaced, so different pitches were in use simultaneously: Cammerton (chamber pitch) and Chorton (choir pitch). Military pitch also stayed high, which could explain why Haka's French oboes are in Chorton. The pitch of the recorders is not given, so presumably they are in Cammerton; if so, they were not designed to be played with the family of oboes (and bassoon).

Jan Bouterse, an expert on Haka, explains *Klarin trompettenbon* (the pitch of the *discant Schalmeijen*) as trumpet-tone: another military pitch that is different from both Chorton and Cammerton. He says that Bruce Haynes has suggested *Coor mes* might mean *Chormaß*, which

was apparently the same as Chorton, but this would mean that the six *dulsian Bassons* were not intended to be played with the descant schalmey in that group.

### French Names for Recorder Sizes

The French names for the different sizes of recorder are: *dessus*, *haute-contre*, *taille*, *quinte*, and *basse*—modern-day sopranino, soprano, alto, tenor, and bass. (The names are the same as those used for French string parts.)(8) Montéclair calls the sopranino a *petit dessus* rather than a *dessus* and goes to great trouble to make it clear that the *petit dessus* and the *haute-contre* play an octave higher than written. A common term for sopranos and sopraninos is *petites flutes*.(9) Haka's *taliije fleutten does* [*flûte douce*] are *tailles*, or altos. His *alt* would seem to be a soprano, as it is in only two parts. This in turn could make the *discant* a sopranino. (Jan Bouterse believes that *alt* and *discant* are two different sizes of soprano as they were priced the same, at two guilders each.)

Lully composed a Prelude for a recorder quartet in *La triomphe de l'amour* (1681). It is scored for: *Tailles ou Flutes d'Allemagne*, *Quinte de flutes*, *Petite basse de flutes*, and *Grande basse de flutes et Basse-Continue*. The *Petite basse* has a range of a<sup>0</sup>–a'; the *Grande basse* has two octaves, from D to d'. This is the only piece of Baroque music I have found that names a great-bass, and, as far as I know, there are no surviving instruments from this period. (See item 7 below, the James Talbot manuscript, which shows that Bressan made great-basses in C.)

Lully's *Grande basse* part has only two low Ds in the Prelude, and both of them are octave-jumps at cadences, where the lower note could be played by the *Basse-Continue*. The rest of the part fits comfortably on an F instrument. Eppelsheim (see note 8) understands *Grande basse de flutes* to mean a double contra-bass in F, playing at pitch—perhaps an old Renaissance-style instrument being used here. It could, however, be that the *Grande basse* is a normal bass recorder, doubling the continuo at the octave. This would make the *Petite basse* a smaller bass, perhaps in G, and perhaps there is no great-bass after all. On the other hand both Lully and Charpentier use a *Basse de Flute* on the third line in four-part music (see that section in Music for Bass below).

### More Documentary Evidence for Baroque Recorder Ensembles

There are other, tantalizing, references to recorders of different sizes. Schlegel's letter mirrors the other makers' lists. Jacques Danican Philidor was a player in the oboe bands at Versailles, and also a member of Lully's opera orchestra. It must be significant that he owned recorders of all sizes, and in such large numbers.

- 4) A letter (1708) written by Christian Schlegel (1667–1746) of Basel says he can make “a quantity of oboes, chalumeaux, flutes, and other instruments in complete choirs.”(10)
- 5) An inventory of the Medici court dated 1700 mentions a *concerto* (ensemble) of sixteen *Flauti o Zufoli* by Haka, made up of: *quattro sopra acuti*, *quattro soprano*, *quattro contralti*, *due tenor*, *et due bassi*.... Presumably these are four sopraninos, four sopranos, four altos, two tenors, and two basses.(11)
- 6) The Medici court inventory has a second recorder ensemble: *Un concerto di undici Flauti o Zufoli, consistenti in: due soprani, tre contralti, quattro tenori e due bassi*...(an ensemble of eleven recorder consisting of two sopranos, three altos, four tenors, and two basses).(12) Again it is noticeable that there is more than one recorder of each size.
- 7) A manuscript written around 1695 by James Talbot, in which he describes the recorders of Bressan, mentions recorders at the octave (sopranino), fifth (soprano), alto, a third lower (voice flute in D), a “fifth” lower (tenor in Bb, or in C if fifth is a mistake), octave below (bass in F), and a fourth below that (contra-bass in C).(13)

8) Jacques Danican Philidor, at his death in 1708, owned 3 *basses de flûte*, 3 *autres basses de flûte*, and 5 *quintes de flûte*, along with another group of recorders kept together in a box “garnie d’instruments”: 4 *quintes de flûte*, 3 *tailles*, 4 *haut-contres*, and 3 *dessus de flûte*.(14)

9) Martin Hotterre’s workshop contained a large number of recorders of all sizes. After the death of his wife in 1711 an inventory was made of all their common possessions.(15) It mentions:

6 *flute tournées non finis* (6 flutes turned but not finished)  
9 instrumens tant *bassons* que *basse de flutes* (9 instruments: both bassoons and *basses de flutes*)  
3 *basons* et 1 *basse de flutes*  
3 boxes of *petites flutes* and unfinished *flageolets*.  
10 *flutes traversier*  
6 *quintes de flutes*  
4 *grosse tailles de flutes* (large altos?)  
6 oboes  
2 *basses de flutes* and 2 more unfinished (*imparfaites*)  
1 unfinished bassoon  
5 *quintes* in maple  
2 *tailles de flutes* in plumwood  
3 *flutes* in boxwood

10) A similar inventory after the death of Michel Le Cène, the Amsterdam publisher, in 1743, includes: two *fluyt dous*, a *sang fluyt* (voice flute), an *altfluit*, a *kwartfluyt* (fourth flute), and a *basfluit* by Bressan. Also an *octaaffluit* (sopranino) by Terton, and two *kwartfluiten*, two *octaaffluiten*, and a *rotting fluit* (walking-stick recorder) by Van Heerde.(16)

11) A letter (1729) from Johann Michael Böhm to his former employer, Ernst Ludwig of Darmstadt:

“The books from Munich by Abaco ... the Count Erbach book, the concerto by Mr Weiß of Mannheim ... the four large unstained recorders (*großen Hell: Flöten*), the Hautbois ... are everything that Your Highness yourself (in addition to the English recorders) had entrusted to our care....”(17)

The three maker’s lists show whole choirs of instruments being made together and going to a single establishment. The buyers are respectively a court, a religious institution, and a military institution. Together with the towns in Germany and the commercial theater, especially in London, this represents the great majority of organized music provision in Europe.

The instruments, one presumes, were bought for the oboe bands of the various institutions rather than for their orchestras. The Denner orders are so similar, and so like Schlegel’s letter, that they suggest that this is the full kit: three kinds of wind instruments—oboes, chalumeaux, and recorders—with extra upper-part options in flutes or clarinets. If this was standard equipment, then hundreds of wind bands could have had something similar, leaving us to wonder what music they played and how they played it. (The first Denner order also supplies violins along with the winds; the members of oboe bands might also play strings.)

Nowadays we usually think of recorder ensembles as disappearing at the end of the Renaissance, along with ensembles of other instruments (apart from the violins). Certainly, this is what the Baroque recorder repertoire suggests: it is almost exclusively for alto recorders in a solo role, whether in sonatas, trio sonatas, or concertos, or accompanying voices. But here we have clear documentary evidence of recorders and other wind instruments in “choirs”—in the

middle of the Baroque period, 1685 to 1720. As we shall see now, this evidence is supported by the instruments that have survived to the present day.

### Surviving Instruments

This table is compiled from the recorders listed in Phillip T. Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments* (1993).(18)

	Sopraninos	Sopranos	Altos	Tenors	Basses	Totals
<b>France</b>	<b>2</b> 4.25%	<b>4</b> 8.5%	<b>20</b> 42.6%	<b>11</b> 23.4%	<b>10</b> 21.25%	<b>47</b>
<b>Germany etc.</b>	<b>5</b> 2.4%	<b>6</b> 2.8%	<b>126</b> 59.7%	<b>25</b> 11.8%	<b>49</b> 23.2%	<b>211</b>
<b>England</b>	– –	<b>7</b> 6.5%	<b>59</b> 54.6%	<b>35</b> 32.4%	<b>7</b> 6.5%	<b>108</b>
<b>The Netherlands</b>	<b>7</b> 7.9%	<b>19</b> 21.3%	<b>47</b> 52.8%	<b>2</b> 2.2%	<b>14</b> 15.7%	<b>89</b>
<b>Italy</b>	<b>2</b> –	<b>1</b> –	<b>8</b> –	– –	– –	<b>11</b>
Totals of each size:	<b>16</b> 3.4%	<b>37</b> 7.9%	<b>260</b> 55.8%	<b>73</b> 15.7%	<b>80</b> 17.2%	<b>466</b>

In the table the different sizes of sopranos and tenors are included in their general categories. Entries under Germany also include Austria and Switzerland. Let us recall that:

The Haka order (1685) is for: 2 sopraninos (?), 2 sopranos, 3 altos, 1 tenor, 1 bass

The first Denner order (1710) is presumably for: 4 altos, 1 tenor, 2 basses

The second Denner order (1720): 3 altos, 1 tenor, 2 basses

The surviving recorders have a remarkably similar approximate ratio to the Denner orders:

¼ sopranino, ½ soprano, 3½ altos, 1 tenor, 1 bass

German instruments have an approximate ratio that is even closer:

¼ sopranino, ¼ soprano, 5 altos, 1 tenor, 2 basses

French instruments have more tenors, and also more small recorders:

½ sopranino, 1 soprano, 4 altos, 2 tenors, 2 basses

The tiny number of Italian instruments suggests that players in places such as Venice imported them. England has a marked lack of basses. France has very few surviving recorders: 47 compared with 211 from the Germanic countries, 118 from England, and 89 from the Netherlands.(19)

Most of the well-known makers (but not, as far as I know, Stanesby Junior) left basses: Hotteterre, Rippert, Bressan, Haka, Boekhout, Rottenburgh, Stanesby Senior, Schlegel, and the Denners. As far as I am aware, there are no surviving contra-basses of any size from the Baroque period.(20)

There are, of course, a number of problems with a table of this sort:

- Chance must have had a strong influence on which recorders have survived from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It might simply be that recorders bought by institutions are more likely to have survived, safe in their instrument stores, than the instruments bought by individuals.
- That the ratios of surviving instruments are similar to the instruments of the orders does not, by itself, show that the recorders were played together in ensembles. (The question “What were the large recorders for?” still holds.)
- I have not included Renaissance recorder makers or recorders made by nineteenth-century makers, but the descriptions in the catalogue are not always clear: some of the instruments are anonymous, without a full description or date. (And it could be that Renaissance recorders continued to be used as Chorton instruments throughout this period.) I have included sopranos or altos from later makers who worked into the second half of the eighteenth century, but some of these may well be csakans. And I have included, rightly or wrongly, a Grenser alto with three keys.
- Recorders are placed in the table according to the nationality of their maker, but many instruments were made for export, particularly from The Netherlands. German courts often ordered their instruments from Paris.(21) Any impression of a national preference is therefore going to be distorted. Even so, it is noticeable that The Netherlands made more small recorders and, as noted above, England has a marked lack of surviving basses.

Despite these problems, the picture that is given of recorder use is extremely striking—in particular, the large proportion of bass recorders. The total number of surviving recorders, 466, is greater than the 388 surviving oboes from approximately the same period, although that number does not include their corresponding bass instruments, bassoons.(22) (If you take out the 80 bass recorders you get 386, a surprisingly similar number.) As with the documentary evidence, the table gives a completely different picture from the one given by recorder music of the period: it shows that recorders of all sizes were made, and played, across the whole of northern Europe.

### **Music for Bass Recorder(23)**

The bass is the defining instrument of a recorder ensemble, so it is worth considering what its repertoire was. We can see from the table that basses make up 17.2% of surviving recorders, but the music of the period hardly ever mentions them. *The Historical Catalogue*—the searchable database of recorder music on the Stichting Blokfluit Web site ([www.blokfluit.org](http://www.blokfluit.org))—lists 23 pieces that include a named bass recorder out of the 1,918 pieces catalogued at the time of writing, or 1.2% instances in music compared with 17.2% surviving instruments. This is an enormous disparity.

### **The Bass Recorder as a Continuo Instrument**

There are a few depictions of bass recorders being used as continuo instruments in mixed ensembles:(24)

- 1) An engraving of Lotti’s *Teofane* (1716) being performed at the Dresden opera house.(25) Some of the orchestra can be seen: facing forward there are three alto (or possibly AAT) recorders, a bass recorder between two theorbos, two flute (traverso) players, and a line of violins. Apart from one of the recorders, they are all playing together, perhaps in a trio section. There are more musicians with their backs to the audience, and the print shows a bassoonist and

several cellos; it isn't clear if they are playing or not.(26)

2) An engraving of a banquet, from Munich, early eighteenth century. Three violins and a bass recorder play in the background.(27)

3) A fresco in Prague (1730). Musicians play traverso, oboe, viola da gamba, and bass recorder.(28)

4) A Collegium Musicum in Nuremberg (*ca.* 1775). Bass recorder, viol, and harpsichord make up the continuo section in a cantata with three singers, three violins, two trumpets, and three unidentifiable wind instruments, possibly including recorders. (This is a much later date for recorder playing than we acknowledge nowadays).(29)

One striking aspect of the iconography is that the bass recorder is shown playing continuo in ensembles that do not include recorders. The Munich banquet, for instance: I cannot imagine a modern performance taking place with three violins and a bass recorder.

There is one picture of a recorder consort by itself: the title page to John Hudgebut's *Thesaurus Musicus* (five volumes, 1693–96).(30) Four angels sit around a table. One is singing; three play what look like early Baroque recorders—alto, tenor, and bass—while a fourth recorder, perhaps a soprano, lies on the table. (The music—solo songs and recorder duets—has nothing to do with recorder consorts.)

In surviving music, as far as I can tell, bass recorders are only ever specified playing the bass line when there are other recorders in the ensemble. Charpentier's early work the *Messe pour plusieurs instruments au lieu des orgues* (H513) has one quartet for mixed recorders and flutes (with four bass recorders on the bass line) and a second quartet with *une octave et une flute douce* (sopranino and alto recorders) doubling the first and second parts, *basses de flute* on the fourth part, with a third part for a *cromorne* playing divisions on the bass line. (*Cromornes* are not crumhorns, but large proto-oboes made in different sizes, more like tenor and bass shawms).(31)

Charpentier's *Medée* (1694) has several indications for a *Basse de Flutes* playing with a chordal continuo instrument (the bass is figured) in recorder-trio passages, and in a five-part prelude with two recorder and two violin parts. In Heinichen's concerto in G—for two recorders, two violins, two oboes, two viols, a *Bass de Flauti*, bassoon, and violone—each of the basses accompanies its family members, and presumably they play together in the *tuttis*. Other examples are the *Larghetto* in Handel's *Giustino*, for *flauti 1* doubling oboe, *flauti 2*, viola & *Basso de Flauti*; and Pan's air "Surprising Change" in Galliard's *Pan and Syrinx*.(32)

A bass recorder is specified in the title-page of Pepusch's *A Second Set of Solos for the Flute with a Through Bass for the Bassoon, Bass-Flute or Harpsichord* (1709), but this is the only one of Walsh's publications to mention a recorder as a continuo instrument in the title. (There are very few mentions of the bassoon either.) The bass part has a range of C to g', so it may have been published with the assumption that a bass recorder player would adapt it to fit. Another printed work, the anonymous *New Aires made on Purpose for two Flutes and a Bass Familiar & Proper for Practitioners in Consort* (1712), has *BASS FLUTE* headings in the bass part, which also has a large range: C to f'.(33)

Some of Walsh and Hare's publications do not mention a bass recorder in the title but have the heading *FLUTO BASSO* across the top of each page of the bass part. I have come across three, but there may well be more. One of them is their arrangement of Corelli's opus 5, second half: *Six Solos for a Flute and Bass* (1702); this includes his *Follia*, which would seem an unlikely bass recorder part. Here *Fluto Basso* could mean "bass part to the flute" rather than literally a bass recorder (although perhaps I should adjust my prejudices instead). The other two publications are: the anonymous *A Collection of Severall Excellent Overtures, Symphonies and*

*Aires for a Flute and a Bass....* (1706); and the sonata by Pepusch that comes in *Six Sonatas of Two parts ... for two Flutes compos'd by William Croft. To which is added an excellent Solo for a Flute and Bass by Seignor Papus* (1704). The bass parts all have low Es and Ds below the staff.(34)

There are two manuscripts of Telemann's concerto in Bb for two recorders and strings (TWV 52: B1). Apparently the one in Dresden has a bass part *pour le flut*, which is ambiguous; but as it is in the singular presumably means "for the (bass) flut" rather than "[accompaniment] for the flutes," even though the part goes outside the bass recorder's range. The Darmstadt manuscript has *cembalo* on the bass line, with no mention of *le flut*. The simplest explanations are that they did not use a bass recorder, or there was a separate part that has been lost. It might, however, be evidence that the bass recorder was used automatically to accompany a recorder trio—in the same way the bassoon accompanies oboe trios—so there was no need to write it down. Another example of this might be Lully's *Marche de Melpomene* from *Les Fêtes de l'Amour et de Bacchus* (1672), where the bass-line changes register for the trios of *petites flutes*. It is unfortunate that there is not more evidence of this sort, as it might change our picture of the bass recorder's repertory.

There are so few pieces of music that name the bass recorder as a continuo instrument that, without any other evidence, one might suppose it was a rare event. The iconography contradicts this by showing basses playing in circumstances that are never mentioned in the music. Perhaps it was not unusual for bass recorders to play continuo, but that was not normally written down.

### **Bass Recorder Playing the Third Part in Four-Part Music**

Charpentier names a *Basse de Flute* in five other works. In each case it plays the third line, with other basses—viole or basse de violon and harpsichord—below. (This solves the problem that the bass recorder does not have a real bass range.) The first and second parts are for recorders or flutes, or unspecified but with the range and style of his recorder parts. The pieces in question are: *Pour un reposir* (H523, book XX), a long work with an overture and seven other movements; *Psalmus David 12us* (H196, book XXII); *Gratiarum actiones ex sacres* (H326, bkIV); *Languentibus in purgatorio* (H328, book XVIII); and *Les Plaisirs de Versailles* (H480, scene 1, book XI). Lully gives the bass recorder a dual role in one movement in *Proserpine* (1680, Act IV, scene 1), where it plays the bass line during the recorder trios but the third part in the tutti.(35)

### **Solo Music for Bass Recorder**

As far as I know, there are no pieces for the bass recorder as a soloist, or any solo obbligatos in large-scale pieces, until C. P. E. Bach's (rather wonderful) trio for *flauto basso*, viola or bassoon, and basso continuo, written in 1755. It survives in three different versions. The earliest is in Berlin. There is an arrangement in Brussels that swaps passages between the recorder and viola to avoid high Ds in the recorder part. A third manuscript, also in Berlin, has the same arrangement as the Brussels version, but with bassoon instead of viola.(36) There is also a mention, in an auction catalogue from 1789, of a similar, but lost, trio by C. H. Graun for violin, cello or *flauto basso*, and bass. Klaus Hofmann has reconstructed this piece from a bassoon trio that is listed next to the C. P. E. Bach trio in a thematic catalogue of the period.(37)

There is hardly any solo music that specifies tenor recorder either, or for the small recorders for that matter; the vast majority of music specifies alto. There is a manuscript of six sonatas by Benedetto Marcello for *Flauto solo e Flautino Primo* in the Bibliothek Fürstenberg in Germany. Three of these sonatas are from his published set of twelve (alto) recorder sonatas, Op. 1. The title of the manuscript is ambiguous but could point to a practice of playing alto sonatas on different sizes of recorder (if *flautino* does mean a sopranino recorder here).(38)



It is possible that sonatas for alto recorder (or bassoon, or any other instrument) were played on bass recorder. But, as far as I know, there is no evidence of this happening. Thomas Boekhout advertised his basses as *BasFluyten die al haar toonen geven als op een gemeene Fluyt* (literally, “bass flutes that give all her tones as on a common flute”), but it is not obvious what he meant by this.(39) The simplest reading is that Boekhout’s basses had the same range as an alto, but Jan Bouterse believes he is talking about fingerings: Boekhout was making basses with a key for the third finger-hole, which meant that the hole could be positioned in a better place, further down the instrument, allowing the use of normal alto fingerings for high notes. If this is true, then Boekhout was advertising his basses’ ease of use, not their range. (Bouterse points out that there are earlier basses with a range of two octaves and a tone, but their high notes have non-standard fingerings.)

Perhaps the public wanted a bass that played like an alto to play pieces written for alto, but nothing survives to suggest that they wanted anything other than a bass to play bass lines.

### **Music That Specifies Recorder Ensembles (40)**

Few pieces that specifically name a recorder ensemble survive from the whole of the Baroque period, and even fewer from the eighteenth century. And nowhere is there any music that uses the choirs of oboes, chalumeaux, and recorders mentioned in the Denner lists in a single work. Even so, the music does show that recorder ensembles existed throughout most of Europe. For example:

- There is the well-known group of mid-seventeenth-century pieces by Schmelzer and Bertali (both Hofkapellmeisters at the Austrian court), along with Biber, from what is now the Czech Republic, and the anonymous manuscript in Breslau, in Poland. It is likely that these predate the Baroque (French) recorder.(41)
- Complete recorder ensembles are specified in French operas by Lully and Montéclair. Lully has quartets in *Le triomphe de l’Amour* (1681) and *Ballets des arts* (1671). In *Isis* (1677) he uses recorders to portray Syrinx after she has been transformed into reeds (a stunningly imaginative piece of music). Only two recorder parts are specified, but the stage directions say: *Pan donne des Roseaux aux Bergers, aux Satyres & aux Sylvains qui en forment un concert de Flutes* (Pan gives some reeds to the shepherds, satyrs, and sylvans, who make of them a consort of recorders).

There are recorder trios (with a bass recorder) scored with strings in Lully’s *Psyche* (1678) and *Proserpine* (1680). Each of the recorder parts is titled *Flutes*, implying that there were two or more recorders on each part (including the bass recorder part). In most of Lully’s works, however, the instrumentation is not given—or it is for *VIOLONS* even when the stage directions say that the shepherds, or whoever, are playing other instruments. Rebecca Harris–Warwick, writing about Lully’s ballets, says that, while the scores provide almost no information about his scoring, the *livrets* show that an enormous range of instruments were played, “including, among others, *violons, violes, basses à cordes de boyau, hautbois, flûtes, vielles, théorbes, clavecins, guitares, castanettes, tambours, and petits tambours.*”(42)

- Montclair’s *Jephté* (1732) has already been mentioned, in the context of the names of the different sizes of recorders. *Jephté* has a five-part recorder ensemble, with each name (such as *Petits dessus de Flûte à bec*) in the plural, again implying that there were two or more players on each part.(43)
- Charpentier has the mixed flute quartet and a recorder trio in the *Messe pour plusieurs instruments* mentioned above. *Medée* has recorder trios with named *Basses de Flute*, and there is

the short trio *Simphonie a 3 fl. ou vions*. The pieces with bass recorder on the third line, also mentioned above, are recorder trios but with other basses to make up the quartet.(44)

- Marcello's manuscript *Concerto di Flauti*, in Venice, calls for SATB recorders doubled with strings: *Due Flauti soprani e due sordini* (two muted violins); *Due Flauti contralti et una Violetta sordini*; *Due Flauti Tenori et una Violetta sordini*; *Un Flauto Basso e Violoncello*.(45)
- Telemann's *Trauer Actus: Ach wir Nichtig, ach wie Fluchtig* (1724) has three four-part ensembles—of AATB recorders, or AAT recorders with a bassoon, viols and voices—used in contrasting blocks of sound. (The bass part to the recorder ensemble is entitled *Bassuun § Flaut. 4.*)(46)
- C. F. Witt's Suite in F has parts for *Hautbois o flauto*, doubling *violino 1* (which has a separate part); *violino 2 o flauto*; *Viola o flauto Taillo*; and two bass parts, for *Bassono* and *Cembalo*. The *Bassono* part has low Cs, but it could still be for a bass recorder (with alterations) as well as for a bassoon. The Denner order of 1720 uses *Basson* to describe the basses of all three families, and a plate in Johann Christoph Weigel's *Musicalisches Theatrum* (ca. 1715) has a picture of a musician playing a *bassoon flute*, a bass recorder.

Witt's suite is made up of an Entrée, Sarabande, Menuet, Bourée and (second) Menuet; functional music of the kind played by oboe bands all over Europe.(47)

- There is a *Symphony for 4 flutes* with ranges for AATB recorders by Godfrey Finger for the play *The Rival Queens or the Death of Alexander the Great*, part of music he wrote in collaboration with Daniel Purcell for the Drury Lane Theatre in 1701. This is the only example of four-part ensemble recorder writing in England that I have found, but it opens up the possibility that recorder ensembles were used on other occasions in the theater. After the Restoration, most London plays had extensive music, which was usually notated in four unspecified parts: an overture and "Act Music" after the first four of the five acts that expressed the mood of the preceding act. The recorders would have been played by the oboists and other members of the theatre "band" (a number of violinists are known to have doubled on recorder.)

There are trios with bass recorder in Handel's *Giustini*, Galliard's *Pan and Syrinx* (1717, revised 1726), and the *New Aires* of 1712 mentioned above.(48)

Galliard's aria in *Pan and Syrinx* uses the recorders as a special effect, exactly as Lully did in *Isis*, to illustrate Syrinx's transformation into reeds. Here the recorders together have a meaning that is greater than the sound itself. Montéclair's *Sommeil* is also a special effect, although he makes it clear that violins could be used instead of recorders. To explain the evidence for recorder ensembles, then, one could look for similar passages and movements in other music. It seems to me, however, that there are simply not enough special cases, in operas or in other music, to account for the number of surviving large recorders or the choirs of the makers' lists. For the bulk of their use we must look elsewhere, for performance practices that were unwritten.

### **Ad Hoc Scorings**

The makers' lists show that recorders and other wind instruments were bought in whole choirs. Presumably they were professional instruments, intended for the oboe bands of the various establishments rather than their orchestras. Bruce Haynes' *The Eloquent Oboe* (2001) is the best source for information about oboe bands; he writes that "By the early eighteenth century, almost every court in Germany, large and small, maintained a non-military *Hautboistenbande*."(49) There were also the *Stadtpfeiffer*, or town musicians, and military bands, employed by senior officers. Usually their job was to play the everyday music: background music for functions and

meals, and music for dancing (which was, of course, an enormously important part of each institution's life). It is interesting that the second of the Denner orders went to a Benedictine abbey: presumably they also had functional music of this sort.

The term oboe band (*Hautboistenbande*) is misleading, as the musicians were multi-instrumentalists or even players of completely different instruments. Haynes says (p. 52) that several members of French oboe bands were actually "bassoonists, drummers, or players of the recorder, traverso, or musette." And, according to his autobiography, Quantz began his career as a *Stadtpeiffer*, learning to play the violin, oboe, trumpet, cornetto, trombone, horn, recorder, bassoon, cello, viola da gamba, and double bass. (He specialized in the violin, but was otherwise most competent on the oboe and trumpet.)(50)

The French court had several oboe bands, made up of star players such as Hotteterre and the various Danican Philidors, who also played in chamber music, in the orchestras, and at the Opéra. There were enough musicians at Versailles to allow the most extravagant effects; adding recorders, oboes and violins as they chose, with *petites flutes* doubling the top parts at the octave. Recorders could have been played together in large numbers, with three or more players to a part, producing a powerful effect (rather than the quiet sounds we associate with *flute douce*). The courts in Germany probably had fewer players in their oboe bands, so one would expect their choirs of recorders, oboes, and chalumeaux to have been used in different ways.

Considering the large number of oboe bands, the surviving repertoire for them is extremely small, even though there is more music that specifies four-part oboes than recorder (or chalumeau) choirs. There are many more pieces where the instrumentation is not specified but is for *dessus*, *dessus 2* or *hautcontre*, *taille*, and *basse* (in Germany as well as France). And, as we have seen with the ballets of Lully, music scored only for *violons* was actually played by any number of different instruments. (Many composers' ouvertures and dances, taken from their theatre music, survive in copies made for purely instrumental use, or perhaps for dancing.)

An examination of the music for oboe bands is outside the scope of the present article, but I hope to return to it at a later date as a source for the mostly hidden repertoire for recorder choirs. What is clear is that performances of a large amount of Baroque music must have been much more varied and colorful than we acknowledge nowadays. We can only speculate about (and experiment with) exactly how it was done, but Menestrier writes in *Des Ballets anciens et modernes* (1682): "To the violins, one can add flageolets, *flutes*, musettes, oboes, and *cromornes* in order to strengthen those sections (*parties*) of the dance movements that one wants to be more clearly emphasized. For more variety, one can alternate (*interrompre*) or mix them (*les mêler*)." That would seem a good place for us to start.(51)

## Notes

(1) To access the music examples on **sibeliusmusic.com** you must first download the (free) Scorch program that is available at that site. Then you can listen to each piece and print it off, as you like. I have found that you can disconnect from the Internet and carry on listening, which might save money. Most of the pieces cited here are free to print; some have a small charge. Search under composer or go to the Andrew Robinson page for a full list of pieces. For me, seeing the Denner lists for the first time was a complete surprise. But I am very conscious that some of the people I am quoting here have spent their lives researching either the instruments or the documents of the period. For them, I am sure, the existence of Baroque recorders in choirs is obvious.

I would like to thank Andrew Mayes, the editor of *The Recorder Magazine*, for all his help in writing this article. The references to the Godfrey Finger quartet (see n. 48) were not included in the original article.

(2) Ekkehart Nickel, *Der Holzblasinstrumentenblau in der Freien Reichstadt Nürnberg* (Munich: Katzbichler, 1971), 251, 253. Also Horace Fitzpatrick, "Jacob Denner's Woodwinds for

Göttweig Abbey,” *Galpin Society Journal* 21 (1968). For the history of the chalumeau and clarinet, see Colin Lawson, *The Chalumeau in Eighteenth Century Music*, Studies in British Musicology, 6 (Ann Arbor: UMI Press, 1981); Colin Lawson, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Clarinet* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995); and Albert R. Rice, *The Baroque Clarinet* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

(3) Chalumeaux were derived from the recorder, the recorder’s duct head-joint being replaced with a single reed. They had strong low notes but did not overblow well, so the first octave was extended by two keys, played by the left thumb and first finger (like the ones on twentieth-century crumhorns). Clarinets were an adaptation of chalumeaux, in effect replacing the recorder’s narrow footjoint with a bell. Early clarinets overblow well, so the high register is strong, but the low notes are insecure. It seems likely that both chalumeaux and clarinets were invented by the Denners. (See footnote 2.) (The term *chalumeaux* was used in France to describe the chanter of a *musette*, or bagpipe. The chanter was also played by itself, straight in the mouth: see Bruce Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe: A History of the Hautboy 1640–1760* [Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2001], 45.)

(4) Nickel, *Holzblasinstrumentenbau*, n. 1875, notes that the Göttweig Archives have an entry dated 1692: *unterschiedliche* (different) *Flauten* were bought for 29 guilden.

(5) I would like to thank Tim Cranmore, the English recorder maker, for pointing out how long it takes to make keys.

(6) From Jan Bouterse, “Communication,” *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 26 (2000): 243–50, which includes a facsimile of the order as well as a translation into English and a full explanation. I would like to thank Jan for explaining trumpet pitch to me, and Matthew Dart, the London-based bassoon and flute maker, for sending me the Haka list and references in the first place.

(7) *Deutsche schalmeijen* are Baroque shawms, derived from the Renaissance shawm, a kind of cousin to the oboe. See Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 173–74.

(8) See Jürgen Eppelsheim, *Das Orchester in den Werken Jean-Baptiste Lullys* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1961), 72, referring to Denis Diderot, *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire des sciences, des arts et des métiers* (Paris, 1751–72) for the names of recorders. Eppelsheim also refers to Charpentier’s works. See also Edmond Lemaître, “L’orchestre dans le Théâtre Lyrique Française chez les continuateurs de Lully, 1687–1725,” “*Recherches*” *sur la musique française classique* 26 (1988–90): 83–131. Lemaître quotes from Joseph Sauveur’s *Principes d’acoustique et de musique* (Paris, 1701), which says recorders are in F and C (as now) and their ranges are each given as two octaves and a note, apart from the bass, which has F–D.

(9) See Montéclair’s *Les Fêtes de l’été* (1716) and *Jephté* (1732). Delalande calls for *petite flutes* in *Les Elemens* (1721), and Lully has them in his *Marche de Melpomene* in *Les Fêtes de l’Amour et de Bacchus* (1672); from the range of the parts they could be sopratinos or sopranos or both together. Charpentier has *octave et flute douce en taille* (sopranino and alto recorder) doubling parts in his *Messe pour plusieurs instruments au lieu des orgues*. The Montéclair, Lully, and Delalande pieces are all on sibeliusmusic.com.

(10) Rice, *Baroque Clarinet*, 23. Edgar Hunt, *The Recorder and its Music* (1962; rev. ed., 2002), plate XIV, has two bass recorders by Schlegel: one in G, the other in F (either that or one in

*Chorton*, the other in *Cammerton*).

(11) Vinicio Gai, *Gli strumenti musicali della Corte Medicea* (Florence: Lincea, 1969), 20. Presumably, *Zufoli* is being used here as a general category of duct flutes.

(12) Gai, *Gli strumenti musicali*, 20. David Lasocki told me about this second recorder ensemble, and I would like to thank him for his help. He is working on a complete list of all references to members of the flute family—flutes, recorders, flageolets, and tabor pipes—in inventories and purchases from the Middle Ages through 1800 (for the first instalment, see <http://www.music.indiana.edu/reference/bibliographies/inventories1630.pdf>). There is a reference to another *concerto* owned by the Medicis, this time made by Christoph Denner (Jacob's father), but its instrumentation is not given. A letter from Prince Ferdinando de' Medici's agent says that Christoph Denner had made him some instruments: "Instead of a single treble (*soprano solo*) ... the *maestro* has made me another in the same pitch as the consort (*concerto*), and two others that are higher." (Pierluigi Ferrari, "Cercando strumenti musicali a Norimberga," *Recercare* 6 [1994]: 211.) Haynes (*The Eloquent Oboe*, 96) thinks that these instruments, and presumably the *concerto*, are probably oboes and bassoons, but they could just as well have been recorders. It is also a shame that the passage is not clear about the pitch of the various instruments and the *concerto*.

(13) See Anthony Baines, "James Talbot's Manuscript (Christ Church Library Music MS 1187)," *Galpin Society Journal* 1 (1948): 18.

(14) Norbert Dufourcq and Marcelle Benoit, "Les musiciens de Versailles à travers les minutes notariales de Lamy versées aux Archives Départementales de Seine-et-Oise," *"Recherches" sur la musique française classique* 3 (1963): 195, also quoted in Lemaître (1988) as above. See Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 126, for Jacques in Versailles. His instruments mirror the forces that Monteclair uses in *Jephté*: SoSATB.

(15) Tula Giannini, "Jacques Hotteterre le Romain and his Father, Martin: A Re-examination Based on Recently Found Documents," *Early Music* 21, no. 3 (August 1993): 377–95, includes the whole inventory and several other documents concerning Martin Hotteterre. Giannini translates *petites flutes* as piccolo *traversières*, but they are much more likely to be sopranino and soprano recorders (as David Lasocki pointed out in a letter to the editor).

(16) In Jan Bouterse's dissertation, "Nederlandse houtblaasinstrumenten en hun bouwers, 1660–1760" (Universiteit van Utrecht, 2001), par. 5.10. A translation is being prepared for publication by the Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis. I would like to thank him for giving me this information.

(17) Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 330. Böhm was a famous oboist, also a virtuoso recorder player: Telemann probably wrote his recorder concertos for Böhm. The English recorders may be two *quartflöten* (sopranos in Bb) included in an inventory in 1752. How large were the *großen* recorders? Tenors or basses? (Or a mixture of both, which could explain why the size isn't specified?) Whatever they were, it is interesting that the court received four of them.

(18) See also Nicholas S. Lander's Web site, Recorder Home Page (Australia), <http://members.iinet.net.au/~nickl/recorder.html>—the Research Materials section—for a searchable database, "Original Instruments, Makers and Collections," which lists all known surviving instruments. The section also has an extensive bibliography that includes articles on

individual makers and instruments. I would like to acknowledge my debt, in drawing up this table, to Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*. Making tables is the sort of thing he does, and I would not have thought of it before reading his book. (He estimates, on p. 62, the number of oboes made between 1625 and 1760. If each maker made only 100 oboes in his working life, and there were around 150 makers, then there would have been 15,000 oboes. This would also be true of recorders.)

(19) Anthony Rowland-Jones suggests that the number of surviving French recorders is low because of the French Revolution; they might well have been destroyed when the palaces were looted. (Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 63, has a table of surviving oboes; fewer French oboes survive than German or Dutch ones.)

(20) It is not always clear which Denner, son or father, made which instrument. On the absence of surviving contra-basses; I would be pleased to be corrected on this point if I am wrong.

(21) See, for instance, Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 322 on Berlin ordering recorders; and Rob van Acht, Vincent van den Ende, and Hans Schimmel, *Niederländische Blockflöten des 18. Jahrhunderts = Dutch Recorders of the 18th Century: Sammlung/Collection Haags Gemeentemuseum* (Celle: Moeck, 1991) for Dutch makers.

(22) Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 62.

(23) See Richard Griscom and David Lasocki, *The Recorder, A Research and Information Guide*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Routledge 2003) for a section that gives details of articles about the bass recorder. This book is an extremely valuable work; see the review in *The Recorder Magazine* (Autumn 2003).

(24) Thousands of pictures of recorders from all periods are catalogued on the Recorder Home Page (Australia) under "Research Materials/Iconography." Many of the pictures can be downloaded. Nicholas Lander helped me with the pictures of bass recorders as well as giving me many other references, and I would like to thank him for everything he did. Very few pictures from this period show musicians at work; the majority seem to be idealized rural scenes that are not much use for establishing performance practice. (Interestingly, although it has nothing at all to do with this article, the Recorder Home Page (Australia) has a large number of Dutch school paintings from the first half of the seventeenth century that show people playing the recorder in everyday situations: in kitchens, sitting on barrels, etc.. And, in later pictures, there are a surprising number of Baroque xylophones; what music did they play?)

(25) In John Mansfield Thomson, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Recorder* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 96. The choice of pictures in this book was the responsibility of Anthony Rowland-Jones, whom I would like to thank for his advice.

(26) Heinichen (who was Capellmeister in Dresden from 1716) specifies three alto/tenor recorders and a bass recorder in an aria in *Zeffiro e Clori* (Venice, 1714), which is an almost exact match to this print. See the Heinichen concerto mentioned below for another bass recorder.

(27) Catalogued under "Banquet" on the Recorder Home Page (Australia).

(28) *Cambridge Companion to the Recorder*, 201.

(29) In Robert Donington, “The Choice of Instruments in Baroque Music,” *Early Music* 1, no. 3 (1973): 136 (black and white). About isolated, late, references to recorder use: our view of recorder playing comes from the music, which shows a massive decline in (solo) playing through the second quarter of the eighteenth century. If, however, recorder playing has a hidden history of playing in ensembles (of recorders, or among other instruments), it is quite possible that this practice continued much later than the music for solo recorder allows. According to the catalogue of Telemann’s vocal music, there are recorders (*flute douce* and *quartflöte*) in sixteen of his large-scale works after 1750—operas, oratorios, and church cantatas—and some of the unspecified flutes in other pieces might also be recorders. The latest mention seems to be in the opera *Adam und Eva* (1761), in which two recorders appear.

(30) In Hunt, *Recorder and its Music*, fig. 23, p. 63.

(31) A later movement calls for *tout les instruments*—*viollons, hautb, et flutes*. Recorder players are used to “flutes” meaning (only) recorders in this period, but recorders and flutes seem to have played together in French orchestras—for instance, Montéclair’s *sommeil* in *Les Fêtes de l’Été*, which has *Petits dessus de flutes*, *Haute contre de flutes*, and *Flutes Traversieres*, but the heading calls them *flutes*. Many of the French pieces with the general scoring *pour les flutes* could well be for a mixture of flutes and recorders. For *cromornes* see Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 37–45. I would like to thank Andrew Mayes for suggesting that I look at Charpentier’s use of recorders.

(32) A Prelude from Charpentier’s *Medée*, the Handel piece, and the Galliard arias are on [sibeliusmusic.com](http://sibeliusmusic.com).

(33) The *New Aires made on Purpose* are on [sibeliusmusic.com](http://sibeliusmusic.com).

(34) The Walsh and Hare arrangement of Corelli’s sonata V and the *Follia* are on [sibeliusmusic.com](http://sibeliusmusic.com).

(35) Charpentier’s *Languentibus in purgatorio* and the movement from Lully’s *Proserpine* are on [sibeliusmusic.com](http://sibeliusmusic.com).

(36) The original Berlin version of the C. P. E. Bach trio sonata is published by Amadeus, whose edition includes a facsimile. The first movement, in its three versions, is on [sibeliusmusic.com](http://sibeliusmusic.com), the third of which is a later transposition for two violins and bass. (In addition, there were later versions for flute or violin and obbligato keyboard instrument.) I have also made a transposed version for soprano recorder and keyboard instrument, giving the viola and bass parts to the right and left hands, in the hope that the piece will be played more often.

(37) Hofmann explains his methodology in the foreword to his Amadeus edition and in “Gesucht: Ein Graunsches Trio mit obligater Baßblockflöte. Ein Ermittlungsbericht—mit Seitenblicken auf ein Trio Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs,” *Tibia* 17, no. 4 (1992): 253–62. The *Tibia* article (p. 255, n. 7) also draws attention to a note in C. P. E. Bach’s handwriting (stuck on one of the versions of this trio sonata, now in the Conservatoire Royal de Musique in Brussels) that gives the range of the *Baßflöte* as f to c”, and says that best keys for it are F, C, and G major. (In fact, C. P. E. Bach’s first version of the trio, now in Berlin, has a range of f to d”; it is the rearranged versions that avoid top Ds.) The note confirms that Bach’s *flauto basso* was a recorder rather than a huge bass traverso in F, because the best keys for a traverso in F would be

F, Bb, and C major, the equivalent of D, G, and A major on a standard flute. (Bach's note would be equivalent to saying that E major was more comfortable than G major, if he were referring to a flute.)

(38) See Griscom/Lasocki, *The Recorder*, for articles on repertoire for the different sizes of recorder. David Lasocki points out (private communication) that the name *flautino* was sometimes used for the G-alto recorder in Italy in the seventeenth century. So it could be that the title is only giving a choice of size of alto, appropriate for the range and key of each sonata.

(39) An advertisement in the *Amsterdam Courant*, June 1713; see Jan Bouterse, "Die Baßblockflöten von Thomas Boekhout," *Tibia* 24, no. 2 (1999): 457–61. I am grateful to Franka Cadée for translating this quotation. See Hunt, *The Recorder and its Music*, plate XV, for a photograph of a Boekhout bass (on a supporting post) with a key for the third finger-hole.

(40) The list given here is not meant to be complete, as this subject has been covered before in other articles (see Griscom/Lasocki). I have preferred to list quartets where possible. Peter Thalheimer, "In Quinten und Quarten: Zur Geschichte des Blockflötenstimmwerks," *Tibia* 25, no. 1 (2000): 16–24, lists Baroque composers who scored for recorder trios and quartets (but without giving details of the pieces themselves) and lists modern publications of music for recorder consort. Ulrich Thieme has written a series of three articles about the recorder in vocal music: "Die Blockflöte in Kantate, Oratorium und Oper," *Tibia* 11, no. 2 (1986): 81–88; 11, no. 3 (1986): 161–67; 12, no. 4 (1987): 558–66. Thalheimer is the editor of the *Flauto e Voce* series (Stuttgart: Carus-Verlag): five volumes of arias and recitatives with recorders, three containing recorder ensembles. The article on Lully in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. includes a facsimile of the first page of Lully's Prelude. I have put many of the pieces of music mentioned in this section onto [sibeliusmusic.com](http://sibeliusmusic.com).

(41) See Thalheimer, "In Quinten und Quarten." Schmelzer: *Sonata* for 7 recorders (Schott) and a *Sonata à doi chori* (Musikverlag A. Coppenrath) (one choir is for strings, the other has soprano, alto and tenor recorders with a bassoon). (I haven't seen this piece; if it is for a *basson* rather than a *fagott* it could be a bass recorder: see the paragraph on Witt's Suite in F.) Bertali, *Sonatella* for 5 recorders (Schott; Coppenrath). Biber, *Sonata pro tabula*—for two 5 part choirs, one of recorders, the other of strings (Schott; Mösel; Coppenrath). Anonymous (Bollius?), *Sonada* for 3 recorders and basso continuo (Schott).

(42) Rebecca Harris-Warwick, "From Score into Sound: Questions of Scoring in Lully's Ballets," *Early Music* 21, no. 3 (August 1993): 255. I haven't seen the *Ritournelle de 4 flustes* in *Ballet des Arts*. Lully's Prelude is discussed above in "French Names for Recorder Sizes." See Eppelsheim, *Das Orchester*, and Lemaître, "L'orchestre," for scoring in French opera.

(43) Montéclair notates sopranos and tenors in a unique way in *Les Fêtes de l'Été* (1716) and *Jephté* (1732). (The relevant movements are on [sibelius.com](http://sibelius.com).) They are allotted a G clef in the second space up on the staff (where the A is in a normal treble clef). The composer gives a detailed explanation: that this allows recorders in C to be played as if they were recorders in F read from a G1 clef in the normal way. (In the G1 clef, as in the bass clef, the second space up is a C—fingered 0123 on an alto. This fingering produces a G on a C-recorder.)

(44) H. Wiley Hitchcock considers *Medée* to be his theatrical masterpiece (*Marc-Antoine Charpentier* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990], 4). It is conceivable that bass recorders were included among the *bassons* in other pieces: for instance the *Offerte pour l'orgue et pour*



*les violons, flutes et hautbois*; the *Offerte non encor excecutee*; and some of his trios. All of them have recorders and oboes doubling on the upper parts.

(45) Modern edition from Nova Music (ed. Lasocki) and Noetzel; also on sibeliusmusic.com.

(46) Incidentally, Bach's Cantata 106, which is also for a funeral, has two alto recorders and two bass viols.

(47) The manuscript was lost in World War II, but the music survives in an edition published by Bärenreiter (Hortus Musicus). There are two other suites by Witt (with the title *Ouverture*), this time for oboes of different sizes and bassoon, one of them with doubled strings. See Bruce Haynes, "Music for Oboe"; available from <http://www.bahlo.net/mfo/anwendung/index.pl> (an extensive catalogue of oboe music, printed and in manuscript, and by far the best source of information for the repertoire of the oboe bands). The Wiegel plate can be downloaded from the Recorder Home Page (Australia).

(48) *The Rival Queens*, or *Alexander the Great* (performed at Drury Lane, 1701); GB-Cfm Mus MS 87 (or 23 H 12). The *Symphony for 4 Flutes* is in Act V, f. 73. See Curtis A. Price, "Eight 'Lost' Restoration Plays 'Found' in Musical Source," *Music & Letters* 58 (1977): 297. The tenor recorder part is written in the C2 clef. There is also, apparently, a trio in John Blow's *Lord Who Shall Dwell in thy Tabernacle*, although I have not seen it. The quintets by Finger and Keller seem to have been primarily intended for the "hautboys" of Prince George of Denmark (the prince-consort of Princess, later Queen, Anne). See David Lasocki, "Professional Recorder Players in England, 1540–1740" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1983), 361–66.

(49) Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 163.

(50) For oboe bands see Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, sections 3–F and 5–A, and for their repertoire see Haynes, *Music for Oboe*. Much of the background music and music for dancing is not very interesting out of context, and hardly any of it is published. I have put a few examples on sibeliusmusic.com; in particular some attractive movements from Telemann's *Ouvertures*, some theatre music by Charpentier, and one of the La Barre suites in four parts. (It is surprising that the La Barre suites have been ignored, considering his stature as a flute player and the popularity of his duets and solo sonatas.) On Quantz's instruments, see Edward Reilly, Introduction to Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, trans. & ed. Reilly, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Schirmer Books, 1985; reprint, Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2001), xii. I mentioned oboe bands in my previous article, "Flexibility, Multi-instrumentation and Transposition in Baroque Music," *The Recorder Magazine* 23, no. 3 (summer 2003): 46–49.

(51) Taken from Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 37–38. The most successful modern attempt at this that I have heard is Hugo Reyne's massive recording of all twelve of Delalande's *Symphonies pour les soupers du roi* (Arles, France: Harmonia Mundi, HMC 901337–HMC 901340, 1990). The symphonies mostly survive in two-part scores, but it is clear that they were played by ensembles of mixed instruments.

The dramatic literature of the eighteenth century was not of a high order. In fact there was a gradual deterioration and during the last quarter of the century drama was moving towards its lowest ebb. One of the reasons of the decline of drama during the eighteenth century was the Licensing Act of 1737 which— Steele was the first exponent of the sentimental comedy in the eighteenth century. In his plays, such as *The Funeral*, *The Lying Lover*, *The Tender Husband*, *The Conscious Lovers*, Steele extolled the domestic virtues. Other dramatists who wrote sentimental comedies were Colley Cibber, Hugh Kelley and Richard Cumberland. In their hands comedy was so much drenched in emotions and sentiments that the genuine human issues were completely submerged in them.