THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ORCHESTRA AND ORCHESTRATION in ITALIAN OPERA c. 1600 - c. 1750

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S U M M A R Y

This thesis sets out to discover the beginnings of the modern conception of the orchestra and orchestration, and to trace its evolution in relation to the needs of drama, in Italian opera up to the mid-eighteenth century. Though the heterogeneous nature of the Renaissance ensemble had, in itself, no lasting influence, the symbolical use of instrumental timbre survived; the thesis therefore begins with this aspect. The needs of opera, commercial and artistic, led to the establishment of the string orchestra, to which wind instruments were sometimes added.

Where Venetian operas are concerned, as the majority survive only in mere manuscript sketches, this thesis further attempts to establish contemporary orchestral practice, and suggests some solutions to the problems posed. The operas of Alessandro Scarlatti and his contemporaries illustrate the next stage in orchestral development. They not only established the wind instruments as permanent members of the orchestra, but also evolved a purely orchestral idiom based on the individual characteristics of each instrument. Succeeding generations of composers built on this foundation, and by the 1750s a purely symphonic style of orchestration emerged in which every aspect of the texture as a whole was imaginatively explored.

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P R E F A C E

The conclusions drawn in this thesis are based mainly on the music itself, and on my own experience of restoring and playing on antique instruments. I have not had the opportunity to search Italian archives for details of the size and membership of the opera orchestra, and such information as there is has kindly been put at my disposal by Professor Denis Arnold, Professor of Music, University of Nottingham.

In quoting from the manuscripts, I have kept all original spellings even though these may be at variance with their modern equivalents. For example, 'oboe' will appear as any one of the following: oboè, oubuoè, hautbois, and hautboy; and the term tamburo will sometimes appear as tamburro. In spelling a composer's name, I have where possible taken the version used in an autograph manuscript: thus the following spellings have been used though they differ from the customary usage by some English scholars - Jommelli instead of Jomelli, Sarri instead of Sarrò, and Manzi instead of Manzo.

As this is a thesis discussing Italian music, I have felt justified in using Italian terms and their plurals instead of their English translations, except for terms which have been absorbed into the English language. For example, I use sinfonia and sinfonie instead of symphony and symphonies, but I speak of aria and arias. In the case of the thorough-bass, I take continuo to be part of English musical vocabulary, but when speaking of it in more specific terms I use either basso seguente or basso continuo. All Italian terms and titles of works are underlined for italic; but roman (non-underlined) type, either indented or within quotation marks, is used for

names of separate arias or movements and when making a direct quotation from a treatise or manuscript. For example:

> There are many instances where the violin parts are marked 'con oub. quando non canta la parte' ... Sometimes they were reserved for the final ritornello as in 'Spera si' (Act I) in Scarlatti's Il Prigionier Fortunato ... The score is marked 'violette sole.' According to Johann Walther the term violetta denoted the viola.

The shelf numbers of many of the manuscripts, particularly those of the Conservatorio di San Pietro a Maiella, Naples, have been altered since the publication of the various catalogues, and therefore the numbers given in this thesis may not always correspond to those in the printed sources. For works collected photographically at the Fondazione Cini, Venice, I have quoted the Venetian library's catalogue number first, followed by that of the original source. As many of the photostats were in a state of disorder, I have identified the passages mentioned by using the photographer's serial numbers. References to these works appear thus: (Lotti's Teofane) (FC) XIV.a.3, phs.683-689, being photostats of (D) MS.Mus. 2159/F/17.

Composers' names are given in full only when first mentioned, except in the case of those bearing similar family names. Dates of the earliest known performance of an opera are given (if known) when the work is first noted and at other times when it seems helpful. When more than one manuscript of an opera exists, the date of the manuscript mentioned is given in the text and that of the opera's premier in the footnote.

The works of Monteverdi are studied in the complete edition prepared by G. F. Malipiero, and all references to these apply to the second edition (Vienna, 1954 ff).

Some of the material and observations made in Chapters II and III of this thesis have been incorporated into the author's contribution to The Monteverdi Companion edited by Denis Arnold and Nigel Fortune (London, 1968). As no new material was published in the chapter headed 'Monteverdi and the Opera Orchestra of his Time', I have not thought it necessary to include a copy in the thesis.

When the specific pitch of a note is given in the text, the following system has been used.



I should like to acknowledge the help and advice given to me by many people during the preparation of this thesis: firstly to Anthony Lewis while Professor of Music at the University of Birmingham, and to the staff of the Music Department of that university: Mr. Paul Doe, Dr. Nigel Fortune, and Mr. David Greer. Next, to Professor and Mrs. Denis Arnold for their advice on all Venetian matters, and to Dr. and Mrs. Brian Pullan for their help in Venice. Thanks also to the governing bodies and staff of the following: the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham (the Music Library); the British Museum, and the Royal College

of Music, London; the Conservatorio di San Pietro a Maiella, Naples (the Music Library); St. Michael's College, Tenbury Wells (the Library); the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, and the Fondazione Cini, Venice. In addition, various scholars have helped me with problems arising from translation: Dr. Fortune, and Dr. Yvonne Tapson. For permission to reproduce Plate 5 from Venetian Opera in the Seventeenth Century by S. Towneley Worsthorne, I owe thanks to the Clarendon Press.

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C H A P T E R I

THE RENAISSANCE INTERMEDIO

In the sixteenth century, sizeable orchestras played during the theatrical entertainments which were a part of every courtly banquet and festivity. There was no standardisation of the type and number of instruments used in these orchestras, and the ensemble varied from court to court. For example, in 1430, Isabella of Portugal was escorted through Bruges by a large group of musicians which included at least a hundred-and-twenty silver trumpets;[1] and in 1568 an orchestra of four mute cornetts, a flute (fifero), and three trombones, played the 'concertos in the organ loft on the festival day' at St. Mark's in Venice.[2] But whatever variety there may have been, enough instrumentalists were regularly employed at courts - such as that at Cassel[3] - to make orchestral performances readily available when required.

Composers did not specify the instrumentation of their pieces, but left it to the performers to decide which part was most suited to each instrument's range. The title-pages to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century madrigal books made it quite clear that instruments could be and should be used in

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[1] Bowles, p.47

[2] Arnold, D. (i), p.104. For further details on the size and constitution of the Renaissance ensembles, see Broder, pp.174-80.

[3] Baines (i), pp.30-38

performances of vocal music; and Michael Praetorius, too, names a variety of instruments which should be used to accompany a capella music. He suggests that in Orlando di Lasso's 'Laudate pueri' à 7, two flutes, violins or cornetts, two altos, and three trombones should play; for the same composer's 'In convertendo' à 8, three flutes or three mute cornetts or three violins; or a violin, a mute cornett, and a flute or recorder; or a boy may sing the upper line; and a tenor, doubled or replaced by a bassoon or trombone, should play for one choir, and voices, viols, violins and cellos, or recorders with a bassoon or an F trombone (Quart Posaun) for the other.[4] Other information about the Renaissance orchestra can be found in the accounts of the intermedii. These were spectacular musical entertainments interpolated during the performances of plays. In them the music played a decorative but subordinate role. The following list illustrates the variety of instruments which played in the intermedii to D'Ambra's comedy, La Cofanaria, performed in 1565 during the wedding celebrations of Francesco de' Medici and Johanna of Austria. Sixteen singers and eighteen instrumentalists performed the music by Alessandro Striggio and Giovanni Battista Cina:

(a) Madrigal à 8 (Venus) sung by voices accompanied behind the scenes by two harpsichords, four bass viols, an alto lute, a mute cornett, a trombone, and two recorders.

(b) Madrigal à 5 (Love) sung by five voices and accompanied behind the scenes by two harpsichords, an archlute, a

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[4] Praetorius, Vol.III, pp.153-54. See Appendix II (a).

bass viol, a treble viol, a recorder, four flutes, and a trombone. The viol and recorder extemporised their parts.

(c) Madrigal à 4 (Zephyrus and Music) sung by four voices with four lutes, a viol, and a lirone on the stage, and accompanied behind the scenes by three harpsichords, an archlute, a treble viol, an alto flute, a large tenor recorder, and a mute cornett which extemporised its part.

(d) Instrumental piece (Hercules and Pleasure) for three harpsichords, three lutes, four viols, four trombones, two recorders, and one flute.

(e) Madrigal à 6 (Tricksters) sung by eight voices (treble and bass doubled) and accompanied by five crumhorns and a mute cornett.

(f) Madrigal à 6 (Discord and his followers) sung by twelve voices with two trombones, a dulcian, two cornetts, and a tenor cornett and two drums.

(g) Madrigal à 5 (Psyche) sung by a soprano with four viols, and accompanied behind the scenes by a lirone and four trombones.

(h) Finale à 4 (Olympus) sung 'very loudly and cheerfully' with four voices to a part, accompanied by two mute cornetts, two trombones, a dulcian, a treble crumhorn, a lirone, a treble rebec, and two lutes.[5]

Thus the orchestra consisted of woodwind, brass and percussion, bowed- and plucked-string, and keyboard instruments.

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[5] Dart, pp.140-41; Weaver (i), Table I, p.374.

They are not arranged in any specific recurring combinations, maximum variety and richness of sound being the principal consideration.

It is evident that another criterion, other than that of an instrument's range, was used when scoring the music, namely, the symbolical significance attached to tone-colour. Certain scenes and characters were always accompanied by similar groups of instruments. Such scenes can be classified thus:

(a) Those in which gods and allegorical or noble figures appear. These were accompanied by plucked- and bowed-strings, recorders, flutes, cornetts, trombones, and harpsichords. Thus a scene which represented a banquet of the gods was performed by six singers, six lutes, one soprano and one bass viol, four trombones, two recorders, one flute, and two cornetts - Intermedio VI to Mazzo's I Fabii (Florence, 1567).[6]

(b) Pastoral scenes. These were accompanied by reeded wind instruments, recorders, flutes, cornetts, trombones, and sometimes bowed- and plucked-string instruments. The wind instruments were particularly associated with open-air life, and the raucous tone of the reeded instruments was often used to personify the peasantry. Thus in Intermedio III to D'Ambra's La Cofanaria, six shepherds sang to an accompaniment of a mute cornett and five crumhorns (storte).[7]

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[6] Weaver (i), Table I, p.374.

[7] Weaver (i), Table II, p.376.

(c) Maritime scenes. Flutes with or without trombones, and string instruments were used in these. For instance, in Landi's Il Comodo (Florence, 1539), three flutes were played by sea monsters, and three lutes by sirens.[8] Reeded instruments were added to these if sailors appeared, as in Intermedio V to Bargagli's La Pellegrina (Florence, 1585). The sailors sang of their triumphs over Arion to the accompaniment of trombones, cornetts, dulcians, and bassoons.[9]

(d) Infernal and supernatural scenes. These were associated with the sounds of trombones and the lower members of the bowed-string family; therefore a madrigal for Night was sung by five voices accompanied by four trombones in Intermedio VI to Il Comodo.[10] Again, a scene in which 'celestial' and 'infernal' scoring is deliberately contrasted occurs in Intermedio V to I Fabii.[11] The celestial spirits are represented by six singers accompanied by harps and citterns, and the infernal spirits by four singers accompanied by four viols, a lira, and four trombones.

(f) Battle scenes. Brass and percussion instruments were the obvious choice for these. In an intermedio to Bibbiena's La Calandria (Urbino, 1513) there is a battle between 'Jason and the Earth-Born Warriors' during which the one side is accompanied by bugles

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[8] Weaver (i), p.373.

[9] Walker, p.LI.

[10] Ghisi, p.XXI; Weaver (i), Table III, p.377.

[11] Weaver (i), Table IV, p.378.

(trombetti) and the other by fifes (piffari).[12] Percussion instruments, too, appear in an intermedio to Ariosti's La Cassaria (Ferrara, 1508) when Vulcan fights the Cyclops. Hammers (sonaglie) and fifes (piffari) were played. (R. L. Weaver thinks that the sonaglie were either bells or rattles, and he classifies the piffari as reeded wind instruments.)[13]

In spite of its colourful instrumentation, the Renaissance orchestra cannot be regarded as an orchestra in the modern sense, nor was there any orchestration as we understand it. The ensemble of instruments was not standardised, but depended on the instrumentalists available at any given time. Purely instrumental idioms were neglected, while the scoring was governed by the range of the polyphonic vocal lines. In handling the orchestra, composers were to some extent restricted by certain conventions. For instance, in processional music they were limited to trombones, trumpets and percussion, and pipes; while as the nobility sometimes took part in the intermedii, only socially accepted instruments, such as lutes, harpsichords, and recorders, could be used. When, in the seventeenth century, some kind of order was imposed on the constitution of the orchestra, and orchestration began to be considered for its own sake, the only feature of the Renaissance orchestra to exert any con-

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[12] ibid. Piffari is a generic term for such instruments as shawms, fifes and bagpipes. I have chosen to translate the word as 'fifes' as this is a military scene. Giustiniani in his Discorse sopra la Musica de' suoi tempi mentions that fifes were used in the navy and by the vulgar in their merry-making. He also says that they were played in the small town festivals in the same manner as consorts of violins. Fortune (i), p.51.

[13] Weaver (i), Table IV, p.378.

tinuing influence was the principle of symbolical scoring. Further details concerning the symbolical scoring of the intermedii will be found in Appendix I.

C H A P T E R I I

THE EARLY OPERAS

Opera was the major artistic creation of the baroque era. From it sprang all the various art forms of the time - musical, plastic, and dramatic - and in it they converge. There is no better representative of the spirit of the Baroque than Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680) of whom John Evelyn wrote:

> Bernini ... gave a public opera (for so they call shows of that kind) wherein he painted the scenes, cut the statues, invented the engines, composed the musiq, writ the comedy, and built the theatre.[1]

The early history of operatic orchestrations, following the Camerata, reveals how the heterogeneous Renaissance ensemble was gradually superseded by the monochrome string band. Of course, string bands were not unknown in the late sixteenth century, for as many as thirty violins (of various sizes) had played for a ballet given at the French court by Catharine de' Medici in 1573.[2] This set a fashion in France, and by 1609 there were twenty-two violinists and twelve oboists employed in the king's chamber. The number of players was soon increased, and the band became known as

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[1] Bray, Vol.I, p.111

[2] Prunières (i), p.55 f.

the vingt-quatre violons du Roy. This was the first regularly established orchestra to be based on a group of bowed-string instruments.[3] Nevertheless, it is my purpose to show that it was in Italy that the modern orchestra and orchestration was developed, and as a result of the needs of opera. Operatic productions quickly spread all over Europe, and because it was put on a commercial basis, it influenced a wider section of the public than the twenty-four violins of Louis XIII.

The Basso Continuo

The nuove musiche, with its emphasis upon clear declamation of the text, relegated the instrumental accompaniment to a secondary position. The instrumentalists were placed behind the scenes and provided no more than a discreet support for the singers. The scores give only the bass line, with a few figures as a guide to the realisation of the harmonies. The interpretation of these figures led to the publication of numerous treatises, and it is to these that we must turn to find out how to play the accompaniments, not only in the monodies, but also in the seventeenth-century operas.

One of the most important of these treatises was Agostino Agazzari's Del suonare sopra il basso con tutti i stromenti & uso loro nel conserto (1607).[4] Obviously he is describing an established practice as Adriano Banchieri makes a reference to the work as early as 1604 in the pre-

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[3] Prunières (ii), p.247; Sceaury, p.62.

[4] Arnold, F. T., translation of selected passages, pp.67-74.

face to his own Ecclesiastiche sinfonie dette canzoni in arie francese, a quattro voci, per sonare, et cantare et sopra un basso seguente concertare entro l'organo (1604).[5] He says:

> If you wish to perform them with voices and instruments ... I should not neglect to say that within a few days Signor Agostino Agazzari, the very famous musician and organist, will publish a treatise which is a work useful for those who play concerted music, and necessary for those who wish to learn how to play freely over the basso seguente.[6]

Later, Banchieri, in his Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo (1609), included a 'Copy of a letter written by Signor Agostino Agazzari to a compatriot, an accomplished Sienese; from which he arrives at a knowledge of the style to be observed in concerting organ, voices and instruments.'[7] Agazzari calls this letter, dated 25 April 1606,

> ... a draft of the style which the Roman gentlemen musicians use in concerting voices, keyboard instruments, bowed and string instruments with organ.[8]

Agazzari's treatise, besides showing how to interpret the figures over the bass line, divides the continuo instruments into two groups - instruments of 'foundation' and instruments of 'ornament.'

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[5] Bologna, quoted in Vol.II, p.373.

[6] Translated by Rose, p.382.

[7] Banchieri, pp.68-70; translated by Rose, p.383.

[8] ibid., p.68; translated by Rose, p.383.

> As foundation are those which guide and sustain the entire body of the voices and instruments of the said Concerto, such as the Organ, Gravicembalo, etc., and, similarly in the case of a few or single voices, the Lute, Theorbo, Harp, etc.
>
> As ornamentation there are those which disport themselves (scherzando), and play counterpoints (contrapontegiando), and thus make the harmony more agreeable and sonorous; such are the Lute, Theorbo, Harp, Lirone, Cither, Spinet, Chitarrine, Violin, Pandora and the like. [9]

He then gives the following advice:

> ... when one plays an instrument which serves as a foundation, one must play with great judgement ... playing the work as simply and correctly as possible, and not with many florid passages or runs. [10]

About an 'ornament' instrument he says:

> ... therefore, whoever plays the Lute ... must play nobly, with much invention and variety, and not, as some who do, because they have a facile hand, do nothing but play runs and diminutions from beginning to end, especially in the company of other instruments which do the same, when nothing is heard but chaos (zuppa) and confusion, displeasing and offensive to the listener. [11]

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[9] Arnold, F. T., p.68

[10] ibid., p.70

[11] ibid., p.72

Other sources, too, name a great number of instruments which could be used for realising the basso continuo. The title page of Francesco Bianciardi's Breve regola per imparar'a sonare sopra il basso con ogni sorte d'istrumenti (1607) shows drawings of a small organ, spinet, harp, guitar, lira da braccio, theorbo, various viols, lirone, trombone, and lutes.[12] A large number of instruments was needed to give the score variety, and there is evidence that the instrumentation was changed to suit the mood of the words, for in the preface to Emilio del Cavalieri's Rappresentatione di anima, et di corpo (1600) Alessandro Guidotti speaks of the number of instruments and the uses to which they were put:

> ... a Lira doppia, a Clavicembano, a Chitarrone, or Theorbo as they say, make the best effect as does again a soft Organ with a Chitarrone. And Signor Emilio would commend a change of instruments in conformity with the sentiment of the reciter.[13]

Far more instruments must have been used than were mentioned by Guidotti, because in the Avvertimenti we find that

> The Symphonie and Ritornelli can be played with a great number of instruments,

and that a

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[12] Haas, p.24

[13] Cavalieri, 'A'Lettori' by Alessandro Guidotti; my own translation. See Appendix II (b).

> ... Violin playing the upper part note for note will have an excellent effect. [14]

One surviving copy of the score of Cavalieri's work does not name any instruments for the sinfonie and ritornelli except for a Tiorba. [15] This instrument is specified on the first page, and it is probable that this was the copy used by the theorbist. The word Tace is prefixed to all the solo pieces and so the theorbo must have played only in the purely instrumental pieces or when several voices were singing. Cavalieri apparently did not agree with the opinion expressed by G. Caccini in his preface to Il Nuove Musiche to the effect that the theorbo or chitarrone was the most fitting accompaniment for the solo voice, 'particularly the Tenor Voice.' [16] As the sinfonie and ritornelli of Cavalieri's work are written for one or two treble parts, one or two alto parts, a tenor, and a continuo part, the Violino mentioned in the Avvertimenti must have been given as no more than a single example of the kind of melodic instrument required, for others would clearly have been needed in order to complete the scoring. The actual orchestration must have been stated in rehearsal with the instruments divided into the two groups as defined by Agazzari.

Other composers, too, throw some light upon the problems of performance in the prefaces of their work. Marco da Gagliano asks his instrumentalists to

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[14] ibid., my own translation. See Appendix II (c).

[15] Copy in S. Maria in Vallicella, noted by F . Mantica, p.6.

[16] Arnold, F. T., p.42

> ... make sure that the harmony is neither too much nor too little, but such that it supports the singing without impeding the understanding of the words. (Dafne, 1608) [17]

Filippo Vitali's views are similar because he writes of the singers being

> ... accompanied according to the needs of the harmony, by two harpsichords, two theorbos, two violins, a lute, and a viola da gamba. (Aretusa, 1620) [18]

Finally, Jacopo Peri in speaking of a performance of his Euridice (1600) says that a harpsichord, a chitarrone, a violin, a large lira, and a large lute were played; [19] and the orchestra in Claudio Monteverdi's Orfeo also contains a large number of continuo instruments. [20]

Thus it seems as though a great variety of instruments could have been used in any performance of a work written for a basso continuo texture. The actual number of instrumentalists who took part in a performance varied according to the size of the hall and the scale of the composition. Guidotti says that the instruments should be

> ... more or less numerous according to the place, whether it be a theatre or a hall, [which] if it is to be proportionate to this recitation in music, should not be capable of holding more than a thousand people. [21]

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[17] Solerti, p.83; my own translation. See Appendix II (d).

[18] Rose, p.386; Goldschmidt, Vol.I, p.142.

[19] Arnold, F. T., p.36.

[20] TLO, Vol.XI.

[21] Cavalieri, 'A'Lettori' by A. Guidotti; my own translation. See Appendix II (e).

G. Caccini actually mentions the number of performers who took part in his Il Rapimento di Cefalo (1600). He included an excerpt from this work along with a detailed description of the performance in his Nuove Musiche:

> Final Chorus of the Rapimento di Cefalo, concerted among voices and instruments by seventy-five persons in a half moon, as well as the stage provided ...[22]

However, he does not tell us how many of the seventy-five were instrumentalists, though the fact that some singers accompanied themselves must not be forgotten: Caccini himself was a singer and lutenist as well as a composer and theorist. Hugo Goldschmidt suggests that the musicians could have been divided as follows: thirty-five instrumentalists and forty singers in the chorus.[23] The practice of using so great a variety of instruments was, nevertheless, regarded unfavourably by Giovanni Batista Doni, for he grumbles:

> Besides which such a great variety of sounds seriously distracts the hearing, and imagination of the listener ... However because this manner of using such a multitude of instruments produces so little sound that it can scarcely be heard by those nearest the stage ... the result is, at the very most, that their sound reaches the ears of those who are in the middle

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[22] Caccini, p.19; translated by Rose, p.385.

[23] Goldschmidt, Vol.I, p.136.

> of the hall; but if it is so vigorous as to reach those at the back, no doubt it will obscure the voices too much (which are usually little heard) and those who are at the front will be unable to tolerate it.[24]

The improvising instrumentalists would have played either from full scores, as did the theorbist in Cavalieri's Rappresentatione di anima, et di corpo, or from a tablature of the bass. This tablature or intavolatura usually meant a short score of the vocal parts, or simply the harmonies written down as a series of unmeasured chords. Luigi Torchi thought that the players of 'ornament' instruments improvised their parts from such tablatures, each following the line most suited to his instrument.[25] This practice did have its critics, for G. B. Doni complained about the time that it took to write out such tablatures for all the musicians:

> ... without speaking of the labour and time that it takes to make so many copies of the tablature of the bass ...[26]

What must be a tablature of the bass occurs in L. Rossi's Il Palazzo incantato (1642). During Prasildo's recitative in Act I, Scene xii, the vocal line is interrupted by a phrase marked 'Qui suonano tutti li stromenti.' (Ex.1) The second

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[24] Doni, p.110; my own translation. See Appendix II (f).

[25] Torchi, p.37

[26] Doni, p.111; my own translation. See Appendix II (g).

and third interruptions are marked 'si suona.'[27] (Exs.2a and b) These instrumental passages make little sense in the state in which they appear, but if regarded in the light of Agazzari's instructions then the mystery is solved. He writes,

> For as the former [a player of a 'foundation' instrument] has to play the Bass before him as it stands, it is not necessary that he should have a great knowledge of counterpoint, but the latter [a player of an 'ornament' instrument] needs it, since he has to compose new parts, and new and varied passages and counterpoints over that same Bass.[28]

Even so, not all unmeasured chord sequences were meant to be tablatures of the bass, for Marco da Gagliano in the preface to Dafne explains that the three chords which precede and close the aria 'Non curi le mia pianta' were written so as

> ...'to make it appear in the theatre that Apollo's lyre gives forth some more than ordinary melody.' When he clasps his lyre to his breast, 'whether a braccio or gamba matters little', placed nearby where the audience cannot see them, 'watch Apollo and when he puts his bow to his lyre they are to sound the three notes written, taking care to bow equally so that it sounds like a single bow: this deception cannot be

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[27] (RCM) MS.546, f.70

[28] Arnold, F. T., pp.71-72.

> recognised, except by the fancy of some particularly attentive person, and causes no little pleasure.' [29]

It is clear from the evidence of these and many other scores that instrumentalists, whether working from the full score or a tablature of the bass, were intended to improvise a great deal of music. As to the available instrumentation, some scores give more detailed information than others. For example, Stefano Landi's Il Sant'Alessio (1634) contains two sinfonie set out in a score of five staves: three-part violins on the upper three staves; harps, lutes, theorbos, and violoni on a single bass-clef stave; and a basso continuo for harpsichords on the lowest stave. In the ritornelli, dances and choruses, the orchestral parts are given, but the arias and recitatives have only a bass-line written out.[30] Michaelangelo Rossi's Erminia sul Giordano (1637) opens with a sinfonia for four-part violins and a basso continuo 'for all the instruments.' So far as the score itself is any indication, the orchestra plays in the ritornelli but not in the choruses, while the arias are supported by the basso continuo alone. This is not to say, however, that the choruses were a capella: they could have been instrumented on the principles of Praetorius. As to the arias, had the full resources of the 'foundation' and 'ornament' instruments been applied on the lines indicated by Agazzari, the accompaniments could have been quite elaborate.[31] (See pp.10-11)

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[29] Abraham, p.831, taken from the complete preface printed in Solerti, pp.88-89. See Appendix II (h).

[30] Goldschmidt, Vol.I, music supplement, pp.202-57.

[31] Rose, p.387; Goldschmidt, Vol.I, music supplement, pp.258-72.

Some light is shed on contemporary practice in this matter by an examination of two different manuscripts of Luigi Rossi's Il Palazzo incantato of 1642, already mentioned in connection with tablature of the bass. In each of these some of the accompaniments are written out in seven parts with a figured bass.[32] In the Roman manuscript, on the one hand, the seven-part writing appears only up to Folio 6, when 'with the usual accompaniment' is written; and thereafter the basso continuo alone appears for the rest of the prologue.[33] The London manuscript, on the other hand, has the recitatives of the prologue accompanied by the basso continuo and the arias by a seven-part instrumental ensemble. After the prologue in the London manuscript, the ritornelli and dances tend to be written out in seven parts; but sometimes only the treble and bass lines are filled in, as, for example, in the 'Ritornello' in Act I, Scene x.[34] In such a case presumably the inner parts were improvised. As to the given parts in the fully-scored pieces, these might be (i) a record of the counterpoints devised by the players for performance under the composer's direction; or (ii) Rossi's own work, intended as a guide to the style to be used by the improvising musicians; or (iii) more particularly, the result of the composer's wish not to leave to chance the exact counterpoints at specially important places in the work. However these things may be, the testimony of the surviving text of this

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[32] (BV) MS.Q.V.51, Fondo Chigiano; (RCM) MSS.546-547.

[33] Rose, p.388.

[34] (RCM) MS.546, f.64

work tends to show that more than a simple basso continuo accompaniment of arias was employed at that time.

Other aspects of instrumentation

Apart from occasionally naming continuo instruments, the early opera scores do not often mention others. When they do it is usually in connection with scenes in which orchestral colour could be used symbolically, as in the Renaissance intermedii. For example, Francesca Caccini in La Liberazione di Ruggiero (1625) scores an infernal chorus on one occasion for four viols, four trombones, an organ with wooden pipes, and keyboard instruments; and on another occasion for five viols, an arciviolta, an organ with wooden pipes, and keyboard instruments;[35] Jacopo Melani uses three cornetts and a trombone in a similar context in Ercole in Tebe (1660);[36] Marc'Antonio Cesti uses two cornetts, three trombones, a bassoon, and a regal for the accompaniment to Proserpina's aria in Act I, Scene i of Il Pomo d'Oro (1666);[37] and there is a ritornello preceding a passage of recitative which describes the furies of hell, scored for three bassoons and two regals in the anonymous opera Il Pio Enea (1641).[38] The tradition of 'infernal' scoring had the most lasting influence, and even lived

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[35] Goldschmidt, Vol.I, pp.177-79; Weaver (i), p.373.

[36] Weaver (i), p.373.

[37] Wellesz, p.63.

[38] (V) MS.9971, (W) 447, f.20

on well into the eighteenth century - Gluck's Orfeo and Alceste, and Mozart's Don Giovanni and Requiem.

Woodwind instruments, particularly recorders, still appear in a pastoral context. Peri directs that Tirsi play a 'Triflauto' in the sinfonia to the song in Scene iv of L'Euridice (1600);[39] and three flutes are also used by F. Caccini for the country scene in La Liberazione di Ruggiero.[40]

Landi makes use of the traditional 'Olympian' scoring for an accompaniment to a chorus of angels in Il Sant'Alessio. A three-part chorus sings to the accompaniment of

> ... lutes, harps, three violins playing above the sopranos, who sing and all stand on the cloud.[41]

F. Caccini and Cesti also follow this tradition in La Liberazione di Ruggiero and Il Pomo d'Oro respectively. In the former, a chorus of planets is scored for five viols, an arciviolata lira, a chamber organ and harpsichords,[42] and in the latter a theorbo and graviorgano play when Juno appears to Paris (Act I, Scene xiii).[43]

Finally, brass instruments were the natural choice for martial scenes. M. Rossi adds trumpets to his orchestra for

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[39] Peri, L'Euridice (Florence, 1600; facs. Rome, 1934), p.11. See Appendix II (i).

[40] Goldschmidt, Vol.I, music supplement, p.176; Weaver (ii), p.83.

[41] Goldschmidt, Vol.I, p.142; my own translation. See Appendix II (j).

[42] Weaver (ii), p.83.

[43] Wellesz, p.70.

[44] Goldschmidt, Vol.I, p.143.

a soldiers' chorus in Act II, Scene vi of Erminia sul Giordano (1633);[44] and Cesti writes a toccata, similar to that in Monteverdi's Orfeo, to announce the arrival of Pallas Athene in Il Pomo d'Oro (Act II, Scene xiii).[45]

By far the most detailed score of the first half of the seventeenth century is Monteverdi's Orfeo (1607). It was the sixth dramma per musica to be written, and was first performed for the members of the Academia degli Invaghiti in Mantua. Two years after the performance it was published. At this time scores were not printed as performing copies but as tributes to patrons. This accounts for the fact that most of the directions for the instruments in Orfeo are given in the past tense. A list of the instruments is given at the beginning of the score, but it is not complete, as others are called for during the course of the work. The instruments can be divided into three main groups:

(i) Instruments of 'foundation':

'Duoi Gravicembani, Un'Arpa doppia, Duoi Chitaroni' (one more called for in the score), (two?) 'Ceteroni' (not listed but called for in the score), 'Tre bassi da gamba, Duoi Organi di legno, Un Regale.'

(ii) String instruments not included in (i):

'Duoi Violini piccoli alla Francese, Diece Viole da brazzo' (i.e. a string ensemble), 'Duoi contrabassi de Viola.'

(iii) Wind instruments:

'Quattro Tromboni' (one more called for in the score),

'Duoi Cornetti, Un Flautino alla Vigesima seconda'

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[44] Goldschmidt, Vol. I, p.143
[45] Wellesz, p.76.

(one more called for in the score), 'Un Clarino con tre trombe sordine.'[46]

Some of the instruments in all three groups could have acted as instruments of 'ornament.'

Although such an orchestra - like the extensive use to which it is put - was not found in early Florentine opera, it is not in itself exceptional; it shows that Monteverdi was working within the tradition of the _intermedio_, more so than the other composers already mentioned. This influence is most marked by the way in which the instruments are used in Act III. Here a great many details of the orchestration are given. As the scene is set on the shores of the Styx, it is not surprising to find references to trombones and regals. The act is built up in the following way:

(a) a dialogue between Orpheus and Hope: accompanied by the _basso continuo_ - no instruments specified;
(b) Charon challenges Orpheus: regal accompaniment;
(c) a _sinfonia_ in five parts: no instruments specified;
(d) Orpheus sings his entreaty, 'Possente spirto': the first four verses are each accompanied by a continuo group of a _chitarrone_ and an organ with wooden pipes but with differing _obbligati_ - two violins, two cornetts, a double harp, and two violins and a cello (_basso da brazzo_) respectively;
(e) Orpheus continues his song for two more verses in _arioso_: accompaniment for three violins and a double-bass viol;
(f) a dialogue between Charon and Orpheus: continuo instruments not specified;

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[46] _TLO_, Vol.XI.

(g) Charon falls asleep to the sounds of _sinfonia_ (c) repeated very softly by an organ with wooden pipes, violins and a double-bass viol;
(h) Orpheus crosses the Styx to the sounds of the organ with wooden pipes;
(i) a seven-part _sinfonia_: no instruments specified;
(j) a chorus of spirits accompanied by a regal, an organ, with wooden pipes, five trombones, two bass _viole da gamba_, and a double-bass viol;
(k) _sinfonia_ (i) is repeated: no instruments specified.[47]

As well as this 'infernal' scoring there are also passages written in the pastoral tradition. On two occasions Monteverdi specifies the instrumentation. The chorus 'Lasciate i monte' (Act I) is accompanied by

> ... cinque viole da braccio, tre chitarroni, duoi clavicembani, un'arpa doppia, un contrabasso de viola e un flautino alla vigesima seconda;[48]

and the _ritornello_ which is played behind the scenes during the shepherds' duet 'In questo prato' (Act II) is scored for 'duoi chitarroni, un clavicembano, e duoi flautini.'[49]

Even when the instrumentation is explicit in _Orfeo_ there are still some problems to be solved. The toccata which opens the opera is nothing more than a conventional triple-sounded

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[47] ibid., pp.77-113.
[48] ibid., pp.14-19.
[49] ibid., p.45.

flourish on a chord of C major.[50] The names given to the four upper parts - clarino, quinta, alto e basso, vulgano - are similar to those in general use during the seventeenth century to denote the tessitura of the trumpet parts, as players specialised in expert control of only certain areas of the instrument's complete range. Michael Praetorius (1618), Girolamo Fantini da Spoleto (1638), and Daniel Speer (1687) each define these different registers:[51]

	Praetorius	Fantini	Speer	
(a)	Clarin	-	Clarin	c'' to c'''
(b)	Principal (Quinta)	Quinta	Prinzipal	g'
(c)	-	Toccata	-	e'
(d)	Alter-Bass	Striano	Mittelstimme	c'
(e)	Volgan	Vurgano	Faulstimme	g
(f)	Bass (Grob)	Basso	Grob	c
(g)	Fladdergrob	Sotto Basso	Flattergrob	C

The clarino trumpeter always played the highest part; thus the other three trumpeters must have played the lower ones. This leaves the lowest part of all, the basso, unaccounted for. Caldwell Titcomb explains:

> This basso part was clearly designed for kettledrums, the drums were so much taken for granted where trumpets

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[50] ibid., p.1

[51] List drawn up from Fantini's Modo per imparar a sonare di tromba (1638), Praetorius's Syntagma Musicum (1619), and Speer's Grundrichtiger Unterricht der musikalischen Kunst (1687). Westrup, p.237.

> were involved that they did not even have to be included in the list of instruments. The kettledrummer may have rolled throughout on the note c; but if he was any good, he enlivened his part rhythmically, as did probably the fourth trumpeter too.[52]

The trombe con sordine can only be interpreted as muted trumpets. Mutes were regularly used in military circles, as Martin Mersenne explains:

> ... the figure and characteristic of the mute, which is ordinarily made of a piece of wood placed in the bell of a trumpet, in order to stop it so as to diminish and mute the tones.
>
> Now this mute is used when it is not wished for it to be heard in the place where the enemy is as happens in beseiged towns and when one wished to decamp.[53]

As J. E. Altenburg points out, a mute raised the pitch of the instrument a tone,[54] so that Monteverdi's Toccata must have been played in D major to accommodate the muted trumpets. This means that the clarino, which was presumably unmuted, must have been pitched in D too. This was the usual pitch for court and military trumpets, though a crook was sometimes used to lower the instruments to C.[55] It follows that the muted

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[52] Titcomb, p.69

[53] Mersenne, pp.329-30

[54] Altenburg, p.86. See Appendix II (k).

[55] Titcomb, p.66

trumpets must have used a C crook in the piece under discussion. Wolfgang Osthoff also makes an interesting observation upon this matter. He says that the reduced volume of sound produced by the muted trumpets was most appropriate for Orfeo, since the work was first performed in private in a small room.[56]

The final point to be made about the Toccata is that it was played three times. This was the usual custom, as a contemporary description of Guarini's comedy L'Idropica (1608) shows. It says that after the trumpet had sounded a fanfare for the third time, the curtain opened.[57]

The flautino alla vigesima seconda is probably a sopranino recorder.[58] Praetorius says that the Italian name for the recorder is flauto, and for the transverse flute, traversa or fiffaro.[59] The designation alla vigesima seconda means sounding three octaves above. Hugo Goldschmidt points out that this is organ nomenclature,[60] and Praetorius confirms this, for he says that the discant flöt has the one foot c as its lowest note and rises fourteen tones above this.[61] The same instruments could be used for the ritornello marked 'flautini' in Act II.[62] Monteverdi would probably have written 'flauti' if he had meant lower pitched instruments, as,

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[56] Osthoff (i), p.80.

[57] Follino, p.74. See Appendix II (1).

[58] Hunt, p.23.

[59] Praetorius, Vol.II, pp.33-35.

[60] Goldschmidt, Vol.I, pp.134-35.

[61] Praetorius, Vol.II, Chart VII, p.21.

[62] TLO, Vol.XI, p.45.

for instance, in the madrigal 'A quest'olmo' (Book VI) where he makes explicit the distinction between recorders and flutes by writing 'flauti o fifara.'[63] The range of the parts in this madrigal neatly fits descant recorders.

The double harp appears to have been an instrument in which a second row of strings provided the chromatic accidentals. Praetorius illustrates a rather cumbersome instrument.[64] Nonetheless it must have been quite a well-known instrument, for Vincenzo Galilei noted it. He ascribed its invention to the Irish,[65] but Joan Rimmer's researches seem to favour Italy as its birthplace.[66]

The 'violini ordinari da braccio' are ordinary violins, but the 'violini picc[i]oli alla Francese' are pochettes. These are transposing instruments which sound an octave above the ordinary violin. They are not small-sized violins which sounded a fourth above the full-sized instruments, as has been previously accepted.[67]

The other bowed-string instruments in the score can be sorted into a five-part ensemble consisting of two violins, two violas, and a cello. As David Boyden observes, Monteverdi does not list violini separately, although they are explicitly called for in the score, and as the parts are in the violins' first position register, including passages on the highest string, we may assume that violins proper are included among the 'dieci viole da brazzo'; also, since none

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[63] TLO, Vol.VII, p.14; 'fifara', but two were intended.

[64] Praetorius, Vol.II, Plate XIX

[65] Baines (ii), p.192

[66] Rimmer, pp.64-66

[67] Boyden, pp.118-119; see TLO, Vol.XI, pp.43, 41.

go higher than the violini piccoli, we may conclude that the violins were intended as the soprano instruments of the string ensemble.[68] In his discussion of the instrumentation of Orfeo, Sir Jack Westrup points out that the inner parts of the string texture could be played by a viola and a tenor violin, as the fourth part does not go below the violas' bottom c. Thus the ritornello to 'Vi ricorda, o bosch'ombrosi' (Act II) could nowadays be played by two violins, two violas and a cello -

> Fu sonato questo Ritornello di dentro da cinque viole, un contrabasso, duoi Clavicembani e tre chitarrone.

He adds that the only conceivable place where a different arrangement could be made is in the 'grave sinfonia' (Act III). The uppermost part is written in the alto clef, and the three immediate lower ones in the tenor clef. It is possible therefore to play all these parts on violas. The score itself gives no indication of the instrumentation at this moment.[69]

As for the bass string instruments, Monteverdi asks for contrabassi de viola in the opening list, un contrabasso de viola da gamba in Act III, and duoi bassi da gamba, e un contrabasso de viola for the chorus which ends Act III.[70] This means that there were bass viols which, as continuo instruments, would play unless asked not to, and a contrabass-viol or violone.

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[68] Boyden, pp.118-119

[69] Westrup, pp.233-34; TLO, Vol.XI, p.83

[70] TLO, Vol.XI, pp.103 and 107

As the years passed, Monteverdi and his contemporaries seemed to rely more and more upon the violin family. His Ballo delle Ingrate (1608) is scored entirely for a string ensemble - cinque viole da brazzo - as is Il Combattimento de Tancredi e Clorinda (1624) for which he specifies an ensemble of violin, viola, cello, contrabass-viol and harpsichord - quattro viole da brazzo, Soprano, Alto, Tenore et Basso, et contrabasso da Gamba, che continuera con il Clavicembano.[71] He also included violin parts in many of his madrigals in Books VII (1619) and VIII (1638). The most elaborate accompanied madrigals are 'A quest'olmo' (Book VII) which uses violins and recorders or flutes;[72] 'Con che soavità' from the same book, which is accompanied by three instrumental groups: the first consists of continuo instruments only - two chitarroni, a harpsichord, and a spinet; the second of two violins, a viola, and a harpsichord; the third of a viola and a cello (or two viols) and a contrabasso with an unspecified continuo instrument;[73] and 'Altri canti d'amor' (Book VIII), which uses a group of violins and viols.[74] Such scoring is in keeping with the obviously increasing vogue for string orchestras. The operas by F. Caccini, M. Rossi and S. Landi already mentioned, show this tendency too, and to these we can add Paolo Quagliati's Carro di Fedeltà d'Amore (1611) which uses 'violino ò altro soprano, cembalo, leuto, tiorba, e altri instromenti'; Giacinto Cornacchioli's Diana

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[71] TLO, Vols.VIII/1 and VIII/2, pp.314 and 132 respectively.

[72] TLO, Vol.VII, p.14

[73] ibid., p.137

[74] TLO, Vol.VIII/1, p.2

Schernita (1629) which specifies two violins, a bass arm-viol, and an organ; and Cesti's serenata written for the birth of Cosimo de' Medici (1642) which uses an orchestra of six violins, four alto, four tenor, and four bass viols, a contrabass viol, a large and a small harpsichord, a theorbo, and a chitarrone.[75]

Textures

Monteverdi achieves a variety of purely instrumental sonorities and textures in Orfeo. The sinfonie are reminiscent of Giovanni Gabrieli: serious and solidly choral, with a few points of imitation and much crossing of parts. The ritornelli are more lightly scored, sequential in structure, and more contrapuntal. A ritornello written in an exceptionally severe contrapuntal idiom can be seen in Act I.[76] (Ex.3) Alfred Heuss suggests that its austere canonic imitations and sharp dissonances are deliberately employed to suggest a religious atmosphere as it occurs in the scene where Orpheus and Euridice are in the temple (off stage) sacrificing to the gods.[77] More often the ritornelli are cast in gay dance measures such as the ones which are played at the beginning of Act II.[78] As a contrast to these textures is the note-against-note idiom in the sinfonie. This kind of writing produced a sonorous and purely instrumental effect which

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[75] Weaver (ii), p.83

[76] TLO, Vol.XI, pp.31, 33-34, 36-37

[77] Heuss, p.18

[78] TLO, Vol.XI, pp.41-42, 48

was admirably suited to loud passages. The sinfonia from the end of Act II - also repeated in Act III - is a typical example.[79] (Ex.4) This idiom is also used for the 'grave sinfonia' in Act III, although the effect is different as a result of the low lying tessitura of the parts and the scoring for 'viola da braccio, un organo di legno, e un contrabasso di viola.' Thus Monteverdi simply but effectively creates a solemn yet peaceful atmosphere as Orpheus charms Charon to sleep.[80] (Ex.5) His pupil, Pier Francesco Cavalli was also to find this note-against-note style useful, as the sinfonia to L'Ormindo (1644) illustrates.[81] (Ex.18)

Monteverdi always exploited the brilliance of his violins and his pochettes. He wrote vigorous, brilliant sequential passages for them, often with the two treble parts moving in parallel thirds. The ritornello at the beginning of Act II in Orfeo and the ritornelli in the canzonette 'Chiome d'oro' and 'Amor che deggio far' (Madrigal Book VII) are typical examples;[82] though his most brilliant and florid violin writing occurs in the aria 'Possente spirto' (Orfeo, Act III).[83] These virtuoso violin passages offer a great contrast to the more sedate idiom used for viol music.

Monteverdi is also credited with being the first to have special directions to the string players printed in his scores. No doubt the techniques he demands were well known before they were published. They are exceptional only in

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[79] TLO, Vol.XI, pp.75-76, 105-106, 112-113

[80] ibid., pp.83, 103

[81] MS.9892 (V), 368 (W), ff.2-2^{v}

[82] TLO, Vol.XI, pp.41-42, 48; TLO, Vol.VII, pp.176-81, 182-90.

[83] TLO, Vol.XI, pp.84-99

that they were printed at all. In 'Altri canti d'Amor' he asks the violinists to play with 'long and sweet bows' ('viole sole toccate con arcate lunghe e soavi'),[84] but his most famed directions appear in Il Combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda. In the first place he directs his string players to put down their bows, and pluck the strings with two fingers, ('Qui si lascia l'arco, e si strappano le corde con duoi diti').[85] Secondly, he writes what amounts to a tremolando. In the preface to the complete madrigal book he explains that, as the philosophers affirm, he considered one semibreve to equal a spondaic beat (used for slow, stately dances) and that sixteen semiquavers struck rapidly in succession equalled a pyrrhic measure (used for lively and warlike dances). It appears that the musicians in 1624 misunderstood his novel textures, for he adds that the musicians, particularly those who played the basso continuo, reduced his string of repeated semiquavers to a single semibreve, thus destroying the intended resemblance to agitated speech.[86]

The string writing of the Roman composers displays characteristics similar to those already discussed. Luigi Rossi, for instance, favours full sonorous textures. The accompaniments in Il Palazzo incantato are often written on as many as seven or eight staves, though during the course of an aria the voice is mainly supported by the basso continuo. The aria 'Vaghi rivi' in the prologue is typical of Rossi's richly scored accompaniments. It is in eight parts, of which

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[84] TLO, Vol.VIII/1, p.26

[85] ibid., p.142

[86] ibid., preface. See Appendix II (m).

the lowest two are very alike, one obviously being for the basso continuo. The two uppermost parts concertise together during the vocal pauses and seem to be regarded as soloists because they are silent when the voice enters, whereas the six lower parts play throughout the piece. These two soprano instruments must, therefore, be regarded as obbligati, particularly as they have music which is more brilliant than that given to the rest of the orchestra. The old-fashioned aspect of this texture lies in the polyphonic approach which causes the parts on the two treble-clef staves and those on the two tenor-clef staves to cross freely.[87] (Ex.6)

The instrumentation is not specified for this aria, but the two uppermost parts must surely have been played by violins, for they had ousted the viols as treble instruments in Roman opera by 1620 when Vitali's Aretusa was performed.[88] The range of Rossi's parts is as follows:

First treble-clef stave	f' - g''
Second treble-clef stave	g' - g''
Soprano-clef stave	e' - flat e''
Alto-clef stave	a - a'
First tenor-clef stave	d - flat e'
Second tenor-clef stave	c - flat e
First bass-clef stave	D - flat b (unfigured)
Second bass-clef stave	D - flat b (figured)

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[87] (RCM) MS.546, ff.1^{v}-3^{v}

[88] Goldschmidt, Vol.I, p.142

Adam Carse[89] makes the reasonable suggestion that these parts might have been allotted to two violins and a five-part group of viols. At the same time, bearing in mind that André Maugars, writing in 1639, said that the viol was not at all cultivated in Rome,[90] one might propound an ensemble of violins I, II, III, violas, tenor violins, and cellos.

In contrast to Rossi's opera are Domenico Mazzocchi's La Catena d'Adone (1626) and Marco Marazzoli's La Vita Humana (1658). The former is written for a three-part orchestra, and the latter for a four-part one. Mazzocchi's textures are in the new style, and are written for the violin family. The sinfonia which ends Act II, Scene iii is similar in style to the trio-sonata which was to develop later. The two violins move mostly in parallel motion, but there are also some imitative entries.[91] (Ex.7) The score of Marazzoli's work was printed in Rome in 1658, and gives the instrumentation for the opening sinfonia, the two treble-clef staves each being marked violino and the uppermost bass-clef stave being marked leuto. As in Mazzocchi's opera, the instrumental writing is mainly in a note-against-note idiom interspersed with contrapuntal passages.[92] (Ex.8)

Of the Roman opera scores here discussed, Landi's Il Sant'Alessio is perhaps the most consistently modern. The sinfonie to the prologue and to Act II, with their emphasis

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[89] Carse (i), p.56

[90] Goldschmidt, Vol.I, p.140; Boyden, p.119

[91] (N) MS.35.1.15, p.42

[92] (N) MS.56.2.53, p.1

upon the treble instruments and the gap between them and the bass, are in advance of their time. Of course the gap in the middle of the texture would have been filled by the continuo instruments. Although there are long passages of imitation in both of the sinfonie, Landi does write textures which are thoroughly instrumental in style. For example, the many repeated-note passages take into account a legitimate characteristic of string technique. This can be seen in the 'Canzone' and final sections of the 'Sinfonia per introduzione del prologo.' (Ex.9) This section also deliberately features dynamic contrasts in a predominantly homophonic passage, where alternate bars of Piano and Forte are marked. (Ex.10) A note-against-note style is often employed, too, as in the triple-time passage which follows the 'Canzone.' A similar homophonic approach can also be seen in the middle section of the sinfonia to Act II, and in the many ritornelli and choruses.[93] (Ex.11)

The growing appreciation of instrumental idioms is also reflected in the use of obbligati. Monteverdi's elaborate example for the violins, cornetts, and double harp in 'Possente spirto' (Orfeo) has already been mentioned.[94] The obbligati here are used dramatically to reflect the supreme effort which Orpheus makes to overcome the powers of the underworld. At the same time the swirling instrumental lines add to the fantasy of the supernatural setting. Yet other obbligati appear in the early

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[93] Goldschmidt, Vol.I, pp.203-207, 204, 205, 254-55, 211, 218, 238-45.

[94] TLO, Vol.XI, pp.84-99

operas. H. Goldschmidt mentions an aria in Irene e Floro (Act I) which is marked 'Allegro con Trombe e Violini unisoni'; and another in Dorinda e Silvio for trumpet and strings - 'S'armi d'ira' (Act III, Scene iv). In the latter the trumpeter and vocalist concertise, each sharing the same phrases.[95] (Ex.12) This type of aria, especially with an obbligato for one or two trumpets, was to become very popular later in the century in the Venetian operas.

The role of the orchestra

The role of the orchestra was at first small. In the Florentine operas the instrumentalists were entirely subservient to the reciters, but with Monteverdi's Orfeo the orchestra gained some independence. It contains twenty-six instrumental pieces in all, some of which recur to give formal unity in the midst of the freer vocal monody. For example, the prologue opens with a ritornello which recurs (shortened) after each verse, and reappears (full length) at the end of the prologue so as to form an introduction to Act I; it is also used once in Act II.[96] On the whole the variety of instruments and the use to which they were put is old-fashioned, and as the influence of the Renaissance intermedio waned, so did the fortunes of the instrumentalists.

Even though Gagliano in the preface to Dafne (1608) had said,

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[95] Goldschmidt, Vol.I, p.145, music supplement, pp.381-84; sources given, p.130.

[96] TLO, Vol.XI, pp.2, 4-8, 74

> Before the curtain falls [open?], in order to make the listeners attentive there should be played a sinfonia composed of various instruments, which [also] serve to accompany the choruses and to play the ritornelli, [97]

the sinfonie and ritornelli tended to be very short and mostly uninteresting. The sinfonie were usually little more than conventional fanfares with perhaps a little imitative counterpoint included in the closing bars. This makes the sinfonie to Il Sant'Alessio exceptional for the time, not only in their detailed scoring but also in their length.

In the arias the voice was usually supported by the basso continuo alone, perhaps with the other instruments joining in a ritornello at the end, though there are some exceptional arias in which the voice is accompanied throughout by all the instruments, as in Il Palazzo incantato. The Roman composers seemed to favour fuller instrumental textures than their contemporaries. Perhaps this was due to the personal tastes of the Barberini family who were the foremost patrons of opera in Rome. What appears to be the most important idea inherent in the aria is that of contrast. Composers, particularly when writing instrumental obbligati, used the solo instruments both to concertise with the voice, and also with each other in the vocal pauses. This threw into relief the solo parts, and provided a contrast with the full-bodied sound of the accompanying orchestra.

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[97] Solerti, p.83; my own translation. See Appendix II (n).

In this technique lay the seeds of the principle of the *concerto grosso* and the solo concerto.

Even if the orchestra's role was subservient to that of the singers, there was a growing interest in instrumental music for its own sake. This can be seen in the way in which instrumental textures gradually gained independence from the style of Renaissance polyphony. The increased vogue for string orchestras was symptomatic of this trend. Finally, there is also the actual placing of the orchestra to be taken into account. In the *intermedii* and the early operas the orchestra had been hidden from sight behind the scenes. In the preface to *Dafne*, Gagliano had advocated a change and advised that the instrumentalists should be placed in front of the stage where they could see the singers.[98]

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[98] Solerti, p.83; my own translation. See Appendix II (o).

C H A P T E R I I I

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY - THE PUBLIC OPERAS

With the opening of the first public opera house in 1637, Venice became Italy's foremost operatic centre. Public demand for this new entertainment was insatiable: between 1637 and 1700, 388 operas were produced in seventeen different theatres.[1] The pressure on composers who attempted to meet this demand was great, and as a result the scores were hastily written down, leaving us with a series of no more than tantalising sketches. As the composers themselves often directed the performances, the scores contain few directions to the instrumentalists, such details being given orally at rehearsals. Nevertheless a study of the manuscripts contained in the Contarini Codices[2] in conjunction with facts deduced from archival records, leads to some useful conclusions about the orchestra.

Its actual size and constitution is a controversial topic. Most of the evidence available seems to indicate that a small string band at first sufficed to meet the composers' requirements. Towards the end of the century the orchestra was expanded to include wind instruments.

According to Henry Prunières there was an orchestra of sixteen at the earliest recorded public operatic season (1637).

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[1] Grout, p.84

[2] The Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, contains manuscripts of operas produced between 1639 and 1692.

It contained twelve string players, two trumpeters, and two harpsichordists.[3] A similarly constituted orchestra is depicted in an illustration of the Grimano theatre.[4] It shows an orchestra of twelve instrumentalists with a chitarrone, a harpsichord, various members of the violin family, and possibly two trumpets. However, this drawing, from about the middle of the century, may not be an accurate record of the players, as it is executed in a somewhat mannered style. A similar criticism may be made of Coronelli's engraving of the interior of the San Giovanni Crisostomo theatre, for in it only twenty-six heads are visible in the orchestra pit,[5] whereas the Mercure Galant reported that as many as forty musicians took part in a performance in 1679 in the same theatre.[6]

Further evidence has been found in the Venetian State Archives by Denis Arnold. A small account book, formerly belonging to the impressario, Marco Faustini, which covers the 1658-59 operatic season at the San Cassiano theatre, contains an entry dealing with the instrumentalists' fees. Only nine payments, including one to the 'Tuner', are recorded for each of the twenty-four performances:

Violin	17 lire
D.Gio: Battista	18 lire, 12 soldi
Secondo violin	12 lire
Tomini	12 lire

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[3] Prunières (iii), p.17

[4] Musica II (Florence, 1943), Pl.XXII

[5] Leppard, p.72

[6] Le nouveau mercure galant, &c., pp.66-67, 71

D. Lorenzo Violin	10 lire
Violetta	4 lire, 13 soldi
Theorbo from Padua	14 lire
The Priest who plays the Theorbo	13 lire
The Tuner	4 lire, 13 soldi
Total	105 lire, 15 soldi (= c.15 ducats)

Another list, dated 1665, is also printed by Arnold. It records ten payments:

To Sig. Antonio first keyboard instrument	24 lire, 16 soldi
To the second keyboard instrument	10 lire
To Sigra Prudenza third keyboard instrument	10 lire
Sig. Carlo Savion	15 lire
To the first violin, Sig. Rimondo	18 lire, 12 soldi
Sig. Domenico, second violin	14 lire
To Sig. Marco, Viola da brazzo	12 lire
To Ruzzier, Violetta	4 lire
To the first theorbo	18 lire, 12 soldi
To the second theorbo	11 lire
Total	138 lire

This entry also includes payments made to some soldiers. Why

they were engaged is not entered.[7] They could have been musicians, as the scores frequently demanded fanfares for which there is often no music at all. Typical of the directions given are the 'Chiamata de la magica tromba' in Cavalli's La Rosinda (1651 , and the 'Tocco di tamburri' in his La Veramonda di Aragona (1652).[8] It would have been quite easy for soldiers either to have improvised a few bars of music at these points, or even to have played the appropriate military signals. Mersenne quotes what are probably the earliest collections of extant notated signals.[9] These are quite simple and would not have taxed any trumpeter's technique.

The orchestras represented in these lists are small, and the second, in particular, is heavily weighted with continuo instruments. As Arnold points out, the fees mentioned may only be the payments due to the principals in the orchestra, and further expenditure on instrumentalists may be hidden among other items such as the entry for the soldiers.[10] References to larger orchestras are known, such as the one recorded by the Mercure Galant already mentioned.[11] It states that forty instrumentalists were present for a performance of

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[7] Arnold, D. (ii), p.176. The total payment in the first list quoted seems to have been incorrectly printed in MT. It should total 105 lire, 18 soldi. v.Archivio di Stato, Venezia, Scuola di S. Marco, Busta 194.

[8] (V) MS.9894 (W) 370, f.2; MS.(V) 9931 (W) 407, f.73. Veramonda is entered under the wrong title, Il Delio, in the old Marciana catalogue.

[9] Mersenne, pp.334-35

[10] Arnold, D. (ii), p.177

[11] Le nouveau mercure galant &c., pp.66-67, 71

Carlo Pallavicino's Il Nerone. They played on recorders (flûtes douces), trumpets, drums, viols, and violins. This certainly represents a more lavish orchestra than the scores themselves would lead us to believe, although after 1670 the manuscripts do tend to make an increasing number of references to instruments in general and to the wind in particular. Of course the manager of the S. Giovanni Crisostomo theatre may have put on especially expensive productions to launch his first twelve months of operatic ventures. The theatre was built in 1678 and outshone all other existing theatres in its magnificence.[12] Il Nerone was performed in April 1679, and so fell into only the second season of the 1678-79 programme (Venetian operas were presented in three seasons: from Boxing Day to March 30; from the second day of Easter to June 15; and from September 1 to November 30.)[13]

On the whole the evidence tends to favour the smaller string dominated band with brass instruments added for local colour. Even the orchestra at St. Mark's followed the general trend towards the use of strings and brass. Unfortunately, as the ensemble was not put on the payroll until shortly after Monteverdi took up his duties as maestro di capella in 1613, the exact sequence of this trend cannot be traced. Just before Monteverdi's arrival, St. Mark's had used the typical Renaissance ensemble dominated by trombones, cornetts, and woodwind.[14] Of the seventeen players listed in the paybook of 1642 those whose instruments can be identified

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[12] Towneley Worsthorne, p.34

[13] Prunières (iii), p.17

[14] A typical example is quoted in Denis Arnold's 'Towards a Biography of Giovanni Gabrieli', MD, Vol.XV (1961), pp. 204-205.

were string players.[15] This general tendency is further borne out by the instructions for performing Monteverdi's church music as given in his Selva morale of 1640. Further evidence in support of the small string band can be found in the remarks made by visitors to Venice. Maximilian Misson observed that:

> The Symphony (orchestra) is much smaller than at Paris; but it is none the worse for that;[16]

and Limojon de St. Didier remarked that

> The symphony (orchestra) is of little importance, inspiring melancholy rather than gaiety. It is composed of lutes, theorbos, and harpsichords which accompany the voices with marvellous exactness.[17]

St. Didier makes no mention of any such instruments as recorders, trumpets, and drums, but only the continuo instruments. So far as it goes, this testimony seems to point to the fact that the orchestra was still based on a high proportion of Agazzari's instruments of 'foundation' and 'ornament.'

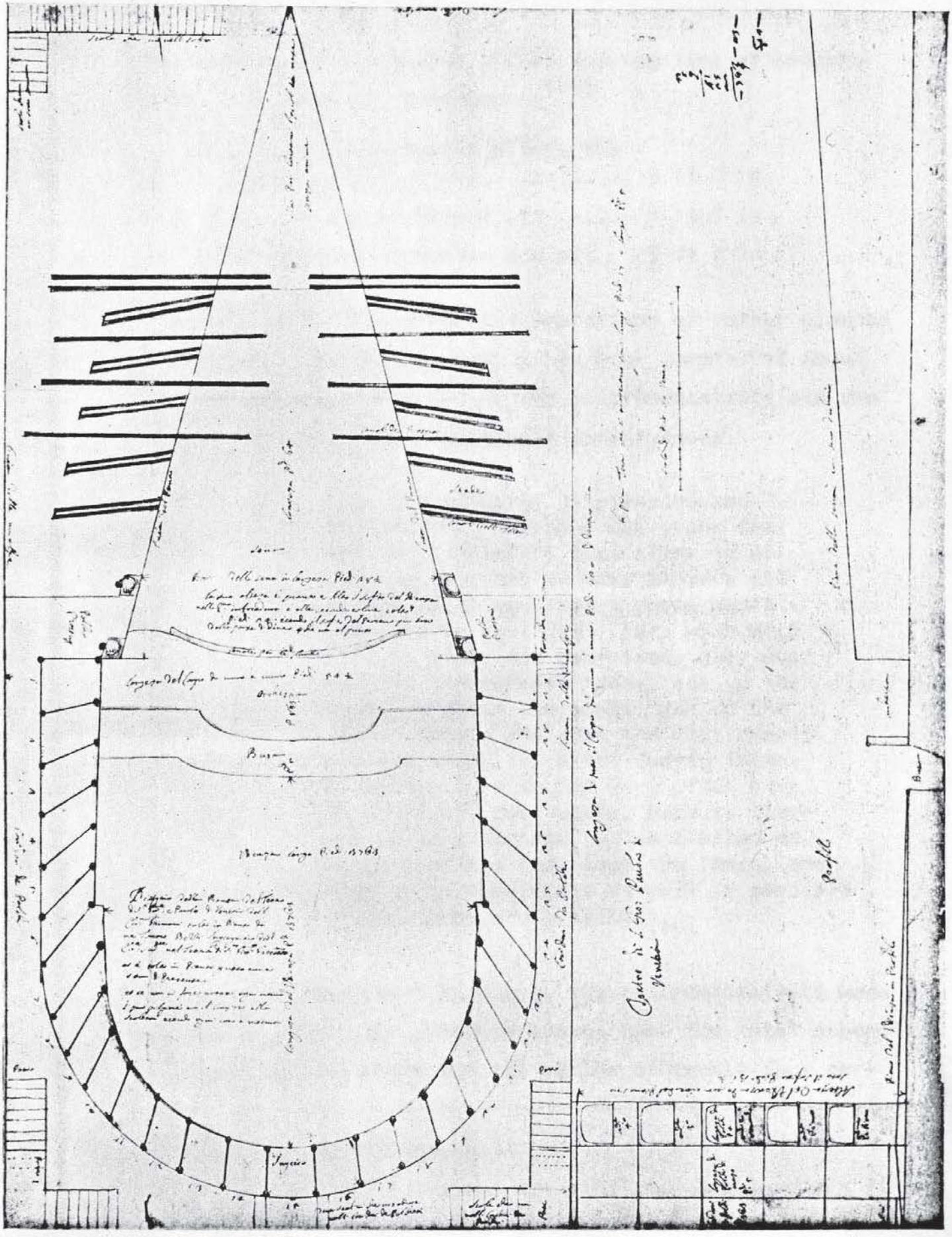
Another factor to be taken into account is the size of the orchestral pits. So far it has been difficult to gather

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[15] v.Archivio di Stato, Venezia. Procuratia de Supra, Registro 12 (Cassier Chiesa 1639-1645), entry for 23 December 1642.

[16] Misson, Vol.I, pp.269-70

[17] St. Didier, quoted from Prunières (iii), p.61; my own translation. See Appendix II (p).



SS. Giovanni e Paolo (1639–1748)

information on this matter except for the list of measurements given by S. T. Worsthorne:[18]

Width of the orchestra pit at the centre	9 ft 2 in
Length of the orchestra pit	4 ft 7 in
Width between orchestra and pit	5 ft 7 in

(See Plate I.) This gives the impression of rather cramped conditions. Needless to say, G. B. Doni complained about the lack of space afforded to the instrumentalists and the ensuing discomforts in theatrical performances:

> Thus the trouble, displeasure and anxiety that the poor musicians feel and the complaints they utter in arranging together so many players and sounds in so confined a space would scarcely be believed. For, with much loss of time, and confusion, they must get the instruments ready, set up the lamps, arrange the seats, put up the music stands, and tune the instruments. And God knows if, after tuning them properly, they do not very often have to do it all over again, because there are so many strings, which slacken on account of the heat from the lamps, and have to be readjusted as well as possible while others are playing.[19]

According to Faustini's accounts, the instrumentalists were not highly paid. Denis Arnold states that the total expenditure upon the orchestra for the season of twenty-four per-

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[18] Towneley Worsthorne, p.31

[19] Doni, pp.110-111; my own translation. See Appendix II (q).

formances already listed was about 360 ducats, whereas a prima donna alone received nearly 350 ducats.[20] It seems that the orchestras sometimes contained amateur players. For example, Faustini's list, when mentioning a theorbist from Padua, goes on to refer to 'the priest who plays the theorbo.'[21] On the other hand, great care was taken to find suitable singers for the leading roles.[22] For example, when the Manelli-Ferrari troupe opened at the S. Cassiano theatre in 1637 with Francesco Manelli's L'Andromeda, some of the singers were professionals from St. Mark's; Manelli himself sang the parts of Neptune, and Astarco, and his wife sang Andromeda.[23] It is not likely that the Venetian nobility would have spared expense had this been called for in connection with the orchestra: they spent large sums on building and maintaining the opera houses, paying the singers, and setting up the scenery with its elaborate stage machinery.[24] It seems therefore that far less value was placed on the services of the orchestra than those of the singers. This apparent lack of interest in the orchestra was in all likelihood due to the prevailing fashion whereby the solo singer dominated composer and audience alike.

As to the manner of writing out the scores, composers and copyists do not seem to have followed many conventions. Whilst the solo vocal parts are given in full, the instrumental ones

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[20] Arnold, D. (ii), p.176

[21] ibid.

[22] Pirrotta, pp.27-40

[23] Galvanni, pp.17-18

[24] Wolff presents the social and economic background.

lack many details. A few scores do contain certain pieces with the instrumental parts specified and fully written out. For example, the ritornello in Act I, Scene v of the anonymous opera Il Pio Enea (1641) is marked 'fagotti, regali.'[25] (Ex.13) Unfortunately the majority of the scores are not so generous with their information. The following details are to be found from time to time:

(a) instrumental parts written out, but no specifications given - the opening sinfonia of Cavalli's L'Ormindo (1644);[26]

(b) instrumental staves left either entirely or partially blank - the Venetian manuscript of Monteverdi's L'Incoronazione di Poppea (1642),[27] and most of the manuscripts of the operas of Pietro Andrea Ziani;[28]

(c) nothing except the basso continuo given, but with orchestral parts implied or, at the most, highly probable - Cavalli's La Didone (1641) bears the cryptic message 'Aria con tutti gl'instromenti' but only the bass line is given;[29]

(d) instruments named but no music given - Giovanni Maria Pagliardi's Numa Pompilio (1674) asks for 'suonano trombe';[30]

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[25] (V) MS.9971 (W) 447, f.20

[26] (V) MS.9829 (W))368, ff. 2-2^{v}

[27] (V) MS.9963 (W) 439

[28] L'amor guerriero (V) MS.9909 (W) 385; L'Annibale in Capira (V) MS.9911 (W) 387; Attila (V) MS.9919 (W) 395; Le fatiche d'Ercole per Deianira,(V) MS.9944 (W) 420; L'Heraclio (V) MS.9952 (W) 428; and La Semiramide (V) MS.9979 (W) 460.

[29] (V) MS.9879 (W) 355, f.139

[30] (V) MS.9965 (W) 450, f.2

(e) balli named but only the basso continuo, or no music at all is given - Monteverdi's Il Ritorno d'Ulisse in Patria (1640) contains a ballo for eight Moors who perform a Greek dance whilst they sing, but no music is given.[31]

The manuscripts mostly use the last three methods.

After the continuo the main burden of the accompaniments fell upon the violins. Directions, such as 'Aria con violini' and 'Lamento con violini', which occur in Cavalli's Giasone (1649) (Act I, Scene viii) and La Statira (1655) (Act II, Scene ix) respectively, are not uncommon.[32] Occasionally other members of the violin family are mentioned too. The manuscript of Cavalli's Veramonda has Viola written against two staves in the final scene of Act III,[33] and there is even a violoncello obbligato marked in Giovanni Legrenzi's Eteocle e Polinice (1675).[34]

As well as these specific references to string instruments the scores frequently contain the word viole. In the seventeenth century it was used as a generic term for all the members of the bowed-string family, and so it cannot be translated with any certainty. For instance, Petronio Franceschini's Arsinoe (1677) has an 'Aria con viole a 3' (Act II, Scene xi).[35] Was he using viole in general

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[31] TLO, Vol.XII, Act II, Scene v, p.117. See Appendix II (r). There is evidence that this opera was performed a year earlier than has formerly been accepted. See Osthoff (ii , p.155 ff.

[32] (V) MS.9887 (W) 363, f.40; (V) MS.9896 (W) 372, f.60.

[33] (V) MS.9931 (W) 407, f.113

[34] (BE) MS.Mus.F.628, Act II, Scene v, f.119

[35] (V) MS.9917 (W) 393, f.105^{v}

terms here, or was he referring to an ensemble of viols? Later in the score he specifies a violetta (Act III, Scene xviii) and in the first intermezzo bound in with the opera, vio.ini [sic] are also named.[36] It seems unlikely that violins would have been played only in the intermezzo, and therefore we may assume that the term viole was meant to indicate a violin family ensemble. Nevertheless we must bear in mind that viols were kept in the Venetian opera orchestra for many years. Although they were ousted by the violins from the treble position in the ensemble, they were retained as tenor and bass instruments. As we have seen, even in the latter part of the century, they were played during a performance of Pallavicino's Il Nerone.[37] The violone (bass viol) was used for many years as the bass of the string ensemble. A single reference to violoni can be seen in Giovanni Maria Boretti's Eliogabalo (1668),[38] but it appears from a letter written by Thomas Hill in 1657 that the double-bass was already a more popular orchestral instrument:

> The instrumental music is much better than I expected. The organ and violin they are masters of, but the bass-viol they have not at all in use, and to supply its place they have the bass violin with four strings and useit as we do the bass-viol.[39]

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[36] (V) MS.9917 (W) 393, f.182 and f.62

[37] Le nouveau mercure galant &c. (April 1679), pp.66-67, 71

[38] (V) MS.9882 (W) 358, ff.91-93^{v}

[39] Hill, footnote, pp.110-111

Continuo instruments have often been mentioned in these pages. A high proportion of the instrumentalists in the orchestra must have taken part in realising the harmonies, and among the instruments of 'foundation' there seem to have been at least two keyboard instruments used in every orchestra: one for the recitatives, and the other for the orchestral and orchestrally accompanied items. The second of the Faustini lists records payments to no fewer than three keyboard players.[40] Perhaps the third player in this case was an organist. Organs are mentioned on two occasions in the Contarini manuscripts: an _organo_ played in the prologue to the anonymous opera _Il Germondo_ (1666), and in that to Giovanni Domenico Freschi's _Olimpia Vendicata_ (1682) as well;[41] and there are also the _regali_ in _Il Pio Enea_ and the _graviorgano_ in _Il Pomo d'Oro_.[42]

The lute family was also popular in the continuo section of the opera orchestra. Of these the theorbo appears to have been the most regularly employed. Two manuscripts, Boretti's _Eliogabalo_ and Legrenzi's _Eteocle e Polinice_, each specify a _tiorba_.[43] In the latter the theorbo part is written out in full and is in the nature of an _obbligato_ during the course of which it exchanges imitative phrases with a cello. Despite its popularity with composers, the theorbo was not at all in favour with certain sections of the audience:

> ... the necks of the orchestral theorbos always hide many things from sight.[44]

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[40] Arnold, D. (ii), p.176

[41] (V) MS.9949 (W) 425, f.1; (V) MS.9966 (W) 442, f.11

[42] (V) MS.9971 (W) 447, f.20; Wellesz, p.70

[43] (V) MS.9882 (W) 358, Act I, Scene xi, f.21

[44] _Le nouveau mercure galant_, &c. (1683), quoted by S. Towneley Worsthorne, p.98; my own translation. See Appendix II (s).

The harp is the only instrument which is mentioned neither in the manuscripts nor in the contemporary writings in connection with the public operas. It was an expensive instrument and was usually found only in the context of private music making. Writing about the use of the double harp earlier in the century, Nigel Fortune has speculated that it

> ... was an expensive and aristocratic instrument, the favourite of the cultured few. [45]

It appears on the title-pages of more than a dozen monody books written by the dilettanti aristocrats, and the professional composers who recommended its use in their music, such as Monteverdi and Lorenzo Allegri, worked in these aristocratic circles. For these reasons, therefore, I do not believe that the harp should be used in revivals of seventeenth-century opera, quite apart from any opinion as to its inappropriate sonority in these textures.

In the early years of public opera the orchestra was little used. A small string band sufficed to meet most needs of the composers. Monteverdi's two last operas admirably illustrate this point. He did not need all the trappings of a multi-coloured orchestra to realise the drama and subtle invention of his scores. Out of the thirty-seven scenes which were set to music and were included in Malipiero's edition of L'Incoronazione di Poppea, the orchestra plays only

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[45] Fortune (ii), pp.12-13

in fourteen.[46] The Venetian manuscript of this work shows signs of being a much used copy.[47] There are directions and remarks written in Monteverdi's own hand, and so we may assume that this manuscript is not a sketch which needs amplification, but the actual score from which a performance was given. The many pages of basso continuo would have been realised in an imaginative way and would not only have followed closely the intensely emotional and flexible declamation, but would also have produced a beguiling and delicate web of sound. A greater use of the full orchestra for accompaniments would have forced the vocal line into more rigid rhythmic patterns for the sake of gaining unanimity of performance from a large body of musicians. This would have been against the very nature of Monteverdi's use of the seconda prattica.

A few examples from his last two operas will show how effectively he employs his basic string orchestra. As the full orchestra was used so little the dramatic tension was greatly increased when it did play. Monteverdi handles it with great skill in Act II, Scene xii in Il Ritorno d'Ulisse.

During this scene Penelope tests her suitors with Ulysses' bow. All the suitors start with great confidence mirrored in the sinfonia played at the beginning of each of their arias. As they fail one by one, their vocal lines dissolve into recitativo secco. In contrast to this, Ulysses begins in recitativo secco, and as he succeeds in drawing the

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[46] TLO, Vol.XIII

[47] (V) MS.9963 (W) 439

bow, the 'Sinfonia da guerra' is played, and his vocal line is then accompanied by the full orchestra.[48] (It is significant that this 'Sinfonia da guerra' is the same one which was played during the fight in which Ulysses put the smarmy Irus to flight. In this earlier context it is called 'La Lotta.')[49] Thus the orchestra has not only been used to link together the action of this long scene, but also to recall an earlier event.

The orchestra is also used to announce the arrival of important characters, as, for example, in the gay, dance-like sinfonia which heralds the arrival of Minerva disguised as a shepherd boy in Act I, Scene viii of Il Ritorno d'Ulisse.[50] Other strategic points in the drama are musically defined by arias which end with orchestral ritornelli or which are orchestrally accompanied throughout. For example, Otho, returning from the wars, happily muses upon a reunion with his wife, Poppea - Act I, Scene i, L'Incoronazione di Poppea. Each verse of his song is closed by an orchestral ritornello until he sees Nero's guards outside his house, whereupon his vocal line dramatically breaks into recitativo secco.[51] An entirely different effect is achieved by the gay ritornello which opens Scene iv of the same act. Poppea sings hopefully of her place in Nero's affections. She is only allowed to sing one line of her verse before the orchestra excitedly bustles in again. Not until the whole of the ritornello is

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[48] TLO, Vol.XII, pp.156-69

[49] ibid., pp.146-47

[50] ibid., p.52

[51] TLO, Vol.XIII, pp.12-21

repeated is she allowed to continue. This simple use of the orchestra not only brilliantly sums up Poppea's excitement, but also her grasping, scheming character.[52] What need had Monteverdi of a multi-coloured orchestra when a simple string band could be used to such great effect?

Textures

The scores in the Contarini Codices contain orchestral writing in from three to seven parts. The three-, four- and five-part textures appear to have been the most popular, Cavalli in particular favouring the five-part textures in his sinfonie. In all these textures there are often blank staves with only the treble and the bass parts written out. Nonetheless there are enough orchestral pieces given in full to be able to gain an impression of the style of instrumental writing then in vogue.

The seven-part textures usually include one or two trumpet parts, and all belong to the latter part of the century - Partenio's Genserico (1669), Antonio Sartorio's L'Adelaide (1672), Giovanni Legrenzi's Totila (1677), and Giovanni Varischino's L'Odoacre (1680).[53] Partenio opens Act III, Scene xxviii of his opera with a 'Sinfonia con Trombe' in D major. The two trumpets play in imitation and are accompanied in a note-against-note style by a five-part

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[52] TLO, Vol.XIII, pp.38-41

[53] (V) MS.9951 (W) 427; (V) MS.9904 (W) 380; (V) MS.9983 (W) 459; (V) MS.9900 (W) 377

string band. The alto-clef stave, which contains the two inner voices of the string texture, is marked 'v.v.' and so I presume that this indicated violette, especially as the treble-clef stave immediately above is marked 'v' to indicate violins.[54] (Ex.14) The crowd scenes in Act I also contain writing which is trumpet-like although the score does not name any instruments at these points. The Sartorio and Legrenzi operas also contain passages for two trumpets, sometimes accompanied by a five-part string band, or by the basso continuo; though occasionally they are unaccompanied. Typical of the florid clarino style employed is the trumpet writing in the introduction to Act I, Scene iii in Totila. The trumpets begin alone in close imitation, with only occasional comments from the string band.[55] (Ex.15) Varischino's manuscript contains three sinfonie at the beginning of each act. Although trumpets are not mentioned, it is highly probable (as the music is in D major and is written in a fanfare idiom) that Varischino intended trumpets to be played in them. In the sinfonie to Acts I and II only the uppermost part plays independently of the others, and so I presume that it was intended for obbligato trumpet. The Act III sinfonia has only the bass and two treble parts written out. As these treble parts seem to be intended to be played as a duet then they could easily be played by two trumpets with the missing parts reconstructed to provide a five-part string accompaniment.[56] The same could be said

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[54] (V) MS.9951 (W) 427, ff.132^{v}-133

[55] (V) MS.9983 (W) 459, ff.5^{v}-7^{v}

[56] (V) MS.9900 (W) 377, Act I, ff.1-4; Act II, ff.35^{v}-36; Act III, ff.75-76^{v}

of this opera's two D major martial arias as well. Once again an incomplete score is given with only the basso continuo part written out.[57]

The six-part textures also are usually written with obbligati in mind. For example, on the one hand, the anonymous opera L'Erginda (1680) and Sartorio and Marc'Antonio Ziani's La Flora (1681) use an orchestra of one trumpet and a five-part string band; and on the other hand, Cavalli's Ercole Amante (1622) contains a sinfonia for two trumpets and a four-part string accompaniment.[58]

Other operas have textures written for a string band using two treble-clef staves, an alto- and a tenor-clef stave, and two bass-clef staves. The music written on each of the two bass-clef staves is practically the same, only minor variants of a decorative nature occurring between the parts, and as only one part is usually figured, we must assume that one such part was for the basso continuo and the other for the orchestral bass. The orchestral pieces in Ercole Amante are written in this way,[59] (Ex.16) and so also are those in Pietro Andrea Ziani's L'Elice (?), Antonio Draghi's Cloridea (?), Draghi and M. A. Ziani's Leonide in Tegea (1676) and Pallavicino's La Gerusalemme Liberata (1687).[60]

Pallavicino's score names one of the bass-clef staves as 'viola da collo.' Its part is slightly more elaborate than that marked 'basso.' The 'viola da collo' is probably

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[57] (V) MS.9900 (W) 377, Act II, ff.40-41; ff.69-70

[58] (V) MS.9943 (W) 419; (V) MS.9947 (W) 423; (V) MS.9883 (W) 359, Act V, ff.129^{v}-132

[59] (V) MS.9883 (W) 359; Act I, f.30

[60] (FC) V.b.I being photostats of a manuscript in the Hofbibliothek, Vienna; (V) MS.9927 (W) 403; (V) MS.9955 (W) 431; DDT, Vol.55, (1959). Leonide was first performed in Vienna on 9 June 1670.

the same instrument as the viola da spala. This is the bass instrument of a small violin species which was played held on the shoulder. J. G. Walther says that it was light to hold and could be used to good advantage in quick passages and variations; also that it was good to use in accompaniments because its strong, piercing tone carried well.[61]

The six-part textures in Alessandro Leardini's La Psiche (1649) present some problems. The clefs vary, and may or may not indicate changes in orchestration. The sinfonie to the prologue and Acts III and IV all use three treble clefs for the uppermost parts, and a soprano, alto and bass clef for each of the lower ones, whereas the sinfonia to Act V uses an alto and two tenor clefs for the uppermost parts and three bass clefs for the lower ones.[62] The sinfonia to Act II is only in five parts, using three treble clefs, an alto and a bass clef.[63] A string ensemble could be used for the five sinfonie, but the instrumentation would have to be altered for that in Act V on account of its low tessitura. For the sinfonie to the prologue and Acts III and IV an ensemble of three violins, viola, cello, and cello with double-bass could be used, but it is quite probable that Leardini had the French orchestral use of three parties du milieu - variously-sized instruments of viola tuning - in mind. If so, the sinfonie could be played by two violins, three parties du milieu, and cellos with double-basses.[64]

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[61] Walther, p.637. See Appendix II (t).

[62] (V) MS.9902 (W) 378, prologue, ff.1-1^{v}; Act III, ff.38-38^{v}; Act IV, ff.46^{v}-47; Act V, ff.57^{v}-58.

[63] ibid., Act II, ff.25-25^{v}

[64] For a full discussion of the string section of the French orchestra, see Eppelsheim, pp.36-64.

The sinfonia to Act II therefore could be played in this way with only one violin part. As an example of the writing to be found in these sinfonie I have quoted part of the one from the prologue (Ex.17).

The sinfonia to Act V covers an overall range from b' to D. The range of each individual part is:



Thus it can be seen that violins are excluded from this piece: the ensemble could have consisted either of the parties du milieu, or of viols. In the five-part textures the inner voices are written either on an alto- and a tenor-clef stave, or on two alto-clef staves, or with two parts on one alto-clef stave. As none of these parts ever go below c, I presume they are intended to be played by violas. Some manuscripts do name these inner parts. For instance, Partenio's Genserico has a 'Sinfonia con trombe' (Act III, Scene xxviii) in which the two uppermost staves are each marked with a 'T', the two immediately below them with 'viol', and the alto-clef staves with 'v.v.';[65] and M. A. Ziani actually writes 'viola pmo' and 'viola 2da' by the appropriate staves in the 'Sinfonia à 5' to Act I of Il Giordano Pio (1709).[66]

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[65] (V) MS.9951 (W) 427, ff.132^{v}-133. See also footnote (54) p.56, and Ex.14.

[66] (FC) VI.c.I., phs.303-306, being photostats of (WB) MS. Mus.ms.29600.

Both Monteverdi and Cavalli used five-part textures in their operas. Cavalli in particular seemed to favour this sonority, especially for his *sinfonie*, even when other composers were turning more and more to three-part writing. Of the twenty-seven scores by Cavalli contained in the Contarini Codices, thirteen have their instrumental music in five parts, thirteen in three, and one mainly in four parts. Nevertheless in the orchestrally accompanied arias the instrumental writing usually appears in three parts only. It may be, of course, that he only wrote in three parts when pressed for time. The thirteen scores using this kind of texture belong to the years 1650 to 1659 when his output was very high, consisting on average of two operas a year, and in 1651, four. Perhaps he left the completion of the scores to a pupil, as was Lully's practice, but more likely he may have been following the general Italian trend towards lighter textures.

In his five-part writing he owes an obvious debt to Monteverdi, particularly in the way he uses a note-against-note idiom. The *sinfonia* to *L'Ormindo* is typical in this respect, especially in the way in which the second violins play above the firsts in the second strophe.[67] (Ex.18) (The violins behave in a similar manner in the *sinfonia* to the prologue in the Neapolitan manuscript of Monteverdi's *L'Incoronazione di Poppea*.)[68] This was one way in which variety of tone colour could be gained. Yet another five-

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[67] (V) MS.9829 (W) 368, ff.2-2^{v}. See also Chapter II, footnote (81), p.32.

[68] (N) MS.49a.2.7, ff.1-1^{v}

part sinfonia opens Cavalli's Scipione Africano (1664). It is a more extended piece than the sinfonia to L'Ormindo. It falls into two main sections which, although the whole is homophonically conceived, contain a variety of material and texture. It is remarkable in that there is very little crossing of the parts, there being only one short passage in the first section where the part on the tenor-clef stave rises above that on the alto-clef stave. The sinfonia opens with a solemn chordal passage immediately followed by one using livelier rhythms; the concluding section displays another aspect in which its dance-like nature is emphasised by the change from a quadruple to a triple time-signature. Thus, relying here mainly on variety of musical material rather than on orchestral colour, Cavalli, within the space of a few succinct bars, has composed an interesting and effective piece admirably displaying his sensitivity towards orchestral writing, nowhere more clearly shown than in the truly instrumentally-conceived bass line.[69] (Exs.19a and b)

Other five-part textures were intended for a trumpet with a four-part string band. In such cases there was only one viola part. Sometimes the pieces were entirely dominated by the trumpet with the strings supplying only a simple accompaniment, as in the opening sinfonia to P. A. Ziani's Candaule (1679). In this piece the strings merely echo the trumpet part over a somewhat static bass-line.[70] (Ex.20) Similar scoring was probably intended for the sinfonia in Act I, Scene viii of Legrenzi's Eteocle e Polinice (1675), and for

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[69] (V) MS.9895 (W) 371, ff.1-1^{v}

[70] (V) MS.9923 (W) 399, ff.1-2

the sinfonia to Act I, Scene xi of Freschi's Sardapalo (1679).[71] Both are written over static basses in a simple fanfare style. The Legrenzi sinfonia in particular is very sketchily written, with many bars either crossed out or left blank; nevertheless the second and third treble-clef staves are marked 'v.p.' and 'v.2.' (Ex.21)

The four-part textures are similar in style to the five-part ones. On the whole the violin parts move in parallel thirds or sixths, or indulge in some simple imitation. The viola parts are mostly designed to fill in the harmony, but occasionally they move in parallel motion with the bass-line. The sinfonie and ritornelli in the Neapolitan manuscript of Monteverdi's L'Incoronazione di Poppea serve to illustrate all these points.[72] However, a different arrangement can be seen in the opening sinfonia to La Proserpina, (an anonymous manuscript in the library of the Conservatorio di San Pietro a Maiella in Naples). It is written out on three treble-clef and one bass-clef staves, but as the third part goes below the violin's bottom note it would have to be played by a viola. All three upper parts freely cross each other in the manner of the Renaissance viol fantasia.[73] In addition there are the pieces written for a solo trumpet and an accompanying body of strings, as in the 'Sinfonia avanti il Prologo' to La Rosiclea (anon. 1692) where the uppermost stave is marked

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[71] (FC) XIV.a.1, phs.1282-1283, being photostats of (BE) MS.Mus.F.628; (V) MS.9976 (W) 452, ff.24^{v}-25.

[72] (N) MS.49a.2.7

[73] (N) MS.32.3.25, ff.31-33

Trombe.[74] As the other three parts move independently of the trumpets, I conclude that they must be for strings.

The three-part textures are like trio-sonatas. The two violin parts are treated in the manner already commented on, but because of the lighter texture the bass line is thrown into greater relief. This is very evident in the 'Sinfonia avanti il Prologo' to Alessandro (anon. 1651). It is cast in two sections; in the first, the violins play a duet against a tramping bass line; and in the second, all three parts proceed imitatively.[75] (Ex.22) In contrast to this, Monteverdi employs a mainly note-against-note idiom in the three-part sinfonie and ritornelli in the Venetian manuscript of L'Incoronazione di Poppea.[76] Before leaving the subject of three-part textures, reference must be made to a puzzling feature in the layout of the operas of P. A. Ziani found in the Contarini manuscripts. The texture has every appearance of being complete in three parts; yet throughout the entire scores of no fewer than six operas the copyist has included an alto-clef stave, which he left blank throughout. Such a systematic waste of a stave would seem unduly perverse if the violas had been intended to reinforce the bass line in the usual convention. Yet not only the internal evidence of the texture but that of the Naples manuscript of the same composer's Le fatiche d'Ercole (1662),

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[74] (V) MS.9975 (W) 451, ff.1^{v}-2

[75] (N) MS.33.1.24, f.2. This opera is attributed to Cavalli in the catalogue, but Bjørn Hjelmborg, in a private communication, casts doubt on this.

[76] (V) MS.9963 (W) 439

which allows for no viola part, suggests that no added viola part should be allowed for.[77]

Of the few arias which are accompanied throughout by the orchestra, three-part textures seem to have been the most popular. In these the texture is conceived in four parts, the voice being regarded as an independent line in its own right. Two methods were used. In the one, the violins echo the vocal phrases and provide a discreet harmonic background for the singer's melismas - 'Musici della selve' (Act I, Scene ii) in Cavalli's Egisto (1643).[78] (Ex.23) In the other, the orchestra and vocalist have independent material. For example, the two violins play in canon over a ground bass in 'Ahi, ahi, questo e il fine amaro' (Act III, Scene xv) in Cavalli's Erismena (1665), but when the vocal part is brought in it is given entirely new material.[79] Cesti devises a different but thoroughly instrumental texture for 'O, o numi coniugale' (Act I, Scene xii) in Il Tito(1666). Here the orchestra provides a throbbing chordal accompaniment which, while supporting the lyrical vocal line, is completely contrasted to it, and yet at the same time is quite in keeping with the mood of this hushed but fervent prayer.[80] (Ex.24)

Arias with instrumental obbligato became very popular in the latter part of the century. With the improvement of instrumental technique, orchestral players were sometimes

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[77] See footnote (28), p.48. There is another MS. of Le fatiche d'Ercole in Naples, (N) MS.32.2.18.

[78] (V) MS.9935 (W) 411, ff.13-14^{v}

[79] (V) MS.9884 (W) 360, ff.89^{v}-92

[80] (N) MS.33.6.19, ff.50^{v}-53.

given the opportunity to pit their skills against those of the vocalists. The trumpet was the most favoured instrument in this respect, but there are obbligati for strings too. Legrenzi's Eteocle e Polinice contains two arias with cello obbligati in Act II, Scenes v and xxvii.[81] The one in Scene v is the more elaborate of the two, and is headed 'Aria con Instrumenti e violoncello obbligato.' It is written out in four parts: the two upper staves are each marked violoncello and the lowest one contrabasso; the third part is unmarked but figured, and so must be for the continuo. (Ex.25) Sometimes two different obbligato instruments were used as in 'Io de l'Aria' (Act I, Scene viii) in Freschi's L'Incoronazione di Dario (1684). The instruments (violin and trumpet) and the voice form an elaborate web of melismas, each sharing the other's phrases.[82] (Ex.26) In many cases the obbligato parts were interchangeable, and so they do not often exploit any particular characteristic of the instruments involved. Sometimes alternative instruments are listed if the first choice for the obbligato is not available, as in the manuscript of L'Erginda (anon. 1680) which contains the accommodating direction, 'Tromba overo violino solo.'[83]

There are too many trumpet obbligati to be able to mention them all. They most frequently appear in arias concerned with war, vengeance, rage, and in ceremonial scenes

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[81] (BE) MS.Mus.F.628, ff.119-129^{v}; ff.228^{v}-232^{v}

[82] (V) MS.9930 (W) 406, ff.14-15^{v}

[83] (V) MS.9943 (W) 419, Act II, Scene ii, ff.27-28^{v}

as well. The parts always lie in the clarino register, and the accompaniments are always light to enable the brilliant yet small sound of the trumpet to penetrate. A few typical examples can be seen in 'Coronato di verdi' (Act I, Scene xxii) in Legrenzi's Totila;[84] 'Ho mille furie' in L'Erginda;[85] 'Voglio vendetta' in P. A. Ziani's Candaule (1679);[86] and 'Va combatti' in M. A. Ziani's Il Giordano Pio where two trumpets concertise in the vocal rests.[87] (Ex.27)

Although instrumental music gradually threw off the yoke of the vocal idiom, there were still ways in which the solo singers influenced orchestral writing. This can clearly be seen in Zanettini's Medea in Atene (1677), for the violin figures in the opening sinfonia are based upon the singer's trillo and gruppo.[88] However, the influence was reciprocal, for the singers sometimes imitated instrumental figures, particularly in their cadenze. The two following examples taken from P. A. Ziani's Le fatiche d'Ercole per Deianira (Act II, Scene xxi) and Varischino's Odoacre (Act II, Scene xvi) are obviously influenced by the clarino trumpeter's technique.[89] (Ex.28a and b)

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[84] (V) MS.9983 (W) 459, ff.32-33

[85] (V) MS.9930 (W) 406, ff.32-32^{v}

[86] (V) MS.9923 (W) 399, Act II, Scene i, ff.36^{v}-37^{v}

[87] (FC) VI.c.I, Act II, Scene i, phs.403-409, being photostats of (WB) MS.Mus.ms.29600

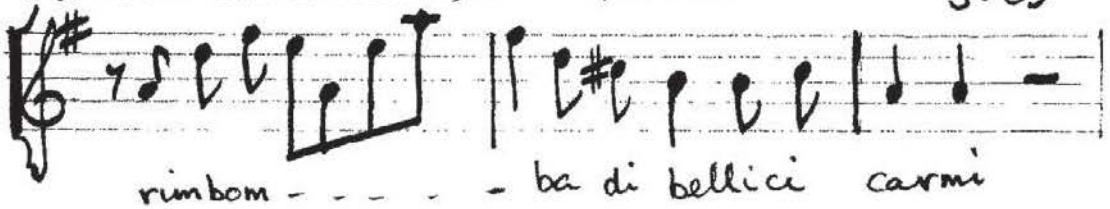
[88] (V) MS.9959 (W) 435, ff.1-3^{v}

[89] (V) MS.9944 (W) 420; Towneley Worsthorne, p.106; (V) MS. 9900 (W) 377, Act II, Scene xvi, ff.69-70

Ex. 28a. Le Fatiche d'Ercole, Act II, sc. xxi. [Towneley Worsthorne, p. 106] 67.



Ex. 28b. L'Odoacre, Act II, sc. xvi. f. 69v

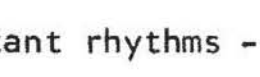


The descriptive use of the orchestra

The Venetian composers tended to rely upon descriptive figures rather than instrumental colour to set the atmosphere in their aria accompaniments. For these purposes the textures, although often simply written, were very effective. For example, both Carlo Grossi in Il Nicomede in Bitinia (1677) and M. A. Ziani in L'Alcibiade (1680) achieve two very different results by writing simple chordal accompaniments. In the former, the blows of the sculptor's hammer and chisel are reflected in the orchestra's stabbing chords - 'Freddi selci' (Act I, Scene xxiv),[90] but in the latter, the gentle, pulsating string chords mirror the serenity of

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[90] (V) MS.9964 (W) 440, ff.35-36

the night - 'Notte, notte placida' (Act II).[91] (Exs.29 and 30) When the libretti demanded rapid changes of mood, the composers responded by altering the rhythmic patterns in the accompaniments. Pallavicino uses this technique in Galieno (1670) (Act I, Scene xxii) when Aristodeno enters the underworld. The orchestra helps to set the mood by playing hesitant rhythms -  &c., and then, as Aristodeno encounters the furies, a new musical idea based on scurrying semiquavers appears.[92] (Ex.31) Pallavicino also uses similar abrupt changes in texture in his sinfonie. For instance, the sinfonia to Bassiano, ovvero il Maggior impossibile possibile (1682) is in four contrasted sections.[93] (Ex.32) This most telling use of juxtaposed textures occurs in the 'bizzara sinfonia di stromenti' to Act I, Scene xiii in Il Vespasiano (1678);[94] here the brilliant sounds of the violins reflect the atmosphere of the Bacchanal during which Domitian tries to rape his brother's wife. (Ex.33) Dramatic results were also obtained by applying the principle of the stile concitato to the orchestra. The rapid repeated notes of the accompaniment to 'Di tue braccie' (Act I, Scene ii) in Zanettini's Medea in Atene are in keeping with Androgeo's martial air as he prepares for his combat in the Athenian Games.[95] (Ex.34) Another accompaniment which makes good use of re-

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[91] (V) MS.9875 (W) 351, ff.47-48^{v}

[92] (V) MS.9948 (W) 424, ff.24^{v}-27

[93] DDT, Vol.55, pp.XXXVI-XXXVII

[94] (V) MS.9986 (W) 462, ff.27^{v}-28^{v}

[95] (V) MS.9959 (W) 435, ff.8^{v}-10

peated notes is that to 'Di fulmine ch'orrendo' (Act II, Scene xiii) in M. A. Ziani's Il Giordano Pio, but in this instance the violas alone have the measured tremolo.[96]

The most colourful orchestrations appear in the descriptive sinfonie and in battle, processional, hunting and infernal scenes. From scenes for which all the orchestral parts are given, with or without the instruments being named, we can deduce the way in which to interpret the scores in which these details are lacking.

Cavalli's Le Nozze di Teti e di Peleo (1639) contains eleven descriptive orchestral pieces for which the instrumentation is not given. Act I opens with a 'Concilio Infernale.'[97] How was this piece scored? There are several underworld scenes in other operas of this period to which we may turn for help - Monteverdi's Orfeo, Cesti's Il Pomo d'Oro and the anonymous Il Pio Enea.[98] All these examples use an organ as the keyboard continuo instrument, which suggests that one should be used for the Cavalli piece. The nearest parallel to Cavalli's sinfonia is that in G minor which follows 'Rendetemi il mio ben Tartarei Numi' in Act III of Orfeo. Exactly the same scoring would be suitable for the 'Concilio Infernale.' (Exs.35 and 36)

A solution to the scoring of the 'Sinfonia di viole' (Act II, Scene vi) in the same work, is more difficult to find. Peleus has asked for some sublime music to assuage the pangs of love, and this sinfonia is played in answer to

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[96] (FC) VI.c.1, phs.470-472, being photostats of (WB) MS. Mus.ms.29600

[97] (V) MS.9889 (W) 365, ff.4-5

[98] TLO, Vol.XI, Act III, pp.77-113; Wellesz, pp.63, 75; (V) MS.9971 (W) 447, f.20

his request. Was this piece played by an ensemble of viols, or one dominated by violas and cellos? Either solution is possible, particularly as the gentle sounds of the viols and the rich, dark tones of the violas are equally suited to the occasion.[99] (Ex.37) Another puzzling feature of this sinfonia is that there are a few wholly and partially blank bars on some of the staves. Why this should be so is far from clear, as the blank bars are haphazardly spaced. A similarly dark-hued orchestration could also be applied to the 'night' sinfonia in Cavalli's Egisto[100] and to the 'sleep' sinfonia in Pallavicino's Il Diocletiano (1675) (Act I, Scene xii).[101]

H. Goldschmidt claims that horns as well as trumpets and drums were used in the horsemen's chorus in Le Nozze di Teti e di Peleo (Act I, Scene iv).[102] But in spite of what Goldschmidt says, there are no positive instrumental specifications in the Venetian manuscript. Even though the nature of the parts may admittedly permit of the effective use of brass instruments, it is far from certain that anything more than an evocative use of strings is called for.

In connection with the application of horns to the unnamed instrumental parts of the 'Chiamata alla caccia' in the same opera (Act I, Scene ii),[103] (Ex.38), R. Morley-Pegge has sought to explain how helical horns could have

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[99] (V) MS.9889 (W) 365, ff.57-57^{v}

[100] (V) MS.9935 (W) 411, f.1

[101] (V) MS.9933 (W) 409, ff.15-15^{v}

[102] Goldschmidt, Vol.I, pp.149-50, 391-401

[103] (V) MS.9889 (W) 365, ff.12-15^{v}

performed this piece; but it seems more than unlikely that two exceptionally large horns would have been made especially for use in one particular work.[104] But if Morley-Pegge is right here - which I much doubt - there may be something to be said for the use of horns in the horsemen's chorus; and if so they would have been used also in the huntsmen's scenes in Cavalli's La Didone (1641) and Il Ciro (1665).[105]

Cavalli helps us to provide a solution for the performance of the sinfonia in Act I, Scene iv of Monteverdi's Il Ritorno d'Ulisse in Patria. The score directs that

> Here departs the boat of the Phaeacians who escort Ulysses, and in order not to wake him you play the following sinfonia gently always upon one chord.

Only the bass line is given, consisting of a single c repeated.[106]

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[104] Morley-Pegge, pp.82-84. "... Mersenne gives no length limit for his cor à plusieurs tours, and if the proportions of his very poor drawing of it - length of instrument equals 42 times the diametre of the bell - are even approximately correct then such an instrument (in C-basso) with a 12 cm bell would have a total length in the region of five metres, which would meet the case of the longer horns. The problem of manufacturing a five-metre horn with narrow tubing characteristic of the true French horn would probably have overtaxed the resources of the makers of that day in any case, but the comparatively large-bore helical horn, well known from the second half of the sixteenth century, at least in its smaller sizes, would have presented no insuperable difficulty. Pending further evidence we are forced to the conclusion that the instruments used were four helical horns, two small and two large: the large ones might well have been specially made for the occasion."

[105] (V) MS.9879 (W) 355, Act II, ff.99-103^{v}; (V) MS.9878 (W) 354, Act II, f.61^{v}

[106] TLO, Vol.XII, p.36; my own translation. See Appendix II (u).

Now the 'Sinfonia Navale' (Act II, Scene v) in Cavalli's La Didone is also written over a pedal bass, but in this case all the instrumental parts are fully written out.[107] May not Monteverdi's sinfonia be interpreted in a similar undulating barcarolle rhythm? (Ex.39)

Once more we may turn to Cavalli to find a solution for the ritornello in Act III, Scene vi in the anonymous opera Apollo (?). The score gives the directions, but no music, 'While the riders fight you play the following ritornello.' ('Mentre i Cavalieri li battono si suona il Ritto. seguente') - whereas in Cavalli's Pompeo Magno (1666) the 'Balletto de Cavalli' (Act I, Scene i) is given in full. A five-part orchestra is used in the stile concitato manner. Three rhythmic patterns appear, which gradually increase in intensity:

(a) 

(b) 

and (c) 

A similar texture could be used also for the ritornello in Apollo.[108]

It is more difficult to suggest an interpretation for the sinfonia for the descent of Apollo in Cavalli's Gli Amore di Apollo e di Dafne (1640) because there is no music given, and because I have not seen any near parallel in the scores

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[107] (V) MS.9879 (W) 355, f.61

[108] (V) MS.9914 (W) 390, f.47^{v}; (V) MS.9901 (W) 377, f.3

which I have been able to study. The stage directions at this point say:

> This Sinfonia which follows should be played in a grave measure in the heavens while they open for Apollo's descent, and with this the first Act ends.[109]

Obviously the piece has to be dignified and impressive: therefore the note-against-note style, written for perhaps a four- or five-part orchestra including an organ continuo, would be appropriate here.

Martial scenes provided ample opportunity for the use of the stile concitato. Usually the sinfonie for these were harmonically static, relying purely upon rhythmic patterns for excitement. Often trumpet and drum-like figures were imitated by the strings, alternating with passages written in a style reminiscent of the measured tremolo textures in Monteverdi's Il Combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda. Typical examples can be seen in Cavalli's La Didone - the 'Combattimento' and 'Passata dell'Armata' (Act I)[110] (Ex.40a and b); and in his Muzio Scevola (1665) - the 'Tocco di Battaglia' (Act I);[111] and in Boretti's Eliogabalo - the 'Po.' assalto de Gladiatori' (Act III, Scene xii);[112] but by far the most effective fight scene is written in Monteverdi's Il Ritorno d'Ulisse in Patria. It occurs in Act II, Scene xii as Ulysses puts Irus to flight. The duel is accompanied by sturdy violin parts which stride up

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[109] (V) MS.9928 (W) 404, f.48; my own translation. See Appendix II (v).

[110] (V) MS.9879 (W) 355, ff.18, 47^{v}

[111] (V) MS.9888 (W) 364, ff.1-2

[112] (V) MS.9882 (W) 358, f.114^{v}

and down the chords. During the final bars Irus's voice enters whining 'Son vinto' and the scene dramatically fades away into recitativo secco.[113]

Trumpets and drums naturally play an important part in the martial and processional scenes. It is possible that extra musicians, such as Faustini's soldiers, were hired for these occasions. They could have appeared on the stage, or at least have played in the wings. For example, in Pagliardi's Numa Pompilio (Act I, Scene xv) there is a three-part ritornello marked Trombe. Underneath this music is written 'Popolo con Trombe'; therefore it is feasible to suppose that this piece was actually performed by musicians on the stage.[114] The same could be said of Cesti's Argia (1667) where the following direction appears: 'The ship fires three times and trumpets and drums sound' (Act I, Scene i). The instruments play before and after the chorus 'A' terra' and so the trumpeters and drummers could have been on the stage mingling with the singers.[115] The same argument could also be applied to the 'Tocco di Tamburri' in Cavalli's Veramonda di Aragona. It is accompanied by a three-part orchestra which reiterates a chord of C major. The drum parts are not given; presumably they were improvised or played in the same rhythm as the strings.[116] Finally, Cavalli actually asks for the musicians to be behind the scenes in Il Ciro - 'Coro di Cacciatori di dentro' (Act II).[117]

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[113] TLO, Vol.XII, pp.146-47

[114] (V) MS.9965 (W) 450, ff.50-51

[115] (N) MS.33.6.17, f.24^{v}; my own translation. See Appendix II (w).

[116] (V) MS.9931 (W) 407, f.73

[117] (V) MS.9878 (W) 354, Act II, f.61^{v}

Freschi's Berenice Vendicata (1680) furnishes us with a most tantalising description of a processional scene. Unfortunately only the bass line or even nothing but blank staves are provided for the instruments. This triumphal procession takes place near the beginning of Act I and is headed 'Coro di Trombe, Mentre passa il Trionfo.' From the nature of the percussion instruments that are named, it is possible to suppose that the singers could have played them, and with other instrumentalists on the stage too, this procession must have made a most colourful and spectacular sight. The only instrumental details given in the score are as follows:

(a) Coro di Trombe, Mentre passa il Trionfo: only the bass line is given.
(b) Sei Tamburri: the rhythm  etc. given on the bass-clef stave.
(c) Quando sarra il Trionfo: no music given.
(d) Coro di Trombe Lunghe: no music given.
(e) Cor di Flauti Grandi [tenor and bass recorders?]: no music given.
(f) Sei bastoni [claves?]: no music given.
(g) Coro di Flautini [sopranino recorders?]: no music given.
(h) Cor di Cembali [cymbals?]: no music given.[118]

Percussion instruments are named in some of Pallavicino's scores too. When writing for trumpets and drums, he specifically asks for timpani instead of using the vaguer term tam-

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[118] (V) MS.9920 (W) 396, ff.5-12^{v}

buri. The timpani are mentioned once in Enea in Italia (1675) and three times in Le Amazoni nell'isole fortune (1679).[119] In the latter, the timpano actually has its parts written out, although in one instance in Act II, Scene ix, it appears to be written by another hand.[120] Pallavicino has also written a part for bells in Bassiano, ovvero il Maggior impossibile possibile. They appear in the 'Sinfonia de campanoni' where they play only tonics and dominants.[121]

As for the orchestral pieces for which the music is given but which lack instrumental specifications, I think that for the most part a string band will suffice to meet most requirements. In some instances of special character it would not be out of place to add other instruments to the orchestra even though they are not mentioned in the scores, although care must be taken not to over-dress the music. Trumpets and drums seem to be the most obvious choice, as many of the martial and ceremonial scenes not only contain sinfonie and arias written in a fanfare-like idiom, but also are written in the popular trumpet keys of D major, C major and (occasionally) B flat major. For instance, the sinfonie in the coronation scene in Monteverdi's L'Incoronazione di Poppea could very well be played by trumpets, as most of the notes on the upper two staves could be played on the open notes of trumpets in B flat.[122] The

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[119] (V) MS.9938 (W) 414, f.101; (V) MS.9908 (W) 384, Act II, ff.52^{v}, 68, Act III, f.84

[120] ibid., f.52^{v}

[121] DDT, Vol.55, p.XXXII

[122] TLO, Vol.XIII, pp.239-40, 243

other notes involved - the submediant and the leading note - do not belong to the harmonic series though they were sometimes included in trumpet music. The baroque trumpeter could have played them though the intonation would have been slightly suspect. Praetorius states that the trumpeter should learn to 'tame and rule' his instrument 'well and through artifice.'[123] All the notes could easily have been played upon a tromba da tirasi. How widely these instruments were used is not known, but they were in existence at this period, for C. S. Terry mentions that there was a specimen of a slide-trumpet, dated 1651, at the Berlin Hochschule für Musik.[124] W. Osthoff goes so far as to recommend the frequent use of muted trumpets in the Monteverdi opera. He suggests that they should be used during the opening scene in Act I.[125] I have not come across any evidence to support this theory in either the manuscripts or archives, and I am not very convinced by Osthoff's arguments.

Finally, Italian composers do seem to have taken into account the varying national tastes in orchestration when writing works for performance in other countries. Cavalli's orchestral textures in Ercole Amante, which was written for performance in Paris, take into account the Lullian tradition of scoring. All the instrumental pieces are written in six parts, although the fifth part is merely an ornamental version of the bass line. He also makes good use of the trumpets. The manuscript even contains many remarks to the players such

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[123] Praetorius, Vol.II, p.32; my own translation. See Appendix II, (x).

[124] Terry, p.31

[125] Osthoff (i), pp.77-79, 82

as 'un ostre fois messieurs' and 'Bien fort Messieurs.'[126] Another opera which shows a French influence in its scoring is M. A. Ziani's Il Giordano Pio. This work was performed in Neustadt in 1709, and although the directions for tempo and volume are given in Italian, the woodwind instruments are named in a mixture of French and Italian - 'Hautbois concerte, Fagotto' (Act II, Scene x). No doubt Ziani became interested in the oboe and bassoon trio after he had taken up his appointment at Vienna in 1700.[127]

The role of the orchestra

The role of the full orchestra was small. It accompanied few of the arias throughout, and even in these it was often allowed to play only in the vocalists' pauses, the singer being supported by the basso continuo. Usually the orchestra echoed the singer's phrases, but by the middle of the century the singer sometimes echoed a phrase from the opening ritornello - 'Caro preso gradito' in P. A. Ziani's Le Fortune di Rodope (1657) (Act II, Scene ii).[128] Accompanied recitatives were rare. At first there was little distinction between recitative, arioso, and aria. Cavalli links arioso to accompanied recitative to heighten the drama in 'Vaghissime ogetto' (Act III, Scene iv) in La Virtu degli strali d'amore (1642). The scene opens with accompanied recitative, but this soon grows into arioso at the words 'godo in terra beato.'

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[126] (V) MS.9883 (W) 359, ff.31, 106^{v}

[127] (FC) VI.c.I, ph.445, being photostats of (WB) MS.Mus.ms. 29600; Grove, Vol.IX, p.413

[128] (N) MS.33.6.6, ff.93-94

Thus the orchestra is used to underline the text, as it is independent from the voice in the recitative, and echoes the singer's phrases in the arioso.[129] There are also short passages of accompanied recitative in Pallavicino's La Gerusalemme Liberata (Act II, Scene xv), and in Franceschini's Oronte in Menfi (1676) (Act I, Scene xvi).[130]

For the most part the full orchestra was reserved for playing the sinfonie and ritornelli which opened the acts and scenes. In the first public operas, descriptive sinfonie were popular, but as the century progressed, their place was gradually taken by elaborate scenic effects. Pallavicino's Galieno provides us with an extreme example. The work opens thus:

> ... a vast plain under the darkness of the night sky appears without the usual concerto for the instruments.[131]

There are examples, too, of a mere trumpet call serving in the place of a sinfonia. For instance, Lontani's Ariberto e Flavio (1684) opens thus:

> ... to a simple trumpet fanfare discover a side of the rampart with the explosion of a mine;[132]

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[129] (V) MS.9897 (W) 373; Towneley Worsthorne, pp.68-70

[130] DDT; Vol.55, p.117; (V) MS.9969 (W) 445, ff.46^{v}-47^{v}

[131] (V) MS.9948 (W) 424, f.1; my own translation. See Appendix II (y).

[132] Towneley Worsthorne, p.48; my own translation. See Appendix II (z).

and in Pallavicino's Il Vespasiano, Act I, Scene ix is opened by a splendid procession introduced by a trumpet fanfare instead of the more usual sinfonia.[133]

The orchestra was sometimes also used to help with the formal structure of an act or scene. As in Orfeo, so in the later operas of Monteverdi, some of the sinfonie and ritornelli recur. In Il Ritorno d'Ulisse in Patria the opening sinfonia is played three times: twice during the prologue and once in Act I;[134] and the ritornello which ends Penelope's 'Torna il tranquillo mare' (Act I, Scene i) reappears in the following scene.[135] Similar examples can be seen in L'Incoronazione di Poppea: the ritornello at the end of the prologue is repeated in the opening scene of Act I;[136] but the most important role assigned to the orchestra occurs in Act I, Scene xi where, in an impassioned duet, Otho reproaches Poppea for her infidelity. The scene is opened by a sinfonia which is repeated between each verse. It is transposed for Poppea's verses and also for its final appearance, after which the singers end in recitativo secco. The recitative makes an even more dramatic effect than usual, due to the extended use of the orchestra throughout this scene.[137]

Balli are included in many of the Venetian operas, but the manuscripts mostly contain only the words 'segue il ballo' without giving any music. The music which does appear is of

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[133] (V) MS.9986 (W) 462, f.19^{v}

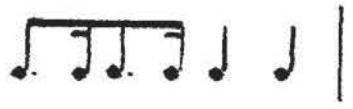
[134] TLO, Vol.XII, pp.1, 4, 13

[135] ibid., pp.20-23, 25

[136] TLO, Vol.XIII, pp.11, 13

[137] ibid., pp.95-104

little consequence, an exception being the two balli in Cavalli's Pompeo Magno. The 'Balletto de Cavalli' has already been mentioned.[138] The other, 'Ballo di Fantasme', occurs at the end of Act II. It is also scored for a five-part orchestra, and contains three sections using the following rhythmic patterns:

(a) 

(b) 

(c)  [139]

To sum up: a basic orchestra of string instruments had been evolved, and as the century proceeded, wind instruments were added to this, although they do not seem to have been regarded as permanent members of the band, with perhaps the exception of the trumpets. Other instruments were added when the occasion arose, but on the whole the variety of instruments demanded for the performances of Pallavicino's Il Nerone and Cesti's Il Pomo d'Oro seem to have been the exception rather than the rule. Even so, some writers give the impression that lavish orchestrations were popular. H. Goldschmidt mentions that the manuscripts at the National Bibliothek in Vienna show that horns, cornetts, trombones, and theorbos were used in the Venetian operas.[140] I have

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[138] (V) MS.9901 (W) 377. See also footnote (108), p.72.

[139] ibid., ff.105^{v}-106

[140] Goldschmidt, Vol.I, pp.147-48.

not seen these particular manuscripts myself, but I find that he makes exaggerated claims for the instrumentation of the operas whose manuscripts I have seen, and therefore treat his observations with some reserve. Nevertheless it is possible that the Venetian opera orchestra was larger and more varied in personnel by the end of the century than the rather fragmentary evidence shows.

C H A P T E R I V

ALESSANDRO SCARLATTI AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

c.1670 - c.1725

By the end of the seventeenth century, opera had become the most popular and widespread of all European entertainments. Naples, Italy's largest city at that time, and the seat of a royal court, was quick to take an interest in it, and soon rivalled and outshone Venice as the leading operatic centre. Although regular operatic seasons did not begin before 1668, there were isolated performances as early as 1651 when Monteverdi's L'Incoronazione di Poppea was performed.[1]

The first native Neapolitan composer of importance was Francesco Provenzale, whose operas demonstrate a suavity of melodic thought and a subtle use of chromatic harmony which compares well with that of the best contemporary Italian composers; but it was above all Alessandro Scarlatti who really established a distinctive Neapolitan style. He worked at a time of transition, when the musical style founded and developed by the Venetian composers had passed its zenith.

There were two distinct directions which opera took in the late seventeenth century. The one was polyphonic and the other homophonic. In the former, represented by Legrenzi

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[1] Grout, p.200; Rolland, p.177

and Agostino Steffani, the orchestra was almost an equal partner with the voice because the contrapuntal bass line often interwove with the vocal one; in the latter, represented by the later Venetians, Carlo Pollaroli and Tommaso Albinoni, the orchestra was entirely subservient to the voice, and only provided a simple accompaniment with a bass line whose function was entirely harmonic, thus leaving the singer to be the centre of attention. Both types of opera existed side by side in the early eighteenth century, but the contrapuntal style was by then declining. This was due to the general change in musical idiom from the Baroque through the Rococo to the later classical style. The taste for simplicity, lightness of texture, and tuneful melody led to the establishment of a certain type of opera which became known as 'Neapolitan', and it was Alessandro Scarlatti and his contemporaries who were associated with its establishment.

Scarlatti's works have many characteristics of the older style. In particular his first operas performed in Rome prior to 1684 show the influence of Legrenzi, Pallavicino, and Alessandro Stradella. The small forms, free mixture of recitative and aria, the use of the ground bass, and the polyphonic orchestral writing, are all characteristic of the contemporary Venetian opera. It was during Scarlatti's first sojourn in Naples (1684-1702) that he began to develop the characteristics that were to become the hallmark of early eighteenth-century Italian music.

An important feature of Scarlatti's work was his definite establishment of the 'Italian overture.' The earliest example of this is his sinfonia for a revival of Dal Male il Bene in

1696. It has a quick opening, a short slow interlude, and a dance-like, two-fold finale written in a clear-cut homophonic idiom.[2] As we shall see, his method of scoring in these sinfonie played an important part not only in defining the texture and style of the Italian overture (as distinct from its contrapuntally conceived French counterpart) but also in establishing the modern concept of the classical orchestra and orchestration.

The practical foundation of Neapolitan opera was a result of a reform of the seventeenth-century libretto. The later Venetian composers had paid little attention to the needs of the drama, but Apostolo Zeno and his follower, Pietro Metastasio, influenced by the classicism of the French dramatists, brought back to the operatic stage some of the unity and dignity of the Florentine libretti. The Zeno-Metastasio libretto placed emphasis on the recitative which carried forward the plot, and the aria which commented upon it. Thus the solo singer and his arias became the dominating factor in the musical structure of the operas; other elements - recitatives, ensembles, and orchestral pieces - were pushed into the background. This meant that the most significant solo orchestral piece was the opening sinfonia. This sinfonia was often very short and rather dull, whereas, in an age when the singer was worshipped, the variety and degree of stylisation of the aria gave composers of imagination the opportunity to write exciting instrumental accompaniments.

During the infancy of Neapolitan opera the orchestra fared badly, but with the eighteenth century, its importance grew.

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[2] Dent, p.61

This was mainly due to the renewed interest in instrumental colour. What the seventeenth century had sought to express through appropriate figures allied to the text, the eighteenth century sought to express by adding tone colour to this technique. Orchestral colour was used to beguile the ear as the richly gilded buildings and optical illusion in architecture and art sought to enchant and amaze the eye. The improvements to existing instruments and the invention of new ones by such men as the Hotteterres also added new colours to the composer's palette. These, with the improvement secured in string playing by Archangelo Corelli and Franciscello, enabled Scarlatti to enlarge his orchestra as well as to exploit the characteristics of all the instruments in the hitherto neglected sphere of orchestration.

Textures

Provenzale, like the late seventeenth-century Venetian composers, showed a preference for three-part orchestral writing. His operas are contrapuntally conceived, and so it is not surprising to find imitative string textures in which the violin parts cross quite freely - sinfonia to Il Schiavo di sua Moglie (1675).[3] (Ex.41) He also appreciated the sweetness of sound produced by violins moving in parallel thirds - sinfonia to Chi tal nasce tal overo A. Bala (1678)[4] - and

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[3] Extracts printed in Rolland, Supplément Musical, pp.1-2.

[4] (N) MS.32.3.16, ff.3-4.

the dark, rich texture produced by parallel thirds and tenths between the bass and an inner voice - 'Lasciatemi morir', Il Schiavo di sua Moglie, (Act I, Scene viii).[5] (Exs.42 and 43)

Scarlatti wrote mainly for a string band in his operas composed before 1700. In these, the singers, supported by the basso continuo, were the principal protagonists. If writing for more than basso continuo accompaniment, Scarlatti favoured a two-part orchestral texture for his accompaniments because the violins could be treated colourfully as obbligato instruments. When he wished for more sonority, he wrote for a three- or four-part orchestra. Even so in his arias the strings are used chiefly for the ritornelli only, rarely accompanying the voice. An analysis of aria accompaniments in three of his late seventeenth-century operas will serve to emphasise the subservient role allotted to the orchestra:[6]

Opera title	Total no. of arias	Arias accompanied by:			
		basso continuo	2-part orch.	3-part orch.	4-part orch.
Il Pirro Demetrio (1694)	60	29	16	1	4
L'Emireno (1697)	62	28	19	7	8
La Donna ancora fedele (1698)	55	26	19	4	6

Nevertheless composers wrote some interesting string passages and showed a growing appreciation of the characteristics and capabilities of string instruments.

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[5] Extracts printed in Grout, pp.200-201.

[6] (N) MS.32.2.34; (N) MS.49a.2.16; (N) MS.T.4.26

It was the usual practice to have four-part string textures for the opening sinfonie. Frequently the first and last movements began with imitative passages. The closing triple-time movement of the sinfonia to Scarlatti's La Statira (1690) is a little more contrapuntal than was usual in his operas.[7] (Ex.44) The interesting feature of this example is the way in which the instruments are paired; the first violin and the viola playing a tenth apart make one pair, answered by the second violin and cello a seventeenth apart. This is the kind of spacing which we expect from Haydn rather than from an Italian opera composer. It was more usual to oppose the two violins to the viola and cello as in the sinfonia to A. M. Bononcini's Il Trionfo di Camilla (1696).[8] (Ex.45)

As a contrast to the outer movements, the central slow interlude was usually homophonic, often nothing more than a few modulatory bars. In such a section the string band supported the full harmony and played in slowly moving four-part chords senza cembalo, for example, Scarlatti's Scipione nelle Spagne (1714).[9] (Ex.72b)

Sometimes the sinfonie display a French influence. Steffani, who had been to Paris during 1678-79, was inclined to write in a contrapuntal idiom, and he was fond, too, of writing trio passages for oboes and bassoons in the Lullian manner. Grout credits him with

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[7] (BM) Add.MS.22103, ff.2-5^{v}

[8] (BM) Add.MS.14185, ff.1^{v}-6

[9] (BM) Add.MS.14172, ff.1^{v}-5^{v}

> ... being the first to introduce trio sections in the fast movements of the overture - short interludes for solo instruments contrasting with the tutti in the manner of the concerto grosso. (Lully had earlier used trio sections of this sort, but not in the overture.) [10]

The sinfonia to Tassilone (1709) illustrates all these points.[11] Another sinfonia which shows a French influence is that found in the manuscript of La Proserpina (?) in the British Museum. This is also scored for a string band with oboes and a bassoon.[12]

The three-part textures were scored mostly for two violins and bass instruments, or violin, viola, and bass. I found one three-part texture which was different from the more usual parallel motion associated with this kind of scoring. In the manuscript it is referred to only as Aria con violini di Capranica. There are imitation, trills, and broken chord patterns for two violins in the opening ritornello.[13] (Ex.46)

The most popular texture for aria accompaniments was one in which the violins played in unison, and the violas doubled the bass line, making a two-part orchestra. Writing for unison violins was popular because of the strongly defined line which they drew. An especially vigorous effect was gained if they played staccato - Scarlatti, La Caduta di Decemviri (1697), (Act I, Scene xii).[14] (Ex.47)

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[10] Grout, p.114

[11] Observations drawn from hearing a performance of this sinfonia on a gramophone recording. Musik in alten Städten und Residenzen, Düsseldorf, C.91101 (German Columbia)

[12] (BM) Add.MS.16110, ff.1-9^{v}. This opera may be by C. F. Pollaroli.

[13] (N) MS.34.5.14, ff.37-57

[14] (BM) Add.MS.14170, ff.39^{v}-40

Ex.47. La Caduta di Decemviri, Act I, sc.xii. f.39v



An entirely different effect is obtained by using the unison violins alone to support the voice - Scarlatti, Marco Attilio Regolo (1719) (Act II, final scene).[15] (Ex.48)

Ex.48. Marco Attilio Regolo, Act II, final scene. f.146v



Steffani used this texture too, and nowhere more effectively than in the aria 'Tutta trema' (Act III, Scene vi) in Tassilione, where the voice seems to hover effortlessly above the throbbing violin accompaniment.[16]

Gradually the standard of string playing rose. Hitherto orchestral violinists had used position changes very little, rarely moving higher than the third one. Added to this, bowing must have been hampered by the position in which the violin was held with the chin on the right-hand side of the tailpiece, and by the short, heavy bow which precluded long slurs and lightness in bowing.[17] The scores pay tribute to the advance in technique by the number of repeated note patterns, leaps of wide intervals across the strings, and broken chords also across the strings, which appear in them. Composers realised how effective these string figurations could be, especially the broken chords, as they complied with the vogue

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[15] (BM) Add.MS.14171, ff.146-147v

[16] DTB, Vol.XII2, p.159

[17] Carse (i), p.88

for treating the orchestra harmonically. Scarlatti's friendship with Corelli awakened him to the capabilities of the violin. He devised arpeggios and broken chords which were genuinely suited to the string family, whereas other composers' figurations were not so characteristic. To realise how flexible was Scarlatti's writing, one has only to compare the accompaniment to 'Cara tomba' in his Mitridate Eupatore (1707) with the sinfonia to G. B. Bononcini's Il Xerse (1694). The former has arpeggios idiomatically spread over the whole string band, whereas the broken chord sequences in the latter could have been played by any instrument.[18] (Exs.49 and 50)

During the eighteenth century Scarlatti's style matured and he devised a number of genuine string patterns for accompaniments to arias. For example, the violin part to the aria 'Non ti posso amor' in Act I of L'Amor Generoso (1714) contains repeated notes, broken chords, and arpeggios which sweep down to the open G string.[19] (Ex.51)



Another brilliant and vigorous repeated note passage can be found in the accompaniment to 'Fa che morrà il fellone' in Il Tigrane (1715) (Act III, Scene v). It is similar to the robust idiom of the concerto writers, in particular Antonio Vivaldi.[20] (Ex.52)

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[18] Vocal score edited by Giuseppe Piccioli (Milan, 1953), Act I, Scene iii, pp.134-37; (BM) Add.MS.22102, ff.1^{v}-4.

[19] (BM) Add.MS.14169, f.8^{v}

[20] (BIFA) MS, ff.192-194^{v}

Ex. 52. Il Tigrane, Act III, sc.v. f. 192



The obbligato was still popular, and was a way in which panache could be added to an accompaniment. Sometimes the result was ostentatious and vulgar, particularly in the hands of Giuseppe (Antonio Vincenzo) Aldrovandini. The ritornello to 'Cruda amore' in Cesare in Alessandria (1699) (Act III, Scene xii) is like a miniature violin concerto. Later on a solo cello joins in, and between them they nearly eclipse the vocalist. On the other hand, the two obbligati do show an understanding of string technique.[21] (Ex.53) An equally elaborate but this time appropriate violin obbligato can be found in the aria 'Cruda furie degli horrida abissi'- G. B. Bononcini, Il Xerse (Act I, Scene xvii). Here the virtuosity required from the violinist reflects the violence of the singer's emotion.[22]

There are also some experimental violin textures to consider. The most often quoted example comes from Scarlatti's La Caduta di Decemviri. The violins are divided into four parts for the aria 'Ma il mio ben' (Act I, Scene iv), but as they are used mainly for antiphonal effects, there is not much real four-part writing.[23] (Ex.54) Another interesting texture, this time for four-part violins with two-part violas, is written by Luigi Manzi (Manzo) for the aria 'Voglio dire al mio tesoro' (Act I, Scene iv) in La Partenope (1699). In this

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[21] (N) MS.33.6.11, ff.191^{v}-192

[22] (BM) Add.MS.22102, f.60

[23] (BM) Add.MS.14170, ff.12^{v}-17

piece the cellos play the bass line throughout, only being joined by the double basses at each cadence bar.[24] Finally, the violins are divided into three parts for the finale of the sinfonia to Francesco Gasparini's La Fede tradita e vendicata (1707). The uppermost stave has the melody, which is accompanied by the rest of the orchestra with four-part chords.[25]

The viola was the most neglected instrument of the orchestra. Between 1700 and 1750 the making of violas all but stopped in all countries.[26] Composers seemed to have little faith in the violists' technique, and for the most part confined them to doubling the bass line. Even in four-part arrangements their part was always the least interesting. Sometimes in an attempt to lighten the texture, the violas alone were allowed to play the bass line. Scarlatti was quite fond of accompanying the voice in this way - 'Io, io che non dice', Nozze col Nemico (1659).[27]

Steffani's scores always gave the violas some independence. This most likely arose from his contrapuntal style, and to the polished playing of his Dresden orchestra. A particularly vigorous role is assigned to them in the aria 'A Vendetta' (Act I, Scene x) in Alarico (1687). This is an extraordinarily vivid texture, with the violas often playing above the second violins because of the descriptive nature of the music.[28] (Ex.55)

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[24] (N) MS.33.2.3, ff.17^{v}-20^{v}

[25] (N) MS.32.3.30, ff.1-2^{v}

[26] Baines (ii), p.133

[27] (N) MS.33.3.17. ff.45-48

[28] DTB, Vol.XI^{2}, pp.36-39

Scarlatti, too, seems to have been drawn towards the expressive, rich quality of viola tone. His accompaniments often include solo viola passages. As early as 1698 he had written a three-part accompaniment scored for two violas and basso continuo - 'Quanto sarei beata' (Act III, Scene vi), Il Prigionier Fortunato (1699). The score is marked 'violetta sole.'[29] According to Johann Walther, the term violetta denoted the viola. He added that it may also mean a medium sized violin or a viola da gamba.[30] Scarlatti's eighteenth-century scores contain more viola obbligati, the most elaborate and effective being in the aria 'Ne vuoi più mia fiera' (Act III, Scene iii) in Il Trionfo dell'Onore (1718). The voice is accompanied by the string orchestra with two solo violas concertising in the ritornelli. This dark and sombre texture admirably reflects the sorrow of the distressed Leonora.[31] (Ex.56) In Il Tigrane (1715) there are two arias with viola and cello obbligati. There are two obbligati parts, written on the alto- and tenor-clef staves respectively, in 'Esser desso come un scoglio' (Act I, Scene xvii). In the Barber Institute manuscript the alto clef is often associated with the direction 'viola' and the tenor clef with the 'violon'; so I have assumed that the same can be said of the parts for this specific aria. The complete texture is a five-part one in which the obbligato instruments are answered antiphonally by the violins.[32] (Ex.57) A similar use of the violas and cellos is found for the aria 'Al girar d'un suo bel

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[29] (BM) Add.MS.16126, ff.118^{v}-119

[30] Walther, p.637. See Appendix II (aa).

[31] (BM) Add.MS.14173, ff.157^{v}-162

[32] (BIFA) MS, ff.67-72

sguard' (Act I, Scene xviii), but here the violins only enter in the final ritornello.[33]

A part for the viola d'amore is to be found in Il Tigrane. The instrument seems to have been introduced during the second half of the seventeenth century. There was no standard tuning, and C. S. Terry seemed to think that it was a smaller version of the viola bastarda. He added that it did not achieve any measure of popularity until after Attilio Ariosti published his Lezioni per viola d'amore in 1728.[34] Joseph Majer describes its sound as silvery,[35] and it was perhaps this quality which attracted Scarlatti. He writes for the instrument in the tender love song 'Cara pupille' (Act II, Scene xviii).[36]

In Italy the cellists' technique improved almost as quickly as that of the violinists. The playing of Francischello was an important factor in establishing the instrument. Scarlatti said of him, 'Only angels in human form can play like that.'[37]

The cello bore the main burden of the accompaniment throughout the operas. It was the practice to reduce the number of instruments playing when the voice entered in an aria. At such moments the bass line is usually marked 'violoncello solo' and the clef is changed from the bass to the tenor.

G. B. Bononcini, himself a cellist, placed some emphasis upon his cello parts. For example, the sinfonia to Il Xerse

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[33] (BIFA) MS, ff.17^{v}-19^{v}

[34] Terry, p.129

[35] Majer, p.83. See Appendix II (bb)

[36] (BIFA) MS, ff.148-152^{v}

[37] Baines (ii), p.141

opens with the cellos and continuo alone.[38] He even writes some passages for two bass viols and cello in Il Ritorno di Giulio Cesare.[39] Many instances of the cello part differing from that of the double-bass can also be found in his works as well as in those of Scarlatti. Examples can be seen in Bononcini's Il Xerse - 'Quella che tutta fa' (Act II, Scene vi),[40] and Scarlatti's L'Amor Generoso and Il Tigrane - the sinfonie in both cases.[41] Solo cello obbligati abound too. That in G. B. Bononcini's Il Xerse for the aria 'Si che vorrei morir' (Act II, Scene xv) contains some double and triple stops, and in Act I the voice and cello imitate each other in a virtuoso contest - 'Ho nemici', (Scene xvii).[42] (Exs. 58a and b)

Ex.58a. Il Xerse, Act I, sc.xv. f. 148



Ex.58 b. Il Xerse, Act I, sc.xvii. f. 86



An equally florid one is written by Scarlatti in Tito Sempronio Gracco (1702) for 'Potessi o caro Nume' (Act III,

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[38] (BM) Add.MS.22102, f.1^{v}

[39] Wellesz, p.51

[40] (BM) Add.MS.22102, ff.106^{v}-107^{v}

[41] (BM) Add.MS.14169, ff.1^{v}-2; (BIFA) MS, ff.2-4^{v}

[42] (BM) Add.MS.22102, ff.148-150, 86-86^{v}

Scene i). It is carefully built upon characteristic cello figures and is thus very effective.[43] (Ex.59)

Ex.59. Tito Sempronio Gracco, Act III, sc.i. f.63



Virtuoso displays, as in the aria 'Sento amor' in Giuseppe Vignola and Aldrovandini's Mitridate,[44] were not always necessary, and they contrast, sometimes unfavourably, with simpler solos such as the piano melody which is given to the cello in 'Ti rammenta o gelosia' (Act I, Scene viii) in La Proserpina.[45] (Ex.60)

Scarlatti's orchestration includes some interesting use of divided cellos. He composed an elaborate array of echo effects for 'Dall'aure respirare' in Act II of Scipione nelle Spagne. An orchestra of two oboes, two violins, two cellos, and basses, is used so that a series of dialogues can be held between the various pairs of instruments. This kind of scoring was usually reserved for his serenate when the brightness of instrumental colour was a substitute for stage spectacle.[46] (Ex.61) He wrote obbligati for two cellos also. A good example is 'Godi pur nel tuo dolce contentone' in Odoardo (1700) where the cellos concertise with the voice.[47]

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[43] (N) MS.32.2.37, ff.63-64v

[44] (N) MS.32.2.26, ff.48-52v

[45] (BM) Add.MS.16110, ff.89v-91v

[46] (BM) Add.MS.14172, ff.114-119

[47] (N) MS.32.2.32, ff.14-16

Although Hill had heard the 'bass violin' played in Italy as early as 1657,[48] it appears that it was not always used, for Carse, in The History of Orchestration, adds the following footnote to his discussion upon the usage of the violone and the basses des violons:

> Warnecke in Der Kontrabass, Hamburg, 1909, states that the double-basses were first used in opera at Naples in 1700 ...[49]

Double-bass playing could not have been of a very high standard, for even as late as 1731 John Christopher Pepusch wrote that this instrument 'makes a horrid rumbling' when playing quick bass lines. He suggests that if the double-basses play

> ... a Fundamental Bass under them (the cellos), made up of what the Italians call Note Sostenute, a much finer and more agreeable Harmony would ensue, for Every Note would be clear and distinct in every part of the Composition.[50]

It seems therefore that the double-bass was considered only as a supplier of sixteen-foot tone, although an exception has been noted by Wellesz. He states that there is a double-bass solo in G . B. Bononcini's Il Ritorno di Giulio Cesare.[51]

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[48] Hill, footnote, pp.110-111

[49] Carse (i), p.34

[50] Pepusch, pp.46-47

[51] Wellesz, p.51

Various techniques and textures, other than those already mentioned, were exploited. According to Roger North, staccato playing was favoured by the Italians.

> Another grace, or rather manner, is the Stoccata or stabb, which is a peculiar art of the hand upon the instruments of the bow. ... Old Sigr. Niccola Mattèis used this manner to set off a rage, and then repentance; for after a violent stoccata, he entered at once with the bipedalian bow, as speaking no less in a passion, but of the contrary temper.[52]

Both Walther and Majer agree with North upon the short, well-separated sounds produced by playing in this way.[53] In the opera scores the direction staccato sometimes appears with the tempo indication - 'ande e spiccato' and 'presto, staccato' in Domenico Sarri's La Didone (1724) and La Ginevra (1720) respectively.[54]

One of the most effective examples of a staccato texture can be seen in Scarlatti's Il Tigrane. The stabbing attacks of the strings' bows are well suited to the mock seriousness of the Incantation Scene (Act I, Scene xv). The short ritornello is marked 'staccato senza cembalo.'[55] Another good example can be found in La Proserpina where bars of legato and

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[52] Staccato, spiccato, stoccata are synonymous terms. Wilson, pp.168-69. North describes Matteis's bow thus, "His bow was as long as for the base viol", footnote, p.168.

[53] Walther, p.575; Majer, p.97. See Appendix II (cc).

[54] (N) MS.32.2.20, Act I, f.21; (N) MS.32.2.22, Act I, ff.1^{v}-4^{v}.

[55] (BIFA) MS, f.60^{v}

staccato alternate - 'Bella Clori' (Act I, Scene iv). The descending phrase, which first occurs in the third and eighth bars of the ritornello, is always marked 'staccate.'[56]

Another frequent direction is arpeggione. This usually occurs in accompanied recitative, where the music for the treble instruments is written as three- or four-part chords. Majer explains that to play 'arpeggiare' is to play like a harp or to play notes one after the other.[57] There were critics of this technique. North said,

> ... and it is remarkable that musicall instruments should be made to imitate each other's defects. Harpsicords, lutes, harps, &c., are imperfect because they cannot continue a tone, and seek to make it good arpegiando. The violin holds out the tones in perfection, and is debased in straining to ape the defects of the others, and that by tricks needless, or rather absurd.[58]

There are many instances of arpeggione textures. Typical examples are those in A. M. Bononcini's Il Trionfo di Camilla during 'Ah che me si confonde' (Act II),[59] and in Scarlatti's La Griselda (1721) during 'Godi belli' (Act I),[60] but the most apt example is in Scarlatti's L'Amor Generoso in Act II, Scene ix. Here the strummed chords of the lute and the

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[56] (BM) Add.MS.16110, ff.42^{v}-44^{v}

[57] Majer, p.87. See Appendix II (dd).

[58] Wilson, p.194

[59] (BM) Add.MS.14185, f.86^{v}

[60] (BM) Add.MS.14168, ff.40-42

arpeggiated notes of the violins serve to depict the palpitating heart of the agitated singer.[61]

The most favoured descriptive texture was that using the tremolo. Many passages were written where the rapidly repeated notes produced a measured tremolo. This was often the case in the sinfonie when the composers wished to create a sense of vigour and strength - the sinfonie to Luigi Manzi's La Partenope and Scarlatti's La Griselda.[62] (Ex.62) North describes the 'Italian tremolo' as a way of playing long notes in a single bow, which was made to pulsate at about a quaver's length, by the manipulation of the bow during the stroke. He also says that it is played with a 'trembling hand.'[63] (This does not mean vibrato, which he refers to as a 'wrist-shake.')[64] The tremolo is rarely kept up throughout a complete movement, an exception being in the aria 'Di le guate in sparite' (Act III, Scene xvi) in La Proserpina. Here it is used descriptively.[65] (Ex.63) North says, 'The Tremolo is fear and suspicion ...'[66] and it is in this context that it is most often used. The word tremolo itself is rarely seen. The earliest Italian example which I found was in Francesco Antonio Mamiliano Pistocchi's Il Girello (1682): 'Si suona a Foggia di tremolo' appears above the repeated quavers of the bass line to the aria 'Scagli pur dall'alto polo' (Act III, Scene xiv).[67]

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[61] (BM) Add.MS.14169, ff.73^{v}-74^{v}

[62] (N) MS.32.2.3, ff.1-5^{v}; (BM) Add.MS.14168, ff.1^{v}-4^{v}

[63] Wilson, footnote, p.23

[64] ibid., footnote, p.186

[65] (BM) Add.MS.16110, ff.318-320

[66] Wilson, p.123

[67] (N) MS.32.3.21, ff.199-200^{v}

Directions for pizzicato are similarly infrequent, although this is no proof that it was not more often used. I found only two examples in the Neapolitan manuscripts; one was in Aldrovandini's L'Incoronazione di Dario (1705) (Act III),[68] and the other in Antonio Lotti's Ascanio (1718) (Act II).[69] The aria 'Amor mi dice sarei felice' in the former is the more elaborate of the two. It is accompanied by an 'arcileuto solo' and 'violini pizzicati senz'arco, violone, e violoncello pizzicati', and only the ritornello preceding the middle section is played con arco. (Ex.64)

Lastly, among these descriptive procedures, there was the use of muted strings. Mersenne had said that if a key or some object was attached to the bridge, the instrument lost its usual tone quality,[70] but as no mute had been developed which was satisfactory for the lower strings, all the early muted passages were written for the treble instruments only. Probably the earliest score to demand muted strings is Lully's Le Triomphe de l'Amour (1681). At the beginning of the 'Ballet de la Nuict' is written:

> ... all the instruments ought to have mutes and play softly, particularly when voices sing, and ought not to remove the mutes until directed.[71]

The earliest Italian operatic examples which I found were much later - Lotti's Ascanio (1718), and Teofane (1719), and

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[68] (N) MS.1.11.17, ff.98-101

[69] (FC) XIV.d.6, ph.1031, being photostats of (D) MS.Mus. 2159/F/5.

[70] Mersenne, p.244

[71] Pincherle, p.108

Scarlatti's Il Tigrane (1715). The latter example is marked 'violini alla sordina' - 'Susurrenda il venticello' (Act III, Scene xii).[72] Lotti was particularly fond of combining the flutes with muted strings, as the accompaniment to 'All' orror d'un duolo eterno' (Act II, Scene iv) in Teofane shows.[73]

Now that the string band was firmly established, woodwind instruments were admitted as regular members of the orchestra. The most popular were the concerto d'oboè - a trio of oboes and a bassoon. These instruments were the invention of the Hotteterre family. The oboe differed from the shawm in that it was constructed in several short joints instead of almost in one piece, as formerly. The new instrument's bore was curious in that it had a broken profile - for example, a cone and a cylinder may meet end to end, or the bores of two joints may make an abrupt step when they meet. This was because Jean Hotteterre (I) was primarily a bagpipe-maker.[74] Furthermore, the shawm's pirouette was abandoned. The reed varied greatly from player to player, but they were all broader than those used today, measuring from eight to ten millimetres as against the modern average of seven millimetres.[75] These differences in reed and bore created a tone quality quite distinct from that of today.

Contemporary accounts and modern experiments with old instruments illustrate this. John Bannister, writing in the preface to The Sprightly Companion (1695), says:

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[72] (BIFA) MS, ff.314^{v}-319

[73] (FC) XIV.a.3, phs.683-689, being photostats of (D) MS. Mus.2159/F/17

[74] Baines (iii), pp.276-77

[75] ibid., p.281

> ... besides its Inimitable charming Sweetness of Sound (when well played upon) it is also Majestical and Stately, and not much Inferior to the TRUMPET ... [yet] all that play upon this instrument, to a reasonable perfection, know, That with a good Reed it goes as easie and soft as the [recorder]. [76]

North speaks of its 'transcendent effect' in the theatre, [77] and the Tatler (1710) reports that it had 'all the sweetness of the flute [recorder]' with a 'greater strength and variety of notes.' [78]

The oboe was a great success, for it possessed a flexible dynamic range and the makers had concentrated upon improving its upper register, one that had hitherto been neglected in reed instruments. All these features were very well suited to the fashionable music of the times. Oboes probably made their public debut a little before 1660. There is some evidence that they played in Lully's ballet L'Amour malade (1657) and not in Cambert's Pomone (1671) as was at one time believed. [79] On the whole the Italians used the concerto d'oboè as a tutti ensemble. There are many instances where the violin parts are marked 'con oub. quando non canta la parte' and often the only indication that they had been playing at all is when the score is marked 'senz oub.' Sometimes they were reserved for the final ritornello as in 'Spera si' (Act I) in Scarlatti's Il

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[76] Dart, p.35

[77] Wilson, p.231

[78] Baines (iii), p.279

[79] ibid., p.278; Terry, p.95

Prigionier Fortunato, where the appropriate staves are marked 'con oboe' and 'fagotto' respectively.[80] Indeed, they could be added to any tutti passage if required. Scarlatti wrote 'Con oubuoè all'unis. de'violini se piacera' for the 'Dance of the Priests' in Il Ciro (1712).[81] Naturally the concerto d'oboè was used also to swell the volume in accompanied choruses. Italian composers obviously agreed with Bannister about the qualities of the oboe and the trumpet, for they often substituted the one for the other. In particular the oboes nearly always doubled the trumpet when it ascended into the clarino register. For instance, 'Oubuoè' is written over the trumpet stave in the ritornello to 'Voglio a terra' in Scarlatti's Marco Attilio Regolo.[82] Oboes were used for colouristic purposes as well, particularly in pastoral scenes, but G. B. Bononcini used them in quite a different way in Cefalo e Procride (1704) where they characterise Cefalo's arias and do not play during anyone else's.[83]

The bassoon was developed from the curtal as a bass instrument for the oboes. Mersenne describes a basson as a special type of bass curtal with a bell lengthened to reach flat B'.[84] This was probably so that it could match the compass of Louis XIII's cellos, which were tuned a tone lower than was usual.[85] Remodelled in four separate joints, it became the true bassoon. It is first named in a score by

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[80] (BM) Add.MS.16126, f.38^{v}

[81] Dent, p.123

[82] (BM) Add.MS.14171, Act I, Scene x, ff.45^{v}-48

[83] (BM) Add.MS.31541

[84] Baines (iii), p.286; Mersenne, pp.372-76. Mersenne describes the 'Bassoon, Fagott, Courtaux and Cervelats de Musique.'

[85] Mersenne, p.244; Baines (iii), p.286

Lully in 1674, but it was probably used earlier than this,[86] and Terry asserts that it was first used in Cambert's Pomone.[87] The bassoon was regarded solely as an ensemble instrument, though Carse claims that Steffani wrote some bassoon obbligati but does not give any examples.[88]

Recorders and flutes were not regular members of the orchestra in Italy, but flutes appear frequently in the works of Lotti and Steffani. This was because they spent the greater part of their careers in Germany where wind instruments were popular. The terms flauto and flauto traverso refer to the recorder and the side-blown flute respectively. Sebastien de Brossard, Majer, and Walther give standard definitions of these instruments.[89]

When recorders are used, scoring is always light to allow for their limited dynamic range. G. B. Bononcini wrote for recorders in Cefalo e Procride - 'Riconesci il caro sposo' (Act I, Scene vii)[90] - and in Il Xerse (Act I).[91] In both, the recorders are supported by the continuo alone. The latter example is a recurring ritornello entitled 'Concerto di Flauti.' Is this title used in the same context as concerto d'oboè - that is, a consort of treble (or tenor) recorders and a bassoon? Though this is quite possible, I have no actual evidence that this was so, except that both the old and the new

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[86] Baines (iii), p.286

[87] Terry, p.113

[88] Carse (i), p.108

[89] Brossard, p.7; Majer, pp.29-33; Walther, pp.247-48. Definitions of the French spelling of recorder appear on p.250 in Walther. See Appendix II (ee).

[90] (BM) Add.MS.31541, ff.53^{v}-56^{v}

[91] (BM) Add.MS.22102, ff.6-7

wind instruments were used together by Scarlatti in La Griselda (1721), where a recorder and an oboe have solos during 'Ho in seno' (Act III, Scene vii).[92] There is also a reference to a recorder-type instrument in Scarlatti's Il Prigionier Fortunato. The uppermost stave of the accompaniment to 'Quello esser' misero' (Act I, Scene iii) is marked 'flautino', the other instruments being 'vl. uni., violoncello e leuto.'[93] Walther would have us believe that this is a flageolet. He says

> Flautino, Flauto piccolo (ital.), Petite Flute (gall.) is just a flageolet.[94]

He speaks of the flageolet ('Flageolet, pl. flageolets (gall.)') as a bone whistle with which one can imitate the song of the canary, having four holes on the top and one for the thumb.[95] But Mersenne speaks of the flageolet as being made of pipes of wheat or feather, or of the horns of cattle or rams. Later he says that the 'flue' and its 'embouchure' can be made of various woods or ivory. His diagrams and tablatures show six-holed instruments.[96] He regards the recorder or 'English flute' as a separate genre, and devotes Proposition VIII, Book V of his Harmonie Universelle to it.[97] Brossard's definition is very general. He

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[92] (BM) Add.MS.14168, ff.88-91^{v}

[93] (BM) Add.MS.16126, ff.19-20^{v}

[94] Walther, p.247; my own translation. See Appendix II (ff).

[95] ibid. See Appendix II (gg).

[96] Mersenne, pp.301-303

[97] ibid., pp.307-310

enters flautino under zufolo and calls it a flageolet, but he also calls both the flauto and fiffaro flageolets.[98] It does not seem likely that such a primitive instrument as the flageolet would have been used in a late seventeenth-century orchestra, and more probably the instrument required was a recorder. Could it have been a sopranino recorder, flautino meaning the same as Monteverdi's 'flautino alla vigesima seconda'?

The transverse flute of this time was another of the Hotteterres' improved instruments. They abolished the old cylindrical bore (which remained only in the fife) and replaced it with the three-jointed construction and bore of their recorder, thus making the 'conical flute.' The effect of this construction was to abolish any shrillness of tone, and as the contracting bore had a flattening effect, the finger-holes were placed closer together, making it easier to hold.[99] The flute was the hardest of the new instruments to play in tune, and had to depend on its chromatic cross-fingerings to produce good notes. The oboe and bassoon had the steadying effect of the reeds, but the flautist had only his embouchure to control the intonation. Nevertheless the flute soon ousted the recorder, its unmistakable individual and personal tone suiting the new taste in music.

Not that it was without its critics. North wrote:

> A flute ... hath a shuffling and incertein tone, and very rarely holds out a blast well.[100]

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[98] Brossard, pp.65, 73, 7. See Appendix II (hh).

[99] Baines (iii), p.290

[100] Wilson, p.238

This probably accounts for the fact that flutes are only found in lightly scored passages, particularly as much of the writing was confined to its less penetrating middle and lower registers. Steffani's flute-writing is typical of the times. His orchestra at Munich must have had two very good flautists, as he gives them very important parts in his operas. (The Munich orchestra had no oboists.)[101] They double the violin parts usually at the octave above, and they are also given many solos. Steffani's Alarico (1687) provides us with the following illustrations. In 'Gelosia lascia' (Act I, Scene xv) the violins and flutes have an antiphonal dialogue;[102] and in 'Il viva e un ombra' (Act II, Scene iv) the two flutes are on an equal footing with the voice.[103] All three concertise with each other, sharing melodic phrases. He uses a different approach in Act I, Scene iii in Alcibiade (?), where the two solo flutes weave melodic strands around the voice in contrast to the orchestral tutti.[104]

Lotti's approach to orchestrationm shared this Germanic influence. For example, he entrusts the opening of the middle section of the sinfonia to Teofane to the woodwind. The flutes begin and are immediately answered by the oboes, whilst unison violins and violas provide the bass line.[105] (Ex.65) He creates a different texture in Polidoro (1714). In 'Ombra cara' (Act IV, Scene v) a solo flute has an inde-

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[101] DTB, Vol.XI^2, cited in the preface by H. Riemann, p.XVI.

[102] ibid., pp.46-52

[103] ibid., pp.68-70

[104] Grout, p.111

[105] (FC) XIV.1.3, phs.772-788, being photostats of (D) MS. Mus.2159/F/17

pendent part throughout the aria. It is closely supported by the first violins, and in order not to distract attention from the voice when it enters, the flute holds pedal notes when the two come together.[106]

Scarlatti does not seem to have included a part for the flute in his opera scores until Eraclea (1700) in which two of them play in the sinfonia.[107] Another of his operas in which flutes appear is Cambise (1719). They concertise most charmingly with the singer in 'Prendi o bella' in Act II, Scene v.[108]

The horn now began to play a serious role in the orchestra. About 1650 a new kind of horn (almost certainly of French origin) had appeared. It had a much smaller bore than the helical horn, and was made in the form of a hoop. This was the true ancestor of the orchestral horn. The earliest horns of this kind had a hoop diameter of about eight inches, and were carried slung from a baldric; thus they were blown with the bell pointing upwards, a custom perpetuated during most of the eighteenth century, even in the orchestra. When the larger hooped horn was introduced in the 1700s, the bell was then held only shoulder high.[109] Despite the mellower tone deliberately cultivated by the Bohemian Graf Franz Anton von Sporck, horn tone was apparently rough and ready, for Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, writing from Vienna in 1717, said:

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[106] (N) MS.28.4.37, ff.110-111^{v}

[107] Dent, p.62

[108] (N) MS.31.3.29, ff.86^{v}-89

[109] Baines (ii), pp.296-97

> ... the music good, if they had not the debatable custom of mixing hunting horns with it, that almost deafen the company.[110]

By 1715 the crook system had been applied to the horn, making it less clumsy.[111] The mouthpiece began to undergo changes as well. Eventually the shallow cupped mouthpiece gave way to a deeper cupped one, making the tone mellower. This refined instrument became known as the Wald- or Orchesterhorn, and it became the standard orchestral instrument. Johann Mattheson, writing in 1713, said:

> The stately mellow-sounding Waldhorn has come a good deal into vogue of late, ... partly because it is less raucous than the trumpet, partly because it is more easily handled ... It produces a rounder tone and fills out the score better than the shrill and deafening clarini.[112]

It has been held that the earliest known score to include horns ('cornes de chasse') was Reinhard Keiser's Octavia (1705),[113] but Carlo Agostino Badia's Diana rappacificata (1700) contained an aria scored for two horns, two oboes, and strings.[114] Of the later Italian operatic scores, those by Lotti and Scarlatti most regularly used horns. Parts for them can be found in Lotti's Polidoro (1714), Giove in Argo (1717), Ascanio (1718), and Teofane

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[110] Montagu, letter dated 1 January 1717

[111] Morley-Pegge, pp.20-21

[112] Translated in Terry, p.43

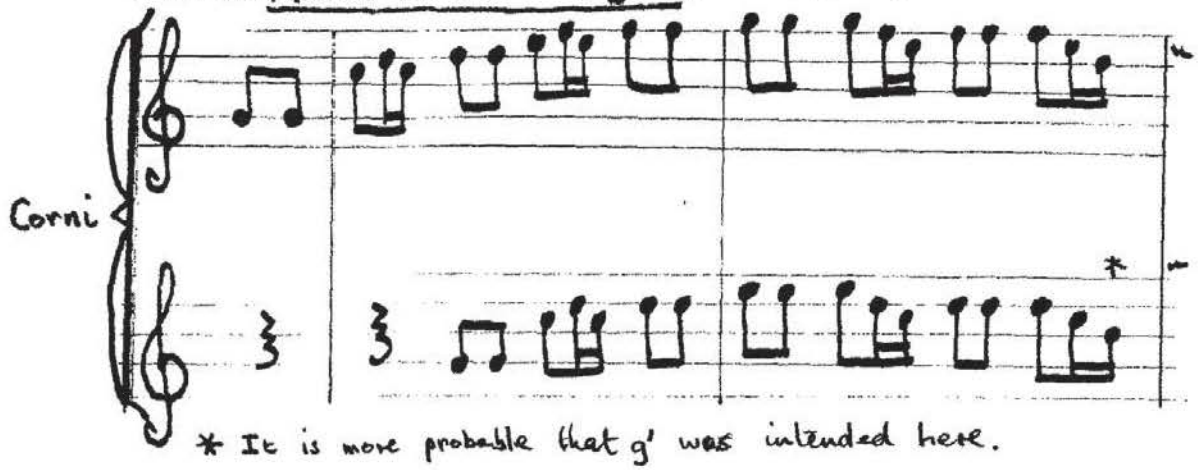
[113] Morley-Pegge, pp.19-20

[114] Pincherle, p.122

(1719), and Scarlatti's Il Tigrane (1715), Telemaco (1718), Marco Attilio Regolo (1719), Cambise (1719) and La Griselda (1721).

At first trumpets and horns were not used together because the trumpeters doubled on horns when required, [115] and therefore it is not surprising to find that the early horn parts closely resemble those written for trumpets. This is particularly true of Scarlatti's 'sinfonia for disembarking' - Marco Attilio Regolo (Act I, Scene v). [116] (Ex.66)

Ex.66. Marco Attilio Regolo, Act I, sc.v. f. 20v



On the whole, horns were mainly used in sinfonie and occasional pieces. Though they were given short solo passages, their main function was to fill in the tutti textures. The sinfonia to Lotti's Teofane illustrates these points. [117] (Ex.67) In Polidoro, besides using trumpets and horns together, he writes for 'Corni da Caccia' alone in 'La bell'

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[115] Baines (ii), p.297

[116] (BM) Add.MS.14171, ff.20v-21

[117] (FC) XIV.a.3, phs.772-788, being photostats of (D) MS.Mus.2159/F/17.

era superba' (Act IV, Scene i); nevertheless they are often doubled by the violins.[118] Other arias which include horn parts occur in his Giove in Argo, where two horns in C have short solos (Act III, Scene i),[119] and in Scarlatti's La Griselda, where two horns have unaccompanied solos during 'Come ira l'ape' (Act III, Scene viii).[120]

The eighteenth century saw the decline of trumpet playing. This was partly due to the restrictive practices of the trumpeters' guilds,[121] and partly to the small dynamic range of the clarino register of the instrument itself. Trumpeters could not produce a strong enough sound to be able adequately to penetrate the new fuller orchestral textures. If the player blew harder, the tone quality deteriorated and became thin and shrill. As a result, composers tended to use the lower registers and write less florid parts. There were still occasions when the clarino style was called for, i.e. in lightly scored obbligato passages, such as in Act IV, Scene viii of Steffani's Tassilone.[122] (Ex.68)

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[118] (N) MS.28.4.37, ff.94-96

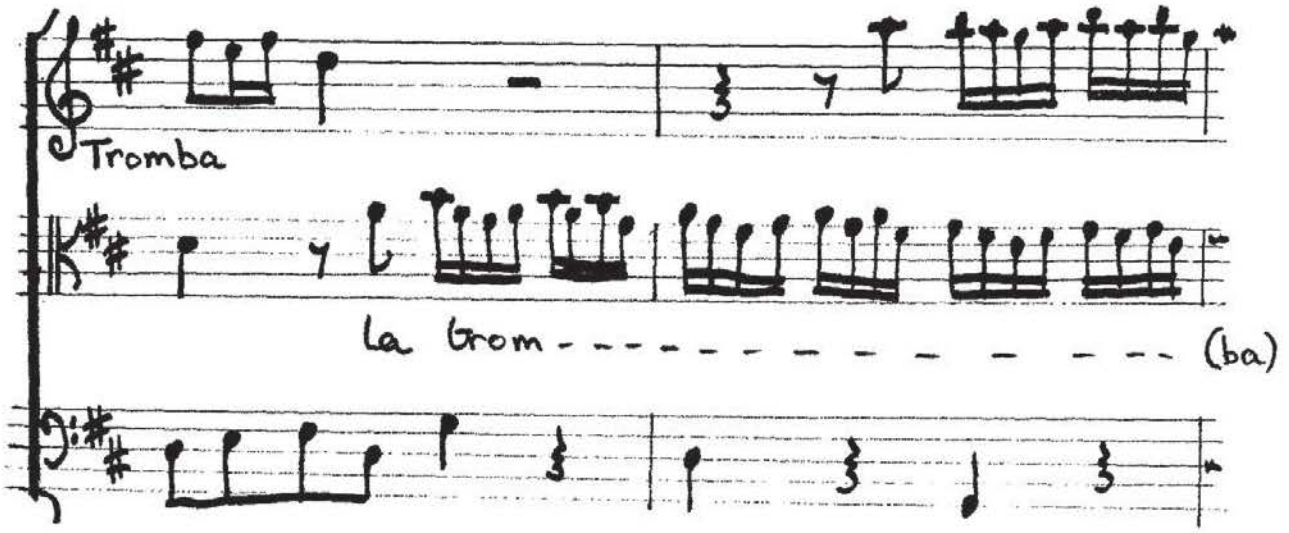
[119] Schlesinger, p.704

[120] (BM) Add.MS.14168, ff.92-96

[121] Titcomb, pp.56-59; Baines (ii), p.288

[122] DTB, Vol.XII^2, pp.163-64

Ex.68. Tassilone, Act IV, sc.viii. p.163.



Scarlatti, too, wrote some solos in a similar vein, as in Tiberio (1702) where the vocalist competes with two trumpets in 'Schiere amate' (Act I);[123] and the vocalist and trumpeter exchange ideas in 'Ondeggianto, agitato' (Act III, Scene vii) in Il Prigionier Fortunato.[124] Finally, the trumpets dominate the opening scene in Act I in Aldrovandini's Cesare in Alessandria (1699). An orchestral piece for trumpets and strings precedes the aria 'All'armi' which is accompanied by the same instrumental group.[125]

Four trumpets are used in the sinfonia to Scarlatti's Il Prigionier Fortunato, but the writing is disappointingly conventional. The trumpets are not used as a four-part ensemble but as two antiphonal groups. It is only in the first movement that they are thus deployed, being silent in the middle movement, and in the finale the two parts are

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[123] (N) MS.32.2.36, ff.37-40

[124] (BM) Add.MS.16126, ff.122^{v}-124^{v}

[125] (N) MS.33.6.11, ff.6-9

marked 'Due trombe unis.'[126] Scores still contained directions for fanfares for which no music was given, Scarlatti himself using this old-fashioned idea in La Statira (1690) and La Caduta di Decemviri. In the former, the score is marked 'suona le trombe e guerra' (Act I),[127] and in the latter, the stage directions read

> Trumpets and drums sound, Appio goes down to the roaring of part of the multitudinous festive gathering ...

(Act I, Scene iii).[128] Other composers left little to chance. Lotti, for example, provides music for his players when they appear on the stage in Teofane. He divides his orchestra into three groups which play antiphonally (Act I, Scene xii). The score directs that the trumpets, kettledrums, oboes, and bassoons be on the stage. The strings, doubled by yet more oboes and bassoons, remain in the pit.[129] (Ex.69)

Muted trumpets do not appear to have been required very often. Adam Carse has noted that there are parts for them in G. B. Bononcini's Turno Aricino (1707);[130] but the most frequently mentioned passage is that in Scarlatti's Mitridate Eupatore where the muted trumpets play in the funeral march in Act III, Scene ii.[131] The trumpets and drums are divided

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[126] (BM) Add.MS..16126, ff.2-5

[127] (BM) Add.MS.22103, f.8^{v}

[128] (BM) Add.MS.14170, f.10; my own translation. See Appendix II (ii)

[129] (FC) XIV.a.3, phs.859-862, being photostats of (D) MS. Mus.2159/F/17

[130] Carse (i), p.130

[131] Piccioli, pp.121-24

into two groups, one in the orchestral pit and one on the stage. E. J. Dent quotes an extract from this sinfonia in his book devoted to Scarlatti. This extract gives the original instrumentation - 'Due Trombe nell'Orchestra alla Sordina, Timpano delle Trombe Sordine' and 'Trombe marine, Timpano delle Trombe marine.'[132] (Ex.70) Nowadays the term alla sordina means 'stealthily', but it is unlikely that Scarlatti would have used it in this context. If he had meant 'stealthily' he would probably have written pianissimo with the tempo indication. The feminine term sordina was in common use in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for a mute; therefore 'trombe alla sordina' must be translated as muted trumpets.[133] As for the 'trombe marine', Dent is surely right in taking it for granted that Scarlatti was referring to 'naval trumpets' and not to the obsolete stringed instruments.[134]

The kettledrums were usually the only percussion instruments used. It is possible that, as in the seventeenth-century operas, they were played more frequently than the scores actually indicate. The players were very skilful and had various techniques by which to enhance the performance of a piece such as the funeral sinfonia in Mitridate Eupatore. For instance, Speer said in 1687 that an echo effect could be obtained by playing softly near the rim of the drums and then booming loudly at once nearer the centre.[135]

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[132] Dent, p.109

[133] Majer, p.40. See Appendix II (jj).

[134] Dent, p.109

[135] Schünemann, p.6

Another effect which was popular was that of muffled drums, especially for funeral marches and for accompanying muted trumpets. J. P. Eisel in 1738 described how this was done. He said that the drumskins could be covered with a woollen cloth, or the drum sticks could be covered with chamois leather, or woollen balls covered with leather or gauze could be used as the heads of the sticks.[136]

Sometimes the scores used the term tamburo. This can mean either drum or kettledrum; thus the 'Tamburri' in Scarlatti's La Caduta di Decemviri (Act I, Scene iii) could be either kettledrums or military side drums.[137] If the scene contained cavalry, then kettledrums would have been used; if infantry, then the snare drum. James Blades quotes Martin Marais' Alcyone (1706) as the first opera in which the snare drum was used.[138] I myself have not seen this instrument specifically named in any of the Italian opera scores which I have studied.

The lute was still occasionally used, and several scores particularly name it for obbligato passages. G. B. Bononcini wrote an elaborate solo for the 'archileuto' in Il Xerse. The instrument and the voice concertise with each other in long melismatic phrases in 'Il cor e' spero' (Act II, Scene ix).[139] The lute is mentioned also in Vignola's Tull' Ostilio (1707) and Manzi's La Partenope (1699).[140]

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[136] Eisel, pp.66-68

[137] (BM) Add.MS.14170, f.10

[138] Baines (ii), p.336

[139] (BM) Add.MS.22102, ff.126^{v}-133^{v}

[140] (N) MS.34.2.34, ff.9^{v}-14; (N) MS.32.2.3, ff.172-173

Orchestral texture still relied on the basso continuo. The fuller and more detailed orchestrations of the eighteenth century did away with the need for Agazzari's 'ornament' instruments, but the 'foundation' instruments remained. The greatest change in orchestration took place in tutti passages, particularly those in the sinfonie. It is here that there is a more modern approach towards orchestration. At first the concerto d'oboè doubled the strings, but as string technique improved, it became impossible for the oboes to double every phrase. The same can be said of the trumpets, for with the decline of the clarino technique, the trumpeters could not, and were not required to, compete with the vocalists. The result was that composers turned their attention towards developing the characteristics of each instrument instead of making the wind players merely ape the vocal and string parts. They achieved this by simplifying the wind writing. When the oboes doubled the violins they played a simpler version of the broken chord and tremolo passages, or, along with the brass, they played block chords to fill in the harmony. In other respects the brass were restricted to playing a few short solo fanfare-like passages and to holding pedal notes. As we have seen, the horns eventually took the place of trumpets in supplying the middle of the texture, for which their range and more mellow tone suited them, producing a more balanced and sonorous effect. Against a background of wind chords the violins played brilliant broken chord and tremolo patterns which produced a vigorous and solid tutti. The violas were more often given independent if not elaborate parts in tutti passages, thus paving the way for a regular four-part realisation of string textures. This new orchestral sound was almost

classical in conception, and far more instrumental than anything written hitherto.

The development of this type of orchestration can be traced in Scarlatti's works. His textures range from those in two parts, using unison violins with unison violas, cellos, and basses, to those employing a full band of wind and strings. From 1707 onwards he accompanied more and more arias with the full orchestra. Often in these pieces the direction senza cembalo occurs when the voice enters, because the strings provide a complete harmonic background. Arias in Il Tigrane and La Griselda all show this feature.

Although Scarlatti can be regarded as the father of modern orchestration, his textures were frequently old-fashioned in that, firstly, his violin parts crossed, as did those of his violas too, arising from his fondness for polyphonic writing; and secondly, the balance in the orchestra of the day was uneven because of the number of oboes which played - at least five or six. The balance would have been further overweighted in the treble register in the last movements of the sinfonie where the textures were always thinner because of the many instruments doubling each other. Examples taken from the sinfonie to Scipione nelle Spagne and La Griselda will serve to illustrate these points.[141] (Exs.72a and b, 62)

The descriptive use of the orchestra

By the turn of the century there was a growing appreciation of tone colour for its own sake. The sound of certain

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[141] (BM) Add.MS.14172, ff.1^{v}-5^{v}; (BM) Add.MS.14168, ff.1^{v}-4

instruments was thought to embody various emotional states. It is interesting to see here, in a new application, the survival of the Renaissance concept of symbolical scoring. For instance, François Raguenet, writing in 1702, spoke of

> ... the Hautboys, which by their sounds, equally mellow and piercing, have infinitely the advantage of the violins in all brisk, lively airs, and the flutes, which so many of our great artists have taught to groan after so moving a manner in our moanful airs, and sigh so amorously in those that are tender.[142]

Fifty years later, Charles Avison subscribed to a similar view:

> The Hautboy will best express the Cantabile, or singing style, and may be used in all movements whatever under this Denomination; especially those Movements which tend to the Gay and Cheerful ... The German flute ... will best express the languishing, or melancholy Style.[143]

Composers very quickly grasped opportunities for making the flute languish. Steffani wrote a particularly effective 'moanful air' for his opera Alarico. Two flutes sigh imitatively over a simple chordal string accompaniment during Sabina's aria 'Palpitanti' (Act II, Scene xiv).[144] (Ex.73) No less melancholy is the aria 'Ma qual note di mesti lamenti' in Manzi's La

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[142] Dart, p.90

[143] ibid.

[144] DTB, Vol.XI^2, pp.106-109

Partenope (Act III, Scene vii). An attractive texture is woven by the oboes and flutes in a dialogue supported by two lutes and a string band.[145]

It is especially in the nature scenes that we find the most colourful scoring. La Proserpina furnishes us with some interesting examples. Recorders ('flauti') represent gentle breezes - 'Molle zeffiro' (Act II, Scene ii);[146] oboes, a babbling brook - 'Quel ruscello che mormora' (Act I, Scene viii);[147] and oboes, lightning in the thunder chorus (Act I, Scene xiv).[148] (Ex.74a and b) By far the most popular sentiment expressed in these scenes was that of melancholy. The love-lorn always confided in Mother Nature, who commiserated and comforted through her ambassador, the nightingale. The flute was the obvious choice of instrument to personify this bird. A typical example is to be found in Lotti's Teofane where the flute has a very florid solo in the aria 'Rossignoli' (Act III, Scene xi).[149] A different choice of instrument is made by Scarlatti in Emireno (1697). There are two arias scored with a part for the cornett. In one, with the aid of a solo violin, it represents the nightingale - 'Non pianger solo dolce r'signolo' (Act I, Scene ix).[150]

The popularity of scenes in which nymphs and shepherds appeared had not waned, and the time-honoured pastoral scoring was still used. For instance, in La Proserpina, both oboè and

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[145] (N) MS.32.2.3, ff.149^{v}-151^{v}

[146] (BM) Add.MS.16110, ff.178^{v}-181

[147] ibid., ff.83^{v}-88^{v}

[148] ibid., ff.115-118

[149] (FC) XIV.a.3, phs.629-630, being photostats of (D) MS. Mus.2159/F/17

[150] (N) MS.49a.2.16, ff.19-21^{v}

fagotti e violoncello are specified in Act I, Scene ii, which is headed

> The Shepherds and nymphs are led away to the sound of this ritornello;[151]

and there is a charming 'Aria Pastorale' which opens with two oboes in imitation in Francesco Mancini's Trajano (1723).[152] (Ex.75)

Brass instruments still played a large part in crowd and martial scenes. Attention has already been drawn to Scarlatti's association of horns with naval scenes, especially in the 'sinfonie for disembarking.' He also wrote for them in the 'Sonata per la zuffa de Gladiatori' and in a dance during Act III of Il Tigrane.[153] Both of these pieces are simple fanfares, as is also the music for trumpets and violins which accompanies the duel in Cambise -

> ... for the Duel, you play as many times as is necessary, returning to the beginning, leaving off where you wish the second time

(Act II, Scene viii).[154]

Frequently instrumentalists played in the wings or on the stage during the crowd scenes, affording composers opportunities for exploiting antiphonal effects. Steffani makes great use of three trumpets and timpani in Alarico, often

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[151] (BM) Add.MS.16110, ff.22^{v}; my own translation. See Appendix II (kk).

[152] (N) MS.32.2.1, ff.70^{v}-75

[153] (BIFA) MS, f.87, ff.131-131^{v}

[154] (N) MS.31.3.29, f.109; my own translation. See Appendix II (ll).

placing the trumpeters in the wings (Act II, Scene iii). At this point in the score are written the following directions:

> Noise of trumpets follows and Lidoro returns ('segue rumor di Trombe e ritorna Lidoro')

after which there is a fanfare marked 'Trombe di dentro.'[155] Scarlatti often has his instrumentalists on the stage too, as in the 'Sinfonia lo sbarco' in Act I of La Griselda where he directs that 'The two horns shall stand on the ship ('Le due Corni da Caccia staranno sulla Nave').[156] Some of his later scores show him using even more novel arrangements of the orchestra. In Il Tigrane he has a complete wind band on the stage during the march which follows the sinfonia - 'obuè e fagotti su la scene è v.v. nell'orchestra', and also for the aria 'All'accquisto di gloria' - 'Corni da Caccia, obuè, Fagotto su la scena, v.v. nell'orchestra' (Act I, Scene iv).[157] Dent describes another very elaborate distribution of instruments in Scarlatti's Telemaco (1718):

> Nettuno is accompanied generally by the main body of the strings, and Minerva by a smaller body of strings placed on the chariot in which she descends from heaven. There is also a 'concerto di ouboué' and a pair of horns ... [The horns] are the life and soul of the movement.[158] (Ex.76)

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[155] DTB, Vol.XI^2, p.72

[156] (BM) Add.MS.14168, Act I, Scene vi, f.18^v

[157] (BIFA) MS, f.5, ff.20^v-27

[158] Dent, p.157

By far the most colourful orchestration which Scarlatti wrote appears in Marco Attilio Regolo for the dance of the Carthaginian youths (Act I, Scene i). The orchestra consists of strings, oboes and bassoons, and cornetts. No doubt the latter were added to give an antique colour to the ensemble. They are not given independent parts, but play in unison with the oboes throughout the piece. On the stage the Carthaginians play bagpipes ('zampogne'), castanets ('gnaccare') and metal rattles ('sistri').[159] According to F. Bonanni, 'zampogne' are

> ... rustic pipes made of oaten straws or of hollowed out stems of fig, laurel or elder, with a vibrating 'tongue' cut from the body of the tube itself,[160]

but he also depicts a 'zampogna' or 'piva o ciaramella' which is an Italian folk bagpipe with a very raucous sound.[161] I think that Scarlatti was referring to the bagpipes rather than the rustic pipes in this context, as he asks for the dance to begin with a strident noise -

> Dance of the young Carthaginians. The dance firstly begins with an uproar of bagpipes, castanets and rattles as is the cus‿tom of barbarous nations.[162] (Ex.77)

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[159] (BM) Add.MS.14171, ff.6^{v}-9^{v}

[160] Bonanni, Pl.27

[161] ibid., Pl.30

[162] (BM) Add.MS.14171, ff.6^{v}-9^{v}; my own translation. See Appendix II (mm).

These exotic instruments are not the only unusual ones to be used for local colour. The mandoline was sometimes used as an obbligato instrument. For instance, it appears in A. M. Bononcini's Teraspo overo l'innocenza giustificata (1704), Ariosti's Marte Placato (1707), and Lotti's Teofane (1719). In Lotti's work, Adelberto sings a charming serenade - 'Lascia, lascia che nel suo viso' (Act II, Scene ii). This is one of the forerunners of the lover's serenade which was to become so popular a feature of later operas, the most famous being in Mozart's Don Giovanni.[163] (Ex.78)

Ex.78. Teofane, Act II, sc.ii Ph. 657



[163] Pincherle, p.118; (FC) XIV.a.3, phs.657-661, being photostats of (D) MS.Mus.2159/F/17.

Word painting was not often used specifically for small details, composers preferring to use the librettist's imagery broadly to suggest a texture for a whole aria, but there were exceptions. A rather naive example can be seen in Manzi's La Partenope. The composer literally translates the words into sound for Beltrammo and Anfrissa's duet (Act III, Scene xi). As certain instruments are named, so they play. Thus at the words 'suoni ogni cetera', two lutes ('liuto po., liuto 2°') are specified; at 'suoni i ciufoli', oboes; and at 'violette e cimbali', violins, recorders, and harpsichords ('violette, flauti, cimbali').[164] The ciufoli are obviously the same as Bonanni's Ciufolo del Villano or shawms.[165] As a contrast to this example is the more subtle word painting devised by Vignola in Act I of Tull' Ostilio. He takes his cue from the opening line of the aria, 'Venticelli che susurate e girate', and writes delicate yet elaborate, undulating obbligati for a lute and a cello.[166]

The role of the orchestra

In the early Neapolitan operas the orchestra's role was small, its only extended appearance being in the opening sinfonia. Arias were for the most part accompanied by the basso continuo. This had the effect of making the orchestrally accompanied ones all the more dramatic. As orchestral

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[164] (N) MS.32.2.3, ff.172-173

[165] Bonanni, Pl.39

[166] (N) MS.34.2.34, ff.9^{v}-14

playing improved, so more and more arias were accompanied, at first by the strings and later by the full orchestra. This broadened the emotional and expressive range of the arias: instrumental colour could be used dramatically as in the many tremolo passages previously mentioned. Scarlatti fully appreciated the expressive qualities inherent in the orchestra. Dent has said of him:

> Scarlatti's work covers exactly the period when concerted music was beginning to be recognised as a possible rival to the voice, and it is interesting to trace the gradual development of instrumental music in the work of a composer whose natural sympathies were all with the singers, but who was quick to take advantage of any other means that facilitated the expression of his thought. [167]

Under Scarlatti the opening sinfonia grew in length and importance, and he gradually evolved the genre known as the 'Italian overture.' The overtures to Dal Male il Bene (1696) and Eraclea (1700) are the first to fall into the clearly defined three-movement plan. Nevertheless there was no increase in the number of descriptive sinfonie written. Players were still expected to improvise passages to accompany action upon the stage rather than play composed music, but some descriptive pieces were written by Scarlatti - the funeral march in Mitridate Eupatore, the marches and gladiators' music in Il Tigrane, and the 'sinfonie for disembarking' which occur in

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[167] Dent, p.42

many scores. Perhaps his most effective orchestral piece is in Massimo Puppieno (1695). An illusion of mystery is created by the few bars of string music which are played as the wounded Massimo dies.[168]

Balli still appear in the scores, but little music is given for them, and such as there is does not possess much interest. An exception is the 'Dance of the Carthaginian youths' in Scarlatti's Marco Attilio Regolo.

By far the most dramatic use of the orchestra is in the accompanied recitatives. These increased in number during the eighteenth century. They are used to underline climaxes, and can readily reflect rapid changes in mood. Scarlatti uses the orchestra cunningly in recitatives. For instance, he used it to represent a larger time scale than the theatre allows, in Olimpia Vendicata (1686). Olimpia, asleep on a desert island, speaks a few unconscious words before she wakes. The opening part of the recitative is accompanied by the strings, but as soon as she wakes, the strings break off and the scene continues in recitativo secco.[169] He uses a similar idea in Act III when Bireno falls into a drugged sleep.[170] Another of his effective yet simple string textures sets the mood for Oronte's meditation in La Statira - 'Notte serena' (Act I, Scene i). The strings begin with measured harmonic steps creating an atmosphere of serenity, but when the singer enters, they surround the voice with a halo of sustained chords.[171] As a con-

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[168] Dent, p.43

[169] ibid., pp.44-45

[170] ibid., pp.45-46

[171] (BM) Add.MS.22103, ff.6-8

trast to this is the satirical comment of the orchestra in the Act I finale to Il Tigrane, where the bogus wizard, Dottor Graziano, is tricked into trying to raise a ghost. The orchestra accompanies his stammered incantation in an extremely pompous and grandiose manner.[172]

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[172] (BIFA) MS, ff.78-78^{v}

C H A P T E R V

AFTER ALESSANDRO SCARLATTI

c.1725 - 1750

During the course of his career the music of Alessandro Scarlatti had gradually evolved from the serious contrapuntal idiom of the seventeenth century towards the homophonic, gracefully melodic style of the Rococo period; but even before his death in 1725 his music had become outmoded. Although to a certain extent the operas of his maturity reflect musical tendencies then current, he was not in sympathy with the extreme measures towards which music in Italy was leaning. As he did not succumb to the new vogue, the popularity of his works declined, especially in the operatic sphere where audiences preferred the superficial offerings of such composers as Domenico Sarri and Francesco Mancini. Hence, for the last four years of his life he wrote no operas, but only cantatas and church music.

Baldassare Galuppi's definition of good music must be taken as representing the contemporary view: 'Vaghezza, chiarezza, e buona modulazione', which Burney translates as 'Beauty, clearness, and good modulation.'[1] In following this maxim, many of the younger composers turned out a multitude of hastily written, facile and frivolous works. It was no doubt these compositions which J. J. Quantz had in mind when he complained that though many contemporary Italian com-

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[1] Burney, p.177

posers (that is, in 1752) were talented, they started writing operas before they had learned the rules of musical composition; that they did not take time to ground themselves properly, and that they worked too fast.[2] This last criticism was certainly true, for, as in the earlier Venetian operas, the scores were hurriedly written with only sketchy orchestral accompaniments indicated. The thin textures, a result of the many instrumental unisons, are due in part to the speed of work, and in part to the 'new' idiom. For the essence of Rococo music resides in a brilliant melodious surface rather than in depth of utterance.

Hand in hand with a new musical idiom always goes a new approach to orchestration. The gradual differentiation between the characteristic styles appropriate to wind and string instruments was developed further. The various families of instruments began to be treated as blocks of colour to be used to underline the phrase structure of the sinfonie and arias. Thus instrumental colour was used in a new way to emphasise the inherent emotionalism in the short arioso phrases of the current melodic style. It was also used to add drama to passages of a non-melodic character which appear in purely instrumental textures. Such textures were built on repeated note patterns, various tremolo techniques, broken chord figures, and rapid scale passages. Added to this was a greater interest in dynamic variation for its own sake. Scores regularly contained detailed dynamic markings. Particularly popular were long crescendi and diminuendi, and juxtapositions of forte and piano on neighbouring beats of the bar. These were eventually to be fully ex-

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[2] Quantz, XVIII. Hauptstück, par.63, cited in Grout, p.180.

ploited by the Mannheim and Viennese symphonists. It is interesting to note that the so-called 'Mannheim' style was part of the Italian operatic composers' musical vocabulary before such men as Carl Stamitz, Ignaz Holzbauer and Franz X. Richter had made their mark.

Of the younger generation of composers who followed A. Scarlatti, Leonardo Vinci and Giovanni Battista Pergolesi are typical. On the one hand, Vinci's style was vigorous, his melodies being based on strong rhythmic, dramatic phrases. On the other hand, Pergolesi's vein is characterised by a more noble and tender lyricism. Both composers avoided contrapuntal orchestral textures, and showed a marked tendency towards a popular lyrical style in which orchestral accompaniments support the voice without in any way obscuring it. This popular style is less evident in the works of Francesco Feo and Leonardo Leo, whose operatic works were influenced by their interest in church music. For instance, Leo's operatic accompaniments are more fully and carefully scored than those of Pergolesi. A comparison of two arias, one from each composer's setting of L'Olimpiade, will illustrate this. The enchanting and delicately sonorous accompaniment to Leo's aria 'Mentre dormi' (Act I),[3] with its detailed dynamic gradations and carefully balanced instrumentation, offers a complete contrast to the more conventional, facile scoring of the accompaniment to Pergolesi's aria 'Quel destriere' (Act I, Scene iii).[4] Both accompaniments avoid counterpoint, but whereas Pergolesi

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[3] (BM) RM.MS.22g.17, ff.37-42^{v}. This opera was first performed in 1737.

[4] (N) MS.30.4.12, ff.25^{v}-42^{v}. This opera was first performed in 1735.

writes long passages of instrumental unisons interspersed with more fully scored tutti sections, Leo manages to create a simple yet evocative texture which is truly orchestral in the modern sense. The latter composer effectively matches the serenity of the words by his murmuring string parts, to which the judiciously placed horn pedal-notes add just the right amount of stability and sonority to the complete texture. (Exs.79 and 80)

The Italian composers who were active during the middle of the eighteenth century tended to follow the trend set by Leo's orchestrations. Among these, the most progressive were Davide Perez, Niccolò Jommelli - a pupil of Leo - and Tommaso Traetta. Of these three, the music of Perez deserves to be better known, for his operas display a wealth of feeling and great skill and imagination in scoring. His orchestrations in particular foreshadow the classical style of Haydn and Mozart. The instrumentation of Jommelli and Traetta is also rich and varied. This was because they fell under the influence of both French and German taste; the former at Stuttgart and the latter at Parma. The effect on their orchestrations can be seen in the greater complexity of texture and the increased attention to detailed instrumentation when compared with their immediate Italian contemporaries.

Jommelli had had an excellent orchestra at Stuttgart where from 1753 to 1769 he had been capellmeister to the Duke of Würtemburg. It appears to have contained a fairly large body of performers, for he had forty-seven players in the orchestra for a performance of his Fetonte in 1768.[5] As a result of having this fine orchestra at his disposal, his or-

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[5] Grout, p.223

chestrations and harmonies were too rich to suit the tastes of his fellow-countrymen, and his last operas, written after his return to Naples in 1769, were not well received. He was censured for being too learned and foreign.[6] To a certain extent this criticism is justified because on occasion his textures lack simplicity. Nevertheless he was always an imaginative experimenter.

Textures

The work of the Italian violinist-composers, particularly Corelli and Vivaldi, developed a true understanding of the nature of the instrument. Galuppi and the following generation of composers began to use less of the patterned violin figuration of the old Italian school, and developed in its place a variety of broken chord textures. These new textures were not only designed to fill in the harmonic background to a melody, but also to provide accompanying figures of a dramatic and descriptive nature. Besides the broken chord figures, of which _bariolage_ was an especial favourite, the other aspects of string technique, such as rapid repeated note passages, _ondulé_ and other kinds of bowing, _pizzicato_ and muted textures, were fully exploited.

The orchestral violinists themselves were not usually expected to play higher than the third position. Quantz comments that even during his own lifetime there was an increase in the technical demands made on orchestral players, and that the _ripieno_ parts were often more exacting than

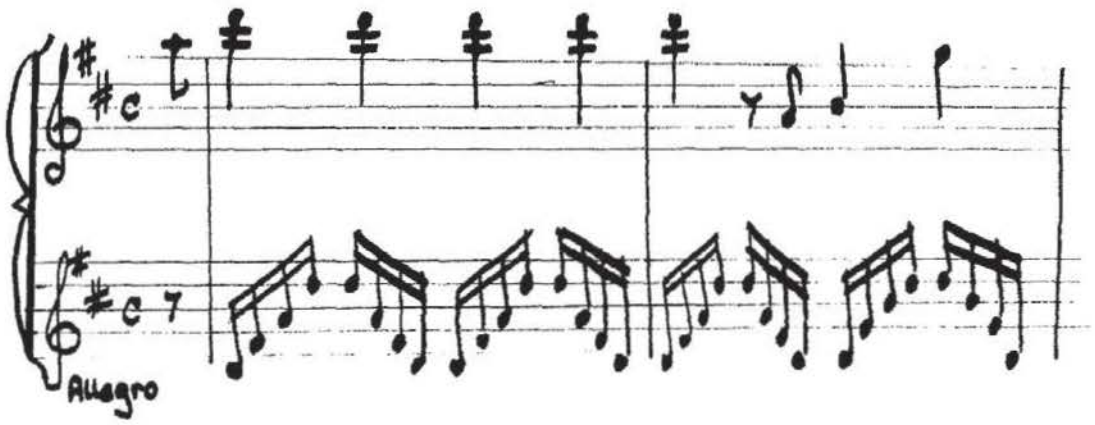
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[6] Abert, p.106

those of the concertino of the early eighteenth century.[7] This remark applies to the second violin parts as well, because it was in the first half of the eighteenth century that composers began to realise the dramatic potentialities of two fully independent violin lines.

The more progressive composers paid particular attention to writing interesting second violin parts. These composers do not often make all their violins play in parallel motion, but preferred to allow the second violins to take part in a sequential dialogue with the firsts, as in the slow movement of the sinfonia to Perez's L'Isola Disabitata (1748).[8] Elsewhere the second violins supplied an interesting accompanying figure to the cantabile melody of the firsts, as in the aria 'Il povero ruscello' (Act I, Scene viii) in Jommelli's Ezio (1741),[9] (Ex.81) or simply busily filled in the harmonies, as in the accompaniment to 'Quel canto nocchiero' (Act II, Scene iv) in Giovanni Battista Mele's Angelica e Medoro (1747).[10] (Ex.82)

Ex.82. Angelica e Medoro, Act II, sc.iv. f.148.



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[7] Quantz, XVII, par.3, cited by Carse (ii), p.141

[8] (N) MS.30.4.5, f.11

[9] (N) MS.28.5.10, ff.79-87^{v}

[10] (N) MS.28.2.28, ff.148-159^{v}

Jommelli's second violin parts are on the whole more contrapuntally conceived. This is very much so in Fetonte (1768). For example, the second violins provide a continuous staccato semiquaver counterpoint which dominates the texture in Climene and Orcano's duet (Act II, Scene ii).[11] In other arias in this score the second violins are given parts of dramatic significance such as the restless rocking figure in 'Ombre' (Act II, Scene viii),[12] (Ex.83) and the persistent sighing lombard rhythm in 'Spargerò d'amare lagrime' (Act I, Scene vii).[13] (Ex.155c)

Of all the broken chord figures written, those which made frequent returns to an open string were popular. The particular arpeggio known as bariolage, in which an open string continues like a pedal through a series of chords executed by a seesawing motion of the bow across the other strings, no longer belonged only to the solo performer, but became a skill also expected from the orchestral player. Passages such as the one found in the slow movement of Galuppi's sinfonia to L'Olimpiade (1747) are typical;[14] (Ex.84) but more spectacular displays were sometimes demanded, as in these two examples by Leo - 'Son quel Nave' (Act III, Scene iv) in Zenobia in Palmira (1725),[15] (Ex.85) and 'Canti guerrier' (Act I, Scene vii) in Il Ciro (1726).[16] (Ex.86)

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[11] DDT, Vols.32-33, pp.143-51

[12] ibid., pp.198-203

[13] ibid., pp.72-83

[14] Score edited by Lupi, Carisch no.20956, p.7

[15] (N) MS.28.4.24, ff.132^{v}-135^{v}

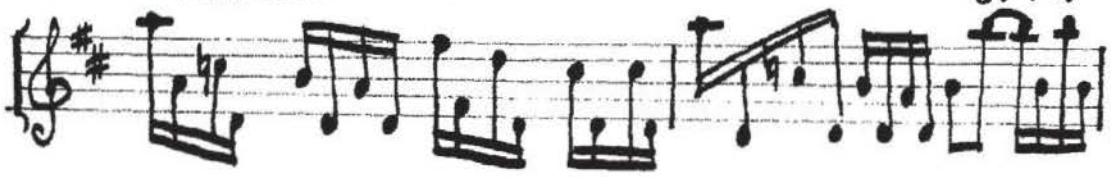
[16] (N) MS.28.4.18, ff.98^{v}-101

The former example contains slur marks, an unusual feature for that time, though such details were to become commonplace by the middle of the century.

Ex.85. Zenobia in Palmira, Act III, sc.iv. f.134.



Ex.86. Il Ciro, Act I, sc.vii. f.99.



Other arpeggios employing an open string occur frequently. A characteristic example appears in the accompaniment to 'Cosi stupisce' (Act II, Scene xv) in Vinci's Artaserse (1732).[17] (Ex.87) Broken chords were not only a way of exploiting the characteristic timbre of the violin but were also a most economical way of providing a full and vigorous texture. Even though the accompanying figure on the second violin sometimes crossed the melodic line on the first violins, as in the ritornello to 'Du non curi' (Act I, Scene xi) in Pergolesi's Lo Frate 'nnamorato (1732),[18] the ear is not confused because, as in good counterpoint, each part has its own clearly defined rhythmic character. (Ex.88)

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[17] (N) MS.3.1.8, ff.130^{v}-138^{v}. This opera was first performed in 1730.

[18] (N) MS.32.2.10, ff.32-36

Ex. 88. Lo Frate' nnamorato, Act I, sc.xi. f. 32. 138.



Alternating notes were another way in which sonority could readily be obtained. Sometimes only one of the violin parts would be written in this manner, as in 'Sta varco desperato' (Act III, Scene iii) in Pergolesi's Il Flaminio (1735),[19] and at other times both violin parts would be involved, as in 'Vi che tiranna' (Act II, Scene iii) in Vinci's Li Zite in Galera (1722).[20] (Exs.89 and 90) Alternating notes can be spread over a large interval. Two arias in Vinci's La Caduta di Decemviri (1727) will illustrate this. In 'Si alimenti' (Act I, Scene xi) they are the main feature of the texture,[21] (Ex.91) but in 'Se tu sei crudo' (Act II, Scene iv) they are only part of an accompanying pattern.[22] (Ex.92)

Textures using rapid repeated notes, giving the effect of a measured tremolo, occur in many scores. Either only one part was written in this manner while the other strings played arpeggios, as in 'Si mai l'altere ciglia' (Act I,

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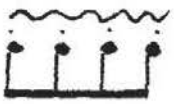
[19] (N) MS.1.6.27, ff.11-18^{v}

[20] (N) MS.18.2.12, ff.52^{v}-55^{v}

[21] (N) MS.32.4.10, ff.51-57^{v}

[22] ibid., ff.110^{v}-115

Scene viii) in Sarri's La Berenice (1732),[23] (Ex.93) or the complete string band was involved as in 'Piena si sdegno' (Act III, Scene iii) in Niccolò Porpora's Carlo il Calvo (1738).[24] (Ex.94) In the latter example the vigour of the string writing matches the wrath which overwhelms the singer. An equally energetic impact is made by the opening of Feo's sinfonia to L'Amor tirannico (1713), where the sweeping arpeggios of the solo violin are contrasted with the sturdy repeated notes of the tutti.[25] (Ex.95) Not all repeated note textures were lively in intent. For example, Porpora, in the aria 'Fra gli insulti' (Act II, Scene xii) in Agrippina (1708), uses the repeated semiquavers of the divided cellos along with the repeated quavers of the basses and lute to mark the pulse gently. Over this dark-hued throbbing foundation the violins play flowing arpeggios.[26]

Another popular string technique was the slurred tremolo, that is, legato repeated notes on the same string. It is indicated by a wavy line ~~~, or this line with dots placed over the notes: 

The notes were executed so that each one was very slightly articulated in the same bow stroke.[27] G. Kastner, in Traité Général d'Instrumentation (1836), mentions another notation for what was, in effect, the same technique. He said that a

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[23] (N) MS.31.3.11, ff.41^{v}-44

[24] (N) MS.57.2.42, ff.13^{v}-18

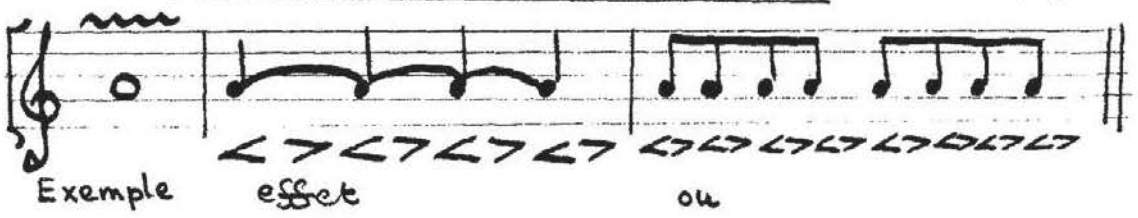
[25] (N) MS.32.3.28, ff.1-2^{v}

[26] (N) MS.32.2.19, ff.129^{v}-134

[27] Boyden, p.266

sustained note was executed so that a forte followed after the beginning of each beat or half-beat.[28] (Ex.96)

Ex.96. Traité Général d'Instrumentation. p.7.



This sign actually appears with the term tremolo in Sarri's La Ginevra (1720),[29] and Leo's L'Olimpiade (1743).[30] All the strings could be asked to play in this manner, as in 'Quando l'onda che nasce' (Act III, Scene vii) in Sarri's Didone abbandonata (1724);[31] (Ex.97) or only the upper or the lower strings, as in 'Di pò che stille' (Act III, Scene iii) in Leo's Il Castello d'Atlante (1734).[32] In this latter example, the sign ~~~ only appears above the bass line, but the other strings also play repeated notes, though presumably as the sign is absent from their parts, they bow with greater vigour. Sometimes this bowing technique was used with muted strings, as in 'Serba si bella lagrime' (Act III, Scene i) in Sarri's La Ginevra.[33]

A rapid tremolo, more in keeping with the now familiar nineteenth-century effect, can be seen in Act I, Scene iv in Traetta's Ifigenia in Tauride (1759). The wavy line ap-

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[28] Kastner, p.7. See Appendix II (nn).

[29] (N) MS.32.2.22, f.17^{v}

[30] (N) MS.28.4.23, f.65. This opera was first performed in 1737.

[31] (N) MS.31.3.12. See f.155^{v}.

[32] (BM) RM.MS.22g.10, ff.107^{v}-112

[33] (N) MS.32.2.22, ff.109-111

pears over groups of sixteen demisemiquavers played on the same note, and is accompanied by the direction 'tremante.'[34]

The wavy line is also seen written over wind parts. Carse notes that it is used over oboe parts in the works of Gluck and Arne.[35] There is also an example in Jommelli's Bajazette (1753), where the sign appears over the horn parts in 'Pria chi salit' sul Trono' (Act III, Scene ii).[36] (Ex.98) Brass instruments can easily vary the volume of a note, as in Kastner's example, by soft tonguing or by breath pressure without tonguing. Perhaps this was the effect intended by Jommelli.

The same sign sometimes appears with the term ondegiando. This signifies the undulating motion of the bowing arm as it crosses back and forth across two strings. It may also indicate the motion of the bowing arm when playing arpeggios.[37] Perez uses this term with groups of six slurred semiquavers in Act I of L'Isola disabitata (1748).[38]

The ability of string players to execute large leaps has been noted before in this thesis. It is a legitimate feature of string writing, and was as fully explored as the other techniques under discussion. The violin part to the duet 'Lo conosco' (Intermedio I) in Pergolesi's La Serva Padrona (1733) admirably illustrates the way in which a melodic line could be fashioned to exploit this particular facet of violinistic display.[39] (Ex.99)

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[34] (N) MS.32.6.12, f.93

[35] Carse (ii), p.154

[36] (N) MS.28.6.30, ff.146-151^{v}

[37] Boyden, p.265

[38] (N) MS.30.4.5.

[39] Philharmonia miniature score No.84, p.54

Ex.99. La Serva Padrona, Intermedio I. p.54.



Sarri even writes for the whole string band in this way. The accompaniment to 'Taci pavento' (Act II, Scene ii) in La Berenice (1732) includes leaps of consecutive tenths for the violins, with a bass line which strides along in octaves. All this is aimed at providing an apt accompaniment to the word 'insultar.'[40] (Ex.100)

Stops in orchestral parts, particularly at the beginning of a sinfonia or ritornello, became a mannerism with rococo composers. For instance, just to mention a few examples, the sinfonie to Vinci's Alessandro nell'Indie (1729), Leo's L'Emira (1735), and Galuppi's L'Olimpiade (1747) all begin with a triple stop for both first and second violins.[41] (Exs.101, 102 and 103) They were also used to emphasise major cadence points, as in the ritornello to 'Cosi leon feroce' (Act II) in Leo's Achille in Sciro (1739).[42] (Ex.104) This particular ritornello sums up the new approach to string writing, for it brilliantly incorporates arpeggios spread over a wide range, scales, and repeated notes, as well as triple stops in a bold and striking truly instrumental melody.

As a complete contrast to the fully scored textures there were the all'unisono arias. Domenico Scarlatti includes

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[40] (N) MS.31.3.11, ff.79-81^{v}

[41] (N) MS.32.4.9, ff.1^{v}-6^{v}; (BIFA) MS., Vol.I, ff.1^{v}-8^{v}; score edited by Lupi, Carisch no.20956, pp.1-6

[42] (N) MS.28.4.16, ff.22^{v}-24^{v}

one in Ottavia restituta al Trono (1703). The four instrumental parts which accompany 'Cosi mi lasci' are written on treble-, alto-, tenor- and bass-clef staves even though there is no apparent need for this, as each part exactly doubles the other.[43] There were also frequent unison passages included in more fully scored pieces. A tutti unison opening to a sinfonia or aria became an affectation, particularly with Galuppi. Almost every aria in his operas begins in the manner of 'Hora affrenar' (Act I, Scene iii) in Il Mondo alla Rovescia (1750), where the horns double the strings in the first bar.[44] (Ex.105) The sinfonia to L'Olimpiade opens with no less than five bars of unison after the preliminary triple stop of the violins. Similar passages occur throughout this piece.[45] (Ex.103)

There are more experimental and colourful textures to be considered. These include the use of special tone colours such as pizzicato and con sordino, as well as violins divided into three or four parts. Leo's divided violin textures are more advanced than those of A. Scarlatti discussed in Chapter IV. This is because he writes in three or four real parts which sound simultaneously, whereas Scarlatti employed an antiphonal style. Even so, Leo's violins rarely remain in multiple parts throughout an aria, as he contrasts the fully scored passages with ones in which the density of sound is reduced by violin unisons. For instance, two very full aria

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[43] (N) MS.32.2.33, ff.31-33

[44] (FC) XIV.a.2, phs.1183-1196, being photostats of (BE) Mus.F.1597.

[45] Score edited by Lupi, Carisch no.20956, pp.1-6

textures appear in L'Olimpiade.[46] On the one hand, 'Son qual per mare ignoto' is scored for four-part violins, violas, and cellos with basses. The violins rarely play in four parts during this aria, but there are long passages where the duet between the first and second violins is supported by an undulating arpeggio figure played by the third and fourth violins in unison.[47] On the other hand, 'Quel destriere' has oboe and horn parts as well as three-part violins, violas, and cellos with basses. Once again there are a number of bars in which all the violins play in unison, but in the ritornelli the first and second violins play a duet while the third violins have a quaver figure which represents a galloping horse.[48] (Exs.106 and 107) In Il Ciro (1726) Leo experiments with three-part violins and mutes in 'Dammi o sposa' (Act III, Scene ix). This is a most carefully thought out texture, for the directions to the players are given in great detail. The first and second violins are marked 'con sordine', the third violins 'senza sordini' and 'a mezza voce', and the bass line 'senza cembo. e po.'[49] (Ex.108)

Textures based on the use of four-part violins and pizzicato can be seen in 'No, no voglio morir' (Act III, Scene ii) in Vinci's Siface (1734)[50] and 'Dite che fa' (Act II, Scene vi) in Porpora's Tolomeo Re d'Egitto (?).[51] In the former, the first and second violins are directed to play

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[46] (BM) RM.MS.22g.17

[47] ibid., ff.119-128

[48] ibid., ff.9-18

[49] (N) MS.28.4.18, ff.167-171^{v}

[50] (N) MS.32.4.12, ff.150-151^{v}

[51] (N) MS.34.6.24, ff.60-65

'Largo dolce col arco', and the third and fourth violins 'Largo pizzicato.' The bass line bears no markings at all. Is it to play con arco or pizzicato? As it has the same rhythmic pattern as the third and fourth violins, then it is highly probable that it was also meant to be played pizzicato. (Ex.109) Porpora's aria is interesting in that the bass-clef stave is marked 'violone e violon:i pizzic.' and 'senza Bassoni e cemb.'[52] The two treble-clef staves are marked 'violini sordini' and the alto-clef stave 'viol:3o e viola sord:.' During the course of the aria there are unmuted sections. These are marked 'senza sordini' for the treble instruments, and 'col arco tutti e for.' for the cellos and basses. Although for the time this is a detailed orchestration, there are problems associated with it. It appears from the directions that bassoons doubled the bass line. There is no mention of the oboes although they would have certainly doubled the violins in the unmuted forte bars. The alto-clef part also needs to be considered. It is unusual to find violins doubling violas. Did Porpora's orchestra have too few violists? This may be partly true, but it is more probable that the violists were not very skilled performers and needed some violinists to strengthen their line. As the viola part in question goes below the bottom G of the violin, the players would have to make the necessary octave transposition when needed. (Ex.110)

It appears that after A. Scarlatti the violin was not favoured as an obbligato instrument. This may have been partly

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[52] Bassoons were sometimes called bassoni. For example, the direction 'bassoni soli' appears in the printed works of Thomas Arne. Carse (ii), p.125

due to the vogue for the solo violin concerto. Added to this must be a consideration of the fact that there had been an increase in the technical attainments of the orchestral violinists, which enabled composers to write for the violins as a whole in a brilliant obbligato manner. The changing style in orchestration must also be taken into account: composers were beginning to consider the textures as a whole, with no one instrument more important than the others, with the exception of the tutti violins. Seen in this light, the violin obbligato in 'In tanto tormento' (Act II) in Traetta's Didone abbandonata (1757) is an exception. During the course of the aria the violinist not only concertises with the singer and the two flautists but also has a three-bar cadenza. It is a little too elaborate, and adds neither drama nor beauty to the piece.[53] (Ex.111)

Although the younger eighteenth-century composers did not so slavishly tie the viola to the bass line, it remained the undeveloped instrument in the string ensemble. For instance, though Leo in L'Emira on occasion uses the viola independently of the bass line, as in 'T'offro' (Act I, Scene vii),[54] (Ex.112) more often it is involved only in the usual doubling. The neglect of this instrument seems mainly to be a result of the poor standard of the players. Quantz said:

> The viola is commonly regarded as a thing of little consequence in music. This may be because the instrument is generally played either by beginners

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[53] (N) MS.R.8.9, ff.47-61^{v}

[54] (BIFA) MS, ff.41^{v}-48^{v}

> or by those who have no particular talent for playing the violin, or perhaps because it is unprofitable to the player; therefore, able musicians are not at all anxious to play it.[55]

He added that the players, unlike the violinists, were not even allowed to enliven their parts by adding embellishments.[56] No wonder musicians were not eager to take up such a dull and unadventurous instrument.

Nevertheless when composers did make specific use of the instrument, the results are often interesting. For example, Vinci in La Caduta di Decemviri (1727) wrote an unusual accompaniment to 'Se tu sei crudo' (Act II, Scene iv). It contains a strange mixture of idioms: it is old-fashioned in the way in which the parts cross and in its rather crude attempt at counterpoint; yet, in the style of the first violin melody, the sequentially built viola countermelody, the second violin accompanying figure, and the static bass line, can be seen all the features of Rococo music. The insistent countermelody allotted to the violas gives them an importance which was rare.[57] (Ex.92) Sometimes the violas doubled the treble line instead of the bass. This is so in 'Talor che s'irato' (Act I, Scene viii) in Leo's Andromaca (1742). The scoring is very light, with the treble string instruments providing the bass for two solo oboes.[58] (Ex.113) A similar string doubling

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[55] Quantz, XVII, Part III, par.1; translated by Carse (ii), p.143.

[56] ibid.

[57] (N) MS.32.4.10, f.110^{v}

[58] (N) MS.15.3.1, ff.67-78^{v}

is used to create an entirely different texture in the ritornello to 'Quell vapor' (Act I, Scene ix) in the same composer's L'Emira. A quaver sextuplet accompanying figure is played by the unison violins and violas over which rises a melody for unison oboes. At Bar 5 the violas take over the melody of the oboes, while the cellos and basses execute rapidly repeated notes. This is a most economic yet dramatic texture.[59] (Ex.114)

Orchestrations featuring divided violas were not infrequent when composers wished to create special effects. Scores by Sarri, Vinci, Pergolesi and Traetta provide examples. For instance, Sarri devised an elaborate accompaniment for the aria 'Sfere irate' (Act II, Scene ii) in Le Gare generose tra Cesare e Pompeo (1706?). Two orchestras, each consisting of unison violins with their own harpsichord and an obbligato cello with its own basso continuo, play antiphonally, while the divided violas weave a continuous independent thread of sound throughout.[60] (Ex.115) In La Ginevra (1720) he only divides the violas each time the voice enters in 'Ah tuo diletto' (Act I, Scene xii). During the ritornelli the violas double the bass, but as soon as the vocal part begins, they divide. The second viola doubles the voice, the first viola plays in parallel motion a third above, and the violins provide the bass line in place of the silent cellos and basses. It was an accepted procedure to lighten the texture when the singer entered, but in this aria Sarri interprets the convention in an unusual and imaginative way

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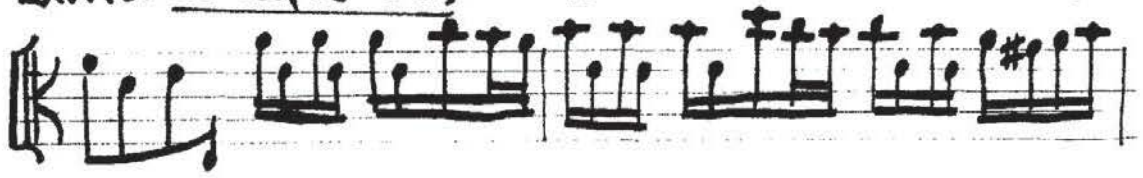
[59] (BIFA) MS, ff.55-64^{v}

[60] (N) MS.32.2.21, ff.67^{v}-69^{v}

by deliberately exploiting the nobility of viola tone. The effect is to provide the voice with a glowing aureola.[61] (Ex.116) Another subtle texture can be seen in Pergolesi's La Sallustia (1731). In order to match Alessandro's melancholy reflections in 'Andrò ramingo' (Act I, Scene viii), he writes an accompaniment which includes parts for muted violins and divided violas. He even goes so far as to entitle the piece 'Aria con sordine.'[62] The two-part viola writing in Vinci's La Didone (1727) in Act I, Scene xvii,[63] and Traetta's Didone abbandonata (1757) in 'Quando saprai' (Act I),[64] is conventional in that the violas play mainly in double thirds, and in the latter aria they concertise with the singer in the manner of an obbligato. (Ex.117)

Apart from the prominence given to the violas when divided, solo obbligati were rare. Sarri must have had an exceptionally fine player in mind when he wrote the viola solo in 'Notte amica' (Act I) in Il Vespasiano (1707). The part is extremely florid, and rises as high as d''.[65] (Ex.118)

Ex.118. Il Vespasiano, Act I. f.16.



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[61] (N) MS.32.2.22, ff.43-45

[62] (N) MS.30.4.16, ff.60^{v}-64

[63] (BM) Add.MS.31607, ff.54^{v}-62^{v}. I should like to thank R. Meikle for drawing my attention to this aria.

[64] (N) MS.R.8.8, ff.45-52^{v}

[65] (N) MS.32.2.23, ff.15^{v}-17^{v}

With the advent of the rococo idiom, cello and bass parts became less interesting. This was because of the frequent and insistent stretches of Trommelbass writing which became a feature of the current harmonic style. Nevertheless the cello was a favourite obbligato instrument. The range covered by the solo passages was large, with emphasis placed on the tenor register. Both Sarri and Porpora wrote florid solos for the cello. The solo in 'Meglio rifletti' (Act III, Scene iii) in the former's Il Valdemaro (?) is in the spirit of the seventeenth-century Venetian trumpet obbligati. The singer and cellist concertise with each other in a truly grand virtuoso display. As written in the G clef, the cello part rises as high as a''; but the sound would only be a', bearing in mind the conventional octave transposition of the treble clef in cello writing.[66] (Ex.119)

Ex.119. Il Valdemaro, Act III, sc.iii. f.149.



A cello solo lying equally high appears in Porpora's Gli Orti Esperidi (1721) in the aria 'Pungit'amor' (Act II).[67] The part ranges from D to a''; and in the same composer's La Rosmene (?) the cello rises even higher in 'Basta sol che moglie' (Act I), covering a range of three octaves from C to c''.[68]

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[66] (N) MS.31.3.15, ff.149-156^{v}

[67] (BM) Add.MS.14118, ff.64-65^{v}

[68] (BM) Add.MS.14113, f.80 et seq.

Traetta demands even more from his cellist in 'Ah per pietà' (Act II, Scene iii) in Ifigenia in Tauride (1759), for the part ranges from flat B to c''.[69] Did he expect his cellist to use scordatura to reach the flat B? Perhaps; but he might have written the part for a player who tuned his instrument in the old French manner. This cello solo, along with the divided violas, provides a sombre and melancholy colour which aptly mirrors the despair of Oreste's troubled soul. (Ex.12ʊ) Occasionally two obbligati cellos were required, as in Porpora's Agrippina (1708). They play mainly in double thirds throughout the duet between Caligola and Giulia in Act III, Scene xiii.[70]

There is little to be said about the double bass, for not only was it never used in a solo capacity in operatic scores, but it never left the track of the cello part. This is in accord with the general practice of the period; and indeed, as we know from Quantz, bass playing was exceptionally poor, even worse than that of the violas.[71] His suggestion that in rapid passages the players should omit some notes, is similar to Pepusch's advice mentioned in Chapter IV.[72]

Although a discussion of the individual string instruments serves to illustrate the composers' growing appreciation of each one for its own sake, textures were considered as a whole. Even though a ritornello might present a simple legato melody, the accompanying texture was often devised to

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[69] (N) MS.32.6.13, ff.51-57

[70] (N) MS.32.2.19, ff.226-228^{v}

[71] See p. 146-47

[72] Quantz, XVII, Part V, Von dem Contraviolonisten inbesondere, cited by Carse (ii), p.123; see also Chapter IV, p.98

give character and atmosphere to the aria. For instance, a very strong and virile effect is created with great economy in the accompaniment to 'Sento che va' (Act II) in Vinci's La Partenope (?). The sturdy triadic theme played by the violins rises brilliantly above the pulsating repeated notes of the lower strings.[73] (Ex.121) As a contrast to this are the accompaniments to 'L'onda che mormora' (Act I, Scene ix) in Sarri's Siroe Rè di Persia (1727),[74] and 'Se un cor' (Act II) in Leo's Achille in Sciro (1739).[75] In the former, the composer takes his cue from the word 'mormora', and devises a rocking triplet figure, which not only serves as an accompaniment to the suave melody, but also at times dominates the complete texture. (Ex.122) An equally delicate texture is conjured up by Leo in the latter example. The legato melody of the first violins is discreetly supported by the undulating semiquavers of the muted second violins and the pizzicato of the lower strings. (Ex.123)

After A. Scarlatti the wind instruments, and in particular the woodwind, began to play a more important role in orchestration, until by the 1750s they had become established as permanent members of the orchestra. The concerto d'oboè still dominated the woodwind band, but gradually the flutes began to challenge its supremacy in the treble register. Eventually both the flute and the oboe were treated as though they had the same upward range and were interchangeable. Other instruments also made brief experimental appearances,

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[73] (BM) Add.MS.14232, see f.86^{v}

[74] (N) MS.32.2.24, ff.41-44^{v}

[75] (N) MS.28.4.16, ff.24^{v}-25^{v}

such as the oboe d'amore, cor anglais, and clarinet. In both Vinci's La Caduta di Decemviri (1727) (Ex.124) and Perez's Siroe (1740) there is an aria containing parts for 'oboe lunghe' (oboe d'amore). They are treated no differently from oboes.[76] The cor anglais makes an appearance in Giuseppe Bonno's L'Isola Disabitata (?) and Traetta's Ifigenia in Tauride (1759). On the one hand, Bonno creates a charming sonority in 'Se e scialato' (Act I) in which two cor anglais are doubled in unison by muted violins and an octave lower by bassoons.[77] (Ex.125) On the other hand, Traetta takes their nomenclature literally, as the two cor anglais are doubled by the horns in 'V'intendo amici Numi' (Act III, Scene i).[78] Clarinets made no impression on the Italian opera orchestra until the end of the century. Their ancestors, the chalumeaux, had appeared in operas written for Vienna: M. A. Ziani's Cajo Pompilio (1704), Ariosti's Marte Placato (1707), and works by the Bononcinis.[79] Later scores to include parts for the clarinet family are Bonno's Eleazare ('chalumeaux')[80] and Galuppi's Antigona ('clarinets').[81] The parts in the latter opera appear only in the British Museum manuscript, and have been added by a hand other than that of the copyist.

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[76] (N) MS.32.4.10, Act III, Scene viii, ff.210-218^{v}; (N) MS. 30.4.6, Act I, f.72.

[77] (N) MS.25.6.1, ff.38-47^{v}

[78] (N) MS.32.6.14, ff.3^{v}-9

[79] Pincherle, p.127

[80] ibid.

[81] (BM) RM.MSS.22c.11-13. This opera was first performed in 1746.

In tutti scoring, woodwind writing developed more fully the characteristics which had appeared in the late operas of A. Scarlatti. The parts became even more simple in outline when doubling the strings, and greater use was made of pedal-notes and full wind-band chordal progressions. Nevertheless, solo writing was not neglected though such passages tended to be less in the manner of obbligati and more in the form of short phrases tossed from one instrument to another in a dialogue. This is especially true of the writing of Jommelli, Perez and Traetta. Jommelli's Fetonte illustrates all the points made in this paragraph.[82]

As tutti instruments, the oboes were treated as already described, but it is nonetheless interesting to note that it was still thought necessary for them to double the violins exactly when trumpets had a prominent part to play. This particular doubling had been a feature of scores written at the end of the preceding century. Sarri's Lucio Vero (?) and Tito Sempronio Gracco (1725) provide illustrations. In the former there is a brilliant part for two trumpets in the old Venetian manner in 'Volo rimbomba colla sua tromba' (Act II, Scene vii); because of this the oboes are made to double the violins.[83] The same description applies to the sinfonia in the latter opera.[84]

It is surprising to find that the oboe was not as fully exploited as an orchestral soloist as it might have been. It was a popular enough solo instrument in its own right, especially in the hands of the celebrated virtuosi Giuseppe Sammar-

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[82] DDT, Vols.32-33

[83] (N) MS.18.4.1, ff.103-104^{v}

[84] (N) MS.31.3.14, ff.1^{v}-6

tini, the Besozzi family, and Johann Christian Fischer. Nevertheless the solo passages which do appear in the opera manuscripts fully display the various attributes of the two-key instrument.[85]

The accompanying textures were often very light, as in 'Talor che s'irato' (Act I, Scene viii) in Leo's Andromaca (1742), where the two solo oboes are accompanied by the violins and violas playing for the most part in unison,[86] (Ex.113) and in 'Se intende' (Act I, Scene xi) in Jommelli's La Semiramide (1743) the violins provide the bass to the two oboes.[87] (Ex.126) Extended unaccompanied passages were also written. A good example is to be found in Sarri's L'Arsace (1718) where two oboes dominate the opening ritornello to 'Con giurati' (Act II, Scene vii).[88] There were a few obbligati still written in which the instrumentalist concertised with the singer. Examples can be seen in Sarri's Achille in Sciro (1739) during 'Sembra, sembra che al cor' (Act III),[89] Vinci's Siface (1734) in 'Li parli nel seno speranza' (Act III, Scene iv),[90] and Galuppi's Ricimero (1744) in 'Sentirsi' (Act I).[91] In the latter opera the solo oboe is supported only by the violins. (Ex.127) Prominence is given to the complete concerto d'oboè group in the

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[85] See Chapter IV, pp.103-104
[86] (N) MS.15.3.1, ff.67-78^{v}
[87] (N) MS.28.5.30, ff.59-65^{v}
[88] (N) MS.16.1.29, ff.77-81^{v}
[89] (N) MS.31.3.8, ff.148-151^{v}
[90] (N) MS.32.4.12, ff.82-85
[91] (N) MS.R.8.2, ff.56-67^{v}

bucolic accompaniment to 'Come l'ape' (Act I, Scene x) in Vinci's Silla Dittatore (1723). The score is marked 'oboè pme., oboè 2°' and 'fagotto solo.' Between them, members of the woodwind group dominate the ritornelli, for the strings are only allowed to echo the oboe phrases.[92] (Ex.128) The shorter solo phrases which are more typical of galant orchestration can be seen in many scores. Vinci's La Partenope furnishes us with an example: there are short solos for two oboes, playing mainly in parallel thirds, in 'Al chiaro splendore' (Act III, Scene xvi).[93] Traetta in Didone abbandonata also uses the same technique but with the oboes being in dialogue with divided violas in the ritornello to 'Quandro saprei' (Act I).[94] (Ex.117)

Bassoons were still firmly anchored to the bass line, but occasionally they were freed from it. For example, they are used with humour in the second Intermezzo of Flacco e Servilla. Their capacity for playing sharply defined repeated notes is exploited in a staccato texture which includes unison string writing.[95] But the real factor which led to a greater and freer use of the bassoon for its own sake was the discovery of the special tone quality of its tenor register. Galuppi, Jommelli and Perez experimented with high bassoon parts. For example, Galuppi makes the bassoons execute a flurry of semiquavers in parallel thirds

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[92] (N) MS.32.4.13, ff.54-58

[93] (BM) Add.MS.14232, see f.59

[94] (N) MS.R.8.8, ff.45-52^{v}

[95] (N) MS.32.4.10, f.167. This intermezzo is bound in the manuscript of Vinci's La Caduta di Decemviri. The composer is not named.

with the violas in 'Va dal furor' in Ezio (1757). He uses this particular colouring to depict the singer's fury.[96] (Ex.129) Jommelli also uses the bassoons for word-painting in Attilio Regolo (1751). In the aria 'Taci, taci' (Act II, Scene iv) the bassoons make a dramatic entry at the words 'Or si di lacci, il penso per vostro colpo.'[97] Even so, the most daring passage of bassoon writing occurs in the middle section of the sinfonia to Perez's L'Isola Disabitata (1748). The bassoons, doubled by the violas, go as high as c''. The score is marked 'Fagotti con le viole' when the violas divide into two parts. Even if Perez only intended the bassoons to double the lower viola part (though the score does not indicate this), then the top note would still be as high as g'. Normally an eighteenth-century orchestral bassoonist was not expected to play above flat e', though Bach did demand an a' in the 'Quoniam' of the Mass in B minor, and even as late as 1794 Haydn did not exceed this note in his Military Symphony. Perhaps Perez had an outstanding bassoonist in his orchestra at Palermo, where the first performance took place in 1748 (a note written by another hand on the fly-leaf of the manuscript gives the information about the place of the premier).[98] (Ex.130)

The flute gradually began to make regular appearances in the scores of Galuppi and his contemporaries. It rarely appeared in conjunction with oboes, as the same musicians frequently played both kinds of instrument. This particular instrumental doubling by performers lasted for most of the

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[96] (N) MS.27.6.19, ff.61-68^{v}

[97] (N) MS.28.6.26, ff.23-32^{v}. This opera was first performed in 1750.

[98] (N) MS.30.4.5, f.11

eighteenth century. As late as 1770 Leopold Mozart noted that the opera orchestra at Milan contained two flautists who when required played the oboe so that a total of four oboes could be played together.[99] The reason for the tardy establishment of the flute as a regular member of the orchestra seems to lie in the commonly held contemporary opinion that it was primarily a solo instrument. Quantz upholds this point of view.[100]

The orchestral textures in which the flute occurs treat the instrument as though it were a soloist, for the accompaniments are always light, often being scored for muted and pizzicato strings. When flutes do double violins, they frequently play an octave higher so that their small sound may be clearly heard. The association of the flute with melancholy, grief, or serenity was still popular. The orchestration reflects this, for it is used in the slow movements of sinfonie in place of the oboes, who play in the outer movements; and in arias in slow tempi. Examples illustrating these tendencies can be seen in the following works:

(a) The flutes replace the oboes in the slow movements of the sinfonie to Galuppi's Demofoonte (1749), and Il Marchese Villano (1762), and in Bonno's L'Isola Disabitata (?).[101]

(b) 'Deh se mi brami' (Act II, Scene xi) in Galuppi's Antigona (1746) has its texture coloured by flutes as the singer meditates death.[102] Other 'mournful' arias can be found in Traetta's Didone abbandonata - 'Ah, ah non sai'

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[99] Anderson. Letter dated 15 Dec. 1770

[100] Quantz, X, par.14, cited by C rse (ii), p.126.

[101] (N) MS.27.6.15, ff.1^{v}-14^{v}; (N) MS.27.6.20, ff.2-22^{v}; (N) MS.25.6.1, ff.1^{v}-19

[102] (N) MS.27.6.13, ff.62-69

(Act II), and Jommelli's La Semiramide (1743) - 'Non ò piu pace' (Act II, Scene xiii).[103] (Ex.131) Both these arias are scored for flutes and muted strings, and Jommelli adds to the delicacy of his orchestration by including parts for muted horns.

(c) Flutes were also used to characterise orchestral pieces which accompanied funeral processions, such as the Sinfonia Flebile (Act III, Scene vii) in Sarri's Lucio Vero[104] and the Marcia Logubre (Act II, Scene x) in Galuppi's Antigona.[105]

(d) Flutes appear in arias concerned with sleep, as in 'Di gl'occhi del mio ben dormite' (Act III, Scene vi) in Sarri's La Partenope.[106]

(e) Tender love songs are often heightened by flute solos as in 'Dal tuo bel labro' (Act I, Scene xiv) in Jommelli's Eumene (1747).[107]

(f) Gay but lightly scored arias sometimes included flute parts. For example, 'Al bella della femine' (Act II, Scene viii) in Galuppi's Il Mondo alla Rovescia (1750) is scored for flutes and pizzicato strings;[108] and 'Va solcando' (Act III, Scene iv) in Pergolesi's Lo frate'nnamorato (1732) contains an obbligato-like part for the flautist who concertises with the singer.[109]

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[103] (N) MS.R.8.9, ff.21-29^{v}; (N) MS.28.5.31, ff.59^{v}-64^{v}

[104] (N) MS.18.4.1, f.141

[105] (BM) RM.MS.22c.12, ff.4^{v}-17^{v}

[106] (N) MS.31.3.13, ff.152^{v}-156

[107] (N) MS.28.5.9, ff.78-85^{v}. This opera was first performed in 1742.

[108] (BE) MS.Mus.F.1597, ff.66-77

[109] (N) MS.32.2.11, ff.90-101^{v}

By the middle of the century, scores occasionally contained parts for both flutes and oboes simultaneously. Jommelli's Fetonte (1768) is orchestrated in this way. In the sinfonia the flutes either mainly play an octave above the oboes in the tutti passages, or engage in a dialogue with them in the more lightly scored ones.[110] This is orchestration in a truly 'modern' sense.

Although permanently established in the orchestra by the middle of the century, horns and trumpets had a less spectacular role to play than in A. Scarlatti's orchestrations. Their main function was to add weight in the tutti passages. In this respect horns were more frequently used than trumpets.

Brass nomenclature and notation was varied. The instruments were referred to as corno, or corno da caccia, tromba or tromba da caccia or tromba lungha. In the case of the horns the designation da caccia is understandable but may be more significant than we have hitherto realised. Kurt Janetsky has put forward the highly credible proposition that the difference between the direction corno and corno da caccia lay not in the actual instrument but in the manner of performance. That is, when performing parts marked da caccia, the player held the bell pointing skywards, but when only corno was written, the player held the bell to his side or only at shoulder level.[111] Contemporary prints illustrate these various postures. The players depicted on a painted Czech goblet of the mid-eighteenth century hold the bells of their horns pointing skywards.[112] A less exaggera-

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[110] DDT, Vols.32-33, pp.1-13

[111] Morley-Pegge, p.146

[112] Buchner, Pl.172

ted position is depicted in the engraving of horn players in the band of the First Foot Guards (1753) whose bells are held at shoulder level.[113] Yet another posture is assumed by the player shown in J. C. Wiegel's Musicalisches Theatrum. He holds the bell below shoulder level and to his side, but without his right hand in the bell.[114] For orchestral purposes this latter position was favoured with the right hand in the bell in readiness for any hand-stopping which should be required. The terms da caccia and lungha when applied to trumpets distinguish between two specific types of instrument. The tromba da caccia had its tubing wound in a circular fashion like a small horn. J. E. Altenburg places it in the second class of trumpets as distinct from the German, French and English instruments. He adds that it was also known as the 'Invention' or Italian trumpet, and was most useful because of its compact shape. Apparently its tone was no different from the trumpets in the other classes.[115] H. Eichborn also mentions the Italian or 'gewundenes' trumpet.[116] The tromba lungha was the more conventionally shaped German, French and English instrument.

Crooks were used for both horns and trumpets. Horn crooks only begin to be mentioned in the Italian opera manuscripts of about 1730. Surprisingly they are often called by the old hexachord names; thus some manuscripts ask for a corno in cesolhaut or corno in Gesolheut. Trumpet crooks had been widely used since the seventeenth century. Altenburg said that the 'Con-

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[113] Farmer, p.42

[114] Wiegel, Pl.VII

[115] Altenburg, p.12. See Appendix II (oo).

[116] Eichborn, p.22

certtrompeter' needed at the most three to four instruments in G, F, D and B flat. With the aid of a mute and crooks these instruments could then be used in a wider range of keys. He goes on to say that for movements in the keys listed, the procedure was as follows: for A major, the G or 'English' trumpet was played, raised to the higher key by a mute; for G major the same instrument without a mute; for F major the F or 'Field' or 'French' trumpet; for E major the same instrument lowered a tone by a shank; for D major the 'German Camerton' D trumpet; for C major the same instrument lowered a tone by a shank.[117] As with the horns, the hexachord names were sometimes used to designate a crook. For example, there are 'Trombe lunghe in cesolfaut tuono sotto' in Leo's L'Olimpiade (Act I, Scene iii). The parts are written a tone above actual pitch.[118]

Brass notation seemed to follow no particular convention. Horn parts were written in a variety of clefs. For example, several of the methods listed below could be found in any one manuscript:

(a) parts using the treble clef without a key-signature sounded an octave below the written note;
(b) parts using the same clef with a key-signature were written at pitch;
(c) parts using the same clef were written as transposing instruments as in modern practice;
(d) parts using the alto clef were written at pitch;
(e) parts using the mezzo-soprano clef were written at pitch;

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[117] Altenburg, p.85. See Appendix II (pp).
[118] (N) MS.28.4.23, f.18^{v}

(f) parts using the bass clef were written an octave below actual pitch.

R. Morley-Pegge mentions yet another practice.

> It was not unusual for the eighteenth century to use different clefs for horn parts: e.g. C clef second line for horn in F, third line horn in D, fourth line horn in B flat, and so on. [119]

This system cannot be so rigorously applied to all Italian manuscripts. For instance, Galuppi liked to use the mezzo-soprano clef for horns in G, and his contemporaries often used the alto clef for horns in F and D. The lower pitched crooks were mostly written in the bass clef, but what does seem irrational is the use of this clef for such a high pitched crook as G. There was less variety in the notation of the trumpet parts. The following procedures are to be found in the opera manuscripts:

(a) parts using the treble clef with a full or partial key-signature [i.e. in the latter, the accidental of the leading note was omitted in the sharp keys, so that in D major only F sharp appeared] were written at pitch;
(b) parts using the same clef were written as transposing instruments as in modern practice;
(c) parts using the bass clef sounded an octave above the written note.

An exceptional use of the alto clef in Perez's Solimano (1755) must also be noted. It occurs in the final chorus of the work,

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[119] Morley-Pegge, Appendix 2, p.196

and so as to save space in the elaborate scoring for double orchestra, Perez utilises at one point what would otherwise have been a blank stave. The score is quite clearly marked 'In contralto le Trombe da Caccia.' Because of this the parts are written an octave lower than when he used the treble clef for them.[120]

The horns were rarely used as soloists. Composers found them to be much more useful for discreetly holding the texture together by means of sustained notes. Majer commented that the 'Waldhorn' had become en vogue because it had a less coarse sound than the trumpet; that it could be played with more 'Facilité', and that it had a fuller sound and filled in the texture more suitably than the shrill 'clarini' because it sounded a fifth lower.[121] The horn parts to 'Paure, fremiti, terrore' (Act III, Scene viii) in Vinci's La Caduta di Decemviri illustrate these new aspects of brass writing, and though the first horn does rise to a top C, it does so only in a tutti.[122] (Ex.132) The solo passages were usually quite short simple fanfares, though there was a little clarino-style writing at times. For instance, in Sarri's L'Arsace (1718) there is an orchestral piece in the prologue similar in style to A. Scarlatti's 'sinfonie for disembarking.' The horns are given an extended unaccompanied passage before they are joined by the rest of the orchestra.[123] In the wind serenade (Act I, Scene xii) in his La Berenice (1732) he takes the precaution of doubling the rather florid first horn part with the oboes.[124]

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[120] (N) MS.30.4.9, f.89

[121] Majer, p.41. See Appendix II (qq).

[122] (N) MS.32.4.10, ff.210-218^{v}

[123] (N) MS.16.1.29, ff.7^{v}-8^{v}

[124] (N) MS.31.3.11, ff.54-56

Vinci's operas also contain horn solos. They herald, with a short fanfare, the entry of the vocal part in 'Si sveni' (Act II, Scene ix) in L'Ernelinda (1726);[125] and they answer the strings with a sequential figure in 'Senza Procelle' (Act II, Scene viii) in the same composer's Siface (1734).[126] This latter example is interesting in that the horn parts are marked 'piano assai' and are only supported by the violas. (Ex.133) All the solo horn passages mentioned above were written for corni da caccia.

The younger composers, such as Jommelli, Perez and Traetta continued the trends already discussed. Their horn solos were even shorter: small splashes of colour used to illuminate the larger canvas of the whole orchestra. This is particularly true of the writing for all the wind in 'Spargerò d'amare lagrime' (Act I, Scene vii) in Jommelli's Fetonte, where the oboes, horns, flutes, and the oboes again, each in turn enter only to colour the words 'Il mio bene.'[127] The horns have a more extended role in the chorus 'Della gran buccina' (Act I, Scene iii) in the same opera. Wind instruments were always used for heavy tutti scoring in choruses, but Jommelli's writing is more imaginative in this instance. The horns lead the orchestra throughout this piece by playing short fanfares in the piano bars, only being joined by the rest of the orchestra when forte is required.[128] Unaccompanied horn solos were sometimes written, such as the fairly substantial passage for 'Corni in G' in the finale to Act I in Jommelli's Eumene

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[125] (N) MS.32.2.39, ff.138^{v}-147

[126] (N) MS.32.4.12, ff.105^{v}-116

[127] DDT, Vols.32-33, pp.73-83

[128] ibid., pp.31-36

(1747);[129] and the passages in the ritornelli to 'Per quel Paterno' (Act II, Scene i) in Perez's Artaserse (1752);[130] (Ex.134) and 'Io non cerco' (Act I, Scene ii) in Traetta's Armida (1760).[131] (Ex.135) The notation for the parts in the latter example pose a problem. They are written on a treble-clef stave without a key-signature. As the aria is in B flat major, the question arises whether B flat basso or B flat alto horns should be used. Whereas basso crooks would create a rather dull, heavy texture, alto crooks would add both brilliance and lightness. As this is on the whole a lightly scored aria, I would favour the use of B flat alto horns on this occasion.

By the 1750s passages for solo trumpets had all but disappeared. Earlier in the century the old clarino style was occasionally employed, as in the operas of Sarri. Obbligati of a very florid nature can be seen in his Il Valdemaro (?), Il Vespasiano (1707) and La Partenope (1722).[132] A typical example is to be found in Act III of La Partenope - 'Per abbattere il mio cor.' Here at the words 'm'assalto' the singer and trumpeter vie with each other in an extended passage of virtuoso display, in which the singer imitates the clarino trumpeter's technique.[133] A similar brilliant contest is held between two instrumentalists (a trumpeter and a cornettist) and a singer in the aria 'Guerra' in Act II of Il

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[129] (N) MS.28.5.9, f.99

[130] (N) MS.30.4.1, ff.116-123

[131] (N) MS.32.6.9, ff.49-72^{v}

[132] (N) MS.31.3.15, Act III, ff.165^{v}-169^{v}; (N) MS.32.2.23, Act II, ff.44-47^{v}; (N) MS.31.3.13, Act II, Scene iii, ff.82-84^{v}

[133] (N) MS.31.3.13, ff.82-84^{v}

Vespasiano.[134] Sarri also wrote for solo trumpet in his sinfonie. That to Le Gare generose is reminiscent of the trumpet sinfonie of the seventeenth-century Venetian composers, but the string texture is eighteenth-century in its vigorous semiquaver violin and viola passage work.[135] Vinci's Catone in Utica (?) also contains a virtuoso trumpet obbligato in 'Con si bel nome' (Act I), but whereas Sarri's trumpets are discreetly supported by the strings, Vinci found it necessary to double his trumpet by the violas. This was no doubt because of the contemporary decline in clarino playing.[136] Porpora's trumpet writing, as displayed in Gli Orti Esperidi, is in the newer, less flamboyant manner. Even in the martial aria in Act II the trumpets are reserved for the tutti passages, the fanfare-like solos being given to the oboes.[137]

Except in the sinfonie, trumpets and horns were not often used together; but there are instances where this is so in arias and incidental pieces. For example, the horns and trumpets double each other in the fanfares which punctuate 'Serbo il mio cor dolente' in Jommelli's Ifigenia in Aulide (1751).[138] Galuppi also includes parts for both instruments in the 'Marcia logubre' (Act II, Scene x) in L'Antigona, but in this case the trumpets are muted while the horns are not.[139] (The muted horns in Jommelli's La Semiramide have already been noted.)[140] (Ex.131)

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[134] (N) MS.32.2.23, ff.44-47^{v}

[135] (N) MS.32.2.21, ff.2-4^{v}

[136] (N) MS.3.1.9, ff.4^{v}-7

[137] (BM) Add.MS.14118, ff.85^{v}-93

[138] (N) MS.28.5.15, ff.59^{v}-68^{v}

[139] (BM) RM.MS.22c.12, ff.4^{v}-17^{v}

[140] (N) MS.28.5.31, Act II, Scene xiii, ff.59^{v}-64^{v}

The trombone rarely appears in operatic scores of this time, for it was still regarded as an instrument mainly suited to solemn and sacred occasions. As late as 1784-85, C. D. F. Schubart said,

> Decidedly, the tone of the trombone is best suited for Religious, and not for profane music.[141]

Trombones appear in Porpora's La Semiramide riconosciuta (1729), and Vinci's Astianatte (1725) and Catone in Utica (?).[142] The scores are marked 'Trombino' or 'Trombini.' Where Porpora's opera is concerned, it should be noted that the individual parts for these instruments are not in the same hand as those of the other instruments. According to Praetorius, the trombino was an 'Alto oder Discant Posaune' in D.[143] This would make the instrument equivalent to a modern trombone built in F or E flat with its lowest note being flat e, and its highest flat b''.

By the eighteenth century the timpani were the only percussion instruments to be regularly used in the opera orchestra. As in the earlier operas, they always work in harness with the trumpets, and are invariably tuned to the tonic and dominant. Other percussion instruments were rarely used, and were only added to the score for local colour, as in the march in Act I, Scene iv of Perez's Solimano (1755). Here the cymbals are included in the score, to reflect the oriental setting of the drama. The part is marked 'Segnate

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[141] Schubart, p.203, translated by Carse (ii), p.43

[142] (N) MS.30.2.14, Act III; (N) MS.33.6.2, Act I, f.1^{v}; (N) MS.3.1.9, Act III, Scene viii, f.122

[143] Praetorius, Vol.II, p.31. See Appendix II (rr).

le 𝄐 Note Dove Lo Piatti Turchi Devono Battere.'[144] (Ex.136)

The most outstanding feature of the post-Scarlattian treatment of the orchestra was that whether or not they were descriptive, textures were considered as an integrated whole. For example, the wind instruments were used not only to emphasise the first beat in every bar, but also to add dynamic contrast to the ritornello, as in 'Cosi stupisce' (Act II, Scene xv) in Vinci's Artaserse (1732). In addition, Vinci had carefully considered the dynamic markings and had arranged them so as to gain a crescendo. The first wind entry is marked piano, the second mezzoforte, the third forte, and the fourth fortissimo.[145] (Ex.87) The imaginative accompaniment to 'Mentre dormi' in Leo's L'Olimpiade has already been mentioned. Besides the undulating string arpeggios which accompany the melody, the pedal notes of the horns, and the throbbing but static bass line, all contribute towards the full yet relaxed texture. This is another piece in which the dynamics are carefully recorded.[146] (Ex.79) In a similar vein is the accompaniment to 'Il povero ruscello' (Act I, Scene viii) in Jommelli's Ezio. Again, the oboes and horns hold the texture together with judiciously placed pedal notes, while the second violins have a descriptive, rustling demisemiquaver figure, and the lower strings play a tremolo.[147] (Ex.81) String broken chords and reiterated notes along with wind pedal points are also used by Galuppi to create a sonorous

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[144] (N) MS.30.4.7, ff.40^{v}-43^{v}

[145] (N) MS.3.1.8, ff.130^{v}-138^{v}

[146] (BM) RM.MS.22g.17, ff.37-42^{v}

[147] (N) MS.28.5.10, ff.79-87^{v}

texture in Il Marchese Villano (1762). Over this placid accompaniment the oboes, and later the singer, sweetly intone the languorous melody of 'La marina che placida freme' (Act I).[148] (Ex.137)

Oboe melodies rising above patterned string accompaniments were popular. Sarri wrote such an accompaniment to 'Son Regine e sono amante' (Act I, Scene v) in Didone abbandonata (1724). The oboes enter in the third bar, and rise with minim trills above the pulsating violin repeated semiquavers.[149] A similarly airy texture is created by Galuppi for the ritornello to 'Vado ma dove Dio resto' (Act III, Scene vi) in his opera of the same name (1763). The sciolte broken chords of the second violins jauntily trace the harmonies, while the staccato oboes outline and emphasise the ornamented melody of the first violins. The whole effect is delightfully gay and nonchalant.[150] (Ex.138)

Textual changes within an aria or movement of a sinfonia were also exploited. For example, the opening ritornello to 'Qual dio del mar' (Act I) in Porpora's Gli Orti Esperidi is only thirteen bars long, but it contains four distinct changes of texture.[151] (Ex.139) Jommelli often used this technique with dramatic results. A good example is the opening ritornello to 'Son quel fiume' (Act III, Scene iv) in Fetonte. This also contains four ideas, each of which is designed to depict melting ice and flooding rivers. The dynamics are carefully considered, and include dramatic alternations of forte and piano

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[148] (N) MS.27.6.20, ff.23-34

[149] (N) MS.1.6.25, ff.21-23^{v}

[150] (N) MS.27.6.18, ff.60-66^{v}. This opera was first performed in 1741.

[151] (BM) Add.MS.14118, ff.20-26

as well as 'crescendo il forte.'[152] (Ex.140) This is not the first score to bear the term crescendo. Jommelli had used it in Artaserse (1749), but the practice of swelling and diminishing the volume was almost certainly in general use before that date.[153] Charles de Brosses, writing in c.1740, had noted this effect being used by the opera orchestras in Rome.[154]

Tutti scoring was devised so that each instrument could be used to its best advantage. This entailed the deployment of the wind instruments so as to provide a series of complete harmonies, either in slow moving or quickly reiterated chords, with the strings playing vigorous broken chord and scale passages. The object was to obtain a brilliant and stimulating forte or fortissimo. This was the style most frequently adopted for the opening movement of a sinfonia. The result is characteristically instrumental, holding the interest by a series of lively figures allied to a driving harmonic scheme. Often such movements were introduced by a tutti unison. This became a mannerism with Galuppi and some of his contemporaries. All the points discussed are illustrated by the sinfonie to Leo's Lucio Papirio (1720) and L'Emira (1735), Vinci's Alessandro nel'Indie (1729) and Porpora's La Semiramide (1729).[155] (Exs.141, 102, 101 and 142) The Porpora sinfonia uses both trumpets and horns

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[152] DDT, Vols.32-33, pp.248-63

[153] Abert, p.215. There is a manuscript of this opera at Naples (N) MS.28.6.25, but it only contains the sinfonia and arias, and does not use the term crescendo. It is written in the hand of Giuseppe Sigismondo, Archivio Reale.

[154] De Brosses, Vol.II, p.379

[155] (BM) RM.MS.22g.14, ff.1^{v}-6^{v}; (BIFA) MS, Vol.I, ff.1^{v}-8^{v}; (N) MS.32.4.9, ff.1^{v}-6^{v}; (N) MS.30.2.14, ff.1^{v}-10^{v}

together, and as a result, complete harmonies on the brass are obtained. In other ways also his treatment of the wind instruments is imaginative. For instance, the oboes sometimes indulge in a sequence of canonic imitation with the violins; and in an al fresco episode following the opening tutti, all the wind band enter one after the other, beginning with the horns, followed by the trumpets, then the oboes and bassoons, in a short passage of playful imitation.

Leo's L'Emira contains a great deal of tutti scoring, not only in the sinfonia but also in the ritornelli. A typical and interesting example is the orchestration of the aria 'T'offro' (Act I, Scene vii). It is scored for strings with oboes and trombe da caccia. The wind is used in the new manner already discussed, but the string texture merits comment. In an attempt to add brilliance in the forte bars, the violins jump up an octave each time. The violas also have an independent and important part, and are entrusted with a semiquaver figure which they repeat throughout the tutti.[156] (Ex.112) Once more the violas are prominent in 'Presso al caro amato' (Act III, Scene vi) in the same opera. They are divided, the lower part being doubled by the cellos, and have the principal material over which the violins and oboes, and later the trumpets, have sustained parts. This texture foreshadows the style which we now term 'classical.'[157] (Ex.143)

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[156] (BIFA) MS, Vol.I, ff.41^{v}-48^{v}

[157] ibid., Vol.II, ff.40^{v}-52. The uppermost two bass clefs in this aria are unnamed, but as the parts written on them contain characteristic brass progressions, and as trombe da caccia is frequently written by such parts in this manuscript, I assume that trumpets were also intended here.

Other interesting tutti passages occur in the sinfonie to Leo's Demofoonte (1735) and Le Nozze di Psiche (1738). In the former the oboes play descending arpeggios outlining the violin triple stops; and with the horns they only play in the forte bars and not in those marked 'dolce.'[158] (Ex.144) In the latter the trumpets play an arpeggio figure in contrary motion to that of the violins; and added to this is a slowly rising arpeggio on the oboes.[159] (Ex.145)

Of the younger composers, Perez's tutti orchestration is typical. The wind instruments are used freely, either to support the strings with a background of complete harmonies, or to play short solos, or to double the strings with important melodies. Every aspect of the texture is carefully considered and marked. A typical example is the orchestration for the aria 'Ah, ah se un figlio sventurato' (Act II, Scene i) in Solimano. It is scored for 'Oboe, trombe lunghe, trombe da caccia in D' and strings.[160] (Ex.146)

Although these full orchestral textures did away with the need for the basso continuo, nevertheless it was not omitted in performance. C. P. E. Bach, writing in 1753-62, went so far as to say that

> Even in heavily scored works, such as operas performed out of doors, where no one would think that the harpsichord could be heard, its absence can certainly be felt.[161]

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[158] (N) MS.28.4.20, ff.1^{v}-9^{v}

[159] (N) MS.28.4.22, ff.1^{v}-6^{v}

[160] (N) MS.30.4.8, ff.4^{v}-17^{v}

[161] Bach, Versuch, II, Einleitung, par.7, translated by Dart, p.65

It was also considered necessary to have two harpsichords in the orchestra. As evidence of this is the direction 'secondo cembalo' during a passage of recitativo secco in Giuseppe Scarlatti's Merope (1755);[162] and Quantz, in discussing the layout of an orchestra in the theatre, advocated that there should be one harpsichord in the centre of the pit, its keyboard towards the audience, and one at the left to support the cellos.[163]

In some of the very fully scored arias, and those in which a special effect was wanted, the direction senza cembalo or senza cembali appears. For instance, the manuscript of Leo's Il Castello d'Atlante contains several such directions at the beginnings of arias. Both 'Sento che l'anima' (Act II, Scene iv) and 'Di pò che stille' (Act III, Scene iii) open with the direction 'senza cembali.' They are also written in a similar style with repeated-note textures for the strings, thus giving a full and vigorous sound.[164] Pizzicato textures were also frequently played without harpsichords, as in 'Dite che fa' (Act II, Scene vi) in Porpora's Tolomeo Re d'Egitto mentioned before.[165] Perhaps in today's performances we should have the courage to play without the keyboard continuo more often, especially in passages where there is no harmonic need for it, and in places where an especially delicate orchestration would be disturbed by the sound of the harpsichord.

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[162] (N) MS.31.3.30, Act I, f.13

[163] Pincherle, pp.86-87

[164] (BM)RM.MS.22g.10, ff.73^{v}-78 and ff.107^{v}-112

[165] (N) MS.34.6.24, ff.60-65. See Ex.110.

The descriptive use of the orchestra

Now that the wind instruments had become permanent members of the orchestra, and orchestral string playing had encompassed a wide range of techniques, composers grasped the opportunity to add instrumental colour to their vocabulary of descriptive figures for their operatic orchestrations. This extended the dramatic role of the orchestra, an aspect which was particularly developed by Leo, Galuppi, Jommelli, Perez and Traetta. The librettists also played their part by including opportunities for descriptive musical settings. De Brosses commented on the descriptive nature of Italian music. In discussing the various types of aria, he mentions:

> ... pretty little songs with ingenious and delicate ideas or comparisons drawn from pleasant objects, such as zephyrs, birds, murmuring waves, country life, &c. ...[166]

There were also the more stormy 'comparison' arias:

> The 'agitato' airs are those presenting pictures of storms, tempests, torrents, thunder-claps, a lion pursued by hunters, a war-horse hearing the sound of the trumpet, the terror of a silent night, &c. - all images quite appropriate to music, but out of place in tragedy. This kind of air devoted to large effects is almost always accompanied by wind instruments - oboes, trumpets, and horns - which make an excellent effect, especially in airs having to do with storms at sea ...[167]

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[166] De Brosses, Vol.II, pp.348-51; translated by Grout, p.186.
[167] ibid.

Many of the arias mentioned earlier in this chapter illustrate these categories. For example, the cool shade and the tinkling fountains are represented by a tremolo texture in 'Quando l'onda che nasce' (Act III, Scene vii) in Sarri's Didone abbandonata (1724).[168] (Ex.97)

The tremolo was a favourite descriptive device. It was used mainly to represent fear and terror, as well as for murmuring and shimmering effects. Vinci uses it to good purpose in an accompanied recitative in Act II, Scene vi of Alessandro nel'Indie. It is introduced solely to accompany the words 'Oh Dio, Qual gelo! qual timor!'[169] Repeated notes, although not strictly classed as a tremolo, were used in similar contexts, especially for expressing great agitation. Pergolesi provides a particularly striking example in L'Olimpiade (1735). Repeated notes on the strings, repeated figures and woodwind trills are used to depict Licida shuddering with rage at the words 'e fremo' in her aria in Scene xv of Act II.[170] (Ex.147) He puts a similar texture to another use in L'Adriano in Siria (1734). A pattern of repeated semiquavers picturesquely represents the shivering Osroa in 'A un semplice islante agghiaccio' (Act I, Scene xii).[171]

There are numerous examples of descriptive figures allied to the text. For instance, Traetta literally portrays the word 'cadrà' in 'Cadrà fra poco cenere' (Act III) in La Didone abbandonata (1757). A descending figure is played in turn by both the violins and the bass instruments, so that it gives the effect of a fall from a great height.[172] (Ex.148)

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[168] (N) MS.31.3.12, ff.155^{v}-158^{v}
[169] (N) MS.32.4.9, ff.86^{v}-87^{v}
[170] (N) MS.30.4.13, ff.71^{v}-83^{v}
[171] (N) MS.30.4.10, ff.55-59
[172] (N) MS.R 8.10, ff.37-44^{v}

Ex.148. La Didone abbandonata, Act III. f.37.



and the rhythm of a galloping horse is reiterated by the second violins throughout 'Quel destriere' in Jommelli's L'Olimpiade (1761).[173] Lean orchestration along with a descriptive figure could be dramatic, as Leo illustrates in Alcina's death scene in Il Castello d'Atlante. The sinuous violin theme, with its alternating forte and piano dynamics, and the sparse three-part string texture, reflect the growing despair of the enchantress as she sings 'Dal pigro lato' (Act III, Scene viii).[174] (Ex.149)

Humour played its part in the intermezzi. Pergolesi wittily uses pizzicato in the final duet of La Serva Padrona (1733). The strings echo the singers as they listen to their heart-beats in 'Senti, senti: tipiti, tipiti, tipiti.'[175] He also satirised the grand style of opera seria in Livietta e Tracollo o la Contadina astuta (1734). Tracollo, disguised as an astrologer, attempts to display his powers in the aria 'Vedo l'aria s'un bruna.' All the stock 'agitato' aria situations are paraded one by one in a musical setting which comically overstates the case. Its scoring is unusual in that a full orchestra of oboes, trumpets, and strings is used, the

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[173] Grout, p.223

[174] (BM) RM.MS.22g.10, ff.127-128

[175] Philharmonia miniature score No.84, p.123

more common practice in an intermezzo being to write only for strings.[176]

Changes in texture and colour were frequently used to underline key phrases or emotions. Mele has recourse to this method in 'Quel canto Nocchiero' in Act II, Scene iii of Angelica e Medoro (1747). At the words 'Compallido volto' only the oboes, bassoons, and trumpets accompany the voice with eerie, sustained piano chords; and for the following phrase,'L'orror della morte' the violins enter with a pulsating figure whose dramatic effect is heightened by the sudden, stabbing forte markings which disrupt its flow. Added to this is the tone colour of the bassoons, which double the violin figure in the octave below, thus recalling the Renaissance symbolism associated with their sombre line.[177] (Ex.150)

The individual colour of the wind instruments was still used symbolically, although the total impression of the complete orchestration was now more often arranged to reflect the various moods and emotions needed. The colour of the flute and its associations has already been discussed, and it remains only to mention a few other examples. Bird song was still associated with the woodwind instruments. Feo chose the recorder to represent the nightingale in 'Canto e piange il rosignuolo' (Act II) in Amor tirannico (1713),[178] and Pergolesi the oboe for the same purpose in 'Fiero cosi talvolta fra lacci' (Act I, Scene xvi) in L'Adriano in Siria (1734).[179]

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[176] (N) MS.32.2.9, ff.34-39

[177] (N) MS.28.2.28, ff.148-159^{v}

[178] (N) MS.32.3.28, ff.99-103

[179] (N) MS.30.4.10, ff.67^{v}-72

(Ex.151) Country life and its surroundings were treated in a similar manner, and so it is not surprising to find flutes playing a prominent part in such settings, as in Porpora's Tolomeo Re d'Egitto and La Semiramide,[180] and Traetta's Armida (1760).[181] The orchestration of this latter nature scene, 'O porsento! stupor!' (Act II, Scene i) is most delicately wrought. The scoring is for muted strings, including divided violas, flutes, and horns. It is opened by the strings alone playing 'Sotto voce e con sordini'; (Ex.152) later the wind enters, and there are instrumental obbligati in the vocal pauses as well. The whole texture reflects Rinaldo's wonder at the beauty and peace of nature.

Occasionally instruments were added to the standard orchestra for the sake of local colour. The cymbals in Perez's Solimano have been discussed before,[182] and it remains only to mention the appearance of the mandoline for a serenade in Sarri's Achille in Sciro (1737).[183]

There were few incidental orchestral pieces, and these were mainly marches or serenades. Marches were mostly heavily scored with a prominent part for all the wind: for example, a trumpet flourish opens the march for the Trojans in Sarri's Didone abbandonata,[184] and short solos for flutes, oboes, and horns are interspersed throughout the march in Act I, Scene ix in Jommelli's Fetonte.[185]

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[180] (N) MS.34.6.24, Act I, Scene v, ff.30^{v}-32^{v}; (N) MS.30.2.14, Act III, Scene vi, ff.110-115^{v}.

[181] (N) MS.32 6.10, ff.15-24^{v}

[182] (N) MS.30.4.7, ff.40^{v}-43^{v}

[183] (N) MS.31.3.8, Act II, Scene i, ff.115-121

[184] (N) MS.31.3.12, Act III, Scene i, ff.144-145

[185] DDT, Vols.32-33, pp.85-86

Double orchestras became quite popular, especially if there was an opportunity to place one on the stage. Sarri was fond of this arrangement. In L'Arsace (1718) the stage directions for Act III, Scene vi direct that the wind instruments be on the stage -

> Obuè sullà scena, sullà scena Fagotti.
> Giardino. Morante co' alcuni sonatori
> e Merilla in disparte;[186]

and there is a similar distribution of instruments in the prologue, where the concerto d'oboè and then the 'Corni da caccia', open the piece before the rest of the orchestra join in. It is immediately followed by the aria 'Al rimbombo de nostri martelli' for which the same orchestration is kept. The score gives the following directions, part of which is illegible because the edge of the page has been cut off: 'v.v. et obuè sù la scena... ... Fagotti.' Presumably the bassoons were also on the stage.[187] Double orchestras were used for elaborate echo effects and for accompanying duets. Jommelli combines the two methods in the duet between Onoria and Valentiniano in Act III, Scene ii of Ezio (1741). The echo effect is heightened by the violins of the second orchestra being muted.[188]

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[186] (N) MS.16.1.29, ff.133-136

[187] ibid., ff.7^{v}-8^{v}

[188] (N) MS.28.5.11, ff.90-99

The role of the orchestra

During the eighteenth century the role of the orchestra was greatly increased as composers realised to the full its potentialities. This is evident in many ways. More and more arias were orchestrally accompanied throughout, until by the middle of the century, all were treated in this way. The accompaniments themselves became more elaborate and thoroughly instrumental in idiom, thus providing a contrast to the vocal line. The ritornelli and particularly the opening passages became longer, and in some cases contained elements of the symphonic style. The sturdy triadic themes, rushing scale passages, and tutti unisons, are all features which have been formerly considered the property of the Mannheim symphonists, but this style was also in common usage by the Italian opera composers, and can be seen not only in their sinfonie but also in their ritornelli, aria accompaniments, and accompanied recitatives. There was even an attempt by Jommelli and Traetta to fuse all these diverse elements into a whole in which the orchestra provided a continuous and often symphonically developed musical background.

This preoccupation with the symphonic style can be seen in the works of Galuppi, where the orchestral accompaniment sometimes becomes more important in both interest and structure than the vocal line. In such circumstances little attention is paid to the detailed meaning of the words, all the music being subjected to the requirements of a primitive symphonic development. The aria 'Taci amor' (Act I, Scene iv) in Galuppi's Il Filosofo di Campagna (1754) is treated thus.[189] The ritorn-

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[189] (BM) RM.MS.22c.20, ff.26^{v}-31

ello is twenty-four bars long. Its opening idea is of a symphonic nature; a short descending phrase ending in a tutti unison figure, with its characteristic rhythm  being repeated and developed to provide a bustling transition to the dominant key. Here a new and more cantabile idea is introduced in the style of a second subject. Eventually this leads back to a tutti passage and a return to the tonic key for the entry of the voice. (Ex.15) The material of the ritornello, particularly the  figure, is developed almost independently from the voice. The first violins do double the vocal line from time to time, but rarely are the orchestral parts subordinate to the singer. Basically the piece is a da capo aria, and so there is no recapitulation in the sonata-form sense, but the opening ritornello, the ensuing modulations, and the nature of the orchestral material, do impart a definite feeling of a symphonic movement. Other arias in the same opera are treated in a similar way, noticeably 'Se perde il caro lido' (Act I, Scene i).[190] Galuppi's symphonic interest was not only manifest in his operas but also in his sacred music, where there is an even more extreme example of the orchestral interest being paramount, in the Credo in G major.[191]

In the accompanied recitatives, the younger composers were not content to write a series of sustained chords discreetly supporting the voice, but tended to express their ideas in short, emotional arioso phrases, which could be developed, repeated, and made to reappear so as to hold to-

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[190] (BM) RM.MS.22c.20, ff.10^{v}-14^{v}

[191] (V) MS.10777

gether the diverse sections of the text as a whole. As a result, these recitatives took on a symphonic character, especially in the works of Jommelli, which foreshadow those of Mozart. Another aspect of the accompanied recitative is that it puts the singer and the instrumentalist on an equal footing.

Porpora wrote some embryonic accompanied recitatives. For example, in Act I, Scene ii of La Rosmene he deliberately juxtaposes recitativo stromentato and recitativo secco. There are seventeen bars of accompanied recitative which are abruptly followed by the secco passage before the aria begins. The instrumental section is scored for strings, and the texture employs many dramatic techniques - passages of demisemiquaver broken chords and scales, a tremolo, sustained chords, and stabbing chordal interjections.[192] Jommelli's recitatives are more dramatic and symphonic. The recitative in Act II, Scene ii in La Didone (1746) is thirty bars long. It is dominated by a figure which is presented at the beginning by the muted strings. (Ex.154) There is only one other melodic idea which is introduced in the middle of the passage in order to heighten the effect of the modulation to the minor submediant.[193]

Ex.154. La Didone, Act II, sc.ii. f.53v.



[192] (BM) Add.MS.14113, ff.12-13

[193] (N) MS.28.5.6, ff.53v-54v

In Fetonte he strove for unity between the recitative 'Misera! Ea chi pietade' and the aria 'Spargerò d'amare lagrime' (Act I, Scene vii). The recitative is dominated by two ideas; the first provides the orchestral material for the andantino; the second, in the andante, is linked to the first by the prevailing lombard rhythm. This second motive, relentlessly reiterated by the second violins in the aria, links the whole scene together both architecturally and emotionally, for its sighing appogiaturas not only distinctly characterise the figure itself but also imaginatively reflect Libia's distress and unhappiness.[194] (Exs.155a-c)

The incidental orchestral pieces are mainly of little musical interest, and those worth noting have been described earlier in the chapter.[195] The balli are also orchestrally insignificant and frequently only sketchily indicated in the manuscripts. Only in the works of Jommelli and Traetta are dance scenes of any importance. Both these composers were influenced by the traditions of the French stage and by the teaching of Jean-Georges Novarre. Their dances are mainly associated with the chorus, and as a result become an integral part of the drama. The recurring chorus 'Della gran buccina' (Act I, Scene iii) in Jommelli's Fetonte,[196] and the dance scenes and choruses portraying the furies in Traetta's Ifigenia in Tauride (Act II, Scene iv),[197] illustrate this.

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[194] DDT, Vols.32-33, pp.69-83

[195] See pp.164, 179-180

[196] DDT, Vols.32-33, pp.31-36

[197] (N) MS.32.6.13; Grout, pp.225-26

It was an attempt by both composers to provide a continuous orchestral background to the stage action. They combined solo passages, dialogue, choruses, and orchestral pieces in a variety of ways so that maximum musical continuity could be obtained. This in turn placed even more emphasis on the orchestral contribution. They realised that if opera was to be rejuvenated, then the orchestra must assume a more important dramatic role. The sinfonia to Fetonte is a good example. It is cast in the usual three movements, but the second movement is a dance-chorus which acts as the opening scene of Act I, and the final movement represents an earthquake, after which, with Scene ii, the opera proper begins.[198] Traetta attempted to link the sinfonia to the drama in a different way. In Sofonisba (1762) the melody of the second movement of the sinfonia reappears in the vocal quintet in the opera's final scene.[199] These links between sinfonia and drama are slight movements towards the direction already taken by Rameau in Castor et Pollux (1737) and later to be taken by Gluck and his followers.[200]

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[198] DDT, Vols.32-33, pp.1-13

[199] Grout, p.225

[200] ibid.