# Diva over Divine:
# Towards a Historically Informed Performance of the Sacred Solo Motet in Early Eighteenth-Century Venice

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# Abstract

In preparation for a performance, a musician may ask "how was it performed?"; "how could it be performed?"; "Can I perform it in a similar way to...?". For singers wishing to perform the music for solo voice heard in the sacred institutions of early-eighteenth century Italy, the questions are left unanswered. In the broad field of vocal performance practice, the corner in which eighteenth-century sacred vocal music stands remains in shadow. Histories of eighteenth-century music skim the surface of sacred repertoire and leave the genres, and their performance, undisturbed. Those that do illumine the sections of this rich history often stay at the surface and write overviews of a genre in a location. A lack of study has left much repertoire neglected and so modern performers lack the knowledge to access the repertoire and realise it in performances. In a bid to suggest answers to the questions of a performer, I have chosen to investigate the performance of the solo motet in the context of sacred 1720-50s Venice.

This thesis explores the position of the solo motet genre in early eighteenth-century Venice, it's role as a point of intersection between the secular and sacred musical spheres and seeks to answer the question: would the performance of a sacred solo motet employ the same performance practice as that of a secular cantata or operatic aria? Specifically, I explain how the solo motet interacted with Venice's social, political and musical contexts. I place the solo motet as a vehicle for secular vocal performance practice in the churches of the Venetian *ospedali*. This acts as context for a case study which focuses on the *Motetto a voce sola con instrumenti* by Nicola Porpora for Graziosa in 1744. To form an idea of the performance practice employed by the original soloist, I will evaluate the vocal tuition received by the members of the *figlie del cori*, and the practice this facilitated, and the popular performance practice discussed in the treatises of Pier Francesco Tosi and Giocomo Mancini. I will compare the employment of virtuosic ornamentation in the solo motet to contemporary secular opera arias and cantatas. This thesis will be drawn to conclusion with a historically informed performance edition of the first aria of the solo motet.

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# Abbreviations

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| A1 | First Aria. |
| A2 | Second Aria. |
| A1A | First Aria, Section A. |
| A1B | First Aria, Section B. |
| A2A | Second Aria, Section A. |
| A2B | Second Aria, Section B. |
| ICSC | *In caelo stelle clare.* |

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# Introduction

Everyone knows a solo motet.

"Alleluia, alleluia, alleluia", the final movement of Mozart's *Exultate Jubilate* draws the solo motet to a close in a tremendous display of technical excellence. If it weren't for the religious text and acclamations of 'Alleluia', it would not look out of place in an opera. Mozart composed the sacred solo motet in Milan, 1773 and dedicated the composition to the virtuoso, and castrati, Venanzio Rauzzini to best highlight Rauzzini's extensive vocal ability. In modern performance, *Exultate Jubilate* has become a staple, and show-off party-piece, in the repertoire of performing sopranos. But *Exultate Jubilate* is just one of thousands of solo motets composed in the seventeenth and eighteenth-century; it was preceded by a rich history of performance in the genre and succeeded by a disappearing act.

The solo motet is one of the primary genres in the musical output of sacred eighteenth-century Italy so how and why has it been neglected? Few scholars have approached the sacred solo motet in their research and even fewer performers have included it in a recital or CD. In contrast to the many singers that have approached the fiery operatic arias of Farinelli and Caffarelli, few have performed the solo motets of the girls in the Venetian *ospedali*, let alone perform a historically informed performance (henceforth HIP.) The roots of the HIP can be found in the early twentieth century work of Arnold Dolmetsch. His 1915 publication, *The interpretation of the Music of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*,[1] gave way to higher level of antiquarianism, the modern performance of early music, than that seen in earlier centuries. The Early Music Movement excelled in popularity and debate after the Second World War. Active members of the debate included Richard Taruskin: in 1995, Taruskin published *Text and Act*. He suggested that 'historical' performances could never be truly historical; this is part of a debate on the authenticity of performance. Taruskin argued that by realising 'historical' music in a 'historical' way, the performer was actually performing in a modern way. In such a case, the performance would be authentic to the modern performer rather than authentic to the historical performance.[2] The term 'authenticity' has only caused confusion in the discussion; Peter Walls rightly suggests that performances of historical works should be considered as HIP.[3] 'Informed' gives the performers the freedom to cherry pick the aspects of the historical performance, and contemporary styles, they wish to employ. Modern performers can choose to employ period instruments, original ornaments, the urtext edition, or contemporary performance practice. The HIP explored in this thesis, engages with the latter. As a modern performer, I intend to gain an understanding of the performance practice historically employed in the performance of an eighteenth-century sacred solo motet. So where does this information come from?

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[1] Dolmetsch, *The interpretation of the music of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries revealed by contemporary evidence*, (London, 1915).
[2] Taruskin, *Music in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: The Oxford History of Western Music*, (Oxford, 2009).
[3] Walls, "Historical Performance and the Modern Performer", 31.

It is highly likely that the repertoire has been neglected in modern performance due to a lack of information available. This is unsurprising considering the little reception the genre has received in modern scholarship. Take some of the editions of 'A history of Eighteenth-Century Music', or similar wordings: the histories by Manfred Bukhofzer and George Buelow do little by way of making conversation on the solo motet. In *Music in the Baroque Era*, Bukhofzer terms solo motets as 'liturgical monodies' and mentions only those by Grandi and Monteverdi in a single paragraph.[4] Buelow mentions it only in the context of the composers (Monteverdi and Viadana) rather than a genre as a whole.[5] In *Baroque Music* by John Walter Hill, Chapter 14 is entitled 'Italian Vocal Music, ca. 1680-1730' and it covers opera, the cantata, oratorio and 'Latin Church Music.'[6] Hill's discussion on Latin Church Music highlights a few developments made through the early eighteenth-century. For example, Hill explains the infusion of the *da capo* structure into the arias found in sacred repertoire. What promises an explanation of the solo motet results in just a few paragraphs outlining the state of sacred music and even fewer mention of the solo motet. In more recent years, Paul Laird's contribution to Simon Keefe's 2009 publication *Eighteenth-century Music* develops the discussion a little further.[7] Laird comments that 'operatic writing became especially popular in motets' but, yet again, it is not explained how.[8] Given such a survey, it is unsurprising that Dennis Arnold found even less when approaching the genre in the 1970s. Arnold is one of the most cited scholars in the research of solo motets; his 1979 publication of 'The solo motet in Venice (1625-1775)' brought to light the genre that had fallen to shadow with the contribution of an overview of the solo motet over a 150-year period.[9] Arnold justifies this scope by indicating that it encompasses the 1625 publication of Simonetti's *Gharlanda Sacra* in 1625, a catalogue of solo motets, and the end of musical reign of Venice's *ospedali*; the tradition of the solo motet was particularly prevalent in the *ospedali*. Throughout the article, Arnold follows the developing virtuosity of the solo motet and employment of ornamentation; he explains that the ornamentation in motets performed 1625-30 was not continuous.[10] Arnold indicates the standardisation of an ornamented approach as he nears the era of Antonio Vivaldi in Venice; Arnold differentiates Vivaldi's solo motets from those of the Neapolitans arriving in the 1720s by highlighting the influence of the concerto on the former's compositions, and the operatic influence on the latter's compositions. Denis Arnold concludes his overview of the solo motet with a pondering of the 'frivolous', and potentially 'blasphemous' nature of the genre;[11] his overview makes suggestions to a growing emphasis on the solo voice and virtuosity in the solo motets through the seventeenth and eighteenth-century. Arnold closes his discussion stating, 'Brilliant they [the solo motets] are; attracting attention to Diva rather than Divine they may be; but that some of them are excellent

[4] Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era*.
[5] Buelow, *A history of baroque music*.
[6] Hill, *Baroque Music*.
[7] Laird, "Catholic church music in Italy, and the Spanish and Portuguese Empires", 27-58.
[8] Laird, "Catholic church music in Italy, and the Spanish and Portuguese Empires", 31.
[9] Arnold, "The Solo Motet in Venice (1625-1775)", 56-68.
[10] Arnold, "The Solo Motet in Venice (1625-1775)", 57.
[11] Arnold, "The Solo Motet in Venice (1625-1775)", 67.

music is certain.'[12] Arnold's closing remarks inspired the title of this thesis and provoked these following questions. What performance practice would have been employed in performances of the solo motet? Would the employed performance practice draw on the secular performance practice of the time? Does the solo motet facilitate the employment of a secular performance practice?

Some contextual studies have followed Arnold's publications including Laura Rushing-Raynes' *A history of the venetian sacred solo motet*, *The sacred vocal music of Antonio Vivaldi* published by Michael Talbot in 1995, and Sven Hansell's *Works for solo voice of Johann Adolph Hasse, 1699-1783*.[13] Raynes, from the perspective of a performer, agrees with Arnold that the repertoire remains neglected in scholarship and performance. Raynes traces the life of the solo motet in sacred Venice in the 17th century with a focus on the repertoire composed at San Marco between the times of Monteverdi and Vivaldi. Her discussion focuses on the interaction between the Venetian context and the increasingly virtuosic styles exhibited in the solo motets composed at San Marco. Talbot provides more detail on the musical output of Vivaldi, with a brief nod towards the solo motet, in his 1995 publication of *The sacred vocal music of Antonio Vivaldi*. Talbot highlights the religious and social context of Vivaldi's composition of the solo motet; the focus of discussion is largely placed on the location, and role, of the solo motet in religious services. Hansell's publication is a catalogue of Hasse's pieces for solo voice accompanied by a commentary on the collections. Hansell does little by way of indicating how the music was performed but, by placing the cantatas and solo motets side-by-side, he emphasises the similarities in text and compositional structure giving way to performance opportunities.

Few other studies interact with the context of the solo motet. Raynes concludes her thesis on the Baroque solo motet with a look towards modern performance of the repertoire. Raynes mentions the eighteenth-century vocal treatises, for example, Pier Francesco Tosi's *Observations*.[14] She provides her readers with a source for performance practice but stops short of how to apply the writings of Tosi to the solo motet. Other scholars, such as Charles Rye, have focused their study of the performance of solo motets on a specific composer or performer. Rye prepares a modern performance edition of two of the motets in Alessandro Scarlatti's *Concerti Sacri*, Op.2. Chapter 1 of his study places the collection in its historical context as well as the musical output of Scarlatti; Chapter 2 is dedicated to a structural analysis of the motets and Chapter 3 is a discussion of performance considerations for the repertoire.[15] Here, Rye discusses the performance practice in the *bel canto* style and reflects upon the approaches to general performance style indicated by Tosi and Johann Joachim Quantz.[16] In addition to Mancini's *Pensieri*, the treatises of Tosi and Quantz have proved heavily cited in the limited studies on the performance of solo motets.[17] Others to draw insight from the treatises include Stefano Aresi and Kurt Markstrom;[18] Aresi

[12] Arnold, D. "The Solo Motet in Venice (1625-1775)", 68.
[13] Hansell, *Works for solo voice of Johann Adolph Hasse, 1699-1783*; Rushing-Raynes, *A history of the venetian sacred solo motet*; Talbot, *The sacred vocal music of Antonio Vivaldi*.
[14] Tosi, *Observations on the Florid Song: or Sentiments on the Ancient and Modern Singers*.
[15] Rye, *Editions of Selected Motets from 'Concerti Sacri', Opus. 2 By Alessandro Scarlatti (1660-1725)*.
[16] Quantz, Johann. *On Playing the Flute*.
[17] Mancini, *Pensieri e riflessioni pratiche spora il canto figurato*

and Markstrom compiled performance editions of their selected repertoire, Aresi's study is focused on the solo motets composed for Angiola Moro in the Venetian *ospedali* and Markstrom reconstructed the Vespers for the Assumption 1744 by Nicola Porpora. The prevalence of the treatises by Tosi, Quantz and Mancini, in the studies concluding with a performance edition suggests that the performance practice advised was that employed in eighteenth-century sacred repertoire.[19] The previously mentioned scholars claim the solo motet was a vehicle for secular performance styles in the sacred sphere, but few indicate how, or why, this was possible. In light of their use, they will prove to be key resources in my contribution to the current scholarship on the sacred solo motet.

In this thesis, I seek to determine whether a sacred vocal work in early-eighteenth-century Italian repertory would have been approached with the same performance practice as a secular work for solo voice. The objectives of this research are:

- To place the sacred solo motet in the context of the early-eighteenth-century Venice
- To investigate the performance practice likely to be employed by the girls at the *ospedali* through investigation of the teaching, performance context, treatises of the time and ear-witness accounts.
- To analyse the opportunities for, and employment of, virtuosic performance practice in a sacred solo motet and consider the approaches made. The opportunities and approach will be compared to similar opportunities in secular operatic arias and cantatas by Nicola Porpora (1720-1750) and his contemporaries.
- To prepare a performance edition of the selected and analysed solo motets for Soprano voice for the target audience - modern soprano.

The objectives are addressed across two parts. Part 1 of this thesis aims to contextualise the possibility of the solo motet as a vehicle for secular performance practice in the sacred sphere. The first section will be an overview of the developments in the Baroque Italian music leading to an investigation of Venice's musical environment and how it promoted the development and popularity of the solo motet. The final section will focus on the culture of solo performance in the *ospedali* and the prevalence of the solo motet in its musical output. Throughout the discussion, I interact with recent literature to weave together the social, economic and cultural elements of eighteenth-century Venice and the emergence of the Solo Motet, concluding in its dominance in the sacred musical output of Venice at this time.

Part 2 is a discussion of performance practice employed in a case study of Porpora's *Motetto a Voce Sola con instrumenti*, *In caelo stelle clare per Graziosa*. Porpora was a prolific composer of the 1720s-1750s: Porpora's operas, of which there were over forty, were performed across Europe including the foot-

[18] Aresi, *Sei duettie latini sulla passione di nostros ignore Gesù Cristo.*; Markstrom, *A reconstruction of the 1744 Service at the Ospedaletto in Venice.*
[19] Tosi, *Observations*; Mancini, *Pensieri*; Quantz, *On Playing the Flute.*

holding cities of opera, Naples, Venice and London. Porpora's compositional output was mostly vocal music and included a well-received publication of twelve cantatas, twelve serenatas, fourteen oratorios, and a wealth of sacred repertoire. Though successful in composition, his musical influence is felt more in vocal pedagogy. Whilst we may associate his name with operas, such as *Polifemo* (1735), other names are better associated with them, for example, Farinelli and Caffarelli; these were two of the most famous castrati of Porpora's time and where Porpora's talent and influence is shown best. The widely renowned vocal performance of Farinelli and Caffarelli is the result of Porpora's singing tuition. Today, audiences attend classical concerts based on the composer's name more than the performer's whereas, in the eighteenth-century, audiences attended opera based on the performer. An opera starring Farinelli was the eighteenth-century equivalent of a concert by Beyoncé at Wembley Stadium; the audience go for the performer. It is understandable that instead of remembering Porpora for his composition, we remember him through the performers that put his teachings into practice: so, what did he teach? Porpora is part of the group of Neapolitan composers and vocal teachers. He trained at *Conservatorio dei Poveri di Gesu Cristo*, Naples from 1696, probably under the hand of First Master, Gaetano Greco, and Second Master, Don Matteo Giordano. Following years of study, he made his opera debut of *Agrippina* in 1708 and attained the role of *maestro* at *Conservatorio di Sant'Onofrio* in 1715. Prior to employment he had taught privately - students included *Porporino* (Antonio Uberti.) Once in position at *Sant'Onofrio*, Porpora taught Farinelli, Caffarelli and Salimbeni, all of whom went on to have prosperous performance careers. His reputation as a singing teacher led to his employment as *maestro* at *Incurabili*, Venice in 1726. Porpora returned to similar positions at the other *ospedali* following a trip to London in 1730s; Porpora was appointed as *maestro* at *Pieta* in 1742 and *Ospedaletto* from 1743. In this role, he refined the famous voices of Angiola Moro and Caterina Gabrieli as well as the many other girls in the institutions including Graziosa. Unfortunately, very little is documented about Porpora's but there is no doubt that his teaching is legendary, and it is with a legend that I start my quest into his teachings. His teaching methods and performance practice have lived on through his students and resulted in the myth of 'Porpora's Page.' Nineteenth-century scholars drew up an elaborate story of a single sheet of paper which contained all of Porpora's exercises.[20] Modern scholars, including Nicholas Baragwanath, have drawn on this myth and the teaching of Porpora's contemporaries' to sketch an idea of eighteenth-century vocal pedagogy.[21] Due to a limited reception of Porpora's teaching materials, the discussion of taught performance practice is informed by the pedagogical materials of his contemporaries. Two of the secular works used in this section are by Porpora and the third is an aria by Giacomelli in Farinelli's hand with an additional stave upon which his ornamented approach is notated.

Through an analysis of the vocal lines of the motet, eighteenth-century vocal pedagogy and popular secular works, I will form a hypothesis of how sacred vocal works were performed; I look to suggest how closely the practice employed for sacred performance stands to that of contemporary secular

[20] Choron & Fayolle, *Dictionnaire Historique des Musiciens*, 5.
[21] Baragwanath, *The Solfeggio Tradition*, 129.

vocal works. Ultimately, this thesis will 1) provide a platform for the neglected genre, the solo motet, 2) provide a context of performance for the solo motet, and 3) provide modern performers with a historically informed performance practice for modern realisation of the repertoire. In turn, the thesis will contribute to a broader discussion on the performance of sacred repertoire composed in eighteenth-century Italy. I will conclude my findings with a modern typeset of the solo motet including notes on performance options.

# Part 1

## The Sacred Solo Motet as a point of intersection between early Eighteenth-Century Sacred and Secular Venice

### 1.1 The state of music in early eighteenth-century Venice

'Music, indeed, like vegetation, flourishes differently in different climates; and in proportion to the culture and encouragement it receives.'

- Charles Burney, 1776.[22]

The Republic of Venice consolidated its regional power and saw vast economic growth across the sixteenth and, most of, the seventeenth centuries. Surrounded by water, the unique geographical location of the city acted as an entry point to Europe. At the end of the sixteenth century, Venice was a link between Europe and Asia: Venice imported rich goods from the East and exported these onwards to mainland Italy and the rest of Europe. Though an important trade link, Venice was also the manufacturing centre for the glassmaking, printing and fabric industries.[23] The interconnecting city for Europe and the rest of the world was a melting-pot of people from all walks of life; people from all walks of life, Muslims and Christians, Venetians and foreigners, intellectuals and artists could all be found in "the city of Masks".[24] The cosmopolitan city was well established long before the eighteenth-century and its musical scene reflected this: the first three *maestri* at San Marco were Petrus de Fossis (1491–1537), Adriaan Willaert (1527–63), and Cipriano de Rore (1563–4); these first three *maestri di cappella* were from the Netherlands. In such a liberal, multi-cultural environment it is no surprise that Venice was rich in influence for progressive thought, including musical style and composition. The city provided many opportunities for composers and performers in its churches, theatres, and *ospedali*; as support from nobles for artistic culture in these venues grew, foreign composers and performers travelled to find work whilst tourism for such culture exploded. Whilst the people and culture remained, the same cannot be said for the wealth of the Republic: in the seventeenth-century, Venice weakened. Firstly, Venice was pushed out of mainstream trade between Central Europe and surrounding countries by changes in shipping laws.[25] Secondly, involvement in wars such as the Cretan War (1645–1669) and Sixth and Seventh Ottoman-Venetian wars lost them many of their Mediterranean possessions. The loss of land caused a power-shift between the Venetian and Ottoman empires. These are two factors which contributed to a decline in Venice's trade and economy. Other factors included an imbalance of birth and death rates. Between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries, the birth rate did not exceed the death rate which meant immigration

[22] Burney, *A General History of Music*, vii.
[23] Pullman, *Crisis and change in the Venetian economy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, 89-90.
[24] Selfridge-Field, "Venice in an Era of Political Decline".
[25] Pullman, *Crisis and change in the Venetian economy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*.

was vital for maintaining the population, so much so that it was encouraged. A reliance on migration to the city, mainly from mainland Italy, played a part in a shift from maritime trade to culture. In summary, by the turn of the eighteenth-century, Venice's position of power was widely recognised as entering a state of crisis. The shift in power was echoed by a shift in importance of commodities. The income from cultural traditions of Venice, such as glassmaking and painting, which once accompanied the historically affluent imports, became Venice's principal sources of income. Thus, the cultural scene of Venice blossomed.

The musical culture of Venice was no exception. Over the sixteenth, seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries, the music of Venice adapted to fit the changing attitudes and needs of the Republic. The ever-present music was found in churches, and private chambers, across the city and, in the early seventeenth-century, public theatres further widened its reach. As musical institutions began to draw more visitors to the city, music became a commercialised product. Through economic intake, music became a sign of power for the Republic.

### 1.1.1 Towards an Eighteenth-Century Venetian Sacred Music

Sacred music could be heard across Catholic Europe in the cathedrals, ducal chapels, parish churches and charitable institutions, for example, the *ospedali*. In the Roman Catholic institutions, the *maestri di cappella* were responsible for directing the resident ensembles and providing music for the services. The sheer abundance of sacred music across Italy, and the rest of Europe, provided great opportunity for advancement of styles. The widespread developments made were not localised, as highlighted by Müller, an early scholar on the Baroque period: 'The closer one comes to the turn of the seventeenth century, the more difficult it becomes to distinguish within church music autonomous stylistic tendencies associated with specific cities.'[26] A Pan-Italian style was emerging with growing movement of composers, performers, and their music, across Europe. With the increased travel came exchange of ideas consequently resulting in the dilution of cities' independent styles and the development of a Baroque Italian Sacred music.

Buelow identifies the consciousness of style to define the Italian sacred music of the Baroque period. The two clearly defined styles are *stile antico* and *stile modern*; the former is characterised by the contrapuntal music, best associated with Palestrina, and the latter, its antithesis *stile moderno*. *Stile antico* was primarily developed and employed in Rome's churches but reached beyond the walls of the city over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The contrapuntal style was heavily employed for multi-movement works including those of Monteverdi and Bach; it created contrast, a love of Baroque composers, to the more contemporary styles of the time. The developing, contemporary, forms included 1) monodies, including the sacred solo motet, and 2) the *concertato* style, large- and small-scale, as defined by George Buelow in *A History of Baroque Music*.[27]

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[26] Talbot, *The sacred vocal music of Antonio Vivaldi*, 1.
[27] Buelow, *A History of Baroque Music*, 42.

Sacred Monody

The first of the styles, sacred monody, saw the integration of solo motets and cantatas into religious services. Both styles were infusions of the popular secular monody; the notion of secular monody was evident prior to the sixteenth century and continued to grow in popularity through the 1600s. The style provided composers with an opportunity to experiment with expression, contrast and ornamentation in a way that reflected the texts they were setting. Secular monodies departed from the standard forms and approaches of the renaissance period. Composers wrote for a single voice and continuo part whilst reflecting on the music from the previous era; composers edited music with the addition of the basso continuo which took the form of an abbreviated score. The employment of the basso continuo allowed for missing harmonies to be filled in; the continuo could also play *a cappella* pieces. Composing for one voice with accompaniment was appealing to Italian churches as it reduced economic demands. Moreover, the sacred monodies saw the infusion of secular monody into the church and an aesthetic shift that provided the same opportunities that were found in secular monody whilst preserving the intelligibility of sung text and incorporated the growing importance of the organ in the liturgy. Both the solo motet and cantata gave the soloist the opportunity for virtuosity.

*Concertato* styles

The same opportunities are given to singers in the *concertato* styles: music in this style was scored for soloists, at least one choir and instrumental ensembles. The *concertato* style was heard in religious services from the late-seventeenth century onwards. The solo passages were often characterised by ornamentation and emotional expression whilst the sections for the choir and instruments underwent dramatic harmony or imitative polyphony.

The developing inclusion of soloists and virtuosic expression in the musical output did not avoid criticism or objection. Papal legislation across the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries moved back-and-forth on the permitted styles: in 1665, Pope Alexander stated that 'No solo voice, high or low, is permitted, either for the whole or part of a psalm, hymn or motet.'; [28] in 1692, Pope Innocent XII ordered that 'His holiness does not in any way permit or allow any motet or song to be sung during mass unless it pertains to the Mass itself[...] and during Vespers his Holiness permits only those antiphons which come before and after the psalms, and these should be sung without any alteration.'[29] Music was, and still remains, an important aspect of religious practices but the aforementioned restrictions demonstrate that the contemporary styles of *stile moderno*, was considered a threat to the traditions of the church. This feeling towards non-liturgical music was not new as discussed in Craig Monson's *The Council of Trent Revisited*: in 1562, the Twenty-second session of the Council of Trent, musical practices were to be

[28] Hayburn, *Papal legislation on sacred music, 95 A.D. to 1977 A.D.*, 78.
[29]Selfridge-Field, *Pallade Veneta*, 62.

discussed as an "abuse of the Mass".[30] Notes record members of the council commenting that 'Around the moment of the elevation of most holy sacrament,...,organs make a great noise and musicians sing,..., to distract souls from spiritual ordinations.'[31] Moreover, 'In the singing at the time of the sacrament, there has begun to be much licentiousness against the custom of the ancient church'.[32] These comments pre-date but, are similar to those made by the Popes in the seventeenth century. In all cases, the music was declared as an interruption of religious passage or a distraction, too long, too loud, or too secular. Through 1562, the discussions of the Council of Trent included suggestions of abolishment of such music but final publication shied from a drastic measure of abolishment; instead, the Council wrote 'Let them keep away from churches compositions in which there is an intermingling of the lascivious or impure, whether by instrument or voice.'[33] Further attempts made by the Council can be seen in the notes of the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth sessions which included attempts to clarify the declamation of previous sessions and to reform convent musical practices.[34] In the following years, the council saw stipulations for chapel masters who would follow the laws declared by the council and the continuing importance of textual intelligibility, and relevance, in sacred music. Response to the laws of the council, and those of the Pope, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, differed between cities: Venice was on the periphery of the reach of both powers and promoted liberal responses to the popes and suggestions made in the council, for example, Venice suggested the reformation of convent music to be at the jurisdiction of the Nun Superior and treated in an individual manner from convent to convent. Moreover, Venice had a continuous growth of the solo motet, a frowned-upon style in the aforementioned declarations.

### 1.2 Promotion of the development of soloistic sacred music

The papal legislation had little effect on the musical output of Venice; Dennis Arnold justifies his use of Venice, as the centre for his background study on the solo motet, by claiming the tradition was more continuous there; Rushing-Raynes' thesis on the history of the style at San Marco stresses the claim.[35] There were three key factors impacting on the development of sacred music in eighteenth-century Venice: 1) the power of the Doge and the Ducal Chapel, 2) the affluent secular musical culture, and, 3), the *ospedali*.

[30]Monson, Craig. "The Council of Trent Revisited", 6.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] The attempt to reform the Convent Musical Practices suggested that no professionals were to be hired at the institutions with the sole purpose of music. In publication, the Council left this matter to the jurisdiction of the heads of the orders and, moreover, prevented the musical songs from being prohibited.
[35] Rushing-Raynes, *A history of the Venetian sacred solo motet*.

### 1.2.1 The Ducal Chapel

Across many countries in Europe, such as England, the Monarchy was allied with the church in both Catholic and Anglican history. Though not a monarch, the Doge was the senior most title in the Republic of Venice and the symbol of sovereignty of the State. In a similar manner to the Monarchy of England, the Doge was allied with the church and music was one of the resources the Doge used to demonstrate the affluence and power of the Republic of Venice; for this reason, great emphasis was placed on promoting musical culture in the city and its churches.

In 1581, Francesco Sansovino, wrote of the churches and palaces of Venice in his book *Venetia cittá nobilissima et singolare*.[36] Sansovino provided an in-depth guide to Venice by describing her monuments and buildings, and the political and social life of Venice. Here, he highlighted the link between church and state through identification of corresponding dates in the church's calendar and significant events in Venetian history; one such example is the corresponding dates of the Feast of the Ascension and the Marriage of Venice to the Sea. For each historical-religious occasion, the musical establishment of the church at San Marco was of high importance.[37]

The church of San Marco was not the cathedral of Venice until 1807; instead, it was the private chapel of the Doge. This can be observed in their architectural planning: the central *Piazza san Marco* was home to the ducal basilica, San Marco, and the Doge's Palace, and linked by a private entrance. As the ducal chapel, San Marco had its own liturgy, based on the Patrichiano Rites, as opposed to the Roman Rite as followed in the Vatican and the wider Catholic Europe. After the Council of Trent, the Patrichiano Rites were mostly abandoned in favour of Rome but some cities, including Venice continued their use. The employment of such Rites marked the strength of the Republic of Venice and its distancing in social and political thought from the Holy See.[38] The function of both liturgical and non-liturgical music at San Marco was to represent the Doge and Republic: its strength, importance and dignity.

Through the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, there was an expansion in numbers of musicians employed in the musical establishment; from the eight regular singers in the fifteenth century, employment rose to 30 by 1600.[39] The expansion of resources, and wider talent pool, promoted the employment of the best singers, increased publication of compositions and instrumental forces during late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries; such developments were headed by the *maestri di cappella*, including Claudio Monteverdi (*maestro di cappella* at St. Marks, 1613-43), up to the mid-seventeenth century. Unfortunately, the city of Venice was hit by the plague in the 1630s and a slowing recruitment of singers; both left the choir diminished and struggling to rebuild.

Under-recruitment in the choir reflected the diminishing of power and downhill economy of Venice, as singers looked instead to positions in the cities of Rome and Naples where more money was

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[36] Rosand, E. "Venice, 1580–1680", 75.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Moore, "The 'Vespero delli Cinque Laudate' and the Role of 'Salmi Spezzati' at St. Mark's", 249-278.
[39] Rosand, "Venice, 1580-1680", 78.

being offered, or to the growing, more profitable, secular music circles. The church lost many singers to the public Opera houses that were readily opening across the city. The limited funds of the *cappella* and the changing climate of the musical scene in Venice, with commercialised musical opportunities, meant musicians, including *maestri*, singers and instrumentalists used their roles, for example, as *maestri,* vice-*maestri* or *chori*, as steppingstones to better opportunities. Another way to increase their income was by searching for additional jobs and funding outside of the institution; Antonio Lotti (1667-1740) was one such employee to have done this. Antonio Lotti (1667-1740) was just one of many musicians to spend time away from the *cappella* during their period of employment, whilst other musicians took up positions in other institutions such as one of Venice's eight opera theatres or four *ospedali*; others to hold simultaneous employment included Pier Francessco Cavalli, Antonio Biffi and Antonio Pollarolo. Just days after Cavalli was appointed as organist at San Marco in January 1639, he made his debut as an operatic composer with *Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo* at Teatro di S. Cassiano; Biffi was simultaneously *primo maestro* at San Marco and Mendicanti. Whilst in appointment, Cavalli's annual salary at San Marco was the equivalent to the fee for a single opera score;[40] moreover, Pollarolo's fee for an opera score was more than twice his salary.[41] Pollarolo was acting *maestro di cappella*, following the death of Biffi, whilst holding the position of *maestro di coro* at Ospedaletto. All aforementioned composers were active on the operatic scene as well as in the sacred institutions such as San Marco and the *ospedali*. Even in cities beyond Venice's borders, employment at multiple institutions was not a rarity; sixteenth-century Rome saw overlap of performers and composers in sacred and secular musical communities.[42] Lotti, Cavalli, Pollarolo and Biffi are just a few of the many successful musicians who upheld positions in multiple institutions across Venice, allowing them to thrive in what was a developing cultural city at the forefront of European fashion; this further supports the claim that there never was a strict division between the sacred and secular spheres. There is a heavily blurred line that is crossed repeatedly in composition, performance and reception.

With no strict division between the institutions, it would be naïve to assume composers and performers would approach their compositions with strict style divisions; instead, they would seize the opportunity to experiment with traits of sacred in secular music, and vice versa. The freedom granted by the distancing of Rome, through use of the Patrichiano Rites, and the high value given to music by the Republic, gave composers a rich environment for experimentation in sacred music; experimentation of genres fuelled developments of sacred music.

[40] Termini, "Singers at San Marco in Venice: The Competition between Church and Theatre (c1675 - c1725)", 65.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Leopold, "Rome: Sacred and Secular", 49–74.

### 1.2.2 Secular Music

'The city of Venice itself perhaps best qualifies as patron: a successful opera season reinforced the status of the city (and not just its patrician rulers) as the entertainment capital of Europe'

- Beth Glixon and Jonathon Glixon, 2005.[43]

Music continued to be fundamental to the image of the Republic of Venice. The main developments in Baroque secular vocal music were the cantata and opera, which, in turn, influenced the sacred vocal music. In 1613, Claudio Monteverdi arrived at San Marco, appointed as *maestro*, and was a pioneer in opera in the city. From the conception of Monteverdi's operas in Venice, it is clear that composers moved freely, in composition and performance, between secular and sacred. In *Opera in the Seventeenth Century*, Rosand identifies Venice as the only city to have the three qualities needed for an establishment of Opera: "regular demand, dependable and financial backing, and a broad and predictable audience."[44] Following the opening of the first public opera house for the general paying public in Venice in 1637, Teatro di S. Cassiano, Venice sustained a high level of operatic activity and opera soon became an attraction for visitors. There was constant demand for the art with a predictable audience of aristocrats, general public and tourists. One exception to the year-round attraction of opera was the period of Lent; during Lent, opera was not permitted and thus replaced with *oratori*.

The oratorio is defined, on Grove Music Online, as 'An extended musical setting of a sacred text made up of dramatic, narrative and contemplative elements.'[45] The oratorio underwent significant development through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; Buelow claims that the development occurs in 'tandem with the music developments affecting changing perceptions of opera.'[46] Buelow bases this on a theory of their departure from the sacred ritual to the definition of an unstaged opera. Buelow looks to Howard Smither's *History of the Oratorio* for examples of growth towards an operatic style. In Smither's study, he highlights the introduction of the *da capo* aria and simplification of the accompaniment, in oratorios composed in the 1720s, as an infusion of the operatic style.[47] Through the seventeenth, and into the eighteenth, century, Venice was a forerunner in musical entertainment and primarily known for its opera. Opera dominated the secular sphere for musicians and audiences alike, and so, it cannot have solely influenced the oratorio. So, what did a public opera bring to Venice? How else did it influence its contemporary genres? How did it fuel developments in sacred repertoire?

Previously, only the affluent nobility of Venice had the excitement of opera; private patronage of an individual funded the employment of composers and performers and running of court performances that were commissioned to celebrate specific occasions. The inaugural Venetian performance of *Andromeda* at the public Teatro di S. Cassiano marked a definitive shift from court to commercial opera

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[43] Glixon, & Glixon, *Inventing the business of opera*, 322.
[44] Rosand, *Opera in seventeenth-century Venice.*
[45] Smither, "Oratorio".
[46] Buelow, *A History of Baroque Music* , 465.
[47] Smither, H. *A History of the Oratorio.*

which in turn coincided with a transition in the role and function of the audience. The audience was no longer a support for the patron of a court opera and attending on invitation, instead the public were the consumers and thus the patrons. It was the public of Venice who bought tickets and financially supported the institutions and works, who influenced the institutions, and in turn the development of an international circuit of repertoire, composers and performers. As highlighted by Beth Glixon and Jonathon Glixon, the patron was no longer an individual but the city of Venice.[48] The city of Venice was not limited to its inhabitants; as Venice's lively carnival and operatic scene earned international renown through the seventeenth century, the city became an indispensable stop on the Grand Tour, a trip round Europe taken by upper-class young men. The Carnival season consisted of extravagant entertainment including theatrics, balls, games and masks; the season allowed the public to breach boundaries. According to Rapp, in his study of the decline of seventeenth century Venice, through the carnival season, the population was approximately twice the norm as tourists travelled to join the celebrations.[49] Tourists brought money and took home stories of their times in Venice; they spread the news of famous composers and performers on the opera circuit and spurred on the genre.

Venetian musicians were quick to jump on the exciting ladder of fame and fortune that was now available for exploitation; however this was not without competition from non-Venetian composers. The 1720s saw an influx of Neapolitan composers such as Porpora, and Leonardo Leo, and performers including the famous Farinelli, and Caffarelli. All sought both cultural and economic prosperity on the opera scene. The earnings of singers on the operatic stage were reminiscent of the large sums paid to the music artists on today's popular music scene and as mentioned in the previous section, composers were rewarded with a hefty sum for each opera score. As musicians were drawn to the city, so were their musical backgrounds and styles. The influx of Neapolitans led to migration of the bel canto, florid vocal style of Neapolitan opera. Arias were commonly *da capo* to give opportunity for expression of a character's feelings and as a vehicle for virtuosity. Previously scholars, such as Daniel Heartz and Reinhard Strohm, have argued that the Neapolitans' arrival led a renewal of opera seria around 1720-40.[50] Venetian opera's success was at the mercy of the public; whilst Venice and Venetian composers had been the stakeholders of *opera seria* through the seventeenth century, the tables turned in the 1720s. Until 1720, the Venetian operatic scene had been predominantly made up of Venetian composers who also exported their operas to cities such as Naples where 16 of the 76 operas performed between 1707 and 1720 were of Venetian origin.[51] The 1730s saw a role reversal and Venice became the receiving house; between 1721 and 1730, 30 of the operas were composed by Neapolitans such as Porpora, Hasse, Leo, Vinci and

[48] Glixon, & Glixon, *Inventing the business of opera,* 322.
[49] Rapp, *Industry and Economic Decline in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, 176-77.
[50] Heartz, "Opera and the Periodization of Eighteenth-Century Music"; Heartz, "Approaching a History of 18th-Century Music"; Strohm, "The Neapolitans in Venice".
[51] Strohm, "The Neapolitans in Venice", 254.

Broschi.[52] The popularity of the "Neapolitan operas" led to its musical elements, notably emphasis on the solo voice and *bel canto* style,[53] becoming key features of mainstream opera.

As in mainstream opera, the cantata developed through the early decades of the eighteenth-century. Cantatas became standardized with a formulaic character; their Recitative – Aria – Recitative – Aria pattern consisted of two *da capo* arias and a reduced accompaniment, notably the key developments of opera. The oratorio, cantata and opera developed in response to the support of the public: composers responded to the popularity of the Neapolitans' operas and adapted their compositions to attract the public, patrons and their wallets. As Neapolitans, and their influence, flooded Venice's musical scene, sacred music was infused with the emerging secular styles and characteristics. Rightly stated by Talbot, 'Sacred vocal music became, in stylistic and even occupational terms, a by-product of operatic composition'; this is clearly seen in the influence of *opera seria* on oratorio, in the Smither's scholarship, and the same can be said for the solo motet.

The simplification of the accompaniment, the use of the *da capo* aria and increase in use of a *bel canto*, florid style seen in opera and cantatas promoted the importance of, and focus on, the virtuosity of the voice. The public attended the opera to see the stars of the stage, Faustina Bordoni-Hasse, Caffarelli and Farinelli, to name a few, and on some accounts applauded virtuosity for five minutes.[54] The sacred institutions recognised the potential for increased income if they were to put such skills on display; opera composers, such as Porpora and Hasse, were invited to take up positions and infused their sacred output with the attractive characteristics of the opera. The exciting musical output of sacred institutions was most notably seen at the *ospedali* where Porpora, Hasse and their contemporaries were readily employed. The fame of composers and performances, rich in virtuosity, added the *ospedali*, a surprising stop, to the itineraries of tourists.

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[52] Ibid.

[53] *Bel canto* refers to the Italian vocal style of the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries; it is typically defined by legato production and agile delivery. Jander & Harris, "Bel canto".

[54] Charles Burney recounts "the first note he [Farinelli] sang was taken with such delicacy swelled by minute degrees to such an amazing volume, and afterwards diminished in the same manner to a mere point, that it was applauded for a full five minutes." Burney, *The present state of music in France and Italy,* 208.

### 1.2.3 The *Ospedali*

'The birthplace of the Italian church idiom was in the Venetian and Neapolitan conservatoire, where its most influential composers had worked or learned. The music at these institutions was without doubt a force for good. Without the funds by which the audiences (no other word will do) in their chapels expressed their enjoyment, bastards would have starved, the indigent sick would have died untended, young ladies without means would have lacked the dowry which brought them husbands.'[55]

-Arnold, 1973.

Four *ospedali* were set up in Venice over the sixteenth century; the institutions, as identified by Denis Arnold, provided a unique combination of composers and purpose which gave way to rich developments in sacred music. The institutions aimed to provide shelter for those affected by the Poor Laws adopted in the early 1500s. Under the Poor Laws, any person who could not support themselves was to be confined in one of the institutions – such people included beggars, the homeless, and sick or otherwise impaired. Each institution was twinned with an annexed church or chapel and each of the four *ospedali* catered to a different need: the *Ospedale della Pieta* took in foundlings, the *Ospedale degl'Incurabili* (1522) took in those with incurable diseases, the *Ospedale di Santa Maria dei Derelitti* (1528, later known as *Ospedaletto*) provided refuge for the homeless and the *Ospedale di San Lazaro e dei Mendicanti* (1595) provided a place for beggars and orphans. The Poor Laws removed the destitute from society, and promoted the utopian-like city, but their inhabitants were by no means unimportant. The community and state of Venice supported the institutions and population within. There was a desire to lift them out of disrepute and rehabilitate which was seen in the provisions of food, shelter and education given by the governors of each institution. Religious practice was also part of the education given by the *ospedali*. Music was an essential part of sacral ritual and so female wards were permitted to learn music; education in the *Incurabili* included music as early as 1568.[56]

<u>Female Musicians</u>

Within the music schools, the most musically talented girls were selected to become *figlie del coro* and chosen to perform in the *cori*. The *ospedali* were, in part, regulated by the Catholic Church and it could be assumed they were at the mercy of restrictions put in place over the seventeenth and eighteenth-century. However, if liturgical rites at San Marco were not the ones ordered by Rome, it is possible the *ospedali* followed San Marco. Moreover, Jane Berdes stresses that clergy members included Dominicans and Somaschians; they had their own liturgy and so the liturgical practices and musical elements of services, of the *ospedali* may have drawn on these.[57] Moreover, the liturgical practices may have varied between *ospedali*.

[55] Arnold, "Vivaldi's Church music: An introduction", 66.
[56] Arnold, "Music at the '*Ospedali*'", 156.
[57] Berdes, *Women musicians of Venice, 93*.

As discussed previously, the Pope imposed restrictions on the style of music permitted in the church. The restrictions extended to the gender of performers of musical activities. In 1588, Pope Sixtus V forbade women from performing in respect of the following passage in St. Paul's admonition:

"Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted for them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience as also saith the law." 1 Corinthians 14:34.

According to the Church, when women performed music, the morality of the congregation was at risk. The seductive nature of women performing music has been subject to extensive scholarship over the last thirty years. Prior to the 1970s, there was little research on women in music history; until 1990, the research of women in music remained in a separate field of study. The most prevalent studies on women in music are by Susan McClary, Suzanne Cusick and, more specifically in studies on the *ospedali*, Berdes.[58] McClary published *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* in 1991 as a collection of essays concerning gender and sexuality; essays focused on the representation of gender in opera, gendered metaphors and pleasure in music.[59] She successfully managed to place Monteverdi and Madonna in the same publication and emphasise the importance of asking questions on gender, its representation and position, across different repertory. The second chapter, 'Construction of Gender in Monteverdi's Dramatic Music', includes a discussion on rhetorical virtuosity in seventeenth century repertoire. McClary highlights that rhetoric from a woman was inferred differently to that from a man:

"A man skilled in oratory was powerful, effective in imposing his will in society at large. A woman's rhetoric was usually understood as seduction, as a manifestation not of intellectual but of sexual power."[60]

As a woman's rhetoric was considered a form of seduction rather than knowledge, it could be surprising that institutions, such as the *ospedali*, would consider allowing the girls to perform. The seductive nature of Women's music highlighted in McClary's passage was, in fact, discussed as early as 1799 in Hannah More's *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education*.[61] In *Women and Music in the Venetian Ospedali*, Tonelli rightly focuses on More's writings in her discussion on female musicians in the *ospedali*.[62] Tonelli explains that More's writings, and those of other authors, including Thomas Gisbourne, in the eighteenth-century, were concerned about female morality. According to More, the arts 'become agents of voluptuousness. They excite the imagination; and the imagination thus excited, and no longer under the government of strict principle, becomes the most dangerous stimulant of the passions, promotes a too

[58] Cusick, "'Thinking from Women's Lives': Francesca Caccini after 1627"; Cusick, "Gendering Modern Music: Thoughts on the Monteverdi-Artusi Controversy."; Mcclary, *Feminine Endings*; Berdes, "Anna Maria della Pietà: The Woman Musician of Venice Personified"; Berdes, *Women musicians of Venice.*
[59] Mcclary, *Feminine Endings.*
[60] Ibid.
[61] More, *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education*.
[62] Tonelli, *Women and Music in the Venetian Ospedali*, 19.

keen relish for pleasure, teaching how to multiply its sources, and inventing new and pernicious modes of artificial gratification.'[63] In a bid to prevent such stimulants, Gisborne states that the only performances that should be permitted were those that were "unequivocally virtuous." Tonelli's examples highlight, and support, the notion that any performance by a woman had the potential to provoke men was understood in the eighteenth-century.[64] It could be surprising that the *ospedali* rose to such fame despite the social stigma and Papal legislation; on the other hand, it could be the going-against-the-grain that gave them a platform and drew the interest of the citizens, and tourist.

In 1740, Frederic Christian remarked 'what makes the *Pieta* [one of the four *ospedali*] so famous is not just that all of the instrumentalists are truly excellent musicians, but an even rarer fact,..., by females...';[65] Visitors found the female ensembles fascinating and unique to the *ospedali*; Burney comments that "there is not in all Italy any establishment of the same kind."[66] Over its years in publication, the Italian journal *Pallade Veneta*, described the girls as "angels", "virgins" and "sirens;"[67] such descriptions were echoed in the accounts of numerous visitors to the city and so the virgin/whore dichotomy continued. The labels "angel" and "virgin" are understandably born from the purpose of music in the *ospedali*; for the girls to eventually have place in Venetian society, they were expected to uphold the religious beliefs of Venice. The nature of music performed was predominantly sacred and, in turn, the performances could be, in Gisborne's words, "unequivocally virtuous." The girls were subject to a rigorous religious schedule, masculine control, and supervised performances; as a result, some of the public perceived them to be the messengers of God and their music to do more divine good than moral harm. Charles Burney wrote about the strict, rigorous, religious routines and its effect on the girls in *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*:

"There seemed to be great decorum and good discipline observed in every particular; for these admirable performers, who are of different ages, all behaved with great propriety, and seemed to be well educated."[68]

The music performed emphasised the devoutness and continued religious connotations by using Latin text. The set text would commonly reflect upon the Virgin Mary and other religious topics. In *Cecilia Reclaimed*, Berdes explains that governors encouraged the composition of works about female saints, including Mary, as they believed it would provide the girls with appropriate role models.[69] Moreover, the music was, in many cases, performed behind a screen or grate; many visitors mention the hiding of the girls. Burney was one of few visitors permitted to see the girls perform without a screen:

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[63] Ibid.
[64] Tonelli, *Women and Music in the Venetian Ospedali*, 19-20.
[65] Berdes, "Anna Maria della Pietà: The Woman Musician of Venice Personified", 136.
[66] Burney, *A General History of Music,* 136.
[67] Berdes & Wittemore *Guide to Ospedali Research,* 45-7.
[68] Burney, *A General History of Music*, 136-137.
[69] Berdes, "Anna Maria della Pietà: The Woman Musician of Venice Personified", 421.

"This evening, in order to make myself more full acquainted with the nature of the conservatorios, and to finish my musical enquiries here, I obtained permission to be admitted into the music school of the *Mendicanti*, and was favoured with a concert, which was performed wholly on my account, and lasted two hours, by the best vocal and instrumental performers of this hospital: it was really curious to *see*, as well as to *hear* every part of this excellent concert, performed by female violins, hautbois, tenors, bases, harpsichords, french-horns, and even double bases."[70]

Burney omits any comment on the girls other than a musical description, whereas for Jean-Jacques Rousseau any fantasy of the girls as "angels of beauty" was dispelled.[71] Upon seeing the girls perform, Rosseau wrote "I continued to find their singing delicious, and their voices lent such [a fictitious charm] to their faces that, as long as they were singing, I persisted in thinking them beautiful, in spite of my eyes."[72]

For those who didn't have their imagination shattered, the intrigue of the performers remained. For some visitors, hiding the girls heightened the heavenly quality of the music; for others, the grate harked back to the belief that seeing the girls would cause immoral thoughts. Rosseau was initially in the opinion of the former and believed that the gratings "only allowed the sounds to pass through, and hid from sight the angels of beauty, of whom they were worthy;"[73] whereas James Edward Smith commented that "the performers were concealed from our profane sight"[74] which rendered him safe from immoral thoughts.

Disagreements of immoral vs. angelic, whore vs. virgin continue through records of tourists' visits. However, one aspect of the performances is predominantly agreeable: all visitors marvelled at the quality of music performed. The high quality of music performed was a result of the tuition given and its response to the popular music of the time. The earliest music teachers in the *ospedali* (documented around the 1600s), such as Baldassare Donato, Giovanni Bassano, Alvise Grani and Giovanni Rovetta, were musicians from the *cappella* at San Marco. At the beginning of the century there is little evidence of the tutors having a permanent role or any other role in the institution. Rovetta's successor, Natale Monferrato, was notably titled *maestro di coro* at the Mendicanti during his years of employment (1624-1658). The *ospedali* seem to continue this close relationship with San Marco within the circles of *maestri* up to the employment of Giovanni Legrenzi in 1658. Legrenzi marked a change in the approach of the governors at the Mendicanti and thus the attitudes towards music across the *ospedali*. As attitudes changed through the late-seventeenth century, the *ospedali* grew in fame as their standard of music excelled.

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[70] Burney, *A General History of Music*, 136.
[71] Rousseau, "Confessions", 162.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Berdes & Whittemore, *Guide to Ospedali Research*, 94.

Opera at the *ospedali*

Although a composer, Legrenzi was not employed at San Marco, he was not from Venice and was famous, not for his sacred contributions but, for his operatic compositions. The second half of the seventeenth century saw the Incurabili and Derelitti following suit in the appointment of operatic composers as *maestri di cori*. At the turn of the century, the Pietà appointed Francesco Gasparini, a notable Roman composer of Opera. Gasparini's influence in the Mendicanti was felt in the employment of further music teachers, including Vivaldi, and thus the creation of a music school. Talbot describes Vivaldi as standing in "the transition between two epochs;" the former is represented by the older composers who didn't need secular circles for fame, instead they found success in Church music alone, and the latter is made up of the composers who, whilst holding positions in sacred institutions, were valued for their secular works, especially opera.[75] Vivaldi's solo motets have been extensively studied by both Arnold and Talbot which has been possible due to the accessibility of his manuscripts today.[76] Sadly the same cannot be said for many of the remaining composers of this time as highlighted by Arnold in his overview of the Venetian Solo Motet; Arnold instead suggests that a lot of guess work has to be done to fill in the blanks.[77] In Talbot's "epoch" following Vivaldi, are the Neapolitan composers who moved to Venice for fame and fortune on the Operatic scene. Though there are few motets still in existence, the soloistic culture was present in Naples and so, the Neapolitans would have been acquainted with the style, as seen in the musical output of Francessco Feo and Leonardo Leo who both held the position of *Primo maestro* in Naples *conservatori* during this time. The largest influence of the Neapolitans, including Porpora, was the heavily operatic style they brought to the works. As the virtuosity and form of Vivaldi's vocal motets echoed his concertos for violin and cantatas for voice, the Neapolitan composers' compositions echoed the operatic style they were exposed to in the *conservatori* and Neapolitan opera scene. Over the first half of the eighteenth-century, the *ospedali* continued to appoint internationally famed musicians, such as Porpora, Adolf Hasse and Andrea Bernasconi, as *maestro*, and continued the overlap of composers for the *ospedali* and the operatic scene.

Operatic composers were attractive potential employees for the *ospedali* for two reasons: Firstly, they held many of the skills required for the role and, secondly, their fame brought public attention to the *ospedali*. A *maestro* would be responsible for composing for, and teaching, the students; active composers with teaching experience seem a perfect fit for the role. Whilst the purpose of music was to educate the orphans and for religious functions, the income of the *ospedali* began to outweigh the importance of the former. The *ospedali* were not funded in full by the state and so needed to draw money into the institution through the donations of visitors and wealthy patrons. Vincenzo Coronelli's *Guida de'forestieri* (1724), a guidebook to Venice, advised foreigners to visit the chapels of the *ospedali* and highlighted dates on which

[75] Talbot, *The sacred vocal music of Antonio Vivaldi*, 80.
[76] Notable studies include: Talbot, *The sacred vocal music of Antonio Vivaldi*.; Arnold, "Vivaldi's motets for solo voice".
[77] Arnold, "The Solo Motet in Venice (1625-1775)", 56-68.

elaborate music could be expected.[78] A description of the music at the *Incurabili* is found in a 1740s guidebook: 'Those little girls who are left without their parents are accepted into this holy place, where they are trained to sing and to play for the holy functions held in the church. Such is the perfection which they attain in so doing that for this very reason many foreigners are attracted here throughout the year; no visitor of importance who was come to Venice leaves without having first honoured this holy place with his presence.'[79] With the reputed exceptional standard of performance, it is no wonder that tourists were advised to attend the Sunday afternoon concerts, the oratorio and musical festivals of the *cori*.[80] There was gross competition between Venice's opera houses, churches, *academies* and *ospedali* for the financial support of nobility, tourists and the public during this time. Governors responded to the growing popularity of opera and thus growing competition by employing composers of notable status in the operatic sphere.

The composers were encouraged to use operatic styles in their compositions in order to be relatable to the target audiences. When the Ospedaletto looked to elect a new *maestro* in 1766, the applicant's capabilities in composition of church music was not a priority, instead the governors valued the success of their operas.[81] The growing virtuosity in operatic performance meant the teaching and performance at the *ospedali* needed to be of a high level. The governors thus ensured that the girls were taught and practiced to a high standard by successful and famous practitioners; this resulted in the standard of the singers in the *cori* being considered equal, and of a similar style, to that heard in the opera houses. Burney remarked that:

"The music, which was of the higher sort of *theatric stile*, though it was performed in a church, was not mixed with the church service, and the audience sat the whole time, as at a concert; and, indeed, this might be called a *concerto* spiritual, with great propriety."[82]

It is possible that Burney was describing a solo motet. The music described by Burney was of a 'theatric style' and non-liturgical which are two of the defining characteristics of most solo motets composed during the eighteenth-century. The following section will explore the emergence and musical context of the Solo Motet; these will support my claim that the solo motet is point of intersection of sacred and secular music in the eighteenth-century.

[78] Coronelli, *Guida de' forestieri, o sia epitome diaria perpetua sagra-profana per la città di Venezia*, 129.
[79] Berdes, *Women musicians of Venice,* 104-5.
[80] Berdes, *Women musicians of Venice,* 132.
[81] Talbot, *The sacred vocal music of Antonio Vivaldi*, 80.
[82] Burney, *A General History of Music*, 116.

### 1.3 The Solo Motet: A point of intersection

The term 'motet,' was used frivolously in the seventeenth and eighteenth-century; it eventually came to describe any musical setting of liturgical, devotional or biblical text. In the *ospedali*, the motets were composed for specific services including Mass and Vespers: Mass was sung in the morning and evening Vespers was sung on holy days. Despite the numerous religious and musical requirements of the *ospedali*, the *maestro* was expected to compose novel works for particular feast days; for example, Porpora was commissioned to compose three solo motets and *Regina Coeli* for the Easter season, 1744.[83] The *Regina Coeli* were often multi-movement works scored for chorus and soloists whereas, the *motetto a voce sola* (solo motet) were composed for solo voice with instrumental accompaniment. The latter is the focus of this study.

The Solo Motet is defined by Johann Joachim Quantz as "a religious Latin solo cantata consisting of two arias and two recitatives, closing with an *Alleluia*, which is customarily sung after the *Credo* during the Mass by one of the best singers.'[84] According to Quantz, the solo motet is a multi-movement piece that follows a predictable pattern and is a setting of a sacred text. By the 1730s, the solo motet was standardised to the following structure: Aria – Recitative – Aria – Alleluia with da capo arias. Pier Gillio develops on this structure by explaining that, by the 1730s and 1740s, the style of the arias had stabilised: the first aria has a quick tempo whereas the second is of a contrasting slow style. The conclusion of the motet, the alleluia, is allegro, or in some cases quicker. The structure is facilitated by purpose-written, religious, Latin text; the text can be liturgical, biblical or of a devotional nature. During the early Baroque, the texts for the motet were predominantly derived from scripture however, with the emergence of the cantata genre in 1630, the composers moved toward purpose-written texts. In his definition, Quantz defines the solo motet as a type of cantata; Hansell keeps the solo motet and cantata as separate genres. However, Hansell highlights the correspondences between the structure and texts of Hasse's solo vocal works:

'Hasse's solo motets closely resemble his chamber cantatas in their general character and structure. The concatenation of movements constituting the motet is equal to that of the cantata...the similarity in formal organization between the cantata and the motet is matched by a close correspondence between the texts of the two genres.'[85]

There is no doubt that the solo motet and cantata employed a similar structure and employment of text, but neither Quantz nor Hasse discuss the performance practice of the work. A similar issue is approached in discussions on the similarities between opera arias and the solo motet. As noted by Arnold, the style and structure changed reflecting the popular opera over the years, for example, the solo motets of the

[83] I-Vrs, Der. G 1, n. 48, ins. 49. in Markstrom, *A reconstruction of the 1744 Service at the Ospedaletto in Venice*, p.xiii.
[84] Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, 306.
[85] Hansell, *Works for solo voice of Johann Adolph Hasse, 1699-1783*, 18.

late-eighteenth-century saw the removal of the *da capo* in the first aria and a likening to the concertos of the day. The solo motets of the early eighteenth-century were no different in this respect and were a product of a standardised form of the early eighteenth-century; a standard sectional structure, grew from a general arioso style found in the popular opera of the time, and included the *da capo* aria. At this time, the Opera scene was full of singers showing off their skill through exquisite and virtuosic expressions of arias and so, composers were obliged to give them such an opportunity. Tosi wrote: 'if whoever introduced the custom of repeating the first Part of the *Air*, (which is called *Da Capo*) did it out of a Motive to shew the Capacity of the Singer, in varying the Repetition, the Invention cannot be blam'd by Lovers of Musick; though in respect of the Words it is sometimes an Impropriety';[86] the model that facilitated great expression was the *da capo* aria. The *da capo* aria is made up of two musical ideas, A and B, which are approached in rondo form.

*Table 1 - The structure of a da capo aria*

| A | | | | | B | A |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Opening ritornello | A1 Vocal statement of Stanza 1 | Ritornello | A2 Vocal statement of Stanza 1 | Closing ritornello | Vocal statement of Stanza 2 | Repeat of section A |

To best execute the *da capo* aria, Tosi directs the singer to employ simple ornaments, 'of a good taste and few', in the first section, 'artful' Graces in the second, and in the final section, the repetition of the first, the singer shows their great ability for 'he that does not vary it for the better, is no great Master.'[87] The use of a *da capo* aria and the general understanding of increasing virtuosity through the three sections, suggests a similar virtuosic approach in sacred repertoire to that of secular, at the very least an expectation for virtuosity.

Gillio looks towards the performance of the solo motet and the virtuosity of the genre as he defines the Alleluia as an "exuberant melismatic page," which could be omitted, or replaced by Amen, during Lent.[88] Gillio adds that the Alleluia would reflect upon the expression and figures expressed in the solo motet with the aim of highlighting the virtuosity of the preceding arias. Wolfgang Hochstein adds to Quantz' definition by remarking upon a regular use of the florid style, cadenzas and virtuosic strings;[89] by doing so, Hochstein introduces the notion of an operatic influence on the solo motet. Tosi is another scholar to have commented on the growing operatic influence on the performance of church music, including the solo motet, through the early eighteenth-century:

[86] Tosi, *Observations*, 91.
[87] Tosi, *Observations*, 93-94.
[88] Gillio, *L' attività musicale negli ospedali di Venezia nel Settecento*, 220-221.
[89] Hochstein, Wolfgang. "Die Solomotetten bei den Incurabili unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kompositionen Jomellis," in Geyer & Osthoff, *Musik an den Venezianischen Ospedali,* 321–22.

'By the *Ancients* beforementioned, *Airs* were sung in three different Manners; for the Theatre, the Stile was lively and various; for the Chamber, delicate and finish's; and for the Church, moving and grace. This Difference, to very many *Moderns*, is quite unknown.'[90]

Tosi reflects upon the singing style of the *Moderns*, performers in the 1720s, in comparison to the *Ancients*, performers in the generation before; from his remarks, it is inferred that *Moderns* approached music for the theatre, chamber and church in the same manner. This stands as evidence for the popular, secular, performance practice of early eighteenth-century opera as the expected, and heard, performance practice employed for performance of sacred music. The comments of Tosi, Hochstein and Gillio demonstrate that a performance practice leaning towards that seen on the opera stage was employed for secular repertoire and the solo motet was a vehicle for this.[91]

### 1.3.1 In the Church

As indicated in the discussions of Hasse and Quantz, the texts of the solo motet are liturgically superfluous. In *The Sacred Vocal Music of Antonio Vivaldi*, Michael Talbot explains that the number of solo motets in a service was largely dependent on the length of the mass, which was prescribed by the solemnity of the Mass. Talbot identifies the opportunities for a Solo Motet at Mass as the following: the Introit, Gradual, Alleluia and Tract, Offertory and Communion. Furthermore, a solo motet could be substituted for the Sanctus, Benedictus and Agnus Dei of the Proper. At Vespers, a solo motet could be performed in place of the antiphons, psalms and canticles.[92] Despite textual and musical differences between an antiphon and motet, they occurred at similar points in the service. Hansell explains that a solo motet was commonly followed by an antiphon; the tradition can be seen in books of texts for performances at the *ospedali*.[93] Their primary role in a religious service was to accompany, and enhance, the sacral rites in a similar way to the instrumental sonatas and concertos.

The intent behind music accompanying the sacral rites was to create spectacle. The reason for spectacle in the service was two-fold: 1) to emphasise and heighten the celebration of special events, and 2) to entice audiences. For the sacred institutions of Venice, especially the *Ospedali*, one of the reasons for enticing audiences was money. The *ospedali* were expensive to run and they had limited financial support from the state. As mentioned previously, by the early eighteenth-century, a significant proportion of the *ospedali*'s income was from the performances of the *cori*. The composers, and governors, recognised that by reflecting the secular styles of the day, the music would attract citizens, tourists, their wallets and publicity by word of mouth. The fluidity of the solo motet, its text and function as a non-liturgical element of religious service, made it a prime platform for composers to experiment with, and infuse with

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[90] Tosi, *Observations*, 92.
[91] Hochstein in Geyer & Osthoff, *Musik an den Venezianischen Ospedali,* 321–22. Gillio, *L' attività musicale negli ospedali di Venezia nel Settecento*, 220-221.
[92] Talbot, *The sacred vocal music of Antonio Vivaldi*, 76.
[93] Hansell, *Works for solo voice of Johann Adolph Hasse, 1699-1783,* 22.

secular styles. Other vocal music in religious service, such as the Mass setting, played a liturgical role, and so, inevitably, the solo motet, above other genres, was subject to a transformational infusion of secular styles.

### 1.3.2 At the *ospedali*

The *maestri* of the *ospedali* were predominantly renowned opera composers and so the resultant similarities between the solo motet, cantata and opera, are expected. Moreover, the numerous solo motets composed gave musicians frequent opportunity to experiment.

In the early eighteenth-century, there was a high demand for the *maestri* of the *ospedali* to be writing approximately 20 motets a year; Vivaldi was awarded 50 ducats for his compositions, including more than thirty motets in 1715, sadly only twelve of which survived to today;[94] Giovanni Porta, *maestro di coro* at *Pieta* (1726-37) was praised for his compositions including twenty-two motets in 1730;[95] Baldassare Galuppi, of the *Mendicanti*, composed twenty motets in 1741; Pollarolo composed 185 motets during his time in employment between 1716-1730; and of the forty compositions by Porpora in 1744, fifteen of them were solo motets.[96] The sheer quantity of solo motets is demonstrated in the minutes of the *ospedali* Governors' meetings and the surviving scores including the two-hundred motets published across four collections of music from *Incurabili*: *Sacra modulamina decantanda in templo sanci salvatoris incuranilium* (1730), *Modulamina sacra, Rythmi sacri,* and *Carmina sacra*.[97] In the 1730 collection, twenty-nine of the motets belonged to Porpora, a Neapolitan who had moved to Venice in the 1720s as a trailblazer for the Neapolitans to come.

Vivaldi's solo motets have been subject to analysis by Talbot, Rushing-Raynes focused on the musical output of composers at San Marco and Hansell focused on Hasse's sacred musical output; the remaining composers active at the *ospedali* between 1720 and 1750 have been grossly underrepresented. It was during the 30 years following 1720 that virtuosity reached new heights on the operatic stage and so, it is worth considering the performance of works by Porpora and his contemporaries. Part 2 of this thesis will illumine the performance practice options available in one of Porpora's solo motets composed in 1744. There is no doubt that the teacher of the famous castrato, Farinelli, would have divulged the virtuosic performance practice to the girls of the *ospedali* and given opportunity for employment of such.

[94] Arnold, "The Solo Motet in Venice (1625-1775)", 63-64.
[95] Arnold, "The Solo Motet in Venice (1625-1775)", 65.
[96] Gillio, *L' attività musicale negli ospedali di Venezia nel Settecento,* 219.
[97] Ibid.

# Part 2

## Case Study: Towards a Historically Informed Performance of Porpora's Solo Motet for Graziosa

'By the *Ancients* beforementioned, *Airs* were sung in three different Manners; for the Theatre, the Stile was lively and various, for the Chamber, delicate and finish'd; and for the Church, moving and grave. This Difference, to very many *Moderns*, is quite unknown.'

– Tosi, 1727.[98]

Tosi writes of the distinction between the various singing styles of the '*Ancients*' in his *Observations*; with a degree of disappointment or reprimand, Tosi indicates that the '*Moderns*' did not share the approach. Did they approach an oratorio in the same manner as a secular opera? Did they sing a solo motet in the same manner as an operatic aria? If so, what degree of virtuosity did singers employ in sacred repertoire?

As a modern soprano, there is repertoire in the popular canon which I am expected to have 'in my voice'. Sadly, many of the wonderful motets of Porpora and his contemporaries don't make an appearance in this repertoire; whilst audiences tend to be acquainted with Mozart's *Exultate Jubilate*, the same cannot be said for the solo motets of Vivaldi, Porpora and Hasse. This is a result of the accessibility and understanding of the repertoire by performers. As previously discussed, the genre of the solo motet has been overshadowed by the *opera seria*, oratorios and cantatas of the eighteenth-century; sacred music from this era has been largely ignored. The unstudied repertoire can be difficult to access by a modern performer and even harder to express. There has been little research on the performance practice of sacred repertoire of the eighteenth-century and so modern performers are left without the resources they need to make informed decisions on expression. The only clues we have to their performance are the treatises on vocal pedagogy, the remarks and records of visitors to the institutions and, thanks to recent scholarship in the field of vocal pedagogy, teaching materials. It is, therefore, hardly a surprise that little of this repertoire has been approached in modern performance.

Part 2 of this thesis will introduce you to one of Porpora's *Motetto a Voce Sola con instrumenti*, *In caelo stelle clare* (henceforth ICSC,) in the hope that you will go on to uncover more of this neglected repertoire, and be able to approach it with a good understanding of sacred vocal performance practice of the eighteenth-century. I first approach it with a focus on what is notated in Porpora's original 1744 manuscript – the structure, trills, fermatas and *passaggi*. By identifying the elements of practice Porpora prescribed for the performers, it is possible to immediately form an idea of the performance practice employed by the girls in the *ospedali* and moreover, what was deemed suitable for performance in the church at this time. Unfortunately, the notated musical text omits many elements of the performance as,

[98] Tosi, *Observations*, 92.

at the end of the day, the notated version is merely a set of instructions for recreating the music which was rarely followed faithfully by eighteenth-century singers. Acknowledgement of an eighteenth-century score as a skeleton of the music is of the upmost importance when approaching this repertoire. Any piece composed in the eighteenth-century would be expressed differently in each performance; a modern performer is not prepared for this. Modern training teaches singers to devise and perform one interpretation of the given repertoire. Eighteenth-century vocal pedagogy gave way to constant melodic and ornamental variation; this style is best explained in key vocal treatises of the eighteenth-century and demonstrated by the transcriptions of Luigi Marchesi's performances by Wenceslau Pichl (Figure 1).[99] The bottom stave shows the vocal line written in the opera score and the lines above show the varied approaches Marchesi took on consecutive performances.

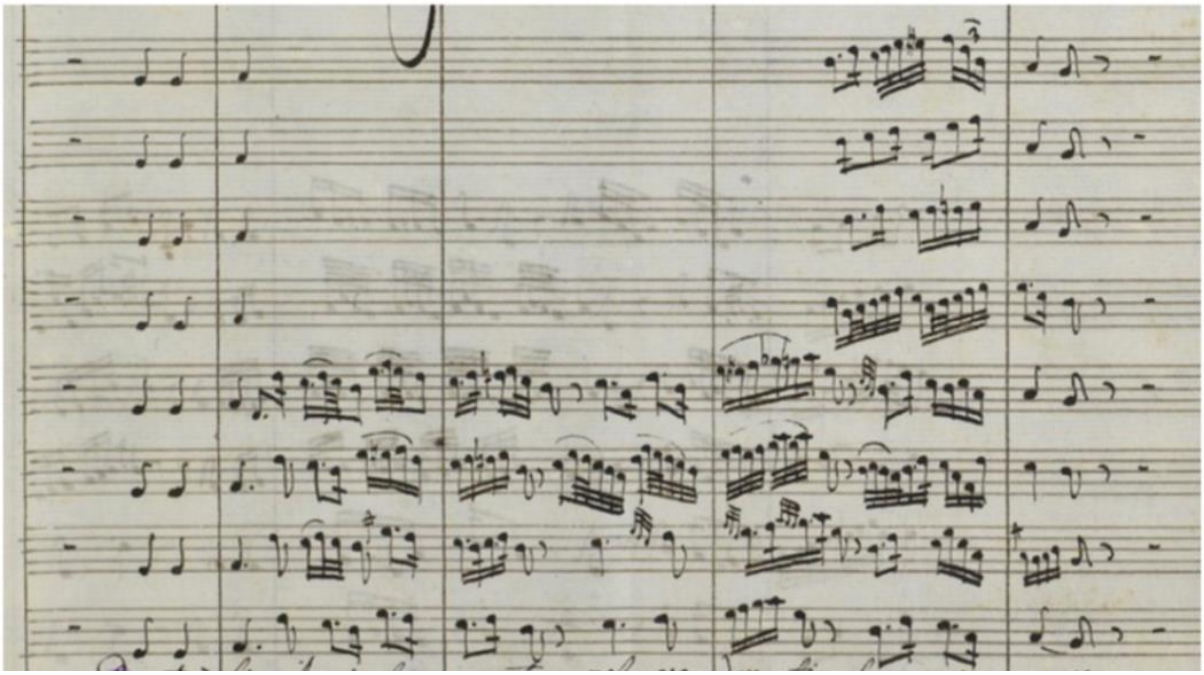

*Figure 1 - Rondo Musica del Sig. Luigi Cherubini Cantato Dal Sig. Luigi Marchesi messa in parafrasi dal Sig. Wenceslau Pichl. 2. b.4-8.*

To form an understanding of the melodic variation employed by Porpora's students at the *ospedali*, we need to understand how, and more importantly, what, the girls were taught. The pedagogical exercises approached in this study will be those by Leo; the exercises will be of a similar style, and *affetto*, to the first aria and Alleluia. The pedagogical study will identify which figures the girls were exposed to and in turn their performance. Within the commentary, the use of melodic figures and ornaments found, and more notably omitted, in the sacred works will be compared to those found in contemporary, secular repertoire: Porpora's *Perdono amata Nice* (1746),[100] *Polifemo* (1735),[101] and Farinelli's presentation copy of

[99] Pichl, *Rondo Musica del Sig. Luigi Cherubini Cantato Dal Sig Luigi Marchesi messo in parafrasi dal Sig. Wenceslao Pichl mentre che il sudetto Sig Marchesi lo eseguiva a Mantova la Primavera 1784*.
[100] Porpora, *Perdono amata Nice*.
[101] Porpora, *Polifemo*.

'Quell'usignolo' (1753).[102] The comparison will highlight the level of virtuosity employed in the sacred performances heard at the *ospedali*. The commentary will be concluded with a modern type-set of the solo motet which includes a performance edition of the first aria and closing Alleluia.

### 2.1. Pedagogical materials

I have briefly mentioned a few sources but these keys to unlocking the secrets of sacred performance practice deserve more explanation. Most of our current understanding of eighteenth-century performance practice derives from the treatises of Tosi, Hiller and Agricola; in tandem, these highly opinionated pedagogical texts paint the development of vocal pedagogy and performance through the eighteenth-century. Tosi, a teacher and castrato, published *Observations de' cantori antichi, e moderni o sieno osservazioni sopra il canto figurato* in 1723 and it has come to permeate the modern scholarship of historical performance as well as the treatises of his contemporaries. Agricola, Hiller and Mancini each acknowledge his work in their translations, commentaries and original writings. In each of the treatises, the scholar aimed to update the treatise to the current trends or adapted the styles to suit the local traditions. The changes made in each publication highlight the slight developments in performance practice, one of such changes is the growing acceptance of virtuosic ornamentation and melodic variation; comparison of Mancini's treatise, *Pensieri e riflessioni pratiche spora il canto figurato* (1774), with that of Tosi emphasises a stylistic change in virtuosity. The treatises of Tosi and Mancini frame the central period of the eighteenth-century and will be employed in this study to best hypothesise, and understand, the vocal performance practice, most notable the tuition for, and approach to ornamentation, employed in a solo motet.

The treatises prescribe *solfeggi* as the preferable teaching material. *Solfeggi* are didactic melodies that work as exercises for singing scales, intervals and melodic figures; such exercises were expected to be composed by the teacher, the reprimanding alternative is demonstrated by Tosi: 'If the Master does not understand Composition, let him provide himself with good Examples of *Sol-Fa-* ing [i.e. *solfeggio*] in divers Stiles, which insensibly lead from the most easy to the more difficult, according as he finds the Scholar improves; with this Caution, that however difficult, they may be always natural and agreeable, to induce the Scholar to study with Pleasure.'[103] *Solfeggi* remained part of the foundation of vocal pedagogy through to, and beyond, the publication of Mancini's treatise in 1774: 'When the teacher sees that the student is sure of intonation, in the striking of the first note, and is able also to clearly read *solfeggi*o, he must immediately start him in vocalization.'[104] Tosi, Agricola and Mancini are all advocates of a three-stage process using *solfeggi*: Tosi directs his advice to the teacher as he stresses that only once fluent in solmisation, should the student move on to divisions, ornamentation and eventually text set to melodies;[105] as a commentary on Tosi, Agricola elaborates on Tosi's instruction with details of the

[102] Giacomelli, *Quell'usignolo* in Broschi, *Sammlung von Arien für Gesang mit Instrumentalbegleitung*, 5-23.
[103] Tosi, *Observations,* 21-22.
[104] Mancini, *Pensieri*, 72.
[105] Tosi, P. *Observations,* Chp.1.

hexachords and scales in support of Tosi's instruction.[106] This approach is echoed in Mancini advice to use long notes to train the voice and develop breath control in *solfeggi* before moving on to further study.[107] All of these writers mention 'solmization' in their directions and discussions; 'solmization' was the act of singing a melody with syllables.

### 2.1.1 The *solfeggi*

There are many *solfeggi* in existence in the archives of the conservatories today and they provide modern scholars with sufficient evidence of their employment in music. Moreover, they show the progressions made through the lessons. Despite an affluent reception of *solfeggi* across Italy, the teaching materials at the Venetian *ospedali* have not survived. And so, such a study as this is not as simple as looking at what they were taught; instead, the teaching materials studied are a culmination of exercises from the studied composer, Porpora, and his contemporaries. With a large reception of *solfeggi* available, this study will narrow the scope by focusing on that of Leonardo Leo, and Carlo Cotumacci. Mancini highlights Porpora and Leo as two of 'the most celebrated schools which have flourished for so long a time in Italy' who produced many famous singers. Porpora, Leo, and Cotumacci studied in Naples and, so, all experienced a similar pedagogy and vocal performance practice. By identifying the similarities in their *solfeggi* it is possible to gain an understanding of what was popular and expected of a singer at the time, whether that be employment of elaborate *passaggi* or an abundance of the *appoggiatura*. There is limited record of Porpora's *solfeggi* remaining which explains the extensive reliance on those of Leo and Cotumacci for this study. There are many surviving collections of *solfeggi* by Leo; I will survey four *solfeggi* by Leo, the introductory material found in *Vezerro de Lecciones*,[108] and the introductory pages of Carlo Cotumacci's manuscript *Principles and Solfeggi*.[109] The manuscript of *Principles and Solfeggi* by Carlo Cotumacci is an autograph manuscript of 118 graded exercises that dates to Cotumacci's residency as second *maestro* at the Conservatorio di Sant'Onofrio a Porta Capuana (1755-1774.) Naples is also the assumed origin of the contributions of Leo and Feo to *Vezerro de Lecciones*; it remains unclear how they ended up in New Spain (present-day Mexico) but Lanam hypothesises that the *solfeggi* was copied and bound together in New Spain by Ignacio Jerusalem who studied in Naples.[110] The collection was compiled in the late eighteenth-century for music tuition at the first female music conservatory of Mexico, the Colegio de San Miguel de Belem. The conservatory acted in the same manner as the Neapolitan conservatoires and Venetian *ospedali*. Each institution gave the children the skills they needed to pursue a career and support them; for the boys of the Neapolitan conservatories, and the girls of Colegio de San Miguel de Belem and the

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[106] Agricola, *Introduction to the Art of Singing*.
[107] Mancini, *Pensieri*, 124-125.
[108] Jerusalem, Feo & Leonardo, "*Vezerro de Lecciones Solas y Con Basso; Varios Dúos, Cánones a Tres, a Quatro y a Cinco Vozes, Con Ligados y Semicopiados, Barias Partidas En Todas Claves, de Los Señores Maestros Que Son El Señor Francisco, El Señor Leo y El Señor Jerusalén, Con Todas Sus Explicaciones Para Solfear En Todas Claves*", in Lanam, *El Colegio de San Miguel de Belem*, 362-539.
[109] Cotumacci, *Prinicipij e [115] Solfeggio*.
[110] Lanam, *El Colegio de San Miguel de Belem*, 227.

Venetian *ospedali*, the skill taught was music. Though the *solfeggi* ended up many miles from their origin, the fundamental elements of the institution and vocal pedagogy were the same as that of the Venetian *ospedali* making it an ideal source for understanding the tuition female musicians would have received. Moreover, the manuscript demonstrates the progression and the degree of virtuosity required for sacred performances by the girls at the institution. Furthermore, the girls were only expected to perform sacred repertoire. Thus, the source will give a better representation of the skills required, and expected, for sacred repertoire. If the melodies are simpler and less ornate than those employed at the Neapolitan *conservatori*, it could support the conclusion that the performance of sacred repertoire did not permit a virtuosic practice. As with the cantata and opera arias, the selected *solfeggi* are in similar *affetti*, or employ similar passages, to *ICSC*:

Leo, *Vezerro de Lecciones* (c.1750)

- VII.21 (54v)
- VII.22 (55v)
- VII.33 (57v)
- VII.36 (58r)
- VII.52 (62v)

The *solfeggi* in Cotumacci's *Principles and Solfeggi*, and Leo's contribution to *Vezerro de Lecciones*, show the progression through exercises; the manuscripts conclude with *solfeggi* of a high degree of virtuosity. In both cases, the manuscripts contain an introductory section. As both are used teaching materials, they also have exercises marked by dates or with lesson numbers which highlight development made and skills being introduced. The pedagogical exercises approached in this study will be those by Leo; the exercises will be of a similar style, and *affetto*, to the first aria and Alleluia. In *The Italian Tradition and Puccini*, Baragwanath explains 'the notion of musical expression, ..., is rooted in the eighteenth-century tendency to regard the affects of music as more or less direct representations or descriptions of human passions.'[111] Baragwanath defines the *affetti* as the terms considered tempo indications in modern music practice e.g. *allegro*, *vivace* and *amaroso*.[112] The *affetti* prescribed for the first and second arias and Alleluia are *Vivace*, *Moderato*, and *Allegro* respectively. The first Aria and Alleluia employ similar *affetti*: the *affetti 'Vivace'* means lively and indicates a quick, spirited manner and '*Allegro*' refers to a fast, bright expression. The approach to the lively *Vivace* and *Allegro* sections would work in contrast to the *Moderato* aria; this means that the techniques for expression, e.g. *passaggi* and trills, would be employed in a different manner. For the purpose of this study, I will focus on the energetic *affetti* and in turn approach pedagogical material of the same style.

[111] Baragwanath, *The Italian Traditions and Puccini*, 190.
[112] Baragwanath, *The Italian Traditions and Puccini*, 191.

Across all institutions, *solfeggi* were the teaching material and prepared singers for either sacred or secular performance; the conservatories and *ospedali*, under Porpora's leadership, were no exception. It can only be expected that Porpora, and his contemporaries, would prepare their singers for all repertoire they would be exposed to.

### 2.1.2 Learning with solfeggi

Allegedly, Porpora wrote all his singing exercises on one piece of paper; this has come to be known as 'Porpora's page'.[113] Over time, the story has been romanticised by writers including Francois-Joseph Fétis and Angus Herriot.[114] Fétis recounted how 'the master noted, upon a single page of ruled paper, the diatonic and chromatic scales, ascending and descending, the intervals of third, fourth, fifth, etc., in order to teach him to take them with freedom, and to sustain the sounds, together with trills, groups, appoggiaturas, and passages of vocalization of different kinds.'[115] Fétis and Herriot suggest that, for six years, Porpora taught students with demonstrations of each of the exercises on the page. Following the six years of study students would be dismissed to follow a career in performance or move on to composition and keyboard: Caffarelli was dismissed by Porpora with the words, 'Go, my son: I have nothing more to teach you. You are the greatest singer in Europe.' Though improbable, the anecdote has been quoted numerous times by scholars in the field of performance practice research. The legend of 'Porpora's page' lives on.

Baragwanath argues that Fétis' story is a 'condensed but fundamentally accurate depiction' of the Neapolitan method which followed a three-step process:[116]

1) The student masters the scales and leaps on clear, simple vowels;
2) the student then moves on to passages of vocalisation which teach the student divisions and ornamentation;
3) and only once these have been mastered, the student underlays a melody with text.

The progressive, three-step approach and employment of solmization is demonstrated in the early pages of teaching materials such as Carlo Cotumacci's *Principles and Solfeggi* (c.1755) and the introductory materials of *Vezerro de Lecciones* (c.1750) which are followed by Leo's exercises.[117] By studying sources such as *Vezerro de Lecciones* and *Principles and Solfeggi*, it is possible to understand what the singers of

[113] Choron & Fayolle, *Dictionnaire Historique des Musiciens*, 5.
[114] Fetis, *La musique mise à la portée de tout le monde*, 185-86; Heriot, *The Castrati in Opera*, 48-9.
[115] Baragwanath, *The Solfeggio Tradition*, Chp.7.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Jerusalem, Feo & Leonardo, "*Vezerro de Lecciones Solas y Con Basso; Varios Dúos, Cánones a Tres, a Quatro y a Cinco Vozes, Con Ligados y Semicopiados, Barias Partidas En Todas Claves, de Los Señores Maestros Que Son El Señor Francisco, El Señor Leo y El Señor Jerusalén, Con Todas Sus Explicaciones Para Solfear En Todas Claves*", in Lanam, *El Colegio de San Miguel de Belem*, 362-539.

the eighteenth-century were taught, including the girls of the *ospedali*; once we understand what they were taught, we can understand how they put their knowledge into practice.

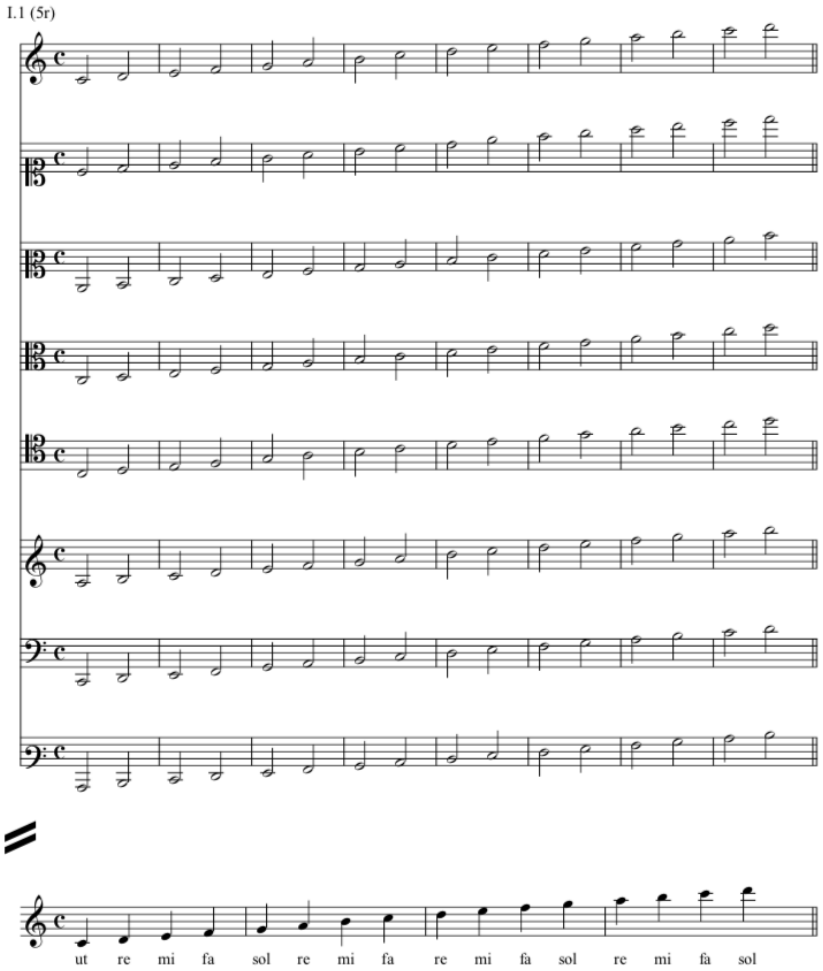


*Figure 2 - C major scale in eight clefs from the introductory materials, Vezerro de Lecciones*[118]

Both *Principles and Solfeggi* and *Vezerro de Lecciones* start with introductory material. The first section of *Vezerro de Lecciones* contains a detailed description of movement between hexachords in the G, C and F clefs and clarifies the musical symbols. From this point there are exercises for the student to practice rewriting key signatures, a page dedication to the Guidonian hand: the natural, hard and soft hexachords, followed by the major scales across two octaves with the solfege syllables (Figures 2 and 3); whilst Cotumacci does not show the Guidonian hand, he details the clefs, nomenclature and scales. Both Cotumacci and the contributors of *Vezerro de Lecciones* move on from scales to introduce the leaps of a third through to an octave, as seen in Baragwanath's three-step process.[119] Once these have been

[118] Lanam, *El Colegio de San Miguel de Belem*, 363.
[119] Baragwanath, *The Solfeggio Tradition*, Chp.7.

introduced, hundreds of varied melodies and lessons fill the pages of both catalogues, these continue in a progressive nature.

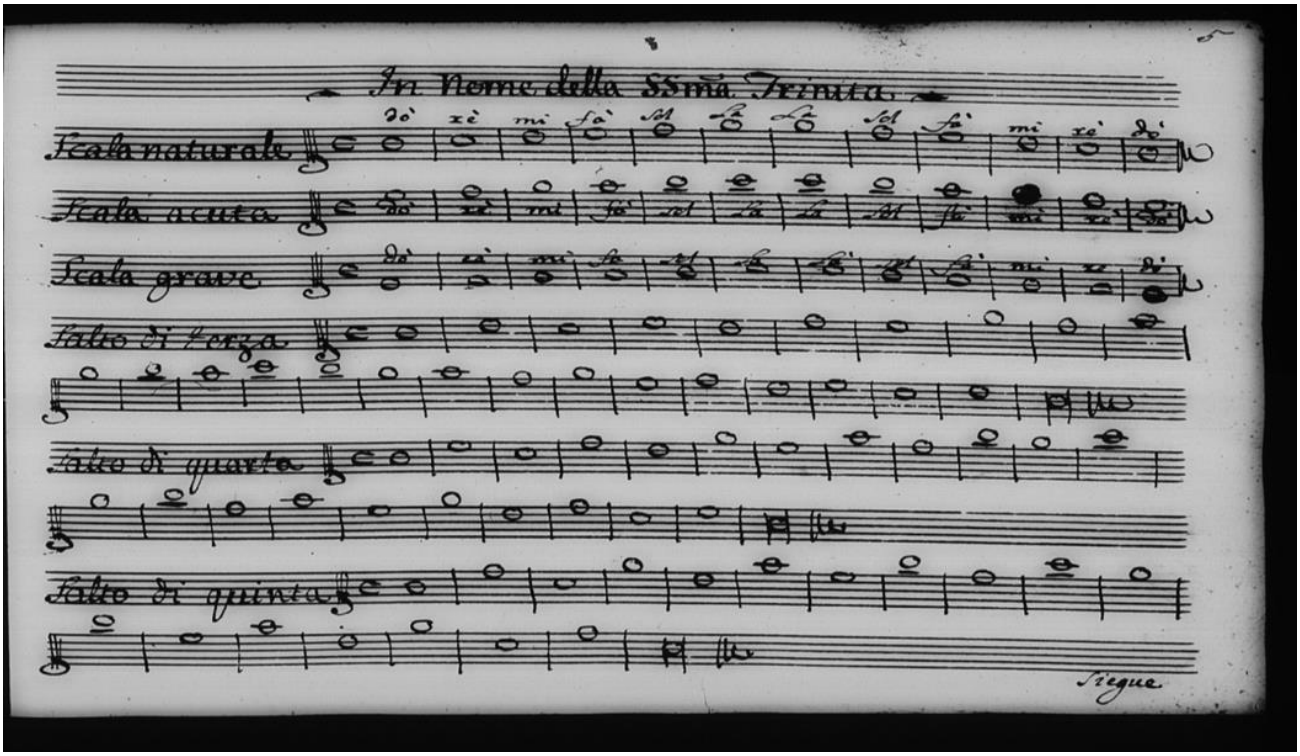


*Figure 3 - An introduction to the scales and leaps, Principles and Solfeggi* [120]

Francesco Feo's contribution to *Vezerro do Lecciones* shows a gradual development in complexity as various note lengths are employed through the exercises to the introduction of fast-moving divisions. The first exercise with semiquaver divisions is II.51, found on 22r (Figure 4).[121]

[120] Cotumacci, *Principij e [115] Solfeggio*, ff.4.
[121] Lanam, *El Colegio de San Miguel de Belem*, 423.

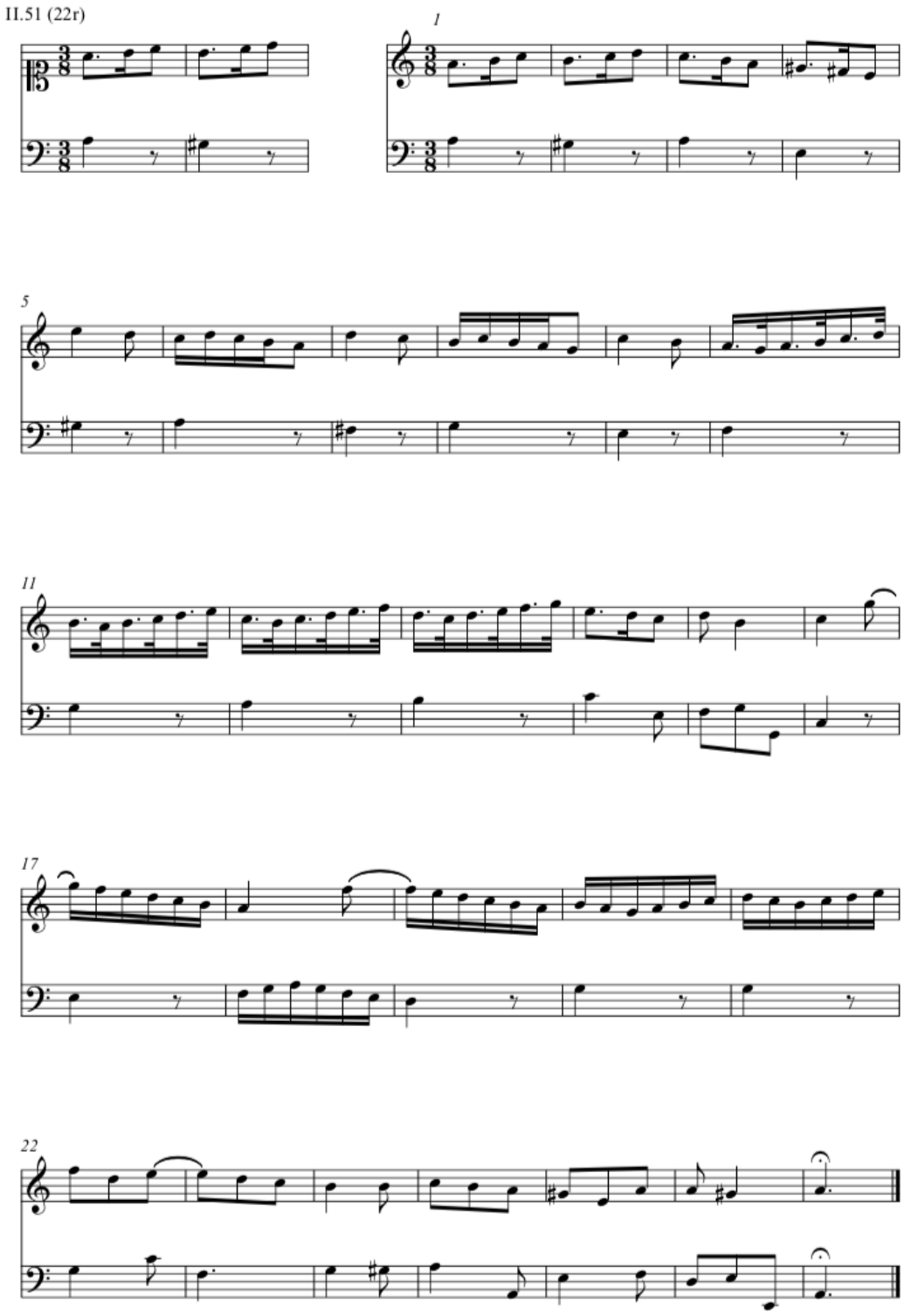


*Figure 4 - Example of divisions, II.51 (22r), Vezerro de Lecciones.*[122]

[122] Lanam, *El Colegio de San Miguel de Belem*, 423.

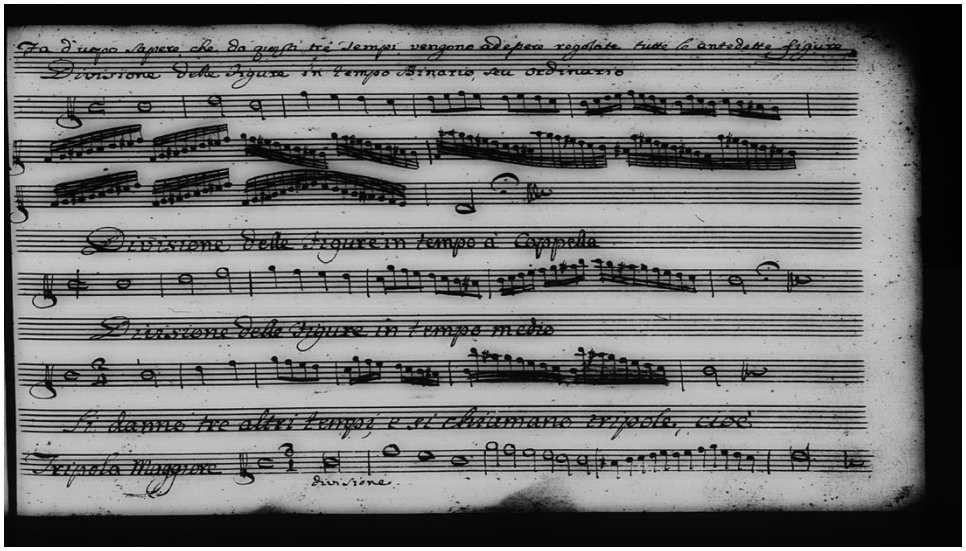


*Figure 5 - Introduction to divisions, Carlo Cotumacci c.1755. Fol.2r-3v.*[123]

The increasing difficulty of divisions and employment of demanding leaps is a clear feature of *Principi e solfeggi*; Cotumacci guides the singer from the first lesson, which consists of only semibreves, through to the one-hundred-and-fifteenth, and final, solo voice lesson, which employs an array of semi- and demi-semi-quavers. Cotumacci introduces each division in each time signature in the introductory materials which provides the singers with the basic understanding (Figure 5); the knowledge and understanding is then employed as figures are progressively incorporated into the lessons. Conclusively, the teaching material provided their students with the knowledge they required to approach any repertoire, including that of demanding ability, and excel in performance.

### 2.2 Repertoire

The repertoire studied in this case study was composed and performed after 1730. By focusing on the 1730s onwards, it is possible to take the virtuosic performances of *Stile Moderno* in the secular sphere to be the expected practice, in contrast to the *Stile Antico* that came before. The selected repertoire is: Porpora's *Motetti a voce sola con Instrumenti* (1744), *Perdono amata Nice* (1746), *Polifemo* (1735), and Farinelli's presentation copy of 'Quell'usignolo' (1753).

#### 2.2.1 Per Graziosa: The Solo Motet

Though Porpora composed many solo motets throughout his career, few have survived to today. This is true of his complete musical output; of 335 works, only 72 in the composer's hand remain in existence. Of the 335 recorded compositions for voice, 44 were other liturgical works (including solo motets) plus 44 motet texts. Nine solo motets still exist, including *ICSC*; the autograph scores for the motets are held at the British Library.

*ICSC* is a virtuosic solo motet composed for Graziosa, one of the main soloists of the *figlie del cori* at *Ospedaletto* in 1744.[124] *In caelo* is one of the many solo motets composed by Porpora for the religious

[123] Cotumacci, *Prinicipij e [115] Solfeggio*, fol.2r-3v.

services at the Church of Santa Maria dei Derelitti. Though a date is missing from the score, the spring-time imagery is a nod towards it being composed for Easter. In which case, *ICSC* would have been performed at a similar time to *Clari splendete*; *Clari splendete* is dated 'Marzo 1744' ('March 1744') for performance by Bernardia. It is highly likely that these are two of the three motets composed by Porpora at this time; the third is a solo motet for Alto, Angiola Moro. The trio of solo motets appears to accompany three *Regina Coeli* documented in the *Nota delle Composizioni Musicale fatte in quest'Anno corrente dal Maestro Nicola Porpora* composed for the Easter season.[125] As discussed in Part 1, it is possible each solo motet was paired with a *Regina Coeli* for performance in mass; Hansell indicates in his study of Hasse's repertoire, that an Antiphon normally followed a solo motet in public performances and services. Talbot indicates that the votive antiphon, *Regina Coeli*, is sung from Compline on Easter Sunday to Compline on the first Friday after Pentecost; this thereby supports the notion that the motets were composed during the period following Easter for Vespers or Mass. The nature of the dedicated service would influence the purpose-written text; the text would be composed to best suit the standardized structure of the motet in this period.

Instrumentation, Structure and Text

*ICSC* is scored for solo soprano voice and strings with a basso continuo. The piece follows the expected structure of solo motets in the 1740s, as seen in the table below, and is a setting of a novel, non-liturgical, but devotional, poem written for performance in a religious service. In summary, *ICSC* has the three defining features of a solo motet in early eighteenth-century Venice.

*Table 2 – Incipit, Form and Tempo of Porpora's "In caelo stelle clare"*

| Incipit | Form | Tempo |
|---|---|---|
| In caelo stelle clare | *Da Capo* Aria | Vivace |
| Exulta, exulta o cor! | Recitative | |
| Care Deus cordis amantis | *Da Capo* Aria | Moderato |
| Alleluia | Open | Allegro |

As discussed in Part 1, the first aria is fast and is placed in contrast to the slower second aria; Table 2 indicates the *affetti*, and thus, tempo, of each movement, Porpora prescribes a *vivace affetto* for the first aria and *moderato* for the second. The final section, the *Alleluia*, is *allegro*. Both arias are *da capo* which is facilitated by a bipartite poem; the first and second stanzas are set as sections A and B retrospectively, as discussed in Part 1. The *da capo* aria would be recognized by singers of the eighteenth-century as an

[124] Porpora, *Motetto a Voce Sola con Instrumenti; per Graziosa*, ff.2-13.
[125] *Nota delle Composizioni Musicale fatte in quest'Anno corrente dal Maestro Nicola Porpora* I-Vrs, Der. G 1, n. 48, ins. 49. in Markstrohm, *A reconstruction of the 1744 Service at the Ospedaletto in Venice*, xiii.

opportunity to demonstrate their virtuosity; performers, including Graziosa, would be expected to employ ornamentation of varying degrees throughout the aria.

*Table 3 - Original text and translation of "In caelo stelle clare"*

| Original Text | English Translation |
|---|---|
| In caelo stelle clare fulgescant et herbe in colle laetae vivescant vivescant laetae laetae vivescant volent in fronde in fronde volent aves canendo aves canendo<br><br>in vivo in prato flores et ondae murmure grato suavi odore suavi odore plaudant iucunde mecum gaudendo plaudit meum gaudendo plaudit gaudendo gaudendo | May the bright stars shine in the heavens<br>And the happy grasses flourish on the hillside,<br>And the birds fly among the leaves as they sing.<br><br>In the river, in the meadow, let flowers and water<br>With their sweet perfume and gentle murmur<br>Gladly celebrate as they rejoice with me. |
| Exulta, exulta o cor!<br>Astra fulgendo flores laeti ridendo animai voto arrident;<br>nec amplius in me spes modo languescit; sed affetum in Deum demuo flarrescit quid tardas quid tardas ergo o cor pectus inflamma o scare Caeli flamma.<br>Arde, arde contenta demum a te fugasta paena amare in incendio beato anima cara. | Cry, Cry O heart!<br>Stars shining brightly, Flowers laughing merrily, Spirits smile upo this pledge; No more does hope languish in me, It now abounds in the love of God. Why then, o heart, do you hold my soul in the flames, Of the sacred flames of Heaven?<br>Burn with joy at last, now that your suffering is over, and find love, dear soul, in that blessed fire. |
| Care Deus cordis amantis sentio in me paenas placavi iam ardoris mei constantis spendet fax clara et serena splendet clara et serena<br><br>In spe beata cor suspirando est divo anima plena. | Dear Lord of loving heart,<br>I feel my torment ease within me,<br>Now the bright and serene flame<br>Of my constant ardour is gleaming.<br><br>In blessed hope my yearning heart is made whole by the love of God. |
| Alleluia | Alleluia |

*ICSC* describes a lively, pastoral, springtime setting full of murmuring streams, fields and birdsong; the employment of these themes provides many opportunities for word painting and florid singing. The text gives a feeling of ecstasy of love and devotion towards the Lord and his creation; the first aria displays the love for God in nature whereas the second aria expresses such devotion directly.

### 2.2.2 The Cantata

The poem of the first aria in *ICSC*, 'May the bright stars shine in the heavens and the happy grasses flourish on the hillside, and the birds fly among the leaves as they sing...', would not be out of place in a cantata; Hansell explains that 'both [cantatas and solo motets], ..., express pathetic feelings through references to the beauties of the rural countryside, impressive natural phenomena, and, of course, love, the texts are related structurally.'[126] Many scholars, including Hansell, Roche and Talbot, liken the Solo Motet to the cantata and some go so far as to describe it as a 'spiritual cantata' and so is a natural point of

[126] Hansell, *Works for solo voice of Johann Adolph Hasse, 1699-1783,* 21.

comparison.[127] The text for Porpora's cantata offers an expression of jealousy felt by the speaker for Nice and Tirsi. The expression is set in a pastoral setting. The dedicated text, as with the solo motet, follows the requirements of the basic form of an eighteenth-century cantata: Recitative – Aria – Recitative – Aria. In contrast to *ICSC*, the first aria is *lento* and the second aria is a contrasting, lively *Allegretto*; based on the *affetti* indicated by Porpora, my analysis will focus on the second aria as it best suits the expression found in the faster movements of *ICSC*. The cantata is found as an autograph manuscript dated to October 1746; it is likely Porpora composed the piece during his time at *Ospedaletto* but the intended performer is unknown. [128] If composed for a singer at the *Ospedaletto*, the piece may have been performed at one of the Sunday events in a concert of concerted and vocal music.

Many of Porpora's compositions were published by a company based in London; however, many nuances in notation are missed or omitted due to the very nature of a printed or copied edition. As an autograph score, the nuances of Porpora's writing and notation in *Perdono amata Nice* will assist in clarifying discrepancies and variations in the scores; the opera arias have also been chosen in respect of this.

### 2.2.3 The Opera arias

Porpora's *Polifemo* received its premiere at the King's Theatre in 1735. The opera in three acts is a setting of Paolo Rolli's libretto that combines the mythological stories of the cyclops Polyphemus: the killing of Acis and the blinding of Polyphemus by Ulysses. The premiere had a star-studded cast of Farinelli, Senesino and Francesca Cuzzoni, the rival of Francesca Bordoni. Charles Burney captured the reception of *Polifemo* and wrote in his diary: 'The King, Queen, Princes of Wales, and Princesses honoured the first representation of *Polifemo* with their presence, and there was the fullest house of the season. This opera, with no other interruption, than the benefits continues in run twelve or thirteen nights.'[129] The Royals were part of an audience described by the London Daily Post and General Advertiser as 'one of the greatest audiences that hath been known this season.'[130] The opera was so successful that it was revised for a second season and was received 'with great applause by a numerous audience.'[131] The popularity of the opera is further demonstrated by the Walsh publication of *The favourite songs in the opera call'd Polypheme* (1735);[132] the London based publishing company regularly released collections of 'The favourite songs' of particularly well received operas in the eighteenth-century including Farinelli's famed role in *Artaserse* (1734). As previously mentioned, for the purpose of this study, I use the 1735 manuscript of *Polifemo* which is held in the British Library. In a similar way to the autographed cantata manuscript, this will highlight the finer details of Porpora's notation. The popularity of Farinelli's performances in Porpora's

[127] Agricola, *Introduction to the Art of Singing by Johann Friedrich Agricola*, 181.
[128] Porpora applied for resignation in January 1747 and, therefore, was still in employment at Ospedaletto when the cantata was composed in 1746. Gillio, *L' attività musicale negli ospedali di Venezia nel Settecento,* 300.
[129] Burney, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*.
[130] Dumigan, *Nicola Porpora's Operas for the 'Opera of the Nobility'*, 51.
[131] Dumigan, *Nicola Porpora's Operas for the 'Opera of the Nobility'*, 58.
[132] Porpora, *The favourite songs in the opera call'd Polypheme*.

*Polifemo* demonstrates the expected and celebrated performance practices of the eighteenth-century thus proffering an ideal source for comparison to the sacred solo motets.

Farinelli performed the role of Aci, the mortal who falls in love with Galatea, in *Polifemo* and sang 'Senti il fato.' 'Senti il fato' is a *da capo* aria a *da capo* aria and Porpora prescribes the *affetto* as *Allegro.* The aria is described by Burney to have 'long notes in distant intervals, and brilliant divisions, to display the voice and execution of the performer.'[133] The same virtuosic displays can be seen in Farinelli's copies of 'Quell'usignolo' from *Merope* by Geminiano Giacomelli;[134] the copy, in Farinelli's own hand, was made in a collection of arias presented to the Empress Maria Theresa in 1753 and acts as one of the best sources for Farinelli's performance practice. Both editions are written with an additional staff upon which Farinelli has notated another expression of the aria and cadenzas where appropriate; the notated ornaments demonstrate the possible variety in performance of musical phrases. Although not one of Porpora's compositions, Farinelli was one of Porpora's students and so it can be assumed that the performance practice employed by Farinelli reflects that taught by Porpora. If there are musical figures demonstrated in Farinelli's copy of the aria that are omitted in the solo motets and teaching materials, it may be concluded that the girls employed a less virtuosic performance practice. Alternatively, if the solo motets and arias demand the same level of virtuosity and employ similar figures, it can be concluded that the sacred solo motet was approached in the same manner as a secular popular work.

Through a combination of examples from the cantata and the opera arias, it is possible to form a representative 'ideal' of secular performance practice in the eighteenth-century. This 'ideal' will highlight the similarities and differences between secular and sacred performance practice when used in the analysis of *ICSC*; the findings will support the conclusion that a) sacred repertoire employed a different performance practice to secular repertoire, b) sacred repertoire drew on secular performance practice or, c) sacred and secular works were approached with the same performance practice.

### 2.3 Commentary

As outlined previously, the commentary will first approach the notated performance practice before I hypothesise the un-notated practice, using the treatises and *solfeggi*. The notated performance practice focuses on the ornamentation such as trills, mordents, fermatas and *passaggi*; in this study, the un-notated practice will further consider the trill figures and *passaggi* omitted from the manuscript but found in contemporary teaching materials. This will contribute to forming an idea of melodic variation on the *da capo* of each aria and the alleluia, and the construction of the *cadenza*.

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[133] Burney, *A General History of Music.*

[134] 'Quell'usignolo' is from Germiniano Giacomelli's *Merope* which premiered in Venice in 1734. Giacomelli (1692-1740) is most famous for his operas 1730-1740.

### 2.3.1 What is on the page: Trills and mordents

On my first sing through the motet, the ornament that I thought I would understand, and effectively perform, was the trill. This was not the case. Look at the vocal line on ff.3 of the solo motet. In just seven bars, Porpora has used three notations that imply a trill:

*Table 4 - Trill notation: type, manuscript and typeset*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A) |  | **tr** |
| B) |  | t |
| C) |  |  |

Most musicians will recognise A. The **tr.** notation, A, has become the standardised notation for the trill in modern music, and is the only symbol shown in the treatises. The **tr.** symbol is the typical marking for publishers and copyists to use: for example, whilst C is used in the manuscript edition of 'Senti il fato', only A appears in the Walsh publication. The substitution of the marking for other trills in modern editions leaves the execution of the ornament ambiguous; the beauty of using Popora's original manuscript is that if each trill symbol is deciphered then I can have a more precise approach to the trills I execute.

We should consider A to be the symbol for the common trill as understood in the eighteenth-century; the common trill is defined by Tosi and Mancini as the fast-alternating movement between two adjacent tones. Tosi suggests that in performance more emphasis is placed on the 'Principal' note than the 'auxiliary' note: an example of the common trill, Tosi's 'first' shake, is seen in No.1 §6 in Figure 6. Considering the frequency of such a trill it is possible to assume that Graziosa would have employed the ornament regularly; as stated by Mancini: "the trill is the most important embellishment of the art. This embellishment gives to the ear and soul of the audience, the fullest admiration, tenderness, pleasure and love."[135]

[135] Mancini, *Pensieri*, 127.

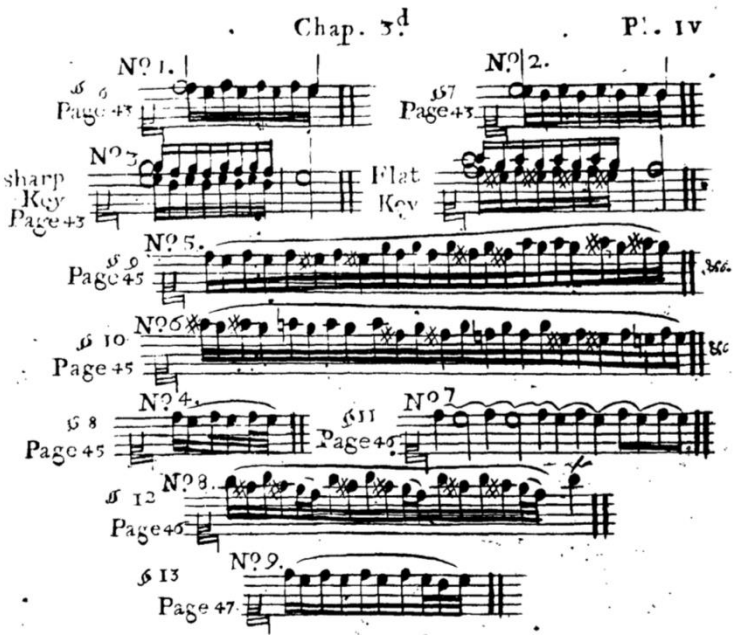



*Figure 6 - Tosi's trills p.IV.*[136]

As seen in Tosi's notations of trills, the common trill is the foundation for many trill figures including the *trillo cresciuto* and *trillo calente*, No. 5 and No. 6 respectively. Whilst Tosi and Mancini give detailed accounts of performance of the common trill and the application of such, the same cannot be said for trill markings B and C which are omitted from the treatises of Tosi and Mancini.

Modern scholars, such as Stefano Aresi, have tried to answer the question: what kind of trill is Porpora prescribing in each case? In Aresi's 2004 publication *Sei duetti latini sulla passione di nostro signore Gesù Cristo. Mottetti per Angiola Moro*, he discusses the trill variations among other issues confronted whilst completing a critical edition of Porpora's compositions.[137] Aresi concludes that 'We cannot ignore or trivialize these markings: they are an integral part of the author's desired characteristics of the finished work and are fixed in the only way conceivable for Porpora: by inscription.'[138] It is impossible to know exactly how Porpora wanted the second two ornaments to be performed but by looking at the context it is possible to make an educated guess.

In the original manuscripts, Porpora has marked the common trill on semi-quavers through to dotted crochets so there is no clear correlation between note length and application whereas B and C occur in more specific locations. C occurs throughout the solo motet in contexts similar to that of trill A; however, the note lengths are augmented. See Alleluia b.20-26. (Figure 7): here, Porpora has notated trill C on a dotted crochet following a run of semiquavers, a *volatina*.

136 Tosi, *Observations*, IV.
137 Aresi, *Sei duettie latini sulla passione di nostros ignore Gesù Cristo*, 122-126.
138 Aresi, *Sei duettie latini sulla passione di nostros ignore Gesù Cristo*, 126.

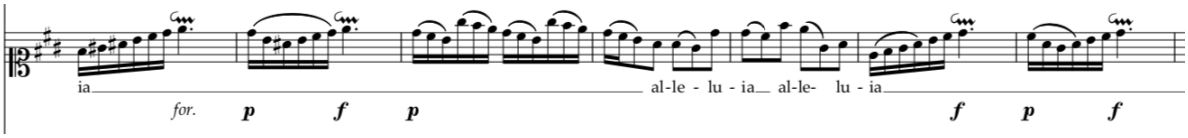



*Figure 7 - Alleluia b.20-26.*

Why was Porpora so specific at this point? What was the affect he wanted? The extended note length of a dotted crochet provides an opportunity for a slower movement, thus allowing the employment of a *trillo lento*. Aresi also suggests a *trillo lento* as a possible meaning for a trill. [139] In contrast, see A2 b.15-18. (Figure 8): here, Porpora has placed the trill on a quaver following a leap. This creates a perfect opportunity for a *volatina* to the note.

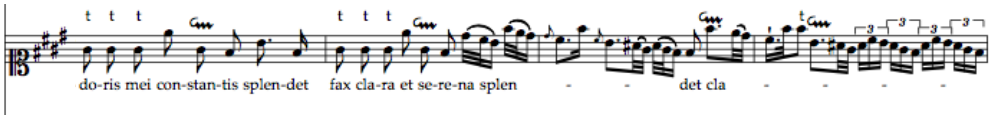



*Figure 8 - A2. b.15-18.c*

The clearest suggestion of an extended trill is made by the employment of such at all three of the main cadences of each Aria. It is no surprise that a trill is marked at the cadence as Tosi and Mancini agree that a cadence, whether approached with a cadenza or *messa di voce* and trill, would be lacking if not using a trill. Whilst C can be seen on the longer notes allowing for a longer or extended ornament, B occurs most frequently on shorter notes in fast moving passages. The shortest trill described in the treatises is the *mordente*:


*Figure 9 – Mordente* p.IV.[140]

The *mordente* is the eighth and final trill, discussed by Tosi. The *mordente* is performed with a degree of velocity, is short in length and is often employed following an appoggiatura. Mancini seconds Tosi's description of the mordent as a fast, shortened trill, and emphasises its difference through separation in the treatise: 'The "Mordente" originates from the trill. The former differs from the latter, in that the trill is composed of a true and real tone, which is vibrated equally with another note a tone higher, a feigned tone. The Mordente is composed of a real tone hitting a false one a half tone lower ... However, the trill and Mordente always end the same way, i.e., on the real tone.'[141] Mancini indicates that one of the positive attributes of the *mordente* is the permissible use in any style of singing and the singer needs only to consider the placement and frequency. It is on the basis of its application that Aresi suggests that it is the *mordente* described in the treatises.[142]

[139] Aresi, *Sei duettie latini sulla passione di nostros ignore Gesù Cristo*, 122.
[140] Mancini, *Pensieri,* 136.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Aresi, *Sei duettie latini sulla passione di nostros ignore Gesù Cristo*, 122.

Now the execution of the trill notations has been hypothesised, I can apply the findings to the motet. The execution is explicit in *ossia* staves in the performance edition. For example, refer to the *ossia* stave in A1 b.15-24.; the *ossia* stave shows an expansion of the trills A, B and C.

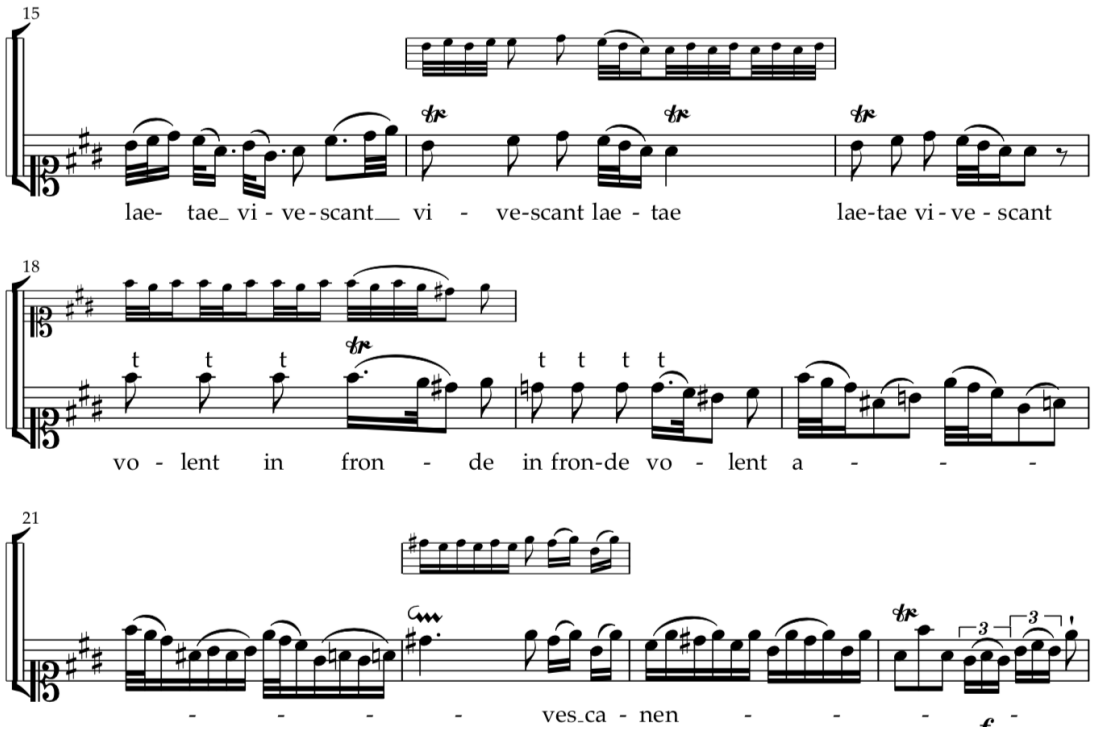



*Figure 10 - A1 b.14-24.*

It is evident that Porpora taught the girls to employ these variations of trills and confirms the extensive use of the trills in sacred repertoire. The placement of trills is not limited to that prescribed by Porpora; consider the structure of the arias, the *da capo* permits the addition and omission of trills on the repetition of the A section. Moreover, the performers would rarely perform the aria in the same manner twice. Considering this, let us look for other opportunities for trills and mordents. For example, the final four bars of the Alleluia provide an excellent opportunity for a *trillo calente* marked with a common trill in place of semi-quaver movement. The *trillo cresciuto* could also be employed in place of a triplet figure decorating an ascending, stepwise passage in b.66. The trills promote a similar effect to the triplets and so it is a suitable substitution, many other fast-moving passages could be replaced with a trilled passage.

### 2.3.4 What is on the page: *Passaggi*

At a first glance, the solo motet looks advanced. The vocal line is full of semi-quaver runs, leaps and arpeggiated figures. The *passaggi* notated by Porpora show exactly what the girls could execute and were expected to employ in sacred repertoire.

Divisions are subject to extensive discussion in the treatises of Tosi and Mancini. Most vocal scores include articulation marks and allow a singer to discern the two approaches defined by Tosi: the

*passaggio battuto* and the *passaggio scivolato*.[143] The *passaggio battuto* is more common and used in faster tempi whereas the latter, *scivolato*, as more appropriate for slower tempi and short groups of notes. *Scivolato* is instructed with the use of a slur within *passaggi* and in all other cases *battuto* is employed. The divisions discussed by Tosi are an affect that can be utilised as part of ornamentation rather than acting as a performance ornament. Both styles of division can be employed in the three approaches to *passaggi* outlined by Mancini: a *volatina*, *martellato*, *arpeggiato* and the *cantar di sbalzo*. Whilst Tosi is pre-disposed in his discussion with a concern for good taste, Mancini discusses the aforementioned, important elements of passagework and accompanies his discussion with musical examples, due to Mancini's thorough approach, his defined *passaggi* will form the foundation of the discussion on melodic variation employed.

*Volatina semplice*, *Volatina raddoppiato* and *Cantar di Sbalzo*

The *volatina semplice* is defined by a single run to the note of importance; the *volatina raddoppiato* consists of two scales, the second of which must start a fifth above or below the first and follow immediately:

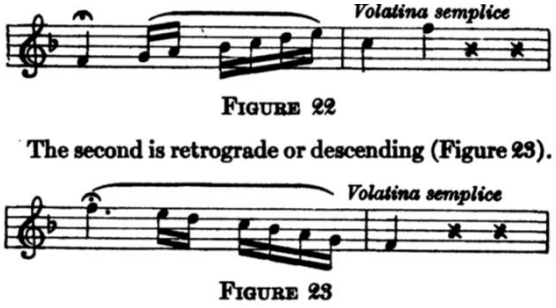



*Figure 11 - Volatina Semplice*[144]


*Figure 12 - Volatina Raddoppiato*[145]

The *volatina semplice* is used in the solo motet. Whilst Mancini's examples are bookended with longer note values on the stressed note, they are frequently found and defined without this as an ornament leading towards a stressed note. In the solo motet, a *volatina raddoppiato* can be seen in the Alleluia b.184 and a *volatina semplice* can be seen in the Alleluia b.173 leading to a note ornamented with trill C.

[143] Tosi, *Observations*, 53.
[144] Mancini, *Pensieri*, 151.
[145] Ibid.

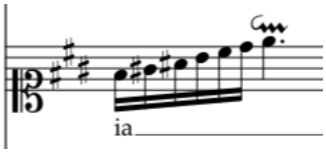



*Figure 13 - Alleluia b.21.*

*Figure 14 - Alleluia b.32.*

The employment of a *volatina* is implied to be a basic approach to *passaggi* by Mancini. He discusses the *volatina* in a section on natural agility before embarking on the more demanding effects: 1) *martellato*, 2), *arpeggiato*, and 3), *Cantar di sbalzo*. Of these three figures, only *Cantar di sbalzo* is used in the solo motet.

*Cantar di sbalzo* is the singing of leaps with the employment of *portamento di voce* and often an appoggiatura. Mancini gives an example of crochet notes in allegro and minim values in andante but ascending leaps in Farinelli's bravura arias are executed on semi-quavers. In *ICSC* A2 b.49-51. (Figure 15), there is a passage voiced with a combination of arpeggiated descents and leaps of a 6th.

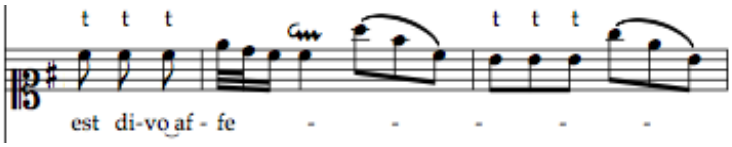



*Figure 15 - A2 b.49-51.*

### 2.3.3 Moving off of the page: Fermatas and Cadenzas

A notated fermata can either indicate the employment of a *messa di voce* at the start of a melodic refrain or a Cadenza. In *ICSC*, the fermatas are found at the cadences on the tonic which is held over a second inversion in the bass; this is the most common approach for a cadenza in the Baroque period. The melodic line follows the *Do-Re-Do* cadence which is mentioned by Agricola as the most common at his time of writing (1750s.) If the girls were taught to prepare a cadenza in the same manner as that described by Mancini and Tosi, what would it have been?

There are two approaches to the cadenza explained in Mancini's writing: 1) the cadenza could be approached as an epilogue and thus comprise of material used in the aria, or 2) the cadenza could be the second type described by Mancini, an opportunity to show off every skill the singer has to offer. In nearly all cases in *ICSC*, the fermata is marked over the final note of a phrase or a rest in the accompanying string parts which provides a natural stopping point for the orchestra thus giving way to the singer performing a cadenza *a suo piacere*. By removing the accompaniment, focus is drawn to the singer's performance and so, the cadenza is an opportunity for virtuosity, the chance to be a diva, above anything else. The inclusion of such opportunities in the sacred solo motets immediately demonstrates the

embracing of the virtuosic movement seen in the secular sphere at this time; the already superfluous solo motet in mass became a spectacle of ability at every fermata.

Each aria contains at least two fermatas, one at each cadence of sections A and B. If we are to take the advice of Mancini's first point, and that stressed by Tosi, the cadenza sung at the end of A1A would employ the triplet movement, and leaps of a third, that permeate the A section. The B section would be closed with a cadenza filled with trills on repeated notes or following leaps in crochet movement. It is here that we move off of the notated practice instructed in Porpora's hand.

Cadenzas were improvised and therefore rarely notated, though some teachers wrote them out for didactic function. Baragwanath highlights two instances of notated cadenzas in *solfeggi* by Leo and Saverio Valente;[146] both instances are labelled with the word "cadenza." Baragwanath stresses this isn't the only key to understanding the musical fragment, by looking at the slurs it is possible to understand the conception and thus execution of the cadenza. Without viewing the rest of the *solfeggi*o, it is not possible to grasp the degree to which this cadenza drew upon the previous melodic ideas. However, Baragwanath suggests it is based on the *sol – do* motif, from which the singer launches onto the cadenza.

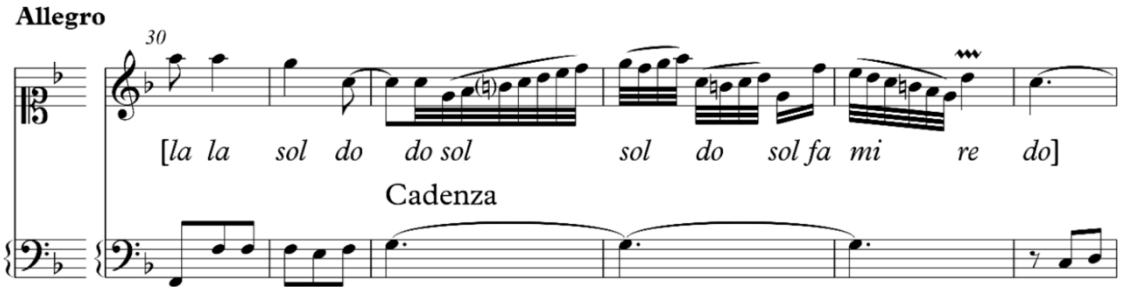



*Figure 16 - A notated cadenza, Leonardo Leo, Solfeggi, (1756; GB-Lbl, Add. 31617), fol.52v, b.30-35.*[147]

In the *solfeggi* I have surveyed for this study, I have not come across excerpts labelled as cadenzas. However, Leo was an active teacher in the first half of the eighteenth-century at the Neapolitan conservatoires; though a later generation to Porpora, their style of teaching could be representative of his. As we have established that the cadenza does not necessarily have to draw from the ideas used in the aria the fermata is indicated in, it is important to consider the other tools in the girls' box of performance practice.

### 2.3.4 What is not on the page?

We know that Porpora expected the girls to employ the *volatina*, trills and cadenzas but many other passages and affects are omitted from Porpora's manuscript. Whilst the reason for this may be that the

[146] Baragwanath, *The Solfeggio Tradition*, Chp.7.
[147] Ibid.

girls were not taught how to employ such affects, it is worth considering the approaches found in the teaching materials before making this conclusion.

The primary source considered here is Leo's *solfeggi* in *Vezerro de Lecciones*. *Solfeggi* rarely employed ornamentation such as the trill but provided students with the skills required to execute such figures through extensive practice of divisions and passages. It is no wonder that a few of the *passaggi* omitted in the solo motet are found in the *solfeggi*, including *arpeggiato*. A *passaggi arpeggiato* is an arpeggiated passage that derives from instrumental origin. This is one of Mancini's 'difficult' passages that requires extensive work and daily practice of a '*solfeggi*o mingled with bars of such arpeggios.'[148]

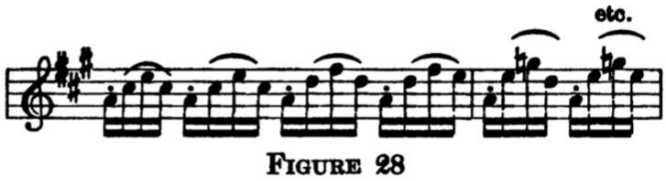



*Figure 17 - Arpeggiato*[149]

It is not found in the solo motet but can be found in Leo's *solfeggi*. For example, in VII.22 (54v), a duet in G major, both voices sing a descending arpeggiated passage (Figure 18). The inclusion of *arpeggiato* in the curriculum at Belem demonstrates that it was a style of *passaggi* to be taught and employed in performance. Performance at Belem was predominantly sacred; therefore, it can be concluded that *arpeggiato* was considered to be of a suitable degree of virtuosity for religious service.

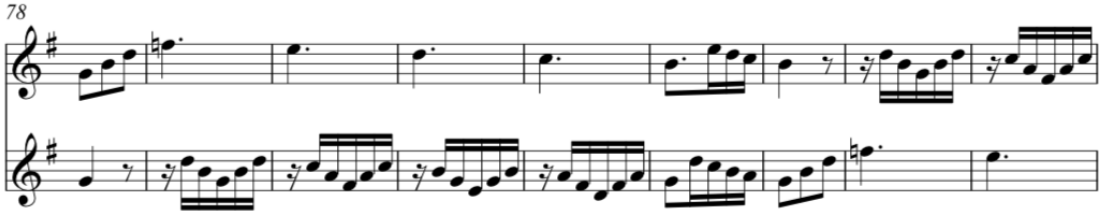



*Figure 18 - Arpeggiato, Leo VII.21 (54v) b.78-88.*

How could this passage be employed in the girl's performance of Porpora's *ICSC*? As established earlier, with the use of Pichl's transcriptions, an eighteenth-century singer rarely performed a passage the same way twice. As explained earlier, *solfeggi* were sung to syllables rather than to the note names. Though to the modern singer the use of syllables in singing rather than note names may seem unhelpful or confusing, it allowed the student to aim for a note whilst providing the freedom to incorporate ornamentation. This method allowed students to learn approaches to and from notes that could then be transferred to another melody in another key: for example, the sequence C – D – E would be sung as *do-re-me*, and so the singer could employ the same ornaments over a *do-re-mi* sequence in the key of F major (F-G-A.) The singer learnt not only to read the music but to speak it. *Solfeggi* provided the singer with the

[148] Mancini, *Pensieri*, 157.
[149] Mancini, *Pensier*, 156.

language and grammar to do this: the language is the *sol-fa* and the grammar is made up of the phrases learnt.

Gjerdingen explains the grammar, or patterns, in *solfeggi* using schema theory;[150] this theory is primarily used by linguists to understand how events interact and the knowing of knowledge. Each schema, by Gjerdingen's definition, is a unit of information which is represented by a prototype and defined by key features. The prototype is an 'ideal' example of the information and exemplars are various editions of the prototype which exhibit some or all of the defining features. For example, the concept of 'bread' is a schema, the *prototype*, it is defined as food made out of flour, water and leavening agent. Under this 'umbrella' schema, the ideas based on this schema can be considered as any type of bread, *exemplars*, from a White Loaf to a Ciabatta to a Sourdough Loaf. Each of these breads are made from the same 'base' ingredients but they undergo different processes which result in different forms of bread. The same approach can be taken to patterns in music for which the defining internal characteristics are the melodic, harmonic and metric features, and the placement characteristic informs the customary placement of the schema in a melody. Gjerdingen's *prinner* is internally defined by a descending sequence in parallel tenths, commonly *la – sol – fa – mi* in the melody over *fa - mi – re – do* in the bass (Figure 19).[151] The *prinner* is a closing gesture and therefore often occurs at a cadence.

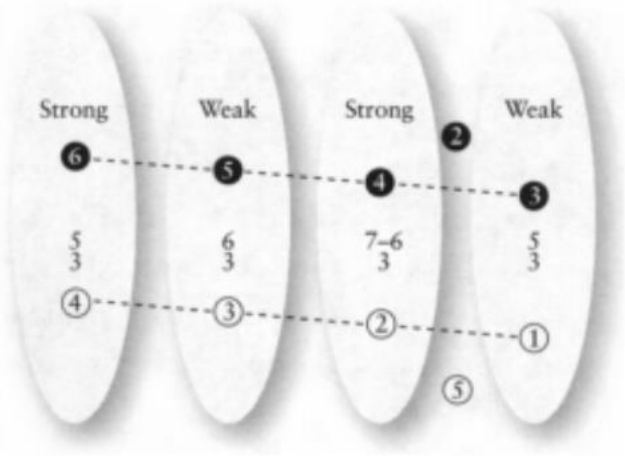



*Figure 19 - A reduced representation of a Prinner, Robert Gjerdingen, Music in the Galant Style, p.455.*[152]

Through exposure in lessons, the student learns the schemata in the same way we learn common phrases like 'Goodbye.' They then learn how schema can be sung employing different ornamentation

[150] For further discussion, refer to: Gjerdingen & Bourne, "Language and Music Share Domain–General Cognitive Functions"; Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant style*. Gjerdingen and Bourne link construction grammar and its foundations in the psychology of human categorization with schema theory in music. They present six principals of construction grammar and apply them to schema-theoretic studies of music. The argue that the extensive musical examples suggest that construction grammar provides a model for how singers in the 18th century learnt such a large repertoire of patterns which functioned as grammar in music which could be varied.

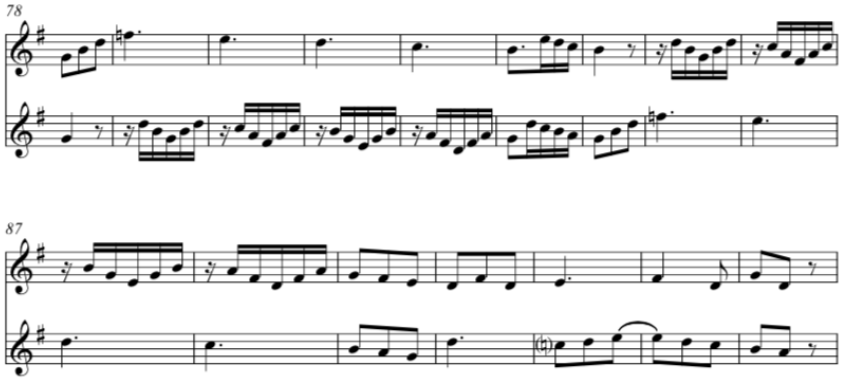
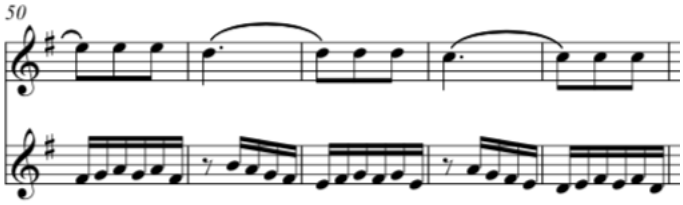
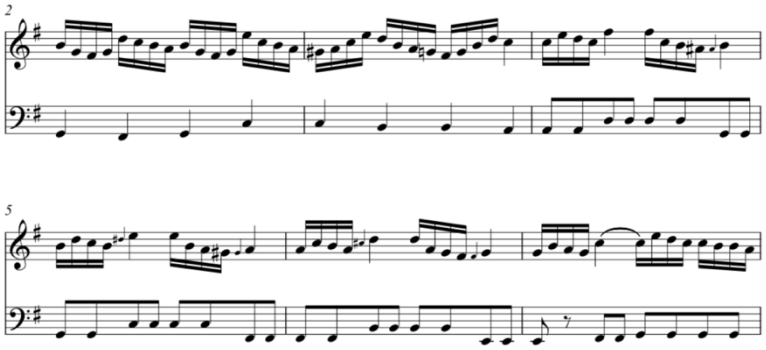
[151] Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant style*, 46.

[152] Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant style*, 455.

through employment of trills, mordents or melodic variation as we learn that 'Goodbye' can be said as 'See you soon', 'farewell', 'so long', 'bye-bye' and so on.

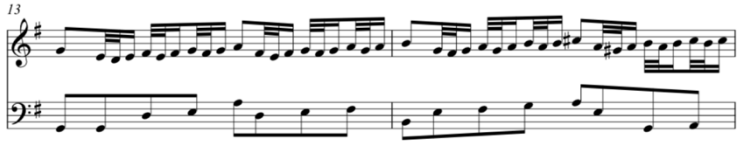
Recent exploration into eighteenth-century musical pedagogy and analysis by Gjerdingen has resulted in a comprehensive catalogue of schemata; every schema could be voiced in an almost infinite number of ways. It would be naïve to attempt cataloguing every approach that Graziosa, or her contemporaries, could have taken to each schema found in the solo motet; furthermore, a complete catalogue would be impossible without input from the singers themselves. Moreover, the task would be comparable to cataloguing how every person in the world expressed a phrase like 'Thank you.'; but understanding just a few of the approaches to scale-based schemata would enable us to start exploring the variations that Graziosa could have employed in a performance of *ICSC*. The passages shown in Table 5, from the surveyed *solfeggi,* are realisations of any scalic movement in the underlying skeleton of the piece.

*Table 5 – Scalic movement in surveyed solfeggi, Leo.* [153]

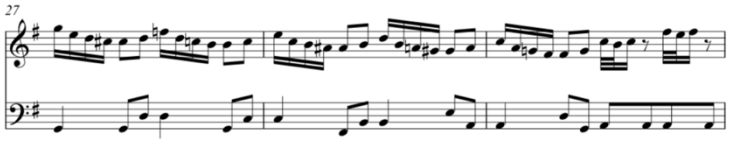
| | |
|---|---|
| Leo<br>VII.21<br>b.78-88. |  |
| Leo<br>VII.21<br>b.50-54. |  |
| Leo<br>VII.22<br>b.4-7. |  |

[153] Lanam, *El Colegio de San Miguel de Belem*, 362-539.

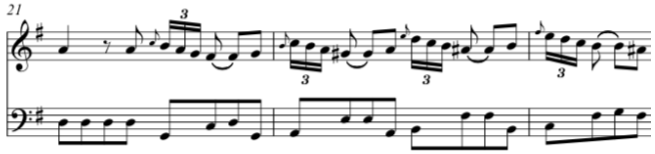
Leo
VII.22
b.13-14.



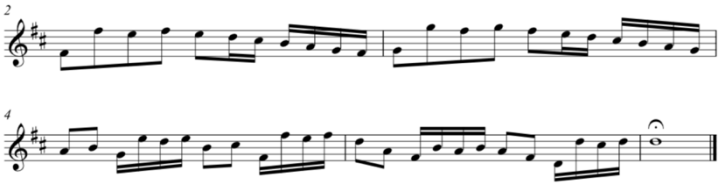
Leo
V.II.22
27-29.



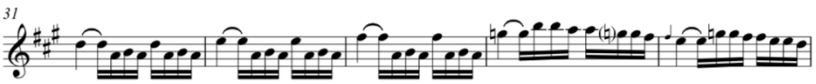
Leo
VII.22
b.21-23.



Leo
VII.36.
b.2-4.



Leo
VII.52.
b.31-34.



In just four *solfeggi*, there are eight different approaches to voicing a scale-based passage. The voicings employ the *arpeggiato*, the *volatina* and the *Cantar di Sbalzo*. In VII.52. b.31-34 there is an effect that could be interpreted as a version of *martellato*. As strictly defined by Mancini, *martellato* is the beating of a series of notes with the first one higher than the remaining three. 'It requires an extraordinarily agile voice, and great assiduity and perseverance to master it.'[154]

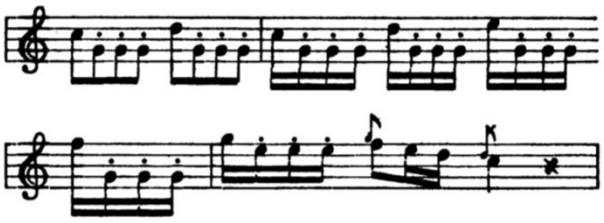


*Figure 20 - Martellato.*[155]

In the *solfeggi*o, the figure is a set of semi-quaver notes. The first of the group is higher than the following notes. Instead of the lower notes being 'hammered', there is a fast alternation between two notes as seen

[154] Mancini, *Pensieri*, 156.
[155] Mancini, *Pensieri*, 155.

in trills. Though not a strict *martellato*, the passage would still demand the perfect breath control and intonation required for a *martellato*. Whether Leo intended this as a similar passage to *martellato* or practice on trills and leaps, this figure could be employed in the execution of scalic passages in *ICSC*. Any of the voicings of the scalic passages can be employed. For instance, let us look at the *prinner* found in A1 b.23-24 (Figure 21).

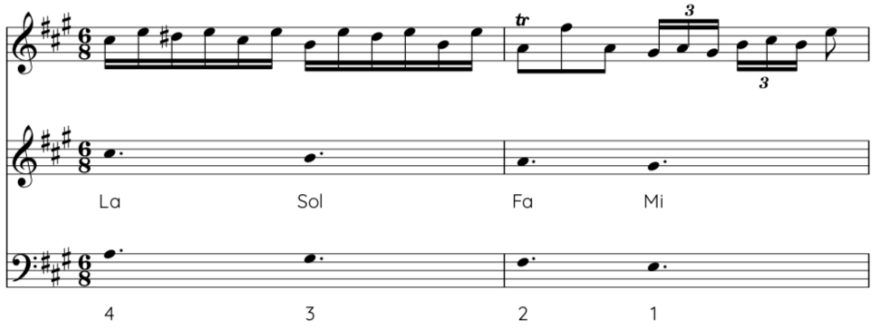



*Figure 21 - A1 b.23-24.*

Originally, the notated expression of the descending, scale-based passage employs *cantar di sbalzo* and alternating semiquavers. Using just the ideas found in the extract initially, the melody could be varied to consist only of quaver leaps with trill C on the final quaver of each bar (Figure 22). Alternatively, the passage could be voiced using the alternating semi-quaver movement used in the first bar (Figure 23).

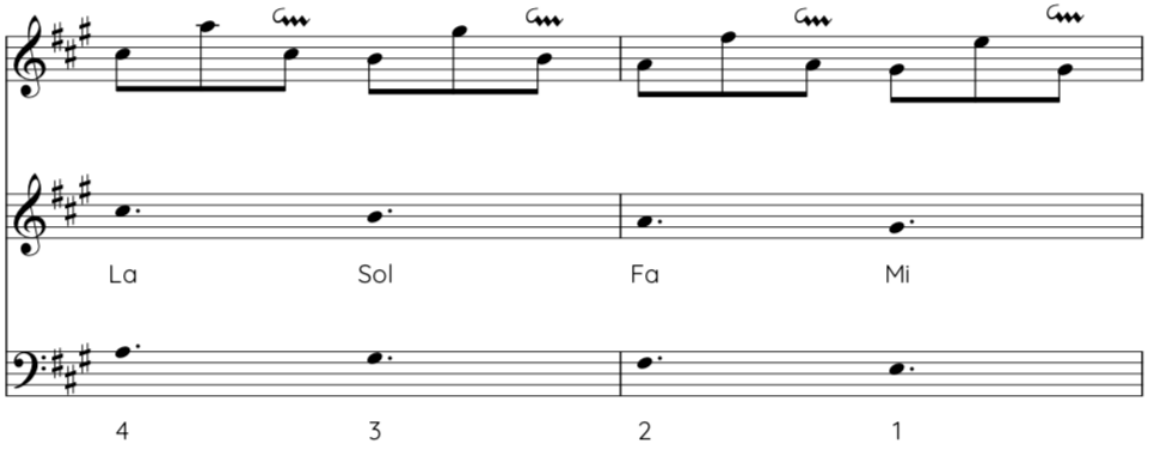



*Figure 22 - A2 b.22-24. expressed with Cantar di Sbalzo and trill C.*

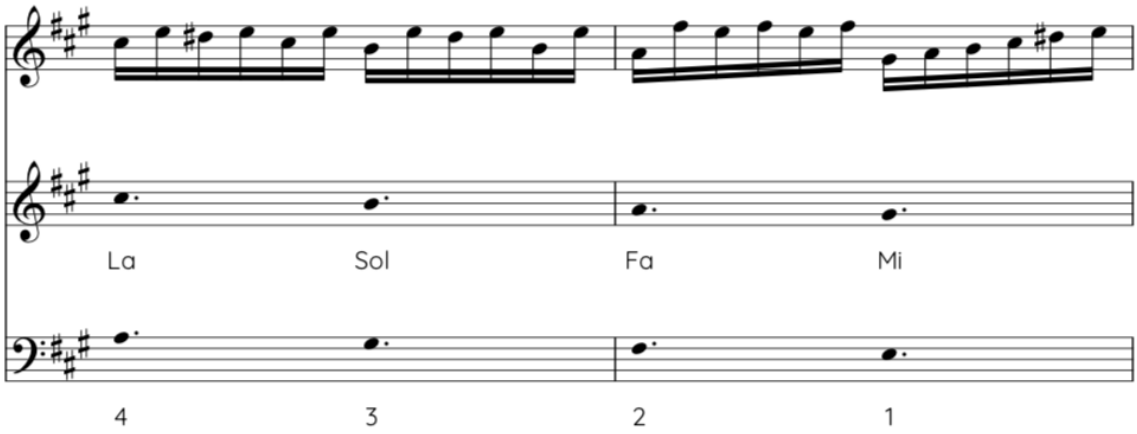



*Figure 23 - A2 b.23-24. expressed with alternating semi-quavers.*

Another expression could use the *arpeggiato* employed in VII.21 b.78-88. This is a rather effective passage and creates contrast, whilst balancing, with the following triplet passage. The balance of florid versus still movement must be considered when employing alternative expressions; throughout the solo motet, Porpora has composed calmer passages followed by florid divisions. Furthermore, considering the triplets that follow this extract, it would be wise to alter the expression of the following two bars if the bars considered are executed with triplets. Repetitive ideas or figures would quickly become boring and tiresome. The section could be sung with the approaches seen in VII.22 b.21-23. or VII.52. b.31-34. Here the use of tied quavers against semi-quaver or demi-semi-quaver movement provides space whilst maintaining the drive of the line.

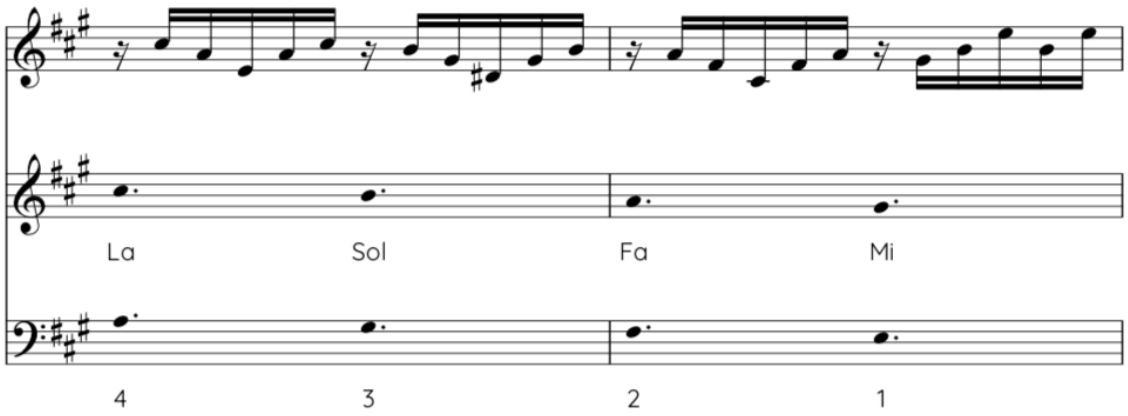



*Figure 24 - A2 b.23-24. expressed with arpeggiato.*

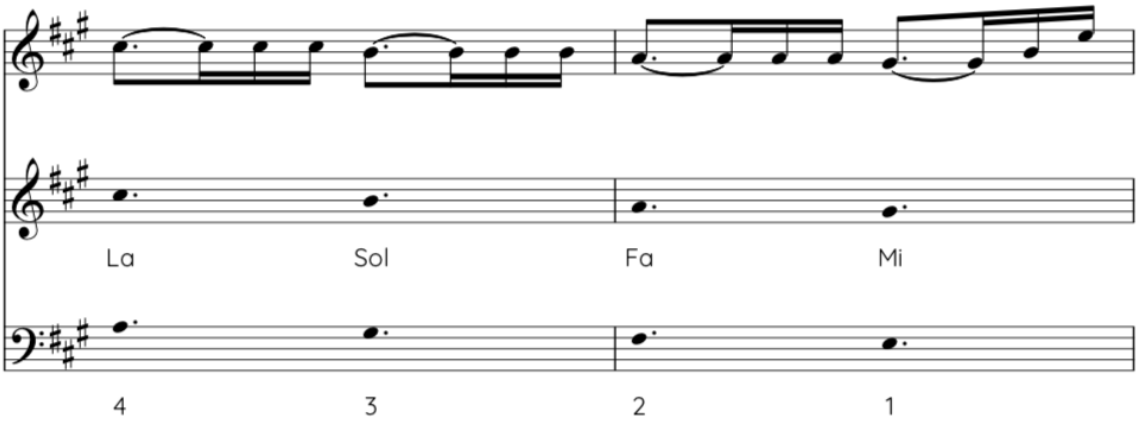



*Figure 25 - A2 b.23-24. expressed with approach in VII.52 b.31-34.*

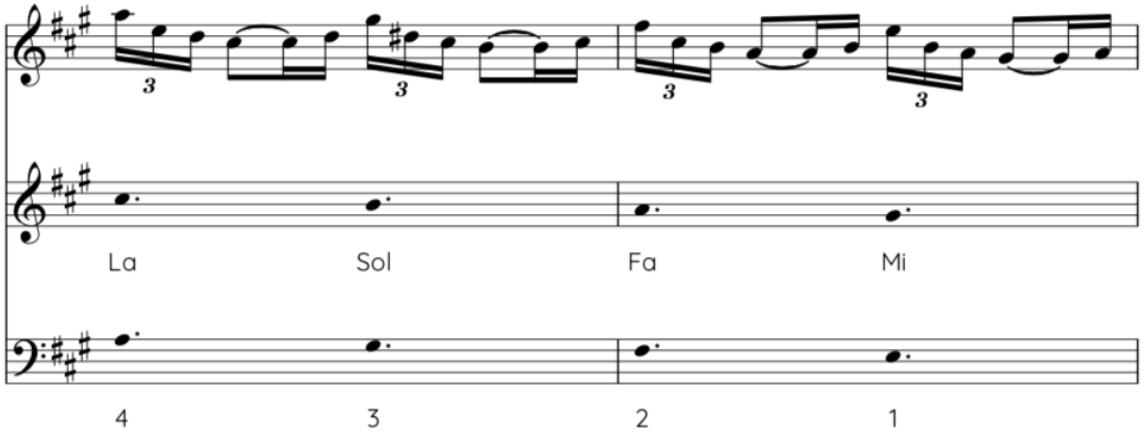



*Figure 26 - A2 b.23-24. expressed with approach in VII.22 b.21-23.*

Another approach would be to draw on the other scalic passages in the motet itself. For example, the passage could be sung with the melodic idea seen in A2 b.29-34 or b.47-51 (Figures 27 and 28).

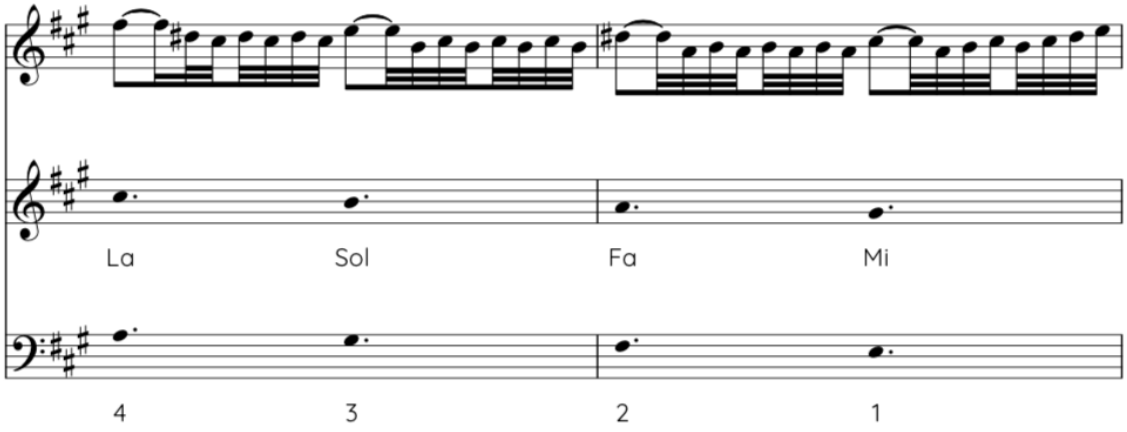



*Figure 27 - A2 b.23-24. expressed with approach in A2 b.29-34.*

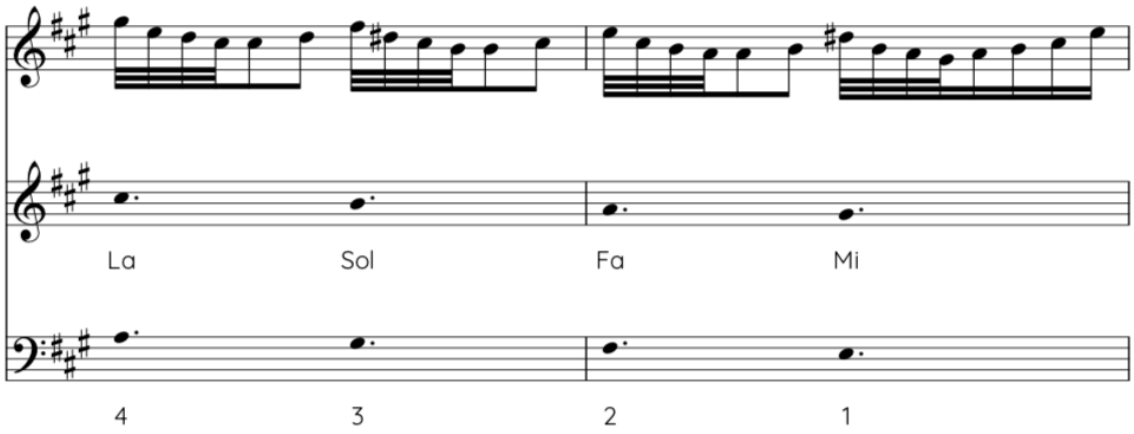



*Figure 28 - A2 b.23-24. expressed with approach in A2 b.47-51.*

Two of the previously discussed options draw on the use of the trill to express the scale-based passage. Whilst the *trillo cresciuto* and *trillo calente* are omitted from the solo motet, the figures are seen in contemporary works performed at the *ospedali*. The *trillo cresciuto*; the *trillo cresciuto* are described by Mancini as two of the 'three most difficult kinds of trill'.[156] A decorates each crochet in an ascending passage and in execution; each tone is expressed with a common trill. The challenges in this trill arise from the need for perfect intonation, breath management, and a smooth transition between each note. In Tosi's precise description of trills, he says 'The fourth [type of trill] is the rising *shake* [the *trillo cresciuto*] which is done by making the voice ascend imperceptibly, shaking from comma to comma without discovering the rise.'[157] Tosi writes out the approach to this movement in his notated examples. An example of this ornamentation, the *trillo calante*, can be found in *Clari splendete* with **tr.**; such ornamentation could be used in A1 b.23-24 with the **tr.** marking or trill C (Figure 29).

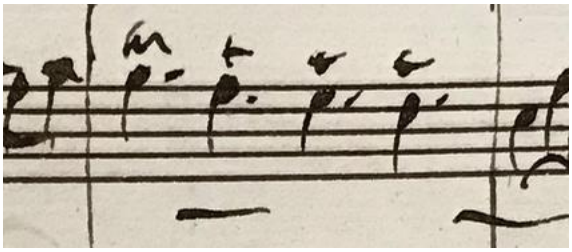


*Figure 29 - Clari splendete f.37r b.3. trillo calante.*

[156] Mancini, *Pensieri*, 133.
[157] Tosi, *Observations*, 45.

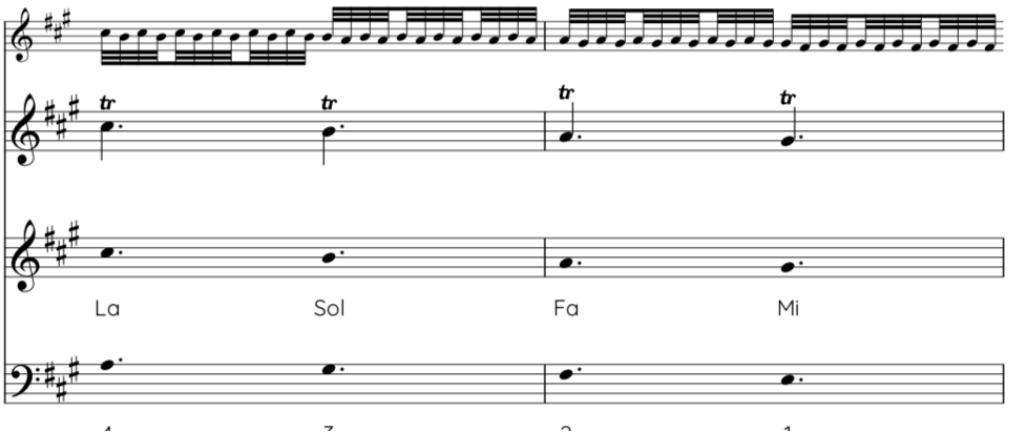



*Figure 30 - A2 b.23-24. expressed with a trillo calante using tr.*

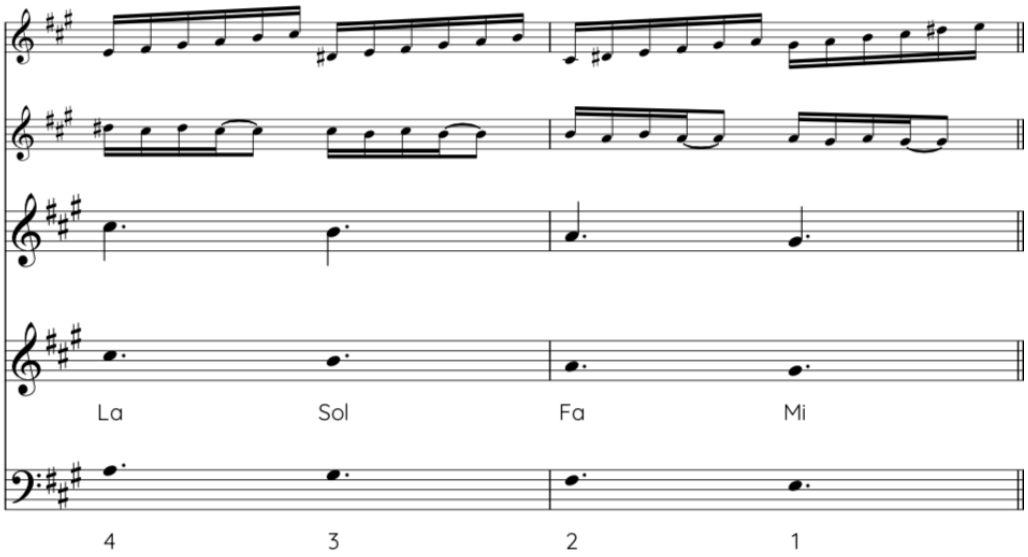



*Figure 31 - A2 b.23-24. expressed with a trillo calante using trill C.*

These are just a few of the variations that are possible by identifying the same skeletal structures and employing the effects seen elsewhere. Following the advice on *da capo* arias from Tosi, melodic variation was most commonly employed on the repeat of section A – 'in repeating the air, he that does not vary it for the better, is no great Master.'[158] Whilst it is possible to follow the advice of Tosi in the execution of the Arias, the same cannot be said for the final movement. The Alleluia has a through-composed structure on just one word, "Alleluia". So, would you employ melodic variation? Yes – in Pichl's transcription of Marchesi's performance, Marchesi employs extensive melodic variation throughout regardless of whether the section is repeated or not.

The Alleluia is by-far the most virtuosic section of the solo motet. With just one word as text there is little requirement for the melody to permit clear communication, instead the voice is left to execute passages of extensive semiquavers employing great agility. The alleluia is the moment to show off

[158] Tosi, *Observations*, 93-94.

the voice. For this reason, melodic variation must have been employed. Porpora would have composed the passage to show off the voice of Graziosa and so, it is only right that, the modern singer employs passages or ornaments that enhance the Alleluia and accentuate the strengths of their voice. In this sense, the Alleluia could be considered an extended cadenza, an epilogue to the Solo Motet that permits the singer of a final flourish.

Evidently the girls would have executed such *passaggi*, cadenzas and ornaments with great skill but was there anything missing from their tuition? Is there a limit to the virtuosity employed in sacred repertoire?

### 2.4 In comparison with Secular repertoire

The three pieces representing the secular repertoire of the early eighteenth-century are arias from a cantata or opera. *Perdono amata Nice,* 'Senti il fato' and 'Quell'usignolo' are all written as *da capo* arias and thus employ a similar approach to the arias in the solo motet. Moreover, the arias are a similar *affetti* to those found in the solo motet. For the purpose of comparison, the following discussion will show the similarities in ornamentation and *passaggi* followed by the differences; it is the differences that will assist with the conclusion that a) sacred repertoire employed a different performance practice to secular repertoire, b) sacred repertoire drew on secular performance practice or, c) sacred and secular works were approached with the same performance practice.

#### 2.4.1 *Passaggi*

Most of the *passaggi* discussed in the treatises by Tosi and Mancini were employed in the solo motet or the teaching materials – the *volatina semplice, the volatina raddoppiato*, *cantar di sbalzo* and *arpeggiato*. The prevalence of *volatina semplice* in the sacred repertoire is echoed in the secular repertoire: *volatina semplice* can be seen in *Perdono amata, Nice* and *Senti il fato (Figure 32)*. In popular performances by Farinelli and his contemporaries, *arpeggiato* was an extensively utilised affect; variations of the *passaggi* are found in Porpora's *Senti il fato*' (b.29-33.)

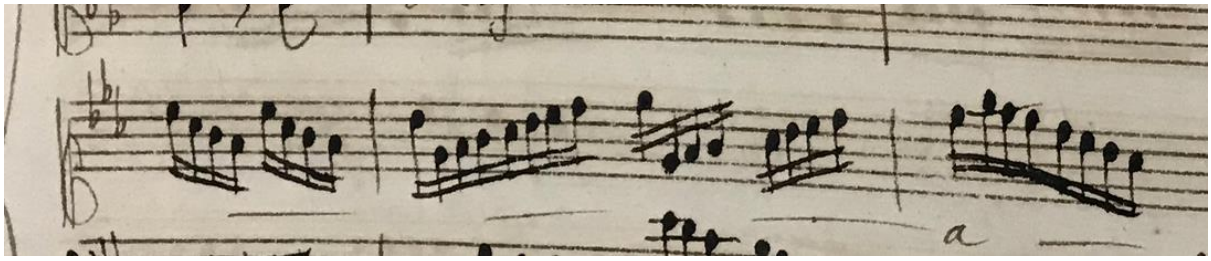


*Figure 32 - Volatina Semplice, Senti il fato, ff.57.*

*Martellato* was not found in the solo motet or the *solfeggi* but was an impressive affect in the toolkit of famed secular performers such as Faustina Hasse and Farinelli. In the 1753 presentation score, Farinelli shows two approaches to a phrase of repeated notes; one of the affects Farinelli notates in his ornamented score is the employment of *martellato*. Farinelli's approach better reflects the direction of

Quantz. Unlike Mancini, Quantz does not specify the first of each set of four notes to be higher than the 'hammered' note; this is also reflected in Faustina Hasse's performance which Quantz hails as the pioneer of this affect, which had previously been used in instrumental performance, in vocal performance.[159] *Martellato* is omitted from the cantata and operatic arias. However, there is a similar figure seen in "Senti il fato" and the solo motets as previously discussed in the commentary. Of the *passaggi* described by Mancini, it is only *martellato* that is not present in the didactic sources. The absence of *martellato* across the *solfeggi* could suggest a lack of popularity for the *passaggi*. Alternatively, the omittance of *martellato* could demonstrate a lack of teaching of this affect due to the sacred context.

### 2.4.2 Trills and Mordents

As an original manuscript, it is possible to see the three symbols used by Porpora for mordents and trills. For the purpose of this discussion, I have ensured that I have only used the original manuscripts for each of the secular pieces by Porpora and the manuscript written in Farinelli's hand. Seemingly, trills were an essential ornament across secular and sacred genres of vocal music. The three trill markings can be found across Porpora's manuscripts from his time at *Ospedaletto*: for example, his compositions for the famed contralto Angiola Moro, the solo motet, and *Perdono amata Nice* contain all three markings; trill C is also seen in the 'Senti il fato' manuscript composed in the decade between his appointments in *ospedali*. The employment of the trill and mordent is similar across all the scores studied and so supports the notion that sacred music was approached with the same performance practice as secular repertoire.

The notation has remained consistent over the sacred and secular repertoire by Porpora. Following a brief look at another sacred solo motet, it was possible to conclude that trilled passages, the *trillo cresciuto* and *trillo calante*, were sometimes employed in the repertoire. Both trills are said to be 'out of vogue' at Tosi's time of writing but their prevalence in Mancini's treatise, written 30 years later, implies otherwise. The *trillo cresciuto* and *trillo calante* are not notated in the cantatas or 'Quell'usignolo' but it can be seen employed in 'Senti il fato' (Figure 33).

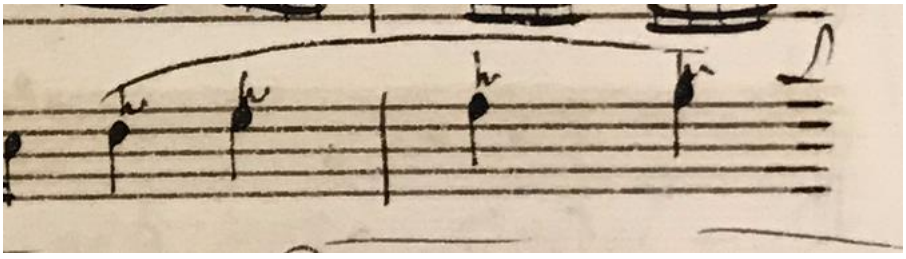


*Figure 33 - Trillo cresciuto, Senti il fato, ff.54.*

There are plenty of opportunities for the *trillo cresciuto* and *calante* in Cantata VI, e.g. b.17-18., 'Senti il fato', e.g. p.14. *Perdono amata, Nice*, e.g. p.15.; a singer could employ either of the trill figures as an alternative

[159] Quantz, "Lebenslauf", 241.

expression of the passages. There does not appear to be a clear difference in the virtuosity in application of trills and mordents in secular and sacred repertoire.

### 2.4.3 Cadenzas

There is little evidence for how the cadenzas were executed in the solo motet and little by way of teaching materials for such ornamentation. One of Porpora's most famous students, Farinelli, was lauded for his virtuosic, improvised cadenzas. Porpora taught him well as Sacchi recounted that Farinelli "arrived at the theatre with new embellishments and cadenzas every night. However, he did not spoil compositions by varying and ornamenting them, as most singers do, and which is indeed easily done, but he knew very well how to apply his ornaments in the right place and tempo."[160] As his cadenzas were improvised and therefore not notated, in researching his vocal technique, Desler looked to the frequency and placement of opportunity for a cadenza;[161] I employed this tactic when looking further into Graziosa's cadenzas and the opportunity for such virtuosity in the comparative secular aria and cantata. Table 6 shows where fermatas indicate a cadenza in each aria:

*Table 6 - Frequency of fermatas*

| | *In caelo stelle clare* | 'Perdono amata Nice' | 'Quell'usignolo' | 'Senti il fato' |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| A1A | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| A1B | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| A2A | 1 | - | - | - |
| A2B | 1 | - | - | - |

From Table 6, it is evident that the employment of the fermata, denoting an embellishment, in solo motets reflects that of the opera arias far more than the cantatas thereby supporting the claim that secular performance practice had been integrated into secular; it is the degree to which the practice that was integrated that is unclear.

The limitations of notated music mean that we can rarely understand how notation, such as the fermata, was realised but Farinelli's 1753 collection does give a few examples. 'Quell'usignolo' has an additional staff which contains an ornamented vocal part for the A and B sections. Not only does this show Farinelli followed the practice outlined by Tosi, to embellish A simply, B a little more, and A' greatly,[162] but also contains written out cadenzas. Farinelli's cadenzas follow the practice outlined by Mancini; in each occurrence the orchestra stops, the material of the cadenza draws on the music previously heard in the section and the cadenza displays skill and virtuosity. It isn't possible to know how

[160] Sacchi, *Vita del cavaliere Don Carlo Broschi*, 36.
[161] Desler, *Il novello Orfeo' Farinelli: vocal profile, aesthetics, rhetoric*, 63.
[162] Tosi, *Observations*, 93-94.

the girls performed the cadenzas and whether they matched the extensive displays that won Farinelli fame, but they certainly had the tools to match.

**2.5 Conclusions**

Through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the sacred solo motet was manipulated by composers and performers to best suit the styles of the time. The environment of early eighteenth-century Venice provided the opportunity and demand for an infusion of the increasingly virtuosic secular styles into sacred repertoire. The similarities identified between the cantata, operatic arias and sacred solo motet suggest opportunity for similar performance practice. By using the musical sources available to us, the case study of *In caelo stelle clari* demonstrates that the performance practice employed in the performance of a sacred solo motet draws extensively on that of secular performance culture.

The motives for drawing on the virtuosic secular performance discussed in Part 1 lie increasingly in drawing attention, and in turn money, to the institution. So was the performance to show off the performer or to focus on the divine? The repertoire is employing religious themes, was performed in religious settings and followed the musical teachings of the *ospedali*. We can conclude that, using the words of Arnold, the repertoire drew to the Divine, and the dedicated institutions, by drawing on the interest created by the Diva.

The sacred repertoires of the early eighteenth-century, including the sacred solo motet, remain underrepresented in modern scholarship, especially in performance study. As demonstrated, the sacred solo motet is a vehicle for secular performance practice in the sacred sphere and so should be of great interest to performers. Furthermore, employment of secular performance culture in one style of sacred repertoire leads to the question: did other sacred repertoire draw on the performance practice of secular music? Looking forward, the multi-source analysis employed in Part 2 of this thesis could be extrapolated to further research the performance practice of sacred music.

To conclude this thesis, I have compiled a historically informed performance edition of *In caelo stelle clare*. The edition has the original scoring with the addition of *ossia* staves showing alternative approaches to ornamentation and melody in the first Aria and Alleluia. Based on the findings of this thesis, the performance practice will draw on the secular styles of the time whilst omitting secular practices unsupported in sacred repertoire, the *martellato*. The edition will be accompanied by the surveyed *solfeggi* by Leo from *Vezerro de Lecciones* and the beginnings of a catalogue of approaches to scale-based schemata. My approach to the performance of *In caelo stelle clare* defines one means of interpretation and provides you, another modern musician, with the teaching materials to form your own. For your historically informed performance, I encourage you to identify the *passaggi* and ornamentation that shows your best voice and prioritise those figures - it is a performance for the Diva in dedication to the Divine.

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per Graziosa

# Mottetto a Voce Sola con Instrumenti

In caelo stelle clare

Exulta O Cor!

Care deus cordis amantis

Alleluia

Nicola Porpora

M.ro delle Figli del Coro dell'Ospedaletto in Venezia

1744

# Edited by Rebecca Sarginson

**Performance Directions**

The manuscript of *In caelo stelle clari* used for this edition is from the British Library, Additional Manuscript collection: the score is part of a series collected by Signor Gaspar Selvaggi, of Naples, GB-Lbl Add MS 14125.

The presentation of the instrumental parts has remained unchanged however, an additional stave has been added to show an alternative, ornamented, historically informed edition. The main vocal line is as written in the original manuscript; ornaments employed on this line in the original score are present. Based on the discussion of trills in Part 2, the differentiated trill types are represented by the following symbols:

Notation such as figured bass and articulation has been transcribed in the modern edition.

Porpora commonly notates '*Unis.*' or '*Con bas.*'. For the former, when indicated in the violin 2 part, please move onto the violin 1 stave and if indicated in the Violin 1 part, please follow the vocal line. When the latter is indicated in the viola part, please follow the bass.

Triplets are notated by Porpora in the original edition in groups of threes with no additional indication. I have employed the modern indication of a triplet figure for clarity.

Key signatures are as written in the original manuscript.

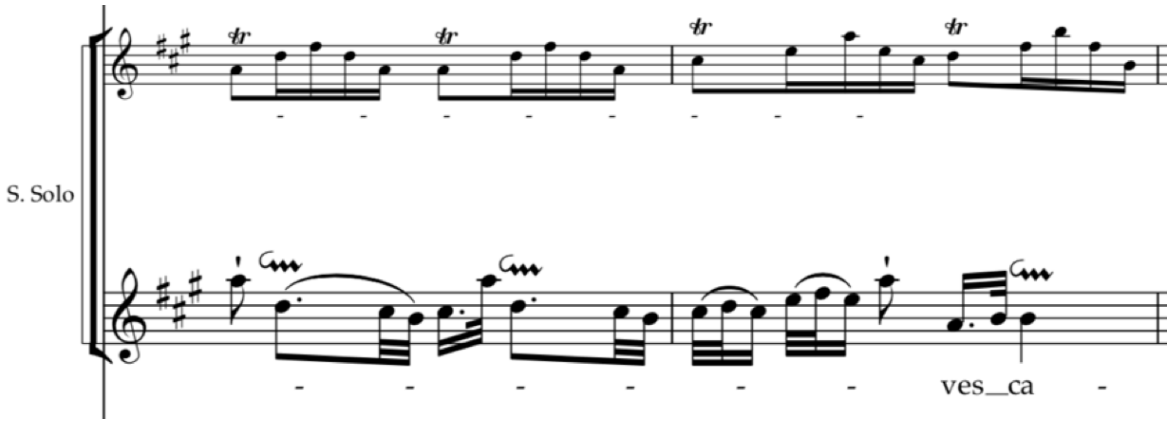
Time signatures have been altered to best suit available type-setting software. The original manuscript follows Porpora's tendency to group triple time bars into units of two. In the present performance edition, the time signature has been altered to 6/8 from 3/8.

The clefs have been changed to follow modern tradition. For instrumental parts: treble, alto and bass; for voice, the line has been transcribed in the treble clef.

The ossia staves have been added to the score in light of the discussions in Part 2 and to demonstrate variations to the modern performer. The first aria of *In caelo stelle clare* is a florid, explosion of triplets in

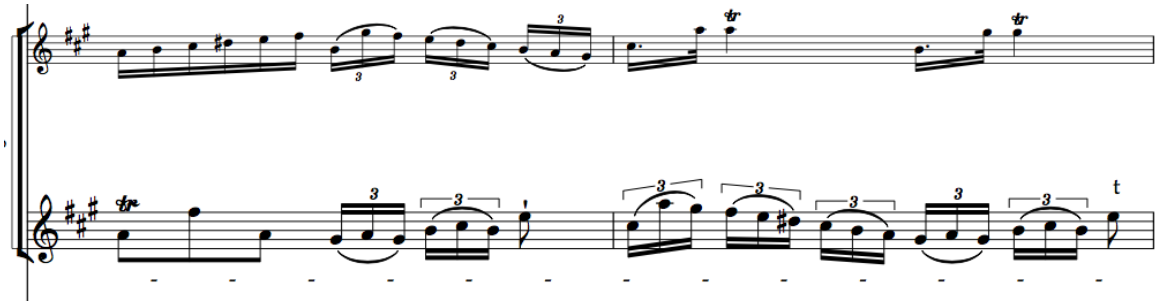
the *Vivace* affetti. Porpora makes extensive use of triplet figures and trills in the original manuscript. Following the discussion of Part 2, I have notated an alternative vocal line that demonstrates the employment of other ornamentation and *passaggi*. The decoration employed has drawn from the approaches analysed in Part 2 of this thesis. Whilst *arpeggiato* and *cantar di sbalo* were little used in the original notated line of the aria, the alternative vocal line employs such *passaggi* to demonstrate the virtuosity and flexibility of the voice. In order to not fully depart from the nature of Porpora's notated solo motet, I have drawn upon the prevalent triplet figures and *volatina semplice*.

In Part 2, it was shown that the form of *arpeggiato* described by Mancini did not occur in the solo motet but was employed in the *solfeggi*. I have employed the effect in Mancini's form in the alternative line at A1 b.48-49 (Example 1). The original line uses stepwise movement and the leap of a fifth and sixth.




*Example 1– Arpeggiato in A1 b.48-49.*

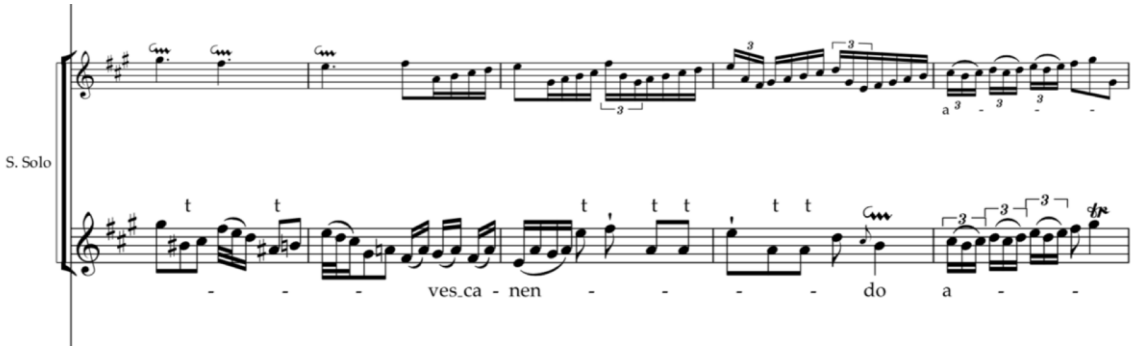
An example of the employment of *Cantar di Sbalzo* is found in b.25-26. In the original score, Porpora realises a descending scalic figure, with a *volatina semplice* in triplet figures followed by a triplet, arpeggio approach to the stressed note. On each stressed note, Porpora denotes a mordent. I have replaced the mordent with the common trill and approached each note with the leap of a sixth.



*Example 2- Cantar di Sbalzo in A1 b.24 - 25.*

The vocal line in Example 2 could have employed a florid semiquaver passage such as the *volatina semplice*. The first example continues to a declamatory cadence, by employing a descending trilled figure, the line further emphasises the cadence.

I have drawn on the semi-arpeggiated figure in a *volatina semplice* passage in b.44-46: this passage includes *cantar di sbalzo, arpeggiato* and *volatina semplice* (Example 3)..




*Example 3- A1 b.43-47.*

The importance of balance is seen clearly in Example 3. Porpora's melody notates semi-quavers followed by a quaver passage; as a reverse, I have employed a *trillo calente* on dotted crotchets followed by semi-quaver *volatina semplice*. The contrast between the dotted crotchets and the semiquavers emphasises the virtuosity of both in performance.

Neither the *trillo calente* or *trillo cresciuto* are notated in the original solo motet; I have employed both in the performance edition. The trilled passage is a test of vocal control as the performer must preserve breath and intonation throughout the passage. The *trillo calente* is employed in place of a triplet figure decorating an ascending, stepwise passage in b.43-44 as seen in Example 3.

per Graziosa

# Mottetto a Voce Sola con Instrumenti

*In caelo stelle clare - Exulta O Cor! - Care deus cordis amantis - Alleluia*

1744

Nicola Porpora,
M.ro delle Figli del Coro
dell'Ospedaletto in Venezia

*In caelo stelle clare*

**Vivace**

Violin 1

Violin 2

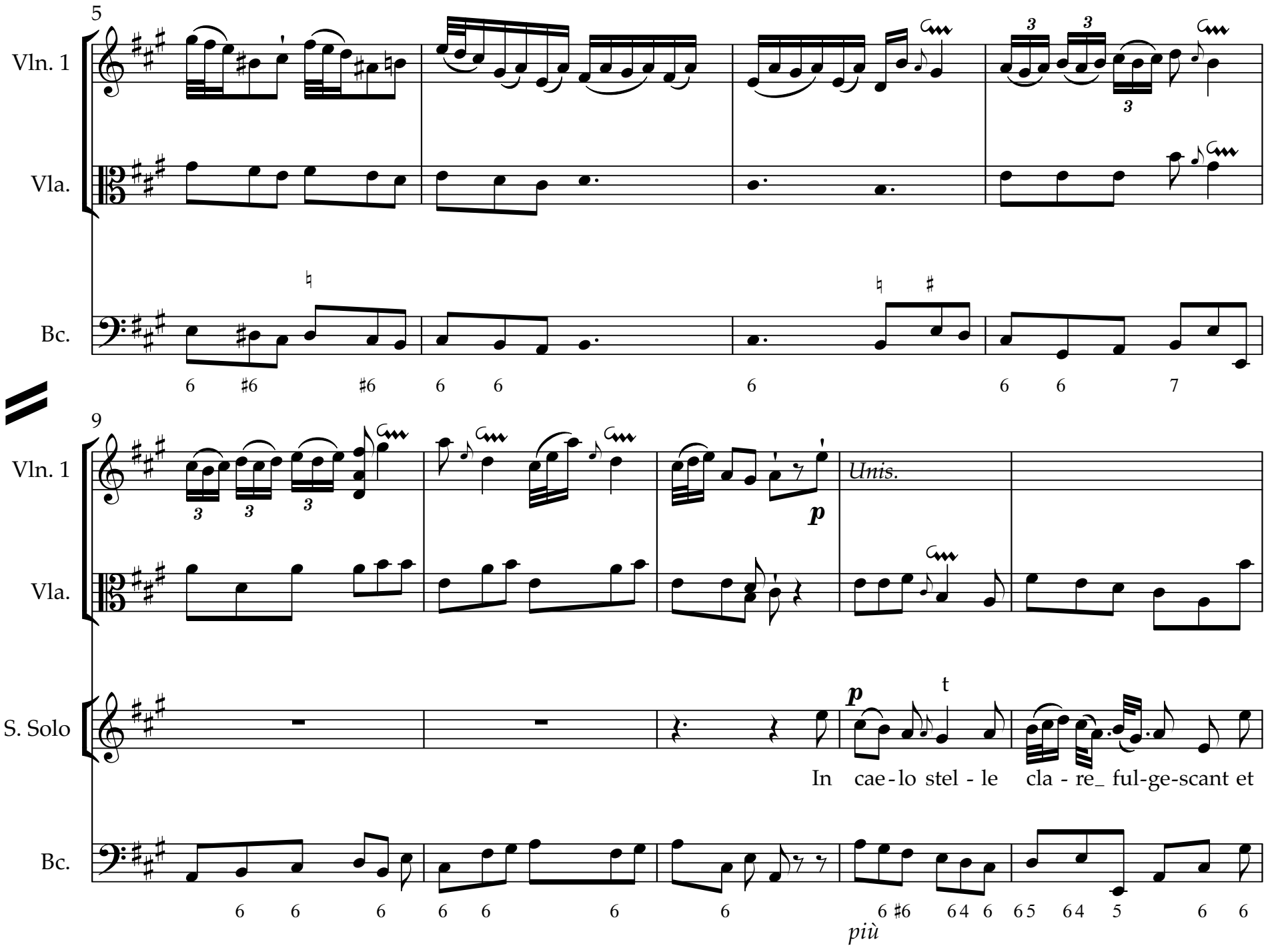
Viola

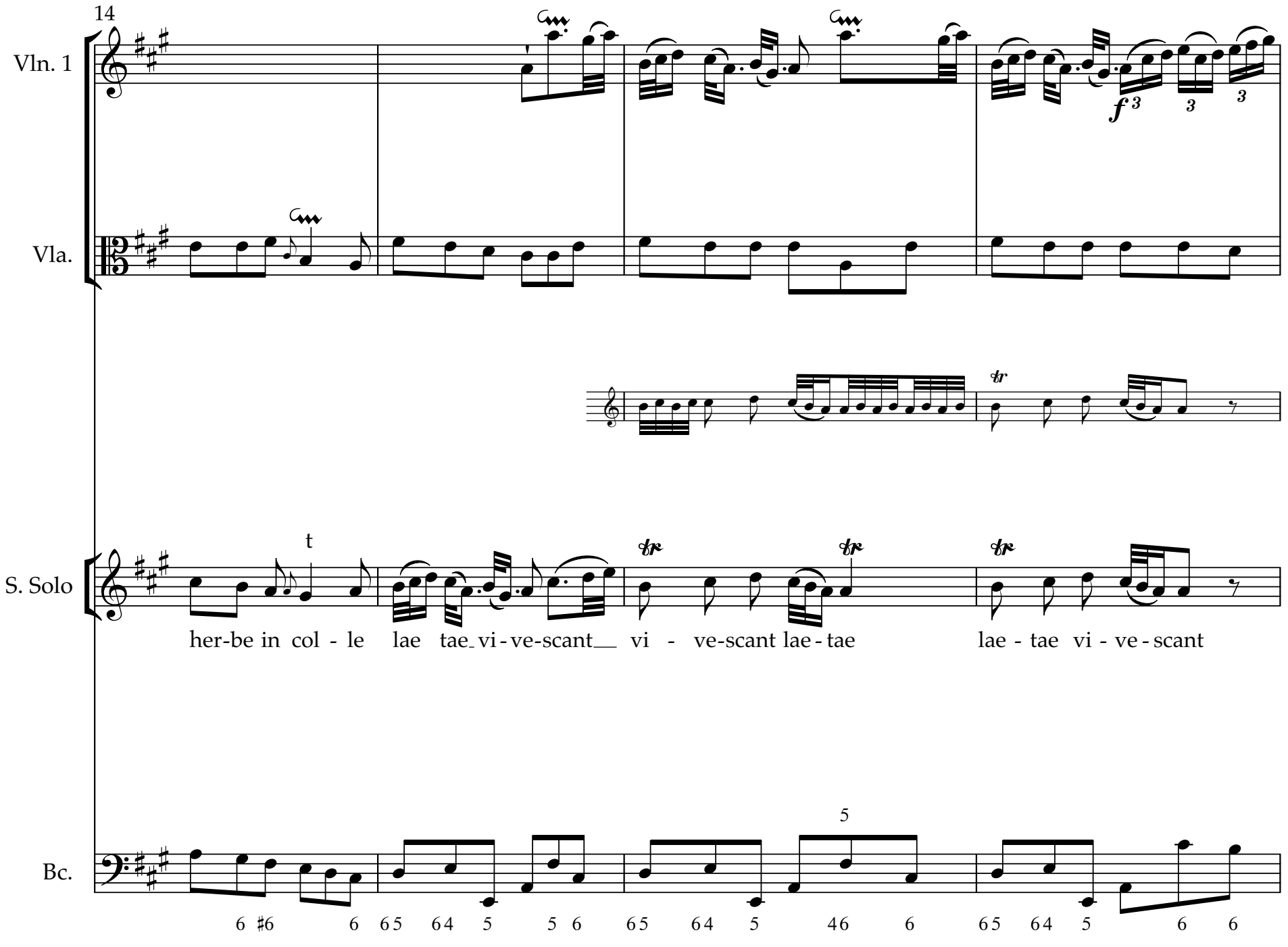
Soprano Solo

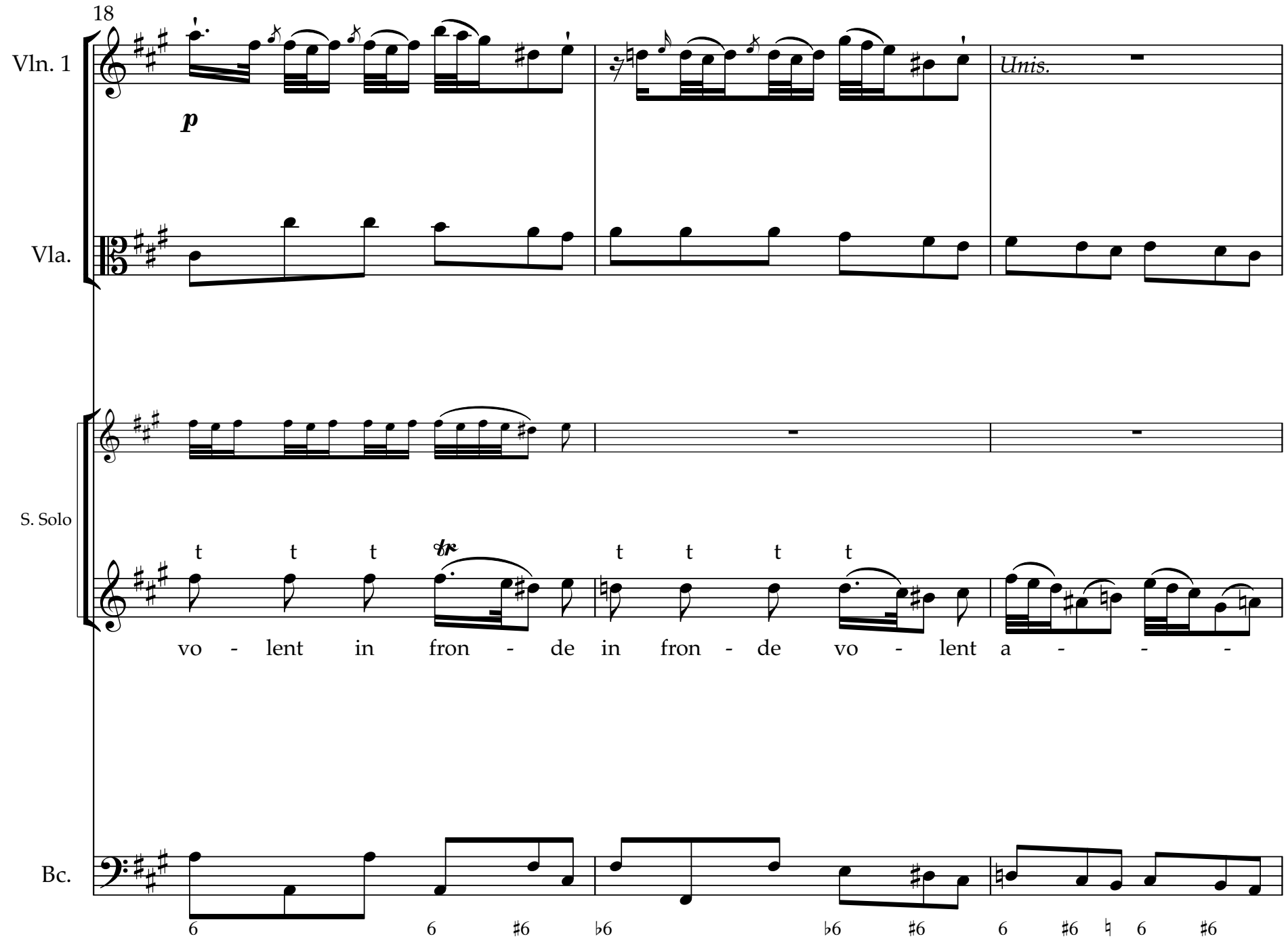
**Vivace**

Basso

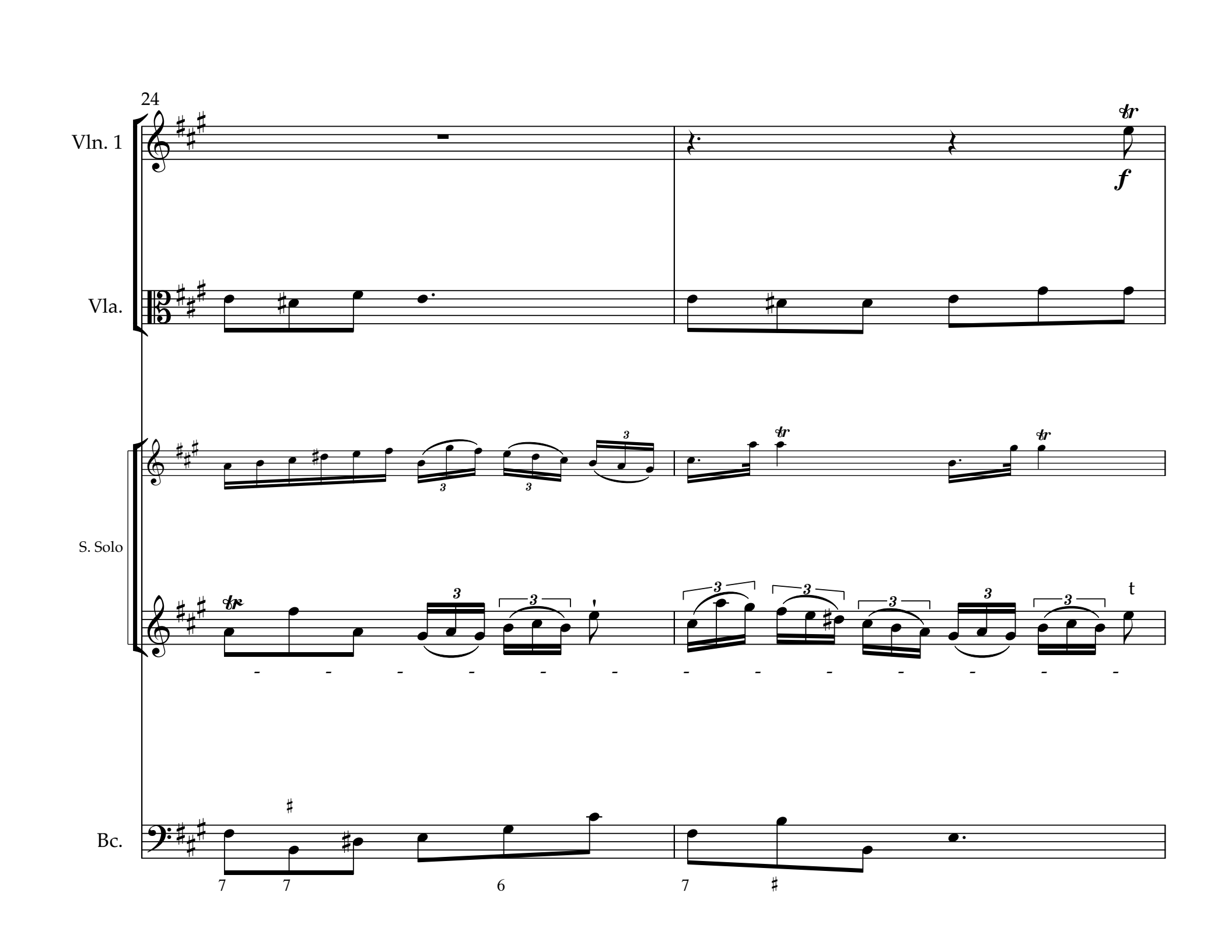
6 ♯6 6 5 6 6 5 6 4 5 6 5 6 4 5 6 6 ♯6 ♭6

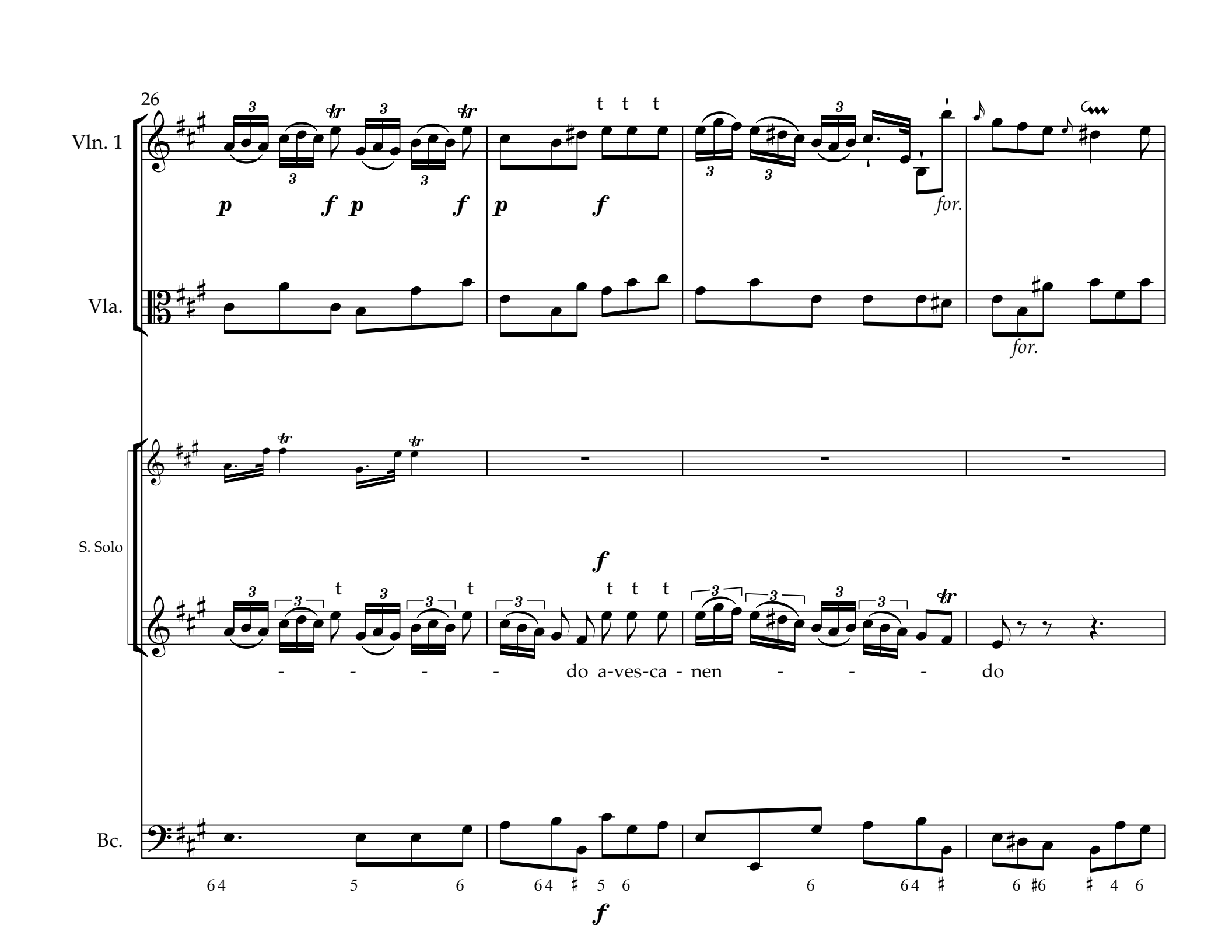

5
Vln. 1
Vla.
Bc.
6 #6 #6 6 6 6 6 6 7
9
Vln. 1
Unis.
p
Vla.
S. Solo
p
t
In cae - lo stel - le cla - re_ ful-ge-scant et
Bc.
6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 #6 6 4 6 6 5 6 4 5 6 6
più

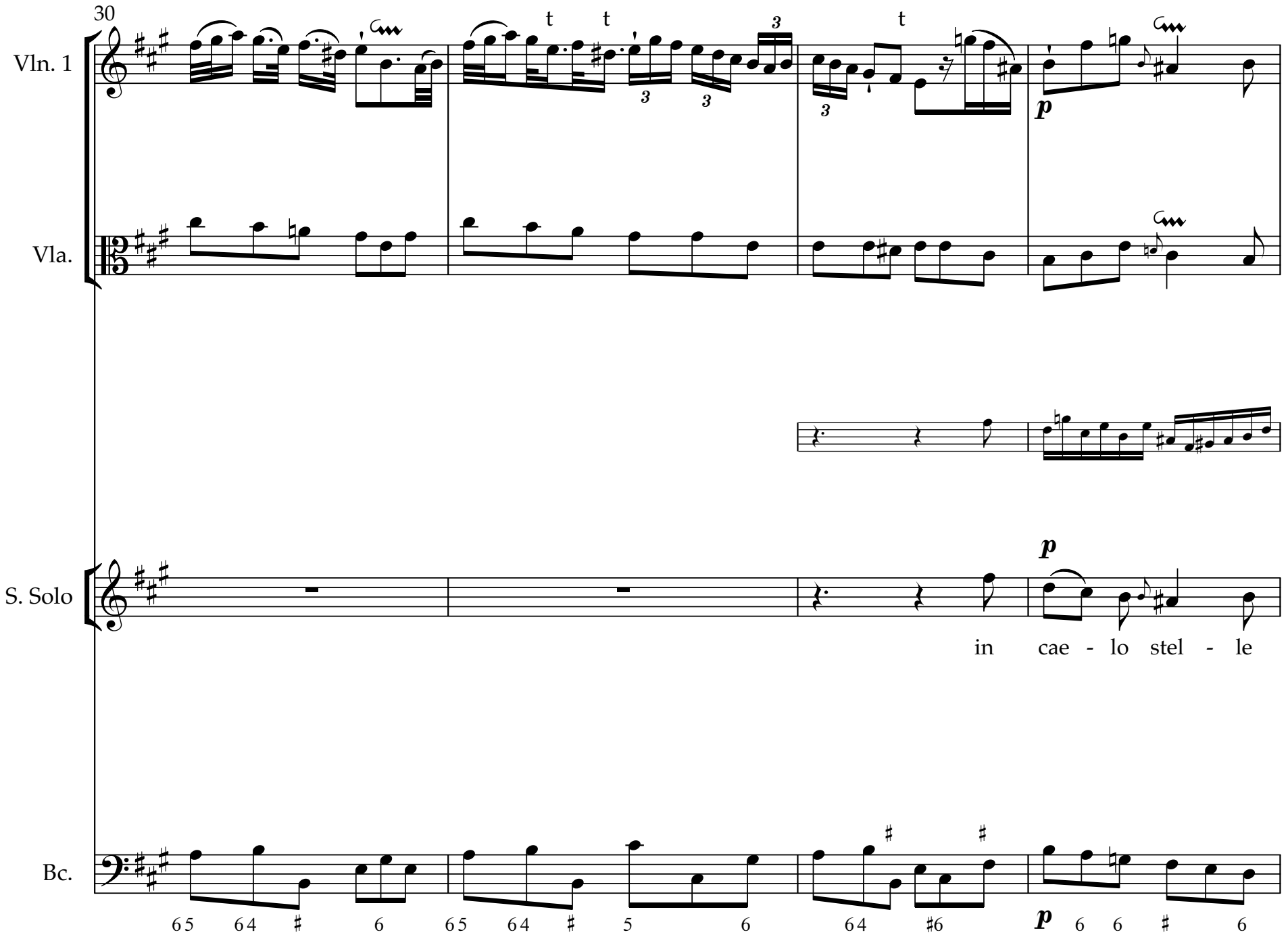

14
Vln. 1
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.
her-be in col - le lae tae_vi-ve-scant__ vi - ve-scant lae-tae lae - tae vi - ve - scant
6 #6 6 65 64 5 5 6 65 64 5 46 6 65 64 5 6 6

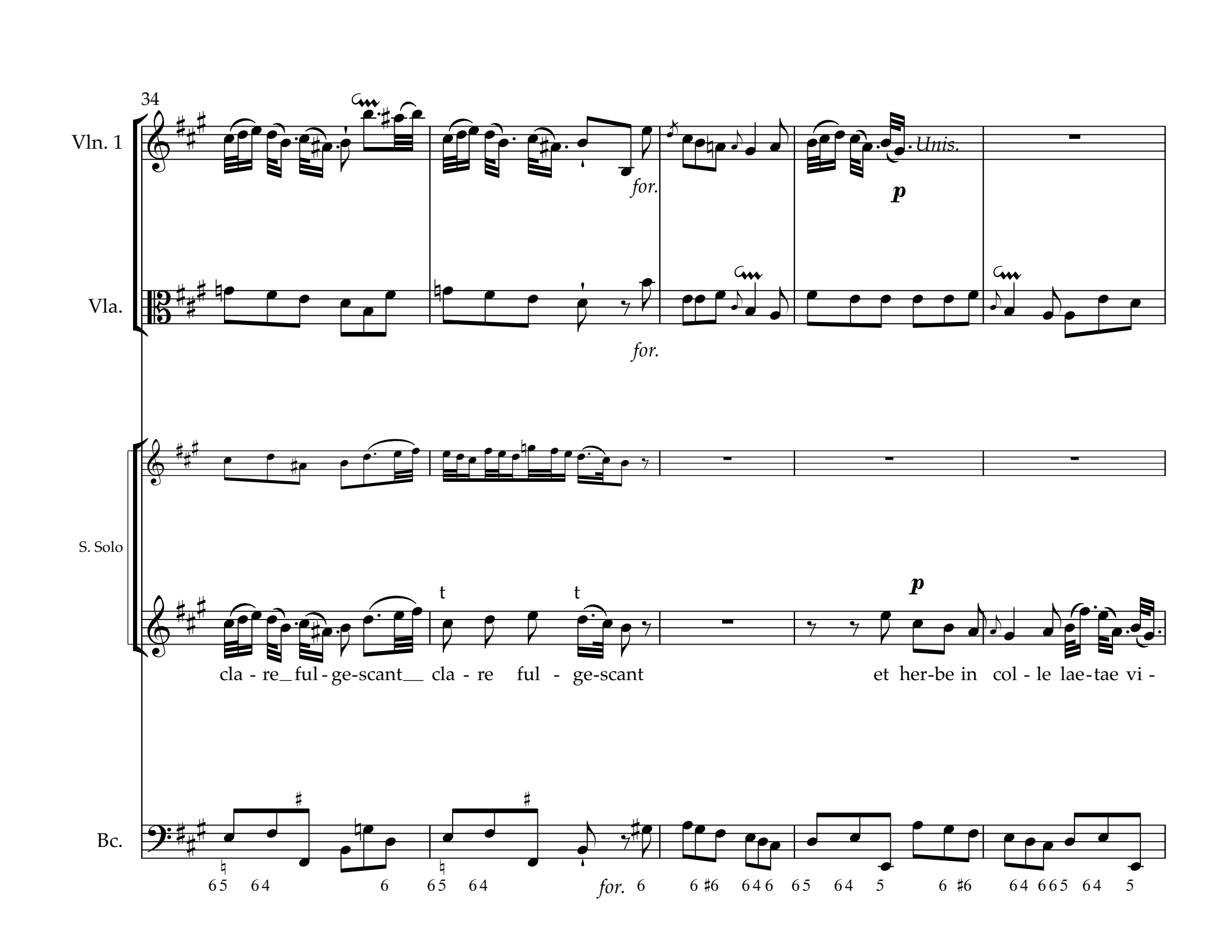

18
Vln. 1
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.
p
Unis.
t t t t t t t t
vo - lent in fron - de in fron - de vo - lent a - - -
6 6 #6 ♭6 ♭6 #6 6 #6 ♮ 6 #6

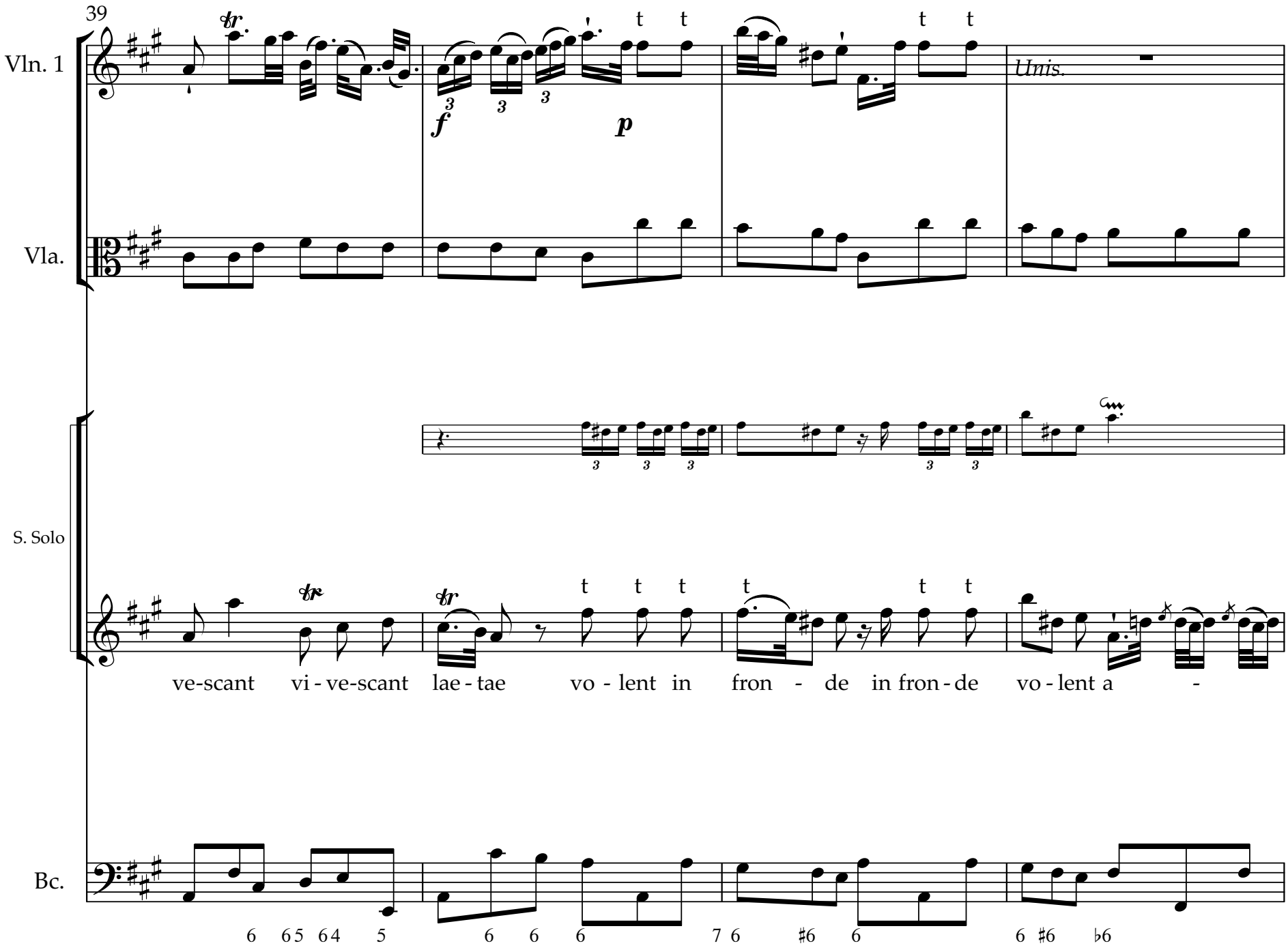

21
Vln. 1
Vla.
S. Solo
ves_ ca - nen
Bc.
6
f
♯2
6 ♯6
6

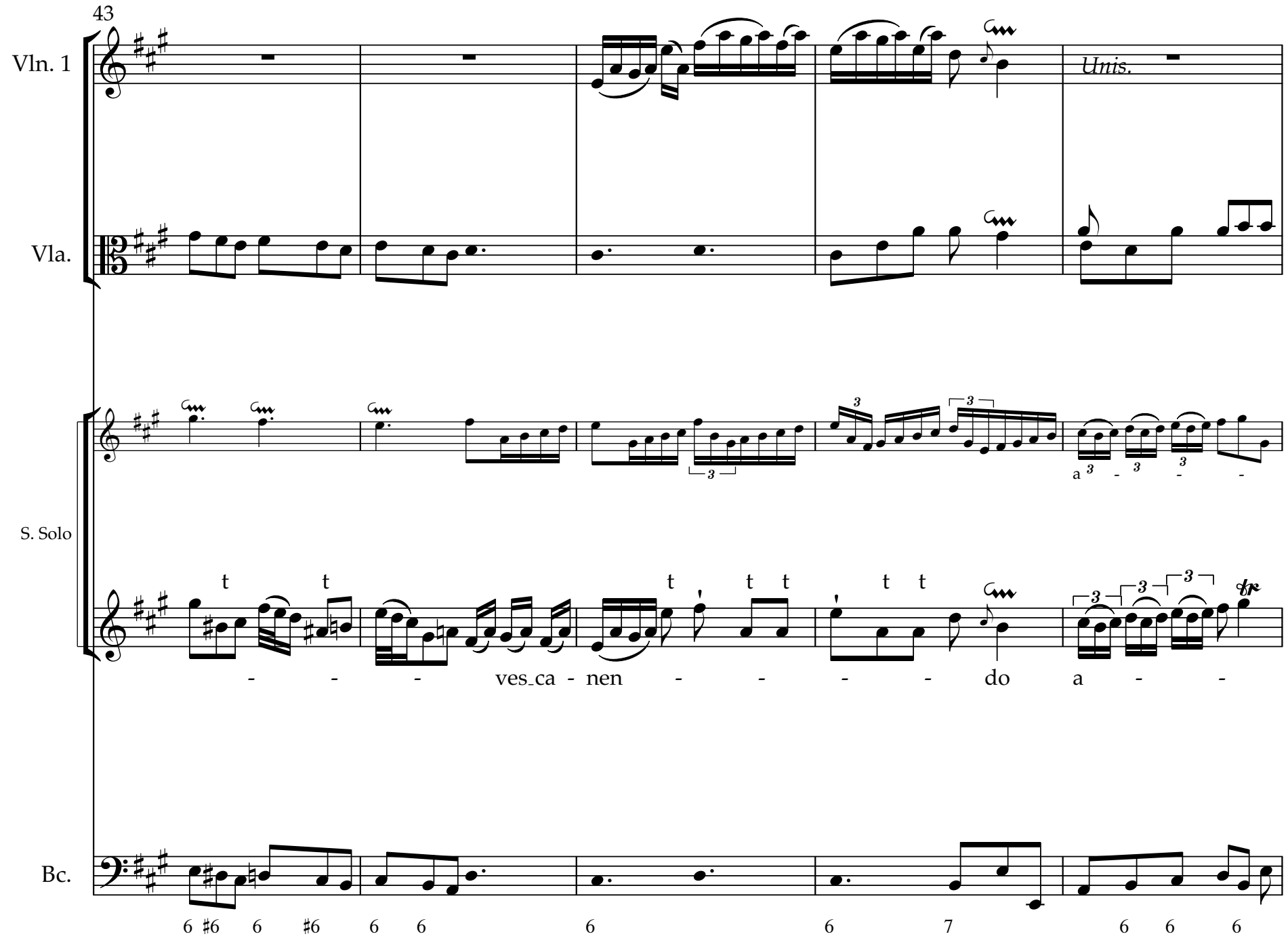

24
Vln. 1
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.
f
7
7
6
7

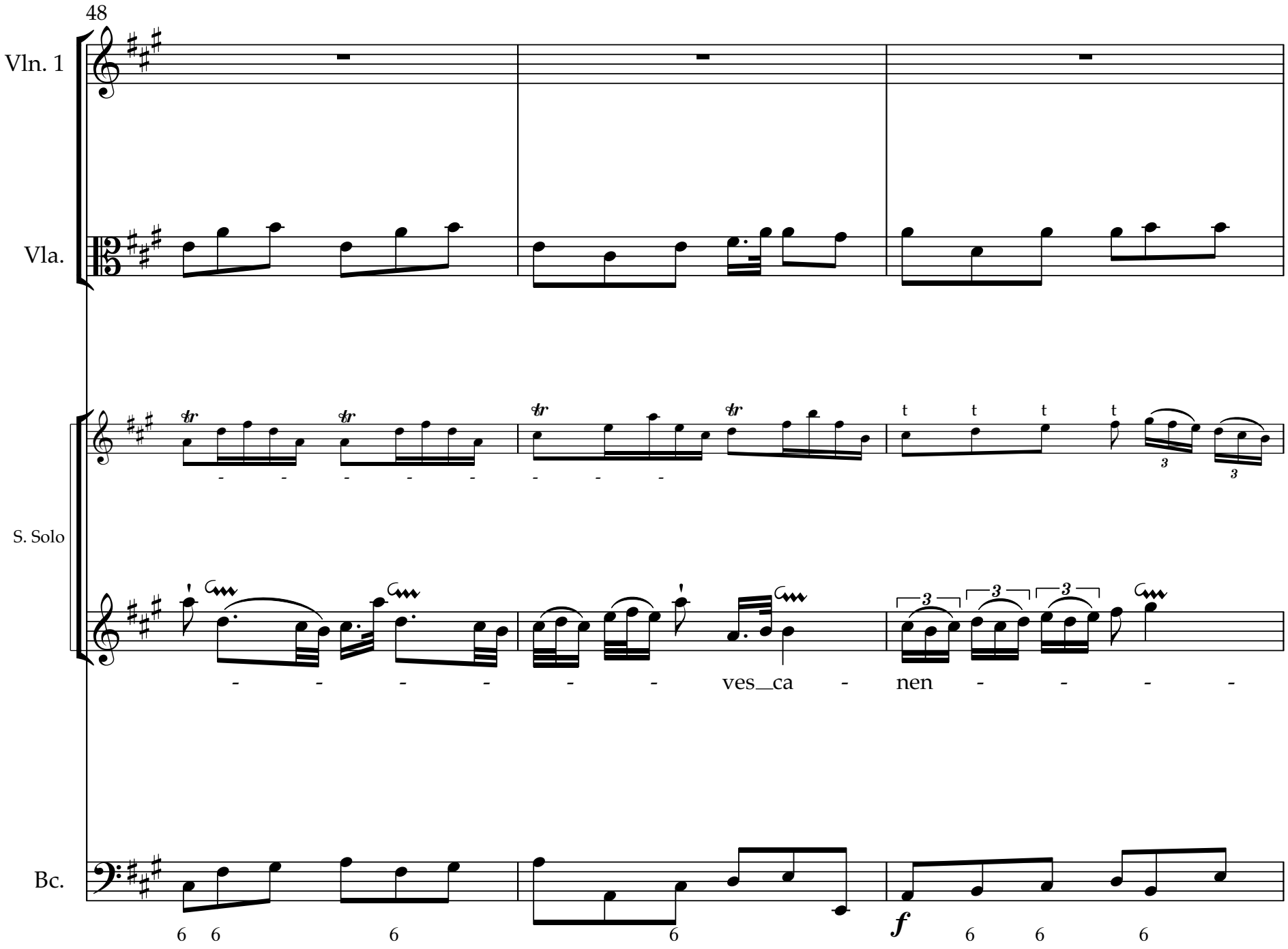

26
Vln. 1
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.
p
f
p
f
p
f
for.
for.
f
- - - - do a-ves-ca - nen - - - do
f

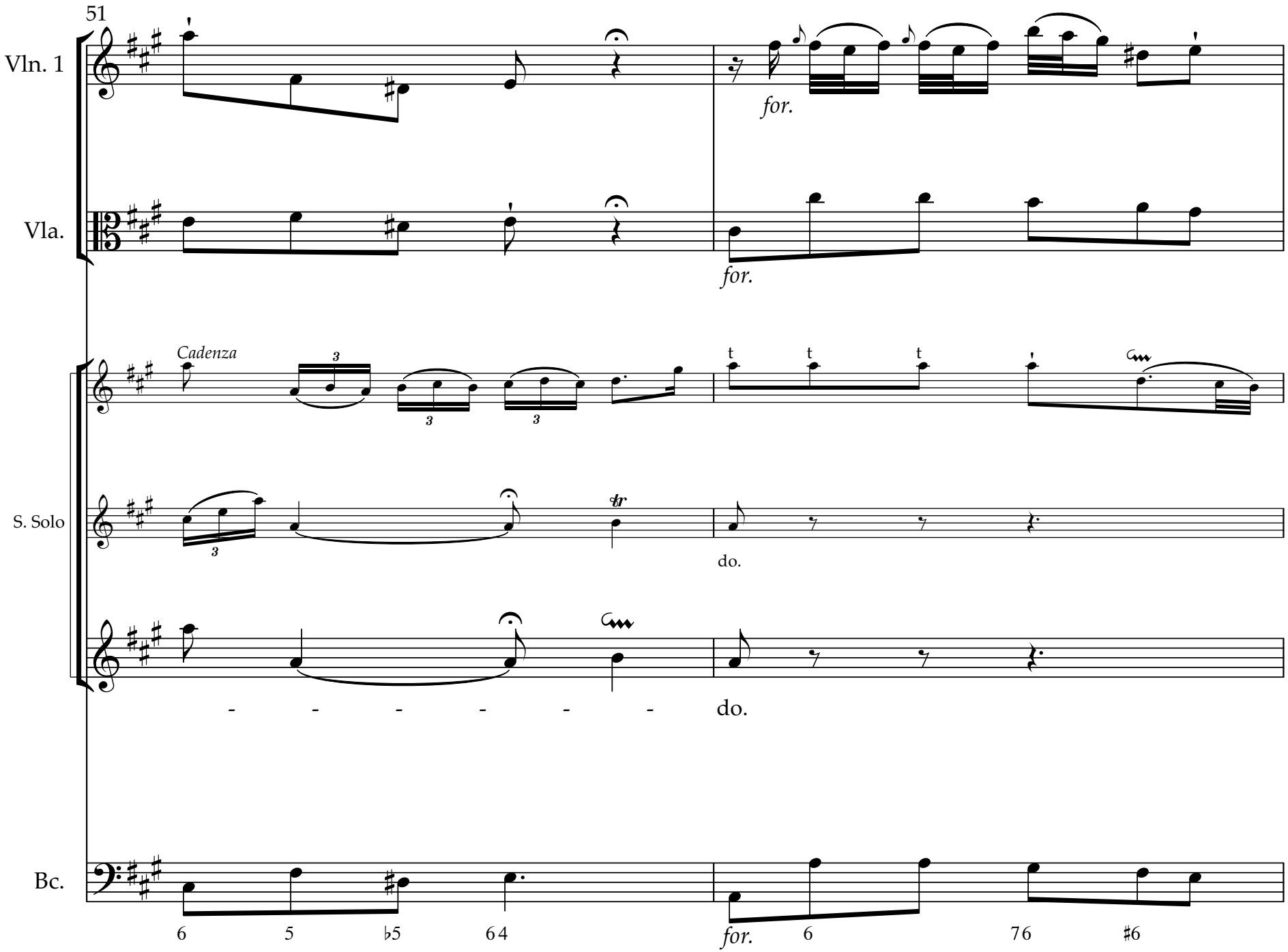

30
Vln. 1
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.
t
t
t
3
3
3
p
p
p
in cae - lo stel - le
65 64 # 6 65 64 # 5 6 64 #6 6 6 # 6

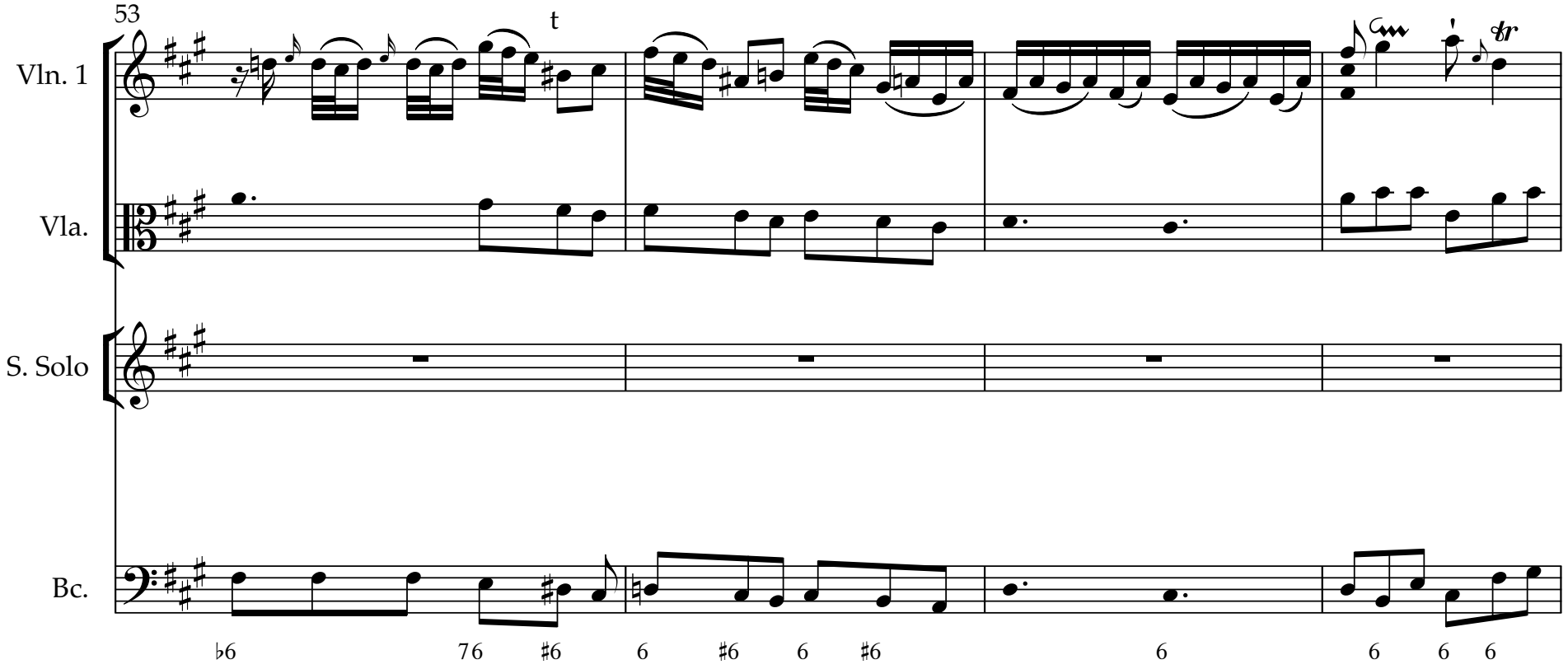

34
Vln. 1
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.
for.
Unis.
p
for.
t
t
p
cla - re_ful - ge-scant__ cla - re ful - ge-scant
et her-be in col - le lae-tae vi -
for.

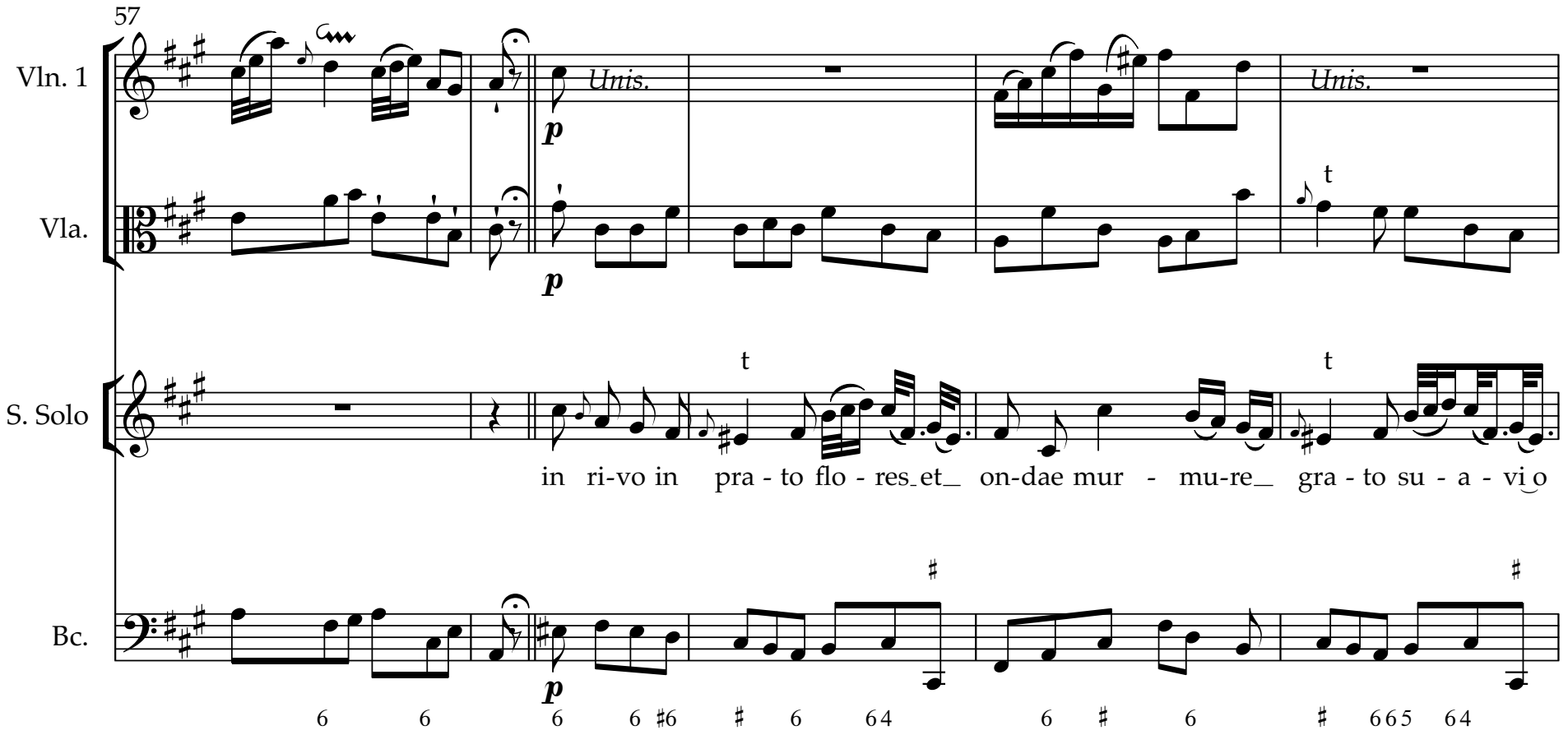

39
Vln. 1
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.
Unis.
ve-scant vi - ve-scant lae - tae vo - lent in fron - de in fron - de vo - lent a -

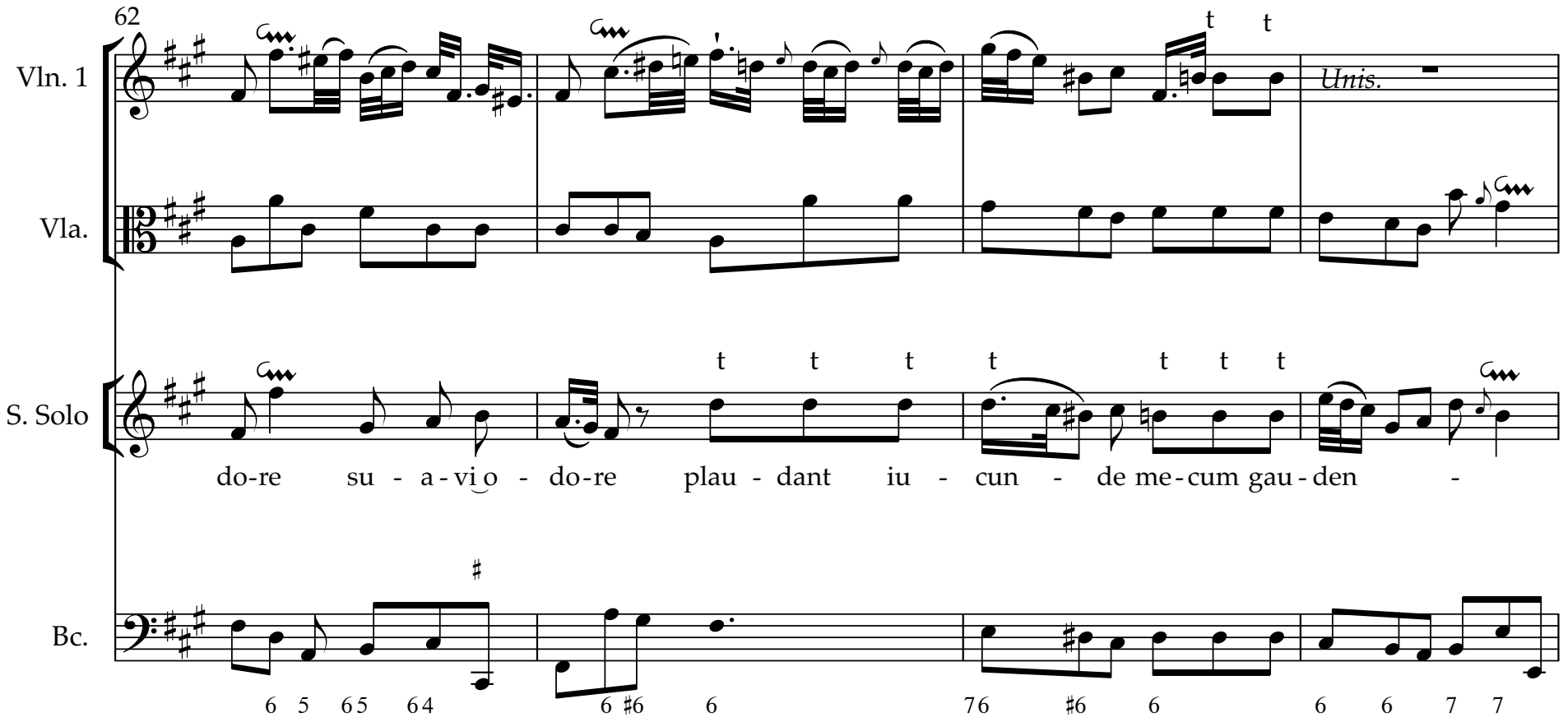

43
Vln. 1
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.
Unis.
t t t t t t t t
- - - ves_ca - nen - - - - do a - -
6 #6 6 #6 6 6 6 6 7 6 6 6

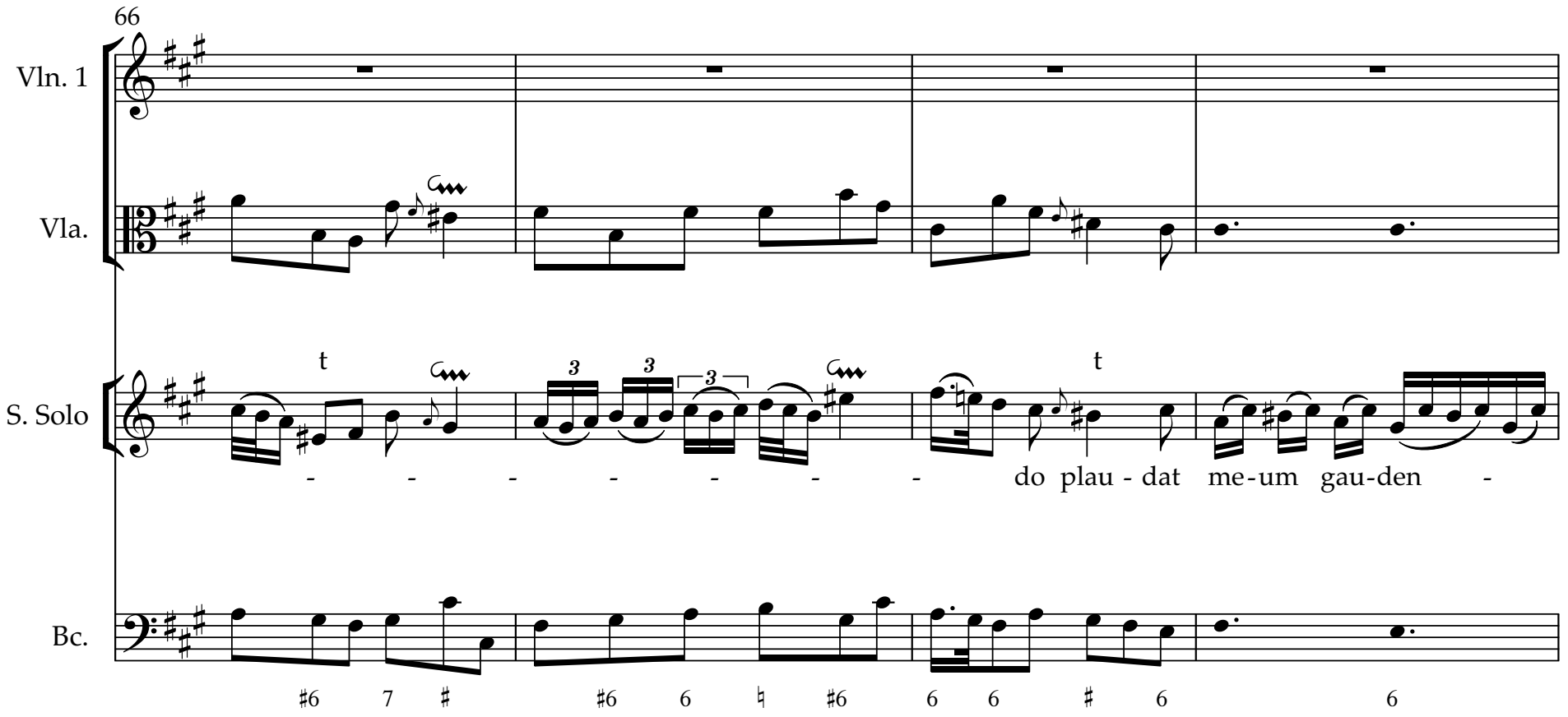

48
Vln. 1
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.
ves_ca - nen
f

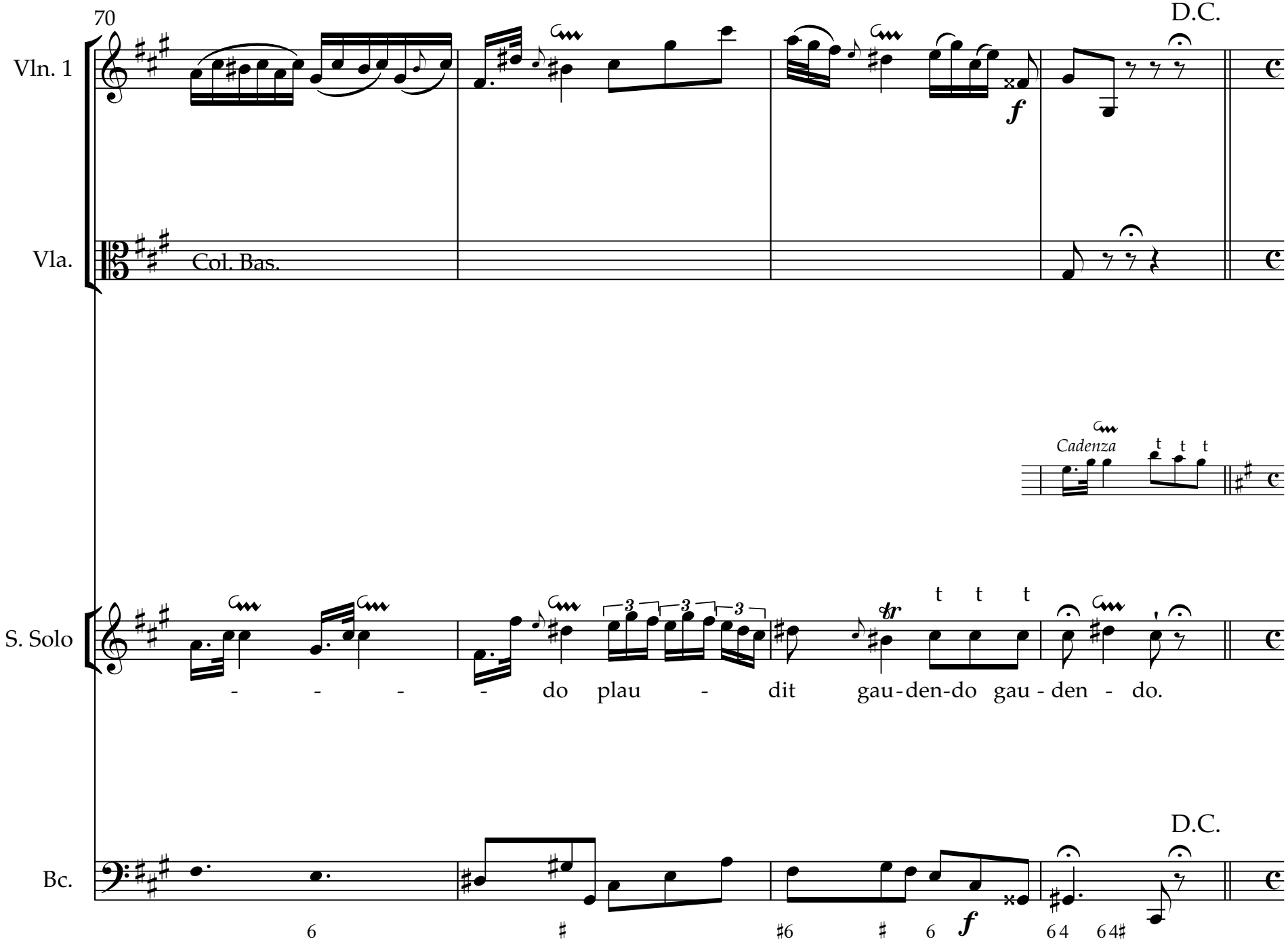

51
Vln. 1
Vla.
for.
for.
Cadenza
S. Solo
do.
do.
Bc.
6
5
♭5
6 4
for.
6
7 6
♯6

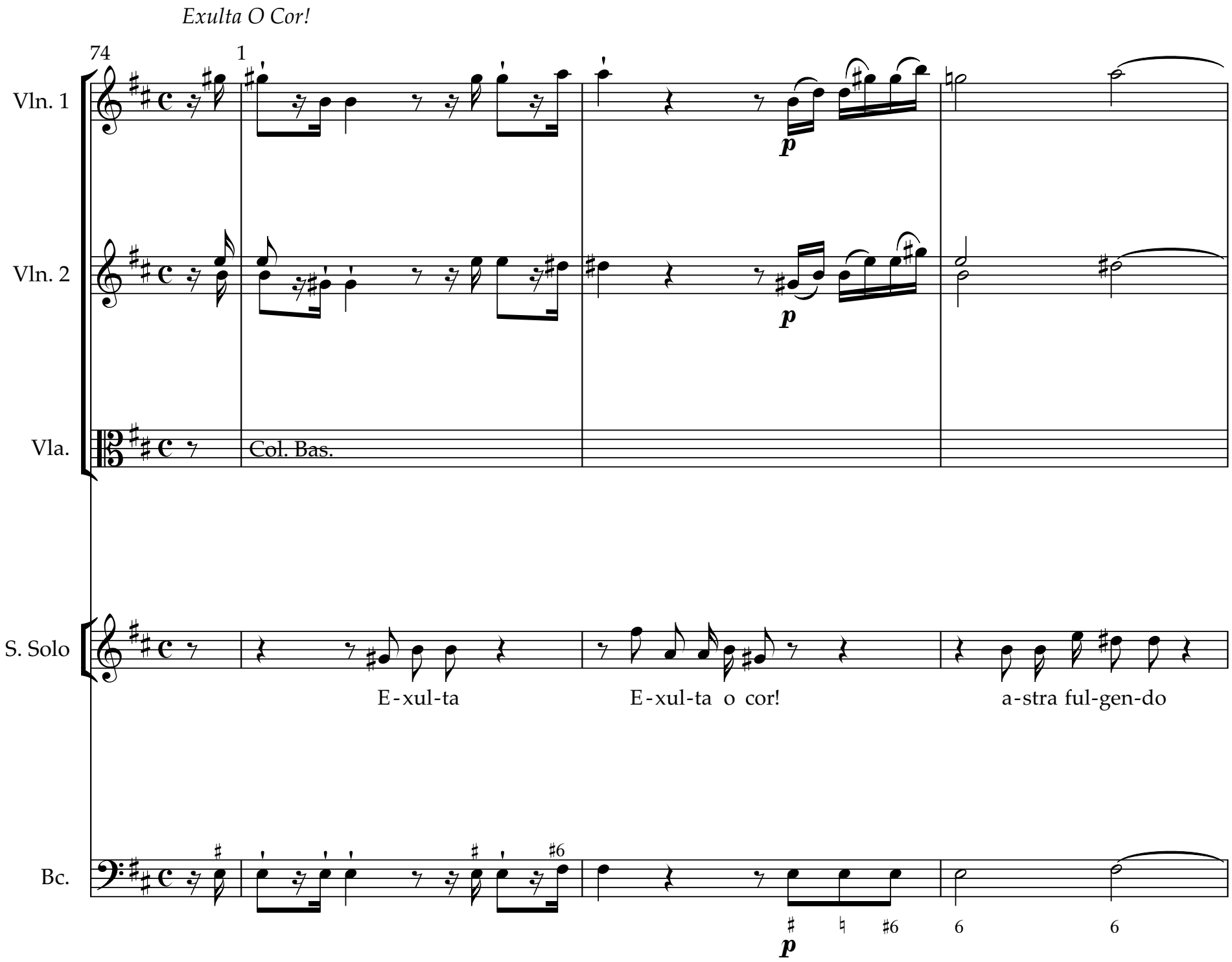

53
t
Vln. 1
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.
♭6
7 6
♯6
6
♯6
6
♯6
6
6
6
6

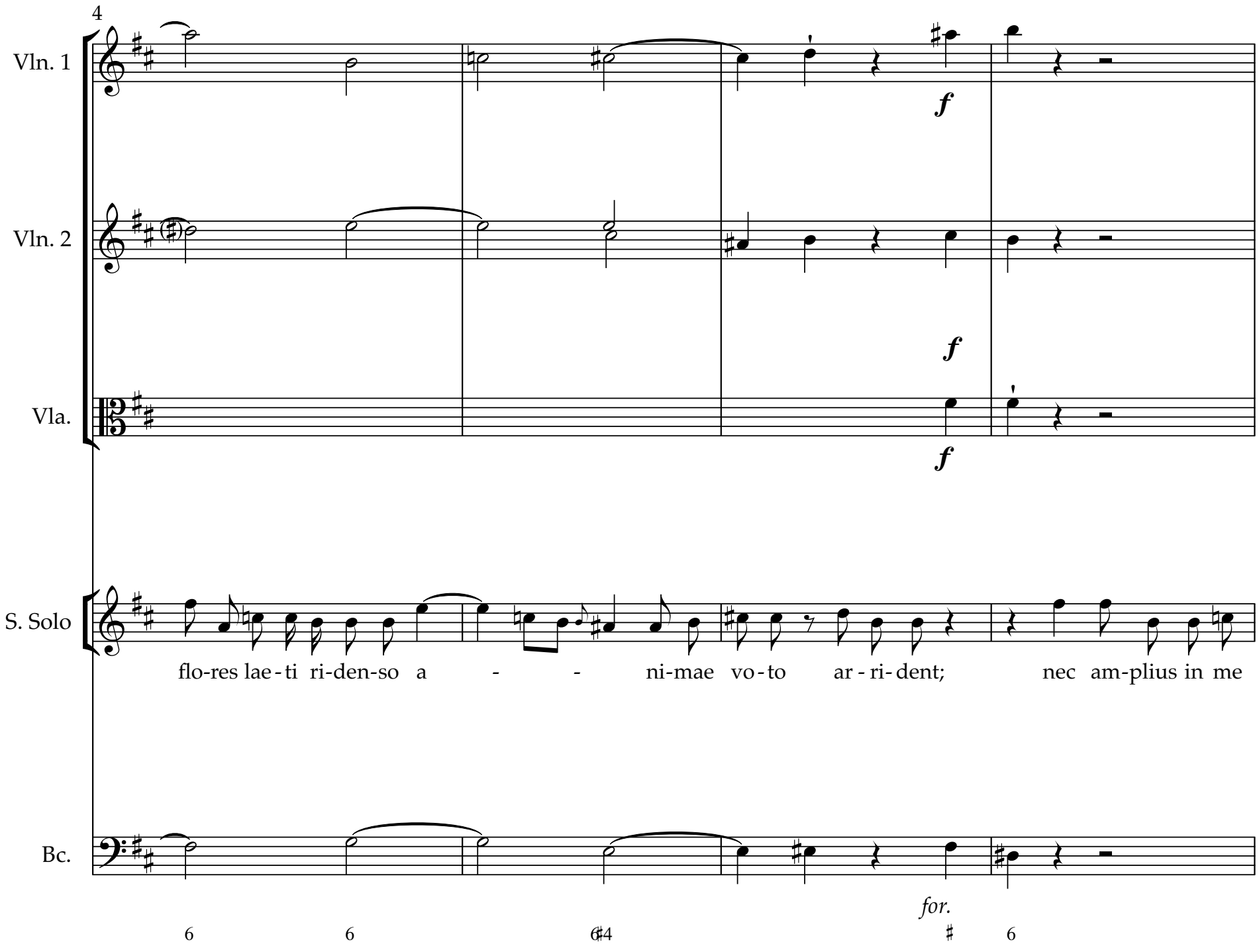

57
Vln. 1
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.
Unis.
Unis.
p
p
p
t
t
t
in ri-vo in pra - to flo - res_et_ on-dae mur - mu-re_ gra - to su - a - vi_o
6 6 6 6 #6 # 6 64 6 # 6 # 665 64

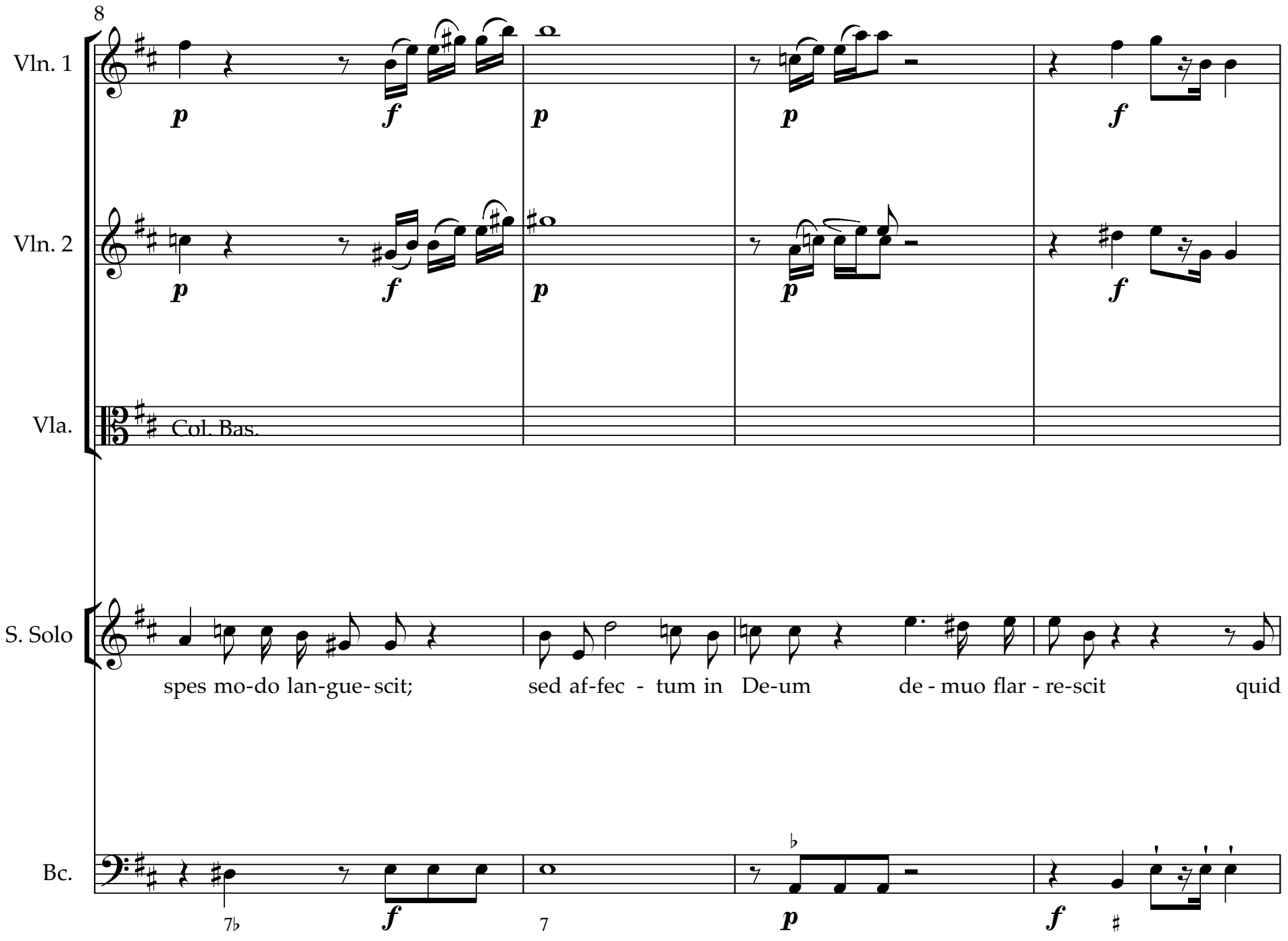

62
Vln. 1
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.
Unis.
do-re su - a - vi o - do-re plau - dant iu - cun - de me-cum gau-den -
6 5 6 5 6 4
6 #6 6
7 6 #6 6
6 6 7 7

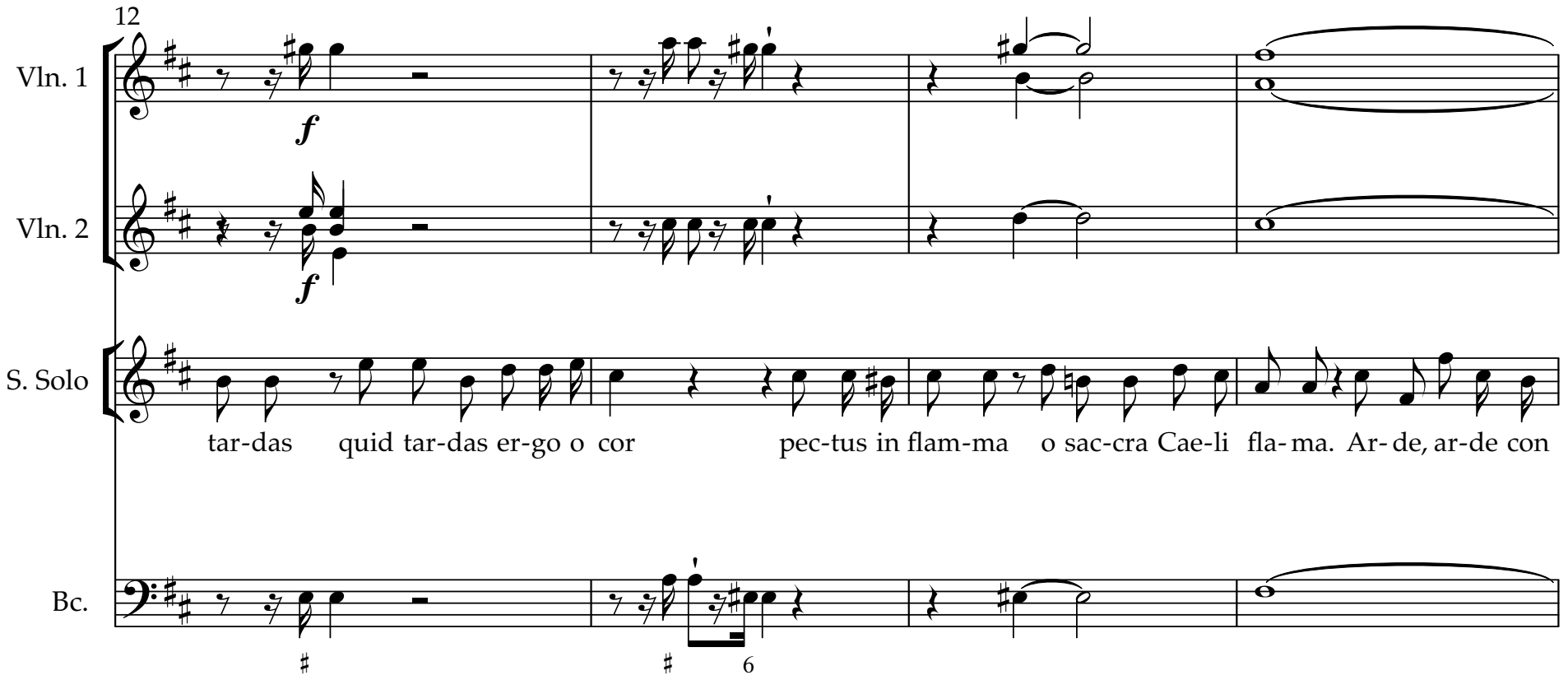

66
Vln. 1
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.
t
t
- - - - - - - do plau - dat me-um gau-den -
#6 7 # #6 6 ♮ #6 6 6 # 6 6

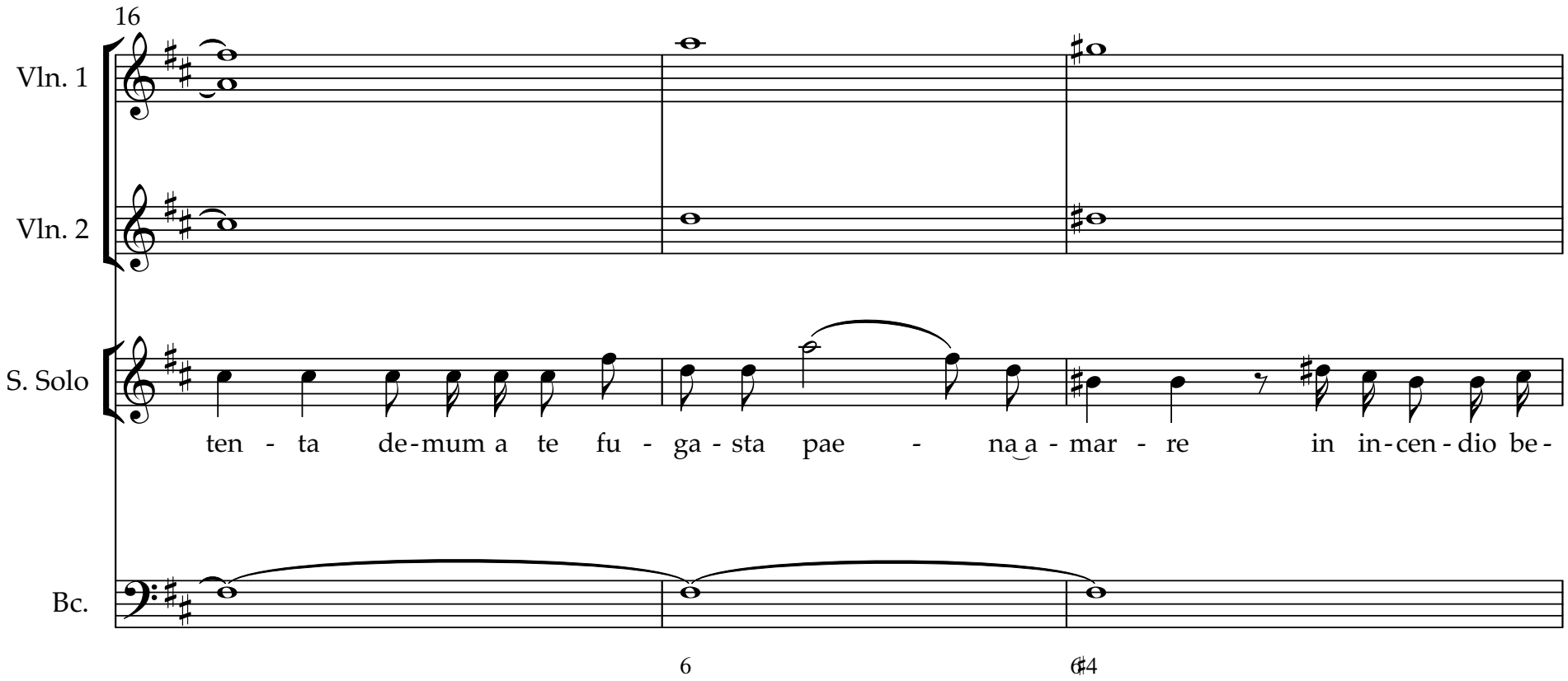

70
D.C.
Vln. 1
Vla.
Col. Bas.
Cadenza
S. Solo
- - - - do plau - dit gau-den-do gau - den - do.
D.C.
Bc.

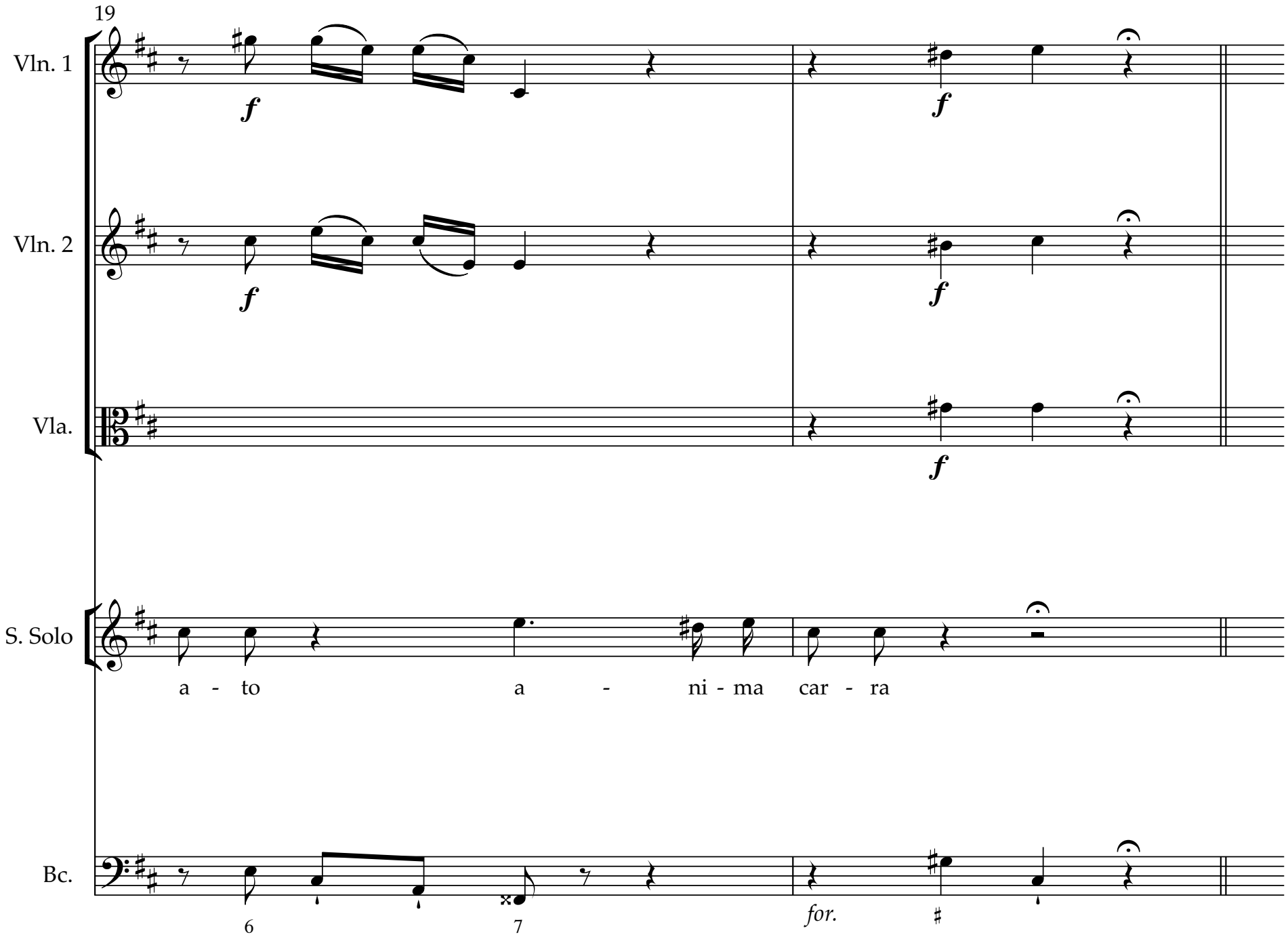

Exulta O Cor!
74
1
Vln. 1
Vln. 2
Vla.
Col. Bas.
S. Solo
E-xul-ta
E-xul-ta o cor!
a-stra ful-gen-do
Bc.
p
p
p
#6
6
6

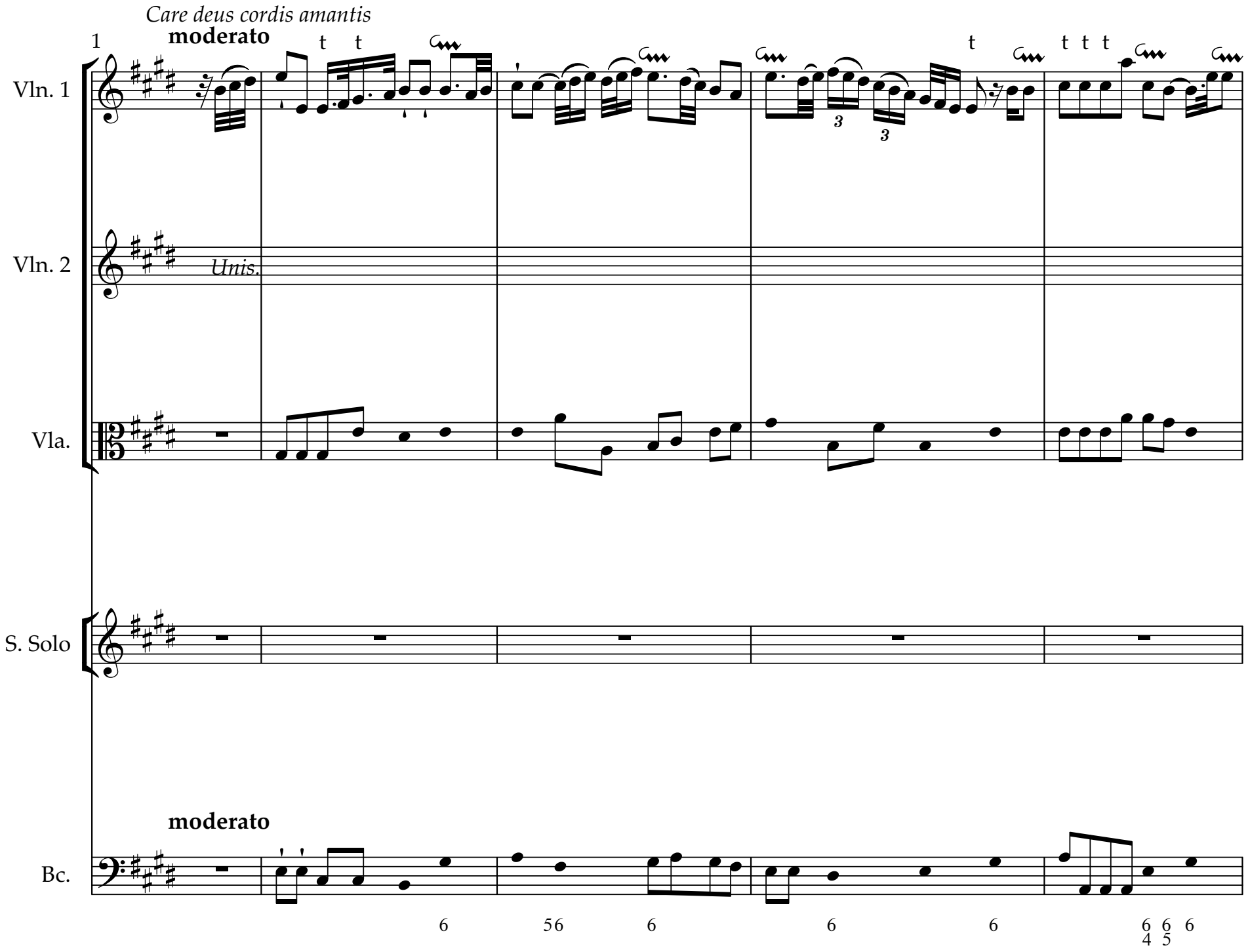

4
Vln. 1
Vln. 2
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.
f
f
f
flo-res lae-ti ri-den-so a - - ni-mae vo-to ar-ri-dent; nec am-plius in me
for.
6
6
6 4
6

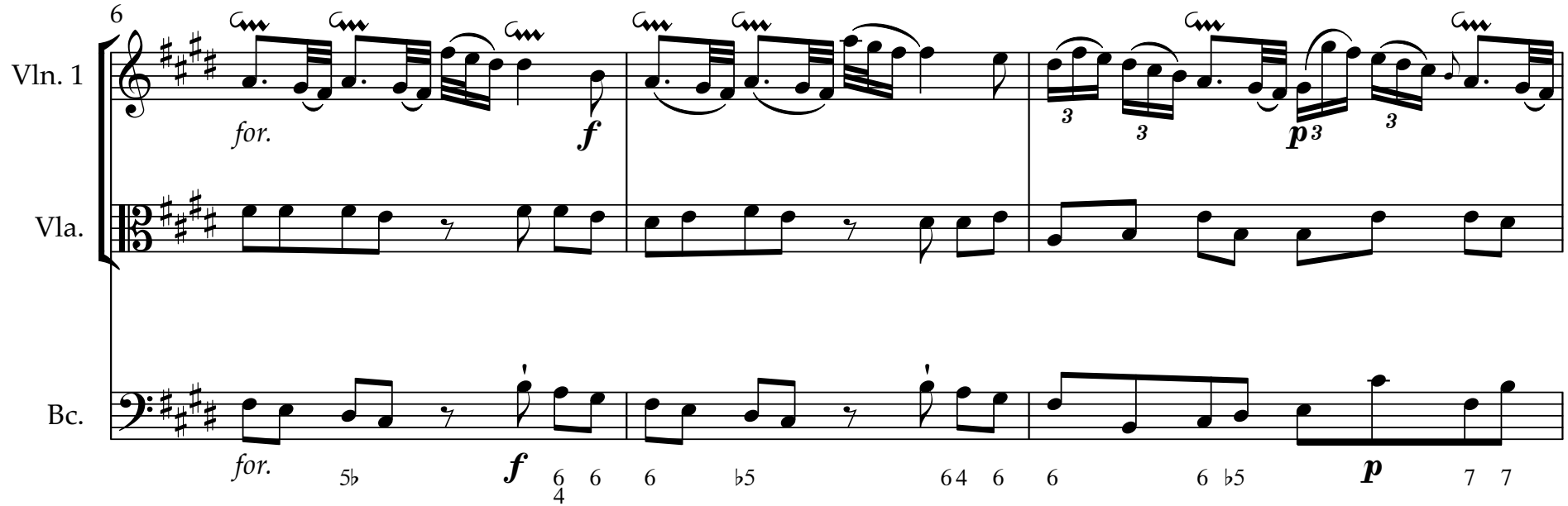

8
Vln. 1
Vln. 2
Vla.
Col. Bas.
S. Solo
spes mo-do lan-gue- scit;
sed af-fec - tum in
De-um
de - muo flar - re-scit
quid
Bc.
7♭
7

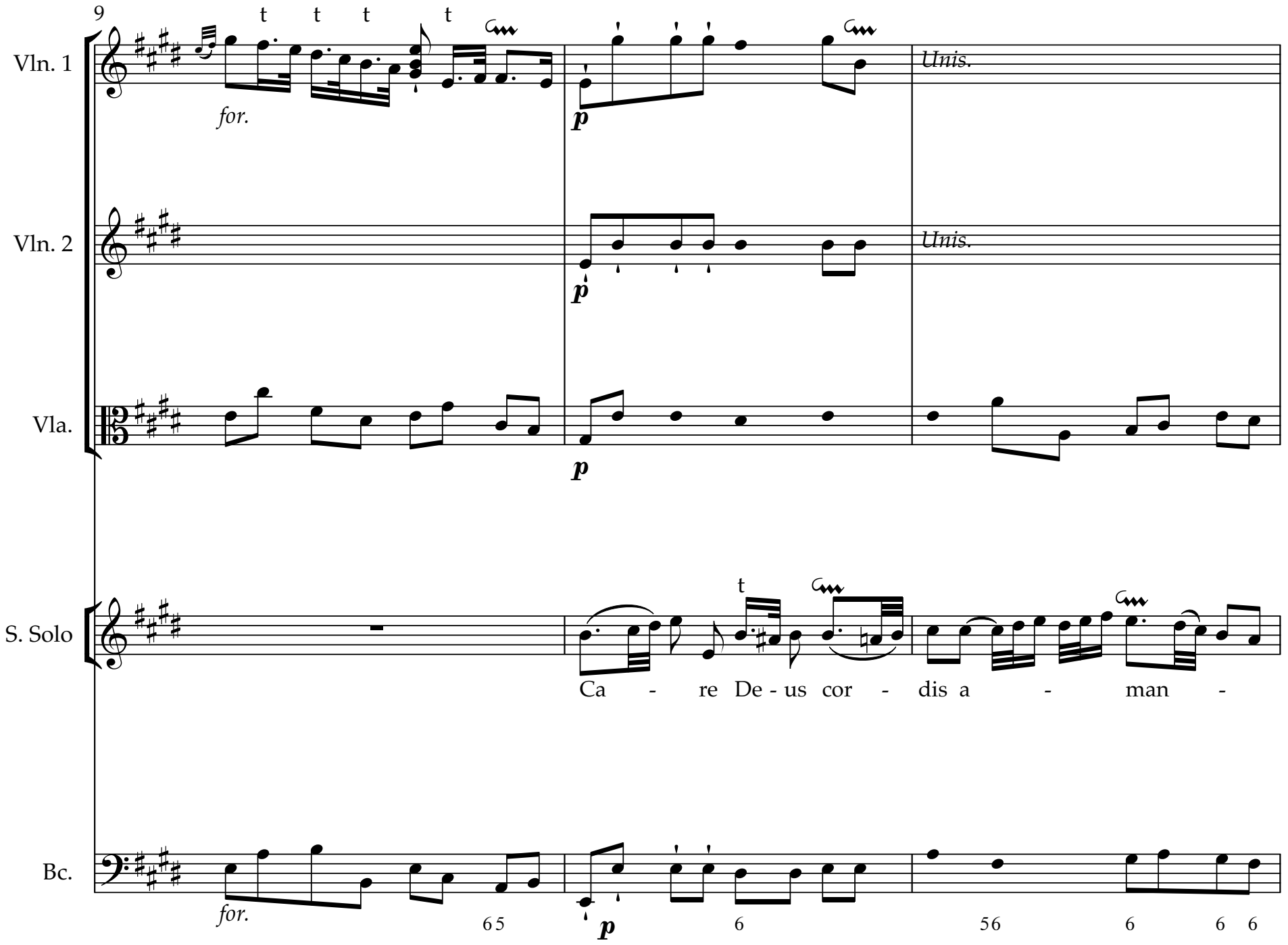

12
Vln. 1
Vln. 2
S. Solo
Bc.
f
f
tar-das quid tar-das er-go o cor pec-tus in flam-ma o sac-cra Cae-li fla- ma. Ar- de, ar-de con
6

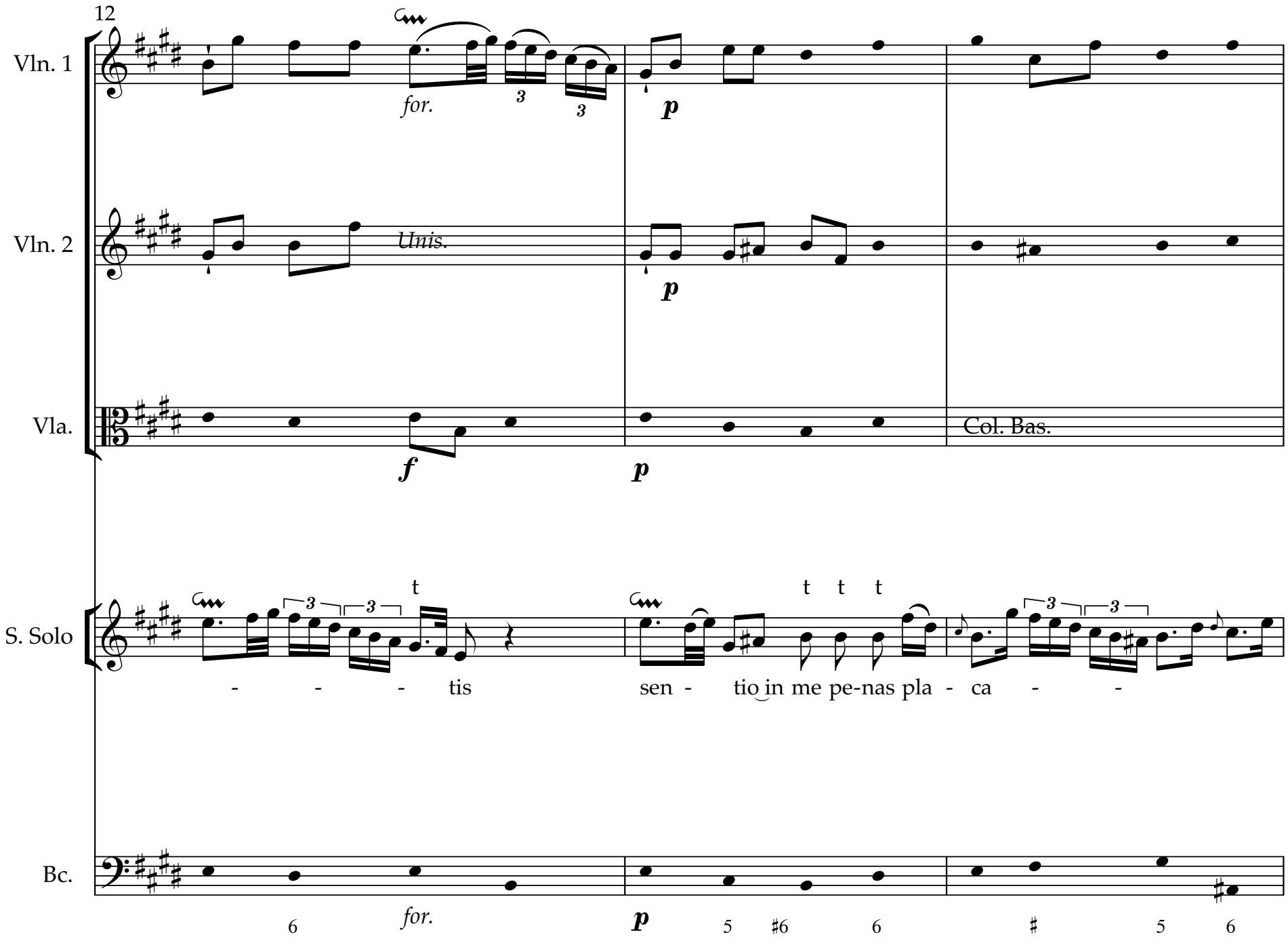

16
Vln. 1
Vln. 2
S. Solo
ten - ta de-mum a te fu - ga - sta pae - na a - mar - re in in-cen-dio be-
Bc.
6
6♯4

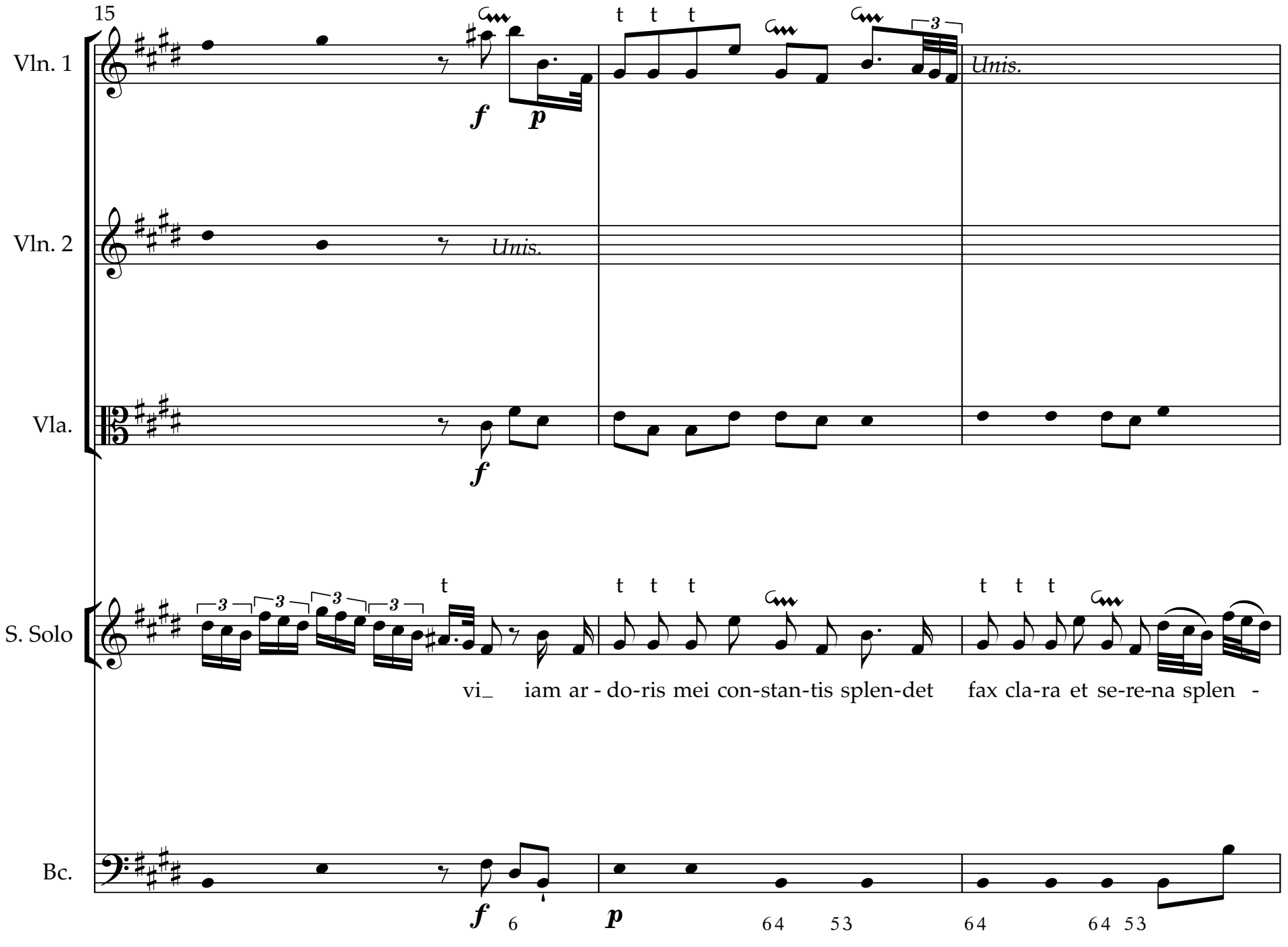

19
Vln. 1
Vln. 2
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.
f
a - to a - ni - ma car - ra
6
7
for.

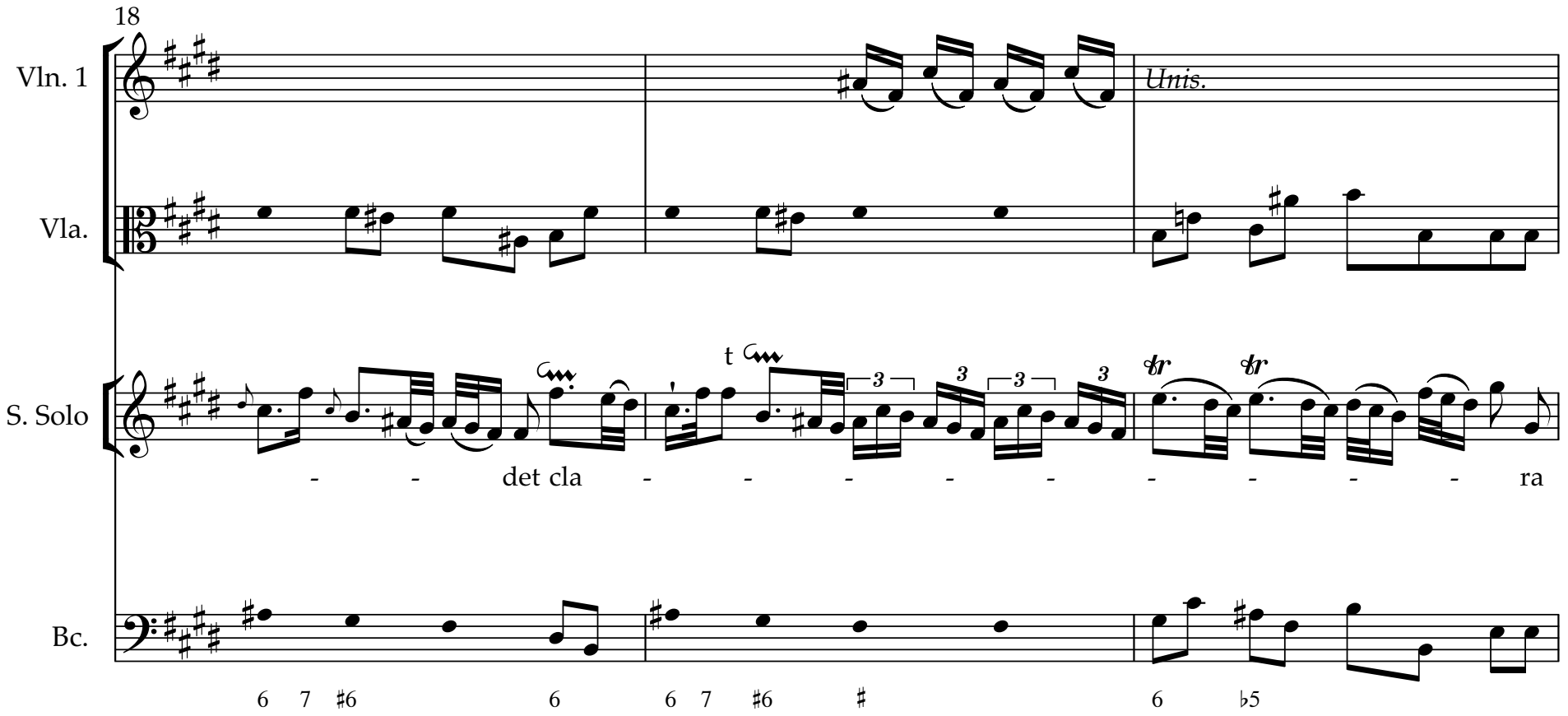

Care deus cordis amantis
1
moderato
Vln. 1
Vln. 2
Unis.
Vla.
S. Solo
moderato
Bc.
6
56
6
6
6
6 6 6
4 5

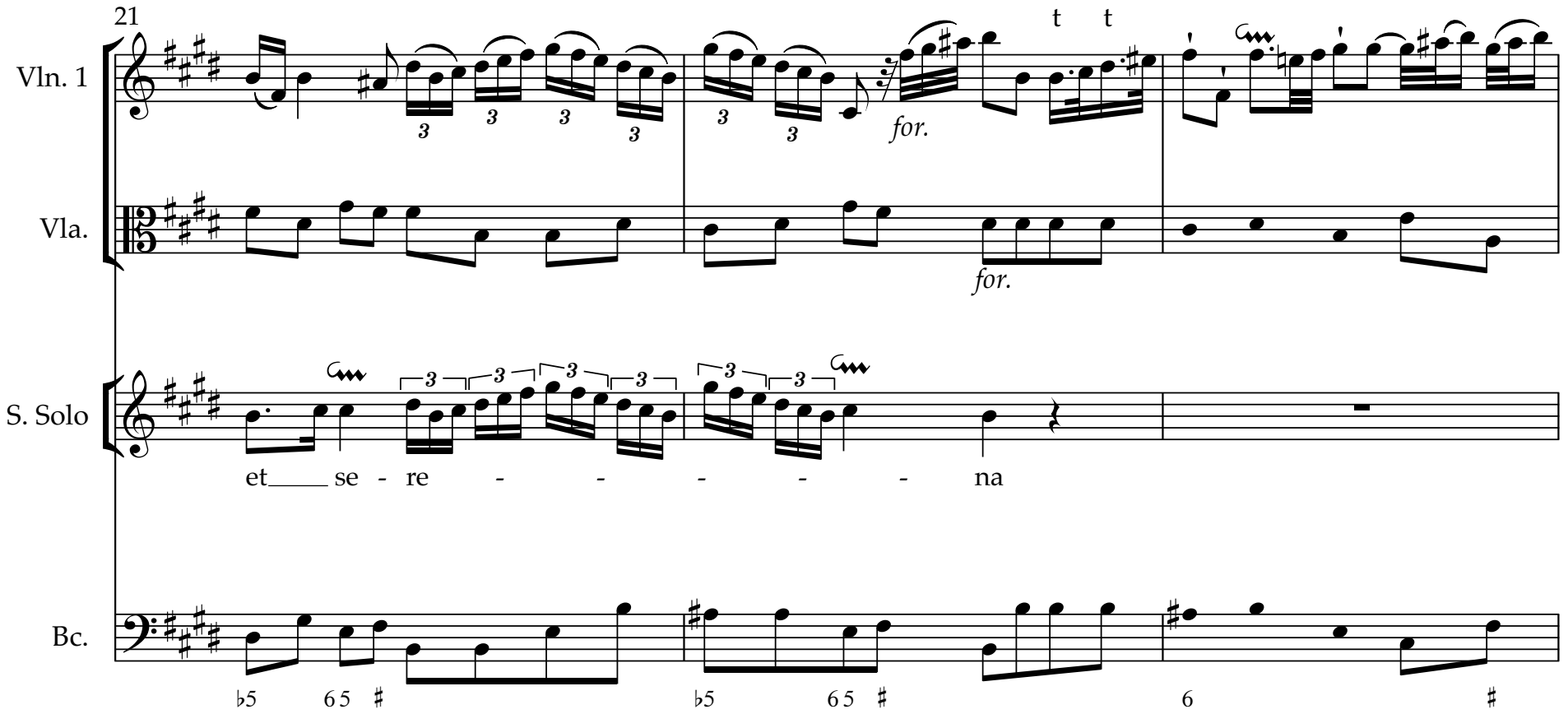

6
Vln. 1
Vla.
Bc.
for.
f
3
3
p 3
3
for.
5♭
f
6
4
6
6
♭5
6 4
6
6
6
6 ♭5
p
7
7

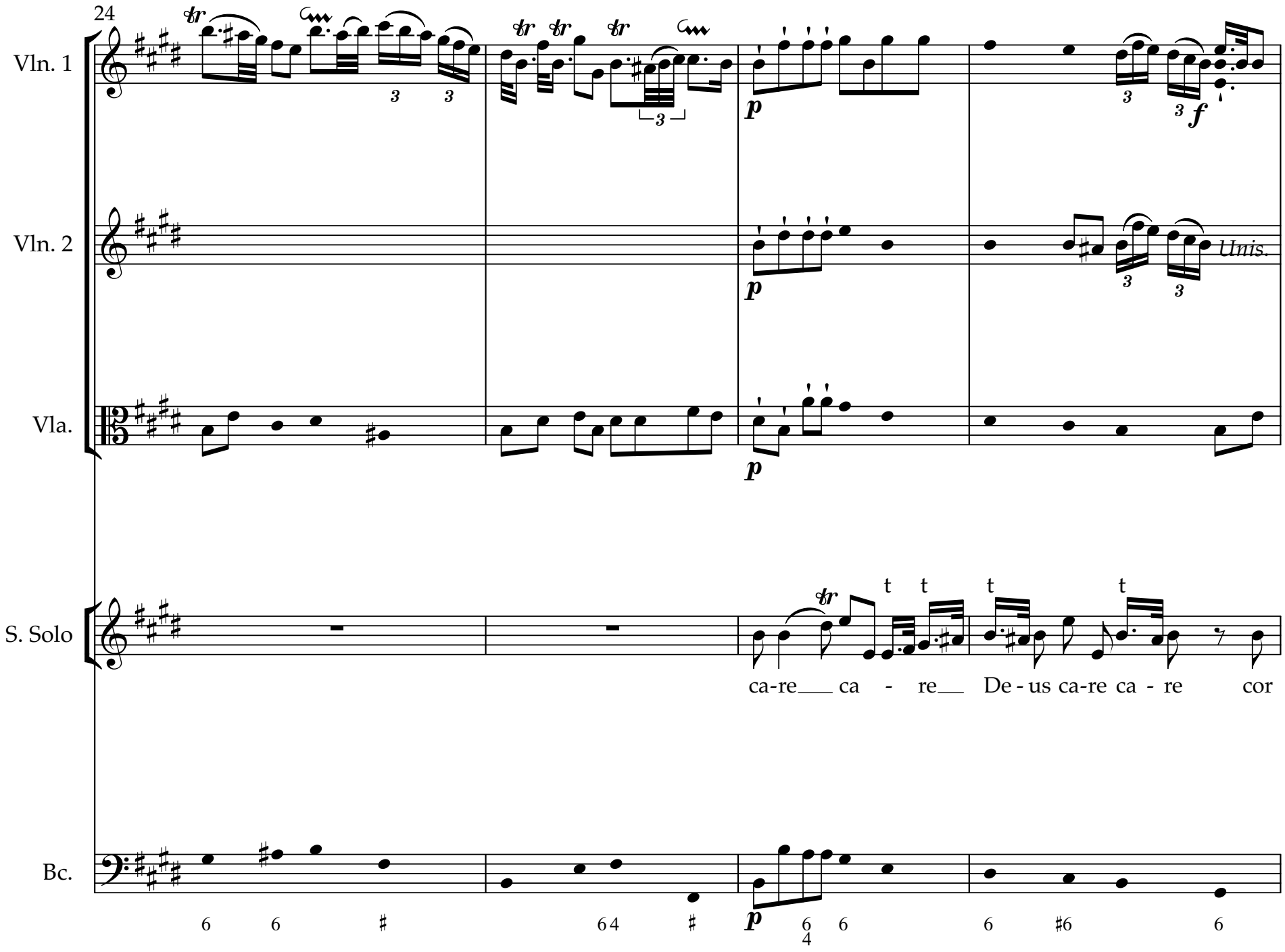

9
t t t t
Vln. 1
for.
p
Unis.
Vln. 2
p
Unis.
Vla.
p
S. Solo
t
Ca - re De - us cor - dis a - man -
Bc.
for.
65
p
6
56
6
6 6

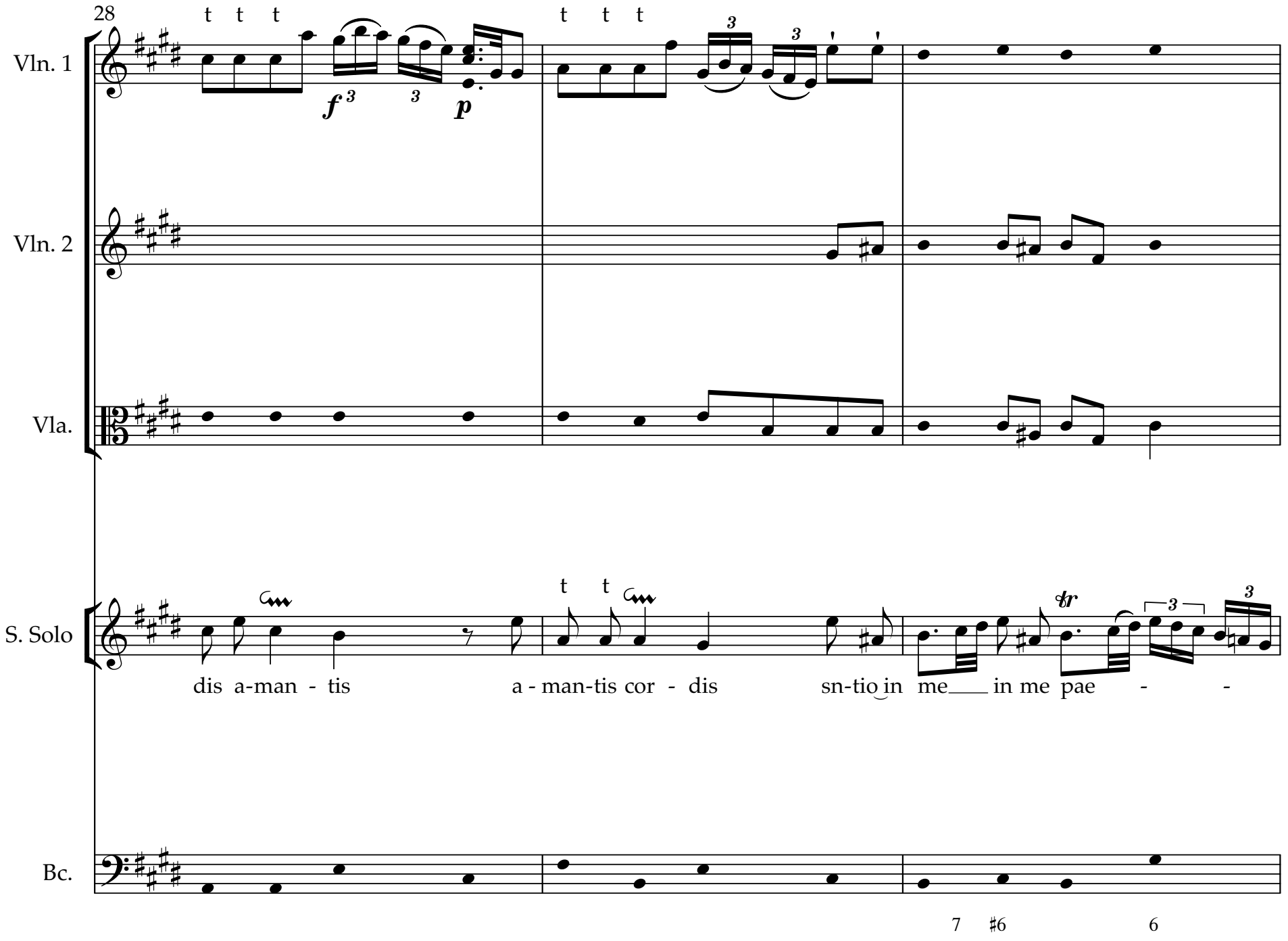

12
Vln. 1
for.
p
Vln. 2
Unis.
p
Vla.
f
p
Col. Bas.
S. Solo
t
t t t
- - - tis
sen - tio in me pe-nas pla - ca - -
Bc.
for.
p
6
5
#6
6
#
5
6

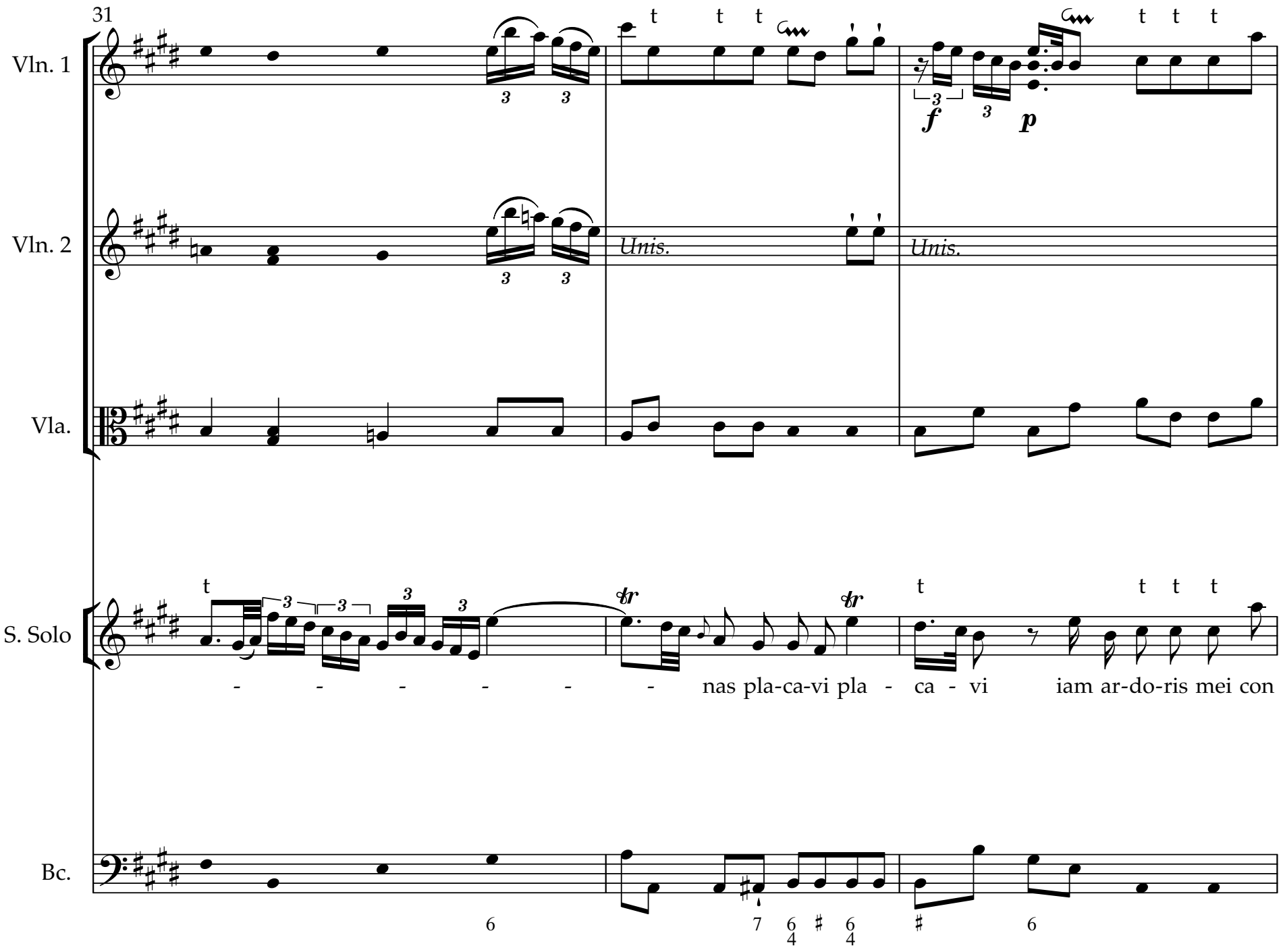

15
Vln. 1
Vln. 2
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.
Unis.
Unis.
vi_ iam ar - do-ris mei con-stan-tis splen-det fax cla-ra et se-re-na splen -

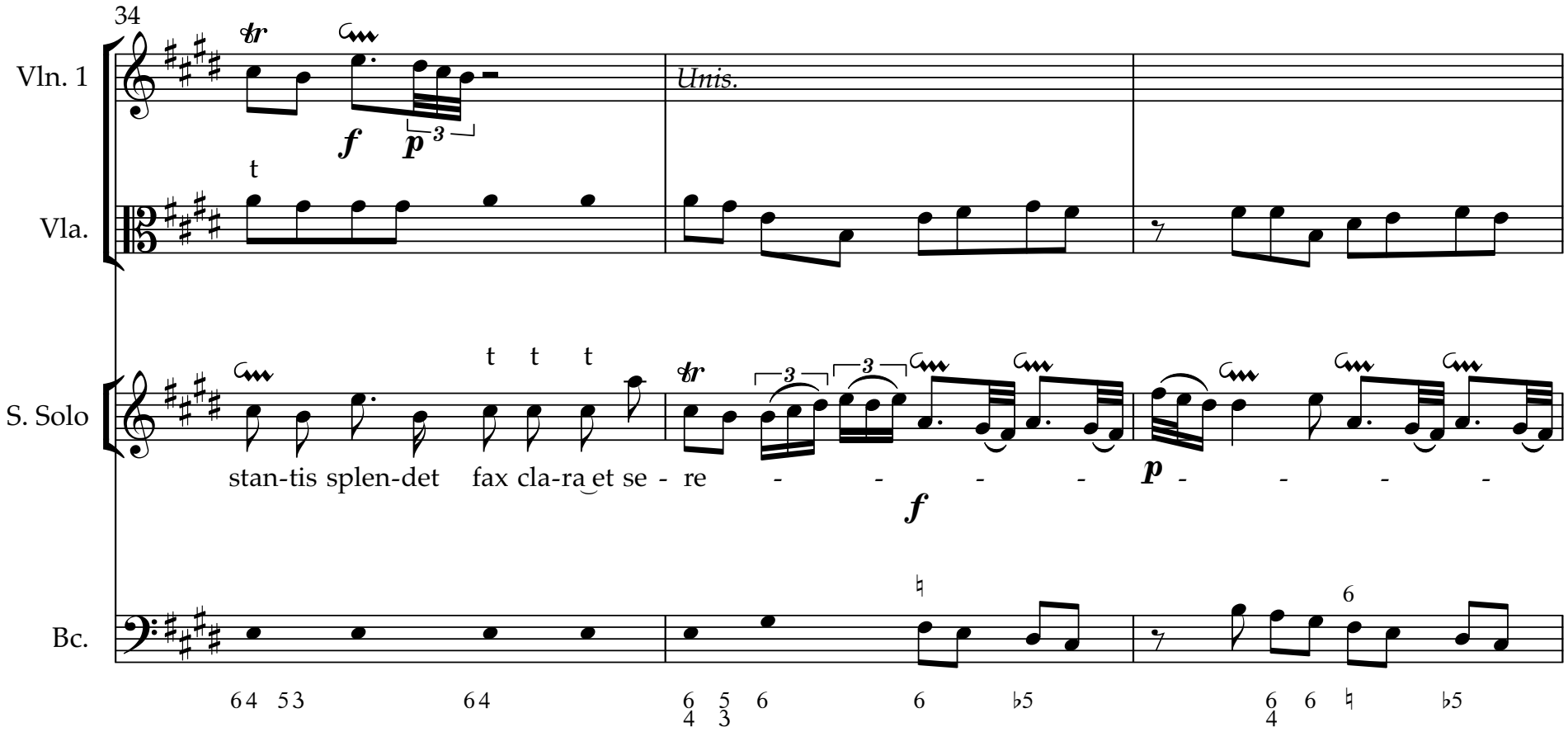

18
Vln. 1
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.
Unis.
t
- - det cla - - - - - - - - - ra
6 7 #6 6 6 7 #6 # 6 ♭5

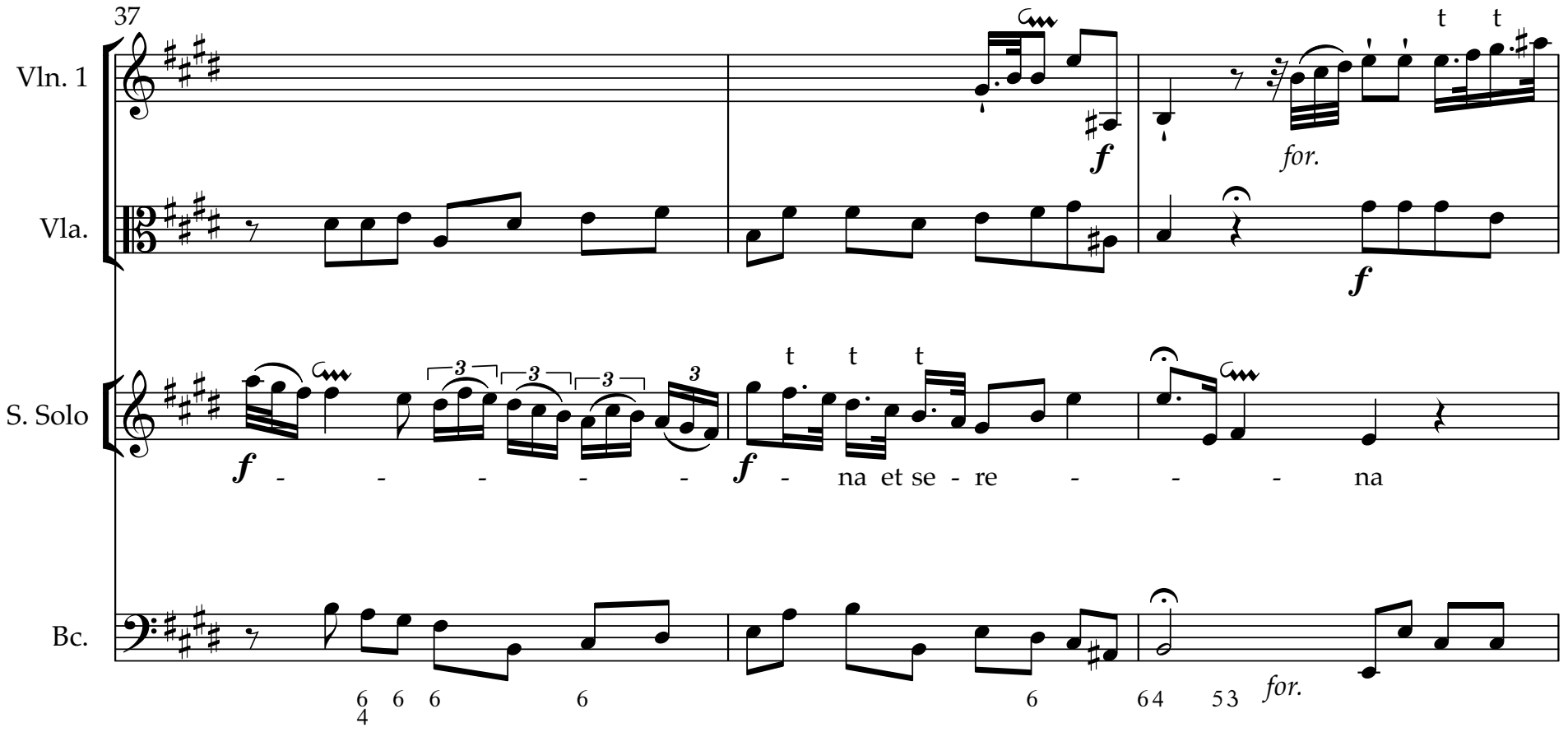

21
Vln. 1
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.
t t
for.
for.
et se - re - - - - - na
♭5 6 5 ♯
♭5 6 5 ♯
6 ♯

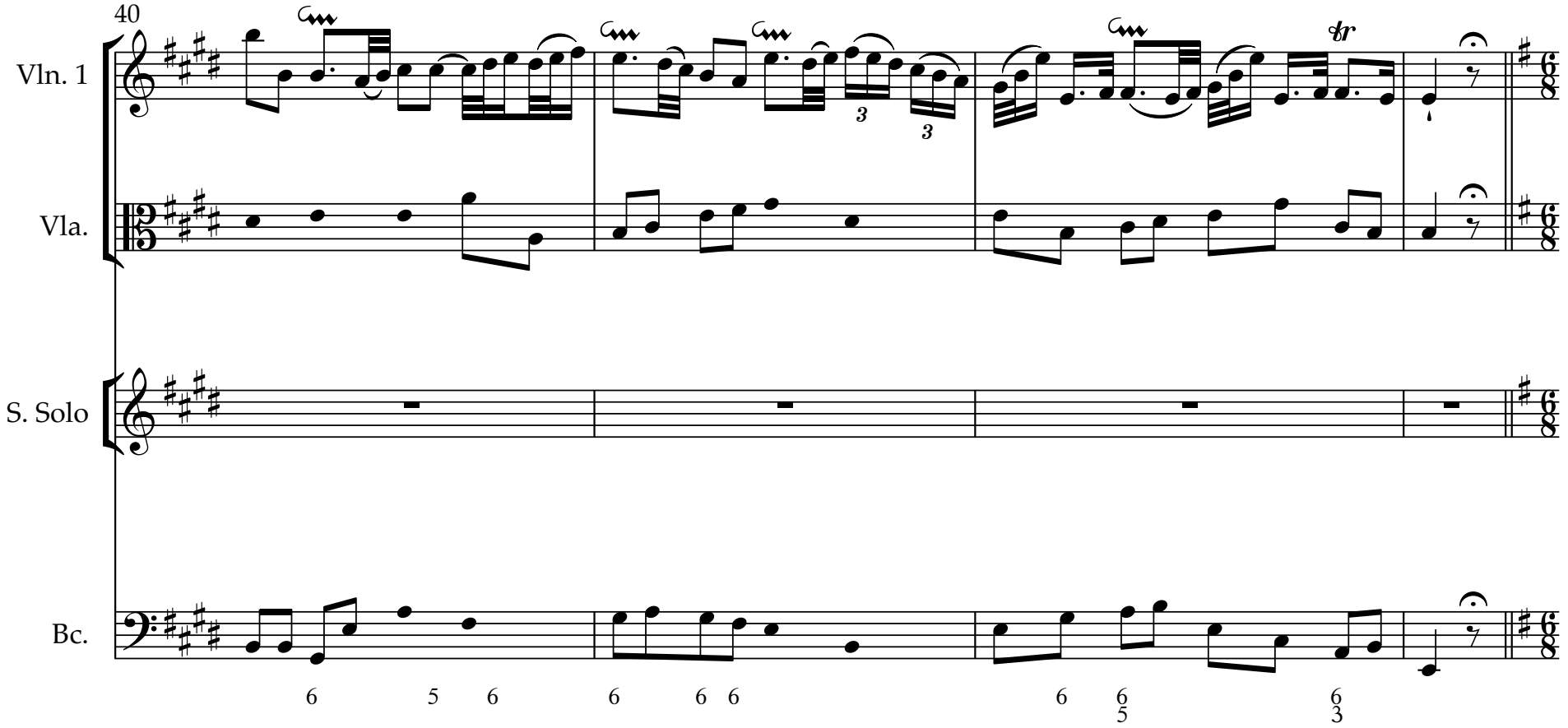

24
Vln. 1
Vln. 2
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.
Unis.
ca-re ca - re De - us ca-re ca - re cor

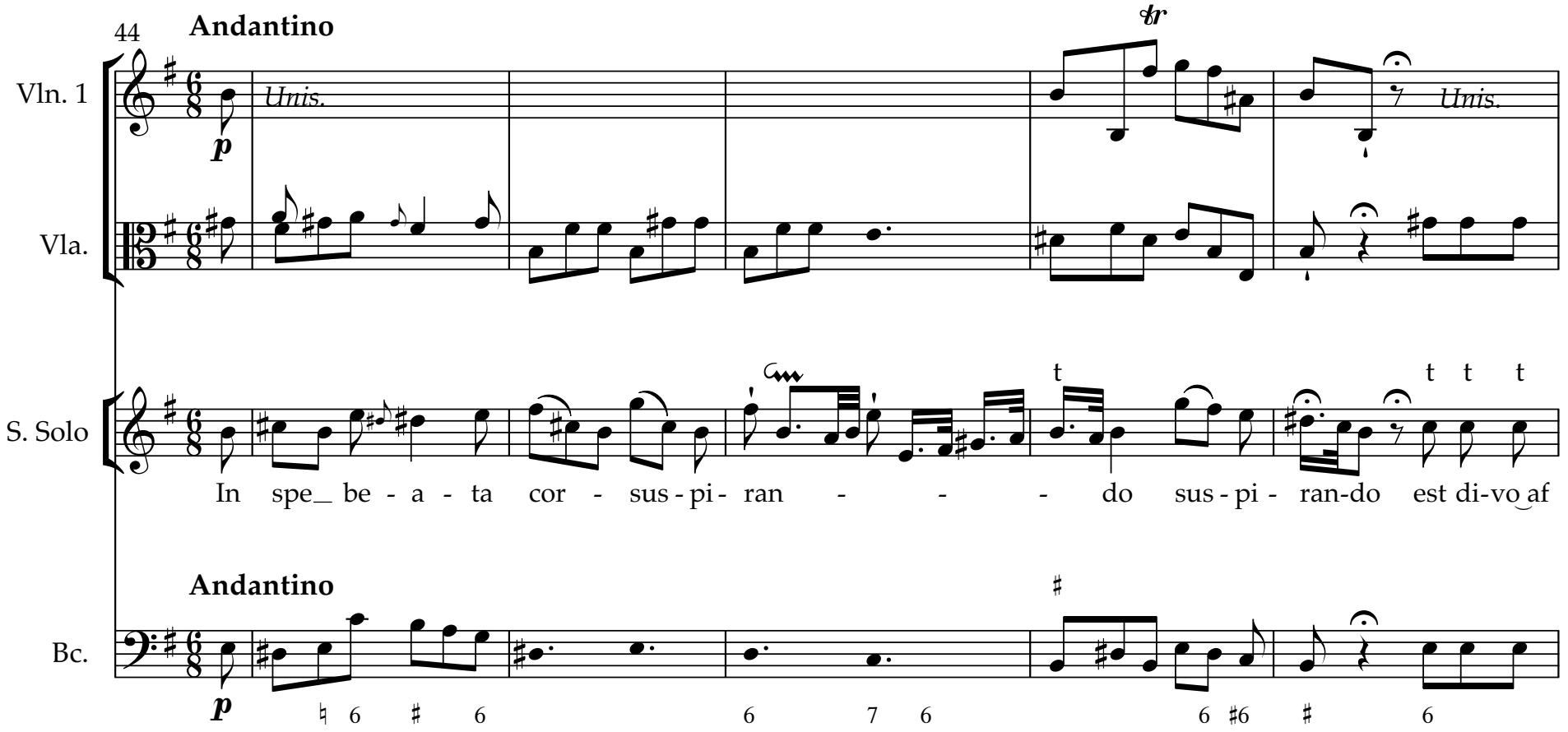

28
Vln. 1
Vln. 2
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.
t t t
t t t
f
p
t t
dis a-man - tis
a - man-tis cor - dis
sn-tio in me in me pae - -
7 #6
6

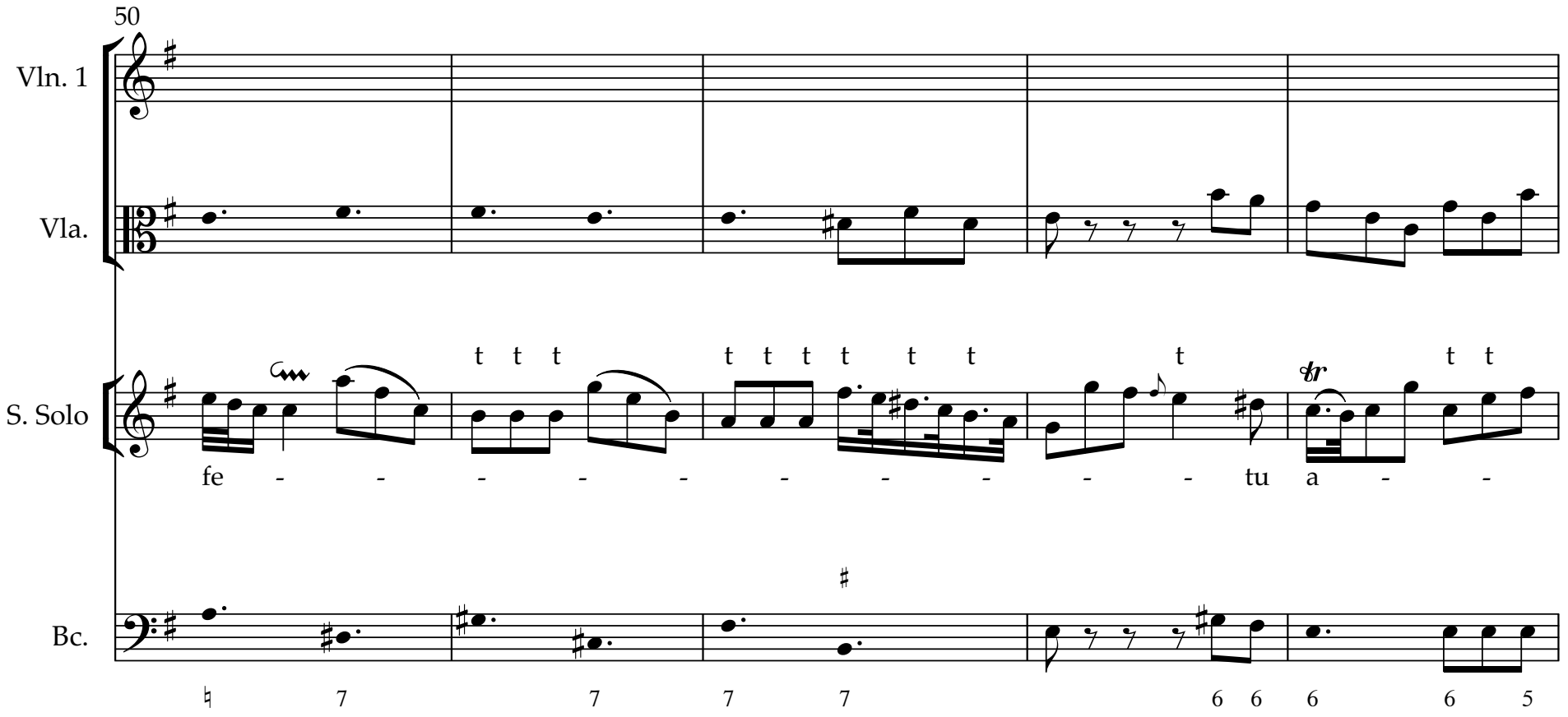

31
Vln. 1
Vln. 2
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.
Unis.
Unis.
nas pla-ca-vi pla - ca - vi iam ar-do-ris mei con

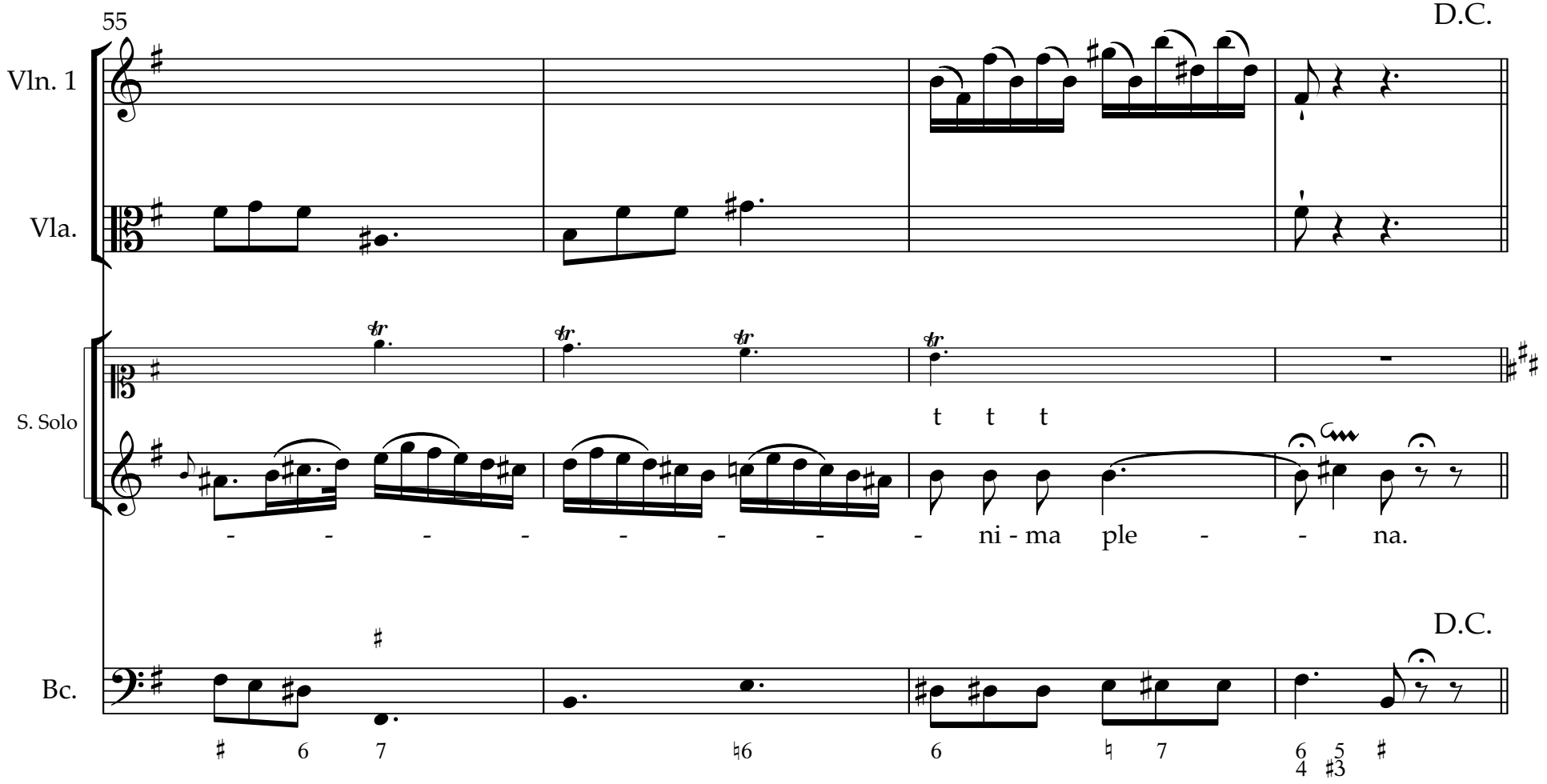

34
Vln. 1
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.
Unis.
stan-tis splen-det fax cla-ra et se - re - - - - - - - -

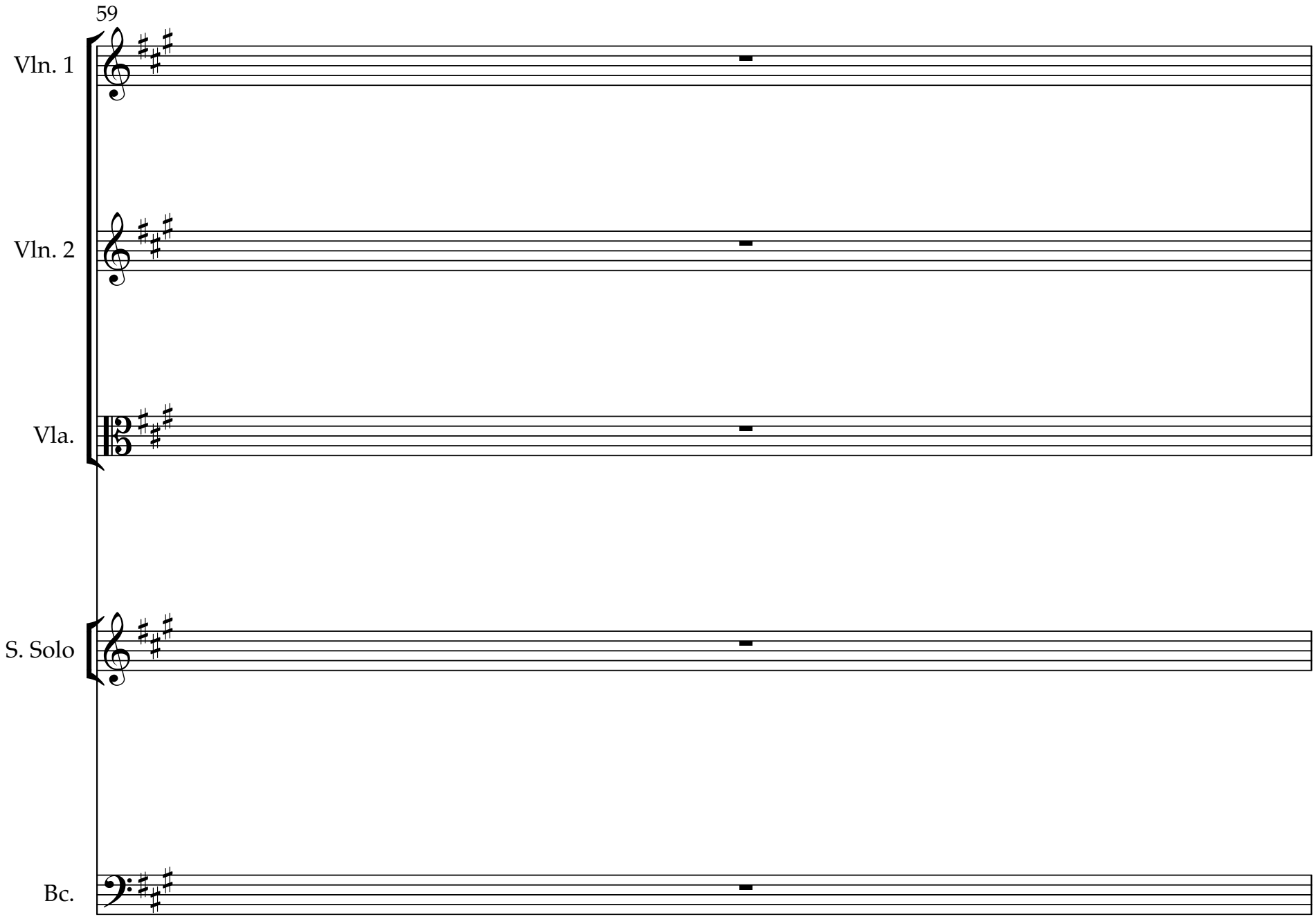

37
Vln. 1
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.
f
for.
t t
t t t
f - - - - - - f - na et se - re - - - na
6 6 6 6 6 6 4 5 3
4
for.

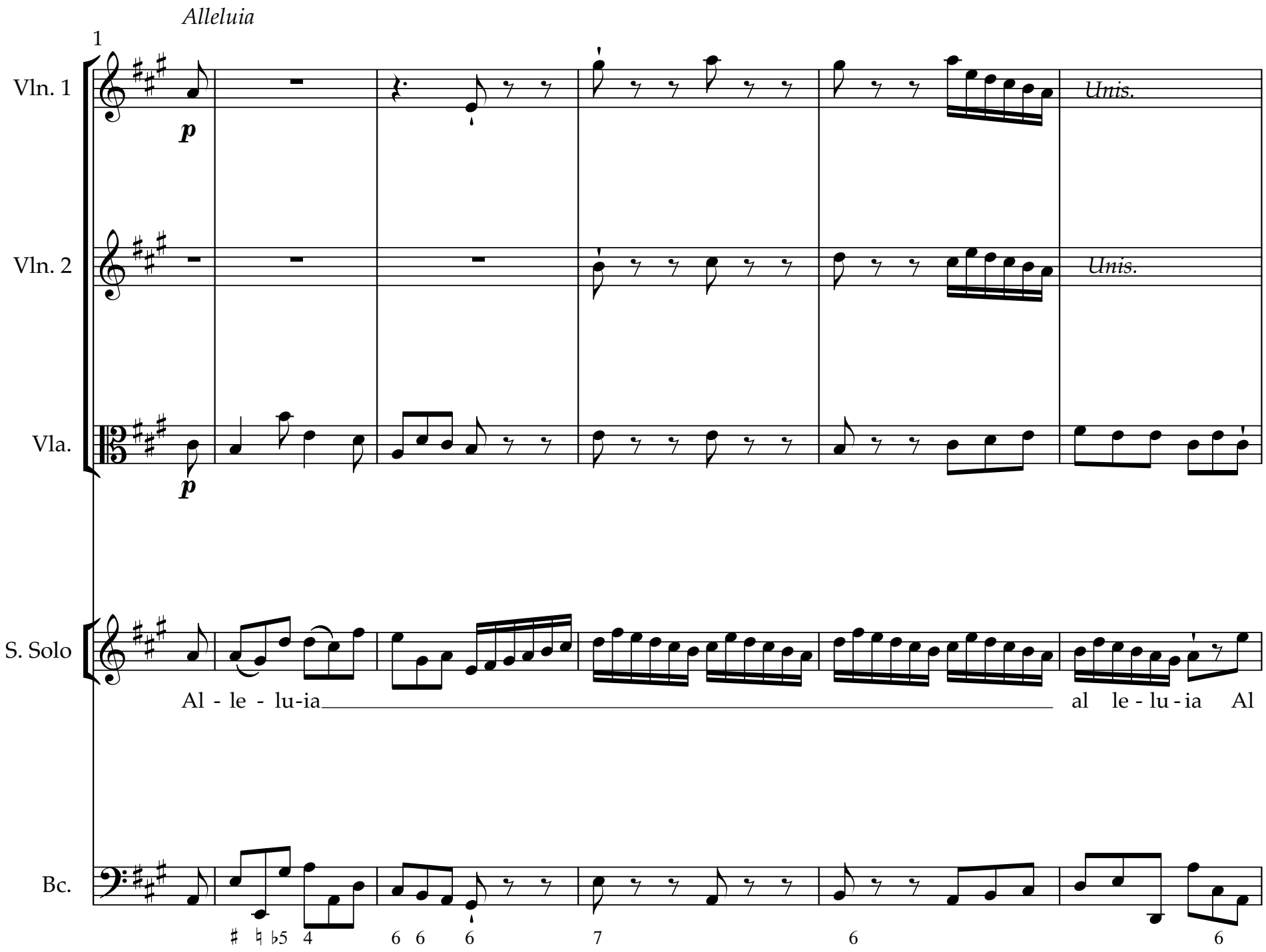

40
Vln. 1
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.
tr
3
3
6
5
6
6
6
6
6
5
6
3

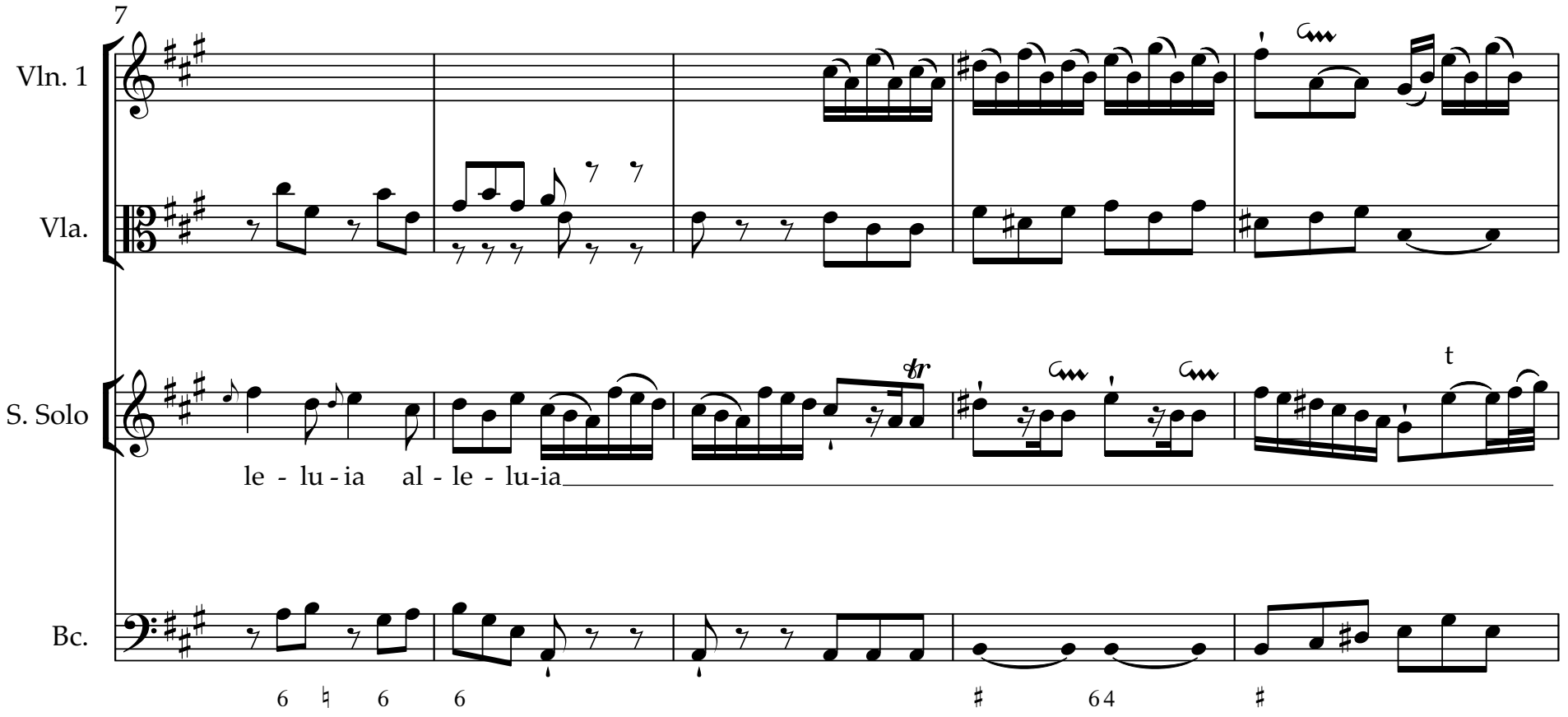

44
Andantino
Vln. 1
Unis.
Unis.
Vla.
S. Solo
In spe_ be - a - ta cor - sus - pi - ran - - - do sus - pi - ran-do est di-vo_af
Andantino
Bc.

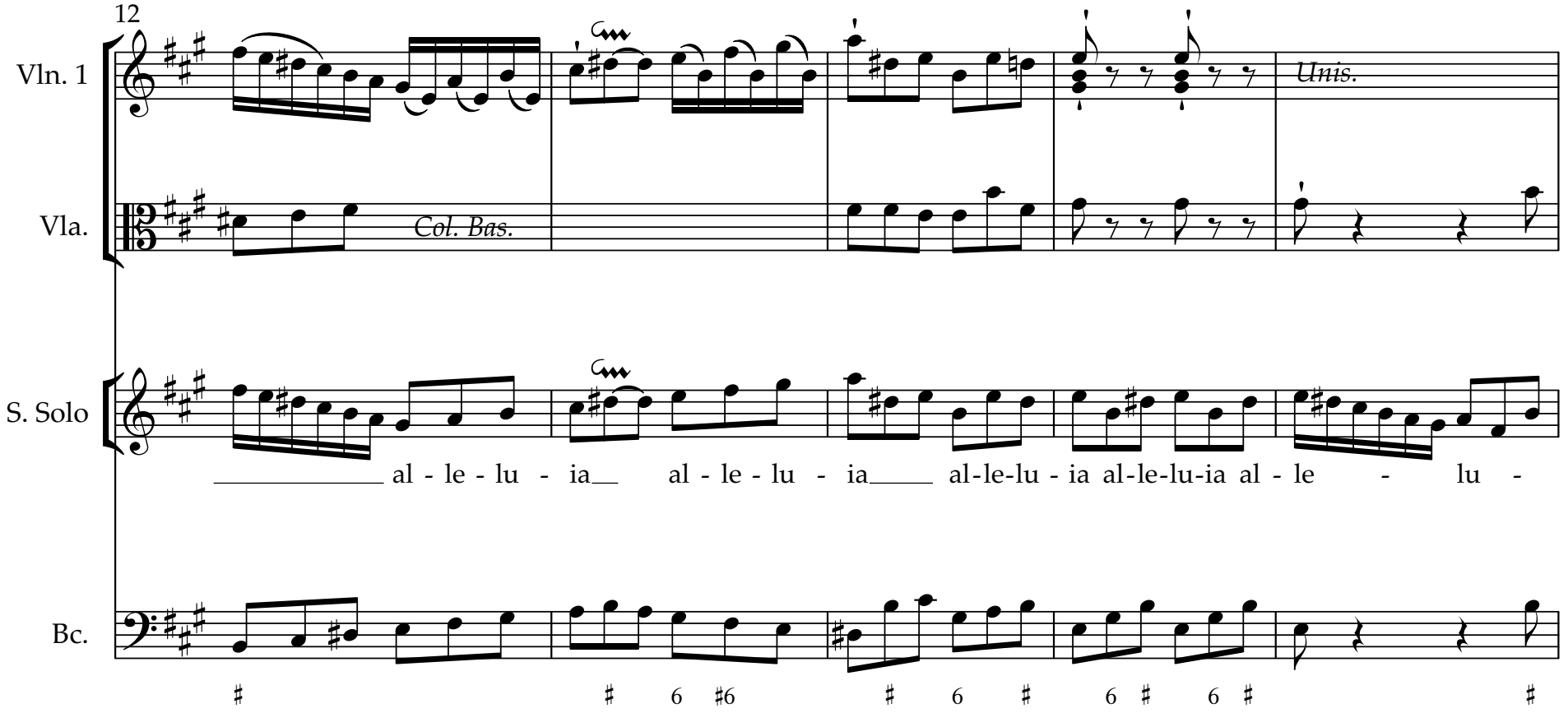

50
Vln. 1
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.
t t t t t t t t t t t t
fe - - - - - - - - - - tu a - -
♮ 7 7 7 7 6 6 6 6 5

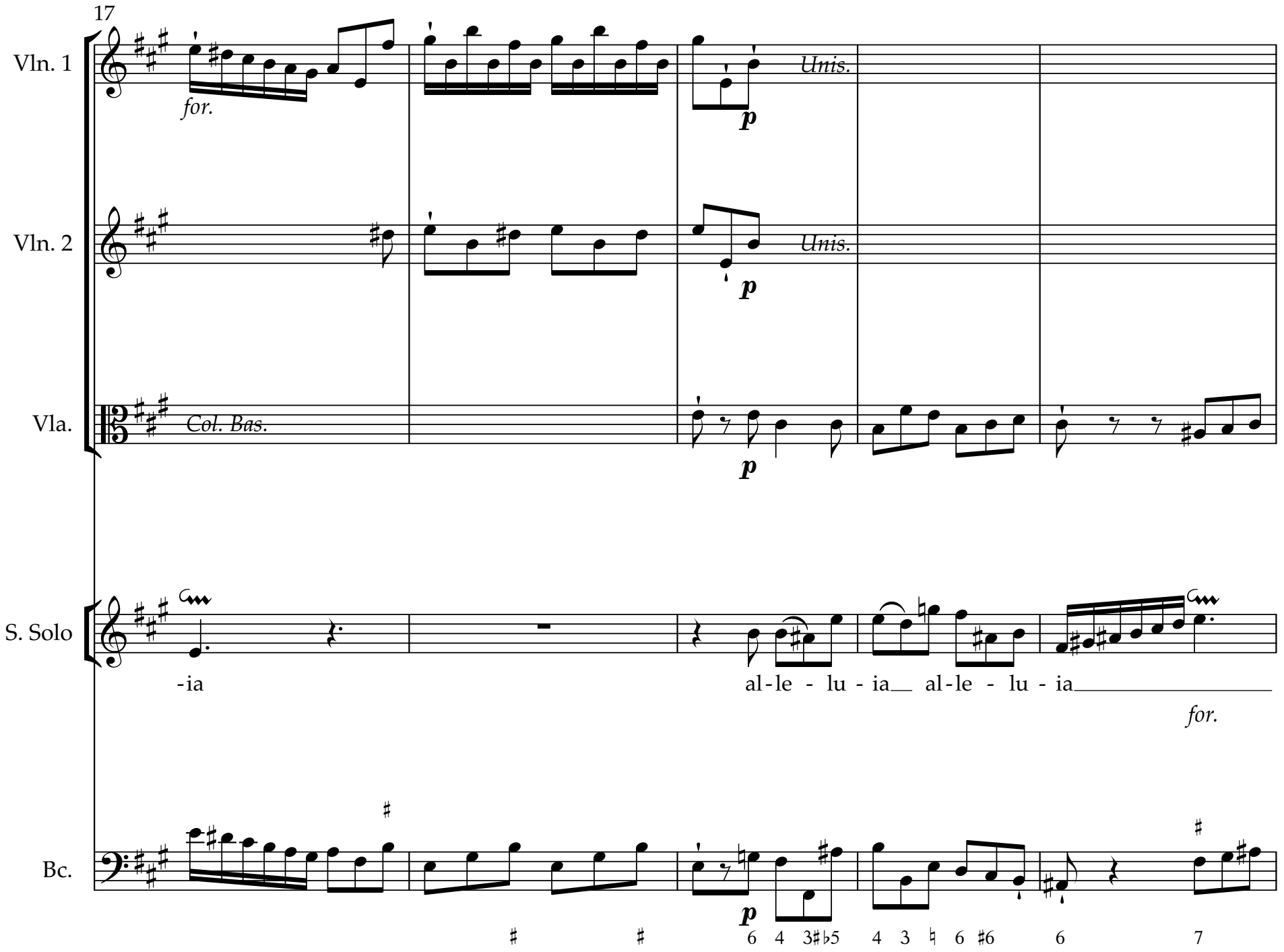

55
D.C.
Vln. 1
Vla.
S. Solo
t t t
- - - - - - - - ni - ma ple - - na.
D.C.
Bc.
♯ 6 7
♮6
6
♮ 7
6 5
4 ♯3
♯

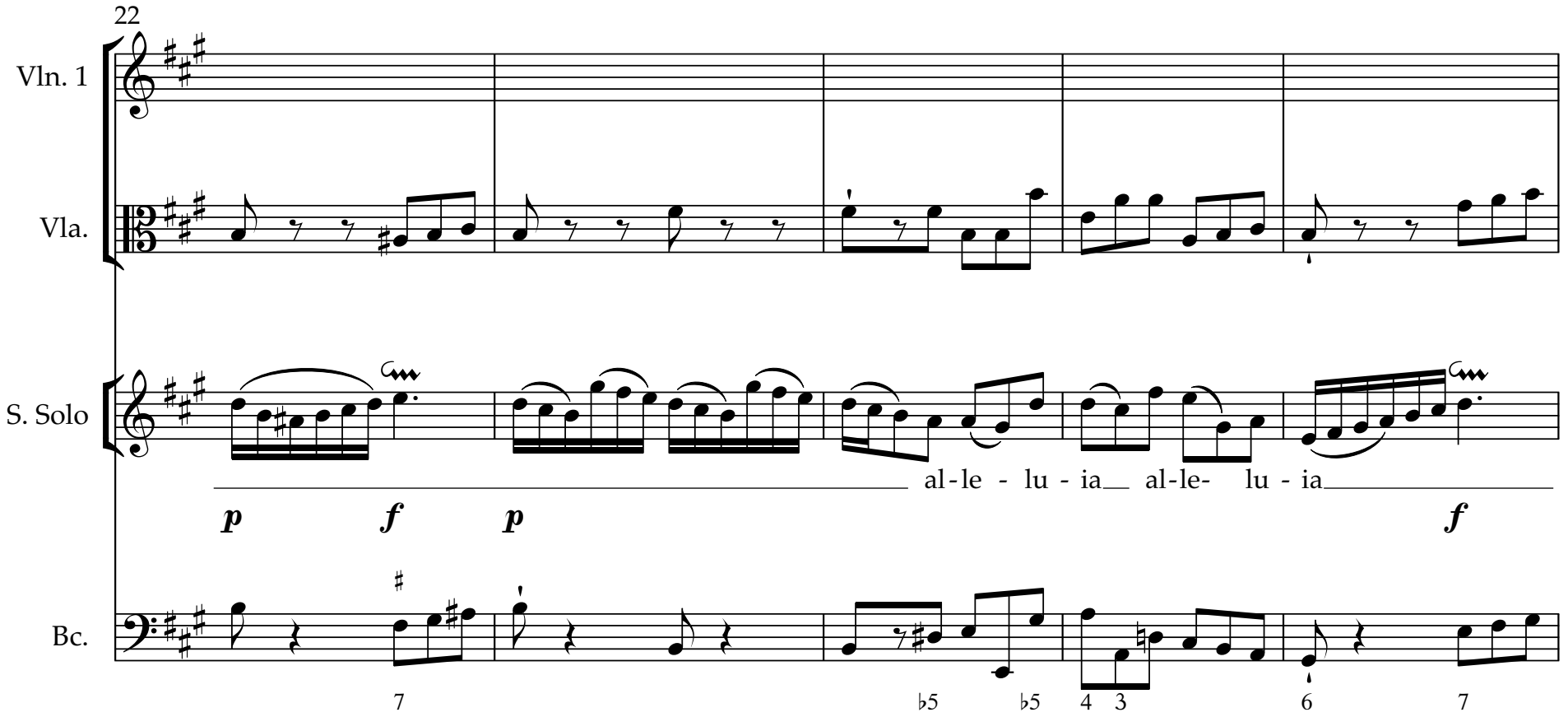

59
Vln. 1
Vln. 2
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.

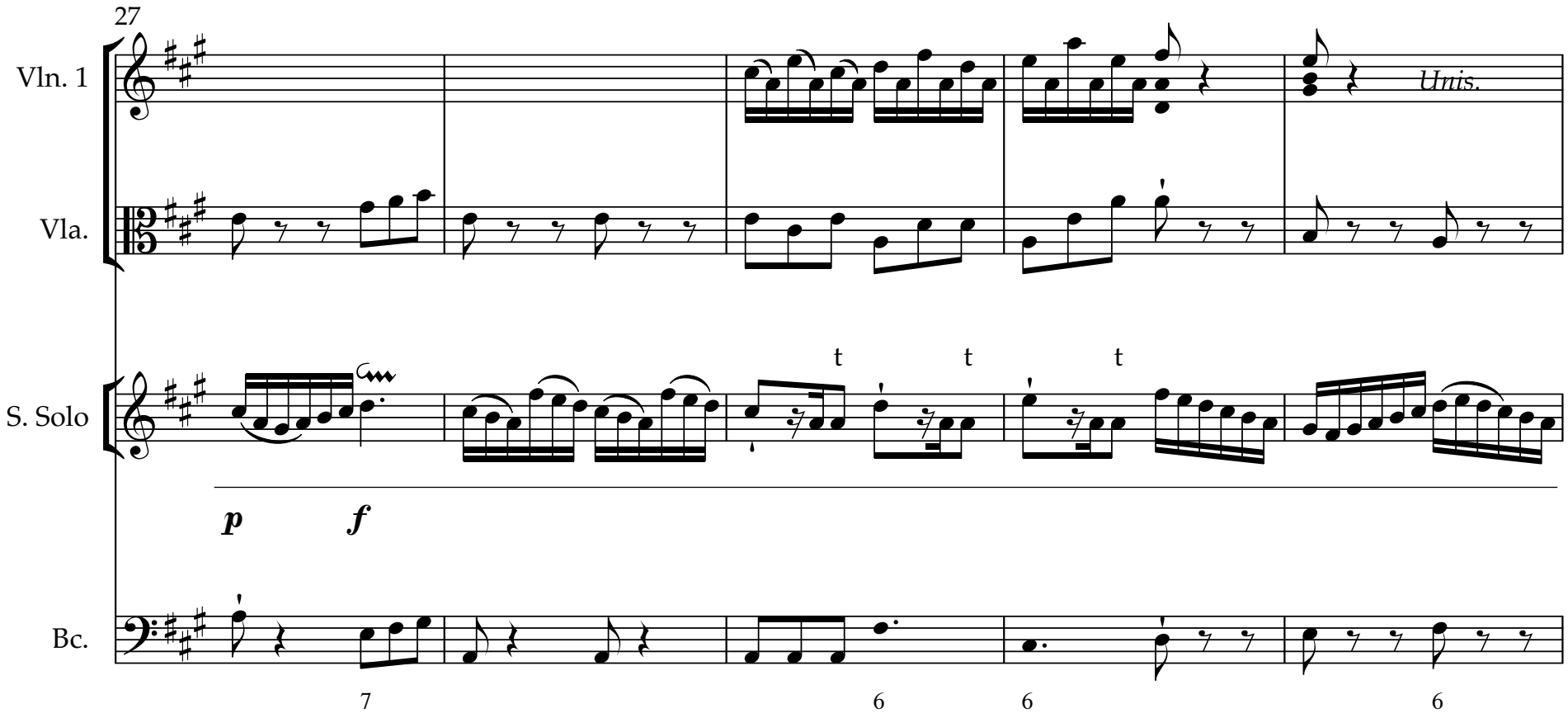

Alleluia
1
Vln. 1
Vln. 2
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.
p
p
Unis.
Unis.
Al - le - lu-ia
al le - lu - ia Al
♯ ♮ ♭5 4
6 6
6
7
6
6

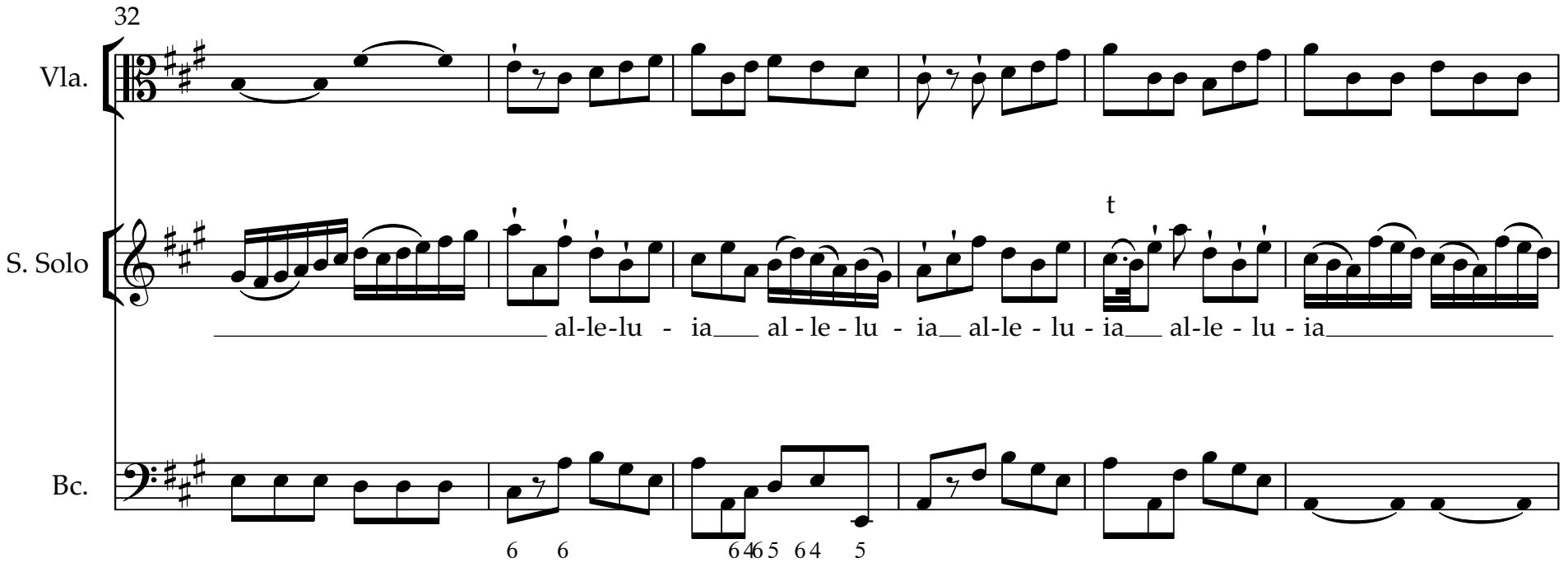

7
Vln. 1
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.
le - lu - ia al - le - lu-ia
tr
t
6 ♮ 6 6
♯ 6 4
♯

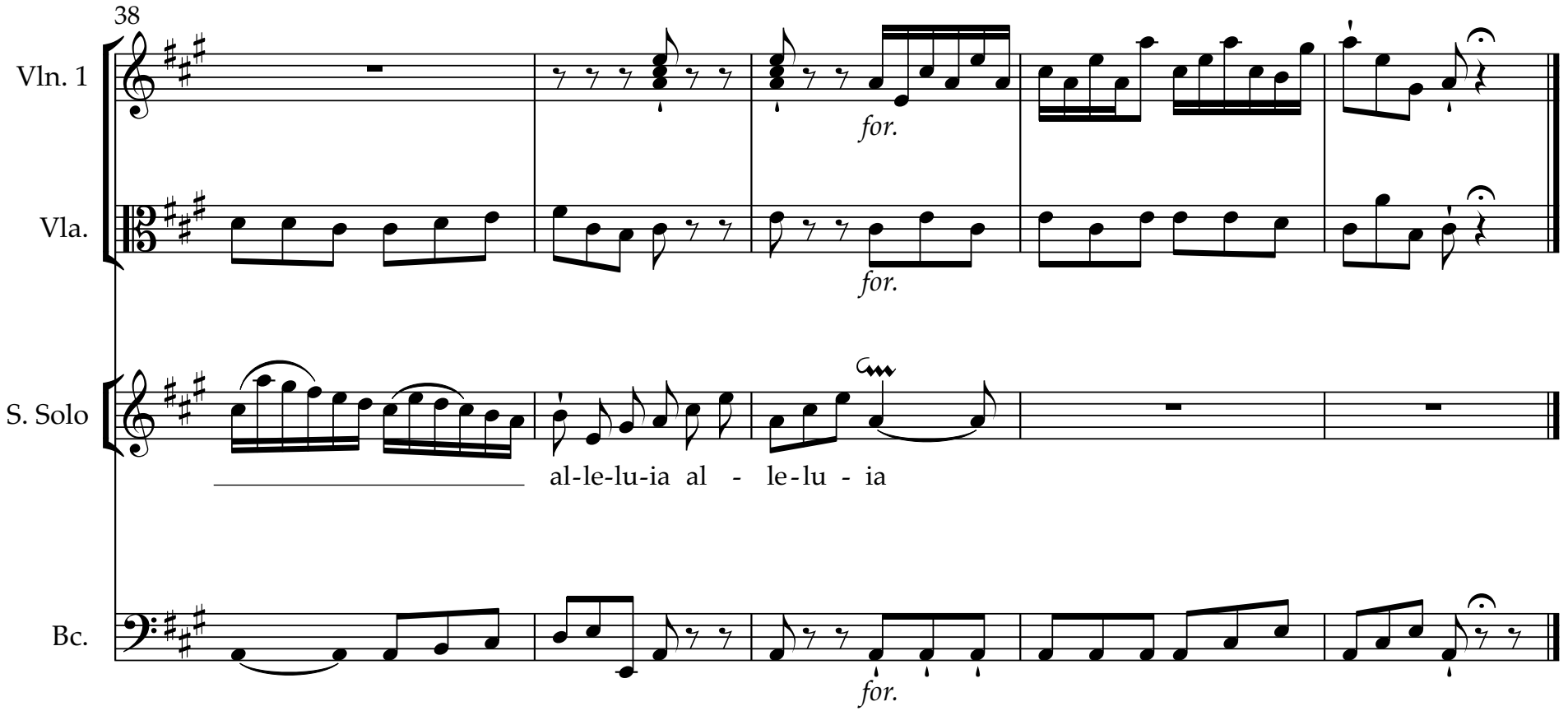

12
Vln. 1
Vla.
Col. Bas.
Unis.
S. Solo
al - le - lu - ia al - le - lu - ia al-le-lu - ia al-le-lu-ia al - le - lu -
Bc.
# # 6 #6 # 6 # 6 # 6 #


17
Vln. 1
for.
Unis.
p
Vln. 2
Unis.
p
Vla.
Col. Bas.
p
S. Solo
-ia
al-le - lu - ia al-le - lu - ia
for.
Bc.
p
6 4 3♯♭5 4 3 ♮ 6 ♯6 6 7


22
Vln. 1
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.
al-le - lu - ia al-le- lu - ia
p f p f
7 ♭5 ♭5 4 3 6 7


27
Vln. 1
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.
Unis.
t
t
t
p
f
7
6
6
6


32
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.
t
al-le-lu - ia al - le - lu - ia al-le - lu - ia al-le - lu - ia
6 6 6 4 6 5 6 4 5


38
Vln. 1
Vla.
S. Solo
Bc.
for.
for.
for.
al-le-lu-ia al - le-lu - ia