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THE USE OF TROMBONE IN THE FLORENTINE INTERMEDII, 1518-1589

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GRADUATE COLLEGE

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By

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Norman, Oklahoma

1984

THE USE OF TROMBONE IN THE

FLORENTINE INTERMEDII,

1518-1589

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A Soddisfazione de'curiosi Musici . . .

Il Lasca, 1565

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CHAPTER I

A GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE FLORENTINE INTERMEDII

The Florentine intermedii developed as a direct result of the political and artistic patronage of the Medici court. The Medici were the ruling family of Florence from 1434 until 1737, a span of over three hundred years. A survey of events in the Medici's rise to power and of the cultural climate of sixteenth-century Florence will help to explain the court festivals that produced the intermedii.

Political Control by the Medici Family

Fifteenth-century Florence was thriving under a republican government led by a large group of citizens chosen by lottery when the Medici family rose to power. The Medici bank, founded in 1397 by Giovanni de'Bicci, had become the largest bank in Europe under the leadership of Cosimo de'Medici, Bicci's son. By 1434, the Medici family had gained enough political power through its business associates that Cosimo, as head of the Medici Party, steered Florence's democratic political system towards a climate

receptive to strict oligarchic control. Always acting as a private citizen, but influencing a network of subordinate elected officials, Cosimo became a titleless, *de facto* ruler. His period of shrewd influence, lasting until his death in 1464, firmly established the Medici family as rulers of Florence and brought Cosimo the epitaph *Pater Patriae*.[1]

Cosimo's son Piero ruled briefly until 1469, when he was succeeded by his own son, Lorenzo. Known as *Il Magnifico*, Lorenzo governed Florence through its "golden age" of artistic accomplishment. He is remembered as much for his ability to write lyric verse as for his abilities in diplomatic negotiations.[2] Lorenzo was succeeded by his son, Piero, in 1492. Piero the Younger proved to be an inadequate leader who neglected matters of both domestic and foreign policy. He was exiled in 1494, after making huge concessions to an invading French army led by Charles VIII.[3]

Eighteen years passed before the Medici were restored to power in 1512 by an army that combined papal and Spanish forces. Cardinal Giovanni de'Medici, son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, returned to the Palazzo Medici to rule

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[1]J. R. Hale, Florence and the Medici: the Pattern of Control (Plymouth: Thames and Hudson, 1977), pp. 9-42.

[2]Ibid., pp. 43-75.

[3]Ibid., pp. 76-78.

until 1513, when he became Pope Leo X. From 1513 to 1527, the control of power was passed through the hands of five different Medici. In 1527, a republican resurgence once more ousted the Medici family for three years.[4]

By 1530 the republican system of government had fallen out of favor and there was new support for a Florentine monarchy. Pope Clement VII, himself a Medici, took advantage of this sentiment to create a principate in Florence with his kinsmen as hereditary dukes.[5] Medici control was finally secure as each duke ascended to power in succession: Alessandro (1531-1537), Cosimo I (1537-1574), Francesco (1574-1587), Ferdinando I (1587-1609), Cosimo II (1609-1621), Ferdinando II (1621-1670), Cosimo III (1670-1723), and Gian Gastone (1723-1737).[6]

While the Medici were establishing control over political matters, Florence had become a great center of trade. Guilds of skilled craftsmen, first established in the thirteenth century, had created an elaborate system of regulation over the manufacturing process to guarantee the production of exceptionally high-quality goods. Exportation of this merchandise across Europe brought great economic

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[4]Ibid., pp. 79-83.

[5]Ibid., pp. 109-27.

[6]Ibid., pp. 127-96.

growth to the Tuscan community. The first Medici business leaders took advantage of the fine export market for Florentine goods by manufacturing textiles for the royal courts of England, France, and Flanders, and for the papal state in Rome. The enterprise even grew to include the import and export of spices, oils, and fruits as well as control of a large operation to mine alum, an important ingredient in dyestuffs. However, the family amassed its great fortune mainly through successful banking activities.[7]

An Age of Artistic Achievement

The Medici and other wealthy Florentine families spent large sums of money on artistic commissions. In doing so they supported the creation of many masterworks of Renaissance painting, sculpture, architecture, music, and drama. Though their commissions seem today to be magnanimous gestures of artistic support, they may in fact have been motivated by a desire for political control. According to Lauro Martines, "Art and power in Renaissance Italy went hand in hand."[8] Similarly, Paul Henry Lang writes, "Pride in artistic achievements during the era of the Renaissance

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[7]Guiseppe Martinelli, The World of Renaissance Florence (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1968), pp. 195-230.

[8]Lauro Martines, Power and Imagination: City-States in Renaissance Italy (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), p. 241.

surpassed even martial pride."[9] The statements of these scholars suggest that the patronage of art by the Florentine aristocracy was a primary method of creating the image of wealth and political influence. It was this image that the Medici and the other prominent families of Florence wished to cultivate by spending fortunes in support of the arts.

Sixteenth-century Florentines were aware that they were living in a golden age of artistic achievement. They believed that their civilization, in comparison to previous generations, was characterized by a cultural emphasis equal to that of ancient Greece and Rome. It was indeed an age of humanism, during which Florentine citizens became fascinated with the classic perfection of Greek civilization and strove to imitate it at every opportunity. This fascination is at least partially responsible for the revitalized interest in secular drama and theatrical music, and is certainly responsible for the overwhelming use of mythological and allegorical subjects in court entertainments.[10]

By the early sixteenth century, tastes had also shifted to include more secular music as well. As humanistic thought focused upon the importance of the

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[9]Paul Henry Lang, Music in Western Civilization (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1941), p. 307.

[10]Marcel Brion, The Medici: A Great Florentine Family (New York: Crown Publishers Inc., 1969), pp. 57-98.

individual, music designed for non-liturgical events became increasingly common. In particular, the appearance of the secular madrigal in Italy seemed to satisfy the need for music outside religious settings.[11] The ability of courtiers to sing and play instruments was considered an essential part of elegant court life. Castiglione mentions these skills in his description of the ideal courtier:

> My lords . . ., you must think I am not pleased with the Courtier if he be not also a musician, and besides his understanding and cunning upon the book, have skill in like manner on sundry instruments.[12]

Instrumental music took on new importance in sixteenth-century Italy. While the earlier practice of doubling vocal parts was still observed, other trends developed. Instrumentalists began to perform vocal compositions without any singers or with a vocal solo. A considerable amount of music was written expressly for instruments and included new instrumental forms such as the toccata, ricercar, canzona, variations, and dance suites. The lute gained great popularity, both as a solo instrument

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[11]Howard Mayer Brown, Music in the Renaissance (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976), pp. 218-29.

[12]Baldassare Castiglione, Il Cortegiano (1528) translated by Sir Thomas Hoby (1561), in Oliver Strunk, Source Readings in Music History (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1950), p. 281.

and for accompaniments.[13]

Music in Court Festivals

Music played an important role in court festivals of the Renaissance by enhancing the majestic grandeur affected by the nobility who commissioned such events. These festivals impressed visiting dignitaries with the wealth, power, and artistic accomplishment of the host family. The Medici court was extraordinarily fond of sponsoring these festivals and, because of the proliferation of artists residing in Florence, had at its disposal the means to create particularly flamboyant celebrations.

Florentine court festivals were held to commemorate such diverse events as the annual Carnival season, the marriage of a duke, the birth of an heir, the visit of a foreign monarch, or the death of a member of the royal family. Of the various occasions which the court celebrated, none were more elaborate than the royal weddings. This is not surprising, since marriages were usually arranged with partners from other courts and were considered to be forms of political alliance. Wedding festivals in Florence lasted from a few weeks to several months and often included banquets, dances, parades, tournaments, mock-battles and, as the climax, an evening of theatrical

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[13]Brown, Music in the Renaissance, pp. 257-71.

entertainment with musical interludes which were known as the intermedii.[14]

The inspiration for the intermedii may be traced to Greek drama. Hellenistic tragedies consisting of sung or chanted poetry accompanied by the aulos had already been imitated in the liturgical dramas of the Middle Ages which used the church as both concert hall and stage. The medieval presentations were not characterized by full dramatic illusion; that is, they made little or no use of scenery and costumes and exhibited a restrained staging and acting style. They included much vocal music but limited the use of instruments to processional music.[15]

In Renaissance Italy, religious plays developed a unique tendency for the spectacular. A tradition of popular religious dramas using striking visual effects evolved into the *rappresentazione sacre* that survived into the Renaissance and through the sixteenth century.[16] Renaissance Florence was the home of magnificent *rappresentazione sacre* which sometimes required several days for performance. They contained elaborate scenery, costumes, and staging, and not

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[14]A. M. Nagler, Theatre Festivals of the Medici (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), p. 1-4.

[15]The New Grove Dictionary of Music, rev. ed. (1980), s.v. "Medieval Drama," by John Stevens, pp. 21-58.

[16]Ibid., pp. 50-51.

uncommonly included secular elements such as the appearance of mythological characters. Secular as well as sacred compositions made up the musical interludes, and the numerous dances included in the spectacle were accompanied by instruments. The Florentine aristocracy became passionately fond of their brand of religious drama, often making a production the central focus of a court festival. Lorenzo de'Medici himself was the author of a religious play that was performed in 1489.[17]

As humanism began to prevail in the latter half of the fifteenth century, secular drama gained in popularity. The use of music in religious plays was by then a time-honored tradition, and virtually every court employed numerous musicians to compose and perform. It is therefore not surprising that music also became an integral part of secular drama. The musical interludes included in religious and secular plays gradually evolved into the musical scenes known during the sixteenth century as intermedii.[18]

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[17]Gustave Reese, Music in the Renaissance, rev. ed. (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1959), pp. 171-173.

[18]Andrew C. Minor and Bonner Mitchell, A Renaissance Entertainment: Festivities for the Marriage of Cosimo I, Duke of Florence, in 1539 (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1968), pp. 44-54.

The Intermedii

Sixteenth-century Florentine intermedii, the subject of the present study, were short musical scenes that were performed in conjunction with a spoken play, framing each of the acts. They were associated with Renaissance comedies written in Italian, which normally contained five acts. Six intermedii were therefore required to complement a typical drama. The intermedii should not be thought of as six acts of a common narrative. Each was an independent unit, complete within itself. A group of intermedii might share a common theme, such as the progression of time from dawn to dusk in the 1539 performance, or the influence of music over the lives of gods and men in the intermedii for La Pellegrina in 1589. Virtually all the intermedii were designed to flatter the Medici court, the Florentine people, and the courts of visiting dignitaries.[19]

The subject matter chosen for the scenes was predominantly mythological or allegorical, in keeping with the Florentine penchant for Greek civilization. Subjects ranged from the portrayal of the simplest mythological tales to the complex Prologue from La Pellegrina, in which Count Giovanni de'Bardi represented the "Harmony of the Spheres" from the tenth book of Plato's Republic. Bardi's intermedio

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[19]Ibid., pp. 18-19.

was so full of classical symbolism that it could be fully comprehended only by others who shared his scholarly knowledge of Greek civilization. The enjoyment of such a production was not impaired by the intellectual nature of the text, however, because the elaborate staging, costumes, scenery, and music were greatly entertaining.

The finest available artists began the physical preparations for the intermedii up to a year before the performance. The results of this effort included magnificent stage effects often operated by ingenious machinery. Gods could fly to and from the stage on gilded cloud machines; mountains could be made to rise up from the stage floor; and the stage could be transformed into the fiery depths of Hell. Costuming was also an essential aspect of the production because many characters were recognizable primarily by their mode of dress.[20]

The importance of dance and mime to the dramatic productions increased throughout the sixteenth century. Early intermedii were performed as tableaux by stationary performers; the finale of the 1539 intermedii contains the only dance scene in that set. But by the performance of La Pellegrina in 1589, dance was so important that Emilio de'Cavalieri, composer and musical coordinator for the evening, prepared elaborate diagrams for the choreography.

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[20]Nagler, Theatre Festivals of the Medici.

The music for the intermedii consists of predominantly vocal settings of poetry written especially for the occasion. Many of these compositions are Italian madrigals, the most popular secular genre of sixteenth-century musical composition. The intermedii exhibit the general trends of the Italian madrigal as it developed through the century. Surviving examples span the gamut of musical style ranging from simple, straightforward settings for solo voice with a few instruments providing chordal accompaniment to highly elaborate polyphonic compositions for multiple choirs and large orchestra. The composers of music for the intermedii were members of a team of creative artists that collaborated on the festivities. Often, several composers worked together to produce the set of six intermedii needed for one performance. The following composers are represented in the Florentine festivals under examination in this study.

Composers of the Intermedii

Bartolomeo degli Organi (1474-1539) began his musical career at age thirteen, when he was appointed to sing in a Florence convent. After serving at many churches as both a singer and an organist, Bartolomeo became the principal organist of Florence Cathedral in 1509 and held that post for the remainder of his life. His surname, "degli Organi," is a reference to his fame as an organist. Very little is known of Bartolomeo's activities as a

composer. Only ten secular vocal compositions, four instrumental works, and two laudi are known to exist. Whether Bartolomeo ever composed for the theatre has not been determined; however, Frank D'Accone has suggested that he was the composer of the music in Strozzi's Commedia in versi, performed at the 1518 wedding festivities for Duke Lorenzo de'Medici.[21] D'Accone's hypothesis is based upon Bartolomeo's association with both the duke and Lorenzo Strozzi, author of the play.

Francesco Corteccia (1502-1571) is remembered as an important early composer of madrigals; over one hundred are extant. Two of these were published in a 1539 collection with compositions by Arcadelt and others. Corteccia also composed several volumes of liturgical music. He was born in Florence and studied there, probably with Bernardo Pisano, Mattia Rampollini, and Bartolomeo degli Organi. From 1527 to 1539 he was a chaplain and organist at San Giovanni and at San Lorenzo, chapel of the Medici family. In 1540, Duke Cosimo I appointed Corteccia *maestro di cappella* at San Lorenzo, where he remained until his death.

As a composer in the service of the Medici court, Corteccia provided music for numerous festivities. In this

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[21]Frank A. D'Accone, "Alessandro Coppini and Bartolomeo degli Organi: Two Florentine Composers of the Renaissance," Analecta Musicologia 4 (1967): 38-76.

capacity he composed all the music for the 1539 intermedii which celebrated the wedding of Duke Cosimo I and Eleanora of Toledo. He supplied the music for three of the intermedii performed in 1565 for the marriage of Francesco de'Medici and Joanna of Austria, the other three intermedii being provided by Alessandro Striggio. In the composition of his intermedii, Corteccia was a pioneer in the dramatic setting of verse to music and in the programmatic use of instrumental colors.

Alessandro Striggio (ca. 1540-1592) replaced Francesco Corteccia as the principal composer for the Medici court. Unlike his predecessor, Striggio composed almost exclusively in the secular vein; today only two sacred motets survive along with approximately two hundred secular madrigals. Striggio's reputation as a great composer seems to have spread throughout Europe since several of his works were included in manuscripts outside Italy. He is mentioned favorably in Thomas Morley's A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke[22] and in a letter by Claudio Monteverdi.[23] Striggio was also known to be an excellent

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[22]Thomas Morley, A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke (London: Peter Short, 1597; ed. R. Alec Harman (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., n.d.), pp. 58-62.

[23]Denis Stevens, The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 37-38. Striggio is mentioned in a letter dated 28 November 1601.

performer. Several contemporary accounts attest to his ability on the *lirone* or *lira da braccio*. The description of the 1589 intermedii cites Striggio's performance on the *lirone* and the *sopranino di viola*. Striggio seems also to have been a nobleman with both social and diplomatic skills; he was appointed political emissary to England in 1567 and was later elevated to the rank of marquis.

Alessandro Striggio made an important mark on Renaissance theatre music as the composer of intermedii for four different court festivals. He wrote three intermedii (the others were by Corteccia) for the 1565 performance of La Cofanaria in celebration of the marriage of Francesco de'Medici and Joanna of Austria. In 1568, Striggio composed all six intermedii for I Fabii, honoring the baptism of Francesco and Joanna's first child. He contributed three intermedii to the production of L'amico fido in 1586; the other three interludes were written by Cristofano Malvezzi and Giovanni de'Bardi.

Cristofano Malvezzi (1547-1599) came under the patronage of the Medici court in 1562 when he was appointed to the post of canon at San Lorenzo. In 1574, after serving as organist and *maestro di cappella* of various Florence churches, he succeeded his father as organist at San Lorenzo and remained in the position until his death. Malvezzi's work as a composer includes three volumes of madrigals and a

volume of ricercars. Although Malvezzi spent his entire life in religious service, his output of sacred music is small. Only two motets have survived.

Malvezzi collaborated with Alessandro Striggio and Giovanni de'Bardi on the intermedii for L'amico fido, celebrating the nuptials of Don Cesare d'Este and Virginia de'Medici in 1586. Malvezzi contributed the music for the third and fourth intermedii presented at that festival. For the 1589 performance of La Pellegrina, Malvezzi composed most of the music in four of the intermedii. The composers who provided the remaining music were Cavalieri, Marenzio, Caccini, Bardi, and Peri. Malvezzi also compiled and edited the 1589 music for a 1591 publication that contained valuable information on the instrumentation, names of performers, choreography, and other aspects of the performance.

Count Giovanni de'Bardi (1534-1612) was a Florentine nobleman with a strong humanistic education. He was admired as a Greek scholar, poet, playwright, and composer. A patron of the arts, he sponsored Vincenzo Galilei and Giulio Caccini. Bardi's palace became a meeting-place for noblemen and musicians to discuss music. His more well-known guests included Jacopo Corsi, Ottavio Rinuccini, Jacopo Peri, Girolamo Mei, as well as Caccini and Galilei. This circle of humanists, with Bardi as founder and protagonist, was

known as the Florentine Camerata. By 1578, the group developed a musical aesthetic philosophy embracing the simple monody of ancient Greek poet-singers and turning away from the florid polyphony of the Italian-Flemish style. Their aesthetic became the foundation for a new declamatory style of vocal composition that led to the first true operas.

Bardi was responsible for coordinating Medici court festivals on several occasions. He wrote the comedy L'amico fido in 1586 for the wedding of Cesare d'Este and Virginia de'Medici. All six of the extravagant intermedii for La Pellegrina in 1589, portraying the effect of music on the lives of gods and men, were conceived by Bardi. He was an amateur, but accomplished, composer though only a few of his compositions survive. Bardi's musical contributions to intermedii include the fifth intermedio for the 1586 festival and one madrigal in the 1589 intermedii.

Luca Marenzio (ca. 1554-1599) was a prolific composer of madrigals and a singer of high reputation. Few details are available regarding Marenzio's early training, although it is known that about 1574 he was employed as a singer by Cardinal Cristoforo Madruzzo of Rome. By 1578, when he entered the service of Cardinal Luigi d'Este, Marenzio had published only one madrigal. During the years which followed until the Cardinal's death in 1586, however,

he produced thirteen volumes of madrigals; many of these were reprinted in collections appearing across Europe. Marenzio spent 1588 and 1589 in Florence at the Medici court, where he participated in the festivities for the wedding of Duke Ferdinando and Christine of Lorraine. The entire second and third intermedii to La Pellegrina, performed for that occasion, were composed by Marenzio. They comprise his only known theatrical music. Late in 1589, Marenzio returned to Rome where he provided musical services for several cardinals. He traveled to Poland during his later years, but settled again in Rome before his death.

Giulio Caccini (ca. 1545-1618) is best known as a composer of early opera and of songs in the new *stile recitativo*. As a youth in Rome, Caccini became an excellent singer and lutenist. Cosimo de'Medici brought him to Florence around 1565 and supported him through further study. Caccini served the Medici court intermittently for the rest of his life as a singer, teacher, and composer. In 1600, he was elevated to the post of court musical director, succeeding Emilio de'Cavalieri.

Caccini was a prolific and celebrated composer of solo songs. Le nuove musiche (1601) is his best known collection, containing also a prefatory treatise on singing and composing in the new monodic style. A few compositions

by Caccini were included in Jacopo Peri's Euridice, performed in 1600 and credited as being the first opera. Caccini's own setting of Euridice, composed later in 1600, is known as the earliest published opera. The first mention of Caccini as a composer is found in records of the festivities in honor of Grand Duke Ferdinando de'Medici's marriage with Christine of Lorraine in 1589. Caccini contributed one composition, "Io che dal ciel cader," to the fourth intermedio performed with La Pellegrina. This composition was omitted from the 1591 publication of the intermedii but survives in manuscript form in Florence[24] and has been printed in modern notation in D. P. Walker's edition[25] of the 1589 music.

Jacopo Peri (1561-1633) is best remembered as the composer of the earliest surviving opera. In his own time, he was renowned equally as a singer and an instrumentalist. Born in Rome, he moved to Florence as a child, and received early musical training from Cristofano Malvezzi. From 1579 until 1605, Peri worked as an organist at the Badia, a church in Fiesole. During the same period he also sang at

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[24]Found in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Magl. XIX, 66.

[25]Daniel P. Walker, Les Fetes du Mariage de Ferdinand de Medicis et de Christine de Lorraine: Florence 1589 (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1963), 1: 156.

San Giovanni Battista. Peri may have participated in the meetings of the Florentine Camerata; whether he did or not, it is probable that the aesthetic beliefs of that group influenced his early experiments with recitative.

Peri's association with the Medici court began in 1588 when he was hired presumably to assist with the preparations for the Grand Duke Ferdinando's wedding festivities. In the 1589 intermedii to La Pellegrina, Peri performed the role of Arion in the fifth intermedio (entitled "The Rescue of Arion"). In that interlude, he sang his own composition,"Dunque fra torbid'onde," and accompanied himself on the *chitarrone*. Peri's most famous theatrical music, Euridice (1600), was also written for the celebration of a Medici wedding. The first performance of this earliest opera came on the occasion of the marriage of Maria de'Medici and King Henri IV of France.

Antonio Archilei (ca. 1550-1612) came into the service of Cardinal Ferdinando de'Medici in 1581. When Ferdinando returned to Florence to assume the ducal throne in 1587, Archilei followed and was given employment as a court musician. Archilei may have been the composer of one composition, "Dalle celesti sfere," in the 1589 intermedii for La Pellegrina. Malvezzi's edition of the intermedii cites Archilei as the composer of this music; however, Bastiano de'Rossi, who wrote the official description of the performance, gives Emilio de'Cavalieri credit for the work.

Malvezzi further states that Antonio Archilei participated in the 1589 performance as a *chitarrone* player and that his wife, Vittoria Archilei, was a featured singer.

Emilio de'Cavalieri (ca. 1550-1602) was a Roman nobleman of many talents. During his varied professional life he worked as an organist at San Marcello in Rome, performed as a graceful actor and dancer, taught singing (notably to Vittoria Archilei who performed in the 1589 intermedii), directed and choreographed court entertainments, composed, and served in positions of diplomatic responsibility. Cavalieri had been in the service of Cardinal Ferdinando de'Medici in Rome. When the Cardinal became Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1587, Cavalieri was given a post of authority over the artists of Florence. He began almost immediately to coordinate preparations for the lavish intermedii to be presented in honor of Ferdinando's marriage to Christine of Lorraine in 1589. In addition to directing the 1589 intermedii, Cavalieri contributed three compositions and several elaborate diagrams of the choreography.

Cavalieri composed a great deal of music for the theatre, including his Rappresentatione di Anima, et di Corpo . . . per recitar cantando (1600), which is the earliest surviving play set entirely to music. His experiments with dramatic monody led him to take credit for the invention of the *stile rappresentativo*. This early use of

recitative, however, is most often attributed to Peri's opera Euridice, written in 1600.

Luca Bati (ca. 1550-1608) was a student of the intermedii composer Francesco Corteccia. Bati served several churches, notably at San Lorenzo and Florence Cathedral as *maestro di cappella*. He composed two books of madrigals and a variety of sacred music. He also provided all six intermedii for L'escaltazione della croce, a religious drama which was presented as the final celebration for the 1589 wedding of Grand Duke Ferdinando de'Medici and Christine of Lorraine.

The Primary Sources: Descriptions and Music

Very few of the many compositions written for intermedii exist today. Of the sixteenth-century Florentine festivals at which intermedii were performed, only two have survived in complete, original editions. These are the intermedii for the 1539 performance of Il Commodo and those for the 1589 performance of La Pellegrina. Both editions carry, besides the music itself, detailed descriptions of instrumentation and other aspects of the performance. Additional surviving music is limited to a pair of compositions from the 1565 intermedii and a tenor part-book from the 1568 festival. Primary-source information exists also in the form of contemporary accounts of Medici court festivals that include descriptions of the intermedii

performances. These accounts are the work of writers employed by the Medici court to record all the events relating to specific ceremonies. They were published in commemorative books which provide an excellent general view of the activities and in many cases give an eyewitness report of such details as instrumentation, stage direction, costuming, scenery, choreography, and even the names of certain performers. The information culled from the descriptions and the extant music will be the basis for determining the instrumentation of each musical scene and the specific use of the trombone. To facilitate the explanation each festival is named below with a review of the relevant primary sources.

The 1518 performance of a play with music at the Medici palace was probably the first of its kind in Florence, although there are early examples of similar performances in other cities. (Gustave Reese, in his Music in the Renaissance, cites a theatrical performance with intermedii given in Urbino in 1513 and another in Rome during 1518.[26]) The Florentine festival of 1518 celebrated the recent marriage of Lorenzo de'Medici and Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne and featured a performance of Lorenzo Strozzi's play Commedia in Versi, with musical interludes.

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[26]Gustave Reese, Music in the Renaissance, p. 567.

This performance is briefly described by Francesco Zeffi, in his biography of Strozzi.[27] Although the details provided in his description are very sketchy, they provide an insight into the developing use of music and instruments in theatrical events. That part of Zeffi's work dealing specifically with the intermedii has been translated into English by Frank D'Accone.[28] The composer of the music for this festival is not mentioned in Zeffi's brief description; however, D'Accone speculates that it could have been Bartolomeo degli Organi,[29] who was associated with both Lorenzo Strozzi and Lorenzo de'Medici. None of the music is extant.

The festival of 1539, celebrating the nuptials of Duke Cosimo I and Eleanora of Toledo, is among the most famous of the Medici theatrical presentations because of the existence of both a prose description of events and a complete edition of the music. The description is by Pierfrancesco Giambullari,[30] a scholar and historian best known for his Storia dell'Europa,

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[27]Pietro Stromboli, ed., Le Vite degli Uomini Illustri della Casa Strozzi: Commentario di Lorenzo di Filippo Strozzi ora Intieramente Pubblicato con un Ragionamento Inedito di Francesco Zeffi sopra La Vita dell'Autore (Florence: Salvadore Landi, 1892), hereafter cited as Stromboli, Zeffi description.

[28]Frank A. D'Accone, "Alessandro Coppini and Bartolomeo degli Organi: Two Florentine Composers of the Renaissance," Analecta Musicologia 4 (1967): 38-76.

[29]Ibid., p. 53.

[30]Pierfrancesco Giambullari, Apparato et feste nelle

published in 1556. His description of the 1539 festivities details events beginning with Eleanora's departure from Naples through a fireworks display several days after the performance of the comedy and intermedii. Appearing within the description is the entire text of Antonio Landi's comedy, Il Commodo, for which the intermedii were written. The music, composed by Francesco Corteccia, survives in a complete edition assembled by publisher Antonio Gardane.[31] In addition to the part-books is a *Tavola* in the *Cantus* book describing each composition and its instrumentation. The significance of this concise list is that it contains one of the earliest examples of instrumental indications apparently given by a composer. A modern edition of Giambullari's description and the music has been prepared by Andrew C. Minor and Bonner Mitchell.[32] They have combined an English translation of the text with the music in modern notation, inserted in proper sequence. Their volume also contains brief but excellent notes on the political, literary,

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nozze del Illustrissimo Signor Duca di Firenze, et della duchessa sua consorte, con le sue Stanze, Madriali, Comedia, et Intermedii, in quelle recitati (Florence: Giunti, 1539).

[31]Musiche fatte nelle nozze dellio Illustrissimo duca di Firenze il Signor Cosimo de Medici et della Illustrissima consorte sue Mad. Leonora da Tolleto (Venice: Antonio Gardane, 1539).

[32]Andrew C. Minor and Bonner Mitchell, A Renaissance Entertainment: Festivities for the Marriage of Cosimo I, Duke of Florence, in 1539 (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1968).

musicological, artistic, and historical background relating to the topic.

The performance of intermedii in 1565 to celebrate the wedding of Francesco de'Medici and Joanna of Austria is an especially interesting event for the present study because of its chronological equidistance between the more prominent intermedii of 1539 and 1589. It provides a transitional view of evolving Florentine theatrical music. Two descriptions of the intermedii that were performed between the acts of Francesco d'Ambra's La Cofanaria have been found, one by Francesco Grazzini[33] and the other by Domenico Mellini.[34] Grazzini was well known by his pseudonym "Il Lasca" as a poet, novelist, critic, and playwright. Mellini wrote a number of other descriptions for the Medici court, including one of the entrance of Joanna into Florence prior to the wedding. His other works include a biography of Fillipo

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[33]Francesco Grazzini, Descrizione de gl'Intermedii rappresentati con la Commedia Nelle Nozze dell'Illustrissimo, ed Eccellentissimo Signor Principe di Firenze, e di Siena (Florence: Filippo Giunti, 1593). In the copies at the Library of Congress and the Folger Shakespear Library this is attached to and catalogued under Francesco d'Ambra, La Cofanaria . . . (1566; reprint ed., Florence: Filippo Giunti, 1593).

[34]Domenico Mellini, Descrizione dell'apparato della Comedia et Intermedii d'essa Recitata in Firenze il giorno di S. Stefano l'anno 1565 . . . Nelle Reali Nozze Dell'Illustriss. & di Eccell. S. al S. Don Francesco Medici Principe di Fiorenza, & di Siena & della Regina Giovanna d'Austria sua consorte (1565; reprinted with additions, Florence: Giunti, 1566).

Scolari and a discourse on the government of Cosimo I. The Grazzini description has been reprinted in an article by Oscar G. Sonneck.[35] That article appears, with the description translated into English by Theodore Baker, in Sonneck's Miscellaneous Studies in the History of Music.[36]

Music for the first, second, and fifth intermedii in 1565 was composed by Alessandro Striggio. Music for the other interludes was by Francesco Corteccia. Only two compositions from this set have survived. An eight-voice madrigal by Striggio, "A me che fatta son negletta e sola," is found in a 1584 collection of madrigals;[37] Wolfgang Osthoff has published a modern edition.[38] A second madrigal also by Striggio, "Fuggi, speme mia," appears in an instruction book for lutenists in tablature by Vincenzo Galilei.[39] It has been reconstructed into a five-part

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[35]Oscar G. Sonneck, "A Description of Alessandro Striggio and Francesco Corteccia's Intermedii 'Psyche and Amor,' 1565," Musical Antiquary 3 (1911): 40-53.

[36]Oscar G. Sonneck, Miscellaneous Studies in the History of Music (reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1968), pp. 269-86.

[37]Musica de Diversi Auttori Illustri per cantar et sonar in concerti a Sette, Nove, dieci, Undici, & Duodeci voci (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti and Ricciardo Amadino, 1584).

[38]Wolfgang Osthoff, Theatergesang und Darstellende Musik in der Italienischen Renaissance (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1969), pp. 123-31.

[39]Vincenzo Galilei, Fronimo Dialogo . . . sopra l'arte del bene intavolare (2'd ed., Venice: Girolamo

madrigal by Howard Mayer Brown.[40]

The Carnival season of 1568 brought extra cause for celebration with the birth of Leonora, first child of Prince Francesco de'Medici and Joanna of Austria. Following the child's baptism on the last Sunday of Carnival, Lotto del Mazzo's comedy I Fabii and six intermedii were presented at the Medici palace. The events of the evening were recorded in a description by Alessandro Ceccherelli.[41] Alessandro Striggio, the favorite composer of Francesco de'Medici, composed all the music for the 1568 intermedii. The only surviving material is a single tenor part for "In queste verdi prati,"[42] an eight-voice madrigal from the third intermedio.

The festival of 1586 was given in honor of the marriage of Don Cesare d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, to Virginia de'Medici. Duke Francesco de'Medici wished to present the

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Scotto, 1584), fol. 139.

[40]Howard Mayer Brown, "Psyche's Lament: Some Music for the Medici Wedding in 1565," in Words and Music: the Scholar's View, ed. Laurence Berman (Cambridge: Harvard University Department of Music, 1972), pp. 1-27.

[41]Alessandro Ceccherelli, Descrizione de tutte le feste, e mascherate fatte in Firenze per il Carnovale, questo anno, 1567. E insieme l'ordine del battesimo della primogenita dell'Illus. & Eccel. S. Principe de Firenze, e Siena, con gl'Intermedii della Commedia, et dell'apparato fatto per detto battesimo (Florence: n.p., 1567). The event occurred in the Julian calendar year 1568.

[42]Found in Alessandro Striggio, Il terzo libro de madrigali a cinque voci (Venice: Angelo Gardane, 1596).

most splendid performance ever witnessed in Florence. Agostino Lampini[43] reports that 25,000 *scudi* were spent on the elaborate preparations. A comedy by Count Giovanni de'Bardi, L'amico fido, was the first performance given in the new Uffizi theatre. Bardi also wrote the themes for the intermedii, directed the rehearsals, supervised the entire production, and composed the final intermedio. The whole splendid affair was recorded in great detail in a description by Bastiano de'Rossi.[44] Rossi is also responsible for a description of the 1589 intermedii for La Pellegrina. The music for the interludes performed between the acts of L'amico fido was composed by Alessandro Striggio, Cristofano Malvezzi, and Giovanni de'Bardi. Striggio wrote the music for the first, second, and fifth intermedii; Malvezzi composed the third and fourth scenes; Bardi contributed the finale. None of the music has survived.

The 1589 marriage of Grand Duke Ferdinando I and Christine of Lorraine was honored by the most extravagant and dazzling of all of the Florentine wedding festivals. On

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[43]Giuseppe O. Corazzini, Diario Fiorentino di Agostino Lampini (Florence: Sansoni, 1900), p. 250.

[44]Bastiano de'Rossi, Descrizione del magnificentiss. apparato. E de'maravigliosi intermedi fatti per la Commedia rappresentata in Firenze nelle felicissime Nozze degl'Illustrissimi, ed Eccellentissimi Signori il Signor Don Cesare d'Este, E la Signora Donna Virginia Medici (Florence:

virtually every day for two weeks in May, a different event was held. Three plays were given during that time, but the principal theatrical entertainment was Girolamo Bargagli's La Pellegrina, performed with six intermedii. Giovanni de'Bardi, who was again responsible for inventing the interludes, chose as his theme the influence of music upon the lives of gods and men. His intermedii were so splendid that they were repeated between the acts of the two other comedies presented during the festival. The performance of La Pellegrina and its intermedii was described in great detail by Bastiano de'Rossi.[45] A brief account written by Barthold von Gadenstedt, who was a German visitor traveling through Italy at the time, appears in a manuscript journal[46] and has been reprinted in an article by Werner Krummel.[47]

Six composers contributed to the gala 1589 intermedii: Emilio de'Cavalieri, Cristofano Malvezzi, Luca Marenzio, Giulio Caccini, Giovanni de'Bardi, and Jacopo

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Giorgio Marescotti, 1585).

[45]Bastiano de'Rossi, Descrizione dell'apparato, e defl'intermedi Fatti per la commedia rappresentata in Firenze. Nelle nozze de'Serenissimi Don Ferdinando Medici, e Madama Cristina di Loreno, Gran duchi di Toscanna (Florence: Anton Padovanni, 1589).

[46]Preserved in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbuttel (Cod. Guelf. 67.6 Extrav. fol.).

[47]Werner Friedrich Kummel, "Ein deutscher Bericht uber die florentinischen Intermedien des Jahres 1589," Analecta Musicologia 9 (1970): 1-19.

Peri. Presumably because of the quantity of music (thirty compositions), the work of more than one composer is included in several of the intermedii. Only the second and third intermedii were composed by a single composer, Luca Marenzio. The music for all six survives in a complete, original edition compiled and edited by Cristofano Malvezzi.[48] This edition includes considerable technical information on the instrumentation, names of certain performers, and choreography. A modern edition of the music and of Malvezzi's technical notes has been prepared by D. P. Walker.[49]

The festival of 1589 also produced a religious play, L'esaltazione della croce by Giovanni Maria Cecchi, which was performed by the boys of a religious confraternity. This play was given with intermedii for which texts were also supplied by Cecchi. The author wrote the sole description[50] of the event. The music for all six

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[48]Cristofano Malvezzi, ed., Intermedii et concerte per la commedia rappresentata in Firenze nelle nozze del Serissimo Don Ferdinando Medici, e Madama Cristina di Loreno, Gran Duchi di Toscana (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1591).

[49]Daniel P. Walker, ed., Les Fetes du mariage de Ferdinand de Medici et de Christine de Lorraine: Florence 1589 (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1963), vol. 1: Musique des Intermedes de La Pellegrina.

[50]Giovanni Maria Cecchi, Descrizione dell'apparato e de gl'Intermedii fatti per la Storia dell'esaltazione della croce. Rappresentata in Firenze . . . con l'occasione delle

intermedii was composed by Luca Bati; all of it has been lost.

Nozze della Altezze Serenisi di Toscana, l'Anno 1589 (Florence: Michelangelo di Bartolomeo Sermartelli, 1592).

CHAPTER II

INSTRUMENTATION OF THE FLORENTINE INTERMEDII

For each of the eight sets of intermedii to be studied, at least one contemporary description is extant. These accounts contain a wealth of specific facts about the performances. By extracting the information regarding instrumental use, the instrumentation of each musical scene may be accurately determined. The influence of the dramatic situation upon the composer's choice of orchestration may be studied through a comparison of the plots and staging. The following is a detailed account of the use of instruments in each of the intermedii.

1518: The Wedding of Lorenzo de'Medici and Madeleine of France. Intermedii for Commedia in Versi by Lorenzo Strozzi.

Two years before the intermedii performance of 1518, Lorenzo de'Medici, at the suggestion of his uncle, Pope Leo X (Giovanni de'Medici), organized an army and conquered the duchy of Urbino for the Papal State. With the Pope's help and the support of Francis I, King of France, a marriage was

arranged between Duke Lorenzo and Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne. Shortly after the wedding in 1518, the Duke and his wife were entertained in Florence at a performance of Lorenzo Strozzi's Commedia in Versi with the intermedii discussed below. The event occurred in the *sala grande* of the Medici palace.

The description by Francesco Zeffi does not refer to the music as intermedii but simply indicates that there was music as introduction to the play and for each of the five acts.[51] All the music, except that for the third act, was apparently instrumental, suggesting that it was used to underscore the action or perhaps to comprise interludes separating the acts.

Prior to the comedy, *trombe*, *cornamuse*, and *pifferi*[52] were sounded loudly to gain the attention of the audience.[53] Three moors (*Mori*) who were richly attired

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[51]Found in Stromboli, Zeffi description. A translation appears in Frank A. D'Accone, "Alessandro Coppini and Bartolomeo degli Organi: Two Florentine Composers of the Renaissance," Analecta Musicologia 4 (1967): 38-76.

[52]For information regarding the instruments mentioned in the descriptions see Sibyl Marcuse, Musical Instruments: A Comprehensive Dictionary (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975).

[53]"Dipoi avendo di varii luoghi fatta la provvisione di diversi strumenti, gli divise in questo modo: che avanti la Commedia incominciassero i suoni grossi, come trombe, cornamuse, pifferi, che destassero gli animi degli auditori." Stromboli, Zeffi description, p. XIII.

appeared before the second act. Zeffi states that each one played a lute which, in the silence, was very sweet and pleasing to the guests.[54] To support the third act, a group of soprano voices was accompanied by four *violini*.[53] The turmoil of the fourth act was underscored by a consort of high instruments *di penna*, referring to instruments that are plucked by a plectrum.[56] The final music was furnished by four *tromboni* which, as described by Zeffi, "modulated artfully and sweetly."[57]

The remainder of the Zeffi description makes it clear that he considered the use of music and instruments within or between the acts of a play quite innovative. Frank D'Accone translates thus: "This music has since been imitated many times, but at that time it had never been used [in plays] or perhaps even considered. . . ."[58]

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[54]" . . . il secondo Atto fece introdurre tre Mori riccamente abbigliati con tre liuti, che nel silenzio dilettarono soavemente ciascuno." Ibid., p. XIII.

[55]" . . . nel terzo cantarono su quattro violoni, voci soprani, alzandosi secondo la Commedia." Ibid., p. XIII.

[56]"Al tumulto che nel quarto romoreggiava, accomodo li piu acuti strumenti di penna." Ibid., p. XIII.

[57]" . . . la ultima musica, furono quattro tromboni, modulando artificiosamente e con dolcezza le lor voci." Ibid., p. XIII.

[58]D'Accone, "Two Florentine Composers," p. 53.

1539: The Wedding of Cosimo I and Eleanora of Toledo. Intermedii for Il Commodo by Antonio Landi.

The events leading to the performances of intermedii in 1539 begin in 1537 when Cosimo de'Medici was elected "Head and First Citizen of Florence" by the Senate. Later that year, Emperor Charles V bestowed on him the title of "Duke of the Republic." A marriage was arranged for the young Duke in November, 1538 with Eleanora, a daughter of the Spanish Viceroy of Naples.

Following a wedding ceremony in Naples at which two proxies acted on behalf of Duke Cosimo, Eleanora began the eleven-day journey to Tuscany. She was met by her new husband outside the city of Pisa on June 22, 1539. After spending a few days at the *Poggio a Caiano* castle, the couple entered Florence on June 29 through the *Porta al Prato*, greeted by crowds of admirers who followed the royal couple through a series of festivities initiated by the firing of artillery.[59]

At the gate to the city an elaborate triumphal arch had been erected which featured a statue of Fertility (*la Fecondita*) surrounded by five children, and flanked by the

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[59]A description of all the events surrounding the wedding festivities is found in Pierfrancesco Giambullari, Apparato et feste nelle nozze dello Illustrissimo Signor Duca di Firenze, et della Duchessa sua consorte, con le sue Stanze, Madriali, Comedia, et Intermedii, in quelle recitati (Florence: Giunti, 1539).

figures of Security (*la Sicurta*) and Eternity (*l'Eternitade*). As the royal couple reached the arch, musicians assembled on each side and performed the motet "Ingredere." The Tavola found in the Cantus part-book of the 1539 edition of the music[60] indicated Francesco Corteccia as the composer of this eight-part madrigal, which was sung by twenty-four voices and accompanied by four *tromboni* and four *cornetti*.[61]

On July 6, following a banquet in the highly decorated second cortile of the Palazzo de'Medici, an allegorical *Trionfo* was presented. This entertainment began with the appearance of Apollo who sang, accompanying himself using a lira and a small bow. The music for this and for Apollo's other songs does not appear with the printed edition of music, although the extensive text is included in the Cantus part-book. Minor and Mitchell assume that Apollo "improvised his songs and accompaniment" in the style of fifteenth-century *giustiniane*.[62] The description by

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[60]Francesco Corteccia, ed., Musiche fatte nelle nozze dellio Illustrissimo Duca di Firenze il Signor Cosimo de Medici et della Illustrissima consorte sua Mad. Leonora da Tolleto (Venice: Antonio Gardane, 1539). The information regarding instrumentation is found in the Cantus part-book Tavola.

[61]"Ingredere a otto voci di Franc. corteccia cantato sopra l'arco del portone della porta al prato da vintiquatro voci da una banda, et da l'altra da quatro tromboni, et quatro cornetti nella entrata della Illustrissima Duchessa." Musiche fatte nelle nozze, Cantus Tavola.

[62]Minor and Mitchell, p. 60-62.

Giambullari cites Giovanni Batista Gelli as the composer of this music.[63]

Following Apollo on stage was a chorus of nine Muses, each holding an instrument: *trombone, dolzaina, violone, piffero, flauto, leuto, storta, cornetta,* and *ribechino.* The Muses sang a nine-voice madrigal, "Sacro et santo himeneo," by Francesco Corteccia.[64] The evening continued with seven more madrigals composed by Festa, Rampollini, Masaconus, and Moschini.[65] Neither Giambullari nor Corteccia offers any description of accompaniment for these four- and five-voice madrigals, nor for the nine-voice "Sacro et santo." These may have been sung a cappella or with some combination of the nine instruments held by the Muses. However, the attention given to the details of orchestration is so apparent in all other parts of the

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[63]"Giunta questa bella compagnia nella alta presentia di quei Signori, Apollo soavemente sonando, canto le sequenti stanze, composte dal nostro Gio. Batista Gelli." Giambullari, p. 36.

[64]"Sacro et santo himeneo a nove voci di Franc. corteccia cantato dalle muse con le sette seguenti canzonette il giorno del conuito." Musiche fatte nelle nozze, Cantus Tavola.

[65]"Piu che mai vaga a quatro voci Constantio festa/ Lieta per honorarte a quatro voci Ser. Mattio rampollini/ Ecco Signor volterra a cinque voci Io. Petrus masaconus/ Come lieta si mostra a quatro voci Constantio festa/ Non men ch'ogn'altra lieta a quatro voci baccio moschini/ Ecco la fida ancella a quatro voci Ser. Mattio rampollini/ Ecco Signor il Tebro a cinque voci baccio Moschini." Musiche fatte nelle nozze, Cantus Tavola.

descriptions that it seems plain that there was no oversight in this instance.

On the following Wednesday, July 9, another banquet was held in the first cortile of the Medici palace. After the feast, Cosimo, Eleanora, and many guests proceeded to the second cortile, which had been extravagantly decorated with a stage built on its north side. This was the setting for the performance of Antonio Landi's comedy, Il Commodo, and the intermedii discussed below.

The six intermedii were used to show the passage of time through the five acts of the play. The first intermedio (or prologue) was sung by Dawn (*l'Aurora*) and the final intermedio by Night (*la Notte*). Time was further conveyed by an ingenious lantern behind the stage that gradually moved in an arc from the lower eastern corner during the first intermedio, to an apex over center-stage in Act III, and down to the lower western corner in the final intermedio.[66]

Intermedio Primo

Before the first act of the comedy, Dawn appeared alone on the stage and sang "Vattene almo riposo." The music was written in four voices, and although each part is

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[66]See A. M. Nagler, Theatre Festivals of the Medici: 1539-1637 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), p. 10.

printed with a text, one may surmise from the description that Dawn sang the Cantus part while the three other voices were played by instruments. Giambullari reports that this piece was accompanied by a *grave cembalo* of two registers, an *organo* (built underneath the *cembalo*) with stops for *flauto, arpe,* and *voci di uccegli,* and a *violone.*[67] The *Tavola* from the edition of the music describes the accompaniment as a *grave cembalo* and an *organetti* with various registers; the *violone* is not mentioned.[68] Howard Mayer Brown interprets the *grave cembalo* and *organo* description as pertaining to a single *claviorganum.*[69] All of the music performed during that evening was composed by Francesco Corteccia.[70] The texts were written by Giovanni Battista Strozzi,[71] who was also responsible for the overall

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[67]"Era il soave suo canto accompagnato da un grave cembolo a duoiregistri, sottovi Organo, Flauto, Arpe, Et voci di uccegli, Et con un Violone." Giambullari, p. 65.

[68]"Vattene almo riposo a quatro voci cantata dall'aurora, et sonata con uno grave cimbolo con organetti et con varii registri per principio della comedia." Musiche fatte nelle nozze, Cantus Tavola.

[69]Howard Mayer Brown, Sixteenth Century Instrumentation: the Music for the Florentine Intermedii (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1973), p. 89.

[70]"Musicha della comedia di Franc. Corteccia recitata al secondo conuito." Musiche fatte nelle nozze, Cantus Tavola.

[71]"Le parole & la inventione Et abbigliamenti di questo, Et di tutti gli altri intermedii della Comedia che luogo per luogo si diranno, furono del nostro Gio. batista

concept of the intermedii, and for the costumes.

Intermedio Secondo[72]

Following the first act of Il Commodo, twelve shepherds entered the stage. Six carried instruments: one *stortina*, one *cornetta*, and four *storte*; these instruments were disguised as leafy canes, goat horns, Pan pipes, and the shinbone of a stag. The shepherds then sang and played a six-voice canzonetta, "Guardane almo pastore."[73] The description by Giambullari infers that the six shepherds with *storte* and *cornetta* accompanied the six others as they sang, one to a part. Corteccia's description is more specific, indicating that the canzonetta was first sung by six shepherds alone, and then was repeated, with *storte* accompaniment provided by the other six. He fails to mention the *cornetta*.[74]

Strozi." Giambullari, p. 66.

[72]Giambullari failed to number the first intermedio, but began here with the heading Intermedio Primo. Each intermedio has therefore been re-numbered to facilitate clear references later in this paper.

[73]"Passarono su per la Scena dodici pastori, di coppia in coppia . . . . Portana l'uno di loro in mano, un'pezo di fogliuta canna fresca per quanto fi ainiostrava di fuori: benche dentro ella fussi una storta, ... Et portana l'uno di loro, uno scosceso ramo di castagno co ricci & con le foglie, nascosovi dentro una storta come disopra. . . . l'altro portava uno stinco di Cervio dove era una Cornetta distesa. Il primo della quarta coppia, sonava una altra storta con tutti i fornimenti da Cornamusa, ... Et havena l'un'di costoro in mano due corna di Caprone congiunte insieme, & una storta nascosa tra

Intermedio Terzo

A spacious canal was part of the theatrical setting, separating the stage from the audience. This canal was painted to represent the Arno River. Emerging from the canal were three sirens (*Serene*), three sea nymphs (*Nimfe*), and three sea monsters (*Monstri marini*). The nymphs each held a *leuto* disguised in a sea shell, and the monsters each held a *traversa*, one disguised as a fish skeleton, one as a sea snail, and one as a sea marsh cane. The sirens sang the six-voice "Chi ne l'a tolt'oime" while the nymphs and sea monsters played lutes and *traverse*. The description from the Musiche fatte *Tavola* appears to relate this same information.[75]

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loro. . . . Et sonava l'uno di costoro quello instrumento di sette canne che porta lo Dio della Villa, nel quale era maestrenolmente commessa una stortina. . . . Questi nel loro apparire, sonavano i detti instrumenti, poi sonarono & cantarono insieme la seguete Canzonetta, drizado il lor dire al Sole." Giambullari, pp. 90-92.

[74]"Guardane almo pastore a sei voci cantata a la fine del primo atto da sei pastori, et dipoi ricantata da detti et sonata insieme da sei altri pastori con le storte." Musiche fatte nelle nozze, Cantus Tavola.

[75]"Chi ne l'a tolt'oime a sei voci cantata a la fine del primo atto da tre sirene, et da tre monstri marini sonata con tre traverse, et da tre Ninfe marine cone tre liuti tutti insieme." Ibid.

Intermedio Quarto

Silenus, a character from Virgil's Sixth Eclogue, was found sleeping in a cave at noon by two other characters who aroused him and induced him to sing "O begli anni del'oro," a four-voice canzonetta. He accompanied himself on a *violone* hidden in a tortoise shell. The descriptive Tavola simply adds that Silenus played all four parts on the *violone* and sang the highest voice.[76]

Intermedio Quinta

Eight huntress nymphs (*Nymfe cacciatrici*) came on stage to sing a four-voice canzonetta, "Hor chi mai cantera." Neither Giambullari nor Corteccia makes any mention of the instruments, suggesting that the women sang a cappella with two on each part.[77]

Intermedio Sesta

Following the final act of the play, after the sun had "set" to the west of the stage, Night sang "Vientene almo riposo" from the same stage position that Dawn had used earlier. The five-voice composition was accompanied by four

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[76]"O begli anni del'oro a quatro voci sonata a la fine del terzo atto da Sileno con un violone sonando tutte le parti, et cantando il soprano." Ibid.

[77]"Hor chi mai cantera a quatro voci sonata a la fine del terzo atto da Sileno con un violon sonando tutte le parti, et cantando il soprano." Ibid.

tromboni.[78] The *Tavola* confirms this instrumentation.[79]

Interrupting the dream-like mood of Night's solo, twenty bacchantes (*Baccanti*) suddenly entered the stage. Ten of these were women and ten were satyrs. Eight members of the group were instrumentalists, eight were singers, and four acted intoxicated. The group played, sang, and danced to a four-voice composition, "Bacco, bacco e u o e."

Giambullari lists the instruments used and describes the way in which each one was disguised to conform to the scene: a *tamburo* was hidden inside a leather wine bottle with a barrel tap to play it, and with a *zufolo* (pipe)[80] hidden in a shinbone to accompany, a *ribechino* was hidden inside a stag's head; one *storta* was disguised as a crane's shinbone, while another was placed inside an elder bush; a *tromba torta* was placed inside a vine stalk; an *arpe* was hidden in a barrel hoop covered with reeds; a *cornetta* was placed in a goat's horn; and a *cornetta diritta* was

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[78]"Salita in quell'alto luogo, dove al principio si mostro l'Aurora, dolcemente cantando in su quattro Tromboni, diffe le seguenti parole." Giambullari, p. 168.

[79]"Vientene almo riposo a cinque voci cantata alla fine del quinto atto dalla notte, et sonata con quatro tromboni." Musiche fatte nelle nozze, Cantus Tavola.

[80]Howard Mayer Brown interprets Tamburo and zufolo as a pipe and tabor in Sixteenth Century Instrumentation, p. 93.

disguised to resemble a swan's head and neck.[81] Corteccia discusses the instrumentation by saying simply that the composition was sung by four *Baccanti* and four *Satiri*, and played by the other eight performers with various instruments.[82].

1565: The Nuptials of Francesco de'Medici and Joanna of Austria. Intermedii for La Cofanaria by Francesco d'Ambra.

The wedding of Francesco and Joanna in 1565 created an extraordinary union of political powers. Francesco was the son of Cosimo I and heir to the ducal throne. Joanna was also born into a ruling family. Her father, Ferdinand I, had been emperor of Austria; at the time of the wedding this title was held by her brother, Maximilian II. Cosimo I ordered elaborate wedding festivities to impress the Austrian court and to build upon his already awesome

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[81]"Et gli instrumenti de sonatori surono questi. Uno Otro da vino che vestina un Tamburo, Et una cannella da botte in luogo di bacchetta da sonarlo, Et uno stinco humano secco, dentrovi il zufolo che lo accompagna. Una testa di Cervio, dentrovi un' Ribechino. Un Corno di capra, dentrovi una Cornetta. Uno stinco di Cru co'l pie, detrovi una Storta. Un gambo di Vite, detrovi una Tromba torta. Un cerebio da botte con giunchi, dentrovi una Arpe. Un becco di Cecero, co'l capo & collo, dentrovi una cornetta diritta. Una barba & ranu di Sambuco, dentrovi una Storta." Giambullari, p. 169.

[82]"Bacco bacco e u o e a quatro voci cantata et ballata da quatro Baccante et quatro satiri, et sonata da altri otto satiri, con varii strumenti tutti ad un tempo, la quale subito dopo la notte su la fine della comedia." Musiche fatte nelle nozze, Cantus Tavola.

political reputation. The wedding took place during the Christmas season of 1565 but the festivities continued until the first week of Lent in 1566.

Joanna entered Florence on December 16, 1565 through the Porta al Prato, the same entrance Eleanora had used in 1539. The royal couple then led the entourage on a grand procession through highly decorated streets to the Palazzo Vecchio.[83] The wedding ceremony was held two days later in Florence Cathedral. On December 25, the performance of La Cofanaria was given in the "Sala vecchia del Consiglio" of the Palazzo Vecchio.[84] Other activities honoring the marriage and celebrating the carnival season included an allegorical cavalcade through the streets on February 2, a staged attack upon a fortress by eight hundred knights on February 17, a parade on February 21 featuring allegorical and mythological figures on decorated carriages, a presentation of ten *mascherate* on February 26, and a *sacra rappresentazione* in the Church of Santo Spirito on

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[83]Giovanna's entrance is described in Domenico Mellini, Descrizione dell'entrata della sereniss. Reina Giovana d'Austria et dell'apparato, fatto in Firenze nella venuta, & per la felicissime nozze di S. Altezza et dell'illustrissimo, & eccellentiss. S. Don Francesco de Medici (Florence: Giunti, 1566).

[84]The performance of La Cofanaria and its attendant intermedii is described in Grazzini, Descrizione de gl'Intermedii, 1593, and Mellini, Descrizione dell'apparato, 1566.

March 10.[85]

For the performance of the comedy La Cofanaria by Francesco d'Ambra, the Medici palace was extravagantly decorated. Mellini described in great detail the physical appearance of the *Sala vecchia del Consiglio*, with a description of the lighting, the seating for the guests, and the stage setting. The auditorium was arranged with seating along the sides for about 360 ladies, raised platforms with gilded chairs in the center of the room for honored guests from Austria and Florentines of princely rank, and benches on the floor for all other courtiers.[86]

The subjects for the intermedii were taken from the story of Cupid and Psyche in Apuleius' fable, "The Golden Ass." Giovanni Battista Cini was responsible for transcribing the story into intermedii and for writing the texts for the music. The music for the first, second and fifth intermedii was composed by Alessandro Striggio. Music for the third, fourth, and final intermedii was by Francesco Corteccia.

Information regarding the use of instruments in the intermedii is found in both descriptions. Grazzini chose

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[85]A. M. Nagler, Theatre Festivals of the Medici (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), p. 14-15.

[86]For more information on the physical details see Nagler, p. 15-18.

not to include a technical description of the instrumentation in the body of his account but devoted the final four pages to that topic. The section begins: "For the Satisfaction of Curious Musicians. . . ."[87] The 1565 edition of Mellini's description apparently avoided the topic of orchestration, for Howard Mayer Brown (who worked from that edition) reports that it "includes almost no details of the instrumentation."[88] The description was reprinted in 1566 and indicates on the title page: "Ristampata, con nuova aggiunta." These "new additions" included details of orchestration inserted into the body of the description. However, they appear to be plagiarized, word for word, from Grazzini's description which also appeared in 1566. The only variation in listing instruments is found in the description of the fourth intermedio, in which Mellini cites the use of "Dua Tromboni, Una Dolzaina, Dua Cornetti ordinarii, Un Cornetto grosso, Et dua Tromboni."[89] The redundant listing of "dua tromboni" is absent in the Grazzini description which reads "Et dua

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[87]"A Soddifazione de'curiosi Musici. . . ." Grazzini, p. 18; trans. by Theodore Baker in Sonneck, Miscellaneous Studies, p. 284.

[88]Brown, Sixteenth Century Instrumentation, p. 97.

[89]Mellini, p. 18.

Tamburi,"[90] suggesting a simple copying error in the Mellini edition. Because the two descriptions so closely corroborate the orchestration, the Grazzini description will be quoted exclusively in this paper.

Intermedio Primo

Venus appeared in a gilded carriage, which emerged little by little from the heavens. She was followed by a group of three Graces and the four Seasons. At the same time, Cupid was seen walking on the earth. In his company were four Passions: Hope, Fear, Joy, and Pain. Instrumental music was heard as the heavenly group descended and was eventually met by Cupid. Grazzini describes this music as a beautiful harmony that seemed to be divine rather than human.[91] He later lists the instrumentation for the piece as consisting of four *gravicembali doppi*, four *viole d'arco*, two *tromboni*, two *tenori di flauti*, one *cornetto muto*, one *traversa*, and two *liuti*.[92]

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[90]Grazzini, p. 20.

[91]" . . . una dolcissima Armonia piu somigliante a divina, che ad humana cosa. . . ." Grazzini, p. 6.

[92]"Il primo onde usci quella dolcissima armonia nell'aperto Cielo fu formato. Da quattro Gravicembali doppi, Da quattro Viole d'Arco, Da duo Tromboni, Da dua Tenori di Flauti, Da un Cornetto muto, Da una Traversa, Et da dua Leuti. Che con bellissime richerche come si vedra stapandosi le Musiche diedero convenevole spatio alla scesa del Carro, & all'Hore, & ale Gratie, che si arreccassero a gl'affegnati luoghi." Grazzini, p. 18.

The two groups, led respectively by Venus and Cupid, joined together on the stage to sing "A me, che fatta son negletta" by Alessandro Striggio. Venus sang the first two verses of this madrigal with the aid of her retinue of Graces and Seasons. Cupid responded in the final stanza, singing with his group of Passions. Grazzini reports that the music for the first two stanzas (sung by Venus' chorus) was an eight-voice composition accompanied from behind the scene by two *gravicembali*, four *violone*, one *leuto mezano*, one *cornetto muto*, one *trombone*, and two *flauti diritti*.[93] The final stanza (sung by Cupid and the four Passions) was a five-voice composition accompanied by two *gravicembali*, one *leuto grosso*, one *sotto basso di viola aggiunto sopra le parti*, a *soprano di viola aggiunto anch'egli*, a *flauto similmente aggiunto*, four *traverse*, and one *trombone*.[94]

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[93]"La musica delle due prime stanze della Ballata di Venere, fu a otto: cantata fuori solo da voci, & accompagnata dentro alla Scena, ma ben con singular difficulta, & artifizio. Da dua Gravicembali, Da quattro Violoni, Da un Leuto Mezano, Da un Cornetto muto, Da un Trombone, Et da dua Flauti diritti." Grazzini, p. 18-19.

[94]"L'ultima stanza poi d'Amore fu a cinque cantata anch'ella fuori tutta da voci, & accompagnata dentro. Da duo Gravicembali, Da un Leuto grosso, Da un sotto basso di Viola aggiunto sopra le parti, Da un soprano di Viola aggiunato anch'egli, Da un Flauto similmente aggiunto, Da quattro Traverse, Et da un Trombone." Grazzini, p. 19.

Intermedio Secondo

A small Cupid appeared onstage holding a viola d'gamba (*no molto gra violone*) which was disguised as a swan with a bow hidden in a willow branch. Following him out the four passageways onto the stage were Zephyrus (*Zifiro*), Music (*Musicha*), Playfulness (*Gioco*), and Laughter (*Riso*). Music carried a *gran Lirone*. Four more Cupids followed, each with a highly ornamented lute (*Ornatissimi Liuti*). Another four Cupids, two with apples, two with bows and arrows, entered the stage last. This entire group formed a chorus to sing Striggio's four-voice madrigal "Oh altero miracolo novello." According to Grazzini, the singers were accompanied by four *liuti*, one *viola d'arco*, and one *lirone*, all played onstage by the four Cupids, the first Cupid, and Music respectively. Also playing behind the scene were three *gravicembali*, one *leuto grosso*, one *viola soprano*, one *traversa contr'alto*, one *flauto grande tenore*, one *trombone basso*, and one *cornetto muto* that played a fifth part added to the soprano.[95]

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[95]"Il secondo fu a quattro fuori da quattro voci, & sonato. Da quattro Leuti, Da una Viola d'Arco, Et da un Lirone, Et dentro Da tre Gravecembali, Da un Leuto Grosso, da una Viola soprano, Da una Traversa contr'alto, Da un Flauto grande Tenore, Da un Trombone basso, Et da un Cornetto muto, che sonava una Quinta parte aggiunta di soprano." Grazzini, pp. 19-20.

Intermedio Terzo

With Cupid's attention drawn towards Psyche and away from instilling love in human hearts, fourteen Deceptions (*Inganni*) burst forth from seven small hills which had risen from the stage. These characters wore leopard and snake skins and headpieces like fox heads. They carried traps, hooks, and claws beneath which were concealed *storte*. This group then performed Corteccia's madrigal "S'Amor vinto, e prigion posto in oblio." Grazzini's appendix of instrumentation indicates that this was a six-part composition sung by eight of the "Inganni" with the soprano and bass parts doubled. The other six characters played five *storte* and one *cornetto muto*.[96]

Intermedio Quarto

Following the third act of La Cofanaria seven small chasms opened in the stage floor where the seven hills had been. From these openings rose a dark smoke, followed gradually by Discord (*Discordia*), Ire (*l'Ira*), Cruelty (*Crudelta*), Rapine (*Rapina*), Revenge (*Vendetta*), and two Laestrygones or cannibals (*Antropofaghi*). The cannibals played trombones in the "form of ordinary trumpets" and

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[96]"Fu il terzo Intermedio a sei sonato, & cantato tutto fuori, cioe Da cinque Storte, Da un Cornetto muto, Et da otto voci raddoppiando i sovrani, & i bassi." Grazzini, p. 20.

seemed as though their music would "excite the onlookers to combat."[97] The trombonists were placed between two Furies (*Fuori*) who played drums (*tamburi*). The entire group sang and played Corteccia's madrigal "In bando itene vili," during which they danced a moresca before departing the scene in feigned confusion and terror. "In bando" was a six-voice composition, probably performed by eight singers, with the soprano and bass parts doubled.[98] The voice parts were doubled by six instruments: two *tromboni*, one *dolzaina*, two *cornetti ordinarii*, and one *cornetto grosso*. Two *tamburi* provided the percussive background.[99]

Intermedio Quinto

Psyche, disconsolate over her apparent loss of Cupid, appeared in the Underworld accompanied by the four allegorical figures of Jealousy (*Gelosia*), Envy (*Invidia*), Worry (*Pensiero*), and Scorn (*Scorno*). These figures beat

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[97]". . . che sonando sotto forma di trombe ordinarie due tromboni, pareva che volessero eccitari i riguardanti a combattere." Grazzini, p. 12. It is possible that this refers to a trumpet-like fanfare performed by the trombones.

[98]Grazzini writes that the music was "a sei cantata similmente . . . ," referring to the six-voice "S'amor vinto" which was sung "da otto voci, raddoppiando i sovrari, & i bassi."

[99]"La Musica del Quarto fu anch'ella a sei catata similmente, & sonata tutta fuori raddoppiando nelle voci tutte le parti, & aggiugendovi, Dua Tromboni, Una Dolzaina, Dua Cornetti ordinarii, Un Cornetto grosso, Et dua Tamburi." Grazzini, p. 20.

Psyche and urged her to the center of the stage where fire and smoke issued from an opening in the floor. Four serpents rose from this opening and were held back by the allegorical characters. Each of the serpent costumes had been built around a *violone*[100] so that as soon as the serpents had disappeared back into the gorge, the music for Psyche's madrigal could begin. Psyche sang a five-voice composition by Striggio, "Fuggi, speme mia," accompanied by the four *violoni* in the serpents' pit and by a *lirone* and four *tromboni* behind the scene.[101] Grazzini recounts that the sweet music brought many in the audience to tears. The intermedio then depicted a brief encounter with a three-headed Ceberus and finally the departure of Psyche and her four tormentors with Charon in his boat.

Intermedio Sesta

Following the final act of the comedy, a mountain seemed to rise up from the stage. This was meant to be the mythological Mount Helicon, for Pegasus was seen at its summit. Descending from the mountain were the little

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[100]". . . un mesto, ma soavissimo, e dolcissimo concento, percioche ne i Serpenti erano con singolare artifizio congegnati quattro Violoni. . . ." Grazzini, p. 14.

[101]"Nel quinto a cinque fu una voce sola di soprano accompagnato fuori Da quattro Violoni, Et dentro, Da un Lirone, Et da quattro Tromboni." Grazzini, p. 20.

Cupids, Zephyrus, and Music (from the second intermedio) with the reunited and joyful Cupid and Psyche. They were joined by Pan, nine other Satyrs, and Hymen (*Himeneo*) in the singing and dancing of two canzonette. The first composition, "Dal bel monte Helicona," praised the marriage of Cupid and Psyche. The second, "Himeneo dunque ogn'un chiede," praised the marriage of Francesco and Joanna. The music for these epithalamiums, by Alessandro Striggio, was in four parts. "Dal bel monte Helicona" was sung by all the voices on stage and accompanied by two *cornetti muti*, two *tromboni*, one *dolzaina*, one *stortina*, one *lirone*, one *lira*, one *ribechino*, and two *liuti*.[102] In the second canzonetta, verses were sung by only eight voices and accompanied by the *lira* and *lirone*, but the ritornelli were sung by the entire chorus and played by all eleven instruments mentioned above.[103]

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[102]"L'ultimo fu a quattro allegrissimo, & pienissimo quadruplicando tutte le voci. Et aggiugnendovi Dua Cornetti muti, Dua Tromboni, Una Dolzaina, Una Stortina, Un Lirone, Una Lira, Un Ribechino, Et dua Leuti, Sonando nella prima Canzonetta, & cantando tutti." Grazzini, pp. 20-21.

[103]"Nella secondo ove si faceva il ballo dicendosi le stanze cantavano solo otto voci, & sonava la Lira, e'l Lirone, ma di ritornello di essa quasi risvegliando le menti di gl'ascoltanti si sentivano con una certa nuova allegrezza lietissimamente cantare, & sonare tutti." Grazzini, p. 21.

1568: The Baptism of Leonora de'Medici. Intermedii for I Fabii by Lotto del Mazzo.

The citizens of Florence and the Medici family anxiously awaited the birth of a first child from the marriage of Prince Francesco I and Joanna of Austria. If the child was male, he would certainly succeed Francesco as Duke of Tuscany, just as Francesco was soon to follow his aging father Cosimo I. If the child was female, she would probably marry a monarch from abroad to extend the political power of the Florentine state. The birth of Leonora brought heightened excitement to the Carnival season of 1568. Celebrations in honor of the Carnival as well as the child which were held throughout February included two mascherata, a joust, and three pageants of decorated carriages which paraded through the streets.[104] Music by Francesco Corteccia, Alessandro Striggio, and Stefano Rossetto was performed at some of these festivities.[105] The baptism was held on February 28, the last Sunday of Carnival. Following the christening, Lotto del Mazzo's comedy I Fabii was presented in the ducal palace with six intermedii. Information regarding the instrumentation appears in Ceccherelli's description, following his accounts of all six

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[104]Described in Ceccherelli, Descrizione, pp. 3-14.

[105]The instrumentation is discussed in Brown, Sixteenth Century Instrumentation, p. 101.

interludes.[106]

Intermedio Primo

From the back of the stage a giant dragon appeared, issuing fire and flame from its mouth to personify the mouth of Hell. Twelve infernal characters entered the stage through this mouth: three Furies (*furie*), Ixion (*Ixione*), two Devils (*Belide*), Tantalus (*Tantalo*), Tityos (*Titio*), Sisyphus (*Sisifo*), Salmoneus (*Salmoneo*), Phlegyas (*Phlegia*), and Lapith (*Lapiti*). This group, which wore terrifying costumes and masks, played and sang "Tratte del tristo abisso." Six of the Underworld characters apparently played instruments onstage, for the account states that the six-voice madrigal was performed by six singers, five *dolzaine*, and one *trombone*.[107] Brown suggests that all the singers must have been men since the madrigal was written for equal voices (*voci pari*), which corresponds to the range of the *dolzaine* and *trombone*.[108]

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[106]Ceccherelli, Descrizione, p. 31.

[107]"Il primo Intermedio fu a voce pari, a sei cantato da sei voci, & sonato da cinque Dolzaine, e un Trombone." Ceccherelli, Descrizione, p. 31 v.

[108]Brown, Sixteenth Century Instrumentation, p. 102.

Intermedio Secondo

At the center of the stage Hercules (*Ercole*) met Pleasure (*Piacere*), who appeared in the form of a woman. They were followed onstage by the ten monsters that Hercules was to slay. Hercules and Pleasure sang a duet, "Perche giovine a te perighi, oltaggio," each taking alternate lines as in dialogue. Pleasure was then sent away from the scene and the monsters sang a canzone, "O giovinile ardire." The dialogue between Hercules and Pleasure was accompanied from backstage by three *gravicembali*, three *liuti*, four *tromboni*, four *viole d'arco*, two *flauti*, and one *traversa*.[109] Ceccherelli does not specify the number of vocal parts in the composition, but consorts of four trombones and four viols suggest a four-part composition.[110] The monsters' canzone was sung by ten voices without instrumental accompaniment.[111] Brown questions the description of this as a ten-voice madrigal, suggesting instead that it might have been a common five-voice composition with the voices

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[109]"Il secodo fu cantato da dua voci sole, cioe da un soprano, e un basso, e questo fur il Dialogo, & dentro si sonava tre Gravicembali, tre Liuti, quattro Tromboni, quattro Viole d'arco, dua Flauti, E una Traversa; . . ." Ceccherelli, Descrizione, p. 31 v.

[110]Howard Mayer Brown supports this conclusion in Sixteenth Century Instrumentation, p. 102.

[111]" . . . & dipoi Mostri cantavano un Madrigale a dieci, con dieci voci fuora in Scena, senza altri strumenti." Ceccherelli, Descrizione, p. 31 v.

doubled.[112]

Intermedio Terzo

Following the second act of the comedy, four Shepherds (*Pastori*) entered the stage, each accompanied by a Nymph (*Nimfa*). The stage was decorated as a spring meadow to complete the pastoral scene. The shepherds each carried a *violon*, and they played as the nymphs sang "In questi verdi prati." As the music ended, four Satyrs (*Satiri*) entered the scene, chased away the Shepherds, and then abducted the nymphs and carried them off the stage. "In questi verdi prati" was an eight-voice composition in which the four Nymphs sang in soprano voices. The four Shepherds played the other four voices on *bassi di violoni*. Ceccherelli reports that this particular orchestration was requested by Prince Francesco.[113]

Intermedio Quarto

This intermedio portrayed a king listening to the gossip of Ignorance (*la Ignoranza*), Fear (*la Paura*), Envy (*l'Invidia*), Slander (*la Calumnia*), Deceit (*l'Insidia*), Truth (*la Verita*), and other allegorical figures. The

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[112]Brown, Sixteenth Century Instrumentation, p. 102.

[113]"Il terzo era cantato da quattro soprani, e sonato da quattro bassi di Violoni, ilqua concerto fu d'ordine dell'Illust. & Eccell. S. Principe, & la Musica era a otto." Ceccherelli, Descrizione, p. 31 r.

characters grouped around the king and performed "D'ogn'altra furia e peste." Some of the actors must also have provided the instrumental accompaniment, for the description reads, " . . . tutti insieme cantarono, & sonarono la seguente canzone."[114] The music was a five-voice madrigal, sung by five voices, and played by one *storta per basso*, two *tromboni*, and two *cornetti muti*.[115]

Intermedio Quinto

This interlude began with Cupid (*Amore*) entering the stage followed by eight allegorical characters: Fear (*la Paura*), Hope (*la Speranza*), Envy (*l'Invidia*), Honor (*l'Honore*), Contentment (*il Contento*), Glory (*la Gloria*), Reward (*il Premio*), and Virtue (*la Vertu*). This group, on the earth, looked up to see a cloud coming out of the heavens. Upon the cloud rode nine Muses and three Graces. As the cloud descended, Cupid and his companions sang to the Muses and Graces "Ecco dal cielle le nove sorelle." When the music had ended the cloud was near the earth and the Muses and Graces responded by singing "Oh che non sol pur guerra." The two groups joined together to sing "Se d'un medesmo germe." The Muses and the Graces were driven away from the

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[114]Ceccherelli, Descrizione, p. 24 r.

[115]"I quarto era a cinque, cantato da cinque voci, & sonato da una Storta per basso, du Tromboni, & due Cornetti muti." Ceccherelli, Descrizione, p. 31 v.

scene by the vices (Fear and Envy), leaving Cupid and the eight allegories to sing "Vattene o bella schiera."

Ceccherelli's description confuses the order of performers for the first two madrigals. After stating that the first madrigal was performed by the group on the earth (Cupid and the allegories), and the second by the group on the cloud (Muses and Graces),[116] Ceccherelli reverses this order in his section on instrumentation, where he implies that the Muses and Graces performed the first madrigal instead.[117] In order to determine which account is correct, the textual content of the two madrigals must be considered. The text of the first madrigal, "Ecco dal cielle le nove sorelle," hails the nine Muses and therefore must have been sung by Cupid and his companions on earth. "Oh che non sol pur guerra" would have been the logical response from the Muses and Graces. This suggests that the initial description was correct and that in the later information Ceccherelli simply inverted the order of the two phrases. Therefore, the phrase "quegli di Terra rispondevano con un Madrigale a quattro voci, & sonato da dua Tromboni, & tre Flauti, che erano nove" should precede the phrase "che da Cielo ne calava dodici, & cantavano un Madrigale a cinque, &

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[116]Ceccherelli, Descrizione, p. 26.

[117]Ibid., p. 31 v.

si sonava quattro Viola, un Cornetto muto, due Tromboni, una Lira, & un Liuto."[118] The following account of instrumental usage is based upon this hypothesis.

The first composition, "Ecco dal cielle le nove sorelle," was a four-voice madrigal performed by Cupid and his group of eight allegorical characters on the earth. This music was sung by four voices accompanied by two *tromboni* and three *flauti*.[119] Although the description does not specify that any of the performers were playing instruments, it is convenient to assume that they were. Ceccherelli lists nine characters in this group, which corresponds to the specified four singers and five instrumentalists.

The second composition was a five-voice madrigal, "Oh che non sol pur guerra," sung and played by the Muses and the Graces. The accompanying instruments were four *viole*, one *cornetto muto*, two *trombone*, one *lira*, and one *leuto*.[120] Ceccherelli's description infers that the

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[118]Ibid., p. 31 v.

[119]" . . . quegli di Terra rispondevano con un Madrigale a quattro cantato da quattro voci, & sonato da dua Tromboni, & tre Flauti, che erano nove, come di sopra nella inscrizzione loro s'e detto, . . ." Ibid. p. 31 v.

[120]"Il quinto veniva parte dal Cielo, e parte dalla Terra, che dal cielo ne calava dodici, & cantavano un Madrigale a cinque, & si sonava quattro Viole, un Cornetto muto, due Tromboni, una Lira, & un Liuto; . . . "Ibid., p. 31 v.

instrumental accompaniment was played by the on-stage performers, although he does not specify instruments or whether all were actually in the scene. The description simply states that the Muses and Graces descended on their cloud "with their instruments in hand."[121] Brown assumes that all nine instruments were played by the performers on the cloud, leaving only three singers. His "probable disposition of voices" suggests two sopranos singing the two highest parts and a bass voice on the lowest part. He also considers the possibility that some of the instrumentalists doubled as singers.[122]

"Se d'un medesmo germe" was a six-voice madrigal which was played and sung by all twenty-one performers who had participated in the two previous compositions.[123] There would have been at least seven singers, four *viole*, four *tromboni*, three *flauti*, one *cornetto muto*, one *lira* and one *leuto*. The departure of the Muses and Graces after this

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[121]" . . . con gli strumenti loro in mano. . . ." Ibid., p. 26 v.

[122]Brown, Sixteenth Century Instrumentation, pp. 103-104. This information is found for the composition "Ecco dal cielle le nove Sorelle," as Brown's information comes from the technical description on p. 31 of Ceccherelli's Descrizione and does not reflect the "reversal" hypothesis stated above.

[123]" . . . & poi tutti insieme, cioe numero ventuno, con tutti i detti strumenti, & voci cantavano un'daltra Canzone a sei, . . ." Ceccherelli, Descrizione, p. 31 v.

piece left the nine other characters onstage to perform the final four-voice "Vattene o bella schiera."[124] The description does not specify instrumentation, leaving the assumption that all nine performed as before, that is, with four singers, two *tromboni*, and three *flauti*.

Intermedio Sesto

Following the final act of I Fabii, an opening appeared in the heavens revealing a banquet of all the gods. In attendance was Poverty (*la Penia, o Poverta*), who had always desired to have a child by Riches (*Poro Dio del Tesoro*). The two met in the garden of Jove (*Giove*) and gave birth to Cupid (*Amore*). Poverty, Riches, and Cupid moved to center-stage surrounded by the other gods, and the group, totaling twenty-nine performers, sang and played "Olieto, o vago Aprile," the final music of the evening. This final "*canzone*" was a six-voice composition sung by twelve voices. Again, the instrumental accompaniment apparently was provided by the on-stage performers who played two *cornetti*, four *tromboni*, six *liuti*, one *basso di viole*, one *soprano di viola*, two *flauti*, and one *traversa*.[125]

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[124]". . . dipoi dodici si partivano, & nove ne rimanevano che cantavano la Canzone. Vatten' o bella schiera, la quale era a quattro." Ceccherelli, Descrizione, p. 31 v.

[125]"Il sesto, e ultimo veniva poi, il quale era di numero di ventinove, iquale cantavano una Canzone a sei,

1586: The Nuptials of Don Cesare d'Este and Virginia de'Medici. Intermedii for L'Amico Fido by Count Giovanni Bardi.

Grand Duke Francesco de'Medici wished to celebrate the wedding of his half-sister to the Duke of Ferrara with a single event unequalled in grandeur. The great variety of festivities held to celebrate previous marriages was abandoned in favor of one exceptionally spectacular evening of theatrical entertainment. On February 16, L'Amico Fido by Count Giovanni de'Bardi was presented as the first comedy to be staged in the new Uffizi Theatre. Bardi also developed themes for the six intermedii performed with this comedy and composed some of the music. The other music for the intermedii was composed by Alessandro Striggio and Cristofano Malvezzi. A description of instrumental usage is found in the text of Bastiano de'Rossi's description of the evening.[126]

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sonata da due Cornetti, quattro Tromboni, sei Liuti, un Basso, e un Soprano di Viola, due Flauti, una Traversa, & dal resto delle voci cantata, iquale tutti erano tramezzati voci, & strumenti, secodo che dal quidizioso parere del detto M. Allessandro fu giudicato, & furono le dette Musiche meravigliose, & rare, . . ." Ceccherelli, Descrizione, p. 31 r.

[126]Bastiano de'Rossi, Descrizione del magnificentiss. apparato e di maravigliosi intermedii fatti per la commedia rappresentata in Firenze nelle felicissime nozze degl'Ilustrissimi, ed Eccellentissimi Signori Il Signor Don Cesare d'Este, e la Signora Donna Virginia Medici (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1585; 1586 n.s.). Hereafter cited as Rossi, Descrizione 1586.

Intermedio Primo

Before the first act of the comedy, the stage curtains dropped to reveal a setting designed to represent the city of Florence. Above the city, the heavens opened and two clouds emerged. The first cloud held Jove (*Giove*), Mercury (*Mercurio*), and fifteen other gods. In the other cloud were ten Blessings (*Beni*). Mercury sang the madrigal "Odi quel che destina," admonishing the Blessings to go to earth to bring their gifts honoring the Medici and Este families, and to begin an "Age of Gold." As the Blessings descended to earth in their cloud, they sang "O fortunati Eroi." When the cloud landed the Blessings departed into the scenery and the cloud vanished.

The first composition, "Odi quel che destina," was sung as a solo by Mercury who was accompanied by *viole, liuti, gravicembali,* and an *organo di legno.* Rossi does not specify the number of voice parts or the number of viols, lutes, or harpsichords.[127] The second madrigal, "O fortunati Eroi," was sung by the ten Blessings with *liuti, viole, arpi,* and *traverse.* Again there is no specification of voice parts or the number of instruments.[128] Although

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[127]"Aperto il Cielo comincio Mercurio incontantente, e solo, a cantara al suono di Viole, di Liuti, di Gravicembali, e Organo di legno. . . ." Rossi, Descrizione 1586, p. 7 v.

[128]"Tosto che Mercurio ebbe dato fine a suo

Pleasure held an *arpe*, there is no indication that this instrument was played. Alessandro Striggio composed the music for this intermedio.[129]

Intermedio Secondo

A host of eleven Evils (*Mali*) appeared onstage to lament their fate: they had been banished from the earth to live in hell. The City of Hell (*Citta di Dite*) emerged from the stage floor with smoke, flames, and the shrill cry of the Furies. Twenty-two deformed Devils watched a filthy boat row through a swampy channel. The boat carried Phlegyas (*Flegias*), who docked his horrible barge and sang, "Oh di quantaira, e sdegno." During the song the Evils emerged from their hiding place. They then sang a lament "Dall'affocate grotte." The Devils forced the Evils to embark on Phlegyas' boat. As the shrieking Evils departed down the channel, the Devils and the City of Hell were swallowed up into the stage floor.

The first composition, "Oh di quantaira, e sdegno," was sung as a solo by Phlegyas. He was accompanied by

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dolcissimo canto, comincio la nugola a venirsene giuso, e i bene, in iscendendo, in su Liuti, Viole, Arpe, e Traverse, non meno dolcemente, che s'avesse fatto Mercurio, cantavano questo Madrigale." Rossi, Descrizione 1586, p. 7 r.

[129]"E la Musica si di questo, come del secondo, e del quinto intermedio, si fu d'Alessandro Striggio." Rossi, Descrizione 1586, p. 7 v.

tromboni and *bassi di viuuole* (bass viols).[130] The madrigal sung by the eleven Evils, "Dall'affocate grotte," was accompanied by the same instruments.[131] The music was composed by Alessandro Striggio.[132]

Intermedio Terzo

The scene for the third intermedio was a barren landscape that, according to Rossi, would have been very beautiful had it not been winter. Zephyrus (*Zeffiro*) and Flora came onto the stage from the west and Flora began to sing, "Al tuo dolce spirare, al mio sereno." When she had finished her song, Zephyrus sang a solo, "Verdeggi il mondo, e schiera almo d'Amori." While he sang, Springtime (*la Primavera*) appeared accompanied by two Cupids (*Amorini*), three Gentle Breezes (*Anrette*), two Nymphs, two Satyrs, Pan (*Dio Pane*), and Priapus (*Priapo*). As this group danced onto the stage, their cavorting caused spring to spread across the landscape: flowers bloomed, trees bore leaves, grass turned green, streams began to flow, and birds sang.

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[130]". . . e dentro v'era Flegias . . . e accostatosi, e fermata la detta barca comincio con una armonia, alla sua persona appropriatissima, a suon di tromboni, e di bassi di viuuole, a cantare: e queste fur le parole." Rossi, Descrizione 1586, p. 13 r.

[131]"E mentre ch'egli s'affaticava in quest'opera, cantavano i Mali questo Madrigale in su gli strumenti stessi, che canto egli." Rossi, Descrizione 1586, p. 13 r.

[132]Rossi, Descrizione 1586, p. 7 v.

Springtime, with her chorus of Nymphs and fairies, sang a madrigal, "O ben felice, e chiara." Following that music, a chorus from behind the scene began to sing a final madrigal, "Or, poi che'l ciel ne'nvita." While the backstage choir sang, the Nymphs danced onstage.

"Al tuo dolce spirare, al mio sereno" was sung as a solo by Flora, accompanied by a *leuto* and an *arpe*.[133] The solo by Zephyrus, "Vedeggi il mondo, e schiera alma d'Amori," was accompanied by the same instruments.[134] The third composition, "O ben felice, e chiara," was sung by Springtime and her chorus of eleven companions. It was accompanied by an unknown number of *liuti*, *arpi*, *cornetti muti*, *tromboni*, and *dolzaini*.[135] The final composition, "Or poi che'l ciel ne'nvita," was sung by a chorus behind the scene and was accompanied by the same group of instruments.[136] All the music for this intermedio was composed by

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[133]". . . comincio Flora, al suon d'un liuto, e d'un'arpe, tutta sola a cantare, con si fatta melodia, che forse non s'udi mai si soave: e'l canto fu questo." Rossi, Descrizione 1586, p. 15 v.

[134]"E finito, al suon degli stessi strumenti, comincio Zeffiro." Rossi, Descrizione 1586, p. 15 v.

[135]". . . la Primavera, con tutto il coro della Nimfe, e de'fariri, in su liuti, arpi, cornetti muti, tromboni, e dolzaini questo suono." Rossi, Descrizione 1586, p. 15 r.

[136]"E finito, comincio il coro dentro alla scena, al suono degli stessi strumenti, a cantara: ed esse Nimfe altressi, tuttavia ballando, ripreser di nuovo il

Cristofano Malvezzi.[137]

Intermedio Quarto

The stage was transformed into an ocean scene with a coral reef at one side, natural-looking waves, and small ships bobbing in the background. Thetis (*Teti*) appeared with fourteen Tritons (*Tritoni*) and various sea-monsters who sprayed perfumed water from conch shells. As the group took its place on the reef, Thetis called to Neptune in the solo, "Batta irato il tridente." Another group of sea-monsters came up from the ocean, and their agitation caused the water to be very turbulent. Neptune (*Nettuno*) rose out of the sea on a giant, horse-drawn carriage which also held twelve sea nymphs. Neptune stopped his carriage and sang a solo, "O mie dilette, e care," commanding the sea-monsters to quiet the sea. The nymphs also sang to the sea-monsters in a madrigal, "Voi dell'ira ministri, e dal furore."

The turbulent sea-monsters then submerged while others came up bringing good weather and tranquility to the scene. The nymphs divided into two groups and went ashore. As they picked flowers in a green meadow, they sang another madrigal, "O che chiara facella." The nymphs then returned

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canto: . . ." Rossi, Descrizione 1586, p. 15 r.

[137]"La Musica, e di questo terzo, e del quarto intermedio fu di M. Cristofano Malvezzi Maestro di Cappella di S. A. Diciam degli abiti." Rossi, Descrizione 1586, p. 15 r.

to Neptune's carriage, which descended back into the ocean as a Sinfonia was played to end the scene.

The first composition, "Batta irato il tridente," was sung by Thetis as a solo, accompanied by an unknown number of *liuti*.[138] Neptune's solo, "O mie dilette, e care," was accompanied by *liuti*, *arpi*, *tromboni*, and *traverse*. The twelve sea-nymphs sang a madrigal, "Voi dell'ira ministri, e dal furore," with the same instruments.[139] The nymphs' other madrigal, "O che chiara facella," was sung after the twelve had split into two groups. One group sang the first two lines of the text, the other responded with the next two lines, and all twelve nymphs sang the final two lines together. Since there is no mention of instruments for this composition, it may have been performed a cappella.[140] The instrumental Sinfonia that concluded the scene is also described without specific

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[138]"E fermatisi a'luoghi loro, comincio Teti tutta sola dolcissimamente a cantare al suon di liuti." Rossi, Descrizione 1586, p. 16 r.

[139]"Fermato il carro, comincio tutto solo, al suono di liuti, arpi, tromboni, e traverse, comandando alle deita, che erano in sul suo carro, che ritornassero il mar quieto, a cantar questo Madrigale." Rossi, Descrizione 1586, p. 16 r.

[140]"Allora, rittesi in pie, scesero le Nimfe del carro, faccendo a'principi reverenza, e si divisero in due schiere, e cominciarono novellamente a cantare questo suono, rispondendosi l'un coro all'altro." Rossi, Descrizione 1586, p. 18 v.

instrumentation.[141] Brown presumes that the instruments used to accompany Neptune's solo were also used for the Sinfonia, that is *liuti, arpi, tromboni,* and *traverse.*[142] All the music was composed by Cristofano Malvezzi.[143]

Intermedio Quinto

The sky over the scene of Florence grew dark and stormy. A large cloud appeared, upon which a gilded chariot held Juno (*Giunone*), Iris (*l'Iride*), and fourteen Nymphs, representing day, night, and the four seasons (the latter were each personified by three Nymphs). As arcs of lightning flashed, Juno sang a solo, "Il nubiloso vele," commanding the Nymphs to quiet the heavens. The Nymphs responded with the madrigal, "Squarcisi il velo oscuro." As they sang, the sky became clear.

Juno's solo, "Il nubiloso vele," was accompanied by *liuti, arpi,* and *gravicembali.*[144] The nymphs then sang "Squarcisi il velo oscuro" with the same instruments

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[141]"E mentre che queste cose si facevano, dolcissima degli strumenti si sentiva la Sinfonia." Rossi, Descrizione 1586, p. 18 r.

[142]Brown, Sixteenth Century Instrumentation, p. 106.

[143]Rossi, Descrizione 1586, p. 15 r.

[144]"Restata la pioggia, e quella rovinosa tempesta, l'arco baleno, intorno alla bella nugola, apparve naturalissimo, e Giunone, al suono di liuti, d'arpi, e gravicembali, comincio cosi a cantare." Rossi, Descrizione 1586, p. 20 v.

augmented by *tromboni* and *flauti grossi*.[145] Alessandro Striggio was the composer.[146]

Intermedio Sesto

The final intermedio was set in a pastoral country scene with a grand palace. Two groups of Tuscan shepherds and shepherdesses, nineteen in each group, appeared to sing a ballata, "O noi lieri, e felici." While they were singing, a sorceress from Fiesole (*Fiesolana Maga*) emerged from the palace to listen to the music. She sang a single line to the shepherds: "Tempo e schiera gentil, che tu domandi." The two choruses immediately resumed their singing with the words, "Dinne sacrata Diva." The sorceress then sang the composition, "In questo lieto giorno." The final music was sung by the full chorus with *Fiesolana Maga*: "Or tornera l'antico."

The shepherds' song, "O noi lieri, e felici," was sung by 38 voices and accompanied by *liuti, arpi, dolzaine, zampogne, bassi di viuuole, tenori di viuuole, soprani di viuuole, flauti, traverse, tromboni, cornetti torti, cornetti diritti, ribechine, and flauti grossi*.[147] The single

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[145]"E le Ninfe, udito il comandamento suono degli stessi strumenti, e di tromboni, e flauti grossi, cantando, risposero." Rossi, Descrizione 1586, p. 20 v.

[146]Rossi, Descrizione 1586, p. 7 v.

[147]"E poco stante, due bellissime schiera di

line sung by *Fiesolana Maga*, "Tempo e schiera gentil, che tu domandi," was accompanied by *liuti* and *arpi*.[148] The following chorus sung by the shepherds, "Dinne sacrata diva," seems to have been a continuation of the first composition, "O noi lieri, e felici." The description states that they "resumed" (*ripresa*) singing, and the poetic scheme of the second chorus supports the contention that the music was repeated. Although Rossi does not specify instruments for this second composition, it is logical to assume that the same instruments were used.[149] "In questo lieto giorno" was sung by *Fiesolana Maga* as a solo with the same group of instruments.[150] The final composition,

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pastori, e di pastorelle toscane, numero diciannove per ogni schiera, e venieno festeggiando, e cantando, al suono di liuti, d'arpi, dolzaine, zampogne, bassi, tenori, e soprani di viuuole, flauti, traverse, tromboni, cornetti torti, e diritti, ribechini, e flauti grossi: e sempre cantarono su questi stessi strumenti: e cantando questa ballata, maravigliosissima si scorgeva l'allegrezza ne'volti loro." Rossi, Descrizione 1586, p. 22 r.

[148]"E mentre che essi cosi cantavano, usci la gran Fiesolana Maga suon del palagio, allettata forse da quella non piu udita armonia: e tutta intenta le lor parole ascoltando, le parve comprendere, che essi quivi fosler venuti, per domandarla cheche sia, e anch'ella (essi tacendo) cantando, al suono di liuti, e d'arpi, rispose." Rossi, Descrizione 1586, p. 23 v.

[149]"Ed eglino immantinente, ripresa la lor canzone." Rossi, Descrizione 1586, p. 23 v.

[150]"E per essa chiedendole della rinnovellata stagione, datole fine, ella, con gli strumenti detti di sopra, rincomincio questo suono." Rossi, Descrizione 1586, p. 23 r.

"Or tornera l'antico," was sung by the entire company and accompanied by the same orchestra as "O noi lieri, e felici."[151] The music for this sixth intermedio was composed by Giovanni de'Bardi.[152]

1589: The Wedding of Ferdinando I and Christine of Lorraine. Intermedii for La Pellegrina by Girolamo Bargagli.

Ferdinando I was the youngest son of Duke Cosimo I. When his brother, Duke Francesco I, died in 1587, Ferdinando resigned his cardinalate at the Vatican and returned to Florence to assume the ducal throne. As was the custom, Ferdinando sought a bride from the ranks of foreign nobility to increase familial bonds between the Medici court and other political powers. In April, 1589, he was married to Christine of Lorraine, granddaughter of Catherine de'Medici.

Christine arrived in the port city of Livorno on April 23 and soon was taken to meet her new husband at Poggio a Caiano. On April 30, the couple made their grand entry into Florence, beginning the nuptial festivities which lasted until mid-May. The variety and magnificence of these

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[151]"E per esso mostro loro (come si vede) perche il Mondo, fuor dell'ufato, era si allegro, e si bello, e cio detto, quella lieta brigata rincomincio, con vie maggiore allegrezza, che prima non avea fatto, la sua carola." Rossi, Descrizione 1586, p. 23 r.

[152]"La Musica di questo intermedio fu de sopranominato Signor Giovanni." Rossi, Descrizione 1586, p. 24 v.

celebrations surpassed all previous Medici festivals and included several banquets, balls, and concerts, a joust, a calcio game, and the performance of three plays.

The performance of La Pellegrina by Girolamo Bargagli was given on May 2 in the Uffizi Theatre with six intermedii invented by Count Giovanni de'Bardi. The coordination and direction of the intermedii was provided by Emilio de'Cavalieri. Music composed by Bardi and Cavalieri was included with compositions by Cristofano Malvezzi, Luca Marenzio, Jacopo Peri, and Giulio Caccini. Information relating to the instrumentation of the intermedii is found in two contemporary sources. The description by Bastiano de'Rossi contains some notes on the orchestrations,[153] but the *Nono* part-book from Malvezzi's edition of the intermedii is much more specific.[154]

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[153]Bastiano de'Rossi, Descrizione dell apparato e degl'intermedi fatti per la commedia rappresentata in Firenze. Nelle nozze de Serenissimi Don Ferdinando Medici, e Madama Cristina di Loreno, Gran Duchi di Toscana (Florence: Anto Padovani, 1589). Hereafter referred to as Rossi, Descrizione 1589.

[154]Cristofano Malvezzi, ed., Intermedii et concerte per la commedia rappresentata in Firenze nelle nozze del Serissimo Don Ferdinando Medici e Madama Christina di Loreno, Gran Duchi di Toscana. (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1591), Nono part-book.

Intermedio Primo

The opening scene portrayed the "Harmony of the Spheres" as described in Plato's Republic.[155] It began with the descent of Dorian (*la Doria*) from the heavens on a cloud machine. As she descended, she played a *leuto* and sang "Dalle celesti sfere." She was joined on the cloud by painted figures representing six other modes: Hypodorian (*Ipodoria*), Hypophrygian (*Ipofrigia*), Hypolydian (*Ipolidia*), Phrygian (*Frigia*), Lydian (*Lidia*), and Mixolydian (*Mixolidia*). As Dorian completed her song, the cloud floated into a Doric temple onstage and vanished. Next, four clouds appeared transporting eight Sirens (*Sirene*) who guided the celestial planets. From their positions aloft they sang "Noi, che, cantando, le celesti sfere." Following this madrigal, three additional clouds flew onto the stage from openings in the heavens. On the center cloud was the goddess of Necessity (*Dea della Necessita*) with the three Parcae (*Parche*). On the other clouds were the seven Planets and Astraea (*Astrea*). An instrumental Sinfonia played as all seven clouds took their positions above the stage. Then, a child (perhaps one of the Parcae) sang the first three lines of "Dolcissime Sirene." The Sirens responded by singing the remaining two lines of that composition. All

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[155]Rossi, Descrizione 1589, p. 18.

the Planets, Parcae, and Sirens sang "A voi reali amanti," alternating lines in dialogue and echo. The entire group then joined to sing a final madrigal, "Coppia gentil," to end the first intermedio.

The first composition, the four-part "Dalle celesti sfere," was sung by Dorian as a solo. She accompanied herself on a *leuto grosso* and was assisted by two *chitarroni*. Malvezzi cites Vittoria Archilei as the singer and her husband, Antonio Archilei, as the composer.[156] Rossi describes slightly different instruments assisting Dorian's solo and the lute: *gravicembali, chitarrone, and arpi*, playing from behind the scenery.[157] He also cites Emilio de'Cavalieri as the composer.[158]

"Noi, che, cantando, le celesti sfere" was an eight-part madrigal sung by the eight Sirens, divided into two

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[156]"Questo Madrigale canto sola Vittoria moglie d'Antonio Archilei, che gratissimi servono il Serenissimo Gran Duca sonando ella un Leuto grosso accompagnata da due Chitarroni sonati uno detto suo marito, e l'altro da Antonio Naldi anch'esso servitore stipendiato dalla medesima Altezza, e garreggio, la dolcezza del suono, e del canto, con la vaghezza della Musica, la quale e di Antonio Archilei." Malvezzi, Nono part-book, p. 7.

[157]". . . una donna, . . . sonando un liuto, e cantando, oltre a quel del liuto, ch'ella sonava, al suono di gravicembali, chitarroni, e arpi che eran dentro all Prospettiva, el madrigal sotto scritto." Rossi, Descrizione 1589, p. 18.

[158]"La musica fu d'Emilio de' Cavalieri: le parole del trovatore degl'Intermedi." Ibid., p. 19.

choirs of four voices each. One choir was accompanied by a *lira*, an *arpa*, a *leuto grosso*, and a *sotto basso di viola*. The other choir was accompanied by a *lira*, an *arpa*, a *chitarrone*, and a *basso di viola*.[159] Rossi is less specific, stating that the music was accompanied by *liuti* and *viole*.[160] This music and the remainder of the first intermedio was composed by Cristofano Malvezzi.[161]

An eight-part Sinfonia by Malvezzi provided instrumental music to accomodate stage movement. Twenty instruments were added to the eight that had played "Noi, che, cantando," to form the orchestra for this Sinfonia: two *lire*, two *arpi*, three *liuti piccoli*, four *liuti grossi*, a *chitarrone*, a *cetera*, a *mandola*, a *salterio*, a *sopranino di viola*, three *tenori di viole*, two *basso di viole*, one *sotto basso di viola*, a *traversa*, a *cornetto*, and four *tromboni*. Malvezzi cites Alessandro Striggio as the player of the

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[159]"Il sequente Madrigale fu cantato dalle Sirene e concertato con il sequente ordine. Nel primo Choro una Lira, un'Arpa, un Leuto grosso, un sotto Basso di Viola, e quattro voci. Nel secondo Choro, una Lira, un'Arpa, un Chitarrone, un Basso di Viola, accompagnato parimente da quattro voci." Malvezzi, Nono part-book, p. 7.

[160]"Le parole di questo canto, e gli altri madrigali, che seguono appresso in questo intermedio, furono compositizione d'Ottavio Rinaccini . . . e la Musica di Cristofano Malvezzi da Lucca Prete, e Maestro di Cappella in questa Citta." Rossi, Descrizione 1589, p. 20.

[161]Ibid., p. 20.

sopranino di viola.[162]

The first three lines of the text in "Dolcissime Sirene" were sung by a single child accompanied by various string instruments.[163] The remaining two lines of Malvezzi's six-part madrigal were sung by the eight Sirens supported by the same group of strings.[164]

The fifteen-voice "A voi reali amanti" by Malvezzi was sung by all the voices onstage, numbering at least twenty. The twenty-eight instruments that earlier had played the Sinfonia accompanied these singers.[165]

The final madrigal, "Coppia gentil," was also performed by all voices and instruments.[166] This six-voice

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[162]"La seguente Sinfonia si fece con gli detti Strumenti, & in oltre nel Cielo aperto con sei Leuti tre grossi, & tre piccoli, un Salterio, un Basso di viola, con tre tenori, quattro Tromboni, un Cornetto, una Traversa, una Cetera, una Mandola, & un Sopranino di viola sonato in ogni maggiore eccellenza da Allessandro Striggio." Malvezzi, Nono part-book, p. 7.

[163]"Canto questo Madrigalletto un putto di ottima voce e gratia accompagnato da varij Strumenti di corde." Malvezzi, Nono part-book, p. 7.

[164]"Questi due Versetti furono cantati dalle sopranominate Sirene, con lo stesso Concerto." Malvezzi, Nono part-book, p. 7.

[165]"Lo appresso Dialogo a 15. si fece con tutti gli Strumenti e voci cosi in Terra, come in Cielo." Ibid., p. 7.

[166]"Il seguente Madrigale a sei fu cantato e sonato con gli medesimi strumenti e voci, raddoppiando tutte le parti a proportione l'una de l'altra, co il quale si die fine al primo Intermedio." Malvezzi, Non part-book, p. 7.

composition was written by Malvezzi.

Intermedio Secondo

The stage had been transformed into a beautiful garden of citrus trees and flowers. As perfumed water was sprayed to make the scene more convincing, a Sinfonia was performed. When the music ended, a large mountain, recognizable as Mount Helicon, rose up from the stage. Seated upon this mountain were sixteen hamadryad nymphs (*Ninfe Amadriadi*), and on either side of it were the daughters of Piero (*figliuola di Piero*) and nine Muses. A madrigal, "Belle ne fe natura," was sung by three voices to proclaim a contest between the Pierides and the Muses. The contest was to determine which group had the better singers, as judged by the Hamadryads. The Pierides sang "Chi dal defino aita" followed by the Muses' madrigal, "Se nelle voci nostri." The Nymphs passed judgment in favor of the Muses in singing "O figlie di Piero." As the Nymphs sang, the Pierides were transformed into magpies.

The Sinfonia was performed by two *arpe*, two *lire*, a *basso di viola*, two *liuti*, a *violino*, a *viola bastarda*, and a *chitarrone*.[167] The music was composed in five parts by

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[167]"La Sinfonia era composta di dua Arpe, due Lira, un Basso di viola, due Leuti, un Violino, una Viola bastarda, & un Chitarrone." Malvezzi, Nono part-book, p. 8. Rossi's only mention of this composition is of "una dolcissima melodia di vari strumenti." Rossi, Descrizione

Luca Marenzio. Marenzio was responsible for all the music of the second intermedio; texts were by Ottavio Rinuccini.[168]

The three-voice "Belle ne fe natura" was sung by two adolescent girls and a boy accompanied by an *arpe* and two *lire*.[169] Rossi does not mention this composition in his description.

"Chi dal defino aita," a six-voice madrigal, was sung by six Pierides. They were accompanied by a *leuto grosso*, a *chitarrone*, and a *basso di viola*.[170]

The Muses sang "Se nelle voci nostri" as their entry in the competition. This twelve-part madrigal was divided into two six-part choirs. Malvezzi states that the same instruments were used as for the Pierides' song; that is, a

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1589, p. 38.

[168]". . . composizione d'Ottavio Rinuccini soprannominato, si come i due madrigali sequenti, e Musica di Luca Marenzio della nobil Citta di Brescia, del valor del quale in si nobil'arte, ne rendono viav testimonianza le pubbliche opere sue." Rossi, Descrizione 1589, p. 39.

[169]"Il seguente Madrigale cantorno con esquisita maniera, & arte due giovine, che servono il Serenissimo Duca di Mantova con invidia piu che mediocre di gl'amatori di cosi nobil virtu: e da un putto lor fratello accompagnate dal suono di un'Arpa, e due Lire." Malvezzi, Nono part-book, p. 8.

[170]"Era formato il concerto di quest'altro Madrigale di un Leuto grosso, un Chitarrone, un Basso di Viola, e sei voci." Malvezzi, Nono part-book, p. 8.

leuto grosso, a *chitarrone*, and a *basso di viola*.[171] Since all three are foundation instruments, there must have been at least one voice on each of the twelve parts. Although Rossi states that there were only nine Muses,[172] both D. P. Walker and Howard Mayer Brown assume that there were indeed twelve Muses singing this composition.[173]

The final composition, "O figlie di Piero," was sung by sixteen nymphs. This eighteen-voice composition was divided into three choirs of six parts each. The accompaniment was provided by all the instruments that had played in the second intermedio: two *arpe*, two *lire*, two *liuti*, one *chitarrone*, one *violono*, one *viola bastarda*, and one *basso di viola*.[174]

Intermedio Terzo

Following the second act of La Pellegrina, the stage was transformed into a forest scene with an ominous cave in the center. The foliage around the cave appeared to have

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[171]"Questo che similmente era con gli medesimi Strumenti e voci da l'uno e l'altro Coro." Malvezzi, Nono part-book, p. 8.

[172]Rossi, Descrizione 1589, p. 38.

[173]D. P. Walker, Les Fetes du Mariage (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1963), p. XLII. Brown, Sixteenth Century Instrumentation, p. 115.

[174]"Questo dialogo a 18. si fece con tutte le voci e Strumenti." Malvezzi, Nono part-book, p. 8.

been burned down. Nine couples of Delphian men and women in Greek dress came into the scene and began to sing "Ebra di sangue in questo oscuro bosco." As this madrigal was sung, another nine couples, in similar Greek dress, entered from the other side of the stage. The second group of men and women sang "Qui di carne si sfama." Both groups sang of a terrible, fire-breathing dragon that had brought destruction to the countryside. When the music ended, the dragon emerged from the cavern. Rossi describes the creature as a serpent of inestimable largeness ("un serpente, drago d'inestimabil grandezza") who spit fire. The Delphians, seeing this horrible beast, began to pray to the gods for deliverance, singing "Oh sfortunati noi."

Hearing the cries for help, Apollo rushed down from the heavens. His arrival was accomplished by means of a puppet flown quickly down to the stage floor, where it was replaced by a dancer in the same costume. While an instrumental Sinfonia was performed, Apollo engaged the dragon in combat. The battle, staged in a danced pantomime, ended in the death of the monster. Four Delphians came back onto the stage and, seeing that the dragon had been slain, began to sing "O valoroso Dio," praising Apollo and calling their companions to join in the celebration. During this music Apollo began a victory dance and all thirty-six Greek men and women returned to the stage. To conclude the scene,

the entire group praised the gods and rejoiced by singing "O mille volte, e mille."

The first group of Delphians sang "Ebra di sangue in questo oscuro bosco." Malvezzi fails to mention this composition. Rossi states that the madrigal was sung by the eighteen Delphians and played by *viole*, *traverse*, and *tromboni*.[175] Rossi later states that the second composition, "Qui di carne si sfama," was orchestrated with the same instruments as had been used in "Ebra di sangue."[176] If this is true, Malvezzi's more complete list of instruments for the second madrigal could be applied to "Ebra di sangue." That orchestration specified twelve voices, an *arpa*, two *lire*, two *bassi di viola*, four *liuti*, a *basso di trombone*, a *cornetto*, and a *violino*.[177] The music for this madrigal and all the music in the third intermedio was composed by Luca Marenzio. The texts were by Ottavio Rinuccini.[178]

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[175]". . . e al suono di viole, di traverse, e tromboni, cominciarono, giunti in iscena, a cantare." Rossi, Descrizione 1589, p. 42.

[176]". . . sopra gli stessi strumenti, il canto, dicendo." Rossi, Descrizione 1589, p. 42.

[177]"Se fece questo concerto con un'Arpa, due Lira, due Bassi di Viola, Quattro Leuti, un Basso di Trombone, un Cornetto, un violino, e dodeci voci." Malvezzi, Nono partbook, p. 10.

[178]"Le parole di questo, e de' seguenti madrigali dello'ntermedio presente, furono d'Ottavio Rinuccini sopra

"Qui di carne si sfama" was sung by the second group of eighteen Delphians. This twelve-voice composition was accompanied by an *arpa*, two *lire*, two *bassi di viola*, four *liuti*, a *basso di trombone*, a *cornetto*, and a *violino*.[179] Malvezzi states that the madrigal was sung by twelve voices although Rossi reports that eighteen Delphians were in the scene.

All thirty-six Delphians sang "Oh sfortunati noi." According to Rossi it was orchestrated in the same way as the previous two madrigals.[180] Malvezzi does not recognize this as a separate composition, however; he included the final eight lines of the text (beginning with "O Padre, o Re del cielo") as a continuation of the previous composition, "Qui di carne." That section appears also as a twelve-part composition. Only the first three lines of "Oh sfortunati noi" were left unaccounted for in Malvezzi's edition.

The Sinfonia that underscored Apollo's ballet of combat is mentioned briefly by Malvezzi although no music was published.[181] Rossi provides the only hint of

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mentovato, e la Musica del Marenzio." Rossi, Descrizione 1589, p. 42.

[179]See number 177 above.

[180]"Onde i miseri, veduta la cruda fiera, tutti insieme, sopra gli strumenti predetti, con flebile, e mesta voce, cantarono queste parole. . . ." Rossi, Descrizione 1589, p. 43.

[181]"Qui manca una Sinfonia." Malvezzi, Nono

instrumentation by describing the use of *viole*, *traverse*, and *tromboni*, the same orchestration described for the three previous compositions.[182]

The four Delphians who examined the dead dragon sang the four-voice madrigal, "O valoroso Dio." Their singing was accompanied by an *arpa* and a *lira*.[183]

A final madrigal, "O mille volte, e mille" was sung by all thirty-six Delphians. According to Rossi the eight-voice composition was orchestrated with *liuti*, *tromboni*, *arpi*, *violini*, and *cornette*.[184] Malvezzi simply states that it was performed with an orchestration similar to the preceding composition.[185]

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part-book, p. 10.

[182]"Arrivato in questa maniera sul palco, alla melodia di viole, di traverse, e di tromboni, comincio la prima parte della battaglia. . . ." Rossi, Descrizione 1589, p. 44.

[183]"Il Madrigale che segue fu cantato da quattro voci, al suono di'un'Arpa, e d'una Lira." Malvezzi, Nono part-book, p. 10. Rossi simply describes "Dolci strumenti," Descrizione 1589, p. 45.

[184]"Finito il suo ballo, i Delfi . . . cominciarono . . . una carola, cantando, sopra liuti, tromboni, arpi, violini, e cornette, dolcemente queste parole." Rossi, Descrizione 1589, p. 46.

[185]"In questo si tenne l'ordine medesimo dell'antecedente." Malvezzi, Nono part-book, p. 10.

Intermedio Quarto

The Pisa street scene that had been used for the third act of La Pellegrina was not changed immediately for the fourth intermedio. A Sorceress (*Maga*) came into the setting on a gilded carriage pulled by two winged dragons. When she reached center-stage the Sorceress stopped the carriage, removed a *leuto*, and began to sing and play "Io, che dal ciel," calling to the demons from the region of pure air. In her song she summoned the demons to present themselves in a beautiful form to honor the wedding festivities. When the Sorceress completed her song she returned to her carriage, whipped the dragons, and drove away. Malvezzi described a Sinfonia that served as exit music for the Maga's carriage. This music is not mentioned by Rossi.

A flaming cloud appeared in the sky and opened to reveal the demons that the Sorceress had called. These demons sang "Or che le due grand'Alma insieme aggiunge," which prophesied an age of gold for Tuscany. After their madrigal, the cloud withdrew from the scene.

The stage suddenly changed into an Underworld scene inspired by Dante's Inferno. A host of demons and furies emerged from fiery rocks and caverns. They wore horrible and fantastic costumes with serpents about their waists, claws on their hands, blood smeared on their faces, and

horns protruding from their unkempt hair. A large three-headed Lucifer stood in the center of the scene, surrounded by a frozen lake which held the souls of the damned. Five devils sang a lament, "Miseri habitator del cieco Averno." Upon completion of their song, the tormented devils plunged, howling, into the frozen lake, causing the entire scene to be swallowed up by the stage floor and ending the intermedio.

The composition sung by the Sorceress, "Io che dal ciel," is barely mentioned by Malvezzi; no music was published in his edition.[186] Rossi states that the Sorceress sang a solo accompanying herself on a *leuto* while instruments played from behind the scene. These instruments were *lire grandi, bassi di viole, liuti,* one *violino, arpe doppia, bassi di tromboni,* and *organi di legno.*[187] The role of the Sorceress was sung by Donna Lucia Caccini.[188] This music was composed by Giulio Caccini and the text was by Giovambatista Strozzi, who wrote all the texts for the

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[186]"Qui manca un'aria." Malvezzi, Nono part-book, p. 10.

[187]". . . la maga . . . prende un liuto, ch'ella u'ha dentro, e a quel suono, e all'armonia di lire grandi, e di bassi, di viole, di liuti, d'un violino, d'arpe doppia, bassi di tromboni, e organi di legno, che sonavano dentro, mentre ch'ella attraversava la scena, comincio soavemente a cantare. . . ." Rossi, Descrizione 1589, p. 49.

[188]See Walker, Les Fetes du Mariage, p. XIVI and Nagler, Theatre Festivals, p. 84.

fourth intermedio.[189]

The Sinfonia was played by an *arpa*, a *chitarrone*, two *liuti grossi*, two *liuti piccoli*, two *lire*, a *salterio*, a *violino*, a *traversa*, and a *basso di viola bastarda*. Malvezzi cites the names of three instrumentalists: Giulio Caccini played the *arpa*, Alessandrino Striggio (son of the composer Alessandro) played the *violino*, and Duritio Isorelli played the *viola bastarda*.[190] The six-part composition was by Cristofano Malvezzi.[191]

"Or che le due grand'alme" was sung by the demons in the flaming cloud. Although Rossi does not specify the number of demons in the cloud, Malvezzi states that six voices sang the madrigal. They were accompanied by the same instruments that played the Sinfonia.[192] Rossi writes

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[189]"La Musica di queste parole, e l'ordine della Melodia degli strumenti predetti, fu opera di Giulio Caccini Musico pregiato de nostri tempi. Le quai parole, si come il rimanente de'Madrigali di questo quarto intermedio, furono opera di Giovambatista Strozzi. . . ." Rossi, Descrizione 1589, p. 50

[190]Usciva il concerto della Sinfonia da un'Arpa, sonata da Giulio Caccini, un chitarrone, due Leuti grossi, due piccoli, de Lira, un Salterio, una Violina sonato dal detto Alessandrino, una traversa, un Basso di Viola bastarda, sonata da Duritio Isorelli in tale Strumento eccellente." Malvezzi, Nono part-book, p. 10.

[191]"Quarto Intermedio di Cristofano Malvezzi." Malvezzi, Canto part-book, p. 24.

[192]"Si canto il seguente madrigal con sei voci, e gli detti Strumenti." Malvezzi, Nono part-book, p. 10.

that they were accompanied by the same instruments that played "Io che dal ciel."[193] The six-part madrigal was composed by Malvezzi.[194]

The finale of the fourth intermedio, "Miseri habitator del cieco Averno," sung by five devils in the "inferno," was accompanied by four *tromboni*, four *viole*, and a *lira*.[195] Rossi lists a slightly different instrumentation of *arpi*, *viole*, and *cetere*.[196] The music for this five-voice madrigal was composed by Giovanni de'Bardi.[197]

Intermedio Quinta

For the fifth intermedio the stage floor opened to form a sea. A giant sea shell, pulled by two harnessed dolphins, rose out of the water. Upon the shell was Amphitrite (*Anfitrite*). Fourteen Tritons and fourteen sea

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[193]". . . cantando i predetti Demoni al suono degli strumenti detti di sopra, fecion sentire." Rossi, Descrizione 1589, p. 50.

[194]"La musica fu del maestro di cappella predetto." Rossi, Descrizione 1589, p. 51.

[195]"Il concerto del Madrigale, che segue fu di quattro Tromboni, quattro Viole, una Lira, e cinque voci." Malvezzi, Nono part-book, p. 11.

[196]". . . cominciarono, cantando, sopra arpi, viole, e cetere, a lamentarsi con tai parole. . . ." Rossi, Descrizione 1589, p. 52.

[197]"Del Signor Giovanni de Bardi." Malvezzi, Canto part-book, p. 26. rossi writes that the music was "opera del nostro poeta." Rossi, Descrizione 1589, p. 52.

nymphs, some with instruments, rose from the sea and began to play. Amphitrite played a *leuto* and sang "Io, che l'onde raffreno." The sea nymphs then sang "E noi, con questa bella."

At length the sea gods submerged and a well-equipped galley appeared. A Sinfonia was played during the scene change. The ship held a crew of sailors who were about to mutiny against their captain, Arion, and steal his treasure. Arion sang a solo, "Dunque fra torbide onde." The crew then descended upon him and tossed him into the water. Arion was rescued by a dolphin and carried off to safety. The sailors, believing that their captain had drowned, sang a madrigal of joy, "Lieti, cantando il mare." The galley then turned and sailed off stage.

The first madrigal, "Io che l'onde raffreno," was sung as a solo by Amphitrite. She was accompanied by a *leuto*, a *chitarrone*, and an *archiviolate lira*. According to Malvezzi, the role of Amphitrite was sung by Vittoria Archilei and the *archiviolate lira* was played by Alessandro Striggio.[198] Malvezzi composed the five-voice madrigal to a

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[198]"Questo Madrigal a cinque voci, fu maravigliosamente cantato da vittoria Archilei sola al suono di un Leuto, d'un Chitarrone, e d'un arcivolate Lira toccata dalla maestreval mano del famoso Alessandro Striggio." Malvezzi, Nono part-book, p. 11. Rossi describes the instruments thus: "viole, e lire arciviolate: e Anfitrite, sonando sopra alla nicchia un Liuto, comincio soavemente a cantara." Rossi, Descrizione 1589, p. 56.

text by Rinuccini.[199]

Although Rossi simply states that "E noi con questa bella" was sung by the sea nymphs, the performance was actually more complex. Malvezzi describes five sections of the composition as having alternating performing forces. The opening section, beginning with the text, "E noi con questa bella," was sung by five voices, accompanied by the instruments of the previous composition (a *leuto*, a *chitarrone*, and an *archiviolate lira*) along with a *basso di viola*, a *tenore di viola*, another *leuto*, a *leuto piccolo*, and an *arpa*.[200] A second section, beginning with the text "Godi coppia reale," was sung as a solo by Amphitrite. Although Malvezzi does not specify the instruments that accompanied her solo, the five-part texture was obviously played by some of the instruments mentioned above, perhaps by the *leuto*, *chitarrone*, and *lira* that accompanied Amphitrite's first solo.[201] The five voices that had begun

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[199]"Tutti i madrigali di questo quinto intermedio, fuorche'l seguente, del trovatore degl'intermedi, furono d'Ottavio Rinuccini soprannominato: la musica di Cristofano prete gia detto." Rossi, Descrizione 1589, p. 56.

[200]"Questo madrigale fu cantato da cinque voci fra le quali vi fu Paolo Basso del Serenissimo Duca di Mantova, accompagnati dalli antecedenti strumenti, e di piu da un basso e un Tenore di Viola, due Leuti, un piccolo donato da Gio. Francesco di Roma, & un'Arpa sonata da Giulio Cini, anch'esso Servitore Della Suddetta Altezza." Malvezzi, Nono part-book, p. 11.

[201]"Questo canto sola vittoria." Ibid., p. 12.

the composition sang the next section, "Che vede uscir da voi," with the same orchestration as before.[202] A section beginning with the text "E disacciar dal mondo" was sung by three voices, two female and one male. Again no instruments are specified, although the singers were presumably accompanied. However, this music was composed *a 3* and could have been sung a cappella.[203] The final section, "Onde fara ritorno," was sung by the first group of five singers with eight instruments.[204] All of the music was written in five voices except the section "E disacciar dal mondo," which was in three voices. The music was composed by Malvezzi, the text by Giovanni de'Bardi.[205] Malvezzi mentioned the names of five singers--Paolo Basso, Vittoria Archilei, Antonio Archilei, and Margherita Loro Alleluia--and two instrumentalists: Giovanni Francesco di Roma, who played the *leuto piccolo*, and Giulio Cini, who played the *arpa*. Paolo Basso and Cini are described as musicians in the service of the

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[202]"Questo madrigale si canto con cinque voci e con il medesimo concerto." Ibid., p. 12.

[203]"Questo terzetto fu cantato da Vittoria, & da Antonia suo marito, e da Margherita Loro Alleluia." Ibid., p. 12. Brown writes that the music was "presumably accompanied by instruments." Sixteenth-Century Instrumentation, p. 123.

[204]"Di questo altro madrigale fu il medesimo concerto, di cinque voci, e di cinque strumenti come di sopra." Malvezzi, Nono part-book, p. 12.

[205]See number 199 above.

Duke of Mantua.

The Sinfonia that was played during the change of scene was a six-voice composition by Malvezzi. It was orchestrated with an *organo di pivette*, two *liuti*, a *basso di viola*, a *chitarrone*, and a *violino*. Malvezzi mentions that Alberigo Malvezzi played the *organo*, Giovanni Lapi and Giovanni del Minugiaio played the two *liuti*, and Giovanni Battista Iacomelli (known as "*Il Violino*") played the *violino*.[206] Rossi describes no details of instrumentation for this Sinfonia.

Arion sang "Dunque fra torbide onde" as a solo accompanied only by a *chitarrone*. It is possible that he accompanied himself. Although Malvezzi clearly indicates that this was a solo, the music suggests that Arion was supported by two other singers. In addition to the solo line, designated *Parte Principale*, two echo parts were printed (*Prima Riposta* and *Seconda Riposta*) which imitate the solo. The four-voice composition was written by Jacopo Peri, who also performed the role of Arion.[207] In lieu of

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[206]"Si fece la seguente Sinfonia con un'organo di pivette sonato da Alberigo Malvezzi vagamente con due liuti sonati uno da Giovanni Lapi e l'altro da Giovanni del Minugiaio, un basso di viola, un chitarrone, un violino sonato in tutta eccellenza da Giovanni Battista Iacomelli detto il violino." Malvezzi, Nono part-book, p. 12.

[207]"Questo Ecco fu cantato da Iacopo Peri detto il Zazzerino con maravigliosa arte sopra del chitarrone, & con mirabile attentione de gli ascoltanti. La musica fu del

"Dunque fra torbide onde," Rossi described another composition, "Ardisci, ardisci forte," a solo sung by Arion who accompanied himself on a lira disguised as an *arpa*.[208] Brown suggests that "Ardisci" had been originally intended to be Arion's solo but that it was subsequently replaced by "Dunque."[209]

"Lieti solcando il mare" was sung by the sailors celebrating the supposed demise of Arion. Malvezzi states that seven voices were accompanied by the instruments that performed the Sinfonia: an *organi di pivette*, two *liuti*, a *basso di viola*, a *chitarrone*, and a *violino*.[210] Rossi described a different orchestration utilizing *tromboni*, *cornetti*, *dolzaini*, and *fagotti*.[211] This seven-voice madrigal was composed by Malvezzi.

Intermedio Sesto

The sixth intermedio, following the final act of La Pellegrina, was an assembly of the gods. At first, the

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detto Iacopo Peri." Malvezzi, Nono part-book, p. 12.

[208]". . . in mano una lira fatta a guisa della nostra arpe, su la qual canto il madrigal soprascritto." Rossi, Descrizione 1589, p. 58.

[209]Brown, Sixteenth-Century Instrumentation, p. 125.

[210]"Questo madrigale fu cantato da sette voci accompagnate da detti strumenti." Malvezzi, Nono part-book, p. 15.

[211]". . . credendolo i marinari annegato in mare, pieni d'allegrezza, cominciarono, sopra tromboni, cornetti,

heavens opened to reveal twenty mythological deities seated on seven cloud machines. Several clouds, including one holding Apollo, Bacchus (*Bacco*), Harmony (*Armonia*), and Rhythm (*Ritmo*), descended to earth. Jupiter had taken pity on the human race and had sent Harmony and Rhythm to earth so that men could find relief from their toils by singing and dancing. As the clouds descended, the gods sang "Dal vago e bel sereno."[212] Forty mortals, drawn onstage by this sweet, heavenly music, met the gods as they arrived. The twenty couples were dressed in pastoral costumes, and some carried instruments. They sang and played "O qual risplende nube" to greet the heavenly travelers. One of the gods, perhaps Apollo, sang a solo ("Godi turba mortal") explaining the gifts from Jupiter. The entire company of twenty deities and forty mortals then began to celebrate by singing "O fortunato giorno." The finale, "O che nuovo miracolo," was also sung by the entire company to celebrate the arrival of Harmony and Rhythm as a great new miracle from above.

"Dal vago e bel sereno" was played once by instruments only and was repeated with voices added.

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dolzaini, e fagotti, in questa guisa a cantare." Rossi, Descrizione 1589, p. 58.

[212]This description is based on the music in Malvezzi's edition. Rossi described several different compositions: "Chi con eterna legge," followed by "Alle dure fatiche, onde cotanto," "Godi turba mortal," "O qual risplende nube," and "Quando piu fia, che'l faticar v'annoi."

Assuming that all the deities sang, there were twenty voices with two *chitarroni*, two *lira*, four *liuti*, a *basso di viola*, and a *violino*.[213] The six-voice madrigal was composed by Malvezzi.[214]

The forty men and women performed "O qual risplende nube." Only twenty-four sang, while the others played four *liuti*, four *viole* (two were *bassi di viole*), four *tromboni*, two *cornetti*, a *cetera*, a *salterio*, a *mandola*, an *archiviolata lira*, and a *violino*.[215] Malvezzi composed the six-voice music.

The next composition was "Godi turba mortal," sung as a solo, possibly by Apollo. A single *chitarrone* provided the accompaniment. Emilio de'Cavalieri composed the song in four voices. The singer was named Honofrio Gualfreducci.[216]

All the gods and mortals participated in "O

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[213]"Questo madrigale si fece con li Strumenti soli senza voce e furono due chitarroni, due lira, quattro leuti, un basso di viola, un violino. Poi si replico con le voci raddoppiate." Malvezzi, Nono part-book, p. 16.

[214]"Sesto Intermedio. Christofano Malvezzi." Malvezzi, Canto part-book, p. 32.

[215]"Il madrigale, che segue fu concertato con quatro leuti, quattro viole, due bassi, quattro tromboni, due cornetti, una cetera, un salterio, una mandola, l'arciviolata lira, un violino con ventiquattro voce." Malvezzi, Nono part-book, p. 16.

[216]"Questo madrigale fu cantato da Honofrio Gualfreducci vagamente sopra un chitarrone. La musica e del Signor Emilio de'Cavalieri." Malvezzi, Nono part-book, p. 16.

fortunato giorno." Malvezzi's thirty-voice composition was sung by sixty singers divided into seven choirs. All the instruments that had played in the sixth intermedio combined to form an orchestra of one *violino*, two *viole*, two *bassi di viole*, two *lire*, two *archiviolate lira*, two *cornetti*, four *tromboni*, four *liuti*, two *chitarroni*, a *cetera*, a *salterio*, and a *mandola*. Malvezzi recorded the names of four singers, Tomasso Benigni, Ceseri di Missere, Placido Marcelli, and Giulio Cima.[217]

The final composition, "O che nuovo miracolo," alternated five-voice tutti sections with three-voice trio sections. The tutti sections were sung by all sixty voices and played by all twenty-four instruments. The trios were sung by three women who accompanied themselves on *chitarrina alla spagnola*, *chitarrina alla napolettana*, and *cembalino*. The trios were danced as well by the featured performers Vittoria Archilei, Lucia Caccini, and Margherita Loro Alleluia. Laura Guidiccione wrote the text, adding it after the music had been composed by Emilio de'Cavalieri. The final verse completed the entertainment by paying homage to Christine and Francesco, the wedding couple.[218]

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[217]"Il seguente madrigal a sette chori si fece con gli primi sopranominati strumenti e tutti gli altri e le voci furono al numero di sestanta, e fra molti altri nelli Chori canto Tomasso Benigni, Ceseri di Missere, Placido Marcelli, e Giulio Cima Tenore del Serenissimo Duca di Mantova." Malvezzi, Nono part-book, p. 17.

1589: The Wedding of Ferdinando and Christine of Lorraine. Intermedii for L'esaltazione della croce by Giovanni Maria Cecchi.

The wedding festivities honoring Ferdinando and Christine concluded with the performance of a *sacra rappresentazione* by Giovanni Maria Cecchi, L'esaltazione della croce. The performance was given by the boys of a religious confraternity, the *Compagnia di San Giovanni Vangelista*. In addition to writing the drama, Cecchi invented the intermedii and wrote the texts for the music. Cecchi also wrote the only description of the evening.[219] His description presents some valuable information on the instrumentation of the intermedii, but it is often sketchy.

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[218]"Questo ballo fu cantato da tutte le voci e sonato da tutti gli Strumenti sudetti. . . . Furono tutti gli terzetti cantati e ballati da Vittoria Archilei, e Lucia Caccini, e Margherita, e sonavano Vittoria, e Lucia, una Chitarrina per uno, una alla Spagnola, e l'altra alla Napolettana, e Margherita un Cembalino adornato di sonagli d'argento con si dolce armonia e mirabil vaghezza, e attitudine, che maggiore, e ne sentire ne veder si poteva. . . . La musica di questo ballo, & il ballo stesso fu del Sig. Emilio de'Cavalieri e la parole furno fatte doppo l'aria del ballo, dalla Sig. Laura Lucchesini de Guidiccioni gentildonna principalissima della Citta di Lucca ornata di rarissime qualita virtu. E qui si die fine a gli Intermedij ma non allo stupore delli ascoltanti quali restarono pieni di desiderio di sentirli di nuovo replicare." Malvezzi, Nono part-book, pp. 19-20.

[219]Giovanni Maria Cecchi, Descrizione dell'apparato, e de gl'Intermedii fatt per la storia dell'esaltazione della croce. (Florence: Michelangelo di Bartolomeo Sermartelli, 1592).

There is almost no mention of the number of voice parts for the compositions. Luca Bati composed the music for the intermedii. None of the music has survived.

Intermedio Primo

When the curtain dropped, Jacob (*Iacobbe*) was seen asleep in a meadow. While he slept, the heavens opened to reveal seven Angels (*Angioli*) seated upon a cloud. The Angels sang a madrigal praising God, "Lieto hor gioisce di piu gloria il Cielo." Another part of the heavens opened to reveal God surrounded by worshipping Angels. A ladder was let down from the heavens until it reached the meadow; then, God sang "L'eterno verbo mio" in a sonorous bass voice. Four Angels descended the ladder and began to sing "Per questa scala santa." The other Angels joined to sing the second verse of this composition. To conclude the intermedio, Jacob awoke and sang a solo, "Tremendo e questo loco."

The first composition, "Lieto hor gioisce di piu gloria il Cielo," was sung by seven Angels and accompanied by *traverse, violone, violino, liuti grossi,* and *organo.*[220]

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[220]". . . dentro di se contenente sette Angioli in diverse attitudini, e tutti ricchissimantente abbigliati, questi insieme con altri qua e la per lo cielo sparsi (fatti si prima lassuso con traverse, violone, violino, liuti grossi, e organo una dolcissima armonia) . . . e cosi cantarono su gli stessi strument." Cecchi, p. 9.

"L'eterno verbo mio" was sung as a bass solo by God. Accompaniment was provided by an unspecified group of "many musical instruments."[221]

Four Angels sang the first verse of "Per questa scala santa" and then were joined by all the other Angels on the second verse. Both verses were accompanied by unspecified instruments.[222] Jacob performed the final composition, "Tremendo e questo loco," singing in a contra-alto voice. The piece was accompanied by four *tromboni, cornetti muti, violino, liuti grossi,* and *organo.*[223] Luca Bati composed all the music performed that evening.[224]

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[221]". . . e DIO alla scala appoggiatosi, e verso il dormiente Iacobbe rivolto, maestevolmente cantando al suono di moltri musicali strumenti in voce d'un sonoro basso, disse." Cecchi, p. 11

[222]". . . quattro Angeli . . . e ne venner cantando queste parole con angelica melodia. . . . Dolcemente ripresi da gl'Angeli di cielo, feciono nelle orecchie de gl'uditori, e col doppio canto, e co'raddoppiati strumenti tale armonia, che parve veramente di Paradiso." Cecchi, pp. 11-12.

[223]". . . e Iacobbe si desto, ed in atto di stupore, canto sedendo i due primi versi del Madrigale in voce d'un contralto solo, sostenuto da quattro tromboni, cornetti muti, violino, liuti grossi, e organo." Cecchi, p. 12.

[224]"Fu la musica di questo, e di tutti gl'altri Intermedi composizione di Luca bati, huomo in quest'arte molto eccellente." Cecchi, p. 10.

Intermedio Secondo

The second intermedio began with the descent of Moses (*Moise*) on a cloud machine to the stage. There the Israelites awaited the beginning of their exodus from Egypt. Moses spoke to the crowd in verse, beginning with the text "Dopo tanto prodigi, e tanti segni." This was apparently spoken without music, for no mention is made of singing or of instruments. Once Moses had organized the Israelites into two columns, he sang a solo, "Piu sicura colonna, e di piu ardore," in which he prophesied a home for his people. The Israelites then sang a hymn of thanks to God, "Grazie rendiamo a Dio." To end the scene, Moses ascended in his cloud and directed the crowd to begin their journey.

The solo by Moses, "Piu sicura colonna, e di piu ardore," was sung in a bass voice. A group of unspecified instruments provided accompaniment.[225] "Grazie rendiamo a Dio" was sung by two choirs formed by the two columns of Israelites. The eight-voice composition was accompanied by an orchestra of *traverse, cornetti muti, tromboni, organo, violino, liuti grossi,* and *liuti mezzani.*[226]

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[225]"Accenno Moise . . . e proferando con gran magnificenza solo canto in voce di basso, formando col suono i musicali strumenti le altre parti, il Madrigale che segue, nel quale le due colone approprio all sata Croce." Cecchi, p. 15.

[226]"Tosto che Mose hebbe finito la profezia, il popolo tutto ripien di gioia, rende le dovute grazie a Dio,

Intermedio Terzo

The third intermedio portrayed the flowering of Aaron's branch as written in the Biblical book of Numbers 17. Within the setting of the Tabernacle of the Hebrews were twenty-four men awaiting the arrival of Moses. This group included the family heads of the twelve Hebrew tribes. Instrumental music was played as they took their positions. Moses entered carrying twelve dry branches, one for each tribal family, and sang a solo, "Arida verga, il fiore." He displayed the dry branches to the crowd and they saw that the branch bearing Aaron's name had been miraculously revived, bearing flowers and almonds. Everyone onstage then sang a madrigal, "L'alma verga sacrata," proclaiming Aaron as king of the Israelites to end the intermedio.

Cecchi does not describe the opening instrumental music as a Sinfonia, although it may have been an independent instrumental composition. It seems more likely, however, that the instruments were playing the music for Moses' solo, "Arida verga, il fiore," as an introduction. The orchestra might have played through this music one time to underscore his entrance into the scene, and again when Moses sang. Although Brown cites this introductory music as

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con una canzone a due cori, la quale a otto voci, e tutte rinterzate, e con traverse, cornetti muti, tromboni, organo, violino liuti grossi, e mezzani fece un sua vissimo e pieno concento nelle orcchie de gli attenti ascolatori." Cecchi, p. 15.

a madrigal sung by the twenty-four Israelites,[227] Cecchi does not say that they sang in this composition. Cecchi does list the instrumentation: *traverse, violino, arciviole, liuti grossi, liuti mezzani, tromboni, cornetti muti,* and *organo*.[228] Moses' solo, "Arida verga, il fiore," was probably accompanied by these instruments.[229] The final composition, "L'alma verga sacrata," was sung by all the voices (twenty-five, including Moses) and accompanied by the instruments listed above.[230]

Intermedio Quarto

The plague of serpents upon the Israelites was portrayed in the fourth intermedio (as written in Numbers 21). The scene began with instrumental music, apparently played by the afflicted Israelites to salute Moses, who stood on a mountain. Moses then sang a solo, "Sovra

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[227]Brown, Sixteenth-Century Instrumentation, pp. 132-133.

[228]"Tutti i ventiquattro detti di sopra, poi che furono accomodatisi in su la Scena con bell'ordine, feciono primo con traverse, violino, arciviole, liuti grossi, e mezzani, tromboni, cornetti muti, e organo una unitissima melodia, aspettando Moise. . . ." Cecchi, p. 18.

[229]"Ricevute le verghe secche, attendevano co grande altierezza quello volesse dire loro Mose, quando egli cantando manifesto, cui eleggesse DIO per suo sommo Sacerdote e appresso cio che intendesse lo Spirito santo con questo Misterio." Cecchi, p. 18.

[230]". . . al qual segno tutti acquetatisi, deposto l'orgoglio, e stupendo cantarono dolcemente su gli strumenti predetti." Cecchi, p. 19.

d'un'alta Croce." As he sang, Moses made a serpent of bronze and displayed it upon a pole. The presence of the brass serpent saved the Israelites from the plague. The entire group then sang "Mentre stilla sovente."

The instrumental music that opened this intermedio is described as "appropriately mournful sounds" to convey the plight of the Israelites.[231] "Sovra d'un'alta Croce," sung by Moses as a solo, was accompanied by the same group of unspecified instruments.[232] The final chorus, "Mentre stilla sovente," was sung by the Israelites. Cecchi fails to mention any istrumental accompaniment for this composition.[233]

Intermedio Quinto

A procession into Jerusalem, led by Hebrew priests playing trumpets, entered from one side of the stage.

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[231]". . . e salutarlo di lontao, con flebil suono di musicali strumenti a questo appropriati, e conceptendo speranza di qualche scampo al loro gran male. . . ." Cecchi, p. 19

[232]"Egli per tanto con gravita movendosi di lassuso, ne venne al suono de'medesimi strumenti cantando. . . ." Cecchi, p. 21

[233]"Cosi canto Moise, stando i circostanti Ebrei tutti intenti alle sue parole . . . roppono il silenzio con questo dolcissimo canto." Cecchi, p. 22.

Behind the priests was David, who held a *grand'arpa* disguised as a *salterio*.[234] Others followed, carrying the Ark that held the tablets upon which the Ten Commandments were written. David danced as he sang a solo, "Piu nobil'Arca, e con piu lieta forte." All the priests and the Israelites then danced and sang a chorus, "Ecco l'Arca del patto sempre stata." The scene ended with the procession leaving the stage as the priests played their trumpets.

Cecchi does not describe the trumpet music but simply states that the trumpeters were dressed as priests.[235] "Piu nobil'Arca, e con piu lieta forte" was sung by David as a solo. David accompanied himself on an *arpa* while other musicians played a *leuto grosso*, a *violino*, and a *trombone*.[236]

"Ecco l'Arca del patto sempre stata," sung and danced by the entire chorus, was accompanied by *cornetti chiari*, *cornetti muti*, *liuti grossi*, *liuti mezzani*, *organo*, and *violone*.[237] Cecchi states that both compositions were

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[234]". . . Davitte, il quale con una grand'arpa a guisa del Salterio. . . ." Cecchi, p. 24.

[235]"Arrivarono su la prima scena di sonatori delle trombe in habito di sacerdosi Ebrei. . . ." Cecchi, p. 24.

[236]". . . al suono d'un liuto grosso, d'un violino, e d'un trombone, e spezialmente della sua Arpe cantasse. . . ." Cecchi, p. 24.

[237]"Havendo il pio Re col piacevol suono, col graziosissimo ballo, e col soave canto dimostrato

"allegra" so that the music was suitable for dancing.[238]

Intermedio Sesto

The final intermedio was "a pageant of religious chivalry" in which the knights of Malta, Saint James, Saint Maurice, and the Teutonic Order, who had fought for the Cross, were allowed to see a vision of Religion.[239] The four knights entered the stage while trumpets and drums were played.[240] Heaven was opened to reveal Religion, depicted as a woman dressed in pure white and seated upon a cloud. She was attended by a group of Angels who sang "Quando verra'l Signore." As the Angels sang, the Cross appeared in the heavens and the knights bowed down before the sight. The entire group then sang "E noi, come sostegno." A final composition, "Sol questo in pace e'n guerra," was sung by the four knights. Trumpets and drums were played again as Religion and the Angels disappeared into the heavens and the knights left the stage.

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palesemente l'allegrezza c'haveva nel cuore, e la riverenza esteriore verso l'Arco, al suo esempio tutti i sacerdoti, e'l popolo giubbilando sopra una armonia di cornetti chiari, cornetti muti, liuti grossi, e mezzani, organo, e violone, cantarono, e in cantando ballarono anche eglino con grand'applauso d'intorno a quella, il ballo si puo immaginare, ma queste furono le parole." Cecchi, p. 25.

[238]"Fu la Musica di questo Intermedio tanto allegra, e dove il ballo lo ricercava. . . ." Cecchi, p. 25.

[239]John Addington Symonds, The Renaissance in Italy (New York: Modern Library, 1935), Vol. II, p. 56.

[240]". . . tutti questi insieme al suon di Trombe, e di Tamburi. . . ." Cecchi, p. 29.

The first composition of the final intermedio was "Quando verra'l Signore," sung by the group of Angels. Cecchi fails to mention any instruments in his description of this composition.[241] "E noi, come sostegno" was an eight-voice composition sung by everyone onstage and accompanied by many unspecified instruments.[242] The four knights sang the final composition, "Sol questo in pace e'n guerra." Again, no instruments are mentioned.[243]

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[241]". . . e in questo mentre sonando, e dolcemente cantando s'undirono gl'Angeli scolpitamente dire." Cecchi, p. 30.

[242]"Ripresono i Cavalieri il canto de gli Anioli, tutta via nella sorpesa nugola la Croce, e la Religione con grande affetto rimnando, e scoprendo di fuori la letizia del cuore continovando soggiunsono con una piena musica a otto voci, accompagnata da molti strumenti, queste prontissime parole." Cecchi, p. 30.

[243]"Alzarono i Cavalieri in segno di valore piu volte le nude spade e l'armate braccia, e quando dissono." Cecchi, p. 30.

CHAPTER III

TROMBONE USAGE AS REVEALED IN THE DESCRIPTIONS

The dominant musical texture in all of the intermedii is one of voices accompanied by instruments. Of the ninety-seven compositions discussed in Chapter II, only a few were intended for a cappella performance, twelve were exclusively instrumental works, and the remainder were meant for a combination of voices and instruments. Composers of intermedii chose their orchestrations from a brilliant palette of instrumental colors utilizing keyboard instruments, plucked strings, bowed strings, and a wide variety of wind instruments.[244]

The trombone was an integral part of the orchestras used throughout the intermedii. According to the descriptions, forty-six of the intermedii compositions, nearly half the total, were performed with at least one trombone. Although the trombone had been considered an *haut* instrument

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[244]For more information regarding the many other instruments involved in the intermedii see Brown, Sixteenth-Century Instrumentation, pp. 11-82.

through the Middle Ages and early Renaissance, this figure offers significant evidence that by the sixteenth century, trombones had become civilized enough for indoor use.[245]

The popularity of the trombone in these theatrical entertainments may be attributed in part to its abilities: to blend with human voices, to play chromatically and in any key, and to play in tune. Although this versatility may have been the primary factor responsible for the abundant use of the instrument, its ability to sustain full volume may also have been influential. Since many intermedii performances were given in very large theatres, filling the hall with sound was undoubtedly an important consideration. Francesco Grazzini refers to this problem in his description of the 1565 performance, when he states that ". . . as the Hall . . . was of a singular magnitude and altitude . . . it was necessary to make the Concerts of Musick very full. . . ."[246] This concern may have prompted the composers to include trombones in six of the nine compositions heard in that performance.

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[245]Edmund A. Bowles, "Haut and Bas: The Grouping of Musical Instruments in the Middle Ages," Musica Disciplina 8, (1954), pp. 115-140.

[246]Grazzini, Descrizione de gl'Intermedii, 1593. Translation by Theodore Baker in Oscar Sonneck, Miscellaneous Studies in the History of Music (1921; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1968), p. 284.

General Usage of Trombones

Because the intermedii were largely comprised of vocal music, the primary function of a trombone was to accompany by doubling one of the vocal lines. In a few instances, the descriptions report that fewer singers performed than were specified by the number of voice-parts. In these cases, one or more instruments presumably played the remaining parts alone. It cannot be determined accurately which instruments had the responsibility, but it is logical to assume that trombones may have been used in this capacity. Occasionally trombones were used without any voices present. Several of the solely instrumental works (usually titled "Sinfonia") specified trombone within a texture of mixed instruments.

The productions of intermedii increased dramatically in size and splendor during the sixteenth century. Only five compositions were reported for the intermedii of 1518, nine were heard during the 1565 event, and thirty-two musical numbers were presented in the 1589 intermedii for La Pellegrina. As the magnitude of the theatrical productions grew, so did the extent of the performing forces. The finale of the 1539 intermedii was performed by eight voices and nine instruments. In 1565, the opening Sinfonia was played by a sixteen-piece orchestra. The conclusion of the La Pellegrina performance included sixty singers and

twenty-seven instrumentalists. The development of trombone usage is shown in table 1 below.

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF COMPOSITIONS UTILIZING TROMBONES[247]

Intermedii	total comps.	total for trombones	one trb.	two trbs.	four trbs.	1-4? trbs.
1518	5	1	-	-	1	-
1539	7	2	1	-	1	-
1565	9	7	2	4	1	-
1568	10	8	1	4	3	-
1586	20	11	-	-	-	11
1589a	32	13	4	-	7	2
1589b	16	5	1	-	1	3

Table 1 illustrates a consistent pattern of trombone usage throughout the intermedii. Although the number of compositions employing trombones increased as the intermedii became more elaborate, the number of trombones in use remained the same. Four is the largest number of trombones found in any single composition of the intermedii.

The presence of four trombones playing together was the most common usage of the instrument. At least one

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[247]Intermedii 1589a refers to the performance of La Pellegrina, 1589b refers to L'esaltzione della Croce. The far right column marked with the heading "1-4? trbs." refers to instances in which the descriptions simply specified tromboni.

composition for which a quartet is specified exists for each festival.[248] This homogeneous sound was used as both a primary accompaniment texture and as a consort within larger orchestras. A single trombone mixed with a variety of other instruments was used nearly as often. Only the descriptions of the 1565 and 1568 performances specified the use of two trombones performing with groups of diverse instruments. There are no examples of music for which three trombones were specified.

Compositions With One Trombone

The principal reason for including a single trombone in an orchestration of other instruments was to provide a bass voice for a group of higher-voiced instruments. Although a tenor trombone could suitably perform the lowest voice of most madrigals, the description of several compositions actually specify the use of a bass trombone. Other descriptions do not specify the size of the instrument but infer that the trombone was used as the bass voice of the texture.

An example may be found in the first intermedio from the 1565 performance. Striggio's madrigal, "A me, che fatta son negletta," was orchestrated for eight singers, four

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[248]Although the description of the 1586 intermedii does not specify the number of trombones, it is highly possible that a quartet was utilized at least once.

viols, two recorders, a cornetto, a trombone, two harpsichords, and an alto lute. The eight-voice composition would have been most logically orchestrated with two equal consorts: one of viols, the other of winds. Brown suggests that a soprano viol, two tenor viols, and a bass viol supported one choir of voices while the other choir was accompanied by the cornetto on the highest part, two tenor recorders in the middle, and the trombone playing the lowest voice (see table 2).[249] A harmonic foundation was provided by the two harpsichords and the alto lute. In this case the trombone was the obvious choice to play the lowest voice in a broken consort of wind instruments.

The final stanza of "A me, che fatta son negletta" was a five-voice composition with similar instrumentation: five singers, four transverse flutes, a trombone, a recorder, a soprano viol, a bass viol, two harpsichords, and a bass lute. The recorder and both viols improvised *passaggi*. The four highest singers probably were doubled by the four transverse flutes (of various sizes), and the bass singer probably was doubled by the trombone. The soprano viol and recorder probably improvised on the two highest lines and the bass viol improvised on the lowest part. The harpsichords and lute provided the harmonic foundation (see

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[249]Brown, Sixteenth-Century Instrumentation, pp. 97-98.

table 3).

TABLE 2

"A ME, CHE FATTA SON NEGLETTA"

Choir I

S: voice, soprano viol

A: voice, tenor viol

T: voice, tenor viol

B: voice, bass viol

Choir II

S: voice, cornetto

A: voice, tenor recorder

T: voice, tenor recorder

B: voice, trombone

Foundation: two harpsichords and alto lute

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TABLE 3

"A ME, CHE FATTA" (FINAL STANZA)[250]

S: voice, alto flute, soprano viol

S: voice, tenor flute, alto recorder

A: voice, tenor flute

T: voice, bass flute

B: voice, trombone, bass viol

Foundation: two harpsichords and bass lute

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[250]Ibid., p. 98.

In the second intermedio of the 1565 performance, a four-voice composition, "Oh, altero miracolo novello," by Striggio, specified the use of a "trombone basso." The trombone would provide the lowest voice of a broken consort of cornetto, flute, and recorder (see table 4).

TABLE 4

"OH, ALTERO MIRACOLO NOVELLO"[251]

S: voice, lute, cornetto, soprano viol
A: voice, lute, alto flute, soprano viol
T: voice, lute, tenor recorder
B: voice, lute, bass trombone, lirone
Foundation: three harpsichords and bass lute

There are four compositions from the La Pellegrina intermedii of 1589 which utilize a single trombone. In each of these compositions, a bass trombone is specified. "Qui di carne si sfama" from the third intermedio was a twelve-voice composition performed by twelve singers and an equal number of instruments. The texture is dominated by plucked and bowed string instruments. The cornetto was probably paired with the violin on a soprano part. The bass trombone was obviously used to sustain one of the bass parts (see table 5).

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[251]Ibid., pp. 98-99.

TABLE 5

"QUI DI CARNE SI SFAMA"[253]

Choir I

S: voice, lira da braccio

S: voice, lira da brachio

A: voice, soprano lute

T: voice, alto lute

T: voice, bass viol

B: voice, bass viol

Choir II

S: voice, cornetto

S: voice, violin

S: voice, harp

A: voice, tenor lute

T: voice, bass lute

B: voice, bass trombone

The first composition from the 1568 performance made use of a single trombone in a unique instrumentation. The six-voice "Tratte del tristo abisso" was orchestrated with five dolzaine and one trombone. Although the true nature of the dolzaina is not well documented, Brown suggests that it was a capped, double-reed instrument with a soft and sweet

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[252]Ibid., pp. 70-72.

timbre.[253] Its range (c - f') was similar to that of a tenor trombone. In this case, in which the instruments doubled six male voices, the dolzaine probably played the upper voices while the bass was played by the trombone (see table 6).

TABLE 6

"TRATTE DEL TRISTO ABISSO"[254]

T: voice, dolzaina

T: voice, dolzaina

T: voice, dolzaina

B: voice, dolzaina

B: voice, dolzaina

B: voice, trombone

The final composition from the 1539 intermedii was the four-part "Bacco, bacco, e u o e." It was orchestrated with a variety of wind instruments, including a *tromba torta*. Brown's speculation that this "twisted trumpet" refers to a trombone may well be correct, for there is no evidence to contradict it.[255] In this situation the use of

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[253]Ibid., pp. 70-72.

[254]Ibid. p. 102.

[255]Ibid., p. 93. No other references to a tromba torta were found in works consulted including Sibyl Marcuse, Musical Instruments: A Comprehensive Dictionary (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975) and Curt Sachs, Real-Lexikon der

a trombone is quite logical; it is the only wind instrument of the group able to play the bass voice (see table 7).

TABLE 7

"BACCO, BACCO, E U O E"[256]

S: 2 voices, violin, pipe (and tabor)

A: 2 voices, cornetto, alto crumhorn

T: 2 voices, tenor cornetto, tenor crumhorn

B: 2 voices, trombone, harp

Percussion: tabor, tambourine

All intermedii compositions in which a single trombone is found, including four works not discussed in detail, are summarized in table 8. In each case the trombone was most likely used to play a bass voice. The trombone functioned as the lowest voice of a group of mixed wind instruments in the earlier performances (1539-1568), but in both 1589 performances it is found in orchestrations dominated by plucked and bowed strings.

Compositions With Two Trombones

Pairs of trombones are often found in consorts of mixed wind instruments. Cornetts and trombones, forming an ensemble of cup-mouthpiece instruments, were the most common

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Musikinstrumente (Berlin: Julius Bard, 1913).

[256]Brown, Sixteenth-Century Instrumentation, p. 93.

TABLE 8

GENERAL INSTRUMENTATION OF COMPOSITIONS
UTILIZING ONE TROMBONE

	Composition	Intermedio	General Instrumentation
1539	Bacco, bacco	6	trombone, mixed winds, violin
1565	A me, che fatta	1	trombone, viol consort, mixed wind consort
1565	Oh, altero miracolo	2	bass trombone, lute consort, mixed wind consort
1568	Trette del tristo	1	trombone, 5 dolzaine
1589a	Ebra di sangue	3	bass trombone, plucked and bowed strings, cornetto
1589a	Qui di carni	3	bass trombone, plucked and bowed strings, cornetto
1589a	O mille volte	3	bass trombone, plucked and bowed strings, cornetto
1589a	Io che da ciel	4	bass trombone, lutes, bowed strings, organ
1589b	Piu nobil'Arca	5	trombone, violin, harp, lute

combination of this type. Trombones were also used in mixed consorts with recorders. These groups were orchestrated both as primary instrumental texture to accompany voices and in combination with another timbre such as a consort of strings.

Illustrative of the cornett-trombone ensemble is "In bando itene vili," from the fourth intermedio in the 1565 performance. The six-part composition was sung by eight voices and played by two ordinary cornetts, a tenor cornetto, a dolzaina, two trombones, and two drums. In this instrumentation two cornetts doubled the highest voice parts and two trombones doubled the lowest. The two internal voices could have been played by either the tenor cornetto or the dolzaina. Brown's "probable disposition" of instruments suggests that the dolzaina played the third part and the tenor cornetto the fourth.[257] Because the tenor cornetto was capable of a slightly higher tessitura, that order has been reversed in table 9. This orchestration would allow the sweet, buzzing sound of the dolzaina to blend between the timbres of three cornetts and two trombones.

A similar instrumentation is found in "D'ogn'altra furia e peste," a five-voice composition from the fourth intermedio of 1568. In this case, two cornetts and two trombones are augmented by a bass crumhorn (see table 10).

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[257]Ibid., p. 99.

TABLE 9

"IN BANDO ITENE VILI"

S: 2 voices, cornetto

S: voice, cornetto

A: voice, tenor cornetto

T: voice, dolzaina

T: voice, trombone

B: 2 voices, trombone

Percussion: two drums

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TABLE 10

"D'OGN'ALTRA FURIA"[258]

S: voice, cornetto

S: voice, cornetto

A: voice, trombone

T: voice, trombone

B: voice, bass crumhorn

The rationale for including a dolzaina in "In bando itene vili" and a bass crumhorn in "D'ogn'altra furia" is not altogether clear. In both cases an additional trombone or bass trombone could have served as well and without

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[258]Ibid., p. 103.

compromising the timbral integrity of the cornett-trombone combination. Perhaps the instruments were chosen for their inability to blend, thus accentuating a particularly important line. It is easily conceivable that the bass crumhorn was used to put extra emphasis on the bass line of "D'ogn'altra furia." Because both compositions were sung by evil allegorical characters, it is also possible that the homogeneous sound of cornetts and trombones was thought to be too pure for the dramatic situations. Therefore, buzzing instruments may have been included to create additional tension in these unsavory scenes.

The finale of the 1565 intermedii utilized a larger orchestra in which the cornett-trombone ensemble played an important role. Both compositions, "Dal bel monte Helicon" and "Himeneo dunque ogn'un chiede," employ the same instrumentation: two cornetts, two trombones, dolzaina, soprano crumhorn, lira da braccio, violin, lirone, and two lutes. The orchestration for the four-part music probably treated the cornetts and trombones as a single consort contrasted with a partial consort of bowed string instruments (see table 11). The dolzaina, crumhorn, and lutes were added for color and harmonic support.

Trombones were not always paired with cornetts in mixed consorts. In two compositions, both from the fifth intermedio of 1568, trombones are combined with recorders to

TABLE 11

"DAL BEL MONTE HELICON"[259]

S: voices, cornetto, lira

A: voices, cornetto, soprano crumhorn, violin, lute

T: voices, trombone, dolzaina, lute

B: voices, trombone, lirone

accompany voices. The four-part "O che non sol pur guerra" was orchestrated with three recorders playing the upper voices and two trombones playing the lower voices. Brown suggests that the "extra" recorder doubled a trombone on the tenor part (see table 12). It seems equally possible that the alto part was doubled by the two softer tenor recorders. "Vattene o bella schiera" used the same instrumentation.

TABLE 12

"O CHE NON SOL PUR GUERRA"[260]

S: voice, alto recorder

A: voice, tenor recorder

T: voice, trombone, tenor recorder

B: voice, trombone

Cornetto, recorders, transverse flute, and trombones combine to form a consort of mixed winds in the instrumental music that opened the 1565 performance. The mixed winds are

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[259]Ibid., p. 100. The ritornelli of "Himeneo dunque ogn'un chiede" was orchestrated in the same manner.

[260]Ibid., p. 104.

opposed by a viol consort, harpsichords, and lutes (see table 13).

TABLE 13

INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC FOR VENUS' DESCENT[261]

S: cornetto, transverse flute

S: tenor recorder, soprano viol

A: tenor recorder, tenor viol

T: trombone, tenor viol

B: trombone, bass viol

Foundation: four double harpsichords, two lutes

All intermedii compositions in which two trombones were used are summarized in table 14. In each case, the trombones function as the lower voices of consorts of mixed wind instruments. In half of these compositions, the mixed winds provide the sole instrumental accompaniment for voices. In the remainder, the winds are joined by bowed and plucked string instruments.

Composition With Three Trombones

Curiously, in the eight Florentine intermedii performances investigated in this study, there are no compositions for which three trombones are specified. This

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[261]Ibid., p. 97.

TABLE 14

GENERAL INSTRUMENTATION OF COMPOSITIONS
UTILIZING TWO TROMBONES

	Composition	Intermedio	General Instrumentation
1565	Instrumental music for Venus' descent	1	mixed wind consort, viol consort
1565	In bando itene	4	mixed wind consort of cornetts, dolzaina, trombones
1565	Dal bel monte	6	mixed wind consort, bowed strings, lutes
1565	Himeneo dunque	6	mixed wind consort, bowed strings, lutes
1568	D'ogn'altra furia	4	mixed wind consort of cornetts, trombones, bass crumhorn
1568	Ecco dal cielle	5	viol consort, cornetto, trombones
1568	O che non sol	5	mixed wind consort of trombones
1568	Vattene o bella	5	mixed wind consort of trombones, recorders

may seem particularly surprising to modern musicians who are accustomed to the use of three trombones as the standard section in symphonic and operatic orchestras. Although the instrumentation of three trombones may not have been common usage, it was not unknown in sixteenth-century dramatic music. Brown reports the use of three trombones in a composition from a 1548 performance of intermedii given in Lyons, France. The five-part "L'eta mi chiamo Aurata, e venga a voi" was sung by five voices and played by two cornetts and three trombones.[262] In that light, it seems plausible that three trombones may have been used in some of the sixteen Florentine intermedii compositions for which we have ambiguous descriptions of trombone use.[263]

Compositions With Four Trombones

The orchestration of trombones in groups of four was the most popular use of the instrument. Fourteen compositions from the intermedii specify the use of four trombones, nine specify one trombone, and eight specify two. This combination was apparently used throughout the sixteenth century, for compositions employing a trombone quartet are found in each performance of intermedii from 1518 to

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[262]Ibid., pp. 95-96.

[263]See table I above.

1589.[264]

The utilization of four trombones falls into two main categories: trombones used to provide the primary instrumental timbre in composition with relatively few parts, and trombones used as a significant homogeneous texture within a larger orchestra. Compositions which use trombones as a primary instrumental timbre vary frm the simple orchestration of four trombones either alone or with a solo voice, to more complex orchestrations of trombones with viols, small chorus, or miscellaneous other instruments. In larger orchestras, trombones provide a homogeneous timbre, either alone or in combination with cornetts, competing with several other instrumental and vocal timbres.

The earliest example of trombone quartet usage is found in the finale for the 1518 performance. Four trombones performed alone during the fifth act of the play. Nothing is known about the nature of the music but the performance was apparently very good. The description states that the trombonists "modulated artfully and sweetly."[265]

The finale from the 1539 intermedii makes use of a

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[264]Except in the 1586 intermedii for which an undetermined number of trombones participated.

[265]Stromboli, Zeffi description, p. XIII. Translation in Frank A. D'Accone, "Two Florentine Composers," p. 53.

trombone quartet with a solo voice. The five-part music for "Vientene almo riposo" was sung by a single alto voice on the highest part, accompanied by four trombones (see table 15).

TABLE 15

"VIENTENE ALMO RIPOSO"

S: alto voice

A: trombone

T: trombone

B: trombone

B: trombone

Another composition for solo voice and trombones is found in the fifth intermedio of the 1565 performance. "Fuggi, speme mia" was a five-voice composition for soprano solo, four trombones, four viola da gambas and a lirone. As in "Vientene almo riposo," the trombones accompanied the voice by playing the four lowest voices, doubled by the bass viols (see table 16). The lirone probably played a chordal accompaniment.

The combination of trombones and viols was repeated in the 1589 intermedii for La Pellegrina. In the fourth intermedio, five voices sang "Miseri habitator" accompanied by trombones and viols (see table 17). A lira da braccio was added to provide a chordal background.

TABLE 16

"FUGGI, SPEME MIA"[266]

S: soprano voice

A: trombone, bass viol

T: trombone, bass viol

T: trombone, bass viol

B: trombone, bass viol, lirone

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TABLE 17

"MISERI HABITATOR"[267]

S: voice, lira da braccio

A: voice, trombone, bass viol

T: voice, trombone, bass viol

T: voice, trombone, bass viol

B: voice, trombone, bass viol

In several compositions, the combination of four trombones and four viols was used as the foundation in the orchestration. Composers embellished this foundation with the addition of several other instruments such as recorders, cornetto, or plucked strings. One reason for using these

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[266]Brown, Sixteenth-Century Instrumentation, p. 100.

[267]Ibid., p. 122.

additional instruments may have been the relatively low tessitura of trombones and viols. To double a choir comprising women's voices properly, higher-voiced instruments would have been necessary. These instruments may also have been used to brighten the sombre timbre of trombones and viols.

"Perche giovine a te perigli, oltaggio" from the second intermedio of 1568 was very similar to the two compositions above. Two alternating solo voices, a soprano and a bass, were accompanied by four trombones and four viols. Three higher wind instruments, a transverse flute and two recorders, were added along with three harpsichords and three lutes. Although the number of composed voice parts was not specified, Brown has suggested that the piece was performed a 4 (see table 18).

TABLE 18

"PERCHE GIOVINE A TE PERIGLI, OLTAGGIO"[268]

S: voice, trombone, bass viol, alto flute
A: trombone, bass viol, tenor recorder
T: trombone, bass viol, tenor recorder
B: voice, trombone, bass viol
Foundation: three harpsichords, three lutes

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[268]Ibid., p. 102.

Another possibility for "Perche giovine a te perigli, oltaggio" is that it was a five-voice composition. In this case, as shown in table 19, the trombones and bass viols would have played the lowest four voices. This disposition would have avoided the problem of having a trombone and bass viol doubling the soprano solo.

TABLE 19

"PERCHE GIOVINE A TE PERIGLI, OLTAGGIO" (a 5)

S: voice, alto flute
A: trombone, bass viol, tenor recorder
T: trombone, bass viol, tenor recorder
T: trombone, bass viol
B: voice, trombone, bass viol

In another composition from the 1568 intermedii, a cornetto and three recorders were added to the trombone-viol orchestration (see table 20). The six-part "Se d'un medesmo germe" from the fifth intermedio required the larger orchestration to properly double the seven singers.

In the discussion of works with two trombones we have seen the importance of trombones orchestrated with cornetts to form a mixed consort of cup-mouthpiece instruments. This technique was also used on a larger scale with four trombones. In "Tremendo e questo loco" from the first intermedio of the 1589b performance, this

TABLE 20

"SE D'UN MEDESMO GERME"[269]

S: 2 voices, lira da bracchio, soprano viol

S: voice, cornetto, alto recorder

A: voice, trombone, tenor recorder

T: voice, trombone, tenor viol, tenor recorder

B: voice, trombone, tenor viol

B: voice, trombone, bass viol

Foundation: lute

orchestration is used as the primary instrumental accompaniment for a vocal solo, not unlike the way trombones were used in "Vientene almo riposo" in 1539. In this instance, four trombones and two cornetts play the six-part music to accompany an alto solo (see table 21). A violin was added to the highest voice, perhaps to ornament the superius. Lutes and an organ provided a harmonic foundation.

Trombones and cornetts are treated as one consort in "Olieto o vago Aprile" from the final intermedio of 1568. The six-voice music was sung by a small chorus (two singers to a part) and accompanied by the trombone-cornett consort, a lute consort, and a mixed consort of a flute, two recorders, and two viols (see table 22).

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[269]Ibid., p. 104

TABLE 21

"TREMENDO E QUESTO LOCO"[270]

S: cornetto, violin
S: cornetto
A: solo voice, trombone
T: trombone
T: trombone
B: trombone
Foundation: bass lutes, organ

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TABLE 22

"OLIETO, O VAGO APRILE"[271]

S: voices, cornetto, soprano viol, soprano lute
S: voices, cornetto, alto flute, soprano lute
A: voices, trombone, tenor recorder, alto lute
T: voices, trombone, tenor recorder, tenor lute
T: voices, trombone, tenor lute
B: voices, trombone, bass viol, bass lute

The largest group of cornetts and trombones is found in "Ingredere" from the 1539 festivities. This composition

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[270]Ibid., p. 133.

[271]Ibid., pp. 104-105.

was peripheral to the intermedii performance; it was presented to welcome the royal couple through a triumphal arch into the city. The eight-part music was sung by twenty-four voices and played by four cornetts and four trombones (see table 23). This unique instrumentation can probably be attributed to the need for volume in this outdoor performance.

TABLE 23

"INGREDERE"[272]

S: voices, cornett

S: voices, cornett

A: voices, tenor cornett

A: voices, tenor cornett

T: voices, trombone

T: voices, trombone

B: voices, trombone

B: voices, trombone

Several compositions from the 1589 intermedii for La Pellegrina utilized extraordinarily large performing forces. The two final compositions of the first and sixth intermedii were of such mammoth proportions as to require virtually every singer and instrumentalist available to the

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[272]Ibid., p. 88

production. It is not surprising that the instrumentation for each of these largest works includes four trombones.

The penultimate composition from the first intermedio, "A voi reali amanti," was composed in fifteen voice-parts divided into three choirs. All of the performers from two previous compositions combined to form a large ensemble of at least fifteen singers and twenty-eight instrumentalists. The large number of voice-parts and instruments make a variety of different scorings equally possible. The disposition suggested by Brown, shown in table 24, makes use of bowed strings, harps, and lutes in Choir I, a lute consort and a viol consort in Choir II, and a mixed wind consort of cornetto, flute and trombones in Choir III.

TABLE 24

"A VOI REALI AMANTI"[273]

Choir I

S: voice, lira da braccio
A: voice, lira da braccio
T: voice, harp
T: voice, bass viol, harp
B: voice, double viol, chitarrone, bass lute

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[273]Ibid., p. 111-112.

TABLE 24--continued

Choir II

S: voice, 2 soprano lutes, soprano viol, mandora cittern

A: voice, alto lute, tenor viol, psaltery

T: voice, tenor lute, tenor viol

T: voice, tenor lute, tenor viol

B: voice, bass lute, bass viol

Choir III

S: voice, cornetto

A: voice, trombone, tenor flute

T: voice, trombone

T: voice, trombone

B: voice, trombone

The final composition from the first intermedio, "Coppia gentil," used the same performing forces but compressed them into a six-part work (see table 25). This textural change from the relative sparseness of the previous composition to a heavily doubled choral effect was an ingenious formula to make "Coppia gentil" an impressively opulent conclusion for the first intermedio.

The two final compositions of the sixth intermedio make use of the same textural change from a sparse work of many voice-parts to a heavily doubled one. "O fortunato giorno," the largest composition of the intermedii, was

TABLE 25

"COPPIA GENTIL"[274]

S: voices, soprano lute, cornetto, soprano viol, lira da braccio, mandora

S: voices, soprano lute, tenor flute, lira da braccio, cittern, psaltery

A: voices, alto lute, trombone, tenor viol, harp

T: voices, tenor lute, trombone, tenor viol, harp

T: voices, tenor lute, trombone, tenor viol, bass viol

B: voices, 2 bass lutes, trombone, bass viol, double bass viol, chitarrone

written in thirty independent parts divided into seven choirs; sixty voices were accompanied by twenty-four instruments. Again, innumerable possibilities exist for various dispositions of instruments. Brown's suggested scoring, illustrated in table 26, orchestrates a viol consort to accompany Choir I, mixed bowed strings for Choir II, plucked strings for Choirs III through VI, and a cornett-trombone band for Choir VII.

"O che nuovo miracolo," the finale of the sixth intermedio, was a five-part composition with alternating sections of three-part music. The chorus sections (a 5) were performed with the sixty singers and twenty-four instrumentalists of the previous composition (see table 27). The

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[274]Ibid., p. 113.

TABLE 26

"O FORTUNATO GIORNO"[275]

Choir I

S: voices, soprano viol

A: voices, tenor viol

T: voices, bass viol

T: voices, bass viol

B: voices, bass viol

Choir II

S: voices, lira da braccio

S: voices, lira da braccio

S: voices, violin

T: voices

B: voices, lirone

Choir III

S: voices, mandora

A: voices, cittern

T: voices, psaltery

Choir IV

A: voices

T: voices

B: voices, lute

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[275]Ibid., pp. 129-131.

TABLE 26--continued

Choir V

S: voices

A: voices

T: voices

B: voices, 2 lutes, chitarrone

Choir VI

A: voices

T: voices

T: voices

B: voices, lute, chitarrone

Choir VII

S: voices, cornetto

S: voices, cornetto

A: voices, trombone

T: voices, trombone

T: voices, trombone

B: voices, trombone

trios were sung by three female voices and were accompanied by two guitars and a tambourine. Again, the large chorus and orchestra doubling the five-voice texture would have made a powerful grand finale.

All intermedii compositions in which four trombones were used are summarized in table 28. Trombones were employed most often to accompany a vocal solo or a small

TABLE 27

"O CHE NUOVO MIRACOLO"[276]

S: voices, cornetto, soprano viol, violin, lira da braccio, soprano lute, mandora

A: voices, cornetto, tenor voil, lira da braccio, alto lute, cittern

T: voices, trombone, tenor viol, tenor lute, psaltery

T: voices, trombone, bass viol, bass lute

B: voices, 2 trombones, bass viol, lirone, 2 chitarrone

choir. Trombones were used alone in two compositions; they were doubled by a viol consort in six compositions; and cornetts and trombones were combined to form a mixed wind consort in six compositions. In each of the four larger compositions, trombones were united with cornetts in a mixed wind band. That combination was used to accompany one choir in polychoral works or as one of several instrumental consorts in the five- and six-part music.

Compositions For an Unspecified Number of Trombones

The descriptions of sixteen compositions mention the instrumentation of trombones without specifying the number used. Most of these descriptions were written by Bastiano

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[276]Ibid., p. 132

TABLE 28

GENERAL INSTRUMENTATION OF COMPOSITIONS
UTILIZING FOUR TROMBONES

	Composition	Intermedio	General Instrumentation
1518	Instrumental Finale	5	trombone quartet alone
1539	Ingredere	(a)	chorus, cornetts, trombones
1539	Vientene almo riposo	6	solo voice, trombones
1565	Fuggi, speme mia	5	solo voice, trombones, viols
1568	Perche giovine	2	2 voices, trombones, viols, recorders
1568	Se d'un medesmo germe	5	chorus, cornetto, trombones, viols, recorders
1568	Olieto o vago	6	chorus, cornetts, trombones, recorders, lutes
1589a	Sinfonia	1	cornetto, trombones, lutes, viols
1589a	A voi reali amanti	1	large orchestra and chorus
1589a	Coppia gentil	1	large orchestra and chorus
1589a	Miseri habitator	4	5 voices, trombones, viols
1589a	O qual risplende	6	chorus, cornetts, trombones, lutes, viols

TABLE 28--continued

	Composition	Intermedio	General Instrumentation
1589a	O fortunato giorno	6	large orchestra and chorus
1589a	O che nuovo miracolo	6	large orchestra and chorus
1589b	Tremendo e questo loco	1	solo voice, cornetts, trombones, lutes, organ

(a) Ingredere was performed at the gate to the city several days prior to the intermedii performance.

de'Rossi for the performances of 1586 and 1589a. Rossi included almost no information about the number of composed voice-parts and simply listed the names of the instruments used in each work. Because Rossi usually recorded each type of instrument in its plural form, one might be led to believe that two or more of each performed. However, in the part-books for the 1589 intermedii, Malvezzi made it clear that this was not always the case.

Because the information for these compositions is incomplete, a reliable reconstruction of the orchestration is not possible. Still, the general instrumentation of these works does seem to follow the trends of trombone usage discussed in previous sections.

Nine compositions from this list were orchestrated with a mixed-wind consort of cornetts and trombones. This combination was used as a primary instrumental timbre to accompany a small chorus in compositions such as "O ben felice, e chiara" from the third intermedio of 1586. That orchestration might have been very similar to "Dal bel monte Helicon" from the 1565 intermedii (see table 11 above). Cornetts and trombones were also combined as one of several consorts in larger works. "O noi lieri, e felice" and the other compositions from the final intermedio of 1586 were probably orchestrated similarly to other works for large orchestra and chorus such as "A voi reali amanti" (see table

24) or "Coppia gentil" (see table 25), both from the 1589a performance.

Trombones and bass viols were also used together in several works. In "O di quantaira, e sdegno" from the second intermedio of 1586, trombones and viols accompany a solo male voice. This use of trombones and viols was probably orchestrated in the same manner as "Fuggi, speme mia" (see table 16) from the 1565 performance.

Table 29 provides the general information for each composition for which an unknown number of trombones were used.

TABLE 29

GENERAL INSTRUMENTATION OF COMPOSITIONS
UTILIZING AN UNSPECIFIED NUMBER
OF TROMBONES

	Composition	Intermedio	General Instrumentation
1586	O di quantaira, e sdego	2	male solo, trombones, bass viols
1586	Dall'affocate grotte	2	11 voices, trombones, bass viols
1586	O ben felice, e chiara	3	12 voices, cornetts, trombones, lutes, harps
1586	Or, poi che'l ciel ne'nvita	3	chorus, cornetts, trombones, dolzaine, lutes, harps
1586	O mie dilette, e care	3	male solo, trombones, traverse, lutes, harps
1586	Voi dell'Ira ministri	4	12 voices, trombones, traverse, lutes, harps
1586	Sinfonia	4	trombones, traverse, lutes, harps
1586	Squarisci il velo oscuro	5	chorus, trombones, flutes, lutes, harps
1586	O noi lieri, e felici	6	large orchestra and chorus

TABLE 29--continued

	Composition	Intermedio	General Instrumentation
1586	Or tornera l'antico	6	large orchestra and chorus
1589a	Sinfonia for Apollo's ballet	3	trombones, viols, transverse flutes
1589a	Lieti solcando il mare[a]	5	chorus, cornetts, trombones, dolzaine, bassoons
1589b	Grazie rendiamo a Dio	2	chorus, cornetts, trombones, traverse, lutes, organ
1589b	Arida verga, il fiore	3	solo bass, cornetts, trombones, traverse, lutes, organ
1589b	L'alma verga sacrata	3	chorus, cornetts, trombones, traverse, lutes, organ

[a]Alternate orchestration as described by Rossi.

CHAPTER IV

TROMBONE USAGE AS REVEALED IN THE EXTANT MUSIC

Most of the music from the Florentine intermedii which survives today is found in two complete original editions. These are the commemorative publications of music from the 1539 intermedii for Il Commodo and from the 1589 intermedii for La Pellegrina. The few other extant compositions are from the 1565 performance of La Cofanaria. Of the extant music, fourteen compositions specify the use of trombones.

It has already been established that, in the intermedii, trombones provided an indispensable orchestral color. The descriptions reveal that trombones were used in a variety of ways to accompany voices and, on occasion, to play instrumental "Sinfonias." Because much of what may be learned from the extant music relates to the technical abilities of the trombone, it is prudent to examine the sixteenth-century instrument and its historical development.

The Sixteenth-Century Trombone

Although the earliest history of the trombone is somewhat obscured, it is generally accepted that the instrument developed in the early fifteenth century from its single-slide ancestor, the slide trumpet.[277] The earliest iconographic evidence of a trombone is a Florentine chest painting known as "The Wedding of the Adimari" which dates from about 1450.[278] Hans Neuchel of Nurnburg, who flourished in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, is recognized as the first known maker of trombones.[279]

The oldest surviving instrument is a tenor trombone dating from 1551.[280] Both the slide bore and the bell size for such early instruments were much smaller than those for our modern instruments. Baines reports that the slide bore on extant sixteenth-century tenor trombones is 9-12 mm., compared with 12.4-13.4 mm. for small to medium-sized modern

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[277]Anthony Baines, Brass Instruments: Their History and Development (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1976), pp. 95-107.

[278]The chest painting, by Francesco di Antonio, is also known as "Cassone Adimari." It can be found in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence. A reproduction is found in Ketchum, Richard M., ed., The Horizon Book of the Renaissance (New York: American Heritage Publishing, 1961), p. 346-347.

[279]Adam Carse, Musical Wind Instruments (London: Macmillan and Co., 1939; reprint ed. New York: Da Capo Press, 1965), p. 252.

[280]Baines, Brass Instruments, p. 111.

instruments. Bell size has increased even more dramatically, from 11-12 cm. in the sixteenth century to 18-24 cm. today.[281] The physical characteristics of relatively small bore and bell size in early trombones produced a tone quality which was softer and less resonant than that of the twentieth-century instrument.

The key to technical performance on the trombone is the operation of the slide, one part of the trombone which has remained essentially unchanged. Surviving instruments attest to the highly accomplished craftsmanship of early trombone makers and their ability to create excellent slides. It is therefore important to recognize that in comparing early trombones to those of today, the main differences are in volume and tone quality and not in technical facility or musical potential.[282]

Michael Praetorius, in his Syntagma Musicum of 1619, provided information on a family of trombones in four sizes: an alto trombone (*Alt-* or *Discant Posaun*) pitched in F, a tenor trombone (*Recht gemeine Posaun*) pitched a fifth lower, a bass trombone (*Quart Posaun*) pitched an octave below the alto, which could be lowered a step by means of a crook

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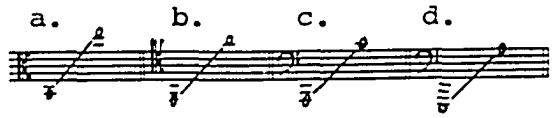
[281]Ibid., pp. 111-112 and 246.

[282]Edgar J. Lewis, "The Use of Wind Instruments in Seventeenth-Century Instrumental Music" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1964), pp. 132-133.

(*Quint Posaun*), and a contrabass trombone (*Octav Posaun*), which played an octave below the tenor. The range of each instrument, as illustrated by Praetorius, is shown in example 1.[283]

Example 1

Ranges of Trombones as Known to Praetorius



a. Alto Trombone (*Alt Posaun*)
b. Tenor Trombone (*Gemeine Posaun*)
c. Bass Trombone (*Quart Posaun*)
d. Contrabass Trombone (*Octav Posaun*)

In making comments on the nature of each member of the trombone family, Praetorius described the tenor as an agile instrument that was well suited to playing alto parts. He stated that the alto trombone did not sound as full as the tenor in high registers. Praetorius considered the bass trombone a simple instrument to learn for a performer who had mastered the tenor. The contrabass instrument is described as a relatively new invention.[284]

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[283]Michael Praetorius, Syntagma Musicum, Vol. II, De Organographia (Wolfenbuttel: n.p., 1619; translation by Harold Blumenfeld, New York: Da Capo Press, 1980), p. 20.

[284]Ibid., pp. 31-32.

Music for Trombone in the 1539 Intermedii

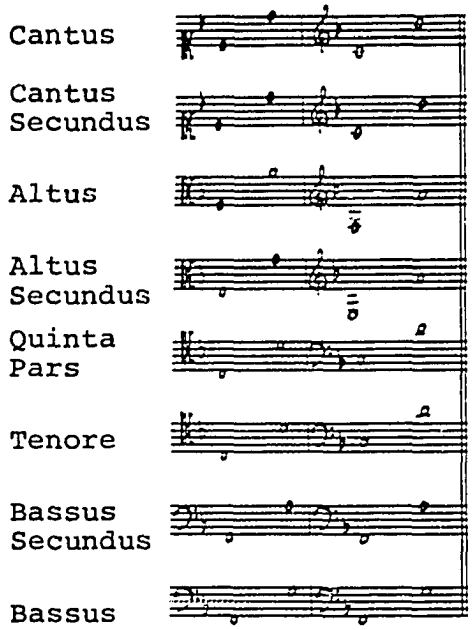
The music from the 1539 festival is particularly significant in the history of trombone literature; it is the earliest known surviving music for which a composer specified the use of trombones. There are two compositions utilizing trombones from the intermedii for Il Commodo. In addition, trombones were used in "Ingredere," the composition performed at the *Porta al Prato* upon the arrival of the royal couple. Although this work was not part of the intermedii performance, it was included in the published festival music. It is for this reason that "Ingredere" has been included in this study.

"Ingredere" is an eight-voice composition by Francesco Corteccia. For its performance at the city gates, it was sung by twenty-four voices and played by four cornetts (two of them probably tenor cornetts) and four trombones. The cornetts would have doubled the upper four voices and the trombones the lower four. Example 2 illustrates the designation, original clef, and tessitura of each part.

The range of the Quinta and Tenor parts are perfectly suited to tenor trombones. Although the low F in each of the Bassus parts is playable by a tenor trombone, these parts could have been played more easily on bass trombones, such as the *Quart Posaun* described by Praetorius.

Example 2

"Ingredere"



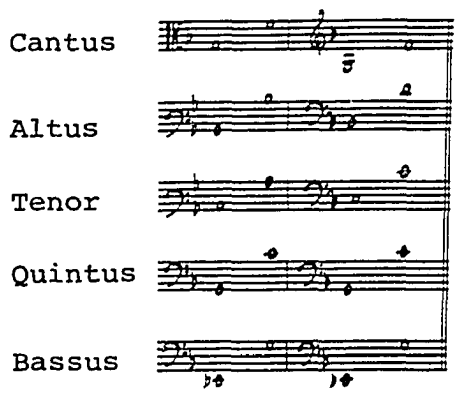
At the opening of "Ingredere," each voice enters in free imitation of the Cantus part. The highly contrapuntal texture is virtually seamless, without internal cadences. Moderate technical demands are found in the individual voices which combine scalewise and mildly disjunct motion with numerous leaps of a fifth, and a few of an octave. Although the rhythm of the voices is predominantly simple, in alla breve time, there is some syncopation and obscuring of the metric pulse.

In the final intermedio of the 1539 performance, the allegorical character Night sang a solo, "Vientene almo riposo," accompanied by four trombones. This five-voice

composition was also written by Francesco Corteccia. Although each of the five parts was printed with corresponding text, it is clear from the description that an alto sang the solo (Cantus part) and each of the four lower parts were played by a trombone. Example 3 shows that the ranges of the three inner parts are ideally suited to be played on tenor trombones. The Bassus part extends to a low Eb, a note that is impossible on the tenor trombone described by Praetorius, but that is easily playable by a bass trombone.

Example 3

"Vientene almo riposo"



The technical demands of "Vientene almo riposo" are quite conservative. Each voice is predominantly scalar in motion and simple in rhythm. Corteccia's choice of meter, C, indicates that the composition should proceed slowly,

thereby reflecting the calm and restful nature of the text.

Following "Vientene almo riposo," the serene mood was interrupted by the lively finale, "Bacco, bacco e u o e." This four-voice composition was sung by a small chorus and played by an ensemble of mixed wind instruments including one trombone.[285] As illustrated in example 4, the range of the two lower voices would have been suitable for tenor trombones. Brown suggests that a trombone played the Bassus part because it was the only wind instrument of the group capable of playing in that register.[286] Although either a tenor or a bass trombone could have played the Bassus part, the actual tessitura of the music suggests that a tenor instrument would have been more appropriate. The low F occurs only once and the remainder of the music falls between the B^{b}-b^{b} octave.

"Bacco, bacco e u o e" is a strictly homophonic composition with regular phrasing every two measures. The dance rhythms in triple meter and the conjunct melodies would have provided few technical demands for the instrumentalists. This brief composition was undoubtedly repeated several times, for the parts bear the instruction "*a capite*" following the final double bar.

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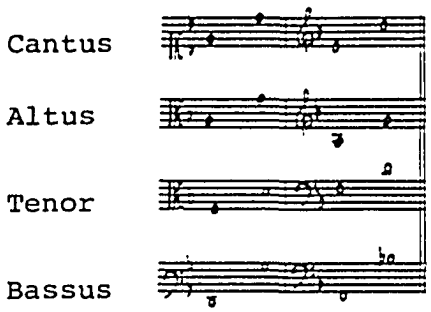
[285]For the complete instrumentation see table 7 on page 120 above.

[286]Brown, Sixteenth-Century Instrumentation, p. 93.

Example 4

"Bacco, bacco e u o e"



Music for Trombone in the 1565 Intermedii

Only two compositions from the 1565 intermedii for La Cofanaria have survived. Fortunately, both works included trombone in the orchestration. Although no collection of music for the 1565 intermedii survives, the two compositions with trombone were published later in separate volumes.[287]

"A me che fatta son negletta, e sola," an eight-voice composition from the first intermedio, was written by Alessandro Striggio. It was sung by eight voices onstage and accompanied from behind the scene by a viol consort, several harpsichords, and an ensemble of mixed wind instruments including one trombone.[288]

Since the music was written for two equal choirs of

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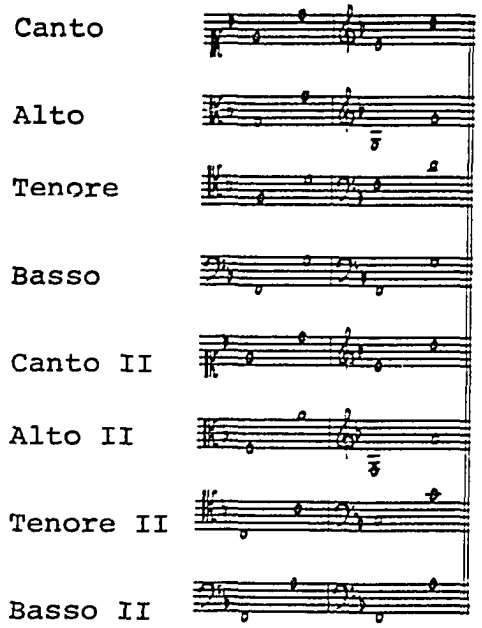
[287]See above p. 27.

[288]For the complete instrumentation see table 2 on page 79 above.

four voices each, it is logical that the viol consort doubled the voices of one choir and the mixed winds doubled the other. Functioning as the lowest voice of the mixed wind group, the trombone would have played one of the two Basso parts. The range of either part, as displayed in example 5, could be played on either a tenor or bass trombone.

Example 5

"A me che fatta"

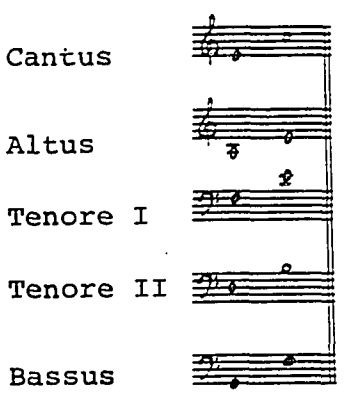


The other surviving work is "Fuggi, speme mia," a lament from the fifth intermedio, also by Alessandro Striggio. This five-voice composition was sung by a solo

soprano and accompanied by four trombones, four viols, and a lirone. The highest part was sung alone by the soprano while each of the four lower parts was played by a trombone and a viol. The lirone provided an improvised chordal accompaniment. Four tenor trombones would have suited the tessitura of the four lower parts as shown in example 6; three tenor trombones and a bass trombone would have been equally compatible.

Example 6

"Fuggi, speme mia"



"Fuggi, speme mia" is marked by a predominantly homophonic texture that allows ample opportunity for melodic embellishment by the solo voice. The slow, chordal movement is expressive of the lamenting dramatic context.

Music for Trombone in the 1589a Intermedii

Nine compositions which specify the use of trombone have survived from the 1589 intermedii for La Pellegrina. That a wealth of extant music should survive from this festival seems appropriate, for the performance was the largest of its kind in Renaissance Florence. The music is particularly significant because it represents the culmination of the Florentine intermedii genre.

The first work to use trombones was the "Sinfonia" from the opening intermedio. This six-part composition by Cristofano Malvezzi was performed by a large orchestra of twenty-eight players consisting of mixed winds, lutes, viols, and harps.[289] The mixed wind consort comprised a cornett, a transverse flute, and four trombones.

The six parts were probably divided among the mixed winds in this manner: the cornett and the flute played the two highest voices and the four trombones played the lower four voices. From the illustration of ranges for each part in example 7, it can be seen that each of the four lower voices was playable on a tenor trombone. The Basso part falls more comfortably within the range of a bass trombone. The Alto part could have been played on an alto trombone. This combination of an alto trombone, two tenor trombones,

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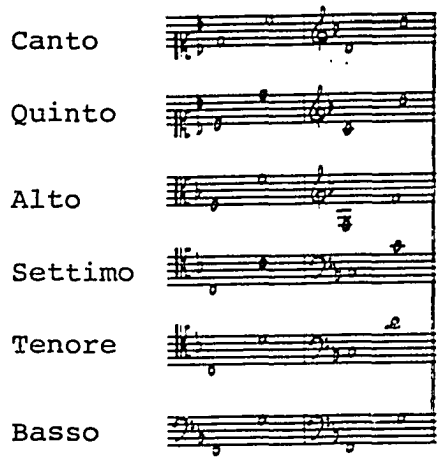
[289]For the complete instrumentation see p. 79 above.

and a bass trombone is further supported by the original clefs: alto, tenor, tenor, and bass respectively.

Example 7

"Sinfonia"



The "Sinfonia" is written as a stately pavane in a simple contrapuntal texture. The six voices are nearly equal in the melodic interest and none is technically difficult. A repeat sign appears before the final note indicating that the entire, brief composition was played at least twice. With the resource of the large, multi-colored orchestra, it is conceivable that the composer chose to vary the orchestration by the alternation of consorts on each repeat. However, there is no specific evidence to support or dispute this premise.

"A voi reali amanti," also from the first

intermedio, was one of the extraordinarily large works in the 1589 performance. In this composition, Malvezzi called for at least fifteen singers as well as the twenty-eight instrumentalists that played the "Sinfonia." The music was written in fifteen voice-parts divided into three equal choirs.[290]

Although a variety of possibilities exists for the orchestration of this work, it is most likely that the mixed wind consort of cornett, flute, and four trombones played together to double the voices of one choir. The trombones would have played the lower four voices of the five-part group. The ranges for each part, as seen in example 8, show that the three Tenore parts and Quinto parts are well suited to be played on tenor trombones. The three Alto parts are playable on tenor trombones but are better suited to the range of an alto trombone. Each of the Basso parts is also playable on a tenor trombone, but in the extreme low register. The Basso part would have been best played on a bass trombone. Therefore, the four trombones (as well as the cornett and flute) could have doubled any one of the three choirs.

Greater technical demands were made on the instrumentalists in "A voi reali amanti" than in any of the works

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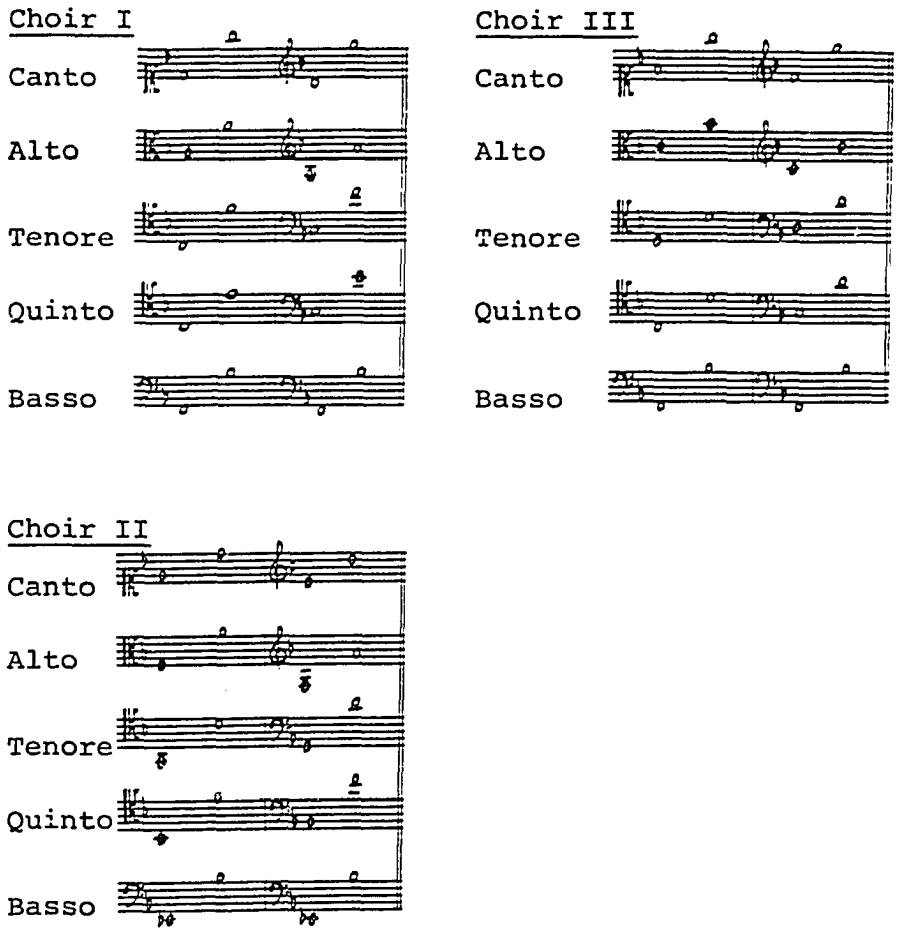
[290]For the complete instrumentation see table 24 on page 137 above.

Example 8

"A voi reali amanti"

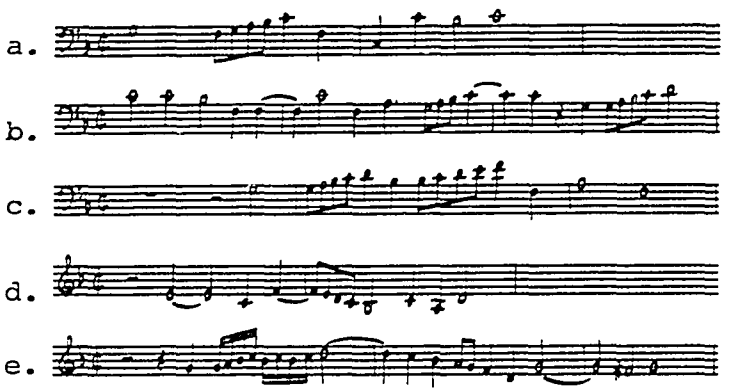


discussed previously. Most of the composition is written in alla breve time with the whole note receiving the pulse. Virtually every part contains short, scalar runs of eighth notes which, even at a conservative tempo would represent a

moderately high level of difficulty.[291] A few passages illustrative of this are seen in example 9 a-d. The Basso parts contain no complex passages; these parts are limited to predominantly half-note rhythms with a few quarter notes. At the other extreme, each of the three Canto parts contains brief sixteenth-note figures which must be considered very difficult, as illustrated in example 9 e.

Example 9

Passages from "A voi reali amanti"



a. Choir I Quinto, measures 1-2
b. Choir III Tenore, measures 6-8
c. Choir II Quinto, measures 36-38
d. Choir II Alto, measures 45-46
e. Choir I Canto, measures 42-44

Clearly, the most florid lines appear in the highest voices, the inner voices are all of moderate difficulty, and

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[291] A conservative tempo might be whole note equals M.M. 60.

the Basso parts are relatively free of technical demands. The absence of sixteenth notes in any of the parts that trombones might have played may indicate that trombones were not considered agile enough for such assignment. However, other considerations such as clarity of internal lines may have been the composer's motivation.

The final composition of the first intermedio was Malvezzi's "Coppia gentil." This six-voice madrigal utilized the same group of singers and instrumentalists as "A voi reali amanti." "Coppia gentil" was probably orchestrated in virtually the same manner as the "Sinfonia" discussed earlier.[292] The six mixed winds would have played as a consort with four trombones sounding the lower four parts. The tessitura of individual parts in "Coppia gentil," shown in example 10, is very similar to that in the "Sinfonia" (see example 7). In particular, the lower four voices present the same considerations regarding trombone usage. Each of those parts could again have been played by a tenor trombone. An alto trombone could have been substituted for a tenor to play the Alto part. More likely, a bass trombone might have been used to play the Basso part.

The lilting triple meter and final alla breve section of "Coppia gentil" provide few technical challenges

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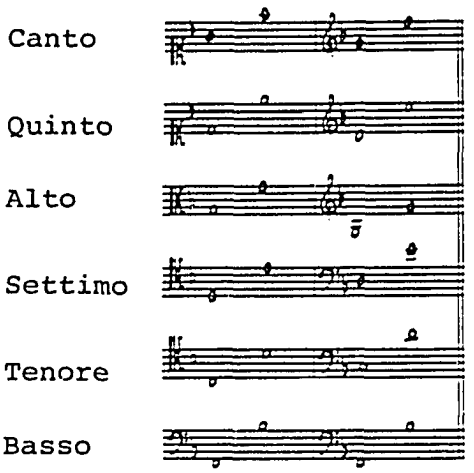
[292]For the complete instrumentation see table 25 on page 139 above.

Example 10

"Coppia gentil"



for the instrumentalists. The predominant character of the work is homophonic, though in the final section each voice is given great independence. Individual voice movement tends to be scalewise with leaps of small, diatonic intervals.

In the third intermedio, a single trombone was included in the instrumentation of "Qui di carne si sfama." This twelve-voice work by Luca Marenzio was composed for two, six-part choirs. Twelve instruments were used in the orchestration including liras, viols, lutes, harp, cornett, and bass trombone.[293] Although a variety of instrumental

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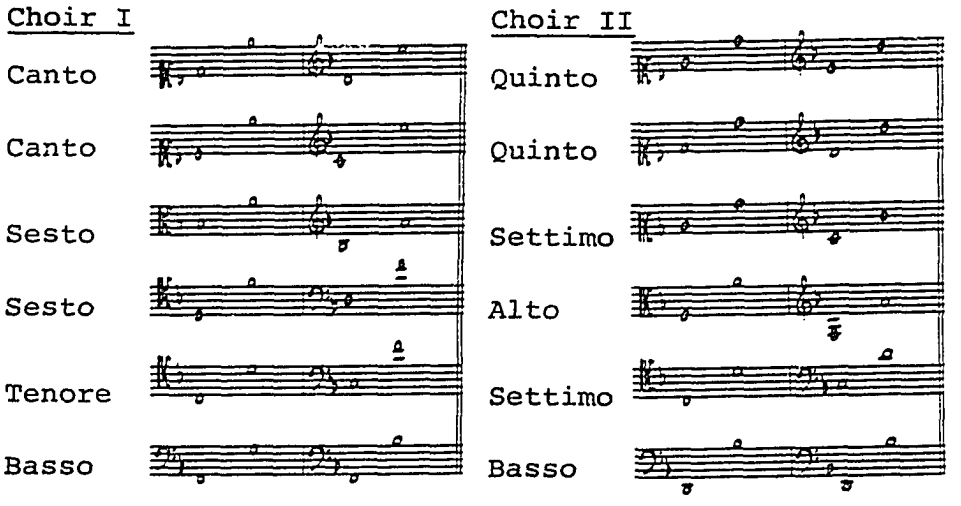
[293]For the complete instrumentation, see table 5 on page 118 above.

dispositions would have been possible, it is most likely that the bass trombone played one of the two Basso parts. The tessitura of the parts, as shown in example 11, illustrates that indeed either Basso part would have been within the range of a bass trombone. The Choir I Basso is similar in range to the examples shown earlier in this chapter in that it is playable by a tenor trombone but is better suited to the bass. However, because the Choir II Basso descends to a low D, the bass trombone would have been the only member of the trombone family capable of playing the part.

Example 11

"Qui di carne si sfama"



Both of the Basso parts contain a few passages of moderate difficulty. These passages include scalewise runs of eighth notes. Like "A voi reali amanti," discussed earlier, this composition is written in alla breve time with the whole note receiving the pulse. Therefore, the eighth-note passages, one of which is shown in example 12 a, would demand facile technique. This is all the more demanding for the bass trombonist because of the physical length of the slide and the somewhat awkward manner of the slide handle. The remainder of the Basso parts are made up of figures that sound the roots and fifths of harmonies. These figures, such as example 12 b, often include rapid leaps of an octave, which would have required great agility on the part of the bass trombonist.

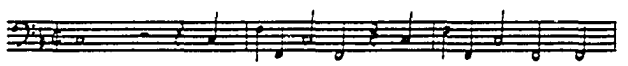
Example 12

Passage from "Qui di carne si sfama"

a.



b.



a. Choir I Basso, measures 39-43
b. Choir II Basso, measures 51-53.

"O mille volte," the final composition from the third intermedio, is an eight-voice work by Luca Marenzio. Contemporary descriptions were imprecise regarding the

number of instruments used to perform this music. A statement in Malvezzi's description suggests that this work utilized the same instrumentation as "Qui di carne si sfama," which had appeared earlier in the third intermedio.[294] That conjecture seems to be the basis of Brown's hypothetical disposition of voices and instruments.[295] If the same instruments had been used, one bass trombone would have been part of the instrumentation. As was the case in the previous work, the bass trombone would have played one of the two Basso parts. Certainly the range of those parts, illustrated in example 13, would have been completely compatible with the bass trombone. Technical demands are moderately difficult and very similar to those in "Qui di carne si sfama."

In the fourth intermedio, four trombones, four viols, a lira da braccio, and five voices performed "Miseri habitator" by Giovanni de'Bardi. The five-part composition was sung with one voice to a part and each of the four lower parts was doubled by both a trombone and a viol. The tessitura of the voices, as shown in example 14, reveals that the trombone parts were probably played by four tenor trombones, or three tenors and a bass trombone. The Alto

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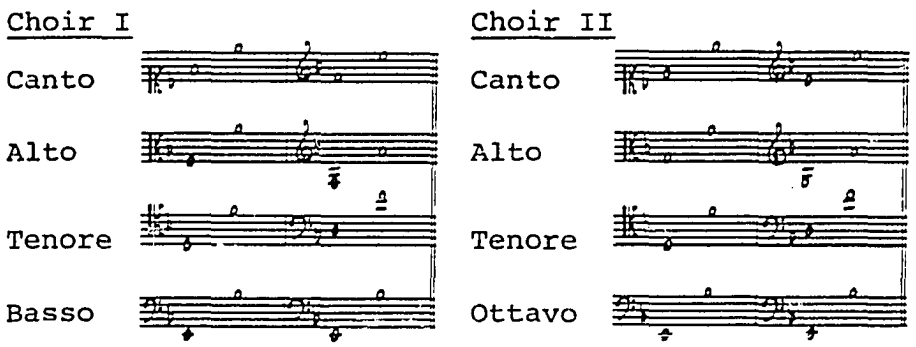
[294]"In questo si tenne l'ordine medesimo dell'antecedente." Malvezzi, Nono part-book, p. 10.

[295]Brown, Sixteenth-Century Instrumentation, p. 120.

Example 13

"O mille volte"



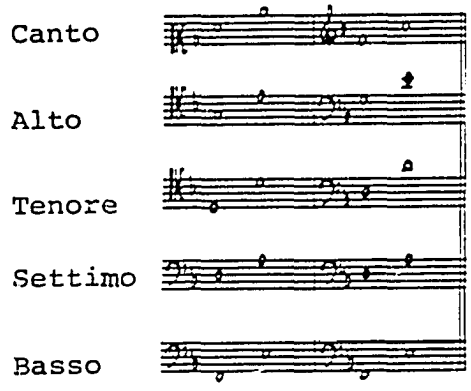
part would be playable on an alto trombone, but would fall in a more comfortable range for a tenor. Similarly, the Basso part is playable on a tenor trombone but is better suited to the bass. The original clefs for each part suggest a third possibility, that two tenor trombones and two bass trombones were used.

The slow-moving homophony of "Miseri habitator" does not tax the performers' technical skills. Instead, the chordal movement of the composition develops a lamenting character appropriate for the underworld scene it represents.

"O qual risplende nube" is one of three compositions which used trombones in the final intermedio. The six-voice composition by Cristofano Malvezzi was performed by a large chorus of twenty-four voices and nineteen instrumentalists,

Example 14

"Miseri habitator"



who played viols, lutes and other plucked strings, two cornetts, and four trombones.[296] The cup-mouthpiece instruments were used as a single consort with one instrument to a part: cornetts played the upper two parts while trombones played the lower four. In example 15 it can be seen that the range of the Alto part is well suited to either an alto or a tenor trombone, the Settimo and Tenore parts are ideally suited to tenor trombones, and the Bass part could have been played by either a tenor or bass trombone.

A homophonic texture dominates "O qual risplende nube," but subtle moments of independent melodic activity are found throughout the work. These passages are

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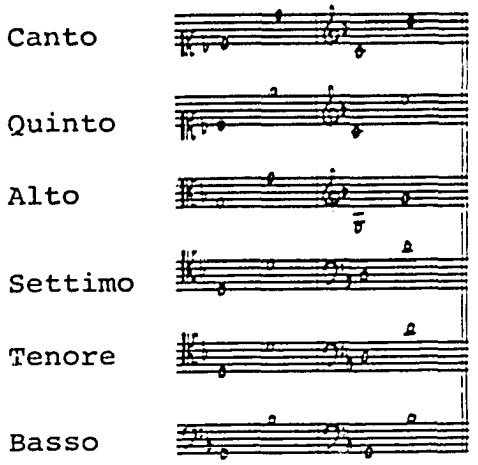
[296]For the complete instrumentation see page 98.

Example 15

"O qual risplende nube"



characterized by eighth-note scalar patterns, dotted rhythms with sixteenth-note flourishes, or syncopations which are imitated in every voice. This composition is written in alla breve time with whole-note pulse values, so that the eighth-note and sixteenth-note patterns would require a moderately high level of technical proficiency of the instrumentalists.

Two final compositions of the intermedii for La Pellegrina utilized every performer available, sixty singers and an orchestra of twenty-four. Malvezzi's "O fortunato giorno," the penultimate work, was written in thirty voice-parts divided into seven choirs. The large orchestra included four trombones which, along with two cornetts,

probably doubled the six voice-parts of Choir VII.[297] With such a large number of parts, other dispositions are possible; however, this is the only solution that makes logical use of the cornetts and trombones as a single consort. The tessitura of the four lower parts of Choir VII, as seen in example 16, would have been played easily by four tenor trombones or three tenors and a bass trombone.

Technical demands in the trombone parts of "O fortunato giorno" may be considered moderately difficult because of Malvezzi's characteristic use of eighth-note runs (see example 17). However, most of the composition is far less difficult. For much of the work, each choir is nearly homophonic within itself. The seven choirs respond to each other in imitative dialogue in the first several sections, but all converge in homorhythmic texture in the final $\phi\frac{3}{2}$ section.

For the finale of the 1589a intermedii, the entire company of sixty voices and twenty-four instrumentalists performed Emilio de'Cavalieri's "O che nuovo miracolo." The large chorus and orchestra performed five-part music which alternated with three-part music sung by a trio.[298] The

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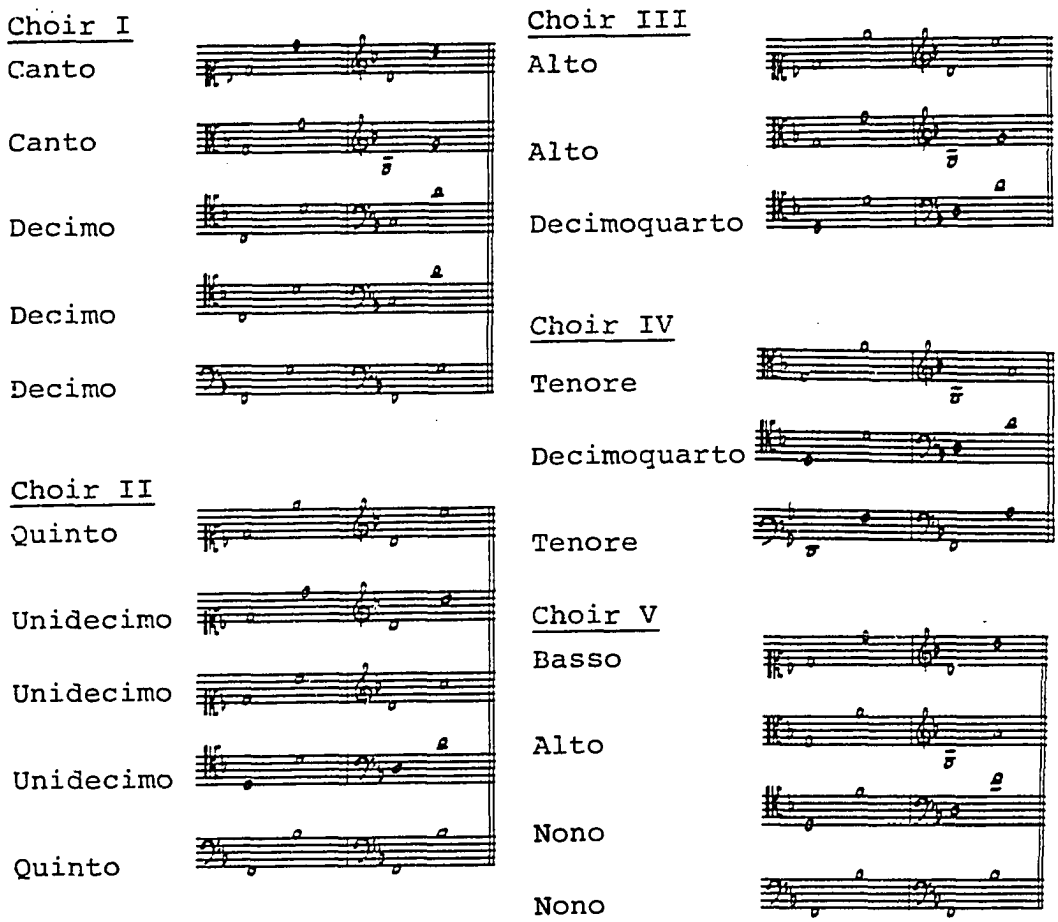
[297]This is the conclusion of Brown in Sixteenth-Century Instrumentation, pp. 129-131. For the complete instrumentation see table 26 on page 140 above.

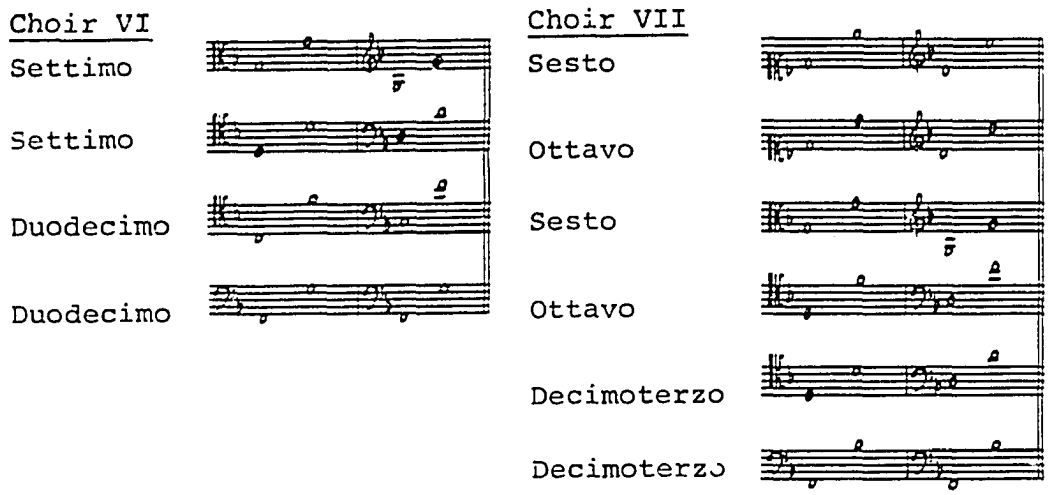
[298]For the complete instrumentation see table 27 on page 142 above.

Example 16

"O fortunato giorno"

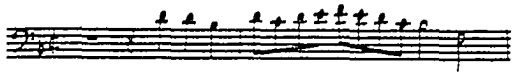


Example 16--continued



Example 17

Passage from "O fortunato giorno"



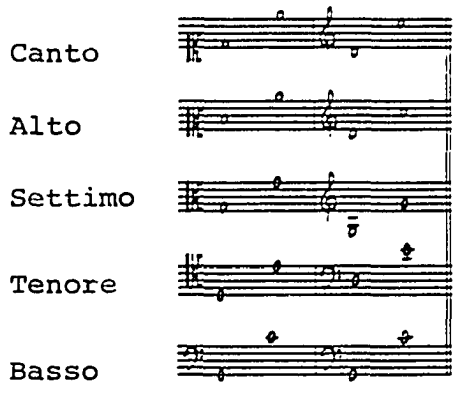
Choir VII Ottavo II, measures 26-27

four trombones probably played the lower three voices with two trombones doubling one part, perhaps the Basso. As seen

in example 18, the tessitura of the Settimo, Tenore, and Basso parts all correspond to the functional range of tenor trombones. The Basso part is also within the best range of a bass trombone.

Example 18

"O che nuovo miracolo"



Technical demands in "O che nuovo miracolo" are limited by the slow and stately nature of the pavane that dominates the five-part music. Further, the composer utilizes a simple, homophonic texture throughout.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION: THE USE OF TROMBONES IN ITALIAN DRAMATIC MUSIC OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The Florentine intermedii are among the most highly documented performances of the sixteenth century. Extant contemporary descriptions and original publications of music are uniquely valuable sources which have made an accurate examination of these performances possible. Through the reconstruction of the original orchestrations for the intermedii, a clear picture of trombone usage has emerged.

The information from the intermedii is all the more valuable because it illustrates the evolution of trombone usage through the century in the practices of many composers. The general ways in which these composers employed trombones may be thought of as principles of orchestration. These, in turn, are useful in determining aspects of performance practice in other Italian dramatic music of the Renaissance, and in understanding trends that continued well into the seventeenth century.

Instrumental Combinations Which Utilize Trombones

Composers of the intermedii used trombones in specific instrumental combinations for specific purposes. These combinations fall into three prominent groups: trombones in a full, homogeneous consort; trombones in consorts of mixed wind instruments; and a single trombone as the lowest voice of an ensemble employing various instruments.

Six compositions from the intermedii exemplify the use of trombones in a homogeneous texture. Each of these works has relatively few parts and is limited in performance forces, and each uses four trombones. The earliest example of this practice utilized a simple orchestration of the four trombones performing alone as a quartet. This instrumental composition accompanied the final scene of the 1518 intermedii. Little more is known about the work since the music does not survive. In every other instance of their use in a homogeneous texture, trombones accompanied a solo voice or small chorus. An example from the 1539 intermedii, "Vientene almo riposo," was orchestrated with four trombones to play the lower four voices of the five-part composition. The trombones accompanied a solo alto vocalist who sang the highest part.

In the examples from the latter half of the century, more complex orchestrations are found. A solo soprano was

accompanied by four trombones, four viols, and a lirone in "Fuggi, speme mia" from the intermedii of 1565. In this five-part composition, each of the four lower voices was played by a trombone and a viol. This basic sonority was colored by the lirone which provided a chordal background.

Similar orchestrations in which four trombones and four viols accompany voices are found in other intermedii. In "Perche giovine a te perigli, oltaggio," from the 1568 intermedii, trombones and viols accompanied two singers. In this work, the basic sonority of trombones and viols was colored by recorders which were added to provide more brilliance for the higher voices. Three harpsichords and three lutes contributed a chordal background.

Trombones and viols together formed the foundation for another orchestration from the 1568 intermedii. The six-part "Se d'un medesmo germe" was sung by seven voices, accompanied by a cornett and three recorders in addition to the trombone-viol group. A lira da braccio and a lute provided chordal accompaniment.

In "Miseri habitator" from the fourth intermedio of 1589a, the simple trombone-viol orchestration was chosen to accompany five singers. The lower four voices of the five-part composition were supported by four trombones and four viols. A lira da braccio played a chordal foundation.

Several principles regarding the use, in orchestration, of trombones in a homogeneous texture are evident in the preceding examples. Throughout the sixteenth century a quartet of trombones customarily provided accompaniment for a solo voice or a small chorus of solo voices. Five-part music for which trombones played the lower four voices was most common. During the early part of the century these instruments were used alone. In later years they were doubled with an equal number of viols, and a few higher-voiced wind instruments such as cornetts, flutes, or recorders occasionally were added. The chordal foundation was usually provided by a lirone, lira da braccio, harpsichord, or lute.

The great majority of intermedii compositions utilize trombones in consorts of mixed wind instruments. Though trombones were most often orchestrated with cornetts, they were also used with other wind instruments. These works employ either two or four trombones and require forces ranging from just a few instruments up to a large orchestra.

Two trombones and two cornetts were used as the primary instrumental accompaniment in compositions as "D'ogn'altra furia e peste" from the 1568 intermedii. This five-part work was sung by five voices and played by two cornetts, two trombones, and a bass crumhorn. The cornetts doubled the two soprano voices, the trombones doubled the alto and tenor, and the bass crumhorn doubled the bass.

Similar orchestrations are found which utilize two cornetts and four trombones. In "Tremendo e questo loco" from the first intermedio of the 1589b performance, a vocal solo was accompanied by two cornetts, four trombones, a violin, several bass lutes, and an organ. The six-voice composition was played by the cornetts and trombones, one to a part. The violin probably ornamented the highest voice whereas the lutes and organ functioned as a harmonic foundation.

A unique application of cornetts and trombones as a primary instrumental accompaniment is found in "Ingredere," the eight-voice composition performed at the city gates during the 1539 wedding festival. On this occasion, a large chorus was accompanied by four cornetts and four trombones.

Works with more complex instrumentation employed cornetts and trombones as a single consort in opposition to one or more other consorts. One such piece is "Olieto, o vago Aprile," a six-voice composition from the finale of the 1568 intermedii. The music was sung by a small chorus of twelve voices and accompanied by three different consorts: a consort of two cornetts and four trombones, a consort of six lutes, and a mixed consort consisting of one flute, two recorders, and two viols.

Similarly, the cornett-trombone band was used as one of several consorts in polychoral works such as the fifteen-voice "A voi reali amanti" from the 1589a intermedii. The

composition is divided into three choirs of five voices each. The large instrumental ensemble can be separated into four distinct groups to double the three choirs: a mixed consort of bowed strings, a lute consort, a viol consort, and a consort of one cornett and four trombones.

Occasionally, two trombones joined in a consort of mixed wind instruments. In the four-voice composition "O che non sol pur guerra" from the 1568 intermedii, four singers were supported by three recorders and two trombones. The recorders probably doubled the upper two voices while the trombones doubled the lower two.

A mixed group of two trombones, one cornett, and two recorders comprised one consort for the instrumental music accompanying Venus' descent in the opening intermedio of 1565. This consort was contrasted by a mixed consort of four viols and a transverse flute in performing the five-voice composition. Four harpsichords and two flutes provided a strong harmonic foundation.

Principles of orchestration drawn from these examples of mixed-wind consorts are particularly important because this application was the most common use of the trombone in the intermedii. Ordinarily two or four trombones were used with two cornetts in a mixed wind consort. Less often two trombones were combined with recorders. Occasionally, an orchestration involving either of these

groups included an extrinsic instrument such as a crumhorn in the cornett-trombone consort. Similarly, a cornett was occasionally included in the recorder-trombone group. Trombones commonly played the lowest voices of a composition. In small works the mixed wind consort supplied the primary instrumental accompaniment for a vocal solo or small chorus. In large compositions, the consort of mixed winds functioned as one of several timbres doubling the voices. Single-choir works used several timbres on each part; in polychoral works each consort doubled a different choir.

In each of the compositions from the intermedii which utilize a single trombone, that trombone plays the lowest voice in combination with a group of higher-voiced instruments. In many cases, the descriptions specify the use of a bass trombone. Because a single trombone performed the lowest voice of the instrumental ensemble, the choice of bass trombone would have been logical in most cases in which the size of the trombone is not specified.

One such example is in "A me, che fatta son negletta" from the first intermedio of 1565. The eight-voice composition was written for two equal choirs. One choir was accompanied by four viols, the other by one cornett, two recorders, and a trombone. The trombone functioned as the lowest voice of the mixed-wind consort.

Another example from the 1565 intermedii is "Oh altero miracolo novello," a four-voice composition. The orchestration utilized a lute consort, a mixed wind consort, a partial viol consort, and three harpsichords. The consort of mixed winds consisted of a cornett, a flute, a recorder, and a bass trombone.

Only one principle governed the orchestrator's use of a single trombone: the trombone was employed to play the lowest voice in a group of several instruments. Usual practice combined the trombone with other wind instruments, especially cornett and recorder. However, bass trombone was sometimes chosen to supply the foundation in ensembles of mixed strings and winds.

In the third volume of Syntagma Musicum, Michael Praetorius discusses various orchestrations that may be used to arrange part-music for choirs and various instruments. Although Praetorius approaches this subject with regard to German sacred music of the early seventeenth century, his writings represent a culmination of the musical practices of his time. It is therefore interesting to compare the use of the trombone in the orchestrations discussed by Praetorius with those used in the intermedii.

A few striking similarities are found between the writings of Praetorius and the practices of the intermedii. In the orchestrations he suggests for the polychoral motets

of Orlando di Lasso, Praetorius frequently uses trombones in consorts of mixed wind instruments. In several suggested orchestrations of "Quo prosperas" he combines four trombones with a cornett.[299] Other orchestrations include two recorders, two trombones, and a bassoon, and the combination of transverse flutes with four trombones. The greatest dissimilarity between Praetorius' examples and those of the intermedii is that the instruments do not double voices or other instruments. Only one consort is used for each set of parts and the practice of several consorts all doubling the same parts, as they were used in the intermedii, is not mentioned.

Praetorius does not use a full consort of trombones in a homogeneous texture as did the intermedii. However, he does use trombones as the primary instrumental accompaniment for one choir of a polychoral composition. In his example of "Laudate pueri Dominum" the second choir of four parts is orchestrated for a solo voice and three trombones.[300] A similar orchestration is given for the first variation of "Quo prosperas." Praetorius recommends that either of the

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[299]Michael Praetorius, Syntagma Musicum Vol. III (Wolfenbuttel: Elias Holwein, 1619); translation by Hans Lampl, "A Translation of Syntagma Musicum III" (D.M.A. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1957), pp. 261-262.

[300]Ibid., p. 260

five-part choirs could be performed by a solo voice, three tenor trombones, and a bass trombone.[301]

Praetorius' suggestions for the use of a single trombone as the lowest voice in a consort employing various instruments is also quite similar to the practices of the intermedii. He states that "In small ensembles [a] trombone also may be used--if blown well and delicately--as the bass playing along with the small positives or four-foot organ stops."[302] In his example of "In convortendo," Praetorius illustrates the orchestration of one trombone as the lowest voice of a group of either winds or strings. To play the three highest parts of the first choir, he suggests three flutes, three cornetts, or three violins, and to perform the lowest part, a voice and a trombone. He orchestrates the second choir with three viols, three violins, or three recorders for the high parts and a bassoon or bass trombone for the bass part.[303]

Technical Considerations in Trombone Parts

An investigation of the technical demands in the trombone parts of the intermedii will assist an understanding of the technical abilities of sixteenth-century

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[301]Ibid., p. 262.

[302]Ibid., p. 253.

[303]Ibid., p. 261.

trombonists. In particular, extant trombone parts illustrate the practical ranges in which trombones were used and the degree of technical facility required to play these works. In consideration of the data regarding ranges and technical facility contained in trombone parts of the intermedii, one should be aware that the compositions were conceived as vocal works. The primary concern of the composers was that the individual parts conform to the practical ranges of the voices that were to sing them.

A compilation of the ranges of all trombone parts in the extant compositions from the intermedii reveals that trombones were required to play from D to $b^{b'}$, a span of nearly three octaves (see example 1a). Of course this range was never required of any single player, and it represents a composite range gathered from parts that were played on alto trombones, tenor trombones, and bass trombones. A composite of the practical ranges of the *Alt*, *Gemeine*, and *Quart Posaun* recorded by Praetorius, as illustrated in example 1b, is only slightly larger than that used in the intermedii.[304]

The trombone parts in the intermedii were written in four clefs: alto, tenor, baritone, and bass. An examination

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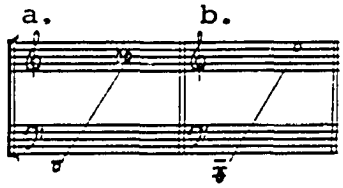
[304]Michael Praetorius, Syntagma Musicum Vol. II: De Organographia (Wolfenbuttel: Elias Holwein, 1619); translation by Harold Blumfeld (New York: Da Capo Press, 1980), p. 20.

Example 1

Comparison of Composite Trombone Ranges

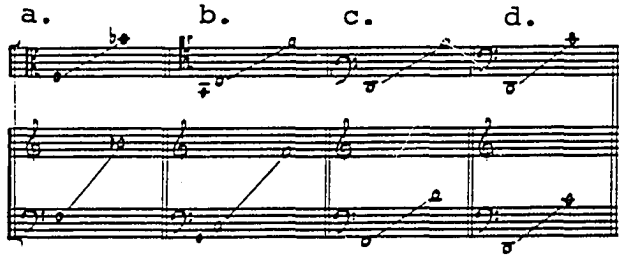


a. Composite of trombone ranges found in the intermedii.
b. Composite of trombone ranges (*Alt*, *Gemeine*, *Quart*) known to Praetorius.

of the composite ranges within each clef will provide more specific information regarding the relative ranges of high, medium, and low trombone parts. These composite ranges are given in example 2.

Example 2

Composite Ranges Within Each Clef



a. Composite range of parts written in alto clef.
b. Composite range of parts written in tenor clef.
c. Composite range of parts written in baritone clef.
d. Composite range of parts written in bass clef.

All six examples of probable trombone parts written in alto clef are found in the 1589a intermedii. In the music for that performance, alto clef was used for the highest trombone part in every composition in which four trombones were specified except "Miseri habitator." The range of most parts written in alto clef would have been playable on either an alto trombone or a tenor trombone. Only a few of these parts ascend higher than a', the practical tenor trombone range as specified by Praetorius. Because there is no upper limit to the capabilities of a trombone, it is logical to assume that accomplished tenor trombone players of the day would have been able to play even the highest parts written in alto clef.

The composite range of trombone parts written in tenor clef is best expressed as c - f'. The low G occurs in only one composition, "A voi reali amanti," from the 1589a intermedii. The tessitura of every trombone part written in tenor clef is well within the range of a tenor trombone.

Only three extant trombone parts were written in baritone clef; all three are from the 1539 intermedii. The upper two trombone parts in "Vientene almo riposo" were written in baritone clef and are within the practical range of tenor trombones only. The lowest voice in "Bacco, bacco e u o e" could have been played on tenor trombone, but because it descends to a low F, it was best suited to the capabilities of a bass trombone.

Bass clef was used most often for trombone parts in the intermedii. Every composition for which a trombone was specified utilizes at least one bass clef part. Many of these parts could have been played on tenor trombone. Indeed, in compositions such as "Vientene almo riposo" and "Miseri habitator," in which the two lowest parts were both written in bass clef, it is likely that one of these was played by a tenor trombone. However, most of the trombone parts written in bass clef descend to low F or G, notes that are difficult to produce with clarity on narrow-bore tenor trombones. These parts were most likely intended for bass trombones.

The data regarding ranges seems to dispute Howard Mayer Brown's contention that four tenor trombones comprised the standard sixteenth-century trombone consort.[305] When four trombone parts are used simultaneously, the lowest part is usually best suited to the bass trombone. In the compositions in which trombones were used in a homogeneous texture, such as "Vientene almo riposo" and "Miseri habitator," the parts seem ideally suited to three tenor trombones and a bass. Because of the two equally low bass parts in "Ingredere," two tenors and two bass trombones would have been most successful. A consort of alto, tenor,

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[305]Brown, Sixteenth-Century Instrumentation.

tenor, and bass trombones is also implied by the high tessitura of some parts in the 1589a intermedii. This evidence would suggest that a "standard" trombone consort is not recognizable in the intermedii but that trombone sizes were determined by the needs of particular musical situations.

At least one statement by Praetorius suggests that there may have been some relationship between the use of clefs and the sizes of trombones intended to play the parts. "For the low basses one always uses a double bassoon, or large bass pommer, or a bass trombone, just as for the common basses which are written in bass clef a bass trombone must be used at all times."[306] In most instances, however, the composer's choice of clef was probably intended to signify the voice type to be used or to avoid the need for ledger lines in publication.

Technical proficiency required of trombonists in the intermedii increased significantly between 1539 and 1589. The most difficult passages in the 1539 works consist of only a few scalar eighth-note runs in alla breve time. By contrast, the 1589 intermedii contain frequent examples of these passages, and one composition even assigns sixteenth-

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[306]Michael Praetorius, Syntagma Musicum Vol. III; translation by Hans Lampl, p. 271.

note runs to the trombonists.[307] Certainly, the level of virtuosity necessary to play such passages was well within the abilities of the accomplished trombonists with whom Praetorius was acquainted. Of one such tenor trombonist Praetorius writes:

> He mastered this instrument to such a degree that he could play almost as high as a cornett--that is, to the high g" sol re ut--and as low as a quart-trombone, or to the AA; and was able to execute rapid coloraturas and jumps as is done on the viola bastarda and cornett.[308]

A fair assessment of the technical problems in the intermedii must take into consideration the improvisational aspects of sixteenth-century performance practice. The embellishment of melodic lines was an important part of performing for both vocalists and instrumentalists. Sixteenth-century ornamentation altered the melodic line without affecting the harmony, so that the original and the ornamented line could be performed simultaneously.[309] It is not known to what extent trombones were used to embellish melodic lines, but numerous examples appear in the

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[307]See example 9 in Chapter IV above for an excerpt of "A voi reali amanti."

[308]Michael Praetorius, Syntagma Musicum Vol. II; translation by Harold Blumfeld, p. 31.

[309]Robert Donnington, The Interpretation of Early Music (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979), pp. 161-167.

intermedii to which a trombone might have added ornaments, while another voice or instrument performed the original line.

In compositions such as "Vientene almo riposo" or "Fuggi, speme mia" in which four trombones accompanied a solo voice, it is easy to imagine that the vocalist improvised a florid line above the instruments. However, these compositions may have also provided opportunity for embellishment by the trombonists. Hermann Finck, writing in his Practica Musica of 1556, makes it clear that ornamentation was not the exclusive responsibility of the soprano voice:

> Truly in my opinion embellishments both can and ought to be scattered through all the voices [parts], but not all the time, and indeed in appropriate places, and not simultaneously in all voices, but let them be embellished in a fitting situation, remaining in their own places, so that one embellishment can be heard and picked out expressly and distinctly from another, yet with the composition whole and unharmed.[310]

Not only melodic embellishment was important to instrumental performance in the intermedii; equally significant was the expression of mood. Because the intermedii were primarily vocal, instrumentalists were required to

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[310]Herman Finck, Practica Musica (Wittenberg: n.p., 1556), Lib. V, p. 8; Translation in Donnington, Interpretation of Early Music, p. 164.

imitate the expressive quality of the singers and the mood of the texts. In his tutorial Il Fontegara, Sylvestro Ganassi states:

> In imitation, it is the human voice that should be imitated: As occasion offers, the flow of the breath is increased or lessened in imitation of the nature of words. . . . Know then, that your instructor should be a practiced and experienced singer. When a piece of vocal music is put before him, his first care, as you know, is to take into account the nature of the text. . . . In like manner, your playing should be soft and sighing, or gay and merry, as though you were giving expression to words of the same nature.[311]

For the trombonist, such an expressive style was accomplished by subtle use of crescendo and diminuendo to imitate the natural inflection of individual words and the rise and fall of textual phrases. Various styles of tonguing and legato were also used to imitate the relative gaiety or sobriety of the text or dramatic situation.

Programmatic Usage of Trombones

In his two articles on instrumentation in sixteenth-century theatrical music, Robert Weaver has shown clearly that Renaissance orchestrations were highly influenced by the suitability of certain instruments for the dramatic

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[311]Sylvestro Ganassi, Il Fontegara (Venice: n.p., 1535); Reprint edition by Hildemarie Peter (Berlin: Robert Lienau, 1959), pp. 87-89.

content of a scene.[312] His premise is that these instrumentations were essentially programmatic. The associations between instruments and the subjects they portrayed musically were rooted in ancient allegorical and literary traditions. Of the many kinds of dramatic scenes popular during the sixteenth century, three appeared frequently in the intermedii: Olympian scenes, pastoral scenes, and infernal or horrendous scenes.

The Olympian scene, typified by a presentation of the mythological gods seated upon cloud machines, was the most common representation in the intermedii. The purpose of this scene was to represent and pay homage to mortal nobility through the theatrics of the heavenly aristocracy. A large multi-colored orchestra was used. This orchestra often included the noble and refined instruments, viols, lutes and harpsichords; the royal processional instruments, trombones and cornetts; and other instruments familiar from *quattrocento* paintings of biblical scenes, such as transverse flutes, recorders, harps, and lyres.

A typical Olympian scene, depicting a banquet for all the gods, concludes the 1568 intermedii for I Fabii. The final composition, "Olieto, o vago Aprile," was sung by

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[312]Robert L. Weaver, "Sixteenth-Century Instrumentation," Musical Quarterly 47 (1961), pp. 363-373; and "The Orchestra in Early Opera," Journal of the American Musicological Society 17 (1964), pp. 83-89.

twenty-nine voices and accompanied by two cornetts, four trombones, six lutes, one soprano viol, one bass viol, two recorders, and one transverse flute. Only harpsichords were missing from the "standard" Olympian orchestra.

Trombones were not usually associated with the pastoral scenes, in which shepherds and peasants were the principal subjects. These scenes were accompanied by rustic instruments including pipes, crumhorns, dolcians, bagpipes, and occasionally recorders and rebecs. In instances in which shepherds were visited by satyrs and nymphs, viols or lutes were added.

The most common programmatic use of trombones was for infernal and horrendous scenes. Often allowing a glimpse into Hell, these scenes apparently were popular entertainments; virtually every set of intermedii includes at least one of them. Instrumentation was most often a combination of trombones and bass viols, usually scored in a low register.

The earliest example of the darkly-colored infernal orchestration appears in the final intermedio of 1539, in which four trombones accompanied the allegorical character Night. In the fifth intermedio of 1565 "Fuggi, speme mia," Psyche's lament as she searched for Cupid in the Underworld, was accompanied by bass viols, trombones and a bass lirone. The conventional orchestration was altered for the opening

scene of the 1568 intermedii. Five dolcians and one trombone accompanied "Tratte del tristo abisso," sung by twelve infernal characters.

In the second intermedio of 1586, Flegias' solo, "Oh di quantaira, e sdegno," was accompanied by trombones and bass viols. Eleven other Underworld characters then sang "Dall'affocate grotte," also accompanied by trombones and viols. "Miseri habitator," for the 1589a intermedii, was sung by five devils and played by four trombones, four viols and a lira.

The use of trombones in horrendous and infernal scenes in the intermedii may be thought of as early examples of a tradition, continuing well beyond the Renaissance, in which mysterious and supernatural subjects were associated with dark instrumental colors. Monteverdi employed five trombones to accompany a chorus of spirits in the opera L'Orfeo. Francesca Caccini's La Liberazione de Ruggiero contains an infernal scene scored for four trombones, four viols, organs, and harpsichord. Cesti set the music accompanying his Underworld scene in Il Pomo d'Oro for three trombones, two cornetts, bassoon, and organ. Mozart added trombones to Don Giovanni during the cemetery scene, and in the finale at the appearance of the commander's apparition. It is possible that even Beethoven was influenced by the traditional use of dark timbres when he composed music for

trombone quartet, to be performed at his own funeral.

The Florentine intermedii provide a unique opportunity to study the practices of instrumentation and orchestration. The descriptions of the performances constitute one of the largest bodies of literature that contains accurate accounts of sixteenth-century instrumental use. Through an examination of this literature and the extant music, the present study has attempted to document the use of trombone in the genre known as intermedii. Specific information has been presented in this and the previous chapters; in addition, several general conclusions may be made.

The status of the trombone in sixteenth-century Italy may be measured by its importance in the Florentine intermedii. In the intermedii, trombones were employed frequently and consistently, throughout the century and by numerous composers. Such use suggests that the trombone was an instrument highly regarded by composers of the time. From 1518 until the end of the century, Florence was a center of trombone playing. All the music from the intermedii required the services of at least four musicians who were accomplished performers on the instrument. By the latter half of the century, trombonists must have developed

significant levels of technical proficiency in order to perform the music written for them.

The dominant principle of instrumentation found in the intermedii is the use and juxtaposition of various groups of related instruments or consorts. Orchestrations including trombones follow this consort principle in its two most common forms: two to four trombones were used as the lower voices of a consort of mixed wind instruments, and four trombones were used as a homogeneous consort. Bass trombone usage did not follow the consort principle strictly; these trombones provided the lowest voice in various instrumental groups.

Principles of instrumentation discovered from a study of the intermedii provide excellent guidelines to the orchestrator of other music of the time, for which instruments were not specified. Sixteenth-century Italian music associated with theatrical entertainments may be accompanied by instrumental ensembles similar to those used for the intermedii. The parallels between these two musical genres are plain. Less obvious is the similarity in performance between the intermedii and Italian madrigals composed during the same period. Madrigals were heard regularly at court functions, and were performed by the same vocal and instrumental musicians who appeared in the intermedii. It may be argued that the instrumentation

employed in the intermedii is appropriate for the performance of madrigals. An extensive discussion of instrumentation for madrigals is not the aim of this paper. However, the theory mentioned here may be applied with caution, keeping in mind the range of characters and moods expressed in madrigal form, and thereby producing authentic performances of Italian madrigals with instrumentations borrowed or modified from the Florentine intermedii.

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APPENDIX

A SUMMARY OF INSTRUMENTATION

1518: Intermedii for Commedia in versi by Lorenzo Stozzi

Music before the play

trombe
cornamuse
pifferi

Music before Act II

3 liuti

Music for Act III

voices (soprani)
4 violoni

Music for Act IV

high instruments di penna

Music for the Finale

4 tromboni

1539: Intermedii for Il Commodo by Antonio Landi

Music performed at the Porta al Prato

"Ingredere" (a 8) - Corteccia

24 voices
4 tromboni
4 cornetti

Intermedio Primo

"Vattene almo riposo" (a 4) - Corteccia

soprano solo
grave cembalo and organo (claviorganum)
violone

Intermedio Secondo

"Guardane almo pastore" (a 6) - Corteccia

6 singers
stortina
4 storte
cornetta

Intermedio Terzo

"Chi ne l'a tolt'oime" (a 6) - Corteccia

6 voices
3 liuti
3 traverse

Intermedio Quarto

"O begli anni del'oro" (a 4) - Corteccia

tenor solo
violone

Intermedio Quinto

"Hor chi mai cantera" (a 4) - Corteccia

8 voices a cappella

Intermedio Sesto

"Vientene almo riposo" (a 5) - Corteccia
alto solo
4 tromboni

"Bacco, bacco e u o e" (a 4) - Corteccia

8 voices
tamburo and zufolo (tabor and pipe)
ribecchino
cornetta
2 storte
trombe torta (trombone?)
cornetta diritta

1565: Intermedii for La Cofanaria by Francesco d'Ambra

Intermedio Primo

Instrumental music for Venus' descent - Striggio

4 gravicembali doppi
4 viole d'arco
2 tromboni
2 tenor di flauti
cornetto muto
traversa
2 leuti

"A me, che fatta son negletta" - Striggio

first two stanzas (a 8):
8 voices
2 gravicembali
4 violoni
leuto mezano
cornetto muto
trombone
2 flauti diretti

final stanza (a 5):
5 voices
2 gravicembali
leuto grosso
sotto basso di viola aggiuto sopra le parti
soprano di viola aggiuto anch'egli
flauto similmente aggiunto
4 traverse
trombone

Intermedio Secondo

"Oh altero miracolo novello" (a 4) - Striggio
4 voices
4 leuti
viola d'arco
lirone
3 gravicembali
leuto grosso
viola soprano
traversa cont'alto
flauto grande tenore
trombone basso
cornetto muto

Intermedio Terzo

"S'Amor vinto, e prigion posto in oblio" (a 6) - Corteccia

8 voices
5 storte
cornetto muto

Intermedio Quarto

"In bando itene vili" (a 6) - Corteccia

8 voices
2 tromboni
dolzaina
2 cornetti ordinarii
cornetto grosso
2 tamburi

Intermedio Quinto

"Fuggi speme mia" (a 5) - Striggio

soprano solo
4 violoni
lirone
4 tromboni

Intermedio Sesto

"Dal bel monte Helicona" (a 4) - Corteccia

all voices of the company
2 cornetti muti
2 tromboni
dolzaina
stortina
lirone
lira
ribechino
2 liuti

"Himeneo dunque ogn'un chiede" (a 4) - Corteccia

for the verses:
8 voices
lira
lirone

for the ritornelli:
all voices of the company
2 cornetti muti
2 tromboni
dolzaina
stortina
lirone
lira
ribechino
2 liuti

1568: Intermedii for I Fabii by Lotto del Mazzo

Intermedio Primo

"Tratte del tristo abisso" (a 6) - Striggio

6 voices (probably all men)
5 dolzaine
1 trombone

Intermedio Secondo

"Perche giovine a te perigli oltaggio" (a 4?) - Striggio

2 voices (alternating in dialogue)
3 gravicembali
3 liuti
4 tromboni
4 viole d'arco
2 flauti
1 traversa

"O giovinile ardire" (a 10) - Striggio

10 voices a cappella

Intermedio Terzo

"In questi verdi prati" (a 8) - Striggio

4 sopranos
4 bassi di violoni

Intermedio Quarto

"D'ogn'altra furia e peste" (a 5) - Striggio

5 voices
1 storta per basso
2 tromboni
2 cornetti muti

Intermedio Quinto

""Ecco dal cielle le nove sorelle" (a 5) - Striggio

3 voices
4 viole
1 cornetto muto
2 tromboni
1 lira
1 leuto

"Oh che non sol pur guerra" (a 4) - Striggio

4 voices
2 tromboni
3 flauti

"Se d'un medesmo germe" (a 6) - Striggio

7 voices
4 viole
4 tromboni
3 flauti
1 cornetto muto
1 lira
1 leuto

"Vatten o bella schiera" (a 4) - Striggio

12 voices
2 cornetti
4 tromboni
6 liuti
1 basso di viola
1 soprano di viola
2 flauti
1 traversa

Intermedio Sesto

"Olieto o vago Aprile" (a 6) - Striggio

12 voices
2 cornetti
4 tromboni
6 liuti
1 basso di viola
1 soprano di viola
2 flauti
1 traversa

1586: Intermedii for L'Amico Fido by Giovanni Bardi

Intermedio Primo

"Odi quel che destina" - Striggio

solo voice (male)
viole
liuti
gravicembali
1 organo di legno

"O fortunati Eroi" - Striggio

10 voices
liuti
viole
arpi
traverse

Intermedio Secondo

"O di quantaira, e sdegno" - Striggio

solo voice (male)
tromboni
bassi di viuuole

"Dall'affocate grotte" - Striggio

11 voices
tromboni
bassi di viuuole

Intermedio Terzo

"Al tuo dolce spirare, al mio sereno" - Malvezzi

solo voice (female)
1 leuto
1 arpe

"Vedeggi il Mondo, e schiera alma d'Amori" - Malvezzi

solo voice (male)
1 leuto
1 arpe

"O ben felice, e chiara" - Malvezzi

12 voices
liuti
arpi
cornetti muti
tromboni
dolzaine

"Or, poi che'l ciel ne'nvita" - Malvezzi

chorus of voices behind the scene
liuti
arpi
cornetti muti
tromboni
dolzaine

Intermedio Quarto

"Batta irato il tridente" - Malvezzi

solo voice (female)
liuti

"O mie dilette, e care" - Malvezzi

solo voice (male)
liuti
arpi
tromboni
traverse

"Voi dell'Ira ministri, e dal furore" - Malvezzi

12 voices
liuti
arpi
tromboni
traverse

"O che chiara facella" - Malvezzi

12 voices a cappella

"Sinfonia" - Malvezzi

liuti
arpi
tromboni
traverse

Intermedio Quinto

"Il Nubiloso vele" - Striggio

solo voice (female)
liuti
arpi
gravicembali

"Squarcisi il velo oscuro" - Striggio

14 voices
liuti
arpi
gravicembali
tromboni
flauti grosso

Intermedio Sesto

"O noi lieri, e felici" - Bardi

39 voices
liuti
arpi
dolzaine
zampogne
bassi di viuuole
tenori di viuuole
soprani di viuuole
flauti
traverse
tromboni
cornetti torti
cornetti diritti
ribechini
flauti grossi

"Tempe e schiera gentil, che tu domandi" - Bardi

solo voice (female)
liuti
arpi

"Dinne sacrata Diva" - Bardi

continuation of "O noi lieri . . ." above;
same voices and instrumentation

"In questo lito giorno" - Bardi

solo voice (female)
liuti
arpi
dolzaine
zampogne
bassi di viuuole
tenori di viuuole
soprani di viuuole
flauti
traverse
tromboni
cornetti torti
cornetti diritti
ribechini
flauti grossi

"Or tornera l'antico" - Bardi

entire company (at least 39 voices)
liuti
arpi
dolzaine
zampogne
bassi di viuuole
tenori di viuuole
soprani di viuuole
flauti
traverse
tromboni
cornetti torti
cornetti diritti
ribechini
flauti grossi

1589a: Intermedii for La Pellegrina by Girolamo Bargagli

Intermedio Primo

"Dalle celesti sfere" (a 4) - Cavalieri or Archilei

solo voice
leuto grosso
chitarroni

alternate orchestration:[a]
solo voice
gravicembali
chitarrone
arpi

"Noi che cantando le celesti sfere" (a 8) - Malvezzi

Choir I	Choir II
4 voices	4 voices
lira	lira
arpa	arpa
leuto grosso	chitarrone
sotta basso di viola	basso di viola

"Sinfonia" (a 8) - Malvezzi

2 lira
2 arpi
3 liuti piccoli
4 liuti grossi
chitarrone
cetera
mandola
salterio
sopranino di viola
3 tenori di viole
2 basso di viole
sotto basso di viola
traversa
cornetto
4 tromboni

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[a]According to Rossi, Descrizione 1589a.

"Dolcissime sirene" (a 6) - Malvezzi

first three lines:
solo voice (child)
unspecified string instruments

remainder of composition:
8 voices
unspecified string instruments

"A voi reali amanti" (a 15) - Malvezzi

all the voices onstage (20 or more)
2 lira
2 arpi
3 liuti piccoli
4 liuti grossi
chitarrone
cetera
mandola
salterio
sopranino di viola
3 tenori di viole
2 basso di viole
sotto basso di viola
traversa
cornetto
4 tromboni

"Coppia gentil" (a 6) - Malvezzi

all the voices onstage (20 or more)
same instruments as "A voi reali amanti"

Intermedio Secondo

"Sinfonia" (a 5) - Marenzio

2 arpe
2 lire
basso di viola
2 liuti
violino
viola bastarda
chitarrone

"Belle ne fe natura" (a 3) - Marenzio

3 voices (2 adolescent girls, 1 boy)
arpe
2 lire

"Che dal defino aita" (a 6) - Marenzio

6 voices
leuto grosso
chitarrone
basso di viola

"Se nelle voci nostri" (a 12) - Marenzio

12 voices (divided into 2 choirs)
leuto grosso
chitarrone
basso di viola

"O figlie di Piero" (a 18) - Marenzio

16 voices (divided into 3 choirs)
2 arpe
2 lire
2 liuti
chitarrone
violino
viola bastarda
basso di viola

Intermedio Terzo

"Ebra di sangue in questo oscuro bosco" (a ?) - Marenzio

12-18 voices
arpa
2 lire
2 bassi di viola
4 leuti
basso di trombone
cornetto
violino

"Qui di carne si sfama" (a 12) - Marenzio

12-18 voices
arpa
2 lira
2 bassi di viola
4 leuti
basso di trombone
cornetto
violino

"Oh fortunato noi" (a 12) - Marenzio[b]

36 voices
same instruments as "Qui di carne si sfama"

"Sinfonia" for Apollo's ballet (a ?) - Marenzio

viole
traverse
tromboni

"O valoroso Dio" (a 4) - Marenzio

1 arpa
1 lira

"O mille volte, e mille" (a 8) - Marenzio

36 voices
same instruments as "Qui di carne si sfama"[c]

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[b]This was a continuation of "Qui di carne si sfama."

[c]Malvezzi states that this composition was performed with an orchestra similar to the preceding composition, probably referring to "Qui di carne si sfama."

Intermedio Quarto

"Io che da ciel" (a ?) - Caccini

solo voice (female)
lire grandi
bassi di viole
liuti
violino
arpe doppia
bassi di tromboni
organi di legno

"Sinfonia" (a 6) - Malvezzi

arpa
chitarrone
2 leuti grosso
2 leuti piccoli
2 lire
salterio
violino
traversa
basso di viola bastarda

"Or che le due grad'alme" (a 6) - Malvezzi

6 voices
same instrments as the preceding "Sinfonia"

"Miseri habitator del cieco averno" (a 5) - Bardi

5 voices
4 tromboni
4 viole
lira

alternate orchestration:[d]
5 voices
arpi
viole
cetere

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[d]According to Rossi, Descrizione 1589.

Intermedio Quinto

"Io che l'onde raffreno" (a 5) - Malvezzi

solo voice (female)
leuto
chitarrone
archiviolate lira

"E noi con questa bella" (a 5; a 3) - Malvezzi

Section 1, 2, and 5 (a 5):
2 liuti
leuto piccolo
chitarrone
arciviolate lira
basso di viola
tenore di viola
arpa

Section 2 (a 5):
solo voice (female)
unspecified instruments

Section 4 (a 3):
3 voices (2 female, 1 male)
unspecified instruments

"Sinfonia" (a 6) - Malvezzi

organo di pivette
2 leuti
basso di viola
chitarrone
violino

"Dunque fra torbide onde" (a 4) - Peri

3 male voices (1 solo voice, 2 echo voices)
chitarrone

"Lieto solcando il mare" (a 7) - Malvezzi

7 voices
organo di pivette
2 leuti
basso di viola
chitarrone
violino

alternate orchestration:[e]
voices
tromboni
cornetti
dolzaini
fagotti

Intermedio Sesto

"Dal vago e bel sereno" (a 6) - Malvezzi

(played once by instruments alone; repeated with voices)
20 voices
2 chitarrone
2 lire
4 leuti
basso di viola
violino

"O qual risplende nube" (a 6) - Malvezzi

24 voices
4 leuti
2 viole
2 bassi di viole
4 tromboni
2 cornetti
cetera
salterio
mandola
arciviolate lira
violino

"Godi turba mortal" (a 4) - Cavalieri

solo voice
chitarrone

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[e]According to Rossi, Descrizione 1589.

"O fortunato giorno" (a 30) - Malvezzi

60 voices (divided into 7 choirs)
violino
2 viole
2 bassi di viole
2 lira
2 arciviolate lira
2 cornetti
4 tromboni
4 leuti
2 chitarrone
cetera
salterio
mandora

"O che nuovo miracolo" (alternating a 5 with a 3) - Cavalieri

sections a 5:
60 voices
same instruments as "O fortunati giorno"

sections a 3:
3 voices (female)
chitarrina alla spagnola
chitarrinna alla napolettana
cemballino

1589b: Intermedii for L'Esaltzione della Croce by Giovanni Maria Cecchi

Intermedio Primo

"Lieto hor gioisce di piu gloria il cielo" (a ?) - Bati

7 voices
traverse
violone
violino
liuti grossi
organo

"L'eterno verbo mio" (a ?) - Bati

solo voice (bass)
unspecified instruments

"Per questo scala santa" (a ?) - Bati

first verse:
4 voices
unspecified instruments

second verse
7 voices
unspecified instruments

"Tremendo e questo loco" (a ?) - Bati

solo voice (contra-alto)
4 tromboni
cornetti muti
violino
liuti grossi
organo

Intermedio Secondo

"Piu sicura colonna, e di piu ardore" (a ?) - Bati

solo voice (bass)
unspecified instruments

"Grazie rendiamo a Dio" (a 8) - Bati

all the voices onstage divided into two choirs
traverse
cornetti muti
tromboni
organo
violino
liuti grossi
liuti mezzani

Intermedio Terzo

"Arida verga, il fiore" (a ?) - Bati

(played first by instruments alone, then with voice)
solo voice (bass)
traverse
violino
arciviole
liuti grossi
liuti mezzani
tromboni
cornetti muti
organo

"L'alma verga sacrata" (a ?) - Bati

25 voices
same instruments as "Arida verga, il fiore"

Intermedio Quarto

Instrumental music (a ?) - Bati

unspecified "mournful" instruments

"Sovra d'un'alta Croce" (a ?) - Bati

solo voice (bass)
unspecified instruments

"Mentre stilla sovente" (a ?) - Bati

all the voices onstage (at least 25)
unspecified instruments

Intermedio Quinto

"Piu nobil'Arca, e con piu lieta forte" (a ?) - Bati

solo voice (male)
arpa
liuto grosso
violino
trombone

"Ecco l'Arca del patto sempre stata" (a ?) - Bati

all the voices onstage
cornetti chiari
cornetti muti
liuti grossi
liuti mezzani
organo
violone

Intermedio Sesto

"Quando verra'l Signore" (a ?) - Bati

voices
unspecified instruments

"Eroi, come sostegno" (a 8) - Bati

all the voices onstage
many unspecified instruments

"Sol questo in pace e'n guerra" (a ?) - Bati

4 voices
unspecified instruments