WOLFGANG AMADEUS MOZART

Series II

Works for the Stage

WORK GROUP 5: OPERAS AND SINGSPIELS
VOLUME 7: LUCIO SILLA
SUB-VOLUME 1: ACT I

PRESENTED BY KATHLEEN KUZMICK HANSELL

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WOLFGANG AMADEUS MOZART

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The NMA uses the numbering of the Köchel Catalogue (KV); those numberings which differ in the third and expanded edition (KV^3 or KV^{3a}) are given in brackets; occasional differing numberings in the sixth edition (KV^6) are indicated.

With the exception of work titles, entries in the score margin, dates of composition and the footnotes, all additions and completions in the music volumes are indicated, for which the following scheme applies: letters (words, dynamic markings, *tr* signs and numbers in italics; principal notes, accidentals before principal notes, dashes, dots, fermatas, ornaments and smaller rests (half notes, quarters, etc.) in small print; slurs and crescendo marks in broken lines; grace and ornamental notes in square brackets. An exception to the rule for numbers is the case of those grouping triplets, sextuplets, etc. together, which are always in italics, those added editorially in smaller print. Whole measure rests missing in the source have been completed tacitly.

The title of each work as well as the specification in italics of the instruments and voices at the beginning of each piece have been normalised, the disposition of the score follows today's practice. The wording of the original titles and score disposition are provided in the Critical Commentary in German. The original notation for transposing instruments has been retained. C-clefs used in the sources have been replaced by modern clefs. Mozart always notated singly occurring sixteenth, thirty-second notes etc. crossed-through, (i.e.  instead of); the notation therefore does not distinguish between long or short realisations. The NMA generally renders these in the modern notation etc.; if a grace note of this kind should be interpreted as ″short″ an additional indication ″[ ]″ is given over the relevant grace note. Missing slurs at grace notes or grace note groups as well as articulation signs on ornamental notes have generally been added without comment. Dynamic markings are rendered in the modern form, e.g. *f* and *p* instead of *for:* and *pia:*

The texts of vocal works have been adjusted following modern orthography. The realisation of the bass continuo, in small print, is as a rule only provided for *secco* recitatives. For any editorial departures from these guidelines refer to the relevant Foreword and to the Critical Commentary in German.

A comprehensive representation of the editorial guidelines for the NMA (3rd version, 1962) has been published in *Editionsrichtlinien musikalischer Denkmäler und Gesamtausgaben* [Editorial Guidelines for Musical Heritage and Complete Editions]. Commissioned by the Gesellschaft für Forschung and edited by Georg von Dadelsen, Kassel etc., 1963, pp. 99-129. Offprints of this as well as the *Bericht über die Mitarbeitertagung und Kassel, 29. – 30. 1981*, published privately in 1984, can be obtained from the Editorial Board of the NMA. *The Editorial Board*

FOREWORD

GENESIS

1. The Commission from Milan

Mozart and his father were in Verona in March of 1771 preparing for their return to Salzburg after more than a year's sojourn in Italy when they received two most welcome pieces of news:

"Received letter from Milan yesterday announcing a communication from Vienna received in Salzburg and which will set you in astonishment, but which will bring immortal honor to our son. The same letter also brought me another bit of pleasant news."[1]

While the first allusion is to the flattering invitation from the court at Vienna for the young Wolfgang to compose the Serenata (*Ascanio in Alba*) for the wedding at Milan of Archduke Ferdinand in October 1771, the second "bit of pleasant news" refers to a new commission from Milan's Regio Ducal Teatro. As Leopold explained in a letter some months later:
"[...] *appena arrivati à casa, ebbi una Lettera della Impresa del Teatro di Milano nella quale fù accordato il mio figlio à scrivere l'opera del Carnavale 1773* [...]"
("[...] *we had hardly arrived when I received a letter from the theater management in Milan in which they agreed that my son should write the Carnival opera 1773* [...]")

Evidently the reception accorded Mozart's first Milanese opera *Mitridate* KV87 (74[a]) during Carnival 1770/71 had been favorable enough that impresario Gaetano Crivelli was willing to entrust Wolfgang with another important work.

The preference given the then fifteen-year old Mozart over older, more experienced composers by one of Italy's foremost opera houses is an issue that has previously been approached on the basis of assumptions rather than real evidence. Now while it is clear, from surviving documents and from correspondence between Vienna and Milan that for the wedding entertainments of October 1771 court officials and even Empress Maria Theresa herself exerted pressure on the theater management with regard to choice of singers, librettists and composers[2], such a degree of involvement was highly unusual. For the ordinary Carnival operas the chief concerns were financial and only secondarily artistic, and these were solely the domain of the theater's impresario. Before the ascension of Archduke Ferdinand in October 1771 the impresario's rights were exclusive and governmental interference in the theater's normal operations minimal.

There is no doubt, however, that the young Archduke, who became passionately involved in the theater at Milan, desired leeway to exert greater artistic control. Hence when two years later a new contract was drawn up with the new theater director, to take effect in December 1773, the clause stipulating the impresario's rights had been reformulated so that prior official approval was necessary in the selection of librettos and performers. Mozart received his commission from the Regio Ducal Teatro before these conditions prevailed, in fact, before the Archduke had ever set foot in Milan. It is only logical to assume, therefore, that he was engaged directly by the theater on his own merits, and not due to pressure from Milan's plenipotentiary minister Count Firmian answering to officials in Vienna. Ironically, in the single instance when extant evidence shows that the court at Milan actually did intervene on Mozart's behalf – when Archduke Ferdinand wrote to his mother the Empress in November 1771 asking to take Wolfgang into his service – the outcome only proved unfavourable.[3] This incident did not affect Mozart's engagement for the 1772/73 Carnival, since his services had already been contracted a half-year earlier. Whether or not it influenced the fact that Wolfgang received no further commissions from Milan nor any later appointments in Italy is uncertain.

[1] Leopold Mozart in his letter of 14/18 March 1771 to his wife in Salzburg. This and all other letter quotations, indicated only by the date, are taken from *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen.* Complete edition, compiled and elucidated by Wilhelm A. Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch, Kassel etc., 1962/3, pp. 21f., with commentaries and register compiled by Joseph Heinz Eibl (Kassel etc. 1975).

[2] Cf. Kathleen K. Hansell, *Opera and Ballet at the Regio Ducal Teatro of Milan 1771-1776: a Musical and Social History* (Ph.D. diss., Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1979), pp. 14-39.

[3] Maria Teresa's negative reply of 12 December 1771 is cited in Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart: a Documentary Biography* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1965), p. 138.

Mozart's contract with the theater of Milan is typical for the period and furnishes indications regarding opera composition in Italy which are corroborated by many contemporary scores including, of course, those of Mozart himself:

"*Resta accordato il Sign. Amadeo Mozart per mettere in musica il primo dramma che si rappresenterà in questo Regio Ducal Teatro di Milano nel Carnovale dell'anno 1773 e le si assegnano per onorario delle sue virtuose fatiche Gigliati cento trento, dico 130 g. ed allogio mobigliato.*
Patto che il sud.o Sign. Maestro debba transmettere tutti li recitativi posti in musica entro il Mese di 8bre dell'anno 1772 e ritrovarsi in Milano al principio del susseguente mese di 9bre per comporre le arie ed assistere a tutte le prove necessarie per l'opera suddetta. Risservati li soliti infortunij di teatro e fatto di Principe (che Dio non voglia).
Gl'Associati nel Regio Appalto del Teatro Federico Castiglione."
("*It is agreed that Sig. Amadeo Mozart will set to music the first drama to be performed in the Teatro Regio Ducal of Milan in the Carnival of the year 1773 and as honorarium for his artistic services are to be assigned to him one hundred and thirty Gigliati viz. 130 g, and furnished lodgings.*
It is further agreed that the said Maestro is to deliver all the recitatives set to music within the month of October of the year 1772 and to be in Milan again at the beginning of the subsequent month of November to compose the arias and be present at all the rehearsals required by the said opera. With the usual reservations in case of theatrical misfortunes and Princely intervention (which God forbid).
The Associates of the Lessee of the Theater")[4]

Carnival season at Milan began on 26 December, Saint Stephen's Day, and, following the Ambrosian rite, concluded on "Fat Saturday" (Sabato grasso) or four days later than in those towns adhering to the Roman rite. Impresarios determining production schedules for the Opere serie were confronted annually with the necessity of adjusting to Carnival seasons that varied greatly in length. Since "Fat Saturday“ could, according to the Church's lunar calendar, fall anywhere between 7 February and 13 March in a specific year, the Milanese Carnival season might be anywhere from 44 to 78 days in length. Furthermore, since Fridays and other church holy days were considered penitential days, places of entertainment were closed then, reducing the total number of available days for performances to between 38 and 67. Occasionally a very short Carnival decided the theater management to stage just one production. But normally the Regio Ducal Teatro produced two Opere serie each Carnival season.

As in other Italian opera houses of the day, at Milan the custom was to show one work continuously for a number of weeks and then lay it down and, after a four or five-day pause, take up the next opera, which thereafter would likewise play uninterruptedly for several weeks. For technical and other reasons it was easier not to present several works concurrently on alternating days. Once taken out of production a serious opera was almost never seen again at the same theater, since the influential part of the audience – wealthy aristocratic families – remained essentially unchanged throughout an entire season.

It is only natural that Mozart, as a young composer still lacking an international reputation, was asked to set the first rather than the second Carnival opera for Milan in 1772/73. Predictably too, the stipulated remuneration was comparatively modest. Both impresarios' contracts and surviving account books of the Regio Ducal Teatro make clear that the management normally expected to take in greater revenues from the second of the two Carnival operas and therefore generally engaged better-known composers at a higher salary and planned the more spectacular production as the closing item of the season, often with a somewhat longer run than the first opera. A successful opening opera might be allowed to go on playing for as much as one week above the estimated minimum for that season.

In other respects the terms of Mozart's contract were the same as those then given all composers. Thus the recitatives, unlike arias, were not considered to require special tailoring to individual singers and in addition were always those items first rehearsed; they could therefore be written well ahead of time and supplied two months before the scheduled première. The six or seven singers comprising the normal cast of an Opera seria were expected to arrive in town about

[4] Ibid., p. 133.

three weeks later to begin learning their roles. It was the composer's duty to be on hand then to work with the performers and finish their arias, suiting them to their particular talents. Rehearsals did not begin until a couple of weeks before the opening performance. One requirement not mentioned in Mozart's contract but known to him from previous experience at Milan was that of personally leading the first three performances of the opera from the harpsichord.

2. Giovanni de Gamerra and the Libretto

Mozart had received his contract from the Regio Ducal Teatro over a year and a half in advance of the scheduled première. According to usual practice, the singers, like the choreographers and dancers for the entr'acte ballets, had in all likelihood been engaged about a year before they were to arrive at Milan for rehearsals. The text of the opera-to-be, however, was as yet an unknown quantity. Normally the last item to be taken into consideration by the theater impresario, the libretto for Mozart's new opera was entrusted as often the case to the poet in the regular employ of the theater. Since Milan's long-time theater poet (or "butcher" as he was also jestingly known), Claudio Nicola Stampa, had just retired, the post had been assumed in 1771 by the much younger Giovanni de Gamerra (1743-1803). Having taken minor ecclesiastical orders in his native Livorno, studied law at Pisa and then become an official in the Austrian army at Milan between 1765 and 1770, Gamerra began making a name for himself as a writer towards the end of his military service.

Gamerra had written what was probably the first of his own opera texts, *Armida*, in 1769. Both in the *Argomento* and in a discourse appended at the end of the original libretto[5] – the latter entitled *Osservazioni sull'Opera in musica* – Gamerra expresses his aesthetic views. These are much more in line with tastes in France and to some degree with the Viennese "reform" operas of Gluck and Traetta than with Metastasian Opera seria. Gamerra pleads for a return of spectacle to opera in the form of choruses, ballets and stage machines.

For at least the last three decades prior to Gamerra's appointment at the Regio Ducal Teatro the works of Metastasio had entirely dominated the stage at Milan as elsewhere in Italy. Only during Gamerra's actual five-year engagement at the Regio Ducal Teatro did his librettos and aesthetic temporarily assume prominence. When Gamerra left to become court poet in Vienna in 1775 the theater at Milan returned once again to more usual fare. During Carnival season opera texts of Metastasio again occupied first rank through the remainder of the 1770's and throughout the 1780's and early '90's at La Scala. Three works by Gamerra played at La Scala between 1790 and '92. In Italy, the Napoleonic era, with its proscription of castrato singers, signalled not only the end of the Metastasian era but also of Gamerra's Italian career.

To literary historians Gamerra is best known as the first and most important author of Italian *pièces larmoyantes* (*drammi lagrimosi*), which display his "*taste for the horrid and melodramatic*" and are full of "*pre-romantic effusions*".[6] These aspects as well as his penchant for the marvelous found their way into the new libretto for the first Carnival opera at Milan of 1773: *Lucio Silla*.

Based loosely on events in the life of the Roman dictator Lucius Cornelius Sulla (138-78 B.C.) as recorded by Plutarch, the opera's seemingly arbitrary ending is in fact historically grounded. After numerous cruelties and proscription of hundreds of Rome's nobility, in the year 79 B.C. the real Sulla suddenly gave up his title of "Dictator" and withdrew from public life, only to die within a year. The vagaries of his character provided fertile soil for the librettist's imagination. Lucius Cinna and Aufidius were also actual historical figures, although the former was Sulla's open enemy and not the secret conspirator Gamerra makes him. The opera's female characters, Giunia and Celia, seem to be Gamerra's inventions, although possibly based on members of the family and friends of Sulla's enemy Caius Marius (called Mario in the opera), a personage not present on stage but named repeatedly in the text as the father of Giunia and ally of Cecilio.

While the plot of *Lucio Silla* is typical of many Italian opera librettos of the time – emphasizing as it does love interests and noble attributes above all and containing a subplot

[5] Copy in the Library of Congress, Washington D.C. (*Schatz 11309*)

[6] See the article *Gamerra* in *Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo*, vol. IV (1957), pp. 334-35.

involving the secondary characters – many features of its construction are less than usual. To varying degrees these characteristics had an effect on the music that Mozart was to write and are hence worth reviewing here.

Forced to bow to current Italian tastes, Gamerra was not able to incorporate fantastic scenes and machines in *Lucio Silla*. Nor was he to include danced sequences within the main part of the opera. He did, however, write the final chorus (No. 23) so that it was much more than the perfunctory closing for the principal soloists usual in an Opera seria. In three verses with intervening lines for pairs of soloists, it is to be sung by a full chorus. In structure and rhythm it suggests a grand chaconne. The opera text contains two additional choruses, the first a group of mourners in the tomb scene of Act I (No. 6), and the second representing the Roman populace at the opening of the Campidoglio scene towards the end of Act II (No. 17). While a triumphal chorus at the beginning of a new stage setting was a common feature, the use of a chorus with a solo middle section as part of a large scene complex (Act I, scenes VII-IX) intended to be set as orchestrally accompanied recitatives plus a closing duet (No. 7) would have been considered highly innovative. The standard pattern after all was still the alternation of dialogue, in the form of simple recitative, with reflective, rhymed, metrical verses for the solo exit arias.

Gamerra's inclination towards the "*horrid and melodramatic*" emerges clearly not only in the above-mentioned tomb scene but in three other sections of the drama as well. True, the Ombra scene for the Prima donna in Act III (scene V with No. 22) is a feature to be found in the last act of numerous serious operas from mid-century onward.[7] But in addition, in *Lucio Silla* Gamerra invokes the macabre in the fifth scene of Act I (with No. 4), when Giunia calls upon the spirit of her dead father, and again in the long third scene of Act II in which Cecilio describes his horror in envisioning the ghost of Mario speaking to him in the tombs. Even apart from these more concentrated presentations of the shadowy world of the dead, the libretto is saturated with gloomy forebodings. A long catalogue of words frequently recurring throughout the text refers to shadows (*tenebroso*, *oscuro*, *ombra*), icy cold (*gelido*, *gelo*, *agghiaccio*), deathly pallor and grief (*pallido*, *duolo*), the grave (*tomba*, *sepolorale*, *funesto*) and spirits and the dead (*larva*, *immagine funesto*, *estinto*, *morto*, *morte*).

An additional number of less than regular structural features distinguish the aria texts of *Lucio Silla*. Whereas about ninety percent of all verses written for Italian Opera seria arias during the Metastasian era use the two most common poetic meters, the settenario (seven-syllable line) and ottonario (eight-syllable) and tend to maintain one meter throughout a single aria, Gamerra strove for greater variety. He set two of the eighteen solo arias (Nos. 10 and 21) in quinario (five-syllable), one in the rather rare decasillabo (No. 22) and five others in varying meters, including one with quinario for the second stanza (No. 13) and two with decasillabo for the first stanza (Nos. 5 and 16). Because composers tended to set syllabically the initial presentations of poetic lines, distributing the syllables in a limited number of well-established accentual patterns according to the poetic meter, the librettist's choice of meter very much influenced the kind of impression that the musical setting would make on listeners. Two stanzas of poetry were the norm for solo arias; only ensemble numbers (duets, trios, etc.) and choruses ordinarily had three or more, while the occasional one-stanza Cavatina was customarily the province of the Prima donna and Primo uomo. Again, Gamerra turned away from tradition when he allowed Celia, the Seconda donna, two Cavatine (Nos. 10 and 19) and cast two arias (Nos. 4 and 13) in three stanzas. No. 13, Silla's *"D'ogni pietà mi spoglio"*, is further unusual in that its three verses are divided over sixteen lines (5 + 4 + 7) rather than adhering to the ordinary quatrain.

Perhaps in compensation for all of these textual anomalies loosening the established librettistic structure, Gamerra included four of the old-fashioned comparison arias in *Lucio Silla*. While ideally suited to the Da capo musical setting and providing impulses for diverse illustrative vocal and instrumental motives, the comparison aria gradually came to be abandoned

[7] Almost every later 18th-century heroic opera contains one of these ghost scenes, no matter how improbable in the context of the plot. Always a grand solo scena for the leading lady, it comprised several sections, including at least one obbligato recitative – frequently several – and an aria, and often one or more Cavatine and/or ariosi in addition to evocative instrumental interludes.

as an impediment when through-composed or other more unified musical schemes came to the fore. In *Lucio Silla*, Celia's "*Quando sugl'arsi campi*" in Act II (No. 15) offers the clearest example of the comparison aria. The other three are likewise for the secondary roles only: for the Secondo uomo, Lucio Cinna, "*Vieni ov'amor t'invita*" (No. 1) and "*De' più superbi il core*" (No. 20) and for the Ultima parte, Aufidio, "*Guerrier, che d'un acciaro*" (No. 8).

Textual devices such as the comparison aria were but one means of setting apart the members of the cast in a definite hierarchy. In all of the heroic librettos set to music at Milan during the 1770's the plots revolve around six or seven characters clearly ranked with the leading woman at the top. No longer is the Primo uomo so obviously equal in stature to the Prima donna as he had been at mid-century. A telling confirmation of the rising fortunes of the Prima donna at the expense of the Primo uomo is to be found in theater account books. In the 1770's the two had, so to speak, exchanged positions, the leading woman now commanding the fees once paid only the great castrati, while the leading men, with few exceptions, had to be content with salaries that were on the average 25 to 40 % lower.[8] The position of the Primo tenore, playing the traditional role of the ruler, varied from season to season. In terms of salary, first tenors fared even worse than Primi uomini, their scale of remuneration having decreased drastically since the 1750's. Ensembles, a part of every text, served further to distinguish the three principals from the remainder of the cast. A duet for the two leading singers at the end of the first or second act was traditional. After mid-century a trio or even a quartet was also included as the climax of one of the first two acts.

3. The Cast and the Libretto

The fact that the cast list for an opera production was usually determined well before the librettist went to work certainly affected the disposition of the text, especially in a newly commissioned piece. For Carnival 1772/73 the management of the Regio Ducal Teatro had contracted the services of Anna de Amicis as Prima donna, Venanzio Rauzzini as Primo uomo and Arcangelo Cortoni as Primo tenore. De Amicis, 39 years old in 1772 and at the height of her career, was one of Italy's most renowned female singers both as regards vocal technique and acting ability. Thirteen years her junior, Rauzzini had only newly returned to Italy after six years at the court of Munich.[9] Since he was undoubtedly considered to be a strong partner for De Amicis, Rauzzini, in the role of Cecilio in *Lucio Silla*, received nearly equal emphasis in Gamerra's text. Both characters have four solo arias, participate in the duet and trio and have two scenes each in which they are alone on stage – a signal for the composer to set the recitative with orchestral accompaniment. Above this, Giunia's role, in the person of Anna de Amicis, is further enhanced by a plaintive solo verse in the choral movement of Act I. While Cecilio's strongest moments occur during the first act, Giunia's part is stressed continuously throughout the libretto.

Gamerra planned the name-part of *Lucio Silla* for the capable tenor singer who Cortoni was reckoned to be. Hence the libretto shows four arias for Lucio Silla and two monologues, these latter in Act I, scene VI and the close of Act II, scene II. When Cortoni played at Milan the following season, he sang as many as five solo arias in Paisiello's *Andromeda* (première 25 Jan. 1774). Duxing the previous winter, however, he had been ill and unable to fulfill his contract with the Regio Ducal Teatro.[10] It was therefore eventually necessary to reduce the burden of the hastily engaged substitute, a church tenor from Lodi with little stage experience named Bassano Morgnoni, and strike two of the intended four arias: "Il timor con passo incerto" from Act II,

[8] For a fuller discussion and documentation of changes in performers' salaries, see my dissertation, op.cit. (see footnote 2), pp. 214-219.

[9] The careers and vocal abilities of both singers are described in my articles under their respective names in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980), 5, p. 288 and 15, pp. 607-609. Wolfgang had already heard Rauzzini in Vienna in 1767 (letter of 29 Sept. 1767) and De Amicis on several earlier occasions, the most recent having been at Naples in May 1770.

[10] According to the record books of Turin's Teatro Regio, Cortoni, engaged there for Carnival 1777/78, died in Padua in June 1777. See Marie-Thérèse Bouquet, *Il Teatro di Corte dalle origine al 1788*, vol. I of *Storia del Teatro Regio di Torino* (Turin, 1976), p. 381.

scene III and "Se al generoso ardire" from Act III, scene VI.[11]

As Secondo uomo and Seconda donna for 1772/73 the theater of Milan had engaged Felicità Suardi and Daniella Mienci. While little is known about the latter singer except what can be deduced from her parts as Celia in Mozart's *Lucio Silla* and Erminia in Paisiello's Andromeda, the professional life of Felicità Suardi is better documented. Normally in the employ of Turin's Teatro Regio, she had an extraordinary thirty-six-year career as *attrice sovranumeraria*: from 1750 until her retirement in 1786 Suardi was regularly on call as a substitute for any soprano, male or female, who became ill. Only very rarely did she ever receive a scrittura at Turin on her own merits – which must have been considerable.[12] In the male role of Lucio Cinna she was to have three solo arias, preceding the second of which she was even given a short solo *scena* (Act II, scene VI). Celia, Daniella Mienci, received four lyrical texts in *Lucio Silla*, but two of them are only single-stanza Cavatine and none occur at dramatically significant moments. Despite the fact that the role of Silla's confidant Aufidio is an important one for moving the plot along and for providing the historical background, as the so-called Ultima parte the singer taking the part, Giuseppe Onofrio, had typically to be satisfied with just one solo aria.

Viewed as a whole, Gamerra's libretto for *Lucio Silla* is very unusually proportioned. Ordinarily the first two acts of an Opera seria were approximately equal in length, with the first act perhaps slightly longer than the second. During the last half of the 18th century, the third act shrank noticeably in size until it sometimes disappeared altogether. In the 1770's it was commonly just half the length of the other two. *Lucio Silla*, in the libretto's final form, contains a disproportionately large second act and a third act which would also have been thought relatively long at the time. The opera was originally to have had seven numbers in Act I, twelve in Act II and six in Act III. Even the eventual omission of the two arias for Silla left Act II with eleven numbers and Act III with five. In total number of lines the text of *Lucio Silla* is about 20 percent longer than other heroic operas produced at Milan in the 1770's.[13] Since the second act was especially to blame for the work's uncommon length, it is not surprising that when Vittorio Amedeo Cigna-Santi revised Gamerrs's text for a Turin production in 1779 (with music by Michele Mortellari) his modifications were directed chiefly at the abbreviation of Act II.[14] Mattia Verazi had also reworked the libretto for a performance at Mannheim in November 1773 to music of Johann Christian Bach. Verazi also cut Act II, reducing it to nine numbers,[15] and his libretto for Bach's *Lucio Silla* – he kept all the choruses and both ensemble numbers – retained all the novel tendencies of Gamerra's original, which must have corresponded closely to the ideas of the revisor.[16]

4. The Composition of the Opera

The letters of Leopold and Wolfgang, the autograph score and the extant 18th-century copies all offer clues regarding the genesis of the music for *Lucio Silla.* They show that Mozart followed custom and, more or less, the stipulations of his contract as regards finishing off the individual sections of the opera. But the peculiarities of the libretto noted above gave impetus to a score which in some respects proved

[11] On this cuts (and on the scene divisions of Act III in the printed libretto, Milan, 1772) see the Critical Commentary.

[12] Numerous Turinese archival documents recording Felicità Suardi-Bertola's activities at the Teatro Regio are cited ibid., pp. 227ff.

[13] Detailed comparisons of several contemporary Milanese productions are presented in K. Hansell, Phil. Diss. 1979 (see footnote 2), pp. 331ff.

[14] On the Turin revisions of Lucio Silla cf. Bouquet, op. cit., p. 385, footnote 274 (the passage in KV[6], p. 164, where Gamerra is said to have revised the libretto for Turin himself, is based on an error.)

[15] See Charles Sanford Terry, *Johann Christian Bach*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1967), pp. 232-33 and *Corrigenda* (H.C. Robbins Landon), p. XLVf. – *Lucio Silla* was also set by Pasquale Anfossi for Venice in May 1774,

[16] The characteristics of Gamerra's libretto must have held an appeal for Verazi; this could at be concluded from the adventurous aesthetic ideals he espoused in his innovative texts for Stuttgart and Mannheim in the 1750's and '60's, not to mention the controversial works he wrote or re-arranged for the opening of La Scala in 1778 and 1779. See Marita Petzoldt McClymonds, *Verazi's controversial drammi in azioni as realised in the music of Salieri, Anfossi, Alessandri and Mortellari for the opening of La Scala 1778-1779*, in: *Mélange: ommaggio al Prof. Claudio Sartori*, ed. François Lesure, Rome, 1985

different not only from Mozart's earlier attempts at dramatic composition, but also from the sorts of serious operas that had hitherto been shown at Milan.

On 14 November 1772 Leopold Mozart penned the first letter to mention either the libretto or the music at all. He and Wolfgang had left Salzburg on 24 October, arriving at Milan on 4 November. More than a week later, as Leopold notes:

"Of the male and female singers, no-one is here yet apart from Signora Suarti, who will play the Secondo uomo, and the Ultimo tenore. The Primo uomo, Sgr. Rauzzini is expected any day now. But De Amicis will only get here at the end of this or the beginning of the coming month.
Meanwhile, Wolfgang has had enough entertainment writing the choruses, three in number, and the few recitatives, which he had composed in Salzburg, have to be altered or in some cases re-written, because the poet had sent the poetry to Abbé Metastasio in Vienna to ask him to look at it, and the latter had made improvements, changed, and added a complete scene in the 2nd Act; then he wrote all the recitatives and the overture."

Extrapolating from what is known about Mozart's work on *Mitridate* two years earlier, one can surmise that he had probably received Gamerra's original text, as well as the list of performers, sometime during late summer. As was common Italian practice at the time, he would then have formed a general plan for the opera, including an overall tonal scheme encompassing all the set pieces, and thereafter set about the task of writing down the recitatives.

Regarding whether Metastasio really revised Giovanni de Gamerra's text, as Leopold Mozart's letter of 14 November 1772 suggests, there is no documentary evidence. Among Metastasio's voluminous correspondence are found several letters to Gamerra, but the earliest of these is dated 13 September the following year.[17] None of them mention *Lucio Silla*; nor does Metastasio allude to the work in letters to any other correspondent. No handwritten version of the libretto is known, although it is precisely such that Mozart, like any other opera composer of the day, would have worked from when setting a new text. Apart from the two excised arias for Silla and some minor changes, Mozart's score agrees in full with the libretto as printed. Certainly no evidence remains there of an interpolated scene or any other substantial textual alterations. The only further hint of Metastasio's collaboration occurs in a paragraph in the libretto following the summary of the plot's historical background ("Argomento"). There, Gamerra notes with pride:

"*Da tali Istorici fondamenti è tratta l'azione di questo Dramma, la quale è per verità fra le più grandi, come ha sensatamente osservato il sempre celebre, e inimitabile Sig. Abate Pietro Metastasio, che colla sua rara affabilità s'è degnato d'onorare il presente Drammatico Componimento d'una pienissima approvazione. Allorchè questa proviene dalla meditazion profonda, e dalla lunga, e gloriosa esperienza dell'unico Maestro dell'Arte, esser deve ad un giovine Autore il maggior d' ogni elogio*."[18]
("*From such historical foundations is taken the action of this drama, which is genuinely amongst the great, as has been astutely observed by the always renowned and inimitable Sig. Abbé Pietro Metastasio, who with his rare affability has deigned to honor the present dramatic writer with a most complete approval. Since this springs from profound meditation, and from the long and glorious experience of the only Master of the Art, this must be the greatest of any eulogies for a young author*.")

Mozart's autograph score for *Lucio Silla* offers ample corroboration for the remarks in his correspondence regarding the order in which the constituent elements were put into final form. The principal source for this edition, the manuscript is described below in the section Section D, *(The Sources)* and in greater detail in the Critical Report. Offered here are only observations relevant to the present discussion. These concern chiefly the fascicle numeration, revisions of the recitative cadences and evidence for inserted or removed folios. When pertinent, additional evidence from the four known 18th-century copies of the score is considered.[19]

The autograph consists of a large number of fascicles now bound into three volumes (one

[17] See *Tutte le opere di Pietro Metastasio*, ed. Bruno Brunelli (Milan, 1952-54), vol. V, pp. 258-59, 266-67.

[18] Printed libretto, Milan, 1772, p. [8]; on the libretto see Section D (*The Sources)* below.

[19] On the copies of the score see Section D (*The Sources*) below.

for each Act) but at the time of the performance probably loosely strung together. As in all of Mozart's scores preceding *The Marriage of Figaro*, the normal unit comprising each fascicle was a large sheet of paper folded in half (bifolium) and then in half again to form a gathering of four leaves (= 2 bifolios).[20] When necessary the bifolia were separated, resulting in a fascicle of just two leaves. (The remaining half-sheet was saved for later use.) While the closed numbers with orchestra almost always required more than one ordinary fascicle of four leaves, many simple recitatives, using less space, fit on one fascicle or even a single bifolium. To put and keep the loose fascicles in the right order a system of numbers and cues was used. Such indications were particularly necessary when the various components of an opera were not composed following the order of the libretto but according to the exigencies of the production. Furthermore, as each section was finished it was despatched to the theater's team of copyists who made additional scores and wrote out parts, eventually returning them to the composer. Evidence from the copies for *Lucio Silla* and from other scores copied at Milan during the early 1770's shows that the Regio Ducal Teatro resorted to at least a dozen different copyists who worked simultaneously.

In the autograph, Mozart separated as a rule all the fascicles containing a set-piece number and counted these independently of the recitatives; in Act I he also numbered the recitatives from scenes I to VII in a continuous succession. Both numbering processes are additional evidence for the sequence of composition and revisions, which in turn explain deviations from this system.

Directions at the conclusion of the recitatives, consisting of the usual formula "*Segue l'aria di NN*" and, in Act I and the beginning of Act II, the text incipit of the following aria, bear witness to the priority of the recitatives. In two cases (Act II, scene II and Act III, scene VI) the indication "*Segue l'aria di Silla*" remains, although the arias in question were omitted (cf. facsimiles on p. XLVI f.). One copy also retains both of these indications – only the latter one is scratched over – showing that the recitatives had been sent on for copying before the decision to omit the arias was made. At the recitative close preceding Giunia's aria "*Fra i pensier più funesti di morte*" (No. 22) there is no sign whatsoever of the aria to follow. Mozart had written the new end of the recitative, replaced the old bifolium by a new one, and forgot to add the usual directions.

Revisions of cadential bars in recitatives preceding set pieces are frequent (10 cases) and one of the clearest signs that Mozart had indeed written down his settings of all the speeches before finishing off the arias. Any changes in the key originally contemplated for an aria or ensemble piece necessitated a suitable modification of the recitative close leading into it. Of the 23 numbers in the final version of Lucio Silla, the three choruses did not create any such problems. Rather, it was the need to adapt to the preferences and capabilities of the solo singers that led to the modifications. Recitative cadences before nine of the eighteen solo arias show revisions, as do the final bars of the obbligato recitative leading into the duet at the end of Act I. Among these nine arias three belonged to Cecilio (Rauzzini), two to Giunia (De Amicis), two to Lucio Silla (Morgnoni) and one each to Lucio Cinna (Suardi) and Aufidio (Onofrio). The results that can be deduced from the evidence of the revisions would, in the cases of Rauzzini and De Amicis, suggest that the original keys of their respective arias were higher. Hence it was also necessary to transpose their duet from C to A major. Replaced bifolia in the recitatives preceding Giunia's aria "*Fra i pensier più funesti di morte*" (No. 22) and the trio "*Quell'orgogliso sdegno*" (No. 18) could also mean that the keys of these numbers had been changed. Further unusual tonal relationships can also be observed between recitatives and the two arias for Celia, "*Se lusinghiera speme*" (No. 3) and "*Quando sugl'arsi campi*" (No.15): from F major to C major (instead of the expected Bb major) in No.3 and from D major to A major (instead of the expected G major) in No. 15. In both cases, it is possible that the arias were transposed up a tone. Such transpositions or the replacement of secondary arias at the last minute were quite common, but in many cases the transition from the recitative was ignored. An additional modification beyond those already mentioned appears at the cadential bars of Act II, scene II, the spot planned for Silla's second

[20] See Alan Tyson, *Notes on the Composition of Mozart's Così fan tutte*, in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XXXVII (1984), p. 357. The terminology used and explained by Tyson here and in his other manuscript studies is adopted in the present discussion.

aria ("*Il timor con passo incerto*"). While no trace of an aria setting has come down, the fact that Mozart took the pains to revise the preceding recitative cadence is in itself evidence that there once existed an aria which was later dropped.[21]

If one takes into account similar evidence from autograph scores of other contemporary Italian opera composers as well, then the need to alter the keys of arias must mean that the solo pieces normally existed in at least some preliminary form before the composers appeared on the scene of the production to polish them off in the company of the singers: that completing the arias for performance really meant adjusting and fully orchestrating them and not composing them anew. The autograph seems to indicate that in *Lucio Silla* Mozart proved no exception in this regard. Such an explanation would account for the otherwise baffling speed at which busy maestri fulfilled several commissions seemingly within the short span of a few months. As regards the recitatives, investigation shows that the better Italian opera composers controlled their tonal structures carefully, producing a real sense of moving towards an inevitable goal, which was the cadence leading into the exit aria. Naturally, the tonal orientation thus established was disturbed or entirely destroyed when the recitative's cadential bars were rewritten to move to a completely unanticipated key.[22] Taken together, the likely and the possible transpositions of the set pieces in Mozart's *Lucio Silla* leave only five solo arias and the three choruses unchanged. Given these circumstances, any attempt to reconstruct a probable original tonal plan for the opera encounters so many variables as to prove futile, as is the assessing of key characteristics of individual numbers in relation to the aria texts.

As with Leopold's letter 14 November 1772 mentioning the first items to be completed at Milan, succeeding letters provide a fairly complete picture of the remaining preparations. The autograph score and contemporary copies allow us to fill in additional details.
"*The Primo uomo Sg. Rauzzini has now arrived, so there will now be more and more to do and it will become livelier*." wrote Leopold to his wife in his next letter of 21 November. A week later he could report:
"*Today De Amicis will set out from Venice and consequently be here in a few days. Then the work will begin properly at last, so far not much has happened. Wolfgang has up till now only written the first aria for the Primo uomo, but it is incomparable and he sings it like an angel*." Hence, apart from the choruses, one can assume that of the 23 numbers Wolfgang had thus far completed only the three arias for Suardi (Secondo uomo), the single number for Onofrio (Ultima parte) and now the first aria for Rauzzini, "*Il tenero moment*" (No. 2), or eight numbers in all. By 5 December the letters reveal both progress and unexpected setbacks. Leopold elaborated at some length:

"*Signora De Amicis … also only arrived yesterday evening, and from Venice to Milan with a post coach with 6 horses needed 8 days for the journey, the roads were so full of water and dirt. Another misfortune for the Cordoni tenor is that he has fallen so ill that he cannot come. So the theater secretary was send by special post coach to Turin and a courier to Bologna to obtain another tenor, who has to be not only a good singer but in particular a good actor and make a fine figure, so that his performance of Lucio Silla wins acclaim. Under these circumstances, since the Prima donna only arrived yesterday, but the tenor is not yet known, it is easy to deduce that the bulk and the most important parts of the opera have not yet been composed.*"

Wolfgang added in a postscript:

"*Now I still have 14 pieces to write, then I have finished; of course, one can count the trio and duet as 4 pieces*."

If by then Wolfgang had finished Rauzzini's remaining three arias, then the total completed would have been eleven numbers, leaving twelve and not fourteen still to do.

[21] All original, i.e. replaced recitative conclusions, are presented in the Critical Report (cf. also the facsimiles on pp. XLVI-XLIX ff.). For further details on the tonal relationships between the independent numbers and their preceding recitatives see below the section *Remarks on Individual Numbers* (Section E of this Foreword) and the Critical Report.

[22] Cf. on this whole complex of questions K. Hansell, Phil. Diss. 1979 (see footnote 2), pp. 410ff. The investigation there of tonal procedures in the recitatives of opera composers at Milan in the 1770s shows the continuo-accompanied recitatives of Mozart's *Lucio Silla* proved to be curiously aimless; hence, revisions of their cadenzas actually had a less disruptive effect than, for instance, was true in contemporary works of Paisiello.

Wolfgang's reckoning thus shows that he was still counting on having four arias for the Primo tenore, not just two as in the final version of the opera.

The next letter confirms this suppostion. By 12 December, two weeks before the première, at least three if not seven more solo numbers were ready, but as yet not the four tenor arias:

"*During these 8 days, as this letter travels to Salzburg, Wolfgang has the most work. For the blessed theater people leave everything to the last minute. The tenor, who is coming from Turin, is one of the King's court musicians, and is expected on the 14th or 15th. Signora De Amicis send greetings to both of you, she is quite especially happy with the 3 arias she has so far. Wolfgang has provided her main aria with such passages as are new and quite particularly and astonishingly difficult. She sings the same so that one has to be amazed, and we are in the best of friendship and trust with her*."

Of De Amicis' three arias mentioned here, Leopold surely intends her first, "*Dalla sponda tenebrosa*" (No. 4), and her second or principal aria, "*A se il crudel periglio*" (No. 11), which is one of the longest numbers in the opera. Whether the third completed piece for Giunia is No. 16, "*Parto, m'affretto*", or her third-act aria "*Fra i pensier più funesti di morte*" (No. 22) is unclear, but evidence in the contemporary MS copies seems to point to No. 16. It was probably No. 16 then that was also ready by 12 December while Mozart waited with No. 22, Giunia's fourth aria, until the following week.

The letters never mention the Seconda donna, Daniella Mienci, or her four arias. But since neither the autograph score nor any of the four principal copies show grounds for supposing that these pieces presented special problems, then one can reckon with their having been completed during the week or two following 5 December (when Wolfgang had "*still 14 pieces to do*"). The Act I duet for Giunia and Cecilio must also have been finished during those two weeks: both De Amicis and Rauzzini were on hand and the final copying seemingly in order in good time.

Left until the last week before the première were the numbers involving Lucio Silla himself: four solo arias and the trio closing Act III. On Friday 18 December Leopold could at last write:

"*The tenor arrived only last night, and today Wolfgang made 2 arias for him, and still has to do 2 more for him* [...] *I am writing this at 11 o'clock at night, as Wolfgang has just completed the 2nd tenor aria*."

The evidence of the modifications in the autograph presented above, taken together with this letter strongly suggests that after Silla's first aria ("*Il desio di vendetta e di morte*", No. 5) Mozart set the text "*Il timor con passo incerto*" found in the libretto at the end of Act II, scene II. It was, after all, the "second tenor aria" of the opera. The indication "*Segue l'aria di Silla*" comes in the autograph at the close of the revised version of the recitative (fol. 15 recto) and, it should be recalled, not after the earlier setting, (fol. 14 verso), which also had eight fewer lines of text; (cf. facsimile p. XLVI) Neither the autograph nor any of the 18th-century copies show any remains of an aria here; nor has the piece, even if suppressed, ever turned up elsewhere as a single number. Omission of this number meant that the first tenor had to leave the stage with no exit aria, highly unusual for a principal character. Furthermore, the long third scene, which already had 164 bars of recitative (67 of these with string accompaniment), became unavoidably linked to the foregoing 52 bars of simple recitative from Scene 2, resulting in one of the opera's longest stretches unrelieved by a lyrical number.

Silla's "third" aria, "*D'ogni pietà mi spoglio*" (No. 13), and the trio "*Quell' orgoglioso sdegno*" (No. 18) took final form in between rehearsals with the full orchestra, probably on 19 and/or 20 December. It was no doubt the impression left by these rehearsals that made dropping the first of Silla's second-act arias and aborting plans for a fourth number imperative. In the libretto the opera's very last solo piece, "*Se generoso ardire*", is given to Silla. The two previous scenes, set in the prisons, close with a solo for the Primo uomo, set by Mozart as a rondo-like aria in Tempo di menuetto, followed by the Prima donna's solo Ombra scene with aria, both genres favorites in their day. The change to the final stage setting in a grand salon, with a crowd of extras on scene, was to have shown Silla's moment of triumph as well as introduce the flattering view of the monarchy concluding the opera. But a weak substitute singer like Bassano Morgnoni could never have made any solo coming after Giunia's scena convincing. With no

aria, all three last scenes are strung together as one long simple recitative, finally leading into the closing Coro.

It may have been during the rehearsals on stage too that Mozart became aware of the need for two orchestral interludes in Act I. Both clearly came as afterthoughts. The first to be added was fitted in at the end of Cecilio's monologue in Scene VII: seven bars forming a bridge to the E^b major chorus "*Fuor di queste urne dolenti*" (No. 6). The autograph offers no evidence that these measures were a later insertion – apart from the fact noted earlier that the last bifolium of Scene VII is a replacement for a discarded one. But three copies of the score provide ample proof for how the original close was reworked. Two of them show an earlier variant of bars 56-57 of the recitative followed by a simple C-major cadence and the directions "*Segue il Coro*". No interlude is present in these two copies or even anticipated. In the third, on the other hand, the interlude has been squeezed into space left at the bottom half of the last leaf of the recitative. A still later addition was the nine-bar interlude between Silla's aria "*Il desio di vendetta e di morte*" (No. 5) and the beginning of Cecilio's obbligato recitative at Scene VII. It never found its way into any of the four contemporary copies of Act I. It is written on the only leaf (fol. 90) of Milanese paper to be found in the score. The rest of the MS consists of North Italian paper. (At this time Mozart also used this paper in Salzburg; cf. Critical Report). While this late interlude serves to make a smooth transition from the aria and provides time for the change of scene from Giunia's apartments to the subterranean tombs,[23] it is likely that it was found necessary for a reason not considered until late in the opera's creation – perhaps only after the aria was finished and in rehearsal. Originally Silla's aria of Scene VI was intended to be in C major. To suit the singer Mozart wrote it in D and altered the last six bars of the preceding obbligato recitative to cadence in D major instead of C. Now an immediate transition from an aria in C to the A minor opening of Scene VII would of course have posed no problem harmonically. But Mozart may have found the leap up a perfect fifth from the transposition in D to be jarring in a scene complex which he clearly intended to proceed seamlessly - an important reason for the addition of the interlude.

[23] The 18th-century chariot-and-pole system for moving the flats accomplished the scene changes within a matter of seconds. The system can be seen in operation at the Drottningholm Court Theater outside Stockholm, Sweden.

B. THE MUSIC OF THE OPERA

1. General Observations

Seen from the perspective of contemporary Italian heroic opera, the most remarkable aspect of the entire score is the weaving together of half the entire first act into a varicolored but whole fabric. Perhaps the only comparable spectacle in Italy at the time, one on an even grander scale, was to have been seen in the late works of Nicolò Jommelli at Naples, most particularly in his *Armida abbandonata*. Written on his return to Italy after sixteen years at Stuttgart, *Armida* incorporated ballet sequences, used much obbligato recitative and concluded with a great scene complex involving cavatina, aria, ensemble and chorus. With Anna de Amicis as Prima donna, the opera had its première at San Carlo on 30 May 1770, that is, at just the time when the Mozarts were in town. We know from Wolfgang's first letter to mention the work, written on 29 May after he had heard the dress rehearsal, that he admired it thoroughly: "*Hieri l'altro fùmmo nella prova dell'opera del sig: Jomela, la quale è una opera, che è ben scritta, e che mi piace veramente* [...]" ("*The day before yesterday we were at the rehearsal of the opera by signore Jomela, which is an opera which is well written and really pleases me* [...]") But after the première, undoubtedly influenced by other opinions – *Armida* met with a poor reception as did all of Jommelli's late Neapolitan operas – Wolfgang iterated the common criticism: "*fine, but much too clever, and too stuffy for the theater*" (note to his sister sent with his father's letter of 5 June 1770). Nonetheless, when later he himself had the opportunity to work with a librettist like Gamerra, whose aesthetic preferences clearly ran along lines similar to those long cherished by Jommelli and his collaborator Mattia Verazi, the result proved that the impressions from Naples of two years earlier were not forgotten.

They could but have strengthened those received earlier, during more than a year in Vienna (September 1767 - December 1768) when Mozart became acquainted with Gluck. He surely heard *Alceste*, which had its première on 16 Dec.

1767[24] and may also have come to know Gluck's *Telemaco* (of 1765) and Traetta's Viennese operas *Armida* (of 1761) and *Ifigenia in Tauride* (of 1763). The latter was playing all over Europe during 1767/68, including a production at the Regio Ducal Teatro in Milan. Like the operas of Jommelli, all of these works make abundant use of elements once impatiently discarded from the Italian heroic opera libretto during the Arcadian reforms of the early 18th century. Thus when Traetta's *Ifigenia* was shown at Milan (première 26 Dec. 1767) spectators were warned in the impresario's dedication at the beginning of the libretto to expect something so novel as "*the interweaving of ballets and choruses*". In the works of Traetta, Gluck and Jommelli these varied elements were linked together in large scenic complexes, particularly through such devices as orchestral interludes, orchestral accompaniment of recitatives and a general tendency to minimize the boundaries between recitative, aria, ensemble and chorus. Mozart's adoption of these ideas in part of *Lucio Silla* is more than a sign of his precocity. He happened to receive a commission from Milan at just the time the theater had taken on a librettist interested in fostering such aesthetic concepts in Italy. Gamerra had in fact concluded his "*Osservazioni*", cited above, with the hopeful prediction that "*in time the practices and brief observations noted here will be followed more widely and regularly*." A composer of sixteen would in any case hardly have been in the position to impose a new approach on a tradition-bound Italian opera house.

The first act of *Lucio Silla* discloses both the desire for variety of spectacle and the propensity towards amalgamation. They embrace not only the three scenes of the third and last stage setting (VII-IX) but actually all the music from Giunia's aria "*Dalla sponda tenebrosa*" (No. 4) to the end of the act. Taking in four numbers, this complex, lasting approximately 35 minutes in performance, includes a mixture of different elements, but among them only thirteen bars of simple recitative. The textural unity thus achieved is unmatched in the rest of the opera, where the traditional alternation of continuo-accompanied simple recitative and solo aria with orchestra dominates. Here, by contrast, the nearly continual participation of the strings allows a smooth and highly effective combination of solo aria, obbligato recitative, chorus and duet. The array of orchestral colors is varied and shifting through the frequent admixture of different wind timbres.

Mozart's orchestration in *Lucio Silla* as a whole diverges substantially from those of the usual Milanese opera. With most Italian composers represented at the Regio Ducal Teatro in the third quarter of the 18th century the norm was to have about half of all arias and other set pieces accompanied by the most common ensemble – two oboes, two horns and strings – and another twenty-five percent by the strings alone. But in *Lucio Silla* nearly half of all the numbers required an instrumental combination only infrequently called for in other works, namely: two trumpets, two horns, two oboes and strings. Four brasses (2 Tr, 2 Hns) participate in twelve set pieces and one obbligato recitative (Act I, scene VII). While in five of these the trumpets merely double the horns, the other seven actually have independent parts for all four brasses. The timpani appearing in both tenor arias and in Cecilio's first aria of Act II are additional evidence of Mozart's predilection for imposing instrumentations: in the majority of Opere serie timpani are confined to the overture and the occasional march or battle scene. On the other hand, in *Lucio Silla* arias accompanied by strings alone are few in number. Occurring predominantly in Act II, they provide a decided contrast to the fullness characterizing most of the work and serve to portray the characters' more human sides.

Only infrequently does Mozart call for the same group of instruments in two successive numbers. A few movements stand out from the majority in their scoring. These are the numbers calling for independent flute and bassoon parts, two of them also employing muted strings. Celia's Cavatina "*Se al labbro timido*" (No. 10: Act II, scene IV) is the first movement in which two flutes replace the oboes, lightly reinforcing the violins at the octave. Solo flutes figure in only one other scene, but there more significantly: in Giunia's Ombra scene of Act III they enter during the last third of the obbligato recitative, where they double the violas at the octave and symbolize the voice of the hero's shade. During the ensuing C minor aria "*Fra i pensier più funeste di morte*" (No. 22) the flutes remain, joined by the oboes and, for the second time in the opera, two

[24] Leopold mentions a performance of *Alceste* in his letter of 30 Jan. 1768 to Lorenz Hagenauer in Salzburg from Vienna.

independent bassoons. The sorrowful and otherworldly atmosphere is more obvious because the violins and violas are muted, and the basses play pizzicato. The only other part of the opera requiring separate bassoon parts is the formidable opening section of the final three scenes of Act I, where it is Cecilio who calls upon death ("*Morte, morte fatal*"), and when Mozart asks for two violas here, this is in keeping with the usual characterisation of the conjuring up of the dead or spirits. Paired violas in octaves with paired flutes and/or oboes, or doubling important bassoon parts, together with muted strings and pizzicato basses were orchestral devices associated with the Ombra scene since the early 1740's and the operas of Jommelli. By the 1770's they had become stock-in-trade.[25] That they may be somewhat more prominent in *Lucio Silla* then in many another Italian heroic operas of the same time has to do with the libretto. Gamerra's predilection for scenes of gloom and horror struck a responsive chord in the youthful composer that was naturally reflected in his setting. The libretto is only partly to blame for two other significant respects in which the opera departs from the norm: overall length and total amount of orchestrally accompanied music. Lasting four hours, according to Leopold's letter from the day of the première ("*the music alone without ballets lasts 4 hours*"), *Lucio Silla* is at least a half-hour to 45 minutes longer than the usual Carnival opera at Milan. While the greater number of lines of text to be set as simple recitative accounts for approximately ten extra minutes, the real difference lies in the length of the set pieces and, to a smaller degree, also in the somewhat higher proportion of obbligato recitative. Among these items it is not so much the inclusion of choruses in the first two acts but rather the expansive solo arias which generate the opera's imposing dimensions. Mozart's settings produced arias that are on the whole about 50 percent longer than, say, those in the operas of Paisiello heard at Milan in the same years.

2. The Arias

Nine of the eighteen solo numbers in *Lucio Silla* are Dal segno arias calling for a literal repetition of the end of the first part. Yet in their construction they are of an entirely different order from the traditional thematic and tonal schemes associated with this superficially more conservative pattern. Four other pieces are sonata designs, three for the Prima donna (Nos. 4, 11 and 16) and the fourth, a sonata-rondo, for the Primo uomo (No. 21). Simpler designs like ordinary binary forms to be found in other works and particularly in comic operas, do not appear at all, so that even the two Cavatine for the Seconda donna (Nos. 10 and 19) use the sonata principle and are well over 100 bars. The three remaining arias, one apiece for the three principal roles (Nos. 9, 13 and 22) are through-composed movements exhibiting musical structures more complex than simple bipartite (AB) or tripartite (ABC) schemes typically encountered in other Italian heroic or comic operas of the day.

The sonata principle in fact pervades the whole of *Lucio Silla*. Mozart employed it within the Dal segno arrangement to create nine arias unusual in both their length and form. His "A-sections" alone are fully as long as many a complete aria in works of Italian contemporaries! Since Mozart distributed the nine Dal segno arias mainly among the subsidiary roles, the form also becomes a symbol of a character's lesser station. Additionally, the Primo uomo, Cecilio, has two of his four arias in this form: the first (No. 2), a lengthy, old-fashioned set piece, and the second (No. 14), an equally traditional *alla breve* pathetic air in $E^{\flat}$ major. Significantly, Mozart gave Giunia no *dal segno* arias at all.

In addition to specific formal schemes, arias in 18th-century Opere serie employed particular combinations of tempo and meter, key and orchestration as well as certain other characteristics to clarify the hierarchical position of the character singing the part. Several features belonged specifically to the leading characters: the slowest tempos, the Alla breve
(¢) and sometimes the 3/4 meter (especially in combination with a slow tempo), minor keys in general as well as major keys having three or more sharps or flats, the widest vocal ranges (these emphasized through dramatic leaps and changes of register), long vocal phrases and vocalizations with few rests and fewer, shorter orchestral interludes. With few exceptions Mozart adhered to all these conventions in *Lucio Silla*. Only the need to compensate for the singer's deficiencies obliged him to restrict the vocal range, melismas and phrase lengths in the arias for

[25] Cf. Hermann Abert, *Niccolò Jommelli als Opernkomponist* (Halle, 1908), pp. 135ff.

the Primo tenore, entrusting a larger burden to the orchestra in the form of extensive interludes and significant motivic material.

During the second half of the century two special features came to be reserved just for the hero and heroine during the third act. They may indicate an attempt on the part of opera producers to restore interest in what had become the least vital and most neglected portion of the show. Both appear in modified form in Lucio Silla: the Rondò for the Primo uomo and the Ombra scene for the Prima donna.

By Rondò is understood here what Vincenzo Manfredini and Saverio Mattei called the "*true Rondò in the French manner*" and not another modern sort of Italian vocal piece sometimes also called "Rondò" or "arias shortened Rondò style" (*arie scorciate a rondò*), but more correctly designated "aria in two tempos" (*arie in due tempi*).[26] Gluck's "*Che faro senz' Euridice*" from *Orfeo* (1762), the most famous example of the true Rondò and one serving as a model for many others, shows the typical characteristics: it belongs to the castrato Primo uomo, occurs in the opera's third act and employs a recurring refrain in the tonic with intervening episodes or couplets in other keys (A B A C A). The "Rondò's" ingratiating refrain especially brought the performer the kind of attention permitted only to a leading character; hence the "Rondò" was never considered proper for one of the subsidiary roles, the first tenor included. With the demise of the last great castratos the "true" vocal "Rondò" also disappeared in Italy.

Cecilio's "*Pupille amate*" in the fourth scene of Act III (No.21) designated *Tempo di menuetto*, is Mozart's gesture towards the custom of including a "Rondò" for the Primo uomo. His treatment of the principal theme and concomitant text lends "*Pupille amate*" the character of a "Rondò" while maintaining the tonal scheme and disposition of material associated with sonata form. Whenever the main theme appears it is always in the tonic, twelve bars long, not varied melodically or harmonically in any way and presents the text in the same, straightforward manner.

Because Gamerra displayed a certain reserve in working out the scenes featuring Cecilio's quasi-Rondò and Giunia's Ombra scene, in Mozart's setting they do not attain the breadth that characterizes these scenes in some other Opere serie of the period. Thus, Cecilio does not have a *scena* with an impressive obbligato recitative preparing the way for his minuet. And while Giunia is alone on stage for her Ombra scene (III, 5) the dimensions are a little too small.[27]

3. The Recitatives

(a) Obbligato Recitatives

In the Ombra scene as in certain other monologues in *Lucio Silla*, the sixteen-year old Mozart already revealed a talent for handling orchestrally accompanied recitatives. The kinds of rhythmic and harmonic problems he had to wrestle with in the simple recitatives accompanied only by continuo are less conspicuous in obbligato settings. In Opera seria on the whole, the more significant a role assigned to the orchestra, the more *obbligati* are seen to differ from *semplici* not only in texture, but in formal aspects too. Rate and type of harmonic change during orchestral interludes, for example, are more akin to what one finds in a set piece. The less complex overall tonal schemes may help explain why Mozart produced more successful *recitativi obbligati* in *Lucio Silla*. Instrumental interludes also employ more regular, repetitious rhythmic patterns and minimize the problems of handling the freer speech rhythms that at one time were among the chief delights of simple recitative but also require the most subtle management for full effect.

[26] Cf. Vincenzo Manfredini, *Difesa della musica moderna* (Bologna, 1788; reprint: Bologna, 1977), pp. 194-96; Saverio Mattei, *La filosofia della musica, o sia La riforma del teatro*, published in his 1781 edition of the works of Metastasio and cited in Michael Robinson, *Naples and Neapolitan Opera* (Oxford, 1972) p. 148. There are some well-known examples of the two-tempo Rondò in the later works of Mozart, e.g. Belmonte's "*Wenn der Freude Tränen fliessen*" (*Entführung*), Donna Anna's "*Non mi dir*" (Don Giovanni) and Fiordiligi's "*Per pietà bell'idol mio*" (Così fan tutte). This latter type, which led directly to the l9th-century Cavatina-Cabaletta, was neither restricted to the castrato Primo uomo (although always to a principal part) nor to a scene towards the end of the opera.

[27] More extensive analysis of the *Lucio Silla* arias is in: K. Hansell, Phil. Diss. 1979 (see footnote 2), p. 448ff.

In the obbligato recitatives of *Lucio Silla* the ratio of orchestral interludes to texted sections is just the opposite of that found in most other Italian heroic operas from the same time. In general, Italian composers distinctly favored the texted sections: the proportion is about 2:1. In this respect they adhered to the guidelines profferred by Metastasio at mid-century. In his famous letter to Hasse on *Attilio Regolo*, Metastasio had warned against "the inconvenience of making the singer wait for the chord" ("*l'inconveniente di far aspettare il cantante più di quello che il basso solo esigerebbe*") and too long interludes which "instead of animating, would...render the picture disjointed, obscure and suffocated in the frame" ("*invece di animare snerverebbero il recitativo, che diverrebbe un quadro spartito, nascosto e affogato nella cornice*").[28] The three most substantial obbligato recitatives in *Lucio Silla* (scene VII in the first act, III and XI in the second) on the other hand, contain about twice as much orchestral as accompanied vocal music. Giunia's rather large Ombra scene recitative in Act III, "*Sposo... mia vita...*", is about evenly divided between texted sections and those without the voice. While several of these scenes are highly dramatic and musically very effective, they must have made unusual demands on the histrionic and pantomimic talents of Rauzzini and De Amicis, who had to maintain the appropriate mood during the longer interludes. Thus, in addition to the other singular aspects of its libretto and score already noted, the more frequent, longer and more instrumentally conceived obbligato recitatives of Lucio Silla remain atypical: they are not representative of what opera audiences in Milan normally heard or even preferred to hear at the time of Mozart's sojourn there.

(b) Simple Recitatives (secchi)

The only truly effective recitatives in the opera are those with orchestral accompaniment. For unlike more experienced Italian composers, the young Mozart showed that he as yet understood only the superficial aspects of constructing a good simple recitative – that element which constitutes about one-quarter of all the music heard in an Opera seria. Perhaps the most significant factors contributing a sense of cohesion and aim in a simple recitative are tonal organization and the pacing of chord changes. A controlling plan was essential, because continuo accompaniment by only a few expert players rather than a whole orchestra allowed nearly unrestricted use of any of the twelve major keys and many of their relative minors. In *Lucio Silla* simple recitatives often lack tonal direction because, on the one hand, they do not firmly establish a central tonic key and, on the other hand, they return constantly to the tonal point of departure. Harmonic sequences are rather brief, do not go very far afield tonally and revolve constantly about the dominant-tonic axis. More unusual chord progressions, such as movement by thirds, or turns to the minor mode, are not really used to advantage, for they are only momentary deviations with no kind of lasting effect. Usually, chromatic chord progressions were considered exceptional procedures and reserved for a few limited areas in a scene. But in *Lucio Silla* the simple recitatives show rather frequent yet haphazard and hence often ineffective use of these normally powerful resources. Thus a kind of aimless wandering and absence of purposeful tonal design unfortunately mars the greater part of the scenes in simple recitative.

With the restraints on melodic embellishment, the relatively slow rate of harmonic change and the absence of periodic phrase structure that distinguish it from the set pieces with orchestral accompaniment, simple recitative depends heavily for its effect on rhythmic nuance. In this respect too the recitatives in *Lucio Silla* fall short. Observing proper accent and punctuation, as Mozart generally does, is not enough to ensure a successful approximation of the natural cadence of spoken dialogue. The variation among phrases and the way they are linked together determines the impression they make: in *Lucio Silla* it is one of uniformity. The young composer depended on a few staple patterns used over and over again. Even more important than rhythmic variety is the larger temporal element, the pacing of phrases and whole paragraphs, and here too Mozart betrays little concern for creating comprehensive rhythmic schemes.

Indeed, it is above all the manner of setting the simple recitatives in *Lucio Silla* that betrays what young Mozart still had to learn about opera. It is not surprising then that after the 1772/73 season, in which Paisiello's *Sismano nel Mogol*

[28] Letter of 20 October 1747 in *Tutte le opere di Pietro Metastasio,* vol. III, pp. 431-32.

followed *Lucio Silla*, it was not Mozart but Paisiello who was asked to return to Milan for the succeeding Carnival. Although neither Leopold Mozart nor Wolfgang mention Paisiello by name in their letters from Milan during the winter of 1772/73, it is most likely that they met. The scrittura always required a composer's presence for at least a month before and during the first three performances of a new opera. And in his autobiography Paisiello noted having composed "*in Milano* Sismano nel Mogolle [sic]".[29] In any case we know that the Mozarts heard at least one rehearsal and three regular performances of Paisiello's opera (letters of 23 and 30 January and 6 and 27 February 1773). Wolfgang undoubtedly learned from the sure technique of the older composer, particularly with regard to recitatives.

4. The Ensembles and the Overture

Of the two vocal ensembles in *Lucio Silla*, the duet at the end of Act I may be characterized as one of the least adventurous of the important numbers in the opera. It follows a standard scheme encountered in Italian Opera seria after the middle of the 18th century. Formally, the second-act trio is more interesting. Mozart's preoccupation with sonata form determines the design of its first half, while the second section (last text stanza) is in the nature of an extended coda. Neither the duet nor the trio are longer than a regular aria. Their traditional musical cast is related to the conservative texts around which they are built. There is no hint in Gamerra's verses of a tendency beginning to make itself felt in ensemble numbers in some other heroic operas of the 1770's, namely, the introduction of further developments in the dramatic action. Such new-style ensemble numbers, inspiring – indeed, requiring many more lines of text than the old-fashioned duets, came gradually to resemble the action finales of comic opera, if on a reduced scale. But Gamerra's and hence Mozart's ensemble numbers in *Lucio Silla* pay homage to a more restricted, more static aesthetic ideal and give no hints of the upcoming ensemble form reflecting characters and dramatic action that Mozart would develop to mastery in his late operas.

The title Overtura is one that the opening of *Lucio Silla* shares with other Italian operas of the same decade, for instance Paisiello's *La frascatana* (première: Venice, November 1774), one of the most performed comic operas of the later 18th century. During the 1770's the Italian opera overture was transformed from a three-movement, fast-slow-fast scheme typical at mid-century, into a single long movement that normally took the sonata-allegro form. Paisiello claimed primacy for this development in his autobiography of 1811, stating that *"he was the first one to make use of sinfonie in just one movement (in un tempo solo), thereafter imitated by others"*[30] And indeed, the Overtura to *La frascatana* is a fine example of the new disposition.

By contrast, the *Lucio Silla* overture preserves a three-movement design, and its first two movements, lacking development sections, are in expanded binary rather than sonata form. And yet, even if externally still traditional, features in the internal make-up of the Overtura do point toward the future. The festive opening D major *Molto allegro* is very nearly as long in playing time as the other two movements combined, a tendency that would ultimately lead to the disappearance of the other two. With respect to thematic manipulation, Mozart's first movement shows itself to be stylistically advanced. Two motives, the hunting horn call (bars 1-2) and its consequent (bars 2-3), figure importantly not only in the principal theme, but also in the modulatory and closing passages as well as in the coda. Thus operating more on the principle of economy and unification than simply one of thematic contrast, it is closer in spirit to overtures of the later 1770's and '80's than to earlier Sinfonie which were commonly a mere display of contrasting orchestral textures and dynamics.

[29] See Nino Cortese, *Un' autobiografia inedita di Giovanni Paisiello* in: *Rassegna musicale italiano* III, 2 (March 1930), pp. 123-55.

[30] Cortoni, op. cit., p. 133. Because a cosmopolitan composer like Paisiello could scarcely have been unaware of operas like Gluck's *Orfeo* (1762) and *Alceste* (1767), both published, and perhaps also *Telemaco* (1765), one must assume that he considered their opening orchestral movements to be in quite another category from his own. Since Gluck's served as introductory movements to large scenes with ballet and chorus, they, like the opening of Mozart's *Ascanio in Alba*, are not really free-standing instrumental pieces,

C. LUCIO SILLA AT THE REGIO DUCAL TEATRO

1. Preparations

(a) Rehearsal Schedule

The schedule of rehearsals for *Lucio Silla* was necessarily a concentrated one. The rather late arrival of the Prima donna and the delay in locating a substitute singer for the first tenor role meant that the normal timetable was pushed back by at least a week. When seen against the comparatively leisurely preparations for *Mitridate*, as described in the Mozarts' letters from Milan in December 1770, the rehearsals of December 1772 appear all the more hectic.

The première performance took place in both cases on 26 December. But in 1770 the entire cast had already had two recitative rehearsals and one trial run-through with small orchestra by the 12th. By contrast, on the same day two years later Leopold wrote:
"This morning there was the first recitative rehearsal. The second will take place when the tenor arrives." (Letter of 12 December 1772)

During the following week, though, not waiting for the replacement tenor Bassano Morgnoni from Lodi, the management held two additional rehearsals of the simple recitatives.[31] Only on the morning of Saturday the 19th, just a little over a day after the tenor's arrival at Milan, could the first practice session with orchestra take place. And the second rehearsal with the instruments followed it just one day later, as Leopold's letter of the 18 December makes clear:

"I am writing this today, Friday the 18th, for tomorrow there will hardly be time left over to write anything. At half past nine in the morning there will be the first rehearsal with all instruments […] *Sunday 20th is the second rehearsal* […]*"*.

Two years earlier the first full rehearsal had been held on the 17th. And probably so as to leave the stage free for both scene painters and dance rehearsals, it had been carried on in the theater's *ridotto*. This was the grand salon over the entrance-way where, during opera nights, gambling facilities for the nobility were normally in full operation.[32] In that year it was the second rehearsal with full orchestra that took place on stage on the 19th, followed by a final recitative rehearsal on the 21st, another instrumental session on the 22nd and the dress rehearsal on Christmas Eve. In 1772, because they got underway later, all rehearsals for *Lucio Silla* with orchestra took place on the stage, there were only three of them preceding the dress rehearsal and all occurred within the space of five days. There is no mention of any recitative rehearsal after 17 December, but the newly arrived Primo tenore would certainly have needed an opportunity to practice the lines of his substantial part. Unlike 1770, both Christmas Eve and Christmas Day were free days:

"[...] *Tuesday 22nd the third rehearsal, Wednesday 23rd the dress rehearsal, Thursday and Friday nothing, on Saturday 26th the first opera* [...]*"*. And Wolfgang added in his postscript to his father's letter of 18 December to Salzburg: "*die morgige Probe ist auf dem Theatro"*, in other words, the first rehearsal on Saturday 19 December was to be on stage.

While the practice schedule for *Lucio Silla* was uncommonly tight, it was the custom at Milan in any case to wait with the full orchestra rehearsals of the first Carnival opera until the third week in December. The reason was that each year at the close of the autumn season of comic operas, towards the latter part of November, the nobility deserted the city for their country villas, taking the best orchestral musicians with them.[33]

(b) The Orchestra

[31] Cf. Leopold's letter of 18 December 1772 to Salzburg: "*dieser täge waren 3 Recitativ Proben*" ("*In the last days there were three recitative rehearsals*").

[32] On the importance of games of chance for the economic survival of Milan's Regio Ducal Teatro, descriptions of the theater's three gambling salons and their activities and the effects of these practices on opera productions are all discussed at considerable length in K. Hansell, Phil. Diss. 1979 (see footnote 2), pp. 104ff

[33] Cf. Leopold Mozart's complaint in the letter of 1 December 1770 to Salzburg: *"*[…]*was für ein elendes orchester bey dieser Accademie war; indem die guten Leute alle mit den Herrschaften da und dort auf dem Lande sind, und erst in 8 tägen oder 12 zu den Proben der opera zurückkommen werden*[…] *"* ([…]*"what a miserable orchestra at this soirèe; because the good people are all with their lordships here and there in the country, and will only return in 8 or 12 days for the rehearsals of the opera*[…]*"*)

The orchestra of Milan, renowned since the 1740's and the days of Sammartini's leadership, numbered around 60 players throughout the last third of the 18th century. It was similar both in size and constitution to the large ensembles at Turin's Teatro Regio and Naples' Teatro San Carlo. Leopold Mozart's description of the Milanese group in a letter of 15 December 1770 reveals certain features then common to all larger Italian opera orchestras:

"[...] *on the 17th will be the first rehearsal with the whole orchestra, which consists of 14 firsts and 14 seconds, consequently 28 violins, 2 harpsichords, 6 double basses, 2 violoncelli,2 bassoons, 6 violas, 2 oboes and 2 traverse flutes, which when there are no flutes always play with 4 oboes; 4 horns, 2 clarini* [trumpets?] *etc., viz. 60 persons* […]"

The string section in particular had a characteristic disposition: 28 violins (14 + 14), 6 violas, 2 cellos 6 basses and 2 harpsichords. The comparable figures at Turin in 1773 were: 28, 5, 2, 8, 2 and at Naples in 1771: 32, 4, 2, 5, 2.

Harpsichords were reckoned among the strings until far into the 19th century.[34] Placed at either end of the long, shallow orchestra pits, they worked together as a team with the two cellos and – as pictorial representations and other evidence makes clear – with the two principal double basses. These two continuo groups of three players each, the backbone of every opera performance, included some some of the highest-paid instrumentalists.

At the first harpsichord sat the composer flanked by the first cellist and first double bass player for the three initial performances of the opera, while at the second keyboard the theater's first harpsichordist (Giovanni Battista Lampugnani was *Primo maestro al cembalo* at that time and until 1786) played with the second cellist and double bass player. For the remaining performances the first Maestro al cembalo took over for the composer, while the second harpsichordist (Melchiorre Chiesa played second keyboard then until 1781) filled in at the other keyboard.

The seemingly curious balance among the lower strings of two cellos against five or more string basses has to do with the sorts of instruments then numbered among the latter group. 18th-century pictures of Italian opera performances as well as some contemporary rolls of orchestral players indicate several types of basses. Participating in the two continuo groups were the two principal double basses, large instruments presumably sounding an octave below the cellos. The other three to six basses were designated in Turinese lists simply as *bassi* or else as *bassi* or *contrabassi di ripieno*; and pictures of this and other orchestras show these as smaller instruments. Whether they were violoni, large cellos, small contrabasses, or a mixture, and whether they sounded at concert pitch or an octave lower, is unclear. That none of them projected the sound in the way the more diminutive violoncello or large double bass could is probably the reason that there had to be more of them in the orchestra to balance the upper strings. But they had the advantage of being easier to manage and were therefore used for rhythmic reinforcement of the bass, very possibly playing a simpler version of the part. Surviving contracts with theater copyists call for a full score for the second harpsichord according to the composer's original, and parts for all wind and strings instruments, including one each for the *contrabassi di ripieno*, but none at all for the two principal cellos and double basses. The two string players of each continuo group, standing or sitting close to the harpsichordists, read directly from the full score and hence needed no separate parts. (This practice is reflected in Mozart's writing the instrumental bass line in his early opera scores up to *Idomeneo* in significantly larger, even over-size, notes; cf. facsimiles on pp. XLIV ff and L ff.)

Significantly, in his list of instruments at Milan Leopold Mozart names the two bassoons between the cellos and violas, rather than with the rest of the winds. Evidence from other Milanese scores shows that bassoons habitually doubled the string bass part whenever the oboes had obbligato parts, and thus played a good deal of the time even when they did not have independent parts. Their presence gave the bass line added weight at written pitch. As for the oboes, there is even some

[34] At Milan the orchestra at La Scala for example included two harpsichords until 1802 and retained a *"Maestro al cembalo"* until 1854; see Giampiero Tintori, *Duecento anni di Teatro alla Scala : Cronologia : opere - balletti - concerti 1778-1977* (Milan, 1979), p. 399.

evidence that at least at Milan they doubled the violins during the ritornellos of arias (but not when the voice entered).[35]

The import of Leopold's remark concerning the flutes at Milan – "*where there are no flutes always play with 4 oboes*" – is debatable. Before this time flutes were not listed separately at Milan, Rome, Turin or Naples. Oboists were expected to manage the flute parts when necessary. Indeed, in the latter two cities this situation obtained into the second decade of the 19th century. That two of four oboists at Milan still did double duty as flautists in 1770 is one conclusion to be drawn from Leopold's letter. Another is that there were always four and not just two soprano woodwinds sounding when there were two written oboe parts in a movement. Contemporary copies of *Lucio Silla* bear out this suppostion, since they add the indication "*soli*" for the oboes in passages of two movements,[36] meaning that otherwise these parts were doubled. More difficult is determining whether the third and fourth woodwind players used flutes or oboes when "playing along" with the principals: did two of the oboists pick up flutes or did they continue on oboe? Until other evidence comes to light it may simply not be possible to answer this question satisfactorily.

Another controversial instrument name is "*clarini*". In some mid-19th century Italian orchestral lists this term denotes clarinets. But during the 1770's and earlier trumpets were intended. No Italian orchestra listed clarinet players separately before 1773 – or at just the same time the first solo parts for the instrument began appearing in opera scores – and then they were called "*clarinetti(e)*. Although Leopold wrote "*clarini*" in his letter, in the score of *Lucio Silla* Wolfgang employed one of the more usual Italian terms, "*trombe lunghe*",[37] that is, straight as opposed to coiled trumpets. Until the 1770's the names *tromba* (*da caccia*) or *corno* (*da caccia*) were used in Italy as generic titles signifying "brass instruments" and encompassing both trumpets and horns. Like the oboists who also doubled on flute, horn players were to manage the trumpet as well. Hence trumpet players were not listed separately. While mid-century orchestras still had only four brass players, by the 1770's four horns were the norm and the two (or even four) trumpet parts were executed by other players specializing in those instruments. At the end of his list Leopold writes "*etc*." and reckons 60 players in total rather than the 56 he named. At least one other player should be included: the timpanist. If there actually were three additional instrumentalists cannot be established (cf. additionally the section below, *Performance Practice*, in Section E.)

The Milanese orchestra, thought Charles Burney during comic opera performances in the summer of 1770, was too loud: "*In the opera-house little else but the instruments can be heard* [...]; *a delicate voice is suffocated; it seems to me as if the orchestra not only played too loud, but that it had too much to do*."[38]

The Milanese themselves, on the other hand, clearly had a taste for the more complex orchestrations and forceful accompaniment which their players executed with what was believed to be incomparable precision. It may have been this very precision that left Burney with an impression of unusual incisiveness. The Milanese theorist Giovenale Sacchi provided a laudatory description of the orchestra's technique in his dissertation *Della divisione del tempo nella musica, nel ballo e nella poesia*, published in 1770:

"[...] *nostri professori* [...] *sogliono insieme andare a tanta concordia, che egli è un diletto non pure ad udirli, ma si eziandio a starli a vedere, perchè pare, che una sola mano spinga, e ritragga tutti gli archi. Bene è vero, che l'orchestra milanese è delle più celebri d'Italia, già è gran tempo* [...] *Or il tempo non si regola, nè mai si è regolato con altro, che col cenno della mano*." [39]

[35] In his autograph score for the opera *Il Ruggiero* (Milan, 1771) Johann Adolf Hasse added on his arrival the comment "*oboi nei soli ritornelli*" in five arias which were otherwise scored for strings alone, apparently to ensure that the oboists did not play when the voice entered.

[36] See No. 6, bb. 45-48 and No. 14, bb. 42ff., 58ff., 84ff., and 99ff; see also the Critical Report.

[37] Two other common names for trumpets in 18th-century Italy were"*trombe d(i)ritte*" and "*trombe da caccia*".

[38] *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* (London, 1773), ed. by Percy Scholes as *Dr. Burney's Musical Tours*, vol. I (London, 1959), p. 67.

[39] *Dissertazioni III del P.[adre] D[on] Giovenale Sacchi Bernabita*, p. 26.

("*Our musicians* [...] *are accustomed to playing together with such precision that it is a delight not only to hear them, but also to stand and watch them, because it seems as though but a single hand pushes and pulls all the bows, It is indeed true that the Milanese orchestra has been one of the most celebrated of Italy for a long time* [...] *Now the beat is not regulated, nor has it ever been regulated other than with the gesture of the hand*.")

(c) The Ballets

Besides the vocal entertainment, every large Italian theater presented entr'acte ballets with both serious and comic operas. Opere serie also had a third ballet following the last act. Taken together, the three ballets alone lasted about two hours. By the later 1760's it had become customary following the opera's first act to stage the longest and most impressive of the dances: a pantomime action presenting a well-developed mythological, historical or exotic plot and lasting nearly an hour. The ballet after the second act, generally somewhat shorter, more often retained the form and limitations of earlier entr'acte divertissements. Consisting of colorful series of entrées, it featured stylized dances and not so much pantomime. Neither of the entr'acte ballets, it should be emphasized, normally bore any relation to the opera they accompanied. Their plots, stage settings and music were completely independent from the vocal entertainment and from each other. The third ballet, on the other hand, was a triumphal formal dance serving further to glorify the exalted personages represented in the opera. It often bore a name like "*Ciaccona*" or "*Ballo nobile*". Occasionally its title related it directly to the opera's plot – as was the case with the ballet following Mozart's *Mitridate* in 1770, Francesco Caselli's *Dame e cavalieri, che applaudano alle nozze d'Aspasia e d'Ismene* (*Ladies and nobles, who applaud at the marriage of Aspasia and Ismene*) (characters in the opera). The third ballet therefore used the same stage setting as that at the end of the opera. Its music, however, was unrelated to the vocal work in the vast majority of cases.[40]

Lucio Silla was accompanied by three ballets. While their 32 dancers and two choreographers – Charles Le Picq and Giuseppe Salamoni "detto di Portogallo" – had undoubtedly been engaged about a year in advance, decisions as to which ballets they would put on seem to have been delayed until the last possible moment. Some copies of the printed libretto[41] contain no ballet titles, while others show that the printer, Giovanni Bianchi, later tipped in an extra page (between pages [12] and 13) after binding had been completed.[42] Furthermore, unlike all other ballets staged at Milan during the 1770's, those with *Lucio Silla* have neither scenery designations nor scenarios printed within the opera libretto; nor has a separate "*programma*" ever come to light. The latter were then customary, particularly with the ballets by disciples of Noverre such as Le Picq.

Neither entr'acte ballet with *Lucio Silla* was a new work. The first, *La gelosìa del serraglio*, was Le Picq's reworking of Noverre's *Les jalousies ou los fêtes du sérail*, first produced at Lyons on 21 September 1758 with music by François Granier. Noverre had presented another version at Vienna in January 1771 under the title *Les cinq soltanes*, for which he had had a new setting made by Joseph Starzer. Very significant for the Milan production is the fact that, well before even Noverre's first version, Franz Anton Hilverding had in 1752/53 mounted a ballet in Vienna called *Le gelosie di serraglio* that probably corrresponds to another score by Starzer bearing this title, discovered by Gerhard Croll at the Czechoslovakian State Archive.[43] A Mozart manuscript, long unsuspected as anything but preliminary ideas for one of his own works, reveals that the music for Le Picq's Milanese

[40] K. Hansell, Phil. Diss. 1979 (see footnote 2), pp. 581-920, deals in detail with the ballet at Milan. An appendix (pp. 943-960) provides a chronology of all ballets shown there between 1738 and 1778. See also K. Hansell, *Il balletto nell'opera italiana* in *Storia dell'opera italiana* (Edizioni di Torino/ Società italiana di musicologia).

[41] As for instance the copy in the Conservatorio di musica "Giuseppe Verdi", Milan.

[42] For example in the copies in the Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, Milan and in the Civico Museo Bibliografico-Musicale, Bologna.

[43] The full set of orchestral parts, the only known source for this early Starzer work, was first reported in a paper by Gerhard Croll in 1974, subsequently published as *Bemerkungen zum Ballo Primo (KV Anh. 109/135a) in Mozarts Mailander Lucio Silla* in: *Analecta Musicologica* 18 (*Colloqium "Mozart in Italien", Rome 1974*) Cologne, 1978, pp. 160-65.

production was a pasticcio based on at least two Starzer ballets.[44]

During his sojourn in Milan in the winter of 1772/73, Mozart made hasty sketches covering eight pages and including an introduction and 32 numbers of what he entitled *Le gelosie del serraglio, Primo ballo*.[45] Not until 1961 did an article by Walter Senn provide the first concrete reasons for questioning the authorship of these sketches. Senn showed that the Sinfonia and five additional numbers were nearly identical to the Sinfonia and five movements of Starzer's 1771 ballet score *Le cinque soltane*.[46] He also pointed out that Mozart wrote dancers' names at the beginning of nine movements – dancers at the Regio Ducal Teatro that Carnival season – either as memory aids or as memorial inscriptions; that hence the sketches were made "*under the vivid impression of the performance*" and were most likely written down from memory. Since there are many more than six movements, Senn suggested that the Milanese production was a pasticcio. This last suggestion has been partially confirmed by Croll, who demonstrated that two other movements derived from Starzer's much earlier score *Le gelosie del serraglio*. At least one other score is involved in the rather complex tangle of sources. Dance No. 25 amongst Mozart's ballet sketches, headed with the names of the dancers "*Casacci e Morelli*", shows a very close correlation with the ninth movement of François Granier's score of 1758 for Noverre's Lyons production of *Les jalousies du sérail*.[47]

The second entr'acte, Salamoni's *La scuola di negromanzia*, was evidently also a revival of a work performed earlier at Vienna. While relatively little is known about the ballet – nothing with respect to its scenario – an anonymous set of orchestral parts entitled *Die Schule der Magij*, preserved today along with other 18th-century Viennese ballet music in Regensburg, may represent the original setting.[48]

The music for the concluding ballet with *Lucio Silla*, titled *La Giaccona* [cf. the facsimile on the right on p. LV] in the added libretto page, is in all probability identical with the opera's final chorus. With Gamerra's textual organization in mind – three sections for chorus separated by two solo stanzas – Mozart composed the movement in the form of a French chaconne. Indeed, in one contemporary copy the piece is actually entitled "*Ciaccona*". Like the closing number in many 18th-century ballets, the chorus follows the Rondeau scheme of refrains and episodes common in French opera and instrumental music and the triple meter and double-upbeat rhythm of the French chaconne.[49] As in a staged or ballroom chaconne, where the whole company dances the refrain and individual couples the episodes (or *couplets*), here the three choral stanzas of the finale chorus in *Lucio Silla* form the refrains and the solo verses the episodes. Gamerra already prepared for the refrain scheme by having whole lines and phrases from the first chorus stanza return in the other two chorus stanzas. Mozart's setting also emphasizes the chaconne form through its tonal organization and orchestration. The provision for a chaconne finale with singers, as part of the opera itself, was extremely rare in Milanese librettos and is surely in the cesa of Lucio Silla attributable to Gamerra. Normally an opera composer was responsible only for the music of the *Dramma*, which nearly always ended with a short, brisk *Coro* for the soloists; any concluding instrumental chaconne would have been provided by one of Milan's resident musicians. That the final chorus in *Lucio Silla* was danced by the theater's company of professional dancers as well as sung is to be inferred from the list of ballets at the end of the credit pages: it is

[44] According to correspondence with Prof. Dr. Gerhard Croll (Salzburg), Le Picq's pasticcio used one or two further compositions by Starzer.

[45] Kept in the International Mozart Foundation, Salzburg.

[46] Walter Senn, *Mozarts Skizze der Ballettmusik zu 'Le gelosie del serraglio' (KV Anh. 109/135a)*, in: *Acta Musicologica* 32 (1961), pp. 168-82. Because of the evidence presented by Senn, the NMA has decided not to include Mozart's ballet sketches in the main series (II/6/vol. 2: *Music for Pantominea and Ballets*, presented by Harald Heckmann) but in the supplement (X/28: *Arrangements,Completions and Transcriptions of Works by other Composers*).

[47] Cf. K. Hansell, Phil. Diss. 1979 (see footnote 2), pp. 750-752, where these relationships are first mentioned.

[48] Fürstlich Thurn- und Taxis'sche Bibliothek, Regensburg, kept there with music from other Viennese ballets of the 18th century (cf. the catalogue prepared by Gertraut Haberkamp, Munich, 1981, p. 403). This ballet was probably in two acts and consisted of a sinfonia and 19 numbers (9 + 10).

[49] Rousseau's description of the later 18th-century chaconne in his *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris, 1768/ Reprint Hildesheim and New York, 1969), p. 78, notes all of these aspects.

most unlikely that yet another purely orchestral chaconne would have followed upon it.

(d) The Scenography

The eight changes of scene for *Lucio Silla* were designed by the theater's long-resident, internationally renowned scenographers, the brothers Galliari. Fabrizio, Bernardino and Giovanni Antonio Galliari created the scenery for nearly all the operas shown at Milan between 1742 and 1782. By the later 1760's they had also taken over responsibility for the ballets.

The scene designs of the Galliari brothers are unthinkable without the aesthetics of the Metastasian period. The hallmarks of their style, presented in great detail by Mercedes Viale-Ferrero,[50] thus gradually proved more and more inappropriate as the premises of their art began to be challenged.

Since during the 1770's the entr'acte ballets with one opera had on the average five different stage settings (usually three at least in the first entr'acte and one or two in the second), the total number of scene designs needed for a serious opera with its ballets was at least a dozen. In the case of *Lucio Silla*, no scene designations for the two entr'acte ballets have as yet been discovered. But judging from the length and disposition of their musical numbers and from Noverre's scenario for the first, it is likely that *La gelosìa del serraglio* had three scenes and *La scuola di negromanzia* two.

The preparations of opera scenery at Milan – consisting chiefly of painted flats – proceeded in the same way in the early 1770's as it had done for a quarter-century. For each Carnival opera Fabrizio Galliari, assisted by Bernardino, presented a series of suggested designs for approval, several for each setting. Many of those for *Lucio Silla* still survive in albums now at the Bologna Pinacoteca and at the Pinacoteca di Brera in Milan, including both those eventually chosen for the representation as well as the ones rejected.[51] By tradition, Fabrizio and Bernardino left the actual execution of their finished designs under the supervision of their brother Giovanni Antonio at Milan while they went off to Turin. Before 1775 the scenographers had no special room for their work but instead began construction in one of the old Senate chambers in the Ducal Palace adjacent to the theater. Final painting of the scenes was completed on the stage, an arrangement that caused many inconveniences during the busy days before a première. On 21 September 1771, nearly four weeks before the double premiere of Hasse's Il Ruggiero and Mozart's Ascanio in Alba, Leopold commented that "[…] *the theater must now be kept free for the rehearsals, and so as not to hinder the painters, who are working night and day*."

Finally, when all the flats for both opera and ballets were finished and hung on their frames, it was customary to have a separate rehearsal for the stage hands, just to practice the scene changes. We know from account books that because the Regio Ducal Teatro lacked modern machinery for moving the flats it employed at least a dozen men who were responsible solely for shifting the stage chariots manually and positioning them correctly. Moreover, in order to produce its full effect, the *scena per angolo* favored by the Galliaris required considerable accuracy on the part of the stage hands. Rather than aligning the flats in two rows along the sides as in French opera, it meant positioning them asymmetrically in various groups across the entire width and depth of the stage floor. Fabrizio Galliari's sketches offer some notion of the varied and impressive results achieved by this method in the stage designs for *Lucio Silla*.

2. The Performances and New Plans

It is chiefly through Leopold Mozart's faithful weekly letters from Milan that we can follow the history of the opera's performances from its première on 26 December 1772 to its twenty-sixth and final representation on 25 January 1773. The notice on 30 December in the *Gazzetta di Milano*, official organ of the Austrian regime in Lombardy, was laudatory as always, if even more perfunctory than usual:

[50] *La scenografi del ´700 e i Fratelli Galliari*, Turin, 1963).

[51] Cf. Viale Ferrero, ibid., pp. 226-30, 236 (describing album *Tom. XII* in the Bologna Pinacoteca) and pp. 239-43, 246-47 (on albums K.I.17, K.I.18 and K.I. 21 in the Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan). Two of the scene sketches are reproduced on pp. LVI f. of this edition.

"Sabato a sera diedesi principio in questo Regio Ducal Teatro alla rappresentazione del nuovo Dramma intitolato il Lucio Silla, il quale, essendo riuscito splendidissimo in tutte le sue parti, si è meritamente acquistato l'universale aggradimento." (*"Saturday evening in our Royal Ducal Theater began the performances of the new Opera entitled Lucio Silla which, having succeeded most splendidly in all aspects, has justly received universal approbation."*)

Omission here of the composer's name was not uncommon. Leopold reports of course in much more detail in his letter of 2 January 1773, and not without humor:

"The opera has started fortunately, although there were various vexing circumstances on the first evening. The first circumstance was that the opera should normally start one hour after prayer-bell, this time 3 hours after the bells, consequently it started only at 8 o'clock German time and finished at 2 after midnight. [...] *Just imagine, the whole theater was so full at half past five that no-one more could get in. The male and female singers are in great fear, having to show themselves before such an imposing audience on the first evening. The frightened singing persons, the entire orchestra and the whole audience had to wait, in impatience and heat, some standing, three hours for the beginning of the opera.* [...] *and since the theater is otherwise very empty for the first opera, here the first 6 evenings (today will be the seventh) were so full that one could hardly squeeze in, and it is still mostly the Prima donna who comes out on top, her arias being repeated."*

A week later Leopold was still writing enthusiastically (letter of 9 January 1772):

"*The opera is going, thank God, incomparably well, so that the theater is daily astonishingly full, since the people otherwise do not come in such numbers to the first opera if it is not especially applauded. Daily arias are repeated, and the opera has been daily well received from the first evening on, and from day to day received more applause* [...]".

Requesting the repetition of an aria immediately after its first hearing was the most usual way for the audience to indicate its approval. At Milan the custom was treated as a privilege, since its practice was restricted by government regulation to just three or four of the best-liked pieces in an opera. In this same letter Leopold mentioned for the first time the wish to remain at Milan for several more weeks and commented honestly on his and his son's good health:

"*There is still no thought of leaving here; it may happen towards the end of this month, for we want to hear the composition of the second opera as well. We are, God be praised, both well*."

The second opera at Milan during Carnival 1773 was to be Paisiello's *Sismano nel Mogol*. Its première had, according to Leopold's next letter, originally been planned for 23 January, which meant that Wolfgang's opera would then have been performed only twenty times. In order to be held to such a short run during a Carnival season with 51 performing days an opera would, judging from the average schedule, have had to meet with a rather poor reception. But Leopold's letter of 16 January 1773 tells us that

"*Wolfgang's opera has now been performed 17 times and will in total be performed twenty-and-something times. It was indeed planned that the 2nd opera should begin on the 23rd inst., only the thing is going so well that the impresarios, who originally reckoned only with 500, have now 1000 ducati, so the second opera will first be put on around the 30th*."

The impresario's decision to extend the run of *Lucio Silla* by a few more days showed that the work was at least moderately sucessful, if not quite the sensation that Leopold made it out to be. Certainly the 1000 *ducati* brought in at the gate for the first seventeen performances was no unusually high figure, according to statements of income at the Regio Ducal Teatro in other years.

In a postscript to the above letter (written in "code") Wolfgang mentioned a new composition for Rauzzini: "*I plan Primo the homo make motet which must tomorrow at the theater people be performed*." The work, the brilliant *Exsultate, jubilate* KV 165 (158a), was just one of a number composed during his last Italian sojourn, which also produced six string quartets KV 155-160 and perhaps the B^b Divertimento for winds KV 186 (159b).[52]

[52] On the six String Quartets, their genesis in Spring 1773 in Milan and Salzburg and their unusual cyclical tonal plans cf. the Foreword (Wolfgang Plath) to NMA

Leisure time for Wolfgang's composition of these other works resulted from the unforeseen prolongation of the Mozarts' stay at Milan. The last letter noting performances of *Lucio Silla* was from 23 January, the day of the twenty-fourth representation:

"*The theater is daily astonishingly full, it will be performed 26 times. The remaining time is left for the second* [...]".

Rehearsals of Paisiello's *Sismano nel Mogol* were then already under way, and it had its première as scheduled on 30 January. The desire to hear this performance was the reason Leopold had given earlier for postponing their departure. But the true explanation lay in a plan that he had already set in motion not later than a week before Christmas. Hope for a favorable outcome kept the Mozarts waiting in Milan – in vain as it turned out – until the entire Carnival season was over,

The first surviving reference to the attempt to secure a post for Wolfgang in Florence at the court of Archduke Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany and later Austrian Emperor, occurs in Leopold Mozart's letter of 26 December 1772. Its cryptic wording indicates that the subject had already been treated in a previous letter, perhaps the strange one of 18 December which now shows only two lines on its first side.[53] In order to prevent knowledge of this application from reaching authorities in Salzburg Leopold wrote all key words in the family's cipher:

Regarding the letter for Florence, first of all a huge confusion happened. Abbé Augustini took the whole package with him to Rome, instead of handing it over to Mr. Troger here. As a result, all these things first had to come back from Rome and were only sent off to Florence *a short time ago. His Excellency Count Firmian accompanied it with a good and strong letter, now we have to wait for the answer*."

The package in question was a copy of the score of *Lucio Silla*. The fact that Wolfgang had not yet finished the last arias by 18 December would mean either that the copy had not been sent until a day or so later, or else that it had gone off without them. In the first case the trip from Milan to Rome and back would have been accomplished in the brief space of one week or less. The surviving copy at Turin, the most likely one to have been this presentation score, while unfortunately now lacking Act I otherwise has no omissions. Unlike all the other copies, it is almost entirely in the hand of a single scribe (the exception being the trio and Giunia's last aria), apart from Mozart's own additions of dynamic indications and marks of articulation. Its neat, uniform appearance and Mozart's care in seeing that it was as complete as possible, as well as its survival in a private Italian collection all argue in its favor as the gift to the Archduke. In any case, after its return from Rome the score was not sent off to Florence again as quickly as Leopold had anticipated. It seems that he first wrote another letter to Florence around New Year's, for on 9 January he remarked:
"*From Florence I have news that the Grand Duke has received my communication, has considered it, and will give us news, we still have good hopes*." Not until 23 January did Leopold indicate the dispatch of the score: "*I have sent Wolfgang's opera to the Grand Duke in Florence*", despite his admission a week earlier, in a letter of 16 January 1773, of the seeming futility of the effort:
"*so far there is indeed no answer come from the Grand Duke, only we know from the letter of the Baron to Mr. Troger that little hope can be raised about Florence. Now I continue to hope that he will at least recommend us*."

Whatever the new plans may have been that Leopold was referring to here is unknown. But they were important enough to delay still further the return to Salzburg in order to await an answer. No doubt to try to placate his employer

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VIII/20/Section 1: *String Quartets · Volume 2* (Karl Heinz Füssl, Wolfgang Plath und Wolfgang Rehm). On the time in which the B[b] Divertimento for Wind originated and on concordances between individual movements of this work and of the Divertimento for Wind KV 166/159[d] (dated Salzburg, 24 March 1773, i.e. shortly after the Mozarts' return from Italy) with movements from KV Anh. 109 (135[a]), from an opera sinfonia by Paisiello as well as from the ballet-pantomime *Annette et Lubin* (Noverre) cf. Foreword to NMA VII/17: *Divertimenti and Serenades for Wind Instruments · Volume 1* (Franz Giegling).

[53] Cf. No. 271 of the edition of the letters cited in footnote 1; the lines 1-4 of this letter are written on an otherwise empty page (= recto), the lines 5-20 on the reverse side of the leaf. On the left side of the leaf, a part seems to have been torn off, possibly containing Wolfgang's postscript (only known from a copy) and perhaps references to the plan? (The original of the lines 1-20 = Leopold Mozart: Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg).

Leopold feigned continuing attacks of rheumatism as the reason for his persisting absence, so that large parts of every letter from 23 January until the very last one from Milan on 27 February describe his supposed illness. A coded message on 30 January explains:
"*From Florence there is still no answer from the Grand Duke. What I wrote about my illness is not all true. I was for some days in bed. Only I am now well and go to the opera tonight. You can cut off this little leaf, so that it does not fall into anyone's hands*."

Even Wolfgang, while not contributing to this deception in letters home, commemorated these weeks: at the top of the first page of his sketches of the music to the first ballet he wrote the otherwise puzzling word "*Reumatismo*" after the work's title. Still on 6 February Leopold had not given up all hope: *"I cannot travel, because I wish to wait for a gentleman from Florence."* But in the end he was forced to admit defeat in the letter of 27 February 1773: *"in the matter in question there is absolutely nothing can be done."* In addition to the score for the Grand Duke of Tuscany the correspondence mentions only one other copy, to be made on request for the Archbishop of Salzburg. First alluded to in Leopold's letter of 16 January 1773, its completion was delayed by the fact that the theater's copyists were busy preparing for the première of the second Carnival opera, as we gather from the letter of 23 January. Leopold's remark in a letter of 13 February refers no doubt to Wolfgang's autograph:
"We speak to the copyist with sugar-sweet words, that he should let the score of Wolfgang's opera leave with us, so that we we can take it home with us. Whether we are so lucky remains to be seen."
While Leopold here mentions but a single copyist, on 23 January he spoke of "*the copyists "*. In any case, none of the surviving 18th century copies of *Lucio Silla* other than the Turin score are the work mainly of one scribe. Whether the Mozarts finally did receive and take back the requested copy to Salzburg and, if so, whether any of the four known contemporary copies represents this score is unknown, but seems unlikely. Wolfgang and Leopold must, however, have been able to take the autograph along with them, something not possible two years before in the case of *Mitridate*, when they left Milan at the beginning of February – perhaps the reason for that score's disappearance. One score copy each of *Lucio Silla* and *Mitridate* had the same destination: the Portuguese court. Any copies for the management would most likely have been lost in the fire of 25 February 1776 when the Regio Ducal Teatro burned to the ground. The destruction of the theater's archive in the conflagration also explains the dearth of documents from the 1760's and early '70's, an unfortunate situation effectively hindering further amplification of the evidence as to the circumstances surrounding Mozart's *Lucio Silla*.

D. THE SOURCES

1. The Text

Libretto of Milan 1772:
LUCIO SILLA / DRAMA PER MUSICA / DA RAPPRESENTARSI / NEL REGIO-DUCAL TEATRO / DI MILANO / Nel Carnovale dell' anno 1773. / DEDICATO / ALLE LL. AA. RR. / IL SERENISSIMO ARCIDUCA / FERDINANDO / Principe Reale d'Ungheria, e Boemia, Archiduca d'Austria, / Duca di Borgogna, e di Lorena ec., Cesareo Reale / Luogo-Tenente, Governatore, e Capitano Generale nella Lombardia Austriaca, / E LA / SERENISSIMA ARCIDUCHESSA MARIA RICCIARDA / BEATRICE DIESTE / PRINCIPESSA DI MODENA. / IN MILANO, / Presso Gio. Batista Bianchi Regio Stampatore / con licenza de' Superiori. [Cf. the facsimile on the left side of p. LIV.] The dedication ("*Altezze Reali*", pp. [5]-[6]) is signed by the management ("*Gli Associati nel Regio-Ducal Teatro*"), while the Argomento (pp. [7]-[81) by the librettist, Giovanni de Gamerra, is unsigned. Copies of the libretto are listed and discussed in the Critical Report. The text of the printed libretto, with a few negligible exceptions, corresponds to Mozart's setting. It does of course also contain the two deleted arias in the title role, "*Il timor con passo incerto*" and "*Se generoso ardire*" (cf. the section above, *The Cast and the Libretto*, as well as *The Composition of the Opera* in Section A).

2. The Music

(1) The Autograph

Bound in three volumes by act, Mozart's original manuscript was among those formerly belonging to the collection at the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin. Long thought to be lost,

it is now preserved at Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków. The score shows revisions and corrections in the composer's hand, particularly of the recitative conclusions (cf. sections The *Composition of the Opera* in Section A and *Remarks on Individual Numbers* in Section E.) Evidence regarding the not insignificant number of additions by Leopold Mozart – tempo indications, scene directions, figured bass etc. – as well as regarding entries by in other hands can be found in the Critical Report.

(2) 18th-Century Copies

a) *Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, signum Ms. D. 8540 (I-III)*. This copy was made (excepting the overture) at the time of Mozart's sojourn in Milan and may well represent the score used by the second harpsichordist during the Milan performances 1771/73.[54] As was common with scores made for performances, the MS was the work of a team of copyists, seven in all, who copied out individual numbers as they were composed. All seven of these scribal hands are represented among the other contemporary copies of the score, and five of them are found in the copies of Mitridate. (For further details and identification of the scribal hands, see the Critical Report.) The early versions of certain passages are present in this copy, but in all but one case (Act II, scene VI, bb. 63-66) were revised to match the version performed. A few pages contain added dynamic indications by the composer.

b) *Vila Viçosa: Casa da Bragança, Museu-Biblioteca (Atto I and II),* and *Lisbon, Biblioteca do Palácio nacional da Ajuda, signum Ms. No. 47-III-47 (Atto III)*: This score belongs to the numerous copies of Italian operas made for the Portuguese court during the reign of King José (1750-1777). This MS likewise consists of fascicles copied by several scribes, five in this case and all of them represented in the Paris copy. This copy lacks both instrumental interludes for Act I and shows early versions of several recitatives and two arias, uncorrected.

c) *Turin: Accademia filarmonica / Circolo Società del Whist, signum Ms. 10/V/12-13*. This comprises Acts II and III only. Written in the hand of a single scribe (also found in the Parisian and Portuguese copies) except for Nos. 18 and 22, it is very possibly the presentation copy that Leopold Mozart had made in December 1772 - January 1773 for the Grand Duke of Tuscany. (See the section above, *Performances and New Plans.*) Obviously having been copied under Wolfgang's supervision, the MS is valuable particularly for the composer's additions. These take mainly the form of complementary dynamic indications, especially in the second violin part, but also include missing tempo indications, instrumentation, accidentals, articulation, ornamentation and occasional lines of text. (For details see the Critical Report and the facsimiles on pp. LII ff.)

d) *London: British Library, signum Add. ms. 16057*. This score shows similarities to the same library's copy of *Mitridate*, which was also once part of Domenico Dragonetti's private collection. In both cases, the recitatives with continuo accompaniment are not transmitted. Of the set pieces of *Lucio Silla*, No. 23 is missing.

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The description and evaluation of the four l9th-century copies (two each in the collection of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna and the State Library Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage, Music Department respectively) is reserved for the Critical Report. There the transmitted individual copies – trio, various arias, recitatives – from the 18th and 19th centuries are likewise listed and discussed in detail.

E. REMARKS ON THE EDITION

1. General Observations

Evaluation of the Sources

Both in text and music the present edition follows in the main Mozart's autograph score. Entries in the hand of Leopold Mozart were adopted without further indication (details in the Critical Report).

Mozart's additions to the Turin copy of the score have likewise been adopted in a number of cases without typographical differentiation, although for dynamic marks a footnote refers to the Critical Report, which furthermore lists all the additions adopted. The other three contemporary scores do offer valuable insight into the way the opera took shape, but they were only used in the

[54] Cf. *Evaluation of the Sources* in the Critical Report.

editing to provide comparisons (for variants see the Critical report).

Regarding the sung texts, an attempt was made to use, wherever easily intelligible, Mozart's highly individual style of punctuation (predominantly in the recitatives). For the set pieces, which Mozart provided with a similarly sparse punctuation, the printed Milan libretto was consulted. Designations of stage settings and characters at beginnings of scenes follow the wording in the autograph; where these are lacking, they were taken from the printed libretto. The same applies generally for directions to performers within the scenes (on the typographical differentiation see the next section).

Editorial Procedures

The general practices of the NMA, as set forth by the Editorial Board on p. VII, have guided this edition with the following modifications:

1. It was decided not to reproduce the old C-clefs in the vocal parts at the beginning of the relevant section of the score. Instead, they are included in the cast list on page. 2.
2. The typographical style of directions to the performers reflects the source of the text:

Autograph
SCENA III or: Appartamenti destinati a Giunia con statue all' intorno delle più famose eroine romane. = direction in the scene heading or outside the musical text.

Libretto
[SCENA III] or: [Appartamenti destinati a Giunia con statue delle più celebri donne romane.] = direction in the scene heading or outside the musical text.
[parte] = direction to a performer within the musical text.

Editorial addition
I suddetti = direction in the scene heading or outside the musical text.
(*parte*) = direction to a performer within the musical text.

Performance Practice

a) *Ad libitum* Instrumental Doublings[55]
Bassoons: When they do not have a written-out part the bassoons should double the string basses at least when oboes are indicated in the score, both in set pieces and in obbligato recitatives, as suggested in the edition. They may even complement the bass part during ad libitum use of oboes.

Oboes: According to 18th-century Milanese practice oboes may double the violins during ritornellos of arias.

Flutes and/or Oboes: Written-out oboe parts should be doubled either by a second pair of oboes or by flutes. Flutes are a particularly appropriate choice in slow movements (e.g. Overtura, 2nd movement), during depictions of death and the spirits (as in scene VII of Act I and in No. 6) and in love scenes (e.g. No. 7); this *ad libitum* use of the flutes is indicated in the edition.

Horns: The standard Italian opera orchestra of the 1770's had four horns, so that in *Lucio Silla*, when not given independent parts or when no indication "*soli*" (as in some passages of No. 14) occurs, a third and fourth horn should double Horns I and II. (Cf. the section *The Orchestra* above in Section C and the *Remarks on Individual Numbers* below in this section.)

b) Idiosyncratic Brass Instruments

Trombe lunghe: Because their parts are straightforward fanfares and chords rather than virtuosic solo displays, in all movements with trumpet Mozart calls for *trombe lunghe*, or 18th-century straight trumpets rather than the coiled *clarini* (*trombe da caccia*).

B^b Horns: Although Mozart does not specify "*alto*" or "*basso*" in the four movements calling for B^b horns it is probable that in Nos. 1, 18 and 19, where trumpets double the horns (in the autograph, both pairs of instruments on one staff), they should play in unison, hence "*basso*". In No. 11 the first horn part lies high much of the time, so that again "*basso*" is surely intended.

c) Timpani ad libitum

[55] Cf. also the section above, *The Orchestra*, in Section C.

Far into the 18th century Italian opera orchestras often had no musicians regularly engaged only to play timpani. Either another member of the group was recruited when necessary – at Milan for many years it was one of the second violinists – or else a player from a military band was brought in. Their parts, moreover, were frequently not notated in the score. The practice of improvising timpani accompaniments where appropriate implies that in modern performances their addition may also be considered. Four movements in *Lucio Silla*, all with trumpets, could well tolerate judicious addition of timpani: No. 8 with its symbols of war, No. 18 in the sections with Silla, No. 20 depicting the wrath of Jove, and the joyful final chorus No. 23 in praise of the emperor.

d) Realizing the Continuo

Simple Recitatives: The evidence presented above in the section on *The Orchestra* indicates that, in addition to the violoncello and harpsichord, *recitativi semplici* in Italian heroic opera from this period should normally be accompanied by a double bass as well. In nearly all instances the bass line is rudimentary enough that the double bass can play the part as notated, while any more elaborate improvisations would be the cellist's province. Conforming to the more recent policy of the Editorial Board (cf. p. VII, *Editorial Principles*) the present editor has provided realisations only for the recitatives with continuo alone.[56] (Occasional parallel octaves or fifths were tolerated in abrupt harmonic shifts). The present editor's realizations are only skeletal and follow the custom of showing long held notes and chords and appear in small print. But 18th-century practice does of course imply both freedom to improvise as well as application of the Italian manner of foreshortening the notes of the continuo bass: rather than whole-notes and longer values, quarter and half-notes followed by rests predominate.[57] Besides occasional use of a keyboard intrument in the set-pieces, the present editor also recommends accompaniment by harpsichord and the continuo group in <u>all</u> the obbligato recitatives (as indicated in the relevant sections of the score). Evidence from18th-century sources shows that the first harpsichordist, who also led the performance, normally played throughout orchestrally accompanied recitatives, not only during accompagnato sections (long held chords) but also in obbligato passages in which the orchestra had more complicated figurations.[58] Indeed, it is precisely in such more complex passages that the rhythmic support of the harpsichord proves most valuable. Otherwise it should be noted in this context that in the autograph of *Lucio Silla* the recitatives with orchestral accompaniment occasionally carry thorough-bass numbering (mostly in Leopold's hand).

e) The Vocal Parts

Appoggiaturas: Editorial suggestions for appoggiaturas appear in obbligato as well as in the simple recitatives and in some of the arias too. Their application follows in particular the recommendations of Giambattista Mancini,[59] along with those of Pier Francesco Tosi.[60] Mozart's own use of appoggiaturas in *Lucio Silla* has of course provided a model for emulation. Following their example, the editor has given priority above all to textual considerations. Thus in straightforward declarative statements, and especially in those expressing anger, determination, and the like, the softening effect of appoggiaturas has been avoided as contrary to the sentiment being expressed. On the other hand, in passages showing tenderness, melancholy, and similar moods, they are used more freely. Appoggiaturas of the rising fourth at questions and of the rising semitone at particularly expressive moments – to both of which objections have been raised recently[61] – are not only

[56] At transitions from simple recitative to aria (such as pp. 282f. to No. 13: b. 28/29 = 1) or from recitative passages with continuo accompaniment to recitative passages with orchestral accompaniment and vice-versa, (such as p. 208, b. 61/62 or p. 210 f., b. 75/76), the respective connecting chords have been included in the realisation.

[57] See Stefan Kunze, *Aufführungsprobleme im Rezitativ des späteren 18. Jahrhunderts, Ausführung und Interpretation*, *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1968/70*, Salzburg 1970, pp. 131-144, here particularly pp. 135f.

[58] (Cf. also the remarks of Daniel Heartz in NMA II/5/11: *Idomeneo*, pp. XXVff. (Foreword) and of Stefan Kunze, NMA II/7: *Arias · Volume I*, p. XIXff. (Foreword).

[59] In *Pensieri e riflessioni pratiche sul canto figurato*, Vienna, 1774

[60] In *Opinioni de' cantori antichi e moderni o sieno osservazioni sopra il canto figurato*, Bologna, 1723

[61] See Frederick Neumann, *The Appoggiatura in Mozart's Recitative*, in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XXXV (1982), pp. 115-137;

recommended by the theorists but are also part of Mozart's own melodic style. In Lucio Silla he even recomposed the setting in Act II, scene V of the interrogative sentence concluding "[...] *un dittatore*?" (bb. 63f.) so that it would close on a rising fourth! Properly eschewed, on the other hand, are appoggiaturas of the rising whole tone.

Cadenzas: In the edition cadenzas are indicated for all arias showing the usual sign (fermata over a 6/4 chord). Their use is not a matter of choice but a stylistic necessity. While their elaboration has been left to the performers, it is recommended that G. B. Mancini's advice be followed:

"*La prima si è, che la cadenza preparar si deve con la nota graduata, cioè messa di voce; e quanto siegue dev'essere un epilogo dell'aria* [...] *e singolarmente dei passi e passagi, che in esso contengonse, i quali devono essere ben distribuiti, imitati e sostenuti di un sol fiato, accoppiandovi a tutto ciò il solito trillo* [...] *e quello, il quale* [...] *saprà prender del motivo, o sia dal corpo del ritornello di quell' aria quel tal passo, che frammischiato con guidizio più s'accorderà col resto di sua invenzione, ne riporterà lode,. e particolare applauso.*"
("*The cadenza should be prepared with a graduated note, that is a messa di voce; and what follows should be an epilogue to the aria* [...] *and made up solely of the figures and passages of which it is composed, which should be well-distributed, imitated, and sustained in one single breath, the whole accompanied by the customary trill* [...] *And he who* [...] *knows enough to take a motive or a passage from the body of the ritornello of the aria, and blend it judiciously with the rest of his invention, will reap particular applause.*")
The cadenzas in the decorated version of No 14 (cf. Appendix, pp. 471ff.) as notated by Mozart's sister Nannerl are excellent examples for these recommendations and can therefore serve as authentic models. (There can hardly be any doubt that these cadenzas originate from Mozart himself.)

Melismas: When a melisma occurs on the final syllable of a word in which the last vowel has been dropped so that it concludes with the consonant „r" (such as "*amor[e]*", "*pensier[o]*", etc.) then Mozart followed a typical Italian custom in the autograph: he notated the melisma on the previous vowel(s), saving the final "r" until the very last note of the passage. While the present edition, using modern practice, shows the final "r" together with the rest of the syllable (i.e. "*a-mor*" or "*pen-sier*" etc., cf. e.g. pp. 65f., bb. 42ff.), the purpose of the older system is obvious and its intention should be followed.

Slurs: Mozart's slurring in vocal parts is consistent with that of his Italian contemporaries. Unlike modern practice, it was not the custom to slur together two or more unbeamed notes simply because they were sung to one syllable of text. Composers were careful in indicating slurs and clearly intended them to have definite rhythmic and/or articulatory functions. In general, vocal parts tended not to have slurs when the string accompaniment was staccato or normal non-legato, but often were slurred when the violin parts were so too.

f) General Notational Matters

Staccato: In addition to the dot and large vertical dash (*Strich*), Mozart made consistent use of the smaller vertical dash to indicate staccato articulation in the autograph of *Lucio Silla*. In contrast to the dot, which is used for light, floating, more relaxed figures, the small dash seems to intend somewhat more tension and yet not the vigor and power associated with the large dash. A comprehensive discussion on use and possible significance of the various staccato marks is left to the Critical Report.[62] For typographical reasons it has not been possible to incorporate the small dash in the edition (in the NMA, small print = editorial addition), where it has invariably been replaced by the dot, but all occurrences are cited in the Critical Report.

fp (Fortepiano): As in earlier works, Mozart principally uses this indication in the autograph of *Lucio Silla* to indicate accent, especially in

German version: *Vorschlag und Appoggiatur in Mozarts Rezitativ*, in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch* 1980-1282 (Kassel, 1983), pp. 363-384.

[62] See also *Die Bedeutung der Zeichen Keil, Strich und Punkt bei Mozart: fünf Lösungen einer Preisfrage*, commissioned by the Gesellschaft für Musikforschung and edited by Hans Albrecht (*Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten*, Volume 10), Kassel and Basle, 1957.

combination with the staccato dash in repeated-note figures.[63]

Appoggiatura signs: In *Lucio Silla* the majority of appoggiaturas are conventionally notated as small 16th notes 𝅘𝅥𝅯 = 𝅘𝅥𝅯 irrespective of the length they are to have in performance. While the original notation has been retained in the edition, it is assumed that performers will conform to 18th-century practice and render the appoggiaturas proportionately to the value of the main notes they accompany. Very occasionally, as in the Overtura, first movement (bb. 35ff. and bb. 100ff.) a true short appoggiatura is indicated and should be performed as such.

g) Tempo and Meter

Added tempo indications: Of the five movements lacking tempo indications in the autograph, all could be completed from other sources: in Nos. 17 and 23, Mozart's own additions in the Turin copy provided the missing indications; in No. 5, the Paris and Portuguese copies were the sources, while in No. 6 the tempo of the preceding interlude was adopted as consistent with the description in the libretto.

Proportions: Five movements for the opera's two leading roles contain changes of tempo and meter most satisfactorily effected through the use of simple proportional relationships. Some of the traditional associations of time signatures with tempos were still in force in the third quarter of the 18th century and provide a reliable guide to establishing metronomic relationships. Thus the Alla breve (𝅗𝅥) sections in slow tempos in Nos. 4. and 6 are in the proportion 2 : 1 with respect to the Allegro passages in C meter in the same movements, that is: 𝅗𝅥 = 𝅘𝅥 . The direct proportion to be observed in No. 6 is that between the two choral sections – the opening Adagio and the closing Allegro – both built on the same thematic material; the metrical relationship of the intervening solo section in 𝅗𝅥, Molto adagio, is more complex. In the duet, No. 7, the same proportion 2 : 1 (𝅘𝅥 = 𝅗𝅥) obtains, but because the Andante here is in 3/4-time the effect of the change to the Molto allegro in 𝅗𝅥 is less abrupt. The combination in No. 14 of Adagio sections in 𝅗𝅥 framing a short Allegro in 3/8 results in a different proportion, 1:1 (𝅘𝅥 = 𝅘𝅥) since the 8th-note is the common denominator in all three sections. A convenient solution to the tempo change in No. 22 from Andante to Allegro, in this case both in 𝅗𝅥, is to retain the pulse of the triplet 8th-notes from the slow section for the 8th-notes of the Allegro.

2. Remarks on Individual Numbers

Overtura, third movement (Molto allegro): The intentional contrast between violas *forte* against *piano* violins in this movement (bb. 17ff, 49ff, etc.) and several later numbers allows of several explanations. In the present instance, with the cellos and basses resting, the violas serve temporarily as the foundation. The question of balance here is also to be understood in the light of the typical 18th-century opera orchestra's constitution: at Milan 6 violas against 28 violins!

No. 1 Aria: The autograph shows that as in No. 8 the trumpet doubling of the horn parts was an afterthought on Mozart's part. Furthermore, none of the 18th-century copies of the score contains the indication for trumpets.

Because this opening aria for a secondary role proved to be by far the longest number in the opera, Mozart allowed for an abbreviation. In the autograph at bar 87 (=229) an alternate Dal segno indication for the original sign at bar 30 (=172) permits a reduction of the repetition by more than half. Since this alternative Dal segno, shown in the edition by the indication **Vi-de** (pp. 47 and 54), appears in none of the contemporary copies of the score, it was probably an addition made sometime after the première performance.

Atto primo / scena II, recitativo "Dun'que sperar poss'io": The last two bars of the recitative, which originally cadenced in g minor, show that the following aria (No.2) was originally planned in another key – probably G major. The change in the key then required the adjustment of the close of the recitative.

No. 3 Aria: The autograph contains five additional bars, later crossed out, between the present bars 130 and 131. (See the Critical Report.) The cadenza at first planned here was thus eliminated.

[63] Cf. NMA II/5/2, *La finta semplice* (Rudolph Angermüller and Wolfgang Rehm), p. XXIII (Foreword).

Atto primo / scena V, recitativo "Sempre dovrò vederti": A hastily written revision in the autograph replaces the final 4 bars (see Critical Commentary), altering the earlier planned D major close to G major and implying that the key of the succeeding E^b major aria (No. 4) was not part of the original tonal plan.

Atto primo / scena VI, recitativo "E tollerare io posso": Mozart's replacement of the last 6 bars (crossed out in the autograph) with a reworked ending closing in D major rather than the original C major probably means that the following aria (No. 5) had initially been planned a whole tone lower.

Atto primo / scena VII, recitativo "Morte, morte fatal": The substitution of several folios in the autograph (see Critical Report) and the presence in the contemporary London and Vila Viçosa copies of earlier versions for bars 44-47 and 56-57 attest to the pains Mozart took with this obbligato recitative.

No. 6 Coro: The somber nature of the text, the instructions in the libretto ("*s'avanza ... al lugubre canto del seguente coro*") and the presence of the *Alla breve* meter all clearly indicate that the *Adagio* tempo of the preceding orchestral transition is to be maintained in the opening choral section: the 8th-note pulse continues unaltered.

While ad libitum doubling of the cellos and basses by a pair of bassoons is appropriate through most of the opening choral section, the fact that Mozart clearly notates rests for the bassoons in bars 48/49 preceding their obbligato accompaniment of Giunia's solo is interpreted to mean that they should be silent during the whole of the 7-bar instrumental transition to the solo section (b. 43, 3rd quarternote – b. 49). At the return of the chorus in bar 84 Mozart specifically calls for bassoon doubling (cf. remark on p. 155 of the edited score).

All three 18th-century copies of Act I (but not the autograph) indicate that the wind parts in the instrumental transition at bars 44-48 are to be played soli; otherwise, as in the greater part of the opera, both the oboes and horns should be doubled.[64]

[64] Cf. the section *The Orchestra* in Section C above and the section *General Observations* in this section.

Atto primo / scena VIII-IX, recitativo "Se l'empio Silla, o padre": In the autograph a pasted-over sheet of paper hides the original conclusion (cf. Critical Report) which ended in C major. The revised final version points to transposition of the succeeding duet (No. 7) down a minor third from C major to the present A major.

Atto secondo / scena I, recitativo "Tel predissi, o signor": Mozart's revision of the last 4 bars to close in G major instead of with the planned A major cadence (cf. Critical Report) was undoubtedly a consequence of transposing the following aria (No. 5) down a whole tone, i.e. C major instead of D major.

No. 8 Aria: The fact that none of the 18th-century copies calls for trumpets to double the horns would indicate that, as in No. 1, their participation was initially not anticipated (cf. remark to No. 1 and the Critical Report).

Atto secondo / scena II, recitativo "Ah no, mai non credea": The revision of the original conclusion was partly occasioned by alterations and additions to the text, very likely made by Metastasio.[65] As the 4 bars which Mozart struck out of the autograph show (cf. Critical Report), the final lines at one time read (from the end of bar 32):

CELIA:
(Oh me felice!)
SILLA:
Odio, sdegno, vendetta
e ogni tristo pensier vada lontano.
(Rimorsi miei ci ridestate invano.)

The revised text extends Celia's speech with 5 new lines, omits Silla's first two in his final speech and replaces them with 6 others before returning to the original closing line ("*Rimorsi* ..."). The cadence of the earlier, shorter setting was on C major, while the longer replacement adopted by the NMA[66] concludes in B^b major, followed by the indication "*Segue l'aria di Silla*". The latter indication, referring to the text of the omitted aria "*Il timor con passo incerto*"[67] [see pp.

[65] Cf. the section *The Composition of the Opera* in Section A above.
[66] Regarding both versions cf. the facsimiles on pp. XLVI f.
[67] Cf. the sections *The Cast and the Libretto* and *The Composition of the Opera* in Section A above.

13f and 19 above], does not appear at the end of the original version of the recitative, meaning that the planned aria for Silla could also have been a suggestion of Metastasio. This aria and its intended performer must also have had a bearing on Mozart's decision to move the key of the recitative cadence down a whole tone, to B^b major instead of C major.

Atto secondo / scena III, recitativo "Qual furor ti trasporta?": A pasted-over slip of music paper in the autograph covers the first version of the conclusion (following bar 157), which was only 5 bars long, maintained the same tempo (*Allegro assai*), used a different orchestral motive and cadenced in B^b rather than D major (cf. Critical Report). The latter change suggests that the D major of the following aria (No. 9) was not part of the original tonal plan. The backside of the slip itself shows that Mozart cut it out of the original bifolium concluding scene VII of Act I, later replaced, since it contains the vocal and continuo parts of bars 50-52 of the recitative *"Morte, morte fatal"* (cf. p 145 as well as the remarks above on scene VII and also the Critical Report).

No. 9 Aria and No. 22 Aria: Mozart's usage of the term "*Contrabassi*" to mark the end of bass passages to be played only by the violoncelli (at bars 93, 95 and 97 in No. 9 and bars 45 and 53 in No. 22) accords with Italian practice of the period, in which the designation often intended not only double basses but all ripieno bass instruments (cf. above the section the *Orchestra* in Section C).The present edition renders all these indications with the nowadays customary "*Tutti bassi*" (for violoncello/double-bass).

Atto secondo / scena V, recitativo "Di piegarsi capace": While not present in the autograph, an earlier version of bars 63-66 is found in three of the contemporary copies of the score. An earlier 4-bar version of the conclusion (cf. facsimile p. XLVIII and the Critical Report) with a cadence in C minor appears in both the autograph and the Paris copy. Hence the following (No. 11) may initially have been planned for the key of C major.

Atto secondo / scena VI, recitativo "Ah si, scuotasi omai": Unlike the majority of cases in the opera, the reworking of the original version of the conclusion (cf. Critical Report) was not occasioned by the need to transpose the following aria, but rather in order to simplify the orchestral accompaniment. Both the vocal part and the actual cadence are the same in the two versions, but in bb. 11-12 of the 2nd version Mozart eliminated the double repetition of the thirty-second-note violin figure in bar 9 (cf. facsimile p. XLIX).

Atto secondo / scena VII, recitativo "Signor, a' cenni tuoi": Although neither the libretto nor the autograph score indicate Aufidio's exit, it is clear that he is not present again on stage until Scena XII. Since he explains at the beginning of this recitative that he is to go and prepare Silla's meeting with the Senate, we have added "*parte*" after his final line (at bar 27).

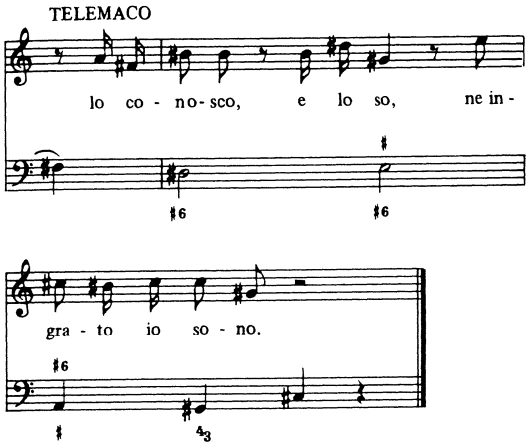
Atto secondo / scena VIII, recitativo "Silla? L'odioso aspetto": Transposition of the following aria for Silla (No. 13), probably intended in D major, accounts for Mozart's revision of the recitative's last two bars (cf. Critical Report) which originally led *attacca* to D major instead of the present C major.

Atto secondo / scena IX, recitativo "Che intesi eterni Dei?": In the opening section, accompanied by continuo, there are apparently two instances (at bars 50 and 115) of a feature not found anywhere else in the *Lucio Silla*, namely the old-fashioned "cadenza tronca".[68] Common during the first decades of the 18th century (e.g. in the works of Alessandro Scarlatti and Händel), this device meant telescoping the resolutions of the vocal and accompanimental parts so that both the tonic and dominant harmonies momentarily sounded simultaneously.

Alessandro Scarlatti: *Telemaco* (1718), Atto secondo, scena II[69]

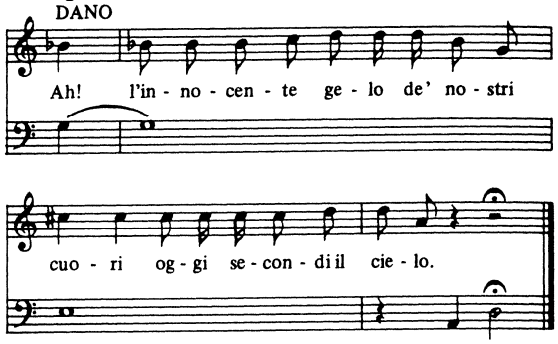
[68] Cf. Pier Francesco Tosi, *Opinione de cantori antiche e moderne …*, Bologna, 1723, facsimile reprint edited by Erwin R. Jacobi, Celle 1966, p. 47 *et passim*.

[69] Source: Österreichische National, Vienna, signum: *MS 16487*. Facsimile edition in: *Italian Opera 1640-1770. Major Unpublished works in a Central Baroque and Early Classical Tradition*, vol. [23], New York and London, 1978. – It should be pointed out that Scarlatti writes the last thorough-bass figure, consisting of two numbers, as one unit, as in many of his other autograph scores.



Both the cadenza tronca and its typical realization by the continuo harpsichordist with multiple acciaccature, while effective signals of dramatically significant moments in the recitative, had already by mid-century long given way to the now-familiar and less abrupt successive resolutions, in which the continuo waits, resting until the voice has concluded.

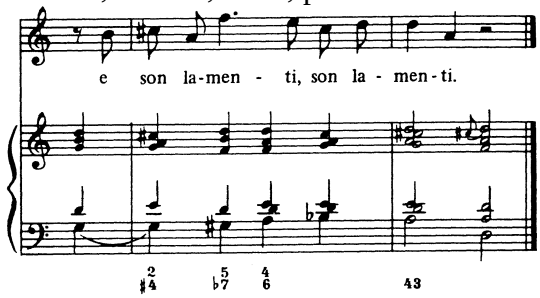
Niccolò Jommelli: *Armida abbandonata* (1770), Atto primo, scena V[70]



Although the presence of the older cadential formula in *Lucio Silla* is curious, it may well have been motivated in both instances by the special poignancy of the action in this key scene, the midpoint of the drama. Hence rather than manipulate the rhythm to avoid the unaccustomed harmonic juxtapositions, it is preferable to perform the two bars affected as notated. The continuo part provided in the edition offers a less abrasive realization of the two cadences than the conventional earlier 18th-century solution with acciaccature; but even the use of the latter, as recommended by Francesco Gasparini, is not out of the question.

[70] Source: copy of the score in the Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica S. Pietro a Maielli, Naples. Facsimile edition in: *Italian Opera 1640-1770*, vol. 91, New York and London, 1978.

Francesco Gasparini: *L'armonico pratico al cimbalo*, Venice, 1708, p. 95[71]



In both the autograph and the Paris copy bar 123 was originally marked *Andante* and the following bar – with a repetition of the word "*amami*" – *Allegro*. It is probably that Leopold Mozart erased the *Andante* in bar 123, crossed out "*amami*" in bar 124 and wrote in its place "*fuggi*" (in the Paris copy, these changes were definitely made in Leopold's hand). While the original tempo indication *Allegro* in bar 124 of the autograph was left unaltered, the three contemporary copies transmit at this point *Presto* (in the Paris copy once again in Leopold's hand).

No. 14 Aria: An authentic guide to embellishing the slow sections of this aria (original: Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg) is the ornamented version in the hand of Nannerl Mozart. In our edition, this version is rendered in a double printing of the ornamented aria alongside the original in the Appendix (pp. 471 ff.). It reveals that a singer of the period would have decorated not only the reprise but the opening presentation as well. In addition, the flamboyance of some of the added ornamentation shows that the proper tempo for the movement is one that can accomodate such virtuosic passagework.

In their temporary role of foundation for the ensemble, the violas in bars 6f, 33 and 87f are intended to continue at the forte level against the piano violins and winds (cf. also remarks on the Overtura, third movement).

While entirely absent in the autograph, the indication "*soli*" for the oboes and horns appears in all four 18th-century copies at the return of the *Adagio* tempo in bar 84, including the Turin score

[71] Facsimile edition: New York, 1967. – The figured bass in our example is taken from the treatise; there the two numbers in the last thorough-bass figure ("4 3") are very close together. Our realisation of the example attempts to follow Gasparini's directions regarding multiple acciaccaturas and "*mordente*" at the final chord.

which Mozart checked carefully. The same indication is also found in the London and Turin scores at the end of bar 42 (and the corresponding bar 99). Solo performance of all these passages is recommendable, as is the usual doubling of the winds throughout the remainder of the movement.

No. 19 Aria [Cavatina]: That the winds play a mere supportive role is borne out by the fact that of the four contemporary copies two have string accompaniment only and none indicate trumpets.

Atto terzo / scena IV, recitativo "Forse tu credi, amico": With a hastily done and somewhat awkward revision of the last 3 bars Mozart changed the cadential harmony, initially C major, to A major in order to suit the key of the following aria (No. 20).

No. 20 Aria: Mozart's decision to abbreviate the instrumental passage leading to the cadenza at bar 123 (=197) must have been made late: the three bars hatched out in the autograph following bar 121 are still present intact in two of the 18th-century copies and a third shows both the original version and the revision. Furthermore, one of the omitted bars containing the vocal preparation and corresponding text ("*non palpi*-") was overlooked; it has therefore been incorporated in small (or italic) print in bar 122 (or 196) in the edition.

Atto terzo / scena IV, recitativo "Tosto seguir tu dei": Since the 4 bars leading to a final cadence in C major were struck from the autograph and reworked to close in A major, Cecilio's menuetto (No. 21) had probably been planned from the beginning a minor third higher.

No. 21 Aria: After its initial presentation, the returns of the main theme in the first violins are not written out in the autograph; instead, the direction "*colla parte*" is given at each return in the autograph (bars 23ff, 73ff, 97ff). In the edition the articulation Mozart indicates in the first 10 bars is therefore retained during the subsequent repetitions without any typographical differentiation.

Atto terzo / scena V, recitativo "Sposo … mia vita …": The plaintive orchestral interlude symbolizing the voice of Cecilio's shade at bars 35ff was not part of Mozart's first conception: a cancellation in the autograph shows that after bar 33 (cf. Critical Report) he originally planned to proceed directly with the next line of text ("*Odo, o mi membra* ...").

Mozart's staccato notation for the violin parts surely intends pizzicato since at the change to *Presto* (bar 46) he indicates "*coll'arco*". Our edition therefore has "*pizzicato*" in italics for both violins in bar 35.

No. 23 Finale col Coro [Ciaccona]: For reasons of space Mozart did not include a viola part. (He used the third staff below the violins for the trumpets.) Assumed to be *Col Basso*, a viola part has been added in the edition in small print.

*

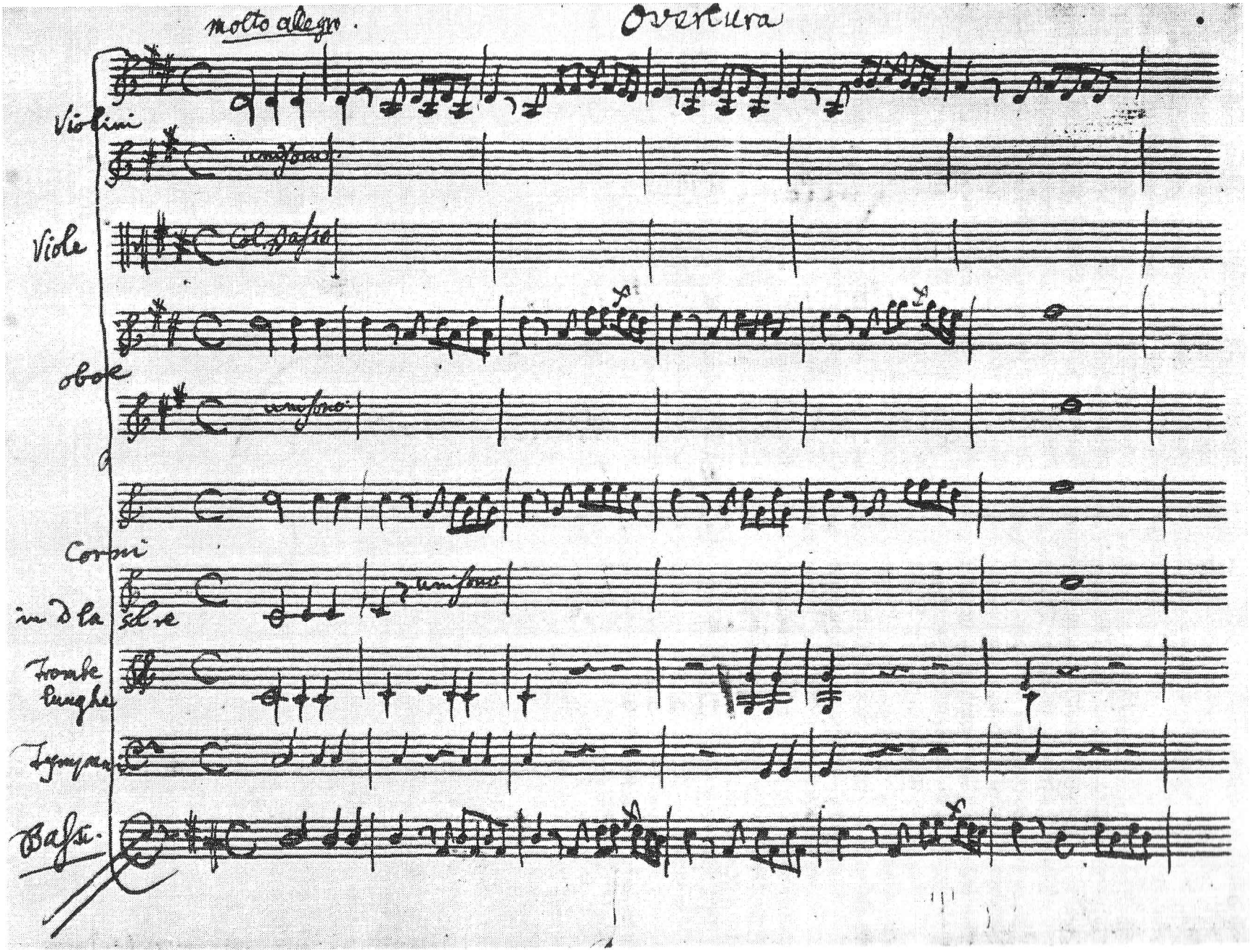
For the initial inspiration and advice in taking on and carrying out the research preliminary to this edition the editor wishes to thank Prof. Daniel Heartz (Berkeley, California). Not only for providing the Editorial Board with a microfilm but also for permission to study the autograph score the editor is grateful to the Biblioteka Jagielińska, Kraków, and for on-the-spot advice regarding the MS to Prof. Alan Tyson (Oxford). A travel grant to Kraków was generously afforded by the Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg. The Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon, rendered invaluable assistance in making known the 18th-century copy of Acts I and II at Vila Viçosa and in securing photocopies of these and of Act III at the Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, The following libraries also made available microfilms of 18th-century copies of the score - Bibliotheque nationale (Paris), the British Library (London) and the Accademia filarmonica/Circolo Società del Whist (Turin).

Thanks are extended to all who have assisted in the preparation of this edition: to professors Dr. Marius Flothuis (Amsterdam) and Karl Heinz Füssl (Vienna) for help in reading proof; to Prof. Pierluigi Petrobelli (Rome) for checking the Italian text; and to Mrs. Dorothee Hanemann (Kassel) for making the initial translation of the Foreword. Above all to the Editorial Board of the NMA, above all Dr. Wolfgang Plath for knowledgeable advice in problems musical and calligraphic and in particular Dr. Wolfgang Rehm for his continuous, unflagging and scrupulous attention to every aspect in the preparation of this volume, for his

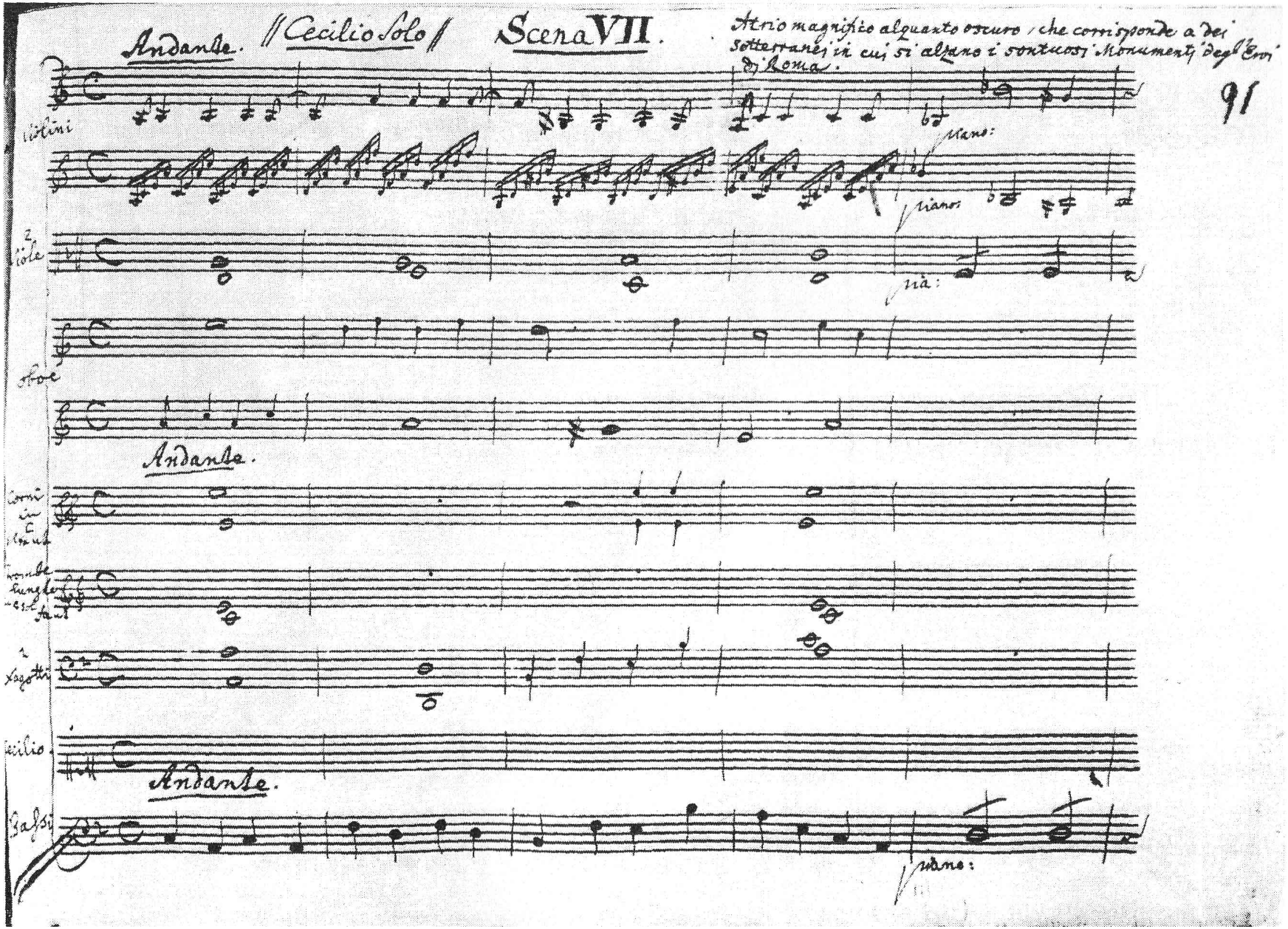
patience in settling knotty editorial dilemmas and in refining the German version of the Foreword, and for many months of extensive and friendly correspondence, the editor wishes to express her deepest gratitude.

Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell
Stockholm, Autumn, 1985

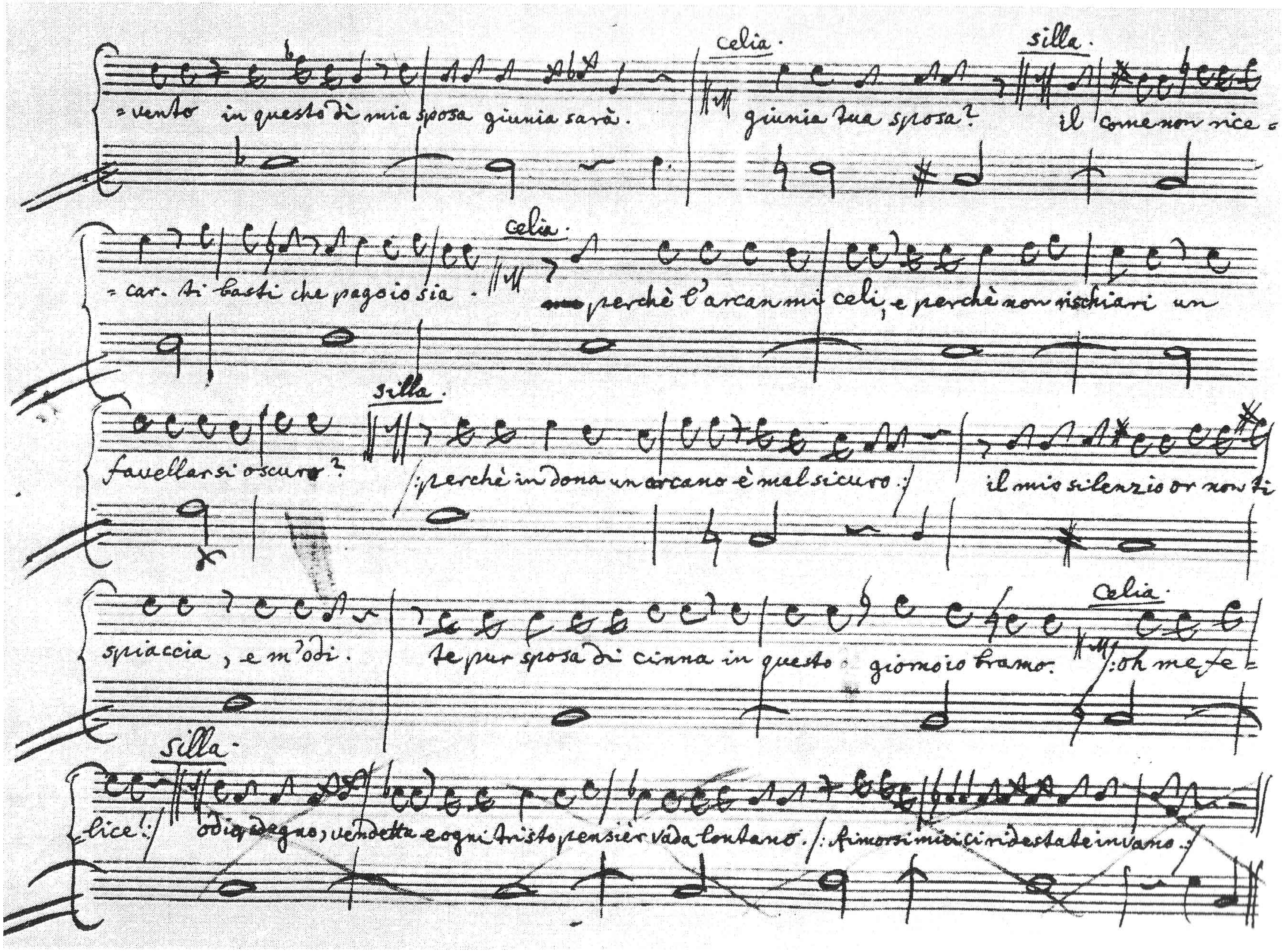
Translation: William Buchanan

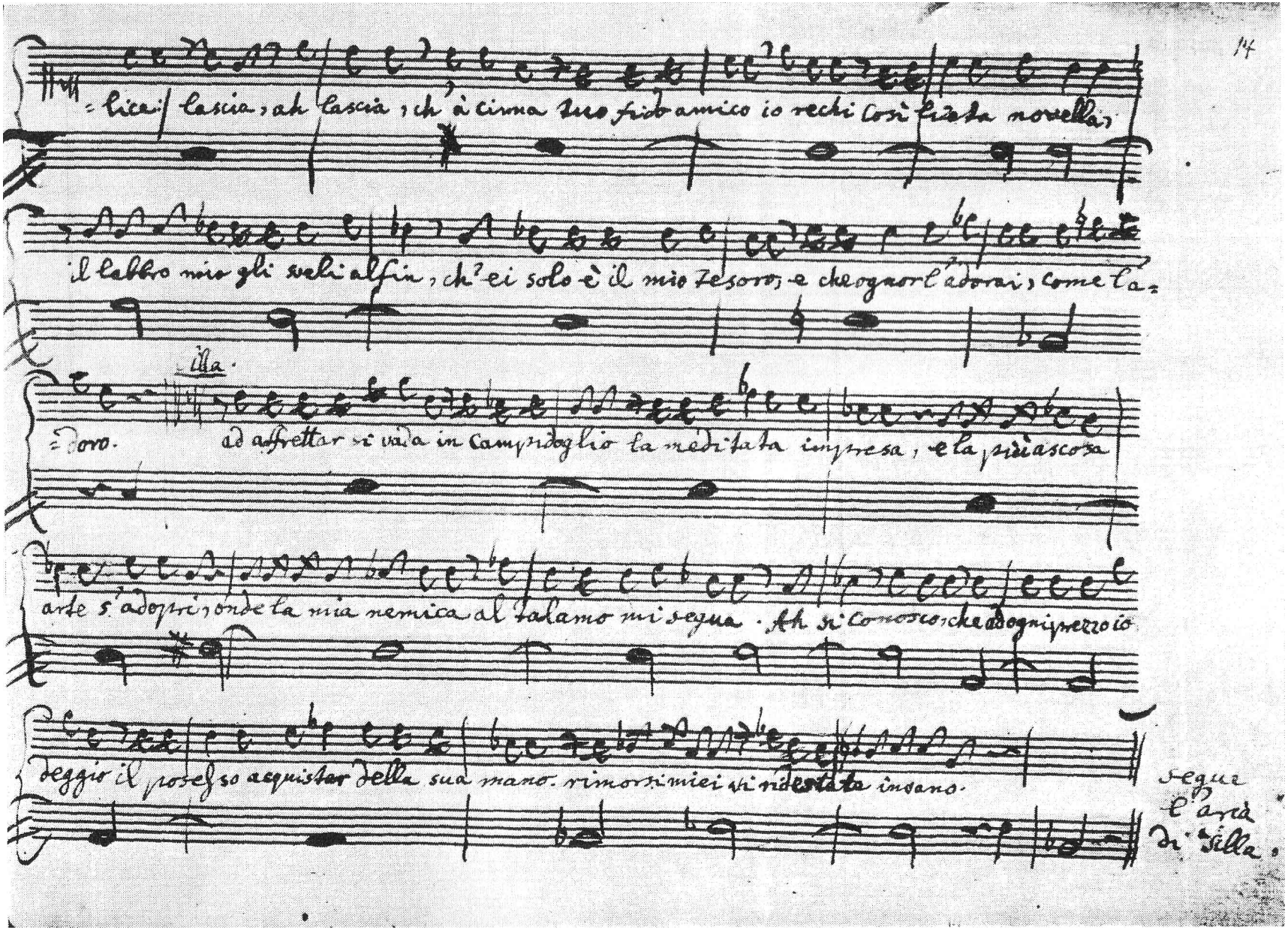


Facs. 1: First page of the autograph (Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków): beginning of the Overture. Cf. p. 5, bb. 1-6.

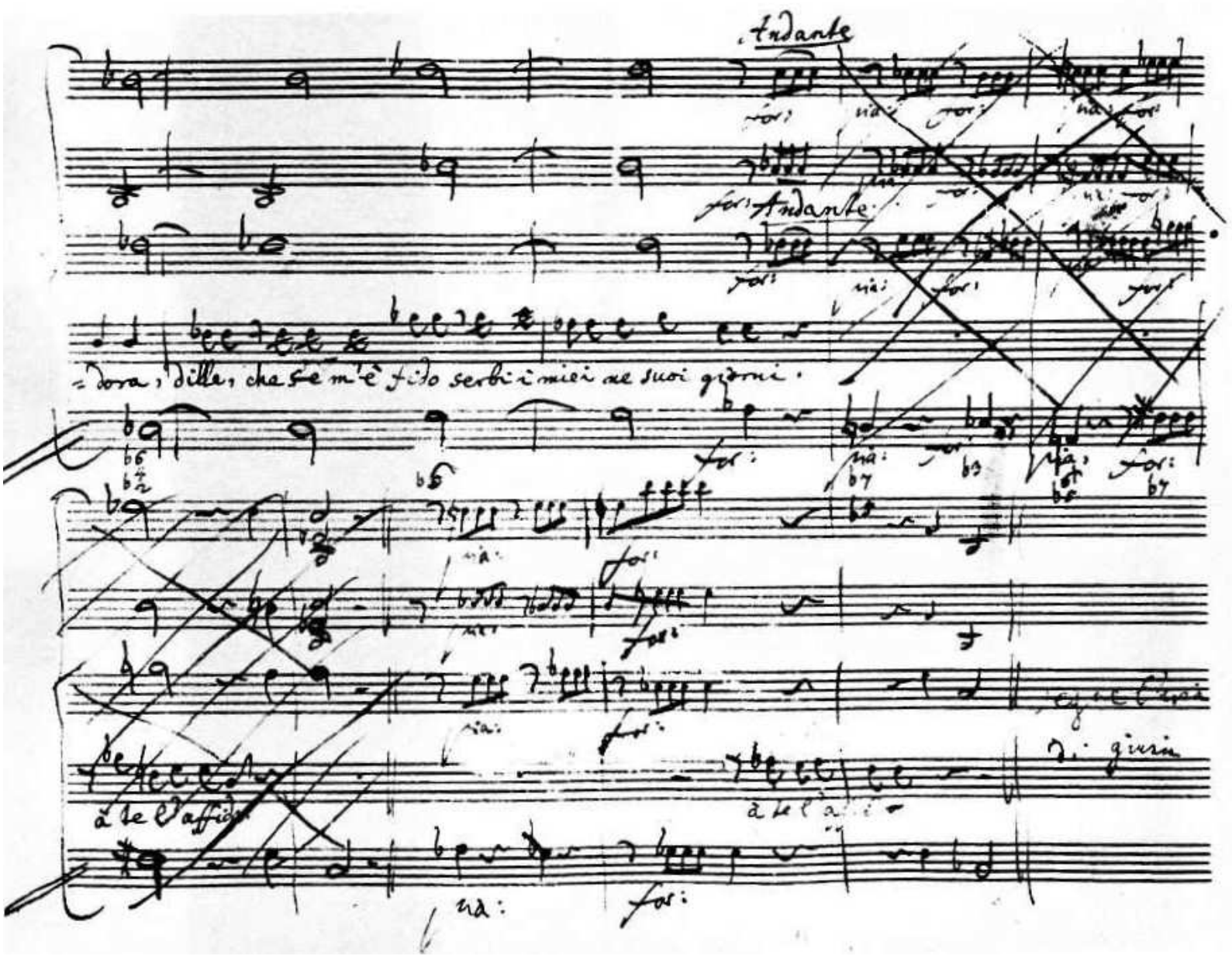


Facs. 2: Autograph Atto primo, folio 91[r]: Beginning of scena VII, cf. p. 139-140, bb. 1-5

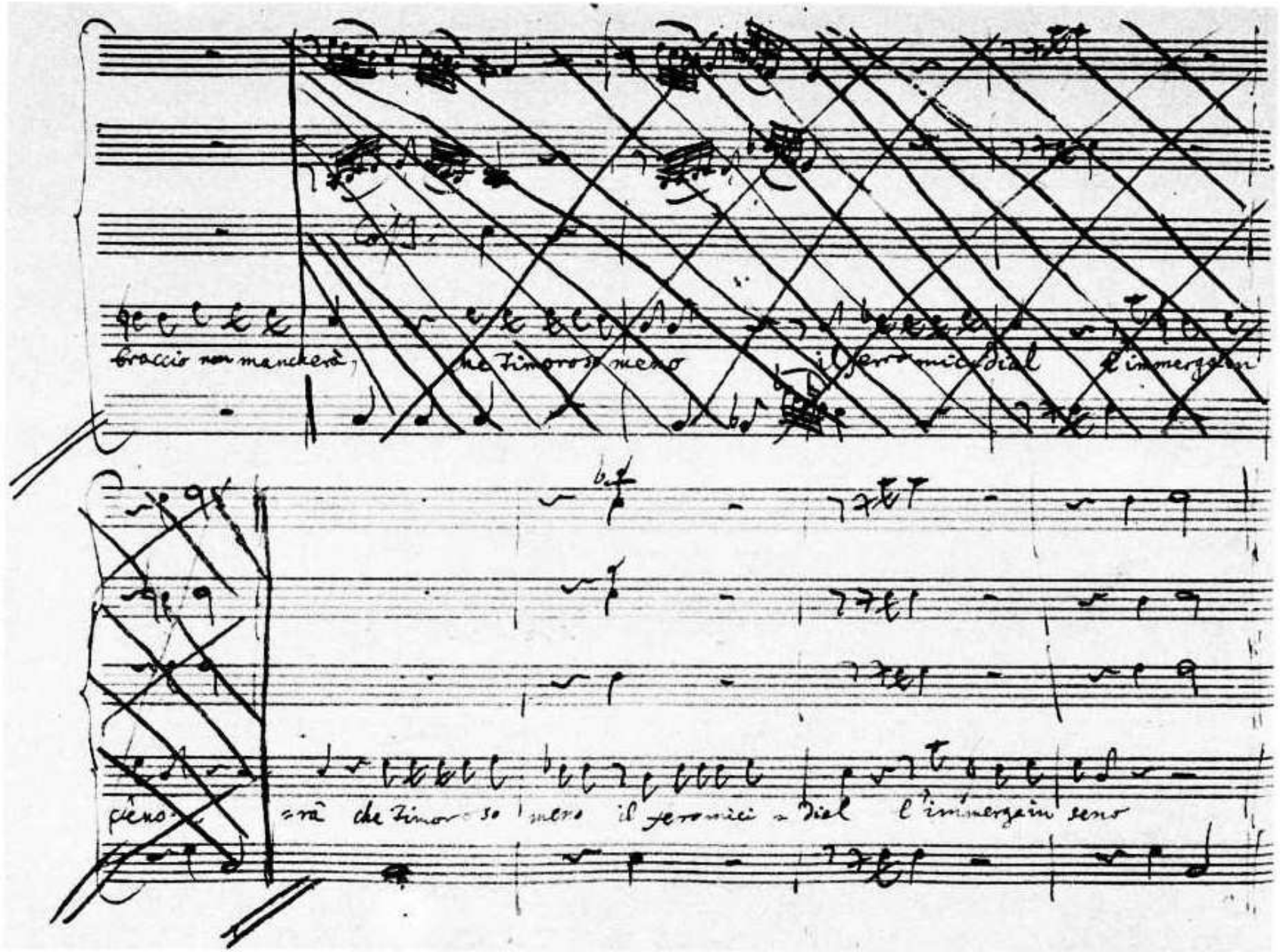

celia.
silla.
vento in questo dì mia sposa giunia sarà.
giunia tua sposa?
il core non rice
car. Ti basti che pago io sia.
celia.
perchè l'arcan mi celi, e perchè non rischiari un
silla.
favellar sì oscuro?
perchè in donna un arcano è mal sicuro.
il mio silenzio or non ti
spiaccia, e m'odi.
se pur sposa di cinna in questo giorno io bramo.
celia.
oh me fe
silla.
lice!
odio, sdegno, vendetta e ogni tristo pensier vada lontano.
rimorsi miei ci ridestate invano.



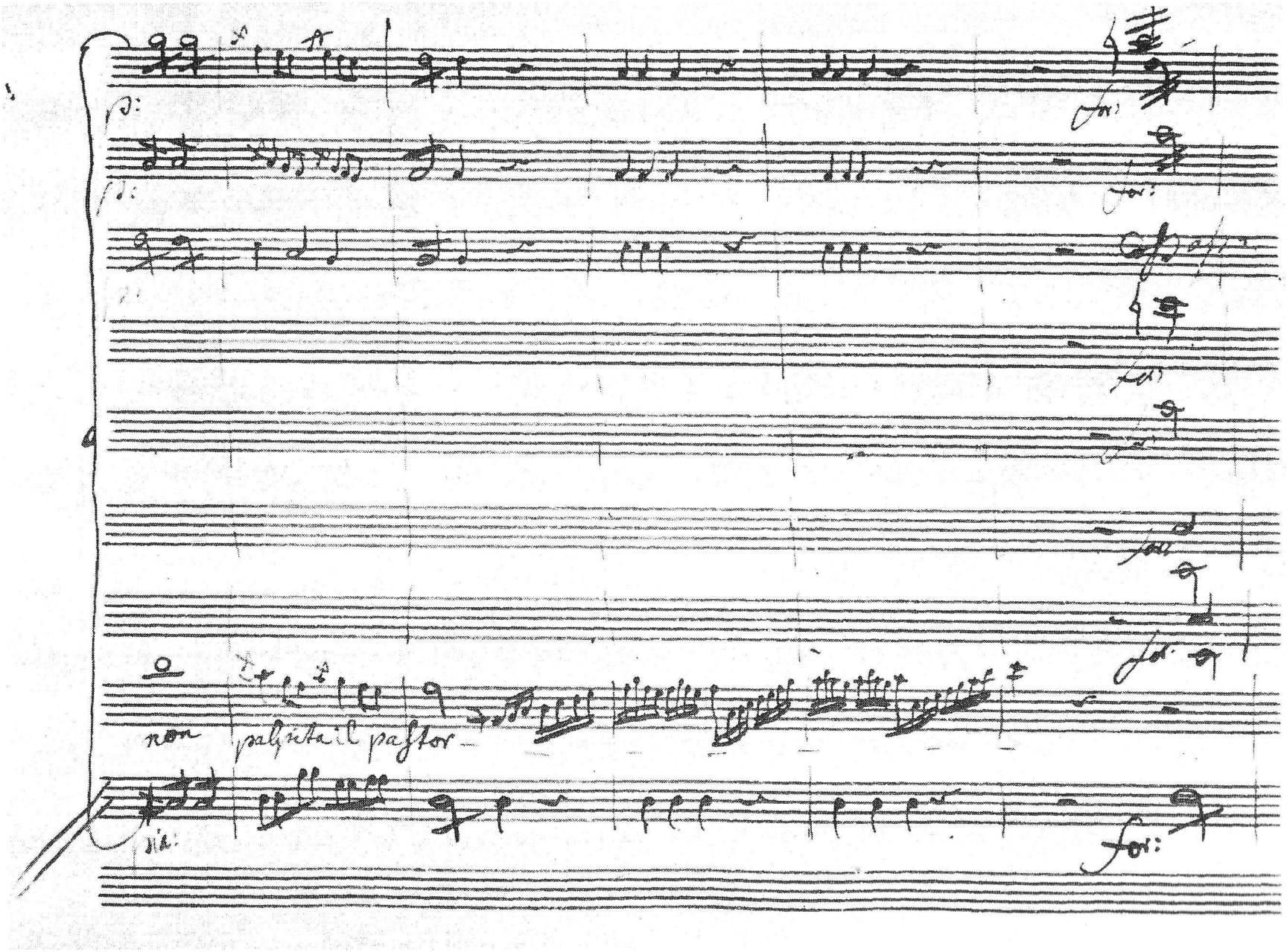
Facs. 3-4: Autograph Atto secondo, folio 14 (13)[r]: from recitative in scena II. Cf. pp. 204-205, b. 19 (3[rd] quarter-note) to b. 52 and Foreword.

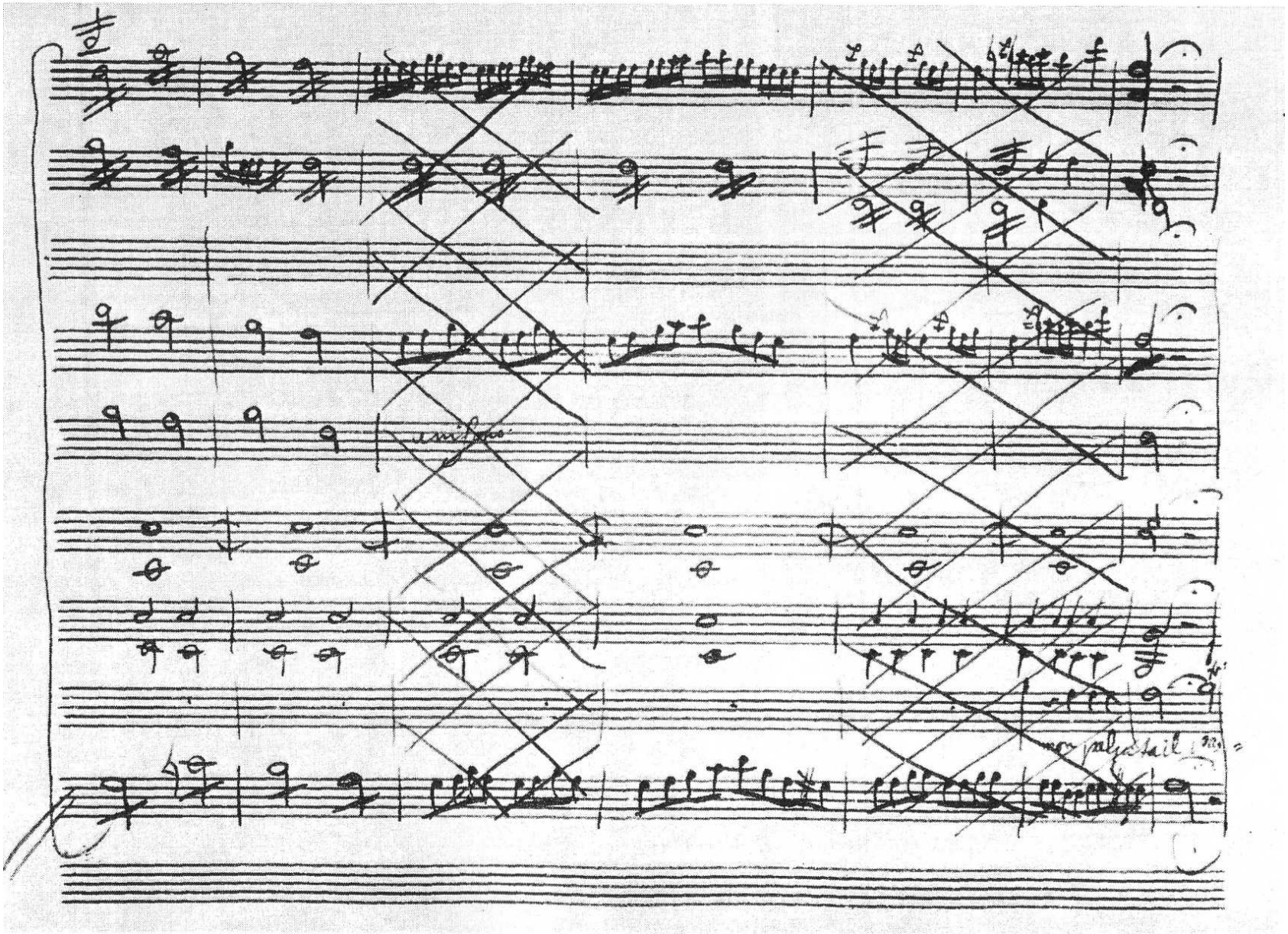


Facs. 5: Autograph Atto secondo, folio 14 (13)^{r}: end of the recitative before No. 11. Cf. p. 243, b. 110 (2nd half) to b. 115, and Foreword.

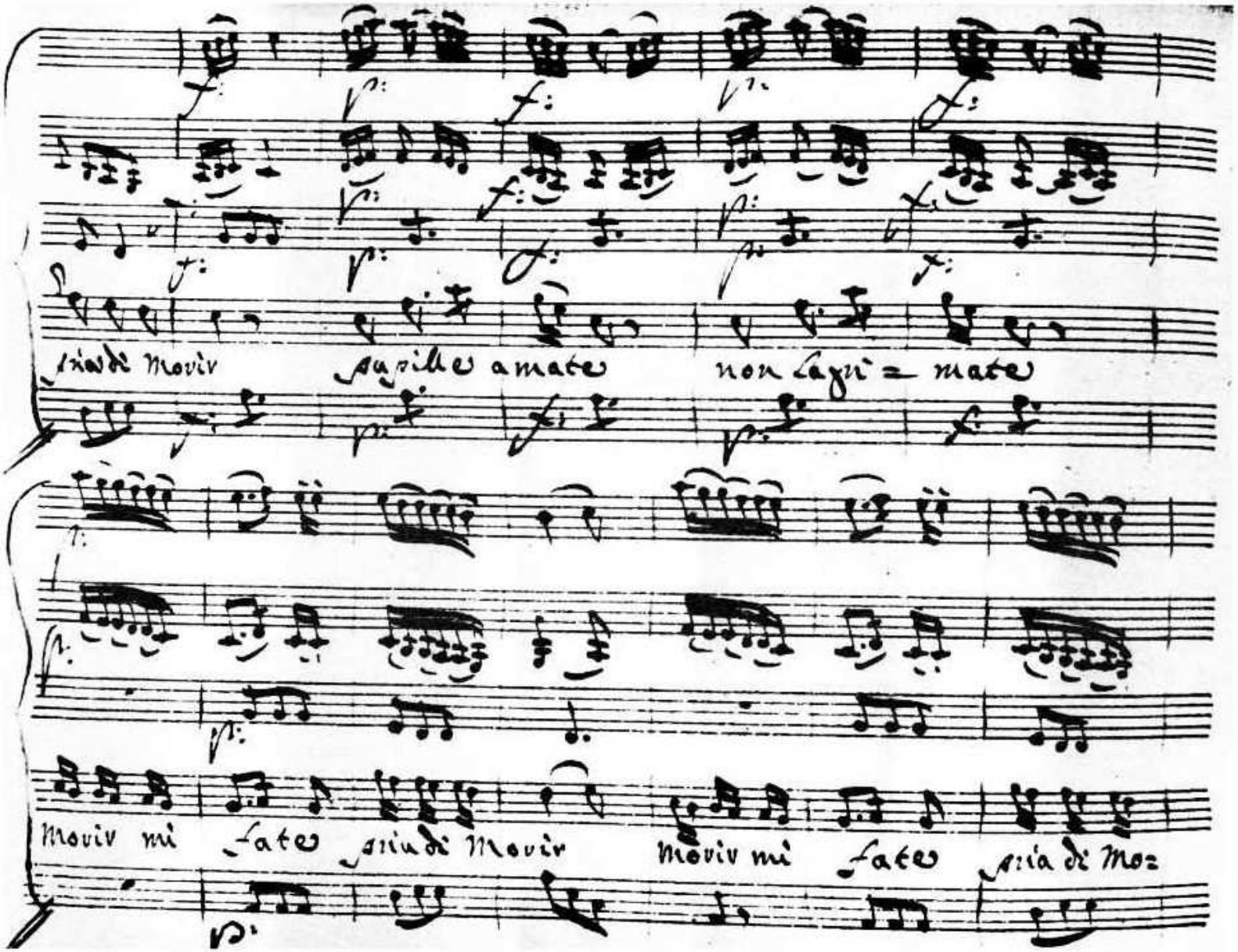


Facs. 6: Autograph Atto secondo, folio 63^{v}: end of the recitative before No. 12. Cf. p. 268, b. 10 (2nd half) to b. 14, and Foreword.

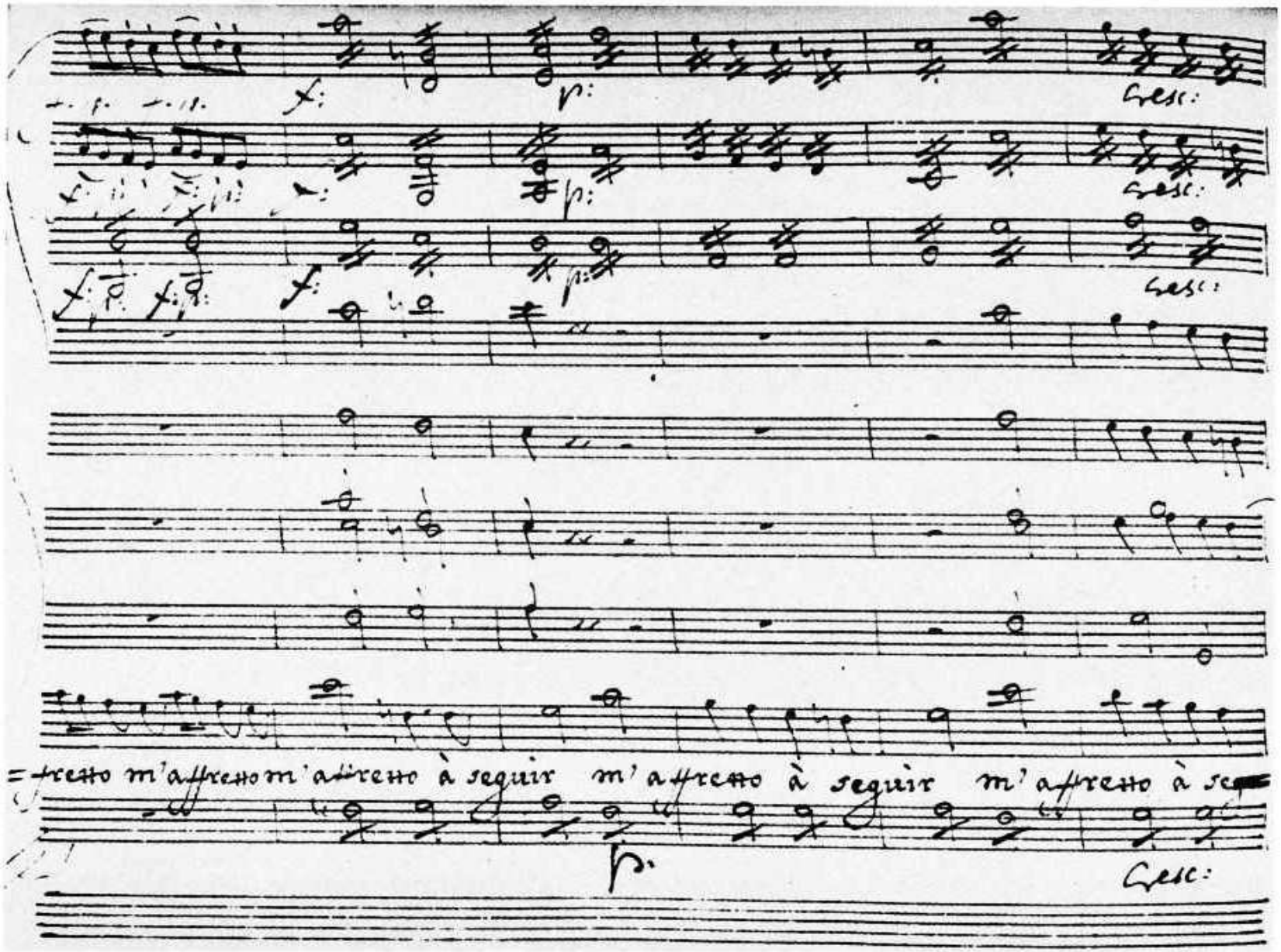

non
palpitait pastor



Facs. 7-8: Autograph Atto terzo, folio 23^{v} and folio 24^{r}: from No. 20, aria "*De' più superbi il core*". Cf. p. 404 – 405, bb. 114-123, and Foreword.



Facs. 9: Turin score copy (Accademia filarmonica / Circolo Società del Whist): a page from No. 21, Aria "*Pupille amate*"; cf. pp. 422-423, bb. 83-95 (dynamics in bb. 84-90 in Mozart's hand).

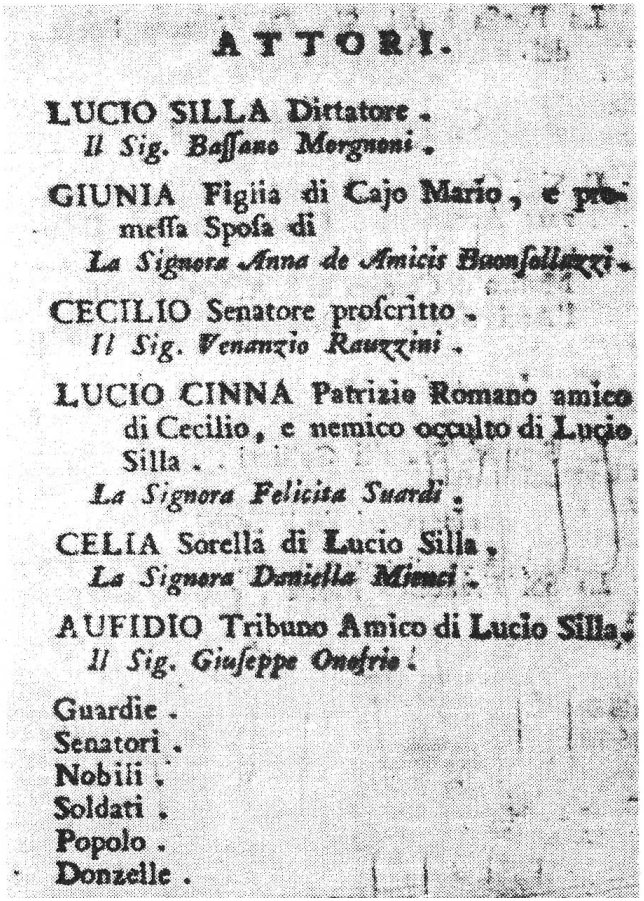


Facs. 12: Score copy Turin (Accademia filarmonica / Circolo Società der Whist): a page from No. 22, Aria "*Fra i penaier più funesti di morte*"; cf. pp. 438, bb. 87-92 (dynamics largely in Mozart's hand).

LUCIO SILLA
DRAMMA PER MUSICA
DA RAPPRESENTARSI
NEL REGIO-DUCAL TEATRO
DI MILANO
Nel Carnovale dell' anno 1773.
DEDICATO
ALLE LL. AA. RR.
IL SERENISSIMO ARCIDUCA
FERDINANDO
Principe Reale d' Ungheria, e Boemia, Arciduca d'Austria, Duca di Borgogna, e di Lorena ec., Cesareo Regio Luogo-Tenente, Governatore, e Capitano Generale nella Lombardia Austriaca.
E LA
SERENISSIMA ARCIDUCHESSA
MARIA RICCIARDA
BEATRICE D'ESTE
PRINCIPESSA DI MODENA.

IN MILANO,

Presso Gio. Batista Bianchi Regio Stampatore
Con licenza de' Superiori.



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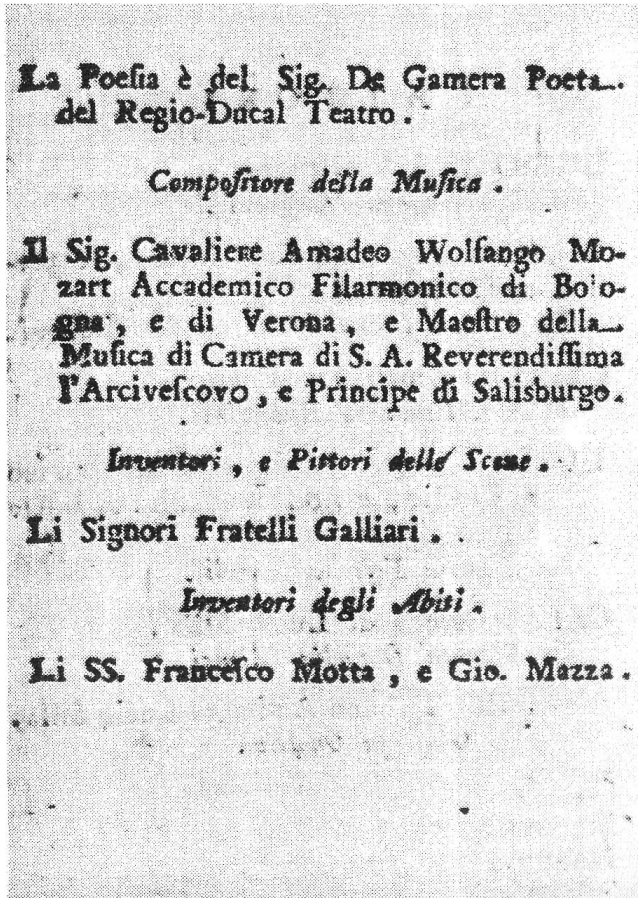

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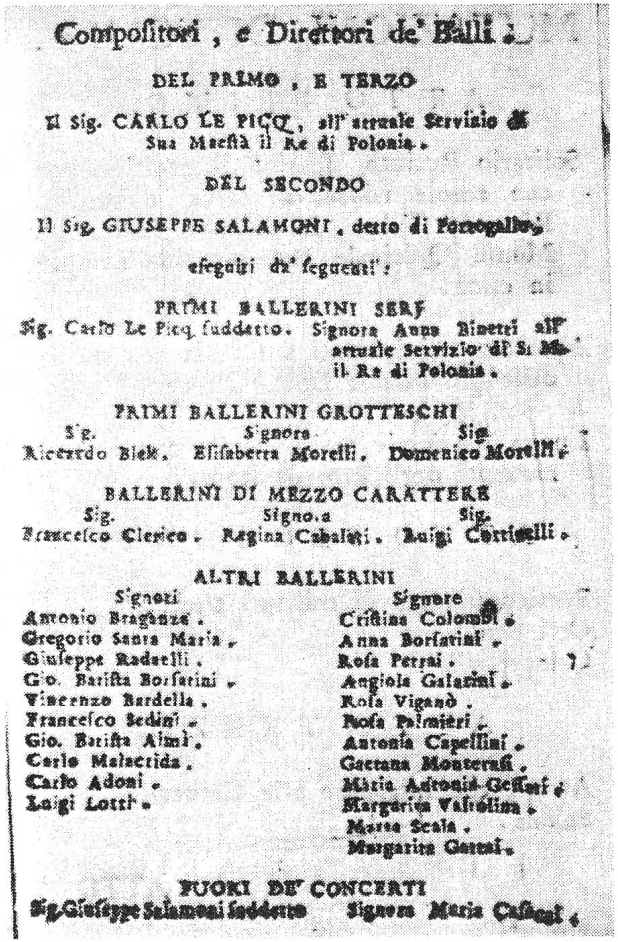
Inventori, e Pittori delle Scene.

Li Signori Fratelli Galliari.

Inventori degli Abiti.

Li SS. Francesco Motta, e Gio. Mazza.

Facs.13 : Title page, page [9] and page [10] from the Milan libretto (copy in the Biblioteca del Conservatorio "Giuseppe Verdi", Milan).



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MUTAZIONI DI SCENE.

ATTO PRIMO.

Solitario Recinto sparso di molti alberi con ampie rovine di edifizj diroccati. Riva del Tebro. In distanza veduta del Monte Quirinale con piccolo Tempio in cima.

Appartamenti destinati a Giunia con statue delle più celebri Donne Romane.

Luogo Sepolcrale molto oscuro con i monumenti degl' Eroi di Roma.

ATTO SECONDO.

Portico fregiato di militari trofei.
Orti pensili.
Campidoglio.

ATTO TERZO.

Atrio, che introduce alle Carceri.
Salone.

ATTO

BALLO PRIMO.

La Gelosìa del Serraglio.

BALLO SECONDO.

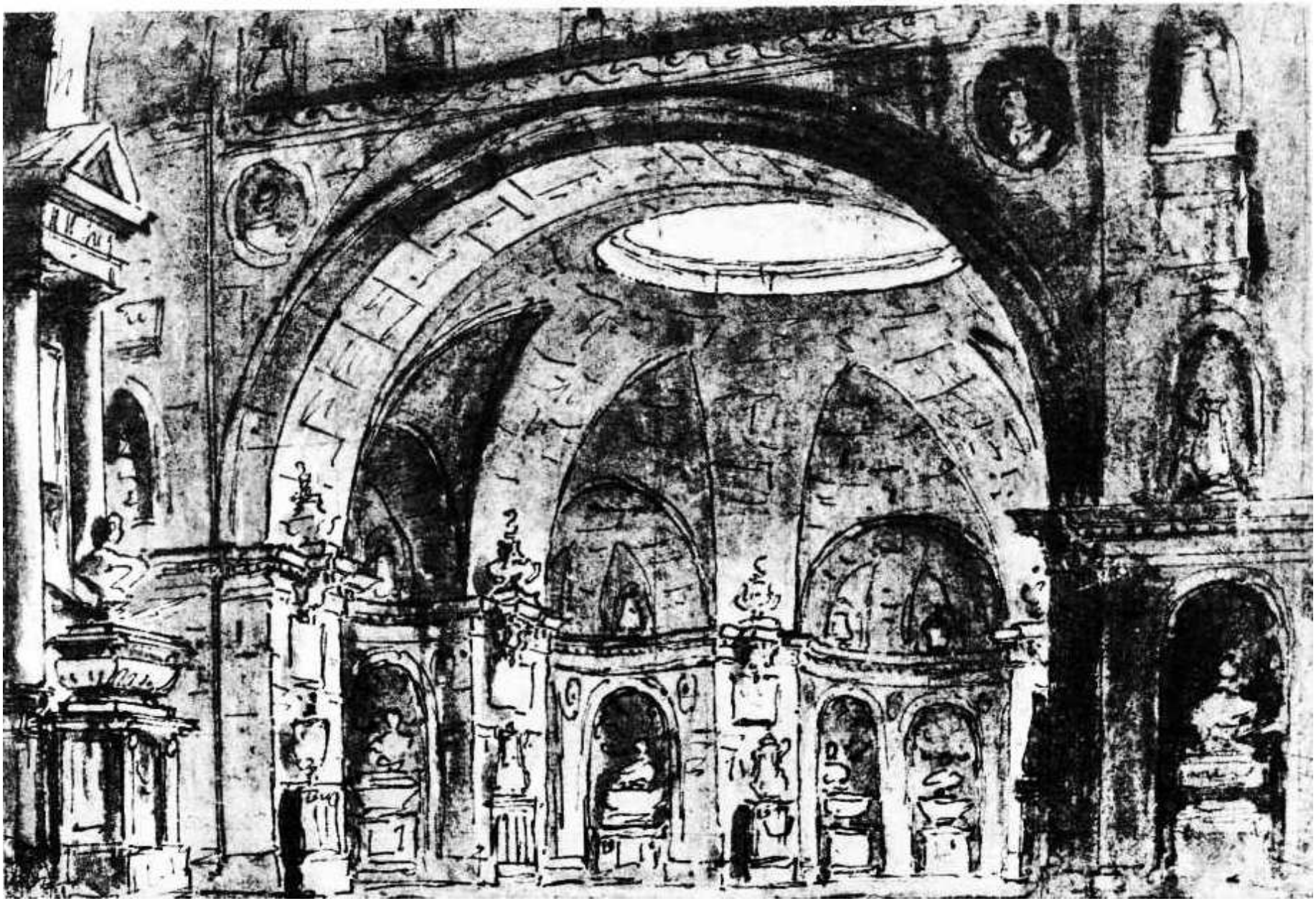
La Scuola di Negromanzia

BALLO TERZO.

La Giaccona.

Facs. 14: Page [11], page [12] and page [12a] from the Milan libretto (page [12a] reproduced from the copy in the Civico Museo Bibliografico-Musicale, Bologna: cf. Foreword).

Facs. 15: Fabrizio Galliari: Rovine. *Lucio Silla* Atto primo, Mutazione 1 / scene one (Pinateco di Brera, Milan, Album *K.I. 18*, leaf 53).



Facs. 16: Fabrizio Galliari: Sepolcri. *Lucio Silla* Atto primo, Mutazione 3 / scene three (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan, Album *K.I. 17*, leaf 41).