1-1-1993

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The Violin Director in 'Il trovatore' and 'Le trouvere': Some Nineteenth-century Evidence

**Keywords**
Giuseppe Verdi, Il trovatore, Le trouvere, conducting

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Serious discussion of the operatic violin director is rare. What little literature there is seems to be fundamentally biased against the very concept of leading performances from the first violinist's chair, treating the violin director as an inferior predecessor to the modern conductor. Since violin directors still appeared in Italian theaters in the 1860's and 70's, decades after the emergence of the baton wielding conductor, it would seem that direction by a standing conductor was first viewed more as an alternative than a necessary improvement. The continued reliance on the violin director, even when other methods of direction were in use, is reason enough to consider his role worthy of study.

Two largely unknown nineteenth century sources provide new and detailed information on the function of the violin director. The first is a treatise entitled *Saggio sopra i doveri d'un primo Violino direttore d'orchestra*, written in 1811 by Giuseppe Scaramelli, a renowned violin director at the Teatro di Trieste. Although Scaramelli's essay was published almost thirty years prior to Verdi's first operatic productions, it provides a fundamental first person perspective on leading an opera from the violinist's chair. Another indispensable source of information on the violin director is the special part from which he performed. Violin director parts for Verdi's operas survive in libraries and theater archives throughout Europe and the United States. The American Institute for Verdi Studies has been able to film roughly sixty of these parts, including an Italian part for *Il trovatore* and a French one for *Le trouvère*. A study of these parts, together with Scaramelli's essay, clarifies the role of the violin director. Not only can differences be detected between orchestra direction in the early and middle years of the nineteenth century, but also between Italian and French practices in the same era.

Scaramelli's essay on the role of the operatic violin director is the only known treatise devoted exclusively to the subject. Thus, his discussion of the attitudes and duties of the violin director early in the century are important to an understanding of the later development of the craft. Determining the violin director's place in the musical chain of command is a fundamental issue, which essentially defines the limits of his responsibility. Scaramelli does not address this question directly, but his particular use of terminology provides a clue. He indicates the orchestra leader in two ways, with the titles "primo Violino" (first violinist) and "Direttore d'Orchestra" (orchestra director). The first applies exclusively to the violin director, while the second refers to anyone, including a composer or cembalist, who might lead an orchestra. A third designation, that of "Maestro", usually specifies the composer, except for one isolated reference:

"There are some theaters which, in place of a simple cembalist, are in the habit of employing a Maestro, and sometimes it happens that someone infatuated with his own mastery encounters, by chance, a first Violinist with little spirit, and thus arrogates to himself the title of Director of that orchestra, letting it be known that all of the orchestra, and even the first Violinist, must be subordinate to him. A direttore of merit will never allow himself to be bullied by such a pretender, and will not yield his hand unless it be to the composer of the opera [...]"

This passage suggests that the violin director was independent of the maestro, who, for his part, seized any opportunity to assert his nonexistent authority. However, documentary evidence contradicts such a characterization. Martin Chusid's study of nineteenth century Italian librettos, periodicals, and opera house regulations reinforces the concept of divided leadership, with the violin director in a clearly subordinate position. When the composer was present, he bore the responsibility to instruct singers and orchestra in the proper execution of their parts. In his absence, that authority generally fell to the theater's vocal director, variously called the Maestro di Cappella, Maestro Direttore della Musica,
Maestro Direttore delle Opere, Maestro Concertatore, or Maestro al Cembalo.\textsuperscript{2} In either case, the violin director acted as the maestro's representative during the performance, contractually obliged to enforce his superior's musical choices regardless of his own feelings. This division of leadership is illustrated by regulations adopted in 1806 by an orchestra in Rimini, which state that "the direction of music in the rehearsals shall be reserved for the maestro; when the opera is put on, the duty falls to the first Violinist."\textsuperscript{5} The conflict between Scaramelli's statement and traditional interpretations of the violin director's role might be partially explained by the gradual change in the makeup of opera orchestras. In the early part of the century, when the maestro was seated at the keyboard during both rehearsal and performance, it is possible that official distinctions became blurred. Scaramelli's remark suggests a struggle between two authority figures, each willing and able to communicate to singers and orchestra. When the cembalo disappeared from the opera orchestra, the maestro lost his direct access to singers and orchestra during the performance, and with it, the opportunity to interfere with the violin director's execution of his duty.

Despite his claim to authority over everyone save the composer, Scaramelli describes only one situation in which the violin director is at all able to exercise his power of choice. When a singer suddenly rushes or stretches the prevailing tempo, deviating from what has been established in rehearsal, the violin director has two options: either he could hold the orchestra to the original tempo, thereby forcing the singer to conform, or else follow the singer's phrasing wherever it leads. After giving several examples, Scaramelli specifically invokes custom ("uso") as the violin director's guide in the matter. Clearly, when the unexpected occurred, it was the violin director's evaluation of the situation which controlled the outcome. Unlike the maestro, who dictated his musical choices in rehearsal, the violin director's creative input was limited to what could be accomplished at the spur of the moment, in response to some unforeseen deviation from the plan.

Scaramelli provides few details about how he actually regulated tempo, but he does advocate the use of both audible foot tapping and silent motions of the bow. Clarity and economy are paramount, especially when tapping the foot, which should be done only during tempo changes and moments of musical disarray. In slow tempos, Scaramelli deems it "eccentric" to tap out more than the first few beats, relying instead on bow motions. However, he does not specify whether these motions were actual timebeating patterns, random waving gestures, or simply exaggerations of ordinary bowstrokes.

The treatise addresses the course of action to be taken when a singer or instrumentalist loses his place in the music by giving advice on the preparation of the violin director's part. This part, copied from the full score, should include all first violin material plus any vocal and instrumental lines which might present a problem in performance:

"Everything proceeds in an orderly fashion when one has in sight that which is necessary. Therefore, the Director will not fail to write his part, when necessary, in two lines with all of the important solo parts for every instrument. It is absolutely necessary for him to have these in front of him, so that in the case of a player's lapse, he can fill in with his violin, and likewise see what the other instruments are doing, and therefore be able to regulate them.

"It would also be well advised that in the arias with obbligato instruments, the first Violinist, in addition to the above-mentioned obbligato lines, notates the vocal part as well, and likewise marks in all pieces the entrances of the voice and those of the bass, adding the text of the piece where necessary for greater control."\textsuperscript{4}

Following Scaramelli's recommendation would enable the violin director to play prominent instrumental lines on his violin, when the need arose. If a singer lost his place in the music, the responsibility for damage control fell first to the cembalist, with the violin director as backup:

"Sometimes it can also happen that a singer, making a mistake in his aria and becoming confused, stops singing altogether. Under these circumstances the orchestra should continue on its way, and the cembalist, who has the score, should sing to him the part that he has missed; if he fails to do this, or lacks the voice, or something else, the Director should, if possible, fill in with his violin, or else should let the singer hear, with emphasis, one of the appropriate passages of the piece in order that the singer may begin again."\textsuperscript{5}
A missed entrance could therefore be covered by a quick-thinking violin director, abandoning his own melody to play that of the missing instrument or, sometimes, singer. The above excerpts suggest that Scaramelli exercised his leadership only after a mistake had been committed. Given the fact that he was responsible for performing the first violin part, Scaramelli could not occupy himself with skipping around to cover every instrumental error. Rather, he probably only stepped in as director when it was absolutely necessary. A brief footnote in the essay provides a clue to the management of this dual role:

"There is no doubt that the motion of the eye could be one of the principal qualities of the Director, certainly advantageous not only to singers, but also to the players in the orchestra; while in the case of oversight, inattention, or error one could immediately make oneself understood with a single glance, and make the correction that moment." 6

This eye motion, possibly no more than a look of disapproval, left the violin director free to continue playing. Scaramelli makes no mention of using eye contact to cue a player, such as conductors frequently do today, although it would seem that an occasional glance before a difficult entrance would no more inconvenience him than giving a "dirty look" to the player after the entrance was missed. Such preventative measures apparently were foreign to him. It appears that he was concerned not so much with indicating what should take place as with responding to the situation as it developed.

How, then, does one interpret Scaramelli's reference to his responsibility for correct dynamics and articulation? These aspects of musical performance cannot be indicated after the fact, by tapping the foot or loudly playing the correct rendering; instead, they require either verbal explanation in a rehearsal or a visible gesture during the performance. Scaramelli avoids a discussion of rehearsal, presumably because it was under the maestro's direction rather than his own. Still, he admits the violin director's responsibility for the regulation of dynamics in two passages:

[1] "The piano which must be so carefully observed is not neglected simply by certain contrabass players, but unfortunately also by many violinists and other instrumentalists [...] when there is a vocal part, the forte must also be proportional to the quality of the singing, no less than that which is played in the overture, where the composition does not call for a decisive forte. This is reason, therefore, to require the focusing of all one's attention on this confusion, to see that the piano is being scrupulously observed by the whole orchestra." 7

[2] "Besides that which is music, having, as one knows, its colors of piano, pianissimo, forte, mezzo forte, fortissimo, sforzato, dolce, crescendo, and diminuendo, it will be the duty of the Director to have all of these words expressing chiari scuri scrupulously followed, knowing that from this shaded plane the performance will be perfect [...]" 8

The first quotation appears to apply to the special dynamic requirements of vocal accompaniment, which might possibly have been regulated through a glance, or simple sign from the violin director. However, ensuring the correct execution of "chiari scuri", as mentioned in the second citation, is another matter. Without details on his vocabulary of gestures, one cannot imagine how Scaramelli actually conveyed these subtleties to his orchestra. It is possible that he did so by the example of his own playing, although this would probably only produce limited results. It is, however, notable that he considered the violin director responsible for more than just holding the orchestra together.

A similar problem arises with the matter of articulation. The sole reference to this aspect of performance grows out of a general discussion of the art of accompanying:

"It will also be the particular concern of the Director that everyone play ties, staccatos, and accents according to the demands of the situation, and all together, so as not to cause a bad effect, such as when some play legato as written while others play staccato, so that instead of staccato, they accent [...]" 9

Nothing further is said about how to achieve this unity of articulation. It is appropriate that Scaramelli refers to articulation "according to the demands of the situation" ("conforme il caso lo richiede") rather than "according to what is written in the part". When compared with orchestral scores, nineteenth century instrumental parts often reveal missing or conflicting articulation and dynamic markings. Rather than
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depending on the testimony of his part, Scaramelli probably relied on his knowledge of style and repertoire as well as his familiarity with his players when considering these aspects of performance.

Remaining topics in Scaramelli's essay concern the areas of orchestral administration and discipline which are covered in other sources, such as Marcello Conati and Marcello Pavaran's *Orchestre in Emilia-Romagna*, which contains documentary evidence of the violin director's role as enforcer of regulations pertaining to attendance, punctuality, and decorum. Scaramelli only briefly mentions such disciplinary duties, perhaps feeling that his mission was to elaborate upon trade secrets which could be learned only through the experience of a long and successful career.

The second largely unexamined source of information on the violin director is his specially designed instrumental part. The microfilm collection of the American Institute for Verdi Studies includes violin director parts for complete operas, separate pieces, and assorted arrangements for the majority of Verdi's works from *Oberto* through *Aida*. The most recent addition is a complete violin director part for *Il trovatore*. There is also a violin director part for *Le trouvère* in the AIVS collection, among those materials belonging to the Théâtre de la Monnaie which were filmed at Brussels' Archive de la ville. While a comparison of the contents of these parts reveals the customary differences between the two versions of the opera, it is more instructive to examine them in light of Scaramelli's essay. Not only can differences be detected between orchestra direction in the early and middle years of the nineteenth century, but also between Italian and French practices in the same era.

The content of the *Trovatore* part is typical of most Italian violin director parts in the AIVS collection; however, the conflicting evidence of its outer cover reveals a complicated history. The partbook itself is a single manuscript volume of 278 pages, with paper bearing the watermark of a double-headed eagle. The title page, entirely in Italian, includes the designation "Violino Principale", the most common term for the part from which the violin director played. All details of format and notation are consistent with Italian practice. Unlike most parts in the AIVS collection, it also has a hard cover, with a printed label proclaiming it "Property of ARTHUR TAMS ['] Musical Library ['] New York". Titles at the top of several pages have been cropped, suggesting that the part was not copied with the intention of binding it. When it came into the possession of the Tams Library, which was founded in 1888, the part's special function was probably overlooked; the cover identifies it as "Part for 1st Violin". The part does exhibit signs of use: pencil markings, largely in German, detail cuts and transpositions, which could easily have been the work of a non-directing first violinist.

Although the *Trovatore* Violino Principale part reveals no evidence of use specifically by a violin director, its appearance leaves no doubt as to its intended function (see Example 1, page 24). The paper is in ten-line oblong format, and each page is divided into three or four systems consisting of the violin line underneath as many as four staves of cues. The number of cue lines on a given page depends on the density of the orchestral texture. The staves above the violin line can represent cues for any instrument and/or vocal part which might be prominent. In vocal numbers, text often appears only at beginnings and ends of phrases. The metronome markings recorded at the start of each number are the same as those in the autograph score.

The content of the cue lines often provides information about the responsibilities of the violin director; the notation of lightly scored recitative passages is particularly revealing. When Verdi uses sporadic string chords to punctuate or underscore vocal declamation, the violin director part sometimes contains only the unpitched vocal text and the first violin line (see Example 1, page 24). This type of recitative notation is common in string parts for operas of Verdi's middle period, making it easier for each player to determine where his part belongs in relation to the vocal declamation. Such an approach seems temporarily to eliminate the need for an orchestra leader, letting the violin director function as just another first violinist, while the singers controlled the pace of the music. Recitatives with more complex accompaniment receive correspondingly more detailed representation in the violin director part, suggesting that an overseeing presence is necessary for a unified performance.

Even in the aria proper, the *Trovatore* violin director part often contains only fragments of the vocal line. Initial phrases, as well as measures with a fermata, rallantando, or tempo change are likely to be the only vocal passages cued, because they required extra effort to coordinate stage and orchestra. Those vocal cues which do appear are notated at sounding pitch, in the appropriate vocal clefs, even if they lie outside of violin range. By
contrast, all instrumental cues, including those for bass instruments, appear in treble clef, within the range of the violin. Certainly, a competent violin director would have been able to transpose any cue on sight, but if that were expected of him here, why were bass instrument cues altered to facilitate performance on the violin? There seems to have been a distinction between instrumental cues, which should be transposed, and vocal cues, which could be notated at sounding pitch. The greater inconvenience in the playing of a vocal cue, however slight, raises the possibility that the cue may not have been intended to be played at all. Scaramelli acknowledges that the violin director could supply missing vocal lines for forgetful singers, but he prefers for the maestro al cembalo to do so. Although Il trovatore does not require the services of a cembalist, it appears that the creators of this part still assumed that someone other than the violin director would be responsible for the singers.

The special treatment of instrumental cues goes beyond simple clef transposition: sometimes phrases have been distorted in order to keep them within the violin's range. The bassline cued at the ritornello of Leonora's "Tacea la notte placida" begins on a G⁰, but proceeds up a minor seventh, rather than down a major second, as in the score. This type of transformation suggests that the copyist thought the violin director might have reason to play this particular entrance himself, perhaps, as Scaramelli suggested, to cover for an inattentive player (that the initial G⁰ is also below violin range is not problematic, since the violin conductor would not have been aware of the need to play the missed entrance until after the opportunity for the first note had already passed; it would, by then, be too late for him to supply the G⁰ in any octave).

As with the vocal cues mentioned above, instrumental phrases are seldom presented in their entirety; the Violino Principale part is not meant to be a reduction of the score, or even a depiction of bassline and obbligato. Although at times it resembles such an arrangement, the actual criterion for the selection of cued material appears to be the complete representation of rhythmic content. In other words, although the cue lines cannot accommodate material from every instrument in the orchestra, they do embody the sum of the different rhythmic figures in a given measure. In an opera such as Il trovatore, this composite rhythm can usually be notated on two or three lines, with different melodies set to the same rhythm considered as unisons. Doubling of pitches also affects the notation of cues, since the convergence of two different rhythmic patterns upon the same pitch results in the temporary disappearance of one of the cues. Charged with the dual responsibilities of playing the violin and overseeing coordination between stage and orchestra, it is easy to see why the violin director would benefit from a part containing only the bare essentials. Cue lines are often lacking in instrumental attribution, or are left entirely blank if the full orchestra plays only a single rhythmic pattern. Repeat indications, or "col violino" markings above the violin line also appear as notational shortcuts. As a result, the Il trovatore Violino part may appear inadequate to someone accustomed to the modern conductor's score. In reality, the part contains everything necessary to begin a piece in the proper tempo, indicate pauses or tempo changes, and listen for the presence of all significant instrumental lines.

Details of dynamics and articulation are included in the first violin line much less frequently than in the autograph score. More significant for this investigation is the fact that dynamics and articulation are sometimes notated in the cue lines as well. The former appear sparingly, only in the few instances when the violin is silent or when its indicated dynamic level does not apply to the cued instrument. Articulation markings in the cue lines are more numerous, but still incomplete. A violin director attempting to adhere to Scaramelli's demand for precise articulation would have faced the same need to "follow the demands of the situation", but this seems again to reflect a particular attitude towards the treatment of standard articulation patterns rather than any deficiency in the violin director part. Still, the mere presence of notated dynamics and articulations which differ from the violinist's own suggest that he was expected to put this information to use, possibly when he was required to play missing instrumental lines.

The Le trouvere violin director part in the AIVS Archive presents many contrasts to its Italian cousin, not the least of which is its own complicated history. The part is labelled "Violon Condueture", and bears the initials "L.E." at the bottom of most pages, identifying it with the house of Léon Escudier. The first layer of manuscript includes music and text from Emilien Pacini's French translation of the original version of the opera. This part, together with the rest of the theater's set, probably dates from 1856, when Escudier, with Verdi's authorization, published Trovatore materials translated for French-speaking
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Theaters. Records from the Théâtre de la Monnaie reveal that this version of the opera received a rather unsuccessful Belgian premiere on May 20, 1856. The subsequent alteration of the parts, to adapt them to Verdi's 1857 revision of the score, probably took place in Brussels, since inserted passages appear on paper of Belgian manufacture. The theater then used these revised parts in a second production of the opera on January 20, 1858.

Thanks to the extensive amount of Belgian material in the AIVS collection, it has also been possible to probe conditions surrounding the use of the *Trouvère* Violon Conducteur part. Archival documents reveal that in 1856 Charles Hanssens the younger was the theater's "Premier chef d'orchestre". However, contemporary biographies describe Hanssens as a cellist, unlike his father, also named Charles Hanssens, who was a violinist and director at the Monnaie in the 1830's and 40's. This detail calls into question the actual use of the *Trouvère* violon conducteur part, since, it seems unlikely that the younger Hanssens, a cellist, led the orchestra with a violin in his hand. Jacques Isardon's study, *Le Théâtre de la Monnaie depuis sa fondation jusqu'à nos jours*, reveals that Hanssens was not the only chef d'orchestre employed by the theater that season: M. Bosselet is listed as "2ème chef, conduisant le ballet" and M. Thoury simply as "2ème chef". In subsequent years, personnel and title frequently changed, so that in addition the terms "Directeur de l'orchestre" and "Directeur de Musique" sometimes appeared. Apparently, terminology was still somewhat indeterminate, and it is difficult to establish who performed a specific function. However, just as with the *Trouvatore* Violino Principale part, it can be stated with certainty that the AIVS's violon conducteur part for *Le trouvere*, was originally created for a violin director, and thus reflected current practice as it was known to the house of Escudier. How the part was used at the Théâtre de la Monnaie is less clear, therefore, it is the French origin of the part, rather than its Belgian destination, which will be emphasized.

Compared to most Italian Violino Principale parts, the French *Trouvère* part exhibits a radically different format, closer to that of a five-line short score (see Example 2, page 25). Continuous, fully texted vocal lines appear on the top staff, woodwind cues on the second staff, brass on the third, the first violin line on the fourth, and the cello and bass on the bottom. At first glance, this layout appears awkward for the performing violin director, trying to isolate his own line as he moved from page to page. Castil-Blaze once described this type of part as an "almost useless impediment", which he replaced as early as 1828 with a keyboard reduction including vocal parts and instrumental entrances. Such criticism notwithstanding, it is the five-line format which was employed by Escudier in 1856. This particular layout could actually have facilitated the violin director's task, since reading a solo line embedded in the midst of four lines of cues probably also forced him to follow those cues with his peripheral vision.

The pitch range covered by the cue lines in this part also provides a possible indication of its function. Unlike the *Trouvatore* Violino Principale part, here no attempt has been made to restrict the cues to practical violin range, or even to treble clef: the cello and contrabass, as well as the principal baritone and bass singers, are notated in bass clef. In addition, timpani pitches are consistently transposed to *do* and *sol* of the prevailing key. This approach, one step closer to the modern conductor's score, is also a step away from facilitating the violin director's coverage of a potential missed entrance. It reflects a desire to represent the orchestral score more literally, without adjustment or interpretation. The resultant complication in the performance of cues below the violin's range suggests that these cues may not have been meant to be played at all. Although the intended user of this *Trouvère* part was provided with more information than his Italian counterpart, he may have employed it for a different purpose. It is tempting to imagine the French violin director of the period as a more modern leader who cued players and singers before an important entrance, rather than simply reacting after an error occurred.

The French part presents few notational peculiarities. One interesting complication is the almost complete omission of viola and second violin cues. Since none of the categories assigned to the four cue lines accommodates these instruments, their exclusion appears intentional. In a part which otherwise appears so complete, the general exclusion of these instruments is conspicuous. Perhaps it was felt that the second violins and violas, being fairly numerous and responsible largely for accompanimental material, were less likely to make noticeable errors.

Shorthand devices are rare in the *Trouvère* part. The phrase "col violino" does appear when doubling of violin pitches occurs, facilitating the immediate perception of the orchestral texture. Repeat signs
and unison markings are also employed, but in general the copyists appear to have spared no effort to present comprehensive cues. Regarding questions of dynamics and articulation, the French part is often as vague as the Italian. In this regard, even the violin line is less detailed than in the orchestral score. Dynamics notated in the cue lines are most often found in the bass and vocal parts, usually when they reflect those in the violin line. Similarly, articulations (most often, accent marks) are sparingly, and inconsistently, notated. Again, like the Italian part, Verdi’s metronome markings appear at the start of each number.

It seems clear that these particular Italian and French violin director parts were prepared to different specifications. A brief comparison of their treatments of a single musical number, the second act duet between Manrico and Azucena, clarifies these differences. The opening recitative, scored for strings, is immediately revealing. The French part consistently presents the complete cello/bass line in addition to the vocal and violin lines; the second violin and viola are not cued. The Italian part (a fragment of which appears as Example 3, page 26) is limited to the vocal and violin lines, except for two measures in which a second rhythmic figure appears in the form of quarter notes in the cello and contrabass (see [A] in example 3). These brief cues are notated directly on the violin line, rather than interrupting the vocal cues on the upper staff, probably because in this passage having the complete vocal part was helpful in maintaining unity. When the texture shifts to arioso ([B] of example 3), the Italian part’s vocal cues are largely replaced by the cello and contrabass. Neither the Italian nor the French part divulgés the exact instrumentation of entire passage, but this is a common occurrence in string textures.

At Manrico’s verse ("Mal reggendo" in the Italian version; "Etendu dans la carrière" in the French), the woodwinds enter. All subsequent vocal, bass, and wind lines appear on the four cue staves of the Trouvère part, while the Italian part represents the same material on a single staff above the violin line in such a way that it is difficult to distinguish untexted vocal cues from the frequently unidentified accompanying instruments. With Azucena’s entrance, the French part employs the "col violino" designation for the clarinet, flute, and oboe, and presents the bassoon and horn parts in full. This covers the complete orchestral texture, save the violas and second violins, which happen to double the horns and bassoons. The Italian part ignores the voice, winds and brass altogether, containing only the violin line, and occasional cued string figures. Despite the apparent incompleteness of this passage, all rhythmic components, if not every pitch, are represented by the violin and cue lines.

The duet’s cabaletta shows the greatest variation between the two parts. As expected, the orchestral and vocal content are represented in full, minus the second violin and viola, in the French part. In the Italian part, not a single vocal cue or text fragment appears for the entire cabaletta. Instead, the cue lines consist of a fragmentary representation of orchestral activity: the bass instruments and second violin are cued from the outset, and the cello reappears when it moves to sustained notes. The woodwind obbligato also turns up when its melody is not shared by the first violin. Quite often, the cue line is left completely blank; however, once again each layer of rhythmic activity is represented as it enters, even up to the conclusion of the piece, where the second violin’s rhythmic alternative is cued.

Although definite statements about the mid-nineteenth century violin director cannot be made based on an investigation of two parts, certain consistencies within those parts do suggest the intentions behind their construction. The Italian Trovatore part appears to be less concerned with the stage than with the orchestral accompaniment. In line with Saramelli’s recommendation, it reveals a conscious attempt to facilitate the violin director’s performance of some potential missed entrances, but, on the whole, the concentration on rhythmic elements at the expense of melodic detail restricts him to only certain significant instrumental lines. Neither functional significance nor difficulty in execution seems to have been the motive for favoring one instrumental cue over another; the only consistency appears to be the desire to represent composite rhythm, regardless of the number of melodic variations of each rhythmic figure. Since most of the climactic passages in Il trovatore consist of only a few rhythmic components spread out over the full orchestra, the part frequently exhibits the least detail in the conclusions of musical numbers. Because of this, the cue staves of individual numbers seem to progress from greater to lesser detail, inversely proportional to the density of the musical texture. This emphasis on rhythmic construction, at the expense of orchestral pitch content and vocal detail, suggests that the violin director who used this part was concerned with orchestral unity and tempo indication rather than monitoring the overall
accuracy of the performance. This departure from Scaramelli's concern for accuracy of detail may reflect changes in orchestration from the days of Cimarosa to Verdi's time.

The Trouvère part seems closer to the modern conductor's score both in appearance and in function. The representation of instrumental entrances at sounding pitch (rather than in violin range), and the abandonment of detailed cues in tutti passages seem to indicate that the French Violon Conducteur did not follow Scaramelli's prescription of indicating players' mistakes after they had occurred. Although there is no proof, it is tempting to assume that he instead cued his players before their entrances.

Based on the evidence of the sources examined in this paper, it appears that when performing virtually identical scores, the violin director who used the Italian Trovatore part followed practices closer to those of the early nineteenth century, as related by Scaramelli, than did his French-speaking counterpart. The Tams Trovatore part is typical of Italian practices exhibited in the mid-nineteenth century parts in AIVS. A similar study of French-made parts would be helpful in determining whether the French Trouvère part is also standard for its geographical and temporal origin or whether its use in an Italian-style opera called for deviations from local practice. Ultimately, such investigations could lead to the determination of whether national musical styles had any bearing on the development of modern musical direction in individual countries.

NOTES
5. Saggio, pp. 33-34.
7. Saggio, pp. 24-25 plus note.
8. Saggio, p. 23.
9. Saggio, p. 43.
10. David Lawton, "Le trouvère: Verdi's revision of Il trovatore for Paris" in Studi Verdiiani 3, p. 84.
11. Jacques Isnardon, Le Théâtre de la Monnaie depuis sa fondation jusqu'à nos jours, (Brussels: Schott, 1880).
Example 1, Violino Principale, lightly scored recitative
(II trovatore, Leonora's Cavatina, mm. 16-25)
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Example 2, Violon Conducteur
(Le trouvère, Act II Duet, mm. 212-224)
Example 3. Violino Principale: Recitative, arioso treatment
(II trovatore, Act II Duet, mm. 33-45)