PLAYERS AND PARTS IN THE 18TH-CENTURY ORCHESTRA[1]

by John Spitzer

This essay addresses a seemingly simple question: „In 18th-century orchestras, how many instrumentalists read from a sheet of music?" In particular: Did orchestra musicians sometimes or often play one-on-a-part, or did they usually share their parts with other players?

The question is inspired by Joshua Rifkin's research on Johann Sebastian Bach's vocal music. Rifkin has argued in a series of articles that Bach's vocal „soloists" and Bach's „choir" were one and the same persons, that what we think of today as „choruses" in the B-minor Mass or the St. Matthew Passion were sung with only one singer on each vocal line.[2] In some cases (for example the St. John Passion or Cantata No. 21) these singers were intermittently reinforced by ripienists, thus making two singers per vocal line.[3] But in every case, according to Rifkin, one and only one singer sang from a written sheet of music. Thus, says Rifkin, „the number of vocal parts in a set of materials appears to translate directly into the number of singers performing the music itself."[4]

Rifkin's conclusions and his performances based on these conclusions have aroused a great deal of controversy. The present essay will side-step this debate and look instead at the reasoning by which Rifkin reaches his conclusions, in order to see whether the same or similar reasoning can be applied to instrumentalists as well as singers. Rifkin's argument proceeds from a close examination of surviving parts for Bach's vocal works. He notes first that when the parts are labeled, they are labeled with the names of characters (e.g., „Jesus," Evangelista"), indicating both the character in the drama and the singer who sang from that part. He notes secondly that the parts contain no performance indications for ripieno singers to begin or to stop singing.[5] When

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[2] Joshua Rifkin, „Bach's Chorus – A preliminary report," *Musical Times* 123 (1982) 747–754 (transl. in *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 9 [1985] 141–155); „,... Wobey aber die Singstimmen hinlänglich besetzt seyn müssen . . .' – Zum Credo der h-Moll-Messe in der Aufführung Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs," *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 9 (1985) 157–172; Liner notes to Nonesuch Record 79036, J. S. Bach, *Mass in B-minor*, Joshua Rifkin, cond.

[3] „Bach's Chorus," 749.

[4] Liner notes to Nonesuch 79036.

[5] The „solo" and „tutti" markings found in a few cantatas (e.g. BWV 21, BWV 195) were intended, Rifkin argues, not for singers but for copyists who prepared the ripieno parts. See Rifkin's review of the *NBA* facsimile edition of the B-minor Mass in *Notes* 44 (1988) 787–798, here 797.

Bach wanted more than one singer on a line, he had a ripieno part written out for the second singer, as surviving vocal ripieno parts show. Third, Rifkin argues that surviving sets of parts for most of Bach's vocal music are complete. There are no lost ripieno parts or doublets that might imply that Bach's choir was larger than the extant parts suggest it was. Fourth and finally, Rifkin looks at contemporary records, like the 1723 regulations for the Thomasschule and Bach's *Entwurff* of 1730, and tries to compare the number of singers available to Bach with the number of parts transmitted for Bach's vocal works. From these four types of evidence – part labeling, solo-ripieno practice, completeness of transmission and rosters of performers – Rifkin concludes that Bach's singers always sang one-on-a-part. Rifkin claims further that one-on-a-part performance was not peculiar to Bach but was „standard practice" in the 18th century. Singers – in Cöthen, in Leipzig and elsewhere, before and after Bach – sang from their own parts; they did not share with other singers.[6] Thus the reasoning that has given us performances of the B-minor mass with a chorus of four singers could potentially lead to one-on-a-part performances of choral works by Telemann, C. P. E. Bach, Haydn and Mozart.

Can the same reasoning be applied to Bach's instrumentalists as to his singers? So far, Rifkin has been cautious. In a recent article Rifkin argues – on the basis of ripieno parts and rosters of performers – that Bach's instrumental ensembles were relatively small.[7] He stops short of saying that Bach's instrumentalists were necessarily playing one-on-a-part, implying, however, that the argument can be made.[8]

In a forthcoming paper Dexter Edge examines parts for Viennese concertos, beginning with the observation that the overwhelming majority of manuscript sources of Viennese concertos consist of single rather than multiple copies of each orchestral part.[9] He argues that these sets of parts are in many cases complete, and that therefore orchestras for Viennese concertos were often relatively small. Sometimes there is good reason to think that concertos were performed with just one player on those single parts. Reports of some concerto performances make it clear that only a few performers were available. In addition Edge examines two 18th-century pictures that may be interpreted as concerto performances.[10] They depict very small ensembles, though then do not show unequivocally that the instrumentalists are playing one-on-a-part.

6   „Bach's Chorus," 747, 753.
7   Joshua Rifkin, „More (and Less) on Bach's Orchestra," *Performance Practice Review* 4 (1991) 5–13.
8   „Even if players might have shared their parts – something I very much doubt but do not wish to argue at this juncture . . .," „More (and Less)," p. 7.
9   Dexter Edge, „Manuscript Parts as Evidence of Orchestra Size in the Eighteenth-Century Viennese Concerto," in: *Mozart's Piano Concertos. Texts, Context, Performance* (Ann Arbor, in press).
10   One of the pictures Edge discusses is reproduced below as Figure 4.

Edge concludes that, although concertos by Mozart and his contemporaries were sometimes performed with large accompanying orchestras,[11] they were more often performed by relatively small ensembles, and that „concerto performances with single players on a part were permissible or even common in Vienna".[12]

Many 18th-century symphonies, concertos and operas are transmitted in sets of single parts. Should we assume one player per part and perform them accordingly? Even if the sets include doublets for some instruments, we could still calculate on the basis of one-on-a-part and come up with orchestras much smaller than is customary today, even in „performance practice" circles. Neal Zaslaw, for example, has argued recently that the violins at the first performance of *Idomeneo* were playing one-on-a-part, and that therefore Mozart presided over a rendition of the opera with only six first and six second violins.[13]

The present essay proposes to look at evidence for and against one-on-a-part instrumental performance practice in the 18th century.[14] It does not confine itself to one place or one genre or one period but instead attempts a broad survey, focusing on that we think of today as „orchestral" music – symphonies, concertos, operas and masses – and concentrating on German music and German ensembles, particularly during the period 1750-1800. It uses the same four kinds of evidence as the arguments previously cited: 1) names on parts, 2) internal indications like solo-tutti or divisi, 3) number of available players vs. number of parts, and 4) pictures of orchestras in performance.

Names on Parts

Looking through sets of parts for 18th-century instrumental music, one occasionally encounters a performer's name written at the top of the first page. For example, in her article on „The Dresden Hofkapelle in the Time of J. S. Bach," Ortrun Landmann prints a photograph of the parts of a Telemann 2-violin concerto, which she dates c. 1715.[15] Each part has a single player's name written at the top. Many of the names can be found on the Dresden player

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[11] Examples of Viennese concerto performances with large orchestras are the academies of the *Tonkünstler-Societät* in the 1780s and 1790s. See Edge, „Manuscript Parts."

[12] Edge, „Manuscript Parts." In another article Edge says „ ... it may have been common in 18th-century Vienna for players to have parts to themselves." „Mozart's Viennese Orchestras," *Early Music* 20 (1992) 64–88, here 81.

[13] Neal Zaslaw, „Mozart's Orchestra for *Idomeneo*," in: *Proceedings of the Kunitachi Mozart Conference, Tokyo, 1991* (ed. B. Ebisawa), forthcoming.

[14] „One-on-a-part" has two possible meanings. We may be talking about how many players play the same line of music, or we may be talking about how many players read from the same page. This essay uses only the second meaning: did orchestra musicians share parts or did each instrumentalist read from his own sheet of music?

[15] Ortrun Landmann, „Die Dresdener Hofkapelle zur Zeit Johann Sebastian Bachs," *Concerto*, No. 51, Jg. 7 (1990) 7–16, here p. 12.

roster of approximately the same period. Did the named players constitute the entire orchestra for the performance of this concerto – each man playing alone from the part with his name on it? This would be a reasonable conclusion. But it is also possible that some of the named players shared parts with other, unnamed players.

Sets of parts, seemingly complete, survive for many of the operas Haydn produced at Eszterháza during the 1770s and 80s. Bartha and Somfai describe them in some detail, occasionally noting names of players written on them.[16] For example a first violin part for Dittersdorf's *Lo Sposo burlato*, staged in 1776, bears the name „Sig. Pauer," that is, Franz Pauer, who played in the orchestra from 1769 until 1790.[17] In Dittersdorf's *Il barone di rocca antica* of the same year, Pauer's name is again written in, this time crossed out and replaced by „Sig. Luigi," i.e., Luigi Tomasini, the concertmaster.[18] The parts for Cimarosa's *L'Italiana in Londra*, staged in 1783, contain the names „Sigr. Babbi" and „Sigr. Righi," written on separate violin parts. Neither Babbi nor Righi played in the Eszterháza orchestra; the names were probably left over from an earlier performance, perhaps in Dresden.[19] The name of Johann Tost turns up on a second violin part from 1788, Luigi Tomasini's again on a first violin part from 1790.[20] Should we interpret these names like Rifkin interprets „Evangelista" or „Jesus" in the *St. John Passion*? Do they mean that Pauer or Tomasini or Tost were the *only* violinists who played from the parts that bore their names? Since most of the Eszterháza materials contain two first and two second violin parts, we would have to conclude that, although Haydn had 8 or 9 violinists on the payroll during most of this period, he was performing operas by Dittersdorf, Cimarosa and others with four violins. It seems more reasonable to imagine that Pauer and Tomasini and Tost shared their parts with other violinists and that the name on the part represents the performer who played at the singers' rehearsals or the man who was responsible for keeping track of the music.

[16] Dénes Bartha and László Somfai, *Haydn als Opernkapellmeister*, (Budapest, 1960) 179ff.

[17] Bartha and Somfai, „Haydn," 181. See also Sonja Gerlach, „Haydns Orchestermusiker von 1761 bis 1774," *Haydnstudien* 4 (1976) 35–48, here p. 39. Pauer is listed in the Eszterháza rosters as a horn player, but it seems as though he often, perhaps usually, played violin. See Gerlach, „Orchestermusiker," 46; also H. C. Robbins Landon *Haydn at Eszterháza, 1766–1790* [Haydn – Chronicle and Works, Vol 2] (Bloomington and London, 1978) 91–92.

[18] Bartha and Somfai, *Haydn*, 181.

[19] Bartha and Somfai, *Haydn*, 274. Cristoforo Babbi was concertmaster in Dresden from 1782 until around 1812. His name appears on at least two violin parts in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek. The name Righi, on the other hand, does not appear in the Kalender for the Dresden court. (I thank Laurie Ongley for this information).

[20] Bartha and Somfai, *Haydn*, 329. The part with Tomasini's name on it is for Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro*, which, according to Bartha and Somfai (p. 368), was rehearsed but never performed at Eszterháza.

Internal Indications in Parts

Manuscript parts for 18th-century orchestra music frequently have indications that read „solo," both in wind parts and in the strings as well. When we see such an indication we are tempted to infer that the part must have been intended for two players and that the marking was intended to tell one of them to stop playing. If the ensemble was one-on-a-part, the players would have been solo in any case, and the indication would be unnecessary. This interpretation is problematic, however, because a „solo" indication can mean at least three different things. It can mean that of two instruments playing from the part only one should play; it can be a warning of an exposed passage, an exhortation to „play like a soloist"; or it can mean that someone else, usually a concertante instrument, has a solo.[21] When a „solo" indication is followed by „tutti" or „a due," then we can more safely conclude that the part was intended to be shared.

An indication of „divisi," on the other hand, when a part divides into two lines that cannot be played as double-stops, is almost certainly intended for two players. For example, the parts of Zelenka's oratorio *Gesù al Calvario*, which Janice Stockigt has studied in detail, contain one part for Oboe I and one part for Oboe II.[22] However in a bass aria with a two-oboe obligato, the Oboe I part divides into two staves with the two obligato parts, while Oboe II is marked „tacet." In the performance for which these parts were copied, two players must have shared the Oboe I part. Were all the winds similarly doubled? Stockigt believes they were, though the parts contain no other examples of divisi passages.[23]

The divisi viola passages in Mozart's symphonies provide an interesting case. In the D-major symphony K.181, for example, Mozart divides the violas for much of the second movement. When copyists - either professional copyists or house copyists at various Kapellen – copied Symphony K.181, how did they handle these divisi passages? The parts from the Thurn und Taxis Kapelle, now in the Regensburg library, call for „2 viole" on the folder, but there is only one part in the set.[24] The copyist, when he comes to the second movement, writes the two viola parts on the same staff. Thus either two violists shared the single part, or one of the viola lines didn't get played by the Thurn and Taxis orchestra. The configuration is exactly the same in the sets of parts in the Oettingen-Wallerstein collection in Harburg and in the Lobkowitz collection in Prague: the folder reads „due viole," but there is a single part with the

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[21] See Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt, 1802; R\1964), s.v. „Solo."

[22] Janice Stockigt, „Zelenka and the Dresden Court Orchestra 1735 – A Study," *Studies in Music* 21 (1987) 69–85, here 72, 83.

[23] Stockigt, „Zelenka," 72.

[24] *W.A. Mozart – Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke (NMA)* Serie IV, Werkgruppe 11, Band 4 – Kritische Bericht (Herman Beck, ed.), p. 20.

lines divided on the staff.[25] On the other hand, the copyist who wrote out the set of parts in the Haugwitz collection wrote out separate parts for Viola I and Viola II.[26] In this performance the violists probably played one-on-a-part.[27] Configurations of parts for Mozart's Paris Symphony (K.297) are similar. Sets of parts in Harburg, Milan and Marburg all say „due viole" on the folder but contain single parts, divided on the staff when necessary.[28] These examples seem to show that in most cases two violists read from the same page of music. The copyists assumed that there would be two players sharing the viola part, and that they could divide the line when they needed to.[29]

Number of Players vs. Number of Parts

Sets of parts preserved in the same library are often known to have been played by a single orchestra. For example, many of the parts in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek in Dresden were played by the Dresden Hofkapelle; much of the 18th-century orchestral music in manuscript at the Library of Congress in Washington D.C. comes from the Bishop's Kapelle in Fulda;[30] some parts in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek come from the Munich Hofkapelle, others from Mannheim, and so on. Rosters for many of these orchestras are transmitted in Hof- und Staatskalender from the various courts and also in periodicals like Marpurg, Forkel and Cramer.[31] If a set of parts can be dated, and if there is a roster from that year, then the arithmetic seems simple: take the number of players on the roster for a given instrument and divide by the number of parts for that instrument; the result tells whether the performers played one- or two-on-a-part.

In practice the arithmetic is more problematic. If parts from the set have been lost or have been culled by a librarian, then it will seem as though players shared parts when actually there were once enough parts to go around one-on-a-part. To avoid this difficulty it is safest to consider only parts from

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25 *NMA* IV/11/4, KB, 20–21.

26 *NMA* IV/11/4 , KB, 20.

27 Four violas playing two-on-a-part would also be possible, but not likely unless the orchestra was unusually large.

28 *NMA* IV/11/4 KB, 40–41. The set of parts for K.297 in the Lobkowitz collection contains two viola parts, but in the divisi passages both parts give the two lines on a single staff.

29 Some of the parts in the examples above are professional copies made by Viennese copyists who would not have bothered copying another viola part just for a few divisi passages. However local copyists, for example in the Oettingen-Wallerstein establishment, wrote out doublets as needed. If they wrote out no viola doublets, this means that they knew that the violists would share a part.

30 See Eugene K. Wolf, „Fulda, Frankfurt, and the Library of Congress: A Recent Discovery," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 24 (1971) 286–91.

31 F. W. Marpurg *Historisch-Critische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* (Berlin, 1754–78); J. N. Forkel, *Musikalischer Almanach für Deutschland auf das Jahre 1782* (Leipzig, [1781]); J. N. Forkel, *Musikalischer Almanach für Deutschland auf das Jahr 1783* (Leipzig, 1782); C. F. Cramer, ed., *Magazin der Musik* (Hamburg, 1783–86).

collections that contain many doublets and thus probably have not been culled, and to ignore sets from which parts are evidently missing. The numbers of players on rosters is sometimes inflated by pensioners and other absentees.[32] This again can make it seem as though players had to play two-on-a-part, when in fact there were fewer players and enough parts for each player to have his own. For this reason it is prudent to adjust rosters as far as possible to compensate for absentee musicians.

A more serious problem arises from the logic of the method itself. It is possible to prove that certain instruments or an entire orchestra played a piece one-on-a-part – namely if there is a part for each and every instrumentalist in that section or that orchestra. But it is not possible to prove that a section or an orchestra played two or more on-a-part. Take for example the premiere of *Idomeneo.* The Munich Hof- und Staatskalender for 1781 lists 7 violists and 8 cellists; the size of the sections had been inflated by the recent merger of the Mannheim and Munich Kapellen. We don't have parts for *Idomeneo,* but we do have the instructions to the copyist, and they call for two viola parts and only one cello part.[33] Do we conclude, then, that the violas played 3- or 4-on-a-part and the cellos 8-on-a-part? Obviously not. We conclude that only a portion of the available instrumentalists played *Idomeneo.* How many played? Did they play one-on-a-part or two-on-a-part? We still don't know.

Despite these problems, it is still worthwhile to examine correlations of parts and rosters to see whether meaningful patterns emerge and whether these patterns suggest one-to-a-part performance. Correlations for several orchestras are presented in Tables 1–5 at the end of this article.

Table 1 compares the rosters of the Eszterháza Kapelle for 1776, 1781 and 1783 with the configuration of parts for three operas performed during those years. Both rosters and parts lists are taken from Bartha and Somfai's *Haydn als Opernkapellmeister.* A few players who appear on the roster as hornists have been counted as violinists, because by all accounts they played violin most of the time.[34] The configuration of parts in Table 1 – 2 first violin parts, 2 second violins, 1 viola, 1 basso and single winds – seems to have been standard at Eszterháza. Usually the basic set of parts was purchased from elsewhere, then doublets were copied at Eszterháza. The winds in Haydn's orchestra, according to Table 1, seem always to have played one-on-a-part. That is, there are 2 oboe parts and only 2 oboists to play them, 2 horn parts for 2 players, etc. One of the cellists must have read from the score; the other shared a part with the double bass. Violins and violas could logically have played either one- or two-on-a-part, but, given the small size of the orchestra

[32] See Eugene Wolf's discussion of the Mannheim orchestra in this volume, p.113–138.
[33] Zaslaw, „Mozart's Orchestra for *Idomeneo.*"
[34] See above, note 16. Hornists at Eszterháza were paid more than violinists, and players who could play both instruments preferred to be employed as hornists.

and the importance of opera to the Prince, it is hard to imagine that anyone was excused from playing. Thus two-on-a-part seems more likely for the upper strings.

Part-sharing seems to be the message once again in Table 2, which compares a roster for the Oettingen-Wallerstein Kapelle published in the *Musikalische Realzeitung* of 1788 with the parts for Haydn symphonies performed by the Oettingen-Wallerstein Kapelle around that time. The original parts were sent to Oettingen-Wallerstein by Haydn, and they contain occasional autograph corrections. The violin doublets, however, and probably the basso doublets as well, were copied locally.[35] Most of the time the winds seem to have been one-on-a-part, but there are cases where first and second flute or first and second bassoon shared a single sheet of music. Similarly the table suggests that the copyist sometimes copied separate parts for cellists and bassists, but in other cases intended the cello and the contrabass to read from the same page. The violas consistently have one part for two players. The violins, even with the locally copied doublets, are still crowded. The extra parts, both for first and for second violins, seem to have been shared by three players. Of course it is possible that two of the Wallerstein violinists were excused from Haydn symphonies. But these are symphonies that Haydn wrote with large orchestras in mind and that rely on effects of massed strings. It is not likely that they were performed at Wallerstein with deliberately reduced forces.

Table 3 presents correlations from the Thurn and Taxis Kapelle in Regensburg. Again we have only a single roster, from Forkel's *Musikalischer Almanach* for 1783.[36] To this are compared the configurations of parts for symphonies and concertos by Dittersdorf dated „c. 1780" in Gertraut Haberkamp's catalog of the Regensburg library.[37] In no case are there enough parts for the entire violin section, even reading two-on-a-part. Here, however, the case for 3-on-a-part is less compelling than with Oettingen-Wallerstein. These symphonies are considerably less pretentious than Haydn's Paris Symphonies, and many of the sets have no doublets at all. This suggests that Dittersdorf symphonies and concertos were played in Regensburg by only a portion of the available instrumentalists. The concertos in particular are almost always transmitted in single copies, reinforcing Edge's observations about Viennese concertos. The symphonies at Regensburg seem to fall into two groups: either they are transmitted in single copies like the concertos, or they come with doublets for violins and for bass instruments. This suggests that there may have been two

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[35] Information on the parts is drawn from Gertraut Haberkamp, *Thematischer Katalog der Musikhandschriften der Fürstlich Oettingen-Wallerstein'schen Bibliothek Schloss Harburg* (Munich, 1976). The dates at the heads of the columns represent the dates at which the doublets were copied (not the dates of composition of the symphonies).

[36] Forkel, *Musikalischer Almanach, 1783*, 99.

[37] Gertraut Haberkamp, *Die Musikhandschriften der Fürst Thurn und Taxis Hofbibliothek Regensburg* (Munich, 1981).

sorts of occasions for symphony performance at the Oettingen-Wallerstein court, one with a very small ensemble like concertos, the other with a larger ensemble. Symphonies and concertos by other composers in the Thurn und Taxis collections present similar configurations of singlet vs. doublet parts. It is tempting to think that the first type of performance was one-on-a-part, but there is not way to confirm this, since there were plenty of players available to double the string parts if that was desired.

For music at the Dresden Cathedral we have substantially more numbers to correlate, thanks to Laurie Ongley's research in the Dresden archives.[38] Table 4 shows rosters from the Hof- und Staatskalender for selected years compared to parts for church music composed (and presumably performed) during those years.[39] One striking thing about the table is how similar the configuration of parts is within years. This suggests that the copyists had standing instructions and turned out the same number of parts for piece after piece. In almost every case the configuration of parts comes close to matching the roster, if we assume that the musicians played two-on-a-part in both winds and strings. Often the calculation yields one extra part in the string section: for example, in 1770 there are 5 first violin parts for what we assume would be 9 players; similarly there are 2 „violone" parts for 3 players. This may be because there were odd numbers of players, but it could also be that the concertmaster needed a part of his own. As before, it is possible to interpret this table as one-on-a-part performance, with only a portion of the Kapelle playing at a time. However, the configuration of parts is so consistent from piece to piece that any reduced-force practice would seem to require systematic rotation, something we do not have evidence of from Dresden. Also Ongley has found instances of the first bassoon part dividing into two lines; in another piece there is an indication next to the bassoon line in the score reading „due soli, l'altri col basso."[40] This implies that the bassoons played two-on-a-part, and it is not unreasonable, given the configuration of parts in Table 4, to think that other winds did too. Thus we come to the conclusion that in most cases the entire Kapelle played in the Dresden Cathedral and that both strings and winds played two-on-a-part.

[38] Ongley discusses performance practices at Dresden in „The Performance of the Classical Mass in Dresden," unpublished paper, American Musicological Society meeting, Chicago, 1991.

[39] The rosters in Table 4 are taken from Christoph-Hellmut Mahling, „Orchester und Orchestermusiker in Deutschland von 1700 bis 1850" (Habilitationsschrift, Universität Saarbrücken, 1971). Since the Kalenders came out midway through the year, rosters are listed for previous years in the table (e.g., the roster from the Kalender of 1771 appears in Table 4 under the date 1770). Dates for the music are taken from the scores. Shelf numbers of the sets of parts shown in Table 4 are as follows: (1770) Mus 3480-E-527, Mus 3480-E-534; Mus 3480-D-565; (1772) Mus 3550-D-505, Mus 3550-D-506, Mus 3550-D-508; (1787) Mus 3549-E-577a; (1788) Mus 3549-E-578a; (1789) Mus 3549-E-530a, Mus 3550-E-0536.

[40] Ongley, „Classical Mass."

The final example concerns church music in Munich at the end of the 18th century. This example is interesting because the Munich Court used a system of rotation in which the Hofkapelle was divided into two *Dienstlisten*, which alternated duty in the Royal Chapel.[41] The system is documented in a series of „Anzeige" from the beginning of the 19th century. The „Anzeige" for 1807 call for platoons of 12 violins, 3 violas, 2 cellos and 3 basses, plus pairs of winds to play „bei den Hauptämtern und Abenddiensten."[42] Table 5 compares these figures with the configuration of parts for sacred music by Michael Haydn composed during the 1790s and also with a roster for the Munich Kapelle as given in the Hof-und-Staatskalender of 1802.[43] The numbers suggest strongly that the Haydn pieces, although they were probably performed at Munich somewhat earlier than the date of the „Anzeige", were copied out for an ensemble very much like the one that the „Anzeige" describes. And they seem to indicate pretty unequivocally that violins and violas played two-on-a-part – that is, in each case there are 3 first violin parts for 6 players, 3 second parts for 6 players, and a part for the first two violas, with the last viola getting his own part. The winds, when they play at all, also get their own parts. The only problem is with the cellos, basses and perhaps the bassoons, who never seem to have enough parts to go around, even if some of them read over the organist's shoulder. Perhaps not all the bass instruments played in Michael Haydn's music.

Pictures

The last type of evidence is that of pictures, and here the argument for one-on-a-part practice may be somewhat stronger. It is customary to begin any discussion of iconography with a string of caveats: a picture is not a photograph, we cannot take a picture at face value, we have to consider the artist's motives, etc. However, we should also consider that when an artist sketches or paints or engraves a picture, he *means* it. The picture may not be exactly what he sees, and it is certainly not just what we would see if we looked at the same scene, but it communicates a social ideal or at least a social possibility. If an artist depicts instrumentalists playing one-on-a-part, then he must believe that such a performance practice is possible, and perhaps significant in the situation he is portraying. The same applies to depictions of musicians playing two-on-a-part. Unfortunately it is often hard to tell just how many instrumentalists on a part the artist means to show.

[41] See Gertraut Haberkamp and Robert Münster, *Die ehemaligen Musikhandschriftensammlungen der Königlichen Hofkapelle und der Kurfürstin Maria Anna in München* (Munich, 1982), p. xix.
[42] Haberkamp and Münster, „München," xix.
[43] The Kalender figures are taken from Mahling, „Orchester und Orchestermusiker." Dates for the Haydn compositions are taken from Anton Maria Klafsky (ed.) *Michael Haydn – Kirchenwerke* (Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, Jg. 32/1, Band 62). It is assumed that the pieces were performed in Munich soon after they were composed.

Figures 1–12 are 18th-century engravings, drawings, oil paintings and watercolors depicting instrumental ensembles, mostly in Germany, but also in France and Italy. They are arranged according to Neal Zaslaw's categories: balconies, tiers, „in the pit" and „on the floor."[44]

For orchestras on balconies and in tiers the question of one- vs. two-on-a-part is irrelevant, because the instrumentalists typically have no music at all. Figure 1 shows an *apparato* that Charles of Bourbon built in Palermo, Sicily to celebrate his marriage with Maria Amalia of Saxony in 1738.

Instrumentalists can be seen in the left and right balconies, but except for the rolled-up scrolls in the timebeaters' hands, there is no written music to be seen. Figure 2 depicts an orchestra in tiers. This is a dance orchestra in the „Temple of Momus," constructed in Paris for the festivities to celebrate the marriage of the Dauphin in 1745. Again no music is visible. The musicians have been drawn to look as if they were improvising their parts on the spur of the moment.

Although the instrumentalists in pictures of ensembles in balconies and in tiers seldom have any music, the singers almost invariably do have music. This is shown in a drawing from Dresden in 1719, which depicts a serenata on the River Elbe to celebrate the marriage of the Prince of Saxony (Figure 3).[45] The singers hold their music in their hands, and each singer sings from his or her own part. There is scarcely a single example of an 18th-century picture where singers share parts.[46] Indeed the sheet of music becomes an iconographical symbol: the viewer can recognize who is a singer because that person holds a sheet of music in his or her hand. That singers in the 18th century are inevitably depicted as holding their own parts can be taken as an argument in favor of Joshua Rifkin's theory of the general prevalence of one-on-a-part vocal practice.

Instrumentalists playing „on the floor," unlike those in balconies and tiers, are almost always depicted as playing from written music. Sometimes the players are visibly one-on-a-part; sometimes they are visibly two-on-a-part. Often the artist's intention is not clear. One problem here is that we almost never know what music or what kind of music is being played – whether it is a divertimento, a concerto or a symphony, a cantata or an aria from an opera. So usually we cannot tell whether we are looking at a performance that we would consider „chamber" music or „orchestral" music.

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[44] See Neal Zaslaw's article in this volume, pp.9–40.

[45] The drawing is believed to depict a performance of J. D. Heinchen's „Serenata fatta sulla Elba."

[46] An example of a depiction in which singers atypically share parts is Hogarth's engraving of a chorus rehearsal for *Judith* by William Defesch (1732). Here three and even four singers share single sheets of music. See Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, 3rd Revised Edition (London 1989), plate 133.

An example of „on the floor" performance is an engraving by Mansfeld, published as an almanac illustration in 1785 (Figure 4).[47] Written music is clearly a significant element in the picture: the artist depicts not only the music that the musicians are playing from but also two more volumes or folders lying on the Klavier. Nonetheless, the flutist on the far left seems to have no music. The two violinists next to him are clearly depicted as reading from a single part. The third violinist (or is he a violist?) has no music, unless he is reading from the keyboard part. The cellist has his own part; he does not share with the keyboardist.[48]

Figure 5 is a clearer example of one-on-a-part practice. This engraving by Daniel Nikolaus Chodowiecki was published in 1769 as an illustration of „Übereinstimmung." Here we see a singer accompanied by a string ensemble with keyboard. The singer, as we would expect, holds his own music. Cellist and keyboardist share a part – a pattern that emerged already in the correlations of rosters and parts above. Each violinist has his own part, and so does the violist. There is no reason for them to share in any case, since they are presumably playing four-voice music. Is this a cantata? An opera aria? Is it from a repertory that we think of today as „orchestral," or is it what we would call „chamber music"? It is impossible to tell.

Figure 6, an oil painting that hangs in the Casa Goldoni in Venice, dates from the latter part of the 18th century and looks considerably more „orchestral." Written music is visible on racks, but it is not clearly depicted. The oboes and horns seem to have their own parts, but the violins seem to be sharing. Two cellists share a part with the keyboardist.

Two pictures from Germany around the middle of the century show one-on-a-part practice more clearly. Figure 7, a watercolor from the „Stammbuch" of a student in Jena, seems to depict a collegium musicum. There are 4 singers and 29 instrumentalists. Singers, once again, hold their music and sing one-on-a-part. The instrumentalists whose parts are visible, the trumpets and bassoons in the lower left, also play one-on-a-part. Unfortunately the string players' parts cannot be seen. In Figure 8, a companion to the previous picture, more written music can be seen. The basses (on the right) clearly play one-on-a-part, as do the other musicians with their backs to us – bassoons in the middle and oboes (?) on the left. Once again we cannot see what the violins are doing. Their posture does not suggest that they are sharing, but we cannot see the music on their stands.

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[47] The engraving is entitled „Über die Trauer," and it appeared in an illustration in an almanac published by Joseph Richter. For an excellent discussion of this picture, see Edge, „Manuscript Parts."

[48] Note that the Klavier in this engraving is reversed: the treble is on the left, the bass on the right. This may be clumsiness on the part of the engraver, but it does not invalidate what he is trying to communicate about the relation of players to parts.

Despite the great variety in these depictions of „on the floor" ensembles, some generalizations are possible. In „on the floor" ensembles, unlike the previous group, written music occupies a prominent place. The artists mean to depict the instrumentalists as playing from music, perhaps to emphasize the musical literacy of these social circles. Although the ensembles are modest in size, violins are depicted in several cases as playing two-on-a-part. The cellist usually (but not always) shares a part with the keyboardist. The winds are one-on-a-part in almost every case. It is not clear, however, whether part-sharing, when it occurs, should be taken as a reflection of a standard performance practice, or whether it is intended to represent ideals of sociability or group solidarity. It must, however, be acknowledged as a social possibility.

Orchestras in theaters tend to be larger than orchestras „on the floor," and it is more probable that instruments (particularly strings) are playing with two or more performers on the same line of music. Nevertheless, one-on-a-part representations seem to be at least as common here as they are in the „on the floor" ensembles.

Figure 9 has been said to represent a performance of Haydn's *L'incontro improviso* in 1775.[49] The interpretation has been challenged, but it seems to depict the Esterházy Kapelle performing some opera. Out of 8 players with their backs to us, 7 are violinists or violists, and it is striking that each one is depicted as playing from his own part. The only exception is the third violinist from the left, whose music (it seems) the artist has neglected to draw in. We cannot see the parts on the other side of the desk, but the 7 violinists on that side do not look as though they are sharing. If the picture shows 11 violins and 2 violas playing one-on-a-part, this means that the ensemble would need 6 first violin and 5 second violin parts – considerably more than are found in the sets from the Esterházy library.[50]

Parts are shown with similar clarity in Figure 10, an oil painting by Olivero of the performance of Feo's *Arsace*, which inaugurated the Teatro Regio in Turin in 1740. The players facing the stage are mainly violinists, though one may be an oboist. We see 10 parts, but 13 heads. Thus, 6 players would seem to be sharing. However, none of the players visibly form a pair. Nor are there any pairs among the violinists with their backs to the stage, whose music we cannot see. Basses and cellos again read from the keyboard part. The bassoonist on the left has his own part; the cellists on the right seem to be sharing.

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[49] See the discussion in Bartha and Somfai, *Haydn*, 48. Bartha and Somfai hypothesize that there are unseen hornists and bassoonists at either end of the pit, outside the frame of the picture. Edge adds some useful comments in „Manuscript Parts."

[50] See above.

Two-on-a-part practice is more obvious in Cochin's drawing of Rameau's *Princesse de Navarre* at Versailles in 1745 (Figure 11).[51] Here several of the players are obviously sharing parts, for example the basses on the left are depicted two on one part, one on the other. The basses on the right seem to be arranged in the same way, and the bassoons in front of them are obviously two-on-a-part. To the left of the timebeater, players 2 and 3 and players 4 and 5 (all of them probably violinists) form pairs; so do players 1 and 2 to the right of the keyboardist. Indeed, Cochin uses part-sharing as a way of animating his drawing, of giving personality to the musicians in the pit. However, he may also be documenting the standard practice of the Paris Opéra. The correlation between rosters of the Opéra and surviving parts suggests that 2-on-a-part was indeed common at the Opéra among both strings and winds.[52]

In Figure 12, on the other hand, most of the players seem to be one-on-a-part. This painting by Greipel of a performance of Gluck's *Il parnasso confuso* in the Schönbrunn Palace in 1765 is actually a giant group portrait. In the front row of spectators are Maria Teresia, Joseph II, Franz I and the rest of the royal family. At the keyboard is Archduke Leopold. Parts are shown clearly on the desks, and the trumpets and violins facing the stage are clearly playing one-on-a-part. Greipel may be using one-on-a-part here to convey the exclusiveness and the lavishness of a performance in the palace, or he may be depicting the standard practice of Viennese theater orchestras. The picture itself offers no way to decide.

What, if anything, can we conclude from all these pictures? First, cello, bass and keyboard frequently share the basso part in all types of ensembles. Almost all the artists communicate this to us, and we can be sure that it reflects the practice of the time. Second, several artists clearly intend to depict all the instrumentalists playing one-on-a-part, while several others equally clearly depict violins and sometimes cellos or basses as sharing parts. Of the wind instruments, bassoons are the only ones we see sharing parts. Otherwise winds are one-on-a-part consistently. It is striking that one-on-a-part depictions are no more common in „on the floor" pictures than in pictures of the theater. Indeed in the examples chosen, part-sharing was slightly more common in „on the floor" ensembles. Finally, the artists' intentions, when they show musicians playing one- or two-on-a-part, are not always clear. The artists may be documenting a performance practice, but they may also be trying to depict musical literacy, sociability or social status. The most we can say from the pictures is that one-on-a-part is a possibility – both in „on the floor" orchestras and in „pit" orchestras – but that it is a probability or a standard performance practice seems unlikely.

[51] For a reproduction and discussion of this picture, see François Lesure, *L'opéra classique français* (Paris, 1972), 17.
[52] See Jérôme de La Gorce, „L'orchestre de l'Opéra et son évolution de Campra à Rameau," *Revue de Musicologie* 76 (1990) 23–43.

Conclusions

This essay began with Joshua Rifkin's hypothesis about one-on-a-part performance of choral music in the 18th century, and it tried to look at instrumental music using the same types of evidence as Rifkin does for vocal music. The conclusions are not nearly as clear as Rifkin's. The internal evidence that forms the backbone of Rifkin's argument – names on parts, solo indications, etc. – proves much less useful in the case of instrumental music than it was for vocal music. What internal evidence does seem relevant – divisi markings and other indications in parts – seems to point to two- rather than one-on-a-part. Because many surviving sets of parts for symphonies, concertos and operas contain no doublets or only a couple of violin doublets, we can say that repertories that we now think of as „orchestral," such as concertos and symphonies, were often performed by relatively small ensembles in the 18th century. In many cases the winds were evidently one-on-a-part. In some cases the strings *may* have been one-on-a-part. But, comparing rosters of musicians to sets of parts, there are no cases in which we can say this repertory or that piece *must* have been played one-on-a-part. Indeed most of the cases examined seemed to suggest two-on-a-part in the upper strings.

Pictures of 18th-century orchestras and ensembles are not much help. They show convincingly that 18th-century singers sang one-on-a-part; but it is much harder to draw conclusions about the instrumentalists. Even when the number of parts on the stands equals the number of players, we cannot tell what repertory is being performed, whether it is music that we think of as „orchestral" or whether it is „chamber" music. Most of all, and here we return again to Rifkin and his argument, none of the evidence shows that one-on-a-part was a *standard* practice in 18th-century instrumental ensembles as it was in the choir. It was a possible practice – some of the pictures and some of the correlations seem to tell us that. It may have been particularly likely for some repertories, for example concertos. But it does not seem that one-on-a-part was the customary or usual or standard performance practice in 18th-century orchestras.

	1776 Roster	1776 Parts (1st/2nd)	1781 Roster	1781 Parts (1st/2nd)	1787 Roster	1787 Parts (1st/2nd)
Violin	8	2/2	8		8	2/2
Viola	1	1	2		2	?
Cello	1		2		2	
Contrabass		1 basso	1	1 basso	1	1 basso
Keyboard	1		1		1	
Oboe	2	1/1	3	1/1	1	?
Flute	2	1/1	1		2	?
Bassoon	2	1/1	2	1/1	3	1
Horn	2	1/1	3	1/1	2	?
Trumpet	2	1/1				
Timpani	1	1				

1776: Sacchini: L'isola d'amore   All figures from Bartha/Somfai (1960)

1781: Righini: Il convitato di pietra

1783: Cimarosa: L'italiana in Londra

Table 1. Eszterháza: rosters vs. sets of parts.

	Roster 1788	Symphony 82(1788)	Symphony 85 (1788)	Symphony 90 (1789)	Symphony 93 (1793)
Violin	5/5	2/2	2/2	2/2	2/2
Viola	2	1	1	1	1
Cello	1	1 basso		1 cello & basso	1 cello & basso
Contrabass	1	1 violone	2 basso		
Keyboard	[1]			1 cello & cb.	1 violone
Oboe	2	1/1	1/1	1/1	1/1
Flute	2	1		1	1 due flauti
Bassoon	2	1/1	1/1	1 due fagotti	1 due fagotti
Horn	2	1/1	1/1	1/1	1/1
Trumpet	2	1/1		1/1	1/1
Timpani	1	1		1	1

Roster from Musikalische Real-Zeitung (1788); parts from Haberkamp (1976)

Table 2. Oettingen-Wallerstein: Roster vs. parts for J. Haydn symphonies.

	Roster 1782	Oboe concerto Krebs 176	Oboe concerto Krebs 177	Symphony in D Krebs 44	Symphony in F Krebs 71	Symphony in G Krebs 52	Symphony in A Krebs 50
Violin	12	1/1	1/1	1/1	1/1	1/2	2/2
Viola	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Cello	2	1	1 basso ripieno	1 basso	1 basso	1 basso	1 basso & cello
Contrabass	2	1 basso	1 basso continuo				1 vlne.
Oboe	2	1 oboe obligato	1 oboe solo	1/1	1/1	1/1	1/1
Flute	2						
Clarinet	2		1/1				
Bassoon	2					1/1	1
Horn	4	1/1		1/1	1/1	1/1	1/1
Trumpet	4						
Timpani	1						

Roster from Forkel (1782); parts from Haberkam (1981)

Table 3. Regensburg: Roster vs. parts for Dittersdorf symphonies and concertos.

	Roster	Naumann: Domine ad adjuvandum	Naumann: O, veni sanctus	Naumann: Gloria	Roster	Seydelmann: Gloria	Seydelmann: Credo	Seydelmann: Agnus dei
Violin	16	4/4	5/4	5/4	16	4/3	4/3	4/3
Viola	4	2	2	2	4	2	2	2
Cello	4	2		2	4	2	2	2
Contrabass	3	2	2	2	3	2	2	2
Organ	2	1	1	1				
Oboe	4	1/1	1/1	1/1	4	1/1	1/1	1/1
Flute	3		1/1	1/1	3			
Bassoon	4	2	2	1/1	4	1/1	2	2
Horn	3	1/1	1/1		2	1/1		
Trumpet	9	1/1	1/1					
Timpani	1	1	1					

	1787		1788		1789		
	Roster	Schuster: Miserere	Roster	Schuster: Regina coeli	Roster	Schuster: Offertory	Seydelmann: Dixit
Violin	17	5/4	20	6/5	19	6/5	6/5
Viola	5	2	6	2	6	2	2
Cello	4	2	4	2	4	2	
Contrabass	4	2	5	2	4	2	1
Organ	2	1	2	1	2	1	
Oboe	4	1/1	4	1/1	5	1/1	1/1
Flute	2		2		3		
Bassoon	4	1/1	4	1/1	4	2	1/1
Horn	3	1/1	4	1/1	4		1/1
Trumpet					9	1/1	
Timpani					1	1	

Roster from Mahling (1971); parts from Ongley (unpublished)

Table 4. Dresden Cathedral: Roster vs. parts.

	Roster 1802	Anzeige 1807	Confitebor 1793	De Profundis 1793	Miserere 1795	Mass 1801	Mass 1803
Violin	31	6/6	3/3	3/3	3/3	3/3	3/3
Viola	7	3	2	2	2	2	2
Cello	6	2				1	
Contrabass	7	3					2
Organ		1	1	1	1	1	
Oboe	6	2				1/1	1/1
Flute	7	2					1
Clarinet	4	2					
Bassoon	5	1-2	1/1				1/1
Horn	7	2	1/1		1/1	1/1	1/1
Trumpet	16					1/1	1
Timpani	2					1	1

Roster from Mahling (1971); Parts from Haberkamp and Münster (1982)

Table 5. Munich Kapelle: Rosters vs. parts for M. Haydn sacred music.
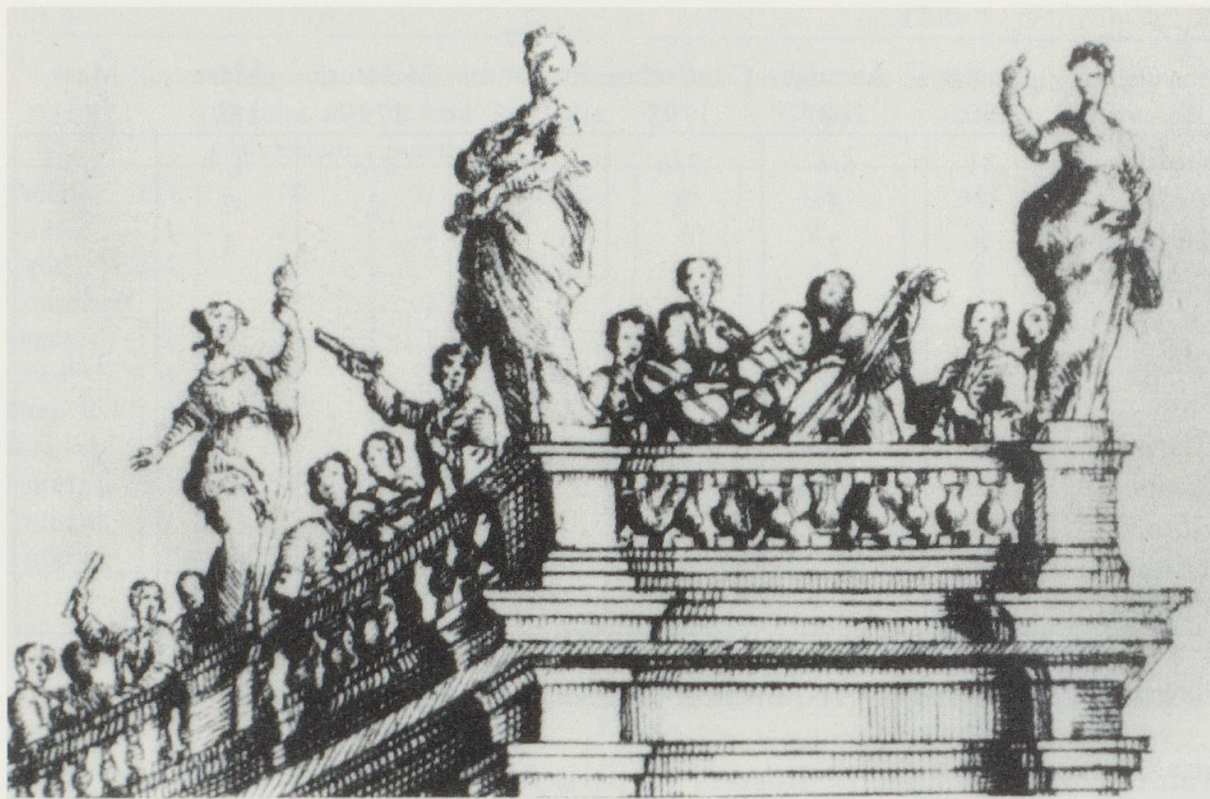
Figure 1.   *Aparato* for wedding of Carlo Borbone and Maria Amalia of Saxony. Palermo, 1738
right balcony. (P. La Placa, *Relazione delle pompe festive.* Palermo, 1739; from Edmund
A. Bowles, *Musical Ensembles in Festival Books, 1500–1800*, Ann Arbor 1989)

Figure 2.   „Temple of Momus" – Pavilion at the Hôtel de Ville. Paris, 1745. *(Fêtes publiques
données par la ville de Paris …* , Paris, 1745, Plate VII; from Bowles, op. cit.).

Figure 3.   „Ankunft Dianas auf der Elbe." Dresden, 1719. (Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett; from Bowles, op. cit.).
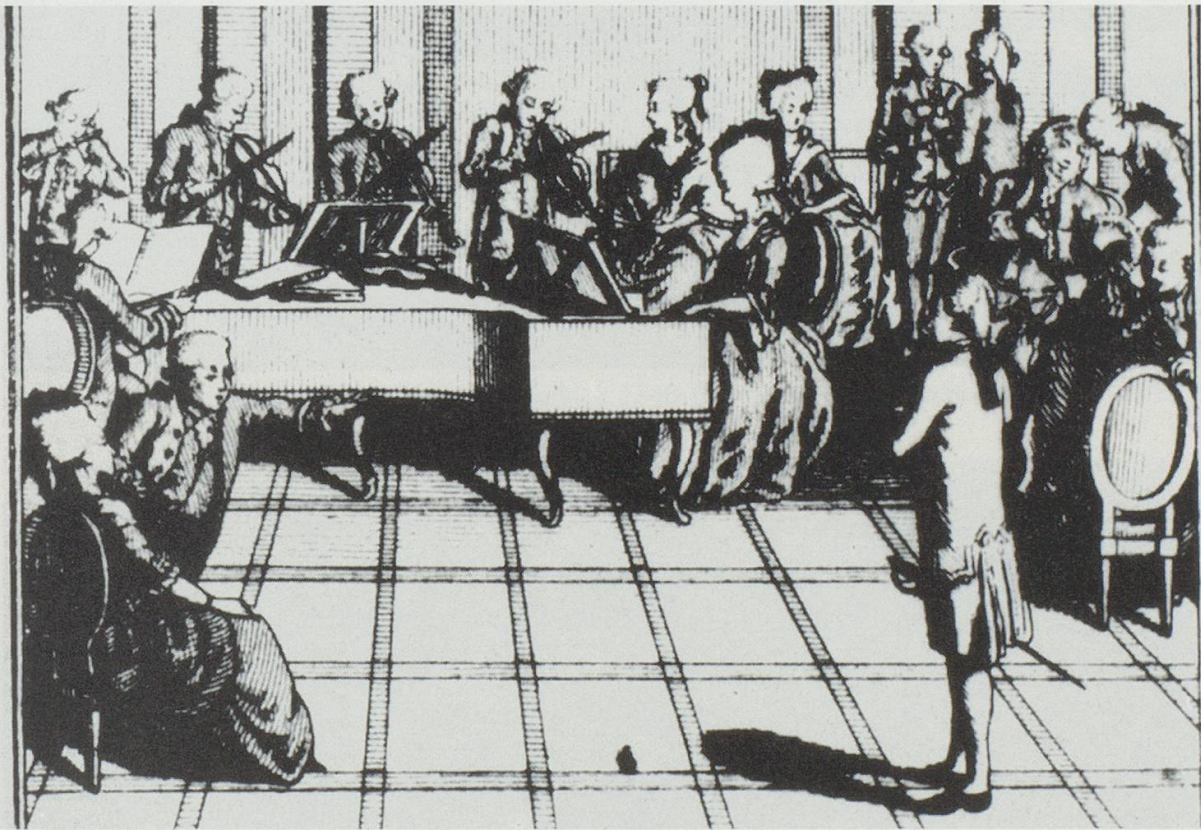
Figure 4.   „Über die Trauer," engraving by J. C. Mansfeld. Vienna, 1785. (From Walter Salmen, *Haus- und Kammermusik. Privates Musizieren im gesellschaftlichen Wandel zwischen 1600 und 1900*, Leipzig 1969 [Musikgeschichte in Bildern IV/3]).
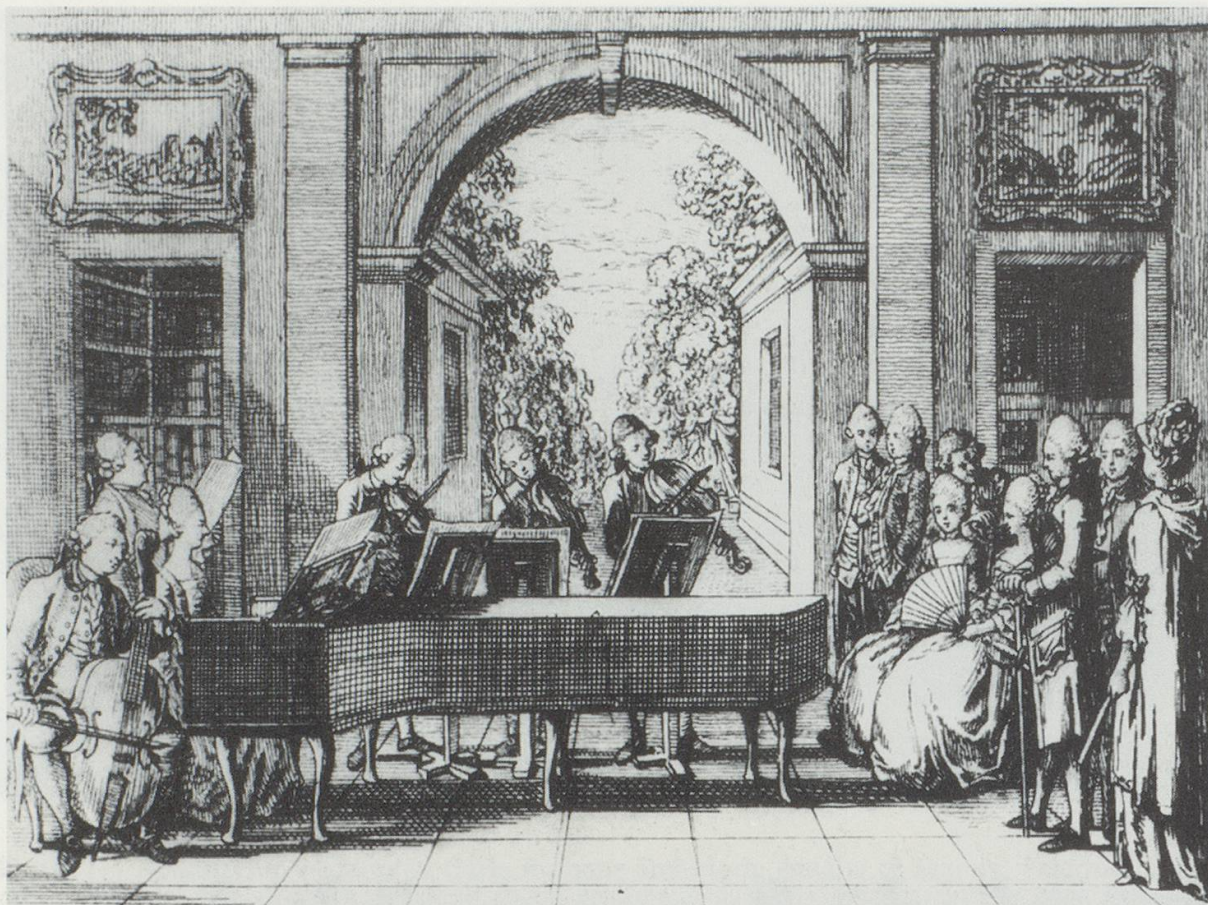
Figure 5. „Übereinstimmung," engraving by D. N. Chodowiecki. Berlin, 1769. (From Salmen, op. cit.).

Figure 6. Italian orchestra, late 18th century. (Venice, Casa Goldoni; from Stanley Sadie, *The Elements of Music*, 1986).

Figure 7.   Jena collegium musicum (indoors), c. 1740. (Hamburg, Museum für Kunst u. Gewerbe; from Heinrich W. Schwab, *Konzert – Öffentliche Musikdarbietung vom 17. bis 19. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 1971 [Musikgeschichte in Bildern IV/2]).
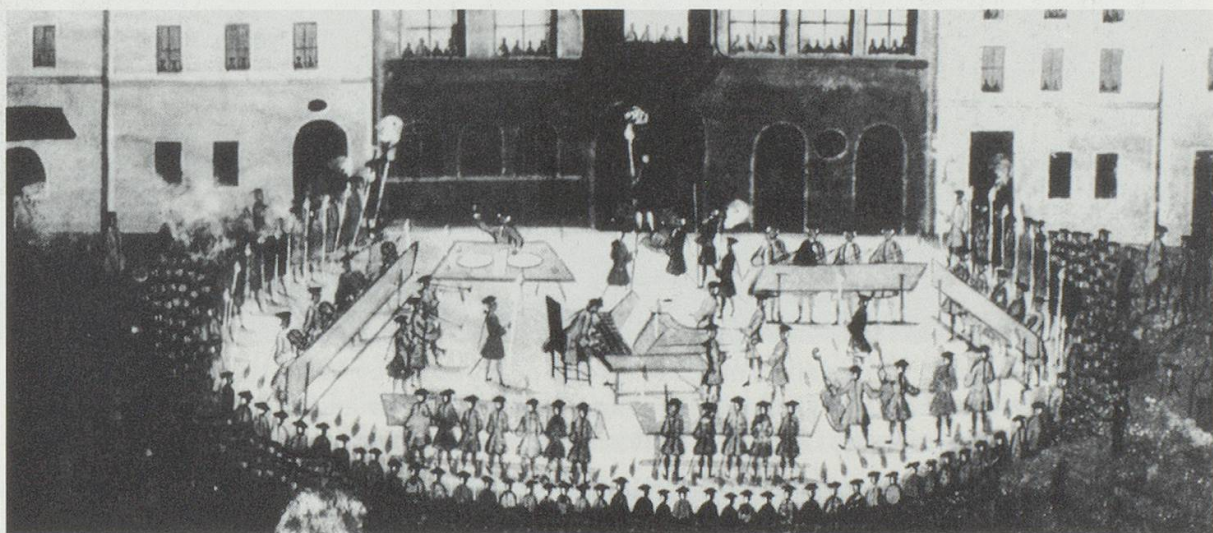

Figure 8.   Jena collegium musicum (outdoors), c. 1740. (Hamburg, Museum für Kunst u. Gewerbe; from Schwab, op. cit.).
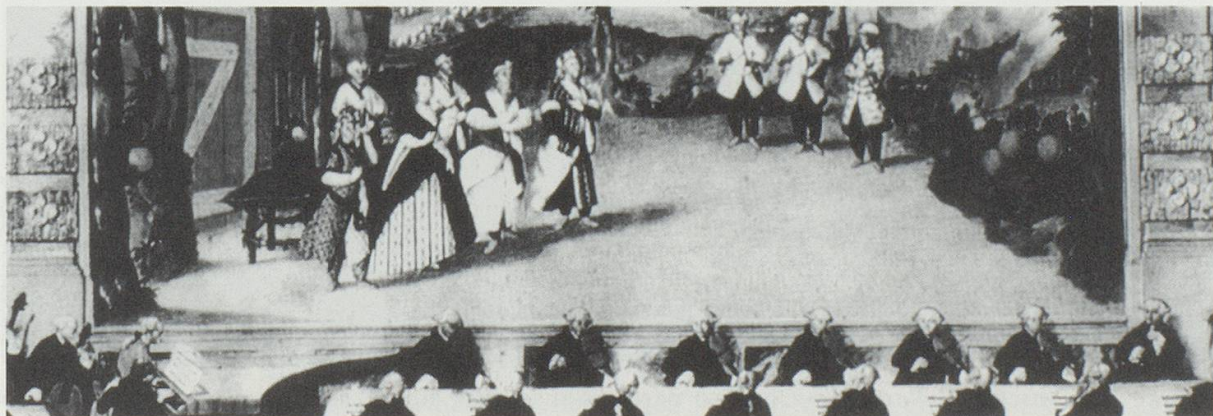

Figure 9.   Esterházy opera orchestra, c. 1775. (Munich, Theater-Museum; from Ursula von Rauchhaupt, *Die Welt der Symphonie*, Hamburg 1972).
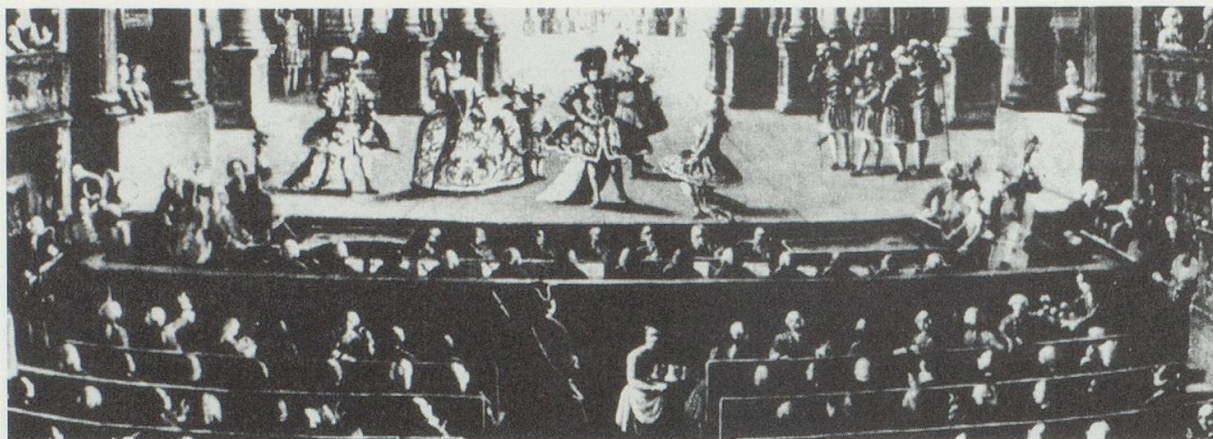
Figure 10. Opera performance in the Teatro Regio, Turin, 1740 – Oilpainting by P. D. Olivero. (Turin, Museo Civico d'Arte Antica; from Hellmuth Chr. Wolff, *Oper – Szene und Darstellung von 1609 bis 1900*, Leipzig, n.d. [Musikgeschichte in Bildern IV/1]).
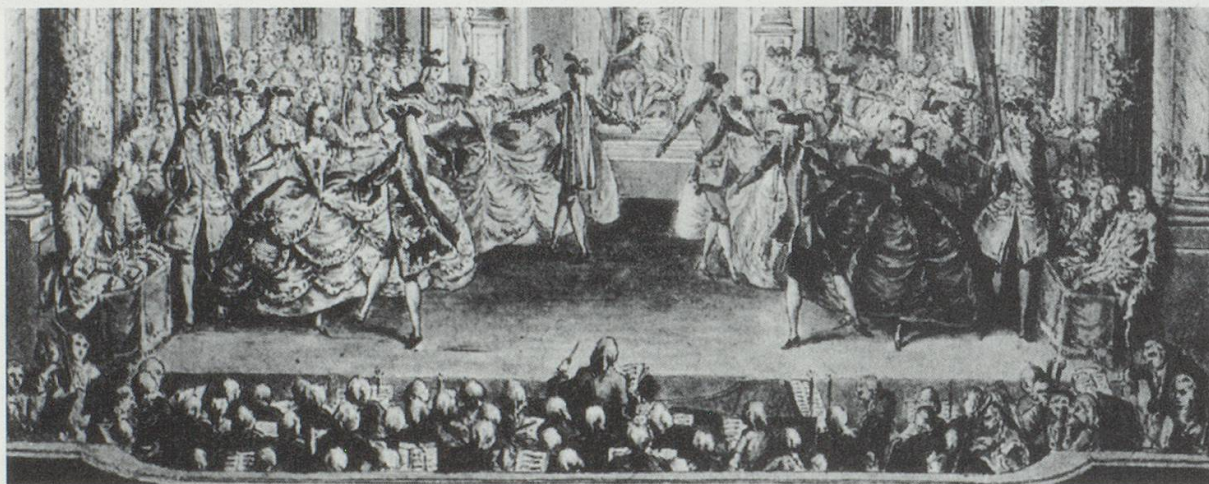

Figure 11. Performance at Versailles of „La Princesse de Navarre" by Voltaire and Rameau (1745) – Drawing by C. N. Cochin, fils. (Paris, B. N., Opéra; from François Lesure, *L'opéra classique français*, Geneva 1972 [Iconographie musicale 1]).
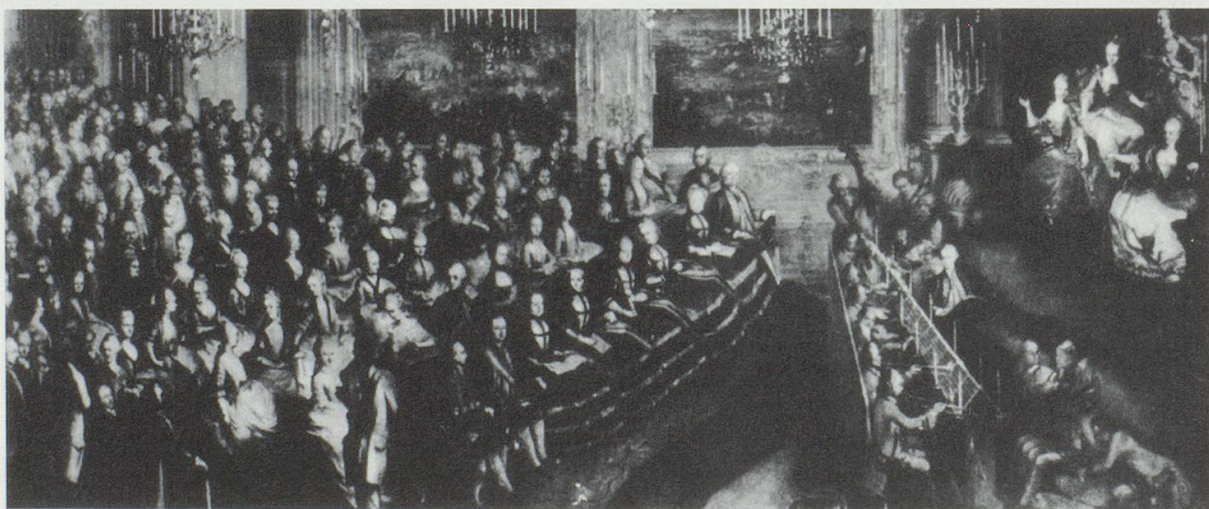

Figure 12. Gluck's *Il Parnasso Confuso* performed for the Royal Family, Vienna 1765 – Oil painting by J. F. Greipel. (Vienna, Hofburg; from Christoph W. Gluck, *Sämtliche Werke*, Abt. III, Bd. 25, *Il Parnaso confuso* , ed. B. Baselt, Kassel etc. 1970).