

Editing musical quotations: the paradigm of Antonio Salieri's *Prima la musica e poi le parole* (1786)

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§ Il contributo affronta la questione delle citazioni musicali e del loro trattamento all'interno di un'edizione critica. L'opera di Salieri *Prima la musica e poi le parole* (1786) è paradigmatica in questo senso, dato che questo "metamelodramma" è costellato da un ampio numero di citazioni, che rappresentano circa un sesto dell'intera opera. L'argomento viene qui discusso in due direzioni. In primo luogo viene indagato il peculiare trattamento della citazione nella partitura di Salieri, identificando le varie citazioni provenienti da contesti autoriali differenti. In secondo luogo la questione è affrontata nel suo aspetto pratico, cioè in quale modo il trattamento della citazione possa essere evidenziato all'interno dell'articolazione un'edizione critica. Questo specifico problema è argomentato attraverso l'esempio di *OPERA – Spektrum des europäischen Musiktheaters*, indicando alcune proposte per il trattamento del multi-autorialità nelle edizioni delle opere.

§ The paper is dealing with the issue of musical quotations and their implementation into a critical edition. Salieri's *Prima la musica e poi le parole* (1786) can be regarded as a paradigm in this respect, since this *metamelodramma* consists of a larger quotations, making up nearly a sixth of the whole opera. The issue is discussed in two directions: First, the special technique of quotation is illustrated in Salieri's score, unfolding the quoted contexts of various composers. Second, the question is considered from the practical side, i.e. in which way the procedure of quotations could be made transparent within the framework of a critical edition. This specific problem is demonstrated by the example of *OPERA – Spektrum des europäischen Musiktheaters* presenting proposals for dealing with multiple authorships in opera editions.

In the 1980s in one of his last works John Cage turned to opera for the first time. In his *Européras* (1–5) he mirrored operatic tradition by ‘constructing’ or basing his work on *objets trouvés*. In a sense the entirety of *Européras* consists of quotations: text, music, scenery, lighting – everything is based on pre-existing material. *Européras* can be regarded as a huge sampling of opera, and the technique used by Cage is itself that of sampling, albeit a sampling ultimately organised by chance operations.

During the compositional preparations of *Européras 1 & 2* – the first two parts were premiered in Frankfurt am Main in 1987 – Cage took the opportunity to visit the Frankfurt University Library. There he consulted various performance materials for operas that had been given in Frankfurt over the past several centuries. The basis for Cage's operatic quotations was thus not only printed scores available throughout the Western world, but also performance scores. In other words, Cage looked for material specifically related to performances of the theatrical works he had quoted.

Cage's *Européras* may be regarded as an extreme procedure in the practice of musical quotation, since everything in this stage work comes from somewhere else. In the terminology of Gérard Genette (GENETTE 1982) and his theory of transtextuality, Cage's opera is an example of *hypotextes* (pre-existing or source texts) producing a new text, namely, the *hypertexte*. In the case of *Européras*, the hypertext is effectively an ‘assemblage’ of pre-existing texts.

The phenomenon of musical quotation is not new in opera. It has been a familiar procedure throughout the history of music (cf. LISSA 1966, KNEIF 1973, GRUBER 1977), particularly within the specific tradition to which Cage's *Européras* can be related, namely, operatic self-reflection. From the early eighteenth century onwards, we can observe a type of Italian opera that has been labelled *metamelodramma* by scholars (SAVOIA – DE SIMONE 1988). *Metamelodramma* deals for the most part with theatrical self-reflection. The high point of its vogue can be seen in late eighteenth-century opera buffa (MAEHDER 1994). In this genre self-reflexivity is coupled with self-reference, including musical quotations. The most outstanding examples of *metamelodramma* are Domenico Scarlatti's *La Dirindina o Il maestro di cappella* (1715), Florian Leopold Gassmann's *L'opera seria* (1769), Domenico Cimarosa's *L'impresario in angustie* (1786), and Antonio Salieri's *Prima la musica e poi le parole* (1786).

It is on this tradition of self-reflexivity and self-reference that Giovanni Battista Casti drew in creating *Prima la musica e poi le parole*, a libretto that could be regarded as the most sophisticated eighteenth-century *metamelodramma* ever written (SWENSON 1970, HEINZELMANN 1973, RICE 1998, pp. 377–380). In his one-act *divertimento teatrale*, set to music by Antonio Salieri and premiered in Vienna in early 1786, Casti established a degree of self-reference or, more accurately put, self and other references, that has hardly been equaled by any librettist prior to Hugo von Hofmannsthal and his

Ariadne auf Naxos, which, not coincidentally, is related to Casti's text. In this paper, the various procedures of this metadramatic self-mirroring will be presented with (1) a focus on the pre-existing texts, that is, the *hypotextes*, for *Prima la musica* and (2) a discussion of the issue of musical quotations within the framework of a critical edition.

Several strands of narrative are interwoven in *Prima la musica*. Even the opera's commission by Emperor Joseph II is incorporated into the plot when its two creators appear as characters in the play. Far more subtle, however, are the distinct strata in the musical score; these vary from genuine quotation to stylistic allusion and musical commentary. Not least, the opera's depiction of the act of musical composition on stage – probably for the first time in operatic history – makes it a gem of the meta-melodramatic genre (BETZWIESER 1995). Particularly noteworthy in both Casti's libretto and Salieri's music is their use of operatic quotations, which, as Richard Armbruster has shown, served as models for the quotation technique that Mozart applied in his comic operas (ARMBRUSTER 2001, pp. 37-62). The main source for Casti's quotations was Giuseppe Sarti's opera seria *Giulio Sabino* (Venice: San Benedetto, 1781), given in 1785 in Vienna's Kärntnertortheater with great success and featuring the famous castrato Luigi Marchesi in the title role.

Compared to the complexity of Casti's libretto, the plot is simple. Count Opizio commissions a new opera to be completed in just four days' time. Maestro (the composer) has already finished the score, but Poeta (the librettist) is under the pressure of the deadline to adapt his verses to the music. Donna Eleonora, the prima donna engaged for the opera by the Count, enters and demonstrates her vocal artistry. Together with the Poet and the Maestro, she performs a scene from Giuseppe Sarti's *Giulio Sabino*, which develops into a grotesque parody. Then a member of the opera buffa company makes an entrance, Tonina, demanding a role in the new opera. The Maestro and the Poet quickly create a vocal number for her. A quarrel now breaks out between the two singers over which of them should sing the opera's opening aria. The scene culminates in having both performers sing their arias simultaneously. The composer and the librettist produce a juxtaposition of opera seria and opera buffa and thereby resolve the quarrel.

It must first be observed that the musical quotations are predetermined by Casti's text. In other words, Salieri was not 'free' in his choice of musical quotations, since he had to follow Casti's words in composing the music. In this respect, the quotations were fixed textually, and Salieri's task was to 'complete' Casti's pre-determined setting musically. This procedure is completely different from Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, in which such a clear pre-determination of the musical quotations on the basis of Da Ponte's text is not found. Furthermore, in *Prima la musica* the dramatic and semantic functions of the quotations are quite special: The music cited is not introduced into a new musical texture, as is done in *Don Giovanni*, but the music quoted is embedded in specific performance situations. The arias by Sarti and Tarchi,

which are performed by the prima donna Eleonora in *Prima la musica*, are show pieces, just as they are in *Giulio Sabino*. This dramaturgical setting involves the pre-existing music being quoted nearly *tel quel*, i.e. in its original shape. This results in the music's having a different semantic function: The quotations do not create a momentary allusion (as they do in *Don Giovanni*), but rather continue with the pre-existing music for a much longer time (for as long as several minutes in the aria *Là tu vedrai chi sono*, No. 4, discussed below). In comparison to other quotation techniques, in particular those described by Kneif and Lissa, this procedure seems extraordinary, since Casti's text requires 'full score' quotations, comparable to what Cage achieved in *Européras*.

As mentioned, the musical quotations in *Prima la musica* refer to a single operatic work, namely, Sarti's *Giulio Sabino*. By alluding to this opera seria, Casti and Salieri turned their joint project into a real *metamelodramma*, since they produced a subtle transfer from serious to comic on the basis of the musical quotations. *Prima la musica* incorporates three different blocks of quotations from *Giulio Sabino*: (1) the cavatina *Pensieri funesti* (No. 2, 18 bars), (2) the recitativo accompagnato *Non dubitar, verrò* (No. 3, 23 bars) together with the subsequent aria *Là tu vedrai chi sono* (No. 4, 61 bars), and (3) the aria *Cari oggetti* (3 bars in No. 5 and ca. 80 bars in No. 6). The whole section from No. 2 through No. 6 makes up approximately one sixth of *Prima la musica*. In other words, the musical quotations play a prominent role in Casti's and Salieri's *metamelodramma*. These quotations are far from being transitory. The normal nature of a musical citation is to allude only briefly to the original *hypotext*. Casti, however, focussed on larger musical blocks, the consequence of his dramaturgical setting, whereby the quotations were rendered in song. (For such music, I have proposed the term *drameninhärente Musik*; see BETZWIESER 2002, pp. 114–117.)

Although the musical quotations date from the time of *Giulio Sabino*, they do not all stem from Sarti. When Casti made reference to the Vienna performance of *Giulio Sabino* in 1785, his references included specific aspects of these performances and their scores. It is one of Casti's subtleties that he quoted music, not only by Sarti, but also by Angelo Tarchi and, not least, by Salieri. The latter two composers are represented in two substitute arias in the Sarti score: Tarchi's *Cari oggetti* and Salieri's *Pensieri funesti*.

In light of *Giulio Sabino* having been performed only months prior to the premiere of *Prima la musica* in February 1786 and furthermore, owing to the fact that performing the songs is a dramaturgical requisite to implementing the musical quotations, an inescapable philological question arises: In a critical edition, how does the editor take into account the sources of pre-existing music? Are there (justifiable) reasons for taking into consideration the original sources of the quotations for such an edition? If so, how should these sources be treated in the critical report?

It would certainly not make much sense to consider the quotations in Mozart's *Don Giovanni* in terms of their original sources. Nor would it be very convincing to examine the sources of Jean-Baptiste Lully's *Phaëton* of which Paul Hindemith made use in his opera *Cardillac*. The case of *Prima la musica*, however, is different, and I will examine the philological discussion in more detail in order to illustrate the issue of this very *metamelodramma* with regard to a critical edition. The edition of Salieri's *Prima la musica* is part of a larger editions project called *OPERA – Spektrum des europäischen Musiktheaters in Einzelditionen*, in which editorial issues guide the selection of the works. Salieri's opera – edited by myself in association with Christine Siegert – will appear in the project's first module, which deals with the problems of borrowing and multiple authorship within operatic works such as pasticcio or vaudeville (for details about OPERA, see <www.opera.adwmainz.de>).

The general source situation for *Prima la musica* is as follows: four full manuscript scores and one libretto survive, here designated by capital letters in accordance with the conventions established by OPERA:

- A Salieri's autograph score; A-Wn Mus. Hs. 4492
- B Mss. score copy; the conductor's score, used in performance at the Kärntnertortheater; A-Wn KT 359
- C Mss. score copy (presentation copy for Joseph II); A-Wn Mus. Hs. 17814
- D Mss. score copy; I-PESc Rari Ms. I.43
- T Printed libretto, Vienna: Gay, 1786

Manuscripts B, C, and D are 'complete' in that they contain all of the musical numbers found in the printed libretto of 1786. A stemma would be easy to establish: source B (the conductor's score) was based on the autograph (A); C was copied from B, and D in turn was based on C. As the copyists' scores are by and large identical – thus presenting a fairly stable textual basis – the conductor's score (B) has been taken as the reference source, not least because it was used in the three performances in the theatre.

Salieri's autograph (A) allows us to reconstruct the transmission process. On the one hand, the composer altered many recitatives in order to adjust them to the text of the libretto and provide a 'definitive' version for the copyist(s). There is some evidence that these changes were made close to the time of the première. On the other hand, the autograph includes a scene (No. 9) that is missing from all the other sources, including Casti's libretto, the so-called 'Quaker scene', originally located between Nos. 8 and 10. Written partly in French, this scene was probably yet another intertextual interpolation. Some scholars, including Armbruster (2001, p. 56), hear allusions to Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi's *La Quakera spiritosa* (1783), but so far, no exact textual reference has been identified. As with *Giulio Sabino*, the scene may have its roots in an insertion into Guglielmi's opera.

Given that all three manuscript scores include the entire quotation section (from No. 2 through No. 6), the editor appears to have an easy task. There seems to be no need to consider sources other than those of *Prima la musica* in order to establish a complete musical text. In light of these manuscripts the sources of Sarti's *Giulio Sabino* do not really seem to be essential for the edition.

As for the critical edition, the autograph (A) and the conductor's score (B) are designated primary sources, while C and D share the status of secondary sources. In Salieri's own manuscript, one striking fact is that the autograph is more or less 'silent' at just those passages where the *Giulio Sabino* citations appear. At No. 3, Salieri left three entire pages blank, with the exception of an annotation for the copyist at the top of the first page: 'Quel che manca d'istrumentale si troverà nell'archivio di Corte o del Teatro' ('What is missing from the instrumental parts will be found either in the court archive or in the theatre.') Furthermore, the aria No. 4 was only sketched; Salieri notated the voice and bass parts, but left the bars in between empty.

From Salieri's annotation we can draw several conclusions or at least make some assumptions. The missing passages, which involved Sarti's recitative *Non dubitar, verrò* and the aria *Là tu vedrai chi sono* (Nos. 3–4), must have been copied from a source other than the autograph. It is highly likely that this source was not written by Salieri himself. Moreover, it also seems likely that the (unknown) scribe(s) copied directly from the performance score of Sarti's *Giulio Sabino* (see below). In either case, we are thrown back onto the performance score of Sarti's *Giulio Sabino*.

Insofar as a critical edition is concerned, there seems to be no justifiable reason to disregard the basic sources for the quotations. Or, to put it another way, although three sources of *Prima la musica* – manuscripts B, C, and D – preserve sufficient information about the full score of the opera as a whole, Salieri's autograph suggests a 'missing link' for the quotations. This seems to me a strong reason for further consideration of the source situation.

If we agree that the pre-existing music (by Sarti, Tarchi, and Salieri) should be taken into account in a critical edition, then the next question is what status should be accorded these sources. Because the copyist presumably used the performance score of *Giulio Sabino* to produce the full score of *Prima la musica*, at the very least these *Giulio Sabino* sources would have to be ranked among the secondary sources. Up to now there are no hard facts to support the hypothesis that the copyist used the Vienna performance score(s) of Sarti's opera. Yet if he did, then we should seriously consider ranking these scores as primary sources.

As for the critical edition, we came to the conclusion that the basic sources of the quotations should be considered. As a first step, we examined these sources as well as the other score copies of *Prima la musica*. In the critical report we introduced the classification 'Q' to represent 'Sources of Music

Quoted'. For the Sarti block of Nos. 3 and 4 in *Prima la musica*, we established the following source list:

- Q1 Performance score of Sarti's *Giulio Sabino*; A-Wn KT 188; a printed edition of the Sarti score (Vienna: Artaria, 1782) with mss. insertions, additions, cancellations (second copy = Q2)
- Q5 Mss. score copy of the recitative and aria, Nos. 3–4; A-Wn Mus. Hs. 4324
- Q6 Mss. score copy of recitative and aria (second copy), Nos. 3–4; A-Wn Mus. Hs. 4324
- Q7 Mss. instrumental parts of the aria, No. 4; A-Wn Mus. Hs. 4324
- Q8 Mss. score copy of the aria, No. 4; US-Wc M1505.A1 (vol. 197)
- Q9 Mss. score copy of the recitative, No. 3; US-Wc M1505.A1 Case (vol. 228)

As indicated earlier, the autograph of *Prima la musica* is largely 'silent' about No. 4, *Là tu vedrai chi sono*, having only sketches for the aria provided by Salieri (see Illustrations 1 and 2). For that reason, manuscript B, which preserves the full score of the Sarti aria, serves as the main reference for the edition (see Illustrations 3 and 4). As for the performance score of *Giulio Sabino* (Q1), which preserves the original aria by Sarti, the most striking point is undoubtedly the analogy in tempo and dynamics between A, B, and Q1. In the performance score of *Giulio Sabino* the basic tempo has been altered from *Allegro* to *Andante maestoso* (in red pencil); red pencil entries were also used for the dynamic indications in bars 9–10 in the bass part (see the additional *mf* and *piano* in Illustration 5). In other words, both Salieri's (*Prima la musica*) autograph and manuscript B share the same (modified) tempo and the same dynamics at the corresponding passage in Q1 (cf. bars 6–7). It seems very likely that the exact source for the quotation of Sarti's aria has been the performance score (Q1) and not any other copy of the Artaria edition of *Giulio Sabino*. And the fact that Q1 was closely connected with the copying stage of *Prima la musica* would seem to be a strong reason to consider it for the edition.

Nevertheless, after examining these sources, we came to the conclusion that it would be very difficult to incorporate them into the edition or to treat them as reference sources. The reason is that the music of the quoted pieces is not 'congruent' with the corresponding passages in *Prima la musica*. The differences are mainly in orchestration and texture, and, not least, in length. Thus, the sources and the music are comparable only to the new context in *Prima la musica* and only to a certain degree. This problem is particularly acute in the quotation of Tarchi's *Cari oggetti* in No. 6 of Salieri's *Prima la musica*, where the quotations are 'spread' throughout the entire musical number. Furthermore, we do not have any basic source for this substitute aria by Tarchi that would allow us to examine the original shape of that piece.

Given that the original quotations by Sarti and Tarchi could only be partially considered for the critical edition owing to the difference in textures in the corresponding original music, we decided to respect the context of the quotations in another way in our edition: by establishing a separate appendix listing all the pieces quoted in *Prima la musica*. In this appendix, Sarti's recitativo accompagnato *Non dubitar, verrò* (No. 3) and the aria *Là tu vedrai chi sono* (No. 4) from *Giulio Sabino* along with Tarchi's and Salieri's substitute arias for that opera are given in critically edited form, edited on the basis of the relevant Viennese sources, with the variants and versions documented in a separate critical apparatus.

With regard to Salieri's self-quotation in *Prima la musica*, namely, his substitute aria *Pensieri funesti* from *Giulio Sabino*, the situation is more complex, since, in the supplementary edition in the appendix, we must consider not only the *Giulio Sabino* sources, but also Salieri's autograph material. This consists of a full score of the aria (A2) and its additional arrangements produced by the composer (A3, A4).

- A2 Autograph score of *Pensieri funesti*; A-Wn Mus. Hs. 4543; numerous additions made after the insertion was incorporated into the performance score of Sarti's opera (Q1)
- Q1 Performance score of Sarti's *Giulio Sabino*; see above; vol. 1, p. 22ff., substitute aria for Sabino
- Q3 Mss. full score copy of *Pensieri funesti*; D-Rtt Sarti 3/I
- A3 Autograph piano vocal score; D-Cv V, 1145, 1
- A4 Autograph piano vocal score; US-Wc ms. ML 96.S 215 Case

With regard to Salieri's substitute aria *Pensieri funesti* for *Giulio Sabino*, which appears in *Prima la musica* as a self-quotation, the procedure will therefore be as follows: Together with Q1, sources A2, A3, and A4 will be consulted for the edition of that aria in the appendix. The autograph material is highly significant for this edition of Salieri's aria, particularly source A3, which contains several *ossia* versions for the voice part that will be considered in the edition. Thus, the critical documentation for that aria sheds light on Viennese arrangement practices and on the aria's 'metamorphosis', which resulted in its enthusiastic reception outside the opera house. This publicity feature is undoubtedly the pre-requisite for the 'successful' use of a musical quotation.

A crucial point remains to be discussed: the appearance of the musical quotations within the score of *Prima la musica*. In his libretto, Casti indicated the quotations by means of italics (see Illustration 6, with the beginning of No. 6, *Cari oggetti*). We followed his method by indicating the citations in the score with quotation marks and displaying the text in italic typeface. Further-

more, we placed an asterisk at the bottom of the relevant pages to indicate the presence of a musical quotation and thus to refer the reader to the critical report (for example, with references such as ‘Aria from Giuseppe Sarti’s *Giulio Sabino*’).

However, italicizing the citations and indicating them with quotation marks only applies to the text. The music remains untouched by this procedure. Quotation marks are usual for texts; a similar sign does not exist for music. In contrast to language, it is not in the nature of music to indicate something other than itself. Although music is able to incorporate external contexts through quotations, for instance, as Luciano Berio does in his *Sinfonia*, the score itself cannot ‘speak’ in quotation marks in which cited portions are distinguished from the composer’s own, newly-composed music.

On the other hand, there are editorial methods for distinguishing between different elements in a musical score. For example, in its edition of Haydn’s arrangements of operatic arias, the Haydn Gesamtausgabe uses a grey layer in the score to distinguish the original aria from Haydn’s alterations (see Joseph Haydn, *Werke*, vol. XXVI/3-4: *Bearbeitungen von Arien und Szenen anderer Komponisten*, edited by Christine Siegert, forthcoming). This method seems to be an appropriate procedure for the ‘arrangement’ genre, since it differentiates clearly the original body of music from that of the arranger, who in this case was Haydn (see RAAB 2007, pp. 319-322).

However, a quotation is not equivalent to an arrangement, since a musical quotation could be re-arranged for a new context. In Salieri’s opera, some quotations, as noted above, preserve the original shape of the pre-existing music exactly. Were we to adopt the method of the Haydn Gesamtausgabe for the edition of *Prima la musica*, most of the pages would be entirely grey. The problem of how to make the quotations transparent, both within a musical text and in a critical edition, thus remains unresolved, at least for the example of *Prima la musica*.

There is no doubt that, in regard to the issue discussed here, Casti’s and Salieri’s *metamelodramma* is an extreme example, outstanding in its use of musical quotations as well as in its references to Viennese operatic life. In this respect, Salieri’s opera is a very ambitious work, not least because it was to be premièred on the same evening as Mozart’s *Der Schauspieldirektor* (*The Impresario*) and in the same place, at Schönbrunn Palace. From our perspective today, Casti and Salieri seemed to have focussed on a very modern topic, namely, the question of authorship. The implicit message of *Prima la musica* could be seen as a parallel to today’s paradigms of intertextuality and post-structuralism and in particular, to one of their central ideas: there is no text without reference to existing texts. The importance of this paradigm for musical philology and textual criticism still awaits a full exploration.

Illustration

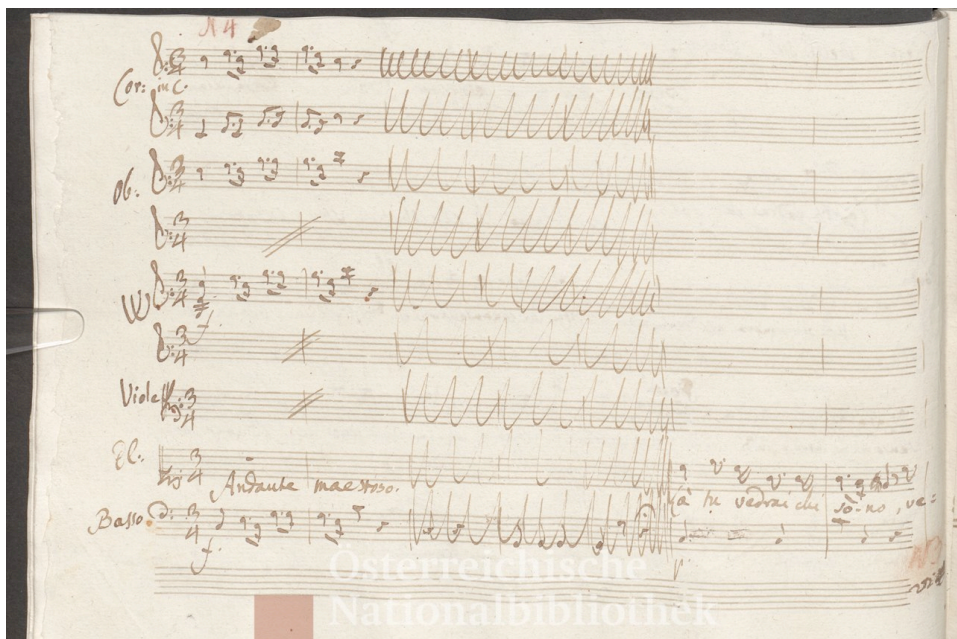


Illustration 1: A. SALIERI, *Prima la musica*, autograph A, No. 4, bar 1-4.
(Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien, Mus. Hs. 4492)

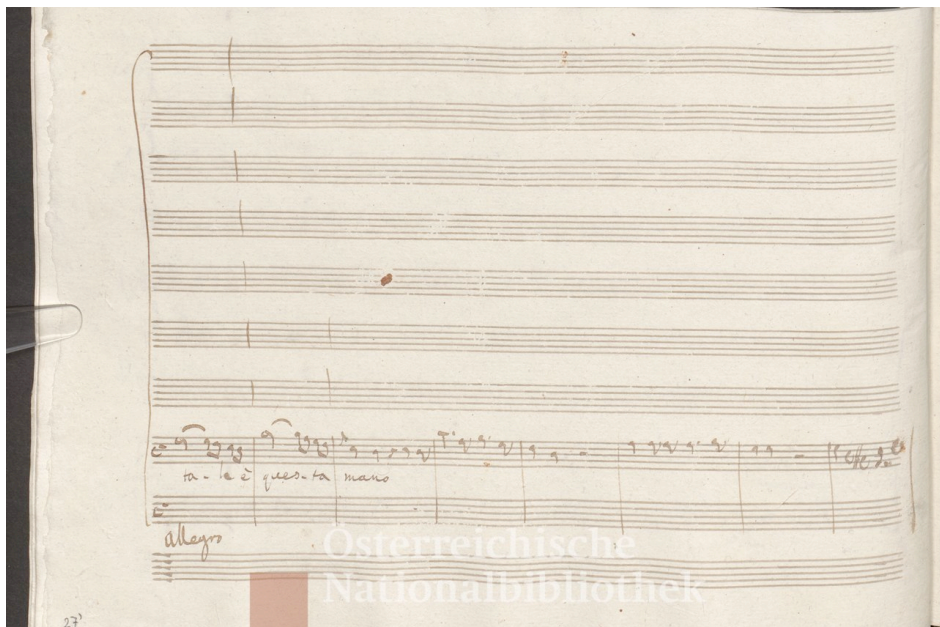


Illustration 2: A. SALIERI, *Prima la musica*, autograph A, No. 4, bar 14-22.
(Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien, Mus. Hs. 4492)



Illustration 3: A. SALIERI, *Prima la musica*, score copy B, No. 4, bar 1-4.
(Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien, KT 359)



Illustration 4: A. SALIERI, *Prima la musica*, score copy B, No. 4, bar 5-9
(Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien, KT 359)

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Oboe. *Col 1^{mo} Violino*

Corni in Cesiol.

Poi Trombe

Violini

Viola *Col Basso*

Sabino *Allegro* *Avante maestoso* *Intervrai chi sono ve - drai chi sono no non ti parlo m.*

Bassi

mf p

Illustration 5: G. SARTI, *Giulio Sabino*, performance score Q1, bar 1-10.
(Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien, KT 188)

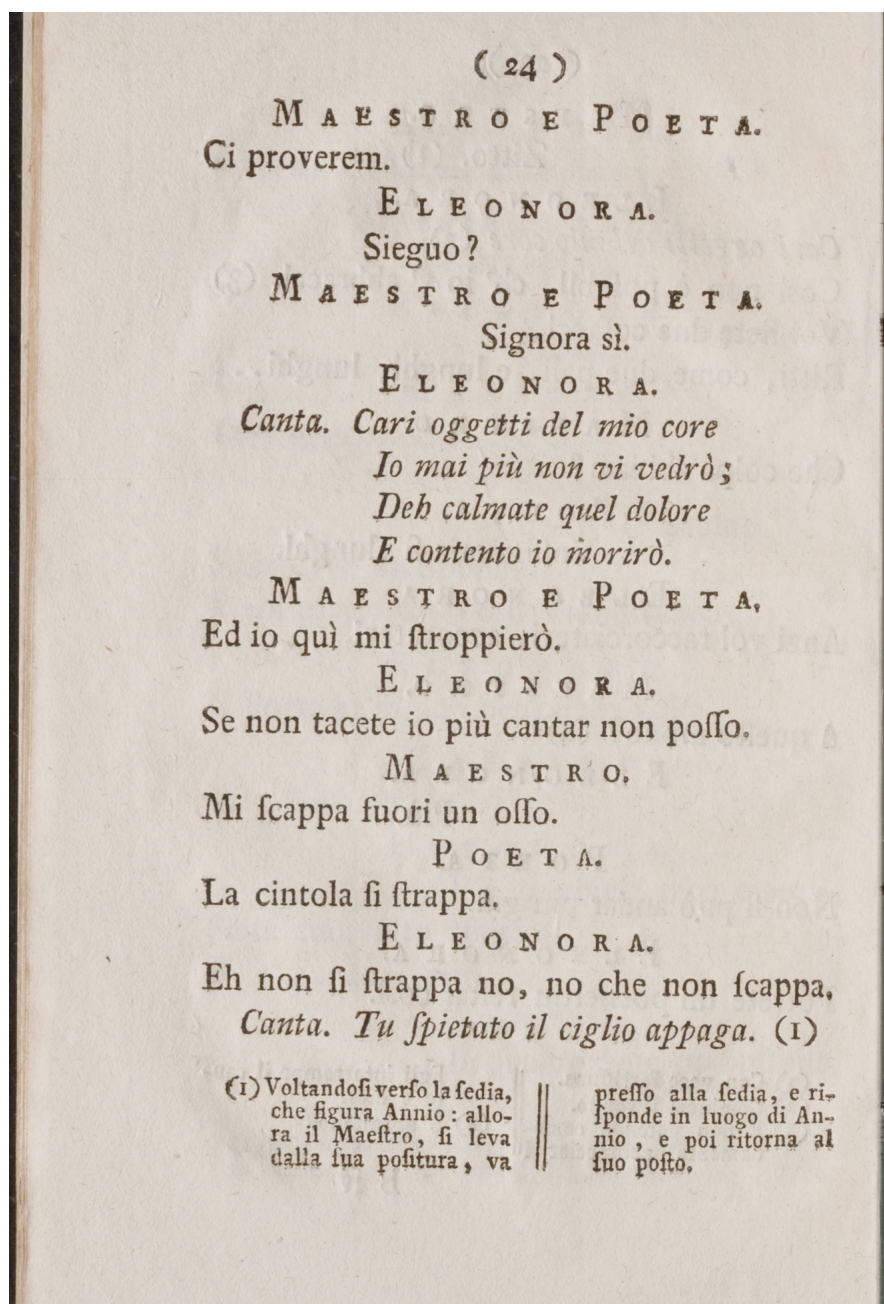


Illustration 6: G. B. CASTI, *Prima la musica*, libretto T, p. 24. (Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, HBF 3301s)

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For further information <www.prof-musikwissenschaft.uni-bayreuth.de>.