

Robert C. Ketterer **Inventing Antiquity, Creating
Modernity in *Medonte re di Epiro***¹

¶ *Medonte re di Epiro* is a libretto by Giovanni De Gamerra written originally for the 1774–1775 carnival season in Milan, and set by Felice Alessandri.² Sarti's 1777 setting, which premiered at the Pergola Theater in Florence, trimmed and shaped the original libretto, and this version of the opera was highly successful.³ Sarti's setting was revived almost without interruption through the year 1797. It got as many as four separate productions in Italy in 1778 and again in 1783–1784, two years after the premiere of *Giulio Sabino*, and the same year Sarti first set De Gamerra's *Erifile*.⁴ Sarti's vision of antiquity was therefore much in the opera public's eyes and ears, and it is worthwhile to think about what that vision was for the audiences of Italian opera in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

I have argued elsewhere that Giovannini's and Sarti's *Giulio Sabino* makes use of ancient sources that idealize the historical relationship between Sabino and Epponina, and turn the historical episode into a kind of fairy tale: in this respect the opera moves a historically based plot in directions recommended by Algarotti and others to write a-historical stories like that of Dido, or Achilles on Skyros, that are more suitable for a musical setting than spoken drama.⁵ *Giulio Sabino* also exploited the growing

- 1 The author is grateful for support for work on this essay at the Newberry Library from a Judith Popovich Aikin Award granted by the College of Liberal Arts & Sciences at The University of Iowa through its affiliation with the Newberry Library's Center for Renaissance Studies.
- 2 The libretto gives the composer's name as Luigi Alessandri, but the *Gazzetta di Milano*, 28 December 1774 calls him Felice Alessandri; Sven Hansell and Marita McClymonds: Alessandri, Felice, in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*. Grove Music Online, 21 August 2016. Giovanni De Gamerra: *Medonte Re di Epiro*, ed. Marco Bizzarini, Treviso 2005 (Diastema Opera, vol. 5), pp. 165 f., names the composer as Felice Alessandri.
- 3 Biancamaria Brumana: Note a margine delle prime rappresentazioni perugine del "Medonte re d'Epiro", in: Giuseppe Sarti, *musicista faentino*, Atti del convegno internazionale, ed. Mario Baroni and Maria Gioia Tavoni, Modena 1986, pp. 37–54, here pp. 43 f.; Bizzarini: *Medonte*, provides editions of the 1774/75 Milanese and 1777 Florentine librettos with detailed textual commentary. All quotations of *Medonte* are taken from Bizzarini's edition, referred to below as Bizzarini: *Medonte*. Online reproduction of the Milanese libretto may also be found in Bologna (I-Bc, Lo. 124): www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/scripts/gaspari/scheda.asp?id=13613 (8 November 2017).
- 4 Sartori numbers for librettos titled *Medonte* and *Medonte re di Epiro* are 15332–15376; Claudio Sartori: *Libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800. Catalogo analitico con 16 indici*, 7 vol., Cuneo 1990–1994. Bizzarini, *Medonte*, pp. 164 f. and 179–235, gives detailed entries for forty-nine librettos of which thirty-four, including a cantata for five voices, are wholly or in part set to music by Sarti.
- 5 Robert C. Ketterer: *Ancient Rome in Early Opera*, Urbana 2009, pp. 158 and 164 f.

Introduction, unusually addressed “to theatre lovers” and not, as was the custom, “to the most respectable audience” of a single performance.

AGLI AMATORI DEL TEATRO

L'AUTORE.

Nel dramma che vi presento, ad onta di tutte le illusioni del mio amor proprio, non trovo io medesimo altro pregio che un poco di novità. Inceppato più di qualunque altro, non ho dovuto solamente servire all'abilità dei Cantanti, al loro genio ed alla loro inclinazione, ma alla totale combinazione della Musica. Nulla io dunque vi prometto di regolare o di perfetto, ma in compenso vi do qualche cosa di nuovo. Chi conosce l'uomo sa benissimo ch'egli non è fatto per la monotona invariabile regolarità, particolarmente in quelle cose che appartengono al regno dell'illusione, come sono le Feste, gli Spettacoli ed i Teatri di musica. In questo genere l'esperienza ci fa tuttogiorno vedere che lo spettatore resta sempre freddo ed indifferente in tutto ciò che ha dell'usato e dell'antico, e non può dispensarsi di applaudire con trasporto al nuovo ed all'inaspettato. È oramai gran tempo che l'Italia vede in possesso delle sue grandiose sale di spettacolo i semidei e gli eroi favolosi dell'antichità e, di quei teatri d'inferior condizione ma destinati ancora alla musica, i gelosi, gli avari e gli sciocchi, non già quelli di Molière o dei Goldoni, ma alcuni ridicoli caratteri mal modellati che al fin dell'anno sono sempre l'istessi. Sarebbe dunque ben fondata la lusinga che dovesse meritare l'universale compatimento un dramma in cui tutto è nuovo. Un bizzarro vestiario di una nazione che fu sconosciuta fino alla metà del nostro secolo, uno scenario ch'esibisce nuove vedute di campagne, di abitazioni, di fortezze, di sepolcri, tutti di un modello affatto ignoto all'Europa, armi tutte nuove, un modo particolare di combattere e finalmente delle passioni energiche di un popolo diviso dal nostro mondo, espresse col semplice linguaggio della Natura, linguaggio che costa tanto alla Poesia, perché privo di tutti gli aiuti che sogliono prestargli le divinità, le Arti, la Favola e tutto ciò che può trarsi dal variato immenso circolo delle colte società, sono tutte cose che dovrebbero destare negli spettatori quella dolce sorpresa di cui è indivisibil compagno il piacere. Per accrescere un tal diletto ho fatto uso de' Cori e di quei balletti che derivano dall'intreccio della stessa azione. [Nota] Ma posson esser questi di quella semplicità, di quella verità che la natura del dramma richiederebbe? No certamente, poiché coi soggetti che si son dovuti mendicare era impossibile comporre dei balletti e dei cori in un genere così delicato, così pantomimo, così variato, cosa molto più difficile che far fare delle capriole e dei passi dove il semplice meccanismo basta senza che l'anima vi prenda parte. L'istesso succede per la musica, essendo la più semplice, la più espressiva e dove si richiede più anima e più verità, la quale è la sola capace di destare in noi delle mozioni [sic] le più violenti [sic], effetti che produceva fra i Greci. Altro non si è dunque potuto fare che impiegare ogni cura per render meno disgustevole lo spettacolo ad un pubblico così illuminato [fine della nota]. L'Italia che, trattandosi di Opere in Musica, vanta a ragione il primato sopra tutte le altre Nazioni, gelosa di questa superiorità, non ha voluto ancora adottare interamente dai Francesi l'uso dei cori e de' balletti inerenti al dramma, e pure dovrebbe, trattenendo sempre lo stile melodioso ed armonioso della musica nazionale, dispensarsi da questa rigorosa osservanza riguardo alle decorazioni, ai cori ed ai balletti che avviano moltissimo l'azione e che, variando lo spettacolo, ne accrescono sempre la piacevol sorpresa. Ho ritenuto convenevole di premettere l'argomento del mio dramma, ma mi guarderei bene di avanzare ch'io l'abbia tratto esattamente da un fatto storico che si legge nella relazione dei viaggi del famoso Cook. Mercé la provvidenza universale dell'Europa, questa relazione è oramai resa in quasi tutti gl'idiomi delle nazioni più colte e, come nella lettura di quest'opera vi trova il suo conto il filosofo universale, il naturalista, il geografo, il publicista, il commerciante, la femmina curiosa e fin anche lo sfaccendato gazettiere, questi libri sono già alle mani di tutti e non vi sarebbe persona che non sarebbe pronta a rinfacciarmi la mia mala fede. Io dunque confesso che ho tessuto il mio dramma sopra alcuni principi storici e che non mi son fatto scrupolo anche di qualche anacronismo. Sono personaggi tratti veramente

In the same period freemasonry underwent a phase of rapid expansion throughout the Kingdom of the two Sicilies thanks to the support of the Queen, whose father Francis I had been a freemason since 1731.⁴⁰ Among the various reforms of those years, Maria Carolina saw personally to the revocation of the ban on masonic association. Despite the objections of Charles III, King Ferdinand was not able to contrast the triumphal flourishing of the Fraternity, which, in the hands of the freemason Queen, had become an instrument to promote Austrian politics, within a design that aimed to tighten the alliance with England and to loosen the ties with Spain.⁴¹

5. Calzabigi, Naples and freemasonry While Gluck's affiliation with the masonic lodges is accepted by almost all scholars, that of Calzabigi is a much more complex question.⁴² Although many elements, from the environments of his cultural formation in Tuscany to the people he frequented, the affirmations found in his correspondence and the position he occupied in Vienna alongside personages unquestionably linked to the Fraternity, clearly support the thesis of his belonging to the Order, there is still no documentary evidence that can prove it indisputably.

Calzabigi had been educated at the Accademia Etrusca in Cortona, which was attended by the greater part of the intellectuals affiliated to the lodges of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. The Accademia had also been attended by the man of letters Giovanni Lami, with whom Calzabigi maintained contact from 1740 while he was employed in Naples as private secretary of the French ambassador Paul-François Gallucci, Marquis de l'Hôpital. And it was in those years that the first lodges began to appear in the city, founded mostly by French citizens and widespread among the Neapolitan nobility, who had long been associated with the aristocratic lodges in Paris. In 1750 Calzabigi, as envoy of the King of Naples, moved to Paris, where in the following ten years he frequented the main exponents of the local freemasonry. In these circles Calzabigi was involved, together with Giacomo Casanova (definitely affiliated) and other eminent personages of the Parisian Fraternity, in a somewhat shady financial affair, linked to a lottery in the royal military school. It was perhaps due to this affair, most likely of a fraudulent nature, that Calzabigi had to leave Paris. He then left for Vienna, where a letter of recommendation of the Count of Koblenz (who belonged to the highest ranks of freemasonry) assured him the protection of Prince Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz-Rietberg, principal protector of the Viennese

⁴⁰ Elected emperor in 1745, Francis I was the master of a lodge in The Hague set up by the Grand Lodge in London; he was constantly active in protecting lodges from the action of the Empress Maria Theresa, who was generally ill-disposed towards freemasonry. See Tocchini: *I fratelli d'Orfeo*, pp. 4f.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 24–35.

pacifying and civilizing action of an evolved people over a savage people; the defence of the values of peace and fidelity in love and in friendship; the clemency of the victors towards the defeated) and references (to trials,⁴⁸ to the “triple ray” of love, piety and reason) that assume full meaning only if read in a masonic framework.⁴⁹

As we have seen, the choice of the subject responds to several needs: as well as winning the favour of the public with a topical theme steeped in an exotic setting apt to stimulate the curiosity of the audience, with a protagonist well known and loved throughout Europe, the subject also responded to the need to exalt the British, by aligning with the foreign policy of the Queen and celebrating in the protagonist of the story Lord Acton, the favourite of the Queen.

In weaving the plot, the librettist must have carried out a particularly sophisticated operation, consisting of superimposing various levels of interpretation: one explicit and literal, accessible to all; one political, probably equally clear to the audience of the “Teatro del Fondo”; and one more obscure, reserved exclusively for masonic spectators.

These themes are enclosed in a structure that presents numerous elements of symmetry, starting from the number of characters and their reciprocal relations. If we exclude the figure of Tirido, who assumes a secondary role, there are six main characters, clearly grouped into three couples: Oberea and Aldiva, sopranos; Cook and Gore, tenors; Mathabo and Tireo, basses. Within each couple it is possible to identify one protagonist and one deuteragonist, whose function is to make the protagonist reflect and lead him to the path of reason, by helping him to master his own instincts and passions. Each character is called to go beyond him- or herself, to control him- or herself and to overcome a series of obstacles and hardships. The three pairs of characters do not act on the same level, but are placed within a precise hierarchy, which sees at its top the British, presented as heroic, noble-spirited figures; at the intermediate level the two women who, though belonging to a savage race, personify the most genuine part of natural temperament (a sort of *bon sauvage* in a female version); and at the lowest level Tireo and Mathabo (especially the latter), who represent the more violent and wilder side of non-civilized man.

48 Just as in Mozart’s *Zauberflöte*, the libretto of which was written by the freemason Emanuel Schikaneder, also in Cook’s libretto the trials to which the characters are subjected replicate those of the different stages of masonic initiation. See Jacques Chailley: *La flûte enchantée, opéra maçonnique*, Paris 1968; Katharine Thomson: *The Masonic Thread in Mozart*, London 1977; Philippe A. Autexier: *Mozart et Liszt sub rosa*, Poitiers 1984.

49 The fact that the Masonic elements present in this music drama do not appear explicitly is not overwhelming, since “Because of the secrecy that has surrounded freemasonry since the 18th century, specific evidence as to whether a piece of music is ‘masonic’ is often lacking.” See Cecil Hill-Roger J. V. Cotte: *Masonic music*, in: *The New Grove*, vol. 16, pp. 39–42, here p. 39.

Acts, scenes	Verses	Denomination/ characters	Incipit	Tonality	Time sign.	Remarks
–	–	[Sinfonia]	–	C major	♩	
I, 1	1–8	Coro	Invan col mesto pianto	E♭ major	♩	3 ♭
I, 2	81–88	[Aria] Tireo	Trionfa pure altera	B♭ major	♩	
I, 3	109–116	[Aria] Aldiva	Se sprezzì da forte	F major	♩	
I, 4	–	Barbara sinfonia	–	C major	♩	
I, 4	173–180	[Aria] Oberea	Mi vedrai costante ognora	B♭ major	♩	
I, 5	230–240	[Aria] Mathabo	Se guardo un sol momento	D major	♩	Triplets
I, 6	260–267	Coro	Dalla tremula marina	C major	♩	Dotted figurations; march (to depict the landing of the English)
I, 8	417–428	[Aria] Gore	Dal solo tuo valore	E♭ major	♩	Dotted figurations
I, 10	505–516	[Aria] Cook	Dall'affanno del tuo core	B♭ major	3/4	Triple time
[I, 11]		[Marcia Indiana]		E♭ major	♩	
I, 12	594–630	[Finale act I – Quartetto] Oberea, Gore, Mathabo, Cook	Ah qual crudele istante	C major	♩	
II, 1	661–664	[Aria] Tireo	Del tuo nemico a fronte	D major	♩	
II, 3	752–759	[Aria] Mathabo	Odio, dispetto e sdegno	B♭ major	♩	
II, 6	801–808	[Coro]	Venite: vi attende	C minor	♩	
–	–	Allegro [strumentale]	–	C major	♩	
II, 6	829–873	[Sestetto] Oberea, Aldiva, Tireo. Mathabo, Gore, Cook	Domerò quel core altero	D major	♩	
II, 7	874–877	[Coro] coro di donne e uomini eparresi	Chi consola in tal momento	B♭ major	♩	
II, 10	941–948	[Aria] Oberea	È giunta a tal segno	E major	♩	
II, 11	978–985	[Aria] Cook	Del caro mio bene	E♭ major	3/4	3 ♭; triple time
II, 13	1053–1064	[Aria] [Rondò di Oberea] Oberea	Dove mai cercar potrei	F major	♩	Dotted rhythms
II, 14	1069–1072	[coro]	Regni ognor fra noi la pace	C major	3/4	C major; triple time
II, 14	1099–1135	[terzetto] Mathabo, Oberea, Cook	Perfide stelle ingrato	B♭ major	♩	Dotted rhythms; very short note-values
II, 15	–	[contradanza]	–	D major	2/4	

used to give a positive connotation to a character or an expressive situation, while keys with sharps are most frequently used for negative characters.⁶¹

If, then, the hypothesis of Calzabigi's authorship of *Cook*, as sustained by several scholars, appeared already corroborated by various aspects, the references to the pro-Austrian and pro-British political climate in Naples and the numerous symbolic elements of a masonic stamp highlighted by the most recent investigations help make this hypothesis even more solid and convincing.

⁶¹ For an overview of masonic features in music, see the bibliography that concludes the entry Masonic music in: *The New Grove*, vol. 16, pp. 39–42, here p. 41 f.



ABBILDUNG 6 Aria »Non turbar il bel riposo« (Lucilla), in: *Scelta di Arie*

in Anbetracht ihrer kompakten Anlage hätte man sie auch als Cavatina bezeichnen können. Dem von Demut geprägten Charakter des Textes entsprechend, ist die Melodie ein zartes Cantabile, dominiert von diatonischen Gesangspassagen, die von den Violinen in der Regel in identischer Form gestützt werden.

Deutlicher wahrnehmbar als bei den männlichen Figuren ist die Abstufung der *seconde* gegenüber den *prime parte* bei den weiblichen Partien (eine Tendenz, die übrigens von Sartis späteren Opern der 1770 bis 1780er Jahre bestätigt wird¹²). Lucilla, die von ihrem Verlobten Lucio Vero nicht wirklich geliebt wird, hat mit »Non soffrirò il rossore d'un vil rifiuto indegno« (Allegro con spirito, G-Dur, 3/4-Takt) eine Da-capo-Arie zu singen, geprägt von sehr einfacher Kantabilität und ausgesprochen arm an ausgeschriebenen Verzierungen. Ähnliches gilt für die letzte Arie der Sammlung, »Non turbar il bel riposo di quest'alma innamorata« (Allegro, B-Dur, 3/8-Takt, ebenfalls im ternären Metrum komponiert, das hier quasi tänzerisch konzipiert wird (Abbildung 6). Mit ihrer textlich wie musikalisch genreneutralen Thematisierung der Liebe hätte diese Arie in knapper A-B-A'-Form ebenso gut Teil einer Opera buffa sein können: ein Hinweis darauf, dass Sarti an der schon in diesen Jahren einsetzenden

¹² Vgl. diesbezüglich unter anderem Roland Pfeiffer: *Die Opere buffe von Giuseppe Sarti (1729–1802)*, Kassel 2007 (Kölner Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft, Bd. 4), S. 149 und 257.

Accompagnato-Rezitativ und Szenendramaturgie Der zweite *Vologeso* Sartis enthält auffallend viele *Accompagnato-Rezitative* (vergleiche die Konkordanz im Anhang). Der Komponist nutzt dieses Mittel zur verstärkten Dramatisierung des Dialogs also bereits 1765 recht häufig. Dabei erfüllt es vor allem zwei Funktionen: Es begleitet einerseits bewegungsreiche Bühnenereignisse, andererseits Äußerungen besonders intensiv erlebter Emotionen. Es ist bemerkenswert, dass das *Accompagnato* im *Vologeso* nicht immer unmittelbar einer Arie vorausgeht, wie allgemein üblich: Zuweilen wird der Dialog in dieser Oper nach einem *Accompagnato-* im *Secco-Rezitativ* weitergeführt. Zwei Szenenkomplexe können als herausragende Beispiele gelten, was die Rolle des *Accompagnato* bei der Dramatisierung und den Grad der Verkettung diverser musikalischer Einheiten betrifft. Das erste Beispiel entstammt dem letzten Bild des ersten Aktes (»Anfiteatro«), das zweite dem zweiten Bild des zweiten Aktes (»Deliziosa«).

Im ersten Akt wird *Vologeso* in der Arena den Löwen ausgesetzt. Doch als *Berenice* zu ihm läuft, bereit, mit ihrem Geliebten zu sterben, interveniert der Herrscher *Lucio Vero*, um *Berenices* Wohl bedacht, und reicht *Vologeso* ein Schwert zur Verteidigung. In Libretto und Partitur stellen sich diese Ereignisse folgendermaßen dar:

Scena XIV. Anfiteatro. *Lucio Vero*, *Berenice*, *Lucilla*, *Flavio* e loro Seguito.

Berenice wird von *Lucio Vero* über das römische Gladiatorenwesen aufgeklärt und bezichtigt den Herrscher der Grausamkeit.

Secco-Rezitativ

»Tutti al suon della Tromba vanno a prendere i loro posti nell'alto. S'apre poi una porta al lato della Scena, donde condotto, e lasciato nell' Anfiteatro *Vologeso*.«

Marsch in C-Dur mit Trombe lunghe, Pauken, Oboen (mit solistischen Passagen) und Streichern, ohne Unterbrechung verbunden mit dem folgenden

Scena xv. *Vologeso*, e suddetti.

Vologeso wird der Gefahr und der erniedrigenden Öffentlichkeit seiner bevorstehenden Hinrichtung gewahr und offenbart sein Entsetzen.

Accompagnato-Rezitativ

Vologeso klagt *Lucio Vero* an. *Berenice* stürzt sich in die Arena.

Secco-Rezitativ

»all'improvviso s'apre una piccola porta, e n'esce un Leone.« *Vologeso* fordert *Berenice* auf, zu fliehen. Rasch kommt ihm *Lucio Vero* zur Hilfe und wirft ihm sein Schwert zu:

Accompagnato-Rezitativ

»*Lucio Vero* getta la sua spada a *Vologeso*, che va con quello incontro al Leone, e lo ferisce. Accorrono poi alle voci dell'imperatore i Custodi de' giuochi, e finiscono di ucciderlo. *Lucio Vero* scende dall'alto, e rientra nell'Anfiteatro.«

Häufig wiederholte Aufwärts-Schleifer im Streicher-Forte verdeutlichen den Bewegungsreichtum der gesamten Szene.

Nach bezwungener Gefahr lobt *Vologeso* *Berenices* Treue. *Lucio Vero* lädt *Vologeso* und *Berenice* in seinen Palast ein. *Lucilla* gesteht *Flavio* ihre Eifersucht.

Secco-Rezitativ

Costanza appeared and adapting those in which reference was made to them. The suppression of these characters does not excessively damage the structure of the plot. A mute walk-on actor replaced Fabrizio in some scenes of the second act, e.g. where his presence was essential. The actions of Madama Costanza were told when they serve as a basis for the plot’s denouement, as it happens, for example, in the third act. For this reason it was necessary to rewrite some scenes, especially in the final act, as the drama could have an effective logical development.

But that is not all. *L’amore artigiano* contained in the libretto’s *editio princeps* two ariettas in dialect. The first, in Venetian, was retained in Copenhagen; the second, written in a more rural dialect difficult to understand outside the Venetian Republic, which testifies the past years of life of Goldoni in Feltre, in the mountains near Dolomites, was translated into Danish. In this aria, a second piece was added below (or maybe it is just the third stanza of the song; see Table 4). This is present in the score but not in the Danish libretto of 1762. It should be noted that in the Danish translation a double meaning of sexual nature is made explicit whereas, in the original Goldoni, it remained more nuanced.

TABLE 4 Texts of Rosina’s *Canzonetta* in C. Goldoni/G. Latilla *L’amore artigiano*, II.3, different versions

Venice 1761, Rural dialect	Venice 1761, Italian translation	Copenhagen 1762, Danish ver- sion. The third stanza only in the score DK-Kk mu 6410.0831	Copenhagen 1762, Italian translation
Astu volesto magna de questo? xestu content? Basta cusì.	Hai voluto mangiare di questo? Sei contenta? Basta così.	Naar [Nør] Maden smager, Man for sig tager: Jeg er fornøyet I Brudeseng.	Quando il cibo è buono se ne mangia di più: mi diverto (intrattengo) nel letto nuziale
Tutte l’han fatta ’sta bella festa e l’ho volesta far anca mi.	L’hanno fatta tutte questa bella festa e l’ho voluta fare anch’io.	Betænk Ordsprøget Det med en Pige Er ey so lüge Som med en Dreng. Jeg er dog soo bange Jeg bliver en fange Vad roode de mig? Jeg hører dem siige Jò Jò Lille Püge Jo gift hun kun sig Det hør jeg dem siige	Ricorda il detto: per una ragazza non è facile come per un ragazzo Ma ho così paura di restare prigioniera. Cosa mi consigliano? Li sento dire: “Sì sì, ragazzina, ti devi solo sposare”. È questo che li sento dire

A curiosity. It should be noted that in the Danish version of *Amore in caricatura*, in a scene of the second act, a character speaks German in Venice in 1761 while in the

¶ In Opern-Partituren aus dem 18. Jahrhundert stößt man nicht selten auf die Situation, dass einem Hinweis wie »segue aria« nicht die angekündigte Arie folgt, sondern zum Beispiel ein *Accompagnato* oder ein Rezitativ. Hinweise auf den Verbleib der augenscheinlich fehlenden Arie gibt es in der Regel nicht, im besten Fall weist die Paginierung eine Lücke auf, oder am Material sind Ausreißspuren festzustellen, doch oft gibt es keinerlei Anhaltspunkte im oder am Material, dass hier eine Arie ursprünglich vorhanden war und später entnommen wurde. Dieser Befund kann verschiedene Ursachen haben: (1) Im einfachsten Fall wurde die Arie im Zuge der Einrichtung der Partitur für eine Aufführung gestrichen und daher entfernt, dabei wurde der Segue-Hinweis versehentlich belassen. (2) Diese Streichung kann ebenso im Zuge einer zweiten Bearbeitung derselben Partitur erfolgt sein; in diesem Falle gibt es in der Regel weitere Hinweise auf eine zweite Bearbeitungsschicht. Statt einer Streichung könnte aber auch der zeitgenössische Usus, ursprünglich zur Oper gehörende Arien durch fremde Einlagearien zu ersetzen, der Hintergrund für den beschriebenen Materialbefund sein. Auch für diesen Fall sind mehrere Szenarien denkbar: (3) Die Partitur wurde nicht mehr benötigt und für die Bearbeitung anderer Opern als Materialfundus benutzt, zum Beispiel indem vorzugsweise besonders beliebte Arien entnommen und als Einlagen an anderer Stelle wieder eingesetzt wurden. Die Partitur könnte dann auch mehrere solcher Lücken aufweisen. Oder (4) statt der ursprünglichen Arie wurde zwar eine Einlagearie an dieser Stelle in die Partitur eingefügt, jedoch nach der Aufführung ihrerseits ebenfalls wieder entfernt und anderweitig verwendet.

Im ersten Fall wäre der Befund als Streichung und damit als Teil der bearbeiteten Fassung anzusehen, und es wäre falsch, von einer fehlenden Arie zu sprechen. Im zweiten Fall träfe dieser Befund nur auf die zweite Bearbeitungsschicht zu, auf die es noch weitere Hinweise geben müsste, und es wäre zwischen erster und zweiter Schicht zu unterscheiden. Im dritten und vierten Fall hätten wir es dagegen nicht mit einer Streichung zu tun, sondern es wäre davon auszugehen, dass in der Aufführung hier tatsächlich eine Arie gesungen wurde, entweder die ursprüngliche, oder eine Einlagearie. Diese wurde aber später wieder entnommen, sei es weil sie in einer anderen Partitur als Einlage gebraucht wurde, sei es aus anderen Gründen. Somit wäre der Fall gegeben, dass in der ersten Partitur tatsächlich eine Arie fehlt. Christine Siegert hat dieses Verfahren beschrieben und auf die weitgreifende Vernetzung von



AB BILDUNG 1 Giuseppe Sarti: Giulio Sabino, Wiener Fassung 1785, 1. Seite des in der Fassung ersetzten Terzettts »Sfogat pur tiranno« mit Vermerk »[al]tro terzetto« neben der Akkolade (A-Wn, Mus KT.188/a, Bd. 3, fol. 61v)

dessen Wiener Fassung das »Tremate, empi tremate« als das Schluss-Terzett des zweiten Akts aus Giuseppe Sartis Oper *Medonte, re di Epiro* identifiziert, die 1777 in Florenz uraufgeführt wurde. Die Vermutung erweist sich aufgrund folgender Indizien als naheliegend:

- Es gibt kaum andere Vertonungen dieses Textes. Das berühmte Terzett von Ludwig van Beethoven auf denselben Text sowie ein weiteres von August Eduard Grell entstanden nach 1800.¹⁴
- Beide Terzette sind ohne weiteres austauschbar, weil sie nicht nur das Ende des jeweiligen zweiten Akts und damit den dramatischen Höhepunkt der Handlung bilden, sondern auch inhaltlich eine ähnliche Szenerie entwerfen: Ein Machthaber und sein Widersacher stehen sich nicht nur im Kampf um die Macht, sondern

¹⁴ Die Titel-Suche in RISM opac (Stand: 7. Januar 2015) ergibt 23 Treffer, davon verweisen vier auf Werke, die nicht von Sarti stammen: es gibt zwei Treffer zu dem berühmten Terzett von Ludwig van Beethoven, ein Treffer verweist auf August Eduard Grell (1800–1886), ein weiterer auf das Oratorium *Il Tobia* des tschechischen Komponisten Josef Mysliveček (1837–1781); die entsprechende Arie hat jedoch einen anderen Text als das Sarti-Terzett: »Empi tremate del giusto fronte [...]«. Alle anderen Treffer verweisen auf das Terzett aus Sartis Oper *Medonte, re di Epiro* (Libretto von Giovanni de Gamerra).



ABBILDUNG 1 Giuseppe Sarti: Giulio Sabino, Partitur-Druck,
in: A-Wn, Mus. SA.82.C.45 31, Titelblatt

tatsächlich bietet die europäische Kultur, speziell die Verbreitung der italienischen Musik und das europaweite Wirken italienischer Musikerinnen und Musiker über ganz Europa im Zeitalter der Aufklärung ein besonders interessantes Untersuchungsfeld für die Anliegen historiographischer Ansätze, die nach Alternativen zu national perspektivierten Geschichtsmodellen suchen. Wenn das in Berlin und Jerusalem gemeinsam betriebene Forschungsprojekt zu Giuseppe Sarti ihn im Titel als »kosmopolitischen Komponisten im vorrevolutionären Europa« bezeichnet,⁵ stellt es sich programmatisch in diesen Horizont.

Vor diesem Hintergrund rückt die Migration der Musik selbst in den Blick, und die Konsequenzen, die dies für die überlieferten Quellen hat, werden zum Thema. Von hier aus eröffnet sich eine alternative Perspektive auf die Partituren und damit auch auf eine Geschichte der Oper im Europa des 18. Jahrhunderts jenseits jener nationalen Identitätsstiftungen, die die Geschichtsschreibung ebenso wie die Edition so lange prägten. Die sogenannten »Reformen« der italienischen Oper (speziell in den Werken Christoph Willibald Glucks) und ihre Folgen erscheinen dann weniger als Ausdruck individueller, intentionaler und in gewisser Weise abstrakter ästhetischer Erneuerungsbestrebungen, sondern vielmehr als Ergebnisse kultureller Interaktionen, Transfer- und Migrationsprozesse. Das Beispiel Sarti lenkt die Auf-

5 <http://sarti-edition.de/beschreibung.html> (Abruf 10. September 2017).

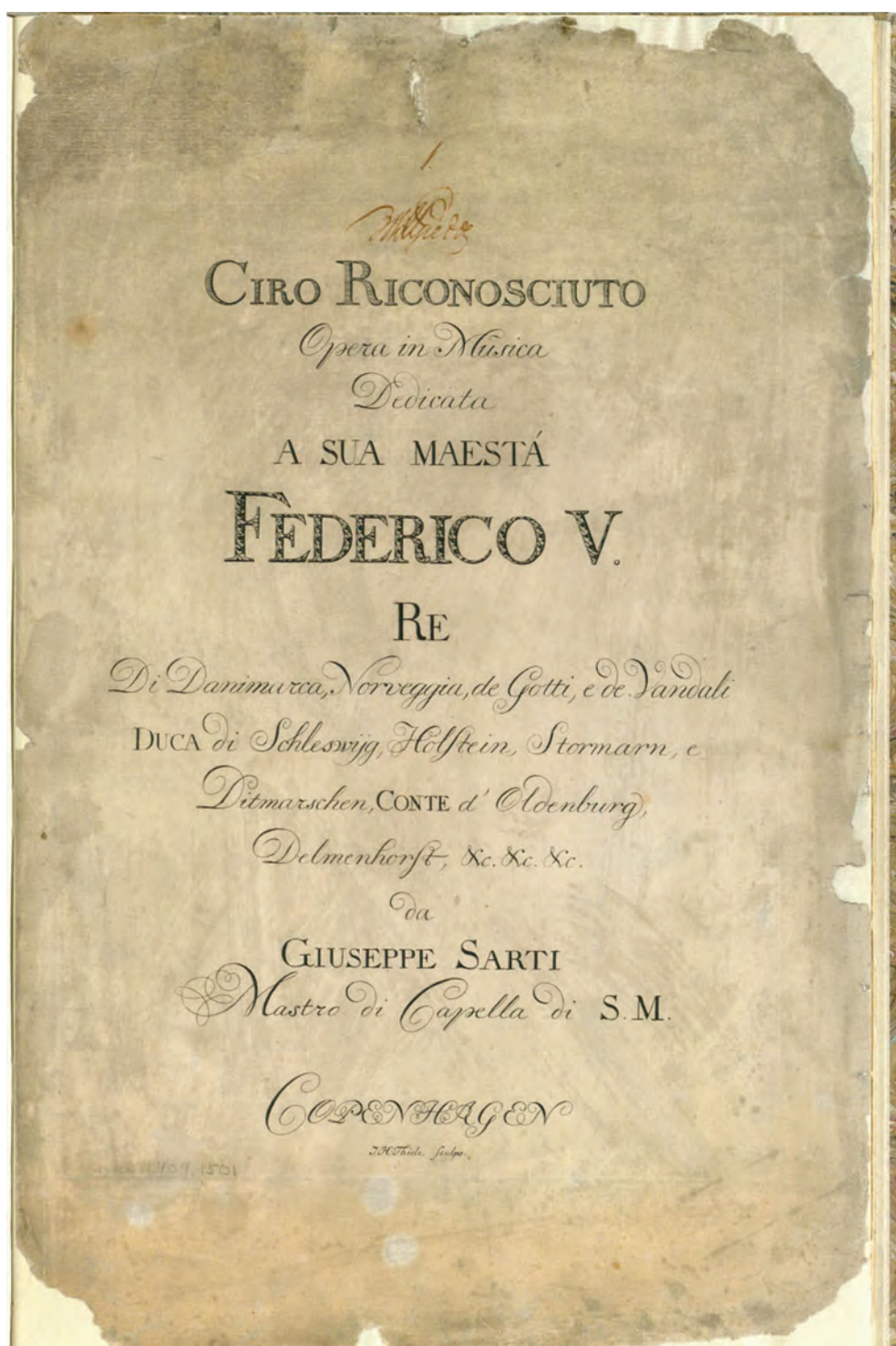


ABBILDUNG 2 Giuseppe Sarti: *Ciro riconosciuto*, Partitur-Druck, Dk-Kk, Gieddes sammling X.1: U6 mu 6404.15, Titelblatt



ABBILDUNG 1 Giuseppe Sarti: *Giulio Sabino*, Arie des Tito »Già vi sento«, in: A-Wn, KT.188/a, Bd. 1, fol. 44v

Der Prozess konnte noch weitergehen, wenn von den bearbeiteten Partituren weitere Abschriften angefertigt wurden. Dies ist der Fall bei der Partitur von Sartis *Fra i due litiganti il terzo gode* aus dem Bestand des Hoftheaters in Eszterháza, die heute in der Széchényi Nationalbibliothek in Budapest aufbewahrt wird.²² Haydn beschaffte die Partitur aus Wien, wo das Stück genau wie *Giulio Sabino* bereits bearbeitet worden war. Die Partitur enthält mehrere Einlagen, für deren Aufnahme in die Oper wiederum Salieri als Hofkapellmeister verantwortlich zeichnete. Sie stammen von Salieri, Pasquale Anfossi, Vicente Martín y Soler und Stephen Storace. Ob es Zufall ist, dass bei *Giulio Sabino* und *Fra i due litiganti* jeweils die ersten Einlagen von Salieri selbst stammen, oder ob dieser damit auf subtile Weise seinen Anteil an der Autorschaft reklamierte, wäre noch zu untersuchen. Die Tatsache, dass er seine Cavatina »*Pensieri funesti*« wiederum als erste von drei Arien in sein Metamelodramma *Prima la musica e poi le parole* übernahm, könnte allerdings dafür sprechen.²³

²² *Fra i Due Littiganti | il Terzo Gode | Dramma Giocoso | Musica | Del Sig:re Giuseppe Sarti.* | Wienn: zu haben beÿ Wenzel Sukowaty Copist in k.k. Nazional Theater, in: H-Bn, Ms. mus. OE-4.

²³ Vgl. Giambattista Casti und Antonio Salieri: *Prima la musica e poi le parole. Divertimento teatrale in un atto. Operetta a quattro voci*, Music Edition by Thomas Betzwieser, Text Edition by Adrian La Salvia, Editing Supervisor Christine Siegert, Kassel 2013 (Opera. Spektrum des euro-

EXAMPLE 2 b A proposal on three levels

Second level: position and typology of “pezzi chiusi”

Length of texts	Incipit	Position	Context
Short arias (cavatine)	“Pensieri funesti” (4 lines)	I. 1	Sabino alone. Monologue
	“Se questa oh cor tiranno” (4)	I. 5	Voadice accuses Tito of cruelty
	“Un dolce contento” (4)	I. 10	Annio alone complains of his disappointment in love
	“Quando il pensier figura” (4)	II. 1	Annio complains of his disappointment in love. Voadice listens to him
Standard arias in two stanzas	“Già al mormorar del vento” (4+4)	I. 2	Arminio alone. Monologue
	“Trema il cor, non v'è più speme” (4+4)	I. 4	Epponina. Voadice and Tito listen to her intimate confession
	“Già vi sento, e già v'intendo” (4+4)	I. 6	Tito admits to himself his love toward Epponina. Present Annio and Arminio
	“Là tu vedrai chi sono” (5+4)	I. 9	Sabino threatens Tito
	“Da quel dì ch'io ti mirai” (4+4)	II. 2	Arminio declares his love to Voadice
	“Tigre ircana in selva ombrosa” (4+5)	II. 6	Tito compares his condition to that of a fierce tiger loving his beloved. Voadice listens to him
	“Quell'ira che invano celar” (4+4)	II. 10	Voadice blames Tito for his severity
	“Al caro bene a lato” (4+4)	III. 2	Epponina confirms her courage to Tito and the desire to die with her beloved
	“Bella fiamma, che il seno m'accendi” (3+3)	III. 3	Tito alone thinks to sacrifice his love.
	“Come partir poss'io” (5 stanzas)	I. 11	Farewell-duet of Sabino and Epponina
Longer arias and concertati	“Con qual core, oh Dio, potrei” (2+2+2)	II. 5	Rondo. Epponina implores Tito and invokes the Gods
	“Cari figli, un altro amplesso” (5+4+2)	II. 9	Sabino gives his farewell to his children
	“Sfogati pur, tiranno” (3 stanzas)	II. 11	Contrast-terzet between Sabino, Epponina, Tito
	“In qual barbaro momento” (3 stanzas)	III. 5	Farewell aria and then duet of Sabino and Epponina
	“Di nobili allori” (5 stanzas with internal refrains)	III. 6	Final tableau

We then come to the third level (Example 2c): the relation between the real time of the spectacle and the individual time of different kinds of passions, perhaps the most intriguing. There are generally four temporal conditions, which I have named abstract time, personal (or individual) time, dissociated time and real time. In order to fix the concept it is necessary to assess the relationships between the content of the arias and the scenic context. In the first case (“Già al mormorar del vento”, I. 2), a generic aria of comparison of a more traditional kind, we have an abstract time (somewhat similar to a ‘pictorial’ time): there is no temporal determination in the text, and the lexical

EXAMPLE 3 Four study cases on Sarti

Texts	Time	Relations with the stage	Musical setting by Sarti
Già al mormorar del vento intorno a me si desta il suon della tempesta terror d'ogni nocchier. Ma fra gli scogli, e l'onde e in seno alla procella, qualche pietosa stella m'additerà il sentier. (Arminio solo, I. 2)	Abstract. Use of picturesque words not related to the specific context of the Opera.	None. "Aria di paragone": each character could sing these words.	Fluent style, long instrumen- tal sections, "colorature" with amplification of some words (heard only by spectators).
Pensieri funesti ah no, non tornate per poco lasciate in pace il mio cor. (cavatina Sabino, I. I, monologue)	Sabino's time. Not a metaphorical language.	Strong and current. A "recitativo strumen- tato" makes this cava- tina a 'natural' expres- sion of Sabino's gloomy thoughts.	Cantabile style. Syllabic declamation. Repetition of words related to the acting.
Trema il cor, non v'è più speme, perché oh Dei mi abbandonate? La speranza almen lasciate di trovar qualche pietà. Se togliete a un'alma oppressa questo misero contento, nel suo barbaro tormento come mai viver potrà. (Epponina, I. 4, Tito and Voadice are present)	Two times on stage: Epponina's time (in- vocations to the Gods), Tito's time (he assists in silence; his own time is only in his mind).	Strong. The spectator observes three characters in diffe- rent emotional relation- ships.	Fluent style, long instrumen- tal sections, use of "colora- ture" with amplification of some words (heard by other characters).
Cari figli, un altro amplesso; dammi, oh sposa, un altro addio; cari pegni del cor mio, ah non posso, oh Dio, lasciarvi, né celarvi il mio dolor. Ma convien ch'io vada a morte, così vuol l'avverso fato. Ah tu perdi il tuo consorte, voi perdete il genitor. Che momento sventurato di spavento, e di terror. (Sabino, II. 9, Tito, Annio, Epponina and sons present)	Almost a real time. Every word is con- ceived in relation to bride and sons: it is the time of characters and spectators.	Very strong. The spectator observes three characters all in- volved in the same situ- ation, even if only one of them is singing.	Short instrumental sections. Prevalence of a syllabic style, strongly related to the acting.

Therefore in this aria, unlike what happens in monological arias, we have only short instrumental sections (barely four measures of introduction), moreover balanced by the presence of a sophisticated instrumental section in the previous *recitativo*, and an absolute prevalence of a syllabic style, strongly related to the acting and declamation.

Mattia Rondelli From Manuscripts to Performance and
Recording of Sarti's Scores. An Interpretative Challenge

¶ At the end of 2007 I have started examining Sarti's autographs in the Faenza Biblioteca Manfrediana's fund. At a first approach, it was impressive to see Sarti's constant focus on demanding vocality, outstanding chorus texture and precious orchestrations. Thus, together with my colleague Stefano Squarzina, we decided to start editing the *Magnificat* in D major for soli, double choir and double orchestra, and the *Gloria* in G major for soli, chorus, and orchestra. The work on the manuscripts was mesmerizing, but after being invited by Valery Gergiev to perform and record (live) these pieces at the Mariinsky Theatre in St. Petersburg, my personal approach to the scores became suddenly problematic: there were a lot of questions to solve, not just the usual ones occurring in eighteenth-century music, namely many dynamics and articulations that were to be defined. The main question to solve was attributing a coherent historical allocation to Sarti's music. It was more than evident that he was son of his century with roots in the severe academic education, but not less evident was his personal achievement far beyond schemes and pure rules. His compositions were sort of avant-garde for his time, the use of winds, the theatrical vocality, the search of orchestral timbres and sound spatialization make Sarti a composer that leans to his next generation of Italian opera composers and shows a certain affinity with some more famous contemporaries of him.

As a matter of fact Sarti's manuscripts reveal him immediately as an Italian operist, in other words that his music is always strongly related not just to the "emotions" and meaning of the text but to every word of the lyrics. On the other hand, his music brings up a huge academic heritage in terms of form and severe counterpoint.

As an interpreter, the main question was whether this dichotomy was a sort of stylistic limit or a strategy to transform old compositional "tools" into a new perspective without severity. All these questions, and the samples that follow, are not supposed to have a certain answer nor to give a musicological definition on Sarti's score. They all concern, as a matter of method, a very demanding interpretative approach to this music in order to give a coherent and proper rendition of scores that do not have a background of an interpretative tradition and that were written by a composer who lived in manifold contexts and absorbed many different styles of almost an entire century. It's evident how Sarti makes all of them proper in order to go beyond schemes and rules. In simple words: I have often found articulations that I could easily identify as rhetorical figures; the option was whether to take them as really rhetorical, as meant few decades before, or whether they were used as a recognized form that should sustain a longer and more modern vocal and musical line.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 10. Te per orbem terrarum
sancta confitetur Ecclesia. | 10. Tebe po vsei vselennoi
Videt sviataia cerkov ispoveduietsia. |
| 11. Patrem immensae majestatis: | 11. Otza niepostijimaho velicestva |
| 12. Venerandum tuum verum,
et unicum Filium: | 12. Poclaniaemaho tvaego sviatoha,
istinnaho i edinaho syna: |
| 13. Sanctum quoque Paraclitum Spiritum. | 13. I sviatoho utezhitelia Duha i Otza. |
| 14. Tu Rex gloriae, Christe. | 14. Ty zariu slavi Criste. |
| 15. Tu Patris sempiternus es Filius. | 15. Ty otza i prisosuschnyi Sin iesi. |
| 16. Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem,
non horruisti Virginis uterum. | 16. Ty ko izbavleniu priemlesi celoveca ni
voshnuscialsia iesi deviceskaho chreva. |
| 17. Tu devicto mortis aculeo,
aperuisti credentibus regna coelorum. | 17. Ty odolev smerti jalo otverz' esi
veruiuschim zarstvo nebesnoie. |
| 18. Tu ad dexteram Dei sedes,
in gloria Patris. | 18. Tu odesnuiy Boha sedici
vo slave vcei. |
| 19. Judex crederis esse venturus. | 19. Sudia vericisia priiti. |
| 20. Te ergo quaesumus,
tuis famulis subveni,
quos pretioso sanguine redemisti. | 20. Tebe uboprosim
Pomosi rabam tvoim
Ije cestnoi kroviu iskupil esi. |
| 21. Aeterna fac
cum Sanctis tuis in gloria numerari. | 21. Spodobisia sviatumu tvoimi
V vecnoi slave tvoiei. |
| 22. Salvum fac populum tuum Domine,
et benedic haereditati tuae. | 22. Zarstvovati spasiteliu
Tvoia Hospodi. |
| 23. Et rege eos,
et extolle illos usque in aeternum. | 23. I blagoaslovi dostoianie tvoie
Ispravi i voznesi ih, |
| 24. Per singulos dies,
benedicimus te. | 24. Vo veki vo vsia dni
Blahoslovim tebe. |
| 25. Et laudamus nomen tuum in saeculum,
et in saeculum saeculi. | 25. I voshvalim imia tvoie vo veki
vetchnaia. |
| 26. Dignare Domine die isto
sine peccato nos custodire. | 26. Spodobi Hospodi v den sei
Bez greha sohranitsia nam. |
| 27. Miserere nostri Domine,
miserere nostri. | 27. Pomilui nas, Hospodi,
pomilui nas. |
| 28. Fiat misericordia tua Domine super nos,
quemadmodum speravimus in te. | 28. Budi milost tvoia hospodi na nas,
I koie ypovahom na tia. |
| 29. In te Domine speravi:
non confundar in aeternum. | 29. Ha tia Hospodi ypovahom:
Da ne postydimsia voveki. |

The table displays the concordance between Latin text and its Russian paraphrase. The textual and musical structure of these two main settings, along with their sources, are as follows:

1. *Tebe Boha hvalim* Autograph manuscript: I-FZc, RM cart. 20: *Tebe Boha hvalim*. *Composto per la presa di Oczakov G. Sarti*. The work is scored for double choir, double winds (flutes, oboe = clarinets, horns, trumpets), *tube grandi*, *tube piccole*,¹⁷ timpani,

¹⁷ The four-part chordal texture in the parts of *tube grandi* and *tube piccolo* are notated on the great staves each.

aeternum/Da ne postydimsia voveki” cannons fire again (this time, on each quarter note), accompanying the festive sound of the entire ensemble.

The high number of manuscript copies mirrors the stunning success of this composition:

- “Slavnaia cantata *Tebe Boga hvalim*, composed and performed in Kremenchug to celebrate the Imperial Prince Potemkin-Tavricheskii for his capture of Ochakov Fortress,”¹⁸ in the Russian National Library (Saltykov-Schedrin) in St. Petersburg (RUS-SPsc, 675-1-2). The manuscript is the copy transmitted from the Alexandro-Nevskii Lavra library, prepared for the August 30, 1790 performance in situ for the empress and higher society. The score features the same vocal and instrumental forces (including all the percussion instruments), refuting the claim that in this performance, due to its liturgical venue, cannons were replaced with drums (see further discussion);
- Another copy of the full score in the same venue (RUS-SPsc, 675-1-3: “*Te Deum* by Sarti composed for two choirs with cannons for the capture of Ochakov in 1785.” The erroneous date 1785 on its title page (picked up by the NGD worklist) caused confusion since the work proved to be compiled not earlier than December 1788;
- *Tebe Boga hvalim*, a copy of 1880, in the St. Petersburg State Conservatory library (RUS-SPk, no call number);
- *Tebe Boga hvalim*, a copy of 1880, in the Moscow State Conservatory library (RUS-Mk, E-670); this copy may serve as evidence that it was performed in Moscow during the late nineteenth century. The paper, marked “P. Jurgenson v Moskve”, may indicate that the Jurgenson music printing house intended to publish this score;
- The *Tebe Boga hvalim* copy of the choral parts only, text in Cyrillic, that is nowadays in the Russian Art History Institute (RUS-SPit, 2-1-880), formerly in the possession of the Imperial Sing Chapel archive.
- An *a cappella* copy in a manuscript collection of Russian choral concerts (RUS-SPsc, 1021-1-2): *Sobrabie duhovnikov konzertov. Bortniansky, Galuppi, Davidov, Sarti etc.* (1809), no. 2;¹⁹
- *Te Deum laudamus a due cori* = *Konzert Tebe boga hvalim*. This source, in I-Fc, F. P. Ch. 815, includes the score and twenty-four separate parts. The text is underlaid in both Latin and Cyrillic;

¹⁸ “Sochinennaia i proizvedennaia v Kremenchuge na pozdravlenie Imperskogo Kniazia Potemkina-Tavricheskogo po prichine vziatiia im Ochakovskoi kreposti”.

¹⁹ Out of 32 concertos three are composed by Sarti: nos. 1, 2, and 8.

As a matter of fact *La Sconfitta de' Cananei* is structured like a real opera seria rather than an oratorio: There is no narrator, the feelings and the plot are entirely developed through dialogues in recitatives and in the arias. The vocal parts in general are highly demanding due to a large ambitus and fast coloraturas for all voices, as well as the orchestral texture, which is definitely more than accompanying: The recitativi accompagnati are impressive for being not yet common in those times and for being very expressive and obsessively focused on text and "emotions". The music is in the text and vice versa: the characters, the nuances of the text and the idea of each statement are defined by the singers as well as by the orchestra. Moreover, whether the recitatives are accompagnati or not, the arias are all preceded by pretty long orchestral introductions. It is also interesting to notice how, from time to time, Sarti adopts the legacy of baroque rhetorical figures in order to comment and put text into music. It is also not meaningless to notice how all the arias are set in *da capo* form. Usually part A is very developed, rich in musical content, while part B is often set in a different key and sometimes in a different tempo as well. The *da capo* A' is normally just a summary and short recapitulation.

Last but not least, also the chorus has become a real character: the people of Israel. The three choral numbers present highly refined craftsmanship and equally dramatic solutions.

As a performer, for me, discovering composers of the past, and particularly Sarti, it is always a very fascinating challenge in order to give a meaningful rendition of style, character and energy. The main difficulty is managing to give a historical allocation to his production, specifically in this score, not yet performed. Unimaginable is the modernity of musical writing, forerunner of the so-called classical style that would have been affirmed a few years later. I do have the sensation of a mind going beyond his contemporaries, of scores projected and belonging to a period that we usually expect to arise later. A provocation: couldn't we consider, just after the given summary description, this oratorio as a result or a sort of coherent parallel with what it is usually defined as Gluck reformation?

Some musical examples 1. *Song of Deborah* The lyrics do not actually report the entire biblical poem, but just the end of it. Thus, the libretto's episode is introduced, described and given a huge strength. Undoubtedly the prominence of the prophetess Deborah's initial words are more than underlined by a full orchestra recitativo accompagnato of 42 bars. The declaimed invitation to the Israel people to get back to God is remarked by colourful and apodictic orchestral comments: fast ascendent scales and dotted rhythm make the music as meaningful as the text (Figure 1).

But in terms of orchestration, harmony, rhetorical function and articulation, the following c-minor aria represents a rich evidence of the whole composition's

FIGURE 6 Rough model for a link from the individual bar to an “ornament cloud”, where the most important ones are bigger in size and related ones placed in their neighborhood

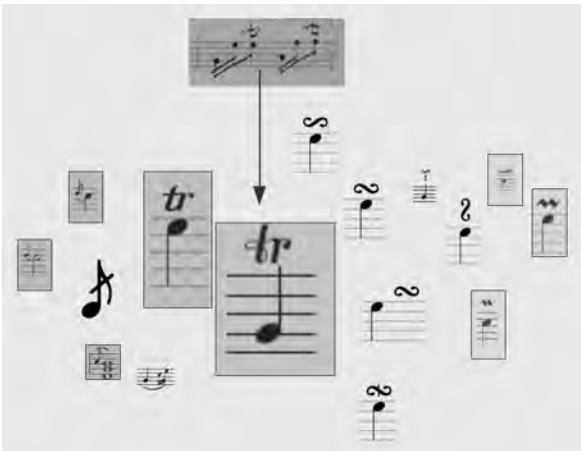


FIGURE 7 Marked corrections on one page of the viola part in the second impression of Weber's Clarinet Quintet (Berlin: A. M. Schlesinger, Plate-Number 183). When moving through the symbolized pages, the one which comes to the foreground is displayed in detail with markings of the corrected areas.