



Antonio Salieri's Musical Recycling: *Europa Riconosciuta*, *Tarare*, and *Cesare in Farmacusa*

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Abstract

The inaugural performance at Milan's La Scala theatre in 1778 represents one of the pivotal moments of Antonio Salieri's long and esteemed career. Imperial Kapellmeister to the Viennese Court from 1788–1824, and Director of the Italian Opera from 1774–1792, Salieri was one of the highest-ranking musicians in Europe during the latter half of the eighteenth century. His opera *Europa Riconosciuta*, commissioned for this inauguration on the recommendation of Gluck, begins one of the most interesting cases of musical re-use in his career. This article will explore the appearance of sections from *Europa Riconosciuta* in two of Salieri's later operas that achieved success in both Paris and Vienna: *Tarare* (1787, revised 1819) and *Cesare in Farmacusa* (1800).

Guiding this article are the following key questions:

1. How did Salieri re-contextualise the music of *Europa Riconosciuta* for these new works in terms of instrumentation and dramatic intent?
2. What could be some of the reasons for this reworking of music for three different operatic productions?

The most striking feature of this case is that both recycled sections consist of instrumental music. Salieri's manuscript *Ballettmusik*, held in the Austrian National Library, will form the basis of this investigation, raising questions of changes to instrumentation and possible structural reorganisation. Re-emerging as part of *Tarare*, the ballet manuscript and its contents present a contrasting process of revision to that of Salieri's re-orchestration and re-contextualisation of the overture for use in *Cesare in Farmacusa*. The use of this music in three separate operas, and the manuscript evidence that is left behind, can provide important insight into the compositional mind of Vienna's most senior musical figure.

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Antonio Salieri's *Ballettmusik* manuscript,¹ held in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek² as part of the central collection of Salieri's instrumental music, represents some of the most interesting palaeographic and compositional features in his instrumental oeuvre. Assumed to be a nondescript collection of ballet music, the manuscript defies the assertion by Christoph Wolff that the instrumental works of Salieri and his contemporaries 'invariably added up to a few largely inconsequential compositions'.³ The music contained in this manuscript does, in fact, constitute a multifaceted work that was central to two of Salieri's international operatic successes, *Europa Riconosciuta* (Milan, 1778) and *Tarare* (Paris, 1787, revised 1819).⁴ The score provides a duplicate purpose, spanning four decades and for use in two separate musical centres. Very little is known about the compositional processes and standards for ballet music throughout the late eighteenth century, despite many of the great composers of the period writing substantial amounts as part of operatic and other dramatic works. Salieri's most influential mentors, Gassmann and Gluck, were pivotal figures in the development of ballet music and its role in wider works throughout the period, and so it is unsurprising that Salieri, as one of the most senior figures in European music and a central player in the Viennese musical culture, was also active in this compositional area. *Europa Riconosciuta* appears to have been particularly fruitful for Salieri, as it not only informed the music of *Tarare*, but he also repurposed the opera's 'Tempesta di Mare' overture for his later Viennese work, *Cesare in Farmacusa* (1800). This study will focus on the musical recycling of this ballet music and operatic overture by Vienna's Imperial Kapellmeister, as Salieri adapted the music in various ways, including in terms of instrumentation and dramatic purpose, and these will be explored throughout the course of this article.

Previous scholarly attention to Salieri's instrumental oeuvre as a specific area has been scarce, with even less study given to his ballet music, and the manuscripts held in library collections that are known to definitely, or potentially, belong to this genre. Elena Biggi Parodi's work surrounding the *Ballettmusik* manuscript specifically has proven to be seminal in the understanding of how Salieri composed his ballet music for *Europa Riconosciuta* and *Tarare*, and the work of this article and author's wider PhD research will build upon the foundations laid in her observational work. Parodi has noted that this score, corresponding to the *Ballo primo* of *Europa Riconosciuta*,⁵ is 'one of the few ballets incorporated directly into the opera that have reached us from Italian opera of the eighteenth century'.⁶ Through this incorporation, the ballet is placed within a dramatic context that aids in the identification of

¹ Antonio Salieri, *Ballettmusik*, Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Mus.Hs.3762 (A-Wn: 3762).

² Hereafter, ÖNB.

³ Christoph Wolff, *Mozart at the Gateway to his Fortune: Serving the Emperor, 1788-1791* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2012), 25.

⁴ Permission has been granted by the ÖNB for all manuscript examples used throughout this article.

⁵ There were two ballets present in the opera at the opening of La Scala in 1778: the *Ballo primo* at the end of Act 1 was composed by Salieri, whilst the second *Ballo* at the end of Act 2 was composed by Luigi de Baillou.

⁶ Elena Biggi Parodi, "Preliminary observations on the 'Ballo primo' of 'Europa riconosciuta' by Antonio Salieri: Milan, La Scala Theatre, 1778," *Revercare*, 16 (2004), 269. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41701428>.

musical structure and purpose, as each movement corresponds with a scene written into the libretto of the opera. The manuscript, as with much of Salieri's surviving instrumental oeuvre, has been preserved in a disordered state: the titular movement, containing all of the marginalia pertaining to the various uses of the music, is found around halfway through the manuscript, appearing as the fifth movement in the current order.

It is not unusual for Salieri's instrumental works, in particular those thought to be for ballet, to have survived in a fragmentary state. In fact, another manuscript housed in the ÖNB is catalogued under the title *Bruchstücke zu Ballettmusiken, bẏp. Serenaten*, perpetuating the disordered and neglected state of the oeuvre. However, despite the musical disparities within the manuscript, *Ballettmusik* contains seven separate movements, corresponding to the seven scenes of Verazi's *Ballo primo* for *Europa Riconosciuta*. Parodi, in her study of this manuscript,⁷ has reorganized these movements in an attempt to plot a clear path through the music in relation to its narrative purposes, and so this study will not focus on that area of analysis, but rather on the specific analysis of the historical, orchestral, and dramatic influences on the manuscript that make it such an interesting study within Salieri's instrumental oeuvre.

To understand these elements, there must first be some understanding as to the current state of the manuscript now housed in the ÖNB, and the impact that this has had on the understanding of the source's purpose and place within Salieri's wider oeuvre. The current structure of the manuscript, as found in the ÖNB today, is as follows:⁸

- Movement '1', in F major, scored for 2 Horns in F; 2 Oboes; Violin I+II; Viola (tacet); Bassoon; 'Cello; Basso.
- Movement '2', in F major, scored for 2 Horns in F; 2 Oboes; Violin I+II; Viola (tacet); Bassoon; 'Cello; Basso.
- Movement '3', in F major, scored for 2 Horns in F; 2 Oboes; Violin I+II; Viola (tacet); Bassoon; 'Cello; Basso.
- Movement '4', in D major, scored for 2 Horns in D; 2 Oboes; Flute (tacet); Violin I+II; Viola (tacet); Bassoon; 'Cello; Basso.
- Movement '5', in E-flat major, scored for 2 Horns in E-flat; 2 Flutes; Oboe; Clarinet; Violin I+II; Viola; Bassoon; Timpani; Basso.
- Movement '6', scored for Oboe (tacet); Violin I+II; Viola; Basso.
- Movement '7', scored for 2 Horns; 2 Oboes; Violin I+II; Viola; 'Cello; Basso.

As previously stated, this manuscript has been hiding in plain sight through a lack of organisation and attention given to the contents. As a result, an important source in Salieri's compositional oeuvre lay tucked away—an unassuming manuscript labelled simply *Ballettmusik*—until almost two centuries after the death of its composer. Parodi has noted that the fact that these autograph scores were 'bound together in a haphazard way, is not at all unusual',⁹ and it is now the task of this study to deepen further the lines of enquiry and

⁷ Parodi, "Preliminary observations," 269.

⁸ The instrumental outline of all movements follows the 'most recent' iterations within the manuscripts, and variances between these and any crossed-out instruments will be discussed as the article progresses.

⁹ Parodi, "Preliminary observations," 275.

analysis of how specifically this manuscript was repurposed for a revival production of *Tarare* in 1819, over four decades after its debut in Milan in 1778.

For the purposes of this article, the focus will be upon the fifth movement of the manuscript, ‘Andante Maestoso’, and its opening page which contains an extraordinary amount of detail pertaining to various performance and historical issues. Its placement is likely a result of the ‘haphazard’ binding, as the significant amount of extra-musical information present is both unusual in Salieri’s manuscript repertoire and indicative of an original placement at the beginning of the ballet narrative that this music accompanies. There are two distinct ‘layers’ to the manuscript: the first corresponds to the original production of *Europa Riconosciuta* in Milan, and the second to Paris’ *Tarare*—in its current state. The information present relates to the music’s reworking for *Tarare*; however, if we look beneath the surface, with its scribbled crossings-out and scrubbed musical material, an understanding of the music’s original state can be asserted. Here, when using the term ‘original’, it is in reference to the first incarnation of the music, and not to distinguish ideas of authority or authenticity within the manuscript: both versions of this music are important in the way that they correlate with their respective productions, and ‘original’ simply refers to the first of these musical iterations, as both are present on the pages alongside each other. From this author’s study of other autograph manuscripts in Salieri’s repertoire, it is apparent that this working and re-working of music for multiple productions, all housed together within one manuscript, is extremely rare. Salieri has proven to be a meticulous composer, who would often stick pages together with wax or entirely block out lines or errors in the music to create legible and clear manuscript copies. In the case of the shared overture for *Europa Riconosciuta* and *Cesare in Farmacusa*, which will be discussed later in this article, both iterations appear as standalone pieces within the manuscripts of their respective productions. It is not clear why Salieri chose to approach his ballet music for the two productions in this anomalous fashion, however, it provides us with a particularly interesting case for both historical and analytical study. The following analysis will assess the manuscript in terms of these two layers, beginning with that of *Europa Riconosciuta*.

Ballettmusik for *Europa Riconosciuta*

As previously stated, the information present for the *Europa Riconosciuta* version of *Ballettmusik* is crossed out. For this analysis, however, it will now be considered on its own merits, with a focussed lens upon the music prior to its updating by Salieri for *Tarare*. A logical starting point in the study of this marginalia is the inscription of both a place and date: ‘In Milano 1778’. The presence of this date alone is extremely revealing when considering both the purpose of this music and how it fits into the rest of Salieri’s vast compositional career. It is no coincidence that Joseph II’s ‘Singspiel’ venture and Salieri’s period away from Vienna coincided: the dispersal of the Viennese opera buffa troupe¹⁰ in early 1778 freed up the court composer’s schedule for perhaps what was the first time since he arrived in Vienna in 1766. There were virtually no Italian opera performances at the Viennese court theatres for the next five years, and Salieri therefore had a musical hiatus there between 1776 and 1781. During this time, he received commissions in Milan, Venice, Rome, Munich, and Paris; the first of these was the focus of the *Ballettmusik* manuscript

¹⁰ John A. Rice, *Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 255.

contents. *Europa Riconosciuta* was dedicated to ‘Il serenissimo Arciduca Ferdinando... e la serenissima Arciduchessa Maria Ricciarda Beatrice D’Este,’¹¹ the brother of Joseph II who held the position of Governor of the Duchy of Milan, and his wife. It is clear from this dedication that Salieri was active within imperial circles beyond Vienna, and this inaugural ‘solenne occasione’¹² in Milan was the most appropriate starting point for the Italian tour of Joseph II’s Director of Italian Opera and future Kapellmeister.

Further to this, there are three other pieces of information present that further consolidate this assertion of purpose for Salieri’s Italian debut at La Scala. First, below the place and date, ‘d’Ant Salie [sic]’ provides an equally unusual indicator that this music is indeed by Salieri. Many of his other autograph manuscripts within the oeuvre do not include such an obvious composer signature: this is unsurprising if we are to assume that their general purpose was for Salieri’s own compositional processes and reference, taking place within the Viennese court where he was known to other musicians, copyists, and other colleagues. In this case, however, Parodi asserts that for its later use as part of a *Tarare* production, Salieri ‘had sent pages copied by a scribe... [and] if Salieri had neglected to cross out his own name with a line, even this would have been copied’.¹³ As the music was itself being inserted into a wider body of Salieri work, this was not necessary, and so explains the reasoning for the implied elimination of this information; however, it does not help us to understand the purpose of its inclusion in the initial version of the manuscript. One can only hypothesize as why this occurred, given its exceptional role within the Salieri repertoire. Perhaps he wished to clarify who the music was by for copyists at La Scala, due to the inclusion of two ballets as part of *Europa Riconosciuta*, each by a different composer. Or, perhaps, due to the timing of the work as part of Salieri’s first significant international tour, it was deemed essential by the composer as part of the logistical organisation of his music: it is not known whether the music travelled with him, stayed in Milan, or was sent back to Vienna, so indicating as much as possible within the manuscript may have aided in the immediate organisation of his works composed during this time. Whatever this reasoning may be, the inclusion of a true ‘autograph’ within this autograph manuscript provides an unusual, yet hugely insightful confirmation of provenance when building a contemporary understanding of Salieri’s instrumental oeuvre.

The final two pieces of information included in this ‘original layer’ pertain to the dramatic purpose of the music and provide pragmatic indicators of location within the work and narrative association. ‘Ballo primo’ is self-explanatory, denoting the purpose of the music as being for the ballet at the close of Act 1 within *Europa Riconosciuta*. Once again, it is the only known inclusion of a direct indication of ballet music within the oeuvre¹⁴ and also pertains to what can be assumed to have been Salieri’s organisational systems when composing large-scale productions with multiple elements. Next to this, there is a legible—yet partially obscured, due to its modern binding—annotation that provides important information as to the narrative purpose of the music, as highlighted and translated by Parodi: ‘Gli schiavi

¹¹ *Frontespizio Europa Riconosciuta*, La Scala Archives (1778).

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Parodi, “Preliminary Observations,” 272.

¹⁴ As known to the author at this time. It is possible that more manuscripts may contain similar titles and indications, however these have not yet surfaced throughout the period of research undertaken thus far.

vegono condotti all'arena (The slaves are led to the arena).¹⁵ Dramatic purpose within this manuscript is particularly important in understanding Salieri's compositional decisions and later revisions of the music, and will be discussed in further detail in a later section of this article. Now, the assessment of this source shall move beyond that of the marginalia and focus upon some of the most interesting results of this 'double layer' of composition within the manuscript, that of changes to orchestration and the subsequent understanding of compositional scope and performance practices for both *Europa Riconosciuta* and *Tarare*.

The Instrumental Possibilities of Milan and Paris

Both *Europa Riconosciuta* and *Tarare* were scored for instrumental forces as dictated by La Scala and the Paris Opéra, indicated through these two 'layers' of composition within the manuscript. Table 1 exemplifies these varying orchestral possibilities and forms the basis of discussion and in-depth analysis of the source through providing a window into the lifespan of the manuscript and its multiple musical uses.

<i>Europa Riconosciuta</i> 'ballo primo'	<i>Tarare</i> 'Acte 3'
Trumpet in E-flat I+II	Trumpet in E-flat I+II
Horn in E-flat I+II	Horn in E-flat I+II
Flute I+II	Flute I+II
Oboe I+II	Oboe I+II
Bassoon I+II	Clarinet I+II
Timpani	Bassoon I+II
Violin I+II	Timpani
Viola	Violin I+II
Basso	Viola
	Basso

Table 1: Instrumental forces indicated in *Ballettmusik*, page 38.¹⁶

Beyond this manuscript, there is also a scribal copy of *Europa Riconosciuta* housed in the library of the Conservatorio di Milano, which once again diverges in instrumental make-up: 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, violins I+II, 2 violas, 'cello, and basso.¹⁷ This reduced scoring raises doubts as to the validity, at least in terms of performance realisation, of Salieri's instrumentation as outlined in *Ballettmusik*. Contemporary accounts have attested to the huge size of the orchestra, upwards of seventy players for this inaugural performance,¹⁸ which does not fully support the scaled-back forces described in the scribal copy, thereby calling into question the purpose of both this Milan copy and the original Salieri manuscript. Unfortunately, there are no surviving orchestral records from La Scala during this period. Important information regarding the orchestra forces employed at the inaugural performance on 3 August 1778 has, however, been preserved in a letter from Pietro Verri

¹⁵ Parodi, "Preliminary Observations," 271.

¹⁶ A-Wn: 3762.

¹⁷ Elena Biggi Parodi, *Catalogo tematico delle composizioni teatrali di Antonio Salieri: Gli autografi* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2005), 310.

¹⁸ Alessandra Palidda, "Milan 1790–1802: Music, Society and Politics in the City of Many Regimes" (PhD Thesis: Cardiff University, 2017), 62.

to his brother Alessandro. Verri's correspondence spans from 1766 to 1797 and provides insight into many of the key events of Milan during this time. Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell has highlighted this orchestral list as laid out by Verri, and thus we can understand the size and layout of the La Scala instrumental forces for the inaugural performance of *Europa Riconosciuta* as follows:¹⁹

- 30 Violini
- 8 Viole
- 13a Violoncelli/Contrabassi/Bassi (di Ripieno)
- 2 Cembali
- 2 Flauti
- 6 Oboé/Clarineti
- 2 Fagotti
- 4 Corni da caccia
- 4 Trombe (da caccia)
- 1 Timpani.

This list supports the hypothesis that Salieri's *Ballettmusik* corresponds with the 'Ballo Primo' of *Europa Riconosciuta*.²⁰ The instrumental forces align almost exactly, with just the 'Cembali' missing from the manuscript. Convention at La Scala dictated that the composer sat at the large harpsichord and directed the proceedings for, at least, the first three performances,²¹ suggesting that it was entirely possible that Salieri played for this inaugural event, and therefore may not have needed music beyond this orchestral score. Furthermore, other known Salieri orchestral manuscripts follow a similar outline, so it is not unusual within the repertoire that harpsichord music or figured bass are absent from the source.

Much can be gleaned from the instrumental layout of the manuscript in question, regarding Salieri's potential compositional processes and the development of this music for the later production of *Tarare*. As can be seen from Table 1 and the autograph extract shown in Figure 1 (see Appendix), the only addition to the manuscript for this later production was the inclusion of clarinets—a seemingly quick fix by Salieri to take advantage of the woodwind forces available at the Paris Opéra.²² These clarinets have been somewhat 'squeezed' into the manuscript, doubling the existing oboe staves in a practice reminiscent of Salieri's mentor, Gluck. Evidence within the manuscript that supports this later addition of clarinets is twofold; the placement of the instrument name within the staff and the lack of a dedicated staff for this clarinet line.

¹⁹ Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell, *Opera and Ballet at the Regio Ducal Teatro of Milan, 1771-1776: A Musical and Social History* (PhD Thesis: University of California, Berkeley, 1979), 245.

²⁰ A further in-depth study of these two manuscript sources and their potential uses within the inaugural season of La Scala, particularly in terms of the instrumental disparities, would provide an extremely interesting insight into compositional practices and orchestral forces at work during this period in Milan and beyond. Due to restrictions of both article scope and source access at this time, many of these assertions are based upon historical and scholarly evidence surrounding the sources, and so further assessment of the Milan manuscript would provide further clarity on this issue.

²¹ Hansell, *Opera and Ballet at the Regio Ducal Teatro of Milan*, 252.

²² By the time of *Tarare*, the clarinet would have been well established in Paris, as there is reference to clarinets being utilized as part of the orchestra at the Paris Opéra from the late-1740s onwards, as highlighted in: Colin Lawson, *Mozart: Clarinet Concerto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 6. <https://doi-org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/10.1017/CBO9781139166737>

The first of these is most convincing, as the ‘Oboe’ denotation is included in the centre of the stave, typical of Salieri’s practice when outlining his instrumental forces at the start of a piece of music and showing the clear intention of that particular line being for the oboes within the original manuscript purpose. In contrast, the accompanying ‘Clarineti’ denotation is rather squashed above, written as ‘Clarineti ed Oboe’ to distinguish that this two-instrument line is to be doubled by both instruments. However, there is some overlap of this ‘Clarineti ed’ with the already existing ‘Oboe’, indicating that this was a later addition by Salieri, an assumption that is supported by the composer’s use of a single stave for both woodwind instruments. Generally, in Salieri’s instrumental manuscripts each separate instrument receives its own stave regardless of whether it is doubling another instrument or not, providing a clear layout that is easy for both composer and performer to follow, if necessary. This ‘Andante Maestoso’ movement exemplifies this through its ‘Flauti’ and ‘Oboe’ lines, as both follow the same melodic line for a significant portion of the movement. The fact that this is not adhered to across the orchestral forces within the movement is indicative that there were changes to this music for a new musical centre and purpose, as explored in the case of the clarinet.

However, the manuscript also features a ‘Trombe e Corni in E-flat’ stave, once again using two doubling instruments in a way that is unusual in Salieri’s instrumental works. In this case, it is believed that the two instruments are present in both *Europa Riconosciuta* and *Tarare*, as not only were horns and trumpets fairly staple instruments in dramatic music by the time of the 1770s, but the written assignment of the two to their stave is in what appears to be the same ink and spaced as if written as one instruction. Furthermore, there are some interesting changes to the top three staves of the manuscript that are anomalous within the repertoire. All three have been crossed out and re-assigned in terms of instrumentation; this is to be assumed to have taken place prior to the music’s premiere as part of *Europa Riconosciuta*, the reasonings for which will now be discussed.

If taking the instrumentation crossed out within page 38 of *Ballettmusik*, the manuscript would read ‘Trombe – Corni – Flauto – Oboe – Violini – Viole – Fagotti – Timpani – Basso’. Apart from the timpani, which appears here to have replaced the regular cello line, this is the standard layout of many of Salieri’s instrumental manuscripts, indicating that these were the general orchestral forces available to the composer at home in Vienna. The dating of this manuscript to 1778 provides further context for these other manuscripts; we can assume that many of the works housed in the ÖNB are from this period. It is important to note that the inclusion of both flute and viola lines does not mean that they were always utilized; in many of Salieri’s other instrumental compositions these lines are present, but often labelled ‘tacet’. This raises a number of important questions as to the Viennese orchestral layout and Salieri’s own compositional process. Parodi has stated that the lack of flutes in the Milan scribal copy is ‘exceptional in Salieri’s compositions ... [and would] explain why the music for flutes in the autograph version conserved in Vienna is clearly an addition’.²³ From the evidence supplied by other Salieri manuscripts, it can be argued that it is actually not exceptional that there is a lack of flutes in the Milan score, but rather that there is a presence of flutes in Salieri’s autograph manuscript. Most interesting is the fact that these lines are fully developed within the music, alongside completed viola lines. This

²³ Parodi, “Preliminary Observations,” 275.

would indicate that Salieri was, at least, expecting to have a full complement of orchestral forces at his disposal in Milan, whether or not this actually came to fruition in performance. This is further supported by the orchestral layout as highlighted by Verri. It seems clear that these orchestral changes at the top of the manuscript, from the standard ‘Trombe – Corni – Flauto’ to ‘Trombe e Corni in E-flat – Flauti’ were an initial addition to the ballet’s music. The ‘Flauti’ lines are clear and established, with little to no signs of the extensive revising and re-translating that would be necessary to change from an original horn stave. Further evidence to support this is the clear inclusion of a key signature at the start of the flute staves, both in line with those of the rest of the orchestra and not squashed into a space that was not originally meant for them. When surveying all of this evidence, it seems to be clear that Salieri would likely have written his orchestral outline as standard onto manuscript paper ahead of time, and, in this case, decided to change the forces used when composing for a new musical centre at a much later date, for a performance of *Tarare*.

Instrumentation in the Overtures of Milan and Vienna

A similar assessment of the orchestral changes between the overtures of *Europa Riconosciuta* and *Cesare in Farmacusa* can also be undertaken. In contrast to the use of ballet music for two productions outside of Vienna, Salieri makes use of the overture to *Europa Riconosciuta* almost twenty years later in his ‘home’ city, for a work at the very end of his active operatic career. It is well known that Salieri dedicated the last twenty-five years of his life to the revision of existing works, so this recycling of music and its placement within the compositional timeline is particularly interesting. *Cesare in Farmacusa*—a *dramma eroicomico* that premiered in 1800 and was regarded in part by some as a masterpiece²⁴—is right on the cusp of Salieri’s original and revisionist periods, providing further context for the possible reasons behind this musical recycling. Both this overture and the ‘ballo primo’ that was used in a later production of *Tarare* fall within the remit of Salieri’s semi-retirement, in the sense that he composed little to no new music from 1800-1825. Parodi highlights that, in the reuse of this overture, Salieri demonstrates a conviction of relevance of the music and its material in its new context,²⁵ which is an important perspective to remember in the assessment of both cases of musical recycling showcased in this study. The use of the same overture material for *Europa Riconosciuta* and *Cesare in Farmacusa* follows many of the same conventions as that of the ‘ballo primo’, with similarities in dramatic setting and revisions to instrumentation that reflects the changing centre of performance.

Once again, instrumentation plays an important role in the understanding of the revision and recontextualization of this music for *Cesare in Farmacusa*. Furthermore, the original instrumentation for the overture of *Europa Riconosciuta* can serve as supporting evidence in the ambiguous case of the opera’s ‘ballo primo’. The orchestration of *Europa Riconosciuta*—outlined in Table 2—the same as in Salieri’s 1778 *Ballettmusik* score, with separate flute and oboe parts, and an absence of clarinets. The fact that there are now two separate sources

²⁴ Rice, *Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera*, 585.

²⁵ Elena Biggi Parodi, “Un caso emblematico della convergenza dei generi: la sinfonia d’introduzione di *Europa Riconosciuta* (Milano, 1778) riutilizzata in *Cesare in Farmacusa* (Vienna, 1800), quale luogo di sperimentazione della corrispondenza fra musica e gesto,” in Rudolph Angermüller and Elena Biggi Parodi, *Antonio Salieri (1750-1825) e il teatro musicale a Vienna: convenzioni, innovazioni, contaminazioni stilistiche* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2012), 118.

that follow this orchestral layout—one an autograph and the other a scribal copy²⁶—further supports the view that Salieri was composing for such an ensemble as documented by Verri in his account of the inaugural La Scala performance.

<i>Europa Riconosciuta</i>	<i>Cesare in Farmacusa</i>
Trumpet in G I+II	Trumpet in D I+II
Horn in G I+II	Horn in D I+II
Flute I+II	Flute I+II
Oboe I+II	Oboe I+II
Violin I+II	Clarinet in A I+II
Viola	Violin I+II
Bassoon	Viola
‘Cello	Bassoon
Basso	Timpani
	‘Cello
	Bassi

Table 2: Instrumental forces in the overtures of *Europa Riconosciuta* and *Cesare in Farmacusa*.²⁷

The source that forms the basis of assessment for the *Europa Riconosciuta* overture is a scribal copy (A-Wn: 17836)²⁸ held in the ÖNB and thought to have originated in Milan in 1778, as identified by both the online catalogue entry for the source and its opening title page. Further supporting this conclusion is the referral from the La Scala archives to the ÖNB for the opera score, presumably assimilated as part of the large collection of Salieri manuscripts held in Vienna. All of these elements, when placed alongside each other, point to the source A-Wn: 17836 being that of the original scribal copy of the opera. When assessing the manuscript itself, there are clear contrasts with that of *Ballettmusik*—in terms of the type of paper used, scribal hand, and musical organisation—that set it apart from Salieri’s autograph compositional process. A-Wn: 17836 is extremely clear in its notation; there are no scribbles, scrubbing out, or sheets glued together to disguise errors or altered sections of music. As a result, we can infer that this source was used either as the performance copy or as a commemorative score for the inaugural operatic event of 1778: the title page, shown in Figure 2 (see Appendix), is extremely florid, with a border of cherubs, mermaids, and even sections of the overture featured in miniature scrolls. This is a marked contrast to Salieri’s autographs, which often omit a title page. As a result, the authority of this source as a clear scribal copy that was likely written for a purpose within the inaugural performances of 1778 at La Scala can help to inform our understanding of its much rougher counterpart, Salieri’s *Ballettmusik* manuscript.

In contrast to the instrumentation of *Europa Riconosciuta*, the later iteration of this ‘Tempesta di Mare’ for *Cesare in Farmacusa* employs a larger ensemble, with additional

²⁶ Both sources are housed in the ÖNB.

²⁷ Antonio Salieri, *Europa Riconosciuta*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Mus.Hs.17836/1 (A-Wn: 17836). Antonio Salieri, *Cesare in Farmacusa*, Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mus.Hs.16513/1 (A-Wn: 16513).

²⁸ Reference to the contents of this score throughout this short section will use the library sigla for the manuscript to avoid confusion, as there are multiple versions of the *Europa Riconosciuta* score held at the ÖNB.

clarinets and timpani. As in *Tarare*, clarinets appear to be the main development in Salieri's orchestral palate. As already seen, timpani did feature in *Europa Riconosciuta*'s 'Ballo Primo', and Salieri is known for his particularly imaginative and attentive writing for the instrument in other operas of this earlier period.²⁹ In the case of Vienna, clarinets were a common orchestral instrument, featuring in operas since the 1780s, so it is no surprise that Salieri should have included them in his re-orchestration of this overture in 1800. *Cesare in Farmacusa* is one of a trio of Salieri operas that premiered at the turn of the century, sandwiched between his gender-progressive works *Falstaff, ossia Le tre burle* (1799) and *L'Angiolina ossia Il matrimonio per Susurro* (1800). All three premiered at the Kärntnertortheater and all three featured two clarinets in A.

Despite the first known appearance in Vienna of clarinetists Anton and Johann Stadler being in 1773,³⁰ there is little evidence to suggest that the clarinet was widely available in Viennese orchestras during that time—little evidence in Salieri's wider repertoire from this period, at least. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to speculate that, by the turn of the nineteenth century, clarinets had become a staple instrument in the orchestra of the Kärntnertortheater, resulting in their inclusion in Salieri's operatic ventures at that time. If we look beyond the clarinets to the rest of the orchestra featured in the sinfonias of these two other Kärntnertortheater productions, it becomes clear that Salieri's orchestral expansions for *Cesare in Farmacusa* were in response to the orchestral forces available in Vienna. All three opera overtures are written for the instrumentation featured in Table 2: the only difference is that in the scores for both *Falstaff*³¹ and *L'Angiolina*³² the 'cello and basso are not written on separate lines. A most important consideration, however, is that all the wind and brass instruments are universally present across these three scores, indicating that the orchestral forces in Vienna had developed to include both trumpets and clarinets as a standard instrument by this point. This further supports the view that Salieri was composing in a pragmatic style that was dependent upon the resources available and the musical tastes of those who commissioned his works and his royal benefactors.

Dramatic Connections

As a composer for opera and other dramatic musical settings, Salieri was very much narrative-focused when it came to his compositions and collaborated with a wide range of librettists throughout his career. This is particularly pertinent to this study of his musical recycling in *Europa Riconosciuta*, *Tarare*, and *Cesare in Farmacusa*—the narrative connections between the subjects can provide further insight to the potential reasonings for this atypical reuse of both overture and ballet music. McClymonds has noted that Salieri's 'musical forms are highly individualized and well suited to the dramatic situation ... He is skilled at musical characterization and programmatic imagery.'³³ It is the synthesis of these elements that

²⁹ David Charlton, "Salieri's Timpani," *The Musical Times*, 112 (October 1971), 962. <http://www.jstor.com/stable/955039>.

³⁰ Lawson, *Mozart: Clarinet Concerto*, 4.

³¹ Antonio Salieri, *Falstaff, ossia le tre burle: Opera comica in due atti.*, Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Mus.Hs.16191 (A-Wn: 16191).

³² *Angiolina*, Dresden Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Mus.3796-F-500 (D-DI: 3796-F-500).

³³ Marita Petzoldt McClymonds, "Salieri and the Franco-Italian Synthesis: *Armida* and *Europa Riconosciuta*," in *Antonio Salieri (1750-1825) e il teatro musicale a Vienna: convenzioni, innovazioni, contaminazioni stilistiche. Convegno*

allows for such effective reprogramming of this music for both *Tarare* and *Cesare in Farmacusa* respectively, as the musical interpretations that first found a home in *Europa Riconosciuta* were applied to specific dramatic narrative elements that were shared with these later works. Whilst utilising these ‘highly individualized’ musical forms, Salieri was also exercising economic compositional processes. Recycling his own music for use in a similar narrative setting would not only have saved Salieri a significant portion of time but would also have showcased the music to a wider audience that it otherwise may not have reached.

Before diving deeper into these specific narrative links, attention will first be given to the idea of a pragmatic recycling of music for reasons of time management. Both *Tarare* and *Cesare in Farmacusa* were composed during busy periods of Salieri’s compositional career. The former was written during his Paris sojourn of 1786–1788, with later revisions taking place during a time when original composition had all but ceased. The latter was one of three operas premiered in the space of a year. If Salieri was trying to save some time in the compositional process—and searching for the operatic success for he is so well-remembered today—then it is not inconceivable that he would turn to existing music in his repertoire. This also raises further questions as to other instrumental manuscripts of unknown origin within Salieri’s oeuvre—held in the ÖNB—that are beyond the scope of this article; further study of potential cases of ‘stock’ music or recycled materials within the Salieri repertoire may produce some interesting results.

The Symphonic Overture

In the assessment of Salieri’s musical recycling as a response to narrative similarities, we shall first turn to the case of the symphonic overture in both *Europa Riconosciuta* and *Cesare in Farmacusa*. The most conspicuous narrative link between the two operas is the description of a ‘Tempesta di Mare’ above the start of each overture. Translated as ‘Sea Storm’, this immediately creates a distinct setting for the drama that is extremely atmospheric within the opening scenes of both productions. The turbulent nature of the storm is evoked through the use of fast-paced tremolos, rising and falling semiquaver movement, and the juxtaposition of forte and piano sections within the music that often is accompanied by a reduction or expansion of the texture. No doubt this musical evocation of the storm was a reflection of Salieri’s collaboration with librettist Mattia Verazi in Milan. Known for his incorporation of both ballet and pantomime into operas at numerous points in the narrative (a practice that pushed the envelope of the eighteenth century opera beyond its usual conventions), Verazi also inserted footnotes pertaining to actions, gestures and musical events into his librettos, exercising a larger amount of control over the direction of the work than was usual in the eighteenth century.³⁴ In this way, he was similar to Salieri’s *Tarare* collaborator Beaumarchais, who will be considered later in this article. There is no doubting that the resulting overture for *Europa Riconosciuta* was effective in its dramatic evocations, and perhaps this close collaboration and tight direction from his librettist in 1778 led Salieri to create music that he felt would be just as effective in his later work for a Viennese

Internazionale di Studi, Legnano 18–20 aprile 2000, eds. Rudolph Angermüller and Elena Biggi Parodi, (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2012), 87.

³⁴ Rice, *Salieri and Viennese Opera*, 259.

audience. This detail is showcased in the original libretto for *Europa Riconosciuta*, in which Verazi sets the scene for the action that will accompany the overture:

Deserta spiaggia di mare. Selva da un lato: rupi dall' altro; fra le quali sterpi, cespugli, e ferpeggianti edere adombran l'ingresso d' un'oscura, e profonda caverna. Tempesta con lampi, tuoni, pioggia, sibilo di venti, e fragor di sconvolti flutti. (1) Durante la medesima si vede in lontananza numerosa flotta di legni. Alcuni sommergonsi miseramente nell' onde; altri si perdono affatto di vista. Da un lacero vascello, che viene impetuosamente ad urtar contro il lido, sortono...

*Asterio, Europa, e un picciolo fanciullo, con varie donzelle seguaci d' Europa, ed alcuni guerrieri Cretensi*³⁵

Deserted beach of the sea. Forest on one side: cliffs on the other; among which brushwood, bushes, and ferny ivy overshadow the entrance to a dark, deep cavern. Storm with lightning, thunder, rain, whistling winds, and roar of angry waves. (1) During the storm a large fleet of ships is seen in the distance. Some of them sink miserably in the waves, others are lost from sight. From a ragged vessel, which is impetuously crashing against the shore, emerges...

Asterio, Europa, and a small child, with various maidens, followers of Europa, and some Cretan warriors.

Here, the audience is immediately invested in the characters' plight and their surroundings, as laid out so meticulously by Verazi. From assessing these overtures and their libretto side by side, it is clear that Salieri chose for the musical focus to be on the storm and subsequent shipwrecks. These are the connecting features between the two operas, and arguably provide opening scenes that transcend the genre disparities of *Europa Riconosciuta's* opera seria and *Cesare in Farmacusa's* dramma eroicomico. As already mentioned, Salieri was concerned with creating works that portrayed the dramatic narrative, and so issues of genre were of no concern when finding plausible links for the recycling of effective musical material. *Cesare in Farmacusa* also features an opening scene description, and despite it being less evocative in style and more focussed on narrative outline, it lays out, in the words of librettist Prospero de Franceschi, the programmatic 'Tempesta di Mare':

Veduta di mare. Durante la sinfonia, si vede il mare in burrasca, si scorgono varie navi, che lottano colle onde. Sulle navi si trovano Medistone, Nicanore, ed altri Pirati, i quali pur finalmente approdano, assistiti da Termuti e suo seguito dalla parte dell'Isola. Durate la scena, si conducono successivamente a terra sopra varj battelli parecchi Prigionieri Romani, fra' quali Cesare, come pure d'altre Nazioni, da essi battelli si vedranno pure scaricare varie case, forzieri, involti ec., che formano parte della preda³⁶

View of the sea. During the symphony the sea is seen to be in a storm, and various ships are seen struggling with the waves. On the ships are Medistone, Nicanore, and other pirates, who finally land, assisted by Termuti and his retinue on the side of the island. During the course of the scene, several Roman

³⁵ Mattia Verazi, *Europa Riconosciuta: Il libretto originale dell'opera di Salieri e Verazi in edizione facsimile per la riapertura del Teatro alla Scala 7 dicembre 2004* (Milano: Ricordi, 2004), 15.

³⁶ Parodi, *Catalogo tematico*, 154.

prisoners, including Caesar, as well as prisoners of other nations, are taken ashore in various boats, from which various houses, chests, wrappings, etc., forming part of the booty, are also unloaded.

In the evocation of this ‘Tempesta’, there are some revisions to the music for *Cesare in Farmacusa*, which results in a more densely textured overture that really emphasizes the churning nature of the sea and the rising winds of the storm. In particular, Salieri utilizes the wind instruments in an increased capacity, perhaps reflecting their growing importance and place of the section in the orchestra at the turn of the nineteenth century. There are a number of particularly effective upwards glissandi-style runs in the flute and oboes that mimic the rising winds. In *Europa Riconosciuta*, these runs are solely the charge of the violin IIs and bassi, offsetting the forward-pushing, syncopated crotchet rhythms of the rest of the unison orchestra (Figure 3). By contrast, *Cesare in Farmacusa* utilizes the upper strings and woodwind in imitation to further emphasize the whirling nature of the storm, and create a heightened sense of movement and panic within the music (Figure 4). Salieri manipulates the musical texture to serve the narrative purpose; these moments in *Cesare in Farmacusa*’s overture are perhaps some of Salieri’s earliest known additions as part of his revisionist period (1800–1825).

Tarare and *Europa Riconosciuta* present another case of narrative similarities at the two points that employ the performance direction ‘Andante Maestoso’. As mentioned previously, Verazi was as meticulous with his ballet narrative—and its connection to the musical movements that it accompanied—as he was with his overture. For the purpose of this article, however, the focus shall be on its opening movement. It is most interesting that the narrative of the inaugural ‘Ballo Primo’ at La Scala is directly tied to that of the wider opera: this was not conventional during the period and further exemplifies Verazi and Salieri’s ‘path-breaking techniques’³⁷ employed for such an esteemed event. Customary Milanese practices dictated that a contrasting subject should interject the first and second acts of opera,³⁸ but in the case of *Europa Riconosciuta* the ballet is incorporated into the drama, presenting a micro-narrative within the wider setting of Cyprus and its prisoners.

As noted previously, a significant point in the featured marginalia on page 38 of *Ballettmusik* is the directive: ‘The slaves are led into the arena’. At this point in the narrative, the slaves are being gathered for sacrifice, and the ensuing action is continued in the ballet, realised musically and through movement. An overview of this balletic narrative is provided by Parodi:

At this point, the events of the opera find their continuation in the Ballo primo ... The prisoners of Cyprus are led to the arena, where the valorous Pafio offers to fight against the ferocious beast to save the others. Heedless of the danger, Mirra, his faithful companion, comes to his aid. At the sight of the couple’s heroic courage, the spectators force the custodians to help them and stop the sacrifice.

The couple’s heroism spurs the populace of Tiro to rise up and kill the ferocious lion, so that the sacrifice necessary to fulfil Agenore’s condition is

³⁷ McClymonds, “Salieri and the Franco-Italian Synthesis,” 77.

³⁸ Parodi, “Preliminary observations,” 266.

impeded: as a consequence, Asterio's fate, at the beginning of the second act, is still uncertain³⁹

If we compare this setting to that of the narrative of *Tarare*, it is this 'Andante Maestoso' movement that provides the most convincing connection, dramatically, between the two opera settings. For *Tarare*'s original 1787 production in Paris, Salieri worked with librettist Beaumarchais, who was infamous for his creative control and insistence on the precedence of the plot above all else. Beaumarchais, grateful for Salieri's cooperation and kinship in their operatic endeavour, dedicated the libretto to him, stating: 'My friend, I dedicate my work to you because it has become yours... when your modesty makes you say to everyone that you are only my musician, I, for my part, am honored [sic] to be your poet, your servant, and your friend.'⁴⁰ This original production was a total success in Paris, and led to Salieri creating an Italian version, *Axur re d'Ormus* (1788), with Lorenzo Da Ponte, and much later in his career revising the work further for a revival at the Académie Royale de Musique in 1819. Once again, this highlights Salieri's growing penchant for the revision and recycling of works, both in musical and narrative terms, for the progression of dramatic possibility in various European centres.

It is believed that the 'Andante Maestoso' was reworked for use in this 1819 production—well into Salieri's revisionist period—for the march of the priests at the opening of the third act.⁴¹ Once again, narrative context is important in the understanding of Salieri's approach to this musical recycling, as there is the link of ceremonial importance and processions between the use of the movement in both *Europa Riconosciuta* and *Tarare*. In 1778, Salieri used the split common time signature and expansive opening chords to evoke slaves being led into an arena for a ceremonial slaughter, whereas in 1819 the music accompanied a rather contrasting image of marching priests, some of the most respected members of an ancient, empirical community. Evidence supporting this later recycling of the music beyond the initial Beaumarchais production can be found in a letter dated September 1818, from Salieri to the director of the Académie Royale de Musique, Louis-Luc Loiseau de Persuis, which outlines many of the changes and updates undertaken by the composer and particularly references the music in question at its close:

P.S Vous trouverez entr'autres plus petits, deux morceaux instrumentals ajoutés aux changemens, un pour le moment qu'on illumine le jardin, l'autre pour la rentrée des Pretres au 3me Acte, je vous prie de faire particulièrement celui de l'illumination, qu'on le conserve tel que je l'ai compose parce que j'espere qu'il fera un tres bon effet.⁴²

P.S You will find among other smaller pieces, two instrumental pieces added to the changes, one for the moment when the garden is illuminated, the other for

³⁹ Parodi, "Preliminary observations," 268.

⁴⁰ John Rice, "Salieri, Beaumarchais, and *Tarare*." Liner notes for *Tarare [Opera]*, by Antonio Salier. Dubois, Deshayes, Bou, Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles Choir, Les Talens Lyriques, Rousset. Aparte B07QVNMZV, 2019, compact disc. 40.

⁴¹ Parodi, "Preliminary Observations," 272.

⁴² Rudolph Angermüller, *Antonio Salieri: Dokumente seines Lebens unter Berücksichtigung von Musik, Literatur, Bildender Kunst, Architektur, Religion, Philosophie, Erziehung, Geschichte, Wissenschaft, Technik, Wirtschaft und täglichem Leben seiner Zeit, Band III: 1808-2000* (Berlin: K. H. Bock, 2000), 176.

the return of the Priests in the 3rd Act, I beg you to do especially the one for the illumination, that it be kept as I have composed it because I hope that it will have very good effect.

Salieri's use of the term '3me Acte' here connects the 'Andante Maestoso' score as that which was contained within the enclosed documents of his letter of 1818, as it corresponds exactly with the new heading that is seen to have replaced 'Ballo Primo'. Particularly interesting is Salieri's request to keep the music as composed due to the hope that it will have 'very good effect'.⁴³ This final statement by the composer echoes Parodi's sentiment discussed earlier in this article, that Salieri was repurposing music that he found to be particularly relevant to newer works, rather than composing fresh, yet similar movements for these moments. Once again, this speaks to the economical approach that Salieri took towards his later operatic works, as well as his commitment as a composer to the functionality of the music in relation to the drama it was accompanying: the use of existing music in both *Tarare* and *Cesare in Farmacusa* highlight that Salieri was not opposed to 'repeating outfits' for his operas. Rather than ensuring that every work had an entirely new score, regardless of its relevance or suitability to the plot, it mattered more that the music functioned within the context of the libretto and the dramatic direction of a new production as a whole.

Recycling & Revisionism

To conclude, the specific cases of musical recycling discussed throughout this article showcase Salieri's revisionist period in action. It is a well-established fact that for the last twenty-five years of his life, Salieri spent most of his time revising older works, however little has been said on the subject. This article has built upon the foundations laid by Parodi, and further explored the musical, dramatic, and contextual influences upon this recycling undertaken by one of the central figures in European musical life. The fact that Salieri repurposed music from his 1778 opera *Europa Riconosciuta* in two further works, *Cesare in Farmacusa* (1800) and *Tarare* (revised 1819), speaks to the importance that he placed upon this music in terms of his own career as a composer. *Europa Riconosciuta* did not have a particularly spectacular reception, with contemporary accounts focussing much more on the spectacle of the event than the music, however Salieri still held enough stock in his compositions to develop them for further instances of 'Tempesta di Mare' and ceremonial processions in his dramatic works. Thus far, these are the only known cases of musical recycling in Salieri's instrumental oeuvre, and the flexibility shown by him in terms of re-orchestration and re-contextualisation speaks to the mind of a composer with a wealth of experience in professional theatrical settings. Dramatic effect and the utilization of performers was at the forefront of his priorities, as shown throughout the appraisal of both instrumental and dramatic developments in this article. Furthermore, through the

⁴³ This comment was made in relation to the music for a scene outside of the remit of this study, that of the garden illumination. As such, little is understood of the music itself and so this cannot be commented on. However, the statement still speaks volumes to Salieri's involvement in the dramatic framing of his operatic works and his own understanding of the purpose and effect of music upon the libretto and scenic impact within productions.

assessment of a single page⁴⁴ of one of Salieri's autograph manuscripts, information has been explored in depth that pertains to dramatic purpose, compositional date, performance location, and changes in orchestration. This speaks volumes to the importance of close manuscript study of composers during this period, and has further illuminated our understanding of Salieri's practices towards instrumental composition, an area which has been much neglected in wider scholarship of both his oeuvre and the narrative of eighteenth-century Viennese musical life. What would now be interesting to see in further study of this repertoire is whether there are any other cases of musical recycling within Salieri's own repertoire and beyond, in the wider spheres of eighteenth-century operatic and instrumental music.

⁴⁴ A-Wn: 3762, 38.

Appendix

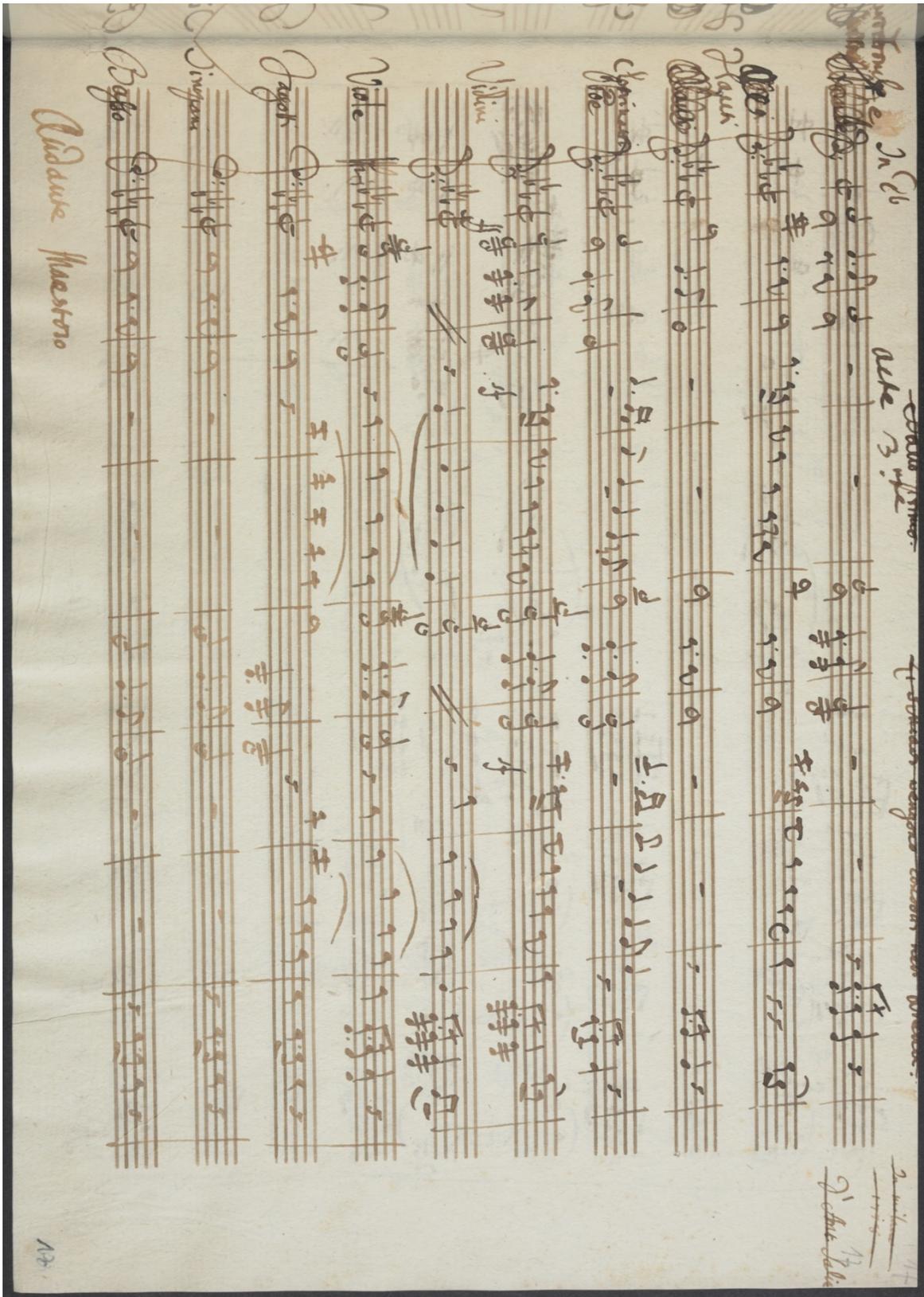


Figure 1: Antonio Salieri, *Ballettmusik*, page 38. ⁴⁵

⁴⁵ A-Wn: 3762, page 38. ÖNB Vienna + signatures.



Figure 2: Title page from *Europa Riconosciuta*.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ A-Wn: 17836. ÖNB Vienna + signatures.



Figure 3: *Cesare in Farmacusa*, 'Tempeste di Mare,' bars 46–52.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ A-Wn: 16513, 5r. ÖNB Vienna + signatures.

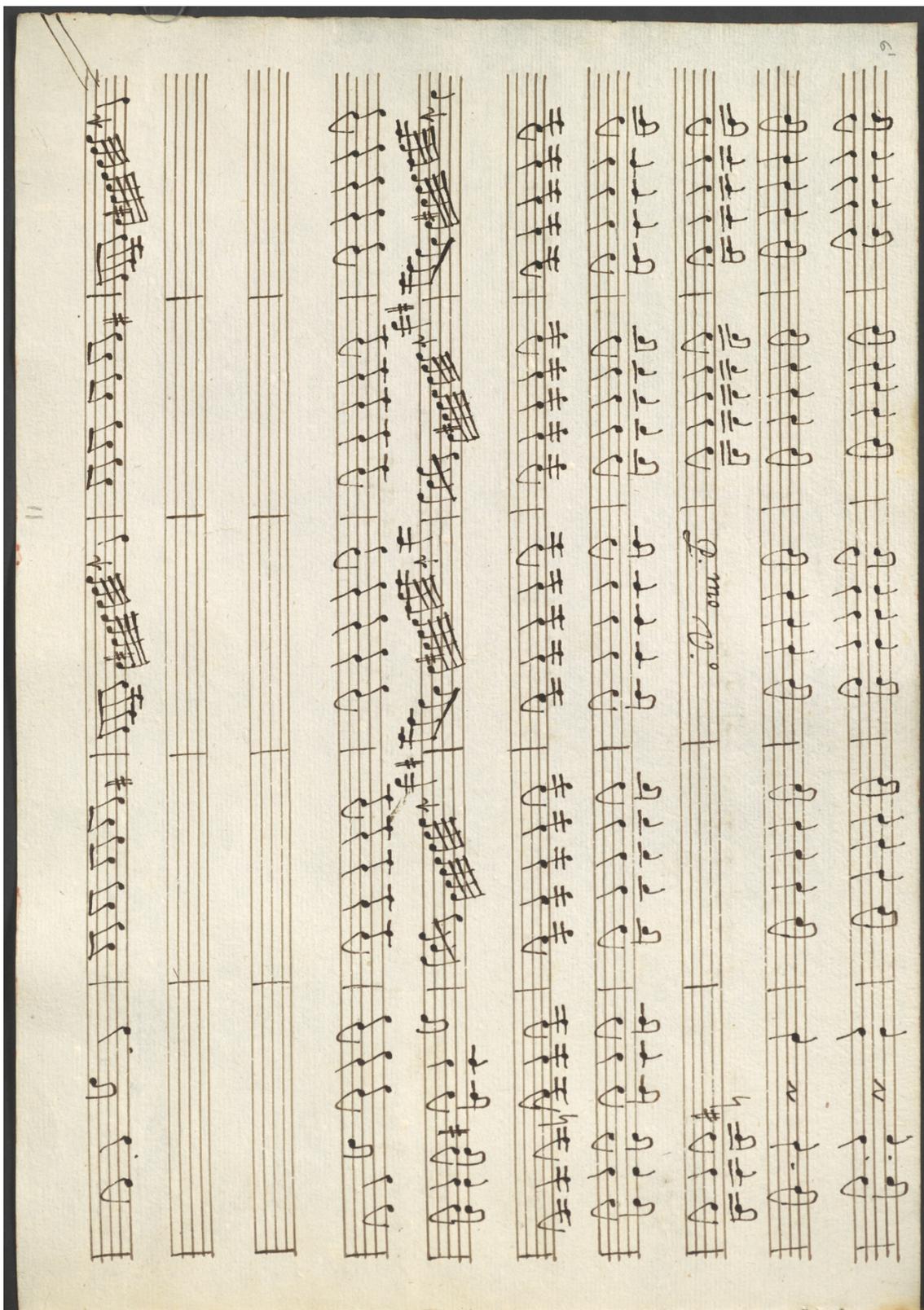


Figure 4: *Europa Riconosciuta*, 'Tempesta di Mare,' bars 48–52.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ A-Wn: 17836, 6v. ÖNB Vienna + signatures.

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