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THE PRIMACY OF THE LIBRETTO: ZENOS ATENAIDE AND PSICHE

The term "Dramma per musica" refers to a category of artistic works which is both performative and variable, and which is conceived exclusively for musical performance. Norbert Dubowy expressed it very cogently when he said: «Das Dramma per musica ist ein Gemeinschaftsprodukt, zu dem sich verschiedene Künste und Künstler zusammenfinden. Ziel ist nicht die Schaffung eines Gesamtkunstwerks, sondern eine Aufführung».¹

So the Dramma per musica is not a "work" in the categorical sense of the word. Rather it is the result of cooperation between the librettist, composer, stage designer, costume maker, ballet master and singers. Martha Feldman has seen the Opera seria as very close to a social ritual, and described the problems attendant on analysing the Dramma per musica as one would analyse a "work".² In the Dramma per musica, it is the libretto and not the music which is the overriding foundation that links all the elements; in the Dramma per musica, the libretto is preeminent. Libretti were also read outside the theatre and were not associated exclusively with any particular musical setting.

¹ NORBERT DUBOWY, *s.v.* «Dramma per musica, A. 17. Jh.», in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Sachteil, vol. 2, Kassel et al., Bärenreiter, 1995, coll. 1452-1479: 1455 («The Dramma per musica is a joint project in which various artists and various kinds of art get together. The aim is not to create a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, but rather simply to put on a performance»).

² MARTHA FELDMAN, Magic Mirrors and the Seria Stage: Thoughts toward a Ritual View, «Journal of American Musicological Society», XLVIII, 1995, pp. 423-484.

Because it is subject to an abundance of adaptations, the Dramma per musica must be seen as a fluctuating form of musical theatre, as one which – as Reinhard Wiesend puts it - is charactised by embodying at best a «schwache Ausprägung der Werkidee».³ This means that the musical composition had a similar function to that of scenery and costumes – to serve the stage presentation of the libretto,⁴ for which it merely provides an ephemeral garb. As Dörte Schmidt recently pointed out, in contrast to the French Opera, for the Dramma per musica, the codified "text" was only the libretto and not the musical setting.⁵ This is demonstrated most clearly by the fact it was only the libretto and not the music that was published. The publication of the complete editions of 1744 und 1755 enshrined the libretti of Zeno and Metastasio as the fixed "text".⁶

Today's usual practice of categorising Drammi per musica by defining exclusively the composer as "author", contradicts fundamentally the aesthetic principles briefly outlined here.⁷ This practice arose with the emphasis on originality which dominated thought in the late eighteenth and the the nineteenth

³ REINHARD WIESEND, Zur Edierbarkeit italienischer Opern des 18. Jahrhunderts, in Musik als Text, Bericht über den Internationalen Kongreß der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung Freiburg im Breisgau 1993, herausgegeben von Hermann Danuser und Tobias Plebuch, 2 voll., Kassel et al., Bärenreiter, 1998, I, pp. 271-274: 272 («embodies only to a slight degree the idea of a 'work'»).

⁴ Ivi, p. 273.

⁵ DÖRTE SCHMIDT, Metastasios ,Artaserse', die Literarizität der Oper und die Bedingungen von Repertoires, «Die Musikforschung», LXVI, 2013, pp. 103-119: 104.

⁶ Poesie drammatiche di Apostolo Zeno, [Edited by Gasparo Gozzi], 10 voll., Venezia, Presso Giambatista Pasquali, 1744; Poesie dell'Abate Pietro Metastasio, [Edited by Ranieri de Calzabigi], 9 voll., Parigi, Presso la Vedova Quillau, 1755.

⁷ MICHELE CALELLA, Zwischen Autorwillen und Produktionssystem, in Bearbeitungspraxis in der Oper des späten 18. Jahrhunderts, Bericht über die Internationale wissenschaftliche Tagung vom 18. bis 20. Februar 2005 in Würzburg, herausgegeben von Ulrich Konrad («Würzburger musikhistorische Beiträge», 27), Tutzing, Hans Schneider, 2007, pp. 15-32: 19.

centuries. This leads to editorial problems, especially with complete editions, which place the composer at the centre of attention. This sort of edition should give the word text the central importance really due to it, which in the case of *Artaserse* would mean editing various different musical settings. Even part from this aspect, the very publication merely of a single musical version contradicts the variability of the genre Dramma per musica. The digital editions currently being prepared could help to improve the situation.

It is well-known that a modular construction was characteristic of the Dramma per musica of the eighteenth century. This facilitated the exchange of arias and made possible numerous variants of a particular Dramma. This formal standardisation was useful in view of factors which have already been often discussed, such as the rapid fluctuations inherent in the genre and the time constraints connected with adapting to new singers or different stage environments. On the basis of background, I'd like to discuss a further dimension of the variability of the Dramma per musica – the Dramma per musica as a genre which may result from collaborative effort and may even have a collective musical creator.

I'd like to concentrate on two libretti by Zeno: for the Dramma per musica *Atenaide*⁸ and the Componimento da camera *Psiche*. These were initially staged with music in Vienna on two name days of Empress Elisabeth Christine, the 19th of No-

⁸ Title page of *Atenaide* (ÖNB Vienna, Mus.Hs.17192): «L'Atenaide | Drama Per Musica | Da rappresentarsi | Nel Felicissimo Giorno Del Nome | Della S.C.C.R. Maestà | Dell'Imperatrice | Elisabetta Cristina | L'anno 1714 | Poesia del Apostolo Zeno | Musica | L'Atto Primo dal Marc'Antonio Ziani | L'Atto Secondo dal Antonio Negri | L'Atto Terzo dal Antonio Caldara | Gl'Intermezzi, e la Licenza dal | Francesco Conti».

⁹ Title page of *Psiche* (ÖNB Vienna, Mus.Hs.17264): «Psiche | Componimento da Camera per Musica | Per | Il Nome Gloriosissimo | della | Sac: Ces: e Catt: Real Maestà | di | Elisabetta Cristina | Imperadrice Regnante. | L'Anno 1720 | Poesia di Apostolo Zeno. | Musica di Gio: Gioseffo Fux e di Ant: Caldara».

vember in the years 1714 and 1720 respectively. Both operas came into being on the occasion of a courtly gala, which traditionally called for the presentation of small-scale musical-dramatic productions open to a wide audience. Johann Basilius Küchelbecker for example describes this sort of function in the publication *Allerneueste Nachricht vom Römisch-Kayserlichen Hofe* (Hannover 1730): «An [...] der Kayserin Nahmens-Tag den 19. Novembr. werden des Abends in der Kayserlichen Burg Serenaden aufgeführet, welche so wohl wegen der Vocal- als Instrumental-Music gantz ausserordentlich und vortrefflich schön sind [...], und lassen sich alsdenn die besten Sänger und Sängerinnen hören. Es ist bey diesen Lustbarkeiten der Hof ordentlich sehr nombreuse, und stehet alsdenn die Entrée einen iedweden Cavallier oder andern honnet-homme offen, und passiret man zu solcher Zeit den Abend recht wohl und angenehm». 10

In respect of its format, mythological material (the story of Cupid and Psyche) and its non dramatic realisation, the Componimento da camera *Psiche* of 1720 is typical for this sort of Viennese occurrence. By contrast, the large-scale stage production in 1714 of the Dramma per musica *Atenaide*, based on historical material, is really an exception for this sort of occasion. Both productions – as one would expect for the name day of the empress – feature women as central characters.

Let's stay with *Atenaide* for a while: After Zeno had written the libretto for *Temistocle* for Vienna – it was performed in the version with music by Marc'Antonio Ziani in 1701 – from 1708

¹⁰ Johann Basilius Küchelbecker, Allerneueste Nachricht vom Römisch-Kayserlichen Hofe, nebst einer ausführlichen historischen Beschreibung der Kayserlichen Residentz-Stadt Wien, und der umliegenden Oerter; theils aus eigener Erfahrung zusammen getragen, und mit saubern Kupfern ans Licht gegeben, Hannover, Förster, 1730, p. 260 («On the name day of the Empress, the nineteenth of November, in the evening, serenades are presented in the imperial palace. These consist of both vocal and instrumental music, which is extraordinary and excellent, performed by the very best singers. These courtly diversions are attended by many people, and are open to any gentleperson, who spends the evening pleasantly»).

onwards he received commissions from the later Emperor Charles the Sixth for Barcelona. For Barcelona, Zeno wrote *Zenobia in Palmira*, *Scipione nelle Spagne* and *Atenaide*. This illustrates the fact that Charles the Sixth, in contrast with Leopold the First and Joseph the First, preferred from the very beginning libretti of high literary standard, using historical material and avoiding both comic scenes and servant figures.

In addition, the chosen subjects allude clearly to the originator of the commission; they also serve as points of identification with the respective addressee, to whom they pay homage. In *Scipione nelle Spagne* for example, the plot is based on the Roman general Publius Cornelius Scipio during his victorious Spanish expedition - which in view of Charles' difficult predicament in Spain must certainly have been an appropriate subject. Zeno integrates an equally obvious reference to Charles and his spouse Elisabeth Christine into Atenaide. The story here is about Atenaide, who comes from Greece, is baptised in Constantinople and after numerous amourous difficulties and intrigues is finally married to the eastern Roman emperor Theodosios the Second. If one remembers the the Brunswickian Princess Elisabeth Christine had to convert to Catholicism in 1707 before she could marry Charles in 1708, the allusions become more than obvious.

A date for a performance of *Atenaide* has not yet been established. In view of the story line and the nature of source material however, it's probable that this opera was performed in Barcelona either in 1708 for the wedding or in 1709 for the birthday or name day of Elisabeth Christine, with music by Andrea Fioré (Act 1), Antonio Caldara (Act 2) and Francesco Gasparini (Act 3). After Charles the Sixth ascended the throne, a new musical setting of Zeno's *Atenaide* was presented in Vienna in 1714 for the birthday of the empress.

Zenos libretti for both *Psiche* and *Atenaide* bear witness to the high literary standards the writer applied to the opera, whereas spectacular theatrical elements, like fight scenes or naval battles,

are no longer regarded as important. Comic elements or supernatural apparitions are similarly unimportant and arias – apart from rare exceptions – are placed at the end of a scene. Zeno strictly separates recitative and aria in respect both of function and metre. Aria texts are binary in form, and therefore form the basis for a Da capo musical setting. In these respects, both libretti are examples of the heterogeneous process of reform of libretti for opera and oratorio closely connected with Charles the Sixth, whereby the orientation is along the lines of Aristotelian poetics and the standard French dramatic form.

The Viennese musical settings of both Zeno's operas *Atenaide* and *Psiche* were joint productions: The first act of the Vienna *Atenaide* of 1714 was set to music by Marc'Antonio Ziani, the court capelmeister at the time and the second act by Antonio Negri, of whom there is no encyclopedic knowledge, but who was prominent in the 1720s and 30s in particular for operas in Milan. The third act was composed by Caldara, who at the time was still in the service of Ruspoli in Rome, but who is nonetheless described in the libretto as "compositore di camera". The intermezzi and the licenza were composed by Francesco Conti, who is mentioned in the libretto as "compositore di camera e tiorbista". All four composers are listed both in the published libretto and on the title page of the manuscript.

The *Psiche* production for Vienna in 1720 was composed by both Johann Joseph Fux and Caldara, something which is also noted on the title page of the manuscript copy of the score. Fux composed the overture and about two thirds of the ensuing opera. Apparently no libretto was printed to go with this Componimento.

As can be clearly seen, for both musical settings, it is noted precisely on both the libretti and the music manuscripts which sections were contributed by which composers. The fact that these matters are noted in writing shows that it really was a matter of genuine collaborative compositions, as different from a pasticcio or the practice of 'borrowing' other people's ideas. In a

pasticcio,11 the music from one or several pre-existing compositions would be assembled by the theatre music director as required for a particular stage presentation – often without even mentioning the composers. In the case of borrowing, the real compositional authorship was concealed, and care was therefore needed to disguise the extent to which borrowing took place from either one's own compositions or those of other people.¹² The case of the Drammi Psiche and Atenaide however illustrates vet another form of musical compilation. This is a composition which is conceived from the outset as a collaboration, in which more or less large sections of the libretto are allocated to a respective composer. In contrast to pasticcio and borrowing, the object of such a joint effort really is a completely "new" composition, heard for the very first time, and therefore justifying the description of a first performance of completely new music. Instead of one individual musical author however, this setting is written by a "collective" author. 13 This means that a collaborative production is not-like the pasticcio – the result of the requirements of operatic practice, but rather the product of the desire for theatrical originality, but of a special kind.

¹¹ REINHARD STROHM, *Händels Pasticci*, in *Händels Opern*, herausgegeben von von Arnold Jacobshagen und Panja Mücke («Das Händel-Handbuch», 1), Laaber, Laaber-Verlag, 2009, pp. 351-358.

¹² PANJA MÜCKE, Transferwege und Blockaden: Zu Händels Borrowings im frühneuzeitlichen Kommunikationssystem, «Händel-Jahrbuch», LVIII, 2012, pp. 185-203.

¹³ See also the type of ,Opera a responsabilità collettiva' in Giovanni Polin, Le "opere che al dosso degli attor non son tagliate riescon per ordinario impasticciate". Riflessioni sullo status del testo spettacolare melodrammatico nel '700, in Responsabilità d'autore e collaborazione nell'opera dell'Eta` barocca: il "Pasticcio", Atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Reggio Calabria, 2-3 ottobre 2009), a cura di Gaetano Pitarresi, Reggio Calabria, Laruffa, 2011, pp. 335-373: 354 and the description of Demofoonte (1735) in Angela Romagnoli, Una gara per il compleanno del re Carlo: il Demofoonte di Leo, Mancini, Sarro e Sellitto (Napoli, 1735) e i suoi rapporti con la partitura di Leonardo Leo del 1741, in Responsabilità d'autore cit., pp. 221-256.

Collaborative compositions for Charles the Sixth

L'Atenaide (Dramma	Barcelona, probably	Andrea Fioré (first act),
per musica)	wedding 1708 or	Antonio Caldara (second
	birthday/name day of	act), Francesco Gasparini
	Elisabeth Christine 1709	(third act)
L'Atenaide (Dramma	Vienna, 19.11.1714,	Marc' Antonio Ziani
per musica)	name day of the empress	(first act), Antonio Negri (second act), Antonio Caldara (third act), Francesco Conti (Licenza, Intermezzi)
Il Costantino (Dramma	Vienna, 19.11.1716, name	,
per musica)	day of the empress	(Sinfonia), Antonio
	, ,	Caldara (Licenza,
		Intermezzi), Antonio
		Lotti (other music)
Psiche (Componimento	Vienna, 19.11.1720, name	Johann Joseph Fux (two
da camera per musica)	day of the empress	thirds), Antonio Caldara
	day of the empress	thirds), Antonio Caldara (one third)
	day of the empress Vienna, 15.10.1722, name	•
da camera per musica)		(one third)
da camera per musica) <i>La virtù e la bellezza</i>	Vienna, 15.10.1722, name	(one third) Johann Georg Hindereter
da camera per musica) La virtù e la bellezza in lega (Serenata)	Vienna, 15.10.1722, name day of Maria Theresia	(one third) Johann Georg Hindereter (Intrada), Graf Schlick
da camera per musica) La virtù e la bellezza in lega (Serenata) La forza dell'amicizia	Vienna, 15.10.1722, name	(one third) Johann Georg Hindereter (Intrada), Graf Schlick (one aria), Giuseppe Porsile (other music) Georg Reutter (first act),
da camera per musica) La virtù e la bellezza in lega (Serenata)	Vienna, 15.10.1722, name day of Maria Theresia	(one third) Johann Georg Hindereter (Intrada), Graf Schlick (one aria), Giuseppe Porsile (other music) Georg Reutter (first act), Antonio Caldara (second
da camera per musica) La virtù e la bellezza in lega (Serenata) La forza dell'amicizia (Dramma per musica)	Vienna, 15.10.1722, name day of Maria Theresia Graz, 17.08.1728	(one third) Johann Georg Hindereter (Intrada), Graf Schlick (one aria), Giuseppe Porsile (other music) Georg Reutter (first act), Antonio Caldara (second and third act)
da camera per musica) La virtù e la bellezza in lega (Serenata) La forza dell'amicizia (Dramma per musica) La pazienza di Socrate con	Vienna, 15.10.1722, name day of Maria Theresia Graz, 17.08.1728 Vienna, 17.01.1731,	(one third) Johann Georg Hindereter (Intrada), Graf Schlick (one aria), Giuseppe Porsile (other music) Georg Reutter (first act), Antonio Caldara (second and third act) Antonio Caldara
da camera per musica) La virtù e la bellezza in lega (Serenata) La forza dell'amicizia (Dramma per musica) La pazienza di Socrate con due moglie (Scherzo	Vienna, 15.10.1722, name day of Maria Theresia Graz, 17.08.1728	(one third) Johann Georg Hindereter (Intrada), Graf Schlick (one aria), Giuseppe Porsile (other music) Georg Reutter (first act), Antonio Caldara (second and third act) Antonio Caldara (Sinfonia, I.1–I.6 and
da camera per musica) La virtù e la bellezza in lega (Serenata) La forza dell'amicizia (Dramma per musica) La pazienza di Socrate con	Vienna, 15.10.1722, name day of Maria Theresia Graz, 17.08.1728 Vienna, 17.01.1731,	(one third) Johann Georg Hindereter (Intrada), Graf Schlick (one aria), Giuseppe Porsile (other music) Georg Reutter (first act), Antonio Caldara (second and third act) Antonio Caldara

What reasons can we imagine for a collaborative musical authorship? Why didn't Caldara or some other Viennese court composer simply get a commission – as was the usual case – to write an opera? We can immediately eliminate time pressure in preparing a composition as a reason. After all, in 1714 Caldara hadn't yet settled finally in Vienna, and in 1720, he didn't really have much to do at all. It seems more likely to assume the

conscious intention of enhancing compositional variety by joint composership, of achieving a greater wealth of contrast in the composition by having the stamp of various composers. It's also possible that collective authorship was a way to highlight the creative resources available to the emperor.

Compositional collaborations are the exception for King Charles the Sixth. It was customary for the complete Seria inclusive Licenza to have only a single composer, while the intermezzi and ballet would be added by a different composer specialising in those areas. It's noticeable that collaborative compositions tend to be associated more with special occasions of a lower order of importance. Major Drammi per musica, always written by one composer only, were presented annually for really important courtly occasions like the emperor's name day or the empress's birthday.

That there is a concentration of instances of collective musical authorship in particular at the beginning of Charles' reign can probably be attributed to Charles' own personal concept of opera aesthetics, one that placed high demands on literary elements of the Dramma per musica, particularly as represented by Zeno. A further reason for this assumption is that Charles preferred a different sort of libretto from that favoured by his brother and father, and therefore championed viewing the drama as central to a musical performance. Collective composition of the first musical settings in association with Zeno's dramas is met with in other places as well, as for example Il Tirsi, with music by Antonio Lotti, Caldara and Attilio Ariosti for Venice in 1696, and Il Teuzzone with music by Paolo Magni and Clemente Monari for Milan in 1706. When one considers this fact, it's easy to see the influence of a librettist who gave priority to literary aspects, to which the musical trappings had to subordinate themselves.

How did collaborative composition work in detail? Was the object – as with the workshop of visual artists – to establish a pretty consistent workshop style, so that the finished opera was stylistically as homogenous as possible? Or is a different concept

of authorship the basis, one that at the very least doesn't preclude diversity, and which admits stylistic contrast not only between dance sequences or intermezzi and the Drammi per musica, but also between the various sections of the opera itself?

For *Atenaide*, two composers employed by the Viennes court, Ziani and Conti, were involved, and they were supplemented by two external composers, Negri and Caldara, who must have sent the two opera acts they had completed to the court. So we can't assume composition along the lines of a workshop-type production. It must have been rather the modular structure of Zeno's libretti and the resulting possibility of division of labour and individual composition which were the prerequistes for a sort of collaborative composition which nonetheless was by no means teamwork. It was quite a different matter with *Psiche*, where Fux and Caldara as Capelmeister and assistant Capelmeister worked in direct physical proximity to each other.

To come to the point: the Viennese collaborative compositions are clearly not workshop productions. Musical diversity outweighs the workshop principle, the individuality of the Viennese court composers is clearly reflected in one and the same work. Let me illustrate this using one example respectively from *Psiche* and *Atenaide*.

After the Introduzione to *Psiche*, a five-part choral movement in C composed by Fux, "Coro di Grazie e di Amori", is heard (Ex. 1). The chorus is accompanied by first and second violins, viola, cello and a continuo group. In this homophonic choral movement, the instruments generally move parallel to the vocal parts. Only a certain points (e.g. measure 3) do the instrumental parts vary the vocal lines with small embellishments.

Ex. 1 - J. J. Fux, *Psiche*: "Coro di Grazie e di Amori", ÖNB Vienna, Mus.Hs.17264.

Coro di Grazie e di Amori



By contrast, for the chorus "Dal suo ciel" in the last third of *Psiche* (Ex. 2), Caldara chooses a completely different compositional approach. The choral movement here is also in five parts, but to it is added clearly more individual instrumental parts, using however exactly the same instrumentation as Fux. After the change of time, the first violin initially doubles the soprano voice, something which is then repeated by the second violin. It all culminates in a lengthy concertante instrumental passage. The alternating concertante figures of the instrumental

section are then woven into the homophonic vocal part, whereby in this case the instruments by no means merely double the vocal lines. By using this independence of the instrumental group, which is set at least on equal terms against the vocal part, in one and the same opera, Caldara makes concrete a concept of choral structuring which is clearly different from that of Fux.

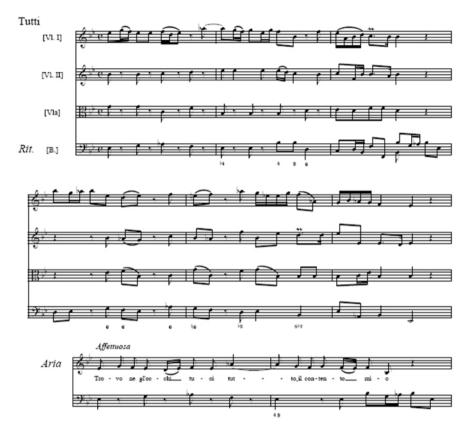
Ex. 2 - A. Caldara, *Psiche*: "Dal suo ciel", ÖNB Vienna, Mus.Hs.17264.





Similar things can be said about the Arias in *Atenaide*: In example 3 you see the beginning of Teodosio's first aria in act one, scene seven, "Trovo negli occhi tuoi", composed by Ziani. As with numerous arias in the act composed by Ziani, the vocal part is accompanied only by the continuo, whose moving contours leave the vocal part room for several coloraturas. Ziani completed this aria in a very concise five-section Da capo-form, without instrumental ritornelli to delineate the respective vocal sections. In the music of Ziani, one often encounters short instrumental symphonies based on aria motifs at the end of the continuo arias. After a Da capo, these lead respectively to the recitative of the following scene.

Ex. 3 - M. A. Ziani, *Atenaide*: "Trovo negli occhi tuoi", ÖNB Vienna, Mus.Hs.17192.



Negri takes a completely different tack in constructing Teodosio's aria "Qui grazie ancelle" in the second act, accompanied by first and second violins, viola and a continuo group (Ex. 4). After an instrumental ritornello, characterised – as often with Negri – by strong dynamic contrasts, the orchestra supplements the vocal part with melodic lines oriented on it, but now remaining consistently at the piano level of volume. Negri creates a large-scale five-section Da capo structure with a motif whose sections are bordered by ritornelli. His style of aria composition therefore differs significantly from that of Ziani. There can be no question anyway of consistency of characterisation in arias for one and the same figure.

Ex. 4 - A. Negri, *Atenaide*: "Qui grazie ancelle", ÖNB Vienna, Mus.Hs.17192.



As we can see, stylistic contrasts between the parts of the opera created by different composers lie at the foundation of the principle of collaborative authorship. This compositional method also corresponds with the philological observation, that the contributions of the respective composers are precisely indicated, as you can easily see in the example 5 from *Psiche*; before the last third of the music manuscript we read the indication "Segue Musica di Ant: Caldara." This is quite different from what we find with pasticcio, where the indication in libretti is simply "musica di diversi autori". Sometimes the music manuscripts provide information on further details. Whereas an

artist's workshop strives to present "its works as the products of one particular creator", 14 a very different and opposing principle applies to the Viennese collaborative compositions. It seems as if the stylistic variety and the principle of collective authorship itself, which emphasises the individuality or respective composers, is intended to point out expressly the high level of compositional productivity at the Viennese court.



Ex. 5 - Psiche, ÖNB Vienna, Mus.Hs.17264, fol. 109.

Cooperative production of this sort would not have been possible at any other court of the Holy Roman Empire, simply because the necessary personnel was not available. Viewed in this way, collaborative productions might well have emphasized

¹⁴ NICOLE SCHWINDT, Komponisten am Hof Maximilians. Eine Werkstatt?, in Albrecht Altdorfer. Kunst als zweite Natur, herausgegeben von Christoph Wagner und Oliver Jehle («Regensburger Studien zur Kunstgeschichte», 17), Regensburg, Schnell und Steiner, 2012, pp. 379-391: 380.

the outstanding quality of music at the Viennese court and also have occupied an extraordinary position in the way they were received far and wide. Collective productions therefore are evidence of the increasing importance of the role of the librettist as the predominant author. The composer with all his individuality was simply not a counterpart of the same rank as the author of the word text. Collaborative works also illustrate the strictly decentralised and specialised methods by which operas were produce at the courts. This is perhaps comparable with methods commonly used in operetta, musical and cinema in the twentieth century. In the early eighteenth century however, composers worked on the libretto in complete isolation from one another. Direct cooperation between composers or even a stylistic co-ordination was just not necessary.

From our current perspective, collaborative productions like Atenaide and Psiche seem to fall somewhat through the net. They resist completely being squashed into generally accepted categories of authorship.¹⁵ Despite the well-known modular structure of the Dramma per musica though, the composer as the originating author is still the norm, the unifying factor which gives authenticity to the text, as we can see with the major critical complete editions. Good examples of this issue are the complete editions of Mozart and Fux respectively: although the recitatives of La clemenza di Tito are known to have been written not by Mozart himself but by his pupil Süßmayr, as is stated in the preface to the Mozart complete edition, it's no problem to present the opera as a work of Mozart. Whereas that may acceptable, the matter is more serious in the case of *Psiche* by Fux and Caldara. This is why the critical complete edition of Fux intends to publish this collaborative composition in separate sections – Fux's sections of the composition will be in the main text, and Caldara's in the appendix. Whereas an approach of this

¹⁵ MARTHA WOODMANSEE, Der Autor-Effekt. Zur Wiederherstellung von Kollektivität, in Texte zur Theorie der Autorschaft, herausgegeben und kommentiert von Fotis Jannidis [et al.], Stuttgart, Reclam, 2000, pp. 298-314.

sort will nonetheless make the complete musical text available for orchestras, the structural separation into main text and appendix contradicts completely the concept current in that earlier time of a collaborative composition. The standardised view of the "author" overshadows that of the "text". The philological editorial approach which places the author at the centre obscures the view of the actual "text" of the work.

(Translation: Keith Harris)