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Montezuma at Eszterház: A Pasticcio on a New World Theme

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Montezuma at Eszterház: A Pasticcio on a New World Theme

The opera entitled “Motezuma” that was performed at Eszterház in 1785¹ is generally attributed to Niccolò Zingarelli, whose opera of that title was first performed in Naples in 1781. The Eszterház “Motezuma” did indeed begin as Zingarelli’s opera. But by the time it had been subjected to Haydn’s editing, it had evolved into a collection of arias and ensembles by various composers, held together by Zingarelli’s simple recitative.

Scholars disagree on the applicability of the word “pasticcio” to operas such as the Eszterház “Motezuma”. Some believe we should reserve this word for operas *conceived* as compilations of numbers by various composers². By this definition “Motezuma” would not be a pasticcio but rather a very thorough *revisi*on of Zingarelli’s opera. I prefer not to think of pasticcio and revisions as being mutually exclusive, but as belonging to a continuous spectrum of opera types. From this point of view, a “pasticcio” is any opera, regardless of origin, in which most of the orchestrally accompanied numbers are by several composers, and in which the music of no one composer predominates. I think of the Eszterház “Motezuma” as a pasticcio because the process of revision went so far that the opera performed under Haydn’s direction was no longer Zingarelli’s. Indeed the libretto printed for that production makes no mention of Zingarelli.

Pasticci of this kind, ubiquitous in eighteenth-century serious opera, have attracted less attention from historians than they deserve. The theme of this volume offers us a chance to study how – and to speculate why – Haydn produced such a drama, using as his framework a libretto about the defeat of an American emperor and the fall of the city where, in the libretto’s words, “he has collected all the vast riches of the New World” (“del Nuovo Mondo / Tutti raccolti ei tien gli ampi tesori”).

¹ Cf. in this book Josef Pratl, *Kostüme und Dekorationen zu Opern mit Bezug zur „Neuen Welt“ – Dokumente aus den Esterházy-Archiven*.

² Cf. Christine Siegert, *Herausforderung Pasticcio. Zu Johann Schellingens Alessandro il grande (1799) und Sabine Radermachers Demofonte (2007)*, in: *Mitten im Leben. Musiktheater von der Oper zur Everyday Performance*, hrsg. von Anno Mungen (Thurnauer Schriften zum Musiktheater). Würzburg 2011, pp. 165–174.

After briefly discussing the libretto that served as the basis for Zingarelli's "Motezuma" and the *Eszterház* pasticcio, I will consider the process of musical anthologizing with which Haydn transformed Zingarelli's opera. In what follows I will refer to the Aztec emperor as Montezuma while using the title "Motezuma" in referring to two eighteenth-century librettos and musical settings of them.

The conquest of Mexico by Hernán Cortés and the fall of Montezuma inspired relatively few operas, when considered in the context of the several thousand *opere serie* produced in Italy during the eighteenth century. Table 1 is a list of eighteenth-century operatic treatments of the conquest. It was an unusual choice of subject in a genre that generally found subjects in the history of ancient Greece, Rome and the Middle East. Furthermore, the historical facts were at odds with some of the most pervasive conventions of *opera seria*. By "historical facts" I mean the facts as they were known and understood in the eighteenth century, whose main historical source was the "*Historia de la conquista de México*", published by Antonio de Solís in 1684.

Table 1: Eighteenth-Century Librettos on the Conquest of Mexico

Title	Librettist	Composer	Place	Year
Motezuma	Alvise Giusti	Antonio Vivaldi	Venice	1733
Montezuma	Giampietro Tagliazucchi	Carl Heinrich Graun	Berlin	1755
Motezuma	Vittorio Amedeo Cigna-Santi	Francesco De Maio	Turin	1765
		Mattia Vento ³	London	1767
		Giuseppe Mysliveček	Florence	1771
		Giovanni Paisiello	Rome	1772
		Baldassare Galuppi	Venice	1772
		Antonio Sacchini	London	1775
		Pasquale Anfossi	Reggio	1776
		Giacomo Insanguine	Turin	1780
		Niccolò Zingarelli	Naples	1781
		(pasticcio)	Eszterház	1785
(pasticcio)	Venice	1789		
Fernando nel Messico ⁴	Filippo Tarducci	Giuseppe Giordani	Rome	1787
		Giuseppe Mugnes	Florence	1789
		Marcos António Portugal	Venice	1798

³ Cigna's libretto heavily revised by Bottarelli and retitled "La conquista del Messico".

⁴ Montezuma is not a character in this libretto.

One of the most important elements in the conflict between Cortés and Montezuma, as narrated by De Solís, was religion: the Spaniards's imposition of Christianity on the Mexicans and Montezuma's refusal to accept conversion. Theatrical censorship forbade the representation of Christianity on the stage, making it impossible for operas to deal openly with the Spaniards' Christian beliefs and practices. Another important element in the historical record is Montezuma's death. The death of a major character at the end of an opera seria conflicted with the convention of the *lieto fine*, or happy ending, that dominated the genre.

The Montezuma operas that Vivaldi wrote for Venice in 1733 and Graun wrote for Berlin in 1755 are the first and best known operatic treatments of the subject. Both are available on recordings, and Vivaldi's opera is the subject of a collection of scholarly essays, published in 2008⁵. Both of these operas stand alone, in the sense that the librettos they use were set to music only once. A third libretto was much more fortunate: Vittorio Amedeo Cigna-Santi's "Motezuma", first performed in Turin in 1765 with music by Francesco De Maio, was set to music by nine other composers between 1767 and 1781. It is the only Montezuma libretto set to music more than once: the only one, apparently, in which the librettist achieved a balance between historical fact and operatic convention that largely satisfied eighteenth-century censors, composers, singers, and audiences⁶.

Departing from the historical record to make his libretto consistent with the conventions of opera seria, Cigna made Montezuma a young unmarried man and made his role that of the *primo uomo*, to be sung by a castrato. Cigna invented Guacozinga, the queen of a neighboring Indian tribe, to serve as Montezuma's fiancée. She is the *prima donna*. Cigna made Cortés the older,

⁵ Vivaldi, "Motezuma," and the Opera Seria. Essays on a Newly Discovered Work and Its Background, ed. Michael Talbot, Turnhout 2008; see also Daniel Hertz, *Music in European Capitals. The Galant Style, 1720–1780*, New York 2003, pp. 366–373; and Pierpaolo Polzonetti, *Italian Opera in the Age of the American Revolution*, Cambridge 2011, pp. 107–132; Peter Schleuning: "Ich habe den Namen gefunden, nämlich Montezuma": die Berliner Hofopern "Coriolano" und "Montezuma", entworfen von Friedrich II. von Preußen, komponiert von Carl Heinrich Graun, in: *Traditionen – Neuansätze. Für Anna Amalie Abert (1906–1996)*, Tutzing 1997, pp. 593–518; Klaus Pietschmann, *Ein Kaisermord? Montezuma auf der Opernbühne*, in: *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 28/29 (2008/09), pp. 29–54.

⁶ On Cigna Santi's "Motezuma" see Margaret Butler, *Exoticism in 18th-Century Turinese Opera. "Motezuma" in Context*, in: *Music in Eighteenth-Century Life. Cities, Courts, Churches*, ed. Mara E. Parker, Ann Arbor, MI, 2006, pp. 105–124. My thanks to Margaret Butler for sending me copies of several Montezuma librettos, including Cigna-Santi's, and for giving me much valuable advice during the preparation of this paper.

more powerful man who in many opere serie threatens the romantic and erotic fulfillment sought by the young couple. Cigna conceived of the role as a tenor. For the sake of brevity I will focus on the actions and motivations of these three main characters.

At the beginning of the opera, Montezuma learns of the approach of Cortés and his troops, together with their Indian allies. Overcome by fear and indecision, he consults oracles, and interprets natural phenomena, such as a comet, as signs of impending misfortune. His attempts to placate the gods by human sacrifices are not successful. His army attacks Cortés, but is easily repulsed by gunfire. Cortés demands an audience with Montezuma. Guacozinga, who consistently shows more resolve and energy than Montezuma, urges him not to receive Cortés, but he feels he has no choice.

In act 2, Cortés enters the capital. Guacozinga, sensing danger, urges Montezuma to have the Spaniards attacked by surprise, but he refuses. Cortés confronts Montezuma in a climactic meeting, demanding that he pay homage to the king of Spain and that he renounce his religion. Montezuma equivocates on the first demand but emphatically refuses the second.

Cortés returns with soldiers, forcing his way into the throne room. Montezuma takes out his sword to defend himself, but Guacozinga, afraid he will be killed, restrains him; he surrenders. Realizing that a pliant Montezuma will make it easier for him to control the Aztecs, Cortés returns Montezuma's sword and asks him to continue to rule.

In act 3, Guacozinga conspires with other Indians to attack the Spaniards. Cortés blames Montezuma for the ensuing rebellion, and puts him in chains. Disunity among the Indians keeps Guacozinga's partisans from killing Cortés.

Cortés, learning that Montezuma did not instigate the rebellion, frees him and returns his sword once again. Moved by this act of clemency, Montezuma joins Cortés in the fight against the rebels, leaving Guacozinga alone to express her despair.

The Spanish and their Indian allies defeat the rebels. One of Montezuma's officers announces that Montezuma has been killed by Indian arrows and that as he died he asked that his empire and crown be given to the king of Spain. In her grief Guacozinga sets fire to the city. Cortés, ordering that the fire be put out, promises to complete his victory: "Io la vittoria / A compier volo, a stabilir per sempre / Una nuova corona / Sul capo al mio monarca, e di mia fede / Nel nuovo mondo a dilatar la sede." The opera ends with a

brief ensemble that comes as close as the opera gets to a statement about the role of religion in the conflict between Montezuma and Cortés: “Sotto il ferro vincitore / Cada oppressa l’empietà. / Trionfò finor l’errore, / Or la Fè trionferà.”

Cigna Santi successfully reconciled the conflicting claims of history, the conventions of opera seria, and, more generally, the expectations of eighteenth-century audiences and censors. He departed from the historical record in making Montezuma monogamous and giving him a fiancée. But he followed history in having Montezuma die at the hands of his own subjects. By having his death take place off stage, Cigna lessened its tragic impact. He even managed to impose something of a *lieto fine* on his libretto by ending it with a celebration of the triumph of Christianity, carefully worded so that it would survive the censor’s pen. In using this celebration to console his audience for the death of Montezuma, Cigna used one departure from operatic norms to compensate for another.

Cigna’s contemporaries expressed their admiration for his achievement in “Motezuma” in the frequency with which composers set it to music after its first production. When a composer set to music an existing libretto, that libretto was almost always changed, but the extent of such changes varied widely. In the case of Cigna’s “Motezuma”, some of the later editions of the libretto were remarkably close to the original. When the young Niccolò Zingarelli made his operatic debut with a setting of “Motezuma” in Naples in 1781, he set to music a version of Cigna’s libretto in which only a few of the original aria texts were replaced and some of the dialogue was shortened⁷.

Zingarelli’s opera seems to have received only one production after the one in Naples, and that is the production at Eszterház in 1785⁸. But by the time the opera was performed at Eszterház, the largest part of Zingarelli’s music that survived was his setting of Cigna’s dialogue in simple recitative. It was presumably Haydn, as part of the process of preparing the opera for production, who replaced most of Zingarelli’s orchestrally accompanied music with

⁷ Margaret Butler, *Annäherungen an eine Kontextualisierung der Opera seria in Eszterháza. Rückschlüsse aus Turin*, in: *Bearbeitungspraxis in der Oper des späten 18. Jahrhunderts. Bericht über die Internationale wissenschaftliche Tagung vom 18. bis 20. Februar 2005 in Würzburg*, in Verbindung mit Armin Raab und Christine Siegert hrsg. von Ulrich Konrad (*Würzburger musikhistorische Beiträge* 27), Tutzing 2007, pp. 103–125, here 119f.

⁸ There is especially no evidence of a performance in Milan despite of the fact that the score might have been written there. Cf. Christine Siegert, *Die Aufführungsmaterialien des italienischen Opernbetriebs in Eszterháza unter der Leitung Joseph Haydns*, in: *Forum Musikbibliothek* 27 (2006), pp. 231–238, here p. 234.

music by other composers. He thus transformed the opera into a pasticcio containing as few as five items by Zingarelli: the overture, three orchestrally accompanied recitatives, and a march.

I say “as few as five” because the evidence about what was actually performed at Eszterház is somewhat contradictory. That evidence consists of three kinds of material: 1) a manuscript score from the Esterházy collection in the Hungarian National Library in Budapest; 2) a set of orchestral parts from the Esterházy collection, also in the Hungarian National Library; and 3) a libretto printed for the Eszterház production, of which only a single copy is known to exist, in the possession of the National Trust of Monuments for Hungary in Budapest. The scholars who have previously studied the production of “Motezuma” at Eszterház, Dénes Bartha, László Somfai, and H.C. Robbins Landon, had access to the score and the orchestral parts, but not the libretto⁹.

We can see evidence of Haydn’s editorial work in the Eszterház score. The manuscript contains most of Zingarelli’s music, with annotations in Haydn’s hand, very much as in the score of Sarti’s “Idalide” discussed by Balázs Mikusi in this volume. This editing took place in two main stages. In the first stage, Haydn seems to have operated with the intention of performing the opera more or less as Zingarelli wrote it. He went through all the music, correcting copying errors, making cuts, and transposing some numbers. Transposition was especially necessary for Cortes’s arias. Zingarelli wrote the part of Cortes for a tenor; Haydn adjusted it for the bass-baritone Benedetto Bianchi, transposing two of Zingarelli’s arias down by a minor third. Only later did he decide to omit most of Zingarelli’s music, writing “bleibt aus” at the beginning of each number that was to be omitted. In a third stage of editing Haydn restored some of the music that he had earlier cut. This happened with Guacozinga’s orchestrally-accompanied recitative in act 1, scene 4, “Al semblante sconvolto”, which Haydn first marked “bleibt aus”, then crossed that out and added “gilt”.

Only five of the replacement numbers are bound into the score, and only one of those five includes the name of the composer (“Io tradir l’idol mio” by Giuseppe Sarti¹⁰). Many of the other replacement numbers were part of

⁹ My thanks to Christine Siegert for making available to me a copy of the Eszterház score, OSZK, Ms. Mus. OE-98, some of whose main features are described in Bartha/Somfai, pp. 125f., 290–294, and Landon II, pp. 668f. I am also grateful to Terézia Bardi (Műemlékek Nemzeti Gondoksága, Budapest) for sending me a copy of the Eszterház libretto.

¹⁰ Cf. Bartha/Somfai, p. 293.

the score at one time, but were subsequently removed. The instrumental parts include most of the replacement arias, but since they lack the vocal parts, they do not include texts. With the exception of the five replacement numbers bound into the score, the texts are available only in the libretto. This libretto occasionally contradicts the score. The texts of several arias by Zingarelli that Haydn marked “bleibt aus” are in the libretto. I suspect that Haydn intended to perform these arias, but that sometime after the libretto was printed he decided to omit them. Another possibility is that in a few cases Haydn kept Cigna-Santi’s aria texts but replaced Zingarelli’s music with music from another aria with the same verse structure.

Table 2 consists of parallel columns comparing the contents of Zingarelli’s opera and Haydn’s pasticcio. In a few instances Haydn simply omitted arias without replacing them. But more often he replaced Zingarelli’s music with numbers by other composers. With the help of the Eszterház libretto and research tools unavailable to Bartha, Somfai, and Landon, I have been able to identify, for the first time, the composers and operatic sources of most of these replacement numbers.

Table 2: Comparison between Zingarelli’s opera and Haydn’s pasticcio

Zingarelli (Naples, 1781)	Haydn’s arrangement for Eszterház (1785)
ACT 1	
Overture	Zingarelli
Obbligato recitative, Motezuma: “Dove son? Che m’avvenne?”	Zingarelli
Cavatina, Motezuma: “Ah numi tiranni”, F major	Omitted? (text in libretto, but “vi...de” in score suggests that it was omitted)
Aria, Lisinga: “So che non cangio stato”, B flat major	Replaced with aria in G major, “Che mi giova, ingiusti dei”, by an unidentified composer (musical incipit in Bartha/Somfai, p. 291)
Aria, Motezuma: “Cara fiamma del mio seno”, A major	Replaced with rondò in A major, “Prencè amato in questo amplesso” from Antonio Tozzi’s “Rinaldo” (Venice, 1775), with text altered so that it begins “Nel lasciarti amato bene.” (musical incipit in Bartha/Somfai, p. 292)
Obbligato recitative, Guacozinga: “Al sembiante sconvolto”	Zingarelli
Aria, Guacozinga: “Ah che in un mar d’affanni”, F major	Replaced with aria in C major, “Tempeste il mar minaccia” (text from Metastasio’s “Il trionfo di Clelia”) by an unidentified composer (musical incipit in Bartha/Somfai, p. 292)
March, E flat major	Zingarelli

Aria, Cortes: "Rammenta al tuo sovrano", E flat major	Omitted; possibly replaced with aria, "Non si fidi di lui stesso" by an unidentified composer (not in score or orchestral parts)
Aria, Teutile: "Di fieri sdegni armato", C major	Possibly replaced with aria in E flat major by an unidentified composer (musical incipit in Landon II, p. 669); libretto has the text "Di fieri sdegni armato"
Aria, Pilpatoe: "Tal si vede in mar turbato", D major	Omitted? (text in libretto, but score marked "bleibt aus")
Aria, Guacozinga: "Ah no, t'arresta, o caro", A minor	Replaced with duet for Motezuma and Guacozinga in B flat major, "Cara, con quelle lagrime", from Francesco Bianchi's "Demetrio" (Venice, 1780)
Aria, Motezuma: "A morir se mi condanna", E flat major	
ACT 2	
Aria, Cortes: "A mio danno invano armato", B flat major	Omitted? (text in libretto, but score marked "bleibt aus")
Aria, Teutile: "Pensa fra tanto, cara", E major	Omitted? (text in libretto, but score marked "bleibt aus")
Aria, Lisinga: "Mi scordo lo scempio", G major	Replaced with rondò in A major, "Se non mostrano gli dei" from Joseph Schuster's "Demofonte" (Forlì, 1776)
Aria, Motezuma: "Cara, deh torna in pace", E flat major	Replaced with scena, "Io tradir l'idol mio", and rondò in E flat major, "Un amante sventurato", from Giuseppe Sarti's "Ifigenia" (Rome, 1777)
Aria, Guacozinga: "Frena l'insano orgoglio", C major	Omitted; possibly replaced with aria "Quando più irato freme" from Salieri's "L'Europa riconosciuta" (Milan, 1778; libretto has the text of Salieri's aria, but music is missing from the score and orchestral parts)
Aria, Teutile: "Saldo scoglio allor che freme", D major	Omitted
Aria, Cortes: "Perché ogn'ombra ti parta dal core"	Replaced with trio in B flat major, "Fra tanti acerbi affanni" from Giovanni Paisiello's "Andromeda" (Milan, 1774), as edited for use in the pasticcio "Zenobia" (Prague, 1777)
Obbligato recitative, Guacozinga and Motezuma: "Che ascolto? Oh Dei!"	
Duet, Motezuma and Guacozinga: "Ah se mi sei fedele", A major	
ACT 3	
Aria, Cortes: "Basta il mio brando solo", C major	Replaced with aria in D major, "D'Acheronte sull'orride sponde", from Domenico Cimarosa's "Caio Mario" (Rome, 1780)

Aria, Motezuma: “Nel lasciarvi amati rai”, B flat major	Replaced with aria in F major, “Se piangi, se peni”, from Francesco Bianchi’s “Castore e Polluce” (Florence, 1779)
Obbligato recitative, Guacozinga: “Eccomi sola alfine”	Zingarelli
Aria, Guacozinga: “Ombre dolenti e pallide”, G minor	Replaced with aria in D major, “Empia mano, e tu scrivesti”, from Giovanni Battista Borghi’s “Ricimero” (Venice, 1773), with text heavily altered so that it now begins “Ah quai moti oh Dio son questi”
Coro, “Sotto il ferro vincitore”, D major	Coro in D major, “Sotto il ferro vincitore”; the coro “È menzogna il dir che amore”, from a setting by an unknown composer of a text from Metastasio’s “Zenobia” (probably prepared for the pasticcio “Zenobia” performed in Prague in 1777) with part of the original text erased and replaced with the text from Cigna-Santi’s “Motezuma”; probably from the pasticcio “Zenobia”, Prague, 1777

Haydn chose music by leading composers of opera seria in Italy: Giuseppe Sarti, Giovanni Paisiello, Francesco Bianchi, Domenico Cimarosa, and Giovanni Battista Borghi. Two other composers who contributed to the pasticcio, Antonio Salieri and Joseph Schuster, were active primarily north of the Alps (in Vienna and Dresden respectively), but Haydn took arias from operas they wrote in Italy: Salieri’s “L’Europa riconosciuta” (Milan, 1778) and Schuster’s “Demofonte” (Forlì, 1776). Novelty was clearly not Haydn’s first priority: he preferred replacement numbers written before 1781 (that is, before Zingarelli’s opera) that by the mid 1780s had perhaps attained the status of classics. Haydn gave ensembles a more important place than in Zingarelli’s opera. At the end of act 1 he replaced two arias with a duet; and at the end of act 2 he replaced an aria and a duet with a trio.

An earlier pasticcio provided Haydn with some of the material that he used in “Motezuma”. At least two of the replacement pieces had earlier been used in a performance of Metastasio’s libretto “Zenobia”. At the end of act 2 of the *Eszterház* score is the trio “Fra tanti acerbi affanni”, which is from Paisiello’s opera “Andromeda” (performed in Milan in 1774)¹¹. But the score identifies Paisiello’s music neither by his name nor by the title of the opera for which he wrote it, nor by the names of the characters who originally sang it. Instead,

¹¹ For a full score of Paisiello’s trio and a perceptive analysis see Kathleen Hansell, *Opera and Ballet at the Regio Ducal Teatro of Milan, 1771–1776. A Musical and Social History*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1980, pp. 529–532, 1078f.

the character names in the Eszterház score are Zenobia, Radamisto, and Tiridate: the three main characters in Metastasio's "Zenobia". The final coro in the Eszterház "Motezuma", "Sotto il ferro vincitore" begins with words from Cigna-Santi's "Motezuma", which replace words in the score that have been erased; the score continues with words from "Zenobia", and on the next page the name Radamisto confirms that we are dealing with music formerly used in a production of Metastasio's "Zenobia". Haydn probably took these numbers from a pasticcio "Zenobia" performed in Prague in 1777 under the direction of the impresario Giuseppe Bustelli. The libretto printed for that pasticcio includes the text of Paisiello's trio¹². When Bustelli died in 1781 some of his papers, including scores, were bought by Prince Nicolas I. Esterházy¹³. His acquisitions presumably included the score of the 1777 Prague "Zenobia", thus making Paisiello's "Fra tanti acerbi affanni" available for Haydn's use¹⁴.

Why did Haydn turn Zingarelli's opera into a pasticcio? I can think of three reasons. First, strange as the practice may now seem to us, eighteenth-century audiences enjoyed the experience of hearing music by many different composers in the course of an evening in the theater. Second, the pasticcio was the best way for Haydn – short of setting Cigna-Santi's libretto to music himself – to make sure that his singers had music that allowed them to sound their best. And third, Haydn may have lacked confidence in the quality and effectiveness of Zingarelli's music.

Compare the troupe that Haydn had at his disposal for "Motezuma" and the singers for whom Zingarelli wrote his opera (Table 3). Haydn's troupe was a small provincial company that effectively filled the little theater of Eszterház; but it was no match for the operatic stars of the first magnitude that sang in the great Teatro San Carlo of Naples. Most importantly, Haydn lacked castratos for whom Zingarelli wrote the parts of Motezuma and Teutile.

Table 3: Cast of the productions of "Motezuma" in Naples and Eszterház

	Naples, 1781	Eszterház, 1785
Motezuma	Tommaso Consoli (castrato)	Prospero Braghetti (tenor)
Guacozinga	Agata Carrara (soprano)	Metilde Bologna (soprano)

¹² I am grateful to Milada Jonášová for consulting the libretto of the Prague "Zenobia" in the University Library in Prague and sending me the texts of the arias and ensembles.

¹³ Bartha/Somfai, pp. 96f., 254.

¹⁴ The fact that all the other replacement numbers in "Motezuma" whose sources I have been able to identify were written before 1781 suggests the possibility that all of them came to Eszterház by way of Bustelli's collection.

Fernando Cortes	Antonio Prati (tenor)	Antonio Specoli (tenor)
Teutile	Innocenzio Luccio (castrato)	Benedetto Bianchi (bass)
Lisinga	Rosa Zannetti (soprano)	Margherita Delicati (soprano)
Pilpatoe	Antonio Rubinacci (castrato)	Leopold Dichtler (tenor)

During their early years as professionals in Italy, all three of Haydn's leading singers, soprano Metilde Bologna and tenors Prospero Braghetti and Antonio Specoli, had appeared exclusively in comic opera, suggesting that – in the size of their voices, their capacity for virtuosity and vocal improvisation, and their stage presence – they lacked the qualities needed to compete with Italy's leading opera seria singers. Having them sing an opera that Zingarelli had written for San Carlo would have been to invite disaster.

“Motezuma” was Zingarelli's first opera, and, after its initial production in Naples it was never performed again, except at Eszterház. In the course of preparing “Motezuma” for performance, Haydn may have noticed in the music evidence of Zingarelli's inexperience.

Guacozinga's aria “Ah che in mar d'affanni” exemplifies what made Zingarelli's opera a vehicle for virtuoso display and, at the same time, what made it impossible to present it at Eszterház without thorough revision. This long, heavily orchestrated coloratura aria was almost certainly beyond the capabilities of Metilde Bologna; and its spectacular solo oboe part would also have excessively taxed Haydn's first oboist. After a 39-measure orchestral introduction, Guacozinga's opening solo required her to compete not only with the solo oboe but also with a pair of clarinets (instruments to which in any case Haydn had only sporadic access during the 1780s) and bassoons.

Not all the arias with which Haydn replaced Zingarelli's were equally successful in offering first-rate music that made the most of Haydn's cast. Salieri's “Quando più irato fremo” is a brilliant coloratura aria for high soprano with an oboe solo even more demanding than the one in “Ah che in un mar d'affanni”. That is almost certainly why Haydn, after initially inserting it into “Motezuma” (and having its text printed in the libretto) decided to delete it¹⁵.

Zingarelli conceived of his three main roles as two sopranos and one tenor; Haydn conceived of his three main roles as one soprano and two tenors. The difference was particularly apparent in ensembles, and thus Haydn probably

¹⁵ The text of Salieri's aria is in the Eszterház libretto, but there is no trace of the music in the score or orchestral parts. Evidently it suffered the same fate as some of Zingarelli's arias: omission after the libretto was printed.

went to some trouble to find a trio for two men and one woman with which to “customize” the end of act 2. He came up with the piece from Paisiello’s “Andromeda” that had already been subject to change when, in 1777, it was inserted into a pasticcio “Zenobia”. Paisiello wrote “Fra tanti acerbi affanni” for Andromeda, her lover Perseo, and her father Cefeo – roles created, as normal in opera seria, by two sopranos (one male and one female) and a tenor. But the troupe that sang “Zenobia” in Prague evidently lacked a castrato. That the two main male characters were both sung in Prague by tenors is suggested by the score of Paisiello’s trio that Haydn used, with clefs indicating that both Radamisto and Tiridate are tenors. Paisiello’s trio is the work of an operatic master at the very peak of his inspiration. With the vocal parts assigned to Guacozinga, Montezuma, and Cortes, we can see easily why Haydn’s singers would have wanted to perform this music and why Haydn himself would have wanted to direct it.

There is an enormous amount of work still to do in gaining bibliographic control over the eighteenth-century pasticcio: identifying the music and tracing the use of particular numbers from one pasticcio to another. Archival research promises to reveal new insights into how pasticci came into existence. We still need to construct aesthetic frameworks within which to interpret the choices involved in the production and evolution of pasticci. I hope that this paper, in delving briefly into the complexities of a single pasticcio, will increase our understanding of an operatic phenomenon that played a crucial role in eighteenth-century theatre, and will encourage others to explore the pasticcio in more depth and breadth.