

# WOLFGANG AMADEUS MOZART

Series I

## Sacred Vocal Works

WORK GROUP 4: ORATORIOS, SACRED SINGSPIELS  
AND CANTATAS

VOLUME 3: DAVIDE PENITENTE

PRESENTED BY MONIKA HOLL

1987

Neue Mozart-Ausgabe (New Mozart Edition)\*

WOLFGANG AMADEUS MOZART

## The Complete Works

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\* Hereafter referred to as the NMA. The predecessor, the "Alte Mozart-Edition" (Old Mozart Edition) is referred to as the AMA.

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## EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

The New Mozart Edition (NMA) provides for research purposes a music text based on impeccable scholarship applied to all available sources – principally Mozart's autographs – while at the same time serving the needs of practising musicians. The NMA appears in 10 Series subdivided into 35 Work Groups:

- I: Sacred Vocal Works (1–4)
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For every volume of music a Critical Commentary (Kritischer Bericht) in German is available, in which the source situation, variant readings or Mozart's corrections are presented and all other special problems discussed.





Within the volumes and Work Groups the completed works appear in their order of composition. Sketches, draughts and fragments are placed in an Appendix at the end of the relevant volume. Sketches etc. which cannot be assigned to a particular work, but only to a genre or group of works, generally appear in chronological order at the end of the final volume of the relevant Work Group. Where an identification regarding genre is not possible, the sketches etc. are published in Series X, Supplement (Work Group 30: Studies, Sketches, Draughts, Fragments, Various). Lost compositions are mentioned in the relevant Critical Commentary in German. Works of doubtful authenticity appear in Series X (Work Group 29). Works which are almost certainly spurious have not been included.

Of the various versions of a work or part of a work, that version has generally been chosen as the basis for editing which is regarded as final and definitive. Previous or alternative forms are reproduced in the Appendix.

The NMA uses the numbering of the Köchel Catalogue (KV); those numberings which differ in the third and expanded edition (KV<sup>3</sup> or KV<sup>3a</sup>) are given in brackets; occasional differing numberings in the sixth edition (KV<sup>6</sup>) are indicated.

With the exception of work titles, entries in the score margin, dates of composition and the

footnotes, all additions and completions in the music volumes are indicated, for which the following scheme applies: letters (words, dynamic markings, *tr* signs and numbers in italics; principal notes, accidentals before principal notes, dashes, dots, fermatas, ornaments and smaller rests (half notes, quarters, etc.) in small print; slurs and crescendo marks in broken lines; grace and ornamental notes in square brackets. An exception to the rule for numbers is the case of those grouping triplets, sextuplets, etc. together, which are always in italics, those added editorially in smaller print. Whole measure rests missing in the source have been completed tacitly.

The title of each work as well as the specification in italics of the instruments and voices at the beginning of each piece have been normalised, the disposition of the score follows today's practice. The wording of the original titles and score disposition are provided in the Critical Commentary in German. The original notation for transposing instruments has been retained. C-clefs used in the sources have been replaced by modern clefs. Mozart always notated singly occurring sixteenth, thirty-second notes etc. crossed-through, (i.e.  instead of ); the notation therefore does not distinguish between long or short realisations. The NMA generally renders these in the modern notation  etc.; if a grace note of this kind should be interpreted as "short" an additional indication "[f and *p* instead of *for:* and *pia:*

The texts of vocal works have been adjusted following modern orthography. The realisation of the bass continuo, in small print, is as a rule only provided for *secco* recitatives. For any editorial departures from these guidelines refer to the relevant Foreword and to the Critical Commentary in German.

A comprehensive representation of the editorial guidelines for the NMA (3<sup>rd</sup> version, 1962) has been published in *Editionsrichtlinien musikalischer Denkmäler und Gesamtausgaben* [Editorial Guidelines for Musical Heritage and Complete Editions]. Commissioned by the Gesellschaft für Forschung and edited by Georg von Dadelsen, Kassel etc., 1963, pp. 99-129. Offprints of this as well as the *Bericht über die Mitarbeitertagung und Kassel, 29. – 30. 1981*, published privately in 1984, can be obtained from the Editorial Board of the NMA. The Editorial Board



## FOREWORD

“The members of the Society in Vienna requested an oratorio from Mozart in 1783 for the benefit of the widows and orphans. But, as the time was too short for the composition of a new one, he took up a large, unfinished Mass and underlaid to the same a text by an Italian author, added some arias and duets, and thus the so-called Oratorio came into being: *Davide penitente*, in which the choruses were taken from the Kyrie and Gloria and, in the Fugue, a piece for three solo voices was interpolated”.

This first description of *Davide penitente* KV 469 was the work of the Benedictine padre Maximilian Stadler<sup>1</sup> from Lower Austria, who was commissioned by Constanze Mozart in 1798 to order her husband’s estate, thus gaining intimate familiarity with the details of Mozart’s compositions, particularly of those of the Vienna period.

Stadler’s text, accurate in essentials but imprecise in details, will be corrected and supplemented in what follows with the help of those source materials still available and secure archival information.

### *The musical content*

The choral work *Davide penitente*, classified today as a cantata, for three solo voices (two sopranos and tenor) and four, five and eight-part choir with large orchestra is the result of a contrafact of Italian verses, commissioned by Mozart, for the music of the Kyrie and Gloria of the Missa in C minor KV 427 (417<sup>a</sup>)<sup>2</sup> with the addition of two new Italian arias (for the tenor and the first soprano) and a cadenza for the three solo voices added to the final chorus. Mozart did not add any “duets” or other ensemble numbers, as Stadler erroneously thought: these already existed as movements of the Mass. The composition thus consists of ten numbers in the order:

No. 1 Coro: “*Alzai le flebili voci al Signor*” (= Kyrie)

No. 2 Coro: “*Cantiam le glorie*” (= opening section of the Gloria)

No. 3 Aria (Soprano II): “*Lungi le cure ingrate*” (= “*Laudamus te*”)

No. 4 Coro: “*Sii pur sempre benigno, oh Dio*” (= “*Gratias*”)

No. 5 Duetto (Soprano I, II): “*Sorgi, o Signore, e spargi*” (= “*Domine*”)

No. 6 Aria (Tenore): “*A te, fra tanti affanni*” (new composition)

No. 7 Coro: “*Se vuoi, puniscimi*” (= “*Qui tollis*”)

No. 8 Aria (Soprano I): “*Tra l'oscure ombre funeste*” (new composition)

No. 9 Terzetto (Soprano I, II, Tenore): “*Tutte le mie speranze*” (= “*Quoniam*”)

No. 10 Coro: “*Chi in Dio sol spera*” (= “*Jesu Christe*”) – “*Di tai pericoli non ha timor*” (= “*Cum Sancto Spiritu*”; mm. 186–232 new composition: cadenza for Soprano I, II, Tenore)

This cantata occupies a special place amongst Mozart’s adaptations of his own compositions. In general, Mozart’s changes to earlier works concern primarily the scoring, be it that a piece is given new instrumentation for a new ensemble, an orchestral passage reduced for piano or a piano work adapted for orchestra. Mozart did indeed also “re-dedicate” works: opera overtures were sometimes used as symphonies and conversely, or motifs, themes and complete sections of compositions were re-used or quoted in a different context,<sup>3</sup> but never subjected to such a fundamental change in compositional character as in this transformation of the two Mass movements from KV 427 (417<sup>a</sup>) into the cantata *Davide penitente*. Without any change in the existing musical substance, replacing simply the text and adding further numbers, a composition for the church became a work for the concert hall. It was of course only possible to do something like this with a work whose conception already seemed to predestine it for such a re-dedication. The large scale and the drawing on

<sup>1</sup> Austrian National Library, Vienna, Codex s. n. 4310, fol. 137<sup>v</sup>; quoted from the transcription in: *Abbé Maximilian Stadler. Seine Materialien zur Geschichte der Musik unter den österreichischen Regenten. Ein Beitrag zum musikalischen Historismus im vormärzlichen Wien*, ed. and with commentary by Karl Wagner (= *Schriftenreihe der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum*, Volume 6), Salzburg, no date [1972], p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> On this cf. New Mozart Edition (NMA) I/1/Section 1: *Masses • Volume 5*, presented by Monika Holl with the collaboration of Karl-Heinz Köhler, Kassel etc., 1983.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the overview in: Marius Flothuis, *Mozarts Bearbeitungen eigener und fremder Werke* (= *Schriftenreihe der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum*, Volume 2), Salzburg, 1969, pp. 10ff.

Baroque tradition in the C minor Mass provided an ideal starting point.<sup>4</sup> As a Mass with numbers in the concertante church style – massive choruses, aria-like solos and instrumental ritornellos – the text of the Ordinary of the Mass had already been treated as an oratorio. The heterogeneous character of the individual sections also facilitated the extension of the composition. It was thus possible for the two newly-composed arias to be inserted effortlessly between the existing choruses and ensembles, although the tonal context required in both cases a short modulating bridge passage to the following movement. (From the Aria No. 6, closing in B<sup>b</sup> major, two measures lead via the dominant seventh to the parallel G minor of the subsequent double-chorus. After the Aria No. 8, a postlude of ten measures is necessary to prepare the austere E minor of the following Trio after the preceding serene C major.)

With the interpolated arias and the already existing section “*Laudamus te*” from the Mass for solo soprano (now the aria “*Lungi le cure ingrato*”), each of the three soloists had their own contribution to make as a soloist and, taken together with the ensembles and the final cadenza for the solo voices, had a suitable amount of work to do.

With the re-working of the Mass into a cantata, Mozart achieved two goals: the first was the production, without much expenditure of compositional energy, of a major choral work as yet unknown in Vienna, the second was the rescue, possible only in this manner, of an unfinished composition. The latter was certainly a matter of some importance to him, as even the completed Mass cycle would hardly have been of use at that point in time: in Vienna, under Emperor Joseph II, figural music was permitted in only very few churches and only on special occasions.

This sacred choral work, born of contrafact and supplementation, seems to have been designated by Mozart himself as a “*Psalm*”;<sup>5</sup> the extant musical sources<sup>6</sup> and the advertisement for the performance<sup>7</sup> speak of a “*cantata*”. In the first complete edition of Mozart’s works<sup>8</sup> and in the early Mozart literature, the re-worked piece was

termed “*Oratorio*”, although there is no recognisable dramatic scheme in the text and therefore also no recitatives, as no roles are allocated to the soloists; the composition is furthermore too short for an oratorio. Whether a cantata or oratorio, the same musical requirements applied for both genres in Mozart’s day, namely that such a composition should display a rich variety in the alternation of arias, choruses and ensemble numbers, avoiding as far as possible the monotonous sequences of several arias with recitatives practised as late as the 1770s. The “modernisation” of the Italian oratorio was, around 1785, one of the declared aims of the Vienna *Tonkünstlersozietät* [Musicians’ Society], who organised choral concerts, primarily oratorios, but often including instrumental music and solo numbers as well, for the benefit of their pension fund for the widows and orphans of musicians. The Society even engaged the librettist Lorenzo Da Ponte in 1786 to revise older oratorio librettos specifically for this purpose.<sup>9</sup>

The formal construction of Mozart’s *Davide penitente* corresponded very closely to the expectations of the *Tonkünstlersozietät*, at whose instigation the work was carried out. The central role of the choruses and ensemble numbers within the composition, finely balanced by the three solo arias, made Mozart’s adaptation a path-breaking example of a cyclical work with spiritual content; it was a model coming at a time of upheaval, of the waning of Italian influence in Vienna, where the tradition of Handelian oratorios had never been completely lost and was just beginning to enjoy new prestige.<sup>10</sup>

### Genesis

The commission, as already mentioned, came from the Vienna *Tonkünstlersozietät*, who had an interest in engaging for their concerts those local and itinerant artists who at that moment happened to be particularly in favor with the city’s audiences. The main concern was to raise in these concerts as much money as possible for the

<sup>9</sup> More details in Bernd Edelmann, *Haydns “Il ritorno di Tobia” und der Wandel des “Geschmacks” in Wien nach 1780*, in: *Joseph Haydn. Tradition und Rezeption. Bericht über die Jahrestagung der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung Köln 1982*, edd. Georg Feder, Heinrich Hüsch, Ulrich Tank (= *Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung* 144), Regensburg, 1985, pp. 189–214.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Theophil Antoniczek, *Zur Pflege Händelscher Musik in der 2. Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Klasse. Sitzungsberichte 250, 1. Abhandlung (= *Veröffentlichung der Kommission für Musikforschung* 4, ed. Erich Schenk), Vienna etc., 1966.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. NMA I/1/Section 1: *Masses • Volume 5* (Foreword).

<sup>5</sup> Minutes of the Vienna *Tonkünstlersozietät* [Society of Musicians], City Archive, Vienna, collection “*Haydn-Verein*” A 2/1785/5 (see also footnote 14).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the source descriptions in the *Kritischer Bericht* [Critical Report, available in German only]

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Mozart. Die Dokumente seines Lebens*, compiled and elucidated by Otto Erich Deutsch (NMA X/34 = *Dokumente*), Kassel etc., 1961, p. 212.

<sup>8</sup> *Serie IV. 2. Abtheilung. Oratorien*. Nr. 5, Leipzig, 1882.

pensions offered as part of their members' insurance. During the preparations for the 1785 (not 1783, as Stadler thought<sup>11</sup>) annual soirée of the Society in Lent, it was decided at the beginning of the year that, beside Vincenzo Righini, Mozart should also be "*approached regarding the effectuation of new choruses, and resulting concomitant arias with recitatives*".<sup>12</sup> In 1784/85, Mozart was at the pinnacle of his career as composer and virtuoso in Vienna; he had already been a guest of the Society in several concerts and was in turn interested, as a husband and father of a family, in membership of the same. The commission of a work by Mozart and his application for membership consequently went hand in hand.<sup>13</sup>

Mozart appears to have agreed, following the request by the Society, to set a Psalm.<sup>14</sup> What kind of composition he actually had in mind is not known. In any case, according

to the minutes, the length of the composition must have played a certain role. Mozart could of course initially have had the intention of setting a text suggested to him by the Musicians' Society. That raises the question, however, of how he was to finish such a task in time, in view of the enormous number of commitments he had already made regarding concerts and compositions in that same season.

Mozart must at any rate have decided definitively, before the next committee meeting of the Society on 21 February, on the adaptation of the C minor Mass, and had almost certainly already drawn up a scheme for the shape of the cantata (on this cf. the original remarks in the autograph score of the Mass and below in the section *Sources*) and discussed the question of text underlay with the librettist. In the agenda of the relevant meeting it is noted:

"Now that Mr. Mozart has not managed to complete the promised Psalm, the same offers instead another, for Vienna quite new, Psalm, which is however only enough to make up around half of the music. It would therefore be necessary for *the Academy to make further arrangements*".<sup>15</sup>

The changes proposed by Mozart to the terms of the commission did at any rate force the members of the Society to re-arrange the planned concert program, although they finally selected other pieces again for the performance itself (see the section *Performance* below).

There was still one month till the concert on 13 March 1785. But time was passing. Not only did the work have to be assembled and text underlaid, but it should also be written out at least once in score and all the parts material prepared. Mozart was under great pressure at this time: besides six concerts, organised by himself, between 11 February and 18 March in the Mehlgrube at the New Market, he also gave a very successful soirée in the Burgtheater on 10 March, for which he completed his most recent piano concerto, KV 467 in C major, just one

<sup>11</sup> Stadler's incorrect date is no doubt due to the autograph date 1783 on Mozart's manuscript of the C minor Mass, in which remarks referring to the adaptation as a cantata are also to be found. The autograph was amongst musical items from Mozart's inheritance studied by Stadler.

<sup>12</sup> Minutes of the Vienna *Tonkünstlersozietät* [*Society of Musicians*], City Archive, Vienna, collection "*Haydn-Verein*" A 2/1785/1.

<sup>13</sup> Minutes A 2/1785/5, agenda item 7:

"*Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart* seeks admission to the Society; but can at the moment not present his certificate of Baptism, which he promises to bring later / remains however meanwhile in suspension, partly in the absence of a certificate of Baptism, and furthermore until the settlement of general disputes within the Society."

<sup>14</sup> Minutes A 2/1785/5:

"Item: it was thirdly decided that the *Academy Program* should once again take place in Lent.

Conclusion: It is to be opened with a new Symphony in D minor by Mr. Joseph Haydn, immediately followed by the second new chorus by the same with its preceding aria by Signore Mandini, then again a Symphony by Mr. Joseph Haydn. Following that the Concerto, for which the gentlemen Borra and Schenker have been invited. Then the Psalm by Mr. Mozart, at the end of which a Symphony by Joseph Haydn.

*First Rehearsal* on 10th March in the Redoutenzimmer [Soirée room] at 9 a.m.

*General Probe* on 12th ditto in the Theater at 9 a.m.

*Performances* on 13th and 15th March."

Johann Borra (Royal Sardinian Music Director from Turin, violin virtuoso, pupil of Gaetano Pugnani) gave a soirée in Vienna on 14 February 1785.

Schenker: First name not known; probably harpist for Prince Conti in Paris; published, according to Breitkopf's music catalogue of 1775, six Sonatas for Harp, Violin and Basso continuo.

<sup>15</sup> Minutes, A 2/1785/12; there the following is noted:

"Conclusion: the beginning is to be with Mr. Joseph Haydn's Symphony in D minor, then the Coro by Sacchini in E.

*1st day* Aria sung by Signor Mandini.

*2nd day* Aria sung by Madame Le Brun.

Symphony by Mr. Jos: Haydn. Aria and Coro by ditto, sung by Mademoiselle Cavalieri.

*Concerti*

*1st day* Monsieur le Brun.

*2nd day* Monsieur Schenker.

Followed by the Psalm by Mr. Mozart."

day before the concert.<sup>16</sup> He was furthermore involved in at least three concerts not organised by himself, while also visiting the Sunday matinées in the home of Baron Gottfried van Swieten and being host to his father and his protégé, the violinist Heinrich Marchand. It was during these days that Leopold wrote a letter to his daughter in St. Gilgen with the much-quoted words: “daily soirées, always learning, music, writing etc. [...] – If only the soirées were finally finished: it is impossible to describe all the hassle and turmoil [...]”.<sup>17</sup>

Under the circumstances described, Mozart finished the Aria No. 6<sup>18</sup> on 6 March and, with the first rehearsal already behind him and one day before the final rehearsal,<sup>19</sup> the Aria No. 8, the second of the two new arias, on 11 March.<sup>20</sup> When precisely Mozart wrote the nearly 40 measures of the cadenza for the solo voices is not known.

The piece-by-piece completion of the cantata so shortly before the performance must have left traces in the work of the copyist. It is probable that at least No. 8 was added subsequently to the performance material, as the copying work for the whole cantata (score and parts) within one day must have been impossible, even if an entire copying workshop was involved, quite apart from the fact that the parts material for at least the choral sections would have been needed by the first rehearsal at the latest (more details below in the section *Sources*).

### *The Performance*

Public concerts by the Musicians’ Society took place, from 1783 onwards, in the National Theater in the

<sup>16</sup> A summary of the tight schedule of all Mozart’s appointments during these days is in Otto Schneider – Anton Algatzky, *Mozart-Handbuch. Chronik – Werk – Bibliographie*, Vienna, 1962, pp. 58f.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*. Complete edition, published by the International Mozart Foundation, Salzburg, collected (and elucidated) by Wilhelm A. Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch, (4 volumes of text = Bauer–Deutsch I–IV, Kassel etc., 1962/63), with commentary based on their preceding work by Joseph Heinz Eibl (2 volumes of commentary = Eibl V and VI, Kassel etc. 1971), Bauer–Deutsch III, p. 379, No. 850, lines 38ff.

<sup>18</sup> Entry on this date in his hand-written catalogue *Verzeichniß aller meiner Werke* (cf. Bauer–Deutsch III, p. 377, No. 849).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. footnote 14.

<sup>20</sup> Entry on this date in his hand-written catalogue *Verzeichniß aller meiner Werke* (cf. Bauer–Deutsch III, p. 378, Nr. 849).

*Hofburg* [Royal Fortress]. All Society members, which meant in fact a large proportion of the practising musicians of Vienna,<sup>21</sup> were obliged to offer their services free of charge. Lists of performers for various concerts, such as the Lent concert 1784 and the Autumn concert 1785, have been preserved, so that the size of the forces for Mozart’s performances can be estimated:<sup>22</sup> in the first and second violins, around 20 musicians in three rows were involved in each case, the violas had one row of 6–8 players, further around 7 cellists and double-bass players, 2 flautists, about 6–7 oboists (of whom one probably played the clarinet solo in Aria No. 6 of Mozart’s *Davide penitente*), the same number of bassoonists, up to 6 horn players, 2 trombonists (more regarding them below), 2 trumpet players and one timpanist. This amounts to about 80 instrumentalists; in addition, there was a chorus with about 30 members (i.e. tenors and basses). For the soprano and alto parts in the chorus, a similar number of choirboys from the Michaelerkirche, the Schottenstift monastery and the Kapellhaus school of St. Stephan were engaged. One or two adult male altos still participated at that date. Counting the vocal and instrumental soloists, a total of around 150 persons was involved in the performance.<sup>23</sup>

These imposing musical forces were however positioned very disadvantageously in the Burgtheater at that time: the chorus had the first place, behind the uncovered orchestra pit amongst the open scenery on stage, followed by the instrumentalists, of whom the violinists were hidden by the choral basses. The acoustical effect for the audience, one can imagine, despite the number of musicians employed, must have been poor.<sup>24</sup>

The Lent concert of 1785, at which Mozart’s cantata was performed, was planned for Sunday 13 March, with a repeat on Tuesday 15 March.<sup>25</sup> For this, two rehearsals were to take place, the first on 10 March at 9 a.m. in the Redoutenzimmer (Assembly Room), the final rehearsal then on 12 March, again at 9 a.m., but now in the

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Carl Ferdinand Pohl, *Denkschrift aus Anlass des hundertjährigen Bestehens der Tonkünstler-Societät, im Jahre 1862 reorganisirt als “Haydn”, Witwen- und Waisen-Versorgungs-Verein der Tonkünstler in Wien*, Vienna, 1871, pp. 32 and 34.

<sup>22</sup> On this cf. the exact figures in Otto Biba, *Beispiele für die Besetzungsverhältnisse bei Aufführungen von Haydns Oratorien in Wien zwischen 1784 und 1808*, in: *Haydn-Studien IV* (1978), issue 2, pp. 94ff.

<sup>23</sup> Pohl, op. cit., p. 34, speaks of “over 180 persons”.

<sup>24</sup> On this cf. Paul Wranitzky’s suggested reforms of 1796 in: Pohl, op. cit., pp. 34f.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. footnote 14 and the concert notice in: *Dokumente*, pp. 212f.



Burgtheater.<sup>26</sup> The original idea was that Salieri should direct the concert. “*Per la Batutta Sig: Salieri*” is noted in the minutes of 21 February. This name was erased (but remained legible), however, and was replaced by the name “*Mozart*”. At the harpsichord, as always, sat Ignaz Umlauff. The concert master, Anton Hoffmann, later violinist in the court music, was at that time employed at the churches Schottenkirche and St. Peter.<sup>27</sup> For this “mixed” program, various virtuosos had been requested to offer solo performances.<sup>28</sup> The final program planning was that Mozart’s cantata, with the solo singers Caterina Cavalieri<sup>29</sup>, Elisabeth Distler<sup>30</sup> and Johann Valentin Adamberger<sup>31</sup>, should be heard in the second part of the concert on both evenings. The first part of performance opened in both cases with the latest symphony by Joseph Haydn, Hob. I/80 in D minor<sup>32</sup>, followed by a chorus from Florian Leopold Gäßmann’s<sup>33</sup> *Amore e Psiche* and the “Storm Chorus” No. 13c,<sup>34</sup> so successfully composed one year previously by Joseph Haydn as a later addition to *Il ritorno di Tobia* Hob. XXI/1. Between these pieces on the first evening, the singers Paolo Stefano Mandini<sup>35</sup> and Franziska Lebrun sang one aria each and the oboist

Ludwig Lebrun<sup>36</sup> played, as the final piece before the interval, an oboe concerto. In the first part of the concert on the second evening, besides Mandini, Cavalieri sang an Italian aria, which was followed by an Italian chorus and an aria by Antonio Sacchini with Johann Valentin Adamberger as soloist. At the end of the first part, Leopold Mozart’s pupil Heinrich Marchand played a violin concerto.<sup>37</sup> One would be justified in assuming that father Leopold Mozart was in the audience for both concerts.

The first concert was attended, according to the report of the National Theater, by around 660 persons, if we count four persons per box sold. In the second, much less well-attended concert, only around 225 persons were in the audience, and the boxes for the nobility remained, for the most part, empty.<sup>38</sup> The moderate to poor attendance may be have been due to the fact that the Society’s “mixed” concerts always found less resonance amongst the public than the oratorio performances. In addition, Mozart and most of the soloists were to be heard in a number of soirées in advance of the Society’s concerts.

The takings for the Society from the two concerts together amounted to 950.55 Guilders. This sum already included the donations by the Emperor (50 Ducats) and Archduke Franz (six Ducats per performance). The other side of the balance consisted of administrative costs of 306.33 Guilders for the preparation and clearing up of the hall, for oil and candles for lighting, for wages for officials, instrument attendants, box attendants and an inspector. A relatively large item, namely 93.55 Guilders, was for copying charges for the music. This sum, we must assume, covered not only work for Mozart’s cantata, but also for parts for other works in the program. The net

<sup>26</sup> Cf. footnote 14.

<sup>27</sup> Minutes, A 2/1785/5: “*Per la Batutta*

Mr. Mozart. [erased below, but still easily legible: Sig: Salieri]

*Violino Direttore*

Mr. Anton Hofmann.

*Al Cembalo*

Mr. Umlauf’.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. footnotes 14 and 15.

<sup>29</sup> (1755–1801); cf. also Eibl V, pp. 474f., on No. 407/21.

<sup>30</sup> (1769–1789); cf. also Eibl VI, pp. 217f., on No. 847/76.

<sup>31</sup> (1743–1803); cf. also Eibl VI, p. 60, on No. 588/38.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. footnote 14. The printed parts for this symphony, along with Hob. I, 79 and 81, were advertised for the first time in the *Wiener Zeitung* on 23 February 1785 by the publisher Torricella as the latest printed work by Joseph Haydn. But, even before they were released, Artaria took over the publications and gave notice of their appearance on 12 March 1785. (More details in: *Joseph Haydn. Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*, compiled by Anthony van Hoboken, vol. 1, Mainz, 1957, pp. 128f.) It is doubtful that the players had the printed material for Mozart’s concert.

<sup>33</sup> Minutes A 2/1785/1:

“From the deceased Gassmann’s *Amore e Psiche* the best, including a chorus, is to be selected [...]”.

<sup>34</sup> More information in Edelmann, op. cit. (see footnote 9), p. 204.

<sup>35</sup> (1736–1824), singer with the Italian Opera in Vienna, the first to play the Count in Mozart’s *Le nozze di Figaro*.

<sup>36</sup> (1752–1790), oboist from Mannheim; his wife (1756–1791), coloratura singer, sister of the composer Franz Danzi. Both happened to be in Vienna on a outstandingly successful concert tour.

<sup>37</sup> Program taken from the general information on the Musicians’ Society soirées from 1772 to 1868 (City Archive, Vienna, collection “*Haydn-Verein*” B 1/8). In this document, however, the programs of the first and second concerts seem to have been confused, showing the Lebruns in the second and Marchand in the first concert. This is disproved by the extant concert notice (reproduced in: *Mozart und seine Welt in zeitgenössischen Bildern* = NMA X/32, Otto Erich Deutsch / Maximilian Zenger, Kassel etc., 1961, p. 186, No. 386) and also by Leopold Mozart’s letter of 12 March 1785 to his daughter (Bauer–Deutsch III, p. 379, No. 850, lines 51f.).

<sup>38</sup> City Archive, Vienna, collection “*Haydn-Verein*” A 1/4 Accounts: Reports Nos. 1 and 2.

benefit to the Society from the two events under Mozart's direction amounted to 644.22 Guilders.<sup>39</sup> For Mozart the two concerts, in which the cantata *Davide penitente*, specially put together for this occasion, was heard, probably represented above all a duty which he had accepted for tactical reasons. The intended goal of qualifying for admission to the Society was however not attained.

### Title and Text

A previously unpublished documentation by Claudio Sartori<sup>40</sup> of all Italian librettos before 1800 names no less than 72 different titles of text-books for operas, oratorios and cantatas whose contents concern the biblical King David. Ten of these deal with the story of David's repentance of his sins and his crying out to God for forgiveness. They bear expressive titles such as *David poenitens*, *David pentito*, *Il Davide pentito*, *David penitente*, *Il David penitente* or *Davide penitente*. No textbook for Mozart's cantata is however registered by Sartori.

No title authorised by Mozart has come down to us. In the letters known to us, the composition is not mentioned; in his work catalogue, Mozart entered the new arias written for it only with the remark "*For the Society's music*".<sup>41</sup> The concert advertisement promises "*a completely new cantata appropriate for these times*".<sup>42</sup> The extant musical sources from the end of the 18th century call the work *Il Davide penitente* or *Davide penitente*.<sup>43</sup> Constanze and son Wolfgang Mozart speak in their correspondence also of *Davide penitente*.<sup>44</sup> It is with the printed score of the second part published in 1805 that the spelling *Davidde penitente* appeared for the first time,<sup>45</sup> a form which entered circulation and was then adopted by scholars of the early 19th century such as Maximilian Stadler<sup>46</sup> and

the spouses Novello<sup>47</sup>. With the Köchel Catalogue (<sup>1</sup>/1862) and also the publication of the first complete edition of Mozart's works, this title became established and is still in use today. Although the spellings *Davidde* and *Davide* are both possible in Italian,<sup>48</sup> this edition wishes to return to the more usual orthography, which is also that known in the sources of Mozart's day.

The title *Davide penitente* refers to the content of the underlaid Italian text, which paraphrases in a vague form individual verses from the Psalms of David, although the name *David* does not appear in the text. It would certainly be presumptuous to place the scanty lines of verse in the cantata, not even amounting to one page of text, alongside the penitential Psalms of the Bible. One must concede to the author, however, that he could only underlay as much text as the music allowed, amounting to precisely the text set in the Kyrie and Gloria of the C minor Mass. The few sentences required for the parody were, however, adapted with great skill and sensitivity on the part of the author to the existing music. He replaced the verse sections of the Ordinary of the Mass by phrases of similar content from the ideas present in the Psalms, in the process adopting the Psalms known as "penitential", numbers 6, 32 (31), 38 (37), 50 (51), 102 (101), 130 (129) and 143 (142) as models.<sup>49</sup> The verses of the two new arias accord relatively harmoniously with the rest of the contrafact, although they contain by far the more extensive text.

For the Italian lyricist, for whom one can assume a familiarity since childhood days with the Latin text of the Mass, the re-texting may have been the work of about one day after an initial clarification with Mozart of the

<sup>47</sup> *A Mozart Pilgrimage. Being the Travel Diaries of Vincent & Mary Novello in the Year 1829*, transcribed and compiled by Nerina Medici di Marignano, ed. by Rosemary Hughes, London, 1955, p. 96, 100, 117, 158.

<sup>48</sup> Information supplied by Prof. Dr. Pierluigi Petrobelli, Rome.

<sup>49</sup> "*Voce mea ad Dominum clamavi*" or a similar verse becomes "*alzai le flebili voci al Signor*", "*gloriamini omnes recti corde*" becomes "*cantiam le glorie*"; "*miserere mei Deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam*" leads to "*sii pur sempre benigno, oh Dio, e le preghiere ti muovano a pietà*"; from "*inveniat manus tua omnibus inimicis tuis: dextera tua inveniat omnes, qui te oderunt*" results "*sorgi, Signore, e spargi i tuoi nemici, spargi e dissipa i tuoi nemici, fuga ogn'un che t'odia*"; at "*se vuoi puniscimi, ma pria, Signore, lascia, che almeno, che sfoghi, che si moderi il tuo sdegno, il tuo furore*" one might think of the Latin "*Domine, ne in furore tuo arguas me neque in ira tua corripas me*", at "*tra l'oscure ombre funeste*" of "*si ambulavero in medio umbrae mortis*" etc.; the examples could be continued.

<sup>39</sup> City Archive, Vienna, collection "*Haydn-Verein*" B 5/15 Society accounts for 1785 (in this document, the entire expenditure of the Society in the relevant quarter-year is presented) and also A 1/3, overview of income.

<sup>40</sup> Xerocopy of the manuscript at the RISM project group of the Federal Republic of Germany in Munich.

<sup>41</sup> Bauer-Deutsch III, pp. 377f., No. 849.

<sup>42</sup> *Dokumente*, p. 212.

<sup>43</sup> More details in the *Kritischer Bericht*.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Bauer-Deutsch IV, p. 319, 417, 458, 500.

<sup>45</sup> More details in Gertraut Haberkamp, *Die Erstdrucke der Werke von Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart*, Tutzing, 1985 (cited here otherwise as HaberkampED), text volume, p. 233, illustrations volume, ill. 192.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. the citation at the beginning of the Foreword.

elements of the work; it was not an opportunity for presenting oneself in a favorable light as an author. Consequently, we have no secure identification of him. Stadler writes, in the lines quoted at the beginning, only of the “Italian poet”. In his meeting with Vincent Novello on the occasion of his visit to Vienna, Stadler is said to have mentioned Lorenzo Da Ponte.<sup>50</sup> Although Stadler’s statement can only be cited with reservation – he himself could only have had this kind of information from hearsay – it is not far-fetched to attribute the authorship to *Da Ponte*. Mozart was acquainted with *Da Ponte* as early as 1783,<sup>51</sup> there had been talk of cooperation, and Da Ponte was also in contact with the Musicians’ Society (see above). Alfred Einstein, without knowing of Novello’s notes, had already suspected Da Ponte as the author of the text.<sup>52</sup> Da Ponte himself did not mention anything in his extensive memoirs of any such work for Mozart.<sup>53</sup> He had busied himself intensively with the Psalms of David before his time in Vienna, however, and made a rhyming Italian translation in seven poems of Psalm excerpts, even having them printed in Dresden in 1780.<sup>54</sup> He included five of these Psalm paraphrases in his autobiography.<sup>55</sup> In these poems we do indeed find resemblances in terms of content to the text of Mozart’s cantata, but there is no congruence of any kind in the diction of the verses. Da Ponte later turned to Biblical material again and wrote a large-scale oratorio in four acts, *Il Davide*, based on the life of David as a young man, his heroic deeds and victories, his difficulties King Saul and his love for Saul’s daughter Michal.<sup>56</sup> The text has no connection, however,

with that of Mozart’s cantata.<sup>57</sup> – In the title of the present edition (p. 1), Da Ponte is not named as the probable author of the text because of the lack of conclusive evidence for his authorship.

### *Sources and Transmission*

No score of the cantata in Mozart’s own hand has down to us, and probably none ever existed. In the autograph of the Mass there are however several remarks by Mozart referring to the re-working as a cantata,<sup>58</sup> so that the movements Kyrie and Gloria found there could be taken as original scores for the corresponding sections of the present work. The new arias composed in 1785 (No. 6 and No. 8) and the solo cadenza inserted in No. 10 are preserved in separate autographs.<sup>59</sup>

A first copy of the score, obviously given by Mozart to a copyist’s workshop to be completed before the concert, was passed on in Mozart’s estate.<sup>60</sup> The score contains all numbers of the cantata in the correct sequence, but in all the (Italian texted) vocal parts most of the note values correspond rhythmically to the original (Latin) text (cf. the facsimile on p. XXVI). Several scribes took part in the copying, a further indication that it was copied before the performance, since speed was called for, the original of No. 8, for example, discussed above, only becoming available two days before the performance.

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subject of David (signatures: *Mus. Hs. 4108* and *Mus. Hs. K. T. 102*) have no textual connection with Da Ponte’s libretto. – Extant examples of Da Ponte’s libretto: Mannheim: Reiss-Museum; Prague: Státní knihovna ČSR – Universitní knihovna-hudební oddělení; Rome: Biblioteca nazionale and Biblioteca Musicale governativa del Conservatorio di Santa Cecilia; Vienna: Music Collection of the Austrian National Library.

<sup>57</sup> Nor is there any connection with the Latin oratorio *David poenitens* by Ferdinand Bertoni mentioned in KV<sup>6</sup> (p. 511) (score: Music Collection of the Austrian National Library, Vienna, signature: *Mus. Hs. Cod. 19155*).

<sup>58</sup> Cf. the facsimile edition of the autograph score, Leipzig, 1982 (Karl-Heinz Köhler), Kassel etc., 1983 (= *Documenta Musicologica. Zweite Reihe: Handschriften-Faksimiles*, vol. 9; Karl-Heinz Köhler and Monika Holl).

<sup>59</sup> No. 6: Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Berlin (see the facsimile on p. XXIII).

No. 8 and solo cadenza: former Prussian State Library, Berlin, today Biblioteka Jagiellońska Kraków (see the facsimiles on p. XXIVf.).

<sup>60</sup> Sometime in the possession of Johann Anton André, Offenbach; from his inheritance it passed via André’s collaborator Heinrich Henkel to the Hessische Landesbibliothek in Fulda, signature: *M 291* (see the facsimile on p. XXVI).

<sup>50</sup> *A Mozart Pilgrimage*, op. cit., p. 158.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Bauer–Deutsch III, p. 268, No. 745, lines 13ff.

<sup>52</sup> Alfred Einstein, *Mozart. Sein Charakter. Sein Werk*, Stockholm, 1947, p. 462, and KV<sup>3</sup>, p. 593.

<sup>53</sup> *Memorie di Lorenzo da Ponte da Ceneda*, New York, 2/1829 (Vol. I in 2 parts).

<sup>54</sup> Op. cit., Vol. I, Parte II, p. 27.

<sup>55</sup> Op. cit., Vol. I, Parte II, pp. 27–34.

<sup>56</sup> The oratorio was presented five times in Vienna in March 1791 for the benefit of the singer Francesca Adriana Gabrieli, known as Ferrarese. More information in Franz Hadamowsky, *Die Wiener Hoftheater (Staatstheater) 1776–1966, Verzeichnis der aufgeführten Stücke mit Bestandsnachweis und täglichem Spielplan*, Part 1, 1776–1810, in: *Museion. Veröffentlichungen der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Neue Folge, 1. Reihe, vol. 4, Vienna, 1966, p. 26, No. 227, and the appendix: *Täglicher Spielplan des Burgtheaters (1776 bis Ende 1810) und des Kärntnertheaters (1785 bis Ende 1810)* [Daily theater programs], p. 24. There Giovanni Liverati is named as composer of the music to the oratorio. Research by Hans-Josef Irmen has shown, however, that two music manuscripts of Liverati’s preserved in the music collection of the Austrian National Library, Vienna for vocal works on the



A second contemporary score copy,<sup>61</sup> on which, once again, several scribes worked, could have an immediate connection with the 1785 performance and was possibly intended for Ignaz Umlauff at the harpsichord. In this copy, the note lengths had already been adjusted to the text syllables. One can assume that this score, whether it was used together with the performance material of 1785 or was only completed from the performance material, renders the version heard at the première under Mozart's direction.<sup>62</sup> The parts material for this performance could not be located in the Archive of the Musicians' Society.<sup>63</sup>

Some of the numerous additional manuscript sources from the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries are copies of the first of the score sources named above, sold from Mozart's estate to the Offenbach publisher Johann Anton André. In exactly the same way, they display some of the rhythms associated with the text of the Mass.<sup>64</sup> The other copies must go back to performance material from the première, either that which had remained in Mozart's possession, or from material belonging to the Musicians' Society. They reproduce the note lengths in a practicable form adapted to the Italian text. Amongst these copies is a convolute consisting of score and 26 parts<sup>65</sup> from the, for a long time, undiscovered private music collection of Emperor Franz II.<sup>66</sup> This carefully written material agrees with the score which was possibly used for the première (see above) in all details, but the parts betray that a small-scale performance was intended: the trombone parts are entirely absent, and only two copies per choral voice are included,

while the three soloists reinforce the choir (more details in the *Kritischer Bericht* [*Critical Report*, available in German only]). The handwriting in this material resembles that of the preliminary score of Mozart's arrangement of Handel's *Alexander's Feast* used for the performance at the home of Baron Gottfried van Swieten.<sup>67</sup> It is therefore possible that the cantata *Davide penitente* was copied for a planned performance at van Swieten's<sup>68</sup> and acquired by Franz II from van Swieten's inheritance.<sup>69</sup> It is also conceivable that the musical material was directly procured by the Society for the private Imperial collection.

A further manuscript set of parts from the beginning of the 19th century deserves mention: the scribe, Otto Hatwig<sup>70</sup> (born in 1766 in Grulich in Moravia, former member of the Burgtheater orchestra in Vienna), directed from 1815 to 1818 the private amateur orchestra which emerged from the chamber music circle associated with the brothers Franz and Ferdinand Schubert and in which Franz Schubert continued to play the viola.<sup>71</sup> So many enthusiastic lovers of music took part in these meetings that, besides symphonic works, oratorios such as Handel's *Messiah* and Haydn's *Creation* could be performed. If Mozart's *Davide penitente* did receive a performance in this circle, Franz Schubert must have participated.

Otto Hatwig's parts material contains three trombone parts to go with the choral sections taken for the cantata from the C minor Mass. This circumstance permits the conclusion that Hatwig had arranged for the parts to be copied from a score in which, as in Mozart's autograph, the employment of three trombones is indicated by corresponding directions in the choral parts of what had been the Kyrie of the Mass. Since, as we have observed,

<sup>61</sup> It came in 1939 from the estate of Leopold von Zenetti in Enns (teacher of Anton Bruckner) to the Music Collection of the Austrian National Library, Vienna, signature *Mus. Hs. 19903* (see the facsimile on p. XXVII). Cf. also Elisabeth Maier, *Der Nachlaß Leopold von Zenettis an der Music Collection of the Austrian National Library*, in: *Bruckner-Studien*, Vienna, 1975, pp. 63ff.

<sup>62</sup> The copying work for the *Tonkünstlersozietät* [*Musicians' Society*] was done in the workshop of Joseph Arthofer; cf. Biba, op. cit. (see footnote 22), p. 99.

<sup>63</sup> On the eventful and inadequate storing and supervision of the music collection of the Society before and around 1800 cf. Pohl, op. cit. (see footnote 21), p. 15.

<sup>64</sup> For example the scores in the Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal Brüssel, signature: *1069*, and in the University Library, Prague, signature: *M III 18*.

<sup>65</sup> Today in the Music Collection of the Austrian National Library, Vienna, signatures: *Mus. Hs. 9906* and *9907*.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Ernst Fritz Schmid, *Die Musikaliensammlung des Kaisers Franz II., ihre Wiederentdeckung in Graz im Jahre 1933*, typewritten, 1951 (Music Collection of the Austrian National Library, Vienna).

<sup>67</sup> Cf. NMA X/28/Section 1/3 (Andreas Holschneider), facsimile on p. XI, and in the present volume the facsimile on p. XXVIII.

<sup>68</sup> This would mean that van Swieten had planned or actually organised a performance of the work, whether before or after Mozart's death.

<sup>69</sup> On this cf. Andreas Holschneider, *Die musikalische Bibliothek Gottfried van Swietens*, in: *Bericht über den Internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß Kassel 1962*, ed. Georg Reichert and Martin Just, Kassel etc., 1963, p. 178.

<sup>70</sup> The parts are today in the music archive of the monastery Stift Melk, signature: *IV, 266*.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. *Leopold von Sonnleithners Erinnerungen an die Musiksalons des vormärzlichen Wiens*, introduced by Otto Erich Deutsch, *III. Musikalische Skizzen aus Alt-Wien*, in: *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 16 (1961), issue 2/3, pp. 101ff.



only two trombones were foreseen for the concert, a fact which must have been unambiguously clear from remarks in the performance material,<sup>72</sup> it is likely that Hatwig copied from a score closely connected with the original score of the Mass and probably still in the possession of the Mozart family. Otto Hatwig may have gained access to his score exemplar via Maximilian Stadler, for the latter played a not insignificant role in society musical events in Vienna after his retirement in 1815.<sup>73</sup> Hatwig's trombone parts diverge minimally in all numbers from the version transmitted in Mozart's score, and in the second chorus (= No. 2), in which there is no direction in Mozart's own hand for their use, they receive comfortably playable composed parts independent of the vocal lines.

A peculiarity associated with the problem of the wind parts in Hatwig's material and common to all extant sources of *Davide penitente* is that they all envisage the double chorus No. 7, the former "*Qui tollis*" in the Mass (now "*Se vuoi, puniscimi*"), without any wind instruments. The transmitted wind parts<sup>74</sup> are always marked "*tacet*" here, while in the score copies the wind instruments were not notated anyway, since all the staves on the normal twelve-staff paper of the day were needed for the eight vocal parts, the strings and the instrumental bass. For the same reason, Mozart had written a separate wind score in the original manuscript of the Mass. Today it is no longer possible to judge whether the absence of wind in this movement is due to an omission on the part of the copyist, who also produced the first parts material for the cantata

<sup>72</sup> Cf. the manuscript from the Music Collection of the Austrian National Library, Vienna, signature: *Mus. Hs. 19903* (see footnote 61), and in the section *The Edition* below.

<sup>73</sup> The parts material could have been returned by Hatwig to Stadler, passing after Stadler's death November 1833 to his good acquaintance Sonnleithner, who then carried out more arrangement work (see the section *The Edition* below) and could subsequently have passed it on in 1834, together with a score he had compiled (see also footnote 92), as a legacy of Stadler's to the monastery of the latter's home region, Stift Melk. There is no proof of this, but the manuscript complex is registered in the music catalogue of the monastery following several accessions of compositions by Stadler, and Robert Norman Freeman (*The Practice of Music at Melk Monastery in the Eighteenth Century*, Phil. Diss. University of California, Los Angeles, 1971, p. 340) notes late compositions by Stadler which could only have come to Melk via the latter's legacy.

<sup>74</sup> Music Collection of the Austrian National Library Vienna, signature: *Mus. Hs. 9907*; music archive of the monastery Stift Melk, signature: *IV, 266*; library of the International Mozart Foundation, Salzburg, signature: *Rara 469/2*.

from Mozart's Mass autograph, and in doing so failed to notice the separate score for the wind at the end of the convolute, or whether, during the manuscript transmission, the copying was always done from scores which displayed no wind in No. 7 because of lack of space. The first hypothesis could mean, under certain circumstances, that even in Mozart's Society concerts the wind remained silent in this chorus, but this question cannot be decided without the original parts material from the première: if Mozart's wind parts for the double chorus No. 7 were available for the performance, this source was then obviously never used for copying.

No doubt at the instigation of Constanze Mozart, the solo and ensemble numbers 3, 4, 6, 8 and 9 were published by Artaria in Vienna in 1796 as single numbers in a reduction for piano and voice.<sup>75</sup> These editions certainly provided the means by which individual pieces from Mozart's cantata were performed in private music circles in Vienna, as is confirmed by the index of performances kept by the Viennese collector and music lover Raphael Georg Kiesewetter.<sup>76</sup>

After the sale of Mozart's inheritance to Johan Anton André, Constanze repeatedly pressed the Offenbach publisher to issue an edition of the cantata.<sup>77</sup> André seems initially to have been interested in this idea and asked Constanze and Mozart's sister for more details.<sup>78</sup> But he either did not recognise the connection between Mozart's autograph for the Mass KV 427 (417<sup>a</sup>) and the first copy of *Davide penitente*, which was likewise in his possession, or he wished to publish the composition first of all in its original form as a Mass. In any case, no printed edition appeared. André's efforts concerning the cantata are evidenced by a copy, again in his possession, of the last eight measures of No. 8, in the hand of Constanze's second husband, Georg Nikolaus Nissen;<sup>79</sup> they were sent

<sup>75</sup> More details in HaberkampED, text volume, pp. 233f.

<sup>76</sup> *Leopold von Sonnleithners Erinnerungen*, op. cit. (see footnote 71), p. 58.

<sup>77</sup> Bauer–Deutsch IV, pp. 319f., No. 1285, and p. 417, No. 1345.

<sup>78</sup> Bauer–Deutsch IV, p. 356, No. 1299, and p. 377, No. 1317.

<sup>79</sup> Formerly in the Stadt- und Bezirksbibliothek in Leipzig (cf. *Kritischer Bericht*). It bears a hand-written remark by the Heinrich Henkel already mentioned in footnote 60: "The above, both notation and specification of the instruments, is Nissen's hand-writing. These final measures, which had been misplaced from Mozart's manuscr[ipt] and were therefore sent to André later, were, according to the hand-writing communication by Counsellor A[ndrés] above, previously in the orig[inal] manusc[ri]pt. Dr. H[en]k[e]l."

to André from Vienna when he discovered that he could not find the last leaf of this aria in the manuscripts in Mozart's inheritance.

In 1805, Hoffmeister & Kühnel published in Leipzig the numbers 8 to 10 of *Davide penitente* under the title “*Osterkantate*” [“*Easter Cantata*”] as a printed score.<sup>80</sup> The title of the edition refers to a German version of the text underlaid in addition to the Italian words and concerning the death and resurrection of Christ. The source documents for this edition probably came from the inheritance of the Cantor of the Thomaskirche, Johann Adam Hiller, who died in 1804 and had adapted the three pieces from the cantata for performance in ecclesiastical settings.<sup>81</sup> The publishers Hoffmeister & Kühnel obviously knew that Hiller's adaptation made use of only a part of Mozart's cantata, but seem not to have known the work in its entirety; they must at the time of printing, at least, have had no knowledge of the sequence of the individual numbers. On the title page they named their partial score “*Parte I*”, which led to confusion in the subsequent transmission.<sup>82</sup> This incorrect description is however a sign that a complete edition of the cantata was planned. It is probable that Ambrosius Kühnel, who later took over the publishing business alone and also reprinted the “*Easter Cantata*” with a new title page, wished to publish at last the missing sections in print and probably even did this.<sup>83</sup> Copies of such a printed edition have not so far been discovered, but Philipp Spitta speaks, in the *Revisionsbericht*<sup>84</sup> [Critical Report] on the edition of the cantata in the first Mozart Complete Edition (AMA), of a

handwritten score<sup>85</sup> of the numbers 1 to 7 amongst the source documents, dated 1816, already marked up for printing in red pencil and headed “*Parte prima*”. This manuscript could easily have been intended as Kühnel's preparation for printing: it originated in Leipzig and was signed on the title page with “*C. J. Schulz 1816*”, probably meaning Christian Johann Philipp Schulz (1773–1827), sometime music director of the Gewandhaus and director of the *Singakademie* in Leipzig.

Hoffmeister & Kühnel's (partial) edition of 1805 was the first manifestation of a German language performing tradition which grew up in the pre-revolutionary period (the decades before March, 1848). In 1822, Simrock published in Bonn a piano reduction and separate vocal parts with Italian and German texts. The author of the German version, different, by the way, from Hiller's in numbers 8 to 10, is unknown, as are the possible manuscript sources for the printed edition. As a concession to changing tastes, the Aria No. 3, “*Lungi le cure ingrato*” (formerly “*Laudamus te*”) was left unprinted. With its extensive coloraturas, it was perceived as belonging to the now finally spurned Italian tradition. As the beginning of the cantata without the Aria No. 3 would have resulted in a succession of three choruses, the Simrock edition placed the Duet No. 5 before the Chorus No. 4.

After the Simrock version, a set of parts was prepared in Vienna, constituting today the older part of the extensive performing material kept by the Vienna *Tonkünstlersozietät* [Musicians's Society] (later *Haydn-Verein* [Haydn Union]).<sup>86</sup> In the text of numbers 8 to 10, however, the Hiller parody, obviously already in circulation, was retained. Performances of the cantata in the German language took place on 14 March 1824, for example, employing the title *Büßender David* [David penitent],<sup>87</sup> under the aegis of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* [Association of Friends of Music] in

<sup>80</sup> More details in HaberkampED, text volume, p. 233, illustrations volume, ill. 193.

<sup>81</sup> In the newspaper *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, Leipzig, 1805 (No. 143 of 28 November, cols. 1143f.), a Leipzig reviewer says of the printed edition that he had already heard the work in this form in a concert under Hiller's direction.

<sup>82</sup> As a consequence of this misleading phrasing, a 19th century hand-written score of the numbers 1 to 7 (State Library Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage, Music Department, signature: *Mus. ms. 15 052*) is headed “*parte seconda*”, and KV<sup>2</sup> (1905, p. 442) cites the printed edition by Hoffmeister & Kühnel with its heading “*Parte I*” without mentioning that the music in question constitutes the second part of the work.

<sup>83</sup> KV<sup>1</sup> (1862, p. 375) and KV<sup>2</sup> (1905, p. 442) name in connection with KV 469 the printed editions “*Leipzig, Kühnel I. Theil und II. Theil*” [“*Leipzig, Kühnel 1st part and 2nd part*”]. This information could also have been derived from the partially completed hand-written corrections, also mentioned in HaberkampED (text volume, p. 233) on the title pages of the editions.

<sup>84</sup> AMA, Serie IV/2, Leipzig, 1886, p. 3.

<sup>85</sup> The manuscript is today not traceable.

<sup>86</sup> Today Music Collection of the Austrian National Library, Vienna, signature: *Mus. Hs. H. A. 40*. The convolute contains in total 107 parts, amongst them an older set of parts, some printed choral parts and numerous duplicate parts which obviously originated at various times, along with flute and clarinet parts composed later.

<sup>87</sup> A manuscript from the National Library in Prague, signature: *XXII F 172*, and bearing the same title, has nothing to do with KV 469; rather, it is an new instrumental version of the Piano Fantasy in C minor KV 475, provided with this misleading title by the arranger, Joseph Triebensee.

Vienna,<sup>88</sup> in excerpts in 1823 and 1826 in Gewandhaus concerts in Leipzig,<sup>89</sup> and Mozart's composition was also heard in the Garnisonkirche [Garrison Church] in Berlin on 10 September 1827 as part of a benefit concert by the Königlichen Kapelle [Royal Music Ensemble].<sup>90</sup> A textbook of eight pages,<sup>91</sup> printed for this performance, shows that the Aria No. 3, not included in the Simrock edition, was sung in a German translation, and Duet No. 4 and Chorus No. 5 were placed in the correct order. The numbers 1, 2 and 4 to 7 in the libretto display the text as in the Simrock version, while the numbers 8 to 10 use Hiller's parody. Performance material for the Berlin concert has so far proved untraceable.

The only extant parts material using the same version of the text, although without the Aria No. 3, is that already mentioned as being in the archive of the Vienna Musicians' Society. This material also includes plentiful written parts, obviously of a somewhat later date (perhaps two sets of parts of different provenance were combined), to which the notation for the Aria No. 3 was later added and the change in the order of the numbers 4 and 5 was reversed.

The discovery of the aria "*Lungi le cure ingrato*", forgotten in the wake of the dissemination of the incomplete Simrock piano reduction, is probably due to the initiative of W. A. Mozart junior, who attempted to re-introduce the original version.<sup>92</sup> He obviously started to

get interested in the work around 1820 and wrote to Franz Xaver Niemetschek in Prague in February 1821: "*Do I not hope yet to receive the Davide before my departure?*"<sup>93</sup> This implies that Constanze Mozart had lent corresponding musical material to this Mozart biographer in Vienna, otherwise the son would certainly have turned to his mother for it. W. A. Mozart junior also seems to have received the music; in any case, performed parts of the cantata in Lemberg with his Choral Union, in particular the Double Chorus No. 7, as he later personally informed Vincent Novello during a conversation.<sup>94</sup> He also had additional score copied in Lemberg and presented one of them to the Salzburg church musician Anton Jähndl in 1825 as thanks for some copying work the latter had arranged for him.<sup>95</sup> Jähndl had in return to copy a recent score of the cantata for Constanze Mozart, who then sent it to Pirna on the Elbe, to Dr. Feuerstein, the man commissioned to complete Nissen's Mozart biography.<sup>96</sup> A further score copy was sold by Mozart's widow and son to the Novellos in Salzburg in 1829.<sup>97</sup>

At the Mozart Festival in Salzburg in 1842, W. A. Mozart junior became acquainted with the Bavarian court music director Franz Lachner and lent him parts material for a performance of the cantata in Munich on 25 December 1843.<sup>98</sup>

In Vienna, Johannes Brahms performed the cantata on 25 January 1875 at a concert of the *Musikverein*.<sup>99</sup> Here he almost certainly used the material belonging to the *Haydn-Verein*, which had in the meantime been adapted for a full contemporary orchestral apparatus.<sup>100</sup> The next year, the same parts were lent out to Otto Dessoff, friend of Brahms and music director, who had just moved from Vienna to

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Richard von Perger – Robert Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der k. k. Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien*, Vienna, 1912, p. 288.

<sup>89</sup> *Die Geschichte der Gewandhausconcerte zu Leipzig vom 25. November 1781 bis 25. November 1881. Im Auftrage der Concert-Direction verfasst von Alfred Dörffel*, Leipzig, 1884 (reprint: Leipzig, 1980). Appendix: *Statistik der Concerte im Saale des Gewandhauses zu Leipzig*, p. 44.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 29, Leipzig, 1827, No. 47, cols. 793f. Besides Mozart's cantata, Carl Maria von Weber's *Missa Sancta* No. 1 in E<sup>b</sup> major, op. 75 (Jahn's Work Catalogue No. 224) and the associated Offertory *Gloria et honore* (Nr. 226).

<sup>91</sup> Examples in the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin, signature: *Mus. Tm 1127*, and in the Bavarian State Library, Munich, signature: *Slg. Her O 34*.

<sup>92</sup> Leopold von Sonnleithner writes in a footnote in the score copy he made in 1834 (music archive, monastery Stift Melk, signature: *IV, 266*), before the beginning of the musical notation (concerning No. 3): "*This aria is not included in the score or the copied parts, but was taken from a score made available by Prof. Salzmann and which, in his own words, he had received from Mozart's son.*" Gottfried C. Salzmann taught Principles of Composition and Thorough-bass at the

Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde [Association of the Friends of Music] in Vienna between 1820 and 1839.

<sup>93</sup> Bauer–Deutsch IV, p. 458, No. 1392.

<sup>94</sup> *A Mozart Pilgrimage*, op. cit. (see footnote 47), p. 100.

<sup>95</sup> Walter Hummel, *W. A. Mozarts Söhne*, ed. International Mozart Foundation, Salzburg, Kassel and Basel, 1956, p. 161.

<sup>96</sup> Bauer–Deutsch IV, p. 500, No. 1431.

<sup>97</sup> In the possession of the publishers Novello, London, signature: *7g*.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. the performance notes in the parts material, today in the library of the International Mozart Foundation, Salzburg, signature: *Rara 469/2*.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Perger–Hirschfeld, op. cit. (see footnote 88), p. 305.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. footnote 86.



Karlsruhe, where he performed *Davide penitente* with the local Philharmonic Society.<sup>101</sup>

The transmission and reception of the cantata until well into the 19th century have been discussed here in such detail in order to show that the magnificence of the work had already been recognised at an early stage and that efforts were made to have it performed, even though the first printed edition of the whole piece did not appear until 1882 as part of the first complete edition of Mozart's works (AMA).<sup>102</sup>

### *The Editing*

In the editing the present volume, the two arias composed later (No. 6 and No. 8) and also the solo cadenza in No. 10 were dependent on Mozart's original manuscripts. The movements from the Mass in C minor KV 427 (417<sup>a</sup>) re-used in the cantata, for which, for reasons detailed above, there was probably never a separate autograph, a mixture of sources from Mozart's original score for the Mass and the early secondary sources for the cantata had to be used (the individual documents are listed in the *Kritischer Bericht*). Since the changes from the Mass version concern primarily the vocal parts, the instrumental parts of the corresponding numbers, with the exception of the trombone parts and the instrumental basses, were adopted unchanged from Volume 5 (Masses) of the NMA.<sup>103</sup>

In connection with the trombones, the following problems were encountered:

1. In the 1785 performance, as was usual in Vienna at the time, only two trombones were employed, reinforcing the choral alto and tenor. While parts material for the trombones, which might reveal more about the instrumentation involved, have not been preserved, relevant remarks in the score which was probably prepared for the performance (see the section *Sources* above with footnote 61) show by their presence on the vocal parts and equally by their absence in the staff of the choral bass (cf. the facsimile on p. XXVII), that Mozart had to take this Viennese tradition, known to us from the literature, into consideration. For an interpretation of Mozart's adaptation staying "*faithful to the original*", the bass trombone part would have to be dispensed with. But

as these limitations were obviously dictated by the given conditions of performance, and as the choral parts taken from the C minor Mass cannot claim to be original, the present edition has retained the staff allocated to the bass trombone in the C minor Mass.

2. The trombone parts, closely linked to the choral parts and playing, much of the time, *colla parte* with them, had to be adapted to the changes (see below) necessitated in the vocal parts by the underlay of a new text. The alterations have been made without any comment in the musical text. The same applies to the bass trombone part taken from the score of the Mass. The trombone parts for Chorus No. 7, however, led and notated independently of the vocal parts in the autograph of Mozart's Mass, have been left in their original form.

As far as the use of trombones in all choral movements is concerned, we remind the reader of the discussion of 18th century performance practice in Volume 5 (Masses) of the NMA, to the effect that the trombones should certainly play the corresponding choral lines wherever the composition makes no specific provision for them, even if there are no explicit verbal directions.

In contrast to the C minor Mass, the cantata does not call for an organ, as can be gathered from the extant sources associated with the performance. As a consequence, the instrumental bass staff is without all the directions for the organ, such as *Solo*, *Tutti* and *tasto solo* or the thorough-bass figures, found in the score of the Mass. For performance under Mozart's direction, it is known that the traditional use of a harpsichord was still customary (see footnote 27 above), but the player was usually required to accompany from the score and therefore did not require the thorough-bass figures.

As a result of the omission of the organ, some changes were made in the instrumental basses of No. 10 compared to the score of the Mass. This involved arranging to have the organ part played by the instrumental basses in passages where, in the original manuscript, the instrumental basses have rests while the organ reinforces the higher choral parts.<sup>104</sup> The task is taken over, as far as possible, by the violoncellos. Where the notes in the organ part are too high even for them, all the basses have rests.

The main problem in editing Mozart's adaptation of the C minor Mass is the determining of the vocal parts: both the often necessary adapting of the note values (the pitch remaining unchanged) to the new text and precise

<sup>101</sup> Cf. the performance notes in the parts material mentioned in footnote 86 and the supplement No. 33 to the *Karlsruher Zeitung* of 8 February 1876.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. footnote 8.

<sup>103</sup> Op. cit. (see footnote 2); on any editorial problems entailed see the Foreword and *Kritischer Bericht* to this volume.

<sup>104</sup> In No. 10: mm. 21f., 46f., 57–60, 78–80, 96f., 114–118, 175–177.

underlaying of the text under the already existing music had to be carried out using secondary sources. The score left in Mozart's estate, considered to be the first work on the cantata,<sup>105</sup> was of only limited value in relation to both problems, as the note values had not been adapted to the text throughout and the text is underlaid without exact placing, and often without separation, of the syllables (cf. the facsimile on p. XXVI). The copies derived from this first score obviously interpreted the imprecision in the declamation as they thought best, so that several variants of the text underlay arose. This also applies to text repetitions possible during extended melismas. The precise placing of text syllables in the performance material was clearly carried out by copyists possessing only a smattering of Italian and without exact instructions or corrections by Mozart or the author, so that the text underlay to the existing music is less than optimum and rules of accentuation are disregarded. In some text passages, a number of possible text distributions remain possible (such as in No. 10 at the words "*chi in Dio [sol] spera*", mm. 27ff.), even after comparisons amongst the sources. Our edition offers in such cases declamation worked out by Pierluigi Petrobelli (Rome) in small print. Petrobelli has also revised the text according to today's standard orthography and hyphenation. Exact details of all textual variants are provided in the *Kritischer Bericht*.

For the soloists' cadenza in No. 10 (mm. 188–231), two texts have been printed in this edition: the upper line renders the version in Mozart's autograph (cf. the facsimile on p. XXV), the lower the version given, without exception, in all secondary sources. The uniformity with which this variant is quoted in the sources permits the conclusion that it was Mozart himself who changed the text again for the performance – perhaps when the cadenza was put into its context within the final chorus for the first time.

The musical text displays in the vocal parts the adaptation, already mentioned, of the note values to the new text and adjusts correspondingly the phrasing marks, but it also places the dynamic indications according to the secondary sources, where they are even more carefully placed than in Mozart's original score; none of this is specially distinguished in the type-face. In individual cases (such as, for example, in mm. 83/84 of soprano and alto in No. 1 and in m. 16 in the vocal part of No. 3), the phrasing marks from the Mass were retained; it was not our aim to adapt the articulation of all passages to the Italian text.

Mozart's orthography at the beginning of the text of Aria No. 8 "*Tra[!] l'oscure ombre funeste*", represented in most

publications in Mozart scholarship as an error or slip of the hand, is correct (cf. the facsimile on p. XXIV). Some contemporary copies render the beginning of the aria as in Mozart, others give the equally possible form "*Fra ...*".<sup>106</sup>

Another change in the music text of the secondary sources compared to Mozart's Mass setting should also be pointed out: because of the new text to be set, the melody in the vocal part in No. 3, the former "*Laudamus te*" of the Mass, had to be extended on the second quarter-note of both measure 68 and 70. Adapted to match, the imitative oboe part had been changed in measures 69 and 71. – In contrast, obviously not objected to by Mozart and not corrected in the secondary sources, was the loss of the up-beat to measure 15 in this aria, the first soprano entry, where, seen strictly, an exact repetition of the melody of the opening ritornello should be presented. This irregularity, resulting from the kind of contrafact involved, could in performance possibly be evened out by an exclamation such as "*Deh!*", "*Oh!*" or "*Sì!*" preceding the beginning of the text, enabling once again the original melodic pattern of the "*Laudamus te*" (with quarter-note up-beat *f*).

It should also be noted that a "concert ending" is possible for the Arias No. 6 and No. 8, whose orchestral appendages constitute in context, as already discussed above (in the first section), bridge passages to the following numbers. No. 6 would in this case close with measure 158, Aria No. 8 with measure 182.<sup>107</sup>

Finally, a further problem of instrumentation must be discussed. This relates to the employment of two flutes and two clarinets as maintained in the first edition of the Köchel Catalogue, an assertion which has been repeated in all subsequent editions. Mozart himself specifies as obbligato only one flute in Nos. 6 and 8 and one clarinet in B<sup>b</sup> in No. 6. In several copies of the 19th century, however, parts composed later for two flutes and two clarinets in C (in addition to the B<sup>b</sup> clarinet) for the numbers 1, 2, 5, 10, and in some cases also for 7 and 8 are

<sup>106</sup> More details in the *Kritischer Bericht*.

<sup>107</sup> There are sources from the beginning of the 19th century, such as e.g. the already mentioned parts material by Otto Hatwig and a score once owned by W. A. Mozart junior and now in the Consistorial Archive in Salzburg, signature: *Gb 11*, in which Aria No. 6 ends in measure 158 with two added closing chords on the second and third quarter-notes of the measure. Exactly the same ending closes this aria in the single number edition by Artaria in 1796, while Aria No. 8 in this collection has an added instrumental closing section of eight measures, a repetition of the instrumental introduction to the second section.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. footnote 60.

found.<sup>108</sup> The later addition of parts can be particularly well traced in Otto Hatwig's manuscript parts material.<sup>109</sup> Here Leopold von Sonnleithner, to whom Hatwig's material probably passed in 1833/34 via the estate of Maximilian Stadler, added (composed?) in his own hand independent part for a first and a second flute for numbers 1 and 2 and two clarinet in C parts for numbers 1, 2 and 4. Köchel's error regarding instrumentation, no doubt due to a superficial perusal of the sources and perpetuated down to the present day, should therefore be corrected.

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Monika Holl  
Munich, March 1987

Translation: William Buchanan

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<sup>108</sup> In the manuscripts of the Music Collection of the Austrian National Library, Vienna, for example, signatures: *Mus. Hs. H. A. 40* (cf. also footnote 86) and *Mus. Hs. Cod 15558 (I)*.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. footnotes 70 and 73.





XXIII





Facs. 2: Second page of the autograph of No. 8 (Biblioteka Jagiellońska Kraków). Cf. pages 78–79, measures 13–26, and Foreword, page XV.



*Cadenza per il Violoncello di Giovanni Battista: Davide Penitente, che si fece un'aria di basso per il Violoncello. Mozart: 1785. A.*

*Emile 7c 427*

*Violoncello*  
*Violino*  
*Viola*  
*Contrabbasso*  
*Fagotto*  
*Clarinetto*  
*Tromba*  
*Tromba*  
*Fagotto*  
*Violoncello*

*1*

Facs. 3: First page of the autograph of the cadenza in No. 10 (Biblioteka Jagiellońska Kraków). Cf. pages 128–129, measures 186–198, and Foreword, page XV.





Facs. 4: Page four of what is probably the first complete score copy (Hessische Landesbibliothek, Fulda). The measures 7–9 (cf. page 4) of the first chorus (= No. 1), here in facsimile, render the musical text with diplomatic faithfulness as in the autograph of the Mass; i.e. the note values in the vocal parts have not been adapted to the Italian parody text. In addition, the direction *tromb.* in the staff of the choral bass, calling for doubling by a bass trombone, has been retained. On this cf. the following facsimile page and the Foreword, page XV and page XXf.





Facs. 5: Second page of the score copy probably to be linked to the première (Austrian National Library, Vienna). In contrast to the score in the Hessische Landesbibliothek Fulda (cf. the previous facsimile page), the note values in the vocal parts here have been adapted to the Italian text, and the use of alto and tenor trombones is indicated (the misleading term *trombe* probably originated from the abbreviation *tromb.* for *trombone*). There is no corresponding remark in measure 7 of the choral bass staff because, in the Viennese tradition, only two trombones played in the performing ensemble. Cf. pages 3f., measures 4–7, and Foreword, page XX.



Handwritten musical score for No. 2, featuring Violini, Viola, Chori, Corni, Trombe, Timpani, Soprano, Alto, Tenore, Basso, and Allegro vivace. The score is written on multiple staves, with the tempo marking 'Allegro vivace' at the bottom left. The lyrics 'Can - tiam' are visible on the vocal staves.

Facs. 6: First page of No. 2 in the contemporary score copy from Emperor Franz II's private music collection (Austrian National Library, Vienna).  
Cf. page 21, measures 1–4, and Foreword, page XVI.