

# WOLFGANG AMADEUS MOZART

Series II

## Works for the Stage

WORK GROUP 5: OPERAS AND SINGSPIELS

VOLUME 16: LE NOZZE DI FIGARO

[The Marriage of Figaro]

PRESENTED BY LUDWIG FINSCHER

1973

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

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



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 "[]" is given over the relevant grace note. Missing slurs at grace notes or grace note groups as well as articulation signs on ornamental notes have generally been added without comment. Dynamic markings are rendered in the modern form, e.g. *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

## I. Genesis

Today, we can only reconstruct the bare outline of how the “*opera buffa*”<sup>1</sup> *Le nozze di Figaro* KV 492 took shape, as the important sources are either lost or inaccessible, while those secondary sources that could bridge the gap have to be treated with caution as far as reliability is concerned. Acts three and four of the autograph disappeared in 1945; Mozart’s letters – rare in any case between the years 1785 and 1786 – are lost, and their contents are reflected only imprecisely in Leopold Mozart’s letters to his daughter; the memoirs of two persons directly involved in the work and its performance, Lorenzo Da Ponte and Michael Kelly,<sup>2</sup> are notoriously unreliable. It is nevertheless possible, by cautiously evaluating what has been transmitted, to ascertain some facts and to formulate some justifiable conjectures. It thus appears at least probable that the plan to make an opera out of Beaumarchais’ “*opuscule comique*” *Le mariage de Figaro ou la folle journée* originated with Mozart: Da Ponte, who otherwise takes almost all credit himself for the genesis and realisation, attests this expressly. Mozart had known the piece since, at the latest, spring 1785. Emanuel Schikaneder’s theatre troupe had rehearsed it in Johann Rautenstrauch’s translation for the Kärntnertortheater; the performance planned for 3 February 1785 was finally forbidden by Joseph II, but the printing of the text, strangely enough, was not, and a copy of this or another translation – both had been published anonymously – was found amongst Mozart’s possessions after his death. Because of these events and because of its political background, the piece had achieved importance in Vienna, as in the case of the very first performance in Paris in 1784, simply as a sensation. The potential in exploiting this reputation must have been a stimulus for Mozart and even more so for Da Ponte, who hoped, with the help of such a sensation, to win definitively the poetical competition with Casti and to consolidate his position at court, despite the opposition of the theatre director Count Rosenberg, the patron of Casti. The fact that Paisiello’s *Barbiere di Siviglia* had been in the repertory of the Court Opera since 1783 – Stefano Mandini, the Count

in Mozart’s work, and Kelly sang the Count here time about<sup>3</sup> – may have been an additional incentive and also an additional omen of success. If one can believe Da Ponte’s memoirs, he was the one who overcame all resistance with stubbornness and diplomacy, countering the Emperor’s reservations by blunting the cutting edge of the contents,<sup>4</sup> persuading Mozart to play Joseph II some pieces from the score and thus finally causing the Emperor to command the performance of the piece at the Court Opera. Casti, Count Rosenberg and perhaps also Salieri seem to have laid obstacles in the way of the preparations; at any rate, Da Ponte, Kelly and also Duschek and his wife<sup>5</sup> agree in mentioning intrigues, but of their scale and content, however, nothing is known.

The bulk of the work on *Figaro* was probably done between the middle of October 1785 and 29 April 1786, when Mozart recorded the work in his *Index of all my Works: Le Nozze di Figaro, opera buffa. in 4 Atti. – Pezzi di Musica. 34. Attori. Signore, storace, laschi, mandini, Bußani, e Nannina gottlieb. – Sig.<sup>ri</sup> Benucci, mandini, occhely, e Bußani.* –<sup>6</sup> The period of time can however be narrowed down more closely if one looks at Leopold Mozart’s letters and the other compositions by Wolfgang in these months. The Piano Quartet KV 478 was dated in Mozart’s hand as *Vienna li 16 d’ottobre 1785* [Vienna 16 October 1785]. On 3 November Leopold wrote to his daughter about the Figaro plan for the first time, even if only from hearsay: “*From your brother I have not received a syllable, his last letter was on 14 September and since then the quartets have been expected with every post coach [ . . . ] I met our newspaper reporter [Lorenz Hübner] a few days ago [ . . . ] he also said something about a new opera. That’s enough! We will no doubt hear about it!*”<sup>7</sup> On 11 November he knows a little more – from a now lost letter from his son. Most importantly, he knows what

<sup>3</sup> *Dokumente*, p. 456.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. above all by cutting out the major political speech by Figaro in act five of Beaumarchais’ piece.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Leopold Mozart’s letter of 28 April 1786 quoted below.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the facsimile print, ed. Otto Erich Deutsch, Vienna, 1938. – “*occhely*” is Michael Kelly, who was also known as O’Kelly.

<sup>7</sup> *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*. Complete edition, compiled (with commentary) by Wilhelm A. Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch (4 volumes of text = Bauer-Deutsch I-IV, Kassel etc., 1962/63), elucidated by Joseph Heinz Eibl on the basis of their previous work (2 volumes of commentary = Eibl V and VI, Kassel etc., 1971), Volume III, No. 895, p. 439, lines 53f.

<sup>1</sup> This was Mozart’s designation of the opera in *Verzeichnüß aller meiner Werke* [Catalogue of all my works], whereas he calls the printed Vienna libretto of 1786 *Comedia per musica*.

<sup>2</sup> The relevant passages are most easily accessible in: *Mozart. Die Dokumente seines Lebens*, compiled and elucidated by Otto Erich Deutsch (= *Dokumente*, NMA X/34), Kassel etc., 1961, pp. 454 f., 466 f.

the subject matter is: “*On the 2nd November I finally received a letter from your brother, of 12 lines in length. He asks pardon, because he has to finish the opera, le Nozze di Figaro, at break-neck speed. He asks me to say to you that he has no time to reply at once to your letter: that, in order to have the morning free for composing, he has scheduled all his pupils for the afternoon. etc. etc. I know the piece, it is a very elaborate piece, and the translation from the French will have free in making changes if it is to be effective as an opera. May God grant that the action turns out well; I have no doubts about the music. It will simply cost him a lot of running around and arguing until he gets the libretto into the shape he requires for his intentions: – and he will have been deferring it and prettily allowing himself plenty of time, as his charming habit is; now he must finally tackle the matter in earnest, because Count Rosenberg is pushing him.*”<sup>8</sup> The mixture of confidence in the “music”, criticism of his son’s lack of working morale and an understanding of the problems of the piece and of the need to re-work it to form an effective libretto is very characteristic – in the latter point the similarity to Da Ponte’s Italian and German preface to the libretto<sup>9</sup> is obvious.

Time must have been acutely short for Mozart in November, with the result that he forgot to congratulate his father on his name-day – upon which the offended Leopold noted: “*On the 16th your brother wrote to me again and asked forgiveness that he had not written to me on my name-day. But why does he think about it now? – because I wrote to him that he should send the quartets with the next post, and the parts of the 2 new piano concertos along with them, which would be the most pleasing present on my name-day. So he promised that his wife would take care of it |: following my suggestion NB |: with the next post coach.*”<sup>10</sup> After that, there is no more mention in Leopold’s letters of the work on *Figaro*; in his letters – known to have been sent in December 1785 and February and March 1786 –

Mozart does not seem to have told his father anything of such consequence that Leopold saw fit to pass it on to Nannerl. Only on 28 April did his father recall that the première was due (but the first performance was actually postponed to 1 May); he voiced concern about the piece and about his son’s position in the atmosphere of intrigue in Vienna: “*Today the 28th your brother’s opera, Le Nozze di Figaro, goes on stage for the first time. It will be a great thing if he is successful, for I know that he has astonishingly strong cabal against him. Salieri with his whole retinue will again do everything possible to set heaven and earth in motion. Herr and Madame Duschek have already told me that your brother has so very many cabals against him because he enjoys such great admiration because of his special talent and skill.*”<sup>11</sup>

The concentration of news about *Figaro* around November 1785 fits in well with Da Ponte’s recollection that the work came into being within six weeks – it would be permissible to assume that Mozart began the work immediately after completing the Piano Quartet KV 478 and had finished the bulk of it by the end of November. The entry in the catalogue only two days before the première does not necessarily contradict that, if one assumes that Mozart was busy until immediately before the première with filling out the skeleton score and with revisions; analysis of the score of acts one and two (cf. further below) could speak for this. These suppositions are further supported by the fact that Mozart was increasingly busy with other works from the end of November onwards. On 5 and 21 November he composed a quartet and a trio for Francesco Bianchi’s *La villanella rapita*, purportedly by command of Joseph II,<sup>12</sup> but certainly for Stefano Mandini and Francesco Bussani, who took part in both Mozart pieces within Bianchi’s opera performed on 28 November, and who were both envisaged for roles in *Figaro*. It is similarly probable that the *Maurerische Trauermusik* [Masonic Funeral Music] KV 477 (479<sup>a</sup>) was written in November. On 15 December Mozart took part in an event at the Lodge; on 12 December the *Violin Sonata* KV 481, on 16 December the Piano Concerto KV 482 – both in E<sup>b</sup> – were entered in the catalogue, and on 23 December he played the Concerto at a charity soirée, the slow movement being demanded a second time. On 28 December he told his father that he had given three subscription soirées at short notice –

<sup>8</sup> Bauer–Deutsch III, No. 897, p. 443f., lines 4f. – Two conclusions can be drawn indirectly from this letter: that during Leopold’s visit to Vienna (6 February - 25 April 1785) there was obviously no talk about *Figaro*, and that Count Rosenberg – in whatever way he may have been involved in the “intrigues” against the opera – officially received the task of exhorting Mozart to haste as early as November 1785.

<sup>9</sup> *Dokumente*, pp. 239f.

<sup>10</sup> Bauer–Deutsch III, no. 904 (24/25 November 1785), pp. 457f., lines 82–88.

<sup>11</sup> Bauer–Deutsch III, no. 952, p. 536, lines 53–59.

<sup>12</sup> AMZ VII, column 443, cited in: KV<sup>6</sup>, p. 519 (footnote).



no doubt because of shortage of money<sup>13</sup> – of which we otherwise know nothing.<sup>14</sup> In January 1786, illness came on top of the constant burden of work and financial straits: Mozart had to miss the ceremony at Count Paar's for the opening of the lodge "Zur neugekrönten Hoffnung" ["At the newly-crowned Hope"] (for which he had perhaps written KV 483 and 484 and the fragments KV 484<sup>a-c</sup>). The symptoms, strong headaches and stomach cramps, could point – very understandably – to nervous exhaustion.<sup>15</sup> The work nevertheless continued undiminished. On 10 January the Rondo for Piano KV 485 was completed, between 18 January and 3 February the *Schauspieldirektor* KV 486 [*The Impresario*], composed on the orders on the Emperor.<sup>16</sup> On 2 March the Piano Concerto KV 488 followed, on 10 March the additional music to *Idomeneo* KV 489 and 490 and finally on 24 March the Piano Concerto KV 491, performed in public by Mozart on 3 and 7 April. The enormous quantity of work by Mozart in these months contradicts the view his father felt justified in taking of his diligence. At the same time, it makes the staggering idea that *Figaro* was essentially composed in roughly six weeks a little more credible. The dates ascertained so far – beginning of the planning not before 25 April, composition from the middle of October to the end of November 1785 – are again cause to take Da Ponte's statement seriously that "*di mano in mano ch'io scrivea le parole, ei ne faceva la musica*" ["from hand to hand,

*as I wrote the words, he made the music out of them*"].<sup>17</sup> This statement is backed up by Karl-Heinz Köhler's examination of the autograph,<sup>18</sup> which has cast light on the compositional process for much of acts one and two at least, and which have shown that groups of pieces of similar character (lyrical, playful, action-orientated etc.) were composed more or less together, i.e. in one continuous phase of work – a procedure hardly understandable from the point of view of a composer of musical comedy, but more comprehensible from the point of view of the poet, who wrote the libretto in sections. Consequently, Mozart had probably begun with both *duettini* of act one and the recitative between them, or possibly with the recitative before the second duettino, before asking Da Ponte for another duettino so that the act could open with a set-piece number (the procedure at the beginning of act two is analogous). The next pieces were then the recitative after the trio (in Scena VII) and the first sixteen measures of the chorus "*Giovani lieti fiori spargete*", followed by Bartolo's aria with the subsequent recitative and Cherubino's aria. With a great leap, the trio from act two came next, with a second great leap then to the trio in act one and with a third great leap to the finale of act two up to the entrance of Marcellina, Bartolo and Basilio. In the next phase of work, the missing pieces from act one were fitted in: Figaro's cavatina, the recitative preceding Bartolo's aria, the duettino for Susanna and Marcellina, the recitative before Cherubino's aria and the close of the act from measure 17 of the Chorus.

The work on act two continued with the duettino Susanna and Cherubino, which seems to have caused Mozart particular trouble (cf. III/c/3 and IV/e/12). Next was the recitative, including the quotation from Figaro's Cavatina (in Scena I), then the close of the Finale and the missing set-piece numbers in reverse order: Susanna's aria, Cherubino's canzonetta and right at the end, obviously at a later time, the Countess' cavatina. At the moment, no statements are possible

<sup>13</sup> Shortage of money was also the reason for the letter of 20 November to Franz Anton Hoffmeister; the support requested was possibly seen as being an advance on the fee for the Piano Quartet KV 478 (cf. Eibl VI, p. 257, commentary on no. 902).

<sup>14</sup> The striking lack of news concerning these soirées, which attracted not less than 120 subscribers, arouses suspicion that Leopold either misunderstood the information or failed to pass such news on (Bauer–Deutsch III, no. 918, p. 484, lines 23ff.), particularly as Leopold's statement about a performance of the Concerto in E<sup>b</sup> taking place in one of the soirées cannot be true. The situation could have been that Mozart had not yet given the three soirées at this point, but that he wished to give them – namely those for which KV 488 and 491 were intended.

<sup>15</sup> Letter probably of 14 January 1786; Bauer–Deutsch III, no. 921, p. 490; cf. in addition Eibl VI, p. 269.

<sup>16</sup> It is hardly thinkable that Joseph II would have given a commission for a composition at such short notice if Mozart had not already finished the bulk of *Figaro*, i.e. the skeleton score of all or almost all numbers.

<sup>17</sup> *Dokumente*, p. 466. – it is possible that Mozart had bought the four-volume Italian German and German-Italian dictionary by Nicolo de Castelli and Philipp Jakob Flathe (Leipzig, 1782) for the preparation and facilitation of his work; it was marked in his hand as his possession in 1785 (Bauer–Deutsch III, no. 915, p. 480, and Eibl VI, p. 266).

<sup>18</sup> Karl-Heinz Köhler, *Mozarts Kompositionsweise – Beobachtungen am Figaro-Autograph*, in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch* 1967, Salzburg, 1968, pp. 31–45. Cf. in more detail the *Kritischer Bericht* [Critical Report, available in German only] for the present volume.

regarding acts three and four, but the compositional process may well have been analogous. The Sinfonia was apparently the last number to be written, (or the last before the Finale of act four): a hurried sketch of details from this Finale (Appendix III/1) has come down to us, as has the melodic sketch for the definitive version of Susanna's aria "*Deh vieni non tardar*" (cf. IV/e/26); the flow of ink in the autograph shows that the skeletal score of the whole Sinfonia was written, mostly in four to six measures of the thematic orchestral parts from top to bottom, without interruption, indicating that it was already complete in Mozart's head before being written down. It is probable that the last stages of the compositional process were placing the gatherings and numbers for the whole work in the right order (cf. on this the *Kritischer Bericht* [Critical Report, available only in German]) and – before or after this placing in order – the filling-out of the skeletal score, during which process the last corrections were made.

## II. The first Performances

The completed work went on stage on 1 May 1786 at the Hoftheater and enjoyed considerable if not untroubled success. Mozart directed the première and the first repeat on 3 May from the harpsichord; the later performances were conducted by the young Joseph Weigl. The cast was splendid: Luisa Laschi sang the Countess, Ann Storace Susanna, Dorotea Bussani Cherubino, Maria Mandini Marcellina, the twelve year old Anna (Nannina) Gottlieb, Mozart's first Pamina, sang Barbarina. The male roles were Stefano Mandini (Count), Francesco Benucci (Figaro), Francesco Bussani (Bartolo and Antonio) and Michael Kelly (Basilio and Don Curzio). The libretto was available to the audience in the original language and in a German prose translation. The fee for the work was, by the standards of the day, appropriate: Mozart received 450 Florins, Da Ponte 200 Florins from the coffers of the Hoftheater.<sup>19</sup> The success of the work rose initially from performance to performance. Leopold Mozart could write with enthusiasm, having received a now lost letter from his son: "*At the second [performance of] your brother's opera, five pieces – and at the third performance seven pieces – had to be repeated, amongst them a little duetto [No. 15] which had to be sung three times. If he keeps his word, the libretto and all the parts will be sent with the post coach on the last*

*day of May*".<sup>20</sup> Such repeats extended the duration of the performance of a work that was too long anyway so much that Joseph II felt obliged to intervene. On 8 May the third performance took place; on 9 May the Emperor issued a decree: "*So that the duration of the opera does become excessive, but at the same time to avoid detriment to the fame oft sought by the opera singers in repeating the sung pieces, I find the attached notice (that no piece sung by more than one voice should be repeated) to the public to be the most suitable means [ . . . ]*".<sup>21</sup>

On 24 May the fourth performance took place. In June the work was put on in the Laxenburg Schloßtheater, and in July the work returned to Vienna, where it was repeated once in each of the months August, September and November. But two days after the November performance the next operatic sensation appeared, leaving Mozart's work at once in the shade: Vicente Martin y Soler's *Una cosa rara*. *Figaro* was put on again on 18 December, after it disappeared from the Vienna stage until the new Vienna version appeared in August 1789 (cf. further below and III/c/6), renewing and deepening the success of the original.

The aspiring Vienna publishers turned quickly and energetically to the successful piece. As early as 3 May, Christoph Torricella offered copies of the score and voiced the possibility of publishing a piano reduction and an arrangement for string quartet; on 1 July, Lausch's music shop, specialists in manuscript copies, took up the challenge with an advertisement for the score and a piano reduction (in single numbers), with a quartet arrangement in subscription.<sup>22</sup>

Even before the last Vienna performance, *Figaro* had already aroused an enthusiasm in Prague which surpassed the success in Vienna, sending out waves reaching back to Vienna and influencing the spreading of the work over almost the entire European musical scene. The Prague performances showed that the exceptional demands made by Mozart's score on all performers, and which had caused at least sections of the Vienna public to have forebodings,<sup>23</sup> could also be

<sup>20</sup> Bauer–Deutsch III, No. 958 (18 May 1786), p. 546, lines 77–80.

<sup>21</sup> *Dokumente*, p. 241.

<sup>22</sup> *Dokumente*, pp. 240f., 242f. – Cf. in more detail in the *Kritischer Bericht*.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. the review in the *Wiener Realzeitung* of 11 July 1786; *Dokumente*, pp. 243f.

<sup>19</sup> *Dokumente*, pp. 238f.

met outside the Court Theatre. They established Mozart's reputation in Prague and led to the commission for *Don Giovanni* KV 527. The *Prager Oberpostamtszeitung* [Prague Head Post Office Newspaper] reported on 12 December 1786: "*No piece (such is the general word here) has ever attracted so much attention as the Italian opera The Marriage of Figaro, which has been performed several times here, to the greatest applause, by the local Bondini Company, amongst whom Madame Bondini and Herr Ponziani in the comic roles*<sup>24</sup> *particularly distinguished themselves. The music is by our renowned Herr Mozart. Knowledgeable persons who have seen the opera in Vienna maintain that it has turned out better here; which is probably because the wind instruments, in which the Bohemians are clearly recognised to be masters, have much to do throughout the whole piece. The duets for trumpet and French horn were especially pleasing. Our great Mozart must have got word of this, because, now this rumour is spreading, he wishes to come himself to see the piece, to whose so fortunate performance the very capable orchestra and the conducting of Herr Strobach contribute much.*"<sup>25</sup>

After benefit performances had been given for Caterina Bondini and Felice Ponziani on 14 December 1786 and on 4 January 1787 respectively, Mozart and his wife did in fact come to Prague. On 17 January *Figaro* was performed in his presence, on 22 January under his direction. While one consequence of the announcement of Mozart's planned visit was that the Bondini troupe, which had originally wished to dissolve after the benefit performances, changed their minds and stayed together in Prague, the prolonged wave of enthusiasm for *Figaro* also led to Bondini's giving the composer a commission for the next season. And when *Don Giovanni* was not ready by the planned date, a gala evening in honor of Arch-Duchess Maria Theresia and Prince Anton Clemens of Saxony on 14 October 1787, *Figaro* – once again under the direction of the composer – was brought out again.<sup>26</sup>

The Prague copyists adopted *Figaro* with the same zeal as their colleagues in Vienna.<sup>27</sup> The composer Vincenz

Maschek offered his own piano reduction with recitatives, without recitatives, in acts and in single numbers; the organist Johann Baptist Kucharz made his own piano reduction available in single acts via book and art dealers in Prague and Vienna; besides these, arrangements for "*Harmoniemusik*" [combinations of wind instruments] in six or eight parts went on sale, and a string quintet arrangement by Cajetan Vogel could be ordered by subscription. The first performances outside Vienna and Prague took place in Autumn 1787 in Monza (with a new setting of acts three and four by Angelo Tarchi) and on 12 and 16 June 1788 in the Teatro della Pergola in Florence (where the work was spread over two evenings); the Eszterházy Court Music, for which Haydn had already obtained a copy of the score from Vienna in 1787, did not put on a performance until 1789. But *Figaro*'s real triumphal procession started when it appeared in the form of a "Singspiel" – in a German translation and usually with spoken dialog, as it was performed even in Vienna until the end of the 19th century. The reviews of the early German performances, often with a cast primarily noted as actors and only secondarily as singers, show that the balance of this "Singspiel" version was heavily on the theatrical and less on the musical side.<sup>28</sup> The first German language performance seems to have been in the Rosenthal Theatre in Prague; in September followed a private performance at Court in Donaueschingen, for which the Court secretary Michael Held and the Court Singer and Chamber Musician Franz Walter provided the translation. On 18 May 1788, Großmann's traveling theatre put it on in Lübeck with a translation by Adolf von Knigge and his daughter Philippine (she translated the dialog from Beaumarchais' original text); it was in large measure due to Großmann's extensive journeys and to Knigge's self-advertising in his Thespian periodicals that this translation found rapid and wide circulation and influence. As competition, a very much poorer translation by Christian August Vulpius

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Prague copyists were behind the Viennese in the industrial organisation of their business. While Lausch in Vienna set the price according to the number of sheets (one sheet for 7 kr.), i.e. precisely calculated on the basis of the auxiliary labor involved, the prices charged by Maschek and Kucharz in Prague were unified (one number from Maschek cost 1 fl., one act from Kucharz 4 fl. 30 kr.), Maschek on the whole working out slightly more expensive.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *Dokumente*, passim, as well as the instructive, if in some details not quite reliable, representation in Albert Richard Mohr's *Das Frankfurter Mozartbuch*, Frankfurt am Main, (1968), pp. 83f.

<sup>24</sup> Caterina Bondini sang Susanna, Felice Ponziani Figaro, Luigi Bassi the Count.

<sup>25</sup> *Dokumente*, p. 246.

<sup>26</sup> *Dokumente*, pp. 250f., 264f.

<sup>27</sup> Besides the fact that the arrangers of piano reductions organised the selling themselves, it can be seen from the price structuring (*Dokumente*, pp. 242f., 253, 258f.) that the



appeared, performed for the first time in Frankfurt on 11 October 1788, against which the Thespian periodicals directed immediate and hefty polemics. Nevertheless, it obviously found such resonance that as early as 1789 it was worth the Cologne book printer Lange's while to produce a pirate version based on Vulpius' manuscript. Beside these two "major" translations, made known predominantly by traveling theatre troupes, there were also numerous local German versions; amongst them was the one entered in the autograph and known to have been used for Berlin performances from the beginning of the 19th century onwards.<sup>29</sup>

In July 1789, soon after Mozart's return from Berlin, preparations began for a new production of *Figaro* on the stage of the Vienna Court Opera.<sup>30</sup> The Countess was now to be sung by Caterina Cavalieri, the Count probably (as Stefano Mandini was no longer in the ensemble) by Francesco Albertarelli, Susanna by Adriana Ferrarese del Bene, who had belonged to the Court Opera since 1788. For the person singing the Count, the aria "*Vedrò mentre io sospiro*" was changed in several passages, perhaps by Mozart himself.<sup>31</sup> Of more significance was the new Susanna, Ferrarese, for whom Mozart wrote two new numbers, the Rondo "*Al desio di chi t'adora*" KV 577 (Appendix I/2), which was intended to replace the aria "*Deh vieni non tardar*", and the arietta "*Un moto di gioia*" KV 579 (Appendix I/1 with Appendix II/2) instead of Susanna's "*Venite inginocchiatevi*". Since the new texts were printed in the Vienna libretto of 1789, it can be assumed that they were by Da Ponte. "*Al desio di chi t'adora*" had, according to the entry in Mozart's catalogue, already been composed by July 1789, no doubt at the express wish of the singer, for the replacing of the incomparable "*Deh vieni non tardar*" by an instrumentally and vocally ostentatious show-piece can otherwise hardly

be explained. "*Un moto di gioia*" is absent from the catalogue and was certainly written later, probably in mid-August – Mozart wrote just before his short visit to Constanze in Baden (15?–18 August), that he "*had to make some changes and is therefore needed at the rehearsals* [due to begin on the 19th]"; after the journey, probably on the 19th, he wrote of the "*little arietta which I have made for la Ferrarese*".<sup>32</sup> Behind this aria there was probably again a wish on the part of the singer, who seems to have had substantial technical capabilities but was a poor actor, and who was perhaps deterred by the acting demands of "*Venite inginocchiatevi*". Mozart did accommodate her to an extent by writing a vocally rewarding piece; in contrast to KV 577, however, this was no showpiece, but rather a characterisation of Susanna, although Mozart was worried and had doubts whether the singer had the measure of the piece: "*The little aria that I have written for la Ferrarese should, I believe, please if only she is able to perform it naively, of which I have strong doubts.*"<sup>33</sup>

On 29 August 1789, the première of the new *Figaro* took place, under the direction of Joseph Weigl, who had proved himself in 1786. We know hardly anything about the reception accorded to the work; Zinzendorf remarked only "*Charmante Duo entre la Cavalieri et la Ferraresi*" ["Charming duet between la Cavalieri and la Ferraresi"].<sup>34</sup> The production was performed not less than nine times in 1789 and at least fifteen times in 1790, with three performances at the beginning of 1791: it thus had a substantially longer life than the 1786 version. But its most important consequence was the Imperial commission for a new opera, *Così fan tutte* KV 588.

### III. Description of the Sources and Selection of the Musical Text

The present edition took shape against the background of a particularly complicated and at the same time particularly incomplete source transmission. This must

<sup>29</sup> Cf. details of individual versions in *Dokumente*, passim; Mohr, op. cit.; Karl-Heinz Köhler, *Figaro-Miscellen: einige dramaturgische Mitteilungen zur Quellsituation*, in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1968/70*, Salzburg, 1970, pp. 119f.

<sup>30</sup> The plan was apparently, as in 1786, to have Paisiello's *Barbiere di Siviglia* running in parallel performances, but this time in a German translation in the Theater auf der Wieden. For this production, which seems finally not to have been staged, Mozart had sketched an additional aria (KV 580, in: NMA II/7, *Arias • Volume 4*, Appendix II/5).

<sup>31</sup> Cf. III/c/6 and additionally Michael and Christopher Raeburn, *Mozart Manuscripts in Florence*, in: *Music and Letters* 40, 1959, pp. 334ff.

<sup>32</sup> Bauer–Deutsch IV, no. 1110, p. 96, lines 6f., and no. 1111, p. 97, lines 7f.

<sup>33</sup> Loc. cit., lines 6–8. – It is a fitting reflection of the different characters of the two pieces that KV 577 seems to have enjoyed greater popularity and was purveyed energetically by Lorenz Lausch in handwritten piano reductions (KV<sup>6</sup>, p. 652, and *Dokumente*, pp. 308f.), while KV 579 remained largely disregarded.

<sup>34</sup> *Dokumente*, p. 308.



at least be sketched here, anticipating in condensed form the *Kritischer Bericht*.

#### a) The Autograph

The first and second acts (State Library Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage, Music Department) have been preserved; in the finale of act two, however, instruments are missing: from measure 467 the bassoons, from measure 605 the clarinets and from 697 all wind instruments and the timpani. The constant expansion of the instrumentation during the finale forced Mozart to notate instruments that no longer fitted onto the already ruled 12-stave paper on a separate partial score; this partial score was bound onto acts three and four. The third and fourth acts (belonging to the collection in the former Preußische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin) are today no longer accessible; Figaro's *accompagnato* “*Tutto è disposto*” from act four, which was separated at an early date from the score (Stanford University: Memorial Library of Music), as well as the various facsimiles scattered throughout the literature and some older photographic documentation, offers the only and modest substitute.

#### b) Copies

Stefan Strasser and especially Karl-Heinz Köhler<sup>35</sup> have shown that a copy of the score, used for a private performance of *Figaro* at Court in Potsdam in 1790 (State Library Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage (Music Department), signature: K-H/M 3056), was probably copied from the autograph, or at least offers a particularly good transmission. Unfortunately, this source again only transmits the first and second acts; the punctiliousness of the copyist went so far that he apparently attached the separate partial score for the wind instruments from the Finale of act four to the lost score of this act. A score copy in Domenico Dragonetti's legacy (London: British Museum, signature: *Add. 16 056*) is however complete, probably copied from the Berlin copy or an equivalent parallel manuscript score. But since this copy, as the filiation shows, already belongs to the third generation, the manuscript cannot be considered as a source for the selection of a musical text for acts three and four.

#### c) Divergent Versions

From the sketch of the genesis of *Figaro* delineated above, it is clear that the only authentic version of the opera is that of the Vienna performances of 1786; that is, only Mozart's autograph would be valid as main source for a critical edition. Besides this, there is a series of secondary sources, of which some represent shortened versions of the original, some contain non-autograph transmitted material, while others reflect the 1789 version and have given rise to some discussion, as well as confusion, in the Mozart literature.

#### 1. Shortened Versions

A not insignificant number of secondary sources shorten the work by omitting entire numbers, by energetic cuts, particularly in the Finale of the second act, and by cuts within individual arias. One of those mainly responsible for these interventions seems to have been Lorenz Lausach. Even his first advertisement on 1 July 1786<sup>36</sup> did not list Bartolo's aria, the duettino Susanna-Marcellina in act one, and Marcellina's aria in act four; copies from Lausach's workshop also show cuts in the finale of act two or present only the first 327 measures of this finale, leaving only a concert or house music number without any dramatic meaning. The most extreme example of this kind is a Lausach copy in the monastic foundation Stift Heiligenkreuz, which is nothing less than a “digest” of the opera, within which Figaro's “*Non più andrai farfallone amoroso*” shrinks to 55 measures. These major manipulations always occur either in single numbers in score, in separate parts or in piano reductions – as opposed to within complete the score copies which probably originated in Lausach's workshop and remain scrupulously close to the original, at least as far as the completeness and order of the numbers is concerned.

#### 2. Prague Variants

More important for our edition than these curiosities, which are more relevant to the history of publishing in Vienna than to the selection of musical text for our edition, are some Prague sources, in which the controversial “Donaueschingen” version of the first act is transmitted: the duettino Susanna-Marcellina and Cherubino's “*Non so più cosa son, cosa faccio*” are missing, and in place of the duettino there appears an otherwise unknown Cavatina for Marcellina, “*Signora mia garbata*”. The hand-written piano reduction by

<sup>35</sup> Strasser, *Susanna und die Gräfin*, in: *ZfMw* 10, 1927/28, pp. 208f.; Köhler, in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch* 1968/70, loc. cit.

<sup>36</sup> *Dokumente*, pp. 242f.

Vincenz Maschek mentioned above (State Library Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage (Music Department), signature: *Mus. ms. 15 150/14*) and the score copy in Donaueschingen (Hofbibliothek, signature: *Mus. ms. 1393*) transmit this version; Donaueschingen also has a cut in the Finale of act two from measure 397 to measure 467. Alfred Einstein<sup>37</sup> supposed that Donaueschingen reflects a stage of work before *Figaro* had taken on its definitive form, the Cavatina being then genuine and removed later by Mozart himself. In the question of authenticity, Einstein later changed his position, but maintained his fundamental assessment of the manuscript. But the parallel to Maschek's piano reduction suggests Prague as the origin of the Donaueschingen score, dating from not earlier than Spring 1787; Cherubino's aria probably belongs to the oldest parts of the autograph; the Finale of the second act up to measure 696 was written in one sweep, so that the gap between measures 397 and 467 reflects not an earlier stage of the composition, but a later intervention.

After tracing the origin of the Donaueschingen score back to Prague, it would then seem possible that Mozart had composed Marcellina's Cavatina in and for Prague – an idea contradicted, as Einstein also had to agree, by the style of the piece, whose primitive nature cannot, even with the greatest of effort, be interpreted as a deliberate archaism (to characterise Marcellina). There remains only the explanation that the Cavatina was written in and for Prague, not by Mozart, but instead by an unknown composer and only after Mozart's departure; Mozart would probably have conducted the gala performance on 14 October 1787 from the autograph (or by memory), so that he remained ignorant of the existence of this changeling. For our edition the piece, which is incidentally printed in Einstein's essay, was not considered.

### 3. The Berlin Recitative

Karl-Heinz Köhler<sup>38</sup> found in the Berlin score copy mentioned above a secco recitative to the text of the duettino Susanna-Cherubino, "*Aprite presto aprite*". The duettino itself is placed immediately after this

recitative; the first page of the recitative was later crossed out. There are melodic similarities and concordances between the recitative and duettino, although in fact these seldom go beyond the usual recitative speech inflections which dominate the duettino itself as a consequence of its dramatic context. Since two pages are missing in the autograph precisely at this point, that is, between the trio and the subsequent recitative "*Dunque voi non aprite?*" on the one hand and the duettino on the other (the page numbering in the autograph leaps from 216 to 219), since the recitative "*Dunque voi non aprite?*" was obviously composed later than the rest of the work (perhaps only after Mozart had placed the whole autograph in its final order) and is only preserved in a copy (on p. 216 of the autograph); since Mozart seems to have difficulties with this scene anyway (as the outline of a replacement composition for the duettino shows [Appendix III/4]; cf. also IV/e/12), Köhler conjectures that Mozart must originally have set the duettino text as a recitative – preserved in the Berlin copy – and must have replaced this later by the duettino. This theory, so plausible as it may initially appear, and despite its neat explanation of the missing two pages, is outweighed by too many obscurities for the authenticity of the recitative to be considered established. Above all, it is not clear why Mozart would have kept the now superfluous recitative in the autograph so long that the scribe of the Berlin manuscript was able to copy it; it is also quite clear from the text of the duettinos and from the typography of the Vienna libretto that the text was conceived as a set-piece number; finally, the effect of the recitative, especially in the pedantic emphasis on the ends of the lines, is strangely forced – as if written by a musician who wanted to replace the technically and scenically tricky duettino with a more easily realisable recitative, but during the work could not get the duettino out of his mind. The recitative, despite its brevity, falls far short of the effortlessness – not to mention the wit – of the duettino. For all these reasons, we felt that caution forbids the inclusion of this recitative in the Appendix of the present edition; we prefer to include in the *Kritischer Bericht*.

### 4. Monza and Florence

The librettos of the two *Figaro* productions in Monza in 1787 and in Florenz in 1788, mentioned above, have been preserved and have already been examined in

<sup>37</sup> *Eine unbekannte Arie der Marcelline*, in: *ZfMw* 13, 1930/31, pp. 200f. Cf. also KV<sup>6</sup>, pp. 541f. Cf. also the essay – in detail notoriously unreliable – by Siegfried Anheißer, *Die unbekannte Urfassung von Mozarts Figaro*, in: *ZfMw* 15, 1932/33, 301f.

<sup>38</sup> *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1968/70*, loc. cit.

detail.<sup>39</sup> Most of the changes made to the original are thoroughly arbitrary, inspired by local circumstances and, for our purposes, meaningless. The Florentine libretto replaces – beside other, smaller changes – Cherubino's "*Non so più cosa son, cosa faccio*" by a short aria for Susanna, "*Senza speme ognor s'aggira*". Einstein surmises that Bartolommeo Cherubini, who directed the Florentine performance as *maestro al primo cembalo* [maestro at the first harpsichord] was the composer who set this text. Jack Allan Westrup proposes another solution in which Mozart is responsible for the composition, whose main melodic idea was later taken up for the first movement of the Symphony in G minor KV 550.<sup>40</sup> The music is however lost, so that no precise conclusions are possible here.

### 5. The Benucci Recitative

Likewise in Florence (Istituto Musicale Luigi Cherubini, Fondo Pitti, signature: *D 636, 8*), there are copied parts for an *accompagnato* for Figaro's aria "*Non più andrai farfallone amoroso*"; on the vocal part the name Benucci can be seen. Einstein<sup>41</sup> thought that the name was written in Mozart's hand and supposed that Mozart had written the piece (which makes rather primitive use of the March theme from the aria, mm. 60f., and is of course not at all suitable for the situation at the end of the first act) for a concert performance of the aria by Benucci shortly before or after 1 May 1786. Apart from the fact that this thesis is not tenable in the light of a musical analysis of the *accompagnato*, the premises are not in order: the handwriting of the name Benucci has only the most superficial resemblance with Mozart's writing of Benucci in his catalogue.<sup>42</sup> A more likely suggestion is that it was Benucci's own writing, an indication of ownership, and that neither writing nor

composition have any immediate connection with Mozart.

### 6. Vienna 1789

The version for the new Vienna production of 1789, dealt with in Section II, is attested not only by the printed libretto and the two new arias KV 579 and 577, but also by parts and score copies from the Lausch workshop (Florence: Istituto Musicale Luigi Cherubini, signature: A 262). "*Un moto di gioia*" and "*Al desio di chi t'adora*" have their correct place in acts three and four; furthermore, as Michael and Christopher Raeburn have ascertained, the Count's aria in act three has been revised to some extent,<sup>43</sup> i.e. most significantly, besides a touching-up of the instrumentation, the range of the vocal part is now that of a higher baritone – which would correspond to a probable new singer (Albertarelli instead of Mandini). Because it cannot however be ruled out that this revision is not by Mozart but by another musician (or by the singer himself), we have declined to include it in the Appendix (cf. however the *Kritischer Bericht*).

### d) Conclusions

The overview of the source situation shows that no part of the secondary transmission, for manifold and complicated reasons, is capable of making up for the missing third and fourth acts of Mozart's autograph. The selection of musical text for this edition can therefore only be a compromise: acts one and two were revised following the autograph with a typographical realisation in accordance with the editing principles and guidelines of the NMA cf. p VI); the third and fourth acts and also the missing parts (wind and timpani) in the Finale of Act two (cf. III/a) were read from the older critical editions of *Figaro*<sup>44</sup> and appear without typographical differentiation of editorial additions. This solution, so unsatisfactory for the moment, does at least have the advantage that it does not anticipate a possible future revision of the last two acts from the autograph and also does not obscure the visual impression of the edition with a mixture of primary and secondary

<sup>39</sup> Alfred Einstein, *Mozart and Tarchi*, in: *Monthly Musical Record* 1935, p. 127; Michael and Christopher Raeburn, op. cit.

<sup>40</sup> Jack A. Westrup, *Cherubino and the G Minor Symphony*, in: *Fanfare for Ernest Newman*, London, 1955, pp. 181–191; p. 190: "*Is it a mere coincidence that, without any uncomfortable carpentry, the words ['senza speme'] will fit the opening melody of the G minor symphony?*" [mm. 1–16]. Cf. however on this Deryck Cooke, *The Language of Music*, London, 1959, p. 237, and Michael and Christopher Raeburn, op. cit.

<sup>41</sup> *Die Musicke*, November 1937, pp. 35f.; KV<sup>6</sup>, pp. 542f., where the *accompagnato* is once again printed complete.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. also Michael and Christopher Raeburn, op. cit.

<sup>43</sup> Op. cit., the revised part is printed there, together with the facsimile of an altered passage in the wind.

<sup>44</sup> AMA, Series V, Volume 17 (1879), the corresponding Editorial Report 1883; Edition Eulenburg, pocket score no. 916, ed. Hermann Abert, Editorial Report by Rudolf Gerber, no date; Edition Peters no. 11 462, ed. Georg Schünemann and Kurt Soldan (1941).

sources. For the same reason, no textual criticism had been offered regarding those few pages in the autograph score of acts three and four which have been preserved in facsimiles and photographic records. The same applies to the autograph *accompagnato* from act four (cf. III/a) and to the transmitted autograph score for wind instruments (with timpani) of No. 29 (but cf. the *Kritischer Bericht*).

The renderings of Appendices I–III is based on the autographs or on photographs of lost autographs, whereas Appendix I/2, in the absence of the autograph, was based on a Lausch copy and Appendix III/2 on a 19th century copy obviously based on from the now lost autograph. The typographical differentiation in Appendices I–III follows the usual editing principles of the NMA.

#### IV. Special Remarks

##### a) The Italian text

The relationship between the Vienna libretto of 1786 and the text which Mozart set in the autograph is marked by a few mistakes common to both sources and by a large number of divergences in details on Mozart's part from the printed text. The mistakes common to both (such as p. 92, m. 28: “*dammela*” instead of – since it must refer to “*nastro*” – “*dammelo*”) were corrected in our edition, as were grammatical and orthographic mistakes. On the other hand, archaic spellings, as long as they do not distort the sense, have been retained; occasional false settings of accents by Mozart (such as e.g. in the Finale of act two, mm. 492f.: “*garofáni*” instead of “*garófani*”) do not, in our opinion, have to be amended.

Most of Mozart's departures from the printed libretto occurred, as is to be expected, in punctuation.<sup>45</sup> Over long stretches of *Figaro*, Mozart once again provided only very sketchy punctuation, while departing at least as often from the punctuation in the printed libretto in order to underline the musical declamation, to emphasise details of the meaning and to provide

additional formal articulation of extended musical passages (such as in the Finale of act two, where the *stretta* is structured, “punctuated”, on the one hand by the omission of commas, on the other hand by full stops at the musical caesuras). For this reason we have retained Mozart's punctuation as far as possible, wherever it is explicable in terms of textual content and musical sense; where the punctuation in the printed libretto seemed logical necessary, it was preferred. It was of course not possible to avoid conflicts in this; the user should not expect total consistency in both aspects. Details are provided in the *Kritischer Bericht*.

##### b) Appoggiaturas and fermata ornaments

In the recitatives – and also in those passages inserted in set piece numbers and explicitly marked as recitatives – suggestions for appoggiaturas were provided relatively copiously, not only at the stereotype closing formulas but also – with somewhat more restraint – where an appoggiatura could serve to underline the expression. Particular care was taken in this to alternate between the whole-tone step from above (where one would conventionally expect appoggiaturas) and semitones and leaps of a fourth from below (above all in questions). The dilemma of every editor who attempts to reconstruct the lost, matter-of-course practices of this kind by referring to theoretical sources, which provide only vague guidelines precisely because these were matter-of-course, everyday practices, is well-known. This dilemma could not be escaped in *Figaro* either; practising musicians should feel free to treat the editor's suggestions simply as suggestions made with the aim of stimulating singers and conductors to come up with personal and interpretationally sensible solutions. A stiff adherence to these suggestions – or also their unreflecting elimination – would lead to a result opposite to that intended.<sup>46</sup>

In the set-piece numbers, appoggiaturas have been suggested very sparingly, as reinforcement of individual accents of expression. The procedure is similar for fermata [“pause”] ornaments, which have only been suggested where they do not detract from the expressive attitude and the dramatic function of the number in question and where the position of the fermata within

<sup>45</sup> Cf. the corresponding observations in Alfred Einstein, Foreword to: *Don Giovanni*, Edition Eulenburg no. 918, pp. XII.; Gernot Gruber, *Das Autograph der Zauberflöte. Eine stilkritische Interpretation des philologischen Befundes*, in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1967*, Salzburg, 1968, pp. 127f. (essential); Wolfgang Plath and Wolfgang Rehm, Foreword to NMA II/5/17, *Don Giovanni*, pp. f.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. also the relevant treatments by Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini (NMA II/5/5, *Ascanio in Alba*), Stefan Kunze (NMA II/7, *Arias • Volume I*) and above all Daniel Heartz (NMA II/5/11, *Idomeneo*).



the piece, i.e. where it might conventionally be expected, makes it appropriate. In all cases, the embellishments are confined within decent limits – the very small number of places where they seem possible at all and the modesty of Mozart's own cadenza for a obvious showpiece such as KV 577 (cf. Appendix I/2, p. 613) make caution advisable.

#### c) The dramatic structure of act three

Robert Moberly and Christopher Raeburn<sup>47</sup> have developed the theory that Da Ponte and Mozart had originally conceived act three differently but, at the last moment before the Vienna première, were forced by external circumstances to make – dramatically fatal – changes in the plan. According to this, the problematic part of the act begins after the Count's scene, which should have ended with the exit aria "*Vedrò mentre io sospiro*"; then there came the existing Scena VII, Barbarina and Cherubino (including, it must be added, the lost Cherubino Arietta, cf. IV/e/18); the next were the scene with the Countess (now Scena VIII) and again with exit, the recitative "*È decisa la lite*" and sextet, the recitative "*Eccovi, oh caro amico*" (Marcellina, Bartolo, Susanna, Figaro) and immediately afterwards (this is the decisive point) the entrance of Antonio and the Count "*Io vi dico signor*"; then came the bridge to the scene with the Countess and Susanna as in the existing version. The theory is that this order had to be changed before the performance because Bartolo and Antonio were sung by the same singer (Bussani), who consequently had no time to change clothes between the scenes "*Eccovi, oh caro amico*" and "*Io vi dico signor*". As the practice of entrusting several secondary roles to one singer was already established (as was also the case with Basilio and Don Curzio), other theatres, which were more or less dependent on the performing material of the Vienna version, hardly had any choice but to adopt the dramatic plan of the première. A further fact is that the two double roles in the casting for the première – Bartolo/Antonio and Basilio/Don Curzio – are also carefully taken into account in the planning of other scenes: in the Finale of act two Antonio is on stage until measure 639, Bartolo from measure 697, so

that roughly one and a half minutes are available to change (directly behind the stage); in the Finale of act four, as printed in the libretto and as in the score, only Basilio and Antonio are required (in the general turbulence no-one notices that Bartolo and Don Curzio have disappeared from the opera). Moberly and Raeburn's argumentation is ingenious and persuasive – it is easy to see that the re-arrangement they suggest would give a very satisfactory solution to the staging problems of the act (time for the masking of Cherubino by Barbarina, time for the trial, time for the passing of information between Susanna and the Countess); furthermore, the tonal disposition in this version is at least not worse than that in the familiar version, and the Countess' aria gains an additional dimension by appearing in contrast to the outburst of rage by the Count, a scene from which it is separated only by the short scene Barbarina-Cherubino. However plausible Moberly and Raeburn's theory may be in dramatic terms, its claim to be a reconstruction of the originally intended plan remains problematical as long as it is not backed up philologically. For our edition, we have no choice but to reproduce act three as it has come down to us.

#### d) Numbers and scene numbering

The numbering in our edition differs from the conventional in counting the repeat of the Chorus in act one as No. 9, so that all succeeding numbers are moved up one place higher. In this we are adopting the numbers used in the autograph, but, because their authenticity is disputed, they are set in italics in the first two acts (cf. the *Kritischer Bericht*); the same numbering is adopted in the Berlin and London (cf. III/b) score copies. We did not adopt the rather scurrilous numbering of the citation from Figaro's Cavatina (Atto secondo, in Scena I) which in the autograph is numbered "11½" – again reproduced faithfully by the Berlin and London manuscripts. Where there are differences between the scene numberings in the printed libretto and the autograph, we have always followed Mozart's autograph. This applies of course – unfortunately – only to acts one and two. Details are discussed in the *Kritischer Bericht*.

#### e) Remarks on individual numbers

1. *Sinfonia*: After measure 134 there was originally a Siciliano in D minor, marked *Andante con moto*. Three transitional measures and the first measure of the

<sup>47</sup> Mozart's 'Figaro': The Plan of Act III, in: *Music {et} Letters* 46, 1965, pp. 134f.; in more detail in Robert B. Moberly, *Three Mozart Operas. Figaro, Don Giovanni, The Magic Flute*, London, 1967, pp. 103f. Moberly's excellent book should be compulsory reading, not only in regard of this problem, for all who are looking into *Figaro*, *Don Giovanni* and *The Magic Flute*.

Siciliano are preserved on p. 12 following the definitive page-numbering of the complete manuscript (cf. facsimile auf p. XXIII) and are rendered in the *Kritischer Bericht*. Mozart crossed these measures out and indicated a leap to measure 135 using *vi-de* and a bracket. After p. 12, a leaf has been cut out of the gathering; this section must have comprised about 16 measures. This must have happened before the assembly of the complete manuscript and practically immediately after the Sinfonia was put on paper, since the separate folio numbering of the Sinfonia shows no gap at this point.<sup>48</sup> The detailed sketch for the Sinfonia already referred to in Section I is printed as Appendix III/1.

2. No. 3 *Cavatina*: An outline of the conclusion is printed as Appendix III/2.

3. No. 5 *Duetto*: There was originally a different beginning. Mozart changed the first measure on p. 81 of the autograph (m. 3 of the number) by scratching out and writing over it, notating the first and second measures on the reverse side of the already extant preceding recitative. Strangely, these two measures were later crossed out (by Mozart?). Concerning the apocryphal Cavatina for Marcellina which replaced the Duetto in the Prague sources, cf. III/c/2.

4. No. 6 *Aria*: Köhler<sup>49</sup> discovered that this beginning was also composed twice by Mozart. Leaf 35 (= pp. 93–94 of the autograph or mm. 1–15 of the aria) uses paper and ink sorts differing from those in the rest of the piece; the note *Atto I<sup>mo</sup> + 6* on the recto face of the leaf can only be understood as a useful reminder of where this leaf, written later and separately, belonged. The first version has been lost. The fragments of an outline of this aria, printed as Appendix III/3, do not help us in this matter, since they begin exactly as in the complete autograph. This could be a sign that the outline – as already suggested in the *Revisionsbericht* [Editorial Report] of the AMA (p. 79) – did not precede the score, but was subsequent idea for an extension. The extant materials do not permit a decision. – We point

expressly to the differences (mutes, pizzicato) between No. 6 and Appendix III/3 and to the original piano reduction (with violin) printed as Appendix II/1.

5. No. 10 *Aria*: On the recitative (*accompagnato*), supposedly composed later for Benucci and which precedes this aria, cf. III/c/5. In the autograph the tempo direction is *Vivace*, but this is in an unknown hand. The Berlin and London score copies (cf. III/b) have *Allegro*, which musically seems more sensible. The citation in Finale II of *Don Giovanni* (No. 24) appears in the introductory section marked *Allegro vivace*. Since there thus no authentic tempo directive in the strict sense, our suggestion is based on the best secondary sources and on musical plausibility.

6. No. 11 *Cavatina*: The tempo indication *Larghetto* is in red crayon in an unknown hand, not the same as in No. 10. It was adopted in the Berlin and London score copies. Musically, there is hardly any alternative.

7. *Atto secondo / Scena I, Recitativo* “*Vieni, cara Susanna*”, measures 88–99: In the autograph, only vocal part and bass line (the latter without designation) are written out; above these, eight lines have been left free for the instruments and marked with bar-lines. Filling this out is not difficult, especially since the numbering of this citation from Figaro’s Cavatina – “11½” (cf. IV/d) – is repeated in the Cavatina itself (No. 3) at the corresponding point in the autograph (m. 9); it had already appeared in the same form as in this edition in the Berlin and London score copies.

8. *Atto secondo / Scena II, Recitativo* “*Quanti duol mi, Susanna*”, measures 22–25: The melody here was originally different, more conventional, but this was then crossed out and the final version written below it (the first version can be seen in the *Kritischer Bericht*). Shortly before this, in measures 17–18, Mozart had in his haste forgotten Susanna’s mocking “*Ah sì [ . . . ] certo [ . . . ]*”, which he added at the foot of the page.

9. No. 12 *Arietta*: The tempo indication was added later in an unknown hand, not the same as in No. 10 or No. 11. The Berlin and London score copies make out of the marking *Andante* the more precise *Andante con moto*. For musical reasons, *Andante*, with its tendency to counteract any rushing of the tempo, is perhaps more appropriate.

<sup>48</sup> The fragment formerly KV (KV<sup>1-3</sup>) Anh. 101, which has occasionally been identified with this piece, is ruled out alone on the basis of its length of 64 measures. Cf. on this Wolfgang Plath, *Miscellanea Mozartiana I*, in: *Festschrift Otto Erich Deutsch zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. Walter Gerstenberg, Jan LaRue and Wolfgang Rehm, Kassel etc., 1963, pp. 138f.

<sup>49</sup> *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1967*, pp. 40f.

10. No. 13 *Aria*: Concerning the replacement composition KV 579 (Appendix I/1 with Appendix II/2) written for Vienna 1789, cf. II and III/c/6.

11. No. 14 *Terzetto*: The distribution of the parts (in which the Countess, not Susanna, receives the high coloraturas) restores the version of the trio that Mozart made after several complicated phases of correction. Apart from philological considerations, it also clearly represents the better version from a dramatic and psychological point of view because of the way the coloraturas appear as means of expression, not as the traditional soubrette coloraturas for a Susanna wrongly classified as a soubrette. The autograph version was first reconstructed in the Eulenburg score by Abert and Gerber. It must be conceded, however, that this question, complicated enough already, becomes even more confused by the appearance of the conventional version in the Berlin and London score copies, in which Susanna's voice lies higher and has the coloraturas, while Donaueschingen presents a mixed version. For a more comprehensive discussion, including an evaluation of Köhler's interpretation of the Berlin reading,<sup>50</sup> we must refer readers to the *Kritischer Bericht*.

12. *Atto secondo / Scena III, Recitativo* “*Dunque voi non aprite?*” and No. 15, *Duetto*: On the problem of this recitative and on the recitative version of the Duetto in the Berlin score copy, cf. III/c/3. In the autograph, the following cuts in the Duetto are suggested by small brackets in red crayon above the staff system: measures 13–16, 28–29, 37–40. These cuts are normal theatrical practice; but Köhler is right in pointing out<sup>51</sup> that the red crayon used is not identical with that used by Mozart everywhere else in the *Figaro* autograph, and that the composer furthermore usually marks his cuts otherwise, namely with energetic crossing out of the entire staff system with ink or red crayon and additional *vi-de* indications (as in the Sinfonia, cf. IV/e/1). The cuts in the Duetto are thus certainly not authentic; they are also detrimental to the musical structure of the piece. The outline (of the beginning) of a replacement composition for the Duetto (recognisable as a substitution composition by the autograph remark *invece del Duetto di Susanna e Cherubino*) is printed as Appendix III/4.

<sup>50</sup> *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1968/70*, pp. 123f.; cf. also Strasser, op. cit., and Anheißer, op. cit.

<sup>51</sup> *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1968/70*, p. 129.

13. *Atto secondo / Scena IV, Recitativo* “*Oh guarda il demonietto!*” measures 1–2: This recitative originally had a longer text, which Mozart naturally set differently: “*Oh il picciolo Demonio! io credo ch'abbia un folletto nel ventre: Come fugga!* [. . .]” Perhaps Mozart was disturbed by the possible double-entendre of “*folletto nel ventre*” [“*elf in my stomach / womb*”]; at any rate, he crossed out “*io [. . .] ventre*” (vocal part and text) with red crayon and pencilled in the new text above the staff in the first measure: “[. . .] *guarda il demonietto* [. . .]”. For the adoption of this text, which also appears in the printed libretto of Vienna 1786, he probably had to get Da Ponte's approval.

Before this correction, and independently of it, Mozart obviously changed the first note in the figured bass from B to g – an astonishing intervention, since the recitative now begins with the same chord as that at the end of the preceding Duetto instead of with the customary six-three chord. The change is however without doubt autograph. In the first version, Mozart had notated the recitative in one sweep on two double staves, the second double staff showing a paler (weaker) flow of ink first in the vocal part, then in the bass line; this weakening of the ink flow then continues in the new notes in the first double staff. The Berlin and London score copies have the final form of text and music, which we have also adopted.

14. No. 16 *Finale*: A sketch for measures 803f. of the Finale is printed as Appendix III/5 (facsimile and transcription).

15. No. 18 *Recitativo ed Aria*: According to the *Revisionsbericht* [Editorial Report] of the AMA (p. 81), the tempo indication *Maestoso* in measure 1 of the recitative is in an unknown hand. The original version of measures 105f. can also be seen there. For the reworking of the aria for the Vienna production of 1789, cf. III/c/6. A melodic sketch for the aria has been printed as Appendix III/6.

16. *Atto terzo / Scena V, Recitativo* “*È decisa la lite*”, measures 14–15: In the libretto, this passage is allotted to Marcellina; there the text is “*Io t'ho* [. . .] *duri*” instead of “*Lei t'ha* [. . .] *duri*”. Here Mozart obviously intervened in the libretto, for a text change on this scale can hardly be explained as a slip of the hand; we therefore do not follow Schünemann-Soldan (Peters), but rather the text of the AMA or of Abert-Gerber (Eulenburg).

17. No. 19 *Sestetto*: According to the Editorial Report of the AMA (p. 81), the tempo indication is missing in the autograph; some corrections within the sextet are also explained there.

18. *Atto terzo / Scena VII*: After the end of the recitative in measure 16, the autograph has the remark (according to the Editorial Report of the AMA, p. 81) *Segue l'arietta di Cherubino* [Cherubino's arietta follows] and afterwards *dopo l'arietta di Cherubino viene Scena 7<sup>ma</sup> – ch'è un Recitativo instrumentato con aria della Contessa*. [after Cherubino's aria comes scene 7 (in the NMA: *Scena VIII*) – which is an instrumentally accompanied recitative with aria for the Countess] This arietta is missing; its text is included in the printed libretto of 1786, but in the copy in Washington (Library of Congress)<sup>52</sup> it is crossed out. It goes as follows:

Se così brami  
Teco verrò;  
So che tu m'ami,  
Fidar mi vo':  
(*a parte*)  
Purchè il bel ciglio  
Riveggia ancor,  
Nessun periglio  
Mi fa timor.

Einstein is right in describing this text and the situation as “*reizend*” [“*charming*”] (KV<sup>3</sup>, p. 624), but the question is not settled as to whether Mozart actually composed the piece, as Einstein and Anheißer thought, or whether instead the remarks in the autograph were reminders for a planned but never realised performance of the piece and its planned context. It is at any rate true that the verse and strophe form of the text agree with those of “*Voi che sapete che cosa è amor*” – an agreement that could, under certain circumstances, have led to difficulties in finding an appropriate musical representation of a text with such a totally different content. A further complicating factor is that Cherubino – in formal terms a secondary character, which is not unimportant for *Figaro* as a whole – was already provided with plentiful solo opportunities in two exceptional numbers.

19. No. 20 *Recitativo ed Aria*: Regarding corrections in the autograph cf. the Editorial Report of the AMA (p.

<sup>52</sup> Concerning other hand-written entries in this copy of the libretto cf. in detail the *Kritischer Bericht* (cf. also the facsimile in the middle of p. XXX).

82). A melodic sketch for the aria is printed as Appendix III/7.

20. *Atto terzo / Scena X, Recitativo, measures 10–13*: Text and music of the final measures of the recitative before the “Letter” duet have been changed twice. The earlier version seems to be that printed here as Appendix III/8; there the recitative text after Susanna's “[. . .] *ma signora* [ . . . ]” is “*Or via scrivi, cor mio; scrivi: già tutto io prendo su me stessa. Canzonetta su l'aria.*”, after which the partial score outline of the duet follows. What seems to be the next version is (according to the Editorial Report of the AMA, p. 82) that in the autograph, with a completely different affective content and a correspondingly different musical setting: “[. . .] *ma signora* [ . . . ] [la Contessa:] *Sei per tradirmi tu d'accordo ancora?*”. This is crossed out with red crayon, and the final version has been written in below it in an unknown hand. Its authenticity cannot be doubted, as the printed libretto of 1786 gives only this last version of the text.

21. No. 21 *Duetto*: An outline (with the conclusion of the preceding recitative) is printed as Appendix III/8.

22. *Atto terzo / Scena XI–XII, Recitativo “Queste sono, madama”, measures 17–19*: Here the transition to Antonio's entrance and the moment of revelation is obviously flawed in the autograph and in subsequent editions to date, for the long pause between Susanna's last words and Antonio's first words produces a halting effect just when the scene is hanging critically in the balance. Our version should be understood as conjecture; thanks are due to Professor Ernst Märzendorfer for the suggestion (cf. also the *Kritischer Bericht*).

23. No. 23 *Finale*: A sketch for the beginning of the March is printed as Appendix III/9.

24. No. 24 *Cavatina*: According to the Editorial Report of the AMA (p. 85), the tempo indication is missing in the autograph.

25. No. 27 *Recitativo ed Aria*: A contemporary transcript of this *accompagnato* was inserted into the score. The autograph version, two leaves with notation on three sides, was obviously separated from the score



at an early date and is today preserved in Memorial Library of Music at Stanford University.<sup>53</sup>

26. No. 28 *Recitativo ed Aria*: This number seems to have presented Mozart with particular difficulties. The fact that the detailed sketch for the Sinfonia already mentioned is to be found on a sketch sheet for this aria suggests that No. 28 was one of the last pieces in the opera to be composed, as the Sinfonia was certainly the last or nearly the last to be written. Lack of time may also have contributed to the difficulties, which are reflected in two pieces of evidence of an earlier version with a completely different aria, in a melodic sketch for the final version and in far-reaching corrections in the notation of this final version itself.

A melodic sketch for the early version of the aria is printed as Appendix III/10. A more detailed outline of the recitative and aria is given in Appendix III/11. The outline of the recitative already has the obbligato motif in the first violins; this impresses itself on the entire *accompagnato* which is based on a very much longer text, more contrasting and dramatic in its affective content; the piece had not yet achieved the incomparable, restrained conclusion with its hovering atmosphere woven of Nature poetry and eroticism.

The setting of the aria text is quite different to that in the final version. As in KV 577 (Appendix I/2) in 1789, Susanna sings not only in the costume of the Countess, but also with her voice melody.<sup>54</sup> What can be easily explained in 1789 by the concert character of the aria shows itself in 1786 as an initial uncertainty regarding a crucial point in the action on stage. Only when Mozart reflected on Susanna's musical character did he find the musical inspiration out of which he formed the musical miracle of the "Rose" aria. The melodic sketch for the final version (Appendix III/12) and, even more so, the far-reaching changes in the conclusion of the aria (Editorial Report of the AMA, p. 88) show that this miracle was the product of much hard work.

<sup>53</sup> A picture of the first page in the catalogue: *A Memorial Library of Music at Stanford University*, Stanford/California, 1950, p. 193.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. the very fine representation in Hermann Abert, W. A. Mozart, Leipzig, 6/1924, Vol. II, pp. 352f. On p. 356 (footnote 2), Abert points out Mozart's note *Segue Recit. istrumentato con Rondo di Susanna*; this note confirms that Appendix III/11 – a Rondo fragment – was in fact the original idea.

27. *Atto quarto / Scena XI, Recitativo "Perfida, e in quella forma meco mentia?"*: According to the Editorial Report of the AMA (p. 89), this recitative is missing in the autograph. – Regarding Cherubino's entrance with the musically undefined trolling on "*La la la la lera*", Moberly and Raeburn<sup>55</sup> have suggested that the beginning of "*Non so più cosa son, cosa faccio*" should be quoted here and not, as is usual theatrical practice, the beginning of "*Voi che sapete che cosa è amor*". The printed libretto of 1786, however, supports the tradition: it contains, after the non-metrical syllables "*La la la la la la la la lera*", an additional strophe to "*Voi che sapete che cosa è amor*", which is once again crossed out in the Washington copy:

Voi che intendete  
Che cosa è amor,  
Donne vedete  
S'io l'ho nel cor.

That Mozart did not wish to set this rather banal strophe – especially at this point in the drama – is an inclination with which one can sympathise.

28. No. 29 *Finale*: Since Basilio/Don Curzio and Bartolo/Antonio were portrayed at the première by one singer in each case (cf. IV/c), the Finale in both libretto and score involves only Basilio and Antonio. In practice, it is of course possible for the other two characters to double the relevant parts.

## V. The Editing Technique

Generally, the remarks on p. VI (Editorial Principles) apply; besides these, apart from the exceptional procedures for acts three and four outlined in section III/d, the following special points should be noted:

1. It was decided that the reproduction of the old clefs in the vocal parts at the beginning each number or recitative should be dispensed with. Instead, the original clefs are included in the cast list on p. 2.

2. The predominant practice elsewhere in the NMA of continuing to show staves even when they only contain rests was not viable here because of the dimensions of the score. Instead, the so-called variable staff system was used, in which staves showing only rests are dropped wherever the demands on space required it. For

<sup>55</sup> Moberly, *Three Mozart Operas*, p. 135.

clarification, the staves are identified with abbreviations in the margin at the beginning of staff system, except in the secco recitatives. As a consequence, instructions such as *a 2* or *I<sup>mo</sup>* and *II<sup>do</sup>* have to be repeated from one staff system to the next wherever this is necessary for clarity. Another consequence of the variable staff system is that the names of characters often have to be repeated within one staff to indicate the entries; this is always done in upright majuscules.

3. The scene directions in the Vienna printed libretto of 1786 were adopted wherever necessary to make up for omissions in the autograph; in addition, some editorial additions were made. The typographical differentiation of these directions takes the following forms in the first two acts:

Autograph:

- a. FIGARO solo. = direction in the scene heading
- b. (FIGARO solo.) = scene direction within the staff system

Libretto: [FIGARO solo.]

Editorial addition: (FIGARO solo.)

\*

The editor's thanks are due in the first place to the Chief Editors of the NMA, Dr. Wolfgang Plath and Dr. Wolfgang Rehm, who accompanied the slow development of the volume not only with countless suggestions but above all with unshakable patience; Dr. Plath was additionally responsible for the important identification of the detailed sketch for the Sinfonia (= Appendix III/1). Stimulating correspondence was exchanged with Robert Moberly, whom I thank for much practical advice. Professor Ernst Märzendorfer provided suggestions for placing appoggiaturas and for the conjecture discussed in Section IV/e/22. During corrections, key help often came from Dr. Walther Dürr on the Italian text and from Dr. Marius Flothuis and Karl Heinz Füssl on the music text. All of these gentlemen enabled this volume, despite the unfavorable circumstances under which it was prepared, to take on an acceptable finished form.

Ludwig Finscher                      Bad Homburg, March, 1973

Translation: William Buchanan





Facs. 1: Page 12 of the autograph of the first and second acts in the State Library Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage (Music Department): measures 129–134 of the Sinfonia with four crossed-out measures (= sketched open cadence beginning of a slow middle section). Cf. page 15 and Foreword (IV/e/1).



Allegro + 6

Aria

scen. V.

93

Viol. I

Viol. II

2 Clarinet

2 Corni

2 Fagotti

Chamber

Basso

Non so più cosa son, cosa faccio

XXIV

Facs. 2: Page 93 of the autograph of the first and second acts: beginning of No. 6 (Aria “Non so più cosa son, cosa faccio”). Cf. page 94, measures 1–7.



*Att. 01<sup>mo</sup>* *Aria di Chabino. Scena V.* *Mozart Handwritten.*

*All. vivace.*

*Violino*

*Chabino*

*Cembalo*

*25x.*

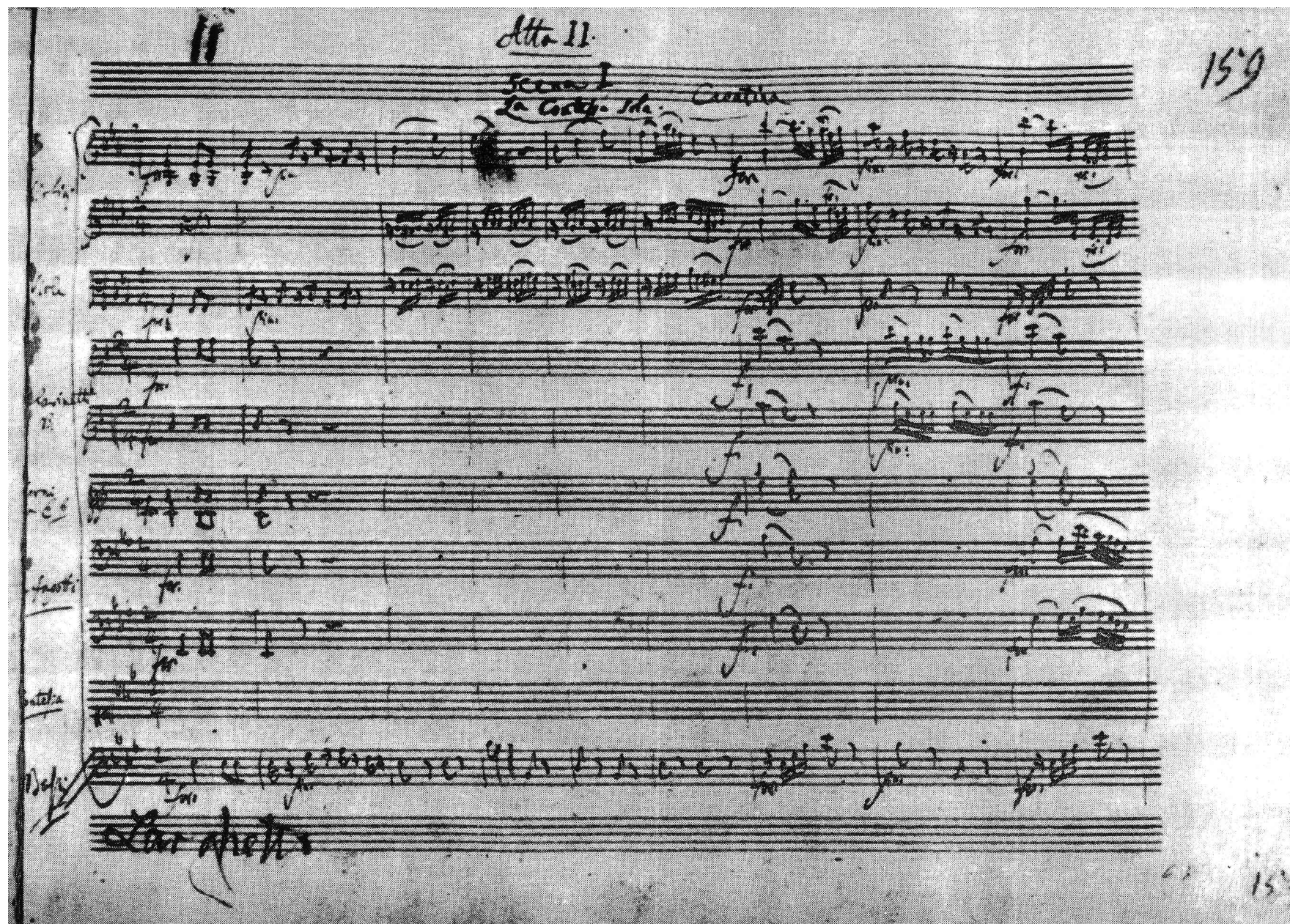
*Non so più cosa tu cosa faccio or di poter ora sono di ghiaccio ogni donna cangiar di colore ogni*

*Dona ne fa palpitare. ogni Donna mi fa palpitare. ogni Donna mi fa palpitare. So - lo di*

*sonni d'amor di dilecto mi si turbano l'altre il petto e a parlare mi sforza d'amore*

Facs. 3: Leaf 1<sup>r</sup> of the autograph piano reduction (with violin) for No. 6 (= Appendix II/1) in the Pierpont Morgan Library New York (on loan from the Heineman Foundation). Cf. pages 618–619, measures 1–25.





Facs. 4: Page 159 of the autograph of the first and second acts: beginning of No. 11 (Cavatina “Porgi amor qualche ristoro”). Cf. page 161, measures 1–9.



[illegible]

Facs. 5: Page 227 of the autograph of the first and second acts: beginning of No. 16 (Finale II "*Esci omai garzon malnato*"). Cf. pages 222–223, measures 1–8.





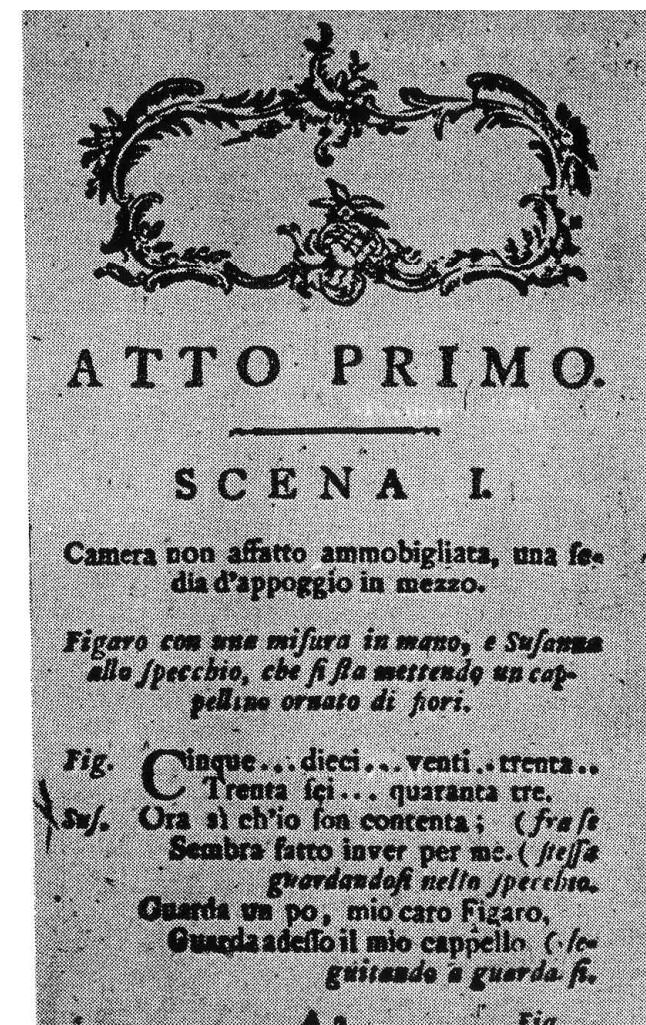
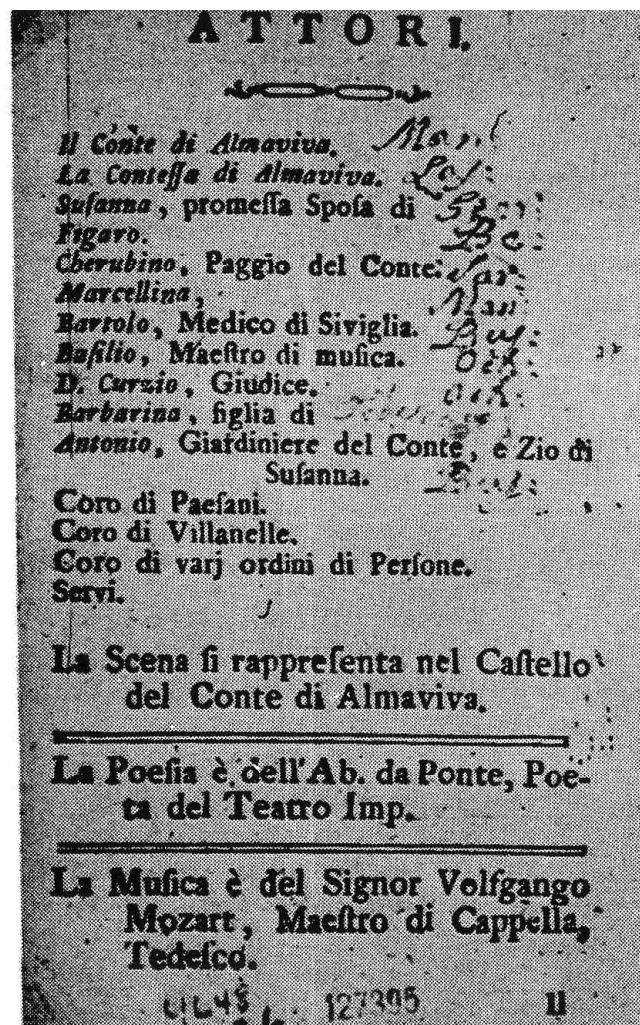
Facs. 6: Leaf 1<sup>r</sup> of the autograph of KV 579 (No. 13a Arietta “Un moto di gioia” = Appendix I/1) in the State Library Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage (Music Department). Cf. page 597, measures 1–13.





Facs. 7: Front page of the autograph piano reduction of KV 579 (= Appendix II/2) in the collection of the Musikfreunde Wien [Friends of Music, Vienna]. Cf. pages 624–626, measures 1–47.





Facs. 8-10: Title page, cast list (*Attori*) and beginning of the first act in the libretto (Vienna, 1786, Giuseppe Nob. de Kurzbe. Copy in Washington, Library of Congress).