

WOLFGANG AMADEUS MOZART

Series II

Works for the Stage

WORK GROUP 5: OPERAS AND SINGSPIELS
VOLUME 12: DIE ENTFÜHRUNG AUS DEM SERAIL
[The Abduction from the Seraglio]

PRESENTED BY GERHARD CROLL

1982

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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



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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 (KV³ or KV^{3a}) are given in brackets; occasional differing numberings in the sixth edition (KV⁶) 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 C-clefs used in the sources have been replaced by modern clefs.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 (3rd 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

On 23 March 1776, Emperor Joseph II informed Prince Johann Josef Khevenhüller in a personal note that “*the theatre next to the fortress shall henceforth be called the German National Theatre*”. With that, the Burgtheater [Fortress Theatre] ceased to be a theatre exclusively for the nobility. The Imperial Commission of 17 December 1777, asking Johann Heinrich Friedrich Müller to start rehearsals for a German Singspiel, cleared the way — for Müller as director and Ignaz Umlauf as composer — to put the *Bergknappen* [*The Miners*] on stage. That happened in January 1778¹.

In Mannheim, people were already better informed about the Imperial plans than in Salzburg. “*I know quite certainly that the Emperor has in mind to establish a German Opera in Vienna, and that he is intently searching for a young music director who understands the German language, has genius, and is capable of bringing something quite new into the world; [...] I believe this would be a good thing for me; but well-paid, that is understood. If the Emperor gives me a thousand Guilders, I will write him a German opera.*”

Leopold Mozart was to write — as Mozart urged him in the quoted letter from Mannheim of 10/11 January 1778 — “*to all imaginable good friends in Vienna that I am capable of bringing honour to the Emperor. If he does not want anything else, he should try me with an opera — what he then does afterwards is all the same to me*”². Leopold Mozart reacted at once and turned to Franz von Heufeld to try to “*install*” his son in Vienna. Heufeld’s friendly answer (of 23 January 1778) contained, as the quintessence of what

would be good for his “*dear Wolfgang*”, the advice: “*If your son takes the trouble of putting music to some good German comic opera or other, then sending it in and entrusting it to the pleasure of His Majesty and waiting for the outcome, it could work out in his favor if the work meets with applause. But in this case it is probably necessary to be present personally.*”

The door opening here was to lead via *Zaide*³ to the *Entführung aus dem Serail*. A key figure in this development was Gottlieb Stephanie (the younger)⁴, with whom Mozart spoke in the middle of April 1781 “*about Schachtner’s operetta*” and who voiced the prospect of “*a new piece*”, a “*good piece*”, which he was going to send to him — “*if I am no longer here*” — in Salzburg (letter of 18 April 1781). But this roundabout path was not necessary. Mozart remained in Vienna. One month later — on 19 May — he believed it was “*indeed the right thing with the opera*”. He continued to expect an opera text written by Stephanie himself. A letter of 16 June to his father stated “[...] *I believe, and it is also my wish, that he himself will write an opera for me*”. In the meantime, Mozart had “*twice [paid] a visit*” to Count Rosenberg, letting him hear something of his *Idomeneo*, in order to commend himself for an opera commission; now he was convinced (in a letter of 26 Mai 1781) “*since Stephanie is my good friend, everything will work out*”. But it was then not his own and also not a completely “*new piece*” that Stephanie, now acting on behalf of the Emperor, brought to Mozart on 30 July 1781 in his “*pretty room*” at “*old Madame Weber’s*” in the second storey of the house “*Zum Auge Gottes*” (Am Peter): *Bellmont und Constanze, oder: Die Entführung aus dem Serail. Eine Operette in drey Akten von C. F.*

¹ Otto Michtner, *Das alte Burgtheater als Opernbühne von der Einführung des deutschen Singspiels (1778) bis zum Tod Kaiser Leopolds II. (1792) = Theatergeschichte Österreichs*, vol. III: Wien, Heft 1, Vienna, 1970, pp. 25f.; Franz Dirnberger, “*200 Jahre Burgtheater*”. *Auf der Suche nach einem Jubiläum*, in: *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 29 (1976), pp. 169—214.

² Mozart. *Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*. Complete edition, collected (and elucidated) by Wilhelm A. Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch (4 vols. of text = Bauer-Deutsch I-IV, Kassel etc. 1962/63), with commentary by Joseph Heinz Eibl based on their previous work (2 vols. commentary = Eibl V and VI, Kassel etc. 1971), Register, compiled by Joseph Heinz Eibl (= Eibl VII, Kassel etc. 1975); Bauer-Deutsch II, No. 402. – In further to complete letters and for literal quotations from Bauer-Deutsch in the flow of the text, generally only the date will be given.

³ Cf. Friedrich-Heinrich Neumann, *Kritischer Bericht zu NMA II/5/10: Zaide (Das Serail)*, especially p. 13 and pp. 22 to 24; id., *Zur Vorgeschichte der Zaide*, in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1962/63*, Salzburg, 1964, pp. 216f.; Walter Senn, *Mozarts “Zaide” und der Verfasser der vermutlichen Textvorlage*, in: *Festschrift Alfred Orel* (ed. Hellmut Federhofer), Vienna—Wiesbaden, 1960, pp. 173f.

⁴ On (Johann) Gottlieb Stephanie (1741—1800), named “the younger” to distinguish him from his step-brother Christian (Gottlieb) Gottlob Stephanie (the elder), cf. Eibl V, p. 335, on 289/54, sowie NMA II/5/15: *Der Schauspieldirektor [The Impresario]* (Gerhard Croll), S. VII; Cf. also the section *Sources* below.

Bretzner [...] Leipzig [...] 1781⁵. [*Bellmont and Constanze, or: The Abduction from the Seraglio. An Operetta in three Acts by C. F. Bretzner*] The *Entführung*, over ten months in the composing, appears to us, looking back on Mozart's first one-and-a-half years in Vienna, as if stretched out between two crucially decisive dates and events: one was the break with the Archbishop with the liberation from service at the Court in Salzburg (9 and 10 May 1781), the other the marriage with Constanze Weber (4 August 1782) and, if not a break, then at least a quarrel with his father and, after months of dispute, a parting of their ways⁶. Finally — and this must serve as a token for the larger biographical context — there was during the last phase of work on the *Entführung* the meeting, of so much significance for Mozart the composer, with Handel and Bach at Gottfried van Swieten's.

For no work of Mozart's — disregarding *Idomeneo* — has so much personal documentation come down to us as for the *Entführung*, but, in contrast to the former case, we do not have Leopold's answering letters. For *Idomeneo*, Mozart's father travelled specially — with Nannerl — to be present at the performance location and participate with his son in the great success of the work. But during the success of the first performances of the *Entführung* Mozart experienced the most bitter disappointment with the “so indifferent, cold communication” with which the father reacted on receiving by post the score of the work.⁷ Leopold Mozart's pride over Wolfgang's most royal commission “to compose an operetta”, the confidence in his son's industry and capabilities⁸, all fatherly feelings seemed to have been transformed, in the light of Mozart's alliance with the house of Weber, into demonstrative indifference towards a work that thrust the name “Konstanze” before him. Even for Wolfgang's depictions of the initial rapid progress on his “opera”, for the “idea for the first act”, the “little foretaste of the opera” and the “description

of the music for the opera” (all of which was sent to Salzburg between 19 and 26 September 1781), Leopold had produced only hesitant and apparently predominantly cautionary and critical reactions.

Commission, “Book” and Cast

The “General Director of Spectacles”, Franz Xaver Graf (after 1790 Prince) Rosenberg-Orsini, Senior Advisor to Emperor Josephs II, had issued an instruction in Spring 1781 to have “a good opera book [...] commissioned” for Mozart⁹. The recipient of this (Imperial) commission is not quite clear from Mozart's correspondence with Salzburg. He named not only Friedrich Ludwig Schröder, “the distinguished actor”¹⁰, but also Stephanie (the younger)¹¹. Schröder soon presented an opera text in four acts — probably his own invention, in any case not Bretzner's *Entführung* — but did not find much resonance. Mozart was expecting (as we have already seen) a “new”, original text by Stephanie (the younger). It was therefore probably a disappointment for Mozart to receive a text by a third party, already set to music, as could be seen on the title page, “by Music Director André in Berlin” He must have hoped for more from Stephanie with his success and influence in Vienna: “he understands the theatre, and his comedies always please”.

As the author of Singspiels, Bretzner was certainly not an unknown for Mozart. Bretzner's comical opera in two acts, *Adrast und Isidore* (music by František Miča), was the first première of the season 1781/82, dominated by the prima donna Cavalieri as a greek slave in a colorful hotch-potch of the nations, including Turkish tones. Stephanie, who had no doubt also procured this Bretzner text, had in the same season also reworked Bretzner's Singspiel *Das Irrlicht, oder Endlich fand er sie* [*The Will o'the Wisp, or: Finally He found Her*] and produced it — with music by Umlauf — on 17 January 1782, half a year before (!) the *Entführung*. Mozart read this text — with the “Turkish subject-matter” — for the first time on 30 July 1781, and it is certain that neither he nor Stephanie knew the music by Johann André mentioned on the title page. Both

⁵ The copy used: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Signum: 641.433—AM Bd. VI/1; cf. the facsimiles on p. XLIII.

⁶ cf. the relevant chapter *Die Trennung* in: Florian Langegger, *Mozart, Vater und Sohn*, Zurich, 1978, pp. 103f.

⁷ Letter of 31 July 1782 (Bauer-Deutsch III, no. 681), in which Wolfgang quotes these words from Leopold Mozart's lost letter of 26 July (Bauer—Deutsch III, no. 679).

⁸ Leopold Mozart to Breitkopf & Sohn, Leipzig: 10 August 1781 (Bauer-Deutsch III, no. 617).

⁹ Wolfgang's letter to his father on 9 June 1781 (Bauer-Deutsch III, no. 604).

¹⁰ Wolfgang's letter to his father of 16 June 1781 (Bauer-Deutsch III, no. 606) — Mozart's respectful remark (Bauer-Deutsch III, no. 604) refers to the first to portray Lear in Vienna.

¹¹ Wolfgang's letter to his father of 1 August 1781 (Bauer-Deutsch III, no. 615).

were however certainly familiar with the outline of the plot, impressed on them particularly by the Singspiel (of which we will frequently hear below) *Die unvermutete Zusammenkunft, oder Die Pilgrime von Mekka* [*The Unexpected Meeting, or The Pilgrims of Mecca*], performed four days previously for the third time in that season (and since the start of Mozart's stay in Vienna), for which Stephanie had prepared the German translation.

Material and plot go back to the fairy-tale “Flos und Blancflos / Flower and Whiteflower”, familiar from medieval French and German poetry and appearing in Italian literature in Boccaccio's *Filocolo*, the story of Florio and Biancofiore in second *novella* of the fifth day in the Decameron, where the fate of “*Gostanza*” and “*Martuccio Gomito*” is recounted¹². Bretzner, “*who possessed a all-embracing instinct in the choice of his favorite material*”, may “*also have known that fairy-tale in an oriental guise*”¹³. As the immediate model for Bretzner, Walter Preibisch¹⁴ proposes *La schiava liberata* (text by Gaetano Martinelli), first performed in Dresden in 1777 (music by Joseph Schuster), and points, especially as model for the “English girl” Blonde so conspicuously foreign amongst the Spaniards, to Isaac Bickerstaffe's comedy *The Sultan or a Peep into the Seraglio*, in which the senior eunuch “Osmyn” tyrannises an English slave called “Roxalana”, who defends herself and finally marries the Sultan¹⁵.

Mozart, having had the opportunity to observe Vienna theatre life at first hand from the beginning of the season 1781/82 and having seen the ups-and-downs¹⁶, must have known that the

¹² While the name “Gostanza” — symbolic expression of the lasting love of the young girl — is found again in Bretzner, the name of the young man points to “Gomatz” in *Zaide*.

¹³ Bernhard Paumgartner, *Mozart*, Berlin, 1/1927, p. 269 (also p. 474), 7/1973, p. 286 (also p. 499).

¹⁴ *Quellenstudien zu Mozarts “Entführung aus dem Serail”*, phil. Diss. Halle-Wittenberg 1908, Halle a. S., 1908 (Part I), and in: *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, X (1908—1909), pp. 430—476.

¹⁵ Cf. on this also Eric Blom, “*The Seraglio*” Again, in: *The Observer*, 1 June 1958, p. 18.

¹⁶ From Mozart's letters to Salzburg one occasionally learns something about e.g. a visit “to the opera” on 10 May 1781, one day after the final audience with the Archbishop of Salzburg: Mozart records that he had to leave the performance (it was the third of the new opera *Der Rauchfangkehrer* [*The Chimney-Sweep*] by Salieri) because he was unwell. That he often attended rehearsals is clear from a letter of 24 October 1781 where he writes

choice of this text and material would inevitably mean a confrontation with Gluck's Singspiel *Die unvermutete Zusammenkunft, oder Die Pilgrime von Mekka*¹⁷. Whether this would be advantageous or deleterious to the success of his own piece could not be easily said. For both Stephanie and Mozart, two factors may have been important in the decision for the Bretzner text: it could latch onto the lively interest of the Vienna audience for Turkish subject-matter and thus also profit from the continuing success of the *Pilgrime*, and, as a second motive, they may have felt stimulated and challenged by an almost twenty-year-old piece that seemed to have lost none of its effectiveness on the stage. The first consequences of such or similar considerations had already been drawn by Stephanie, who was ultimately active and responsible in putting together the cast-list which Mozart presented in his first “*Entführung*” letter of 1 August 1781, two days after he had received Bretzner's text from Stephanie (the roles envisaged are added in each case in brackets):

“*Mad.^{selle} Cavalieri* [Konstanze], *Mad.^{selle} Teyber* [Blonde], *M:^r Fischer* [Osmin], *M:^r Adamberger* [Belmonte], *M:^r Dauer* [Pedrillo] and *M:^r Walther* [Selim Bassa], *will sing as well as act.*”

This ensemble, disregarding the last name, which we will immediately go on to discuss, was the best cast Stephanie had to offer, one that sought its equal in this field. Three of the names Mozart mentioned are also found in the successful production of Gluck's Turkish Singspiel referred to above, all three in the corresponding roles: Therese Teyber and the gentlemen Fischer and Walther. Mozart research has looked particularly closely into the last-named¹⁸, who was without doubt foreseen for the role of Selim Bassa in the *Entführung*. Joseph Walther was a tenor and played “*first and second lovers*”¹⁹. The fact that

regarding the performance Gluck's *Iphigenie auf Tauris*: “[...] *as for the rehearsals I was at almost all of them.*”

¹⁷ New German version of *La rencontre imprévue* (Vienna, 1763/64), première 26 July 1780; ten performances followed within four months, the new season 1781/82 opened with precisely this piece. On Gluck's opéra comique cf. Christoph Willibald Gluck, *Sämtliche Werke*, Abt. IV, Band 7 (Harald Heckmann), Kassel etc., 1964.

¹⁸ Cf. Karl Maria Pisarowitz, *Mozarts Urbassa*, in: *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 13 (1965), Heft 3/4, pp. 15f.; in addition Eibl VI, p. 77 regarding 615/25 and p. 402 regarding 1140/9, also (correctively) Eibl VII, p. 599, Addendum to 1140/9.

¹⁹ *Allgemeiner Theater-Almanach* 1782, p. 124; cf. *Rudolf Payer von Thurn, Joseph II. als Theaterdirektor*,

the Emperor had ordered Walther's dismissal during the season 1781/82 has in the past been quoted as a reason for Stephanie and Mozart to conceive Bassa's role as a spoken part. It would be more accurate to say that they left it as a spoken part. For this was how it was in Bretzner's text, to which (as will be demonstrated) the piece as a whole closely adhered. We would suggest that the appearance of the name "Walter" in Mozart's letter in connection with the role of Bassa can also — or perhaps even principally — be seen in another context. In Gluck's *Pilgrime von Mekka*, Walther played, as the "Sultan of Egypt", the role corresponding to Bassa in the *Entführung*. That Stephanie mentioned him to Mozart may have happened, so we believe, more or less automatically by analogy in the sense of completing the cast; the Emperor's order of dismissal is not needed to explain Stephanie's and Mozart's retention of the spoken part envisaged by Bretzner. A suitable tenor could without difficulty have been provided in the person of Josef Matthias Souter. Mozart would no doubt have assessed the effect of Bassa as a spoken role in the Singspiel text in front of him and would hardly have thought seriously about creating a (third!) tenor role. For these reasons, the actor Dominik Joseph Jautz (1732—1806) was the first to play Selim Bassa. He belonged to the long-serving members of the ensemble. In the Vienna première of *Hamlet*, re-worked by Franz (von) Heufeld, he played Horatio ("Gustav"). Jautz had often taken spoken parts in Singspiels and in the course of time had stood on stage with almost all the singers in the *Entführung*, on the last occasion (in February 1781) as "an old Turk" in the *Sklavenhändler von Smyrna* [*The Slave-Trader of Smyrna*] (text by Christian Friedrich Schwan, music by Franz Andreas Holly) together with Dauer/Pedrillo and Fischer/Osmin.

Caterina Cavalieri (1760—1801), whose "geläufige Gurgel [agile throat]" has become proverbial as a result of Mozart's remark, enjoyed a series of great successes following her debut in Vienna (as Sandrina in *La finta giardiniera* with music by Anfossi on 19 June 1775 in the Kärntnertortheater²⁰). This was noted in the

Vienna-Leipzig, 1920, p. 26; on Walther's engagement in Vienna (1 February 1780 to Easter 1782) cf. Michtner, loc. cit., pp. 79f.

²⁰ Regarding her first appearance, Fürst Khevenhüller recorded that she, "a local schoolmaster's daughter who has adopted the Italian name la Cavallieri and furthermore possesses a very strong chest voice, appeared on stage to plentiful and deserved applause".

Wiener Diarium of 25 February 1778 as a remarkable event; Cavalieri was obliged to "appear on stage at the end of the performance [it was the last staging of the *Bergknappen* that season] and receive from the audience the general applause", to which she responded with a grateful compliment. Her series of Mozart roles in Vienna indicate the capacities and development of a voice which in 1781/82, at the peak of its virtuosity and volume, had inspired and mastered the successive numbers 10 and 11 in the *Entführung*: Konstanze (16 July 1782), Demoiselle Silberklang (7 January 1786), Donna Elvira (7 May 1788), Contessa (29 August 1789). Mozart had also envisaged her as Bettina in *Lo sposo deluso*, and he composed for her the aria "Fra l'oscure ombre funeste" in *Davidde penitente* KV 469/No. 8 as well as the inserted scene KV 540^c of the Vienna *Don Giovanni*.

Therese Teyber (Teuber) (1760—1830), the same age as Cavalieri, first met Mozart as a child in Vienna in Autumn 1767. She was a pupil of Vittoria Tesi; prior to her engagement in Vienna, she had been engaged at the Esterhazy Court as coloratura soubrette, young lover and naive girl in Spring 1778 (at 33 fl., 20 Kr. per month)²¹. Her debut in Vienna — as Fiametta (alongside Cavalieri) in the Singspiel *Frühling und Liebe* [*Spring and Love*] (text by Johann Friedrich Schmidt, music by Maximilian Ulbrich) — was followed by roles such as Fatime in Grétry's *Zemire und Azor* (1779/80, alongside Aloisia Weber); as Balkis in Gluck's *Die Pilgrime von Mekka* she portrayed (from 26 July 1780) a role very close to that of Blonde.

Johann Ignaz Ludwig Fischer (1745—1825), a pupil of Anton Raaff, made his debut in Vienna (13 June 1780) as Don Gonzales in Goethe's Singspiel *Claudine von Villa Bella*, which — with music by Ignaz von Beecke — was "a complete failure and was taken off after the second performance"²²; but Fischer attracted much attention as an "exceptional bass voice, singing

Cf. *Aus der Zeit Maria Theresias. Tagebuch des Fürsten Johann Josef Khevenhüller-Metsch*, Band VIII, ed. Maria Breunlich-Pawlik and Hans Wagner, Vienna, 1972 (= *Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für neuere Geschichte Österreichs*, vol. 56), p. 75. Also: Gerhard Croll, *Zwei zeitgenössische Berichte XI; aus Wien aus der Zeit von Maria Theresia bis zu Kaiser Franz*, in: *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 30 (1975), pp. 374f.; Alexander Weinmann, *Eine Italienerin aus Währing*, in: *Wiener Figaro* 48 (1981), p. 22.

²¹ Michtner, loc. cit., pp. 41f. passim.

²² Michtner, loc. cit., p. 83.

the lowest notes with a fullness, ease and pleasantness which one otherwise only encounters in good tenors” and was already being celebrated as “Germany’s leading bass”²³. Mozart had probably been impressed above all by his Turkish roles in Gluck’s *Pilgrims* (Calender) and (as Kaleb) in the *Sklavenhändler von Smyrna*, but then additionally by Fischer as the Scythian King Thoas in Gluck’s “German Iphigenie” (Autumn 1781)²⁴. With Fischer as Osmin, Mozart made use of both his “exceptional bass voice” and the fact that “he has the audience here completely on his side”²⁵. The “inappropriate ornamentation” later criticised in Fischer’s performance — particularly in Sarastro’s “In diesen heil’gen Hallen” — would certainly not have occurred in the role of Osmin, which was ‘made-to-measure’ for Fischer (and performed in the presence of the composer)²⁶.

Johann Valentin Adamberger (1743—1804), pupil of Giovanni Valesi (Johann Evangelist Wallishäuser) and debutant at the Teatro S. Benedetto in Venice, was well-known to Mozart as the singer of the Gran Sacerdote di Nettuno in the Munich *Idomeneo*²⁷. As a result, Mozart could immediately say on composing the aria for Belmonte (No. 4), in the letter of 26 September 1781, that this was “absolutely written for Adamberger’s voice”. In Vienna, Adamberger appeared for the first time — alongside Fischer, Therese Teyber and Joseph Walther — in Anfossi’s opera buffa *L’incognita perseguitata* (in German *Die verfolgte Unbekannte* [*The Persecuted Stranger*], 21 August 1780). Adamberger combined the highest artistry in Belcanto with “soul and feeling” (Sonnenfels) and

good diction (Gebler)²⁸. In Singspiel at least he was inferior as an actor to Fischer: “*Fischer joua bien. Adamberger est une statue*” [“*Fischer played well, Adamberger is a statue*”] was Zinzendorf’s judgement after the fourth performance of the *Entführung*²⁹.

Josef Ernst Dauer (1746—1812), a buffo tenor also employed as an actor, had his Vienna debut in a major role on 28 November 1779 in Monsigny’s Singspiel *Der Deserteur* [*The Deserter*], translated by Stephanie (the younger)³⁰. He soon belonged to the darlings of the Vienna public in the German repertoire, but was also involved in the success of Paisiello’s opera buffa *I filosofi immaginari* (German by Stephanie (the younger), première on 22 May 1781).

“Turkish Musik”

The earliest statements of Mozart’s, besides the cast list in the first “*Entführung* letter” (1 August 1781), about the music to be composed relate to ideas which he particularly had on his heart from the very beginning and which must have been important in his plans for the desired success: the “Turkish music”. “*I want to create the symphony, the chorus in the first act and the final chorus with Turkish music.*” It is noticeable that the fourth number, adopted by Mozart directly from Bretzner’s text and composed with “Turkish music”, the duet Pedrillo / Osmin, “*Vivat Bacchus! Bacchus lebe!*” [“*Vivat Bacchus! Long live Bacchus!*”] (No. 14), is not (yet) mentioned here. On the other hand, Mozart set the “final chorus” mentioned here not in the textual form found in Bretzner but — as a closing number with new text (“*Bassa Selim lebe lange!*”, [“*May Bassa Selim live long!*”] No. 21b) — indeed with precisely this “Turkish music”.

The phrase “Turkish music”, to be repeated several times in Mozart’s correspondence concerning the *Entführung*, is also found in the score that Mozart wrote out. It always refers to use at these points of the instruments triangle,

²³ For opinions on Fischer as singer and actor cf. the quotations in NMA II/7: *Arias • Volume 3* (Stefan Kunze), pp. XVII f., and in Michtner, loc. cit., p. 446 and p. 82 passim.

²⁴ Fischer’s portrayal of Thoas led Mozart to the idea of including in his early plan of re-working *Idomeneo* (Vienna 1781) a re-written “*role of Idoméné [...] for Fischer in the bass*”. Cf. the letter of 12 September 1781 to his father (Bauer-Deutsch III, no. 624), NMA II/5/11: *Idomeneo* (Daniel Hertz), Series-volume 1, p. XXI, and the section *Genesis of the Composition* below.

²⁵ The Salzburg Archbishop Colloredo was however of the opinion that Fischer “*sings too deep for a bass*”, upon which Mozart mockingly assured him “*he will sing higher the next time*”. Cf. Bauer-Deutsch III, no. 629 (26 September 1781).

²⁶ Cf. the section below, *Performance Practice / 4. Ornamentation and Appoggiaturas*.

²⁷ Cf. NMA II/5/11 (Daniel Hertz), Volume 1 of 2, p. XXI.

²⁸ Cf. opinions about Adamberger in NMA II/5/3 (Stefan Kunze), p. XVII, and in Michtner, loc. cit., p. 445 and p. 56 passim (especially pp. 88—90).

²⁹ *Zinzendorf-Tagebuch*, 30 July 1782; cf. Michtner, loc. cit., p. 380, footnote 32.

³⁰ Cf. Michtner, loc. cit., p. 63 passim. For a characterisation of Dauer as a performer cf. the *Galerie von Deutschen Schauspielern und Schauspielerinnen nebst Johann Friedrich Schinks Zusätzen und Berichtigungen*, ed. Richard Maria Werner (= *Schriften der Gesellschaft für Theatergeschichte*, vol. 13), Berlin, 1910, pp. 36 and 197.

cymbal and Bass Drum. Due to lack of space — because he “*could not get paper with so many lines*” — Mozart notated these instruments and also (with them or separately) “*the trumpets and timpani, flutes, clarinet [...] on a separate piece of paper*” (letter of 20 July 1782). At the same time, Mozart’s references to “Turkish music” are naturally also intended for the copyist, not only for the writing out of the parts, but also for the copying of the complete score. This becomes particularly clear in the chorus of the Janissaries in the first act (no. 5b). Alongside a note placed above the top staff for the score copyist

— *NB* [= additionally] *Oboe and Clarinets 2 lines* — we find in Mozart’s own hand *and Turkish music*. It is strange that Mozart here does not specifically mention the timpani, likewise missing from his score (or omitted for reasons of space). He did write out the timpani part along with with the three separately notated “Turkish” instruments (triangoli, piatti, tamburo grande or tamburo turco) on a (fourth) staff system on its own. Did he then also mean timpani when referring to “Turkish music” this time or did he forget to mention them specifically? The latter solution — the answer is not without importance, as will become clear — is supported by the fact that Mozart’s use of the direction “Turkish music” elsewhere — in No. 14 (by mm. 58/59), No. 21a (by mm. 75) and No. 21b (by m. 120 = 1) — always means only triangle + cymbals + Turkish drum. These three instruments — and only these — are intended when Mozart speaks of “*Turkish music*”. This made quite clear by Mozart’s remarks on the Overture in the letters to his father. On 1 August 1781 he writes: “*the symphony [...] will be written with Turkish music*”; on 26 September 1781: the “*Overture [...] is quite short, alternating constantly between forte and piano; during the forte, the Turkish music is brought in*”.

One cannot help noticing that two “Turkish” numbers in the *Entführung* have not been mentioned: the *Allegro assai* “*Erst geköpft, dann gehangen [First beheaded, then hanged]*” in Osmin’s aria “*Solche hergelaufne Laffen [such stray popinjays]*” (No. 3) and the March of the Janissaries No. 5a. Both pieces have, as they have come down to us, in fact no “Turkish music” in the sense used above: in No. 3 the triangle is missing; of the instruments of the “Turkish music”, No. 5a uses only the *tamburo grande* (“Turkish drum”), and in the Janissaries March we hear alongside that — the only time in the entire *Entführung* — a “German Drum”. Both cases require clarification.

In No. 3 we believe we can detect a — perhaps even double — contradiction in Mozart’s terminology. The first concerns the term “Turkish music” and its application. In the very detailed depiction of this “aria” in his correspondence, Mozart says in his letter of 26 September 1781 that “*the wrath of Osmin*” is “*rendered comical because the Turkish music [!] is employed there*”. The reference is to “the end” of the aria, i.e. the *Allegro assai* (“*Erst geköpft, dann gehangen*”). In the score, cymbal and tamburo grande join in — but no triangle. And, almost as a doubling-back of the contradiction on itself (or as its cancellation?), Mozart calls for and notates on separate leaves, in his literal quotation in No. 21a from the *Allegro assai* of No. 3, the “Turkish music” with triangle. In the light of that, one would wish to plead for employing the complete “Turkish music” in No. 3 as well, suspecting that a separately notated triangle part has been lost.

The situation in the March of the Janissaries (No. 5a) is different. The unique make-up of the percussion — as has already been emphasised — in the *Entführung*, or in fact of the whole orchestra³¹, causes this piece to show up in a special light. It was probably the last piece Mozart added — during the rehearsals or even later. Here the question has to be raised of whether the March was a new composition or whether Mozart made use of an older piece (from Salzburg days). For another “Turkish” number in the *Entführung* we know from Mozart’s own words — which present us with puzzles enough — that the latter was the case. It is possible that the March of the Janissaries belonged to this earlier piece. The piece in question is the “*Saufduett [Drinking Duet]*” (No. 14). Regarding this, Mozart writes in a letter to his father of 26 September 1781: “[...] *the Drinking Duet |: per li Sig.^{ri} vieneri :| which consists of nothing more than my Turkish military tattoo [“Zapfenstreich”] is already finished [...]*”. Yet “*nothing is known*”³² of a composition by Mozart with the title “Turkish military tattoo” or the like. But that is hardly reason enough to doubt Mozart’s statement. It must have been, in view of the

³¹ It is worth mentioning as a curiosity that precisely this “*principal instrument of the Turkish military band*” (Henry George Farmer, *Turkish Instruments of Music in the Seventeenth Century*, in: *Collection of Oriental Writers on Music III*, Glasgow, 1937, p. 23), the oboe (“*zürnā*”), does not appear in Mozart’s March of the Janissaries, otherwise so richly provided with woodwind.

³² Eibl VI, p. 87, on no. 629/71—72. In the Köchel Catalogue there is no reference of any kind.

assumption in the letter that Leopold Mozart would be familiar with this (from our point of view lost) Turkish composition, a composition from the Salzburg period, a purely instrumental piece in precisely the form of a “Turkish military tattoo”. An essential feature of any “*Zapfenstreich*” — in keeping with a tradition going back to the 17th century — is a preceding march³³. We have Mozart’s Turkish “*Zapfenstreich*” before our eyes — in his own words — in the “Drinking Duet”³⁴. On the other hand, no Turkish march for orchestra has been discovered. Looking at the March No. 5a, we now have to ask ourselves whether we do not have the march belonging to Mozart’s Turkish “*Zapfenstreich*” before us³⁵.

*

There can be no doubt that Mozart wanted the triangle part to be played on more than one instrument³⁶, probably by two, perhaps of different sizes. It cannot be ascertained that triangles with rings hung around them were used in Vienna at that time, as can be shown to be the case “*up to the end of the 18th century*”³⁷.

³³ Evidence of the liveliness of this tradition in Vienna is provided by a *Türkischer Marsch und Zapfenstreich*, dating probably from the end of 1789, preserved anonymously (in a Lausch copy) for harpsichord (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, signum: S.m. 12993).

³⁴ The “*Zapfenstreich*” proper must be imagined as the sections of the duet provided with the “Turkish music”, i.e. mm. 1—20 and then the conclusion after the fermata in the vocal parts (m. 58).

³⁵ It is to be noted that Mozart, in his letter of 26 September 1781, reminds his father about a march which “*cannot be identified*” (Eibl VI, p. 87, on 629/83) and about which we cannot be sure “*whether it belongs to the 'Entführung' at all*” (information by letter from Prof. Dr. Joseph Heinz Eibl, Eichenau/Obb., 6 September 1981).

³⁶ The very first note for the copyist on the first page of the Overture contains the word *triangoli* (cf. facsimile, p. XXXVII); Mozart himself used, beside the German form *Triangel* — which can equally be singular or plural, also the unambiguous term *triangoli*. Cf. facsimile, p. XL, and in individual cases the Kritischer Bericht. In the accounts of the Court Theatre for 1781/82 (Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Vienna, Abteilung Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, signum: Hoftheater S.R. 18), we read on p. 66 of the procuring of “3 [!] *Dreyangel*” in this season. The occasion may well have been the performance of Gluck’s *Iphigenie auf Tauris*; cf. the section *Genesis of the Composition* below.

³⁷ Cf. Julius Schlosser, *Die Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente in Wien. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis*, Vienna, 1920, p. 94, Nos. C 270 and 271. Here he describes a pair of triangles from the Vienna collection fitted with three and five rings respectively hung on the bar.

Once again calling into question common performance practice up to today, the editor is of the opinion — again based on Mozart’s own directions and notation — that the *piatti*³⁸ (cymbals) part can and should be performed. It is no coincidence that Mozart notates the *piatti* in the Overture and in the numbers 5b, 14 and 21b at the pitch g”, but in the numbers 3 and 21a as e”. He thus consistently notates the cymbals at the fifth above the relevant tonic (C major and A minor respectively). It seemed inappropriate to us to unify the pitch (g” everywhere, as has been the case in all editions since the AMA). Pairs of cymbals of different dimensions and “tone color” are known and also available today³⁹. Even if one does not accept that Mozart’s notation is proof that cymbals of different sizes, of higher and lower pitch or brighter and darker timbres were available or were used, his notation does make it quite clear that he had particular sounds in mind, with brighter or darker sounding cymbals which corresponded to the sphere of the dominant in the relevant keys.

The *tamburo grande* (oder *tamburo turco* = “Turkish drum”) is always notated “in two voices” by Mozart. The downwards stems refer to the right hand, the upwards stems the left hand. Mozart is not always consistent with the corresponding rests. The rests added by the editor (including — departing from normal NMA practice — whole-note rests) are made recognisable by being in small print. For the characteristic clear marking of the measure in the “Turkish music” using the *tamburo turco* (“*dāwul*”, from the Arabic “*tabl*”/drum), military musicians at several European courts have used, since the end of the 17th century, captured original Turkish instruments. These are distinguished by their very high sides and, in comparison, a relatively small diameter — they are markedly cylindrical. The right hand beats with an (unmuted) baton, the left hand, keeping to the edge of the skin, uses a light stick⁴⁰. A foreign body in this group of Turkish percussion

³⁸ Mozart always writes *piatti*; the scribe of the Berlin copy of the score (cf. the section *Sources* below) names them in No. 5a *Teller* [plates].

³⁹ Cf. the illustration of a pair of cymbals (“*zil*”) from an original Turkish military band in Farmer, op. cit., p. 47, and description on p. 9.

⁴⁰ One should compare the illustration of a Turkish drum of this kind in Farmer, op. cit., p. 47. Here the sturdy baton with the heavy head for the right hand as well as the (single!) thin stick for the left hand are visible; the relevant description is on pp. 17f.

instruments, standing out alone by its name, the Deutsche Trommel [German drum] in the March No. 5a. is conspicuous. This bright and sharp sounding instrument, with low sides and snares, was particularly popular with the Prussian military from the beginning of the 18th century onwards. An instrument of this kind would certainly have been amongst those used by the “*Banda von der Artillerie* [Artillery Band]”, employed expressly for the 1782 performances of the *Entführung* in Vienna⁴¹. As far as we know, it was only in the *Entführung* that Mozart notated the instrument he called *Flauto piccolo* in G. Here he apparently adopted the local practice as he encountered it in Vienna in, for example, Gluck’s Singspiel *Die unvermutete Zusammenkunft, oder Die Pilgrime von Mekka* — from Summer 1780 onwards once again in the repertory of the “National Theatre by the Fortress”.⁴² In the *Entführung*, the total range of the Flauto piccolo in Mozart’s notation is c’—f’’, about two-and-a-half octaves. In the individual numbers, the following picture emerges:

Overture f’—f’’

No. 3 (mm. 147f.), 21a (mm. 74f.) a’—a’’

No. 5b g’—f’’

No. 14 c’—g’’

No. 19 g’—d’’

No. 21b f’—f’’

This part can only be performed on a Flageolet, sounding (tuned in G) a twelfth higher. A whistle-mouthpiece flute of this kind — it has a wider bore than the recorder and conveys (like the latter) the impression of sounding an octave lower than in reality, but less penetratingly sharp in tone than the small transverse flute — could produce the c’ demanded (only in No. 14) (sounding g’’) using a special fingering, unless the player had a lower-pitched instrument available.⁴³ In the *Entführung*

⁴¹ Cf. the section *Rehearsals and First Performances in Vienna* below, and also *Remarks on Individual Numbers* (on Act I / Scene 6).

⁴² Cf. here also the section *Commission, “Book” and Cast* above as well as footnote 17.

⁴³ The note c’ (sounding g’’) on a Flageolet in G was “realised by covering all six holes and simultaneously inserting little finger of the right hand half-way into the sound-hole”, a fingering that was “perfectly normal”. Cf. Lenz Meierott, *Der “flauto piccolo” in Mozarts “Ent-XV; führung aus dem Serail”*, in: *Acta Mozartiana XII* (1965), Issue 4, pp. 83f. (Flageolet instruments in various tunings — d, f, g, a — can be seen in the Musée du Conservatoire Paris, Nr. C 377 = E 497, cf. illustration in Meierott, op. cit., p. 80); id., *Die geschichtliche Entwicklung der kleinen Flötentypen und ihre Verwendung in der Musik des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (= *Würzburger Musikhistorische Beiträge* 4), Tutzing, 1974.

Mozart adapted himself, as mentioned, to the circumstances or musical fashions in Vienna; he did likewise with the Six German Dances composed in Prague at the beginning of 1787, where he remarked, in ignorance of the high flute family instruments available there: *NB since I do not know what kind of instrument a flauto piccolo is here, I have set it in the natural tone, which is always easy to transpose. Mozart mpr.*⁴⁴

In the conviction that a transverse instrument corresponding to the “*today generally employed (small transverse flute) in C*” was intended, the AMA notated the part in the *Entführung* a fourth lower (sounding an octave higher) to make it usable for the modern Flauto piccolo instrument. One was then however confronted — above all in No. 14 — with “*low tones lying completely outside its range*” and was forced to depart from this principle of the apparently “*simple transcription*”. Finally, one bowed “*to the experience of the conductors*” and used the same procedure (of departing from the principle) “*in other passages as well*”, adding the “*the original notation of the small flute in G in the Appendix [...]*”.⁴⁵ The NMA chooses instead to adopt Mozart’s original notation in the main music text of the score. The remarks above — supported by the relevant specialist literature quoted — have the express intention of encouraging a reviving of the sound originally envisaged by Mozart in employing the Flauto piccolo in the *Entführung*.

Genesis of the Composition

On 29 May 1782, exactly ten months after beginning work, Mozart communicated to Salzburg that he would “*tomorrow give Countess Thun a demonstration of how to ride Act III*”, and that he had “*nothing except oppressive labour, namely corrections. On the coming Monday we have the first rehearsal. I am really looking forward to this opera, I have to admit to you*”. For none of the theatre works with dimensions similar to the *Entführung* was there such a long passage of time between beginning and end of the work; one can detect from Mozart’s words not only joyful looking forward but also relief over finishing the opera. It was due to external and

⁴⁴ Köchel-Verzeichnis, Wiesbaden, 6/1964, p. 569. — The notation in the “natural tone” (C) used by Mozart in KV 509, suitable for every kind of transposition, was obviously also used when the parts were copied out for the *Entführung*; cf. the *Kritischer Bericht*.

⁴⁵ AMA, Revisionsbericht zu Serie V, *Opern und Ballettmusiken*, no. 15, p. 74.

personal factors that the work, initially started under extreme time pressure and therefore driven on forcefully, soon stagnated and was drawn out over such a long period. Here are the details from Mozart's letter regarding the completion or "riding demonstration" of the three acts:

30 July 1781: beginning of the work (letter of 1 August 1781)

22 August 1781: "*the first act of the opera is now finished.*"

7 May 1782: Mozart gives Countess Thun the "*riding demonstration of Act II*" (letter of 8 May 1782)

30 Mai 1782: Mozart plays "Act III" for Countess Thun (letter of 29 May 1782)

Along with the commission and "book", Stephanie had also given Mozart the intended date of the performance: "*it should be performed in the middle of September [...] the Grand Prince of Russia will be here; and Stephanie asked me, if possible, to write the opera in this short time.*" The prospect of the première being attended by the Emperor and his guests from Russia — Grand Prince Paul Petrowitch, later Czar Paul I with his wife — "*and all kinds of other reasons*" raised Mozart's spirits so much that, as he writes, he "*hurries with the greatest desire*" to his writing desk "*and remains seated there with the greatest joy*" (letter of 1 August 1781).

The first numbers (according to a letter of 6 October 1781) "*the aria in A for Adamberger* [No. 4, "*O wie ängstlich, o wie feurig klopft mein liebevolles Herz!*" with recitative "*Konstanze! dich wiederzusehen!*"], that for Cavallieri in B^b [No. 6, "*Ach ich liebte, war so glücklich!*"], and the trio [No. 7, "*Marsch, marsch, marsch! trollt euch fort!*"] were composed in one day — and written in one-and-a-half days"; on 1 August, i.e. after three days, roughly half of Act I was already complete. At midday on 8 August, Mozart wrote to Salzburg that he had "*at this moment just finished the Chorus of the Janissaries [...], Adamberger, Cavallieri and Fischer*" are "*uncommonly satisfied with their arias*"; similarly impressed was also Countess Thun, to who he had played the already completed sections on the previous day. So after ten days — in chronological order of their genesis — the numbers 4, 6, 7, 2 and 5b were ready. That meant that Mozart had set all the sung texts in Bretzner's first act and was probably already busy on the Overture, for in the first "*Entführung* letter" we read that he wanted "*to make the Symphony with Turkish music*". The creative impulse expressed here and Mozart's first detailed description of the

Overture (cited below in context) allow the conclusion that Mozart had initially envisaged only the first *Presto* section (up to m. 118) as the introduction, and one could easily imagine that this had already taken shape in the first energetic phase of the composition.⁴⁶ If Mozart had continued pushing the work on at this almost unimaginable pace, the first performance of the *Entführung* would indeed have been possible in the middle of September 1781. But in Vienna it was already generally known—Mozart mentions it for the first time on 29 August—that "*the Grand Prince of Russia* [would not come] *until November*". Mozart was "*very happy*" about this, because he could now write his "*opera with more reflection*"; "*I do not wish it performed before All Saints' Day—for that is the best time—everyone comes back from the country then*". If Mozart was still speculating on a performance in honour of the Russian guest, it was now becoming clear however that other instructions had been issued: as early as 31 July⁴⁷, Emperor Joseph II had written to Count Rosenberg from Versailles asking him to prepare the best comedies and operas to be performed for the visitors from Russia — now delayed until November — with Gluck's *Iphigenie auf Tauris* (German version)⁴⁸, accompanied by *Alceste* (Italian) at the top of the list. During the first half of September, there were already "*rehearsals over rehearsals in the theatre*", in which Mozart participated energetically. The recruiting of a ballet troupe (led by Antoine Crux, brought from Munich) and the impressions from the rehearsals led Mozart to consider having his Munich *Idomeneo* likewise translated into German and revised—perhaps he was "*thinking of competing with Gluck*".⁴⁹ He was forced to concede, however, that Johann Baptist Alxinger (the translator of *Iphigenie*) and Bernasconi, Adamberger and Fischer were over-

⁴⁶ Cf. below the quotation from the letter of 26 September 1781. — There is no doubt that the final form of the Overture presupposes the existence of Belmonte's "little arietta" (No. 1), which in turn — besides No. 3 — was the last of the vocal numbers in Act I to take shape; cf. below.

⁴⁷ The date given by Michtner, op. cit., p. 106 and p. 376, footnote 18, of "31 August 1781" results from an mistake (information generously supplied by Prof. Dr. Joseph Heinz Eibl, Eichenau/Obb.).

⁴⁸ The French version was included by Marie Antoinette in a program of an *Assemblée* for her brother in the Trianon.

⁴⁹ NMA II/5/11 (Daniel Hertz), Series-volume 1, pp. XXI f., especially p. XXII; cf. also footnote 24 above.

worked and “*a third opera would be too much anyway*”.

In this context, there is no talk of the *Entführung*; we first hear of it again in the letter dated 26 September 1781, which is concerned almost entirely with this work:

“[...] — the opera had begun with a monolog, and I asked Herr Stephanie to make a short arietta out of it — and, after Osmin’s little song, instead of just leaving the two chattering, it should become a duet. — As we had been planning the role of Osmin for Herr Fischer, who has an excellent bass voice, |: notwithstanding that the Archbishop said to me that he sings too low for a bass, and I assured him he would sing higher the next time — :| it is essential to make use of such a man, particularly because he has the local audience completely behind him. — But this Osmin had in the original little book only one song to sing, and otherwise nothing, apart from the trio and finale. So this man has been given an aria in the first act, and will also have one in the second. — I have entrusted the aria completely to Herr Stephanie; — and the bulk of the music was finished before Stephanie knew a word of it. — You have only the beginning of it, and the end, which have to have a strong effect — the wrath of Osmin is rendered comical by the entry of the Turkish music. — In the shaping of the aria I have allowed his beautiful low notes |: despite the Midas of Salzburg :| to shine through. — The *Drum beyrn Barte des Propheten etc.*: is indeed in a comfortable tempo, but with rapid notes — and since his wrath swells, the *allegro assai* — where one thinks that the aria has already ended — must make the best possible effect, in a completely different tempo and another key; for a man with such hefty wrath in him oversteps all order, measure and purpose, he no longer knows himself — in the same way, the music must cease to know itself — but the passions, hefty or not, must never be expressed to the point of revulsion, and the music, even in the most spine-chilling extreme, must never offend the ear, but must remain pleasing, in consequence must remain music, so I did not select a key foreign to F |: to the key of the aria :| but a friendly one, not the closest, D minor, but the more distant A minor. — Now Bellmonte’s aria in A major, O wie ängstlich, o wie feurig [*Oh how timid, oh how fiery*], you know how it is expressed — the beating, loving heart is already outlined — the 2 violins in octaves. — It is the favorite aria of all who have heard it — my favorite as well. — and is written completely for the voice of Adamberger. One sees

the trembling — wavering — how the swelling breast rises — which is expressed via a crescendo — one hears the lisping and sighing — which is expressed by the muted first violins with a flute in unison. —

The Chorus of Janissaries is everything one could want in a Chorus of Janissaries. — short and amusing; — and written completely for the Viennese. — I have sacrificed Konstanze’s aria a little to the agile throat of Mad.^{selle} Cavallieri. — *Trennung was mein banges loos. Und nun schwimmt mein aug in Thränen* [*Parting was my sorry lot. And now my eye swims in tears*] — is what I tried, as far as an Italian bravura aria permits, to express. — I have changed the ‘hui’ to ‘schnell’ [*fast*] thus: *doch wie schnell schwand meine freude etc.*: [*Yet so fast fled my joy etc.*] I do not know what our German poets are thinking about; — if they do not understand the theatre, as far as opera is concerned — then they should at least not have people speaking as if they were in the presence of pigs. — phew hui; —

Now the trio, namely the close of the first act. — Pedrillo has led people to believe that his master is a builder, so that he has an opportunity to meet his Konstanze in the garden. Bassa has taken him into service; — Osmin as supervisor, and who therefore knows nothing, is, as a coarse lout and arch-enemy of all outsiders, impertinent and will not let them into the garden. The original form of this is very short — and because the text provides grounds, I have set it pretty well for three voices. But then the great pianissimo starts immediately — which has to go very fast — and the close will really make a lot of noise — and that is of course all that belongs the close of an act — the more noise, the better — the shorter, the better — so that the people do not cool off with their applause. —

Of the Overture, you have received only 14 measures. — It is really short — alternating constantly between *forte* and *piano*, and with the *forte* the Turkish music always comes in. — It goes its way, modulating through the keys — and I believe that no-one will be able to sleep through it, even if he hasn’t slept the whole night before. — Now I am all on hot coals — the first act has been ready for over 3 weeks — an aria in the second act and the Drinking Duet |: per li Sig.^{ri} vieneri :| which consists of nothing more than my Turkish Tattoo :| is already finished; — But I cannot do anything more on that — because the whole business is being knocked around — and this according to my wishes. — At the beginning

of the third act there is a charming quintet or rather a finale — but I would prefer to have it at the end of the second act. To enable this, a major change, yes, a whole new intrigue has to be brought about — and Stephanie is up to his neck in work, one will have to have a little patience. -”

Shortly before, Mozart had sent his father a heavy consignment of music, attempting to give him “*an idea of the first act*”. He also sent him separately, with a copy of part of the text — as “a little foretaste of the opera” — the cast-list of characters and actors;⁵⁰ there “*H: Jautz*” is now named as Bassa Selim, “*an actor*”, who has “*nothing to sing*”.

Between the completion of the first act (22 August 1781) and 26 September, only “*an aria* [probably No. 8] [...] *and the Drinking Duet* /: *per li Sig: vieneri* :/” [No. 14] of the second act had been finished. The rate of work had slowed, now it was almost at a stand-still. Beside the external circumstances described, personal factors also played a role in this; the composer intervened increasingly in the shaping of the text. In act one, Bretzner’s text had remained largely untouched, with the exception of the text of the “*little arietta*” (No. 1), extracted by Stephanie at Mozart’s wish from Bretzner’s first Belmonte monolog, and Osmin’s “*new*” aria (No. 3), which Mozart himself had “*completely entrusted to Herr Stephanie*” But now, in Act II, Mozart intervened more emphatically. Fascinated by Bretzner’s textual handling of the *abduction* itself in Act III — Mozart called the whole thing “*a charming quintet or rather a finale*” — he wanted the abduction scene “*preferably at the end of the second act*” and demanded in its place “*a complete new intrigue*” to fill out the third act, which had now lost its proper plot. The next weeks and months showed that even an experienced stage practitioner such as Stephanie could not fulfil this demand. Mozart, who began to compose the abduction scene in the manner of an opera buffa finale,⁵¹ soon lost, as recorded in

⁵⁰ Cf. Bauer-Deutsch III, nos. 626 and 627 as well as the autograph fragment of the text; on this, see the section *Sources* below and the *Kritischer Bericht*. From the description of the first act in Mozart’s letter of 26 September 1781, it is clear that amongst the (unfortunately lost) music in the “*idea*” consignment were the beginning and end of No. 3 (“*Solche hergelauf’ne Laffen*” and “*Erst geköpft, dann gehangen*”) and “14 measures” of the Overture (without doubt measures 1-14 of the Presto).

⁵¹ KV 389 (KV 6: 384 A): cf. Appendix II/2, pp. 436-411, and Gerhard Croll, *Die Entführung in Mozarts*

the letter of 6 October, his “*patience through not being able to continue writing the opera. — Of course I write other things in the meantime — however — the passion is there at least — and that for which I would otherwise need 14 days now only takes 4 days.*”⁵² A whole month later, on 3 November, Stephanie “*finally [had] something ready*”, but it was not until 17 November 1781 that Mozart could report to his father that he had “*at last received something to work on for the opera again*”. We hear nothing more until 30 Januar 1782, and then only “*the opera has not gone to sleep, but has been neglected because of the big Gluck operas and because of many necessary changes in the poetry.*” The expectation voiced after this excuse, that the opera would however “*be put on immediately after Easter*”, was similarly not to be fulfilled. The “*necessary changes in the poetry*” referred primarily to the second act. In Bretzner’s text, there is no meeting between Bassa and Konstanze, nor is there the solo scene for Bassa. Of the nine sung numbers in Stephanie’s (and Mozart’s) version, only four originated in Bretzner (Nos. 8, 10, 13 and 14). Completely new were the texts for the Torment Aria (No. 11), Blonde’s aria “*Welche Wonne, welche Lust*” [“*What bliss, what joy*”] (No. 12) and the recitative connecting Blonde’s monolog and Konstanze’s “*Sadness*” Aria (No. 10). On the other hand, the texts for numbers 9, 15 and 16 arose, at least partially, from Bretzner’s dialogs.

The departures from Bretzner’s “*book*” were even greater in Act III. Of Stephanie’s and Mozart’s five sung pieces, only the Romance (No. 18) (the title used by Bretzner as well) was taken over literally. Ideas of Bretzner’s can be identified in the duet for Konstanze and Belmonte (No. 20). Here the recitative — as in No. 10 — is a new addition. Textually, there is much of Bretzner in the scene given such a prominent place by Stephanie and Mozart, Osmin’s solo scene “*O, wie will ich triumphieren, wenn sie euch zum Richtplatz führen*” [“*How I will triumph when they lead you to the place of execution*”] (No. 19). Let us compare this text with the following lines from the ensemble at the end of the abduction scene in Bretzner’s text:

OSMIN

“*Entführung*”, in: *Salzburger Festspiele 1981. Offizielles Programm*, pp. 73-79.

⁵² In that period he wrote the *Serenade in E^b* KV 375 (a 6); cf. NMA VII/17: *Divertimenti and Serenades for Wind Instruments • Volume 2* (Daniel N. Leeson and Neal Zaslaw), p. IX f.

O how I will triumph!

PEDRILLO

I want to capitulate.

Ah, they are going to strangle me!

OSMIN and GUARD

This is no place for expostulations,
you are going to cut a dainty figure.

Comprehensive reshaping and changes affect the end. First there is the dénouement. Bassa, who in Bretzner recognises in Belmonte his own son, now forgives — in the spirit of Lessing — the son of his arch-enemy and enjoins him to proclaim “*it would be a much greater pleasure to repay with good deeds an evil suffered than to eradicate vice with vice.*”

The Vaudeville (No. 21a) and Chorus of the Janissaries (No. 21b) are likewise new and take the place of the final chorus in Bretzner which Mozart had apparently initially retained with the intention of “*setting it with Turkish music*”:

Oft wölkt stürmisch sich der Himmel,
Nacht und grausendes Getümmel
zeigt sich schrecklich unserm Blick.
Doch ein Strahl der milden Sonne
kehrt den Jammer schnell in Wonne,
bringt die Freuden bald zurück.

[Often the heavens cloud over stormily,
night and horrifying turmoil
reveal themselves terrifyingly to our gaze.
But one ray from the gentle sun
Turns affliction at once to bliss,
bringing joy once again.]

If Bretzner’s weaknesses and limits become particularly clear here, it must nevertheless be recognised, comparing details and looking at the way Mozart’s score developed, that Bretzner’s “book” was an enormous inspiration.

Rehearsals and first Performances in Vienna

For the 1782/83 season, Stephanie, now “*by order of the Emperor sole director of opera performances*”,⁵³ had plans for half-a-dozen German and two German operas. He started with a German Singspiel and an Italian dramma giocoso. *Der blaue Schmetterling oder Sieg der Natur über die Schwärmerei* [*The Blue Butterfly or the Triumph of Nature over Fashion*] by Maximilian Ulbrich (première on 2 April 1782) was taken off after only three performances; Antonio Maria Gaspare Sacchini’s *La contadina in corte* [*The Country Girl at Court*], the first Italian opera buffa put on since 1778 — had, due to weaknesses

in the cast, little success. Afterwards there was a run of successful pieces from previous seasons, such as *Die Bergknappen* [*The Miners*], *Zemire und Azor* and *Die unvermutete Zusammenkunft, oder Die Pilgrime von Mekka* [*The Unexpected Meeting, or The Pilgrims of Mecca*].

On Monday 3 June 1782, rehearsals began for the *Entführung*. Because of an influenza epidemic, they were interrupted between 8 and 14 June and were dragged out until the dress rehearsal more than six weeks later. Theatre and orchestra were already familiar to Mozart before the beginning of rehearsals. “*Inside it is beautiful, but not big*” was a contemporary description of the Burgtheater.⁵⁴ This is confirmed by the dimensions of the stage: it measured 9•20 meters wide, 15 meters deep (with 8 meters backstage). The stage had something of the effect of a funnel, which, with the wooden construction of the house, resulted in an excellent acoustic, especially for the singers, who mainly stood, for technical reasons to do with the lighting, at the front of the stage. “*The orchestra consists of forty parts, all disciplined and accustomed to each other.*” This description from the year 1777⁵⁵ applies approximately to the 80s as well. Not counting substitutes, the permanent personnel of the orchestra were six in each of the violins, four violas, three violoncelli and double basses, two each of flutes, oboes, clarinets and bassoons, as well as two each of horns and trumpets and one percussionist. A special status was accorded to six woodwinds and two horns, who from Easter 1782 onwards were placed under a separate contract with the Emperor for the “*blown music*”,⁵⁶ a situation that Mozart soon — even during the first rehearsals for the *Entführung* — attempted to exploit for himself.

Despite a strong “*cabal*”, the première on Tuesday 16 July 1782⁵⁷ enjoyed a “*good*

⁵⁴ Johann Bernoulli, *Sammlung kurzer Reisebeschreibungen und anderer zur Erweiterung der Länder- und Menschenkenntnis dienender Nachrichten*, Vol. XIII, Berlin, 1784, p. 48. Cf. also Herta Singer, *Die Akustik des alten Burgtheaters*, in: *Maske und Kothurn IV* (Vienna, 1958), Issues 2 and 3, pp. (220)—229.

⁵⁵ Wilhelm Ludwig Wekherlin, *Denkwürdigkeiten von Wien. Aus dem Französischen übersetzt*, Vienna, 1777.

⁵⁶ Joseph II’s command of 24 April 1782 provided the “*8 individuals in question*”, as members of the Imperial “*Harmonie*”, 50 fl. more per annum than their position at the theatre brought in. Cf. Payer von Thurn, op. cit., p. 31.

⁵⁷ *Der Anschlagzettel des Burgtheaters* [The placards of the Burgtheatre] in: *Mozart. Die Dokumente seines Lebens* (= Dokumente), collected and elucidated by Otto Erich Deutsch (NMA X/34), Kassel etc., 1961, p. 178.

⁵³ Michtner, op. cit., p. 118.

reception”, as Mozart noted in a letter to his father on 20 July, one day after the second performance:

“I hope you have received my last letter safely⁵⁸, in which I reported the good reception afforded to my opera. — The second performance was given yesterday; — perhaps you had anticipated that there would be an even stronger cabal there yesterday than on the first evening? — The whole first act was hissed. — But that could not prevent the loud cries of *bravo* between the arias. — My hope was then the final trio — but there misfortune caused Fischer to lose the place — and as a result Dauer |: Pedrillo :| got lost — and Adamberger alone could not make up for everything that was missing — with that, the whole effect was lost, and this time it was not encored. — I was so enraged that I didn’t know myself, nor did Adamberger — and immediately said — that I would not let the opera go on without a short rehearsal before |: for the singers :|. — in the 2nd act, the two duets [No. 9 and No. 14] were, as on the first evening, encored, as was also Belmonte’s Rondeau, *Wenn der freude thränen fliessen* [*When tears of joy flow*]. — The theatre was almost fuller than the first time. — The day before there were no more enclosed seats to be had, neither in the noble parterre nor on the 3rd floor; and there were not even boxes free. The opera has brought in 1200 fl. in two days.”

Mozart’s remarks about the “cabal” and being “hissed” a whole act through for the first two performances indicate that an intrigue had been organised; it obviously soon ceased. But the unaccustomed and new in Mozart’s Singspiel may also have elicited displeasure in the audience. By the third performance — on St. Anna’s day (26 July), “in honour of all Nannerl’s” — there was, according to Mozart’s report of 27 July 1782, “applause for all [...] and the theatre was again, despite the terrible heat, bursting full. — On the coming Friday [2 August] it is to be staged again — but I have protested against that — for I do not wish it to be whipped to death. — The public, I can say, is quite crazy about this opera. — It does one good to receive such applause.” Despite his protest, the next performance took place as early as 30 July, and the fifth — as had been planned — immediately after Mozart’s wedding on 4 August,⁵⁹ on 6 August “at the request of Gluck”:

⁵⁸ Mozart’s report to his father concerning the première, written on or immediately after 16 July, is lost (Bauer-Deutsch III, no. 676).

⁵⁹ Regarding the date of the fifth performance — on 2 or 3 August — cf. *Dokumente. Addenda und Corrigenda*,

“*Gluck has paid me many compliments about it. Tomorrow I dine with him*”, as Mozart reported, not without pride, to Salzburg on 7 August. Only after the eleventh performance on 8 October, at last in the presence of the Russian Grand Prince,⁶⁰ was there a prolonged break. By the end of the season 1782/83, the *Entführung* had had in total fifteen performances.⁶¹ Mozart’s Singspiel, banned from the Burgtheater at the beginning of season 1783/84 and pushed aside by Italian opera, did not return there until 10 May 1786, nine days after the première of *Le nozze di Figaro*. In the meantime, the *Entführung* was for the Kärntnertheater and “also outside Vienna the greatest of Mozart’s theatre successes during his lifetime.”⁶²

In the accounts book of the Hoftheater for 1782/83, Mozart’s fee, the customary amount, is noted as follows: “*To Mozart Wolfgang for composing the music to the opera Die Entführung aus dem Serail. 100 Imperial Ducats gold ut N^o 166. 426 [fl] 40 [kr].*” Stephanie received “for reworking the Singspiel *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* 100.— [fl]”.⁶³

From the great number of opinions published or uttered in different places concerning the *Entführung*,⁶⁴ two are selected here. Different though they may be in terms of provenance and importance, they have nevertheless something in

collated by Joseph Heinz Eibl (NMA X/31/1), Kassel etc., 1978, p. 39.

⁶⁰ It was his second sojourn in Vienna (4 to 19 October 1782). Regarding the performance of 8 October cf. also the section *On the Possible Use of a Keyboard Instrument* below.

⁶¹ I.e. double as many as the successful older pieces already mentioned for this season: *Die Bergknappen* [*The Miners*] (6), *Zemire und Azor* (7) and *Die unvermutete Zusammenkunft, oder Die Pilgrime von Mekka* [*The Unexpected Meeting, or The Pilgrims of Mecca*] (7).

⁶² *Dokumente* (NMA X/34), p. 179. On the performance dates given there cf. The information in Michtner, op. cit. pp. 470 ff. and also Franz Hadamowsky, *Die Wiener Hoftheater (Staatstheater) 1776—1966*, Part 1, 1776—1810, Vienna, 1966 (= *Museion. Veröffentlichungen der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Neue Folge, 1. Reihe, Band 4), pp. 36 ff. A wide dissemination in the first three years after the Vienna première is at least suggested by a series of performance locations: Pragur, Warsaw, Bonn (1783); Mainz, Mannheim, Cologne, Weimar (1784); Salzburg, Bratislava, Rostock, Riga (1785).

⁶³ Austrian State Archive, Vienna, Department Household, Court and State Archiv, signature: *Hoftheater S.R. 19*; cf. *Dokumente* (NMA X/34), p. 179.

⁶⁴ *Dokumente* (NMA X/34), pp. 180f.; also *Addenda und Corrigenda* (NMA X/31/1), pp. 39f.

common as far as its impression and effect on contemporaries in one essential point is concerned, and both express this clearly. After attending the performance on 30 July 1782, Count Zinzendorf characterised the *Entführung* as “*opera, dont la musique est pillée de différentes autres*” [“*opera, whose music is plundered from various others*”].⁶⁵ This judgement — it was probably doing the rounds in Zinzendorf’s Viennese circle — points to, if one does not see it purely as an accusation of plagiarism, something essentially new. The *Entführung* was more than “just” a Singspiel. Elements of different theatrical genres, which in the opinion of contemporaries should remain separate, had been fused together by Mozart.⁶⁶ This was also broadly what Goethe meant, whose often-quoted utterance about the *Entführung*,⁶⁷ taken out of context, can be misunderstood. Goethe, who got to know the *Entführung* in detail in Weimar in Autumn 1785, was occupied in Rome in December 1787 with the aesthetics of the German Singspiel. The reasons for the failure of his own Singspiel, *Scherz, List und Rache* [*Jest, Ruse and Revenge*] — composed by Philipp Johann Kayser — he believed to have found, by comparing it to Mozart’s *Entführung*, in its having too few ensemble numbers with too few singers and in its being completely without choruses. “*All our efforts, therefore, to restrict ourselves to the simple and limited, were in vain once Mozart appeared. The Entführung aus dem Serail crushed everything before it, and there was no talk anymore in the theatre of our carefully prepared piece.*” Is it not possible to detect, behind resignation and disappointment over his own failure, Goethe’s admiration for the genius Mozart, who succeeded, in his music for the *Entführung*, in raising the genre “Singspiel” to a higher level?

Sources

In what follows, the text and music sources drawn on for this edition are detailed. A complete

⁶⁵ *Dokumente* (NMA X/34), p. 180.

⁶⁶ As examples for “opera seria” (Tragédie lyrique) one could mention Gluck’s *Iphigénie auf Tauris* (in particular the Choruses of the Scythians in the first act and the Aria with Chorus at the end of the second), for opéra comique Gluck’s *Rencontre imprévue* (in German *Die unvermutete Zusammenkunft, oder die Pilgrime von Mekka*). Cf. footnote 131 below.

⁶⁷ *Goethes Werke*. Hamburg Edition (ed. Erich Trunz), Vol. XI (= *Autobiographische Schriften 3* with postlogue and footnotes by Herbert von Einem), Hamburg, 7/1967, pp. 435f., especially p. 437.

and comprehensively commented catalogue of sources is available in the *Kritischer Bericht*.

1. Text

Autograph copy of the text (fragment)

Of the copy or first transcript of the text, which Mozart had probably only begun (cf. the section *Genesis of the Composition* above), only one leaf is known of today (written on both sides, privately owned). It contains the beginning of the first act (up to No. 2, m. 128, Osmin: “*recht gut, ich ließ ihn heut verbrennen.*” [very well, I had him burned today.]).

Text book, Vienna 1782

The Abduction from the Seraglio. / A Singspiel / in three acts, / following Bretzner / freely adapted, and for the Royal and Imperial National Court Theatre/ prepared. / Set to music / by / Herr Mozart. / Performed in the Royal and Imperial National Court Theatre. / Vienna, / available from the Master of the Lodge, 1782 [cf. the facsimile on the left of p. XLIII.]

One example each of this now rare impression can be found in the Austrian National Library, Vienna (signature: 641.433-AM Bd. VI/1; cf. the facsimiles on p. XLIII) and in the State Library Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage (Music Department). For the editing, a copy belonging to the editor was available.

In the word book for Vienna 1782, which also has the most complete spoken and sung texts, scene headings and stage directions, one thing is missing (probably as the result of an oversight in printing): Belmonte’s text in the recitative No. 20 from “*Engelsseele! [Angel’s soul!] ...*” to “*... ich reiße dich ins Grab! [I drag you into the grave!]*”. The book was printed and published in time for the first performance: Mozart send two copies (“2 little books”) to his father in Salzburg on 20 July 1782.

For comparisons, we consulted the word book *Bellmont und Constanze, / or: / The abduction from the / Seraglio / An Operetta / in three acts / by / C. F. Bretzner. / [...] / Leipzig, / [...] / 1781*. [A copy in the Austrian National Library, Vienna].

Mozart used a copy of this book — he called it, in a letter of 26 September 1781, the “original little book” — for the composition.

2. Music

Autograph: The three acts of the *Entführung* bound in three volumes was one of the items belonging to the former Preußische

Staatsbibliothek, Berlin and moved out for safety during WW II. Today, they are in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Kraków (acts I and III) and in the music collection of the State Library Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage (Music Department) (act II). Bound together with the score are the separate leaves on which Mozart, because of lack of room, wrote his “partial scores”⁶⁸: wind and percussion parts for numbers 5b, 11, 14, 16, 21a and 21b. No. 10 in the autograph of Act II was replaced, with the exception of the last two pages, by a copyist’s transcript now privately owned in Switzerland. The entire manuscript of the score was available for editing purposes.

Original parts material: The “*old triangle part in the library of the Imperial Court Opera Theatre in Vienna, which was possibly used in the first performance of the opera*”, used for the AMA, is today lost without trace.⁶⁹ The same applies to all the parts material written out from Mozart’s score and possibly — as can be deduced from his letter of 29 May 1782 — read through and corrected by the composer before the beginning of rehearsals.

Early copies of the score: From the large number of score copies produced in connection with the rapid and wide circulation of the work (the first two printed scores did not appear until the beginning of the 19th century), two were drawn on, for particular reasons, for the present edition.

1. The score copy in the Austrian National Library, Vienna, signature: *O. [Opera] A. [Archive] 322*, had obviously served as a replacement score after Mozart had sent the autograph score to Salzburg on 20 July 1782, the day after the second performance. Mozart’s entries in the score copy relate above all to performance directions (dynamics), but also include isolated added instrumental parts, for some of which the scribe had left room but no notation (e.g. in the Overture: timpani and triangle). The performance indications bear the marks of practical use during the performances directed by the composer; Mozart would doubtless have made similar entries in the autograph score if it had still been available.

⁶⁸ Cf. the facsimile p. XL.

⁶⁹ Cf. AMA, *Revisionsbericht*, loc. cit., p. 74. — concerning old, complete part material for *Fagotti Due* — clearly of Viennese provenance — which came to attention of the editor after the printing of the score cf. footnote 109 below and the *Kritischer Bericht*.

2. The score copy⁷⁰ in the music collection of the State Library Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage (Music Department) under the signature *Mus. ms. 15146* could easily be connected with a score copy of the *Entführung* commissioned from Mozart in September 1782 by the Prussian Ambassador in Vienna, Johann Hermann Freiherr von Riedesel, for a performance in Berlin. It is only known copy to transmit the March No. 5a (“*Marcia*”) for the second entrance of the Janissaries.

Finally, let us detail the autograph sources on which the Appendix (II and III) is based:

1. The autograph sketch sheet for No. 2 in the State Library Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage (Music Department) (signature: *Mus. ms. autogr. W. A. Mozart, zu KV 384*) contains before the compositional sketch for the Fugato of the duet Belmonte/Osmin a sketch for the Flute Quartet KV Appendix 171 (285^b)⁷¹ and (verso) canon studies, which “*according to the hand-writing are probably of a much later date*”.⁷²

2. In the music collection of the State Library Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage (Music Department) there is the autograph outline of the abduction scene KV 389 (KV⁶: 384A) (signature: *Mus. ms. autogr. W. A. Mozart KV 389*).⁷³

3. The two so far unpublished autograph piano reduction fragments — cf. the following section — are in one case privately owned (No. 11, a leaf with writing on both sides) and in the other in Stanford, California, The Stanford University Libraries (No. 12, a leaf with writing on one side).

Original Arrangements

1. Piano reduction (fragments)

“*Now I am finishing the piano reduction of my opera, which is to be printed*”. Mozart’s

⁷⁰ Cf. *W. A. Mozart. Autographe und Abschriften*. Catalogue by Hans-Günter Klein, Kassel, 1982 (State Library Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage (Music Department): Catalogue 1, 6).

⁷¹ Cf. NMA VIII/20, Section 2: *Quartets with one Wind Instrument* (Jaroslav Pohanka), p.86 and Foreword p. X; additionally NMA VIII/20, Section 1: *String Quartets • Volume 3* (Ludwig Finscher), p. XII.

⁷² Communicated by Dr. Wolfgang Plath, Augsburg. — At this point we should mention a melodic sketch of 22 measures in violin notation on the sketch sheet KV 467^a in which Ernst Heß sees a first concept for the Overture of the *Entführung*. Cf. Wolfgang Plath, *Das Skizzenblatt KV 467a*, in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1959*, Salzburg, 1960, pp. 114-126, especially p. 117 with footnote 15.

⁷³ First published by Julius André as a duet “*Welch ängstliches Beben*” für zwei Tenöre, Offenbach, (1853).

letter to his father of 28 December 1782 raised expectations of an imminent completion and publication of his first work of this kind.⁷⁴ Christoph Torricella in Vienna was to publish it. It would have been the first complete piano reduction by Mozart himself of an entire opera, but it was neither finished nor published. From Mozart himself we hear nothing more about it. Leopold Mozart first referred to the Torricella plan again in his letters of 12 March, 28 October and 16 December. Later in the same year there were piano reductions of the *Entführung* published “at Stage’s bookshop” in Augsburg and by Schott in Mainz, the latter the work of the Mainz Canon Johann Franz Xaver Stark.⁷⁵

To what extent Leopold Mozart’s statement of 16 December 1785 that his son had “lost time in writing 2 acts [!], which were finished up to the 3rd [?]” reflects the truth has to be left open. In Mozart’s hand we have to date only the two fragments reproduced in Appendix III of this volume.

2. Arrangements for Wind Instruments (“set for Harmonie”)

On 20 July 1782 we read in Mozart’s letter to his father: “Now I have no small task. — By Sunday in one week my opera has to be set for Harmonie — otherwise someone else will do it before me — and he will profit from it instead of me. [...] You would not believe how difficult it is to set something like this for Harmonie — so that it fits the wind instruments, but does not lose any of its effect.” How much work he really invested in this is still an open question.⁷⁶ To date no “Harmonie music” to the *Entführung* in Mozart’s hand is known, and the two adaptations of the

Entführung for wind instruments that have come down to us are not accepted in the specialist literature as being Mozart’s. Here the person most often mentioned is Johann Went (1745—1801), under whose name an arrangement for two oboes, two clarinets, two bassoons and two horns was announced in the *Wiener Zeitung* on 10 July 1784.⁷⁷ The arrangement with 2 cors anglais (instead of the clarinets) has been described as “not completely unworthy of Mozart”, but one is inclined for various reasons “rather not to attribute it to him at all”.⁷⁸

The Editing

1. The Editorial Technique

Going beyond the remarks on p. VII (*Editorial Principles*), the following guidelines, which generally agree with those for the volumes *Don Giovanni* (NMA II/5/17) or *Die Zauberflöte* (NMA II/5/19), apply to this volume:

a) It was decided to dispense with a reproduction of the old c-clefs in the vocal parts in the margin at the beginning of each number; they are instead included in the cast list on p. 2.

b) The otherwise customary practice in the NMA of writing out rest staves was generally not adopted; instead, the practice of variable staff systems was preferred. In the ensemble numbers in particular the rest staves are dropped according to the involvement of the characters, but at the beginning of each staff system an abbreviated role list is printed in the margin with the aim of providing clear orientation. In keeping with this, indications such as *a 2* or *I^{mo}* and *II^{do}* in the pairwise notation of wind instruments are repeated from one staff system to the next. Role names continue to be given, apart from the abbreviations in the margin, in plain type (majuscules) at their subsequent entries even within one staff system.

c) Headings for the individual numbers as well as general indications of the musical forces involved are generally rendered using Italian terms; exceptions are the *Lied und Duett* [Song and Duett] in No. 2 and Mozart’s original headings for

⁷⁴ On Mozart’s piano versions of his own works cf.

Marius Flothuis, *Mozarts Bearbeitungen eigener und fremder Werke* (= *Schriftenreihe der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum*, Vol. 2), Salzburg, 1969, pp. 52-54.

⁷⁵ RISM M 4247. Regarding piano reductions of parts of the *Entführung* announced or published by Torricella and Artaria, cf. also Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozarts Verleger*, in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1955*, Salzburg, 1956, pp. 49f. On the piano reduction by Canon Stark (“Abbé Starck”) cf. Ernst Laaff, *Prozeß um Mozarts “Entführung”*, in: *Symbolae Historiae Musicae. Hellmut Federhofer zum 60. Geburtstag* (ed. Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel and Hubert Unverricht), Mainz, 1971, p. 190—193. So far, not a single copy of the piano reduction by Abbé Starck mentioned there, supposedly already published in 1783, has been found. Cf. *Kritischer Bericht*.

⁷⁶ Cf. Eibl VI, on no. 677/33—34. According to a communication from Dr. Franz Giegling (Basle), the passage quoted from the letter is “intended more as a wish [...] than actually a progress report on work”.

⁷⁷ *Dokumente* (NMA X/34), p. 201. — Of the more recent special studies by Roger Hellyer, Daniel N. Leeson and David Whitwell cf. especially Roger Hellyer, *The Transcriptions for Harmonie of “Die Entführung aus dem Serail”*, in: *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. 102 (1975/76), pp. (53)—66.

⁷⁸ Marius Flothuis, op. cit., p. 42. — Cf. the edition of this arrangement by Franz Giegling, Kassel, 1958 (BA 3697).

the Overture and the numbers 5b, 7, 18, 21a and 21b.

d) Scene directions outside the music text (act and entrance directions, scene descriptions) and the dialog, apart from cues for the dialog not contained in the autograph, were taken from the word book (Vienna 1782) and set in plain type. Occasional editorial additions in the dialog texts (e.g. “*lacht nur höhnisch in den Bart hinein!*”, instead of “... *in Bart hinein!*”) are not distinguished typographically, but are mentioned in the *Kritischer Bericht*. Scene directions within the music text are consistently enclosed in curved brackets. Scene directions taken from the autograph are in plain type, those from the word book in italics.

2. The German Text

Sung texts and dialog retain the original word forms (e.g. “*itz!*”) but are rendered, where relevant, in the standard modern spelling (e.g. “*vorbei*” instead of “*vorbey*”). Particular attention was paid to Mozart’s highly individual punctuation,⁷⁹ which often turns out to be part of the composition and therefore an essential aid in its interpretation.

3. The Numbering

As Mozart did not compose the vocal numbers in the order of the word book, and as much was re-written in the course of work, particularly in acts two and three, and new musical numbers not envisaged by Bretzner were created, it would hardly have been possible for the composer himself to fix the numbering from the beginning. It is therefore not surprising that the autograph score was numbered sequentially in another hand, probably during binding of the individual gatherings or even later. Belmonte’s “*Hier soll ich dich denn sehen, Konstanze!*” [“*So I must see you here, Konstanze!*”] has the number 1, the Vaudeville and final chorus are counted together as 21.⁸⁰ The NMA retains this meanwhile customary numbering, which is also familiar in musical practice, but separates the Vaudeville and final chorus into No. 21a and No. 21b. The newly included March in scene six of act one receives likewise no new number, but is marked No. 5a, the immediately following Chorus of the

Janissaries No. 5b. With sequential numbering one would now count (without the Overture) 23 “numbers”.

4. “Shortenings”, “Versions”, Bar Numbers

As opposed to the AMA, the NMA has included in its main text the sections of numbers 8, 10, 11, 12, 15 and 17 cut in the autograph by Mozart himself — Mozart names them in a letter of 20 July 1782 “*my [...] shortenings*” — and indicated them in each case by **Vi-de**. In composing, Mozart gave his “*thoughts free rein*”, “*and before handing it over to be copied I first made my changes and shortenings here and there. — And I handed it over in the form in which you have received it.*” If “*changes*” can be taken to mean later additions such as the oboes in No. 15 and the clarinets in No. 6, the two passages without bass in No. 17 and the extension (!) of the conclusion of this aria, then the “*shortenings*” are to be understood principally as “*cuts*”. The last sentence of the passage quoted from the letter of 20 July 1782 underlines the significance of this: Mozart had prepared the score for the performance, and it is certainly not misguided to assume that this or that cut was first made in the course of rehearsal work, and that consideration for the singers played a role in this. Such consideration is not necessarily related to their vocal capability, but may have something to do with possible rivalries. The NMA leaves it to individual performers now and in future to decide according to circumstances. Here we can turn to Mozart for a precedent, who had a change of mind himself and in the case of a “*cut*” in the Torment Aria “*restored*” it again (cf. the section *On the Individual Numbers* / No. 11 below).

Changes in the lengths of different numbers lead of course to changes in the bar numbers. Bar numbers — some probably in Mozart’s hand — are always found at the end of each number and in the case of complexes such as No. 16 at the end of each internal section. For Mozart, the bar numbers in the *Entführung* obviously had a special significance. Wolfgang Plath has investigated his counting in detail.⁸¹ Obvious counting errors on Mozart’s part (e.g. in No. 1) and omitted sectional numbers (e.g. in No. 15)⁸² warn us to be cautious. But they do point to

⁷⁹ E.g. in No. 6, m. 1: “*Ach ich liebte ...*”, whereas mm. 54f. have: “*Ach, ich liebte ...*”

⁸⁰ Several pieces are numbered twice in the autograph in different hands; in acts two and three there are also numbers in Mozart’s hand, some of which serve to mark separately written parts. Cf. the *Kritischer Bericht*.

⁸¹ Wolfgang Plath, *Das Skizzenblatt KV 467a*, in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1959*, Salzburg, 1960, pp. 114-126.

⁸² For No. 16, whose bar numbers are shown correctly in the score, Mozart includes the bar number 52, which should occur twice in succession, only once in his counting.

variability in the dimensions. Thus Mozart's count for e.g. the numbers 8 and 10 gives the bar numbers for the shortened versions, for No. 11 and the Allegretto section of No. 15 on the other hand the uncut version is "counted". The figure 28 in the series of bar numbers in the first act has a special significance: it applies to the March of the Janissaries No. 5a, missing in the autograph. One hardly dares decide whether the absence of a bar number for the recitative of No. 20 means that it had not (yet) been composed or had been cut, or whether Mozart had simply forgotten it; but gaps in the recitative text of the Vienna word book of 1782 can be adduced as an argument. Many a question must therefore remain open.

Special Remarks on the Edition and Performing Practice

1. Concerning Individual Numbers

The Overture: There is no record in circles close to Mozart of any concert performance of the Overture to the *Entführung*; it is probable that at this time the question of a concert ending had not even been raised.⁸³ The Overture to the *Entführung* with a concert ending by Anton André was widely known.⁸⁴ In this version, the course of the piece is changed eleven measures before Mozart's "open" ending: first of all, fifty measures from the first Presto section of the Overture (mm. 59–108, correspondingly transposed) are added on, followed by a broadly conceived close in C major in which André, using many effects and playing with the minor and major third, remains always within the range of material presented by Mozart in the first *Presto* section.

No. 1 Aria: In the autograph score, the first vocal number remained untitled. Mozart wrote *Aria* over the eight lines in the autograph transcript of the text (fragment).⁸⁵ In the letter to his father of 26 September 1781, Mozart described Belmonte's opening number as "a little arietta". This designation is revealing as far as the character and performance of so significant a piece are concerned. For the use of a diminutive — practically underlined by Mozart as "little [!] arietta" — makes it clear that he did not consider a big "Aria" suitable for Belmonte's first entrance, but precisely

this "little arietta", far removed from great pathos, modest in dimensions (only 59 bars!).

No. 2 Lied und Duett: On the question of tempo indication, the first fact to be established is that the autograph score offers none. It is probable that for Mozart (and for the original singer he esteemed so much in the role of Osmin) the "right" tempo of this "little song"⁸⁶ was self-evident. But Mozart did write the indication on the autograph text fragment⁸⁷ next to the text line "und dann Treue gute Nacht", i.e. where *primo tempo* is called for in the autograph score (mm. 44/45). In keeping with that, the NMA puts *Andante* (in italics) at the beginning of No. 2.

A most problematical point arises in measure 34 in the instrumental bass part. All editions up till now have tacitly placed a *natural* sign before the second note, although this is clearly not there in Mozart's autograph. "B^b" is therefore meant, seemingly as an intentional and unorthodox harshness, which at the same time is consistent with the sequence of notes B^b—c—d—G presented in the bass in the four-measure introduction to the "little song":

It is hard to imagine that Mozart could have forgotten such a crucial alteration, changing established patterns — it is the ritornello bass itself that would be affected. In measure 34 he simultaneously sets a *natural* sign to cancel the f# of the previous measure. This has surely to be taken as a clear indication that he had an attentive ear on the harmonic context here relating to the (already notated) bass.

For the measures 76 to 80, Mozart notates the horns, without specially drawing attention to

⁸³ The piano reduction published by Torricella (Vienna) of the *Ouverture de L'opera L'enlevement du sérail* (RISM M 4261) has Mozart's original ("open") ending.

⁸⁴ Printed parts were published by Johann André, Offenbach (RISM M 4273). Anton André's concert ending — without his name appearing — is the ending in the parts printed by Simrock (RISM M 4271); there were also numerous manuscripts in circulation (International Mozart Foundation, Salzburg, signature: *Rara 384/5*).

⁸⁵ Cf. the section *Sources* above.

⁸⁶ Mozart describes thus Osmin's "Wer ein Liebchen hat gefunden" ["Whoever has found a sweetheart"] in the letter to his father of 26 September 1781.

⁸⁷ Cf. the section *Sources* above.

it, temporarily in “in Mi^b/Es [E^b]”⁸⁸ instead of the previous “in B^b”. In editions prior to the NMA, this passage was always (tacitly) rewritten for horns in B^b. With good reason, the NMA retains Mozart’s notation, but adds the relevant direction to re-tune or replace the horns. Mozart apparently wanted the note “e^b” to be blown as a natural note, which is relatively straightforward on a horn in E^b, while horns in B^b either cannot produce this note or only as a stopped note (with a resulting different tone color).⁸⁹

No. 3 Aria: Mozart’s autograph score begins — without being led into by the preceding dialog — with the entry of the voice: the transition from Osmin’s spoken and sung passages, “*Weil ich dich nicht leiden kann! / Solche hergelaufne Laffen ...*” [“*Because I cannot tolerate you! / Such straying popinjays ...*”], is abrupt. In all previous editions, an F major chord in the strings with fermata stands before the vocal entry. This is given in the NMA in small print. The question of whether it was originally by Mozart cannot be definitively answered, but the transmission and, in our opinion, the context on stage and in the drama and the musical craftsmanship speak against it. Beside the autograph, only the Berlin score copy is completely without a chord at this point. But in the Vienna score copy used by Mozart the chord was not originally there: it was added subsequently in another hand. When this happened, and whether with Mozart’s approval or not, can no longer be ascertained. All other manuscript and printed sources or editions known to us include this chord without comment. This leaves context and musical craftsmanship as the decisive factors in answering the question whether it is by Mozart or not. Simply seeing it as a support for the singer (“helping to find the way” to the note) is not an acceptable view of the chord. Mozart (as conductor at the keyboard) would have found some other way, in keeping with the theatre practice of the day, to meet this need. But as an expression of the affect — for example in connection with an aggressive gesture of the exacerbated and raging Osmin — the simple chord is too primitive to be blamed unconditionally on Mozart.⁹⁰

It will be noticed that in the “Turkish music” (cf. the letter passage quoted at the end of

⁸⁸ The passage is also notated this way in the two score copies mentioned (cf. the section *Sources* above).

⁸⁹ Cf. the section *Choice of Instrument in the Horns* below.

⁹⁰ Cf. the similar question posed by No. 7.

this paragraph) entering with the *Allegro assai* (mm. 146/147) *piatti* [cymbals] and *tamburo grande* [Turkish drum] are called for, but no triangle as in the “citation” of this passage in No. 21a and as in other pieces of “Turkish music” (Overture, Nos. 5b, 14, 21b).⁹¹ It is not acceptable simply to assume an oversight by Mozart in notating the *Allegro assai*. Lack of space alone — the twelve-staff music paper had already forced him to group the wind in pairs and was already completely full — leading to loss of the separately notated (autograph) triangle part is also not sufficient as an argument. A weightier argument is Mozart’s description of this aria in a letter with an explanation of the effect of this passage: “*Osmin’s rage is rendered comical because the Turkish music comes in here.*” If we choose to take Mozart by his word, this would mean that at “*Erst geköpft, dann gehangen*” [“*First beheaded, then hanged*”] *piatti*, *tamburo grande* and triangle are expected.⁹²

Two further interesting notational matters appear in the *Allegro assai* (NMA p. 85): Mozart’s notation for the *piatti* — here written pitch e” — is striking, as is the fact that in the autograph (and also the NMA) the horns are expressly specified as being in F. Previous editions have specified horns in C, but notate, as does the autograph, e’ / e”, so that the horns double at the unison or octave the fifth in the first trumpet.⁹³ But Mozart gives the horns a sounding “a”, complementing or giving a foundation to the c-e of the trumpets.

No. 4 Recitativo ed Aria: There is a remarkable discrepancy between Mozart’s description and his notation of the passage mm. 44f. (corresponding to mm. 73f.). In the letter to his father of 26 September 1781, Mozart describes “*Belmonte’s aria in A major. O wie ängstlich, o wie feurig*” and

“*how it is expressed*” as follows: “*the beating, loving heart is already shown — the 2 violins in octaves. [mm. 9f.] [...] — One sees the trembling*

⁹¹ The two early score copies (see the section *Sources* above) agree with the autograph and do not notate a triangle. In one of the two triangle parts for the *Entführung*, kept in the Bavarian State Library, Munich (signature: *St. Th. 36*), there is notation for this instrument for the *Allegro assai* in No. 3 corresponding to that for No. 21a; cf. on this the *Kritischer Bericht*.

⁹² On “Turkish music” cf. the corresponding section above.

⁹³ Cf. also the remarks on No. 21a, for which a further divergence between the notation for horns in previous editions and in the autograph can be observed.

— *wavering* [mm. 28f.] — *how the swelling breast rises — which is expressed via a crescendo — one hears the lisping and sighing — which is expressed by the muted first violins with a flute in unison [...]*”

The precise description leaves no doubt that at the end mm. 40f. are meant. Yet at this point in the autograph there is no corresponding direction “*con sordino*”⁹⁴ One must also ask when the players are meant to fit and then remove the mutes, as they are constantly busy — apart from the rest in all parts (which should therefore be lengthened?) in measure 39 (2nd half). The *con sordino* effect is required from measure 40 onwards, and similarly in measures 73f. If one chooses not to believe in an error on Mozart’s part in the letter quoted, the (apparent) contradiction in his statement could be overcome by a *divisi* of the first violins (desks with and without mutes).

Act I / Scene 6 (Nos. 5a and 5b): The “March of the Janissaries”, published for the first time in the NMA in the context of this Singspiel, calls for a special comment at this point.⁹⁵ Three factors were decisive for the inclusion of this composition — there is no doubting Mozart’s authorship — which is not in the autograph score,⁹⁶ was until now unknown and is transmitted in only one (admittedly authoritative) score of the *Entführung*:⁹⁷ these are the context within the action on stage as depicted in the Vienna word book for the first performance, the relevant stage direction for this entrance and the sequence of numbers established by the bar numbering⁹⁸ in Mozart’s own hand.

⁹⁴ Mozart’s instruction *sotto voce* for the strings in the recitative preceding the aria is not relevant here.

⁹⁵ Cf. on this in detail the first edition of the March: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Marsch der Janitscharen für 9 Bläser und 2 Trommeln KV deest*, aus “Die Entführung aus dem Serail”, KV 384, prepared by Gerhard Croll, Kassel etc., 1980 (BA 4792: advance copy in NMA II/5/12); id., *Ein Janitscharen-Marsch zur “Entführung”*, in: *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 28 (1980), Issues 1/2, pp. 2f., Addendum id., Issues 3/4, p. 31.

⁹⁶ On an empty page between Belmonte’s Aria (No. 4) and the Chorus of the Janissaries (No. 5b), the autograph has a remark (unmentioned in the AMA or elsewhere) entered in an unknown hand: *NB a march belongs here*. Cf. on this the *Kritischer Bericht*.

⁹⁷ Here again sincere thanks to the music department of the State Library Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage (Music Department) for generous help and permission to publish.

⁹⁸ Cf. the observations in the section “*Shortenings*”, “*Versions*”, *Bar Numbers*.

One can also assume here Mozart’s custom, as observed in other stage works, of composing the textless stage music (and as a rule also the overture) at the very end, sometimes no doubt after first gaining an impression of the action on stage during rehearsals.⁹⁹ Scene six of act one in Bretzner’s libretto presented Mozart with a text to be sung by the Chorus of Janissaries as a greeting for the “great Bassa”, which he of course had to set. He completed this task on 8 August 1781,¹⁰⁰ but the stage music called for in the direction for the entrance and landing of the Janissaries¹⁰¹ — if he had concerned himself with it at all at that point — was put off for the moment. The dilemma probably first emerged during the rehearsals. A quick solution for providing at least some music and thus also time for the appearance of the Janissaries — this is essentially the function of this stage music — would have been to play the instrumental introduction to the Chorus (No. 5b) twice or more.¹⁰² The March must have been added under time pressure, and many indices suggest that Mozart did not compose it *ad hoc* or “new”. The question of where it may have come from was looked into above.¹⁰³ The March fulfils its purpose within the stage action in every way, particularly when performed by a “*Banda*” of Janissaries on stage, as was obviously the case in the Burgtheater (at least in the season 1782/83).¹⁰⁴ In comparison with the Chorus into which it leads, the March of the Janissaries is in many ways a musical light-weight; the Chorus, and thus also the first appearance of the Bassa, resultingly have the effect of a stepping-up to a striking and effective climax. Only taking these together do we have a sequence adding up to a great scene for the “Sovereign”: landing and deployment of the Janissaries (March) — approach and greeting of the Bassa (Chorus) — withdrawal of the Janissaries (orchestral reprise of the Chorus).

⁹⁹ For example in *Idomeneo* (ballet music) and *The Magic Flute* (March of the Priests).

¹⁰⁰ Cf. the section *Genesis of the Composition* above.

¹⁰¹ Cf. NMA p. 102.

¹⁰² Cf. on this the *Kritischer Bericht*.

¹⁰³ Cf. the section *Turkish Music* above.

¹⁰⁴ According to the accounts of the Hoftheater for 1782/83 (Austrian State Archive, Vienna, Abteilung Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, signature: *Hoftheater S.R. 19*), “to Franz Tyron, music director, for the [...] *Banda* from the Artillery Music in the opera the *Entführung aus dem Serail* 32 fl.” were paid. Cf. *Dokumente* (NMA X/34), p. 179. For providing further additional information, my sincere thanks once again to the Austrian State Archive, Vienna

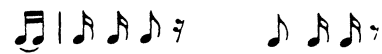
No. 6 Aria: Mozart's divergent accidentals in measure 80 and the parallel passage measure 14 for Violin II and Viola (c' and c respectively instead of c# and c#) have been retained — as in the AMA — in the NMA. The fact that Mozart dealt similarly here with two separately notated staves as well as the altered context of this “repeat” (woodwind) do not permit the supposition of an oversight on his part.

No. 7 Trio: bars 1 to 4 in the NMA, rendered in small print, are not in the autograph: as in No. 3, Mozart's score begins immediately with the entry of the singer (NMA m. 5). Perhaps it was a mishap in the second performance¹⁰⁵ — in the “*final trio [...] however misfortune caused Fischer to lose the place*” — that caused Mozart, who as a result “*did not know himself for rage*”, to provide more support for the singers, particularly at the very first entry with Osmin, by having the instrumental accompaniment for the first four measures (“*Marsch, marsch, marsch! trollt euch fort!*” [“*March, march, march! Away with you!*”]) played in advance as an “introduction”. Whereas the autograph displays only the suggestion of a subsequent addition in another hand pointing to the repeat of these four measures,¹⁰⁶ the music text of the Vienna score copy, which otherwise agrees with the autograph (cf. the section *Sources* above), has the directions *Das erste mal ohne Singstim* und *La prima volta forte* [The first time without the voice and the first time loud] as well as repeat signs after measure 4 with *volta* brackets. In the Berlin score copy (cf. the section *Sources* above), the whole passage is written out completely in eight measures.¹⁰⁷ Taken together, these transmitted indices, but also the “compositional” solution for the mishap during the second performance mentioned above, speak for Mozart's authorship or at least his authorisation for these four measures of “introduction” which — let us not forget — are not transmitted in his hand.

No. 8 Aria: The first of the two cuts by Mozart in Blonde's first aria amount to 21 measures (mm. 37—59/NMA pp. 152—153) or one fifth of the whole and detract in no small way from the “*piece*

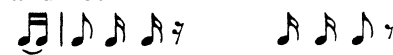
in the most compact of rondo forms”,¹⁰⁸ precisely in relation to its form as a rondo. Mozart's first cut led furthermore, in editions previous to this, to a distorting assimilation of the vocal part at the reprise of the theme, ignoring Mozart's own little variant with its gesture of an “*Eingang*” [improvised bridge passage] (cf. AMA m. 37 with NMA m. 59). The second cut (mm. 72—78/NMA p. 154) differs in that it applies to a repeat: measures 72-76 and 79-83 and the parallel measures 76-78 and 69-71 would, without the cut, mean that measures 76-83 represented an almost exact repeat of measures 69—75 (schematically: instead of x-y + x-y, what remains after cutting the two inner sections [y and x] is the sequence x—y).

A final point refers to the declamation (“improved” in prior editions) of the words “*Zärtlichkeit*” and “*Gefälligkeit*” [“*tenderness*” and “*favor*”] in the final measures (mm. 92-94). Mozart set the accented syllables in both cases as long:



Ge - fäl - lig - keit and Zärt - lich - keit

and not



Ge - fäl - lig - keit and Zärt - lich - keit

No. 9 Duetto: Regarding the use of the bassoon, it should be pointed out that the practice in previous editions of making rests out of the measures 3-18 contradicts Mozart's direction *col Basso*.¹⁰⁹ — In the *Andante* section (mm. 56f. / NMA p. 162), Mozart's directions for articulation in the accompanying parts — combined with the indicated dynamics — make it clear what is intended; editorial additions were therefore made sparingly.

No. 10 Recitativo ed Aria: The stage direction here in the word book (Vienna 1782) for Konstanze's scene with recitative — not in Bretzner's text —

¹⁰⁵ Concerning this and what follows, see Mozart's report on the performance on 19 July in the letter to his father on 20 July 1782.

¹⁰⁶ Mozart sent the autograph to Salzburg along with the letter quoted above; the hand-written indication in question probably dates from later. Cf. the *Kritischer Bericht*.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. for details the *Kritischer Bericht*.

¹⁰⁸ Hermann Abert, *W. A. Mozart*, Leipzig, ⁷/1955, vol. 1, p. 787.

¹⁰⁹ NMA pp. 157f. Cf. for details the *Kritischer Bericht*. — In a contemporary bassoon part (privately owned, cf. footnote 69 above), made available to the editors only after the completion of the edition, the measures 1-11 are written out “*col Basso*”, with rests in measures 13-18. The autograph score offers no basis for this notation, but the rests in measures 13-18 of the bassoon part seem, in view of the exposed entry in measure 19, plausible (to recover breath). Cf. also the performance suggestion by the editor for measure 18 and in detail the *Kritischer Bericht*.

and aria is significant: Konstanze sings it “without noticing Blonde”.

For the NMA, the (privately-owned) pages from Mozart’s autograph score could be referred to for the first time. All prior editions (including the AMA) had to rely, apart from the last two pages of the aria (with measures 134-147), on the copyist’s transcript which replaces these pages in the otherwise complete autograph score. The replacement transcript proves, when compared with the now available autograph, to be generally reliable, but in many details the Mozart autograph is “better”.

An error involving an accidental in measure 13 of the recitative, when the copyist “saw a **h** sign instead of a **b** between the lines”,¹¹⁰ brought grave consequences with it. The AMA and all following editions therefore have a **b** accidental before the a’ in Violin I and Violin II. But Mozart has in both cases a **h** sign. His modulation takes a different course: he leaves the re-introduction of the a^b (after the natural sign in measure 10) to the vocal part (m. 15) as an expression of the “Leiden” [“sufferings”] of the “bängen Sehnsucht” [“anguished longing”].

As a rhyme for “kannte” [“knew”] in the recitative, Mozart allows himself the liberty of inventing “trannte” [instead of “trennte” = “separated”]. This deserves some attention, one reason being that the text is not by Bretzner, but either by Stephanie the younger or even by Mozart himself, the second that Mozart set — nothing less than demonstratively — the two sentences ending with these rhyming words precisely as a musically rhyming pair.

The cut marked in the autograph score by Mozart (mm. 116—127) but missed by the copyist (cf. above) is shown here for the first time (NMA pp. 182f.). Mozart did not have to make any changes to enable a smooth join of the passages before and after the cut.

No. 11 Aria: The direction “ad libitum” (measures 24 and 28, 93 and 97, 197 and 201 / NMA p. 189, p. 198 and p. 212) applies to all four solo instruments, but is marked by Mozart only once in each situation, at the middle of the relevant group of measures. Appearing in total six times, “ad libitum” is to be taken as an instruction for the

¹¹⁰ Leopold Mozart to his daughter (14 January 1786).

This remark, referring to a copy of KV 482, makes it clear that this misreading happened often during copying from Wolfgang’s autographs.

solo players to combine in freer play, no longer bound by the stricter metre of the rest of the piece. The episode performed this way, restricted to the four solo instruments, is to be understood interpretationally as expressing an emotion of Konstanze’s which is only hinted at in the text; she herself does not utter what the instruments say.

The reason for the two cuts Mozart made in the score (mm. 109—119 / NMA pp. 200—202; mm. 275—289 / NMA pp. 223—225) must be assumed to have been reducing the load on the singer, from whom much was being demanded anyway. On the other hand, Mozart had “aufgemacht” [“opened”] again the first cut marked in the score (mm. 109-119) in the separately written Trumpet and timpani parts, where he crossed out the number 36 for the rests, which reflected the cut, and instead wrote 47, showing his wish to reinstate the eleven measures affected by the cut. Evidence that Mozart similarly did not regard the second cut (mm. 275-289) as irreversible is contained in his piano reduction of the Torment Aria (unfortunately only extant as a fragment). Here he reinstates the last four measures of the cut (measures 286-289 in the score).¹¹¹

No. 12 Aria: In the second Blonde aria¹¹², Mozart again made two cuts.¹¹³ One applies to a fourteen-measure passage in the vocal part in which the high “g” constantly recurs (mm. 120 to 133 / NMA p. 239—240). The second cut (likewise applying to a high passage) occurs only a little later and removes ten measures (mm. 142—151 / NMA pp. 241—242), at the same time eliminating a charming interchange “with laughter and jokes” involving Flute I, Bassoon I and Violin I with the voice.

No. 13 Aria: In Pedrillo’s only aria — besides the Romance (No. 18) — there are no cuts by Mozart. His score contains no directions regarding the bassoon, probably because *col Basso* would be regarded as obvious and the copyist would have

¹¹¹ Cf. on this the Remarks on Appendix III/1 below.

¹¹² Regarding the autograph piano reduction of the beginning of this aria (broken off at measure 26) cf. Remarks on Appendix III/2 below.

¹¹³ One of the “three [sic] cuts in Blonde’s aria No. 12” mentioned in the *Revisionsbericht* [editorial report] of the AMA is not a “cut” at all in the sense of reducing the length, but a version of measures 176 and 177 rejected by Mozart and immediately replaced by the adjacent valid version. Cf. AMA, *Revisionsbericht*, loc. cit., p. 75 and score p. 296, Appendix 3c; also NMA p. 244 and *Kritischer Bericht*.

proceeded accordingly in writing the part out without any special instruction being necessary. This applies at least for all *tutti* passages; elsewhere, one should respond to the circumstances of performance (singers, orchestra sound and acoustics).

Special attention should be paid to the text underlay in the NMA in m. 62, which differs from that in all prior editions. Mozart's setting the word "gewagt" five times in succession forces Pedrillo to produce an involuntary comical effect, which will not fail to come across. A further detail of Mozart's art of characterisation is in the *stretta*; this is not (as done previously) to be regarded as an error and "harmonised". It occurs when Pedrillo, summoning to "Kampf" and "Streit" ["battle" and "struggle"] for the last time, wishes to raise his own courage and ends up reversing the order "Kampf" and "Streit" — as it has been up to now — and calling out: "Off to the struggle! Off to the battle! Off to the struggle!" (mm. 97—99 / NMA p. 253).

Zu No. 14 Duetto: We have already looked into the still open question of the "Turkish military tattoo", on which, according to Mozart, the Drinking Duet is based.¹¹⁴ Mozart's statement also gives us an indicator for the required tempo: "Turkish military tattoo" and "Turkish March" belong together, so that the tempo marking for No. 14 must be *Allegro* (not *Allegro assai* or even *Presto*).

No. 15 Aria: This aria (like the last Belmonte aria at the beginning of the third act) "seems to have cost Mozart a lot of effort, as the numerous changes and cuts show".¹¹⁵ These "changes and cuts" require some elucidation here as well.¹¹⁶ The first fact to be mentioned is that Mozart did not originally plan oboes when composing the aria. He added these, in a second phase of work, to the already scored clarinets, bassoons and horns. Only afterwards did he carry out his "changes and cuts". At the same time we have to admit that there are four places in No. 15 where we cannot say with complete certainty whether the two versions for each passage that have come down to us are genuine Mozart. These are passages marked in the NMA as *Fassung* [version] A and *Fassung B*:

Fassung A

Fassung B

mm. 24—25 correspond to m. 24 (+ 25)
mm. 30—31 correspond to m. 30 (+ 31)
mm. 33—35 correspond to m. 33 (— 35)
mm. 82—83 correspond to m. 82/83

Mozart's autograph score contains only *Fassung A*; the relevant measures (with the exception of measures 24 to 25) have been enclosed in red circles in the staff for the Violoncelli and Bassi in an unknown hand. All other printed and manuscript sources for this aria contain only *Fassung B*. For this reason, and because "the changes have been done extremely skillfully and discretely" and long-winded passages in a sometimes very low tessitura have been reduced or cut from the singer's work-load, the AMA voiced the conjecture that "Mozart made the changes later himself". AMA therefore adopted the condensed measures (*Fassung B*) for its main music text and exiled Mozart's autograph notation to the appendix. The NMA has adopted a different procedure. Since *Fassung A* is certainly by Mozart, and — we are convinced — *Fassung B* very probably is as well but is to be considered mainly (or entirely) as a helping gesture towards the singers (i.e. the tenor Adamberger), both versions are presented — synoptically on facing pages (NMA pp. 272/273) or immediately adjacent (NMA p. 278) — so that the decision is left to the performers. The crucial factors, now as then, should be the capacity of the singer and the circumstances of the performance.

In principle, the same applies to the two sections in No. 15 which Mozart "cut": measures 37—62 / NMA p. 274—276, and measures 125—157 / NMA p. 281—282,¹¹⁷ even though features of the second cut, particularly the continuous broken chords in combination with springs of a tenth (mm. 142 to 145) may suggest a rejection.

No. 16 Quartetto: It is important to note that Mozart here corrected the initial tempo indication in the score, *Allegro assai* (m. 258 / NMA p. 321), down to *Allegro* (four times in m. 258). In the parts for the Flutes, Trumpets and timpani written later, but nevertheless before the première, only *Allegro* is given. This doubtless reflects the wish to avoid an unduly fast tempo, or at least a warning against an over-agitated close.

¹¹⁷ Mozart's cut, which concerned the measures 163—165, is not a "shortening" but the crossing out of a first and rejected version of these measures, which are then at once notated adjacently, completely (the first version contained only voice and violoncello/bass) and definitively; cf. NMA p. 282 and the *Kritischer Bericht*.

¹¹⁴ Cf. the section *Turkish Music* above.

¹¹⁵ AMA, *Revisionsbericht* [Editorial Report], loc. cit., p. 75.

¹¹⁶ Cf. for further details the *Kritischer Bericht*.

No. 17 Aria: Alongside No. 15, this aria shows particularly clear traces of the compositional work. Of two earlier, rejected versions, replaced by new, definitive material, — one consists of 25 measures following measure 78 (replaced by measures 79—93; cf. on this the *Remarks on Appendix I* and NMA p. 347), the other concerns the conclusion of the aria from measure 147 onwards (without the measures 148—157) — the version relevant to measures 79—93 is published in Appendix I (NMA p. 433). While this case is the usual one of reduction (the definitive version is shorter than the earlier one), the procedure at the conclusion is for once reversed: Mozart extended the first (shorter) version of the conclusion by ten measures (pp. 148—157, cf. NMA pp. 353f.) in which he offered the singer the opportunity to add a statement of emphatic confirmation in wide-ranging coloraturas.

There are two occasions in No. 17 on which Mozart, in a second phase of work, withdrew the bass composed to the vocal line and replaced it with rests. (mm. 51—63 and mm. 128—132; cf. NMA pp. 344f., 352 and the *Kritischer Bericht*). On the first occasion, there are five measures of notation (between mm. 54 and 55 of the definitive version), with only vocal and instrumental bass lines, which Mozart had crossed out and rejected. The vocal part consists of a literal repeat of measures 46/47 to 50 over the relevant accompanying line displaced by one measure. One should see in this an attempt by Mozart to do what stands in the text, “to unite” what “seems impossible to the world”. This play with combinations resulted in apparently inevitable octave parallels, which may well have moved Mozart to cross out the five measures; they had been left empty in the other parts.

It is therefore all the more satisfying that he was successful in the imitations between woodwind and voice (mm. 44f. and mm. 134/5f.). Once again, the autograph shows here clear traces of the work involved (cf. on this the *Kritischer Bericht*).

No. 18 Romance: Mozart saved space by notating the Romance (Stephanie and Mozart took over the title with the four strophes from Bretzner) as a strophic song with the text below and above the vocal and bass parts. He could afford to do this because he dispensed with writing the dialog text due between the second and third strophes. Instead, he added a remark (to the *segno* corresponding to the middle of m. 4) at the “Schluß” [*Fine*]: “repeated three times” and

added: “*After the second strophe there is a pause and speech; then begin again*”. The NMA therefore places the dialog text after the second strophe with the music for the third and fourth strophes afterwards.

One tempo indication was obviously considered dispensable by Mozart. The proper style of performance — referring not only to the tempo — results almost automatically in this piece, an ingenious parody in the ballad and storytelling posture of a Romance in 6/8 time accompanied by the mandoline. It is part of the “rendition” that Pedrillo “begins to play” — in keeping with the directions in the word book — before he has finished the spoken text: he speaks the words “*Nun, so sei es denn gewagt!*” [*“So now it is time to be daring!”*] during the orchestral lead-in to the first strophe, and similarly his words to himself “*Noch geht alles gut, es rührt sich noch nichts*” [*“Everything is still going well, nothing is stirring”*] during the instrumental passage leading out of the second strophe.

No. 19 Aria: For the performance of this Turkish aria without “Turkish Music”,¹¹⁸ the direction in the word book “*Osmin alone*” gains particular significance. It probably came from Mozart himself, who in this aria leaves the entire scene in the hands of the person singing and acting Osmin.

No. 21a Vaudeville: Mozart specifies 2 *Corni in F* for the horns in measures 74-95, and afterwards *Corni in C*. As a result, in measures 83f. the root “a” corresponding to the third c-e sounds — perfectly “correctly” — in the trumpets.¹¹⁹ The sound Mozart has in his head here corresponds to his notation for the *piatti*, written — it is different in the C major pieces — as “e”.¹²⁰

Appendix I. No. 17: Rejected version of measures 79f.: The earlier (rejected) version amounts, with 25 measures, to ten measures more than the second, but is restricted almost entirely to accompaniment by strings alone for the voice. In the second, only fifteen measures long, the eight wind instruments are on their own in one passage (mm. 83-86), then in dialog with voice and

¹¹⁸ Cf. the section *Turkish Music* above.

¹¹⁹ Previous editions call for horns in C from the beginning, but notate, like Mozart, e'-e", so that the fifth of the chord is doubled. It is quite inexplicable that all editions up till now have notated for the horns (in C) in each measure from 75 to 82 quarter-note e" (*forte* each time) and two rests, although Mozart clearly writes rests for the horns here. The NMA adheres in all respects to the autograph.

¹²⁰ Cf. on this the section *Turkish Music* above.

strings, with the clarinets — the second clarinet first with a triplet figure — in the foreground. Thus the cut means at the same time an enrichment.

Appendix II/1. Sketch for No. 2, mm. 176f.: It is perhaps no coincidence that this is the only sketch in the proper sense of the word that we know of or which has been transmitted in connection with the *Entführung*. The contrapuntal work used by Mozart here led him to a written formulation in sketch form. The sketch in 12/8 time — i.e. as if in large-scale measures — contains all elements and effects of the *Presto* conclusion of No. 2 (cf. NMA pp. 67—71), even though all the possibilities are not shown.

Appendix II/2. Outline of the abduction scene: The material in question is the “*charming quintet, or rather finale*” mentioned in Mozart’s letter of 26 September 1781 (KV 6: 384A = 389).¹²¹ This is based on the text of scenes three and four (until shortly before Pedrillo’s Romance) in act three in Bretzner’s libretto¹²² (pp. 64 [properly: 46] to 49). How far the outline had been filled out by the end of September can only be guessed. In any case it was left lying, because Mozart’s wish — “*but I would rather have this at the close of the 2nd act*” — could not be realised.¹²³

Appendix III/1. Piano reduction (fragment) of No. 11: The fragment includes the end of the aria (beginning at m. 226) with the *Allegro assai* (mm. 242f.). The fragment does not reflect completely Mozart’s cut in the score relating to measures 275 to 289: the measures 286 to 289 cut in the score appear in the piano reduction.¹²⁴

Appendix III/2. Piano reduction (fragment) of No. 12: The fragment breaks off after measure 26 — on a still partially unused page — and therefore gives the impression of being the beginning of an only temporarily interrupted labour. In this setting for piano, which renders only the essence of the accompaniment, the skeletal simplification of the

sequence I—V⁷—I at the beginning of the theme is conspicuous.

2. Choice of Horns

The question of which horns to use in Mozart certainly requires the continuing attention of researchers and the fruits of further practical experience. This applies above all in the field of “high” and “low” horns, more so for horns “in B^b” than those “in C”, since the latter — as “Corni in Do alto” (C high) — seldom occur in Mozart.¹²⁵

The following remarks can only be regarded as a limited contribution to this discussion; for the *Entführung* they are intended above all to rouse and stimulate ideas. Definitive solutions for the tricky question “basso” or “alto” for horns in B^b should therefore not be expected or given, because we have at the moment more or less no practical experience of natural horns in B^b *alto*. We can also raise objections against today’s practice (with modern instruments) in which of the five numbers in the *Entführung* in which B^b horns are specified (Nos. 2, 6, 10, 15 and 20), only No. 10 is played “alto”, arguing on the basis of the compositional texture of each piece, regarding particularly the pitch of the horns in relation to the woodwind. While no questions of choice of instrument arise for the numbers with horns in A (No. 4), G (No. 12), F (Nos. 3, 21a), E^b (Nos. 9, 17) and D (Nos. 13, 16, 19) and while for the numbers with horns in “Corni in Do” (Overture, Nos. 1, 5a, 5b, 7, 11, 21b) “basso” applies everywhere, the relationships within the five numbers with B^b horns already mentioned are at least in some aspects more complicated.¹²⁶ There

¹²⁵ On the literature cf. especially (beside thematically broader publications by Horace Fitzpatrick, *The horn and horn-playing and the Austro-Bohemian tradition from 1680 to 1830*, London, 1970, and J. Murray-Barbour, *Trumpets, Horn and Music*, Michigan State University Press, 1963) the special study by Paul R. Bryan, *The horn in the works of Mozart and Haydn: some observations and comparisons*, in: *Das Haydn-Jahrbuch* 9 (1975), pp. 189-255, above all the chapter *The ALTO/BASSO Question*, pp. 222 to 228, as well as the publication by Hans Pizka, important in Mozart source documentation, *Das Horn bei Mozart*, Kirchheim by München, 1980.

¹²⁶ The Editorial Board of the NMA has indicated in the score margin of all five numbers *Corno I, II in Si^b alto / B hoch*, although the editor of the music text would have preferred limiting the indication to the “*Corni in B^b*” — without the appended epithet — used by Mozart. The Board remained in this true to their practice, responding not least to the wish of practicing musicians, of making a clear decision in the question of “high or low” regarding horns in B^b, but agreed in the case of the *Entführung* that the fundamental problem should be discussed in detail in

¹²¹ Cf. the facsimile, p. XLI.

¹²² 122 In the foreword to the edition by Julius André, Offenbach, (1853) — cf. on this the *Kritischer Bericht* — after a reference to “*the comical rhymes in Pedrillo’s song* [cf. mm. 143f.], in which the composer is known to have possessed great skill”, he conjectures that Mozart may have been the (co-)author of the text. This is not the case. The text on which it is based is taken completely from Bretzner. The question voiced in KV⁶ (p. 412) “*Text by Mozart (?)*” must correspondingly be corrected.

¹²³ Cf. the section *Genesis of the Composition* above.

¹²⁴ Cf. NMA p. 444 and pp. 224f.

now follow details relating to the aspects outlined above.

In No. 2, Mozart notates the 2 *Corni in B^b* he calls for in measure 45 — without specifying “basso” or “alto” — temporarily as horns in E^b, although he gives no special indication of this either before or after.¹²⁷ The most plausible explanation of this procedure is that Mozart wanted to make notes not readily playable (or not at all or only by “stopping”) on B^b horns easier and at the same time to fit them better into the total sound. The “E^b” required in Horn I in measures 77, 78, 79 and 80 in Horn I can only be produced on an “alto” instrument (sounding e^b) by stopping; for a “*Corno in B basso*”, the note is absolutely unplayable. So Mozart was practically forced to re-write the whole passage, which he did by writing for “*Corni in Mi^b/Es*”. In measures 77, 78, 79 and 80, the sounding note in Horn I is e^b in all cases.

In connection with the passage preceding these measures — after measure 80 the horns rest for more than 40 measures — the question “*Corni in Si^b — alto or basso?*” is to be answered in the light of the passage just discussed (measures 76—80). Whether the change B^b — E^b — B^b makes “B^b high” necessary or whether this one passage alone is too little on which to base a clear answer must be left open.¹²⁸

In No. 6, the measures 50ff. could be of special interest regarding an “alto” reading. “Basso” horns here sound (below the bassoons) in unison with violoncelli and basses. High pedal-points (such as mm. 34/35) speak against “alto”, as does a passage such as mm. 46/47, where a sounding c' (in the “basso” horns) fills out the wide space left by Mozart between the two bassoons:



the Foreword. It is characteristic of the situation described here that for those contributing to the discussion — besides the Editorial Board and the editor, Professors Marius Flothuis and Nikolaus Harnoncourt must be named and sincerely thanked — many of the central questions remain open.

¹²⁷ Measures 76—80: The AMA transcribed this passage without comment for *Corni in B^b* (without defining high or low). The NMA follows Mozart's notation and adds the necessary directions for re-tuning the horns.

¹²⁸ The editor is more inclined to the “basso” reading. The transcription in the AMA must be read “basso” in order to correspond to Mozart's notation for “*Corni in Mi^b/Es*” (i.e. written c'/g" = sounding b^b/f).

An “alto” reading would on the other hand result in a double unison (c") with the first clarinet.¹²⁹

Only in No. 10 — if we are not mistaken — are all previous editions and equally present-day musical practice unanimous in calling for “*Corni in Si^b alto*”.¹³⁰ This is justified, because passages like measures 34 to 35 and measures 38-39 or 96-98 and 100-102 leave no doubt about the function and pitch of the (“alto”) horns, which — in high tenor range — are employed in one situation as the bottom voice (mm. 34—35, mm. 38—39), in another as a constant between Bassoon and Oboe I/Bassett Horn I. Seen as a whole, the wind writing in this aria — with eight woodwind and two horns — is the most advanced in the *Entführung*. This is true of the concertante interaction and also the combination with voice and strings, but particularly of the episode in which Mozart re-fashions some measures taken from Gluck's German *Iphigenie* and makes them his own.¹³¹

In No. 15, an “alto” reading would similarly lead to a very extreme horn situation otherwise unknown in Mozart. A comparison with No. 10b from *Idomeneo* (“*Non temer, amato bene*”, KV 490), the “*nearest parallel [...] in Mozart's own works*”¹³² to Belmonte's Rondo, may help to put the facts into perspective.

The measures 31f. of No. 20 have been quoted as being for “alto” because “basso” horns there (similar to No. 6, mm. 50f.) would sound at the same pitch as the Violoncelli and Bassi, again lying far below the two bassoons. A particularly strong argument for “alto” is often seen in m. 71, for here Horn II in “basso” would sound a fourth lower than the *Bassi*. On the other hand there is a meeting on beat one of measure 71 of two groups

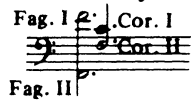
¹²⁹ Cf. the corresponding argumentation for No. 20, measures 26 and 29.

¹³⁰ The AMA also specifies here (and only here) *Corni in B^b alto*.

¹³¹ The measures in question are 53-58 of the “Aria and Chorus” in act two of Gluck's *Iphigenie auf Tauris*, German version (Vienna, 1781), cf. *Christoph Willibald Gluck, Sämtliche Werke*, Abt. I, Band 11, Kassel etc., 1965, p. 152, which Mozart selects as the basis for measures 89 to 95 of No. 10. More details on this are in a study prepared by the editor on *Mozart und Gluck 1781/82 in Wien*.

¹³² Daniel Hertz in the Foreword to NMA II/5/11/Vol. 1 of 2, p. XIX. In the *Idamante* Aria mentioned (pp. 196f.), the NMA (in agreement with the sources used and confirmed by the autograph which is once again available: Biblioteka Jagiellońska Kraków) specifies in the margin at the beginning of the score *Corno I, II in Si^b basso/B^b tief*.

of sounds, one coming from above and ending (wind), the other (strings) once again starting (as in m. 68), so to speak, in the middle and striving away from each other in contrary motion. Thus, in the opinion of the editor, the disturbing 6/4 chord does not really take place, it does not have any effect. But for “basso” it is interesting to look closely at measures 26 and 29, in which the wide separation of the bassoons only makes sense if the space is filled out by the horns, as is precisely the case if they are read “basso”:¹³³



But taken as a whole, the major facts (if not all) of No. 20 speak, in the opinion of the editor, in favor of *Corno I, II in Si^b basso/B^b low*. In summary — picking up on what was said at the beginning of this section — we can confirm the following: apart from the unambiguous situation of the B^b horns in No. 10 (“alto”), the “for and against” in the other four numbers in question, 2, 6, 15 and 20, can only be decided in a broader context. For the editor, the arguments for a “basso” reading have more weight in all four cases.

3. Possible Employment of a Keyboard Instrument

In the debate over whether in the Vienna of the 1780s there was still something of the Baroque tradition that the composer of an opera should personally lead or “conduct” at least the première and a few subsequent performances, showing himself to be responsible for the whole piece, the *Entführung* is an argument for this continuity. When the “Russian Court” attended a performance of the *Entführung* in October 1782,¹³⁴ Mozart, as he wrote to his father on the 19 October, “found it appropriate to go to the keyboard again and to conduct [...] in order to show |: because I happen to be here :| the lordships present that I am the father of my child”. But this was not the only reason why, for this performance (some of the previous ones had not been directed by him), he once again took his place at the keyboard. It was also, or perhaps more, a question of “waking the orchestra from the slumber it has sunk into”. No-one can say precisely how he did this. But it hard to imagine “waking” an orchestra except by giving impulses from the keyboard, by cogent “signals” from the conducting keyboard player or keyboard-playing

¹³³ Cf. also the similar disposition of the bassoons in No. 6, measures 46/47; on this see in this section the remarks above on No. 6.

¹³⁴ Probably the performance on the 8 October 1781, the tenth since the première.

conductor. Some indices for what Mozart did here (and also elsewhere as “conductor” of an opera¹³⁵), are contained in the entries in Mozart’s hand that we find in the Vienna score copy.¹³⁶ As an example, let us take his first entries regarding dynamics, found in No. 4 (mm. 96—99/NMA p. 100). Mozart’s performance directions underline the composed crescendo, although there is no sign, either in the autograph or in the Vienna copy directly dependent on it, for crescendo. It is typical that Mozart now made his entries (only) under the bass staff, precisely where the person responsible for “conducting” from the keyboard was bound to see them and pass them on.

It is of course superfluous to warn of the dangers of constant (and prominent) keyboard play. A well-rehearsed orchestra, not “sunk in slumber”, does not need “waking”. Here the first sentence from the chapter *Von dem [...] guten Vortrage überhaupt* [*On the fundamentals of good performance*] in Leopold Mozart’s *Violinschule* proves its relevance: “Everything depends on good execution”.¹³⁷

The question of which instrument is intended is answered, at least for the situation at that time in the Vienna Burgtheater, very clearly by the passage quoted from Mozart’s letter: he went “an das clavier” [“to the keyboard”]. As this cannot mean clavichord, “clavier” here must mean *Hammerflügel* [fortepiano] rather than harpsichord.¹³⁸

4. Ornamentation and Appoggiaturas

In accordance with the practice of the NMA, the editor has provided suggestions for the embellishments at fermatas and for the execution of appoggiaturas. The fermatas are in the following places:

¹³⁵ There are similar records of Mozart’s conducting from the keyboard from the Milan *Mitridate* up to the Prague *Don Giovanni* and the *Magic Flute*. Cf. the report on the Colloquium des Zentralinstituts für Mozartforschung in Summer 1968 on current questions of Mozart interpretation, in particular orchestral forces and conducting, in *Fragen der Besetzung und der Direktion des Orchesters*, in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1968/70*, Salzburg, 1970, pp. 35—37.

¹³⁶ Cf. the section *Sources* above.

¹³⁷ Leopold Mozart, *Gründliche Violinschule*, Augsburg 3/1787. Published in facsimile by Hans Joachim Moser, Leipzig, undated, p. 257.

¹³⁸ Mozart’s phrase does not of course exclude the possibility that harpsichords were still available and were used in the theaters of Vienna.

No. 11, measure 91: fermata embellishment (NMA p. 198)

No. 12, measure 66—67: fermata embellishment and *Eingang* [improvised bridge passage] (NMA p. 235)

No. 15, measure 36: *Eingang* (NMA pp. 272 and 273); measure 62: *Eingang* (NMA p. 276); measure 76: fermata embellishment (NMA p. 278)

No. 17, measure 98: *Eingang* (NMA p. 349)

The embellishments and *Eingänge* provided there as footnotes are to be considered as optional and stimulating recommendations by the editor. The same applies to the appoggiaturas, printed in each case above the relevant note in the vocal staff; in cases of doubt, the principle applied was to have rather one word too few than one word too many.

In the set-piece numbers, Mozart built the appoggiaturas into the melodic line. A particularly impressive example of this is provided by No. 6. Here at the eighth-note suspension in measure 9 (NMA p. 120) as well as in the execution of the “long” suspension in measure 75 (NMA p. 126), the orchestra must of course “wait”; the interrupted motion is held in the *tutti* rest with fermata, both motions — that of the singer and that of the orchestra — come to rest here.

At places where Mozart has not prescribed appoggiaturas, such as in No. 6, mm. 12 and 14 (NMA p. 120) or mm. 22 and 24 (NMA p. 121), the editor has chosen not to provide interpretational suggestions, but — especially in the recitative sections — further appoggiaturas are of course possible; it must be emphasised, however, that this can easily become excessive. Equally emphatic is the recommendation to read the observations by Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini, Stefan Kunze and Daniel Hertz and also Friedrich-Heinrich Neumann.¹³⁹

To all persons and institutions named in the Foreword and *Kritischer Bericht* who helped in the preparation of this volume I wish to express sincerest thanks. Here I would like to single out the following: Professor Dr. Joseph Heinz Eibl (Eichenau, Upper Austria) for suggestions and for

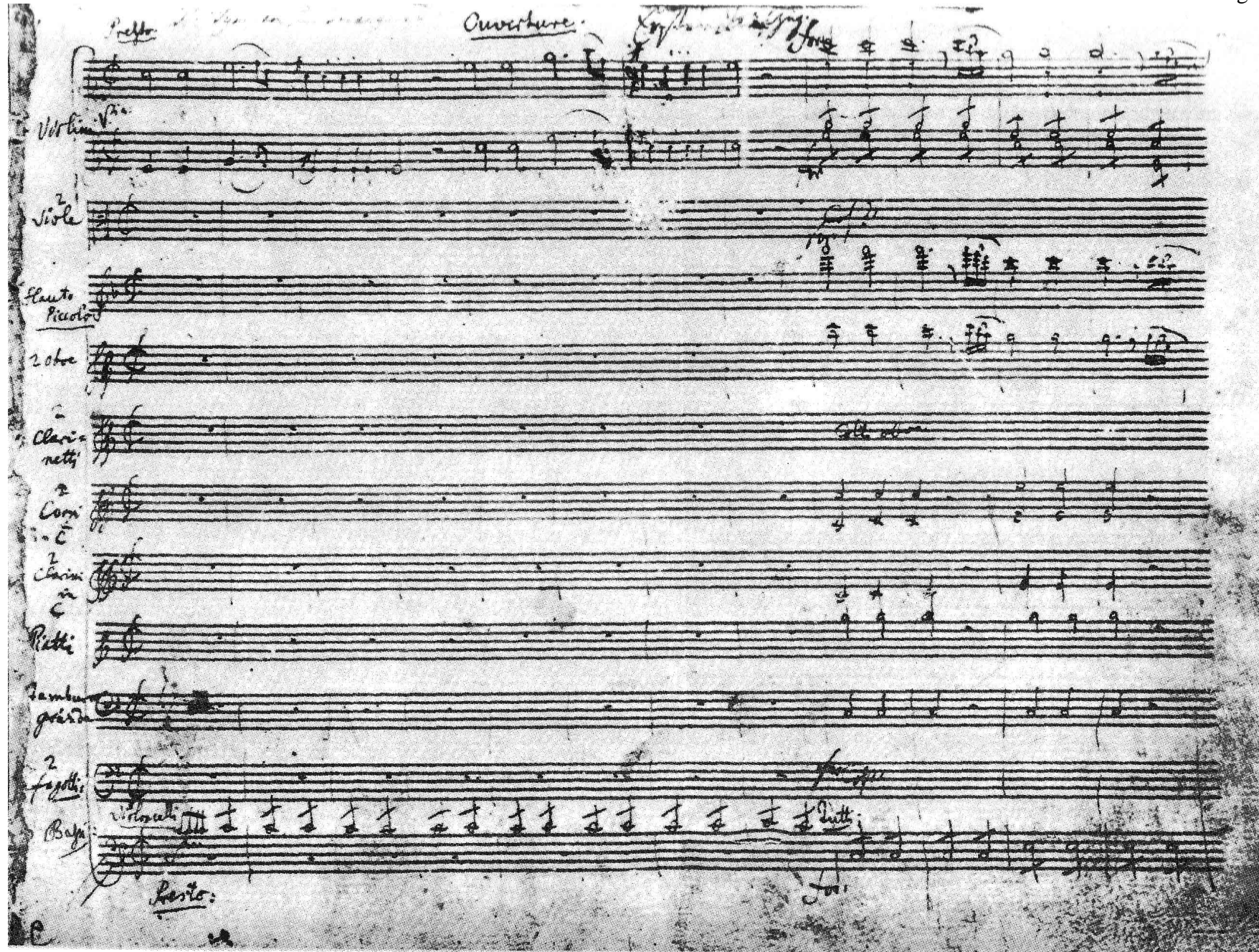
answering questions during the shaping of the Foreword; Professor Dr. Marius Flothuis (Amsterdam), who read proofs and was always available as an advisor; Professor Karl-Heinz Füssl (Wien) and the publisher’s readers; Professors Dr. Walter Gerstenberg (Tübingen and Salzburg) and Nikolaus Harnoncourt (St. Georgen) for much stimulating discussion, particularly in their joint seminar on the *Entführung* in Summer Semester 1980 at the Institute of Musicology at Salzburg University; Dr. Alan Tyson (London) for communicating the results of his paper investigations, especially for the autograph score. Finally, my special thanks are due to the members of the Editorial Board.

The work was undertaken and finished in commemoration of Friedrich-Heinrich Neumann, collaborator on the NMA, who died on the 3rd October, 1959, and to whom the edition had initially been entrusted.

Gerhard Croll
Salzburg, 3rd October, 1981

Translation: William Buchanan

¹³⁹ Cf. the forewords to NMA II/5/5: *Ascanio in Alba* (Tagliavini), NMA II/7: *Arias • Volume 1* (Kunze) and NMA II/5/11: *Idomeneo* (Hertz) and also Friedrich-Heinrich Neumann, *Die Theorie des Rezitativs im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des deutschen Musikschritftums des 18. Jahrhunderts*, phil. Diss. Göttingen, 1955 (typed), especially *Die Lehre von der Aufführung des Rezitativs*, pp. 287—332.



Facs. 1: Leaf 1^r of the autograph (Biblioteka Jagiellońska Kraków): beginning of the Overture. Cf. page 5—7, measures 1—12.



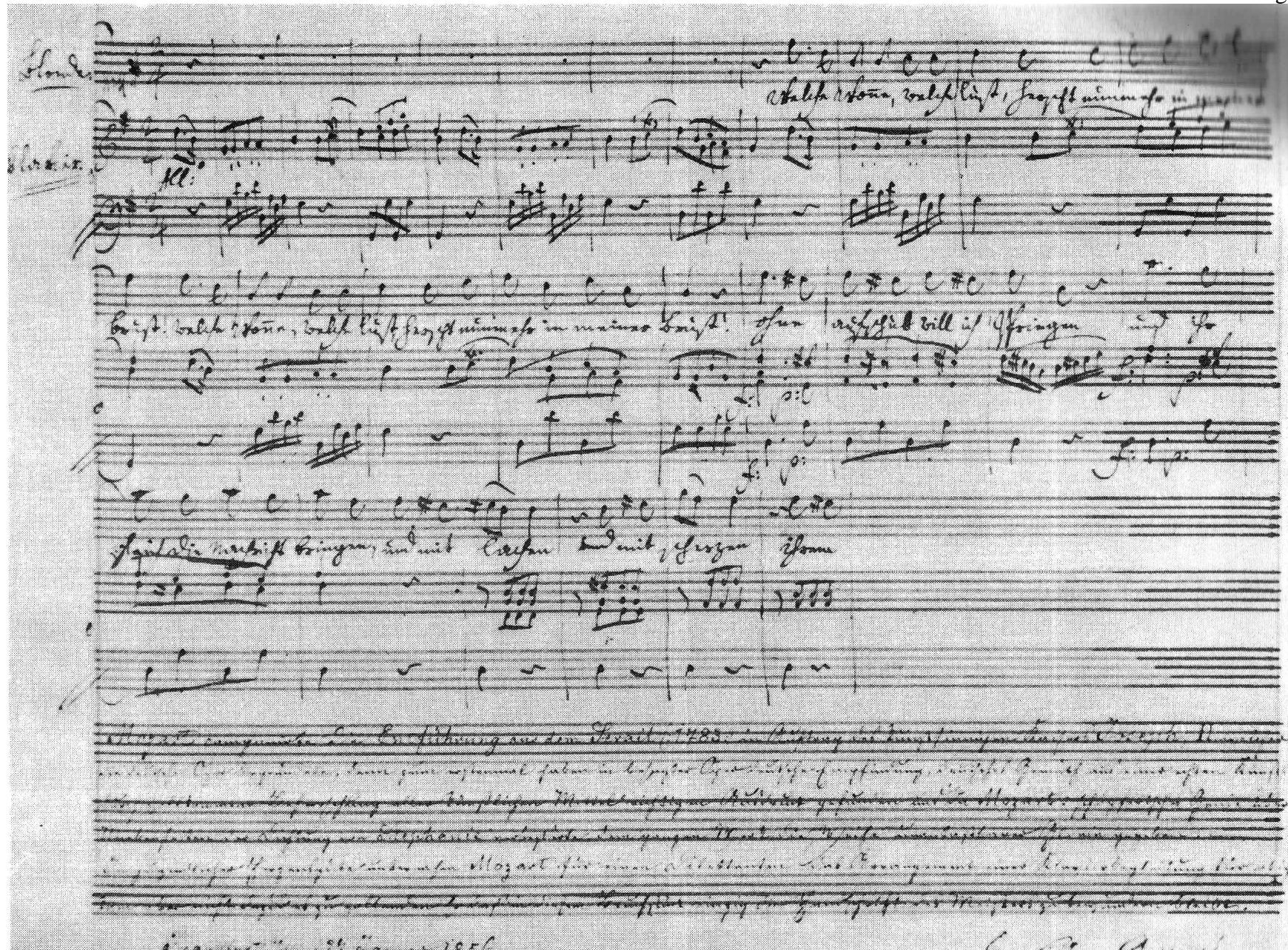
Facs. 2: Leaf 1^r of the autograph of No. 10 (privately owned in Switzerland): beginning of the recitative “Welcher Wechsel herrscht in meiner Seele”. Cf. page 172, measures 1—9, and Foreword.



Facs. 3: Leaf 55^r of the autograph of act two (State Library Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage, Music Department): beginning of No. 14, Duet “Vivat Bacchus! Bacchus lebe!”. Cf. pages 255—256, measures 1—11.



Facs. 4: First page of the separate autograph score of Act III (Biblioteka Jagiellońska Kraków): *Timpani, 2 Corni, Triangoli, piatti, Tamburo grande, 2 Clarini, 2 Corni* for No. 21a and No. 21b. Cf. pages 397—409 and Foreword.

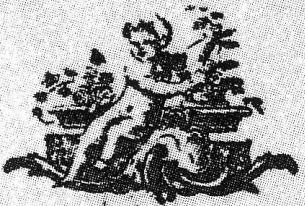


Facs. 6: Autograph of the piano reduction (Fragment) of No. 12 = Appendix III/2 (The Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, California). cf. page 446 and Foreword.

Die
Entführung aus dem Serail.

Ein Singspiel
in drey Aufzügen,
nach Brezner
frey bearbeitet, und für das k. k. Nationalhoftheater ein-
gerichtet.

In Musik gesetzt
vom
Herrn Mozart.




Aufgeführt im k. k. Nationalhoftheater.



Wien,
zu finden bey dem Logenmeister, 1782.

P e r s o n e n.

Selim, Bassa.
Konstanze, Geliebte des Belmonte.
Blonde, Mädchen der Konstanze.
Belmonte.
Pedrillo, Bedienter des Belmonte, und Auf-
seher über die Gärten des Bassa.
Osmin, Aufseher über das Landhaus des Bassa.
Klaas, ein Schiffer.
Ein Stummer.
Wache.



Die Scene ist auf dem Landgute des Bassa.

Erster Aufzug.

(Platz vor dem Palast des Bassa am Ufer des
Meers.)

Erster Auftritt.

Belmonte allein.

Hier soll ich dich dann sehen,
Konstanze! dich mein Glück!
Laß Himmel es geschehen!
Gieb mir die Ruh zurück!
Ich duldere der Leiden
D Liebe! allzuviel!
Scheiß mir dafür nun Freuden
Und bringe mich ans Ziel.

Aber wie soll ich in den Palast kommen? —
wie sie sehen? — wie sprechen?

2 Zwey.

Facs. 7-9: Title-page, cast list and beginning of the first act from the word book (Vienna, 1782; copy in the Austrian National Library, Vienna, Music Collection).