

WOLFGANG AMADEUS MOZART

Series II

Works for the Stage

WORK GROUP 5: OPERAS AND SINGSPIELS
VOLUME 17: IL DISSOLUTO PUNITO OSSIA IL DON GIOVANNI

PRESENTED BY WOLFGANG PLATH
AND WOLFGANG REHM

1968

Neue Mozart-Ausgabe (New Mozart Edition)*

WOLFGANG AMADEUS MOZART

The Complete Works

BÄRENREITER KASSEL ● BASEL ● LONDON

En coopération avec le Conseil international de la Musique

Editorial Board: Dietrich Berke ● Wolfgang Plath ● Wolfgang Rehm

Agents for

BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS: Bärenreiter Ltd. London

BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND: Bärenreiter-Verlag Kassel

SWITZERLAND and all other countries not named here: Bärenreiter-Verlag Basel

As a supplement to each volume a Critical Report (Kritischer Bericht) in German is available

The editing of the NMA is supported by

City of Augsburg

City of Salzburg

Administration Land Salzburg

City of Vienna

Konferenz der Akademien der Wissenschaften in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland,
represented by

Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz,
with funds from

Bundesministerium für Forschung und Technologie, Bonn and

Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus

Ministerium für Kultur der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik

Bundesministerium für Unterricht und Kunst, Vienna

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

CONTENTS

Editorial Principles	VI
Foreword.....	VII
Facsimile: Leaf 1 ^r of the autograph (gathering 1).....	XXI
Facsimile: Leaf 14 ^r of the autograph (gathering 1).....	XXII
Facsimile: Leaf 126 ^v of the autograph (gathering 4).....	XXIII
Facsimile: Leaf 203 ^r of the autograph (gathering 6).....	XXIV
Facsimile: Front face of the leaf inserted into the autograph (gathering 7) after leaf 262 ^{bis}	XXV
Facsimile: A page from the “Donebauer Manuscript”.....	XXVI
Facsimiles: The title-pages of the three printed librettos.....	XXVII
Dramatis Personae, orchestral scoring.....	2
Index of scenes and numbers.....	3
Ouvertura.....	5
Atto primo.....	28
Atto secondo.....	265
Appendix	
I: Additions and changes in the “Vienna version”.....	489
II: Sketches for the Ball Scene from Finale I (facsimile and transcription).....	527

EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

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

- I: Sacred Vocal Works (1–4)
- II: Theatrical Works (5–7)
- III: Songs, Part-Songs, Canons (8–10)
- IV: Orchestral Works (11–13)
- V: Concertos (14–15)
- VI: Church Sonatas (16)
- VII: Large Solo Instrument Ensembles (17–18)
- VIII: Chamber Music (19–23)
- IX: Keyboard Music (24–27)
- X: Supplement (28–35)

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





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

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

The NMA uses the numbering of the Köchel Catalogue (KV); those numberings which differ in the third and expanded edition (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

The Genesis of “*Don Giovanni*”;

First Performance 1787

Impressed by the overwhelming success of *Le nozze di Figaro* and the personal triumphs that Mozart had celebrated during his first Prague sojourn at the beginning of 1787,¹ Pasquale Bondini, Principal of the Gräfllich Nostitzsches National-Theater in Prague, entered into a contract with Mozart for a new opera for the next season in Prague – it is understandable that such successful partners² were interested in further collaboration. Around 8 February, Mozart and his wife set off on the homeward journey to Vienna, where they must have arrived about 4 days later. Mozart would then doubtless have gone at once to the tried and tested *Figaro* librettist Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749-1838), this time – it is said – giving him a free hand in the choice of subject. In his memoirs, written very much later, Da Ponte at least offers the following version of events:

“Pensai però che tempo fosse di rianimare la vena poetica, che mi pareva secca del tutto, quando scrissi per Reghini e Peticchio. Me ne presentarono l'occasione i tre prelodati maestri, Martini, Mozart e Salieri, che vennero tutti tre in una volta a chiedermi un dramma. Io gli amava e stimava tutti tre, e da tutti tre sperava un riparo alle passate cadute e qualche incremento alla mia gloriuccia teatrale. Pensai se non fosse possibile di contentarli tutti tre e di far tre opere a un tratto. Salieri non mi domandava un dramma originale. Aveva scritto a Parigi la musica all'opera del *Tarar*, voleva ridurla al carattere di dramma e musica italiana, e me ne domandava quindi una libera traduzione. Mozart e Martini lasciavano a me interamente la scelta. Scelsi per lui il *Don Giovanni*, soggetto che infinitamente gli piacque, e *L'arbore di Diana* pel Martini, a cui dar voleva un argomento gentile, adattabile a quelle sue dolcissime melodie, che si senton nell'anima, ma che pochissimi sanno imitare. Trovati questi tre soggetti, andai dall'imperadore, gli esposi il mio pensiero e l'informai che mia intenzione era di far queste tre opere contemporaneamente. – Non

ci riuscirete! – mi rispose egli. – Forse che no – replicai; – ma mi proverò. Scriverò la notte per Mozart, e farò conto di legger l'*Inferno* di Dante. Scriverò la mattina per Martini, e mi parrà di studiar il Petrarca. La sera per Salieri, e sarà il mio Tasso.”³

[“But I thought it was time to revive my poetic vein, which seemed to me dry in every way when I wrote for Reghini and Peticchio. The three lauded masters Martini, Mozart and Salieri gave me the opportunity, all three coming to me at the same time to ask me for a drama. I loved and esteemed all three, and from all three I hoped not only for compensation for past failures, but also for some increase in my theatrical fame. I wondered whether it would be possible for me to satisfy all three and to create three operas at the same time. Salieri did not want an original opera from me. In Paris he had written the music for the opera *Tarar*, and wished to re-work it with Italian characters and music, and he therefore asked me for a free transcription. Mozart and Martini left the choice entirely to me. For the first I chose *Don Giovanni*, a subject which pleased him infinitely, and *L'arbore di Diana* for Martini, to whom I wished to give a courtly subject, adaptable to his most sweet melodies, which one hears in the soul, but which no-one can imitate. After these three subjects had been found, I went to the Emperor, revealed my thoughts to him and told him that it was my intention to create these three operas simultaneously. – You will not succeed! – he replied to me. – Perhaps no – I replied – but I will attempt it. I will write at night for Mozart, and I will think I am reading Dante's *Inferno*. I will write in the morning for Martini, and it will be like reading Petrarca. In the evening for Salieri, and that will be my Tasso.”]⁴

Da Ponte's representation is, especially in the details, not absolutely credible.⁵ Most importantly, he fails to mention that, unlike *Figaro*, for *Don Giovanni* he had drawn on the immediate predecessor, Giovanni Bertati's *Don Giovanni o sia Il Convitato di Pietra*, which was premièred with Giuseppe Gazzaniga's music on 5 February

¹ On 22 January, Mozart himself conducted a performance of *Figaro*, having already given a musical soirée on 19 January.

² It was Bondini, together with the impresario Domenico Guardasoni and his Italian opera troupe, who helped to make *Figaro* in Prague so legendary. – Details on Bondini, Guardasoni and the individual members of the troupe in Christoph Bitter, *Wandlungen in den Inszenierungsformen des “Don Giovanni” von 1787-1928. Zur Problematik des musikalischen Theaters in Deutschland*, Regensburg, 1961 (= Volume X of *Forschungsbeiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*), pp. 11f.

³ Quoted from *Lorenzo Da Ponte, Memorie*, edited by Giovanni Gambarin e Fausto Nicolini, 2 volumes, Bari, 1918, Vol. I, pp. 130f.

⁴ German translation available in: *Lorenzo Da Ponte, Mein abenteuerliches Leben. Die Memoiren des Mozart-Librettisten*. New German version with an essay *Zum Verständnis des Werkes* and a bibliography by Walter Klefisch, *Rowohlts Klassiker der Literatur und der Wissenschaft*, Biographies, Volume 6, 1960, p. 103.

⁵ Cf. on this the commentary in the Italian edition of the *Memoires* cited in footnote 3, Volume II, pp. 282f.; cf. also Friedrich Chrysander, *Die Oper Don Giovanni von Gazzaniga und von Mozart*, in: *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft IV*, Leipzig, 1888, pp. 351f.

1787 in the Teatro Giustiniani di S. Moisè in Venice as an opera in one act.⁶ But even if one bears this in mind, one will be forced to admit that Da Ponte's adaptation far exceeds Bertati's in quality and must be considered a poetic-dramatic achievement of the highest rank. This is still true, even if one assumes that Mozart participated decisively in the preparation of this libretto. If Da Ponte drew on Bertati's libretto, Mozart – in the Introduction (from measure 73 on) – made use of exactly the corresponding passage in Gazzaniga's opera.⁷

In Mozart's correspondence, which becomes increasingly rare in this late period, there is no mention of work on *Don Giovanni* (work had in all probability begun as early as March 1787), nor is there documentary evidence elsewhere of the opera's development. During the composing, Mozart also dedicated time to a substantial and varied series of "secondary works". Between his return from Prague and the end of August 1787, the following were amongst the works completed: the "sombre" works in minor keys of that year, in which his father Leopold died on 28 May, the Rondo in A minor KV 511, the Quintet in G minor KV 516, as well as possibly the String Quintet arrangement (KV 406/516 b) of the Serenade for Wind in C minor KV 388 (384 a); the two Arias for Bass KV 512 and KV 513; two groups of Songs with piano accompaniment (KV 517-520 and KV 523, 524); the String Quintet in C KV 515; the *Musikalische Spaß* [Musical Joke] KV 522 with its serious counterpart, *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik* [A Little Night-Music] KV 525, as well as finally the Piano Sonata for four hands in C KV 521 and the last Piano-Violin Sonata A KV 526.

Probably by August 1787 at the latest, the date (14 October) for the Prague première of *Don Giovanni*

⁶ Cf. *Annals of Opera 1597-1940*, compiled from the original sources by Alfred Loewenberg, 2 volumes, Geneva, ²/1955, Vol. I, p. 441. – George de Saint-Foix' surmise (*W.-A. Mozart* IV, p. 275) that the work had already been put on in 1782 in the Teatro S. Angelo in Venedig turned out to be mistaken (information generously communicated by Dr. Stefan Kunze, Munich, who is working on a publication on *Don Giovanni* and the Italian opera). This does not however rule out the possibility that both Mozart and his librettist could have seen the opera previously, in Spring 1787 in Vienna.

⁷ Cf. Otto Jahn/Hermann Abert, *W. A. Mozart*, 2 volumes, Leipzig, ⁶/1924, volume 2, music supplement pp. 19f., and Edward J. Dent, *Mozart's Opern*, German translation by Anton Mayer, Berlin, no date, music supplement pp. 13f.

must have been known, simultaneously planned as a gala performance in honor of Prince Anton Clemens of Saxony and his wife, the Archduchess Maria Theresia, sojourning in Prague. For this reason, a first, although still incomplete (the second half of the first act was missing), libretto was printed in Vienna about this time to be presented for approval to the Court Censor.⁸

But even the score itself still has gaps in it when Mozart finally sets off – once again together with Constanze – on the second journey to Prague,⁹ where he arrives three days later.¹⁰ Regarding the parts of the autograph score which were added in Prague, Alfred Einstein was the first to risk giving precise details: in his view, the parts in question are the Overture and the numbers 5 (?), 6, 14, 16 (?) as well as the whole of Finale II (No. 24).¹¹ – Only a few days after Mozart, Da Ponte also

⁸ More precisely, the first act ends in this case in the middle of the quartet No. 9, which has up till now been interpreted as being an omission of passages which might be regarded by the Censor as morally and politically objectionable (seduction scene, "*Viva la libertà!*" ["*Long live freedom!*"]). This seems plausible on the basis of the evidence, but at the same time Christoph Bitter (op. cit., pp. 46f., footnotes 34 and 39) proposes, with good reason, the new hypothesis that this first libretto simply reflects the stage Da Ponte had reached in the work, especially as the copy given to Bertati for the first act of the new libretto also ends at the same place.

⁹ Regarding this date cf. *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*. Complete edition, collected and elucidated by Wilhelm A. Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch, 4 volumes (= Bauer-Deutsch), Kassel etc., 1962/63, volume IV, Nr. 1067, p. 54, lines 7f., und *Mozart. Die Dokumente seines Lebens*, compiled and elucidated by O. E. Deutsch (= *Dokumente*, NMA X/34), Kassel etc., 1961, p. 263.

¹⁰ On 6 October, the *Prager Oberpostamtszeitung* [*Prague Head Post Office Newspaper*]: "Prague, 4 October. / Our famous Herr Mozart has arrived in Prague once again, and now one hears the news that his newly written opera, *Das steinerne Gastmahl* [the stone guest (banquet?)] will receive its first performance in the National Theatre here." – The Mozarts left the coach at the inn "Zu den drei Löwen" (Kohlmarkt 20), but also resided for a time on the Bertramka, the country seat of the Duscheks in the Prague suburb of Smichov. Cf. *Dokumente*, p. 263.

¹¹ Cf. KV³, top of p. 675, and the foreword to his edition of *Don Giovanni* (Edition Eulenburg No. 918), p. XII. Einstein bases his judgement on observations of clear differences in paper, format, ruling and hand-writing in the autograph. Only in the foreword are the numbers 5 and 16 included in the Prague portion. – A critical appraisal of all this points must be left to the *Kritischer Bericht* [*Critical Report*, available in German only].

arrived in Prague.¹² He had of course to be on site if any changes proved necessary during the intensive rehearsals which were about to begin; there were also still details to be taken care of in preparing the definitive Prague libretto.¹³ Mozart had obviously had too optimistic a view of the conditions in Prague, above all of the diligence and ability of the singers, when he voiced the opinion that *Don Giovanni* could be rehearsed and ready to perform within ten days. The first night should have been 14 October; on 15 October he began a letter to his friend Gottfried von Jacquin in Vienna: “*You will probably be thinking that my opera has already taken place – but – there you are somewhat in error; first of all, the cast at the theater here is not as able as that in Vienna when it comes to learning such an opera in so little time. Secondly, I found on my arrival so little in the way of preparations and arrangements that it would have been an impossible task to put it on yesterday, the 14th; [...]*” In the same letter, some days later, he continued: “*Don Giovanni has now been planned for the 24th; it was planned for the 21st, but a singer became ill and caused further delay: – since the whole troupe is small, the Impresario always has to live with worries, and take as much care of his people as possible so that he does not end up, when an unexpected indisposition occurs, in the most critical of all critical situations, unable to put on any spectacle at all! – For this reason, everything here takes a long time, because the performers / out of laziness :/ do not wish to rehearse on opera days, and the Entrepreneur / out of fear and worry / will not press them to do so, [...]*” and finally, some days later again: “*On Monday coming, the 29th, the opera will be performed for the first time; – you will hear my report on it the next day; [...]*”¹⁴ On 14 October, instead of *Don Giovanni*, *Figaro* was repeated in the National Theater under Mozart’s direction in honor of the princely couple;¹⁵ the

archducal bride left Prague the next day, without hearing the festival opera which had actually been written for her. – Da Ponte also had to start on his return journey early; in his account,¹⁶ it was in response to a burningly urgent letter from Salieri suggesting – “*fosse vero o no*” [“*whether true or not*”] – that the first performance of Salieri’s opera *Axur, Re d’Ormus* was about to take place¹⁷ and that the Emperor himself commanded his

*October. / [...] At half-past-six, they [their Majesties] made their way to the Count Nostitzi National Theatre, which had on this occasion been decorated and illuminated in a very distinguished manner. The whole arena was so splendid because of the ornaments of the numerous guests that one must confess to never before having seen such a magnificent scene. As they entered, their most noble lordships were greeted by a public affirmation of joy from all present, responded to loving thanks by these highest persons themselves. On request, the well-known and, as our general public admits, so well executed opera “The Marriage of Figaro” was given. The enthusiasm of the musical artists and the presence of the master Mozart resulted in the general applause and satisfaction of their most high Lordships. After the 1st act, a sonett, composed for this festive occasion by some patriots of Bohemia, was distributed to all. Because of their intended early departure, the most high persons themselves retired to the royal fortress before the opera had yet finished.” – Cf. *Dokumente*, pp. 264f.*

¹⁶ Da Ponte, *Memorie*, op. cit., volume I, p. 133: “*Non s’era fatta che la prima rappresentazione di questo spettacolo, quando fui obbligato di partire per Praga, dove doveasi rappresentar per la prima volta il Don Giovanni di Mozart, per l’arrivo della principessa di Toscana in quella città. Mi vi fermai otto giorni per dirigere gli attori, che doveano rappresentarlo; ma, prima che andasse in scena, fui obbligato di tornar a Vienna, per una lettera di foco che ricevei dal Salieri, in cui, fosse vero o no, informavami che l’Assur doveva rappresentarsi immediatamente per le nozze di Francesco, e che l’imperatore gli aveva ordinato di richiamarmi. Tornai adunque a Vienna, viaggiando di e notte; [...]*”

[“*Only the first performance of this spectacle had been given [Martini’s L’arbore di Diana is meant], when I was forced to leave for Prague, where Mozart’s Don Giovanni was to be given for the very first time on the arrival of the Princess of Tuscany in this city. I remained there eight days to direct the actors who were to present it; but, before it could go on stage, I was obliged to return to Vienna after receiving a burning letter from Salieri, in which, whether it was true or not, he informed me that Axur had to be put on immediately for the marriage of Francesco, and that the Emperor had ordered him to recall me. Thus I returned to Vienna, traveling day and night; [...]*”

¹⁷ The performance of *Axur* in question actually first took place on 8 January 1788 (cf. Loewenberg, op. cit., I, p. 443). Faulty memory on Da Ponte’s part – or one of “Salieri’s intrigues”?

¹² The *Prager Oberpostamtszeitung* reported on 9 October: “*Prague, 8 October. / The Imperial and Royal Poet Herr Abbé Laurenz da Ponte, a native of Venice, has arrived here from Vienna and will spend some days here.*” – Da Ponte got out at the inn “Zum Platteis” facing Mozart’s quarters. Cf. *Dokumente*, p. 263.

¹³ Cf. Bitter, op. cit., pp. 25f., who presents a very clear over-view of the situation. As far as the musical changes are concerned, Bitter adopts Einstein’s views (cf. footnote 11).

¹⁴ The three letter excerpts are in Bauer-Deutsch IV, Nr. 1069, pp. 54f., lines 4-10, 28-36, 51-52.

¹⁵ There was a report on this in the *Prager Oberpostamtszeitung* of 16 October: “*Prague, 15*

return. As he went, another personality arrived in Prague, on 25 October: Giacomo Casanova.¹⁸

On 29 October, after repeated postponements, the première of *Don Giovanni* finally took place. Of the contemporary notices and opera leaflets, none have survived. All essential information can however be seen in what Mozart wrote one day before the very first performance in the work catalogue in his own hand: *The 28th October. / in Prague. / Il dissoluto punito, o, il Don Giovanni. opera Buffa in 2 Acts. – / Pezzi di musica. 24. . Attori. Signore. Teresa Saporiti, Bondini, e Micelli. Signori. Passi, Ponziani, baglioni e Lolli.*

The singing roles were:

Don Giovanni	Luigi Bassi
Donna Anna	Teresa Saporiti
Don Ottavio	Antonio Baglioni
Donna Elvira	Caterina Micelli
Leporello	Felice Ponziani
Commendatore / Masetto	Giuseppe Lolli
Zerlina	Caterina Bondini ¹⁹

On the day after (!) the première the following announcement appeared in the *Prager Oberpostamtszeitung*:²⁰ “Prague, 29th October. / The Director of the local Italian Company yesterday gave notice of the opera for the presence of the most elevated guests from Tuscany called Don Jouan [sic], or Licentiousness Punished. The author is the Court Theater Poet Abbé da Ponte; it is to be performed today, the 29th, for the first time. All are looking forward to the excellent composition by the great master Mozart. More on this soon.” The same newspaper reported on the première itself on 3 November: “Prague, 1st November. / On Monday 29th, the opera by the master Mozart, *Don Giovanni* or the Stone Guest, awaited with such longing expectation, was given by the Italian Opera Company. Connoisseurs and musical artists say that nothing comparable has ever been performed in Prague. Herr Mozart conducted himself, and, as he joined the orchestra, he received triple jubilation, which was repeated again when he left the same. The opera is, by the way, extremely

*difficult to perform, and everyone wonders at the good presentation despite this after such a short rehearsal time. Everyone, theater and orchestra, gave their best to reward Mozart gratefully with good execution. High costs were also incurred because of several choruses and scenery, all of which was made splendidly by Herr Guardasoni. The exceptional number of spectators secured the general applause.”*²¹ and on 10 November the Viennese *Provinzialnachrichten* reported: “Prague Theater. / Monday, 29 October, the Italian opera *Don Giovanni*, or the Stone Guest, music by Herr Mozart, was performed for the first time to great applause. Herr Mozart conducted in person, and was greeted by the large gathering with joyful jubilation.”²² There is also a report by Mozart himself, unfortunately only too short. On 4 November he writes to Gottfried von Jacquin: “on the 29th October my opera *Don Giovanni* went on stage, and in fact to the loudest of applause. – Yesterday it was put on |: expressly for my benefit :| for the 4th time”; – some lines later we read: “perhaps it [the opera] will be performed in Vienna after all – that is my wish.”²³

The Mozarts left Prague around 13 November and probably reached Vienna on the 16th.

The Vienna Performances of 1788

The news from Prague, initially regarding *Figaro*, and then *Don Giovanni*, had their effect at Court: Mozart was named Imperial Chamber Musician on 7 December. The decree of appointment was couched in the following terms: “In the name of His Roman, Imperial, Hungarian, and Bohemian Royal Apostolic Majesty, etc., Archduke of Austria etc., our most gracious Lord, granting Wolfgang Mozart in grace: it has seemed most fitting to His Imp. Roy. Apo. Maj. etc., in recognition of the knowledge and ability in music possessed by him and the applause accorded to him for this reason, to award the same the special privilege of receiving him into His most select Chamber

¹⁸ Cf. *Dokumente*, p. 265. Casanova, who would have been at the première, was in a sense involved in *Don Giovanni*. A fragmentary re-working of the text of the sextet No. 19 in his hand is extant (cf. Paul Nettle, *Mozart und Casanova*, in: *Neue Musikzeitung*, 49th year, Stuttgart, 1928, issue 3, pp. 89f.; id., *Mozart in Böhmen*, Prague, 1938, pp. 146f.).

¹⁹ Cf. *Dokumente*, p. 266.

²⁰ Cf. *Dokumente*, p. 266.

²¹ Op. cit., p. 267. – The same report printed on 14 November in the *Wiener Zeitung* [Vienna Newspaper].

²² Op. cit., p. 267.

²³ Bauer-Deutsch IV, Nr. 1072, p. 58, lines 4-7, 11f. – Supposedly, Mozart or Guardasoni wrote to Da Ponte about the success of *Don Giovanni*. The (dubious) Mozart letter is reproduced in the commentary (volume II, pp. 282f.) of the Italian edition of the *Memoires* quoted in footnote 3; see there (in volume I, pp. 134) also the no less dubious Guardasoni letter. – Cf. also *Dokumente*, p. 266.

Music,²⁴ and in doing so is moved to order the provision of an annual salary of Eight Hundred Guilders from the Imperial and Royal Court Treasury from 1st December of this year! In regard of which, notice of this most royal ordinance is hereby disclosed to him, Wolfgang Mozart, and this Decretal of the First Chamberlain's Office delivered to him at most sovereign command for his assurance. / Rosenberg / Imp. Roy. First Chamberlain's Office / Vienna, the 7th December, 1787. / Johann Thorwart."²⁵ This nomination meant two things at the same time for Mozart: increased income and greater prestige. Nevertheless it would have been difficult for him, faced with the intrigues in Vienna, to have his *Don Giovanni* put on in there if the Emperor himself had not commended the performance. Once again, in the absence of more precise reports, we quote Da Ponte:

*“L'imperadore mi fece chiamare e, caricandomi di graziose espressioni di lode, mi fece dono d'altri cento zecchini, e mi disse che bramava molto di vedere il Don Giovanni. Mozart tornò, diede subito lo spartito al copista, che si affrettò a cavare le parti, perché Giuseppe doveva partire. Andò in scena, e [...] deggio dirlo? il Don Giovanni non piacque! Tutti, salvo Mozart, credettero che vi mancasse qualche cosa. Vi si fecero delle aggiunte, vi si cangiarono delle arie, si esposero di nuovo sulle scene; e il Don Giovanni non piacque. E che ne disse l'imperadore? – L'opera è divina: è forse forse[!] più bella del Figaro, ma non è cibo pei denti de' miei viennesi. – Raccontai la cosa a Mozart, il quale rispose senza turbarsi: – Lasciam loro tempo da masticarlo. – Non s'ingannò. Procurai, per suo avviso, che l'opera si ripettesse sovente: ad ogni rappresentazione l'applauso cresceva, e a poco a poco anche i signori viennesi da' mali denti ne gustaron il sapore e ne intesero la bellezza, e posero il Don Giovanni tra le più belle opere che su alcun teatro drammatico si rappresentassero.”*²⁶

[“The Emperor had me summoned and, pouring gracious expressions of praise upon me, gave me a gift of another 100 Zecchinis and said to me that he wished very much to see Don Giovanni. Mozart returned, gave the score to the copyist, who made haste to extract the parts, because [the Emperor] Josef was due to leave. It went on stage, and [...] do I have to say it? Don Giovanni did not please in Vienna! Everyone, except Mozart, believed that

*something was missing. Additions were made, some arias were changed, scenes were re-arranged, and Don Giovanni did not please. And what did the Emperor have to say about it? – The opera is divine: it is perhaps, perhaps [!] more beautiful than Figaro, but it is not the food for the teeth of my Viennese. – I recounted to matter to Mozart, who replied unflattered: – Let's leave them time to chew it. – He was not deceived. On his advice, I arranged to have the opera repeated often. With every performance, the applause grew, and little by little the ladies and gentlemen of Vienna with the bad teeth tasted the flavour of it and understood its beauty, and counted Don Giovanni amongst the most beautiful operas ever presented on any stage.”*²⁷

This account covers the time from the very first performance in Prague (Da Ponte was obviously summoned to the Emperor after news of the success in Prague had reached Vienna) up to the difficult Vienna performances of 1788. The Vienna première of *Don Giovanni* took place on 7 May 1788.²⁸ A poster for this performance has been preserved.²⁹ *“New Singpiel. / In the Imperial and Royal National Court Theater / performed today, Wednesday, 7th May, 1788: / (for the first time) / IL DISSOLUTO PUNITO, / ossia: / IL DON GIOVANNI. / Don Juan, or: the Punished Villain. / A Singpiel in two Acts, / the Poetry is by Herr Abbé da Ponte, Poet for Italian Singpiel at the Imp. Roy. Theater. / The Music is by Herr Wolfgang Mozart, Director of Music in Permanent Imperial Service. / The books are available in Italian only from the Master of the Lodge for 20 crowns / The beginning is at 7 o'clock.”*

The singers were:

Don Giovanni	Francesco Albertarelli
Donna Anna	Aloysia Lange
Don Ottavio	Francesco Morella
Donna Elvira	Caterina Cavalieri
Leporello	Francesco Benucci
Commendatore/Masetto	Francesco Bussani
Zerlina	Luisa Mombelli ³⁰

²⁷ A German translation is available on p. 107 of the edition mentioned in footnote 3.

²⁸ Mozart's fee amounted to 225 Guilders, Da Ponte's to 100 Guilders (cf. *Dokumente*, p. 276), which was substantially more than in Prague, where the usual fee for the composer was 100 Guilders, for the librettist 50 Guilders (cf. *Dokumente*, p. 266).

²⁹ Cf. *Dokumente*, p. 275.

³⁰ Cf. *Dokumente*, p. 275.

²⁴ Gluck, who had the same title (but with a salary of 2000 Guilders), had died on 15 November 1787.

²⁵ Cf. *Dokumente*, pp. 269f., as illustration in: *Mozart and seine Welt in zeitgenössischen Bildern*, founded by Maximilian Zenger, prepared by O. E. Deutsch (NMA X/32), Kassel etc., 1961, Nr. 465.

²⁶ Cf. *Memorie*, op. cit., volume I, pp. 134f.

Karl, Count von Zinzendorf, who was present at the performance, wrote in his diary on the same evening:

“[...] *a l'opera. Don Giovanni. La musique de Mozart est agréable et très variée [...]*”

[“[...] *to the opera. Don Giovanni. The music by Mozart is very pleasing and very varied [...]*”].³¹

(The *Wiener Zeitung* of 10 May only registered the performance.³² On 12 May, Zinzendorf noted once again:

“*A l'Opera. Don Giovanni. M^e de la Lippe trouve la musique savante, peu propre le chant.*”

[“*To the opera. Don Giovanni. Madame von Lippe finds the music well conceived, the singing not very clean.*”].³³

The emperor expressed it similarly in a letter from the camp in Semlin to Count Rosenberg:

“*La Musique de Mozart est bien trop difficile pour le chant.*”³⁴

[“*Mozart's music is no doubt too difficult for the singers.*”]

This is a judgement based on hearsay; the first and only performance of *Don Giovanni* attended by the Emperor (at the same time the last in Vienna during Mozart's lifetime), took place on 15 December 1788. – Archduchess Elisabeth Wilhelmine also expressed scepticism in a letter of 15 May to her husband, Archduke Franz:

“*On a donné ces jours passés un nouvel opéra de la composition de Mozart, mais on m'a dit [!] qu'il n'avait pas eu beaucoup de succès [...]*”³⁵

[“*In recent days a new opera composed by Mozart has been put on, but I have been told [!] that it has not had much success [...]*”]

The attitude in the upper social echelons was thus obviously against *Don Giovanni*. Nevertheless, the opera was given 15 repeat performances in Vienna in 1788: six in May, six again between 16 June and 2 August and then three more on 24 October, 3 November and 15 December.

The Problem of the “Vienna Version”

In strict terms, there is only one version *Don Giovanni* which can make an unconditional claim of authenticity: that is the opera as composed for Prague and performed there with unparalleled success on 29 October 1787. At the same time, this is also the only version which can be precisely defined, for the so-called “Vienna Version”

³¹ Op. cit., p. 276.

³² Op. cit., p. 276.

³³ Op. cit., p. 276.

³⁴ Op. cit., p. 277.

³⁵ Op. cit., p. 276.

cannot be defined, as far as can be concluded from the source material currently available, in terms other than ambiguous; it is rather the case that it has the character of a variable, an experiment, a non-definitive version – right up to the last performance in Vienna during Mozart's lifetime (15 December 1788).³⁶ Far from being a version showing the “last touch of the pen”, it does not even allow Mozart's artistic intentions to be recognised with a minimum of clarity. If the present edition – in keeping with the principles of a critical edition – limits itself in its main music text to the rendering of the original Prague version, relegating the additions and changes made for Vienna to the Appendix, the volume editors are at the same time only too aware that they are adopting a stance openly contrary to that of traditional theater practice: the *Don Giovanni* of today's and of earlier stages is a neither logical nor aesthetic and certainly not a historically satisfactory “little bit of everything”, in no way corresponding to what Mozart had wanted and intended. – It is advisable to differentiate in what follows between the certain facts and the unsolved problems of the “Vienna Version”, although here only the most important points can be discussed:

I. Certainties

1. Francesco Morella, the Vienna Don Ottavio, seems to have been afraid of the coloraturas in Aria No. 21, “*Il mio tesoro intanto*”, so much so that Mozart decided to drop the number completely and to compose a new aria better adapted to Morella's vocal style (KV 540 a), which was then inserted – incomprehensible in dramatic terms – after the recitative “*Come mai creder deggio*” in Scena XIV of the first act. Mozart noted this piece in his own hand-written catalogue on 24 April 1788 with the following words: *An aria for the opera: Don Giovanni in G major. For M:^r Morella. Dalla sua pace etc. / 2 Violini, Viole, 1 flauto, 2 oboe, 2 Corni, 2 fagotti, e Bassi.* This new Ottavio aria (Appendix I/1, No. 10a) is preserved in Mozart's manuscript (gathering 8 of the complete autograph).³⁷

³⁶ After that, Mozart only heard his *Don Giovanni* once more on the stage: on 2 September 1791, four days after the very first performance of *La clemenza di Tito*, a gala performance took place in Prague for the Court, probably directed by Mozart himself (cf. *Dokumente*, p. 353). In which “version” *Don Giovanni* was heard that evening is unknown to us.

³⁷ The musical and textual sources named in this section are presented systematically below, p. f.

2. Leporello's aria "*Ah pietà, signori miei*" (No. 20) was replaced by the newly composed recitative "*Ah pietà [...] compassion*" (Appendix I/2; for the recitatives mentioned here and in the next paragraph, cf. below, pp. XIII f). Mozart then composed the duet "*Per queste tue manine*" KV 540^b (Appendix I/3, No. 21a) for Zerlina/Leporello; this has not been transmitted in autograph, but is noted in his hand-written catalogue: *The 28th of the same [= April 1788] / A duet for the opera: Don Giovanni. for Mad.^{me} Mombelli and Sig. Benucci / in C major. – Per quelle [!] tue Manine etc: / 2 Violini. viole, 2 flauti, 2 oboe, 2 fagotti, 2 Clarini, e Bassi. Along with recitative "Restati qua" (contained in Appendix I/3), likewise composed later, the duet was inserted in the second act after the recitative of Scena X.*

3. The third new number was an important scene for Donna Elvira, "*In quali eccessi, o Numi*" – "*Mi tradì quell'alma ingrata*" KV 540^c (Appendix I/6, No. 21b), following, after two inserted scenes (recitatives), the duet Zerlina/Leporello (No. 21a). Mozart's entry in the catalogue is as follows: "*The 30th – [= April 1788] / scene for the said opera for Mad.^{selle} Cavallieri. – Recit: In quali Eccessi etc: / Aria. – mi tradì quell'alma ingrata. – / 2 Violini, Viole, 1 flauto, 2 Clarinetti, 2 fagotti, 2 Corni, e Basso. The scene has been transmitted in autograph, having been added subsequently to gathering 6 of the complete autograph.*"

II. Problems

1. Scena ultima. The usual characterisation of the so-called "Vienna Version" emphasises two points: a) subsequent composition of additional pieces and b) the dropping of the cheerful ending, i.e. the Scena ultima. Recently, this view has been energetically contradicted, at least as far as the second point is concerned, by Christoph Bitter.³⁸ Bitter proposes the opposite view, on the basis of the Vienna score copy which he was the first to evaluate, that the "cut in Finale II" only took place after Mozart's death, namely when *Don Giovanni* was taken up again in Vienna in 1798 under the direction of Franz Xaver Süssmayr. In Bitter's representation, however, it is clear that two obviously completely separate problems – the dropping of the entire *Scena ultima* and cuts within this scene – mingle with each other, and it

seems appropriate to say something here to clarify this:

a. The libretto of the Vienna performance von 1788 ends with the fate of *Don Giovanni*; the concluding scene direction is: *il foco cresce D. Gio. si profonda: nel momento stesso escon tutti gli altri: guardano, metton un alto grido. fuggono, e cala il sipario. / Fine. [The fire increases, Don Giovanni descends: at the very same moment, all others come on stage, and emit a loud cry. They flee, and the curtain falls. / End.]* Corresponding precisely to this, Mozart notates a D major chord "Ah-" in measure 595 of the autograph (by mistake; then draws it with a connecting line into the next measure) for Donna Anna, Donna Elvira, Zerlina and Don Ottavio (Masetto's part has no independent notation), coming in on top of Leporello's shout (cf. the following excerpt in facsimile):³⁹



This entry is without doubt by Mozart, and it was obviously crossed out by him afterwards. To what can this refer, if not to a complete dropping of the *Scena ultima*? And if in the score itself this crossing out of the cheerful conclusion was again rescinded, one can at least infer that Mozart, for a certain time before the Vienna première, when he could still exert influence on the printed form of the libretto, had seriously thought about dropping the entire *Scena ultima* and had taken steps to make this possible. He may have made the final decision about omitting or retaining this scene dependent on the success or failure of the first performances. That only the Florence score copy, but not the Vienna score, shows the omission of the *Scena ultima* could at most indicate Mozart's initial uncertainty in this matter, but nothing more – especially since the original Vienna

³⁸ Op. cit., pp. 53f.; this chapter was also published in advance in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1959*, Salzburg, 1960, pp. 146f., *Don Giovanni in Wien 1788*.

³⁹ Bitter takes no account of investigations into the libretto and the autograph.

performance materials (that is, the parts) have been lost.

b. It is equally mistaken of Bitter to associate the cut within the *Scena ultima* (mm. 689-749), supposedly not authentic, with the Süßmayr performance of *Don Giovanni* in 1798. The crossing out in the autograph is unmistakably in Mozart's hand and is also hinted at in the Vienna score (in the Florence score copy, there is no *Scena ultima!*); the new transition he composed in its place (Appendix I/8) was bound into the autograph later and is also included in the Vienna score copy. – Mozart had obviously sought an emergency solution here: since the original close of the opera (seen as too long) was badly received but Mozart at the same time did not wish to sacrifice the *Scena ultima* in its entirety, he had cut whatever he felt he could in any way do without. Whether this was an experiment or rather a “definitive” version (i.e. only definitive as an emergency solution) of the *Scena ultima*, crystallised out of his experiences in the first Vienna performances, can today hardly be decided.

2. In connection with the omission of the Leporello aria No. 20, the Ottavio aria No. 21 and with the insertion of the two numbers 21a and 21b, a rigorous re-shaping or almost re-composing of the secco recitatives⁴⁰ in the scenes IX (Leporello: “*Ah pietà ...compassion*”) and Xa-c (= *Scena XI-XIII* of the Vienna libretto) took place. This re-shaping must be deemed very problematic regarding a) the sequence of scenes IX-X-Xa and b) the recitative in *Scena Xb*.

a. In the musical sources, scene X appears unchanged in the “Prague version”, with the difference, of course, that Ottavio's aria (No. 21) is omitted. In the Vienna libretto it undergoes however a slight re-working (cf. footnote on p. 357 and the facsimile on page) in that Zerlina and Masetto exit earlier (Don Ottavio then does nothing more than address Donna Elvira), which provides a more convincing reason for Zerlina's reappearance with Leporello in scene Xa (Vienna libretto: XI). It remains incomprehensible in terms of dramatic planning why the musical sources do

not adopt this version. Even if *Scena X* now has a sensible content

50 ATTO SECONDO.

Shaggio le stanze... giro... giro... giro...
Mi febermico... m'impoppo... in altri in-
contro...
Di là mi volgo,
Mi caccio qua,
Ma s'io sapeva,
Fuggia per là. (fug. Lep.)

SCENA X.

D. ELVIRA, ZERLINA, D. OT-
TAVIO.

D. ELV. Fermis perdo, ferma...
MAS. Il birro ha salti ai piedi...
ZERL. Con quel arie
Si torralle l'iniquo...
Masetto, vieni meco. (parte)
D. OTT. Donna Elvira,
Dopo eccell si snorma
Luhitar non pollam, che D. Giovanni
Non fa l'empio ucciere
Del padre di Donna Anna: in questa
casa
Per poche ore fermatevi, un ricetto
Va far a chi si deve, e in pochi istanti
Venderci prometto;
Casi vuole dover, preude, affeno.

51 ATTO SECONDO. 51

SCENA XI

ZERLINA, e LEPORELLO.

ZERL. Rastare qua. (Zerlina con catello
alla mano conduce fuori
Leporello per li capelli.)
LEP. Per carità Zerlina,
ZERL. Eh non s'è carità per pari miei!
LEP. Donque cavar mi vuoi...
ZERL. I capelli, la testa, il core, e gli occhi.
LEP. Senti, carius mis... Qual farle al-
tune smorfe. Zerl. in atto
minaccioso lo respingi.
ZERL. Quali fa mi tocchi!
Vedeti, schiuma de' birbi
Qual premio uba chi le rapreze inguria.
LEP. (Liberatemi, o Dio, da questo furia.)
ZERL. Masetto... o il Masetto! (Zerl.
si strascina dietro per tutta la
scena Leporello entra un Cont.
Dove diavolo è ito... ferli... gente...
Nessun vien... nessun fette...
LEP. Fa piano per pietà... non fustinarimi.
A coda di cavallo:
ZERL. Vedrai, vedrai come finisce il balo.
Prefo qua quella sedia.
LEP. Eccola.
ZERL. Siedi.
LEP.

– Don Ottavio must now at the latest say that he is convinced from this point on of Don Giovanni's guilt – it is all the more improbable within the Vienna sequence of scenes: Mozart had obviously composed the beginning of *Scena Xa* (entry of Zerlina, whom Leporello drags behind him by the hair) as if he wanted to proceed immediately or after a short pause to *Scena IX* (Leporello's flight). That would mean action roughly as follows: flight; Zerlina (who is nearest) pursues Leporello; confusion; all others exit. Pause until the stage is empty; then the continuo takes up the “rocking” triad ostinato again, previously so suddenly interrupted, and Zerlina drags Leporello back onto the stage again etc. This logical (and extremely wittily composed) succession of scenes is very profoundly distorted by the “inserted” *Scena X*.⁴¹

b. Leporello's recitative “*Amico, per pietà*” (*Scena Xb*) has been transmitted in two versions: in the Florence score it corresponds precisely to the libretto (as in Appendix I/4), while the Vienna score presents a shortened version, beginning only with measure 4 at the words “*Guarda un po*” and also eliminating the non-speaking character of the Contadino. One could also extend the problematical area of the “Vienna version” to include the so-called Concert Ending of the Overture (cf. below, p. XVII).

⁴⁰ All the newly composed recitatives are transmitted in copies only. – Regarding the two recitatives of the scenes Xb and Xc cf. A. Einstein, *Concerning some Recitatives in Don Giovanni*, in: *Music & Letters* 19, Nr. 4, October 1938, p. 417, likewise in: *Essays on Music*, New York, 1956 (1962), pp. 221f.

⁴¹ In the “Prague version”, this scene is of course absolutely logical; it concludes with the Ottavio aria No. 21, and the next scene (graveyard) introduces completely new action.

The Sources

I. Musical Sources

The first and most important source is Mozart's autograph, today in the Bibliothèque nationale Paris (Département de la Musique, formerly Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique);⁴² it consists of eight separately bound gatherings. Missing from this are those wind parts which Mozart notated separately for numbers 13, 19 and 24; the graveyard scene (Scena XI, recitative before No. 22); the last leaf (m. 858 until the end of Finale II have been made up in the hand of a copyist); the subsequently composed duet Zerlina / Leporello KV 540^b (= Appendix I/3, No. 21a) as well as, in connection with the "Vienna version", all recitatives later inserted or corresponding changes in the secci (i.e. as in Appendices I/2-5 and 7 of this edition). On the other hand, it does have the other two arias composed for Vienna, for Don Ottavio KV 540^a (= Appendix I/1, No. 10a) and for Donna Elvira KV 540^c (= Appendix I/6, No. 21b). For the present edition, which separates the "Prague version" (main text) and the "Vienna version" (Appendix I) of *Don Giovanni*, (cf. above, p. XII), additional contemporary secondary sources (old copies before 1800) were consulted (principally for the sections and parts missing in the autograph):

A. "Prague Version"

1. Score in the Fürstl. Fürstenbergischen Hofbibliothek Donaueschingen (signature: *Mus. ms. 1386*): without No. 6, but with all those wind parts that are missing in the autograph.
2. Score in the State Conservatory, Prague, the so-called "Donebauer Manuscript", in the older literature sometimes also referred to as the "Prague" or "Graz Manuscript": contains once again the wind parts as well as the subsequently inserted "Vienna" numbers 10a, 21a and 21b (Appendix I/1, 3 and 6). This source has an importance of the first order because of various autograph entries and additions in Mozart's

hand.⁴³ The Violoncello part for measures 799-803 and 824-842 of Finale II, missing in the autograph score, has been added here by Mozart.

3. Score and parts in the National Museum, Prague (Archive Lobkowitz, signature: *X D.e.8*): contain once again the wind parts and, in another hand, the "Vienna" Number 21b. The parts in this secondary source were of particular importance for checking the NMA readings, even if they are probably not part of the original Prague performance material.

Two further sources of the "Prague Version" are lost without trace: the score of the first *Don Giovanni* from the Luigi Bassi legacy (last in the possession of the Schubert family, Dresden), and the so-called "Stuttgart copy" (Prague provenance), formerly owned by the Stuttgart Hoftheater. Both sources were still accessible for the edition by Bernhard Gugler (see footnote 48) and for the old Mozart complete edition (AMA).

B. "Vienna Version"

1. Score in the Austrian National Library, Vienna (Hofopernarchiv, signature: *O. A. 361*):⁴⁴ next to the later entries in the autograph, this is the most important and most interesting source for the so-called "Vienna Version" and the later Vienna performances of *Don Giovanni*. At the same time, its value for the edition should not be exaggerated, for, contrary to Bitter's conjectures (op. cit.), there is no evidence of entries in Mozart's hand. Also missing are the originally separately notated wind parts for the numbers 13, 19 and 24.

2. Score in the Istituto Musicale, Florence (signature: *P 265*): this manuscript originated in the copying workshop of Laurent Lausch in Vienna and was advertised in the *Wiener Zeitung* [Vienna News] of 24 May 1788 along with the piano reduction of *Don Giovanni* by Joseph Heidenreich.⁴⁵ In contrast to the Vienna score copy (see above), the *Scena ultima* of Finale II is missing in the Florence source; on the other hand, the wind parts are preserved.

Full details on these and other musical sources are provided in the *Kritischer Bericht* [Critical Report, available in German only].

II. Textual sources

⁴² Recently made available as a facsimile edition: W. A. Mozart, *Don Giovanni. Opera en deux actes. Edition princeps du manuscrit autographe conservé à la Bibliothèque nationale, Paris*, no date. [1967]; an accompanying booklet provides, amongst other things, an introduction to the autograph by François Lesure. Certain technical deficiencies, doubtless due to the offset printing, (e.g. some passages written with thin ink are almost illegible) are not so significant as to detract from the total impression made by this otherwise good edition.

⁴³ Cf. Ferdinand Bischoff, *Die Prager Don Juan-Partitur vom Jahre 1787*, in: *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 60th year, Nr. 5, 1 February 1893, pp. 49f.

⁴⁴ Discovered by Christoph Bitter; cf. his dissertation quoted in footnote 2.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Dokumente*, pp. 277f.

The following three printed librettos have been consulted:

1. Vienna 1787 (W₁), the only known example, owned by the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna (signature: 6240² / *Textbücher*): an example of the incomplete first libretto, printed in Vienna for the very first performance in Prague, at that point still scheduled for the 14 October in honor of the princely couple; here the first act ends during No. 9 with Don Giovanni's words "*Se men vado, si potria / Qualche cosa sospettar*".

Title: IL / DISSOLUTO / PUNITO. / O SIA / IL D. GIOVANNI. / DRAMMA GIOCOLO / IN DUE ATTI. / DA RAPPRESENTARSI / NEL TEATRO DI PRAGA / PER L'ARRIVO DI SUA ALTEZZA REALE / MARIA TERESA / ARCHIDUCHESSA D'AUSTRIA: SPOSA DEL / SER. PRINCIPE ANTONIO DI SASSONIA / L'ANNO 1787. / IN VIENNA.

2. Prague 1787 (P), various examples, e.g. in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna (signature: 5324/66^{Cat.}): the libretto of the very first performance in Prague on 29 October 1787.

Title: wie W₁, but after the title and number of acts there is only the brief information DA RAPPRESENTARSI / NEL TEATRO DI PRAGA L'ANNO 1787. / IN PRAGA. / di Schoenfeld.

3. Vienna 1788 (W₂), various examples, e.g. in Bibliothèque nationale Paris (Département de la Musique, signature: *Rés. 1834*): the libretto for the Vienna première of 7 May 1788.

Title: As P, but with the remark: DA RAPPRESENTARSI / NEL TEATRO DI CORTE / L'ANNO 1788. / IN VIENNA, / NELLA IMPER. STAMPERIA DEI SORDI e / MUTI.

Special Remarks

I. On the Italian Text

The text set by Mozart, i.e. as fixed in the autograph, deviates in detail more or less significantly from the three librettos P, W₁ and W₂. These deviations are due only to a small extent to Mozart's errors; on the whole, it appears probable that the composer was working from a manuscript libretto which Da Ponte may have changed later before printing, but it is also conceivable that Mozart at various points deliberately departed from the original. The obvious errors were corrected following the librettos, the other eccentricities of the text in the autograph were however retained (details are

noted in the *Kritischer Bericht*).⁴⁶ It also seemed advisable to retain Mozart's eccentric punctuation, as far as sensibly and accountably possible. As Alfred Einstein⁴⁷ and others after him have pointed out, Mozart's punctuation, especially in the set piece numbers, is sometimes so sparse that there may hardly be a mark for many pages; in such cases, it is necessary to add punctuation following the libretti or, if need be, as editorial additions. In contrast to such fleeting and inconsistent setting, however, there are numerous cases in which Mozart – incidentally not only in the secchi – sets or intentionally omits his punctuation very precisely, even if not in keeping with modern practice. Very unusual punctuation may be considered as taking its legitimation in many cases from its congruence with the musical structure, or, putting it in over-simple terms, the musical and textual punctuation are identical – a picture that would be completely wiped out by any modernisation of the punctuation.⁴⁸ In view of the fact that in some cases Mozart's eccentric punctuation was retained relatively unchanged while in others certain changes seemed inevitable, no attempt was made to enforce a total consistency in dealing with the punctuation.

II. Appoggiaturas and Fermata Ornamentation

Appoggiaturas and, to a limited extent, suggestions for fermata ornamentation are indicated at the relevant points in the score. Regarding appoggiaturas, the detailed discussions of the topic in, amongst others, the NMA-volumes *Ascanio in Alba* (II/5/5)⁴⁹ and *Arien • Volume 1* (II/7)⁵⁰ are strongly recommended as basic reading. What is said there applies without reservation to the appoggiaturas in the secco and

⁴⁶ The often sparse scene directions have of course been complemented by directions taken from the librettos P and W₂; regarding the typographical differentiation for this procedure cf. below, p. XIX.

⁴⁷ He was probably the first to point out the interpretational value of Mozart's punctuation; cf. the foreword to his edition of *Don Giovanni* (Edition Eulenburg No. 918), pp. XIff.

⁴⁸ In this context it should be pointed out that the Italian language, in contrast to e.g. German (Duden grammar), does not have any universally recognised and strict rules of punctuation. – As Gernot Gruber recently showed (*Das Autograph der Zauberflöte. Eine stilkritische Interpretation des philologischen Befundes*, in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1967*, Salzburg 1968), the discrepancy between "orthographical" and "musical" text punctuation also exists in the Magic Flute.

⁴⁹ Presented by Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini; see pp. Xf.

⁵⁰ Presented by Stefan Kunze; see pp. XIXf.

accompagnato recitatives of *Don Giovanni*. In the set-piece numbers, on the other hand, the appoggiatura plays only a minor role; as a result, there are only relatively few cases in which the volume editors believed it necessary – beyond Mozart’s own directions in this matter – to suggest realisations. The “typical” improvised vocal improvisation of the opera seria becomes unmistakably less important in the characteristic “intermediate style” of Mozart’s great late Italian operas, of which *Don Giovanni* must be considered an example; this is particularly noticeable in the traditional cadenza fermata. But even the later “Eingang” or bridging passage at the fermata appears only seldom in pure form in *Don Giovanni*, for example in the two Ottavio arias No. 10a and No. 21 (“*Dalla sua pace*” and “*Il mio tesoro intanto*”), for which Mozart himself composed “Eingänge” (p. 491, m. 36, or pp. 361f., mm. 43-48) – in the first case only a melodic flourish, in the second a fully composed coloratura with orchestral accompaniment. Between these two extremes lie the likewise fully composed “Eingänge” of the “Champagne Aria” (No. 11, pp. 158-160): in terms of their formal function (bridging over the break between form sections) they can be regarded as quite typical, whereas their “driving” character, as opposed to the usual “reposing” bridging fermata, has more to do with musical drama. The remaining cases are the numerous “quasi-Eingänge” provided with fermatas, the “fermata before the point” (e.g. No. 4, “Catalogue Aria”, p. 78 and p. 81) and the affective fermata (e.g. No. 10, “*Or sai chi l'onore*”, p. 146, m. 99: “*d'un giusto furor*”). In most of these cases, only a sense of style and the artistic ability of the singer can decide the question of whether or not to ornament; the volume editors again felt justified in providing occasional suggestions in this regard, taking the dimensions of their suggested ornaments from the model provided by Mozart (Aria No. 10a).⁵¹

III. Remarks on individual numbers

Overture, measures 42/43 (and correspondingly measures 203/204), Violin I, II: The striking cross-relation b^{b^1} - b^b between Violin II (m. 42)

⁵¹ Cf. on the question of vocal ornamentation: Kurt Wichmann, *Der Ziergesang und die Ausführung der Appoggiatur. Ein Beitrag zur Gesangspädagogik*, Leipzig, 1966; in the chapter *Der Ziergesang und die Wiener Klassik – Die Zeit der Wiener Klassiker* (pp. 101f.) he mentions only two places in *Don Giovanni* (p. 111), omitting completely any reference to the “Eingänge” notated or composed by Mozart (see above).

and Violin I (m. 43) – Mozart wrote out only the exposition (mm. 32-55), the corresponding measures of the reprise result from a *dal segno* indication – is today still a subject for debate. Some researchers and not a few conductors believe it is the result of an oversight on Mozart’s part and tend to unify the notation in one direction or the other (i.e. either b^{b^1} - b^b or b^b - b^{b^1}); interpretations of this kind had already appeared in some early manuscripts. Mozart’s autograph is however unambiguous on this point, and only some kind of fixed musical preconception could move one to change the musical text of this passage. The volume editors have therefore rejected a unified notation; on the contrary, they consider the debated cross-relation to be completely in keeping with the unsettling character of the *Don Giovanni* overture. To prevent any possibility of misunderstanding, a small natural sign has been placed before the b^b in Violin I in measures 43 and 204.

Measures 52f.: a note-for-note realisation of Mozart’s *col basso* notation here and in what follows results in repeated notes which, in this fast tempo and over such long stretches, are more or less unplayable. In this and in similar cases, it makes sense for the bassoonist to play quarter-notes.

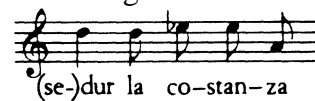
Alternative (Concert) ending: It is of course possible to play this ending in the opera; in this sense, the term “concert ending” is too narrow. – The single, autograph leaf which represents the only source of this ending was subsequently joined onto the first gathering of the autograph. On the edge of the leaf at the beginning of the top and bottom staves (i.e. V. I and Vc./B.) there is in each case a referral sign, but the corresponding sign cannot be found in the score itself (nor in the known score copies). There has however never been any doubt up to now that this new ending should be inserted at measure 282. If the present edition defies this unanimous view and places the new ending at measure 286, this is because the volume editors have adopted a suggestion by Dr. Friedrich Schnapp (Hamburg), whom we specifically thank here for his observation. – It may initially seem somewhat strange as a solution, particularly because the transition to F major (mm. 282-285) serves as a “natural” preparation to the Introduction (No. 1), but seems forced and illogical coming before a D major conclusion in the Overture. The volume editors do not support this objection. Quite apart from the fact that the transition to F major before the

conclusion in D major should rather be seen as an flash of artistic inspiration, there is another clue suggesting the insertion at measure 286: it is quite apparent that at the beginning of the alternative ending Mozart assumes the dynamics and instrumentation of the measures 282-285, as he consistently provides dynamic marks only for instruments joining in at measure 286 (the exposed entry of the solo bassoon is to be understood, as is customary in Mozart's notation, as a new entry). Not the least important fact is the obvious musical relationship between the two four-bar phrases in *piano* that now are now heard consecutively; the lead-in to the eighth-note motion in the strings now appears more apposite. – In earlier literature, doubt has been expressed several times regarding the authenticity of this alternative conclusion, partly because of the allegedly inferior quality (which can surely no longer be seriously asserted) and partly because the manuscript itself – quite wrongly – had been regarded as possibly not genuine. The truth is that Mozart notated the alternative conclusion at a later date and with a different ink, resulting in certain divergences from the hurried but uniform visual impression of the score of the Overture itself (a similar discussion is presented below, p. XIX, in connection with the cut in the Finale of the second act, No. 24). – As already mentioned, the alternative conclusion does not appear in any other source. The independent conclusion to the Overture found in the older performance material for the “Prague version” of *Don Giovanni* (Archive Lobkowitz, National Museum, Prague) has nothing to do with Mozart's ending (it is a clumsy analogy to the conclusion of the exposition). One is then forced to deduce that Mozart's so-called “Concert Ending” should be seen in the context of the changes and experiments with the “Vienna version” (cf. above, pp. Xlf.); on the basis of present knowledge of the sources, one must assume that it was never even actually realised in sound.

No. 4 Aria, No. 8 Aria, No. 9 Quartetto, measure 1: In all of these transitions *in cadenza*, in which the end of the *secco* and the beginning of the number coincide, Mozart notates the bass note in the staff *Violoncello e Basso*, although there is no doubt that the continuo accompanying the *secchi* must play the cadence before the tutti entry (Vc. e B.) can take place. In the present edition, the final note of the cadence is allocated to the continuo, while the staff *Violoncello e Basso* is left blank; both staves are connected with a bracket, to

suggest the disposition encountered in the autograph. The same applies to the beginning of the *accompagnato* from No. 10, only that the final chord of the *secco* and the entry of the *accompagnato* bass occur on one and the same note. – The transition from No. 1 (Introduzione) to the following recitative of scene two represents an analogous case: as Mozart notates continuo and tutti basses on one staff (whole-note), it was necessary, following the instrumentation on the first half of the measure, to make up a half-note B in our staff *Violoncello e Basso*, which was done without special typographical differentiation. The reverse process was necessary in the transition from the recitative to the aria No. 20: Mozart notates the tutti bass from the beginning of the measure onwards in eighth notes, so that a quarter-note G has had to be made up for the cadence in the continuo bass – again without special typographical differentiation.

No. 23 *Recitativo accompagnato e Rondo, measure 11:* Donna Elvira: The NMA follows the autograph, in which Mozart superfluously set the word “*mia*” (not in the librettos); if “*mia*” is eliminated, the musical text must take the following form:



No. 24, *Finale II, measure 5, Klarinette I, II:* Mozart notates the clarinets from measure 1 onwards *colli oboe*, but the oboes in their turn from measure 3 onwards *coi flauti*. This means an extremely high but nevertheless attainable note for the clarinets in the first half of measure 5; old performance material confirms this reading. From the first printing of the score by Breitkopf (1801) up to the recent editions, this passage has been “improved” to f” (sounding d”) for both instruments (although the third f” + a” [sounding d” + fis”] would perhaps have been preferable). The volume editors do not however see any adequate reason for tampering with the autograph notation.

Measures 47-199: For the musical entertainment, Mozart uses the preferred form of the period, the “*Harmoniebearbeitung*” [arrangement for (outdoor) wind ensemble] of popular opera pieces (i.e. arrangement for wind ensemble, in this case with an added Violoncello). The first piece (mm. 47 to 112) is an arrangement from the Finale of the first act of the opera *Una cosa rara* by Vicente Martín y Soler, premièred in Vienna in November 1786. In measures 118-157, Mozart quotes

Mingone's aria "*Come un' agnello*" from act one of Giuseppe Sarti's opera *Fra i due litiganti il terzo gode*, which received its first performance on 28 May 1783. After the two borrowed popular numbers,⁵² Mozart draws finally on his *Figaro* (mm. 162-199). – The sparse performance directions, particularly in the first two arrangements, correspond to Mozart's manuscript; no effort was made to complement these markings by adopting markings from the originals.

Measures 605-617, Donna Anna: In the autograph, the corresponding staff is blank for the measures 605-611, whereas the measures 612-617 have – after a page-turn(!) – whole-measure rests. But it is hard to believe Donna Anna should be the only person silent on stage in the *Scena ultima*, which would incidentally be in contradiction to the scene directions of librettos W1 and P. It is equally hard to say that Mozart's intention is clearly visible in the autograph. The volume editors therefore suggest – based on a subsequent addition to part material in the Archive Lobkowitz (National Museum, Prague) – a unison for Donna Anna and Donna Elvira for these measures.

Measure 858 until the end: The last leaf in the autograph was obviously lost at a very early date; the corresponding missing measures were subsequently made up on an additional leaf in the hand of a copyist and bound onto the score. The question of whether the copyist worked from a faulty original or made an error himself cannot be settled: whatever the case, he left measures 861-869 in the staff *Violoncello e Basso* completely blank (for the Viola, the autograph direction *col Basso* at measure 845 clearly still applies). Exactly the same picture emerges in all other old copies, with the exception that some have whole-measure rests at this point. While no text-critical problems result from this in measures 861-866 (Viola and Violoncello/Basso *tacent*), the absence of the low strings in measures 867-869 is completely unthinkable. As the sources provide no help, and as the attempted emendation in the Breitkopf score of 1801 (cf. *Kritischer Bericht*) is questionable, the volume editors have decided to include Bernhard Gugler's conjectural solution (loc. cit.) in small print.

Appendix I/6: No. 21b Recitativo accompagnato ed Aria: For the scene for Elvira composed in Vienna (cf. above, p. XII), Mozart hinted at a

modulation to D major at the end of the *accompagnato* and at the beginning of the aria itself remarked: *in D*; in addition, he carried out various changes in the string parts necessary for a version in D. In the context of the present edition, it seemed sufficient to print the E^b version. The original changes for the D major version have of course been indicated at the relevant places.

Appendix I/8: In connection with the changes necessary for the "Vienna Version" (cf. above, p. XIII), Mozart crossed out measures 689-749 of Finale II and notated instead a short transitional passage on a separate leaf which was bound in later. Doubts about the authenticity of this passage have been voiced in the literature even more loudly than in the case of the so-called Concert Ending for the Overture (cf. above, p. XVII), focusing on the "triviality" (Bernhard Gugler) of these transitional measures, even if it had to be admitted that the handwriting was "disturbingly similar" to Mozart's (Alfred Einstein). Those concerned believed they could conclude that not Mozart but Franz Xaver Süßmayr was responsible for this change. It must be emphasised here once again that there is no room at all for doubt that the inserted leaf is autograph; only the circumstance that Mozart again uses different pen and ink for this notation, as once previously in the case of the ending of the Overture, makes the confusion at least to a certain extent understandable. As in Finale II from measure 603 onwards (*Scena ultima*), where the entire wind section is completely missing from the autograph (cf. above, p. XIV), it was necessary to provide editorial wind parts (Ernst Hess) for this new transitional passage.⁵³

The Editorial Technique

In general, the remarks on page VI apply; in addition, the following special guidelines were adopted for this volume:

1. It was decided to dispense with the reproduction of the old c-clefs for the vocal parts in the margin at the beginning of a number or recitative; instead, they are given on p. 2 (Persons of the Drama).
2. The widespread practice elsewhere in the NMA of letting rest staves continue over long stretches would have increased the proportions of the present volume, large enough anyway, to an exceptional size. For this reason, use was made in this volume of the so-called variable staff system: rest staves are dropped wherever the activity of the parts permits it (resultingly predominantly in the ensemble

⁵² Original version reprinted in the appendix of Bernhard Gugler's edition of *Don Giovanni*, second, improved impression, Leipzig, no date, pp. 469f.

⁵³ Regarding the version in the Vienna score copy, however, cf. the *Kritischer Bericht*.

numbers); for clear identification, the staff designations are repeated in abbreviated form (except in the *secco* recitatives) in the margin at the beginning of each staff system. In the same way, indications such as *a 2* or *I^{mo}* and *II^{do}* in the pairwise notated wind parts are repeated with each new staff-system wherever this is necessary for clarity. Another result of the variable staff-system principle is that the names of characters often have to be repeated within a staff-system wherever this ensures unambiguity at a renewed entry; this is always done in straight type (majuscules).

3. Scene directions in the autograph and in the two librettos P and W2 (cf. above, p. XV) were differentiated typographically as follows:

Autograph and substitute sources for sections missing in the autograph:

a. *Entra DONNA ANNA.* = direction in the scene heading

b. (*Entra DONNA ANNA.*) = scene direction within the staff system

Libretto P: [Entra DONNA ANNA.]

Libretto W2: [*Entra DONNA ANNA.*]

Editorial addition: (*Entra DONNA ANNA.*)

4. The substitute sources for those wind parts missing from the autograph in numbers 13, 19 and 24 (cf. above, p. XIV) often diverge regarding articulation and dynamic marks; here the decision was made in most cases to make these up uniformly in the light of the autograph “rump score” and without typographical differentiation. – But even the musical text of the wind parts appears in such astonishing variants in the individual sources that it hardly seems possible to reconstruct a definite authentic text. Nevertheless, the volume editors saw fit to adopt in the main text some previously neglected readings; as a result, there are certain divergences from previous editions.

The gratitude of the volume editors is owed above all to the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, represented by the Administrateur général, former Ambassador Étienne Dennery and by Madame Elisabeth Lebeau (Conservateur en chef) and Mr. Vladimir Fédorov. Without their unhesitatingly accorded permission to consult the autograph, this edition would not have been possible. Dr. Walther Dürr (Tübingen) gave valuable advice for the revision of the Italian text; Prof. Dr. Max Hochkofler (Salzburg), Frieder Zschoch (Leipzig) and Peter Schmidt (Kassel) helped with the correcting; Heinz Moehn (Wiesbaden) is to be thanked for realising the *secchi*, music director Ernst Hess (Egg, by Zurich) for completing the wind parts in Appendix I/8, pages 525-526.

Besides the archives, libraries and other institutions mentioned in the *Kritischer Bericht*, sincere thanks are due to the following: Dr. Joseph Heinz Eibl (Munich), Dr. Bohumil Geist (Prague), His Excellency Ambassador Dr. Martin Fuchs (Paris), Dr. Wolfgang Reich (Dresden), Dr. Friedrich Schnapp (Hamburg) and Dr. Alexander Weinmann (Vienna).

Wolfgang Plath

Wolfgang Rehm

Augsburg and Kassel, February, 1968

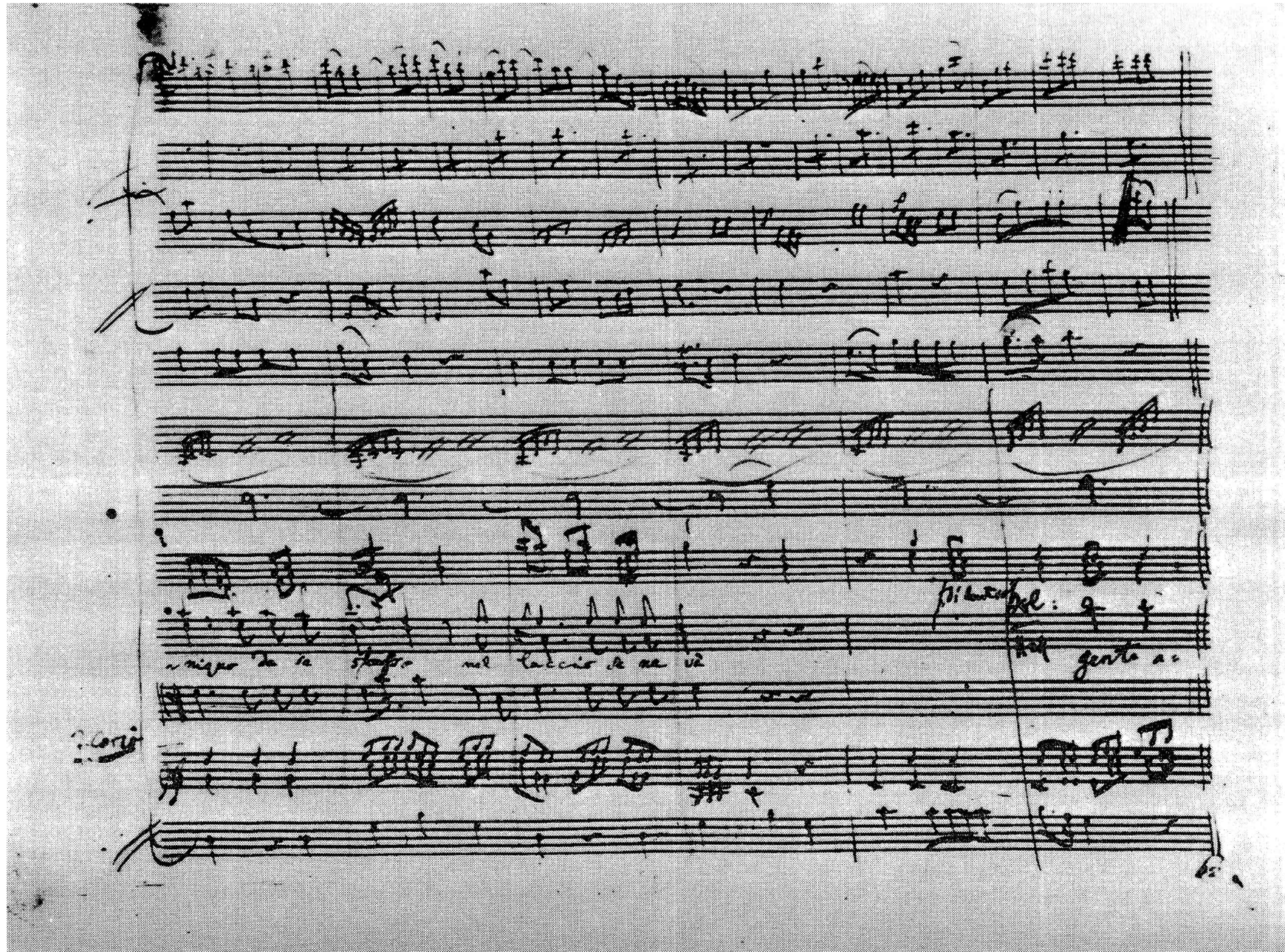
Translation: William Buchanan



Facs. 1: Leaf 1^r of the autograph in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris (gathering 1): beginning of the *Ouverture*. Cf. page 5, measures 1-11.



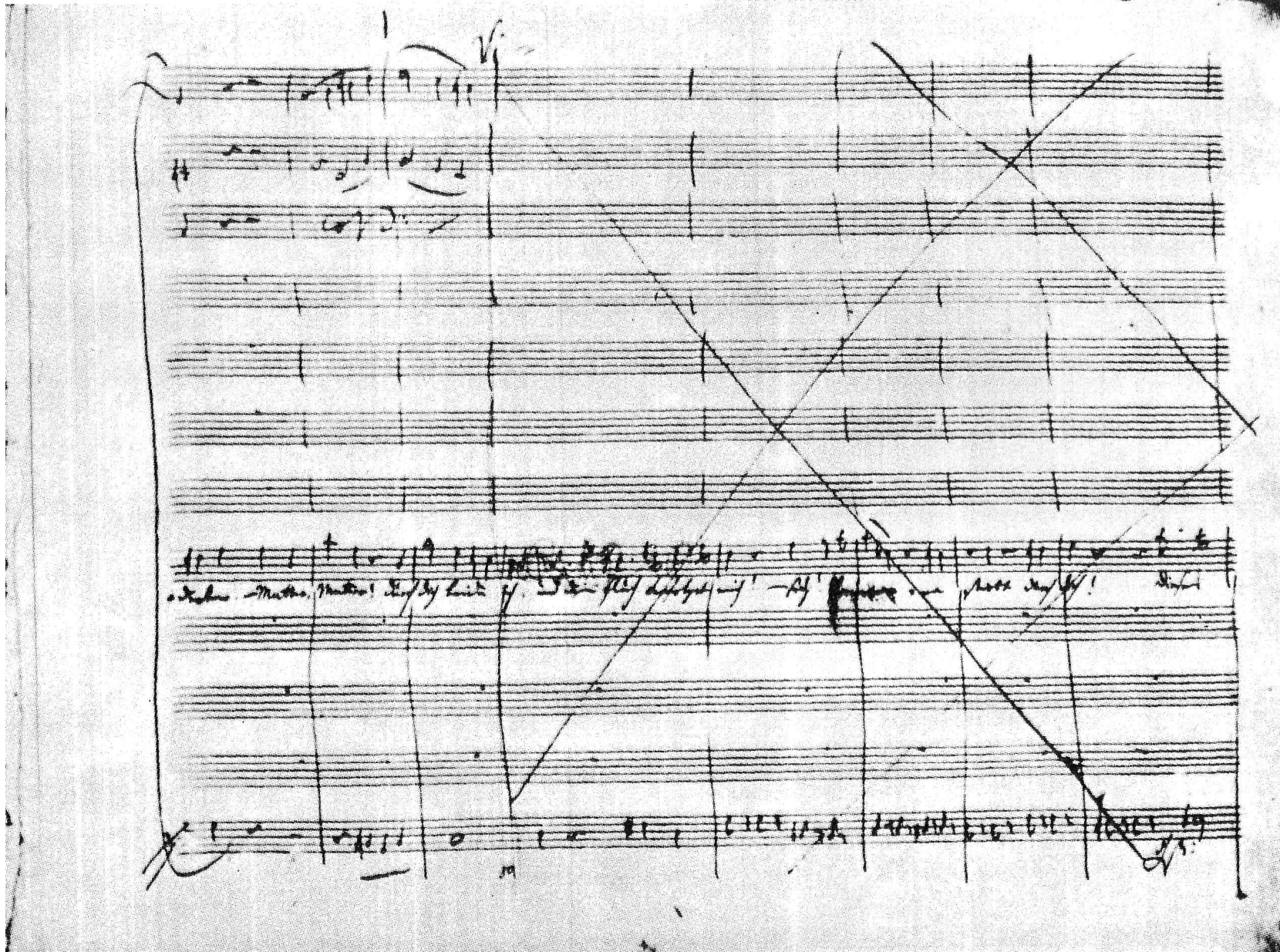
Facs. 2: Leaf 14^r of the autograph (gathering 1): alternative (Concert) ending of the *Overture*. Cf. page 27.



Facs. 3: Leaf 126^v of the autograph (gathering 4): measures 462-467 of *Finale I* (No. 13). Cf. pages 226-227.



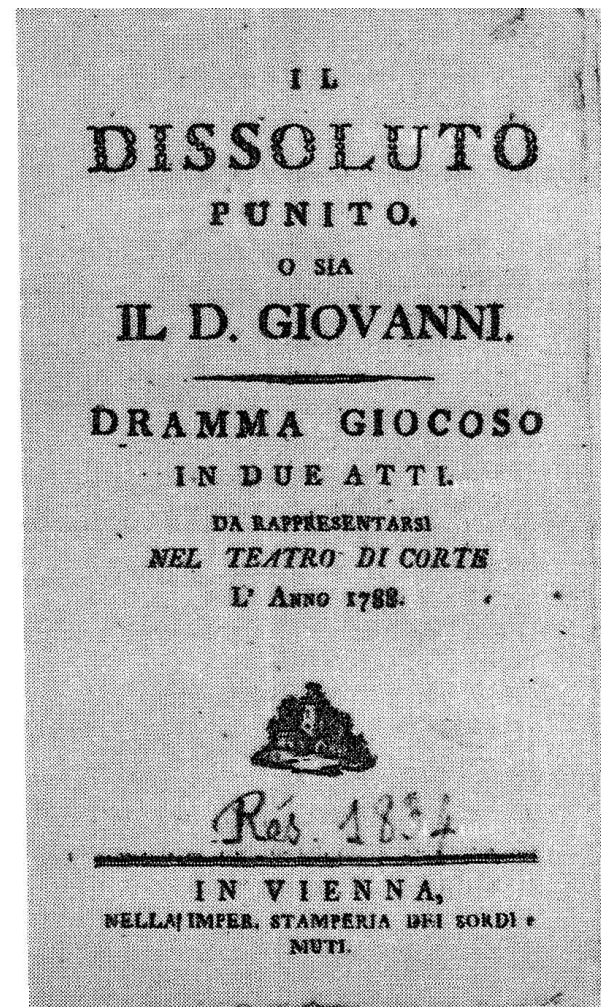
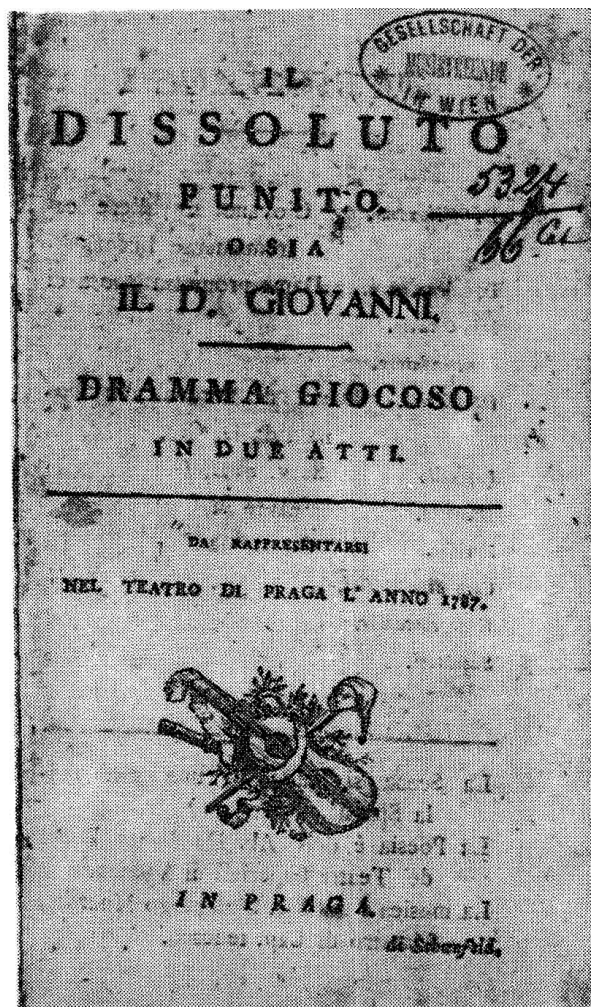
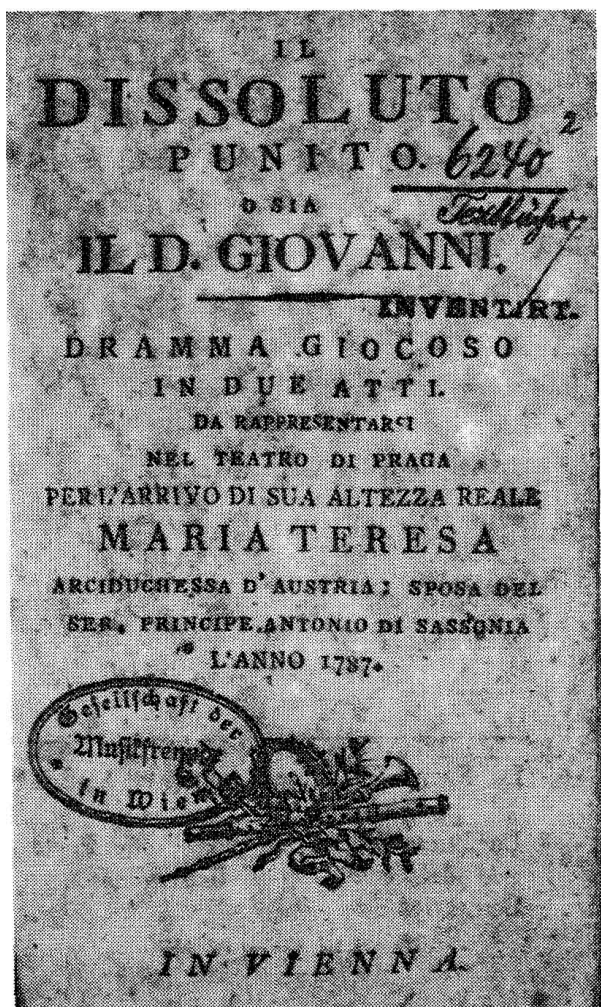
Facs. 4: Leaf 203^r of the autograph (gathering 6): beginning of the aria “*Mi tradi quell'alma ingrata*” (Appendix I/6). Cf. pages 514-515.



Facs. 5: Front face of the leaf inserted into the autograph after leaf 262^{bis} (gathering 7): measures [1]-[9] of the subsequently composed transitional passage (Appendix I/8) replacing the cut measures 689-749 of Finale II (No. 24). Cf. pages 525-526.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation from the 'Donebauer Manuscript'. It contains a vocal line with lyrics and a Violoncello part. The lyrics are: "te al = la = vi = Lu = froglub, Lu =". The Violoncello part is marked "Violoncello" and "p". The page is numbered "II/5/17" at the top.

Facs. 6: A page from the score copy in the State Conservatory, Prague ("Donebauer Manuscript"): measures 796-802 from Finale II (No. 24) with the Violoncello part entered by Mozart from measure 799 onwards. Cf. pages 478-479.



Facs. 7-9: From left to right: the title pages of the three printed librettos W1, P and W2 (cf. p. XV).