

WOLFGANG AMADEUS MOZART

Series II

Works for the Stage

WORK GROUP 5: OPERAS AND SINGSPIELS
VOLUME 19: DIE ZAUBERFLÖTE
[The Magic Flute]

PRESENTED BY GERNOT GRUBER AND ALFRED OREL (†)

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Neue Mozart-Ausgabe (New Mozart Edition)*

WOLFGANG AMADEUS MOZART

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EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

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



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

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

The NMA uses the numbering of the Köchel Catalogue (KV); those numberings which differ in the third and expanded edition (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 Magic Flute: Genesis and First Production

Concerning the last year of Mozart's life, there is much unreliable and legendary material, in stark contrast to the very small number of trustworthy reports. It is therefore only possible to speculate about the concrete conditions that led to the composition of *Die Zauberflöte*. We lack even the most elementary bits of evidence, such as the contract between the two proprietors of the *Theater auf der Wieden*, Joseph von Bauernfeld and Emmanuel Schikaneder,¹ and Mozart, regulating Mozart's fee for the composition.

It was probably only after Schikaneder's arrival in Vienna in Spring 1789 and his taking over of the *Freihaustheater auf der Wieden*, where he began to perform in the summer of that year, that a situation was created that could have led to the plans for the *Zauberflöte*.² Mozart's own interest in Schikaneder's activities can be judged from his correspondence; as he wrote to his wife Constanze on 2 June 1790 "... yesterday I was at the second part of the *Cosa rara*—but I didn't like as much as

Anton's."³ Mozart must thus have attended performances at this theatre earlier and with some frequency. He would therefore have been thoroughly acquainted with Schikaneder's treatment of the German *Singspiel*, and with the fabulous and mysterious world of Christoph Martin Wieland's "fashionable" collection *Dschinnistan*,⁴ many of which were adapted for Schikaneder's stage. Mozart was witness in Frankfurt in 1790 to the success of a similar magical opera, Paul Wranitzky's *Oberon*⁵; he wrote to Constanze from there on 3 October 1790 that "my entire entertainment is the theatre."⁶

The report⁷ that Schikaneder called on Mozart on 7 March 1791 under embarrassing financial pressure and asked him, as a favour between friends, to compose a magical opera, simultaneously presenting the material of the *Zauberflöte*, is at least partially false, since Schikaneder's finances were at this time

¹ Joseph von Bauernfeld was Schikaneder's partner in the years from 1789 to 1793. See Otto Erich Deutsch, *Das Freihaustheater auf der Wieden 1787-1801* (hereafter Deutsch, *Freihaustheater*), Vienna-Leipzig, 2/1937, pp. 12 ff.

² All speculation that Mozart and Schikaneder had begun to plan the opera earlier is either free invention or based on false assumptions. For instance, Schikaneder did *not* produce Tobias Phillip von Gebler's drama *Thamos, König in Ägypten*—a work for which Mozart wrote the chorus numbers which, as is well-known, anticipated the music of the Priests in the *Zauberflöte*—in Salzburg in 1780, a fact that makes all further hypotheses redundant (see Deutsch, *Phantasiestücke aus der Mozart-Biographie*, in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch* 1956, Salzburg, 1957, p. 48). On the other hand, it should be mentioned that Schikaneder was in contact with the Mozart family in Salzburg in 1780/1781—Mozart wrote the aria, now lost, KV Appendix 11^a (365^a), for his company—and that he appeared from time to time in Vienna in 1783-1786. The Schikaneder-Kumpf company appeared in the Kärntnerthor Theatre, in the presence of Emperor Joseph II, on 5 November 1784 in Mozart's *Abduction from the Seraglio*, which Schikaneder also put on in Regensburg four years later (see Mozart, *Die Dokumente seines Lebens*, compiled and elucidated by O.E. Deutsch [= *Dokumente*, NMA X/34], Kassel etc., 1961, p. 203.

³ This passage is quoted from: *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*. Complete edition, compiled and elucidated by W. A. Bauer and O. E. Deutsch, four volumes (hereafter Bauer-Deutsch), Kassel etc., 1962/63, vol. IV, No. 1129, p. 110, lines 9–10. See also the letter of 6 June 1791: Bauer-Deutsch IV, No. 1157, p. 134, lines 12-15. A time line for the première at the *Freihaustheater auf der Wieden* can be found in Deutsch, *Freihaustheater*, pp. 30 ff.—A song from the first of the six *Anton* comedies (*Die verdeckten Sachen*) inspired Mozart to compose the Keyboard Variations KV 613; see *Dokumente*, p. 322. In the previous year Mozart had orchestrated, and perhaps even composed, the duet "Nun, liebes Weibchen, ziehst mit mir" KV 625/592^a for Schikaneder's and Benedikt Schack's heroic-comic opera *Der Stein der Weisen oder die Zauberinsel* (cf. KV⁶, p. 592).

⁴ *Dschinnistan oder Auserlesene Feen- und Geistermärchen, teils neu erfunden, teils neu übersetzt und umgearbeitet*, three volumes, Winterthur, 1786-1789.

⁵ This opera had already been performed at the *Freihaustheater auf der Wieden* on 7 November 1789, see Deutsch, *Freihaustheater*, p. 15 f.

⁶ Bauer-Deutsch IV, No. 1138, p. 116, lines 18-19.

⁷ This appears first in Georg Friedrich Treitschke, *Die Entstehung der Zuberflöte*, in *Orpheus, Musikalisches Taschenbuch 1841*, p. 242 f. See also the letter, probably also written in 1840, from Ignaz von Seyfried to Treitschke, given in *Dokumente*, p. 471 f. Georg Nikolaus Nissen was among the first to speak of Schikaneder's financial difficulties as the main reason for the genesis of the opera. See Nissen, *Biographie W.A. Mozart's*, Leipzig, 1825, p. 548 f.)

quite healthy.⁸ The contention that the two men were brothers in the same Masonic lodge, often advanced as evidence of their friendship, is also untrue.⁹ We will probably also never find out where the truth lies between what was allegedly a loose life-style shared by both men and the likewise alleged shameless exploitation of Mozart by Schikaneder. There are no grounds, however, to assume that relations between the two were somehow extremely tense.¹⁰ In this respect, Franz Xaver Niemetschek's remark that that Mozart "*composed the Magic Flute for the theatre of the well-known Schikaneder, an old acquaintance*" seems pleasantly vague.¹¹ It should not be forgotten that Mozart enjoyed friendly relations with many members of Schikaneder's ensemble, and that he was a friend of Schikaneder's partner Joseph von Bauernfeld.¹² This common circle of friends may have contributed much to making Mozart and Schikaneder's collaboration possible.

Mozart probably began to compose the opera in the spring of 1791, even if the idea of writing it, with several preliminary sketches, may have come earlier. In March, after a compositionally fruitful winter, Mozart wrote the aria KV 612 for Franz Xaver Gerl, who was to create the role of Sarastro,¹³ and the Keyboard Variations KV 613, which also display a connection to Schikaneder's circle.¹⁴ On 12 April he added the String Quintet KV 614 to his personal work catalogue. Since these were followed only by smaller occasional works, we can conjecture

that Mozart was already hard at work on the *Zauberflöte* by mid-April. The apology he wrote to his friend, creditor, and correspondent Michael Puchberg between 21 and 27 April — "*because I have so much to do*"¹⁵ — suggests the as much.

At the beginning of June Constanze travelled to Baden to take the waters, remaining there for over a month while Mozart stayed behind in Vienna. We are well informed about the events of this period, and thus about the developing work on the *Zauberflöte*, by the letters the composer wrote to his wife. Regarding such questions as the building, rooms and even the writing-table where Mozart composed the opera, various more or less reliable conjectures have been made. For the most part Mozart would have "*naturally worked at home in the Rauhensteingasse*"; see Deutsch, *Freihaustheater*, p. 18.) On 7 June Mozart mentions Schikaneder for the first time,¹⁶ and on 11 June the work itself: "*Out of pure boredom I composed an aria from the opera today,*" ending this letter with an allusion to a famous passage in the libretto: "*... and join you in saying, in my thoughts: death and despair were his reward!*"¹⁷ It is not possible to say if this reference to the Duet No. 11 means that Mozart was working on the draft score for Act II. The direction to Franz Xaver Süßmayr, to be passed on by Constanze around the end of June or beginning of July, that "*he should work hard writing so that I get my things*",¹⁸ is explained by Mozart in a letter of 2 July: "*I would ask you, please, to tell Süßmayer, our clumsy boy, that he should send me my score of the first act, from the introduction onwards to the Finale, so that I can orchestrate it.*"¹⁹ It seems, then, that Süßmayr, who was with Constanze in Baden, must have been copying Mozart's short score, a copy that would have been necessary for first rehearsals with the singers. In any case, Mozart was already thinking about the orchestration of Act I by early July, and, as we read in a letter of 3 July to Constanze, he had also made progress in the composition of Act II: "*I hope Süßmayer will not forget to copy out promptly that which I have laid out for him—and I also hope that today I will receive the pieces from my score that I have required of him*".²⁰ Indeed, the many letters from the first half of July speak both of the extraordinary concentration of Mozart's efforts on

⁸ See Egon Komorsynski, *Der Vater der Zauberflöte. Emmanuel Schikaneders Leben*, Vienna, 1948, p. 130.

⁹ See Jacques Chailley, *Musique et ésotérisme. La flûte enchantée. Opéra maçonnique*, Paris, 1968, p. 18.

¹⁰ The only evidence of their friendship, a note from Schikaneder to Mozart dated 5 September 1791 in the collection of Aloys Fuchs, is a forgery (Bauer–Deutsch IV, p. 532; cf. also *Dokumente*, p. 481). One should not attach undue weight to Mozart's two mentions of invitations from Schikaneder in his correspondence (Bauer–Deutsch IV, No. 1159, p. 136, lines 18–19 and IV, No. 1176, p. 145, line 21) or Schikaneder's failure to appear at Mozart's funeral (Deutsch, *Freihaustheater*, 20).

¹¹ Franz Xaver Niemetschek, *Leben des K.K. Kapellmeisters Wolfgang Gottlieb Mozart*, Prague, 1798, p. 32.

¹² See Bauernfeld's entry in Mozart's guest book (1789?), given in *Dokumente*, p. 316. Bauernfeld was also a brother in Mozart's lodge.

¹³ Ludwig Schiedermair sees in the aria an anticipation of "*Sarastro's bass parts*" (in: *Mozart. Sein Leben und seine Werke*, Munich, 1922, p. 397).

¹⁴ See footnotes 2 and 3.

¹⁵ Bauer–Deutsch IV, No. 1149, p. 130, line 11.

¹⁶ Bauer–Deutsch IV, No. 1159, p. 136, lines 18–19

¹⁷ Bauer–Deutsch IV, No. 1160, p. 136, lines 10–11 and 16–17.

¹⁸ Bauer–Deutsch IV, No. 1172, p. 143, line 14

¹⁹ Bauer–Deutsch IV, No. 1173, p. 144, lines 10–12

²⁰ Bauer–Deutsch IV, No. 1176, p. 145, lines 14–16

this work, and of financial burdens of which he hoped to be relieved.

By the time he added “*in July...a German opera in two acts*” to his *Verzeichniß* [personal work catalogue], Mozart would have at least finished, for the most part, work on those numbers that required vocal rehearsal.²¹ In the same month he composed the *Kleine deutsche Kantate* [Little German Cantata] KV 619; increasingly, however, his attention were taken up by work on the opera seria *La Clemenza di Tito*, which he completed in Prague, arriving there from Vienna on 28 August. He returned from this final sojourn in Prague in the company of Süßmayr and Constanze in mid-September, and we can safely assume that he busied himself immediately with the musical preparations for the première of *Die Zauberflöte*, which had been supervised up till then by Johan Baptist Henneberg.²² Presumably the final version of the Overture and the March of the Priests (No. 9), which Mozart added to his catalogue on 28 September, were composed around this time as well. Mozart also added the “*thrice sounded chord*” to the Overture and probably also part of the instrumentation. The première took place on 30 September at the Freihaustheater an der Wieden; the poster for this performance survives:²³

Imperial and Royal privileged Theatre in Wieden
Today, Friday 30 September 1791
The company of the Royal and Imperial privileged
Theatre auf der Wieden
Will have the honour of performing
For the first time
THE
MAGIC FLUTE

A grand opera in 2 Acts, by Emmanuel Schikaneder

Persons:

Sarastro Mr. [Franz Xaver] Gerl.²⁴

Tamino Mr. [Benedikt] Schack.²⁵

²¹ Bauer–Deutsch IV, No. 1189, p. 154f.

²² See Komorscynski, *Johan Baptist Henneberg, Schikaneders Kapellmeister (1768-1822)*, in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch* 1955, Salzburg, 1956, pp. 243 ff.

²³ See *Dokumente*, 356 f. and *Mozart und seine Welt in zeitgenössischen Bildern*, begun by Maximilian Zenger, completed by Otto Erich Deutsch (NMA X/32), no. 546.

²⁴ See Alfred Orel, *Sarastro...Hr. Gerl. Ein altes Weib...Mad. Gerl*, in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch* 1955, Salzburg, 1956, p. 66 ff.

²⁵ Should read: “Schak.” See Anton Würz, article *Schak* in: *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 11, Kassel etc., 1963, col. 1542 ff (includes further literature). Schak, who also worked as composer for

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| Speaker | Mr. Winter. ²⁶ |
| First Priest | Mr. Schikaneder the Elder. ²⁷ |
| Second Priest | Mr. [Johann Michael] Kistler. ²⁸ |
| Third Priest | Mr. Moll. ²⁹ |
| Queen of the Night | Mdme. [Josepha] Hofer. ³⁰ |
| Pramina, ³¹ her daughter | Mlle. [Anna] Gottlieb. ³² |
| First Lady | Mlle. Klöpfer. |
| Second Lady | Mlle. Hofmann. |
| Third Lady | Mdme. [Elisabeth] Schack. ³³ |
| Papageno | Mr. Schikaneder the Younger. ³⁴ |
| An Old Woman | Mdme. [Barbara] Gerl. ³⁵ |
| Monastatos, a Moor | Mr. [Johann Joseph] Nouseul. ³⁶ |
| First Slave | Mr. [Karl Ludwig] Gieseke. ³⁷ |
| Second Slave | Mr. [Wilhelm] Frasel. ³⁸ |
| Third Slave | Mr. Starke. |
| Priests, Slaves, Entourage | |

The music is by Mr. Wolfgang Amade Mozart, Kapellmeister and Authentic Royal and Imperial Chamber Composer. Mr. Mozart will conduct the orchestra personally, out of respect for a gracious and honourable public, and out of friendship for the author of the piece.

The books of the opera, provided with two copper engravings, where Mr. Schikaneder is portrayed in the role of Papageno in his actual costume, will be on sale at the box office for 30 crowns.

Mr. Gayl the scenery painter and Mr. Neßlthaler the decorator would like to think that they have worked with all possible artistic diligence according to the piece’s prescribed plan.

The entrance prices are as usual.

The piece begins at 7 o’clock.³⁹

Schikaneder, was a close friend of Mozart’s.

Constanze wrote in letter to Schak on 16 February 1826: “*I could name anyone who lived with him in such a state of familiarity, no one, who knew him better or to whom he had committed himself more besides you.*” Bauer–Deutsch IV, No. 1407, p. 476, lines 28-30; see also the obituary for Schak in: *Dokumente*, p. 459 f.

²⁶ Winter was the stage manager at the Freihaustheater an der Wieden, see *Dokumente*, p. 357.

²⁷ Emmanuel Schikaneder’s elder brother Urban, a bass. See *Dokumente*, p. 357.

²⁸ Tenor. See *Dokumente*, p. 357.

²⁹ Bass. See *Dokumente*, p. 357.

³⁰ See Deutsch, *Freihaustheater*, 13 f.

³¹ Sic! Correct: Pamina (of course).

³² See *Dokumente*, p. 357.

³³ Correct is: Schak, née Weinhold; cf. Würz, loc. cit.

³⁴ Emmanuel Schikaneder.

³⁵ Née Reisinger. See Orel, loc. cit. (cf. footnote 24).

³⁶ See *Dokumente*, p. 357.

³⁷ Properly: Metzler.

³⁸ See *Dokumente*, p. 357.

Thus Mozart conducted the première himself; only after the second performance did he pass the direction on to Henneberg. We are poorly informed about the stage sets and overall decoration. The two copper engravings in the libretto, by Ignatz Alberti, give only a hint. The first engraving is an allegory with Masonic symbols and therefore hardly gives an idea of the sets, the second shows Schikaneder in costume as Papageno, but without bird cage and pan flute.⁴⁰ If what we know about Schikaneder's theatrical opinions is any guide,⁴¹ however, then the scenery surely reflected his contemporaries' enthusiasm for the visually attractive and for surprising mechanical effects; both of these had survived in Vienna from the Baroque. One detail we do know is that the animals summoned by Tamino with his flute were as vividly portrayed as Sarastro's lions.⁴²

Reports on the première do not all agree about its success. The literary elaborations on the event follow, for the most part, an anonymous review of 9 October 1791 in which the correspondent writes: "*the new Machine-Comedy: The Magic Flute ... is not finding the applause hoped for.*"⁴³ On the other hand, Mozart wrote in a letter that "*the most amazing thing is that, on the very same evening that*

my new opera was given its première to so much public acclaim, Tito was given in Prague for the last time and also to extraordinary applause".⁴⁴ The reasons for the rapid establishment of the *Magic Flute* as a popular favourite and its development into the greatest success of Schikaneder's career ought to be sought not only in Mozart's music but also in the "spectacle" the director offered to the Viennese. In October 1791 alone there were over twenty performances. Before the end of November Viennese music dealers began to offer keyboard reductions of individual numbers (see the *Kritischer Bericht* [*Critical Report*, available in German only]).

It was particularly important to Mozart that the audience appreciate the full significance of both music and text. When he took his mother-in-law to see the opera, he reported to his wife: "*as far as Mama is concerned, she will see the opera, but won't hear the opera*"; he describes a "*know-all*" who attended the performance ("*he mocks everything*") as a "*Papageno*," but doesn't believe "*that the lout has understood it*".⁴⁵ In another letter he expresses something similar: "*Lechleitner was at the opera again; — even if he's not a real connoisseur, at least he's a real enthusiast*".⁴⁶ The *Magic Flute*'s success seems to have left Mozart, despite signs of declining health, in high spirits; letters to Constanze, who was once again in Baden for her health at the beginning of October, are full of enthusiastic reports of the opera. He describes Salieri's praise in detail,⁴⁷ but the (rightfully) most famous passage in these letters gives insight in few words into Mozart's overall artistic ambitions. On 7 October 1791, late in the evening, he wrote: "*I have just come from the opera; — it was as full as ever. — The duet "Mann und Weib" ["Man and Woman"] etc.—and also the Glockenspiel number in the first act were repeated, as usual—also the Boys' trio in the second act—but what pleases me the most is the silent applause!—one can really see how this opera is going from strength to strength.*"⁴⁸

The Sources

I. Musical sources

1. The autograph and secondary sources

⁴⁴ Bauer–Deutsch IV, No. 1193, p. 157, lines 18–20.

⁴⁵ Bauer–Deutsch IV, No. 1195, p. 160, lines 23–24, 25 ff. The same letter shows, however, how much high-spirited fun Mozart himself had writing the Papageno scenes.

⁴⁶ Bauer–Deutsch IV, No. 1195, p. 161, lines 58–59.

⁴⁷ Bauer–Deutsch IV, No. 1196, p. 161 f.

⁴⁸ Bauer–Deutsch IV, No. 1193, p. 157, lines 4–8.

³⁹ The Three Boys are mentioned neither on the theatre poster nor in the *dramatis personae* of the libretto.

⁴⁰ The two copper engravings can be found in: *Mozart und seine Welt in zeitgenössischen Bildern* (NMA X/32), Kassel etc., 1961, numbers 537 and 538, see also the illustration on the left on p. XXVII of this volume; for later stage scenery see W. Schuh, *Zwei Papageno-Darstellungen aus dem Jahre 1794*, in: *Schweizerische Musikerziehung*, 96th year (1956), p. 49 f.

⁴¹ "*I write for the public's pleasure and do not claim to be a learned man. I am an actor—I am a director—and I work for my box office; not out of any intention to cheat the public of their money: for an intelligent person allows himself to be cheated but once.*"

Schikaneder in the preface to his *Der Spiegel von Arcadien*, Vienna, 1795 (reprinted in: *Maske und Kothurn*, 1st year, Graz-Cologne, 1955, p. 360.)

⁴² See Deutsch, *Freihaustheater*, p. 18 f. Franz Grillparzer reports in his autobiography that his nurse recalled, as an unforgettable experience, playing one of the monkeys in the première of the *Magic Flute*. See Franz Grillparzer, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. A. Sauer, volume 16, *Prosaschriften IV*, Vienna, 1925, page 70, lines 10 ff. See also I.F. Castelli, *Memoiren meines Lebens*, ed. J. Bindter in: *Denkwürdigkeiten aus Alt-Österreich*, vol. 9.

⁴³ *Musikalisches Wochenblatt*, Berlin, 10 [?] December 1791; see *Dokumente*, p. 358.

The main source is Mozart's autograph, which was housed in the Prussian State Library in Berlin until the end of the Second World War and then disappeared. Because of this loss, the present edition has had to rely on photographic reproductions of the original in the photo-facsimile collection in the Music Division of the Austrian National Library in Vienna. The lost autograph is bound in two fascicles divided according to the two acts, and contains the full text of the work, so that extensive additions based on secondary sources have not been necessary. The autograph is divided into a main section and an appendix. The main section contains all of the pieces in the opera in successive order; here Mozart departed from his usual practice and began counting the numbers with the Overture. The present edition corrects this anomaly and begins the numbering of the pieces with the introduction to the first act. The numbers Mozart completed last, just before the première (the Overture and March of the Priests) appear in the correct places in the autograph. The appendix, which appears in the second fascicle at the end of Act II, includes the wind and timpani parts to the "thrice sounded chord", also added retrospectively, for individual numbers: Overture (trombones); No. 1 (mm. 40—46, trumpets and timpani); No. 8 (mm. 518—586; flutes, trumpets, and timpani); No. 12 (flutes, trumpets, trombones and timpani); No. 21 (mm. 745-920; flutes, trumpets, trombones and timpani).

Among contemporary secondary sources, an incomplete manuscript copy in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena (shelf mark *Ms. mus. F. 787*) comes closest to the autograph. These and the other relevant sources are discussed and evaluated in detail in the *Kritischer Bericht*.

2. Fragments, sketches, and dubious additions

Remarkably, only for the two pieces composed retrospectively do fragments survive which differ from the final versions in important respects. They are:

a) Overture Fragment KV Appendix 102 (620^a = Appendix II/1a). The autograph has been lost; it was once in the possession of the International Mozart Foundation in Salzburg, who do however have an old copy of the original. (The State Library Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage (Music Department) has a draft score of mm. 19-26 of the Overture, completed in the first violin only.)⁴⁹

⁴⁹ See Wolfgang Plath, *Über die Skizzen zu Mozarts "Requiem"*, in: *Bericht über den Internationalen*

b) An autograph fragment from the March of the Priests No. 9 (a divergent first draft = Appendix I/3) owned by E. Weyhe, New York.

Whereas the March of the Priests fragment surely belongs to the *Magic Flute* (it is marked *Marcia* and *Atto II*), the placing of the other fragment, KV Appendix 102 (620^a), requires some discussion. Since Otto Jahn, observers have connected this with the *Magic Flute*, even though it would be difficult to argue that it is in any way an immediate study for the Overture in its definitive form.⁵⁰ Stylistic criteria, such as the echoes of the theme associated with Tamino in the *Allegro moderato* section (mm. 8 ff.) or the structure of the transitional group that follows (mm. 14 ff.) point without a doubt to composition in the period of the *Magic Flute* and the *La clemenza di Tito*.⁵¹ The Berlin sketch lends support to this conclusion.⁵² KV Appendix 102 (620^a) is in the same key (E^b) and instrumentation as the *Magic Flute* Overture, apart from lacking the trombone parts. This does not, however, reduce the probability regarding the authorship,⁵³ for Mozart also first added the trombone parts to the *Magic Flute* Overture in the appendix to the autograph. Since, in addition, there are no concrete arguments linking to the fragment to any other work from 1791, it seems justifiable to conclude that it represents a rejected version of the *Magic Flute* Overture, composed not in September, but before, during the main period of the opera's composition (see KV³).

The sketches and drafts to the *Magic Flute* relate for the most part to the two finales (Nos. 8 and 22); they are plentiful in comparison with other works of Mozart. They can be divided into two groups:

Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß Kassel 1962, Kassel etc., 1963, p. 184 f.

⁵⁰ See Otto Jahn, *W. A. Mozart III*, Leipzig, 1858, p. 454 f.

⁵¹ See Mena Blaschitz, *Die Salzburger Mozart-Fragmente*, PhD Dissertation (typewritten), Bonn, 1926, p. 303 f., and Constantine Floros, *Das "Programm" in Mozarts Meisterouvertüren*, in: *Studien zu Musikwissenschaft*, vol. 26, Graz, 1964, 182 f.

⁵² They contain further sketches for the *Magic Flute* and *Requiem*. See Plath, op. cit., p. 182 f.

⁵³ (Théodore de Wyzewa)—Georges Saint-Foix, *Wolfgang Amadé Mozart. Sa vie musicale et son œuvre. Essai de biographie critique*, vol V, Paris, 1946, p. 241 f.

a) The State Library Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage (Music Department) (connected with the Overture=Appendix II/1b; KV Appendix 102/620^a, mm. 19-26 [see *Kritischer Bericht*]; No. 8, mm. 518-577=Appendix II/2c.

b) Uppsala, University Library (connected with: No. 8, mm. 9-38, mm 39-85=Appendix II/2a and b; No. 11, mm. 18-21=Appendix II/4; No. 21, “Men in Harness” scene and mm. 362-364, mm. 736-738, mm. 744-758=Appendix II/a₁, a₂, and b—d).

Among the Berlin sketches, the one on leaf A^r, above left, cannot be connected precisely with the Overture, even if it shares the theme of the *Allegro* section. The opening of the sketch matches the beginning of the development section, and the cadence is reminiscent of passages like mm. 53-55. Mozart seems not to thinking in E-flat major in this sketch but instead more or less in B-flat major, moving from there occasionally to F minor. Thus the sketch seems to reflect an early stage in the composition of a modulating group developing a theme.⁵⁴

In addition to sketches for other works, the Uppsala fascicle contains on folios 7–9 sketches and drafts for sections of the *Magic Flute* occurring between the beginning of the first finale and the end of the second finale. Their sequence allows no other conclusion but that Mozart, in a steady, almost circular creative process, jotted down musical “ideas” at first without ideas of how he might synthesize them. At least those related to the first

⁵⁴ See Plath, op. cit., p. 184 f. Plath also transcribes a sketch found on the upper right of leaf A^r and bearing the tempo indication *All.^o*. This sketch has up until now not been identified, but ought to be mentioned in connection with the *Magic Flute*. In the bass there is a scalar eighth-note descent over the interval of a seventh comparable to the counterpoint to the allegro theme of the overture to the *Magic Flute*. This descending passage is repeated twice, beginning each time one step higher — this is similar to mm. 148 ff. in the overture. The same sense of loose relation to the *Magic Flute* overture is audible in the repetition of individual notes in the upper voice and in the rhythmic structure of the cadence. The key of F major and the completely different combination of parts, however, speak against a direct relationship with the opera. In addition, there is a second passage in the *Magic Flute* that bears a resemblance to the bass of the sketch: mm. 153 ff. in the introduction (although here again the key of C major differs from the opera. (See NMA I/1/2, *Requiem*, vol. 1, p. 60 for a full facsimile of leaf A^r.)

finale date from, at the latest, June 1791.⁵⁵ Among the sketches that display clear relations to later versions, a melodic sketch for the song of the Harnessed Men stands out; it differs totally from the final cantus firmus version that follows it. It should be pointed out here that the transcriptions of the Uppsala sketches and drafts attempted in this volume differ from those made by Richard Engländer in several details.⁵⁶

This edition also contains the fragment of a contrapuntal *cantus firmus* study in string quartet scoring (=Appendix II/5 a3) from the sketches appended to the “Ployer” book of studies.⁵⁷ The final answer to the question of this sketch’s relation to the *Magic Flute* remains a matter of perspective.⁵⁸ Both sketch and opera have the cantus firmus, but the melodic shape of the contrapuntal voices and the texture that arises from their imitation remind one both of No. 21 mm. 196 ff. in the *Magic Flute* and the first movement of the *Requiem* (mm. 8 ff). But, however difficult it is in this fragment to read intentions Mozart might have followed towards single works, the similarities listed above would seem to confirm the assumption that the study was not made earlier than 1791.

The surviving fragments and sketches allow access to aspects of Mozart’s creative practice, yet the possibility that the composer made other drafts of individual numbers, beyond those we know, and then discarded them remains open. Despite this possibility, suggestions in the literature to this effect are once again less than trustworthy, since they are rooted in a wish to discredit Schikaneder by proving that he “*made it a habit to dabble with each of the operas we produced, and sometimes to strike out his*

⁵⁵ See the section above on the genesis of the work. It would go too far, however, to make out a chronological connection between the letter of 11 June 1791 (cf. footnote 15), “... *death and despair were his reward!*”, and the sketches for number 11.

⁵⁶ Engländer, *The Sketches for “The Magic Flute” at Upsala*, in: *The Musical Quarterly*, year 27 (1941), pp. 343 ff.

⁵⁷ Vienna, Austrian National Library, shelf mark *Hs. 17559*. See the discussion and transcription in Robert Lach (*Mozart als Theoretiker*, in: *Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften*, vol. 61, art. 1, Vienna, 1918, pp. 34 f. and 79, and Erich Lauer, *Mozart wie ihn niemand kennt*, Frankfurt on Main, 1958, pp. 26 ff. and 66 f.

⁵⁸ See Reinhold Hammerstein, *Das Gesang der geharnischten Männer*, in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 13th year (1956), p. 15.

composers' best passages, replacing them with bad ones."⁵⁹ Mozart, these reports claim, was forced, for instance, to rework the music repeatedly in the duet "Bei Männern, welche Liebe fühlen" (No. 7); in addition much of Papageno's music was subject to this kind of interference. Schyder von Wartensee, basing his claims on a conversation he had in 1832 with a former oboist, Trübensee by name, at the *Freihaustheater*, tells of another version of this duet "in very grand style" that was supposedly performed in Vienna, often in alternation with the version we know today.⁶⁰

On 5 January, Schikaneder added two new pieces, allegedly composed by Mozart, to his performances of the *Magic Flute*. One of the two, an aria for Pamina, has since been lost. A duet for Tamino-Papageno ("Pamina, wo bist du?") was found by Georg Richard Kruse in an old manuscript copy of the score.⁶¹ Mozart's authorship seems very doubtful, partly because of the duet's poor musical quality, but also on philological grounds. It is highly unlikely that the so-called "Kruse manuscript score" came from the archives of the *Freihaustheater an der Wien*, as its discoverer surmises; at least nothing about it suggests such a provenance, and it was not copied before 1800.⁶²

II. The Libretto

The text book was published, just in time for the first performance, by the Viennese Masonic printer and engraver Ignatz Alberti.⁶³ The title page of this print and the entry in Mozart's catalogue both name Schikaneder as the text's author. In the wake of the *Magic Flute*'s Europe-wide success, there were several attempts, motivated by sensationalism and covert envy, to cast doubts on his authorship. As

⁵⁹ An anonymous report in the *Leipziger Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 1st year (1798/1799), col. 448. Nissen based his description (op. cit., page 551) almost literally on this report.

⁶⁰ Schnyder von Wartensee, *Notizen über die Zauberflöte von Mozart*, in: *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, (Leipzig), vol. 45 (1856), p. 43.

⁶¹ See Deutsch, *Freihaustheater*, p. 19. The duet was published in a new edition by Kruse in *Mitteilungen der Mozart-Gemeinde Berlin*, Issue 7, 1899.

⁶² The copy is located today in the Lippische Landesbibliothek, Detmold (shelf mark *Mus-n 7889*). The first known owner of the copy was Anton Balvansky, who directed the theatre in Graz from 1854-1864. Wolfgang Plath kindly provided me with a description of the handwriting.

⁶³ Facsimile reprint with an afterword by Michael Maria Rebenlechner, [no place, no date], [1942].

early as 1795 he found himself being forced to defend himself in the introduction to his *Spiegel von Arkadien* against the charges of a "certain theatre journalist in Regensburg," who claimed the authorship of the *Magic Flute* for himself.⁶⁴ Since then there has never been any shortage of doubts and accusations on this score.⁶⁵

It is generally thought that the *Magic Flute* is a work that reveals its sense in hindsight: it works with images from the most obvious to those with an aura of archetypal depth. The work's difficulty lies in the multiplicity of the resulting allusions; this also limits the usefulness of a decision as to where characteristic traits and symbolic figures in individual cases are taken from. This situation ought to have defused long ago any discussions about the libretto's authorship. For, whatever the work's inspiration really was, and how its particular combination of diverse sources came about, there is no reason to doubt that the conception of the libretto and its theatrical effectiveness largely bears the stamp of Schikaneder's personality. The question if Schikaneder enjoyed the help of "Schikaneder's firms"⁶⁶ in the project recedes into irrelevance.

Nonetheless, the question of Mozart's participation in the creation of the libretto is of considerable interest. If we set aside the question of overall authorship, it is impossible to miss how much Mozart must have identified with the humanitarian ethos of the text. This is evident not only in the music; it echoes in the patterns of thought of his letters, even under the guise of irony. In a letter to his wife on 9 July 1791, concerned mostly with

⁶⁴ Schikaneder, *Arkadien*, p. 360.

⁶⁵ Those named as supposed authors include Cantes (priest in Wieden), Christoph Helmbock and Joseph Anton Haselbek (members of Schikaneder's company, cf. Deutsch, *Freihaustheater*, p. 18). For more than a century there has been controversy centred on the person of Karl Ludwig Giseke, actor and author for Schikaneder and later professor of mineralogy in Dublin (cf. Deutsch, *Der rätselhafte Giseke*, in: *Die Musikforschung*, year 5 (1952), pp. 152 ff). Writers from Julius Cornet to Edward J. Dent have proposed Giseke's authorship (see Cornet, *Die Oper in Deutschland*, Hamburg, 1849 and Dent, *Mozart's Operas: A Critical Study*, London, ³/1955). Egon Komorzynski, in numerous papers from 1901 on, has successfully argued the case for Schikaneder. (*Emmanuel Schikaneder*, Berlin, 1901; *Der Streit um den Text der Zauberflöte* in: *Alt-Wiener Kalender für das Jahr 1922*, pp. 79 ff. and elsewhere).

⁶⁶ Saint-Foix, op. cit., vol. V, p. 217. See also Chailley, op. cit., pp. 17 ff..

financial difficulties, he suddenly changes the subject: “*for I say, with good things everything can be put right, magnanimous and humble behaviour has often reconciled the fiercest enemies...*”⁶⁷

As far as the dramaturgy of the work is concerned, it is important to consider the effects that librettist, composer, and members of the cast had on each other. It was still a matter of course for the late Mozart to compose for particular singers;⁶⁸ in comparison, the consideration shown to the performers by the librettist was secondary. Nevertheless, the dramatic conception, within the limits set by the company’s specific abilities, cannot be viewed as belonging only to Schikaneder, for it was Mozart’s practice to exert as much influence as practicable on the librettos. For the *Magic Flute*, as for other late operas, concrete written evidence of Mozart’s involvement is missing. A later comment of Schikaneder’s, however, made at a time of his own greatest success, when he did not yet need to make use of the emerging “Mozart legend”, is revealing: the *Magic Flute*, he wrote in 1795, was “*an opera that I planned most thoroughly with Mozart of blessed memory.*”⁶⁹

Although it is possible that Mozart influenced the project in its planning stages, it is not possible to say anything concrete about the dimensions and intentions of such participation. Yet, unclear as the fundamental matters are, there are details in the text that can serve as the starting point for discussion. One of these aspects are the differences in the text between Mozart’s autograph and the final printed text in the libretto. One can assume that the printer Alberti and Mozart began their work with more or less similar versions of the text. Perhaps Alberti later made changes to it at Mozart or Schikaneder’s behest; this is possible, given the history of the text’s creation, but not to be proved. In any case, the print transmits a version close to the final one. Musical passages are labelled as such with headings in the text: the only drastic difference between autograph and print is Sarastro’s aria with chorus (No. 10), in the autograph “*Oh Isis and Osiris*” and merely “*Chorus*” in the libretto. All in all, Mozart’s autograph departs from the libretto in about fifty

cases (not counting punctuation), including various additions, cuts, and alterations.⁷⁰

Among the larger additions, the following stand out: the dramaturgically important line “*stirb Ungeheuer, durch unsere Macht*” (“*Die, monster, through our power*”) (Introduction, mm. 40-42, the Three Ladies) and the verse “*ich wage froh den kühnen Lauf*” (“*I risk with joy the audacious passage*”) (No. 21, Tamino, mm. 245-247). Since both verses are necessary for the meter, their absence in the libretto suggests that they were an error of Alberti’s and not an addition of Mozart’s. On the other hand, Monastatos’s mocking imitation of the words of Pamina and Papageno, “*nur geschwinde, nur geschwinde, nur geschwinde*”, (Finale I, mm. 263-265) may well have been added by Mozart.

Cuts in the text are more sweeping and can all be credited to Mozart. In Finale I Mozart omits the following four lines that follow Pamina’s words “*Die Wahrheit! Sey sie auch Verbrechen*” [“*The truth! Be it even a crime*”] (mm. 366-370), to be sung by Pamina and Papageno:⁷¹

Die Wahrheit ist nicht immer gut,
Weil sie den Großen wehe thut;
Doch wär sie allezeit verhaßt,
So wär mein Leben mir zur Last.
[The truth is not always good,
Because it hurts the Great;
But, if it was always despised,
My life would be a burden to me.]

In Finale II (before m. 613), the Three Boys warn Pamina with the following lines, before leading her to Papageno:

Komm her, du holdes Weibchen!
Dem Mann sollst du dein Herzchen weihn!
Er wird dich lieben, süßes Weibchen,
Dein Vater, Freund, und Bruder sein!
Sey dieses Mannes Eigenthum!
[Come hither, noble woman!
You should dedicate your heart to the man!
He will love you, sweet woman,
Be your father, friend, and brother!
Belong to this man!]

⁶⁷ Bauer–Deutsch IV, No. 1186, p. 151, lines 12-14.

⁶⁸ Here again we must warn against fantastic speculation. Thus Mozart’s “Pamina,” Anna Gottlieb, was neither his favorite student nor his lover. It is also untrue that Gottlieb was so devastated by Mozart’s death that she retired from the stage. Cf. Deutsch, *Phantasiestücke aus der Mozart-Biographie*, in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1956*, Salzburg, 1957, p. 49.

⁶⁹ Schikaneder, op. cit., p. 359.

⁷⁰ On this cf. Peter Branscombe, *Die Zauberflöte: some textual and interpretative problems*, in: *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 92nd Session, 1965/66, (London 1966), pp. 45-63.

⁷¹ Libretto, p. 45. See also Willi Schuh, *Über einige frühe Textbücher zur “Zauberflöte”*, in: *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß Mozartjahr 1956*, Graz-Cologne, 1958, p. 571.

Also in the second Finale, Mozart likewise skips over the final lines of the duet Papageno-Papagena (from m. 370):

Wenn dann die kleinen um sie spielen,
Die Ältern gleiche Freude fühlen,
Sich ihres Ebenbildes freun.
O welch ein Glück kann größer sein?
[Then, when the little ones play round them,
The parents feel the same joy,
Rejoice in those made in their image.
Oh, what happiness can be greater?]

Although there is nothing unusual in a composer shortening the text that he sets, the way in which he makes such changes can be of interest. Mozart's alterations reveal at least two complementary aspects. First, the cuts are made to texts in which naïveté tends questionably towards banal moralizing. Second, in addition to Mozart's disinclination towards "poor" texts, his dramatic sense plays a role, eliminating elements which hold the action back at inappropriate moments. It is typical of Mozart's aesthetic response that he avoids the clumsy and the obvious and, at least in the first of the three cases listed above, prevents a moralizing insertion coming too much into the foreground or into the centre of the plot.

These cuts and also the numerous smaller adjustments concern most often the role of Papageno, and much more seldom Tamino. Considered alone, these cuts would appear to suggest that Schikaneder, who attached particular importance to the role of Papageno, was the author. Yet other evidence points, once again, decidedly in Mozart's direction: if we recall the terms of affection Mozart used for Constanze in his letters to her, the alteration of the nickname Papageno uses in despair in Finale II (mm. 406 ff.) from "*Herzenstäubchen*" ["little dove of my heart"] to "*Herzensweibchen*" ["little woman of my heart"] can only have come from him. In any case, most of the corrections make the dialogue more direct and therefore more effective on stage, and do not shy away from using dialect-like forms to achieve this.

Mozart formulates his stage directions more concisely and pithily than does the libretto. Mozart does not hold too closely to Schikaneder's at times quite detailed directions for the music, although he must have played a role in their conception, in order to leave future musical directors an appropriate amount of freedom. He does not, for example, provide the demanded musical backgrounds to the spoken dialogues immediately preceding musical

numbers, but does instead create the possibility of overlapping the following musical introduction with the final lines of the dialogue (in particular in numbers two and four). Mozart generally does not follow the libretto's specifications about musical interpolations during spoken dialogue, with the exception of the "*triple sounded chord*" in the Grand Priests' scene at the opening of Act two. But here Mozart's instrumentation, which includes woodwinds, again does not follow the libretto's instructions ("*the horns are sounded three times*"; pp. 51 f.) This divergence allows the conclusion, however, that the "*triple sounded trombone tones*" which Mozart neglects in scene 19 of Act II (libretto, pp. 80 f.) represent an arbitrarily simplified form of the "*triple sounded chord*", for at another point in this scene Mozart ignores a dramatically important musical direction: when Papageno, frightened by Sarastro's lions, calls for Tamino, the stage directions in the libretto state that "*Tamino blows his flute, comes back swiftly; the lions go in.*" Since the flute's magic only works when it sounds, Tamino must play something here; the best solution would be the beginning of the flute solo from Finale I (mm. 160 ff.)

Special Notes

1. Autograph

Mozart's handwriting in the autograph is, with occasional exceptions, very clear. Naturally, as was his usual practice, he entered the upper and lower voices first before turning his attention to the inner ones and to instrumentation. It is instructive to follow this procedure in the Overture, as he uses very different ink colours here.⁷² Actual and apparent carelessness, which is mostly simply the result of notational thriftiness, appears in more expansively conceived sections, while he notates passages employing radically differentiated compositional techniques with far more richness and precision. Mozart's notational thriftiness, already referred to, applies mostly to articulation, is reflected, as a tendency, in this edition. Questionable passages are completed only by strict analogy, and only in those cases where the model comes directly beforehand. Thus it is occasionally left to the interpreter to extrapolate Mozart's articulations and dynamic indications based on what has gone before (for instance in the Overture mm. 51 ff and 166 ff and *passim*). As in other works of the mature Mozart, it is impossible to oversee in the *Magic*

⁷² See the printed score of the overture "*in exact agreement with the composer's manuscript, as he conceived, orchestrated, and completed it*" by André, Offenbach, 1829 (publisher's number 5200).

Flute the graphic differentiation of staccato dots and wedges. The articulation is adopted when interpretational consistency is clearly discernible; in cases of doubt, however, we use wedges.

II. On the German Text

The work of the *Magic Flute*'s editors is made more difficult by two sets of circumstances, both of which seem to involve matters of little consequence, but which threaten to upset the delicate fluidity inherent in the work itself. The first relates to language. The German of the libretto of the *Magic Flute* is not standard, but is heavily coloured by Bavarian-Austrian dialect. Dialect resists fixation in writing by its very nature, even as it confirms the affinity of the work with the naïve genre of the dramatised fairy tale. It is necessary to find a compromise between the requirements of modern textual sensibilities and the exigencies of dialect; such a compromise makes thoroughgoing consistency very hard to achieve. Thus the dropping of the unaccented final "e" (except in the imperative), which occurs frequently in southern German, is indicated here by an apostrophe.

The second set of circumstances has to do with the divergence between the libretto and the autograph in the parts Mozart set to music. In this volume Mozart's formulations and word forms are followed strictly, and corrections to grammar are mainly avoided. Indeed, the question of Mozart's punctuation cannot be regarded as irrelevant, since it has been recognized that his idiosyncratic style unites elements of rhetorical declamation and expressive musical semiotics.⁷³ The carelessness or painstakingness of the written form is also in this case dependent on the intensity of the composition. Yet, despite this relationship to the character of the composition, it has been necessary to complete Mozart's punctuation, approaching the accustomed appearance of today's texts, to facilitate reading. Completions follow, as a rule, the libretto, but are sometimes done freely in accordance with today's usage. Repetitions of words, groups of words or sentences are always separated by punctuation, even if the structure of the music speaks against such a disposition. Otherwise, punctuation has been completed with restraint, in order to retain the

flavour of Mozart's notation. Punctuation marks set by Mozart himself are almost all retained, even when they conflict with rules of syntax.

III. Vocal Performance Practice

The voice parts in the autograph are provided only sparingly with dynamics and articulation. Since a strict correlation with the orchestral parts was not intended by Mozart, the performance of such passages is left largely to the sense of style and taste of the singers. Punctuation in the text, however, can in certain instances, provide hints for the singer. For instance, the exclamation mark in m. 33 of the introduction (Tamino: "*ach rettet mich!*"), which is replaced by a comma in most editions, is an indication that Mozart imagined a dynamic contrast between the singer, who ought to exclaim this text strongly, and the orchestra, which is marked *piano*. Another example is the similar differentiation of dynamics and articulation of individual strophes in numbers 13 and 20, which provides the singer with immediately available ideas for the interpretation generally.

Less vocal ornamentation is required in the *Magic Flute* than in most of Mozart's earlier operas, which belong more centrally to the Italian operatic tradition. The insertion of ornamentation at fermatas, *Eingänge* [bridge passages, often improvised], and cadenzas cannot be ruled out categorically for roles like the Queen of the Night and her Three Ladies, but they would disturb the stylistic balance of the work as a whole. Appoggiaturas as well should be limited to declamatory passages, as opposed to sections with an aria-like character. Suggestions for these are given in small print; for further details of appoggiatura practice in Mozart, performers are directed to thorough discussion in the NMA volumes *Die Schuldigkeit des ersten Gebots*,⁷⁴ *Ascanio in Alba*,⁷⁵ *Arias • Volume 1*,⁷⁶ and *Songs*.⁷⁷ It is also necessary to consider the performance of the only large-scale recitative in the *Magic Flute*, the dialogue *accompagnato* from mm. 39 to 159 of Finale I (the so-called "Speaker's scene") – specifically, how one is to perform appoggiaturas when the text asks a question. In general, just as Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg specifies in his *Unterricht vom Recitativ*,⁷⁸ Mozart set questions in

⁷³ On this cf. Gernot Gruber, *Das Autograph der "Zauberflöte". Eine stilkritische Interpretation des philologischen Befundes, 1. Teil*, in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1967*, Salzburg, 1968, p. 127 ff. See also the NMA volumes *Don Giovanni*, ed. Wolfgang Plath and Wolfgang Rehm (=NMA II/5/17, p. XVI) and *Lieder*, ed. Ernst August Ballin (III/8, p. XV.)

⁷⁴ I/4/1, ed. Franz Giegling, see p. VIII f.

⁷⁵ II/5/5, ed. Luigi Fernandino Tagliavini, see p. X ff.

⁷⁶ II/7, ed. Stefan Kunze, see p. XIX f.

⁷⁷ III/8, ed. Ernst August Ballin, see p. XII f.

⁷⁸ *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst*, vol. II, Berlin, 1763, p. 253 ff.

recitative with rising melodies, or at least ended the melodic phrase with a rising step. Thus it seems reasonable in this case to begin appoggiaturas from below. The historical origin of recitative in Gregorian psalmody speaks for this solution, since, in the performance of psalms, the Latin reading mark and, later, the question mark called for a specific melodic cadence formula consisting of a leap of a third downwards followed by a stepwise ascent.⁷⁹ Although inflexible schemes for appoggiaturas are to be avoided, we would like to suggest that in this special case of the textual question the appoggiaturas be taken from below, since this gives the alternation in the dialogue a more clearly differentiated melodic form.

IV. The *Dramatis personae*

The list of roles given here on page two takes its structure from both the libretto and the theatre poster for the première and completes the information found there. Questions arise, for instance, about the group of Sarastro's "initiated." In neither source is it clear which Priests are to sing which parts in Finale I and in the Duet No. 11. The libretto and the poster list a Speaker and three Priests besides Sarastro. Mozart's autograph makes reference to Sarastro, the First Priest, the Second Priest, and a further Priest (who may be identical with one of the other two) but not to a Speaker. In contrast to today's theatrical practice, for the "Speaker Scene" in Finale I both the libretto and the autograph specify a "*Priest*" but no Speaker. The suspicion that, at the première, the First Priest (today a speaking role) appeared in Finale I in place of the Speaker, is largely confirmed when one considers the following: according to the poster, the prompter Winter played the Speaker and the bass Urban Schikaneder the First Priest. In the entry for the Magic Flute in his work catalogue, Mozart also names the protagonists. Names are given for all those with singing roles, with the exception of the Three Ladies and the Three Boys, but not for the speaking roles. Mr. Winter is not among those listed, but "*Mr. Schikaneder the Elder*" is. If one is not prepared to assume that the two names were somehow exchanged on the poster, then only one conclusion remains: the Priest in Finale I is the First Priest and not the Speaker. This correction raises the question if the Speaker is really a purely speaking role, which would make sense, and that he should leave it to the First Priest to sing the bass part in the Duet No. 11. The libretto, however, says that the Speaker ought to sing this part, whereas

Mozart's apportionment of roles is inconsistent. He specifies two Priests, but the tenor singing the Second Priest of the libretto is the First Priest in the autograph. From the dialogue that precedes No. 11, and thus from the point of the view of the plot, it seems likely after all that the Speaker should sing the bass part.

V. Individual Numbers

No. 1 Introduction. Mozart marked a *cadenza* "in tempo" after m. 204 for the Three Ladies, which he later struck out, on aesthetic or technical grounds. In the *cadenza* presented in Appendix I of this edition, only the notes in large print are from the autograph (m. 204a = [1]-[7] and [13]-[19]=207). Originally there must have been more; the continuations at m. [13] (First Lady: tie to g') and m. [16] (text underlay "-be") imply as much. The five measures given here in small type, filling the gap, come from Aloys Fuchs, who claimed authenticity for them without revealing their origin. He reported that he had been made aware of them by "a highly respected musician" who "had attended all of the rehearsals for the Magic Flute as a young man" (Ignaz Xaver von Seyfried?). Fuchs continues: "Such a hint was all that I needed to be inspired to start looking immediately for this passage; after several fruitless attempts I succeeded completely."⁸⁰ Fuch's report is so vague that the added measures must be considered dubious. In addition, the musical qualities of the addition cast doubt on Mozart's authorship. For instance, the transition mortared together in mm. 12 and 13 can hardly have been by Mozart (First Lady, appoggiatura and highest pitch g' prepared only by one eighth passing note; Second Lady: the required tie to c' is missing in the autograph; Third Lady: m. 12, the final eighth note g' would lead better to f' than to a'). It follows that either mm. 8-12 have nothing whatsoever to do with Mozart, or the *cadenza* in the Fuchs version is still missing something. The transition from m. 12 to m. 13, for instance, could be extended like this:

ERSTE DAME [12] [13]
[le] - - - - be, le - - - - [be]

ZWEITE DAME
[le] - - - - be, le - - - - [be]

DRITTE DAME
[le] - - - - be, le - - - - [be]

⁷⁹ See Peter Wagner, *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien*, Leipzig, 1911-21, vol. II, pp. 82 ff. and vol. III, pp. 80 ff.

⁸⁰ *Beitrag zur Geschichte der Oper "Die Zauberflöte"*, von W.A. Mozart, in: *Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung*, Vienna, 1841, p. 244.

No. 2 Aria. The text to the third strophe is to be found neither in the autograph nor in the libretto. It appears, however, already in the 18th century in prints and manuscript copies.⁸¹ It is therefore given here in italics.

No. 4 Aria. The autograph supplies no tempo indication. Since the *Allegro maestoso* of the opening can no longer apply here, an addition is necessary; the *Andante* found in most early secondary sources seems preferable to *Largo* (see the *Kritischer Bericht*).

No. 7 Duetto. In this number Mozart altered the autograph substantially after the fact, shortening the ending by half a measure and thereby displacing the bar-lines throughout the entire piece (see pages XXIII f.) This procedure has led to countless theories and interpretations, ending finally with Arnold Feil's comment: "*the categories of measure, hierarchy within measures, metre etc. that we normally use obviously cannot be applied to this song.*"⁸² Feil argues convincingly for the coexistence of two kinds of measure that are nevertheless not sharply differentiated from each other, and which are not notated as such: a metrically vague 6/8 measure consisting of two units in 3/8 for the songlike sections, and a metrically clear 6/8 measure for the transitions between strophes and the conclusion.

The absence in mm. 1-2 in Mozart's autograph of the wind chords traditional in theatre practice and their clear replacement by rests is often seen to have some sort of connection with the duet's metric displacement. The extreme positions of some critics demonstrate the wide range of opinions about the two versions: whereas Horst Seeger, for example,

sees the wind chords as "*primitive*,"⁸³ Feil's words are that "*the entire piece is contained in the first two measures.*"⁸⁴ Surely the opening is not as primitive as Seeger claims; indeed, if one follows the metric mixture described above, it can be thoroughly interesting. On the other hand it is problematic, given the clear absence of these chords in the autograph, to read them as containing the quintessence of the piece's periodic or metric disposition. If we follow the autograph and hear the opening as a song-like "*double 3/8 measure*," then Feil's question, "*what would the upbeat-like opening be without a confirming answer?*", is blunted. It is impossible to determine if Mozart wanted a simple, almost shy, song-like opening for the duet, or if he perhaps envisioned, in an unknown source outside of the autograph fair copy, a more nebulous metric and periodic structure. It remains for the interpreter to decide between the unusually hesitant opening without the chords and the structurally suggestive version with them.⁸⁵ Speculation about a change of plan during the notation of the autograph or alleged earlier versions of the duet does not have a place here.

No. 8 Finale I. M. 485: In the autograph and in the Modena source the third quarter in the violoncello/bass part is a *d* and not the *f* favoured by later practice. The *d*, however, ought to be preferred by harmonic analogy. In the autograph version the modulation in mm. 485-486 follows the path F/I=C/IV—ii—V—I, which is analogous to the progression in mm. 479-481, B-flat/I= F/IV—ii—V—I, and also closely related to the grouping in mm. 473-475 G minor I = B-flat VI—iv—V—i.

No. 12 Quintetto. At first glance the contrast between the held *fortissimo* whole note c#⁷ in the violoncello/bass and the *piano* sixteenth notes in the first violins might seem strange, but it seems that Mozart wrote this quite intentionally. The passage is very clearly notated this way in the autograph; contemporary secondary sources follow this reading (see the *Kritischer Bericht*). Mozart, apparently, wanted to delay and treat with irony an unduly hasty end of the high point of the phrase in m. 157. Mozart's intentional use of the gaudy brightness of the leading note c⁷ as a contrast to the *piano* p in m.

⁸¹ For instance in the keyboard reduction by Friedrich Eunike (Simrock, Bonn, 1793) and in copies by Lausch, Vienna.

⁸² Arnold Feil, *Mozarts Duett "Bei Männern, welche Liebe fühlen"*. *Periodisch-metrische Fragen*, in: *Festschrift Walter Gerstenberg zum 60. Geburtstag*, Wolfenbüttel-Zürich, 1964, p. 50. But cf. Schnyder von Wartensee, op. cit., p. 42; Julius Reitz, *Revisionsbericht [Editorial Report]* to the AMA, Leipzig, 1883, p. 108; Alfred Heuß, *Ein Mozart Mysterium, oder wie verhält es sich mit den Taktstrichen in dem Zauberflöten-Duett: Bei Männern welche Liebe fühlen*, in: *Studien zur Musikgeschichte. Festschrift für Guido Adler zum 75. Geburtstag*, Vienna, 1930, pp. 174 ff.; Horst Seeger, *Die Originalgestalt des Es-Dur-Duetts Pamina/Papageno in der Zauberflöte*, in: *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, year 1963, pp. 65 ff.

⁸³ Seeger, op. cit., p. 67.

⁸⁴ Feil, op. cit., p. 54.

⁸⁵ On this see the compromise solution offered by Meinhard von Zallinger, who shortens the rest in m. 2 (*Tradition und Schlamperei. Bemerkungen zur Ausgabe der Zauberflöte*, in: *Wissenschaft und Praxis. Eine Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Bernhard Paumgartner*, Zürich and Freiburg, [1958], p. 104).

160 is made even more obvious by the reading in the Modena source:



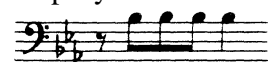
Thus the autograph notation, seen in context, seems thoroughly purposeful.

No. 20. Aria. Mm. 24 ff.: The three strophes in the libretto, where their order is clearly marked, are found in Mozart's autograph without numbering as follows: strophes one and three are entered under Papageno's staff, while strophe two is placed on top of it. Since it is impossible, after comparison with other works, to make out any pattern on Mozart's part in such notation, it is not surprising that editors have constantly arrived at diverse readings.⁸⁶ Nonetheless, the manner in which Mozart wrote out the text in numbers 2 and 15, which he conceived of as being in two strophes, is suggestive: in both, one line of text is placed below and one above the singer's staff. One might suspect, therefore, that Mozart proceeded in a similar fashion in No. 20, notating the third strophe from the libretto last, underneath the first one notated – that is, as the second line underneath the staff. There is a musical argument as well for placing the libretto's final strophe last: Mozart altered the instrumentation (perhaps after the fact?) of the music of the third strophe by adding woodwinds to the ritornello. It is hard to imagine Mozart drawing attention to the strophe in which Papageno wishes to “*expire of sadness*” by adding a richer orchestration.

No. 21. Finale II. M. 240, Violincello/Basso: Mozart's autograph clearly reads as follows:



This results in an “unsatisfactory” resolution of the ninth chord through a diminished seventh chord, which has always led editors and conductors to suspect a mistake on Mozart's part and therefore to simplify the bass line thus:



Early secondary sources correct this passage accordingly.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, we can see no overriding argument for altering the autograph reading. The choice will remain with the interpreter, who will have to make a decision based on the dramatic importance he assigns to this passage. The

following brief commentary might serve as a suggestion. Tamino's energetic decision is, judged by its consequences, only one step in his development, but is also more than an unimportant transition from the song of the “harnessed” men to Pamina's call for help. Mozart always emphasizes the reaction of one person to another by means of appropriate musical devices. Thus an affectful antithesis to the song of the harnessed men is presented by the sharp dissonance on the word *Tod* [“death”], arising through the prepared suspension in the bass, and is dramaturgically quite plausible, especially since there is an analogy between this tone colour and the dynamic tension in mm. 243-245 (Tamino: “*Schließt mir den Schreckenssporten auf.*” [“Open for me the terrible gates.”])

Editorial technique

In addition to the general NMA guidelines on p. VI, the following editorial procedures, which correspond generally to those used for *Don Giovanni* (NMA II/5/17), were followed:

1. We have decided against giving original clefs for vocal parts at the beginning of every number. These will be found in the *dramatis personae* on p. 2.
2. We do not follow, again as in *Don Giovanni*, the NMA's usual policy of letting staves made up entirely of rests run on throughout. Instead, we apply the principle of the variable staff system: in ensemble numbers in particular, staves consisting only of rests are dropped wherever this serves the interests of a more effective page layout. To provide proper orientation, however, individual staves are marked at the beginning of each page with abbreviations for characters or instruments. Thus markings like *a 2* and *I^{mo}* or *2^{do}* are repeated from staff to staff where winds are notated in pairs. New entries of characters are notated not only at the beginning of the page, but also within staves, in normal type.
3. The titles of individual numbers and sections, along with general indications of forces are generally made using Italian terminology, even if Mozart himself was not consistent in this respect and occasionally used German terms.
4. Stage directions other than those given in the musical text (indications of act and scene, descriptions of the stage, and entrances) and in the dialogue are not found in the autograph and are therefore taken from the libretto; these are given in normal type. Editorial additions are indicated by italics.

⁸⁶ Zallinger, for instance, places the stanzas in the order 1—3—2 in his admirable new edition based on the autograph (C. F. Peters, Leipzig, 1956).

⁸⁷ See for instance the Modena source.

Stage directions within the musical texts are all set in normal parentheses. Those from the autograph are in normal type, those from the libretto in italics.

*

The thanks of the Editorial Board and the Volume Editors go first of all to all libraries and institutions without whose help the edition would not have been possible at all. In particular, thanks go to the Music Collection of the Austrian National Library, Vienna and the Director, Counsellor Prof. Dr. Leopold Nowak, who was most forthcoming in granting us access to the original photographs of the Magic Flute. Director Dr. Karl-Heinz Köhler of the Music Collection of the German State Library in Berlin generously permitted us to print some facsimiles from the lost autograph. Hearty gratitude is owed by the undersigned to the two gentlemen of the Editorial Board of the NMA, Dr. Wolfgang Plath and Dr. Wolfgang Rehm, for their constantly available advice, their readiness to help and for entrusting him with the work. Dr. Oskar Holl (Freiburg in Breisgau), as an expert on the German language, gave valuable advice on details of the text and read the proofs for the relevant sections, a task for which we are sincerely indebted to him. Further help with proofreading was received from Karl Heinz Füssl (Vienna); for special information, thanks are due to Dr. Walther Dürr (Tübingen) and Dr. Stefan Kunze (München).

Gernot Gruber

Graz, Autumn, 1969

Postscript by the Editorial Board: Prof. DDr. Alfred Orel, who had already taken over this important volume of the NMA as appointed editor of the Magic Flute in its initial stages, engaged Dr. Gruber, at the beginning of the editing work proper, first of all as his assistant and later as co-editor. Increasing health problems from the middle of the 1960s caused Prof. Orel to transfer a substantial part of the philological work to Dr. Gruber; after Prof. Orel's death in 1967, Dr. Gruber, who had been introduced to all the problems of the Magic Flute during the long period of collaboration with Prof. Orel, took over the sole responsibility for continuing and finishing the editing of the volume. The Editorial Board wish to take this opportunity of expressing their thanks to him.

Addendum 1985

Mozart's autograph of the *Zauberflöte*, which was available for the edition of this volume only in the form of original photographs from the Photogram Archive of the Austrian National Library, Vienna (cf. *Foreword*, p. X), has been in the State Library Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage since 1 June 1977. In 1979, a facsimile edition⁸⁸ based on the once again accessible autograph was published; the editor, Karl-Heinz Köhler, discusses the transmission history of the manuscript comprehensively in the accompanying booklet, including the events between 1941 and 1977.

Translation: William Buchanan

⁸⁸ *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Die Zauberflöte. Eine deutsche Oper in zwei Aufzügen. Text von Emanuel Schikaneder. KV 620.* Facsimile of the autograph score. Edited by Karl-Heinz Köhler (= *Documenta Musicologica*, Second Series: Handschriften-Faksimiles VII). Kassel etc. [and Leipzig], 1979.

Handwritten musical score for the Overture of 'The Magic Flute'. The title 'Säuerflöte' is written in a stylized script. The manuscript includes several staves of music with notes, rests, and dynamic markings. Annotations include 'K. 11' in the top left and 'K. 11. 1' in the top right. A circular stamp is visible on the right side of the page.

Facs. 1: First page of the Overture after the original photo of the lost autograph from the Austrian National Library, Vienna (Photogram Archive); the original was kept in the Prussian State Library in Berlin until the end of World War II (cf. however Addendum 1985, p. XX). Cf. p. 5, mm 1–7.

A page of handwritten musical notation for the Introduction of The Magic Flute. The page is numbered '27' in the top right corner. The score consists of ten staves. The first staff is marked 'Alc.' and 'Introduction'. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'p' and 'f'. The handwriting is in dark ink on aged paper.

Facs. 2: First page of the Introduction (No. 1: on the numbering, cf. *Foreword*). Cf. pp. 38–39, mm 1–8.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for a duet. The score is written on ten staves. The top staff is labeled 'Soprano' and the second staff is labeled 'Alto'. Below these are staves for 'Violoncello', 'Viola', 'Violino I', 'Violino II', 'Fagotto', 'Klarinette', and 'Bass'. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and clefs. There are some handwritten annotations and corrections throughout the score. The paper appears aged and slightly stained.

Facs. 3: First page of the duet “Bei Männern, welche Liebe fühlen” (No. 7). Cf. pp. 122–123, mm. 1–7 (1st half).

Violin I
Violin II
Viola
Violoncello
Fagotto
Tromba
Clarinetto in B \flat
Fagotto
Bassi

Allegro
Allegro

Como tacchino.

Rivolgete a lui lo sguardo e vedrete come sta. tutto Orca, io pelo... io

105

Facs. 4: Last page of the duet “Bei Männern, welche Liebe fühlen” (No. 7). Cf. pp. 126, m. 43 (2nd half) to the end.



Facs. 5: Leaf 6^v from the Finale (No. 21). Cf. p. 275, mm 78–80, and footnote on that page.

Handwritten musical score for the beginning of the scene of the Men in Harness from the Finale (No. 21) of The Magic Flute. The score is on a single leaf (12v) and features multiple staves for various instruments and voices. The notation is in a historical style, with some corrections and markings. The instruments listed on the left include Flute, Viola, Violoncello, Tromboni, and two Horns. The score begins with a "Sings" instruction and includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like "Vivace".

Facs. 6: Leaf 12^v from the Finale (No. 21) with the beginning of the scene of the Men in Harness. Cf. p. 287, mm. 190–200.



Die Zauberflöte.

Eine

große Oper in zwey Aufzügen.

Von

Emmanuel Schikaneder.

Die Musik ist von Herrn Wolfgang Amade
Mozart, Kapellmeister, und wirklichem k.
I. Kammer-Compositenr.



W i e n,
gedruckt bey Ignaz Alberti, 1791.

Personen.

Sarastro.
Tamino.
Sprecher.
Erster }
Zweiter } Priester.
Dritter }
Königinn der Nacht.
Pamina, ihre Tochter.
Erste }
Zweite } Dame.
Dritte }
Drey Genien.
Papageno.
Ein altes Weib.
Monostatos, ein Mobr.
Erster }
Zweiter } Sklave.
Dritter }
Priester, Sklaven, Gefolge.

Facs. 7: From left to right: title engraving, title page and *dramatis personae* from the libretto (Vienna, 1791, Ignaz Alberti).