

# WOLFGANG AMADEUS MOZART

Series II

## Works for the Stage

WORK GROUP 5: OPERAS AND SINGSPIELS  
VOLUME 8: LA FINTA GIARDINIERA  
[The Pretended Garden-Girl]  
SUB-VOLUME 1: ACT I

PRESENTED BY RUDOLPH ANGERMÜLLER  
AND DIETRICH BERKE

1978

Neue Mozart-Ausgabe (New Mozart Edition)\*

WOLFGANG AMADEUS MOZART

## The Complete Works

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

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## EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

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

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





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

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

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

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

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

The title of each work as well as the specification in italics of the instruments and voices at the beginning of each piece have been normalised, the disposition of the score follows today's practice. The wording of the original titles and score disposition are provided in the Critical Commentary in German. The original notation for transposing instruments has been retained. C-clefs used in the sources have been replaced by modern clefs. Mozart always notated singly occurring sixteenth, thirty-second notes etc. crossed-through, (i.e.  instead of ); the notation therefore does not distinguish between long or short realisations. The NMA generally renders these in the modern notation  etc.; if a grace note of this kind should be interpreted as "short" an additional indication "[]" is given over the relevant grace note. Missing slurs at grace notes or grace note groups as well as articulation signs on ornamental notes have generally been added without comment. Dynamic markings are rendered in the modern form, e.g. *f* and *p* instead of *for:* and *pia:*

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

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

## FOREWORD

The performance history of Mozart's drama giocoso *La finta giardiniera* (previously classified as an "opera buffa") has been depicted in detail by Robert Münster in five essays (since 1965)<sup>1</sup>. He was able to base his work on several new sources which also provide important support for this edition of the work within the framework of the NMA. In an exhibition on the theme of *La finta giardiniera. Mozart's stay in Munich 1774/75* in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich from 13 January to 28 February 1975, Münster took the opportunity of presenting a large portion of the material to the public. Much in the following remarks is indebted to the relevant works by Münster on themes relating to Mozart's *La finta giardiniera*.

## I. Beginnings and development

The suggestion of setting the material of the *finta giardiniera* for the Court in Munich came very probably from Rome. There the drama giocoso in three acts, *La finta giardiniera*, was staged for the first time at the end of December (probably on the 26th) or the beginning of 1774 at the renowned Teatro delle Dame in a setting by Pasquale Anfossi (1727-1797). The Bavarian Ambassador to the Papal Stool, Gian Francesco Catena, reported to Munich on New Year's Day 1774, "*Nel teatro di Torre Argentina fu messo il Dramma in musica L'Ezio che riscosse una mediocre [recte: mediocre] approvazione dal Pubblico il quale molto più gradi la farza della finta giardiniera rappresentata nell'altro teatro detto delle Dame e messo in musica dal celeberrimo Maestro di Cappella Anfossi [In the teatro di Torre Argentina was presented the drama in music, L'Ezio, which sparked only*

*mediocre approval amongst the audience; the approval was many degrees stronger for the finta giardiniera, presented in the other theater called teatro delle Dame and set to music by the most celebrated music director Anfossi]*"<sup>2</sup>.

A libretto is extant from this performance<sup>3</sup>, probably also used by Mozart. The poet of this text, here as in the other *Finta* librettos we know from the 18th century<sup>4</sup>, is not named. The question of the poet's identity has therefore led to much speculation and to false attributions in Mozart research. The earliest attribution came from the ward of the music department of the Austrian National Library in Vienna, Joseph Mantuani (1860-1933), who named Raniero de' Calzabigi (1714 to 1795) as poet with the additional remark, "*textum auxit Marcus Coltellini, in linguam germanicam vertit ... Schachtner?*"<sup>5</sup>. According to this, Mantuani seems to have doubted Schachtner's authorship of the German translation; sources for his attributions to Calzabigi and Coltellini are not named. Alfred Einstein, in the third edition of the Köchel Catalogue, saw no reason to doubt Mantuani's statement (the first two editions of the Köchel Catalogue do not name an author for the libretto), and even the sixth edition names as author "probably" Calzabigi and maintains the idea of a revision by Coltellini. As early as 1934, however, Siegfried Anheißer in his German version of the work found clear reasons to dispute Calzabigi's authorship<sup>6</sup>. Finally, there is one indication that the original material was French<sup>7</sup>.

The libretto for the first performance of Anfossi's *La finta giardiniera* contains however one

<sup>2</sup> Geheimes Staatsarchiv Munich, Bayerische Gesandtschaft, Päpstlicher Stuhl, 692 (Münster V, p. 23).

<sup>3</sup> *LA FINTA / GIARDINIERA / Dramma giocoso / DA RAPPRESENTARSI / NEL TEATRO / DELLE DAME / Nel Carnevale dell'Anno 1774. / DEDICATO / ALLE / DAME ROMANE / IN ROMA / Per Giovanni Bartolomichi / Con licenza de' Superiori. / Si vendono dal sudetto incontro / il Palazzo di Piani al Corso.*

84 pp., 8<sup>o</sup>, copy in: Rome, Biblioteca S. Cecilia, signature: Fondo proprio, No. XVIII 85.

<sup>4</sup> All *Finta* librettos so far discovered are described in: Rudolph Angermüller, *Wer war der Librettist von "La finta giardiniera?"*, in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1976/77*, Kassel etc., 1978, p. 1-8.

<sup>5</sup> Entry on the catalogue card of the source 'Vienna Copy' described in section IV/b, Austrian National Library, signature: *Cod. mus. 18.639*; cf. also KV<sup>6</sup>, p. 224.

<sup>6</sup> Berlin, Reihe Deutscher Musikverlag in der Universal-Edition, No. 11.178.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Köchel-Verzeichnis, 6th edition, (Wiesbaden, 1964), p. 224.

<sup>1</sup> *Die verstellte Gärtnerin. Neue Quellen zur authentischen Singspielfassung von W. A. Mozarts La finta giardiniera*, in: *Die Musikforschung* 18 (1965), issue 2, pp. 138-160 (= Münster I); *Die Singspielfassung von W. A. Mozarts "La finta giardiniera" in den Augsburger Aufführungen von 1780*, in: *Acta Mozartiana* 13 (1966), issue 2, pp. 43-48 (= Münster II); *W. A. Mozarts "Gärtnerin aus Liebe". Italienische opera buffa und deutsches Singspiel*, in: *19. Deutsches Mozartfest der Deutschen Mozart-Gesellschaft 23.-28. May 1970 in Augsburg*, pp. 22-24, 26-28, 30-32, 34-35 (= Münster III); *Einführung in die Ausstellung La finta giardiniera* (Text of the address given at the opening of the exhibition in the Musiksaal of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich on 13 January), in: *La finta giardiniera. Mozarts Muenchener Aufenthalt 1774/75* [Catalogue], Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 1975, pp. 5-11 (= Münster IV); *Mozarts Münchener Aufenthalt 1774/75 und die Opera buffa "La finta giardiniera"*, in: *Acta Mozartiana* 22 (1975), issue 2, pp. 21-37 (= Münster V).

indirect indication, until now not noticed by researchers, of the true author. In the dedication to the “*Nobilissime Dame*”, the “*Interessati*” whose signatures follow – these were, in the theatrical custom of the day, the prima donna, leading man, composer, , impresario and text author – remind us of their successful collaboration in the previous season, i.e. in the Carnival period 1772/73, and they mention in this context the *dramma giocoso L'incognita perseguitata*, also set by Pasquale Anfossi. Text author of this opera is known to have been Abbé Giuseppe Petrosellini (b. 1727, d. c. 1799), papal chamber servant and member of several academies, further a successful librettist, whose texts were set not only by Anfossi but also by Domenico Cimarosa, Giovanni Paisiello, Niccola Piccinni and Antonio Salieri. A plausible conclusion is that Petrosellini also wrote the libretto for the *Finta giardiniera*. Petrosellini knew the taste of his fellow citizens in Rome, had in addition already worked with Anfossi successfully in the city, and it is therefore very unlikely that Anfossi would have called in the almost unknown Calzabigi for the Carnival opera of 1774. If there is no unambiguous evidence of Petrosellini's authorship, all the indications are more in his favour than of any other librettist<sup>8</sup>.

On German soil, Anfossi's opera had its première on 26(?) August 1774 in Würzburg<sup>9</sup>. No score or libretto from this performance is known.

Who procured Mozart the commission, the *scrittura*, for Munich? Joseph Heinz Eibl assumes<sup>10</sup> that it was the Bishop of Chiemsee, Ferdinand Christoph Count Waldburg-Zeil (1719-1786), who for a long time represented the interests of the Archbishopric of Salzburg in Munich. Zeil, member of the Cathedral

<sup>8</sup> For further details cf. Rudolph Angermüller, loc. cit.

<sup>9</sup> J. G. Wenzel Dennerlein informs us of the forces involved in the Würzburg performance of Anfossi's *La finta giardiniera*; cf. *Geschichte des Würzburger Theaters von seiner Entstehung im Jahre 1803-04 bis zum 31. Mai 1853, nebst einem chronologischen Tagebuch and einem Anhang. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Theaters*, Würzburg, 1853, p. VIII.

<sup>10</sup> *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*. Complete edition, compiled (with commentary) by Wilhelm A. Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch (4 volumes of text = Bauer-Deutsch I-IV, Kassel etc., 1962/63), elucidated by Joseph Heinz Eibl on the basis of their previous work (2 volumes of commentary = Eibl V and VI, Kassel etc., 1971), register, collated by Joseph Heinz Eibl (= Eibl VII, Kassel etc., 1975); Eibl V, p. 344. – in references to entire letters and in literal quotations from Bauer-Deutsch in the course of this Foreword, as a rule only the date of the letter is given.

Chapter in Salzburg from 13 December 1745, Cathedral Dean in Salzburg in 1753, in 1772 Bishop of Chiemsee, was throughout his life a patron of Mozart. Robert Münster holds the opposite opinion, that Mozart received the *scrittura* from the Electoral Court Music and Theater Director, Joseph Anton Count of Seeau (Münster V, p. 22).

The one theory does not rule out the other. It is quite possible that Count Waldburg-Zeil exerted his influence and suggested his young fellow-countryman from Salzburg as composer for the new piece; Mozart could then have received the definitive commission for the composition from the relevant theater director, Count Seeau himself. The *scrittura* could have reached Mozart in Salzburg in late summer or autumn, 1774. Parts of the opera, above all the recitatives, must have been written in the town on the Salzach: as early as 14 December 1774, Leopold Mozart wrote to his wife from Munich, “*Wolfgang's opera will after all be [rehearsed] before Christmas and I think performed for the first time on the 29th.*” Unfortunately, no records of the various stages of the composition of the *Finta giardiniera*, such as we know for the operas written for Italy and for *Idomeneo*, are extant. On 6 December 1774, Wolfgang and his father Leopold Mozart travelled to Bavaria's royal city of residence. The Mozarts descended from the coach at no. 4, Frauenplatz in Munich (opposite the south entrance to the *Frauenkirche*), their friend the Electoral Advisor and Canon, Johann Nepomuk von Pernat (1734-1794), provided them with quarters. The first visits paid by the Mozarts were to the theater director concerned, Count Seeau. On 9 December Leopold Mozart wrote to his wife, “*regarding the opera, I can't write anything yet. Today we have just got to know the persons, who were all very polite, particularly His Excellency Count Seeau.*”

Of Seeau's work as director we have a contemporary account (1777) by the Viennese actor Johann Heinrich Friedrich Müller, the same Müller who transcribed parts of *Les Amours de Bastien et Bastienne* by Marie-Justine Benoîte Favart, Charles-Simon Favart and Harny de Guerville into German<sup>11</sup>: “*My Lord the Count von Seau, (who is said to have been in Imperial service earlier) is director of the theater here. All takings, whether from the Italian opera or the German, flow into the coffers of his establishment. From the Elector he receives a yearly sum of nine thousand Guilders. He employs, fires, makes contracts with*

<sup>11</sup> Cf. NMA II/5/3, Foreword, pp. VIII-IX.

persons of both companies and pays what is due to the same. But the dancers do not cost him anything, they are kept by the Elector, who has them dance time about with the opera and the German productions.”<sup>12</sup>

According to this, Seeau put on Italian operas and German theater; his productions – anyone who wished to pay could attend them – took place in the old Hoftheater [Court Theater] by St. Salvator’s church, home to theater since 1654. The new Hoftheater, also called Residenztheater, was built by François de Cuvilliés the Elder and inaugurated in 1755. *La finta giardiniera* was intended for the old Hoftheater (Münster V).

It cannot today be said with certainty when the rehearsal work began, but the first rehearsal probably did not take place before 22 December 1774, as Mozart had tooth problems. The première planned for 29 December did not, at any rate, take place on this day. On 28 December Leopold wrote to his wife in Salzburg, “On the same day as you were with His Excellency Count Sauerau,<sup>13</sup> at ten in the morning, the first rehearsal of Wolfgang’s opera took place; this was received with so much pleasure that it was postponed to 5 January 1775 so that the singers could learn their parts better and, when they have their parts better in their heads, can act more securely and thus not spoil the opera, which would have been a too hasty business for 29 December. In short! The composition of the music pleases astonishingly, and will now be performed on 5 January. Now it only depends on the production in the theater, which, as I hope, should go well, because the actors are not disinclined towards us.”

On the day of the intended première, Mozart attended in the Salvatortheater a performance of the three-act comedy by his acquaintance Franz Reinhard Heufeld (1731-1795), *Die Haushaltung nach der Mode oder: was für eine Frau soll man nehmen* [Housekeeping à la mode or: what kind of wife should one take?]. On 30 December Leopold is firmly convinced that his son’s opera will be staged on 5 January, “Nannerl is coming just right for the opera, for she will arrive on Wednesday afternoon [4 January], and the performance is on Thursday [5 January]. If Mr. von Molk [probably Franz von Molk] also comes, he will see it as well; but if he comes later, he will see

nothing more of it until Easter, for from then on the operettas will no longer be given in the theater but in the ballroom, and then only as intermezzos [...] Now you ought to know that Maestro Tozi, who is writing the opera seria this season wrote an opera buffa at just about this time a year ago, and gives himself such pains to write the same well in order to eclipse the the opera seria [Achille in Sciro] written last year by Maestro [Pietro Pompeo] Sales [c. 1729-1797] that Sales’ opera really can’t please any more. Now it happened by chance that Wolfgang’s opera was put on before Tozi’s opera, and as they heard the first rehearsal, everyone said, now Tozi is being paid back in the same currency, in that Wolfgang’s opera is eclipsing Tozi’s. Things of this kind are not what I like at all, I try to silence all talk of this kind as much as possible, protest without ceasing. But the whole orchestra, and all who heard the rehearsal, say already that they have never heard more beautiful music in which all the arias are beautiful. Wherever we go, everyone knows about it already. Enough! God will make everything right.” (Leopold Mozart to his wife, 30 December 1774)

Leopold Mozart was not to be proved right: the official Carnival opera, the azione teatrale *Orfeo ed Euridice*, text by Raniero de’ Calzabigi with changes by Marco Coltellini (?) in the setting by Antonio Tozzi (b. c. 1736, d. after 1812), went on stage on 9 January<sup>14</sup>. The first performance of the *Finta giardiniera*, foreseen for 5 January 1775 did not take place. What the final reasons for this second postponement were can only be guessed at. Were more rehearsals necessary than one had supposed? Did they want to put on Tozzi’s official Carnival opera first? Was it out of consideration for the Archbishop of Salzburg, Colloredo, who wanted to come to Munich?<sup>15</sup>

While the rehearsals were postponed, works by the Mozarts were performed in the Cathedral church of Unsere Liebe Frau. Thus Leopold’s *Sakramentslitanei*<sup>16</sup> and Wolfgang’s *Litaniae de venerabili altaris Sacramento* KV 125<sup>17</sup> were heard on New Year’s Day 1775 during the “Eternal Adoration of the Sacrament”. There are no detailed accounts of these performances.

<sup>14</sup> By the end of February it had been repeated – always on Mondays – seven times. Mozart had seen one of these performances.

<sup>15</sup> “Here word is going round that the Archbishop will come to Munich; this was in fact said to me by His Excellency Count Seeau himself.” (Leopold Mozart to his wife, 5 January 1775.)

<sup>16</sup> NMA X/28/Sections 3-5/vol. 1.

<sup>17</sup> NMA I/2/1, pp. 23-134.

<sup>12</sup> *Abschied von der k.k. Hof- und National-Schaubühne*, Vienna, 1802, p. 219 (cf. Münster V, p. 22).

<sup>13</sup> Joseph Gottfried, Imperial Count of Saurau (1720-1775), member of the Chapter of Salzburg Cathedral, from 1772 Cathedral Dean, later High Princely Privy Councillor (Eibl V, p. 190, commentary to No. 128/46).

On 4 January 1775 at 2 p.m., Nannerl Mozart came to Munich in the travelling coach belonging to Maria Aloisia von Robinig. She took lodgings in the house of the wholesale merchant Leopold Spatzenreiter in the Petri-Platz on the 3rd floor (today Marienplatz 23) with Mrs. von Durst, the widow of the Court Counsellor and Salt Administrator in Reichenhall, Franz Xaver Durst, who died in 1772. (Sharing the lodgings of the other two Mozarts was out of the question, as Pernat was a priest.) On 5 January Leopold mentioned in a letter to his wife a new date for the première, “that Wolfgang’s opera will not be performed until the 13th you will already have learned from Mr. Schulz.” The tenor Franz Karl Schulz, member of the Salzburg Court Music, choral vicar and singing teacher in the Kapellhaus, had then passed the news to Mozart’s mother. Wolfgang portrayed the situation thus in a letter to his mother on 11 January: “All 3 of us are, praise God, very well. I cannot possibly write much, for I must immediately go to a rehearsal. Tomorrow is my main rehearsal, and on Friday the 13th it will be on stage. Mama should not worry, everything will go well.” [then Leopold’s *post script*:] “for now we must go to the opera rehearsal.” The dress rehearsal of the *Finta giardiniera* took place on Thursday 12 January 1775 in the Salvator Theatre. In the ballroom in the Prannergasse there was no possibility of rehearsals, for the German comedy was being put on.<sup>18</sup>

## II. The performances of the Italian version, Munich, 1775

Mozart’s *La finta giardiniera* had its première on Friday 13 January 1775 in the Salvator Theatre. Mozart was comprehensively involved in the rehearsing of the work, but did not conduct it himself. Possible conductors were Antonio Tozzi or the Electoral Deputy Leader of the Orchestra, Johann Nepomuk von Cröner (c. 1737-1785), who was mentioned by Leopold Mozart on 18 November 1777 in connection with the performances of the *Finta giardiniera*. The Munich

<sup>18</sup> Christian Gottlieb Unger, at that time member of the Legation of Saxony at the Bavarian Court, noted in his diary on 12 January 1775: “LL. AA. EE. et RR. se trouvèrent jeudi à l’académie en masque, où à la place d’un opera buffa, on donna la représentation d’une comédie allemande suivie d’un ballet pantomime.” [“The Highest Elector and their Majesties attended the musical evening on Thursday, at which, instead of an opera buffa, a German comedy, followed by a pantomime ballet, was given.”]. Staatlicher Archivfond of the GDR, Dresden, Loc. 3292 (Münster V, p. 36).

orchestra was said to be “numerous, but somewhat in disorder”<sup>19</sup>. Its strength would probably be as in 1774, when *Il re pastore* by Pietro Guglielmi (1724-1804) was performed on 10 June 1774 by 23 orchestral musicians. The exact orchestral requirements for the Mozart opera have not been discovered. The only certain fact is that Sandrina was sung by Rosa Manservisi. She was a member of Seeau’s theater from 1772 to 1776; Schubart praised her voice and musicality<sup>20</sup>; Charles Burney, who heard her in summer 1772 in Munich, wrote of her, “Her figure is pleasing, her voice is perhaps not powerful, but indeed mellifluous, she has in her manner nothing common, holds the pitch and never offends the ear.”<sup>21</sup> Münster (V, p. 29) speculates about two further singers, the castrato soprano Tommaso Consoli (b. c. 1753, d. after 1811: Ramiro) and the bass Felice Rossi (Nardo). But Münster argues that Consoli must be doubtful because he was singing in Tozzi’s *Orfeo ed Euridice*. In his publication of 1970 (III, p.23), Münster gives the following casting:

Sopran: Sandrina, 'garden-girl for love'	Rosa Manservisi
Sopran: Serpetta	Teresa Manservisi
Sopran: Arminda	?
Sopran: Ramiro (castrato role!)	Tommaso Consoli (?)
Tenor: Contino di Belfiore	Joh. Bapt. Walleshauser
Tenor: Podestà	Augustin Proper Sutor
Baß: Nardo	Giovanni Rossi or Giovanni Paris

Eibl (V, p. 350) names only Rosa Manservisi (Sandrina) and Tommaso Consoli (Ramiro) as certain and considers in addition Teresina Manservisi (Serpetta) and Felice Rossi (Podestà) as possibles. But it can be ruled out that the bass Felice Rossi sang the tenor role of the Podestà. Otto Michtner<sup>22</sup> names, beside Rosa Manservisi (Sandrina) and Teresa Manservisi (Arminda), Joseph Matthias Souter for the role of Nardo. Immediately after Mozart’s opera, the ballet *La ninfa spergiura, proteta per amore* was given, with music by Niccola Piccinni (?), choreography by the Electoral Ballet Master, Antoine Trancart. The ballet

<sup>19</sup> Christian Daniel Schubart, *Schubart's Leben und Gesinnungen. Von ihm selbst, im Kerker aufgesetzt. 1. Teil*, Stuttgart, 1791, p. 259.

<sup>20</sup> *Deutsche Chronik*, 34th chapter, 27 April 1775, p. 268.

<sup>21</sup> *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and United Provinces* (1773), volume II, Hamburg, 1773, p. 109; facsimile reprint: Kassel etc., 1959.

<sup>22</sup> (NMA footnote 21a) *Das alte Burgtheater als Opernbühne*, Vienna, 1970, p. 127.



(according to Münster V) could have been conducted by Peter Glonner (c. 1740-1794), who was ballet conductor in Munich. The first performance of this ballet for 21 dancers (4 principals: Antoine and Maria Anna Trancart, Mademoiselle Vavoque, Pierre Constant, 9 male figures, 8 female figure) had already taken place on 10 June 1774 in the Court Theater in the Residenz (Palace).

Mozart sent a vivid report on the première of the *Finta giardiniera* to his mother on Saturday 14 January 1775. “Praise God! My opera was performed on stage yesterday, the 13th; and it turned out so well that I can hardly describe the noise to Mama. First of all, the whole theater was so bursting full that many people had to go away again. After every aria, there was always such a fearful uproar with clapping and cries of viva Maestro. His Highness the Electoral Princess [Maria Anna Sophie, daughter of the Elector Friedrich August III of Saxony, wife of the Elector Maximilian III Joseph], and the widow [Maria Anna Walpurgis (1724 to 1780), sister of Maximilian III Joseph, widow of the Elector Friedrich Christian von Sachsen (†1763)] /: who were opposite me :/ also said bravo to me. When the opera was ended, which is the time when all are quiet until the ballet begins, there was nothing but clapping and cries of bravo; now ceasing, now beginning again, and so on. Afterwards I went with my Papa into a certain room where the Elector [Maximilian III Joseph] and the whole court had to pass through and I kissed the hands of Their Majesties the Elector and Princess and Their Highnesses, who were all very gracious. Today, his Princely Grace the Bishop of Chiemsee [Count Waldburg-Zeil] sent to me first thing, and passes on his congratulations that the opera has turned so incomparably well in the opinion of all. Regarding our return, it will not be so soon, [...] a proper and necessary reason is that on the coming Friday [20 January] the opera will be put on again, and I am very necessary for the production – – otherwise one would not recognise it again – – – – for everything is very curious here.” Schubart, who attended the première or one of the subsequent performances, wrote on Mozart’s most recent opera, “An opera buffa I have also heard, by the wonderful genius Mozart. It is called: *La finta giardiniera*. Flames of genius shoot up here and there, but it is not yet the quiet, peaceful flame on the altar that rises in incense to heaven. If Mozart is not a hot-

house plant, he must then become one of the greatest composers who have ever lived.”<sup>23</sup>

On Monday 16 January noble visitors came to Munich from Salzburg: Prince-Archbishop Colloredo saw Tozzi’s *Orfeo ed Euridice* in the Residenztheater [Palace theater]. Several of his retinue were well-known to the Mozarts: the Senior Stable Master Leopold Joseph Maria, Count Kuenberg (1740-1812); the Court Council Director Franz Thaddäus von Kleinmayrn (1733-1805); the Consistory Advisor Albert von Mölk (1749-1799); the Cathedral Chapter member Ignaz Joseph, Count Spaur (1729-1779); the Captain of the Prince-Archbishop’s bodyguard, Leopold, Count Lodron.

On Wednesday 18 January Leopold Mozart gives a colourful account of the Archbishop’s reaction to Mozart’s opera success: “You will have gathered from my last letter as well as from other letters to Salzburg that the opera received general applause, and you will have heard the same from Mr. [Joseph Franz Xaver] Geschwendner [Geschwendtner (1740-1800), town-councillor and merchant]. Just imagine how at a loss His High Princely Grace must have been, in front of all the Electoral Lordships and the entire nobility, to hear the praise given for the opera and to accept the most solemn congratulations that all presented to him. He was so embarrassed that he could answer with nothing more than a nod of the head and a shrug of the shoulders. We have not yet spoken with him, for he is still too much surrounded by the compliments of the nobility. He arrived around 6:30 in the evening, when the big opera had just begun [Orfeo ed Euridice] and entered the Electoral box; the other ceremonies would take too long to describe. The Archbishop will not hear Wolfgang’s buffa, for his days are fully planned and the opera is on Friday: this Friday is impossible, because the anniversary of the death of the deceased Bavarian Emperor [Charles VII (1697-1745), father of the Elector Maximilian III Joseph, ob. January 20th, 1745] falls on that day, and who knows if there can be a performance on the following Friday 27th, because the second female voice [probably Teresina Manservisi] has fallen very ill. I regret that so many people have come from Salzburg for nothing, so to speak. They have at least seen the big opera.” Colloredo, who, as we have learned, could not see *La finta giardiniera*, attended instead the opera buffa *La Pupilla e il Ciarlone* by Giuseppe Abbos (1716-1796) and the

<sup>23</sup> (22) *Deutsche Chronik*, chapter 34, April 27th, 1775, p. 267.

ballet *Arlequin déserteur*<sup>24</sup>. That the other people from Salzburg could not see the *Finta giardiniera* either caused Leopold regrets: “*I am very sorry that none of the Salzburgers here can hear Wolfgang’s opera, for a singer has become really ill, [...] If she is better, the opera is to be given on the coming Friday, on Wolfgang’s birthday. The 2 Dukes of Zweibrücken and then the Palatine Elector are coming here. We therefore have to stay here until the opera is performed again. [...] Via Mr. [Johann Lorenz] Hagenauer they will already have heard some news from Munich of Wolfgang’s opera.*” (Leopold Mozart’s letter to his wife, 21 January 1775.) Colloredo departed with his retinue on 24 January, prominent guests arrived: on 26 January Duke Christian IV of Zweibrücken, on 27 January Duke Karl III August of Zweibrücken, on 29 January Elector Karl Theodor of the Palatinate (1724-1799) who was returning from the election of Gian Angelo, Count Braschi, as Pope Pius VI (1775-1799) in Rome and wanted to break his journey in Munich for a few days. The three Wittelsbachers had the opportunity of seeing the second performance of the *Finta giardiniera* on 2 February during a masked soirée in the ballroom, i.e. not in the Salvatortheater. After this performance, Leopold Mozart wrote to his wife in an undated letter of between 21 January and 21 February 1775: “*Wolfgang’s opera has been performed again, but it had to be shortened because of the sick singer. As far as this singer is concerned, one could write a lot; she was terrible.*” What cuts were necessary is not known, because the corresponding material has been lost. The Secretary to the Legation of Saxony, Christian Gottlieb Unger, who attended the second *Finta giardiniera* performance, wrote in his journal, “*LL. AA. SS. EE. et RR... . se trouvèrent le soir à l’academie en masque où l’opéra bouffa La finta giardiniera fut représenté et suivi d’un ballet pantomime. S. A. S. l’Electeur Palatin, qui s’était trouvé également à ce spectacle, partit d’ici le meme jour après le souper pour s’en retourner à Manheim*” (“*Their Majesties and Highnesses... came together in the evening for a masked soirée where the opera buffa La finta giardiniera was presented and followed by a pantomime ballet. His Serene Highness the Palatine Elector, who had also come to this spectacle, left here the same day after supper to return to Mannheim.*”)

During the rest of February there was no further performance of the *Finta giardiniera*. The Mozarts

<sup>24</sup> (23) Entry in the diary of Advisor Unger of the Legation of Saxony.

attended a ball on 14 February with acquaintances from Salzburg. In this month Wolfgang undertook a competition at the piano with Captain Ignaz von Beecke (1733-1803) in the inn “Zum schwarzen Adler” in Kaufinger lane. The third and also last performance of the *Finta giardiniera* took place on Thursday 2 March. Amongst the audience was the Elector Maximilian III Joseph. Unger also note this performance in his diary: “*Jeudi LL. AA. SS. EE. et RR. se trouvèrent le soir à la représentation de l’opéra buffa La finta giardiniera de la composition de Mozard, suivi du ballet des branconniers*” (“*Their Majesties and Highnesses met in the evening at the presentation of the opera buffa La finta giardiniera composed by Mozart, followed by the ballet of the branconniers [poachers?].*”)

It is not known who wrote the ballet; more reports about the third performance have not come down to us. On Tuesday 6 March the Mozarts left Munich. In its original form, *La finta giardiniera* was certainly never staged again during Mozart’s lifetime. Mention of *La finta giardiniera* is very rare in Mozart’s correspondence after 1775. Mozart wrote angrily from Mannheim to his father on 12 November 1778, “*Do you know what <that cursed fellow Seeau> said here? – My opera buffa was whistled off stage in Munich! – unfortunately, he said this in a place where no-one knows me very well! –*”

It is striking that Podesta’s aria, “*Dentro il mio petto io sento*” (No. 3), is transmitted separately in many sources (cf. on this the Critical Report). In Salzburg, the piece seems to have been particularly popular. Here it was performed for a soirée on 18 March 1780. Leopold informed Wolfgang in Munich on 2 December 1780 that he has to have this aria copied for Emanuel Schikaneder.

### III. The German *Singspiel* version, Augsburg, 1780

A German company of actors directed by Johann Heinrich Böhm (b. between 1740 and 1750, d. 1792) were guests in Salzburg from the beginning of April to the beginning of June 1779 and from the beginning of September 1779 to the beginning of Lent 1780<sup>25</sup>. In Autumn/Winter 1779/80 Mozart’s *La finta*

<sup>25</sup> (24) On this cf. Ernst Hintermaier, *Das fürsterzbischöfliche Hoftheater zu Salzburg (1775-1803)*, in: *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 30 (1975), issue 7, July 1975, pp. 351-363; Hans Georg Fellmann, *Die Böhmisches Theatergruppe and ihre Zeit*, Leipzig, 1928; Münster I and II; Heinz Friedrich Deininger, *Die Deutsche Schauspielergesellschaft unter der Direktion von Johann*

*giardiniera* was reworked for Böhm's troupe to a German *Singspiel*. The translation into German – neither the librettist of the Italian original nor the translator are named – was probably made by a member of Böhm's troupe, the bass buffo and actor, portrayer of old persons, tyrants and fathers, Johann Franz Joseph Stierle (1741, d. after 1800)<sup>26</sup>. In place of the *secco* recitatives with Italian text came German dialogue whose content represents a free paraphrase of the Italian *secco* texts. The four orchestral *accompagnato* recitatives from act II (in Nos. 19, 21 and 22) and from act III (in No. 27) had their melodic contours reshaped by Mozart and adapted to the declamatory and rhythmic characteristics of the German text. In the present edition, these pieces were placed in the Appendix (pp. 575-594). In the set-piece numbers, Leopold Mozart himself did the German text underlay in the original score (for details cf. the Critical Report). In the meantime, obviously no Salzburg performance of the German version took place. From 28 March to May 1780 the Böhm troupe were guests in Leopold Mozart's birthplace, Augsburg. Here Böhm presented the German version of *La finta giardiniera* under the title *Die verstellte Gärtnerin* [*The disguised garden girl*] on 1(?) May 1780 for the first time. A further performance took place on 18 or 19 May.<sup>27</sup> Who directed the Augsburg performances is uncertain. It could have been the Böhm troupe's musical director, Anton Mayer. The persons involved are also not known, as theater papers are missing (cf. however below). The most important document of the Augsburg performances is a libretto printed by Slansky in Augsburg (Titlepage: see the facsimile on p. XXV) that Robert Münster discovered in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (signum: *Slg. Her 595*). From this libretto it is clear that cuts were made for the Augsburger performances: in act II, the numbers 17, 19 and 21 and in act III the numbers 24 and 26 were deleted. We do not know whether these

cuts were made with Mozart's consent (cf. below, section V/b).

Böhm's troupe were guests in Summer in Ulm and Nuremberg, in September in Frankfurt on Main and in Winter 1780/81 in Cologne, Düsseldorf and Aachen. There is no evidence concerning possible performances of *Die verstellte Gärtnerin* in any of these towns. On 2 April 1782 Böhm performed the work in Frankfurt on Main under the title *Sandrina oder Die verstellte Gräfin* [*Sandrina or The disguised Countess*] in Frankfurt on Main. The extant theatre papers allow us to draw conclusions about the players in the Augsburg performances. We read<sup>28</sup>:

“With most gracious permission / of a very noble and wise town council / of the Free Imperial Electoral and Merchants' City Frankfurt on Main / today, Tuesday 2 April 1782 / the / Company of Actors under the direction of Mr. Böhm / have the honour of performing: / *Sandrina*, / or / *The disguised Countess*. / translated from the Italian / *A Singspiel* in three acts. / In which Mademoiselle Jonassohn and Mr. Grünberg, two new singers, have the honour of playing / the roles of *Arminda* and *Ramiro*. / The music is by Mr. Mozart the younger

Persons:

The Chief Administrator of Black Lake.	Mr. Böhm.
Arminda, his niece.	Mad. Jonassohn.
The Knight Ramiro.	Mr. Grünberg.
The Count Belfiore.	Mr. Zimmerl.
Serpetta, Maid in the Administrator's house.	Mad. Zimmerl.
Sandrina.	Mad. Böhm.
Nardo.	Mr. Gatto.

Afterwards, Mademoiselle Böhm will give a short speech in verse. / The conclusion will be / Mr. Vogt's newly prepared / Ballet / entitled: / *The Festival of Dance*. / In which Mr. and Madame Schwab, two new dancers, will have the honour to appear. / It begins at the sounding of the church bells at 6 o'clock. / Each person will pay in the boxes and parquet one Gulder, a whole box 8 Guilders, parterre 10 Batzen, / Gallery 20 Kreuzer, and in the back row 12 Kreuzer. / The venue is in the newly built Comedy House in Jung's Court. / Whoever wishes tickets in advance is requested to collect the same at Mr. Sprenkel's on the Avenue Lit. E No. 193, but these / cannot be valid longer than the same day.” On 12 September 1782, the opera was performed again in Frankfurt – this time under the title

*Heinrich Böhm, einem Freunde der Familie Mozart, in Augsburg in den Jahren 1779 and 1780*, in: *Augsburger Mozartbuch. Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben*, vol. 55/56 (1942/43), pp. 299-397.

<sup>26</sup> (25) On Stierle cf. Karl Maria Pisarowitz, *Die beiden Stierle, Hans and Franz! Eine schwierig-heikle Mozart-Angelegenheit; neu angepackt und abgefaßt ...*, in: *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum 17* (1969), issue 1/2, pp. 16-24; the same author, *Stierle-Paralipomena. Zur 1969-Februar-Publikation von ...*, in: *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum 18* (1970), issue 1/2, pp. 11-14.

<sup>27</sup> (26) Cf. Fellmann, loc. cit., p. 83.

<sup>28</sup> (27) Berkeley, California: Einstein Legacy.

*Die edle Gärtnerin* [*The noble garden girl*]. In 1789 followed further performances of the work in Frankfurt and Mainz. In the 18th century *La finta giardiniera* can be shown to have been performed on two more occasions, in Italian in Prague on 10 March 1796 and in German as *Die schöne Gärtnerin* [*The beautiful garden girl*] on 25 February 1797 in Oels<sup>29</sup>.

#### IV. The Sources

##### a) The autograph score

The autograph score of Mozart's *La finta giardiniera* is today lost (Act I) or not accessible (Acts II and III). The autograph version of Act I was already missing shortly after Mozart's death or even during his lifetime. On 27 February 1800 Constanze, Mozart's widow, wrote to the publisher Johann Anton André (1775-1842) in Offenbach: "*Finta giardiniera, first part, is perhaps to be had from Mr. Drexler (spice merchant or similar) in Wels in Upper Austria, who once started an amateur theater.*" It is possible that Mozart had lent the autograph score to the merchant Anton Dessler<sup>30</sup>, who in 1754 (coming from Vienna) acquired citizen's rights in Wels. But it is very unlikely that Mozart gave Dessler only the first act. If Dessler had indeed planned a performance in Wels, he would have needed the whole work, not just the first act. From the Mozarts' correspondence, we can see how much care Leopold and Wolfgang took of the autograph score. Then why should Mozart not have asked for the first act to be returned – from whoever he might have lent it to? In the year 1800 Constanze sold Acts II and III to Johann Anton André, in 1873 they were taken over by the Preußische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin. During World War II they were transferred for safe keeping along with a great number of other Mozart autograph scores and

<sup>29</sup> (28) On the Prague performance cf. Alfred Loewenberg, *Annals of opera 1597-1940*, New York 1970, p. 342. – On the Oels performance cf. *Schlesische Provinzialblätter*, February 1797, p. 199: "... on the 25th for the first time the *Schöne Gärtnerin*, a comic 'Singspiel' in 3 acts, in manuscript, the music is by Mozart; it distinguishes itself very advantageously beyond many other Mozart masterpieces because of the quite exquisitely beautiful music." This performance is possibly linked to the copy Oels 85, preserved in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden. The copy contains only German text and calls for a more extended wind section than other sources. On the "Oels Version" cf. below, section IV/d/1.

<sup>30</sup> (29) On Dessler cf. Münster I, p. 138.

have remained inaccessible until today. The AMA could still refer to the autograph score for the editing of Acts II and III.

##### b) Copies

A copy of the German version, probably going back to the autograph score and today lost, was sent by Mozart's sister, Maria Anna (Nannerl), Baroness von Berchtold zu Sonnenburg, to the publishers Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig in 1800. Nothing is known of the whereabouts of this copy,<sup>31</sup> which is particularly unfortunate since it could have offered a good substitute for the missing autograph score, especially for Act I. The editorial report in the AMA names the following documents for the editing of Act I:

1. A copy of the score in the possession of the Königliche Hofbibliothek in Munich.
2. A copy of the score in the possession of the Königliche Bibliothek in Berlin.
3. A copy of the score in the possession of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna.
4. The piano reduction of the opera published by Heckel in Mannheim with the title '*Die Gärtnerin aus Liebe, Oper in drei Aufzügen.*'

As there are no signums, the copies of the score mentioned cannot be identified with certainty, but the Berlin copy could well be the copy in the Aloys Fuchs collection, today in the State Library Berlin - Prussian Cultural Heritage (signum: *Mus.ms. 15 141/1*); the Munich copy referred to, here subsequently named following Münster (I, p. 140) "Mü I", is today lost, which also applies to the Vienna copy (Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde). Regarding the value of Heckel's piano reduction as a source, see below (Section IV/d). For a new edition of the work, the following relevant additional sources are today available:

1. A copy of the score in three volumes, written around or before 1800, with Italian and German text. (Title: *La finta giardiniera per Amore*) from a collection in Nàmešť, today kept in the Moravian museum in Brno (signum: A 17.036 a, b, c), hereafter called the "Nàmešť copy". This is the only known source containing in all three acts *secco* recitatives with Italian text and and Italian text in the set-piece numbers. The

<sup>31</sup> (30) On this see Nannerl's correspondence with Breitkopf & Härtel in the years 1800 and 1801, particularly Bauer-Deutsch IV, No. 1280, pp. 311ff., No. 1300, pp. 359f., No. 1308, pp. 366f., No. 1311, pp. 370f., No. 1313, pp. 372f., No. 1317, pp. 377f. and No. 1327, pp. 396f.

German text, obviously added later, differs from the Augsburg text.

2. A copy of the score in three volumes, written around 1800, with the title *Die Gärtnerin (La finta giardiniera)*, kept in the Austrian National Library, Vienna (signum: Cod.mus. 18.639), hereafter referred to as the “Vienna copy”. This copy transmits only the set-piece numbers with text, containing consequently no *secchi* and gives only cues for the German dialogue following the set-piece numbers.

3. An incomplete copy of the score (Overtura and the numbers 2-4, 8, 9a and b, 10-12, 15, 16 and 26 are missing) with German text in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (signum: Mus. Ms. 5593); hereafter referred to, following Münster (I, pp. 145ff.), as “Mü II”. This copy is the only source to transmit the already mentioned (Section III) *accompagnati* from the numbers 21 and 22 of Act II re-worked for the German version.

### c) Libretti

A libretto for the Italian version of Mozart’s *La finta giardiniera* has – as already said – not been discovered. We also do not know which Italian libretto Mozart took as his starting point. But it can be supposed with some certainty that he used the libretto from the original Rome performance of Anfossi’s *La finta giardiniera* (Carnival 1774), for it shows only minimal and explicable differences from Mozart’s text (cf. the *Kritischer Bericht* [Critical Report, available in German only]). The libretto for a Vienna performance of Anfossi’s opera from the year 1775, named in the Editorial report of the AMA, shows in contrast such substantial differences from Mozart’s text that it could be left completely aside for the present edition. There is then only one authentic libretto for Mozart’s opera, and that is the libretto of the German *Singspiel* version for the Augsburg performance of 1780 (cf. the facsimile of the title page on p. XXV), discovered by Robert Münster and referred to for the first time in the preparation of the present edition of the work.

### d) Evaluation of the sources

From the overview of the sources it can be seen that the source situation for the *Finta giardiniera* is today in some ways worse, in some ways better than at the time that the work was edited for the AMA. It is regrettable that the autograph score of the first and second acts is not available. The NMA therefore relies

for the editing of these two acts on the AMA as the only critical edition which, according to the Editorial Report, used Mozart’s autograph score in the editing of these two acts. Furthermore, the sources named in section IV/b were only referred to in doubtful cases, which are detailed in the Critical Report. For the editing of the first act, the AMA knew copies of the score which transmit only the set-piece numbers in the German version and contain consequently no recitatives. The AMA could in the first act therefore only edit the set-piece numbers with German text, while it could present for acts two and three the complete Italian version, i.e. including the *secchi*, and the German version, at least in the set-piece numbers, according to the autograph score. The German text of the set-piece numbers – as already mentioned in section III – was entered in the autograph score by Leopold Mozart. For a complete edition of the German *Singspiel* version, the AMA still needed the dialogues, of which the Editorial report states that in the autograph score only cues “in a third hand” had been written in after the set-piece numbers. This procedure is, incidentally, one that the majority of score copies of the German version adopted.<sup>32</sup> The German libretto was not available to the editors of the AMA. The AMA edition of the *Finta giardiniera* therefore represents a torso in a double sense: the Italian version is missing for Act I and the dialogues of the German *Singspiel* version in the whole work. In addition, the AMA referred for the editing of Act I, according to the Editorial report, to a copy – the copy Mü I, today lost –, which had probably departed some way from the autograph score and must have contained a series of sense-contradictory passages in the German text version (Münster I, pp. 142f.).

Although the new editing of the work for the NMA has to make do without the autograph score, the source situation is nevertheless on the whole improved in comparison with the AMA: the discovery of new sources, above all the copies Námeš’ and Mü II as well as the Augsburger libretto, makes possible for the first time a complete edition of both versions, the Italian and the German. Moreover, with the Vienna copy a score is available for the editing of the first act which is quite clearly closer to the autograph score than the lost copy Mü I to which the AMA referred. But it should be emphasised that the sources used for the NMA –

<sup>32</sup> (31) They are also found in the Vienna and Mü II copies. A complete collation of the cue words from the sources available to the AMA (Mü I and autograph score of the first and second acts) is given in the Editorial report of the AMA, pp. 48 to 49.

especially in the first act – are not all equally valuable. A final justification for this can only be given when the autograph of Acts I and II is available again. Some problems which are already visible will be pointed out in the following remarks.

### 1. The Nàmešť' and Oels copies

The Nàmešť' copy is of importance for the reason that it is the only source to transmit the Italian version of all three acts. Its relationship to the autograph score is not clear. It is certain that this score, written towards the end of the 18th century, was not copied directly from the autograph copy, which at this time was already incomplete (cf. section IV/a above). Since the German text also contained in the Nàmešť' copy was added later and has no connection with the text of the German libretto, it can be assumed that the Nàmešť' copy goes back to an intermediate source – today lost – which must have contained only the Italian version and therefore belongs in the proximity of the of the Munich original performance. It is right of Münster (I, p. 151) to remark that there must have been a copy available for the first performance in Munich.

The Nàmešť' copy differs in a number of ways from the AMA and other music sources. In the individual numbers it always employs greater forces, usually a greater range of wind instruments; the instrumentation as a whole is extended by clarinets and tympani. This copy thus transmits the work in a re-working, which, skillful as it may be in details, is of extremely dubious authenticity. This also applies to the version of the work in a manuscript in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden (signum: Oels 85), which displays the same extended instrumentation and some other points in common with the Nàmešť' copy<sup>33</sup>. The German text of the Oels copy is independent of that of

<sup>33</sup> (32) Hermann Abert, *W. A. Mozart*, Leipzig<sup>7</sup>/1955, vol. I, p. 385f., footnote 3, assessed the Oels version quite positively and did not exclude, on musical grounds, the possibility of its being authentic; he admitted, however, “*The other evidence does of course fail us here. But, if one assumes a re-working by a third party, this person must have been a distinguished Mozart expert and in addition an artist of particularly fine and assured taste.*” The following edition is based on the Oels source: *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Die Gärtnerin aus Liebe. La finta giardiniera. Komische Oper in 3 Akten, herausgegeben nach einer in Dresden aufbewahrten Handschrift aus der Bibliothek zu Oels von Karl Schleifer. Text und szenische Neugestaltung nach dem Italienischen des Raniero Calzabigi von Ernst Legal and Hans Henny Jahnn.* Score, Hamburg-Berlin, 1956.

the German libretto (but also from that of the German text added later to the Nàmešť' copy). Although it should not necessarily be taken as proved that the Oels copy goes back directly to the Nàmešť' copy (Münster I, p. 150), it may nevertheless be considered certain that both copies belong to the same branch of transmission.

For the Italian text version and for the *secchi* of the first act, however, one will be able to draw on the Nàmešť' copy with a clear conscience. Since it generally agrees, regarding the Italian version and the *secchi* of the second and third acts, with the AMA edition based on the autograph score, there remains hope that it also reliable regarding the Italian text of the first act. This hope is also supported by the agreement with the Anfossi Rome libretto of 1773. The additional wind parts and tympani have however not been considered for the present edition. It may also be that the origin of the traditional work title, *Die Gärtnerin aus Liebe*, different from the title in the German libretto, is to be sought in the Nàmešť'/Oels branch of transmission. The Nàmešť' copy bears the Italian title *La finta giardiniera per Amore*, corresponding to Sandrina's final words in the last recitative before the Finale (No. 28) in Act III. If as Münster supposes the Oels copy really goes back to the Nàmešť' copy, the version of the title *Die Gärtnerin aus Liebe* – the Oels copy is the oldest evidence for this form – should be seen as an attempt to make almost a German equivalent of the Italian title of the Nàmešť' copy. The “first edition” named in the Köchel-Verzeichnis (*Auswahl der vorzüglichsten Arien and Gesänge aus der komischen Oper die Gärtnerin aus Liebe im Clavierauszuge*, Leipzig: Thonus, später Hoffmeister & Kühnel, 1801) uses the Oels title formulation, which is not surprising after Robert Münster's researches. The “first edition” certainly goes back to the source group Nàmešť'/Oels, but not to the autograph score (Münster I, p. 151). The piano reduction by Heckel (Mannheim, 1829) also mentioned as a source in the Editorial Report of the AMA, which – at least as far the second and third acts are concerned – possibly goes back to the autograph score (Münster I, p. 152), does indeed use the title *Die Gärtnerin aus Liebe*, but this could have become the accepted title by this time. As for Mozart's widow and also his sister, they speak of the work in their correspondence with publishers exclusively under its original Italian title. Obviously they did not yet have any knowledge of the new German title adopted around 1800.

### 2. The Vienna and Mü II copies

Both copies were unknown to the editors of the AMA. Mü II was discovered by Robert Münster and described in detail (Münster I, p. 145ff.). For Münster, who at that time (1965) did not know the Vienna copy, was primarily interested in evidence that Mü II was closer to the autograph score than all other sources known in 1965. He supported his arguments with, amongst others, these facts: the numbers from Acts I and II transmitted in Mü II – the source is, as already said, incomplete – agree with those edited in the AMA used the autograph score, the sung texts agree with the Augsburg libretto (which is often not the case in version of the first act in the AMA edited from Mü I); the accompagnato texts from numbers 19 and 27 rendered in Appendices 1 and 4 show in Mü II the versions re-worked by Mozart and in the score we see, as in the autograph, only the Italian designations of the roles, not those of the German libretto; there are moreover agreements between AMA and Mü II in details of the musical text in acts two and three. The criteria named by Münster for Mü II also apply in the fullest terms to the Vienna copy; in some cases, it even offers for the German sung texts a better version, corresponding to the German libretto, than Mü II. It should thus be clear that in the Vienna and Mü II copies we have two sources of the same standing, both closely dependent on the autograph score, but both independent of each other (for more precise details cf. *Critical Report*). For the editing of the first act, the Vienna copy does however have the advantage over Mü II of being complete; it has therefore been chosen as the primary music source for this edition in the NMA series.

## V. The Editing

### a) General Remarks

In the present edition, Mozart's opera *La finta giardiniera* appears for the first time in both authorised versions, the Munich original version of 1775 with Italian text and the German *Singspiel* version which was heard in Augsburg in May 1780. For the first time, the work title in the German libretto, *Die verstellte Gärtnerin*, is used in a critical edition (the traditional title, *Die Gärtnerin aus Liebe*, whose authenticity is doubtful – cf. above, section IV/d/1 – is included only in brackets).

Because of the characteristics of the sources for *La finta giardiniera* discussed in Section IV, we have dispensed with the NMA's usual typographical differentiation between original material and editorial addition. The NMA does indeed have better sources available for the editing of the first act than the AMA, but it should be remembered that, now as then, the music sources are secondary material for which no definitive statements can be made at this time regarding their dependence on the autograph score. Typographical differentiation would thus suggest in the edition of the first act a degree of authenticity in the graphical result which it cannot claim. For the editing of the second and third acts, the AMA served as a source, which in its turn is known to have drawn on the autograph score, but here also we dispensed with typographical differentiation, for this solution, clearly not satisfying at first sight, does nevertheless offer the advantage that it does not anticipate a later revision of the two acts when the autograph score is once again available and it does not disturb the appearance of the edition with a jumble of sources of varied value.

For the editing of the German *Singspiel* version or, more precisely, of the dialogues integrated into the score, the libretto of the Augsburg performance of 1780 served as source. The libretto from the first performance of Anfossi's *La finta giardiniera* in the Carnival of 1774 in Rome was consulted and offered a valuable source, above all for the completing of the stage directions. More details of the Italian and German versions are provided in section V/b.

The Overtura appeared along with the later composed Finale Allegro KV 121 (207<sup>a</sup>) as the Symphony in D in NMA IV/11: *Symphonies • Volume 5*, presented by Hermann Beck; on details and on the sources cf. the Foreword in the same volume, (pp. VIIff.) and the relevant Critical Report (pp. e/23ff.).

### b) Italian version and German *Singspiel* version

For easier reading, all Italian texts (act and scene headings, stage directions and sung texts) are printed in the present score of the NMA in italics, all German texts (including the dialogues, which are always printed below the corresponding *secchi*) in normal print. The editing of both texts was based on the music sources, but the librettos (Italian: 1774, Anfossi; German: Augsburg, 1780) were of course consulted. In this process, archaic spellings were retained as long as they did not change meanings, but otherwise, as in the German text, spelling and punctuation were modernised. The editors did however refrain from

improving stylistic points in the German text, although this is certainly necessary if the German version is to be performed.

The scene and acting directions were taken or completed from the librettos. Directions which are missing in one of the books were translated and adopted, so that as much information as possible is available for a realisation of the work in either version. No system is used to indicate the sources of the scene and acting directions (all details are given in the Critical Report).

Divergent role designations in the German libretto are used only in the scene directions outside the score and in the dialogues; in the margin and within the score appear – following the practice in the autograph score (Acts II and III) and in the Vienna copy (Act I) – only the Italian role designations.

Concerning the division of the work into scenes, the relevant music sources and the two librettos consulted give differing answers. This particularly true of Act I, because here the music sources have incomplete markings. But in the second and third acts there are also divergences between the numbering in the librettos and in the AMA. One reason is that there are obvious errors in the librettos, but above all in the deletion of the numbers 17, 19, 21, 24 and 26 in the German libretto. Since these numbers are present in both text versions in the AMA and therefore also in Mozart's autograph score, and it is certainly doubtful whether Mozart had authorised the cuts, the NMA again followed the AMA in Acts II and III in this matter, which in turn agrees in Acts II and III with the numbering of the Rome libretto (Anfossi).

The numbering of the scenes in Act I in the sources is substantially more complicated. As far as the tenth scene, the music sources consulted agree with both librettos. From scene eleven on, the Vienna copy has no markings of this kind at all, and in the Nàmešť copy, agreeing with the Italian libretto, only the beginning of a twelfth scene is marked; further signs are missing. The two librettos diverge from each other from the eleventh scene onwards. In view of these divergences, the editors were forced to find a credible compromise between a very unsatisfactory transmission and a sensible, self-consistent dramaturgy. As both main sources for the music give no or only incomplete indications after scene ten of Act I, the NMA follows for the scene divisions of this act the only source linked to Mozart with complete numbering, the German libretto, in the process removing obvious errors and inconsistencies. The Italian libretto can in comparison

claim only a secondary importance, as it was for Mozart at best a model but not written with Mozart's work in mind. The scene numbering in the Italian version of Act I was therefore made conform with the German version. (A concordance of the scene numbering of all three acts in the NMA and the sources consulted is included in the *Critical Report*.)

#### c) Detailed remarks

Regarding the departure in the present edition from the Editing Principles of the NMA outlined on p. VII (Concerning the Edition), please refer to the rules in special cases in section V/a. Beyond that, the following should be noted:

1. We did not show the old C-clefs before the modern clefs in the vocal parts at the beginning of a number or a recitative; instead, they are included in the list of characters on p. 2.
2. We departed from the otherwise usual practice of the NMA in generally printing rest staves in the large scale numbers with full orchestration, i.e. numbers 1 (Introduzione), 12 (Finale of the first act) and 23 (Finale of the second act) in favour of the so-called variable accolade. Rest staves have been omitted wherever the distribution of parts required it. For clarity, in these numbers the instrumentation is repeated in abbreviations in a margin at the beginning of each accolade. Markings such as *a 2* or *I<sup>mo</sup> und II<sup>do</sup>* are repeated from accolade to accolade wherever this seems necessary in order to avoid confusion. To emphasise the entries, the names of characters (as a rule in the Italian form) are usually repeated even within the accolade as initials.
3. In the set-piece numbers in which woodwinds are involved but no independent bassoon part is provided, it can be considered self-evident, in keeping with the performance practice of the time, to have the bassoon play along with bass.
4. Embellishments for the pause signs in the footnotes, the realisation of the figured bass in the *secchi* and also the guidance for the performance of appoggiaturas<sup>34</sup> in the recitatives are suggestions. They cannot be obligatory; they should rather encourage the creative and improvisatory abilities of the performers. In the

<sup>34</sup> (33) On the performance of appoggiaturas in Mozart, cf. the fundamental observations by Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini in NMA II/5/5, pp. X ff., by Franz Giegling in NMA I/4/1, pp. VIIIff., and from Daniel Hertz in NMA II/5/11, pp. XXVIIIff.



continuo for the *secco* recitatives, a violoncello should also play, as was the practice of Mozart's time

5. The *accompagnato* sections of the German version, already mentioned several times, in the numbers 19 (measures 1–46), 21 (measures 76–104), 22 (measures 109–143) in Act II and in No. 27 (measures 1–60) in Act III are presented in this edition in the Appendix (1–4). Their inclusion at the corresponding points in the main body of the work presented problems in that, first of all, the *accompagnato* section of No. 19 is two measures longer than the corresponding Italian version and, secondly, in all four sections Mozart revised the vocal part very substantially during the adaptation to the German text. The parts are however integrated into the score – the AMA and also Münster (I, pp. 154–160) provide only vocal part and instrumental bass – and thus made available for practical staging for the first time. Moreover, for these four sections in the main music text, i.e. in the Italian version, a modern German translation by Walther Dürr has been added in square brackets so that no gaps arise in the German text in the main body of the edition. Some passages in the *secchi* of Act I, missing in the Nàmešť copy, are also set in square brackets; they were completed by the editors.

6. In the so-called “family tree aria” (No. 8 Act I / scene VIII), the following divergence exists between the role distributions of the Italian and German versions: According to the Anfossi libretto, the Nàmešť and the Vienna copies, this aria is sung by Contino Belfiore, who turns to the Podestà with his boasts (and makes him laugh). According to the German libretto, the Podestà takes the family tree scroll out of the Contino's hand and tries in his turn to impress Serpetta, who is also present, with the Contino's proud series of ancestors; in this, as the following text (in the German version already part of scene nine) shows, he is of course not successful. Here the German version has without doubt changed the distribution of roles in the Italian original; it is a change, however, that makes dramaturgical sense. The “family tree aria” gives the Contino a portion of buffoon-like qualities that strangely contradict the character of the role, particularly in Acts II and III. The editors have therefore decided to provide the aria in the German version for both roles. Which of the two options to choose for a modern production, the one corresponding to the Italian original or the dramaturgically thoroughly sensible alternative in the German libretto, must be left to the concept of each individual director.

\*

Finally, the editors thank all who contributed to the completion of this edition: all persons and institutions named in the Foreword and in the Critical Report; our colleagues on the Editorial Board of the NMA; Dr. Wolfgang Rehm (Kassel) for advice and help; Mr. Heinz Moehn (Wiesbaden) for the continuo realisation in the *secco* recitatives and for many useful suggestions during correcting work; Mr. Jürgen Sommer (Kassel) for his help with the suggested embellishments at pause marks; Professor Dr. Walther Dürr (Tübingen) for his checking of the Italian text; Professor Dr. Joseph Heinz Eibl (Eichenau, Upper Bavaria) for his critical reading through of the Foreword; Ms. Leonore von Haupt-Stummer (Salzburg), the Professors Dr. Marius Flothuis (Amsterdam) and Karl Heinz Füssl (Vienna) for their help with the proof-reading.

Rudolph Angermüller and Dietrich Berke  
Salzburg and Kassel, Spring, 1978

Translation: William Buchanan

Allegro agitato

Violini

Viola

Oboe

Corni  
E la fa

Fagotti

Sordina

auf! auf! auf! auf! auf! auf!

Cruddeli Cruddeli, oh Dio! fermate, oh

Facs. 1: A page from the autograph score, currently inaccessible, from the former Preußische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, after Ludwig Schieder, *W. A. Mozarts Handschrift in zeitlich geordneten Nachbildungen*, Bückeburg and Leipzig, 1919, plate 20: beginning of the aria (No. 21)

*Da un'Accia Giardini.* Overtura. *di Amadeo Wolfgang Mozart.*

*Molto Allegro.*

Violini *f. f. f. f.*

Violoncello e Contrabbasso

Oboi *f. f. f. f.*

Corni in D *f. f. f. f.*

Bassi *f. f. f. f.*

*Molto Allegro.*

Facs. 2: Page 1 of the “Vienna copy” (Austrian National Library, Vienna, signum: *Cod. mus. 18.639*): beginning of the Overtura. Cf. Foreword (IV/b and d) and page 5, measures 1-8.

*Moderato*  
 Viva viva il buon gusto della mia vezzosetta giardiniera, che il  
 più gradito fior di prima vera Ramato che vi pare? Non  
 ve' che dit mi sembra il giardino in cantato eppur non basta a  
 farmi rallegrar questa è pazzia ma tu Sanorina  
 mia perché mesta così? Ah che sia maledetta! duopo  
 giunta costei non mi guarda più in faccia. *Ritardando* Neppure un'occhia  
 tina via spiegati Carina, che paffanna patisce il mal di

Facs. 3: A page from the “Nàmeš’ copy” (Moravian Museum, Brno, signum: A 17.036 a, b, c): beginning of the recitative “Viva, viva il buon gusto della mia vezzosetta giardiniera” before No. 2. Cf. Foreword (IV/b and d) and pages 40-41, measures 1-16.

Die verstellte  
**Gärtnerinn**  
 ein  
**Singpiel**  
 in  
 drey Aufzügen.

Aus dem Italienischen ins Deutsche übersetzt.

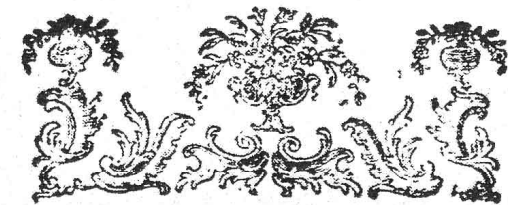
Die Musik, von Herrn Mozart Hochfürstlich-Salzburgischen Kapellmeister.



Augsburg,  
 gedruckt bey Johann Anton Glanstedt.

### Personen.

Die Gräfinn Violante Onesti, unter dem Namen Sandrina, als Gärtnerinn.  
 Der Graf von Belfiore.  
 Arminda, Nichte des Amtshauptmanns.  
 Der Ritter Ramiro, Armindens Liebhaber.  
 Der Amtshauptmann von Schwarzensee.  
 Robert, Diener der Violante unter dem Namen Narbo, ebenfalls als Gärtner.  
 Serpette, Wirthschafterinn des Amtshauptmanns.



### Erster Aufzug.

#### Erster Auftritt.

Ein angenehmer Garten im Schloß des Amtshauptmanns.

Der Amtshauptmann, der Ritter Ramiro, und Serpette; Sandrina und Narbo, welche letztere mit Arbeit beschäftigt sind.

Alle

Welches Vergnügen, welch froher Tage?  
 Welch schöne Gegend, welch schöne Lage?  
 Wonne und Liebe verbreiten sich hier!

Ramiro. Verborgnes Leiden, macht mich verzagen!  
 Mein Herz empfindet stets neue Plagen,  
 Freud und Zufriedenheit, sicken von mir.

Amtshpt. Wer kann dieß Mädchen achungsam schätzen?  
 An ihrem Reize sich satt ergötzen?  
 Für sie allein sey mein Herz aufbewahrt.

Sand. Ach! welche Schwermuth drückt meine Seele!  
 Ich noch die Ursach davon verhehle.  
 Verfolgt das Schicksal, weh! jemand so hart?

Narbo

Narbo


Facs. 4-6: Title page, list of characters and beginning of the first act from the German libretto, Augsburg, (1780). Copy in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

LA FINTA  
GIARDINIERA  
Dramma giocoso  
DA RAPPRESENTARSI  
NEL TEATRO 16  
DELLE DAME  
Nel Carnevale dell' Anno 1774.  
DEDICATO  
ALLE  
DAME ROMANE

IN ROMA


Per Giovanni Bartolomei  
Con licenza de' Superiori.

Si vendono dal sudetto incontro  
il Palazzo di Fiani al Corso.



Nobilissime Dame.

A protezione, che ad de-  
gnate accreditate l' Anno  
scorso all' incognito perfo-  
gnata, ed essere Nobilissime Dame, ad  
esibirsi il presente Dramma giocoso della  
FINTA GIARDINIERA, si sono inge-  
gnati, ed nello scorgimento, che nel  
costu-



costume di vedersi, al vostro purgatifimo  
genio, non indegno di biasimo, e non del  
tutto immeritevole del vostro generoso com-  
patimento; siamo perciò sicuri, che vi de-  
gnate di accoglierlo, e proteggerlo, come  
cosa a voi dovuta per la sorte che gode  
questo Teatro di esser contraddistinto col vostro  
glorioso Nome, e pieni d'ossequio ed dichia-  
riamo.

Di Voi Nobilissime Dame.

Amis., Dicitis., ed Obligatis. Servo  
G. Interellati.

Facs. 7-9: Title page and dedication from the libretto for the performance of Pasquale Anfossi's *La finta giardiniera*, Rome, Carnival 1774. Copy in the Biblioteca S. Cecilia, Rome. Cf. Foreword (I).