

WOLFGANG AMADEUS MOZART

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Works for the Stage

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VOLUME 3: BASTIEN AND BASTIENNE

PRESENTED BY RUDOLPH ANGERMÜLLER

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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 subject matter of Mozart's *Bastien und Bastienne* [*Bastien and Bastienne*] KV 50(46^b) is closely connected with Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *intermède Le Devin du village* and its parody, *Les amours de Bastien et Bastienne* by Marie-Justine-Benoîte Favart, Charles-Simon Favart and Harny de Guerville.

Rousseau's *Le Devin du village* was one of the most successful operas in the second half of the 18th and the first third of the 19th century at the Paris Académie Royale de Musique (= Opéra). From March 1st, 1753 to June 3rd, 1829, this one-act *intermède* was performed there not less than 544 times¹. As early as the season 1753/54, the *Devin du village* was performed 51 twice; in the period between 7 January 1777 and 6 June 1779, 81 times. Operas by Gluck, such as *Iphigenia in Aulis*, *Orphée and Euridice*, *Armide* and *Alceste*, which dominated the Paris opera scene around the end of the 1770s², did not achieve during this time as many performances as Rousseau's *Devin du village*³.

During his first stay in Paris, from 18 November 1763 to 10 April 1764, and on his return to Paris from London (a further stay in Paris from 10 May 1766 – 9 July 1766), Mozart was not able to see Rousseau's *intermède*, as this was at this time not in the season's repertoire at the Académie Royale de Musique. During his Paris stay of 1778 (23 March – 26 September), Mozart would have had the opportunity of seeing the work at the Paris Opera. In this period, 14 performances took place⁴. Whether Mozart actually saw the *Devin du village*, we do not know. His correspondence and contemporary documents say nothing about that. But it cannot be ruled out that Mozart saw this work, on which – as far as the plot was concerned – his "deutsche Operette [German operetta]" *Bastien und Bastienne* is of course based.

Regarding the beginnings of the *Devin* and its reception by the Paris audience, Rousseau writes himself in his *Confessions*⁵. For him, his piece was of a "genre absolument neuf, auquel les oreilles n'étoient point accoutumées" ["completely new genre, to which the ears were not at all accustomed"]. A very striking feature of his new work was in his opinion the recitative, which was "accented" in a totally new way and which moved "avec le débit de la parole" ["with the debt owed to the word"]⁶. With the *Devin du village* – in keeping with his principles of closeness to nature – Rousseau wanted to turn against the rhetorical pathos of the tragédie lyrique and against Italian *buffa* art. His music was intended, and wished, to relate to the simple and natural ways of the shepherds⁷.

*

On Wednesday 26 September 1753⁸, after the *Devin du village* had been played 33 times in the Académie Royale de Musique, the Comédiens Italiens Ordinaires du Roi (= Comédie Italienne) presented in Paris a parody of the *Devin du village* with the title *Les amours de Bastien et Bastienne*. As authors Monsieur and Madame Favart and additionally Harny de Guerville were named; as performers Madame Favart (Bastienne), Monsieur Rochard (Bastien) and Monsieur Chamville (Colas). The parody *Les amours de Bastien et Bastienne* was did not mock the original; there were absolutely no facetious texts, no references to events of the day. The parody in the Favart-Harny production lay more in the fact that the rustics had a realistic appearance and spoke and sang in their own dialect. Rousseau's arcadian and sentimental rustic characters resembled, in the parody, real peasants. Madame Favart, for example, appeared as Bastienne in a linen

¹ Numbers taken from: *Journal de l'Opéra*, Manuscript: Bibliothèque et Archives de l'Opéra, Paris.

² Cf. Rudolph Angermüller, *Opernreformen im Lichte der wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse an der Académie royale de Musique von 1775–1780*, in: *Die Musikforschung* 25 (1972), pp. 267–291.

³ The *Devin du village* was played 75 times from 7 Jan. 1777–29 Dec. 1778; *Iphigenia in Aulis* from 2 Feb. 1777–10 July 1778 38 times; *Orpheus and Euridice* from 3 Jan. 1777–4 Oct. 1778 38 times; *Armide* from 9 Sep. 1777–24 May 1778 36 times; *Alceste* from 7 Jan. 1777–30 Mar. 1778 21 times.

⁴ 24 & 29 Mar., 1 & 30 Apr., 3, 7, 10, 14, 17 & 21 May, 12 & 19 June, 26 July, 9 Aug.

⁵ Livre VIII. Cf on this Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Œuvres complètes. I. Les Confessions. Autres textes autobiographiques*, Paris (Gallimard, 1959) (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade), pp. 369–387.

⁶ Cf. the article *Récitatif*, in: J. J. Rousseau, *Collection complète des œuvres de J. J. Rousseau, Citoyen de Genève. Tome neuvième. Contenant le Dictionnaire de Musique*, Genève, 1782, pp. 564–572.

⁷ Cf. the article *Pastorale*, in: J. J. Rousseau, *Collection complète ...*, loc.cit., pp. 517–518.

⁸ Date according to the libretto. Alfred Loewenberg, *Annals of opera 1597–1940. Compiled from the original sources. With an introduction by Edward J. Dent. Second edition, revised and corrected*, 2 vols., Geneva, (2/1955), p. 218, gives an earlier date, August 4th.

dress as worn by peasant women in 1750, with a golden cross on her neck, wooden shoes, her hair simply pinned up – that is, without a wig – and with bare arms. The contemporary audience was not accustomed to this costume. The critics were not exactly enthusiastic about this procession of rustics, but Madame Favart charmed the public with refinement and naturalness in her performance. The music had been put together by the the authors in the usual manner, drawing on well-known and popular melodies⁹.

The basis for Cola's aria "Diggi, daggi" (No. 10) in Mozart's *Bastien und Bastienne* had already been indicated by Rousseau in the direction for scene 4: "*Le Devin tire de sa poche un livre de grimoire et un petit bâton de Jacob, avec lesquels il fait un charme. De jeunes Paysannes qui venoient le consulter, laissent tomber leurs présens, et se sauvent tout effrayées en voyant ses contorsions.* [The Soothsayer takes out of his pocket a book of spells and a magic wand and makes a spell with them. Some young peasants who came to consult him drop their presents and and run away terrified when they see his contortions.]" The parody took up the potential for action in this scene direction and made out of it a complete scene of its own:

SCÈNE IV.

COLAS.

Ah! mes pauvres enfants,
J'vous plains fort;
Car j'aime que les gens
Soient d'accord.
Tout d'abord.
Dedans ce grimoire,
Je saurai ton sort.

(Il tire de sa besace un livre de la Bibliotheque bleue, & fait en lisant plusieurs contorsions qui font enfuir BASTIEN.)

Manche,
Planche,
Salme,
Palme,
Vendre,
Cendre,

D'jo
Lo,
Mecre,
Necre,
Mir lar lun Brunto,
Tar la vistan voire,
Tar lata qui plo.

[Ah! My poor children, I complain strongly to you; for I like people to be in harmony. Above all. From within this book of spells I will draw out your destiny. (He takes a book belonging to the 'Blue Library' from his shoulder bag & while reading makes several contorsions which cause BASTIEN to flee.) (A spell follows: Cuff, plank, ... and nonsense words)]

*

Les amours de Bastien et Bastienne was well-known to the Vienna audience. The Favart/Harny piece was played in Laxenburg on 16 June 1755 (Bastien: Monsieur Belleville, Bastienne: Madame Bodin, Colas: Monsieur Rousselois), on 5 July 1755 in Vienna. In 1757, 1761 and 1763, the parody was on the season's programme again¹⁰. Count Giacomo Durazzo (1717–1794), who came to Vienna after a period in Paris in 1749 as Ambassador for Genoa and became Director General of Spectacles in 1754, put the Favart/Harny parody on the programme for the Burg Theatre in Vienna. Durazzo had got to know the Favarts in Paris. This connection, for which extensive correspondence exists¹¹, was particularly important for theatre life in Vienna between 1760 and 1764. On 20 December 1759 Durazzo wrote to Favart and asked him, amongst other things, for a new piece. Favart fulfilled Durazzo's wish. In the following years, Favart became – as far as French pieces were concerned – the literary advisor and theatrical agent for Vienna. There is a comprehensive delineation by Robert Haas of the pieces "transferred" to Vienna by Favart¹².

During Durazzo's time as Director, the actor, translator and topographer Friedrich Wilhelm Weiskern (1710–1768) was active in Vienna¹³. Weiskern, son of a riding master from Saxony, came to Vienna in 1734 and initially performed character roles in the Imperial

⁹ The melodies are printed in *THEATRE / DE M. FAVART, / OU RECUEIL / Des Comédies, Parodies {et} Opera-Comiques / qu'il a donnés jusqu'à ce jour, / Avec les Airs, Rondes {et} Vaudevilles notés dans chaque Piece. TH...ATRE ITALIEN. / TOME CINQUIÈME. / A PARIS, / Chez DUCHESNE, Libraire, rue Saint Jaques, / au-dessous de la Fontaine Saint Benoît, / au Temple du Goût. / Avec Approbation {et} Privilège du Roi. / M. DCC. LXIII.* Reprint: Geneva, 1971 (Slatkine Reprints).

¹⁰ Cf. Robert Haas, *Gluck und Durazzo im Burgtheater. (Die opera comique in Wien)*, Zurich, Vienna, Leipzig, (1925) (Amalthea-Bücherei. 45).

¹¹ *Mémoires et correspondance littéraire de Favart*, publiés de A. P. C. Favart, son Petit Fils, 2 vols., Paris, 1808.

¹² Haas, loc. cit., especially pp. 83–86.

¹³ On Weiskern cf. Constant von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Österreich ...*, Part 53, Vienna, 1886, pp. 79–81.

and Royal town of residence. In 1741, the Court Ballroom in the Michaelerplatz was transformed, following his plans, into a new theatre in which the German actors from the Kärntnertor Theatre gave performances. Weiskern soon extended his repertoire until he had advanced in Vienna to one of the leading actors of his time. He had made a particular name for himself in improvised comedy, which he enriched with his unusual gift of invention.

It was probably in response to Durazzo's "command" that Weiskern translated the *Les amours de Bastien et Bastienne* in 1764¹⁴. On the title-page stood: *Bastienne, / Eine / Französische Operacomique. / Auf Befehl / in / einer freyen Uebersetzung nachgeahmet / von / Friedrich Wilhelm Weiskern. / WIEN, / Zu finden in dem Kraußischen Buchladen, nächst der / K. K. Burg 1764*¹⁵ [Bastienne, a French comic opera, by command imitated in a free translation by Friedrich Wilhelm Weiskern. Vienna, to be found in Krauß' bookshop near the Imperial and Royal castle 1764].

Comparison shows that dialogue and monologue were translated almost literally, arias and ensembles – because of the constraints on the text – more freely. Weiskern did indeed translate fairly exactly, but he missed the finer points in the French original. That can most easily be explained by assuming that he had mastered classical French, but could not come to terms with the language of the peasants and the ordinary people which is imitated in the parody and failed to notice the frequent malapropisms.

As Weiskern informs us in his translation, all words in quotation marks are by Johann Müller. This is the actor Johann H. F. Müller (1738–1815), engaged by Durazzo in 1763. The book attributes the numbers 11, 12 and 13 to Müller. Müller's translation was kept in the repertoire of the Viennese popular theatre for a long time. A performance took place in the Penzing Theatre in 1775; in 1779 the piece was put on several times by the Scherzersche Schauspielergesellschaft [Scherzer Actors' Association] in the Bauernfeind Hall in this town where Emperor Josef resided. Whether the piece *Verwirrung, und Bahstiene* performed 22 January 22 1782 in the theatre in Leopoldstadt and the *Opera of*

the Bastienne Children performed on 18 August 1790 were based on Weiskern/Müller is uncertain, as the relevant word books are missing¹⁶.

*

Professional theatres for children soon adopted the Weiskern/Müller translation into their repertoires¹⁷: an example was the Bernersche Truppe [*Berner's Troupe*], founded by Felix Berner in 1761. They made a name for themselves throughout Europe in the 1770s and 1770s¹⁸. According to Garnier, Berner's Troupe visited Salzburg for the first time in 1766¹⁹. They reached Salzburg on 21 December and were, the Court Diary reports, presented to Archbishop Erzbischof Sigismund von Schrattenbach on 22 December. Because of the Christmas festival and the celebration of Epiphany, Berner could only begin with his performances on 9 January 1767. After 15 February, the troupe went to Berchtesgaden and Innsbruck.

So what pieces with music did Berner have in his repertoire at this time? There is proof of Filippo Palma's *The Boastful Spaniard*, Joseph Haydn's *Der neue krumme Teufel* after a text by Kurz-Bernadon (Hob. XXIXb Nr. 1b) and Johann Baptist Savio's *Bastienne*. Savio, at the beginning of the 1760s Music Director in Prague, was responsible for the new airs in *Bastienne*. It is therefore understandable that in the Prague libretto of *Les amours de Bastien et Bastiené*, Prague, 1763²⁰, the French airs are not mentioned; in their place appear those newly composed in Prague. Savio can be shown to have been with the Bruniansche Truppe [Brunian's Troupe] – Joseph von Brunian was at that time manager of the theatre in Prague – in journeys to Brnn, Graz and Vienna. In the Imperial and

¹⁶ Cf. Wenzel Müller, hand-written *Tagebücher* [Diaries], Vienna, Stadtbibliothek, signum: 51926 Jb. A typed version transcribed by Hildegard Gaul was available to the editor.

¹⁷ On professional theatre for children, cf. Gertraude Dieke, *Die Blütezeit des Kindertheaters* (Emsdetten, 1934).

¹⁸ Information on the Bernersche Truppe is found in the anonymous work *Nachricht von der Bernerischen jungen Schauspieler Gesellschaft*, published in 1782, 1784 and 1786. Franz Xaver Garnier, member of the troupe, is to be considered the author of the book.

¹⁹ On this and what follows cf. Alfred Loewenberg, 'Bastien and Bastienne' once more, in: *Music & Letters* 25 (1944), No. 3, July 1944, p. 176–181.

²⁰ *LES AMOURS / DE / BASTIEN / ET / BASTIEN... / OPERETTE COMIQUE / DE / REPRESENTER / DANS LE NOUVEAUX TEATRE / DE PRAGUE / DANS LE CARNEVAL DE L'AN 1763. / Imprime après Ignazi Pruscha. / AVEC LA PERMISSION DES SUPERIOR.* 27 pages. Copy in the University Library, Prague, signum: *Sammlung Lobkowitz 65 E 2473*.

¹⁴ "La pièce de Favart, traduite en allemand par le petit Mozart", as Wyzewa and Saint-Foix maintain, is in no way true. Cf. T. de Wyzewa et G. de Saint-Foix, *W.-A. Mozart. Sa vie musicale et son œuvre de l'enfance à la pleine Maturité (1756–1773). Essai de biographie critique suivi d'un nouveau catalogue chronologique de l'œuvre complète du maître. I. L'enfant-prodige*, Paris (1936), S. 238.

¹⁵ Copy in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, signum: (II. 8) 641.433–A. M. S. (cf. the facsimiles on p. XIX).

Royal capital and residence, he probably came into contact with the Weiskern/Müller translation and put his music to it. But as long as no concrete material from Savio's setting can be found, this statement has to remain a hypothesis. It is known that Mozart stayed in Salzburg from 29 November 1766 to 11 September 1767, between his West European tour (1763–1766) and his second journey to Vienna (Sept. 11th, 1767–January 5th, 1769). Does Mozart's first encounter with the subject matter of *Bastien*, the Weiskern/Müller translation and the music by Savio date from this time? In Paris, as was shown above, Mozart cannot have seen Rousseau's *Devin du village* of 1763/64 and 1766, and it can be assumed that he did not see the parody at the Comédie Italienne, as it was at this point probably no longer in the repertoire. If Mozart first encountered subject matter and translation in Salzburg, two questions must first be clarified:

1. Did the Bernersche Truppe play Bastien in Salzburg? The chronicler Garnier gives us no information on that²¹.

2. If Berner did perform the piece in Salzburg, did Mozart see it? The sources abandon us during the search for an answer. It can however be assumed that Mozart, but even more so his father, who was looking out for a promising piece for his son, got to know the whole *Bastien and Bastienne* complex in Salzburg. Mozart, who may well have felt enthusiastic about the piece, was certainly not satisfied with Savio's music. It is possible that that Mozart drew the attention of Salzburg Court Trumpeter Johann Andreas Schachtner (1731–1795)²² – or vice versa – to the Weiskern/Müller translation. Schachtner, a close personal friend of the Mozarts – Leopold was best man at Schachtner's wedding –, had already had several successes with poetry before 1766, for example congratulatory poems and translations of Latin and Greek plays²³. Whether he also wrote for Mozart the texts for the funeral music ("*Wo bin ich, bitttrer Schmerz*") KV 42 (35^a) and for the final chorus of *Thamos, König in Ägypten* KV 345 (336^a) is unclear. On the other hand, it is certain that he made the first German translation of *Idomeneo* as well as a new version of the Weiskern/Müller translation of *Bastien*.

The documents are silent about the background of Schachtner's version of *Bastien*. Would Mozart then have begun composing his German operetta as early as 1767, in Salzburg? Regarding Leopold's not

mentioning this work in his correspondence between 12 September and 12 November, a possible explanation is that if *Bastien und Bastienne* was begun in Salzburg, there would have been no concrete reason to tell Lorenz Hagenauer about it, because amongst the closer circle of friends it was already known.

From October 1774 to December 1774 – Mozart is in Salzburg from the end of September to December 6th, 1774 – the Bernersche Truppe were again guests in Salzburg. Garnier records that *Bastien und Bastienne* was on the programme. Was the piece still being played with Savio's music or already with Mozart's, and had he, for example, also added the recitatives (pp. 8–9, 16–20, 26, 29–31)?

*

Georg Nikolaus Nissen, married to Mozart's widow and one of the first biographers of the Salzburg master, records in his Mozart biography that *Bastien und Bastienne* is "*an opera comique translated into German verse*"²⁴. How Nissen knew this is not clear. It is true that Schachtner had re-worked the Weiskern/Müller translation of *Les amours de Bastien et Bastienne*, but there is nothing in that which can be described as the translation of which Nissen speaks.

Alfred Orel was the first to draw attention to the re-working by Schachtner, parts of which were used by Mozart for *Bastien und Bastienne*²⁵. Schachtner's manuscript²⁶, borrowed by Orel in 1944 from the then Salzburger Städtisches Museum (now Museum Carolino Augusteum) (signum: Realia Theater IV b) and subsequently retained by him until 1951 – as his article in the *Schweizerischen Musikzeitung* tells us – is today lost. But Orel had nevertheless prepared an – as it appears – accurate transcription of Schachtner's work, generously made available to the editor from the estate left to Dr. Fritz Racek, Vienna, by Orel.

Schachtner's technique for the re-working included the following points:

²⁴ Georg Nikolaus Nissen, *Biographie W. A. Mozarts. Mit einem Vorwort von Rudolph Angermüller*, Hildesheim, New York, 1972, p. 127. Reprint of the edition Leipzig, 1828.

²⁵ Alfred Orel, *Zu Mozarts "Bastien und Bastienne"*, in: *Rundschreiben der Mozartgemeinde Wien* 2 (1944), No. 5/6, Mai–Juni 1944, pp. 1–8, and *Die Legende um Mozarts "Bastien und Bastienne"*, in: *Schweizerische Musikzeitung* 91 (1951), No. 4, 1. 4. 1951, pp. 137–143.

²⁶ *Bastienne. / Eine französische Operacomique. / Aus einer prosaischen Übersetzung in Verse gebracht. / Von Andree Schachtner H[ochfürstlich] S[alzburgischem] H[of] T[rompeter].*

²¹ Garnier records only that on 2 February 1767 was Palma's *The Boastful Spaniard* performed in Salzburg.

²² On Schachtner cf. Friedrich-Heinrich Neumann, *Zur Vorgeschichte der Zaide*, in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch* 1962/63, Salzburg, 1964, p. 216–247.

²³ Cf. Neumann, loc. cit., p. 221–225.

- a) Schachtner versified Weiskern's prose texts. The only rhyming dialogue by Weiskern (No. 14) was left unchanged by Schachtner.
- b) Schachtner took over Weiskern's aria texts on the whole literally, but with occasional improvements to remove harsh metrical effects.
- c) Schachtner improved where the sense was distorted.
- d) Schachtner adapted his text to the dramatic situation.
- e) Cola's magic formula (No. 10) was put into new verse by Schachtner.

The recitatives which Mozart may have set later – in the autograph score (at the moment still lost), those for Cola are set in the alto clef, while the rest of his part is completely in the bass clef – were all versified by Schachtner. Similarly, the dialogues not set by Mozart are also in verse. If one compares the arias and ensembles by Weiskern, Müller and Schachtner with Mozart's text, the following conclusions can be reached:

Numbers 1, 6, 8, 9, 14, 15, 16 are set after Weiskern, the numbers 11 and 13 after Müller, the numbers 4 and 12 after Schachtner. The numbers 2, 5, 7 and 10 are a mixture of Weiskern and Schachtner:

No. 2: First line Weiskern, lines 2ff. Schachtner. Schachtner's correction of line 1, "*Ich gehe auf die Weide*", was not taken up by Mozart, who retained Weiskern's text "*Ich geh jetzt auf die Weide*".

No. 5: On the whole Weiskern; only the line "*Soll ich nun verachtet werden*" was commuted by Schachtner to "*Jetzt soll ich verachtet werden*".

No. 7: Originally Weiskern, Mozart adopted Schachtner in a correction.

No. 10: Originally Weiskern, Mozart adopted the corrected Schachtner version.

Summarising all of this, it can be said that in probably no other work by Mozart was there so much cutting and patching of the initial text as in *Bastien und Bastienne*. The librettists of this "Operetta" are Madame and Monsieur Favart, in addition Harny de Guerville. Weiskern and Müller are the names on the German translation, Schachtner re-formed the dialogues and individual numbers²⁷.

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On the first page of the still missing autograph score (beginning of the Intrada), written by Wolfgang and not, as KV⁶ (p. 69) states, by Leopold Mozart,

²⁷ A comprehensive study of the original texts is being prepared by the editor.

Leopold entered the following: *Bastien, et Bastienne. / di Wolfgango Mozart. / 1768 nel suo 12^{mo} anno* (cf. the facsimile on p. XV). In the *Verzeichniß alles desjenigen was dieser 12jährige Knab seit seinem 7 ten Jahre componiert, und in originali kann aufgezeigt werden* [Catalogue of all that this 12-year-old composed from his 7th year, and which can be shown in its original], Leopold wrote: "*The operetta Bastien and*

Bastienne, in German, he has recently put into music here [= Vienna]". The words after "German" are crossed out – there is no way of saying by whom. In another hand – Nannerl (?); in any case the writing of an old person –, the date 1768 has been entered after the word "German". KV³ and KV⁶ make an addition in their rendering of Leopold's

Catalogue when it comes to Leopold's entry on *Bastien*: "+ written at Emperor Joseph's command. 1768".²⁸ This remark, positioned on the lower margin of the relevant page of Leopold's Catalogue (cf. the facsimile on p. XVIII), does not come from Leopold himself, however, but is in the same hand as the date "1768" after the word

"German"; the remark refers, as we can deduce from the repeat of the + sign in the entry on *La finta Semplice*, to the latter early opera, but not to *Bastien und Bastienne*. It was therefore only in the autograph score that Leopold Mozart put a date to *Bastien und Bastienne*.

From the comparison of the texts by Weiskern/Müller and Schachtner, the following stages in the development of the work can be postulated (more precise evidence is provided in the Critical Report):

1. Mozart began with the setting of the Weiskern/Müller text.
2. During work on the individual vocal numbers, Mozart turned to the Schachtner (cf. the numbers 4 and 12, composed after Schachtner).
3. Once he had set all the vocal numbers, he corrected the text of numbers 5, 7 and 10 from Weiskern to Schachtner.
4. Mozart was not consistent – for whatever reasons – in respecting the changes made by Schachtner: the numbers 1, 6, 8, 9, 14, 15 and 16 remained in Weiskern's version, number 13 was left in Müller's version.
5. The recitatives which have come down to us were, in all probability, composed on Schachtner's versified text. Whether Mozart had set the remaining versified dialogue by Schachtner cannot be determined, as no

²⁸ Cf. KV³, p. XXV, and KV⁶, p. XXVI.

sources of that kind are known. If he really composed no more than the known recitatives, then only parts of the Schachtner dialogues were set.

6. Mozart obviously did not compose the individual numbers in the order in which they appear in the score, but separately. The numbers 4 and 12 seem to have been composed later than the numbers 13 to 16.

KV⁶ dates the composition as "*late Summer 1768 in Vienna*". But in August 1768, No. 11 had already appeared with an altered text in the *Neue Sammlung zum Vergnügen und Unterricht* [*New Collection for Pleasure and Instruction*], Gräffer's Viennese periodical. The Mozart researchers Wyzewa and Saint-Foix would like to see *Bastien und Bastienne* placed, on stylistic grounds, in the Salzburg period of 1767²⁹. It has already been mentioned that composing could have begun in Salzburg, but Mozart probably only completed the work in Vienna. Today, the recitatives are still a puzzle, because, as mentioned, Cola's part is notated in two different clefs. No version of the piece is known in which the entire Cola part is written in alto clef. As long we have no autograph score to consult, and no philological conclusions can be drawn regarding the recitatives – details of Mozart's handwriting could bring light into the matter –, all statements on the recitatives have to remain hypothetical. Wüllner, who used the autograph score in the AMA, commented in his editorial report: "*The first recitative written on a loose page inserted into the score is marked 'first entrance', but it does not seem to belong after the Intrada, but rather between the first two arias. The recitatives intended for Cola are written in alto clef, while the rest of Cola's part is entirely in bass clef. For our score they have therefore been transcribed to the bass clef* [the NMA follows, as far as the placing of the recitatives and the use of clefs is concerned, the AMA]. *This circumstance also leads one to conclude that the recitatives were written not for the performance in Vienna but for a later one which never took place, in which Cola's role was to be taken by a contralto.*"³⁰ There have so far been no documents found relating to this "*later one [performance] which never took place*". Another theory, of Orel's, that private performances such as in Mesmer's house (cf. further below) took place without professional singers, performed by amateurs from the host's circle of friends and perhaps, due to the absence of a suitable bass voice, may have had to have Cola's part sung by a

contralto, cannot be substantiated³¹. It must then be asked why Mozart, if Orel's supposition is right, did not set the complete dialogue. Or are we to suppose that the other recitatives have been lost? Up till now, no material of any kind (score, vocal or orchestral parts) has been found that could have been used for a performance under Mesmer's aegis.

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Nissen made a further remark about Mozart's *Bastien und Bastienne*: "*In the other hand* [Mozart's *La finta semplice* is being referred to, which was not performed in Vienna], *the German operetta Bastien und Bastienne composed by him for the salon theatre of Dr. Mesmer, the well-known friend of the Mozart family, was performed in Mesmer's garden house in a Vienna suburb.*" Once again, we have no source for this. Perhaps Constanze, who might have heard about the performance from Wolfgang, passed this on to Nissen. It is also possible that Nissen, who on 21 December 1792 was named Legation Secretary in Vienna and came to Vienna in the middle of February 1793, got to know the host of the performance, Dr. Anton Mesmer, or his younger cousin, Joseph, one of the famous educationalists of that time, who could have been at the performance, and learned about it from them. But why then did Maria Anna in 1792 tell the first Mozart biographer, Friedrich von Schlichtegroll, nothing about this performance, at which she must have been present? And then Leopold, who sent news of every success and every advantageous development back to Salzburg, does not inform his Salzburg friends of a performance and its preparation. It must be admitted that Leopold's letters between 24 September and 12 November 1768 have not been kept. Could he have told of *Bastien und Bastienne* in these lost letters? If that were the case, a performance in the house of Dr. Anton Mesmer could also have taken place in October, 1768.

But how did the Mozarts come to know the famous *magnetiseur* Dr. Anton Mesmer³²? Here again we have no precise knowledge. Orel supposes that Dr. Johann Anton von Bernhard, who treated Mozart in 1762 and for whom Mozart held a *soirée* on 5 November 1762, brought about the connection with

³¹ Cf. Orel, *Die Legende um Mozarts "Bastien und Bastienne"*, loc. cit., p. 142.

³² On Mesmer cf. Otto Erich Deutsch, *Die Mesmers und die Mozarts*, in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1954*, Salzburg, 1955, p. 54–64, and Karl Arnold, *Mozart und die Landstrasse. 200 Jahre "Bastien und Bastienne" und "Waisenhausmesse"*, (Vienna, 1968) (special publication of the Landstrasse Heimatmuseum).

²⁹ Wyzewa et Saint-Foix, loc. cit., p. 238.

³⁰ W. A. *Mozarts Werke. Kritisch durchgesehene Gesamtausgabe. Supplement*. Editorial report, Leipzig, 1889, p. 13.

Mesmer. It was of course Bernhard who married a close relative of Mesmer's wife³³. It cannot furthermore be excluded that Pater Parhamer, director of the Orphanage on the Rennweg in Vienna for which Mozart wrote the Mass KV 139 (47^a), had made them acquainted. As overseer of the primary schools, Parhamer would certainly have known the the school director at St. Stephan's, Joseph Mesmer, Anton's younger brother. Perhaps the relations between Leopold and Mesmer, both from Swabia, became closer in Vienna.

For Dr. Anton Mesmer, 1768 was a significant year: on 10 January he married Maria Anna von Bosch, widow of an Imperial Court Advisor who died in 1767. This move gained the 34-year-old medicus and magnetiseur access to one of the wealthiest patrician families in Vienna. His wife was namely a daughter of Georg Friedrich Eulenschenks, owner of one of the oldest apothecary's shops in Vienna. He left his children, besides a cash fortune, several houses. But the property in the suburb Landstraße had been inherited by Maria Anna Mesmer from her deceased husband, Ferdinand Konrad von Bosch, who had acquired it in 1753. After the marriage, the Mesmers devoted much time to social life. A small operatic performance could have been welcome as a social event. As Orel has shown on several occasions³⁴, the garden theatre at the Mesmers', an open-air theatre cut out of Box hedge, was in 1768 not yet finished. Mozart can therefore not have performed his operetta *Bastien und Bastienne* there. Or are we to suppose that the performance in October, 1768, in keeping with the late time of year, took place in what Nissen calls the Garden House, i.e. in the rooms of the Mesmers' house in the country? Nissen speaks of an amateur staging, but not of a garden theatre or an open-air theatre. Or was *Bastien und Bastienne* not played at all in 1768? The first performance of *Bastien und Bastienne* we can be certain about took place, put on by the Gesellschaft der Opernfreunde [Society of Opera Friends], in the Architektenhaus in Berlin on October 2nd, 1890.

*

The autograph score of Mozart's *Bastien und Bastienne* which was once kept in the Preußische Staatsbibliothek Berlin has been lost since the end of WW II. Facsimiles of the autograph score had hardly been made: Roland Tenschert printed the first page of

the Intrada³⁵, both Ludwig Schiedermair³⁶ and Robert Bory³⁷ the first page of No. 1.

For the present edition, a hand-written copy after the autograph belonging to Otto Jahn provided the basis (today Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin, signum: Mus. Ms. 15136). In addition, the AMA (Serie 5, Nr. 3, ed. Franz Wüllner) was consulted; the latter, although edited from the autograph, showed many divergences from the Jahn copy. (cf. Critical Report). Finally, a contemporary copy was consulted, kept today in the Bibliothèque Royale Albert I, Brussels³⁸, but not very profitable as a source: the Intrada, recitatives and No. 3 are missing, and dynamic markings are rare compared to the two sources named above. It is striking that the Brussels copy only draws on the Weiskern/Müller text. Could this have been copied from Mozart's original version or was the copy made later and underlaid only with the Weiskern/Müller text in ignorance of Schachtner's variants? For what purpose this copy was made, and how it came to Brussels, remain unsolved.

The divisions of the scenes, directions and dialogue, which are obviously missing in the Mozart score – they do not appear in any source – were taken over from the Weiskern translation. Schachtner's indications are less precise than Weiskern's; e.g. he does not give the scene heading before No. 1: *The scene is a village with a view out onto the fields*. In the Weiskern and Schachtner text, there are often several stanzas for the arias and ensembles (cf. Nos. 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 11, 16 mm. 1–48). Whether the continuing stanzas printed in Appendix III (p. 91) were sung – which would certainly make sense, as they radiate much wit – cannot be said. But is it not more apposite to do as in the model, *Les amours de Bastien et Bastienne*, in which only one stanza is fully notated and the others sung to the given melody?

The Schachtner variants on the continuing stanzas of the Weiskern text are listed in the Critical Report, the dialogue versified by Schachtner is in Appendix V (pp. 93f.). If the recitatives on Schachtner's text are not sung, the Weiskern dialogue (cf. Appendix IV, p. 92) can then be spoken. It cannot

³⁵ Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. 1756–1791. *Sein Leben in Bildern*, Leipzig (1935), plate 11 (cf. also the facsimile on p. XV).

³⁶ W. A. Mozarts Handschrift in zeitlich geordneten Nachbildungen, Leipzig, 1919, plate 7.

³⁷ Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. *Sein Leben und sein Werk in Bildern*, Geneva, 1948, p. 73.

³⁸ *Deutsches Operette / Bastien und Bastienne / von 3 Stimme / Soprano Tenore / und / Baßo / mit 2 Violini Alto Viola / 2 Oboe 2 Corni 2 Flauti / und Baßo / Del Sig. W. A. Mozart* (signum: Ms II 4070).

³³ Cf. Orel, *Die Legende ...*, loc. cit., p. 142.

³⁴ Cf. Orel, *Die Legende ...*, loc. cit., p. 143, and *Der Mesmerische Garten. (Ein Parergon zur Mozart-Forschung)*, in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1962/63*, Salzburg, 1964, pp. 82–95.

be determined whether Weiskern's or Schachtner's dialogue was used, since the dialogue is not present in any source. It can however be assumed that the Weiskern text was preferred for performances, because it is more natural. It must also be remembered that the Weiskern/Müller translation was available in print, the Schachtner re-working existed only as a manuscript.

The direction for No. 13, *This aria has two sections; each section is repeated. – but the first time Bastien sings No. 1, "Geh hin" etc: but in the repeat Bastienne sings No. 2 "Ich will" etc.*, is included in sources listed here. The NMA retains this authentic direction and does not print the stanzas directly following one another.

The aria "*Meiner Liebsten schöne Wangen*" (No. 11) also exists in a piano reduction in the hand of Leopold Mozart (Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Wien, cf. the facsimile on p. XVII and Appendix II, p. 90). This piano reduction, with some changes (cf. Critical Report), was included by Rudolph Gräffer in his *Neue Sammlung zum Vergnügen und Unterricht*³⁹, underlaying a new text to the aria. Mozart had, however, nothing to do with this text, "*Daphne, deine Rosenwangen*", so that the song KV 52 (46^c) should be considered as a free transcription (with a extraneous text) of No. 11 from *Bastien und Bastienne* and not as an independent song with piano accompaniment⁴⁰.

*

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Rudolph Angermüller

Salzburg, Summer, 1973

Translation: William Buchanan

³⁹ Year III. 7th piece as art supplement to p. 140.

⁴⁰ Cf. Ernst August Ballin, *Zu Mozarts Liedschaffen. Die Lieder KV 149–151, KV 52 und Leopold Mozart*, in: *Acta Mozartiana* 8 (1961), vol. 1, pp. 18–24, particularly pp. 22f., and NMA III/8 (Lieder), p. IX (KV 52/46^c was excluded for the reasons given above).



Facs. 1: First page of the currently lost autograph score from the former Preussischen Staatsbibliothek Berlin taken from: Roland Tenschert, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. 1756–1791. Sein Leben in Bildern*, Leipzig, (1935), plate 11: beginning of the Intrada. Cf. page 3, mm. 1–19.



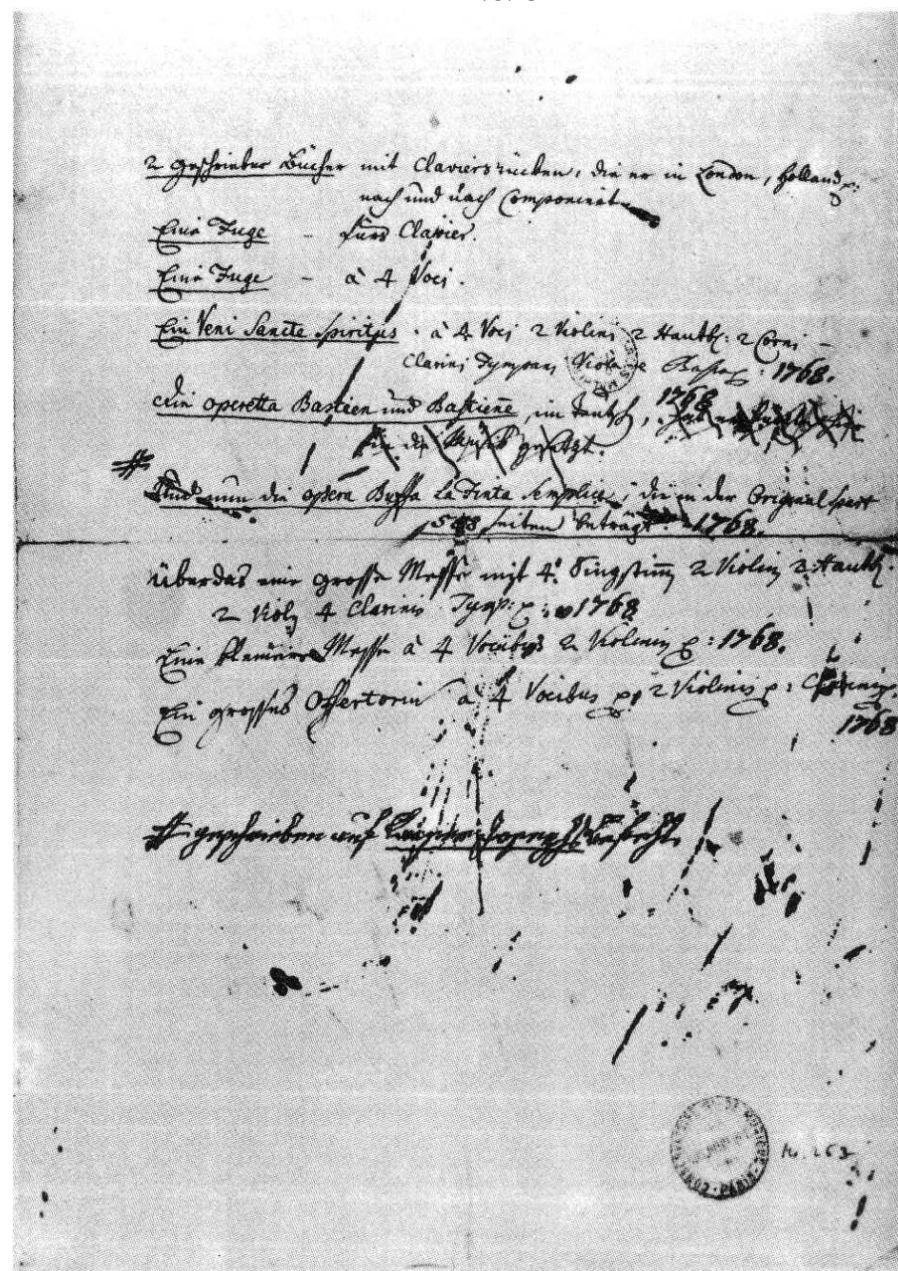
Facs. 2: First page of the copy after the autograph score from the estate of Otto Jahn (State Library Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage, Music Department): beginning of the Intrada. Cf. page 3, mm. 1–12.

tempo di Minuetto *di Wolfgang Mozart.*

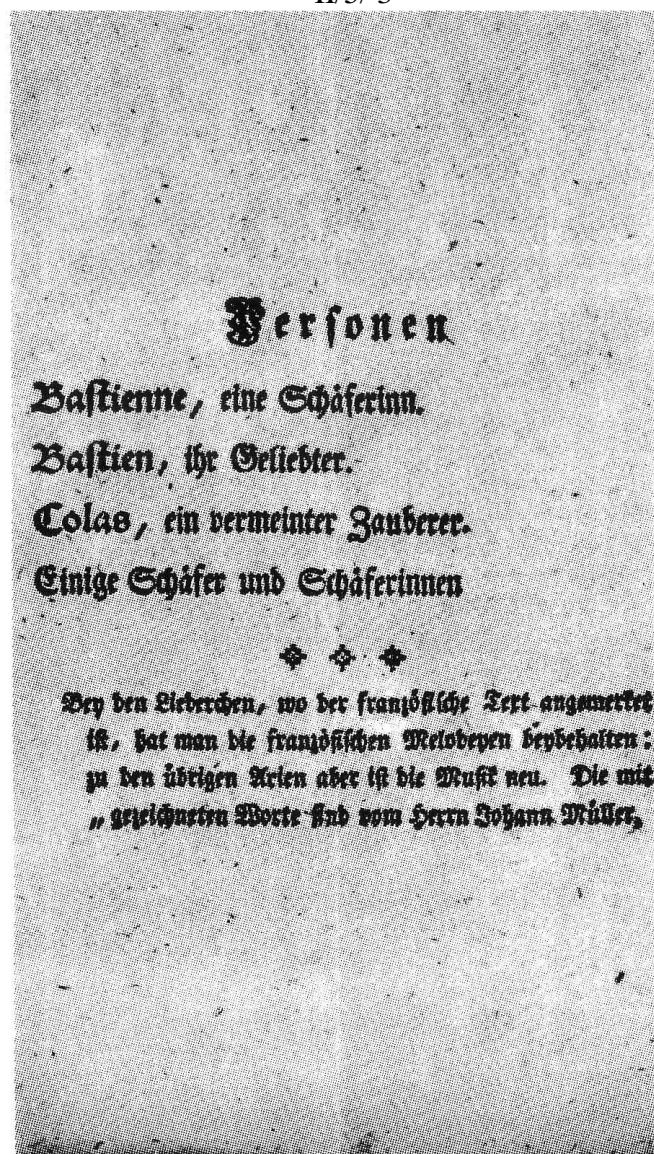
Mein Lichter für Wangen
 will ich loof nicht mehr, oh
 das ihr Antlitz so langem Gold hat ich im
 Gesicht im, in: trübselig! lang mit so viel! lang mit so viel! an so stark wohl
 nicht - Oh mir Nur mein mächtigem kann regeln fündet mich noch mehr als ich fündet
 viel fündet mal noch mehr als ich. mach mich mehr als

Von Leopold Mozart's Hand geschrieben. Jungs d'ym: Alois Lufz.

Facs. 3: Leopold Mozart's piano reduction of No. 11, property of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Wien. Cf. Appendix II, page 90.



Facs. 4: Last page of Leopold Mozart's *Catalogue of the early works of his son*, Vienna, 1768, property of the Bibliothèque nationale Paris, Département de la Musique (from the Collection Charles Théodore Malherbe). Cf. Foreword.



Facs. 5-7: From left to right: title page, list of characters and first page of text from the libretto, Vienna, 1764. Copy in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Vienna, music collection, signum: (II. 8) 641.433 – A. M. S.