CURATING OPERA

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CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION

Thesis title: Curating Opera

Candidate's name: Stephen James Mould

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ABSTRACT

Recent decades have seen the art curator emerge from a behind-the-scenes, anonymous position to that of a public functionary, challenging the role of the artist as the dominant force in the creation of art. A blurring of the roles of artist, gallerist and curator has resulted, along with a diversification in disciplines that attract curatorial attention, including science and architecture. The notion of *Gesamtkunstwerk* has frequently been evoked in the literature and even found its way into exhibition titles.[1] The blurring of curatorial roles is also a characteristic of the opera house, where the singer, composer, conductor, impresario and (most recently), the stage director historically vie for predominance, giving rise to the power struggles for which the world of opera is renowned. The competing forces that drive operatic practice have so far had no visible commentators (such as the art world has recently acquired), to examine curating and curatorial roles within the opera house and to demystify the process for the public.

This thesis will: (1) consider the so-called 'birth' of opera, with reference to the near-contemporary rise of the modern art museum; (2) examine aspects of the performance history of works by Gluck, Mozart and Beethoven, in order to demonstrate curatorial practices employed in the dissemination and maintenance of the repertoire; (3) consider curatorial tendencies within the modern opera house with reference to current performance practices and the related practices of art museums, highlighting aspects of authenticity, authorial intent, preservation and historically informed performance practice.

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For ages we have been content to bathe in the sputtering phosphorescence, which our men of genius have given off. We have sat back and watched the spectacle instead of taking fire ourselves. And finally we have substituted a cold fire – that nothing might be harmed, nothing destroyed, by sparks of ecstasy or madness.

Henry Miller[2]

To see the past in a more colourful, clearer and more immediate way than in the flux of the present is not exclusively a Romantic tendency, but lies deep within us all.

Gernot Gruber[3]

What seems to me the one absolutely central and radical question is the question 'Why do these people sing?' Yet in the conditions under which operas are given today – as hugely expensive, lumbering projects curatorially rendered as pertaining to a distant, largely irrecoverable past and to an eccentric, privileged and unserious present – the question can scarcely be posed, much less answered.

Edward W. Said[4]

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2   Henry Miller, 'When I Reach for My Revolver', *Stand Still Like the Hummingbird* (Essays) (Norfolk, Conn.: James Laughlin, 1962) 66–7.

3   Gernot Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1994) 72.

4   Edward W. Said, *On Late Style: Music and Literature against the Grain*, 1st ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 2006), 59.

CHAPTER ONE
The rise of the art museum and the role of the curator

To study the practice of curating is to reveal the ways in which art has been displayed, mediated and discussed as part of our histories of exhibition making. To write about any aspect of the curatorial is to think about how the exhibition of art has become part of a developmental process, of conceptualising ways in which art and its contexts are understood.[5]

Baba the Turk, an exotic and ambiguous character in Stravinsky's opera *The Rake's Progress* (1948–51), sings an aria[6] (probably unique in the literature – though it may belong to the genre of 'catalogue aria') describing her eclectic collection of objects, along with their provenance. She recites a catalogue of her cabinet of curiosities, revealing her curatorial position in relation to this small museum. She notes that she must tell her maid not to touch the mummies ('I'll dust them myself'), then sings of her beloved birds, 'especially the Great Auk' ('But the moths will get in them'). Baba is aware of the vulnerability of her collection to the passing of time and the inevitability of decay in the private world she has created. Upon completing this catalogue of precarious exhibits she discovers that she herself has been part of a collection – an exotic (and very dispensable) curiosity for her husband, who has lost all interest in her, leaving her de-accessioned. In a later scene,[7] an auctioneer ('Sellem') disposes of what remains of Baba's collection, finally putting Baba herself under the hammer, as her (ex) husband chants a street-cry – 'Old wives for sale' – in the distance.

The notion of curating is a central one in the development of civilisation and the preservation of culture. The basic human drive to create determines the necessity to curate, the origins of which have been traced to the very emergence of man as a reasoning creature:

The origins of curating, could be placed to the moment in which 'man' first started making a mark on his surroundings, possibly even as soon as he started thinking. He was thus, with out even realising, 'curating' his mind and his surroundings.[8]

Curating therefore is a fundamental aspect of thought, influencing how humans organise their surroundings, how they categorise them, how they decide what should be gathered and what discarded, how groups of objects are subsumed into larger collections, allowing them to be perceived in relation to other objects, similar or unlike. The twentieth century has seen the concept of art curating dissected, turned almost on its head, with the curator (during the late 1960s) becoming

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5   Paul O'Neill, *The Culture of Curating and the Curating of Culture(s)* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press, 2012), 1.

6   Igor Stravinsky, *The Rake's Progress: An Opera in Three Acts* (Full Score) (London: Boosey and Hawkes, 1962), 209–14.

7   Ibid 270–99.

8   https://cparpworthworthreynolds.wordpress.com/the-history-of-curation/bananas/ Accessed 14.12.14.

'independent of the professional museum',[9] thus creating a 'shift in how both the production and mediation of art were understood.'[10] New terminologies – *Ausstellungsmacher* (Germany) and *faiseur d'expositions* (France) – emerged to describe the modern curator: 'an intellectual figure, operating counter to the museum, who organised large-scale, independent exhibitions of contemporary art … who influenced public opinion through his or her exhibitions.'[11] This has led Bruce Altshuler[12] to claim that this point in the history of exhibitions saw the 'rise of the curator as creator.'[13]

This reversal of the function and significance of the curator *vis-à-vis* the artist is symptomatic of the underlying power play of the art world.[14] It is equally a part of the world of opera, specifically the institutionalised opera house, where traditionally conductors, singers, directors and impresarios all vie for power, influence and creative dominance.[15] Developments in the culture of exhibiting and curating during the latter part of the twentieth century can be seen to parallel the post-war rise of the opera director as the dominant force in operatic practice. This will be examined presently. First, an overview of the development of the art museum and related curatorial practices is provided by way of context.

The *Musée du Louvre*, whose opening in 1793 is frequently cited as 'the birth of the public art museum'[16] was, from its inception subject to a series of wide-reaching curatorial revisions, as the *Ancien Régime* crumbled in the wake of the French Revolution, followed closely by the Terror, then the rise of Napoleon. During this turbulent period the Louvre was renamed several times[17] and its collections were revised to render them acceptable to each successive government, the collections functioning not least as an expression of the power and taste of the state. Works depicting royalist associations were destroyed or consigned to storage, while a huge influx of 'acquisitions' arrived as aristocrats of the *Ancien Régime* were stripped of

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9 O'Neill, *Culture of Curating*, 14.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.

12 Bruce J. Altshuler, Clinical Professor of Museum Studies; Director, Program in Museum Studies; New York University. http://museumstudies.as.nyu.edu/object/BruceAltshuler.html Accessed 27.12.14.

13 O'Neill, *Culture of Curating*, 14. The source of Altshuler's quote can be found in Altshuler, *The Avant-Garde in Exhibition*, 236.

14 'There are curators, artists, critics, gallerists and collectors, all of whom are forces. The art world, in the best case, is a polyphony of these different forces' Hans Ulrich Obrist and April Elizabeth Lamm, *Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Curating*: *but Were Afraid to Ask* (2007), 113.

15 Among those who have played a curatorial role in the presentation of opera may be included: kings, princes, aristocrats, impresarios, government funding bodies, sponsors, underwriters, boards of directors. Within the opera house structure: singers, stage directors, conductors, music directors, publicists, branding experts. Others at this level likely associated with the opera house, but not necessarily part of the framework: publishers, record companies, composers, arrangers of operatic works. 'Behind the scenes' in the opera house: orchestra (especially concert master, other section leaders and orchestra committees), chorus and chorus master, Dramaturg (especially in Central Europe), music staff, staff conductors (Kapellmeister), musical assistants, coaches, répétiteurs, assistant directors, prompts, language coaches, music librarians. More recently emerging specialists, usually from outside the theatre that have assumed influence: editors, musicologists, specialists in areas of historically informed performance practice.

16 Carole Paul (ed.), *The First Modern Museums of Art: The Birth of an Institution in 18th- and Early-19th-Century Europe* (Los Angeles, Calif.: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2012), viii.

17 Ibid.

their possessions. These holdings were further bolstered by the booty of war appropriated during the Napoleonic campaigns. Andrew McClellan describes the practice whereby 'French commissioners followed the army with "wish lists" drawn up in Paris.'[18]

Along with the formation of such collections arose the question of how objects would be displayed, how they would coexist within an overall scheme, whether works would be displayed according to chronology, genre, national schools or other criteria. In essence, any collection of cultural artefacts is potentially an infinite work, an 'opera aperta'.[19] Hans Ulrich Obrist states that 'curating … produces ephemeral constellations'.[20] André Malraux found that '[art museums] were so important to the artistic life of the nineteenth century and are so much a part of our lives today that we forget they have imposed on the spectator a wholly new attitude to the work of art.'[21] 'By incorporating an object into a museum, it becomes divorced from its original context and function, it transforms into an abstract item in the imaginary museum of art history.'[22]

This study explores the creation of these 'ephemeral constellations' or 'imaginary museums' – the gradual formation and transformation of the operatic repertoire. The process of institutionalised curation has not been universally admired, with Marcel Duchamp (1887–1968) describing museums as 'morgues of art'.[23] In the plastic arts, conservation and restoration are central considerations when engaging with artworks. Within these processes the issue of authorial intent is a primary concern, the ability to define the moment at which the artist deemed his work to be complete, along with the extent to which he may have allowed for the fact that the materials used in creating artworks inevitably destabilise and decay over time. This is the source of many significant ethical and philosophical debates that continue to cause controversy in the area of curating artefacts. The cleaning of pictures during the twentieth century, for example has resulted in a bitter, ongoing debate, with a division emerging between those who favour a scientific line of enquiry, against those who espouse more empirical processes of connoisseurship.

In the case of operatic works, a fuzzy line has emerged during the twentieth century between the search for a composer's definitive text (score) and the degree to which such a text may represent definitive authorial intent. In the cases of Gluck and Mozart it will be seen that their own conceptions of their operas was more akin to an 'open work' than the bound volumes of a modern critical edition. The seminal writings of Lydia Goehr[24] have brought an awareness of the extent to which critical thought and writing about music has become, since the early nineteenth century,

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18   Andrew McClellan, 'Musée du Louvre, Paris: Palace of the People, Art for All', Paul, *The First Modern Museums of Art: The Birth of an Institution in 18th- and Early-19th-Century Europe*, 226.

19   Umberto Eco, *The Open Work* (London: Hutchinson Radius, 1989).

20   Lamm, *Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Curating*: *but Were Afraid to Ask*, 51.

21   André Malraux, *Museum without Walls* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1967), 9.

22   http://www.andremalraux.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Grebe_Malraux_Article.pdf Accessed 20.11.2014.

23   Sarah Walden, *The Ravished Image or, How to Ruin Masterpieces by Restoration* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985), 71.

24   Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music*, Rev. ed. (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

'work based' and how this distorts an understanding of music that pre-dates this significant shift in perceptions.
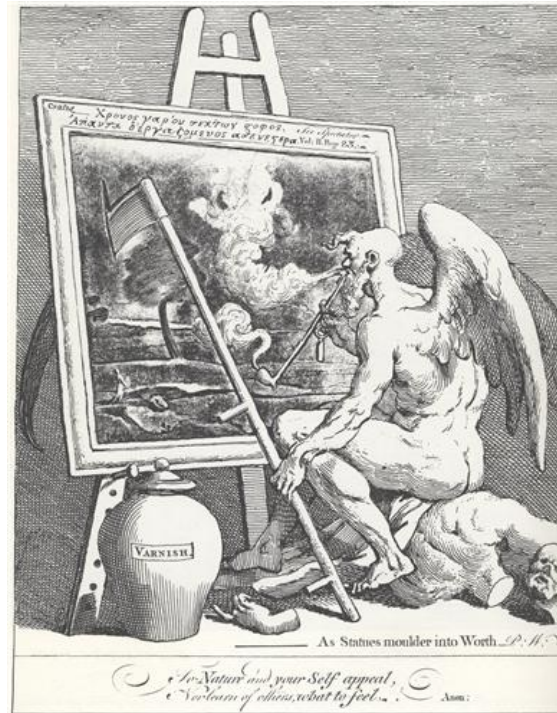
Fig. 1-1. *Time Smoking a Picture* (c1761) William Hogarth (1697–1764), etching and aquatint. Image 23.5 x 18.4 cm.

A printed musical score will inevitably decay over time, though with different consequences than for a painting, which is an extremely complex aggregate of support, layers of paint, varnish and glazes and is a unique object, the constituents of which decay and alter in different ways over time. Fig. 1-1 shows a satire upon the eighteenth century popular notion that the passing of time could improve a painting. 'Time' sits upon a statue he has utterly destroyed. A severed hand points directly to time's ever darkening varnish. 'Time' meanwhile is viewing a painting that he blackens and obscures with the voluminous smoke from his pipe. He has also carelessly ripped a great hole in the canvas with his scythe.[25] A printed musical score may be compared with an etching, of which numerous copies exist and can be reprinted in successive states over a long period of time (Rembrandt etchings, for example, were still being printed from the original [reworked] plates in the early twentieth century), so a score and a set of parts can be produced today for a work from the eighteenth century which, for practical purposes looks identical to those used in the composer's era. The symbols that express the musical work remain unaltered, however just about everything else has shifted since the work's creation, including the semantic significance of those symbols to modern musicians. Since the eighteenth century, instruments and the size and constitution of orchestras have changed; vocal technique and some voice types have altered or even become extinct (like the castrato); the role of the composer (who would generally lead the first three performances of an opera from the keyboard) has changed and in part been superseded by the conductor, who is frequently involved in a repertory that predates

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25   http://www.artoftheprint.com/artistpages/hogarth_william_timesmokinga
      picture.htm Accessed 20.1.15.

the current parameters and understanding of his function. Theatres, their architecture, technological resources, conventions, customs and the make-up of audiences have all changed. It has even been argued that people now listen differently to those in the eighteenth century.[26]

The perception of a musical score as an unchanging entity has resulted in a preoccupation with the possibility of a definitive musical score that brings the performer, scholar or scholar/performer face to face with the authentic intentions of the composer. This is the ultimate certainty sought today, a modern musical philosopher's stone. Hence the proliferation of critical editions in modern times, which seek to reproduce a text based upon, where possible, the composer's autograph, in consultation with other, secondary sources (such as early printed editions with which the composer was associated). These editions have become important curatorial tools in defining the parameters of operatic works for performance. By these means musicologists and editors have come to exert a curatorial role in opera performance from a position outside the opera house.

Editorial policies of critical editions, particularly in relation to operatic works have evolved over recent decades, when complete editions have been undertaken of composers who were previously considered unlikely candidates for such scholarly treatment, in particular Rossini,[27] Bellini,[28] Donizetti[29] and Verdi.[30] A recent (2008) edition of Rossini's *Barbiere*[31] includes much information about historical revivals and goes as far to publish (in an appendix) an aria for Bartolo, composed by Pietro Romani. Clearly this is not part of Rossini's opera, but its inclusion was justified by the frequency of this substitution in the performance history of the work. Thus the notion of 'work' as conceived by the composer becomes muddied by its subsequent performance history. Authenticity and tradition become entwined and the issue of defining a work within the parameters of a critical edition presents new challenges. In the area of the plastic arts, however it is impossible to have one's cake and eat it too: a (generally irrevocable) decision must be made (in relation to, say a painting) to determine what constitutes the work as envisaged by the artist and what subsequent accretions may be removed. In the presentation of a critical musical edition, however, it is possible to present a work in a number of guises – the version given at its première, alterations for significant revivals along with further changes that were made in the work's later performance history (including those not composer-driven). Those not composer-driven may nonetheless carry considerable significance, due to factors that can include a performance version that was published and widely disseminated, a version that gained currency over time in an important theatre or which reflects the performance practice of a noted singer who may have been widely associated with a particular role.

Operatic practice considered in terms of curatorial procedures throws the repertoire and its performance history into a new light, allowing current trends in performance practice to be contextualised and evaluated. While archaeological

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26   William Weber, 'Did People Listen in the 18th Century?' *Early music* (1997): 678–91.
27   http://www.fondazionerossini.com/rossini/editoria/edizione-critica-opera/%3Flang%3Den
         See also: http://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/series/WGR-O.html Accessed 3.12.14.
28   http://www.ricordi.it/cms/critical-editions/vincenzo-bellini Accessed 3.12.14.
29   http://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/series/WGD.html Accessed 3.12.14
30   http://hum.uchicago.edu/orgs/ciao/Introductory/Vavail.html Accessed 13.08.15
31   Gioacchino Rossini et al., *Il Barbiere Di Siviglia: Almaviva, O Sia, L'inutile Precauzione: Commedia in Due Atti, vol. Critical Commentary* (Kassel; New York: Bärenreiter, 2008).

evidence of proto-museum curating can be traced to at least 500BC,[32] for the purposes of this study discussion of curatorial practices begin in the late sixteenth century, a period that directly led to the rise of the modern museum, during which the term 'curator' became current.[33] This period encompasses eclectic collections known as *Wunderkammer, Kunstkammer* or cabinets of curiosities. Such cabinets were rooms, significant during the Renaissance:

> *when even the privileged were still obliged to camp out in communal halls. Cabinets were places to be alone ... they were used to store all sorts of precious curiosities: private possessions, private letters and private thoughts. The palaces of Vienna, Munich, Dresden and most famously Prague all contained such cabinets.[34]*

They included artworks and religious artefacts along with valuable jewels, works crafted in precious metals and exotic objects from far-off lands. They also contained natural curiosities and scientific instruments. In earlier accounts, *Wunderkammern* were largely regarded as eccentric, often haphazard collections of curiosities and rarities, bearing little resemblance to the practices of the modern museum. For example, Tristan Weddigen refers to the *Wunderkammern* as 'confused assemblages of oddities and rarities', which gave way 'to the museums of the eighteenth century,'[35] during which time scientific/natural-history collections and collections of art works became codified as distinct entities.[36] More recent scholarship has revealed the culture of the *Wunderkammer* to be in many instances less of a random compendium of curiosities, rather an ingeniously organised tool for studying and engaging with the world from a scientific and aesthetic point of view: a direct forerunner and structural model for the modern museum. Impey and MacGregor have revealed that while some Renaissance cabinets may have been haphazard and cursory collections of unusual objects, many were highly organised, created (and curated) with discernment and purpose; laboratories of learning and advancement as described previously.[37] According to Hollis:

> *the Wunderkammer of the late Renaissance [was] the crucible of the scientific revolution. The instruments they contained were collected to measure the heavens; the objects of artifice to try the human mind and hand; and the wonders of nature to archive the earth. The curators and scholars who were collected in these rooms used the things they contained to revolutionise our understanding of the world and their findings led directly to the discoveries of Galileo and Newton.[38]*

Thus the significance of the *Wunderkammer* extended far beyond a collection of exotic or valuable objects or an expression of the private interests and obsessions of its owner. Many *Wunderkammern* were a means of cultivating knowledge, ideas

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32   http://io9.com/5805358/the-story-behind-the-worlds-oldest-museum-built-by-a-babylonian-princess-2500-years-ago. Accessed 5.4.15.

33   For example Robert Hooke (1635–1703), who in 1663 was named 'Curator of Experiments' for the Royal Society, London.

34   Edward Hollis, *The Memory Palace: A Book of Lost Interiors* (London: Portobello Books, 2013), 119.

35   Tristan Weddigen, 'The Picture Galleries of Dresden, Düsseldorf and Kassel: Princely Collections in Eighteenth-Century Germany', in *The First Modern Museums of Art*, ed. Carole Paul (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2012), 145.

36   Ibid.

37   O. R. Impey and Arthur MacGregor, *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Oxford Oxfordshire, New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University, 1985).

38   Hollis, *The Memory Palace: A Book of Lost Interiors*, 119.

and the workings of the imagination – they also represented science, natural phenomena and the arts, forming a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, thus creating a parallel with modern definitions of curating.

> *The Kunstkammer was regarded as a microcosm or theater of the world and a memory theater. The Kunstkammer conveyed symbolically the patron's control of the world through its indoor, microscopic reproduction.*[39]

The origins of such cabinets can be discerned in the reliquaries of the medieval period. These generally contained items associated with Christ, his disciples and apostles, later including skeletons and objects from the saints. Objects enclosed in these reliquaries 'became increasingly bizarre – a vial of Virgin's milk or Moses' rod'.[40] Such reliquaries were held to possess, through their sanctity, divine powers of healing. This was perpetuated in the *Wunderkammer* in the form of a preoccupation with alchemy, magic and the occult. Hollis writes that the *Wunderkammern* were 'the germ of … the museum', that 'all the paraphernalia of modern museology: the catalogue, the curator, the gallery and, of course, the cabinet, find their origin in the *Wunderkammer*.'[41]

While the scene of Baba the Turk described at the outset may seem fanciful, it in no way exceeds the historical case of Habsburg Emperor Rudolf II, whose *Kunstkammer* was perhaps the most exotic of all. At different times Rudolf's collection contained at least five lions (who roamed the castle moat), with the addition of two leopards, brought from Venice in 1596, a camel that arrived in 1591, parakeets from Spain, a cassowary, along with a dodo.[42] The collection was catalogued in 1607, at a time when Rudolf's supremacy as ruler of the Holy Roman Empire was under threat. Eventually challenged and defeated by his brother Matthias, he locked himself in his cabinet among his fantastical and unworldly collection. The death of a lion in the castle moat in Prague, in January 1612 was the harbinger of his own death, three days later.[43] In 1782, an auction was held at Prague Castle, where three hundred lots contained the remains of Rudolph's collection went under the hammer. 'No-one bid for the stuffed dodo and it was thrown into the castle moat.'[44]

Early public collections

Whereas in the earlier eighteenth century, visitors could only gain access to private and royal art collections with letters of introduction, gradually collections began to open their doors to a wider public and a process of evolution took place whereby princely collections began to manifest 'the characteristics of public museums.'[45] Carole Paul notes the richness of art collections available in Rome during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which caused that city to become 'the most popular tourist destination of the time in Europe'.[46] In turn this 'forecast the

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39   Francesca Fiorani, reviewing Bredecamp (1995) in *Renaissance Quarterly* 51(1) (Spring 1998:268–70). 268.

40   Patrick Mauriès, *Cabinets of Curiosities* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2002), 7.

41   Hollis, *The Memory Palace: A Book of Lost Interiors*, 120.

42   Ibid 154–5.

43   Ibid 154.

44   Ibid 126.

45   Paul, The First Modern Museums of Art: The Birth of an Institution in 18th- and Early-19th-Century Europe, viii.

46   Ibid 1.

symbiotic relationship between tourism and museums that would follow'[47] – a reference to the phenomenon of the 'Grand Tour'. The 'international set of standards for the collecting and display of art that was reflected in the earliest museums'[48] was a result of this 'growing interest among the European elite in viewing, studying and discussing works of art.'[49] An important example of an early collection in Northern Europe made available to the public was that of Prince Johann Wilhelm II von Pfalz in Düsseldorf, who commissioned the construction of a gallery for his collection of paintings and sculpture (built between 1709 and 1714).[50] An early view of the hanging of the collection is preserved in an engraving (Fig 1-2.) showing a configuration typical of the times, far from methods of display that are accepted today.
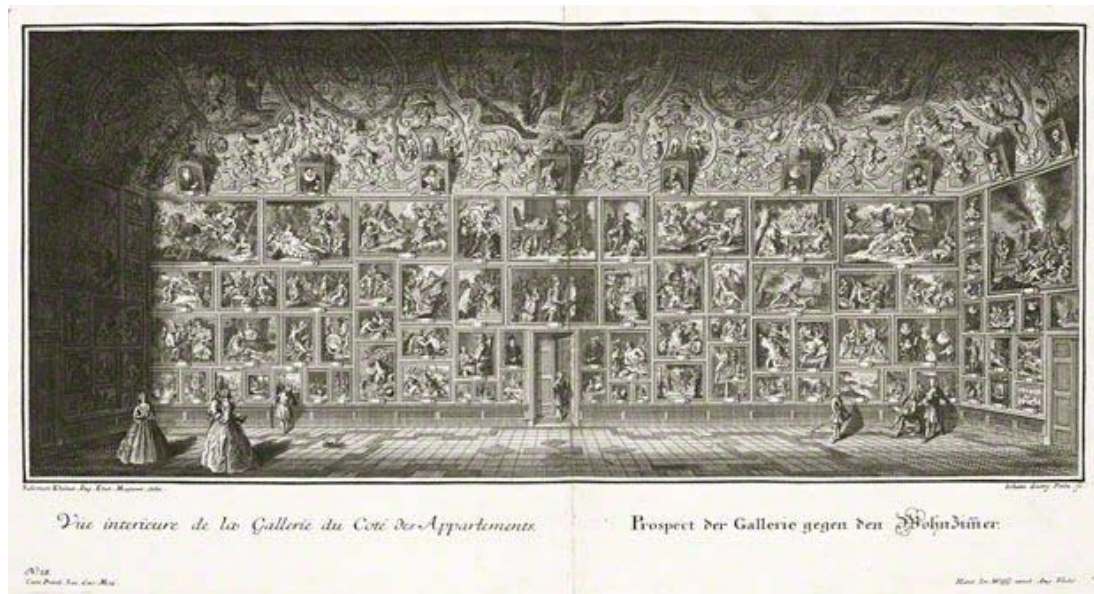
Fig 1-2. *View of a Room at Pommersfelden Palace*. Johann Georg Pintz, printmaker; Salomon Kleiner, draftsman, engraving, 1728. In *Representation au naturel des chateaux*. (Augsburg, 1728), pl. 18.

In 1756, Lambert Krahe was appointed director of the gallery, which was opened to the public. An engraving from 1778 (Fig. 1-3) shows the method of display that he developed.

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47   Ibid.
48   Ibid ix.
49   Ibid xi.
50   Paul, *The First Modern Museums of Art: The Birth of an Institution in 18th- and Early-19th-Century Europe*, 152.
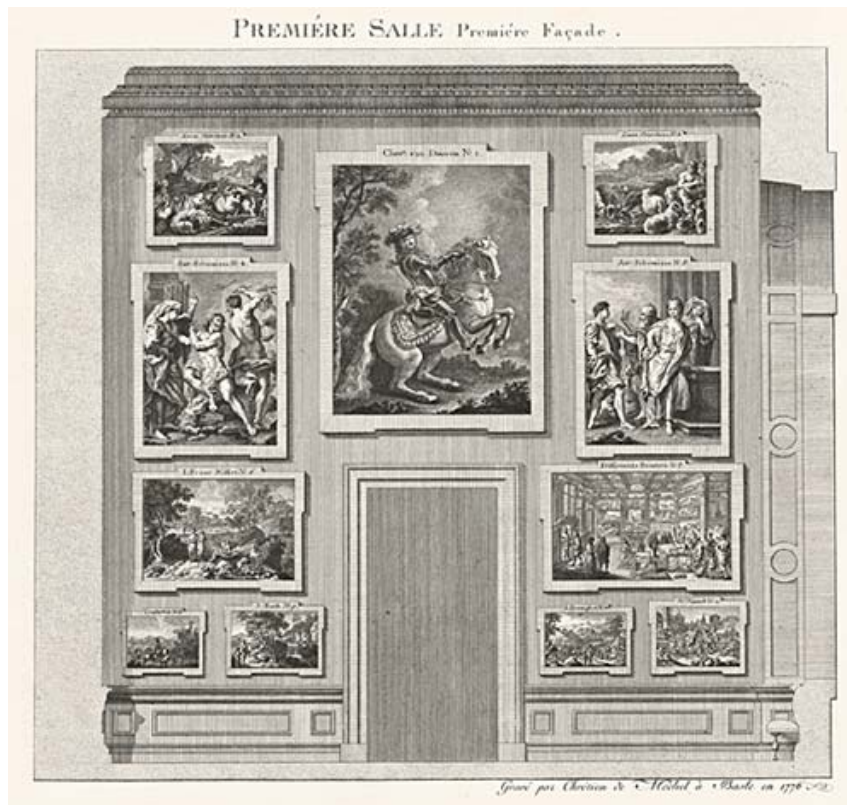
Fig. 1-3. First Room, First Façade of the Düsseldorf Gallery. Nicolas de Pigage and Christian von Mechel, etching. In La galerie électorale du Dusseldorff; ou, Catalogue raisonné et figuré de ses tableaux (Basel, 1778), pl. 1.

The innovations brought by Krahe extended beyond an enhanced aesthetic arrangement of pictures, to hanging paintings in schools, with Italian painting of the *Cinquecento* and *Seicento* forming the main focus of the collection.[51] In the catalogue made by de Pigage (from which Fig. 1-3. is reproduced) particular rooms were named after particular schools and artists: 'the Flemish Room, Gerrit Dou Room … Italian Room, Van der Werf Room and Rubens Room.'[52] Due to the innovations of Krahe, the Düsseldorf gallery became a model for the arrangement of artworks, which influenced, for example the Royal Gallery in Dresden (c1745) and the Belvedere Palace (1777–81)[53] in Vienna. In Dresden, (whose design encompassed an Exterior and an Interior Gallery), an initial hanging in 1747 of the Interior Gallery was carried out by Pietro Maria Guarienti (1678–1753) who personified the typical curator of his time, being 'a painter, restorer, dealer and writer all in one.'[54] Following the Düsseldorf model, 'an attempt was made to separate national schools and to devote the Interior Gallery exclusively to the Italian school as the aesthetic heart of the collection.'[55] The hanging of the collection was far from ideal, an engraving from 1830 showing the cavernous (30 feet high and

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51   Ibid 156.

52   Ibid 157.

53   These dates outline the period where Christian von Mechel hung the gallery in an innovative arrangement. See Michael Yonan, 'Kunsthistorisches Museum/Belvedere, Vienna: Dynasticism and the Function of Art', Paul, *The First Modern Museums of Art: The Birth of an Institution in 18th- and Early-19th-Century Europe*, 173–8.

54   Paul, *The First Modern Museums of Art: The Birth of an Institution in 18th- and Early-19th-Century Europe*, 148.

55   Ibid 149.

121 feet long) Interior Gallery walls covered in paintings, some 'hung so high that visitors could study them only with the aid of opera glasses.'[56]

Fig 1-4. *View of part of the Royal Gallery in Dresden (the Interior or Italian Gallery) as it appeared in 1830*. Anonymous, engraving. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstich-Kabinett.

The viewing conditions and arrangement of the Dresden galleries brought about continued criticism, which caused the local Lord Chamberlain in 1771 to suggest 'that the paintings be hung in the order of the artist's birthdates, so as to present a 'chronological history of painting in paintings themselves.'[57]

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56   Ibid 150. Opera glasses can be dated from 1738. Source: Sadie, *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera* (London: Macmillan, 1992), III, 696–7.
57   Ibid 151.
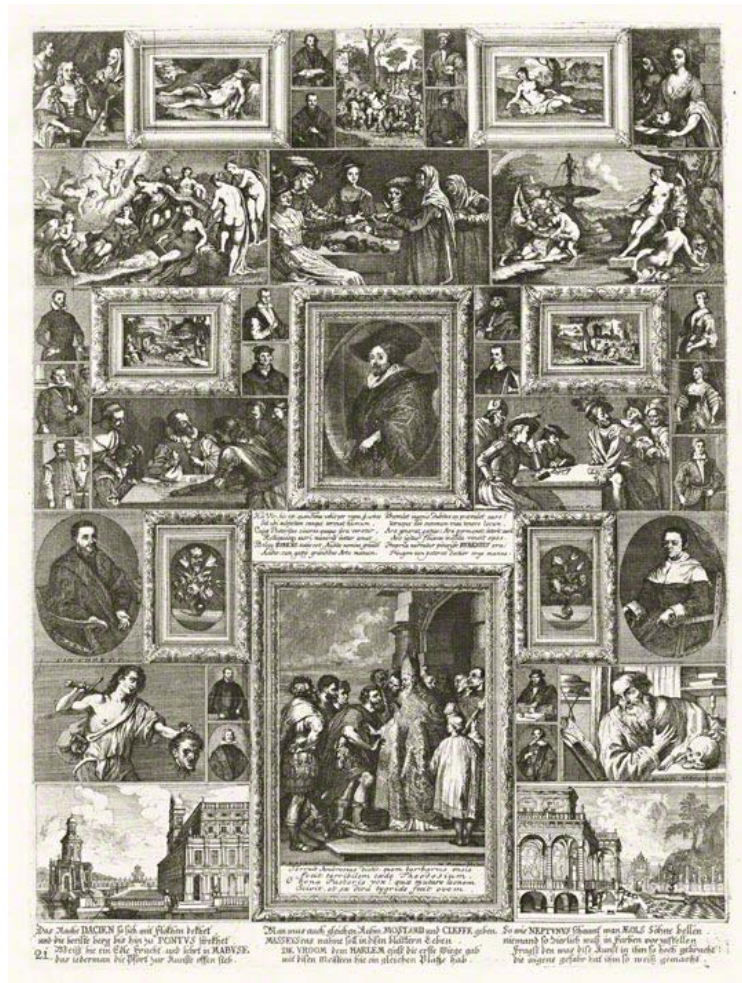
Fig 1-5. Wall of Paintings from the Imperial Collection in Vienna, arranged in the style prevalent before the Düsseldorf Gallery style (Fig. 1–3). Frans van Stampart and Anton Joseph von Prenner, etching. In Prodromus (Vienna, 1735), pl. 21.

In Vienna, significant developments were brought about by Christian von Mechel (1737–1817), whose skills as a curator had been developed during a career as an art dealer, a printmaker and a marketer and distributer of luxury goods.[58] Mechel developed an ingenious system of organisation for the Belvedere Palace Picture Gallery that was inspired by the architecture of the building, creating a harmony between the works, their arrangement and the place where they were housed.

The collection was divided into three basic divisions: Italian, Netherlandish and German. In displaying the Italian works, Mechel devised a scheme of hanging:

> *paintings by a single artist together, so that works from different moments in an artist's career could be compared instantaneously. Viewers could not just judge a painting against others by contemporaries or from different schools; they could also form a picture of an artist's development over time.*[59]

In the German galleries, paintings were arranged according to the periods of reign of successive Habsburg monarchs and Mechel further dedicated two rooms to

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58   Michael Yonan, 'Kunsthistorisches Museum/Belvedere, Vienna: Dynasticism and the Function of Art', Paul, *The First Modern Museums of Art: The Birth of an Institution in 18th- and Early-19th-Century Europe*, 173.

59   Ibid 176.

the work of living German artists. Here Mechel's curatorial practices were influenced by political imperatives, the collection being an outcome of Empress Maria Theresa's[60] merging of the many Habsburg collections that were scattered among residences throughout Europe, in order to create a monument to Habsburg taste and discernment.[61] Picture frames were standardised as an aesthetic measure and to prevent distraction from the paintings themselves. Mechel also wrote a catalogue that could be used in conjunction with a numbering system for each painting that allowed 'the museum's visitors not only to judge paintings by their intrinsic qualities but also to understand, through the systematic ordering of the paintings, the historical development of art.'[62] Mechel regarded the Belvedere as a '*Lehrmittelsammlung*', a collection with a strong educative basis, along with a:

> '*sichtbare Geschichte der Kunst' (a visible history of art), rather than a display of princely power or else a means to primarily engage with the beauty and aesthetic qualities of the works on display. It has been claimed that the gallery was 'a near perfect parallel to the palace's interior arrangement – a Gesamtkunstwerk.*[63]

It has also been stated that the Belvedere as configured by Mechel was the ''first modern museum,' one in which practices later taken as museological standards were first employed.'[64]

Mechel's vision did not go uncriticised and its antithesis was created in 1799, when the director of the *Hofgartengalerie* in Munich, Johann Christian von Mannlich (1741–1822) radically rehung his gallery in order to 'show the aesthetic progress of art, not the historical schools'.[65] In a gesture reminiscent of a Rossinian finale, Mannlich 'uses the technique of a qualitative crescendo all the way to the last, climactic hall.'[66] The issue of whether a museum should perform a primarily didactic function or whether it should be a place where viewers can connect emotionally with the finest works of art was to become an ongoing conundrum, raising questions that are still being debated.

The *Altes Museum* in Berlin, one of the most significant museums to be built during the nineteenth century (completed in 1830) is a freestanding, purpose-built structure, designed by architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781–1841). The building was created to be accessible to artists along with the general public, with the philosophy that the works displayed could be studied by artists and scholars and enjoyed by the general public for whom the collections could 'first delight, then instruct.'[67] The *Altes Museum* was originally planned to house all the diverse collections of the Berlin *Kunstkammer*, including natural history collections, but in the event housed only paintings and sculpture. The originator of the project, Aloys

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60   Ibid 1717–80.
61   Paul, *The First Modern Museums of Art: The Birth of an Institution in 18th- and Early-19th-Century Europe* , 171.
62   Ibid 177.
63   Alfons Lhotsky (1903–68), Ibid 178.
64   Ibid.
65   Adrian von Buttlar and Bénédict Savoy, 'Glypothek and Alte Pinakothek, Munich: Museums as Public Monuments', Paul, *The First Modern Museums of Art: The Birth of an Institution in 18th- and Early-19th-Century Europe*, 320.
66   Ibid.
67   Thomas W. Gaehtgens, 'Altes Museum, Berlin: Building Prussia's First Modern Museum', Paul, *The First Modern Museums of Art: The Birth of an Institution in 18th- and Early-19th-Century Europe*, 288.

Hirt[68] made significant and groundbreaking demands for enlightened curatorial staff and practices.

> *In his view, the proposed art museum would have to be run by suitably qualified individuals who had experience with scholarly research. The training enjoyed by visual artists was not enough, because running an art museum 'requires much observation, much comparison and extensive, persistent research, which even the most determined artist may not have the opportunity nor the time to conduct. Expert knowledge of paintings is a discipline in its own right, just like art itself.[69]*

As a result of Hirt's recommendations a committee was formed in 1829 to organise the future of the contents of the museum. Under the leadership of Wilhelm von Humboldt (1781–1841), members included the architect, Schinkel; art historian Gustav Friedrich Waagen; a sculptor, two painters and a restorer. Waagen was in charge of writing the catalogue and organising the hanging of the pictures. The committee found themselves in agreement over the innovative stance that the 'purpose of the museum was to serve the general public. This was to take precedence over its role as an institution for artists and art lovers.'[70] The committee did find themselves in disagreement over the arrangement of works, along with the intended overall effect and a (by now familiar) conflict ensued. Schinkel and Waagen were of the opinion that 'the arrangement of the works of art should not only awaken the viewer's aesthetic perception but also illuminate historical context.'[71] Humboldt was of the opinion that the museum should be 'a centre for aesthetic edification … he wanted to turn the spotlight on those works of art that would have the most powerful emotional effect on the visitor.'[72] In the event, the committee found a way to reach agreement by compromise and a detailed scholarly catalogue by Waagen paved the way for the Museum to be regarded as a scholarly institution. The paintings were arranged according to school, divided into only two categories, Northern European and Italian.[73]

The architect of the *Altes Museum* expressed a view of the arts that summed up the spiritual aims of the enterprise:

> *The fine arts affect a person's morals … Without the fine arts, in every respect of his life he will never be anything but a lowly being and will never partake of a higher, happier existence.[74]*

Until the twentieth century, the development of the art museum can be described as evolutionary – a gradual dissemination of princely and aristocratic collections, which became available to artists, art lovers and the general public via the development of public museums. Regional variations can be seen in the selection of works (and schools of works) along with the associated methods of display and organisation. The development of the museum is inextricably entwined with the practice of curating, which has, until recently been perceived as a behind-the-scenes, often invisible activity whose parameters remain unclear to the public. Documentation of significant curators and the development of curatorial practice

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68   1759–1837, Professor of Fine Art at the Academy of Art in Berlin.
69   Paul, *The First Modern Museums of Art: The Birth of an Institution in 18th- and Early-19th-Century Europe*, 288.
70   Ibid 297.
71   Ibid.
72   Ibid 297–8.
73   Ibid 298.
74   Ibid 300.

has been scant, a circumstance which is often commented on by the very public curator, Hans Ulrich Obrist and his extensive use of the interview in his own practice is designed partly as a corrective to this lacuna.[75] A full study of early curators of art museums and the development of curatorial practices and styles remains to be written.

The transformation of the art museum

By the beginning of the twentieth century, many artists began to scorn this established museum culture as an outmoded institution, hence the position adopted by groups such as the Dadaists, Surrealists and Constructivists to 'subvert the conventional form of art exhibitions.'[76] Artists became aware of the division that had developed between art and life, for which they blamed the bourgeois museum. Artists of the early avant-garde began to relinquish 'a measure of their authorial control' and inspire spectators 'to move from passive recipients of art objects to more active participants engaging directly with art.'[77]
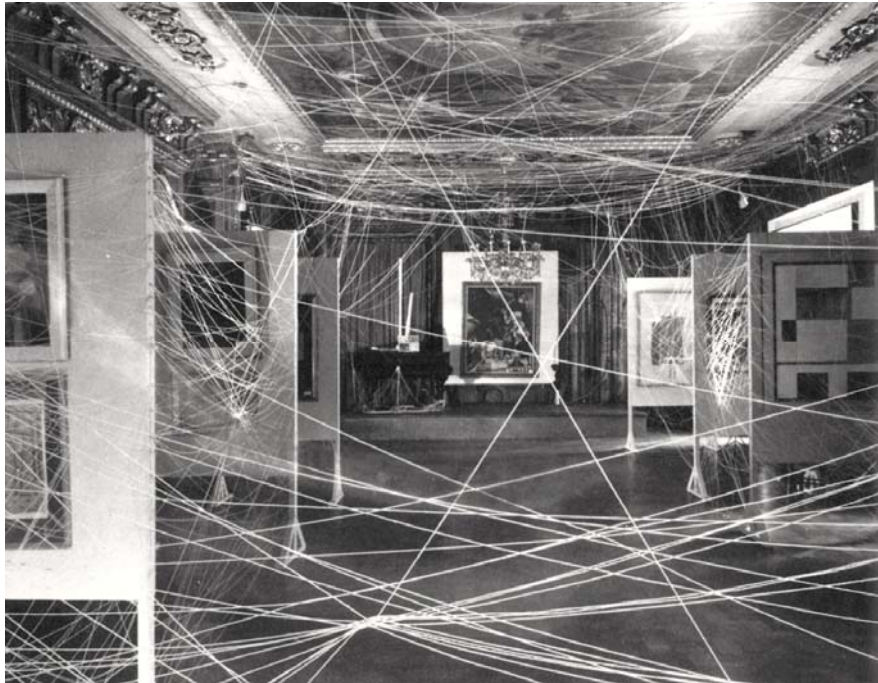
Fig. 1-6. *Mile of String* Marcel Duchamp, 'First Papers of Surrealism', 1942, Whitelaw Reid Mansion, New York.

Lissitzky's *Kabinett der Abstrakten* (1927–28, Landesmuseum, Hannover) and Duchamp's *Mile of String* (1942, 'First Papers of Surrealism', Fig.1-6) are examples of works 'where the corporeality of the spectator' became an element of the exhibition.

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75   Lamm, *Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Curating*: *but Were Afraid to Ask*, 129. 'What is interesting is that there is, I think, still missing literature and a certain amnesia of curatorial history.'

76   O'Neill, *Culture of Curating*, 10.

77   Ibid.

Lissitzky's stated purpose with his work was to challenge the traditionally passive experience of art at a time when modernist urban design was being used to provoke greater levels of separation between people.[78]

Leading figures in developing new relationships between artist, exhibition and viewer include: Frederick Kiesler (for example, his 'Exhibition of New Theater Technique', Kunsthaus, Vienna, 1924); Alexander Dorner (in his work as director of the Landesmuseum, Hanover during the 1920s); Willem Sandberg (director of the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 1945–62); Lawrence Alloway (assistant director, Institute of Contemporary Arts, London, 1955); Pontus Hultén (founding director of Moderna Museet, Stockholm (1950s) and curator of 1968 exhibition 'She-A Cathedral.').[79] New forms of instillation art that may be regarded as signposts leading to new concepts in curating during the 1960s include: Lucio Fontana *Ambiente Nero* (1949); Richard Hamilton *an Exhibit* (1957); Yves Klein *Le Vide* (1958); Allan Kaprow's happenings and environments (1959–late 1960s); Hélio Oiticica's *Grande núcleo* (1960-66) and Claes Oldenburg's *The Store* (1962–62).[80] These artists created works that questioned or delivered a critique of art institutions that, in turn 'began to call into question the curatorial act and the ways in which it was affecting the boundaries of art's production, responsibility for its authorship and its mediation.'[81]

The 1960s saw a shifting of the roles of artist, curator and critic, resulting in a process of 'demystification' of these roles and how they had been traditionally acted out in an art institution. Gallerist Seth Siegelaub, a significant protagonist in the process has said of this time:

we thought that we could demystify the role of the museum, the role of the collector and the production of the artwork; for example, how the size of a gallery affects the production of art, etc. In that sense we tried to demystify the hidden structures of the art world.[82]

Paul O'Neill adds that this demystification:

succeeded in demonstrating that there were many actors and actions at play in the construction of art and its exhibition value. The sudden visibility of the curatorial hand made differentiation between the author of the work and the independent curator increasingly complicated.[83]

The traditional role of the curator as 'a caretaker of collections – a behind-the-scenes organizer and arbiter of taste'[84] had given way to that of:

an independently motivated practitioner with a more centralised position within the contemporary art world and its parallel commentaries. The period under discussion [late 1960s onwards] also registers as a time when art and its primary experience became recentered around the temporality of the event of the exhibition rather than the artworks on display.[85]

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78   Ibid 11.
79   Ibid 13.
80   Ibid.
81   Ibid 14.
82   Ibid 19.
83   Ibid.
84   Ibid 1.
85   Ibid 1–2.

The 1990s were defined by Michael Brenson as the 'curator's moment' and he listed expectations of modern curators:

> [they] must be at once aestheticians, diplomats, economists, critics, historians, politicians, audience developers and promoters. They must be able to communicate not only with artists but also with community leaders, business executives and heads of state ... The new curator understands and is able to articulate, the ability of art to touch and mobilise people and encourage debates about spirituality, creativity, identity and the nation.[86]

Obrist has made a similar claim, stating that:

> how curators are involved in the diversity of the art world is really important. There are curators, artists, critics, gallerists and collectors, all of whom are forces. The art world, in the best case, is a polyphony of these different voices.[87]

Obrist refers to artworks as 'scores', noting that 'the instruction [that is, the score], not the object is the work.'[88] He sees 'art history as a history of the object' and asks 'what could be the scores, the instructions?' He notes that a number of his projects 'are not crated or put in boxes; they consist of ideas. So besides the physical exhibitions that I do, I have this parallel reality: my dematerialised exhibitions.'[89] Such concepts are symptomatic of a period where the very meaning of the word 'art' is in flux, as described by artist Robert Barry in 1969: 'The *word* 'art' is becoming less of a noun and more of a verb. ... thinking not so much about the objects themselves as what possibilities are inherent in them and what the ideas are in them.'[90] Alex Farquharson has noted that 'the recent appearance of the verb 'to curate', where once there was just a noun, indicates the growth and vitality of the discussion.'[91] He further states that 'new words, after all, especially ones as grammatically bastardised as the verb 'to curate' (worse still the adjective 'curatorial') emerge from a linguistic community's persistent need to identify a point of discussion.'[92]

Operatic parallel

The post-war period in the visual arts saw a questioning and redefining of most elements of artistic production, curation and exhibition processes. In particular, the shifting of roles, influence and power between the protagonists of the art world created a new landscape that continues to be negotiated in the current century. The very definition of what comprises an 'artwork' has been widely questioned and an inclusive attitude towards other disciplines and areas of learning has opened up the notion of a sense of inclusiveness in artworks that evokes the Wagnerian *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Indeed, Obrist has co-curated an operatic project,[93] '*Il Tempo del*

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86   Michael Brenson, 'The Curator's Moment: Trends in the Field of International Contemporary Art Exhibitions', *Art Journal* 57, 4 (Winter 1998), 16.

87   Paul, *The First Modern Museums of Art: The Birth of an Institution in 18th- and Early-19th-Century Europe*, 113.

88   Ibid 49.

89   Quotes in this paragraph taken from Ibid 25.

90   O'Neill, *Culture of Curating*, 18.

91   Judith Rugg and Michele Sedgwick, *Issues in Curating Contemporary Art and Performance* (Bristol: Intellect Books, 2007), 15.

92   Ibid.

93   With Philippe Parreno.

Postino', which has been performed in a number of opera houses.[94] Modern curatorial trends reference not just the *Gesamtkunstwerk,* but also the *Wunderkammer.* Reviews cited (see note 94) of Obrist's operatic foray identify elements at least as bizarre and arcane as those found in the more exotic *Wunderkammern* of earlier times. The opera house has responded to the lead from art curation with a reshuffle of the respective roles of the traditional power brokers of opera, with the stage director emerging as the dominant force in the post-war period. In addition, the traditional balance between librettist and composer has shifted completely from the eighteenth century dominance of the librettist to a situation where that voice is frequently marginalised and at times almost lost. Ironically the libretto is the germinating seed of the operatic work, engendering and shaping the composer's response in music. In Mozart's day, *La clemenza di Tito,* for example was recognised primarily as a text by Metastasio, which had been set by a number of composers, Mozart included. As will be seen, this work retains a place in the Mozart canon due to the quality of the music, as well its chronological position in his *oeuvre,* but much of the criticism of Mozart's opera has been erroneously laid at Metastasio's door, ignoring the fact that what Mozart set was a reworking of Metastasio's text penned by Mazzolà.[95] The influence that Lorenzo da Ponte exercised over Mozart in the creation of their operatic trilogy is gradually being re-assessed and, while still falling short of the central position that da Ponte claims in his (sometimes fanciful) memoirs,[96] it has come to be regarded as a more equal collaboration and partnership of ideas than nineteenth century scholarship has indicated. From a central position, the dominance of the librettist became gradually precarious, as the inevitable importation of opera to theatres and cities subsequent to a première often meant the creation of a translation, opening the way to further adaptation, including considerable changes to the plot, the characters and even the most fundamental aspects of the librettist's conception. It can be seen that due to the dissemination and socialisation of operas, along with the development of the operatic canon, the librettist has gradually become the silent partner in modern operatic practice.

In mid-nineteenth century Italy, (the period of the première of Verdi's *La Traviata*), the role of the stage director was generally taken by the librettist (as was the case with Piave[97] at La Fenice). The director was not expected to 'create' a production in the modern sense, rather 'his task was to ensure that everything functioned technically and that the libretto's stage directions were respected.'[98]

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94   Paul, *The First Modern Museums of Art: The Birth of an Institution in 18th- and Early-19th-Century Europe*, 49. Here Obrist refers to what is elsewhere described as a 'group show' or an 'exhibition-cum-performance'as an 'opera'– the work is usually given in opera house environments. A review of the Manchester Festival performance can be found at: http://www.theguardian.com/music/2007/jul/15/ manchesterfestival2007.manchesterfestival Accessed 14.11.14. The work has an official website http://iltempodelpostino.com/ where it can be viewed in its three hour entirety.

95   Caterino Mazzolà 1745–1806, who adapted the original Tito libretto from *Metastasio*, apparently allowing Mozart 'greater flexibility in structuring the arias. http://www.musicalcriticism.com/opera/met-clemenza-1212.shtml Accessed 21.6.15.

96   Lorenzo Da Ponte, Elisabeth Abbott and Arthur Livingston, *Memoirs of Lorenzo Da Ponte* (Philadelphia, London,: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1929).

97   Francesco Maria Piave (1810 –76), Italian opera librettist, including of *La Traviata*.

98   Material in this paragraph adapted from: Giuseppe Verdi et al., *La Traviata: Melodramma in Tre Atti* (*Melodramma in Three Acts)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Milano: Ricordi, 1997, 1996), xxxv.

Several decades later it was customary for Puccini's publisher, Casa Ricordi to send production books along with orchestral material to theatres mounting his operas. Set designs, samples of costume material and, in the case of *Madama Butterfly*, even the Japanese gongs and bird whistles were all dispatched. Not just the sung text, but also the stage directions were to be literally adhered to, just as Wagner preserved his own stage directions in his productions at Bayreuth.
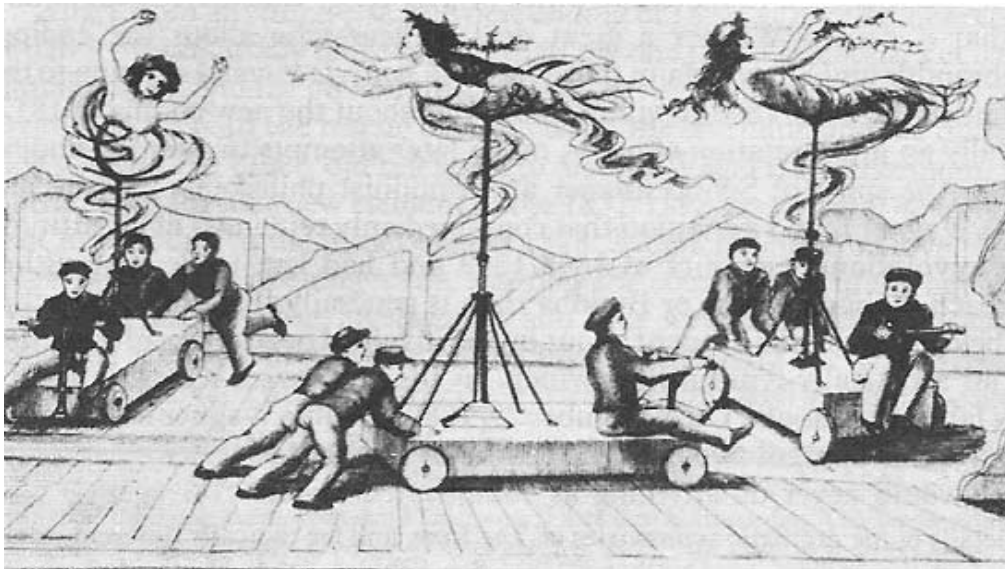
Fig. 1-7. Das Rheingold *at the Festspielhaus*, Bayreuth, 1876. Engraving showing stage machinery for the *Rheintöchter*.

Fig. 1-8. The Rheintöchter *at the Bayreuth Festival.* Joseph Albert, photograph, 1876. (L–R) Minna Lammert, Lilli Lehmann and Maria Lehmann.

The works of Wagner and the complex aesthetic and political problems that surrounded them in the post-war period engendered a radical re-thinking of the relationship between stage direction and the libretto, a process that was led by Wieland Wagner.[99] He was uniquely placed to initiate this shift, being the grandson of the composer, a co-director of the Bayreuth Festival[100] as well as an opera director. At the *Komische Oper* in East Berlin in the post-war period, Walter Felsenstein[101] became a pre-eminent director as well as founding an important school that produced a number of followers including Harry Kupfer and Götz Friedrich, who were associated with the practice of *Regietheater*. *Regietheater* still boasts a number of exponents, among whom Patrice Chéreau, Peter Sellars, David and Christopher Alden and David Pountney may be numbered. The work of these directors shares a number of general characteristics, all central to *Regietheater*: altering the location and era in which a work is deemed (by the librettist) to take place – in some cases eras, locales and styles are intermixed; making modifications to the plot and in some cases making alterations to the libretto; abstraction in the design of sets (on occasion collaborating with avant-garde artists) and the employment of new technologies; the introduction of layers of subtext and contemporary references – for example setting a work in a totalitarian regime or, as in the case of Chéreau's 1976 Ring Cycle at the Bayreuth Festival, choosing to set the work in the nineteenth century and graft upon it an interpretation developed by George Bernard Shaw,[102] creating a commentary on the exploitation by capitalists of the working classes. Such processes are frequently used to generate modern relevance and meaning, as well as maintaining the stage-worthiness of works that may be deemed in need of some help to maintain their place in the repertoire. As will be shown, Mozart's *Entführung*[103] survives in the operatic repertoire largely due to the exceptional quality of the music. The libretto has long been perceived as structurally weak and a hindrance to performance. *Entführung* presents major challenges for a director to bring to the modern stage and a recent production will be discussed that ignores many aspects of the original libretto, superimposing upon the opera a radical reconfiguration. This production is essentially an apology for the limitations of the original libretto. The canonic status of Mozart's music creates an imperative to somehow preserve the work, retain its performance viability and ensure its position in the repertoire. This is an example of what Harald Szeeman describes in art curation as ''the great balancing act' between illustrating the curatorial concept and 'preserving the autonomy of the artworks.'[104] The intervention routinely undertaken in staging *Entführung,* in effect marginalising the work of the librettist, equates with what Beatrice von Bismark, in reference to art curation calls 'the moment of conjecture in which there was a 'change of heroes or roles in the art world from the personality of the artist to that of the curator.'[105]

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99   1917–66, the composer's grandson.
100   With his brother, Wolfgang.
101   Walter Felsenstein (1901–75). Austrian theatre and opera director.
102   Bernard Shaw, *The Perfect Wagnerite: A Commentary on the Niblung's Ring* (N.Y.: Dover, 1966).
103   *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, henceforth referred to as '*Entführung*'.
104   O'Neill, *Culture of Curating*, 22.
105   Ibid.

The growing influence of the opera director can be viewed in relation to that of the once invisible curator. Just as modern curators have acquired a status as the 'superstars' of the art world, it is today normal to speak of 'Chéreau's Ring Cycle'; the 'Sellars *Così*'; David Alden's *Lulu* etc. Libretti have become subject to a process of considering 'what possibilities are in them and what the ideas are in them.'[106] While perhaps not enjoying quite the status of the modern curator, the opera director is typically an articulate person, with formidable ideas and concepts, persuasive and able to participate in public discussion and debate. Printed programs often contain a director's commentary and justification for his approach. Between handbills, printed programs and web presences, much can be deduced about the spheres of influence in any opera production. Some may admit or advertise the supremacy of the singer, others may give pre-eminence to the conductor (or, today, more likely the director) and such material will be 'branded' according to the visual language of that production. New perspectives in the dramaturgy and visual elements of productions are the means by which the operatic repertoire is adapted to retain a semblance of the new, the cutting-edge, the progressive, of being in the vanguard. As a result, a significant division between the theory and practice of what is seen and typically heard in an operatic production today has resulted.

The libretto has come to be regarded as a negotiable idea (rather than a fixed object), subject to alteration, enrichment, modification and reinterpretation by directorial intervention. In the case of the music, a growing preoccupation with matters of authenticity can be discerned in the presentation of operatic works over the past decades, with increased concern for the choice of text (musical score) combining with a focus upon historical performance practice. Increasingly the visual aspects of opera seek to engage with a contemporary aesthetic, particularly the embracing of new technologies, while the sound world seeks to conjure authenticity through a discourse with the past, frequently involving a complex array of curatorial posturing.

Recognition of the centrality of curation as a tool in engaging with works of all types from the past is a recent phenomenon, increased awareness having been generated by the rise of the art curator in the later part of the twentieth century. Works from the past have been constantly subject to curatorial processes along their journey from creation to the repository of the museum. The desire and necessity to curate is a fundamental aspect of civilisation and the curatorial processes formulated during the rise of the modern art and science museum can be seen to have influenced aspects of what have been more recently recognised as the curatorial practices of the emerging operatic museum during the nineteenth century. The functioning of the opera house is equally dependant upon curators and curatorial practices, although they are at times masked by the commercial needs and concerns of operatic practice. The operatic museum shares with the art museum a concern for contextualising, preserving and presenting works from the past, providing an ongoing dialogue about how successive generations view the past and its role in defining the present. Matters of conservation, preservation and authenticity are common to both institutions. Each institution assembles and maintains collections (repertoires) with typically only a tiny proportion of the collection being available for public access at any given time. After a considerable period of growth and stability, the art and the operatic museum each underwent a crisis during the early

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106   Robert Barry (1969), ibid 18.

twentieth century, with the operatic museum failing to generate a new repertoire, rather its function increasingly focused upon the revival of works of the past, with the operatic canon stagnating and turning in on itself. The opera museum has attempted to simulate progress and renewal by the radical refashioning of older works into a modern guise, particularly in the area of stage direction and design, as well as adopting an approach of selective authenticity in order to ensure the survival of works that become vulnerable to the passing of time. The next chapter explores the path to the operatic museum from the official beginnings of opera at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER TWO

The 'rise' of opera and its journey to the operatic museum

The future is constructed out of elements from the past – nothing appears ex nihilo.[107]

The four hundred year history of opera

Given the cyclic nature of history suggested by Panofsky, the tendency to ascribe to opera a history of four hundred years is curious. Accounts generally trace the roots of opera back to the Florentine Camerata, while noting that the 'true' inventors of opera were the ancient Greeks. Two terms, 'opera'[108] and 'repertoire'[109] are contributing factors to what amounts to a construct, invented by historians partly to rationalise the parameters of the opera repertoire. The term 'opera' today has a particular connotation, allowing works by composers as diverse as Monteverdi, Purcell, Mozart, Bizet, Delibes, Wagner, Verdi, Berg, Weill etc. to be grouped under one umbrella. In fact, 'the very designation 'opera' was not consistently used until as late as the nineteenth century',[110] long after many acknowledged 'operas' were written. While the term manages to encompass works as diverse as the *Ring Cycle*, the *Dreigroschen Oper* and *Lakmé*, it fails to encompass the medieval mystery plays and passions, sixteenth century street theatre (*commedia dell'arte),* Renaissance *intermedi* and other courtly entertainments. 'Opera' as is has been defined in the present century is dissociated from its own past, a circumstance best understood as being the result of 'repertoire-based thinking', repertoire being another term that dates, in English from the mid-nineteenth century.[111] Officially, the first opera dates from 1597, Jacopo Peri's[112] *La Dafne*, which, being lost, can hold no active place in the modern repertoire. Nevertheless, a slightly later work by Peri that has survived- *L'Euridice* (1600)[113] holds no place in the modern repertoire: that distinction goes to Monteverdi's *Orfeo (1607),* which is considered to be the first operatic masterpiece, Snowman, for example writing that *Orfeo* 'can be reasonably seen as the earliest major example of what came to be known as *opera seria.*'[114] The concept of an operatic repertoire has developed retrospectively,

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107   Hans Ulrich Obrist, *A Brief History of Curating* (Zurich: Jrp Ringier; Dijon: Les Presses du réel, 2008). 239. Suzanne Pagé quoting Erwin Panofsky.

108   Mid seventeenth century: from Italian and Latin, literally 'labour, work'.
http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/opera Accessed 4.4.15.

109   Mid 19th century: from French *répertoire*, from Latin *repertorium*.
http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/repertoire Accessed 4.4.15. The term 'repertory 'also dates from the late nineteenth century.
http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/repertory Accessed 4.4.15.

110   Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker, *A History of Opera: The Last Four Hundred Years*, 39.

111   http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/repertoire Accessed 4.4.15.

112   1561–1633

113   Alfred Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597–1940*, 3rd ed. (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1978), 3.

114   Daniel Snowman, *The Gilded Stage: The Social History of Opera* (London: Atlantic, 2009), 27.

alighting on a period where lofty operatic philosophies coincided with an acknowledged masterpiece, providing fitting historical circumstances for the birth of opera.

Examples of the four hundred year view of operatic history abound in the literature. In 1783, Thomas Iriarte (in his history of music) attributed the invention of opera to the ancient Greeks, 'with its modern rebirth in 1600.'[115] Likewise Richard Wagner, unveiling his concept of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* around 1850 invoked both the ancient Greeks and the so-called 'inventors' of opera, the Florentine Camerata, in what Abbate/Parker describe as an 'Italianate miracle'.[116] Recent histories of opera by Snowman (2009)[117] and Abbate/Parker (2012)[118] take the same approach, although Abbate/Parker concede that the Florentine Camerata were continuing a long line of activity, operatic in all but name:

> *theirs was just one strand of a huge, centuries old series of experiments devoted to combining drama, dance, song and instrumental music. One could even turn the matter on its head and ask whether, worldwide, there were many theatrical genres before 1600 that did not feature music in some important way.*[119]

Studies of the Florentine Camerata confirm a line of demarcation around 1600, Robert Donington adopts the title '*The Rise of Opera*',[120] while Fred Kersten refers to 'the 'Invention' of Opera'[121] and F.W. Sternfeld '*The Birth of Opera*'. Clearly there is consensus that during this period a decisive operatic moment occurred: Donington identifies this as being where opera as a concept crystallised, defining three essential ingredients – philosophical, poetical and musical. [122] This combination produced 'a totality of staged words and music'.[123] Donington offers a definition: 'opera is a staged drama unfolding integrally in words and music.' The sense of opera as a combination of elements in search of unity is a lofty one that has been continued by Donington in other works, such as '*Opera and its Symbols*'[124] and also features in the work of Joseph Kerman.[125] It sets the bar high for what may qualify as an opera and many works currently considered to be part of the repertory would not pass the test. Perhaps for this reason, Abbate/Parker are less proscriptive, defining opera simply as 'a type of theatre in which most or all of the characters sing most or all of the time.'[126] The type of fusion that Donington described in '*The Rise of Opera*' betrays the influence of Wagner's (c1850) formulation of the *Gesamtkunstwerk.* This notion of combining various disciplines to form a total artwork was recognised and quantified rather than invented by Wagner. Operatic history offers certain decisive moments where forces and disciplines have combined in a very unique way to create a unified experience, unusual in an art form that has

115   Abbate and Parker, *A History of Opera: The Last Four Hundred Years*, 37.
116   Ibid.
117   Snowman, *The Gilded Stage: The Social History of Opera*.
118   Abbate and Parker, *A History of Opera: The Last Four Hundred Years*.
119   Ibid 39.
120   Robert Donington, *The Rise of Opera* (London: Faber, 1981).
121   Fred Kersten, *Galileo and the 'Invention'of Opera: A Study in the Phenomenology of Consciousness* (Dordrecht; London: Kluwer Academic, 1997).
122   Donington, *The Rise of Opera*, 7.
123   Ibid 19.
124   Robert Donington, *Opera and Its Symbols: The Unity of Words, Music and Staging* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1990).
125   Joseph Kerman, *Opera as Drama*, New and rev. ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).
126   Abbate and Parker, *A History of Opera: The Last Four Hundred Years*, 1.

otherwise been often preoccupied with the world of business and theatrical routine. Some examples of such rare synchronicities include Monteverdi's *Orfeo* (1607), Gluck's *Orfeo* (1762) and the later music dramas of Wagner (1851-1882) the characteristics of which all evoke the term *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Their premières could equally be described as curated events, driven by philosophical imperatives and conscious attempts to create a unity. The term *Gesamtkunstwerk* has particular significance for the present study as it features in two aspects of the art museum – firstly, in the thinking of the modern curator, who seeks total inclusivity and hence (in theory) limitless possibility in the practice of curation; secondly, the world of the *Wunderkammer*, which presented a microcosm, a 'theatre of the world'.[127] Whereas it has been popularly considered that the rise of the museum during the eighteenth century was a significant progressive step (particularly the division of art and science), modern curators have increasingly invoked earlier models. In the early twentieth century, while declaring war upon the traditional art museum, the Surrealists created their 'cabinets of curiosities',[128] which carry an obvious debt to the earlier *Wunderkammer*. Andre Breton, the official spokesman of the Surrealist movement, lived amid his own cabinet of curiosities, encased by an oppressive 'theatre of the world'. (Fig 2-1).[129]

Fig. 2-1. *Andre Breton surrounded by his collection in his flat in the Rue Blanche, Paris.* Gisèle Freund, photograph.

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127   Francesca Fiorani, reviewing Bredecamp (1995) in *Renaissance Quarterly* 51(1).
128   Patrick Mauriès, *Cabinets of Curiosities* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2002), 214–8.
129   The practice is continued by, among others, Damien Hirst, see
        https://paddle8.com/editorial/behind-the-glass/ Accessed 21.6.15.

The early Florentine experiments had something of a closed, idealised world about them, being primarily esoteric, private entertainments for aristocrats and philosophers, of similar significance to the private art collections of royalty. Wagner later cultivated this hermetic spirit in his attempts to confine performances of *Parsifal* to Bayreuth. *Orfeo* (1607) was performed only twice and was then silent for 300 years 'until it came to be revived… in the early twentieth century'.[130] The idea of further performances was not considered in Monteverdi's time and while a score was published in 1609,[131] it was not designed to facilitate performance, rather functioned as a kind of commemorative program, a lasting souvenir of an occasion that had been a great success – a display of the powers of the Gonzagas who ruled the court of Mantua.

A major change in the direction of opera can be dated to 1637 when the first public theatre, the *Teatro San Cassiano* was opened in Venice, followed by similar theatres in Rome and Naples. This set the trend for opera as a popular entertainment, available to a paying public, no longer confined to the private palaces of princes or aristocrats. From this time, opera has largely been subject to market forces and the taste and expectations of the public have played an important part in the development and survival of the art form. An impresario would hire a suitable building and produce (manage/curate) opera seasons, while the works themselves retained many of the improvised and ephemeral qualities of the Venetian street entertainments from which they derived. The operatic idea migrated north to Germany, with a permanent opera house opening in Munich in 1657 (*Theater am Salvatorplatz)*, followed by the *Komödienhaus* in Dresden in 1667 and a fully public theatre in Hamburg in 1678.[132] The seventeenth century operatic market operated on the basis of a demand for novelty and the supply of a constant stream of new works. There was as yet no practice of repertory, of works being revived or travelling to other theatres in other cities. After an opera season, the opera troupe gathered by the impresario was dispersed, leaving little in its wake, hence the subsequent extinction of the operas of this period.

Opera of this period drew upon a diverse variety of traditions and disciplines, developing into an enormously popular public entertainment. As a result of its multifaceted origins, opera blurred boundaries by virtue of its inclusiveness, often presenting a bewildering multiplicity that, rather than the unity of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, evoking the richness, exoticism and fantastical nature of the *Wunderkammer*. Until recently the *Wunderkammer* has remained a neglected subject in the history of curating. It has been suggested that the *Wunderkammer* collectors 'preferred the immutable and unmoving nature of objects to the illusions of a world in a constant state of flux and the turbulence of human passions.'[133] Recent research,[134] however suggests that many *Wunderkammern* incorporated a performative aspect. The invoking of *Gesamtkunstwerk* in contemporary curating opens the way to regarding the museum as a performative space, a 'theatre of the world', which again leads back the *Wunderkabinet*, which involved (inherited from the conventions of the medieval reliquary) specific and often complex rituals

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130 Snowman, *The Gilded Stage: The Social History of Opera*, 22.
131 Ibid 11–12.
132 Evan Baker, *From the Score to the Stage: An Illustrated History of Continental Opera Production and Staging* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Ltd.,, 2013), 29–30.
133 Mauriès, *Cabinets of Curiosities* , 7.
134 Ibid.

associated with the opening of the cabinet, examining the contents and, where scientific investigation was involved, working with the artefacts.[135]

Recent research has investigated how the collections of Sir Hans Sloane[136] were stored, displayed, catalogued and regarded by Sloane and those who visited his home-cum-museum.[137] In working with his collections, describing them ordering them and creating contexts for the grouping of particular objects, Sloane can be recognised as the animator of his collection, an actor on a stage of his own devising.
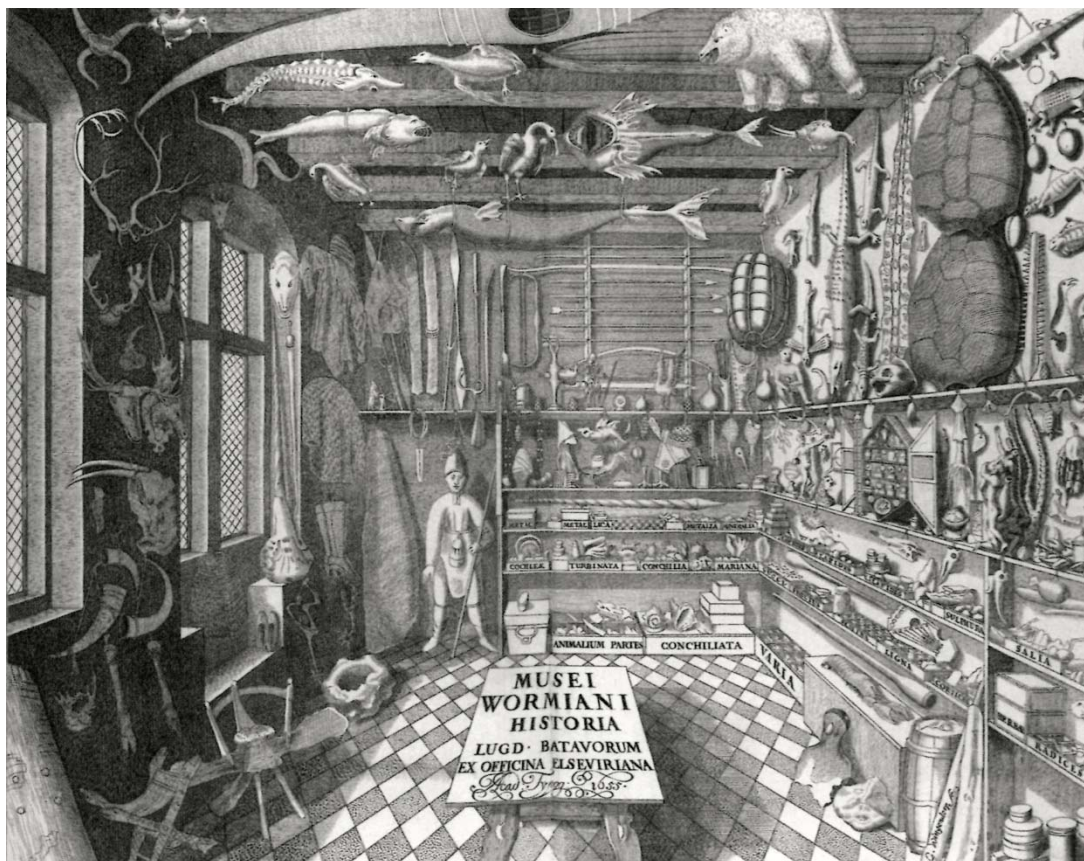
Fig. 2-2. *Worm's Wunderkammer in Copenhagen*. Engraving from the frontispiece of *Museum Wormarium* (Leiden, 1655).

A recent response to the human ('animating') element of the *Wunderkammer* is an installation by Rosamond Purcell, *Two Rooms* (2003, Fig. 2-3).[138] In her work she takes the 1655 engraving of collector Ole Worm's *Museum Wormianum* (Fig. 2-2) and renders it in 3 dimensions. According to James Delbourgo, 'most remarkable among the assortment of naturalia and artificialia is the helmeted human figure',[139] which invites speculation regarding the role of the human in this environment.

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135   Mauriès, *Cabinets of Curiosities*, 88–155.
136   Sloane (1660 –1753) bequeathed his collection to the British nation, providing the core of the collection of the British Museum.
137   Michael Cyril William Hunter, Alison Walker and Arthur MacGregor, *From Books to Bezoars: Sir Hans Sloane and His Collections* (London: British Library, 2012).
138   Ibid 9.
139   Ibid.

Fig. 2-3. *Two Rooms.* Full-scale installation by Rosamond Purcell based on the frontispiece from Ole Worm, *Museum Wormarium* (1655): photograph of installation in Santa Monica, CA by Dennis Purcell (2003).

Fig. 2-4. Stage model for the finale of Rameau's '*Dardanus*': Palace in the Clouds. Pietro Bonifazio Algieri, 1760. Gouache highlighted with gold.

While *Wunderkammern* have long been regarded as repositories for 'things devoid of life',[140] their creators seem to have regarded those 'things' as 'emerging from the arcane recesses of history to form a shadowy procession, wreathed in mists.'[141] Fig. 2-4 shows an elaborate model for the final scene of Rameau's *Dardanus* (1739, rev. 1744). In performance Venus appeared, 'descending in a cloud machine [which] consisted of six pairs of wings, borders and a painted backdrop.'[142] The effect was overwhelming in its lifelike nature and the production was a continued success for over a decade.

Consider a seventeenth century opera performance, viewed from the audience vantage point through a proscenium arch. The audience is presented with an array of the rare, the fantastical and the perverse. Natural phenomena, often invoking the violence of nature are imitated in a constructed environment, revealed with expert precision and timing; diverse groups of musical instruments, some of an exotic nature are seen and heard; painstakingly constructed sets reveal lavish architectural forms: antique, fantastical; virtuoso displays of scientific knowledge are at work in creating of stage effects – fire, flood, storm etc.; ever-present is a morbid interest in the unnatural – particularly the castrato, with an associated interest in sexual ambiguity and gender issues. Connoisseurship is exercised in appreciation of the unique timbral qualities of the castrato voice, along with an unprecedented rise in virtuoso singing in all voice types, which reached an initial peak of specialisation around this time.[143] The whole complex operatic spectacle provided a rarefied, complex, rich, potentially salacious experience bordering on the unreal – a *Wunderkammer* animated into performance mode.

A correspondence can be drawn with Richard Wagner's notion of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*: 'man as artist can be fully satisfied only in the union of all the art varieties in the *collective* artwork … the *true* aim of art is accordingly *all-embracing.'[144]* Wagner had intuited his own 'theatre of the world', a multi-disciplinary kaleidoscope of influences, that Suzanne Pagé referred to in describing the role of the *Ausstellungsmacher* as someone 'who carries his own museum of obsessions in his head.'[145]

Slightly later, in the early eighteenth century, a new style of public art museum was taking hold, splitting into two distinct disciplines that subsequently developed separately: the art museum and the natural history museum. Methodical means of displaying, categorising and contextualising artworks were developed early on, creating a curated environment, one that has more recently raised many questions about the status of the artwork, such as those posed by André Malraux.[146]

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140   Mauriès, *Cabinets of Curiosities*, 7.

141   Ibid.

142   Baker, *From the Score to the Stage: An Illustrated History of Continental Opera Production and Staging*, 56.

143   Abbate and Parker, *A History of Opera: The Last Four Hundred Years*, 51.

144   Oliver Strunk, Leo Treitler and Robert P. Morgan, *Source Readings in Music History*, Rev. ed. / Leo Treitler, general editor. ed., 5 vols., vol. *The Romantic Era* (New York; London: Norton, 1998), 160.

145   Obrist, *A Brief History of Curating*, 238.

146   See page 18.

Repertoire formation

Paintings gradually began to be grouped in 'schools' (a phenomenon that may have been unthinkable to the artists themselves) or else they were grouped by artist, chronologically, a means of display that similarly would not have been foreseen by their creators. The opera repertoire was later to be categorised along similar lines, perhaps influenced by the model of art museums, with a sense of repertoire gradually forming into national schools. In addition, certain composers, upon attaining iconic status were represented in the repertoire by their *oeuvre* (a line of demarcation usually being fixed between their earlier, perhaps apprentice works and their mature works) – particularly Gluck, Mozart, Wagner, Verdi and later Puccini, Strauss, Britten, Janáček.

With the exception of the French *tragédie lyrique* of the seventeenth century, it was to be some time before a sense of repertoire developed, though the seeds can already be discerned during the seventeenth century. For example, while Monteverdi's *Orfeo* (1607) was only performed twice, the performance history of his later *L'Incoronazione di Poppea* (1642) was much richer and an exception to the rule – it was the subject of two significant revivals (Venice, 1646, Naples 1651),[147] and enjoyed (for the times) a long and complex performance history, which has provided editors and musicologists with a whole range of challenges, resulting in a proliferation of editions since the work's revival at the beginning of the twentieth century (after a hiatus of three hundred and fifty years). The persistence of *Poppea* in the seventeenth century was an exceptional circumstance.

The French *tragédie lyrique* developed a fixed and stable repertory that lasted for many years before completely dying out. Lully's *Thésée* (1675) remained in the repertory for over 100 years[148] and the following table of works by Lully with their corresponding longevity gives an indication of the phenomenon:

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147   Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597–1940*, 22.
148   Ibid 56.

Opera	Year of première	Year of final performance	Number of years in repertoire
Thésée	1675	1779	104
Amadis	1684	1771	87
Alceste	1674	1757	83
Armide	1686	1764	78
Prosperine	1680	1758	78
Acis	1686	1762	76
Atys	1676	1747	71
Roland	1685	1755	70
Festes de l'Amour	1672	1738	66
Persée	1682	1746	64
Cadmus	1673	1737	64
Phaeton	1683	1742	59
Isis	1677	1732	55
Bellérophon	1679	1728	49
Psyché	1678	1713	35

Table 1. The operas of Lully, showing number of years in the repertoire.[149]

The long-term stability of repertoire charted here carries with it the danger of stagnation, even ossification – pitfalls that remain present in the modern dilemma of an operatic repertoire that seems unable to renew itself by a supply of contemporary works. The *tragédie lyrique* fell into decline, faltering after 1764 with the death of Rameau,[150] leaving a clear field for Gluck's new aesthetic in 1774.

In England, the performance history of certain works by Purcell, dating from the late seventeenth century chart the differing fortunes of works of this period. *Dido and Aeneas* (1689) was, following Purcell's death (in 1695) revived in 1700 and 1704 and continued to be heard sporadically during the eighteenth century in concert.[151] A score was published in 1841, leading to its first revival in modern times in 1878. After a patchy performance history it was regularly revived, particularly among amateurs and student circles in the UK, reaching New York, Germany, Paris, Vienna and further afield during the 1920s.[152] Purcell's *King Arthur* (1691) enjoyed an even more extensive history of revival during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and seems to have only fallen from the repertoire during a brief hiatus in the second half of the nineteenth century.[153] *The Fairy Queen* (1692) had quite a different (and more usual) history, the original score having been lost within a few years of its composition and remaining undiscovered until 1903, when its performance history effectively began.[154]

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149   Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597–1940*, 56.
150   Jean-Philippe Rameau, 1683–1764. His final opera, *Les Boréades* (1763) remained incomplete, being abandoned in rehearsal.
151   Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597–1940*, 85–6.
152   Ibid.
153   Ibid 89.
154   Ibid 91.

In the eighteenth century, the operatic works of Handel (1685–1759) did not survive beyond the composer's lifetime.[155] For example, *Rinaldo* (1711), one of Handel's most successful operas was revived in London up until 1731. Likewise, *Giulio Cesare in Egitto* (1724) was revived in London until 1732, travelling abroad to Braunschweig (1725, 1727 and 1733), Hamburg (1725 and given there until 1737) and Vienna (1731). One notable later revival of *Cesare* occurred in London in 1787, which was described as 'a medley from his Italian works',[156] suggesting the loose nature of the revival. The libretto from 1787 clarifies:

> *The music entirely by Handel and selected from various operas set by that incomparble [sic] composer, under the direction of Dr. Arnold ... The original, however offering a great number of incongruities, both in the language and the conduct, several material alterations have been thought absolutely necessary, to give the piece a dramatic consistency and to suit it to the refinement of a modern audience.[157]*

The survival of this libretto allows historians to quantify the performance in relation to a modern understanding of the score of *Cesare*. In the fifty or so years separating the première of *Cesare* and this revival, taste and fashion had changed to such a degree that it was accepted that Handel's work would need modernising and reconfiguring. Thus, when considering early revivals of operas caution is required, as it cannot be assumed that the version given bore any close resemblance to a modern conception of these works.

The following table lists a number of Handel's operas, their dates of composition and their modern revivals, a result of the 'Handel-Renaissance' movement that emanated from Germany in the early twentieth century. Prior to this, the performance of these works had completely ceased:

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155   *The Messiah* (1741) is the single instance of a work by Handel being regularly performed from its première up until modern times.
156   Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597–1940*, 150.
157   Ibid.

Opera	Première	Modern revival
Rodelinda	1725	1920, Göttingen
Ottone	1723	1921, Göttingen
Orlando	1733	1922, Göttingen
Giulio Cesare	1724	1922, Göttingen
Serse	1738	1924, Göttingen
Tamerlano	1724	1924, Karlsruhe
Admeto	1727	1925, Braunschweig
Siroe	1728	1925, Gera
Ariodante	1735	1926, Stuttgart
Ezio	1732	1926, Göttingen
Radamisto	1720	1927, Göttingen
Poro	1731	1928, Braunschweig
Muzio Scaevola	1721	1928, Essen
Alcina	1735	1928, Leipzig
Amadigi	1715	1929, Osnabrück
Arminio	1737	1935, Leipzig
Partenope	1730	1935, Göttingen
Scipione	1726	1937, Göttingen
Tolomeo	1728	1938, Göttingen
Rinaldo	1711	1954, Halle

Table 2. The principal operas of Handel with dates of premières and modern revivals.[158]

In staging these revivals in Germany there was a general philosophy at work of rehabilitating the works for the modern stage. Cuts were made, as well as transpositions and the reassignment of both character types and vocal ranges, to deal with the issue of both travesty roles and the employment of castrati, which caused difficulties with perceived verisimilitude and vocal distributions. From these early revivals came new editions, less scholarly in nature, more geared towards making the works attractive and marketable for the resources of repertoire theatres in German-speaking towns.

During the eighteenth century, a handful of operas persisted in performance, the beginnings of a trend that culminated in the ongoing performance of the Mozart operas, for example, carrying the eighteenth century through into the nineteenth. These are early examples of a slowly forming opera repertory and may be regarded in a Darwinian light, displaying 'natural selection, the preservation by the environment of specially well-adapted variations.'[159] This study will provide examples of how operatic works have regularly undergone 'transmutation of species'[160] in order to adapt to different performance circumstances. Typical of these proto-repertoire works is Pergolesi's *La Serva Padrona* (1733), a highly influential and much performed work, which sparked the *Querelle des Bouffons* 'the pamphlet war between the supporters of traditional French opera and the proponents

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158   Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597–1940*, 152.

159   Charles Darwin and John Wyon Burrow, *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*; Edited with an Introduction by J. W. Burrow (Harmondsworth: Penguin (1985 printing), 1968), 15.

160   Ibid.

of Italian *opera buffa'* when it was performed in Paris in 1752.[161] Taruskin describes the work as 'the oldest classic in the whole repertoire of European art music to be maintained in an unbroken tradition of performance from (almost) its own time down to our own'.[162] The success it enjoyed and its subsequent status as one of the earliest works to survive in the repertoire[163] is extraordinary for a work that was written as an incidental intermezzo for performance between the acts of Pergolesi's *Il prigioniero superbo*, (a work now almost forgotten), to be eclipsed by the light entertainment which it flanked. Also eclipsed by subsequent repertoire developments was Paisiello's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* (1782), which enjoyed popularity for a number of years, waning only after the première of Rossini's *Barbiere* (1816), which in turn became one of the few Italian operas to hold a solid place in the repertoire throughout the nineteenth century, surviving into the twentieth. The demise of Paisiello's *Barbiere* was very gradual, with productions continuing in Paris, Turin, Venice, Genoa, Berlin, Antwerp and Monte Carlo, during the course of the nineteenth and even into the twentieth century.[164] One of the operas quoted by Mozart in *Don Giovanni,* Martin Y Soler's *Una Cosa Rara* (1786), travelled widely and was often revived until around 1825.[165] A sign of its success and also of the vulnerability of operatic works to the wiles of adapters (including Mozart!) is demonstrated by the appearance of a work in London (premièred 1st Jan. 1791) by Stephen Storace, *The Siege of Belgrade.* Loewenberg describes it thus: 'Storace partly composed the music, partly compiled it from Martin's opera *Una Cosa rara* and other works'.[166] He then quotes from a Letter in *Journal des Luxus und der Moden,* 15th January 1791, which is more equivocal:

> *Ich war gestern nicht wenig verwundert, als ich in der hier sehr beleibten Operette The Seige of Belgrade fast alle Arien der Cosa rara fand. Ein gewisser Signore Storace versteht die Kunst aus vielen Italiänischen Opern eine Original-Englische zusammenzustoppeln.*[167]

Cimarosa's *Il Matrimonio Segreto* (1792) has the distinction of being 'apart from Mozart, the only Italian opera buffa between Pergolesi and Rossini which is still in the repertory in Italy as well as in other countries.'[168] Having made an auspicious start, with apparently two performances on the night of its première (at the request of Emperor Leopold II[169]) it had been given 133 times in Vienna by 1884. It has been performed in most opera houses around the world and still maintains a place in the repertory today.

161   Sadie, *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, 953.
162   Richard Taruskin, 'Parody and Homage', in Stravinsky's *Pulcinella: A Facsimile of the Sources and Sketches*, Ed. Maureen A. Carr. (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2010), 61.
163   Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597–1940*, 177.
164   Ibid 400.
165   Ibid 436.
166   Ibid 485.
167   'Yesterday I was not a little astonished to encounter almost all of the arias from Una cosa rara in the operetta The Siege of Belgrade, which is very popular here. A certain Signor Storace understands the art of throwing together an English 'original' from many Italian operas.' (Author's translation).
168   Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597–1940*, 500.
169   Leopold II, Holy Roman Emperor from 1790 to 1 March 1792. http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/336666/Leopold-II Accessed 17.6.14.

The development of the operatic repertoire accelerated during the nineteenth century. Up until that point, as described by Rosselli,[170] and Glixon,[171] the opera market depended upon a constant supply of new works, which cancelled each other out, hence the practice of many composers of recycling their old musical material. During the nineteenth century a number of factors coincided to create new conditions. Firstly, up until the 1840s composers had great trouble protecting ownership of what they had written – an important factor in their seeming indifference to their earlier works. Obtaining pirated scores became a lucrative wile for those involved in the opera business and if they could be had more cheaply than the authorised score from the original publisher, there were few moral scruples (and no legal recourse). In the case of theatres where the *pasticcio* practice was in force, operas would routinely be coddled together from material of questionable authenticity and origins: often the house arranger would simply orchestrate an existing piano-vocal score that was available. Composers had little control over their works after they had fulfilled their contractual obligations (generally to supervise the rehearsals for the première and lead the first three performances from the keyboard). All of that changed in 1840, when, as a result of 'the Austro-Sardinian copyright treaty … publishers were able gradually to supress piracy.'[172] Rosselli notes that while this did help to give composers continued payments for productions of their works it had the further consequence of lowering their commission fees. The revolution and subsequent war in Italy in 1848-9 also had a negative effect upon the opera business:

> *Revolution or war going on within or near a town had always been disastrous for the theatre. …Many performers took engagements abroad, in countries like Spain and Cuba that were on a different revolutionary timetable. … the 1848 upheaval had shaken beyond repair the old local hierarchies and the unquestioning loyalty to the old governments. … In the world of opera this questioning of old assumptions coincided with other changes that had been underway even before 1848. The result was to undermine the old opera industry even as it seemed to be entering its period of greatest expansion. … opera was losing its central place in town life.[173]*

The subsequent development of the opera house as a repository or custodian of works functioned in tandem with the development of a sense of repertory. According to Rosselli however, these developments resulted in the opera industry 'becoming less creative.'[174] The decline in creativity manifested in the production of 'more and more performances of fewer and fewer works.'[175] The process can be likened to the formation of the collections of museums, where a huge amount of materials are gathered, followed by a selection process whereby those of the highest quality and significance are selected to form a 'permanent display'- the public face of the collection that is available for perusal. In unseen storage areas other objects languish, perhaps being displayed occasionally in transient exhibitions. From time to time exchanges occur between the works on 'permanent' display and those

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170   John Rosselli, *The Opera Industry in Italy from Cimarosa to Verdi: The Role of the Impresario* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

171   Beth Lise Glixon and Jonathan Emmanuel Glixon, *Inventing the Business of Opera: The Impresario and His World in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

172   Rosselli, *The Opera Industry in Italy from Cimarosa to Verdi: The Role of the Impresario*, 58.

173   Ibid 168–9.

174   Ibid 169.

175   Ibid.

consigned to storage. The reasons for this could include changing tastes, new scholarship, critical re-evaluation, the discovery of fakes or forgeries and even the desire to prevent a fixed display from seeming to ossify. From the 1840s, the notion of repertory opera began to take firm hold. The term itself ('*opera di repertorio*') was first used in correspondence in 1845[176] and was employed at the Regio, Turin from 1849, being used in official contracts of the Naples royal theatres from 1851.[177]

Abbate/Parker posit Rossini as:

> *the first essential element in the gradual formation of ... what we now call the operatic repertory, a body of works that have been revived countless times in countless different venues. ... A crucial change, the gradual emergence of the repertory began around the second and third decades of the nineteenth century and its first exhibits were Rossini's comic operas, whose permanent position around the operatic globe was then equalled by a favoured few works by Bellini, Donizetti and Verdi.... the international successes of Verdi's middle-period operas and a little later of Meyerbeer, solidified the process.[178]*

According to Rosselli 'by the mid-1850s, when the industry had fully recovered from the upheaval of 1848–49, repertory opera was becoming established. By the 1870s it was the norm.'[179]

Along with repertory opera emerged 'a new kind of opera house, large, unsubsidised, bringing opera and ballet at low prices to a wider public.'[180] These developments were the result of opera being commercialised 'through private investment on an epic and adventurous scale, which resulted in a 'hardening of models and formulae' and therefore an impoverishment.[181] For example: 'at La Scala, the decade with the highest number of new creations was 1831-40, with thirty-eight. By the 1860s new creations were down to one or two a year.'[182]

As a result of changing copyright laws, the publisher becomes a significant and influential player in the world of opera and the unique, often strained relationship between Verdi and his publisher, Giulio Ricordi[183] is a manifestation of this – Ricordi exercising an unprecedented degree of influence and power over how, where and when Verdi's operas were performed in a manner that would have been unthinkable fifty years earlier. By the end of the nineteenth century, publishers were active in launching composers' careers – for example, those of Ponchielli,[184] Catalani[185] and Puccini.[186]

> *Not only that: publishers decided where operas were to be done, controlled casting, supplied set and costume designs and often directed the production, if not in person then through the issue of production books. ... What brought publishers into opera*

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176   Ibid 170.
177   Ibid.
178   Abbate and Parker, *A History of Opera: The Last Four Hundred Years*, 190.
179   Rosselli, *The Opera Industry in Italy from Cimarosa to Verdi: The Role of the Impresario*, 170.
180   Ibid 171.
181   Ibid.
182   Ibid 170.
183   Giulio Ricordi (1840–1912).
184   Amilcare Ponchielli (1834–86).
185   Alfredo Catalani (1854–93).
186   Giacomo Puccini (1858–1924).

production was, first, the gradual trend towards repertory opera, which meant an increasing demand for the hire of orchestral scores; and, secondly the establishment of copyright protection … which in the end suppressed piracy and made exclusive rights in a score worth paying for. In 1845… [publisher Francesco Lucca] commissioned Verdi to write Il Corsaro without having at that time any particular theatre or group of singers in mind. … Un Ballo in maschera (1859), [was] the last opera over which Verdi dealt with an impresario direct. … During the 1850s publishers began to supply designs and sometimes production books. … At about the same time publishers started insisting that scores should not be altered without their consent and that any changes should be made by the composer – a break with long standing Italian practice.[187]

During this period the music publisher emerged as a dominant force in the creation and dissemination of opera – particularly in Italy – adopting a curatorial role that, in the influence it brought to bear upon the librettist and composer challenged their predominance in a way that is reminiscent of the role of the museum curator (vis à vis the artist) in the later twentieth century. Casa Ricordi effectively curated the later works of Verdi along with those of Puccini, rendering them saleable to the international market and effectively creating something akin to the modern travelling art exhibition in operatic terms.

The purpose-built opera houses that appeared in the later nineteenth century were not only dedicated to the performance of opera (and often ballet), but were further focused upon the quantification and preservation of the repertoire. Outside Italy, similar trends were developing in Europe, as well as farther afield where operatic cultures flourished.

Opera house and operatic museum

The concept of the Operatic Museum (specifically in Paris) has been explored by William Gibbons (2013).[188] He cites a suggestion made in 1861 by the music critic A. Thurner, that the Paris Opéra:

> *must be an operatic Louvre, where Classical works – alternating with our great modern productions – would provide the invigorating energy necessary to give shape to a new generation of composers and artists.*[189]

The association between the Opéra, the Opéra-Comique and the Louvre continued to be made during the nineteenth century[190] and marked the beginning of an important shift in the function of the opera house. Implicit in the creation of the Louvre collection (beyond the original desiderata of establishing 'the taste and power of the Crown through ownership of canonical old-master paintings' and 'manifesting the superiority of native artistic production')[191] was a pedagogical function that 'necessitated inclusion of historical artists who exercised beneficial

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187　Rosselli, *The Opera Industry in Italy from Cimarosa to Verdi: The Role of the Impresario*, 173–4.

188　William Gibbons, *Building the Operatic Museum: Eighteenth-Century Opera in Fin-De-Siècle Paris*, Eastman Studies in Music, (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press; Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer Limited, 2013).

189　Ibid 8.

190　The writings of Paul Dukas, for example. Ibid 16–7.

191　Andrew McClellan, 'Musée du Louvre, Paris: Palace of the People, Art for All', Sadie, *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, 219.

influence on aspiring academicians.'[192] Gibbons writes that the function of the 'operatic Louvre' 'was at least in part the education of operagoers – a documentary history of music, dramatised in living colour.'[193] In this scenario the Opéra 'would serve the same role as the Louvre Museum, the model institution for preserving historical masterpieces.'[194] The opera house was shifting from an entertainment-based entity to an institution dedicated to the curation and preservation of masterpieces, along with an important educative role.

A revival of Gluck's *Alceste* that took place in Paris (1861) brought the following response.[195] The stance of the author in relation to works of the past reveals a shift from earlier in the century and espouses a philosophy that is reminiscent of the professed aims of the Louvre collection:

> *It is by relyng on the past that we take possession of the future ... The forms art can take are – and must be – limitless; but to reach something new it is necessary to have a perfect understanding of what has already been done.*

> *Open up for study the doors to the shrine where the old glories sleep in their august immortality and you will enlighten those geniuses who are ignorant of themselves.*[196]

Nationalism played a central part in such thinking, revealing a curious French trait: that of adopting foreign artists as their own.[197] Hippolyte Barbedette questioned whether, in terms of art, nationality was dependent upon 'an act of birth?'[198]

> *Gluck is and will remain the founder of the French drame lyrique; with this title, he is French in the same way as Meyerbeer and France should have the right to lay claim to him.*[199]

In the years following the 1870 Commune, a crisis of national identity occurred in France, causing musicians to look back not only to their own musical past, but also to devise ploys to incorporate those who they saw as their honorary compatriots. Gluck's operas were incorporated into the French pantheon and their creator's origins when mentioned were identified as ''Bohemian', rather than the more culturally dangerous 'German'.[200] Mozart was similarly adopted, as will be seen, particularly in relation to *Don Giovanni*, whose score was venerated as a religious icon by a number of French composers,[201] and eventually bequeathed to the French state.[202] Mozart became known in France as the 'Raphael of Music'- a

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192   Ibid.
193   Gibbons, *Building the Operatic Museum: Eighteenth-Century Opera in Fin-De-Siècle Paris*, 9.
194   Ibid 8.
195   From critic Stéphen de la Madeleine.
196   Gibbons, *Building the Operatic Museum: Eighteenth-Century Opera in Fin-De-Siècle Paris*, 9.
197   For example: the Italian Lully and the Germans Meyerbeer and Offenbach.
198   Gibbons, *Building the Operatic Museum: Eighteenth-Century Opera in Fin-De-Siècle Paris*, 106.
199   Ibid.
200   Ibid.
201   Mark Everist, 'Enshrining Mozart: *Don Giovanni* and the Viardot Circle', *Nineteenth Century Music* 25, no. 2–3 (2001).
202   Ibid, 187–8.

double irony, as it invoked an artist 'who had for centuries been adopted as a French artist despite his having spent literally no time in France.'[203]

While Italy has traditionally been regarded as the spiritual source of opera, Germany, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries may be regarded as its business capital. Germany emerged during the nineteenth century with a large concentration of opera houses – virtually every town of size boasted at least one and these were generally well organised, funded and frequented by the public. The opera house in any town provided opera, plays, ballet and orchestral concerts, as well as lighter fare such as operettas and in the post-war era, musicals, acting as both a cultural and entertainment hub, with a remit in relation to a culturally thirsty rising middle class similar to that discussed in relation to the *Altes Museum*, Berlin (page 28–30). Today in Germany, levels of funding have dwindled due to a series of events that date from the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and included a Global Financial Crisis (c2007). Nonetheless, opera remains an organised, institutionalised business in Germany, which still boasts the greatest concentration of full time, working opera houses in any country of the world. German opera houses generally organise their activities according to a model known as 'repertoire theatre' whereby a large number of productions are active at any time in the house repertory and can be revived for a season of performances at very short notice, often with a minimum of rehearsal time – a situation made possible by a permanent, salaried chorus and orchestra, along with an ensemble of singers, either on long term or (in the past) permanent contracts. This renders a wide variety of repertoire performable, at the fingertips of an opera management for immediate revival. The other model for the operatic museum is the *Stagione* system,[204] which tends to find favour in Italy, in festivals and also in international houses. Sadie notes that repertoire opera 'is particularly appropriate for a resident company with a regular opera-going public.'[205] Most larger, international houses work within a hybrid system that presents painstakingly rehearsed productions in the *Stagione* manner, within a framework of ongoing revivals of productions that are retained by the theatre.

While most German towns boast a variety of accessible operatic fare, Germany is also the home of the most utopian and singular operatic museum ever created, the *Festspielhaus* at Bayreuth, a temple created by Wagner to realise his own operatic

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203   Gibbons, *Building the Operatic Museum: Eighteenth-Century Opera in Fin-De-Siècle Paris*, 64

204   While 'repertoire 'opera is predominant in Germany, the 'Stagione' system is more evident in Italian theatres, where a single work will typically be rehearsed with an ensuing run of performances over a specific timeframe. This is also typical of the workings of many opera festivals. The advantage of such a system is the possibility of sustained and careful rehearsal periods, with no conflicting demands from other productions that happen to be in performance. Singers can be engaged on an individual basis and cast with care in roles that they are specifically engaged to sing, rather than being hired to sing across an entire Fach, which can, in some cases include roles to which an individual singer may not be entirely suited. A 'Stagione' theatre may be active throughout the year and may present a varied repertoire, by maintaining a repertoire of live productions. The emphasis however, in contrast with the 'repertoire theatre' will be upon carefully rehearsed or revived productions and a limited number of performances that are not usually playing in competition with other works. It can be considered that 'Stagione' and 'repertoire' opera are two broad approaches to maintaining and presenting the operatic repertoire, in practical terms perhaps one focusing more on quantity, the other more on quantity. It should be noted however that there are many variants of each of these types and many opera houses work on a hybrid of both systems.

205   Sadie, *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, 'Repertory' entry, 1292.

pantheon. Apart from Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, no works have been performed in the *Festspielhaus*, outside of Wagner's own official canon (which begins with *Der Fliegender Holländer* (1840-41)). While it is tempting to regard Wagner as a somewhat grandiose creator of his own mythologies, dedicated to creating a temple of self-interest in which to immortalise his music dramas, this was not always his position. In a letter of 1859 to Theodor Uhlig, Wagner discusses *Siegfried's Tod*:

> *Here in Zurich, where I now chance to be and where many conditions are far from favourable, I should erect a rough theatre of planks and beams, according to my own plans, in a beautiful meadow near the city and furnish it merely with the scenery and machinery necessary for Siegfried. Then I would select the best available artists and invite them to come to Zurich. I should go about selecting my orchestra in the same way…. When everything was in order, I should give three performances of Siegfried in the course of a week; after the third, the theatre would be pulled down and the score burned.*[206]

Wagner of 1859 saw his work as an ephemeral creation, potentially meeting the same fiery fate as his 'theatre of the world' at the conclusion of *Götterdämmerung*. Twenty years later he had become more possessive, more protective of his progeny, he had also realised for himself a temple- cum-museum for the preservation of his work. Wagner's pantheon of works is complicated by the fact that the composer attempted to confine his final work, *Parsifal* to Bayreuth, banning performances in other theatres. This injunction gave the work (actually dubbed a '*Bühnenweihfestspiel*') an air of mystery (over and above its subject) along with considerable controversy, for a number of years.

Wagner's attempt to deprive the wider operatic world of his final work, making it available only in his own theatre, stood on uncertain legal ground and as soon as it became feasible, the composer's wishes were ignored. While maintaining an embargo on staged performances outside Bayreuth, unstaged performances were sanctioned (London, 1884; New York 1886; Amsterdam 1894). On 24 December 1903, the New York Metropolitan Opera staged the work (engaging a number of Bayreuth-trained singers) after receiving a court ruling that in the United States Bayreuth was unable to prevent performances. Bayreuth (that is, Cosima Wagner) retaliated by barring anyone who had been involved in the New York performances from working again at Bayreuth. Further unauthorised performances took place in 1905, 1906 and 1908 in Amsterdam, but it was not until 1914 that Bayreuth officially lifted its embargo – resulting in some theatres beginning performances at midnight on 31st December 1913. Wagner's edict had the effect of creating considerable demand, with more than fifty European opera houses staging Parsifal between 1 January and 1 August 1914.[207] The latter part of the nineteenth century saw a number of composers, (exemplified in the cases of Verdi and Wagner) responding to the trend towards canonisation of their works by attempting to maintain greater authorial control, both locally and internationally. Wagner's attitude towards *Parsifal*, however is a unique attempt to quarantine a work from the repertoire: he is perhaps the only composer who has actively sought to do so. His

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206   Richard Wagner and John South Shedlock, *Richard Wagner's Letters to his Dresden Friends*, Theodor Uhlig, Wilhelm Fischer and Ferdinand Heine. Translated, with a Preface, by J. S. Shedlock et al (London: Grevel and Co., 1890), 67–8.

207   Lucy Beckett, *Richard Wagner: Parsifal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), summarising 91–5.

experiences as a young *Kapellmeister* in smaller theatres likely made him wary of exposing his final work to the possible wiles of theatre routine.

During the later nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, Richard Strauss played a central role in German operatic culture, as both composer and conductor. Strauss was a man immersed in all aspects of European culture and when he toured, he was a regular visitor to all of the great art museums of Europe. He was also influential in the development and leadership of several operatic museums, notably Munich, Berlin and Vienna. On 27 April 1945 Strauss penned an extraordinary letter[208] to conductor Karl Böhm.[209] Germany was already in ruins and only a few days short of capitulating. The letter makes reference to the cruelly destroyed ('*grausam vernichteten*')[210] *Wiener Staatsoper*. Out of the impending ruins of German culture, Strauss imagines an opera museum – actually three, for his beloved city of Vienna – perhaps trying by the power of the word to keep alive the notion of opera, of the opera museum and the culture to which he had contributed so much. Strauss can have been only too aware of the fragility of his culture, which was now gravely threatened. He proceeded (in what he described as a Will, an artistic legacy: '*eine Art Testament: mein künstleriches Vermächtnis*')[211] to catalogue it, describe it and to assign it to three different museums, running the full gamut between high art and popular entertainment. The first he describes as an *Opernmuseum*:

> just as the State has created museums of fine art in which the great works of art of the past are presented exclusively for the needs of the art-loving people and unmixed with works of a lower order and lesser quality, so with regard to the corrupting effect ('*corrumpierende Wirkung*'),[212] which an operatic season (such as todays programs) generally yield, (for example, Tannhäuser, Cavalleria, Pagliacci, Zauberflöte, Fledermaus, Siegfried, Land des Lächelns, Parsifal)[213] at least two opera houses are to be recommended or demanded, for large cities such as Vienna, Berlin, Hamburg, Munich, Dresden. These would play works of the different categories, with the large house, in fact reserved to hold a quasi-permanent exhibition of the greatest works of the literature in first-class productions with constant rehearsals to maintain standards, without daily performances, being given, by the best artists and orchestral forces which are not constantly being spoiled by being intermittently burdened with lesser works.*[214]

The main *Opernmuseum* Strauss describes is the *Wiener Staatsoper*, the rebuilding of which his letter discusses and pre-empts. He sees this operatic museum as being comparable to the Pinakothek,[215] the Prado[216] or the Louvre. The

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208   Karl Böhm, *Ich Erinnere Mich Ganz Genau: Autobiographie*, Erw. Neuaufl. ed. (Wien: F. Molden, 1974), 123.

209   Böhm became Music Director of the Vienna State Opera after it reopened in 1954. In his letter, Strauss seems aware of the inevitability of this appointment.

210   Böhm, *Ich Erinnere Mich Ganz Genau: Autobiographie*, 123.

211   Ibid 119.

212   Ibid 120.

213   Strauss is here referring to the weaknesses of the repertoire opera system, where a theatre might just conceivably program all of the works he mentions within the space of a week and he clearly sees the presence of 'lesser works' (in this case, *Cavalleria Rusticana, I Pagliacci Die Fledermaus* and *Das Land des Lächelns*) as being compromising to the best presentation of the great masterworks.

214   Karl Böhm, *A Life Remembered: Memoirs* (London; New York: M. Boyars, 1992), 159.

215   The Alte Pinakotek, Munich.

216   Museo del Prado, Madrid.

second theatre he calls the '*Spieloper*', the *opéra comique* in Vienna and suggests a repertoire for it 'suited to the requirements of education as well as for improved entertainment.'[217] Strauss prescribes for Vienna a third '*Volksoper*', which would have cheap admission prices and incorporate works from the aforementioned theatres that were achievable from the perspective of technical, casting, chorus and orchestral requirements.

Strauss goes on to list exhaustively the repertoire that should be performed in each of these theatres (it is not without significance that he manages to include all of his own operas in these lists!) The repertoire lists can be found in Appendix 1. A study of them highlights the ephemeral and mutable nature of repertoire – works popular in 1945 are mentioned whose composers are completely forgotten today. In addition Strauss pointedly omits certain operas, which today maintain a strong hold in the repertoire, for example, Verdi's *Otello* and *Don Carlos*, Gounod's *Faust* and Rossini's *Guillaume Tell* (not a standard repertoire work, but it holds a place in the largest theatres as Rossini's masterpiece). Strauss also describes some of the earlier Verdi operas (*Macbeth, Luisa Miller, I Vespri Siciliani*) as '*unerträglich*' (unbearable), a position that is not upheld today.

Infinite repertoires

The very terms, 'opera repertoire' or 'operatic canon' are misleading, suggesting something closed or fixed, whereas repertoires are unstable, shifting over time and between regions. In 'The Infinity of Lists', [218] Umberto Eco describes the phenomenon of creating encyclopaedic books of 'physical' monstrosities during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which he describes as 'repertories or lists of extraordinary things.'[219] Eco sees these as the forerunners to the *Wunderkammern*, which found expression for the same fascination through 'the world of objects.'[220] It is noted that 'a culture prefers enclosed, stable forms when it is sure of its own identity, whereas when faced with a jumbled accumulation of ill-defined phenomena, it starts making lists.'[221] While a definitive list of operas may not be infinite, Loewenberg's opera chronicle represents an encyclopaedic undertaking spanning from 1597 until 1940[222] running to 1700-odd pages. Loewenberg states that he has produced a 'skeleton history of opera',[223] noting that:

> *the selection of some three or four thousand operas out of a total number of – I dare not guess, was also chiefly guided by historical principles. ... Even so, the number of entries could easily have been doubled; but the book had to be kept within reasonable limits.*[224]

In relation to specific repertoires, Loewenberg's book represents the complete holdings of a museum – the generally huge core collection, much of which lies in storage and is seldom displayed. From Loewenberg's enormous compendium of

217   Böhm, *A Life Remembered: Memoirs*, 160.
218   Umberto Eco, *The Infinity of Lists* (London: MacLehose, 2009).
219   Eco, *The Infinity of Lists*, 202–3.
220   Ibid 203.
221   Ibid frontispiece.
222   Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597–1940*. A continuation of the original volume has been published: Harold Rosenthal, *Annals of Opera 1940–1981* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1990).
223   Ibid vii.
224   Ibid.

operas, only a fraction could be said to survive in the repertoire of modern opera houses today and of those works, the time span from which they come is far more limited. Konold (1980)[225] defines the opera repertoire as spanning the years 1782 (Mozart '*Entführung*') to 1911 (Strauss '*Der Rosenkavalier')*. Despite the burgeoning interest since 1980 in Baroque opera, as recently as 2009 Snowman describes the 'staple operatic diet' as encompassing 'perhaps forty or fifty acknowledged operatic favourites written during the 'long' nineteenth century, from Mozart's *Entführung* (1782) to Puccini's *Turandot* (1926).' [226] In support of Snowman's starting date, Abbate/Parker state that Mozart's *Entführung* from 1782 marks the dividing line between 'the distant and the accessible past'.[227]

From a list of operas composed over the last four hundred years (exemplified by Loewenberg's 'Annals') can be derived an infinity of operatic lists, with differences accounted for by locality, national preferences, size of theatre, along with historical and social trends, which are quantified and described in the popular opera guides that began to proliferate during the nineteenth century. What follows is a small and deliberately random and eclectic sampling of operatic repertoires, an indicator of the sheer eclecticism and diversity that exists. Even Wikipedia provides a 'List of important operas',[228] while the London Guardian published a list of the 'Top 50 Operas'.[229]

Locality and national focus account for many differences, for example in the works of Lortzing and Weber (particularly *Der Freischütz),* which remain staples of the German repertoire, while being virtually unplayed elsewhere. Table 3 is derived from information assembled by Wulf Konold,[230] confirming the popularity of Weber and Lortzing in relation to iconic works of the international repertoire.

225   Wulf Konold and Inter Nationes, *German Opera, Then and Now: Reflections and Investigations on the History and Present State of the German Musical Theatre* (Basel: Bärenreiter Kassel, 1980), 74.
226   Snowman, *The Gilded Stage: The Social History of Opera*, 398.
227   Abbate and Parker, *A History of Opera: The Last Four Hundred Years*, 36.
228   https://en.wikipedia.org/?title=List_of_important_operas Accessed 23.6.15.
229   http://www.theguardian.com/music/2011/aug/20/top-50-operas Accessed 23.6.15.
230   Konold and Inter Nationes, *German Opera, Then and Now: Reflections and Investigations on the History and Present State of the German Musical Theatre*, 75.

Composer	Work	Performance count
Mozart	*Die Zauberflöte*	6142
Mozart	*Le nozze di Figaro*	5461
Bizet	*Carmen*	4968
Puccini	*La Bohème*	4888
Lortzing	*Zar und Zimmermann*	4828
Puccini	*Madame Butterfly*	4759
Rossini	*Il barbiere di Siviglia*	4479
Mozart	*Il Seraglio*	4454
Weber	*Der Freischütz*	4384
Beethoven	*Fidelio*	4357
Verdi	*Rigoletto*	4252
Puccini	*Tosca*	4177
Verdi	*Il trovatore*	4054
Verdi	*La Traviata*	3907
Lortzing	*Der Wildschütz*	3739
Smetana	*The Bartered Bride*	3725
Verdi	*Aïda*	3594
Offenbach	*Tales of Hoffmann*	3582
Mozart	*Così fan tutte*	3488
Mozart	*Don Giovanni*	3439
Leoncavallo	*I Pagliacci*	3418
Wagner	*Der Fliegender Holländer*	3349
Humperdinck	*Hänsel u. Gretel*	3253
Mascagni	*Cavalleria Rusticana*	3068
Verdi	*Un ballo in Maschera*	2771
Nicolai	*Die lustige Weiber von Windsor*	2732
R. Strauss	*Der Rosenkavalier*	2603
Lortzing	*Waffenschmied*	2571
Flotow	*Martha*	2471
Verdi	*Otello*	2437
Donizetti	*Don Pasquale*	2340

Verdi	*La Forza del Destino*	2331
Wagner	*Tannhäuser*	2267
Verdi	*Don Carlos*	2247

Table 3. Wulf Konold. The most performed operas in Germany, 1947–75.[231]

Among other repertories, not all are written from a purely musical perspective, for example Norman Davies in his history of Europe[232] has published a table of 'The Standard Repertoire of Grand Opera, 1609–1969' which is surprising for both its inclusions and omissions – most likely works were in part chosen for their links

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231   Ibid.

232   Norman Davies, *Europe: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) 1278.

with wider historical concerns. In a subsequent (1997)[233] reprinting Davies enlarged and revised this repertoire: both versions can be compared in the following table. The first (1996) version comprises the operas in black and green type. The revision (1997) is given in black and red type. The works in green were not included in the revision:

Composer	Opera	Première
C. Monteverdi	*Orfeo*	1607
C. Monteverdi	*L'Incoronazione di Poppea*	1642
J.-B. Lulli	*Psyche*	1671
J.-B. Lulli	*Alceste*	1674
J.-B. Lulli	*Roland*	1685
A. Scarlatti	*Pirro e Demetrio*	1694
H. Purcell	*Dido and Aeneas*	1696
G. F. Handel	*Agrippa*	1709
G. F. Handel	*Rinaldo*	1709
G. F. Handel	*Giulio Cesare*	1724
G. F. Handel	*Rodelinda*	1725
G. F. Handel	*Orlando*	1733
G. F. Handel	*Alcina*	1735
G. F. Handel	*Berenice*	1737
G. F. Handel	*Xerxes*	1738
G. F. Handel	*Semele*	1744
J.-P. Rameau	*Hippolyte et Aricie*	1732
J.-P. Rameau	*Les Indes galantes*	1735
J.-P. Rameau	*Castor et Pollux*	1737
G. B. Pergolesi	*La Serva Padrone*	1733
C. W. Gluck	*Orfeo et Eurydice*	1767
C. W. Gluck	*Alceste*	1767
C. W. Gluck	*Iphigenie en Aulide*	1774
W. A. Mozart	*Idomeneo*	1767
W. A. Mozart	*Il Seraglio*	1782
W. A. Mozart	*Le Nozze di Figaro*	1786
W. A. Mozart	*Don Giovanni*	1787
W. A. Mozart	*Così fan tutte*	1790
W. A. Mozart	*Die Zauberflöte*	1791
W. A. Mozart	*clemenza di Tito*	1791
D. Cimarosa	*Il Matrimonio Segreto*	1792
Cherubini	*La Medée*	1797
L. van Beethoven	*Fidelio*	1814
G. Rossini	*Italiana in Algeri*	1813
G. Rossini	*The Barber of Seville*	1816
G. Rossini	*La Cenerentola*	1817
G. Rossini	*La Gazza Ladra*	1817
G. Rossini	*Semiramide*	1823
G. Rossini	*Comte Ory*	1828
G. Rossini	*William Tell*	1829
C.-M. von Weber	*Der Freischütz*	1821
C.-M. von Weber	*Oberon*	1826
V. Bellini	*La Sonnambula*	1831
V. Bellini	*Norma*	1831
V. Bellini	*I Puritani*	1835
G. Donizetti	*L'Elisir d'Amore*	1832
G. Donizetti	*Lucia di Lammermoor*	1835
G. Donizetti	*Don Pasquale*	1843
H. Meyerbeer	*Robert le Diable*	1831
H. Meyerbeer	*Les Huguenots*	1836
H. Meyerbeer	*L'Africaine*	1864
M. Glinka	*A Life for the Tsar*	1836

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233   Norman Davies, *Europe: A History* [New ed.] (London: Pimlico, 1997), 1278.

M. Glinka	*Ruslan and Ludmila*	1842
G. Verdi	*Nabucco*	1842
G. Verdi	*I Lombardi*	1843
G. Verdi	*Macbeth*	1847
G. Verdi	*Rigoletto*	1851
G. Verdi	*Il trovatore*	1853
G. Verdi	*La Traviata*	1853
G. Verdi	*Simon Boccanegra*	1857
G. Verdi	*Un Ballo in Maschera*	1859
G. Verdi	*La Forza del Destino*	1862
G. Verdi	*Don Carlos*	1869
G. Verdi	*Aida*	1869
G. Verdi	*Otello*	1887
G. Verdi	*Falstaff*	1893
R. Wagner	*The Flying Dutchman*	1843
R. Wagner	*Tannhäuser*	1845
R. Wagner	*Lohengrin*	1850
R. Wagner	*Tristan und Isolde*	1865
R. Wagner	*Das Rheingold*	1869
R. Wagner	*Die Walküre*	1870
R. Wagner	*Siegfried*	1876
R. Wagner	*Gotterdämmerung*	1876
R. Wagner	*Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*	1868
R. Wagner	*Parsifal*	1882
S. Moniuszko	*Halka*	1848
H. Berlioz	*Les Troyens*	1855
H. Berlioz	*Béatrice et Bénédict*	1862
J. Offenbach	*Orphée aux Enfers*	1855
J. Offenbach	*La Vie Parisienne*	1866
J. Offenbach	*Tales of Hoffmann*	1881
C. Gounod	*Faust*	1859
C. Gounod	*Mireille*	1864
C. Gounod	*Roméo et Juliette*	1867
A. Thomas	*Mignon*	1866
G. Bizet	*The Pearl Fishers*	1863
G. Bizet	*Carmen*	1875
N. Rimsky Korsakov	*Ivan the Terrible*	1873
N. Rimsky Korsakov	*Snow Maiden*	1881
N. Rimsky Korsakov	*Golden Cockerel*	1907
M.P. Mussorgsky	*Boris Godunov*	1874
M.P. Mussorgsky	*Khovanshchina*	1886
J. Strauss, Jnr.,	*Die Fledermaus*	1874
J. Strauss, Jnr	*Der Zigeunerbaron*	1885
E. Chabrier	*L'Etoile*	1877
C. Saint-Saëns	*Samson and Delilah*	1877
P.I. Tchaikovsky	*Eugene Onegin*	1878
P.I. Tchaikovsky	*The Queen of Spades*	1890
P.I. Tchaikovsky	*Iolanta*	1891
L. Delibes	*Lakmé*	1883
C. Debussy	*Pelléas et Mélisande*	1902
J. Massenet	*Manon*	1884
J. Massenet	*Werther*	1892
J. Massenet	*Thais*	1894
B. Smetana	*The Bartered Bride*	1886
A. Borodin	*Prince Igor*	1890
P. Mascagni	*Cavalleria Rusticana*	1890
R. Leoncavallo	*I Pagliacci*	1892
G. Puccini	*La Bohème*	1895
G. Puccini	*Madame Butterfly*	1900
G. Puccini	*Tosca*	1904
G. Puccini	*Turandot*	1926
F. Cilea	*Adriana Lecouvreur*	1902
G. Charpentier	*Louise*	1900
L. Janáček	*Jenufa*	1904

L. Janáček	*The Cunning Little Vixen*	1924
L. Janáček	*Katya Kabanova*	1921
R. Strauss	*Salome*	1905
R. Strauss	*Elektra*	1909
R. Strauss	*Der Rosenkavalier*	1911
R. Strauss	*Ariadne auf Naxos*	1912
R. Strauss	*Intermezzo*	1924
R. Strauss	*Arabella*	1933
R. Strauss	*Capriccio*	1942
B. Bartok	*Bluebeard's Castle*	1911
M. de Falla	*La Vida Breve*	1915
M Ravel	*L'Heure Espagnol*	1911
M. Ravel	*L'Enfant et les sortilèges*	1925
S. Prokoffiev	*The Love for Three Oranges*	1919
S. Prokoffiev	*War and Peace*	1945
P. Hindemith	*Cardillac*	1926
P. Hindemith	*Harmonie der Welt*	1957
A. Berg	*Wozzeck*	1925
A. Berg	*Lulu*	1937
Z. Kodaly	*Hary János*	1926
I. Stravinsky	*Oedipus Rex*	1927
I. Stravinsky	*The Rake's Progress*	1951
A. Schoenberg	*Moses and Aaron*	1932
D. Shostakovitch	*Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk*	1936
F. Poulenc	*Les Mamelles de Tirésias*	1947
F. Poulenc	*Les Dialogues des Carmelites*	1957
B. Britten	*Peter Grimes*	1945
B. Britten	*Billy Budd*	1951
B. Britten	*Turn of the Screw*	1954
B. Britten	*A Midsummer Night's Dream*	1960
B. Britten	*Death in Venice*	1973
W. Walton	*Troilus and Cressida*	1954
M. Tippett	*Midsummer Marriage*	1955
M. Tippett	*King Priam*	1961
K. Penderecki	*The Devils of Loudun*	1969

Table 4. Composite Table of 'The Standard Repertoire of Grand Opera, 1609–1969' by Norman Davies (1996–97).[234]

Visitors to the Glyndebourne Opera House in Sussex, U.K. are supplied, in the dinner break with serviettes that depict '*Quercus Operatica*', a genealogy of operatic composers, combined with that of the Christie family, who maintain control of the theatre. Operatic history neatly divides (rises out of the ground) around the birth of John Christie (b. 1882), who founded Glyndebourne in 1934.

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234   While a number of spelling errors have been corrected, the titles of the works (in particular the language) have been left as given by Davies.
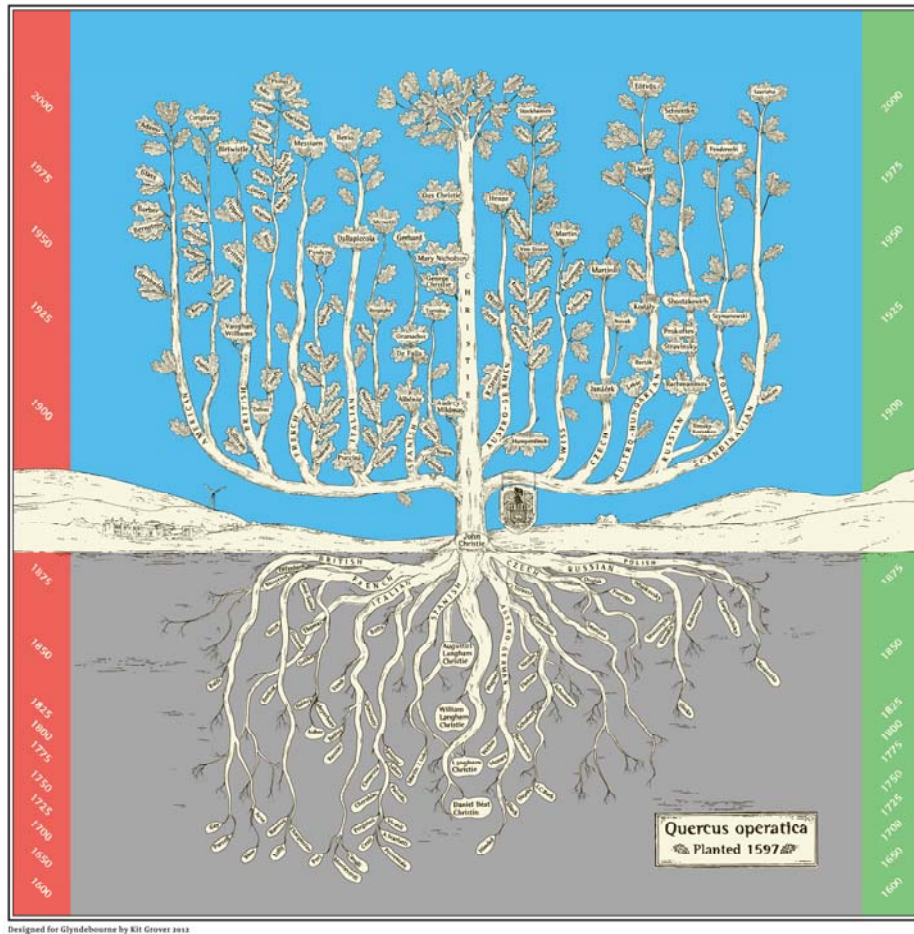
Fig. 2-5. *Quercus operatica*. Kit Grover, 2012. Created for Glyndebourne Festival Opera. Reproduced as a poster, a silk scarf, a bag and serviettes. The serviettes are supplied to patrons of the Festival. Reproduced with permission.

During the course of the nineteenth century a sense of canonicity (reminiscent of the desire to obtain *oeuvres complètes*, handsomely bound for a private library) became important to opera lovers and cognoscenti. As a result, each nation has its published opera guides, aimed at quantifying the repertoire in terms of the demographic of the specific readership, usually with reference to some international notions of operatic schools, along the lines that artworks in museums are displayed. These reference works proliferated widely, their variants providing valuable data as to notions of repertoire across time and place.

Two authors, Gustav Kobbé[235] and Henry Krehbiel[236] produced histories and guides describing the opera repertory from the American perspective. Accounts of the history of opera performance in America and the development of imported opera repertories was a subject of great interest to enlightened opera lovers, who gained thereby an ownership of operatic history. Volumes of opera plots, often reproducing musical themes for listeners to identify, combined with a history of the travels ('socialisation') of each work, (especially patterns of reception in America), embedded European operas into the fabric of American history. Gustav Kobbé's, 'Complete Opera Book', has been a standard guide for English-speaking opera

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235   Gustav Kobbé (1857–1918)
236   Henry Edward Krehbiel (1854–1923)

lovers for nearly one hundred years and has remained constantly in print, an eleventh edition having appeared in 1997.[237] It remains an important reference work and an indicator of popular taste. The early editions of Kobbé discussed curatorial matters such as the languages that operas were sung in New York or London, along with lists of important singers who were associated with particular roles. The great singers who performed opera in New York, for example, were a central operatic reference point for the public – it may have been more a case of attending a performance to hear Caruso and Homer than to hear an opera by Donizetti. For example, in discussing 'Una furtiva lagrima' from *L'elisir d'amore,* Kobbé notes that 'it was because of Caruso's admirable rendition of this beautiful romance that the opera was revived at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York in 1904.'[238]

Kobbé further draws attention to a new (1922), alternative operatic repertoire, which has continued to alter the operatic landscape over the last century. He refers to the soprano aria 'Bel raggio lusinghier' from Rossini's *Semiramide,* noting that it is 'the one piece that has kept the opera in the phonograph repertoire'[239] – an early reference specifically to the recorded repertoire. Today such alternative repertoires proliferate due to technology, which has replaced the older alternative repertoires provided by arrangements for domestic use. Music lovers are able to build their own libraries (create their own repertoires) by collecting CD's and DVD's. Operas that are rarely staged and hardly have a life in the theatre (or the particular theatre regularly available to a particular individual) are now readily available, even in the most remote places. Music lovers may even curate their own performances, re-ordering musical numbers or omitting (or repeating) some.

Opera as grand idea

The 'idea of opera' emerges, the notion of opera as a commodity, perhaps the ultimate luxury item – offering those who experience it glamour and status that reflects back to them from the stage. The gold rushes of the mid-nineteenth century exemplified this, as operatic icons of European culture were transposed into the shanty-towns that grew up in the wake of the gold rushes in America and Australia, for example. These improvised opera houses were, in reality often revamped music halls and the performance of anything approaching a complete opera was a rarity. Typical of the opera-manqué experience is the tour that the celebrated Jenny Lind made of America (1850). As a European icon, Lind was celebrated as an operatic commodity, a symbol of what the miner-adventurers aspired to (and not without an erotic frisson to boot), with the notion of opera being prized as a desirable manifestation of status. The great irony of Lind's tour is that it 'remains … one of the best-known events in the nation's entire operatic history, even though she never sang in a single opera.'[240] During the tour she performed little operatic material, her repertoire being mostly confined to Irish and Scottish folksongs, which resonated with the backgrounds and sensibilities of the audiences.

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237   Gustav Kobbé, George Henry Hubert Lascelles Harewood and Gustav Kobbé, *The New Kobbé's Opera Book* (London: Ebury Press, 1997).
238   Gustave Kobbé, *The Complete Opera Book* (London: Putnam, 1922), 337.
239   Kobbé, *The Complete Opera Book*, 310.
240   John Dizikes, *Opera in America: A Cultural History*(New Haven ; London: Yale University Press, 1993), 130.

Fig. 2-6. The Prince of Wales Opera House (to the right) Gulgong, NSW, Australia, 1870s originally a dance hall. Later in the century, Nellie Melba sang here while on tour.

Demise of the repertory

The tendency to fix and quantify the repertoire conforms to the notion described previously that a culture 'when faced with a jumbled accumulation of ill-defined phenomena … starts making lists.'[241] As described by Rosselli,[242] the nineteenth century in Italy concluded with an ever-declining production of operatic works. By the early twentieth century the opera repertoire in Italy was only a shadow of the enormous industry of the previous century. According to Rosselli, by 1913, of works predating *Rigoletto* (1851) only *Barbiere, Norma, La sonnambula, L'elisir d'amore* and *Lucia di Lammermoor* maintained a firm hold. Other works of lesser popularity included *I Puritani, Don Pasquale, Linda di Chamounix, La favorita, Ernani* and Auber's *Fra Diavolo*.[243] This is reflected in the catalogue printed on the back cover of Ricordi full scores for most of the twentieth century. While many other works remained for hire from Ricordi's library, this list of works for sale shows the core Italian operatic repertoire published by Ricordi,[244] showing all that had survived from the opera boom of the nineteenth century and the formation of the operatic museum. It includes *Norma, Barbiere, Don Pasquale, L'elisir d'amore, Lucia di Lammermoor,* along with the principal operas of Verdi and Puccini and,

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241   Eco, *The Infinity of Lists*.
242   John Rosselli, *Music and Musicians in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (London: Batsford, 1991), 142.
243   Ibid.
244   It does not include *Cavalleria Rusticana* or *I Pagliacci*, both published by E. Sonzogno, Milan and rare exceptions to Ricordi's representation of the staple Italian repertoire in his catalogue.

curiously *Parsifal*.[245] The staple repertory had dwindled to a trickle and few works appeared which promised to revitalise it.

The official 'rise' of opera around 1600, along with the associated development of a repertory and creation of an operatic museum culture is roughly contemporaneous with the development of the art museum and a comparison of histories and methodologies reveals a number of synergies and parallels in the creation of the two institutions. Earlier accounts of the rise of the art museum tended to ignore precursors, such as the *Wunderkammer* and the medieval reliquary, while in recent decades the increased visibility of the curator has led to new research, revealing that the development of the art museum is in fact an outcome of a long continuum of curatorial activity, stretching far back into history. The popular perception of the history of opera has not yet developed such an understanding, rather clinging to a four hundred year time frame for the art form, effectively detaching operatic history from its more distant roots.

Just as the growth of the art museum represents a shift in access to art collections from the royal and aristocratic to that of the rising middle class, opera 'went public' within the first fifty years of its official existence. Both institutions exercised an enormous influence upon public taste, which in turn reflected back in the subsequent direction of these institutions. Inherent in the lavish and multimedia operatic presentations that developed during the seventeenth century can be seen the cross influence of the precursor of the modern museum – the *Wunderkammer*, with the associated notion of *Gesamtkunstwerk,* a concept that has subsequently become central to both operatic and art curation.

The formation and codification of the operatic repertory as well as art collections was gradual and at times haphazard by modern standards. In both cases, the process of entering the museum altered the identity of the works in question. Religious altar-pieces became artworks in a secular environment; operas composed on a small scale, perhaps with an implied element of improvisation became institutionalised as Grand Operas. Maintaining operas as part of the active repertory often required considerable adaptation to render them marketable to a paying public. Likewise, in the art museum, expectations as to how ancient sculpture should be presented (bleached) or how glossy an Old Master painting should be varnished has quantifiably influenced how works of the past are perceived and understood.

During the nineteenth century, the creation of operatic works began to decrease markedly. As works entered the museum, repertoire generation declined, resulting, as discussed in a falling off of creativity and productivity. The result, as described by Rosselli was something of a crisis, bringing a sense of loss and a tendency to turn back towards the past. A similar crisis in art museum culture occurred during the same period, rendering that institution vulnerable to the revolution led by the Surrealists, Dadaists and Constructivists. A by-product of the advent of the operatic museum was the greater authorial control exercised by composers (exemplified by Wagner and Verdi). This was, in turn challenged in the later part of the twentieth century by the stage director, who became a dominant force – each of these processes may be seen as steps in the fetishisation of a fixed, institutionalised repertory. Similarly, the development of the art museum has led to it being challenged, firstly by the artists themselves and more recently by curators, who have

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245   This may have been included as result of being wrested from the exclusive clutches of Bayreuth.

sought to redefine the meaning of the artwork within the museum, along with the role and dominance of the artist.

The present study acknowledges the year 1762 as a significant watershed in operatic history and repertoire formation. This is the year of the Viennese première of Christoph Willibald Gluck's *Orfeo*, a work that has remained almost constantly in the opera repertoire since its first appearance. The next chapter considers aspects of the gestation process of *Orfeo* (through a number of versions, not all created by the composer), along with the journey that the work underwent as it was played in the theatres of the world, remaining widely performed long after the composer's death. This fame and attention came at some cost to the work's identity and the curatorial processes that have kept *Orfeo* before the public for over 250 years are discussed in the context of the a consideration of an elusive 'authentic' form of Gluck's opera.

CHAPTER THREE

Survival of the fittest: the progress of Gluck's *Orfeo*

One hundred and fifty five years after Monteverdi's *Orfeo* was performed in Mantua, another Orpheus opera had its première in Vienna. This, too, has come to be regarded as a landmark in the history of opera and operatic reform. Unlike Monteverdi's *Orfeo*, Christoph Willibald Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice* (1762) has enjoyed a fairly continuous performance history (albeit in a complex series of guises) since its première. The history of its dissemination demonstrates the adaptability required by an opera to survive over time and ultimately find a place in the repertory of the operatic museum. Gluck's *Orfeo* has been described as being 'more enduringly successful than any other stage work of the period'[246] a success maintained by regular reinvention and adaptation. Indeed *Orfeo* has been so often reinvented that it is no simple matter to identify a version that may be regarded as authentic. The complications begin with the three composer-driven versions of the work:

Date	City	Title	Voice type of title role	Singer of title role
1762	Vienna	*Orfeo ed Euridice*	alto castrato	Gaetano Guadagni
1769	Parma	*Le feste d'Apollo*	soprano castrato	Giuseppe Millico
1774	Paris	*Orphée et Eurydice*	Haute-contre	Joseph Legros

Table 5. Composer-driven versions of *Orpheus* by Gluck.[247]

Determining a generic title for Gluck's work presents a dilemma – the Italian language (Vienna) version of 1762 is titled *Orfeo ed Euridice*. The 1769 version (which is of only minor significance to this study) was arranged as part of a festival entertainment for a royal marriage at Parma,[248] and performed (with the composer presiding) under the title of *Le feste d'Apollo*. The version for Paris was recast in the French language and titled *Orphée et Eurydice*. The choice of *Orfeo* or *Orphée* as working titles may seem logical, but this is problematic due to an influential adaptation made by Hector Berlioz in 1859, which may be described as a conflation of the 1762 and 1774 versions. The Berlioz version has generally been referred to as *Orphée*, thus confusing it with Gluck's version of 1774. Since the appearance of Berlioz's version, the point of separation between Gluck's opera and Berlioz's revision has become muddied. References to '*Orphée*', for example, in the Gluck literature may refer to Gluck's 1774 score or equally to the version of Berlioz (in any of its several guises). As a result, an attempt to find a generic title presents a potentially insoluble problem – a definitive title remains as elusive as a definitive

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246   Patricia Howard *C.W. von Gluck, Orfeo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 15.
247   Sadie, *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*. 744.
248   Alfred Loewenberg, 'Gluck's *Orfeo* on the Stage: With Some Notes on Other Orpheus Operas' *Musical Quarterly* (1940): 327.

version of the opera.[249] In addition both the Vienna (1762) and Paris (1774) versions are considered to be 'reform operas' although Gluck's reformist position has been seriously questioned in modern times, with Patricia Howard stating that 'of no single achievement of the reform can we say, 'Gluck did this'. There is always an equal possibility that the credit is due elsewhere.'[250] Table 5 lists the names and vocal types of the creators of the role of *Orfeo/Orphée* in Gluck's own versions, with each composed for a different vocal type, none of which are easily available in modern times, a major factor in determining a performing version today. The opera effectively exists in two quite separate versions: one a short, chamber-like work, the other a full-length opera that draws on the grander tradition of the French *tragédie lyrique*. The third version discussed here by Berlioz acquired an influence in recent years, so that in terms of performance history and reception of *Orpheus* this version requires consideration as a potential performing version for modern times.

Gluck the reformer

Gluck's position in historical accounts of opera seems destined to remain secure, while the position occupied by his works in the repertory of the modern opera house is somewhat shakier. British conductor, Sir John Eliot Gardiner (1943–) has noted an attitude among opera house administrations that 'Gluck will empty the theatre.'[251] On the historical side, however Oliver Strunk (1901–80), delivered an assessment of Gluck that is still widely subscribed to in academic circles: '…Gluck is the master who liberated the opera from the conventions of contemporary Italian *opera seria* and created a new operatic style based on truly dramatic expression.'[252] Such an assessment is not without irony – in the early part of his career Gluck had been an open advocate for and practitioner of exactly the style of opera that these reforms sought to supersede. It is also the case that, subsequent to *Orfeo*, Gluck produced:

> *six more reform operas and at least seven retrogressions to his earlier style. This is the problem facing any attempted penetration of Gluck's character: in particular – in what light could he view it – to produce such a rich but illogical succession of operas?[253]*

His mid-career switch to advocacy of operatic reform represents an about-face that makes sense only when seen in conjunction with the influence of his co-curators who were also antagonistic towards the Metastasian operatic ideal: Count Giacomo Durazzo (1717–94) and Ranieri de'Calzabigi (1714–95).

Durazzo was director of the Imperial Theatres in Vienna from 1754. He employed Calzabigi, a poet and librettist, who had earlier in his career spent a number of years in Paris publishing an edition of Metastasio's works in 1755.[254] Calzabigi's interest in reform sprang, in part, from the impact that the French *tragédie lyrique* had made upon him. The libretto and structure of *Orfeo* reveals this

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249   The 1762 version is henceforth referred to as *Orfeo*; the 1774 version is referred to as *Orphée*. When referring generically to Gluck's opera without citing a particular version, it is referred to as *Orpheus*.
250   Howard and Gluck, *Orfeo*, 26.
251   Ibid 112.
252   Strunk et al, *Source Readings in Music History*, 99.
253   Patricia Howard, *Gluck and the Birth of Modern Opera* (New York,: St. Martin's Press, 1964), 1.
254   Sadie, *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, Vol I, 694.

influence – a prophetic circumstance when Gluck's subsequent transformation of *Orfeo* for the Parisian stage is considered.

Gluck and Calzabigi fell out over the question of their respective roles in the reform process. Looking back over a decade later however, Gluck wrote:

> *I should bring against myself a still graver reproach if I permitted the attribution to myself of the invention of a new style of Italian opera of which the success has justified the endeavour. It is to M. de Calzabigi that the principal merit belongs; and if my music has had a certain éclat, I believe that I must recognise that it is to him that I am indebted for it, since it is he who has made it possible for me to develop the resources of my art. ... [His] works are filled with those happy situations, those terrible and pathetic strokes, which furnish to the composer the means of expressing the great passions and of creating a music energetic and touching.[255]*

Gluck was setting his sights on Paris at this time and was under no pressure to be generous towards his former librettist. His account represents a considered view of their respective roles and responsibilities as well as the driving force of their reforming zeal. In 1784 Calzabigi penned the following reminiscence*:*

> *if M. Gluck has been the creator of dramatic music, he did not create it out of nothing. I furnished him with the material or with chaos, if you like; thus we share the honour of this creation. ... M. Gluck not pronouncing our language well, it would have been impossible for him to declaim several verses in succession. I read him my Orpheus and declaimed several pieces to him repeatedly, drawing his attention to the inflections I put into the delivery, the suspensions, the slowness, the quickness, the tone of voice, now stressed, now subdued and glossed over, which I desired him to make use of in his composition. I begged him at the same time to banish I passaggi, le cadenze, I ritornelli and all the Gothick, barbarous and extravagant things that have been introduced into our music.[256]*

In addition to Durazzo, Calzabigi and Gluck, three further collaborators were central to the project. They were: Gasparo Angiolini,[257] the choreographer; Giovanni Maria Quaglio,[258] the set designer and Gaetano Guadagni,[259] who sang the role of Orfeo. A review of the first production[260] focused primarily upon the contribution of Calzabigi. The music of Gluck is glossed over, though the contributions of both Angiolini and Quaglio are discussed. None of the performers are mentioned. The exact division of curatorial labour remains a matter of speculation.

Gluck was an able exponent of the business of writing operas who was fortunate to be in the right place at the right time. The *Zeitgeist* and circumstance played to Gluck's strengths as a composer – a directness of style, simplicity, (referred to by

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255   Strunk et al, *Source Readings in Music History*, 107.

256   Alfred Einstein, *Gluck*, 1st ed. reprinted with revisions. ed. (Dent; Farrar Straus and Cudahy, 1964), 68. Published in the Mercure de France June 25 1784.

257   Gasparo Angiolini, Gasparo also spelled Gaspare, pseudonym Angelo Gasparini (1731, Florence – 1803, Milan), Italian choreographer and composer who was among the first to integrate dance, music and plot in dramatic ballets. http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/24653/Gasparo-Angiolini Accessed 23.09.14.

258   Giovanni Maria Quaglio (c1700–65). Designed sets for the Burgtheater and Kärntnertortheater in Vienna (1748–51, becoming the leading designer for both (1752–65). Sadie, *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, 1191.

259   Gaetano Guadagni (1728–92). Italian alto castrato. Ibid Vol. II. 558.

260   Howard and Gluck, *Orfeo*, 54–6.*Wienerisches Diarium*, No. 82, 13 October 1762.

Gluck as '*bella simplicità*')[261] and the absence of strict counterpoint (Handel, aware of Gluck's weakness in this area, opined that Gluck knew no more counterpoint that Handel's own cook)[262]. According to Alfred Einstein, Count Durazzo was the driving force behind the reaction against Metastasio that sparked the operatic reform.[263]

Calzabigi gave literary and aesthetic shape to the new operatic ideal and Gluck's music imparted 'to the subjects and texts solidity and immortality.'[264] Gluck found in Calzabigi's libretto a unique opportunity to pare back his style and develop a melodic simplicity far removed from the excesses of singers, to create 'a startling new musico-dramatic vision',[265] which offered the 'clearest challenge yet seen or heard to the moribund conventions of Italian *opera seria.'*[266] Thus the protagonists who assembled to create *Orfeo* in Vienna were a group of like-minded enthusiasts, comparable to the Florentine Camerata in their conscious desire to establish a new aesthetic and vision of opera. This unity of purpose across all aspects of the production makes the undertaking a unique curated event – a prototype of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*.

The 1762 Vienna version

Few details of the première of *Orfeo* have been bequeathed to posterity and of the surviving eyewitness accounts none discuss the reformist aspects of the score. Although Gluck had stripped his written vocal lines of Italian *bel-canto* devices, exactly what the cast sang, whether ornamentation was reduced or completely expunged from the performances remains uncertain. It is known that Gluck was deeply involved in the preparations for the performance, as evidenced by an account he gave to Dr Burney (ten years after the fact), which prefigures the infamous rehearsal period for the Paris première in 1774.[267] Burney reported that:

> he is a great disciplinarian and as formidable as Handel used to be, when at the head of a band; but he reassured me, that he never found his troops mutinous, though he, on no account, suffered them to leave any part of their business, till it was well done and frequently obliged them to repeat some of his manoeuvres twenty or thirty times.[268]

Two previews of *Orfeo* were given at Calzabigi's house, with Guadagni singing his part and Gluck presiding at the harpsichord. These circumstances reinforce the impression that Gluck had considerable opportunity to exercise strict control over the première of *Orfeo*. Concerning the preparation of his own works, Gluck was 'a very dragon, of whom all are in fear'[269] Speculating on the circumstances of the première, Patricia Howard has noted that 'Guadagni … apparently sought to achieve his effects by acting rather than vocal embellishment'.[270] The lack of ornamentation

261   Max Loppert, 'The Gluck-Berlioz *Orphée Et Eurydice*', liner note in EMI CDS 7 49834 2 (1989): 14.
262   Max Loppert, 'Gluck: Some anniversary reflections' *Opera Magazine*, November 1987, 1248.
263   Einstein, *Gluck*, 67.
264   Ibid.
265   Loppert, 'The Gluck-Berlioz *Orphée Et Eurydice*', 14.
266   Ibid.
267   Howard, *Gluck and the Birth of Modern Opera*.
268   Howard and Gluck, *Orfeo*, 57. From Burney, Music in Germany.
269   Ibid.
270   Ibid 57–8.

was noteworthy enough to be mentioned by Burney: 'The chevalier Gluck is simplifying music … he tries all he can to keep his music chaste and sober. …*Orfeo, Alceste* and *Paride,* are proofs of this, as they contain few difficulties of execution, though many of expression.'[271]

Domenico Corri's *The Singer's Preceptor* (a teaching manual published in London in the 1790s)[272] mentions Giuseppe Millico, who created the role of Orfeo under Gluck's direction for Parma in 1769:

> *Those famous singers Farinelli, Cafarello, Geziello, Pachiarotti [who sang Orpheus at Naples in 1774] Milico [sic], Aprili, David, Raff… sung compositions with little ornament, exerting their talents, on the parts appointed to them; nor were they permitted to introduce, at random, any graces ornaments etc. as caprice directed; but in such places only as the composer had allotted.[273]*

The *Preceptor* was an addition to an earlier publication by Corri,[274] which included three arias from *Orfeo* – they are described as 'Composed by M. Gluck. Sung by Sigr. Guadagni.' This annotation falls just short of linking the ornamentation provided by Corri with what Guadagni may have sung under Gluck's direction at the 1762 Vienna première. Commenting on the ornamentation reproduced in Corri, Patricia Howard admits that 'this ornamentation may have nothing to do with the way the role of Orpheus was performed in 1762',[275] while Jürgen Schläder notes that Gluck had demanded many rehearsals with Guadagni on his role, a situation 'that amazed his contemporaries'.[276] Schläder speculates that at the very least, Corri's publication represents the way Guadagni sang the arias for his London performances during the 1770s. Corri's publication remains the only possible link, via Guadagni of how the composer *may* have expected his opera to have been executed.

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271   Ibid 58.
272   Domenico Corri and C. R. F. Maunder, *Domenico Corri's Treatises on Singing: A Select Collection of the Most Admired Songs, Duetts, Etc. And the Singer's Preceptor: A Four-Volume Anthology* (New York; London: Garland Publishing, 1995). The introduction to Volume 1 of this edition (vii–viii) notes that the exact date of publication cannot be ascertained of either the first three volumes (Corri's 'Select Collection'), which are attributed to the early 1780s, nor the fourth volume, which contains '*The Singer's Preceptor'* that was added to the first three volumes when the work was reissued in the mid 1790s'. The editor of the 1995 edition, Richard Maunder rejects the date sometimes given of 1779 for publication.
273   Howard and Gluck, *Orfeo*, 59.
274   Corri and Maunder, *Domenico Corri's Treatises on Singing: A Select Collection of the Most Admired Songs, Duetts, Etc. And the Singer's Preceptor: A Four-Volume Anthology*.
275   Howard and Gluck, *Orfeo*, 58.
276   'verblüffte die Zeitgenossen'. Jürgen Schläder, 'Mann oder Frau – stimmliche Charakteristika der Orpheus-Rolle in *Chr. W. Glucks Orpheus und Eurydike,'in Oper Und Werktreue: Fünf Vorträge*, ed. Horst Weber (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1994), 36.

1.
Rondo
Andante
(409)

{Atempause}

Che fa - ró sen za Eu - ri di__ ce? Do - ve an-dró sen-za il mio ben - ? Che__ fa__

ró - , do__ ve an - dró - , che__ fa__ ró__ sen za il__ mio__

ben - , do - ve an__ dró__ sen za il mio ben? Eu - ri - di - ce! Eu - ri -

di__ ce! oh Di - o! Ri - spon - di! Ri - spon - di! Io__ son__

pu - re il tuo__ fe__ del - , oi__ son__ pu - re il tuo__ fe - del,__ il__ tuo__ fe -

- del__ ! Che fa - ró sen za Eu - ri - di__ ce? Do -ve an dró sen - za il mio

ben__ ? Che__ fa - ró__ do__ ve an dró - , che__ fa__ ró__ sen - za il__ mio__

ben__ ? Do - ve an - dró__ sen - za il__ mio__ ben? Eu - ri -

Recitativo

in time

di - ce! Eu - ri - di - ce! Ah, non m'a - van - za__ piú soc

corso_____, piú spe-ran-za, né dal mon-do, né dal

ciel! Che fa-ró sen-za Eu-ri-di-ce? Do-ve an-dró sen-za il mio

[Variante]

ben-? Che_ far-ró-, do-ve an-dró-, che_ fa-ró sen-za il mio

ben-, do-ve an-dró-, che fa-ró-, do-ve an-dró_ sen-za il mio

ben?

Ex. 3-1. 'Che faro' from *Orfeo,* as printed by Corri, London, late eighteenth century (see footnote 272).

Gluck, in the preface to his *Paride ed Elena* (1770) wrote that:

> *Little or nothing but a slight alteration in the manner of expression is necessary to turn my aria in Orfeo 'Che faro senza Euridice?' into a puppet dance. One note held too long or too short, a careless increase in tempo or volume, one appoggiatura misplaced, an ornament, passage or roulade can ruin a whole scene in such an opera.*[277]

Orfeo (1762) is the first of Gluck's reform operas and critical opinion describes it as 'one of the turning points in the history of opera'.[278] However it lacks several passages with which *Orpheus* has become inextricably associated. Neither the 'Dance of the Furies'[279] nor the 'Dance of the Blessed Spirits'[280] (both among Gluck's most well known concert pieces) are present in the Vienna version, nor is Eurydice's aria[281] or the trio.[282] In addition, two of the best-known arias – 'Deh! placatevi' and 'Che faro' were extended by Gluck in the Paris version, a revision widely regarded as an improvement in each case. For example, the version of 'Che faro', which is generally sung today:

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277   Howard and Gluck, *Orfeo*, 37–8.
278   Loppert, 'The Gluck-Berlioz *Orphée Et Eurydice*', 14.
279   '*Air de Furies*' in the Paris Version, Act 2, scene 1.
280   '*Ballet des Ombres heureuses*' in the Paris Version, Act 2, scene 2.
281   '*Cet asile aimable et tranquille*' in the French version Act 2, scene 2.
282   '*Tendre Amour*' in the French version Act 3, scene 2.

Ex. 3-2. *Orphée* (1774), 'J'ai perdu mon Eurydice', bars 433–9.

is considered superior in drama and expression to that of Vienna:

Ex. 3-3. *Orfeo* (1762), 'Che faro', bars 455–63.

The conclusion to Act 1 (1762) has been criticised for a perfunctory orchestral number depicting Orfeo's descent into hell. The issue becomes less acute when it is considered that this original version of *Orfeo* lasts around one hour and can be performed without interval, thus minimising the need for a rousing aria to complete the first act. However, for the 1769 Parma performance Gluck substituted a bravura aria for Orfeo, drawing upon his earlier opera *Il Parnasso confuse,* which has been judged by many commentators to be unrelated to the style of *Orfeo* and inferior in content. As a corrective to the generally negative assessment of this aria, Tom Hammond puts forward the view that the aria could be:

> *thought of dramatically as a species of battle-cry, when the hero voices his defiance of the dread powers of the underworld, as he dons his armour and girds on his sword, amid showers of coloratura and prepares to rescue his lost bride.*[283]

The aria also became the cause of considerable controversy, as it was later posited as the work of Ferdinando Bertoni (1725–1813), causing Gluck to be accused of plagiarism. It is now known to be definitively the work of Gluck and its placement at the conclusion of the first act is authentic, although it is a 'second thought' of the composer.

Amid more modern advocacy of the 1762 version, (by, among others, Gardiner),[284] there persists a tendency to modify the original score. This is difficult to understand, as it is precisely this score that represents Gluck's original vision of reform and upon which his historical position is based. In terms of this partial acceptance of the 1762 score as a performing version, the overture and conclusion have met with criticism. Berlioz noted that Gluck, being 'not so great a musician as he was a composer of stage music, allowed himself to put forth that incredible inanity, the overture to *Orphée.* '[285] Offering some defence against this opinion, Tom Hammond has noted that the overture could be taken to represent a 'martial echo' of

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283   Howard and Gluck, *Orfeo*, 108.
284   John Eliot Gardiner 'Hands off *Orfeo*' ibid 112–8.
285   Ibid 90.

the warlike side of Orpheus's character (which admittedly is little in evidence in the opera).[286] Gluck advocate Patricia Howard has called the 1762 version an 'unequal' work, noting that the Overture 'is as bad as anything Gluck ever wrote'[287] and that the last act is 'bad in the poem and disappointing in the opera.'[288] She concedes, however that 'the material between these sections speaks in a new language that Gluck had not tried out before in even the best moments in his earlier work.'[289] With reference to the last act, a different perspective is proposed by Einstein, who notes that the première of *Orfeo* took place on 5 October 1762, the name-day of Emperor Francis 'a day on which it would have been impossible to produce a piece with a tragic ending'.[290] He emphasises *Orfeo's* function as a court opera, concluding with a ballet and a 'jubilant chorus' – and that the close was balanced by the *sinfonia,* composed in a 'light, conventional tone' and further stating that 'the drama of Orpheus begins only with the rise of the curtain',[291] sparing the overture any dramatic function in relation to the plot.

A combination of the 12 years separating the Vienna and Paris versions of *Orpheus*, along with the differences in instrumental resources and venue sizes between those two cities has resulted in two vastly different sound worlds in the respective orchestrations. Two instruments employed in 1762 were unknown in Paris in 1774 and were already considered archaic in 1762 Vienna – the *cornetto*, (which, according to Berlioz was used to accompany chorales in churches),[292] and the *chalumeau*, which was employed in the echo orchestra.[293] The Vienna version uses a fundamentally Baroque orchestra, with instruments employed only where they were required to underline specific effects. Gluck has suffered the fate of having one foot in the Baroque era, while also looking forward to the classical style. From today's perspective he falls between two musical worlds and his music can easily seem fragile and distant. His sound world of 1762 is difficult to recreate, from both an orchestral and vocal point of view, with an alto castrato being required for the role of Orfeo. The association between the now-extinct castrato voice and the god of song Orpheus is a modern construct, nonetheless Gluck was aiming at conjuring an otherworldly atmosphere and characterisation through his choice of voice type. It has been said that although the tessitura of the part fits perfectly, a modern counter-tenor is no substitute for the alto castrato, being unable to match a castrato in sheer volume.[294] These assertions have more recently been challenged as authentic instruments have been used in performing the Vienna score.

It is likely that a harpsichord was used in the 1762 première and that Gluck played it while leading the performances. However *Orfeo* carries the distinction of being the first Italian opera to do away with *secco* recitative and this through-composed work '… also banished the accompanying cembalo almost completely

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286   Ibid 108.

287   Howard, *Gluck and the Birth of Modern Opera*, 8. Elsewhere she has described the Overture as an 'enduring embarrassment' - Howard, *Orfeo*. 27.

288   Ibid.

289   Ibid.

290   Einstein, *Gluck*, 70.

291   Ibid.

292   Hector Berlioz and Elizabeth Csicsery-Rónay, *The Art of Music and Other Essays* (a Travers Chants) (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 73.

293   Act 1, 'Chiamo il mio ben così'.

294   However see the opinion of counter-tenor, Kevin Smith, Howard and Gluck, *Orfeo*, 122.

and required only a *conductor'*.[295] Max Loppert further emphasised this when he wrote that 'Gluck was the first composer in operatic history to make the conductor's profession an absolute necessity.'[296]

Orpheus travels

Following its première *Orfeo* was performed in many European theatres. It did not achieve lasting popularity in Vienna, however and after 1781 was absent until 1862.[297] After Gluck's reworking for Parma in 1769, with a soprano castrato in the title role, the work was performed regularly in both versions. The earliest known performance with a female singer in the role of Orpheus took place in Milan in 1813.[298] The opera attained an enormous success internationally, not least because it became a staple of Guadagni's repertoire.[299] *Orfeo* became extremely popular in London, where it was routinely subject to the process of *pasticcio,* whereby the music of other composers (and not infrequently other music of Gluck) was substituted, often to an extent that the original work became virtually unrecognisable. *Orfeo* (1762) was an obvious target for such a practice, owing to its short duration. Gluck's feelings about the fate of his carefully wrought 'reform' opera as it was disseminated have not been recorded, but he was, first and foremost a highly pragmatic composer who well knew the market that he was writing for and the likely fate of his operatic progeny. He himself arranged *opera comiques*, providing substitute music where needed as part of his employment in Vienna.[300] One version that was created in London of *Orfeo* is of particular significance, as it had wide circulation and (perhaps because of the stature of the adapter) has been accepted as a significant version of Gluck's opera. In 1770 Johann Christian Bach composed music to additional text by Giovanni Bottarelli for *Orfeo* and, as was noted on the title page of the libretto '[Bach] has kindly condescended to add of his own new composition all such choruses and recitatives as marked with inverted commas'.[301] The additions were significant – only seven numbers of Gluck's original remained. This version (or versions of this version: it too was endlessly adapted), was described by Patricia Howard as 'the serious J.C. Bach version.'[302] It travelled to Dublin in 1784 and as far as New York, where it was used for the first performance of the opera in that city in 1863.[303] In more recent times, concepts of authenticity have become a driving force and the *pasticcio* practice has remained a somewhat indigestible aspect of operatic practice, although it has been stated that 'the pastiche method may be said to be typical of Gluck throughout his life – at least, material from [his] Milan period recurs right through into the reform period, with no inconsistency.'[304] Gluck may well have regarded *Orfeo* as it was presented in 1762 as a singular event, possible in Vienna with certain artists and under certain unique conditions. Subsequently *Orfeo* took its chances in the market place, where the work was found to be highly adaptable. The endgame of *Orfeo* and the *pasticcio*

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295   Einstein, *Gluck*, 83.
296   Loppert, 'Gluck: Some anniversary reflections' *Opera Magazine*, 1250.
297   Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597–1940*, 263.
298   Howard and Gluck, *Orfeo*, 61.
299   Sadie, *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, Vol II. 558.
300   Ibid Vol II, 453.
301   Howard and Gluck, *Orfeo*, 63.
302   Ibid 65.
303   Ibid 98.
304   Howard, *Gluck and the Birth of Modern Opera*, 5.

practice probably occurred in 1792, when a version of *Orfeo* given at Covent Garden consisted of music by 'Gluck, Handel, Bach, Sacchini and Weichsel with additional new music by William Reeve.' Virtually nothing of the Gluck opera remained, save 'Che faro' and the first line of the translation used on that occasion well sums up the situation: 'What, alas shall Orpheus do?'[305]

The version of J.C. Bach had considerable influence and longevity, becoming the version by which many opera lovers experienced Gluck's *Orfeo*. The version created by Berlioz in the mid-nineteenth century, which dominated *Orpheus* performance history for over a century fulfilled a similar function, reviving Gluck in the spirit of Berlioz's own times while falling wide of the criteria of modern scholarship.

Further reform – the 1774 Paris version

Due to singular circumstance *Orpheus* has earned the distinction of being a 'reform' opera twice over. After the success of *Iphigénie en Aulide* in Paris in April 1774, it was to *Orfeo* that Gluck returned later in the year to produce a further opera that would consolidate his success in that city. It has been noted by Howard that Gluck 'was acting not through any dissatisfaction with his original score, but in an attempt to fit the work to the local taste. It was a move in a carefully planned campaign to conquer the French operatic world.'[306] Gluck had timing on his side – his former singing pupil, the Dauphine Marie Antoinette had arrived in Paris in June 1772 and the Parisian opera had fallen into disarray since the death of Rameau in 1764. It gave Gluck an opportunity to make his mark and with the support of Marie Antoinette he created something refreshing to the Parisian taste, thereby forging a new path for the French operatic tradition. Amid his fairly frequent threats to return to Vienna, Gluck presided over rehearsals that have been called 'some of the most famous and troublesome… in the history of opera.'[307] He achieved a fusion between *Orfeo* and the Parisian style and along with five[308] other operas he eventually created a body of work that established him as the worthy successor of Rameau.[309] The two reform versions of Gluck's *Orpheus* are best considered as two separate operas written in quite distinct styles for different markets. Each is reformist – though with different characteristics and qualities.

Not all commentators are admiring of the 1774 version, for example John Eliot Gardiner: 'Accommodating *Orfeo* to Parisian tastes was damaging to it… [the composer] capitulated to French conservatism in transforming *Orfeo* to *Orphée*.'[310] It has been noted that the original 'reform' characteristics were softened in the French version and that the original, unadorned dramatic flow was sacrificed to the preferences of the French public.[311]

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305   Howard and Gluck, *Orfeo*, 65.
306   Ibid 67.
307   Howard, *Gluck and the Birth of Modern Opera*, 13.
308   Four original works – *Iphigénie en Aulide* (1774), *Armide* (1777), *Iphigénie en Tauride* (1779), *Echo et Narcisse* (1779–80), as well as two adaptions – *Orphée et Eurydice* (1774) and *Alceste* (1776).
309   Patricia Howard, Howard and Gluck, *Orfeo*. She notes (12) that 'The Opéra was suffering the lack of a good serious composer to follow Rameau.'
310   Howard and Gluck, *Orfeo*, 114–5.
311   Ibid.

Among the alterations that Gluck made for *Orphée* in Paris, the most notable feature was the transposition of the title role to suit the voice of Alphonse Le Gros, an *haute-contre*.[312] That vocal timbre was popular at the time among Parisians, though often criticised by foreign visitors. In recasting the lead role for a tenor, Gluck de-emphasised the abstract nature of Orpheus and focused upon his heroic qualities. The *haute-contre* type gradually disappeared during the last years of the eighteenth century. By 1824 (when the French tenor Adolphe Nourrit began to make his name in this role) a number of downwards transpositions were required, which remained characteristic of performance practice throughout the nineteenth century.[313]

The subsequent (post–1762) versions Gluck made of *Orpheus* have attracted criticism because they destroy the original key relationships by transposition. This should be regarded in light of the fact that Gluck, (among many composers of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, including Mozart)[314] was willing to create and approve transpositions that apparently 'disturb' the large-scale tonal design. Well into the twentieth century transpositions have been made by leading singers, ratified by prominent conductors and even composers, in order to fit a particular role to a singer or to allow a successful run of performances to take place. The relaxed attitude to transposition within operas that apparently subscribe to a carefully constructed tonal plan is an aspect of opera that makes it unique among musical genres.

A carefully constructed tonal plan has been noted in the 1762 version of *Orfeo,*[315] apparently ignored by Gluck when he created other versions – he was either unaware of these relationships or they were simply not that important to him. Recitatives were modified and recomposed as necessary in order to fit with the new French text. Orchestrally, apart from the substitution of brass cornets for the wooden *cornetti* and oboes for the *chalumeau*, the presence of many bass instruments is noteworthy – the likely strength of the Paris orchestra was 28 violins, 6 violas, 12 cellos, 5 double basses, 2 flutes, 4 oboes, 2 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns, 3 trumpets, 3 trombones and timpani.[316] It has been noted by Ludwig Finscher that the instruments employed in Paris in 1774 'were closer to modern ones'.[317] The large bass section (comprising bassoons, cellos, double basses) is unlikely to be emulated in modern performances – though the records of the *Académie Royale* confirm their presence. Finscher sees this circumstance as a substitute for the lack of a continuo instrument and although the *Académie Royale* in 1774 still possessed a harpsichord, he speculates that it is unlikely that one was employed for *Orphée* – in any case the performance would not have been directed

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312   A characteristically French high tenor, whose range lies around a third above the usual tenor register. Source: http://www.universalis.fr/encyclopedie/haute-contre/ Accessed 18.04.15.

313   Joël-Marie Fauquet, 'Berlioz's version of Gluck's *Orphée*', in *Berlioz Studies*, ed. Peter Bloom. (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 191, fn 11.

314   For example the transposition of No 21b '*Mi tradì*', in Mozart's *Don Giovanni*. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Lorenzo Da Ponte and Walther Dürr, *Don Giovanni*: *Dramma Giocoso in Zwei Akten*: KV 527: Textbuch, Italienisch/Deutsch, Mozarts Italienische Texte Mit Deutscher Übersetzung (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1977). Page 513 gives a variant transposition in the recitative, to facilitate the aria being sung in D major.

315   Howard and Gluck, *Orfeo*, 29, 75.

316   Ibid 69.

317   Christoph Willibald Gluck, Pierre Louis Moline and Ranieri de Calzabigi *Orphée et Euridice*, ed. Ludwig Finscher, BA 2282a ed. (Kassel, New York,: Bärenreiter, 1968), vii.

from the harpsichord – the convention in Paris being for a conductor to confine his role to beating time, either with a roll of music or a baton.[318]

The Parisian simplification of the orchestral texture for 'Che puro ciel'[319] has been generally lamented,[320] and in expressing his preference for the Vienna version John Eliot Gardiner has referred to the 'less discriminate substitution of oboes and clarinets for the more finely differentiated timbres of chalumeau, cornetto and cor anglais.'[321]

In reworking *Orfeo* for Paris, Gluck defined two quite distinct works.[322] In the first can be discerned an austere Baroque chamber opera, a *pastorale* of short duration; in the second, a recasting into a full evening's entertainment for a public, Parisian theatre, incorporating necessary elements of *tragédie lyrique*. The French version contains some new music that today remains inextricably associated with *Orpheus* in the popular imagination. The issue of voice-type for Orpheus has remained an ongoing conundrum. The Vienna version is (apart from the extinction of the castrato as a voice-type) too low for the mezzo soprano voice that has often sung Orpheus in later times. The Paris version is too high for most modern tenors. Perhaps Gluck achieved something approaching an ideal (as it may be perceived from a modern perspective) in the two 'previews' of *Orphée* in Paris in 1774, where the part of Orphée was sung, not by Le Gros, but (for reasons that are unclear) rather by Giuseppe Millico, the soprano castrato who had sung the role for Gluck in Parma in 1769.[323]

The 1859 restoration of Hector Berlioz

An opera's popularity is charted by a number of indicators over and above frequency of performance. Particular numbers (usually arias, but occasionally instrumental pieces) may take on a life of their own, achieving popularity in their own right, typically published as separate items for the popular market. Further arrangements of selections would appear for drawing-room consumption – potpourris, arrangements for piano solo or piano with various instruments assuming the vocal parts – violin, flute, cornet-à-pistons, etc. Another clear sign of growing success is the appearance of parodies. In the case of *Orpheus*, contemporary parodies include *Socrate immaginario* (1775) by Paisiello,[324] *Le petite Orphée* (1785) by J. Rouhier-Deschamps,[325] and *Il cavaliere errante* by Traetta (1778).[326] Also notable are unwitting parodies – the enormous and widespread success of '*Che faro*' meant that it was performed in a bewildering variety of contexts – including in

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318   Ibid.
319   In the French score 'Quel nouveau ciel', Act 2 scene 3.
320   Howard and Gluck, *Orfeo*, 81. Patricia Howard goes as far as to state, in speaking of the 1774 French edition that 'This is surely a compromise that we need not retain in twentieth-century performances.'
321   Ibid 115.
322   A similar situation exists in the case of many Old Master paintings, notably the *Mona Lisa* that is conjectured to exist in two authentic versions, with the so-called *Isleworth Mona Lisa* having caused significant controversy in recent years: http://www.bbc.com/culture/story/20150216-a-second-mona-lisa Accessed 1.4.15.
323   Howard and Gluck, *Orfeo*, 71.
324   Einstein, *Gluck*, 83.
325   Howard and Gluck, *Orfeo*, 73.
326   Ibid 38.

church services (with a Latin text), often with considerable ornamentation.[327] '*Che faro*' remains today a staple of the mezzo-soprano repertoire for students, amateurs and professionals alike. It is still frequently performed in a variety of questionable editions and sung with an intensity of sentimental expression that changes the style and character of the aria completely. Many performers would be at a loss to explain why a mezzo-soprano is playing the part of a man lamenting the extinction of his wife.

On 21 October 1858, just over a year before the première of Berlioz's revision of *Orpheus*, one of the most famous of operatic parodies opened in Paris, at the *Bouffes-Parisiens* theatre. Offenbach's *Orphée aux enfers* went on to become one of the most popular of all comic operettas. Its net of satire spread wide, with not much being spared – the government of the day, antiquity and social issues – along with Gluck's *Orphée*, in particular 'Che faro', which it quoted.[328] The première created a huge *succés de scandale,* to the chagrin of Berlioz who wrote that the popularity of Offenbach's parody 'in a theatre which I am not permitted to name demands an exemplary act of reparation.'[329] Berlioz's mission was to restore a masterpiece to what he saw as its rightful place in the operatic repertoire. Gluck's *Orphée* was among the first music discovered by Berlioz in his father's library and Gluck, along with Virgil and Shakespeare remained part of the trinity of seminal influences that inspired and influenced Berlioz throughout his life. Berlioz had heard *Orphée* in Paris during the 1820s, at which time the work had enjoyed continuous popularity, even through the upheavals of the French Revolution. The 299th performance of *Orphée* at the Opéra took place on March 24, 1838, after which the work disappeared from that stage[330] until a revival in 1848.[331] Berlioz was presented with an opportunity to revive *Orphée* in 1859, just after he had completed *Les Troyens*, which has been described as the last of a line of operas written in the Gluckian tradition.[332] The notion of reviving the Vienna version of *Orfeo*, with the title role sung by a female contralto, had surfaced a few years before in 1855, when Rosine Stoltz[333] had approached Berlioz for advice as to the 'transpositions that would need to be made for the French version in order to fit the role to her voice'.[334] Subsequently, the enlightened and far-sighted director of the Théâtre-Lyrique, Léon Carvahlo (1825-1897) invited the mezzo-soprano Pauline Viardot to create the role of *Orphée* for a revival of this work. Pauline Viardot [*née* García] (1821-1910) was an artist of unique abilities and background who had a considerable bearing upon the project over and above her own performative powers. She was the second daughter of Manuel García (also known as Manuel García Senior, 1775-1832) and the younger sister of Maria Malibran (1808-36), an extraordinary musical pedigree. In addition to being a fine singer, she was an accomplished pianist, composer of operettas, creator of her own libretti and the source of inspiration for a number of

327   Fauquet, 'Berlioz's version of Gluck's *Orphée*', in *Berlioz Studies*, 214.

328   Howard and Gluck, *Orfeo*, 95.

329   Fauquet, 'Berlioz's version of Gluck's *Orphée*', in *Berlioz Studies*, 197.

330   Loppert, 'The Gluck-Berlioz *Orphée Et Eurydice*', 16.

331   Fauquet, 'Berlioz's version of Gluck's *Orphée*', in *Berlioz Studies*, 191, fn 13.

332   Joël-Marie Fauquet, 'Berlioz and Gluck', *The Cambridge Companion to Berlioz* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 191, fn 11.

333   1815–1903. An account of her significance can be found in Mary Ann Smart 'The lost voice of Rosine Stoltz'. http://journals.cambridge.org/article_S0954586700004122 *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 6, 1, 31–50.

334   Fauquet, 'Berlioz's version of Gluck's *Orphée*', in *Berlioz Studies*, 195.

composers, including Rossini, Meyerbeer, Gounod, Brahms in addition to Berlioz himself.[335] An advocate of music from earlier times, she was also a subscriber to the first complete edition of J. S. Bach.[336] The uniqueness of this curatorial team and their achievement can be discerned in the context of other arrangements of works of the past that were happening around this time. The arrangements of Mozart's operas by Kalkbrenner,[337] Lachnith[338] and Castil-Blaze[339] (all of whom were vilified by Berlioz in his journalism) form a point of comparison, highlighting the general taste of the day.[340]

The scheduling of this revival was further timely in that the cult of *travestie* was on the rise and the female mezzo-soprano type was fully in vogue. Berlioz enthusiastically accepted the opportunity to be involved and the curatorial team was completed when Camille Saint-Saëns (also a knowledgeable advocate of the music of earlier times) was included. The exact influence of Viardot upon the project cannot be definitively quantified, but this was a fruitful and unique collaboration – a fortuitous meeting of musical minds and sensibilities. Berlioz described his work as that of a 'mosaicist' undertaking what became the process of 'reproducing'[341] *Orphée.* He discovered a copy of the 1762 version of *Orfeo* and made comparisons with the 1774 French version. In essence, he took the Paris score and reconfigured it in terms of the key structures of the Vienna version. He noted that the instrumentation had only been 'retouched for the present revival so far as was necessary in order to restore it to its original condition'.[342] In a number of respects however Berlioz took his task beyond restoration, also correcting perceived errors and miscalculations of Gluck. In *A travers chants* Berlioz accuses Gluck of having been 'extremely idle and remarkably careless' in revising his operas.[343] He draws attention in particular to the viola parts that he notes were sloppily copied in musical shorthand (by Gluck) with the words '*col basso*' resulting in frequent crossings above the violin parts.[344] In addition to Gluck having left the orchestral material for Paris in a state of some disarray, Berlioz found additions that had crept in during later performances and these he set about correcting.[345] Of Gluck's scoring, Berlioz notes that his works

> *were all written in a happy-go-lucky style… In one place the composer forgets to indicate the crook of the horns, while in another he even omits the name of the wind*

335   Loppert, 'The Gluck-Berlioz *Orphée Et Eurydice'*, 17.

336   Camille Saint-Saëns and Roger Nichols, *Camille Saint-Saëns on Music and Musicians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 169.

337   Christian Kalkbrenner (1755–1806). http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christian_Kalkbrenner Accessed 18.04.15.

338   Ludwig Wenzel Lachnith (1746–1820). http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy2.library.usyd.edu.au/subscriber/article/grove/music/15781?q=Lachnith%2C+Ludwig&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit Accessed 18.04.15.

339   François-Henri-Joseph Blaze, known as Castil-Blaze (1784–1857) http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy2.library.usyd.edu.au/subscriber/article/grove/music/05133?q=Castil-Blaze&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit Accessed 18.04.15.

340   This is covered in some detail in Patrick Barbier, *Opera in Paris, 1800–1850: A Lively History* (Portland or.: Amadeus Press, 1995), 65–71.

341   Fauquet, 'Berlioz's version of Gluck's *Orphée*', in *Berlioz Studies*, 205.

342   Hector Berlioz, *Gluck and His Operas; with an Account of Their Relation to Musical Art* (Westport, Conn.,: Greenwood Press, 1973), 13.

343   Ibid 6–7.

344   Ibid 7.

345   Ibid 7–8.

instrument, which he wishes to execute an important part… Sometimes he writes important notes for the bassoons on the contrabass stave and afterwards bothers no more about them and one cannot tell what they should do next…[346]

In Act 1,[347] he corrected the text by Moline, as well as Gluck's incorrectly accented French word setting (Max Loppert notes that the opening chorus of Act 2 is full of 'uncorrected prosodic howlers').[348] Berlioz, finding Gluck's own finale ('L'Amour triomphe') to be banal, incorporated what was a tradition dating back to the end of the eighteenth century of substituting from Gluck's final opera *Echo et Narcisse* the chorus 'Le Dieu de Paphos'. In making these decisions, Berlioz overstepped the boundaries of pure restoration. In general, the Paris version is followed where Orpheus is silent. When he sings with Cupid or Euridice, the keys of the Paris score are generally followed. Where Orpheus sings alone, the alto range keys of the Vienna score are followed and the words and the orchestration follows the Paris version.

As previously mentioned, a curious situation was created by the aria that ends Act 1 ('Quel est l'audacieux'). Berlioz was mistakenly convinced that Ferdinando Bertoni rather than Gluck composed this aria. Five years after the Paris première (1774) Gluck had been charged with plagiarising the aria. Berlioz discussed what he terms this 'audacious plagiarism' at length in *A travers chants*,[349] using the situation as a means to step away from his purist position and suggest to Viardot, on 13 September 1859 that she compose her own cadenza for this number:[350]

I forgot to tell you that in your 'air à roulades' that concludes the first act, it is absolutely essential to sing an astounding cadenza at the last fermata. Gluck calls for it.[351] So compose a lively mixture of vocalises for this moment and you will bring down the house as you leave the stage.[352]

Berlioz then hit upon the idea of using the previously heard theme 'just as instrumental virtuosos do in their concertos':[353]

Ex. 3-4. 'Objet de mon amour' as notated by Berlioz.

346   Howard and Gluck, *Orfeo*, 91–2.
347   It is not clear why Berlioz limited his efforts in this regard to the first act.
348   Loppert, 'The Gluck-Berlioz *Orphée Et Eurydice*', 18.
349   Berlioz, *Gluck and His Operas; with an Account of Their Relation to Musical Art*, 30–36.
350   Fauquet, 'Berlioz's version of Gluck's *Orphée*', in *Berlioz Studies*, 211.
351   Although Berlioz believed the aria not to be Gluck's work.
352   Fauquet, 'Berlioz's version of Gluck's *Orphée*', in *Berlioz Studies*, 211.
353   Ibid 212.

Rather than omitting a number that Gluck apparently did not compose, Berlioz capitalises on the uncertain authorship in order to create a vocal display that negates the spirit of reform that was central to the original (1762) *Orfeo*. Allowing his 'restorative' labours to extend to forgery,[354] Berlioz wrote: 'We will say, if we have to, that *this is the cadenza sung by Legros…* The Parisians will surely swallow it whole.'[355] In addition Berlioz, in his *feuilleton* of 22 November 1859 assigned the authorship of the cadenza solely to Viardot, writing that its effect was 'as thrilling as it was unexpected'. When this passage was published in *A travers chants* Berlioz removed those lines from the text 'and in doing so removed a falsehood fabricated 'for the cause'.[356] Berlioz came close to compromising himself, walking a thin line between restoration and forgery in making improvements to produce what he perceived as being a superior artistic result. In his journalism, Berlioz had often castigated other musicians whom he had perceived had failed to respect the composers' intentions. Viardot had asked Berlioz to orchestrate this contentious aria, but he had refused, pointing out how often he had 'exterminated those who took such liberties with a score'.[357] The reorchestration was left to Saint-Saëns. The joint composition of the cadenza for 'Quel est l'audacieux' was recounted many years later by Viardot and gives us some insight into the working dynamic between the protagonists in achieving their adaptation.

In his memoir, Reynaldo Hahn recalls visiting Pauline Viardot in 1901. They discussed '*Orfeo*, which she had 'revised and reconstituted':[358]

> *But I didn't do anything,' she said 'that didn't have the absolute approval of Berlioz and Saint-Saëns. Even that famous cadenza – I had the honour of taking the blame for it – which I sang in the great bravura aria was decided by the three of us!' She went to the piano… she played the fermata slowly, stopping to explain to me each one's contribution. The first part (by Berlioz) is fine; the second (by Saint-Saëns) goes a bit overboard; the little run written by the singer is too 'singer-ese' and the last part, by Berlioz, could just as well have been written by the concierge.[359]*

354 The notion of forgery or deception regarding works of the past was regarded perhaps more playfully in those times. Saint-Saëns, in a reminiscence of Viardot records: 'One day …Mme Viardot announced her intention of letting them hear a magnificent aria by Mozart that she had discovered; and she sang them a long aria with recitatives, arioso and a final allegro, which was praised to the skies and which she had quite simply written for the occasion.' In evaluating this Mozartian forgery by Viardot, Saint-Saëns says 'I have read this aria; even the sharpest critic might have been taken in by it.' Saint-Saëns and Nichols, *Camille Saint-Saëns on Music and Musicians*, 169.
355 Fauquet, 'Berlioz's version of Gluck's *Orphée*', in *Berlioz Studies*, 212.
356 Ibid 213.
357 Ibid 199.
358 Reynaldo Hahn, 'Notes' *Journal D'un Musicien* (Paris, 1933), 7.
359 Ibid.

Ex. 3-5. The cadenza described by Madame Viardot. *'Cadence faite par Mme Viardot au dernier point d'orgue de l'air precedent'*.

Saint-Saëns, who was also convinced that the aria was the work of Bertoni, later wrote:

> *We took up the task [of writing the cadenza] with even greater enthusiasm as we were convinced we were fooling about with a piece whose composer merited no fidelity.*[360]

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[360]   Camille Saint-Saëns, *Portraits Et Souvenirs, L'art et les Artistes* (Paris,: Société d'édition artistique, 1900), 211. Fauquet, 'Berlioz's version of Gluck's *Orphée*', in *Berlioz Studies*, 212, fn 73.

This aria clearly remained a 'fly in the ointment' for Berlioz, an aspect of Gluck's opera that he was unable to resolve. In *A travers chants,*[361] he notes that when Adolphe Nourrit took the part of *Orphée* at the Opéra (1824),[362] he did not sing the troublesome aria, rather substituted an aria from *Echo et Narcisse,* 'O transport, ô désordre extreme!' Berlioz notes that the words and music of this number fit the situation well and concludes 'this, I think, is what should always be done.'[363]

Berlioz, Viardot and Saint-Saëns collaborated in creating an unlikely, though highly successful cadenza. With the authorship of the aria attributed to Bertoni rather than Gluck, it was felt that a license to ornament had been obtained. Masters such as Gluck were clearly considered worthy of great care in the preservation of their musical legacies. Those of a lesser rank did not merit the same respect.

A document has recently surfaced and been published in the Bärenreiter Berlioz Edition,[364] providing insight into how Viardot performed the role of Orphée in this revival.[365] This is Viardot's own vocal score of *Orphée* annotated to reflect her performances. Dynamics, accents, crescendi, diminuendi, alternative notes are all present and from here is it a short leap to the addition of runs, roulades etc.. Viardot was thoroughly practised in the ornamentation of vocal lines and this ensured her success, thrilling the audiences who Berlioz referred to as 'les chiens de dilettanti'.[366]

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361   Berlioz, *Gluck and His Operas; with an Account of Their Relation to Musical Art*, 36.
362   Ibid.
363   Ibid.
364   *New Edition of the Complete Works* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1967).
365   Christoph Willibald Ritter von Gluck, Joel-Marie Fauquet and Hector Berlioz, *Arrangements of Works by Other Composers. 1, Gluck* (Kassel; London: Bärenereiter, 2005), Appendix 4, 192–201.
366   Fauquet, 'Berlioz's version of Gluck's *Orphée*', in *Berlioz Studies,* 203.

Ex. 3-6. Gluck/Berlioz *Orphée*, 'J'ai perdu mon Eurydice', with performance markings by Pauline Viardot. Bärenreiter Berlioz Edition: Hector Berlioz: Vol. 22: Arrangements of works by other composers. Edited by Joël-Marie Fauquet. Bärenreiter-Verlag 2004. Appendix 4, page 201.

Orpheus's restoration (1859) exhibits several levels of curatorial practice at work within a general philosophy of a (for the times) basically purist stance. These include:

1. The revivalist position of Berlioz, who was eager to pay homage to Gluck and restore his works to the stage from which they had been absent for a number of years. By these means, Gluck's place in both the operatic

repertoire and music history would be secured. This was of personal significance for Berlioz as he saw himself as the heir, via his own compositions to the Gluckian mantle. 'Gluck, to Berlioz's way of thinking was a musician of the present who deserved to be liberated from the bonds of a now superseded past.' [367] 'In his efforts to produce the works of Gluck in an ideal fashion, Berlioz was actually under the influence of a grand idea that was in fact the credo of Second Empire society – that *progress* was possible in the arts as it was in all human endeavour. Such an idea resulted from two convictions: first, that modern copies, given their technical excellence, were superior to their ancient models; and second, that *all forms of expression* tended constantly to evolve towards perfection.' [368] 'Berlioz demonstrated his conviction that perceiving a work in purely aesthetic terms could give access to what time had rent obscure and could place that work in a kind of eternal present.' [369]

2. Berlioz the restorer, apologist and revisionist – who felt it necessary to correct faults of prosody, impractical orchestral writing and to question unremarkable musical numbers that disturbed his vision of Gluck the reformer. As early as 1839 Berlioz had commented upon the 'undeniable nullity' of the overture and the *airs de danse*, including the chaconne[370] Joël-Marie Fauquet notes that 'Berlioz had so closely incorporated Gluck into his compositional universe as to forget the delicate boundary between piety and zeal.' [371] In relation to the same restorative work that Berlioz was to perform upon *Alceste* (in 1861), Fauquet discusses the position of Berlioz as 'one who claimed properly to understand the tradition in which the score was conceived.' [372]

3. The historical, curatorial influence of Viardot, stemming from a knowledge of vocal performance reaching back into the late 18th century. She once played Reynaldo Hahn a 'horribly ornamented rococo' version of 'J'ai perdu mon Euridice' that her brother [373] had found in an eighteenth-century manuscript that had belonged to a famous singer at the Sistine Chapel.[374] She brought to the project a wide knowledge of performance practice of music of earlier times, of which she was a distinguished exponent.

These differing standpoints all conjoined to reinvent Gluck's *Orphée* according to the Parisian *Zeitgeist* of 1859.

The following is Berlioz's account of Viardot's performance of the aria 'J'ai perdu mon Euridice':

> *Mme Viardot makes of it precisely what it is wanted to be; one of those prodigies of expression, wellnigh incomprehensible for vulgar singers and which are, alas! So often profaned. She delivered the theme in three different ways: firstly, with a*

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367   Ibid 206.
368   Ibid 208–9.
369   Ibid 209.
370   Fauquet, 'Berlioz's version of Gluck's *Orphée*', in *Berlioz Studies*, 222.
371   Ibid 235.
372   *The Cambridge Companion to Berlioz*, 202.
373   Manuel Patricio Rodríguez García (1805–1906) (son of Manuel García Senior), author of: *Manuel Garcia, Garcia's New Treatise on the Art of Singing. A Compendious Method of Instruction, with Examples and Exercises for the Cultivation of the Voice* (London, 1857).
374   Fauquet, 'Berlioz's version of Gluck's *Orphée*', in *Berlioz Studies*, 214.

contained grief and in a slow movement; then, after the episodal adagio: Mortel silence! Vaine espérance! – in sotto voce, pianissimo and with a trembling voice choked by a flood of tears; and finally, after the second adagio, she took the theme with a more animated movement, in quitting the body of Eurydice by the side of which she had been kneeling and in throwing herself, mad with despair, towards the opposite side of the scene, with the bitter cries and sobs of a distracted grief.[375]

How Gluck would have received the performance can only be guessed at. Joël-Marie Fauquet contextualises the approach of Viardot thus:

The word 'expression' is of course central to Romantic interpretation: Viardot, desirous of remaining faithful to Gluck, thus linked expressivity to ornamentation, the latter, for listeners, in 1859 – indicative of an authentic return to the 'classic' style.[376]

Berlioz – restorer of *Orpheus* and harbinger of subsequent curations

Berlioz believed he was performing a service to the memory of Gluck – breathing new life into a work that had also been seminal to his own development as a composer. After the première he was approached to prepare his *Orphée* edition for publication, but was prevented by ill health along with his efforts to secure a production for his recently completed *Les Troyens*.[377] He entrusted the preparation of a vocal score to Théodore Ritter,[378] which was duly published in 1859. A preface, written by Berlioz for this edition, divides responsibilities between the director of the *Théâtre Lyrique*, Léon Carvalho, himself and Pauline Viardot with Berlioz minimising his own involvement. This preface was published only in the first edition, which had a very small print run, so its circulation was negligible (the reasons for subsequently dropping the preface are unclear). In 1866 an edition appeared which was loosely based upon Berlioz's version. It was published by Gustav Heinze of Leipzig and edited by Alfred Dörffel[379] (this score was later published by Peters edition), with the approval of Berlioz – though it was altered in a number of ways. The edition incorporated music that had been cut by Berlioz, thus restoring the 1774 score, except for returning the role of Orpheus to the original (1762) alto pitch. The text was translated back into Italian from the French. This practice of back-translation misrepresents the text, distorting Calzabigi's original libretto. Ironically, in this version, the text that is recognised historically as the germinator of the operatic reform is bowdlerised. Charles Mackerras openly states that 'of the many Italian retranslations of the Paris version, two are still performed today' [that is, c1980]. 'The translation published by Ricordi is somewhat nearer to Calzabigi's original Italian than that published by Novello in England and Peters in Germany.'[380] Mackerras asserts that 'all of these editions use Berlioz' version [as stated, this is not quite the case] and it is this which is normally performed today.'[381]

375   Berlioz, *Gluck and His Operas; with an Account of Their Relation to Musical Art*, 19–20.
376   Fauquet, 'Berlioz's version of Gluck's *Orphée*', in *Berlioz Studies*, 233.
377   Composed 1856–58, première, 1863, Paris.
378   Théodore Ritter (1840–1886) French composer and pianist.
       http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Théodore_Ritter Accessed 18.04.15.
379   Alfred Dörffel (1821–1905) German pianist, music publisher and librarian.
       http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alfred_Dörffel Accessed 18.04.15.
380   Howard and Gluck, *Orfeo*, 100.
381   Ibid.

These editions have been widely in circulation for at least a century providing the performance material in opera houses for most of the twentieth century. The Peters edition has erroneously been accepted and known as 'Berlioz's version' as well as being confused with Gluck's own Paris version of 1774. According to Fauquet 'One might even go as far as to say that Gluck's *Orphée* and Berlioz's *Orphée* have, by assimilation, become one'.[382]

A further edition is significant – the so-called Pelletan edition, which appeared in 1898, edited by Saint-Saëns and Tiersot. This edition was frequently performed in France during the first 60 years of the twentieth century and faithfully reproduced the version of 1774.[383]

In 1914, Hermann Abert[384] prepared an edition of *Orfeo*, with the intention of returning to the original version of 1762. This score was rarely used as a performing edition, due to the fact it appeared in a musicological series (*Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*) and was not widely circulated. Abert's daughter, Anna Amelie Abert,[385] further edited this version for the Bärenreiter collected edition of Gluck's works in 1963, and it is this score that has been influential in drawing attention to the 1762 version. As no autograph of *Orfeo* (1762) survives, Ms Abert depended on the first edition of 1764 (published in Paris), which was checked and probably supervised by Gluck. In addition, the editor examined all surviving early copies, as well as the Parma edition of 1769.

The recording producer Pieter Andriessen refers to *Orfeo* (1762) in Abert's 1963 edition as a 'model which is academically valid as well as practical'.[386] This is reassuring, although he continues: 'In our opinions her edition is even too good. Her text is 'better' than that which Gluck made available to his contemporaries. Indications of phrasing and articulation have been completed by comparison to analogous passages or on the basis of annotations in the copies. The timpani and trumpet parts have been extended and for the final ballet alternative instrumentation has been provided.'[387] Andriessen goes on to say that he has no quarrel with this editorial practice, but he has chosen to adopt a text that 'had the approval of Gluck' (even though Berlioz makes it clear that Gluck's own adaptation of his work was, at best, sloppy and inconsistent). Andriessen's position was that 'we always borned [*sic*] in mind that the 1762 edition was best, unless proved otherwise.' He notes that he had studied many available sources and that 'with this study of the sources we did not wish to produce a better edition but to achieve as good a performance as possible'. This implies a line of divide between the best performance and the best edition. Tovey's view of Gluck is relevant here: 'the technical defects of the

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382   Fauquet, 'Berlioz's version of Gluck's *Orphée*', in *Berlioz Studies*, 236.
383   Pieter Andriessen, 'From Dramma in Musica to Concert Opera', liner notes for *Orfeo ed Euridice*, Accent CD ACC 30023 (1982), 24.
384   Hermann Abert (1871–1927). German music historian.
       http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hermann_Abert Accessed 12.04.15.
385   Anna Amalie Abert (1906–1996) German musicologist.
       http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anna_Amalie_Abert Accessed 12.04.15.
386   Andriessen, 'From Dramma in Musica to Concert Opera', liner notes for *Orfeo ed Euridice*, 25.
387   Ibid.

composer do, in fact require some intervention on the part of the conductor or editor.'[388]

Anyone wishing to perform *Orpheus* today is therefore faced with not only a choice of versions but also a plethora of editions of widely varying reliability, many offering hybridised variants rather than reflecting any one of the composer's versions. It might seem obvious then to choose the Bärenreiter critical edition.[389] However, as recently as 1980 John Eliot Gardiner lamented the fact that, although a full score was published in 1963, no corresponding orchestral material was for either hire or sale,[390] making performance of the edition practically impossible.

Which version to perform? John Eliot Gardiner says that 'with this opera, first is best: … no-one, neither Gluck himself nor Berlioz nor any of the well-meaning arrangers … has ever improved upon the inspired, perfectly proportioned 'Baroque' *Orfeo* of 1762.'[391] It is therefore hard to fathom why Gardiner's first recording of Gluck's opera used the Berlioz version of 1859. In justifying his choice in that instance, Gardiner purported to be 'offering a fascinating and plausible alternative version of the opera ('secondary authenticity' you could call it) for those occasions when the title-role is required to be sung by a female mezzo in preference to – or in the absence of – a castrato … or of a 'damnably high' tenor.'[392] Against this statement, Gardiner elsewhere has written that the Berlioz version 'far from combining the 'best of both worlds' involves the use of a female Orpheus and transpositions in key, sex and character which were never sanctioned by Gluck.'[393] Gardiner further asserts that 'Berlioz retained all the essentials of Gluck's orchestration'[394] – which indeed was Berlioz' own claim, though he did make a number of changes, which can be seen very clearly for example in No 3, 'Objet de mon amour', where two clarinets are added, in addition the echo effect of the original is highlighted by creating an onstage orchestra with violin, oboe and cello. In 2008 Gardiner conducted a production of *Orphée et Eurydice* for the reopening of the Théâtre du Châtelet in Paris and again chose the Berlioz 1859 revision. 'Underlining his preference for this version, he performed the opera with the nineteenth-century period instruments of his Orchestre Revolutionnaire et Romantique.'[395]

While reliable scores exist of both the Vienna and Paris versions of *Orpheus*, it remains rare, even in historically informed performances, to hear either score without some modifications or conflations of the two versions. The operatic practice

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388   'Christopher Willibald Gluck (1714–87) and the musical revolution of the eighteenth century'. Donald Francis Tovey, *Essays and Lectures on Music* ([S.l.]: Oxford U.P., 1949). 67.

389   Which publishes three different scores, 1762, 1774 and the Berlioz/Viardot conflation. Gluck, Moline and Calzabigi *Orphée et Euridice*; Christoph Willibald Ritter von Gluck and Hermann Abert, *Orfeo Ed Euridice*. Originalpartitur Der Wiener Fassung Von 1762 (Graz: Akad. Druck- u. Verl., 1960); Glu*ck, Fauquet and Berlioz, Arrangements of Works by Other Composers. 1, Gluck*.

390   Material is currently on hire, but not for sale: Howard and Gluck, *Orfeo*, 113.

391   John Eliot Gardiner, 'Introducing the Gluck-Berlioz *Orphée* of 1859, *Gluck Orphée et Eurydice* Booklet accompanying EMI CD 7 49834 2 (1989), 22.

392   Ibid.

393   Howard and Gluck, *Orfeo*, 116.

394   Gardiner, 'Introducing the Gluck-Berlioz *Orphée* of 1859, 22.

395   http://www.prestoclassical.co.uk/r/EMI/2165779 Accessed 10/06/14.

of Gluck's day suggests that this circumstance would not be particularly concerning to the composer. In his version, Berlioz emerges as an arbiter between the distant (1762) past and the (1859) present. Gluck's operas, even his later, reformist works maintain a foot in the 'distant past'[396] and Berlioz creates a link, a point of mediation between that and the modern stage, which is still found to be relevant.

While the focus of this study has been upon versions, adaptations and authenticity, the choice of soloist for the title role is an integral part of *Orpheus's* continued success. Guadagni was an extraordinary artist, a sympathetic exponent of Gluck's reformist aesthetic who went on to become one of the most famous singers in Europe. The criteria for an ideal Orpheus has shifted with the times, from the otherworldly castrato, to the heroic *haute-contre*, to the ambiguous mezzo-soprano and (almost) full circle to the historically acceptable counter tenor, via baritones (including Fischer-Dieskau), transposed tenors and sopranos. While recordings may facilitate an exact reading of one version or another in the interests of historical verisimilitude, the key to the viability of *Orpheus* in the modern operatic museum is in arriving at a version that allows the title role to emerge in a form that is relevant to the spirit of the times. While this notion is virtually *de rigueur* in terms of modern opera production, the amount of musical intervention that *Orpheus* frequently undergoes to be realised on the stage is well in excess of that of the slightly later Mozart operatic canon.

Tovey has noted (above)[397] that due to Gluck's technical deficiencies, 'some intervention' is required to realise *Orpheus* in performance. A comparison may be drawn with an eighteenth-century painting that has been ravaged by the passing of time, sustaining paint losses or perhaps colour distortion due to unstable pigments or the technical limitations of the artist, creating the dilemma of how much intervention may be required or advisable to restore the work to something akin to its original state. In the case of old, deteriorating over-painting that covers paint losses, this may, in spite of the deterioration be the only link to the authentic paintwork – thus representing 'secondary authenticity'. The earlier restorer may have had knowledge of the complete work that the modern restorer can only surmise. While there may be a general policy of removing old accretions in order to reveal the work as closely as possible to the way it was intended by the artist, this may not in all cases be possible or advisable. The process may highlight the effects of ageing (rather than reveal unsullied the moment of completion) – unstable colours, damaged paintwork, losses that cannot be definitively reconstructed may be revealed. Many viewers may regard an artwork as complete when it maintains the patina of age that has built up, creating an air of mystery, rather than experience the past emerging suddenly into the bright light of day. Implicit (but not often acknowledged) in both the operatic and the art museum is that for works to retain a place in the repertory/permanent display they must be presented in a way that makes them appear valid and authentic, but also aesthetically acceptable to the viewer. At this point historicism often becomes selective, as it does in the case of *Orpheus*. 'Gluck the great reformer' coexists uneasily with 'Gluck the opportunist', 'Gluck the uneven composer' or 'Gluck the sloppy craftsman'. Berlioz is allowed to employ curatorial subterfuge in restoring Gluck's works for his own times, thereby perpetuating myths.

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396   Abbate and Parker, *A History of Opera: The Last Four Hundred Years*, 36.
397   Tovey, *Essays and Lectures on Music*.

Orpheus can be seen to have undergone a continual transformation since its première, adapting its identity according to market forces, including the current market, in which allegiance to authenticity is a primary criterion. The work has over time undergone adaptations so extreme as to bring its very identity into question. Mention of *Orpheus* inevitably brings about associations with the 'hit' tune, 'Che faro', and it cannot be discounted that the opera and this aria are inextricably linked in the public imagination – the aria being seen as representative of the opera in a similar fashion to the way a reproduction can represent to an art enthusiast an original work. In the past *Orpheus* has been subject to such extreme adaptations that little of Gluck's original has remained beyond this aria. Its presence has come to act as an *ersatz* for Gluck's entire opera and become entwined with the composer's own identity as a harbinger of operatic reform, although this too has become muddied and confused in the popular imagination. The widespread adaption of Gluck's opera can be equated with the 'ravages of time' that threaten a plastic artwork. Gluck belongs to a distant past that requires curatorial assistance to ensure the survival of his works and it is no longer the case that his original reformist score of 1762 fulfils a manifestation of *Orpheus* that is acceptable in the modern opera house – nor is it the case that any of the composer-driven versions of *Orpheus* would have been considered by the composer to have been definitive. The next chapter considers matters of preservation and authenticity, concepts that are far from clear-cut when attempting to define the identity of Gluck's *Orpheus*.

CHAPTER FOUR

Curation, preservation and authenticity

The unreliable past

> *The past is a foreign country whose features are shaped by today's predilections, its strangeness domesticated by our own preservation of its vestiges. Preservation has deepened our knowledge of the past but dampened our creative use of it. ... the past, once virtually indistinguishable from the present, has become an ever more foreign realm, yet one increasingly suffused by the present.[398]*

David Lowenthal[399] investigates both the desirability and impossibility of existing in the past, presenting an account of the delusional games people play in order to create a semblance of communion with what is lost. He states that 'the past as we know it is partly a product of the present; we continually reshape memory, rewrite history, refashion relics.'[400]

This chapter explores the influence of the passing of time in both the operatic and art museum. In the art museum the preservation and restoration of decaying materials is a central concern. Faced with the complexity (or impossibility) of returning an art object to the exact ('finished') state that it was left in by its creator, constructs have been developed to deal with the inevitability of decay, while keeping sight of matters of authenticity among criteria of restoration. In the operatic museum, authenticity is similarly complex to quantify, many works displaying multiple 'authenticities', which are challenging to decipher. For example, the aria of Manrico, 'Di quella pira' in Verdi's *Il trovatore,* is always sung with an extended interpolated high 'C' that is not to be found in the score. Evidence linking this practice with the composer is scant,[401] nonetheless has it become an inseparable part of the performance tradition, to the extent that a tenor not incorporating the 'C' would be inviting a hostile reaction from the public. In this case, the accretion of tradition is favoured over the literal text of the composer. A further layer of complication is added by the fact that a number of tenors transpose the aria down a semitone or even a tone, altering fundamental key relationships within the opera in order to simulate ('forge') a note not written by the composer.

In the operatic museum, establishing authenticity centres around the use of a reliable text, in the form of a critical edition that can be used as a performance

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398   David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), xvii

399   Ibid.

400   Ibid 26. See, for example, Noah Charney, *The Art of Forgery* (Phaidon, 2015).

401   The Chicago critical edition does not include the high 'C' in the body of the text. The critical report notes that the first written evidence is from 1869–70, though Budden 'suggests the tradition may be older.' Giuseppe Verdi et al., *Il trovatore: Dramma in Quattro Parti (Dramma in Four Parts)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Milan: Ricordi, 1993, 1992), xxxiii.

edition, while further reflecting the (often complex) threads of operatic dissemination, where authorial intent, persistent traditions and the wiles of singers require great expertise to unravel. Even in modern performance practice there remains a tendency for many operas to be given in some kind of adaption (the practice of *pasticcio*[402] remains a persistent background voice in opera) creating complex problems for performers in adopting performing versions that fulfil basic criteria of authenticity, while remaining viable for the operatic stage. However criteria for obtaining authenticity over the four hundred years of operatic history are in no way constant. Few musicians today could play Monteverdi's *Poppaea* from the original score. It requires careful deciphering by experienced editors and specialists in the style of the period, who, given the proliferation of modern editions (aside from the issue of differing versions) have trouble reaching a consensus on what the composer intended. An early nineteenth century Italian opera score may look relatively simple on paper, however the composer has, in such a case (for example, that of Verdi's *Il trovatore)* specified only around 75 percent of the musical parameters of the work. Alban Berg, in his two operas, *Wozzeck* (1925) and *Lulu* (1937) sought a far greater authorial control, linking musical phrases very precisely and specifically to stage directions, to the extent of 'composing' silence for the raising and lowering of the stage curtain in *Wozzeck,*[403] as well as composing precise cues and rhythms for the wheezing of the asthmatic Schigolch in *Lulu.*[404] Berg was influenced in these matters by his teacher, Arnold Schoenberg who, in his opera 'Die Glückliche Hand'[405] (1910–13) specified in the printed score not only detailed staging instructions, but also an extremely detailed lighting plot, on precise musical cues, involving a complex series of colours. In spite of this almost obsessive authorial control on the part of Schoenberg and Berg, productions of their operas frequently fail to adhere to these instructions. A curious, potentially contradictory sideline to the greater authorial control of these composers is their adoption of *Sprechstimme*, a means of declamation that cedes a great deal of interpretive freedom to the performer. It is thereby seen that the operatic repertoire encompasses many levels of 'authenticity' and it is often forgotten that until the nineteenth century, improvisation in performance and the adaptability of the structure of an operatic work was an innate part of its identity, accepted and factored into the thinking of the composer in producing it. In considering *Texttreue*, there is an assumption that a text (printed or hand written) represents the final wishes of the composer. In the case of *Werktreue* and its application to opera, it might be conjectured that what was performed at the première (particularly if it was led or conducted by the composer) represents the ultimate authenticity. In reality,

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402   The practice of *pasticcio* has undergone a reassessment recently, with the Metropolitan Opera mounting *The Enchanted Island* in 2011.
http://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/25/arts/music/customizing-a-mash-up.html Accessed 20.4.15.

403   Between Acts 2 and 3. Berg, Alban, Hans Erich Apostel, Vida Harford and Eric A. Blackall. Georg Buechners *Wozzeck. Oper in 3 Akten* (15 Szenen) Op. 7. Partitur. *Nach Den Hinterlassenen Endgültigen Korrekturen Des Komponisten Revidiert Von H. E. Apostel* (1955). English Translation by Eric Blackall and Vida Harford. [in German and English words.]. Wien et al: Universal Edition, 1955.

404   Berg, Alban, Erwin Stein, Friedrich Cerha, Frank Erdgeist Wedekind and Frank Büchse der Pandora Wedekind. *Lulu: Oper in Drei Akten*. Korrigierte Ausg. ed. Wien: Universal Edition, 2000.

405   Schoenberg, Arnold. *Die Glückliche Hand; Drama mit Musik*. Wien: Universal Edition, 1917.

the situation is far more complex with most operas, especially when their subsequent dissemination is considered.

In the case of the plastic arts, authenticity is similarly focused around the notion that a painting or sculpture can be restored to the moment that it was deemed to be 'complete' by the artist – a notion that has not gone unchallenged. As the works of any artist recede into the past, the attempts of subsequent generations to restore them become noticeably 'dated', open to challenge by connoisseurs and critics alike. The appearance of Old Master paintings in well funded American art museums, with their highly and brightly varnished surfaces, would likely cause horror to the artists.[406] Similarly, the high sheen sound world of the Chicago Symphony or the Metropolitan Opera Orchestras, while conforming to modern taste and preferences, is quite foreign to that envisaged by many composers.

This might be described as declining authenticity – but how far is it possible to diverge from a composer's or an artist's original expectations and working practices before authenticity becomes quantifiably compromised? And what then remains? At what point is the viewer/auditor faced with a poor copy or else a fake? As will be discussed in the case of the paintings of Rembrandt, many art lovers have visited galleries over a long period of time, only to find in recent years that a favourite Rembrandt painting has been deaccessioned – no longer considered to be the work of the master. It is a matter of conjecture exactly what the identity of the remaining work may (or may not) be. In opera the decline in authenticity often entails tiny details being either gradually lost, ignored or misinterpreted, which can cause a work to gradually 'go out of focus' over time (a parallel to the decay of materials in the plastic arts), the resultant ambiguity leaving it vulnerable to further changes and distortion. During the twentieth century such shifts of focus have often been tacitly accepted by both art and operatic museums. A visitor to an art gallery may acquire a coffee mug adorned with a reproduction of a work from the collection. The mug comes to represent the experience had by the visitor, evoking a 'fake experience'. Opera companies regularly offer for sale recordings (both audio and visual) of works in their current and future repertoire as marketing tools, offering opera lovers attending the performance an 'almost live' repeat experience at home. While such reproductions make artworks (or reproductions thereof) more widely accessible, the apparent interchangeability of the real and the reproduction is disturbing, the reproduction often evoking some past memory of what was real. These distinctions are made implicit in the term 'hyperreality',[407] expounded in Umberto Eco's essay '*Travels in Hyperreality*' (1975).[408]

The Albertina Museum, Vienna owns a famous drawing by Albrecht Dürer – Young Hare (1502), which is rarely displayed: 'After a maximum of three months, Young Hare needs five years in dark storage with a humidity level of less than 50 percent for the paper to adequately rest'.[409] To maintain some semblance of accessibility of this elusive jewel of the Albertina collection, 'as mandated by the museum's original owners (part of the Habsburg royal family) every graphic work

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406   'Lord Duveen … who specialised in the sale of old masters to American millionaires, was once asked why he put such a high varnish on his pictures. … his rich clients, he said, liked to see their reflection in the pictures they had bought.' Walden, *The Ravished Image or, How to Ruin Masterpieces by Restoration.*
407   http://faculty.washington.edu/cbehler/glossary/hyperrea.htm Accessed 30.4.15.
408   Umberto Eco, *Faith in Fakes: Essays* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1986), 1–58.
409   http://www.bbc.com/culture/story/20150123-7-masterpieces-you-cant-see Accessed 30.4.15

has a facsimile that can be viewed more readily, including one of Young Hare. A Google Cultural Institute Gigapixel image of the Hare is digitally viewable – 'the better to see the reflections in the bunny's eyes with':[410] so runs the publicity. Dürer's iconic work has become both highly visible and equally invisible in recent times, the 'authentic' work substituted by a very accessible reproduction that calls into question the value of experiencing the work of art in its original form (Google is nearly as good).

Several Mozart operas, including *Idomeneo, Titus* and *Der Schauspieldirektor* are routinely subject to significant alteration in modern performances to an extent that draws the authenticity of the results into question. If not authentic, what is the status of these performances? 'Fake'? The opera industry is also a nostalgia industry. The proliferation of scholarly editions hardly displaces (in the minds of opera lovers) the corpus of iconic recordings by great singers and conductors of the last hundred years. Notions of authenticity for many music lovers are embedded between the crackles of recorded documents of the past. While modern scholarship seeks to remove accretions of the past, revealing an objective picture of a composer's intentions, such work endangers the layers of accumulated performance traditions that in many cases have become an integral part of a work's identity. In some cases critical editions have acknowledged this – for example, a recent (2008) publication of Rossini's *Barbiere*, which incorporates ornamentation that has accumulated around this work over the last two hundred years. The Rossini complete edition is an instructive example of the challenges of modern operatic scholarship – it publishes on the one hand works such as *Barbiere* with its incredible richness of performance traditions that are not easily removable from the work, like an old varnish that has sandwiched between its layers the final touches of the artist. The same edition also presents works that effectively have no performance tradition, such as *Ermione*[411] (1819) and *Il viaggio a Rheims*[412] (1825). While an art museum, in undertaking a restoration may change the appearance of a painting 'forever', the world of opera acquires ever more accretions – successive critical editions, each considered a revelation at the time of publication; recordings, many made from editions no longer considered reliable. What status do these editions have? The nostalgia for a lost past (which in part inspired the activities of the Florentine Camerata)[413] along with mistrust of the present continues to pervade opera, keeping it locked in an 'ideal' past, reminiscent of the resistance the scientific approach to art restoration receives from art connoisseurs.

The blurred distinctions between the authentic and non-authentic, the real and the fake remain unsettling: in a world where fakes and genuine articles sit side by

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410   Ibid.

411   Gioacchino Rossini et al., *Ermione: Azione Tragica in Due Atti* (Pesaro: Fondazione Rossini Pesaro; Milano: Distribuzione affidata a casa Ricordi, 1995).

412   Gioacchino Rossini, Luigi Balocchi and Janet Lynn Johnson, *Il Viaggio a Reims, O Sia, L'albergo Del Giglio D'oro = the Journey to Rheims or, the Inn of the Golden Fleur-De-Lys: Dramma Giocoso in Un Atto* (Milano: Ricordi, 2006).

413   'The Romantic humanist withdraws from the light of a rational civilisation that is too bright and harsh for him, into the half-darkness of an unreal, in fact purely literary world, a distant dream world, placed as far as possible 'back' in the past, in which he can build his own wonderland. Because he finds so little comfort in his present situation he takes refuge in the 'ideal' past, antiquity – where the masses cannot follow him.' Alfred von Martin: *Soziologie der Renaissance* (Munich 1974), 84. Konold and Inter Nationes, *German Opera, Then and Now: Reflections and Investigations on the History and Present State of the German Musical Theatre*, 10.

side and are frequently confused, 'authenticity' remains elusive. Writers such as Lowenthal give the impression that the search is itself a chimera, a sign of a civilisation in decline.[414] The image of the astronaut cut loose from the mother ship in Stanley Kubrick's *2001*[415] (occurs after the 'intermission' around 1:23-1:34) is a metaphor for every work of the past. Alarmed at the resulting separation, attempts are made to construct a capillary, thereby maintaining a connection, but these are desperate modern constructs, wired in by a civilisation in crisis.

Restoration: the fragility of the past

The restorer, unlike the orchestral conductor, is emphatically not a performer; indeed he should deliberately avoid imposing his own personality or the personality of his epoch, on the work of art in his care. The highest accolade he should aspire to is for a painting to look as though it had never been touched. In real life, however … it is possible to walk around exhibitions and classify paintings according to where they have been treated, when and even by whom.[416]

The restoration of art objects has historically been a controversial matter[417] with a perception that 'every generation of restorers condemns the excesses of its predecessors but believes in its own technical mastery.'[418] Vandalism of artworks has played an unexpectedly facilitating role in furthering the cause of restoration during the twentieth century, with restoration teams intervening in times of crisis, for example after the attack on the Michelangelo '*Pieta*' in 1972[419] and the 1975 slashing of Rembrandt's *Night Watch.*[420] The Rembrandt attack afforded the restoration team an opportunity to subject the painting to more wide-ranging intervention than would have otherwise been possible. Opportunities for a 'full' restoration, employing state-of-the art techniques, were feasible and acceptable as they occurred within the context of resuscitating a major artwork that might otherwise have been lost. Consideration of past restorations and their limitations brings about the realisation that each generation works within the limits of the knowledge and techniques of their own time, often unknowingly removing evidence that could be useful to subsequent generations and not infrequently botching a restoration completely, effectively destroying the work. The restorations instituted by Arthur Evans at Knossos have long ago revealed their limitations, the restored wall paintings from circa 1600 B.C. betraying unmistakable references to the style of art nouveau. Evelyn Waugh remarked that those engaged to repaint the frescoes had 'tempered their zeal for accurate reconstruction with a somewhat inappropriate predilection for covers of Vogue'[421] Similar inadvertent anachronisms present in the

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414   'A civilisation which tends to conserve is a civilisation in decline'. In: Pierre Boulez and Célestin Deliège, *Pierre Boulez, Conversations with Célestin Deliège* (London ([48 Great Marlborough St., W1V 2BN]): Eulenburg Books, 1976), 33.

415   http://www.kubrick2001.com/ Accessed 30.4.15.

416   Walden, *The Ravished Image or, How to Ruin Masterpieces by Restoration*, 96.

417   Molière proposed in relation to human medicine that the cure can do more damage than the ailment. A comment by Walden is also relevant here: 'There are two sure ways of destroying a painting: to restore it or not to restore it.' Ibid 15.

418   James H. Beck and Michael Daley, *Art Restoration: The Culture, the Business and the Scandal*, Pbk. ed. (London: J. Murray, 1994), 128.
       http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,905967,00.html Accessed 30.4.15.

420   http://www.rembrandthuis.nl/en/rembrandt/belangrijkste-werken/de-nachtwacht Accessed 30.4.15.

421   http://www.civilization.org.uk/minoans/sir-arthur-evans Accessed 30.4.14.

area of forgery where, for example the Vermeer forgeries of Han van Meegeren[422] managed to fool art institutions, leading art scholars and connoisseurs during the 1930s and 40s. It is clear today, not even a century after the scandal that the pastiches of van Meegeren bear little resemblance to what is today recognised as the style of Vermeer; in particular it has been noted that a number of the female faces van Meegeren painted bear an uncanny likeness to Marlene Dietrich.[423]

In the operatic museum, works have often been widely adapted (even to the point of compromising their identity) in order to maintain their repertory status, bringing their features into conformity with modern sensibilities. Some of these 'adaptations', with the advantage of hindsight, are as unlikely as van Meegeren's 'film star' recreations that supposedly evoke the seventeenth century. Two examples of variants in readings from Mozart and Verdi demonstrate the process of 'losing focus' and 'refinding focus'. An edition of Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte*[424] contains what seems to be a curious printing error. At the end of No. 6,[425] (*terzetto*), there is a chord missing from the last bar:

Ex. 4-1. Mozart, '*Il Flauto Magico,*' no. 6, Trio, bars 66–71. London, Boosey and Co., 1871.

The correct version, given by all modern editions (including the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe)*[426] is as follows:

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422   See for example: Frank Wynne, *I Was Vermeer: The Legend of the Forger Who Swindled the Nazis*, Large print ed. ed. (Leicester: Ulverscroft, 2007).
423   Walden, *The Ravished Image or, How to Ruin Masterpieces by Restoration*, 19.
424   Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, J. Pittman and Arthur Sullivan, *Il Flauto Magico. Opera in Two Acts,*With Italian and English Words. Edited by Arthur Sullivan and J. Pittman (London; New York: Boosey and Co, 1871), 57.
425   Herein, all designations of musical numbers in Mozart operas correspond to the Barenreiter, NMA edition.
426   Henceforth referred to as the 'NMA'.

Ex. 4-2. Mozart, '*Die Zauberflöte*,' no. 6, bars 65–71.

The reading given in Ex. 4-1 is not confined to this Novello score; for example an arrangement for piano duet by Alexander von Zemlinsky of *Die Zauberflöte*[427] (c1900) gives the same reading. This is all the more surprising as Zemlinsky moved in influential circles, including those of Mahler, as will be discussed further in relation to Beethoven's *Fidelio*. Zemlinsky would have witnessed Mahler's *Zauberflöte* performances at the Vienna Hofoper.[428] The excision of this single chord apparently became the practice in selective contexts during the nineteenth century, obscuring the effect intended by Mozart of a sudden, unprepared ending, providing a comic touch: this was clearly misunderstood and replaced with something more regular, even polite. What was preferred (at least in some circles) and acceptable in the nineteenth century has subsequently been confirmed as a misreading – a misunderstanding of Mozart's musical language.

The *Brindisi* from Verdi's *La Traviata* is universally known to opera lovers. However anyone encountering the critical edition of Verdi's *La Traviata*[429] will be surprised at the apparent omission of one bar, creating an effect that is unexpected and disorienting. Up until the printing of the critical edition (1996), the version of this passage universally known and performed was as follows:

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427 Mozart/Zemlinsky, *Die Zauberflöte*, für Klavier zu 4 Händen, UE708A.
     Universal edition, Vienna, 41.
428 1897, 1898, 1899–1900, 1901. Henry-Louis de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler*, 4 volumes, vol. 2
     (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 879.
429 Giuseppe Verdi et al., *La Traviata: Melodramma in Tre Atti (Melodramma in Three Acts)*
     (Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Milano: Ricordi, 1997, 1996).

Ex. 4-3. *La Traviata 'Brindisi'* as traditionally performed, bars 319–32.

The version published by the Chicago Verdi edition is as follows:

Ex. 4-4. *La Traviata 'Brindisi'* as printed in the Ricordi Critical Edition, bars 319–31.

The publication of this reading of the *Brindisi* in the critical edition was met with initial incredulity. When the critical edition is used in performance today, the 'missing' bar is more often than not restored. However, if the 1996 edition is accurate, the *Brindisi* has been (and continues to be) performed incorrectly for nearly 150 years.

There is an unwritten expectation that cultural artefacts offer an acceptable view of the past – and a reliable one. Lowenthal notes that:

> *celebrating some of its aspects, expunging others, we reshape the past in line with present needs. How do we alter what we recall, what we chronicle and what we preserve? ... Memory, history and relics of early times shed light on the past. But the*

past they reveal is not simply what happened; it is in large measure a past of our own creation, moulded by selective erosion, oblivion and invention.[430]

The re-shaping of a musical score as outlined above may be an easily reversible process. The question of cleaning and restoring an Old Master painting, returning it to its 'original' condition potentially brings about more permanent (less reversible) change, something akin to a facelift – and as prone to miscalculation.

The 'Intentional Fallacy' versus '*Werktreue*'

These matters are explored by Steven Dykstra in an article that discusses matters of artist's intent, along with 'the role of the artist in the continued existence of the artwork' and the question of 'the autonomy of artworks from their creators.'[431] The twentieth century formulation 'that the goal of art conservation should be to present the artwork as the artist originally intended it to be seen'[432] is the origin of a much-rehearsed argument, which ignited during the 1940s when the cleaning of Old Master paintings at the National Gallery, London became a major controversy, fought out in art journals by such eminent figures as Ernst Gombrich,[433] Otto Kurz[434] and Joyce Plesters.[435] The debate was waged by two opposing groups (it became known as the Gombrich-Ruhemann debate), with the intuitive, subjective approach of the connoisseurs pitted against a new breed of art restorer who adopted a hard-edged, objective, scientific stance.

In 1933, Kenneth Clark[436] became director of the National Gallery in London, establishing a Scientific Department.[437] The cleaning of pictures has historically aroused hostility among not only the public but also art connoisseurs, so:

> *when the war broke out, the Gallery's pictures were evacuated to a cave in Wales and this offered Clark an irresistible opportunity: two restorers were hired to work full-time, undisturbed and unknown to the public. One of them, Helmut Ruhemann, was a zealot of 'scientific' restoration. After the war he was appointed to head the Gallery's new department of conservation and he established the culture of radical or total cleaning that is still in place today.*[438]

The ensuing controversy (that still rages) was focused around the question of whether the removal of varnishes and glazes alters a picture in a way that distorts the artists' intentions. It was suggested that painters of the Renaissance and earlier were extremely well aware of the properties of the colours that they were using and that, in creating their pictures, they allowed for changes that the painters knew would take place over time. It was further suggested that some artists used pigmented (coloured) varnishes; thereby creating a patina that would bring out the

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430   Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country*, inside front cover.
431   Steven W Dykstra, 'The Artist's Intentions and the Intentional Fallacy in Fine Arts Conservation', *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* 35, 3 (1996): 197.
432   Ibid 198.
433   Ernst H Gombrich, 'Dark Varnishes: Variations on a Theme from Pliny', *The Burlington Magazine* (1962), 51–5.
434   Otto Kurz, 'Time the Painter', *The Burlington Magazine* (1963), 94–7.
435   Joyce Plesters, 'Dark Varnishes-Some Further Comments', *The Burlington Magazine* (1962), 452–60.
436   https://dictionaryofarthistorians.org/clarkk.htm Accessed 30.4.15.
437   Beck and Daley, *Art Restoration: The Culture, the Business and the Scandal*, 131.
438   Ibid 131–2.

'mutual harmony of colours'.[439] Thus, earlier painters were in the habit of incorporating methods into their practices to arrive at a finished, integrated, harmonised picture, intending a point of completion to be reached not when the artist finally put down his brush and applied varnish, but at some point in the future when all of the materials employed in painting the picture had settled to some degree. Various durations have been posited for this process, but exact timeframes remain vague. Another aspect of the controversy is that it was known that some artists, in applying successive glazes or varnish, retouched their pictures in between coats, applying the final touches between the layers, hence a full cleaning of varnishes and glazes will remove an integral part of the artists' work.[440] In a reply to the arguments of the distinguished historians noted above, Denis Mahon notes an unfortunate 'break-down of communication between some art historians on the one hand and some of those with particular experience of conservation problems on the other.'[441]

These debates revolve around the ultimate intentions of an artist in declaring his work finished, whether he factored in the transformation and eventual decay of the materials used, along with the issue of the point at which an artist's work has ended and whether that can be defined within the layers of varnishes and glazes by which he sealed the painting – the inevitable fading of which causes a work to become obscured and distorted over time. The issue of the finished 'work' and how it can be returned to that 'original state' by intervention continues to be argued.

Similar debates continue to enliven the field of opera, with Daniel Snowman identifying 'two rather different historiographies', one created by musicologists, along with another comprising social history.[442] Snowman evokes the force and polarity of such debates, noting that 'until recently, wire fences and closed gates rather than well-trodden pathways often marked the boundary between the two.'[443]

In recent years a number of new perspectives on the working methods and practices of Mozart in relation to his operas have been revealed by Ian Woodfield,[444] who represents a new wave of researchers who regard a Mozart opera as a collection of both primary and secondary texts and sources, all of which contain much valuable information, which is revealed as being more adaptable, more akin to an 'open work' than has previously been admitted. The notion that final operatic authenticity resides in Mozart's autographs is laid to rest, implying that the way a critical edition is conceived, printed and presented may change in the future to reflect more closely both the spirit of its creation and an authentic attitude to performance variants and choices.

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439   Denis Mahon, 'Miscellanea for the Cleaning Controversy', *The Burlington Magazine* (1962). This is a quote from Dr Otto Kurz, *The Burlington Magazine*, CIV (1962), 58.

440   For example, Delacroix, in a diary note of 7 February 1849: 'While I have been working on my picture The Women of Algiers, I have discovered how pleasant – how necessary even – it is to paint on top of the varnish. The only thing I need is either to find some means of preventing the varnish underneath from being attacked when the top coat of varnish is removed at some later date…'. Walden, *The Ravished Image or, How to Ruin Masterpieces by Restoration*, 133.

441   Mahon, 'Miscellanea for the Cleaning Controversy', *The Burlington Magazine*, 461.

442   Snowman, *The Gilded Stage: The Social History of Opera*, 4.

443   Ibid.

444   Ian Woodfield, *Mozart's Così Fan Tutte: A Compositional History* (Woodbridge; Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2008); *The Vienna Don Giovanni* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010).

The following extract from Woodfield's study of the Vienna version of *Don Giovanni* firmly refutes the possibility of fixing a point in time or identifying a single score where a Mozart opera can be considered definitively complete:

> *To the present-day reader, any reference to the 'score' of a Mozart opera will conjure up an image of a fixed entity: a volume in a collected edition, impressively bound, which presents a musical text refined by generations of scholarship. No such thing existed in eighteenth-century theatres. An opera 'score' in the 1780s would have consisted of a pile of unbound individual pieces, perhaps kept in paper folders for convenience or else loosely tied together. When Mozart decided to revise Don Giovanni in Vienna, he did not have to pull his autograph apart, all he had to do was remove from the pile any pieces that were not going to be performed on this occasion and add in any new music. That was indeed why scores were not bound; there was no expectation at all that one production would contain the same music as the next. The converse, if anything, was true; there was a fairly strong probability that each new production would require changes.*
>
> *...It would be impossible to write a study such as this one without using terms such as 'autograph', 'score', 'manuscript', 'source' or exemplar' which appear to imply a single fixed object, but it is of fundamental importance to keep in mind that these 'entities' were not yet in an immutable form. ... opera scores probably remained in these loose piles of gatherings, resembling nothing so much as a pack of cards ready to be shuffled ...*
>
> *...In this study, I distinguish between 'reference copy' and the 'conducting' copy, labels of convenience, chosen to represent the two main functions of opera scores in the late eighteenth century. The former was retained after the first performance run for use as an exemplar for commercial copies. Its text therefore tended to remain static. The latter consisted of materials used in rehearsing and directing the opera and the text tended to reflect the fluidity of the evolving work. Without doubt, scores of all kinds were used interchangeably, sometimes fulfilling one function, sometimes the other... In the reference score, for example, mistakes often went undetected but were fully corrected when spotted, while by contrast in the rehearsal room, significant errors would readily come to light but would not necessarily be rectified properly on the spot, other than in the parts.*
>
> *... philological evidence has pointed unequivocally to the fact that at least two early copies were involved in the first performance run and in the subsequent dissemination of the work, but any certainty ends there, ...On a strict definition, a 'theatre' score would be a copy commissioned, paid for and retained by the opera company. In this study, however I use the term more loosely to incorporate any copy that might be associated with the first production and its aftermath.*[445]

Woodfield notes that 'it would not be wrong to think of a Mozart opera as an unending stream of slightly different versions'.[446] His study includes consideration of the Vienna version of *Don Giovanni*, with a focus upon the known practicalities of theatre practices:

> *'Faced with the need to evaluate the process of revision, there has been a tendency to seek the greatest degree of perfection in one or other of its end points, either praising the original conception and thus of necessity disparaging any actions taken to revise or proclaiming the steady improvement of a raw artwork, until the gem is finally polished to perfection. The difficulty with this is that it equates the act of revision with movement towards or away from some kind of abstract, aesthetically ideal*

445   Ibid, *The Vienna Don Giovanni*, xii–xiii.
446   Ibid 2.

version, but one divorced from the practicalities of the theatre. In reality the changes Mozart made to his operas, especially those agreed during the rehearsal period, show him confronting an imperfect world: singers with vocal limitations or poor acting skills; worries about overall length; and restrictions on expenditure.[447]

Woodfield highlights the mutability ('inescapable fluidity')[448] of Mozart's operatic works, both prior and subsequent to their premières. In this sense, it could be considered that Mozart composed his operas with full knowledge of the shifting and adaptive nature of the genre he was working in. As will be shown in some detail, his works continued to be adapted and reworked long after his death. A gradual shift occurred after the publication of the AMA[449] (1877–83), when the search for authentic and definitive manifestations of Mozart's operas escalated. This shift in emphasis, while having great significance for scholars and offering clarity to performers, has gradually developed into an obsession with recreating the past exactly – 'I'm going to fix everything up the way it was before'[450] is the battle cry of the modern musicologist.

It is, however, the sheer impossibility of recreating the past that makes the quest so beguiling. In the area of painting conservation:

recent analytic research … makes the temporality of artists' materials painfully apparent. A work of art that is carefully protected from grime, environmental and mechanical stress, mishap and restoration is nonetheless subject to chemical decomposition. Changes in the material begin in the first instant of their use. Depending on the artist's choices, changes may be rapid or slow. But usually chemical change becomes apparent within a quarter century.[451]

In the case of opera, the issue of decay can be best formulated as the development of a potentially unbridgeable distance between the conditions for which a work was conceived and the present. So much has changed since, for example the eighteenth century: the size and design of opera theatres; the darkening of the theatre prior to performances commencing; the subsequent inability to consult a libretto during the performance; changes in the constitution of orchestras; the rise of the conductor as the dominant force in performance; changes in available voice types (for example, the extinction of the castrato, the demise of the haut-contre etc.). Dykstra's comment that 'the technical impossibility of stopping the deterioration of an artist's initial creation'[452] might be substituted in opera by 'the impossibility of stopping the gradual transformation of the conditions and resources required in performing a musical work.' As time continues to pass, the best that can be achieved is an approximation. The twentieth century has seen major developments unimaginable in earlier times; for example a Baroque opera that has lain dormant for centuries can today be experienced via a recording in the home of an opera lover. While clearly divorced from the 'authentic', opera house context, the experience is generally accepted today as representing a degree of 'authenticity' (a recording of a Baroque opera is likely to emphasise this characteristic in its

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447   Ibid.

448   Ibid xi.

449   The so-called *Alte Mozart Ausgabe* published by Breitkopf und Härtel. Henceforth referred to as the 'AMA'.

450   F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby* (New York,: Bantam books, 1946). Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country*, 324.

451   Dykstra, 'The Artist's Intentions and the Intentional Fallacy in Fine Arts Conservation', *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation*, 199.

452   Ibid 200.

marketing), though the experience undoubtedly falls into Eco's category of 'hyperreality'. Whether such practices in fact bring the past closer or maintain the work in anything approaching an authentic form remains arguable.

Dykstra notes that 'physical materials decay, but artists' purposes, aims, goals and objectives exist in a psychological arena where they do not decompose or deteriorate'.[453] This view has been challenged by the positivists, who preach an

> *emphasis on preservation and the use of knowledge in the physical and chemical sciences ... In the positivist's view, intuitions, impressions, insights, suppositions, feelings and the like are questionable and uncertain ways of understanding. 'Positive' knowledge depends upon empirical science.[454]*

Not only is there an ever-widening gap between works from the past and the present day but the means of dealing with the discrepancy in the museum context is far from unilateral – considerations of authenticity or *Werktreue* find little common ground between connoisseurs and their scientific-minded counterparts. Connoisseurs of the fine arts, for example doubt that paintings can be fully restored:

> *paintings change in time, Gombrich and his supporters argued and in a way that is not retractable; they cannot be returned to their original order and state as they appeared in the hands of their makers. Referring indirectly to the cleaning of Titian's Virgin and Child with Saints John and Catherine, Gombrich remarked, 'One should have thought it common ground that Titian is dead and that we cannot ask him what his intention was.[455]*

Dykstra ultimately sides with the connoisseurs:

> *In the long lingering aftermath of the National Gallery cleaning controversy, it eventually became clear that the positivist postulation about serving the artist's intention was hollow. A strict, technologically driven approach achieved only a scientifically bona fide presentation of authentic material – a presentation that did not necessarily reveal the artist's original creation, support conventions of connoisseurship or fulfil art historical research and precedent.[456]*

As will be discussed, many areas of operatic practice exhibit an uneasy existence in relation to the findings of scholarship, an area that has engaged in its own debates, often divorced entirely from the performance arena, an example being the 'unwritten appoggiatura' debate.[457]

Another aspect of the 'Intentional Fallacy' debate is the argument of 'Intentionalism (mistaken justification) versus Un- (or Anti-) intentionalism'.[458] This debate between conservators and art historians has also had a parallel in literary and philosophical circles[459] and it is further relevant to the operatic museum. The intentionalists claim that:

> *the artist's intent is neither available nor desirable as a standard for assessing artistic works: mistaken justification occurs when readers or beholders attribute*

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453   Ibid.
454   Ibid.
455   Dykstra, 'The Artist's Intentions and the Intentional Fallacy in Fine Arts Conservation', *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation*, 202.
456   Ibid 203.
457   See pages 225–231, and Chapter 7.
458   Dykstra, 'The Artist's Intentions and the Intentional Fallacy in Fine Arts Conservation', *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation*, 203.
459   Ibid.

scientific, critical or historical interpretations to the mentality of the author or artist. ... The intentional fallacy applies when critics, historians or conservators associate their analyses and interpretations with the artist's work and equate their conclusions with the artist's aims. ... Anti-intentionalists argued that the relevance of the artist's intent is found only in the artwork, not in the inner workings of the artist's psyche.[460]

A musical parallel exists in the case of Mozart, specifically his later works to which particular significance and meaning is attributed due to what is known of Mozart's state of mind at the time of composition and his proximity to death. In spite of the work of more recent commentators[461] in revising the known facts of the last months of Mozart's life, many romantic accretions persist, stemming from writers whose thinking is nineteenth-century based.[462] Mozart has been reinvented and reimagined by every generation since his death and the 1984 film 'Amadeus',[463] which at the time of its release seemed like a refreshing and believable portrait of the composer, now appears, with the distance of three decades, as just another attempt to reconstruct a portrait after a lost original.[464]

In the nineteenth century view, Mozart's final opera, *La clemenza di Tito* (K621) was at variance with the sort of music that he should have been writing just before his death. Mozart's failing health was cited[465] as compromising a work that did not please Emperor Leopold II, whose coronation created the commission. *Titus* subsequently suffered a chequered reception, failing to maintain a foothold in the repertoire, until a major reassessment of the work's viability began in the second half of the twentieth century.[466] Mozart's later operas have been canonised,[467] with *Titus* finding a place among the corpus – today it is inconceivable that Mozart's final opera could be excluded. Both the first and last works in the modern Mozart canon[468] (*Idomeneo* and *Titus*) require a degree of adaption to secure their places in the opera repertory, to the extent that the resultant gulf between score and performance produces two quite distinct entities. In composing *Titus,* Mozart would have been conscious of fulfilling a commission for a state occasion. Today *Titus* has a further significance – it stands as Mozart's final word in opera and a reminder of a career cut tragically short. It also fails to offer up the ambiguities, lofty aspirations and arcane, magical, allegorical worlds that *Die Zauberflöte* promises – a work that would have been, in the eyes of history, a more biographically fitting finale to Mozart's operatic *oeuvre.*

Defining the canon – attribution and authenticity

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460   Ibid 204.
461   H.C. Robbins Landon, *1791: Mozart's Last Year* (Thames and Hudson, 1988).
462   Notably Otto Jahn, Hermann Abert and Edward Dent.
463   http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0086879/ Accessed 30.4.15.
464   Max Friedländer discusses the phenomenon of ''Deductions a posteriori'from copies regarding lost originals'. He notes how a lost picture might be conjecturally recreated via an extant copy, thus ever new copies of Mozart are constructed and rendered tangible for modern times. Max J. Friedländer, *On Art and Connoisseurship*, Beacon Paperback, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1960), 246–9.
465   Edward J. Dent, *Mozart's Operas, a Critical Study*, 2d ed., Oxford Paperbacks, (London,: Oxford University Press, 1960), 213.
466   See 260–1.
467   See 148.
468   Ibid.

As discussed, certain works in the Mozart canon regularly undergo significant adaption in order to secure a place in the repertory: they are not usually given in the form defined by the librettist and composer. Both *Entführung* and another, more occasional visitor to the Mozart canon, *Der Schauspieldirektor,*[469] suffer from libretti by Stephanie the Younger.[470] In the case of *Der Schauspieldirektor,* this *Gelegenheitsstück* was composed for a single, unique performance and no subsequent performances using the original libretto are known to have occurred. The dialogue of both works is routinely rewritten or significantly adapted, on a similar scale to the extreme adaptations of the nineteenth century. The practice becomes acceptable simply because the quality of the music Mozart wrote argues a case for ongoing revival and Stephanie's libretto significantly undermines that possibility. This is a case of removing from a work problematic material (one might say that the varnish darkened, cracked and bubbled on the text long ago) giving it not only a radical cleaning, but also relining it, as the libretto is clearly the original support upon which Mozart composed his music that is still desirable and worthy of preservation. In this case the imperatives are less a matter of science or *Werktreue*, rather one of circumstance (sheer survival). *Der Schauspieldirekor* and *Entführung* provide examples of collaborative works between librettist and composer where one party is remembered by history and the other would easily be forgotten but for a light spill that occasionally illuminates the librettist lurking in the shadows. History has deemed Mozart's music to be of a quasi-canonical status and a certain amount of amnesia and posturing is required to render the works revivable. The twenty-first century is an age of authenticity, but in the case of Mozart, exceptions can be made.

Idomeneo is likewise frequently adapted, partly in order to create a version that is performable under less than international festival conditions. The problems here are not caused by the libretto, but by the number of variants Mozart composed and the seeming impossibility of identifying a definitive version.[471] The opera is also extremely long (particularly with the ballet included) though the music is uniformly of the highest order, making it a difficult process to decide what to leave out. Various approaches have been used in creating a performing version of this work (these will be discussed in more detail in due course) – a minimally invasive approach, exemplified in the edition of Vittorio Gui,[472] which incorporates only the music Mozart wrote; or else a more heavy handed approach, reworking much of the recitative in the spirit of later (that is, post-Wagnerian) times, for example the editions of Richard Strauss[473] and Ermanno Wolf-Ferrari.[474] *Idomeneo* may be

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469   The work is not included in the seven-opera canon published by Bärenreiter (see p. 141). It appears in Krehbiel (1919), Kloiber (1952) and in Kobbé 1967 (but not in 1987). It remains on the periphery of the repertory.

470   Johann Gottlieb Stephanie the Younger (1741–1800). Librettist of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, 1782; *Der Schauspieldirektor*, 1786; *Der Doktor und sein Apotheker*, 1786, Music: Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf. Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gottlieb_Stephanie Accessed 24.4.15.

471   The Munich and Vienna versions and their variants are discussed in the critical matter of: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart et al., *Idomeneo: [Dramma Per Musica in Tre Atti]* (Kassel; London: Bärenreiter, 1972).

472   Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Vittorio Gui, *Idomeneo. Dramma Per Musica in Tre Atti Di Giambattista Varesco*. Adattamento Di Vittorio Gui. Riduzione Per Canto e Pianoforte (Milano: Edizioni Suvini Zerboni, 1947).

473   Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Idomeneo. Opera Seria in 3 Akten*. Nach Dem Italienischen Des Abbate Giambatt. Varesco. Vollständige Neubearbeitung Von Lothar Wallerstein Und

regarded as a masterly, rich work that is simply of a scale that makes it rarely performable. In order to retain its visibility, it is therefore cut down, reduced in size to fit available, modern circumstances. This is a fate that many paintings have met over the years.

Titus is another canonical work of Mozart that is usually given in a form that varies from the printed score, with the *secco* recitatives being usually significantly truncated. This form of adaptation is accepted, facilitated by the fact that Mozart did not compose the *secco* recitatives himself, leaving them to an assistant, an established practice of this period (for example, Rossini did not compose the recitatives for *Il barbiere*), but in this situation the knowledge becomes a convenient ruse to make Mozart's last opera acceptable to the modern stage. With an assistant's work highly visible, *Titus* risks gaining an attribution of 'studio of Mozart', hence the undistinguished work of the assistant is removed or hidden.

A collaborative working process was typical of composers at this time and with the wider dissemination of operas, a continued process of composition took place, for example with the introduction of aria substitutions, a practice that is rarely undertaken today, in spite of its undoubted authenticity. This sense of an operatic work as an 'open work' remains an area that historicism has generally not, so far embraced, in spite of the fact of composers such as Gluck and Mozart having composed substitute arias for the work of others. Similarly in the art museum, there is a tendency for a painting to be identified as being the work of a single artist, although most of the Old Masters worked in a studio environment. In commercial terms, a painting devalues as epithets such as 'school of' 'studio of' or 'after' appear in front of the artist's name and in a museum attribution context, these imply a certain distance from the artist in question. The canonisation of the 'superstars' of the past has created an obsession with authenticity. If the identifiable contribution of Rembrandt, for example drops below a certain percentage in a given painting, then the painting's status as a bona-fide work of the master is called into question, creating an identity crisis for the Rembrandt *oeuvre.*

During the course of the twentieth century the 700 paintings that bore Rembrandt's name or attribution were cut by nearly half, followed by an apologetic series of re-attributions in recent decades.[475] This reappraisal is largely an outcome of the Rembrandt Research Project,[476] which began in 1968 and continued until 2011.[477] The RRP raises major questions about the attribution of works of the past,

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Richard Strauss. Klavierauszug Mit Text Von Otto Singer (Magdeburg: Heinrichshofen's Verlag, 1931).

474   Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Fritz Neupert and Ermanno Wolf-Ferrari, *Idomeneo*. Bearbeitung Für Die Bayerischen Staatstheater Von Ermanno Wolf-Ferrari. Texteinrichtung Und Übersetzung Von Ernst Leopold Stahl. Klavierauszug Eingerichtet Von Fritz Neupert (München; Zürich: Serano-Verlag, 1938).

475   In his survey of 1921, Wilhelm Valentiner had considered the total number of paintings to be 711; in 1935 Abraham Bredius reduced that number to 630; in 1966 Kurt Bauch reduced it further to 562; and in 1968 Horst Gerson scaled it back to 420. http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/1155197/Rembrandt-Research-Project-RRP Accessed 12.12.14.

476   Henceforth referred to as 'RRP'.

477   The project was terminated at the end of 2011, although work was incomplete (the original time frame was 10 years). In the wake of the termination, an initiative, the Rembrandt Database (http://www.rembrandtdatabase.org/) was founded and continues (2014) to operate. Sources from http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/1155197/Rembrandt-Research-Project-RRP

the tensions between scientific methods and connoisseurship and the fallibility of experts. The RRP encompassed exhaustive research into Rembrandt's life and working practices, culminating in the publication of a catalogue raisonné of his paintings. It had begun as a group enterprise but by the early 1990s, four of the founding members resigned, due to disagreements with the fifth member, Ernst van de Wetering. He continued the Project alone.[478] In an article by de Wetering and Paul Broekhoff[479] it is noted that the RRP began with an emphasis upon scientific-based criteria. It was believed that 'Rembrandt's *oeuvre* was contaminated on a considerable scale by later imitations and forgeries and that paintings by pupils should be fairly easy to spot.'[480] It was hoped that 'scientific investigation would afford an objective alternative to classic connoisseurship in the sifting out of later accretions to Rembrandt's *oeuvre*'[481] however the results gathered showed that 'there are far fewer Rembrandt forgeries or pastiches circulating than had been thought.'[482] As a result, the workings of Rembrandt's studio and the practices of his shop assistants required closer examination, prompting considerations of the (often fuzzy) dividing line between a painting considered the work of Rembrandt or one that merely originated from his studio. As a result, the Project originally dedicated to scientific principles 'like their predecessors, had to rely on connoisseurship in their attempts to distinguish autograph from workshop productions.'[483] Given the greatly expanded amount of visual information available to the Project (far in excess of that available to their predecessors), there was a shared belief that 'the conditions for sound connoisseurship had been expanded.'[484] Indeed it was reported that 'faith in connoisseurship had grown to such an extent that it sometimes overruled evidence of a more objective nature.' In the final volume published by de Wetering and the RRP (no. 6, 2014), 70 paintings are reattributed to Rembrandt that had been discounted as copies (disattributed) in earlier volumes. The reason for this, according to de Wetering, is that the number of accepted Rembrandts fell below 300 in the 1980s (according to the findings of the RRP, of which de Wetering was then a part), when the Project operated according to 'reductionist tendencies'. Speaking about the findings published in volume 6, de Wetering stated 'There was a tendency to say no to paintings and that tendency was too strong.' De Wetering now (2014) makes a case for the attribution of around 340 paintings to Rembrandt, including 44 works that had been previously disattributed by the Project.[485]

The Project underwent another crisis regarding the attributions of Rembrandt's self-portraits in the late 1980s, characterised in a comment by Josef Heller: 'Rembrandt did some fifty-two self-portraits that have come down to us and several of these Rembrandts are not by him. It is hard to conceive of self-portraits not conceived by the subject, but here they are.'[486] The controversy centred on a

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478   http://www.britannica.com/topic/Rembrandt-Research-Project Accessed 13/11/14.
479   Ernst van de Wetering and Paul Broekhoff, 'New Directions in the Rembrandt Research Project, Part I: The 1642 Self-Portrait in the Royal Collection, *The Burlington Magazine* (1996) 174.
480   Ibid.
481   Ibid.
482   Ibid.
483   Ibid.
484   Ibid.
485   http://wsj.com/articles/an-expert-cites-dozens-of-paintings-as-rembrandts-1412793706 Accessed 12.11.14.
486   Joseph Heller, *Picture This* (Macmillan London, 1988), 59.

painting that became known as 'C 56',[487] also known as *Self-Portrait*, in the *Gemäldegalerie*, Berlin. An article by Vadim Moroz notes that this painting had been criticised by an earlier generation of connoisseurs,[488] and in the mid-1980s it was reattributed to Govert Flinck, who had entered Rembrandt's studio in 1633.[489]

The RRP backed this attribution, officially endorsed the 'C'[490] and renamed the work 'Govert Flinck, *Bust of Rembrandt*'.[491] The RRP assessment of the 'shamed' Rembrandt was not flattering, stating that the work was 'uncharacteristic and unusual for Rembrandt, … suffering from 'cramped placing of the figure,' displaying 'clumsy heaviness in the appearance of the figure,' with a cap and feather 'not really effective in creating depth,' in the chain a 'hurried manner of painting [that] is far from effective', a colour scheme with 'no parallel in any of Rembrandt's works from these years.' The upper part of the face was 'weak [in] execution, … flat and patchy.' The 'transitions from the face to the hair are noticeably weak,' while 'the somewhat primitive bravura of the brushstroke … does not always help to create clarity in the shape of the head or an effect of depth' [etc.](1986).[492] In 1992–3 an exhibition was mounted in Amsterdam, '*Rembrandt. The Master and his Workshop*',[493] bringing together a number of rarely seen Rembrandt paintings from private collections, as well as paintings by Flinck. This juxtaposition of works in close proximity allowed a rare opportunity for direct comparisons that led Walter Liedtke (curator of European painting, Metropolitan Museum of Arts)[494] to note that 'the RRP has hitched its wagon load of hypothesis to horses we know something about.'[495] As a result of the exhibition the credibility of both the RRP and the *Gemäldergalerie* in Berlin was questioned. In 1992, de Wetering openly questioned the long-held theory that 'Rembrandt and his students never collaborated on the same paintings.'[496] This had been an RRP guideline since its inception and was now being challenged by one of its founding members. At the XXVIII International Congress of History and Art in Berlin (where de Wetering delivered his revelations), Clauss Grimm presented his research that Rembrandt's students 'indeed contributed to Rembrandt's paintings, cooperating with their master.'[497] Grimm advocated retaining the attribution to Rembrandt in such cases.[498] The attribution duly returned to Rembrandt and the RRP remains compromised by the controversy. In particular the turn-around by de Wetering in the reattribution of 'C 56' is spectacular: 'it has become a 'brilliant, broadly painted self-portrait … perhaps … a demonstration of Rembrandt's mastery of the 'rough manner'' and we read of its 'brilliantly applied brushstrokes that are left emphatically

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487   The title resembles the numbers by which prisoners are identified.
488   http://www.vadim-moroz.com/id18.html Accessed 13.11.14.
489   Ibid.
490   The original RRP group (who were responsible for volumes 1–3 of the Corpus) had adopted a peculiar grading system for attributions: 'A' stood for a genuine Rembrandt; 'C' stood for a work definitely not by Rembrandt; and 'B' indicated that the RRP could not make up its mind. This categorisation was widely criticised and subsequently discarded by de Wetering, paving the way for his later reattributions.
491   http://www.vadim-moroz.com/id18.html Accessed 13.11.14.
492   Ibid (quoting the Corpus, Volume 2, pages 671–72).
493   http://www.codart.com/exhibitions/details/913/ Accessed 23.06.15.
494   http://www.vadim-moroz.com/id18.html Accessed 13.11.14.
495   Ibid
496   Ibid.
497   Ibid
498   Ibid.

visible.'(2005)[499] Gary Schwartz asks 'how that detailed, highly negative judgement from 1986 relates to the lyrical one of 2005. Indeed, not only the credibility of the *Corpus* but of connoisseurship itself is at stake here.'[500] Catherine Scallen[501] 'points out that the RRP, with the intentions to provide more objective opinions than the older generation of Rembrandt connoisseurs, did not escape their own bias and subjectivity and despite 'sometimes prolix verbiage', their 'argumentation has proven no more inherently convincing…'[502] It did not help the Project that de Wetering was entrenched in quantitative methodologies and did not see any value in applying biographical or psychological insights to Rembrandt's work, including the self-portraits.

The visibility of the RRP and the publicity it has received is in no small way due to the huge financial implications inherent in the disattribution of works by Rembrandt. In the above scenario, prices of works plummeted and skyrocketed again as judgements were made and then revised. The huge amount of money at stake over a single Rembrandt painting can hardly be said to have fiscal parity with a shift in identity of an operatic work. Nonetheless, the marketing of critical editions and the hire of material emanating from them for performance in opera houses is a lucrative business. A theatre planning to perform, for example, *Barbiere* may choose to hire the latest performance material from Bärenreiter and pay a percentage of box office takings along with associated hire costs – often reducing significantly the margins that the theatre will rely on to make a season pay its way (authenticity comes at a price). Alternatively the theatre has the option of purchasing (for a comparatively negligible cost) the edition that was marketed for many years by Ricordi:[503] few members of the audience would perceive a difference and in any case, the theatre librarian could amend the old material according to differences found in the critical edition. Such a practical move is not good news for the publishers and research teams responsible for the new edition. Recent decades have seen a rise in the curatorial influence and visibility of musicologists and their performing editions: their influence in the field of opera is comparable with that of the RRP and the art world. The following traces both the reassessment of Gioachino Rossini, from his position in the mid-twentieth century as a 'one-hit wonder' to the revelation of his entire *oeuvre*, published in a scholarly critical edition. There is also consideration of the pressure brought to bear by the creators of these editions upon opera houses to present works in line with the latest scholarly findings.

Restoring Rossini

What now has become known as the 'Rossini revival' began with a new edition of his most enduring work,[504] *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, edited by conductor Alberto Zedda in 1969. This revised score was the first critical edition of a nineteenth-century Italian opera,[505] and it initiated what has since become a big business in the

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499   Ibid.
500   Ibid.
501   Catherine B. Scallen and Rijn Rembrandt Harmenszoon van, *Rembrandt, Reputation and the Practice of Connoisseurship* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004).
502   http://www.vadim-moroz.com/id18.html Accessed 13.11.14.
503   The score is even available for downloading on IMSLP.
504   Remaining a fixture of the repertoire since its première in 1816.
505   Philip Gossett, *Divas and Scholars: Performing Italian Opera* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 115.

production of complete critical editions.[506] The *Barbiere* (1969) edition was initially received with some scepticism, especially as it raised the question of the status of the edition that had been in circulation since the late nineteenth century and was generally accepted as an authentic text.[507] In a *volte-face* reminiscent of the Rembrandt reattributions, the 1969 edition was superseded in 2008 by a further edition, published by the Ricordi complete works edition, the same edition that the 1969 score had initiated. In terms of available published editions *Barbiere* now exists primarily in three guises – recordings proliferate of all these editions, with the cast on offer being a more decisive factor to most music lovers than the edition employed. Where does one turn to find the most authentic score of Rossini's *Barbiere* and how does this situation bode for the remainder of the Rossini operas published by the Rossini Foundation? Is *Barbiere* a special case? Can it be expected that further editions of this opera will continue to proliferate?

Until the late 1960s, theatres, conductors and students all used an edition of *Barbiere*, published by Ricordi,[508] dating from the late nineteenth century.[509] Philip Gossett speculates that this edition may have reflected current performance practice at La Scala at the time it was made.[510] With a couple of exceptions, this was the score from which the operatic world performed *Barbiere*, with material on hire from Ricordi. Among the exceptions, Italian conductor Vittorio Gui (1885-1975) had made a pioneering reconstruction of *Barbiere* in 1942, based in part on an 1864 score published by Giovanni Guidi, who had consulted Rossini's autograph.[511] That score was reissued several times, including a version published by Broude Brothers of New York. Comparison of the Broude Brothers and the Ricordi scores revealed some significant differences, but there was general uncertainty about which version represented Rossini's intentions and perhaps there was no great interest in finding out. Ricordi, after all had its offices in Milan, adjacent to La Scala, and they provided orchestral material that corresponded to their edition. Surely these circumstances were an adequate indicator of authenticity?

The circumstances behind the creation of Zedda's edition are as follows. He had trained as a conductor and during the 1960s, while leading performances of *Barbiere* in America, was consulted by some orchestral players about notation and figurations in their parts that seemed questionable. Unaware of other readings, Zedda simply went to Bologna to make a direct comparison of his printed (Ricordi) score and the Ricordi hire parts with the autograph. Zedda's work was ground breaking and was to have far reaching consequences, although he was not a trained musicologist and his mindset was a practical, performance-based one. According to Gossett:

> *he did not know that Rossini had later prepared additional music for his work; nor was he aware of several Rossini manuscripts containing cadenzas and variations. Faced with serious textual problems, he was thrown back upon his own resources, those of an intelligent musician with limited knowledge of Rossini's other works.[512]*

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506   As a result, the Rossini critical edition was begun in 1971, (with the first volume, La Gazza Ladra appearing in 1979) and the Rossini Festival was established in Pesaro in 1980.
507   Gossett, *Divas and Scholars: Performing Italian Opera*, 114–6.
508   This is the score reprinted by Dover edition.
509   http://www.classicstoday.com/features/Barber_Critical_Edition.pdf Accessed 13.11.14.
510   Gossett, *Divas and Scholars: Performing Italian Opera*, 116.
511   Ibid 115.
512   Ibid 114.

What Zedda found was a wealth of detail that was not reflected in the existing Ricordi score. That edition was, in its overall structure, fundamentally complete, but Zedda had uncovered subtle differences 'in the tissues and sinews of the opera.'[513] The initial results of Zedda's work had something of the quality of a tragi-comedy. He returned the parts to Ricordi covered with many heavily marked emendations, and was billed for the cost of the material. Zedda protested and gradually Ricordi realised that there was a problem that needed attention. They finally commissioned Zedda to prepare a critical edition of *Barbiere*, which was soon taken up as the most accurate performance score available and used widely, particularly after Claudio Abbado conducted *Barbiere* in Zedda's edition with a stellar cast at La Scala (première, 9 December 1969).[514] In 1971 a recording under Abbado appeared, accompanied by a note by Zedda, explaining the ethos of his new edition.[515] It was widely considered that a new, specifically Rossinian sound world had been uncovered, like the cleaning of an old picture.

Given the acceptance of the Zedda edition, it is notable that the prominent Italian conductor Giuseppe Patané specifically chose to avoid the Zedda score for his 1989 recording of *Barbiere*,[516] publishing his justification in the recording booklet:

> *My intention was to record Barbiere with respect for tradition, not least because I am a traditional conductor and the last thing I want to do is to start being 'modern' in my ripe old age.*
>
> *The latest new edition is very praiseworthy; I admire the integrity in putting it together and have taken careful account of the points it makes. Nevertheless I have doubts as to the extent these revisions reflect Rossini's intentions.*
>
> *In my performance I have tried to preserve certain traditional aspects that may not be specific in the original score, but which I think the composer would have approved in agreement with the conductors of his time. It is well known that certain devices were integrated into part scores without appearing in the original [that is, the autograph] and it is rash to say that the original [autograph] is the only faithful reflection of the composer's intentions, although naturally it is the point of departure. Truth, in my opinion, is only reflected in a certain tradition which we cannot forget. Should this tradition disappear, opera as an art form would suffer as a whole and we would gradually see the disappearance of the works themselves.*

Patané goes on to cite specific contexts where he finds Zedda to be at odds with his own judgement. He concludes by noting that *'Frankly these points are small and I only mention them because possibly undue stress is given by commentators to what edition is used.'*[517]

Regarding the old Ricordi edition in which Patané placed his trust, Zedda has stated that its readings 'even if they may have been produced and taken hold while Rossini was alive, find no confirmation in a written source.'[518] According to

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513   Ibid 118.
514   Ibid 116.
515   Deutsche Gramaphon 415 695-2.
516   London CD Catalog # 425520.
517   Liner notes for London 425520.
518   Gioacchino Rossini, Cesare Sterbini and Alberto Zedda, *Il Barbiere Di Siviglia* (Milano: Ricordi, 1969).Commento Critico, 15. Gossett, *Divas and Scholars: Performing Italian Opera*, 116.

Gossett, 'there is no evidence that anything resembling the Ricordi material was in use during Rossini's lifetime.

> *[The] 'traditional Barbiere was a deformed version prepared long after Rossini's death, for reasons that may have seemed pressing at the time but have no validity today ... Instead of deriving from a long-standing performance tradition, the old Ricordi edition simply reflected editorial decisions in the late nineteenth century to print an easily available score of Il barbiere...*[519]

The views and choices of the connoisseur/conductor, Patané, cling to deeply-held beliefs about past practices, trusting in long practical performing familiarity with an 'old master', appreciating it for all of its perceived qualities, even though some may be the result of the ravages of time. In contrast Gossett and Zedda rely on a posteriori evidence provided by source-based, structured investigation, although each holds significantly differing views on the text of *Barbiere*: Gossett is now co-editor of the Bärenreiter Rossini edition, that in 2008 published a further *Barbiere* score, effectively superseding that of Zedda.[520]

The editor of the 2008 score is Patricia Brauner and her edition purports to be a refinement of Zedda's findings, rather than a criticism, further placing *Barbiere* within a (current) critical edition format. The issue here is why one might favour this new critical edition over Zedda's, which has served so well? The argument is a subtle one and has been clarified by David Hurwitz, in a review of the new edition.[521] Hurwitz finds this edition to be:

> *the most faithful and accurate transcription yet to appear of the composer's basic text of the work, ... [it] offers a fascinating orbital constellation of planets, including: a historical preface tracing the genesis of the work ...; the complete libretto, printed with original poetic metres ... three appendices consisting of vocal variants by Rossini as well as additional music composed for subsequent revivals. Brauner even retains Bartolo's aria 'Manca un foglio' which is actually by Pietro Romani, because it became so much a part of the subsequent performance history of the work.*[522]

Hurwitz refers to the critical commentary, running to some four hundred pages, which, considered along with the score:

> *presents musicians with all of the material they might need in order to prepare performances of Il barbiere that are both faithful to the composer's evident intentions and responsive to the requirements of real-life theatrical productions.*[523]

Hurwitz emphasises that it is definitely not the case that the 'twin goals of irreproachable scholarship and practical utility necessarily stand at odds' rather that 'Brauner achieves the latter through the medium of the former.'[524]

Hurwitz notes that Zedda's edition represents a watershed in Rossini scholarship, though he describes it being produced under the *stewardship* of Zedda, implying that his function was different to that of Brauner (described as the *editor*) in creating her edition. The issues of orchestral detail identified by Hurwitz are all

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519   Gossett, *Divas and Scholars: Performing Italian Opera*, 116.
520   https://www.baerenreiter.com/en/program/complete-editions/rossini-gioachino/ Accessed 29.4.15.
521   http://www.classicstoday.com/features/Barber_Critical_Edition.pdf Accessed 15.11.14.
522   Ibid.
523   Ibid.
524   Ibid.

valuable additions to Rossini scholarship and the very different performance conditions of Rossini's time are referred to:

> *the leader of the performance, seated at the piano, often had little more to guide him than a more elaborate first violin part with some cues written in. It was up to the players, whether solo or in sections, to play whatever was put in front of them in conditions (no orchestra pit, darkened auditorium) that allowed for a degree of direct interaction with the singers on stage that is unthinkable today.*[525]

Unthinkable because of the subsequent role of the conductor that developed, which remains a non-negotiable force in modern opera performance and which has further infiltrated 'authentic' performances of Baroque music, where such a presence is equally anachronistic. Hurwitz notes in the readings of Zedda's score 'an overriding concern for the conductor's ability to ensure ensemble discipline within a large, modern orchestra and the notation is homogenised accordingly.'[526] In that sense, Zedda's score remains a practical score for present day performance conditions, prepared by a conductor rather than a musicologist. Hurwitz comes close to admitting this, when he states that

> *Rossini's conception demonstrates his desire to characterise instrumental lines even as he does the parts for his vocal soloists. The very simplicity of his accompaniments often mean that he places a premium on instrumental colour and a vivid use of accent and articulation to bring the orchestra's contribution to life. <u>And all this happens absent the presence of a single, guiding interpretive vision emanating from the conductor's podium.</u>*[527]

A recent controversy highlights the changing landscape in terms of the rise and influence of the musicologist, along with the measures taken to protect the fiscal imperatives of modern critical editions in modern performances. In 2011 the Metropolitan Opera, New York asked Philip Gossett to write a program note for a new production of Rossini's '*Le Comte Ory*'. Gossett refused and explained very publically that he objected to the decision of the 'Met' to use the 1828 Troupenas edition of the opera, considering it 'a butchered edition, seemingly intended for a provincial opera house that couldn't perform the music Rossini wrote.'[528] Since 1828, the edition published by Troupenas in Paris had been the basis for all performances of the opera, until the appearance of the new scholarly version, edited by Damien Colas, as part of the Rossini Edition.[529] The new edition had been tried out in January 2011 in Zurich, raising the issue of why what is good enough for Zurich was not good enough for the 'Met'.[530] The staff of the 'Met' claimed that the (at that time unpublished) edition was not available in time; the tenor in the 'Met' production, Juan Diego Flórez had sung the opera (in the Colas edition) in Pesaro in 2003 and was resistant to the changes that the alternative edition would impose upon his role; the words of James Levine were invoked by the 'Met', who, in a 2009 interview had stated that 'people theorise that a new production is a great time to do

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525   Ibid.

526   Ibid.

527   Underlining is the present author's own.
       http://www.classicstoday.com/features/Barber_Critical_Edition.pdf Accessed 21.8.14.

528   http://www.nytimes.com/2011/04/09/arts/music/debate-surrounds-mets-debut-production-of-rossini-opera.html?pagewanted=all Accessed 14.3.13.

529   Gioacchino composer Rossini et al., *Le Comte Ory: Opéra En Deux Actes* (*Opera in Two Acts, Opera in Due Atti*) (Bärenreiter).

530   http://www.nytimes.com/2011/04/09/arts/music/debate-surrounds-mets-debut-production-of-rossini-opera.html?pagewanted=all Accessed 14.3.13.

a new version. Actually', he added, 'with all the complex elements of mounting a new production, it can be a terrible time to try out a new version of a known opera.'[531] While New York audiences felt deprived of an edition that Zurich had enjoyed, the public stance of Mr Gossett surely brings into question the motives of a commercial enterprise like the Rossini Critical Edition in criticising the choice of an edition for performance in a public opera house.

In '*Faith in Fakes*,'[532]Umberto Eco discusses the painstaking reconstructions that form the displays in wax museums, noting that 'their concern with authenticity reaches the point of reconstructive neurosis.'[533] Hurwitz has described an edition that reconstructs Rossini's score so faithfully that it has landed back in the era before a conductor had the function that he exercises today. Perhaps that will change in the future, but given the role that a conductor currently assumes in performances, perhaps the Zedda score will remain the choice of many conductors, in spite of the undeniable authenticity of the Brauner edition. Eco continues his journey in wax museums, entering a hall of mirrors, with figures 'duplicated by an astute play of corners, curves and perspective, until it is hard to decide which side is reality and which illusion.'[534]

During the mid-twentieth century, efforts were made to 'revive' early recordings by Caruso that had been originally made with piano accompaniment.[535] Caruso's voice was enhanced and an orchestral accompaniment overlaid. The issue of 'enhancement' of early recordings for modern release remains a controversial one and in the case of Caruso, there is continued debate about which method of transfer gives the most 'authentic' rendition of his voice. An alternative authenticity is offered by one music publisher[536] which has produced an album of arias sung by Caruso annotated with details of his recorded performances, noting portamenti, tempi and tempo modifications, breaths, added notes ornaments and cadenzas, cuts, fermatas etc. In addition to recalling a voice back over time, the tiniest details of his performances (probably including small mistakes and miscalculations) are analysed and reproduced to show aspiring tenors how they may sing like The Great Caruso.

Among educated music lovers, there are few who could identify which edition was employed in a performance of *Barbiere: o*f more interest to most opera lovers is the cast. A recording of Maria Callas singing the role of Rosina (which has today returned to the preserve of the mezzo-soprano), remains in the catalogues, a much loved classic, in spite of the use of a text whose authenticity has been long superseded. It is technologically conceivable that in the future it could be possible to produce an 'enhanced' version of such an iconic recording, incorporating modifications to reflect the most authentic score available, with Callas enhanced

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531   Ibid.
532   Eco, *Faith in Fakes: Essays*, 13.
533   Ibid.
534   Ibid.
535   This process continued into the twenty-first century when a CD 'Caruso 2000', followed by another titled 'Caruso: Italian Songs', stripped the recordings of their original accompaniments and added a full modern orchestra. http://www.nytimes.com/2003/11/20/arts/caruso-s-tenor-century-later-memorabilia-shown-metropolitan-honors-legend.html Accessed 1.5.15.
536   Enrico Caruso and Paolo Rossini, *Voci D'opera: Voices of the Opera*. ([S.l.]: Ricordi).

just as Caruso has been. Thus, in the parlance of Eco, it would be possible to listen to a performance of *Barbiere* that was 'hyperreal',[537] but 'more authentic'.

The earlier part of this chapter included two examples of 'misreadings' from Mozart's *Zauberflöte* and Verdi's *La Traviata.* These examples were extremely brief, the loss of a chord in Mozart or a bar in Verdi – however it is such (apparently) tiny changes that signal a gradual process of, what in a plastic work of art will be quantified as decay – the disorienting effects of the passing of time. The 'loss' of a single bar in the *Brindisi* is ratified by a scholarly critical edition that appeared in 1996, which nonetheless continues to pose a conundrum – it becomes a disconcerting jolt in a number that is almost too well known to opera lovers. While this telescoping is rejected by many performers, it may be that its modern significance is to challenge a culture whose perceptions have become anaesthetised by the constant regurgitation of music of the past. In a quest to engage with the past, preserve and understand it, modern culture inadvertedly creates its own 'fakes'. A 1903 recording of Caruso singing to an orchestral accompaniment recorded in 2000 is patently a fake, as is the experience of walking around an art gallery in air-conditioned comfort, viewing artworks that were produced for specific conditions quite foreign to the museum space (white box) that has become their repository. American art museums often import entire rooms from different eras in history to reside within their walls. The 'genuine' room, disassembled and imported from France from a 'genuine' eighteenth century château, becomes something different in a museum when divorced from its context, particularly when the next room that the visitor will pass into is a nineteenth century townhouse, equally painstakingly relocated from Boston.

In recent decades critical editions of operas have proliferated at a rate that could scarcely have been predicted, encompassing composers such as Bellini, Rossini and Donizetti who had previously been thought unworthy of such scholarly attentions. In turn, the criteria of critical editions has developed and progressed, as the forty years between the Zedda and Brauner editions demonstrate. While the evolving critical edition genre produces much valuable material and important insights into the working methods of composers, the fact is that Rossini wrote his *Barbiere* score for performance and performers in 1816, he did not write it to be ensconced in a critical edition, which, for all of its carefully considered practices, choices and criteria remains a construct, representing the attitudes and imprints of the time in which it was produced. The proliferations of such editions also pose significant challenges for performers, many of whom do not possess the skill-sets to fully and critically engage with those editions. Critical editions of the last half-century have already have begun to noticeably recede in time, allowing reflection upon their qualities and their impact upon operatic practice. Such editions are perhaps best regarded as the harbingers of 'variations'. It is more realistic to consider the performance history of a given opera as an enormous (and potentially limitless) series of variations upon the moment in time when the work had its première. However desirable, it is impossible to return to that moment. Obsession with 'authenticity' creates its own 'hyperreal' variations, contemporary responses to the complex accretions, which are an inseparable element of the operatic work.

A visit to any art or opera museum confirms that much has changed since the creation of the works presented by each institution. Progress manifests in methods

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537   Eco, *Faith in Fakes: Essays*, 1–58.

of display, lighting, the mindset of the viewer, overall context and many other factors. The works themselves continue the inevitable path of a slow retreat into the past, requiring care and curation. Scientists and musicologists suggest that it is possible to preserve a work by means of authenticity or *Werktreue*, working to approximate the final thoughts of the artist or composer, in declaring his work complete. Connoisseurs opine that this is not the case, that the patina of age that gradually accretes to a work is part of its identity. The notion of turning back the clock and seeing a painting stripped of its faded varnishes is an anathema to many connoisseurs, just as nostalgists among opera lovers will cling to their Salzburg Festival version of *Don Giovanni,* conducted by Furtwängler or their Knappertsbusch recording of *Parsifal* from Bayreuth. In the area of antiques and antiquities, preservation of patina is an accepted and essential element of an objects' intrinsic as well as market value. However, in both music and the visual arts, the question of the value of patina and its relation to authenticity continues to be debated.

This chapter has highlighted the necessity of pursuing authenticity and establishing authorial intent in preservation and related curatorial activities, applying equally to the opera and the art museum. The passing of time ravages plastic artworks and in the case of opera, causes aspects of works to 'go out of focus' often in matters of small detail that may at first seem negligible, but which, over time create a disarming sense of distance between the work and those who seek to engage with it in the present. As seen in the case of *La Traviata,* this uncertainty affects even the most well-known, iconic works, and defining ultimate authorial intent is by no means a straightforward task. As an art restorer will carefully ponder layers of varnish and overpainting that may separate the artist's final completed conception from the present day, so must a performer (usually via the work of a musicologist) seek to employ an authentic text, in the case of opera not easily achievable in the many stages of a work's progress from composer's manuscript to première, to subsequent revivals and adaptions, both composer-driven and not. Arrival at a definitive point of authorial intent in either museum must be seen as a goal to be aspired to, rather than a certainty that can be easily achieved. In the case of opera, competing problems of authorial content are frequently encountered, where an iconic composer, for example wins out over a competent (or worse) librettist. The arbiter of such dilemmas in recent times has increasingly become the stage director.

The next chapter considers the fortunes of the operas of Mozart, whose canon was central in cementing the notion of an operatic repertoire during the nineteenth century. During that time, the myth of Mozart the divine genius took hold, ironically during a period where his works were being adapted and bowdlerised to an extraordinary extent. Amid the hero-worship, particular Mozart operas had the epithet of 'perfection' bestowed upon them, while a corrective has been found in the twentieth century as a different Mozart has been encountered – one who most likely conceived of his operas as '*opere aperta',* an interchangeable and potentially infinite series of variants adaptable to circumstance and differing performance conditions. Authorial intent remains an ever-shifting and much discussed aspect of recent Mozart studies, driving scholarship on the one hand and the commercial Mozart industry on the other. The dissemination of the Mozart operas, their journey towards canonisation and their status as the core of the collection of the operatic museum is now considered.

CHAPTER FIVE

Mozart's operas – canon formation and dissemination during the nineteenth century

Grove[538] lists twenty Mozart operas, three of which remained unfinished and unperformed in the composer's lifetime. The earliest work listed (*Apollo et Hyacinthus*) was composed by the eleven-year-old Mozart in 1767. His final work, *La clemenza di Tito*, was premièred three months before his death. A dividing line between Mozart's 'juvenile' operas (composed between the ages of 11 and 19) and his mature works is defined by *Idomeneo* (1781, aged 26), a work regarded as the first 'great' Mozart opera, although performances are infrequent. Of works composed subsequent to *Idomeneo*, two hold no place in the Mozart canon (*L'oca del Cairo, Lo sposo deluso*), one work holds an uncertain place (*Der Schauspieldirektor*) and one other remains problematic (*La clemenza di Tito*). The canonised works[539] are as follows:

Opera title	Date of composition	Abbreviated title
Idomeneo	1781	(*Idomeneo*)[540]
Die Entführung aus dem Serail	1782	(*Entführung*)
Le Nozze di Figaro	1786	(*Figaro*)
Don Giovanni	1787	(*Don Giovanni*)
Così fan tutte	1790	(*Così*)
Die Zauberflöte	1791	(*Die Zauberflöte*)
La clemenza di Tito	1791	(*Titus*)

Table 6. The seven 'canonised' Mozart Operas (according to Bärenreiter Verlag).

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538 Sadie, *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, 496–7.
539 According to a recent classification by Bärenreiter Verlag – see page 141.
540 Alternative titles in brackets are those that will be used generally in referring to these works henceforth.

Those that predate canonisation are:

Title	Date and location of première	Modern revivals
Apollo et Hyacinthus	Salzburg, 1767	Revived Rostock 1922; Munich 1932; Salzburg 1935. All of these revivals were adapted in some way, translated into German, the music reworked; the Salzburg production incorporated puppets.
Bastien und Bastienne	Vienna (Mesmer's house), 1768	Revived Berlin, 1890 and then with a new text by M. Kalbeck, produced in Vienna in 1891; subsequently widely performed internationally. First UK performance: 1894; first US performance: 1916.[541]
La finta semplice	Salzburg, 1769	1769 Salzburg; revived Karlsruhe 1921; Vienna 1925; Breslau 1927; Prague 1928.[542] First UK performance 1907.[543]
Mitridate, re di Ponto	Milan, 1770	No revivals before the 20th century.[544] First modern performance: Salzburg, 1971;
Ascanio in Alba	Milan, 1771	First modern performance: 1958, Salzburg, in a version by Paumgartner.[545]
Il sogno di Scipone	Salzburg 1772 (only excerpts perf.) 1979?	First (modern?) performance 1979, Salzburg; first US performance: 2001.[546]
Lucio Silla – note 2	Milan 1772	Revived Prague, 1929; first UK perf. 1967; first US perf. 1968.[547]
La finta giardiniera – note 1	Munich, 1775	A German singing translation dates from 1780 (see below), in which form it was performed in Augsburg, Nürnberg, Salzburg, Frankfurt, Mayence.[548] It was further revived, in 1796-7 following Mozart's death, in Prague 1796 and Silesia 1797, after which it disappeared from the stage until 1891 (Vienna) and was revived in 20th century from 1915.[549] First UK perf. 1930; first US perf. 1927.[550]
Il rè pastore	Salzburg, 1775	Revived Salzburg and Munich, 1906.[551] First UK perf. 1954.
Zaide (Das Serail)	[Frankfurt 1866]	Fragment only of a *Singspiel* (probably 1779), unfinished, pub. 1838 (André). First known perf. Frankfurt, 1866.[552]
L'oca del Cairo	[Unperf.] 1860?	1783 -unfinished. Published 1855 (André). Fragments perf. in Frankfurt, 1860. French version (*pasticcio*) by Wilder, Paris 1867, gained wide currency.[553]
Lo sposo deluso	[Unperf. – only a fragment of Act 1 completed.]	In 1991, the 200th anniversary of Mozart's death, Opera North premièred *The Jewel Box*, a pasticcio opera devised by Paul Griffiths. This used the existing pieces from *Lo sposo deluso* and *L'oca del Cairo* as well as arias written by

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541 Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597–1940*, 300–1.
    http://opera.stanford.edu/Mozart/Bastien/history.html Accessed 13.11.14.
542 Ibid 307.
543 http://opera.stanford.edu/Mozart/FintaSemplice/history.html Accessed 13.11.14.
544 Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597–1940*, 316.
545 http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ascanio_in_Alba Accessed 24.2.15.
546 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Il_sogno_di_Scipione Accessed 2.5.15.
547 Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597–1940*, 327. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lucio_Silla
    Accessed 2.5.15.
548 Ibid 341–2.
549 Ibid.
550 Ibid.
551 Ibid 345.
552 Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597–1940*, 980.
553 Ibid 992–3.The 1867 adaptation by Victor Wilder, included *L'Oca del Cairo* and *Lo sposo deluso*, along with inserts that Mozart wrote for Bianchi's *La villanella rapita* to produce a single work. In the twentieth century, numbers from each of the two operas were arranged by Hans Erismann to create *Don Pedros Heimkehr*, which was premièred in 1953 in Zurich.

		Mozart for insertion into operas by Anfossi, Piccini and Cimarosa, among others. (The program was an imagined reconstruction of a 1783 pantomime in which Mozart and Aloysia Weber are said to have taken part.) In 2006, the 250th anniversary of Mozart's birth, the fragment of *Lo sposo deluso* received several performances, including Bampton Classical Opera's revival of *The Jewel Box*. The Salzburg Festival's double bill of *Lo sposo deluso* and *L'oca del Cairo* and other arias written by Mozart in a program titled *Rex tremendus*, conceived and staged by Joachim Schlöme with the Camerata Salzburg conducted by Michael Hofstetter.[554]
Der Schauspieldirektor	Schönbrunn, 1786	The première was a double bill with Salieri's *Prima la musica e poi le parole*. The dialogue has been continually updated in later times. First UK perf. 1857. First US perf. 1870 (as *Mozart und Schikaneder*).[555]

Table 7. The earlier Mozart operas, with details of premières and modern revivals.

1. *La finta giardiniera* had a wider circulation that any of Mozart's previous operas, in part due to the fact that after its successful Munich première it was adapted into a German *Singspiel* (*Die verstellte Gärtnerin*), for which Mozart reworked some of the music. In this form, the Impresario Johann Böhm's troupe performed the work in Salzburg, Augsburg and other cities in Europe. During this time, Mozart's Italian version of Act 1 was lost (including the recitatives) and the only version that remained for performance was the German one. It was in this form that the work was revived in the twentieth century, until the missing score of Act 1 was recovered in Czechoslovakia during the 1970s, enabling the publication of the original score by the NMA,[556] and facilitating subsequent performances of the original version.

2. In recent times *Lucio Silla* has received a series of revivals, notably by Nikolaus Harnoncourt in 2005 (*Wiener Festwochen*), as a result of which he has staunchly defended the significance of the work and in an interview dubbed it the '*Höhepunkt der Opera Seria*'.[557] As theatres continue to enrich their repertoire by looking to neglected works from the past it seems likely that the early operas of Mozart will receive further attention.

During the twentieth century, Mozart's full operatic *oeuvre* has received a great deal of attention, particularly due to the activities of the Mozarteum, Salzburg and the Salzburg Festival. The notion of a Mozart canon gathered force during the nineteenth century and was further cemented in the twentieth, culminating in the undertaking of a complete recorded project.[558] Every work that Mozart wrote, whether early or incomplete, is potentially of interest today and in the case of opera fragments, the *pasticcio* convention has been employed to facilitate a place in the repertoire for these works. Mozart has been continually reinvented since his death

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554   http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lo_sposo_deluso Accessed 1.5.15.
555   Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597–1940*, 422–3.
556   Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Heinz Moehn, *La Finta Giardiniera (Die Verstellte Gärtnerin (Die Gärtnerin Aus Liebe)*; *Dramma Giocoso in 3 Akten*, KV 96 ([S.l.]: Bärenreiter, 1979).
557   Nikolaus Harnoncourt, *Mozart-Dialoge*. Bärenreiter 2009, 233–42.
558   http://www.mozart-complete-works.com/ Accessed 4.5.15.

and a recent 'branding' shows (complete with sunglasses and leather jacket) how he is marketed in the twenty first century.[559]

Fig. 5-1. Bärenreiter publicity for the NMA, showing their 'contemporised Mozart'. Photograph of the Bärenreiter-Verlag stall at the 2014 Frankfurt Music Fair.

This image forms an instructive contrast with an eighteenth century image of Gluck, exemplifying the historical myth of Gluck the visionary operatic reformer:

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559   It was planned to reproduce the 'contemporised Mozart' image that features in much of the promotional material for the NMA by Bärenreiter Verlag, however permission was withheld by them, the image of Fig 5-1 being a compromise supplied by Bärenreiter for inclusion in this paper.

Fig. 5-2. *Christoph Willibald Gluck*, 1795. Joseph Duplessis (1725–1802). Oil on Canvas, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

Although the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*, published by Bärenreiter, includes all of the Mozart operas, the company has also played a curatorial role in identifying 'Mozart Canon' for the twenty first century consumer and bundling it into a separate collection of study scores (2014). These are marketed by Bärenreiter as the 'great Mozart operas in a boxed set' (TP601),[560] and it can be assumed that this collection was assembled as a marketing strategy rather than a scholarly proposition. Thus curation and commercial imperatives become muddied.

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560   https://www.baerenreiter.com/nc/en/search/combined-
       search/?tx_indexedsearch[sword]=Mozart+operas&tx_indexedsearch[submit_button]
       Accessed 15.5.15.

Earlier variants of the Mozart canon

As a point of comparison with the Bärenreiter canon, the following table shows some of the disparate repertoire sources listed in chapter two.

Krehbiel, 1919[561]	Kloiber, 1952[562]	Kloiber, 2002[563]	Richard Strauss, 1945[564]	Kobbé, 1922[565]	Kobbé, 1969[566]	Kobbé, 1987[567]	Kobbé, 1997[568]
-	*Idomeneo*	*Idomeneo*	*Idomeneo* (arr. Wallerstein/ Strauss)	-	*Idomeneo*	*Idomeneo*	*Idomeneo*
-	*Entführung*	*Entführung*	-	*Entführung*	*Entführung*	*Entführung*	*Entführung*
Figaro	*Figaro*	*Figaro*	*Figaro*	*Figaro*	*Figaro*	*Figaro*	*Figaro*
Giovanni	*Giovanni*	*Giovanni*	*Giovanni*	*Giovanni*	*Giovanni*	*Giovanni*	*Giovanni*
-	*Così*	*Così*	*Così*	-	*Così*	*Così*	*Così*
Zauberflöte	*Zauberflöte*	*Zauberflöte*	*Zauberflöte*	*Zauber-flöte*	*Zauberflöte*	*Zauberflöte*	*Zauberflöte*
-	-	*Titus*	-	-	*Titus*	*Titus*	*Titus*
Bastien und Bastienne; Schauspield irektor.	*Bastien und Bastienne; Schauspield irektor.*	*Bastien und Bastienne; La finta semplice; Mitridate; Ascanio in Alba; Lucio Silla; La finta giardiniera; Il rè pastore; Der Schauspiel-direktor.*			*Schauspiel-direktor*		*Mitridate; Lucio Silla; La finta giardiniera; Il rè pastore; Schauspiel-direktor.*

Table 8. Versions of the Mozart operatic canon, showing deviations and variants in a number of disparate, twentieth century sources.

The Bärenreiter canon of seven operas is exactly reflected in Kobbé (1987). However Kobbé (1997) and Kloiber (2002) reflect the growing interest in non-canonic works. Other versions show the varying fortunes of what are now considered the canonic works, along with a period of interest in *Bastien und Bastienne* and *Der Schauspieldirektor*. It is likely that the Mozart canon will

561 Henry Edward Krehbiel, *More Chapters of Opera; Being Historical and Critical Observations and Records Concerning the Lyric Drama in New York from 1908 to 1918* (New York: Henry Holt and company, 1919).
562 Rudolf Kloiber, *Handbuch Der Oper* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1952).
563 Rudolf Kloiber, Wulf Konold and Robert Maschka, *Handbuch Der Oper*, 9., erw., neubearbeitete Aufl., gemeinschaftliche Originalausg. ed. (München Kassel; New York: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag; Bärenreiter, 2002).
564 Letter to Karl Böhm, 27 April 1945 – see Appendix 1 for the complete repertoire of Strauss's 'Opern Museum'. The letter is reproduced in Böhm, *Ich Erinnere Mich Ganz Genau: Autobiographie*.
565 Gustave Kobbé, *The Complete Opera Book* (London: Putnam, 1922).
566 Gustav Kobbé and George Henry Hubert Lascelles Harewood, *Kobbé's Complete Opera Book*, 8th ed. (London,: Putnam, 1969).
567 Gustav Kobbé, George Henry Hubert Lascelles Harewood and Gustav Kobbé, *The Definitive Kobbé's Opera Book*, 1st American ed. (New York: Putnam, 1987).
568 Kobbé et al, *The New Kobbé's Opera Book*.

continue to metamorphose in the future, with the continued inclusion of more of the so-called juvenile works.

Dissemination

With the exception of *Die Zauberflöte,* Mozart's mature operas[569] were composed for significant theatres in major centres. At his disposal he had considerable resources and generally fine singers. As his operas travelled further afield, less accomplished singers and more modest resources were often the rule, causing works to be adapted to local tastes and conditions. Local references or specific styles had to be adapted in order to engage more widespread audiences. In terms of the popular market, a single aria or musical number could come to represent, in the public imagination, a particular operatic work. Gruber notes a 'tendency to uncouple the music from the opera'[570] – an observation that reveals a deeply work-based line of thinking, whereas, in many operatic centres in the eighteenth century an opera was simply a collection of musical numbers, not necessarily by the same composer, having only a partial existence as an single work or entity. The first Mozart operatic excerpt to be introduced in London, for example was the duet (Il Conte-Susanna) that opens Act 3 of *Figaro*: Nancy Storace and Benucci introduced it to that city as an insertion.[571] Such an occurrence was a compliment to the composer of the work – thanks to the *pasticcio* tradition, *Figaro* 'popped in' to an operatic performance to stake a claim. In many cases Mozart operas were first introduced to towns and centres in the form of domestic arrangements or individual numbers adapted for performance in the home, perhaps among a circle of dedicated amateurs.

If the rather extreme adaptations of the nineteenth century stage seem questionable to modern sensibilities, certain religious adaptations appear even more unlikely. The following examples are from the Silesian monastery at *Krzeszów* – *Così fan tutte* #18[572] – became 'Alma redemptoris mater', *Don Giovanni* #25[573] became – 'Ave Jesu qui sacratum' and *Die Zauberflöte* – #11[574] became 'Regina coeli leatare'.[575] These examples serve to remind that musical taste is constantly shifting and that each generation will reinvent the works of the past according to their own imperatives and requirements.

The burgeoning Mozart Renaissance at the turn of the twentieth century led by Gustav Mahler and Richard Strauss will in turn be discussed and assessed. The onset of the twentieth century coincided with a focus upon a more 'authentic' treatment of Mozart, facilitated by accurate scores that were produced by the AMA between (1877–1883). Arrangements and adaptations of Mozart's stage works nevertheless persisted into the twentieth century. An unwritten law apparently provides that a work can be adapted if it has not been accepted into the repertoire in the form dictated by the composer. Critical writing about adaptations of Mozart's operas during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries describe such

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569   That is, from *Idomeneo* onwards.

570   Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, 51.

571   Tim Carter, W.*A. Mozart: Le Nozze Di Figaro* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 131.

572   'Ah che tutta in un momento'– numbers given correspond to the NMA edition.

573   'Non mi dir bell'idol mio'.

574   'Bewahret euch vor Weibertücken'.

575   Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, 64.

interventions in terms of disfigurements, distortions, perversions, mutilations, bastardisations, bowdlerisations and dismemberment.[576] Perhaps the nadir was reached with a verdict delivered upon Richard Strauss's 1931 version of *Idomeneo*, where Alfred Einstein used the term '*Vergewaltigung*' with its connotation of rape[577] to describe Strauss's labours.

A major driver of operatic adaptations was the general tendency to perform operas in the vernacular. There were notable exceptions to this, for example the convention of performing works in Italian in London, hence '*Il flauto magico', 'Il Seraglio'* etc. Mozart fully expected his Italian operas would be translated into German singing versions[578] – an inevitable by-product of their growing popularity – and such translations appeared in his lifetime. [579] The skills of such literary translators and adapters were of variable quality and once a singing translation was produced, it was a small step to further change place, time and other details, thereafter a further small leap to alter the music.

Even in large centres, singing translations were often extremely unreliable with audiences unaware whether they were experiencing a reliable translation or widely diverging invention by the adapters. Performances often derived from inaccurate musical material – sometimes incomplete, else simply unreliable. The appearance of the AMA potentially helped matters, but its influence was slow to take hold. It is significant that the growing Mozart cult took hold amid these confused circumstances, akin to searching for a genuine antiquity in a Persian bazaar.

During the mid-nineteenth century a different trend emerged in England, evidence of which can be found in a series of opera scores that was published in London under the general title of 'Standard Lyric Drama'. Twelve volumes appeared between 1847 and 1852,[580] including three Mozart works, the most highly represented composer. The declared purpose of these volumes was to present reliable translations and musically reliable, even authentic scores. For example, in the case of Bellini's *La Sonnambula* it was noted that editor, Mr Rockstro has 'had the assistance of poor Bellini's original M.S.'[581] A preface by the editor, J. Wrey Mould in the *Don Giovanni* volume, dated 21 March 1850 clarifies the wider aims of the publication:

> *Certain facts lately come to our knowledge respecting the progress of 'Standard Lyric Drama' in the North of England, enable us to issue the present Volume with even more pleasure and satisfaction than usual. We have heard that at Huddersfield and several other popular towns of importance in our northern countries, by the*

576   For example, Gruber (112) notes the 'chorus of scathing condemnation about the mutilation of classical masterpieces', which he interprets in part as an attack on French tastes. Commentators mentioned in this study who echo and amplify this chorus include Hector Berlioz, J. Wrey Mould and Hermann Abert.

577   Julian Rushton, *W.A. Mozart, Idomeneo*, Cambridge Opera Handbooks (Cambridge England; New York, N.Y., USA: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 89.

578   They were adapted early into the German Singspiel tradition, removing recitative and adding dialogue, along with changes to musical numbers.

579   Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597–1940*, 425 (for early German-language productions of *Figaro*), 448–9 (*Don Giovanni*) 476 (Così).

580   http://www.nypl.org/blog/2011/01/18/jacob-wrey-mould-architect-central-park-and-lyricist Accessed 12.12.13.

581   Vincenzo Bellini, *La Sonnambula: (the Somnambulist.) a Lyric Drama*, written by Felice Romani and rendered into Englishb by J. Wrey Mould, revised from the orchestral score by W. S. Rockstro (London: T. Boosey and Co, 1849), v.

instrumentality of this our Edition, Glee-Clubs and Choral Societies have been led to take up and proceed through an entire Operatic work, solos and all: to hear this is especially gratifying, as it tends to one of the main objects for which the 'Standard Lyric Drama' has originally and all along been directed, viz: the placing the masses in English provincial towns on the same footing of knowledge in the Dramatic Lyrical Works of the Great Masters as that enjoyed by the ouvrier and paysan of France and the peasantry and town-folk of Germany. As all these signs of the times will, we trust, ultimately lead to the foundation of good working local Operatic companies at the theatres in the provinces ... we cannot refrain from commencing this Volume otherwise than by an allusion to so healthy and vigorous a disposition evinced amongst our musical brethren of the North.[582]

The didactic, even social aims of this series of scores underlines the notion of opera as a form of high art, which should be available to all who aspire to learning and artistic appreciation – that is, the emerging middle class. It also reveals opera as commodity item, something to be desired, something in which the amateur musician can engage with at a primary level and take part in. It confirms the importance of the printed score in the dissemination of operatic works beyond major cities and cultural centres. It also can be seen to highlight the danger of distortions that could be unknowingly spread in both music and libretto if a printed score failed to be an accurate representation of the composer's autograph.

Here an attitude of *Werktreue* can be detected and J. Wrey Mould can be counted among the group of primarily literary-inclined men who developed these aspirations with respect to opera in England during the nineteenth century. In relation to *Don Giovanni*, Mould writes that 'we cannot express a confidence that all *conscientious* musicians will agree with us when we state that Mozart's '*Il Don Giovanni*' [*sic*] has *yet* to be properly put on the stage in this country'.[583] He mentions the 'many little falsehoods wherein the recent Covent Garden performances stand convicted'[584] [!] and concludes:

When we see how a slight spirit of Artistic Truth among the directors of that establishment would fill up the gap we cavil at, we cannot refrain from deploring again and again Mr Costa's [that is, the conductor's] orchestral innovations, the caprices, fioraturi and wilfulness of the Singers and the excision of about one-third of the Opera![585]

He further re-joins:

Give us the Overture without additional Trombones, Ophecleides and Serpentcleides! ... more than all, restore the last Finale; do not bring down the curtain (as at present) upon eighteen-penny-worth of red and blue fire.[586]

Berlioz railed at the same practices – specifically where Costa added an ophicleide solo to the supper music in the Act 2 finale.[587]

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582   Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Don Juan; or the Libertine Punished*. (*Il Don Giovanni*) Ossia (*Il Dissoluto Punito*). Founded on the Spanish Tale of L. Triso De Molina by the Abbé Da Ponte and Rendered into English from the Italian by J. Wrey Mould. Revised from the Orchestral Score by W. S. Rockstro (London: T. Boosey and Co, 1850) v.

583   Ibid.

584   Ibid.

585   Ibid.

586   Ibid x.

587   Julian Rushton, *W.A. Mozart*, *Don Giovanni*, Cambridge Opera Handbooks (Cambridge Eng.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 74.

The fortunes of Mozart's operas generally waned in the latter part of the nineteenth century. While voices of taste, reason and authenticity continued to exercise their influence, these were by no means heeded and some of the more radical adaptations of the operas – those that led to areas of low humour, comedy, occasional slapstick, along with the worst excesses of singers – resulted in performances that paled in the face of the growing tide of Wagnerism and the associated new aesthetic of opera. Certain works, such as *Don Giovanni* and *Die Zauberflöte*, captured the Romantic imagination (although in severely adapted versions) maintaining a presence in the repertoire, while others waned. The history of the fortunes of each work is quite specific and what follows is not an exhaustive history, rather a consideration of significant trends in the progress of the Mozart operas during the nineteenth century.

Case studies of the Mozart canon

1. *Die Zauberflöte*

Gruber has noted that, apart from *Zauberflöte*, few of Mozart's operas were a success in Vienna,[588] though this assertion has recently been challenged by Brown (in relation to *Così*).[589] It is the case that most of Mozart's operas did not survive their initial seasons in Vienna, causing the perception of a continued performance tradition in Vienna to be questioned. A counter-claim could be made for a Mozart tradition in Prague, where two Mozart operatic premières had taken place,[590] and where his operas early on became more regularly performed and popular than in Vienna.

The Viennese success of *Die Zauberflöte* led to a series of parodies in that city, a tangible sign of the opera's growing popularity. The first, most likely by Mozart's own librettist, Schikaneder, was a satire targeted at a botched performance at the Vienna Court Opera in 1801 that enabled Schikaneder to have a joke in his own theatre at the expense of the Court Opera.[591] Here is a contemporary newspaper account:

> *Because some transformations were carried out with unpardonable negligence in the Kärtnertortheater, Schikaneder soon afterwards parodied these representations in his own theatre. The disenchanted Papagena had to be freed from her costume (as Old Woman) with the help of some tailor's apprentices; the Goddess of Night, instead of sinking beneath the earth, was called off into the wings.[592]*

In the wake of this version, other parodies or 'travesties' followed, including the 1803 '*Die Zauberflöte travestiert in Knittelversen,* with most of the Mozartian music kept'.[593] In this version:

> *Tamino climbs a tree to escape from a pursuing bear. The queen's maids kill it with their broom, roasting-spit and poker, then quarrel over the skin. Papageno helps*

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588   Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, 36.
589   Bruce Alan Brown, W.*A. Mozart, Così Fan Tutte, Cambridge Opera Handbooks* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 164.
590   *Don Giovanni*, *La clemenza di Tito*.
591   Peter Branscombe, *W.A. Mozart, Die Zauberflöte, Cambridge Opera Handbooks* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 165–6.
592   *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 8.4.1801. Ibid 166.
593   Ibid.

Tamino to hold a huge, framed portrait of Pamina, while he sings an adaption of the portrait aria – 'Dies Bildnis ist verzweifelt schwer![594]

An adaption from 1818 by Karl Meisl '*Die falsche Zauberflöte*' includes 'modern' novelties such as a kaleidoscope and *Draisenen* (a forerunner of the bicycle). Pamina cannot easily forgive Tamino for taking coffee with the Queen's maids; in the finale, the Queen, Pamina and Tamino take a ride on the carousel in the Prater amusement park.[595]

The performances described above delighted in the comic, pantomime aspects of the work. However as early as 1792, *Die Zauberflöte* was recognised to be a Jacobean allegory,[596] and staged along these lines. The issue of Masonic elements and influences in the work has long been in currency and in 1971 Jacques Chailley published a full scale Masonic interpretation of the opera,[597] one that is supported by Robert Donington in his book, '*Opera and its Symbols*'.[598] The juxtaposition of the profound and the commonplace is evidenced in the shortcomings of the libretto (which is routinely subjected to large-scale cuts in performance) and the quality of the music. These worlds coexist uneasily and the local, Viennese character of the libretto has been difficult to satisfactorily reproduce in other centres, finding a solution in adaption. The cult of Mozart virtually demands that there be some secret, higher meaning to *Die Zauberflöte*, it being unthinkable that Mozart was able to create such divine music simply from Schikaneder's ham-fisted text.

Following the success of *Die Zauberflöte* in Vienna, popular selections were quickly published, an arrangement of the complete opera for *Harmonie* appearing in 1792.[599] Vocal scores appeared in the same year (Berlin, Amsterdam, Bonn, Mannheim) and an Italian translation appeared in Leipzig.[600] Other Mozart operas were at first only sporadically performed outside German-speaking countries and seldom successfully – *Die Zauberflöte* proved to be the exception.[601] Gruber theorises that *Die Zauberflöte* triggered off the development of German *Singspiel* – he describes a 'kind of blockage in its fulfilment, a blockage which was freed, as if in Horace's maxim of the *delectare prodesse* that had been discussed for decades suddenly found its object.'[602] Perhaps not so suddenly – Mozart's other success in Vienna was *Entführung*, his first foray into the genre of the *Singspiel* in 1782. Gruber however defines what he calls a 'veritable *Zauberflöte* craze',[603] and notes that the success of *Die Zauberflöte* and the simultaneous Mozart craze are 'inextricably related'.[604] By 1794 it had been performed in many centres, including Leipzig, Frankfurt am Main, Munich, Dresden, Mannheim, Weimar, Berlin and Hamburg.[605] Piano excerpts and arrangements were widely available. In 1794, for Dresden and Prague, Giovanni de Gamerra translated the libretto into Italian with

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594   Ibid.
595   Ibid.
596   This is discussed in more detail on the following page.
597   Jacques Chailley et al., Th*e Magic Flute, Masonic Opera: An Interpretation of the Libretto and The Music*. [Translated by Herbert Weinstock] (London: Gollancz, 1972).
598   Donington, *Opera and Its Symbols: The Unity of Words, Music and Staging*, 62–75.
599   Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, 51.
600   *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 8.4.1801, 155–6.
601   Ibid 168.
602   Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, 34–5.
603   Ibid 35.
604   Ibid 39.
605   *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 8.4.1801, 162.

dialogue replaced by recitative, which was set by J. B. Kucharž.[606] It is this version ('*Il flauto magico'*) that was seen in London in 1811.[607]

At a provincial level, the 1795 production of *Die Zauberflöte* in Passau (today one of Germany's smallest opera houses, preserving an 18th century theatre from the time of Mozart) should be noted. Tamino has become a knight, with Arthurian associations. His quest is to rescue Pamina. The Queen of Night (here named Karmela 'a magician through music') loses both of her arias, the first to the First Lady and the second to Pamina, who sings as if she is repeating the instructions her mother had given her in a dream.[608] A further flavour of provincial productions can be glimpsed from Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's own Weimar theatre, a provincial stage that was kept simple and unassuming due to both economical factors as well as Goethe's inner convictions.[609] Goethe latched onto the success of the work and eventually wrote a sequel (1795–96) that remained unfinished. Caroline Jagemann,[610] left an account in her memoirs of the *Die Zauberflöte* production of 1794:

> *Whereas the three angelic boys in Mannheim's Die Zauberflöte (as in all other theatres) were sung by pretty girls in pretty costumes, here in Weimar they use three lads from the seminary, clumsy peasant boys wearing brick-red cotton jerseys with sleeves so wide that they looked like great flaps of skin, also tunics which were not exactly clean and neither short enough to hint at a Greek costume nor long enough to conceal their dirty boots; their unkempt mops were adorned with crude wreaths painted in a uniform red which denoted roses and their cheeks were daubed in purple and looked like Easter-eggs. But no pen can describe their acting: they held their palm-leaves stuck in front of them, like sceptres and sometimes beat time with them.[611]*

As mentioned, *Die Zauberflöte* also adapted itself to the wake of the French Revolution with a production in Paris in 1792 where the Queen of Night is associated with the reign of Louis XVI; Pamina becomes 'Freedom as the Daughter of Despotism; Tamino 'the People'; Sarastro the 'Wisdom of a Better Legislation' and the priests 'the National Assembly'.[612] Cowgill identifies this as a pro-Jacobin version of the work, which was circulating from 1794.[613] She adds to the symbology – 'the flute, freedom; the three ladies (nymphs), the three social classes; Papageno, the rich; Papagena, equality; Monostatos, the emigrants; the slaves, the servants and supporters of the emigrants; the three boys (genies), intelligence, justice and patriotism'.[614] Cowgill cites Erich Karl Blümml[615] in noting that 'this version, which originated in the Rhineland … still had currency as late as 1817 [presented]

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606   Ibid 161.
607   Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597–1940*, 497.
608   *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 8.4.1801, 165.
609   Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, 39.
610   Ibid 48.
611   Karoline Jagemann (from 1809 Freifrau) von Heygendorff (25 January 1777, Weimar – 10 July 1848, Dresden) was a major German actress and singer. http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz36842.html Accessed 5.3.15.
612   Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, 48.
613   Ibid 35.
614   Rachel Cowgill, 'New Light and the Man of Might: Revisiting Early Interpretations of Die Zauberflöte', in Rachel Cowgill et al., *Art and Ideology in European Opera: Essays in Honour of Julian Rushton* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010), 207.
615   Ibid 207–8.

Mozart and Schikaneder as '*grimme Demagogen und Freiheitshelden*' [grim demagogues and heroes of freedom].'[616]

In 1812 rival productions of *Die Zauberflöte* were running in Vienna at the Kärntnertor Theater and the Theater an der Wien. The Queen of Night's arias were transposed down in pitch and coloratura passages were simplified.[617] One Queen of the Night, Antonia Campi, was criticised for overwhelming even the recitative of the first aria ('O zittre nicht') with ornamentation.[618] This diversity of approach is revealing in terms of the growing influence and wiles of individual singers from the beginning of the nineteenth century, when star singers and their personalities were becoming increasingly fascinating to the public. The focus of interest was less on a particular opera, rather particular singers and how they chose to present their roles. There was an ever-greater tolerance for singers displaying individuality, even at the expense of how their part was written. When a singer had an issue with the coloratura passages of the Queen of Night arias, for example, those parts might be assigned to the flautist in the orchestra.[619] Roles were assigned and then adapted to particular singers with a freedom (even recklessness) that by today's standards suggests an ignorance of matters of voice type, range and tessitura (though transposition and *puntatura* were widespread practices).[620] Roles would simply be adapted to the abilities of a particular singer, often without reference to their sex.[621]

In 1801 a new production of *Die Zauberflöte* was mounted in Paris, involving a significant adaption of Mozart's work, achieving lasting success over 26 years, when it was given 134 times. The work was given under the title of *Les Mystères d'Isis* (1801) and was created by Etienne Morel de Chédeville and Ludwig Wenzel Lachnith.[622] The task of the arrangers was to make Mozart's opera comprehensible to Parisian audiences, aligning him with the traditions and expectations that prevailed in that city. The version was focused toward the world of Sarastro and became popular in part due to its involvement with things Egyptian, in the wake of Napoleon's recent campaign (1798–1801).[623] Recitatives by Lachnith replaced spoken dialogue. The work was ultimately a stylistic hotch-potch that was locally dubbed '*Les Misères d'ici*'. Music was added from *Figaro, Don Giovanni, Titus* and Haydn's 'Drum Roll' symphony. The music from *Zauberflöte* that survived, was cut, recomposed, transposed and altered according to the needs of the new text.

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616 Blümml, 'Ausdeutung der 'Zauberflöte'', *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1* (1923), 111-46. Ibid.
617 *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 8.4.1801, 159.
618 Ibid 160.
619 Blümml, 'Ausdeutung der 'Zauberflöte'', *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1*, 208.
620 Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, 109. The practice of transposing and also re-working vocal lines to bring them in line with the tessitura of a given singer is one that is generally quite foreign to modern performance practice. The practice was standard procedure throughout the nineteenth century and accounts for the fact that tenors undertook roles written for bass-baritones and visa-versa, the same was true for female roles. The practice, *puntatura*, is noted by Will Crutchfield as deriving 'presumably after the habit of notating it with unstemmed noteheads ('punti') on the same stave as the line being altered. 'Crutchfield notes that the purpose of *puntatura* was twofold – either to alter the tessitura of a role or else to substitute alternative ornamental figures in florid passages. See: Gioacchino Rossini et al., *Il barbiere Di Siviglia: Almaviva, O sia, l'inutile Precauzione: Commedia in Due Atti*, vol. Critical Commentary (Kassel; New York: Bärenreiter, 2008), Appendix on Early Vocal Ornamentation, by Will Crutchfield, 361–420. Specifically, 361.
621 Gruber notes that the popular singer Anna Milder-Hauptmann appeared as Tamino. Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, 109.
622 Ibid 111–2.
623 Ibid 112.

Berlioz quipped that '*Mozart a été assassin é par Lachnith*'.[624] The dividing line between this work – which achieved huge popularity and catered for a ready market – and intentional parody, is a fine one indeed. Whatever the final critical judgement of such adaptation, there was a clear strategy in place, led by Castil-Blaze in Paris,[625] of bringing the Mozart operas in line with Parisian taste and expectations. As a result of these efforts, interest grew in Mozart's operas in Paris during the 1830s, in stark contrast to the situation in Germany where interest in his works was beginning to dwindle.[626]

In Vienna *Die Zauberflöte* was performed more than 1000 times during the nineteenth century – around 450 times at the Court Opera, 150 at the *Theater an der Wien*, as well as the 220 or so performances it had received in the *Theater auf der Wieden*, from its première until the closure of the theatre in 1801.[627] In London, in 1800, William Crotch notes that '*The Zauberflote* [*sic*] is now well known in England having been adapted and also successfully imitated by (Mozart's) pupil Mr [Thomas] Attwood'.[628] Mr Attwood, in spite of his status as a Mozart pupil, adopted as liberal an attitude to the task of adaption as his aforementioned French colleagues. As '*Il Flauto magico*', the work was performed in an Italian guise (as was the case with *Fidelio* and *Der Freischütz*), with dialogue arranged as recitative, in line with English taste. Following a curious production in 1806, by a troupe of performing German children,[629] *Zauberflöte* was presented at the King's Theatre in the same year, where it was initially a failure. It remained far less popular in London than Vienna, suggesting that the local Viennese flavour the work exudes had not been embraced by Londoners.

The London production of 1811 did not succeed in making *Il flauto magico* more accessible. The version by De Gamerra, (the librettist of Mozart's *Lucio Silla*), as noted above had been created for performance at Dresden in 1794. Gamerra had transposed the *Singspiel* into a '*dramma eroicomico per musica*', with recitatives substituting for the spoken dialogue. The Queen of Night's first aria ('Zum Leiden bin ich auserkoren') was sung by Pamina. The Queen of Night substituted her second aria in its place, leaving her with little material in Act 2. According to Cowgill the reasons were to do with the requirements of an audience expecting an Italian opera: 'by Italian convention, the heroine Pamina was missing the 'entrance aria' that would have signaled her importance in the drama and the Queen of Night did not merit a second show aria in Act 2'.[630] The opera mystified audiences of 1811, who suffered in the transposition of a work so 'saturated with the traditions of popular Viennese theatre' to London. While the music was appreciated, it was considered that 'Mozart had wasted his talents on an execrable piece of theatre'.[631] The extreme nature of the adaptation, the cutting of episodes (such as the trials and

624   *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 8.4.1801, 165.
625   Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, 114–5.
626   Ibid 116.
627   *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 8.4.1801, 168.
628   Blümml, 'Ausdeutung der 'Zauberflöte'', *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1*, 209.
629   Ibid 216.
630   Rachel Cowgill, 'Mozart Productions and the Emergence of Werktreue at London's Italian Opera House, 1780–1830', in Roberta Montemorra Marvin and Downing A. Thomas, *Operatic Migrations: Transforming Works and Crossing Boundaries* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 159.
631   Ibid 160.

the Men in Armor) and the reordering of what remained rendered Mozart's opera incomprehensible.

While *Die Zauberflöte* has gone on to become a staple of the repertoire, the apparent dichotomy between the quality of the libretto and Mozart's music remains an issue in its presentation, with much posturing required to achieve a unified production. While the extreme parodies of the nineteenth century seem ridiculous to modern perceptions, it remains the case that much work of adaption is required (usually involving excisions and changes to the original libretto) to maintain a place for this work in the modern operatic museum. The curatorial challenges involve not only divining universal resonances in a work originally composed in the unlikely medium of *Singspiel,* but further finding a message in *Die Zauberflöte* that supports the biographical view that is currently in force about Mozart's last days and last works, ensuring that both biographical and performative *Werktreue* are maintained. The history of reception of Mozart's other canonic *Singspiel* will now be considered.

2. *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*

Like *Die Zauberflöte, Entführung* was significantly adapted because of the weakness of the libretto and for centres where spoken dialogue was not a part of operatic practice. *Entführung* was frequently given in Italian (with specially composed recitatives) creating an irony that this work, unpopular in Italy, was invariably performed in London with an Italian text.

Mozart composed *Entführung* for The National Singspiel, which had been founded in Vienna in 1778, three years before the composer's arrival in 1781.[632] During these years, an excellent ensemble of singers had been assembled, as well as a fine orchestra and chorus. Providing a repertoire proved problematic, however and in spite of commissions to local librettists and composers, the repertory began to revert to known *opéra comique*[633] works and thence to *opera buffa.* Thus a great opportunity lay before Mozart – the enrichment of a bland repertory that did not conform to the purpose of the theatre (to perform German *Singspiel)* and superb performing resources. Carl Maria von Weber later expressed it thus:

> *I venture to express the belief that in the Entführung Mozart's artistic experience had reached its maturity and thereafter only life experience created on. The world was justified in expecting more operas like Figaro and Don Juan from him; but with the best will he would not write another Entführung.*[634]

Mozart created a work far superior to that of any of his contemporaries displaying a level of virtuosity, sophistication and invention that completely transcended the *Singspiel* genre.

Mozart's achievement as expressed by Weber and echoed in modern critical writing is not suggested in the playbill for the première on 16 July 1782. Emperor Joseph II had decreed that singer's names should not appear on playbills, so none did. The librettist is not mentioned and the largest name is that of Bretzner (from

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632   Thomas Bauman, W.*A. Mozart, Die Entführung Aus Dem Serail, Cambridge Opera Handbooks* (Cambridge Cambridgeshire; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 3–6.

633   By Monsigny, Gossec, Dezède, Grétry etc.

634   Bauman, *W.A. Mozart, Die Entführung Aus Dem Serail*, 2.

whose original libretto the adaptation was made) and 'Herrn Kapellmeister Mozart' is in small print towards the bottom of the sheet.

Fig. 5-3. *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, playbill for the première, Vienna, 16 July 1782.

Mozart scored a great success with this work. In addition to its exceptional place in the *Singspiel* genre, the immediate success it scored outside of Vienna on other German stages was unprecedented. *Entführung* was premièred in 41 cities outside Vienna during Mozart's lifetime, as well as occupying the stages of the three principal Viennese theatres.[635] Mozart's Czech biographer, Niemtschek,[636] speculates that *Entführung* played an important role in spreading Mozart's reputation beyond Vienna, a force that multiplied with the success of *Die Zauberflöte* 10 years later.

By 1800 *Singspiel* was on the wane and with it the popularity of *Entführung*. It remained ahead of *Idomeneo, Così* and *Titus*, but fell behind *Figaro, Don Giovanni* and *Die Zauberflöte*.[637] *Singspiel* became a less potent vehicle for composers and this resulted in travesties of Mozart's operas, with the inclusion of fantastic biographical scenes. Gruber notes, for example Joachim Perinet's '*Jupiter, Mozart and Schikaneder*',[638] and in 1845 one Louis Schneider undertook a revision of *Der Schauspieldirektor,* which became *Mozart und Schikaneder,* Stephanie's characters being replaced by Mozart himself, Schikaneder as the *Schauspieldirektor*, Mozart's sister-in-law Aloysia Lange etc.[639]

An 1808 Viennese revival of *Entführung* substituted 'Un' aura amorosa' from *Così* in place of 'Ich baue ganz auf deine Stärke', in response to a wide

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635   Ibid 103–4 (Table 5).
636   Ibid 104.
637   Ibid 108.
638   Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, 70.
639   Ibid 135.

dissatisfaction with the latter aria. The same aria from *Così* served as substitute for Belmonte's Act 2 aria, 'Wenn der Freude Thränen fliessen' during the nineteenth century. The 1808 Vienna revival also cut three arias from Act 2 – Blonde's 'Durch Zärtlichkeit und Schmeicheln', Constanze's 'Traurigkeit ward mir zum Lose' and Pedrillo's 'Frisch zum Kampfe'. Many of these substitutions and omissions became commonplace and it also became usual to omit Constanze's 'Martern aller Arten' (this omission was first noted in Berlin in 1831). A large cut of 82 bars in this aria also became commonplace.[640] Many of these alterations persisted throughout the nineteenth century, even in Vienna, as will be discussed when considering Mahler's tenure at the *Hofoper*. Berlioz attended an 1859 performance of *Entführung* in Paris where it was performed on a double bill with Weber's *Abu Hassan*. With tongue in cheek about the observance of '*scrupulous fidelity*',[641] Berlioz noted that such fidelity reduced the opera from three acts to two, the order of the numbers was altered, one of Konstanze's arias was given to Blonde and an entr'acte between the (now) two acts of the Turkish March from the piano sonata K331 was added. *Entführung* was first staged in London in 1827,[642] where the topical issue of the War of Greek Independence caused the action to take place on a Greek Island. The new plot is noted here:

> *Belmonte (posing as a painter) has landed [and meets] a happy band of islanders and an elderly Greek landowner, Eudoxius. Belmonte sets about painting the ruins of a temple to Bacchus and Eudoxius praises his respect for their Greek heritage ... Just then Osmyn arrives with a detail of labourers; he points to a piece of sculpture and gruffly orders them to 'strike down that trumpery', which he intends to use to fill up the ditch behind the Pasha's stables.*
>
> *Blonde, now Pedrillo's sister, openly foments rebellion among the women of the seraglio. She has fallen in love with an Irish doctor who attends the Pasha, named O'Callaghan. Ibrahim himself 'born of Christian parents; carried into slavery, when a child – and since risen to rank thro' his wonderful valour in the field', keeps and reveres a bracelet bearing his mother's portrait. The discovery of a duplicate in Constanze's possession leads to the revelation that he and she are brother and sister.*[643]

Perhaps understandably, the music was felt to require an adaption of similar scope. Christian Kramer, 'Master and Conductor of His Majesty's Band' seems to have been mainly responsible for this. Seven musical numbers disappeared (from a total of 21): two of Osmin's, all three of Belmonte's, Pedrillos 'Frisch zum Kampfe' and Blonde's 'Durch Zärtlichkeit und Schmeicheln'. Astonishingly, Kramer saw fit to do his own musical setting of two numbers, replacing Mozart's music with his

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640   The Anhang to the NMA prints (442) an 'Original Bearbeitung'of this number, in piano vocal score form, which indicates this cut, which is printed in the Kogel (Peters) and Novello scores. The NMA suggests that the cut stems from Mozart – however there is a difference of 3 bars, bars 286–88 in NMA not appearing in either of the aforementioned scores.

641   Hector Berlioz and Elizabeth Csicsery-Rónay, *The Art of Music and Other Essays (a Travers Chants)* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 169.

642   Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and James Rigbie Turner, *Der Schauspieldirektor. The Impresario. A Comedy with Music in One Act*, K. 486. Facsimile of the Autograph Manuscript in the Mary Flagler Cary Music Collection, the Pierpont Morgan Library. [Introduction [by] J. Rigbie Turner.] (New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library, London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1976), vii–viii.

643   Bauman, *W.A. Mozart, Die Entführung Aus Dem Serail*, 113.

own. These were Belmonte's '*O wie ängstlich*' and '*Ich baue ganz auf deine Stärke*'.[644]

It can be conjectured that *Entführung* consists fundamentally of a string of extraordinary musical numbers, less held together by the work of the librettist than by the musical dramaturgy and understanding of human nature that characterises Mozart's music. Perhaps the achievement in the twentieth century is to have established a reliable musical text, which can be adapted and reinvented according to new criteria of stage direction – the ongoing fascination with this work is perhaps due not just to the quality of the music, but also the opportunity afforded to the director to intervene in and extend the directorial process to include a reworking of the original creative process. Having discussed the two canonic *Singspiele,* attention is turned to the genre of *opera seria,* which poses quite complex challenges for the operatic museum.

3. *Idomeneo*

While complicated histories of dissemination accompany all the Mozart's operas, the early history of *Idomeneo* proves a virtually insoluble dilemma. It is necessary to consider: (a) the version of *Idomeneo* presented at the Munich première in 1781; (b) the version given in Vienna in 1786; (c) the reasons for Mozart either adding or cutting particular numbers, along with variants that do not belong to either (a) or (b); and (d) whether there may be some version of *Idomeneo* that Mozart preferred or considered definitive. The appearance of the NMA score of *Idomeneo,*[645] in 1972 seemed to have established the Munich score definitively (based upon the 'second libretto'), while providing some other performance options. However, the situation was considerably complicated in 1981, when a large amount of Mozart autograph material, missing since the end of WWII came to light in Poland – having consequences for the texts of *Idomeneo, Figaro* and *Così.* The editor of the 1972 NMA score, Daniel Heartz had access only to the autograph of Act 3, while Acts 1 and 2 were among the material that came to light in Poland. While the discovery of these manuscripts is highly significant, it doesn't hugely alter the score of *Idomeneo* as published by NMA, due to the fact that the AMA of 1881 had been prepared with access to the subsequently (1981) recovered manuscripts. Of greater significance was a discovery made by Robert Münster in the *Bayerische Staatsoper* archives of a transcript of Acts 1 and 2, the work of a court copyist, which was identified as the performing score of 1781.[646] This score incorporates hitherto unknown cuts, transpositions and additions of material thought to have been cut. The discovery of this material in turn raises the issue of the reliability of the so-called 'second libretto' as an accurate record of what occurred in the original Munich performances.

When Mozart settled in Vienna shortly after the *Idomeneo* première, he entertained thoughts of presenting the work in that city. He was thinking to make it conform more to the Viennese taste and to that end he had found a translator to create a German text. He also planned to revise the title role for a bass (in line with

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644   Ibid 114–5.

645   Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart et al., *Idomeneo*: [*Dramma Per Musica in Tre Atti*] (Kassel; London: Bärenreiter, 1972).

646   http://mozartsocietyofamerica.org/publications/newsletter/archive/MSA-JAN-10.pdf, 6. Accessed 30.5.15.

the conventions of French opera) and even had a singer in mind – Ludwig Fischer, who was later to create the role of Osmin. The role of Idamante was to be adapted for a tenor, again to cater for the French style. In the event, apart from the performance of some isolated numbers, no opportunity for a performance presented itself until 13 March 1786, when a unique performance took place in the private theatre at the Auersperg Palace. The cast was described as amateur, but that should not be taken to imply that they were not accomplished, many being highly trained members of the aristocracy.[647] That was the last time that Mozart's opera was heard during his lifetime.

Sadie[648] notes that in spite of references to a 'Munich version' and a 'Vienna Version', the situation with regard to establishing definitive versions is considerably more complex. Rather than a single 'Munich version' a multiplicity of Munich version**s** would be a more practical way of looking at the bewildering array of rewrites and last minute changes. There are also matters in relation to the Vienna version that remain unclear even today. It is generally assumed that the role of Idamante was taken by the tenor, Baron Pulini. However in the changes that Mozart made for Vienna, he notates Idamante's 'Non temer, amato bene' in the soprano clef (an octave above the pitch for a tenor). In the duet Mozart wrote two tenor clefs, but then notated the part for Idamante as if in tenor clef. In the quartet, Idamante's part is in the soprano clef, but the tessitura is very high and it seems that the music was meant to be sung an octave lower. So far, no completely acceptable explanation has been found for such slips (if they were), which are (as Sadie notes) extremely rare in Mozart's notation. It is unlikely that the Baron who sang Idamante in Vienna was a castrato, although there is no decisive evidence to show that Idamante was sung by a tenor. Another interesting discovery, noted by Sadie is that, on examination of the paper types that Mozart used, the simplification of 'Fuor del Mar', long thought to be written for Raaff's Munich performances, was actually written for Bridi, the Vienna Idomeneo, bringing into question the often reported incompetence of Raaff.[649]

After Mozart's death performances were recorded in Budapest (1803), Kassel (1802), Nurenberg (1803), Hamburg (1804 – in concert), Vienna (1806), Berlin (1806), Frankfurt (1807), Stuttgart (1810), Leipzig (1811 – in concert), Bucharest (1818), Königsberg (1821), Riga (1825). From the mid-nineteenth century there was a further period of revival of *Idomeneo*: Weimar (1840), Munich (1845); Dresden (1854); Berlin (1855); Mannheim (1861); Leipzig (1869); Darmstadt (1871); Cassel (1877); Vienna (1879); Hamburg (1880); Rotterdam (1880); Prague (1887).[650] *Idomeneo* scarcely had a life outside of German-speaking countries, though the presence of music from *Idomeneo* should be noted in a French p*asticcio*, '*Louis XII ou La Route de Reims'* (1825) and in a further *pasticcio* '*The Casket'* (London 1827).[651] Parts of *Idomeneo* were also heard at the Paris Conservatoire in 1846.[652]

Rushton notes that the history of *Idomeneo* performance is one of 'discrete revivals rather than assimilation into the repertory' and further that the opera began

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647   Mark Everist, 'Madame Dorothea Wendling is arcicontentissima': the performers of Idomeneo', Rushton, *W.A. Mozart, Idomeneo*, 61.

648   Stanley Sadie, 'Genesis of an operone', ibid 45.

649   Ibid 46–7.

650   Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597–1940*, 386.

651   Ibid.

652   Ibid 386–7.

a separate life as an 'object of serious critical attention' by virtue of its publication.[653] Its revival in anything like a 'complete' or 'authentic' form did not occur until the twentieth century.

4. *Le nozze di Figaro*

Mozart referenced himself in *Don Giovanni*, quoting Figaro's aria 'Non più andrai', thereby suggesting that it enjoyed a status as a 'hit' in its day. During the nineteenth century *Figaro* vied with *Don Giovanni* for popularity, frequently losing out to the allure of the demonic, romantic hero. The three Da Ponte collaborations that Mozart undertook have continued to shift around in terms of popularity and critical assessment. The score of *Figaro* has, like *Don Giovanni,* been often praised for its perfection and genius of construction. When considering Mozart's operas today, another, more open-ended view of these works will be proposed. The issue of variants to the *Figaro* score first surfaced, according to librettist Da Ponte, during the lead-up to the première, at a time when dances had been banned from the Viennese stage. This created a problem because of the fandango and the march that are featured in the Act 3 finale. Da Ponte's memoirs describe an amusing situation, where a furious Mozart threatens to withdraw his opera and Da Ponte finds a means through complex intrigues, eventually using his influence and diplomatic skills to safeguard *Figaro* in the form it was written. Da Ponte's reminiscences are not always the most reliable and the 'Komponist-like' [654] demeanour of Mozart compared with the worldly and Machiavellian figure of Da Ponte may be a little exaggerated.

The doubling of roles at the première (Basilio/Curzio and Bartolo/Antonio) created problems of dramaturgy and practicality (that is, time for costume changes) that have persisted in the performance history of the work. Possible changes to the order in Act 3 and their dramaturgy have been outlined in '*Mozart's 'Figaro': The Plan of Act III*'[655] and these have figured subsequently in a number of productions. With this background of a multiplicity of authentic versions (supervised and carried out by Mozart) the following early performances serve to chart the dissemination of *Figaro* and demonstrate some of the adaptive characteristics:

- 1786 Prague (It.)
- 1787 Monza (It.) Acts 3 and 4 were reset to music by Angelo Tarchi(!). Of the parts of Mozart's score that did survive, arias were shared among characters – so that the Count in Act 1 sings Cherubino's 'Voi che sapete' with an altered text.
- 1787 Prague (Germ.)
- 1787 Donaueschingen (Germ.)
- 1788 Florence (It.) – The entire opera was given over two evenings, divided into Acts ½, ¾. Cherubino's 'Non so più' was replaced with an insertion aria by Bartolomeo Cherubini[656] for Susanna to sing.
- 1788 Leipzig (Germ.)
- 1788 Frankfurt (Germ.)

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653   Ibid. Rushton notes a Paris performance in 1822 'words by Caignez, arranged from the opera by Mozart by J. L. Bertin'. Rushton, *W.A. Mozart, Idomeneo*, 83.
654   Cf. Strauss/Hofmannsthal: *Ariadne auf Naxos*, the naïve, idealistic Komponist.
655   Robert Moberly and Christopher Raeburn, *Mozart's 'Figaro': The Plan of Act 3, Music and Letters* (1965): 134–6.
656   Carter, *W.A. Mozart : Le Nozze Di Figaro*, 129.

- 1789 Hanover – in a translation by A.F. von Knigge, with the dialogue translated by his daughter Phillipine, with reference to the French text of Beaumarchais.
- 1790 Potsdam (It.), Bonn (Germ), Stuttgart (Germ.), Berlin (Germ.), Mannheim (Germ.)
- 1793 Leipzig (It.)
- 1791 Hamburg (Germ. – Knigge transl.)
- 1793 Weimar (Germ.)
- 1794 Munich (Germ.), Breslau (Germ.)
- 1795 Dresden (Germ.)[657]

In Naples, the text of Da Ponte was adapted and music composed by Piccini (*La Serva onorata*, 1792) and Paer (*Il nuovo Figaro*, 1794). No further performances of *Figaro* in Italy were reported until 1811 in Turin. *Figaro* did not become part of the Italian repertory.

A significant première of *Figaro* took place in Paris at the Opéra on 20 March 1793. This version has created significant scholarly interest (primarily among literary scholars) because Beaumarchais was connected with the production. Sherman Dudley has investigated in detail both the involvement of Beaumarchais in this *Figaro* and the details of the version performed. A review of the première criticised the mixture of singing and speech, the overall length and the amount of dialogue; and that is where Beaumarchais actively enters the story, cutting dialogue and suggesting that instrumental music should be added to facilitate more dances. Of the changes that were made to the original score to create a five-act version:

- Cherubino, in Act 2 sang, in addition to 'Voi che sapete' the original song that Beaumarchais had written for him to sing, to the tune 'Malbroug s'en va-t-en guerre'.
- Act 3 concluded with the Sextet, which was preceded by Basilio's aria ('In quel'anni').
- Act 4 began with the Countess alone onstage and ended with the Act 3 finale, with the fandango cut and replaced by a gavotte.
- Figaro's aria 'Les preuves les plus sûres' was adapted to the music of Don Giovanni's 'Metà di voi'.
- The aria of Marcellina – 'Il capro e la capretta' was replaced by 'Ces maîtres de nos âmes', set to Dorabella's aria 'È amore un ladroncello' from *Così*.[658]

Carter describes this as a 'hybrid *Figaro*' and Loewenberg notes that after five performances it was not given again until March 1807, at the Opéra-Comique, adding that by December of that year *Figaro* was mounted at the Théâtre-Italien, in a so-called 'authentic' version. That version, along with a French language one adapted by Castil-Blaze, was used in France and neighbouring Belgium during the nineteenth century.[659]

Two of the original *Figaro* cast in Vienna (Nancy Storace and Michael Kelly) along with two Mozart pupils (Stephen Storace and Thomas Attwood) settled in London and began to introduce Mozart's operatic work, initially in the form of insertions into other operas. This practice was well established and Stephen Storace

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657 Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597–1940*, 425–6.
658 Carter, *W.A. Mozart : Le Nozze Di Figaro*, 130.
659 Ibid 131.

was one of the leading exponents. Loewenberg quotes the following,[660] anonymous description of a *pasticcio* by Storace, *The Siege of Belgrade*, which was based on Soler's *Una cosa rara:*

> *I was not a little astonished yesterday evening when I attended a much loved operetta 'The Siege of Belgrade' and found almost all arias to be from Cosa rara. A certain Signor Storace understands the art of throwing together several Italian operas to create an original English one.[661]*

In 1812 The Pantheon opened in London, as the direct rival to the King's Theatre. The Pantheon was the first to stage *Figaro* on May 2 1812, but only Acts 1 and 2. The lack of chorus necessitated the omission of Act 1, scene 8, where the Count is praised for abolishing the *droit de seigneur.* The Susanna/Marcellina duet was cut, along with Bartolo's aria ('La vendetta'). 'Ach ich fühl's' from *Die Zauberflöte* was inserted, with the text of 'Ah, signor più non si avanza', presumably at the behest of Bertinotti who also sang in this production. A number of text changes were made in an attempt to make sense of the truncation of the work into two acts, with the conclusion leaving Figaro as the villain of the piece, rather than the Count. The King's Theatre responded with a lavish version given on June 18 of the same year, using many of the singers from the Pantheon who had fled due to non-payment of their salaries. In *The Times* the King's Theatre production is described as 'LE MARIAGE DE FIGARO: the music by Mozart'. In addition to Mozart's music a 'favourite popular Scotch ballet of PEGGY'S LOVE (composed by Didelot) was given at the end of Act 1; At the conclusion of the Opera 'God save the King' was sung by a Signor Tramezzani and as a finale, a new Ballet by Didelot 'LA REINE DE GOLCONDE'.[662] During the course of the evening, a poem 'written for this occasion by an English Lady',[663] was recited by Mr Elliston. This production (though perhaps without the same additions, which most likely related to the first performance being a benefit for the Scottish Hospital) was revived in 1812, 1813, 1816 and 1817.

In spite of the insertions outlined above, the King's Theatre production performed all of the musical numbers of *Figaro* mostly without adaption. The singer Catalani, cast as Susanna, appropriated Cherubino's arias and there were some cuts to the Act 4 finale, but that was the extent of the changes. While commercial imperatives remained ever-present, there was also a new climate and attitude that was being gradually being transferred into the operatic arena. In the words of William Weber:

> *The English invented the idea of musical classics. Eighteenth-century England was the first place where old musical works were performed regularly and reverentially, where a collective notion of such works – 'ancient music' – first appeared.[664]*

Mozart may not have qualified as 'ancient music', but he was increasingly being

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660   *Journal des Luxus und der Moden*, 15 January 1791, Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597–1940*, 485.

661   The original reads: 'Ich war gestern nicht wenig verwundert, als ich in der hier sehr beleibten Operette, The Seige of Belgrade fast alle Arien der Cosa rara fand. Ein gewisser Signore Storace versteht die Kunst aus vielen Italiänischen Opern eine Original-Englische zusammenzustoppeln'.

662   Ibid 132–3.

663   Ibid.

664   Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597–1940*, 425–6.

recognised as a phenomenon from the past and a 'classic'.

By 1819 *Figaro* was presented at Covent Garden in an English adaptation by Henry Bishop. The work was 'translated, altered and arranged…and the whole adapted to the English stage'.[665] The extent of Mr Bishop's labours can be outlined as follows:

-   The work was arranged in 3 acts.
-   The plot was simplified.
-   The Count was adapted to a speaking role – a new character, Fiorello, was adapted from *Barbiere* and sang the Count's music.
-   The Countess sang (Cherubino's) 'Voi che sapete' as 'Love ever leave me, peace to restore'.
-   Added to the score were numbers from other Mozart works, Bishop himself and Rossini.
-   Remaining Mozart numbers were further altered.
-   For the finale to Act 1, Figaro's 'Non più andrai' and part of the Act 1 finale of *Così* were dovetailed.[666]

In adaptations such as this Mozart's ensembles in particular proved to be troublesome and were generally removed, dialogue being substituted.

In subsequent revivals and tours to provincial cities of this *Figaro* production, Susanna regularly substituted popular songs such as 'Home, Sweet Home' or 'I've Been Roaming'.

In undertaking this complex task, Bishop did admit that 'The obstacles … that arose in adapting the *Music* were innumerable!' however his quest remained 'to improve our National taste for Music, by, … establishing the works of the immortal MOZART on the English stage.'[667] This version remained in the repertory for twenty years. Finally in 1842 a new version ousted Bishop's at Covent Garden, with English text by Planché and conducted by Julius Benedict. While it included spoken dialogue rather than recitatives, it was generally considered that the musical numbers at least were faithful to Mozart's original and that the opera was given 'with great taste and care'.[668]

Figaro remained behind *Don Giovanni* in popularity during the second half of the nineteenth century, though considerably ahead of *Così*, which all but disappeared. According to Rosenthal,[669] *Figaro* disappeared from the repertory of Covent Garden between 1849 and 1866. Carter notes that *Figaro* found a home in Victorian drawing rooms, where the main arias remained popular. In London at least, *Figaro* did not revive with vigour until the performances at the Old Vic in 1920.[670]

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665   William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual and Ideology* (Oxford England, New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1992), vii.

666   Henry R. Bishop et al., *Mozart's the Marriage of Figaro: Adapted for Covent Garden, 1819* (Middleton, Wis.: A-R Editions, 2012).

667   From Bishop's 'Advertisement 'to the printed libretto of 1819, [iii], iv. Carter, *W.A. Mozart : Le Nozze Di Figaro*, 134.

668   Ibid 135.

669   Harold Rosenthal, *Two Centuries of Opera at Covent Garden* (London, Putnam, 1958), 679–803.

670   Carter, *W.A. Mozart : Le Nozze Di Figaro*, 137.

5. *Don Giovanni*

Raphael is the same man as Mozart.[671]

A misunderstanding persists that *Don Giovanni* exists in two basic versions, one composed for Prague, the other adapted for Vienna. In critical writing, the Prague version is considered to be the 'true version', whereas the Vienna is considered less ideal – 'even the first betrayal' in the words of Rushton,[672] who discusses the differences in 'The two authentic versions of *Don Giovanni*.'[673] He also notes that the editors of the NMA worked from the premise that 'the Vienna version has an experimental and variable form; but that the Prague version alone is an authentic text is a conclusion that goes a little far in the interests of purity.' Rushton is of the opinion that the Vienna version is not an improvement on Prague, in spite of the beauties of the two new arias. He contrasts this situation with what he describes as the 'grotesque sacrifice' and 'obvious musical and dramatic disfigurement' caused by the two arias substituted for Susanna in the 1789 revival of *Figaro*. This harsh vilification exists in spite of their unquestioning authenticity as the work of Mozart. Clearly, in determining revisions to and adaptions of his operas, Mozart was also capable of miscalculation.

When the Prague version of *Don Giovanni* (1787) was transferred to Vienna the following year, everyone except its composer thought something was wrong with it, according to the recollections of librettist, Lorenzo da Ponte. In consultation with da Ponte, Mozart made changes, thus producing the so-called 'Vienna' version, which involved cutting two arias and inserting substitutes, plus a further duet and the reworking of recitatives as necessary to cover the joins. The duet composed for Vienna has not found a place in modern performances, however in producing new arias, Mozart composed two pieces of great beauty and invention: 'Dalla sua pace' for Don Ottavio and 'Mi tradì', preceded by the accompagnato, 'In quali ecessi, o Numi' for Donna Elvira. These numbers have long since become perennial favourites, inseparable in the public imagination from the notion of this opera. For this reason they are generally included in performances (along with the arias that they were to replace) – slotted into a structure that was not created to support them, creating problems of dramaturgy, sustained interest (arias following upon arias) and total performance length. Rushton, adopting what may be considered a purist viewpoint, points out that it is impossible to know in which form Mozart himself preferred *Don Giovanni* (the concept of Mozart preferring a version will be discussed later), but that '[today] we should perform either Prague or Vienna entire'. In practice this hardly occurs, for reasons that oscillate around theatre routine and the desire of singers to maintain a profile before the public. Conductor Erich Leinsdorf echoes these practical determinants:

> *...the florid passages of 'Il mio Tesoro', sung by the tenor of the Prague première in 1787, were too much for the tenor of the Vienna première of 1788. So Mozart replaced it with 'Dalla sua pace'. He did not add a second aria. It was a substitute. He presumably felt that one lyric utterance for Don Ottavio was sufficient and that another would interrupt the action unnecessarily. No help here from singers! I have*

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671   Georges Bizet, in Derek Watson, *The Wordsworth Dictionary of Musical Quotations* (Ware: Wordsworth Reference, 1991), 168.

672   Brown, W.*A. Mozart, Così Fan Tutte, Cambridge Opera Handbooks*, 53.

673   Ibid 53–7.

never been able to stay with either the Prague or the Vienna version pure and simple.[674]

What is often overlooked in the debate about an 'authentic' *Don Giovanni* is that Mozart considered cutting the *scena ultima* of the second finale.[675] Thus it cannot be said that the excision, made throughout most of the nineteenth century had no connection to Mozart. There exists a cut by Mozart in the *scena ultima* where he excises the *Larghetto* of Donna Anna and Don Ottavio.[676] There also exists in a number of old scores a cut of the first statement of 'E de' perfidi la morte' (bars 788 – 813) suggesting that, particularly with the addition of the two Vienna arias, the *scena ultima*, whether excised or shortened remains an unresolved issue. Rushton discusses the problems associated with the *scena ultima*:

> *The characters assume two roles, their own and that of a chorus, as in the first Finale. Anna enters with a grotesque lapse into the buffo genre to which she does not belong, with words more suited to the Zerlina of the Vienna duet [which is invariably cut] No. 21a. ... The characters react chorally to Leporello's narrative but revert to type with the larghetto; Ottavio and Anna have opera seria warblings of regret, Elvira speaks briefly, the others have lines of buffo character. It is the three plebeians who go into chorus, the others follow at the fugue. ... [It is unclear] at what point the actors shed their assumed identities and speak as actors. We may be thankful that Da Ponte rejected the idiotic Finale of Bertati, in which they all, irrespective of class, dance and mimic musical instruments.*[677]

Today the scena ultima is generally performed, out of respect for notions of *Werktreue* and perhaps in solidarity to the considerable efforts that were made during the early twentieth century, to restore it. It is noteworthy, however that even Gounod, in his paen of veneration – '*Mozart's Don Giovanni*',[678] dismisses the scena ultima with little explanation, describing it as 'superfluous from a dramatic point of view', offering only 'an interest that is purely musical.'[679]

In 1801, Breitkopf und Härtel published the first full score of *Don Giovanni*. Due to complexities regarding the autograph material and missing passages,[680] a decision was made to publish the Prague version as the main body of the score, with the Vienna additions included in the appendix. Curiously (and erroneously), Masetto's aria 'Ho capito' came to be considered an addition for Vienna, so completely had it been cut from performances of the opera in the intervening years. This edition would most likely be the '*Don Giovanni*' that was known to Ferruccio Busoni, which informed his vision of that work and which contributed to his views of Mozart, which he extrapolated in his 1906 '*Mozart: Aphorisms*'.[681] The following are a selection:

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674   Erich Leinsdorf, *Erich Leinsdorf on Music* (Portland or.: Amadeus Press, 1997), 73–4.
675   This is uncertain, but the fact that the text of the *scena ultima* is not present in the 1788 Vienna libretto suggests that it may have been cut. See Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597–1940*, n. 4.
676   Ibid.
677   Ibid 64.
678   Charles Gounod, *Mozart's Don Giovanni; a Commentary*, Da Capo Press Music Reprint Series (New York,: Da Capo Press, 1970).
679   Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, 171–2.
680   Woodfield, *Mozart's Così Fan Tutte: A Compositional History*, 136–40.
681   Lokal Anzeiger, Berlin, 1906, written for the 150th anniversary of Mozart's birth. Quoted in Ferruccio Busoni and Rosamond Ley, *The Essence of Music and Other Papers*. [Translated from the German by Rosamond Ley.] [with a Portrait.] (London: Rockliff, 1957), 104–6.

His sense of form is also supernatural.

His art is like a sculptor's masterpiece – presenting from every side a finished picture.

His proportions are outstandingly correct, but they can be measured and verified.

He stands so high that he sees further than all and sees everything, therefore, somewhat diminished.

He is the complete and round number, the perfect sum, a conclusion and no beginning.[682]

This romanticised view must today be tempered by the work of writers such as Ian Woodfield, whose seminal work '*The Vienna* Don Giovanni' (discussed in chapter 2) challenges many received views about both this opera and also Mozart's working practices within the practical world of eighteenth century theatre, from which Mozart is indivisible. Woodfield is inclined to take Da Ponte's account of the Vienna reworking of *Don Giovanni* at face value, opining that 'the revision of the opera in Vienna was an interactive process, involving the views of performers, the reactions of audiences and the composer's responses'.[683] Woodfield's conclusion is: 'The idea that hybrid versions gained currency only in the nineteenth century or in the lighter *Singspiel* tradition … [should be] challenged'.[684]

A contemporary account of the first performances of *Don Giovanni* in Prague provide a glimpse into a world of spontaneity and improvisation that can get easily lost in the world of *Urtext* scores and assumptions that the *Fassung letzte Hand* is the ultimate truth. An article from 1941 quotes from the writings of Johann Peter Lyser,[685] known for the unreliability of some of his reminiscences; however the following account regarding the practice of improvisation in Prague contains a ring of truth. Lyser quotes the following passage from a conversation with the first Giovanni, Luigi Bassi:[686]

Under Guardasoni's direction we never kept strict time in [any] two performances of this number, we never kept strict time, but were always feeling and differently each time, paying attention only to the orchestra, everything parlando and almost improvised – that is the way Mozart wanted it.[687]

The authors continue:

At any rate it is a fact that Don Giovanni was for a long time produced in Prague with all kinds of improvisations and additions. Thus in an early Czech translation of the text an old friend of the Don's is introduced – Martes. After various buffo-incidents he shows Leporello an old promissory note signed by Don Giovanni, which the crafty servant promptly burns. Martes calls him a cheat (taškář) and Leporello answers: 'Sir, no abuse or I'll call the police.' The improvised scene continues in this tone. Such patch-work additions to Mozart opera were common throughout Southern

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682   Ibid.
683   Woodfield, *Mozart's Così Fan Tutte: A Compositional History*, frontispiece.
684   Ibid.
685   Paul Nettl and Arthur Mendel, 'Mozart and the Czechs', *The Musical Quarterly* 27, 3 (1941).
686   Ibid 332.
687   Ibid.

Germany, particularly among the travelling theatrical troupes (such as those of Lippert, Neefe or Schröder).[688]

The *Harmonie Tafelmusik* in the Act 2 finale (bars 47–200) provides a framework for likely improvisation (it is possible that Bassi was referring to this number in the above quote) in its comic and 'in-joke' interpolations. Don Giovanni's repeated use of the word '*saporito*' (= tasty, piquant) takes on a different flavour when it is known that Teresa Saporiti was the Donna Anna in Prague and that her amorous exploits during that season were the talk of the town. It is likely that as Guardasoni's troupe travelled or members changed, that other 'in-jokes' for other towns and other circumstances would be improvised. This is a likely place for an open, extemporised performance, unlike modern practice, where the actual intent of '*saporito*' is lost, unless the audience members do their homework and recover the original intent – a museum-like approach to opera and foreign to the theatre world of which Mozart was a part.

As *Don Giovanni* travelled through German-speaking lands, it was inevitably reshaped into the form of a *Singspiel* and German translations proliferated. The first attempt to fit a German language text to recitatives was in 1845. The literary tradition of the Don Giovanni myth may well have contributed to the opera's growing popularity but equally it meant that the text was often bowdlerised into popular, puppet-play traditions, a far cry from the world created by Da Ponte. As the work travelled, parody, *pasticcio* and adaption went to work.

For example, two productions took place in London in 1817, one entitled '*Don Giovanni or a Spectre on Horseback! A comical-musical-tragical-pantomimical-burlesque-sensational magic farce!* Music by Thomas Dibdin'.[689] The implication here is that the music is arranged and adapted from Mozart by Dibdin. Another version '*The Libertine*' was given at Covent Garden later that year, in an adaptation by Henry Bishop.[690]

According to Gruber, Prague retained its position as the 'bulwark of Mozart tradition'.[691] His view that the early traditions of performances that were early established there ('never interrupted', unlike in Vienna) meant that they 'clung to the original versions' especially in the case of *Don Giovanni*. Mozart's close connection to that city is not in question, nor the great interest in the composer's life and work, as evinced by the biographies of Niemetschek[692] and further by the efforts of Tomaschek in supplying 'authentic' metronome marks to preserve Mozart's own tempi for *Don Giovanni*. Woodfield describes the working practices of the Guardasoni troupe that was responsible for the early performances of *Don Giovanni* in Prague in detail. A Berlin performance of 1791 describes a tenor, Friedrich Lippert, taking the title role. This performance was not well received ('nominally a tenor but more actor than singer and a ham')[693] but is possibly the first record of the title role being sung by a tenor (Lippert repeated this in Vienna in 1798), a practice that was often condemned but proved extremely persistent during the nineteenth century. Lorenzo Da Ponte, with the García Company and Manuel

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688   Ibid.
689   Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, 64.
690   Brown, W.*A. Mozart, Così Fan Tutte, Cambridge Opera Handbooks*, 74.
691   Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, 55.
692   Ibid.
693   Rushton, COG 71

García singing the title role as a tenor, oversaw the American première, given in New York in 1826. Perhaps in deference to this, the role of Don Ottavio was sung by a soprano. During the course of the nineteenth century, the three female roles began to shift around in significance. Elvira's arias were often excised and as shall be discussed, the character of Donna Anna began to develop (particularly in Paris) in response to fermenting Romantic responses to the Giovanni story and the opera in particular. Although '*Non mi dir*' was often cut, Donna Anna emerges as the dominant role, as Rushton notes 'even singers who made their mark with Zerlina, such as Adelina Patti, aspired to become Anna. It seems that personality and likely popularity with audiences, rather than vocal type were often the deciding factors in casting these roles. While her extreme range and musical prowess is not in question, it is perplexing to consider the case of Pauline Viardot, who, during her career oscillated between the roles of Anna and Elvira and quite likely also sang Zerlina.[694] This is the same Pauline Viardot who created the role of Fides in Meyerbeer's *Le Prophète*, along with the title role in Gluck's *Orphée*, as a contralto, in the Berlioz adaptation described in chapter 3. It was surely the case that workable alternatives for extremes of tessitura were made by Viardot in her performances.

Don Giovanni was first given in Paris in 1805. J. Thuring and D. Baillot presented it in an adaptation with the music arranged (and much new music besides composed and added) by Kalkbrenner.[695] This adaptation is described by Abert as a 'dreadfully distorted and mutilated version' of the opera,[696] and the portrayal of the trio of maskers has been much quoted: this was sung by three Gendarmes and the sung text was altered to – 'Courage, viligance, Adresse, defiance, Que l'active prudence Préside à nos desseins'. Music by Kalkbrenner himself was added, it was a great success for some years.[697] A new version of *Don Giovanni* was given in 1811 in Italian, under the direction of Spontini. In 1827, F.H.J. Castil-Blaze[698] arranged a further version[699] with the work recast as an opéra comique, including spoken dialogue adapted from Molière. Following on from this, Louis Véron, director of the Académie Royale) mounted a larger scale version of *Don Giovanni*, effectively adapting it into a five act Grand Opera. This treatment was in response to the growing canonical status of the work, Mozart having become known during these years as 'l'auteur de Don Juan'.[700] The tenor Adolphe Nourrit was chosen to sing the title role, and a ballet of some 30 minutes[701] was inserted into the middle of Act 1, using various Mozart compositions, heavily adapted. The scale and aesthetic

694   Mark Everist, 'Enshrining Mozart: *Don Giovanni* and the Viardot Circle', *Nineteenth Century Music* 25, 2–3 (2001): 166–7.
695   Christian Kalkbrenner (1755–1806)
       http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christian_Kalkbrenner#cite_note–1 Accessed 28.5.15.
696   Hermann Abert and Peter Gellhorn, *Mozart's 'Don Giovanni'* (London: Eulenburg Books, 1976), 23.
697   Ibid.
698   François-Henri-Josef Blaze, known as Castil-Blaze, among other pseudonyms as an author. He was the son of Henri-Sébastien Blaze, a novelist and amateur composer who wrote (under the pseudonym Hans Werner) music and literary criticism for several journals, among them the Revue des deux mondes. In turn, the son of François-Henri, known as Henri Blaze de Bury worked on the libretto in question.
699   Abert and Gellhorn, *Mozart's 'Don Giovanni'*, 23. Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity,* 39.
700   Katharine Ellis, 'Rewriting *Don Giovanni* or 'the Thieving Magpies'', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 119, 2 (1994): 213.
701   Ibid 214.

of the adaptation may be imagined when it is considered that the other works playing in this season were Auber's *Gustave III* and Halévy's *La Juive*.

In her 2009 article, 'Rewriting *Don Giovanni* or 'The Thieving Magpies', Katharine Ellis investigates in considerable depth and detail the exact nature of this adaptation and the aesthetic that lay behind it. While noting that the reception of the première of the adaptation was generally hostile among critics, the production was popular enough with the public to justify revivals in 1842, 1866, 1871, 1875, 1887 and 1896. With the process of cutting and abbreviating prior to the first performance, as well as subsequent alterations for each revival, Ellis states that the production 'was in a constant state of flux, adapted to the needs of its cast, the response of the public and the press.'[702] A picture emerges of a convention of writing more music than would likely be necessary, allowing 'a margin for later cuts',[703] causing much important material to be excised. It seems clear that the initial version was sacrificed to practicalities and exigencies, as well as (after a première that was not well received) a final attempt to 'patch up' what had been found lacking. The rehearsal and subsequent performance history described is no less perplexing than that of Bizet's *Carmen* or Offenbach's *Les Contes d'Hoffmann*. These works are, however, undisputed masterpieces that are constantly being reassessed and appear in successive critical editions that show no sign of abating. The case of Castil-Blaze introduces an adapter of opera who has the reputation of being a 'hack', a mutilator of the works of the great masters. Rushton describes him (disparagingly) as 'the equivalent to [Henry] Bishop',[704] and the criticisms of Berlioz do not have to be scoured too closely for the composer's low opinion of Castil-Blaze to leap from the page. What emerges from Ellis's article is a potentially different picture – potentially, because the original intentions of Castil-Blaze would need to be recovered and presented in a full form (as stated, already by the première of this version, the contents had been significantly adapted, resulting in what Ellis alludes to as significant losses to the original conception) in order to make an informed judgement.

In creating this version of *Don Giovanni*, the adapters were responding not just to practicalities, but also to changing perceptions of the Giovanni story as it developed in the literature of the nineteenth century – not surprisingly, E.T.A. Hoffman's 1813 *Don Juan* was a large influence, as stated by Castil-Blaze, in declaring his intention 'to give this prodigious musical work a performance of the power which has hitherto been denied it, to show this *Don Giovanni* as Mozart conceived it, as Hoffmann dreamt it'.[705] There is here, at least a notional reference to *Werktreue*, even if Castil-Blaze's methods may lie outside the current parameters of that term. Ellis also demonstrates how the writings of Alfred de Musset led to a shift in the character of the Don and that the musical modifications of this version were a response to current literary trends.

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702   Ibid 216.

703   Ibid 242.

704   Brown, W.*A. Mozart, Così Fan Tutte, Cambridge Opera Handbooks*, 74.

705   Ellis, 'Rewriting *Don Giovanni* or 'the Thieving Magpies', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 222. In a written apologia (?) for the version, the authors justified their actions by saying that all of the added music was by Mozart, some of it from the 'Appendix'– as per the Breitkopf und Härtel edition. The ballet music did use at least themes and melodies by Mozart. A point of separation perceived by the authors between 'musical numbers 'and recitatives should be noted. The recitatives were not encompassed by the above statement and were significantly rewritten.

What emerges is a *Don Giovanni* quite distinct from that imagined by Da Ponte; while not retreating (as in early German versions) into the folk-like and popular theatre origins of the Don Juan myth, the authors are aware of the growing influence of Mozart's opera upon romantic nineteenth century sensibilities and respond to some of its literary fruits. In E.T.A. Hoffmann, Donna Anna loves and desires Don Giovanni, she recognises the sin of this passion, along with the corresponding shame it brings to her. This brings about her suicidal state. 'She feels that only Don Juan's destruction can bring peace to her mortally tortured soul; but this peace demands her own earthly destruction.'[706] An almost Byronesque, introspective scene occurs at the beginning of the fifth (!) act, where, emerging in quite a new light, Giovanni has a nightmare that prefigures his inevitable downfall, a veritable 'dream sequence', where 'he revealed to Leporello the extent to which his daredevil attitude was a front which concealed his vulnerability'.[707] Giovanni is portrayed 'as a broken man, agitated by deathly premonitions.'[708] 'The libretto was thus a drastic reworking of Da Ponte, with the aim of highlighting Don Juan's character as a Romantic hero and Anna's as a quintessential Romantic heroine faced with no 'noble' choice but death. The *scena ultima* remains cut and in its place there was a 'balletic Epilogue' with music provided from the 'O voto tremendo' from *Idomeneo* and the *Dies Irae* from the Requiem K626. During this music, Donna Anna's coffin is brought onstage. According to the libretto:

> *The virgins place their companion's coffin on the ground and while they kneel in prayer, the shroud lifts up and reveals to Don Juan the body of Donna Anna, who half rises out of her tomb, a black veil around her shoulders and a white crown on her temples.*[709]

Ellis notes that in order to bring all of the threads from Hoffmann and Musset together in the libretto a 'massive reordering of Da Ponte's text'[710] was required. The issue of fidelity to Mozart's text likewise comes under modern scrutiny. While regarding the musical numbers as being '(semi-) inviolable', the recitatives incorporated far-reaching internal changes. It is potentially here that the strength of much of Castil-Blaze's work may be discovered in the future. The publication of a complete score showing Castil-Blaze's original intentions would enable a new assessment of his work to be made, just as the publication in 2012 of Henry Bishop's adaptation of Mozart's 'The Marriage of Figaro' for Covent Garden in 1819[711] has enabled a fuller assessment of his methods and contribution to the dissemination of Mozart.

Ellis describes two practices employed with the additions: (1)'the addition of new recitatives to accommodate new scenes in the libretto'[712] and (2)'the use of reminiscence motifs within both newly composed and adapted recitatives'.[713] In this Castil-Blaze has followed the tradition initiated by Meyerbeer in *Robert le diable* and also Berlioz, in the recitatives he created for Weber's *Der Freischütz*.[714] Ellis[715]

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706   Ibid 227, fn 36.
707   Ibid 226.
708   Ibid.
709   Ibid 225.
710   Ibid 228.
711   Carter, *W.A. Mozart : Le Nozze Di Figaro*, 1819.
712   Ellis, 'Rewriting *Don Giovanni* or 'the Thieving Magpies', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 231.
713   Ibid.
714   In 1824, under the title '*Robin des bois*'.

quotes less frequent instances where Castile-Blaze incorporates reminiscence-motives within musical numbers, the most extraordinary of which appears in Act 5, where he uses in the entr'acte an orchestral arrangement of part of the trio of 'Soave sia il vento'(*Cosi*), linked to the Commendatore's prophecy which has just occurred in the previous scene: 'Di rider finirai pria dell'aurora.' This practice of adding a further layer to *secco* recitatives via the technique of thematic quotation and reminiscence brings to mind the thematic additions made by Richard Strauss in his improvised accompaniments to the recitatives of the Mozart operas. This was further developed in his adaptation of *Idomeneo*, and it is perhaps with reference to that score and Strauss's operatic stature that Castil-Blaze's version should be considered.

The *Don Giovanni* production of 1834 was beset by compromises that had to be made during rehearsals, it was not a unified or compelling reworking. It was certainly not an 'authentic' performance by the standards of the day and that knowledge on the part of the critics (due to the preface in the circulated libretto) left the production a potential target for criticism. Notably, one reviewer for *Le coin de feu* took the adapters to task over 'Non mi dir'. He seems to have been satisfied that this aria was usually cut in Paris, and delivered a verdict upon it that is hard to credit today:

> *As for Mademoiselle Falcon ... We do not understand why she was made to sing an aria which is always cut at the Italiens. The aria is an hors-d'oevre which Mozart probably composed to indulge some singer. It is altogether out of place and the roulades which it contains contrast singularly with the sadness of the character ... No doubt fine music does not age; but its forms grow old, an ornament, a roulade, all this changes and the fioraturas in this aria are singularly faded.[716]*

While *Don Giovanni* was rapidly approaching canonical status, this aria, not normally performed in Paris had not caught up with the rest of the work.

In this complex version of *Don Giovanni*, one that formed the basis of an ever metamorphosing series of revivals that was to last for over sixty years, can be seen a divide between the expectations of the public, for whom the production remained popular and the reservations, even condemnations of critics and connoisseurs. This was caused in part by an evolving attitude towards Mozart, who was increasingly perceived through the lens of romanticism and whose *oeuvre* was on the way to being deified.

Deification was a fate that befell the autograph manuscript of *Don Giovanni*. In 1855 Pauline Viardot acquired it (ahead of libraries in Vienna, Berlin and London) for 180 pounds. This was the beginning of the cult of the *Don Giovanni* autograph, as described by Mark Everist.[717] According to a contemporary account, Viardot had become the 'guardian' of the manuscript, which, in turn has become a 'precious relic'.[718] A relic requires a reliquary and that is exactly what Viardot had constructed for the manuscript.[719]

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715   Ellis, 'Rewriting *Don Giovanni* or 'the Thieving Magpies', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 231–2.

716   Ibid 248.

717   Everist, 'Enshrining Mozart: *Don Giovanni* and the Viardot Circle.' *19th-Century Music*, Vol 24, 2–3 (Fall/Spring 2001–02), 165–89

718   Ibid 168.

719   'Pauline Viardot preserved the document in an artifact that was as close in construction to as reliquary that its nature would allow'. Everist, 'Enshrining Mozart: *Don Giovanni* and the

The reliquary, along with its precious contents had a special place in Viardot's home, to where numerous musicians made pilgrimages, including Tchaikovsky and Rossini. On visiting the relic and becoming part of the cult of *Don Giovanni* in 1855, Rossini declared: 'I am going to genuflect in front of this holy relic'. Viardot perpetuated this *Don Giovanni* cult throughout her life and beyond; according to Everist 'visitors to her homes … behaved as is they were in the presence of a relic at a shrine'.[720] Viardot loaned the manuscript for display at the *Exposition Universelle* of 1878 and also at the anniversary exhibition of *Don Giovanni's* première in 1887. This effectively elevated the manuscript 'to the status of a national monument'.[721]

In 1869, Viardot further elevated the work to abstraction – 'Without a perfect performance, one can no longer listen to *Don Giovanni.*'[722] Everist continues: 'Her claims that the opera had, by the late 1860s, transcended performance – or at least unattainable perfection in performance – complement the sacralising vocabularies of Rossini and Tchaikovsky and the material symbolism with which she surrounded the autograph of the work. …she enhances the veneration of *Don Giovanni* by attempting to remove the opera from the stage and to place it beyond the grasp of those not yet initiated into its secrets.'[723] Everist concludes 'Pauline Viardot's treatment of a physical document and her manipulations of the material discourses with which it was surrounded were a considerable force in the ongoing project of enshrining Mozart.'[724]

Gibbons[725] discusses the earlier 1822 *Don Giovanni* version of Castil-Blaze and its incorporation of part of the text of Molière's *Don Juan* (1665), finding this led 'to a kind of intellectual ownership of the work on behalf of France'.[726] He notes that this association with Molière ('authorial slippage') lingered so that in the popular as well as the critical imagination *Don Giovanni* 'became an inherently French opera.'[727] This lingered on for many years in spite of the fact that the Molière text was not used from the 1834 production on. In 1861, the critic Paul Bernard created a list of 'French masterworks that included 'our *Guillaume Tell*, our *Don Juan*, our *Lucie*,[728] our *Juive* and our *Huguenots*'.[729] Along with the Gallicising of canonic works (as was seen in the case of Gluck's reform operas), the absence of these works from the operatic stage becomes a matter of concern. Paul Dukas, writing in 1896, laments the absence of *Don Juan* from the stage for several years. He continues:

> *suppose that tomorrow someone put certain canvases by Rembrandt or Velasquez back into the attic at the Louvre. What a furor! But what if one should banish from*

Viardot Circle, '189. The artifact is illustrated in Everist, Plates 2 and 3. Plate 4 reproduces a floor plan of Viardot's house, showing the placement of the *Don Giovanni* autograph.
720   Ibid.
721   Ibid.
722   Julius Stockhausen, letter to Brahms, Ibid 179.
723   Ibid 180.
724   Ibid 189.
725   Gibbons, *Building the Operatic Museum: Eighteenth-Century Opera in Fin-De-Siècle Paris*, 31.
726   Ibid.
727   Ibid.
728   Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*.
729   Gibbons, *Building the Operatic Museum: Eighteenth-Century Opera in Fin-De-Siècle Paris*, 31.

our opera houses Der Freischütz, Fidelio, Alceste, Armide, Iphigénie, Les Troyens,
etc., etc., who would take notice? Don Juan was one of these ostracised scores.[730]

Gibbons continues: 'The idea that these musical works needed to be produced not only once every few decades but on a kind of rotating permanent display was rapidly gaining ground around 1900.'[731]

After the disaster of the Commune of 1870, the subsequent recovery of French nationalism had two consequences for operatic works. There was an increasing fascination with the music of the past and a desire to revive and restore it to its former glory. That was accompanied by a certain blindness to the origins of the canonic works involved: operas by the Italian, Lulli; the Bohemian Gluck; and the Austrian Mozart (disguised by an association with Molière). In effect, *Don Giovanni* was 'Gallicised' – it was turned into a French Grand Opera, which ensured it a secure place in the canon. Alongside this attitude came a curatorial imperative – a need to make sure that such works ('museum exhibits') were displayed in an 'authentic' way. The parameters of authenticity were far from clearly defined, however. There was considerable resistance to the notion that the 'original Italian' version of *Don Giovanni* should be the one presented at the Opéra.[732] Traditionally 'authentic' meant playing Mozart's orchestrated numbers, even with the occasional borrowing from another of his works. The *secco* recitatives were regarded as being outside the criteria of authenticity and the order of the numbers was far from sacrosanct. In the eyes of Moreno, director of the Opéra, 'the ever-flexible masterwork had to adapt to the time and place (that is, French) conditions in which it found itself.'[733]

In 1887 a production of *Don Giovanni* was mounted in Paris, in celebration of the centenary of the Prague première. It had claimed to be an 'authentic' presentation of the score, however the critic Victor Wilder did not uphold this claim:

> *Except for the aria Ah! Fuggi traditore, replaced by a different aria that was written for the Vienna Elvira; except for Don Juan's aria (Metà di voi) cut as if useless; except for Leporello's (Ah! Pieta, Signori), crossed out as if making the opera too long; except for a large ballet, constructed from bits and pieces, introduced forcibly into the first act Finale; except for a tenor aria (Dalla sua pace), transformed into a clarinet aria to accompany the raising of the curtain; except for the denouement, which has been changed; except for some other modifications, all of little importance; the score is now entirely intact.[734]*

The author's cynicism aside, as well as the obvious shortcomings of the performance, there is a fundamental change in perception. Practices that would have been tolerated during the late eighteenth century are here censured – practices that Mozart would have accepted and undertaken himself. Mozart's operas entered the market place after his death. They were adapted, deconstructed, subject to the practice of *pasticcio,* they can well be considered to have suffered 'Martern aller Arten', yet they did not suffer the oblivion of most other works of the period.

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730   Ibid 36.
731   Ibid.
732   Ibid 38.
733   Ibid 39.
734   Ibid 38.

Around the turn of the century, Reynaldo Hahn organised a series of concert performances of the Mozart operas at the Nouveau Théâtre, a far more intimate venue than the Opéra. These performances were regarded as something of a watershed in the history of Mozart performance in Paris, akin to the revivals by Levi, Strauss and Possart in Munich, which will be considered in due course. In reviewing Hahn's 1906 Mozart Festival, critic Jean Chantavoine challenged the director (Albert Carré) of the Opéra-Comique to replace his current repertoire: '*Le Domino noir* [by Auber] with *Don Juan, Mignon* [by Thomas] with *Les Noces,*[735] *Mireille* [by Gounod] with *La Flûte enchantée,*[736] *Les Dragons de Villars* [by Maillart] with *La Flûte enchantée and Fra Diavolo* [by Auber] with *Così fan tutti.* '[737] The canonisation and Gallicising of Mozart is so fully in operation that there is a call for his operas to replace the standard repertoire, thereby replacing more recently composed works with works from the more distant past.

It was the first wave of this increasingly iconic view of both Mozart and *Don Giovanni* that Castil-Blaze and his colleagues encountered in presenting their adaption. It has become almost commonplace to quote the absurdities of early productions of Mozart operas, though Ellis has created a potential case for a new examination of some of these adaptions, which may well be found to express something beyond mere 'hackwork' and potentially reveal something valuable about how artworks fare in relation to the passing of time. It may give musicians and scholars of today a context by which their work may be viewed in the future, as the music business becomes ever more weighed down and obsessed with what is 'authentic' and the versions chosen by critical editions become increasingly accepted as some kind of Eternal Truth.

6. *Così fan tutte*

> *In Così fan tutte the dying eighteenth century casts a backward glance over a period outstanding in European life for grace and charm and, averting its eyes from a new age suckled in a creed of iconoclasm, sings its swan-song in praise of a civilisation that has passed away for ever.*[738]

Of the entire Mozart operatic canon, *Così* has undergone the greatest reversal of fortunes, entering the core repertory of opera companies worldwide during the course of the twentieth century. A large amount of misinformation has spread about this work and its history: with the critical literature not immune to this charge. For example, it is often implied that the première of *Così* in 1790 was not a success. Judged by the initial run of performances, that might be deduced: five performances took place at the start of 1790, after which the death of Joseph II closed all Viennese theatres.[739] Later that year there were five further performances, after which the opera was not heard again in Vienna until 1794.[740] Brown[741] (1995) however cites two pieces of evidence that bring the notion of a failed première into question:

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735   That is, Mozart, *Le nozze di Figaro*.
736   That is, Mozart, *Die Zauberflöte*.
737   Gibbons, *Building the Operatic Museum: Eighteenth-Century Opera in Fin-De-Siècle Paris*, 41.
738   Sir Thomas Beecham, in Brown, W.*A. Mozart, Così Fan Tutte, Cambridge Opera Handbooks*, 168.
739   Branscombe, *W.A. Mozart, Die Zauberflöte, Cambridge Opera Handbooks*, 163–4.
740   Ibid.
741   Ibid 163–5.

firstly, the fact that from 1790 excerpts from *Così* were published in number, consisting of arias, duets, the overture and choruses. This confirms demand in the popular market for favorite selections from this opera. Secondly, Brown writes that:

> *new archival evidence brought to light by Dexter Edge shows that this première was in fact the most heavily attended opera performance of the entire 1789/90 season; the average of box-office receipts for all operatic performances also puts Mozart's work in the lead.*[742]

Modern methods of data collection, scientific and even forensic analysis that are today applied to musicology are transforming many long-held assumptions about musical works and their history. Received wisdom is being re-examined from a scientific perspective. Alan Tyson undertook extensive research with watermarks and paper types as well as exploring alternative readings found in *Abschriften*. These have revealed many new and unexpected facts about details of the gestation of Mozart's operas, along with his willingness to adapt his works, both in the lead up to a première as well as for subsequent revivals.[743]

Beethoven has often been cited as having delivered a withering judgement on *Così*, with an 1825 conversation with Ludwig Rellstab purported to have related to Beethoven's dismissal of both *Don Juan* and *Così* as frivolous. Brown however, has established that the operas mentioned by Beethoven were *Giovanni* and *Figaro* and that Rellstab has been repeatedly misquoted.[744] This makes more sense from the perspective that Beethoven modelled Leonore's aria in *Fidelio* on Fiordiligi's '*Per pietà*', so it seems likely that Beethoven admired at least the music of *Così*.

In 1791, *Così* was produced in Prague, Leipzig and Dresden, staged by Domenico Guardasoni. The libretto from Dresden suggests that around one third of the set pieces were either cut or replaced by recitative. The *secco* recitatives were also significantly shortened. In Italy *Così* was first heard in Trieste in 1797, under the title *La scuola degli amanti*, the title by which da Ponte knew and always referred to the work.[745] Performances followed in Varese (1805), Milan (1807/1814), Naples (1815, 1870), Turin (1814, 1816, 1872).[746] Mozart's operas were slow to enter the repertoire in Italy, owing to the perceived difficulty of their performance, above all the ensembles. The London première was at the King's Theatre in 1811, however a production in 1828 at Covent Garden ('*Tit for Tat or The Tables Turned*', translated by S.J. Arnold, music arranged by W. Hawkes) proved to be a greater success.[747]

In 1811, soprano Teresa Bertinotti-Radicati (1776 – 1854) chose the opera for her benefit night in London. The underlying attitudes towards the presentation are rather confused. Bertinotti distributed a notice expressing her concern that the opera 'having been composed for a Stage on which little dancing was introduced, would be found long on representation'.[748] The same notice, however asserts that:

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742   Ibid 165.
743   See for example: Tyson, Alan. 'Some Problems in the Text of *Le Nozze Di Figaro*: Did Mozart Have a Hand in Them?' *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 112, 1 (1987): 99.
744   Branscombe, *W.A. Mozart, Die Zauberflöte, Cambridge Opera Handbooks*, 170.
745   Ibid 165–6.
746   Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597–1940*, 477–8.
747   Branscombe, *W.A. Mozart, Die Zauberflöte, Cambridge Opera Handbooks*, 171.
748   Bauman, W.*A. Mozart, Die Entführung Aus Dem Serail, Cambridge Opera Handbooks*, 153.

the same reason that forbids the re-touching of a picture of Corregio's [sic] or Raphael's or the alteration of a thought of Milton's or Pope's, induces Madame Bertinotti to hold sacred an Opera of Mozart's: how, indeed, would it be possible to retrench a work so celebrated, without the rebuke of the critic and the regret of amateurs of genuine music?[749]

In spite of these lofty utterances, the score was altered considerably, with solo numbers reduced from 12 to 7,[750] and the role of Fiordiligi, which Bertinotti chose and sang for her own benefit, including neither of her main arias. The role of Guglielmo was taken by a tenor, Diomiro Tramezzani, who was originally going to sing Dorabella's aria 'È amore un ladroncello' as a substitute aria, but eventually settled on Cherubino's 'Voi che sapete', as Bertinotti decided to sing the Dorabella aria (as Fiordiligi).[751]

The Parisian première of *Così* took place in 1809, 'but the opera was nonetheless cruelly mutilated by cuts, retextings and reassignment of pieces.'[752] These versions, adapted to local taste, were no more reckless than various adaptions that were made in Germany in an attempt to replace or reconstitute a problematic libretto. An adaption for Frankfurt in 1837 had the action 'set in a Spanish castle surrounded by bandits.'[753] An arrangement by Treitschke, which was performed in Berlin in 1805, portrayed Alfonso as a magician and Despina as his subject spirit. Here magic and morality is fused in the spirit of German Romantic opera. Alfonso becomes a kind of Prospero, Despina a kind of Ariel in the spirit of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*.[754] A later Berlin adaption (1820) introduced two additional suitors and a second, male servant who took over from Despina. Loewenberg has noted that 'No other opera, perhaps, has been subjected to so many different versions and attempts to 'improve' the libretto.'[755] German language libretti were aimed at providing a more acceptable solution to what was perceived as the miserable libretto of da Ponte. Often aspects of the story were adapted to local taste as well as contemporary events: In 1794, the version of C. F. Bretzner (*Weibertreue, oder die Mächen sind von Flandern)* had the two lovers heading off to fight the French. In the *sestetto* (no. 13) the Wallachians and Turks that Despina refers to become Hussars, Poles and *Sansculots.*[756]

By the early nineteenth century Mozart's posthumous reputation as a divine genius was beginning to grow. The apparently frivolous nature of the da Ponte libretto proved a potential stumbling block to this process of deification. The quality of Mozart's music was not in question: the dilemma was to explain how he could have created such sublime music from such a sordid plot. This dichotomy was what the public and many critics failed to understand – with hindsight it can be seen that da Ponte and Mozart had created a complex, unsettling work that was antagonistic to the spirit of the early nineteenth century. Repeated attempts to find a means to marry the sublime music to a new text ultimately failed and the plethora of translations in German-speaking countries, along with persistent attempts to adapt

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749 Ibid.
750 The exact tally of musical numbers included, along with insertions is given in Bauman, W.*A. Mozart, Die Entführung Aus Dem Serail, Cambridge Opera Handbooks*, 154–6.
751 Ibid 153, 57.
752 Branscombe, *W.A. Mozart, Die Zauberflöte, Cambridge Opera Handbooks*, 166.
753 Ibid 171.
754 Ibid 164.
755 Ibid 172.
756 Ibid 168.

and reconfigure the musical score resulted in widespread confusion about the exact form and shape of *Così*. A full score of the opera was published in 1810 by Breitkopf und Härtel and although 'bastardised versions of Così continued to be concocted', this began to be tempered by a shift towards the concept of *Werktreue*, which seems to have taken a foothold at least partly in response to the centenary of Mozart's birth.[757] Brown notes productions in Stuttgart (1856) and Karlsruhe (1860 – where German recitatives were arranged by W. Kalliwoda) that were predicated upon notions of *Werktreue*.[758] Not only Wagner's polemic comment about *Così* had a detrimental effect upon its reception – the aesthetic of his music dramas shed unflattering light upon number operas in the earlier style with set musical numbers separated by recitative, particularly *Così*. A prophetic critic wrote: 'It would now seem to be necessary to support a troupe of Mozart singers alongside the Wagner singers, indeed, even a separate Mozart orchestra alongside the Wagner orchestra.'[759] At a Mozart rehearsal held at the Vienna Hofoper in 1897, Mahler sent home half the assembled orchestra, which was of Wagnerian proportions.[760] With the development of the Wagnerian aesthetic, a musical style developed that the Mozart operas simply could not adapt to. In the wake of this revolution, Mozart retained his canonic status, but his works had become 'ancient music', music of the past that could be best and perhaps only appreciated on its own terms, in increasingly 'authentic' settings (smaller theatres) and in something approaching the form that the composer and librettist had left behind. That was the background to the Mozart renaissance, which took place around the turn of the twentieth century.

7. *La clemenza di Tito*

La clemenza di Tito is often considered in relation to *Idomeneo*, each work being less performed than the other operas in the canon, acquiring a status as musician's music, worthy of study, but not really able to hold the stage. This assessment continued until well into the twentieth century. A consideration of Mozart's earlier operatic works puts a different emphasis on his interests in the *seria* genre. Mozart's later operatic work, with its emphasis on the *buffo* genre, is often used as an indication that Mozart had grown away from the *seria* style. A consideration of Mozart's operas, beyond the 'canon of seven' throws a different light, in particular upon *Titus* and the myths that grew up of Mozart's reluctance to write the work, along with reports of his ill health compromising the finished result. The view of Edward Dent in 1913 that 'the opera was finished in eighteen days … by a man in broken health, exhausted by overwork and forced to write in haste against his will',[761] was long regarded as an unquestioned fact. Otto Jahn voiced similar opinions: 'it will scarcely be expected that an unqualified success should follow such a combination of untoward circumstances.'[762] These assessments were derived from Mozart's earlier biographer, Franz Xaver Niemetschek, writing in 1798.[763] His

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757   Ibid 170–1.

758   Ibid 171–2.

759   Ibid 172. (Schwäbische Kronik, 14 December 1891).

760   de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler*, 32.

761   Edward J. Dent, *Mozart's Operas, a Critical Study*, 2d ed., Oxford Paperbacks, (London,: Oxford University Press, 1960), 212–3.

762   John A. Rice, *W.A. Mozart, La clemenza Di Tito, Cambridge Opera Handbooks* (Cambridge England; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 121.

763   Franz Xaver Niemetschek, *Life of Mozart* (*Leben Des K.K. Kapellmeisters Wolfgang Gottlieb Mozar)* (1798), Hyperion reprint ed. ed. (Westport, Conn.: Hyperion Press, 1979).

and subsequent assessments written under the influence of his account have been questioned, by Einstein (1945)[764] and further by Rice (1991).[765] The première of *Titus*, in contrast to other Prague premières of Mozart's operas was a failure, causing displeasure to Leopold II (for whose coronation it was written) and this filtered down to the rest of the court. Shortly after the première, however *Titus* found popularity with the public in Prague and by early October 1791, Mozart was able to write to his wife that the final performance was a great success. In the years directly following Mozart's death and prior to 1800, various epithets were used to quantify the work – 'sublime', 'simplicity', 'tranquil sublimity' and it was seen to encapsulate the 'heroic sublimity' of *Idomeneo*.[766]

Abroad, *Titus* was performed in Naples in 1807 and Paris in 1816, though it failed to achieve lasting popularity outside German-speaking centres. After 1830, the work began to disappear and failed to regain a foothold in the repertoire for over 100 years. In the immediate wake of Mozart's death *Titus* became a vehicle for his widow to raise funds for herself and her children.[767] She often sang in the performances she mounted and took a special interest in *Titus* – probably because it was Mozart's last opera and his final works had already begun to acquire halos. A typical format of presentation was a concert performance, with the *secco* recitatives simply omitted. Perhaps in the wake of the success of these performances that took place between about 1794 and 1797, *Titus* was taken up in the repertory of many theatres – between 1798 and 1801 productions were given in the following German-speaking countries:

- 1798: Altona, Brünn, Bautzen, Budapest
- 1799: Breslau, Graz, Frankfurt, Weimar
- 1801: Leipzig, Munich, Dessau, Berlin, Bremen, Vienna[768]

During the following two decades, *Titus* was presented in many European centres, particularly German-speaking ones:

- 1802: Hanover, Mannheim
- 1803: Stuttgart
- 1804: Vienna
- 1805: Munich
- 1806: Poznán, London, Lisbon
- 1808: Königsberg, Prague, Cologne, Hamburg
- 1809: Basle, Pressburg, Naples
- 1811: Vienna
- 1812: London
- 1815: Berlin, Dresden,
- 1816: Dresden, Königsberg, Berlin, London, Paris, Stuttgart, Milan
- 1817: Dresden, Vienna, St Petersburg, London
- 1818: Milan, St Petersburg, Moscow, London[769]

The concert version (without recitatives) that Constanze Mozart had adopted was not found to be a sound performing version. In Vienna in 1811,[770] the

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764   Alfred Einstein, *Mozart: His Character, His Work* ([S.l.]: Cassell, 1946), 422–26.
765   Ibid, 118–33.
766   Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, 75.
767   Einstein, *Mozart: His Character, His Work*, 105.
768   Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597–1940*, 476.
769   Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, 80. Einstein, *Mozart: His Character, His Work*, 107.

performances at the *Hofoper* were criticised for their incomprehensible recitatives. In response the *Hofoper* had the text translated into German and delivered as spoken dialogue. This practice spread throughout German-speaking countries and became the usual performance practice for *Titus* during the nineteenth century. *Titus* also had its fair share of vocal substitutions, with the title role often taken by a baritone or even a bass (for example, Ludwig Fischer who created Osmin in *Entführung*). Sesto was frequently sung by a tenor – a soprano being unsuitable in terms of dramatic realism, but equally a tenor destroyed the vocal balance created by Mozart in the ensembles. It became acknowledged that the opera was composed with very specific voices in mind and when strong singing actors were available without the prerequisite vocal material, it was deemed acceptable to substitute arias by other composers.[771]

Titus was first performed in London in 1806 (making it the first Mozart opera to be performed there). Rice[772] describes a musical conservatism in London (best exemplified by the attitudes of Richard, second Earl of Mount Edgcumbe (1764–1839)) that accounts for the popularity of *Titus* in London, a city that remained committed to the presentation of *opera seria*. In his memoires, written during the 1820s, Edgcumbe criticised the new style of Rossini and complained about the decline of arias and Metastasian recitative in favour of ensembles. He also criticised the disappearance of the castrati and their replacement with tenors and basses. Edgcumbe's main focus upon the appreciation of opera was the voices – Rice states that 'whenever it was revived in London during the next two decades, *Tito* served the purpose it served in 1806: as a vehicle for the greatest singers in London at the time.'[773]

The centrality of the singer in the choice of repertoire in London is emphasised by Emanuele Senici,[774] who notes that the 1806 London production was very much a singer-driven enterprise, in fact a benefit night for Mrs Billington (as Vitellia), with her brother leading the orchestra and friends included in the cast. London seems to have been unique in being the only centre outside Germany where *Titus* entered the repertory (of the King's Theatre). Inevitably, a London production would involve something between a significant adaption and a full-scale *pasticcio* in which only one or two numbers from the billed opera might survive. The 1806 production was announced in *The Morning Post*[775] as being 'a Grand Serious Opera, with Choruses, entitled LA CLEMENZA DI TITO, entirely composed by Mozart, … To which will be added FAVOURITE BALLETS.' The printed libretto goes a little further: 'Adapted to the modern Stage by new Scenes and Alterations, by S. Buonaiuti. THE MUSIC ENTIRELY BY MOZART, Without any addition whatsoever'.[776]

The proclamation of no additional music is largely correct, but needs to be qualified. Some numbers were cut but their text was printed in the libretto in

770   Einstein, *Mozart: His Character, His Work*, 108–9.
771   Ibid 109–10.
772   Ibid 113–15.
773   Ibid 115.
774   Emanuele Senici, 'Adapted to the Modern Stage: *La clemenza Di Tito* in London', *Cambridge Opera Journal* 7, 1 (1995): 1–22.
775   18 March 1806.
776   Emanuele Senici, 'Adapted to the Modern Stage: *La clemenza Di Tito* in London', *Cambridge Opera Journal* 7, 6.

inverted commas, so that the continuity of the plot would not be lost (this was standard practice). The implication was further that the italicised number may be included in later performances or seasons. Numbers were moved around and re-assigned to different characters. Senici describes the moving of Servilia's aria 'S'altro che lacrime' which was revised by the adapter, Serafino Buonaiuti and became 'Se non mi è lecito' – by substituting a text not set by Mozart, but from Metastasio's original libretto. Senici evaluates the adaption as follows: 'Buonaiuti's was a virtuoso performance whose main concern seemed to be to change what Mozart set to music as little as possible.'[777] Buonaiuti's adaption was far from a piece of hackwork driven by the market. In addition to cutting recitative, the numbers were 'radically rearranged', producing a 'highly symmetrical' result, achieved in part by 'The fact that Buonaiuti kept a constant eye on Metastasio's original *clemenza*'. [778] There was a wider commercial imperative – to give prominence to the roles of Vitellia and Sesto (sung by Mrs Billington and her long-standing colleague John Braham respectively). In spite of this list of changes, Cowgill points out the emphasis, noted in the announcement above on the 'single authorial voice'[779] of Mozart – noting that such a reassurance to the public was highly unusual in the working practice of the King's Theatre. She further notes that Mrs Billington's statement that the music would be Mozart's alone suggests interest in a specifically Mozart opera production. It was seen as important to emphasise that Mozart's music would not suffer the fate of the work of other composers: in fact the opera was shortened (as were all imported works) to make way for the ballet entr'acte described in the newspaper.

Titus disappeared from the stage after 1806 due in part to the tastes of the lead singer at that time: Angela Catalani, underlining the supremacy of the singer operating at the time. It was only in 1812 that a cast suitable to perform *Titus* was engaged and the revival that year saw *Titus* score a success over *Così*, *Figaro* and *Il flauto magico*. Subsequent revivals from 1816 onwards show *Titus* being further adapted, in the wake of the growing popularity of the Mozart/Da Ponte operas, as well as Rossini's *Barbiere*. During the 1820s and 30s, London was overwhelmed, first by the phenomenon of Rossini, then in his wake, of Donizetti and Bellini.[780] This marks a point in the fall of *Titus* from the repertory:

> So entirely did Rossini engross the stage, that the operas of no other master were ever to be heard, with the exception of those of Mozart and of his, only Don Giovanni and Le nozze di Figaro were often repeated. La clemenza di Tito was occasionally revived, but met with less success (1824).[781]

Gruber[782] notes that by the 1820s, Mozart's operas (at least *Don Giovanni* and *Figaro*) had achieved a canonical status in London that could not even be eroded by Rossini. After 1841 *Titus* disappeared from the London stage – though it entered 'the *sancta sanctorum* of immortal classics – much venerated, not often played'.[783]

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777   Ibid 7.
778   Although not noted in the printed libretto, Mozart set Mazzolà's adaption of Metastasio's *Clemenza*, so Buonaiuti is in fact rearranging the work of Mazzolà working from Metastasio's original text.
779   Bauman, W.*A. Mozart, Die Entführung Aus Dem Serail, Cambridge Opera Handbooks*, 150.
780   Einstein, *Mozart: His Character, His Work*, 116.
781   Ibid 117.
782   Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, 117.
783   Emanuele Senici, 'Adapted to the Modern Stage: *La clemenza Di Tito* in London', *Cambridge Opera Journal* 7, 15.

Throughout Europe, *Titus* suffered a similar fate. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the opera all but disappeared from the repertory, suffered from critical approbation and was not revived until well into the twentieth century.[784] The words of Wagner, often abbreviated, implying an application solely to *Così fan tutte* are quoted here in full:

> *Oh how truly dear and most praiseworthy is Mozart for me, that it was not possible for him to invent music for Titus like that of Don Giovanni, for Così fan tutte like that of Figaro! How disgracefully it would have desecrated music!*[785]

Interlude: An early operatic curator and precursor of *Werktreue*: William Ayrton

In the following chapter the emergence of a Mozart renaissance, which took place in both Munich and Vienna around the beginning of the twentieth century, will be explored. These revivals hinge philosophically around the development of very different notions of *Werktreue*, as articulated by those who initiated them (Mahler/Roller in Vienna and Possart/Levi/Strauss in Munich). The growing awareness of *Werktreue* during the nineteenth century was largely confined, in opera to the musical numbers, the *secco* recitatives being regarded as an exception. In addition, introducing other music into an opera by Mozart was not regarded as a transgression of *Werktreue*, provided the music was composed by him. A sense of *Werktreue* was obscured in Paris as Mozart was posthumously reimagined as a naturalised Frenchman and his operas, particularly *Don Giovanni*, entered the cavernously large museum of the Opéra – thus becoming French national cultural property. Notions of nationalism, authenticity, preservation and museum culture all conjoined to muddy the waters and allow the appropriation of the divine Mozart into the French cultural pantheon. This can at best be termed selective, blinkered *Werktreue*.

The situation in London was rather different. Rachel Cowgill[786] has examined some of the forces that shaped productions of Mozart in London over a period of some 50 years, arriving at an unexpected emergence of *Werktreue* around 1817. The home of Italian opera in London, the King's Theatre, is described as a purely commercial operation that developed a '*pasticcio* culture' ('event-oriented' approach to opera'),[787] where any opera 'was regarded as raw material to be cut, altered and adapted in response to the tastes of the town and the specialities of the principal singers.' A house composer was imperative to such an enterprise to assemble and adapt as required (these include such figures as Thomas Attwood, Henry Bishop and William S. Rockstro, all of whom have subsequently been criticised for disfiguring operatic works). Cowgill states that 'arguably more than in other European centres of the time, opera in London was regarded as a 'performance event' to be experienced rather than a work of art ('work-concept') in its own right'.[788] The practice of adaption is traced back to the time of Handel, who was all too ready to make large-scale compromises in order to safeguard his works

784   Rice, *W.A. Mozart, La clemenza Di Tito, Cambridge Opera Handbooks*, 134–48.
785   Wagner, *Oper und Drama*, in Richard Wagner: *Dichtungen und Schriften*, VII, 38. Quoted in ibid 119.
786   Bauman, W.*A. Mozart, Die Entführung Aus Dem Serail, Cambridge Opera Handbooks*.
787   Ibid 146.
788   Ibid 147.

in the market place. Cowgill suggests that 'Mozart would probably not have frowned at such a procedure',[789] citing his readiness to compose insertion arias and ensembles for other composers. She also notes that the publication of 'favourite airs' and similar individual numbers were an encouragement to an 'event based' perception of operas.[790]

In central Europe the creation of the romantic myth of Mozart was in full swing. By 1815, E.T.A. Hoffmann had declared *Don Giovanni* the 'opera of all operas' and it is a production of that opera that Cowgill cites, in London (1817) as a watershed in the application of *Werktreue* or 'work-oriented operatic values' to Mozart, noting Hoffmann's review of an 1815 production of *Don Giovanni* in Berlin, that condemned any performances of the work that 'did not subscribe to the notion of the '*faithful*' interpretation of a masterpiece.'[791]

The driving force behind *Werktreue* practices in London was William Ayrton, who was engaged by the King's Theatre, which resulted in an important change to the function of the house composer in the opera house from someone who could adapt and rewrite works to 'being superseded by a new figure whose relationship to the musical work would be defined much more in terms of custodianship.'[792] In the words of manager, Edmund Waters:

> *by placing the music department and all that is connected with it under the direction of one or two experienced and unbiased professors, who are acquainted with the best productions of the great schools of music, are capable of appreciating and advantageously employing the various talents of different performers and whose characters, general education and abilities, qualify them to command respect, to exercise a discretionary authority and to judge of all the various parts which in combination form a complete lyric drama.'[793]*

William Ayrton was uniquely placed for such a role, having a reputation through his activities as a critic as an 'arbiter of musical taste'. His father had been part of the 1784 Handel Commemoration and he was friendly with many 'poets, dramatists and writers, among whom Romantic ideas about the integrity of the artist's work were common currency.'[794] Ayrton instituted a number of reforms, dealt with in detail by Cowgill,[795] and seems to have been a formidable influence in almost every area of the theatre, stopping only short of directing the orchestra (this was still the leader's function).

Ayrton's 1817 *Don Giovanni* production was a great success, financially and artistically. However his attitude, which demanded that singers subjugate their own interests (in terms of audience rapport) to the demands of Mozart's musical work led to his downfall, which came in the same year, as a production of *Titus* was mounted. In staging *Titus,* Ayrton had attempted to restore the original score in a similar manner to *Don Giovanni*. Among the cast, Joséphine Fodor-Mainvielle insisted on moving Vittelia's scena and aria ('Non più di fiori') from its place in the score. The Tito, Crivelli, also wanted to omit Mozart's original arias and insert arias

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789   Ibid.
790   Ibid 148.
791   Ibid 166.
792   Ibid 168.
793   Ibid.
794   Ibid.
795   Ibid 168–9.

that he had sung in Paris in 1816. This led to a public scene, resulting in a letter being published from Fodor:

> *The opera of la clemenza di Tito was never represented as it was composed by Metastasio and Mozart ... three-fourths of the morceaux are no longer sung by the personages for whom they were intended, – thus Vitellia sings what was composed for Servillia and Sextus what belonged to Amico[796] [sic]. In the midst of this disarrangement (which is not my work) I thought I remarked an absurdity which it depended upon me to correct.[797]*

In this case both singers were able to secure the support of the proprietor and Ayrton was 'powerless to prevent them exercising their rights as principal singers.'[798] The critical reception of the first night was as follows:

> *Every one who is conversant with Mozart's operas knows, that his pieces are not only beautiful in themselves, but by position, by contrast with those which precede and follow them, that no one of them can be removed from the situation in which the composer placed it without injury to the general effect. In this instance, the change is as fatal to the dramatic as to the musical effect: the singer is made to deplore an event which has not yet taken place – the condemnation of Sesto. We cannot help feeling that this is not only an instance of bad taste, but of disrespect to an audience with great part of whom the Italian is almost familiar as their own language.[799]*

In the aftermath, Ayrton was forced to resign his position at the King's Theatre, his short reign as arbiter of *Werktreue* undermined by the wiles of singers. Senici notes a 'deep dichotomy that now existed between the classicised image of Mozart and the theatrical life of his operas on the King's Theatre stage.'[800] Cowgill notes that Ayrton was one of a 'closely knit band of literary men' who were seeking, principally through newspapers, to influence the opera-going middle classes – this was the basis of Ayrton's personal campaign of *Werktreue* and it was supported by colleagues in the press (see above review 14 July 1817), although such purist notions took longer to transmit to audiences, who still accepted many adaptions and unlikely transferences of arias between characters.[801] Senici states that 1817–18 remain 'the golden years of Mozart's operas in London',[802] and that what had been the core repertory for two decades (the works of Winter, Cimarosa, Paisiello, Portugal, Fioravanti and Picitta) disappeared after those two seasons.

In spite of his controversial initial tenure at the King's Theatre, by 1821 Ayrton was back at the helm, building on the work he had begun in 1817. In the wake of the success of both *Don Giovanni* and *Figaro* in that year, Covent Garden staged them in 1817 and 1819. There they were 'Englished' by Henry Rowley Bishop – extensively adapted but nonetheless very popular with audiences.[803] The adaptions performed at Covent Garden were far less enlightened than the practices of Ayrton and the King's Theatre. The taste and appreciation of audiences was in flux and the tastemakers (variously the 'house composer', the *prima donna*/*primo uomo* as well

796   Annio is meant.
797   Bauman, W.*A. Mozart, Die Entführung Aus Dem Serail, Cambridge Opera Handbooks*, 170.
798   Ibid.
799   Ibid.
800   Senici, 'Adapted to the Modern Stage: *La clemenza Di Tito* in London', *Cambridge Opera Journal* 7, 17.
801   Bauman, W.*A. Mozart, Die Entführung Aus Dem Serail, Cambridge Opera Handbooks*, 172.
802   Senici, 'Adapted to the Modern Stage: *La clemenza Di Tito* in London', *Cambridge Opera Journal* 7, 12.
803   Bauman, W.*A. Mozart, Die Entführung Aus Dem Serail, Cambridge Opera Handbooks*, 175.

as the theatre manager) were experiencing a shift in power, influence and decision-making responsibilities. By the late 1820s a singer inserting a 'foreign' aria into a Mozart opera could cause an uproar – as was the case when Lucia Elizabeth Vestris placed an English ballad 'I've been a'roaming' into her performance of Susanna in *Figaro*.[804]

Audiences were faced with two quite different practices and philosophies in presenting operas during this time and a slow decline can be observed in which the primacy of the singer and their ability to influence or determine the structure of an operatic work begins to recede. There are two important factors behind this shift: (1) A growing tendency to regard a composer's operatic work in a similar light to an author's literary creation. Cultured and enlightened men, such as Ayrton and his circle, espoused this tendency in public newspapers; (2) the growing phenomenon of the Mozart cult and a sense that his operas had been structured carefully, not as a series of arias that were movable and replaceable.[805] This perception developed not least because of the sheer quality, richness and beauty of Mozart's ensembles. Mozart's operas had reached canonic status, which was confirmed and formalised later in the century by the publication of the AMA. In terms of the 1820s, Cowgill states that 'the *pasticcio* culture of the late eighteenth century, which licensed opera companies to adapt new works freely according to the specialties of the cast and the taste of the town, had given way to a new order in which the opera house functioned as the repository for works of art and the company as their custodians. This curatorial shift in perceptions and practices occurred unusually early in London. Ayrton is an important and neglected precursor of the *Werktreue* shift that occurred towards the end of the nineteenth century in Paris, (reaching its zenith with the Mozart performances in the early twentieth century by Reynaldo Hahn) along with Munich and Vienna, with the work of the teams guided by Richard Strauss[806] and Mahler. These were not isolated events, rather responses to a growing interest in the Mozart operatic canon. The Bayreuth Festival (begun 1876) was a further catalyst for Mozart cycles: in 1877 a Mozart Festival with the *Wiener Philharmoniker* took place in Salzburg,[807] with the entity of the Salzburg Festival beginning in 1920s, based on the Bayreuth model.[808] During the 1890s all of the operas from *Idomeneo* through to *Titus* were performed chronologically in Salzburg with similar cycles being given in Vienna (under Jauner), Hamburg (under Pollini), Frankfurt, Leipzig etc..[809] When Mahler commenced his tenure at the Hofoper, he began his mission to revive and repatriate Mozart in Vienna, bringing with him extensive experience conducting Mozart in European opera houses and developing a blend of new ideas (based upon a complex cocktail of *Texttreue* and his own subjective vision of the composer's intentions) and traditions (by which, along with a Wagnerian-influenced aesthetic, he was influenced more than he cared to admit).

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804 Ibid.

805 Ibid. In 1822 one Rosalina Caradori sang 'Voi che sapete' in her performance of Cherubino. On 14 January 1822 the Times reported that 'it is a distinction … to be allowed to sing the latter air at all, which has usually been transferred, either to Susanna or The Countess.'

806 Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, 62.

807 http://www.salzburgerfestspiele.at/en/history Accessed 24.9.14.

808 Gruber (152) notes that prior to this (1870) only around 1/3 of Mozart's works were published and were often only known and available in the form of arrangements from very corrupt sources.

809 Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, 178.

CHAPTER SIX

Into the twentieth century – the Mozart renaissance

Gustav Mahler in Vienna

Two significant watersheds in the curation of the Mozart repertory occurred in Munich and Vienna around the turn of the century, driven by visionary leadership. In Munich, *Musikdirektor* Hermann Levi and *Generalintendant* Ernst von Possart initially led the revival, with Strauss stepping in when Levi's health failed.[810] Mahler had commenced in Vienna as Direktor of the *Hofoper* in 1897, at which time there were three Mozart operas in the repertoire: *Die Zauberflöte*, *Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*[811] (which was known throughout Germany by the German title *Don Juan*, until an edition by Max Kalbeck restored the original, Italian title).[812] Mahler commenced his Mozart interpretations with *Die Zauberflöte* in 1897. Ten rehearsals for this première won him plaudits from the press as a perfect '*Mozartianer*', highlighting the uninspired routine into which the *Hofoper* had fallen under Wilhelm Jahn.[813] The musical text employed (apart from the issue of transpositions which will be covered in due course) was uncontroversial; it corresponded to uncut versions of *Die Zauberflöte* performed during the 20th century (until the appearance of the NMA in 1970) and likely used the AMA as its source. Mahler banished the ornamented vocal lines that had become standard in the years leading up to his reign, seeking to distance Mozart's music from *bel canto* opera, which had taken a firm hold. Mahler also reduced the size of the orchestra considerably for his Mozart performances.[814]

The Italian operas of Mozart had been generally performed at the *Hofoper* with German dialogue replacing the *secco* recitatives, the standard practice in German theatres. Mahler revived the convention of leading from the keyboard when he conducted *Così fan tutte* in 1900 (it had been absent from the repertoire since 1891), on that occasion leading from the piano, however by 1906 he was using a harpsichord, which became his standard practice.[815] For *Così*, Mahler sought advice from Levi in Munich, eventually employing Levi's own edition, which included a quality German singing translation, restored *secco* recitatives and suggestions for a number of cuts, most of which were adopted by Mahler.[816] Diverging from Levi's edition, Mahler decided against beginning the second act with Mozart's *secco*

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810   Ibid 184.

811   Ibid 185.

812   Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Lorenzo Da Ponte and Max Kalbeck, *Don Giovanni*. 'Für Die Deutsche Bühne Neu Bearbeitet Nebst Zwei Vorfragen. Und Einem Dramaturgischen Anhang. Von Max Kalbeck, Etc' (Leipzig; Wien, 1917).

813   Robert Werba, 'Mahlers Wiener Mozart-Taten', *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1979), 246.

814   Ibid 248.

815   Ibid 246.

816   Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, 178.

recitative, preferring to introduce the finale of the Divertimento K287.[817] To fill gaps in the musical and dramatic flow resulting from scene changes, Mahler made his own arrangements of music derived from themes from the opera. The operatic *potpourri,* a genre well known to publishers of popular opera selections, was allowed in the hallowed halls of the *Hofoper* under Mahler.

Don Giovanni was already in the repertoire of the *Hofoper* but many absurdities had crept in – soloists would sing their own text versions, taken from any singing translation with which they were familiar, often producing unintelligible results.[818] The 'viva la liberta' ensemble in the Act 1 finale (scene 2) which is written for five soloists and refers to the freedom won by the convention of masks, became a revolutionary declaration of liberty, sung by the whole chorus – this had become a widespread practice during the nineteenth century. Mahler restored the form of the work to something that would be accepted by audiences of today, with the exception of his omission of the sextet-finale of Act 2.[819]

In the case of *Figaro*, Mahler made significant additions of his own, drawing upon the original text of Beaumarchais. In the third scene of Act 1, he composed a *secco* recitative to make explicit the earlier relationship between Marcellina and Bartolo and of Figaro having been promised in marriage. This addition came at the expense of Bartolo's aria, which was cut. In the fifth scene of Act 3, a further newly composed recitative (this time with accompaniment of a string orchestra – a popular practice for setting *secco* recitatives during the nineteenth century) presented the courtroom scene that appears in Beaumarchais.[820] The arias of Marcellina and Basilio were omitted, in line with modern practice.

817   Werba, 'Mahlers Wiener Mozart-Taten', *Mozart-Jahrbuch*, 249.
818   Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, 36–7.
819   de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler*, 2, 32.
820   Ibid 285, fn 11.

Figaro (tritt ein). **Marzelline** (auf Figaro zeigend). **Gerichtsdiener.**

Cu. F.
M. Gd.

kauft. Sei-ne Ex-zellenz wird gleich hier sein da ist er selbst der Ver-rä-ter Sei-ne Ex-zel-lenz der Herr Graf Al-ma-vi-va!

Klavier.

Der Graf tritt ein. Hinter ihn Gerichtsdiener, Gerichtsschreiber, 2 Advokaten, Gerichtspersonal, Dienerschaft, Landleute.

★
(*ad libitum*
zu repetieren)

I.
Viol.
II.

Viola.

Graf (den Thronsessel besteigend).
Curzio. **Schreiber.**

G. Cu.
Schr.

Die Verhandlung ist eröffnet. Schrei, Schrei, Schreiber verlesen Sie die Klage. Barbara, Eulali-a, Rebekka, Magdalena, Nikolina,

Cello.

Bass.

I.
Viol.
II.

Viola.

(Marzelline steht auf (Lachen **Graf.** **Gerichts-**
und verbeugt sich). im Hinter- **diener.** **Schreiber.**
grund.)

Schr.
G. Gd.

Marzelli-na ledig, und majorenn, gegen Fi-ga-ro. Stil-le. Stil-le. Wegen erhobenen Einspruchs gegen die Verehelichung

Cello.

Bass.

Schr.

des o-ben-ge-nann-ten Fi-ga-ro sei-tens der e-ben ge-nann-ten Mar-zel-li-ne. Ver-tre-ter der Kla-ge ist Dok-tor

I.
Viol.
II.

Viola.

(Figaro will sprechen)
Graf. **Curzio.**

Schr.
G. Cu.

Barto-lo, Arzt aus Se-villa. Beklagter führt seine Sache selbst. Zunächst hat der Kläger das Wort. Jawohl der Kläger!

Cello.

Bass.

(Unruhe im
Hintergrunde **Graf.** **Schreiber. Gerichtsdiener. Curzio.**

Cu. G.
Schr. Gd.

Le-sen Sie das Hei-rats-ver-spre-chen vor. Still! Still! Still! Sti Sti Sti Sti Still.

Klavier.

★ (So lange zu wiederholen, bis der Graf am Sessel und alles ruhig und gespannt ist).

Bartolo.

Ich Endesgefertigter bescheinige hiemit von der Dame Marzelline die Summe von zweitausend Piastern empfangen zu haben. Diese Summe werde ich ihr auf ihr Verlangen jederzeit zurück-zah-len o-der sie aus Er-kenntlichkeit hei-ra-ten. Gezeichnet Fi-ga-ro!

Figaro. Curzio. Marzelline. Figaro.

Aber wenn ich das Geld nicht habe? Unsre Sache ist spruchreif, du bezahlst o-der nimmst sie. Hast du verstanden? Ich lebe wieder. Und ich

Klavier.

Marzelline. Figaro (bei Seite). (laut) Graf.

sterbe. Ich Glückliche, mir fällt ein Stein vom Herzen. (Und mir fällt er auf den Kopf.) Exzellenz, ich appellie-re. Da gibt es keinen Einwand!

Curzio. Graf. Curzio.

Be-zah-len o-der hei-ra-ten! Sehr gut, Herr Richter. Gar zu gü-tig, Ex-zel-lenz. Die Verhandlung ist ge-schlossen. Hoch

(Die Gerichts-
diener, Diener-
schaft und
Landleute ab
durch die Mit-
te.)

a 2

Chor. Bartolo.

lie-be unser gnä-di-ger Herr Graf! Hoch! Hoch! Hoch! Ein voll-

Ex. 6-1. Mozart, *Figaro.* Act 3, v., additional scene of recitative composed by Gustav Mahler, with accompaniment for continuo ('Klavier') and strings.

In restoring *Entführung* to the Hofoper repertoire, Mahler followed the Viennese tradition of performing the work in two acts, concluding the first act with the aria 'Martern aller Arten', which was usually cut in Vienna. Then followed an entr'acte of music arranged (by Herbeck) from the Rondo of the Piano Sonata K. 331. Mahler cut 'Ich baue ganz', substituting in its place 'Wenn der Freude Tränen fließen'. Prior to Mahler, the aria from *Così* – 'Un'aura amorosa' had usually been substituted here. Pedrillo's aria, 'Frisch zum Kampfe' was also cut by Mahler.[821]

Mahler's attitude towards transpositions is unexpected, betraying a working method rooted deeply in the past. He accepted transpositions, his casting criteria being based more upon having the required personality to create the role, than relying solely on someone who could merely sing the notes. Here follows a list of transpositions that were made during Mahler's 1906 Mozart-cycle in Vienna:

Opera	Artist and role	Aria	Transposition
Don Giovanni	Mildenburg (D. Anna)	Both arias (No. 10, 23)	whole tone lower
Figaro	Hilgermann (Contessa)	Second aria (No. 20)	half tone lower
	Mayr (Figaro)	Last aria (No. 27)	half tone lower
Entführung	Kurz (Konstanze)	'*Ach ich liebe*' No. 6	half tone lower
	Preuss (Pedrillo)	Serenade (No. 18)	whole tone lower
	Forst (Blonde)	Both arias (No. 8, 12)	whole tone lower
Die Zauberflöte	Elizza (Königin)	'*Der Hölle Rache*'(No. 14)	whole tone lower
	Slezak (Tamino)	'*Dies Bildnis*' (No. 3)	half tone lower
	Moser (Papageno)	'*Ein Mädchen*' (No. 20)	whole tone lower
	Gutheil (Pamina)	'*Ach ich fühl's*' (No. 17)	half tone lower

Table 9. Mahler's Vienna Transpositions.[822]

The predominance of transpositions can be in part explained by Mahler's tendency to use powerful Wagnerian voices in his Mozart productions. These transpositions come as a surprise today, in particular in light of Mahler's self proclaimed role as an enemy of slovenly theatre routine – clearly transposition was not among his targets.

Mahler instituted many reforms in Vienna, rejuvenating a theatre that had come to rely upon outdated practices. It is difficult to objectively judge his achievement and his legacy, particularly lacking direct evidence and further details of versions and variants that he approved. No first-hand reports exist describing how Mahler accompanied the *secco* recitatives, though it may be assumed that his manner was quite different and less quotation-based than that of Strauss. His role as a Mozart interpreter produces conflicting evidence and demonstrates that his reforms were controversial: what remains is a composite picture of Mahler that embraces a number of conflicts.

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821 Paragraph is paraphrased from Robert Werba, 'Mahlers Wiener Mozart-Taten*', Mozart-Jahrbuch* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1979), 250.

822 Ibid 251.

Mahler was inevitably influenced by experiences gained in his earlier career, as well as the Viennese *Zeitgeist.* This is reflected in his creation of *Bearbeitungen*, where the results he produced were not uncriticised. Perhaps the most extreme was a *Bearbeitung* of Mozart's *Zaïde,* (conducted by Bruno Walter, although the version was created under Mahler's direction) which was ridiculed as an aberration when it was performed at the *Hofoper* (1902) on which occasion it was found to represent '*die größte Distanz zum Original*.'[823] Mahler certainly rid the *Hofoper* of outmoded customs and traditions but he also brought his own musical baggage to the task. Werba states that Mahler's notion of Mozart performance had its roots in the 19th century, from which influence he gradually sought to free himself.[824] Mahler was limited – particularly in the matter of cuts and the pressure to provide additional music – by the technical limitations of staging. His collaboration with Alfred Roller provided new directions, with new technical possibilities in stage design, however derived from a Wagnerian aesthetic, the same aesthetic that became a threat to Mozart's operas in the late nineteenth century. Mahler fell victim to the influence of the Wagnerian aesthetic and it is noteworthy that his methodology is in some aspects reminiscent of the practices of more commercial opera adapters of the nineteenth century whose work has been vilified. Werba concludes that: 'Before all, Mahler was a practical man of the theatre.'[825]

Mahler's emendations for *Così*

A score of *Così* has survived with annotations by Bernhard Paumgartner, with Mahler's emendations (*Einrichtungen*) and retouchings for performance in Vienna.[826] Paumgartner's score allows a rare insight into the finer details of Mahler's thinking, particularly with reference to orchestral detail. Many retouchings outline standard practices that are an integral part of theatre routine – for example the addition of 'hairpins' [< >] to bars 10 and 11 of the Overture. There are many dynamic retouchings, frequently substituting *pp*/*ppp* or occasionally *pppp* for Mozart's *piano.* Internal cuts to numbers generally follow those indicated by Levi in his edition and are a response to the length of the opera (particularly the second act) along with the desire to include as much of the music, while retaining the dramatic flow. Other examples include altering dynamics to highlight a musical effect – for example in Despina's aria (No 12, Act 1)[827] where an effect of rustic wind instruments (bars 24-5) is marked up to *forte* from *piano.* There are a number of important emendations among Mahler's retouchings that offer 'insider' glimpses into his thinking.

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823   Ibid.
824   Ibid.
825   Ibid.
826   Bernhard Paumgartner, 'Gustav Mahlers Bearbeitung von Mozart's 'Così fan tutte 'für seine Aufführungen an der Weiner Hofoper', *Musik und Verlag*, ed. Vötterle (Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1968), 476–82.
827   Numberings use throughout this paper to identify specific pieces in Mozart operas are those used by the NMA.

Changes to orchestration

In the Overture, bar 15 (first bar of the *Presto*), the final chord for winds and brass is removed (truncating the wind line), in order to make audible the beginning of the string phrase that was to be played as softly as possible.

A parallel passage can be found at the beginning of No 3, *Terzetto*, where the winds and timpani *tacet* the final note of their phrase, that is, the first beat of bar 3, on order to highlight the *subito piano* on the strings at the beginning of that bar.

In the *Terzett* (No. 2), bars 14–18, the strings play *pizzicato* rather than Mozart's *arco*, thus altering the orchestral timbre and texture.

Duetto (No. 4) – in bars 84-85 and 88-89 the cellos and 2nd bassoon have been removed, leaving a solo passage for the 1st bassoon – this is likely a practical decision made for purposes of ensemble in a passage which presents ensemble difficulties.

There are passages where the orchestra is marked '*tacet*' to leave an '*a cappella*' effect: No. 10, *Terzettino*, bars 17–22 and 28-30. No, 22 *Quartetto*, bar 58 the orchestra is *tacet* for 1 bar. finale 2 – the chorus sings '*a cappella*' backstage, to depict the army returning from war.

In the finale of Act 1 – bars 112–116 – woodwind chords are removed. Bars 212–218 – woodwinds again removed, creating a basically '*a cappella*' effect. Bar 267–272 – violas and cellos removed, leaving a texture of 2 horns and 2 bassoons.

The finale of Act 1: Bars 344–349 have been retouched as follows:

Ex. 6-2. Mozart *Così.*Act 1 finale, bars 344–50, with retouchings by Mahler.

In No. 22, *Quartetto*, from the second half of bar 65, to bar 70, the winds are *tacet*. In bar 70 (1 bar before the *Presto*), the violins and cello/bass are instructed to play *pizzicato,* a *ritardando* is added and the final quaver for the strings in bar 70 is also removed. In bars 79 – 86, only the first desk of basses plays as written, the remaining players play crotchets, pizzicato:

Ex. 6-3. Mozart *Così.* Act 1 finale, bars 79–87, with retouchings by Mahler.

In the *accompagnato* that follows No. 27 ('che folle è quel cervello'), Mahler adds an orchestral play out, a variant on the coda of the Despina aria, No. 19 (transposed into A major).

No. 30 – at the conclusion of this number and before the beginning of the Act 2 finale, in order to avoid a 'silent' scene change, which Paumgartner describes as

'*sich räuspernden und herumwetzenden Zuhörern*' – a bête noire of Mahler's, a reprise of the first 14 bars of the Overture is inserted.

Alteration to the vocal parts

A noteworthy alteration occurs in finale 2, where in bars 431–33 the parts of Fiordiligi and Dorabella are cut ('non capisco come và') in order to bring into relief and make clear the important line of Don Alfonso.

Wide-reaching changes to dynamics

No. 3 *Coro* – the strings *tacet* until the last crotchet of bar 4, the winds begin alone and '*ppp*' – the effect of a military band approaching from afar is suggested both in Mozart's setting and the dramaturgy of the piece and is standard practice in most theatres today.

Additions to Mozart's score

At the conclusion of Don Alfonso's *accompagnato* in scene 7, on the cadence, Mahler added the coda of the Overture (bars 209–end).

Some of Mahler's emendations have become standard practice. Others appear strange or antiquated today. A reminder of the spirit of the times may be typified by Edvard Grieg, who made an edition of the Mozart Piano Sonatas (1876–79) with 'the freely added accompaniment of a second piano'.[828]

Richard Strauss in Munich

Mahler's Mozart productions in Vienna were influenced by the slightly earlier Mozart renaissance that began in Munich under Ernst von Possart and Hermann Levi. The Munich cycle began with a production of *Don Giovanni* (première 29.5.1896), which was accompanied by an important document, published by Ernst von Possart.[829] This is in part a summary of the performance history of *Don Giovanni* to that date and partly a report of the curatorial choices made by Possart, based upon a consideration of the work's history. Possart notes that over time, the opera has metamorphosed from a *dramma giocoso* into an *opera seria,* thence to a romantic opera and finally a grand opera with choruses. He notes that 'The distortions to the original text in the first 60 years after Mozart's death defy description.'[830] Possart discusses the question of modifications and discrepancies that crept into the libretto during the nineteenth century. Possart created a new trend in calling the work by its original Italian title,[831] which corresponds in rhythm to that sung by the Commendatore in the Act 2 finale:

828   Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, 176.

829   Ernst Possart, *Ueber Die Neueinstudierung Und Neuszenierung Des Mozart'schen Don Giovanni (Don Juan) Auf Dem Kgl. Residenztheater Zu München* (München: A. Bruckmann, 1896).

830   Transl. in: Raymond Holden, *Richard Strauss: A Musical Life*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011, 213.

831   Adopted by Kalbeck in his edition: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Lorenzo Da Ponte and Max Kalbeck, *Don Giovanni*. 'Für Die Deutsche Bühne Neu Bearbeitet Nebst Zwei Vorfragen. Und Einem Dramaturgischen Anhang. Von Max Kalbeck, Etc' (Leipzig; Wien, 1917).

Ex. 6-4. '*Don Giovanni*' rhythm.

which appears, according to Possart six times during the opera. Various substitutions such as the Spanish '*Don Juan*' (the title under which the opera was generally known in Germany during the nineteenth century) or '*Herr Johan*' make it impossible to retain this rhythm, which is an important recurring motivic element in the work. A new translation was undertaken by Hermann Levi, which was of excellent quality and used in Germany for many years.[832] Possart notes that 26 musicians formed the orchestra for the Prague première of *Don Giovanni*, observing that a further 25 string players are routinely employed for performances in theatres currently (1896). He points out similar distortions to those Mahler had to deal with in Vienna – the 'viva la liberta' ensemble being transformed into a 'Freedom-chorus', the extensive cutting of recitatives, the shortening of numbers, such as Leporello's 'Catalogue' aria, the reassignment of Donna Elvira's '*Mi tradì*' to the first act and the cutting of Leporello's aria '*Ah pietà*'. Finally, he discusses the question of the *scena ultima* (the sextet), stating that 'Mozart and da Ponte…did not want to leave the fate (of the main characters) unknown and the audience should leave the theatre with a harmonious impression.' Possart also notes that the contribution of the trombones had become increased during the nineteenth century, distorting Mozart's intentions. The size of the orchestra is discussed in relation to the increasing size of theatres during the later nineteenth century, in response to the operas of Wagner. Possart notes that the *Residenztheater* (where his Mozart cycle took place) meets the criteria of an intimate opera house perfectly[833] – this was the theatre where Mozart directed *Idomeneo* – and it was speculated that the *fortepiano* on which Richard Strauss played the recitatives in his performances and which had been lying around for many years in a state of disrepair may have been the same instrument that Mozart used in 1781.[834]

Possart discusses the question of the era in which *Don Giovanni* might be set – he questions whether Da Ponte was taking a subject from history, from myth or from his own imagination. He proposes setting the work in 1780, the era of Mozart. He also discusses the use of a new piece of technology – the *Drehbühne* (electric-powered revolving stage) that was developed by Lautenschläger and which removed the necessity for frequent pauses of 5 or 10 minutes in order to change scenes.[835] The four scene changes required in each act for *Don Giovanni* could be performed in front of the audience without requiring lengthy pauses.

Finally, Possart comments on the conservatism of opera-goers and their desire to find the familiar in the operas they frequent ('my grandfather always sang it that way, why should I hear it differently? This is no longer my *Don Juan* or yours.')[836] Possart suggests that 'it' (that is, the current production) is Mozart's *Don Giovanni* – 'To let him come alive in his original form and completeness is an aim which is

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832   The translation used here is Holden, *Richard Strauss: A Musical Life*, 213–8.
833   Ibid 216–7.
834   Ibid 52–3.
835   This is the stage that Mahler travelled to Munich to inspect and adopted in Vienna.
836   Holden, *Richard Strauss: A Musical Life*, 218.

worth the greatest endeavors'.[837][838] The complete document by Possart[839] is an erudite and important milestone in the development of *Werktreue* into the twentieth century.

Strauss adopted a more straightforward textual approach than Mahler to the Mozart operas. The more extreme cuts and additions adopted by Mahler were foreign to Strauss's readings. While Strauss's performances of the musical numbers may have been more in the direction of *Texttreue*, his extemporisations in *secco* recitatives are legendary. Unlike Mahler, reports do survive of Strauss's recitative extemporisations and here we find Strauss the composer in an improvised act of composerly communion with his idol, Mozart. Strauss interpolated a musical commentary in the form of musical themes, often quoted from his own compositions. Wolfgang Sawallisch recalls:

> *What (Strauss) played on the cembalo during the recitatives could not be repeated today. From the outset, Strauss's Mozart was a total surprise, but then, after a few moments, I grasped that every theme he charmingly interwove had an exact reference to the action somewhere on the stage. When there was a joke, a witticism or some other form of humor on stage, there suddenly appeared a touch of Till Eulenspiegel or when, between Fiordiligi and Ferrando, there was a romantic exchange a touch of Don Juan would ring out! But one knew exactly that each of the situations was correctly represented. Eventually, one waited for what would come next! So, suddenly, one was confronted with a completely different style which made Mozart live, a topical style of Mozart interpretation, even though Strauss was at least seventy years old.[840]*

The Mozart renaissance that gathered momentum at the end of the nineteenth century in Munich and Vienna entered the twentieth century with a blend of nineteenth century practices that were assumed to originate with Mozart, along with a *Texttreue* sensibility (made possible by the publication of the AMA) which advocated a 'cleaning of the picture' of the works of Mozart which had, with the advent of the Wagnerian music dramas, become 'music of the distant past.' The search for a Mozart style continued throughout the twentieth century.

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837 Ibid.
838 The same text, in Gruber, 184 trans. Furness reads: 'allowing *Don Giovanni* to arise, after one hundred years in all its original purity and authenticity'.
839 Holden, *Richard Strauss: A Musical Life*.
840 W. Sawallisch, *Im Interesse der Deutlichkeit: Mein Leben mit der Musik*. Hamburg, 1988, 29–30.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The twentieth century: what Mozart really wanted

If Mozart had died before writing The Magic Flute, his death would have been illogical.[841]

The progress of the Mozart canon through the twentieth century is now considered, growing out of the important revivals and curatorial restorations that occurred in Munich and Vienna late in the nineteenth century. Edward Dent has written that 'the modern cult of Mozart may be said to date from the cycle of Mozart operas (including both *Idomeneo* and *La clemenza di Tito*) organised in the summer of 1896 at Munich, as an attraction to musical people who had been visiting Bayreuth for the revival of the *Ring*.'[842] The Munich enterprise in turn influenced the creation of the Salzburg Festival, which began in 1920 and was exclusively devoted to the work of Mozart from 1921. Gruber describes the curatorial ethos of the Festival as an:

> utopia – and the word utopia is entirely justified here. The spirit of the Salzburg Festivals is one of a living tradition. Something very old was to be preserved, some cultural ethos that had been defended a century before with the help of memories of Mozart and that, as a political reality, had become increasingly endangered throughout the course of the nineteenth century.[843]

Thus the aims and ideals of the Festival were far-reaching and complex and its creation was guided by some of the leading figures of the day, including Richard Strauss, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Max Reinhardt, Herman Bahr, Franz Schalk, Bruno Walter and Alfred Roller. In spite of the general aim of the Mozart renaissance – to revitalise the works by questioning earlier performing traditions, there is also an unmistakable sense of nostalgia, a glance backwards to some golden age, pervading the Festival.[844] This was emphasised by the cycles of five famous Mozart operas that were directly imported from the Vienna State Opera, who toured to Salzburg.[845] The very different interpretations of conductors such as Bruno Walter, Arturo Toscanini, Fritz Busch and Thomas Beecham provided a wide spectrum of stylistic readings.[846]

The Salzburg Festival cast a shadow that stretched as far as the Sussex Downs in the United Kingdom where in 1934 John Christie, who developed a far more autocratic enterprise than that of Salzburg, founded the Glyndebourne Opera House. The political situation in Europe enabled Christie to secure two major talents,

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841   Paul Klee, in Joseph Solman, *Mozartiana: Two Centuries of Notes, Quotes and Anecdotes about Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart* (London: Macmillan1991., 1991), p 176.

842   Opera Annual, *Opera Annual* (London: J. Calder, 1955–56), 14.

843   See Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, 201.

844   A sense of the pre-war era is beautifully conveyed in Stefan Zweig, *The World of Yesterday: An Autobiography* ([S.l.]: Cassell, 1943), particularly Chapter 14 ('Sunset') 346–57.

845   Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, 203.

846   Ibid. Condensed and summarised.

conductor Fritz Busch and stage director Carl Ebert to lead the creative team – a Germanic focus that did not stop Christie from prescribing that the operas should be sung in the original language.[847] The Glyndebourne productions set the highest standards and Busch in exile found an environment where he could nurture an ensemble spirit, effectively building upon the work he had begun in Dresden in 1922.[848] This was not an environment conducive to the caprices of star singers; musical preparation was a lengthy, unrushed and intense process. Busch was known for the most detailed rehearsals of ensembles, even at the expense of the arias.[849] The recordings based on these early performances at Glyndebourne have been classics for over seventy years.[850] They are regularly cited by conductors (see below) as classic examples of Mozart style. Gruber notes:

> [their] 'unforced naturalness, humour and intelligence in characterisation resulting from a homogenous and detailed musical and dramatic preparation. Such polished and lively performances were to be found neither in Salzburg, Vienna, Munich, Covent Garden nor in the New York Metropolitan Opera. The five famous Mozart operas were produced before 1939: aside from Figaro, it was Così fan tutte which became the Glyndebourne opera par excellence, marking an actual change in both performance and understanding of Mozart.[851]

The emergence of a sense of *Werktreue* in England has been traced to the innovations of William Ayreton, J. Wrey Mould and other amateurs or men of letters in the early nineteenth century. Edward Dent notes a further development in the Mozart revival around the start of the twentieth century, which took place in the non-professional (student or amateur) sphere.[852] Dent mentions Mozart performances organised by Charles Villiers Stanford at the Royal College of Music, where his opera class developed (between 1885 and 1914) into public performances, particularly of neglected operas such as *Così fan tutte*, which was judged by George Bernard Shaw to be 'much better than an average performance of *Don Giovanni* at Covent Garden.'[853] Further steps in the English Mozart revival were taken independently by Thomas Beecham in 1910 (*Così, Entführung*) and by amateurs from Cambridge (including Edward Dent).[854] In 1914 Beecham produced '*The Magic Flute*' at Drury Lane, on that occasion bowing to audience pressure to have recitatives composed by Emil Kreuz replace the dialogue.[855] Nineteenth century practices were slow to be expunged.

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847   Zweig, *The World of Yesterday: An Autobiography*, 17.
848   Busch was engaged as Music Director of Dresden in 1922, remaining in that post until 1933.
849   Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, 205.
850   The three operas recorded during the 1930s: 1934–1935: *Così fan tutte* with the Glyndebourne Festival Opera, featuring soloists Heddle Nash, John Brownlee, et al. (EMI Références, Naxos Historical). 1935: *The Marriage of Figaro*, with the Glyndebourne Festival Opera, feat. soloists Roy Henderson, Norman Allin, et al. (Naxos Historical). 1936: *Don Giovanni*, with the Glyndebourne Festival Opera, feat. soloists John Brownlee, Roy Henderson, et al. (Naxos Historical) Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fritz_Busch Accessed 3.6.15.
851   Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, 205.
852   Edward J. Dent, 'The Modern Cult of Mozart', *Opera Annual*, ed. Harold Rosenthal (London: John Calder, 1955), 14.
853   Ibid.
854   Ibid.
855   Ibid 15.

Tempo in the twentieth century

One need only remark, for example the widely differing tempi adopted in differing places for some pieces, even very famous and characteristic ones. To mention only one, I heard Mozart's Overture to Don Giovanni, played under the great man himself, by the Guardasonic Society [as it then was] of Prague and I also heard it in various other places, including Paris, in Vienna and Berlin. The Adagio [sic – Andante] was taken a shade slower in Paris, Vienna quite noticeably faster and in Berlin almost as fast again as under Mozart and in all three places the Allegro [sic – Molto Allegro] was played either faster or slower than he played it. (Johann Friedrich Rochlitz, Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung, Leipzig, 5 May 1813).[856]

In 'Memories and Commentaries', Stravinsky reminisces about a performance of *The Sleeping Beauty* he heard as a child, indulging in a fantasy about time travel: 'If I could transport myself back to that night seventy years ago I would do so only to satisfy my curiosity about the musical tempi, for I am always interested in the question of tempo in other periods.'[857]

The ability to objectively prescribe tempo was potentially solved by 1816,[858] with Beethoven being the first composer to indicate tempi in 1817 using Maalzel's metronome. This proved to be the beginning of ongoing controversy and uncertainty that has continued to vex performers and musicologists. Stravinsky himself has fuelled the flames of controversy in no small part in writing conflicting metronome markings in different versions of his works and further muddying the waters by subsequently conducting or playing significantly varying tempi in his concerts and on recordings.[859]

Beethoven's metronome markings have remained controversial, sparking theories (Kolisch)[860] and recordings (Leibowitz)[861] that attempt to codify and specify tempi systematically across his *oeuvre*. In response to the apparent eccentricity of some of Beethoven's markings, theories have been presented that the composer was mistaken in some of the indications, although many of these criticisms appear to spring from the desire to formularise this complex issue, which has so far resisted codification. Similar attempts to codify tempi for the Mozart repertoire[862] have been made and Mozart's letter of 24 October 1777 (Augsburg) has been much quoted, where he names tempo as the '*Hauptsache in der*

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856   Eva Badura-Skoda, Paul Badura-Skoda and Leo Black, *Interpreting Mozart on the Keyboard. Translated by Leo Black.* [with Plates, Including a Portrait and Facsimiles and Musical Illustrations.] (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1962), 30.

857   Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft, Me*mories and Commentaries. Dialogues between Stravinsky and R. Craft.* [with Plates, Including Portraits.] (London: Faber and Faber, 1960), 31.

858   Maalzel's metronome was first manufactured in this year: http://www.franzmfg.com/history.htm Accessed 14.2.15.

859   For timings of Stravinsky's recordings of *Le Sacre du Printemps*, for example, see: Peter Hill, *Stravinsky: The Rite of Spring* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 124.

860   Rudolf Kolisch and Arthur Mendel, 'Tempo and Character in Beethoven's Music--Part I', *Musical Quarterly* (1943). 'Tempo and Character in Beethoven's Music--Part II', *Musical Quarterly* (1943).

861   *Beethoven Symphonies*, recorded 1961: http://www.arkivmusic.com/classical/album.jsp?album_id=1153158 Accessed 12.2.15.

862   Notably Jean-Pierre Marty, *The Tempo Indications of Mozart* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1988).

Musique'.[863] Some 15 years separate the death of Mozart and the availability of a version of the modern metronome (though predecessors did exist).[864] Apart from the works themselves and the writings of theorists, evidence related to determining tempi in the Mozart operas is scant.[865]

The twentieth century has demonstrated the seeming impossibility of arriving at a set of authoritative metronome markings for any musical work. Recordings have demonstrated that tempi shift over time, due to many factors. The tempi Mozart adopted for his operas at their first performances are irretrievable which, in the context of a current preoccupation with authenticity means that any evidence acquires a heightened significance. Branscombe[866] has analysed information in a letter by Mozart, with a quirky approach worthy of Sherlock Holmes. What follows is a summary of his investigation:

On 7 and 8 October 1791 Mozart sat down at his home to write letters, each dated 'half past ten' and each written following his return from performances of *Die Zauberflöte*. Branscombe considers the starting time of the opera, along with the walking time to and from the theatre (one letter states that Mozart walked rather than travelling by carriage). Branscombe assumes that the dialogue would not have been shortened and that in order for Mozart to be back at his desk writing by 10.30pm, the performance would have ended around 10pm. He speculates that this evidence points towards a rapid delivery of the dialogue and (by mid-twentieth century standards) the music (especially as it was customary to encore several numbers [or parts thereof]). The implication is that the pacing of these early performances is likely to have been more in the spirit of a Toscanini,[867] or a Norrington,[868] and that tempi in recent times have returned to the brisker ones of Mozart's times.

Branscombe presents further evidence taken from an article by Christopher Raeburn,[869] who quotes correspondence in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* for 1815 (Vol. 17, p. 247). Writing in 1815, a composer and teacher, Gottfried Weber, notes that Pamina's aria ('Ach, ich fühl's') is generally taken too slowly and does not express the true character of the aria. He notes that the tempo should be at the swing of a pendulum on a cord 6 *Rhineland Zoll* in length, that is, ♪ between 138 and 152. To this an anonymous musician replied who claimed to have heard Mozart's tempi for himself and who had discussed such matters with musicians who had played under Mozart. He agreed with Weber's assessment and further noted that No. 19 of *Die Zauberflöte* ('Soll ich dich Teurer, nicht mehr sehn?') was taken nearly twice as fast in Mozart's time than had become the custom in 1815. Such

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863   Walter Gerstenberg, 'Authentische Tempi Für Mozarts '*Don Giovanni*'?' *Mozart-Jahrbuch*, Salzburg 1960/61 (1960/61): 59.

864   For example, Etienne Loulié's *Chronomètre*, which dates from 1694. http://www.classicfm.com/pictures/more-pictures/musics-greatest-inventions/metronome-1/ Accessed 2.6.15.

865   http://mwbdvjh.muse.jhu.edu/journals/notes/v061/61.4grayson.pdf is a discussion by David Grayson of Hummel's metronome markings for selected Mozart symphonies. Accessed 12.12.14.

866   *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 8.4.1801, 152.

867   Arturo Toscanini, *Die Zauberflöte*, recording live from Salzburg, 1937. http://www.operadis-opera-discography.org.uk/CLMOZAUB.HTM#1 Accessed 2.6.15.

868   Roger Norrington, conductor, *Die Zauberflöte*, 1990. http://www.operadis-opera-discography.org.uk/CLMOZAUB.HTM#87 Accessed 2.6.15.

869   *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 8.4.1801, 228, fn 9.

evidence is at best anecdotal, but in the face of lacunae, it does indicate a trend as regards changing perceptions of tempo.

Another piece of intriguing evidence was published in the '*Allgemeinen Musikalischen Zeitung*' in 1839.[870] Wenzel Johann Tomaschek (1774-1850) is remembered as a remarkable pianist and composer. In 1791, the year of Mozart's death, he arrived in Prague and attended a number of performances of *Don Giovanni*, which had been premièred four years earlier. Mozart's opera made a huge impression upon Tomaschek and it is stated by Gottfried Wilhelm Fink (editor of the abovementioned periodical) that the performances in 1791 were in the tradition of those prepared by Mozart himself in 1787. Fink believes that the performances Tomaschek heard bore the mark of authenticity from Mozart himself and further believed that (the passing of fifty years notwithstanding, along with the subjectivity of human perception and tempo memory) Tomaschek was able to provide authentic metronome marks for all of the numbers from the opera and for most of the tempo changes within those numbers.[871] The list is comprehensive. This enquiry was in fact instigated by Fink, who published an essay titled '*Über das Bedürfnis, Mozarts Hauptwerke unserer Zeit so metronomosiert zu liefern, wie der Meister selbst sie ausführen ließ.*' In it, Fink bewails the 'murder' of Mozart's works in subsequent years through exaggerated tempos. By 1839, certainty was wavering in regard to authentic Mozart tempi (except in the mind of Tomaschek). The enquiry initiated by Fink was to have been the first of a much wider study but he seems to have had trouble gathering further evidence. Regardless of how this data is viewed, it remains the earliest document of its kind – an attempt to supplement the score of *Don Giovanni* with metronome markings that can in some way be traced back to Mozart via early performances. Appendix B includes the metronome markings given by Tomaschek, along with some comparisons with twentieth century performers and theorists. These include some partial metronome indications by Hans Swarowsky from his seminal work on conducting;[872] schemas published by Michael Gielen;[873] along with metronome markings derived from recorded performances by a selection of prominent conductors. The Tomaschek tempi were hardly known (though the issue of tempi in Mozart was raised in 1931 by Rudolf Steglich at the *Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* in Salzburg)[874] until they were published in 1961.

The primacy of tempo in the interpretation of Mozart's works is an often-recurring trope in the critical literature, with particular theoretical targets being the three da Ponte operas, notably their elaborately constructed finales. *Don Giovanni* is particularly instructive due to Tomaschek's tempi, along with other theorists mentioned above. In the Overture, the opening '*Andante*' is in ¢ time, which,

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870   http://mwbdvjh.muse.jhu.edu/journals/notes/v061/61.4grayson.pdf . Accessed 12.12.14.

871   While this may seem potentially unreliable secondary evidence, the trend to incorporate such material in scholarly editions is becoming more widely evident, for example, the metronome marks of Jähns (1809–1888) incorporated into Carl Maria von Weber and Joachim Freyer, *Der Freischütz. Romantische Oper in Drei Aufzügen*, vol. 9741 (Frankfurt/M.: C. F. Peters, 1976).

872   Hans Swarowsky and Manfred Huss, *Wahrung Der Gestalt: Schriften Über Werk U. Wiedergabe, Stil U. Interpretation in D. Musik* (Wien: Universal Edition, 1979), 65–6.

873   Michael Gielen, *Über die Tempi in Mozarts "Don Giovanni", in: Programmhefte der Frankfurter Oper, Neuinszenierung des "Don Giovanni" am 17 September 1977*, 5. 16-20.

874   Swarowsky and Huss, *Wahrung Der Gestalt: Schriften Über Werk U. Wiedergabe, Stil U. Interpretation in D. Musik*, 58.

perhaps as a panacea to the monumental spacing of the opening chords in older readings (for example, Furtwängler, ♩ 52) has, more recently been performed in a more flowing tempo with a feeling of 2 in a bar. This would seem to accord with the ♩ 92 (𝅗𝅥 46) of Tomaschek. Problems occur, however in making the transition into the '*Molto Allegro*', [875] because the second violins and violas have a demisemiquaver figuration that continues as a quaver figuration at the '*Molto Allegro*'. It would seem logical that the quaver of the opening becomes the minim of the new tempo (4:1), meaning that the figuration will continue unaltered. It seems logical that the figuration remains motoric, that is, that the tempo change should be an exact gear change, without any preparatory *rallentando*. However, with the tempo sequence given by Tomaschek (♩ 92 followed by 𝅗𝅥 132), this proportion does not work, leaving two options – a *rallentando* in the bars preceding the *Allegro Molto* in order to achieve the transition, or else a sudden new tempo that may create an unsettled, potentially disjointed transition.

The issue of whether tempo changes are prepared (by a transitional modification of tempo) or not is a central question in the matter of tempo relationships, a classic example being found in the Act 1 finale, around bars 169–72. This passage is marked *Allegretto* and Tomaschek marks it at ♩ 120. It is a difficult tempo to establish and maintain in performance for a number of reasons. The previous tempo (¾ *Andante*)[876] has been around ♩ 80. A series of 4 *forte* chords, in quite a different character to the rest of the passage, ushers in the new 2/4 passage, the first 8 bars being played by one of the stage orchestras (offstage), directed by a backstage conductor. When the semiquavers start up in the pit orchestra (bar 147), the growing excitement, particularly from the singers, responding to Don Giovanni's entreaty to join him, creates a situation where the singers often rush. The correct tempo of the passage seems to be around ♩ 120, Tomaschek's marking. The Germanic school of conducting (represented here by the theories of Hans Swarowksy)[877] hold to a slower tempo of ♩ 108, which frequently results in the stage (singers) running away from the pit. What Swarowsky does achieve is (in theory) one tempo for the whole *allegretto* passage, which encompasses music of quite a different character at bar 173, where a tempo of ♩ 104/8 seems correct. A regularly adopted solution is to take bar 139 at the faster speed (around ♩ 120) and then to slow during the four bar transition (b. 169-72), slowing into a slightly broader tempo of ♩ 104/8. It should be noted that Mozart did not specify a *rallentando* here, nor did he indicate any tempo modification at bar 173. An accusation could well be made against a conductor who adopts the latter schema as misrepresenting Mozart, looking back in time through the Wagnerian lenses of tempo modification. Equally, it could be seen that a modification from a tempo of ♩ 108 to ♩ 120 is not a huge variation and that these respective tempi (each an *Allegretto*) grow naturally out of the music. These matters remain points of contention and individual choice. Leo Wurmser (1964) notes[878] that Richard Strauss slowed down into the D minor passage (b. 173) (the implication is that he had previously taken a faster tempo) in his performances,

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875   Bar 31.
876   Bar 92.
877   Swarowsky and Huss, *Wahrung Der Gestalt: Schriften Über Werk U. Wiedergabe, Stil U. Interpretation in D. Musik* , 65.
878   Leo Wurmser, 'Richard Strauss as an Opera Conductor, *Music and Letters* (1964): 6.

while Fritz Busch in Dresden did not slow down and insisted upon maintaining a quick tempo.[879] The widespread differences in opinion about tempi in such a finale are considerable and are explored in an article by Josef Wallnig,[880] who begins by describing two diverging attitudes to determining tempo, on the one hand the theoretical approach of Hans Swarowsky against the more subjective (that is, feeling the right tempo is more important than obeying metronome markings) approach of Franco Ferrara. Wallnig introduces the approach of Christof Bitter,[881] who takes 72 as the basic *Grundpuls* of the whole finale, based upon his notion of the typical Minuet, which he applies to bar 406. He sees the pulse of 72 as the '*natürlichen Pulsschlag des Logik der Tempi*' and applies this to all other numbers in the opera. In this extreme solution, Bitter may be seen as an advocate of '*Pulstreue*'(!). The noted conductor Michael Gielen begins from a similar starting point,[882] in the finale, but assigns a tempo of ♩ 84 to the Minuet. Wallnig notes that Gielen assigns tempo relationships in the proportions 1:2:4, but at certain points varies this, notably at the cry of Zerlina (bar 407) which interrupts the three onstage orchestras and lunges into the *Allegro Assai* in a proportion of 2:3. Gielen explains this as an 'irrational tempo relationship' which mirrors the action: '*Est ist ein Moment der Peripetie für den Protagonisten, er bezeichnet den nächsten Schritt in seinem Absteig: nicht einmal die Verführung einer Bäuerin gelingt mehr.*'[883] Swarowsky manages to reduce the whole Act 1 finale to two basic tempi (108/132). As shown in Appendix B, these are extremely stable when compared with the tempi of Tomaschek or Gielen (Wallnig notes that Gielen, Harnoncourt and Bitter all reject the tempi of Tomaschek). The theories of Swarowsky reveal a tendency towards a safe system, one that has done service in certain areas of the German theatre system, where works are played in repertoire, with minimum rehearsal, often under somewhat hectic conditions (for example when a conductor or a singer meets their colleagues for the first time onstage, during the performance) where some kind of an agreed template for the musical relationships in a given opera is a key to survival.

In the literature that specifically engages with the question of tempo in Mozart should be noted several essays by Harnoncourt,[884] and a book by Helmut Breidenstein – '*Mozart's tempo-system. A Handbook for professional practice*'.[885] A further work offering an extensive systemisation of Mozart's tempi by Jean-

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879   Ibid.
880   http://mozartoper.at/content/view/113/56/lang,de/ Accessed 23.10.14.
881   Christoph Bitter, 'Wandlungen in Den Inszenierungsformen Des '*Don Giovanni*' Von 1787 Bis 1928 Zur Problematik D. Musikal Theaters in Deutschland' (Zugl Berlin, Freie Univ, Diss, 1959, Bosse, 1961), 33 ff.
882   Gielen, http://mwbdvjh.muse.jhu.edu/journals/notes/v061/61.4grayson.pdf . Accessed 12.12.14, 16–20.
883   http://mozartoper.at/content/view/113/56/lang,de/ Accessed 23.10.14 Translation: 'It is a turning point for the protagonists, signalling the next step in his (Giovanni's) fall: even the seduction of a peasant girl will never again be successful.'
884   Nikolaus Harnoncourt, 'Vortrag über Tempofragen im '*Don Giovanni*' im Rahmen seiner Lehrtätigkeit an der Hochschule Mozarteum in Salzburg' (März 1990) (reference can be found on website (fn 891), (fn 44); Nikolaus Harnoncourt, 'Zur Tempodramaturgie in *Le nozze di Figaro*' in Mozart-Dialoge Gedanken Zur Gegenwart Der Musik' (Kassel u.a.: Bärenreiter, 2009), 309–11.; Nikolaus Harnoncourt, 'Mozart's use of 'Allegro 'and 'Andante', in Harnoncourt, Nikolaus and Reinhard G. Pauly. The Musical Dialogue: Thoughts on Monteverdi, Bach and Mozart. (Portland Or.: Amadeus Press, 1988), 92–99.
885   www.mozart-tempi.net accessed 23.10.14.

Pierre Marty,[886] is the result of many years reflecting on Mozart's complete *oeuvre* seen from a performance perspective. A review by Thomas Bauman[887] notes that the book is written 'with an ear to performative realities as well as an eye to systematic niceties.' Bauman considers Marty's work to be a '*catalogue raisonée'* of tempo types in Mozart's music',[888] and Marty indeed covers every work of Mozart's, assigning metronome speeds to each tempo that he codifies. Marty begins with a basic Italian tempo designation (for example, a*llegro andante*), which is then often qualified (*un poco andante*, *allegro assai* etc.). He then notes the metre – though he does not concern himself solely with the '*meter per se* but the perceived relationship between metrical units.' [889] Marty's work is ingenious, although ultimately it imposes a laborious system upon tempi – codifying metronome speeds across an *oeuvre* written before the existence of that device. His calculations for the tempi of *Don Giovanni* are found in Appendix B. An interesting comparison between the work of Marty (tempo theory) and that of Frederick Neumann (ornamentation) can be seen in relation to the Overture to *Le nozze di Figaro*. Marty assigns to Mozart's *Presto* indication a maximum tempo of ♩ 276 (by using crotchet pulse Marty is responding to Mozart's time signature of C (common) time).[890] This works out at 𝅗𝅥 132, which can be considered a typical modern tempo for this number. In contrast, Neumann works from the perspective of the turns, which, he notes should ideally be played before the beat and suggests a maximum of 𝅗𝅥 120.

Other commentators have identified other influences upon determining a tempo – the size of a singer's voice or the size of a theatre or the physicality of a particular production. Hans Swarowsky, notes in '*Kritisches zum Opernbetrieb*',[891] that the language an opera is given in can be crucial to phrasing and tempo. This is significant when considering tempo traditions that have been handed down, as historically Mozart operas were very often given in translation. With regard to the Zerlina/Don Giovanni duet in Act 1 of *Don Giovanni*, Swarowsky notes that:

> *Don Giovanni geht im Original im fließenden 2/4 leicht und reizend unbeschwert dahin, zwanglos in das gleiche Zeitmaß im 6/8 Abschlußteil mündend. Das kitschige Pathos der Übersetzung würde dieses echte Mozart-Andante als viel zu schnell erscheinen lassen, und es hat sich den auch ein schleppendes 4/8 eingebürgert ... das den Character des Stückes vernichete. Im Italienischen haben wir zwei Schwerpunkte in vier Takten: 'Là ci darem la mano, Là mi dirai di si', gegen sechs im Deutschen: 'Reich mir die Hand mein Leben, komm auf mein Schloß mit mir'. Wie soll das Tempo, das noch im Grunde nichts als Schwerpunktverteilung ist, getroffen werden!*[892]

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886   Ibid.
887   Thomas Bauman, ' 'The Tempo Indications of Mozart, by Jean-Pierre Marty', *Performance Practice Review* 4, 1 (1991).
888   Ibid 96.
889   Ibid.
890   Marty, *The Tempo Indications of Mozart*, 169.
891   Swarowsky and Huss, *Wahrung Der Gestalt: Schriften Über Werk U. Wiedergabe, Stil U. Interpretation in D. Musik*, 178–90.
892   Ibid 182–3. Translation: '*Don Giovanni* sings in the original [Italian] a flowing 2/4, light and charming. [The music] casually flows in the same tempo into the 6/8 closing section. The kitchy pathos of the translation makes this true Mozart Andante seem much too fast, leading to a dragging 4/8 being introduced, which destroys the character of the piece. In Italian there are two stresses over four bars: 'Là ci darem la mano, Là mi dirai di si', as opposed to six in the German: 'Reich mir die Hand mein Leben, komm auf mein Schloß mit mir. 'How can the

Tempo remains inextricably bound up with language of the opera, as can be seen in the following translations of Zerlina's 'patter':

Giovinette che fate all'amore, che fate all'amore, non lasciate che passi l'età (Don Giovanni No. 5, Zerlina original Italian text)

versus

All ihr Mädchen, der Liebe ergeben, der Liebe ergeben, nützt die Zeit jetzt, der Winter ist nah[893] (German singing translation by Walter Dürr c1977).

or

O ihr Mädchen, zur Liebe geboren, zur Liebe geboren, auf benützet die blühende Zeit[894] (Translation by Georg Schünemann, c1939).

or

Pretty maidens, it lies in your power, it lies in your power, With the summer of life still in bloom[895] (Translation by J. Wrey Mould, c1850).

or

All you lasses who like to be courted, who like to be courted, Do not waste all your chances in play[896] (Translation by Edward J. Dent c1946).

Another issue influencing tempo is the size of the theatre. In 1875, Moreno, in discussing *Don Giovanni* at the Paris Opéra, speaks of 'the Opéra's regrettable tendencies to slow down indefinitely the recitatives and most of the numbers in our operatic masterworks'.[897] The scale of the Opéra forced works to adapt to it – they all became in effect, aggrandised. Table 10 reproduces a series of timings for *Così fan tutte*, compiled by Wulf Kunold and published by the Universität Bayreuth,[898] which makes comparisons (through timings, rather than metronome markings) in significant gramophone recordings of this opera.

	Busch 1935	Karajan 1954	Böhm 1955	Böhm 1962	Jochum 1962	Leinsdorf 1968	Suitner 1970	Klemperer 1972	Solti 1974	Böhm 1974	Davis 1974	Lombard 1978
Ouvertura	4'03	4'06	4'25	4'20	4'10	4'11	4'22	4'34	4'08	4'39	4'21	4'32

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tempo, that is basically nothing more than an expression of these stresses, be correctly found?'

893 Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Lorenzo Da Ponte and Walther Dürr, *Don Giovanni: Dramma Giocoso in Zwei Akten*: Kv 527: Textbuch, Italienisch/Deutsch, Mozarts Italienische Texte Mit Deutscher Übersetzung (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1977).

894 Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart et al., *Don Giovanni* (Leipzig,: C. F. Peters, 1939).

895 Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Don Juan; or the Libertine Punished*. (Il *Don Giovanni*) Ossia (Il Dissoluto Punito). Founded on the Spanish Tale of L. Triso De Molina by the Abbé Da Ponte and Rendered into English from the Italian by J. Wrey Mould. Revised from the Orchestral Score by W. S. Rockstro (London: T. Boosey and Co, 1850).

896 Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Ernst Roth, *Don Giovanni. Opera in Two Acts.* Words by Lorenzo Da Ponte. English Version by Edward J. Dent. Vocal Score by Ernest Roth (London, etc.: Boosey and Hawkes, 1947).

897 Gibbons, *Building the Operatic Museum: Eighteenth-Century Opera in Fin-De-Siècle Paris*, 38–9.

898 Wulf Konold, 'Così fan tutte auf der Schallplatte. Bemerkungen zu einer medienspezifischen Rezeption', Susanne Vill, *Così Fan Tutte Beiträge Zur Wirkungsgeschichte Von Mozarts Oper, Schriften Zum Musiktheater* (Bayreuth: Mühl, 1978), 232–4.

Terzetto No. 1	1'49	1'45	1'54	1'58	1'45	1'57	1'50	2'08	1'49	1'52	1'52	1'56
Terzetto No. 2	1'19	1'18	1'09	1'12	1'14	1'08	1'08	1'23	0'57	1'08	1'07	1'16
Terzetto No. 3	2'09	2'16	2'13	2'19	2'07	2'19	2'13	2'39	2'18	2'12	2'11	2'13
Duetto No. 4	4'54	4'38	4'34	4'42	4'22	4'42	4'30	5'32	3'34	4'37	3'30	4'59
Aria No. 5	0'36	0'40	0'36	0'37	0'37	0'40	0'35	0'51	0'36	0'36	0'37	0'41
Quintetto No. 6	4'36	4'36	3'30(K)	4'45	4'24	4'50	3'58	5'42	4'30	3'23(K)	4'29	4'22
Duettino No. 7	-	-	-	-	-	1'15	1'10	-	1'25	-	1'15	-
Coro No. 8	1'32	1'45	0'45(K)	1'45	1'31	1'31	1'42	1'38	1'33	0'50(K)	1'33	1'34
Quintetto No. 9 [8a]	2'39	2'36	2'47	2'44	2'36	2'50	2'21	2'56	2'37	2'48	2'43	2'57
Terzettino No. 10	2'51	3'17	2'47	3'01	3'00	3'10	2'49	3'12	2'51	2'57	2'58	3'03
Recitativo and Arioso (Scena VII)	1'34	0'49(K)	-	0'57	0'57	0'57	0'56	1'11	0'57	1'08	1'01	1'10
Recitativo and Accompagnato (Scena VIII)	2'00	2'15	1'56	1'45	2'08	2'03	1'57	2'20	2'18	2'08	2'13	2'23
Aria No. 11	1'46	2'15	1'20(K)	1'56	2'06	2'05	1'45	2'38	1'43	1'48	2'03	2'01
Aria No. 12	2'14	2'17	2'37	2'33	2'24	2'39	2'43	3'03	2'36	2'34	2'42	2'29
Sestetto No. 13	4'27	4'35	4'28	4'37	4'17	4'37	4'15	5'30	4'12	4'28	4'23	4'40
Aria No. 14	4'20	3'34	4'27	4'27	4'27	4'39	4'18	5'00	4'16	4'28	4'07	4'20
Aria No. 15	1'25	1'27	1'25	1'25	1'27	1'39	1'12	1'43	1'30	1'30	1'38	1'49
Terzetto No. 16	0'50	0'59	0'51	0'56	0'53	0'50	0'55	0'57	0'51	0'53	0'48	0'52
Aria No. 17	4'15	4'33	4'48	4'38	4'35	4'37	4'32	5'11	4'20	5'13	4'36	5'05

Finale No. 18	18'16	18'23	16'59(K)	18'20	18'16	18'59	17'30(K)	22'30	17'56	17'32(K)	18'26	20'00
Aria No. 19	3'19	3'05	2'41(K)	3'50	3'24	3'32	3'44	4'05	3'27	2'52	3'30	3'39
Duetto No. 20	2'49	3'02	2'53	3'02	2'57	2'50	3'38	3'34	2'48	2'45	3'00	3'10
Duetto No. 21	3'17	3'03	3'24	2'52	3'25	2'59	2'55	3'41	2'56	3'09	3'10	4'02
Quartetto No. 22	2'29	2'33	2'48	2'49	2'44	2'27	2'30	3'10	2'30	2'46	2'36	2'39
Duetto No. 23	4'31	4'20	4'13	4'35	4'13	4'19	4'13	5'32	4'06	4'52	5'25	5.06
Aria No. 24	-	-	-	-	-	4'51	-	-	4'27	-	4'06	-
Rondò No. 25	7'26	7'30	6'12(K)	6'57	7'04	7'07	-	7'40	7'15	7'25	7'25	8'00
Aria No. 26	2'44	3'00	2'31(K)	3'10	2'46	3'00	2'37	3'38	2'51	2.33(K)	3'02	3'10
Cavatina No. 27	-	2'02	-	2'17	2'06	2'04	1'56	2'27	1'45	-	2'00	2'02
Aria No. 28	-	3.05	-	2'39	3'04	3'15	3'28	4'32	2'55	-	3'24	3'36
Duetto No. 29	5'51	6'23	4'45(K)	5'59	6'23	6'53	5'44	7'08	6'05	4'40(K)	6'10	7'02
Andante No. 30	0'57	1'00	0'58	1'04	0'55	0'54	0'56	1'17	0'57	1'00	1'03	1'00
Finale No. 31	19'40(K)	22.20	17'33(K)	20'45	20'02	21'50	17'12(K)	26'10	20'00	17'33(K)	21'16	20'12

Table 10. Timings for *Così fan tutte*, a comparison of 12 performances under 10 conductors, also indicating '(K)' numbers that contain cuts. [899]

Renowned Mozart conductor Leopold Heger discusses in an interview (1999) discusses the recordings he has made during his career and his relationship to them. Heger says 'I did records thirty years ago which I would say the musical things are OK and also maybe the spirit, but the times change and *tempi,* which were good at that time, maybe now are too slow or do not have the same feeling. But it is the time [that] transform[s] you.'[900]

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899   Ibid.
900   Quoted in: www.bruceduffie.com/hager.html accessed 10.10.14.

On the existence of a Mozart Style

> *Pianists peep out from every corner. To a man and at all ages, they are occupied with what seems to be the central aesthetic problem in music today: the creation of an acceptable style-convention for performing Mozart.*[901]

Any discussion of the performance of Mozart's works must acknowledge and address the widely invoked, but rarely defined 'Mozart Style'. In an attempt to come to terms with the phenomenon, one of the acknowledged masters of the performance of Mozart's operatic works, Richard Strauss, wrote the following passage in 1944:

> *It has become customary to treat this, the most sublime of all composers, as a 'rococo artist' and to present his works as the essence of grace and playfulness. Although it is true that he is the composer who solved all 'problems' as it were, before they were even raised and that he divested passion of all earthly taint, attaining so to speak, a bird's eye view of it, his work, although it is transfigured, ethereal and far from harsh reality, embraces the entire range of human emotions, from the monumental and gloomy grandeur of the supper scene in Don Giovanni to the delicacy of the arias of Zerlina, the heavenly frivolity of Figaro and the detached irony of Così fan tutte. If not to the same extent, but with no less intensity, his non-dramatic creations run the whole gamut of human emotion. It is senseless as well as superficial to postulate a uniform Mozartian style for the performance of these infinitely delicate and highly articulate psychological studies.*[902]

In an interview from 1981, Nikolaus Harnoncourt stated unequivocally and with less preamble than Strauss: '*Ganz einfach gesagt: Nach meiner Meinung gibt es keinen 'Mozart-Stil''*.[903] When asked about interpretations that fulfilled some ideal in Mozart interpretation, Harnoncourt cited a piano concerto, played by Leonard Bernstein; the G minor symphony (K550) under the direction of Pablo Casals; and the opera performances conducted by Fritz Busch in Glyndebourne.[904] This selection emphasises the fact that since the advent of recordings, data has been gathering that goes beyond the memory of one generation, so that it is now to possible to look back a century or more and define and quantify exemplary examples of Mozart performance among less inspired, eccentric, unconventional or even perverse readings. As recorded data continues to multiply, it becomes clear that 'Mozart style' embraces a plurality of styles and that it changes quantifiably over time. Harnoncourt notes that '*Mozart-Stil ist, wie wir heute Mozart interpretieren.*'[905] Some readings from the past may appear a harbinger of things to come – such as Toscanini's performances of *Die Zauberflöte* in Salzburg (1937), which were notably faster than other performances of the time and which came to be seen as prophetic when the recordings of the historically informed performance school became available. Harnoncourt states without reservation that there is no such thing as an unbroken Mozart tradition stemming from the composer (if it had

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901   Virgil Thompson, in Nicholas Kenyon, *The Faber Pocket Guide to Mozart* (London: Faber and Faber, 2005), 143.

902   Richard Strauss and Willi Schuh, *Recollections and Reflections* (London; New York: Boosey and Hawkes, 1953), 75;

903   Harnoncourt, *Mozart-Dialoge Gedanken Zur Gegenwart Der Musik*, 118. 'Quite simply, in my opinion there is no 'Mozart Style'.

904   Ibid.

905   Ibid. 'Mozart style is how we interpret Mozart today.'

not been lost or endangered, musicians such as Tomaschek would not be trying so hard to describe and define it). He considers that in the first thirty years of the nineteenth century any line of tradition from Mozart himself was lost, only to be replaced by musicians such as the Schumanns and Joachim, who refound Mozart and proceeded '*auf ihre Art Mozart zu spielen.*'[906] Harnoncourt also describes a later shift, at the time of Mahler, where he recognises a '*sehr notwendigen Reinigung des Musizierens*'[907] that also removed much that was valuable. Invoking a parallel with painting, Harnoncourt says that the cleaning solution was too strong and that when one cleans a beautiful old painting with *Salzsäure* it can happen that finally all that is left is the canvas.[908]

Riccardo Muti, interviewed in 2006,[909] describes a similar plurality of Mozart performance styles:

> *there's a good deal of confusion because there are so many ways. The emphasis on 'period' style is partly to blame, because it tempts us into believing that an orchestra such as the Vienna Philharmonic, long thought of as Mozartian, is actually wrong for Mozart. So this is a good opportunity to study the meaning of style. Ultimately there can be no correct answer because you can't recreate artificially a world that doesn't exist anymore. You have only to listen to Beecham's performances to realise they were not only exciting but absolutely true. He didn't know about philological matters. The sound may well be different from Mozart's time, but the phrasing is right and the style so beautiful that Mozart would surely have approved.[910]*

Having accepted that HIP exponents have confused matters considerably in defining a Mozart style, Muti states that it is impossible to reproduce Mozart's music exactly as it was done in his lifetime. While this is true, there is a great deal of information about performance practice in Mozart's time. In fact, there is a great deal of information that pertains not only to Mozart but equally to his contemporaries, Sarti, Salieri, Cimarosa et al. The notion of 'Mozart Style' is a red herring to the extent that it often precludes Mozart's contemporaries and sets his work mysteriously apart from the musical conventions of his time. Harnoncourt is of the opinion that 'He (Mozart) wrote in the musical language of his time. However he makes everything a little better. He writes in the same style as Haydn, he writes like Dittersdorf and Salieri.'[911] Harnoncourt demystifies, whereas Muti deifies and finds a truth ['Truth'] in the classic recordings of Beecham, which are cast clearly in a style that has its roots in the nineteenth century. Against this, Harnoncourt elsewhere ('*Die Tradition des Ungeschriebenen in Mozarts Musik*', 1974)[912] argues that defining a style for Mozart is far more challenging than for Baroque music. In the case of Baroque music, the performance traditions had completely died out, so that developing a performance tradition began as a *tabula rasa*, with the direct study of scores and contemporary treatises. The problem in Mozart is that an accepted language of performance existed (carried through from what developed in the later nineteenth century) and individuals were often labelled

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906   Harnoncourt, *Mozart-Dialoge Gedanken Zur Gegenwart Der Musik*, 123. 'To play Mozart in their own way.'

907   Ibid 119.

908   Ibid.

909   George Henry Hubert Lascelles Earl of Harewood, Opera (London: Opera, 1950–). January 2006, 12–13.

910   Ibid. 12.

911   Harnoncourt, *Mozart-Dialoge Gedanken Zur Gegenwart Der Musik*, 333.

912   Ibid 126.

as a 'Mozart conductor' or a 'Mozart singer'. Harnoncourt believes that over many years a false picture of Mozart style has been created and accepted, one that has gradually been modified, but always been developed with the limitation of inherited baggage.[913]

Some of that baggage can be identified in Muti's 'truth', which enters into religious spheres:

> *And the musical language seems so perfect that it's as if it comes direct from God. Mozart makes us realise how imperfect we are, but he also speaks of a perfection somewhere else ... This sounds a bit like a confessional and atheists may think I'm ridiculous, but Mozart stimulates theological, social and philosophical discussions in a way no other composer does.[914]*

While eschewing a theological discussion, Sir Charles Mackerras (2006), like Muti, alights upon Beecham's Mozart interpretations as a stylistic model.[915] Mackerras notes the influence of his teacher and mentor, Václav Talich whose Mozart he describes as 'very much of the old school, extremely precise, rather slow in tempo, rooted in the tradition of the recent East European past'.[916] Mackerras found Beecham to be a panacea to this approach:

> *...the one with the right idea about Mozart at that time. That was Thomas Beecham. He wasn't interested in musicology or authenticity at all. He just conducted the music as he felt it, with a beautiful lightness and that Mozartian sense of 'smiling through tears.[917]*

Mackerras then touches on some specific characteristics that he believes sets Mozart apart:

> *You never knew when the music would go dark through a few bars, turn into a minor key and then come out into the light again. That is what makes Mozart different from J.C. Bach, Paisiello and Cimarosa. He has such variety of harmony and colour, which he uses to paint the characters in his operas and Beecham felt that instinctively.[918]*

During the postwar period, Mackerras was active in the revival of a number of period stylistic aspects in his Mozart performances, particularly ornamentation, cadenzas and improvisation. These will be investigated in due course.

The Mozart performances and recordings of both Herbert von Karajan and Karl Böhm have become targets when it comes to locating a conservative Mozart style rooted in the nineteenth century.[919] Böhm set down some thoughts on Mozart interpretation during the mid-century[920] that give insights into his performance aesthetic and equally point to the difficulty in defining a 'Mozart Style'.

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913   Ibid. German original paraphrased in English by the present author.
914   Harewood, *Opera*. Jan 2006, 13.
915   Ibid. Jan 2006, 20 –27. 'A Mozartian Journey' Charles Mackerras talks to Richard Fairman.
916   Ibid. Jan 2006, 21.
917   Ibid. Jan 2006, 21.
918   Ibid. Jan 2006, 21.
919   See, for example: http://www.nytimes.com/1990/04/01/arts/recordings-harnoncourt-s-mozart-shows-steady-growth.html 'the plush sleekness of the post-World-War II Viennese Mozart style epitomised by Herbert von Karajan.' (Para. 7). Also Harnoncourt, *Mozart-Dialoge Gedanken Zur Gegenwart Der Musik*, 145.
920   Karl Böhm, 'Problems in Mozart', *Opera Annual*, ed. Harold Rosenthal, (London: John Calder, 1955), 46–8.

The ultimate ambition of the reproductive artist should be an authentic rendering in the spirit of the creator. But who is going to decide whether a performance is authentic? ... It can superficially be said that a performance is authentic when it follows the composer's intentions down to the smallest detail, that is of dynamic and tempo. But every musician knows that the finest nuances of dynamic and stress are not to be found in the score. Sometimes it is the tiniest modification of tempo or expressive nuance that shows one for the first time what the composer really meant. ... But there is also the Law of Changing Styles. It is not just a matter of individual differences of conception within a single period; conception as a whole changes with the passing of time. Styles change because the concept of style alters. ...

Let us then distinguish two Mozartian ideals whose supremacy has shifted with passing time. The Mozart image of our predecessors was the Rococo Mozart; it was confined to a world which one can characterise by the concepts 'Charm' and 'Gracefulness'. The utterances of great men can often have an unfortunate and preoccupying effect: this is true of the phrase 'Genius of light and love' which Wagner coined to describe Mozart. Its implications led people to view the Master of Salzburg from an almost completely wrong angle ... The other familiar Mozartian ideal is perceptibly more virile. It is influenced by the idea of the revolutionary which we have been learning, more and more, to recognise in Mozart. In contrast to the charming, graceful genius of light and love, it has its fiery, even Faustian elements. ...

With Figaro ... we observe ... the undisguised spirit of the revolution. ... by recognising Mozart's greatness we are able to see through the trade marks of Rococo –the commedia dell'arte types have become the complete, individual human beings in whom Eros ... inspires action and adventure. Have we not today acquired quite other ears from our ancestors for the fire of Mozart's melody? Does anyone listening to the Figaro overture still think of the saccharine world which a previous generation considered Mozartian?

And Die Zauberflöte! For adherents of the 'Rococo master' view its problems must have seemed incomprehensible. ... The old Mozartian ideal made it necessary to lay principal stress on the pantomime element in Die Zauberflöte. Yet Schikaneder's apparently primitive libretto throws open the door on the world of mysteries, with its gospel of broad humanity. An understanding of the aims of Freemasonry enables us to see the opera as an esoteric drama of initiation. We, for whom Wagner's Parsifal has become a most treasured experience, can at least pierce the forward-looking novelty of Mozart's work; and we may wonder if our own age is not the first to have found the way to a right understanding of the profound utterances in this fairytale. ...

Nothing would be more misleading than to expound, let alone decree, a comprehensive Mozartian style valid for all his works and all time.[921]

It could be conjectured that the preoccupation with a specifically Mozart style can be attributed to the later nineteenth century when, in relation to the operas several issues became apparent:

a) They were performed in versions that were so far from the originals that a great deal of study and research needed to be done in order to retrieve the original texts and rediscover what Mozart actually wrote. The appearance of the AMA brought a sense of certainty to this.

b) The growing foothold in the repertory of the operas of Wagner, resulting in a dilemma whereby Mozart became 'music of the past' – a hitherto unprecedented situation where one style became superseded by another

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921   Ibid.

while the 'old' style maintained a strong presence, therefore blurring and confusing the aesthetic of performing styles.

Along with the production of authentic scores came a crisis in the understanding of the many unwritten nuances that existed between the notes – as stated by Karl Böhm above, such nuances are not to be found in the score. To give just one example, as Mozart's works predate the metronome, uncertainty about exactly what his tempo indications meant grew ever more ambiguous. Hans Gál in his article '*The Right Tempo*' [922] states that 'It is not generally realised that many misinterpretations are caused by a wrong perception of the meaning of tempo indications in the music of earlier times. It has not been observed that this meaning has undergone a change in the course of the last century and that our use of tempo indications is fundamentally different from that in Mozart's and Beethoven's time.'[923]

On the subject of tempo, both Karl Böhm[924] and Richard Strauss[925] mention the aria of Zerlina (*Don Giovanni* No. 12) and her duet with Don Giovanni (No. 7) as examples of numbers where no change in tempo should take place in the alternation of metre between 2/4 and 6/8. This seems obvious, but both conductors found it a point that needed reinforcing in print. Likewise, Strauss notes a misunderstanding (which he must have witnessed on a number of occasions) that grew up around Wagner's comment that Mozart's allegros 'should be played as fast as possible'. 'Quite, but not *twice as fast* as possible' says Strauss,[926] and goes on to mention the *Figaro* overture and the Act 2 finale, as well as the *Così* Act 1 finale, which he states are usually played too fast. To make his point, Strauss supplies metronome marks (♩ 136 for *Così* (bar 485) and ♩ 128 for *Figaro* (bar 697).[927] It is telling that Wagner stopped writing metronome marks in his scores after *Tannhäuser* (1843-5), preferring to write subjective indications in the vernacular, whereas performers such as Strauss used metronome marks in order to reconstruct and clarify Mozartian tempi. Reliable editions reproduced Mozart's texts, but there was still much in a Mozart score that was unwritten and not easily understood by musicians over one hundred years after the fact. This is summed up by Mackerras:

> *Because Mozart was regarded – rightly – as being so much better than the other composers of the period, it was thought that therefore we should take far more notice of what he wrote. Whereas I agree that every little flourish of his pen had to be studied if you want to get to the crux of his music, I believed it wasn't necessary to perform the score exactly as it is written. In particular, there were two important issues: the use of appoggiaturas and the length of notes.[928]*

Perhaps as a backlash against this realisation, the NMA was not universally adopted as a performance resource. In his book '*Mozart the Golden Years 1781–1791*' published in 1989, H.C. Robbins Landon[929] states that 'it is astonishing how little of all this scholarly thinking and research reaches the general reader. The *NMA*

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922   http://www.hansgal.com/storage/writings/tempo.pdf Accessed 12.8.14.
923   Ibid.
924   http://www.hansgal.com/storage/writings/tempo.pdf Accessed 12.8.14, 48.
925   *Opera Annual; Strauss and Schuh, Recollections and Reflections*, 48.
926   Ibid 45–6.
927   Ibid.
928   Harewood, *Opera*. Jan 2006, 22.
929   H. C. Robbins Landon, *Mozart, the Golden Years, 1781–1791*, 1st American ed. (New York: Schirmer Books, 1989).

is not always used, even in cultural centres like Vienna.'[930] He recalls 'only recently I had to insist on the use of the *NMA* for the Deutsche Grammophon recordings of the Mozart symphonies played by the Vienna Philharmonic and conducted by James Levine; they had begun to record the music using the old Breitkopf edition, because the Archives of the Vienna Philharmonic did not possess most of the scores and parts of the *NMA*.'[931]

Robbins Landon states his case quite patiently in comparison with conductor Erich Leinsdorf, who forcefully sums up the opposing view:

> *The editors of the Neue Mozart Ausgabe (NMA) succeeded in getting their 'complete Mozart' accepted as an indispensable authority. Yet, while it shows the usual differences of scholarship and judgement (ranging from excellence to just plain bad), the NMA should by rights be called 'An Uncritical Edition of the Complete Mozart.*

> *The NMA is the ultimate achievement of what might politely be called the 'positivist' school of musicology (and I did not invent that term, I borrowed it from Joseph Kerman). If I understand the word positivist correctly, it refers to a compendium of texts, which are faithfully copied (with modern clefs replacing old C-clefs; tenor voice parts printed à la Ricordi: treble clefs with an 8 underneath; and, in some volumes, printed appoggiaturas and suspensions from below).*

> *Whenever I plan to perform a work by Mozart I consult the relevant volume of the NMA.., but I cannot use any NMA symphony parts without considerable editing. They are no more performable than the Haydn editions of Robbins-Landon. Some volumes must have been edited by people who know nothing about violin bowing or the habits of composers who indicate a specific phrasing only on its first appearance, leaving it to the performer to apply the pattern whenever the same or a similar phrasing returns. The academic nonperformers among musicologists, who know nothing of these conventions, appear to believe that painstaking observation of the printed text is all there is to playing, singing, performing and interpreting. This is not the case at all. The old Breitkopf[932] edition of Mozart's works was edited throughout and every score in that edition was therefore performable. Realizing that the Breitkopf text was edited, every competent performer was at liberty to re-edit according to his (or her) lights. ... Every conductor knows that violin soloists treat printed violin parts very freely and in my opinion this is certainly better than pedantically following an uncritical edition.[933]*

While this may sound like a lot of huffing and puffing, it should be said that Leinsdorf, who had been an assistant to Toscanini, was considered a fine, though occasionally eccentric Mozart interpreter and recordings such as his *Così fan tutte*[934] have become classics that remain in the catalogue.

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930   Ibid 7.
931   Ibid 238, Introduction, fn 1.
932   He is referring to the AMA.
933   Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597–1940*, 70.
934   *Mozart: Cosi fan tutte* (RCA, 6677-2-RG). http://articles.philly.com/1993-10-21/entertainment/25936724_1_boston-symphony-conductors-erich-leinsdorf Accessed 5.6.15.

Authenticity

Mozart is usually sung with too much delicacy, as though the singer were on tiptoes, when his music should be performed with the same frankness and bel canto approach one would use in Il trovatore, for example. Mozart, after all, was a master of bel canto… so sing Mozart as though he were Verdi.[935]

In the later twentieth century the HIP movement worked forwards through musical history, reaching Mozart in the final decades and providing an alternative to performance styles that remained in the thrall of the nineteenth century. The HIP practitioners 'treated him [Mozart] as an eighteenth-century composer whose style grew out of the conventions of the baroque.'[936] These different approaches and emphases are by no means antithetical or exclusive to one another. Gruber (1994)[937] notes that at the time he was writing, the Vienna Philharmonic performed Mozart with James Levine, Leonard Bernstein and Nikolaus Harnoncourt.

Gruber is however dismissive of the HIP movement:

Has the cult of 'the authentic' brought anything new into performance practice? The desire to cleanse Mozart's music of distortions has been an ambition since the beginning of the Mozart renaissance of this century. It has, apparently, got nowhere, even if it does keep bringing novelties in train. Faithfulness to the original has to seek its way between the letter and the spirit of music and hence became 'that concept which is most dearly understood', as its advocate Paumgartner explained. … The urge to achieve historical veracity in music can lead to a false rigidity – false, because researches into the performance practices of Mozart's time show that these practices were going through a period of transition and were by no means strictly uniform. The tension between spirit and letter is, besides, linked to the necessity of obtaining a compromise between historical differences of quality on the one hand and a commitment to the practices of the present on the other.'[938]

The HIP movement has exerted a significant impact upon performance practice, particularly through recorded media. The authenticity espoused is not always as pure as one might expect – for example Harnoncourt's early foray into the Mozart operas in 1980 (*Idomeneo*) was 'not with his period-instrument Concentus Musicus but with the 'modern' musicians of the Zurich Opera House.'[939] Such a hybrid approach is still employed by Harnoncourt and a regular solution in opera houses, where a modern orchestra is retained on salary, but performances that reflect aspects of authenticity are desired. The opera-loving public of today can also invite authenticity into their homes, savouring historically aware performances on CD and DVD. A recent recording of *Don Giovanni* conducted by Roger Norrington (2004)[940] presents all of the music of both versions, allowing listeners to program their own, preferred version. The influence of the HIP movement is present in the

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935   Maria Callas, in *Callas at Juilliard*, Solman, Mozartiana: *Two Centuries of Notes, Quotes and Anecdotes about Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart*, 77–8.

936   Harnoncourt, *Mozart-Dialoge Gedanken Zur Gegenwart Der Musik*, 144.

937   Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, 229.

938   Ibid 228.

939   Harnoncourt, *Mozart-Dialoge Gedanken Zur Gegenwart Der Musik*, 145.

940   Mozart, *Don Giovanni*, Schmidt, Miles, Halgrimson, Dawson, Ainsley, Yurisich, Argenta, Finley; Schütz Choir of London, London Classical Players/Roger Norrington. EMI http://www.allmusic.com/album/mozart-don-giovanni-prague-and-vienna-versions-die-zauberflöte-mw0001848037/credits Accessed 12.12.14.

modern opera museum and today it is usual to find Mozart operas being played by a small body of strings, described as a 'Mozart orchestra',[941] with the likely substitute of natural trumpets and Baroque timpani. This kind of hybrid approach is typical of Charles Mackerras,[942] for example and also Nikolaus Harnoncourt, who both work with modern, period and also hybrid forces. One of the enemies of progress would seem to be the institutionalised Central European opera house, with its repertoire system and its systematic revival of existing productions over long periods – even decades. Works spanning several centuries and wide genres can be scheduled in close proximity over any given period creating challenges for a HIP or hybrid approach. Ever more in central Europe, 'time is money' determining artistic outcomes, and the opportunity to take time out to explore new trends in Mozart performance practice remains a rare and expensive luxury.

While the stylistic aspects of Mozart performance in the opera house may be constrained by fiscal concerns, recordings offer a much wider opportunity for experimentation. Michael Tanner (2006)[943] reviewed reissued sets of Mozart operas conducted by Harnoncourt and Barenboim, using the opportunity to define polar opposites in approach. Tanner notes that with J.S. Bach, the interpretations of Leonhardt, Harnoncourt, Goodman, Brüggen, Gardiner, Hogwood and Norrington are just as different and idiosyncratic as Toscanini, Klemperer, Furtwängler and Mengelberg in Beethoven. Tanner explores the dividing line between authentic practice and 'traditional' performances,[944] citing the unalike-ness of Kleiber, Giulini and Klemperer in relation to Gardiner, Östman and Jacobs. Tanner concludes:

> *In the end, tritely, it is a matter of style and taste. If a conductor has those, it will seem a comparatively trivial matter whether or not he gets his strings to play with vibrato. If he dosen't, all the correctness anyone can inform him about won't do anything to salvage his performances. I don't trust Harnoncourt at all on style and taste – in fact, it seems to me that sometimes he must be making a point of cultivating tastelessness. Barenboim seems to me a much more reliable musician and artist – but there is a lack of genuine, as opposed to willed, spontaneity in what he does, so his music-making often lacks naturalness. All things being equal, period practices may be preferred; but all things never are equal, especially not in the creation of great operas.[945]*

The influence of the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*

Just as the AMA became a driving force in Mozart scholarship during the later nineteenth century, so the NMA has enabled performers to reassess received wisdom about the works they believed they knew and discover new insights into Mozart style. Like its predecessor, the NMA was slow to be disseminated and accepted by performers. Writing in 1962, the Badura-Skodas noted that 'one still comes across the fallacy that the old complete edition published by Breitkopf und Härtel between 1876 and 1886 (*Alte Mozart Ausgabe*) offers an authentic 'original

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941   But see Harnoncourt, *Mozart-Dialoge Gedanken Zur Gegenwart Der Musik*, 122, on the issue of the size of a 'Mozart-Orchestra'. '*Man kann nicht eine Besetzung für Mozart schlechthin nennen.*'

942   For comments by Mackerras on this practice see: Harewood, Opera. Jan. 2006, 24–5.

943   Harewood, *Opera*. January 2006, 28–32.

944   Ibid 32.

945   Ibid.

text'.[946] The expense of the NMA (published mainly between 1955 and 1991) was a factor in its slow reception, with competition from many inexpensive editions reproduced from out-of-copyright AMA sources. In addition, the NMA was slow to produce performance material (orchestral parts), meaning that conductors had access to latest scholarship, but were faced with orchestras playing from material dating from the nineteenth century. Many of the revised readings noted in the NMA had been known by research-aware conductors over the years and in many theatres existing material was corrected according to the NMA by librarians as new readings became available. Thus, in the operatic realm, the revisions found in the NMA have been adopted gradually and selectively. In addition, significant source material for the Mozart operas was unavailable (thought lost) until fairly recently, material having disappeared from the Berlin State Library during WWII.[947] Operas affected by this situation included *Figaro* (acts 3 and 4), *Idomeneo* and particularly *Così*, the publication of which was delayed until 1991.

Aspects of the NMA's policies have not been without critics. Cliff Eisen, in his article of 1991[948] includes a discussion with a panel of Mozartians about the NMA. László Somfai[949] describes a situation when, after the publication of the 'Prague' Symphony (K504), the autograph became available in Kraków. This enabled Somfai to revise the edition that he made for the NMA and it quickly reached Christopher Hogwood, who promptly recorded it. Somfai notes that the speed with which a recording can be produced, as opposed to the revision of a scholarly edition meant that 'so far [1991] the only good NMA-based version of the 'Prague' Symphony is not a printed one, but a recorded one!'[950] Somfai further discussed the limitations of the edition:

> *The NMA is an institution with subscribers who provided their money many years ago and as such is an inflexible affair; unfortunately I am on the central council and thus an insider. When the autograph of the 'Prague' turned up I … asked if I could make a new edition. They said it was impossible. So I suggested revising the pocket score, which is often reprinted and they said this would present business and legal complications because the subscribers would have a worse edition than those who bought the pocket score! There must now be a new edition of the work with a facsimile of the autograph.[951]*

Robert Levin expanded on this view:

> *In 1981 an important meeting of the NMA was held in Kassel, devoted particularly to the importance of the autograph manuscripts that had turned up in Kraków. The edition had a serious problem: what to do about the pieces which had already been edited without the autograph and what about the editions whose scores had appeared but whose critical commentaries were still lacking. Of course, where nothing had appeared there were no problems, but a very large number of works had been edited without the benefit of the autographs. One of the proposals that came out of the meeting was that the practical editions arising from the NMA could be changed, but that the original NMA text could not because that would be inconsistent. But some scholars objected to the solution on the grounds that the primary edition should not be worse than the secondary editions. That view says something about German views*

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946 http://www.franzmfg.com/history.htm Accessed 14.2.15, 129.
947 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Neue_Mozart-Ausgabe Accessed 25.10.14.
948 Cliff Eisen, 'The Old and New Mozart Editions', *Early Music XIX*, 4 (1991).
949 Ibid 530.
950 Ibid.
951 Ibid.

of absolute consistency! ... In fairness to Bärenreiter it should be added that this is a private company with no capital and they were very reliant on foundations to support their work.'[952]

These issues are not always evident to performers who have a generalised, even naive belief in the Bärenreiter edition as the ultimate Mozart text. New study scores of the operas continue to appear, with revisions to the original texts where new discoveries have been made. Piano-vocal scores have proliferated, with formats, piano reductions and other aspects of the scores being superseded – so it is no longer a question of using a Bärenreiter vocal score, but which printing (often with new page layouts and page numbers, causing frustrations and misunderstandings in rehearsal).[953] In using the NMA for the performance of operas, there are a number of factors that require consideration. In 1991 (the situation has since changed somewhat) Bernard Levin bewailed the fact:

> *that the vast majority of pieces published in the NMA have not been issued in parts. And it is something of a scandal that this edition, which says in the very first paragraph of its introduction that it is designed not just as a scholarly tool but also as a practical edition, has been absolutely derelict in that respect.*[954]

In the intervening years Bärenreiter have been active in making their edition more accessible, both in cost and format, so that purchasing a NMA study score is hardly more costly than purchasing a pirate edition of the AMA. In December 2006[955] the NMA was made available online as the DME (Digital Mozart Edition), making access to the latest in Mozart scholarship easily available and accessible. This was the outcome of a 51-year process of revising, publishing and popularising the NMA.

Ornamentation and extemporisation

Authentic Mozart ornaments exist for 'Ah se a morir mi chiama' from *Lucio Silla* (K35, II, 14 and K93e)[956] as well as for the concert aria K94 'Non sò d'onde viene',[957] (bars 14–72 are ornamented by Mozart for Aloysia Weber). Ornaments also exist by Mozart for an aria by J.C. Bach[958] (K93c). Examples of autograph fermata embellishments can be found, for example for the rondo 'L'amerò' from *Il rè pastore*[959] (K08, II, 10), as well as small embellishments, for example in Don Ottavio's aria 'Dalla sua pace'[960] and the *terzetto* from *Così*[961] (K588, I, 2, bar 33) –

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952   Ibid.
953   For example Bärenreiter published the vocal score of *Figaro* in 1989 (BA 4565 (a)) releasing a revised and reformatted version in 1999 (BA 4565 (b)). Similarly the vocal score of *Entführung* (KA 4591 (a)) was released in 1982, with a reformatted score made available in 2007.
954   Ibid.
955   http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Neue_Mozart-Ausgabe Accessed 25.10.14.
956   Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart et al., *Lucio Silla: [Dramma Per Musica in Drei Akten]* (Kassel; London: Bärenreiter, 1986), 471–84.
957   Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Stefan Kunze, Ar*ien, Szenen, Ensembles Und Chöre Mit Orchester*. Band 2 (Kassel; London: Bärenreiter, 1968), 44–50.
958   Recorded on *Mozart the Supreme Decorator*, Opera Rara cond. Mackerras.
959   Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart et al., *Il Rè Pastore: [Serenata in Zwei Akten]* (Kassel; London: Bärenreiter, 1985), 204–16.
960   Mozart, Da Ponte and Dürr, *Don Giovanni: Dramma Giocoso in Zwei Akten*: Kv 527: Textbuch, Italienisch/Deutsch, 491, bar 36.

the latter two examples are probably attempts by Mozart to 'limit the embellishment to a small figure',[962] that is, notating ornamentation to limit the freedom of singers.

A number of eyewitness accounts describe Mozart's attitude to ornamentation, of which the following may be considered representative: Joseph Carl Schikaneder (the librettist's nephew) recounts an exchange that occurred in a rehearsal, probably of the second Sarastro aria. 'As he ['Bassist Gerl'] tried to ornament ['*variieren*'] the aria Mozart called out: 'Stop, Gerl! If I'd wanted to have it like that, I'd have written it like that. Just sing it as it's written.'[963] It is not stated whether Gerl's attempting to ornament the part or his manner of ornamentation was what displeased Mozart. Another account dates from 1815[964] when a violinist from Mannheim, Michael Frey, attended a performance of *Die Zauberflöte* with bass Anton Forti singing Sarastro 'with noble delivery; he sang the aria 'in diesen heiligen Hallen' with particular beauty, the first time quite simply, the second time [that is, the second strophe] with unexaggerated embellishments.'[965] The performance of Giulio Radicchi (as Tamino) in the same performance however pleased Frey somewhat less:

> *H. Radichi sang the aria 'Diess Bild' etc. with such execrable embellishments that one could no longer recognise the beautiful melody. He vexed me every time he appeared on stage by ruining many passages with his wretched mannerisms.[966]*

While the NMA has established reliable texts for Mozart's works, the limitations of Mozart's notation – especially in relation to matters of improvisation and extemporisation and how to address this in modern performances – remains a matter of enquiry. These issues are crucial to Mozart's vocal music, but equally so for his piano concerti, where Mozart on occasion notated the soloists' part in a kind of shorthand (especially if he was pressed for time in completing the composition that he was to perform). The piano concerti have also inherited a literature of reminiscences and speculations, such as the ornamented versions by Hummel,[967] Cramer.[968] In recent times a practice has developed of improvising freely in Mozart concerto performances, led by Robert Levin.[969]

One of the most influential books in the later twentieth century for Mozart performance is Eva and Paul Badura-Skoda's '*Mozart-Interpretation*'(1957),[970]

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961 Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart et al., *Così Fan Tutte: Ossia, La Scuola Degli Amanti: [Dramma Giocoso in Zwei Akten]* (Kassel; London: Bärenreiter, 1991), 34, bar 33.

962 Frederick Neumann, *Ornamentation and Improvisation in Mozart* (Princeton, N.J.; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1989, 1986), 217.

963 *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 8.4.1801, 159.

964 Ibid 160.

965 Ibid.

966 Ibid.

967 Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Johann Nepomuk Hummel, *Mozart's Twelve Grand Concertos, Arranged for the Piano Forte and Accompaniments of Flute, Violin and Violoncello, Including Cadences and Ornaments Expressly Written for Them By J. N. Hummel*. No. 1–3 (London: S. Chappell, 1830).

968 Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and J. B. Cramer, *Mozart's Celebrated Concertos, Newly Arranged for the Piano Forte, with Additional Keys and Accompaniments of Violin, Flute and Violoncello, by J. B. Cramer*. No. 1–6 (London: J. B. Cramer, Addison and Beale, 1825).

969 David A. Grayson, *Mozart, Piano Concertos No. 20 in D Minor, K. 466 and No. 21 in C Major, K. 467* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 103.

970 Eva Badura-Skoda, Paul Badura-Skoda and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Mozart-Interpretation, Etc.* [with Musical Examples and with Plates, Including Facsimiles.] (Wien; Stuttgart, 1957).

which became a point of discussion in an ambitious work by Frederick Neumann '*Ornamentation and Improvisation in Mozart*' (1986).[971] This work deals in detail with all aspects of ornamentation: vocal and instrumental, written and unwritten, also with improvisation – the use of appoggiaturas (in recitative and closed numbers), vocal cadenzas and diminutions in arias.

Study of these two references is a prerequisite to performing the works of Mozart today. Space precludes quoting more than a handful of examples that indicate the limitations of Mozart's notation from the distance of the twenty-first century, highlighting the decisions that need to be made by performers. Neumann begins by opening the subject up very wide:

> *Not long ago most scholars were certain that they had all the answers about Mozart's symbolised ornaments and even today many still cling to this belief. ... We must not belittle the importance of historical documents on performance, but we must keep them in proper perspective; that is, we have to be aware of their unusually high degree of abstraction, aware also of the fact that ornaments lend themselves to regulation less than perhaps any other musical matter.[972]*

In his opening gambit Neumann questions two rules that have been long held by the musical establishment: (1) that ornaments sound on the beat and (2) that all trills begin from the note above.[973] On the issue of vocal appoggiaturas, Neumann cites many instances where an instrumental (often a violin) line that doubles the vocal part will elucidate the execution of an appoggiatura. Neumann and Badura-Skodas diverge on a number of points:

Ex. 7-1. *Figaro*, I, No. 9, Aria of Figaro, bars 1–3, showing Violin I part, line of Figaro and suggested ornament for Figaro based upon Violin I.

Here, the Badura-Skodas and Neumann disagree on the apparent discrepancy between the violin line and Figaro's on '*ro-so*'. The Badura-Skodas advocate Figaro singing four semiquavers, but not Neumann:

> *the suggestion is not a happy one. First, Mozart from his earliest youth often let instruments that attend a vocal line wind around it with richer melismas in keeping with the idiomatic nature of both media and a principle of assimilation would lead to massive incongruities. Second, in this particular case, such figuration would be out of style for Figaro, whose part is throughout devoid of ornamental melismas – as is Susanna's – in contrast to the sophistication of the Count and Countess with their occasional coloraturas.[974]*

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971 *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 8.4.1801.
972 Ibid 3.
973 Ibid.
974 Ibid 25.

A more surprising difference of opinion between Neumann and the Badura-Skodas comes from the opening of the first act of *Così*:

Ex. 7-2. *Così,* I, No.1, *terzetto*, bars 35–7, comparing instrumental lines and vocal lines.

where it is usual in performance for the two singers to follow the woodwind line. Neumann however states:

> *'Fuori la spada!' is a challenge whose belligerent tone is ideally realised in the repetition on spada and in the dotting of the preceding beat. Assimilation to the appoggiatura leap of the woodwinds would fatally soften the martial sound of spada: the passage has to be sung as written.*[975]

In spite of Neumann's comments, the vast majority of performances follow the reading of the Badura-Skodas in adapting the vocal parts to the instrumental ones. In addition to disagreement with the Badura-Skodas about vocal appoggiaturas, Neumann is also critical of the NMA on a number of counts. This surfaces during discussion of appoggiaturas in recitative, where Neumann questions the reliance of the NMA editors on a vocal treatise by Manuel García (*fils*) that was written 50 years after Mozart's death.[976] Neumann criticises the different conclusions reached by different editors of different volumes and notes that:

> *considerable inconsistency characterizes the approach of the various editors of the NMA to the recitative appoggiatura. Nearly all of them underplay the role of pitch repetition, but they do so to different degrees: some admit no such repetitions at all, others only a carefully limited number. They diverge more strongly in their treatment of the appoggiatura from below. Some editors limit this type to the stepwise ascending formula and use it sparingly. Others use it more generously and extend it to upwards leaps by thirds and fourths.*[977]

On the question of appoggiaturas in closed numbers, Neumann quotes a passage from Act 1 of *Don Giovanni*:

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975   Ibid.
976   Ibid 190–1.
977   Ibid 191.

Ex. 7-3. *Don Giovanni* I, No. 2, *duetto,* bars 86–8/94–5/107–10, showing suggested ornamentation added in the NMA score.

Neumann points out that:

> *though there is no need for exact coordination of the voice with the accompaniment and though a vocal appoggiatura can on occasion effectively clash with an instrument, there is a line beyond which the clashes become unreasonable and provide a cue for abstention.*[978]

In bars 86–88:

> *the clash with the appoggiatura on **pe**-ne (suggested by the NMA) is less welcome, since the violins have moved on; more disturbing still are the clashes [in bars 94-5 and 107-110]…with the unjustified rising appoggiaturas. Granted, the friction passes quickly, but the point is that here the violins nestle tenderly around the words and nothing is gained by disturbing this intimate interplay.*[979]

Neumann's work has caused considerable controversy, with published criticism in academic circles (as well as Neumann's refutations) easily exceeding the length of the original book.

Neumann is not a lone voice in criticizing the editorial choices of the NMA. Will Crutchfield, for example in his article '*The Prosodic Appoggiatura in the Music of Mozart and His Contemporaries*' notes that:

> *in editing music from the period in which notation of appoggiaturas is absent or inconsistent, it seems clear that editors will do better to explain or allude to the principles of the convention and refrain from offering realisations in every page of the score. As we have seen, the NMA already has significant errors in the interpretation of the appoggiatura and though it should be possible to achieve better consistency…there will always be gray areas. Especially when it comes to deciding between appoggiaturas from above and from below, between the many different rhythmic and ornamental possibilities of execution, between simple and compound appoggiaturas, offering an editorial suggestion seems hardly less intrusive than the bad old habits of adding editorial dynamics and expressions marks.*[980]

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978   Ibid 210.

979   Ibid.

980   Will Crutchfield, 'The Prosodic Appoggiatura in the Music of Mozart and His Contemporaries', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* (1989): 270.

Following the publication of Neumann's book, a review appeared by Robert Levin (1988), where he notes Neumann's indebtedness to the Badura-Skodas and points out that:

> Neumann substitutes ... a set of solutions derived from 'musical logic' or 'plain musical common sense'. To presume that 'musical logic' or 'common sense' is universal is dubious even in the most general context, much less in the case of an individual composer – especially one several stylistic eras distant. ...In fact Neumann's judgements regarding the execution of ornaments rely less on 'musical common sense' than on his personal intuition. ... the subjectivity of his portrayal seems more appropriate to a master class than to a treatise.[981]

In a subsequent book, '*New Essays on Performance Practice*',[982] Neumann mounts a lengthy defence against an article by [Linda] Faye Ferguson in the *Mozart Jahrbuch* 1986 (pp 243–49).[983] In the same book Neumann devotes an entire chapter to repudiating the review mentioned above by Robert Levin.[984] A further chapter[985] by Neumann appeared in the Cambridge '*Perspectives on Mozart Performance*',[986] presenting further evidence relating to the prosodic appoggiatura in Mozart and in 1992 Neumann published '*Improper Appoggiaturas in the Neue Mozart Ausgabe*',[987] which develops the argument begun in his book, mounting a further attack on Faye Ferguson who had co-edited the NMA volume of *Così fan tutte* (1991). The exchanges between Neumann and Ferguson alone amount to a battlefield in academic circles.

Issues of ornamentation, especially of appoggiaturas are ever shifting, although not always quite as hotly argued until the publication of Neumann's book.

In 1963 Charles Mackerras published his thoughts on the appoggiatura,[988] an outcome of his research into Mozart style through performances he led during the mid-1950s. Mackerras cites a wide variety of evidence, including popular arrangements for instrumentalists of vocal pieces, where, he notes the unwritten (vocal) appoggiaturas had to be written out. Mackerras reproduces an arrangement by Kuchař of *Don Giovanni* for string quartet:

981   Robert D. Levin, 'Review of Neumann ornamentation and Improvisation in Mozart,' (357–8) *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 41 (Summer 1988), 355–68.

982   Frederick Neumann, *New Essays on Performance Practice* (Rochester, NY; Woodbridge: University of Rochester Press, 1992, 1989).

983   Ibid 139–51.

984   Ibid 155–67.

985   Titled 'A new look at Mozart's prosodic appoggiatura'.

986   R. Larry Todd and Peter May Williams, *Perspectives on Mozart Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 92–116.

987   Neumann, 'Improper Appoggiaturas in the Neue Mozart Ausgabe', *Journal of Musicology*, Vol 10, No. 4 (Autumn, 1992), 505–21.

988   Nancy Phelan, *Charles Mackerras: A Musician's Musician* (London: Gollancz, 1987), 255–74.

Ex. 7-4. *Don Giovanni*, I, No. 2, *recitativo*, bars 34–7, showing texts of original vocal line compared with an instrumental arrangement.

The three appoggiaturas entered into the violin part would not be easily accepted today; they carry a sense of formulaic response on the part of the arranger. Mackerras' assertion that an arrangement such as this gives 'us a perfect picture of the procedure of the period' is contentious, though the evidence is interesting.

The question of ornamentation in Mozart has become an issue split between theory and practice. Rules, conventions and theories about the use of appoggiaturas continue to proliferate in scholarly circles; the debate is by now so convoluted that performers seeking to engage with music of the late eighteenth century have to wade through a huge amount of conflicting material, hotly challenged and often cancelling each other out by dissenting academics. To be discerning about suggestions in the NMA is almost impossible when the issues become lost in an ongoing scholarly debate, that often loses sight of the improvised nature of such areas of performance practice.

Mozart's operas and musical unity

In his 1990 article 'Mozart's operas and the myth of musical unity',[989] James Webster investigates seven books that have appeared in recent decades,[990] and which have become influential in the study of the Mozart operas. Webster notes 'the privileged status of Mozart's operas'[991] in terms of their place in the repertory, but also draws attention to the lack of 'close or informed musical analysis'[992] of them in relation to Mozart's instrumental music. He describes a 'traditional uncertainty about the status of operas as 'absolute music'. Webster describes an emphasis on analytic concerns in relation to the music of Verdi and Wagner,[993] and suggests that new paradigms developing from that research may be helpful to the study of Mozart – particularly 'multivalence'. Webster clarifies:

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989   James Webster, 'Mozart's Operas and the Myth of Musical Unity', *Cambridge Opera Journal* 2, 2 (1990).

990   Wye Jamison Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart: Le Nozze Di Figaro and Don Giovanni* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1983). Bauman, *W.A. Mozart, Die Entführung Aus Dem Serail*. Carter, *W.A. Mozart : Le Nozze Di Figaro*. Daniel Heartz and Thomas Bauman, *Mozart's Operas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Stefan Kunze, *Mozarts Opern* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1984). Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597–1940*. Andrew Steptoe, *The Mozart-Da Ponte Operas: The Cultural and Musical Background to Le Nozze Di Figaro, Don Giovanni and Così Fan Tutte* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990).

991   Webster, *Mozart's Operas and the Myth of Musical Unity*, 197.

992   Ibid.

993   Examined in James Webster, 'To Understand Verdi and Wagner We Must Understand Mozart', *19th-Century Music* Vol. 11, 2 (Autumn, 1987), 175–93.

this holds that the various 'domains' of an opera (text, action, music, etc.) are not necessarily congruent and may even be incompatible; and that the resulting complexity or lack of integration is often a primary source of their aesthetic effect. In Mozart studies, by contrast, the presence of his unsurpassable instrumental music has tended on the one hand to make a close study of the operas seem unnecessary, while … those few who have attempted it have transferred 'instrumental' methods to the very different context of dramatic staged vocal music – uncritically and without benefit of countervailing analytical traditions.[994]

Webster states that all the books he discusses 'depend upon traditional paradigms drawn from the analysis of instrumental music.' One of Webster's main criticisms of this approach is the 'search for 'unity',[995] and its reliance upon models such as Schenker, Schoenberg, Réti and, in the operatic sphere, Alfred Lorenz. Analytical commentators (Webster mentions Joseph Kerman and Charles Rosen specifically) have tended to focus particularly on ensembles and finales in Mozart and have used sonata form as a basic tool for their explorations.[996] Stefan Kunze, on the other hand 'devotes as much attention to the arias as to ensembles and finales and his treatment of them is equally sympathetic and rigorous.'[997] Kunze's analytical approach is to 'understand the operas as theatre through music',[998] though Webster is critical of his attitude towards musical autonomy, particularly of overtures which, according to Kunze 'always remain independent, indeed autonomous instrumental compositions, even those which do not actually close; there is nothing whose intelligibility depends on a knowledge of the entire opera or the first scene',[999] a view which is rejected not only by Webster, but Heartz and Baumann.[1000] In terms of the analysis of arias Webster concedes that how they function 'remains mysterious'[1001] but 'to invoke instrumental form types as the primary basis for understanding arias may be irrelevant.'[1002] Webster notes less proscriptive methodologies such as his own 'free recapitulation' or Mary Hunter's 'tonal return section'.[1003] Webster then turns to the 'unity' of larger spans',[1004] particularly noting the pre-eminence of the Act 2 *Figaro* finale in the literature ('an obligatory ritual to praise it as Mozart's finest achievement'),[1005] its status eliciting the tag of sonata form and the issue of large scale tonal relationships. Kunze sees the finale as 'constructed in virtual symmetry around C major in the middle and gravitationally with respect to the tonal foundation E flat of the two pillar-sections, *Allegro* and *Allegro assai*.'[1006] Steptoe is an advocate of sonata form for this finale, while Carter sees that 'the keys of its eight sections move through a clearly conceived arch.'[1007] Webster advocates here a 'multivalent approach',[1008] which is likely to lead to the realisation that 'this finale does not exhibit any single form.'

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994   Webster, *Mozart's Operas and the Myth of Musical Unity*, 198.
995   Ibid 200.
996   Ibid.
997   Ibid 201.
998   Ibid 202.
999   Ibid 203.
1000   Ibid.
1001   Ibid 204.
1002   Ibid.
1003   Ibid.
1004   Ibid 205.
1005   Ibid.
1006   Ibid.
1007   Ibid 206.
1008   Ibid.

Another area of disagreement between Webster and all seven authors regards the notion that the independent pieces that make up the operas 'are related like the movements of a symphony.'[1009] Webster provides quotes from all authors in this regards and apart from disagreeing with technical details of their analyses, his main argument is that large-scale tonal plans make little sense:

> *If it is dubious to interpret a Finale as a single form based on tonality, it is downright dangerous to unite discrete numbers, separated not only by recitatives and action but often by intervening concerted numbers as well, in extreme cases even by the curtain and an interval, into large-scale 'forms'.*[1010]

Regarding works with intervening dialogue, Webster notes that Bauman, in discussing *Entführung* 'emphasises the discontinuity between musical numbers and non-music' though he does not explain why this is 'problematical'. On the issue of overall unity governing a work, Webster again quotes Bauman, in a passage titled 'Unity and Coherence'[1011] where he states that the whole of *Entführung* is in C major, prolonged throughout by tonal planning and that the opera is a 'living organism'.[1012] Steptoe finds in the three Da Ponte operas 'a progressive movement towards greater unity … reflected in the growing emphasis on tonal cohesion, linkage of disparate sections by thematic illusion and the structural use of key.'[1013] Thus, whereas *Figaro* exhibits a merely a 'genial sequence of memorable but distinct musical experiences', *Don Giovanni* is characterised by a powerful unity of purpose… and in *Così:*

> *two unifying devices … – the linking of separate numbers by tonal progression and the technique of thematic reminiscence – were brought to a further level of refinement. …*
>
> *The key structure penetrates beneath the text and surface plot to delineate the meaning behind actions, …The central key and the axis around which the work revolves is C major … 'Flat' keys are used to depict false or shallow feelings, while authentic emotion is presented in dominant 'sharp' keys. Such a scheme is a logical extension of the application of classical sonata forms to the dramatic medium.*[1014]

Heartz also discusses the tonality of *Figaro* in similar terms, referring particularly to:

> *'long-term symmetries' eliciting the response from Webster that 'no evidence suggests that Mozart paid very much attention to such abstract 'long-term symmetries', least of all those separated by three hours and four acts of a musical drama, intended for live performance before a primarily lay audience whom he wanted above all to delight and impress.*[1015]

Webster sums up his reservations:

> *all this is not to imply that associations of keys with particular characters, dramatic situations, instruments, textual features and so forth have no force or that key relations are irrelevant. It cannot be accidental that from Idomeneo on Mozart always ended his operas in the key of the overture, always articulated the central Finale in a different key and always ended a Finale in the key in which it began. …*

1009   Ibid 208.
1010   Ibid 212.
1011   Ibid 214.
1012   Ibid.
1013   Ibid.
1014   Ibid.
1015   Ibid 215.

What must be avoided is the uncritical assumption that these features go together to make up a 'form' or that the opera is 'in' a key, as in Levarie's notorious interpretation of the entirety of Figaro as a single, gigantic progression, I-bII-V-I. For example, it may be of little consequence that the key of the central Finale is 'remote' from that of the overture and the ending. Mozart's primary reason for the choice was purely practical: he used trumpets and drums in only three keys – C, D and E flat.[1016]

In conclusion, Webster admits that 'the real – that is critically aware – discussion of whether and if so how, a Mozart opera is 'in' a key has not begun.'[1017] On the issue of 'unity' in the Mozart operas, Webster concludes that the notion 'is doubly suspect: it originated in the historically-culturally delimited and un-Mozartean[!] context of German interwar Wagnerian aesthetics; and it leads to absurd results.'[1018] Webster ends with the question: 'how shall we understand a single Mozart number?'[1019]

Arguments such as those summarised by Webster are frequently negated in performance. The statement of Kunze, made above, that the Act 2 *Figaro* finale revolves around a central C major axis looks logical on paper, until the discoveries of Tyson (which will be outlined presently) are considered, where he notes that exactly this central C major section was cut by the composer for some performances. The tenuous suggestion that *Entführung* is a 'living organism' in C major becomes clouded in performance, where set numbers are separated by dialogue, significantly obscuring large-scale tonal perceptions. In discussing operatic structures and forms in this score-oriented way, the authors are engaging in a theoretical, 'work/score-based' activity, that fails to take into account the wiles of operatic practice, where even so-called purists such as Mahler[1020] and Toscanini regularly made transpositions, effectively destroying intricate arguments of tonal design.[1021] The nature of transpositions and their extent in opera performances is covered in some detail by Henry Pleasants in his essay 'Of Pitch and Transposition.'[1022]

Webster's article is a valuable summary of critical views and perspectives on the Mozart operas. Many of these arguments are difficult to position in the context of the realities of performance practice. The closely analysed structure of a Mozart finale crumbles under cuts that the composer made for early revivals, as well as later cuts that became part of performance practice. Large-scale harmonic organisation is similarly difficult to credit in the light of widespread transpositions, dialogue, silences to effect scene changes, audience applause etc. Exploration and evaluation of Mozart's works in the current century continues to develop along two concurrent planes – the realities of performance, versus the more abstract world of the composer's autograph score.

1016   Ibid 216.
1017   Ibid.
1018   Ibid 216–7.
1019   Ibid 218.
1020   See page 200.
1021   Erich Leinsdorf, *The Composer's Advocate: A Radical Orthodoxy for Musicians* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1981), 191.
1022   Henry Pleasants, *Opera in Crisis: Tradition, Present, Future* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989), 59–65.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The twentieth century: Mozart case studies

1. Stability of Form: *Figaro*

During the course of the twentieth century a generally agreed version of *Figaro* evolved, forming a starting point for productions:

  a) Very little recitative was cut.
  b) The aria of Bartolo (No. 4) was occasionally cut.
  c) The duet of Susanna and Cherubino (No. 14) may be shortened.[1023]
  d) Uncertainty about the order of the third act and whether it was altered by Mozart to facilitate a costume change (in the case where one singer performed the roles of both Bartolo and Antonio) has continued to surface.

Many directors find a revised order more logical and compelling, with No 17, the Count's aria, being followed by the recitative of scene 7 (Barbarina/Cherubino), which leads into No 19, the Countess' aria, then returning to Scene 5 recitative and into no 18, Sestetto, The following recitative (scene 6) at the conclusion of which follows the recitative of scene 9.[1024]

  e) The arias of both Marcellina and Basilio were usually cut in Act 4, along with associated recitative.

These cuts were largely practical in nature, as Edward Dent highlighted: '*Figaro* in its entirety is a very long opera and indeed rarely if ever performed complete anywhere.'[1025]

In the later 20th century, this broadly agreed version, easily performable from either the NMA edition (1973),[1026] or the earlier Peters edition (1941),[1027] began to be questioned. The issue of whether Mozart may have envisaged his opera to be structurally freer or different to the 'received' version was raised in 1987 when Alan

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1023   Branscombe, *W.A. Mozart, Die Zauberflöte, Cambridge Opera Handbooks*, 108, fn 10.

1024   Myer Fredman, *From Idomeneo to Die Zauberflöte: A Conductor's Commentary on the Operas of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart* (Brighton: Sussex Academic, 2002), 85. Robert Moberly and Christopher Raeburn, 'Mozart's Figaro': The Plan of Act 3', *Music and Letters* (1965).

1025   Edward J. Dent, 'The Modern Cult of Mozart', *Opera Annual* 1955–56, ed. Harold Rosenthal, (London: John Calder, 1955), 16.

1026   Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart et al., *Le Nozze Di Figaro: [Opera Buffa in Vier Akten]* (Kassel; London: Bärenreiter, 1973).

1027   Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Georg Schuenemann and Kurt Soldan, *Die Hochzeit Des Figaro. Komische Oper in Vier Akten.. Deutsche Bearbeitung Nach Der Überlieferung Und Dem Urtext Von Georg Schünemann. Partitur. Nach Dem Urtext Herausgegeben Von G. Schünemann Unter Mitarbeit Von Kurt Soldan. Im Auftrage Des Herrn Reichsministers Für Volksaufklärung Und Propaganda Geschaffen*. Ger. and Ital (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1941).

Tyson published '*Some Problems in the Text of* 'Le nozze di Figaro'*: Did Mozart Have a Hand in Them?*' which was followed by the publication of Tyson's critical edition: '*Le nozze di Figaro': Eight Variant Versions'.*[1028] Tyson's work, along with that of Dexter Edge, was influential in the publication of an updated version of the NMA score of *Figaro*, highlighting the extent of research over a period of over 30 years since that edition had first appeared.

Tyson showed that although Mozart's own autograph scores of the operas had been studied in some detail, the secondary sources had not been given the same level of attention. In the process of rehearsing an opera during the eighteenth century, subsequent changes to vocal lines orchestration and other details, were most likely to have been copied into singers' own scores orchestral parts and the official score belonging to the theatre where the première was taking place.[1029] Tyson refers to 'late changes'[1030] that would be most likely to find their way into the scores of theatre copyists: these changes Tyson refers to as *Abschriften*.[1031] The degree of authenticity retrievable in the study of the *Abschriften* approach has been questioned – not least by Tyson himself, who admits that others may have introduced changes besides Mozart himself: 'How are we to tell Mozart's from those of producers or singers or even of inaccurate copyists?'[1032] The study of these *Abschriften* is not entirely new. Tyson reports nine as having been published in the 1964 (6th edition) of Köchel's Catalogue. However their degree of authenticity has not, until recent times been more fully explored.[1033] Performers have generally been aware of certain practices, cuts, 'traditions' surrounding the operas of Mozart, for example the 1941 Peters score of *Così fan tutte*[1034] prints a number of cuts without giving their provenance. In many cases the exact origins of these cuts was not generally known, though they were often assumed to stem from Richard Strauss (and hence Levi) in Munich. Many of the major opera conductors of the twentieth century had been assistants to either Strauss or Mahler and much 'operatic tradition' (pace Mahler's famous and often misquoted comment)[1035] has been passed from one generation to the next, without questioning the origins of such practices or whether they represented an unbroken line of tradition traceable back to the composer. Tyson, for example notes that since the publication of a critical edition of *Così* in 1871, a number of small cuts to musical numbers had been disregarded by that edition and ignored by purists until research by Tyson[1036] showed some of these cuts to be marked clearly in Mozart's hand.

1028   Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Alan Tyson, *Le Nozze Di Figaro: Eight Variant Versions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).
1029   Branscombe, *W.A. Mozart, Die Zauberflöte, Cambridge Opera Handbooks*, 100.
1030   Ibid 101.
1031   Ibid.
1032   Ibid.
1033   For example, Tim Carter, in his review of Tyson's 'Eight Variant Versions' (M and L, Vol. 72, No 2 (May, 1991), 334–336) cautiously considers that 'These variants each have authority stemming from Mozart's lifetime.' (335)
1034   Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Georg Schünemann and Kurt Soldan, *Così Fan Tutte. Komische Oper in Zwei Akten. Deutsche Bearbeitung Nach Der Überlieferung Nach Dem Urtext Von Georg Schünemann. Partitur. Nach Dem Urtext Herausgegeben Von Georg Schünemann Unter Mitarbeit Von Kurt Soldan. Im Auftrage Des Herrn Reichsministers Für Volksaufklärung Und Propaganda Geschaffen.* Ger. and Ital. (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1941).
1035   Baker, *From the Score to the Stage: An Illustrated History of Continental Opera Production and Staging*, 266–7.
1036   Branscombe, *W.A. Mozart, Die Zauberflöte, Cambridge Opera Handbooks*, 101.

The major *Abschriften* to consider as alternatives for modern performance in *Figaro* are as follows:

1. The duet 'Aprite presto aprite' exists as a *secco* recitative. Tyson suggests that this version was widely circulated shortly after the opera appeared. He hypothesises[1037] that the number was first composed as a duet, then a shortened duet (due to difficulties in rehearsal) and finally as a recitative (that shares certain intervallic and melodic affinities between the duet and the recitative) in case the duet had to be jettisoned completely, Tyson noting that 'conductors and producers still sometimes describe it as a difficult number.'[1038]

2. The *Terzetto*, No. 14,[1039] contains a number of problems to do with assignment of vocal lines that occasionally mystify novice performers. The vocal lines are printed with Susanna on the top stave (singing the higher line), with the Countess beneath, on the middle stave. As Tyson states (P. 112), the autograph clearly shows that the Countess was assigned the higher line (as is the case in the Act 2 finale). It seems that by the time the 3rd and 4th acts came to be written, Mozart had decided that Susanna should take the higher line (perhaps he knew who the singers would be by that stage). Thus older scores (such as Peters 1941) show Susanna with the higher part, while the Bärenreiter generally assigns the higher line to the Countess, in concordance with the autograph. Tyson concludes that the change to what might be considered the 'conventional version'[1040] was most likely authorised by Mozart in 1786. The existence of alternative printed versions can make for a great deal of confusion in rehearsal and a solution is not as simple as simply following Bärenreiter as the preferred text. The weight and quality of the voices cast in these roles comes into play along with (frequently) a considerable amount of rivalry between singers that needs to be diplomatically resolved in the assigning of lines in this trio and the Act 2 finale. This can be regarded as a case where no completely definitive version exists, the various authentic scores that exist containing a series of possibilities and parameters that can be considered in arriving at a performing version with a specific cast. The issue here is that a full understanding of the reasons for the variants in the published scores helps to make informed decisions.

3. Three variants that stem from a manuscript in Prague represent more of a curiosity than viable modern performance options. There is a cut of 69 bars in the Act 2 finale – the entire 2/4 section 'Conoscete Signor Figaro'; Cherubino's aria 'Non so più' is cut; the *duettino* (No. 5) is replaced by a cavatina in C major for Marcellina 'Signora mia garbata'.[1041] Tyson is of the view that these do not stem from Mozart.

4. A version of the Act 3 finale survives from Vienna that omits the Fandango and Tyson speculates that this dates back to the ban on ballets at the time of

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1037   Ibid 110.
1038   Ibid.
1039   Ibid 110–11.
1040   Ibid 114.
1041   This is printed in the appendix of the Kalbeck edition: *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Lorenzo Da Ponte and Max Kalbeck, [Le Nozze Di Figaro.] Die Hochzeit Des Figar. Ins Deutsche Übertragen Von Max Kalbeck, Etc* (Wien: Peters, 1906).

the première (already discussed). Ludwig Finscher refers to a recently discovered document that states that 'the dancers could only be called upon for the first three performances and that the end of Act 3 had to be reworked for the later performances.'[1042] There seems to be little reason to reinstitute this cut today.

5. The recitative ('Perfida, e in quella forma meco mentito'[1043]) does not survive in Mozart's autograph, however it exists in enough secondary material (copyist scores) that 'the copyists' text is assumed to be what Mozart himself wrote.[1044] In the generally known version, Cherubino makes his entry from offstage, singing 'la la la la lera' to the melody of 'Voi che sapete' – the short sung fragment is truncated when the Countess interjects with her line. Other versions exist (one that Haydn acquired in Vienna for a projected performance at Eszterháza in 1790)[1045] where Cherubino sings a fuller version of the aria, with text and orchestral accompaniment. Ulrich Leisinger, in his 2010 Addendum (*Nachtrag*) to the Bärenreiter score[1046] goes as far as to refer to this as a 'cut arietta'. These bars could conceivably be restored in modern performances.

6. Mozart produced either replacement or variant versions of the arias for the Count and Countess (in Act 3) along with those of Susanna. In addition he shortened the *duettino* (No. 5) in Act 1.[1047] The Susanna variant arias will be considered in due course. The alteration to the Count's aria begins at bar 48 (*Allegro assai*) and continues to the end of the number. The tessitura of this version is considerably higher and it seems likely that Mozart made this alteration for the 1789 Viennese revival. Tyson notes that at least one other variant version exists of higher alternatives and this dates from 1787 at Donaueschingen, where the part of the Count was sung by a tenor, a practice that seems to have been not uncommon.[1048] This variant has been included in modern performances. It is the opinion of this author that the superbly controlled outpouring of anger expressed in the generally known version of this aria is undermined considerably in the variant version, where a psychologically profound musical portrait of Almaviva devolves into decorative vocal display. The equally iconic Act 3 aria of the Countess (No. 20) exists in a version that is considerably reworked – offering more interplay between the vocal line and the solo oboe and bassoon. This begins at bar 36 (*Allegro*) and it is the opinion of Tyson that it probably stems directly from Mozart and was composed for the 1789 Vienna revival.

7. Likewise the cut to the *Duettino* (No. 5) is considered, on the basis of its provenance from Vienna-originating *Abschriften*, to stem from Mozart, again composed for the 1789 Vienna revival. The 74 bars of this duet, which are familiar to audiences, were reduced to 45, with bars 1–16, 21, 43–58, 59 and 64–74 remaining.

1042   Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart et al., *Le Nozze Di Figaro*: K492, Urtext der Neuen Mozart-Ausgabe. ed. (2011), xxiv.

1043   Ibid 514. The recitative directly precedes No. 29 finale.

1044   Branscombe, *W.A. Mozart, Die Zauberflöte, Cambridge Opera Handbooks*, 120.

1045   Ibid 121–2.

1046   Mozart et al., *Le Nozze Di Figaro*: K492, 708–9.

1047   Ibid xxviii.

1048   Branscombe, *W.A. Mozart, Die Zauberflöte, Cambridge Opera Handbooks*. Tyson (124) notes that the Vienna Don Ottavio, Francesco Morella may have sung the role of Almaviva in *Figaro*.

Tyson notes other small variants, including an alternative text for the *Sestetto* (No. 19) and the Bärenreiter score[1049] prints an alternative original set of wind parts (bars 88–124) for the same number. Also mentioned in that edition and published as a *Nachtrag* (Addendum) are a version of No. 25, Marcelline's aria with woodwinds added[1050](there is an obbligato flute part and the bassoon occasionally doubles the bass line), as well as a version of No 28, Susanna's '*Deh vieni*', which is described as the original version and is most likely the form the aria was given at the 1786 première, which 'reveals considerable changes in orchestration'.[1051]

The work of Tyson has opened up many new perspectives regarding the creation and subsequent early performances of Mozart's operas. Perhaps the major influence of his work is, as noted in Finscher/Leisinger's preface to the Bärenreiter *Figaro* to establish a point of view 'that *Figaro* does not exist in a single unified version capable of reconstruction solely on the basis of the autograph score. Instead it proves to be a 'work in progress', of which several purportedly authentic variant versions survive only in secondary sources.'[1052] The issue of authenticity in these secondary sources is signalled in Bärenreiter ('the secondary source tradition must be treated with great caution, for it frequently reflects non-authorial interventions')[1053] and also in a review by Tim Carter of Tyson's '*Le nozze di Figaro*': Eight Variant Versions' published in 1989. Carter's review of the edition is cautious and questions how this new knowledge (which is constantly growing, as secondary sources provide an untilled field for researchers) might impact upon modern performers. Bärenreiter notes that,[1054] the authenticity of such material notwithstanding, 'owing to the growing importance of these sorts of alternatives for today's performers, it seemed warranted to include the essential variants in the music volume of our new edition.'[1055] The criteria for such inclusions were that they likely stemmed directly from or were approved by the composer. 'Variants from versions in which Mozart is not known to have been actively involved are ignored in the NMA.'[1056] Carter discusses the (practical performance) usefulness of this material and notes that 'few companies are likely to have the courage of Welsh National Opera's 1987 production of the 1789 *Figaro,* which incorporated some of Tyson's readings'.[1057] If such secondary source material provides uncertain ground on which to base modern performances, the question of incorporating completely authentic music composed by Mozart into an iconic work such as *Figaro* is still capable of creating a scandal of significant proportions.

For the 1789 revival of *Figaro*, Mozart also created two new arias for Susanna (K579, 577). These have received bad press in the critical literature,[1058] it being

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1049 Mozart et al., *Le Nozze Di Figaro*: K492, 658.
1050 Ibid 696–702.
1051 Ibid 703–7.
1052 Ibid xxix.
1053 Ibid.
1054 Ibid.
1055 Ibid.
1056 Ibid.
1057 Tim Carter, in his review of Tyson's 'Eight Variant Versions' (M and L, Vol. 72, No 2 (May, 1991), 334–6).
1058 Roger Parker, *Remaking the Song: Operatic Visions and Revisions from Handel to Berio, Ernest Bloch Lectures* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2006), 55–60. None match the bluntness of *New York Times* journalist Anthony Tommasini, who described 'Al desio 'as 'a frilly, trilly, filigreed thing, like Rossini at his most bumptious.' (9 November 1998, *N.Y. Times*).

suggested that Mozart composed these arias under duress,[1059] for a singer he did not like (she was the mistress of da Ponte at the time).[1060] The two arias are certainly unconventional in style and form, to an extent that it cannot be said that Mozart retreated into the mundane or the pedestrian.

A modern conundrum of *Werktreue*

In 1998, Jonathan Miller[1061] was engaged to direct *Figaro* at the Metropolitan Opera, New York. During the course of rehearsals a scandal surfaced, which was subsequently amplified in the international press, bringing to light some ugly accounts of power play in the upper echelons of the 'Met' hierarchy. Cecilia Bartoli[1062] (with whom Miller had previously enjoyed a positive working relationship) was engaged to sing the role of Susanna and upon arriving for the staging rehearsals insisted upon substituting the two aforementioned arias. Bartoli, at the height of her fame and enjoying full star status pushed her preference for these alternative arias, about which the director was lukewarm, and she seems to have enlisted the support of music director (and conductor of the production), James Levine.[1063] As a protest Miller 'left her to her own devices when it came to the dramatically redundant inserts',[1064] drawing a response from Bartoli that Miller had acted in an 'ungentlemanly' fashion, 'I felt like Caesar with Brutus'[1065] she quipped at the time, a comment countered by Miller with his assessment that she was a 'rather silly, selfish girl – wilful, wayward and determined to have her own way.'[1066] The matter was reported in the press shortly after the opening night and it was alleged by Miller that General Manager, Joseph Volpe had confronted him and said 'don't fuck with me', then fired him.'[1067] The press initially sided with Miller,[1068] although Miller remained critical of the attitudes of the 'glitz-loving audience'[1069] of the Met.

By 2002 the issue was still a thorn in Miller's side, while the production had become extremely popular at the Metropolitan: the unfamiliar arias, which initially had been frostily received by the public, were accepted. Miller maintained in 2002[1070] that he had 'expressed my unease about using showy arias that are infinitely less interesting and appropriate to the drama. These [new arias] are twice as long and their words have nothing to do with the action.' He spoke of a conversation with Joseph Volpe where, in response to Volpe's comment that Miller had agreed to the substitutions, Miller replied 'yes, I'd agreed rather in the way that

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1059   Ibid 52–3.
1060   Da Ponte et al, *Memoirs of Lorenzo Da Ponte*, 89.
1061   Ibid 42.
1062   Ibid.
1063   Kate Bassett, *In Two Minds: A Biography of Jonathan Miller* (London: Oberon Books Ltd, 2012), 284.
1064   Ibid.
1065   Ibid.
1066   Ibid.
1067   Ibid.
1068   Ibid 405, Paul, *The First Modern Museums of Art: The Birth of an Institution in 18th- and Early-19th-Century Europe*.
1069   Ibid 283.
1070   Da Ponte et al, *Memoirs of Lorenzo Da Ponte*, 42–3.

France had agreed in 1939.'[1071] In an earlier interview Miller had described the act of removing 'Deh vieni' from Act 4 of *Figaro* as being 'like coitus interruptus'.[1072]

The issues surrounding the scandal are complex, but it may be seen that Bartoli, in wishing to include Mozart's alternative arias, was behaving in an altruistic fashion. She has been a tireless advocate and supporter of neglected repertoire and in eschewing Susanna's iconic 'Deh vieni' and offering something unknown, her motivations seem less than diva-like. She had the support of both the general manager and the music director of the Met (who was conducting the première). Whether this triumvirate were justified in imposing the changes on Miller remains a complicated question, involving hierarchies and the wielding of power within an operatic institution. At the time the production premièred, critics and audiences largely sided against Bartoli and the substitutions – one critic accused her of diva-like 'egocentricity' and recalling that a disaffected audience member 'cared enough to boo. It is shocking to say it, but Bartoli deserved it.'[1073] Another critic, John W. Freeman described the Act 2 substitution as an 'ersatz ditty…a bit of fluff that leaves a dramatic hole where 'Venite, inginocchiatevi' is supposed to be.'[1074]

The conservatism of both public and critics was evident in this incident – along with the desire to fan the flames of an intriguing scandal. It emphasises how the combination of '*Figaro*' and 'Mozart' sets up a popular expectation, that the favourite musical numbers cannot be easily excised: any excision heralds a burgeoning crisis in the mind of the public. The scandal resulted in a new assessment and appreciation of the two substitute arias, led by the realisation that the insertion or substitution aria was a genre in which Mozart was particularly prolific. Poriss concludes that 'The negative reactions against Bartoli's alterations were magnified because she was 'tampering' with Mozart, a composer whose 'vision' still possesses more clout than most.'[1075] This scandal highlights the complex relationships that exist within opera houses, creative teams and the people who are known to the public as the tastemakers in the world of opera. 'Might is right' undoubtedly plays a role here and rhetoric about the immutable genius of Mozart begins to sound a little hollow: 'With his genius Mozart wrote the right music for *Figaro* and then, under pressure from a diva, wrote alternative arias'[1076] (Jonathan Miller in 1998).

The influence of canonic, 'work-based' thinking can here be seen to have persisted in operatic perceptions throughout the twentieth century. The notion of considering 'classics' in a new light frequently causes ructions in the deep conservatism of not just the public, but also opera practitioners. Research by scholars such as Tyson and Woodfield has begun a shift in thinking during the present century, allowing consideration of a new view of *Figaro*, in the words of Roger Parker, as '*Mozart's ever-mutable opera.*'[1077]

1071   A fuller, more colourful version of this exchange was quoted still later, in London's *Guardian* on 19 November, 2004 and is quoted in: Ibid 149, fn 2.
1072   Ibid 43.
1073   Hilary Poriss, *Changing the Score: Arias, Prima Donnas and the Authority of Performance, Ams Studies in Music* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 188.
1074   Parker, *Remaking the Song: Operatic Visions and Revisions from Handel to Berio*, 50.
1075   Poriss, *Changing the Score: Arias, Prima Donnas, and the Authority of Performance*, 188.
1076   Parker, *Remaking the Song: Operatic Visions and Revisions from Handel to Berio*, 43.
1077   Ibid 66.

2. The revivication of *La clemenza di Tito*

The disappearance of *Titus* during the nineteenth century continued well into the twentieth, along with the perception that it was a problematic work, not without some fine music, but in need of significant adaption to secure an afterlife in the operatic repertoire. For example, Bernhard Paumgartner and Hans Curjel gave a version of *Titus* at the Salzburg Festival in 1949 that cut most of the *secco* recitatives as well as some arias, in their place adding excerpts from *Idomeneo* and *Thamos, König in Aegypten*. *Titus* was reworked into three acts, neglecting the fact that the *Titus* libretto set by Mozart was a two-act adaption by Mazzolà. The Salzburg version proclaimed the message that *Titus* was not a viable opera and it was not presented there again for over 25 years.[1078] Further damage resulted from the publication of a vocal score of this version,[1079] which circulated widely and was influential in a number of productions for the following two decades.[1080] *Titus* appeared late in the United States, the first performance being given at the Berkshire Music Festival in Tanglewood in 1952. It did not receive a positive critical reception, due to the rewritten libretto by the conductor/director (Boris Goldovksy) and his assistant (Sarah Caldwell) who translated the text into English and 'humanised' the character of Titus.[1081] *Titus* was premièred in New York in 1971 at the Juilliard School (with cuts to the *secco* recitatives and additional music by Mozart added)[1082] and finally reached the Metropolitan Opera in 1984.[1083] The matter of the *secco* recitatives has continued to be an issue fuelled by the fact that they are not by Mozart himself, rather by his assistant Franz Süssmayr.[1084] Most performances and recordings shorten the recitatives, Charles Mackerras in discussing his (2005) recording makes a distinction between the 'normal music', which he performs complete and the *secco* recitatives that he cuts considerably.[1085] A recording of 1968[1086] cuts the recitatives by about half.[1087] This set is accompanied by a note from the producer, Erik Smith who asks 'Why would Mozart at this stage of his career *choose* to write in the form of *opera seria* that was as dead as a door nail by 1791 and had really never been very much alive?'[1088] Even in more recent essays, there is an air of apology regarding *Titus*. Hans Günter Klein,[1089] describes the libretto of the opera as a '*Lehrstück*', a piece in which drama

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1078   Einstein, *Mozart: His Character, His Work*, 134–5

1079   Ibid 135.

1080   Ibid.

1081   Ibid 136.

1082   Ibid.

1083   Ibid.

1084   Franz Xaver Süssmayr (1766–1803, Vienna).
        http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/575682/Franz-Xaver-Sussmayr accessed:
        10.5.2015.

1085   James Jolly interviewing Sir Charles Mackerras for *Gramophone* online (17 November 2005)
        http://www.gramophone.co.uk/features/interviews/sir-charles-mackerras-archive-interview
        Accessed 5.6.15.

1086   London OSA 1387 (1968). http://www.gramophone.co.uk/review/mozart-la-clemenza-di-tito-
        4 Accessed 5.6.15.

1087   Einstein, *Mozart: His Character, His Work*, 175.

1088   Ibid 137.

1089   Klein, '*La clemenza di Tito* – a 'true opera', essay in booklet of Archiv recording 431 806–2,
        12.

comes a bad second to sententious didacticism.'[1090] Klein notes that Mozart's decision to accept the commission:

> *must have been primarily financial: he was, as always in a grave economic plight and Tito brought a good fee (200 ducats) with it. His heart remained with The Magic Flute and it is understandable that the Singspiel's music should cast its shadow here.[1091]*

A breakthrough occurred in 1969, when Jean-Pierre Ponnelle directed *Titus* for the Cologne Opera, the first of several *Titus* productions Ponnelle created during his lifetime. This production was a watershed in the performance history of *Titus,* in that it met the work on its own terms. In an article for *Opernwelt* in 1975[1092] Ponnelle wrote:

> *it is not the last work of a mortally ill man (who, incidentally was writing Zauberflöte at the same time). Musically I find in Tito much that anticipates nineteenth-century opera. For me, educated both at school and at university in close contact with the French classics, the leap from Racine to Tito is basically an easy one. I took these characters seriously right away. I am convinced that all of us, even if we are not ourselves Roman emperors, can be interested in their actions and their psychology.[1093]*

Interest in *Titus* had been also growing in London. From having directed a small-scale performance with the Impresario Society in London, director Anthony Besch went on to create a production at Covent Garden in 1974, which was conducted by Colin Davis. In response Andrew Porter described *Titus* as 'not a dying man's hurried attempt to fulfil a commission in an uncongenial and dying form, but rather a landmark in the line of *opera seria* that leads through Spontini, Rossini and Bellini until it reaches Aïda.'[1094] The productions of Besch and Ponnelle initiated a shift, not only in the views of audiences but also in the assessments of critics over subsequent decades. Rice[1095] notes the evolving positions of Stanley Sadie and Daniel Heartz who each shifted from a viewpoint based upon the romantic critical tradition of comparing *Idomeneo* to *Titus*, 'which is superficially similar as to genre, but which is the product of exhaustion and a commission unworthy of, if not insulting to the composer'[1096] to an acknowledgement that *Titus* has gradually 'come into its own again'.[1097] Heartz's change of mind is reflected in an insightful article about the overture to *Titus*.[1098] The overture, (in the same C major key as Gluck's *Orfeo* overture) has received bad press from Anna Amalie Abert as 'a piece of solemn music with no inherent connection to the main body of the opera',[1099] echoing criticisms made of the *Orfeo* overture. Heartz notes that Mozart, 'through the use of recurring motives, rhythmic

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1090 Ibid.
1091 Ibid 14.
1092 *Opernwelt* 1975, No. 8, 39.
1093 Einstein, *Mozart: His Character, His Work*, 138.
1094 Ibid 141.
1095 Ibid 143–6.
1096 Ibid 145.
1097 Ibid.
1098 Heartz and Bauman, *Mozart's Operas*. Chapter 18 'The Overture to *La clemenza di Tito* as dramatic argument.'319–41.
1099 Einstein, *Mozart: His Character, His Work*, 145.

ideas, harmonies, harmonic progressions and juxtapositions of keys, succeeded in giving the opera a structural integrity that enhances its dramatic power.'[1100]

In more recent years some of Mozart's earlier forays into the *opera seria* genre have received increased attention, facilitating re-evaluation. The 1997 edition of Kobbé[1101] adds to the canon of eight Mozart operas (the Bärenreiter seven plus *Der Schauspieldirektor*) with the inclusion of *Mitridate* and *Lucio Silla*. The place of *Titus* in the repertoire continues to be reassessed and in terms of the popular market has been assisted greatly by recordings, which allow listeners who are not interested in the *secco* recitatives to simply skip them. Received wisdom about *Titus* remains ingrained in much of the critical literature, but the modern opera director has become an ally, developing new, dramatically viable readings of the work. The position of the opera in Mozart's *oeuvre* however, continues to cause problems. Commentators of Mozart's last works inevitably look for portentous signs and *Titus* does not quite fit into the series of late works that have been posited as offering a foretaste of the Mozartean afterlife. The stage-worthiness of *Titus* has been re-established in the second part of the twentieth century, but it requires a world-class cast, a great director and a first-rate conductor to make it compelling in performance. Nevertheless, it is now officially a part of the Mozart canon.

3. *Idomeneo* – an unresolved masterpiece

In the context of Mozart's stage *oeuvre*, *Idomeneo* heralds his operatic coming of age. *Idomeneo* has always been accorded respect in the critical literature, although the interwar years in Germany brought critical negativity that carried nationalistic overtones. With reference to a two-act version by Ernst Lewicki given in 1917 and 1925 at Karlsruhe and Dresden respectively, Rushton notes that the aim 'seems to have been the essentially Wagnerian one of bringing Mozart into line with the form and style of Gluck, eliminating … all characteristic features of the old [that is, pre-reform] *opera seria*.'[1102] From earlier commentators such as Jahn, Blom, Abert and Lert, there was an abiding view that the strength of *Idomeneo* lay in the ensembles and chorus numbers and that the arias were 'not truly worthy of Mozart's Teutonic genius'.[1103] The year 1931 celebrated both the 175th anniversary of Mozart's birth and the 150th anniversary of *Idomeneo's* première. Rushton writes that the opera was 'seen as a German *opera manqué*'[1104] with the majority of performances given in German and that some 'distortion of a partly Italian-infected original was a duty towards Mozart himself.'[1105] A version created by Arthur Rother for the theatre in Dessau was 'reclaimed for the German stage',[1106] and although little new music was added, Rother did orchestrate the recitatives. Two extreme adaptions came from Richard Strauss[1107] and Ermanno Wolf-Ferrari,[1108] each version offering a neo-

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1100   Ibid 146.
1101   Kobbé et al, *The New Kobbé's Opera Book*.
1102   Rushton, *W.A. Mozart, Idomeneo*, 86.
1103   Ibid.
1104   Ibid.
1105   Ibid.
1106   Ibid.
1107   Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Richard Strauss, *Idomeneo. Opera Seria in 3 Akten . Nach Dem Italienischen Des Abbate Giambatt. Varesco. Vollständige Neubearbeitung Von Lothar Wallerstein Und Richard Strauss. Orchester-Partitur*. (Magdeburg: Heinrichshofen's Verlag, 1931).

Wagnerian view of Mozart, with authenticity being a low priority, rather the reconstitution of the fabric of Mozart's opera, bringing it in line with aesthetic and even political ideologies current in the earlier twentieth century. After many years of obscurity, these versions are gradually being reassessed.[1109] In 1947 the noted Italian conductor and musicologist Vittorio Gui (1885–1975) staged his revision of *Idomeneo* at the Venice Festival. In an article[1110] Gui discusses the versions of Strauss and Wolf-Ferrari, noting that his own method was not to add any music of his own, rather to confine himself to cuts and transposing the part of Elettra for a contralto – in response to what Gui perceived as 'a certain monotony of timbres'[1111] in the three female voices. In Salzburg a version was performed by Paumgartner in 1956 for which he made an amalgam of the Munich and Vienna versions. Glyndebourne staged *Idomeneo* in 1951 in a version that Rushton criticises for cuts to the recitatives, which he describes as creating 'erratic modulations'[1112] and being un-Mozartian in style. Hans Gál was involved in the creation of this version for Glyndebourne and defends it in his 1951 article:

> *...the Glyndebourne version keeps faithfully to Mozart's score. But it takes full advantage of a later version, made for private performance in Vienna in 1786 ... which contains generous cuts, some precious new pieces and Mozart's own solution of a problem which has puzzled all editors: how to replace a male soprano, a castrato, for whom the part of Idamante was originally written. This part which Richard Strauss and Vittorio Gui (in a recent edition) have assigned to a female soprano, is unsuitable for this voice, not only on dramatic grounds—Idamante is not a youngster like Cherubino but a man and a hero—but also for musical reasons. We know from many contemporary descriptions that the castrato voice sounded strikingly different from the female voice, much more strident and metallic. Another female soprano, added to the two of the original, would result in a noticeable lack of variety in a work with such an abundance of arias. In his Vienna version, Mozart gave the part of Idamante to a tenor, taking the trouble to re-arrange the ensembles according to the changed musical situation. He also gave a lead in cutting out the two arias of Arbace, who represents a 'confidant', a person whose function is merely to act as a partner in dialogue with one of the protagonists, in order to get over the necessary explanations or exposition of facts. In opera, this old expedient becomes a liability, if the 'confidant' has to get his due share of arias, which necessarily are dramatically redundant. Mozart must have felt this weakness and his two arias, the most conventional of the opera, can easily be omitted.[1113]*

The question of a tenor or a soprano for the role of Idamante remains a contested issue. Rushton holds a different view to Gál: 'Performances of the 1781 version with tenor Idamante are clumsy as well as wrong; … Sung by a tenor, even one so eloquent as Peter Schreier on Karl Böhm's 1979 recording, the role of Idamante fades into insignificance.'[1114] *Idomeneo* is a type of work that appeals to modern

1108   Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart et al., Idomeneo. Grosse Heroische Oper in 3 Akten ... Text Von Abbate G. Varesco. Bearbeitung Der Bayerischen Staatstheater Von Ermanno Wolf-Ferrari. Texteinrichtung Unter Mitverwendung Der Ersten Münchener Übersetzung Von Lenz, 1845, Von Ernst Leopold Stahl, Etc. (München, 1931).

1109   Rushton, *W.A. Mozart, Idomeneo*, 86.

1110   Vittorio Gui, 'Mozart in Italy', *Opera Annual* 1955–6, ed. Harold Rosenthal. (London: John Calder, 1955), 20.

1111   Ibid.

1112   Rushton, *W.A. Mozart, Idomeneo*, 87–88.

1113   Hans Gál, 'Mozart's *Idomeneo*', *Opera* (July 1951): http://opera.archive.netcopy.co.uk/article/july-1951/15/mozarts-idomeneo Accessed 12.12.14.

1114   Rushton, *W.A. Mozart, Idomeneo*, 88.

performers: a masterwork, but one with a number of structural issues: variants produced by the composer and two distinct versions, neither fully satisfactory. Such a situation gives creative teams latitude or buy-in to the creative process, allowing curatorial scope to reshape the work – giving the composer a helping hand. In spite of the many variants available when performing *Idomeneo* (reminiscent of a Baroque opera), Stanley Sadie in an article from 1974[1115] begins by discussing the conventions of eighteenth century operas and their adaptable nature. In the case of Mozart, Sadie notes that 'the notion that an opera was an indivisible, inviolable whole was yet to come, though we may justifiably feel that Mozart's own works both comprehended (if unconsciously) and hastened it.'[1116] Sadie is convinced that 'the first version has a unity of conception which the later changes cannot fail to violate. … in the eighteenth century … more operas were pieced together than were composed afresh. What was not so common and indeed was confined to the supreme works of supreme composers, was the conception of entire, extended works as unities: and such a unity cannot be doubted.'[1117] Amid the many rewrites and other changes, Sadie recognises, even if only notionally an 'authentic' version of *Idomeneo*.

Idomeneo was ignored by Joseph Kerman in the first edition (1956) of '*Opera as Drama*',[1118] while it is admitted to the 1988 revision.[1119] Both *Idomeneo* and *Titus* are noted as recent additions to what Kerman sees as the Mozart canon of *Figaro*, *Don Giovanni*, *Così* and *Die Zauberflöte*. Kerman is far from uncritical of the additions to the canon and in beginning his consideration of *Idomeneo*, he quips about 'skipping back, … to peer back once again into opera's 'dark ages'.[1120] Kerman declares his allegiance to Dent's 1913 study, '*Mozart's Operas*' and notes that Dent wrote of the use of the aria evolving into 'a display of serene and exquisite musical beauty that quite eclipses the human passion which it is primarily intended to express.'[1121] Kerman adds:

> *I would say, rather with Tovey, that the intensity latent in sonata form which Mozart released in the Idomeneo arias proved to be too much for the stage. The passion is too intense and too regular as a plausible response to stage action.[1122]*

There is an extraordinary concentration of invention, virtuosity and imagination in *Idomeneo* that makes it seem almost too rich for the opera stage. Kerman's summation stands as a contemporary assessment of the work: 'Today, no doubt, most of us would rather have notes by Mozart than drama by anyone else.'[1123]

1115   Stanley Sadie, '*Idomeneo and its Textual History*', *Opera* (May 1974)
       http://opera.archive.netcopy.co.uk/article/may-1974/23/idomeneo-and-its-textual-history
       Accessed 12.12.14.

1116   Ibid.

1117   Ibid.

1118   Joseph Kerman, *Opera as Drama*, [1st ed.] ed. (New York, Knopf, 1956).

1119   Kerman, *Opera as Drama*.

1120   Ibid 81.

1121   Ibid 82–3.

1122   Ibid 83.

1123   Ibid.

4. *Entführung* and the modern stage

Thomas Bauman notes the dilemma that continues to face this work – the highest quality of music, which attempts to animate a facile, two-dimensional plot.[1124] On the ever-larger Grand Opera stages of the later nineteenth century, *Entführung* and its small cast seemed ill at ease and waned in popularity. A production created in Glyndebourne in 1956 was well received, with sets and costumes that conformed to authentic Moorish designs.[1125] Jean-Pierre Ponnelle directed *Entführung* as part of his Mozart Cycle in Cologne, with a controversial, historicised production:

> *The proscenium area of an eighteenth-century theatre in High Baroque style formed part of the stage set, including the imperial box, occupied by Joseph II himself. In the course of the opera the emperor leaves his box several times to double as Pasha Selim in the drama, a parallel long overworked in the secondary literature on the opera and which here turns art into artifice.[1126]*

While most productions outside German-speaking countries perform *Entführung* in the vernacular, an ingenious solution in Rome in 1973 was 'the substitution of mime for much of the dialogue.'[1127] Another highly influential production was the shadow-box version, where the characters appeared as silhouettes, devised by Giorgio Strehler and appearing in the *Kleines Festspielhaus* at the Salzburg Festival in 1965. The success of the production resulted not only in it becoming a fixture in Salzburg for several years, but also creating a success in Italy, which had been slow to embrace the Mozart operas. Strehler's production was a hit in Florence in 1969 and La Scala, Milan in 1971. Bauman notes the contrast where, twenty years earlier the first production of *Entführung* had taken place at La Scala: even with Maria Callas as Konstanze, the opera on that occasion survived only four performances.[1128] In the era of *Regieoper*, ever more radical readings of *Entführung* have developed, such as the 1981 Ruth Berghaus production in Frankfurt that 'rejected for the first time the usual oriental fairy-tale scenery and in its place presented a psychological arena of cut-off, isolated bourgeois characters.'[1129] A production at the Munich National Theatre in 1980 by August Everding coincided with the American hostage crisis in Iran. During Act 2 the Pasha Selim 'donned a black costume redolent of the Ayatollah Khomenei for his confrontation with Constanze, culminating in his threat of 'tortures of every kind'.[1130]

A new level in directorial intervention was reached in the 1998 production of the opera in Stuttgart:

> *Hans Neuenfels, a by now middle-aged enfant terrible of Germany's theatrical establishment [was engaged] to prepare a new production of Mozart's Entführung … The Stuttgart Entführung … is at once astonishing and dizzying, even for a spectator familiar with Mozart's singspiel and accustomed to Neuenfels's penchant for subjecting works to relentless interpretive pressure. Some of the grounds for the spectator's disorientation are obvious: Neuenfels radically cuts much of Gottlieb Stephanie the Younger's original dialogue and adds a great deal of his own and,*

1124   Bauman, *W.A. Mozart, Die Entführung Aus Dem Serail*, 116.
1125   Ibid.
1126   Ibid.
1127   Ibid 117.
1128   Ibid 119.
1129   Ibid 117.
1130   Ibid.

even more surprisingly, he doubles each of the principal roles (with the exception of Pasha Selim), splitting them into distinct roles played by a singer and an actor. Here, then the production realizes in surplus form what the opera text otherwise constitutes as a lack: if the pasha is normally understood (and cast) as an actor lacking a singer's voice, here each of the other principals in the opera – each one, of course, a singer – is supplemented by an actor. The actors don't do all of the talking. Indeed they only speak roughly half of the spoken text (and the distribution varies markedly from scene to scene and from role to role); the singers, on the other hand, do all of the singing. ... What is ultimately most striking about the Stuttgart Entführung is not the doubling of the major roles or the surgery effected upon the libretto, but the breathtaking theatrical invention that Neuenfels educes from the work. Some of this invention can be readily traced to (what's left of) the text of the work and its dramaturgy, although it is no less surprising and exciting as a result: for example, when we first encounter Osmin in act 1, scene 2, singing the lied 'Wer ein Liebchen hat gefunden' (He who has found a sweetheart), he is carefully removing and nuzzling the body parts of a woman, recently slaughtered from an Ottoman chest.[1131]

Since the publication of the Bärenreiter score of *Entführung* in 1982, the music and libretto have been available in an authentic text (including extended versions of several numbers).[1132] In practice, authenticity is not a primary consideration, particularly in the case of the libretto. The Stuttgart production highlights the complex matter of finding a dramaturgical solution and a suitable aesthetic for presenting the opera that generally involves modifying the authentic text. Bauman, in his position as an apologist for the work, concedes that 'Mozart's music alone makes the opera worth doing',[1133] leaving posterity with a work that frequently undergoes major surgery in order to establish a place for it in the repertoire of the modern opera house. It needs to be considered whether attempts during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries to revivify *Entführung* are any more outlandish than those of the nineteenth century. The same imperatives still apply – the sheer quality of Mozart's music demands that *Entführung* retains its place in the Mozart canon and the opera repertoire.

5. The changing fortunes of *Così*

The German translation of *Così* (1898) by Hermann Levi[1134] was a milestone in the revivication of this work in German theatres, but did not catch on immediately, for example in 1909 in Dresden, the old adaption of *Così*: '*Die Dame Kobold'* was still being produced.[1135] *Così* was part of the inaugural season at Glyndebourne and the reading of Fritz Busch (recorded in 1935)[1136] became legendary, just as the opera itself became inextricably linked with the name of that theatre. Important productions during the twentieth century have included those by Jean-Pierre Ponnelle, Götz Friedrich, Sir Peter Hall, András Fricsay, Johannes Schaaf, Jonathan

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1131 David J. Levin, *Unsettling Opera: Staging Mozart, Verdi, Wagner and Zemlinsky* (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 104.

1132 Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart et al., *Die Entführung aus dem Serail: Deutsches Singspiel in Drei Aufzügen*, K384 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1982).

1133 Bauman, *W.A. Mozart, Die Entführung Aus Dem Serail*, 116.

1134 Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Così fan tutte. So Machen's Alle. Komische Oper in 2 Akten. Nach Dem Italienischen Des Lorenzo Da Ponte, (Mit Benützung Der Übersetzungen Von Ed. Devrient Und C. Niese,) Von Hermann Levi. Vollständiger Klavierauszug Mit Text* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1898).

1135 Branscombe, *W.A. Mozart, Die Zauberflöte, Cambridge Opera Handbooks*, 173.

1136 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fritz_Busch Accessed 3.6.15.

Miller and Peter Sellars.[1137] Directors over past decades have found in *Così* a modern parable of the fickleness of the human heart, along with the human capacity for self-deception. Along with the above-mentioned directors, conductors such as John Eliot Gardiner, Nikolaus Harnoncourt, Riccardo Muti and Arnold Östman[1138] have collaborated in thought-provoking productions and found new readings of the score to underpin the irony and existential angst that modern readings have revealed. Recent assessments of *Così* have developed far beyond the judgement of Kobbé (1922) that 'the music … is so sparkling that various attempts have been made to relieve it of the handicap imposed by the banality of the original libretto by da Ponte.'[1139] Kobbé further noted that:

> *The Mozart revival has called attention to this slight but delightful opera. The plot is little more than a sketch which is by no means novel. But if the supposed frailty of women has been used to show a dramatist's wit, in this instance the composer has used the situations provided by the librettist as a peg for some incomparable music.[1140]*

Subsequent critical literature has supported a complete reassessment. Frits Noske, in his '*The Signifier and the Signified*' includes a chapter ('*Così fan tutte*: Dramatic Irony),[1141] which re-evaluates the traditionally held view of the opera, described as having 'carried the burden of its own myth for a long time.'[1142] Noske points to the use of parody and irony as techniques in the construction of *Così* – particularly in the musical construction where it is employed to underline self-mockery[1143] in comic or buffo passages. He notes the particular *tinta* of the opera, which derived from the substitution of trumpets for horns in passages where horns would be expected (for example, the trumpets 'substitute' in woodwind passages, eg. No. 13, *sestetto*, bars 30-50; No 14, aria, especially bars 65-72; No. 18, finale, bars 63-119; 429-484). Noske notes that 'since the trumpet, unlike the horn, cannot blend easily with the woodwinds, its presence adds spice to the orchestral sound.'[1144] In addition to significant musical quotation within the opera, for a variety of dramaturgical outcomes, Noske notes a number of what he calls 'parodied fragments'[1145] from *Don Giovanni* 'hidden in the score they seem to have been inserted solely for the composer's pleasure'.[1146] In 2004 a study of *Così* appeared by Edmund J. Goehring,[1147] who describes *Così* as Mozart's most enigmatic opera and Lorenzo da Ponte's most erudite text.[1148] Goehring explores relationships between the text and the music as well as searching for synergies between the three modes he explores – the philosophical, the pastoral and the comic. Goehring associates Don Alfonso with the philosophical mode and notes the philosopher figure in other

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1137 Branscombe, *W.A. Mozart, Die Zauberflöte, Cambridge Opera Handbooks*, 176–81.
1138 Ibid.
1139 Gustave Kobbé, *The Complete Opera Book* (London: Putnam, 1922).
1140 Ibid.
1141 Frits Noske, *The Signifier and the Signified: Studies in the Operas of Mozart and Verdi* (Oxford England; New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 93–120.
1142 Ibid 93.
1143 Ibid 99.
1144 Ibid 95–6.
1145 Ibid 100.
1146 Ibid.
1147 Edmund Joseph Goehring, *Three Modes of Perception in Mozart: The Philosophical, Pastoral and Comic in Così Fan Tutte, Cambridge Studies in Opera* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
1148 Ibid frontispiece.

operas of the period, such as Paisiello's *Il Socrate immaginario*. Despina is linked with the pastoral mode (which, during the eighteenth century, acquired sentimental overtones) and her two arias are discussed in considerable depth. The comic mode examines several characters that potentially fit into this mode as well as comic types – ironic, self-deprecating and sentimental. Goehring's achievement is to show that one of the criticisms of the opera historically – the apparent disjunction between text and music – is a consciously used device to illuminate the characters and the plot. This device (the artificial comedy) was likely understood by the first audiences, but was not recognised again until the twentieth century. Edward Said, in his book '*On late style*'[1149] includes a chapter devoted to *Così* ('Così fan tutte *at the limits*') a work he describes as a 'superb yet elusive and somewhat mysterious opera.'[1150] Said reflects upon the nature of *Così* as a specifically 'late opera', finding resonances in the use of thematic reminiscences'[1151] as described by Steptoe[1152] which look back to earlier Mozart operas. Said discusses a letter of Mozart's, written around the time of *Così's* composition, where he describes a 'feeling – a kind of emptiness, which hurts me dreadfully – a kind of longing, which is never satisfied, which never ceases and which persists, nay rather increases daily'.[1153] Said concludes that:

> *Mozart never ventured closer to the potentially terrifying view he and Da Ponte seem to have uncovered of a universe shorn of any redemptive or palliative scheme, whose one law is motion and instability expressed as the power of libertinage and manipulation and whose only conclusion is the terminal response provided by death.[1154]*

In presenting this view of *Così* Said does fall into the trap (developed by nineteenth-century commentators) of reading Mozart's early death into the world of his later works, in this case even during the conception of *Così*, which is unlikely. At the time of writing '*On Late Style*', Said was aware of his own impending death and it is possible that in his mind his own circumstances became entwined with those of Mozart in writing *Così*.

In addition to new critical attitudes to Mozart's operas, demystification of Mozart continues via a consideration of his working methods, in a scientific, even forensic approach that embraces the study of secondary source material such as orchestral material and early copyists scores, the dating of paper via watermarks, the study of ink types, along with information about the practice of fulfilling an opera commission.

Woodfield has published a study of *Così fan tutte*,[1155] which considers the way Mozart collaborated with and was influenced by the capabilities of the singers for whom he was writing. Woodfield presents a theory that casting difficulties in *Così* caused a swap in the singers, creating the ambiguities and apparent errors in, for example the vocal lines of Guglielmo and Don Alfonso in some ensembles. Woodfield also speculates that Mozart vacillated between an ending that left the

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1149   Said, *On Late Style: Music and Literature against the Grain*.
1150   Ibid 49.
1151   Ibid 62.
1152   Ibid.
1153   Ibid 61–2.
1154   Ibid 71.
1155   Ian Woodfield, *Mozart's Così Fan Tutte: A Compositional History* (Woodbridge; Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2008).

original pairs of lovers either switched or unswitched. The notion that the première of *Così* on 26 January 1790 represents the opera in its 'most authentic form'[1156] is challenged by Woodfield who points out that:

> *the question of when revisions were made in relation to the first performance is only significant to the extent that it is regarded as a key conceptual moment. If instead we accept the idea of an ongoing process (Woodfield acknowledges the problematic nature of charting that in a critical edition),[1157] then any changes that Mozart (and indeed others) made after hearing the opera in the theatre and observing audience reactions to it are just as interesting.[1158]*

Woodfield summarised his findings as follows:

1. During the later stages of the compositional process, Mozart made a series of 'agreed cuts', in arias, ensembles and recitatives. These cuts have appeared in various editions over the years (for example, Peters, 1941) without explanation, but they stem from Mozart.
2. Mozart made more wide-reaching revisions subsequently, into a [now] lost score, making them difficult to date. These include somewhat larger cuts and a substitution in the Act 2 finale for the canon (bars 173–204. The alternative version is published in NMA BA 4606 p. 631–3). Woodfield hypothesises that these were made for Vienna.
3. During the summer of 1791, Guardasoni staged *Così* in Prague. According to Woodfield 'There are strong indications that Mozart was consulted, even if only briefly.'[1159]

Woodfield also explores what he describes as the 'Two Sisters Problem', whereby Mozart swapped the roles of Fiordiligi and Dorabella around during the composition of the opera, leaving a number of inconsistencies. These, coupled with ambiguity about the assignment of the lines of Guglielmo and Don Alfonso points to some kind of interruption or uncertainty in the casting of the opera, which has created confusion in performance choices ever since. Woodfield notes that:

> *in the Vienna Court Theatre score no attempt was made to standardise the order of the two lowest vocal lines. The copyists merely followed Mozart, even duplicating the switch in the middle of 'Sento oddio', a feature that is consequently seen in many other early copies.[1160]*

The disappearance of the autograph of Act 1 during WWII (and its recovery in the 1970s) is discussed,[1161] along with the study of ink types used by Mozart, to clarify some of the details of the compositional processes. The research of John Arthur is quoted[1162] showing that Mozart created the autograph in a three-stage process: a particella; string instrumentation; wind instrumentation.[1163] String lines

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1156   Ibid xii.
1157   Ibid.
1158   Ibid xiii.
1159   Ibid xiii–xiv.
1160   Ibid 24.
1161   Ibid 10.
1162   John Arthur, 'Some Chronological Problems in Mozart: the Contribution of Ink-studies', *Wolfgang Amadè Mozart: Essays on his Life and Music*, ed. Stanley Sadie. (Oxford 1996). 35–52.
1163   Woodfield, *Mozart's Così Fan Tutte: A Compositional History*, 16.

were added when string parts needed to be copied for early rehearsals. A process leading to two sets of textual variants is then described by Woodfield:

> *Before the start of the full orchestral rehearsals, duplicate string parts would be taken from the first-desk set and the wind parts would be copied directly from the autograph. The full score produced as a reference copy for the theatre was also taken from the autograph, but independently from the parts.*[1164]

Woodfield concludes that *Così* exists in at least four distinct versions and that any of them could easily be reconstructed in a modern performance. He notes that NMA score basically represents 'the composer's initial conception, before he came up against the realities of theatrical life during the rehearsal period.'[1165] In his summation, Woodfield quotes Stefan Kunze, who asserts that 'the idea of different but authentic versions [of a Mozart opera] seems intolerable' and responding: 'The underlying premise of this investigation … has been my belief that the value of detailed study of these materials has increased rather than diminished in the light of our changing concept of what the 'text' of a Mozart opera really is.'[1166] Woodfield quotes Senici in identifying the 'general belief'[1167] articulated by Kunze of Mozart's operas being conceived as 'texts': 'at the root of this conception is the myth of the composer as *the* author of the opera – a nineteenth-century invention.'[1168] Senici continues by noting the emphasis of Mozart scholarship on aspects of a work that were under the composer's control, while everything else was regarded as 'non-authentic'. Woodfield reminds the reader that what may have once appeared an unmoving object under the lens of musicology is, rather than a 'single, static 'text' … a moving target. We must learn to set aside our stills cameras and acquire the techniques of cinematography.'[1169]

Highlighting the extent to which modern thinking remains 'work based' is a significant part of the value of Woodfield's pioneering work. He notes that in relation to *Don Giovanni,* the prevailing nineteenth-century attitude was to regard Mozart's autograph as representative of the 'work' *Don Giovanni*. Woodfield notes that:

> at the same time, great emphasis was placed on the first performances in the two cities, seen as defining the structure of the work at its metaphorical birth and rebirth, with any post-*première* revisions relegated to obscurity. *In retrospect, we can see this as an altogether unreal picture of the manner in which the composer's creation interacted with the world in which he lived.*[1170]

Woodfield notes that gradually cracks began to appear in the edifice ('The construct of *Don Giovanni* as an opera embodied in a pair of discrete, composer sanctioned versions belongs firmly to the age of the *Gesamtausgabe*.')[1171] and that the work of both Tyson and Edge (along with Woodfield's own) have ushered in a new era of Mozart studies based around the question: 'what constitutes a 'version' of a Mozart opera?'[1172]

1164   Ibid 17.
1165   Ibid 191.
1166   Ibid 193.
1167   Ibid.
1168   Ibid.
1169   Ibid.
1170   *The Vienna Don Giovanni* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010), 145.
1171   Ibid 146.
1172   Ibid 145.

This extended consideration of the operas of Mozart has demonstrated the impossibility of definitively pinpointing authorial intent. Each generation has invented Mozart's work according to the spirit of the times. With hindsight it is easy to identify and even to condemn errors of judgement or even to find the retrospective humour in seeming gross miscalculations. The evidence of the past, however would suggest that present day certainties about Mozart and the realisation of his works are in themselves constructs, misunderstandings. The best that modern civilisation can arrive at is a fascinating collections of 'Misreadings',[1173] which does not mean that the pursuit of authenticity is misguided, rather that it is an aim rather than a point of arrival.

In the case of the Mozart operas, there is the possibility of a plurality of Mozart styles, where the notion of the composer becomes a complex prism, able to be viewed from any number of viewpoints. In this, the performative nature of music holds an advantage over the processes of the art museum, where the focus is generally upon defining, through preservation and restoration, a single guise for a unique artwork. This process leaves an artwork potentially exposed to serious 'Misreading' or gross disfigurement, as history confirms. The nature of the musical work makes the notion of approximation (minor misreading) a more attractive possibility – getting close to the spirit of the composer, while always falling short of the mark.

The employment of ornamentation, extemporisation and improvisation in the operas of Mozart has been discussed, along with a account of the lack of agreement surrounding these practices in an era where they are usually painstakingly and self-consciously simulated. A little over twenty years separate the death of Mozart and the *première* of the final version of Beethoven's only opera, *Fidelio.* Beethoven can be seen as a composer working within a different philosophy to Mozart, that of a 'work-based' sensibility. Inherent in this development was a move to greater authorial control through defining (notating) more of the parameters of performance. In his instrumental music Beethoven certainly did this – but what of his sole opera, a genre that commentators have found an unlikely foray for Beethoven? Previously the notion of small details of a work going 'out of focus' has been presented. *Fidelio* presents just such a dilemma. In Beethoven's hybrid, though notionally *Singspiel*-derived opera, what were his expectations in terms of the employment of unnotated appoggiaturas? While this practice continued among singers in the early nineteenth century, is it possible that Beethoven left these matters to chance or to the spontaneous whims of his performers? The conflicting evidence presented in the next chapter highlights the difficulties in identifying and establishing authorial intent across time.

1173   Evoking: *Umberto Eco Misreadings* (London: Picador, 1994).

CHAPTER NINE

Achieving fidelity in *Fidelio*

Mimesis – the appoggiatura

As discussed in the previous chapter, attitudes towards ornamentation in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century have continued to be speculated about throughout the twentieth century. While more information is available to performers seeking to reconstruct an authentic sense of style than ever before, consensus remains elusive, highly divergent attitudes remain, along with an underlying and persistent notion that ornamentation is a primarily decorative, optional extra. How crucial are ornamental devices to the identity of the musical work and how do they stand in relation to the musical score as defined by the composer? Anyone visiting a collection of ancient sculpture in an art museum is faced with a similar dilemma. Most art lovers are predisposed to appreciate the bleached, monochrome patina of ancient sculpture as presented in museum exhibits. The reality of how these sculptures were presented and deemed complete at the time of their creation, would confuse many museum visitors. Mark Bradley notes that 'while most discussions include a stock footnote to the effect that ancient sculpture was coloured, paint is seldom taken into account in art-historical studies of ancient marble sculpture.'[1174] Bradley cites the case of the '*Peplos Kore*', which has been reconstructed 'in vivid red, blue, green and white pigments complete with jewellery, head-dress and a *meniskos*[1175]…[and] has never failed to provoke a reaction from visitors through its contrast to all the other white casts surrounding it.'[1176]

In the case of the Parthenon, the paint that would have been applied to the building would produce an effect unacceptable today, although 'the British Museum is undertaking a project to produce a 'virtual Parthenon' in full colour.'[1177] In spite of the slowness of the art-world to recognise the centrality of colour to ancient sculpture, Bradley notes that 'an ancient statue without colour … is like a mannequin without clothes.'[1178] It seems that a completed sculpture involved the successive skills of two artists: the sculptor would complete his task and then 'a separate professional was commissioned to 'finish' off what the sculptor had started, once the sculpture was in position.'[1179] This separation suggests an act of

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1174   Mark Bradley, 'The Importance of Colour on Ancient Marble Sculpture', *Art History* 32, 3 (2009): 427.

1175   A Meniskos (Greek: μηνίσκος, plural Meniskoi, English translation: 'crescent moon') is a bronze disk mounted above some Greek statues on an iron nail drilled through the statue's head. Since many Greek statues were displayed outside, the meniskos served the simple purpose of preventing bird droppings from accumulating on the statue. Cook, R. M. (1976). 'A Supplementary Note on Meniskoi', The Journal of Hellenic Studies 96: 153–4. doi:10.2307/631232. JSTOR 631232.

1176   Bradley, 'The Importance of Colour on Ancient Marble Sculpture', *Art History*, 432. The article reproduces images of a number of restored works, including 'Peplos Kore' (Ill. 6).

1177   Ibid 434.

1178   Ibid 437. Or an eighteenth century opera without appoggiaturas.

1179   Ibid 438.

mimesis on the part of the painter, a realisation of the sculptor's initial work, which finds a correspondence between, for example, the creation of a printed edition of an opera and its performance. Plutarch 'compares tragic actors to the painters, gilders and dyers of statues; like these, tragic actors put the finishing touches[1180] to the plays they perform.'[1181] There is a sense in which the painter, in applying colour brings a sculpture to life: 'the implication is that colour was the medium by which the skilled artist could blur the distinction between art and reality.'[1182] The painter in relation to the sculpture performs the act of mimesis, 'plays' the sculptor's score and stands in relation to the sculpture in the way that a performer stands to a musical score. Successive 'performances' or restorations (or 'revivals') of the 'work' threaten to obscure the 'original' values and significance, however are an essential part of mimesis, bringing the work to life and maintaining it in that state.

The role of ornamentation in the Mozart operas is not in question (however the degree and specifics remain subjects of debate), while Beethoven is a slightly different case. While both Mozart and Gluck were prolific opera composers, Beethoven's single opera[1183] involved painstaking re-workings over a period of 10 years, which carry the hallmarks of a quest for a work-based, definitive version. Beethoven is regarded as an unlikely opera composer by many commentators, with Winton Dean noting that 'Beethoven was clearly not a born opera composer, least of all in the conditions obtaining at the turn of the nineteenth century.'[1184] Denis Matthews considers that issue in terms of Beethoven's musical temperament. He notes that the overtures to *Egmont* and *Coriolan* are most often 'heard out of context as absolute music'[1185] and that the effect 'is staggeringly self-sufficient.'[1186] Matthews sees this as a consequence of the sheer strength of Beethoven's musical thinking. He states that 'this was one of Beethoven's eternal problems in his approach to opera: the harnessing of such musical power to the requirements of a libretto, an aria or ensemble.'[1187]

Beethoven was far from ignorant of the conventions of opera, however and already at the age of 12–13 in Bonn, he was employed playing the *cembalo* in the Elector's theatre orchestra under Kapellmeister Neefe.[1188] Subsequently, from 1788 until 1792, he played viola in the orchestra of a new opera company that was formed by the Elector Maximilian Franz.[1189] Among Beethoven's earlier works figure a number of insertion arias,[1190] and many of his piano variations are based upon contemporary operas by Grétry, Müller, Wranitzky, Paisiello, Winter, Weigl, Salieri and Süssmayr.[1191] Dean notes Beethoven's apparent ambivalence to opera,

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1180   Expressive devices, just like the use of ornamentation in an (tragic) opera seria.
1181   Bradley, 'The Importance of Colour on Ancient Marble Sculpture', *Art History*, 438. See Plutarch, *De Gloria Atheniesium* 6.438E
1182   Ibid 446.
1183   Denis Matthews, *Beethoven* (London: Dent, 1985), 123.
1186   Ibid.
1185   Matthews, *Beethoven* , 183.
1186   Ibid.
1187   Ibid.
1188   Winton Dean, *Essays on Opera* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 123.
1189   Ibid 124.
1190   Ibid.
1191   Ibid.

deriving from his irrepressible need 'to stretch convention in order to give utterance to his ideas.'[1192]

The length of *Fidelio's* gestation along with its genre creates additional uncertainties as regards the employment of appoggiaturas and other ornamentation. Denis Matthews places *Fidelio* firmly in the *Singspiel* tradition, noting that it 'achieved greatness in spite of its tacit acceptance of the conventional trappings of the German *Singspiel*.[1193] Those trappings include the addition of unwritten appoggiaturas[1194] in certain contexts in works such as Mozart's *Entführung, Die Zauberflöte,* Beethoven's *Fidelio* and Weber's *Der Freischütz* and one that continues to cause confusion.

On 21 November 1805, an Englishman, Henry Reeve attended the penultimate performance of a season of *Fidelio* in Vienna.[1195] Reeve noted in his journal that 'Beethoven presided at the pianoforte and directed the performance himself.'[1196] The following is an investigation into an intriguing, though ultimately unanswerable question: How did Beethoven expect his vocal lines to be sung and were his wishes conveyed in performance? To what extent did he make stipulations in rehearsals? How did Beethoven, whose vocal lines are frequently criticised as being instrumentally derived, deal with the convention of UAs? What evidence survives and how might performers best be advised to proceed today – do Beethoven's vocal lines require colouring and gilding with appoggiaturas?

A new edition of *Fidelio*

A recent edition of Beethoven's *Fidelio* published by *Bärenreiter-Verlag* raises issues about the incorporation of UAs into the vocal lines of *Fidelio*, along with wider concerns regarding the parameters of critical editions. Both the full[1197] (BA9011) and vocal scores[1198] (BA9011a) were examined. Apart from the obvious differences expected between these scores, only the latter contains a number of specific suggestions for UAs, both upper- and lower-note, along with an explanatory preface. On request, a supplementary report was provided by the publisher[1199] (described as 'a commentary which forms the introduction to the full score'), along with the advice that a critical report is still in preparation. What follows is an investigation into the background to these suggested UAs, involving an examination of threads running through the performance history of *Fidelio* from its première in 1814 to the present day in order to contextualise suggestions made by the editor, Helga Lühning. Source material consulted includes early

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1192 Ibid 163.
1193 Matthews, *Beethoven*, 183.
1194 Henceforth referred to as 'UAs'.
1195 *Henry Reeve, Journal of a Residence at Vienna and Berlin in the Eventful Winter 1805–06* (London: Longmans). Quoted in Solomon, *Beethoven* (1978) 206.
1196 Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven* (London: Cassell, 1978), 206.
1197 Ludwig van Beethoven et al., *Fidelio*: Oper in Zwei Aufzügen (Opera in Two Acts): Op. 72, BA 9011 ed. (Kassel; London: Bärenreiter, 2000).
1198 *Fidelio: Oper in Zwei Aufzügen* (Opera in Two Acts): Op. 72, BA 9011a ed. (Kassel; London: Bärenreiter, 2004).
1199 Email correspondence between Ian Coss of Clear Music, Australia and Bärenreiter-Verlag, Kassel. The attachment – '*Fidelio* in a new Guise'- was forwarded by Clear Music on 10.11.2011.

arrangements of *Fidelio* for *Harmonie* [1200] and piano solo (c1815); [1201] vocal anthologies containing Leonore's aria; a vocal score edited by Wilhelm Kienzl dating from 1901;[1202] an arrangement for piano duet by Alexander von Zemlinsky dating from circa 1903;[1203] other vocal works by Beethoven, including *Leonore* (1804–05)[1204] and a sampling of twentieth-century recordings of *Fidelio.*

The Bärenreiter vocal score of *Fidelio* contains a preface that incorporates a brief history of the gestation of Beethoven's only opera, spanning 10 years and involving the creation of three distinct versions. The preface considers matters of performance practice, the focus being the incorporation of UAs into the vocal parts, with respect to the conventions of vocal notation and performance practice prevalent during Beethoven's lifetime. Table 11 gives a tally of UA suggestions made in this edition:

Number	Title	Number of UAs
1	Duett	26
2	Arie	3
3	Quartett	0
4	Arie	2
5	Terzett	6
6	Marsch	N/A
7	Arie mit Chor	7
8	Duett	8
9	Rezitativ und Arie	8
10	Finale	15
11	Intro. und Arie	4
12	Melodram und Duett	6
13	Terzett	6

1200 Beethoven, Ludwig van, R. P. Block, Wenzel Sedlak and Himie Voxman. *Fidelio*, Arr. For 2 Oboes, 2 Clarinets, 2 Horns, 2 Bassoons and Contra Bassoon/Double Bass. [S.l.]: Musica Rara, 1973.

1201 Beethoven, Ludwig van and Ignaz Moscheles. *Fidelio. Eine Grosse Oper. Eingerichtet Für Das Pianoforte Ohne Singstimmen Von I. Moscheles.* Artaria, Wien, 1815.

1202 Beethoven, Ludwig van and Wilhelm Kienzl. *Fidelio. Opera in Two Acts.* Op. 72. Vocal Score with English and German Words Arranged According to the Original Score By ... Wilhelm Kienzl. English Version by Percy Pinkerton. Wien: Universal-Edition, 1901.

1203 Beethoven, Ludwig van and Alexander Zemlinsky. *Fidelio. Oper in 2 Acten.* [Wien]: Universal-Edition Actiengesellschaft in Wien, 1902.

1204 Beethoven, Ludwig van and Erich Prieger. *Leonore. Oper in Drei Akten.* Klavier-Auszug. [Edited with an Introduction by E. Prieger.]. London: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1905.

14	Quartett	30
15	Duett	0
16	Finale	11(12?)
Total		132 (133?)

Table 11. Unwritten Appoggiaturas suggested by Bärenreiter edition BA9011a.

A curiosity of this edition is the inconsistent notation in No. 16, finale (bar 193) of a single UA that does not correspond to the notation in the rest of the volume (hence the ambiguity in the final tally):

Ex. 9-1. *Fidelio* (BA 9011a), page 221, bars 192–3, showing alternative UA notation.

In all other places, upper note UA's are indicated by: and lower note by: . There is no explanation for the apparent inconsistency shown in Ex. 9-1.

The suggestions in 11 are not supported by twentieth century recorded data. In order to account for this anomaly, the information contained in the Bärenreiter preface was examined. Lühning refers to the 'fact that Beethoven could not turn to a mature tradition of the genre'[1205] in composing the work and that 'the genre itself had to be newly invented'. *Fidelio* remains, in the editors' estimation, 'an isolated work'[1206] and the 'lack of tradition ... offered ... a chance of finding a quite different direction'. [1207] Lühning continues with a discussion of ornamentation, focusing particularly upon UAs. She notes that:

> *...it is known that in the study of eighteenth century music ... a great deal is not notated as it was performed. ... the composition itself is incomplete. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, composers therefore gradually began to also through compose solo parts. ... Beethoven was by no means unaffected by this development, but was particularly true to the ideal of defining the composition, including notating all aspects of performance practice in the score ... Certainly singers in Beethoven's day ornamented the vocal parts in Fidelio and Beethoven must have also taken this into account.* <u>*But just as certainly that was not his intention.*</u>[1208] *In his compositional process, there was scarcely room for improvisation by the singers.* <u>*The appoggiaturas form an exception to this*</u>.[1209, 1210]

There is no further clarification of these points nor are any sources offered. Lühning outlines the conventions governing the use of appoggiaturas in the eighteenth century. She gives examples from *Fidelio* where Beethoven composed

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1205   Beethoven et al., *Fidelio: Oper in Zwei Aufzügen (Opera in Two Acts)*: Op. 72, vii–x. All
       quotes are from the English language preface.
1206   Ibid.
1207   Ibid.
1208   Present author's underlining.
1209   Present author's underlining.
1210   Beethoven et al., *Fidelio: Oper in Zwei Aufzügen (Opera in Two Acts)*: 1207, vii–x.

such suspensions directly into the vocal lines and indicates where he has not. She asserts that:

> *... Beethoven also notated suspensions where they were obvious. Very often, however, they are missing in such places. To conclude from this that Beethoven did not want to have them there, where they were part of current performance practice for his composing colleagues would be completely wrong.[1211]*

She concludes that 'those who are familiar with the rules of singing declamation will discover in *Fidelio*, <u>particularly in the buffo numbers,</u>[1212] a further series of places which are not marked where appoggiaturas ... (are) used.'[1213]

The emphasis here is on the use of appoggiaturas in buffo numbers although evidence will be provided that, during the twentieth century, UAs have been employed predominantly in only two numbers – neither in the buffo style.

The commentary sent by Bärenreiter in lieu of a critical report, '*Fidelio in a New Guise*' concludes as follows:

> *Our edition is accompanied by a newly engraved vocal score ... The latter contains, in the vocal parts, notes on the execution of appoggiaturas, that is, the cadential suspensions at the end of each verse. Proper execution of appoggiaturas often gives a completely new twist to the projection and melodic flow of the music. Recent performances of Fidelio have revealed that singers and conductors are still uncertain about these basic rules of execution. It therefore seemed advisable to include appropriate instructions in the vocal score.[1214]*

The instructions referred to are akin to the 'iterative solution' proposed by Neal Zaslaw in relation to historical reconstruction:

> *Since we have no time machine how can we know that we are getting things 'right'? Leaving aside the problematic nature of the idea that there is (or ever was) such a thing as 'right', the answer is that we can never get it 'right', but we can arrive at ever closer approximations. This method of working is well known in mathematics and physics as an iterative solution, in which, in a problem for which no definitive answer is possible, a series of constantly refined approximations eventually yields a solution that is fully adequate to the task at hand. In the performance of early music, we too – by studying the implications of eighteenth-century performing conditions, aesthetic preferences and the music itself and seeing what impact each discovery in one of these may have for the others – can gradually reach a fully adequate approximation. This is not to suggest that there exists a Main Truth to be discovered, but that each age and each talented composer found temporary truths, some of which we may hope to rediscover.[1215]*

Further evidence was sought to test the 'iterative solution' proposed in Lühning's preface.

A tempered view

1211   Ibid.

1212   Present author's underlining.

1213   Beethoven et al., *Fidelio: Oper in Zwei Aufzügen (Opera in Two Acts)*:, vii–x.

1214   *Fidelio* in a new Guise, see email correspondence between Ian Coss of Clear Music, Australia and Bärenreiter-Verlag, Kassel. The attachment – '*Fidelio* in a new Guise'- was forwarded by Clear Music on 10.11.2011.

1215   Neal Zaslaw, *Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989). Quoted in Richard Taruskin, 'Where Things Stand Now' (online article, 2009) http://www.worldscibooks.com/etextbook/p845/p845-chap01.pdf Accessed 12.4.12.

A more detailed explanation, which sets out the ambiguities inherent in the use of UAs in Beethoven's *oeuvre* comes from an article by Michael Tilmouth.[1216] He makes a convincing argument for the employment of UAs as a natural convention of performance, applying equally to the time of Beethoven as to Mozart. Quoting a number of contemporary singing tutors and treatises to support his case, he then looks at the changing conventions of instrumental writing during the nineteenth century, in particular the writing of recitative-like passages and the fact that composers such as Mozart, Mendelssohn and Chopin as well as Beethoven do not write repeated notes on stressed beats in instrumental music, rather they write out the appoggiaturas. He offers the example of the finale of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, where two parallel passages (one for celli and basses, the other for baritone voice) are notated differently – an appoggiatura being notated for the instruments, but not the vocal part:

Ex. 9-2. Beethoven, Ninth Symphony, 4th Movt., bars 14–6, cello recitative with notated appoggiatura; and bars 219–21, vocal line with no appoggiatura notated.

Tilmouth warns that 'even if Beethoven's notation in his instrumental works was becoming a more exact representation of his full intentions, that in the vocal music was still inexact and inconsistent and relies a good deal on conventions.' Tilmouth judiciously advises 'Beethoven's vocal notation, then, must be treated with some caution.' This injunction is at odds with the preface to the Bärenreiter edition, which encourages a liberal usage of appoggiaturas wherever a convention in eighteenth century usage might allow it. In contrast, Tilmouth points out that 'the rough-hewn surface of his [*Beethoven's*] music resists a too fastidious approach and to over-embellish would be a greater sin than to leave it plain.'[1217]

Tilmouth cites a passage from the Quartet (No.14) in the second act of *Fidelio* where the 'rough-hewn surface'[1218] is clearly exemplified in the vocal line of Pizarro:

1216   Michael Tilmouth 'The appoggiatura in Beethoven's vocal music', *The Musical Times*, Vol. 111, No. 1534, Beethoven Bicentenary Issue (Dec. 1970), 1209–11.
1217   Ibid.
1218   Ibid.

Ex. 9-3. *Fidelio* No 14, Quartet, bars 14–32, showing UAs suggested by Tilmouth along with those suggested by Lühning.

Tilmouth indicates five places where UAs might be added, shown in Ex. 9-3. By comparison, Lühning suggests only 3 UAs (the two not indicated by Lühning appear in brackets). Speculation about the ornamentation Beethoven may have wanted or condoned requires consideration beyond the vocal conventions of the time, encompassing the brutal, demonic qualities of Pizarro's character and the

extreme situation he finds himself in at this stage of the drama. The vocal writing here is declamatory, fragmentary and instrumentally derived rather than vocal in character. Whether the established vocal ornamentation of Beethoven's day applies to passages such as this remains an open question. Tilmouth's suggestions for possible UAs in this passage appear at the conclusion of his article, in the context of speculation about just exactly what Beethoven may have wanted or expected in performance. He concedes that 'we shall probably never know'.[1219]

Evidence in Beethoven's works

In Beethoven's *œuvre* recitatives appear unexpectedly in instrumental and chamber works as well as in vocal contexts. Terse instrumental-based figurations inhabit vocal lines. This blurring of stylistic distinctions creates potential confusion in defining ornamentation. In the case of *Fidelio*, where genres are fused, ambiguities are multiplied. It is known that Beethoven studied vocal writing and Italian text setting with Salieri[1220] in the earlier part of his career, the fruits of which can be seen in the songs he produced prior to 1800. A representative example is *Seufzer eines Ungeliebten und Gegenliebe* (WoO 118, 1795). In spite of the German text, all of the expected appoggiaturas are notated, leaving little ambiguity as to the composers' intentions.

Ah! Perfido

Beethoven's '*Ah! Perfido*', a *scena* for soprano and orchestra was (in spite of the opus number 65) composed as early as 1796 and written under the tutelage of Salieri. Its kinship with Leonore's aria in *Fidelio* has often been remarked upon.[1221] The work is composed to an Italian text and opens with an extended *recitativo accompagnato*. Here Beethoven notates nearly all the appoggiaturas that might be expected, with the exception of two cadential points: given in Ex. 9-4, at the word '*congedi*' and in Ex. 9-5 at '*d'intorno*':

Ex. 9-4. '*Ah! Perfido*', bars 15–6.**1222**

Ex. 9-5. '*Ah! Perfido*', bars 38–41.

1219 Ibid.
1220 Matthews, *Beethoven*, 257.
1221 Matthews, *Beethoven*, 185.
1222 Beethoven, *Ah! Perfido*, Opus 65, vocal score, Peters edition, plate nr. 9283.

These cadential points are sufficiently obvious to performers that no UA's need stipulating. The vocal line demonstrates Beethoven determining both where appoggiaturas should be added (when some ambiguity might exist) and leaving obvious contexts to the conventions that were well understood by the performers of his day. It demonstrates that, around 1796, after his lessons with Salieri, he was well aware of conventions of vocal appoggiaturas and knew perfectly well how to apply them: '*Ah! Perfido*' could be considered a textbook example.

The *Leonore* Score[1223]

Further evidence was found by comparing *Fidelio* with the earlier *Leonore*.[1224] By the time of the composition of *Fidelio* Beethoven's attitude to appoggiaturas seems to have become more erratic and a comparison of his first thoughts (*Leonore*, 1804–05)[1225] with *Fidelio* (1814) provide interesting indicators as to how his views evolved over a period of 10 years.

Beginning with *Fidelio*, Leonore's aria (No. 9) includes four repetitions of the word '*Gattenliebe*' (in the *Allegro con brio* passage) against six times in *Leonore* (No.11).

In *Fidelio,* at bar 81, on '-*lie*be, an appoggiatura is specified:

Ex. 9-6. *Fidelio*, Leonore's aria, bars 78–81, showing notated appoggiatura in bar 81.

The second time (bar 88) no appoggiatura is notated:

Ex. 9-7. *Fidelio,* Leonore's aria, bars 86–8 showing no appoggiatura notated in bar 88.

The third time (bar 128) in the parallel (though reworked) passage no appoggiatura specified:

Ex. 9-8. *Fidelio*, Leonore's aria, bars 124–8, showing no appoggiatura notated in bar 128.

1223   Ludwig van Beethoven and Erich Prieger, *Leonore. Oper in Drei Akten. Klavier–Auszug.* [Edited with an Introduction by E. Prieger.] (London: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1905).

1224   Ibid.

1225   From herein, *Leonore* refers to the version of 1804–05, as it appears in the Breitkopf edition of 1905. *Fidelio* refers to the work of 1814.

The fourth time (bar 144), which is a cadential intensification of the second time, transposed up an octave, no appoggiatura is given:

Ex. 9-9. *Fidelio*, Leonore's aria, bars 142–4, showing no appoggiatura notated in bar 144.

In *Leonore* the first time *Gatten*lie*be* is sung in bar 96 no appoggiatura is specified (compare with *Fidelio*, bar 81):


Ex. 9-10. *Leonore*, Leonore's aria, bars 92–6, showing no appoggiatura notated in bar 96.

There is no evidence to indicate whether the introduction of the appoggiatura in the later version was deliberate; if it was a 'slip' (in so far as Beethoven may have written out the revision partially by memory); or if the intervening years between the two versions led Beethoven to feel he needed to specifically notate the appoggiatura in that context (although he did not subsequently). Nor can it be explained why the parallel passage (*Fidelio* bar 128) was not 'corrected' to a notated appoggiatura.

Comparison of two versions of the recitative in Florestan's scena reveals further ambiguities: again, this recitative was significantly reworked for the final version of *Fidelio*.

In *Leonore* (No. 13) there is a written-out appoggiatura at bar 44 – '*O grauenvolle* Stil*le*' which does not appear in *Fidelio* (No. 11), bar 36:
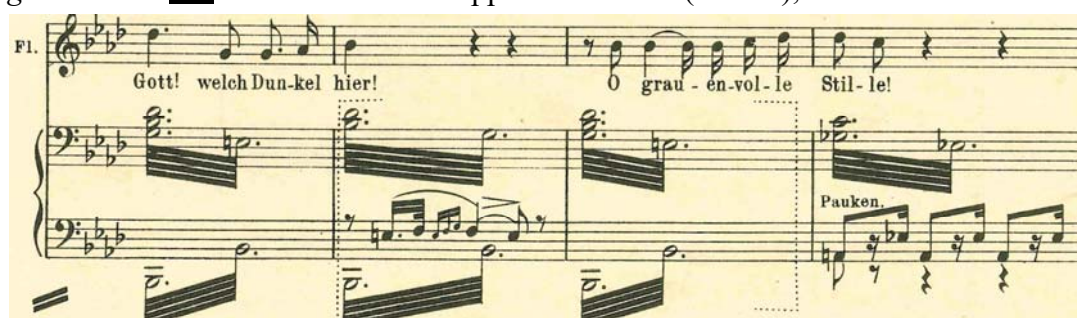
Ex. 9-11. *Leonore*, Florestan's aria, bars 41–4, showing an appoggiatura notated in bar 44.

Ex. 9-12. *Fidelio*, Florestan's aria, bars 36–8, showing no appoggiatura notated in bar 36.

This may have been a deliberate decision by Beethoven to avoid an appoggiatura in the revision, although the context is not identical.

The vocal line '*O schwere Prüfung*' in each version is identical, though the orchestral settings are quite different. Neither version incorporates an appoggiatura on '<u>Prü</u>*fung*':

Ex. 9-13. *Leonore*, Florestan's aria, bars 49–52, showing no appoggiatura notated in bar 51.

Ex. 9-14. *Fidelio*, Florestan's aria, bars 40–1, showing no appoggiatura notated in bar 41.

The next line, '*Doch gerecht ist Gottes Wille*' has been considerably reworked. The original version in *Leonore* has a notated appoggiatura on '<u>Wil</u>*le*':

Ex. 9-15. *Leonore*, Florestan's aria, bars 53–5, showing an appoggiatura notated in bar 55.

However the later *Fidelio* does not:

Ex. 9-16. *Fidelio*, Florestan's aria, bars 42–6, showing no appoggiatura notated in bar 44.

This comparison between *Fidelio* and *Leonore* highlights apparent inconsistencies in Beethoven's working practices and his choices in notating appoggiaturas. It suggests that this issue was an ambiguous area for him and that the application of hard and fast rules today may not produce a result that the composer would have desired.

The evidence of contemporary arrangements

Two arrangements of *Fidelio* were created shortly after the première in 1814. They were made with Beethoven's permission and stem from an announcement that was made in the *Wiener Zeitung* on 1 July 1814:[1226]

> *The undersigned at the request of the Herren Artaria and Co., herewith declares that he has given the score of his opera FIDELIO to the aforesaid music establishment for publication under his direction in a complete pianoforte score, quartets or other arrangement for wind band. The present musical version is not to be confounded with an earlier one, since hardly a musical number has been left unchanged and more than half of the opera was composed anew ...*
>
> *Vienna, June 28th, 1814*
> *Ludwig van Beethoven*

Wenzel Sedlak (1776–1851) was a Bohemian composer and clarinettist[1227] employed in a number of Harmonie ensembles and a well-known transcriber of operas and ballets for Harmonie, including an arrangement of *Fidelio* (c1815). Sedlak arranged 11 numbers from *Fidelio* for Harmonie:

1226   Eric Hoeprich, 'Ludwig van Beethoven: *Fidelio*', in the liner notes for the recording of the Harmoniemusik of *Fidelio*, arranged by Wenzel Sedlak, performed by Eric Hoeprich and Nachtmusik, Glossa GCD 920606 (2004).

1227   Roger Hellyer: 'Wenzel Sedlak', *Grove Music Online,* ed. Deane L. Root (Accessed 28.11.11), http://www.grovemusic.com

Number in original *Fidelio* score	Title of musical number	Cuts or omissions
	Overture	
No. 1[1228]	*Duett*	
No. 2	*Arie*	
No. 3	*Quartett*	
No. 4	*Arie*	
No. 5	*Terzett*	
No. 6	*Marsch*	
No. 10	*Finale*	Bars 1–178 only.
No. 11	*Introduktion und Arie* (Florestan)	Begins at bar 51.
No. 13	*Terzett*	
No. 15	*Duett*	
(Leonore's aria was not included).		

Table 12. Musical numbers included in Sedlak's transcription of *Fidelio*, with cuts noted.

The opening duet is arranged complete and there is no trace of any of the twenty-six appoggiaturas suggested by Lühning in Table 11. In assessing the information contained in the arrangement, the results are far from clear-cut due to the complexities and practical considerations of creating such a transcription. In the opening duet, the vocal lines often follow or are shadowed by the instrumental lines – it is uncertain whether Sedlak is favouring the vocal or instrumental lines in his arrangement. At a number of points appoggiaturas notated by Beethoven are omitted – 'dissolved' into the texture where the vocal and instrumental parts dovetail. Examples of this occur in No. 2, Marzelline's aria, at bars 25 and 59. This arrangement – made shortly after the première of *Fidelio* – does not indicate appoggiaturas in contexts that (upon the evidence of Lühning's preface) would have been considered normal practice. The lack of appoggiaturas however may be accounted for by contemporary differences between instrumental and vocal notational conventions.

Ignaz Moscheles[1229] published his arrangement of *Fidelio* for piano solo in 1815, in response to the Artaria announcement quoted above, therefore with the approval and cooperation of Beethoven.[1230] This is also not a complete transcription, but includes the following numbers:

1228   Numbers correspond with the usual numbering in the score of *Fidelio*.

1229   The title page reads as follows: '*Fidelio*, Eine grosse Oper von L. Van Beethoven, eingerichtet für das Piano-Forte, ohne Singstimmen, von J. Moscheles, Eigenthum der Verleger in Wien bey Artaria und Comp.'

1230   British Library catalogue entry: 'Wien, c. 1815?' It should be noted that this piano arrangement is distinct and separate from the piano-vocal score that Moscheles produced around the same time, for the same publisher. That score reproduces the vocal lines exactly as notated by Beethoven, without incorporating any UAs, suggesting that in transcribing the work into a purely instrumental context (in this case solo piano), it was not assumed that executants would be familiar with vocal conventions.

Number in original *Fidelio* score	Title of musical number	Cuts or omissions
	Overture	
No. 1[1231]	*Duett*	
No. 2	*Arie*	
No. 3.	*Quartett*	
No. 5	*Terzett*	
No. 6	*Marsch*	
No. 7	*Arie*	
No. 8	*Duett*	
No. 10	*Finale*	Three excerpts are included as separate numbers – bars 1–178, 267–330, 437–521.
No. 11	*Introduction und Arie ('Ouverture des 2ten Akt')*	Omits the recitative and cuts to the aria (bars 56–146).
No. 12	*Melodram und Duett*	The melodrama is omitted and the excerpt begins at the Duett ('*Nur hurtig fort*').
No. 13	*Terzett*	
No. 15	*Duett*	
No. 16	*Finale*	Includes bars 1-13 and 225-421.

Table 13. Musical numbers included in Moscheles' arrangement of *Fidelio*, with cuts noted.

The reasons for the omissions are uncertain, although both finales contain declamatory passages that do not lend themselves obviously to instrumental transcription. The omission of both Rocco's (No. 4) and Leonore's (No. 9) arias may originate from the circumstances of the première season, where both arias were withheld until the seventh performance, on 18 July 1814.[1232] The passages from *Fidelio* that tend to retain UAs today have generally not been included by Moscheles (Leonore's recitative and aria, the recitative from Florestan's aria which opens Act 2). There are, however a few surprises in Moscheles' score, for example in Florestan's aria (No. 11, *Poco Allegro*):

1231   Numbers correspond with the usual numbering in the score of *Fidelio*.

1232   Michael C. Tusa, 'Beethoven's essay in opera: historical, text-critical and interpretative issues in *Fidelio',* Glenn Stanley ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Beethoven* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 201.

Ex. 9-17. *Fidelio,* Moscheles arrangement of Florestan's aria, bars 94–114.

In Ex. 9-17 Moscheles adds UAs (g'-f') at bar 100, likewise (d'-c') at bar 107 and (e flat'-d') at bar 109. This suggests that UAs were typically added at these places in early performances and were familiar enough to Moscheles that he modified Beethoven's written text – in making a transcription for an instrumental medium he wanted to elucidate a vocal convention. These UAs are not present in any other source material consulted.

Ex. 9-18. *Fidelio,* Moscheles arrangement of No. 8 *Duett*, bars 105–24.

Ex. 9-19. *Fidelio,* Moscheles arrangement of No. 8 *Duett*, bars 134–8.

In two further contexts (making a total of five) UAs are incorporated into Moscheles' score. Ex. 9-18/19 shows two passages of recitative where UAs are added. In Ex. 9-18 a UA (f#'–e') is introduced, for the text '*ich wart' in kleiner* Fer*ne*'. Likewise in Ex. 9-19 there is a UA (g–f) for the text '*Hast du mich* ver*stan*den?*'* This confirms the convention of appoggiaturas in such recitative passages and the spelling-out in this piano arrangement points further to the fact that when transferred to an instrumental context the convention is no longer implicit.

Due to the incomplete nature of this arrangement, care is required in drawing conclusions in relation to Lühning's suggestions. In Moscheles' entire arrangement only five UAs are indicated. As was the case with Sedlak's arrangement, No. 2 (*Duett*), contains none of the 26 UAs suggested by Lühning. In spite of the incomplete evidence, this arrangement is an illuminating document, particularly in light of Moscheles' friendship with Beethoven and the fact that the arrangement was made under the composer's supervision.[1233]

1233 Matthews, *Beethoven*, 255.

Recorded evidence

The arrangements of Sedlak and Moscheles provide important clues about UAs in *Fidelio* as interpreted by Beethoven's contemporaries. By way of comparison a sampling of recordings made during the twentieth century were examined. There is no shortage of available recordings – one website lists 132.[1234] The selection of recordings sampled represents a variety of styles and traditions and includes both studio and live recordings. As well as complete recordings of *Fidelio*, renditions from 'stand alone' aria compilations are examined. Conductors' names are used to identify the complete recordings and singers' names for the excerpts. It is not possible to determine who is ultimately responsible for the decision-making regarding UAs in this material, but it can be conjectured that the conductor was likely to have played a decisive role. The recordings provide clear evidence that, during the course of the twentieth century, UAs have only been employed with any consistency in selective contexts. With a persistent, although intermittent tendency, to incorporate UAs at key points in both Florestan's and Leonore's arias, it was decided to focus upon both these numbers.

1234 http://www.operadis-opera-discography.org.uk Accessed 22.11.11.

In her edition, Lühning suggests the incorporation of eight UAs in the recitative and aria of Leonore and four in the scene and aria of Florestan. Table 14(a) compares Lühning's suggestions with seven complete *Fidelio* recordings:

Bar	Text	Toscanini [1235]	Lehmann [1236]	Krauss [1237]	Furtwängler [1238]	Karajan [1239]	Solti [1240]	Bernstein [1241]
8	<u>Grim</u>*me*	X	–	(–)	–	–	–	–
12	-<u>stim</u>*me*	–	–	–	–	–	–	X
18	-<u>wo</u>*gen*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
22	-<u>bo</u>*gen*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
88	-<u>lie</u>*be*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
94	<u>Dring</u>*en*	X	–	X	–	–	–	X
128	-<u>lie</u>*be*	X	–	X	–	–	–	X
144	-<u>lie</u>*be*	X	–	X	X	X	X	X

Table 14 (a). Leonore's aria (No. 9), with UAs compared in seven recordings.

1235 Beethoven, *Fidelio*, cond. Arturo Toscanini, NBC Symphony Orchestra, *Leonore* – Rose Bampton, Florestan – Jan Peerce, 1944 (live broadcast), RCA Victor Gold Seal: GD60273.

1236 Beethoven, *Fidelio*, cond. Fritz Lehmann, Wiener Symphoniker, *Leonore* – Magda László, Florestan – Richard Holm, 1955 (Walter Felsenstein edition), Arthaus Musik DVD, Cat. No. 101 301.

1237 Beethoven, *Fidelio*, cond. Clemens Krauss, Covent Garden Orchestra, *Leonore* – Hilde Konetzmi, Florestan – Karl Friedrich, 24 September 1947, London (live recording), IDIS 6379–80.

1238 Beethoven, *Fidelio*, cond. Wilhelm Furtwängler, Weiner Philharmoniker, *Leonore* – Martha Mödl, Florestan – Wolfgang Windgassen, 1953 (studio recording), HMV ALP 1130–1132.

1239 Beethoven, *Fidelio*, cond. Herbert von Karajan, Berlin Philharmonic, *Leonore* – Helge Dernesch, Florestan, Jon Vickers, 1970 (studio recording), EMI Classics 0724357286053.

1240 Beethoven, *Fidelio*, cond. Sir Georg Solti, Chicago Symphony Orchestra, *Leonore* – Hildegard Behrens, Florestan – Peter Hofmann, 1979 (studio), Decca Stereo 410227–2.

1241 Beethoven, *Fidelio*, cond. Leonard Bernstein, Wiener Philharmoniker, *Leonore* – Gundula Janowitz, Florestan – René Kollo, 1978 (studio), Deutsche Grammophon Stereo 474420–2.

Bar	Text	Toscanini 1242	Lehmann 1243	Krauss 1244	Furtwängler 1245	Karajan 1246	Solti 1247	Bernstein 1248
36	_Stil_le	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
41	_Prü_fung	–	–	X	–	–	–	–
44	_Wil_le	X	–	X	–	X	X	
90	-hel_let_	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Table 14 (b). Florestan's aria (No. 11), with UAs compared in seven recordings.

1242 Beethoven, _Fidelio_, cond. Arturo Toscanini, NBC Symphony Orchestra, _Leonore_ – Rose Bampton, Florestan – Jan Peerce, 1944 (live broadcast), RCA Victor Gold Seal: GD60273.

1243 Beethoven, _Fidelio_, cond. Fritz Lehmann, Wiener Symphoniker, _Leonore_ – Magda László, Florestan – Richard Holm, 1955 (Walter Felsenstein edition), Arthaus Musik DVD, Cat. No. 101 301.

1244 Beethoven, _Fidelio_, cond. Clemens Krauss, Covent Garden Orchestra, _Leonore_ – Hilde Konetzmi, Florestan – Karl Friedrich, 24 September 1947, London (live recording), IDIS 6379–80.

1245 Beethoven, _Fidelio_, cond. Wilhelm Furtwängler, Weiner Philharmoniker, _Leonore_ – Martha Mödl, Florestan – Wolfgang Windgassen, 1953 (studio recording), HMV ALP 1130–1132.

1246 Beethoven, _Fidelio_, cond. Herbert von Karajan, Berlin Philharmonic, _Leonore_ – Helge Dernesch, Florestan, Jon Vickers, 1970 (studio recording), EMI Classics 0724357286053.

1247 Beethoven, _Fidelio_, cond. Sir Georg Solti, Chicago Symphony Orchestra, _Leonore_ – Hildegard Behrens, Florestan – Peter Hofmann, 1979 (studio), Decca Stereo 410227–2.

1248 Beethoven, _Fidelio_, cond. Leonard Bernstein, Wiener Philharmoniker, _Leonore_ – Gundula Janowitz, Florestan – René Kollo, 1978 (studio), Deutsche Grammophon Stereo 474420–2.

Text	Flagstad[1249]	Vishnevskaya[1250]	Leider[1251]	Weidt[1252]	Lilli Lehmann[1253]
Grim*me*	–	–	–	(–)	X
-stim*me*	–	–	–	–	X
-wo*gen*	–	–	X	–	X
-bo*gen*	–	–	–	–	X
-lie*be*	–	–	–	n/a	X
Dring*en*	–	–	X	n/a	X
-lie*be*	–	X	–	n/a	X
-lie*be*	–	–	–	n/a	X

Table 15. Leonora's aria as an excerpt, with UAs compared in five recordings.

The recording by Kirsten Flagstad includes no UAs, which was likely her usual practice.[1254] Galina Vishnevskaya sings the aria in Russian, serving as a reminder that in its dissemination throughout the operatic world, *Fidelio* was not infrequently sung in translation, which impacts upon the employment of UAs. Frida Lieder adds two UAs in her recording, as well as apparently making an error in bar 81, where she does not sing the notated appoggiatura. Logically, one would bring the parallel passage (at bar 128) into line with the first statement and insert a UA, but Lieder has inexplicably removed the first, written-out appoggiatura (for reasons that are unclear, although the possibility of a simple error cannot be ruled out). This recording remains intriguing because of its 'mistake'. It also highlights the caution required in drawing conclusions from recorded evidence.

The recording made by Lucie Weidt (1876–1940) dates from 1904, the year Mahler created his production of *Fidelio* at the *Hofoper* in Vienna. It is one of the earliest extant recordings of Leonore's aria,[1255] though only the first two sections of the number were recorded, preserving no data for the last four possible UAs. The first possible appoggiatura on the word '*Grimme*' has been bracketed as it is not possible to be certain, given the emotion with which the text is rendered here (declaimed more than sung), whether an appoggiatura is in fact executed. With that

1249   Kirsten Flagstad – soprano, Philadelphia Orchestra, cond. Eugene Ormandy, recorded 17 October 1937, 'The Art of Kirsten Flagstad', RCA Camden, CL 108 (LP).

1250   Galina Vishnevskaya – soprano, Bolshoi Theatre Orchestra, cond. Melik Pashayev, Recording date not given, Artia recording corp., Great Artists Series, ALP 157 (LP)

1251   Frida Leider – soprano, other details not given, 'Frida Lieder, A Vocal Portrait (1921–1943)', Naxos Historical ADD 8.110744–45.

1252   Lucie Weidt – soprano, unnamed piano accompaniment, recorded 1904, 'Mahler's Decade in Vienna, Singers of the Court Opera, 1897–1907', Marston 53004–2.

1253   Lilli Lehmann – soprano, unnamed orchestra and conductor, recorded 1907, Prima Voce, Nimbus N 7921.

1254   See Bruno Walter 1941 recording below, although the evidence provided by Bruno Walter 1951 is contradictory.

1255   At least one other exists, made in 1901 in Frankfurt by Pelagie Greeff-Andriessen. Only the 'Komm, Hoffnung 'section of the aria was recorded.

single caveat, Weidt includes no appoggiaturas in the sections she recorded. [1256] Weidt joined the Vienna Hofoper in 1902 [1257] eventually becoming a famous Leonore in that theatre.[1258] Mahler's production of *Fidelio* premièred on 7 October 1904[1259] and the role of Leonore was sung by Weidt at short notice, owing to the indisposition of Anna Mildenburg. It is conceivable that UA choices as well as other interpretive features of this recording may be a direct outcome of Weidt having sung this role under Mahler. Unfortunately it is not possible to establish a definitive chronology between the date of the recording and Weidt's appearance in Mahler's production.

Lilli Lehmann's (1848–1929) [1260] recording from 1907 is telling in that it includes UAs in all of the places suggested by Lühning. In addition she includes a further UA in the *adagio* section (not suggested by Lühning) at bar 67 on the word Lie*be*, (where she sings an upper-note appoggiatura (D#'–C#')). Lehmann was a friend of Mahler's and appeared regularly at the Vienna *Hofoper* during his tenure. She sang the role of Leonore in Mahler's production of *Fidelio* in 1906.[1261] The two singers directly associated with Mahler have adopted quite different solutions for UAs – although a definitive judgement is not possible due to a fragmentary recording that furthermore cannot be definitively dated. The question of whether either of these recordings might reflect Gustav Mahler's attitudes to UAs in *Fidelio* remains conjectural.

Mahler's 1904 Vienna production of *Fidelio* is still regarded as a watershed in the work's performance history. Mahler's tenure in Vienna has been extensively written about[1262] and his innovatory performances of Mozart, including his attitude to UAs and other ornamentation have been described by many commentators, including Erwin Stein. [1263] These accounts make interesting comparison with the incomplete evidence of the two recordings. Stein notes that in Vienna 'Mahler had already abolished the extra top notes and cadenzas which singers used to insert, but he maintained those appoggiaturas which he felt to be in the style of the music.' [1264]

Henry Pleasants states that this is borne out by a recording made in 1908 by Johanna Gadski (1872–1932) of Donna Elvira's aria, 'Mi tradì'. It contains a number of UAs, including on the word '*ingrata*' and the appoggiaturas that would

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1256   Contact was made with Ward Marston in an attempt to discover the exact date of Weidt's recording, however he suggested that it would not be possible to determine this. Email communication with Ward Marston, 25 November 2011.

1257   According to de la Grange, in his study of Mahler, Weidt made her debut as a guest artist at the Hofoper on 10 October 1902 and as an ensemble member on 13 November of the same year. de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler*, 544.

1258   Desmond Shawe-Taylor, 'Lucie Weidt', Paul, *The First Modern Museums of Art: The Birth of an Institution in 18th- and Early-19th-Century Europe*, 1123.

1259   de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler*, 10.

1260   Elisabeth Forbes: 'Lilli Lehmann', *Grove Music Online,* ed. Deane L. Root http://www.grovemusic.com Accessed 28.11.11.

1261   de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler*, 346.

1262   See the comprehensive biography in abvove n 428, vol 2 and 3, which focuses upon Mahler's decade in Vienna (Oxford, 1999).

1263   Erwin Stein, 'Mahler and the Vienna Opera', in Harold Rosenthal (ed.) *The Opera Bedside Book* (London, 1965), 296–317.

1264   Ibid 305.

be expected today in the recitative. At the time this recording was made, Gadski was singing Donna Elvira at the Metropolitan Opera, New York under Mahler.[1265]

Pleasants further notes that the conductor Fritz Busch[1266] had eliminated UAs from the Mozart operas and that Busch and Carl Ebert had sought to avoid the 'velvet and chocolate' Mozart of Vienna. Pleasants asserts that Mahler:

> *was famous during his ten years as director of the Vienna Opera for his insistence on appoggiaturas not only in Mozart, but also in Beethoven (Fidelio) and Weber...however,...his successor, Weingartner, promptly cut all appoggiaturas from everything. What is more surprising was that Bruno Walter, Mahler's most devoted disciple, also ignored Mozart's appoggiaturas.*[1267]

Erwin Stein, again referring to Mahler's performances of *Fidelio* in Vienna offers a comment that may inform Mahler's attitude to UAs: 'Mahler did not try to smooth, as is the wont, Beethoven's occasional oddities and abruptnesses, but made the music sound as strange as it is conceived.'[1268]

Since Mahler's own choices as regards UAs in *Fidelio* are difficult to pinpoint, recorded evidence from two of Mahler's closest disciples during his Vienna years (1897-1907), Bruno Walter (1876–1962) and Otto Klemperer (1885–1973) was investigated. In both cases a strong reticence in the use of UAs can be discerned, which supports Henry Pleasants' observations concerning Bruno Walter:

Text	Klemperer EMI[1269]	Walter Met 1941[1270]	Walter Met 1951[1271]
<u>Grim</u>*me*	-	-	-
-<u>stim</u>*me*	-	-	-
-<u>wo</u>*gen*	-	-	-
-<u>bo</u>*gen*	-	-	-
<u>Dring</u>*en*	-	-	-
-<u>lie</u>*be*	-	-	X (!)
-<u>lie</u>*be*	X	-	X

Table 16(a). Leonore's aria with UAs compared in recordings conducted by Klemperer and Walter.

1265   See Henry Pleasants, 'Evviva l'appoggiatura!', in Henry Pleasants, *Opera in Crisis: Tradition, Present, Future*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1989, 56.
1266   In relation to his productions at Glyndebourne.
1267   'Evviva l'appoggiatura!', *Opera in Crisis*, 56.
1268   Erwin Stein, 'Mahler and the Vienna Opera*', The Opera Bedside Book* ed. Rosenthal, Harold. (London: Gollancz, 1965), 310–1.
1269   Beethoven, *Fidelio*, cond. Otto Klemperer, Philharmonia Orchestra, *Leonore* – Christa Ludwig, Florestan – Jon Vickers, recorded 1962 (studio), EMI Classics CMS 7 69324–2.
1270   Beethoven, *Fidelio*, cond. Bruno Walter, Metropolitan Opera Orchestra, *Leonore* – Kirsten Flagstad, Florestan – René Maison, 1941 (live), West Hill Radio Archives No.: WHRA–6008.
1271   Beethoven, *Fidelio*, cond. Bruno Walter, Metropolitan Opera Orchestra, *Leonore* – Kirsten Flagstad, Florestan – Set Svanholm, 1951 (live), West Hill Radio Archives No.: WHRA–6008.

Text	Klemperer EMI	Walter Met 1941	Walter Met 1951
Stille	-	-	-
Prüfung	-	-	-
Wille	X	-	-
-_hellet_	-	-	-

Table 16(b). Florestan's aria with UAs compared in recordings conducted by Klemperer and Walter.

Aria of Florestan

Notwithstanding the tendency of Klemperer and Walter to eschew UAs, the recorded evidence presented confirms the tendency for them to survive in specific contexts during the twentieth century. Choice of UAs seems often to be personal, subjective and inconsistent. In cases where no UAs are employed, there would seem to be a literal approach to the score taken, suggesting that an underlying philosophy of _Werktreue_ or _Texttreue_ is at work, avoiding any consideration of the conventions with regard to the use of UAs in vocal music of the period of _Fidelio_ but, as Richard Taruskin describes it, investing 'final authority in the 'text'.[1272]

Having explored recorded evidence, the information provided by musical editions from the twentieth century was scrutinised. A number of editions, both of the complete opera in vocal score and also the Leonore aria (No. 9) excerpted in aria anthologies have been available for many years. The editions identified below all include editorial choices about the incorporation of UAs. Sometimes these choices are clearly identified editorially, at other times they have been tacitly added into the musical text, so that an unsuspecting performer might mistakenly assume that they represent Beethoven's original text.

Vocal anthologies

Two aria anthologies are cited that contain Leonore's aria: 'Operatic Anthology' compiled by Kurt Adler[1273] and 'Songs from the Operas for Soprano' edited by H.E. Krehbiel.[1274] These volumes were popular publications, intended for students and amateurs alike. The most influential publication, the Schirmer Operatic Anthology, is still in print (2013), in spite of the fact that most of its contents have long been superseded by updated or critical editions of the excerpts it presents. Although these editions can no longer be considered accurate or authoritative, they remain widely in use and their texts frequently go unquestioned by performers.

Both publications add UAs to Leonore's aria that, given the wide and continuing dissemination of these volumes, may in part account for the continuing practice of including UAs in performance today at selected 'hotspots'.

1272 Richard Taruskin, 'Tradition and Authority', _Richard Taruskin, Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance_ (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 185.
1273 Adler, Kurt. _Operatic Anthology: Celebrated Arias Selected from Operas by Old and Modern Composers_, in Five Volumes. New York: G. Schirmer, 1955.
1274 Krehbiel, Henry Edward. _Songs from the Operas for Soprano_. Boston: O. Ditson co., etc, 1907.

Bar	Text	Schirmer[1275]	Ditson[1276]
8	<u>Grim</u>*me*	X	X
12	-<u>stim</u>*me*	X	X
18	-<u>wo</u>*gen*	-	-
22	-<u>bo</u>*gen*	-	-
67*	-<u>lie</u>*be*	X(!)	-
88	-<u>lie</u>*be*	-	-
94	<u>Dring</u>*en*	X	X
128	-<u>lie</u>*be*	X	-
144	-<u>lie</u>*be*	X	-

Table 17. Comparison of the Schirmer and Ditson editions of Leonore's aria with UAs suggested.

Of the two editors, Kurt Adler (1907–77) was influential as a conductor and chorus master, particularly at the Metropolitan Opera, New York. Adler discusses UAs in his book 'The Art of Accompanying and Coaching', [1277] a widely disseminated work that includes the following general rule for *accompagnato* recitatives: 'Appoggiaturas in accompagnato recitatives ought to be made only in the rarest cases. Think it over for a long time before you decide to do it – and then, at the last moment, shrink from it.'[1278] He continues: 'In *Fidelio* Beethoven uses the accompagnato recitative only in Leonore's great aria. Appoggiaturas there should be avoided, *although they undoubtedly were executed in earlier times.*'[1279]

The Kienzl vocal score

Further evidence exists in a score of *Fidelio*[1280] published in 1901 by Universal Edition and subsequently reprinted nine times up until 1953. With two thousand copies produced at each reprinting, this was an influential edition, made available in print for more than half of the twentieth century.[1281] The editor was Dr Wilhelm Kienzl and the title page reads: '*Klavier-Ausgabe mit text und scenischen Bemerkungen revidiert und eingerichtet nach der original Partitur von Dr Wilhelm*

1275 Kurt Adler, *The Art of Accompanying and Coaching* (Minneapolis, 1965).
1276 Ibid.
1277 Ibid 149–50.
1278 Ibid.
1279 This author's own italics.
1280 Ludwig van Beethoven and Wilhelm Kienzl, *Fidelio. Opera in Two Acts*. Op. 72. Vocal Score with English and German Words Arranged According to the Original Score by Wilhelm Kienzl. English Version by Percy Pinkerton (Wien: Universal-Edition, 1901).
1281 Email communication with the author from Katja Kaiser, archivist at Universal Edition, Vienna, dated 15 November 2011. The reprints following the first edition in 1901 were made in 1909, 1910, 1912, 1913, 1920, 1924, 1928, 1936 and 1953.

Kienzl' (Piano score with text and staging directions revised and arranged according to the original score by Dr Wilhelm Kienzl). The following information is also given: '*Gesangstext und Dialog entsprechen genau dem Original*' (Vocal line and dialogue are the composer's original) and: '*Die Appoggiaturen sind dieser Ausgabe in der Weise einverleibt worden, wie sie von Sänger ausgeführt werden sollen*' (The appoggiaturas in this edition are incorporated into the melody as they should be performed by the singer). There is no means of identifying where UAs have been introduced, apart from direct and painstaking comparison with another score.

Kienzl's edition is based upon extensive first-hand experience of performance practice in European opera houses in the latter part of the nineteenth century, when he was active as a conductor. The interpolation of UAs is concentrated largely in the arias of Leonore and Florestan:

Bar	Text	Kienzl score
8	Grim*me*	X
12	Stim*me*	X
18	- wo*gen*	X
22	- bo*gen*	-
88	-lie*be*	-
94	dring*en*	X
128	- lie*be*	X
144	-lie*be*	X

Table 18 (a). Leonore's aria – Lühning's eight suggestions compared with Kienzl.

Bar	Text	Kienzl score
36	Stil*le*	-
41	Prü*fung*	X
44	Wil*le*	X
90	-hel*let*	-

Table 18(b). Florestan's aria – Lühning's four suggestions compared with Kienzl.

In addition to the use of appoggiaturas in the above arias, UAs are specified in three other contexts.

In Marzelline's aria (no. 2), an upper note appoggiatura is specified in bar 66 (this is also suggested by Lühning):

Ex. 9-20. *Fidelio*, Marzelline's aria (No. 2), bars 64–7, Kienzl score.

In the Act 1 finale, at bar 186 (glau*ben*) and bar 191(*erlau*ben), upper-note appoggiaturas are specified, as would be normal practice in an accompanied recitative in the buffo style:

Ex. 9-21. *Fidelio*, Act 1 finale (No.10), bars 183–95, Kienzl score.

A total of 11 UAs are interpolated into the score.

The popularity of this edition, as evinced by its long life in print, would have contributed further to the incorporation of UAs at these 'hotspots' in performances during the twentieth century. The edition thereby has had a significance that has gone unrecognised. Furthermore, the influence it exerted may, in many cases have

been subliminal: performers may not have been aware that what they were singing was not Beethoven's own musical text, but a realisation by Kienzl.

Moreover, connections between Kienzl and Mahler abound. Kienzl lobbied Mahler[1282] to perform one of his operas and his diaries[1283] show that he attended performances conducted by Mahler on a number of occasions. In 1901, Kienzl's edition was published by Universal Edition, a Vienna-based firm and Mahler's own publisher. Further connections with Mahler exist in the form of an arrangement of *Fidelio* by his close friend and disciple Alexander von Zemlinsky (1871–1942).

Zemlinsky's piano duet arrangement

Alexander von Zemlinsky's arrangement for piano duet of *Fidelio*[1284] has for many years been out of print and scarcely known. A recent recording[1285] has brought the arrangement to wider attention. The title appears as follows: '*Fidelio Klavier-Auszug zu vier Händen nach der Partitur neu revidiert von Alexander Zemlinsky*'. (*Fidelio*, piano score for four hands, newly revised according to the score by Alexander Zemlinsky). Like Kienzl, Zemlinsky interpolates UAs directly into the text, again making it difficult to discern between Beethoven's notation and Zemlinsky's modifications. Unlike Kienzl, Zemlinsky makes no reference to UAs, nor his criteria in adding them.

Bar	Text	Kienzl edition	Zemlinsky arrangement
8	Grim*me*	X	X
12	Stim*me*	X	X
17	-wo*gen*	X	X
22	-bo*gen*	-	X
88	-lie*be*	-	-
94	dring*en*	X	-
128	-lie*be*	X	X
144	-lie*be*	X	-(!)

Table 19 (a). Leonore's aria, comparison of UAs in Kienzl and Zemlinsky editions.

1282   de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler*, 68.
1283   Ibid 75.
1284   Beethoven, Ludwig van and Alexander Zemlinsky. *Fidelio*: *Oper in 2 Acten*. Vol. UE 690, [Wien]: Universal-Edition Actiengesellschaft in Wien, 1902.
1285   Beethoven/ arr. Zemlinsky – *Fidelio*, Klavier zu vier Händen, Maki Namekawa and Dennis Russell Davies, piano, CAvi-music, CAvi8553085.

Bar	Text	Kienzl edition	Zemlinsky arrangement
36	Stil*le*	-	X
41	Prüf*ung*	X	-
44	Wil*le*	X	X
90	-hel*let*	-	-

Table 19 (b). Florestan's aria, comparison of UAs in Kienzl and Zemlinsky editions.

Tables 19a/b reveal some overall similarities, as well as a few significant differences between the scores. Kienzl (1857-1941) and Zemlinsky (1871–1942) were near contemporaries; both were active as conductors in German theatres and associated with Gustav Mahler. Both arrangements were made during the period of Mahler's tenure in Vienna. Kienzl was active as a conductor long before the beginning of the twentieth century and his conclusions would have been informed by his professional experience during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Zemlinsky, however began his career as Kapellmeister in 1900, so his conclusions (assuming this edition was made around 1903)[1286] draw on a far briefer period of practical experience.

In addition to the UA's noted in Table 19 a/b, Zemlinsky includes a UA in No. 8 (*Duett*) at bar 138:

Ex. 9-22. *Fidelio*, No. 8, *Duett*, bars 134–8 (Secondo), arr. Zemlinsky.

In Leonore's aria (no. 9), he includes a UA at bar 67 on *Lie*be:

Ex. 9-23. *Fidelio*, No. 9, bars 67–8 (Primo), arr. Zemlinsky.

This UA is not suggested by Lühning, however it is sung by Lilli Lehmann on her recording (see Table 15).

1286 The present author enquired from the U.E. archive in Vienna in the hope of getting further details about the edition, or even information about the terms and parameters of the original commission. I was told in an email from Katja Kaiser (22.11.2011) that around 1000 copies of this arrangement were printed between 1903 and 1907. There were no more details available.

In the Act 1 finale (no. 10), in bars 186 and 191, Zemlinsky incorporates the same UAs as Kienzl gives in Ex. 9-21 and adds a further UA at bar 202, which is logical in the context (and is suggested by Lühning):

Ex. 9-24. *Fidelio*, No.10, Act 1 finale, bars 193–202 (Primo), arr. Zemlinsky.

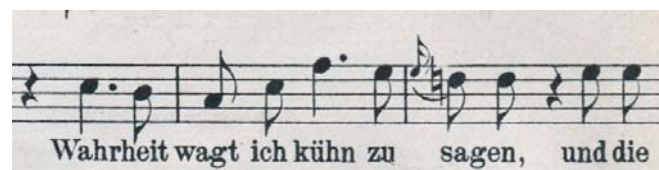The notated appoggiatura in bar 52 of Florestan's aria (no. 9):

Ex. 9-25. *Fidelio*, No. 11, bars 51–3, as printed.

is interpreted by Zemlinsky as an acciaccatura:

Ex. 9-26. *Fidelio*, No. 11, bars 51–3 (Primo), arr. Zemlinsky.

Bar 63 of Florestan's aria:

Ex. 9-27. *Fidelio*, No. 11, bars 61–3, original score.

is often sung as:

wagt' ich kühn zu   sa - gen,   und die

Ex. 9-28. *Fidelio*, No. aa, bars 62–3, Kienzl score.

However Zemlinsky gives an alternative reading of E flat – D (as two quavers).

He also adds a turn in No. 13 (Trio) at bar 30, presumably to colour the word '*pochet*'.

Returning to the issue of No 14 (Quartet), presented in Ex. 9-3 and the position outlined by Tilmouth, in comparison Zemlinsky has given only 1 UA in this passage, in bar 18, on 'zer*ris*sen':

zer - ris - sen

Ex. 9-29. *Fidelio*, No. 14 *Quartett*, bars 14–8 (Secondo) arr. Zemlinsky.

Zemlinsky and Kienzl's arrangements remain a fascinating and potentially valuable source of information, offering glimpses into performance practice around 1900. In terms of identifying UAs, Zemlinsky gives more options than Kienzl, adding weight to the assertions of the Lühning edition.

To these two arrangements, a further source from the German tradition is appended, by an author whose name is hardly known today but whose findings are so unusual as to be of relevance.

Adolf Beyschlag's '*Die Ornament der Musik*'[1287] was first published in Leipzig in 1908. It was an important reference source in German-speaking countries for at least fifty years (over a similar time span to Kienzl's *Fidelio* edition). Beyschlag (1845–1914), almost forgotten by posterity, enjoyed a conducting career in Cologne, Frankfurt am Main and Mainz, as well as working for a number of years in England.[1288] In the fifth chapter of his book, Beyschlag deals with appoggiaturas – both written and unwritten – in Beethoven's vocal works. Surprisingly, he indicates two UAs in Leonore's aria[1289] that do not appear in any of the source material studied:

1287 Adolf Beyschlag, *Die Ornamentik Der Musik*, 2. Aufl. ed. (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1953).

1288 Nicholas Slominsky, 'Adolf Beyschlag', *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* ed. Nicholas Slominsky (New York, 1971), 149.

1289 Beyschlag, *Die Ornamentik Der Musik*, 261.

Ex. 9-30. Beyschlag's suggested UAs for No. 9, Leonore's aria, bars 24–8.

The scope of Beyschlag's career and his widely disseminated book suggests that these appoggiaturas were at one time in currency and points to the likely existence of a multiplicity of local traditions regarding their employment.

Erich Leinsdorf (1912–1993), in his book *The Composer's Advocate*[1290] offers the following explanation regarding UA's:

> *The tradition was to write out everything for the instruments, while treating the voice parts to a different spelling of the same cadential phrases. In the days of Beethoven and earlier, it would be assumed that singers knew the tradition and would amend the written parts accordingly in performance ... Beethoven, his contemporaries and their predecessors would have been astonished at the notion that personal preference had any bearing on a tradition so long accepted as that of the appoggiatura. Yet the unimaginative rigidity of musical training during most of the nineteenth century so firmly inculcated the idea that music must be played or sung exactly as written that centuries of tradition were nearly washed down the drain.*[1291]

Charles Mackerras (1925–2010) reasons that:[1292]

> *Composers of the last 100 years or so have written their music exactly as it is to be performed and conductors and repetiteurs all over the operatic world have drummed into singers that they are interpreting the composers 'wishes only if they sing his works exactly as written. Performers are now so conditioned to this exactness that they tend to apply the principle to all music. Because Wagner, Strauss, Puccini and Britten wrote precisely, they expect the same of Mozart, Beethoven and Handel. Thus a number of unwritten traditions have become thrown out or forgotten.*

> *Conductors anxious to expunge all the excessive ornamentation in which 19th century singers indulged, threw out the baby with the bath water and got rid of the appoggiatura as well, forgetting that it is not just an optional embellishment, but forms an essential part of the melodic style of all vocal music of the 18th and 19th centuries.*[1293]

1290   Branscombe, *W.A. Mozart, Die Zauberflöte, Cambridge Opera Handbooks*.
1291   Ibid 65.
1292   Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart: Le Nozze Di Figaro and Don Giovanni*. Article written and published in 1963.
1293   Ibid, 256.

Appoggiaturas and meaning

The fundamental application of UAs in eighteenth century performance practice is summed up concisely by the theorist and writer Tosi:

> *Among all the embellishments in the Art of Singing, there is none so easy for the Master to teach or less difficult for the Scholar to learn than the Appoggiatura. This, besides its Beauty, has obtained the sole privilege of being heard often without tiring, provided it does not go beyond the Limits prescrib'd by Professors of good Taste. Pier Francesco Tosi (1646–1732); (1752 English translation by J.E. Galliard).*[1294]

While it is also known that these conventions survived into the nineteenth century, it is harder to ascertain the extent to which Beethoven expected UAs to be incorporated into *Fidelio*. When *Leonore* premièred in Vienna in 1805, during the French occupation, it was not met with enthusiasm – due partly to the political situation, but also to conflicts that developed during the rehearsals. Beethoven was persuaded to spend an evening with friends to look over the opera and see how it might be improved.[1295] An account of this evening was later written by Josef August Röckel. He describes Beethoven's rage at being pressed to make amendments, cuts and other changes. At one point Beethoven shouted 'Not a single note,' against the cajoling of his friends and supporters to make amendments. We are faced here with the composer who struggled tirelessly in his sketchbooks to refine, reshape and rework his ideas in pursuit of the exact thematic structure that he was seeking. It is difficult to reconcile that picture of Beethoven with a composer who would leave the question of UA's to chance, to the caprice of performers.

The opening duet (No.2) sets the scene for the rest of the opera. The dramatic situation contains absurd overtones (Marzelline avoiding Jacquino's advances because she is in love with another who [unbeknownst to her] happens to be a woman in disguise), and the music fuses *buffo* and *Singspiel* elements. The UA suggestions of Lühning were examined in respect of the musical dramaturgy of this scene.

From the opening of the duet, the exchanges between Jaquino and Marzelline are curt and tense: they are speaking at cross-purposes. Jaquino is intent upon pressing his suit for Marzelline's hand and she is equally determined to rebuff him. Beethoven makes use of repeated notes and step-wise rising passages as features of the vocal language (bars 17–23, 29–32). The style of delivery is declamatory: '*Konversationsmusik*'. So the first suggested UA from Lühning comes as a surprise:

1294 Ibid 255.

1295 This is an abbreviated version of the account given in Snowman, Snowman, *The Gilded Stage: The Social History of Opera*, 105–6.

Ex. 9-31. *Fidelio*, ed. Lühning, No. 1 *Duett*, bars 24–30, showing suggested upper and lower note UAs.

It comes mid-sentence, which confuses the structure of the line and has the effect of making Jaquino's delivery charming, teasing even flirtaceous, whereas Beethoven's unadorned line suggests halting, nervous delivery.

In the passage commencing at bar 39 (Ex. 9-32 and 9-33), Jaquino makes his unwelcome marriage proposal to Marzelline explicit and the use of repeated notes seems to perfectly express Jaquino's unfulfillable hopes, his awkwardness and his frustration:

Ex. 9-32. *Fidelio*, No. 2, *Duett*, bars 42–7 as printed.

Ex. 9-33. *Fidelio*, ed. Lühning, No. 1 *Duett*, bars 42–7, showing suggested upper and lower note UAs.

The UAs in bars 45 and 46 trivialise the line and soften the rising scale to the C sharps, from which Marzelline curtly rebuffs Jaquino's suggestion.

These examples are typical of the alteration to meaning and dramatic veracity that the inclusion of UAs in this duet creates, they do not contribute to the characterisation or the dramatic situation.

The use or omission of UAs in Marzelline's aria can similarly strengthen or weaken characterisation and meaning. In Ex.9-34 Marzelline oscillates between the major and minor keys, between doubtful longing and the ecstatic hope of fulfilment (in her quest to win the love of '*Fidelio*'). At the end of each strophe in the minor key, Marzelline considers what it will be like when she no longer has to blush at the thought of a passionate kiss – when nothing earthly remains in the way of her love for Fidelio:

Ex. 9-34. *Fidelio*, No. 2, Marzelline's aria, bars 16–7, as written.

Lühning adds an upper note appoggiatura on the word '*Er*den', creating a dissonance with the orchestra and obscuring the voice-leading. It further fails to leave the question hanging, which is then 'saved' by the orchestra, who transition into the major key of hope of fulfilment.

Frederick Neumann,[1296] discussing UAs in Mozart, points out that

> *note repetition is an age-old means of reflecting insistence, determination, constancy, solemnity, imperiousness, heroic resolve and similar states of mind. The same suggestive power can invest note repetition on a feminine ending with dramatic force where an appoggiatura, so often connected with feelings of warmth and tenderness ('appoggiatura sigh') would emasculate the proper expression.*

1296 Frederick Neumann, 'A New Look at Mozart's prosodic appoggiatura', *Perspectives on Mozart Performance*, ed. Todd, R. Larry and Peter May Williams. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 95.

This is an important consideration also in considering the vocal lines of Pizarro, (see Ex. 9-3) where the use of repeated notes can lend expression to his evil nature, whereas appoggiaturas soften the inhumane aspect of his character.

Conclusions

The Bärenreiter edition of *Fidelio* contains suggestions for the employment of 132 UAs in the vocal lines, in addition to encouraging performers to look for further contexts in the work where they might be added. In considering contemporary arrangements and recorded evidence, along with scores, arrangements and treatises, there is no source that was consulted that supported or reflected the extent of the suggestions given in this edition.

In terms of the highest tallies per number proposed by Lühning, no source consulted showed evidence of any UAs being added to the first number (*Duett* – 26 suggestions). The 30 suggestions for UAs in number 13 (*Quartett*) were not confirmed by any other source.

UAs have been shown to proliferate around certain 'hotspots', which are identified in the following table:[1297]

Number	Bar	Text
No. 8	137–9	*ver*<u>*stan*</u>*den*
No. 9	8	<u>Grim</u>*me*
No. 9	12	<u>Stim</u>*me*
No. 9	18	*Meeres*<u>*wo*</u>*gen*
No. 9	67	<u>Lie</u>*be*
No. 9	88	*Gatten*<u>*lie*</u>*be*
No. 9	94	<u>dring</u>*en*
No. 9	128	*Gatten*<u>*lie*</u>*be*
No. 9	144	*Gatten*<u>*lie*</u>*be*
No. 10	186	<u>glau</u>*ben*
No. 10	191	*er*<u>*lau*</u>*ben*
No. 11	36	<u>Stil</u>*le*
No. 11	41	<u>Prü</u>*fung*
No. 11	44	<u>Wil</u>*le*

Table 20. UA 'hotspots' – based on evidence presented.

From this list, the UAs in Nos. 8 and 10 are from recitative-like passages, cast in the Italian style and hence naturally beckoning the addition of appoggiaturas. The UAs in No. 11 are all incorporated into declamatory/*quasi-recitativo* passages that likewise invite appoggiaturas. The remainder of the UA 'hotspots' belong to No. 9, the aria of Leonore. Of these, two belong to declamatory passages (bars 8 and 12) and the remainder to melodic contexts. In an aria expressing the almost superhuman qualities of the protagonist Leonore, Beethoven's often angular vocal lines are sublimated and humanised by a softening at particular 'hotspots' by the incorporation of UAs.

The reasons UAs have tended to adhere to these places in the score are complex and remain open to investigation. The persistence of UAs in Leonore's aria may in part be explained by the influence of popular editions that print those suggestions. However there is one further factor that should be considered. The UAs noted in

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1297 UAs are shown where repeated evidence confirms a tendency for their inclusion. Places where only a single piece of evidence has been located are ignored.

Table 20 fulfil a well-established function in recitative or declamatory passages or else soften phrase endings, rendering them more 'Italianate'. When Mahler visited London in 1892, he conducted *Fidelio* in a completely new guise for that city up until that time, the work had only been heard in Italian, with recitatives composed by Balfe among others,[1298] as was standard practice with Grand Operas where dialogue was not permitted. Mahler was the first to conduct *Fidelio* in London in German, with spoken dialogue. It is likely that the convention of performing *Fidelio* in Italian caused a number of these UAs to be adopted, as they facilitated the natural flow of the Italian text.

A further complicating issue is the extent to which contemporary thinking has been influenced by the notion of the musical work.[1299] Concepts of '*Urtext*' '*Werktreue*' and '*Fassung letzter Hand*' carry the implication that there is a single authentic version of any musical work, so it is interesting to find Michael C. Tusa[1300] referring to the 'open-ended' status of *Fidelio* and offering three possible views of that work:

a) *A single work that after much trial and error achieved a final version that supersedes all prior versions.*
b) *Three different but equally 'authentic' works.*
c) *A fluid entity embodied not only by a number of discrete stages marked by landmarks like composer-sanctioned performances and publication but also by preliminary and intermediate manuscript versions.*[1301]

This chapter seeks to encourage further speculation and discussion regarding the use of UAs in *Fidelio* and to build some understanding around their use in specific contexts during the twentieth century. Potentially it further seeks to add an additional view to Tusa's:

d) A work that continues to evolve and be modified by subsequent productions, performances, arrangements, publications and recordings. These processes are an inevitable part of the socialisation process of an opera as it progresses through theatres of the world: 'authenticity' cannot necessarily be achieved by simply removing these accretions and returning to an *Urtext*, nor by simply recreating known conventions from the period of the work.

This leads back to Lühning's introduction to her *Fidelio* edition and a revealing passage that was quoted earlier:

> *Certainly singers in Beethoven's day ornamented the vocal parts in Fidelio and Beethoven must have taken this into account. But just as certainly that was not his intention. In his compositional process, there was scarcely room for improvisation by the singers.'*

While appearing contradictory, the distinction drawn above is a crucial one: Lühning differentiates between (a) usual performance practice in Beethoven's day and the likely result that the composer may have expected and (b) Beethoven's intentions as revealed in his inner compositional processes, implying a point of separation between the musical work (a product of his inner imagination and

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1298   Mosco Carner, 'Mahler's visit to London', *Mosco Carner, Of Men and Music* (London: Joseph Williams, Limited, 1944), 106–10.
1299   The best-known and most provocative discussion of this issue is: Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music*.
1300   Tusa, 'Beethoven's essay in opera', *Stanley* ed., 201.
1301   Ibid.

exemplified by the score) and the musical conventions of his time which applied to the realisation of that score. It is perhaps here that a dividing line between Beethoven's creative vision and 'reality' – the standard musical practices of his day – can be discerned. It was a divide that was to increase with Beethoven's growing deafness and the transcendent, far-reaching explorations of his late works.

Having identified this point of separation, the sentence with which Lühning continues the above quote: 'The appoggiaturas form an exception to this'[1302] must be questioned.

The Bärenreiter publishing house demonstrates an interest in charting the means by which the operatic literature in particular acquires traditions that accrete to a work even after the composer's death. For example, as discussed in chapter 3, Gluck's *Orfeo* has been published by Bärenreiter in two composer-driven versions,[1303] as well as a version made by Berlioz around 1859. As an adjunct to this score, Bärenreiter have reproduced the annotations to a score owned by Pauline Viardot, who created the role of Orphée for Berlioz in 1859 and who effectively co-edited his edition. These annotations are included in an appendix to the orchestral score of this edition (NBE, vol. 22a).[1304] Following this lead, it would be of value to performers and scholars if a history of incorporating UAs in *Fidelio* could be charted and presented, thus capturing traditions and performance practice developed by significant singers and conductors over the last 120 years. Surely this historical data is relevant and important to present to prospective performers via a critical edition rather than speculative editorial decisions, such as those of Lühning, which have no known historical precedent.

In spite of the collection and analysis of data across a wide time span and selection of genres, there remains no definitive answer to the question of Beethoven's expectations regarding the employment of UAs in *Fidelio*. Enough evidence has been gathered to call into question the assertions and suggestions of Lühning's edition, but in terms of establishing likely practices, the 'iterative solution' previously referred to remains the most likely tool. At issue here is the fact that Lühning's edition forms part of a critical edition – a place where performers will look to find guidance and certainty in matters that may fall outside their own areas of expertise. Anything appearing in a critical edition (or vocal score thereof) will be generally approached with great trust by performers as being representative of scholarly veracity. The vocal score of *Fidelio* that has been discussed may be seen to resemble a painting that has been a little over-restored and provided with a new, high gloss varnish in order to render it acceptable to modern sensibilities. Having established a number of inconsistencies on the micro-level, the veracity of this edition on the macro-level is potentially also drawn into question.

Curation provides intriguing tools and methodologies for engaging with, preserving and learning about the past, through works of human endeavour. However, just as operatic works can be slimy creatures, difficult to pin down, so are curatorial methods ever-shifting, offering the means to fleetingly approach works from the past, to allow a glimpse of their essence, but ultimately leaving a past-

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1302   Present author's italics.

1303   Gluck, *Orfeo ed Euridice*, Vienna version of 1762 (Kassel, 1962, BA2294a) and Gluck or*phée et Euridice*, Paris version of 1774 (Kassel, 1987, BA2282a).

1304   Bärenreiter Berlioz Edition: He*ctor Berlioz: Vol 22: Arrangements of works by other composers*. Edited by Joël-Marie Fauquet. Bärenreiter-Verlag 2004. Appendix 4, 192–201.

oriented civilisation staring at the unbridgeable chasm that yawns between the present and the wonders of the past.

By way of conclusion to a matter that remains an open field of enquiry, the following diary entry of Beethoven from 1816 should be considered: '*Opern und alles seyn lassen nur für deine Weise schreiben*' (Leave aside operas and everything else; write only in your manner...').[1305]

1305   Tusa, Beethoven's essay on opera, 217 (quoted in Solomon, 'Beethoven's Tagebuch of 1812–18, 253).

CHAPTER TEN

Conclusion

'Getting closer to things' in both spatial and human terms is every bit as passionate a concern of today's masses as their tendency to surmount the uniqueness of each circumstance by seeing it in reproduction.[1306]

The 'rise' of opera occurred alongside the development of the modern art museum, where private, eclectic collections belonging to royalty gradually transformed, becoming available to the public – the rising middle class – developing methods of display and codification in response to an associated desire for study and understanding of works from the past. In the case of the opera house, a relatively quick transformation occurred from the private, esoteric world of the Florentine Camerata around the turn of the seventeenth century, to the establishment of a number of public opera houses by mid-century. The process from opera house to operatic museum was a slower, a gradual development that gained momentum in the later nineteenth century, influenced by the rise of public museums of both art and science.

This study has focused upon a small number of works by Mozart and Gluck, charting their journeys over more than two centuries, noting characteristics that caused particular works to survive and form a repertory, also observing the extreme adaptions that have been employed at times in order to reinvent operas and ensure their survival, often at some cost to their identity. These processes present to the modern observer a sense of almost recklessness and a willingness (sometimes on the part of the creators themselves) to compromise the identity of works in order to render them suitable for a particular market. Artworks have not been immune to similar compromises. Paintings have been cut down, misattributed, forged, over-painted, vandalised, destroyed and also restored. It is in this area of preservation and restoration that the identity of plastic artworks continues to be explored today. The goal is 'authenticity' although there remains uncertainty about what that means and how it may be realised.

In terms of operatic works, there are an almost infinite number of possible authenticities. Rossini's *Barbiere* may be quantified by his 1816 autograph score, a printed score from the later nineteenth century, an iconic recording from 1953, the memory of a recently attended performance, a critical edition from 1969 or an 'improved' one from 2008: or it may be an amalgam of all these things (and more). These multiple authenticities derive from a process that occurred in force over the nineteenth century when the objects found in todays museums gradually came to be recognised as 'works' – they possessed a particular 'identity', informed by the intentions of their creators and the (apparently) 'finished' state in which their creators declared them complete. Museums became repositories and havens for 'works', places where they could be cared for and preserved in their most

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1306 Benjamin, Walter and J. A. Underwood. *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*. [translated from the German] London: Penguin, 2008, 9.

'complete' (authentic) guise. Walter Benjamin speaks of an 'aura',[1307] an inner sense of identity that emanates from artworks – a notion that is certainly 'work-based' and perhaps completely foreign to the aesthetics of Mozart or Gluck. Nevertheless, Benjamin identifies the sense of 'aura' as a kind of inner strength or resilience that accompanies a 'work' on its journey over time, where its functions and meaning may transform considerably. It is this recognition of the uniqueness of a 'work', as something that cannot be reproduced that causes modern civilisation to fetishise works from the past. Along with this arises a sense of the inevitable (and growing) distance from works of the past, which is apparently a part of their attraction. Benjamin describes 'a unique manifestation of a remoteness, however close it may be',[1308] revealing the underlying melancholy of his observations.

With regard to the operas discussed, a number of differing journeys have been outlined, all of which have led, during the later twentieth century, not just to the operatic museum, but also to the impressive binding of the *Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, where ultimate truth may seem to reside, although the proliferation of operatic *Gesamtausgaben* was accompanied by a new wave of thinking that demonstrates the limitations of that apparatus in arriving at modern operatic truths. Each generation is seduced by the excitement of new perspectives, new discoveries about the past, only to be vilified by subsequent generations, who are apparently more 'enlightened', though ever more distant in time from the creation of the works they engage with.

The following account becomes more chilling with the passing of time:

> *It is very pleasant to walk the streets here. Over almost every door is an antique statue or basso-relievo, more or less good though all much broken, so that you are in a perfect gallery of marbles in these lands. Some we steal, some we buy … We have just breakfasted and are meditating a walk to the citadel, where our Greek attendant is gone to meet the workmen and is, I hope, hammering down the Centaurs and Lapiths [from the frieze of the Parthenon] … Nothing like making hay when the sun shines and when the commandant has felt the pleasure of having our sequins for a few days, I think we shall bargain for a good deal of the old temple.[1309]*

The question of how preservation sits in relation to cultural vandalism and appropriation is a complex matter. By the standards of today these misguided attempts appear reprehensible; however, if the statuary of the Parthenon had remained in place, they may well not exist at all today, given the continued disastrous effects wrought upon the site by the effects of air pollution.

The likes of Morritt have been replaced by the modern curator, who has come to function as an *ersatz* high-priest, wielding considerable power in terms of defining an artwork and the conditions under which it may be viewed, studied and contextualised. It might be seen in this study that curation and curatorial practices have always been at work and if those practices have at times been determined in the world of opera by career-conscious conductors, ego-driven singers, flamboyant stage directors or budget-conscious impresarios, a consideration of their practices

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1307   Ibid.
1308   Ibid.
1309   John Bacon Sawry Morritt, c1798, in Edward Hollis, *The Secret Lives of Buildings: From the Ruins of the Parthenon to the Vegas Strip in Thirteen Stories*, 1st ed. (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2009), 30.

and imperatives are nonetheless crucial in understanding how operatic history has evolved.

One name has continued to appear during this study – that of Richard Strauss. Just as modern curators such as Obrist evoke their forebears in creating a history of curation, so Strauss should be counted as one of the prime curatorial influences in the development of the operatic museum in the twentieth century. Strauss has been discussed as an interpreter – reviving the operas of Mozart, at the turn of the twentieth century, from whence he went on to become one of the leading conductors of his day,[1310] and a huge influence on a subsequent generation of musicians. He was also a leading opera composer, bequeathing an extraordinary body of work, among which *Ariadne auf Naxos* (1916) provides,[1311] in the *Vorspiel,* a vivid portrait of eighteenth century theatrical life and the tensions between the world of *opera buffa* and *opera seria*. It is no small irony that in composing this opera, Strauss adapted himself, reworking his 1912 *divertissement, Ariadne auf Naxos,[1312]* which was composed for performance with Molière's play *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*. Strauss was no stranger to the practices of *pasticcio* and adaption and along with referencing these practices in his own operas, he composed a number of adaptions along with arrangements of music of earlier times. Strauss's final opera, *Capriccio* (1942)[1313] was likewise a self-conscious return to the past, evoking the world of the eighteenth century, with a series of operatic 'in-jokes', including a scene where the prompt (Monsieur Taupe) appears onstage. Central to this final, valedictory opera, however was Strauss's wish to pose (if not answer) the central question that is perhaps the germinating force behind all opera (the ultimate curatorial conundrum) – the question posed by the Abbé Casti,[1314] and slightly misquoted by Strauss: '*Primo le parole, dopo la musica'*,[1315] leaving the answer delicately unresolved at the end of his operatic swan song. Strauss saw himself as part of the continuum of musical history, he felt particularly close to the eighteenth century and the world of Mozart. It has been pointed out by Gruber,[1316] that *Der Rosenkavalier* was planned as a latter-day *Figaro* and *Die Frau ohne Schatten* as a new *Die Zauberflöte*. Erich Leinsdorf has drawn attention to the scoring for three women's voices common to both Strauss and Mozart,[1317] as the following table demonstrates:

1310   Details of the extent of Strauss's conducting activities can be found in Holden, *Richard Strauss: A Musical Life*.

1311   Strauss, Richard and Otto Singer. *Ariadne Auf Naxos. Oper. Neue Bearbeitung.* Op. 60. Arrangement Von Otto Singer. Vollständiger Klavier-Auszug Mit Deutschem Text. Berlin, Paris: Adolph Fürstner, 1916.

1312   Richard Strauss, *Ariadne Auf Naxos. Oper in Einem Aufzuge Von H. Von Hofmannsthal.*Op. 60. Zu Spielen Nach Dem 'Bürger Als Edelmann 'Des Molière. Arrangement Von O. Singer. Klavier-Auszug Mit Deutschem Text. Berlin, Paris: A. Fürstner, 1912.

1313   Strauss, Richard. *Capriccio: A Conversation Piece for Music* [in English translation.]. [S.l.]: Boosey and Hawkes, 1942.

1314   Giovanni Battista Casti (1724–1803), Italian poet.

1315   This is as it appears in the preface to the *Capriccio* score. The correct title is 'Prima la Musica e poi le parole', Strauss was prone to muddling it up and as it appears in his preface, suggests the opposite.

1316   Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, 199.

1317   Leinsdorf, *Erich Leinsdorf on Music*, 177.

Opera	Characters		
Elektra	Elektra	Chrysothemis	Klytemnästra
Der Rosenkavalier	Marschallin	Sophie	Octavian
Ariadne auf Naxos	Ariadne	Zerbinetta	Komponist
Die Frau ohne Schatten	Kaiserin	Färberin	Amme
Le nozze di Figaro	Contessa	Susanna	Cherubino
Don Giovanni	Donna Anna	Zerlina	Donna Elvira
Così fan tutte	Fiordiligi	Despina	Dorabella

Table 21. Comparison of female roles of three operas by Strauss and three of Mozart.[1318]

Strauss's role as a custodian of the past and as a curator for the future can be seen in his letter to Karl Böhm of 1945, where he attempts to quantify the operatic repertoire and the functions of the museums that house it. Strauss was one of the great men of the theatre of the first part of the twentieth century, an 'insider' as evinced in his keenly judged collaboration with Hugo von Hofmansthal[1319] in creating a microcosm of the world of the opera house in *Ariadne auf Naxos.* The latter part of the twentieth century, however has judged Strauss harshly for his far-reaching *Bearbeitung* of Mozart's *Idomeneo.*[1320] It can be seen that this supremely gifted curator was also a man of his own time (in this case, casting a glimpse back to the nineteenth century) and time inevitably marches on. Nevertheless, Strauss is increasingly recognised as one of the proto-curators of operatic practice in the first part of the twentieth century and even his *Idomeneo* reworking has begun to be heard again and reassessed.

In this study there have been no shortage of anecdotes, seemingly at the expense of earlier adapters (or curators) and, as the current *Zeitgeist* would still have it, at the expense of the works themselves. While there has been no lack of what by today's standards count as huge miscalculations or lapses in taste, there has also been slow-moving, subtle change that frequently progresses so gradually as to be almost invisible to observers. This has been highlighted in the employment of unwritten appoggiaturas (in *Fidelio*) and outlines the process, where a practice that may begin subtly, even ambiguously begins gradually to change the nature of a work. Awareness of these practices and subsequent attempts to reconstruct them by future generations can become self-conscious and heavy-handed. Each generation becomes aware of the weight of the past – the existence of significant works and their 'auras' and attempts to unlock truth – via authenticity, preservation and related means. The ever-receding past however is not always so uneasy to unlock. The past is inevitably refound in the light of the present and the results are often profound, though not without a background sense of lingering dissatisfaction, reminding us of the ever-increasing distance between an artwork and the present.

1318 Ibid.

1319 Hugo Laurenz August Hofmann von Hofmannsthal (1874–1929), Austrian man of letters.

1320 Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus. *Idomeneo. Opera Seria in 3 Akten.* Nach Dem Italienischen Des Abbate Giambatt. Varesco. Vollständige Neubearbeitung Von Lothar Wallerstein Und Richard Strauss. Klavierauszug Mit Text Von Otto Singer. Magdeburg: Heinrichshofen's Verlag, 1931.

APPENDIX A

Richard Strauss – *Opernmuseum*[1321] for German Theatres:[1322]

-   **Gluck:** *Orfeo*, *Alceste*, *Armida* and both the Iphigenia operas, in both new and Richard Wagner's arrangements. (Strauss considered that all these works needed updating for the modern stage).
-   **Mozart:** *Idomeneo* (in Strauss's own arrangement, made in collaboration with Wallerstein), *Figaro*, *Don Giovanni*, *Così fan tutte*, *Zauberflöte*.
-   **Beethoven:** *Fidelio*.
-   **Weber:** *Freischütz, Euryanthe, Oberon*.
-   **Berlioz:** *Benvenuto Cellini, Les Troyens*.
-   **Bizet:** *Carmen*.
-   **Verdi:** *Aïda, Simone Boccanegra, Falstaff*.
-   **R. Strauss:** *Salome, Elektra, Rosenkavalier, Frau ohne Schatten, Friedenstag, Daphne, Ägyptische Helena, Liebe der Danae, Josefslegende*.
-   **Wagner:** All works from *Rienzi* (uncut) to *Götterdammerung* (thus continuing to respect the ban on performing *Parsifal* outside of Bayreuth).

Strauss notes that for historical purposes, occasionally some grand-operas, for example *Robert le Diable*, *Les Huguenots, L'Africaine, La Juive* could be revived. He draws a comparison with great art galleries, where special exhibitions take place.

The second theatre, for '*Spieloper*' would program the following works:

-   **Adam:** *Le Postillon von Longjumeau*
-   **D'Albert:** *Tiefland, Die Abreise*
-   **Auber:** *La muette de Portici, Fra Diavolo, Le Domino noir, Le Maçon, Le part du diable*
-   **Bellini:** *Norma, La Sonnambula*
-   **Berlioz:** *Béatrice et Bénédict*
-   **Leo Blech:** '*Das war ich', Versiegelt*
-   **Boildieu:** *La dame blanche, Jean de Paris*
-   **Bizet:** *Djamileh, Les pêcheurs de perles*
-   **Cornelius:** *Barbier von Bagdad, Der Cid*
-   **Charpentier:** *Louise*
-   **Cherubini**: *Le porteur d'eau*
-   **Chabrier**: *Gwendoline, Le roi malgré lui*
-   **Cimarosa**: *Il matrimonio segreto*
-   **Dittersdorf**: *Doktor und Apotheker*
-   **Donizetti**: *Le fille du régiment, Don Pasquale, L'elisir d'amore, Lucia di Lammermoor*
-   **Dvořák**: *Jakobin*
-   **Flotow**: *Martha, Alessandro Stradella*
-   **Goldmark**: *Die Königin von Saba*
-   **Gounod**: *Le médecin malgré lui*
-   **Humperdinck**: *Hänsel und Gretel, Königskinder, Heirat wider Willen*

1321   Böhm, *Ich Erinnere Mich Ganz Genau: Autobiographie*, 119–23.
1322   In the original letter Strauss gives German titles for many non-German operas. These have been given here with their original titles without any further comment, to prevent confusion.

- **Kienzl**: *Evangelimann*
- **Kreutzer**: *Nachtlager von Granada*
- **Korngold**: *Der Ring des Polykrates*
- **Lortzing**: *Die beiden Schützen, Waffenschmied, Wildschütz, Zar und Zimmermann*
- **Leoncavallo**: *I Pagliacci*
- **Marschner**: *Hans Heiling, Der Holzdieb*
- **Méhul**: *Joseph*
- **Mascagni**: *Cavalleria rusticana*
- **Nicolai**: *Die lustigen Weiber*
- **Offenbach**: *La belle Hélène orphée aux enfers*
- **Pergolesi**: *La serva padrona*
- **Pfitzner**: *Palestrina*
- **Alexander Ritter**: *Der faule Hans, Wem die Krone*
- **Joh. Strauss**: *Fledermaus (im Original!),*[1323] *Zigeunerbaron*
- **Smetana**: *Prodana nevesta [The Bartered Bride], Der Kuß [The Kiss], Zwei Witwen [The Two Widows], Dalibor*
- **Max Schillings**: *Ingwelde, Pfeifertag*
- **Hans Sommer**: *Loreley, Rübezahl*
- **Schubert**: *Das häusliche Krieg [Die Verschworenen]*
- **Tchaikowsky**: *Pique Dame, Eugene Onegin*
- **Mussorgsky**: *Boris Godounov*
- **R. Strauss**: *Guntram, Feuersnot, Ariadne, Intermezzo, Arabella, Die schweigsame Frau, Capriccio*
- **Verdi**: *Il trovatore, La Traviata, Rigoletto, Un Ballo in Maschera*

Strauss adds that a number of Verdi's earlier works (*Macbeth, Luisa Miller, Vespri Siciliani*) are today (1945) unbearable ('*unerträglich*')[!], however they contain fine musical passages and material. Therefore he proposes performing excerpts and scenes in a 'historical Verdi-evening' as a way of keeping this repertoire, to some extent alive.

Surprisingly, Strauss judges that Verdi's *Otello* should not appear in the repertoire of either theatre. In addition Verdi's *Don Carlos*, Rossini's *Guillaume Tell* and Gounod's *Faust* all have libretti that derive from classical drama and, as such, do not belong on the German Stage [! – a rather singular approach to *Werktreue*.][1324]

1323   Strauss is here warning against various adaptions that were regularly performed in German theatres.

1324   It should be noted that Gounod's *Faust* is given under the title *'Margarete'* in Germany, to distance it from the work by Goethe, of which it is considered generally unworthy. A similar situation has existed for many years with Massenet's *Werther*.

APPENDIX B

DON GIOVANNI ACT 1

Number	Tomaschek[1325]	Marty[1326]	Furtwängler[1327]	Solti[1328]	Norrington[1329]	Östman[1330]	Böhm[1331]	Busch[1332]	Swarowsky[1333]
Overture b.1; Andante ¢	♩ 92	𝅗𝅥 60	♩ 52	♩ 80	♩ 120	♩ 94	♩ 88	♩ 58	–
Overture b. 5; (No tempo indicated).	–	–	𝅗𝅥 29	𝅗𝅥 40	𝅗𝅥 56	𝅗𝅥 52	𝅗𝅥 38	𝅗𝅥 58	–
Overture b. 31; Molto Allegro ¢	𝅗𝅥 132	𝅗𝅥 120	𝅗𝅥 116–120	𝅗𝅥 140	𝅗𝅥 134	𝅗𝅥 152	𝅗𝅥 134	𝅗𝅥 132–134	–
No. 1 B.1 Molto Allegro ¢	𝅗𝅥 104	♩ 200	𝅗𝅥 104	𝅗𝅥 82	𝅗𝅥 92	𝅗𝅥 94	𝅗𝅥 92	𝅗𝅥 88–90	𝅗𝅥 112
No. 1 B.176 Andante ¢	♩ 60	♩ 88	♩ 63–54	♩ 72	♩ 96–98	♩ 94–96	♩ 60	♩ 62	♩ 112
No. 2 B. 1 Allegro Assai C	𝅗𝅥 80	♩ 240	𝅗𝅥 96	𝅗𝅥 96	𝅗𝅥 90	𝅗𝅥 100	𝅗𝅥 96	𝅗𝅥 94–96	𝅗𝅥 104
No. 2 B. 45 Maestoso (C)	♩ 80	–	♩ 60–63	♩ 84	♩ 96	♩ 88	♩ 82	♩ 62–64	–
No. 2 B. 48 Andante (C)	♩ 52	–	♩ 48	♩ 46–50	♩ 58	♩ 63	♩ 60	♩ 50	♩ 104
No. 2 B. 62 Allegro ¢	𝅗𝅥 100	𝅗𝅥 100	𝅗𝅥 72–76	𝅗𝅥 88	𝅗𝅥 98	𝅗𝅥 119	𝅗𝅥 80–82	𝅗𝅥 90 ca.	𝅗𝅥 104
No. 2 B. 127 Maestoso (C)	♩ 80	–	♩ 69	♩ 74	♩ 106	♩ 116	♩ 69	♩ 64–66	–

1325 http://mwbdvjh.muse.jhu.edu/journals/notes/v061/61.4grayson.pdf . Accessed 12.12.14.

1326 Jean-Pierre Marty, *The Tempo Indications of Mozart* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1988).

1327 Cond. Wilhelm Furtwängler, Weiner Philharmoniker, Cesare Siepi, Elisabeth Grümmer, Anton Dermota, Elisabeth Schwarzkopf, 1953 (live broadcast), Salzburg Festival. CD: *Orfeo* Cat: C 624 043 D.

1328 Cond. Sir Georg Solti, London Philharmonic Orchestra, Monica Groop, Mario Luperi, Michele Pertusi, Ann Murray, Bryn Terfel, Renée Fleming, Roberto Scaltriti, Herbert Lippert, 1996 (recorded live), Decca.

1329 Cond. Roger Norrington, London Classical Players Andreas Schmidt, Amanda Halgrimson, Lynne Dawson, Nancy Argenta, 1992 (Includes both Prague and Vienna versions complete EMI Classics CDCC 54859.

1330 Cond. Arnold Östman, Drottningham Court Theatre Orchestra, Arleen Auger, Della Jones, Barbara Bonney, Nico van der Meel, Håkan Hagegård, Gilles Cachemaille, Bryn Terfel, 1989, CD: L'oiseau-lyre Cat: 425 943–2.

1331 Cond. Karl Böhm, Metropolitan Opera Orchestra, Joan Sutherland, Cesare Siepi, Pilar Lorengar, 28.1.1967 (live, Metropolitan Opera, N.Y.), Bella Voce BLV 107, 403.

1332 Cond. Fritz Busch, Glyndebourne Festival Orchestra and Chorus, John Brownlee, Salvatore Baccaloni, Luise Helletsgruber, Audrey Mildmay. 1936, Glyndebourne Festival Opera, Naxos Historical 8.110135–37.

1333 http://mwbdvjh.muse.jhu.edu/journals/notes/v061/61.4grayson.pdf . Accessed 12.12.14, 64–6.

No. 2 B. 130 Adagio in tempo (C)	♩ 63	–	♩ 69	♩ 60–63	♩ 72	♩ 90	♩ 66	♩ 48–50	–
No. 2 B. 133 Primo Tempo ¢	𝅗𝅥 100	𝅗𝅥 100	𝅗𝅥 96	𝅗𝅥 104	𝅗𝅥 114	𝅗𝅥 120	𝅗𝅥 104–106	𝅗𝅥 96–98	𝅗𝅥 104
No. 2 B. 161 No tempo mod.	𝅗𝅥 60	–	𝅗𝅥 76	𝅗𝅥 100	𝅗𝅥 112	𝅗𝅥 108	𝅗𝅥 92	𝅗𝅥 108–110	–
No. 2 B. 167 No tempo mod	𝅗𝅥 100	–	𝅗𝅥 92–96	𝅗𝅥 100–104	𝅗𝅥 114	𝅗𝅥 124	𝅗𝅥 106	𝅗𝅥 100–106	–
No. 3 B. 1 Allegro C	𝅗𝅥 84	♩ 126	𝅗𝅥 58	𝅗𝅥 70	𝅗𝅥 63	𝅗𝅥 58	𝅗𝅥 69	𝅗𝅥 68–70	–
No. 4 B. 1 Allegro C	♩ 152	♩ 168	♩ 148	♩ 180	♩ 180–182	♩ 164	♩ **176**	♩ 176	𝅗𝅥 76
No. 4 B. 85 Andante con moto 3/4	♩ 96	♩ 108	♩ 72–80	♩ 84–88	♩ 108	♩ 96	♩ 80	♩ 72	♩ 76
No. 5 B. 1 Allegro 6/8	♩. 126	♩. 132	♩. 118	♩. 126–132	♩. 126	♩. 100	♩. 120	♩. 118–120	–
No. 6 B. 1 Allegro di molto ¢	𝅗𝅥 144	𝅗𝅥 120	𝅗𝅥 116	𝅗𝅥 138	𝅗𝅥 134	𝅗𝅥 138	𝅗𝅥 128	𝅗𝅥 120	–
No. 7 B. 1 Andante 2/4	♩ 88	♩ 56	♩ 76–80	♩ 108	♩ 112	♩ 128	♩ 94	♩ 92	♩ 76
No. 7 B. 50 *Allegro* 6/8	♩. 92	–	♩. 63	♩. 72–74	♩. 84	♩. 74–76	♩. 60	♩. 60–63	♩. 76
No. 8 B. 1 Allegro 3/4	–	♩ 126	♩ 88	♩ 116	♩ 11**2**	♩ 135	♩ 108	♩ 130	–
No. 9 B. 1 Andante ¢	♩ 96	♩ 88	♩ 76	♩ 92	♩ 100	♩ 114	♩ 80	♩ 82–84	–
No. 10 B. 1 Allegro assai C	♩ 92	♩ 240	♩ 66	♩ 96	♩ 84	♩ 88	♩ 90	♩ 94	♩ 76
No. 10 B. 24 Andante (C)	♩ 52	♩ 72	♩ 50	♩ 54	♩ 80–82	♩ 80	♩ 69	♩ 68	♩ 76
No. 10 B. 32 Andante (C)	♩ 58	♩ 72	♩ 69	♩ 80	♩ 84	♩ 108	♩ 96	♩ 72	♩ 76
No. 10 B. 38 Primo tempo (C)	♩ 92	♩ 240	♩ 76	♩ 96	♩ 84	♩ 96	♩ 92–96	♩ 94–96	♩ 76
No. 10 B. 40 Andante (C)	♩ 58	♩ 72	♩ 69	♩ 54	♩ 84	♩ 66	♩ 69	♩ 66	♩ 76
No. 10 B. 54 Primo tempo (C)	♩ 92	♩ 240	♩ 69	♩ 96	♩ 80	♩ 96	♩ 90	♩ 96	♩ 76
No. 10 B. 70 Andante ¢	♩ 69	♩ 92	♩ 54	♩ 56	♩ 58	♩ 56	♩ 63	♩ 48–50	♩ 100
No. 11 B. 1 Presto 2/4	♩ 116	♩ 240	♩ 108	♩ 130	♩ 104	♩ 134	♩ 120	𝅗𝅥 126	–

–No. 12 B. 1 Andante grazioso 2/4	♪ 88	♩ 60	♪ 84	♪ 104–108	♪ 108	♪ 130	♪ 102	♪ 92	–
No. 12 B. 60 Allegretto 6/8	♩. 92	♩. 60	♩. 63	♩. 63	♩. 69	♩. 63	♩. 72	♩. 72	–
No. 13 Finale B. 1 Allegro assai C	𝅗𝅥 100	♩ 184	𝅗𝅥 88	𝅗𝅥 100	𝅗𝅥 94	𝅗𝅥 106	𝅗𝅥 100	𝅗𝅥 100	𝅗𝅥 108
No. 13 B. 92 Andante 3/4	♩ 84	♩ 72–92	♩ 69	♩ 80	♩ 86	♩ 92	♩ 72	♩ 72	♩ 108
No. 13 B. 139 Allegretto 2/4	♩ 120	♩ 116	♩ 96	♩ 108	♩ 100	♩ 112	♩ 112	♩ 104–108	♩ 108
No. 13 B. 218 No tempo mod 3/4	♩ 96	♩ 96	♩ 84	♩ 96	♩ 108	♩ 106	♩ 100	♩ 96	(♩ 108)
No. 13 B. 251 Adagio ¢	♩ 52	♩ 60	♩ 42	♩ 50	♩ 72	♩ 98	♩ 44	♩ 32	♪ 108
No. 13 B. 273 Allegro 6/8	♩. 126	♩. 116	♩. 124	♩. 144–148	♩. 140	♩. 118–120	♩. 132	♩. 130–132	♩. 132
No. 13 B. 360 Maestoso 2/4	♩ 80	♩ 60	♩ 54	♩ 63	♩ 66	♩ 80	♩ 63	♩ 58–62	♪ 132
No. 13 B. 406 Menuetto 3/4	♩ 96	♩ 96	♩ 72	♩ 94	♩ 100	♩ 104	♩ 84	♩ 80	♩ 108
No. 13 B. 468 Allegro assai C	𝅗𝅥 116	♩ 184	𝅗𝅥 112	𝅗𝅥 128	𝅗𝅥 112	𝅗𝅥 108	𝅗𝅥 122	𝅗𝅥 112–116	𝅗𝅥 108
No. 13 B. 499 Andante maestoso (C)	♩ 84	♩ 76	♩ 88	♩ 104	♩ 92	♩ 104	♩ 100	♩ 90–92	♩ 108
No. 13 B. 532 Allegro (C)	𝅗𝅥 88	♩ 168	𝅗𝅥 116	𝅗𝅥 132	𝅗𝅥 98–100	𝅗𝅥 118–120	𝅗𝅥 132	𝅗𝅥 112	𝅗𝅥 108

Number	Tomaschek	Marty	Furtwängler	Solti	Norrington	Östman	Böhm	Busch	Swarowsky
No. 14 Allegro assai 3/4	♩. 72	♩ 200	♩. 60	♩. 76	♩. 66	♩. 70–72	♩. 69	♩. 66	–
No. 15 B. 1 Andantino 6/8	♪ 104	♪ 120	♪ 104	♪ 108	♪ 126	♪ 120	♪ 106	♪ 104	–
No.16 B. 1 Allegretto 6/8	♩. 80	♩. 72	♩. 44	♩. 42	♩. 56	♩. 46	♩. 50	♩. 54–56	–
No.17 B. 1 Andante con moto ¢	♩ 60	♩ 72	♩ 54	♩ 63	♩ 66	♩ 70	♩ 66	♩ 60	–
No.18 B. 1 Grazioso 3/8	♪ 116	♪ 92	♪ 92	♪ 104	♪ 116	♪ 104	♪ 84	♪ 86–88	–
No.19 B. 1 Andante ¢	♩ 58	♩ 60	♩ 48–50	♩ 54	♩ 58	♩ 62	♩ 52	♩ 46–48	–
No.19 B. 131 Molto allegro (¢)	♩ 112	♩ 120	♩ 120–122	♩ 132	♩ 116	♩ 132	♩ 132	♩ 120	–
No.20 B. 1 Allegro assai C	♩ 112	♩ 240	♩ 108	♩ 126	♩ 128	♩ 120	♩ 126	♩ 120	–
No.21 B. 1 Andante grazioso ¢	♩ 96	♩ 96	♩ 88	♩ 96	♩ 114	♩ 108	♩ 96	♩ 84	–
Scene 11 B. 51 Adagio (1) Commendatore C	♩ 69	♩ 46	♩ 36	♩ 58	♩ 60	♩ 48	♩ 42	♩ 50	–
Scene 11 B. 59 Adagio (2) Commendatore 3/4	♩ 69	♩ 46	♩ 28	♩ 42	♩ 54	♩ 44	♩ 38	♩ 44	–
No.22 B. 1 Allegro C	♩ 160	♩ 126	♩ 124	♩ 144	♩ 128	♩ 136	♩ 142	♩ 118	–
No.23 B. 1 Risoluto C	♩ 138	♩ 100	♩ 50	♩ 80	♩ 104	♩ 130	♩ 63	♩ 60	♩ 84
No.23 B. 3 Larghetto (C)	♪ 69	♪ 72	♪ 60	♪ 74	♪ 90	♪ 84	♪ 76	♪ 69	♪ 84
No.23 B. 16 Larghetto 2/4	♪ 88	♪ 72	♪ 58	♪ 69–72	♪ 80	♪ 92	♪ 84	♪ 68	♪ 84
No.23 B. 64 Allegretto moderato C	♩ 138	♩ 100	♩ 120	♩ 122	♩ 116	♩ 104–108	♩ 130	♩ 96–100	–
No.24 Finale B. 1 Allegro vivace C	♩ 100	♩ 108	♩ 84	♩ 100	♩ 88	♩ 96	♩ 96	♩ 88	♩ 92
No.24 B. 47 (No tempo indication) 6/8	♩. 80	–	♩. 92	♩. 104	♩. 92	♩. 96–100	♩. 92–6	♩. 80–84	♩. 92
No.24 B. 118	♩ 152	–	♩ 132	♩ 168	♩ 146	♩ 132	♩ 144–	♩ 172	♩ 138

(No tempo indication) 3/4							52		
No.24 B. 162 (No tempo indication) ¢	♩ 152	♩ 152	♩ 120	♩ 144	♩ 132	♩ 138	♩ 132	♩ 122	♩ 138
No.24 B. 200 Allegro assai 3/4	♩. 72	♩ 200	♩. 58	♩. 72	♩. 70	♩. 78	♩. 69–72	♩. 69	♩. 69
No.24 B. 379 Molto allegro ¢	♩ 112	♩ 144	♩ 122	♩ 150–152	♩ 134	♩ 146	♩ 132	♩ 126–130	♩ 138
No.24 B. 433 Andante ¢	♩ 50	♩ 60	♩ 33	♩ 39	♩ 56	♩ 50	♩ 36–42	♩ 35	♩ 69
No.24 B. 554 Allegro (¢)	♩ 96	♩ 72	♩ 72	♩ 92	♩ 90	♩ 102–104	♩ 96	♩ 80	♩ 69
No.24 B. 603 Allegro assai 3/4	♩. 60	♩ 200	♩. 63	♩. 70	♩. 66	♩. 74	♩. 76	♩. 69	♩. 69
No.24 B. 712 Larghetto ¢	♩ 60	♩ 72	♩ 63	♩ 63	♩ 72	♩ 68	♩ 66	♩ 60	♩ 69
No.24 B. 756 Presto ¢	o 69	♩ 104	o 69	o 78	o 72	o 80	o 76	o 76–80	o 6

APPENDIX C

Number	Tomaschek	Marty	Furt	Solti	Norr	Östman	Böhm	Busch	Swarowsky
No. 10a Andante sostenuto 2/4	♩ 88	♩ 36	–	♩ 88–92	♩ 80	♩ 92	♩ 84	♩ 72–76	–
No. 21a Allegro moderato C	♩ 116	♩ 116	–	–	♩ 120	♩ 116	–	–	–
No. 21b B. 1 Allegro assai C	♩ 152	♩ 126	♩ 114	♩ 118	♩ 126	♩ 138	♩ 122	♩ 120	–
No. 21a B. 37 Allegretto ¢	♩ 126	𝅗𝅥 88	♩ 138	♩ 120	♩ 152	♩ 144	♩ 140	♩ 128	–

Table 22. Metronome Marks for *Don Giovanni*: Tomaschek, Marty and Swarowsky compared with six recorded performances from the twentieth century.

			Tomaschek	Swarowsky	Gielen
Allegro assai	C	𝅗𝅥	100	108	92–96
Andante	3/4	♩	84	108	82–84
Allegretto	2/4	♩	120	108	84
Menuetto	3/4	♩	96	108	84
Adagio	C	♪	104 (=52)	108	84 (=42)
Allegro	6/8	♩.	126	132	126
Maestoso	2/4	♩	80	66 (=132)	63
Menuetto	3/4	♩	96	108	84
Allegro assai	C	𝅗𝅥	116	108	126
Andante maestoso	C	♩	84	108	76
Allegro	[C]	𝅗𝅥	84	108	100
Più stretto	[C]	𝅗𝅥	–	–	132

Table 23. *Don Giovanni,* Act 1 finale – tempi of Gielen compared with Tomaschek and Swarowsky.[1334]

1334   Derived from: http://mozartoper.at/content/view/113/56/lang,de/ Accessed 25.1.2015.

Allegro assai C	Andante $\frac{3}{4}$	Allegretto $\frac{2}{4}$	Menuetto $(\frac{3}{4})$	Adagio ¢	Allegro $\frac{6}{8}$	Maestoso $\frac{2}{4}$
♩–92–96	♩–88–92	♩–84	♩–84	♩–42	♩–126	♩–63
1:1	1:1 N.B.	1:1	2:1	1:3	2:1	3:(4)

	Menuetto	Allegro assai C	Andante maestoso C	Allegro C	Più stretto	
	♩–84	♩–126	♩–76	♩–100	♩–132	
(3):4		2:3	3:2	3:4	3:4	

Table 24. *Don* Giovanni, Act 1 finale – tempo proportions proposed by Gielen.[1335]

1335   Gielen, *Über die Tempi in Mozarts "Don Giovanni", in: Programmhefte der Frankfurter Oper, Neuinszenierung des "Don Giovanni" am 17 September 1977*, 16–20.

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