Cambridge Opera Journal, **13,** 3, 197–237 © 2001 Cambridge University Press

Attributing Mozart (i): three accompanied recitatives

DEXTER EDGE

Abstract: In a recent issue of the *Cambridge Opera Journal*, Dorothea Link has proposed that Mozart may have been the author of an unattributed accompanied recitative that precedes the aria "Vado, ma dove?," K. 583, in the Viennese court theatre's original performing score of Martín y Soler's *Il burbero di buon cuore*. The present article re-examines the case for Mozart's authorship of this recitative in the wider context of Mozart studies as a whole, and through a detailed reconsideration of the source and stylistic evidence. The recitative preceding K. 583 is compared to two other accompanied recitatives with plausible connections to Mozart: an unattributed one that precedes a score of Mozart's aria "No, che non sei capace," K. 419, in a Viennese manuscript of extracts from Paisiello's *Fedra*; and one that is explicitly attributed to Mozart in the Viennese court theatre's original performing score of a pasticcio based on Guglielmi's *La quacquera spirituosa*.

Introduction

When Mozart died on 5 December 1791, he left behind a large collection of autograph scores, sketches, and fragments, and also many of his own performing parts. Most of this material was of no immediate use to his widow Constanze, but she nevertheless had the foresight to preserve nearly all of it. She kept the collection of her husband's manuscripts largely intact during the difficult period immediately following his death and throughout the following years, even across changes of residence. Although she attempted to sell a few of her husband's works to raise badly needed cash in the first few weeks after his death, she seems to have gone out of her way to retain control of the autographs. On 28 December 1791, she wrote to Luigi Simonetti, a tenor in the court of Prince-Elector Maximilian Franz in Bonn, offering manuscript scores of *La clemenza di Tito* and *Die Zauberflöte* for 100 ducats each.[1] A surviving full score of *Die Zauberflöte* now in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena is quite possibly the fruit of this offer; at any rate, it appears to have been copied directly from Mozart's autograph, and one of the principal hands in it is that of a Viennese copyist who worked for Mozart in the 1780s.[2] Thus Constanze seems to have turned to a known local copyist to prepare a score of *Die Zauberflöte* to send to the court in Bonn, keeping the autograph for herself.

[1] Wilhelm A. Bauer, Otto Erich Deutsch, and Joseph Heinz Eibl, eds., *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen* [*MBA*] (Kassel, 1962–1975), IV/177–78. I am grateful to John Spitzer for commenting on a draft of this article and for several helpful and stimulating conversations regarding its content. I would also like to thank Otto Biba, Bruce Alan Brown, David Buch, Alessandra Campana, Robert Levin, Kay Lipton, Michael Lorenz, Janet Page, and Neal Zaslaw, all of whom have provided assistance in various ways in its preparation. The present article is the first of two on the topic of recent Mozart attributions. My article on attributions to Mozart in *Der Stein der Weisen* will appear in a future issue of this journal.

[2] The score is in I-MOe, Mus. F. 787. For more on this copyist and the Modena score of *Die Zauberflöte*, see my "Mozart's Viennese Copyists," Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California (2001), here esp. Ch. 6, where I refer to the hand as Viennese Mozart-Copyist 1 and speculate that it may be the hand of the Viennese copyist and music dealer Johann

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https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954586701001975 Published online by Cambridge University Press

A few weeks later, the Prussian ambassador in Vienna, Baron Jacobi von Klöst, arranged with Constanze to borrow three of Mozart's autographs – *La Betulia liberata* and two litanies (K. 125 and K. 243) – in order to have copies made for the Prussian court. As part of the bargain, Jacobi gave Constanze an explicit written promise that the autographs would be returned to her.[3] In the event, the autographs were not returned, and on 1 January 1800, Jacobi's "contract" to return them was transferred to the German music publisher Johann Anton André, who eventually came into possession of all three. However, Jacobi's promise shows that early in 1792 Constanze was attempting to retain control of the autographs in the long term, even as she struggled to cope with her financial needs in the short term. All in all, Constanze seems to have disposed of very few autographs of completed works in the years immediately following her husband's death.[4]

At some point in the late 1790s, Constanze began to put her husband's musical manuscripts in order, with a view of selling them as a collection. By no later than 1798, she was being assisted in this task by Georg Nikolaus Nissen, legation secretary in the Danish embassy in Vienna, who in 1809 became Constanze's second husband.[5] By no later than 1799 the couple had enlisted the aid of Abbé Maximilian Stadler, a Benedictine, composer, and musical scholar.[6] Constanze, Nissen, and Stadler authenticated Mozart's autographs on the basis of handwriting, sorted the manuscripts by genre, attempted to identify incomplete works, reunited pieces of scattered manuscripts, and solicited the copying of replacement pages to fill gaps in autographs from which sections appeared to be missing. They probably made lists of works by genre (possibly thematic ones in some cases), although they are not known to have attempted a complete thematic catalogue. Their preoccupations were, in essence, the same as those of all subsequent scholars who have worked on

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Traeg. I have so far been able to identify this copyist's hand in over 100 different manuscripts, including around thirty manuscripts of works by Mozart. Some of these manuscripts have direct ties to the composer. The copyist is equivalent to the one discussed in Cliff Eisen, "Another Look at the 'Corrupt Passage' in Mozart's G minor Symphony, K550," *Early Music*, 25 (1997): 373–81.

[3] Jacobi's promise is dated 4 March 1792. A marginal note on the promise refers to copying costs for *four* items (40 gulden) and also to an additional 450 gulden "für daß Requiem" (*MBA*, IV/178–79). The Requiem may have been the fourth "copied" item in addition to *La Betulia liberata* and the litanies. In a letter to King Friedrich Wilhelm II dated 18 February 1792, Jacobi had written of his intent to acquire "eight" works from Constanze ("les huit morceaux de musique designés"); see Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart. Die Dokumente seines Lebens* (Kassel, 1961), 386. It is not known whether Jacobi obtained four other works in addition to those mentioned in the promise of 4 March 1792.

[4] The autograph of the Piano Concerto in D minor, K. 466, ended up in the possession of Abbé Maximilian Stadler, who probably received it from Constanze as a gift for his assistance in sorting out Mozart's estate. She may have disposed of a few other autographs in this way.

[5] Nissen's assistance is first documented by the appearance of his hand in a copy, dated 22 October 1798, of a letter that Constanze had originally sent to Breitkopf & Härtel on 26 May 1798, but which had apparently been lost in the post; see *MBA*, IV/ 212–13.

[6] The name of Maximilian Stadler (1748–1833) first appears in Constanze's correspondence near the end of a letter dated 25 May 1799; see *MBA*, IV/241.

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the manuscripts of Mozart's music, from Köchel to Wolfgang Plath and Alan Tyson. Mozart source scholarship can truly be said to have begun with the work of Constanze, Nissen, and Stadler in the late 1790s.

On 8 November 1799 Constanze contracted to sell to Johann Anton André all of her late husband's works for 3,150 gulden (700 ducats). On 9 January 1800, following a two-month grace period during which Constanze attempted unsuccessfully to obtain a higher price from Breitkopf & Härtel, she transferred to André sixteen packets containing most of the autograph scores in her possession as well as some of Mozart's performing parts.[7] She sent an additional packet at the end of May 1800, and another one in January 1801. Most of the items that Constanze transferred to André were complete or nearly complete. Mozart's sketches and fragments she mostly kept for herself, with the idea that they might be of some use to one of her sons. All in all, Constanze seems to have sent around 350 items to André.[8]

Largely as a result of her custodianship, we have today proportionally many more autographs for Mozart than for any other composer of the late eighteenth century. Autographs survive for most of Mozart's mature works, and for an extraordinarily high proportion of his juvenile ones. Complete or nearly complete autographs survive for all but one of Mozart's operas (the autograph of *Mitridate* is lost), for

[7] The clearest and most concise treatment of the transaction between Constanze and André remains that of Otto Erich Deutsch, "Mozarts Nachlaß. Aus den Briefen Konstanzens an den Verlag André," in *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1953*, 32–37. See also Ludwig Finscher, "Maximilian Stadler und Mozarts Nachlaß," in *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1960/61*, 168–72, and Walter Senn, "Abbé Maximilian Stadler: Mozarts Nachlaß und das 'Unterrichtsheft' KV 453b," in *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1980–83*, 287–98. (Some aspects of Senn's article are unreliable.)

Only around a dozen sets of Mozart's Viennese performing parts are known to survive. Most of these were in the material that Constanze sent to André. The fate of the rest of Mozart's performing parts is unclear. It has been suggested that Constanze sold some of them to the Viennese music copyist and dealer Johann Traeg early in 1792. However, the evidence for such a transaction is largely circumstantial and not entirely persuasive (although Traeg did, in fact, end up with a small number of parts that had belonged to Mozart). On these points, see my "Mozart's Viennese Copyists" (see n. 2), esp. Chs. 7 (on Traeg) and 8 ("Mozart's 'Estate' ").

[8] Remarkably, there has been no published attempt to reconstruct the list of items that Constanze sent to André. Shortly after the first sixteen packets arrived in Offenbach, André's assistant Franz Gleißner prepared a catalogue of the shipment. Gleißner's catalogue contains 260 numbered entries, but is limited (with a small number of exceptions) to items that are not in Mozart's own thematic catalogue (the *Verzeichnüß aller meiner Werke*, which lists almost all of the works that Mozart completed between 9 February 1784 and his death). Constanze had sent Mozart's catalogue to André in the sixteenth packet, and he appears to have used it as a checklist for the composer's later works. The *Verzeichnüß* contains 145 entries. After having inventoried Constanze's initial shipment, André sent Constanze a list of queries regarding at least sixty-three items in the *Verzeichnüß* that remained unaccounted for, and seventeen others that were incomplete in some way. We can therefore assume that he had been able to account for eighty-two of the items listed in the *Verzeichnüß*. In most cases, he had the autographs of these items. Constanze sent additional items to André in the seventeenth and eighteenth packets. Thus the total number of items that André received in 1800 and 1801 probably exceeded 350, most (but not all) of which were authographs. For a reconstruction of André's queries to Constanze, see my "Mozart's Viennese Copyists" (see n. 2), esp. Ch. 8.

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most of his chamber music, and for all but seven of his fifty-two concertos.[9] Autographs likewise survive for all but one of Mozart's symphonies composed between late 1771 and the end of his life (the exception is the "Linz," K. 425).[10] Where autographs are missing, it is usually not difficult to find a plausible explanation. Relatively few autographs survive for Mozart's keyboard variations, probably because these autographs remained in the hands of students or publishers. Autographs of some insertion arias, such as "No, che non sei capace," K. 419, "Al desio di chi t'adora," K. 577, or "Alma grande e nobil core," K. 578, may never have been retrieved from the Viennese court theatre, and they have subsequently disappeared. Few autographs survive for the dances that Mozart composed for balls in the Redoutensäle during his Viennese years, perhaps because he viewed these as ephemeral works that were not worth keeping. But all in all, the preservation of Mozart's autographs is remarkable, particularly when we consider the relative dearth of surviving autographs for Haydn or Gluck, to say nothing of such prominent Mozart contemporaries as Martín y Soler or Dittersdorf, for whom extremely few autographs of any kind survive.

Constanze and André soon discovered that the wording of their contract was irritatingly imprecise, as it did not specify exactly what she had promised to deliver to him. In particular, they had a difference of opinion over the ownership of Mozart's fragments. However, they eventually came to see the contract as referring not to the physical manuscripts, but rather to Mozart's "work," in the sense of what we would today call an "œuvre": a body of finished musical compositions authentically by Mozart. In fact, Constanze and André began around this time to use the word "authentic" ("authentisch") in their correspondence, in reference to manuscripts (whether autographs or copies) that bore witness to Mozart's actually having composed the music that the manuscripts contained.[11] Constanze and André

[9] The main autograph of *Mitridate* is lost. However, autographs of several discarded versions and drafts survive in F-Pn. The autograph of the first act of *La finta giardiniera* is also lost. The figure of "fifty-two" concertos counts all complete concertos for any solo instrument or combination of solo instruments, including the four early "pasticcio" concertos, as well as all individual movements for soloist and orchestra. (An Andante in A for violin and orchestra, K. 470, is known only from an incipit in Mozart's *Verzeichnüß*, and has been omitted from the count, as has the Sinfonia Concertante, K. Anh. C 14.01.) Three of the "lost" concerto autographs (K. 175, K. 191, and K. 373) were apparently once in André's possession. All three works are listed in Gleißner's catalogue, and were therefore probably in Constanze's initial shipment to André. The other lost concerto autographs are those for K. 313, K. 314, K. 364, and K. 622.

[10] Autographs are preserved for all but one of Mozart's symphonies beginning with the Symphony in F, K. 112, dated 2 November 1771, when Mozart was fifteen. Preservation of autographs for Mozart's symphonies before this date is much spottier.

[11] The word "authentisch" first occurs in a letter from Constanze to André dated 12 March 1800, in the draft of a suggested response to a notice published by Breitkopf & Härtel in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* on 5 March 1800 that had attempted to belittle the importance of André's recent acquisitions from Constanze. The draft response states that André is in possession of "einer *fast vollständigen* Sammlung vollkommen correcter und vollkommen authentischer Mozartscher Originalmanuscripte von seiner ersten Jugend bis zu seinem Tode" ("a *nearly complete* collection of entirely correct and entirely authentic original manuscripts by Mozart, from his earliest youth until his death"). For a more detailed

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may have been among the first to use this word to refer to musical sources in this way (I currently know of no earlier examples). The word ''authentisch'' also appears in inscriptions written by André on several non-autograph manuscripts that he, Constanze, and Nissen had apparently had copied in order to fill evident gaps in scores that were to be transferred to André.[12]

One might think that by now the boundaries of Mozart's œuvre would be clearly established. The intervening 200 years have seen multiple editions of a thematic catalogue of the composer's works, including two major revisions, with a third on the way: Köchel's original edition of 1862, Alfred Einstein's third edition of 1937 (updated in 1947), the sixth edition of 1964, and the *New Köchel*, currently in preparation under the editorship of Neal Zaslaw. No other composer has received (or been subject to) this degree of continuing scholarly scrutiny. There have been two scholarly editions of Mozart's complete works, and many other scholarly or semi-scholarly ones of individual works. We know more and in more detail about Mozart's life as a musician and composer than we know about any of his contemporaries. Hundreds of letters by members of the Mozart family are readily available in a copiously annotated complete edition. From a very early stage, Mozart's father Leopold consciously intended his letters to document the progress of his remarkable son. In 1768 Leopold himself made a non-thematic list of his son's works up to that point, and Wolfgang later kept a thematic catalogue of his own works, a catalogue that he maintained from February 1784 until the end of his life, the so-called *Verzeichnüß*.[13] This catalogue was so nearly complete that it appears to have been used by Constanze and André as a checklist for Mozart's works from that period.[14] To be sure, there are gaps and holes in all of these sources, but these gaps have been the subject of mountains of scholarship since the time of Köchel.

The canon of Mozart's works has gradually been cleansed of the many doubtful and spurious items that were transmitted under his name in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The first edition of Köchel includes separate appendices for ''Doubtful Compositions'' (''Zweifelhafte Compositionen''), with forty-seven entries, and ''Attributed Compositions'' (''Unterschobene Compositionen''), with

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discussion of the word ''authentisch'' as it was used by Constanze and André, see my ''Mozart's Viennese Copyists'' (see n. 2), esp. Ch. 4.

[12] For example, a manuscript score of the wind parts from the Sextet in *Don Giovanni* in the Hessische Landesbibliothek in Fulda (D-FUl, M 292) bears the inscription, in André's hand: "Authentisch[e] Abschrift des Mozartsch[en] Originals, durch Herrn v. Nissen veranstaltet & durch Herrn Abbe M. Stadler revidirt. André" (''Authentic copy of Mozart's original, procured by Herr von Nissen and checked by Abbé M. Stadler''). Similar inscriptions are found on several other non-autograph Mozart manuscripts formerly in André's possession.

[13] On the background of the *Verzeichnüß*, see n. 8. The full title is *Verzeichnüß aller meiner Werke vom Monath Febraio 1784 bis Monath 1* . Poignantly, Mozart has left a blank for the closing month of the catalogue, and a single ''1'' for the closing year, with the expectation that he might still be using the catalogue in the 1800s. The catalogue is available in facsimile as *Mozart's Thematic Catalogue: A Facsimile, British Library Stefan Zweig MS 63*, ed. Albi Rosenthal and Alan Tyson (Ithaca, NY, 1990).

[14] On the use of Mozart's *Verzeichnüß* as a checklist, see my ''Mozart's Viennese Copyists'' (see n. 2), Ch. 8.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954586701001975 Published online by Cambridge University Press

sixty-three. (''Unterschobene,'' from the verb ''unterschieben,'' implies that the attributions are false.) Einstein's thoroughgoing revision retained Köchel's appendices and numbering for doubtful and spurious works, but added many items to both categories by interpolating superscripted numbers (such as ''186[a]'') into Köchel's sequence. Among Einstein's additions to the corpus of doubtful and attributed works were several items that had been accepted as authentic by Köchel. In the sixth edition of Köchel, the categories ''doubtful'' and ''attributed'' were vastly expanded and combined into ''Anhang C,'' a hundred-page catalogue of definitely-not-Mozart and probably-not-Mozart, divided generically according to the same groupings of works used by the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe*.

Nearly all of these doubtful and attributed works have by now been more plausibly assigned to someone other than Mozart, or they have been firmly rejected on grounds of stylistic implausibility or impossibility. The number of remaining questionable attributions is small. Apart from a few notorious cases (such as the so-called Sinfonia Concertante for Oboe, Clarinet, Horn, and Bassoon, K. Anh. C 14.01), most remaining questions of attribution concern purported juvenilia.[15] Lost works or portions of lost works continue to surface occasionally, but discoveries of previously unknown Mozart works have been extremely rare over the past decades, and new attributions have likewise been rare. Most recent ''new'' Mozart attributions have not been accepted by the community of Mozart scholars at large: for example, the Symphony in A minor, K. 16a (Anh. 220), or an arrangement of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* for eight-part *Harmonie*, attributed to Mozart by the Dutch scholar Bastiaan Blomhert.[16]

In the past few years two new and controversial Mozart attributions have been given their initial scholarly presentations in the *Cambridge Opera Journal*. In 1997, David Buch presented his discovery of previously unknown Mozart attributions in a Viennese score of the *Singspiel Der Stein der Weisen*, an explicitly collaborative work

[15] On questions of authenticity in Mozart, see especially Wolfgang Plath's contributions to Hanspeter Bennwitz, Gabriele Buschmeier, Georg Feder, Klaus Hofmann, and Wolfgang Plath, eds., *Opera incerta. Echtheitsfragen als Problem musikwissenschaftlicher Gesamtausgaben. Kolloquium Mainz 1988* (Mainz and Stuttgart, 1991). Plath's three contributions have the general title ''Echtheitsfragen bei Mozart.'' The three parts are: ''Teil I: Allgemeines,'' 207–14; ''Teil II: Wenzel Trnka und die angeblichen Mozart-Kanons KV 233 (382d) und KV 234 (382e),'' 237–58, and ''Teil III: Die Handhabung von Echtheitsproblemen in der Neuen Mozart-Ausgabe,'' 258–70, with the ensuing discussion transcribed on 271–84. See also in the same volume Plath's useful classified bibliography, ''Literatur zu Echtheitsfragen bei Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart,'' 285–300. The *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* has published a small selection of questionable works in its Serie X, Werkgruppe 29, *Werke zweifelhafter Echtheit*, of which three volumes have appeared as of this writing.

[16] On K. 16a, see Eva Badura-Skoda, ''Die 'Odense-Symphonie' KV 16a – eine Symphonie von Mozart?,'' *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift*, 40 (1985): 309–11; Neal Zaslaw and Cliff Eisen, ''Signor Mozart's Symphony in a minor, K. Anh. 220=16a,'' *Journal of Musicology*, 4 (1985/86): 191–206; and Jens Peter Larsen and Kamma Wedin, eds., *Die Sinfonie KV 16a ''del Sigr. Mozart.'' Bericht über das Symposium in Odense anläßlich der Erstaufführung des wiedergefundenen Werkes Dezember 1984* (Odense, 1987). On the *Harmonie* arrangement of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, see Bastiaan Blomhert, *The Harmoniemusik of ''Die Entführung aus dem Serail'' by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Study About Its Authenticity and Critical Edition* (The Hague, 1987). Blomhert's claim for this arrangement has not been generally accepted by Mozart scholars.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954586701001975 Published online by Cambridge University Press

that had been given its première in Vienna at Schikaneder's Theater auf der Wieden on 11 September 1790.[17] It had long been known that Mozart was connected in some way with at least one number in *Der Stein der Weisen*: the duet "Nun liebes Weibchen," K. 592a (625), survives in a manuscript that is mostly (but not entirely) in his hand. The title page of another Viennese score of *Der Stein der Weisen*, now in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, attributes the music to Mozart, Johann Baptist Henneberg (the musical director of Schikaneder's company), Benedikt Schack (who would go on to create the role of Tamino), and Franz Xaver Gerl (who would go on to create the role of Sarastro). However, individual numbers in the Berlin score carry no attributions.

In contrast, nearly all of the numbers in the Hamburg score are attributed. It is not surprising to find that "Nun liebes Weibchen" is attributed to Mozart. However, the manuscript also contains two previously unknown attributions to Mozart, both in the second-act finale: one at the beginning of the finale, a duet between the characters Lubano and Lubanara, and another at the beginning of a duet later on in the finale between the characters Nadir and Genius. These attributions have now been shown to be contemporaneous with the manuscript, and the manuscript itself has been shown to date from the mid-1790s, and to come from the shop of the music copyist Kaspar Weiß, a member of Schikaneder's company at the Theater auf der Wieden, who distributed commercial copies of many operas performed in that theatre. Careful analysis of the handwriting has shown that the attributions in the Hamburg score were quite likely written by Weiß himself.[18]

In a recent issue of the *Cambridge Opera Journal*, Dorothea Link has reported on a previously unheralded accompanied recitative that precedes Mozart's insertion aria "Vado, ma dove?," K. 583, in the Viennese court theatre's performing score of Martín y Soler's *Il burbero di buon cuore* (the performing score was the one used for directing the opera in the theatre).[19] The recitative itself carries no attribution, but is written by the same copyist on the same paper-type as Mozart's aria, and there is no doubt that the recitative was inserted into the score around the same time as the aria. In this case, the attribution to Mozart has been made "by conjecture" (to use John Spitzer's term) – in other words, the attribution comes from a scholar working in the present day, rather than by someone in Mozart's day.[20]

So far as we know, all of these attributed items (with the exception of "Nun liebes Weibchen") survive only in non-autograph manuscripts, and they are not otherwise directly authenticated: in other words, the items are not attested by entries in Mozart's *Verzeichnüß*, by unambiguous references in Mozart's letters, or by non-autograph manuscripts containing Mozart's handwriting.

[17] David J. Buch, "Mozart and the Theater auf der Wieden: New Attributions and Perspectives," *this journal*, 9:3 (1997): 195–232.

[18] On Weiß and the provenance of the Hamburg score see my "Attributing Mozart (ii): *Der Stein der Weisen*" (forthcoming).

[19] Dorothea Link, "A Newly Discovered Accompanied Recitative to Mozart's 'Vado, ma dove,' K. 583," *this journal*, 12:1 (2000): 29–50. See also in the same issue, pp. 51–54, the response of Laurel E. Zeiss, "Mozart or Not? The Musical Evidence."

[20] John Spitzer, "Authorship and Attribution in Western Art Music," Ph.D. diss., Cornell University (1983), 168.

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By way of comparison, two other accompanied recitatives with similarly plausible but unauthenticated connections to Mozart have received scarcely any attention from scholars or the media, although specialists have vaguely known about both for many years. One is found in a pasticcio based on Guglielmi's *La quacquera spirituosa*. The pasticcio was first performed in the Viennese court theatre on 13 August 1790. It was not a success: the production closed after the second performance just two days later, and the work seems never to have been revived in this particular form. The court theatre's original performing score of this pasticcio contains an accompanied recitative that is explicitly attributed to Mozart, preceding a rondò attributed to Cimarosa, "Quanto è grave il mio tormento." The attribution on the recitative is written by a contemporaneous hand, and there is no question that the manuscripts of both the recitative and the opera as a whole date from 1790 and that they come directly from the court theatre in Vienna.[21]

Another accompanied recitative that may plausibly be connected to Mozart is found in a manuscript score in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna of extracts from Paisiello's *Fedra*. This score happens to contain a primary source for Mozart's insertion aria "No, che non sei capace," K. 419, the autograph of which is lost. The score as a whole reflects the extracts from *Fedra* that were performed at a concert given by the Viennese Tonkünstler-Societät on 16 and 17 April 1791, at which Mozart's aria is known to have been sung by Aloysia Lange. In the score in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Mozart's aria is preceded by an unattributed and otherwise unknown accompanied recitative.[22] The text of this recitative is also printed along with that of Mozart's aria in the libretto from the Viennese performance. Thus there seems to be a good *prima facie* case for an attribution "by conjecture" to Mozart here as well.

In what follows, I discuss all three of these accompanied recitatives in detail, drawing on the traditional techniques of source analysis and (to a lesser degree) stylistic argument in order to assess the plausibility of their attribution to Mozart. The concepts of authorship and attribution are complex, and both have been the subjects of a large scholarly and theoretical literature in a variety of fields. Space does not permit me to address the deeper philosophical and sociological issues here and the theoretical underpinning of my argument will remain largely implicit.[23] However, I shall briefly clarify one important theoretical point with a direct bearing on any technical discussion of attribution.

[21] The accompanied recitative is discussed in Alexander Weinmann, "Zur Mozart-Bibliographie," *Wiener Figaro*, 47 (June 1980): 3–7, which includes a complete facsimile. The existence of the recitative was apparently first mentioned in Otto Michtner, *Das alte Burgtheater als Opernbühne. Von der Einführung des deutschen Singspiels (1778) bis zum Tod Kaiser Leopolds II. (1792)* (Vienna, 1970), 424n.25. For a facsimile of the first page of the recitative, including the attribution to Mozart, see below, Fig. 5.

[22] The accompanied recitative is mentioned in the entry for K. 419 in the sixth edition of the Köchel catalogue, which includes an incipit for the recitative. This portion of the entry is taken word for word from Einstein's third edition of the catalogue.

[23] I hope to address the theoretical and sociological aspects of authorship and attribution in the near future in another forum.

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The term ''authorship" may be used in an extended sense to refer to the creator or creators of anything that might reasonably be regarded as a ''text," including a musical composition; thus the term ''author" may also refer to a composer. The concept of ''authorship" can be seen as a conflation of at least five distinct (if overlapping) aspects or dimensions. In the present article, I deal more or less exclusively with what we may call ''empirical authorship." Every text (however multifarious its origins) is the creation of one or more actual human beings. These human beings are the ''empirical authors."[24] Sometimes, one particular human being can be shown beyond a reasonable doubt to have created a particular well-defined text single-handedly. For example, Mozart almost certainly wrote down the entire ''Jupiter" Symphony out of his own imagination without any help. We have the proof of this in Mozart's autograph manuscript of the symphony, and Mozart may be said to be the sole empirical author of the symphony.

However, authorship may sometimes be multiple or collaborative (not quite the same thing). Sometimes the relative contributions of multiple or collaborative authors can be disentangled, but often they cannot. For a fully rigorous argument establishing empirical authorship, we would normally expect that our evidence should include documents or artifacts that give unequivocal evidence of a particular person's involvement in the creation of a particular text. In most cases, this evidence would include an exemplar of the text that contains clear traces of the alleged contributions of the empirical author. (An example of such evidence would be Mozart's autograph score of the ''Jupiter" Symphony, or perhaps a photographic reproduction of that score.) The identification and analysis of such evidence will entail what are, in essence, stylistic arguments regarding its status *as* evidence (regarding, for example, the identification of Mozart's handwriting in a score). Such evidence comes with its own set of attributional problems, which recapitulate many of the problems of authorial attribution, but at a finer level of detail (''Is this really Mozart's handwriting?").

In practice, the degree of rigor demanded by the requirement for direct documentary or artifactual evidence is often unattainable, and the issue is sometimes finessed. There are no known manuscripts of the plays or poems attributed to ''Shakespeare" written by a hand that can be identified as belonging to the empirical individual Shakespeare. Yet acceptance of Shakespeare's authorship of the canonical plays is nearly universal (although it is precisely the gaps in the documentary record

[24] The following discussion of authorship takes its departure from Robert J. Griffin, ''Anonymity and Authorship," *New Literary History*, 30 (1999): 877–95, esp. 890. Griffin cites David Saunders and Ian Hunter (''Lessons from the 'Literatory': How to Historicise Authorship," *Critical Inquiry*, 17 [1991]: 479–509), who have shown that the ''legal" and ''aesthetic" identities of authors need to be considered separately, even though these aspects are often conflated. Griffin further refines the distinction: "I want to suggest further that the aesthetic identity of the author is also a conflation. We should not assume that the aesthetic identity of the author, what for poets at least used to be called the 'poetical character,' is a unified entity; rather it is split into multiple entities in the course of individual publications, whose nominal authors may have different names, and is collected together under the name of the empirical writer only after the fact." I have adopted the terms ''empirical," ''legal," ''nominal," and ''aesthetic" author, adding here the concept of ''reputed author."

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that allow anti-Stratfordians to thrive). No autograph scores or sketches are known to survive for "Mozart's" Clarinet Quintet, K. 581, and the principal source for the work is an edition published by André in 1802. To be sure, Mozart's *Verzeichnüß* contains an incipit for a clarinet quintet in the same key, and the incipit in the catalogue matches the first four measures of André's edition. However, we have no other documentary proof that Mozart composed the rest of the piece as it has come down to us. The authorship of the quintet has never been questioned, and I am not proposing to question it here. I merely wish to point out that some works that are unquestioningly accepted as belonging to "Mozart's" œuvre could not meet the evidentiary requirements often demanded of new attributions.

At least four other dimensions of authorship may be distinguished from empirical authorship. The "legal author(s)" of a text are those to whom copyright is assigned, or who are held responsible for the text's content. The concepts of literary property and accountability have histories of their own, quite separate from any particular questions of empirical authorship, and a text may have an empirical author without having a legal one. In the seventeenth century, a publisher (rather than an author) might be held legally accountable for the content of a book. Today it is extremely common for copyright to be held by a person or institution having little or nothing to do with the text's creation. None of the recitatives considered here have legal authors.

We may use the term "nominal author(s)" to refer to a name or names that appear attributively on actual physical instances of a text. Thus "Ossian" is a nominal author of the epic poem *Fingal* published under that name in 1762. The empirical author (we now know) is James Macpherson (although Ossian, or Oisín may well have been an empirical individual, who also wrote poetry). "Mozart" is a nominal author of three items in the Hamburg score of *Der Stein der Weisen*, whether or not the historical Mozart had anything to do with them. A "nominal author" is the product of an act of naming *by* someone – it is the product of an act of attribution, and we may attempt to name the attributer, to attribute the attribution. A nominal author need not be identified by a proper name, and a single empirical author may be equivalent to two or more nominal authors (in the case of pen-names, for example). Of the three accompanied recitatives considered here, only the one in *La quacquera spirituosa* has a contemporaneous nominal attribution. The recitative preceding K. 583 lacks a contemporaneous nominal attribution, but it has received a modern "conjectural" one (Link's). The recitative preceding K. 419 has received no explicit nominal attribution, except perhaps by implicit association (because the recitative is mentioned in the Köchel catalogue).

We may refer to the author or authors who are generally *believed* to have created a text as the "reputed author(s)." Homer is the reputed author of the *Iliad*, regardless of whether an individual by that name ever existed or had anything to do with the creation of the text that we now identify as the *Iliad*. Reputed authorship is geographically, chronologically, and sometimes even socially located: one can say that in England in 1780 (but not now) Ossian was the reputed author of *Fingal*, or that in the United States (and perhaps elsewhere) in 1955 (but not now) Mozart was the reputed author of the Sinfonia Concertante in E-flat for Oboe, Clarinet,

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Horn, and Bassoon. Reputed authorship may vary from individual to individual: you may believe that the Sinfonia Concertante is by Mozart, and I may not. Your individual acts of naming Mozart as the author are instances of his "nominal" authorship. Reputed authorship consists, then, of a large number of individual nominal attributions, and it functions in this sense rather like the meaning of a word. The study of reputed authorship is part of reception history.

Finally, we may use the term "aesthetic author(s)" to refer to the creator or creators of an œuvre or to the œuvre itself, where the name of the aesthetic author is equivalent to the name of the œuvre.[25] An "aesthetic author" is a socially constructed and continually malleable concept, and is not directly subject to empirical judgment. Like reputed authorship, aesthetic authorship is a part of reception history. However, the aesthetic author is an author of a text *in relationship to* the other texts in an œuvre. For any given text, aesthetic authorship will be congruent with one or more of the other dimensions of authorship: the aesthetic author may be the nominal author or the reputed author, or perhaps even the legal or empirical author. However, the aesthetic author (or authors) need not be, and very often is not, congruent to any particular one of the other dimensions. Constanze Mozart, Nissen, Stadler, and André were by and large concerned with the establishment of the boundaries of Mozart's *aesthetic* authorship, which they hoped to establish through the study of his *empirical* authorship, and this has continued to be a preoccupation of many Mozart scholars ever since.

Scholars often seem to assume that aesthetic authorship should, ideally, be equivalent to empirical authorship. However, this ideal is probably unattainable, even in principle. For there to be complete congruence between the two, we would need to have unambiguous documentary evidence for the empirical authorship of every single text in an œuvre, and unequivocal proof that the œuvre is complete and comprehensive (in other words, that we have everything that the author ever produced). I can think of no case where such evidence exists, even for modern authors, nor can I think of any case in which such evidence is demanded. One of the implications of the disjunction between empirical authorship and aesthetic authorship is that stylistic arguments for attribution will inevitably be circular at some level.

None of the three accompanied recitatives I discuss in what follows is known to survive in any source (such as an autograph) that would normally be required for conclusive proof of Mozart's empirical authorship. Thus the central question becomes not whether the historical individual Mozart composed any of them (for we cannot show that with certainty), but whether contemporaneous or conjectural nominal attributions are plausible, and if so, whether we can or wish to invest sufficient confidence in these attributions to admit any or all of the recitatives to Mozart's œuvre. (The Clarinet Quintet is an excellent example of a

[25] The "aesthetic author" is roughly equivalent to Foucault's "author function." See Michel Foucault, "What is an Author?" in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. Donald F. Bouchard (Ithaca, 1977), 113–38.

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work that lacks conclusive proof of empirical authorship, but is nevertheless unquestioningly taken as part of Mozart's œuvre.)

Wenzel Sukowaty and the copy-shop of the Viennese court theatre

In order to evaluate the sources for the three accompanied recitatives, we need first to understand the context in which Mozart's operatic music was created and reproduced in Vienna during the last decade of his life.

The chief music copyist of the Viennese court theatre from 1778 until at least 1796 was the Moravian-born Wenzel Sukowaty.[26] Sukowaty was in charge of producing the performing scores and performing parts for all operas that were given by that theatre over a period of almost two decades.[27] As it happens, many of these scores and even a few of the parts survive. The surviving manuscripts include most of the scores and some of the parts from the original Viennese productions of Mozart's operas. The court library – the Hofbibliothek – received much of this material directly from the archive of the court opera in the years around 1900. Thus the Austrian National Library, the successor to the Hofbibliothek, today has in its collection the original performing scores created by Sukowaty's shop for *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, *Le nozze di Figaro*, the Viennese version of *Don Giovanni*, and *Così fan tutte*, as well as nearly complete sets of original orchestral parts for *Le nozze di Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*. The library also has in its collection almost all of the original performing scores for the recitatives, arias, and ensembles that Mozart composed for insertion into Viennese productions of operas by other composers, including the quartet "Dite almeno in che mancai," K. 479 (composed for the pasticcio *La villanella rapita* in 1785), the trio "Mandina amabile," K. 480 (also for *La villanella rapita*), the bass aria "Un bacio di mano," K. 541 (for Anfossi's *Le gelosie*

[26] On Sukowaty, see my "Mozart's Viennese Copyists" (see n. 2), Ch. 9. Link, "Newly Discovered" (see n. 19), 29 and n. 3, misleadingly describes Sukowaty as a "court copyist." Sukowaty seems never to have belonged to the court musical establishment (the Hofkapelle or Hofmusikkapelle). As a music copyist for the court theatre he acted as an independent contractor, submitting invoices for individual projects, and presumably paying his assistants out of the money he received. I here use the term "court theatre" to refer to the branch of the court administration involved in theatrical productions, rather than to a particular building. The court theatre owned two physical theatres in Vienna, the Burgtheater and the Kärntnertortheater, both of which were used for operas produced by the court theatre. Until the mid 1780s, the Kärntnertortheater was also sometimes leased to visiting theatrical companies.

[27] Not all musical manuscripts used by the court theatre originated in Sukowaty's shop. Performing scores of operas first produced elsewhere were often purchased from outside sources. However, even in such cases, Sukowaty was in charge of preparing the score for performance, including the addition of any local insertions. He was probably also in charge of the production of performing parts for these operas. I use the term "performing score" to refer to the score of an opera or portion of an opera that was retained by the theatre for use in performance (normally at the keyboard) and as an archival copy. These manuscripts are sometimes called "conducting scores" (the term Link uses), but this use of "conducting" is anachronistic and misleading in the context of late eighteenth-century Vienna. The term "performing score" is perhaps also somewhat misleading (not all such scores were used in performance). We might also refer to these manuscripts as "production scores" or "reference scores."

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fortunate), the soprano aria "Alma grande e nobil core," K. 578 (for Cimarosa's *I due baroni*), and the soprano arias "Chi sa, chi sa, qual sia," K. 582 and "Vado, ma dove?," K. 583 (both for Martín y Soler's *Il burbero di buon cuore*). All of this material was produced by Sukowaty's shop, and Sukowaty was therefore one of the most important Viennese copyists to have produced authorized copies of Mozart's music during the composer's lifetime.[28] However, with few exceptions, these manuscripts have been overlooked by Mozart scholars.

Not all of the Mozart manuscripts created by Sukowaty's shop survive. In 1783, Mozart composed three insertion arias (K. 418, K. 419, and K. 420) for a performance by the court theatre of Pasquale Anfossi's *Il curioso indiscreto*. No original performing scores or parts for these arias are known to survive. The original performing parts for *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* and *Così fan tutte* also appear to be lost (parts do survive, however, from the first revivals of these operas by the Viennese court theatre in 1801 and 1804, respectively). A few other individual items are lost. No original performing scores are known to survive for the arias "Al desio di chi t'adora," K. 577, and "Un moto di gioia," K. 579.[29]

Because the original Viennese performing scores and most of the orchestral parts survive for *Le nozze di Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*, we can reconstruct in considerable detail the process by which such performing materials were produced. In the case of *Figaro*, the source evidence strongly suggests that Mozart brought individual sections of the opera to Sukowaty as they were completed, rather than waiting until work on the composition as a whole was complete.[30] When Sukowaty received these portions of the autograph, he first initiated the copying of the first-desk string parts, which were needed in early orchestral rehearsals (the so-called "kleine Proben") using a small group of strings. Vocal role-books may have been copied even earlier, so that singers could learn their parts; unfortunately, none of the original role-books are known to survive from the first Viennese productions of Mozart's operas, so we cannot be sure at which stage in the process these were copied out. The first-desk string parts for *Le nozze di Figaro* and *Don Giovanni* were

[28] I discuss all of these manuscripts in detail in Ch. 9 of my dissertation (see n. 2). I first reported on the original orchestral parts for *Le nozze di Figaro* at the national meeting of the American Musicological Society in New York City in 1995, and on the original orchestral parts for the Viennese version of *Don Giovanni* at the meeting of the American Musicological Society in Toronto in 2000.

[29] However, a few of the original orchestral parts survive for both of these arias; see the discussion in Ch. 9 of my "Mozart's Viennese Copyists" (see n. 2).

[30] To describe the process more precisely for this particular opera: I have hypothesized that most of *Figaro* was composed in two distinct periods of activity. Mozart probably began to compose the opera in the summer of 1785, continuing work on it (apparently with increasing urgency) until around the beginning of November, by which time the first two acts were largely complete. For the next several months, he was mainly preoccupied with other projects. He then composed nearly all of the third and fourth acts, as well as some of the soprano arias in the first two acts, during an intense burst of activity in the final few weeks before the première on 1 May 1786. It seems certain that Sukowaty began during this second phase to produce portions of the orchestral parts before Mozart had finished composing the opera as a whole. I have presented this hypothesis (which is a refinement of one discussed in my dissertation) in a talk entitled "The Genesis of Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro*," first delivered at the University of Washington on 28 January 2002.

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copied on relatively inexpensive (and thus expendable) music paper, to allow for revisions and emendations in the early rehearsals, and possible recopying. Only after the performing version of the opera had been more or less set were the winds and duplicate strings copied, using high-quality (and hence more expensive) northern Italian paper. Duplicate strings were copied from the first-desk parts, whereas the winds were copied directly from the autograph. The copying of the duplicate parts and winds by no means necessarily ended the process of revision, which sometimes continued even after the first public performance.

The copying of the performing score was an entirely separate operation from the copying of the orchestral parts, even though the score, like the first-desk parts, was copied directly from the autograph. (The orchestral parts and the performing score often contain different errors, strongly suggesting separate lines of descent from the autograph.) Exactly when the performing score was copied we do not know. Although it seems likely that the score would have been copied before the première, we cannot rule out the possibility that it may have been produced or finished *after* the première, particularly in cases (such as Mozart's) where the composition of the opera may have been completed at the last minute, and where the composer may have been using the autograph at the keyboard for the first few performances.

For operas that had first been performed elsewhere (such as *Il curioso indiscreto*), the process of copying out performing materials was somewhat different. Normally, the Viennese court theatre would purchase a copyist score of such an opera from a foreign theatre, sometimes directly, but perhaps more often through an agent. This score, which was destined eventually to become the performing score, would probably first have been adapted for the Viennese production, before being used as the *Vorlage* (the model or pattern) for the copying of role-books and parts. Often, local insertions (such as those by Mozart for *Il curioso indiscreto*) would have been added to the opera before role-books and parts were copied. If these insertions were commissioned by the court theatre, the autographs would probably have been submitted directly to Sukowaty, who probably then dealt with them in more or less the same way as he did the autograph scores of complete operas. *Don Giovanni* was an exceptional case: because the opera had received its première in Prague, Mozart would have been able to give the full finished autograph of the Prague version to Sukowaty. Mozart then probably delivered the new numbers for the Viennese production to Sukowaty as they were completed.

The recitative preceding K. 419

In spite of the considerable success of the first production of Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* in the season 1782–83, Emperor Joseph II's attempt to establish a National *Singspiel* in Vienna had by and large been a failure with the public. In 1783, the Viennese court theatre therefore disbanded the *Singspiel*, and formed a new company for the production of Italian *opera buffa* in Vienna.[31] Mozart immediately attempted to establish himself in the minds of the Viennese public and

[31] The rest of this article is adapted from "Mozart's Viennese Copyists" (see n. 2), Ch. 9.

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the directors of the theatre as a potential composer of Italian opera. Already in the summer of 1783, Mozart composed three insertion arias for the Viennese première of Anfossi's *Il curioso indiscreto*. These arias marked Mozart's debut as a composer for the new company. Two of these arias – "Vorrei spiegarvi, oh Dio . . . Ah conte, partite," K. 418, and "No, che non sei capace," K. 419 – were composed for his sister-in-law Aloysia Lange, who was likewise making her debut as a singer in the Italian company, in the role of Clorinda (she had been a leading singer in the now defunct *Singspiel*). The third aria, the rondò "Per pietà, non ricercate," K. 420, was composed for the tenor Valentin Adamberger, also a star of the *Singspiel*, here making his local debut as a singer of Italian opera in the role of the Contino di Ripaverde. The texts of K. 418 and K. 420 were based on those in the original libretto (Anfossi's opera had first been performed in Rome in 1777). The author of the text of K. 419 is unknown. In the event, K. 420 was probably not performed, but K. 418 and K. 419 almost certainly were. Thus vocal role-books and orchestral parts must have existed at one time, although no such manuscripts are known to survive.

The autograph scores of K. 418 and K. 420 do survive, although they were lost at the time of the edition of the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* in 1971 (they are now in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Kraków); both were included in Constanze Mozart's shipment to Johann Anton André in January 1800. However, the autograph of K. 419 was apparently missing from an early date.[32] It was not among the materials that Constanze shipped to André, and it is not mentioned or alluded to in any of her surviving letters to him. The André firm must, in fact, have acquired a source of some sort for this aria, because they published a set of parts for it (the first printed edition of the aria) in 1798. One wonders if the autograph might have been laid directly into the court theatre's performing score. If so, perhaps Mozart did not retrieve it, and it was lost along with the performing score, which is not known to survive. Alternatively, it may be that the autograph was lost after being loaned to the Tonkünstler-Societät (or to Aloysia Lange) in order to prepare the performing materials for the concert in 1791.

Because neither the autograph nor an original performing score of K. 419 are known to survive, one of the principal sources for the aria is, by default, a manuscript score of extracts from Paisiello's *Fedra*, into which a score of K. 419 has been inserted.[33] Extracts from *Fedra* were performed in Vienna at concerts of the Tonkünstler-Societät on 16 and 17 April 1791, with Aloysia Lange in the role of Aricia, the tenor Vincenzo Calvesi in the role of Ippolito (originally a soprano role), and the high baritone Santi Nencini in the tenor role of Teseo.[34] The poster for the concerts notes that:

[32] Autograph sketches survive for portions of K. 419. See the facsimile and transcription of Skb 1783d in *NMA*, X/30/3, *Skizzen*, ed. Ulrich Konrad; see also the accompanying critical report, 26–27.

[33] A-Wgm, IV 7751 (Q 1812), Nr. 4. The aria is inscribed "Del Sigr: Wolg. Amad. Mozzart" (see the entry for K. 419 in the sixth edition of the Köchel catalogue).

[34] See Deutsch, *Dokumente* (see n. 3), 344–45. The items from *Fedra* performed in Vienna included: no. 20, Teseo's accompanied recitative "Oh minaccia! ond'io sento"; no. 21, "Quanto ha d'orribile," for Teseo and chorus (no. 1 in the Vienna score); no. 37, "No non partir, no, ben mio," duet for Aricia and Ippolito (no. 2 in the Vienna score);

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Die Musik ist vom Hrn. Johann *Paisiello*, mit Ausnahme der Arie, welche Mad. Lange singt, und von der Komposition des Hrn. *Mozart* ist.[35]

[The music is by Herr Johann *Paisiello*, with the exception of the aria sung by Madame Lange, which is composed by Herr *Mozart*.]

A printed libretto from the Viennese performance of *Fedra* has recently come to light in the library of the Conservatorio di Santa Cecilia in Rome.[36] It includes the text for K. 419, and also an Italian version of the notice printed on the poster ("La Musica è del Signore Giov. Paisiello fuori dell'aria, che canta la Signora Lang, ch'è del Signore Mozzart"). Thus there can be little doubt that K. 419 was indeed the aria that Lange sang in April 1791.

The manuscript score of the extracts from *Fedra* is today preserved in the archive of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. The score mirrors the content of the Viennese concert. However, K. 419 and its preceding recitative were evidently not part of the original gathering structure of the manuscript: they are written on a different paper-type than the rest of the score, almost certainly by a different hand, and they lie outside the original sequence of gathering numbers, "1" to "19," that were written in ink in the upper-right corners of the first pages of each gathering. The recitative and aria are written on northern Italian paper with a watermark consisting of three crescent moons over REAL, countered by CS over C. This watermark is almost certainly equivalent to Tyson 100, and is entirely consistent with a date around 1791.[37] At present, we can say nothing about the exact relationship between this score of K. 419 and Mozart's lost autograph. Strictly speaking, this score is therefore insufficient evidence of Mozart's empirical authorship of the aria. However, the authorship of the aria has never been questioned.

footnote continued from previous page
no. 39, an accompanied recitative for Aricia, "Ah chi mi dice almeno," transposed to D major, and no. 38, the chorus "Lode a lei, che a Cinto impera" (in that order, as no. 3 in the Vienna score); and no. 41, the closing chorus "Nume Arcier, Nume pietoso" (no. 5 in the Vienna score). Mozart's K. 419 and the preceding accompanied recitative (which together make up no. 4 in the Vienna score) were placed between the two final choruses. On the content of the Viennese performance, see the entry for K. 419 in the sixth edition of the Köchel catalogue, and also Michael F. Robinson, with the assistance of Ulrike Hofmann, *Giovanni Paisiello: A Thematic Catalogue of His Works* (Stuyvesant, NY, 1991), vol. 1, 408–15, esp. the description of "Variant 1" (the Viennese version of *Fedra*), p. 415.

[35] Deutsch, *Dokumente* (see n. 3), 344–45.

[36] I-Rsc, Carv. vol. 26, *Diverse scene estratte dalla Fedra* (Vienna: Presso Christiano Grosser, 1791). The libretto is listed under this title in Claudio Sartori, *I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800. Catalogo analitico con 16 indici*, 7 vols. (Cuneo, 1990–94). I am grateful to John Rice for bringing this libretto to my attention, to Alessandra Campana for obtaining a photocopy of it for me, and to Neal Zaslaw for sharing with me his draft entry on K. 419 from the *New Köchel*, an entry which takes this libretto into account.

[37] The principal watermark in the *Fedra* score consists of three four-pointed stars in a large crest, countered by the letters REAL over V. G. This watermark is not found in the Tyson catalogue (although it is similar to Tyson 51). A third watermark, found only in a single leaf (pp. 149–50), is probably equivalent to Tyson 99. I am grateful to Michael Lorenz for his assistance in the examination of the *Fedra* manuscript.

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Fig. 1: First page of the accompanied recitative preceding Mozart's aria K. 419 in a score of extracts from Paisiello's *Fedra*. A-Wgm, IV 7751 (Q 1812), Nr. 4.

The score of K. 419 is immediately preceded by an unattributed accompanied recitative of seventeen measures, with the textual incipit "Ah da me s'allontani" (see the facsimile of the first page of the recitative in Fig. 1). The text reads:

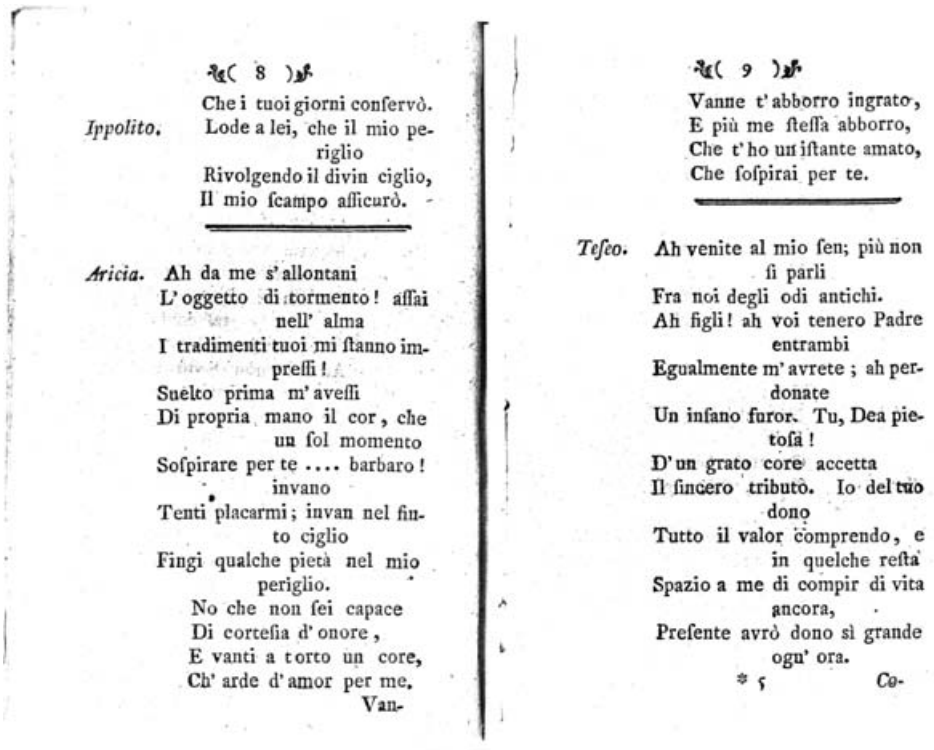
Ah da me s'allontani
L'oggetto di tormento! assai nell'alma
I tradimenti tuoi mi stanno impressi!
Svelto prima m'avessi
Di propria mano il cor, che un sol momento
Sospirare per te . . . barbaro! invano
Tenti placarmi; invan nel finto ciglio
Fingi qualche pietà nel mio periglio.[38]

[Ah, may the object of (my) torment depart from me. Your betrayals are already sufficiently impressed on my soul. I would rather have first plucked out my heart by my own hand, than sighed for you for a single moment. Barbarian! In vain you try to placate me; in vain with false glances do you pretend pity for my peril.]

This text also appears in the libretto of the Viennese performance, where it immediately precedes the text of Mozart's aria (see Fig. 2). A complete transcription of the recitative is given in Example 1.

[38] This transcription is taken from the printed libretto. It deviates in minor respects from the text as given in the transcription of the recitative in Example 1.

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(8)

Che i tuoi giorni conſervò.
Ippolito. Lode a lei, che il mio pe-
riglio
Rivolgendo il divin ciglio,
Il mio ſcampo aſſicurò.

Aricia. Ah da me s'allontani
L'oggetto di tormento! aſſai
nell' alma
I tradimenti tuoi mi ſtanno im-
preſſi!
Sueto prima m'aveſſi
Di propria mano il cor, che
un ſol momento
Soſpirare per te .... barbaro!
invano
Tenti placarmi; invan nel fin-
to ciglio
Fingi qualche pietà nel mio
periglio.
No che non ſei capace
Di corteſia d'onore,
E vanti a torto un core,
Ch' arde d'amor per me.
Van-

(9)

Vanne t'abborro ingrato,
E più me ſteſſa abborro,
Che t'ho un iſtante amato,
Che ſoſpirai per te.

Teſeo. Ah venite al mio ſen; più non
ſi parli
Fra noi degli odi antichi.
Ah figli! ah voi tenero Padre
entrambi
Egualmente m'avrete; ah per-
donate
Un infano furor. Tu, Dea pie-
toſa!
D'un grato core accetta
Il ſincero tributo. Io del tuo
dono
Tutto il valor comprendo, e
in quelche reſta
Spazio a me di compir di vita
ancora,
Preſente avrò dono sì grande
ogn' ora.
* 5 Co-

Fig. 2: The text of Mozart's aria K. 419 and the preceding recitative, from the libretto *Diverse scene estratte dalla Fedra* (Vienna, 1791). I-Rsc, Carv. vol. 26.

Because of the association with K. 419, one naturally wonders whether this recitative might be by Mozart. However, the recitative has received little attention in the Mozart literature; it is mentioned in passing in the sixth edition of the Köchel catalogue, which gives the musical incipit, but the catalogue makes no explicit claim one way or the other regarding Mozart's possible authorship. Although the manuscript as a whole has never been carefully analyzed, it is considered a reliable source for K. 419, and it was the principal one used for the edition of the aria in the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe*. However, the manuscript has no demonstrated direct connection to Mozart. The handwriting in the score of the recitative does not seem to be that of a known Viennese professional copyist.[39] Indeed, it looks rather like an "autograph" hand: in other words, one imagines that it might possibly be the hand of the composer of the recitative (the hand is definitely not Mozart's). Be that as it may, the appearance of the text of the recitative in the Viennese libretto strongly suggests that this recitative was performed along with K. 419 at the concert in Vienna in April 1791, with which Mozart seems to have been directly involved.

[39] The hand in the score of K. 419 is strongly similar to that in the preceding recitative, but the differences between the hands are sufficient to preclude a certain match. On the general stylistic characteristics of the handwriting of professional Viennese music copyists in the eighteenth century, see my "Mozart's Viennese Copyists" (see n. 2), Ch 3, esp. the section "Viennese 'System' Style in the Eighteenth Century," 294–301.

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Ex. 1: The accompanied recitative preceding Mozart's K. 419 in a score of extracts from Paisiello's *Fedra*. A-Wgm, IV 7751 (Q 1812), Nr. 4.

There are no evident stylistic grounds for rejecting Mozart's authorship of the recitative: for example, it contains no part-writing errors. On the other hand, it is a modest piece, and its musical gestures are entirely generic. In fact, the very ordinariness of the recitative might well be considered to count against the possibility of Mozart's authorship.

Thus there seem, on balance, to be no compelling grounds to attribute the recitative to Mozart, and it is not difficult to come up with alternative hypotheses

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Ex. 1: (cont'd).

that would explain the presence of the recitative in the score of the extracts from *Fedra*. It might, for example, have been composed by someone – almost certainly not Mozart – who was in charge of assembling a selection of items from *Fedra* for the concert of the Tonkünstler-Societät in April 1791. Perhaps it was felt that Mozart's inserted aria needed an introductory recitative in order to make a smooth musical and textual transition, and this unknown person may therefore have composed one specifically for that purpose, or asked someone else to do so (many of the members of the Tonkünstler-Societät were composers in their own right).

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Ex. 1: (cont'd).

The accompanied recitative preceding K. 583

Mozart composed four insertion arias for use by the Viennese court theatre in 1788 and 1789 (in addition, that is, to insertion arias that he composed for his own operas, *Le nozze di Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*).[40] The four arias are: "Un bacio di

[40] In 1788, Mozart composed the aria "Dalla sua pace," the accompanied recitative and aria "In quali eccessi . . . Mi tradì quell'alma ingrata," and the duet "Per queste tue manine" for

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mano," K. 541, for Anfossi's *Le gelosie fortunate*; "Alma grande e nobil core," K. 578, for Cimarosa's *I due baroni*; and "Chi sa, chi sa, qual sia," K. 582, and "Vado, ma dove?," K. 583, both for a revival of Martín y Soler's *Il burbero di buon cuore*. The court theatre's original performing scores survive for all four of these arias.[41] All four scores seem to have been unknown to Stefan Kunze, the editor of these arias for the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe*, and to the sixth edition of the Köchel catalogue, even though the scores for K. 541 and K. 578 ought to be regarded as the principal sources of those arias, as they are the only ones known to have been copied directly from Mozart's now missing autographs.[42]

K. 541 was composed for the baritone Francesco Albertarelli to sing in Anfossi's *Le gelosie fortunate*, which had its Viennese première on 2 June 1788. Then, in the second half of 1789, Mozart composed three insertion arias for the soprano Luisa Villeneuve, who had made her successful Viennese debut on 27 June of that year in the role of Amor in Martín y Soler's *L'arbore di Diana* and who would go on to create the role of Dorabella in Mozart's *Così fan tutte* in January 1790 (she seems also to have sung the role of Cherubino in the revival of *Le nozze di Figaro* in 1789).[43] The first of these insertion arias was "Alma grande e nobil core," K. 578, composed for Cimarosa's *I due baroni*, which had its Viennese première on 6 September 1789, just a little over a week after the first production of the revival of *Figaro*. *I due baroni* was performed just once more, on 13 September 1789. It then fell out of the repertoire of the Viennese theatres and was never revived. Its failure to please is reflected in the precipitous fall in its box-office receipts, from a rather poor 169 gulden 37 kreuzer at the première to a disastrous 91 gulden 20 kreuzer at the second performance.[44] The inveterate theatre-goer Count Zinzendorf referred to it as a "mauvais opéra."[45]

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insertion into the first Viennese production of his *Don Giovanni*, which had had its première in Prague the previous year. In the summer of 1789, Mozart composed the rondò "Al desio di chi t'adora," K. 577, as a replacement for Susanna's "Deh vieni non tardar" in the revival of *Le nozze di Figaro* that had its first performance on 29 August of that year. It is usually said that Mozart also composed the aria "Un moto di gioia," K. 579, at around this same time as a replacement for Susanna's "Venite inginocchiatevi." However, there are no persuasive documentary grounds for placing this aria in 1789, and the paper-type of its autograph strongly suggests a date in 1790 or even early 1791. On the dating of K. 579, see my "Mozart's Viennese Copyists" (see n. 2), Ch. 9, esp. 1687–1702.

41 The original performing scores for K. 541 and K. 578 are preserved in, respectively, A-Wn, KT 181, and A-Wn, KT 56. The scores for K. 582 and K. 583 will be discussed below.

42 On the court theatre's scores for K. 541 and K. 578, see my "Mozart's Viennese Copyists" (see n. 2), Ch. 9.

43 On Villeneuve's possible participation in the revival of *Figaro*, see my "Mozart's Viennese Copyists" (see n. 2), Ch. 9, esp. 1669–1670. Villeneuve's name ("La S: Vilneuf") is written in crayon above the beginning of "Voi che sapete" in the original first-desk part for first violin. The same hand has written the names of singers (from the original production in 1786, or the revival of 1789–91, or both) over many of the other numbers. All other such entries are correct, and they were almost certainly made by one of the violinists who used the part, quite possibly Thomas Woborzil, who was director of the violins in both productions.

44 See my "Mozart's Reception in Vienna," in *Wolfgang Amadè Mozart: Essays on his Life and his Music*, ed. Stanley Sadie (Oxford, 1996), 66–117, esp. 100.

45 Michtner, *Das alte Burgtheater* (see n. 21), 420n.10.

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In October 1789, Mozart completed two more arias for Luisa Villeneuve, "Chi sa, chi sa, qual sia," K. 582, and "Vado, ma dove?," K. 583. Both were composed as insertions for a revival of Martín y Soler's *Il burbero di buon cuore*. Martín's opera, with a libretto by Lorenzo Da Ponte, had been commissioned by the court theatre, and was first performed on 4 January 1786, receiving thirteen additional performances in 1786 and 1787.[46] The first performance of the revival took place on 9 November 1789, with Emperor Joseph II in attendance.[47] There were five further performances in the revival, the last on 20 January 1790, six days before the première of *Così fan tutte*. Villeneuve sang the role of Lucilla in the revival of *Il burbero di buon cuore*. It is apparently not known who created the role in 1786.

"Chi sa, chi sa, qual sia" is the ninth number in the first act of *Il burbero di buon cuore*, following Lucilla's solo recitative in Scene 12.[48] Martín's original aria in this spot is in the key of A major. Mozart's new aria in C major retains Martín's text, except for two small changes of wording. The fourth line of the first strophe in Martín's original aria is "rabbia dispetto amor." In Mozart's setting, this line is changed to "timor sospetto amor." The third line of the second strophe of Martín's original is "voi questo dubbio atroce." In Mozart's version, the word "atroce" has been changed to "amaro."[49] The vocal part of Martín's original aria ranges from $f\sharp^1$ to a^2, and includes no virtuosic passage work (unlike Martín's other aria for Lucilla, "Vado, ma dove?"). In Mozart's setting, the vocal range of "Chi sa, chi sa, qual sia" is shifted downward, so that it extends from d^1 to g^2, and there is a moderate amount of passage work.[50]

Mozart's autograph for K. 582 survives in the library of the Kunstsammlung der Veste Coburg in Germany. The original Viennese performing score also survives, as does the performing score of Martín's original aria. Both versions of the aria are found in the first volume of the court theatre's performing score of *Il burbero di buon cuore*.[51] The score of Martín's aria shows traces of stitch-holes, suggesting that it was formerly tied off (although it is not now). Lucilla's simple recitative preceding Martín's "Chi sa, chi sa, qual sia" shows evidence of minor rewriting in red crayon

[46] The preface to the edition of these arias in the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* incorrectly gives the date of the première as 4 January 1789. See *NMA*, IV/12/5, xi.

[47] See Michtner, *Das alte Burgtheater* (see n. 21), 287, citing the periodical *Neuester Rapport von Wien*, 18 November 1789, 225.

[48] In the original Viennese performing score, the recitative preceding Martín's setting of "Chi sa, chi sa, qual sia" is designated "Scena 12." In the original Viennese libretto, it is designated "Scena XIV."

[49] These textual alterations are also noted in Link, "Newly Discovered" (see n. 19), 46n.29.

[50] The edition of K. 582 in the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* gives a leap from a^1 to a^2 in measure 75 of the vocal part, with a sustained a^1 as an alternative. The a^2 is presumably present in Mozart's autograph, which served as the basis for the edition; however, only the sustained a^1, without the leap, is present in the original performing score.

For a somewhat superficial comparison of Martín's arias for Lucilla in *Il burbero di buon cuore* and Mozart's replacements for them, see Reinhard Wiesend, "Genie und Opernalltag. Mozarts Einlagen in Martín y Solers Oper 'Il burbero di buon cuore,' " in *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Genie und Musik*, ed. Wolfgang Lipp (Würzburg, 1992), 89–102. Wiesend uses Martín as a foil for a demonstration of Mozart's superior genius. He does not divulge his sources for Martín's original arias.

[51] A-Wn, KT 70. This score of *Il burbero di buon cuore* consists of four volumes.

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in the last three measures in order to change the original cadence on D (the subdominant of the key of Martín's aria) to a cadence on C (the key of Mozart's aria). However, the original leaf containing this portion of the recitative was apparently tied off when Mozart's aria was inserted into the score in 1789. At any rate, the last page of the recitative has been recopied onto the verso of the first leaf of the inserted gathering that contains Mozart's aria, with the altered cadence (the aria begins on the recto of the second leaf). This rewrite is awkward: in the antepenultimate measure, the bass moves upward by a diminished fourth from *c*♯ to *f* (instead of *f*♯, as in the original version), with the *f* serving as the bass of a first-inversion supertonic chord in C, the key of the revised cadence. The part-writing here was problematic even in the original version: the *c*♯ in the bass is the third of an A-major chord that functions as the dominant of the D triad (major in the original, minor in the revision). However, the *c*♯ cannot resolve to *d*, because C sharp also appears in the vocal line, where it does resolve to D (after an intervening leap down to A), and implied parallel octaves would result if both C sharps were to resolve normally. Thus whoever made the revision was willing to accept the leap of a diminished fourth in order to avoid having to make a more extensive revision to improve the voice leading. It seems unlikely that this revision was made by Mozart.

Martín's aria is written on paper with a watermark equivalent to Tyson 78, which is first found in Mozart's autographs in a paper-type that the composer used in the last months of 1785 – in other words, around the same time as preparations for the original production of *Il burbero di buon cuore*.[52] The copyist is one who was active in Sukowaty's shop in late 1785.

Mozart's aria from 1789 is written on six nested bifolia of a different paper-type. The watermark consists of three crescent moons over REAL, countered by the letters GF under a canopy. The watermark appears to be equivalent to Tyson 103, although a detailed comparison suggests considerable deformation.[53] The paper is ruled with ten staves, with a total span of 189 mm. The copyist throughout is one I call Sukowaty 15, whose hand also appears in the original orchestral parts from the 1788 Viennese production of *Don Giovanni*.[54] As we shall see, Sukowaty 15 is also

[52] "Tyson 78" refers to watermark 78 in Alan Tyson, *Dokumentation der Autographen Überlieferung. Abteilung 2: Wasserzeichen-Katalog*, vol. X/33/2 of *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (Kassel, 1992). The paper in Martín's aria was ruled by a ten-stave compound rastrum with a total span of 185 mm.

[53] Tyson 103 is found in Mozart's autographs only in 9 leaves of the score of *Die Zauberflöte*. According to the entry for this watermark in the index to Tyson's catalogue, all 9 leaves are from mold A; however, Tyson's catalogue gives full-sized images of both molds. Both molds are present in the score of K. 582.

[54] In my "Mozart's Viennese Copyists" (see n. 2), I assign the arbitrary designations "Sukowaty 1" to "Sukowaty 20" to anonymous copyists whose handwritings appear in the original performing materials created by Sukowaty's shop for Mozart's operas, insertion arias, and ensembles. Sukowaty 15 probably copied the surviving separate parts for second violin and first horn in Orchestra I in the first-act finale of *Don Giovanni*, and the insertion into the first copy of the basso part for the transposed version of Donna Elvira's "In quali eccessi . . . Mi tradì," K. 540c. The hand of Sukowaty 15 also appears in the court theatre's original performing score of *Le nozze di Figaro* (A-Wn, KT 315), and perhaps also in the original orchestral parts for that opera (A-Wn, OA 295). Sukowaty 15 is almost certainly

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the copyist of Mozart's other insertion aria in *Il burbero di buon cuore*, "Vado, ma dove?" In the upper-right corner of its first page, the manuscript of K. 582 bears the attribution, probably written by a different hand, "del Sig: Mozart." There can be no reasonable doubt that this manuscript of Mozart's "Chi sa, chi sa, qual sia" is the Viennese court theatre's original performing score, copied directly from Mozart's autograph in 1789. Its readings are very accurate, and closely mirror those in the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe*, which is likewise based directly on the autograph.[55]

Mozart's other insertion aria for Villeneuve in *Il burbero di buon cuore* was "Vado, ma dove?," K. 583. Martín's original aria on this same text was the second number of the second act, where it followed Lucilla's simple recitative in Scene 4. Martín's recitative concludes with a cadence in C minor, the relative minor of the key of his aria, E-flat major. The texts of the two settings are nearly identical. In Martín's original setting, the fourth line of the first strophe reads "non sente alcun pietà," in contrast to the original libretto's "Non sente il ciel pietà." In Mozart's setting, this line reverts to the reading of the original libretto. The third and fourth lines of the second strophe of Martín's version read "tu quel sospetto or togli / che palpitarmi fà," with long melismas on the word "palpitarmi"; here, the original libretto has "Tu quel ritegno or togli / Che dubitar mi fà" and Mozart again reverts to the original reading.[56]

Mozart's autograph of K. 583 survives in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. The original Viennese performing score of the aria also survives, in the third volume of the same score of Martín's opera that contains K. 582. Martín's original aria is also still present in the score, but shows signs of having been tied off (although it is not now). Mozart's aria is written on a separate gathering consisting of five nested bifolia of the same paper-type as that used for the performing score of K. 582. The watermark is again apparently equivalent to Tyson 103, and the paper is ruled with the identical rastrum that was used to rule the paper in the performing score of K. 582. The aria begins on the verso of the first leaf in the gathering (28v; see the

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the copyist of an inserted basset-horn part for Figaro's "Aprite un po' quegl'occhi," probably added for the revival in 1789–91. A facsimile of one page of this part appears in "Mozart's Viennese Copyists," 1507, Fig. 9.12. For further discussion of Sukowaty 15, see *op cit.*, Appendix D, 2306–2309.

[55] There are a few minor differences between the performing score and the edition of the aria in the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe*. In measure 19, the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* gives a dotted quarter note beginning on the second beat in both the first and second clarinets, with a slur beginning on the dotted quarter and reaching to the end of the measure. The performing score, on the other hand, unambiguously gives a quarter note followed by an eighth rest in both parts, and the slurs encompass only the final three eighth notes of the measure. (There is no precisely parallel passage elsewhere in the aria with which to compare the passage in measure 19, although a similar figure with the same rhythm occurs in both clarinets at the end of the aria, in measure 87. Here, both the performing score and the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* give a dotted quarter note on the second beat.) The performing score and the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* also differ in a few minor details of articulation and dynamic placement, but these differences are not sufficiently significant to be worth listing here.

[56] These changes are also noted in Link, "Newly Discovered" (see n. 19), 46–47 and n. 30. Link's Figure 1 is a facsimile of the text of "Vado, ma dove?" from the 1786 libretto.

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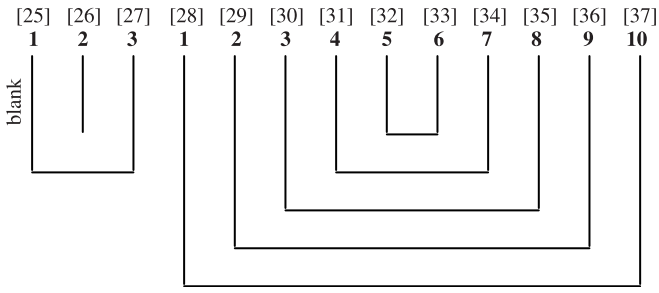


Fig. 3: Foliation diagram of the two gatherings containing the court theatre's performing score of K. 583 and the preceding accompanied recitative. A-Wn, KT 70.

foliation diagram in Figure 3).[57] The recto of that leaf contains the last seven and a half measures of an accompanied recitative. The upper-right corner of the first page of the aria is inscribed "del Sig Mozart," probably by the same hand that entered the attribution at the beginning of the performing score of K. 582 (the inscription on the first page of K. 583 can be seen in the upper-right corner of the lower page in Figure 3 of Link's article). The copyist throughout the performing score of K. 583 is Sukowaty 15, who also copied K. 582. As with K. 582, the score of K. 583 is quite accurate, deviating in only a very few minor details from the autograph-based edition of the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe*.[58]

A particularly interesting feature of this manuscript, and the one that especially drew Link's attention, is the unattributed accompanied recitative that immediately precedes Mozart's aria.[59] All but the last seven and a half measures of the recitative occupy a separate gathering of three leaves, consisting of a single bifolium and a nested single leaf.[60] The paper-type appears to be the same as that used for the score of K. 583, and the recitative is likewise copied by Sukowaty 15. Martín's original setting of this aria had been preceded by a simple recitative (which also remains in the manuscript), and the source evidence leaves no reasonable doubt that the

[57] The lower numbers in bold in Fig. 3 give the foliation of each separate gathering. The upper numbers in brackets reproduce the volume foliation given by Link in "Newly Discovered" (see n. 19), 32ff.

[58] The only significant differences between the performing score and the edition of the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* are small discrepancies in the placement of dynamics. For example, in the court theatre's score, the "cresc" in the first violin and basso in measures 12 to 13 is placed under the bar line, whereas in the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* a "crescendo" is placed under the second half note of measure 12. In the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* a "crescendo" is placed in measure 75 in the strings, whereas the "cresc" in the winds is delayed until measure 76. In the court theatre's score, the "cres:" is clearly placed under the first beat of measure 76 in all of the parts.

[59] Link gives facsimiles of the first and last pages of the accompanied recitative ("Newly Discovered" [see n. 19], Fig. 2, p. 33, and Fig. 3, p. 34). I provide a complete facsimile of the recitative in "Mozart's Viennese Copyists" (see n. 2), Appendix G.3, 2407–2413.

[60] In "Newly Discovered" (see n. 19), Link does not describe the gathering structure of the accompanied recitative and aria, although she implies that the recitative and aria occupy a single gathering. In an earlier published announcement, she had incorrectly described the recitative as being "written on the same gathering as the substitute aria"; see her "An Overlooked Accompanied Recitative to 'Vado, ma dove,' K. 583," *Mozart Society of America Newsletter*, 3:2 (27 August 1999), 4.

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accompanied recitative was added around the same time as Mozart's aria in 1789. That most of the accompanied recitative is written on a short separate gathering may indicate that it was an afterthought, which would imply that the recto of the first leaf of the gathering containing the aria had originally been left blank. On the other hand, it is entirely possible that the recitative and the aria were copied at the same time. The recitative concludes with a cadence on B-flat, the dominant of E-flat, the key of Mozart's aria.

The presence in the court theatre's original performing score of an unattributed accompanied recitative that introduces an insertion aria by Mozart naturally leads one to wonder whether he might have composed the recitative as well. This possibility may seem all the more attractive when one recognizes that this recitative is remarkably similar to Dorabella's accompanied recitative preceding "Smanie implacabili" in *Così fan tutte*, an aria likewise composed for Luisa Villeneuve and also in the key of E-flat.

I first ran across this unattributed recitative in 1993, as I was completing my survey of all of the surviving Mozart materials in the archives of the court theatre. I discussed the possibility that the recitative might be by Mozart in a public lecture at the Department of Music of the University of Wales College of Cardiff on 8 March 1994.[61] At that time, I concluded that infelicities of part-writing and other atypical stylistic characteristics of the recitative made Mozart's authorship unlikely.

However, the source evidence is at least consistent with the possibility of Mozart's authorship, although it is insufficient to prove it. We must keep in mind, too, that the recitative lacks the kind of documentary evidence that would guarantee its authenticity: there is no autograph and the recitative is not listed in Mozart's *Verzeichnüß*. This second lack is especially worrisome. Although it is true that Mozart omitted a number of other works from his catalogue during the period that he kept it – between 9 February 1784 and the final entry in November 1791 – many of the omitted items were occasional works for private use among his circle of friends (such as the trio "Das Bandel," K. 441) or for Masonic lodges (the songs "Zerfließet heut', geliebte Brüder," K. 483, and "Ihr unsre neuen Leiter," K. 484). The authorship of a few other works omitted from the *Verzeichnüß*, such as the "Notturni" and the aria "Io ti lascio, o cara, addio," K. 621a, remains in doubt.[62] The only incontestably authentic operatic work from this period that is omitted from Mozart's catalogue is the aria "Un moto di gioia," K. 579, which he composed as an insertion for the character Susanna at some point during the revival of *Le nozze di Figaro* in the years 1789 to 1791, and which survives in an autograph score. Yet there are unanswered questions concerning the dating of this aria, and the paper-type of the autograph suggests that it may have been composed no earlier

[61] That lecture was entitled "Recent Developments in the Study of Mozart's Viennese Copyists."

[62] There is evidence to suggest that five of the "Notturni" ascribed to Mozart (K. 346 [439a], 436, 437, 438, and 439) and the aria K. 621a may have been collaborations between Mozart and his friend and pupil Gottfried von Jacquin; on this point, see "Mozart's Viennese Copyists" (see n. 2), Ch. 6.

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than the middle of 1790.[63] As it happens, there is a significant gap in the *Verzeichnüß* between June and December 1790, during which Mozart entered no original works at all.[64] "Un moto di gioia" seems quite possibly to have fallen into this gap, as may have Mozart's alleged contributions to *Der Stein der Weisen*, which had its première in September 1790. However, there are no other significant gaps of this sort in Mozart's *Verzeichnüß*, and the documentation of his compositional output in 1789 seems otherwise quite complete.

Several aspects of the music of the accompanied recitative seem to speak against Mozart's authorship. Perhaps most importantly, much of it is – as Link herself points out – merely a resetting (Link calls it a "paraphrase") of the vocal line of Martín's original simple recitative.[65] In the first nineteen measures of the accompanied recitative, the vocal line is taken over virtually unchanged from Martín's original: there are a few minor alterations to the rhythm of the vocal line and numerous inserted rests to allow for interjections by the strings, but only a handful of minor modifications to the notes.[66] What is more, the first twenty measures of the accompanied recitative preceding K. 583 duplicate nearly exactly the chord progression of Martín's original simple recitative, with only a few differences in inversion, and one difference in the bass line.[67] From measure 20 to the end of the recitative in measure 35, the vocal line has undergone more

[63] On the date of "Un moto di gioia," see also above, n. 40.

[64] Between the String Quartet in F, K. 590, entered in the *Verzeichnüß* under the date "im Junnius" 1790, and the String Quintet in D, K. 593, entered under the date "im Decembre" of that same year, Mozart recorded only his arrangements for Baron Gottfried van Swieten of Handel's *Ode for St. Cecilia's Day* and *Alexander's Feast*, completed in July. Mozart's entry regarding these arrangements may well have been added after the fact. The autograph of "Un moto di gioia" is written on one of the principal paper-types (Tyson 99) used for the autograph of K. 593, which in turn represents the earliest securely dated use of this paper-type among Mozart's autographs.

[65] The relationship between the accompanied recitative and Martín's simple recitative was first pointed out in an announcement posted on the website of the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* (*http://www.nma.at/german/News.htm*, dated 13 September 1999; the announcement is no longer on the site as of this writing): "Concerning the 'long-lost' recitativo accompagnato to Mozart's aria 'Vado, ma dove? oh Dei!,' K. 583, recently 'newly discovered' in the Austrian National Library in Vienna: . . . [T]he accompagnato is nothing more than a musical paraphrase of the secco it is meant to replace, the greater part of the melody line of the accompagnato being note-for-note identical to that of the secco." Link provides a transcription of Martín's simple recitative in "Newly Discovered" (see n. 19), 40–41. I give a complete facsimile of the recitative in my "Mozart's Viennese Copyists" (see n. 2), Appendix G.2, 2402–2406.

[66] The last note of measure 7 in the accompanied recitative is altered from g^1 to a^1, and the first two notes of the following measure are d^2 instead of the original a^1. The last four notes of measure 8 are likewise d^2 instead of the original a^1. The note on the third eighth of measure 14 of the accompanied recitative is changed from c^2 to a^1. The last two notes of that same measure are c^2 and d^2, altered from the original a^1 and f^1. The final eighth note of measure 17 is f^2 in the accompanied recitative, altered from c^2 in the original. The fourth note of measure 18 is d^2 in the accompanied recitative, as opposed to the original $\flat\flat^1$.

[67] Link ("Newly Discovered" [see n. 19], 39) suggests that a change in the bass line in measure 6 of the accompanied recitative – to $c\sharp$ from the c of Martín's simple recitative – makes a "smoother progression," but she overlooks the resulting exposed cross-relation between the c^2 in the soprano and the $c\sharp$ in the bass line.

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extensive rewriting, but even here the rhythm and shape of the original vocal line is largely preserved. It seems highly unlikely that Mozart based an accompanied recitative on a vocal line and chord progression copied from a simple recitative by Martín y Soler. At any rate, Mozart is not known to have made any other adaptations of this sort in his mature works.[68]

Only in the final cadential gesture beginning with the fourth beat of measure 32 does the vocal line of the accompanied recitative depart completely from the model of Martín's original recitative – and the vocal line here is nearly identical to the final measures of the vocal line in the recitative preceding "Smanie implacabili." In particular, the melody of measure 34 in the K. 583 recitative is nearly identical to measure 22 in the "Smanie" recitative, and the phrase in measures 32 and 33 of the K. 583 recitative is likewise nearly identical to that in measures 17 and 18 of the "Smanie" recitative, with only minor changes to the rhythm in both cases. The shape of the phrase in the first violin in measure 27 of the K. 583 recitative also strongly resembles that in measures 10–12 of the "Smanie" recitative, especially (as we shall see) if we add what appear to have been the intended E-flats in that measure in the K. 583 recitative.[69]

To be sure, these phrases are all part of the common stock of generic phrases in late eighteenth-century accompanied recitatives. However, there are other similarities between the two recitatives. The K. 583 recitative and the "Smanie" recitative both begin with punctuating chords of the dominant seventh of D, followed by rushing upward scales in the strings. Both end with almost identical cadential formulas in B-flat that are made up of figures consisting of dotted eighths and sixteenths on the chord of the subdominant. Both contain a "breathless" rise on similar words: Dorabella sings "fuggi . . . fuggi" in measures 18 and 19, and Lucilla sings "io corro . . . io volo" (I run, I fly) in measures 30–32. Perhaps most importantly, both recitatives were written for Luisa Villeneuve, at around the same time.

An especially problematic passage begins in measure 25 of the unattributed recitative. There are exposed parallel octaves between the soprano and the bass, from the end of measure 25 to the beginning of measure 26 (see Ex. 2a). That the soprano sidesteps to G on the last eighth note of the measure does not solve the problem (although the effect of the parallel octaves might have been ameliorated somewhat if the singer had added an appoggiatura G on the downbeat of measure 26; this would not, however, have been a "legal" way to avoid parallel octaves in the rules of eighteenth-century part-writing). The flaw in the part-writing is emphasized by the fact that the strings land on an open fifth

[68] Link has described the reuse in the unattributed accompanied recitative of the substance of Martín's recitative as "borrowing" and even "paraphrase" (see "Newly Discovered," esp. 41 and 49). She argues that this reuse is similar to Mozart's employment, in the arias K. 582 and K. 583, of some of the same strategies and musical gestures found in Martín's original arias. Neither of Mozart's arias, however, directly quotes or reuses melodic or harmonic material from the Martín aria that it replaces.

[69] Neither Link nor Zeiss ("Mozart or Not?" [see n. 19]) mention the similarity to the "Smanie" recitative.

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Ex. 2: (a) Measures 25–28 of the accompanied recitative preceding Mozart's "Vado, ma dove?," K. 583, in the original performing score of *Il burbero di buon cuore*. A-Wn, KT 70. (b) Measures 25–28 of the accompanied recitative preceding Mozart's "Vado, ma dove?" adding the hypothetical missing E flats.

with no third on the downbeat of measure 26. What is more, the f^1 in the first violin in measure 25 (the seventh of the dominant-seventh chord on G) fails to resolve on the downbeat of the following measure, with the e^1 occurring merely as a fleeting sixteenth in a weak position in the subsequent upward scale.[70]

[70] This awkward resolution and the open fifth on the downbeat of measure 26 are also pointed out by Zeiss, "Mozart or Not?" (see n. 19), 51.

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Fig. 4: Folio 3v (27v) of the unattributed accompanied recitative preceding K. 583 in the court theatre's original performing score of *Il burbero di buon cuore*. A-Wn, KT 70.

However, there is something even more seriously awry here. The passage as written makes harmonic nonsense (from an eighteenth-century perspective), seeming to end with a major-seventh chord on F on the downbeat of measure 28 (see Fig. 4 and Ex. 2a). Link has attempted to correct this problem by changing the written E in the second violin to a middle C in her transcription, apparently assuming that the copyist has made an error. However, this would have been an exceedingly odd error for a copyist to make. If the copyist's *Vorlage* had a middle C in the treble clef, then the copyist would have seen a note with a ledger line, written below the staff. Thus in order to make this error, he or she would have had to have misread a note with a ledger line as one written on the staff. It was not uncommon for a copyist to mistake one line of the staff for another, but I can think of no case where an eighteenth-century Viennese copyist has mistaken a note not on the staff for one on it.

A more likely solution to this problematic passage (a solution I owe to Robert Levin) is that flats may have been inadvertently omitted before all of the Es in measures 26 and 27 (see Ex. 2b), and before the B and the first E in the soprano in measure 29 (not shown). In addition, the natural sign preceding the sixteenth note in the first violin in measure 26 may be an error. (In the original manuscript, a "unisono" marking indicates that the second violin is to play the same notes as the first violin; thus the possibly mistaken natural sign is written only once, not twice.) If we add the appropriate flats, the passage becomes an ordinary ii–V^7–I

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progression in B-flat major, the key in which the recitative ends. However, this solution does not remove the parallel octaves.

We might suppose that the flats in this passage (and in subsequent measures) were accidentally omitted by the copyist. Eighteenth-century music copyists have a poor reputation for accuracy, and sometimes this reputation is even deserved. But Sukowaty's regular copyists were, on the whole, remarkably accurate, and they probably had to be so for professional survival. As we have seen, the scores of K. 582 and K. 583 by this same copyist are highly accurate reflections of Mozart's autographs, and we therefore have no reason to think that this copyist was especially error-prone. But if the copyist was reasonably accurate, then his or her *Vorlage* for the recitative must have contained the errors. In the cases of K. 582 and K. 583 we have seen that the copyist almost certainly copied directly from Mozart's autographs. If the copyist's *Vorlage* for the recitative had likewise been a Mozart autograph, then that autograph must have been unusually faulty. Link has suggested that Mozart may have written this recitative in haste in rehearsal.[71] But if that were so, then the autograph might well have been inserted directly into the performing score, and a score copy might not have been needed.

So far, the case for the K. 583 recitative does not look very promising. It has part-writing and notational errors of a sort that are extremely unusual for Mozart. It is based very closely on a pre-existing simple recitative, a kind of arrangement that Mozart is not known ever to have made. The textual evidence seems to suggest that the copyist's *Vorlage* was faulty in a way that Mozart's autographs seem seldom to have been. Still, one hesitates to rule out the possibility of Mozart's authorship on these grounds alone. Perhaps he was having a bad day. Perhaps time pressures were extreme. Perhaps he was ill. Perhaps an intervening manuscript is the source of the errors in the accidentals. What else can we say about the style of this recitative that may shed light on its authorship?

The orchestration of the accompanied recitative lacks the subtlety one normally expects from Mozart. The recitative preceding "Smanie implacabili" makes a useful comparison here, because of its many similarities to the unattributed recitative preceding K. 583. Thus, for example, in measure 2 of the unattributed recitative, the unknown composer merely doubles the upward-rushing scale in the first and second violins, accompanying this scale with pulsing tenths between the violas and bassi. In the "Smanie" recitative, on the other hand, Mozart gives the rushing scales in the third measure to the first violins alone, without doubling, and these scales are accompanied by full triads in the other strings. Also rather un-Mozartean in the unattributed recitative is the complete absence of double stops in the upper strings in the punctuating chords, except at the final cadence. Mozart, on the other hand, uses double stops in the violins in measures 2, 6, and 7 of the "Smanie" recitative, giving a weight to the chords that is particularly important in the absence of wind instruments. When the composer of the recitative preceding K. 583 uses double stops in the final cadence chords, the voicing is thick in a way that seems uncharacteristic of Mozart. Mozart, in setting exactly the same chords in his

[71] Link, "Newly Discovered" (see n. 19), 33.

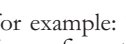
https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954586701001975 Published online by Cambridge University Press

recitative to "Smanie implacabili," has the second violins double the open spacing of the double stops in the first violins, creating a full and resonant sound.

More subjectively, we may note that the recitative preceding K. 583 is musically rather dull. The harmonic palette is quite restricted, consisting predominantly of primary triads. The most adventurous chords are first-inversion dominant sevenths, in measures 9 and 22. The harmonic rhythm is slow, never exceeding one chord per measure. At the beginning of the agitated string tremolos in measure 12, the harmony becomes curiously static, with three measures of a root-position triad on F, followed by four measures of a root-position triad on B-flat, then a full seven measures of the dominant seventh of C. In contrast, Mozart's harmonic palette in the recitative preceding "Smanie implacabili" is much richer. Dominant sevenths occur in all four inversions (including a third inversion of a dominant seventh on A as the very first chord). There is a dramatic diminished-seventh chord in measure 6, punctuating the line "odio la luce," and a lovely first-inversion major submediant in G minor in measure 12, which serves as the pivot to B-flat major. Motivically, the recitative preceding K. 583 also seems unimaginative. A figure consisting of an eighth rest followed by three staccato eighths and a quarter is repeated in no fewer than fourteen out of the thirty-five measures. Link has seen this as a sign of motivic unity, but it sounds rather as if the composer could not think of anything better.[72]

Thus the evidence for Mozart's authorship of this recitative is distinctly unimpressive, and the stylistic evidence against his authorship seems formidable.[73] However, the indifferent musical quality of the recitative does not disprove Mozart's empirical authorship, any more than the somewhat equivocal source evidence proves it. The hypothesis that Mozart may have composed or rewritten a recitative to introduce an insertion aria or ensemble is by no means inherently implausible. There is evidence, for example, to suggest that someone (quite possibly Mozart) made modifications to the ending of the recitative preceding "Mandina amabile," K. 480, in the court theatre's original performing score of the pasticcio *La villanella rapita*.[74] We have already seen that an unattributed accompanied recitative in the earliest surviving source of "No, che non sei capace," K. 419, may, at least conceivably, have something to do with Mozart. However, the equivocal source evidence combined with a general impression of musical ineptitude make Mozart's authorship of the recitative preceding K. 583 seem highly unlikely.

On the other hand, it seems very likely that the composer of the recitative knew the recitative preceding "Smanie implacabili." Because the first performance in the revival of *Il burbero di buon cuore* preceded the première of *Così fan tutte* by more than two months, and the final performance of that revival took place before the première of *Così* on 26 January 1790, it seems almost certain that the composer

[72] Link writes, for example: "The rhythmic motif  pervades the texture in various triadic configurations, wrapping the rhetorically disjunct phrasing of the recitative in a tightly motivic fabric" ("Newly Discovered" [see n. 19], 35–36).

[73] For additional non-Mozartean aspects of the style of the accompanied recitative, see Zeiss, "Mozart or Not?" (see n. 19).

[74] A-Wn, KT 467. On the modifications to the recitative preceding "Mandina amabile," see my "Mozart's Viennese Copyists" (see n. 2), Ch. 9, 1403.

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would have been someone in the company of the court theatre who would have had access to *Così fan tutte* before it was actually produced. We must keep in mind, too, that it is not out of the question that the recitative preceding K. 583 may have been a late addition to *Il burbero di buon cuore*, perhaps even having been added after the first performance.

If not Mozart, then who might this composer have been? If the resemblance to the recitative preceding "Smanie implacabili" is more than coincidental – and this seems to me very likely – then the recitative preceding K. 583 must have been written by someone who had access to the "Smanie" recitative. If the recitative preceding K. 583 was added before the first performance of the revival of *Il burbero di buon cuore*, on 9 November 1789, rather than later on, then the number of people who could have known the "Smanie" recitative at that point was almost certainly very small. Perhaps the K. 583 recitative was composed by someone who was rehearsing singers in the early stages of the preparation of *Così fan tutte*, someone like Joseph Weigl, who is known to have performed similar functions for other operas around this time.[75]

However, perhaps we ought to consider the possibility that Luisa Villeneuve herself might have composed the accompanied recitative preceding K. 583, or that she may have instigated it and perhaps collaborated in its composition with some other member of the company. Villeneuve created the role of Dorabella in *Così fan tutte*, and would therefore have been one of the first people to have had access to the accompanied recitative preceding "Smanie implacabili." This recitative may very well have been composed and given to her by the time of the première of *Il burbero di buon cuore*. Little if anything is known about Villeneuve's musical education, but we have no reason to assume that she was musically illiterate, although we also have no reason to assume that she was an experienced and skilled composer. The "Villeneuve" hypothesis may potentially explain the resemblance between the "Smanie" recitative and the K. 583 recitative, and it may also help explain the relative amateurism of the latter: its reliance on the vocal line and chord progression of Martín's simple recitative, its part-writing errors and awkward orchestration, and its relative poverty of motivic invention.[76]

The accompanied recitative preceding the aria "Quanto è grave il mio tormento," in *La quacquera spirituosa* (1790), K. *deest*

In an article published in 1980, Alexander Weinmann announced the discovery of an accompanied recitative – this one explicitly attributed to Mozart – in the Viennese court theatre's original performing score of Guglielmi's *La quacquera*

[75] Zeiss also mentions Weigl as a possible composer; see her "Mozart or Not?" (see n. 19), 53.

[76] It should be noted here that the aria *following* K. 583 in the court theatre's score of *Il burbero di buon cuore* is likewise apparently in the hand of Sukowaty 15, although it may be written on a different paper-type than K.583. So far, no one has thought to attribute this aria to Mozart.

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spirituosa.[77] The Viennese production of Guglielmi's opera was a pasticcio, with insertions attributed to ten other composers, including Brunetti, Cimarosa, Paisiello, Gazzaniga, Joseph Weigl, Piticchio, Süssmayr, "Sig: Cavalier Brusaschi," and Joseph Haydn, in addition to Mozart.[78] *La quacquera spirituosa* was given its Viennese première on 13 August 1790. In spite of substantial cuts made for the second performance on 15 August, the opera was a disaster. Its receipts plunged from 417 gulden 38 kreuzer at the first performance to 98 gulden 7 kreuzer at the second.[79] The opera was dropped from the repertory after the second performance and never revived.

The accompanied recitative attributed to Mozart consists of seventeen and a half measures. The text reads:

No caro fa coraggio, e in me ti fida:
Tu ben sai s'io t'adoro,
E se senza di te viver potrei:
Paventare non dei
L'altrui vane minacce,
L'altrui dispetto; basto
A difenderti io sola:
T'assicura mia vita, e ti consola[80]

[No my dear, have courage and trust in me. You know whether I adore you, and whether I could live without you. Fear not: the other threatens in vain, and I disdain him. I alone am sufficient to defend you; be reassured, my love, and console yourself.]

It is sung by the character Vertunna, a soprano, preceding her rondò "Quanto è grave il mio tormento," No. 20 in the second act, attributed to Cimarosa. The recitative occupies four pages. The preceding simple recitative ends on the top of the same page on which the accompanied recitative begins, and it is followed by the inscription "Segue coi Strom[enti] poi Rondò di Vertunna." The head of the

[77] A-Wn, KT 370. Weinmann, "Zur Mozart-Bibliographie" (see n. 21), contains a complete facsimile of the recitative on pp. 6–7. Because of the relative inaccessibility of Weinmann's article, I also include a complete facsimile of the manuscript in Ch. 9 of "Mozart's Viennese Copyists" (see n. 2), as Fig. 9.52, 1965–1968. As mentioned above (n. 21), the existence of the accompanied recitative attributed to Mozart was apparently first mentioned in Michtner, *Das alte Burgtheater* (see n. 21), 424n.25. In 1980 the manuscript of the recitative was displayed in an exhibition at Melk Abbey; see Otto Biba's commentary to item 1563 in *Österreich zur Zeit Kaiser Josephs II.*, catalogue of an exhibition held at Melk Abbey, 29 March to 2 November 1980 (Vienna, 1980), 659–60.

[78] Michtner, *Das alte Burgtheater* (see n. 21), 424n.25. Michtner does not mention the attributions to Gazzaniga or Brusaschi. My thanks to David Buch and to Kay Lipton (who provided me with facsimiles of most of the attributions) for their help in clarifying the content of the Viennese score of *La quacquera spirituosa*.

[79] See my "Mozart's Reception in Vienna" (see n. 44), 106.

[80] The punctuation here follows that of the Viennese libretto for *La quacquera spirituosa*. In the second line, the libretto has "Tu sai ben," as opposed to the performing score's "Tu ben sai." In the last line the libretto has "mio bene," rather than the "mia vita" of the performing score (I am grateful to David Buch for this information). The change of gender in the endearment does not imply a change in gender of the person addressed. The libretto has been published in facsimile in *The Pasticcios*, ed. Ernest Warburton, *The Librettos of Mozart's Operas*, vol. 5 (New York, 1992).

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Fig. 5: First page of the accompanied recitative attributed to Mozart in the court theatre's original performing score of *La quacquera spirituosa*. A-Wn, KT 370.

accompanied recitative bears the attribution "Del Sig: Mozart" (see Fig. 5). The attribution is contemporaneous with the score, but is probably written by a different hand than the one that copied the music. However, the same hand is responsible for most of the other attributions written into the score. The recitative is scored for strings, with no winds. The music is copied throughout by the copyist I call Sukowaty 10, whose hand is also found in the original Viennese orchestral parts for *Don Giovanni*, as well as in duplicate string parts from a set in Mozart's estate for the aria "Se al labbro mio non credi," K. 295.[81] The accompanied recitative and the preceding simple recitative are written on a short inserted gathering of three leaves, consisting of two distinct paper-types. Neither has been conclusively identified, but the watermark of the first bifolium is similar to Tyson 91A. However, there can be no reasonable doubt that the insertion dates from the original Viennese production of the opera in 1790.

In this case, there are no musical grounds for doubting the attribution to Mozart (see the complete transcription of the recitative in Ex. 3). Like the items attributed to Mozart in the Hamburg score of *Der Stein der Weisen*, the recitative in *La quacquera spirituosa* would have been completed during the six-month gap in Mozart's

[81] On Sukowaty 10, see "Mozart's Viennese Copyists" (see n. 2), esp. Appendix D, 2278–2283.

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Ex. 3: The accompanied recitative attributed to Mozart in the court theatre's original performing score of *La quacquera spirituosa*. A-Wn, KT 370.

Verzeichnüß. The accompanied recitative is a finely crafted dramatic miniature, motivically unified, with many subtleties of harmony, articulation, and orchestration, all characteristics that we associate with Mozart's mature works. The recitative begins and ends in G major (it is thus not simply a means of modulating to the key of the following aria), with a transient modulation to a briefly agitated E minor at the lines "Paventare non dei / L'altrui vane minacce, / L'altrui dispetto." The recitative makes particularly effective use of secondary dominants, including the dominant sevenths of C (measures 8 and 15) and E minor (measures 10, 11, and

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Ex. 3: (cont'd).

12). Also notable is the second-inversion half-diminished-seventh chord on F-sharp in measure 16, just before the final cadence. Chords are often quite subtly orchestrated. For example, in the staccato sixteenth-note chords at the end of measure 9 and the quarter-note chord at the beginning of measure 10, the b^1 in the viola is placed above the second violin. Also notable are the double stops in the second violin and viola to enrich the punctuating chords (in measures 10, 13, 15, and 16), and the plangent syncopated octave B in the second violins in measure 12.

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Ex. 3: (cont'd).

Today it is the normal convention to place a dynamic marking directly under the first note to which it applies. Mozart, on the other hand, tended to place his dynamic markings slightly to the left of the first notes to which they were to apply – we might call such dynamic markings "anticipatory." The manuscript of the accompanied recitative in *La quacquera spirituosa* shows such "anticipatory" dynamics throughout, just as one would expect had the copyist been using a Mozart autograph as a *Vorlage*. Mozart was not the only composer of the time to follow this convention, and its use does not in itself prove Mozart's authorship. The dynamic markings in the score of

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Ex. 3: (cont'd).

the recitative preceding K. 583 are also "anticipatory" in this way, whereas those in the score of the recitative preceding K. 419 by and large are not. However, the appearance of anticipatory dynamics is consistent with Mozart's authorship.

All in all, the case for Mozart's authorship of the accompanied recitative "No caro, fa coraggio" seems by far the most compelling of the three accompanied recitatives considered here: the recitative survives in a contemporaneous Viennese source explicitly attributed to Mozart (that is, it has an explicit contemporaneous nominal attribution), and the music shows subtleties of harmony and orchestration that we find consistent with Mozart's other music from this period, and which are

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Ex. 3: (cont'd).

rare in the music of his contemporaries. We have no reason to distrust the explicit written attribution: several indisputably authentic insertions into other performing scores belonging to the Viennese court theatre are similarly inscribed (correctly) with attributions to Mozart: the scores of K. 541, K. 578, K. 582, K. 583, and a score of "Un moto di gioia" in a score of the opera *Gli amici rivali* by Giacomo Tritto.[82] To my knowledge, no unequivocally *incorrect* attributions to Mozart are found in any of the court theatre's scores from this period. Should the hand in the attribution of the *Quacquera* recitative turn out to be that of someone connected with the Viennese court theatre in 1790, the attribution would gain all that much more credence.

That the case for the recitative in *La quacquera spirituosa* is strong by no means proves that the recitative is by Mozart. However, it does make us more inclined to consider Mozart's empirical authorship plausible, and it thus makes this recitative the most promising candidate of the three for inclusion in Mozart's œuvre.

[82] The score of Tritto's opera is in A-Wn, KT 23. On this score of "Un moto di gioia," see "Mozart's Viennese Copyists" (see n. 2), Ch. 9, 1700–1702.

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