

1 *La clemenza di Tito*: Chronology and Documents

Ruth Tatlow and Magnus Tessing Schneider

This chapter begins with a political and operatic chronology aimed to help readers appreciate at-a-glance aspects of the context in which *La clemenza di Tito* was conceived, created and first heard. It is followed by a selection of original documents. Although many of the twenty-four documents are published elsewhere, this is the first time they have appeared side by side with parallel English translations. Some of the translations are entirely new, while the remainder are freshened up from existing versions. These particular sources were selected to create a documentary context for *La clemenza di Tito*, bringing together contemporary responses to the original production, as well as to the circumstances surrounding its genesis. We hope this will help the reader to appreciate the essays that follow, and that many will download and use this chapter as a basic documentary reference tool to gain a deeper understanding of Mozart's opera.

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I Chronology

Prepared by John A. Rice and Magnus Tessing Schneider

Dates and text in italics indicate a political event in France.
The premiere of *La clemenza di Tito* on 6 September 1791 is marked in bold.

| 1734 | |
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| 4 November | First performance of <i>La clemenza di Tito</i> —libretto by Pietro Metastasio, music by Antonio Caldara—at the Kärntnertortheater in Vienna. |
| 1789 | |
| January | Rebellion against the reforms of Joseph II breaks out in the Austrian Netherlands. |
| 14 July | <i>Fall of the Bastille; beginning of the French Revolution.</i> |
| 26 August | <i>Publication of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen.</i> |
| 5 October | <i>A mob forces the royal family to move from Versailles to Paris. Marie Antoinette declares ‘J’ai tout vu, j’ai tout su, et j’ai tout oublié’, a paraphrase of Pierre Corneille’s Cinna and Metastasio’s La clemenza di Tito.</i> |
| 27 October | Rebel army in the Netherlands defeats the Austrians at Turnhout. |
| November | Anti-Austrian rioting in Ghent. |
| 2 November | <i>Church property nationalised.</i> |

| 1790 | |
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| 11 January | Rebels in the Austrian Netherlands form the United States of Belgium. |
| 26 January | Premiere of Mozart's <i>Così fan tutte</i> . |
| 30 January | Joseph II withdraws almost all his reforms in Hungary. |
| 20 February | Death of Joseph II. |
| 6 April | Oath of allegiance (<i>Huldigung</i>) to Leopold as archduke of Austria. |
| 9 May | Many Bohemian serfs, freed by Joseph, forced back into servitude by Leopold. |
| 19 May | <i>National Assembly abolishes nobility.</i> |
| 12 July | <i>Civil Constitution of Clergy requires priests to take an oath of loyalty to the state.</i> |
| 12 July | Representatives of the Bohemian Estates convene the so-called 'Big Bohemian Diet' of 1790–91 in Prague, to formulate grievances addressed to Leopold. |
| 25 July | Treaty of Reichenbach between Austria and Prussia. |
| 15 September | Premiere of Joseph Weigl's <i>La caffettiera bizzarra</i> in celebration of the arrival in Vienna of King Ferdinand and Queen Maria Carolina of Naples. |
| 19 September | Triple Marriage: Archduke Francis to Princess Maria Theresa of Naples, and marriages between four of their younger siblings. |
| 20 September | Antonio Salieri's <i>Axur re d'Ormus</i> performed before the Austrian and Neapolitan royal families. |
| 9 October | Coronation of Leopold in Frankfurt as emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Associated events include performances of Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf's <i>Der Apotheker und der Doktor</i> and <i>Betrug durch Aberglauben</i> , Salieri's <i>Axur</i> and <i>Il talismano</i> , Georg Benda's <i>Romeo und Julie</i> , and Paul Wranitzky's <i>Oberon</i> . |
| 11 November | Coronation of Leopold in Bratislava as king of Hungary. |
| December | Rebellion in the Austrian Netherlands suppressed. |

(Continued)

1791

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| 1 January | Joseph Haydn arrives in England. |
| 29 January | 'Big Bohemian Diet' adjourned. |
| 9 February | King and Queen of Naples attend performance of Mozart's <i>Le nozze di Figaro</i> at Schönbrunn. |
| March | End of Viennese tenure of Adriana Ferrarese, the first Fiordiligi. |
| 1 March | <i>Opera seria</i> soprano Cecilia Giuliani begins tenure at the Viennese Court Theatres: start of Leopold's transformation of the Viennese theatre. |
| 2 March | Announcement in Vienna of plans for celebrations of the Prague coronation of Emperor Leopold II as king of Bohemia. |
| 9 March | The Emperor dismisses Lorenzo Da Ponte as imperial court theatre poet. |
| 14 March | The Emperor leaves Vienna for a trip to Italy. |
| 9 April | While away in Venice, the Emperor announces that Giovanni Bertati will succeed Da Ponte as court theatre poet. |
| 29 April | A committee under the Bohemian Estates decides that the Prague coronation celebrations will include Italian opera. |
| Mid-May | Invited by the director of the Court Theatre, Count Johann Wenzel Ugarte, Saxon court theatre poet Caterino Mazzolà arrives in Vienna to serve as temporary replacement for Da Ponte. |
| 1 June | <i>Opera seria</i> tenor Vincenzo Maffoli begins tenure at Viennese Court Theatres. |
| 10 June | Opera impresario Domenico Guardasoni and his company return to Prague after two years in Warsaw. |
| 20 June | <i>Flight to Varennes: Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette's failed attempt to flee.</i> |
| 8 July | Guardasoni signs a contract with the Bohemian Estates, agreeing to both commission and put on a coronation opera—either an entirely new opera, or a new musical setting of Metastasio's <i>La clemenza di Tito</i> . |
| c.14–31 July | Guardasoni arrives in Vienna. He asks first Salieri, then Mozart to compose the coronation opera. Mazzolà asked (presumably by Guardasoni) to revise Metastasio's libretto. Guardasoni travels to Bologna to hire principal singers. |
| Late July | Mazzolà, dismissed by the Emperor, returns to Dresden. |
| 2–4 August | Installation of Anton Esterházy as prince at Eszterháza. Premiere of Weigl's <i>Venere e Adone</i> at Eszterháza with Cecilia Giuliani in the role of Venere. |
| 4 August | Treaty of Sistova establishes peace between Austria and Turkey. |

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| c. 15 August | Guardasoni returns to Vienna. Maria Marchetti Fantozzi and Domenico Bedini, the two principal singers, arrive in Vienna around now. Presumably, Mozart works with them. |
| 19 August | Possible date Mozart begins to compose <i>La clemenza di Tito</i> , after Niemetschek's 1798 claim that Mozart composed it in 19 days. Mozart begins by composing the ensembles and choruses, and arias for Antonio Baglioni, for whom he had written Don Ottavio in <i>Don Giovanni</i> four years earlier. |
| 25 August | Declaration of Pillnitz, in which Leopold and King Frederick William II of Prussia declare their readiness to intervene militarily in France. Mozart leaves Vienna for Prague by mail coach with his wife and his pupil Franz Xaver Süssmayr, who probably composes the <i>secco</i> recitatives of the opera. |
| 28 August | The party arrives in Prague. Mozart meets the remaining singers. Mazzolà arrives in Prague around now to assist in text revisions and to direct production. |
| 5 September | Score completed with composition of Tito's second aria, the march, the accompanied recitatives and the overture. |
| 6 September | Coronation of Leopold as King of Bohemia. Premiere of Mozart's <i>La clemenza di Tito</i> at the National Theatre , scheduled for 7pm, but delayed until 7.30 or 8pm due to late arrival of the imperial family. Mozart conducts the performance. |
| 13 September | <i>Louis XVI formally accepts the Constitution.</i> |
| Mid-September | The Mozarts travel back from Prague to Vienna. |
| 20 September | <i>Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette attend a performance of Rameau's Castor et Pollux in celebration of the Fête de la Constitution.</i> |
| 30 September | Final performance of <i>La clemenza di Tito</i> in Prague. Premiere of Mozart's <i>Die Zauberflöte</i> in Vienna. |
| 1 October | The <i>musico</i> (castrato) Angelo Testori and the ballet master Antonio Muzzarelli begin their tenures at the Viennese Court Theatres. |
| 15 November | Leopold's ballet troupe makes its debut in <i>Il Capitano Cook agli Ottaiti</i> in celebration of his name day. |
| 24 November | Leopold's <i>opera seria</i> troupe makes its debut with the Viennese premiere of Sebastiano Nasolini's <i>Teseo a Stige</i> in celebration of Empress Maria Luisa's birthday. |
| 5 December | Mozart's death. |

(Continued)

| 1792 | |
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| 6 January | Viennese premiere of Alessio Prati's <i>La vendetta di Nino</i> . |
| 7 February | Premiere of Domenico Cimarosa's <i>Il matrimonio segreto</i> in Vienna. |
| 1 March | Death of Leopold II, succeeded by his son Francis. |
| 20 April | <i>War declared against Austria</i> . |
| 29 July | Haydn arrives in Vienna after his first visit to London. |
| 22 September | <i>France declared a republic</i> . |
| 1793 | |
| 21 January | <i>Louis XVI executed</i> . |
| 11 March | <i>Monarchist rebellion in the Vendée begins</i> . |
| 13 July | <i>Assassination of Jean-Paul Marat</i> . |
| 27 July | <i>Maximilien Robespierre elected to the Committee of Public Safety</i> . |
| September | <i>Reign of Terror begins</i> . |
| 16 October | <i>Marie Antoinette executed</i> . |
| 1794 | |
| 3 December | Revival of <i>La clemenza di Tito</i> by Guardasoni's company in Prague. Teresa Strinasacchi sings Sesto, presumably Baglioni as Tito, and Antonina Campi (formerly Antonina Miklaszewicz) as Vitellia. |
| 1807 | |
| 24 April | <i>La clemenza di Tito</i> is chosen by the company formerly managed by Guardasoni for their final performance before closing down. |

II Documents in Parallel Translation

Selected by Magnus Tessing Schneider

All translations are by Magnus Tessing Schneider, unless based on a published source cited in a footnote. The documents, copied from published sources, are ordered chronologically, numbered and linked electronically to their occurrence in the essay texts.

Document 1. Baron Wilhelm Hugo MacNeven. Draft of the Prague coronation commission.¹

1791, 29 April

Es dürfte daher durch die drei Tage des Einzuges, der Huldigung und der Krönung mit vorzüglich guten Teutschen Schauspielen und wälschen Singspielen, dann großen Balletten abwechselt werden. Hiezu wären die vornehmste Subjeckte so weit es die Zeit zuläßt herbei zuschaff[f]en, und sich hierwegen mit verschiedenen Impressen [sic] in Korrespondenz und Behandlung zu setzen.

During the three days of the processional entry, the oath of allegiance, and the coronation, there should be an alternation primarily of good German plays and Italian operas, and then of grand ballets. To this end, as far as time permits, the most distinguished persons [i.e. performers] should be put into contact and negotiate with various impresarios.

Document 2. Contract between Domenico Guardasoni and the Bohemian Estates, Prague.²

1791, 8 July

Specificazione de' punti, ch'io qui sottoscritto mi obbligo di mantenere agli Eccelsi Stati di Boemia, ed esigo dalle prefate loro Eccellenze toccante una grand'Opera Seria da rappresentarsi in questo Nazional Teatro in occasione dell'Incoronazione di Sua Maestà Imperiale dentro lo spazio della ~~metà~~ * principio del prossimo mese di Settembre, qualora mi venghino graziati ed accordati seimila fiorini, o seimilacinquecento, qualora vi fosse il Musico Marchesi.

1mo mi obbligo, di darli un Primo Musico, di prima sfera, come per esempio, o il Marchesini, o il Rubinelli, o il Crescentini, o il Violani, od altro, ma sempre che sia di prima sfera. Come pure mi obbligo di darli una prima donna, mede[si]mamente di prima sfera, e di certo la meglio di tal rango che sarà in libertà e di impiegare il resto occorrente di mia compagnia per tale opera.

List of points which the undersigned is obliged to observe vis-à-vis the High Bohemian Estates, and to which he expects the aforementioned Excellencies to adhere, with regard to a grand *opera seria* which is to be performed in the local National Theatre on the occasion of the coronation of His Imperial Majesty ~~in the middle~~ * at the beginning of the next month of September, insofar as the six thousand gulden are paid to me as per agreement, or six thousand five hundred if the singer [Luigi] Marchesi is involved.

1. I shall undertake to engage a *primo musico* of the first calibre, such as [Luigi] Marchesini or [Giovanni Battista] Rubinelli or [Girolamo] Crescentini or [Violano] Violani, or someone else, but always of the first calibre. I further agree to engage a *prima donna*, likewise of the first calibre, or in any case the best available in this category; for the other participants I shall engage my own opera company.

(Continued)

1791, 8 July

2do Mi obbligo di far comporre la Poesia del Libro, a norma dei due soggetti datimi da Sua Eccellenza gran Burgravio e di farlo porre in Musica da un celebre Maestro, in caso però che non fosse affatto possibile di ciò effettuare per la strettezza del tempo, mi obbligo di procurar un'Opera nuovamente composta sul soggetto del Tito di Metastasio o ~~sia un'altro eguale~~.*

3zo Mi obbligo di fare espressamente per tale spettacolo due Decorazioni nuove. Come pure mi obbligo di far fare il Vestiario nuovo, ed in specie alle prime parti per tal opera.

4to Mi obbligo di Illuminare e far parare il Teatro con Festoni e montare di tutto detta opera e darla gratis per una sera a Disposizione dei sudetti Eccelsi Stati, dentro lo spazio sudetto.

Punti esigenti.

1mo Che mi sia improntato Seicento fiorini per il mio Viaggio a Vienna, e in Italia, con un ordine qui da un Banchiere per Vienna, e Italia, che mi sia dato occorrendo un paio di mille fiorini colà, in caso che li soggetti cercassero denari anticipati.

2do Che il resto del pagamento mi sia fatto pagare il giorno dell'esecuzione di detta Opera.

3zo Se in spazio di 14. giorni dal giorno di mia partenza per Italia fosse difesa l'Opera, allora si pagaranno solamente le spese del Viaggio.

4to Guardasoni aviserà subito il giorno, nel quale ha impegnato un Virtuoso, da questo giorno, se non fosse Opera, questo Virtuoso avrà una Bonificazione, se sarà già partito d'Italia.

2. I shall undertake to have the libretto written in accordance with the two subjects given to me by his Excellency the Burgrave [Heinrich Franz von Rottenhan], and to have it set to music *by a famous composer*; if this should not be possible owing to the shortness of time available, I shall rearrange to acquire a new opera composed on the basis of [Pietro] Metastasio's *Tito* ~~or a similar subject~~.*

3. I shall undertake to prepare *two new stage sets* expressly for this performance. I shall likewise undertake to make new costumes, especially for the opera's main roles.

4. I shall undertake to illuminate the theatre, to decorate it with garlands, and to equip the entire opera house with everything, as well as to give a performance free of charge for the aforementioned High Estates within the specified period of time.

Claims.

1. I shall be given an advance payment of *six hundred gulden* for my journey to Vienna and Italy, with a payment order prepared here for a banker in Vienna and Italy, so that there I shall be given, if necessary, *one thousand gulden* in case the persons [i.e. performers] should demand payment in advance.

2. The remainder of my fee is to be paid to me on the day on which the said opera is performed.

3. If the opera shall be cancelled or prevented within the space of fourteen days after my departure for Italy, I shall be compensated only for my travel expenses.

4. Once Guardasoni has engaged a singer, he shall inform us on the same day; should the opera not be given, the singer shall receive compensation from this day on, provided he has already left Italy.

| 1791, 8 July | |
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| <p>5to Le cose comprate per il denaro speso si devano rendere in natura e quello che non è ancor fermato, contro manderà[.] In caso de la difesa Opera si darà una remunerazione al Guardasoni se Lei proverà, aver avuto più grandi spese nel Viaggio che importerà l'anticipazione.</p> <p>Praga li 8 luglio 1791. Enrico Conte di Rottenhan Casparo Ermanno Conte Kinigl Giuseppe Conte di Sweerth Giovanni Conte Unwerth Giovanni Baron d'Hennet</p> <p>Domenico Guardasoni Impresario</p> | <p>5. Objects purchased and paid for are to be returned in kind, and that which has not yet arrived shall be forwarded. If the opera is cancelled [i.e. prevented or hindered], Guardasoni shall receive a credit note, provided that he can prove that he had greater expenses on his journey than were covered by the advance payment.</p> <p>Prague, 8 July 1791. Heinrich Graf von Rottenhan Kasper Hermann Graf Kinigl Joseph Graf von Sweerth Johannes Graf Unwerth Johannes Baron von Hennet</p> <p>Domenico Guardasoni Impresario</p> |

* The struck-through words were crossed out in the original document

Document 3. Letter from Antonio Salieri to Prince Paul Anton Esterházy, Vienna.³

| 1791, August | |
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| <p>[...] senza pentirmene però, ho ricusato di scriver l'opera che si prepara per l'incoronazione di Boemio [sic], per la qual'opera l'Impresario di Praga è stato cinque volte da me per pregarmi di ametterne l'impiego coll esibizione [sic] di duecento zecchini, impegno ch'io non potei assumere perchè mi trovavo solo a servire il teatro imperiale.</p> | <p>[...] without regretting it however, I had to decline to write the opera which is being prepared for the coronation in Bohemia, for which opera the Prague impresario [i.e. Guardasoni] came to me five times to press the commission on me to the point of showing me 200 zecchini, a commission which I could not accept since I alone was attending to the affairs of the Court Theatre.</p> |

Document 4. Announcement from the Royal Provincial Presidency, Prague.⁴

1791, 3 September

1. Am Dienstage den 6ten September wird im Altstädter Nationaltheater eine große Opera seria [footnote: 'Die Stände wählten die von Abbe Metastasio unter dem Titel: *La clemenza di Tito*, verfaßte Oper; die Musik hiezu liessen sie eigends von dem Kompositor am k. k. Hofe, Herrn Wolfgang Mozart verfertigen.'] von den Ständen des Königreichs Böhmen gegeben, um den festlichen Tag der Krönung Sr. Majestät des Kaisers, Königs und Landesfürsten zu feiern.

2. Um hiebei alle Unordnung zu vermeiden, werden Billete, ohne welche niemand eingelassen wird, ausgetheilt werden.

3. Bei Austheilung dieser Billete wird man zuvorderst auf die k. k. Hofsuite und auf den fremden Adel, sodann erst auf den hiesigen innländischen Adel, weiters auf die Fremden, und endlich auf die innländischen Honorazioren Bedacht nehmen.

4. Man versieht sich daher zu der bekannten Gefälligkeit des prager [sic] Publikums, daß es so billig denken, und den Fremden im Theater die ersten Plätze überlassen werde.

1. On Tuesday 6 September a grand opera will be given at the National Theatre in the Old Town [footnote: 'The Estates chose the opera known as *La clemenza di Tito* by Abbé Metastasio; they let the composer Herr Wolfgang Mozart from the imperial court provide the music expressly for it.'] by the Estates of the Kingdom of Bohemia, to celebrate the solemn day of the coronation of His Majesty the Emperor, King and Prince of the Land.

2. In order to avoid any confusion, the tickets will be distributed, without which no one will be admitted.

3. In the distribution of these tickets, consideration will be given first to the imperial entourage and the foreign nobility, then to the local nobility, then to foreigners, and finally to local dignitaries.

4. Therefore, one relies on the well-known courtesy of the Prague audience, expecting them to be as fair as to leave the first seats in the theatre to the foreigners.

1791, 3 September

5. Die Kavaliers und Damen, welche am 1. dieses in dem Appartement bei Hofe erschienen sind, und alle landständischen Mitglieder des geistlichen, Herren- und Ritterstandes, so, wie die in Aemtern stehenden Fremden und fremden Offiziere, die nicht bei Hofe erschienen sind, dann die fremden Gelehrten und Negozianten werden ersucht, ihre Billete in der Präsidialkanzlei im Gubernialhause abholen zu lassen, ihre Bedienten aber, welche dahin abgeschickt werden, mit einer schriftlichen Anzeige ihres Namens, und mit ihrem Petschaft zu legitimiren. Man wird am 5ten von 8 Uhr früh bis 1 Uhr Mittags, dann von 3 Uhr Nachmittags bis 6 Uhr Abends, und endlich am 6ten von 8 Uhr früh bis 11 Uhr Vormittags in der Präsidialkanzlei Beamte finden, die eigends mit Vertheilung der Billete sich beschäftigen.

6. Die Dikasterialbeamten aller Stellen und Aemter aber, so, wie die Magistratualmitglieder, der Handelstand, die vier Fakultäten, und andere Honorazioren werden ihre Billete (so weit solche zulangen) bei ihren Präsidenten, Amts- und anderen Vorstehern erhalten.

Da es der Raum, und die Aufmerksamkeit, die man dem Hofe schuldig ist, nicht zuläßt, so viele Billete, als man wünschte, auszutheilen, so werden unter die obangeführten Kategorien die sämmtlichen k. k. Räte, und Amtsvorsteher, die Herren Stadtpfarrer und Dekane, die Sekretäre bei allen k. k. Stellen, die Magistratsräthe der Stadt Prag, die Deputirten der drei privilegirten königl. Städte, die ersten Amtsvorsteher bei den Magistratskanzleien, die Doktoren aller 4 Fakultäten, das Collegium Advocatorum, der höhere Handelstand, als: Banquiers, und Großhändler, dann die Offiziere, Unteroffiziere, und 4 Gemeine von einer jeden Bürgerkompanie, nebst ihren Gemahlinnen und einer erwachsenen Tochter, gerechnet.

5. The gentlemen and the ladies who appeared in the chambers of the court ['Appartement'] on the first of this month, and all clerical, noble and knightly members of the Estates, as well as the foreign officials and officers who have not appeared at court, and then foreign scholars and merchants, are requested to collect their tickets at the Provincial Presidency in the Gubernatorial House. Their servants who are sent there, however, are requested to prove their identity with a written announcement containing their name and a signet. On the 5th, from 8 a.m. until 1 p.m., then from 3 p.m. until 6 p.m., and finally on the 6th, from 8 a.m. until 11 a.m., officials in the Provincial Presidency will be specially occupied with the distribution of the tickets.

6. However, the dicasterial [of the Holy Roman Empire] officials of all estates and offices, as well as the members of the municipal administration, the merchant class, the four faculties and other dignitaries will receive their tickets (if such are still available) from their presidents, head officials and other superintendents.

Since the space and the attention owed to the court do not permit the distribution of as many tickets as one would wish, the above-mentioned categories will include all imperial councillors and head officials, the city pastors and deans, the secretaries of all imperial offices, the municipal councillors of the City of Prague, the principal head officials of the municipal chanceries, the doctors of all four faculties, the Collegium Advocatorum, the upper merchant class (such as bankers and wholesale traders), and then the officers, corporals and four common soldiers from each civil regiment, along with their spouses and one grown-up daughter.

(Continued)

 1791, 3 September

7. Um die vergeblichen Anfragen zu vermeiden, wird jedermann, der nach dieser Ankündigung nicht berechtigt ist, ein Billet zu verlangen, ersucht, sich genau an diese Vorschrift zu halten.

8. Die Fahrordnung ist besonders abgedruckt.

Prag am 3ten September 1791.

7. To avoid futile requests, anyone who, according to this announcement, is not entitled to claim a ticket is asked to pay close attention to this instruction.

8. The driving rules will be printed separately. [See Document 5]

Prague, 3 September 1791.

Document 5. Notice from the Royal Provincial Presidency, Prague.⁵

 1791, 3 September

Nachricht, wie man sich den 6ten Sept. bei der Zu- und Abfahrt zur Opera im Nazionaltheater, verhalten solle.

Da die Opera mit Schlag 7 Uhre anfangen solle, so werden alle in das Nazionaltheater Fahrenden ersucht, sich zeitlich da einzufinden, damit sowohl ein jeder gemächlich seinen Platz einnehmen könne, als auch die Ankunft Sr. Majestät, und der höchsten Herrschaften durch die spätere Zufuhr nicht beirret werde. Der Zug der Wagen hatte also schon um 5 Uhre anzufangen. [...] [133] [...]

Prag am 3ten September 1791

Information on how to conduct oneself when travelling to and from the opera at the National Theatre on 6 September.

Since the opera is to begin on the stroke of 7, everyone driving to the National Theatre is requested to be present on time, so that each may take his seat at his leisure, and so that the arrival of His Majesty and Their Highest Lordships is not deterred by late arrivals. Therefore, the train of wagons should start already at 5 o'clock. [...]

Prague, 3 September 1791

Document 6. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's catalogue of works.⁶

1791, 5 September

Den 5: September.—aufgeführt in Prag den 6. September. La Clemenza di Tito, opera Seria in Due Atti, per l'incoronazione di sua Maestà l'imperatore Leopoldo II.—ridotta à vera opera dal Sig:^{re} Mazzolà, Poeta di sua A: S: l'Elettore di Sassonia.—Attrici:—Sig:^{ra} Marchetti Fanto[z]zi.—Sig:^{ra} Antonini.—Attori. Sig:^{re} Bedini. Sig:^{ra} Carolina Perini /da uomo/ Sig:^{re} Baglioni. Sig:^{re} Campi.—e Cori.—24 Pezzi.

5 September. – Performed in *Prague on 6 September: La clemenza di Tito*, opera seria in two Acts for the coronation of His Majesty Emperor Leopold II. – reduced to a true opera by Signore [Caterino] Mazzolà, poet to His Serene Highness the Elector of Saxony. *Actresses: Signora [Maria] Marchetti Fantoz[z]i. Signora [Anna] Antonini*. – *Actors: Signore [Domenico] Bedini. Signora Carolina Perini* (as a man). *Signore [Antonio] Baglioni. Signore [Gaetano] Campi*. – and choruses. 24 numbers.

Document 7. From the printed libretto for *La clemenza di Tito*, Prague.⁷

1791, September

La musica è tutta nuova, composta dal celebre Sig. Wolfgango Amadeo Mozart, maestro di capella in attuale servizio di sua Maestà imperiale.

Le tre prime Decorazioni sono d'invenzione del Sig. Pietro Travaglia, all'attual servizio di S. A. il Principe Esterazi.

La quarta Decorazione è del Sig. Preisig di Coblenz. Il vestiario tutto nuovo di ricca e vaga invenzione del Sig. Cherubino Babbini di Mantova.

The music is entirely new, composed by the celebrated Signor Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Kapellmeister currently in the service of His Imperial Majesty.

The three first decorations are the invention of Signor Pietro Travaglia, currently in the service of His Highness Prince Esterházy.

The fourth decoration is by Signor [Johann Adam] Breysig from Koblenz. The costumes, entirely new, are the rich and charming invention of Signor Cherubino Babbini from Mantua.

Document 8. Diary of Count Karl von Zinzendorf, Prague.⁸

1791, 6 September

6.Septembre. [...] A 5^h au Théâtre de la vieille ville. a ce Spectacle que donnent les Etats, on m'introduisit dans une loge au premier, ou étoient M^e de Braun sa nièce M^{elle} de Staray, M^{elle} de Klebersberg et M^e Tourinette, le C^{te} Wallis et l'amb. de Venise. Je fus voir de mes connoissances dans leurs loges, je vis dans celle de Collorado la P^{esse} Hohenlohe de Breslau, née hoymb. La Cour n'arriva qu'à 7^h 1/2 passé on nous regala du plus ennuyeux Spectacle La Clemenza di Tito. Rotenhan en frac dans la loge de l'Empereur avec une canne qu'il a pourtant laissé dehors je crois. La Marchetti chante fort bien, l'Empereur en est entousiasmé. On eut beaucoup de peine a sortir de ce theatre.

6 September. [...] At 5 o'clock to the theatre in the Old Town, to the performance given by the Estates. I was shown into a box on the first tier where I found Madame [Louisa Christiana von?] Braun, her niece Mlle. de Staray [i.e. Sztáray], Mlle. von Klebersberg and Madame Tourinette [La Tournelle?], Count [Stephan Olivier von?] Wallis and the Venetian ambassador [i.e. Daniele Andrea Dolfin]. I saw my acquaintances in their boxes. In that of [Prince Franz von] Collarado [i.e. Colloredo] I saw Princess [Amalie Henriette] Hohenlohe of Breslau *née* Hoymb. [Solms-Baruth?]. The court did not arrive before after 7.30. They treated us to the most boring spectacle, *La clemenza di Tito*. [Count] Rot[t]enhan was in the emperor's box, in a coat and with a cane that he nevertheless left outside, I think. Marchetti sings very well; the emperor is enthusiastic about her. It was very difficult to get out of this theatre.

Document 9. Letter from Empress Maria Luisa in Prague to her daughter, Archduchess Maria Theresa.⁹

1791, 7 September

au soir au Theatre la grande opera n'est pas grande chose et la musique très mauvaise ainsi nous y avons presque tous dormi. Le Couronnement est allé a merveille.

In the evening at the theatre: the grand opera is not so grand, and the music very bad, so that almost all of us went to sleep. The coronation went marvellously.

Document 10. Entry in the *Diary of the Bohemian Coronation*.¹⁰

1791, 7 September

Abends war Freyopera, in welche sich Sr. Majestät mit der durchlauchtigsten Familie, und dem Hofstaate in die für höchstdieselben zubereiteten Logen nach 8 Uhr begeben, wohin höchstdieselben ein allgemeines freudiges Vivatrufen durch allen Gassen begleitete, mit welchem höchstdieselben auch im Theater empfangen wurden.

It was free opera [i.e. no entrance fee] in the evening, in which His Majesty with His Most Serene family and the court arrived at the boxes prepared for them after 8 o'clock. Along the whole route, they were accompanied by general and joyful *vivat* calls, with which Their High Selves were also received in the theatre.

Document 11. Notice in the *Prager Oberpostamtszeitung*.¹¹

1791, 8 September

Vorgestern Abends war freye Opera im altstädter Nazionaltheater, welches größtentheils von dem hier gegenwärtig sehr zahlreichen hohen Adel bese[t]zt war. Die allerhöchsten Herrschaften fanden sich um 8 Uhr gleich falls ein, und wurden im Hin- und Zurückfahren von vielen tausend frohlockenden Menschen begleitet.

The evening before last there was free opera [i.e. no entrance fee] at the National Theatre in the Old Town, which was mainly occupied by the very numerous high nobility that are currently here. Their Supreme Lordships also came at around 8 o'clock, and were accompanied on their way to and from the theatre by several thousand, rejoicing people.

Document 12. Johann Friedrich Ernst Albrecht, *Coronation Journal for Prague*.¹²

1791, 6 September

Festivitäten der Herren Stände.

Am 6ten als am Krönungstage gaben die Herren Stände, um diesen Tag Sr. Majestät zu verherrlichen eine ganz neue [sic] komponirte Oper, deren Text zwar nach dem Italiänischen des Metastasio, von Hrn. Mazzola [sic] aber, Theaterdichter in Dresden[,] verändert worden. Die Komposition ist von dem berühmten Mozart, und macht demselben Ehre, ob er gleich nicht viel Zeit dazu gehabt, und ihn noch dazu eine Krankheit überfiel, in welcher er den letzten Theil derselben verfertigen mußte.

An die Aufführung derselben hatten die Herren Stände alles gewandt, sie hatten den Entrepreneur nach Italien gesandt, der eine *prima donna* und einen ersten Sänger mit sich gebracht. Der Titel der [383] Oper selbst war: *la Clemenza di Tito*. Der Eintritt war frey, und viele Billets waren ausgetheilt. Das Haus fasset eine große Anzahl Menschen, dennoch aber kan[n] man sich denken, daß bei einer solchen Gelegenheit der Zulauf nach den Billets so groß ist, daß sie endlich ein Ende nehmen, daher auch manche Einheimische und Fremde[,] selbst Personen vom Stande[,] wieder weggehen mußte, weil sie sich nicht mit Billets versehen hatte.

Sr. Majestät erschienen um halb acht Uhr, und wurden mit lautem Zujauchzen der Anwesenden empfangen. Der Herren Stände Mitglieder nahmen selbst die Billets ein, und sahen auf die gehörige Ordnung, damit niemand auf sein Billet zurückgewiesen werden, und keiner ohne Billet eindringen sich mögte. [384]

Festivities of the Noble Estates.

On the 6th, Coronation Day, the Noble Estates, in order to glorify His Majesty on this day, gave a newly composed opera on an Italian text by Metastasio, changed however by Herr Mazzola [sic], theatrical poet in Dresden. The composition is by the famous Mozart, and is an honour to him, although he had not much time for writing it, and moreover fell ill as he was in the process of finishing the last part.

The Noble Estates lavished everything on the performance; they had sent the entrepreneur [i.e. Guardasoni] to Italy in order to bring back a *prima donna* and a leading male singer. The title of the opera itself was *La clemenza di Tito*. The entrance was free of charge, and many tickets were distributed. The house is capable of holding a large number of persons, but one can imagine that on such an occasion, the request for tickets was so great that finally there were none, so that some local citizens and foreigners, even members of the nobility, had to leave because there were no tickets for them.

His Majesty appeared at 7:30 pm and was greeted with loud cries by the audience. Members of the Noble Estates themselves took in the tickets and saw that proper order was kept, so that no one with a ticket was refused and no one without a ticket could enter.

 1791, 6 September

Von den Schauspielen. [...]

[386] Indessen sind die Schauspiele nicht sehr bese[t]zt. Sind die übrigen Ergötzlichkeiten daran schuld, oder es ist der hohen Preis, der die Liebhaber abschre[c]kt. Weder die zum zweitenmal aufgeführte Oper der Herren Stände, noch das Haus auf der kleinen Seite hatten viel Zuschauer.

On the theatrical performances [...]

Meanwhile the plays are not very full. This is either caused by other entertainments or it is the high price of the tickets that drives the enthusiasts away. Neither the second performance of the opera given by the Noble Estates, nor the house in the Lesser Town had many spectators.

Document 13. Franz Alexander von Kleist, *Daydreams on a Journey to Prague*.¹³

 1791, 6 September

Königskrönung. [...]

[119] Am Abend ward eine sehr schöne neue Oper[,] *la Clemenza di Tito*[,] frey von den Ständen gegeben. Die Musik ist von *Mozart*, und ganz ihres Meisters würdig, besonders gefällt er hier in dem Andante, wo seine Melodien schön genug sind, die Himmlischen herabzulocken. Kritisch mich darüber auszulassen, ist unmöglich, da ich die Oper nur einmal, in großem Gedränge, gehört habe.

Royal coronation. [...]

In the evening a most beautiful new opera, *La clemenza di Tito*, was given free of charge by the Estates. The music is by Mozart and quite worthy of its master. Here he especially pleases in the andante where his melodies are sufficiently beautiful to entice heavenly beings to earth. It is impossible for me to pass any critical comment on it, since I only heard the opera once, and in the middle of a great crowd.

Document 14. Johann Debrois, *Record of the Complete Coronation of His Majesty King Leopold II of Bohemia*.¹⁴

1791, 6 September

Um 7 Uhr gieng die Aufführung dieses ernsthaften italienischen Singspiels vor sich. Die gewöhnliche Theaterwache war verdoppelt, eine Division Karabiniers besetzte die angemessenen Posten, und die Feuerlöschanstalten waren vermehret. Ihre Majestäten der König und die Königin sammt der k. Familie beehrten das Nazionaltheater, das bis zur Vermeidung eines Gedränges ganz angefüllt war, und wo man aus Prag's bekannter Gefälligkeit, den Fremden die ersten Plätze überliess, mit Ihrer Gegenwart, und wurden mit Jubel empfangen. Das Singspiel selbst ward mit dem Beifalle, welchen Verfasser, Kompositor, und die Singstimmen, besonders die rühmlich bekannte *Todi* [sic], aus vollem Grunde verdienten, aufgenommen, und es schien, dass Ihre Majestäten mit Zufriedenheit das Schauspielhaus verlassen haben.

The performance of this serious Italian opera took place at 7 o'clock. The usual theatre guard had been doubled; a division of *carabinieri* occupied the appropriate places, and the fire extinguishing measures were reinforced. Their Majesties the King and the Queen honoured the National Theatre together with the royal family and were received with cheering. The theatre was full to the point of avoiding a crush, and in accordance with Prague's well-known courtesy, the first seats were left to the foreigners. The opera itself was received with the applause that the poet, the composer and the singing voices—especially the well-known [Luísa] Todi [sic]—fully deserved, and it seemed that Their Majesties left the theatre satisfied.

Document 15. Letter from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart in Vienna to his wife, Constanze Mozart in Baden.¹⁵

1791, 7 October

in dieser zwischenzeit kam ein brief von Prag vom Stadler; [...] – das[s] sonderbareste dabei ist, das den abend als meine neue Oper mit so vielen beifall zum erstenmale aufgeführt wurde, am nemlichen abend in Prag der *Tito* zum letztenmale auch mit ausserordentlichen beifall aufgeführt worden. – alle Stücke sind *applaudirt* worden. – der *Bedini* sang besser als allezeit. – das *Duettchen ex A* von die 2 Mädchens wurde wiederhollet – und gerne – hätte man nicht die *Marchetti* geschonet – hätte man auch das *Rondó repetirt*. – dem *Stodla* wurde !: O böhmisches wunder! – schreibt er !: aus dem Parterre und so gar aus dem *Orchestre bravo* zugerufen. ich hab mich aber auch recht angesetzt, schreibt er [...].

Meanwhile I have had a letter which [Anton] Stadler has sent me from Prague. [...] And the strangest thing of all is that on the very evening when my new opera [i.e. *Die Zauberflöte*] was performed for the first time with such success [i.e. 30 September], *Tito* was given in Prague for the last time with tremendous applause. All the numbers were *applauded*. Bedini sang better than ever. The little duet in A major which the two maidens [i.e. Perini and Antonini] sing [i.e. duet 7. 'Ah perdona al primo affetto'] was repeated; and had not the audience wished to spare Marchetti, a *repetition* of the rondò [i.e. rondo 23. 'Non più di fiori'] would have been very welcome. Cries of 'Bravo' were shouted at Stodla [i.e. Stadler] from the parterre and even from the orchestra – 'What a miracle for Bohemia!' he writes, 'but indeed I *did my very best*'.

Document 16. Count Heinrich Franz von Rottenhan to the preparation committee, Prague.¹⁶

1791, 29 October

Guardasoni hat schon von mehrern Wochen ein ähnliches Gesuch mit den anliegenden 2 Berechnungen dem Praesidio übergeben; die eine, die die Verfertigung zweyer nicht in dem Contract bedungener neuen Decorationen betrifft, wird *salva moderatione* keinem Zweifel unterliegen, weilen diese 2 Decorationen und viele Ausbesserungen wirklich verfertigt worden sind, da das alte Scenarium gar zu sehr abgenu[t]zt war, um zur neuen opera dienen zu können; was der Entschädigungsbitte für die Aufwand der Oper selbst betrifft, das ist blos eine Gnaden Sache, weil dieser Gegenstand durch einen formlichen [sic] Contract seine Bestim[m]ung erhalten hat. Allein es ist allgemein bekannt, daß wegen der vielen Hof Fest[e] und der Balle und Gesellschaften, die in den Privat Haysern gegeben wurden beyde Theater Entrepreneurs sehr wenig zulauf gehabt haben, zeigte sich auch bey Hof wider Mozarts Composition eine vorgefas[s]te Abneigung, also da die Oper nach der ersten feyerlichen Vorstellung fast gar nicht mehr besucht ward, die ganze Speculation des Entrepreneurs war darauf gebaut, das nebst der bewilligten Gaabe der H. Stände auch die Entrée einen beträchtlichen Beytrag abwerfen wurde, und das hat gänzlich fehlgeschlagen.

Guardasoni already submitted a similar petition to the Presidency several weeks ago, along with the two enclosed invoices. Of the first of these, which regards two new decorations that are not stipulated in the contract, there can be no doubt *salva moderatione** [*shorthand for '*salva moderatione consilii generalis*' i.e. while safeguarding the general direction of the plan], since these two decorations and many rectifications indeed were produced, the old scenery being far too worn to serve for the new opera. As for the request for compensation for the expenditure relating to the opera itself, this is a mere question of grace, since this matter was provided with a clause in a formal contract. However, it is generally known that both theatre entrepreneurs had very little intake due to the many courtly festivities and balls and parties that were given in private houses. Furthermore, a preconceived aversion to Mozart's composition was apparent at court, and thus the opera was barely attended after the first celebratory performance. In addition to the endowment granted by the Noble Estates, the entire venture of the entrepreneur relied on the entrance fees yielding a substantial contribution, and this has failed completely.

Document 17. Anonymous letter report from Prague.¹⁷

1791, 12 December

Bei der hiesigen Krönung waren zwei musikalischen Arbeiten merkwürdig. Die eine bestand in einer grossen—oder vielmehr mittler—ernsthaften Oper, *einer abermals* komponirten *Clemenza di Tito*, die aber, wiewohl die Musik von Mozart war, nicht gefiel. Dieser sonst grosser Komponist schien dasmal [sic] des Wahlspruchs vom Oktavius: *Festina lente!* vergessen zu haben. Auch waren nur die Arien und Chöre von seiner, die Recitative von einer andern Hand. Die zweite bestand in einer grossen, von Kozeluch gesetzten Kantate. Der Text dazu war auf Verlangen der Stände von Meis[s]ner verfertigt. Diese Tonsetzung fand Beifall, so übelgewählt Ort und Zeit waren, wo sie gegeben ward.

At the coronation in this city two musical works were notable. One was a grand, or rather, semi-serious opera, *another* setting of *La clemenza di Tito*, which, however, although the music was by Mozart, did not find favour. This normally great composer seems to have forgotten Octavius's motto: *Festina lente* [i.e. 'Make haste slowly']! Also, only the arias and choruses were from his hand, the recitatives by another. The second [work] was a grand cantata composed by [Leopold] Koželuch. The text for it was written by [August Gottlieb] Meissner at the request of the Estates. This composition met with applause despite the unpropitious time and place chosen for the performance.

Document 18. Index of the performances of Guardasoni's company.¹⁸

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Early 1792 | |
| PRAGA / PRAGUE | |
| Nel Teatro nazionale di Sua Eccellenza il Sig. Conte Nostiz si rappresentò il Dramma Serio intitolato / In the National Theatre of His Excellency Count Nostitz was performed the serious drama with the title | |
| <i>La Clemenza di Tito</i> | |
| Musica nuova del Sig. Maestro Wolfgango Amadeo Mozart / New music by Sig[nor] Maestro Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart | |
| SIGNORI ATTORI / THE ACTORS | |
| <i>Primo soprano</i> | <i>Prima Donna</i> |
| Domenico Bedini | Maria Marchetti Fantozzi |
| <i>Primo Tenore</i> | |
| Antonio Baglioni | |
| <i>Ed altri Suggetti, che cantano nelle opere buffe qui sotto descritti / And other persons who sing in the comic operas listed below</i> | |
| SIGNORI ATTORI / THE ACTORS | |
| Antonio Baglioni | Carolina Perini |
| Felice Ponziani | Luigi Bassi |
| Gaetano Campi | Giuseppe Lolli |
| Angiola Perini | Caterina Micelli |
| Anna Antonini | Caterina Perini |
| <i>Titoli delle Opere / Titles of the operas</i> | |
| IL Dissoluto punito Axur Re d'Ormus | |

Document 19. Heinrich August Ottokar Reichard's report on Guardasoni's opera company, Leipzig.¹⁹

1792, autumn

Im Jahr 1789 bewog ihn der pohnische Landtag nach Warschau zu gehen. Hier blieb er, bis die Herren Stände des Königreichs Böhmen ihn zur Feyerlichkeit der Krönung des nun verewigten Kaiser Leopolds im vorigen Jahre nach [144] Prag zurückruften. Da aber der öffentlichen Lustbarkeiten zu viel waren und sich auch daselbst mehrere Schauspielergesellschaften befanden, so war das Publikum getheilt, und er fand daher auch seine Rechnung nicht. Guardasoni schloß daher seine Oper zu Ende der Krönung, entließ einige Mitglieder und behielt nur die vorzüglichsten von seiner Gesellschaft bey sich, mit welchen er den Winter hindurch ruhte.

In 1789, the Polish parliament induced him [Guardasoni] to go to Warsaw. There he remained until last year the Noble Estates of the Kingdom of Bohemia called him back to Prague for the festivities for the coronation of the now deceased Emperor Leopold. But since there were too many public entertainments and also several theatrical companies there, the public was divided and he did not even cover his expenses. Guardasoni therefore closed his opera company at the end of the coronation, dismissed several performers and retained only the most excellent members, with whom he rested throughout the winter.

Document 20. 'Some News on the State of the Prague Theatre'.
Attributed to Franz Xaver Niemetschek.²⁰

1794, December

Endlich muß man noch mit Dank und Lob der Vorstellung der *Clemenza [sic] di Tito*, von Mozart, Erwähnung [569] machen. Dieses letzte Werk [Footnote: 'Die Zauberflöte war schon fertig, als Mozart bei der Krönung Leopolds in Prag den Titus schrieb, wenigstens spielte er die meisten Stücke daraus seinen Freunden am Klavier. Man irrt also, wenn man die Zauberflöte den Schwanengesang Mozarts nennt.'], der dramatischen Musik Mozarts, welches er zu dem Krönungsfeste des höchstsel. Kaisers Leopold II. in Prag schrieb, gehört unter seine größten Meisterstücke. Es wurde zur Krönungszeit als Freioper und dann einigemal noch gegeben; aber da es das Ungefähr so haben wollte, daß ein elender Kastrat und eine mehr mit den Händen als der Kehle singende Primadonna,

Finally, I do feel obliged to mention the production of *La clemenza di Tito* by Mozart with thanks and praise. Mozart's last work of dramatic music [Footnote: 'Die Zauberflöte was already finished when Mozart wrote *La clemenza di Tito* for Leopold's coronation in Prague; at least he played most of its numbers on the clavier for his friends. It is therefore wrong to call *Die Zauberflöte* Mozart's swansong.'], which he wrote for the coronation festivity of the late Emperor Leopold II in Prague, belongs among his greatest masterpieces. At the time of the coronation, it was given once free of charge and then a few times more. But since fate decreed that a miserable castrato [i.e. Bedini] and a *prima donna* who sang more with her hands than with her throat, and whom one was

1794, December

die man für eine Besessene halten mußte, die Hauptparten hatten; da der Stoff zu simpel ist, als daß er eine mit Krönungsfeierlichkeiten, Bällen und Illuminationen beschäftigte Volksmenge hätte interessiren können, und da es endlich—(Schande unserm Zeitalter)—eine ernsthafte Oper ist, so gefiel sie minder im Allgemeinen, als sie es vermög ihrer wahrhaft himmlischen Musik verdiente. Es ist eine gewisse griechische Simplizität, eine stille Erhabenheit in der ganzen Musik, die das fühlende Herz leise, aber desto tiefer trifft; die zu dem Charakter des Titus, den Zeiten und ganzen Sujet so richtig paßt, und dem feinen Geschmacke Mozarts, so wie seinem Beobachtungsgeiste, Ehre macht. Dabei ist der Gesang durchgängig, vorzüglich aber im Andante, himmlischsüß, voll Empfindung und Ausdruck, die Chöre pompös und erhaben; kurz, Glucks Erhabenheit ist darin mit Mozarts origineller Kunst, seinem strömenden Gefühle und seiner ganzen hinreissenden Harmonie vereinigt. Unübertreffbar, und vielleicht ein *non plus ultra* der Musik, ist das letzte Terzett und Finale des ersten Akts. Die Kenner sind im Zweifel, ob Titus nicht noch sogar den *Don Giovanni* übertreffe. Dieses göttliche Werk des unsterblichen Geistes gab uns Hr. Guardasoni am 3ten Dezember d. J. bei gedrängtvollem Hause und unter dem ungetheiltestem Beifalle des Publikums; er hat dadurch die langen Wünsche aller Kenner und Schätzer des wahren Schönen erfüllt, und ihren vollkommensten Beifall erhalten. Möchte er doch reichlich für dieses Vergnügen unterstützt, und seine Kasse gefüllt werden! Die Sängerin Strenasachi [sic], welche die Part des Kastraten in der Rolle des [570] Sesto als Mann singt, zeichnet sich am meisten durch guten Gesang und ein ächtes Spiel aus, und kein Anwesender wird anstehen, ihr den Vorzug vor dem verstümmelten Menschen zu geben, dessen unförmliche Fleischmasse uns, so oft er auftrat, erschreckte, und zu seiner Bastardstimme sich so komisch verhielt!

obliged to take for a madwoman [i.e. Marchetti Fantozzi], had the principal roles; since the subject matter is too simple to be able to interest a crowd preoccupied with coronation festivities, balls and illuminations; and finally since (shame on our age!) it is a serious opera, it generally pleased less than it deserved by dint of its truly heavenly music. There is a certain Greek simplicity, a quiet grandeur in the entire music, which affects the sensitive heart gently but so much the deeper, and which suits Tito's character, the period and the entire subject so correctly, and which does honour to Mozart's fine taste as well as to his keen observation. In addition, the songs are of heavenly sweetness and full of feeling and expression throughout, but especially in the andantes, and the choruses are magnificent and exultant. In short, [Christoph Willibald] Gluck's grandeur is here united with Mozart's artistic originality, his pouring emotion and all his ravishing harmony. The last trio [10. 'Vengo ... aspetatte ...'] and finale in Act I [quintet with chorus 12. 'Deh conservate, o Dei'] are unsurpassable and perhaps a *non plus ultra* of music. The connoisseurs are in doubt whether *La clemenza di Tito* might not even surpass *Don Giovanni*. On 3 December this year Herr Guardasoni gave us this divine work of his immortal genius before a crowded house and to the most unanimous applause of the audience. He thus fulfilled the long wishes of all connoisseurs and cherishers of true beauty and received their most complete applause. May he be generously supported for this entertainment, and his coffers filled! The female singer [Teresa] Strinasacchi, who sings the castrato's part in the male role of Sesto, especially distinguished herself with her good singing and genuine acting, and no one present would hesitate to give her preference over the mutilated person whose shapeless mass of flesh frightened us whenever he appeared and was so odd in relation to his bastard voice!

Document 21. Niemetschek, *Life of the Imperial Kapellmeister Wolfgang Gottlieb Mozart*, Prague.²¹

1798

[32] Die Musik zu der Oper *La Clemenza di Tito* war von den böhmischen Ständen zu der Krönung des Kaisers Leopold bestellt. Diese letzte begann er in seinem Reisewagen auf dem Wege von Wien, und vollendete sie in dem kurzen Zeitraume von 18 Tagen in Prag. [...]

[47] [...] die Meisterstücke der Römer und Griechen gefallen bey fortgesetzter Lektüre und je reifer der Geschmack wird, immer mehr und mehr—das nemliche widerfährt dem Kenner und Nichtkenner bey der Anhörung Mozartischer Musik, besonders der dramatischen Werke. So gieng es uns bey der ersten Vorstellung des Don Juan und insbesondere bey der *Clemenza di Tito*!

Nebst den oben anführten Eigenheiten und Vorzügen des Mozartischen Kunsttalentes, beobachtet an ihm der aufmerksamen Schätzer seiner Werke einen gewissen feinen Sinn, den Charakter jeder Person, Lage und Empfindung aufs genaueste treffen;

reddere convenientia cuique.

The music for the opera *La clemenza di Tito* had been commissioned by the Bohemian Estates for the coronation of Emperor Leopold. [Mozart] began the latter in his travelling coach on the way from Vienna, and he finished it in the short space of eighteen days in Prague. [...]

The masterpieces of Rome and Greece are appreciated the more often they are read and the more mature our taste becomes. This applies to connoisseurs as well as non-connoisseurs when listening to Mozart's music, particularly to his dramatic works. Those were our feelings at the first performance of *Don Giovanni* and especially at *La clemenza di Tito*!

In addition to the qualities and superiority of Mozart's style just mentioned, the attentive praiser of his works will notice how with a certain fine perception, the character of each person, situation and emotion is most accurately drawn;

reddere convenientia cuique [a reference to Horace, *The Art of Poetry*'. Line 316 'Reddere personae scit convenientia cuique': 'Each actor must have manners agreeable to the Character']

1798

Diese Eigenschaft war sein wahrer Beruf zum dramatischen Komponisten, und ist zugleich der Erklärungsgrund des Zaubers und der großen Wirkung seiner Werke. Daher hat jede seiner Kompositionen einen bestimmten eigenthümlichen Charakter, den selbst die Wahl der Tonart nicht verläugnet. Kenner seiner Werke bedürfen keiner besondern Beyspiele, da alle Opern von seiner Komposition diese Eigenschaft im hohen Grade an sich haben; aber das schönste Muster davon ist [omitted in 1808 edition: ‘die ganze’] *Clemenza di Tito*.—Wie ganz anders bey den gewöhnlichen Kompositionen? Es sind größtentheils Gesänge von so unbestimmter Charakter, daß sie eben so gut zu einer Messe, als *Opera buffa* taugen. [...]

[67] Wenn man seine Werke[,] besonders die theatralischen[,] nach der Zeitfolge ihrer Entstehung betrachtet, so merkt man deutlich den Gang seines zur Vollkommenheit schreitenden Geistes. In den frühern, z. B. in der Oper *Idomeneo* und der Entführung aus dem Serail, auch noch zum Theil in *Figaro*[,] strömt das ganze Feuer einer jugendlichen Phantasie und eine Fülle üppiger Empfindung ohne Gränzen. Es ist mehr Wärme als Licht darinn—die Massen des Gesanges und der Harmonie sind nicht so bestimmt, wie in den spätern Werken, in welchen dieser Strom der Empfindung im[68]mer sanfter sich in sein Bett zurückzieht; alles leichter, einfacher und korrekter wird. Nirgends ist diese Reife des Geschmacks sichtbarer, als in der *Clemenza di Tito*. Daraus läßt es sich schließen, was man noch von Mozart zu erwarten berichtigt war. [...]

This characteristic showed the real vocation he possessed for dramatic composition and is at the same time an explanation of his magic, and of the great effect of his works. In consequence, each composition has a very distinct character of its own, which is even shown by the choice of key. Connoisseurs of his works will not require any specific examples of this, as all the operas composed by him have this characteristic to a high degree. This is best exemplified in [omitted in 1808 edition: ‘the whole of’] *La clemenza di Tito*. How different are ordinary compositions! There the songs are of so indeterminate a character that they would do equally well for a Mass or an *opera buffa*. [...]

If we regard his works, particularly his dramatic ones, in the order of their appearance, we clearly recognise his rapid strides to perfection. A whole torrent of youthful imagination gushes forth and never-ending expressions of tenderness pervade his earlier works, such as the opera *Idomeneo* and *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, and to some extent in *Figaro* as well. There is more warmth than light—the mass of song and harmony is not so distinct, as in his later works, in which this storm of feeling ever gentler is laid to rest; everything becomes lighter, simpler and more correct. Nowhere is this maturing of taste more obvious than in *La clemenza di Tito*. From this, one can judge what might still justifiably have been expected of Mozart. [...]

(Continued)

[73] *La Clemenza di Tito* wird in ästhetischer Hinsicht als schönes Kunstwerk, für die vollendeteste Arbeit Mozarts gehalten. Mit einem feinen Sinne faßte Mozart die Einfachheit, die stille Erhabenheit des Charakters des Titus, und der ganzen Handlung auf, und übertrug sie ganz in seine Komposition. Jeder Theil, selbst die gemäßigte Instrumentalparthie trägt dieses Gepräge an sich, und vereinigt sich zu der schönsten Einheit des Ganzen. Da sie für ein Krönungsfest, und für zwey ganz eigends dazu angenommene Sänger aus Italien geschrieben war, so mußte er nothwendig brillante Arien für diese zwey Rollen schreiben. Aber welche Arien sind das? Wie hoch stehen sie über dem gewöhnlichen Troß der Bravour-Gesänge?

Die übrigen Stücke verrathen überall den großen Geist aus dem sie gefloßen. Die letzte Scene oder das Finale des 1ten Aktes ist gewiß die vollkommenste [*In the 1808 edition: 'gelungenste'*] Arbeit Mozarts; Ausdruck, Charakter, Empfindung, wetteifern darinn den größten Effekt hervorzubringen. Der Gesang, die Instrumentation, die Abwechslung der Töne, der Wiederhall der fernen Chöre—bewirkten bey jeder Aufführung eine Rührung und Täuschung, die bey Opern eine so seltene Erscheinung ist. Unter allen Chören, die ich gehört habe, ist keiner so fließend, [74] so erhaben und ausdrucksvoll, als der Schlußchor im 2ten Akte; unter allen Arien, keine so lieblich, so voll süßer Schwermuth, so reich an musikalischen Schönheiten, als das vollkommene Rondo in F, mit dem oblig: Baßethorne; *Non piu [sic] di Fiori* im 2ten Akte. Die wenigen instrumentirten Rezitative sind von Mozart, die übrigen alle—was sehr zu bedauern ist,—von einer Schülerhand.

Die Oper, die jetzt noch immer mit Entzücken gehört wird, gefiel das erstemal bey der Krönung nicht so sehr, als sie es verdiente. Ein Publikum, das vom Tanz, von Bällen und Vergnügungen trunken war, in dem Geräusche eines Krönungsfestes, konnte freylich an den einfachen Schönheiten Mozartscher Kunst wenig Geschmack finden!

La clemenza di Tito, considered from an aesthetic standpoint as a fine work of art, is thought to be the most polished. With his fine sensitivity, Mozart comprehended the simplicity, the calm grandeur of the character of Tito and the whole plot, and conveyed this throughout his composition. Every part, even the smallest instrumental part, bears his stamp, and combines to form a beautifully united whole. As it was written for a coronation and for two singers specially engaged from Italy [i.e. Bedini and Marchetti Fantozzi], he was compelled to write brilliant arias for these two roles. But what arias these were! Far above the usual supply of bravura songs.

The remaining numbers betray through and through the great genius from which they stem. The last scene or finale of the first Act is certainly the most perfect [*In the 1808 edition: 'felicitous'*] among Mozart's compositions; expression, character, feeling, all compete with one another to produce the greatest effect. The singing, instrumentation, variety of tone and echo of distant choruses—at each performance these created such emotion and illusion as is seldom apparent at operas. Among all the choruses I have heard, there is none which is so flowing, so magnificent and expressive as the final chorus of Act II [chorus 26. 'Tu è ver, m'assolvi, Augusto']; among all the arias, none so charming, so filled with sweet melancholy, with such a wealth of musical beauty as the perfect rondo [23.] in F, with the basset horn obbligato, 'Non più di fiori' in Act II. The few accompanied recitatives are by Mozart; the rest—much to be regretted—are all in a pupil's hand.

The opera, which is still heard with delight, was not liked as much as it deserved to be at its first performance at the coronation. A public which was surfeited with dances, balls and amusements, in the bustle of coronation festivities, certainly did not find the simple beauties of Mozart's art much to its taste!

Document 22. Johann Friedrich Rochlitz, ‘Authentic Anecdotes from the Life of Wolfgang Gottlieb Mozart’, Leipzig.²²

1798, 5 December

Indess nahete sich die Abreise *Leopolds* nach Prag zur Krönung. Die Operndirektion, welche erst spät daran dachte, mit einer neuen Oper den Ueberfluss der Feyerlichkeiten und Feste noch mehr zu überfüllen—wendete sich deshalb an *Mozart*. Seiner Gattin und seinen Freunden war dies angenehm, weil es ihn zu anderer Arbeit und zu Zerstreungen *zwang*. Auf deren Zuredung, und weil es seinem Ehrgefühl schmeichelte, übernahm er die Komposition der vorgeschlagenen Oper: *Clemenza di Tito*, von *Metastasio*. Der Text war von den böhmischen Ständen erwählt. Die Zeit war aber so kurz, dass er die unbegleiteten Recitative nicht selbst schreiben, auch jeden gelieferten Sa[t]z, sobald er fertig war, sogleich in Stimmen aussetzen lassen musste, und also nicht einmal revidieren konnte. Er sahe sich mithin gezwungen, da er kein Gott war, entweder ein ganz mittelmässiges Werk zu liefern, oder nur die Hauptsätze sehr gut, die minder interessanten ganz leicht hin und blos dem Zeitgeschmack des grossen Haufens gemäss zu bearbeiten. Er erwählte mit Recht das Le[t]zte. Einen Beweiss für die Richtigkeit seines Geschmacks und für seine Theater- und Publikumskenntnis legte er hierbey dadurch ab, dass er die in die Ewigkeit gedehnte Verwechselung, welche bey *Metastasio* ziemlich den ganzen mittlern Akt füllet, wegschnitt, woraus die Handlung einen raschern Gang bekömmt, das Ganze mehr concentrirt, dadurch weit interessanter, und in zwey mässiglangen Akten vollendet wird; dass er auch, um mehr Mannigfaltigkeit in die einförmige stete

However, Leopold’s departure for his coronation in Prague was approaching. The opera management, who at a late point thought of overfilling the abundance of festivities and celebrations even more with a new opera, therefore turned to Mozart. This appealed to his wife and his friends because it *forced* him to engage in other work and distractions. Due to their persuasion, and because it flattered his sense of honour, he undertook the composition of the suggested opera, *La clemenza di Tito* by Metastasio. The text had been chosen by the Bohemian Estates. The time was so short, however, that he was unable to write the unaccompanied recitatives himself, and as soon as a number was finished he was obliged to let it be written out in parts, not even being able to revise it. Since he was no god, he therefore felt compelled either to deliver a quite mediocre work, or only to produce the main numbers very well, while producing the less interesting ones quite easily and merely according to the fashionable taste of the big crowd. He rightly chose the latter. In so doing, he gave proof of the correctness of his taste and of his knowledge of theatre and the audience, pruning away the mistaken identities that are stretched out perpetually and take up more or less the entire second Act in Metastasio. Thereby, the action acquires a faster pace and is completed in two moderately long Acts, and the whole becomes more concentrated and thereby far more interesting. Furthermore, in order to introduce more variety into the perpetual monotonous alternation of arias and recitatives, he melted together several such numbers towards the end of the first Act.

(Continued)

 1798, 5 December

Abwechslung von Arien und Recitativen zu bringen, mehrere dergleichen Sätze gegen das Ende des ersten Akts zusammenschmolz, und [152] daraus das grosse Meisterstück, das Finale des ersten Akts, bildete—eine Komposition, die, wie schon bemerkt worden, im Ganzen zwar nach einer Scene seines *Idomeneo* angelegt ist, aber *Mozarts shakespear'sche*, allmächtige Kraft im Grossen, Prachtvollen, Schrecklichen, Furchtbaren, Erschütternden so unverkennbar, und so bis zum Haaremporetreiben darlegt, als kaum das berühmte Finale des ersten Akts seines D. Giovanni.

He thus formed that great masterstroke, the Act I finale [quintet with chorus 12. 'Deh conserveate, oh Dei']: a composition that, as a whole, is structured on a scene from his *Idomeneo*, as already mentioned [in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* I/4 (24 October 1798), 54]. However, it exhibits Mozart's almighty Shakespearean force in the field of the grand, the magnificent, the horrific, the terrifying and the harrowing so unmistakably—to the extent of making the hairs stand on end—as barely even the famous Act I [sic] finale of his *Don Giovanni*.

Document 23. Passage added in the second edition of Niemetschek's Mozart biography, Prague.²³

1808

Die Gestalt, in welcher die alte *Opera seria* von Metastasio *La Clemenza di Tito* bey seiner Musik erscheint, ist das Werk seines richtigen Urtheiles und Geschmackes. Und ein solcher Komponist, der den Geist des Textes, das eigene der Situation so faßte und verstand—ihn oft verbesserte noch öfter erhob, soll keine höhere Bildung besessen haben?

The form in which Metastasio's old opera seria *La clemenza di Tito* is made to appear through [Mozart's] music is the result of his correct judgement and taste. And such a composer, who grasped and understood the spirit of the text and the individuality of the situation in this way—often improving it, and more often elevating it—should he not have been in possession of first-rate culture?

Document 24. Giuseppe Siboni's recollections, Copenhagen.²⁴

1821, 18 January

Ich kam erst 1810 nach Wien, und fing erst nach dieser Zeit an den Titus mit den darin vorgefundenen Veränderungen zu singen, nachdem ich ihn vier oder fünf Jahre hindurch in Prag nach der ursprünglichen Composition vorgetragen hatte. [...] Der Verfasser jener Anzeige hat nicht gewußt, daß die Prager Theater-Direktion, als dieselbe beschlossen [1805] hatte, zur Krönungs-Feier des Kaisers Leopold eines der schönsten Dramas des unsterblichen Metastasio durch den großen Mozart componiren zu lassen, sich genöthigt sah eine Menge Veränderungen mit dem Stücke vorzunehmen, um es den Umständen angemessener zu machen. Vor fünfzig Jahren, hatte man nicht geglaubt, daß Jemand den Muth haben würde, die Hand an die schönsten Werke eines der größten dramatischen Dichters zu legen, um Veränderungen darin zu machen; dennoch aber geschah es auf Mozarts eigenes Verlangen; und wir besäßen sonst vielleicht nicht dieses herrliche Werk des großen Componisten. Zur Besetzung desselben ließ man aus Italien den damals berühmten Soprano Bedini für die Rolle des Sextus kommen, Mad. Marchetti sang die Vitellia und Hr. B.....i den Titus. Da die Direction die Bemerkung machte, das[s] Mozart die Rolle des Titus (obwohl dieses die Hauptrolle und der Protagonist ist) mit weniger Interesse behandelt habe, als die beiden übrigen Hauptrollen, so beklagte sie sich darüber bei Mozart, und verlangte daß er die Musik verändern sollte; dieser aber verweigerte es, und sagte, daß sie einen andern Tenor hätten aus Italien verschreiben sollen, er habe das Kleid für den Körper dessen gemacht, der es tragen sollte; man hätte ihm einen andern Titus vorstellen sollen, so würde er auch eine andere Musik gemacht haben. Mozart hatte ausserdem noch andere Ursachen, welche nicht hierher gehören, denn Hr. B.....i war doch, wie ich gehört habe, als Sänger nicht ohne Verdienst. Von der Wahrheit des von mir Angeführten kann der Herr Verfasser sich überzeugen, wenn er sich bei denjenigen Personen erkundigen will, welche damals in Prag mit der Theater-Direction zu thun hatten.

I did not come to Vienna before 1810, and only then did I begin to sing Tito with the modifications that I encountered there, having performed it according to the original composition in Prague [with Guardasoni's company] for four or five years [from 1800 to 1805]. [...] The author of that report [in *Originalien aus dem Gebiete der Wahrheit, Kunst, Laune und Phantasie* IV/153 (1820), 1095-96] was unaware that when the Prague theatre management decided to let the great Mozart set one of the most beautiful dramas by the immortal Metastasio to music for the coronation festivities of Emperor Leopold, they felt obliged to make a lot of changes in the piece to make it more appropriate to the circumstances. Fifty years ago, it was inconceivable for anyone to have the courage to lay their hands on the most beautiful works by one of the greatest dramatic poets in order to modify them. However, it happened on Mozart's own demand, and otherwise we would perhaps not possess this wonderful work by the great composer. For the cast, the once famous soprano Bedini was got from Italy for the role of Sesto; Mad. Marchetti sang Vitellia, and Herr B[aglioni] Tito. When the management noted that Mozart had treated the role of Tito with less interest than the two other principal roles (although he is the principal role and the protagonist), they complained to Mozart and demanded that he change the music. He refused to do this, however, and said they should have engaged another tenor from Italy: he had made the suit for the body of the person who was to wear it. If they had presented him with a different Tito, then he would also have composed different music. Mozart had some other reasons, too, which are not relevant in this context, for as I have heard, Herr B[aglioni] was not without merit. The author may convince himself of the truthfulness of this story if he makes an inquiry to the people who were involved with the theatre management in Prague at that time.

(Continued)

1821, 18 January

Auch wird man überall, wo Mozart Opern componirt hat, hören, daß derselbe sich jenen Ideen immer nur insofern überließ, als dieselben mit den Kräften derer übereinstimmten, welche sie ausführen sollten, daß er sie erst dann völlig entwickelte und vollendete, wenn er sich mit den Mitteln und der Art des Gesanges eines jeden der Hauptpersonen genau bekannt gemacht hatte. So haben allen großen und genialen Componisten gehandelt, so handeln sie noch, und so werden alle diejenigen handeln, welche gewissenhaft zu Erfüllung desjenigen Zweckes beitragen wollen, für welchen sie als Componisten von den Directionen bezahlt werden, nämlich dem Publikum zu gefallen, und dadurch der Kasse, aus welcher ihr Verdienst herrührt, Vortheile zu verschaffen.

But anywhere where Mozart composed operas, one will hear that he only surrendered to these ideas to the extent that they matched those who were to execute them, and that he would only develop and perfect them when he had acquainted himself thoroughly with the vocal means and style of each of the principal roles. Great and brilliant composers have always acted this way; they still act this way, and those will always act thus who want to contribute diligently to the one aim for which they are paid as composers by the managements, viz. pleasing the audience and thereby gain benefits for the box office from which their earnings proceed.

Notes

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2. Státní Ústřední Archiv, fond Zemský výbor (Central State Archive in Prague, Provincial Committee), department 84/42, Karton 1188, No. 864. Sergio Durante, 'The Chronology of Mozart's *La clemenza di Tito* Reconsidered', *Music & Letters* LXXX/4 (November 1999), 591. Translation based on J. Bradford Robinson, in Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *La clemenza di Tito* K. 621: *Facsimile of the Autograph Score* (Los Altos CA: The Packard Humanities Institute, 2008), 31–2.
3. Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (Széchényi National Library in Budapest). Reproduced from H. C. Robbins Landon, 'Acta Musicalia No. 141', *The Haydn Yearbook* XV (1984), 154.
4. Johann Debrois (ed.), *Aktenmässige Krönungsgeschichte des Königs von Böhmen Leopold des Zweiten und Marie Louisens* (Prague, 1792) I, viii–ix, 128–31.
5. Debrois, *Aktenmässige Krönungsgeschichte*, I, ix, 131–33.

6. Wolfgang Amadé Mozart, *Verzeichnüß aller meiner Werke vom Monath februario 1784 bis Monath [November] 1791*. London, British Library: Zweig MS 63, ff. 28v.

7. *La clemenza di Tito, dramma serio per musica in due atti da rappresentarsi nel Teatro Nazionale di Praga nel settembre 1791. In occasione di solennizzare il giorno dell'incoronazione di Sua Maestà l'Imperatore Leopoldo II* (Prague: Schönfeld, 1791).

8. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna. Dorothea Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna: Sources and Documents 1783–1792* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 382.

9. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna, Sammelbände, Karton 52. John Rice, *Emperor and Impresario: Leopold II and the Transformation of Viennese Musical Theater 1790–1792* (Berkeley: University of California 1987), 352.

10. *Tagebuch der böhmischen Königskrönung* (Prague: Joseph Walenta, Kunst- und Buchhändler, 1792), 223, 225.

11. *Prager Oberpostamtszeitung*, 10 September 1791. Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart: Die Dokumente seines Lebens* (Kassel, Basel: Bärenreiter, 1961), 525.

12. [Johann Friedrich Ernst] Albrecht, *Krönungsjournal für Prag* (Prague: 1791) VI, 382–83, 386. Translation based on H. C. Robbins Landon, 1791: *Mozart's Last Year* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1988), 115–16.

13. [Franz Alexander von Kleist:] *Fantasien auf einer Reise nach Prag* (Dresden & Leipzig: Richterschen Buchhandlung, 1792), 112, 119.

14. Johann Debrois, *Urkunde über die vollzogene Krönung Seiner Majestät des Königs von Böhmen Leopold des Zweiten und Ihrer Majestät der Gemahlinn des Königs Maria Louise, gebornen Infantinn von Spanien* (Prague: Gottlieb Haase, 1808), 110.

15. *Mozart Briefe und Dokumente*. Online Edition. <http://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/briefe/letter.php?mid=1764&cat=3> Accessed 11 December 2017. Translation based on Emily Anderson, *The Letters of Mozart & His Family*, III (London: Macmillan, 1938), 1437.

16. Státní Ústřední Archiv, fond Zemský výbor (Central State Archive in Prague, Provincial Committee), department. 84/12, Karton 84. Volek, 'Über den Ursprung', 284.
17. F[riedrich] Ae[milius] Kunzen & J[ohann] F[riedrich] Reichardt (eds.), *Studien für Tonkünstler und Musikfreunde: Eine historisch-kritische Zeitschrift fürs Jahr 1792* (Berlin, Verlage der neuen Musikhandlung, 1793) I, 'Nachrichten aus Briefen', in *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* xii, 94. Translation based on Sergio Durante and J. Bradford Robinson, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *La clemenza di Tito* K. 621: *Facsimile of the Autograph Score*, 24
18. *Indice de' teatrali spettacoli* 1791–92. Ian Woodfield in *Performing Operas for Mozart: Impresarios, Singers and Troupes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 172.
19. [Heinrich August Ottokar] Reichard, *Taschenbuch für die Schaubühne, auf das Jahr 1793* (Gotha: Carl Wilhelm Ettinger, [1792]), 143–4. Translation based on Ian Woodfield, *Performing Operas for Mozart*, 170, 176.
20. [Franz Xaver Niemetschek], 'Einige Nachrichten über den Zustand des Theaters in Prag. Im Dezember 1794', *Allgemeines europäisches Journal* II/3 (Brno, December 1794), 568–70.
21. Franz [Xaver] Niem[etschek], *Leben des K. K. Kapellmeisters Wolfgang Gottlieb Mozart, nach Originalquellen beschrieben* (Prague: Herrlichen Buchhandlung, 1798), 32, 47, 67–8, 73–4. Translation based on Franz Niemetschek, *Mozart: The First Biography*, tr. Helen Mautner (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2006), 31, 45–6, 66, 71–2.
22. [Johann] Friedrich Rochlitz, 'Verbürgte Anekdoten aus Wolfgang Gottlieb Mozarts Leben, ein Beytrag zur richtigern Kenntniss dieses Mannes, als Mensch und Künstler', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, I/10 (Leipzig, 5 December 1798), 151–2.
23. Franz Xav[er] Nëmetschek, *Lebensbeschreibung des K. K. Kapellmeisters Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, aus Originalquellen, Zweite vermehrte Auflage* (Prague: Herrlichen Buchhandlung, 1808). <http://mozartsocietyofamerica.org/embp/Niemetschek-1808.pdf> Accessed 11 December 2017. The passage is missing in Helen Mautner's translation.
24. J[oseph] Siboni, 'Berichtigung', in *Originalien aus dem Gebiete der Wahrheit, Kunst, Laune und Phantasie* VI/20 (Hamburg, 1821), 159–60.