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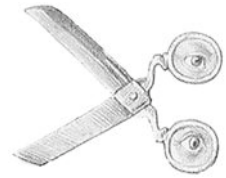

Mozart, Da Ponte, and Censorship: *Don Giovanni* and *Così fan tutte* at the Vienna Court Theater, 1798–1804

By Martin Nedbal

On July 10, 1798, the German ensemble at the Vienna court theater presented the premiere performance of *Die Hochzeit des Figaro*, the first production of Mozart and Da Ponte's *Le nozze di Figaro* – and indeed of any Mozart-Da Ponte work – at the court theater since Mozart's death and Da Ponte's departure from the imperial capital.[1] A few months later, on December 11, 1798, a new production of *Don Giovanni*, titled *Don Juan*, arrived at the court theater stage. On September 19, 1804, a production of *Così fan tutte* followed, under the title *Mädchentreue*. Although the productions were not extraordinarily successful in terms of performance numbers, they represented important trends in the Viennese reception of Mozart's operas that were to continue throughout the early nineteenth century.[2] In particular, these productions left behind numerous records about the convoluted processes through which theatrical works were approved, re-approved, and revised before reaching the stage in Vienna around 1800. Particularly prominent among these processes was censorship. Yet, as this article shows, Viennese censors worked in tandem with numerous private and public agents who likewise contributed to the final shape of pre-existing works' adaptations. An examination of the censorial approaches to Mozart's *Don Giovanni* and *Così fan tutte* in Vienna around 1800 shows that late Enlightenment censorship was contradictory and multidirectional and should be considered not as a force of restriction but as an element that affected artworks in ways similar to other social, political, and cultural factors, such as patronage, audience structure, and various social and political ideologies.

Manuscript Sources

As was typical at the time, all three operas appeared in *Singspiel* adaptations where Italian recitatives were transformed into German spoken dialogues alongside other, more or less substantial changes. Among the three works *Die Hochzeit des Figaro* underwent the least thorough transformation. The 1798 libretto shows that the

1 The last production of a Mozart-Da Ponte opera at the court theater prior to the 1798 *Figaro* was the revival of the same work, performed 18 times in 1790 and 1791. Throughout the 1790s, the three operas were also occasionally performed in *Singspiel* adaptations at Schikaneder's Theater auf der Wieden (*Don Giovanni* and *Le nozze di Figaro* were produced in 1792, *Così fan tutte* in 1794).

2 Die *Hochzeit des Figaro* received 30 performances between 1798 and 1801, *Don Juan* was performed 14 times between 1798 and 1803, and *Mädchentreue* 26 times in 1804 and 1805. None of these operas therefore became particularly popular, unlike the greatest hits of the court theater German opera company, such as Peter von Winter's *Das unterbrochene Opferfest* (65 performances in 1796–1807) or Johann Schenk's *Der Dorfbarbier* (over 100 performances between 1796 and 1810).

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DOI: 10.25364/07.11:2018.15.6

opera's German text was based on the standard translation by Adolph Freiherr Knigge, used in the bilingual 1796 vocal score, published by Simrock. The Vienna production also did not substantially transform the opera's plot and cut only two numbers: the duet "Aprite presto, aprite" and Marzelline's aria "Il capro, e la capretta". The revivals of the other two Mozart-Da Ponte operas at the court theater approached the original works with much less reverence.[3] The 1798 *Don Juan* transformed the plot and added extra scenes, and the 1804 *Mädchentreue* cut numerous arias and substantially shortened the original opera.

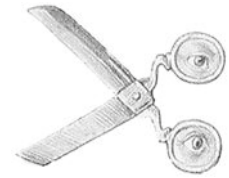
The process of adapting *Don Giovanni* and *Così fan tutte* for the German stage of the Vienna court theater is documented in a series of handwritten sources.[4] Most important among them are the manuscript librettos that were submitted to the long-time Viennese censor Franz Karl Hägelin. Both librettos are preserved in the Austrian National Library: *Don Juan* (ÖNB, Mus.Hs.32702), *Mädchentreue* (ÖNB, Mus. Hs.32820). My annotated edition of these manuscripts is accessible on the LiTheS webpages (throughout this essay, I refer to the content of these manuscripts by folio numbers followed by the verso [v] or recto [r] indications).

These manuscripts provided the basis for printed librettos and on-stage performances. For *Don Juan*, the document most similar to what was actually performed in 1798–1803 is the manuscript prompter's libretto (ÖNB, Mus.Hs.32706), which incorporates most of the changes from the censor's manuscript and introduces additional ones. No such document exists for *Mädchentreue*, but a close approximation of what was actually performed in 1804 and 1805 appears in the 1805 printed libretto.[5] The relationship between Mozart's music and the German revisions of Da Ponte's texts is documented in various handwritten scores. Two different *Don Juan* scores clearly date from 1798, although they also contain revisions from later nineteenth-century productions: the conductor's orchestral score (ÖNB, OA.361/2/1-6 Mus) and the prompter's vocal score (ÖNB, OA.361/4/1-2 Mus). The 1798 origin of the orchestral score (or substantial portions of it) is clear from the fact that it was originally divided into four acts (*Don Juan* was performed in four acts from 1798 until the spring of 1803 when it reverted to two acts). The vocal score might date to the original *Don Juan* production as well – although it does not contain any indications of the four-act division, its earliest texts (replaced by one, two, or three other

3 A possible reason for the discrepancy between the Vienna adapters of *Figaro* as opposed to *Don Juan* and *Mädchentreue* might have been the relative innocuousness of *Figaro*. As is well known, Beaumarchais's original play was controversial at the time of its initial publication, and performances of its German translation were banned by the imperial censor in 1786. Mozart and Da Ponte's decision to turn the play into an opera was therefore risky, and that might have been why Da Ponte was extremely careful in his construction of the libretto, excising and attenuating the politically and morally suspect passages.

4 The fact that similar sources do not exist for the 1798 production of *Le nozze di Figaro* further indicates that the earlier opera was not as problematic as the later two.

5 Mädchentreue. Vienna: Degen, 1805.



texts in certain numbers) are those of the 1798–1803 manuscript libretto.[6] At least three different scores document the 1804 *Mädchentreue* production. The one score associated solely with that production is the orchestral score of *Mädchentreue*'s first act (ÖNB, Mus.Hs.39321). The score probably reflects an early stage of the production, because it does not include any of the cuts and revisions entered into the censorial libretto during the multiple stages of revisions.[7] At the same time, the score omits the numbers that were glued over in the censorial manuscript, which suggests that either those numbers were cut at an early stage of revision or the orchestral score was adjusted at a later point.[8]

The Authors of the Vienna Adaptations

The texts of both the 1798 *Don Juan* and the 1804 *Mädchentreue* grow out of a web of earlier, interconnected German adaptations of *Don Giovanni* and *Così fan tutte*. Among the earliest German *Don Giovanni* adaptations was that by Christian Gottlob Neefe from late 1788, first used in the 1789 productions of *Don Juan* in Bonn and Mannheim.[9] Neefe's text served as the basis for Heinrich Gottlieb Schmieder's adaptation, used in 1789 in Frankfurt and Mainz.[10] Schmieder was among the first adapters to include two extra scenes: the scene with the merchant, based on Molière's *Dom Juan*, and the scene with the bailiffs (the changing structure of

6 Portions of the 1798–1803 text were still used during the 1817 revival of the opera, and probably later in the nineteenth century. The prompter's vocal score (ÖNB, OA.361/4/2 Mus) contains two different texts of Donna Anna second-act aria "Non mi dir" as well as a note according to which the text below the staff was sung by Anna Katharina Kraus-Wranitzky, who appeared as Donna Anna four times between 1817 and 1819, and the text written additionally above the vocal line by Antonia Campi and Therese Grünbaum, who appeared in the role between 1818 and 1830. The Wranitzky text is that by Lippert from 1798 ("Zage nicht, du mein Getreuer"), and the additional text ("Zweifle nicht, du bleibst mir theuer") is likely by Gustav Wilhelm Grossmann whom the theater posters from 1817 name as the German adapter. See Michael Jahn: Die Wiener Hofoper von 1810 bis 1836: Das Kärnthnerthortheater als Hofoper. Vienna: Apfel, 2007, p. 259.

7 The importance of this clue, however, diminishes in view of the fact that the musical numbers do not contain as many revisions as the spoken dialogues and the second-act numbers are missing completely.

8 The other two *Mädchentreue* scores are the conductor's orchestral score (ÖNB, OA.328/1/1-5 Mus) and the prompter's vocal score (ÖNB, OA.328/1/1-2 Mus). Both scores continued to be used throughout the nineteenth century and contain only fragments of the 1804 version. The easiest way to identify the portions that originated in 1804 is to examine the names of the characters. In 1804, Fiordiligi was called Charlotte, Dorabella Julie, and Guglielmo Wilhelm, but during the 1819 revival, Fiordiligi became Isabella, Dorabella Laura, and Guglielmo Carlo – this is clear from the prompter's libretto associated with the 1819 production (ÖNB, Mus.Hs.32819). Several numbers in both the orchestral and vocal scores were initially inscribed with the 1804 character names and were later rewritten to reflect the names of subsequent productions.

9 Friedrich Dieckmann: *Don Giovanni* deutsch: Mozarts *Don Giovanni* in der deutschen Fassung von Neefe und Schmieder, Frankfurt 1789. Sankt Augustin: Academia, 1993. (= Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft. Beihefte. 1.) p. 3.

10 This adaptation was published ibidem.

the most important *Don Juan* adaptations is shown in Tables 1 and 2). In 1789, Friedrich Ludwig Schröder revised and expanded Neefe's and Schmieder's text for Hamburg. Schröder divided the opera into four acts, and in 1797, his adaptation was incorporated into Neefe's first edition of the vocal score.[11] Schröder's adaptation also appealed to Friedrich Karl Lippert, the libretto adapter and impersonator of Don Juan in the first Berlin production of 1790.

Lippert followed Schröder's four-act division but also interpolated several scenes centered on the murders of a hermit and Don Ottavio by Don Juan.[12] Although it was first introduced in Berlin, the hermit scenes have a distinctly Viennese origin. Before coming to Berlin in 1788, the Bavarian-born Lippert started his career in the German opera ensemble of Vienna's Kärntnertortheater between 1786 and 1788.[13] It was in Vienna and in South Germany where the presentation of a double murder including that of a religious person first appeared in popular Don-Juan plays.[14] The scene complex also appears in the most famous pre-Mozart version of the story produced in Vienna, Karl Marinelli's *Dom Juan, oder Der steinerne Gast*, which premiered in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt on October 31, 1783, and continued to be performed until 1821 (it received at least 87 performances, most of them occurring around the All Saints' Day holiday).[15] Having left Berlin for Vienna in 1797, Lippert kept the hermit scene in his 1798 adaptation of *Don Juan* for the Vienna court theater, and his text is therefore an amalgam of various earlier versions.

The text of Lippert's hermit scene shows intimate knowledge of Marinelli's play. In Marinelli, Dom Juan's comical servant Kaspar is at first confused and scared when he sees the hermit and misunderstands the hermit's speech:[16]

11 Dom Juan; oder, Der steinerne Gast. Eine Oper in vier Aufzügen. Von W. A. Mozart. In neuem, vermehrtem, und nach der Schröterischen Bearbeitung des Textes, verbessertem Klavierauszuge, von C. G. Neefe. Bonn: Simrock, 1797.

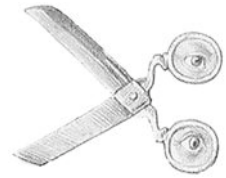
12 This becomes clear from the poster announcing the Berlin production's first performance on December 20, 1790, which lists the hermit as one of the characters. See also Kurt Helmut Oehl: Die eingeschobenen Dialogszenen in Mozarts *Don Juan* im 18./19. Jahrhundert. In: Florilegium musicologicum. Hellmut Federhofer zum 75. Geburtstag. Ed. Christoph H. Mahling. Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1988, pp. 247–266: 252; and Till Reininghaus: Mozarts *Don Juan* in Hamburg. Zur *Don Giovanni*-Rezeption im ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert. In: Musiktheater in Hamburg um 1800. Ed. Claudia Maurer Zenck. New York: Peter Lang, 2005. (= Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft. 12.) pp. 91–114: 92.

13 Carol Padgham Albrecht: Music in Public Life: Viennese Reports from the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 1798–1804. Ph. D. diss., Kent State University, 2008, p. 26.

14 Otto Rommel traced these elements into seventeenth-century traditions of the so-called *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen*, whereas Oehl pointed out the scene's presence in South-German puppet shows focused on the Don Juan story. Die romantisch-komischen Volksmärchen. Ed. Otto Rommel. Leipzig: Reclam, 1936. (= Deutsche Literatur: Sammlung literarischer Kunst- und Kulturdenkmäler in Entwicklungsreihen, Reihe 13d. 2.) pp. 47–48; Oehl, Die eingeschobenen Dialogszenen, p. 250.

15 Die romantisch-komischen Volksmärchen, p. 283.

16 Karl Edler von Marinelli: Dom Juan, oder Der steinerne Gast: http://gutenberg.spiegel.de/



"KASPAR
Wer… wer… wer ist der Herr?
EINSIDLER
Ein Waldbruder.
KASPAR
Da haben's wir! Er ist noch ärger als ein Pantherthier, er kann reden, und ist ein Waldluder…
[…]
EINSIDLER
Ich bin ein Einsidler.
KASPAR
O Ich bedank, und erhohl mich… Jetzt fürcht ich mich nicht mehr… Es muß unweit von hier ein Hochzeit seyn, und er ist…
DON JUAN
Wer ist er?
KASPAR
Ein Bierfidler.
[…]
KASPAR
Ich muß doch wissen wer…
EINSIDLER
Erspare dir das viele Fragen. Bin Eremit…
KASPAR
Juhu! Gnädiger Herr! Jetzt haben wir'n rechten Mann gefunden: er ist Bruder Credit."

Lippert's rendition of Leporello's conversation with the hermit follows along conspicuously similar lines: Leporello also thinks of the hermit as a man-eating beast and misunderstands "Eremit" as "Credit".[17]

The Vienna libretto for *Mädchentreue* has a less complicated background, since it was written by Georg Friedrich Treitschke (1776–1842), who based it on an earlier, Leipzig translation of the opera by Christoph Friedrich Bretzner (1748–1807). Treitschke came to Vienna in 1802 and was hired as a director and court poet. By 1804, Treitschke was an experienced adapter of pre-existing works for the court theater.[18] Treitschke's *Mädchentreue* mostly follows Bretzner's 1794 German adaptation of Da Ponte's libretto, titled *Weibertreue, oder Die Mädchen sind von Flandern*.[19] Treitschke's initial text does depart from Bretzner's printed libretto on several occa-

buch/dom-juan-oder-der-steinerne-gast-21/3 [2018-05-01].

17 Lippert probably also drew on popular, partially improvised repertoire of his day when he included into his adaptation the discussion about "herring torture" ("Härings Probe") in act 1, scene 3.

18 Among Treitschke's most successful projects up to date has been the adaptation of Cherubini's *Les deux journées* as *Die Tage der Gefahr* in 1802.

19 Weibertreue, oder Die Mädchen sind von Flandern. Leipzig: Jacobäer, 1794.

sions, however. Most visibly, Treitschke and his team changed the title of the opera. There must have been some uncertainty about the title of the 1804 German production at first, since the title "Mädchentreue" was written onto the opening page of the manuscript libretto only additionally in different ink (1r). This uncertainty also marked the opening phrase of the second trio: "Weibertreu ist gleich dem Phönix". The opening word was rewritten into "Mädchentreu" (4r), possibly to reflect the new title.[20] Treitschke's texts of the opening trios also depart from Bretzner's version and instead follow the German text used in the bilingual first edition of the opera's vocal score.[21] In the second trio ("Weibertreu ist gleich dem Phönix"), for example, both Treitschke and the vocal score keep Da Ponte's phoenix metaphor, whereas Bretzner opens the same trio with "Weibertreu ist *Cosa rara*, / Ist der ächte Stein der Weisen".[22] As Claudia Maurer Zenck has suggested, however, the author of the vocal-score text might have been Bretzner himself, and Treitschke might have simply combined two versions of Bretzner's text.[23]

Treitschke also had input into the musical aspects of the 1804 *Mädchentreue*, as reflected in a note attached to the autograph of Mozart's thirteen-measure replacement for the canon in *Così*'s second-act finale (currently in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz). As Alan Tyson has shown, the autograph might have originally belonged to the court-theater conducting score (ÖNB, OA.146/1-2 Mus), but was separated and replaced with a copy, probably in 1804 at Treitschke's request.[24] Upon the separation, Treitschke added the following note to the autograph, which accompanies it until the present day: "Eine Abkürzung zu Cosi fann [!] tutte, um das Larghetto im 2n Finale zu ersparen, von Mozarts eigener Handschrift, für das kais: Hoftheater. / Sie ist in keine anderen Hände gekommen. / gefunden am 29 August 1804 / Fr. Treitschke."[25]

20 The whole trio was eventually cut from the opera.

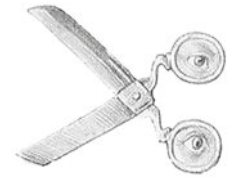
21 Così fan tutte, o sia, La scuola degli amanti; Weibertreue, oder die Mädchen sind von Flandern. Ed. Siegfried Schmiedt. Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1794–1795.

22 Both the vocal score's and Treitschke's translations of the opening ensembles bear a close resemblance to the translations used in Donaueschingen, Germany, and based on the version created for the Wenzel Mihule company in Prague in the early 1790s. See Claudia Maurer Zenck: Così fan tutte. Dramma giocoso und deutsches Singspiel: Frühe Abschriften und frühe Aufführungen. Schliengen: Argus, 2007, p. 373.

23 According to Maurer Zenck, Bretzner might have translated Da Ponte's sung texts first and published them with the vocal score. At a later point, Bretzner might have revised the sung numbers (especially the opening trios), combined them with new translations of the recitatives (turned into spoken dialogues), and published them in the 1794 *Weibertreue* libretto edition. Maurer Zenck, Così fan tutte, p. 178.

24 Alan Tyson: Mozart: Studies of Autograph Scores. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987, pp. 206–208.

25 Quoted after ibidem, p. 348.



Censorial Interventions

Multiple levels of different handwritings, in pencil, varieties of ink, and red crayon in the *Don Juan* and *Mädchentreue* manuscripts show that the Viennese *Singspiel* adaptations of the two Mozart-Da Ponte operas were revised in several waves by numerous people. The only writer who can be identified and whose entries can be dated with a greater degree of certainty is Franz Karl Hägelin, the long-time Viennese theater censor (1735–1809, in office 1770–1804). It was typical for Hägelin to write his permission on the last page of the librettos submitted to him for inspection. One such inscription indeed appears at the conclusion of *Mädchentreue*: "Dieses Exemplar kann gedruckt, / und aufgeführt werden. / Den 27n Jan. 1804" (79v). Hägelin read and commented on the libretto in January of 1804, several months before the opera's first performance in September 1804. The censorial review of the *Don Juan* manuscript was more complicated, as indicated by three notes by Hägelin. The first note is undated and likely from prior to the 1798 original production: "Kann mit Korrekturen gedrukt und aufgeführt werden. Hägelin" (111r).[26] Two more inscriptions were added in December 1803, when the opera was revised following Lippert's death (111v). In the first note, from December 16, 1803, Hägelin explains that due to an order by a "higher instance", portions of scenes 16 and 18 in the first act, marked in red, need to be reworked. In the second note, from December 18, 1803, Hägelin approves the additional changes.[27] Red-crayon markings in scenes 16 and 18 suggest that revisions indeed occurred at the censor's request in December 1803 (44r–v; 54r–55r). The revision of scene 18 is quite straightforward: the red crayon line appears in the margins of the text in the moment when Don Giovanni attempts to abduct Zerlina at the end of the first-act (second-act in 1798) finale. The cuts and revisions (most likely entered only in response to the red line) make the onstage characters' reactions to Zerlina's screams less sexually explicit.[28]

Other types of entries in both manuscripts can be connected to Hägelin. On top of the last page of the *Mädchentreue* libretto (80r), for example, one notices two revisions in different scripts: the first one, in thin and light brown script, replaces the word "Grillen" with "Angst", the second, in thick and dark brown script, replaces "küssen" with "scherzen". The thick, dark script is very similar to that of Hägelin's note at the bottom of the same page, and it is therefore tempting to view it as another

26 As Lisa de Alwis has explained, such short, undated approval notes were typical for Hägelin before 1801, when the police took over censorship jurisdiction and Hägelin was required to write more substantive evaluations. Lisa de Alwis: Censoring *Don Juan*: Theater Censor's Franz Karl Hägelin Treatment of a *Singspiel* by Mozart. In: Mozart-Jahrbuch 2012, pp. 267–276: 268.

27 De Alwis has suggested that it was Hägelin himself who made the changes, because the two days separating the notes are too short of a period to allow Hägelin to ship the libretto with his remarks to the court theater and receive and review the revision. Ibidem, p. 273.

28 De Alwis has pointed out that the reviewers (both Hägelin and the "higher instance") were more sensitive and restrictive about the suggestive content in 1803 than in 1798, which reflects the strengthening of state supervision of theaters in the early 1800s. Ibidem, p. 268.

entry by Hägelin himself, especially considering that it reduces the text's suggestiveness. Similar "Hägelin" notes appear throughout the libretto. These entries are limited in scope, revising single words and phrases. Lisa de Alwis has pointed out that such cursory review was typical for Hägelin, especially in the 1780s and 1790s.[29]

These revisions reflect the principles that Hägelin wrote down in his own handwritten "Guidelines on Censorship" from 1795.[30] In that document, he claims that the matters that should concern a censor the most are those related to the issues of religion, politics, and morals. Concerns about these issues seem to have prompted most of what "Hägelin" rewrote both in the *Mädchentreue* and the *Don Juan* manuscripts. Several "Hägelin" revisions reflect the censor's concern about proper treatment of religious issues. In one section of the "Guidelines", Hägelin claims that the use of Biblical words and phrases is impermissible; and indeed two "Hägelin" entries in the *Mädchentreue* manuscript (5r, 79r) remove phrases that refer to the two sisters as daughters of Eve.[31] Numerous examples of sensitivity to religious phrases appear also in the *Don Juan* manuscript: the word "Gott" tends to be replaced with "Himmel" (75v); in several instances, the word "heilig" is cut (78v); the word "beichten" is consistently rewritten as "bekennen" (101r).

"Hägelin" entries also betray the reviser's sensitivity to explicit references to political and social issues. In the *Mädchentreue* manuscript, "Hägelin" seems to have been particularly concerned about the tendency to refer to current political events. In Bretzner's rendition, for example, Wilhelm and Fernando were going to fight "the French", and "Hägelin" changed that to the more neutral "enemies" (18v);[32] also Despina's guess that the newly arrived male suitors at the beginning of the first-act sextet were "sansculots" was changed no less than three times (first to "Bosnians", and later, in the "Hägelin" hand, to "Armenians" – 24r). Similar sensitivity marks the *Don Juan* manuscript: in the first version of the bailiffs scene, for example, "Hägelin" crossed out a sentence about house-searches (18v), possibly, as de Alwis points out, to suppress allusions to the unpopular inspections of private homes for the purpose of conscription that became common during that period.[33]

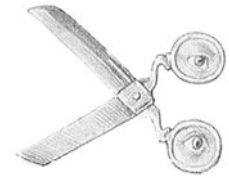
29 Ibidem.

30 On recent discoveries concerning the document see Lisa de Alwis: Censoring the Censor: Karl Glossy's Selective Transcription (1897) of Karl Hägelin's Directive on Viennese Theatrical Censorship (1795). In: SECM in Brooklyn, 2010: Topics in Eighteenth-Century Music I. Ed. Margaret R. Butler and Janet K. Page. Ann Arbor: Steglein, 2014, pp. 232–241.

31 Hägelin's "Guidelines" are cited in Karl Glossy: Zur Geschichte der Wiener Theatercensur I. In: Jahrbuch der Grillparzer Gesellschaft 7 (1897), pp. 238–340: 320.

32 The sentence about Wilhelm and Fernando's opponents was eventually cut completely.

33 De Alwis, Censoring *Don Juan*, p. 269.



Another social and political issue that the censor discussed in his "Guidelines" and corrected in the *Don Juan* libretto is the criticism of nobility.[34] Throughout the manuscript, we find corrections in statements where various characters make a connection between Don Juan's evil deeds and his noble status. In the second-act (within the four acts of 1798) conversation between Zerlina and Don Juan (38r–v), the peasant girl at first refuses to trust Don Juan's marriage proposal since her parents have warned her not to trust "vornehmen Herren". Don Juan responds that when a "vornehmer Herr" is in love he always has good intentions. The phrase "vornehmer Herr" appears a few more times throughout the manuscript, and every time it is rewritten to omit references to social class; for example, Zerlina ends up talking about "solche Herren wie Sie sind" and Don Juan about "Herr meines gleichen."

By far the largest amount of revision entered in the "Hägelin" script relates to morality and propriety, subjects that Hägelin discussed at a great length in his "Guidelines".[35] The above-mentioned transformation of "küssen" into "scherzen" on the last page of the *Mädchentreue* manuscript, for example, clearly aimed at reducing the sensuality of the opera's final maxim. The "Hägelin" script also appears in the entry that mollified Alfonso's assessment of the severity of the sisters' seduction: whereas Bretzner called their giving in to the charms of their disguised lovers as "Seitensprung" the revised Vienna libretto uses the word "Seitenschritt" (65v).

Within the *Don Juan* manuscript, "Hägelin" entries aim at reducing the sexual innuendo as well. For example, whenever the word "Verführer" appears in the manuscript, it is changed into "Betrüger", and the verb "verführen" transforms into "entführen". Similarly, one "Hägelin" revision appears in the dialogue that in 1803 replaced the hermit scene, where Leporello recounts his earlier adventure with Donna Elvira. The censor was apparently dissatisfied with Leporello's statement that Elvira "klebte mir am Leibe" and replaced it with a more general, less sensual phrase "sie hing sich an mich". Numerous changes also appear in the earliest layers of the *Don Juan* text and might have been entered already in 1798.

The "Restorative" Effect of Censorship

As invasive as they may seem, Hägelin's transformations did not curb the spirit of Mozart and Da Ponte's original opera any more than was typical for most adaptations at the time. In some instances, in fact, Hägelin restored meanings lost in the process of German translation, as can be seen in scene 16, with the famous "champagne" aria (42v, 44r–v).[36] In the censorial manuscript, the original aria text

34 Glossy, Zur Geschichte, p. 325.

35 Ibidem, pp. 317–320 and 326–328.

36 The term "champagne" aria derives not from Da Ponte's original – no champagne is mentioned there – but from Schröder's translation of Da Ponte's first line "Fin ch'han dal vino" as "Treibt der Champagner alles im Kreise". The line was appropriated by most later German translations of *Don Giovanni*. See Reininghaus, Mozarts *Don Juan*, p. 104.

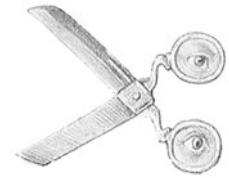
was cut at some point, and in between the lines a new text was written in brown ink. It is unclear whether and when the two versions were performed (the second version never made it into the conducting score or the prompter's book). Both early texts, however, significantly alter the meaning of the Italian original, making the aria more sexually explicit. In the first German version, Lippert replaced the list of dances that Don Giovanni envisions for the party with a list of anonymous women Don Juan hopes to encounter: instead of "Senza alcun ordine / La danza sia, / Chi 'l minuetto / Chi la follia / Chi l'alemanna / Farai ballar", we find "Ganz ohne Nahmen sind hier die Damen / Englisch und steurisch, / Schwäbisch und bäurisch, / Alle nach Gusto, das ist nur schön". The insistent rhythms and *sforzandi* in Mozart's musical setting of Da Ponte's text (mm. 33–42) now accompanied a list of anonymous women and thus would have acquired a sexual undertone in performance. The second version of the German aria, written in between the crossed-out lines of the first, would be even more problematic from a censor's point of view since it replaces the stanza in which Don Juan enumerates women of various nationalities with a list of physical attributes: "Faßt man die Blonde / Wie die Brünette / Schlanke und fette – jede ist mein!" In connection with these new stanzas, Mozart's pounding music must have sounded violently sexual. This second version also introduces the image of an assisted rape into the aria: "Freund Leporello deckt mir den Rücken, / Theilt mein Entzücken, / Und hindert das Schreyn, / Und schläfert sie ein".

Probably in response to objections by the authorities, expressed in Hägelin's note from December 16, 1803, a new text of the aria was inserted into the manuscript (43r–v). The third version toned down the suggestiveness of the earlier ones. The revision, for example, returns to the third stanza a list of dances to be presented at the party: "Jetzo im Tanze, / Englisch und steyrisch, / Schwäbisch und bayrisch, / Dreh' ich mich wirbelnd schon seh' ichs, wie schön!" The new aria also no longer discusses specific physical interactions between Don Juan and the females – like Da Ponte's Italian text and unlike Lippert's translation, it is somewhat suggestive but no longer crude.

Even this sanitized version probably displeased certain members of the court theater staff, because the prompter's libretto (Mus.Hs.32706) contains a fourth version of the aria's text. This version further de-sexualizes the aria by putting the emphasis on dancing as opposed to seduction. It seems that this version was actually performed at some point, since it is written into the prompter's book in the sung as opposed to poetic form – the prompter wrote out all the repetitions of individual lines to prevent getting lost during the performance of this difficult aria.

Prior to and Beyond Censorship

The process of subduing the innuendo in Da Ponte's librettos started well before the censorial review. The censors' moralistic approach to *Mädchentreue* continued the trend to cleanse *Così fan tutte* of subversive elements that started already in



Bretzner's translation. Bretzner's careful treatment of suggestive passages is particularly obvious in his rendition of the first-act duet "Ah guarda sorella". Da Ponte's ending of the sisters' introductory duet is filled with suggestive irony, because the sisters vow fidelity and at the same time ask Amor for "vivendo penar" (lively pain) should their constancy fail. Mozart underlined the sexually tinged image of "lively pain" with melismas and chromaticism.[37] In 1794, Bretzner removed most of Da Ponte's innuendo; the sisters now fear for the fidelity of their beloveds and complain about the unsteadiness of men.[38] Into Dorabella's second-act aria "È amore un ladroncello", furthermore, Bretzner introduced an explicitly moralistic element. In the original aria, Dorabella tries to persuade Fiordiligi to surrender to her new suitor the same way she has given in to hers. Dorabella refers to "Amor" as a "little serpent" who brings "sweetness and pleasure" and "pecks" in one's breast. In the 1794 adaptation, incorporated into the 1804 Vienna libretto without any changes, Bretzner omitted Da Ponte's references to physical penetration and made Julchen (as he refers to Dorabella) warn against seduction.

Bretzner also approached with particular carefulness Despina's two arias, and this approach was intensified in *Mädchentreue*. The opening quatrain of Despina's second-act aria "Una donna a quindici anni" features the spicy line claiming that a young girl needs to know where the devil keeps his tail ("dove il diavolo ha la coda"). In the second edition of *Così*'s libretto (both were published in 1790), the double entendre was replaced with a more innocuous line, but the change did not make it into the autograph or the early conducting scores of the original Italian opera.[39] Bretzner transformed not only the problematic line but the overall meaning of the aria. In the opening quatrain, he had Nanette introduce her list of flirtation techniques as a means of avoiding the "snares of men" ("Männer-Schlingen zu entgehen").[40] Bretzner also got rid both of the "devil's tail" and of the line that reveals the low age of her advisees (fifteenth-year olds). Into Nanette's first-act aria "Bey Männern, bey Soldaten" ("In uomini, in soldati"), Bretzner incorporated an explicitly moralistic exhortation that was not present in Da Ponte: "Mädchen drum trauet nicht, / Traut keinem Herzchen, / Schwört er auch Treu und Pflicht / Braucht ihn zum Närrchen". At the same time, however, Bretzner kept intact the overall message of the original aria, that men are generally inconsistent and that love and eternal fidelity are mere trifles.

37 As Bruce Alan Brown points out, moreover, the sisters' exchange of musical material in the duet's coda points to their eventual affairs with switched lovers rather than steadfastness. Bruce Alan Brown: W. A. Mozart: *Così fan tutte*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 114.

38 See also Maurer Zenck, Così fan tutte, p. 179.

39 See Ian Woodfield: Mozart's *Così fan tutte*: A Compositional History. Rochester: Boydell Press, 2008, p. 96.

40 Maurer Zenck saw the difference between Da Ponte's and Bretzner's approach to Despina's second-act aria as a shift from "Leichtherzigkeit" to "eine sanfte Mahnung". Maurer Zenck, Così fan tutte, p. 179.

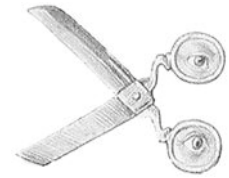
Treitschke and his team further developed Bretzner's moralistic adaptation. The first-act aria was apparently problematic. The 1804 manuscript at first reused Bretzner's translation but with revisions. The reviser was particularly troubled with Bretzner's sensually tinged lines "Ein Küßchen hier und dort / Sich zu erhaschen; / Bricht jeder Schwur und Wort / Um nur zu naschen". The reviser attempted to fix the words "erhaschen" and "naschen" several times, but eventually just kept the original ones (20v). All of Bretzner's text was eventually glued over in the censorial manuscript, and a new text was inserted on a separate page ("Unter Männern, bey Soldaten"; 21r–v). This new text consists for the most part of Bretzner's translation of Despina's second-act aria ("Männer-Schlingen zu entgehen"), which, as a result, was cut from the second act of Treitschke's manuscript (43v–44r).[41] The first five lines of the replacement aria are new and have similar meaning to that of the original first-act aria ("Bey Männern") – it warns the sisters not to trust men. Treitschke's revision therefore combined Bretzner's moralistic changes and produced a text that was more detached from Da Ponte's original suggestiveness.[42]

There is no evidence, however, that Treitschke's new text was actually sung during the 1804 and 1805 performances. Granted, it appears on the inserted page in the manuscript libretto and was printed in the 1805 edition of *Mädchentreue*, but it does not survive in any of the nineteenth-century performing materials. The main problem of matching the 1804 manuscript libretto to the conducting scores preserved in the Austrian National Library is that the scores were used for subsequent productions of the opera, whereas the libretto manuscript contains only the changes affecting the 1804 production (another inspection copy of the libretto is preserved from 1819, which shows that the 1804 manuscript was no longer used by then). Some portions of the *Mädchentreue* scores clearly do date to 1804. Yet none of these scores contains the text of Despina's aria from the censorial libretto and the 1805 print. Despina's lyrics remained quite controversial throughout the nineteenth century, were rewritten for every subsequent production, and as a result, the original 1804 scores must have been discarded. The score that remains most closely connected to the 1804 production is Mus.Hs.32321: it drops Nanette's original first-act aria and replaces it with the second-act one in Bretzner's translation ("Männer-Schlingen zu entgehen"). But even this score only contains Bretzner's text with no traces of Treitschke's revision.[43]

41 This text, if it was actually performed, was probably sung to the music of "Una donna" because the 1804 score of the opera (Mus.Hs.39321) features that aria in the first act.

42 Woodfield also suggests that Mozart might have envisioned Despina's "Una donna" as her introductory aria in the first act, and that Treitschke might have switched it to the first act because he was aware of this design. Woodfield, Mozart's *Così fan tutte*, p. 94.

43 The score also does not reflect the textual changes entered into the censorial manuscript. At the opening of the first-act sextet, for example, Nanette continues to wonder whether the two strangers might be "Sansculots" although the word has been revised several times in the censorial manuscript (24r). Since the score does not reflect the revisions entered into the censorial score, it must have been finished sometime early in the planning stages of the production.



Treitschke's manuscript libretto also sheds a new light on what Ian Woodfield terms "the two sisters problem". As many researchers have pointed out, numerous elements within the autograph of *Così fan tutte* indicate that Mozart toyed with the idea of switching the roles of the two Ferrarese sisters or at least got them mixed up at times. Woodfield proposes that during the process of *Così*'s inception, Mozart and Da Ponte for a time operated with a scenario according to which the lovers remained uncrossed (i. e., Fiordiligi and Dorabella were seduced by their original lovers).[44] Woodfield also claims that Bretzner, like other translators of *Così*, wanted to alter the unsatisfactory ending that couples the "wrong" pairs of lovers and therefore reversed the sisters in the first part of the opera.[45] But as Woodfield himself points out, Bretzner's attempt failed already in the very beginning; in act 1, scene 2 Bretzner's Julchen (Dorabella) refers to her lover as Wilhelm (Guglielmo), which contradicts the fact that in the opera's opening number Bretzner's Fernando (Ferrando) praised Julchen (Dorabella) as his faithful lover. This obvious initial contradiction makes it difficult to accept Woodfield's idea that switching the pairs in the first act was part of a rational plan by Bretzner. Instead, it seems more likely that Bretzner and his editors simply overlooked the switch – the sisters are more or less indistinguishable from each other at the beginning of the opera, and mixing in new names adds to the confusion of who is who. One reason for the confusion was that throughout scenes 2 and 3 of the Italian original Fiordiligi refers to Guglielmo only once and Dorabella does not even mention Ferrando's name; the German names of the females were Bretzner's invention, and Bretzner might have gotten mixed up while trying to keep up with two pairs of lovers and eight names.

The 1804 Vienna libretto suppressed the confusing elements in Bretzner's approach to the two sisters. Treitschke changed the opening two quatrains of the opera, clarifying that Fernando (Ferrando) was coupled with Julchen (Dorabella) and Wilhelm (Guglielmo) with Charlotte (Fiordiligi):

Bretzner (1794)	**Treitschke (1804)**
"Fernando	"Fernando
Wie? Julchen mich täuschen,	Wie? Julchen soll trügen, die Engelgestalt?
So himmlisch so schön!	Von Strahlen der Schönheit und Jugend umwallt?
O wagt nicht die Treue	
Und Tugend zu schmähn!	
Wilhelm	Wilhelm
Treu liebt mich mein Mädchen,	Das Herzchen Charlottens ist edel und gut,
Welch himmlisches Glück!	Ihr Blick ist der Spiegel der zärtlichen Gluth."
Die Wangen ziert Schönheit,	
Und Unschuld den Blick."	

44 Woodfield, Mozart's *Così fan tutte*, pp. 99–121.

45 Ibidem, p. 202.

The 1804 manuscript libretto does copy Bretzner's lines in act 1, scenes 2 and 3, where Julie (Dorabella) refers to her lover as Wilhelm (Guglielmo) and Charlotte (Fiordiligi) to hers as Fernando or Ferdinand (Ferrando). But these incorrect references were fixed in brown ink (7v, 8r, 9r). A similar change occurred in act 1, scene 11 (26v), where one of the Viennese revisers switched to Dorabella (Julie) a statement that Bretzner had assigned to Charlotte (Fiordiligi). Bretzner seems to have been following the printed Italian libretto, disregarding that Mozart changed the distribution in his score, and the Viennese reviser therefore brought the libretto closer to Mozart's score.[46]

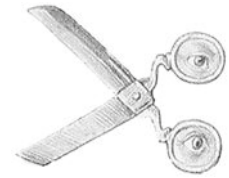
The approach of the *Don Juan* adaptation to the issues of decency and morality was more complicated. To some extent, Lippert's version followed the tendency of German adaptations to reduce sexual innuendo in the free-spirited Italian libretto. Numerous passages in *Don Giovanni* and *Così fan tutte* would never be allowed to appear in the German-language operas performed at the court theater during the 1780s (a German opera ensemble was active there in 1778–1783 and 1785–1788). Partially because it could be understood by larger segments of population and partially because it functioned as a form of national representation, the content of the German-language operas presented at the court theater was scrutinized much more closely than that of Italian operas.[47] This scrutiny of German-language performances further intensified in the early 1800s.

Some of the moralistic transformations in *Don Juan*, however, did not originate in Vienna. In his study of the German approaches to *Don Giovanni*, Christof Bitter points out that already the 1789 German adaptation by Schmieder smoothed out some crude and suggestive passages of Da Ponte's original. Bitter used Donna Anna's account of Don Giovanni's rape attempt as an example: whereas in Da Ponte's original Donna Anna describes that she managed to loosen her attacker's grip by "twisting and bending" ("svincolarmi, torcermi e piegarmi"), in Schmieder's version she simply "squirmed away from him" ("wand ich mich von ihm"), which makes their interaction seem less physical.[48] Although some *Don Juan* translations, such as a handwritten libretto possibly used during the 1794 revival of *Don Juan* in Frank-

46 This short exchange and the switch executed by Mozart also prefigure the switching of the lovers later in the opera. In Mozart's rendition, Fiordiligi asks why the two strangers came to their house ("E in casa mia che fanno?") and Guglielmo responds that it was because of love. Guglielmo is here responding to his original lover (Fiordiligi), but it is Dorabella whom Mozart makes respond to him ("Numi che sento"). Mozart emphasizes Guglielmo's phrase about love by shifting from simple to accompanied recitative, and by having Dorabella respond in accompanied recitative as well, he creates a musical bond between her and Guglielmo that foreshadows the eventual outcome of the seductions.

47 This is explained in Martin Nedbal: Morality and Viennese Opera in the Age of Mozart and Beethoven. New York: Routledge, 2017, pp. 84–122.

48 Christof Bitter: Wandlungen in den Inszenierungsformen des "Don Giovanni" von 1787 bis 1928. Zur Problematik des musikalischen Theaters in Deutschland. Regensburg: Bosse, 1961. (= Forschungsbeiträge zur Musikwissenschaft. 10.) p. 70.



furt, did keep the more physical description of Donna Anna's struggle, the 1798 Vienna manuscript uses the less suggestive version by Schmieder, which shows that the taming of Da Ponte's suggestiveness started long before the Viennese censors surveyed Lippert's translation.[49] Even the less suggestive version of Donna Anna's struggle, however, became eventually problematic for the Viennese reviewers of the *Don Juan* libretto. At some point, someone further smoothed Donna Anna's description by changing her statement that the attacker seized her tightly with his hand ("mit der andern [Hand] ergreift er mich so gewaltig") into one according to which he grabbed her by the neck ("mit dem andern Arm faßt er mich so gewaltig um den Nacken"; 32v). It is not clear, however, whether this change happened before or after Hägelin's initial inspection of 1798.

While reducing sexual innuendo in some portions of Da Ponte's texts, certain German adaptations in fact intensified it. This is the case with the moment of Zerlina's abduction in the first-act finale. Schmieder's translation closely followed Da Ponte's text, whereas Schröder's translation, used in the first edition vocal score of 1797, introduced suggestive elements that were appropriated by Lippert in 1798. In reaction to Zerlina's screams for help, Schmieder's Masitto [!] sings "Ach Zerlinchen!", which is quite close to Da Ponte's "Ah, Zerlina". The Schröder version, used in the 1797 vocal score and in Lippert's 1798 Vienna adaptation, made Masetto's statement more suggestive: "Ach Zerline! Möcht's gelingen!" ("Ah, Zerlina! What if it succeeds!"). The obscene phrases in Schröder's and Lippert's translations were performed in Vienna until Hägelin corrected them in 1803 to "Ja sie schnell zurücke bringen" (54v).[50]

Even after the censorial purge of Lippert's libretto in 1803, moreover, the Vienna *Don Juan* lagged behind the moralistic refinement of Friedrich Rochlitz's adaptation, published in 1801 and used in the first edition orchestral score by Breitkopf & Härtel. The 1801 translation of the famous first-act seduction duet "Là ci darem la mano" provides a good illustration of Rochlitz's moralistic preoccupations.[51] Previous translations, including Lippert's, kept close to Da Ponte's sensual original. In Rochlitz's 1801 adaptation, by contrast, Don Juan spends more time persuading Zerline that he wants to marry her – he explains that he wants to retire to his castle to live in peace and be close to nature, but wants an innocent girl to share his riches with him in the seclusion. In the following duet, Rochlitz replaces Da Ponte's sensual image of joining hands ("Là ci darem la mano") with a statement of assurance ("Sei ohne Furcht, mein Leben"). In Rochlitz's final stanza, moreover, Don Juan and Zerline no longer talk about renewing the pangs of love but about eternal happi-

49 On the suggestiveness of the 1794 Frankfurt libretto, see Dieckmann, *Don Giovanni* deutsch, pp. 8–9.

50 Since it is one of the pages marked by the red-crayon line that Hägelin mentions in his December 1803 note, the revision must have been among those executed in 1803.

51 Friedrich Rochlitz: Don Juan. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1801, pp. 13–14.

ness. Thus in Rochlitz's rendition Don Juan's promise of marriage is more detailed, tangible, and less sensual.

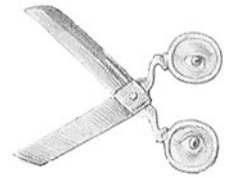
Lippert is less concerned about suppressing sensual elements than Rochlitz. From the dialogue leading to the duet, Lippert excised the point about retiring to a close-by "casinnetto" ("little house") where the union between Don Juan and Zerlina should be consummated. Lippert apparently wanted to avoid the notion of Don Juan and Zerlina leaving for an enclosed space so intensely that although he based the duet's first two lines on Schröder's text from the 1797 vocal score, he changed Schröder's second line from "Komm in mein Schloss mit mir" into the slightly illogical "Komm in die Stadt mit mir". This change might have been a measure of self-censorship, since Lippert may have been aware of Hägelin's self-professed sensitivity to depictions of two lovers retiring into an enclosed space.[52] At the same time, unlike Rochlitz, Lippert and later Viennese revisers never removed the sensual final stanza: "So laß uns ohne Weilen, / Der Lust entgegen eilen, / Die dieser Tag verspricht."

The complex negotiations between multiple agents involved in the creation of the Vienna *Don Juan* and *Mädchentreue* are recognizable from the differences between various handwritten and printed sources for the two adaptations. Some of the brown ink and red crayon notes entered into the *Mädchentreue* censorial manuscript appear in the 1805 printed libretto, whereas others do not. Similarly, certain numbers have been revised by multiple writers first and only then cut from the opera; this was the case of Despina's first-act aria and the second trio of the first act. Also significant is the months-long time span between the censor's permission from January 1804 and *Mädchentreue*'s first performance in September of the same year. Treitschke's note from the summer of 1804 about finding Mozart's autograph of the revised passage from the second-act finale shows that additional revisions in the opera were executed long after the censor approved the libretto. The censor therefore read and approved a slightly different text from what was eventually performed on the court theater stage.

Expansion and Excision

The collective work of various agents in adapting *Don Juan* and *Mädchentreue* went beyond individual passages and gradually transformed overall characterizations of the main protagonists. Within *Mädchentreue*, it is the character of Fiordiligi (Charlotte) that underwent a particularly interesting transformation. The two seduction scenes between Ferrando and Fiordiligi are among the most widely altered parts of *Mädchentreue*. Treitschke's transformation reaches a highpoint during the new couple's second-act duet. The 1804 manuscript libretto first copied Bretzner's version that closely followed Da Ponte's original. Bretzner's version, however, was partially torn out of the manuscript so that the flow of the plot suddenly breaks in the middle of the previous aria. No replacement text remains in the manuscript, but a new ver-

52 See de Alwis, Censoring the Censor, p. 238.



sion of the duet appears in the 1805 printed libretto. In it, Treitschke's Charlotte accepts Ferrando's entreaties only after he pledges his eternal fidelity:

> "Charlotte: Bist du wirklich mir ergeben?
> Fernando: Prüfe mich in Glück und Leid.
> Charlotte: Willst du keiner Andern leben?
> Fernando: Dein bin ich in Ewigkeit.
> Charlotte: Nimm die Hand! –
> Fernando: O süße Beute!
> Charlotte: Als ein Pfand –
> Fernando: Der höchsten Freude!"

Although she eventually falls, Treitschke's Fiordiligi does not necessarily give in to Ferrando's sex appeal, but to his upright character. Da Ponte's Fiordiligi, by contrast, gives in specifically to Ferrando's sensual ardor, and Mozart intensifies the moment's lasciviousness with sensual music. Treitschke and his team therefore radically altered the image of the main heroine; Charlotte is more righteous that Fiordiligi, and it is this righteousness (her feeling of pity) that is presented as one of the main causes for her eventual fall.[53]

Changes in characterization affected even more prominently the eponymous anti-hero and his sidekick in *Don Juan*. As numerous researchers have previously pointed out, most German adaptations of Da Ponte's libretto transformed Leporello from a purely comedic character into one with a more pronounced moralistic streak.[54] Similarly, Don Juan changed from the dissolute, aristocratic libertine into a violent, roguish criminal. In the 1798 Vienna version, this change becomes most obvious in the three interpolated scenes of spoken dialogue where Don Juan and Leporello interact with bailiffs, a hermit, and the merchant Martes. The manuscript censorial libretto contains two versions of each of these scenes, and the differences between them show how Viennese revisers continued to tweak the overall image of the main characters between 1798 and 1803.

The bailiffs and the merchant scenes originated already in Schmieder's 1789 *Don Juan* for Mainz and Frankfurt. As Friedrich Dieckmann points out, the bailiffs scene might be Schmieder's own creation, whereas the merchant scene was appropriated from Molière's *Dom Juan*.[55] The first (earlier) version of the bailiffs scene in the 1798 Vienna manuscript (18v–r; 21r–26r) intensifies the satirical undertone

53 Because none of the three *Mädchentreue* scores contains the duet, it is unclear how Treitschke's text fitted with Mozart's music. Even if it was never incorporated into the performed opera, however, Treitschke's Fiordiligi-Ferrando duet shows a reviser intensely re-thinking the moral elements of Mozart and Da Ponte's original work in ways that both were in line and went beyond the concerns of censors.

54 See Bitter, Wandlungen in den Inszenierungsformen, p. 78; and Rudolf von Freisauff: Mozart's *Don Juan*, 1787–1887. Salzburg: Kerber, 1887, p. 91.

55 Dieckmann, *Don Giovanni* deutsch, pp. 11–12. Schmieder also added a Molière inspired dialogue between Don Juan and Leporello at the beginning of the cemetery scene in act 2.

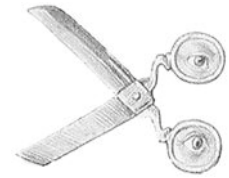
of Schmieder's 1789 original. In Schmieder, the scene immediately follows Donna Anna's "Or sai chi l'onore" ("Du kennst ihn, der schändlich"). In it, a bailiff arrives together with two peasants to arrest Don Juan, probably after Donna Anna and Don Ottavio (Don Gusmann in Schmieder) have notified the authorities about their suspicion that Don Juan is the murderer of Donna Anna's father. Don Juan's clever and evasive answers make the constable look foolish and acquit Don Juan of any suspicion. The Vienna scene occurs earlier in the first act, immediately after the "catalogue" aria. There are several bailiffs and they are simply looking for the murderer of Donna Anna's father – no one suspects Don Juan yet. Don Juan once again cleverly confuses and ridicules the bailiffs, but in a more intense manner than in Schmieder. At one point, for example, Don Juan explains that on his journey from a nearby village, his carriage was harnessed with mules ("Maulesel"). The bailiff unwittingly makes himself the subject of satire when he changes the word "Maulesel" ("mules") to "Esel" ("asses") and responds that Don Juan does not have to worry because there are much bigger "asses" in the city than in the village (23r). Apparently, this line was a source of discomfort for one of the Vienna revisers, who first changed "Esel" to "Maulesel" and later cut it to avoid the unflattering characterization of city people as "asses" – de Alwis has explained that it was against Hägelin's protocol to make fun of specific groups of people and officials.[56]

The fact that certain passages in the first Vienna version of the bailiffs scene contain revisions suggests that the scene was performed, or at least was intended to be performed, at some point. During the 1803 revision, a new version of the scene was added on inserted pages (19r–20v) and introduced speaking roles for two other bailiffs (in the first version, these other bailiffs were mute).[57] In the revision, the satirical presentation of incompetent state officials is toned down. The bailiffs' confusion now results mainly from Don Juan's buffoonish repetitions of his interrogators' questions. Don Juan also asserts his social standing against the constables, which makes them stop asking pointed questions.[58] The revision is also closer in content to Schmieder, so close in fact that it does not fit smoothly into the Viennese libretto: just before Don Juan asserts his rank, the constable asks him whether he is the murderer of Don Pedro – this is how Donna Anna's father is called in Schmieder but not in the Vienna text (where he is referred to as Der Comthur). In the revision, moreover, the constable does not become the subject of a joke about mules or asses; instead, and similar to Schmieder, Don Juan observes in an aside "Das sind Hauptesel." The revision therefore focuses on the roguishness of Don Juan and abstains

56 De Alwis, Censoring *Don Juan*, p. 269.

57 This change is reflected in the posters from December of 1803: they list three performers in the roles of the bailiffs as opposed to just one.

58 At the same time, in Don Juan's assertion of rank, someone changed the original word "Edelmann" into "Mann meines Standes", possibly to make sure that Don Juan does not explicitly abuse his noble status.



from pointed criticism of state authorities, possibly in direct connection to stricter censorship supervision.

The merchant scene underwent similar revisions. Once again, the scene was first interpolated by Schmieder, who was inspired by Mr. Dimanche from Molière's *Dom Juan*.[59] In Schmieder's rendition, the scene occurs at the very beginning of the second act: having overheard Don Juan and Leporello sing their second-act duet (no. 14), Mr. Dimanche, referred to as Juwelier, comes to collect Don Juan's debt. It is never revealed how much Don Juan actually owes, because Don Juan overwhelms the Juwelier with an unstoppable stream of absurd questions and eventually pushes him out of the door. The Vienna manuscript places the scene immediately before the second-act finale and contains two separate versions. In the first version (98r–101v), Don Juan, following Leporello's advice, pretends that he has lost hearing during a hunt and cannot understand Martes's questions. Feigning deafness, Don Juan eventually burns the credit contract.[60] The revised version was originally written in between the lines of the first and was later inserted, with slight changes, into the manuscript on separate sheets (91r–96v). Similar to the revised bailiffs scene, this revision reduces elements of slapstick comedy and returns to Schmieder's plot, with the exception of an exasperated outburst of Martes at the conclusion.[61]

The nature of the two earlier versions illustrates Lippert's satirical approach to the role of Don Juan. A most detailed account of Lippert's *Don Juan* appeared in a report from Vienna, published in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* on May 25, 1803. The *AmZ* correspondent points out that Lippert "unjustly plays Don Juan as a comic character", but that certain scenes are humorous, especially the newly added ones, such as the discussion of herring torture.[62] Carol Padgham Albrecht has pointed out that the negative views of Lippert's *Don Juan* in the *AmZ* might have been related to the fact that its editor Rochlitz was also the author of a competing *Don Juan* adaptation from 1801.[63] Indeed, other reports suggest that Lippert's appearances in *Don Juan* were quite popular; the critic for the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* claimed that the Viennese audiences preferred the late Lippert's "Leichtigkeit, Gewandtheit und Kühnheit" to the style of Friedrich Wilhelm Hunnius, who replaced the deceased Lippert in the role of Don Juan in December 1803.[64] The replacement of the two interpolated scenes might have therefore reflected the desire on the part of Hunnius,

59 See Dieckmann, *Don Giovanni* deutsch, p. 12.

60 Since the first version contains revisions in the "Hägelin" hand, it was probably performed at some point – possible in the period before the 1803 revision.

61 The parallels between the revised scenes suggest that the later versions were adapted at the same time, possibly after Lippert's death in May 1803.

62 Quoted after Albrecht, Music in Public Life, p. 145.

63 Ibidem, p. 48.

64 Quoted after Michael Jahn: Die Wiener Hofoper von 1794 bis 1810: Musik und Tanz im Burg- und Kärntnertortheater. Vienna: Apfel, 2012, p. 227.

and possibly also the directorship of the Vienna court theater, to sanitize the role of Don Juan after Lippert's death.

The connection between the earlier versions of the two interpolated scenes and Lippert's approach to the character of Don Juan becomes even more obvious in view of the hermit scene. As mentioned earlier, the scene was introduced into the opera in Berlin by Lippert, who probably found inspiration in Marinelli's Leopoldstädter *Dom Juan*.[65] For some commentators, the incorporation of the hermit scene was the ultimate step in turning the opera's main character into a villainous criminal.[66] In the earliest layer of the *Don Juan* manuscript, the hermit appears in scenes 1–6 of the fourth act (75r–82v). After the episode of Don Juan's unsuccessful attempt to seduce Donna Elvira's maid, Don Juan and Leporello reconvene in the vicinity of a hermit's abode that happens to be located next to a statue of the murdered Komthur (Commendatore). When Don Octavio arrives by chance to pray in front of the statue, Don Juan murders the hermit, dons his clothes, assumes his identity, persuades Octavio to lay aside his weapons, and murders him as well. The vile actions outrage the Komthur's spirit, who reproofs Don Juan, at which point the 1798 plot returns to that of the Italian opera.

After Lippert's death, the scene was cut from the manuscript libretto and replaced with an inserted dialogue for Don Juan and Leporello (75v–77r; 84r–85r).[67] The villainous nature of Don Juan, established with particular clarity in the hermit scene, continued to represent one of the most significant attributes associated with Lippert's approach for the next several years. In 1807, for example, Johann Schwaldopler claimed that Lippert's was an insurmountable portrayal of Don Juan if one imagines the character as "hartgesottenen unverbesserlichen Bösewicht …, der selbst seine Siege bey dem schönen Geschlecht nur seiner Geistesgegenwart, Keckheit, und Menschenkenntniß dankt".[68]

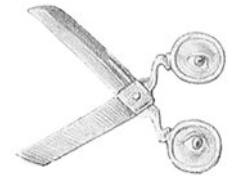
The murder of Don Octavio in the 1798 *Don Juan* led to a reconfiguration of the scene containing Donna Anna's recitative and aria "Crudele! Ah no, mio bene!". Since Don Octavio is murdered prior to this scene, a spoken monologue was inserted before the 1798 recitative and aria (89v–90v): while reading a letter from Don Octavio (who has been murdered by Don Juan by now), Donna Anna fears for her beloved's life. Lippert keeps the meaning of the following recitative unchanged, and Donna Anna's reaction against Don Octavio's accusations of cruelty that opens her recitative therefore does not flow logically from the monologue. The understand-

65 Lippert's rendition of the hermit scene, however, softened the gruesome violence of Marinelli's play: whereas in the Leopoldstädter play Dom Juan murders Dom Philippo on the stage, Lippert's Don Juan kills Don Octavio offstage, in the hermit's cave.

66 See Bitter, Wandlungen in den Inszenierungsformen, p. 75.

67 The theater posters list the hermit as one of characters until Lippert's death in the spring of 1803 but drop him in later performance announcements.

68 Quoted after Jahn, Die Wiener Hofoper von 1794 bis 1810, p. 568.



ing of Donna Anna's recitative and aria as an apostrophe to the absent Don Octavio initiated by his letter became standard in Vienna for the next several generations, although the hermit scene and the murder of Don Octavio were cut already in 1803. Lippert's soliloquy rendition, for example, appears in an 1826 prompter's libretto (ÖNB, Mus.Hs.37703). As late as in his 1887 book *Mozart's Don Juan, 1787–1887*, moreover, the Salzburg writer Rudolf von Freisauff had to point out that Donna Anna has not always performed "Non mi dir, bel idol mio" as a soliloquy but originally sang it directly to Don Octavio, who was present on stage.[69]

Whereas the 1798 *Don Juan* significantly expands Mozart's original opera, the 1804 *Mädchentreue* adaptation mainly relies on cuts, which also must have changed the way audiences perceived the main characters. As Table 3 shows, twelve numbers were missing from the 1804 version, including numerous arias. The excision of the arias in many ways reduced the suggestiveness and irony of Da Ponte's original libretto. As I mentioned earlier, *Mädchentreue* cut Despina's first-act aria in which she talked about male flightiness and replaced it with the maid's second-act aria reconceived as a warning for women to stay away from the snares of men. By excising Dorabella's, Fiordiligi's, and Ferrando's first-act arias that present high-minded ideals of hope, devotion, and fidelity, *Mädchentreue* diminishes the ironic satire of the second act when these ideals are presented as misguided and fake. Similarly, by cutting both of Guglielmo's arias, the 1804 adaptation makes his character appear less bawdy and misogynist. The large-scale cuts in the 1804 *Mädchentreue* point to an important difference between *Don Giovanni* and *Così fan tutte*: whereas the earlier work grows out of a long tradition of theater works rooted in popular culture, Mozart's final *opera buffa* is closely connected to the refined aristocratic courtly culture. As a result, whereas *Don Giovanni* transitioned into the more popularly accessible *Singspiel* form quite easily and even expanded, *Così* entered the world of German vernacular theater only with difficulty and was severely reduced in the process.

Conclusion

The large-scale revisions in the texts of various versions of the Vienna *Don Juan* and *Mädchentreue* suggest that Hägelin and his colleagues at the censorship office had an important, though limited agency in the transformations of the Mozart-Da Ponte *opere buffe* into *Singspiele*. Besides censors, numerous artists and officials adjusted the two works to changing circumstances. Among their concerns, the new political situation in Vienna and in Europe after the French revolution surely played an important role, and so did the accessibility of the German texts to wider levels of Viennese audiences.

The 1798 and 1804 productions influenced the forms in which the two operas would appear in Vienna court theater for the next several decades. Treitschke's *Mädchentreue* served as the basis for many later nineteenth-century productions of

69 Freisauff, Mozart's *Don Juan*, p. 61.

Così fan tutte at the court theater, especially those of 1819 and 1840. Treitschke's *Mädchentreue* was also exported to Berlin, where it was produced at the National Theater in 1805, and to Prague, where it was produced at the Estate's Theater in 1808.[70] Similarly, Lippert's *Don Juan* was picked up by other Central European opera companies, including in Prague in 1807. In Vienna, Lippert's *Don Juan* was replaced with another text in 1817.[71] Just like Lippert's adaptation, however, the 1817 *Don Juan* was based on the Schmieder / Neefe version and included the interpolated scenes.[72] Unlike other companies in the German-speaking world, furthermore, the Vienna court theater never adopted the widespread Rochlitz version. The Schmieder / Neefe-Lippert approach became so strongly associated with the Vienna court theater, that in his 1887 book on the reception history of *Don Juan*, Freisauff viewed the two interpolated scenes, first added by Schmieder in Mainz and Frankfurt, as products of the "eccentric Viennese taste".[73]

Staged performances of *Don Juan* and *Mädchentreue* must have, at least partially, influenced how contemporary Viennese viewed the Mozart-Da Ponte operas. Perhaps it was in reaction to the Schmieder / Neefe-Lippert approach to *Don Giovanni* that Ludwig van Beethoven formed his famed aversion to the work, claiming (in an 1825 conversation with Ludwig Rellstab) that it was "too frivolous" and "repugnant" to him.[74] It is possible to imagine, furthermore, that it was Treitschke's Charlotte, as opposed Da Ponte's Fiordiligi, who influenced Beethoven's vision of Leonore. Many commentators have pointed out the closeness between Mozart's musical depiction of Fiordiligi and Leonore's first-act aria "Komm, Hoffnung!". Beethoven worked on the first version of *Fidelio* at the same time as *Mädchentreue* was performed at the court theater, and the moral pathos associated with Leonore might be related to the uprightness of Charlotte. The dialogic negotiations that involved the supposedly restrictive censorship could therefore have surprisingly constructive outcomes.

70 The Berlin production is discussed in Edmund J. Goehring: Much Ado About Something; Or, *Così fan tutte* in the Romantic Imagination: A Commentary on and Translation of an Early Nineteenth-Century Epistolary Exchange. In: Eighteenth-Century Music 5 (2008), no. 1, pp. 75–105. The Prague production is discussed in Martin Nedbal: František Šír's First Czech Translation of Mozart's Final *Opera Buffa* and the Reception of *Così fan tutte* in Prague 1791–1831. In: Divadelní revue 27 (2016), no. 2, pp. 53–70.

71 This production helped the opera acquire canonic status and finally pushed it into permanent repertoire. The text was by Gustav Friedrich Wilhelm Grossmann, who derived it from the Schmieder / Neefe adaptation.

72 This is illustrated by a prompter's libretto dated from 1826 (Mus.Hs.32703).

73 Freisauff, Mozart's *Don Juan*, p. 107.

74 Quoted after Thayer's Life of Beethoven. Ed. Elliot Forbes. Vol. 2. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967, p. 947.

Table 1:
***Le nozze di Figaro* in Late Eighteenth-Century German Adaptations**

Da Ponte 1786	**Knigge 1791**	**Knigge 1796 (vocal score)**	**Vulpius 1794**	**Vienna 1798**
Act 1	Act 1	Act 1	Act 1	Act 1
No. 1 Duettino "Cinque, dieci, venti"	1. Duett "Dreizehn, vierzehn, fünfzehn Schritte"	No. 1 Duetto "Fünfe, zehne, zwanzig"	Duett "Fünfe, zehne, zwanzig"	Duetto "Fünfe – zwölfe – zwanzig"
No. 2 Duettino "Se a caso madama la notte"	2. Duett "Sollt' einst unsre Gräfin"	No. 2 Duetto "Sollt einstens die Gräfinn"	Duett "Befindet die Gräfin"	Duetto "Sollt künftig die Gräfin"
No. 3 Cavatina "Se vuol ballare, signor contino"	3. Aria "Will einst das Gräflein ein Tänzchen wagen"	No. 3 Aria "Will einst das Gräflein ein Tänzchen wagen"	Ariette "Sie wollen springen?"	Arie "Will einst das Gräflein ein Tänzchen wagen"
No. 4 Aria "La vendetta, oh la vendetta"		No. 4 Aria "Süsse Rache, o süsse Rache"	Arie "Sich zu rächen! Ach, sich zu rächen!"	Arie "Süße Rache, du gewährest hohe Freuden"
No. 5 Duettino "Via resti servita"	4. Duett "Nur vorwärts, ich bitte"	No. 5 Duetto "Nur vorwärts, ich bitte"	Duett "Ich bin Ihr' Ergebene"	Duetto "Nur vorwärts, ich bitte"
No. 6 Aria "No sò più cosa son, cosa faccio"	5. Aria "Neue Freuden, neue Schmerzen"	No. 6 Aria "Neue Freuden, neue Schmerzen"	Arie "Nein, ich vermag es nimmermehr"	Arie "Neue Freuden, neue Schmerzen"

No. 7 Terzetto “Cosa sento”	6. Terzett “Wie? Was hör’ ich! Unverzeihlich!”	No. 7 Terzetto “Wie? Was hör ich! Unverzüglich!”	Terzett “Und so sei es! – Ja noch heute”	Terzett “Wie? Was hör’ ich? Unverzüglich”
No. 8 Chorus “Giovani liete, fiori spargete”	7. Chor “Muntre Jugend tritt hervor”	No. 8 Coro “Muntere Jugend! Streue ihm Blumen!”	Chor “Kommt, streuet Blumen”	Chorus “Muntre Jugend tritt hervor”
No. 9 Aria “Non più andrai, farfallone amoroso”	8. Aria “Dort vergiß leises Flehn, süßes Wimmern”	No. 9 Aria “Dort vergiß leises Flehn, süßes Wimmern”	Arie “Jetzt geht’s nicht an Damen-Toiletten”	Arie “Bald wirst du kleiner Loser vergessen”
Act 2	Act 2	Act 2	Act 2	Act 2
No. 10 Cavatina “Porgi amor qualche ristoro”	9. Aria “Heil’ge Quelle reiner Triebe”	No. 10 Aria “Heilge Quelle reiner Triebe”	Arie “Reiche ach! Die Zauberschaale”	Arie “Heil’ge Quelle reiner Triebe”
No. 11 Arietta “Voi che sapete che cosa è amor”	10. Aria “Ihr, die ihr Triebe”	No. 11 Aria “Ihr, die ihr Triebe des Herzens kennt”	Arie “Liebe schenkt Freuden”	Arie “Ihr, die ihr Triebe des Herzens kennt”
No. 12 Aria “Venite, inginocchiatevi”	11. Arie “Kommt näher, knie hin vor mir”	No. 12 Aria “Komm näher, kniee hin vor mir”	Arie “Nun knie der Herr nur nieder fein”	Arie “Komm näher, knie hin vor mir”
No. 13 Terzetto “Susanna, or via sortite”	12. Terzett “Nun, nun! wirds bald geschehen?”	No. 13 Terzetto “Nun, nun, wird’s bald geschehen?”	Terzett “So lassen Sie, sie kommen”	Terzett “Susanne, komm heraus”

No. 14 Duettino “Aprite presto, aprite”		No. 14 Duetto “Geschwind, die Thür geöfnet”		
No. 15 Finale “Esci omai, garzon malnato”	12. [!] Final “Komm heraus, verworfner Knabe”	No. 15 Finale “Komm heraus, verworfner Knabe”	Finale “Komm heraus, ich muß dich sprechen”	Finale “Komm heraus du kleiner Schurke”
Act 3	Act 3	Act 3	Act 3	Act 3
No. 16 Duettino “Crudel, perché finora fermi”	13. Duett “So lang’ hab’ ich geschmachtet”	No. 16 Duetto “So lang hab ich geschmachtet”	Duett “Wie konntest Du mich quälen”	Duetto “So lang hab ich geschmachtet”
No. 17 Recitativo ed Aria “Hai già vinta la causa”	14. Recitativ. Arie “Der Prozeß schon gewonnen?”	No. 17 Recitativo. Aria “Der Prozeß schon gewonnen?”	Recitativ “Dein Prozeß ist gewonnen!”	Recitativ. Arie “Der Prozeß schon gewonnen”
“Vedrò mentre io sospiro”	“Ich soll ein Glück entbehren?”	“Ich soll ein Glück entbehren?”	“Ich seufz’ umsonst um Liebe”	“Ich soll ein Glück entbehren”
No. 18 Sestetto “Riconosci in questo amplesso”	15. Quintett [!] “Laß mein liebes Kind dich nennen”	No. 18 Sestetto “Lass mein liebes Kind dich nennen!”	Sextett “Sohn! Erkenn in der Umarmung”	Sextetto “Laß mein liebes Kind dich nennen”
No. 19 Recitativo ed Aria “E Susanna non vien”	16. Recitativ. Arie “Und Susanne kommt nicht?”	No. 19 Recitativo. Aria “Und Susanne kommt nicht?”	Recitativ. Arie “Und Susanne kommt nicht!”	Recitativ. Arie “Und Susanna verweilt – –?”
“Dove sono i bei momenti”	“Nur zu flüchtig bist du verschwunden”	“Nur zu flüchtig bist du verschwunden”	“Meines Traumes goldne Freuden”	“Ach wo seyd ihr, schönste der Stunden”

No. 20 Duettino “Che soave zeffiretto”	17. Duett “Wenn die sanften Abendlüfte”	No. 20 Duetto “Wenn die sanften Abend Lüfte”	Duett “Angenehme, sanfte Lüfte”	Duetto “Wenn die sanften Abendlüfte”
No. 21 Coro “Ricevete, o padroncina”		No. 21 Coro “Gnädige Gräfin, diese Rosen”	Chor “Diese schönen Blumen tränkte”	Chorus “Gnädige Gräfin, diese Rosen”
No. 22 Finale “Ecco la Marcia, andiamo”	18. Recitativ “Kommt! Lasset uns hingehn!”	No. 22 Marcia “Lass uns marschiren!”	Finale “Laß uns marchiren”	Finale-Chor “Gnädige Gräfin, diese Rosen”
	19. Final “Ihr treuen Geliebten”	No. 23 “Ihr treuen Geliebten”		
<u>Act 4</u>	<u>Act 4</u>	<u>Act 4</u>	<u>Act 4</u>	<u>Act 4</u>
No. 23 Cavatina “L’ho perduta, me meschina”		No. 24 Aria “Unglückseelge, kleine Nadel”	“Ach! verloren – meine Nadel”	Cavatina “Unglückselige kleine Nadel”
No. 24 Aria “Il capro, e la capretta”	21. Arie “Es knüpfen auf den Fluren”	No. 25 Aria “Es knüpfen auf den Fluren”	Arie “Kein Thier, auf dieser Erde”	
No. 25 Aria “In quegl’anni, in cui val poco”		No. 26 Aria “In den Jahren, wo die Stimme”	Arie “Einst in meinen jungen Jahren”	Arie “In den Jahren, wo die Stimme”

No. 26 Recitativo ed Aria “Tutto è disposo: l’ora dovrebbe”	22. Recitativ. Arie “Alles ist richtig: auch kann die Stunde”	No. 27 Recitativo. Aria “Alles ist richtig: auch kann die Stunde”	Recitativ. Arie “Alles ist bereit – nun bald wird die Treulose kommen”	Recitativ. Arie “Alles ist richtig – auch ist die Stunde”
“Aprite un po’ quegl’ occhi”	“Ach, öffnet eure Augen”	“Ach! Öffnet eure Augen”	“Ach! Öffnet eure Augen”	“Ach öffnet eure Augen”
No. 27 Recitativo ed Aria “Giunse alfin il momento”	23. Arie	No. 28 Recitativo. Aria “Endlich nahet sich die Stunde”	Recitativ. Arie “Ach! Nach dem Augenblicke”	Recitativ. Arie “Endlich nahet die Stunde”
“Deh vieni non tardar”	“O säume länger nicht, geliebte Seele!”	“O säume länger nicht, geliebte Seele!”	“Komm doch nur Bester, und zaudre nicht länger”	“Säume nicht, du den ich ehre”
No. 28 Finale “Pian, pianin, le andrò più presso”	24. Final “Still! nur still! ich will mich nähern”	No. 29 Finale “Still! nur still! ich will mich nähern”	Finale “Still ich muß mich ihr nur nahen”	Finale “Leise will ich zu ihr treten”

Table 2:
Musical Numbers and Interpolated Scenes in Various Early German Adaptations of *Don Giovanni*, Act 1

1787 Prague	**1789 Neefe / Schmieder**	**1797 Neefe / Schröder**	**1798 Vienna**	**1803 (Dec.) Vienna**	**1801 Rochlitz**
No. 1 Introduzione "Notte e giorno faticar"	Quartett "Keine Ruh bei Tag und Nacht!"	No. 1 Quartetto "Keine Ruh bei Tag und Nacht"	Quartett "Keine Ruh bey Tag und Nacht"	Quartett "Keine Ruh bey Tag und Nacht"	No. 1 "Keine Ruh, bei Tag und Nacht"
No. 2 Recitativo Accompagnato e Duetto	Recitative und Duett	No. 2 Recitativo	Dialog und Duett	Dialog und Duett	No. 2 Recitativ. Duett.
"Ma qual mai s'offre, oh Dei"	"Ha! welch schreckliches Schauspiel"	"Welch ein schreckliches Bild"	"Welch ein schreckliches Bild"	"Welch ein schreckliches Bild"	"Welch ein schreckliches Bild"
"Fuggi, crudele, fuggi!"	"Entflieh, entflieh, Grausamer!"	"Weg, weg aus meinen Blicken"	"Fort! – Flieh von meinen Blicken"	"Fort! – Flieh von meinen Blicken"	"Weg, weg aus meinen Blicken!"
			Häringsprobe Episode	**Likely Cut**	
No. 3 Aria "Ah chi mi dice mai"	Arie "Ach! wer kann mir entdecken"	No. 3 Terzetto "Wo werd ich ihn entdecken"	Terzetto "Wo werd ich ihn entdecken"	Terzetto "Wo werd ich ihn entdecken"	No. 3 Arie "Wo werd' ich ihn entdecken"
		No. 4 Recitativo, Aria "In welches Elend, o Götter" "Mich verräth der Undankbare"			

No. 4 Aria "Madamina, il catalogo è questo"	Arie "Gnädiges Fräulein! Sehen Sie hier das Verzeichniß"	No. 5 Aria "Holdes Fräulein! Sehn Sie hier das Register"	Arie "Signorina! Sehen Sie hier das Register"	Arie "Signorina! Sehen Sie hier das Register"	No. 4 Arie "Schöne Donna! Dieses kleine Register" **Recitative. Arie** **"In welchem Dunkel der Sorgen"** **"Mich verlässt der Undankbare"**
			Constable Scene I	**Constable Scene II**	
		No. 6 Quartetto "O! Traut des Heuchlers Angesicht"	Quartett "O traut des Heuchlers Angesicht"	Quartett "O traut des Heuchlers Angesicht"	
		No. 7 Recitativo, Aria "Mein Geliebter! Ich bebe." "Du kennst den Verräther"	Recitativ und Duett "Mein Geliebter! Ich bebe –" "Du kennst den Verräther"	Recitativ und Duett "Mein Geliebter! Ich bebe –" "Du kennst den Verräther"	
		Act 2	**Act 2**		
No. 5 Coro "Giovinette che fate all'amore"	Wechselgesang "Mädchen für die Liebe gebildet"	No. 8 Duetto e Coro "O ihr Mädchen zur Liebe gebohren"	Chorus "O ihr Mädchen zur Liebe gebohren"	Chorus "O ihr Mädchen zur Liebe gebohren"	No. 5 "Liebe Schwestern, zur Liebe gebohren"

No. 6 Aria	**CUT**	No. 9	**CUT**	**CUT**	No. 2 der eingelegten Stücke
“Ho capito, signor si”		“Hab’s verstanden, ja mein Herr”			“Hab’s verstanden! ja mein Herr!”
No. 7 Duettino “Là ci darem la mano”	Duett “Laß uns von hinnen weichen”	No. 10 Duettino “Gieb mir die Hand mein Leben”	Duetto “Reich mir die Hand mein Leben”	Duetto “Reich mir die Hand mein Leben”	No. 6 Duett “Sei ohne Furcht, mein Leben”
No. 8 Aria “Ah fuggi il traditor”	Arie “O flieh den Bösewicht”	No. 11 Aria “O flieh den Bösewicht”	**Recitative et Arie “Zu welchem Laster o Himmel” “Mich verräth der Seele Leiden”**	**Recitative et Arie “Zu welchem Laster o Himmel” “Mich verräth der Seele Leiden”**	No. 7 Arie “Verlohrne, hör’ ihn nicht”
No. 9 Quartetto “Non ti fidar, o misera”	Quartett “O traue diesem Bösewicht”				No. 8 Quartett “Fliehe des Schmeichlers glattes Wort”
No. 10 Recitativo accompagnato ed Aria	Duett				No. 9 Recitativ
“Don Ottavio, son morta”	“Mein Geliebter! – Ich sterbe!”				“Welch ein Schicksal! Entsezlich!”
“Or sai chi l’onore”	“Du kennst ihn, der schändlich”				No. 10 Arie “Du kennst den Verräther”

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Constable Scene

No. 11 Aria “Fin ch’han dal vino”	Arie “Sind erst vom Weine die Köpfe erhitzet”	No. 12 Arie “Treibt der Champagner”	Arie “Treibt der Schampanier alles im Kreise”	Arie “Treibt der Champagner alles im Kreise”	No. 10 [!] Arie “Oeffne die Keller!”
No. 12 Aria “Batti, batti, o bel Masetto”	Arie “Schelt! o schelt, lieber Junge!”	No. 13 Arie “Schmähe, tobe, lieber Junge!”	Arie “Schmähe, tobe, lieber Junge”	Arie “Schmähe, tobe, lieber Junge”	No. 11 Arie “Schmähe, schmähe, lieber Junge!”
No. 13 Finale “Presto presto pria ch’ei venga”	Finale “Hurtig, hurtig! Eh er herkömmt”	No. 14 Finale “Hurtig, hurtig! eh er’s erfähret”	Finale “Hurtig, hurtig, eh er’s höret”	Finale “Hurtig, hurtig, eh er’s höret”	No. 12 Finale “Hurtig, hurtig! Eh’ er’s merket”

Table 3:
Musical Numbers in Various German Adaptations of *Così fan tutte*

Da Ponte (1790)	**Bretzner (1794)**	**Treischke (1804)** "?" indicates that the incipit is illegible in the manuscript libretto	**Censored / Revised Treitschke (1805 Print)**
No. 1 Terzetto "La mia Dorabella capace non è"	Terzett "Wie Julchen mich täuschen"	**Terzett** **"Wie? Julchen soll täuschen die Engelgestalt"**	Terzett "Wie? Julchen soll trügen, die Engelgestalt"
No. 2 Terzetto "È la fede delle femmine"	Terzett "Weibertreu ist *Cosa rara*"	**Terzett** **"Weibertreu ist gleich dem Phönix"**	**CUT**
No. 3 Terzetto "Una bella serenata"	Terzett "Ha! beym Schalle süßer Lieder"	**Terzett** **"Bey dem prächtigsten Concerte"**	Terzett "Bey dem prächtigsten Concerte"
No. 4 Duetto "Ah guarda sorella"	"Sieh' Schwester, es glühen"	Duett "Sieh Schwester, es glühen"	Duett "Sieh Schwester, es glühen"
No. 5 Aria "Vorrei dir, e cor non ho"	"Weh o weh! ich mag' es nicht"	? ?	**CUT**
No. 6 Quintetto "Sento oddio, che questo piede"	"Ha welch Schicksal! Dich verlassen"	Quintett "Ha welch Schicksal! Dich verlassen"	Quintett "Ha welch Schicksal! Dich verlassen"
No. 7 Duettino "Al fato dan legge quegli occhi"	Duett "In Stürmen und Kriegen"	? ?	**CUT**
No. 8 Coro "Bella vita militar!"	Chor "Auf, wir ziehen froh ins Feld"	Chor "Auf, wir ziehen froh ins Feld"	Chor "Auf, wir ziehen froh ins Feld"

No. 8a Quintett “Di scrivermi ogni giorno”	Quintett “Wirst du auch mein gedenken”	Quintett “Wirst du auch mein gedenken”	Quintett “Wirst du auch mein gedenken”
No. 9 Coro “Bella vita militar!”	Chor “Auf wir ziehen froh in’s Feld”	Chor “Auf wir ziehen froh ins Feld”	Chor “Auf, wir ziehen froh ins Feld”
No. 10 Terzettino “Soave sia il vento”	Terzett “Weht sanfter o Winde”	Terzett “Weht sanfter o Winde”	Terzett “Weht sanfter o Winde”
No. 11 Aria “Smanie implacabili che m’agitate”	Arie “Angst, Quaal, und herber Gram”	Arie “Angst, Quaal, und herber Gram”	**CUT**
No. 12 Aria “In uomini! in soldati.”	Arie “Bey Männern, Martissöhnen”	?Arie ?“Bey Männern, Martissöhnen”	**Arie** **“Unter Männern, bey Soldaten”**
No. 13 Sestetto “Alla bella Despinetta”	“Sieh, das sind hier meine Freunde”	Sextett “Sieh, das sind hier meine Freunde”	Sextett “Sieh, das hier sind meine Freunde”
No. 14 Aria “Come scoglio immoto resta”	Arie “Fest wie Felsen in Sturm und Wettern”	?Arie ?“Fest wie Felsen in Sturm und Wettern”	**CUT**
No. 15 Aria “Non siate ritrosi”	Arie “Ihr schelmischen Augen”	?Arie ?“Ihr schelmischen Augen”	**CUT**
No. 16 Terzetto “E voi ridete?”	“Wie? Ihr könnt lachen?”	? ?	**CUT**

No. 17 Aria “Un’aura amorosa”	Arie “Wie schön ist die Liebe”	Arie ?	**CUT**
No. 18 Finale “Ah che tutta in un momento”	Finale “Himmel! wie schnell entschwanden”	Finale “Himmel, wie so schnell entschwanden”	Finale “Himmel! wie so schnell entschwanden”
No. 19 Aria “Una donna a quindici anni”	Arie “Männer-Schlingen zu entgehen”	Arie “Männer-Schlingen zu entgehen”	**CUT**
No. 20 Duetto “Prenderò quell brunettino”	Duett “Nur ein Späßchen sich zu machen”	Duett “Nur ein Späßchen sich zu machen”	Duett “Nur ein Späßchen sich zu machen”
No. 21 Duetto con Coro “Secondate, aurette amiche”	Duett “Traget sanft mit leisem Wehen”	Duett “Traget sanft mit leisem Wehen”	Duett “Traget sanft mit leisen Wehen”
No. 22 Quartetto “La mano a me date”	Quartett “Das Patschgen, nicht blöde”	Quartett “Das Patschgen, nicht blöde”	**CUT**
No. 23 Duetto “Il core vi dono, bell’idolo mio”	Duett “Empfange dieß Herzchen”	Duett “Empfange dieß Herzchen”	**Duett** **“Ich biete dieß Herz Dir”**
No. 24 Aria “Ah lo veggio quell’anima bella”	Arie “Ha dieß Lächeln, dieß Glühen der Wangen”	Arie “Ha dieß Lächeln, dieß Glühen der Wangen”	**Arie** **“Unbegrenzt sind meine Leiden”**
No. 25 Rondo “Per pietà, ben mio”	Arie “Ha verzeih, verzeih Geliebter”	**Arie** **“Dein bin ich, o mein Geliebter”**	Arie “Dein bin ich, o mein Geliebter”

No. 26 Aria “Donne mie, la fate a tanti”	Arie “Mädchen, schelmisch seyd Ihr alle”	Arie “Mädchen schelmisch seyd ihr alle”	Arie “Mädchen, schelmisch seyd Ihr alle”
No. 27 Cavatina “Tradito, schernito”	Arie “Verrathen, verschmähet”	Arie “Verrathen, verschmähet”	**CUT**
No. 28 Aria “È amore un landroncello”	Arie “Gott Amor ist ein Schäker”	Arie “Gott Amor ist ein Schäker”	Arie “Gott Amor ist ein Schäker”
No. 29 Duetto “Fra gli amplessi”	Duett “Auf, ins Schlachtfeld will ich ihm folgen”	?Duett ?“Auf, ins Schlachtfeld will ich ihm folgen”	**Duett** **“Darf ich noch zu bleiben wagen”**
No. 30 Andante “Tutti accusan le donne”	Arie “Alles tadelt die Mädchen”	Arie “Alles tadelt die Mädchen”	**CUT**
No. 31 Finale “Fate presto o cari amici”	Finale “Hurtig, hurtig! laß uns eilen”	Finale “Hurtig, hurtig, laßt uns eilen”	Finale “Hurtig, hurtig, laßt uns eilen”