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MOZART'S OPERAS FOR HARMONIE: THREE CONTEMPORARY ARRANGEMENTS COMPARED

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MOZART'S OPERAS FOR HARMONIE: THREE CONTEMPORARY ARRANGEMENTS COMPARED

by

Jacob R. Ludwig

A THESIS

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MOZART'S OPERAS FOR HARMONIE: THREE CONTEMPORARY ARRANGEMENTS COMPARED

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University of Nebraska, 2021

Advisor: Pamela F. Starr

This thesis examines three approaches to arranging Mozart's operas for Harmonie by Johann Nepomuk Went, Josef Triebensee, and Joseph Heidenreich through an analysis of selections from their arrangements. It consists of two chapters. Chapter One discusses the historical background of the Harmonie ensemble in Vienna and an introduction to the complicated publishing history of Mozart's original works for the Harmoniemusik ensemble. A summary of the scant biographical information about the three arrangers of the works to be studied concludes Chapter One. Chapter Two covers the arrangements of Mozart's operas by Johann Nepomuk Went, Josef Triebensee, and Joseph Heidenreich. The Harmonie arrangements of Mozart's operas made by Went, Triebensee, and Heidenreich provide vital information in analyzing the writing style of Harmoniemusik at the end of the eighteenth century.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures iv

Preface vi

Chapter I: HARMONIEMUSIK IN CONTEXT 1

Terminology 1

A Brief Historical Background of the Harmonie Ensemble in Vienna 2

Controversy Over Harmonie Works by Mozart 3

Brief Biographies of the Arrangers 6

Chapter II: THE HARMONIE ARRANGEMENTS 12

Went's Arrangement of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* 12

Triebensee's Arrangement of *Don Giovanni* 28

Heidenreich's Arrangement of *Die Zauberflöte* 51

Conclusion 71

Bibliography 75

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

Table 1 NMA score and Went's arrangement 14
Table 2 Overture comparison 16
Figure 1 "*Hier soll ich dich*", mm. 113-118 17
Figure 2 "*Hier soll ich dich*", mm. 105-109 18
Figure 3 "*Hier soll ich dich*", mm. 51-58 19
Figure 4 "*Hier soll ich dich*", mm. 49-54 20
Figure 5 "*Hier soll ich dich*", mm. 24-28 20
Figure 6 "*Hier soll ich dich*", mm. 21-30 21
Table 3 "*Hier soll ich dich denn sehen, Konstanze!*" comparison 22
Table 4 "O, wie will ich triumphieren" comparison 24
Figure 7 "O, wie will ich triumphieren", mm. 38-44 25
Figure 8 "O, wie will ich triumphieren", mm. 1-24 26
Figure 9 "O, wie will ich triumphieren", mm. 25-37 27
Table 5 NMA and Triebensee's arrangement 30-34
Table 6 Overture comparison 35
Figure 10 Overture, mm. 111-121 36
Figure 11 Overture, mm. 1-8 37
Figure 12 Overture, mm. 1-8 38
Table 7 "Là ci darem la mano" comparison 40
Figure 13 "Là ci darem la mano", mm. 75-82 41
Figure 14 "Là ci darem la mano", mm. 72-80 41
Figure 15 "Là ci darem la mano", mm. 1-6 42
Figure 16 "Là ci darem la mano", mm. 1-9 43
Table 8 NMA score and Triebensee's arrangement 44
Figure 17 Overture comparison, mm. 8-13 45
Figure 18 "Già la mensa è preparata", mm. 162-171 47
Table 9 "Già la mensa è preparata" comparison 48-49
Table 10 NMA score and Heidenreich's arrangement 52-55
Table 11 Overture comparison 56
Figure 19 Overture, mm. 1-3 57
Figure 20 Overture, mm. 1-3 58
Figure 21 Overture, mm. 33-37 59
Figure 22 Overture, mm. 33-37 59
Table 12 Quintet no. 5, "Hm! hm! hm!" comparison 61-62
Figure 23 Quintet no. 5, "Hm! hm! hm!", mm. 236-247 63
Figure 24 Quintet no. 5, "Hm! hm! hm!" 64
Figure 25 Quintet no. 5, "Hm! hm! hm!", mm. 1-9 65
Figure 26 Quintet no. 5, "Hm! hm! hm!", mm. 1-20 66
Table 13 "O Isis un Osiris schenket" comparison 68
Figure 27 "O Isis un Osiris schenket", mm. 10-19 69
Figure 28 "O Isis un Osiris schenket", mm. 13-25 69

PREFACE

There have been a number of studies on the topic of Harmoniemusik, but relatively few on the arrangements of excerpts of Mozart's operas for Harmonie ensemble by Mozart's contemporaries. The purpose of this study is to examine three approaches to arranging Mozart's operas for Harmonie, by Johann Nepomuk Went, Josef Triebensee, and Joseph Heidenreich, through an analysis of selections from their arrangements. The operas include *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, *Don Giovanni*, and *Die Zauberflöte*. There has been little research on these arrangements, some of the few surviving examples influenced by Mozart's style of wind writing.

The present study reflects the author's interest and background in both wind performance and in the musicology of the Classical and early Romantic eras. While previous research by musicologists such as Bastiaan Blomhert, Peter Heckl, Roger Hellyer, Daniel L. Neeson, Ann van Allen-Russell, and David Whitwell have offered many critical insights into the history of Harmoniemusik, there has been little recent publication on the subject.[1]

My research methodology involves both musical and historical analysis of Mozart's operatic orchestrations in the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* and the Harmonie arrangements of Went, Triebensee, and Heidenreich. It will also take into account contemporary correspondence, especially between Mozart's widow Constanze and Viennese publishers around the turn of the nineteenth century, along with recent scholarship about Mozart's final decade in Vienna.

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[1] Ann R. Van Allen-Russell, "The Integration of the Harmonie Ensemble Into the Late Piano Concertos (1784-1786) of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart," MM thesis., (University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 1992); Bastiaan Blomhert, *The Harmoniemusik of Die Entführung aus dem Serail by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart*, (Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht, 1987); Peter Heckl, *WA Mozarts Instrumentalkompositionen in Bearbeitungen für Harmoniemusik vor 1840* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2014); Roger Hellyer, " 'Harmoniemusik': Music for Small Wind Band in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries," Ph.D. dissertation., (University of Oxford, 1973), Daniel N. Leeson and David Whitwell, “Mozart’s ‘Spurious’ Wind Octets,” *Music & Letters* 53, no. 4 (October 1972): 377-99. http://www.jstor.org/stable/733288.

My study consists of two chapters. Chapter One will briefly discuss the specific terminology, the historical background of the Harmonie ensemble in Vienna, an introduction to the complicated publishing history of Mozart's original works for Harmonie, and a summary of the scant biographical information about the three arrangers of the works to be studied.

Chapter Two will cover the arrangements of Mozart's operas by Johann Nepomuk Went, Josef Triebensee, and Joseph Heidenreich. These arrangements include selections from *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, *Don Giovanni*, and *Die Zauberflöte*. The Harmonie arrangements of Mozart's operas made by Went, Triebensee, and Heidenreich provide vital information in analyzing the writing style of Harmoniemusik at the end of the eighteenth century.[2] These arrangements have been neglected, and their study will illuminate both the Harmonie tradition and Mozart's original works.

I would like to acknowledge the heroic efforts, assistance, and support of the following institutions and individuals who have made this thesis possible. Within the University of Nebraska-Lincoln Libraries system, I am especially grateful to music librarian Dr. Anita Breckbill and operations supervisor Gama Wiesca for their efforts to make all the materials of the UNL Music Library available during the life-altering outbreak of Coronavirus (COVID-19) disease beginning in March of 2020. I wish to also express my deepest thanks to the staff of the Interlibrary Loan office for obtaining all the items I requested amid a pandemic. I am grateful to my life-long clarinet professor, Dr. Diane Barger, for sitting on my committee despite her breast cancer diagnosis, surgeries, and treatment sessions. I cannot adequately express in words how grateful I am for this gift.

[2] While other contemporary Viennese Harmonie arrangements and transcriptions of Mozart's operas may exist, there are no other surviving published arrangements between 1781 to 1791 outside of the arrangements and transcriptions of Went, Triebensee, and Heidenreich of note. For information on additional Harmonie arrangers after 1792 see Blomhert, *The Harmoniemusik of Die Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, 175-181.

I wish to express my utmost appreciation to my thesis advisor, Dr. Pamela F. Starr, for her unceasing guidance, constructive criticism, and unwavering support through the preparation of this study. Taking every course offered by Dr. Starr starting in the Fall 2019 semester through Spring of 2021 was the best set of decisions I have made in my academic life. This thesis would never have come to fruition without the generosity, countless hours, and the unfailing commitment of Dr. Starr; for that, I am forever in her debt. I give my deepest thanks to my academic advisor and supervising committee member, Dr. Peter M. Lefferts, the first soul I met in the Westbrook Music Building in August 2019. Thank you, Dr. Lefferts, for your knowledge of the inner machinations of the Glenn Korff School of Music, for shaping my course of study, and for your willingness to serve on this committee.

I would also like to express a special thanks to Dr. Ann van Allen-Russell for her warm, kind, and generous help in supplying me with a digital copy of her 1992 M.M. thesis on the subject of Harmoniemusik.

Finally, I would like to thank my loving parents, Jon and Lori, for supporting me beyond measure. Thank you for your loving kindness, understanding, and constant encouragement. I will cherish the past two years with both of you for the rest of my life.

Chapter I

HARMONIEMUSIK IN CONTEXT

TERMINOLOGY

In this study, there are two crucial terms that need exploration: "Harmoniemusik" and "arrangement." Although scholars have avoided a specific definition of the first term, the present study defines "Harmoniemusik" as an octet comprised of "paired wind instruments, usually oboes, clarinets, horns, and bassoons, that reached its zenith in the mid-and late eighteenth century."[3] Other terms used to describe the genre and its performing ensemble include "Harmonie, Harmonien or Harmoniemusik."[4] The term "full Harmonie" refers to every ensemble instrument being deployed in a specific musical arrangement. The term "arrangement" will refer to the specific numbers chosen by an arranger from an opera, comprising "popular pieces of the theater work in a suite-like structure which did not necessarily follow the sequence of the original work."[5] I have avoided the term "transcription" unless it implies no musical changes other than scoring. The term "transcription" will appear in citations throughout this thesis, but they do not directly reflect the author's personal distinction between the terms "arrangement" and "transcription." All of the Harmonie arrangements to be discussed involve musical alterations in addition to those of scoring. My study applies these terms to the final two decades of eighteenth-century Vienna.

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[3] Van Allen-Russell, "The Integration of the Harmonie Ensemble," 7.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.

A BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE HARMONIE ENSEMBLE IN VIENNA

The Kaiserlich-Königliche Harmonie, or K.K. Harmonie, established on 1 April 1782, was the very first ensemble of its kind in Vienna.[6] The K.K. Harmonie formed a then-rare full Harmonie, made up of the most sought-after Viennese wind players of the time. The virtuosi wind players assembled for the K.K. Harmonie by Emperor Joseph II included Georg Triebensee, first oboe; Johann Nepomuk Went, second oboe; Anton Stadler, first clarinet; Johann Stadler; second clarinet; Martin Rupp, first horn; Jacob Eisen, second horn; Wenzel Kauzner, first bassoon and Ignaz Drobney, second bassoon.[7] Harmonie arrangements and transcriptions of both opera and ballet music formed the principal repertoire of the K.K. Harmonie, as well as the smaller Harmonie ensembles that subsequently appeared.[8] The "quality and size" of the K.K. Harmonie was so great in comparison with the other ensembles of the time that it "could be no coincidence that the [H]armonie transcriptions of operas and ballet and the [subsequent] Viennese [H]armonien themselves appeared simultaneously; the one evidently generated the other."[9]

According to Roger Hellyer, the purpose of the Harmoniemusik arrangements and transcriptions of opera and ballet scores served two functions: to provide background music at dinners and for social events, and to perform in public and private concerts, "where they

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[6] Roger Hellyer, "The Transcriptions for Harmonie of Die Entführung aus dem Serail," *In Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, vol. 102, pp. 53-66 (Cambridge University Press, 1975), 54.
[7] Ibid., 54-55.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Hellyer, " 'Harmoniemusik'," 114.

occasionally accompanied a soloist."[10] Genres that would have been played by these performers might also include serenades and divertimenti, similar to and possibly including the Viennese wind serenades for winds written by Mozart. These pieces include the Serenade in E-flat major, K.375,[11] Serenade in C minor, K. 388/384a, and the Serenade in B-flat major, K.361/370a.[12] These are the only surviving works for Harmonie attributed to Mozart that was written during his decade in Vienna.[13] However, there is some scholarly debate about the possibility of more such works that might have been composed by Mozart during these years.

CONTROVERSY OVER DISPUTED HARMONIE WORKS BY MOZART

Perhaps one of the most intriguing puzzles to date for Mozart scholars lies in the appendices, or "Anhang" sections 'A' through 'F' in almost every edition of *the Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Tonwerke Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart*.[14] These include the doubtful or disputed works credited to Mozart, including some for the Harmonie ensemble. These have been handled variously in the collected editions. The first complete edition of Mozart's works, published by Breitkopf & Härtel from 1877 to 1910, left room for much

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[10] Roger Hellyer, "Harmoniemusik" (Grove Music Online, 2001), https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.libproxy.unl.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000012392.

[11] The Serenade in E-flat major, K. 375 originally was a sextet of paired wind instruments made up of clarinets, horns and bassoons. The composer later added a pair of oboes to convert the composition into a wind octet.

[12] The Serenade in C minor, K. 388/384 and the Serenade in B-flat major, K.361/370a could have only been played by the K.K. Harmonie, or a similar ensemble due to the size and quality of the ensemble required to play it. Both works also appear to have been composed between 1781 and 1783, which is around the formation of the K.K. Harmonie.

[13] This study acknowledges Mozart's use of the Harmonie ensemble functioning within a larger ensemble (e.g., as Tafelmusik for his finale to *Don Giovanni*, or in specific sections of the composer's later piano concerti). However, there is no other Harmoniemusik compositions that have currently been authenticated as being genuinely composed by Mozart.

[14] For the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*, see Ludwig Ritter von Köchel, Franz Giegling, Alexander Weinmann, and Gerd Sievers, *Chronologisch-Thematisches Verzeichnis Sämtlicher Tonwerke Wolfgang Amadé Mozarts; Nebst Angabe Der Verlorengegangenen, Angefangenen* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel; C. F. Peters Corp., New York, 1964), 173-174. The now superseded *Alte Mozart Ausgabe* was a collection of 24 series of works in approximately 65 volumes. See Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's Werke: Kritisch Durchgesehene Gesammtausgabe* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1877-1910).

improvement, according to serious scholars and performers. From 1955 to 2006, the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* (the NMA) has been the leading authority and source on providing quality editions and technical commentaries through the German publisher Bärenreiter-Verlag. Despite the best efforts of the editors of the NMA's volumes of works for winds in *Series VII, Orchestral Serenades, Divertimentos, and Marches,* the inclusion of some wind octets of contested authenticity in the *Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke: Serie VII: Ensemblemusik Für Größere Solobesetzungen. Werkgruppe 17: Divertimenti und Serenaden Für Blasinstrumente* published by Bärenreiter-Verlag in 1984 has led to questioning by recent scholars Dietrich Berke, Albert Dunning, Franz Giegling, Daniel N. Leeson, and Neal Zaslaw.

David Whitwell, a pioneering figure in the area of Harmoniemusik in musicological studies, has pronounced many of the wind octets from "Anhang C" as being authentic works by Mozart. A similar effort has been undertaken by pianist and musicologist Robert Levin regarding the *Sinfonia Concertante for Four Winds in E-flat major*, K. 297b (Anh. C 14.01), but with a somewhat different scholarly approach. Other scholars, like Roger Hellyer, Bastiaan Blomhert, and Peter Heckl are "on the fence" about these conclusions.[15]

Blomhert's dissertation describes Whitwell's case for the hand of Mozart in an arrangement of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*:

> Whitwell published a series of articles on Harmonie music in Vienna. In his study on the transcription of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (the Český Krumlov arrangement) Whitwell[16] 'proves' that the Český Krumlov arrangement only could have been written by Mozart himself. Whitwell does not discuss stylistic matters and his arguments are not

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[15] Roger Hellyer has written the earliest comprehensive Ph.D. dissertation on Harmoniemusik specifically, as well as being the primary author of the New Grove Online entry on the subject. For the Hellyer's dissertation, see Hellyer, " 'Harmoniemusik.' Also see Blomhert, *The Harmoniemusik of Die Die Entführung aus dem Serail*. In Heckl's dissertation, the author goes to some length to prove that K. 196e, Anhang C 17.01, (Anh 226) and Divertimento in B-flat major, K. 196f, Anhang C 17.02, (Anh 227) by no means serve a legitimate scores by Mozart. Instead, Heckl uses their lack of authenticity to validate the need for his own study of Mozart's contemporaries' Harmonie transcriptions. See Heckl, *WA Mozarts Instrumentalkompositionen*, 13-21, 38-46.

[16] For Whitwell's original publication see David Whitwell, "A Case for the Authenticity of Mozart's Arrangement of Die Entführung aus dem Serail for Wind Instruments'," *The Instrumentalist* (November 1969): 40-43.

> based on fact. They combine four cases of rather weak circumstantial evidence to conclude that the Florence version is a transposition by Went of Mozart's own Český Krumlov arrangement. Apart from interesting documentation about Harmoniemusik in general, these articles are of no use to the research on Harmonie arrangements of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*.[17]

Roger Hellyer undoubtedly stands as one of the most respected figures in the relatively unstudied area of Harmoniemusik. Hellyer's scholarship rests on careful authentication of Mozart's works for Harmonie, which provides specific evidence about his publishers. What follows here is a very brief summary of Hellyer's presentation of various views-and his conclusions. As Hellyer has documented, the publication history of Mozart's wind music is complicated, contradictory, and incomplete.[18] Many of the works for winds published posthumously or without specific dates appear in "Anhang C" of the Köchel catalogue.[19] Among these works are divertimenti, serenades, and cassations whose style is similar to the authenticated works by Mozart in these genres. Both Daniel Leeson and David Whitwell, two of the scholars responsible for volumes of wind compositions in the *NMA*, relied on publishers' catalogues by Johann Anton Traeg, Johann André and Breitkopf & Härtel that were published after Mozart's death, along with the well-known but somewhat unreliable source, Mozart's own *Verzeichnis aller meiner Werke*.[20]

The complicated story of how the posthumous publishers' catalogues were compiled is rehearsed in Leeson's and Whitwell's article from 1972, "Mozart's 'Spurious' Wind Octets."[21] These scholars made a case for the reliability of the sources, one that was convincingly refuted

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[17]For Whitwell's original publication see Whitwell, "A Case for the Authenticity," 40-43. Also see: Blomhert, "Die Entführung aus dem Serail," 32.[17] Also see Roger Hellyer, "Mozart's Harmoniemusik and Its Publishers," *The Musical Times 122*, no. 1661 (July 1981), https://doi.org/10.2307/1193562.
[18] Hellyer,"Mozart's Harmoniemusik and Its Publishers," 468-469.
[19] Köchel et al., *Chronologisch-Thematisches Verzeichnis Sämtlicher*, 874-880.
[20] Daniel N. Leeson and David Whitwell, "Mozart's Thematic Catalogue," *The Musical Times* 114, no. 1566 (August 1973), 781-783.
[21] Leeson and Whitwell, "Mozart's 'Spurious' Wind Octets," 379.

by more recent scholars of Mozart's wind music, including Blomhert Bastiaan, Simon Keefe, and Roger Hellyer.[22]

Each of these scholars questioned Leeson's and Whitwell's use of the dates in the publishers catalogues and the evidence in a set of previously unknown works discovered in a library in Prague. Hellyer's arguments and evidence, in particular, convinced the present writer that the works for winds in "Anhang C" of the Köchel catalogue were not, in fact, composed by Mozart, but by contemporary and anonymous composer/arrangers for Harmonie ensemble, "in the style" of Mozart's authenticated compositions in that medium. In view of this, it becomes even more relevant to study contemporary arrangements of Mozart's actual music, especially excerpts from his operas by Mozart's contemporaries.

BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES OF THE ARRANGERS

The lack of biographical information on the Harmoniemusik arrangers of Mozart's time in Vienna presents a dilemma for music historians wishing to do research on arrangers like Johann Nepomuk Went, Josef Triebensee, and Joseph Heidenreich. The popularity of these men's arrangements and transcriptions for Harmonie did not result in extensive surviving biographical data. The majority of the information on the Viennese Harmonie arrangers comes from documents such as account ledgers and personnel rosters from the surrounding court and opera orchestras in Vienna.[23] Most of the known biographical information appears in Roger Hellyer's 1973 dissertation,[24] which corresponds with the biographical information found on

[22] Blomhert, *The Harmoniemusik of Die Die Entführung aus dem Serail*; Hellyer, “Harmoniemusik and Its Publishers,” also see: Simon P. Keefe, *Mozart in Vienna :The Final Decade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 23.
[23] Van Allen-Russell, "The Integration of the Harmonie Ensemble," 26.
[24] Hellyer, " 'Harmoniemusik'."

Grove Music Online, also written by Hellyer. Recent scholarship on the biographical information on Joseph Heidenreich is provided in Peter Heckl's more recent dissertation,[25] which like Hellyer's biographies, was collected from a series of account ledgers, orchestral personnel rosters, and sheet music advertisements.

The author wishes to acknowledge that the following information on the biographies of Went,[26] Triebensee,[27] and Heidenreich[28] comes almost directly from Hellyer's and Heckl's writings. However, the author provides further historical data based on the previous findings of Hellyer regarding Went and Triebensee.

JOHANN NEPOMUK WENT

Johann Nepomuk Went was a Bohemian oboist, cor anglais player, and composer born on 27 June 1745 in Divice, now known as Vinařice u Loun, a municipality in the present-day Czech Republic. Went's first professional post was as an oboist in the Prague court of Count Patcha beginning the late-1760s or early 1770s. In the mid-1770s, Went became the first cor anglais player in "the Harmonie Ensemble of Prince Schwarzenberg at Wittingau,"[29] which is now the present-day town of Třeboň in the South Bohemian Region of the Czech Republic, as well as posts in Vienna. In 1777, Went was appointed to the post of second oboe in the K.K.

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[25] Heckl, *W. A. Mozarts Instrumentalkompositionen*.
[26] Roger Hellyer, "Went [Vent, Wend, Wendt], Johann [Jan]" (Grove Music Online, 2001), https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.libproxy.unl.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000030118.
[27] Roger Hellyer, "Triebensee [Trübensee], Josef" (Grove Music Online, 2001), https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.libproxy.unl.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000028360.
[28] Biographical information on Joseph Heidenreich in Heckl's 2014 dissertation as well as in the preface Himie Voxman's edited score Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Joseph Heidenreich and ed. Himie Voxman, *Die Zauberflöte: For 2 Oboes, 2 Clarinets, 2 Bassoons & 2 Horns, Band I* (London: Musica Rara, 1977), i.
[29] Hellyer, "Went," https://bit.ly/3y41f6g.

Theater an der Burg, or Burgtheater, and the Wiener Hofmusikkapelle. In 1782, Went left his post in Wittingau and became the second oboist of Emperor Joseph II's new Kaiserlich-Königliche Harmonie beginning on 1 April 1782. His duties in the K.K. Harmonie, the Nationaltheater, and Hofkapelle created "a combined income of 900 gulden a year (100 more than Mozart's imperial salary) and additional fees for copying and composition."[30] Went kept all of his posts in Vienna until his death on 3 July 1801.

In addition to these posts, Went was best known for his Harmoniemusik arrangements, transcriptions, and compositions in Vienna between 1777 and 1801. Went is credited with over 50 Harmonie arrangements and transcriptions of opera and ballet scores, most of which were made under special contract for the Schwarzenberg Harmonie, which required "fundamentally different arrangements of a work to accommodate the english horns."[31] Among the over 50 arrangments and transcriptions, Went arranged and transcribed five of Mozart's operas. Went also composed over 80 original works for the Harmonie ensemble, which mostly survive to this day, though "several manuscripts are unsigned or lost."[32] Went's work continued through his son-in-law Josef Triebensee, who, like Went, was a very accomplished oboist and composer in Vienna.

The most overlooked piece of information regarding Went is his direct involvement in three of the Viennese premières of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's operas. Between 1782 and 1790, Went performed the second oboe part in the premières of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (1782), *Le nozze di Figaro* (1786), and *Così fan tutte* (1790).[33] Went's involvement in the initial

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[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Herbert Seifert, Bruce Alan Brown, Peter Branscombe, Mosco Carner, Rudolf Klein, and Harald Goertz, "Vienna," (Grove Music Online, 2002), https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.libproxy.unl.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-5000905465.

premières would more than explain why these three operas make up three of the five arrangements made by Went. Went's other Harmonie arrangements of Mozart's operas derive from *Don Giovanni* and *Die Zauberflöte*.

JOSEF TRIEBENSEE

Josef Triebensee, like his father Johann Georg Triebensee and father-in-law Johann Nepomuk Went, was a Bohemian oboist, cor anglais player, and composer. Born in Wittingau, now the present-day town of Třeboň in the South Bohemian Region of the Czech Republic, Triebensee took after his father, Georg Triebensee,[34] who was an accomplished oboist and composer. In addition to studies with his father, Triebensee also studied composition with the famed Austrian composer, organist, and music theorist Johann Georg Albrechtsberger. Triebensee can also be directly connected to a Mozart opera premiere, having played the second oboe part under the direction of the composer for the "première of *Die Zauberflöte*"[35] on 30 September 1791. In addition to his duties "at the Theater auf der Wieden in Vienna, "[36] Triebensee was also a frequent soloist with the Tonkünstler-Societät concert series and second oboist of the Theater am Kärntnertor, or Kärntnertortheater in 1793. From 1794 to June of 1809, Triebensee held the positions of Kapellmeister and first oboist in the Prince of Lichtenstein's Harmonie in Feldsburg, which is now modern-day Valtice, a town in the Břeclav District in the South Moravian Region of the Czech Republic. From 1811 to 1816, Triebensee worked under the auspices of Count Hunyady in Vienna while taking on additional work as a composer of theater music in Brno. Triebensee's most notable professional appointment was to serve as Carl

[34] Johann Georg Triebensee (*b* Herrndorf, 28 July 1746; *d* Vienna, 14 June 1813) was the principal oboist of Prince Schwarzenberg's Harmonie, later the K.K. Harmonie, as well as the Burgtheater in Vienna before his. For additional information, see Hellyer, "Triebensee," https://bit.ly/2TFkqV2.
[35] Hellyer, "Triebensee," https://bit.ly/2TFkqV2.
[36] Ibid.

Maria von Weber's successor as music director of the Prague Opera in 1816, a post he would retain until his retirement in 1836.

The first sets of Josef Triebensee's Harmonie arrangements, transcriptions, and original compositions were initially "advertised in the *Wiener Zeitung*"[37] on 16 November 1803. Triebensee would continue to publish his Harmoniemusik works as installments for public consumption until about June of 1809. In addition to his over 32 installments of Harmoniemusik publications, Triebensee is also noted for his "12 comic operas for Vienna and Prague stages, as well as several smaller vocal pieces, orchestra and chamber works." Triebensee's arrangements and transcriptions of Mozart's operas include works derived from *Don Giovanni*, *La clemenza di Tito*,[38] and *Così fan tutte*.

JOSEPH HEIDENREICH

There is a minimal amount of existing biographical material on Joseph Heidenreich. It can be found in Otto Erich Deutsch's *Mozart, Die Dokumenete seines Lebens*, where birth and death dates of 1753 and 1821 are given.[39] Heckl speculates that Heidenreich was born in Weidenau, Austria, located in present-day Vidnava, a town in Jeseník District in the Olomouc Region of the Czech Republic.[40] In addition to drawing upon newsprint advertisements between 1788 to 1816, Heckl utilizes additional primary documents to find that Heidenreich was also an orchestral violist, composer, music composition instructor, and arranger of many operas and oratorios, as well as many instrumental works, primarily chamber music.[41] Heidenreich had no

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[37] Ibid.
[38] *La clemenza di Tito* remains one of the only opera seria Harmonie arrangements of Mozart's operas by Triebensee.
[39] Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart: Die Dokumente seines Lebens, Dokumente, gesammelt und erläutert von Otto E. Deutsch, Volume I* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1961), 278.
[40] Heckl, *W. A. Mozarts Instrumentalkompositionen*, 50.
[41] Ibid., 50-51.

known affiliation with Mozart other than the arrangements and transcriptions of the composer's operas and instrumental works. The only known arrangement of Mozart's operas by Heidenreich for Harmonie is the composer's last Singspiel, *Die Zauberflöte*. In addition, Heidenreich is credited by Heckl for making two other known Harmonie arrangements from Mozart's catalog, which include: the fourth movement of Serenade for Winds in E-flat major, K. 375,[42] and the Horn Quintet in E-flat major, K.407/386c.[43]

[42] Ibid., 24.
[43] Ibid., 50-65.

Chapter II

THE HARMONIE ARRANGEMENTS

WENT'S ARRANGEMENT OF *DIE ENTFÜHRUNG AUS DEM SERAIL*

Mozart references his own arrangement of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* for Harmonie in a letter to his father Leopold on Friday, 20 July 1782:

> Well, I am up to the eyes in work, for by Sunday week I have to arrange my opera for wind-instruments.[44] If I don't, someone will anticipate me and secure the profits. And now you ask me to write a new symphony! How on earth can I do so? You have no idea how difficult it is to arrange a work of this kind for wind-instruments [*Harmonie*], so that it suits these instruments and yet loses none of its effect. Well, I must just spend the night over it, for that is the only way; and to you, dearest father, I sacrifice it. You may rely on having something from me by every post. I shall work as fast as possible and, as far as haste permits, I shall turn out good work.[45]

The composer had just conducted the première of work on 16 July 1782 at the K.K. Theater an der Burg in Vienna. The opera's success was so great that Aloys I, the Prince of Liechtenstein, commissioned Mozart to transcribe his new opera for Harmonie quickly. The Prince of Liechtenstein was so impatient for an arrangement that he also commissioned ones from other arrangers. Mozart had to have been aware of this due to his fear that "someone will anticipate me and secure the profits."[46] The most likely group of competing arrangers would have been Mozart's wind colleagues, bassoonist Wenzel Kauzner and oboists Georg Triebensee and Johann [Nepomuk] Went.[47]

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[44] Mozart was referencing *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, which was performed 16 July 1782.
[45] Emily Anderson, *The Letters of Mozart and His Family, Volume III* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1938), 1205.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Hellyer, "The Transcriptions for Harmonie," 53-66.

No such arrangement by Mozart himself has ever been found which can be authenticated. However, a 1784 arrangement of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* by Johann Nepomuk Went has survived to the present day. Went's arrangement currently is housed at La Biblioteca dell'Istituto Musicale "L. Boccherini" di Lucca in Florence, Italy. It "has the usual spate of wrong notes and inconsistencies of articulation and dynamic indications, "which is the case with the majority of transcriptions."[48] The editor, Himie Voxman, resolved many of these inconsistencies by comparing Went's manuscript with the original score in 1975. However, Voxman was not wholly successful in his attempt to rid Went's original arrangement of all of the inconsistencies occasioned in the arranging process.

Went's arrangement calls for the traditional Harmonie octet. Out of the twenty-one selections of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, Went chose only eight numbers. (See **Table 1** below). Went's arrangements include only the arias and duets of Belmonte, Blonde, Osmin, and Pedrillo. The most likely reason behind Went including these specific selections was their immense popularity. Of the vocal solos, many, if not all, are given to the first and second oboe parts, unsurprisingly since Went himself was an oboist and expected the chief melody line to be played by that Harmonie instrument. **Table 1** below shows the difference in order and selection between Went's arrangement and the NMA full opera score.

[48] Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Johann Nepomuk Went, and ed. Himie Voxman, *Abduction from the Seraglio: For 2 Oboes, 2 Clarinets, 2 Bassoons & 2 Horns*, (London: Musica Rara, 1975), 2.

NMA Score	Went's Arrangement	Transposition	Vocal Parts
Ouvertüre	No. 1: Ouvertüre	C major→B-flat major	X
No. 1: <Aria> *Hier soll ich dich denn sehen, Konstanze!* Andante	No. 2: <Aria> *Hier soll ich dich denn sehen, Konstanze!* Andante	C major→B-flat major	Belmonte (tenor)
No. 9: <Duetto> *Ich gehe, doch rate ich dir*. Allegro – Andante – Allegro assai	No. 3: <Duetto> *Ich gehe, doch rate ich dir*. Allegro – Andante – Allegro assai	E-flat major	Blonde/Osmin (soprano/bass)
No. 8: <Aria> *Durch Zärtlichkeit und Schmeicheln*. Andante grazioso	No. 4: <Aria> *Durch Zärtlichkeit und Schmeicheln*. Andante grazioso	A major→B-flat major	Blonde (soprano)
No. 15: <Aria> *Wenn der Freude Tränen fließen*. Adagio – Allegretto	No. 5: <Aria> *Wenn der Freude Tränen fließen*. Adagio – Allegretto	B-flat major	Belmonte (tenor)
No. 19: <Aria> *O, wie will ich triumphieren, wenn sie euch zum Richtplatz führen*. Allegro vivace	No. 6: <Aria> *O, wie will ich triumphieren, wenn sie euch zum Richtplatz führen*. Allegro vivace	D major→B-flat major	Osmin (bass)
No. 12: <Aria> *Welche Wonne, welche Lust*. Allegro	No. 7: <Aria> *Welche Wonne, welche Lust*. Allegro	G major→B-flat major	Blonde (soprano)
No. 14: <Duetto> *Vivat Bacchus! Bacchus lebe*!	No. 8: <Duetto> *Vivat Bacchus! Bacchus lebe*!	C major→B-flat major	Osmin/Pedrillo (bass/tenor)

Table 1. Comparison between NMA score and Went's arrangement.

Apart from the overture and first vocal number, Went's arrangement presents his selections differently than in the opera. Further, Mozart's original key choices are used only in the arias "Ich gehe, doch rate ich dir" (E-flat) and "Wenn der Freude Tränen fließen" (B-flat). Whereas the choice of keys Mozart employs throughout his operas are complex both harmonically and dramatically, every key-area is planned out carefully in the original aria, this tonal planning is almost abandoned entirely in the Harmoniemusik arrangement of Went to allow the ensemble to play in the keys most suited to it.

Only one of Went's selections, "Hier soll ich dich denn sehen, Konstanze," does not employ cuts. Most of his cuts make sure to preserve Mozart's original harmonic progressions.

The cuts seem to have been made primarily with an eye to time constraints, placing the popular arias by Belmonte, Blonde, Osmin, and Pedrillo in an order that would preserve the narrative of Act I (with the exception of Konstanze's aria). Another possible motivation for including these selections was the popularity of two specific singers who premièred the opera. The famed tenor Johann Valentin Adamberger, who originated the role of Belmonte, and bass Ludwig Fischer, the first Osmin, served as important factors in Mozart's composition of the opera.[49] Adamberger and Fischer were both so renowned and in-demand that Mozart's "changes [to the opera] were motivated as much by concern for the singers of the roles involved" as for any other reason.[50] Mozart himself documents his motivation to write specifically for Adamberger and Fischer at great length, "at a level of detail scarcely encountered elsewhere in his letters."[51]

Out of Went's eight selections, the overture and the arias "Hier soll ich dich denn sehen, Konstanze!" and "O, wie will ich triumphieren, wenn sie euch zum Richtplatz führen," will serve here as the subjects of analysis and discussion. The choice of the overture follows from the fact that each of the three opera arrangements discussed in this chapter includes it. The numbers "Hier soll ich dich denn sehen, Konstanze!" and "O, wie will ich triumphieren, wenn sie euch zum Richtplatz führen" are the most popular arias of Belmonte and Osmin.

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[49] Daniel Heartz, *Mozart's Operas*, (Berkley: University of California Press, 1990), 69.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.

NO.1 OUVERTÜRE

The overtures to Mozart's operas are the opening selection of all three Harmonie arrangements discussed. In the original opera, it was the only exclusively instrumental number and it functions as a perfect introduction to the spirit and thematic content of the following selections.

The original score of the overture to *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* contains three distinct sections: Presto, Andante, and Primo tempo. Went's arrangement, however, only includes the first of the three sections from the original overture. See **Table 2** for sections and transpositions below:

NMA Score	Went's Arrangement	Transposition
Presto: mm. 1-118	Presto: mm. 1-109	C major→B-flat major
Andante: mm. 119-152	X	X
Tempo primo (Presto): mm. 153-240	X	X

Table 2.

The arrangement thus eliminates over 131 measures of the original overture, including a cut of three measures of the original first section, cutting mm. 113-116 at the end of the first presto section. The second theme of the overture presents a 'B' section that is an instrumental version of first aria in the opera sung by Belmonte. Went eliminates the instrumental version of Belmonte's aria and the second presto section to achieve a seamless progression to the second number, Mozart's first aria, "Hier soll ich dich denn sehen, Konstanze!". Went employs a slower harmonic rhythm in the oboe and horn parts to bring the overture to a close. See **Fig. 1** and **Fig. 2** below:

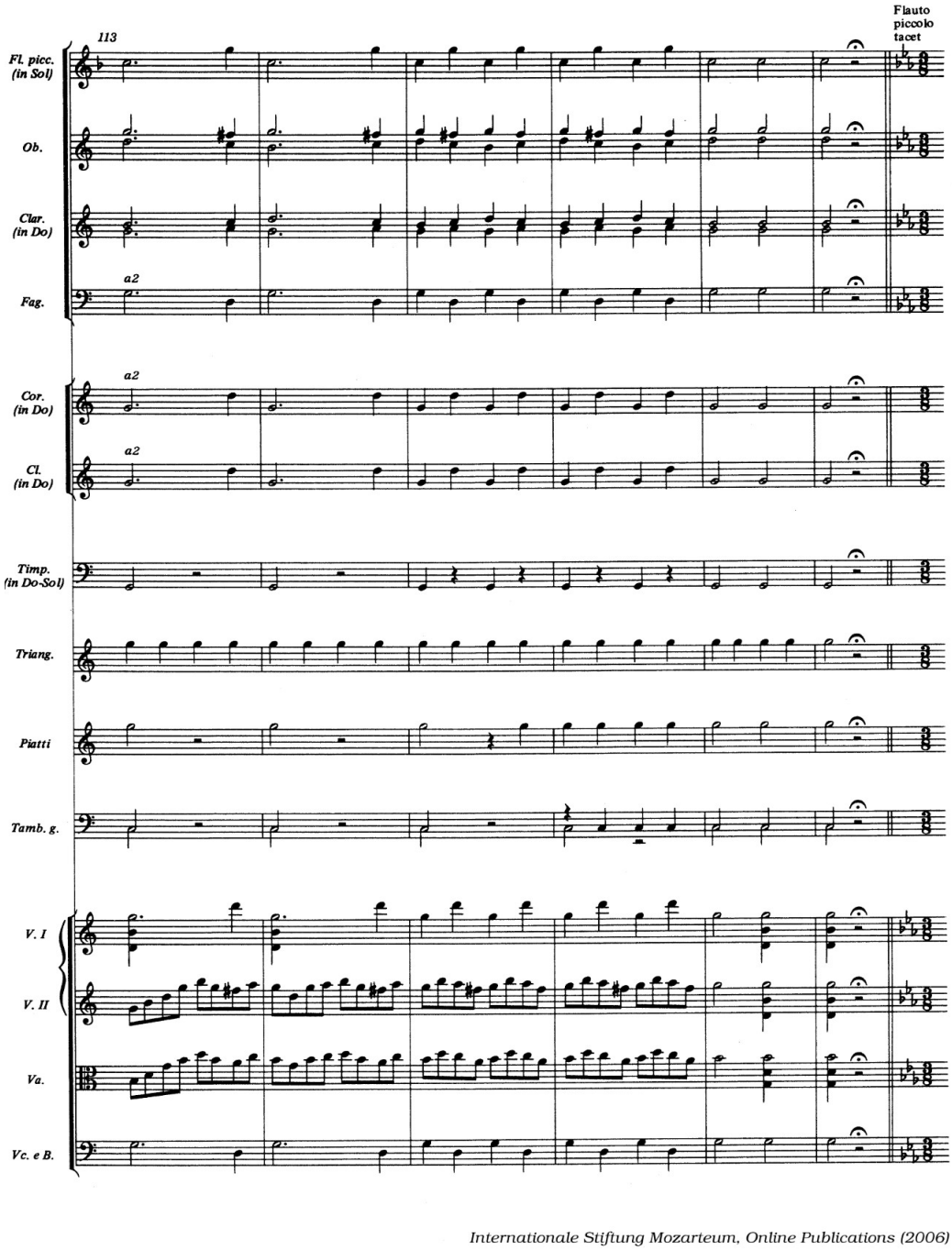

Fig. 1. Measures 113-118 from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. *Die Entführung aus dem Serail. Neue Mozart-Ausgabe: Digital Mozart Edition*. Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum., 2006, 25.

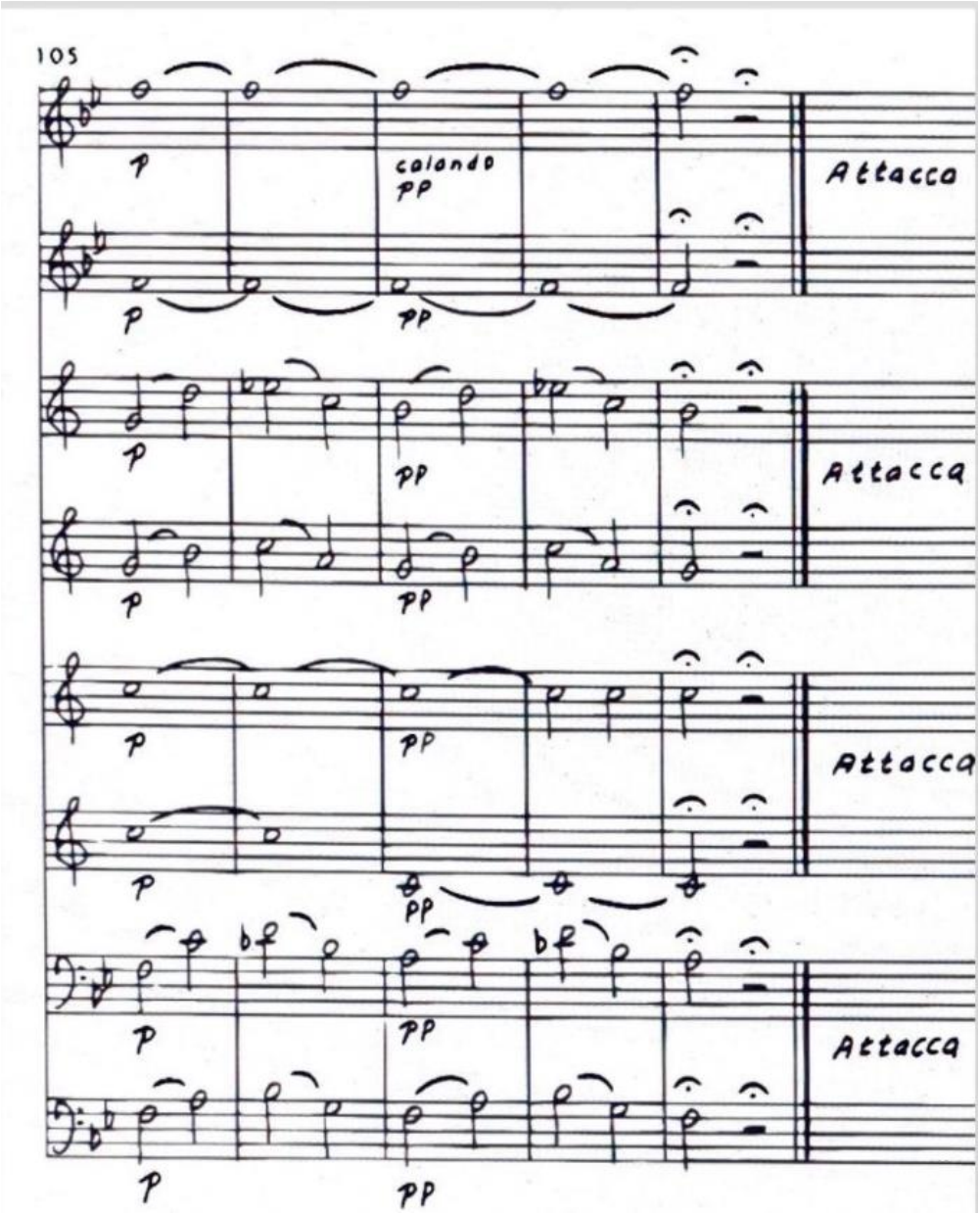

Fig. 2. Example of slowed harmonic rhythm in mm. 105-109 from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Went, and ed. Himie Voxman, *Abduction from the Seraglio*, 9.

Along with the cuts and compositional changes in the last six measures, Went also deleted four measures of repetitive figures from the first violins in mm. 51-58 of the original score. See **Fig. 3** and **4** below:

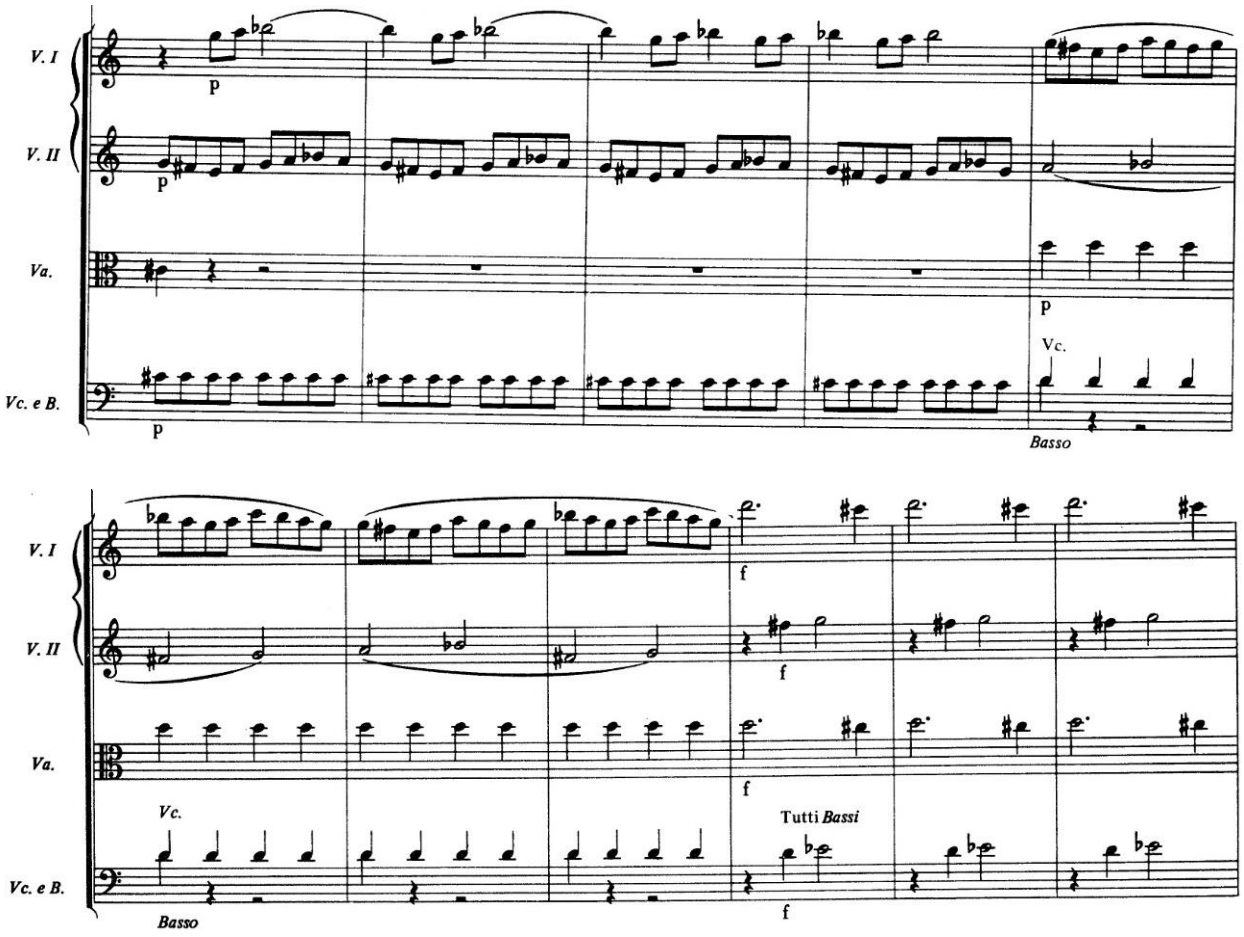

Fig. 3. Measures 51-58 from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*. *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe: Digital Mozart Edition*. Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum. 2006, 14-15.

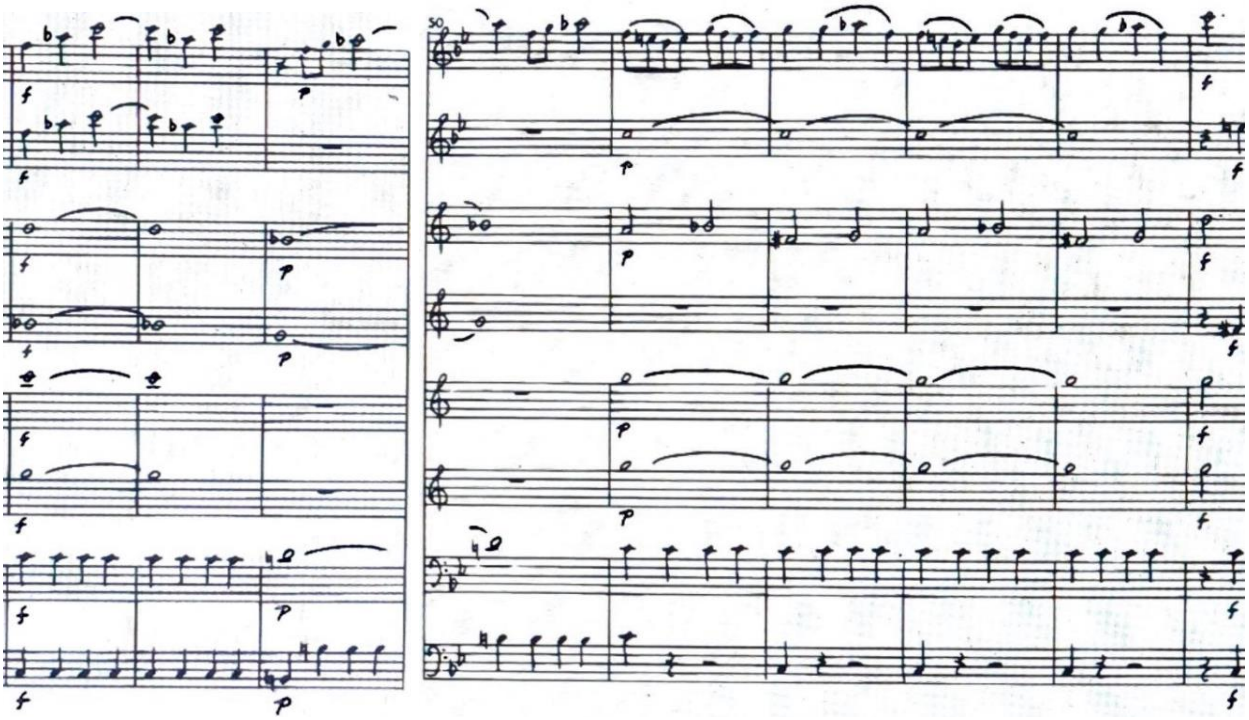

Fig. 4. Measures 49-54 from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Johann Nepomuk Went, and ed. Himie Voxman. *Abduction from the Seraglio: For 2 Oboes, 2 Clarinets, 2 Bassoons & 2 Horns*. London: Musica Rara, 1975, 6-7.

The majority of the orchestral accompaniment in the original overture comprises a constant stream of eighth-note figures, mainly in the bassoon, second violins, violas, cellos, and basses. **See Fig. 5** below:

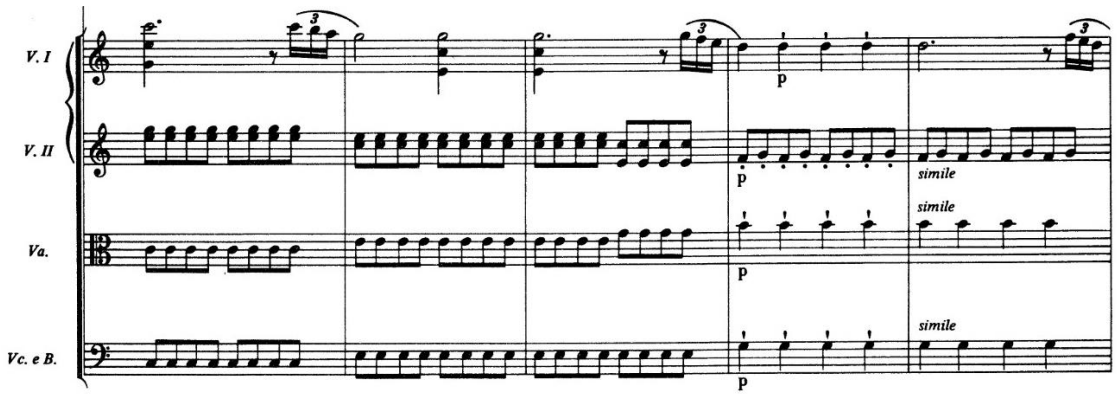

Fig. 5. Measures 24-28 from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*. *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe: Digital Mozart Edition*. Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum., 2006, 14-15.

As an oboist, one could speculate that Went understood that many of these repetitive eighth-note passages marked *presto alla breve* would be quite fatiguing for any woodwind player. To reduce fatigue Went would often replace eighth-notes successions with half-notes, especially in the horns. See **Fig. 6.** below:

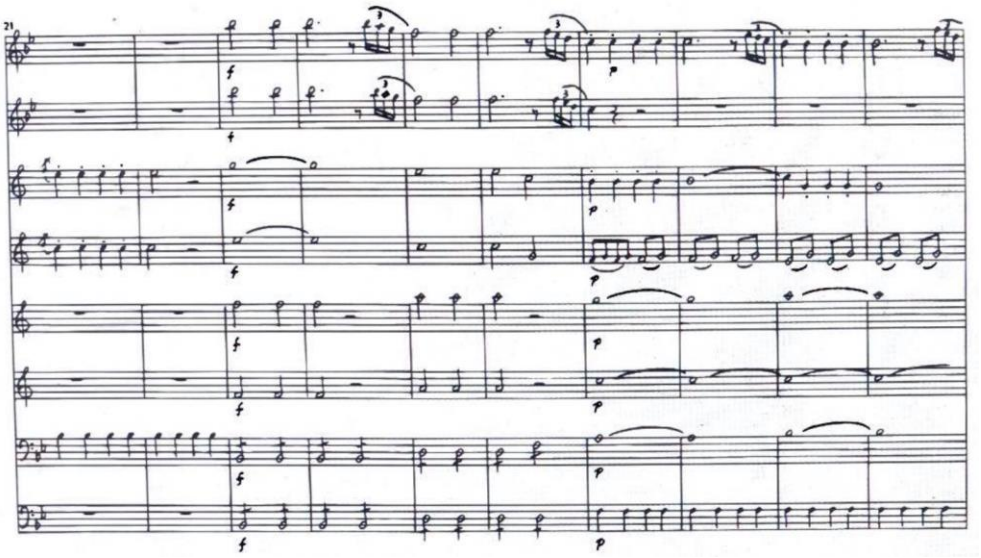

Fig. 6. Measures 21-30 from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Johann Nepomuk Went, and ed. Himie Voxman. *Abduction from the Seraglio: For 2 Oboes, 2 Clarinets, 2 Bassoons & 2 Horns*. London: Musica Rara, 1975, 6.

Went also revised the original articulation directions in the original, using slurs in place of staccato articulation. **Fig. 5** presents the second violins playing a completely staccato passage, while as in Went's arrangement, the second clarinets have slurs underneath each group of eighth-notes.

In sum, the overture of Went's arrangement is a perfect example of excellent scoring for the Harmonie ensemble. Wen[d]t went to great lengths to create a direct arrangement of the first Presto section with the fewest possible changes. However, without the original bass drum, cymbals, triangle, and piccolo, the arrangement completely loses the "Turkish" or "Janissary" elements Mozart was trying to invoke. In addition to the lack of Janissary effect, the extreme

alternation of piano to forte sections loses much of the original score's depth in terms of orchestration due to the doubling of unisons in each of the oboes, clarinets, horns, and bassoons in Went's arrangement.

NO. 2: <ARIA> *HIER SOLL ICH DICH DENN SEHEN, KONSTANZE!* ANDANTE

"Hier soll ich dich den sehen, Kostanze! " is the only one of the eight selections from Went's arrangement where the aria is almost completely identical to Mozart's original score. See **Table 3** below:

NMA Score	Went's Arrangement	Transposition	Vocal Part
Andante: mm. 1-59	*Andante*: mm. 1-59	C major→B-flat major	Belmonte (tenor)

Table 3.

Went transposed the aria from the original key from C major to B-flat major to suit the wind player's preference for flat-keys and match the previous key of the overture. "Hier soll ich dich den sehen, Kostanze!" is also marked as andante, the same marking of the second section of the overture that Went omitted along with the second presto section. This strategic cut allows for the drama of the original overture to be maintained.

Went also retains Mozart's choices of rhythm, dynamics, articulation, and ornamentation in this number. He even had the horns rest for the majority of the three-minute selection choosing both oboes and the second clarinet with the bassoon as the primary accompaniment to stay closer to Mozart's original writing. Perhaps the most significant change made in this arrangement was in Went's conception of the solo voice. Belmonte's lyrical aria is given to the first clarinet instead of the first oboe or first bassoon, which were Went's most utilized solo

instruments. The effect of the staccato and legato passages played by the first clarinet perfectly captures the lyrical qualities of the tenor aria in both the chalumeau and clarion registers of the instrument.

Went's arrangement of "Hier soll ich dich den sehen, Kostanze!" is perhaps the most intricately modified of the transcribed selections. Perhaps it is the most convincing number because it is the closest to Mozart's original setting of the aria for tenor and orchestra. Unlike the overture arrangement, the aria's overall texture is much more uniform, with detailed articulation indications and dynamic ranges. Went achieves a fuller-sounding arrangement without doublings.

NO. 6: <ARIA> *O, WIE WILL ICH TRIUMPHIEREN, WENN SIE EUCH ZUM RICHTPLATZ FÜHREN*. ALLEGRO VIVACE

In arranging the "comic villain" Osmin's triumphant vendetta aria, Went presents a good contrast with the mainly lyrical style of the preceding numbers of the "heroic" Belmonte's tenor arias. Ludwig Fischer, who originally played the role of Osmin, was as famous as a crowd favorite Johann Valentin Adamberger playing the hero Belmonte. Unlike the "virtuous" Belmonte, who seeks to rescue his beloved Konstanze, the overseer Osmin is the "very incarnation of rage" and "makes vice laughable."[52] The text of Osmin's aria that Went highlights the most in this arrangement epitomizes the class comic villain in Mozart's operas:

> Oh, my gloating will run amok
> When you're on the chopping block,
> And the executioner tightens the ropes![53]

[52] Heartz, *Mozart's Operas*, 78.
[53] J.D. McClatchy and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Seven Mozart Librettos: A Verse Translation* (New York: WW Norton & Company, 2011), 251.

The aria “O, wie will ich triumphieren, wenn sie euch zum Richtplatz führen” in its original form represents the lengthiest selection Went includes in his set. Went cut nearly 90 measures of the original. In addition to cutting a large portion of “O, wie will ich triumphieren, wenn sie euch zum Richtplatz führen,” Went also transposed the aria from its original comic sharp key of D major to the flat key of B-flat major, a key more suitable for Harmonie. **See Table 4**:

NMA Score	Went's Arrangement	Transposition	Vocal Part
Allegro vivace: mm. 1-238	Allegro vivace: mm. 1-148	D major→B-flat major	Osmin (bass)

Table 4.

Most of the cuts in Went's arrangement remove extended instrumental sections of the rondo, essentially repurposing the instrumental sections, with Osmin's solo line as only one thread of the arrangement. Went cuts the aria's overall duration by a third from these calculated cuts. For example, Went's arrangement condenses Mozart's original aria's first forty-one measures down to a mere fourteen measures. This major cut can easily be seen by comparing measure 42 of Mozart's original with m. 15 of Went's arrangement. At measure 15 of the arrangement, it is clear that these two bassoons are beginning the lines "Hüpfen will ich, lachen, springen," which is 27 measures earlier than it would occur in the original score. See **Figs. 7** and **8** below:

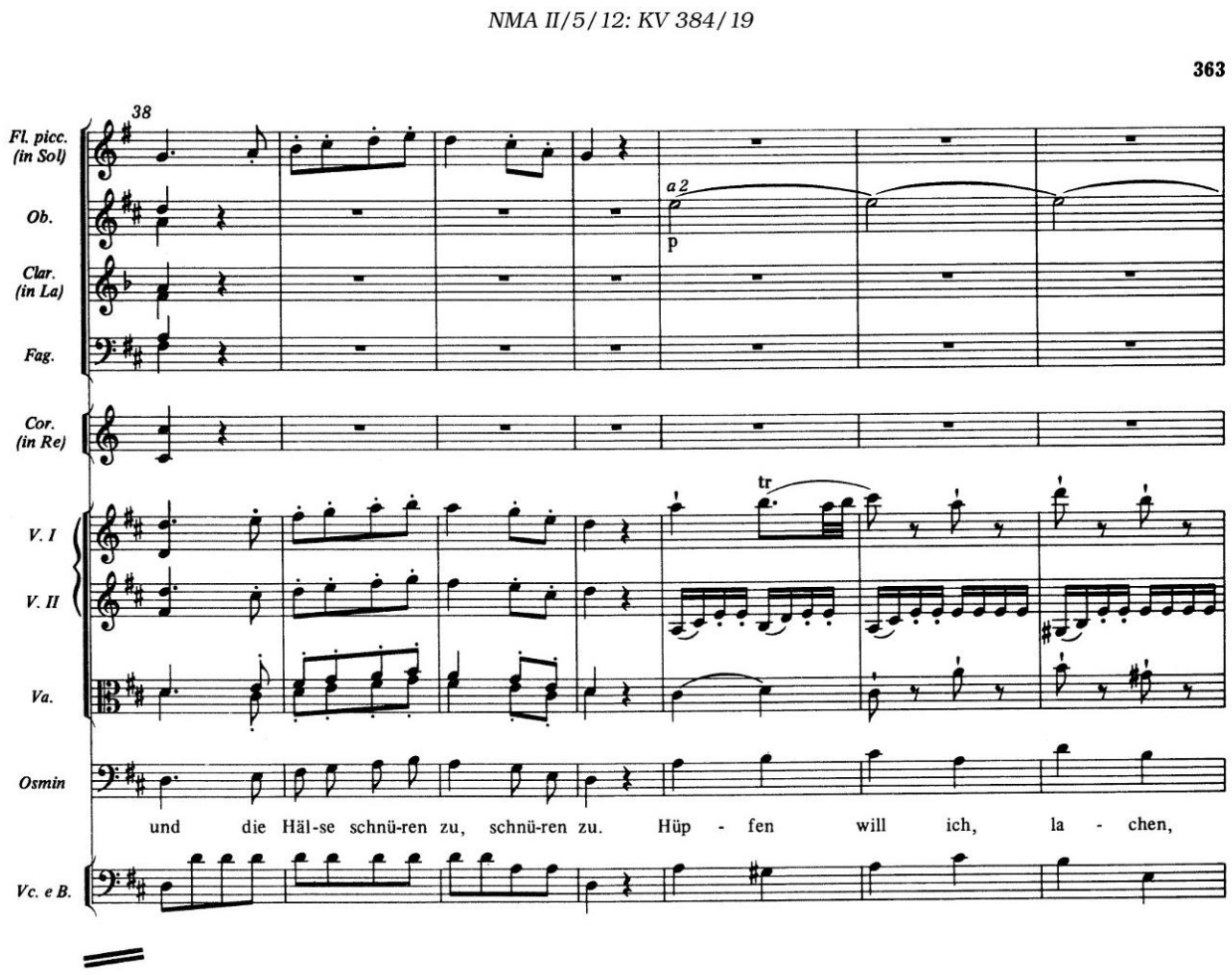

Fig. 7 Measures 38-44 from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*. *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe: Digital Mozart Edition*. Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum. 2006, 363.

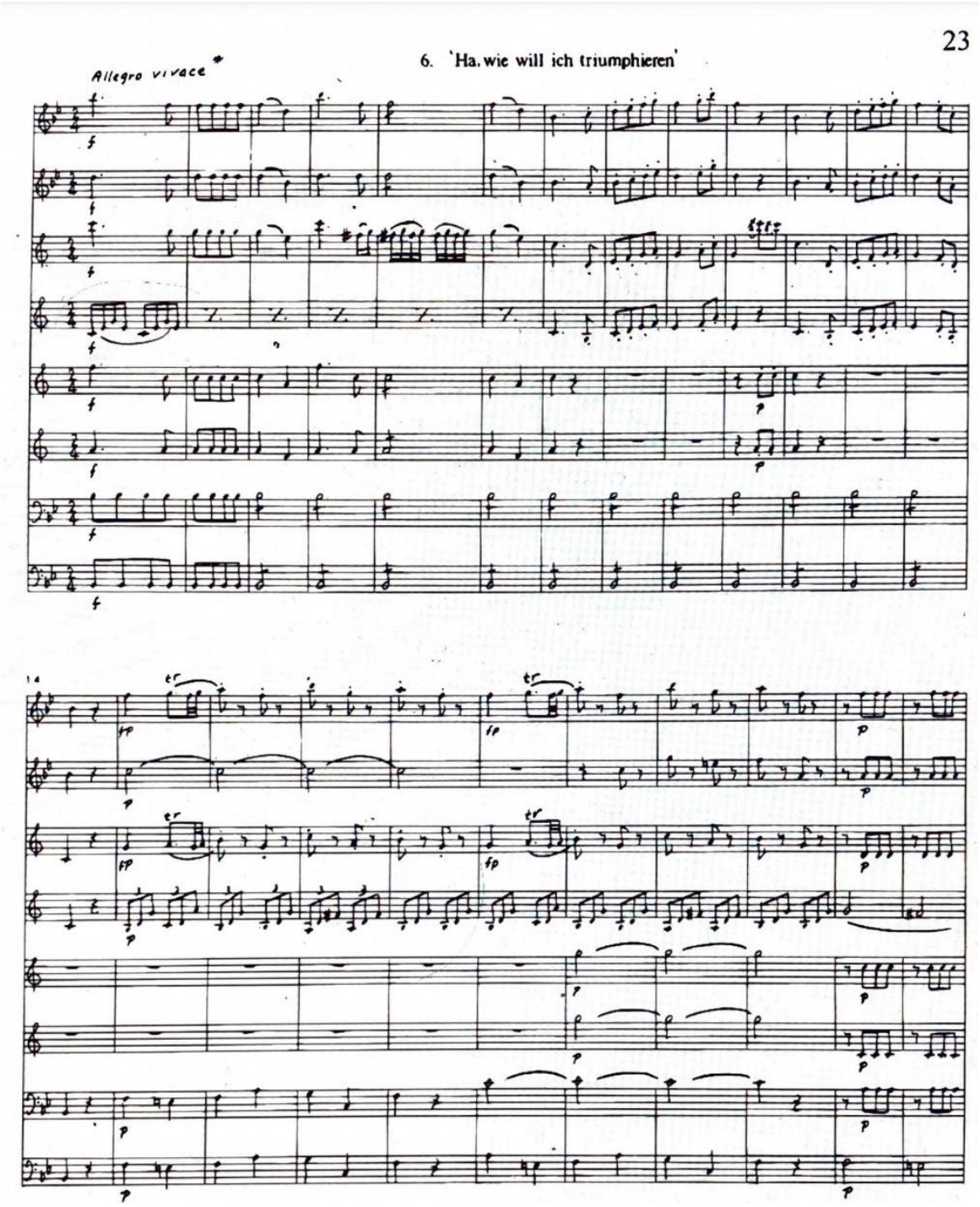

Fig. 8 Measures 1-24 from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Johann Nepomuk Went, and Himie Voxman. *Abduction from the Seraglio: For 2 Oboes, 2 Clarinets, 2 Bassoons & 2 Horns*. London: Musica Rara, 1975, 23.

All tempo markings, dynamics, and other indications remain the same. Many accompaniment figures like the succession of Alberti bass sixteenth notes are frequently replaced with a one-bar repeat sign. Other than the inclusion of these, there are no repeats in the aria. There are no antiquated split beams in this aria; all beams following a present-day practice. All ornaments are consistent with Mozart's in this selection. The original articulation found in Mozart's has been changed somewhat by Went. As is the case in many of the selections, Went has added slurs to many sixteenth-note groupings to aid the woodwind player's stamina in terms of embouchure and articulation.

Mozart's original bass aria for Osmin is almost completely lost in the arrangement. His solo line appears in the second bassoon part and acts more as a harmonic bass than the original score's actual melody. Instead, what the players and listeners are left with is a purely instrumental-sounding rondo. See mm. 25-37 in **Fig. 9** below:

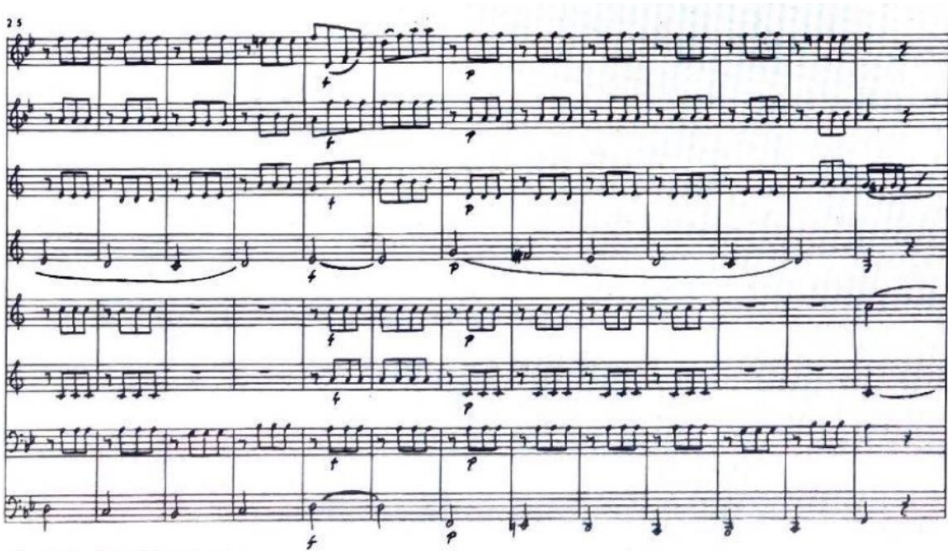

Fig. 9. Measures 25-37 from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Johann Nepomuk Went, and Himie Voxman. *Abduction from the Seraglio: For 2 Oboes, 2 Clarinets, 2 Bassoons & 2 Horns*. London: Musica Rara, 1975, 23.

Went's success with his Harmonie arrangements was carried on by his son-in-law, Josef Triebensee. Triebensee was also an accomplished oboist, Kapellmeister, and arranger of the following Harmonie arrangement of Mozart's operas included in this discussion, *Don Giovanni*.

TRIEBENSEE'S ARRANGEMENT OF *DON GIOVANNI*

Mozart's operas' popularity went on well beyond his lifetime, as is found in a letter from Constanze Mozart to the Viennese publisher Johann Anton André regarding the public demand for small ensemble arrangements of Mozart's operas, even eight years after the composer's death.[54]

> You are aware that many of the airs from the "*Zauberflöte*," "*Don Giovanni*," "*Così fan Tutte*," and "*Figaro*" have been arranged for string quintet. Well, the Viennese public is now anxious for a similar adaptation of "*Idomeneo*."[55]

Indeed, the first publication of *Don Giovanni* for Harmonie by Triebensee appeared in the *Wiener Zeitung* over fifteen years after the opera's premiere, and over a dozen years after Mozart's death, slightly after Triebensee's first set of publications on 16 November 1803 [1803-1804].[56] He probably began his work on the arrangement after he was appointed the leader of the octet of Prince Alois [I] Lichtenstein in 1796. While in this post, he was very active as a composer, arranger, and transcriber.[57] The arrangement might have been bought by Aloys' chamber ensemble in 1796 and likely not published then. The original manuscript of Triebensee's original arrangement cannot be found. Since Triebensee's arrangement of *Don*

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[55] Anderson, *The Letters of Mozart and His Family*, 1464.
[56] Hellyer, "Triebensee," https://bit.ly/2TFkqV2.
[57] Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Josef Triebensee, and ed. Himie Voxman, *Don Giovanni: For 2 Oboes, 2 Clarinets, 2 Bassoons & 2 Horns, Band I* (London: Musica Rara, 1976), 1.

Giovanni was primarily distributed in copies before being published between 1803-1804, the copies most likely served as the basis of the later publication.

Triebensee's arrangement of *Don Giovanni* incorporates many of the same stylistic traits as in the settings by his father-in-law, Johann Went. The editor of the modern edition of this arrangement, Himie Voxman, resolved several textual inconsistencies made by Triebensee in terms of "seemingly unnecessarily altered text, dynamics, and articulations" as well as reducing the number of Triebensee's superfluous additions sforzando (*sf*), fortepiano (*fp*), and sforzando pianoforte (*spf*) dynamics by comparing Triebensee's edition with Mozart's original score in 1976.[58]

Triebensee's arrangement calls for the traditional Harmonie octet. Out of the twenty-four numbers in *Don Giovanni*, Triebensee chose nineteen. (See **Table 5** below). Unlike Went's choice of eight of the most popular arias of the twenty-one numbers in *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, Triebensee's arrangement includes a more numerous and more diverse choice of arias, duets, trios, quartets, and choruses. The opera's featured roles include Don Giovanni, the Commendatore, Donna Anna, Don Ottavio, Donna Elvira, Leporello, Masetto, and Zerlina. Triebensee created arrangements of vocal music of all the main characters except for the Commendatore, because the arranger would not have given music for bass in its original register to a member of the Harmonie.[59] Triebensee opted not to include the most dramatic scenes of the original opera in his arrangement. The most glaring omission is from the Finale to Act 2, "Don Giovanni, a cenar teco," where the Commendatore takes the unrepentant Giovanni's hand, and he is immersed in flames.

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[58] Ibid., 1.
[59] Dr. Peter M. Lefferts, personal communication with author, 16 July 2021.

Of the various numbers, many were given to the first and second oboe parts since Triebensee, like Went, himself was an oboist and expected the chief melody line to be played by that Harmonie instrument. The vocal melody appears in the principal oboe, with the second oboe assigned to the orchestral accompaniment's primary melodic material. **Table 5** below shows the difference in order and selection between Triebensee's arrangement and Mozart's.

NMA	Triebensee's Arrangement	Transposition	Vocal
Overture of "Don Giovanni" K. 527. Concert version Ouvertura. Andante – Molto Allegro	Overture of "Don Giovanni" K. 527. Concert version Ouvertura. Andante – Molto Allegro	D minor/major→ C minor/major	X
No. 1: Introduzione Notte e giorno faticar. Molto Allegro	No. 1: Introduzione Notte e giorno faticar. Molto Allegro	F major	Leporello (Bass)
No. 3: <Aria> Ah chi mi dice mai. <Allegro>	No. 2: <Aria> Ah chi mi dice mai. <Allegro>	E-flat major→F major	Donna Elvira (Soprano)
No. 4: <Aria> Madamina, il catalogo è questo. Allegro	No. 3: <Aria> Madamina, il catalogo è questo. Allegro	D major→C major	Leporello (Bass)

No. 5: <Coro> Giovinette che fate all'amore. Allegro	No. 4: <Coro> Giovinette che fate all'amore. Allegro	G major→C major	Zerlina & Masetto (Soprano & Bass)
No. 7: Duettino Là ci darem la mano. Andante – Allegro	No. 5: Duettino Là ci darem la mano. Andante – Allegro	A major→C major	Zerlina & Don Giovanni (Soprano & Baritone)
No. 9: Quartetto Non ti fidar, o misera. Andante	No. 6: Quartetto Non ti fidar, o misera. Andante	C major	Don Elvira, Donna Anna, Don Ottavio, & Don Giovanni (Soprano, Soprano, Tenor, & Baritone)
Appendix: Additions and amendments to the "Viennese version." 1. Atto primo, in Scena XIV K. 540a. No. 10a: <Aria> Dalla sua pace.	No. 7: <Aria> Dalla sua pace.	G major	Don Ottavio (Tenor)
No. 11: <Aria> Fin ch'han dal vino. Presto	No. 8: <Aria> Fin ch'han dal vino. Presto	B-flat major→F major	Don Giovanni (Baritone)

No. 12: <Aria> Batti, batti, o bel Masetto – Pace, pace, o vita mia.	No. 9: <Aria> Batti, batti, o bel Masetto – Pace, pace, o vita mia.	F major	Zerlina (Soprano)
No. 13: Finale Presto presto pria ch'ei venga. Allegro assai	No. 10: Finale Presto presto pria ch'ei venga. Allegro assai	C major	Masetto & Zerlina (Bass & Soprano)
No. 14: <Duetto> Eh via buffone.	No. 11: <Duetto> Eh via buffone.	G major→F major	Leporello & Don Giovanni (Bass & Baritone)
No. 15: Terzetto Ah taci, ingiusto core. Andantino	No. 12: Terzetto Ah taci, ingiusto core. Andantino	A major→G major	Leporello, Don Giovanni, & Donna Elvira (Bass, Baritone, & Soprano)
No. 16: <Canzonetta> Deh vieni alla finestra.	No. 13: <Canzonetta> Deh vieni alla finestra.	D major→F major	Don Giovanni (Baritone)
No. 17: <Aria> Metà di voi qua vadano. Andante con moto	No. 14: <Aria> Metà di voi qua vadano. Andante con moto	F major	Don Giovanni (Baritone)

No. 18: <Aria> Vedrai carino. Grazioso	No. 15: <Aria> Vedrai carino. Grazioso	C major	Zerlina (Soprano)
Atto secondo: Scena Xa KV3: 540b= 527/21a [NMA] Restati qua – Per queste tue manine. in tempo – Allegro moderato	No. 16: <Duetto> Per queste tue manine. In tempo – Allegro moderato	C major	Leporello & Zerlina (Bass & Soprano)
Atto secondo: Scena Xd K. 540c= 527/21b [NMA] Mi tradì quell'alma ingrata. Allegro assai	No. 17: <Aria> Mi tradì quell'alma ingrata.	E-flat major→F major	Donna Elvira (Soprano)
No. 23: Recitativo <accompagnato e Rondo> Crudele! – Ah no, mio bene! – Non mi dir, bell'idol mio.	No. 18: Recitativo <accompagnato e Rondo> Crudele! – Ah no, mio bene! – Non mi dir, bell'idol mio.	F major→G major	Donna Anna (Soprano)
No. 24: Finale Già la mensa è preparata.	No. 19: Finale Già la mensa è preparata.	D major→C major	Don Giovanni & Leporello

			(Baritone & Bass)

Table 5. Comparison between Mozart's and Triebensee's arrangement.

Unlike Went's arrangement of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, which presents the selections in a different order than the original opera, Triebensee here is almost entirely faithful to Mozart's original sequence of events in *Don Giovanni*. The only presentation of the dark, dramatic themes associated with the Commendatore appears in Triebensee's arrangement of the overture.

Eight of the nineteen selections from the original opera maintain Mozart's original key choices. The eleven numbers where keys were changed in the Harmoniemusik arrangements of Triebensee allow the ensemble to play in the most suitable keys for it. The entire dramaturgy of the original opera is, for the most part, maintained but in a much more lighthearted presentation. Shorter arias are presented in full with few to no cuts. In the duettino "Là ci darem la mano," for example, there are only two measures cut.

Out of Triebensee's nineteen selections, four examples will serve here for analysis and discussion: the overture, "Là ci darem la mano," "Deh vieni alla finestra," and "Già la mensa è preparata."

NO.1 OUVERTÜRE

Mozart's overture for *Don Giovanni* includes much more thematic material than in Triebensee's arrangement. The original overture follows almost all of the normative procedures of the late classical sonata form. It consists of 292 measures in five distinct sections: a slow introduction, exposition, development, recapitulation, and codetta. Triebensee's arrangement omits the entire development-and much of the recapitulation. (Eighteenth-century Harmonie

arrangers traditionally avoided development sections because these modulatory sections would take the ensemble to keys not suitable for a traditional Harmonie ensemble.) See **Table 6** for sections and transpositions below.

NMA Score	Triebensee's Arrangement	Transposition
Slow introduction: mm. 1-30	Slow Introduction: mm. 1-30	D minor/major→ C minor/major
Exposition: mm. 31-120	Exposition: mm. 31-98	P1:D major/S2:A major→ P1:C major/S2:C major (Tonicizing the dominant)
Development: mm. 121-192	X Retransition to Recapitulation: mm. 99-112	X Dominant of D major→ Dominant of C major
Recapitulation: mm. 193-281	Recapitulation: mm. 113-120	D major→C major
Codetta: mm. 282-292	Codetta: mm. 121-132	D major→C major (Modulating at the end towards the dominant chord of F major)

Table 6.

With the omission of Mozart's development section, Triebensee's arrangement reduces the 292 measures of the overture down to 132 measures.

As mentioned above, Triebensee also omitted most of the recapitulation, apart from the closing section. He connected the retransition of the development, mm. 99-112, with the recapitulation's closing theme group, mm. 113-120. These two sections are similar and serve to lead directly to the "codetta." See **Fig. 10** below:

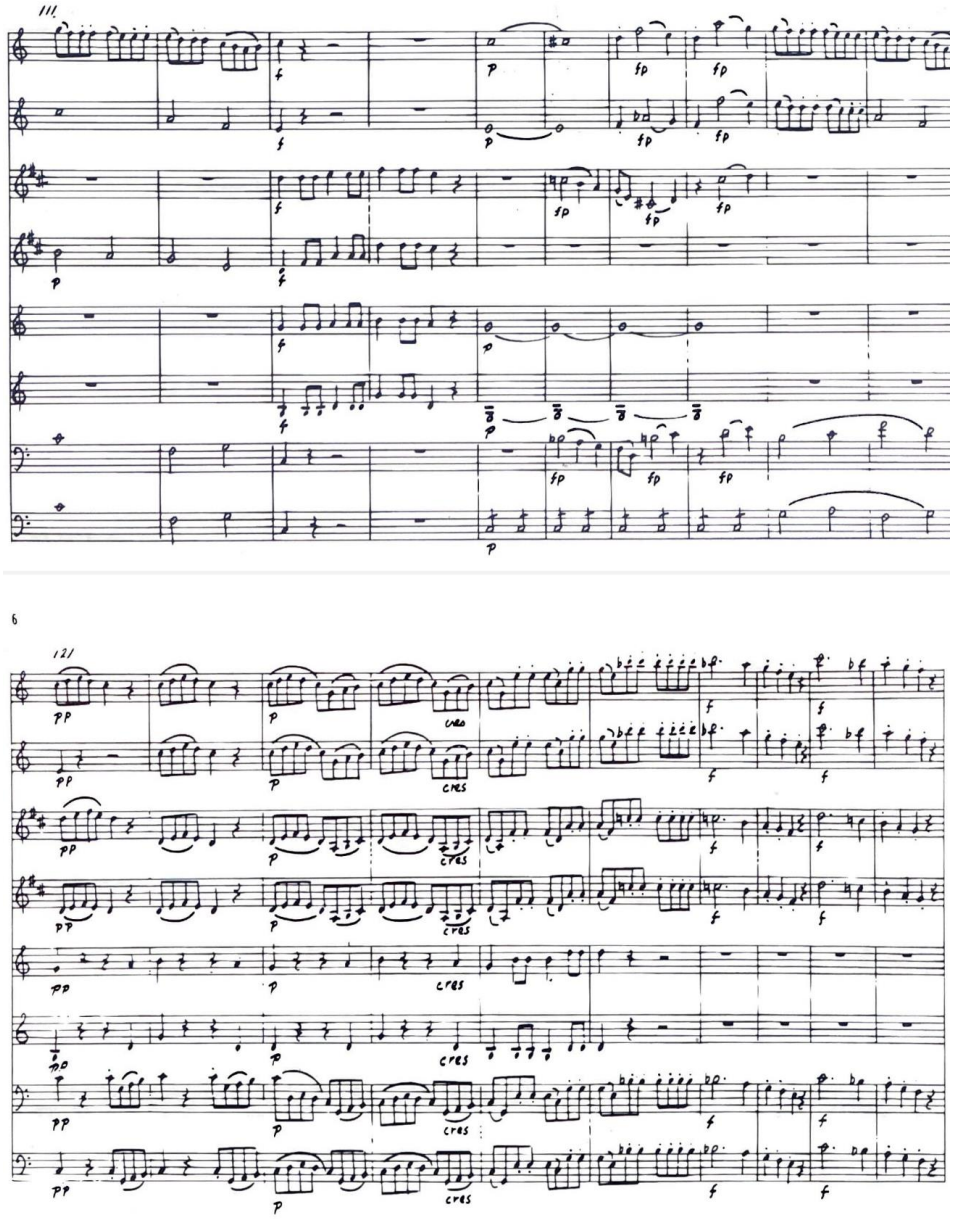

Fig.10. Measures 111-121 from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Josef Triebensee, and ed. Himie Voxman. *Don Giovanni: For 2 Oboes, 2 Clarinets, 2 Bassoons & 2 Horns. Band I*. London: Musica Rara, 1976, 5-6.

Triebensee faithfully maintains the entire slow introduction of the overture in his arrangement, which was already predominately reliant on winds in the original orchestration. The most telling illustration of Triebensee's concept of arrangement can be found in the first eight bars opening bars of the overture. See **Fig. 11** and **Fig. 12** below:

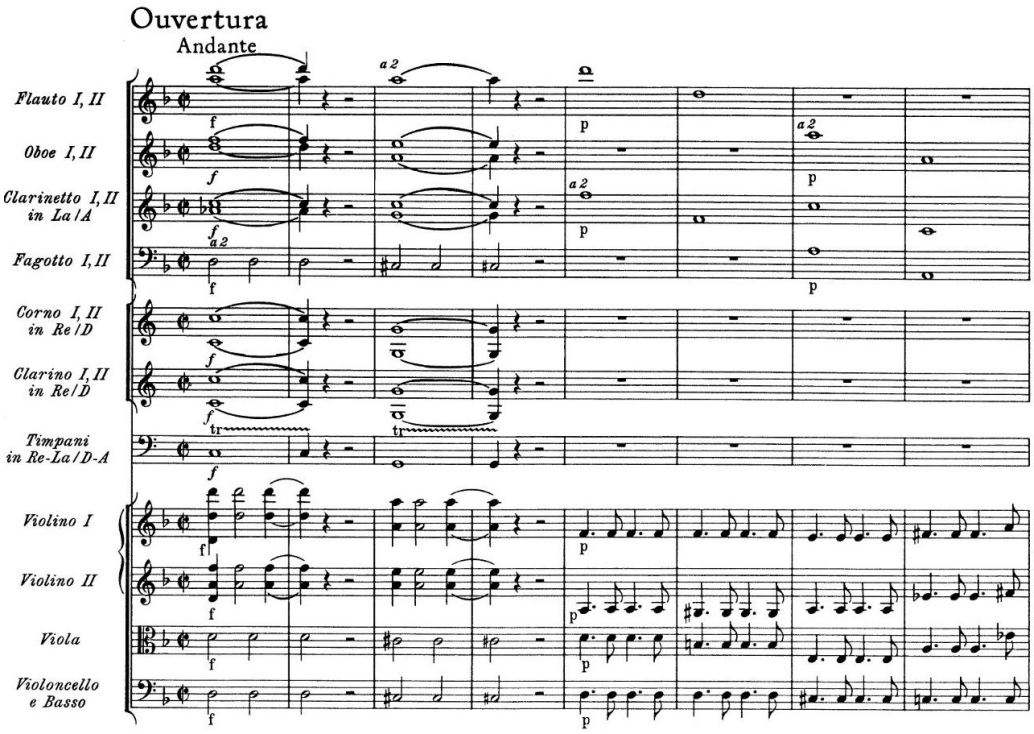

Fig.11. Measures 1-8 from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*. *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe: Digital Mozart Edition*. Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum., 2006, 5.

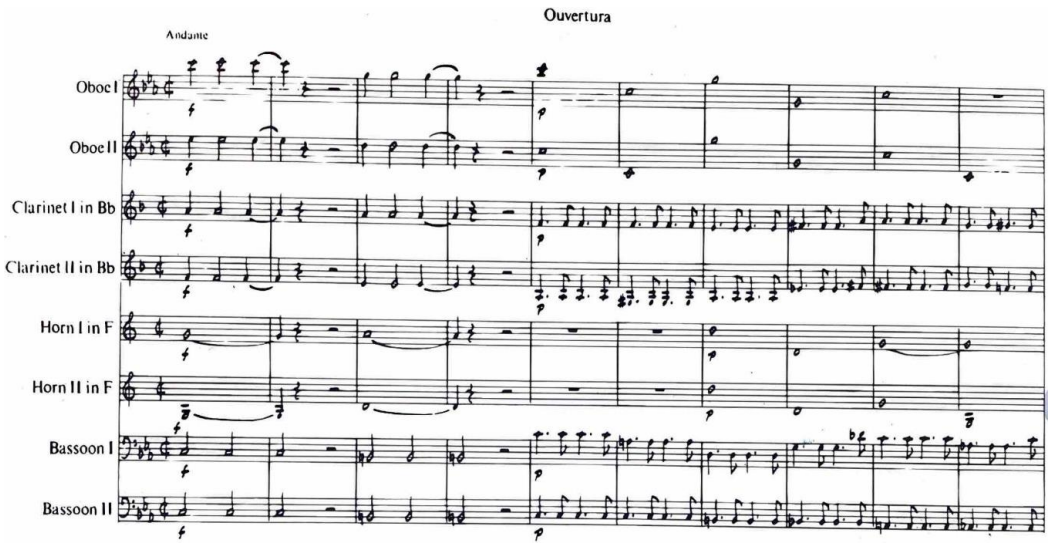

Fig.12. Measures 1-8 from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Josef Triebensee, and ed. Himie Voxman. *Don Giovanni: For 2 Oboes, 2 Clarinets, 2 Bassoons & 2 Horns. Band I*. London: Musica Rara, 1976, 1.

It is clear in **Fig. 11** and **Fig. 12** that Triebensee maintains Mozart's distribution of melodic and harmonic lines as closely as possible. The opening four measures present the original instrumentation with their original pitches but transposed from the original key. Measure five is the clearest example of how Triebensee compensates for the lack of string parts in his arrangement. The clarinets and bassoons take over the parts of the violins, violas, cellos, and basses in mm. 5-8, while the oboes maintain their original material from Mozart's overture. The two horns are placed where needed by Triebensee to offer additional harmonic support.

Triebensee took the utmost care in his arrangements, especially with ornaments and articulation. Almost all ornaments and articulation markings in the original, such as appoggiaturas or trills, are retained. Triebensee does not employ imprecise slurs, as Went used in his arrangement of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* to possibly prevent fatigue of the tongue from constantly articulated passages. Tempo markings appear the same as Mozart's original scores and

are never abbreviated. Triebensee's deviation from Mozart's original is in his addition of dynamic markings.[60]

In sum, the overture of Triebensee's arrangement serves as an excellent example of second-generation Harmoniemusik arranging in Vienna. Triebensee retains as much of Mozart's original material of the overture as possible, except for the development section. All of the original dramatic elements are more or less maintained.

NO. 5: DUETTINO LÀ CI DAREM LA MANO

"Là ci darem la mano" is one of the most famous duets in all of eighteenth-century opera. A pastorale sung by Don Giovanni as a marriage proposal to the innocent Zerlina, it is the only operatic number where Don Giovanni does not appear to be overtly deceitful. The seduction occurs subtly, with only a "descending chromatic fourth into Giovanni's vocal line as he thinks about the girl in the piazza who might become a new conquest for him."[61]

Triebensee captures the seduction duet beautifully in its entirety, while transposing the duet from Mozart's original key of A major to C major. He thus ignores Mozart's deliberate choice of A major to express the emotion of love.[62] (He also transposes the terzetto from Act II, "Ah taci, ingiusto core," another number involving amorous persuasion, from A major to G major.) See **Table 7**:

[60] Mozart, Triebensee, and ed. Voxman, *Don Giovanni*, 1.
[61] Heartz, *Mozart's Operas*, 181.
[62] Leonard G. Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style* (New York: Schirmer Books), 1980, 398.

NMA Score	Triebensee's Arrangement	Transposition	Vocal Part
Andante: mm. 1-49	*Andante*: mm. 1-49	A major→C major	Don Giovanni & Zerlina (Baritone & Soprano)
Allegro: mm. 50-82	*Allegretto*: mm. 50-80		

Table 7.

Triebensee's cut of two measures is evident when comparing the last six measures of Mozart's against the arrangement. Measures 77-78 are repeated as a sequence in mm. 79-80 in Mozart's. Triebensee cut measures 77-78 from the original score in his arrangement for no apparent reason. See **Fig. 13** and **Fig. 14** below:

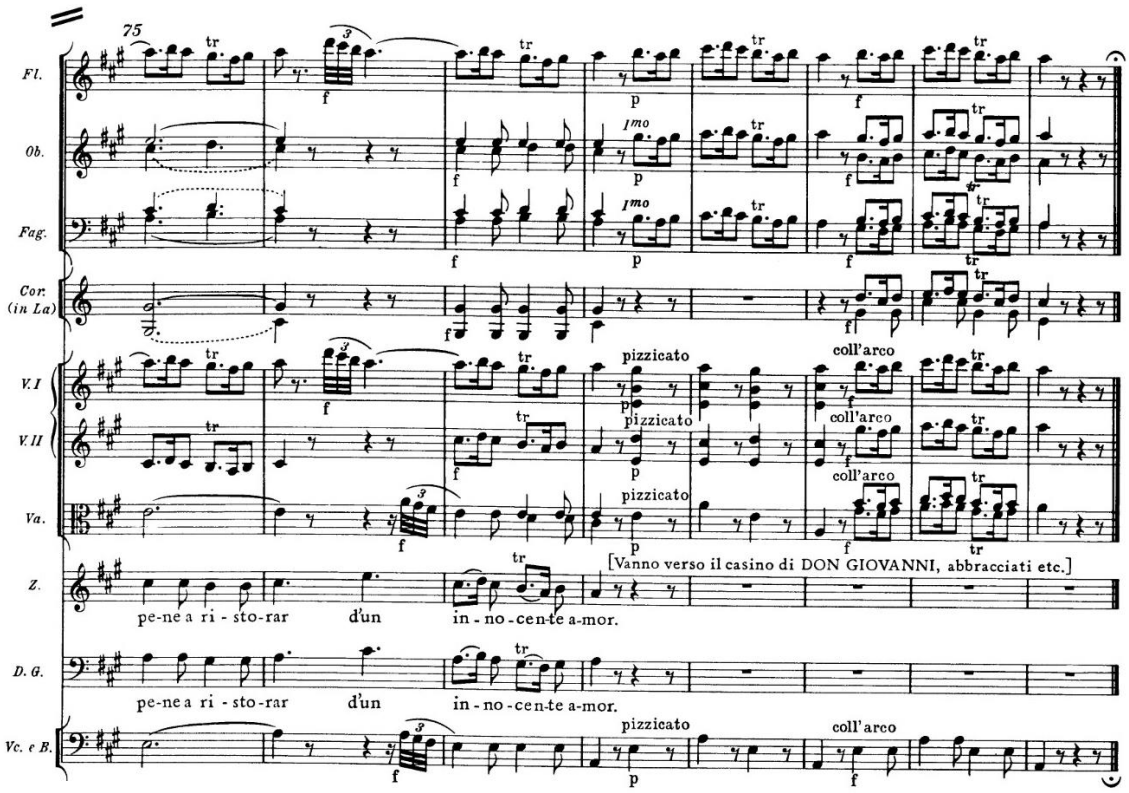

Fig. 13. Measures 75-82 from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. *Don Giovanni. Neue Mozart-Ausgabe: Digital Mozart Edition*. Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum. 2006, 116.

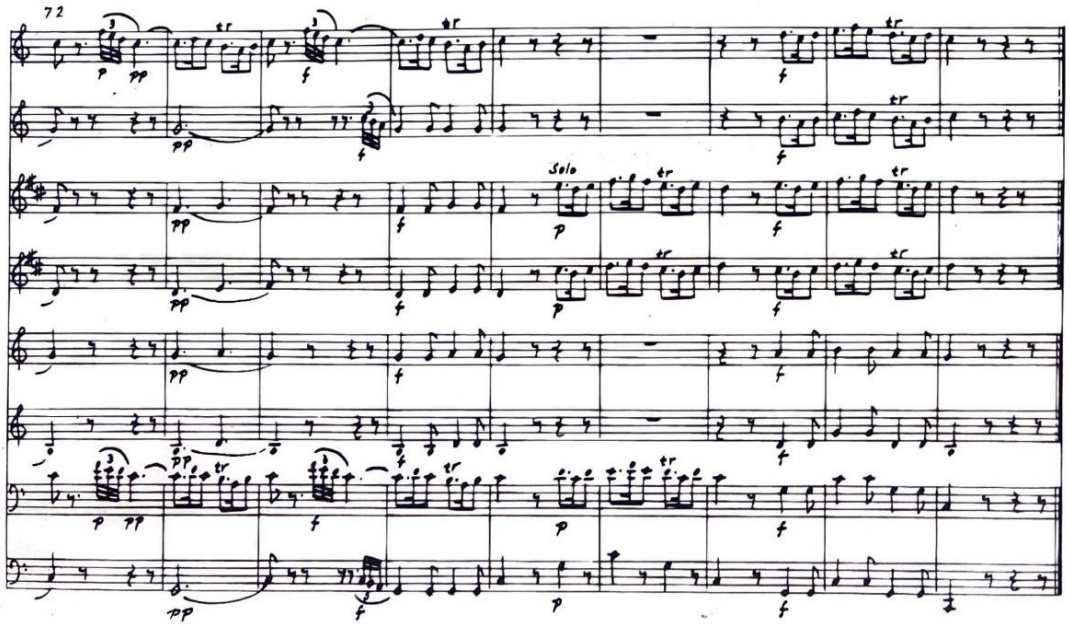

Fig.14. Measures 72-80 from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Josef Triebensee, and ed. Himie Voxman. *Don Giovanni: For 2 Oboes, 2 Clarinets, 2 Bassoons & 2 Horns. Band I*. London: Musica Rara, 1976, 24.

The arranger has chosen a more deliberate tempo at mm. 50: allegretto instead of allegro. Triebensee assigns the parts of Don Giovanni (baritone) and Zerlina (soprano) to the principal bassoon and oboe, respectively. The pitches of the solo bassoon and oboe lines are very close to the original vocal parts, as is the configuration of the accompaniment. The opening six measures of the NMA and Triebensee scores demonstrate Triebensee's masterfully scoring for Harmonie. See **Fig. 15** and **Fig. 16** below:

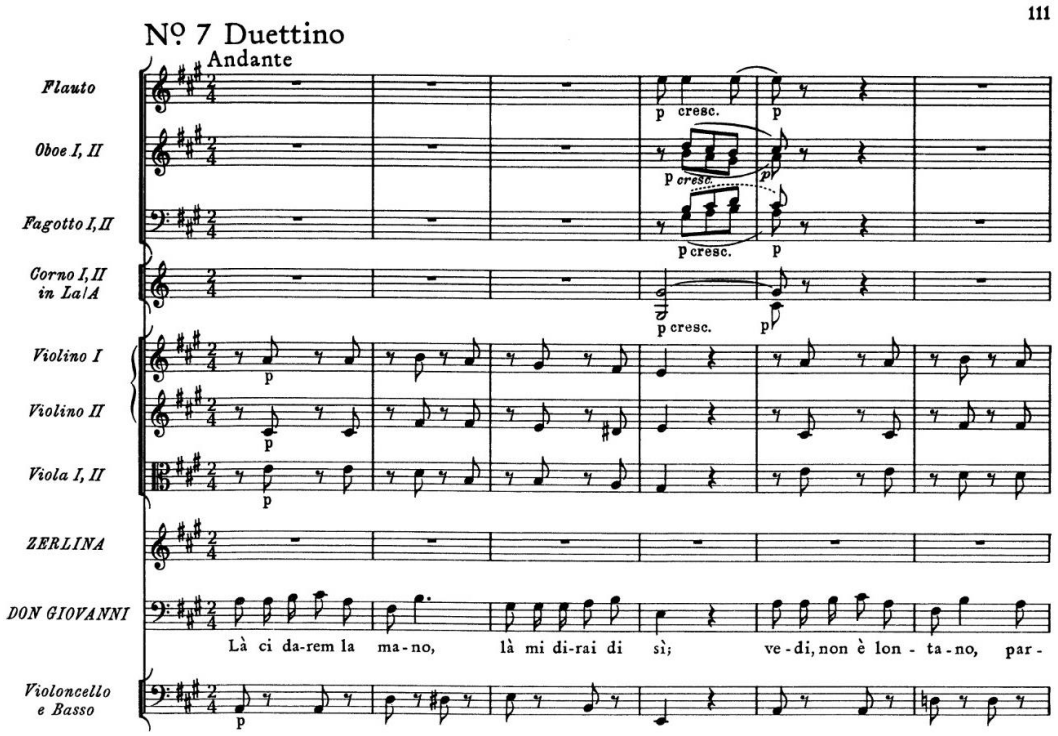

Fig. 15. Measures 1-6 from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*. *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe: Digital Mozart Edition*. Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum. 2006, 111.

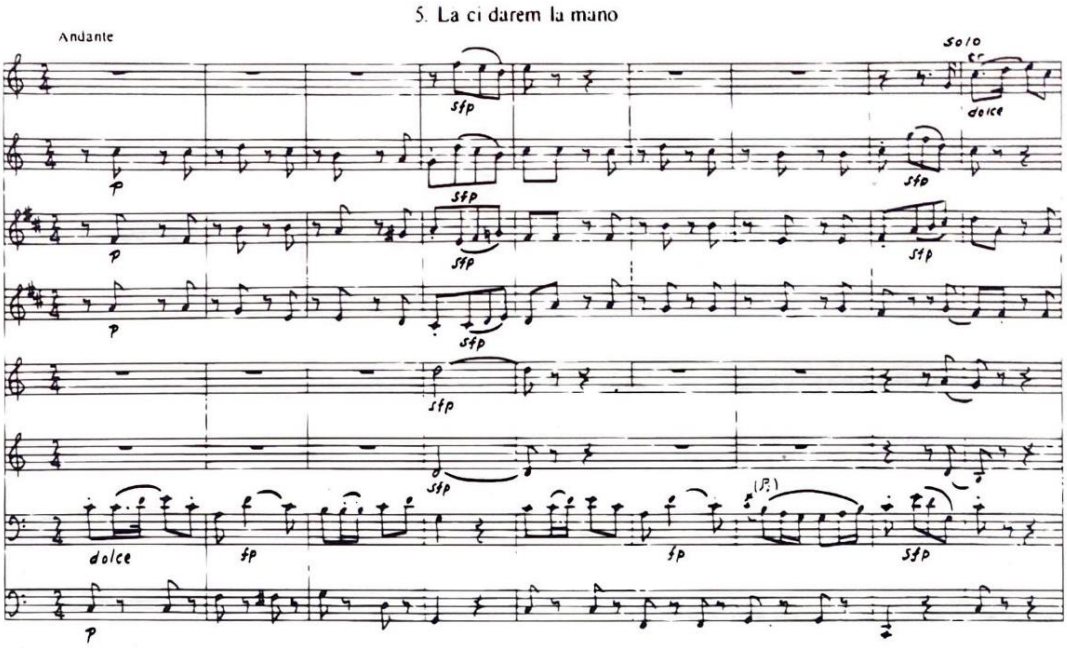

Fig.16. Measures 1-9 from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Josef Triebensee, and ed. Himie Voxman. *Don Giovanni: For 2 Oboes, 2 Clarinets, 2 Bassoons & 2 Horns. Band I*. London: Musica Rara, 1976, 22.

Triebensee assigns the second oboe and both clarinet parts to the violins' original roles, violas, and the bass part to the second bassoon in the opening three measures. Triebensee's faithful arrangement of Mozart's opera appears in measure 4 of **Fig. 16** when the arranger assigns both oboe parts to mirror their original roles in the same measure in **Fig. 15**. The opening solo bassoon line is very different rhythmically than Don Giovanni's original part in Mozart's. Triebensee has simply written out the rhythm of the solo bassoon line as a singer would perform the solo with rubato, which is clearly notated. See **Fig. 15** and **Fig. 16** above. Triebensee has simply beamed together the separated noteheads of the original (for which, see Mozart's); Triebensee also does not retain Mozart's choices of dynamics, articulation, and ornamentation in this number. Measure 1-2 of **Fig. 16** above in the solo bassoon line has additional staccato markings, a dolce indication, and fortepiano indication; none of these additional markings and indications are present in mm. 1-2 of the NMA in **Fig. 15**. Similar indications, such as a different

staccato marking and a dolce indication, are present in Zerlina's line, placed in the solo oboe line. Other than the stylized modifications that Triebensee has put into place for translating the solo vocal line into a purely instrumental medium, the composer successfully creates a very detailed and faithful arrangement of the "love duet" for Harmonie.

NO. 13: <CANZONETTA> DEH VIENI ALLA FINESTRA

"Deh vieni alla finestra" is only one out of a handful of Triebensee's nineteen selections that appears without any cuts whatsoever. In fact, Triebensee's arrangement is almost identical to the original score of *Don Giovanni*. See **Table 8** below:

NMA Score	Triebensee's Arrangement	Transposition	Vocal Part
Allegretto: mm. 1-44	*Allegretto*: mm. 1-44	D major→F major	Don Giovanni (Baritone)

Table 8.

Triebensee might have transposed the aria from the original key of D major to F major for one or two reasons: either to preserve the symmetry, wherein all of the arrangements of Giovanni's music are transposed to F major from the original preference for D major for the character, a key that might, according to Leonard Ratner, represent "his worldly aspect-his status, his arrogance, and the brilliance that surrounds him,"[63] or, to establish the key of F as a prelude to number 14, "Metà di voi qua vadano," also sung by Giovanni, and also in F major in the opera.

Triebensee more than like chose "Deh vieni alla finestra" because it is inherently a serenade, with Giovanni "accompanied by mandolin (supposedly played by himself) and plucked

[63] Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style*, 398.

strings."[64] The running sixteenth notes of the mandolin are placed coequally in the first bassoon and second clarinet lines. The mandolin line alternates between the first bassoon and second clarinet line and is never in both lines at the same time. See **Fig. 17** below:

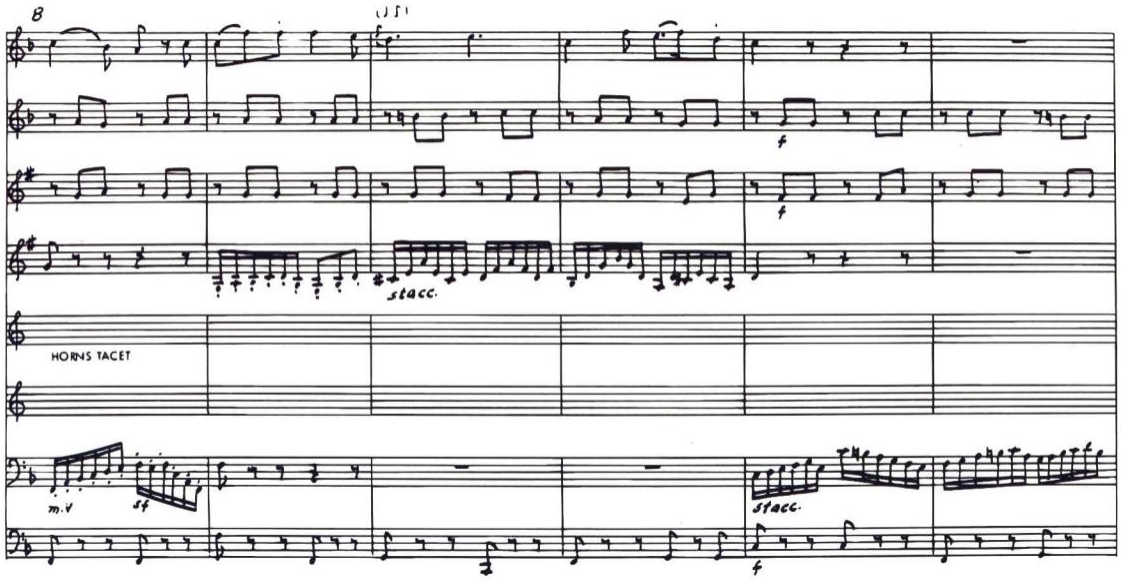

Fig.17. Measures 8-13 from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Josef Triebensee. *Don Giovanni: For 2 Oboes, 2 Clarinets, 2 Bassoons & 2 Horns. Band II*. London: Musica Rara, 1976, 16.

In order to achieve the sound of a plucked string, Triebensee alters Mozart's original articulation by inserting staccato markings for the first bassoon and second clarinet lines. The beautiful bel canto melodic line of Giovanni is placed in the oboe, as is the case with most melodies arranged by Triebensee. The oboe was also used because it was the highest-pitched woodwind instrument in the Harmonie ensemble. Triebensee uses it exclusively to capture the soprano vocal lines, as well as often presenting the baritone and bass vocal lines, transposed an octave higher.

[64] William S. Mann, *The Operas of Mozart* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 492.

NO. 24: FINALE GIÀ LA MENSA È PREPARATA

In the opera itself, the beginning of the Act II finale, "Già la mensa è preparata," for Giovanni and Leporello offers a glimpse of the social use of Harmonie in Mozart's Vienna, as music to accompany high-society dining known as Tafelmusik. While there are many historical documents which provide commentary on Tafelmusik, Mozart, "through music, provides the most brilliant historical record of all."[65] Here Mozart incorporates several arias from popular opera buffa of the day in scoring for Harmonie. The aria selections include*:* "O quanto un sì bel giubilo" from the Act I finale of the opera *Una cosa rara* by Vicente Martín y Soler, "Come un agnello" from Act I of Giuseppe Sarti's comic opera *Fra I due litigant il terzo gode*, and finally Mozart's own "Non più andrai" from *Le nozze di Figaro*.[66] Leporello, with his mouth full of food, jokes about the third Harmonie arrangement, saying "that he knows this tune much too well ([Felice] Ponziani had sung Figaro in many Prague performances)."[67] As in Went's and Triebensee's arrangements, Mozart lets woodwind instruments carry the recognizable melody of each aria, along with typical accompaniment patterns, while allowing the dialogue between Giovanni and Leporello to be heard above it. Mozart's Harmonie arrangements of Vicente Martín y Soler and Giuseppe Sarti's operas *Una cosa rara* and *Fra I due litigant il terzo gode* were highly popular around the same time as the premières of *Le nozze di Figaro* and *Don Giovanni* in the 1780s.[68] Surprisingly, Triebensee does not include a direct allusion to "Non più

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[65] *Jahrbuch der Tonkinst von Wien und Prag* and *Magazin der Musik* [1784] are referenced in Hellyer, " 'Harmoniemusik', " 347-349.

[66] Julian Rushton, "Don Giovanni (ii)," (Grove Music Online, 2002), https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.libproxy.unl.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-5000901351.

[67] Mann, *The Operas of Mozart*, 512.

[68] Many operatic numbers *Le nozze di Figaro*, such as "Non più andrai," were independently popular outside of the opera. Mozart in a letter to Gottfried von Jacquin on 14 January 1787 states that his music from *Le nozze di Figaro* has been arranged for "quadrilles and waltzes", as well as stat that "[n]othing is played, sung or whistled but Figaro." See Emily Anderson, *The Letters of Mozart and His Family, Volume III* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1938), 1344.

andrai" from *Le nozze di Figaro* from measures 162 through 171 in his arrangement of the Act II finale. See **Fig. 18** below:

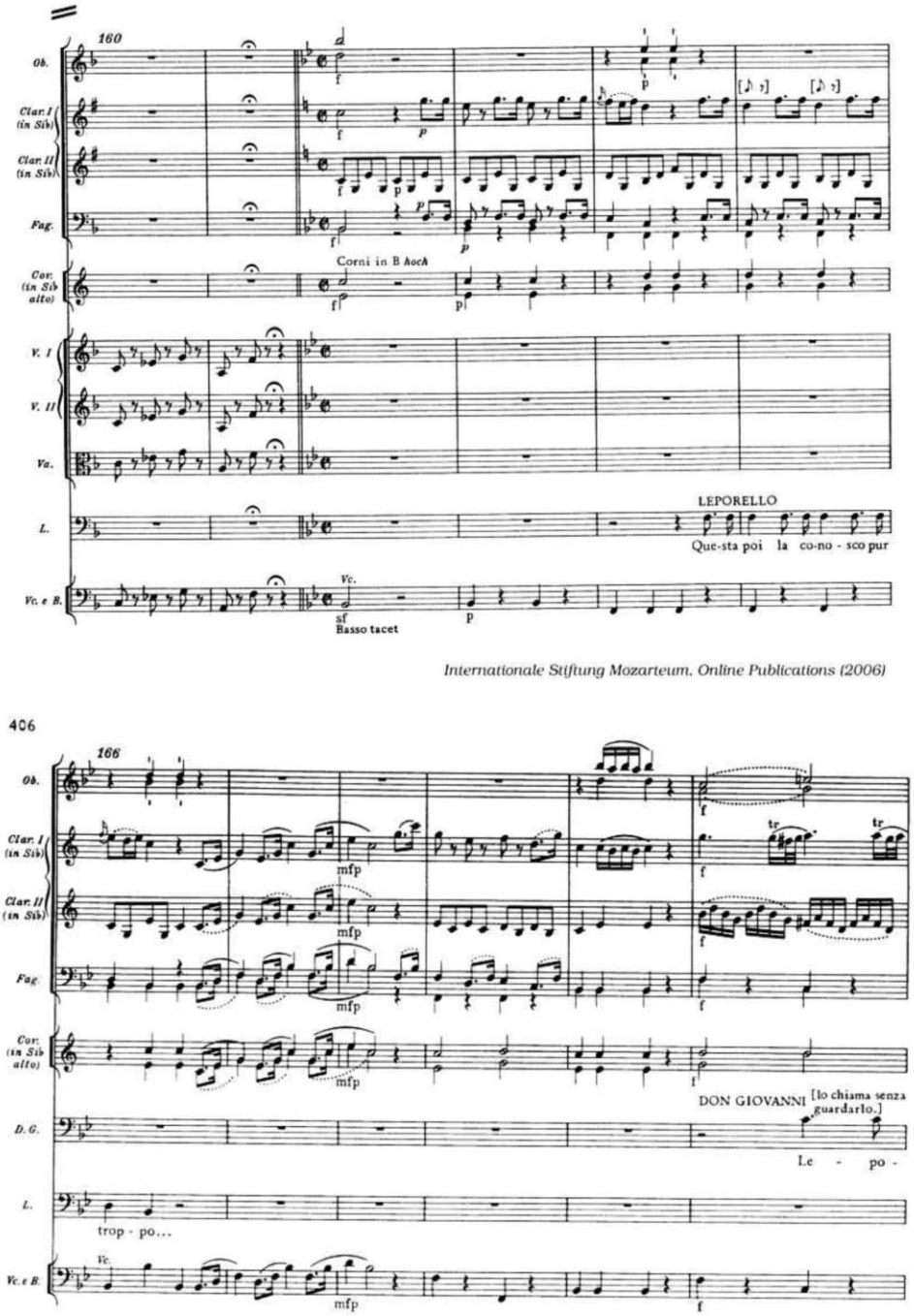

Fig. 18 Measures 162-171 from from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*. *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe: Digital Mozart Edition*. Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum. 2006, 405-406.

The Act II finale is comprised of nine numbers which include: “Già la mensa è preparate”, “L’ultima prova dell’amor mio”, “Ah signor ... per carità!”, “Don Giovanni, a cenar teco”, “Oimè! che gelo è questo mai?”, “Da qual tremore insolito”, “Ah dove è il perfido”, “Or che tutti, o mio Tesoro”, and “Questo è il fin di chi fa mal”. Out of these nine numbers, Triebensee only includes “Già la mensa è preparate” and “Questo è il fin di chi fa mal”. See **Table 9** below:

NMA Score	Triebensee’s Arrangement	Transposition	Vocal Parts/*Harmonie References
Già la mensa è preparate. Allegro assai: mm. 1-199	*Già la mensa è preparate*. Allegro assai: mm. 1-43	D major→C major	Don Giovanni & Leporello (Baritone & Bass)
L’ultima prova dell’amor mio. Allegro assai: mm. 200-378	X	X	Donna Elvira, Don Giovanni, & Leporello (Soprano, Baritone, & Bass) * *O quanto un sì bel giubilo* found in mm. 47-112 of the NMA.
Ah signor ... per carità! Molto allegro: 379-432	X	X	* *Come un agnello* in mm. 118-157 & *Non più andrai* in mm. 162-199 of the NMA.

Don Giovanni, a cenar teco. Andante: mm. 433-520	X	X	X
Oimè! che gelo è questo mai? Più stretto: mm. 521-553	X	X	X
Da qual tremore insolito. Allegro: mm. 554-602	X	X	X
Ah dove è il perfido. Allegro assai: mm. 603-711	X	X	X
Or che tutti, o mio Tesoro. Larghetto: mm. 712-755	Measures 44-47 composed by arranger, mm. 48-53	G major→C major	X
Questo è il fin di chi fa mal. Presto: mm. 756-871	Presto: mm. 54-143.	D major→C major	Entire Ensemble

Table 9.

In his arrangement, Triebensee omits Mozart's instrumental arrangement of the arias by Soler and Sarti, as well as Mozart's own arrangement of "Non pi'u andrai."

Mozart's original intent was to create a Harmonie ensemble within the context of his original orchestration.[69] Both Triebensee and Mozart deploy full Harmonie in scoring “Già la mensa è preparate.” However, Mozart employs the use of two clarinets in A and a single violoncello, while Triebensee uses two clarinets in B-flat and no strings. Mozart's texture of the higher voices is primarily "melodic functions in thirds and sixths," while the bass function lies in both bassoons, both horns, and the violoncello.[70] The addition of the violoncello into the Harmonie instrumentation allows for Mozart's Harmonie arrangements to have more harmonic support than the original three-part setting of Soler and Sarti's arias.[71] Triebensee's instrumental textures are almost identical to Mozart's with the exception of the violoncello, whose omission required Triebensee to limit the bass functions of the bassoon and horns more than Mozart's Harmonie settings. However, Triebensee again does not rearrange Mozart's Harmonie settings in the aria, allowing Triebensee to arrange sections of the aria with only wind instruments.

Triebensee's arrangement of *Don Giovanni* was reported to be one of his most successful scores for Harmonie that he composed between his 1794 appointment as first oboist and Kapellmeister to Prince Liechtenstein's Harmonie at Feldsburg, and his succession to Carl Maria von Weber as director of the Prague Opera post.[72] Triebensee's performances under Mozart's baton between 1782 through 1791, such as taking part as an oboist in the première of *Die Zauberflöte* under Mozart's direction, speaks to the confidence Mozart placed in Triebensee, and perhaps to the authenticity of his arrangements. Mozart might also have played a part in his

[69] A detailed analysis of Mozart’s scoring for Harmonie in the Tafelmusik from *Don Giovanni* can be found in: Blomhert, *The Harmoniemusik of Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, 86-105.
[70] Blomhert, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, 93.
[71] Ibid., 93.
[72] Hellyer, "Triebensee," https://bit.ly/2TFkqV2.

appointments as Kapellmeister to Prince Liechtenstein's Harmonie at Feldsburg as well as his appointment as music director of the Prague opera.

HEIDENREICH'S ARRANGEMENT OF *DIE ZAUBERFLÖTE*

Josef Triebensee's later success with his Harmonie arrangements was to a lesser extent mirrored by the earlier arrangement of Joseph Heidenreich, made near the time of Mozart's 1791 death. There is little known about Joseph Heidenreich other than that he was the arranger of the Harmonie arrangement of Mozart's last opera. A brief biography of Heidenreich appears in Otto Erich Deutsch's *Mozart Die Dokumente seines Lebens*, where the arranger "is described as a modest composer, and prolific arranger of operas for Harmonie and for the piano."[73] The original publication of Heidenreich's arrangement of *Die Zauberflöte* appeared in the *Wiener Zeitung*, 14 January 1972 "under the heading of *New Music*."[74] Heidenreich's arrangement of *Die Zauberflöte* was his only Harmonie arrangement drawn from a Mozart opera.

The original manuscript of Heidenreich's arrangement is lost. According to Himie Voxman, the editor of the modern edition, the original publisher likely used Heidenreich's autograph as the basis for the first edition of the arrangement. Voxman goes on to say that while Heidenreich's arrangement of this Mozart opera is not as well-known as Went and Triebensee's were, that "the present one compares favorably in is the idiomatic treatment of the instruments and in solving the problems involved in such an arrangement, problems that seem to me more difficult here than those found in Mozart's earlier operas."[75] Heidenreich took the most liberties in his arrangement of *Die Zauberflöte* in the order of the original numbers. He also converted the

[73] Quoted in Mozart, Heidenreich, and ed. Voxman, *Die Zauberflöte*, i.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.

more extended scenes into shorter numbers. The original instrumentation of the opera calls for two flutes, piccolo, two oboes, two clarinets in B-flat, two basset horns, two bassoons, two horns in E-flat, two trumpets in E-flat, three trombones, timpani in E-flat and B-flat, first and second violins, viola, cellos, and double basses. A keyed-glockenspiel, more often a celesta, is also used to perform Papageno's "magic bells." Heidenreich's arrangement calls for the traditional Harmonie octet. Out of the twenty-one numbers in *Die Zauberflöte*, Heidenreich chose eighteen. (See **Table 10** below).

NMA	Heidenreich's Arrangement	Transposition	Vocal
Ouverture	Ouverture	E-flat major→	X
No. 1: Introduction Zu Hilfe! zu Hilfe! sonst bin ich verloren. Allegro – Allegretto – Allegro	No. 2: Introduction. Ich sollte fort. Allegretto	G minor/major→ E-flat major	Tamino & Three Ladies (Tenor, Soprano, Soprano, & Mezzo-Soprano)
No. 2: <Aria> Der Vogelfänger bin ich ja. Andante	No. 3: <Aria> Der Vogelfänger bin ich ja. Andante	G major→ E-flat major	Papageno (Baritone)
No. 5: Quintetto Hm! hm! hm! Allegro Ha, ha, ha! He Sklaven!	No. 4: Quintetto Hm! hm! hm! Allegro	B-flat major	Papageno, Tamino, & Three Ladies (Baritone, Tenor, Soprano, Soprano, & Mezzo-Soprano)

No. 6: Terzetto Du feines Täubchen nur herein. Allegro molto	No. 5: Terzetto Du feines Täubchen nur herein. Allegro molto	G major→F major	Pamina, Monostatos, & Papageno (Soprano, Tenor, & Baritone)
No. 7: Duetto Bei Männern, welche Liebe fühlen. Andantino	No. 6: Duetto Bei Männern, welche Liebe fühlen. Andantino	E-flat major→ B-flat major	Pamina & Papageno (Soprano & Baritone)
No. 3: <Aria> Dies Bildnis ist bezaubernd schön. Larghetto	No. 7: <Aria> Dies Bildnis ist bezaubernd schön. Larghetto	E-flat major	Tamino (Tenor)
No. 8: Finale Zum Ziele führt dich diese Bahn. Larghetto	No. 8: Finale Zum Ziele führt dich diese Bahn. Larghetto	C major→ B-flat major	Tamino & Three Boys (Tenor, Treble, Contralto, & Mezzo-Soprano)
No. 8 continued (excerpted): Wie stark ist doch dein Zauberton. Andante	No. 9: Wie stark ist doch dein Zauberton. Andante – Presto – Adagio – Presto	C major→ B-flat major	Tamino (Tenor)
No. 8 continued (excerpted): Schnelle Füße, rascher Mut.	No. 10: Das klinget so herrlich. Allegro	G major→ F major	Pamina, Papageno, & Monostatos (Soprano, Baritone, & Tenor)

No. 8 continued (excerpted): Wenn Tugend und Gerechtigkeit. Presto	No. 11: Wenn Tugend und Gerechtigkeit. Presto	C major→ B-flat major	Chorus
No. 10: <Aria con coro> O Isis und Osiris schenket. Adagio	No. 12: <Aria con coro> O Isis und Osiris schenket. Adagio	F major	Sarastro (Bass)
No. 12: Quintetto Wie? wie? wie? ihr an diesem Schreckensort? Allegro	No. 13: Quintetto Wie? wie? wie? ihr an diesem Schreckensort? Allegro	G major→F major	Papageno, Tamino, & Three Ladies (Baritone, Tenor, Soprano, Soprano, & Mezzo-Soprano)
No. 13: <Aria> Alles fühlt der Liebe Freuden. Allegro	No. 14: <Aria> Alles fühlt der Liebe Freuden. Allegro	C major	Monostatos (Tenor)
No. 16: Terzetto Seid uns zum zweiten Mal willkommen.	No. 15: Terzetto Seid uns zum zweiten Mal willkommen.	A major→ E-flat major	Three Boys (Treble, Contralto, & Mezzo-Soprano)
No. 19: Terzetto Soll ich dich Teurer nicht mehr sehn?	No. 16: Terzetto Soll ich dich Teurer nicht mehr sehn?	B-flat major	Sarastro, Tamino, & Pamina (Bass, Tenor, & Soprano)

No. 20: <Aria> Ein Mädchen oder Weibchen wünscht Papageno sich. Andante	No. 17: <Aria> Ein Mädchen oder Weibchen wünscht Papageno sich. Andante – Allegro	F major→ E-flat major	Papageno (Baritone)
No. 21: Finale Pa-pa- pa-	No. 18: Finale Pa-pa- pa-	E-flat major	Papageno (Baritone)

Table 10.

Like Triebensee, Heidenreich took the utmost care to maintain the original sequence of Mozart's operatic numbers. *Die Zauberflöte* presents a challenging opera to arrange dramaturgically because of the interspersion of spoken dialogue. Johann Nepomuk Went's arrangement of another of Mozart's popular-Singspiel works, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (discussed above) did not follow the original ordering of the operatic numbers to the extent that Heidenreich did in *Die Zauberflöte*. Seven of the eighteen selections from the original opera maintain the original key choices Mozart had deliberately selected for added complexity both harmonically and dramatically. The eleven numbers where the key areas are abandoned entirely in the Harmoniemusik arrangements of Heidenreich, allowing the ensemble to play in the most suitable keys. The dramaturgy of *Die Zauberflöte* is impossible to maintain in a purely instrumental presentation. However, the arrangements remain in the logical sequence of the original opera. Shorter arias are presented in full with little to no cuts. Here, I have chosen to discuss the overture, the quintet from Act I, and Sarastro's bass aria "O Isis un Osiris" from Act

II. These numbers offer a glimpse of Heidenreich's treatment of an operatic overture, an ensemble, and an aria.

NO.1 OUVERTÜRE

Mozart's original overture to *Die Zauberflöte* includes much more thematic material than Heidenreich's arrangement. The original overture follows almost all of the normative procedures of the late classical sonata form, much like Mozart's overture to *Don Giovanni*. Consisting of five distinct sections: a slow introduction, exposition, development, recapitulation, and codetta, Mozart's overture consists of 226 measures. Heidenreich's arrangement, on the other hand, omits the entire development and much of the recapitulation. See **Table 11** for sections and transpositions below:

NMA Score	Heidenreich's Arrangement	Transposition
Slow Introduction (Adagio): mm. 1-15	Slow Introduction: mm. 1-30	E-flat major
Exposition (Allegro): mm. 16-95	Exposition: mm. 16-95	P1: E-flat major P2: C major
Transition (Adagio): mm. 96-102	Transition (Adagio): mm. 96-102	B-flat major
Development: mm. 103-188	X	B-flat minor
Recapitulation: mm. 189-218	Recapitulation: mm. 103-133	E-flat major
Codetta: mm. 219-226	Codetta: mm. 134-141	E-flat major

Table 11.

The omission of the development section was presumably to avoid remotely related keys that would be virtually unplayable for the Harmonie ensemble. Thus, excluding the development and retransition sections, Heidenreich maintains the integrity of the original tonal structure, including its original key of E-flat major.

The famous chords of the opening three measures of the overture include two flutes, oboes, clarinets, bassoons, horns, trumpets, drums, three trombones, and strings. See **Fig.19.** below:

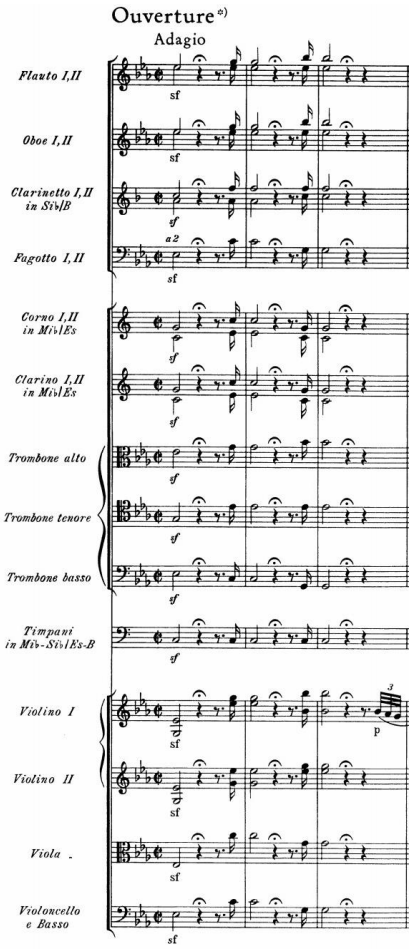

Fig. 19. Measures 1-3 from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. *Die Zauberflöte. Neue Mozart-Ausgabe: Digital Mozart Edition*. Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum., 2006, 5.

The opening three harmonies of root position E-flat major, C minor, and E-flat major six-three are fully orchestrated by Mozart and serve as the seeds of the harmonic framework in the opera.

Heidenreich has taken the twenty-part scoring down to the eight parts covered in the traditional Harmonie configuration. See **Fig.20.** below:

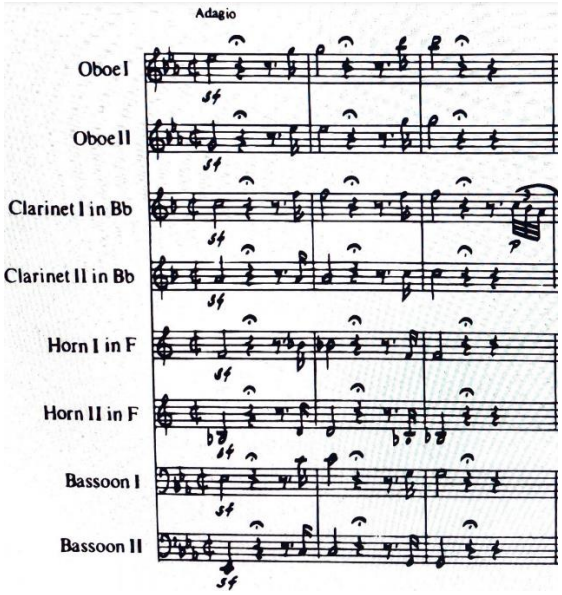

Fig.20. Measures 1-3 from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Joseph Heidenreich. *Die Zauberflöte: For 2 Oboes, 2 Clarinets, 2 Bassoons & 2 Horns, Band I*. London: Musica Rara, 1977, 1.

It is clear from the comparison of **Fig. 19** and **Fig. 20** that Heidenreich maintains Mozart's distribution of melodic and harmonic lines as carefully as possible. The opening four measures present the original instrumentation with their original pitches and in the original key. There are two slight changes in instrumentation from Mozart's original scoring for winds. The first is the change of horns in E-flat to Heidenreich's preferred horns in F. The second is in the second bassoon part, simply playing one octave below the first bassoon for additional harmonic support in the bass voices. Measure 16 demonstrates how Heidenreich compensates with the lack of string parts in his arrangement. The clarinets and bassoons take over the violins, violas, cellos, and basses in mm. 33-37. At the same time, the oboes maintain their original material from Mozart's overture. Compare **Fig.21.** and **Fig.22.** below:

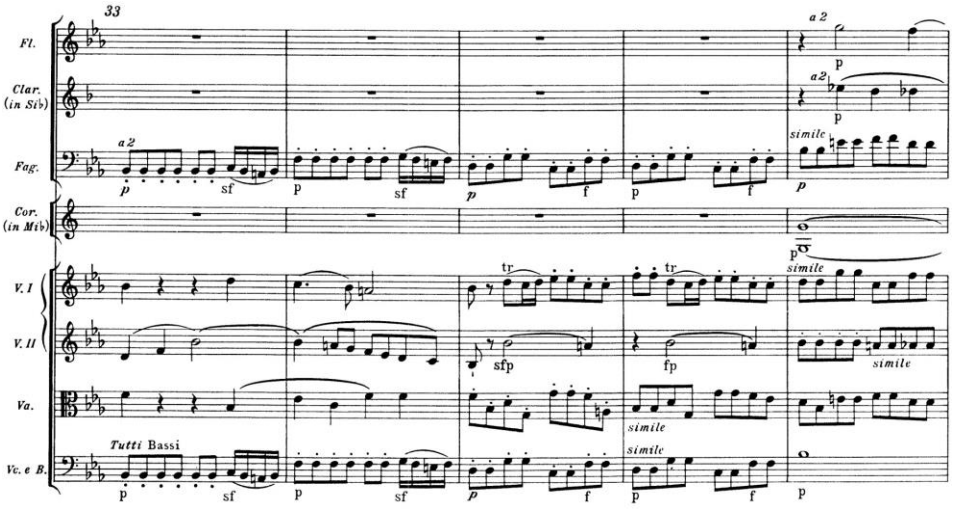

Fig. 21. Measures 33-37 from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. *Die Zauberflöte*. *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe: Digital Mozart Edition*. Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum., 2006, 7.

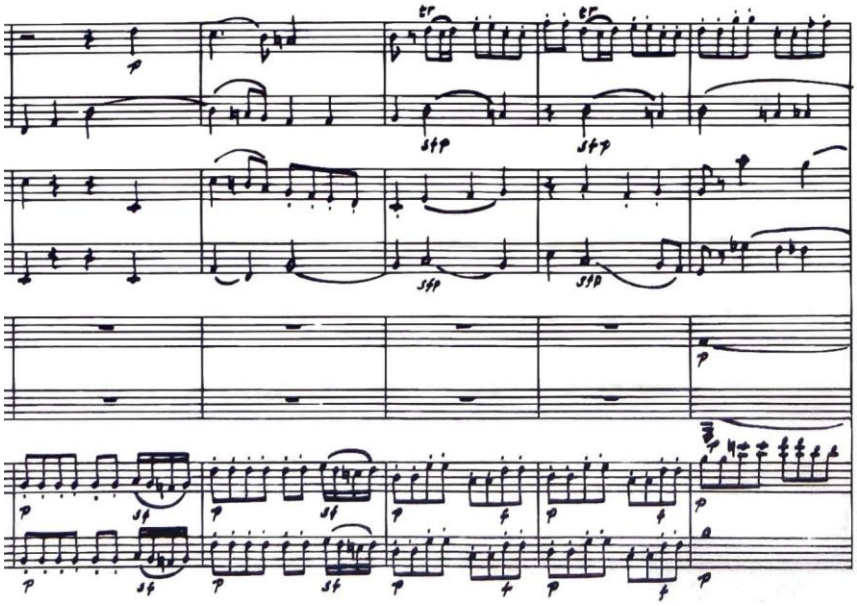

Fig.22. Measures 33-37 from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Joseph Heidenreich. *Die Zauberflöte: For 2 Oboes, 2 Clarinets, 2 Bassoons & 2 Horns, Band I*. London: Musica Rara, 1977, 2.

Heidenreich later uses the two horns to provide additional harmonic support where needed, much as in Triebensee's arrangement of *Don Giovanni*. Heidenreich's arrangement is exceptionally faithful to Mozart's use of ornaments and articulation. Almost all ornaments and articulation markings in the original, such as appoggiaturas or trills, are retained. Heidenreich. Tempo

markings appear the same as in Mozart's original score, and there are no deviations from Mozart's original dynamic markings. In the opening three-subject fugal passage of the overture's exposition, starting at measure sixteen, Heidenreich simply exchanges the roles of the first and second violins with the first and second clarinet for the first subject. The second entrance of the second subject entrance is maintained from Mozart's original scoring for bassoon, alongside violas and cellos entering at measure twenty-seven. The third and last subject entry is found starting at measure thirty-three. For the last entry, Heidenreich substitutes the double bass tutti with the second bassoon. Heidenreich's skillful arranging of the fugal passages maintains all of Mozart's masterful counterpoint even in a reduction for winds only.

In sum, the overture of Heidenreich's arrangement of the overture epitomizes Harmoniemusik arranging in Vienna at its zenith. Heidenreich, like Triebensee, retains as much of Mozart's original material of the overture as possible, except for the removal of the development section.

NO. 4: *QUINTETTO*

Mozart's own instrumentation in the quintet no. 5, "Hm! hm! hm!" comes closest to that used by Heidenreich in his arrangement. Oboes, clarinets, bassoons, horns in B-flat form the core of the instrumental accompaniment in both the original and arrangement, except for the lack of strings in Heidenreich's arrangement. Heidenreich deploys the full Harmonie in this number, as he will for the majority of the selections in his arrangement. The "tutti possibilities of the [entire] ensemble" is also lacking Heidenreich's arrangement, much like in Triebensee's arranging style.[76]

[76] Blomhert, *The Harmoniemusik of Die Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, 174.

Heidenreich reproduces the agreeable quintet beautifully, though not in its entirety, having omitted twenty-four measures in his arrangement. Mozart's original key of B-flat major is maintained, and the other key areas in each of the sections of this number in Heidenreich's arrangement. See **Table 12**:

NMA	Heidenreich's Arrangement	Original Keys (No Transpositions)	Vocal
Section I: mm. 1-33 "Hm! hm! hm!"	Section I: mm. 1-33	B-flat major	Tamino & Papageno
Section II: 34-77 "Die Königin begnadigt dich,"	Section II: mm. 34-77	F major	Three Ladies
Section III: 80-132 "O Prinz! Nimm dies Geschenk von mir,"	Section III: mm. 80-108	B-flat major	Three Ladies. Tamino, & Papageno
Section IV: 133-171 "Nun, ihr schönen Frauenzimmer,"	X	G minor	Three Ladies
Section V: 172-183	X	E-flat major	Tamino & Papageno
Section VI: 183-213	Section IV: mm. 109-146	B-flat major	Three Ladies, Tamino, & Papageno

"Hier, nimm dies Kleinod,"			
Andante (Concluding Section): 214-247 "Drei Knaben, jung, schön, hold und weise,"	Andante (Concluding Section): mm. 147-157	B-flat major	Three Ladies, Tamino, & Papageno

Table 12.

As is clear in the table above, Heidenreich omitted the fourth section because the key area of G minor would have been unidiomatically difficult for the Harmonie ensemble. The short, transitional fifth section likely was omitted since its dramaturgical purpose is mute from the cut of the fourth section of the original. The cut of sections four and five from Mozart's score leaves the personae from sections three and six unaltered. Finally, the cut of sections four and five retains the key area of B-flat major for a seamless transition into measures 183 to 213 of Mozart's. The slower tempo, slow harmonic rhythm, and change of vocal style and accompaniment of the concluding Andante section present an ethereal, almost hymn-like moment. This moment is a culmination in the action of Act I. It indicates the action's "magical" impact on the numbers featuring the "Drei Knaben." It also points to Act I's ambivalent quality, where the Queen of the Night and her Three Ladies are not yet overtly evil. The topic is an "exalted" march, used for sacred moments; the dynamic and expressive marking, *p*, and "*dolce*," imply the special moment as well.[77] Heidenreich captures this special moment in his scoring for

[77] See Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style*, 154.

Harmonie by keeping almost all of Mozart's original wind instrumentation, which originally doubled the vocal quintet.[78] Heidenreich's creatively economic choice skillfully solves the problem of covering both the original wind parts as well as the vocal quintet; played by both oboes, first clarinet, and both horns. The supporting bass accompaniment is then transferred to the second clarinet and bassoon parts. Compare **Fig.23.** and **Fig.24.** below:

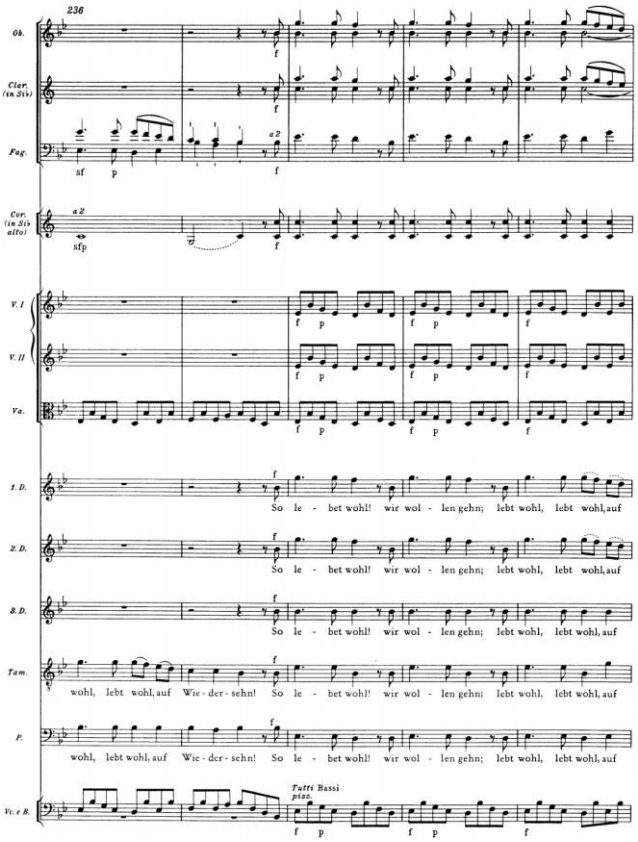

Fig. 23. Measures 236-47 from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. *Die Zauberflöte*. *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe: Digital Mozart Edition*. Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum., 2006, 112.

[78] Dr. Pamela F. Starr, personal communication with author, 23 June 2021.

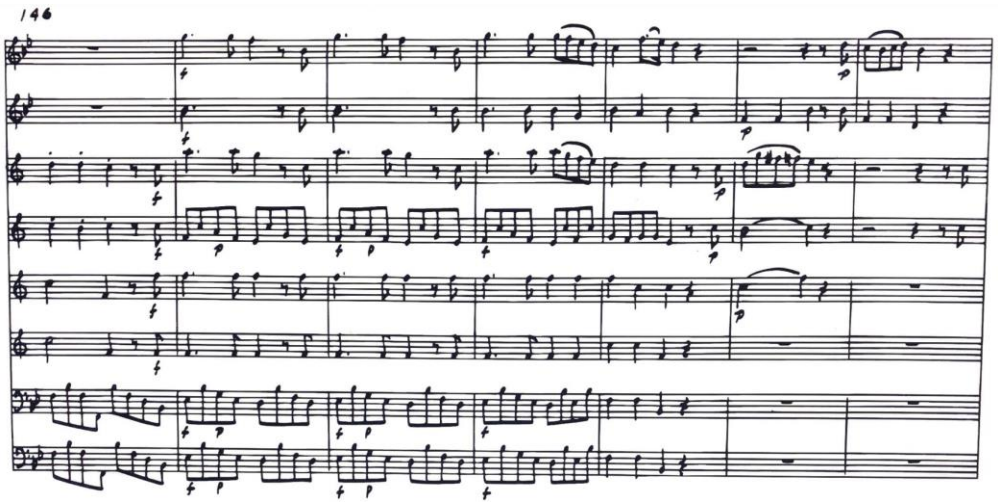

Fig. 24. Measures 146-52 from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Joseph Heidenreich. *Die Zauberflöte: For 2 Oboes, 2 Clarinets, 2 Bassoons & 2 Horns, Band I*. London: Musica Rara, 1977, 17.

The first clarinet and first bassoon carry the parts of Papageno and Tamino, respectively. In contrast, the parts of the Three Ladies are realized by both oboes and the second clarinet. The core of the original accompaniment lies in the arrangement is assigned to both horns second bassoon at all times, which cover the original parts of both horns and the cello part, respectively. When both sets of oboes and clarinets do not carry a vocal assignment, they are assigned to another role. Either the oboes and clarinets retain the material from the original quintet, or Heidenreich has assigned the four instruments to cover the parts of both the first and second violins. If the first bassoon part is not assigned to Papageno's parts, the first bassoon covers the original cello part's material, and the second bassoon moves to function as the double bass part. Papageno and Tamino's parts clearly appear in the first nine measures of Heidenreich's arrangement compared with Mozart's score. Compare **Fig. 25.** and **Fig. 26.** below:

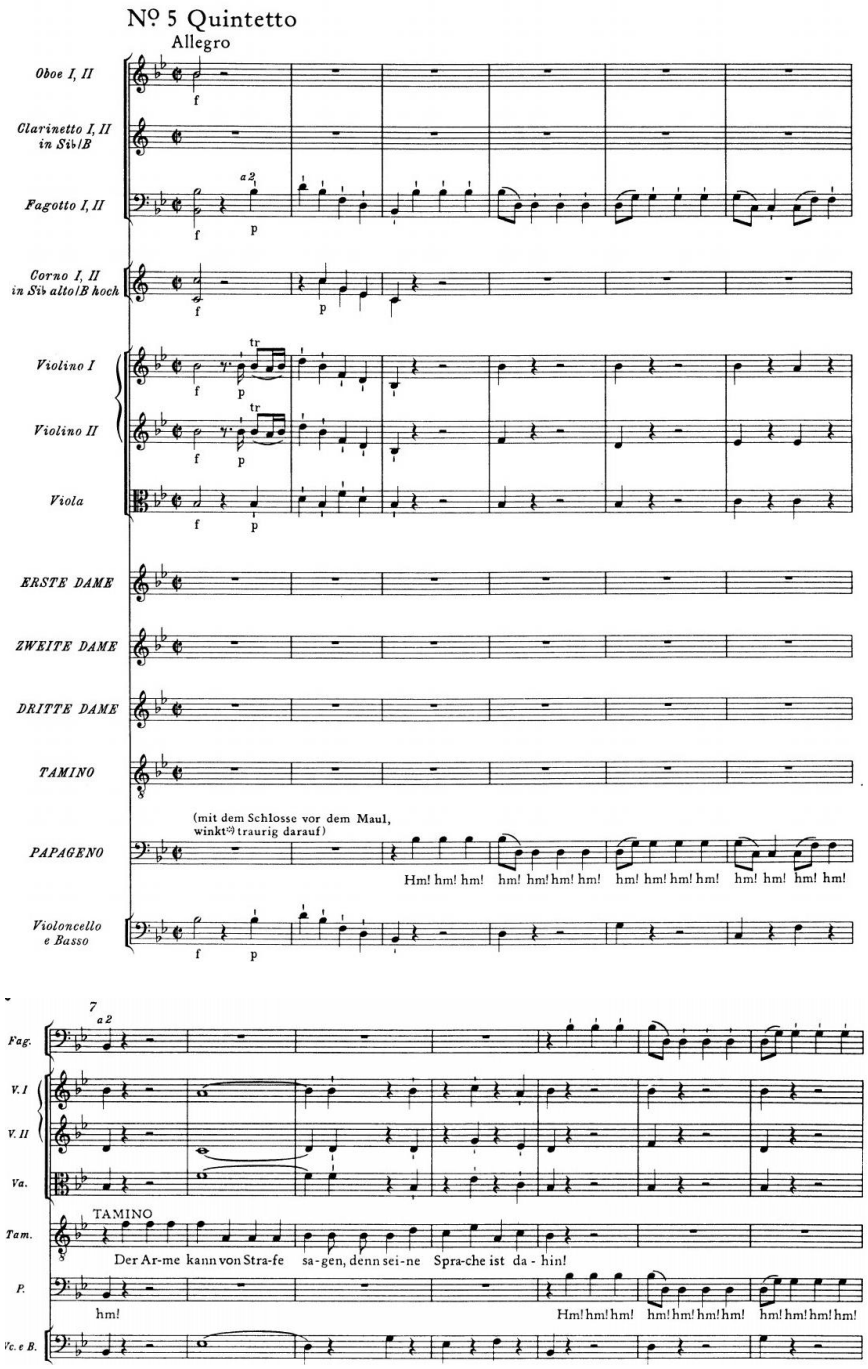

Fig. 25. Measures 1-9 from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. *Die Zauberflöte*. *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe: Digital Mozart Edition*. Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum., 2006, 89-90.

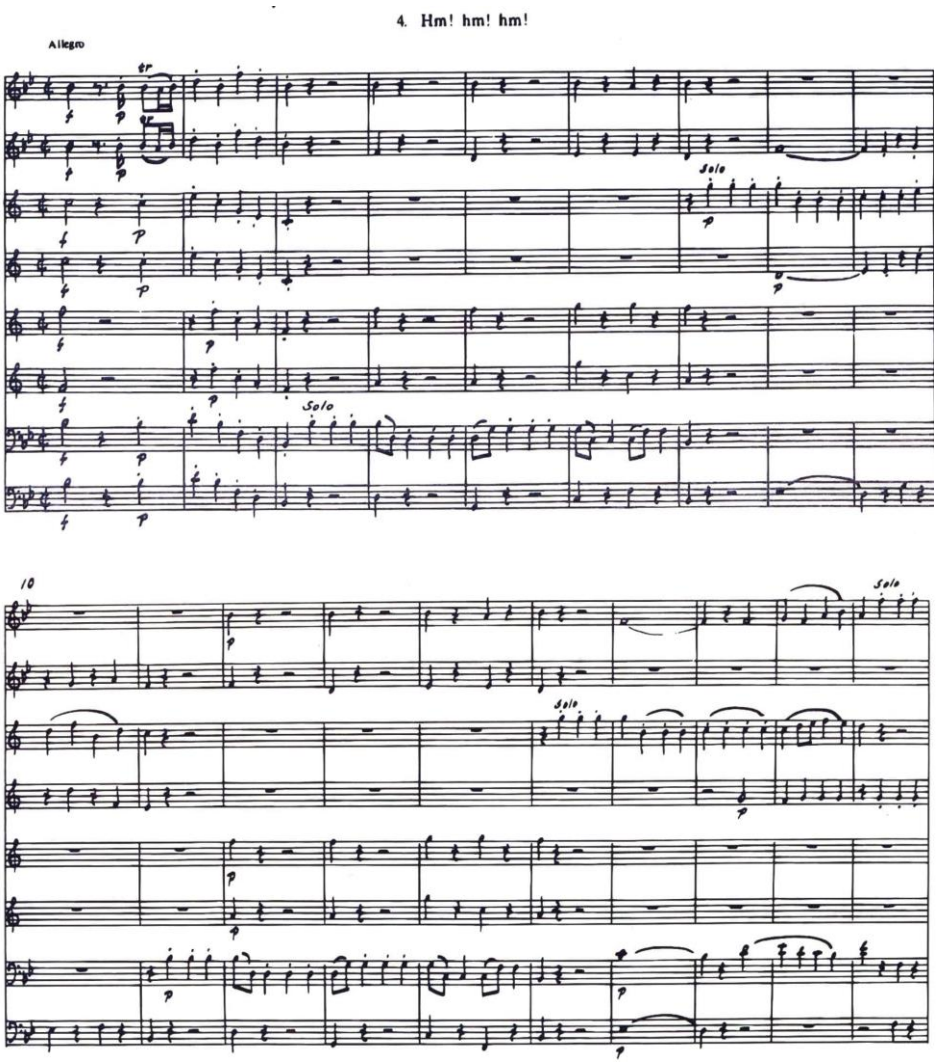

Fig.26. Measures 1-20 from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Joseph Heidenreich. *Die Zauberflöte: For 2 Oboes, 2 Clarinets, 2 Bassoons & 2 Horns, Band I*. London: Musica Rara, 1977, 11-12.

Heidenreich retains Mozart's choices of dynamics, articulation, and ornamentation in this number perfectly. The only additional markings Heidenreich includes in the solo lines are additional staccato markings which are not in the original vocal part. Heidenreich added these stylized articulations as Mozart did in his original woodwind accompaniment. Heidenreich and Mozart knew that to achieve the same vocal articulation quality, the woodwind parts should be marked with staccatos when necessary. Heidenreich's arrangement of "Hm! hm! hm!" is a perfect

testament to the arranger's fidelity not only to the notes but also to the style, effect, and drama of the original opera.

NO. 12: <ARIA CON CORO> O ISIS UND OSIRIS SCHENKET. ADAGIO

The same attention to detail can be found in the last number of discussion for Heidenreich's arrangement, Sarastro's aria "O Isis un Osiris schenket" from Act II. Sarastro's bass aria "O Isis un Osiris schenket" contains one of the most unusually orchestrated arias in all of Mozart's operas. The aria is scored for two basset-horns in F, two bassoons, three trombones, two violas, and a cello. The orchestration calls for all low-range instruments, excluding double bass, to create "low-lying textures all the time." The original instrumentation conveys the solemnity of prayer by Sarastro as a hymn to his gods, and the scoring reflects that quasi-sacred context. Trombones are used exclusively at this time in sacred music, as in Mozart's own Requiem.[79]

"O Isis un Osiris schenket" is one of eleven numbers in Heidenreich's arrangement where no cuts are made. Heidenreich also maintained the same key of F major as the original aria. Thus, the aria's formal structure appears as a binary form hymn, with a choral refrain at the end of each half.[80] See **Table 13** below:

[79] See Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style*, 154-155.
[80] Mann, *The Operas of Mozart*, 623.

NMA	Heidenreich's Arrangement	Transposition
Section I: mm. 1-24	Section I: mm. 1-24	F major
Choral Refrain I: mm. 25-28	Choral Refrain I: mm. 25-28	
Section II: mm. 29-48	Section II: mm. 29-48	
Choral Refrain II: mm. 49-55	Choral Refrain II: mm. 49-55	

Table 13.

Heidenreich's arrangement, while containing no cuts or transpositions, does not emulate the same sonorities achieved in Mozart's unique orchestration. The original aria employs ten instrumentalists accompanying Sarastro's bass aria, alongside a four-part chorus appearing in the refrains of both sections of the aria. Especially in the choral refrains, there are as many instrumentalists as singers sounding simultaneously, which left a problematic task for Heidenreich in how he would try to fill in the instrumental texture. His solution to these problems is proved highly creative. For measures one through twenty-four, Heidenreich places Sarastro's aria in the first clarinet part, having the second clarinet and both oboe parts take the roles of the basset horns and bassoon lines. The horns and bassoons then cover the trombone, viola, and cello lines; compare **Fig.27.** and **Fig.28.** below:

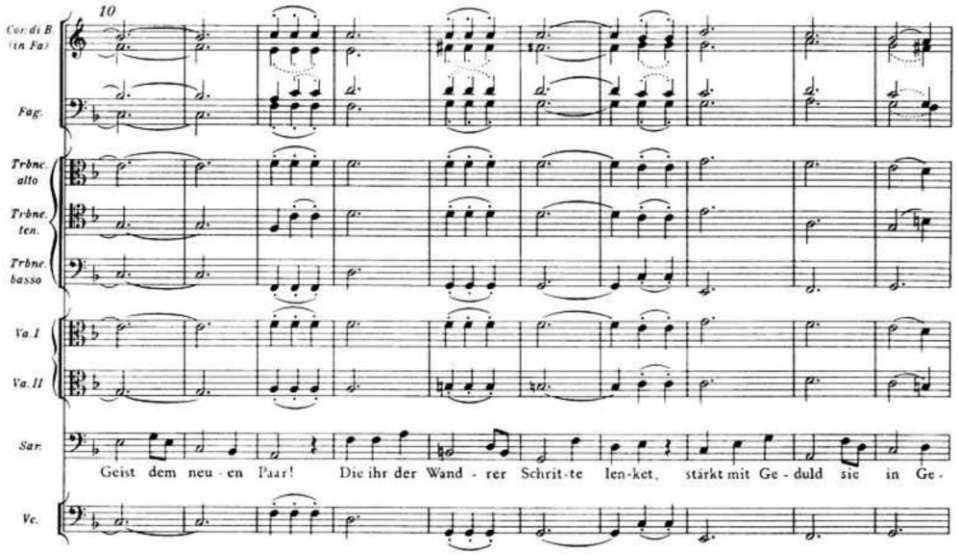

Fig. 27. Measures 10-19 from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. *Die Zauberflöte*. *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe: Digital Mozart Edition*. Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum., 2006, 194.

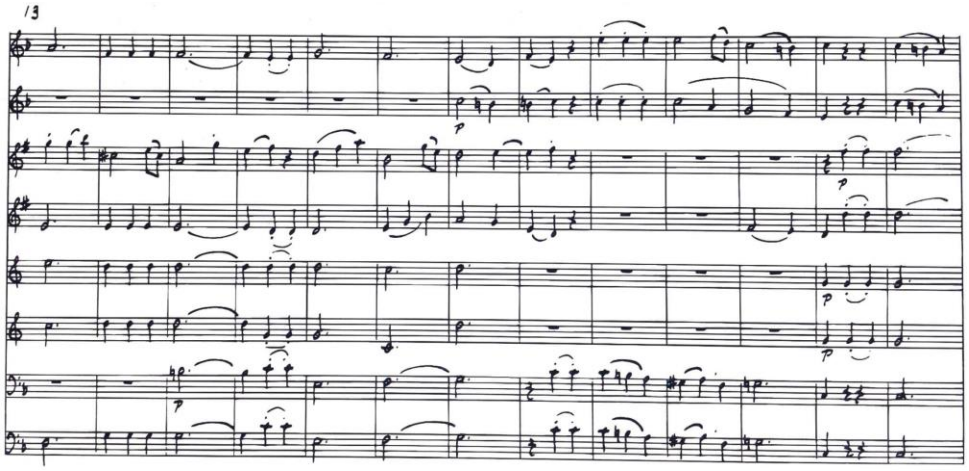

Fig. 28. Measures 13-25 from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Joseph Heidenreich. *Die Zauberflöte: For 2 Oboes, 2 Clarinets, 2 Bassoons & 2 Horns, Band II*. London: Musica Rara, 1977, 6.

For measures 29 through 48, Heidenreich employs almost the exact same strategy to the first section of the aria, except for changing the melodic roles from the solo clarinet to the solo oboe. In the two choral refrains, mm. 25-28 and 49-55, Heidenreich takes both sets of oboes and clarinets and sets them as the chorus, keeping the horns and bassoons as underlying harmonic support. The harmonic material given to both horns and bassoons changes greatly from bar to

bar. The second bassoon part, for example, mostly takes on the role of the cello line of the original aria. However, Heidenreich would change the octave of the original cello part to the actual second bassoon part; compare mm. 13-14 in **Fig. 27** and **Fig. 28** above**.** The shifting of the second bassoon roles could have either been an idiomatic re-registration, or it could be that Heidenreich was trying to maintain Mozart's original scoring at that particular moment. Either way, there is no doubt of Heidenreich's extreme sensitivity to both Mozart's original score as well as to the idiomatic nature of his arrangements.

CONCLUSION

The three approaches to arranging Mozart's operas for Harmonie by Johann Nepomuk Went, Josef Triebensee, and Joseph Heidenreich demonstrate many specific decisions and compromises. These include but are not limited to: choices of the source material, the selection of music, the instrumentation, the original formal structures, and transpositions that emerge into a somewhat standard routine for each arranger. The primary instrument played by each arranger-performer also played a significant part in their arrangements. The arranging styles of Went and Triebensee are very similar since both men were both composers and virtuoso oboists who played in many of the Viennese premières of Mozart's operas. In contrast, Joseph Heidenreich was an orchestral violist and had no documented history as a wind player or composer.[81] Despite these differences, these three men converted operatic numbers into a well-crafted, purely instrumental idiom.

In terms of overall quantity, Johann Nepomuk Went's output of opera and ballet wind arrangements, alongside his original compositions, without a doubt made him "the foremost Harmonie arranger in Vienna, probably the only one of any importance in the 1780s."[82] Many of Went's arrangements of Mozart's operas serve as a select set of operatic highlights of the famous arias and duets, as is the case in his arrangement of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*. Both Triebensee and Heidenreich made more extensive sets of arrangements. Most vocal melodies from the arias and duets were reserved for the first and second oboe parts, because Went himself was an oboist and expected the chief melody line to be played by that Harmonie instrument. The range of the oboe could easily capture the original lines of the soprano and alto lines of Mozart's arias or duets with little to no changes, other than possibly being transposed from the original

[81] Blomhert, *The Harmoniemusik of Die Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, 170-71.
[82] Ibid.

key. Baritone, tenor, or bass solos are often given to the solo bassoon, with supporting materials designated for the pair of clarinets, horns, and the second bassoon.

The social context surrounding Went's arrangements did not call for long, extensive treatments, which explains why many more extended numbers have been strategically cut, as discussed earlier in this chapter regarding Went's arrangement of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*. The primary purpose of Went's arrangements, upon with the establishment of the K.K. Harmonie, in the spring of 1782, was to provide that ensemble with Tafelmusik as well as general entertainment music, nothing more.[83] During Went's tenure at the Austrian Imperial Court, the establishment of the full Harmonie ensemble allowed arrangers such as his son-in-law, Josef Triebensee, to expand upon a newly established tradition of arranging Harmoniemusik for the Imperial Court. All of Triebensee's opera and ballet Harmonie arrangements consisted "of at least twelve or more complete numbers," which led to longer, more expansive arrangements than his predecessors.[84] Fewer cuts also followed Triebensee's inclusion of more operatic numbers to each number, making the overall arrangement faithful to the original opera.

Josef Triebensee's approach to converting operatic numbers to a purely instrumental one was akin to his father-in-law's, except that the oboe did not always serve as the "prima donna" of the arrangement. While Triebensee deployed the use of the oboe extensively as both a solo voice and duet-pairing in many operatic selections, Triebensee "transformed arias and duets into "'concertinos' for oboe, clarinet or even horn accompanied by the other instruments of the ensemble, or as a 'double concertino.'"[85] With an output just as prolific as Went's arrangements of Mozart's operas, Triebensee's are far more extensive in both the number of operatic numbers

[83] Ibid., 26.
[84] Hellyer, " 'Harmoniemusik'," 153.
[85]Ibid., 174.

included in his arrangements as is the length of each operatic number. Instead of making significant cuts to individual numbers, Triebensee excises the more dramatic numbers of Mozart's original operas, as demonstrated in Triebensee's arrangement of *Don Giovanni*. Cutting the dramatic numbers from *Don Giovanni* not only reduced the duration of the arrangement but was more likely intended to keep a light and cheerful atmosphere for the engagements at the Austrian Imperial Court. Like Went, Triebensee did not significantly recompose any of Mozart's original opera numbers, other than altering the closing bars of an operatic number where specific measures were omitted. Triebensee's approaches and techniques used in arranging Mozart's *Don Giovanni* were made so with the express purpose of maintaining the dramaturgy of the original opera. The only exception to the sequence of the original scenes was the omission of the numbers that exhibited the more demonic aspects of Mozart's opera. Went and Triebensee's similar approaches to arranging for Harmonie are both mirrored and also contrasted by the last arranger included in this discussion, Joseph Heidenreich.

Joseph Heidenreich approached his arrangement of Mozart’s *Die Zauberflöte* much differently than either Went or Triebensee. Unlike them, Heidenreich was known for his piano transcriptions of operas rather than his Harmoniemusik arrangements.[86] Heidenreich was also unaffiliated with Mozart's original opera premières between 1782 and 1791, unlike Went and Triebensee, who were involved in many premières, as oboists. The most distinctive difference in Heidenreich's Harmonie arrangements lies in the sources that each arranger used. Went and Triebensee made their arrangements directly from the opera score, while Heidenreich most likely made his arrangement from a piano reduction.[87] Other than some unorthodox settings of accompaniment material in the horns, Heidenreich primarily utilized the set of oboes and

[86] Ibid., 178.
[87] Ibid.

clarinets for the more melodic material very idiomatically, much like Triebensee. It could be possible that Heidenreich used both a piano reduction as well as the original score in his creative approach to the more challenging sections of the Singspiel.[88]

Perhaps the most significant difference between the social contexts of both Went and Triebensee to that of Heidenreich was a question of marketing. Heidenreich's arrangement of *Die Zauberflöte* was not intended for a specific court or ensemble as Went's and Triebensee's arrangements initially were. Both Triebensee's and Heidenreich's arrangements were intended to be sold directly to the consumer.[89] Thus, in just ten years, arrangements of Mozart's theater music for the Harmonie ensemble went from exclusively aristocratic to public consumption.

The arrangements of Went, Triebensee, and Heidenreich provide overwhelming evidence demonstrating the transformation of a high art medium of opera to an equally respectable infinitely more practical medium of Harmoniemusik suitable for social occasions, especially for banquets and parties. These arrangements' success depended on some degree of familiarity with the originals, especially the most popular and beloved tunes; and the ability for the arrangements to serve as background to social interactions and conversations.[90] Mozart's finale to *Don Giovanni* further demonstrates the author's belief in Harmoniemusik as a significant art form.

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[88] Blomhert alludes to Heidenreich's possible use of a piano score as a possible explanation for an "unorthodox setting of horns" found in the No.16 Terzetto 'Seid duns zum zweiten Malilkommen,' in measures 17 and 18 of his arrangement. See Blomhert, *The Harmoniemusik of Die Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, 178.
[89] Hellyer, " 'Harmoniemusik'," 150.
[90] Dr. Pamela F. Starr, personal communication with author, 4 July 2021.

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