# Music for the Last Supper: The Dramatic Significance of Mozart's Musical Quotations in the *Tafelmusik* of *Don Giovanni*

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In the Act II finale of Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, as the title character enjoys his dinner, a domestic wind band, called a *Harmonie* in Mozart's time, plays some *Tafelmusik*—music intended to accompany a meal.<sup>1</sup> The *Tafelmusik* that Mozart chose for Don Giovanni's last supper consists of melodies quoted from three contemporaneous *opere buffe* (Example 1): Vincente Martín y Soler's *Una cosa rara* (1786), Giuseppe Sarti's *Fra i due litiganti il terzo gode* (1782), and Mozart's own *The Marriage of Figaro* (1786).<sup>2</sup>

Such musical quotation is a specific type of allusion. As Christopher Reynolds has pointed out, an allusion is not simply a "reference to another work made by means of a resemblance," but must be intentional; since "motivic possibilities are finite," unintended similarities between two works are bound to occur.<sup>3</sup> Quotation employs an especially high degree of resemblance to the source being alluded to; in the case of the Tafelmusik, whole melodies are reproduced from other operas, not just smaller motives. "Quotations," Reynolds writes, "are neither more nor less meaningful than less exact references—only a different degree of artistic appropriation."<sup>4</sup> I would go further and argue that quotations, in comparison to less exact forms of allusion, demonstrate intentionality. Leaving aside situations where there exists documentary proof of a composer's intentions, it is always possible to argue that resemblances between two pieces are unintended. With quotations, however, this possibility is greatly diminished because the reference is much more exact. In the Tafelmusik, not only are the melodies unmistakable quotations from other operas; Mozart even has Leporello announce them as such to the audience. There can thus be no doubt that Mozart intended these quotations to be heard and easily identified. As the quotations from Martín's and Sarti's operas begin, Leporello announces their titles. "Bravi! 'Cosa rara'!" he cries (mm. 53–54), then later "Evvivano i 'Litiganti'!" (mm. 123-25). Finally, Leporello hears the quotation from Figaro-the tune of Figaro's aria "Non più andrai." This time, instead of announcing the title of Mozart's earlier opera, he sings, "Questa poi la conosco pur troppo" (mm. 164-66; "This one, then, I know only too well"). At the Prague premiere of Don Giovanni, this line would have had a special significance for the local audience, for Felice Ponziani, the baritone singing Leporello, had also sung the role of Figaro—and "Non più andrai"—in Prague the year before.⁵

Example 1: The *Tafelmusik* quotations and their sources.



From Vincente Martín y Soler, *Una cosa rara* (1786): Act I finale, final chorus (mm. 444–593).



From Giuseppe Sarti, *Fra i due litiganti il terzo gode* (1782): Act I, Aria, "Come un agnello" (Mingone).



From Mozart, The Marriage of Figaro (1786): Act I, Aria, "Non più andrai" (Figaro).

### Hit shows and in-jokes: The *Tafelmusik* as light--hearted comedy

Despite the voluminous amount of scholarship on *Don Giovanni*, the *Tafelmusik* scene has received relatively little specific attention. Critical commentary on the scene has tended to characterize the scene in two main ways: as an attempt to please Mozart's audience by quoting music that it would have recognized, and as a vehicle for the composer to play private jokes on his colleagues.

It seems fair to assume that the identification of these quotations would, in itself, have been a delight for Mozart's audience. As Mary Hunter has suggested, the recognition of the familiar in opera buffa was one way in which the genre provided "pleasure for its own sake."6 Though Martín's and Sarti's operas have, along with their composers, failed to establish a place in the standard operatic canon, all three of Mozart's source operas, not just Figaro, would have been particularly well-known to the composer's audience. They were, in Robert Freeman's words, "the operatic smash hits of the 1780s."7 In Vienna, Mozart was in many ways a less established composer than Martín or Sarti. Cosa rara and I due litiganti were huge popular successes. Statistics compiled by Peter Branscombe show that between 1781 and 1791 Mozart was the *seventh* most performed composer on the Viennese operatic stage.<sup>8</sup> Paisiello was first, followed by Salieri. Martín was the third most performed composer and Una cosa rara was the second most performed opera in his oeuvre, receiving 55 performances. Domenico Cimarosa and Pietro Guglielmi ranked fourth and fifth respectively. Sarti was the sixth most performed composer and I due litiganti was his most performed opera, receiving 63 performances. By way of comparison, Figaro was performed just 38 times in Vienna during Mozart's lifetime, including the 1789 revival. In fact, upon its premiere in 1786, it was Cosa rara that kicked it off the Viennese stage after just nine performances.9 Don Giovanni would end up being performed in Vienna only fifteen times before Mozart's death. Branscombe's rankings generally accord with those found in Johann Pezzl's contemporary "Sketch of Vienna."<sup>10</sup> In Pezzl's list of the five most successful operas, *I due litiganti* comes second (behind Paisiello's *Il barbiere di Siviglia*) and Una cosa rara comes fifth; Mozart's name does not appear at all.<sup>11</sup> It is clear, then, that Martín's and Sarti's operas were hardly obscure works in their day.<sup>12</sup> There is little to suggest that this would have been any less the case in Prague than in Vienna and, besides, Mozart always intended for Don Giovanni to be performed in Vienna after its Prague premiere.<sup>13</sup>

If the quotations from *Cosa rara* and *I due litiganti* might have acknowledged the popularity of those operas in Vienna, the quotation of "Non più andrai" must have been specifically aimed at a Prague audience. *Figaro* had, after all, been an extraordinary success there, following its less–than–successful premiere in Vienna. As Mozart himself wrote from Prague, "Here they talk about nothing but 'Figaro.' Nothing is played, sung, or whistled but 'Figaro.' No opera is drawing but 'Figaro.' Nothing, nothing but 'Figaro."<sup>14</sup> "Non più andrai" was particularly beloved. Konrad Küster relates an account of a concert in Prague in January 1787, after which Mozart continued improvising at the piano for the enthusiastic audience: "[he] played no fewer than three improvisations on this occasion, the last of them—*by popular*  *demand*—based on 'Non più andrai.'"<sup>15</sup> Later, in 1791, presumably conscious of this aria's popularity, Mozart also arranged it as a contredanse (K. 609).<sup>16</sup>

Leaving aside the popularity of the quotation sources, the Tafelmusik quotations might also have embedded several in-jokes that would have been a source of light-hearted fun for Mozart's singers and collaborators. Apart from Ponziani, the original Leporello, who sang the role of Figaro in the Prague premiere of the earlier opera, the overlap of singers between productions of Figaro and Don Giovanni in Prague extended also to Luigi Bassi, the original Don Giovanni, who had sung the role of the Count in Figaro.<sup>17</sup> Mozart's Leporello in Vienna, Francesco Benucci, had, like Ponziani, also sung the role of Figaro there,<sup>18</sup> so the joke suggested by "Questa poi la conosco pur troppo" would have worked on a Viennese audience as well. The first Giovanni in Vienna, Francesco Albertarelli, did not sing in the Vienna Figaro but, as Julian Rushton has suggested, Mozart would initially have expected the Vienna production of Don Giovanni to use the same singers as those for Figaro.<sup>19</sup> Additionally, as Daniel Heartz points out, the text for the Tafelmusik incorporates puns on the names of two people involved in Don Giovanni's Prague premiere. Giovanni's exclamation, "Ah che piatto saporito!" ("Ah what a tasty dish!"), puns on the name of the soprano singing Donna Anna-Teresa Saporiti,20 who was famous not just for her vocal skills, but also for her figure. Heartz further suggests that "the pun can be extended from Teresa Saporiti to include Giovanni's relishing of Donna Anna."21 The second person on whose name Mozart puns is the opera orchestra's harpsichord player, Jan Kritel Kuchar. Kuchar is Czech for "cook," so Leporello's words "si eccellente è il vostro cuoco" ("your cook is so excellent") may refer to Kuchar.<sup>22</sup> Kuchar arranged both Figaro and Don Giovanni for keyboard, and the idea of cooking might also have referred to his work as an arranger of Mozart's operas.<sup>23</sup>

Da Ponte is another figure to whom the *Tafelmusik* quotations make oblique reference. Da Ponte wrote the libretto for *Una cosa rara*, so Leporello's remark, "È conforme al vostro merto" ("It conforms to your worth"), made during the quotation from that opera, can be read as praise from Mozart for Da Ponte's skills as a librettist. Da Ponte, of course, had also written the libretto for *Figaro*. Tomislav Volek has suggested that Mozart might also have acknowledged his friend and patron Count Thun through the quotation from *I due litiganti*, since Sarti's opera had been performed in the Count's private theater in 1783.<sup>24</sup> Finally, the *Tafelmusik* quotations can be interpreted as referring to two figures from the Don Juan literary and theatrical tradition. The libretto for *I due litiganti* was based on *Le nozze*, a libretto written by Carlo Goldoni.<sup>25</sup> Goldoni was also the author of the play *Don Giovanni Tenorio, o sia Il dissoluto* (1736), with which Da Ponte would likely have been familiar.<sup>26</sup> Earlier, I pointed out that Leporello's praise of Giovanni's cook could be connected to the harpsichord player Kuchar. However, it might also be read as a reference to Bertati's libretto for Gazzaniga's opera, *Don Giovanni Tenorio* (1787), which contains a character, Lanterna, who is a cook.<sup>27</sup> As is well known, Da Ponte's *Don Giovanni* libretto relied heavily on Bertati's as an exemplar.

### Treating the Tafelmusik seriously

Much of the information I have outlined in the preceding section appears in previous scholarship on Don Giovanni, and reflects the tendency in discourse on the opera to accept the *Tafelmusik* quotations at face value—as simple crowd-pleasers or sites for compositional in-jokes. More than sixty years ago, Edward Dent wrote that "neither of these choices seems to have any particular significance; they were probably chosen merely because they were popular."28 Since then, such trivialization of the *Tafelmusik* has persisted, perhaps encouraged by the scholarly consensus that the details of the scene were not fully worked out until during the rehearsals, possibly with input from the performers themselves: Leporello's words identifying the three quotations are in the autograph score but not the final libretto printed in Prague.<sup>29</sup> The usual assumption seems to be that since the quotations were incorporated into the opera at such a late stage, and with the possible help of the singers, the scene—if not in terms of the very employment of quotation as a device, then at least in terms of the choice of quotations—is somehow less integral to Mozart's and Da Ponte's conceptions of the opera. In her book, Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart: Le Nozze di Figaro and Don Giovanni, Wye J. Allanbrook does suggest multiple ways in which the choices of music for quotation can be connected to the dramatic action at this point in Don Giovanni. (Indeed, I shall cite some of her observations later in this article.) Yet, she still perplexingly insists that "Mozart seems to have chosen the pieces more in play than to make a particular point."<sup>30</sup> One wonders if Allanbrook might have thought her speculations indefensible given the apparent historical evidence that the Tafelmusik was meant only as a kind of last-minute improvised joke. As Reynolds argues, however, any allusion, by definition, "affects the meaning conveyed to those who recognize it."<sup>31</sup> Mozart's superficial desire to supply the audience with comic relief, and to play a few in-jokes on his colleagues, does not in any way exclude the possibility that there is in these quotations, to borrow a formulation of Philip Keppler's, the "delivery of a concealed comment."32 The issue of how Mozart would have expected the Tafelmusik quotations to affect the audience's understanding of the scene deserves serious consideration.

Aside from Allanbrook, Heartz has also hinted at the possibility that the Tafelmusik has serious musical and dramatic importance, though his brief discussion of the significance of Mozart's quotations is but a small part of a general account of the historical circumstances surrounding the opera's creation.<sup>33</sup> In the rest of this article, I seek to expand on Heartz's work by engaging in a detailed exploration of how each of the sources for Mozart's quotations in the Tafelmusik-Martín's opera, Sarti's opera and finally Figaro-might relate to the music and plot of Don Giovanni. After considering each of these sources in turn, I conclude with a reflection on how the Tafelmusik as a whole—that is, all three quotations taken together as a single unit—affects the dramatic structure of Don Giovanni and, more broadly, the manner in which the opera is received by an audience, both in Mozart's time and in our own. I am interested in two central issues: first, why Mozart might have chosen to quote from these three sources in particular; second, why Mozart would have constructed the Tafelmusik by cobbling together music from previously composed works rather than writing new music. In attempting to answer these questions, I hope to show that the Tafelmusik is much more than just a musikalischer Spaß.

Even before examining Mozart's quotation sources in detail, it is worth mentioning two important reasons which argue against the trivialization of the Tafelmusik quotations, and which should prompt a search for something more. These have both been addressed in previous scholarship, making it all the more surprising that the Tafelmusik has not been treated more seriously. Firstly, Mozart apparently took great care to integrate the Tafelmusik into the larger musical and dramatic structure of the opera. As several writers have pointed out, the three quotations in the finale of Act II form a neat parallel in several respects with the three dances in the finale of Act I.<sup>34</sup> As Barbara Barry points out, the dances and the Tafelmusik comprise the two "real life' activities in the context of the opera and [are] internally framed by it as a dramatic device, like a play within a play."35 Moreover, as both Allanbrook and Küster have suggested, each quotation in the *Tafelmusik* can be related to one of the dances in the Act I finale,<sup>36</sup> even if metrically they do not occur in the same order (Table 1). The 6/8 of the Cosa rara quotation, which Allanbrook calls a "gigue," doubles the 3/8 of the teitsch. The 3/4 aria from I due litiganti sounds like a minuet, corresponding to the minuet in Act I. Indeed, for the Tafelmusik, Mozart alters Sarti's original aria more than either the quotation from Martín's opera or "Non più andrai," and he does so precisely to make the Sarti quotation a genuine minuet. In addition to eliminating the second section of Sarti's aria, which is in 4/4, Mozart shortens the 3/4 section to fit a conventional minuet structure, AABA. Finally, the cut-time aria from Figaro parallels the 2/4 contredanse. Significantly, the dances of the Act I

Act II finale, <i>Tafelmusik</i>	Act I finale, dances
1 <sup>st</sup> quotation:	3 <sup>rd</sup> dance:
Cosa rara	Teitsch
6/8	3/8
2 <sup>nd</sup> quotation:	1 <sup>st</sup> dance:
I due litiganti	Minuet
3/4	3/4
3 <sup>rd</sup> quotation:	2 <sup>nd</sup> dance:
"Non più andrai"	Contredanse
2/2	2/4

Table 1: Parallel between Tafelmusik quotations and dances in the Act I finale.

finale and the *Tafelmusik* are also the two occasions in the opera when onstage instruments are employed. Though in the autograph score there is no instruction for onstage instruments given for the *Tafelmusik* as there is for the dances, the score used for the Viennese performances contains the direction "sopra il teatro."<sup>37</sup> As Freeman suggests, Mozart's scoring of the *Tafelmusik* can be attributed to the love of wind music particular to Prague audiences, and to the high skill level of Prague wind players.<sup>38</sup> However, at the Prague premiere, there may not have been enough wind players available to have a separate wind band on stage for the *Tafelmusik* (the Act I dances require fewer instruments).<sup>39</sup> When an onstage band was included in Vienna, this was done in spite of the considerable cost,<sup>40</sup> suggesting the great importance Mozart attached to having onstage instruments in *both* the dances and the *Tafelmusik*—a situation that would have reinforced their parallelism.

The tonal structure of the three quotations in the *Tafelmusik* provides further evidence of the compositional attention Mozart must have devoted to their musical integration within the opera (Table 2). The *Tafelmusik* begins with the quotation from *Cosa rara* in D major, preserving the original tonality in Martín's opera. The beginning of the *Tafelmusik* thus connects seamlessly with the music that immediately precedes it—the opening of the Act II finale, which is also in D major, the tonic key of the opera as a whole. The other two quotations, however, have their original tonalities altered. The Sarti quotation is originally in A major, but occurs in F major in the *Tafelmusik*.<sup>41</sup> To move from D major to F major, Mozart reduces the D–major triad in measure 115 to a single unison D in measure 116. This D then initiates an unharmonized D–E–F ascent, leading the music to F major (Example 2). Heartz writes that this "represents an extreme reduction (to one bass note, E–natural) of the transition from D to F at the end of the overture."<sup>42</sup> The F

	Key in <i>Tafelmusik</i>	Key in original source
1 <sup>st</sup> quotation: <i>Cosa rara</i>	D major	D major
2 <sup>nd</sup> quotation: <i>I due litiganti</i>	F major	A major
3 <sup>rd</sup> quotation: "Non più andrai"	B-flat major	C major

 Table 2: Tonal structure of Tafelmusik scene.



**Example 2:** Transition between Martín quotation and Sarti quotation, vocal parts omitted (mm. 112–21).



**Example 3:** Transition between Sarti quotation and quotation of "Non più andrai" vocal parts omitted (mm. 157–64).

major of the second quotation then easily acts as dominant to B–flat major (Example 3), the key in which "Non più andrai" is quoted, departing from the C major of the original.

The overall sequence of keys in the *Tafelmusik* is not incidental. As Heartz points out, the succession D major–F major–B–flat major is the same as that which occurs at the beginning of the opera, from the overture to "Notte e giorno faticar" and then to the struggle between Anna and Giovanni.<sup>43</sup> More importantly, the tonalities of D, F and B–flat can, as Küster emphasizes, be considered the three most important keys in the opera as a whole.<sup>44</sup> In addition to the tonal structure, one could also point to motivic connections between the *Tafelmusik*, in particular the Martín quotation, and Mozart's music elsewhere in the Act II finale. As F. R. Noske has argued, the forty–six measures preceding the *Tafelmusik* are based on two basic motives: a three– or four–note descending arpeggio on the tonic chord, D major; and a four– or six–note ascending scale. These same two motives dominate Martín's melody from *Una cosa rara*.<sup>45</sup> In–jokes and cheap laughs aside, it is clear that the *Tafelmusik* quotations were chosen and manipulated to fit well, musically, with the rest of the opera.

The importance of intertextual meanings for opera buffa has been much discussed in the scholarly literature on the genre. Indeed, Hunter has argued that intertextuality is one of opera buffa's defining characteristics.<sup>46</sup> This provides the second reason for treating the *Tafelmusik* seriously. In opere buffe, Hunter writes, "we find gestures and scenes from opera seria and tragédie lyrique, as well as quotations from and allusions to other opere buffe."47 One of the many examples Hunter cites is the end of Il convitato *di pietra* (1776), another Don Juan opera, this time by Nunziato Porta and Vincenzo Righini.<sup>48</sup> Here Don Giovanni is dragged off to the underworld accompanied by music that makes unmistakable reference to Gluck's Orfeo. The allusion to Orfeo, in Hunter's view, might suggest a "moralising purpose," partly because by evoking Gluck's work, Porta and Righini are also evoking its genre, opera seria, and its moralistic associations.<sup>49</sup> John Platoff has also written extensively on opera buffa's intertextuality. In one example that crosses paths with the subject of the present article, he demonstrates that in Così fan tutte, Alfonso's aria "Vorrei dir, e cor non ho" shows striking similarities to a passage from Martín's Cosa rara.<sup>50</sup> Both passages are in F minor and use similar musical figures to depict agitation. The ironic use of these figures in Alfonso's aria, Platoff argues, is strengthened by its allusion to their non-ironic use in Cosa rara. If, as Hunter and Platoff contend, intertextuality in opera buffa clearly serves a significant dramatic purpose beyond simply giving the attentive and knowledgeable listener the delight of recognition, there is no reason why the Tafelmusik in Don Giovanni should

be treated any differently. To borrow Platoff's formulation, might it have been the case that Mozart's audience "would have understood something more"?<sup>51</sup>

### The quotation from Una cosa rara

I would now like to turn to a detailed consideration of the relationship between each of the sources for the *Tafelmusik* quotations and *Don Giovanni*. A chart showing how the text for the *Tafelmusik* corresponds to various lines in the sources is included as an appendix, and should be consulted in connection with this section of the article, and the two sections that follow. Texts and English translations for the *Tafelmusik* are in the right two columns, those for the quotation sources in the left two columns

Martin's *Una cosa rara* begins with the arrival of a Spanish royal hunting party at a mountain village where the Queen Isabella, the Prince Giovanni, and the equerry Corrado are drawn into a local dispute. Lilla, the village beauty, wants to marry Lubino, a mountaineer. Tita, Lilla's brother, wishes to prevent this, and wants his sister to marry the mayor Lisargo instead. Lilla seeks the Queen's help but before she can intervene, Ghita, Tita's betrothed, persuades him to drop his opposition to his sister's desired marriage. The Queen then orders that a double wedding take place—between Lilla and Lubino, and between Tita and Ghita. In the meantime, the Prince, who earlier had declared his love for Lilla, continues to woo her. He is helped by Corrado, who secretly also wants her for himself. The Prince and Corrado harass the two couples, leading Lubino, now Lilla's husband, to ask the Queen for assistance. Corrado is punished, after which the Queen and Prince depart (see figure 1 for the *dramatis personae*).

The title of Martín's opera ("A rare thing") would, in the first place, have allowed Mozart a clever *double entendre*: "cosa rara" could refer to both the opera and to the food Don Giovanni devours.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, the superficial similarities in plot and character between *Cosa rara* and *Don Giovanni* are easily apparent. Both operas are purportedly set in Spain (Martín was, incidentally, a Spaniard himself). Both involve a high–born man wooing a peasant girl, and in this respect, the fact that Martín's Prince is also named Giovanni is more than a casual coincidence. As Heartz points out, "Substitute Zerlina for Lilla and the allusion becomes clear."<sup>53</sup> One could even consider the possibility that Giovanni and Corrado in Martín's opera correspond to Giovanni and Leporello respectively in Mozart's. Unlike Corrado, Leporello does not go after Zerlina but when Don Giovanni meets the crowd of peasant girls in Act I (Scene VIII, Recitative, mm. 4–6), he makes it quite clear that he wants one for himself ("Fra tante, per mia fe' / vi sarà qualche cosa per me"; "Among so many, by my faith / there will be something for me too"). Isabella, a Spanish queen Giovanni, a Spanish prince Corrado, Giovanni's equerry Lilla, a village girl Lubino, a mountaineer Tita, Lilla's brother Lisargo, the mayor of the village Ghita, Tita's betrothed

Figure 1: Martín, Una cosa rara: Dramatis personae.

The music Mozart chose to quote from Cosa rara comes from the final chorus (mm. 444-593) of the Act I finale, beginning with the line "O quanto un sì bel giubilo" ("O what beautiful rejoicing"). Putting the Cosa rara text side-by-side with the Tafelmusik text, we find that Leporello's first line, "Bravi! 'Cosa rara!" ("Great! A Rare Thing!"), occurs to music corresponding to the lines "O quanto un sì bel giubilo, / o quanto alletta e piace!" ("O what beautiful rejoicing, / O how it tempts and pleases!"), matching the emotional content of the lines in the source. A few lines later, the Tafelmusik texts have Giovanni and Leporello exclaim, "Ah che piatto saporito! / Ah che barbaro appetito!" ("Ah what a tasty dish! / Ah what a savage appetite!"), corresponding to the lines beginning "E il figlio mio non parla?" in which the Queen, Lilla and Ghita point out the Prince's silence. This draws a connection between the Prince's disappointment and Don Giovanni's appetite-an appetite which, in its sexual form, has apparently been left unfulfilled since, notwithstanding Leporello's catalogue, it is not certain that he has made a successful conquest *during the opera itself.*<sup>54</sup> Such a conflation of sexual and gastronomic appetites occurs elsewhere in the opera. At the beginning of Act II, Don Giovanni's asserts that he needs women more than he needs food (Act II, Scene I, Recitative, mm. 12-16):

> Lasciar le donne? Pazzo! Sai ch'elle per me son necessarie più del pan che mangio, più dell'aria che spiro?

(Forsake women? Crazy! Do you know that for me they are more necessary than the bread that I eat, more than the air that I breathe?)

Similarly, in the scene following the *Tafelmusik*, when Elvira makes one last attempt at persuading Giovanni to change his ways, the Don lumps together women and wine: "Vivan le femmine, / viva il buon vino, / sostegno e gloria d'umanità!" (mm. 303–40; "Long live females, / long live good wine, / sustenance and glory of humanity!").

It is important to note that the chorus Mozart quotes from Cosa rara concludes the *first* act of Martín's opera. Its sense of finality is unusual,<sup>55</sup> more suited to the end of the opera than to its middle, and apparently depicts quite unadulterated jubilation at the impending wedding of the two couples. However, the Queen's command for the double wedding is not, as it may first appear, the end of the story. The asides of the Prince and Corrado express their annoyance at being thwarted in their attempts to woo Lilla. All, in other words, is not resolved, and Martín's chorus thus constitutes but a deceptive or unsuccessful resolution. That this chorus is quoted in Don Giovanni suggests that despite the relative calm, even the levity, of the *Tafelmusik* scene, things are not as they appear. In this sense, Mozart's choice of quotation can be read as a dramatic device foreshadowing the return of the Commendatore that will soon occur. The idea of a deceptive resolution has been applied to another part of Don Giovanni, namely the Act II Sextet in Don Giovanni, which Küster calls a "pseudo-finale."56 This designation explains the Sextet's length, unusual for a scene occurring in the middle of an act. In Küster's view, the Sextet mimics the musical construction of a finale because "individual numbers-predominantly small ensembles-are linked together in a kind of chain."57 The Sextet creates the expectation that Don Giovanni will be caught and punished, except, of course, that it is Leporello, disguised as the Don, who is actually caught. Hence, the Sextet can be understood as failing in its promise to punish Don Giovanni, and we must wait until the real finale for the fulfillment of this promise. Küster's interpretation allows us to conceive of the Tafelmusik as participating in the postponement of Don Giovanni's punishment promised by the Sextet, prolonging the dramatic tension yet longer as we await the final coming of that punishment.

To return to the *Cosa rara* chorus, the words "Io moro" (mm. 547–48; "I am dying"), sung by the Prince and Corrado, could point to Don Giovanni's eventual fate. The line "Io moro" also occurs in *Don Giovanni* (mm. 418–19), where it is sung by Donna Anna. Anna is answered by Don Ottavio: "Simulate" (mm. 420–21; "Keep up appearances"). In the *Tafelmusik*, Don Giovanni is himself keeping up appearances—though, of course, unwittingly so. To an audience familiar with the Don Juan legend, who would already know the Don's eventual fate, his apparent ignorance of what is about to befall him comes across as a kind of unintentional pretense. The words sung by all the characters at the end of the *Cosa rara* chorus further suggest the inevitability of Don Giovanni's downfall—"quel chè fatto è fatto / e non si

può cangiar" (m. 551ff.; "what is done is done / and cannot change").<sup>58</sup> Such fatalism is only reinforced when, in the Prince and Corrado's parts, the words are altered to the more emphatic "quel ch'è fatto è fatto / e non si cangierà" (m. 578ff.; "what is done is done / and *will* not change").

### The quotation from I due litiganti

Count Belfiore Countess Belfiore Dorina, a serving-maid to the Count and Countess Masotto, a steward to the Count and Countess, and one of Dorina's suitors Titta, a suitor of Dorina's supported by the Count Mingone, a suitor of Dorina's supported by the Countess Livietta, the Countess' maid

Figure 2: The dramatis personae of Sarti's Fra i due litiganti il terzo gode.

Sarti's *I due litiganti* is the story of three men vying for the affections of Dorina, a serving-maid to the quarrelling Count and Countess Belfiore. Masotto, a steward to the Count and Countess, wins Dorina's hand, outwitting Titta and Mingone, who are supported by the Count and Countess respectively. At the end, Titta settles for Livietta, the Countess' maid, while Mingone remains wifeless. (The *dramatis personae* for the opera is provided in figure 2). Platoff writes that "many of the characters and some aspects of the story are similar to Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro*... The tone of the work, however, is far lighter and more farcical."<sup>59</sup>

The *Tafelmusik* quotes Mingone's aria from Act I of Sarti's opera, "Come un agnello," in which Mingone, believing he has won over Dorina, boasts of this accomplishment to his rival, Titta. Mingone's gloating tone recalls the ever–cocky Don Giovanni. The final lines of the aria, "A dente asciutto / Lei resterà" (mm. 78–80, 94–96, 106–108; "Starving / You will always remain"), though set to music that is omitted from the quotation in the *Tafelmusik*, can be related to Don Giovanni's callous indifference towards Leporello, who is literally starving while his master feasts.<sup>60</sup> As was the case with the *Cosa rara* quotation, these lines also point to Don Giovanni's failure to win over any

women in Mozart's opera: he has, it could be said, been starved of women. Putting the aria's text side–by–side with the corresponding *Tafelmusik* text reveals connections that once again evoke the inseparability of Don Giovanni's gastronomic and sexual appetites. When Don Giovanni commands, "Versa il vino" ("Pour the wine"), and when Leporello remarks "Questo pezzo di fagiano / piano, piano vo' inghiottir" ("This piece of pheasant / very quietly I am going to swallow"), these words are sung to music which in the original could have accompanied the line "Io colla bella mia rondinella" ("I, with my beautiful little swallow"), "the swallow" being Dorina. Similarly, Giovanni's "Eccellente marzimino" corresponds to the words "Viva la sposa" ("Long live the bride") in the original, marzimino being a type of Italian wine.<sup>61</sup> The relationship between the text of "Come un agnello" and the *Tafelmusik* text thus serves as another reminder that for Don Giovanni, women exist to be consumed, just like wine and pheasant.

The relationship between the first line of Sarti's aria, "Come un agnello che va al macello" ("Like a lamb which goes to the slaughter"), and Don Giovanni has inspired commentary by a number of writers. Allanbrook speculates that this line foreshadows Elvira's impending arrival. "The description," she writes, "well suits the innocent self-sacrifice of her passionate entry."62 This reading points more generally to the strong religious connotations of the idea of a lamb going to the slaughter. The quotation of "Come un agnello" would hence emphasize Elvira's role as a kind of Christ-figure, seeking to save the sinner Don Giovanni, offering him a final chance at redemption. This image of the lamb representing Elvira's self-sacrifice finds a parallel with Zerlina offering herself to be beaten by Masetto in her Act I aria "Batti, batti" (Act I, Scene XVI). There, Zerlina actually describes herself as a lamb: "starò qui come agnellina / le tue botte ad aspettar" ("I shall stay here like a little lamb / to wait for your blows").63 "Batti, batti"-the only place in the opera where a reference to a lamb literally occurs in the text-is also in F major, the very key in which Mozart sets the quotation from Sarti's "Come un agnello."

Heartz offers a different view from Allanbrook, suggesting instead that the lamb of Sarti's aria could refer to Don Giovanni himself, who is "on the verge of going to his own slaughter."<sup>64</sup> Giovanni could even be thought of as an *innocent* lamb, in the sense of his cluelessness: until the moment that the flames of the underworld actually begin to engulf him, the man never appears to have even the slightest inkling of the downfall that awaits him. This seems a more persuasive reading, since Elvira does not enter until after "Come un agnello" is quoted. The religious associations of the lamb still apply to Don Giovanni, but now they operate as a form of grotesque irony. As Steffen Lösel has argued, Don Giovanni's last supper is "a negative image of the institution of the Eucharist."<sup>65</sup> Lösel's vivid elaboration of this idea merits extended quotation:

Just like Jesus, Giovanni here is enjoying his last supper, yet at his table no friends or disciples are present. [While] Jesus's last supper centered altruistically on the giving up of his life for others, Giovanni's last supper centers egotistically all on himself. "Since I am spending money, I want to distract myself," he announces at the beginning of the scene, and to underscore what he means, he makes sure that Leporello is not sharing his culinary delights. In refusing food to Leporello, he contrasts starkly with Jesus, who shares both the bread and the cup with his disciples. Again, while Jesus, the sinless master, according to the Gospel of John (13:1–20), kneels down to wash his disciples' feet, Giovanni, the sinner, has Elvira, the innocent victim of his sins, fall down at his. In short, Giovanni does everything that Jesus does not, and so for the Christian spectator his last supper becomes a Eucharistic celebration *ex negativo.*<sup>66</sup>

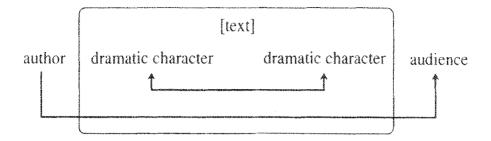
Taking Don Giovanni to be the lamb of "Come un agnello" also supports Karol Berger's view that his death is a necessary "sacrifice." "A liberal society," Berger writes, "can function peacefully and harmoniously only so long as everyone recognizes that individual freedom has limits."<sup>67</sup> Don Giovanni is a danger to this society not merely because he refuses to be bound by such limits, but because others are themselves easily attracted to the "absolute, unlimited freedom" he espouses—a freedom which if left uncontrolled can lead only to the destruction of society.<sup>68</sup> The threat he poses is so great that he must be killed, not just punished or put away: "In killing Don Giovanni, all members of this community—and the community at large—killed, or rather, limited, something within themselves so as to make better, more autonomous, more fully human individuals and communities possible."<sup>69</sup> Unlike Heartz, Lösel and Berger do not refer to Don Giovanni as a lamb, but the *sacrifice* of Don Giovanni is easily tied to the "agnello" of Sarti's aria.

### The quotation of "Non più andrai"

Since *The Marriage of Figaro* is better known today than the operas by Martín and Sarti, I shall omit a summary of its plot. Even leaving aside the quotation of *Figaro* in *Don Giovanni*, the two operas, written so close to each other chronologically and sharing the key of D major, have invited much mutual comparison. The themes of both operas have often been perceived to overlap. Some writers have described the two operas as opposites. Lösel, for example, sees a dichotomy between the "Enlightened Christian society supported by mutual love and forgiveness" depicted in *Figaro* and the "dangers [arising] when this foundation is lost" in *Don Giovanni*.<sup>70</sup> Nicholas

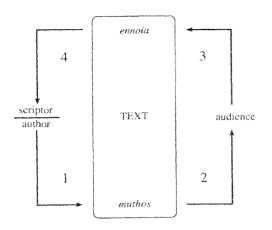
Till makes a similar argument. "The world of Don Giovanni," he writes, "is the negative of the portrait of the luminous society of Le nozze di Figaro: a world in which custom and tradition have reverted to their dark, tribal origins of murder and revenge."<sup>71</sup> It is reasonable to ask whether, by quoting from Figaro in the Tafelmusik, Mozart might be inviting such comparisons. Indeed, Mozart's choice of Figaro's aria, "Non più andrai," which concludes Act I of the earlier opera, points to the affinities between Giovanni and Cherubino, the libidinous young page to whom Figaro's aria is addressed. Kierkegaard famously made this link when he wrote that "the Page is the eventual Don Giovanni,"72 though Cherubino's development into a fully adult philanderer-like Don Giovanni-might already be suggested by Beaumarchais in La mère coupable, the third play in his Figaro trilogy, where the Countess gives birth to Chérubin's illegitimate child but passes him off as the Count's. Recalling Kierkegaard, Berger describes Cherubino as "an immature, lighter, more poetic, and less dangerous version of Don Giovanni."73 What Cherubino and Giovanni share is, to borrow Rousseau's expression, an "[intoxication] with love that [lacks] an object."<sup>74</sup> Their sexuality, in Till's words, is "neither individuated nor clearly directed."75 This notion is encapsulated in the meaning of Cherubino's name-"little cherub"-which, as Hunter writes, marks him as "a kind of Cupid figure, representing, if not the power to make people fall in and out of love, at least the disruptive power of Eros."76 Cupid was the Roman god of love—Amor. When Don Giovanni exclaims "Amor, consiglio" in response to Donna Elvira disrupting his attempted conquest of Zerlina (Act I, Scene X, m. 7), we are easily reminded of Giovanni's resemblance to Cherubino, the Amor of Figaro.

The text of "Non più andrai" perfectly suits the position of the Tafelmusik in the plot of Don Giovanni. Cherubino has just been sent into the army by the Count, and Figaro tells him that his days as an "amorous philanderer," as a "little Narcissus, little Adonis of love" are now over. Put quite simply, these words could just as easily be addressed to Don Giovanni, whose own career in sexual promiscuity is about to come to an end. Tellingly, Mozart only quotes the section of Figaro's aria where he tells of what Cherubino will no longer be able to do, no longer be able to have. Completely omitted from the quotation is the music of the second half of the aria, beginning with the line "Fra guerrieri poffar Bacco" (m. 44), where Figaro describes what life will be like in the military for Cherubino. The original aria offers Cherubino an alternative to his philandering—"gloria militar" ("military glory"). Cherubino is, as it were, given a future. The omission of the second part of the aria from the Tafelmusik suggests that Don Giovanni has no future. There is no alternative to his philandering, for the end of his philandering will also be the end of his life. For the man who needs women more than the air he breathes, death and the denial of women are one and the same thing.



**Figure 3:** Kirby's "double rhetorical situation" (Reproduced with permission from Kirby, p. 2).

Mozart's decision to quote from one of his own operas in the Tafelmusik deserves special comment. As Laurel Zeiss writes, "the excerpt from Figaro directs attention to the controlling hand behind the opera's façade"77-to Mozart's own role in the world of Don Giovanni. The literary theorist John Kirby has proposed a theory of "a rhetoric of poetics." Against the Aristotelian distinction between rhetoric and poetics, Kirby argues that literary and dramatic works can be as rhetorical as oratory or interpersonal discourse.78 In a drama, a "double rhetorical situation" exists (Figure 3). Direct rhetoric takes place within an *inner* system--the text-where characters speak to each other. Indirect rhetoric takes place as part of an outer system operating between author and audience. Since the author cannot communicate *directly* to the audience, an audience's understanding of a work is not limited to the author's intention. That said, Kirby argues that the two systems "are not entirely closed" (2) to each other, for instance, when there is a play within a play. In Kirby's view, the Tafelmusik from Don Giovanni is a variation on the "play within a play": when Leporello recognizes Mozart's tune from Figaro, there occurs what he describes as a "subordination of historical reality to the fictive 'reality' of the drama" (3). By "[straining] the boundaries" between the two rhetorical systems, Kirby suggests, the author (in this case, Mozart) approaches but does not fully achieve a direct communication with his audience (3). Figure 4 shows Kirby's explanation for this. Kirby argues that, notwithstanding Barthes' "death of the author," audiences still wonder about what the author is trying to communicate because "they recognize that they are in a rhetorical relationship with him or her" (5). In reality, however, audiences wonder about the scriptor, a term which Kirby defines-differently from Barthes—as an image of an author conjured up by an audience (5). The author generates a muthos-a method of stimulating emotions-which is received by an audience. The audience then evaluates the *muthos* to form an



**Figure 4:** Kirby's model of "indirect rhetoric" between author and audience (Reproduced with permission from Kirby, p. 4).

*ennoia*, "a notion of what the *muthos* means to them" (5). The audience's view of the scriptor derives from this *ennoia*. The scriptor is thus not identical to the author, and concern for the scriptor is not automatically an assumption of authorial intentionality.

Kirby's theory has some affinities with Edward Cone's concept of the composer's persona. Cone proposes that in vocal music, the composer speaks with a double voice-through the singer or singers (the "vocal persona"), and through the instrumental accompaniment (the "instrumental persona").79 Paradoxically, the instrumental persona is both the more direct and the more veiled form of communication. On the one hand, the instrumental persona is more direct because the composer speaks to the audience without mediation "by the words of a specific personality" but "through the gestures of the music alone" (17). On the other hand, the vocal persona, precisely because it does use words, speaks more directly to the audience, since "the world of the voice is the one we accept as closer to our own" (15). Both personas are united in the figure of the composer, who is responsible for creating both (13, 18). In opera in particular, we do not have multiple characters talking as in a spoken play, but a single composer's voice quoting multiple characters (13). Importantly, however, Cone clarifies that this figure of the composer is not the real composer but the composer's persona—a voice that a composer assumes for a particular composition (18).

Mozart's self-quotation in *Don Giovanni* has understandably invited attempts at biographical interpretation. Allanbrook and Hunter have both suggested, for instance, that Mozart's quotation from operas by his rivals alongside "Non più andrai" might be the composer's way of showing off the superiority of his music in comparison to theirs.<sup>80</sup> Such a reading forms a part of a broader tradition of identifying Mozart with *Don Giovanni*, and especially with its title character. Kierkegaard, as Daniel Herwitz points out, practically conflated Mozart with the Don.<sup>81</sup> Questions like the one Till poses are fairly commonplace in the literature: "Was there perhaps an identification in Mozart's own mind between the rebellion of Don Giovanni and his own subversive spirit?"<sup>82</sup> Some might be made uncomfortable by such imputations of authorial intentionality, but Kirby's and Cone's theories allow us to view the quotation of "Non più andrai" as an opportunity for biographical interpretation, *without* assuming that it is *really* Mozart who is speaking to the audience through the aria from *Figaro*. Such biographical readings can side–step the issue of intentionality by setting aside the historical Mozart in favor of who the audience imagines Mozart to be in a particular work—Mozart as Kirby's scriptor or, in Cone's formulation, Mozart's persona.

### The Tafelmusik as a whole and its effect on the audience

Having shown some of the ways in which the *individual* sources for the *Tafelmusik* quotations are connected to *Don Giovanni*, I would now like to consider how the *Tafelmusik* taken *as a whole* affects our understanding of Mozart's opera. First, I shall reflect on how the structure of the scene informs the opera's characterization of Don Giovanni. Next, I examine how the light–hearted nature of the *Tafelmusik* acts as a kind of dramatic foil whose levity highlights the serious tone of the scenes to follow.

The quick succession of the three quotations, in contrasting meters and keys, serves as a musical analogue for Don Giovanni's restless promiscuity. It is telling that in all three instances, Mozart has shortened the original material from which he quotes. At least in the transition from the Martín quotation to the Sarti one, the change in music parallels the serving of a new course to Don Giovanni. Though no explicit instructions exist in the libretto, it is possible to imagine a similar change-of-course happening when "Non più andrai" begins. The music flits swiftly from one tune to the next, just as Don Giovanni moves from one dish to another-just as he, having already made 1,003 conquests in Spain alone, moves from one woman to the next. This restlessness, as many writers have pointed out, is also reflected in the constantly shifting nature of his melodic language in the opera. Don Giovanni "adapts the style of each of his victims."83 As Noske writes, "the kaleidoscopic picture of the Don is merely the negative application of the principle of individual characterization. Our hero lacks the others' homogeneity simply because he adapts himself subtly to every situation."84 The quick shifts from one piece of music to another in the Tafelmusik can thus be

understood as a microcosmic reflection of Don Giovanni's shifting musical identity. Moreover, in the entire scene Giovanni makes just one comment that has anything to do with the music, when near the beginning he asks Leporello, "Che ti par del bel concerto?" (m. 62, "How does this pretty concert seem to you?"). As Allanbrook points out, "Leporello is in each case the one to notice and comment on the wind band's selections, while Don Giovanni is intent on consuming food and drink."85 Don Giovanni seems to display little interest in the particular content of the music, in what exactly is being played, just as he displays little if any interest in the individuality of each of his conquests. In Berger's words, women are for him "interchangeable occasions rather than persons."86 Don Giovanni may adopt different tactics in his attempts to conquer different women but ultimately he is not choosy. As Leporello remarks to Donna Elvira in the Catalogue Aria, "purchè porti la gonnella / voi sapete quel che fa" (mm. 143 ff.; "provided that she wears a skirt / vou know what he does")-fat or thin, brunette or blonde, noble or commoner, a woman is a woman all the same.

The parallel I discussed earlier between the *Tafelmusik* and the dances in the Act I finale invites us to consider how the two scenes differ. The socially complete isolation of the Don at dinner receives greater emphasis because it presents such a sharp contrast to the crowded setting of the Act I dances. In comparison to the earlier scene, Don Giovanni, to use Küster's expression, "goes down to hell in privacy,"87 even if Leporello and Donna Elvira know what is happening. This party, unlike the first, has no guests. Depending on one's point of view, this could be an extreme assertion of individual liberty. Or it could be a depiction of Don Giovanni's pitiful alienation from anyone outside of himself: in Allanbrook's words, "this finale reduces the dissolute life to a figurative onanism—Don Giovanni playing host to himself."88 Either way, it is clear that the juxtaposition of the Tafelmusik with the Act I dances, a comparison encouraged by the parallelism between them, serves to emphasize Don Giovanni's isolation as he nears his downfall. After all the mischief he has wrought among other people, he takes his dinner by himself; Leporello, his servant, is no dining companion. Don Giovanni is alone by choice, but he is nevertheless alone.

The comic nature of the *Tafelmusik* scene stands in sharp contrast to the seriousness of the two scenes that follow: the entry of Elvira and the death of Don Giovanni. *Tafelmusik*, as Hubert Unverricht points out, "always tended to be light and entertaining."<sup>89</sup> Indeed, in Mozart's time, *Tafelmusik* was considered a form of the divertimento, a genre in which Mozart himself wrote numerous pieces, and whose name—Italian for "diversion," "recreation" or "enjoyment"—quite literally speaks to its lack of seriousness.<sup>90</sup> Allanbrook aptly describes the *Tafelmusik* in *Don Giovanni* as consisting of "very jolly

pieces, appropriate as occasional music for revels."<sup>91</sup> Stage antics such as Leporello trying to get away with stealing some of his master's food would have made the scene border on the farcical, as would the aspects of low comedy I discussed at the beginning of this article. It would have been fairly easy for this entire scene to come across as farce, for farce was very much part of the Don Juan tradition. As Andrew Steptoe writes, "By the middle of the eighteenth century, Don Juan had fallen very low in the esteem of intellectual and cultured people. It had been reduced to a clown's piece in the German–speaking world."<sup>92</sup> In some earlier versions of the Don Juan story, the *lieto fine* found in Tirso's original *El Burlador* was even followed by a final *lamento* scene depicting Don Juan suffering in hell—a scene which "was greeted with shouts of laughter and applause instead of fear and awe."<sup>93</sup> Don Juan plays were usually performed at carnival time, and often grotesquely parodied church teachings on death and eternal punishment.<sup>94</sup>

The apparent levity of the Tafelmusik scene is underscored by the quotations Mozart has chosen. The source operas are not merely all *buffa* works, but ones that are especially emblematic of a kind of "buffa conventionality" in their plots. By this I mean that they end with problems resolved, with a happy ending, with stability restored, with characters forgiven and reconciled. This "buffa conventionality" reflects Hunter's observation that opera buffa was often a socially conservative genre, "the overdetermined predictability of the plot-outcomes [reinforcing] the notion of immutability."95 For the most part, as Christopher Ballantine argues, Mozart's operas do stress forgiveness and reconciliation in their endings.<sup>96</sup> Though much has been written about the ambiguity of Figaro's ending, it surely does not subvert opera buffa conventions anywhere near as much as Don Giovanni, in which the dragging of its protagonist down to hell casts an unavoidable cloud over the customary lieto fine. As Jessica Waldoff contends, Don Giovanni is unusual in Mozart's operas in being "a protagonist who is neither reformed nor forgiven by the end of the opera."97 Similarly, Lior Barshack writes that in the Da Ponte operas, the condemnation of Don Giovanni is "the single exception to the rule of pardon."98

A key component of "*buffa* conventionality" is the affirmation of the institution of marriage. Marriage, Till points out, is not merely about romantic love, but is representative of fidelity, of promises. Don Giovanni "makes a point of breaking promises, thus making a mockery of one of the very foundations of modern human community."<sup>99</sup> By the ends of all three source operas for the *Tafelmusik* quotations, not one but two couples have been married, regardless of when in the operas the double weddings occur (Figure 5). Marriage acts as a symbol for the resolution of conflict, for the restabilization of what has been de–stabilized. In *Don Giovanni*, however, Anna

<u>Cosa rara</u> Lubino—Lilla Tita—Ghita

<u>I due litiganti</u> Masotto—Dorina Titta—Livietta

<u>Figaro</u> Figaro—Susanna Bartolo—Marcellina

Figure 5: Double weddings in the *Tafelmusik* source operas.

and Ottavio do not marry before the opera's end, and the Zerlina–Masetto marriage appears marred by the suggestion, in "Là ci darem la mano," that Zerlina would have given in to Don Giovanni's advances if Donna Elvira had not intervened. Zerlina's "continued resistance," Rushton writes, "is merely verbal; she accepts his melody, intoxicated by this apparition of a noble lover, and yields most sweetly."<sup>100</sup> Moreover, as Elaine Sisman has pointed out, Zerlina's failure in her aria "Batti, batti" to tell Masetto what happened between her and Don Giovanni in his absence seems evidence of a guilty conscience.<sup>101</sup> The uncertainty over whether Anna and Ottavio will marry as they intend, and over the true extent of Zerlina's devotion to Masetto, gives *Don Giovanni*, the seemingly cheerful Scena Ultima notwithstanding, an unsettled ending. As Sisman argues,

at least *Figaro* promises one healthy marriage, that of the title, and even as it takes a dim view of some aristocratic habits, marital forgiveness offers a *lieto fine*, however temporary in practice. But in *Don Giovanni*, every couple or would–be spouse has been sorely tested and left damaged, and the only pair to emerge with a reasonable chance at something like happiness is the peasant couple whose *sposalizio* has furnished the action for half of Act 1.<sup>102</sup>

It is not just that Don Giovanni's promiscuity is at odds with the faithfulness required by marriage, but that he shows a complete contempt for the very idea of marriage itself. His exploitation of a promise of marriage simply so he can add Donna Elvira to his catalogue of conquests spits in the face of marriage as a social institution. Moreover, in a society where, as Sisman points out, the promise of marriage constituted legally presumptive marriage,<sup>103</sup> Don Giovanni's use of it as just another libido–driven ruse debases the very concept of promise which seems fundamental to an ordered society. As Till writes, in *Le nozze di Figaro* marriage that has been undermined must be restored to health for the good of society. But in *Don Giovanni*, once the promises of contractual society have been dissolved, faith in the possibility of reconstructing society upon such promises is apparently destroyed for ever.<sup>104</sup>

The fact that Mozart has chosen in the *Tafelmusik* excerpts to quote from three operas which signify conventional *buffa* tropes of reconciliation and re-stabilization thus creates a striking *irony*, for *Don Giovanni* distinguishes itself by negating these conventions. Quotations from sources affirming marriage occur in an opera whose protagonist rejects it. Operas with typical happy endings are quoted within an opera whose title character will soon be consumed by the fires of hell.

In terms of dramatic structure, the comic nature of the *Tafelmusik* scene, combined with the "buffa conventionality" suggested by the quotations, lulls the audience into a false sense of security. As Freeman observes, the Tafelmusik "distracts our attention and even increases the suspense as we are momentarily diverted from the possibility that the Commendatore just might make his appearance at the dinner table."105 Da Ponte may have had this in mind when writing the libretto, for he rearranged the order of scenes he found in Bertati's text. Bertati has Elvira's plea to Giovanni come before he eats his dinner. This reordering, as Edward Forman argues, "ensures a more dramatic build-up of tension."106 The comedy of the Tafelmusik scene is followed by the seriousness of Elvira's entry, before a dramatic climax is reached in the terrifying Statue Scene. The opera then ends with an abrupt shift back to the comic for the Scena Ultima. Two serious scenes are thus framed by two comic ones. Comedy is strikingly juxtaposed with tragedy.<sup>107</sup> Such shifts between the comic and the tragic are central to the opera's construction. Don Giovanni's killing of the Commendatore, for example, is followed abruptly by a light-hearted secco recitative. In both the duel scene and the Act II Finale, comedy masks the seriousness of the death of an individual but paradoxically heightens that seriousness by standing in such sharp contrast to it.

#### Quotation as a device and the breaking of the "fourth wall"

I would like to conclude by examining the device of quotation itself and its possible effects on audience reception. The idea of having music play while Don Giovanni eats his final meal was not Mozart's, and nor was it Da Ponte's. For even in spoken plays based on the Don Juan story, the playing of music during Giovanni's dinner is not unusual, occurring in sources as early as Tirso's *El Burlador*.<sup>108</sup> The use of onstage musical instruments for this scene first occurs in Bertati's libretto for Gazzaniga's *Don Giovanni Tenorio*, the

immediate operatic precursor to Mozart and Da Ponte's version.<sup>109</sup> Although Mozart had to include music for Don Giovanni's dinner, it bears repeating that he did not have to use *quoted* music. He could, like Gazzaniga, simply have composed his own *Tafelmusik*, just as he composed dance music for the Act I finale. Besides the specific links I have already suggested between *Don Giovanni* and the quoted material, what, more generally, is achieved by employing quotation?

Since, as I discussed earlier, *opera buffa* regularly made use of intertextuality, it could be argued that quotation—a more exact type of allusion—is not all that unusual. Moreover, as Hunter writes, Mozart "regularly referred to other operas on the Viennese stage in his own works."<sup>110</sup> *Figaro*, for instance, contains allusions to Paisiello's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* (1782),<sup>111</sup> while Martín's *L'arbore di Diana* (1787) and Salieri's *La grotta di Trofonio* (1785) served as "important local points of intertextual reference for *Così*."<sup>112</sup> However, to return to an observation I made at the beginning of this article, the use of quotation in the *Tafelmusik* does draw special attention to itself in that it is announced from the stage. If, as Allanbrook writes, the quotation sources were so recent and so popular that "they would be recognized without Leporello's identifications,"<sup>113</sup> then Leporello's explicit identification of the quotation sources gives them an unusual amount of emphasis. In so doing, it stresses the fact that the quotations break the "fourth wall" by merging the world of the stage with that of the audience. As Zeiss observes,

the importation of music from three other well–known operas during the dinner scene ruptures customary borders, including crossing the line that separates the noumenal (opera's normal mode of discourse) from the phenomenal (music perceived as music by the characters.) The quotations break the "fourth wall' by inserting music from the "real world" beyond.<sup>114</sup>

Leporello knows *Cosa rara*, *I due litiganti* and *Figaro* the same way that a contemporary audience would have. When he identifies the operas, he speaks both to Don Giovanni *and to the audience*. But is it really Leporello who is speaking? I would argue that the line, "Questa poi la conosco pur troppo" is a joke that is really told by the *singer* Ponziani, rather than by the *character* Leporello.<sup>115</sup> Perhaps Leporello himself has heard "Non più andrai" a little too much lately. Nevertheless, what would have made this line funny was the Prague audience's recognition that *Ponziani* was referring to himself and his singing of the role of Figaro. The breaking of the "fourth wall" is thus reinforced by the confusion of the actor's identity with the character's.

Paolo Gallarati has argued that the occasional "dismantling [of] the illusory barrier of the 'fourth wall" he observes in Mozart's Da Ponte operas are "allusions to the artifice of the stage."<sup>116</sup> If this is so, these works might present examples, *avant la lettre*, of Bertolt Brecht's *Verfremdungseffekt*,

which Brecht defined as performing "in such a way that the audience [is] hindered from simply identifying itself with the characters in the play. Acceptance or rejection of their actions and utterances [is] meant to take place on a conscious plane, instead of, [as in traditional Western theater], in the audience's subconscious."117 For Brecht, this "distancing effect" was crucial to his belief that theater should be didactic, that an audience should not merely be entertained, but should be consciously critical and thereby learn something from the drama. As referenced earlier, Hunter argues that the conventionality of plot outcomes in opera buffa reflected a sense of social conservatism.<sup>118</sup> It must be said that Hunter does also problematize this contention in two ways. Firstly, she points out that, in Vienna, opera buffa was often strongly distinguished from German drama, whose style more explicitly emphasized "nation-building, proto-bourgeois, and generally edifying ideals" in contrast to a genre that was considered by many to be "mere entertainment." This was generally the case even though opera buffa and German drama shared similar audiences and venues.<sup>119</sup> Secondly, she describes how opera buffa plots frequently upend established social hierarchies. Although such reversals of the social order might be neutralized by being contained within traditional rules governing "comedy and carnival," Hunter argues that the genre's progressive socio-political potential cannot be entirely dismissed.<sup>120</sup> These qualifications notwithstanding, it remains true that, as Hunter herself acknowledges, opere buffe "repeatedly affirm two important and socially relevant conservative principles: that hierarchy is inevitable and necessary, and that social stability is always to be desired."121 Hunter rightly implies that opera buffa is not simply a didactic genre, yet the pervasiveness of conservative ideas in plots must surely mean that it at least possesses some sort of moralistic function.

Hence, it does not seem far-fetched to suggest that there is a kind of Brechtian didacticism at work in *Don Giovanni*, as a consequence of the breaking of the "fourth wall" effected by the *Tafelmusik* quotations. This interpretation, moreover, would seem to accord with the undeniably moralizing tone of the *lieto fine*: "Questo è il fin di chi fa mal" ("This is the end of he who does evil"). Perhaps the most important aspect of this didacticism, arising from the *Tafelmusik* quotations, might be to historicize an opera that otherwise tries its best to suppress historical and geographical specificity. As Hunter notes, many *opere buffe* are ostensibly set in real places but these geographical settings are often not easily recognizable from the plots, especially when the plots also contain unrealistic elements. The result is an unsettling feeling, in Hunter's words, of "like here but not here":

The later eighteenth-century practice of putting an opera's geographic location at one or two removes from immediate reality ensures some glimmers

of recognition; at the same time, the distance from the immediate location of the performance allows the events of the opera both the comforts of separation (this is not about me) and the potential discomforts of generality (this is about many people like me).<sup>122</sup>

Hence, in its settings, *opera buffa* attempts to maintain a balance between foreignness and familiarity—enough foreignness to keep the audience, as Brecht would put it, conscious of the theatrical work as a theatrical work; enough familiarity to ensure that the audience does not treat the work merely as fantasy.

The geographical ambiguity Hunter discusses is clearly at work in Don Giovanni. It is a common assumption that the opera is set in Seville, likely owing to the long literary tradition of Don Juan, beginning with Tirso's El burlador de Sevilla ("The Trickster of Seville"). However, Da Ponte's libretto is less specific. The dramatis personae announces the setting only as "una città della Spagna" ("a city in Spain"), and the description of Donna Elvira as a "dama di Burgos" ("lady of Burgos") is a reference to her origins, not to the city in which the opera takes place. Discussing the scene in which Don Giovanni and Leporello first encounter the peasants (Act I, Scene VII), Rushton remarks, that the town is "never named, but is probably not meant to be Seville." 123 During the opera itself, there are just three references to Spain. Elvira, in the recitative after "Ah! chi mi dici mai," reveals that she met Don Giovanni in Burgos. In the Catalogue Aria, Leporello's line "ma in Ispagna son già mille e tre" ("in Spain there are already one thousand and three") implies that Don Giovanni is currently in Spain. Finally, Don Giovanni refers to "la follia"—an old Spanish dance—during his aria "Fin ch'han dal vino." Heartz writes that the choice of the follia "accords with the Spanish setting of the opera," but otherwise the opera "has even less local color than Figaro, with its fandango indebted to Gluck's Don Juan."124 Tellingly, however, the Spanish follia is not actually danced during the Act I finale; a contredanse appears instead.<sup>125</sup> Even if an audience familiar with the Don Juan story would have assumed Spain, or even Seville, as the opera's location, it seems fair to say that the libretto draws little attention to it. Moreover, there is no explicit identification of the historical period. As John Bokina writes, "the seventeenth-century Seville of Don Giovanni [Bokina, too, assumes Seville as the location] is stripped of its historical particularity."126

If *Don Giovanni* generally de–emphasizes its geographical and historical specificity, the *Tafelmusik* quotations are striking because they do clearly point to a time and a place. But it is not Seville that they evoke, not anywhere in Spain. Rather, the quotations suggest that the action might actually be set

in Prague, or Vienna, circa 1787. For Leporello and the audience know the same operas—*Cosa rara, I due litiganti, Figaro.* His world and, presumably, the world of Don Giovanni and every other character, is also the world of Mozart's audience. It is not just Mozart's quotations that place *Don Giovanni* in the Vienna or Prague of 1787, but the very presence of a domestic wind band—Don Giovanni's own *Harmonie.* In having a *Harmonie* accompany his dinner, the Don would, in Dent's words, have been "like any fine gentleman of Prague."<sup>127</sup> The *Harmonie* had been popular in Prague and on the estates of the Bohemian nobility since the early 1760s; Haydn composed frequently for a standard sextet of pairs of oboes, bassoons and horns.<sup>128</sup> When imported into Vienna, it was used to play arrangements of operatic scores,<sup>129</sup> a practice that, Freeman points out, "was [still] quite new at the time of *Don Giovanni*'s first performance."<sup>130</sup> Robbins Landon writes that

in Vienna, the Imperial wind band was used, as was also the case with others in the provinces, to provide the household with *Tafelmusik*, i.e. pleasant music at mealtimes. Since operas were always the most fashionable form of music in society, the wind-band arrangements provided a particularly delightful way of recalling operatic melodies.<sup>131</sup>

The use of Harmonie to perform operatic arrangements in particular remained for a time a specifically Viennese practice; however, by 1787, the year Don Giovanni was composed, the practice had spread to Bohemia.<sup>132</sup> The dances in the Act I finale perform a similar historicizing function. As Heartz has pointed out, the types of dances Mozart includes, and the performance of those dances in a single room simultaneously, conform to practices that actually occurred in the Vienna of Mozart's day.<sup>133</sup> Indeed, to return something I have already discussed, the dancing of the contredanse, rather than the follia Don Giovanni announced in "Fin ch'han dal vino," replaced a Spanish dance with a dance that "within Mozart's time became a universal favorite."134 As with the Act I dances—the Tafelmusik—both the practice itself and the specific choice of quotations, allows Mozart to bring the opera into what for his audience would have been the present world. This situation would still apply even for an audience in our own time, albeit to a lesser extent. Though audiences today are unfamiliar with Cosa rara and I due litiganti, Figaro, and "Non più andrai," remains well-known among the opera-going public. As long as *Figaro* stays in the standard repertoire, its quotation in the Tafelmusik scene will continue to bring the world of Don Giovanni's audience onto the stage, and vice versa. I admit that this interpretation might be a bit of a stretch, given that many other elements of the plot of the opera-feudal social divisions, to name just one obvious example-are more foreign to us than they would have been to an audi-

ence in 1787. Nevertheless, at least in the *Tafelmusik* scene, it would not be ridiculous to suggest that it is *our* present world, not merely the present world of the late eighteenth–century audience, into which the opera is brought.<sup>135</sup> Mozart's *Don Giovanni* is no longer fairy tale or fantastical farce as many other versions of the Don Juan myth had been. It is not set in some imaginary place, or in some distant historical time. The composer forces us to consider the possibility that the world of the opera is *our* world, that those watching *Don Giovanni* might have a lot more in common with the characters on the stage than they may have at first imagined.

In The Composer's Voice, Cone suggests that in opera, the world of the audience and the world of the singing character are not as separate as they may first appear. This is because the instrumental accompaniment provides a "sonic environment" in which both audience and character participate.<sup>136</sup> "The vocal character," Cone writes, "implicates in his own world every sympathetic member of the world of his audience, and every such listener shares the character's experience."<sup>137</sup> Cone proposes that this situation always exists in opera. If so, then the Tafelmusik in Don Giovanni, by quoting from operas familiar to the audience and having a character announce these quotations, only makes more explicit the blurred boundaries between stage and listener already inherent to opera as a genre. The *Tafelmusik* also blurs the boundaries among Don Giovanni and each of the three operas from which it quotes. As Berger writes, "While what a quotation or allusion refers to may be itself outside the world of the work, the quotation or allusion induct [sic] it, so to speak, into the world of the work."<sup>138</sup> A quotation or allusion exists in more than one work, and puts different works into mutual communication. It should further be pointed out that this communication necessarily takes place in the world of the listener. It is the listener who observes intertextual communication; he is the medium through which that communication takes place. Hence, the very notion of intertextuality itself contributes to the blurring of the divide between stage and audience.

Finally, the use of quotation in the *Tafelmusik* brings the composer and here I do mean the historical figure rather than an imagined artistic persona—closer to his audience. This would be true even if one only paid attention to what I earlier called the "superficial" reasons for these quotations—the playing of in–jokes and the desire to elicit cheap laughs from the audience. As Reynolds correctly points out, "the importance of the link between allusion and play is fundamental in any era."<sup>139</sup> Even allusion as play, however, reminds the audience of the presence of the composer. When Leporello announces the quotations in the *Tafelmusik*, he acts as an intermediary between Mozart and his audience, just as he has often been an intermediary between Don Giovanni and his women. Mozart speaks through Leporello to tell the audience which operas he has quoted from. Regardless of what deeper meanings one may wish to find in the *Tafelmusik* quotations, the act of quotation itself brings composer and audience together. The *Tafelmusik* reminds us that we the audience are welcome into the world of *Don Giovanni* and into the world of its creator. The continued impact of Mozart's opera might owe something to the warmth of this welcome.

#### <u>Appendix:</u> Text of *Tafelmusik* Corresponding to Texts of Quotation Sources

- Repeated lines of text in the quotation sources are included only if they correspond to changing text in the Tafelmusik.
- Square brackets show text repetitions which do not literally occur, but which have been included to facilitate comparison. Where this applies to the quotation sources, the text is not repeated in the quotation sources, but the music associated with it is repeated in the Tafelmusik.
- Parentheses (round brackets) show text that, in the quotation sources, is only sung to music that is not quoted in the Tafelmusik.
- All translations are by the author.

Vincente Martín y Soler, <i>Una cosa rara</i> (1786), End of Act I		Mozart, Don Giovanni, Tafelmusik (mm. 47-117)	
<i>Regina</i> O quanto un sì bel giubilo, o quanto alletta e piace! Di pura gioia e pace sorgente ognor sarà.	<i>Leporello</i> Bravi! "Cosa rara"!	Leporello Great! "A Rare Thing!"	
Lilla, Ghita, Lubino, Tita, Podestà Godiamo, sù godiamo e con sincero amore rendiamo grazie al core di vostra Maestà.	Don Giovanni Che ti par del bel concerto? Leporello È conforme, è conforme al vostro merto.	Don Giovanni How does this concert seem to you? Leporello It conforms, it conforms to your worth. Don Giovanni	
E il figlio mio non parla?	Ah che piatto saporito!	Ah what a tasty dish!	
<i>Lilla, Ghita</i> E voi non dite niente? <i>Lilla (Al Principe)</i> Guardate il mio Lubino.	Ah che piatto saporito!	Ah what a tasty dish!	
<i>Principe</i> Andate, ho visto, ho visto. <i>Ghita (A Corrado)</i> Guardate Tita mio.	<i>Leporello (a parte)</i> Ah che barbaro appetito!	<i>Leporello (aside)</i> Ah what a savage appetite!	
	Regina         O quanto un sì bel giubilo,         o quanto alletta e piace!         Di pura gioia e pace         sorgente ognor sarà.         Lilla, Ghita, Lubino, Tita, Podestà         Godiamo, sù godiamo         e con sincero amore         rendiamo grazie al core         di vostra Maestà.         Regina         E il figlio mio non parla?         Lilla, Ghita         E voi non dite niente?         Lilla (Al Principe)         Guardate il mio Lubino.         Principe         Andate, ho visto, ho visto.         Ghita (A Corrado)	Regina       0 quanto un sì bel giubilo, o quanto alletta e piace!       Leporello         Di pura gioia e pace       Bravi! "Cosa rara"!         Di pura gioia e pace       Bravi! "Cosa rara"!         Sorgente ognor sarà.       Don Giovanni         Lilla, Ghita, Lubino, Tita, Podestà       Don Giovanni         Godiamo, sù godiamo       Che ti par del bel concerto?         e con sincero amore       È conforme,         di vostra Maestà.       Don Giovanni         Regina       Don Giovanni         E il figlio mio non parla?       Don Giovanni         Lilla, Ghita       Don Giovanni         E voi non dite niente?       Ah che piatto saporito!         Lilla (Al Principe)       Guardate il mio Lubino.         Principe       Leporello (a parte)         Andate, ho visto, ho visto.       Ah che barbaro appetito!	

Corrado	Corrado		
Go, goodbye, goodbye.	Andate, addio, addio.	Che bocconi da gigante!	What mouthfuls of a giant!
		Mi par proprio di svenir.	It seems proper to me to faint.
All except Corrado and the Prince	Tutti salvo Corrado e il Principe	Don Giovanni (a parte)	Don Giovanni (aside)
Corrado remains silent,	Corrado muto resta,	Nel veder i miei bocconi	Seeing my mouthfuls
the Infante seems sad to me.	l'Infante mi par mesto.	gli par proprio di svenir,	it seems proper to him to faint,
I do not know what story this is, I do not know what to think.	Non so che storia è questa, non so cosa pensar.	gli par proprio di svenir.	it seems proper to him to faint.
		Leporello	Leporello
But what is done is done	Ma quel ch'è fatto è fatto	Ah che barbaro appetito!	Ah what a savage appetite!
and cannot change,	e non si può cangiar,	Che bocconi da gigante!	What mouthfuls of a giant!
		Don Giovanni	Don Giovanni
and cannot change.	e non si può cangiar.	Nel veder i miei bocconi	Seeing my mouthfuls
		gli par proprio di svenir.	it seems proper to him to faint.
The Prince, Corrado	Principe, Corrado	[Don Giovanni (a parte)	[Don Giovanni (aside)
I tremble at my fate,	Fremo del mio destino,	Nel veder i miei bocconi	Seeing my mouthfuls
I am losing the one whom I adore,	perdo colei che adoro,	gli par proprio di svenir,	it seems proper to him to faint,
neither must I say: I am dying, nor can I contest	né deggio dir: io moro, né posso contrastar,	gli par proprio di svenir.	it seems proper to him to faint.
	_	Leporello	Leporello
that what is done is done	che quel ch'è fatto è fatto	Ah che barbaro appetito!	Ah what a savage appetite!
and cannot change.	e non si può cangiar.	Che bocconi da gigante!]	What mouthfuls of a giant!]
What is done is already done	Già quel ch'è fatto è fatto	Ah che barbaro appetito!	Ah what a savage appetite!
		Don Giovanni	Don Giovanni
and will not change.	e non si cangierà.	Gli par proprio di svenir. Leporello	It seems proper to him to faint. Leporello
What is done is already done	Già quel ch'è fatto è fatto	Che bocconi da gigante!	What mouthfuls of a giant!
<u>,</u>		Don Giovanni	Don Giovanni
and will not change.	e non si cangierà.	Gli par proprio di svenir.	It seems proper to him to faint.
	-	I due	Both
And will not change.	E non si cangierà.	Gli/mi par proprio di svenir.	It seems proper to him/me to faint.
		Don Giovanni	Don Giovanni
		Piatto.	Next course.
		Leporello	Leporello
		Servo.	I am serving it.

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Giuseppe Sarti, <i>Fra i due litiganti il terzo gode</i> (1782), Act I		Mozart, Don Giovanni, Tafelmusik (mm. 118-61)	
Mingone Like a lamb which goes to the slaughter	<i>Mingone</i> Come un agnello che va al macello	Leporello	Leporello
You will go bleating through the city. I, with my beautiful little swallow, Shall go around from here to there. I already expect To hear it said: Look at how lovable Is this perfect bridegroom!	Belando andrai per la città. Io colla bella mia rondinella Andrò rondando di qua, di là. Io già m'aspetto Sentirmi dire: Guarda che amabile Sposo perfetto!	Evvivano i "Litiganti"! <i>Don Giovanni</i> Versa il vino.	Long live the "Litigants!" <i>Don Giovanni</i> Pour the wine.
From over there is repeated: Long live the bride. O incomparable Charming couple, May heaven grant you Happiness.	Di là ripetere: Viva la sposa. O impareggiabile Coppia vezzosa, Il ciel concedavi Felicità.	Eccellente marzimino!	Excellent marzimino wine!
[Like a lamb which goes to the slaughter	[Come un agnello che va al macello	<i>Leporello</i> Questo pezzo di fagiano	<i>Leporello</i> This piece of pheasant
You will go bleating through the city. I, with my beautiful little swallow, Shall go around from here to there.]	Belando andrai per la città. Io colla bella mia rondinella Andrò rondando di qua, di là.]	piano, piano vo' inghiottir. [Questo pezzo di fagiano piano, piano vo' inghiottir.]	very quietly I am going to swallow. [This piece of pheasant very quietly I am going to swallow.]
		<i>Don Giovanni</i> Sta mangiando quel marrano; fingerò di non capir.	<i>Don Giovanni</i> That lout is eating; I shall pretend not to understand.
(There is no need to tremble, You scoundrel,	(Non serve fremere, Signor frabutto,		
To Titta, who is threatening him	A Titta che minaccia		
Starving You will always remain.)	A dente asciutto Lei resterà.)		

Mozart, Le nozze di Figaro (1786)	), Act I	Mozart, Don Giovanni, Tafelmusik (mm. 162-99)	
Figaro	Figaro		
No longer will you go, amorous	Non più andrai, farfallone amoroso,		
philanderer,	1	Leporello	Leporello
night and day wandering around,	notte e giorno d'intorno girando,	Questa poi la conosco pur troppo.	This one, then, I know only too well.
disturbing the repose of the ladies,	delle belle turbando il riposo,		
little Narcissus, little Adonis of love!	Narcisetto, Adoncino d'amor!		
		Don Giovanni	Don Giovanni
		Leporello.	Leporello.
		Leporello	Leporello
No longer will you have these little	Non più avrai questi bei penacchini,	Padron mio	My master
plumes,		Don Giovanni	Don Giovanni
this light and gallant hat,	quel cappello leggiero e galante,	Parla schietto, mascalzone!	Speak honestly, rascal!
		Leporello	Leporello
this head of hair, this brilliant air,	quella chioma, quell'aria brillante,	Non mi lascia una flussione	A bad cold does not allow me
this womanly vermilion color!	quel vermiglio donnesco color!	le parole proferir.	to utter words.
-		Don Giovanni	Don Giovanni
No longer will you have these little	Non più avrai questi bei penacchini,	Mentre io mangio, fischia un poco.	While I eat, whistle a bit.
plumes,		Leporello	Leporello
this light and gallant hat,	quel cappello leggiero e galante,	Non so far!	I do not know how to!
		Don Giovanni	Don Giovanni
		Cos'è?	What?
		Leporello	Leporello
this head of hair, this brilliant air.	quella chioma, quell'aria brillante.	Scusate, scusate;	Excuse me, excuse me;
No longer will you go, amorous philanderer,	Non più andrai, farfallone amoroso,	sì eccellente è il vostro cuoco,	your cook is so excellent,
night and day wandering around,	notte e giorno d'intorno girando,	sì eccellente è il vostro cuoco,	your cook is so excellent,
disturbing the repose of the ladies,	delle belle turbando il riposo,	che lo volli anch'io provar,	that I also wanted to try him out,
little Narcissus, little Adonis of love!	Narcisetto, Adoncino d'amor!	che lo volli anch'io provar.	that I also wanted to try him out.
		Don Giovanni	Don Giovanni
Disturbing the repose of the ladics,	Delle belle turbando il riposo,	Si eccellente è il cuoco mio,	My cook is so excellent,
		Leporello	Leporello
		Si eccellente,	So excellent,
		I due	Both
little Narcissus, little Adonis of love!	Narcisetto, Adoneino d'amor!	Che lo volle/volli anch'ei/anch'io provar.	That he/l also wanted to try him out.
(Among warriors you can be Bacchus!	(Fra guerrieri poffar Bacco!		
Wide mustaches, tight tunic,	Gran mustacchi, stretto sacco,		

rifle on shoulder, sword on hip,	schioppo in spalla, sciabla al fianco,
straight neck, frank expression,	collo dritto, muso franco,
either a big helmet, or a large turban,	o un gran casco, o un gran turbante,
lots of honor, little cash.	molto onor, poco contante.
And instead of the fandango	Ed invece del fandango
a march through the mud,	una marcia per il fango,
through mountains, through deep	per montagne, per valloni,
valleys,	
with snow, and in great sunshine,	colle nevi, e i sollioni,
to the music of trombones,	al concerto di tromboni,
of shells, or cannons,	di bombarde, di cannoni,
that the bullets in all their thunder,	che le palle in tutti i tuoni,
make whistle past your ear.	all'orecchio fan fischiar.
Cherubino, to victory,	Cherubino, alla vittoria,
to military glory!)	alla gloria militar!)

#### Notes

I would like to thank Elaine Sisman, and the editors and anonymous readers at Current Musicology, for their thoughtful comments on earlier drafts of this article. Ideas for the article first arose in the course of a graduate seminar on "Don Giovanni" led by Professor Sisman at Columbia University in Spring 2010, and I am grateful to her and my fellow seminar participants for inspiring my thinking about the *Tafelmusik* scene. An abbreviated version of the article was also presented at a meeting of the Greater New York chapter of the American Musicological Society at Columbia University, New York, on January 28, 2012; and at the McGill Music Graduate Symposium, Schulich School of Music, McGill University, Montreal, on March 10, 2012. Comments and suggestions offered by members of the audience at both presentations were invaluable for helping me refine my arguments as the article reached its final form. Unless otherwise stated, all translations in this article are by the author.

1. This scene lasts from measure 47 to 199 in the Act II finale. The measure numbers for each of the quotations can be found in the Appendix. On the practice of *Harmonie* in Vienna and Prague during Mozart's time, see Edward J. Dent, *Mozart's Operas: A Critical Study*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (1947; repr., London: Oxford University Press, 1955), 171; H. C. Robbins Landon, *Mozart: The Golden Years 1781–1791* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989), 32–33; and Robert N. Freeman, "The 'Tafelmusik' in *Don Giovanni*," *Opera Journal* 9, no. 1 (March 1976): 28. On *Tafelmusik*, see Hubert Unverricht, "Tafelmusik (i)," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol. 24, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Publishers, 2001), 921–22. The historical contexts for these musical practices will be discussed in greater detail later in this article.

2. For convenience, I use the term *opera buffa* to refer specifically to the repertory of Italian comic opera created in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and performed on the stages of Vienna and Prague in particular—that is, *opera buffa* as Mozart and Da Ponte would have understood the genre. It should be stressed, however, that the conventions of *opera buffa* do evolve from its birth in Naples in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, as it spread to other Italian cities before moving elsewhere in Europe. A brief overview of the genre's history can be found in Piero Weiss and Julian Budden, "Opera buffa," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol. 18, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Publishers, 2001), 474–77.

3. Christopher Alan Reynolds, *Motives for Allusion: Context and Content in Nineteenth–Century Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 6. Although Reynolds' book, as its title suggests, deals with allusion in nineteenth–century music, his exploration of the concept of allusion more generally (especially in Chapters 1 and 9) is pertinent to my discussion.

4. Ibid., 7.

5. Julian Rushton, *W. A. Mozart:* Don Giovanni, Cambridge Opera Handbook (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 66.

6. Mary Hunter, *The Culture of Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna: A Poetics of Entertainment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 30.

7. Freeman, "The 'Tafelmusik' in Don Giovanni," 24.

8. Peter Branscombe, "Mozart and the Theatre of His Time," in *The Mozart Compendium: A Guide to Mozart's Life and Music*, ed. H. C. Robbins Landon (New York: Schirmer, 1990), 366 and 368. See also Dorothea Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna: Sources and Documents 1783–1792* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 5–190, which lists in chronological order all performances that took place at the Burgtheater in Vienna from 1783 to 1792.

9. Freeman, "The 'Tafelmusik' in Don Giovanni," 26.

10. Johann Pezzl, "Sketch of Vienna," in *Mozart and Vienna: Including Selections from Johann Pezzl's Sketch of Vienna 1786–1791*, by H. C. Robbins Landon (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 137.

11. Branscombe speculates that Mozart's relative unpopularity in Vienna is attributable to the fact that, in a musically conservative city, he was a non–Italian writing in the supposedly Italian genre of *opera buffa*. Mozart was, at least, the most performed non–Italian composer (Branscombe, "Mozart and the Theatre of His Time," 366).

12. Sarti's was held in high regard even by Mozart himself. After meeting him for the first time, Mozart wrote that "Sarti ist ein rechtschaffener braver Mann!" ("Sarti is an honest, good man!"; quoted in Daniel Heartz, "*Don Giovanni*: Conception and Creation," in *Mozart's Operas*, ed. Thomas Bauman (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 169). Indeed, Mozart composed a set of piano variations (K. 460) on the same aria from *I due litiganti*, "Come un agnello," that he would later quote in *Don Giovanni*.

13. Julian Rushton, "Don Giovanni (ii)," in The New Grove Dictionary of Opera, vol. 1, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Press, 1992), 1203.

14. Emily Anderson, ed. and trans., *The Letters of Mozart and His Family*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (London: Macmillan Press, 1985), 903.

15. Konrad Küster, *Mozart: A Musical Biography*, trans. Mary Whittall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 242; emphasis added.

16. Wye Jamison Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart:* Le Nozze di Figaro *and* Don Giovanni (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 378, n26; and Freeman, "The 'Tafelmusik' in *Don Giovanni*," 26.

17. Rushton, W. A. Mozart: Don Giovanni, 66.

18. Ibid., 67.

19. Rushton, "Don Giovanni (ii)," 1203.

20. Heartz, "Don Giovanni: Conception and Creation," 168.

21. Ibid., 168–69. Elaine Sisman has suggested to me that if "piatto saporito" can be taken to refer to Donna Anna, by way of the pun on Teresa Saporiti's name, this could suggest that Don Giovanni had indeed been successful in his conquest of Donna Anna. That he can describe the dish as tasty implies that he has already tasted it. The libretto leaves it unclear whether Don Giovanni did actually rape Donna Anna in the opening scene, or whether he merely *attempted* to rape her. In the recitative following the killing of the Commendatore, Leporello sings of Don Giovanni, "Bravo! Due imprese leggiadre! / Sforzar la figlia ed ammazzar il padre" ("Great! Two graceful deeds! / Forcing himself on the daughter and killing the father"; Act I, Scene II, mm. 6-8). "Sforzar" is ambiguous; in any case, even if rape is implied. Leporello is speaking only based on his personal assumption of what occurred, and was not an evewitness to the events in the bedroom. Later in the opera, Donna Anna tells Don Ottavio, in the recitative preceding "Or sai chi l'onore," that she had broken free of Don Giovanni before he managed to dishonor her (Act I, Scene XIII, especially mm. 45-53). Note also the first lines of Anna's aria: "Or sai chi l'onore / rapire a me volse" (mm, 70–74; "Now you know who my honor / sought to steal"). We may have reason to disbelieve Anna. She may be lying so that her fiancé does not doubt her virginity; the importance of this issue is clearly suggested by Don Ottavio's expression of relief, "Ohimè! Respiro!" (mm. 52-53; "Alas! I breathe!"). Nevertheless, the fact remains that the libretto is silent on what actually occurs in the bedroom between Don Giovanni and Donna Anna, prior to Anna managing to free herself. See also note 54 below.

22. Ibid., 169.

23. Ibid.

24. Tomislav Volek, "Prague Operatic Traditions and Mozart's *Don Giovanni*," in *Mozart's "Don Giovanni" in Prague* (Prague: Divadelní ústav [Theater Institute], 1987), 70, cited in Heartz, "*Don Giovanni*: Conception and Creation," 169.

25. John Platoff, "*Fra i due litiganti il terzo gode*," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, vol. 2, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Press, 1992), 269.

26. Rushton, W. A. Mozart: Don Giovanni, 31.

27. Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart*, 378, n29. For a detailed study of Bertati's libretto and Gazzaniga's opera, see Stefan Kunze, *Don Giovanni vor Mozart: Die Tradition der Don–Giovanni–Opern im italienischen Buffa–Theater des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1972), 33–71 and 93–119.

28. Dent, Mozart's Operas, 172.

29. David Cairns, *Mozart and His Operas* (London: Allen Lane, 2006), 166. See also Heartz, "*Don Giovanni*: Conception and Creation," 170 and 172.

30. Allanbrook, Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart, 289.

31. Reynolds, Motives for Allusion, 6.

32. Philip Keppler, "Some Comments on Musical Quotation," *Musical Quarterly* 42, no. 4 (October 1956): 473.

33. Heartz, "Don Giovanni: Conception and Creation," 169-70.

34. Extended discussion of this parallelism can be found in Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart*, 288; and Küster, *Mozart: A Musical Biography*, 283–85.

35. Barbara R. Barry, "The Spider's Strategem: The Motif of Masking in *Don Giovanni*," *Opera Journal* 29, no. 2 (June 1996): 48.

36. Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart*, 288–289; and Küster, *Mozart: A Musical Biography*, 285.

37. Freeman, "The 'Tafelmusik' in Don Giovanni," 29.

38. Ibid., 27–28. See also Landon, *Mozart: The Golden Years 1781–1791*, 32–35.

39. Ibid., 29.

40. Ibid., 29-30.

41. In the piano variations on the same aria, K. 460 (see note 12 above), Mozart preserves the original tonality.

42. Heartz, "*Don Giovanni*: Conception and Creation," 170. It is worth noting that Mozart excises a section in D *minor* from the original music in *Cosa rara*, even though it would presumably have made for a smoother transition to move from D *minor* to F major, its relative major. The omission of the minor was likely necessary as the minor mode may not have fit the light–hearted mood required of the *Tafelmusik*.

43. Ibid.

44. Küster, *Mozart: A Musical Biography*, 284. The importance of these three tonalities can be easily seen in the useful tables of keys for each number and important section in *Don Giovanni* found in Éveline Andréani, "Le *Don Giovanni* de Mozart: construction musicale et réseaux de sens," in *Don Giovanni, Il dissoluto impunito*, ed. Sara Zurletti (Naples: Cuen, 2008), 153–54 and 156–57.

45. F. R. Noske, "Don Giovanni: Musical Affinities and Dramatic Structure," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, T. 12, Fasc. 1/4 (1970): 172–73.

46. Mary Hunter, "Some Representations of *Opera seria* in *Opera Buffa*," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 3, no. 2 (July 1991): 89–108; and *Culture of Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna*, 30 and 34.

47. Hunter, "Some Representations of Opera Seria in Opera Buffa," 89.

48. Ibid., 97.

49. Hunter concedes the possibility that Porta and Righini might be attempting a parody of *opera seria* but seems to imply that, nevertheless, the use of an allusion to *opera seria* to elevate this scene to the level of moralistic seriousness is equally plausible. Hunter does not explain why she considers *Orfeo ed Euridice an opera seria*, even though Gluck called his opera an *azione teatrale*. Most likely, Hunter is defining *opera seria* broadly, regarding *Orfeo* as belonging to the genre because it has a serious plot derived from classical myth. As is well known, Gluck's "reform operas," of which *Orfeo* is emblematic, were intended to reform *opere serie*. Perhaps Hunter would argue that *Orfeo* is a reformed *opera seria*, but an *opera seria* all the same.

50. John Platoff, "How Original was Mozart? Evidence from *Opera Buffa*," *Early Music* 20, no. 1 (February 1992): 107.

51. Ibid.

52. Keppler, "Some Comments on Musical Quotation," 480.

53. Heartz, "Don Giovanni: Conception and Creation," 170.

54. The uncertainty over whether Don Giovanni makes a successful conquest hinges on the ambiguity as to what actually happened between him and Donna Anna in the very first scene. This issue is discussed in detail in note 21 above.

55. Dorothea Link, "*Cosa rara, Una*," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, vol. 1, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Press, 1992), 964.

56. Küster, *Mozart: A Musical Biography*, 282; emphasis added. For a similar view to Küster's, see Karol Berger, *Bach's Cycle, Mozart's Arrow: An Essay on the Origins of Musical Modernity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007), 250–51.

57. Ibid., 281.

58. Da Ponte, in his memoirs, reports that *Una cosa rara* provoked a revolt by the singers of the first production, who were dissatisfied with the quality of Martín's music (though Da Ponte is adamant that his libretto was excellent).

The singers' complaints, according to Da Ponte, reached Emperor Joseph II himself. Joseph wrote Da Ponte a note: "My dear Count: Tell my singers that I have considered their complaints about Martini's opera. I am terribly sorry but—'What is done is done, And can not now be changed. [Quel ch'è fatto è fatto, E non si può cangiar]." Da Ponte had presented Joseph with a copy of the libretto and Joseph happened to have opened it to the page containing this line. See Lorenzo Da Ponte, *Memoirs*, trans. Elisabeth Abbott (1959; repr., New York: New York Review of Books, 2000), 146–49. The original Italian can be found in Lorenzo Da Ponte, *Memorie* (Milan: Claudio Gallone Editore, 1998), 147–50. Perhaps this incident with Joseph was fresh in Da Ponte's mind when he wrote the libretto for *Don Giovanni*. It is also not inconceivable that Da Ponte may have told Mozart about it. One wonders if this may have played a role in the selection of this particular passage from *Cosa rara* for quotation in *Don Giovanni*.

59. Platoff, "Fra i due litiganti il terzo gode," 269.

60. I thank Elaine Sisman for suggesting this interpretation to me.

61. Allanbrook, Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart, 289.

62. Ibid.

63. These lines occur in measures 5-8 and 36-44.

64. Heartz, "Don Giovanni: Conception and Creation," 170.

65. Steffen Lösel, "'May Such Great Effort Not Be in Vain': Mozart on Divine Love, Judgment, and Retribution," *Journal of Religion* 89, no. 3 (July 2009): 388.

66. Ibid., 388-89.

67. Karol Berger, Bach's Cycle, Mozart's Arrow, 252.

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid., 255.

70. Lösel, "'May Such Great Effort Not Be in Vain," 375.

71. Nicholas Till, *Mozart and the Enlightenment: Truth, Virtue and Beauty in Mozart's Operas* (New York: Norton, 1992), 203.
72. Søren Kierkegaard, *Either/Or*, vol. I, trans. Howard V. Hong and Edna H. Hong (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 100.

73. Berger, Bach's Cycle, Mozart's Arrow, 257.

74. Jean–Jacques Rousseau, *Confessions*, trans. J. M. Cohen (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1953), 410, quoted in Till, *Mozart and the Enlightenment*, 205.

75. Till, Mozart and the Enlightenment, 205.

76. Mary Hunter, *Mozart's Operas: A Companion* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 143.

77. Laurel Elizabeth Zeiss, "Permeable Boundaries in Mozart's *Don Giovanni*," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 13, no. 2 (July 2001): 118.

78. John T. Kirby, "Toward a Rhetoric of Poetics: Rhetor as Author and Narrator," *Journal of Narrative Theory* 22, no. 1 (Winter 1992): 1–7. All further page references in my summary of Kirby's theory will be given parenthetically in the text. I thank Kirby, and the *Journal of Narrative Theory*, for granting permission to reproduce figures from this article.

79. Edward T. Cone, *The Composer's Voice* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974), 17–18. All further page references in my summary of Cone's theory will be given parenthetically in the text.

80. Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart*, 288; Hunter, *Mozart's Operas: A Companion*, 108.

81. Daniel Herwitz, "The Cook, His Wife, the Philosopher, and the Librettist," *Musical Quarterly* 78, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 54.

82. Till, Mozart and the Enlightenment, 226.

83. Rushton, "Don Giovanni (ii)," 1206.

84. Noske, "Don Giovanni: Musical Affinities and Dramatic Structure," 169.

85. Allanbrook, Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart, 289.

- 86. Berger, Bach's Cycle, Mozart's Arrow, 254.
- 87. Küster, Mozart: A Musical Biography, 283.
- 88. Allanbrook, Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart, 288.
- 89. Unverricht, "Tafelmusik (i)," 922.

90. Hubert Unverricht, "Divertimento," rev. Cliff Eisen, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol. 7, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Publishers, 2001), 392.

91. Allanbrook, Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart, 290.

92. Andrew Steptoe, *The Mozart–Da Ponte Operas: The Cultural Background to* Le nozze di Figaro, Don Giovanni, *and* Così fan tutte (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 115.

93. Carol Lazzaro–Weis, "Parody and Farce in the Don Juan Myth in the Eighteenth Century," *Eighteenth–Century Life* 8, no. 3 (Fall 1983): 36.

94. Ibid., 36-41.

95. Hunter, Culture of Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna, 67.

96. Christopher Ballantine, "Social and Philosophical Outlook in Mozart's Operas," *Musical Quarterly* 67, no. 4 (October 1981): 521–24.

97. Jessica Waldoff, *Recognition in Mozart's Operas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 170.

98. Lior Barshack, "The Sovereignty of Pleasure: Sexual and Political Freedom in the Operas of Mozart and Da Ponte," *Law and Literature* 20, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 55. Mozart's is not the only Don Juan opera to destabilize the idea of the *lieto fine*. See Michael F. Robinson, "The Alternative Endings of *Don Giovanni*," in *Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna*, ed. Mary Hunter and James Webster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 268: "Among the obvious exceptions to the observation that eighteenth–century comic opera ends in a mood of joyous celebration are the works based on the subject of *Don Giovanni*."

99. Till, Mozart and the Enlightenment, 209.

100. Rushton, W. A. Mozart: Don Giovanni, 12.

101. Elaine Sisman, "The Marriages of *Don Giovanni*: Persuasion, Impersonation and Personal Responsibility," in *Mozart Studies*, ed. Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 186.

102. Ibid., 163.

103. Ibid., 172–75.

104. Till, Mozart and the Enlightenment, 211.

105. Freeman, "The 'Tafelmusik' in Don Giovanni," 24.

106. Edward Forman, "Don Juan before Da Ponte," in Rushton, *W. A. Mozart: Don Giovanni*, 36. See also note 27 above, and Dent, *Mozart's Operas*, 172.

107. Herwitz goes so far as to imply that the Commendatore's entry belongs more in the realm of *opera seria* than *opera buffa*. See Herwitz, "The Cook, His Wife, the Philosopher, and the Librettist," 51.

108. Forman, "Don Juan before Da Ponte," 33.

109. Freeman, "The 'Tafelmusik' in Don Giovanni," 27. See also note 27 above.

110. Hunter, Mozart's Operas: A Companion, 108.

111. Daniel Heartz, "Constructing Le nozze di Figaro," in Mozart's Operas, 140–46, cited in Hunter, Mozart's Operas: A Companion, 118.

112. Hunter, *Culture of Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna*, 250. (Hunter goes on to explore the connections of *Così* with the Martín and Salieri operas in great detail. See pp. 250–72.) Cited in Hunter, *Mozart's Operas*, 118. The libretto for Martín's *L'arbore di Diana* was also written by Da Ponte.

113. Allanbrook, Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart, 290.

114. Zeiss, "Permeable Boundaries in Mozart's Don Giovanni," 118.

115. If "Questa poi la conosco pur troppo" is understood to be addressed to the audience, then the very next thing which Don Giovanni sings—"Leporello" (mm. 171–72)—could be heard as pulling Leporello/Ponziani back to the world of the stage from the world of the audience. I thank Benjamin Downs for suggesting to me this intriguing interpretive possibility.

116. Paolo Gallarati, "Music and Masks in Lorenzo Da Ponte's Mozartian Librettos," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 1, no. 3 (November 1989): 245.

117. Bertolt Brecht, "Alienation Effects in Chinese Acting," in *Brecht on Theatre: The Development of an Aesthetic*, ed. and trans. John Willett (New York: Hill and Wang, 1964), 91.

118. Hunter, Culture of Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna, 67.

119. Ibid., 7-13.

120. Ibid., 20-22, and 71-92.

121. Ibid., 56.

122. Ibid, 55.

123. Rushton, W. A. Mozart: Don Giovanni, 50.

124. Daniel Heartz, "An Iconography of the Dances in the Ballroom Scene of *Don Giovanni*," in *Mozart's Operas*, 182. The fandango in *Figaro* occurs during the Act III finale (mm. 132–74).

125. Heartz suggests that Don Giovanni's reference to the follia in "Fin ch'han dal vino" occurs simply to match the meter and rhyme scheme of the verse, "chi

la follia" corresponding to "la danza sia" two lines earlier. "Chi la contredanza" would not have worked (Ibid.).

126. John Bokina, *Opera and Politics: From Monteverdi to Henze* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977), 50.

127. Dent, Mozart's Operas, 171.

128. Landon, Mozart: The Golden Years, 32.

129. Ibid., 33. Landon also cites a diary entry of the Moravian Count Zinzendorf from March 1787, in which the Count reports hearing the imperial *Harmonie* play none other than music from *Una cosa rara*.

130. Freeman, "The 'Tafelmusik' in Don Giovanni," 28.

131. Landon, *Mozart: The Golden Years*, 33. See also p. 70: Mozart himself was called upon to make an arrangement of *Die Entführung* for *Harmonie*.

132. Ibid.

133. Daniel Heartz, "An Iconography of the Dances in the Ballroom Scene of *Don Giovanni*," 179–93.

134. Ibid., 184.

135. I thank Richard Kramer for encouraging me to consider this issue.

136. Cone, The Composer's Voice, 22.

137. Ibid.

138. Karol Berger, *A Theory of Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 180, quoted in Reynolds, *Motives for Allusion*, 181.

139. Reynolds, Motives for Allusion, 163.

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