

Wenzel Mihule and the Reception of *Don Giovanni* in Central Europe

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Scholarly accounts of *Don Giovanni*'s German reception in the late eighteenth century focus on the opera's journey from the Rhine to the Danube. The journey was initiated by Christian Gottlob Neefe, who prepared the first known German adaptation of the opera in 1788 for performances in Mannheim and Bonn in 1789.¹ Neefe's adaptation was further revised by Heinrich Gottlieb Schmieder for performance in Mainz and Frankfurt in 1789, by Friedrich Ludwig Schröder for Hamburg in late 1789, and by Friedrich Karl Lippert for Berlin in 1790. In 1798 Lippert's adaptation was also produced at the Vienna Court Theater, where it continued to be used for several decades.² The Neefe-Schmieder-Schröder texts, furthermore, strongly influenced the 1801 translation by Johann Friedrich Rochlitz that was featured in the first edition of the orchestral score by Breitkopf und Härtel and was thus

Many thanks to Alena Jakubcová for her invaluable assistance in the preparation of this article and to the anonymous reviewers for their helpful feedback.

¹ This is documented in a letter Neefe wrote to Gustav Friedrich Wilhelm Grossmann on December 21, 1788, offering the recently translated libretto of *Don Juan*. See Friedrich Dieckmann, ed., *Don Giovanni deutsch: Mozarts Don Giovanni in der deutschen Fassung von Neefe und Schmieder, Frankfurt 1789* (Sankt Augustin: Academia Verlag, 1993), 3. Carl Hermann Bitter quotes copiously from this translation in his 1866 book and claims it is preserved in the Königliche Bibliothek in Berlin. Later authors mostly quote Bitter and claim that the manuscript is lost or that Bitter was mistaken in placing it in the Royal Library. See Carl Hermann Bitter, *Mozart's Don Juan und Gluck's Iphigenia in Tauris: Ein Versuch neuer Übersetzungen* (Berlin: Schneider, 1866), 12–13.

² Martin Nedbal, "Mozart, Da Ponte, and Censorship: *Don Giovanni* and *Così fan tutte* at the Vienna Court Theater, 1798–1804," *Zeitschrift für Literatur- und Theatersoziologie* 11 (2018): 75–109, at 95–96.

one of the most widespread German translations of the opera in the nineteenth century. During this Rhine-Danube journey, *Don Giovanni* transformed from an Italian *dramma giocoso* to a Singspiel. Along the way, the opera's title switched from *Don Giovanni* to the folksy *Don Juan*, and *secco* recitatives were replaced with spoken dialogues. German adapters also introduced comedic and at times drastic scenes from popular theater, in which Don Juan interacts with bailiffs who investigate the death of Donna Anna's father and with a jeweler (or a merchant) to whom Don Juan owes money.³ By 1790 some German adaptations also featured scenes in which Don Juan murders both a hermit and Don Ottavio.⁴

This article focuses on a Singspiel adaptation of *Don Giovanni* that originated with the troupe of Wenzel Mihule at the Patriotic Theater in Prague in 1790–91, outside of the Rhine-Danube transmission route. The history of Mihule's *Don Juan* sheds new light on the early dissemination of Mozart's opera in central Europe. The Prague *Don Juan* was picked up by Emanuel Schikaneder's company in Vienna, by companies across Moravia, and by Joseph Seconda's troupe in Leipzig and Dresden, and it traveled with Mihule from Bohemia to southern Germany and Slovakia. (For a chronological overview of this transmission line, see appendix 1.) Newly discovered archival documents associated with Mihule's *Don Juan* also illustrate the opera's reception outside of large urban centers—in smaller towns, aristocratic palaces, and a monastery. Despite its widespread use, Mihule's adaptation has been largely overlooked in *Don Giovanni* reception studies. In his influential 1961 book on the German reception of the opera, Christof Bitter does not mention Mihule's adaptation at all, and Julian Rushton's 1981 Cambridge handbook on *Don Giovanni* merely lists the Patriotic Theater's production as one of the "travesties" of the Neefe-Schmieder-Schröder-Lippert approach.⁵ Mihule's *Don Juan* should not, however, be so easily dismissed. It complicates the narrative that early German adaptations quickly transformed *Don Giovanni* into a popularized caricature. Initially at least, Mihule's adaptation took fewer liberties with the opera than the

³ These interpolations were probably first used in Heinrich Gottlieb Schmieder's adaptation for Mainz and Frankfurt. See Kurt Helmut Oehl, "Die eingeschobenen Dialogszenen in Mozarts *Don Juan* im 18./19. Jahrhundert," in *Florilegium musicologicum: Hellmuth Federhofer zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Christoph-Hellmut Mahling (Tutzing: Schneider, 1988), 247–66, at 250–51; Dieckmann, *Don Giovanni deutsch*, 7; and Till Reininghaus, "Mozarts *Don Juan* in Hamburg; Zur *Don Giovanni*-Rezeption im ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert," in *Musiktheater in Hamburg um 1800*, ed. Claudia Maurer Zenck (New York: Peter Lang, 2005), 91–114, at 92.

⁴ Nedbal, "Mozart, Da Ponte, and Censorship," 78.

⁵ Christof Bitter, *Wandlungen in den Inszenierungsformen des Don Giovanni von 1787 bis 1928: Zur Problematik des musikalischen Theaters in Deutschland* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1961), 69–86; and Julian Rushton, *W. A. Mozart: Don Giovanni* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 68.

Rhine-Danube adaptations, possibly because it was created in an environment sensitive to Mozart's Italian original. However, the lack of scholarly attention to the Prague *Don Juan* can be ascribed not only to its supposed aesthetic quality or lack thereof but also, as this article shows, to the impact on musicology of nationalist politics and conflicts in nineteenth- and twentieth-century central Europe.

The Patriotic Theater and Wenzel Mihule's Don Juan

Prague's Patriotic Theater was founded in 1786 and staged works in both German and Czech, in contrast to other theater troupes in the Bohemian capital that focused either on Italian or German repertoire. Originally, the company performed in a wooden structure on what is now Wenceslas Square, but in the fall of 1789 it moved to a newly built theater inside the former Monastery of the Hibernians on what is now Republic Square.⁶ The initial owners of the theater, ballet director Franz Xaver Sewe, actor Anton Zappe, and actor Vinzenz Karl Antong, soon got into financial difficulties and leased the performance permit and auditorium to Mihule and his company in the spring of 1790.⁷ During its first season Mihule's company produced a large number of operas in German and Czech, including three Mozart operas (*Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, *Così fan tutte*, and *Don Giovanni*), which must have been staged by the fall of 1791; the three are listed in the Gotha *Theater-Kalender auf das Jahr 1792* with an introductory essay dated November 1791.⁸

To accompany his production of *Don Giovanni*, Mihule published a libretto with the musical portions of his German adaptation.⁹ As was typical for eighteenth-century Singspiel adaptations of the opera, the

⁶ The first notices in the newspapers about the new theater's opening appeared in September 1789. See Jan Vondráček, *Dějiny českého divadla: Doba obrozenecká, 1771–1824* (Prague: Orbis, 1956), 177.

⁷ See Adolf Scherl, "Wenzel Mihule," in *Theater in Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien: Von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts: Ein Lexikon*, ed. Alena Jakubcová and Matthias J. Pernerstorfer (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2013), 432–35.

⁸ *Theater-Kalender auf das Jahr 1792* (Gotha: Ettinger, [1791]), 3 and 304. According to Claudia Maurer Zenck, the Gotha Theater-Kalender usually accepted theater reports until the end of July or the beginning of August. Claudia Maurer Zenck, *Così fan tutte: Dramma giocoso und deutsches Singspiel; Frühe Abschriften und frühe Aufführungen* (Schliengen: Argus, 2007), 71.

⁹ *Arien aus der Oper Don Juan. oder: Die redende Statue, in zwey Aufzügen. Nach dem Italienischen des Abate da Ponte ins deutsche frey bearbeitet. Die Musik ist von Mozart. Aufgeführt zu Prag im Vaterländischen Theater von der Mihuleischen Gesellschaft* (Prague: Diesbach, 1791). There are two extant copies of this libretto: Nuremberg, Germanisches National-Museum, Bibliothek, 8° M 157 ryb, and Halle (Saale), Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Ung III B 145.

libretto takes liberties with the original work. This is most obvious in the altered names of the characters: Don Ottavio becomes Don Gonsaldo, Donna Elvira becomes Donna Laura, Leporello becomes Franz, and Masetto and Zerlina become Peter and Klarchen. The libretto, furthermore, contains only aria and ensemble texts, which shows that the recitatives were replaced with spoken dialogue.¹⁰ At the same time, Mihule's initial adaptation stayed closer to Mozart's original than those of Neefe, Schmieder, Schröder, and Lippert. The 1791 Prague libretto does not interpolate any new comical scenes with extra characters and retains musical numbers that were customarily cut during this period. This included Masetto's aria "Ho capito, signor sì," the final scene (*scena ultima*) of the second-act finale, and, from the numbers Mozart wrote for the 1788 Vienna production of *Don Giovanni*, Donna Elvira's "Mi tradi quell'alma ingrata."¹¹ (See appendix 2 for the musical contents of Mihule's adaptation and how it compared to other early German adaptations.) Greater sensitivity to Mozart's original is also prominent in the second-act finale, in which Mozart and Da Ponte famously refer to three other popular operas of the time. Unlike the contemporaneous adaptation by Schmieder, Mihule's text keeps the reference to *Le nozze di Figaro*: at the point when the orchestra plays an excerpt from "Non più andrai," Franz/Leporello sings: "I have known this little piece for a long time" (O das Stückchen kenn' ich lange). The Schmieder text, in contrast, omits the reference, with Leporello singing instead about a piece of meat he is secretly eating: "Ah! It tickles the tongue so wonderfully!" (Ah! Das kitzelt die Zunge so herrlich!). The latter change undoubtedly reflects the fact that *Figaro* was not yet well-known in the Rhineland when Schmieder was adapting Neefe's translation of *Don Giovanni* for the Mainz National Theater in early 1789. (In Mannheim, Bonn, and Mainz, documented performances of Neefe's and Schmieder's *Don Giovanni* adaptations predate those of *Figaro*; only in Frankfurt did *Figaro* precede Schmieder's

¹⁰ The libretto is discussed in Alena Jakubcová, "Die vergessenen Begegnungen: Miszellen zur zeitgenössischen Rezeption von Mozarts Bühnenwerken," in *Mozart in Mannheim: Station auf dem Weg eines musikalischen Genies*, ed. Hermann Jung (New York: Lang, 2006), 153–62, at 161.

¹¹ On the absence of "Ho capito" in many early Prague copies of *Don Giovanni*, and the uncertainties about the presence of the *scena ultima* in Prague and Vienna productions of the opera, see Ian Woodfield, *The Vienna Don Giovanni* (Rochester: Boydell, 2010), 20–22 and 103–10, respectively. After Mozart introduced "Mi tradi quell'alma ingrata" in the 1788 Vienna production of *Don Giovanni*, impresario Domenico Guardasoni adapted it for his *Don Giovanni* production in Warsaw in 1789. Guardasoni probably also performed it in Prague, since the aria appears in his Prague conducting score (see below). Whereas both Mozart and Guardasoni originally placed the aria immediately after "Il mio tesoro," Mihule moved it to an earlier scene, before the second-act sextet (see appendix 2). On Donna Elvira's aria and Guardasoni, see Woodfield, *The Vienna Don Giovanni*, 118, 125, 127.

Don Giovanni by a few months.)¹² *Figaro* was, however, already popular in Prague, having premiered there in 1786.

The relative closeness of Mihule's *Don Juan* to Mozart's original may have been connected to the status of the latter in Prague, where it was premiered in 1787. Unlike anywhere else in central Europe, in 1791 Prague audiences could attend not only Mihule's German *Don Juan* but also the original Italian *Don Giovanni* performed by the company of Domenico Guardasoni with members of the original cast. Critics in late eighteenth-century Prague were also unusual in demanding that Mozart's Italian operas be rendered with as much faithfulness to the composer's original ideas as possible.¹³ The performances of both Guardasoni's *Don Giovanni* and Mihule's *Don Juan*, moreover, may have coincided with Mozart's last visit to Prague for the premiere of *La clemenza di Tito* in late August and early September 1791. The only documented performance of *Don Giovanni* during this visit was by Guardasoni's troupe in the Estates Theater (called the Nostitz or National Theater until 1798) on September 2, which Mozart himself conducted.¹⁴ Although there is no extant information about the repertoire of Mihule's company during this visit, it is plausible that Mozart attended a performance of the opera's German adaptation.¹⁵ Other distinguished guests from Vienna certainly attended performances at the Patriotic Theater, including Emperor Leopold II himself; on September 16, 1791, he saw both a Czech adaptation of Paul Weidmann's comedy *Der Bettelstudent* and Heinrich Wilhelm Seyfried's play *Die Thronfolge* in German. This

¹² In Bonn, Neefe's *Don Giovanni* adaptation premiered on October 13, 1789, and *Figaro* was produced only later that season. See Elisabeth Reisinger, Juliane Riepe, John D. Wilson, and Birgit Lodes, *The Operatic Library of Elector Maximilian Franz: Reconstruction, Catalogue, Contexts* (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, 2018), 196–97. In Mannheim, Neefe's *Don Giovanni* premiered on September 27, 1789, and *Figaro* only on October 24, 1790. See Dexter Edge and Martin Nedbal, "The Premiere of *Die Hochzeit des Figaro* in Mannheim (addendum) (24 Oct 1790)," in *Mozart: New Documents*, ed. Dexter Edge and David Black Mainz, accessed August 25, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.7302/Z20P0WXJ>. Schmieder's *Don Giovanni* premiered on May 13, 1789, and the first documented performance of *Figaro* was on November 25, 1789. In Frankfurt, *Figaro* was first performed on October 11, 1788, and Schmieder's *Don Giovanni* on May 3, 1789. For Mainz and Frankfurt performance schedules, see Austin James Glatthorn, "The Theatre of Politics and the Politics of Theatre: Music as Representational Culture in the Twilight of the Holy Roman Empire" (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 2015), app. 6, 317–32.

¹³ On the issue of unusual faithfulness (*Werktreue*) to Mozart's works in late eighteenth-century Prague, see Martin Nedbal, "Mozart's *Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*, Operatic Canon, and National Politics in Nineteenth-Century Prague," *19th-Century Music* 41 (2018): 183–205, esp. 185–91; and Nedbal, "Domenico Guardasoni's Prague Conducting Score of *Così fan tutte*," *Newsletter of the Mozart Society of America* 21, no. 2 (2017): 5–10.

¹⁴ See Franz Alexander von Kleist, *Fantasien auf einer Reise nach Prag* (Leipzig and Dresden: Richter, 1792), 90–91.

¹⁵ The official journal of Leopold's coronation, however, does not mention Mihule's company at all and merely focuses on the Italian operas at the Estates Theater and the German company in the Thun Theater at the Lesser Town.

performance went so well that soon afterwards, in the fall of 1791, Mihule's company was contracted to produce German operas and plays at the Estates Theater to complement the Italian repertoire of Guardasoni.¹⁶ This means that Mihule's German *Don Juan* may have been performed not only in the Patriotic Theater but also at the Estates Theater, where the premiere of the original Italian *Don Giovanni* had taken place.¹⁷

Mihule's Don Juan in Vienna

The possibility that Mozart and his circle were aware of Mihule's *Don Juan* is strengthened by the fact that a text related to that adaptation was the basis of the first German production of the opera in Vienna, which opened on November 5, 1792, at Schikaneder's Wiednertheater. A poster preserved at the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna reveals that the Wiednertheater production featured several members of the original cast of *Die Zauberflöte*, which had opened a little more than a year earlier under Mozart's direction: Franz Xaver Gerl, the original Sarastro, sang Don Juan; Benedikt Schack, the first Tamino, Don Ottavio; and Josefa Hofer, the original Queen of the Night and Mozart's sister-in-law, sang Donna Elvira.¹⁸ The poster also points to a number of links between Mihule's *Don Juan* and the Wiednertheater version. The latter retained Mihule's title: *Don Juan, oder Die redende Statue*. The names of the characters are also partially related: while Don Ottavio and Donna Elvira were called Don Gonsalvo and Donna Laura in both productions, Mihule's Franz (Leporello) became Franzesko and Peter and Klarchen became Pedro and Clara in Vienna. Also, similar to the Prague libretto and unlike earlier German adaptations, the Vienna poster does not refer to any extra characters, which suggests that Schikaneder's production did not include new scenes.

Another link to Prague and Mihule is Christian Heinrich Spiess, who is named on the poster as the author of the German adaptation. Spiess was a Prague actor and dramatist, who in 1784 had retired to the country

¹⁶ See Oscar Teuber, *Geschichte des Prager Theaters* (Prague: Haase, 1885), 2:300–301.

¹⁷ As Jakubcová points out, moreover, Mihule's company performed in Karlsbad during the summers, and it is possible that *Don Juan* was staged there as well in 1791, 1792, and 1793. Jakubcová, "Die vergessenen Begegnungen," 161.

¹⁸ The poster is reproduced in Paul Stefan, *Don Giovanni: Die Opernlegende von Don Juan, dem Versucher und Sucher* (Vienna: Reichner, 1938), 98. The Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde also owns an anonymous manuscript libretto from 1795, which contains Mihule's text. See Kurt Helmut Oehl, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Mozart-Übersetzungen" (PhD diss., Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, 1952), 99.

estate of Count Kaspar Hermann von Künigl in western Bohemia. There he continued to write theater works and famous horror stories, some of which were performed at the Patriotic Theater both in the original German and in Czech translations.¹⁹ The possibility that he was the author of the Prague *Don Juan* adaptation is strengthened by the fact that Spiess was acquainted with Mihule.²⁰ Since Spiess's authorship is stated only in a single Vienna poster, I will continue to refer to the 1791 Prague version of the opera as Mihule's *Don Juan*.

From Vienna to Moravia

From Vienna, Mihule's *Don Juan* traveled to the Moravian capital Brunn/Brno. Although the archive of the Brno Theater burned at the end of World War II, it is possible to partially reconstruct the Mozart repertoire staged in late eighteenth-century Brno from circumstantial evidence. That Mihule's *Don Juan* must have been performed there becomes clear from manuscript orchestral scores of Mihule's adaptation that were copied in Brno and preserved in other Moravian locations. In the 1790s Brno was in many ways a cultural suburb of Vienna, and many members of the Brno theater company came from the imperial capital. For example, Joseph Rothe, the theater's director between 1792 and 1803, spent several years as a singer in the German company of the Imperial Court Theater in Vienna before coming to Brno in 1789. In 1793, furthermore, the Brno company hired Franz Xaver Gerl, Mozart's first Sarastro and the Wiednertheater *Don Juan* of 1792, and his wife, Barbara, Mozart's first Papagena.²¹ It was likely the Gerls who brought Mihule's *Don Juan*, and indeed Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, to Brno; the first clearly documented performance of the opera occurred on November 4, 1794, soon after their arrival to the city.²²

¹⁹ Jakubcová, "Die vergessenen Begegnungen," 162.

²⁰ According to Adolf Scherl, Mihule and Spiess were witnesses at the marriage of Sewe, one of the Patriotic Theater's original directors, to actress Susanne Franck. Scherl, "Wenzel Mihule," 432.

²¹ The Gerls' transfer from Vienna to Brno is discussed in Jakubcová, "Die vergessenen Begegnungen," 153–54.

²² The production is listed as "Don Juan, Singspiel," in *Allgemeines europäisches Journal* 1, no. 6 (December 1794): 536. Generations of Brno theater historians believed that a German adaptation of Mozart's opera had premiered in the city's theater in 1789, based on a report in the Gotha *Theater-Kalender* that *Don Juan* was produced and "was not liked" (missfiel). *Theater-Kalender auf das Jahr 1791* (Gotha: Ettinger, [1790]), 203. As Margita Havlíčková pointed out recently, however, a poster for that performance (on November 14, 1789), preserved in the Brno City Museum, shows that the piece was not Mozart's opera but Anton Cremeri's *Don Juan, oder Das steinerne Gastmal* (sic). Margita Havlíčková, "Die Affichen des deutschen Theaters in Brünn," in *Theater-Zettel-Sammlungen*, vol. 2, ed. Matthias J. Pernerstorfer (Vienna: Hollitzer, 2015), 230.

From Brno, Míhule's *Don Juan* was exported to other locations in Moravia. The earliest documented remnant of this transmission is a four-volume score of the opera preserved in the library of the Premonstratensian monastery in Neureisch/Nová Říše in southwestern Moravia. A partially erased note in the third volume of the score indicates that it was created in February 1798 in Brno,²³ and according to Moravian music historians it was purchased from Brno in 1798 by Johann Nepomuk Pelikán, the abbot of the monastery.²⁴ The score follows the Prague libretto closely (see appendix 3). It is clearly a *Singspiel* adaptation of the opera because there are no *secco* recitatives (they must have been replaced by spoken dialogues, which are now lost); the text of the musical portions is that from the Prague libretto; and the names of the characters are the same.²⁵ It is unclear how exactly the score was used, but according to an oral tradition, Pelikán organized opera performances in the monastery's greenhouse around 1800.²⁶ Lukáš Pavlica has recently suggested that the presence of secular compositions, including operas, in the monastery's library may be connected to the boarding school that Pelikán founded around 1800, including a student orchestra.²⁷ The student orchestra may have performed excerpts from *Don Juan*.

Míhule's *Don Juan* may have also been performed in Teltsch/Telč, a town in the vicinity of Nová Říše. In the early nineteenth century Count Leopold II Podstatzky-Lichtenstein (1801–48) and his music director Josef Tobiášek (1792–1846) organized opera productions in the town's Renaissance castle. These included Weber's *Der Freischütz*, Rossini's

²³ Nová Říše, Premonstratensian Canonry, A17.968. The note appears on folio 147r: "Chez B. . . le 6me fevrier 798 sic à Brün."

²⁴ The date of purchase is provided, without any information about the source, in Vladimír Maňas, "Hudební tradice," in *Dačicko, Slavonicko, Telčsko*, ed. Vladimír Nekuda (Brno: Muzejní a vlastivědná společnost v Brně, 2005), 402–7, at 404.

²⁵ Only three portions of Míhule's adaptation are missing from the monastery's score. The first-act finale does not contain the concluding stretta, which might have been damaged or lost before the score was bound. The duet for Franz and Don Juan from the start of Act 2 is missing from the beginning of the third volume, although it is reflected in the numbering. Conversely, the numbering shows that the score never contained Donna Elvira's Viennese aria "Mi tradì quell'alma ingrata." Unlike the Prague libretto, furthermore, the score does not divide the second-act sextet into a quartet and a sextet.

²⁶ Private email exchange with Stanislav Tesař (Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic), June 19, 2018. According to Tesař, a note in Pelikán's private diary mentioned performances of the opera "in the greenhouse." The diary is lost, and Tesař himself never saw it, but he talked to a monk named P. Kupka, the priest in the village of Krasonice, and a former monastery librarian, who claimed to have seen the diary and remembered the note. The monastery's library and archive were scattered and partially looted under the Communist regime in 1950, and the monastery served for several decades as a storage site for the Brno Military Hospital.

²⁷ Lukáš Pavlica, "Jan Fryček in the Inventories of the Premonstratensian Monastery in Nová Říše," *Musicaologica Brunensia* 55, no. 2 (2020): 41–67, at 42n2.

Tancredi, Hérold's *Zampa*, and Bellini's *I puritani*.²⁸ The schedule of the opera performances in Telč is impossible to reconstruct because most of the castle archive was destroyed in a 1964 fire.²⁹ Matthias Pernerstorfer has, however, recently discovered previously overlooked musical materials from the nineteenth century in the castle library (including forty-four scores for works of musical theater, some of which are operas).³⁰ Although Pernerstorfer did not locate any Mozart scores, a copy of at least some portions of Mihule's *Don Juan* may have been held in the castle library at one point because a note in a handwritten inventory of musical items at the Nová Říše monastery states that on November 28, 1825, four opera scores, including Mihule's *Don Juan*, were lent to Tobiášek in Telč.³¹

Don Juan and Count Haugwitz

Another Moravian locale where Mihule's *Don Juan* was likely performed in the early nineteenth century was the castle theater in Namiescht an der Oslau/Náměšť nad Oslavou, during the rule of music-loving Count Heinrich Wilhelm von Haugwitz. Haugwitz was a prominent Moravian nobleman who founded a textile factory in Náměšť in 1795 that helped him finance lavish musical activities, including several opera performances a year from the late 1790s until his death in 1842.³² Haugwitz's music archive preserves a two-volume score of Mihule's *Don Juan*, which was clearly used in performances because it contains additional comments in

²⁸ Three performances of *Der Freischütz* are documented in a poster dated February of an unspecified year (Brno, Moravský zemský archiv [Moravian Provincial Archive, hereafter MZA], fond G 263, inv. no. 482). The performances of *Tancredi*, *Zampa*, and *I puritani* are mentioned in Gregor Wolny, *Die Markgrafschaft Mähren, topografisch, statistisch und historisch geschildert*, vol. 6, *Iglauer Kreis und mährische Enklaven* (Brno, 1842), 504. Ladislav Fučík, who accessed the castle archive before it burned in 1964, dated the performances of *Der Freischütz* to 1838. He dated the performance of *Zampa* to January 1, 1834, and also found records about performances of Méhul's *Joseph* and Donizetti's *La fille du regiment*. See Ladislav Fučík, "Hudební putování krajem pod Javořicí," *Jiskra: Organ OV KSČ a ONV v Jihlavě*, 1983–1984, nos. 88–104 and 1–11: 1–103, at 33–38.

²⁹ See Petr Koukal, "Theater and Music Performances at the Castles of Telč and Náměšť nad Oslavou: A Contribution to the 19th-Century History of Opera at Aristocratic Courts in Moravia and Austrian Silesia," *Musikgeschichte in Mittel- und Osteuropa* 3 (1998): 244–52, at 246.

³⁰ Matthias J. Pernerstorfer, "Ferdinand Raimund in Telč: Zu Schlosstheater und Theaterbibliothek der Grafen Podstatzky-Lichtenstein," *Nestroyana: Blätter der internationalen Nestroy-Gesellschaft* 32, nos. 1–2 (2012): 33–46.

³¹ The inventory is discussed and transcribed in Pavlica, "Jan Fryček in the Inventories of the Premonstratensian Monastery," 59–64.

³² See Jiří Sehnal, "Gluck im Repertoire des Schlosstheaters des Grafen Haugwitz in Náměšť nad Oslavou," in *Kongressbericht Gluck in Wien*, ed. Gerhard Croll (New York: Bärenreiter, 1989), 171–77.

pencil and red crayon, including figured-bass markings. The score closely resembles the one in Nová Říše (see appendix 3): it shares with the latter Mihule's German text, a similar page layout, and a nearly identical musical structure. (Neither score includes "Mi tradi quell'alma ingrata" nor the duet "Eh via buffone"—the latter is nevertheless reflected in the numbering structure of the two scores.)³³ One can also find the same errors in both scores.³⁴

The meticulously kept financial records of the Haugwitz family provide important clues about both the Haugwitz score and the distribution of Mihule's *Don Juan* in southern Moravia. The financial records reference the purchasing of musical materials related to *Don Juan*, and one entry possibly relates specifically to the manuscript with Mihule's adaptation. The financial log from 1801 informs us that in November of that year a certain Rieger from Brno was paid twenty florins for copying *Don Juan*.³⁵ The note likely refers to Gottfried Rieger, who was the music director of the Brno theater company between 1790 and 1805 and the court music director for Haugwitz himself in Náměšť between 1805 and 1808.³⁶ As the Brno theater director, Rieger must have supervised the premieres there of Mozart's operas, including that of *Don Juan* with Gerl in 1794. Haugwitz's financial records refer to many more copies purchased from Rieger, who must have run a copyist workshop in Brno. It is therefore possible that Rieger was the main author not only of the Haugwitz score but also the Nová Říše *Don Juan* score. The possibility that Rieger copied the former from the performing materials at the Brno theater in 1801 would also mean that Mihule's *Don Juan* may still have been used in the city in the early nineteenth century.

³³ Unlike the Nová Říše score, the Haugwitz score is missing Arias No. 10 ("Or sai chi l'onore") and No. 18 ("Vedrai carino"). Whereas the former may have been cut later because there is a gap in the numbering, the latter never had an individual number in the Haugwitz score (see appendix 3). The comment "bleibt weg" ("stays out"), which is penciled in at various points in the score, reveals other numbers that were removed. These are Aria No. 8 ("Ah fuggi il traditor"), Quartet No. 9 ("Non ti fidar, o misera"), Aria No. 11 ("Fin ch'han dal vino"), Aria No. 12 ("Bati, bati, o bel Masetto"), Aria No. 20 ("Ah, pietà, signori miei"), Aria No. 21 ("Il mio tesoro intanto"), and Recitative and Rondo No. 23 ("Non mi dir, bell'idol mio").

³⁴ For example, the beginning of "Ho capito, signor sì" refers to both Masetto and Peter. This double character attribution connects to the 1791 Prague libretto edition of Mihule's *Don Juan*, where the aria is mistakenly assigned to "Masotto." Furthermore, both scores are missing the vocal line in the second half of measure 133 and in measure 134 of the Recitativo [accompagnato e Duetto] No. 2. (In the Haugwitz score, the missing music and text were eventually added in red crayon.)

³⁵ *Rubriquen Buch. Von 1sten Jänner 1801 bis Ende Juny 1802* (Brno, MZA, fond G 142, kn. 67); and *Haushaltungs Cassa Conto. Pro Anno 1801* (Brno, MZA, fond G 142, kn. 69).

³⁶ On Rieger, see Karel Vetterl, "Bohumír Rieger a jeho doba," *Časopis Matice moravské* 53 (1929): 45–86, 435–500.

Among the *Don Juan* materials in the Haugwitz music archive, I also found a manuscript libretto that shares identical vocal numbers with the Haugwitz score and contains the only extant copy of what likely were the spoken dialogues that accompanied Mihule's Prague *Don Juan* and its Viennese or Moravian variants.³⁷ The manuscript is also possibly the item referred to in the financial records of September 30, 1805, as "manuscript of Don Juan."³⁸ It cost six florins, much less than what the count usually paid for musical copies (such as the orchestral score for *Così fan tutte*, purchased in March 1805 for sixty florins from the Viennese copyist Wenzel Sukowaty). On the same day Haugwitz also purchased two other items, which were explicitly referred to as German librettos (for *Così fan tutte* and *Palmira*). Each of these items cost four florins, a price comparable to the six florins paid for the unspecified *Don Giovanni* manuscript. It is unusual that the *Don Juan* manuscript in the Haugwitz music archive is based entirely on Mihule's libretto; by the early 1800s, central European theaters used other, more recent German adaptations of the opera. Haugwitz had numerous German *Don Giovanni* adaptations from which to choose, including two that had recently been performed in Viennese theaters with which he might have been familiar: Lippert's reworking of Neefe's *Don Juan*, performed at the Imperial Court Theater between 1798 and 1803; and Gustav Friedrich Wilhelm Grossmann's Neefe reworking, which premiered at the Theater an der Wien on October 5, 1802. Haugwitz probably attended the latter during his stay in Vienna in early spring of 1805: his financial records feature a note about the purchase of a ticket for an unspecified performance of *Don Juan* on March 11, 1805,³⁹ and the poster for that day from the Theater an der Wien confirms that Grossmann's adaptation of *Don Giovanni* was playing.⁴⁰ It is possible that Haugwitz chose Mihule's adaptation to be copied for Náměšť simply because it was the version in the orchestral manuscript in his possession. But he may have also settled on Mihule's adaptation because of his long-term historicist and literary interests. Haugwitz collected and performed historical music by Handel, Naumann, and Gluck, and after 1808 he also translated numerous eighteenth-century French and Italian opera librettos into German, starting with Gluck's *Iphigénie en Aulide*.⁴¹ Perhaps his endorsement of Mihule's *Don Juan*

³⁷ Brno, Moravské zemské muzeum [Moravian Provincial Museum], A 17032LIB.

³⁸ Brno, MZA, fond G 142, kn. 77.

³⁹ Brno, MZA, fond G 142, kn. 75.

⁴⁰ Vienna, Bibliothek des Österreichischen Theaternuseums, 147.449 D-The. Many thanks to Claudia Mayerhofer for her assistance in locating the poster despite the COVID-19 pandemic.

⁴¹ On Haugwitz's translation activities, see Jiří Sehnal, "Gluck im Repertoire des Schlosstheaters des Grafen Haugwitz," 171–77; and Michaela Freemanová, "Heinrich Wilhelm Haugwitz: 'Übersetzer der Iphigenia in Aulis,'" *Hudební věda* 40 (2003): 361–70.

reflects its relative closeness to the opera's original Italian version. The adaptations by Lippert and Grossmann contained more cuts, interpolations, and restructurings.

From Prague to Leipzig and Dresden

In addition to Vienna and Moravia, Mihule's *Don Juan* likely also spread north to Saxony and may have been the basis for the premiere of the opera in Dresden on September 16, 1795, by the company of Joseph Seconda.⁴² There is some uncertainty about whether Mihule's *Don Juan* was used in Dresden. No libretto or score survives from the production, and Seconda used a different title than Mihule (*Don Juan, oder Der steinerne Gast* as opposed to Mihule's *Don Juan, oder Die redende Statue*). Michael Hochmuth has claimed, on the basis of a 1796 Dresden cultural encyclopedia by Johann Gottlieb August Kläbe, that Seconda used an adaptation of the opera by Dresden writer Karl August Zschiedrich.⁴³ Yet Kläbe writes only that Zschiedrich translated Mozart's *Don Juan* in 1795 for the publication of the opera's music by Dresden publisher Hilscher; he does not mention any connection between Zschiedrich and Seconda's production.⁴⁴ Hilscher does not seem to have used Mihule's libretto; the German text, presumably by Zschiedrich, in Hilscher's edition of the duet arrangement of the first-act chorus "Gioviette che fate all'amore"⁴⁵ differs radically from Mihule's translation (with the incipit: "Hat ein Mädchen sein Liebchen gefunden"). Seconda, in contrast, appears to have used Mihule's rather than Zschiedrich's translation; the poster for Seconda's Dresden performance lists the same unusual character names as those in the Prague libretto (Don Gonsalvo, Donna Laura, Franz, Peter, Klärchen).⁴⁶

Seconda used the same adaptation of *Don Juan* when he and his company moved to Leipzig in 1796 and opened their season there on January 3 with a production of the opera. The poster for this

⁴² See Ian Woodfield, *Performing Operas for Mozart: Impresarios, Singers and Troupes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 192–95.

⁴³ Michael Hochmuth, *Chronik der Dresdner Oper*, vol. 4, *Joseph Secondas "Operngesellschaft"* (Radebeul: Eigenverlag, 2014), 233.

⁴⁴ Johann Gottlieb August Kläbe, *Neuestes gelehrtes Dresden, oder Nachrichten von jetzt lebenden Dresdner Gelehrten, Schriftstellern, Künstlern, Bibliotheken und Kunstsammlern* (Leipzig: Voss, 1796), 190.

⁴⁵ A copy of this edition is preserved in Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky [National Library of the Czech Republic], 59 A 010757, app. 10: *Duetto dell'Opera Don Giovanni; Gioviette che fatte etc. Holde Mädchen für Liebe geschaffen di Mozart* (Dresden: Hilscher, [1795]).

⁴⁶ Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dramat.5, 1795-BI. 96. The poster is cited in Karl Engel, *Die Don-Juan Sage auf der Bühne* (Dresden: Pierson's, 1887), 197–98.

performance is nearly identical to that which advertised their Dresden production.⁴⁷ That Seconda would procure the textual and musical materials from Prague, or at least base his production on an adaptation that originated in Prague, is not surprising, considering the close cultural ties and exchange between Prague and Saxony in the late eighteenth century. In the summers of 1792–94, Leipzig audiences were treated to performances of Mozart's operas in their original Italian versions by Guardasoni's Prague company. But Guardasoni no longer frequented Leipzig after 1794. Consequently, when Seconda opened his Leipzig season of 1796 with a performance of *Don Juan*, he may have been compensating the Saxon audience for the operatic fare of which they had been deprived the previous summer by Guardasoni's absence. It is possible, furthermore, that Seconda acquired Mihule's libretto through his older brother Franz, who was in charge of a troupe that focused on spoken theater and performed mostly in Dresden and Leipzig. Between 1789 and 1794, the troupe spent the summer season at the Thun Theater in Prague. Franz Seconda's Prague sojourns therefore coincided with Mihule's period of activity in the city; perhaps he procured Mihule's *Don Juan* adaptation for his brother Joseph while he was there.

Mihule in Germany

Mihule himself distributed his *Don Juan* adaptation to many parts of central Europe. Possibly due to financial difficulties at the Patriotic Theater and the termination of his lease at the Estates Theater, he concluded his activities in Prague in May 1793 and departed with several members of his company for a summer season in Karlsbad/Karlovy Vary. He subsequently spent the 1793–94 season in Augsburg, performing there between September 12, 1793, and March 4, 1794.⁴⁸ Although he did not produce *Don Juan* in Augsburg, he did stage two other Mozart operas, which he must have brought from Prague: he performed *Die Zauberflöte* three times and *Così fan tutte*—likely in his own Singspiel adaptation, titled *Die Schule der Liebhaber*—twice.⁴⁹ *Don Juan* returned to Mihule's

⁴⁷ Leipzig, Stadtgeschichtliches Museum, inv. no. MT/2018/127.

⁴⁸ See Alena Jakubcová, "Setrvání, nebo změna? Divadelní dramaturgie Václava Mihuleho mezi Prahou (1790–1793) a Norimberkem (1794–1797)," in *Ztracená blízkost: Praha-Norimberk v proměnách staletí; stati a rozšířené příspěvky z 27. vědecké konference Archivu hlavního města Prahy*, ed. Olga Fejtová, Václav Ledvinka, and Jiří Pešek (Praha: Scriptorium, 2010), 591–616.

⁴⁹ Mihule's repertoire in Augsburg is listed in Johann Friedrich Gley, ed., *Etwas über Menschendarstellung, eine Abhandlung. Nebst dem Augsburger Theater-Journal von der Mihuleschen-Gesellschaft. Im Winter 1793–1794* (Augsburg: Schwabische Schriften, [1794]), 29–36. See also Jakubcová, "Setrvání, nebo změna?," 594.

repertoire the following season, which was the first he spent mostly in Nuremberg. He premiered the opera there on April 20, 1795—the first staging of *Don Giovanni* in the city. In Bavaria Mihule came under the influence of the Neefe-Schmieder-Schröder-Lippert line of adaptations and included extra characters; the poster for the Nuremberg premiere refers to a hermit and a Mr. Frey (possibly the jeweler).⁵⁰ The poster also provides a possible explanation for why Mihule's company had not performed *Don Juan* the previous season in Augsburg: although the music of the opera was well known to theater enthusiasts, the poster announced, it was difficult to perform and thus only few companies could perform it.⁵¹ The poster also reveals that the pit of the Nuremberg opera house was too small for the orchestra required for *Don Juan* (and other operas, including *Die Zauberflöte*), and, as a result, part of the orchestra had to be placed on the main floor. The opera was not particularly successful in Nuremberg: it received only three performances in the spring of 1795 before disappearing from the repertoire.⁵² *Die Zauberflöte* and other Viennese magical operas, by contrast, were performed by Mihule's company in the following season as well.⁵³

In 1796 Mihule left Nuremberg for the more prestigious post of court theater director in Stuttgart. *Don Juan* had premiered in the city on March 28, 1796, a few months prior to Mihule's arrival. This premiere may have been associated with the Stuttgart court theater's engagement of the singers Joseph and Caroline Reuter, who had until then worked for Mihule, and had appeared in his Nuremberg production of the work (Joseph as Franz/Leporello, Caroline as Donna Anna).⁵⁴ Joseph Reuter took the title role in the Stuttgart production, and—as the preserved conducting manuscript score from the production shows—the couple

⁵⁰ The poster for the first performance in the city survives in Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg (henceforth SBN), Nor. 1325 2° 1795/114. See Jakubcová, "Die vergessenen Begegnungen," 161.

⁵¹ "All theater friends know that the superb music of this opera has received great acclaim everywhere it was performed, and all music connoisseurs also know that few companies can perform the same [opera] because of its musical difficulties." (Das [sic] die vorzügliche Musik dieser Oper, aller Orten mit auszeichnenden Beyfall gegeben worden [ist], ist jedem Theaterfreund bekannt, so wie es allen Musik Kennern bewusst ist, dass Dieselbe von wenig Gesellschaften, der musikalischen Schwierigkeit wegen, gegeben werden kann.)

⁵² In addition to the premiere, posters in the Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg also document *Don Juan* performances on April 23 and May 21, 1795 (Nuremberg, SBN, Nor. 1325 2° 1795/117 and 130).

⁵³ According to the posters in the Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg, a four-act version of *Die Zauberflöte* was performed on April 27 and May 18, 1795, and on May 2, 9, and 23, 1796 (Nuremberg, SBN, Nor. 1325 2° 1795/118 and 127, and Nor. 1325 2° 1796/265, 267, and 275).

⁵⁴ Rudolf Krauß, *Das Stuttgarter Hoftheater von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1908), 102.

may have brought Mihule's libretto to the city.⁵⁵ The score initially contained the Schmieder text, and the opera was performed with the interpolated scenes with the jeweler and bailiffs, as shown in the poster for the second performance on April 5, 1796, which lists the extra characters and refers to the rest with Schmieder's German names.⁵⁶ Yet the score also contains variants of text from at least two other German adaptations, one of which is Mihule's. His text appears for the first time in the first-act Introduction, specifically in the part for Don Juan.⁵⁷ This suggests that Joseph Reuter sang Mihule's text, possibly because he was accustomed to it from the Nuremberg production.

Back to the Habsburg Lands

Mihule left Stuttgart after only a few months in the summer of 1797, likely due to financial difficulties.⁵⁸ He then turned east and spent the following decade in various Habsburg provinces. Although it is possible that he produced *Don Juan* in many of these places, there is not enough specific information about his repertoire to confirm this supposition. Mihule's first stop was Wiener Neustadt, where he performed theater works between December 26, 1797, and March 31, 1798.⁵⁹ Although he did not stage any Mozart operas during this short season, he did keep *Don Juan* in his repertoire. This is shown in a letter to Alois I, Prince of Liechtenstein from March 8, 1798, in which he offers his services as the director of the summer theater in Feldsberg/Valtice (presently in southern Moravia).⁶⁰ The letter is accompanied by a list of fifty-three operas to which Mihule owned performing materials and could therefore present. As Jakubcová points out, the list opens with five operas by Mozart: *Don Giovanni*, *Die Zauberflöte*, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, *Così fan tutte*, and

⁵⁵ Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB XVII 454a–c. On the rediscovery of the score see, Rainer Nägele, "Die weiderentdeckte 'Stuttgarter Kopie (Prager Provenienz)' von Mozarts *Don Giovanni*," *Musik in Baden-Württemberg* 2 (1995): 159–66.

⁵⁶ The poster is reproduced in Krauß, *Das Stuttgarter Hoftheater*, 102.

⁵⁷ The original lines Don Juan sings in the score are from Schmieder's adaptation: "Tolles Mädchen, du lärmest vergeben, / Sollst nicht wissen, wer ich bin." The extra text added below the original one is from Mihule: "Lass mich los! Ich schwör dir heilig, / Wer ich bin erfährst du nicht!" Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Musiksammlung, HB XVII 454a, 32r–v. Texts from Mihule's libretto appear elsewhere in the score, and have all been written by the same hand.

⁵⁸ See Jakubcová, "Die Musikdramaturgie des Theaterdirektors Wenzeslaus Mihule (1758–1808) zwischen der europäischen Stadt und dem adeligen Hof," *Musicologica Brunensia* 47, no. 1 (2012): 147–57, at 155.

⁵⁹ Otto G. Schindler, "Wandertruppen in Niederösterreich im 18. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Wiener Theaterforschung* 17 (1970): 1–80, at 73.

⁶⁰ Jitka Stávová, "Zámecká divadla rodu Liechtensteiniů na českém území: Závěrečná studie z ročního výzkumného projektu," *Theatralia* 13, no. 1 (2010): 32–46, at 39.

finally, *Le nozze di Figaro*, which Mihule never actually produced.⁶¹ Liechtenstein was not impressed with Mihule's offer and rejected it in a letter from March 12, 1798.⁶²

It is unclear what happened to Mihule after he left Wiener Neustadt in the spring of 1798. He appears in archival documents again only in 1801, when he took over the lease of the theater in Olmütz/Olomouc, where he stayed for roughly one season.⁶³ His opera repertoire in Olomouc is only documented for August, October, and December 1801, and the known portions do not include any of Mozart's operas, although one imagines that he would have wanted to impress his central Moravian audiences with *Don Juan*.⁶⁴ In the spring and summer of 1802, a faction opposing Mihule appeared in Olomouc and claimed that he had increased ticket prices, did not respect the rights of the subscribers, and organized balls in the theater outside of the carnival season.⁶⁵ As a result, he lost his lease and left for Troppau/Opava in Austrian Silesia, where he became the theater director for the next two seasons. Mihule's repertoire in Opava remains shrouded in mystery.

Mihule in Slovakia

From Silesia, Mihule moved to the Upper Hungarian city Kaschau/Kassa/Košice, in what is now eastern Slovakia. In 1804 he submitted a request to the Košice city council for permission to perform a list of over 140 pieces (both spoken and musical). On April 15, 1806, he submitted another list of nearly 100 pieces.⁶⁶ Whereas the 1804 list does not contain any Mozart operas, the 1806 document includes *Don Juan*.⁶⁷ This

⁶¹ Alena Jakubcová, "Dobré pověsti je třeba každému—pro ředitele divadla je však nezbytnou rekvizitou": Václav Mihule na Moravě a ve Slezsku v letech 1800–1808," *Divadelní revue* 23, no. 2 (2012): 39–49, at 43.

⁶² Jitka Pavlišová, "Ve službách knížete Liechtensteina: několik poznatků k provozu zámeckého divadla ve Valticích," *Theatralia* 18, no. 1 (2015): 85–105, at 95.

⁶³ Jakubcová, "Dobré pověsti je třeba každému," 44.

⁶⁴ Jiří Kopecký and Lenka Křupková, *Provinciální Theater and Its Opera: German Opera Scene in Olomouc, 1770–1920* (Olomouc: Palacký University, 2015), 223. The repertoire information is based on the *Olmützer Theater-Almanach* published in 1802 by the prompter Franz Hybl; the publication is lost but it was transcribed in Mořic Remeš, "Příspěvky k dějinám olomouckého divadla," *Časopis Vlasteneckého spolku muzejního v Olomouci* 50 (1937): 227–36.

⁶⁵ Jakubcová, "Dobré pověsti je třeba každému," 45.

⁶⁶ See Kata Flórián, *A Kassai német színház története 1816-ig* (Prešov: 1927), 67. The documents are in Košice, Archiv mesta Košice [Košice City Archive, hereafter AMK], fond Magistrát mesta Košice, kart. 1773, č. s. 2901 and 1854.

⁶⁷ Both Flórián and Tibor Ferko claim that Mihule listed not only *Don Juan* but also *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, *Die Zauberflöte*, and *Le nozze di Figaro* in his repertoire. The two lists, however, contain only *Don Juan*, and it is unclear where the researchers found out about the other operas. See Flórián, *A Kassai*, 69; and Tibor Ferko, *Divadelné letopisy mesta*

suggests that Mihule planned performances of the opera for the 1806–7 season. It is unclear, however, whether he actually managed to produce the work. On February 7, 1807, he was denounced to the authorities by one of his own company's actresses, Anna Holzmann, for swearing sacrilegiously at the company's poster-seller.⁶⁸ Mihule was put on trial for blasphemy and condemned to have his tongue cut out and his head cut off. The archival records do not reveal what actually happened to Mihule. Margita Havlíčková has, however, recently discovered a letter that Mihule wrote in Košice on July 8, 1808, in which he inquires about renting the municipal theater in the southern Moravian town of Znaim/Znojmo for the following season—he seems to have survived the trial, although whether he ever came to Znojmo remains unknown.⁶⁹ *Don Juan* appears again in the repertoire lists submitted to Košice authorities in 1811 and 1812 by Joseph Holzmann, one of Mihule's successors as the city's theater director.⁷⁰ According to Flórián, Holzmann was related to members of Mihule's troupe and also accepted some of Mihule's employees into his own company.⁷¹ It is therefore possible that Holzmann continued to use Mihule's adaptation of *Don Juan* in Košice into the second decade of the nineteenth century.

The Donebauer Score and Don Juan in Prague after Mihule

While Mihule was traveling throughout central Europe, his *Don Juan* adaptation remained influential in Prague. This is illustrated in the so-called Donebauer manuscript, a conducting score originally used by Guardasoni's company in its early Prague performances of the Italian *Don Giovanni*, and possibly also by Mozart himself when he conducted the opera in front of the imperial court on September 2, 1791.⁷² The score is presently held in the archive of the Prague Conservatory, but in the late nineteenth century it belonged to banker and insurance agent

Cassa, *Caschau, Kassa, Košice v súvislostiach dejín 1557–1945* (Košice: Equilibria, 2013), 71. *Die Zauberflöte* appears only in a repertoire list submitted by Joseph Holzmann in August 1809, and *Le nozze di Figaro* in a list submitted by Friedrich Möller in June 1810. Košice, AMK, fond Magistrát mesta Košice, kart. 1773, č. s. 2478 and 1928.

⁶⁸ Flórián, *A Kassai*, 72.

⁶⁹ Jakubcová, “Dobré pověsti je třeba každému,” 41.

⁷⁰ Košice, AMK, fond Magistrát mesta Košic, kart. 1773, č. s. 3019 and 3672.

⁷¹ Flórián, *A Kassai*, 73.

⁷² Prague, Knihovna Pražské konzervatoře, specializovaná knihovna, I C 276/1–4. Scholars generally agree that the score contains Mozart's autograph comments, and Ian Woodfield has described numerous revisions in the score that reflect how Guardasoni's company changed the opera in Prague between 1791 and 1807 and possibly also during the company's sojourn in Warsaw between 1789 and 1791. See Woodfield, *The Vienna Don Giovanni*, 115–30.

Fritz Donebauer (1849–1916), after whom it is titled. Before becoming a collector's item, the score was also used in German and Czech performances of *Don Giovanni* in Prague until the 1860s. (It was likely last used in performances at the Czech Provisional Theater between 1862 and 1866, when Franz Thomé, the theater's director between 1865 and 1866, took it to Linz.)⁷³ These performances are illustrated by a German text and fragments of a Czech text written next to the original Italian lyrics in the eighteenth-century manuscript in various inks, and by later inserts with recitative variants in Czech and German. Portions of the German text that was entered into the eighteenth-century manuscript of the musical numbers come from Mihule's adaptation; other portions of the text, however, originated in the Schmieder-Schröder-Lippert-Rochlitz tradition. (The incipits of this German text and their correspondence with other German adaptations are provided in appendix 2.)⁷⁴ This suggests that some German productions of *Don Juan* in Prague relied on parts of Mihule's text long into the nineteenth century.

It is unlikely that Mihule used the score himself because the German text in the eighteenth-century manuscript is taken from various sources. Mihule also probably owned his own performing materials for the opera because *Don Juan* was first produced at the Patriotic Theater, and Mihule was Guardasoni's competitor. The old German text therefore reflects one or several German productions that took place in Prague after Mihule's departure. (For a list of documented Italian and German performances of *Don Giovanni* in Prague between 1787 and 1807, see appendix 4.) The first contender is the production that the company of Karl Franz Guolfinger von Steinsberg premiered on October 7, 1796, at the Estates Theater, with four members of Mihule's original cast.⁷⁵ Similar to the German text in the Donebauer score, Steinsberg's production combined elements from both Mihule's *Don Juan* and the Neefe-Schmieder-Schröder-Lippert tradition. A review of the premiere in the *Allgemeines europäisches Journal* shows that Steinsberg used Mihule's idiosyncratic character names (Don Gonsaldo for Don Ottavio, Donna Laura for Donna Elvira, Franz for Leporello, Peter for Masetto, and Klarchen for Zerlina).⁷⁶ At the same time he added at least two scenes from the Rhine-

⁷³ The score's fate in the 1860s is discussed in Milada Jonášová, "Guglers Edition der *Don-Giovanni*-Partitur und seine Korrespondenz mit Smetana," *Mozart Studien* 17 (2008): 279–330, at 283–84.

⁷⁴ See also Woodfield, *The Vienna Don Giovanni*, 129.

⁷⁵ *Allgemeines europäisches Journal* 3, no. 11 (November 1796): 189–90. These members were Mad. Reinwarth (Donna Anna), Mathias Kadleczek (Don Gonsaldo), and Josef and Josepha Wieser (Franz and Klarchen). Steinsberg also performed *Don Juan* during his summer season in Karlsbad on June 23 and 29, 1798; see *Allgemeines europäisches Journal* 5, no. 7 (July 1798): 218.

⁷⁶ *Allgemeines europäisches Journal* 3, no. 11 (November 1796): 189–90.

Danube adaptations. (These scenes did not contain any music and thus are not preserved in the Donebauer score.) The reviewer mentions a merchant (“der Kaufmann”), first introduced by Schmieder in Mainz, and complains about the addition of a scene with “a hermit, full of low-class farce,” which must refer to the subplot introduced by Lippert in Berlin. The objection indicates that Bohemian critics were not accustomed to the hermit scene, although it was featured by then in many German productions outside of Prague.⁷⁷ As well as introducing new scenes, Steinsberg and his team cut the moralistic *scena ultima* from the second-act finale, a decision that again drew disapproval from the reviewer but corresponds to the German text in the Donebauer score. Immediately preceding the *scena ultima*, a note in the script of the German text announces “Ende der Oper” (end of the opera). A German translation was eventually written into the *scena ultima*, but in a different script that also appears in later inserts into the score. Furthermore, whereas the German text in the earlier parts of the second-act finale is based on Mihule, the additional text in the *scena ultima* is taken from Rochlitz’s translation, first published in 1801. The additional text clearly does not reflect Steinsberg’s production but may have originated in 1837 when the *scena ultima* was performed for the first time in a German performance to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of *Don Giovanni*’s premiere.⁷⁸

Although the German text in the Donebauer score corresponds in some aspects to what we know about Steinberg’s production, it also differs in significant details. For example, in the *stretta* of the first-act finale and other parts of the opera where Da Ponte’s Italian text refers to individual characters by name, the Donebauer German text does not use Mihule’s (and Steinsberg’s) character names but retains the original Italian ones (Masetto, Zerline, Leporello, Donna Elvira, and Don Ottavio). It is therefore unlikely that Steinsberg used the Donebauer score, although he clearly made use of some elements of Mihule’s adaptation.

The character names in the Donebauer German text correspond to the character list of the next German production of *Don Giovanni* in Prague.⁷⁹ This was the production that opened at the Estates Theater

⁷⁷ To demonstrate the farcical nature of the hermit scene, the reviewer provides an excerpt from the scene’s dialogue that is nearly identical with the dialogue in Lippert’s adaptation produced at the Vienna court theater in 1798. See Nedbal, “Mozart, Da Ponte, and Censorship,” 78.

⁷⁸ On this performance, see Nedbal, “Mozart’s *Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*,” 192–93.

⁷⁹ The list of characters and the cast of this production are given by Jan Nepomuk Štěpánek in his introduction to the first Czech translation of the opera: *Don Juan: Zpěvohra ve dvou jednáních, zčesštěná od J. N. Štěpánka* (Prague: Ház, 1825), xii. That the 1807 production was using the name Leporello as opposed to Mihule’s Franz is also clear from the reference to the debut of a Herr Strohbach as Leporello on November 8, 1807, in *Prager Theater-Almanach auf das Jahr 1809* (Prague: Calvé, [1808]), 57.

on November 8, 1807, as part of the repertoire of the company of Johann Carl Liebich (1773–1816). Steinsberg was long gone at this point, having left Prague in 1799, and the only documented performances of *Don Giovanni* in the intervening period were those of the original Italian version by Guardasoni's company.⁸⁰ Liebich became the director of the Prague theater after Guardasoni's death in 1806. At first, he supervised both Italian and German performances. In April 1807, however, Liebich dissolved the Italian company, and afterwards the Prague theater performed operas exclusively in German. For the 1807 *Don Juan*, Liebich and his music director Wenzel Müller likely used the Donebauer score, which they must have inherited with the rest of the Italian company's archive. If the old German text does reflect Liebich's production, then portions of Mihule's *Don Juan* must have been used in Prague at least as late as 1807.

Don Juan in Náchod

Mihule's *Don Juan*, or a variant of it, may have reached one more place in Bohemia in the late eighteenth century—the castle theater in Náchod, the residence of Peter von Biron, Duke of Courland and Semigallia. The afterlife of the Náchod production in later Czech culture illustrates how *Don Giovanni* and to some extent Mihule's legacy were gradually politicized. In 1792 Duke Biron bought the northeast Bohemian estate with the Náchod Castle, and in 1797 he built a theater there. The theater opened with two performances of *Don Juan* on October 29 and 30, 1797.⁸¹ According to an 1842 memoir by Náchod official Johann Müller, the first performance was produced by local amateurs, and the second by Biron's professional ensemble.⁸² Stanislav Bohadlo has pointed out that several members of Biron's company came from Steinsberg's troupe, which Biron may have known both from Prague and from summer seasons in Karlovy Vary.⁸³ Among these performers was singer and actor Friedrich Wilhelm Arnoldi, who had appeared as Don Juan in both Mihule's Nuremberg production in 1795 and Steinsberg's Prague

⁸⁰ In his summary of Prague performances of *Don Giovanni* before 1825, Štěpánek mentions Guardasoni's and Mihule's productions, but claims that between 1799 and 1807 there were only thirty-five Italian and no German performances of the opera in Prague. Štěpánek, *Don Juan: Zpěvohra*, xii.

⁸¹ Stanislav Bohadlo, "Peter Biron, Herzog von Kurland," in Jakubcová and Pernerstorfer, *Theater in Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien*, 51–53, at 52.

⁸² See Věra Vlčková, "Pamětihodnosti panství Náchod a osudy, které za posledních 5 desetiletí sám prožil a zapsal vrchnostenský úředník během tohoto období na jmenovaném panství ustanovený, penzionovaný důchodní Jan Müller," *Stopami dějin Náchodska* 3 (1997): 133–87, at 146.

⁸³ Bohadlo, "Peter Biron, Herzog von Kurland," 52.

production in 1796 and 1797.⁸⁴ (It is unclear whether Arnoldi, who was a tenor, had a large vocal range or whether the role was transposed for him; he also appeared as Pedrillo and Monostatos during his career.) Sometime in the fall of 1797, Arnoldi became the *maître des plaisirs* for Biron and also possibly appeared as Don Juan in the 1797 production of the opera in Náchod. His links both to Steinsberg's troupe and directly to Mihule himself suggest that the Náchod spectators were treated to a version of Mihule's *Don Juan*.

The story of the Náchod *Don Juan* received a nationalistic treatment in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Arnoldi apparently identified with the role of Don Juan so much that he eloped with Biron's daughter in 1799. The affair may have facilitated Biron's death in 1800, at which point the Náchod theater was closed.⁸⁵ Arnoldi continued his performance career in Prague, where he appeared as Passa Selim in the first Czech production of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* at the Estates Theater in 1806.⁸⁶ Arnoldi's story was so gripping that he became a character in the novel *Na dvoře vévodském* (At the ducal court) by famous Czech writer Alois Jirásek. The novel, which was first published in 1877, follows several historical characters, including Arnoldi and Biron and his family, and partially focuses on the Náchod performance of *Don Juan*. Mixing historical fact with fiction, the novel reflects nineteenth-century Czech national views of Mozart's opera. It describes a single fictionalized performance of the opera in Náchod and places it in the fall of 1799. The performance combines professional and local musicians, who are presented as ethnic Czechs, i.e., as Bohemians who are inherently Czech although they might speak or be forced to speak German. The genre of opera is associated in the novel mostly with the cosmopolitan tastes of foreign aristocrats who, as the novel claims, replaced the indigenous nobility only in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At the same time, the novel depicts a close affinity between Czech musicians and *Don Juan*, which is introduced as "Mozart's famous work, composed for Prague."⁸⁷ Revealingly, the main aristocratic villainess in the novel, Biron's wife Duchess Anna Karolina, who starts an affair with Arnoldi and

⁸⁴ The review of Arnoldi's first performance as Don Juan in Prague in 1796 is quite complimentary and praises the singer "for his pleasant and casual performance" (wegen seinen angenehmen—zwanglosen Spiel). *Allgemeines europäisches Journal* 3, no. 11 (November 1796): 190. On his Nuremberg performance, see Stanislav Bohadlo and Alena Jakubcová, "Friedrich Wilhelm Arnoldi," in Jakubcová and Pernerstorfer, *Theater in Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien*, 15–17, at 16.

⁸⁵ Bohadlo, "Peter Biron, Herzog von Kurland," 52.

⁸⁶ Jaroslav Kamper, "První české představení *Únosu ze serailu*," *Hudební revue* 3 (1910): 349–52.

⁸⁷ Alois Jirásek, *Na dvoře vévodském* (Prague: Otto, [1881]), 282.

shows disdain for the Czech peasants and their plight, prefers the French pastoral opera *Le devin du village* to *Don Juan*.

The afterlife of the Náchod *Don Juan* in Czech culture continued into the late twentieth century. In 1979 state television broadcaster Czechoslovak Television created a film version of Jirásek's novel, which transforms the plot in terms of Czech Marxist nationalism.⁸⁸ In the film, Mozart's opera is associated more clearly than in the novel with foreign aristocratic decadence, which is opposed to the purity of the Czech working class. The film illustrates the purportedly dissolute nature of the opera by linking it closely to Arnoldi's character. In Jirásek's novel, Arnoldi is cast as Don Ottavio, but in the film he appears as Don Giovanni, and it is his performance of the "Champagne Aria" at a castle ball that leads to his seduction of both the Duchess and Biron's daughter. In the film, Biron discovers his wife in the embrace of Arnoldi and the performance of the opera is cancelled. Mozart's opera and its eponymous antihero thus become symbolic of the profligate tendencies of late eighteenth-century aristocracy. The film concludes with images of the Duke's subjects enjoying a performance of folk music, at which the Duchess, the Duke, and their daughter express true pleasure and contentment. Thus, in the Communist-era film, the supposed genuineness and sincerity of folk music eventually overpowers Mozart's Italian opera, which is tainted with foreign immorality.

Nationalism and the Historiography of Mihule's Don Juan

Just as the Náchod production of *Don Juan* was appropriated by later ideologues, the historical reception of Mihule's *Don Juan* and its dissemination was influenced by nationalist viewpoints that became prominent in central Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Negative views of a Czech-language culture were already apparent among Prague's German writers and politicians in the late eighteenth century. In 1792 a Prague correspondent for the Berlin journal *Annalen des Theaters* ridiculed the supposedly distasteful posters with which Mihule's company advertised its Czech performances.⁸⁹ The correspondent was clearly bothered by the presence of Czech-language performances at the Estates Theater, Prague's largest and most prestigious stage, and complained that the exclusively German-language company of Franz Seconda, which

⁸⁸ *Na dvoře vévodském*, directed by Evžen Němec (Prague: Czechoslovak Television, 1979). The film has never been released commercially but can be viewed at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ID-uLklyhRs>.

⁸⁹ "Von verschiedenen Theatern: Auszüge aus Briefen," *Annalen des Theaters* 10 (1792): 83–84.

they viewed as more sophisticated, performed in the much smaller and less centrally located Thun Theater in the Lesser Town. Similar sentiments possibly led to the decree by the Bohemian government in the summer of 1806 that Czech performances at the Estates Theater be curtailed. Czech theater was not banned completely, but the government prohibited, out of “moral and religious concerns,” the highly popular and profitable matinee performances in Czech on Sundays and holidays, which attracted the predominantly Czech-speaking working classes, who were unable to attend regular evening performances on weekdays. It is unclear whether the opposition to Czech performances was driven by specifically anti-Czech, German nationalist views of Czech culture as inherently inimical and inferior to German culture, or by concerns that Czech theater was too plebeian for the aristocratic and upper-class audience of the Estates Theater. Whatever the case, the loss of revenue from these matinee shows led to the disappearance of professional Czech performances from the Estates Theater until the 1820s.⁹⁰

More overt nationalistic attitudes toward early Czech theater appeared in German-Bohemian writings of the late nineteenth century. In his 1885 *Geschichte des Prager Theaters*, the first substantial scholarly discussion of Mihule’s theater activities in Prague, German-Bohemian historian Oscar Teuber sees late eighteenth-century cultural developments through the lens of nationalistic tensions between the Czechs and German-Bohemians in the mid-1880s. In the preface to the second volume, he claims that his monumental study aims at presenting Prague as an important center of German culture, precisely at a time when German culture in Bohemia “is threatened by the powerful competition of a newly established Slavic cultural institution that in fact grew out of the German institutions.”⁹¹ Teuber here refers to the Czech National Theater. Completed in 1883, the new Czech institution dwarfed the much older and outdated Estates Theater, which the German community used as the main German stage in the city at that time. Although later in the book Teuber does pay attention to early developments of Czech theater in the late eighteenth century, in the preface he claims that “the efforts of Czech dramatists and artists in those humble beginnings are nearly not worthy of serious appreciation.”⁹² This disparaging attitude is also perceptible in his account of the Patriotic Theater and Mihule’s company. Teuber claims that Mihule and his popular, sensational repertoire had a “great and ruinous influence” on Prague’s German theater in general. He also associates the supposedly low artistic standards at the Patriotic

⁹⁰ See Vondráček, *Dějiny českého divadla*, 316; and John Tyrrell, *Czech Opera* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 18–20.

⁹¹ Teuber, *Geschichte des Prager Theaters*, x–xi.

⁹² Teuber, *Geschichte des Prager Theaters*, ix.

Theater with the Czech repertoire. He claims that although many Czech pieces were premiered by the company, they were of bad quality, and that the Czech repertoire was “full of good will, industriousness, and respectable skill, but only in rarer cases of adequate talent.”⁹³ Taking for granted the notion of a clear ethnic distinction between Czech and German members of the company, Teuber also claims that those who played leading roles in the Czech performances usually appeared only in supporting roles in German performances.⁹⁴ But as Teuber himself shows, in the late eighteenth century, national distinctions were not yet fully formed among Prague artists. For example, he discusses the popular comedian Wenzel Swoboda, who played similar roles in both Czech and German languages. The descriptions of individual members of Mihule’s company in the Gotha *Theater-Kalender* show, furthermore, that many of them similarly played the same roles in both Czech and German performances.⁹⁵

As if in reaction to Teuber’s *Geschichte*, Jan Vondráček’s *Dějiny českého divadla*, the first substantial and comprehensive history of Czech theater, published in the 1920s, focuses solely on Czech performances of Mihule’s company and sometimes even exaggerates their significance within the Patriotic Theater’s repertoire. Vondráček also imbues late eighteenth-century theatrical developments with the spirit of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century nationalism and operates with a simple binarism that pits the German-speaking upper classes against the Czech-speaking lower classes. On several occasions, Vondráček asserts that the German-speaking elites in Prague were bent on undermining Czech national culture and transforming the city into a center of German culture.⁹⁶ Vondráček’s nationalistic preoccupations come to the fore in his discussion of the negotiations that the directors of the Patriotic Theater, Antong and Zappe, led with the Bohemian government and the Viennese court in 1792–93 to renew the theater’s performance permit. According to Vondráček, the negotiations dragged on for months because “the theater, as a Czech institution, was a thorn in the flesh for many German chauvinists.”⁹⁷ He presents no proof, however, of explicit German chauvinism, and the Patriotic Theater was not an exclusively Czech institution.

⁹³ Teuber, *Geschichte des Prager Theaters*, 297.

⁹⁴ Teuber, *Geschichte des Prager Theaters*, 298.

⁹⁵ See, for example, *Taschenbuch für die Schaubühne auf das Jahr 1793* (Gotha: Ettinger, [1792]), 164–69.

⁹⁶ See, for example, Vondráček’s discussion of Count Nostitz’s 1782 proclamation about the new theater (eventually the Nostitz, later Estates, Theater) he was then building in Prague. Vondráček, *Dějiny českého divadla*, 60.

⁹⁷ Vondráček, *Dějiny českého divadla*, 215.

Because a majority of the operas produced at the Patriotic Theater under Mihule's directorship were German Singspiels, the institution did not receive much attention from Czech musicologists after the ouster of the German population following World War II and the Communist coup of 1948, a time when the history of German culture in Bohemia became taboo. As Jitka Ludvová explains in her magisterial study on Prague German theater between 1845 and 1945, some Czech researchers started exploring the history and basic archival documents related to Prague's German opera history during the political thaw of the 1960s, but the topic became unfashionable once again during the totalitarian "normalization" that followed the invasion of the Warsaw Pact armies in 1968.⁹⁸ The situation became even more complicated after the 1973 Treaty of Prague between Czechoslovakia and the Federal Republic of Germany, which sought to prevent any German attempts at recovering property or territory from the now ethnically uniform Czech lands. From the 1970s, German scholars did not research the history of German culture in the Czech lands lest they be accused of revanchist provocations.⁹⁹ The post-World War II political configuration in central Europe was also to a large extent responsible for the nature of scholarly approaches to Mozart reception. The exclusive focus on the Rhine-Danube strain in Bitter's 1961 study of *Don Giovanni* reception may have been facilitated by the fact that it concerned predominantly German regions that had mostly stayed in the Western sphere of influence after the war, and did not encroach on regions with troubled histories of no-longer-existent German communities.

The tendency to undermine the importance of German-Bohemian musical culture is also prominent in postwar Czech research of the eighteenth-century *Don Giovanni* reception. In her list of *Don Giovanni* productions in Prague's theaters, for example, Věra Ptáčková mentions Mihule's 1790–91 production but not Steinsberg's production of 1796. Her omission may be an oversight, but it resonates with other Czech scholars' explicitly dismissive attitudes toward German-Bohemian opera. Tomislav Volek on several occasions referred to German adaptations of Mozart's operas in Prague as "degrading" and "embarrassing," and as recently as 2013 the late Czech musicologist Michaela Freemanová asked whether German-language arrangements of Mozart's Italian works should be "viewed . . . with contempt or as testaments of their time."¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Jitka Ludvová, *Až k hořkému konci: Pražské německé divadlo, 1845–1945* (Prague: Academia, 2012), 14.

⁹⁹ Ludvová, *Až k hořkému konci*, 15.

¹⁰⁰ Tomislav Volek, "Význam pražské operní tradice pro vznik Mozartovy opery *Don Giovanni*," in *Mozartův Don Giovanni v Praze* (Prague: Divadelní ústav, 1987), 21–92, at 88; Volek, "Mozartovy opery v nastudování Giovanniho Gordigianiho," *Hudební věda* 38 (2001):

Because late twentieth-century Czech scholars considered Mihule's activities important only when they touched on Czech-language theater developments, they largely ignored his German-centered activities in other Czechoslovak cities (Olomouc, Opava, and Košice), where memories of German theaters were also being erased.

The political situation in postwar Czechoslovakia also served to obscure the history of Mihule's *Don Juan*. Aristocratic courts, such as the Liechtenstein and Haugwitz castles, and monasteries, such as Nová Říše, were antithetical to the ideals of the proletarian order of the Communist party. The Haugwitz properties, including the castle in Náměšť, had already been confiscated in 1945 (before the 1948 coup), because the family had claimed German citizenship during the war. The family's musical archive was removed from the Náměšť castle to the Moravian Museum in Brno, and the Haugwitz residence became first a summer home of Czechoslovak president Edvard Beneš and later a luxurious hotel for visiting dignitaries from the Eastern Bloc, including Leonid Brezhnev. Because of the separation of the musical archive from its original environment, the Haugwitz *Don Juan* score has often been referred to as a more or less anonymous "Brno" manuscript.¹⁰¹ Similarly, in 1950 the musical archive of the Nová Říše Premonstratensians was incorporated into the impersonal collection of the Moravian Museum, as the monastery's monks, many of whom had recently returned from Nazi concentration camps, were persecuted by the Communist regime. Even prior to the rise of Communism, the collections from Moravian aristocratic castles and monasteries, including the manuscript materials related to Mihule's *Don Juan*, showed that numerous cities and communities in the region, including Brno, Náměšť, and Valtice, were basically a cultural hinterland of Vienna, a fact that had been inconvenient since 1918 when the Czech-centric country of Czechoslovakia was created and a new kind of centralization refocused the cultural orientation of Moravian cities to Prague.

It was not until the 1990s, after the fall of Communism, that researchers started paying greater attention to German theatrical institutions in Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia. In 1991 German musicologist Manfred Schuler discovered that Mihule's German adaptation of *Così fan tutte* was the basis of the 1791 production at the court theater in Donaueschingen.¹⁰² In 2006 Jakubcová revealed the Nuremberg libretto of Mihule's

439–44, at 439–40; and Michaela Freemanová, "Bohemia in the Early 19th Century: The 'Second Life' of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart," *Hudební věda* 50 (2013): 83–102, at 83.

¹⁰¹ Woodfield, for example, refers to it as "a score in Brno." Woodfield, *The Vienna Don Giovanni*, 128.

¹⁰² Manfred Schuler, "Eine Prager Singspielfassung von Mozarts *Così fan tutte* aus der Zeit des Komponisten," *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1991): 895–901.

Don Juan,¹⁰³ which in turn made it possible to connect Mihule's Prague *Don Juan* to the Wiednertheater production of 1792.¹⁰⁴ It is likely that the relatively recent and unprecedented amount of transnational and trans-regional cooperation in central Europe, facilitated by the European Union, will produce even more details about the adventures of director Mihule, "his" *Don Juan*, and the opera's early dissemination in central Europe. Because of its vast geographical reach and its use in many varied theatrical settings, including commercial, court, urban, and rural theaters, Mihule's adaptation significantly contributes to our understanding of *Don Giovanni*'s early reception. Equally importantly, Mihule's *Don Juan* illustrates the influence that nineteenth- and twentieth-century political and cultural nationalism has had until recently on research about eighteenth-century opera in central Europe.

¹⁰³ Jakubcová, "Die vergessenen Begegnungen."

¹⁰⁴ Oehl was unaware of the Nuremberg copy of the Prague libretto, and therefore he did not even mention Mihule's *Don Juan* in his discussion of the Wiednertheater production. See Oehl, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Mozart-Übersetzungen," 98–103.

Appendix 1. Chronological Overview of the Transmission of Mihule's Don Juan

First Performance	Place	Notes
1790–91	Prague (Patriotic Theater)	Original production of <i>Don Juan</i> ; Mihule's company. Possibly also performed at the Nostitz (Estates) Theater and in Karlsbad/Karlovy Vary.
November 5, 1792	Vienna (Wiednertheater)	An adaptation of Mihule's <i>Don Juan</i> ; Emanuel Schikaneder's company. Author of the adaptation identified as Christian Heinrich Spiess.
November 4, 1794	Brünn/Brno	First <i>Don Juan</i> production in Moravia; Joseph Rothe's company. The production featured Franz Xaver Gerl (Mozart's first Sarastro) as Don Juan.
April 20, 1795	Nuremberg	First <i>Don Juan</i> production in the city; Mihule's company.
September 16, 1795	Dresden	<i>Don Juan</i> , possibly in Mihule's adaptation; Joseph Seconda's company.
January 3, 1796	Leipzig	<i>Don Juan</i> , possibly in Mihule's adaptation; Joseph Seconda's company.
March 28, 1796	Stuttgart	First production of <i>Don Juan</i> at the Stuttgart court theater. Portions of the conducting score use Mihule's text.
October 7, 1796	Prague (Estates Theater)	<i>Don Juan</i> , likely Mihule's adaptation; Karl Franz Guolfinger von Steinsberg's company.
October 29–30, 1797	Náchod	Two performances of <i>Don Juan</i> , possibly in Mihule's adaptation at the court theater of Peter von Biron.

(continued)

Appendix I. (continued)

First Performance	Place	Notes
February 6, 1798	Brünn/Brno	The date and place appear in the Neureisch/Nová Říše score of Mihule's <i>Don Juan</i> —possibly the date when the score was copied.
November 18, 1801	Brünn/Brno	Some <i>Don Juan</i> -related material copied by Gottfried Rieger in Brno for Count Haugwitz in Namiescht/Náměšť. (This was possibly the Haugwitz score of Mihule's <i>Don Juan</i> .)
1806–7	Kaschau/Kassa/Košice	First production of <i>Don Juan</i> in Košice approved; Mihule's company.
November 8, 1807	Prague (Estates Theater)	<i>Don Juan</i> , with portions based on Mihule's adaptation; Johann Carl Liebich's company.
November 25, 1825	Neureisch/Nová Říše	The Nová Říše score of <i>Don Juan</i> was sent to Teltisch/Telč. (It is unclear whether it was performed there.)

Appendix 2. Musical Structure and Incipits of Mihule's Don Juan Compared to Other Early German Adaptations

Italian Original (<i>Neue Mozart-Ausgabe</i>)	1791 Mihule ¹	1789 Schmieder ²	1797 Schröder ³	1798 Lippert ⁴	1801 Rochlitz ⁵	Donebauer German Text ⁶
No. 1 Introduzione <i>Notte e giorno faticar. Sich den Tag umher zu dreh'n.</i>	N. 1. Sich den Tag umher zu dreh'n.	Quartett <i>Keine Ruh bei Tag und Nacht!</i>	No. 1 Quartetto <i>Keine Ruh bei Tag und Nacht!</i>	Quartett <i>Keine Ruh bey Tag und Nacht.</i>	No. 1 <i>Keine Ruh bey Tag und Nacht!</i>	No. 1 Introduzione <i>Keine Ruh bei Tag und Nacht.</i> [combines Mihule and other adaptations]
No. 2 Recitativo [accompagnato e Duetto]	N. 2. Duetto	Recitativ. Duetto	No. 2 Recitativo et Duo	Dialog und Duetto	No. 2 Recitativ. Duetto	No. 2 Recitativo

¹ Based on *Arien aus der Oper Don Juan. oder: Die redende Statue* (Prague: Driesbach, 1791).

² Based on the edition of Schmieder's libretto in Dieckmann, *Don Giovanni deutsch*, 17–78.

³ Based on Neefe's first edition of *Don Giovanni's* vocal score: *Dom Juan oder Der steinerne Gast. Eine Oper in vier Aufzügen. Von W. A. Mozart. In einem neuen, vermehrten, und, nach der Schröterschen Bearbeitung des Textes, verbesserten Clavierauszuge, Von C. G. Neefe* (Bonn: Simrock, 1797).

⁴ Based on the manuscript prompter's libretto used for the 1798 production of the opera at the Imperial Court Theater in Vienna. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus.Hs.32702.

⁵ Based on the first edition of *Don Giovanni's* orchestral score: *Don Juan oder Der steinerne Gast komische Oper in zwey Aufzügen in Musik gesetzt von W. A. Mozart. Mit unterlegtem deutschen Texte nebst sämtlichen von dem Komponisten später eingelegeten Stücken. In Partitur* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1801).

⁶ Prague, Knihovna Pražské konzervatoře, specializovaná knihovna, 1 C 276/1–4. The text in square brackets after each incipit explains the relationship to earlier German translations. If the text is exactly the same as an earlier translation, the note provides only the translator's name, if the text is slightly altered, the relationship is introduced with "based on."

(continued)

Appendix 2. (continued)

Italian Original (Neue Mozart-Ausgabe)		1791 Mihule	1789 Schmieder	1797 Schröder	1798 Lippert	1801 Rochlitz	Donebauer German Text
<i>Ma qual mai s'offre, oh Dei.</i>	<i>Was seh' ich hier.</i>	<i>Ha! welch schreckliches Schauspiel.</i>	<i>Welch ein schreckliches Bild.</i>	<i>Welch ein schreckliches Bild.</i>	<i>Welch ein schreckliches Bild.</i>	<i>Ha! welch schreckliches Schauspiel. [combines Mihule and other adaptations]</i>	
<i>Fuggi, crudele, fuggi!</i>	<i>Grausamer! weiche, weiche!</i>	<i>Entflieh, entflieh, Grausamer!</i>	<i>Weg weg aus meinen Blicken.</i>	<i>Fort! Flieh von meinen Blicken.</i>	<i>Weg, weg aus meinen Blicken.</i>	<i>Grausamer flieh, o fliehe. [combines Mihule and other adaptations]</i>	
No. 3 [Aria]	N. 3. Terzetto	Arie	No. 3 Terzetto	Terzetto	No. 3 Arie	No. 3	
<i>Ah chi mi dice mai.</i>	<i>Ach! wer wird mir nun sagen.</i>	<i>Ach! wer kann mir entdecken.</i>	<i>Wo werd ich ihn entdecken.</i>	<i>Wo werd ich ihn entdecken.</i>	<i>Wo werd' ich ihn entdecken.</i>	<i>Ach wer wird mir wohl sagen. [based on Mihule]</i>	
No. 4 [Aria]	N. 4. Aria	Arie	No. 5 Aria	Arie	No. 4 Aria	No. 4	
<i>Madamina, il catalogo è questo.</i>	<i>Gnädiges Fräulein, hier ist das Register.</i>	<i>Gnädiges Fräulein! Sehn Sie hier das Verzeichnis.</i>	<i>Holdes Fräulein! Sehn Sie hier das Register.</i>	<i>Signorina! Sehn Sie hier das Register.</i>	<i>Schöne Donna! Dieses kleine Register.</i>	<i>Gnädiges Fräulein, hier ist das Register. [based on Mihule]</i>	
No. 5 [Coro]	N. 5. Choro	Wechselgesang	No. 8 Duo et Coro	Chorus	No. 5	Nro. 5 Coro	
<i>Gioviette che fate all'amore.</i>	<i>Hat ein Mädchen sein Liebchen gefunden.</i>	<i>Mädchen für die Liebe gebildet.</i>	<i>O ihr Mädchen zur Liebe geböhren.</i>	<i>O ihr Mädchen zur Liebe geböhren.</i>	<i>Liebe Schwestern, zur Liebe geboren.</i>	<i>Hat ein Mädchen sein Liebchen gefunden. [Mihule]</i>	
No. 6 [Aria]	N. 6. Aria	CUT	No. 9 Aria	CUT	Eingelegtes Stück No. 2	CUT	
<i>Ho capito, signor sì.</i>	<i>Zu viel Güte, gnädiger Herr!</i>		<i>Hab's verstanden, ja mein Herr.</i>		<i>Hab's verstanden! ja mein Herr!</i>		

(continued)

Appendix 2. (continued)

Italian Original (Neue Mozart-Ausgabe)	1791 Milhule	1789 Schmieder	1797 Schröder	1798 Lippert	1801 Rochlitz	Donebauer German Text
No. 7 Duetto	N. 7. Duetto	Duetto	No. 10 Duetтино	Duetto	No. 6 Duett	No. 7 Duetтино
<i>Là ci darem la mano. Lass in mein Haus dich führen.</i>	<i>Lass uns von himmen weichen.</i>	<i>Lass uns von himmen weichen.</i>	<i>Gieb mir die Hand mein Leben.</i>	<i>Reich mir die Hand mein Leben.</i>	<i>Sey ohne Furcht, mein Leben.</i>	<i>Reich mir die Hand mein Leben.</i> [based on Lippert]
No. 8 [Aria]	N. 8. Aria	Arie	No. 11 Aria	CUT	No. 7 Arie	No. 8
<i>Ah fuggi il traditor. O flieh diesen Mann.</i>	<i>O flieh den Bösewicht!</i>	<i>O flieh den Bösewicht!</i>	<i>O flieh den Bösewicht.</i>		<i>Verlohrne, hör' ihn nicht.</i>	<i>O flieh den Bösewicht</i> [based on Schröder]
No. 9 Quartetto	N. 9. Quartetto	Quartetto	No. 6 Quartetto	CUT	No. 8 Quartett	No. 9 Quartetto
<i>Non ti fidar, o misera. Falsch ist sein Herz, und schädlicher.</i>	<i>O traue diesem Bösewicht.</i>	<i>O traue diesem Bösewicht.</i>	<i>O traue des Heuchlers Angesicht.</i>		<i>Fliehe des Schmeichlers glattes Wort.</i>	<i>Falsch ist sein Herz und schauderlich.</i> [Milhule]
No. 10 Recitativo [accompagnato ed Aria]		Duetto	No. 7 Recitativo, Aria		No. 9 Recitativo	No. 10 Recitativo
<i>Don Ottavio, son morta.</i>	CUT	<i>Mein Geliebter!—Ich sterbe!</i>	<i>Mein Geliebter! Ich bebe.</i>	CUT	<i>Welch ein Schicksal! Entsetzlich!</i>	<i>Mein Geliebter! Ach, weh mir.</i> [unknown origin]
<i>Or sai chi l'onore.</i>	N. 10. Aria	<i>Du kennst ihn, der schändlich!</i>	<i>Du kennst den Verräther.</i>	CUT	No. 10 Arie	No. 10
	<i>Dem wehlosen Mädchen.</i>				<i>Du kennst den Verräther.</i>	<i>Du kennst ihn, der's wagte.</i> [unknown origin]

(continued)

Appendix 2. (continued)

Italian Original		Donebauer German				
(<i>Neue Mozart-Ausgabe</i>)	1791 Mihule	1789 Schmieder	1797 Schröder	1798 Lippert	1801 Rochlitz	Text
No. 10a Aria	NOT INCLUDED (1788) ⁷	NOT INCLUDED (1788)	No. 21 Aria <i>Ja ihre Ruhe ist auch die meine.</i>	NOT INCLUDED (1788)	Eingelegtes Stück No. 3 <i>Ein Band der Freundschaft.</i>	N. 10 1/4 <i>Ach, theures Mädchen.</i> [unknown origin]
No. 11 Aria	N. 11. Aria <i>Heute mein Fränzchen.</i>	Arie <i>Sind erst vom Weine.</i>	No. 12 Aria <i>Treibt der Champagner.</i>	Arie <i>Treibt der Champagner.</i>	No. 10 [sic] Arie <i>Öffne die Keller!</i>	Nro. 11 <i>Treibt der Champagner.</i> [Schröder]
No. 12 [Aria]	N. 12. Aria <i>Schlage, lieber Peter, Schell! o schell, lieber Junge!</i>	Arie <i>Schell! o schell, lieber Junge!</i>	No. 13 Aria <i>Schmähle, tobe, lieber Junge!</i>	Arie <i>Schmähle, lieber Junge.</i>	No. 11 Arie <i>Schmähle, lieber Junge!</i>	Nro. 12 <i>Liebchen aller Zank sei ferne.</i> [unknown origin]
No. 13 Finale	Finale <i>Presto presto pria ch ei venga.</i>	Finale <i>Hurtig; hurtig! eh er herkommt.</i>	No. 14 Finale <i>Hurtig eh er's erfahrt.</i>	Finale <i>Hurtig; hurtig, eh er's hört.</i>	No. 12 Finale <i>Hurtig; hurtig! Eh 'er's merket.</i>	Nro. 13 Finale Primo <i>Gutes Herrchen, eh Sie's merken.</i> [based on Mihule]
No. 14 [Duetto]	N. 1. Duetto <i>Sei ruhig, Närchen!</i>	Duetto <i>Hör auf, du Hase.</i>	No. 15 Duetto <i>Gieb dich zufrieden.</i>	Duetto <i>So sey doch zufrieden.</i>	No. 1 Duett <i>Gieb dich zufrieden.</i>	N. 1 <i>Sei ruhig Närchen.</i> [based on Mihule]

⁷ “NOT INCLUDED (1788)” marks portions of *Don Giovanni* that Mozart wrote only for the production in Vienna in 1788, which were rarely included in German performances.

(continued)

Appendix 2. (continued)

Italian Original (<i>Neue Mozart-Ausgabe</i>)	1791 Mihule	1789 Schmieder	1797 Schröder	1798 Lippert	1801 Rochlitz	Donebauer German Text
No. 15 Terzetto	N. 2. Terzetto	Terzetto	No. 16 Terzetto	Terzetto	No. 2 Terzett	Nro. 2 Terzetto
<i>Ah tacì, ingrústo core. Was quäl ich mich so lange!</i>	<i>Verwegnes Herz, o schweige.</i>	<i>O hör auf zu schlagen.</i>	<i>Mein Herz, hör auf zu schlagen.</i>	<i>O Herz, hör' auf zu schlagen.</i>	<i>Was quäl ich mich so lange.</i>	<i>Was quäl ich mich so lange.</i>
No. 16 [Canzonetta]	N. 3. Aria	Arie	No. 17 Aria	Arie	No. 3 Romanze	N. 3 [based on Mihule]
<i>Deh vieni alla finestra. Erscheine liebstes Mädchen!</i>	<i>Lass dich an Fenster sehen.</i>	<i>Horch auf den Klang der Zither.</i>	<i>Horch auf den Klang der Zither.</i>	<i>Horch auf den Klang der Zither.</i>	<i>Erklinge, liebe Zither.</i>	<i>Horch auf den Klang der Zither.</i> [Schröder]
No. 17 [Aria]	N. 4. Aria	Arie	No. 18 Aria	Arie	No. 4 Arie	N. 4
<i>Mela di voi qua vadtano. Ihr dürft auf ihn nicht lauern!</i>	<i>Ihr müsst euch teilen: halb hierher!</i>	<i>Geht heck auf jene Seite.</i>	<i>Ihr geht auf jene Seite.</i>	<i>Ihr geht auf jene Seite hin!</i>	<i>Ihr dürft auf ihn nicht lauern.</i>	<i>Ihr dürft auf ihn nicht lauern.</i> [Mihule]
No. 18 [Aria]	N. 5. Aria	Arie	No. 19 Aria	Arie	No. 5 Arie	Nro. 5
<i>Vedrai carino. Ich weiss es lange.</i>	<i>Wenn du fein fromm bist.</i>	<i>Wenn du fein fromm bist.</i>	<i>Wenn du fein fromm bist.</i>	<i>Aus guten Herzen, heil ich die Schmerzen.</i>	<i>Wenn du fein fromm bist.</i>	<i>Ich weiss es lange.</i> [based on Mihule]
No. 21b [Recitativo ed accompagnato ed Aria]	N. 6. Aria	No. 4 Recitativo et Aria	No. 4 Recitativo et Aria	Eingelegtes Stück No. 1	No. 8 ½ Aria con Recitativo	No. 8 ½ Aria con Recitativo
<i>In quali eccessi, o numi.</i>	NOT INCLUDED (1788)	NOT INCLUDED (1788)	<i>In welches Elend, o Götter.</i>	NOT INCLUDED (1788)	<i>In welchem Dunkel der Sorgen.</i>	<i>In welchem Dunkel der Sorgen.</i> [Rochlitz]
<i>Mi tradi quell'alma ingrata. Unschuld's freuden.</i>	HERZENSRUH' UND UNSCHULDS FREUDEN. NOT INCLUDED (1788)	<i>Mich verräth der Undankbare.</i>	<i>Mich verräth der Undankbare.</i>	NOT INCLUDED (1788)	<i>Mich verlässt der Undankbare.</i>	<i>Mich verlässt der Undankbare.</i> [Rochlitz]

(continued)

Appendix 2. (continued)

Italian Original		Donebauer German	
(Neue Mozart-Ausgabe)		1801 Rochlitz	Text
No. 19 Sestetto	N. 7. Quartetto	No. 6 Sestett	N. 6 Sestetto
<i>Sola sola in buio loco.</i>	<i>Ha! wie wird mir jetzt so bange!</i>	<i>In des Abends stillen Schatten.</i>	<i>Ach, wie ist mir doch so bange.</i> [based on Mihule]
N. 8. Sestetto	<i>Dich sucht' ich eben.</i>		
No. 20 [Aria]	N. 9. Aria	No. 7 Arie	N. 7
<i>Ah, pietà, signori miei.</i>	<i>Geht Pardon, ihr guten Seelen!</i>	<i>Geht Pardon, grossmüthige Seelen!</i>	<i>Geht Pardon, grossmüthige Seelen.</i> [Rochlitz]
No. 21 [Aria]	N. 10. Aria	No. 8 Arie	N. 8
<i>Il mio Tesoro intanto.</i>	<i>Könnst ich den Schmerz dir lindern.</i>	<i>Tränen, vom Freund getrocknet.</i>	<i>Eilt hin wieder zur Theuern.</i> [unknown origin]
No. 21a [Duetto]	NOT INCLUDED (1788)	Eingelegtes Stück No. 4	No. 8 ¾ Duetto
<i>Per queste tue manine.</i>		<i>Ach Schätzchen, lass mich laufen.</i>	<i>Ach Schätzchen, lass mich laufen.</i> [Rochlitz]
No. 22 [Duetto]	N. 11. Duetto vel Terzetto	No. 9 Duetto	N. 9
<i>O statua gentilissima.</i>	<i>Herr Kommandant zu Pferde.</i>	<i>Herr Gouverneur zu Pferde.</i>	<i>O Bild von Marmorsteine.</i> [Schröder]

(continued)

Appendix 2. (continued)

Italian Original (Neue Mozart-Ausgabe)	1791 Mihule	1789 Schmieder	1797 Schröder	1798 Lippert	1801 Rochlitz	Donebauer German Text
No. 23 Recitativo [accompagnato e Rondo]	N. 12. Aria	Recitativ. Arie	No. 26 Recitativo et Rondo	Recitativ und Arie	No. 10 Recitativ. Arie	N. 10 Recitativo
<i>Crudele!</i> — <i>Ah no, mio bene!</i>	<i>Ich grausam? O mein Geliebter!</i>	<i>Ich grausam? O nein, Geliebter!</i>	<i>Ich grausam? O nein, Geliebter!</i>	<i>Schreckliche Nachricht.</i>	<i>Ich grausam? O mein Geliebter!</i>	<i>Ich grausam o mein Geliebter. [Mihule]</i>
<i>Non mi dir, bell'idol mio.</i>	<i>Zweifle nicht, du bleibst mir teuer.</i>	<i>Sage nicht, mein holder Abgott.</i>	<i>Zweifle nicht mein Getreuer.</i>	<i>Zage nicht du mein Getreuer.</i>	<i>Über alles bleibst du teuer.</i>	Rondo <i>Zweifle nicht, du bleibst mir teuer. [based on Mihule]</i>
No. 24 Finale	N. 13. Finale	Finale	No. 27 Finale	Finale	No. 11 Finale	Finale 2.
<i>Già la mensa è preparata.</i>	<i>Schon gedeckt ist meine Tafel.</i>	<i>Schon ist hier der Tisch bereit.</i>	<i>Ha schon winkt das Abendessen.</i>	<i>Ha schon winkt das Abendessen</i>	<i>Fröhlich sei mein Abendessen!</i>	<i>Schon gedeckt ist meine Tafel. [based on Mihule]</i>
Scena ultima						
<i>Ah dove è il perfido.</i>	<i>Wo ist der Schändliche.</i>	<i>Ha! wo ist der Bösewicht.</i>	<i>Ha! Eilt schnell, eilt schnell herbey.</i>	CUT	<i>Wo ist der Schändliche.</i>	<i>Wo ist der Schändliche. [Rochlitz]</i>

Appendix 3. Musical Structure and Incipits of the Nová Ríše and Haugwitz Scores

Italian Original <i>(Neue Mozart-Ausgabe)</i>	Nová Ríše Score	Haugwitz Score
No. 1 Introduzione <i>Nozze e giorno faticar.</i>	No. 1 Introduzione <i>Sieh den Tag umher sich drehn. [sic]</i>	No. 1 Introduction <i>Sich den Tag umher zu drehn.</i>
No. 2 Recitativo [accompagnato e Duetto] <i>Ma qual mai s'offre, oh Dei.</i>	No. 2 Recitativo <i>Was seh ich hier.</i> Duetto <i>Grausamer, weiche, weiche.</i>	No. 2 Recitativo <i>Was seh ich hier.</i> Allegro <i>Grausamer weiche, weiche.</i>
<i>Fuggi, crudele, fuggi!</i>		
No. 3 [Aria] <i>Ah chi mi dice mai.</i>	No. 3 <i>Ach wer wird mir nun sagen.</i>	No. 3 <i>Ach wer wird mir nur sagen.</i>
No. 4 [Aria] <i>Madamina, il catalogo è questo.</i>	No. 4 <i>Gnädiges Fräulein, hier ist das Register.</i>	No. 4 <i>Gnädiges Fräulein, hier ist das Register.</i>
No. 5 [Coro] <i>Giovinette che fate all'amore.</i>	No. 5 <i>Hat ein Mädchen ihr Liebchen gefunden.</i>	No. 5 <i>Hat ein Mädchen sein Liebchen gefunden.</i>
No. 6 [Aria] <i>Ho capito, signor sì.</i>	No. 6 <i>Zu viel Güte gnädiger Herr.</i>	No. 6 <i>Zu viel Güte gnäd'ger Herr.</i>
No. 7 Duetto <i>Là ci darem la mano.</i>	No. 7 <i>Lass in mein Haus dich führen.</i>	No. 7 <i>Lass in mein Haus dich führen.</i>
No. 8 [Aria] <i>Ah fuggi il traditor.</i>	No. 8 <i>O fliche diesen Mann.</i>	No. 8 <i>O fliche diesen Mann.</i>
No. 9 Quartetto <i>Non ti fidar, o misera.</i>	No. 9 <i>Falsch ist sein Herz und schanderlich.</i>	No. 9 <i>Falsch ist sein Herz und schändlich.</i>

(continued)

Appendix 3. (continued)

Italian Original (<i>Neue Mozart-Ausgabe</i>)	Nová Ríše Score	Haugwitz Score
No. 10 Recitativo [accompagnato ed Aria] <i>Don Ottavio, son morta.</i>	NOT INCLUDED No. 10 <i>Dem wehrlosen Mädchen.</i>	NOT INCLUDED CUT (numbered in)
Or sai chi l'onore.	NOT INCLUDED	NOT INCLUDED
No. 10a Aria <i>Dalla sua pace.</i>	NOT INCLUDED	NOT INCLUDED
No. 11 Aria <i>Fin ch'han dal vino.</i>	No. 11 <i>Heute mein Fränzchen.</i>	No. 11 <i>Heute mein Fränzchen.</i>
No. 12 [Aria] <i>Batti, batti, o bel Masetto.</i>	No. 12 <i>Schlage lieber Peter schlage.</i>	No. 12 <i>Schlage lieber Peter schlage.</i>
No. 13 Finale <i>Presto presto pria ch'ei venga.</i>	No. 13 Finale <i>Gutes Herrchen eh Sie's riechen.</i>	No. 13 Finale <i>Gutes Herrchen eh Sie's riechen.</i>
No. 14 [Duetto] <i>Eh via buffone.</i>	CUT (numbered in)	CUT (numbered in)
No. 15 Terzetto <i>Ah taci, ingiusto core.</i>	[No. 2] <i>Was quäl ich mich so lange!</i>	No. 2 <i>Was quäl ich mich so lange.</i>
No. 16 [Canzonetta] <i>Deh vieni alla finestra.</i>	No. 3 <i>Erscheine liebstes Mädchen.</i>	No. 3 <i>Erscheine liebstes Mädchen.</i>
No. 17 [Aria] <i>Metà di voi qua vadano.</i>	No. 4 <i>Ihr dürft auf ihn nicht lauern.</i>	No. 4 <i>Ihr dürft auf ihn nicht lauern.</i>
No. 18 [Aria] <i>Vedrai carino.</i>	No. 5 <i>Ich weiss es lange.</i>	NOT INCLUDED

(continued)

Appendix 3. (continued)

Italian Original (<i>Neue Mozart-Ausgabe</i>)	Nová Ríše Score	Haugwitz Score
No. 21b [Recitativo accompagnato ed Aria] <i>In quali eccessi, o numi. Mi tradì quell'anima ingrata.</i>	NOT INCLUDED NOT INCLUDED	NOT INCLUDED NOT INCLUDED
No. 19 Sestetto <i>Sola sola in buio loco.</i>	No. 6 <i>Ach wie wird mir so bange.</i>	No. 5 <i>Ach wie wird mir so bange.</i>
No. 20 [Aria] <i>Ah, pietà, signori miei.</i>	No. 7 <i>Gebt Pardon ihr guten Seelen.</i>	No. 6 <i>Gebt Pardon ihr guten Seelen.</i>
No. 21 [Aria] <i>Il mio tesoro intanto.</i>	No. 8 <i>Könnt ich den Schmerz dir lindern.</i>	No. 7 <i>Könnt ich den Schmerz dir lindern.</i>
No. 21a [Duetto] <i>Per queste tue manine. Di rider finirai Ribaldo audace</i>	NOT INCLUDED <i>Du Bösewicht wirst bald. Du boshafter Freuler.</i>	NOT INCLUDED <i>Du Bösewicht wirst bald. Du boshafter Freuler.</i>
No. 22 [Duetto] <i>O statua gentilissima.</i>	No. 9 <i>Herr Kommandant zu Pferde.</i>	No. 8 <i>Herr Kommandant zu Pferde.</i>
No. 23 Recitativo [accompagnato e Rondo] <i>Crudale!—Ah no, mio bene!</i>	No. 10 <i>Mein Vater, geliebter Vater. Zweifle nicht du bleibst mir teuer.</i>	No. 9 <i>Ach Grausam ach mein Geliebter. Rondo Zweifle nicht du bleibst mir Theuer.</i>
<i>Non mi dir, bell'ïdol mio.</i>	No. 11 <i>Schon gedeckt ist meine Tafel.</i>	No. 10 Finale 2do <i>Schon gedeckt ist meine Tafel.</i>
No. 24 Finale <i>Già la mensa è preparata. Scena ultima Ah dove è il perfido.</i>	<i>Wo ist der schändlicher.</i>	<i>Wo ist er schändlicher.</i>

Appendix 4. Documented Italian and German Performances of Don Giovanni in and around Prague, 1787–1807

Date	Language	Source	Comments
10/29/1787	Italian	Review (dated November 1) published in the <i>Prager Oberpostamtszeitung</i> on November 3	Premiere performance
11/3/1787	Italian	Mozart's letter to Gottfried von Jacquin (started on November 4)	Fourth performance (Mozart's benefit)
11/30/1787	Italian	Poster, now lost, from the archive of Prague's National Theater transcribed in Rudolph Procházka, <i>Mozart in Prag</i> (Prague: Dominicus, 1892), 119–20	Guardasoni
9/23/1788	Italian	The oldest surviving poster, reprinted in <i>Mozart's Don Giovanni: Exhibition to Mark the 200th Anniversary of the World Premiere in Prague, 1787–1978</i> , ed. Tomislav Volek and Jiřenka Pešková (Prague: Státní knihovna ČR, 1987), 112	Guardasoni
1790–91	German	Gotha <i>Theater-Kalender auf das Jahr 1792</i>	Mihule's production at the Patriotic Theater
9/2/1791	Italian	Alexander von Kleist, <i>Fantastien auf einer Reise nach Prag</i> (Leipzig and Dresden: Richter, 1792), 90–91	Guardasoni; Mozart conducts in front of the imperial court
1793	Italian	Gotha <i>Theater-Kalender auf das Jahr 1794</i>	Performed during Guardasoni's summer season in Leipzig; therefore likely performed also in Prague
11/8/1794	Italian	<i>Allgemeines europäisches Journal (Aef)</i> ; poster in the Strahov Library	Guardasoni
11/15/1794	Italian	<i>Aef</i> and a Strahov poster	Guardasoni
12/17/1794	Italian	<i>Aef</i> and a Strahov poster	Guardasoni
1/23/1796	Italian	<i>Aef</i>	Guardasoni
1/25/1796	Italian	<i>Aef</i>	Guardasoni

(continued)

Appendix 4. (continued)

Date	Language	Source	Comments
2/10/1796	Italian	<i>AeJ</i>	Guardasoni
2/17/1796	Italian	<i>AeJ</i>	Guardasoni
3/30/1796	Italian	<i>AeJ</i>	Guardasoni
4/11/1796	Italian	<i>AeJ</i>	Guardasoni
5/7/1796	Italian	<i>AeJ</i>	Guardasoni
5/25/1796	Italian	<i>AeJ</i>	Guardasoni
9/9/1796	Italian	<i>AeJ</i>	Guardasoni
10/7/1796	German	<i>AeJ</i> and Brno journal <i>Allgemeine deutsche Theaterzeitung</i> (<i>AdT</i>)	Steinsberg
10/9/1796	German	<i>AeJ</i>	Steinsberg
10/24/1796	Italian	<i>AeJ</i>	Guardasoni
10/30/1796	German	<i>AeJ</i> and <i>AdT</i>	Steinsberg
11/21/1796	Italian	<i>AeJ</i>	Guardasoni
12/19/1796	Italian	<i>AeJ</i>	Guardasoni
3/22/1797	Italian	<i>AeJ</i>	Guardasoni, only Act 1 performed
3/27/1797	Italian	<i>AeJ</i>	Guardasoni, only Act 2 performed
5/18/1797	German	<i>AeJ</i> and <i>AdT</i>	Steinsberg (Arnoldi's benefit)
5/21/1797	German	<i>AeJ</i>	Steinsberg
6/13/1797	German	<i>AeJ</i>	Steinsberg
9/3/1797	Unclear	<i>AeJ</i>	Unclear

(continued)

Appendix 4. (continued)

Date	Language	Source	Comments
9/23/1797	Italian	<i>AeJ</i>	Guardasoni
10/2/1797	Italian	<i>AeJ</i>	Guardasoni
10/14/1797	Italian	<i>AeJ</i>	Guardasoni
11/8/1797	Italian	<i>AeJ</i>	Guardasoni
2/5/1798	Italian	<i>AeJ</i>	Guardasoni
2/24/1798	Italian	<i>AeJ</i>	Guardasoni
3/17/1798	Italian	<i>AeJ</i>	Guardasoni
6/23/1798	German	<i>AeJ</i>	Steinsberg in Karlsbad
6/29/1798	German	<i>AeJ</i>	Steinsberg in Karlsbad
1/2/1799	Italian	Pressburg journal <i>Allgemeine deutsche Theater-Zeitung</i> (<i>AdTZ</i>)	Guardasoni
1/14/1799	Italian	<i>AdTZ</i>	Guardasoni
2/25/1799	Italian	<i>AdTZ</i>	Guardasoni
2/11/1801	Italian	Poster preserved in the National Museum and reprinted in <i>Mozart's Don Giovanni</i> , 119	Guardasoni
11/8/1807	German	<i>Prager Theater-Almanach auf das Jahr 1809 (A-1809)</i>	New production by Liebich
11/10/1807	German	<i>A-1809</i>	Liebich
11/14/1807	German	<i>A-1809</i>	Liebich
11/29/1807	German	<i>A-1809</i>	Liebich
12/6/1807	German	<i>A-1809</i>	Liebich
12/7/1807	German	<i>A-1809</i>	Liebich
12/27/1807	German	<i>A-1809</i>	Liebich

ABSTRACT

This article traces the previously overlooked transmission of a German Singspiel adaptation of Mozart's *Don Giovanni* in central Europe in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Titled *Don Juan, oder Die redende Statue*, the adaptation originated with the troupe of Wenzel Mihule at the Patriotic Theater in Prague in the early 1790s and, initially at least, took fewer liberties with the opera than other German reworkings, possibly because it was created in an environment sensitive to Mozart's Italian original. The adaptation was picked up by Emauel Schikaneder's company in Vienna, by companies across Moravia, and by Joseph Seconda's troupe in Leipzig and Dresden, and it traveled with Mihule from Prague to southern Germany and Slovakia. Newly discovered archival documents associated with Mihule's *Don Juan* shed light on the early German-language history of *Don Giovanni*, illustrating, in particular, its reception outside of large urban centers—in smaller towns, aristocratic palaces, and a monastery. This article argues, moreover, that the lack of scholarly attention to the adaptation is to a large extent connected to national politics in central Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, specifically to Czech-German ethnic tensions and conflicts.

Keywords: *Don Giovanni*, Prague, Mihule, Singspiel, reception, nationalism