MOZART’S OPERAS
I. SACRIFICE DRAMAS
When the score of *Idomeneo* first appeared in print in 1806, the composer-critic Johann Friedrich Reichardt proclaimed it “the purest art work that even our Mozart ever completed.”¹ The ideal of purity was linked in the minds of that time with ancient Greek tragedy, which *Idomeneo* revived, in its own way, through the alchemy of Italian opera. It fell, moreover, into a specific kind of tragedy that stretched all the way back to antiquity: the sacrifice drama. Human sacrifice remained an obsessive theme with the ancient Greeks even during Hellenic times, when they were busy reinterpreting the old heroic sagas handed down to them. Murder of one’s own kin represented the strongest dramatic stuff of all. It permeated the tragedies dealing with the house of Atreus, which had a history of violent conflicts going back several generations before Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, the parents of Electra, Iphigenia, and Orestes.

Euripides shaped the sacrifice drama more than anyone else with his two plays on the Iphigenia legend. *Iphigenia in Aulis* (performed in 405 B.C.) interprets the story of King Agamemnon, becalmed in northern Greece with his fleet, having made the dire promise to sacrifice his daughter if only the gods would grant favorable winds and propel his armies to Troy. Iphigenia, like Ili in *Idomeneo*, offers herself as a willing victim in what she believes to be a just cause—the common good. Before going to her death, she exhorts the chorus to dance around the temple and the altar. In another ending to the play, just as the high priest delivers the fatal blow, a mountain hind miraculously replaces Iphigenia, who is carried off to Tauris in Scythia by the goddess Diana. *Iphigenia in Tauris* works on the bitter

---

irony that, as high priestess of Diana in a barbarian kingdom, Iphigenia is forced to perform human sacrifices. Fifteen years have passed since Aulis. The Trojan War is over, and the “victors” return with their spoils to gruesome homecomings. Clytemnestra murders Agamemnon and is killed in her turn by Orestes, in league with Electra. Orestes, pursued by the Furies, lands with his friend Pylades at Tauris. Brought to the sacrificial altar, they dispute who will give his life for the other, but of course it is Orestes who must come under the knife of his sister, so that the ultimate degree of pathos may be extracted from the situation. Athena finally restrains Thoas, the Scythian king, allowing all the Greeks to set sail for home. Both Iphigenia plays have their parallels with Idomeneo, and both contributed to the tradition out of which Varesco and Mozart fashioned their “heroic drama” of 1781.

Racine began the modern tradition of sacrifice drama with his much admired Iphigénie en Aulide of 1674. Combining Euripides with the conventions of French classical plays, this work adopts still a third ending, in which another girl, Eriphile, snatches the sword from the high priest and immolates herself in place of her rival, Iphigenia. The playwright Crébillon, searching to find a subject that would allow him to imitate Racine, but not too closely, chose the legend of Idomeneo. In his tragedy Idoménée (1703), he took much from Fénelon’s brilliant novel Télémaque (1699), which recounts the legend in a version where Idomeneo stabs and kills his son, Idamante. Yet for his ending, Crébillon followed Racine: Idamante snatches the sacrificial sword from his father and kills himself.

New plays often suggested new operas, and it was so in this case. The Paris Opéra, having put on a successful Iphigénie en Tauride in 1711 (a collaborative effort involving the composer André Campra), commissioned the poet Antoine Danchet to write an Idoménée for the following year, to be set to music by Campra. This work was also successful. Danchet’s dark and brooding poem became the direct model for Varesco’s libretto. In it Idomeneo is a persecuted, disconsolate figure who suffers mightily for his rash vow; ultimately he kills his son, then tries to kill himself. French opera specialized in orchestral storms, and Danchet capitalized on nature in turmoil as an outer metaphor for the turmoil within the characters. It was his idea to have an offstage chorus of shipwrecked mariners as the fleet from Troy bearing Idomeneo tries to land. Bringing Electra to Crete as another desolate survivor of the postwar horrors also appears to have been his invention. It was a masterly stroke, for she personified the woes of the house of Atreus. Indeed, she was a walking symbol of the opera’s central issue—the killing of kin that weighs so heavily on both Electra and Idomeneo.

Electra too, like her brother Orestes, is pursued by the Furies, who wreaked vengeance on parricides and tormented them with hissing serpents. Minoan art becomes suggestive here. The snake goddesses of 1600 B.C. remind us of the ancient, ritual significance of serpents. The fresco of three ladies with serpentine hair of 1700 B.C. bears on another point concerning Mozart’s Electra, who, in her magnificent final aria, asks the horned vipers and serpents to tear open her heart (“Squarciatemi il core, Ceraste, serpenti”). Varesco found these hideous images in
Dante’s *Inferno*, where the Furies are described as having manes of little serpents and horned vipers (“Serpentelli e cerate avien per crine”).2

Italian opera began to profit from Racine’s *Iphigénie en Aulide* in the early eighteenth century. Zeno made a libretto from it, a typical aria opera with several pairs of lovers and little flavor of antiquity. This was set to music by a number of composers, beginning with Caldara for Vienna in 1718. A more serious preoccupation with the Iphigenia legend awaited the mid-century, when it caught the fancy of rulers, creative artists, and critics in several centers. At Berlin, under the close supervision of Frederick II, who gave his Italian librettists French prose scenarios to work with, Racine’s *Iphigénie en Aulide* was made into an opera by Villati, set to music by Carl Heinrich Graun, and brought to the stage in 1748. Forward-looking features of the score included the large amount of orchestrally accompanied recitative, the dispensing with *da capo* repetitions in some arias, several choruses, and the use of a lugubrious processional march when Iphigenia, robed and adorned for the sacrifice, is led in. The last feature was copied in the *Ifigenia in Aulide* that Mattia Verazi and Nicolò Jommelli wrote for Rome in 1751. The Berlin critic Christian Gottfried Krause dedicated his essay on poetry for music to Graun in 1752 and proclaimed Graun’s *Ifigenia* a model for modern librettists and composers to follow. Krause admired Sophocles and Euripides, but he did not believe that the horrors of Greek tragedy could be shown on the stage without offending modern sensibilities. There must be a happy outcome, he opined. Yet the antique chorus could and should be revived. He imagined an example related to the sacrifice of Iphigenia in theme:

Would it not produce the most touching effect if Jephthah were about to discharge his oath standing in the middle of the stage, surrounded by a large chorus, with murmuring thunder threatening God’s punishment were he to fail his duty. In such a way could the antique chorus be imitated. The French do it very often, and staff their choruses with an unusually strong number of voices.3

Another consequence of the Berlin *Ifigenia* was that King Frederick commissioned a painting of the moment of sacrifice from the French royal painter, Carle Vanloo, which became the subject of intense critical debate when it was completed in 1757.4

---


Francesco Algarotti was another witness to the success of the Berlin Ifigenia. Back in his native Venice in 1753, he wrote the influential and oft-translated treatise Saggio sopra l’opera in musica (1755). To it he appended, as an illustration of his precepts, a French libretto for an Ifigenie en Aulide that draws close to Euripides in its starkness but still relies on Racine. It ends as Diana descends from the clouds, snatches Iphigenia, and leaves a hind in her place. Tiepolo depicts this version in the greatest of all paintings dedicated to the sacrifice of Iphigenia, which was executed in 1757, following the artist’s return to Venice. In the very same year, Diderot was propounding Racine’s play as the perfect vehicle for a reform of French opera, a reform that Gluck eventually brought to pass with Ifigenie en Aulide for Paris in 1774. Meanwhile, Parisian dramatists and critics were exploring the possibilities of some related sacrifice dramas.

Guymond de la Touche startled patrons of the Comédie Française in 1757 with an Ifigenie en Tauride very close to that of Euripides. Racine had left an outline for treating the story, to which he added the typical galant intrigues, but he did not complete the play. Guymond restricted the characters to only four: Iphigenia, Orestes, Pylades, and the barbarian Thoas. There is no “love interest.” Nothing detracts from the primal tensions between the principals. Diderot and Grimm found much to admire in the force and passion of the situations in the new play, although they did not allow it the exalted level of Euripides for drama or Racine for language. Its operatic consequences were, ultimately, Gluck’s masterpiece for Paris in 1779 but, more immediately, the genial opera of a young Italian composer who served as an inspiration to Gluck. Tommaso Traetta got his start in serious opera by rewriting several arias in Jommelli’s Ifigenia in Aulide for the Roman revival of 1753. As would be the case later with Gluck, one Iphigenia opera led to another. Durazzo, the impresario at the court of Vienna from 1754 to 1764, saw the operatic possibilities in Guymond’s play and had it transformed into a libretto by Coltellini for Traetta. The result reached the stages of Schönbrunn Palace and the Burgtheater in 1763. The tragic grandeur and pathos of the choruses in this Ifigenia in Tauride, especially the one during which Orestes is conducted into the temple as the sacrificial victim, make it an important milestone on the path leading not only to Gluck’s Iphigenia operas, but also to Idomeneo.

Flurries of interest in the Iphigenia dramas tended to beget interest in the related theme represented by Idomeneo and his oath. Five years after the Roman Ifigenia

---

6. This work is reproduced and discussed at length by Michael Levey, Giam Battista Tiepolo: His Life and Art (New Haven, 1986), pp. 230–32.
7. Denis Diderot, Entretiens sur “Le fili naturel” (Paris, 1757). The section on opera comes at the very end.
in Aulide by Jommelli, the same theater saw an Idomeneo set to music by Baldassare Galuppi, the leading Venetian composer. Little is known about this opera, and the librettist has yet to be identified, but the score does survive and represents an important advance in dramatic continuity within the composer’s serious operas. Paris saw a new play, Idomenée by Lemierre, in 1764. It does not seem to have had operatic consequences, but it provoked some telling commentary by Friedrich Melchior von Grimm, a leading opera critic since he arrived in Paris in 1749, and a man on close personal terms with Mozart:

Our plays are too full of speeches, and the Idomeneo subject is not apt for them. In it everything should be passion and movement. The subject of Jephthah, which is fundamentally the same, has the advantage over Idomeneo of presenting as a victim a devoted girl, which makes the theme more touching. Both subjects are more suitable for opera than for spoken tragedy. They are susceptible of interesting spectacle and a great number of strong and pathetic situations that welcome musical setting.10

Mozart may never have seen the Correspondance littéraire in which this review appeared, but that is in a sense irrelevant; he saw the author of this strong and well-taken position about the operatic nature of sacrifice drama, and even stayed with him in the summer of 1778, when he was searching widely through French dramatic literature for a suitable tragic subject. He wrote to his father that he thought the older French tragedies were better than the newer ones, an opinion that could be taken as a commentary on the qualitative difference between a work like Danchet’s Idomène and that of Lemierre. Certainly he must have discussed such matters with Grimm. Who better than Grimm could advise him on selecting a subject? If, as has been proposed,11 it was Mozart himself who selected Idomène by Danchet and brought it back with him from Paris, then got Munich to accept the choice, it may well have been the canny Grimm who put him on this track.

The “passion and movement” that Grimm found so lacking in Lemierre’s treatment of the Idomeneo legend was not absent from the work of the greatest French visual artists of the time. François Boucher, another royal painter, included a furiously agitated, imperious Neptune in his Recueil de fontaines, engraved by Aveline (Fig. 1). These fountains were never intended to become real fountains, thus allowing Boucher all the more scope to show the elemental power of the sea god, ruler with his trident over winds and waves and all the creatures of the marine world. Fragonard, Boucher’s greatest disciple, left among his many wash drawings one of an ancient sacrifice showing a swirling figure holding a trident—Neptune—to

10. “Nos pièces sont trop pleines de discours, et le sujet d’Idoménée n’en est pas susceptible: tout y doit être passion et mouvement. Le sujet de Jephté, qui est le même dans le fond, a sur celui d’Idoménée l’avantage de présenter pour victim dévouée une fille, ce qui rend le fond plus touchant. L’un et l’autre de ces sujets sont plus faits pour l’opéra que pour la tragédie. Ils sont susceptibles d’un spectacle très intéressant et d’un grand nombre de situations fortes et pathétiques et favorables à la musique”, Grimm, Correspondance littéraire 5: 462 (1 March 1764).
whom the hooded high priest raises his eyes while the sacrificial victim next to the altar flings her arms aloft. The artist conveys well the awesome moment of decision between life and death, and a suggestion of temple columns at the right enhances the solemn rapture of all the figures.

Sacrifice drama, defined in terms of passion and movement, reached its highest fulfillment in opera with the two Iphigenia dramas by Gluck and Mozart’s Idomeneo. In Iphigénie en Aulide, Gluck made concessions to the Parisian mania for inserted ballets. Grimm, a staunch advocate of Italian opera, decried the result. Yet the work was not as bereft of vocal opportunities for the principal singers as Algarotti’s schematic treatment of the same subject, where words and music are kept to a bare minimum and the emphasis is on pantomime, dance, and spectacle. Gluck was unhappy that the opera had to end with a long multipartite chaconne in the French manner (exactly like Idomeneo). After the premiere he swore he would write no more ballet music and thenceforth his operas would end with sung words, as in

the great Italian tradition. *Iphigénie en Tauride* offered fewer, but better integrated, opportunities for ballets, with its barbaric Scythians on the one hand and its temple scenes on the other. Gluck took advantage of both, musically differentiating the wild abandon of the first in choruses and dances from the solemn, processional strains of the priestesses. He also came closer to the Italian ideal by writing real arias for the four principals. Yet not even a dictatorial figure like Gluck could prevail altogether over Parisian habits: onto his sung conclusion the Opéra tacked Gossec’s ballet of *Les Scythes enchainés*. Still, the integration of drama and music throughout the work converted even an Italophile like Grimm, who declared: “it may not be melodious, but perhaps it is something better: hearing it makes me forget that I am at the opera and lets me believe that I am at a Greek tragedy.”

Had he had the opportunity to witness *Idomeneo* two years later, he would have seen his prophecy with regard to sacrifice drama fulfilled, and recognized more of his kind of melodiousness in it as well.

*Idomeneo* matches Gluck’s second Iphigenia opera in its balance between choraltactical spectacle and personal drama. Its ten arias (after cuts made just before the premiere) correspond roughly to the number in *Iphigénie en Tauride*. Ballets do not play so large a part in *Idomeneo* as they do in *Iphigénie en Aulide*, but they were much more important than present-day audiences are apt to realize. Besides the great chaconne at the end (which bears some direct thematic resemblances to Gluck’s), there were choreographed sequences in each of the three acts. The march for the disembarkation (No. 8) close to the end of act 1 leads to the five-part *ciacona* (No. 9), in which Neptune’s praises are sung in terms of marine lore—imagery that cries out for simultaneous visual realization in dance. The same is true with the end of act 2, from the march of embarkation (No. 14) and the sea idyll that follows it (No. 15) to the ultimate pantomimes of terror and fleeing, which are spelled out in the original libretto. The third and last march, that of the priests (No. 25)—an afterthought of Mozart’s in imitation of Gluck—opens the scene in Neptune’s temple, where all movement should be highly stylized and awe-inspiring.

The last act of *Idomeneo* stunned original audiences by its intensity, and it poses great challenges even today. Here Mozart threw himself most personally into the work, putting himself more than anywhere else into competition with Gluck. Only Mozart could have suggested all the departures from Danchet, amounting to no fewer than eight new dramatic situations of a kind in which Gluck had triumphed. The case is so clear, and so extraordinary, as to make one wonder whether Mozart did not consider confronting Gluck outright, by writing an Iphigenia opera. In the event, he drew freely in terms of both drama and music from both of Gluck’s Iphigenia operas.

---


14. This is demonstrated below in Chapter 2, “The Genesis of *Idomeneo*.”
The final ballet is only the most obvious musical link. In *Iphigénie en Aulis*, Gluck used the solo oboe in such a fashion that it became a kind of timbral leitmotif for the sacrificial victim. Mozart does the same by providing poignant held tones on the solo oboe above the progressions when Idomeneo, just before the immensely powerful sacrifice chorus “O voto tremendo” (No. 24), confesses that the victim is Idamante. Here Mozart fuses the “Idamante motif” with a minor second idea, which we shall call the “dual motif” (it is sung using this word in No. 10a, m. 50). The fusion of these motifs is so crucial he used it to form the ending of the overture (Ex. 1.1A–B). In the chorus, the way the bass line winds around the main tone with dissonant upper and lower neighbor tones is distinctly Gluckian (cf. the opening chorus of *Alceste*, Paris version).

Perhaps the finest music in *Iphigénie en Aulis* comes after Diana relents; the four principals utter little cries, calling out one another’s names, and then sing a quartet of breathless wonderment, “Mon coeur ne saurait contenir l’excès de mon bonheur extrême” (“My heart cannot contain the excess of my delirious happiness”). Mozart used the same hesitant stammering of called names after the voice of Neptune’s oracle is heard (No. 28), releasing the king from his vow. Originally another quartet was to have come next, just as in Gluck and surely in direct response to Gluck’s quartet, but it was cut because Raaff wanted a final aria instead for his role as Idomeneo and because Mozart realized that the text of act 3 was already too long. As to Mozart’s music for “La voce” (No. 28), Gluck was again the model, especially the Oracle’s pronouncement at the beginning of *Alceste*.

Why, it may be asked, did these sacrifice dramas seize the eighteenth-century imagination to the extent they did, whether on the spoken or the lyric stage? The same year that Gluck was creating his *Iphigénie en Tauride*, Goethe began writing his intensely moving play *Iphigenie auf Tauris*, after Euripides. We have seen several examples of similar coincidences between spoken and lyric dramas. On the surface, human sacrifice, or even the threat of it, would seem to be as remote from the ideals of the Enlightenment as were religious miracles.

Goethe’s *Iphigenie* offers some clues as to a possible explanation. In it, Thoas is humanized and shown in an almost sympathetic light, while the self-proclaimed racial superiority of the Greeks is brought into question. Moreover, Goethe’s play

---

15. This most intense part of the opera, including the great quartet, probably stimulated the enthusiastic commentary by Johannes Brahms when he came to know the work from the first complete edition: “Look at *Idomeneo*! In general a miracle and full of freshness, because Mozart at that time was quite young and audacious! What beautiful dissonances, what harmony!” And further: “Dissonances, real dissonances, you will find used much less in Beethoven than in Mozart. Just consider *Idomeneo!*” (Richard Heuberger, *Erinnerungen an Johannes Brahms: Tagebuchnotizen aus den Jahren 1877–97*, ed. K. Hoffmann [Tübingen, 1971], p. 93; cited after Imogen Fellinger, “Brahms’s View of Mozart,” in *Brahms: Biographical, Documentary, and Analytical Studies*, ed. Robert Pascall [Cambridge, 1983], pp. 44–96).

16. W. Daniel Wilson (*Humanität und Kreuzzugsideologie um 1780: Die “Türkenoper” im 18. Jahrhundert und das Rettungsmotiv in Wieland’s “Oberon,” Lessing’s “Nathan” und Goethes* *Iphigenie* [New York, 1984], p. 111) argues that Goethe derived his figure of the magnanimous tyrant Thoas not from any earlier version of the Iphigenia subject, but from the tradition of Turkish rescue operas. Thus he forges a link between sacrifice dramas and Mozart’s next opera, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*. 

8 SACRIFICCE DRAMAS
provides a bridge to philosophical and theological issues hotly debated during the Enlightenment, in which it was asked whether man was bound to obey seemingly senseless divine commands. The sacrifice of Isaac demanded by God of Abraham occupied the foreground of such debates, but the parallel sacrifices required by the gods of pagan antiquity were never far removed. One way out of the dilemma, adopted by Immanuel Kant among others, was to question whether God actually ordered Abraham to kill his son at all. There must be some fault in the transmission of the legend, argued Kant, some corruption that had crept in over the centuries. In other words, and in short: blame the priests. Voltaire had trod this same path before Kant and had made explicit his horror of murder committed on ostensibly religious grounds, which he decried as the most heinous of all crimes in plays such as Oedipe (1718) and Oreste (1750). Grimm, Voltaire's disciple in this as in so many other matters, put his finger precisely on what it was about sacrifice drama that fascinated, and at the same time repulsed, enlightened eighteenth-century viewers: "What I want to see painted in the tragedy of Idomeneo is that dark spirit of uncertainty, of fluctuation, of sinister interpretations, of disquiet and of anguish, that torments the people and from which profits the priest." 

Grimm's vision represents a tenuous link between Goethe's Iphigenie and Mozart's Idomeneo. Goethe is known to have read the Correspondance littéraire with great interest, and one of his most astute critics does not shrink from suggesting Grimm's essay as the possible stimulation leading the playwright to choose a sacrifice theme. From Grimm in person, as we have already suggested, may have come the idea of setting the Idomeneo legend to music. Whatever the source of the choice, Grimm's words should be borne in mind, especially by future producers of the opera, at the moment of the drama when Mozart writes entrance music for the priests, a lugubrious Largo in A-flat (No. 23, mm. 8–9), placing the strings in a very low position, doubled by the bassoons (which are church instruments, to be sure, like the trombones in No. 28). Compare the similar Largo in A-flat (No. 27) when Idamante makes his final entrance, robed and garlanded for his immolation at the altar and surrounded by guards and priests. Grimm's words should be borne in mind, too, as the high priest paints a horrid picture of Crete's desolation and urges King Idomeneo to carry out his sacred duty (No. 23). The ominous unison trills, repeated on various steps to the point of obsession, tell us pretty plainly what Mozart thought of this particular high priest and how we are to respond to the "holy" crime he exhorts. They also tell us how much Mozart admired the exhortation of the high priest at the beginning of Gluck's Alceste.

17. Woldemar Rasch, Goethe's "Iphigenie auf Tauris" als Drama der Autonomie (Munich, 1979), pp. 52–53. I am indebted to my colleague W. Daniel Wilson, Professor of German, for calling attention to Rasch's eye-opening study.
18. Ibid., pp. 74, 81.
19. "C'est donc cet esprit sombre d'incertitude, de fluctuation, d'interprétations sinistres, d'inquiétude et d’angoisse qui tourmente le peuple et dont profite le prêtre, qu'il fallait peindre dans la tragédie d'Idoménée"; Grimm, Correspondance littéraire 5:461.
20. Rasch, Goethe's "Iphigenie," p. 84.
Andante

No. 24 Coro
Adagio

Sve-par il genitore il proprio figlio.