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University of Southampton

Faculty of Arts and Humanities

Department of Music

***Singspiel as Practice: Italian Opera in German Translation
1783-1800***

by

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Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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University of Southampton

Abstract

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Department of Music

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Singspiel as Practice: Italian Opera in German Translation

1783-1800

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Anisha Netto

This thesis examines the circulation and reception of Italian operas in German translation in the late eighteenth century (c.1783-1800) and investigates their role in the development of German opera in the early nineteenth century. To this end, I frame my narrative within the concept of cultural transfer to highlight how mediators and agents across the German-speaking lands enabled a gradual diffusion of boundaries between the North German and Viennese *Singspiel* by the turn of the century.

In the first chapter, I use a hub-and-spoke model of transmission centred on Vienna to substantiate the role played by Vienna in the circulation of Italian opera in the late eighteenth century and frame these trajectories as 'operatic conversations' between Vienna and Pressburg to its east as well as Bonn and Hamburg to its north. In the second chapter, I focus on Vienna, investigating German translations of popular Italian operas in the background of the rivalry between the *Nationaltheater* and suburban theatres. I then explore the institution of *Adelstheater* using the example of the Erdódy theatre in Pressburg (1785-1789) and the links between its repertory of German-language works and Vienna. I further investigate this connection in the fourth chapter using two libretti from the Erdódy theatre and show the impact of printed scores in the establishment of an accepted version of a work using the example of Sarti's *Giulio Sabino*. In the case of Salieri's *Axur, Re d'Ormus*, I establish that the Pressburg translation, hitherto not known to have been circulated beyond Pressburg and Pest, was integrated into the 1797 Vienna production alongside the more well-established North German translation by Heinrich Gottlieb Schmieder.

In the fifth and final chapter, I summarise the role of Viennese repertories in the Bonn and Hamburg *Spielpläne* and illustrate how the growing popularity of piano reduction scores of Italian operas with bilingual text helped established an accepted translation and aided widespread domestic consumption of these works. In summary, my thesis contributes to scholarship on late eighteenth-century Italian opera and *Singspiel* by examining the circulation of Italian operas in German translation, highlighting various networks of transmission and establishing their role in the development of early nineteenth-century German opera.

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Datasheet 2: Performance calendar of the Erdődy theatre in Pressburg, 1785-1787

Datasheet 3: Repertory of the Kumpf troupe at the Erdődy theatre, 1785-1789

Datasheet 4: Performance calendar of the Kumpf troupe at Pest, 1789

These files can be consulted at: [<https://doi.org/10.5258/SOTON/D2838>]

Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

I, Anisha Netto, declare that this thesis, "*Singspiel* as Practice: Italian opera in German translation 1783-1800" and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission.

Signature: Anisha Netto

Date: 20 October 2023

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Before my first official supervisory meeting with Professor Everist in September 2018, I prepared a Gantt chart showing milestones towards completing my Ph.D. in precisely three years. In the unadulterated enthusiasm and naiveté of my mid-twenties, I suppose I forgot to factor in life. In my defence, I did not have mystic powers to predict bereavements and a pandemic. I lost my grandmother, Chandra Ramakrishnan in 2019, and I know that both she and my grandfather, the late Professor T.S. Ramakrishnan, who both so patiently taught me my first alphabets and numbers, would have been extremely proud to see me complete this work. In the end, it has taken me almost five years to the day I started my Ph.D. to finish it. I have had consistent joy and exhilaration as well as occasional moments of intense frustration in pursuing this research and putting together various little pieces of a jigsaw puzzle.

My original acknowledgements page was a brief note of thanks to the important people who had made this journey possible. Outside of research, life keeps rolling with birth, death and everything in between. After an unexpected life event just before my minor corrections were originally due in July 2023, I have a newfound appreciation for the world around me and the simple joys so easily taken for granted. While finding my jagged path back to new normalcy, reading this thesis has often reminded me of where I started and given me a sense of purpose to hold onto tightly. I am grateful for having had the opportunity to write this thesis.

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This thesis is dedicated to the love of my life, Dr Vivek Chacko. Without your seemingly infinite patience and love unconditional enough to bring me coffee at three in the morning, none of this would have come to fruition. Thank you.

Definitions and Abbreviations

RISM- Siglum	Library name
<i>A-Whh</i>	Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv, Vienna, Austria
<i>A-Wn</i>	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Vienna, Austria
<i>A-Wst</i>	Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, Musiksammlung, Vienna
<i>D-B</i>	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin
<i>D-BAR</i>	Hohenlohe-Zentralarchiv, Landesarchiv, Baden-Württemberg
<i>D-Bla</i>	Landesarchiv, Berlin
<i>D-DI</i>	Sächsische Landesbibliothek - Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden
<i>D-F</i>	Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg, Frankfurt am Main
<i>D-Hs</i>	Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, Musikabteilung, Hamburg
<i>D-LEdn</i>	Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, Leipzig
<i>D-LEu</i>	Universitätsbibliothek Bibliotheca Albertina, Leipzig
<i>D-MHrm</i>	Reiss Engelhorn Museen, Mannheim
<i>D-MÜu</i>	Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, Münster
<i>D-WRz</i>	Stiftung Weimarer Klassik, Herzogin Anna Amalia-Bibliothek, Weimar
<i>H-Bn</i>	Országos Széchényi Könyvtár - National Széchényi Library, Music Division, Budapest
<i>I-MOe</i>	Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Modena
<i>US-Wc</i>	Library of Congress, Music Division, Washington DC

Note on the Text

With reference to proper nouns, I have retained consistent spelling and used original spellings from any source material when quoting them. For names of people, I have used the version most circulated in source materials. Where two versions concurrently exist, such as 'Erdődy' and 'Erdödy,' I use the version with the original Hungarian double acute accent within the text and retain the Germanised version with the umlaut when quoting from any source material. For place names, I have retained German places names when referring them to within the text such as Pressburg instead of modern-day Bratislava. Where the source material differs in the use of the double-s or the *Eszett*, I use 'Preßburg', although only when directly quoting from the same.

When using the format (year, place of premiere) to refer to the first performance of a work, I have not specified the theatres unless relevant to the discussion. When referring to theatre names, I use the original German spelling if it is accepted nomenclature such as the Burgtheater in Vienna but split the reference with English spelling when referring to a place such as the Erdődy theatre in Pressburg. I have placed genre signifiers such as *opera buffa* or *Singspiel* in italics, treating them as foreign words and therefore also use the original plural forms such as *opere buffe* or *Singspiele* within the text. I refer to both the concept and institutions of the *Nationaltheater* as a single word in italics throughout the thesis for consistency.

Where relevant, I have included brief source materials with transcriptions and English translations in the appendices. For lengthy source materials such as pamphlets, I have chosen to exclude the English translations. All translations from German or Italian to English are my own unless otherwise stated.

Introduction

When Mozart's *Don Giovanni* received its first performance in Berlin on 20 November 1790, the audience at the Königlich Theater heard neither the two-act version originally composed for Prague in 1787 nor the Viennese version of 1788. Instead, the audience heard the work as *Don Juan* in a German translation widely attributed to the tenor Friedrich Karl Lippert (1758-1803), in an expanded four-act version that was structurally far removed from Lorenzo Da Ponte's libretto.¹ This was not even the first German translation of the work: by late 1788, Christian Gottlob Neefe (1744-1798) was already working on a translation for the Bonn *Nationaltheater*, which was heard in Mannheim and Bonn. The following year, Heinrich Gottlieb Schmieder (1763-1815) produced another translation in 1789 for the Mainz *Nationaltheater*. In the same year, in Hamburg, Friedrich Ludwig Schröder (1744-1816) translated the work for the *Stadttheater* in a four-act version, which served as the basis for Lippert's subsequent translation for Berlin.² Further towards the south of the German-speaking lands, Franz Xaver Girzik (1760-1811) translated the work for the Hubert Kumpf troupe, of which he was a member, for performances in Pest in 1791, while the Wenzel Mihule troupe in Prague mounted the work in a German version attributed to Mihule (1758-1808).³ These translations also influenced one another as *Don Giovanni* gained popularity in its German *Singspiel* form. Various aspects of each translation were often borrowed, modified, or omitted to suit different stages, blurring the lines of single authorship. *Don Giovanni* had effectively become a German *Singspiel*.

This early circulation history of *Don Giovanni* is by no means an isolated instance as Italian operas in the late eighteenth century were often heard in German translation throughout the German-speaking lands, with the common practice of replacing the accompanied recitative with spoken dialogue through the process of *Bearbeitung*. From even a simplified outline of the early German translations of *Don Giovanni*, several interesting issues often unaddressed

¹ Magnus Tassing Schneider, *The Original Portrayal of Mozart's Don Giovanni*, Ashgate Interdisciplinary Studies in Opera (London and New York: Routledge, 2021), pp. 5–6.

² Alfred Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597-1940*, Third Edition (London: John Calder, 1978), pp. 448–49; Ian Woodfield, 'Christian Gottlob Neefe and the Early Reception of *Le nozze di Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*', *Newsletter of the Mozart Society of America*, 20.1 (2016), 4–6 (pp. 4–5).

³ Wilhelm Wodnansky, 'Die deutschen Übersetzungen der Mozart-Da Ponte-Opern *Le nozze di Figaro*, *Don Giovanni* und *Così fan tutte* im Lichte text- und musikkritischer Betrachtung: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Opernlibrettos' (Ph.D. diss., Universität Wien, 1949), p.210. Girzik's work in translating Italian *opere buffe* for the Kumpf troupe is discussed in greater detail further on in Chapters 3 and 4. See also: Martin Nedbal, 'Wenzel Mihule and the Reception of *Don Giovanni* in Central Europe,' *Journal of Musicology*, 39.1 (2022), 66-108 (p.67). Appendix 1 to Nedbal's article provides a chronological arrangement of the circulation history of the Mihule translation.

Introduction

in scholarship on late-eighteenth century opera, emerge. These encompass questions on the nature of the transformation of Italian opera into German, the impact of translated Italian operas on the *Singspiel* as a genre, and the factors that enabled and facilitated the circulation of an Italian opera in the vernacular in the German-speaking lands. Additionally, it raises questions on the impact of these translations on the subsequent reception history of the work towards the early nineteenth century and beyond.

In the case of *Don Giovanni*, it is readily acknowledged that 'by far the most significant element in the reception of Mozart's operas during the composer's lifetime was their transfer into the cultural world of the *Singspiel*.'⁴ It is this transfer into the 'cultural world of the *Singspiel*' with its attendant audience, conventions and reach that this thesis aims to investigate in greater detail. However, even until recently, these vernacular translations were often derisively dismissed because of the so-called infidelity to the composer's (and librettist's) wishes.⁵ This might explain why Juliane Riepe, in a recent survey of literature about the study of German translations of Italian and French opera, identifies the lacunae in scholarship on these *Bearbeitungspraxis* with these questions:

what differences can be seen between the repertoires of larger or smaller companies, in northern or southern Germany, or between the courts and city theatres. How were such arrangements judged by contemporaries? What kind of works were being demanded by paying public in the cities or the audiences at the courts? Who did the arranging? How were original works changed? Regarding the latter question, there were many possibilities: proving the existing music with a singable German translation of the original text, if necessary, adapting the melodies, cutting, or adding musical movements, changes to the compositional structure to make the work performable for available singers or instrumentalists, transferring the action and (names of) the characters to a German setting, or changes in dramaturgy.⁶

These questions parallel those that arise from examining a simplified early circulation history of *Don Giovanni*, albeit on a much larger scale. When late eighteenth-century Italian opera is

⁴ Ian Woodfield, *The Vienna Don Giovanni* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010), p. 115.

⁵ See, for instance: Julian Rushton *Don Giovanni*, Cambridge opera handbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 71 regarding Lippert's 1790 translation, based on Schröder's, for Berlin. Rushton says that the Schröder version was 'still further degraded by the Berlin performer in the title-role, Friedrich Lippert, nominally a tenor but more actor than singer, and a ham.' A similar pattern of responses can also be noted for the early French adaptation of *Die Zauberflöte* as *Les mystères d'Isis* – both *Don Giovanni* (because of the multiple literary antecedents) and *Die Zauberflöte* (because of a loosely-structured plot), lent themselves to heavy alterations. It therefore makes sense that adaptations of *Figaro* were not often met with this kind of response, possibly because of the source material in Beaumarchais' play.

⁶ Juliane Riepe, 'The establishment of a "deutsche Schaubühne" under Elector Maximilian Friedrich, 1778-1784' in Elisabeth Reisinger et al., *The operatic library of Elector Maximilian Franz: reconstruction, catalogue, contexts* (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, 2018), 47-104 (p.86).

not solely reduced to the three Mozart-Da Ponte operas, further thought-provoking trends emerge, engendering the question as to the role of these German-language translation in the subsequent circulation and reception history, especially as many of the works are no longer in the repertory and do not feature in what now is accepted as the operatic canon.⁷ Therefore, in various points in this thesis, I explore works contemporaneous to *Don Giovanni*, including the two operas for which Da Ponte concurrently wrote libretti—Vicente Martín y Soler's *L'arbore di Diana* (1787, Vienna) and Antonio Salieri's *Axur, Re d'Ormus* (1788, Vienna).⁸ I also consider Giovanni Paisiello and Giambattista Casti's *Il Re Teodoro in Venezia* (1784, Vienna), Giuseppe Sarti's *Giulio Sabino* (1783, Venice) and Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi and Saverio Zini's Neapolitan opera, *La pastorella nobile* (1787, Naples).

Furthermore, I adapt and address a few of the questions raised by Riepe, especially those pertaining to 'north and south Germany,' by adopting the broad framework allowed by the term 'German-speaking lands.' While there has been a steady flow of work on Austro-German music of the late eighteenth century with a prominent focus on Vienna, not much attention has been paid to placing Vienna in the larger context of the Austro-German musical culture. I parse this in terms of a linguistic domain as the German-speaking lands, firstly because the crux of this thesis lies in the role played by German translations and adaptations of Italian opera, and secondly because neither Austria nor Germany, or even Italy as are geographically defined today, existed in the late eighteenth century.⁹ The geographic and political scope of 'German-speaking lands' enables the inclusion of territories like Pressburg (modern-day Bratislava, also known as Pozsony in Hungarian), the capital of the Kingdom of Hungary. The distinction between the Habsburg Monarchy and Holy Roman Empire is often blurred and contributes to the persistent misconception of Vienna being considered the capital of this 'empire,' which consisted of kingdoms, archduchies, palatinates, electorates and so on. Except for a short period between 1742 and 1745, a Habsburg ruler was always elected as the

⁷ See: *The Oxford Handbook of the Operatic Canon*, ed. by William Weber and Cormac Newark (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020) for a comprehensive overview of the emergence of the operatic canon from the eighteenth century onwards.

⁸ Da Ponte's account of writing these three libretti simultaneously is an oft-quoted passage from his autobiography, *Memorie*. For a full translation of this passage, see: John A. Rice, *Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p.403.

⁹ This approach is also an extension from German theatre studies, within which music theatre has often been nested. Even one of the most extensive surveys of German music theatre of the late eighteenth century, Jörg Krämer, *Deutschsprachiges Musiktheater im späten 18. Jahrhundert: Typologie, Dramaturgie und Anthropologie einer populären Gattung, Deutschsprachiges Musiktheater im späten 18. Jahrhundert*, Studien zur deutschen Literatur, Bd. 149-150 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1998) is a product of this overlapping approach. For more on situating German-language theatre and music theatre studies, see also the introductory section on *Standortbestimmung* in Cristina Urchueguía, *Allerliebste Ungeheuer: deutsches komisches Singspiel 1760 - 1790*, (Frankfurt am Main: Stroemfeld, 2015), pp. 15-25.

Introduction

emperor.¹⁰ However, this did not mean that they were the same; the Habsburg lands consisted of territories not included in the Empire, such as the hereditary lands comprising of the Kingdom of Hungary, for instance.

As a result, the organisation of chapters in this thesis place Vienna at the centre, as the hub of circulation and reception of Italian opera in German translation in the late eighteenth-century. While I present arguments to support this hypothesis as well as substantiate previous arguments proposing Vienna's central role, I also discuss instances that challenge the Vienna-centric view of late eighteenth-century opera in the German-speaking lands. With Vienna as the hub and centre, the scope encompasses Pressburg to the east, Bonn to the west and Hamburg to the north, with an emphasis on how the works in the Viennese repertory influenced those in these three cities, each with very different institutional frameworks for their theatres.¹¹ Although I do not deliberate on the repertory of the Berlin *Nationaltheater* in detail in this thesis, I discuss the institutional set up in Berlin over the same time period, acknowledging the Prussian capital's status as the political and cultural antipode to Vienna in the German-speaking lands.¹² The geographic orientation of the chapters is illustrated below in Figure 0.1 using a map from 1791.

¹⁰ When Charles VI died without a male heir, the electors voted for Charles of Bavaria, who was also the son-in-law of Leopold I. Following a brief reign, Francis Stephen, the husband of Maria Theresa, was elected as Holy Roman Emperor, thus re-establishing the links between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Holy Roman Empire. Tim Blanning, *Joseph II* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 8.

¹¹ I have distinguished between Bonn and the other two cities to avoid conflation with the potential definitions of 'North German' opera / *Singspiel*, wherein the Rhineland territories are not usually included. For a detailed discussion on the question of centres and peripheries in the study of the Holy Roman Empire, see: Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, 'Centres or Periphery? Art and Architecture in the Empire', in *The Holy Roman Empire, 1495-1806: A European Perspective*, ed. by Peter Wilson and Robert Evans (Leiden: Brill, 2012). While this chapter addresses another aspect of art in the Holy Roman Empire, it makes a case for centring, de-centring and re-centring in order to access the heterogeneity associated with the Holy Roman Empire.

¹² See: Ian Woodfield, *Cabals and Satires: Mozart's comic operas in Vienna* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 3-4 for an account of the indirect role played by the underlying Austria-Prussia political tensions in Joseph II's decision to quickly reinstate the German-language *Singspiel* troupe in Vienna in 1785, after it was disbanded in 1783 in favour of the Italian troupe.

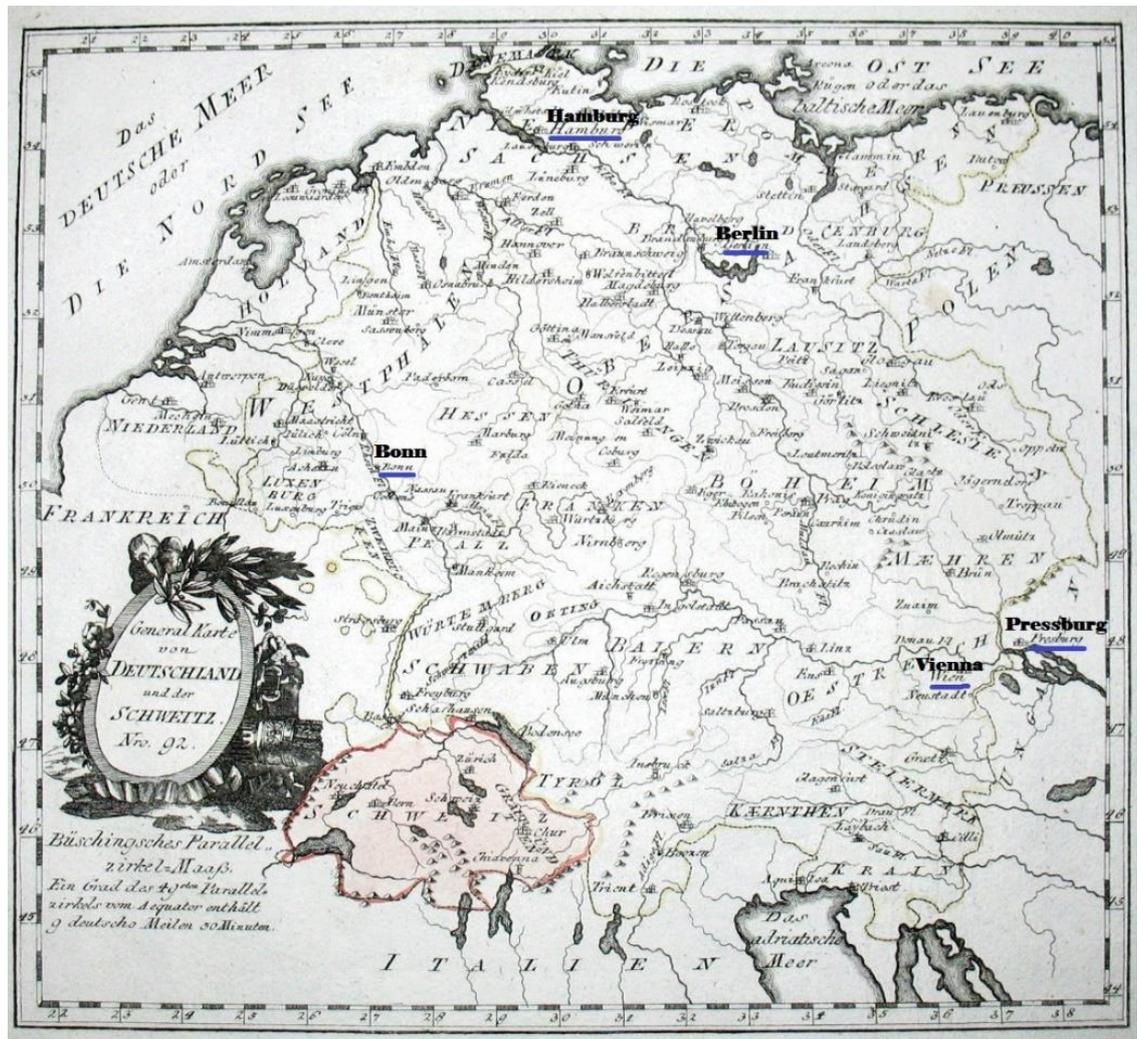


Figure 0.1: Geographic orientation of Chapters 2-5¹³

Using the above geographic orientation as structure, I highlight the role played by Vienna in relation to other centres of reception across this vast geographic domain. I focus on a small, private theatre in the palace of Count Erdődy in Pressburg (modern-day Bratislava), the *Nationaltheater* in Bonn from 1789 to 1794 and finally, the *Stadttheater* in Hamburg under Friedrich Ludwig Schröder from 1786 onwards as the main examples to contrast against Vienna in terms of institutional organisation. The Erdődy theatre was an example of an *Adelstheater*, just like its more famous contemporary, the Esterházy theatre. Housed in the palace of the Count Erdődy Pressburg, performances by the resident troupe were also open to the public. In the Rhineland, the electoral theatre in the *Residenzstadt* of Bonn had changing

¹³ Franz Johann Joseph von Reilly and Ignaz Albrecht, 'General-Karte von Deutschland und der Schweiz. Nr. 92', in *Schauplatz der Fünf Theile der Welt, Band 2: Erster Theil* (Vienna, 1791). CC0: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_Germany_and_Switzerland_in_1791_by_Reilly_092.jpg

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fortunes in the 1780s and finally attained *Nationaltheater* status in 1788 after a period of closure. Further north, in the free Hanseatic city of Hamburg, the *Stadttheater* presented a varied repertory of spoken plays and operas under the new directorship of Schröder. This arrangement helps facilitate the discussion on the meaning of the concept of *Nationaltheater* in the German-speaking lands in terms of German translations of Italian opera. Significantly, the relative completeness of the performance calendars or *Spielpläne* for these cities and the time periods selected for analysis enables a robust comparison of the repertory, their interconnectedness and the networks underpinning their circulation and reception to support as well as critically discuss the hypotheses proposed in this thesis.

These cities do not, by any means, comprehensively represent the vast network of German stages in the late eighteenth century. The annual *Theaterkalender* published by Heinrich August Ottokar Reichard (1751-1828) provide an overview of the spread of this network, with reports from an average of hundred and fifty different troupes or stages featured in each edition.¹⁴ Studies of late-eighteenth century opera in and around the German-speaking lands have almost always centred around Viennese music theatre of 'Mozart's time.'¹⁵ There is also ample scholarship on music theatre in Bonn, Hamburg and Berlin in the late eighteenth century.¹⁶ The one exception to this trend is Pressburg, whose music theatre repertory has only been discussed in isolation, on the basis of contemporaneously published theatre

¹⁴ Reichard was part of Gotha Hoftheater from the early 1770s onwards, and a writer, librarian and privy counsellor among other things in his long career. The *Theaterkalender* was published annually from 1775 to 1800 from Gotha, with the exception of 1795. Another significant primary source is the *Indice de' teatrali spettacoli* edited by Lorenzo Formenti and published in Milan from 1785 to 1800, although the entire series with different editors ran from 1764 to 1829. The *Indice* provides often granular details from performances of Italian operas in different cities across the continent. Both these collections depended on reports being sent by theatre directors to the editors, and sometimes have gaps. I am grateful to Professor Woodfield for pointing out this resource, which is also prominently featured in the Introduction to his work *Performing Operas for Mozart: Impresarios, Singers and Troupes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 2-3. See also: Roberto Verti, 'L'Indice de' teatrali spettacoli, Milan, Venice, Rome 1764-1823: Une source pour l'histoire de l'opéra italien', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, 32.4 (1985), 209-211.

¹⁵ Glatthorn, *Music Theatre and the Holy Roman Empire*, p. 16.

¹⁶ Not surprisingly, the literature about Viennese music theatre in the eighteenth century is vast and expansive and a brief discussion of the works relevant to this thesis can be found across Chapters 1 and 2. Music theatre in Bonn, especially between 1784 and 1789 has been discussed in detail in Ian Woodfield, 'Christian Gottlob Neefe and the Bonn National Theatre, with New Light on the Beethoven Family', *Music & Letters*, 93.3 (2012), 289-315. Joachim Wenzel, *Geschichte der Hamburger Oper 1678-1978* (Hamburg: Hamburgische Staatsoper, 1980) and Claudia Maurer Zenck, 'Mozarts Opern in Hamburg 1787-1850', in *Musik, Bühne und Publikum: Materialien zum Hamburger Stadttheater 1770-1850*, *Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, 32 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2017), pp. 125-200; Elisabeth Reisinger et al., *The Operatic Library of Elector Maximilian Franz: Reconstruction, Catalogue, Contexts* (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, 2018).

almanacs.¹⁷ My choice of these stages for discussion and comparison in the following chapters uses the logic in using the example of the early circulation history of *Don Giovanni* to open the thesis.

Reinhardt Meyer's study quantifying the proportion of *Singspiel* dominating the late-eighteenth century German-speaking stage documents the difficulties arising from working with repertoires from over a hundred different stages of various types, a varied mix of travelling troupes, court theatres, *Nationaltheater* enterprises and everything in between. Meyer notes the main causes of error in his endeavour as the incompleteness of source materials regarding repertory and need for reconstruction from scratch, if ever possible.¹⁸ In using source material from well-documented stages and repertoires, I aim to produce a compelling argument for an in-depth exploration of German translations of Italian opera—a form of entertainment that was hitherto restricted to courts and then was transferred to the increasingly bourgeois stages of German-language stages—within the framework of already-established theatrical concepts.

Due to constraints of space as well as the broad geographical framework adopted for this thesis, a vast amount of press material that inform the reception history of works of this period have not been discussed.¹⁹ Similarly, the operas chosen as case studies have also not been discussed in great depth and directions of study supported by close readings of the score and exact dating and matching of manuscripts to performances have had to be omitted.²⁰ However, by using examples that are not the Mozart-Da Ponte operas, but instead some of their equally contemporaneously successful works, this thesis will contribute towards the scholarship on a more detailed understanding the culture and reception of opera in translation around Mozart's time.

¹⁷ See: Géza Staud, *Adelstheater in Ungarn*, Donaumonarchie, 10 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, 1977). I place Pressburg's music theatre landscape in the late eighteenth century in a wider context.

¹⁸ In a way, this thesis serves as an extended case study, mirroring Meyer's examination of the proportion of *Singspiel* and opera performed on late eighteenth-century German stages. Reinhardt Meyer, 'Der Anteil des Singspiels und der Oper am Repertoire der deutschen Bühnen in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts', in *Schriften zur Theater- und Kulturgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Hollitzer Verlag, 2012), pp. 341–401 (pp. 342–44).

¹⁹ See, for instance: Ian Woodfield, *Cabals and Satires: Mozart's Comic Operas in Vienna* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. xiii–xviii for an account of the eighteenth-century source materials such as journals, newspapers and periodicals that are now digitised and readily available.

²⁰ See, for instance, Claudia Maurer Zenck, *Così fan tutte. Drama giocoso und deutsches Singspiel: frühe Abschriften und frühe Aufführungen* (Schliengen: EdArgus, 2007); Ian Woodfield, *Mozart's Così fan tutte: A Compositional History* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2008); Ian Woodfield, *The Vienna Don Giovanni* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010).

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Jessica Waldoff, writing in 2002, notes that the 'previous two decades witnessed a tremendous investment on the part of scholars in Mozart's contemporaries and historical context.'²¹ At the point of writing this thesis, this has now been forty years in the making and in the first two decades of the millennium, there has still been steady interest in Mozart scholarship using source materials.²² However there has also been a change in direction to place Mozart in context. For instance, Ian Woodfield's *Cabals and Satires* (2018), continues in the rich tradition of Mozart scholarship, but with much greater emphasis on Mozart amongst his contemporaries, wherein Woodfield explores the rivalries between the German and Italian troupes in Vienna.²³ Nevertheless, there continues to be a gap in scholarship regarding one of the critical elements that enabled the circulation and reception of Italian opera not only in the Viennese musical circles, but by extension, in the broad German-speaking lands in the late eighteenth century. In this thesis therefore, I examine the circulation of Italian opera, including Viennese *opere buffe* of Mozart's time, in German translation, and its subsequent implications for the *Singspiel* as genre.²⁴

0.1 Structure

This thesis is divided into five major chapters, bookended by this introduction and a conclusion and coda in Chapter 6. Following this introduction, where I outline the primary research question, thesis structure and data sources, Chapter 1 delves into the existing literature on Italian opera in German translation in greater detail. I then outline the methodological framework of cultural transfer to interrogate what 'Italian,' 'German,' and opera in translation mean within the realm of *Singspiel*. Following this, I direct my attention to the conventions of the *Singspiel* as genre, which, given the varied nature of terminologies in late eighteenth-century music theatre, are complex to define. I explore the use of *Singspiel* as an umbrella term that also covered the proliferation of translations from Italian and French

²¹ Jessica Waldoff, 'Review: *Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera*, by John A. Rice; *The Culture of Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna: A Poetics of Entertainment*, by Mary Hunter. Princeton Studies in Opera.', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 55.3 (2002), 547–62 (p. 548).

²² Most recently, there has been yet another contribution to studies centred solely on 'Mozart's Vienna,' albeit as an extension of work that has been a few decades in the making – Dorothea Link, *The Italian Opera Singers in Mozart's Vienna* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2022).

²³ Ian Woodfield, *Cabals and Satires: Mozart's comic operas in Vienna* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).

²⁴ 'Viennese' here particularly denotes works that were written for and performed in Vienna. Hunter's work is devoted exclusively to the culture around the *opere buffe* of Mozart's Vienna. Hunter's definition of this repertory is 'a collection of opera given coherence and meaning as a group not only by virtue of their shared genre but also by the fact that they were performed in a limited time period in a given place by resident performers for an audience that one can reasonably presume to be moderately continuous.' Mary Hunter, *The Culture of Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna: A Poetics of Entertainment* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1999), p. 15.

models and examine the development of new conventions both in terms of style and content (*Bearbeitungspraxis*) in the resultant *Singspiel* as practice.

In Chapter 2, I examine the centrality of Vienna in the circulation and reception of Italian opera in the German-speaking lands of the late eighteenth century and use it as a focal point. I look at the Josephinian theatre reforms from 1776 onwards, which saw the rise of commercial suburban theatres with German-language repertory. In this context, I examine at the reception of *Singspiel* repertory in these suburban theatres in the late 1780s through the example of Martín y Soler's *L'arbore di Diana* (1787, Vienna) in German at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt. I then focus on the transition from Josephinian theatre to the situation under his successors, Leopold II and Franz I. I use Guglielmi's *La pastorella nobile* (1788, Naples) to summarise these changes in the 1790s and outline the pan-German career of a key figure who appears throughout this thesis—Friedrich Karl Lippert.

Chapters 3 and 4 act as a diptych, where I turn my focus to the reception of Italian opera in German in Pressburg, the capital of the Kingdom of Hungary through the example of *Adelstheater*. In Chapter 3, I investigate the theatre culture fostered by the nobility in their private residences, *Adelstheater*, and the specific case of the Erdődy theatre (1785-1788). The repertory of the Erdődy theatre was set apart by the fact that the repertory of its resident troupe under Hubert Kumpf, was entirely in German (either original or in translation from Italian or French). Thereafter, I examine in this repertory, exploring potential provenance of the translations used and their links to Vienna. I then make a case to envisage the *Adelstheater* as an extension of the *Nationaltheater* initiative in Vienna, albeit as a different means to the same end.

In Chapter 4, I highlight the network of musicians, impresarios and translators who facilitated the circulation of Italian operas in German translation by focusing on two Pressburg-specific case studies: Salieri's *Axur, Re d'Ormus* (Vienna, Burgtheater 1788) and Sarti's *Giulio Sabino* (1781, Venice). The libretti printed for the German adaptations of these works performed at the Erdődy theatre are the only two examples source materials known to have survived. The 1786 Pressburg translation of *Giulio Sabino* by Johann Nepomuk Schüller challenges the narrative around a Vienna-centric circulation, with the added complexity of a potential Vienna-Esterházy-Pressburg transmission axis. In the case of *Axur*, I show how the 1788 Pressburg translation by Franz Xaver Girzik, which was not known to have been performed beyond the Kumpf troupe, clearly influenced the 1797 Vienna revival of *Axur* in German, and once again highlight the role of Friedrich Karl Lippert.

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In the final Chapter 5, I look at two stages across the German-speaking lands to the west and north of Vienna, Bonn and Hamburg. Their repertoires mirror and reflect the way in which the Viennese repertoire of not just *opera buffa* and *Singspiel*, but *opera buffa* in translation, interacted with the distinct North German *Singspiel*, with its strong literary and theatrical traditions. I use Paisiello's *Il Re Teodoro in Venezia* (1784, Vienna) to focus on an important factor in the circulation process, piano reduction scores. I also use excerpts from the correspondence between Gustav Friedrich Wilhelm Grossmann (1746-1796) and Johann Heinrich Böhm (1740-1792) to provide a brief insight into the networks that enabled the circulation of these works in translation. I then summarise the influence of the Viennese repertoire in the Berlin *Nationaltheater* from the early 1790s, where the two *Singspiel* styles from the south and the north coalesced towards a pan-German opera by the turn of the century. Finally, to bring all the threads in this thesis together, I extend the example of Martín y Soler's *L'arbore di Diana* (1787, Vienna), discussed earlier in the context of suburban theatres in Chapter 2, to highlight how multiple translations of a single work across the German-speaking lands influenced each other.

In the Conclusion, I sum up the trends in *Singspiel* adaptations from 1800 onwards and briefly examine the growing tendency towards a German 'national' opera and the slowly developing shift from Vienna to Berlin as the centre of German opera. I conclude by focusing on the legacy of German adaptations of Italian opera in the early nineteenth century, especially on the distinction between *Singspiel* as genre versus practice, and their role in the development of German opera of the nineteenth century. I also emphasise the importance of seeing the circulation of Italian opera in German translation in this period within a broader framework of networks of people such as Lippert and Girzik. In my coda, I summarise the role played by Italian operas in German translation in the development of a German national opera in the nineteenth century. The appendices to Chapters 1-5 contain detailed comparisons of various versions of the case studies analysed in the chapters.

In summary, this thesis examines the circulation and reception of Italian operas in German translation within selected centres of operatic reception and transmission in the German-speaking lands in the late eighteenth century. Specifically, the following chapters reveal how the *Singspiel* as a genre evolved through the assimilation of its Italian models in *Singspiel* as practice and highlight the role played by the network of intermediaries in the circulation of these works across the German-speaking lands.

0.2 Data sources

The databases collated for this thesis present a major contribution to the field of late eighteenth-century opera studies and their context has been discussed in some detail below. The Vienna database for Chapter 2 is a day-to-day performance calendar or *Spielplan* of both Italian and German-language works of music theatre performed across the two main theatres, the Burg- and Kärntnertortheater, from 1779 to 1810.²⁵ This thirty-year period is bookended by the beginning of the *Nationalsingspiel* initiative instituted by Emperor Joseph II in 1779 and the final separation between the two theatres in 1810, with the German-language premiere of Gaspare Spontini's *La vestale* (1807, Paris) as *Die Vestalin*, wherein the and the Kärntnertortheater was demarcated for music theatre and the Burgtheater for plays, as it remains to this day.²⁶ This period is punctuated by the transfer of theatre management from the court with its added protection privileges to a lessee system, first under the impresario Peter von Braun in 1794. This database brings together data spread across several works and will also include the performance calendar of works of music theatre, both German translations of Italian works and original *Singspiele* in the suburban theatres of Vienna, where data is available.²⁷

For the period 1779 to 1792, there are several primary and secondary sources: Otto Michtner's *Das alte Burgtheater als Opernbühne* covers Italian opera heard at the Burgtheater between 1778 and 1792 and offers reconstructions of the cast and short commentary about the further circulation of the opera.²⁸ However, as Dorothea Link rightly points out,

²⁵ This database provides a comprehensive overview of the primary materials underpinning the research questions of the thesis on the whole, but particularly informs Chapter 2, which is Vienna-centric. It then forms the basis of the comparisons throughout Chapters 3-5 and the conclusions drawn in Chapter 6.

²⁶ Michael Jahn, *Die Wiener Hofoper von 1794 bis 1810: Musik und Tanz im Burg- und Kärntnertortheater* (Vienna: Verlag Der Apfel, 2011), p. 9. *Die Vestalin* was the German adaptation of Spontini's French opera, *La vestale* (1807, Paris) with a libretto by Étienne de Jouy. It premiered in Vienna on 12 November 1810.

²⁷ This work is still in progress, and incorporates material from Rudolph Angermüller, *Wenzel Müller und „sein“ Leopoldstädter Theater: Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Tagebücher Wenzel Müllers*, Wien Schriften zur Stilkunde und Aufführungspraxis, 5 (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2009); Anton Bauer, *Opern und Operetten in Wien: Verzeichnis ihrer Erstaufführungen in der Zeit von 1629 bis zur Gegenwart*, Wiener musikwissenschaftliche Beiträge, 2 (Graz; Cologne: Hermann Böhlau, 1955); Tadeusz Krzeszowiak, *Freihaustheater in Wien: 1787-1801 : Wirkungsstätte von W.A. Mozart und E. Schikaneder* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2009).

²⁸ Otto Michtner, *Das alte Burgtheater als Opernbühne, von der Einführung des deutschen Singspiels 1778 bis zum Tod Kaiser Leopolds II. 1792* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1970). The reconstruction of the cast is an important feature of Michtner's work as Emperor Joseph II had banned the naming of performers on playbills on 01 April 1782. This remained in effect until 30 August 1794, by which time the theatres had been given on lease to Peter von Braun.

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Michtner's work includes a lot of 'unfootnoted information,' which renders it unreliable.²⁹ A case in example is the total number of performances of works between 1783-1792, which when based on Link's updated version, differs from the numbers compiled from Michtner's data.³⁰ As seen in the figures below, when taking into account Link's database, the order of the ten most performed works in Vienna between 1783-1792 change noticeably, even though *L'arbore di Diana* remains indisputably the most popular work of the Josephinian era in Vienna.

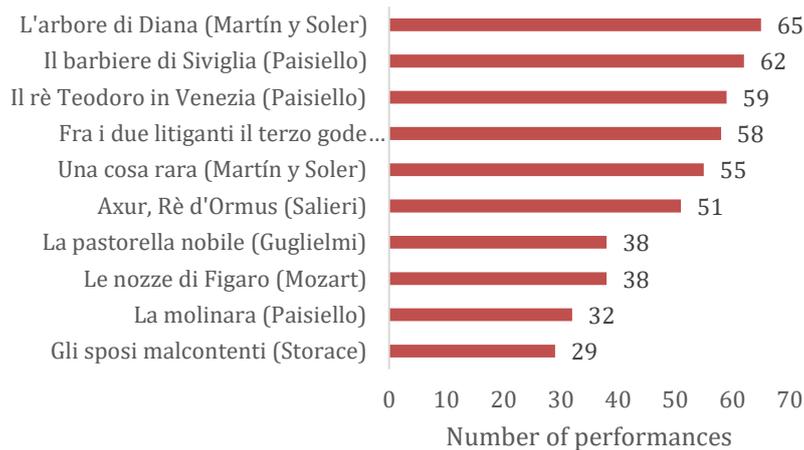


Figure 0.2 Most performed operas in Vienna, 1783-1792 based on Michtner³¹

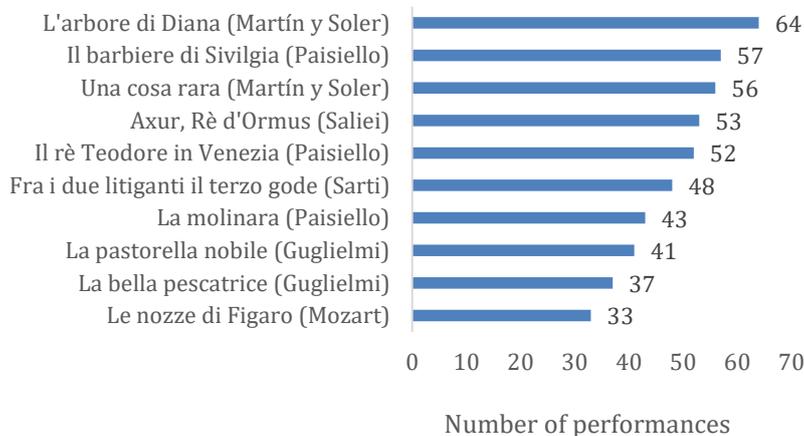


Figure 0.3 Most performed operas in Vienna, 1783-1792 based on Link³²

²⁹ Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna*, p. 11.

³⁰ John Platoff, 'Mozart and His Rivals: Opera in Vienna', *Current Musicology*, 51 (1993), 105-12.

³¹ This graph has been recreated from Platoff, 'Mozart and His Rivals: Opera in Vienna', p. 108, who uses the data from Otto Michtner, *Das alte Burgtheater als Opernbühne*.

³² Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna*. The inclusion of *La bella pescatrice* is also a clear sign of the return to Neapolitan tastes in Vienna with the coronation of Leopold II. This is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2.

Link's *Spielplan* also includes and improves upon the data in Hadamowsky's *Die Wiener Hoftheater (Staatstheater) 1776-1966*, and therefore, is the source data used for the period from 1779 to 1792 period with authority.³³ Hadamowsky's work, however, has been used to supplement the data for the period 1792-1794.³⁴ His *Spielplan* is an alphabetically arranged and numerically coded system, which renders the *Spielplan* cumbersome to use and historically contextualise, as also noted by Link. For the period 1794 to 1810, in addition to primary sources, Michael Jahn's *Die Wiener Hoftheater 1794-1810* provides a detailed *Spielplan* and an alphabetically arranged list of works, similar to Hadamowsky.³⁵ The online Corago database hosted by the University of Bologna also offers an overview of Italian opera from 1600 onwards, in addition to links to most of the known digitised libretti. The Corago database has been used to supplement the digitised Schatz Collection on the Library of Congress website for the libretti hyperlinks in the Vienna database.³⁶

The repertory performed by the Schikaneder-Kumpf troupe at the Kärntnertortheater between November 1784 and early February 1785 has been hitherto omitted in the major *Spielpläne* of the Viennese theatres of this period, including Link and Hadamowsky.³⁷ This addition does go beyond adding a few performances each of already well-known Italian operas in German translation: for instance, solely based on the aforementioned data sources, it would seem that not a single Haydn opera was performed in Vienna in the 1780s whereas *La fedeltà premiata* was indeed performed in German as *Die belohnte Treue* at the Kärntnertortheater in 1784 by this troupe.³⁸

³³ Link uses a detailed transcription of Count Zinzendorf's diaries, *Theaterzettel* and theatre account books to corroborate and establish dates, and also includes transcriptions of the payment records for the performing personnel as well as of the annual lists of subscribers to the Burgtheater.

³⁴ Franz Hadamowsky, *Die Wiener Hoftheater (Staatstheater) 1776-1966: Verzeichnis der aufgeführten Stücke mit Bestandsnachweis und täglichen Spielplan*, Museion; Veröffentlichungen der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien, 4 (Vienna: Prachner, 1966).

³⁵ Michael Jahn, *Die Wiener Hofoper von 1794 bis 1810: Musik und Tanz im Burg- und Kärntnertortheater* (Vienna: Verlag Der Apfel, 2011).

³⁶ Dipartimento Di Beni Culturali, Università di Bologna, 'CORAGO' <http://corago.unibo.it> [consulted on 20 September 2018]; Library of Congress, Music Division, Albert Schatz Collection <https://www.loc.gov/collections/albert-schatz/> [consulted on 29 September 2018].

³⁷ The entire day-to-day performance list of the troupe at the Kärntnertortheater, where they were invited to perform by Emperor Joseph II is tucked away at the end of a misleadingly-titled work – *Ein Quodlibet zum Abschiede* by the actor and dramatist Johann Friedel (1751-1789). This resource gives not only the day-by-day listing of the troupe's performances between November 1784 and early February 1785 but also the box office collections for each performance. Johann Friedel, *Ein Quodlibet Zum Abschiede*. (Abdera (Vienna), 1785).

³⁸ Haydn's *La fedeltà premiata* (1781, Esterházy) was performed for the first time in Vienna in a German translation as *Die belohnte Treue* on 18 December 1784 as the highest grossing work for the troupe until that date, with a collection of 713 fl. 12 kr. Friedel, p. 44.

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While especially useful for generating the panoramic view of music theatre in Vienna and seeing the trends change through these key eras in Viennese music theatre history, mere dates sometimes cannot explain the full picture. A case in example is Joseph Weigl and Giuseppe Carpani's *L'uniforme* (1800, Vienna): there is no indexed entry for a performance in the Italian original in the database, while the German-language version, translated by Treitschke is indexed, with a first performance date of 15 February 1805. The original Italian was first performed at the Schönbrunn Palace in a private performance for Empress Maria Therese and was revived in German at the Kärntnertortheater, partly on the request of the librettist.³⁹ This example also highlights the importance of identifying the 'language of performance' and even the *Theaterzettel* sometimes gave the titles of even Italian works in German. The only way to precisely understand whether or not the performance was indeed in the original Italian or German is to identify the place of performance (Burg- or Kärntnertortheater) and the singers (or the troupe broadly, as either the Italian opera company or the German company) from the small print in the *Theaterzettel*.⁴⁰

Amongst the seventeen fields in this database, there are two pertaining to genre: the first field contains the generic descriptor in the libretto, where ascertainable, in the language of performance and for those works that are not original German-language works, the second field contains the German-equivalent of the Italian (or the rare French) works. The second field aims to emphasise the diversity of terms used to describe the sub-genres of *opera buffa* and the use of an umbrella term such as *Singspiel* to describe these works when adapted to German, solely on the basis of replacing recitative with spoken dialogue.⁴¹ The database also provides information about the translators where possible, as well as the date and theatre in

³⁹ The background and genesis of this particular opera is condensed in John A. Rice, *Empress Marie Therese and Music at the Viennese Court, 1792-1807* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 167.

⁴⁰ The second digital appendix to Urchueguía's *Allerliebste Ungeheuer* is a number list of 1859 works arranged alphabetically with as much detail as possible concisely included beneath each entry, including links to digitised copies. Number 29 on this list is Guglielmi-Zini's *La pastorella nobile* as *Die adeliche Schäferinn*, given as a German translation from the Italian original and with 21 performances in Vienna between 24 May 1790 and 7 December 1790. Second digital appendix to Urchueguía, p. 8. However, all these performances are listed in Link (Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna: Sources and Documents, 1783-1792*, p. 153) under the Italian title. I discuss this opera in some detail in Chapter 2 and can therefore establish that there was only one ever documented performance of this opera in German in 1798. This just goes to attest to the difficulty of being able to distinguish between a German-language or Italian-language performance at first glance, often down to the minutiae in the *Theaterzettel*.

⁴¹ *Opera buffa* dominated the stage in Vienna, appearing variously as *dramma giocoso* and *commedia per musica* but between these and *opera seria*, which made a slow comeback to the Viennese stage after Leopold II's ascent to the throne in 1790, there were also the occasional *dramma tragicomico*, a mixed genre between the *buffa* and the *seria*, which Jacobshagen refers to as a foreshadowing or predecessor of the early nineteenth-century *opera seria*. Arnold Jacobshagen, *Opera semiseria: Gattungskonvergenz und Kulturtransfer im Musiktheater* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2005), p. 31.

which the work was premiered to expand the historical context and sheds light upon the circulation of Italian operas in German translation within the German-speaking lands. This is often not a very straightforward task as the translators are sometimes entirely omitted from both a printed libretto as well as the playbill and the practice of combining different translated versions, as I establish in this thesis, makes it difficult to ascribe works to one particular translator in many cases.⁴² My contribution to Viennese music theatre of the late eighteenth century also lies in my work on the Vienna database. This database endeavours to completely document all performances of opera in the court theatres of Vienna between 1783 and 1810 through a wide range of primary and secondary sources, and to establish the language of performance as accurately as possible within context.

While this complete database allows the easy computation of the number of performances of an opera overall, as well as by season, it is important to bear in mind that a higher number of repeat performances is not necessarily a reliable indicator of a work's popularity.⁴³ Dexter Edge, in 'Mozart's reception in Vienna, 1787-1791' provides a critique of the assumption that the number of performances of a work indicated its popularity. Edge establishes that a linear correlation between the number of performances and popularity can be misleading using box-office receipts from the Burgtheater for performances between 1789 and 1791.⁴⁴ Edge uses the pattern of attendance at the Burgtheater (subscription seats, seating capacity etc.) and box-office receipts to approximate the audience size for each performance. By this method, in essence, a work that was performed multiple times but brought in only small sums per performance could be deemed 'less popular' than a work that was put on stage fewer

⁴² Information about translators has been collated from a wide variety of sources, including from Loewenberg's *Annals of Opera* and independent search results from the online Schatz collection of the Library of Congress and the VD18 database (*Das Verzeichnis Deutscher Drucke des 18. Jahrhunderts*) to supplement the data (<https://vd18.gbv.de/viewer/index/>) [consulted on 11 November 2020].

⁴³ Michtner's work as well as later works like Bauman's *North German Singspiel* and Andrew Steptoe's *The Mozart-Da Ponte Operas* assume this correlation.

See also the section on 'Quantitative measures of canonic status' in the Introduction to the *Oxford Handbook of the Operatic Canon* for an overview of how this topic is negotiated in the contributions to this Handbook. Most importantly, it underlines the common thread amongst all the essays that 'performance statistics can only ever tell a small part of the stories.' *The Oxford Handbook of the Operatic Canon*, ed. by William Weber and Cormac Newark (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 17–18.

⁴⁴ As Edge points out in this article and separately corroborated by Link's research, detailed box-office reports and other minutiae are 'apparently lost.' However, the yearly and biannual account books from 1776 until 1802 (with very few exceptions) are preserved at *A-Whh* Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna (Sonderreihe 11-34) and have served as a solid source of information regarding the income and expenses for most seasons for this period. Interestingly, a detailed, two-volume set of ledgers records 'the weekly income and expenses of the court theatres from the end of February 1789 until March 1797' and is preserved at the Theatermuseum library, Vienna (M4000). This serves as the source of Edge's argument.

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times but raked in more at the box office.⁴⁵ It must however be noted that even box-office receipts do not present a full picture. Both the Burg- and Kärntnertortheater had box subscriptions that brought in a set amount apart from the single ticket sales, which constitute the box-office receipts, as seen in the table below.

Table 0.1 Revenue of the Burg-and Kärntnertortheater:1783-1792 ⁴⁶

Year	Box-office receipts (in florins)	Box subscriptions (in florins)
1783-84	81800	38000
1784-85	74900	40700
	122000	
	Burgtheater (<i>opera buffa</i> , spoken drama): 83600	
1785-86	Kärntnertortheater (<i>Singspiel</i> , Lent plays, <i>opera seria</i>): 38400	44400
	➤ <i>Singspiel</i> : 21100	
	➤ Lent plays: 7100	
	➤ 6 performances of <i>Giulio Sabino</i> : 10200	
	107700	
	Burgtheater (<i>opera buffa</i> , spoken drama, 299 nights): 73400	
1786-87	Kärntnertortheater (<i>Singspiel</i> , lent plays): 34300	44300
	➤ <i>Singspiel</i> , 85 nights: 27300	
	➤ Lent plays: 7000	
	88500	
1787-88	Burgtheater (<i>opera buffa</i> , spoken drama, Lent plays): 70900	49200
	Kärntnertortheater (<i>Singspiel</i>): 17600	
1788-89	68900	48200

⁴⁵ Edge provides examples of this combination such as Cimarosa's *Il falegname*, whose sixteen performances in its revival in the 1790 season took in an average of 98 fl. 40 kr. per performance. In contrast, Salieri's *Il pastor fido*, with a revised libretto by Da Ponte, was performed only thrice but had an average of 236 fl. 44 kr. in box-office receipts in the autumn of 1789. This clearly points to the fact (other circumstances notwithstanding), just as Edge concludes, that 'factors other than popularity must have played a role in determining whether or not operas were kept in the active repertory. It may be, for example, that the financially strapped theatre simply could not afford new productions during this period and was thus constrained to continue performing old works, even if these were relatively unpopular. Edge, p. 82.

⁴⁶ This table is entirely adapted from Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna*, pp. 493 and 496. I have combined the data that Link gives in footnotes 67-72 on p.493 and a second table on p.496 into one table to provide an overview of the box-office receipts and box subscriptions. All figures are in florins, rounded to the nearest hundred as in the original source. The source for this data is mentioned in footnote 66 in Link, p. 492. For all years but 1789-90 and 1790-91, the data comes from the annual financial summaries, *S.R.20-26*. For a concise summary of Austrian currency in the late eighteenth century and their conversions, see: Dexter Edge, 'Mozart's Fee for *Così fan tutte*', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 116.2 (1991), 211-35 (pp. 218-19).

Year	Box-office receipts (in florins)	Box subscriptions (in florins)
	64800	
1789-90	Burgtheater (<i>opera buffa</i> , spoken drama, Lent plays): 57000 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ <i>Opera buffa</i> (139 nights): 24400 ➤ Spoken drama (128 nights): 32600 ➤ Lent plays: 7800 	c.49200
	78800	
1790-91	Burgtheater only <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ <i>Opera buffa</i> (152 nights): 32800 ➤ Spoken drama (165 nights): 46000 	c.49200
	101800	
1791-92	Burgtheater (all genres, Lent plays 1791-92): 76000 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ <i>Opera buffa</i> (102 nights): 46000 ➤ Spoken drama (159 nights): 21000 ➤ Other genres: 9000 Kärntnertortheater (all genres): 25800	49200

The above table, adapted from data presented in Dorothea Link's *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna*, shows the total revenue for the Burg- and Kärntnertortheater split into box subscriptions and box-office receipts and includes the split between the revenue at the two theatres where available from 1783 to 1792. After the first two years of solely the Italian troupe in residence, the total box-office collections go up significantly after the *Singspiel* troupe was reinstated. The alternating schedule of *opera buffa*, *Singspiel* and spoken German drama from 1785 onwards appear to have bolstered collections and highlight the contrast with the decline during the war years, when the treasury was so depleted that Joseph II almost disbanded the Italian troupe. In general, box-office sales generated more revenue than box subscriptions, even in seasons when they were fully sold out, such as the 1787-88 season. They also do not seem have been as impacted as the war years, which is perhaps a comment on the class divide between the nobility who could afford a subscription and the commoners.

These figures once again underscore an important factor when considering performance calendars as yardsticks or metrics for reconstructing the success and reception of a work: the audience. Link builds on Otto Schindler's 1976 work on the audience of the *Burgtheater* to conclude that after the renovations in 1779, the Burgtheater would have had a box-office

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audience of '300 nobility and at least 770 non-nobility.'⁴⁷ These factors have to often be contextualised from other primary sources, much like Link does with Count Zinzendorf's diaries. The Vienna database serves to collate information from various primary and secondary sources about the performance calendar of music theatre in Vienna from 1779 to 1810, covering a rich period of reform and change and has fields that help trace and contextualise the circulation of Italian operas in German translation within and from Vienna in this period. For Chapter 3, the *Spielplan* of the Erdődy theatre in Pressburg, active from 1785 to 1789, has been recreated in detail using the theatre almanacs published by the troupe.⁴⁸ This datasheet provides the day-to-day performance schedules from 15 May 1785 to 31 December 1788 and for the remaining period, the repertory of the Erdődy theatre has been recreated, albeit without day-to-day performance schedules.

For Chapter 5, I have used existing data available online. The detailed *Spielplan* for the Bonn National Theatre has been recently reconstructed using sources from Reichard's *Theaterkalender* and the catalogue of the Elector's Operatic Music Library, preserved at the Biblioteca Estense Universitaria in Modena.⁴⁹ Data relevant to the discussion in the chapter has been manually tabulated to enable better analysis and form part of the accompanying material. The *Spielplan* for the Hamburg *Stadttheater* from 1770 to 1850 (from 1783 with links to digitised playbills) has been reconstructed using sources available in the archives of the Hamburger Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek.⁵⁰ For data on the Berlin *Nationaltheater*, I have used Brachvogel's 1877 *Spielplan* to verify data presented in the 'Die Oper in Italien und Deutschland zwischen 1770 und 1830' online database.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna*, p. 494; Otto Schindler, 'Das Publikum des Burgtheaters in der Josephinischen Ära. Versuch einer Strukturbestimmung' in: *Das Burgtheater und sein Publikum*, vol. 1, ed. Margaret Dietrich (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976).

⁴⁸ *Hochgräflich Erdödysches Operntheater in Pressburg 1785* (Preßburg: gedruckt mit Weberischen Schriften, 1785); *Hochgräflich-Erdödischer Theaterallmanach auf das Jahr 1787* (Leipzig und Berlin, 1787); *Hochgräflich-Erdödischer Theaterallmanach auf das Jahr 1788* (Preßburg: gedruckt mit Weberischen Schriften, 1788).

⁴⁹ 'The Operatic Library of Elector Maximilian Franz' (Universität Wien, 2015); <https://operatic-library.univie.ac.at/> [consulted on 14 June 2019].

⁵⁰ 'Hamburger Stadttheater 1770-1850: Digitaler Spielplan' (Universität Hamburg, 2016) <https://www.stadttheater.uni-hamburg.de>. [consulted on 15 November 2020]. As the data on this website was directly entered into the online website, there exists no .csv file or spreadsheet (personal correspondence with Professor Dr Bernhard Jahn, 26 January 2021). I would like to acknowledge the technical intervention and support from Christopher Gutteridge at iSolutions to convert this online data into an excel file.

⁵¹ Albert Emil Brachvogel, *Geschichte des Königlichen Theaters zu Berlin: Nach Archivalien des königlich geheimen Staatsarchivs und des königlichen Theaters*, 2 vols (Berlin: O. Janke, 1877); 'Die Oper in Italien und Deutschland zwischen 1770 und 1830' (Universität zu Köln, Universität Mainz, Universität Bonn, 2006). <https://www.operndb.uni-mainz.de>. [consulted on 16 May 2020].

Chapter 1 A vibrant crossfire: Cultural transfer and *Bearbeitungspraxis*

In a country where the Italian language is foreign, it would be most useful to translate all the works into German: with as little as 200 florins a year a good translator can be found; this expense is very insignificant compared to the profit that could be derived from it.⁵²

Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749-1838), best known today as the librettist of three Mozart operas, also worked as a part-time impresario and publisher at the Burgtheater in Vienna towards the end of the 1780s. Reflecting on these experiences in the early 1790s, Da Ponte wrote that in order to run a successful and commercially viable theatre presenting Italian works in a German-speaking land, the appetite of the audience to hear works in German also had to be whetted. Indeed, some of the most popular works in the repertory of the Burgtheater's resident Italian troupe were swiftly introduced to the wider Viennese public in German translation in the suburban theatres of Vienna. These performances in venues such as the Theater in der Leopoldstadt (also referred to as the Leopoldstadt theatre) and the Theater auf den Wieden drew in audiences from across the social spectrum with a consistency that was enough to pose a very real commercial threat to the two imperial theatres.

By the late 1780s, the practice of adapting popular Italian works into German translation was already a few years in the making, running parallel to the development of the *Singspiel* and a 'uniquely complex German operatic tradition,' facilitated by the 'vibrant crossfire' resulting from the 'simultaneous presence of not only of Italian but also of French and German repertories.'⁵³ This narrative acknowledges the processes of assimilation and adaptation in German opera through cultural transfer. It also lends itself to a pervasive acceptance of the idea that without the formal conventions, if not rigidity, of French or Italian opera, German opera was often regarded as just bricolage. This is characterised often by a noticeable

⁵² 'In un paese dove la lingua italiana è straniera sarebbe utilissima la traduzione di tutte l'opere in Tedesco: con 200 fiorini all'anno si troverebbe un buon traduttore; questa spesa è meschnissima in confronto dell'utile che se ne ritrarrebbe.' Lorenzo Da Ponte, *Riflessioni* (undated), *A-Whh Kabinettsarchiv*, Carton 40 - *Cose dell' Abbate Lorenzo da Ponte*.

Although undated, these writings can be reasonably dated to around 1790. The complete text can be found in Michtner, p. 440.

⁵³ Estelle Joubert, 'Genre and Form in German Opera', in *The Cambridge Companion to Eighteenth-Century Opera*, ed. by Anthony R. DelDonna and Pierpaolo Polzonetti (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 184–201 (p. 185).

absence of German opera from any grand narrative of serious music.⁵⁴ This stands in stark contrast to the tradition of instrumental music widely accepted as the 'German' or Austro-German tradition.⁵⁵ Van Kooten terms this falling between the cracks of two dominant 'national' traditions as the 'German opera problem,' building on Celia Applegate's concept of the 'German problem.'⁵⁶ As outlined in the Introduction, this thesis examines German translations of Italian opera in the late eighteenth century and how these works influenced the *Singspiel* as a genre and by extension, also the development of a German operatic tradition.

In this chapter, I first delve into the existing literature on Italian opera in German translation in greater detail. I then outline the methodological framework of cultural transfer to interrogate what 'Italian,' 'German,' and opera in translation mean within the realm of *Singspiel*. Following this, I direct my attention to the conventions of the *Singspiel* as genre and explore the use of *Singspiel* as an umbrella term that also covered the proliferation of translations from Italian and French models. I then briefly look at the subtleties of referring to these *Singspiele* as practice as either translations or adaptations and finally examine the development of new conventions both in terms of style and content (*Bearbeitungspraxis*) with an example from the case studies examined in this thesis.

⁵⁴ Maurer Zenck in her survey of German opera mentions this very same issue, as to how 'German opera' is never addressed on the same footing as its French or Italian contemporaries—something which she does attempt to do with her contribution in the *Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music*. Claudia Maurer Zenck, 'German Opera from Reinhard Keiser to Peter Winter', in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music*, ed. by Simon P. Keefe, trans. by Anke Caton and Simon Keefe, The Cambridge History of Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 331–84 (p. 125). This approach of seeing the Italian and French operatic canons as the 'foundations' permeates through the organisation of even the recently published *Oxford Handbook of the Operatic Canon*, ed. by William Weber and Cormac Newark (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020).

⁵⁵ The other side to this argument is to be seen in 'Teutonic Universalism,' wherein the Austro-German canon stand for the 'universal' values, relegating music of other cultures to 'national traditions.' See: Mark Everist, 'Cosmopolitanism and Music for the Theatre: Europe and beyond, 1800–1870', in *Music History and Cosmopolitanism*, ed. by Anastasia Belina, Kaarina Kilpiö, and Derek B. Scott (London: Routledge, 2019), pp. 13–32 (pp. 13–14) and Richard Taruskin, 'Review: Speed Bumps', *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 29, Issue 2 (2005), 185–207.

⁵⁶ Van Kooten bases his formulation of the 'German opera problem' on important previous scholarship: Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker use this idea in their *A History of Opera* (2012) in response to a question on the sudden 'serious' turn in German opera around the turn of the nineteenth century. Their question in turn is based on Celia Applegate's formulation of the 'German problem,' which she defines as 'the problem of whether one can or indeed out to place music by Germans in a national context.' Celia Applegate, 'How German is it? Nationalism and the Idea of Serious Music in the Early Nineteenth Century', *19th-Century Music*, 21.3 (1998), 274–296 (p. 276), quoted also in: Kasper Bastiaan van Kooten, *Was Deutsch und echt...: Richard Wagner and the Articulation of a German Opera, 1798–1876* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2019), p. 5 and footnote 12.

1.1 Review of literature

One of most comprehensive surveys of the *Singspiel* as genre is Jorg Krämer's *Deutschsprachiges Musiktheater im späten 18. Jahrhundert*, which covers the period from 1760 to 1800. It is a detailed investigation into multiple facets of the genre, from methodological to aesthetic and importantly, also contains a chronological listing of all the original German-language *Singspiele* performed in this timeframe across the German-speaking lands.⁵⁷ Krämer's approach to the *Singspiel* is rooted in German theatre history, whereas Cristina Urchueguía's monograph, *Allerliebste Ungeheur: Das deutsche komische Singspiel 1760-1790* provides a more recent examination of the *Singspiel* from a musicological perspective, supported by extensive statistical data.⁵⁸ In significant contrast to Krämer, Uruchuguía includes *Singspiele* that are translations from French and German in her survey of the genre. She also highlights the relationship between German-language original *Singspiele* and translations and adaption from French and Italian, which in turn helps to underpin the importance of this oft-overlooked repertory. The following table, adapted directly from the monograph, represents works according to language, premiered and performed in centres across the German-speaking lands from 1760 to 1790.

Table 1.1: Overview of the number of premieres and performances in the German-speaking lands: 1760-1790⁵⁹

Works by language	Number of Premieres	Number of Performances
German-language original works	956	4944
Italian-language original works	471	3008
French-language original works	96	310

⁵⁷ Krämer, pp. 783–855. Krämer's list is firstly based on performance calendars or *Spielpläne* and not printed libretti. He points that not every piece that was performed was printed, and by considering only printed versions, the resulting list becomes skewed towards places that were more engaged with the market of printing. The cities in the Catholic south of the German-speaking lands including Vienna caught up with the prolific printing output of the cities in the Protestant north only by the 1790s. Secondly, this list does not include translations of Italian and French works into German.

⁵⁸ Cristina Urchueguía, *Allerliebste Ungeheur: deutsches komisches Singspiel 1760 - 1790* (Frankfurt am Main: Stroemfeld, 2015). Urchueguía lists over 70 separate cities and towns in her geographical scope and in the *Anhang*, she arranges them according to number of performances between 1760 and 1790. (pp.367-370)

⁵⁹ Urchueguía, p. 167 and 221.

Works by language	Number of Premieres	Number of Performances
Italian works in German translation	73	1983
French works in German translation	85	1835
Total	1681	11480

As the chronological scope of the data represented in the above table omits the last decade of the eighteenth century, the larger number of French works in translation is due to their prominence up until the 1780s, at which point Italian works began to be more prolifically translated and adapted. The following graph from Urchueguía's monograph represents this gradual shift from French to Italian works in German translation towards the 1790s.⁶⁰

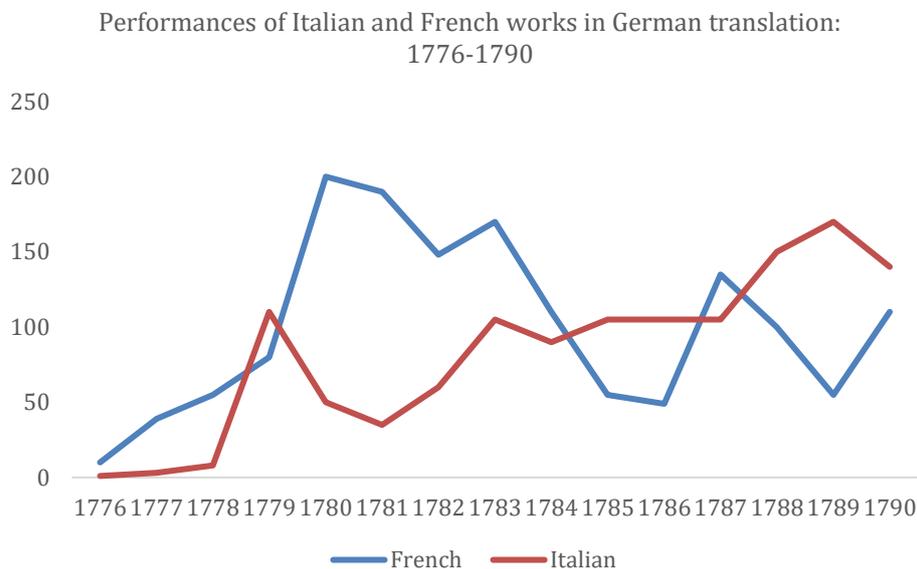


Figure 1.1: Performances of German translations from Italian and French works: 1760-1790

While there have been a few works that examine German adaptations of French *opéra comique* of the late eighteenth century, very little in-depth work has been done on the German adaptations of Italian operatic repertory during the same period, with the exception of the three Mozart-Da Ponte operas.⁶¹ Around the mid-2000s, several important publications

⁶⁰ Urchueguía, p.217.

⁶¹ On the reception/translation of *opéra comique* in Germany, see: Thomas Betzwieser, 'Zwischen Kinder- und Nationaltheater: die Rezeption der Opéra comique in Deutschland (1760-1780),' in *Theater im Kulturwandel des 18. Jahrhunderts: Inszenierung und Wahrnehmung von Körper – Musik – Sprache*, ed. by Erika Fischer-Lichte and Jörg Schönert (Göttingen: Wallstein, 1999), pp. 245-64; Thomas Betzwieser, 'Grétrys *Richard Coeur-de-Lion* in Deutschland: die Opéra comique auf dem Weg

in the field of study of reworking (*Bearbeitung*) of Italian opera in the late eighteenth century began to appear. Important conference proceedings were published as *Oper im Aufbruch: Gattungskonzepte des deutschsprachigen Musiktheaters um 1800*.⁶² Two essays in this collection frame some of the key ideas and questions that I address in this thesis. Daniel Brandenburg's 'Zur Rezeption des Buffa-Repertoires im deutschsprachigen Raum: Deutsche Bearbeitungen italienischer Werke in Wien' uses the example of Paisiello's *Die eingebildeten Philosophen (I filosofi immaginari)* to discuss a wide array of topics, including how the work was adapted to suit the Viennese singers and the challenges of the translation process.⁶³ On the other hand, Christine Siegert's 'Rezeption durch Modifikation: Verbreitungswege italienischer Opern des späten 18. Jahrhunderts' uses the case of an insert aria by Paquale Anfossi used in Viennese performances of Sarti's *Fra i due litiganti* to discuss the practice of substitute or insert arias and the role of copyists in the circulation of these 'modified' works.⁶⁴ Despite their brevity, they serve as a useful survey on the importance of factoring in the German translations of Italian *opera buffa* in subsequent reception history.

In a similar vein, John Platoff's article on the circulation and reception of *Fra i due litiganti* positions Vienna as the centre of a hub-and-spoke model of transmission of Italian opera in the late eighteenth century. The Viennese version of the opera, with its plethora of substitute arias, became 'the standard version, at least in most cities north of the Alps.'⁶⁵ Platoff attributes it not only to Vienna's cultural significance as a flourishing centre of Italian opera

zur grossen Oper,' in *Grétry et l'Europe de l'opéra-comique*, ed. by Vendrix Phillipe (Liège: Lüttich, 1992), pp. 331–51. Herbert Schneider, 'Die deutschen Übersetzungen französischer Opern zwischen 1780 und 1820. Verlauf und Probleme eines Transfer-Zyklus,' in *Kulturtransfer im Epochenbruch: Frankreich-Deutschland 1770 bis 1815*, ed. by Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink and Rolf Reichardt (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 1997), pp. 593–696; Herbert Schneider, 'Zur Problematik der Opéras-comiques-Übersetzungen ins Deutsche,' in *Studien zu den deutsch-französischen Musikbeziehungen im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Bericht über die erste gemeinsame Jahrestagung der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung und der Société française de musicologie Saarbrücken 1999*, ed. by Herbert Schneider (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag), pp. 40–139; Herbert Schneider, 'Zu den deutschen Übersetzungen von Meyerbeers *Les Huguenots*,' in *Bühnenklänge. Festschrift für Sieghart Döhring zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Thomas Betzwieser and others (Munich: Ricordi, 2005), pp. 347–76.

⁶² *Oper im Aufbruch: Gattungskonzepte des deutschsprachigen Musiktheaters um 1800*, ed. by Marcus Lippe (Kassel: Bosse, 2007).

⁶³ Daniel Brandenburg, 'Zur Rezeption des Buffa-Repertoires im deutschsprachigen Raum: Deutsche Bearbeitungen italienischer Werke in Wien,' in *Oper im Aufbruch: Gattungskonzepte des deutschsprachigen Musiktheaters um 1800*, ed. by Marcus Lippe (Kassel: Bosse, 2007), p. 210.

⁶⁴ Christine Siegert, 'Rezeption durch Modifikation: Verbreitungswege italienischer Opern des späten 18. Jahrhunderts im deutschsprachigen Raum,' in *Oper im Aufbruch: Gattungskonzepte des deutschsprachigen Musiktheaters um 1800*, ed. by Marcus Lippe (Kassel: Bosse, 2007), p. 111.

⁶⁵ John Platoff, 'Sarti's *Fra i Due Litiganti* and Opera in Vienna,' *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 73.3 (2020), 535–81 (p. 535). Platoff's paper also affirms the core hypothesis of this dissertation that Vienna acted as a hub for the circulation of *opere buffe* and their translations in the late eighteenth century. I also challenge this hypothesis in Chapter 4, with regard to another Sarti opera, *Giulio Sabino*.

but also to the Viennese printing and copying firms such as Sukowaty's, which made the acquisition of copies from Vienna easier than from Italy itself.

As mentioned earlier, there is some existing scholarship on three Mozart-Da Ponte operas—*Le nozze di Figaro* (1784, Vienna), *Don Giovanni* (1787, Prague) and *Così fan tutte* (1790, Vienna)—in the context of German translations of Italian opera. Two of these are doctoral theses from post-war Germany and Austria, one by Wilhelm Wodnansky at the Universität Wien in 1949, and the other, by Kurt Helmut Oehl at the Universität von Mainz in 1952.⁶⁶ Wodnansky's thesis explores the various styles employed by translators when attempting a 'Germanisation' (*Verdeutschung*) of Da Ponte's libretti. This thesis also provides insights into the choices made by a range of translators, whether it be adopting *Operndeutsch*—a level of German translation suited to the register the original—or a more relaxed, translation that aligned itself with prevalent *Lust-* and *Singspiele*, like in Christian Gottlob Neefe's 1789 translation of *Don Giovanni*.⁶⁷

On the other hand, Oehl discusses nineteen separate translations of the three operas, with seven of *Figaro* and six each of *Don Giovanni* and *Così*, and provides a tri-fold classification of the translations, into which he categorises all nineteen examples: (a) verbatim translations, (b) literal translations and (c) free translations.⁶⁸ This broadly maps onto the three kinds of translated libretti described by Livio Marcaletti, whose recent titled *Italienische Oper in Deutscher Übersetzung (ca. 1600-c.1750)*, examines almost the very same research questions as this thesis, albeit in the preceding epoch.⁶⁹ Marcaletti also sets out a three-tier system of libretti in translation, classifying them into: (a) libretti aimed at reading; (b) singable

⁶⁶ Wilhelm Wodnansky, 'Die deutschen Übersetzungen der Mozart-Da Ponte-Opern *Le nozze di Figaro*, *Don Giovanni* und *Così fan tutte* im Lichte text- und musikkritischer Betrachtung: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Opernlibrettos' (Ph.D. diss., Universität Wien, 1949); Kurt Helmut Oehl, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Mozart-Übersetzungen' (Ph.D. diss., Universität von Mainz, 1952). Both Wodnansky's and Oehl's theses were completed within a few years of each other, in the post-war period and it is highly likely that the research would have been conducted either pre-war or in the immediate aftermath of the war. There is however no mention of the more contemporaneous context in which these theses were produced—either as a conscious choice to distance themselves or to avoid the extremely complicated connotations that phrases such as *Verdeutschung* and 'fremdes Geistgut' would engender.

⁶⁷ Wodnansky addresses the broader themes of the translator being representative of a 'foreign intellectual spirit' in the third part of the thesis, titled 'Der Übersetzer als Gestalter fremden Geistgutes,' p.156-199.

⁶⁸ Oehl, pp. 3–4. 'wörtliche Übersetzungen, sinngemäße Übersetzungen, freie Übersetzungen.'

⁶⁹ Livio Marcaletti, 'Italienische Oper in Deutscher Übersetzung (ca. 1600–ca. 1750)'

<https://www.oeaw.ac.at/ikt/forschung/translation/italienische-oper-in-deutscher-uebersetzung-ca-1600-ca-1750> [consulted on 20 May 2020].

translations and (c) paraphrases that translate but also alter the text radically.⁷⁰ All five libretti I discuss in this thesis fall into the category of singable translations, or better put, translated libretti that were intended for a German-language performance. However, my focus in studying these libretti does not lie in their singability (*Singbarkeit*) in terms of word, rhyme, or metre choices. Instead, I analyse changes to the overall structure of the work from the original Italian, how this might have rendered it closer to a *Singspiel* as genre and its impact on the work's subsequent reception history.

Some of the other studies on the Mozart-Da Ponte operas focus on German translations as part of placing in context the work's reception history. A work that comes close to framing this question with respect to the research questions I raise in this thesis, albeit with a limited scope, is Carroll Proctor's doctoral thesis on the *Singspiel* adaptations of *Don Giovanni*.⁷¹ The first volume of the thesis explores *Singspiel* as a genre from its beginnings and is a useful overview of late eighteenth-century German-language music theatre seen through the examples of composers who experimented with the *Singspiel* either through original composition or adaptation.⁷² The second volume of Proctor's thesis focuses on *Singspiel* adaptations of *Don Giovanni*, studying the structure and mechanisms of the transformation from *opera buffa* to *Singspiel*.⁷³ Proctor's first argument is that the Viennese premiere of *Don Giovanni* was by itself a transformation into *Singspiel*, because 'the Viennese public and those in the Burgtheater ensemble received the altered form of *Don Giovanni* as a *Singspiel*.'⁷⁴ She bases this on the *Theaterzettel* announcing the Viennese premiere also hypothesises that the (Italian) Prague version itself had a predilection for the *Singspiel* form.⁷⁵ However, I evaluate

⁷⁰ Ibid. 'Leselibretti, singbare Übersetzungen, tatsächliche Umschreibungen, die den originalen Text nicht nur übersetzen, sondern weitgehend verändern.'

For a discussion of the rather complicated relationship of opera to reading, see William Germano, 'Reading at the Opera', *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 79.3 (2010), 881–98 (pp. 890–92) in particular.

⁷¹ Carroll Milton Proctor, 'The *Singspiel* and the *Singspiel* Adaptation of Mozart's "Don Giovanni": An Eighteenth-Century Manuscript.' (Ph.D. diss., The University of Iowa, 1979).

⁷² Ibid, p.1-44. Proctor's classification of *Singspiel* composers as 'non-German' and 'native German' is slightly baffling, especially in terms of how this geographic entity is viewed.

Proctor's thesis, through its pitfalls, demonstrates the need to contextualise Mozart. A lot of what is termed in this dissertation as ground-breaking or unique-to-Mozart-features in *Don Giovanni*, including the *dramma giocoso* genre, are, in fact, products and developments of the 1780s Viennese opera buffa as can be seen from the later works of Link (1998) and Hunter (1999) specifically. The tendency to ascribe the Mozart-Da Ponte operas to be representative examples of the 1780s *opera buffa* while also claiming that they were extremely unusual works is a clear result of the Mozart hagiography that has developed since the nineteenth century. See also: Mark Everist, *Mozart's Ghosts: Haunting the Halls of Musical Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

⁷³ Ibid, p.370-404.

⁷⁴ Ibid, p.375.

⁷⁵ Ibid, Proctor continues by saying: "*Don Giovanni* began the transition from *dramma giocoso-opera buffa* to German *Singspiel* in the weeks before the Viennese premiere. After the alterations were made

this assumption to be erroneous—Proctor’s entire argument is centred on the appearance of the word *Singspiel* in the playbill announcing the work’s Viennese premiere in 1788. This was a common late eighteenth-century practice, possibly based on semantic translation; an *opera buffa* was interchangeably announced as a *Lustspiel* or a *Singspiel* in playbills or printed libretti.⁷⁶ Nonetheless, this linguistic interchangeability points in the direction of one of the core questions in this thesis about the boundaries between these genres across languages, especially in translation.

Gabriele Brandstetter’s article on *Così fan tutte* and its pre-1800 German translations discusses their implication on the complex early reception history of the work in the German-speaking lands by examining the *Sprechstil* or register of three important libretti translations.⁷⁷ Mirroring the conclusions from both Wodnanksy’s and Oehl’s theses, Brandstetter showcases how the 1794 Leipzig translation by Bretzner became the most popular translation because it was entirely ‘adapted for the German stage’ through a process of ‘Germanification.’⁷⁸ Claudia Maurer Zenck’s monograph on *Così* is based on the same premise, but on a much larger scale and therefore also includes a detailed study of manuscripts to paint a broader picture of the impact of the early German translations on the reception of *Così*.⁷⁹

This brief review once again underscores the gap in scholarship regarding Italian opera in German translation beyond individual examples. To understand this phenomenon within the context of the rich repertory of works that circulated across the German-speaking lands, I adopt a macroscopic perspective by exploring case studies across this vast region and examining their relationship with Vienna. Through this approach, I also highlight the importance of mapping the intricate network of people who enabled the translation and circulation of these works.

In this thesis, I assert that Italian opera in German translation should not be overlooked as mere translational enterprises or a musicological simplicity of spoken dialogue replacing

to the original Prague form, only one step remained in completing the *Singspiel* adaptation and that was an *able buffo-Stegreifkomoedie-Singspiel* German text that stressed the figure of Leporello and a burlesque interpretation of the entire drama,’ *ibid.*, p. 376.

⁷⁶ See also the section in the Introduction on Data sources.

⁷⁷ Gabriele Brandstetter, ‘So machen’s alle Die frühen Übersetzungen von Da Pontes und Mozarts *Così fan tutte* für deutsche Bühnen: Für Gerhard Neumann’, *Die Musikforschung*, 35.1 (1982), 27–44. For a brief overview of the translations of *Così*, see: Wodnansky, p. 212. Oehl provides a much more detailed list of translations in the appendix to his thesis. See: Oehl, pp. 19–22 of the *Anhang*.

⁷⁸ Brandstetter, p. 39.

⁷⁹ Claudia Maurer Zenck, *Così fan tutte. Drama giocoso und deutsches Singspiel: frühe Abschriften und frühe Aufführungen* (Schliengen: EdArgus, 2007).

recitatives.⁸⁰ They ought to be appreciated in context as an important aspect of the *Bearbeitungspraxis*, rendering a work accessible on more levels than just removing simple recitatives. This accessibility paved the way for a wider transmission of the original Italian works in the vernacular in the form of *Singspiel* as practice. This in turn shaped the *romantische Oper* of the nineteenth century in the expanse of form and thought through absorption and assimilation, in addition to contributing significantly to the development of 'national' operas around central Europe in the early nineteenth century.

1.2 Cultural transfer and operas in translation

Italian opera of the late eighteenth century was a deeply interwoven network of theatres, composers, librettists, impresarios and genres. Its history by itself is greater than the sum of the histories of these individual components because of the way it was cultivated—'not as a national, but an international culture.'⁸¹ With this also comes the question of what constitutes 'Italian' or 'German,' and by extension, the concept of 'Italian opera in German translation' begets the questions as to what these terms signify in the context of opera of the late eighteenth century.

The choice of a methodological framework or frameworks in opera studies gives rise to an interesting dilemma: as Herbert Lindenberger articulates it in the dialogic prologue to his work *Situating Opera*, opera 'transcends the usual intellectual categories. Opera extends its tentacles into all manner of territory.'⁸² The frameworks to study opera have been many, and over the last two decades, studies have fruitfully adapted and utilised sociological or literary modes of inquiry to shed light on musicological discourses.

In this thesis, I look at late eighteenth-century *opera buffa* and *Singspiel* performed as distinct yet simultaneously fluid linguistic and cultural entities in the German-speaking lands,

⁸⁰ The translation itself, in some cases, went beyond a word-for-word rendering of the original text into German. While usually inconspicuous, even aspects like translations of the stage directions can shed light into how the work was freshly perceived in German. Unfortunately, this does not come to the fore in any of case studies chosen for this thesis and is therefore not discussed in further detail.

⁸¹ Jacobshagen, p. 94. 'Die italienische Oper des späten 18. Jahrhunderts war keine nationale, sondern eine internationale Kultur, die nicht nur in den italienischen Städten, sondern darüber hinaus an fast allen europäischen Höfen unter ähnlichen Voraussetzungen gepflegt wurde.'

⁸² Herbert Lindenberger, *Situating Opera: Period, Genre, Reception*, Cambridge Studies in Opera (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 2. Lindenberger's work, as the title suggests, interrogates the situating of opera in both time, milieu, and abstract theoretical space. A scholar of comparative literature and not musicology, his comment draws upon the fact that much of the methodological discourses in musicology stem from literary and comparative studies; indeed, he chooses to frame his arguments on opera and society through the lens of the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, in order to add to the prevalent influences of Foucault and Adorno.

wherein the keywords of discussion remain culture and identity. Beyond an examination of two broad operative sub-genres and their interplay, this thesis explores the larger framework and backdrop to an exchange of culture, both in linguistic, socio-political as well as musicological dimensions. In this section, I briefly introduce the concept of cultural transfer, firstly through a short review of its applications in studies situated around the scope of this thesis and secondly through a closer analysis of the concept itself, its criticisms, and ways in which it can lend itself useful in the understanding of circulation and reception of Italian opera in German translation in the late eighteenth century.

What then is cultural transfer? Cultural transfer as a concept has been associated with Michel Werner and Michael Espagne, who first employed it in the field of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Franco-German literary studies.⁸³ It has been prevalent since the 1980s as the alternative model to traditional comparative studies, which employs a methodologically flawed similarity-dissimilarity comparison. Manuela Rossini and Michael Toggweiler in their article 'Cultural Transfer: An Introduction' describe cultural transfer as 'the global mobility of words, concepts, images, persons, animals, commodities, money, weapons and other things (understood in a broad sense).'⁸⁴ They then add four specifications to add and enrich this definition, which are: (1) a fluidity of objects and persons, wherein borders are 'on the move,' emphasising the importance of understanding agency within cultural transfer; (2) the inevitable politicisation in the 'analysis of cultural transfer and culture *as* transfer,' underscoring the use of 'cultural' as adjective to 'allow for the analysis of differences, contrasts, hybridity as well as similarities, shared features and interstices between all sorts of categories;' (3) an extended entanglement between the conceptual and the material, wherein cultural transfer is simultaneously a heuristic device for talking about difference and similarity, but also an analytical conception; and finally (4) cultural transfer as an object of transfer itself, as a 'travelling concept.' This in turn goes back to what Werner and

⁸³ The notion of cultural transfer was put forward by Werner and Espagne in their article, Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, 'Deutsch-Französischer Kulturtransfer im 18. und 19. Jh.: Zu einem neuen interdisziplinären Forschungsprogramm des C.N.R.S.', *Francia*, 13 (1985), 502–10. It was further expanded in Michel Espagne, *Les Transferts Culturels Franco-Allemands* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1999).

⁸⁴ Manuela Rossini and Michael Toggweiler, 'Cultural Transfer: An Introduction', *Word and Text: A Journal of Literary Studies and Linguistics*, 4.2 (2014), 5–9 (p. 5). Rossini and Toggweiler explain that their definition of cultural transfer is rooted in Stephen Greenblatt's idea of 'cultural mobility,' which can be very broadly parsed as an interdisciplinary approach to understanding the 'disruptive forces that shape the history and diffusion of identity and language.' Stephen Greenblatt, *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 2.

Espagne originally posited regarding cultural transfer as a framework to displace often one-dimensional comparative approach towards one of *métissage*.⁸⁵

The concept of cultural transfer serves as the core methodological framework to provide a more nuanced understanding of the two key terms mentioned earlier: culture and identity. In the field of musicology itself, it is not a 'new' or novel methodology to anchor opera studies, given that it has been used to investigate areas of research similar and parallel to those discussed in this thesis. For instance, Arnold Jacobshagen evokes this concept in his 2005 monograph on *opera semiseria* subtitled *Gattungskonvergenz und Kulturtransfer im Musiktheater*, where he combines the genre question in music theatre, particularly Italian opera, with cultural transfer.⁸⁶ Jacobshagen investigates the emergence of this mixed genre through the lens of *Kulturpolitik* of the French invading forces in Italy in the early nineteenth century pursuing a policy of assimilation.⁸⁷

Mark Everist and Annegrete Fauser in their edited volume from 2009 titled *Music, Theatre and Cultural Transfer* offer a helpful and easily accessible definition of cultural transfer as 'a critical category for a wide range of scholarly fields as a concept that 'deals with the transport of cultural materials from one domain to another.'⁸⁸ In what looks an approach contrary to that of Jacobshagen's, who uses a single-pointed application of the framework of cultural transfer to interrogate questions of genre, Everist and Fauser use cultural transfer to frame essays on a wide variety of aspects of music theatre in one location, Paris across a few decades. In the same vein, recent studies in musicology focusing on cultural transfer within specified loci include Martin Eybl's project titled *Transferprozesse in der Musikkultur Wiens, 1755–1780: Musikalienmarkt, Bearbeitungspraxis, neues Publikum* ('Cultural Transfer of Music in Vienna, 1755–1780: Music Distribution, Transformation of Pieces, Involvement of New

⁸⁵ Rossini and Toggweiler, pp. 5–6. In this respect, of course, as with every concept, it is very well possible to pare back meta-layers. Yet, the layers and layering of cultural transfer make it abundantly clear that even as a basic framework, when applied to a late eighteenth-century phenomenon, it opens avenues of investigation and methods that are very much aligned to the present, without being incongruent.

⁸⁶ Jacobshagen, pp. 69–71. See in particular, Chapter 3 'Italianische Oper und europäischer Kulturtransfer.'

⁸⁷ Jacobshagen, p. 84. Of particular interest is Jacobshagen's application of Werner and Espagne's original use of the Franco-German cultural transfer axis (with an emphasis on the Saxon role) to shed light on what he terms 'peripheries of Italian opera,' especially Dresden. (Jacobshagen, p. 96).

⁸⁸ *Music, Theatre, and Cultural Transfer: Paris, 1830-1914*, ed. by Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), p. 6. The choice of terminology here about the place(s) of cultural transfer as a domain is interesting and will be touched upon briefly in the discussion below.

Chapter 1

Consumers’).⁸⁹ Some of the key conclusions from the doctoral projects included in this project were published in an anthology entitled *Via Wien: Musik, Literatur und Aufklärungskultur im europäischen Austausch*. This work looks at the central position played by Vienna as a centre of transmission of Enlightenment culture of the eighteenth century, also contains aspects of the cultural transfer research presented in this thesis.⁹⁰

One of the key questions that is engendered by the translation or adaptation of a work is whether these remain distinct entities or if they are just offshoots of a primary, ‘original’ work, making the adaptations in some way less ‘authentic.’ This aspect is addressed briefly by Andrei Münzmay’s essay on the current state of cultural transfer in musicological research, providing a summary of the discussions surrounding musicology and cultural transfer, especially the basic idea promulgated by Werner and Espagne and highlights one of the major outcomes of this framework as being evaluating and assessing adaptations or derivations of works as individual works in their own right than as inferior or ‘misunderstandings.’⁹¹ A case in point here would be seeing the Paris production of *Die Zauberflöte, Les Mysteres d’Isis* as a work of art in its own right, rather than as a ‘mutilation’ as a previously approaches would have seen it.⁹² Münzmay also provides a balanced critique of the terminologies used by Werner and Espagne such as ‘nation’ and ‘culture’ and argues for frameworks that allow for more precise definitions like local/regional repertoires or cultural politics.

⁸⁹ This project ran from 2014 until 2020 in co-operation with the Musiksammlung of the Austrian National Library and was financed by the FWF Austrian Science Fund. The major outcomes of the project are to be seen in four separate yet interconnected doctoral projects on the following topics: ‘From Court Chapel to Kärntnertheater: the changing social background of the oratorio,’ ‘Monasteries as clients on Vienna’s music manuscript market,’ ‘Instrumental music from Vienna printed in Paris,’ ‘Opéra-comique in Vienna 1765–1780.’ https://www.mdw.ac.at/imi/transferprozesse_in_der_musikkultur_wiens/ (consulted on 10 October 2020).

⁹⁰ *Via Wien: Musik, Literatur und Aufklärungskultur im europäischen Austausch*, ed. by Franz Eybl and Julia Ackermann, Das Achtzehnte Jahrhundert und Österreich, 31 (Bochum: Verlag Dr. Dieter Winkler, 2017).

Ackermann’s opening chapter is titled ‘Schauspieler, Agenten, Übersetzer und Staatskanzler: Akteure des Transfers der *Opéra comique* nach Wien 1765-1780.’ It is situated in Vienna of the 1760s and 1770s, and explores the key players involved in the cultural transfer of French *opéra comique* facilitated by the city. The work almost serves as a background both chronologically as well as theoretically, in the build up to the high point of Josephinism in the 1780s and its consequences that I will discuss in Chapter 2.

⁹¹ Andreas Münzmay, ‘Kulturtransferforschung und Musikwissenschaft’, in *Zwischen Transfer und Transformation: Horizonte der Rezeption von Musik*, ed. by Michele Calella and Benedikt Leßmann, Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikwissenschaft, 51 (Vienna: Hollitzer Verlag, 2020).

⁹² Jacques Chailley, *La flûte enchantée: opéra maçonnique: essai d’explication du livret et de la musique* (Paris: Laffont, 1983), p. 50. ‘Il est difficile d’imaginer plus éhonté massacre que cette scandaleuse version que l’on alla jusqu’à débaptiser pour l’appeler *Les mystères d’Isis*.’

Sebastian Conrad writing in *What is global history* posits that comparative historical studies have been supplemented by several proposals—‘including transfer histories, entangled histories and connected histories’—to address the several shortcomings of a plainly comparative approach, which tends to omit factors such as interaction and exchange.⁹³ These have been supplementary to cultural transfer as well. The deficits or drawbacks of cultural transfer as it was first disseminated in the 1980s have meant that there have been parallel, supplementary concepts that have emerged since, with transnational and transcultural studies being at the forefront of these attempts. Conrad discusses transnational history as a tool to study ‘phenomena that are geographically more limited,’ while eschewing the traditional comparative framework as the transnational redirects the focus on ‘the fluid and interwoven dimensions of the historical process, studying societies in the context of entanglement that have shaped them, and to which they have contributed in turn.’⁹⁴

As Conrad himself points out, ‘transnational history gives particular attention to the role of mobility, circulation and transfers.’⁹⁵ This phrase includes terms that are commonly associated with cultural transfer as well. However, it is also illuminating in terms of the distinction that can be drawn between the two concepts. In grappling with terminologies and their variants, it may be convincingly suggested that this facet of transnational history drives home one of the key criticisms of cultural transfer, i.e., the conflation of ‘culture’ and ‘nation.’ It also underscores the necessity to establish what ‘culture’ and ‘nation’ mean in each research context to which these concepts are applied.⁹⁶

One further point remains to be clarified: cultural transfer is often interchangeably used with the term cultural exchange. On one hand, Wolfgang Schmale distinguishes them using the concept of direction, wherein cultural transfer is often perceived as one-way, while cultural exchange evokes bi-, if not pluri-directional flow of ideas.⁹⁷ On the other hand, Espagne has been paraphrased on this topic saying: ‘Cultural exchange is not the circulation of objects and ideas as they already are, but their relentless reinterpretation, rethinking and re-

⁹³ Sebastian Conrad, *What is Global History* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2016), pp. 41–42.

⁹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 44.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ Stockhorst also notes: ‘in order to clarify the methodologically different potential of the transfer concept, Armin Paul Frank and Harald Kittel notably suggested that we should refer to ‘communicative communities’ rather than to ‘cultures’ as these seem too close to ‘nations.’ *Cultural Transfer through Translation: The Circulation of Enlightened Thought in Europe by Means of Translation*, ed. by Stefanie Stockhorst (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2010), p. 21.

⁹⁷ Wolfgang Schmale, ‘Cultural Transfer’, *EGO* <http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/theories-and-methods/cultural-transfer/wolfgang-schmale-cultural-transfer#MacroHistoryandMicroHistoryofCulturalTransfers> [consulted on 13 December 2019].

signification.⁹⁸ 'In a wider sense, transfer, as opposed to exchange, can imply a substantial transformation for one, if not both cultures involves and thereby can represent a relationship 'between two autonomous and asymmetrical systems.'⁹⁹ However, cultural transfer is now seen to encompass multidirectional transfer constellations which are no longer restricted to studying Europe, but have expanded to cover global issues and suitably reflect power dynamics and imbalances even, as with its use within postcolonial studies.¹⁰⁰

Lieven D'hulst calls for the extension and alignment of translation studies with the concept of cultural transfer in his paper titled '(Re)locating translation history.'¹⁰¹ D'hulst proposes the idea of translation as a form of transfer, discusses the issues arising from coalescing these concepts and more importantly, highlights the role of agents of transfer and translators. Similarly, Benedikt Leßmann makes a strong argument for translation to be considered a topic of musicology (*Musikforschung*), focusing on the 'cultural turn' in translation studies and its intersection with cultural transfer.¹⁰²

Christophe Charle, Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, and York-Gothart Mix's edited anthology *Transkulturalität nationaler Räume in Europa (18. bis 19. Jahrhundert)* brings together essays bound by the common theme of translations and cultural transfer and in their Introduction titled 'Traductions et intermédiaires interculturels,' the editors propose viewing translators who aid the process of cultural transfer as 'intercultural intermediaries,' and include under the term 'translators' all sorts of other intermediaries as well such as editors, journalists, engravers and so on.¹⁰³ This very much underlines the premise expressed by Middell that

⁹⁸ Olga Yakushenko, 'What Is Cultural Transfer?', *European University at St Petersburg* <https://eusp.org/en/news/what-is-cultural-transfer> [consulted on 13 December 2019].

⁹⁹ Espagne, *Transferts culturels*, p.5. This also aligns with Greenblatt's idea of cultural mobility, referred to earlier in footnote 33.

¹⁰⁰ Matthias Middell, 'Historische Komparatistik und Kulturtransferforschung: Vom bilateralen Beispiel zu Beiträgen für eine globale Geschichte,' *Eurostudies* vol. 4, 2 (2008), p. 1–2.

¹⁰¹ Lieven D'hulst, '(Re)Locating Translation History: From Assumed Translation to Assumed Transfer', *Translation Studies*, 5.2 (2012), 139–55.

¹⁰² Benedikt Leßmann, 'Übersetzung – ein Thema der Musikforschung?', in *Zwischen Transfer und Transformation: Horizonte der Rezeption von Musik*, ed. by Michele Calella and Benedikt Leßmann, Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikwissenschaft, 51 (Vienna: Hollitzer Verlag, 2020), pp. 147–73. The shift in translation studies to a translator-centric model reflects the much earlier shift in musicology to new musicology, which, Lawrence Kramer describes as an attempt to 'combine aesthetic insight into music with a fuller understanding of its cultural, social, historical, and political dimensions than was customary for most of the twentieth century.' Lawrence Kramer, 'Musicology and Meaning', *The Musical Times*, 144.1883 (2003), 6–12 (p. 6).

¹⁰³ Christophe Charle et al., 'Introduction générale', in *Transkulturalität nationaler Räume in Europa (18. bis 19. Jahrhundert). Übersetzungen, Kulturtransfer und Vermittlungsinstanzen*, ed. by Christophe Charle, Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, and York-Gothart Mix (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), pp. 27–45 (pp. 40–41).

'constellations of thoughts and practices do not spread of their own accord, but must be actively carried by intermediaries.'¹⁰⁴

Other works that look at cultural translation include Peter Burke's *Lost and found in translation*, which attempts to parse translation between languages on a more generalist scale as a translation between cultures. Burke uses the example of European translations facilitated by printing between 1500-1700 and focuses on which kinds of books demanded translation and attempts to identify patterns and structures of the early modern 'regime of translation,' be it free, literal or more adaptable to either the domestic or foreign cultures.¹⁰⁵ Philip Bohlman's chapter 'Translating Herder Translating,' as its subtitle suggests, investigates the concept of cultural translation and using the example of translations made by Herder, Bohlman argues that the act of translation was in fact an act of modernising, that impacted a much more deeper cultural translation, instead of a mere linguistic translation.¹⁰⁶

Anthony Pym's article 'Humanizing Translation History' puts forward the argument for integrating translation history with intercultural studies and calls for a renewed focus on translators as people rather than data-driven analysis of the content of the translations themselves.¹⁰⁷ Translators, for Pym, are not always strongly situated in one culture or discourse, but instead are able to mediate because of their location on the intersection between cultures and discourse. This emphasis on agency is critical to cultural transfer: it works on a kind of agency that Becker proposes in *Art Worlds*, without a hierarchy, flatter almost.¹⁰⁸ There is no greater importance to the composer or librettist, or the other 'intermediaries' who often get overlooked.¹⁰⁹ In this model of understanding the circulation and reception of Italian opera in German translation, everyone or even everything is given a place in the process and the mediation of culture involved in the translation of opera libretti

¹⁰⁴ Michel Espagne, 'Die Rolle der Mittler im Kulturtransfer', in *Kulturtransfer im Epochenbruch: Frankreich-Deutschland 1770 bis 1815*, ed. by Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink and Rolf Reichardt (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 1997), pp. 309–31 (p. 310).

¹⁰⁵ Peter Burke, 'Lost (and Found) in Translation: A Cultural History of Translators and Translating in Early Modern Europe', *European Review*, 15.1 (2007), 83–94.

¹⁰⁶ Philip V. Bohlman, 'Translating Herder Translating: Cultural Translation and the Making of Modernity', in *The Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music*, ed. by Jane Fulcher, 2011.

¹⁰⁷ Anthony Pym, 'Humanizing Translation History', *HERMES - Journal of Language and Communication in Business*, 42, 2009, 23–48 (pp. 24–25).

¹⁰⁸ Howard Saul Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), pp. 1–14 in particular.

¹⁰⁹ These factors who get overlooked often get classed in what Dalhaus terms a 'rubble of fact.' Carl Dalhaus, *Between Romanticism and Modernism: Four Studies in the Music of the Later Nineteenth Century*, trans. by Mary Whittall (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980), p. 38.

is one of the major reasons this thesis looks at the translators and the networks of translations than the translation itself through semantic analysis.¹¹⁰

Stephanie Stockhorst's edited volume of fifteen essays exploring the theme of cultural transfer through translation during the Enlightenment covers many of the key points regarding cultural transfer, translation, and adaptation in the eighteenth century, particularly in German-language contexts that are addressed in this thesis. Stockhorst's introduction is a very valuable synopsis and detailed examination of the concept of culture and cultural transfer. Stockhorst, for instance, proposes viewing culture (C) as a bifurcated concept where C_1 stands for the 'cultural framework' and C_2 for the cultural products resulting from C_1 .¹¹¹ In this model, cultural transfer sees an object of culture (C_2) being conveyed from C_1 to another culture, C'_1 , where agents of C'_1 adapt C_2 such a new cultural product C'_2 emerges. If this were to be mapped onto Middell's breakdown of Werner and Espangne's definition, the transfer model becomes a four-step process between two cultures A and B where firstly the 'cultural appropriation context' B self-identifies a deficit, seeks input from A, the 'cultural context.' Thereafter mediators in the space between A and B, by virtue of background, profession and so on become cultural (and literal) translators. After this, an integration pattern is discussed and finally, the pattern is either accepted, subsumed, or denied.¹¹²

In the next section, I look at the definitions of *Singspiel* as genre and investigate whether the first step of this cultural transfer holds true for German translations of Italian opera, which I take as *Singspiel* as practice: does this process indeed arise out of a possible clichéd self-identified deficit?¹¹³ When speaking of cultural transfer between 'Italian' and 'German' here, it carries with it the context of a cultural product—here, the work of music theatre—as well as a language that is transferred in a way that is notably more complex and less tidy than the implications typically associated with cultural transfer in terms of movement across one geographical territory to another. In this context, Italian opera is a cultural entity that is also

¹¹⁰ Translator-informed perspectives of opera/ vocal music translation often overlook the 'theoretical questions,' or the cultural framework within which the translation is made. Klaus Kaindl calls these *Werkstattnotizen*. Klaus Kaindl, *Die Oper als Textgestalt: Perspektiven einer interdisziplinären Übersetzungswissenschaft*, Studien zur Translation, 2 (Tübingen: Stauffenburg Verlag, 1995), p. 2. Kaindl's work on the whole, addresses the theoretical framework of opera translation, interrogating these at text-libretto-music levels, before factoring in voice and register (*Stimme*) and context (*Szene*). Kaindl's chapter on the German translations of *Don Giovanni* traces the changing renderings of the titular character according to epoch and style of the translations. Kaindl, pp. 207–56.

¹¹¹ Stockhorst, p. 21.

¹¹² Matthias Middell, 'Kulturtransfer - Kulturtransfer, Transferts culturels', *Kulturtransfer, Transferts culturels* <https://docupedia.de/zg/Kulturtransfer> [consulted on 22 November 2019].

¹¹³ Thorsten Unger, 'Das Klischee vom Mangel an deutschen Stücken. Ein Diskussionsbeitrag zur Internationalität des Hof- und Nationaltheaters', *Goethezeitportal*, 1998 http://www.goethezeitportal.de/db/wiss/epoche/unger_theater.pdf [consulted on 10 April 2019].

produced in the German-speaking world, while being transferred in German translations in the same domain; this significantly enriches, even if it complicates, the nature of this particular cultural transfer, prompting questions as to the extent of transfer and in evaluating its legacy as to where to nest its products.

1.3 *Singspiel* as genre

Summary histories and introductions to the genre of *Singspiel* are constantly (re)written, mostly as context-setting pieces for a variety of topics surrounding late eighteenth-century German-language music theatre. In doing so, they often survey existing literature about the genre, acknowledge the geographical and institutional diversions in its development and identify major works that define it. Yet most, if not all, of these assessments of the *Singspiel* as genre remain divided on the question of whether to reduce it to a derivative imitation of French and Italian forms or to accept it as a genre in its own right, thereby underpinning the originality of nineteenth-century German ‘opera’. The taxonomic ambiguity surrounding the use of the term in the late eighteenth-century does not make this task any simpler. Therefore, in the following section, I briefly summarise the literature around the *Singspiel* as genre and its development across the late eighteenth century.

1.3.1 Defining *Singspiel*

The term *Singspiel* was seen as a broad equivalent of the French *opéra* and more often, of the Italian *dramma per musica* as the German courts began to cultivate Italian opera as well as a fledgling native operatic tradition from around the seventeenth century.¹¹⁴ Throughout the seventeenth and up until the mid-eighteenth century, the *Singspiel* could be used to refer to operas that were thorough-composed and even applied to both tragic and comic representations including mixed languages.¹¹⁵ For most of its early history then, the common distinction as is understood today—between works which included spoken dialogue termed

¹¹⁴ Reinhart Meyer, *Schriften zur Theater- und Kulturgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Hollitzer Verlag, 2012), pp. 429–52. A discussion of the aesthetic and theoretical debates around the *Singspiel*, particularly focusing on Gottsched, has been covered by Reinhart Meyer in his essay, ‘Die Theorie des deutschen Singspiels von Gottsched bis Reichardt: Mit Blick auf die musiktheatralische Praxis’, in *Schriften zur Theater- und Kulturgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Hollitzer Verlag, 2012), pp. 429–55. Maurer Zenck provides a condensed version of the same debate in her chapter on German opera. Maurer Zenck, ‘German Opera from Reinhard Keiser to Peter Winter’, pp. 344–48.

¹¹⁵ Musical plays with spoken dialogue ‘which were in the main confined to the popular stages plied by travelling companies.’ Thomas Bauman and Peter Branscombe, ‘Singspiel’, *Grove Music Online* (Oxford Music Online, 2002) <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.25877> [consulted on 15 January 2019].

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Singspiel, and those which employed recitative called *Oper*—did not exist. Indeed, *Singspiel* could variously mean a through-composed German opera, or a German opera with spoken dialogue with varying degrees of predominance shared between text and music, or just be used as a synonym for opera, be it of French or Italian origin. In essence, the widely accepted notion of the *Singspiel* as a ‘German opera with spoken dialogue and a comic or sentimental plot’ is a nineteenth-century development.¹¹⁶

Early *Singspiele* were spoken comedies with more text and dialogue for the cast, wherein music played a mostly ornamental and certainly subordinate role, helping to add to the ambience or delineate characters. A rediscovery of the pastoral idiom and *Romanze* made their way from poetry to song settings and finally the *Singspiel*.¹¹⁷ The fact that *Singspiel* as a genre did not evolve from an operatic tradition but from German spoken theatre, who had acting troupes with occasional modest singing capacities, has shaped much of the perceptions around its scope.

The early history of the *Singspiel* is indivisible from the acting troupe of Heinrich Gottfried Koch (1703-1775). In 1752, Koch produced a *Singspiel* titled *Der Teufel ist los* with Johann Georg Standfuß (?-1759), his music director. While Koch and Standfuß received popular acclaim for this work, their combined output soon dwindled as musical tastes had moved along. Koch came back to this idea of a *Singspiel* over a decade later when collaborated with Christian Felix Weisse (1726-1804) and Johann Adam Hiller (1728-1804) on a newer version of *Der Teufel ist los* (1764).¹¹⁸ Hiller and Weisse’s version was again based on a French *opéra comique* model, in turn adapted from Charles Coffey’s *The Devil to Pay* (1731).

In the new *Der Teufel ist los*, which soon formed a core part of early *Singspiel* repertory, Hiller incorporated a lot of the music from Standfuß’s previous version. However, his greatest success came from adopting a *Volkston*, wherein the simple, strophic Lied replaced the relatively complex structure of an Italianate aria, specifically when representing the pastoral characters within the traditionally bucolic themes of the *Singspiel*.¹¹⁹ The simplicity of the music, written to be sung by singing actors as opposed to acting singers, was a result of tailoring the music to suit the capacities of performers in Koch’s troupe. This made a

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Daniel Heartz, *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720-1780* (New York: Norton, 2003), pp. 425–26.

¹¹⁸ See also: Translator’s Introduction and Commentary in: Johann Adam Hiller, *Treatise on Vocal Performance and Ornamentation by Johann Adam Hiller*, ed. and trans. by Suzanne J. Beicken, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 1–10.

¹¹⁹ Estelle Joubert, ‘Songs to Shape a German Nation: Hiller’s Comic Operas and the Public Sphere’, *Eighteenth-Century Music; Cambridge*, 3.2 (2006), 213–30.

difference because amongst them, only Caroline Steinbrecher was a trained singer; the rest were actors with presumably indifferent musical skills.¹²⁰ However, as Bauman notes, this purposeful watering down of the musical component ‘not only made a virtue of necessity but also made it attractive for nearly every theatrical company across northern and southern Germany, no matter how modest its resources, to take up the new genre.’¹²¹

By the mid-1770s, works like Hiller and Weisse’s *Die Jagd* (1770, Leipzig) began to enjoy considerable success on German stages, outside the confines of the Koch troupe. Surely encouraged by this trend, in the preface to his first *Singspiel*, *Die Frühlingsnacht* (1773, Leipzig), the poet Johann Wolfgang Andreas Schöpflin (1752 - c.1827), made the claim that ‘our German theatre can always confidently join the side of the foreigners, and our comic opera can make a mockery of the Italian *opera buffa*.’¹²² This statement clearly emphasised the originality element of the genre, and underscores the fact that the *Singspiel* as a genre was now indeed accepted as being separate from a mere translation of already established works into the vernacular.

A turning point in the history of the *Singspiel* was the premiere of Mozart’s *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (1782, Vienna). In many ways, it was a sure sign of how the Northern and Southern styles had begun to cross paths towards a more ‘German’ style: the libretto by Stephanie der Jüngere was based on *Belmont und Constanze oder Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (1780) by Christoph Friedrich Bretzner (1748-1807). Bretzner’s work had already been set to music by Johann André in Berlin in 1781.¹²³ The success of Mozart’s *Singspiel* across the German-speaking lands opened the floodgates for the domination of Viennese *Singspiel* and *opera buffa* into the repertoires outside Vienna.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ The actor/singer problem is summed up in this anecdote from an anonymous pamphlet from 1760s Berlin: Comparing Koch’s troupe with the Döbbelin troupe, both of which were resident in Berlin, the reviews were generally unfavourable to Koch, even when performing his own repertory developed in Leipzig. The reviewer however noted that ‘Caroline Steinbrecher [from Koch’s troupe] had the better voice in *Lottechen am Hofe* and *Die Jagd* but maintained that these parts were better acted by Döbbelin’s wife, Katharina.’ *Über die Kochische Schauspielgesellschaft* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1771), cited after Bauman, *North German Opera*, pp.60-61.

¹²¹ Bauman and Branscombe, p. 3.

¹²² The entire original text can be found in: *Das deutsche Singspiel im 18. Jahrhundert. Quellen und Zeugnisse zu Ästhetik und Rezeption.*, ed. by Renate Schusky (Bonn: Bouvier, 1980), p. 20.

¹²³ Kramer also positions this as a polarity between the ‘protestant North and catholic South’ in his chapter on *Die Entführung*. *Die Entführung* is not an isolated case either; Wranitzky’s *Oberon* (1789), with Giesecke’s (again unacknowledged) adaptation of Sophie Seyler’s text, went on to overshadow its earlier North German setting titled *Hüon und Amande* (1789) by Karl Hanke. Kramer’s footnote substantiates and quantifies his statement that the ‘south German versions were conquering the protestant regions (i.e., the North) using the example of Döbbelin’s repertory in Berlin from 1783, in which year, all six works performed were taken from the Viennese repertory. Krämer, p. 396.

¹²⁴ Bauman, p.19.

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Joubert's chapter titled 'Genre and Form in German Opera' identifies two factors contributing to the richness and diversity of music theatre in the German-speaking lands (or German linguistic regions, as Joubert terms them) in the late eighteenth century—firstly, the political fragmentation of this vast region across Austrian and German states, as well as a complicated overlapping polity between independent free states, princely states, kingdoms and then the overarching structure of the Holy Roman Empire and secondly, the diversity of regional theatres and court theatres.¹²⁵ Joubert ascribes the rapid development of the vernacular genre to the prevalence of travelling theatre troupes across the breadth of the German-speaking lands and links it to the rise of a national consciousness from the middle of the eighteenth century.¹²⁶ I argue that this rapid development of the vernacular genre was further supported and encouraged in the German-speaking lands, where the Enlightenment was spreading rapidly in the later part of the century.

The *Singspiel*, which did not have a very prominent national message attached to it in the 1770s, began to take on a purpose of identity building about a German national identity in music. This was mostly through didacticism and language, particularly the writings of Christoph Wieland (1733-1813), and signalled the beginning of a process of merging the Northern and Viennese styles.¹²⁷ The process of merging between the Northern and Austrian *Singspiel* in style, if not in content, was mirrored in a continued assimilation of *opera buffa* material into the *Singspiel* as genre.

The next important turning point for the *Singspiel* as genre was Carl Dittersdorf's *Der Doktor und Apotheker* (1786, Vienna) written for the revival of the *Singspiel* troupe in Vienna. *Der Doktor und Apotheker* was another extremely popular piece that conquered the Northern German stages much like and alongside *Die Entführung*. This was because of a successful synthesis of the pastoral *Lied*-like elements of the *Singspiel* à la Hiller and elements of *opera buffa* that had embedded themselves into a distinct Viennese style. Paul Horsley's 1988 thesis examines the way in which Dittersdorf first adopted the increasingly complex and tightly-knit conventions of the Italian *opera buffa* finale from the 1770s, alongside its distinctively Viennese model blending the *seria* and *buffa* elements still further, and how he adapted these conventions to 'conform to the different set of traditions that governed German opera of the 1770s and 1780s.'¹²⁸ Horsley demonstrates how Dittersdorf's thorough assimilation of style

¹²⁵ Joubert, 'Genre and Form in German Opera', pp. 184–85.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ See also: Eugene F. Timpe, 'The Austrian *Singspiel* and the German *Singspiel*', *Modern Austrian Literature*, 17.3/4 (1984), 53–65.

¹²⁸ Paul Joseph Horsley, 'Dittersdorf and the Finale in Late-Eighteenth-Century German Comic Opera' (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1988), p. 5.

set the tone for the next generation of *Singspiele* leading to the *romantische Oper* of the nineteenth century, epitomised by Weber. Joubert also notes this characteristic as a defining feature of the Viennese *Singspiel* in relation to Dittersdorf's works. However, this observation can be extended to this sub-genre as a whole: '[an] appropriation of the German song form, infused with Italianate elements.'¹²⁹

1.4 *Singspiel* as practice

The most basic structure of the *Singspiel* as a genre can be summed up as spoken dialogue with music, as opposed to thorough composed Italian opera, which consisted of music interspersed with recitatives, both simple and accompanied. However, as Hans-Albrecht Koch rightly points out, the term *Singspiel* could mean 'everything and nothing.'¹³⁰ This ambiguity arises out of the difficulty of pinning down taxonomic fidelity towards the term *Singspiel* in the late eighteenth century, as explained in the previous section.¹³¹ This also extends to the question of what German translations of Italian opera can be termed: are they *Singspiele* in their own right, or are they translations or even more so, adaptations?¹³² I put forward the hypothesis that these works were *Singspiele* as practice, wherein the work conceived as an *opera buffa* adapts to the conventions of the *Singspiel* such as the substitution of the simple recitatives with spoken dialogue, but in that process, extends the boundaries of the *Singspiel* as genre. In the next section, I attempt to examine the adaptation process behind a *Singspiel* as practice, the *Bearbeitungspraxis*.

¹²⁹ Joubert, 'Genre and Form in German Opera', p. 92.

¹³⁰ Hans-Albrecht Koch, *Das deutsche Singspiel*, Sammlung Metzler: Realien zur Literatur, 133 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1974), p. 28. ('alles und nichts')

¹³¹ Maurer Zenck, *Così fan tutte. Drame giocoso und deutsches Singspiel*, p. 13.

This difficulty is well-encapsulated in one of the notes about language and usage in Claudia Maurer Zenck's monograph on *Così*; to quote directly: 'Da Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts die Termini für verschiedene Spielarten musikalischer Werke alles andere als stringent angewandt wurden, wird hier wegen der wünschenswerten begrifflichen Klarheit nur eine in deutscher Sprache und mit gesprochenen Dialogen aufgeführte Oper, welcher nationalen Provenienz auch immer, als „Singspiel“ bezeichnet.'

[Given that at the end of the 18th century the terms for different types of music-theatrical works were applied anything but stringently, here, for the sake of desirable conceptual clarity, only an opera performed in German and with spoken dialogues, of whatever national provenance, is referred to as a *Singspiel*.]

¹³² Throughout this thesis, I use the terms translation and adaptation interchangeably when referring to Italian *opera buffa* that was heard in German.

1.4.1 *Bearbeitungspraxis: Translations and adaptations*

The idea of *Bearbeitungspraxis* leads directly back to the question of what defines a *Singspiel*; the broad stroke definition of the genre allows for an interpretation of adaptations of French and Italian operas into German to be counted as *Singspiel*, primarily on a linguistic basis.¹³³ In Maurer Zenck's chapter on Mozart's operas adapted for Hamburg, she provides a summary indication of the issues surrounding the concept of *Bearbeitungspraxis*, especially around the definitions and conceptualisation of 'authentic work': when a work is translated into a different language, does it remain the same work at all or is it a different entity?¹³⁴

In the specific context of late eighteenth century Italian opera in German translation, I investigate the process of adaptation or re-working as is suggested by the term literally, from the system outlined by John A. Rice.¹³⁵ Rice categories the editing process into three: (1) the superficial correction of mistakes, completing missing bits in the performance scores and parts; (2) cuts or revisions that have a tangible difference from the source score such as omission of numbers or recitatives or changing aspects to suit performance conditions such as transposition of numbers, or rescoring orchestral parts due to availability of performers and finally (3) the addition of new music, either specifically composed for the piece or from a previously available work. In the case of Italian opera in German translation, only the second and third categories are pertinent as there is, at a minimum, a category 2 edit anticipated in the form of omitting the simple recitatives that can be seen from a source score.

I use four case studies to highlight various varieties of this editorial practice, especially relating to category 3 changes, in this thesis. For instance, in Chapter 2 that follows, I briefly look at how Guglielmi's *La pastorella nobile* (1788, Naples) was adapted for performance in Vienna in the original Italian in 1790 and thereafter, the overall editorial choices in the preparation of the work for a German performance in 1798 (*A-Wn* Kt 401) at the

¹³³ For a condensed literature survey of *Bearbeitungspraxis* in Italian opera, see: Martin Albrecht-Hohmaier and Christine Siegert, 'Eine codierte Opnredition als Angebot für Wissenschaft, Lehre und Musikpraxis: Überlegungen am Beispiel von Giuseppe Sarti (1729–1802)', in *Vom Nutzen der Editionen: Zur Bedeutung moderner Editorik für die Erforschung von Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte*, ed. by Thomas Bein (Berlin, Munich, Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), pp. 1–18 (p. 1, footnote 3).

¹³⁴ Maurer Zenck, 'Mozarts Opern in Hamburg 1787–1850', pp. 125–28. In this particular context, Maurer Zenck refers to Calella's own contribution to Konrad's edited volume, on the tension between *Autorenwille* and the *Produktionssystem* and deems this distinction itself slightly problematic, due to being based on the writings of ETA Hoffmann and the idea of the *Genie-aesthetik*, i.e., being inflexible to the express written wishes of the 'genius'/ creator.

¹³⁵ John A. Rice, 'Bearbeitungen italienischer Opern für Wien 1765–1800', in *Bearbeitungspraxis in der Oper des späten 18. Jahrhunderts: Bericht über die Internationale wissenschaftliche Tagung vom 18. bis 20. Februar 2005 in Würzburg*, ed. by Armin Raab, Christine Siegert, and Ulrich Konrad, Würzburger musikhistorische Beiträge, 27 (Tutzing: Schneider, 2007), 81–103.

Kärntnertortheater by using the manuscript libretto (*A-Wn* Mus Hs 25282). In this case, it becomes clear that the manuscript libretto was prepared in first, as significant category 2 editorial changes made in this copy are directly reflected in what would be the performance score for one single performance in 1798. Similar instances can be found in the other case studies presented. These examples clearly demonstrate the secondary layers of adaptation practice involved in German translations of Italian opera, which beyond a simple linguistic transfer or even a substitution of recitatives with dialogues for conformity to a particular form.

1.5 Conclusion

The closing passage from Estelle Joubert's chapter on 'Genre and form in German opera' mirrors the concept of cultural transfer very closely in the context of this thesis:

Broadly speaking, the international qualities of eighteenth-century German opera, as exemplified through paradigmatic works by Hiller, Schweitzer, and Dittersdorf, give evidence of the widespread dissemination particularly of Italian opera and its fruitful interaction with German operatic genres and forms. The rich theatrical landscape of the German-speaking regions during the eighteenth century, in effect, provided fertile ground for a stimulating cross-fertilization of national styles and played a crucial role in establishing and shaping increasingly distinctive German operatic traditions, which reached their apex during the nineteenth century.¹³⁶

The 'cross-fertilization' of styles through fruitful interaction leading to an original form, even if the result of assimilation through mimesis, is the crux of cultural transfer in the emergence of the *Singspiel* as practice. The basic premise of this thesis is 'Italian opera' and its reception in 'German' translation; but for the delimiting timeframe of the late eighteenth century, it would be easy to presume the existence of clearly demarcated national (and by extension) cultural identities. But Italian opera was not simply opera from a land called 'Italy' and neither was it purely denoted by language without form.¹³⁷ Similarly, 'German' only goes as far as to imply a linguistic common ground, which was shared across a vast territory of land spread across the conflicting polities of late eighteenth-century German-speaking lands.

Even this only provides a superficial understanding of what the term 'German' *Singspiel* encompassed. Through cultural transfer with *opera buffa*, the *Singspiel* as genre embraced

¹³⁶ Joubert, 'Genre and Form in German Opera', pp. 200–201.

¹³⁷ This is akin to the distinction drawn between 'opera in Italy' and 'Italian opera,' as Ellen Rosand does in her introductory paragraph to *Opera in seventeenth-century Venice*. Ellen Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of a Genre* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. x.

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many Italianate aspects of works, which were translated into German and moulded to the *Singspiel* convention through various adaptation practices such as substituting simple recitatives with spoken dialogue. The resultant *Singspiel* as practice, which broadly adhered to the conventions of genre, was now a wholly different work with an identity of its own in German.

In this thesis therefore, I propose to examine Italian opera in German translation not just through an analysis of editorial processes attesting to the transformation through translation and adaptation, but also from the broader perspective of the interconnected network of the people who underpinned the circulation of these works across the German-speaking lands. In the chapter that follows, I frame Vienna as a centre of circulation for Italian opera in German translation to highlight how the theatre culture in late eighteenth-century Vienna fostered this 'vibrant crossfire.'

Chapter 2 At the centre: Vienna

Mary Hunter, in her work on *opera buffa* in Mozart's Vienna, uses a framework of operatic conversations to structure her study of *opera buffa* as entertainment. These 'conversations' include the way the works speak between each other, and how Italian opera influenced a distinct Viennese *opera buffa* in the late eighteenth century. One of the conversations that Hunter mentions in passing is what takes centre stage in this chapter—'the relation of *opera buffa* to other theatrical genres simultaneously available in Vienna,' the *Singspiel* in particular.¹³⁸ Late eighteenth-century music theatre culture in Vienna saw the co-existence of the Italian *opera buffa* and German *Singspiel*, as two 'competing national genres.'¹³⁹ Over two decades, they contended for attention not just at the two main theatrical institutions with different troupes, the Burg- and the Kärntnertortheater, but also in the steadily increasing numbers of suburban theatres that sprang up in Vienna as a result of Emperor Joseph II's initiatives.

In this chapter, I examine the central role played by Vienna in the circulation and reception of Italian *opera buffa* in the late eighteenth century. I look at the distinctive theatre culture in Vienna under Joseph II (r. 1776-1790) and provide context to his *Nationaltheater* initiatives against the backdrop of similar movements elsewhere in the German-speaking lands and interrogate the concept of *Nationaltheater* as both idea and institution using the two main theatrical establishments of the city, the Burg- and the Kärntnertortheater. I turn my attention to the *Nationalsingspiel* across the period 1776 to 1788 and the suburban theatres that came up in Vienna during this period. Thereafter, I delve into the circulation of *Singspiel* and *opera buffa* as *Singspiel* in these suburban theatres, using the example of the 1788 Eberl translation of Martín y Soler's *L'arbore di Diana* at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt. I then

¹³⁸ Hunter, *The Culture of Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna: A Poetics of Entertainment*, p. 7. There is also a distinction to be drawn between *opera buffa* in late eighteenth-century Vienna and Viennese *opera buffa* in the late eighteenth century, on the lines of Ellen Rosand's succinct introductory sentence to her monograph *Opera in Seventeenth-century Venice*: 'Opera in Seventeenth Century Venice rather than "Venetian Opera in the Seventeenth Century": the difference is significant.' Rosand, p. 1. Throughout this thesis, and in this chapter in particular, I treat opera in Vienna as an umbrella term with an emphasis on Vienna as the locus and Viennese opera to look at works shaped by performance practice in Vienna or works written for the Viennese stage(s).

¹³⁹ Woodfield, *Cabals and Satires*, p. xxvi. The concert held at the Schönbrunn Orangerie in 1786, during which Joseph II commissioned Salieri and Mozart to create two brief compositions which would each represent Italian opera (*Prima la musica, poi le parole*) and *Singspiel* (*Der Schauspieldirektor*) as part of a mock competition, stands as an excellent illustration of this rivalry. See also: Manfred Pittioni, 'Das Fest in der Orangerie zu Schönbrunn: Das historische Umfeld Wiens im Jahre 1786', in *Mozart und Salieri-Partner oder Rivalen? Das Fest in der Orangerie zu Schönbrunn vom 7. Februar 1786*, ed. by Paolo Budroni (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2008), pp.37-40.

map the changing values of *opera buffa* and *Singspiel* during the reigns of Leopold II (r. 1709-1792) and Franz II (r. 1792-1806) onwards. I trace the impact of these changes on the *Singspiel* as practice using the Viennese reception of Guglielmi's *La pastorella nobile* (1788, Naples) as an example, wherein I also introduce the life and career of, Friedrich Karl Lippert (1758-1803), who figures prominently in the networks discussed in this thesis.

2.1 Vienna as a centre for circulation of operas

Vienna under Leopold I (1640-1705) had established itself as one of the leading centres of Italian opera outside of Italy, where composers and librettists such as Antonio Draghi and Nicolò Minato, came to make their name.¹⁴⁰ Until the time of Maria Theresa (1717-1780), Italian opera, primarily *opera seria* in Vienna, continued to serve the representational purpose for the Habsburg monarchy and Holy Roman Empire.¹⁴¹ However, through the 1740s and 50s, *opera buffa* rapidly spread across Europe. Between 1765 and a little beyond 1800, this genre dominated the Viennese court theatres, attracting some of the finest composers, librettists, and singers who contributed to a unique Viennese tradition of *opera buffa*.

Italian opera in late eighteenth-century Vienna has been studied in-depth on many fronts, ranging from work on the reconstruction of a complete and comprehensive *Spielplan* in various periods by Bauer, Hadamowsky, Michtner, Link and Jahn to name but a few.¹⁴² These

¹⁴⁰ See: Franz Hadamowsky, *Wien Theatergeschichte: von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkriegs* (Vienna: Jugend & Volk, 1988), pp. 11–14 for a very brief overview of Viennese theatre history from the fifteenth to the twentieth centuries, and pp. 139-156 for a detailed account of opera in the court of Leopold I. To also quote John Warrack who summarises Vienna's relationship with Italian opera: 'The long Italian tradition in Vienna itself had roots going back to the very origins of opera and the arrival of artists associated with the original Florentine enterprise. But the city's theatrical life embraced many dramatic forms; and indeed, it has always been of the essence of Vienna, stimulated by its position at the most significant European artistic cross-roads, to assimilate diverse influences and, with its devotion to its own traditions, to confer a local character upon them.' John Warrack, *German Opera: From the Beginnings to Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 125.

¹⁴¹ John A. Rice, 'Emperor and Impresario: Leopold II and the Transformation of Viennese Musical Theatre, 1790-1792' (Ph.D. diss., University of California, 1987), pp. 5–6; For more on representational theatre, see: Lena van der Hoven, *Musikalische Repräsentationspolitik in Preussen (1688-1797): Hofmusik als Inszenierungsinstrument von Herrschaft*, Musiksoziologie, 19 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2015); Austin Glatthorn, 'The Theatre of Politics and the Politics of Theatre: Music as Representational Culture in the Twilight of the Holy Roman Empire' (Ph.D. diss., University of Southampton, 2015).

¹⁴² Anton Bauer, *Opern und Operetten in Wien: Verzeichnis ihrer Erstaufführungen in der Zeit von 1629 bis zur Gegenwart*, Wiener musikwissenschaftliche Beiträge, 2 (Graz; Köln: Hermann Böhlaus, 1955); Franz Hadamowsky, *Die Wiener Hoftheater (Staatstheater) 1776-1966: Verzeichnis Der Aufgeführten Stücke Mit Bestandsnachweis Und Täglichen Spielplan*, Museion; n.F. 1. Reihe, 4 (Vienna: Prachner, 1966); Otto Michtner, *Das Alte Burgtheater Als Opernbühne, von Der Einführung des deutschen Singspiels 1778 Bis Zum Tod Kaiser Leopolds II. 1792* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1970); Dorothea Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna: Sources and Documents, 1783-1792* (Oxford: Clarendon

are, of course, a testament to the rich musical culture cultivated in Vienna, supported by the active flourishing of other enterprises such as music printing and copying, and therefore also acted as a centre of circulation and transmission of other operas.

Under Joseph II (1741-1790), this form of music theatre culture underwent a period of intense innovation and experimentation. Just as Italian *opera buffa* was enjoying peak popularity across European stages, Vienna also benefitted from a short but intense wave of German Enlightenment towards the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Accordingly, when Emperor Joseph II initiated the *Nationaltheater* movements in the late 1770s, he helped to transform the Viennese theatre from a court theatre of great renown for Italianate and French repertory to a 'German' stage. This in turn promoted the idea of a national identity forged through language, whose relevance and position were acknowledged throughout the German-speaking lands. Parallely, in the 1780s, Vienna became a centre of excellence and innovation with respect to *opera buffa*, where some of the most representative works of the genre were produced, which belong to what can be termed the Viennese *opera buffa*, an operatic culture unto itself.

A rough quantification of this phenomenon shows that between 1778 and 1800, there were 2310 performances of Italian *opera buffa* between the Burg- and Kärntnertortheater. Of these, 57 were works written for the Viennese stage and 70 were imported from elsewhere.¹⁴³ While there has been no large-scale study of the circulation and reception of *opera buffa* utilising a large dataset to make a sweeping generalisation, individual case studies such as Schraffl and Niubo's article on Paisiello's *La frascata* and Platoff's on Sarti's *Fra i due litiganti* examine and reiterate the central role played by Vienna in their further circulation.¹⁴⁴ Schraffl and Niubo show how the 1775 Vienna version of *La frascata* (1774, Venice), which had insert arias that changed the style of the original work to fit a distinctively Viennese style of *opera buffa*, became the definitive version that circulated onwards to Dresden and Prague. In the case of Sarti's *Fra i due litiganti* (1781, Milan), Platoff traces the emergence of a similar pattern of Vienna acting as a hub of circulation, particularly in

Press, 1998); Michael Jahn, *Die Wiener Hofoper von 1794 Bis 1810: Musik Und Tanz Im Burg-Und Kärntnertortheater* (Vienna: Verlag Der Apfel, 2011); Mary Hunter, *The Culture of Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna: A Poetics of Entertainment* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1999).

¹⁴³ See: Database 1 in accompanying materials: <https://doi.org/10.5258/SOTON/D2838>

¹⁴⁴ Ingrid Schraffl and Marc Niubo, 'Paisiello's *La frascata*. Dramaturgical transformations on its journey through Central Europe', *Musicologica Austriaca*, 2017 <http://musau.org//parts/neue-article-page/view/30> [consulted on 6 July 2020]; John Platoff, 'Sarti's *Fra i Due Litiganti* and Opera in Vienna', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 73.3 (2020), 535–81.

translations into the vernacular. This work is a more pertinent example for this thesis, as it is closer to the timeframe being studied.

The reach of Vienna as a centre for *opera buffa* can be seen from the fact that besides other stages in the German-speaking lands, even theatres elsewhere in Europe like Paris and Copenhagen, appear to have ordered copies from the Viennese copyist firm, Wenzel Sukowaty.¹⁴⁵ Platoff sees this 'widespread adoption of the Viennese version' as a reflection of the 'city's prestige and cultural importance, as the largest German-speaking city in the world and capital of the vast Habsburg Empire,' and its prestige as an opera centre. Where the copy only contained the musical numbers with the recitatives omitted, it becomes clear that this was done at the request of a theatre intending to perform the opera in German.¹⁴⁶

Due to the prolific output of a well-established Sukowaty firm, Platoff also infers that Vienna might have been considered the 'most convenient and reliable source' for ordering scores once a work had been performed in Vienna, rather than ordering it directly from Italy.¹⁴⁷ Within the German-speaking lands, this circulation was actively facilitated by agents such as Franz Anton Weber in Hamburg, who supplied musicians and troupe directors like Gustav Wilhelm Grossmann as part of a 'commercial strategy,' due to the high demand for Viennese repertory on Northern German stages from the late 1780s onwards.¹⁴⁸ However, it would be also be worth highlighting that this was not always the case: *Don Giovanni* is a significant exception to this trend, in that it appears to have been circulated much more in its original 1787 Prague form than the 1788 Viennese revision.¹⁴⁹ This is a good example of how the

¹⁴⁵ Platoff, 'Sarti's *Fra i Due Litiganti* and Opera in Vienna', p. 548. For more on the Sukowaty firm's operations in Vienna, see: Dexter Edge, 'Mozart's Viennese Copyists' (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 2001), pp. 1294–1995.

¹⁴⁶ Platoff, 'Sarti's *Fra i Due Litiganti* and Opera in Vienna', p. 550.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. While Sukowaty's scores were convenient to acquire, their reliability was sometimes questionable, as can be seen from a correspondence between the publisher Nikolaus Simrock and Gustav Wilhelm Grossmann dated 14 May 1787. See in particular: Woodfield, 'Christian Gottlob Neefe and the Early Reception of *Le nozze di Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*', *Newsletter of the Mozart Society of America*, 20.1(2016), 4-6 (p.5, footnote 8).

¹⁴⁸ Ian Woodfield, 'The Early Reception of Mozart's Operas in London: Burney's Missed Opportunity', *Eighteenth-Century Music*, 17.2 (2020), 201-14 (pp.210-211). Woodfield utilises the correspondence of Franz Anton Weber (grand-uncle of Carl Maria von Weber) to show that he was a significant agent in the circulation of Viennese Artaria scores in the north. The correspondence is available on the *Carl-Maria-von-Weber-Gesamtausgabe: Digitale Edition* (WeGA) and is a valuable resource to piece together a more complete picture of the networks underpinning the late eighteenth-century music theatre in the German-speaking lands.

¹⁴⁹ Woodfield, 'Christian Gottlob Neefe and the Early Reception of *Le nozze di Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*', p.4. As referred to in the brief overview of the early circulation history of *Don Giovanni* in the Introduction, the first German translation of *Don Giovanni* was undertaken by Neefe in Bonn. Neefe had acquired the Prague score, even though the Viennese version was already being performed by

centrality of Vienna in matters of circulation and networks sometimes obscured ‘secondary conduits.’¹⁵⁰

Nevertheless, for most works imported to the Vienna stage, the process of getting to a standardised ‘Viennese version’ was organic and a result of multiple entities shaping a work, from librettists to singers, right down to audience reception. This work then became the standardised version for further circulation in the German-speaking lands and beyond, emphasising the centrality of Vienna in the circulation of *opere buffe* and as mentioned earlier, is the reason this thesis is structured to showcase Vienna and other centres in a hub-and-spoke model.¹⁵¹

2.2 Theatres under Joseph II: 1776-1790

There is no dearth of literature on the history of Viennese opera of the late eighteenth century, and specifically the fourteen-year Josephinian period of Viennese music theatre culture from 1776 to 1790, due to being mostly coterminous with Mozart’s time in the city.¹⁵² However, using this history to frame the often competitive co-existence of the two genres, *opera buffa* and *Singspiel*, as well the intermediary genre of German translations of Italian *opera buffa*, is helpful in understanding the development of the *Singspiel* as practice.

In 1776, when the court theatres were brought under imperial control after the last lessee went bankrupt, Joseph II took the opportunity to reshape Viennese theatre culture. Accordingly, on 23 March 1776, he issued two decrees, according to the first of which, issued in autograph instruction to the *Obersthofmeister* or Lord Chamberlain Count Khevenhüller-

November 1787. Woodfield surmises that Neefe might have been influenced by Grossmann informing him of a cheaper conduit in Prague (presumably Anton Grams) than Simrock (p.4, footnote 12). On the correspondence between Anton Grams, Neefe and Grossmann, see: Milada Jonášová, ‘Anton Grams berichtet an Gustav Großmann, Mozart schreibe eine neue Oper’, *Hudební veda*, 53.1 (2016), 29-54. This article is discussed again in Chapter 5.

See also: Martin Nedbal, ‘Domenico Guardasoni’s Prague conducting score for *Così fan tutte*’, *Newsletter of the Mozart Society of America*, 21.2 (2017), 4-5 for a similarly brief account of the importance of Prague in the circulation of *Così*.

¹⁵⁰ Woodfield, ‘The Early Reception of Mozart’s Operas in London’, p.205.

¹⁵¹ Platoff clearly highlights the lack of a broad stroke, panoramic study of other works to make a generalisation about the circulation of Viennese versions of a work as standard.

¹⁵² See, for instance: Hadamowsky, *Wien, Theatergeschichte*; Michtner; Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart’s Vienna*; Malcolm Cole, ‘Mozart and Two Theatres in Josephinian Vienna’, in *Opera in Context: Essays on Historical Staging from the Late Renaissance to the Time of Puccini*, ed. by Mark Radice (Milwaukee: Hal Leonard Corporation, 1998); Hunter, *The Culture of Opera Buffa in Mozart’s Vienna: A Poetics of Entertainment*; Dexter Edge and David Black, ‘Mozart: New Documents’ <https://sites.google.com/site/mozartdocuments/> [consulted on 18 December 2020].

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Metsch, the Burgtheater was to be elevated to the position of a *Nationaltheater*. This was a crucial first step in the process of developing a linguistic and cultural identity as a nation.¹⁵³

The *Nationaltheater* movement, first established in Hamburg in 1767, was a result of the German Enlightenment and was aimed at the promotion of literature in the vernacular. While the Hamburg venture spearheaded by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing and Abel Seyler, failed in 1769, it soon appeared in Mannheim, Vienna and Berlin as a new, urban form of theatre supported by a combination of private funding schemes and ticket sales, based on mostly the 'Gotha compromise model.' At the Gotha court theatre, which lasted from 1774 to 1778, a permanent court theatre was supported in part by a royal subsidy and the remainder through profit and income from ticket sales. It was open not only to the court but also to citizens of the town.¹⁵⁴ The programme usually consisted of spoken dramas or *Schauspiele* in German, by Enlightenment authors and these were prioritised over the hitherto predominant French and Italian equivalents.¹⁵⁵

Following the model of the *Comédie Française*, the administration was also led by actors and thereby making the German theatre in Vienna a cultural edifice again similar to that in Gotha, where staff were treated like civil servants and not itinerant artists. By the 1780s, following the Viennese example, more and more cities in the German-speaking lands started creating theatres and naming them 'national' theatres. However, the original meaning of the word with respect to the Hamburg enterprise started to get diluted, because the addition of the word 'national' originally distinguished a permanent theatre offering German-language productions of plays from itinerant touring companies.

The majority of these new 'national' theatres took the prefix '*Hof*' to their status as *Nationaltheater* to indicate imperial patronage, as in the case of Vienna and Mannheim before. As Meyer makes it clear, the 'national' in a *Nationalhoftheater* was still in essence a princely institution with imperial patronage and did not carry any specific political

¹⁵³ William Yates, *Theatre in Vienna: A Critical History, 1776-1995* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 1. See: Mårten Hultén, 'Shaping the Nation with Song: Johann Friedrich Reichardt and the German Cultural Identity' (Ph.D. diss., Stockholm University, 2018). for a detailed discussion of Herderian concepts of nationalism and the role of *Volkston* in the development of national identity in the context of the Enlightenment in the late eighteenth century.

¹⁵⁴ Jane K. Brown, 'Drama and Theatrical Practice in Weimar Classicism', in *The Literature of Weimar Classicism*, ed. by Simon Richter and James Hardin, Camden House History of German Literature (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2005), pp. 133–68 (p. 134). The Gotha theatre employed Konrad Ekhof (1720-1778) as director in charge of plays and Anton Schweizer as musical director while Heinrich Ottakar Reichard, also the editor of the *Theaterkalender* (1775-1800) and the *Theaterjournal für Deutschland* (1777-1784), became the administrative director.

¹⁵⁵ See also the essays in: *Opera and the Enlightenment*, ed. by Thomas Bauman and Marita Petzoldt McClymonds (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

significance.¹⁵⁶ The Elector of Cologne set up the Bonn *Nationaltheatre* with Grossmann's troupe in 1778, which closed in 1784 and was revived again in 1789. Berlin got its *Nationaltheater* in 1786, followed by Mainz in 1787. Some of the smaller cities such as Linz, Innsbruck, Augsburg, Riga, Breslau and Braunschweig-Oels among others had German troupes by the end of the century. Reichard's *Theaterkalender* by the end of the 1790s lists over a hundred and fifty troupes, some of which were permanent, and others were travelling and resident in towns for a stretch of time at once.¹⁵⁷

In Vienna, Joseph II was deeply involved in the day-to-day administration of the theatres as in other matters of governance. This was in essence a feature of the eighteenth-century Enlightened absolutism that the emperor represented. Joseph II did not have a director of music or theatre as might have been expected, but instead headed the administration himself, with his Oberstkämmerer, Count Franz von Orsini-Rosenberg. Every major decision of the theatrical enterprise was overseen by the emperor personally, from the appointment of theatre personnel to the choice of works.

2.2.1 *Nationaltheater* as idea and institution

Vienna had two theatres in the centre of the city, enclosed within the city walls: the Burgtheater within the imperial complex and the Kärntnertortheater.¹⁵⁸ During the last quarter of the eighteenth century, these two theatres were intrinsically connected with Joseph II's theatrical reforms and were referred to by a variety of names. The *kaiserliches und königliches Theater an der Burg*, known as the Burgtheater, was commissioned in 1741 by Empress Maria Theresa at the Hofburg, while the much older *Theater am Kärntnertor* dates from 1709 and takes its name from the Carinthian Gate in the old city fortifications, close to where it stood. The first Kärntnertortheater burned down in 1761 after a brief decade when imperial privilege was withdrawn and when it reopened in 1763, it was brought under court management as the *kaiserliches und königliches Hoftheater*. Court control and imperial privileges associated with these two theatres meant that they were not just edifices but also

¹⁵⁶ Reinhart Meyer, 'Das Nationaltheater in Deutschland als höfisches Institut: Versuch einer Begriffs- und Funktionsbestimmung', in *Schriften zur Theater- und Kulturgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Hollitzer Verlag, 1983), pp. 125–57 (pp. 130–31).

¹⁵⁷ See also: Glatthorn, *Music Theatre and the Holy Roman Empire*, in which Glatthorn uses Reichard's *Theaterkalender* from 1775-1800 to map music theatre across the Holy Roman Empire.

¹⁵⁸ The present Burgtheater at Ringstraße was constructed in 1888 after the old theatre, situated at Michaelerplatz opposite St Michael's church, was torn out to make way for an expansion of the imperial quarters.

institutions, and by extension, the repertory performed on these stages was a representation of imperial power.

Between 1741 and 1756, when French repertory still dominated most European stages including that in Vienna, the Burgtheater was home to a French troupe with only the occasional German plays, while the Kärntnertortheater provided opera, ballet, and German plays, earning it the epithet '*Teutsches Theater*.' When Empress Maria Theresa attended a German performance of Diderot's *Pere de Famille* in 1771, it signalled that theatre in German was finally acceptable in Vienna.¹⁵⁹ Although under imperial control, the day-to-day management of the theatre was handed to a lessee, who could earn a profit only by opening the theatres to the public. Over time, this system led to the theatres being managed by one lessee after another, as each ran into financial difficulties. Finally in 1776, when the lessee Count Johann Nepomuk Koháry went bankrupt, Joseph II brought the two theatres back under direct court management.¹⁶⁰ Keeping with long-established practice, being under imperial oversight and control did not mean that public access was restricted. On the contrary, both the theatres were open to the public as this formed a significant part of the income and this aspect was often managed through an impresario.

Joseph II saw an opportunity to embed the influences of Enlightenment ideology as well as an opportunity for economisation. This led to the establishment of the *Nationaltheater* devoted to the performance of German spoken drama and the renaming of the Burgtheater as *teutsches Nationaltheater*. As a result, the Kärntnertortheater was made available free of charge to independent performers and companies. In 1778, the *Nationalsingspiel* was established as an offshoot of the *Nationaltheater* initiative, with the Burgtheater in its guise as the institution of *Nationaltheater* playing host. Over the next eighteen years, the Burgtheater continued to be called the *Nationaltheater* due to a steady German spoken-drama troupe, despite the waxing and waning fortunes of the *Singspiel* company.¹⁶¹

Besides German and Italian theatre, French theatre also received patronage from the nobility during the years of the *Nationaltheater*. While French plays were performed at the court theatre in Vienna through the 1750s and 1760s, by 1772, this had ceased. In the years afterwards, a section of the nobility going by the name 'die Herren Associierten' had the court

¹⁵⁹ Walter Bruford, *Theatre, Drama and Audience in Goethe's Germany*, 2nd edn (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1974), p. 65.

¹⁶⁰ Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna*, p. 1.

¹⁶¹ The term '*Nationalhoftheater*' was also used to denote imperial patronage, and this terminology has been discussed in section 1.3.1.

theatre provide three nights of French theatre weekly by subcontracting the lessee.¹⁶² Once the *Nationaltheater* was set up in 1776 at the Burgtheater, travelling French troupes continued to mount plays at the Kärntnertortheater until 1781-82. However, at the *Nationaltheater* itself, translations of French plays made up a significant portion of the repertory, which was encouraged by the emperor himself.¹⁶³ The same held true for the *Nationalsingspiel* from 1776 to 1783, when the repertory of German-language *Singspiel* was bolstered by French *opéras comiques* translations.¹⁶⁴

By 1783, the *Nationaltheater* was home to an Italian *buffa* troupe—which was not quite keeping with the ideals of the *Nationaltheater* movement—as well as a *Schauspiel* troupe for spoken drama. In 1785, when the *Singspiel* troupe was regrouped and reinstated, they were placed in the Kärntnertortheater until their dismissal in 1788. This system continued under Joseph II's successors Leopold II and Franz I until 1794, when both these theatres were returned to a lessee system under Peter von Braun, the *Nationaltheater* was renamed *k.k. (kaiserliches und königliches) Hoftheater nächst der Burg*, marking a clear and final departure from the Josephinian model of theatres in Vienna.

2.2.2 *Nationalsingspiel*

Encouraged by the success of the *Nationaltheater* for spoken plays in German, Joseph II set up the *Nationalsingspiel* in 1778, a parallel initiative aimed at cultivating and promoting German opera with its own distinct national identity separate from the Italian and French models. The *Nationalsingspiel* in Vienna was inaugurated with a performance of Ignaz Umlauf's *Die Bergknappen* (1777) with a libretto by Paul Weidmann. From the perspective of the audience, Johann Pezzl, in his *Skizze von Wien* noted that the *Nationaltheater* served to promote performances 'in the language of its nation, and whose pieces depict as much as

¹⁶² Dorothea Link, 'Vienna's Private Theatrical and Musical Life, 1783-92, as reported by Count Karl Zinzendorf', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 122.2 (1997), 205–57 (p. 213).

¹⁶³ In order to spur the quick creation of a repertory of high-quality German plays, a competition for original German plays and 'good translations of the French classics by Corneille, Racine and Voltaire' was set up. The winners had their plays performed at the Burgtheater and received an author's fee as well as the box-office receipts of the third performance, which could be double the author's fee. The competition was enormously popular and drew submissions from throughout German-speaking lands. However, Joseph discontinued it at the end of the 1788-89 season as one of the several economising measures implemented to meet the financial demands of the war with Turkey.

¹⁶⁴ Francophone theatre was briefly revived in Vienna the arrival of the French *émigrés* during the French Revolution. This partly accounts for the surge in the numbers of private *comédies de société* in 1791 and 1792. For a more detailed discussion of the private acting societies and theatres, see: Link, 'Vienna's Private Theatrical and Musical Life, 1783-92, as Reported by Count Karl Zinzendorf'.

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possible the nation's customs, and tailor themselves to the genius and interest of the people attending them.'¹⁶⁵

The purpose of the *Nationaltheater* to liberate German theatre from the dominating preoccupation with its French and Italian equivalents was probably more successfully accomplished in terms of spoken theatre than in its *Singspiel* equivalent. The *Singspiel* troupe brought together a very competent ensemble of singers and musicians in the orchestra but providing them with a steady stream of homegrown compositions in German proved to be an insurmountable task. Before long, the *Singspiel* troupe began to perform repertory in which original *Singspiele* were mixed with *opéras comiques* and *opere buffe* in German translation. Some of these, like Guglielmi's *Lo sposo fedele* (1766, Venice) as *Robert und Kalliste* became more well-established in the German-speaking lands in their German version.¹⁶⁶

By 1783, when the first phase of the *National Singspiel* came to an end, thirteen of the original twenty-one members were retained for the *opera buffa* company with increased salaries for the singers as a result of the shift.¹⁶⁷ The *buffa* troupe at the *Nationaltheater* proved to be immensely successful, with the earnings justifying the salary and other expenditures. Spurred on by this success, in 1785, Joseph II had a *Singspiel* troupe reconstituted again, with eight members of the Italian troupe moved back to the German troupe.¹⁶⁸ This troupe performed at the Kärntnertortheater until its disbanding in 1788. In the interim period between 1784-84 and 1788-89, when Vienna had three separate troupes for *Singspiel*, *opera buffa*, and spoken drama, *opera buffa* was staged on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays while German spoken theatre was put on stage on other days at the Burgtheater. The *Singspiel* troupe staged performances at the Kärntnertortheater on Tuesdays, Fridays, and Sundays.¹⁶⁹ This meant that Fridays saw performances of both *opera buffa* and *Singspiel*.

¹⁶⁵ Johann Pezzl, *Skizze von Wien: ein Kultur- und Sittenbild aus der josefinischen Zeit*, ed. by Gustav Gugitz (Graz: Leykam Verlag, 1923), p. 316; Thomas Bauman, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, Cambridge opera handbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 3.

¹⁶⁶ Elizabeth Manning, 'The *National Singspiel* in Vienna from 1778 to 1785' (Ph.D. diss., University of Durham, 1975), p. See also: for a detailed study of this first phase of the *Singspiel* troupe in Vienna.

¹⁶⁷ Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna*, p. 12.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p. 2.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p. 14.

Table 2.1 Performance schedules of the *Nationaltheater* and *Kärntnertortheater*: 1785-1788

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
Nationaltheater	<i>Opera</i>	Spoken	<i>Opera</i>	Spoken	<i>Opera</i>	Spoken	Spoken
	<i>buffa</i>	drama	<i>buffa</i>	drama	<i>buffa</i>	drama	drama
Kärntnertortheater		<i>Singspiel</i>			<i>Singspiel</i>		<i>Singspiel</i>

Examining the scheduling choices for the Friday performances over this period, Woodfield remarks that it was clear that Friday performances were seen as ‘confrontation with the opposite.’¹⁷⁰ This led to a very productive competitive drive to outperform each other, laced with intrigues and cabals producing some of the great works of not just Viennese *opera buffa* like Martín y Soler’s *Una cosa rara* (1787) but also of the Viennese *Singspiel* such as Dittersdorf’s *Der Doktor unter der Apotheke* (1786). However, by mid-1787, with the war with Turkey looming on the horizon, cuts were in order and neither troupe were safe from the danger of termination. The *Singspiel* troupe was officially given termination notices on 15 October 1787 for their contracts to end at the culmination of the 1787-1788 season and the *buffa* troupe was kept waiting for further news about their fate. In this gap, the Viennese music theatre landscape had one further important component, the suburban theatres.

2.3 Suburban theatres and *Singspiel* repertory

The second decree from Emperor Joseph II in 1776 set out the *Spektakel-* or *Schauspielfreiheit*, which brought an end to the monopoly of the court theatres over the provision of theatrical entertainment. This meant that theatres in Vienna were no longer confined to just the two imperial theatres—the Burg- and Kärntnertortheater within the city walls. Instead, the edit allowed more theatres to be opened outside the walled city, in the so-called suburbs. These theatres were commercial enterprises and were meant to provide local

¹⁷⁰ Woodfield, pp. 50–52 has a table showing the concurrent performances on Fridays in 1786 as an example of this intertroupe rivalry and competition. The pattern that emerges is that Dittersdorf emerges as the flagbearer of the German troupe in opposition to Mozart’s contributions to the Italian troupe’s repertory, especially as Salieri was engaged in Paris in 1786-87. Also, the rivalry between the genres in late eighteenth-century Vienna, can be best summed up with the example of the 1786 Schönbrunn palace concert for which Emperor Joseph II commissioned both Salieri’s *Prima la musica, poi le parole* and Mozart’s *Der Schauspieldirektor*.

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entertainment in the vernacular for the middle and lower classes, competing for these strata of audiences with the other two main theatres, often very successfully.

Originally, the repertory assigned to these suburban theatres would have been the local *Hanswurst* plays and other subgenres that would have overall been classified as *Stegreifstheater* or improvised theatre. Until the 1760s, these works were heard regularly at both the Burg- and Kärntnertortheater and with the establishment of the suburban theatres, once again had a regular place of performance.¹⁷¹

Between 1781 and 1790, six new theatres came up in Vienna, with the first being the Theater im Neustift ('Zum weißen Fasan'). This was predominately a theatre for local works such as the *Posse*, but interestingly was also the theatre where Ludwig Zehnmark's translation of German translation Sarti's *Fra i due litigant* premiered in 1784.¹⁷² The Neustifttheater was followed by a theatre in the Leopoldstadt district which opened in 1781 under the direction of Karl Marinelli. Four years later, the Theater auf der Wieden was opened under the direction of Christian Rossbach, and then taken over by Emanuel Schikaneder in 1787, who built on the groundwork laid by Johann Friedel to establish a rival *Singspiel* theatre.

In 1788, yet another theatre opened in the Josefstadt district, with Karl Mayer as the director, who like Marinelli at the Leopoldstadt theatre, received imperial privileges. Most of these theatres, true to their roots, staged a mixed programme of spoken drama and *Singspiele*, which were more often than not German translations of popular Italian works. This was particularly true in the periods when it appeared that Vienna would be bereft of an opera troupe, such as 1786. The last of these suburban theatres opened in the Landstrasse district in 1790 but closed in 1793, just a year before the *Schauspielfreiheit* was withdrawn. After that, no further theatres were constructed in the Viennese suburbs until 1860.¹⁷³

Of all these theatres, the Leopoldstadt theatre was the most significant in the late 1780s up until the dominance of Schikaneder's theatre. This was because it was an established stage, ideally positioned in terms of personnel and resources, to rival the *Nationaltheater* when resources caused the *Singspiel* troupe to be dismissed. The foundations of the theatre were laid on 16 March 1780, to perform '*Lust-und Singspiele, Lokal-und Zauberpossen, Räuber-und*

¹⁷¹ See: Roger Bauer, *Das Ende des Stegreifspiels, die Geburt des Nationaltheaters: ein Wendepunkt in der Geschichte des europäischen Dramas* (Munich: Fink, 1983), pp. 24–38.

¹⁷² Alfred Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597-1940*, Third Edition (London: John Calder, 1978), pp. 397–98; Platoff, 'Sarti's *Fra i Due Litiganti* and Opera in Vienna', p. 539.

¹⁷³ Based on Yates, pp. 16–20. Schikaneder's *Theater auf der Wieden* moved to new premises in 1801 and was renamed *Theater an der Wien*.

*Kasperlestücke, Soldatenstücke, und Parodien.*¹⁷⁴ It opened on 20 October 1781 with a *Lustspiel* by the owner and director of the theatre, Karl Marinelli's *Gelegenheitsstück* titled *Aller Anfang ist schwer*.

The benefit of being a theatre director with imperial privileges was amongst the most important benefits that Marinelli obtained for the Leopoldstadt theatre. These privileges or patents 'specified certain exclusions, including the performance of ballets and of operas in foreign languages,' and protected the interests of the court theatres, while promoting German-language performances.¹⁷⁵ This turned out to be decisive for the other suburban theatres that came up in the following years, especially the Theater auf der Wieden.¹⁷⁶ In 1786, the theatre hired Wenzel Müller as Kapellmeister and composer. Most of the data regarding the theatre's activities are reconstructed from Müller's detailed diaries. The early repertory of the Leopoldstadt theatre consisted of *Lustspiele*, *Lokalstücke* and varied items like Ferdinand Kauer and Joachim Perinet's *Maschinenkomödie* titled *Die Zauberin aus Liebe* with the stock Kasperl character, among others. Very clearly, this repertory was distinct from what was on offer at the *Nationaltheater* and occupied the top-right quadrant, as shown in Großauer-Zöbinger's diagrammatic representation of the position occupied by suburban theatres in Vienna in the 1780s.

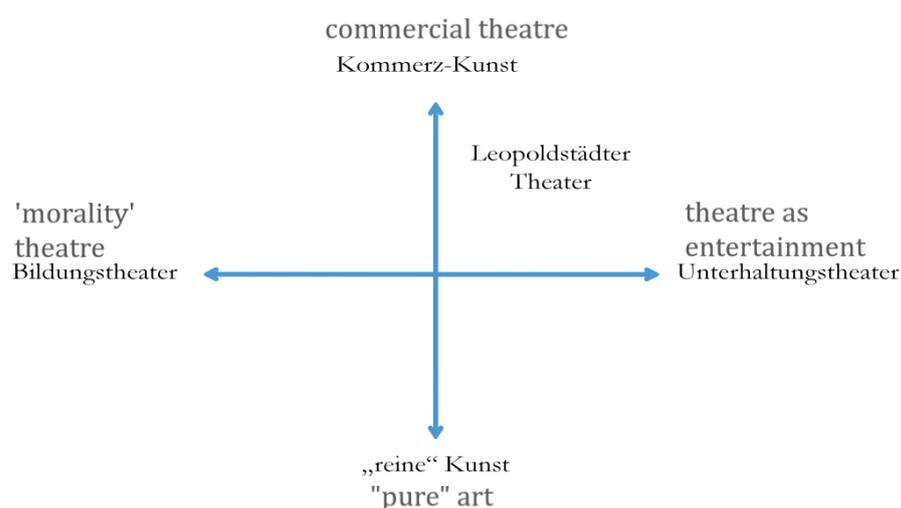


Figure 2.1 Diagrammatic representation of the position of suburban theatres as result of function¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁴ Angermüller, p. 13.

¹⁷⁵ Yates, p. 16.

¹⁷⁶ Jennyfer Großauer-Zöbinger, 'Das Leopoldstädter Theater (1781–1806): Sozialgeschichtliche und soziologische Vertonungen eines Erfolgsmodells', *Zeitschrift für Literatur- und Theatersoziologie (LiTheS)*, 2010, p. 43 http://lithes.uni-graz.at/lithes/beitraege10_sonderbd_1/grossauer-zoebinger_das_leopoldstaedter_theater.pdf [consulted on 27 April 2020].

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 7.

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This theatre and its repertory encouraged a new stratum of theatregoers, distinct from the nobility and upper middle class who frequented the *Nationaltheater*, more regularly and steadily gained popularity. The *Nationaltheater* movement had its roots in the German enlightenment and as such, works in the repertory were meant to align with a nation-building ideal of morals. Therefore, the distinction between the expectations from *opera buffa* and *Singspiel* troupes in the 1780s was also influenced by this rhetoric, whereby the *Singspiel* as an extension of the *Nationaltheater* became associated with a more national, 'moral and bourgeois German spoken theatre,' while Italian opera, classed as something foreign came to now symbolise 'mere' or 'pure' entertainment, with no further cause than to inspire delight rather than shoulder high ideals.¹⁷⁸

Within a few years of the Leopoldstadt theatre gaining a foothold in the Viennese theatrical landscape, it became clear that there was the prospect of expansion into repertories of opera and *Singspiel* hitherto confined to the *Nationaltheater*. As mentioned earlier, by the end of the 1787-1788 season, the *Singspiel* troupe, now resident at the Kärntnertortheater, was disbanded and from a purely commercial perspective, both the Leopoldstadt theatre and its new rival, the Theater auf der Wieden, laid plans to enhance their existing programs of *Singspiel*.¹⁷⁹ A cursory glance at the repertory of the Leopoldstadt theatre shows that only Umlauf's *Die schöne Schüsterin* (1779, *Nationaltheater*) and Salieri's *Der Rauchfangkehrer* (1781, *Nationaltheater*) were part of the theatre's original *Singspiel* repertory until 1786.¹⁸⁰ Twenty-one German translations of operas from the repertory of the *Nationaltheater*—twelve *opere buffe* and nine *opéras comiques*—were performed at the Leopoldstadt theatre between 1781 and 1794.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ Hunter, *The Culture of Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna: A Poetics of Entertainment*, p. 13. On the question of morality and repertories at Viennese theatres, see: Martin Nedbal, *Morality and Viennese Opera in the Age of Mozart and Beethoven*, Ashgate Interdisciplinary Studies in Opera (London and New York: Routledge, 2016).

¹⁷⁹ See also: Woodfield, *Cabals and Satires*, p. xxii. The shift in the Viennese theatres was keenly observed by the press, and in particular the Bayreuther Zeitung and the Kurfürstlich gnädigst privilegirte Münchner Zeitung. The shift to a rivalry between the *Nationaltheater* and suburban theatres was heightened also by the publication of anonymous pamphlets, enabled by Joseph II's easing of censorship restrictions. This is discussed further in the next section.

¹⁸⁰ Dittersdorf's *Der Doktor und Apotheker* was added to the repertory slightly later on 15 April 1788, after the *Singspiel* troupe had been dismissed.

¹⁸¹ The following table has been independently adapted from the data presented in Angermüller (2009). Lampl provides a list of operas and *Singspiele* performed at the Leopoldstadt theatre in her thesis, and the data tallies correctly, with the only deficiencies in Lampl's work being incorrect identification of certain librettists. Elisabeth Lampl, 'Die Oper auf den Wiener Vorstadtbühnen 1776 - 1865' (Mag. Phil. diss., Hochschule für Musik und darstellende Kunst, 1987), pp. 192-200.

Table 2.2 *Opere buffe* and *opéras comiques* performed in German translation at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt: 1783-1800

Title of work	Composer	Original title	Original language	Year and Place of premiere	Date of premiere at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt	Translator, where known
<i>Hurone</i>	Grétry, André Ernest Modeste	<i>Le Huron</i>	French	1768, Paris Comédie Italienne	25 October 1783	
<i>Die Pilgrimme von Mecca</i>	Gluck, Christopher Willibald	<i>La rencontre imprévue</i>	French	1764, Vienna Burgtheater	10 November 1789	Faber, Johann Heinrich
<i>Der verstellte Narr aus Liebe</i>	Sacchini, Antonio; Müller, Wenzel	<i>Il finto pazzo per amore</i>	Italian	1765, Rome Valle	10 May 1787	
<i>Die Liebe unter den Handwerksleuten</i>	Gassmann, Leopold Florian	<i>L'amore artigiano</i>	Italian	1767, Vienna Burgtheater	30 April 1790	
<i>Die Gräfin</i>	Gassmann, Leopold Florian	<i>La contessina</i>	Italian	1770, Neustadt	30 May 1786	
<i>Zemire und Azor</i>	Grétry, André Ernest Modeste	<i>Zémire et Azor</i>	French	1771, Fontainebleau	21 January 1790	
<i>Der Jahrmarkt von Venedig</i>	Salieri, Antonio	<i>La fiera di Venezia</i>	Italian	1772, Vienna Burgtheater	13 July 1791	
<i>Die Eifersucht auf die Probe</i>	Anfossi, Pasquale	<i>Il geloso in cimento</i>	Italian	1774, Vienna Burgtheater	22 March 1787	Eschenburg, Johann Joachim
<i>Wenn sich zwei zancken, freut sich der dritte</i>	Sarti, Giuseppe	<i>Fra i due litiganti</i>	Italian	1782, Milan Teatro alla Scala	17 January 1789	Zehnmark, Ludwig
<i>Die Höhle des Trofonius</i>	Salieri, Antonio	<i>La grotta di Trofonio</i>	Italian	1785, Vienna Burgtheater	3 Sept 1789	Halbe, Johann August

Title of work	Composer	Original title	Original language	Year and Place of premiere	Date of premiere at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt	Translator, where known
<i>Azemia oder Die Wilden</i>	Dalaryac, Nicolas	<i>Azémia, ou Le nouveau Robinson</i>	French	1786, Fontainebleu	7 July 1795	Perinet, Joachim
<i>Nina oder Was vermag die Liebe nicht? ou La Folle par amour</i>	Dalaryac, Nicolas	<i>Nina, ou La folle par amour</i>	French	1786, Paris Comédie Italienne	11 June 1790	André, Johann
<i>Der Liebhaber in der Klemme</i>	Dalaryac, Nicolas	<i>Renaud d'Ast</i>	French	1787, Paris, Comédie Italienne	3 Oct 1799	Perinet, Joachim
<i>Der Seltene Fall oder Schönheit und Tugend.</i>	Martín y Soler, Vicente	<i>Una cosa rara</i>	Italian	1786, Vienna Burgtheater	26 June 1787	Eberl, Ferdinand
<i>Der Baum der Diana</i>	Martín y Soler, Vicente	<i>L'arbore di Diana</i>	Italian	1787, Vienna Burgtheater	17 July 1788	Eberl, Ferdinand
<i>Der Talisman</i>	Salieri, Antonio	<i>Il Talismano</i>	Italian	1788, Vienna Burgtheater	30 April 1789	Eberl, Ferdinand
<i>Die Beyden Savoyarden</i>	Dalaryac, Nicolas	<i>Les deux petits Savoyards</i>	French	1789, Paris Comédie Italienne	13 December 1792	Perinet, Joachim
<i>Raoul, der Herr von Créqui oder Die verhinderte Grausamkeit.</i>	Dalaryac, Nicolas	<i>Raoul, sire de Créqui</i>	French	1789, Paris Comédie Italienne	10 September 1793	Perinet, Joachim
<i>Die stürmische Nacht</i>	Dalaryac, Nicolas	<i>La soirée orageuse</i>	French	1790, Paris Comédie Italienne	14 August 1795	
<i>Der Weibliche Soldat</i>	Naumann, Johann Gottlieb	<i>La dama soldato</i>	Italian	1791, Dresden	14 August 1794	Sonnleithner, Joseph Ferdinand von

As can be seen from this table, only three of these translated works were immediate adaptations from the repertory of the *Nationaltheater*: Martín y Soler's *Una cosa rara* (1786) and *L'arbore di Diana* (1787) and Salieri's *Il Talismano* (1788). At the *Nationaltheater*, Martín y Soler's works were bringing in audience numbers and helping the Italian troupe to hold ground vis-à-vis the *Singspiel* troupe at a time when the rivalry was intense. All three works, with libretti by Da Ponte were translated by Ferdinand Eberl (1762-1805).

Ferdinand Eberl was associated with the Leopoldstadt theatre from around 1783 in the capacity of *Hausdichter* (house poet) and later became the lessee of the Josefstadt theatre from 1795 to 1796.¹⁸² More importantly, Eberl was also the librettist of Dittersdorf's *Betrug durch Aberglauben* (1786, Vienna), through which he was also linked to the *Nationaltheater* enterprise. What is striking about these three Eberl translations is the speed with which highly successful Italian *opere buffe* were brought to a rival, suburban stage in German translation. For instance, *Una cosa rara* premiered at the *Nationaltheater* on 17 November 1786 and was performed at the Leopoldstadt theatre on 26 June 1787 as *Der seltene Fall*, where it was a runaway success with over fifty performances.¹⁸³ Instead of being an isolated instance of a highly successful German translation of a popular Italian work, this run of Eberl's translations marked a turning point in bringing *opera buffa* to the suburban theatres and thereby to a much wider audience.

The success of *Der seltene Fall* did not go unnoticed and elicited a back-and-forth of pamphlets immediately.¹⁸⁴ However, the most striking piece of writing comes a few years later, from the dramaturg, librettist and Shakespeare translator, Johann Schink (1755-1835). In an essay that features in his collection *Dramaturgische Monate* about *Betrug durch*

¹⁸² Angermüller, p. 36.

¹⁸³ *L'arbore di Diana* premiered on 01 October 1787 at the *Nationaltheater* and on 17 July 1788 at the Leopoldstadt theatre; *Talismano* premiered on 09 October 1788 at the *Nationaltheater* and on 30 April 1789 at the Leopoldstadt theatre.

¹⁸⁴ See: Woodfield, pp. 100–101 for a gist of these two pamphlets. The first of which, the *Nachricht* is in summary rather critical of the capacity of singers in the suburban theatres to attempt *opera buffa* repertory even in translation. A telling instance includes the statement ‚Mademoiselle Storaci Leopoldiana thut freylich was sie kann, allein sie hat so mangelhafte Sprachorganen daß sie im Reden dem Ohre schon weh thut, zu geschweigen erst im Singen.‘ (The Leopoldstadt version of Mademoiselle Storace certainly does what she can, but she has such defective speech organs that she already hurts the ear when speaking, not to mention when singing.) *Freymüthige Gedanken über die unvernünftige Nachricht für Vernünftige über die Vorstellung der cosa rara in der Leopoldstadt* (Vienna, 1787), p.9. (A-Wn 54398-A ALT MAG).

The response pamphlet, in fact, expresses the idea that the suburban theatres did not have to burden themselves with the moralistic mores and robustly defends the right of the Viennese public to choose entertainment of their choice. *Antwort auf die unverschämte Kritik über die Leopoldstädter Cosa Rara* (Vienna: 1787).

Aberglauben, Schink begins with sharp-tongued criticism of Eberl's skills as a poet and then turns his attention to translations of Italian opera into German.¹⁸⁵ Schink takes a different view to the intertroupe rivalry and terms the translations 'adopted foreign children' used by translators like Eberl to compensate for the lack of success of their original work.¹⁸⁶ By introducing the idea of these translations being 'contraband' and appropriated materials for achieving success at what Schink clearly considers a second-grade theatre, the levels of split in observing the intertroupe rivalries and the idea of presenting Italian opera in German in contemporary Vienna become apparent.

Schink's complaints are not restricted to the German translators, but also the Italian poets, or in this instance, pointedly at Da Pointe, hinting that the public in Vienna rewarded less-than-moral pieces with great applause. This discourse on high-brow versus low-brow art and the question of morality in opera leads on to the next section on Martín y Soler and Da Ponte's *L'arbore di Diana* (1787, Vienna). Even in its Italian original, it pushed the boundaries of what the critics would tolerate on stage and is a good case study to highlight how the German translations were expected to bear the burden of aligning themselves to the *Nationalsingspiel* motives of presenting a moral message on stage.

2.3.1 *L'arbore di Diana* at the Leopoldstadt theatre

L'arbore di Diana was the most successful Italian *opera buffa* of the Josephinian era, with over sixty performances between its premiere on 01 October 1787 and 1790.¹⁸⁷ If the circulation of scores were anything to go by for its popularity, ten days after the premiere, piano reductions of two arias ('die 2 beliebten Rondeaux von Mde. Lasky gesungen') were being sold at Lausch's music shop according to the advertisement in the *Wiener Zeitung*.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ Johann Friedrich Schink, *Dramaturgische Monate* (Schwerin: Bödner, 1790), pp. 210–11. Schink had worked in Vienna in the early 1780s until he was called by Friedrich Ludwig Schröder to join the Hamburg *Stadttheater* as a dramaturg, where he worked until 1792. The first volume of the *Dramaturgische Monate* consists of a series of essays about performances Schink attended in 1789.

¹⁸⁶ 'Er begann also die beliebtesten italienischen Opern des Wiener Hof: Theaters für sein Publikum in der Leopoldstadt in sein Deutsch zu übersessen, um so sich und seineadoptirten Kinder unter dem Strahlenmantel der Paisiello, Salieri und Martini — wenn auch als Contrebande — in den Tempel des Beyfalls einschwärzen zu lassen.' Schink, p. 210-211. The relevant excerpt and translation can be found in Appendix B.

¹⁸⁷ According to Woodfield, *Cabals and Satires*, p. 220 Table 6.2, between April 1789 and the death of Joseph II in February 1790, *L'arbore* was the highest earner at the box office with an average of 226 gulden per night. See: Data sources as to why number of performances along do not paint an accurate picture of success unless taken in conjunction with box-office receipts where available.

¹⁸⁸ *Wiener Zeitung* (No. 81), 10. Oktober 1787 (p. 17/2465): *L'ARBORE DI DIANA./ Neue Opera des Herr. Martin, aus wel-/cher einstweilen die 2 beliebten Rondeaux von/ Mde. Lasky gesungen, im Klavierasuzug zu haben sind:/Si dice quà e là amor è un briconcello, / im ersten Akt, 12 kr./ Sereno*

More importantly, the source materials surrounding its immediate reception also provide an insight into the challenges of crossing genres and languages from *opera buffa* to *Singspiel*.

L'arbore was written as a festive commission to celebrate the arrival of Archduchess Maria Theresia, the niece of Joseph II in Vienna en route to Dresden for her wedding with Anton Clemens, the younger brother of the Elector of Saxony. At the time of its premiere in Vienna, *Cosa rara* was still being performed at the *Nationaltheater* as part of the new season and Eberl's translation as *Der seltene Fall* was part of the repertory at the Leopoldstadt theatre. It was soon heard in Prague (16 January 1788) and Leipzig (25 May 1788). By the time the first German version as *Der Baum der Diana* premiered at the Leopoldstadt theatre on 17 July 1788, rumours of a potential disbanding of the *buffa* troupe had already started to circulate.¹⁸⁹

Eberl's preface (*Vorrede*) to his translation stresses the difficulty of translating an Italian libretto into German but makes no further comment.¹⁹⁰ However, more information can be derived from an anonymous pamphlet published as a reaction to *Der Baum der Diana* titled *Etwas für Alle über die Aufführung des Baums der Diana in dem marinellischen Schauspielhause in der Leopoldstadt*.¹⁹¹ Regarding the authorship of this pamphlet, Ursula Knötig suggests that it is Eberl's own work aimed at pleasing the critics and this conjecture would stand to reason given the rather favourable approach taken by the author, and also in light of the previous set of pamphlets regarding *Der seltene Fall*.¹⁹² The success of the work at the Leopoldstadt theatre is repeatedly emphasised and the reader is told how even the nobility had begun to

raggio di lieta calma, im zweyten/ Akt, 16 kr./ In der Lausischen Musikalienhandlung/ in der Kärntnerstorstrasse Nr. 1085 den 3/ weissen Rosen über. This was repeated ten days later, again in the Wiener Zeitung (p.15) with two additional numbers – *Occhiette* (sic) *furbetto* for 16 kr. and *Ah presto fuggiamo!* for 32 kr. This followed a similar advertisement on p. 14 reading: '[...] Musikalien sind zu ha-/ben als-Klavierstücke: Una cosa rara mit/welschem und deutschen Text. Die übersetzten/ 12 Menuette und Deutsche. Die sieben Wort./ L'Arbore di Diana dir besten Stücke./ Apo-/theker und Doktor den ganzen Klavierauszug./Arien von verschiedenen Opern.[.]

¹⁸⁹ Loewenberg, p. 446.

¹⁹⁰ It is the only Eberl libretto to have a preface and was likely included as a nuanced response to the criticisms that arose from *Der Seltene Fall*, discussed in the previous section. It also echoes Alxinger's preface to the libretto of *Iphigenie auf Tauride* (1781), discussed in the Coda.

¹⁹¹ Anonymous, *Etwas für Alle über die Aufführung des Baums der Diana in dem marinellischen Schauspielhause in der Leopoldstadt*. (Wien, 1788). This pamphlet also elicited a counter-pamphlet titled *Apologie der marinellischen Schaubühne in der Leopoldstadt gegen das Etwas für Alle über die Aufführung des Baums der Diana*.

¹⁹² Ulrike Knötig, 'Ferdinand Eberl - ein Wiener Dramatiker in der Theaterszene des späten 18. Jahrhunderts' (Mag. Phil. diss., Universität Wien, 2012), p. 63. The counter-pamphlet, the *Apologie* is also anonymous and is more a personalised response to the author of the *Etwas für Alles* regarding falsification of truth and prejudiced commentary. Its contents do not bear direct relevance to the scope of this discussion, although it provokes some thought about the initial reception history of the work in Vienna. Although the authorship of *Etwas für Alles* is not substantiated as Eberl's, this is very plausible, and in line with what is assumed of Dittersdorf's tendency to do the same.

book boxes at this suburban theatre to attend a performance.¹⁹³ This was a telling statement, particularly around the time the *Singspiel* trope had been disbanded and the *buffa* troupe was expected to face a similar fate.

The author then turns their attention to Eberl's translation of the Act I, Scene 10 duet between Amor and Doristo, *Occhietto furbetto*.¹⁹⁴ Da Ponte's libretto for *L'arbore di Diana* is the only original plot in his entire oeuvre and is strongly rooted in the pastoral tradition and tells the story of Cupid's triumph over Diana, the goddess of chastity.¹⁹⁵ In the work, Amor is a trouser role, but a step further from Cherubino in *Figaro* in that Amor also appears gender-fluid as the opera progresses. This aspect of the Italian performances had already drawn attention and a contemporary account of the scandal caused by the work can be seen in the anonymously authored letter, 'Lettre d'un habitant de Vienne à son ami à Prague, qui lui avait demandé ses réflexions sur l'opéra intitulé *L'arbore di Diana*.'¹⁹⁶ The entire 'letter' revolves around the question of morality and the author seems to suggest that even for *opera buffa*, it had crossed boundaries. This goes back to the idea of a didactic, moral, nation-building role ascribed to the *Singspiel* as an extension of the *Nationaltheater* movement, while the foreign genres were judged with less severity.

¹⁹³ 'Der Tag erschien, und das Schauspielhaus war so voll, dass man, mit der gemeinen Art zu sprechen, keine Steknadel hinab zu werfen im Stande war, die nicht auf Menschen fiel.' *Etwas für Alle über die Aufführung des Baums der Diana in dem marinellischen Schauspielhause in der Leopoldstadt.*, pp. 8–9. A full transcription of this pamphlet can be found in Appendix B, B.3.

¹⁹⁴ 'Herr Eberl hat in seiner Übersetzung den Geschmack des Publikums ganz wohl getroffen, bis auf einige Zweideutigkeiten, und die hinkende Übersetzung des Duetts <Occhietto Furbetto> ist die Oper immer eine Arbeit, die ihm Ehre macht: denn was das Duett betrifft, so kann ich das unmöglich für schön halten [...]' *Etwas für Alle über die Aufführung des Baums der Diana in dem marinellischen Schauspielhause in der Leopoldstadt.*, p. 15. See also: Appendix D.5

¹⁹⁵ See: Dorothea Link, 'L'arbore di Diana: A Model for *Così fan tutte*', in *Wolfgang Amadè Mozart: Essays on His Life and His Music*, ed. by Stanley Sadie (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 362–73. For a detailed explanation of the plot using Da Ponte's *Argomento* to *L'arbore* in the 1787 libretto, see: Dorothea Link, 'The Da Ponte Operas of Vicente Martín y Soler' (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1991), pp. 96–99. A detailed concordance of principal sources of the Vienna versions of *L'arbore* can be found on pp.300–302.

¹⁹⁶ A-Whh HstA, Karton 40, Vertrauliche Akten. The full text can be found in Michtner, pp. 435–39.

Table 2.3 Eberl's translation of the duet 'Occhietto furbetto' from *L'arbore di Diana*¹⁹⁷***L'arbore di Diana, Act I, Scene 10***

(Da Ponte, 1787 Vienna)

Amore: Occhietto furbetto,
che cosa m'hai detto
baciandomi qui?

Doristo: Se furba tu sei,
capire lo dei.

Amore: Capisco, sì, sì.

Doristo: Ebben, che diss'io?

Amore: Che sei l'idol mio.

Doristo: E poi?

Amore: Che vorresti ...

Doristo: E poi?

Amore: Che faresti ...

Doristo, Amore: Ah, taci, mio bene, ah, basta
così.

Doristo: La mano gradita
anch'io ti vo dar.

Amore: Fa presto, mia vita,
che anch'io vo baciare.

Doristo: Ah, come tu tremi!

Amore: Cor mio, di che temi?

Doristo: Che caldo, che caldo!

Amore: Stà saldo, stà saldo, e lasciami far.

Der Baum der Diana, Act 1, Szene 10

(Eberl, 1788 Vienna)

Amor. Was sagt dieser Blicke,
Voll schelmischer Tücke,
mir küssend so frey;

Doristo. Soll Schelminn ichs nennen,
Willst du es nicht kennen:

Amor. Nicht kennen, nicht kennen,
Nicht kennen, ey, ey!

Doristo. Nun gut, und was sagt ich?

Amor. Du sagtest: ich liebe dich!

Doristo. Und weiter!

Amor. Daß du wolltest.

Doristo. Und weiter!

Amor. Daß du möchtest-

Zusammen. O schweige liebe Seele,
Mein Herz ist zu voll

Doristo: O laß mich dir geben
Dieß Herz und die Hand.

Amor. Komm hurtig mein Leben
Zu küssen dieß Hand;

Doristo. Wie bist du erschüttert!

Amor. Fühl lieber wies zittert.

Doristo. Wie wird mir so warme.

Amor. Komm hurtig in die Arme
zu knüpfen dieß Hand.

Nonetheless, Eberl's translation of one of the suggestive duets between Amor and Doristo shows his responsiveness to the issues surrounding censorship and morality on the stage.¹⁹⁸ As the author of *Etwas für Alles* assures the readers, Eberl removes the gender ambiguity and fluidity of Amor's role and assigns Amor as a female throughout the work. While a faithful translation overall, a closer reading of Eberl's translation makes it clear that it is tamer than Da Ponte's Italian libretto. This was a way of making *Der Baum der Diana* not just a mildly

¹⁹⁷ *L'arbore di Diana: Dramma giocoso in due atti* (Vienna: Kurzbeck, 1788), p. 22-23. A-Wn 32548-A MUS MAG; *Der Baum der Diana: Ein heroisch-komisches Singspiel in zwey Aufzügen* (Vienna, 1788), p. 20-21. A-Wn 50943-A MUS MAG, p. 41-42.

¹⁹⁸ See Nedbal, p. 103-104, example 3.7. which show the suggestive exchanges in the duet *Occhietto furbetto*. While there are no performance materials from the Leopoldstadt theatre production of 1788, the 1802 performance score of the revival of the opera in German at the Kärntnertortheater (A-Wn Kt. 58), shows little significant deviance from the original Italian save for a substitution of Diana's Act I aria (*Sento che Dio son'io*) and is discussed briefly as the closing case study of this thesis in Chapter 5.

bowdlerised German translation of *L'arbore di Diana* but also attempting to fit *Der Baum der Diana* into the *Singspiel* framework, beyond simply substituting the simple recitatives with dialogues. In this context, revisiting the positioning of works performed at suburban theatres (Figure 2.1), it becomes evident that the repertory at the Leopoldstadt theatre was now no longer just somewhere between commercial theatre and entertainment, but also had shades of moral theatre attempting to, if not aligning entirely with the *Nationaltheater*.

2.4 Theatres under Leopold II and Franz II

When Leopold II came to power in February 1790, he inherited an Empire that was going through a time of crisis, revolution, and instability, some of which were a direct consequence of the policies Joseph II was pursuing towards the end of his reign. Leopold II's first year on the throne was devoted towards getting affairs of the state under control, so much so that the image cultivated as a recourse was a conscious distancing from theatrical administration. This effectively meant that there was no real departure from the Josephinian model; the theatre personnel remained unchanged throughout the first year of Leopold II's reign.¹⁹⁹ The repertory also showed continuity from the previous era: two of the three most performed works in the 1790-1791 season were Paisiello's *Il Re Teodoro* (1784, Vienna) and Martín y Soler's *L'arbore di Diana* (1787, Vienna) with 21 performances each.²⁰⁰ The most performed work of the season, however, was Guglielmi and Zini's *La pastorella nobile* (1788, Naples) with 28 performances.²⁰¹ The introduction of Guglielmi's works into the repertory at Vienna at this point would serve as an indication of the strong Neapolitan turn to come later.

Towards the end of 1790, with affairs of state mostly under control, Leopold II turned his attention to affairs of the stage. In September 1790, he attended a performance of Salieri's *Axur* (1788, Vienna) at the *Nationaltheater*. In celebration of the second wedding of Archduke Franz (later Emperor Franz II) with Maria Teresa of Naples and Sicily, the theatre was opened to the public with free entry.²⁰² The choice of *Axur*, a work that was closely associated with his brother Joseph II, signalled a sense of continuity and ensured that the transition to a theatre administration with Leopold II's stamp on it was gradual.

¹⁹⁹ The ambiguous nature of continuity is described in Rice, 'Emperor and Impresario: Leopold II and the Transformation of Viennese Musical Theatre, 1790-1792', pp. 48-50.

²⁰⁰ The 1790-1791 season ran from April 1790 to March 1791.

²⁰¹ In Rice, 'Emperor and Impresario: Leopold II and the Transformation of Viennese Musical Theatre, 1790-1792', p. 54, the respective numbers are 24, 23, 22.

²⁰² *Axur* was originally commissioned to commemorate Archduke Franz's wedding to Elisabeth of Württemberg (1767-1790).

The clearest sign of this shift came in January 1791, when he appointed Count Wenzel Ugarte to the position of Musikgraf or court music director, a role that had been left vacant during Joseph II's reign, as well as ensuring that Ugarte reported to him directly.²⁰³ This was followed by a swift change of guard: key figures of the Josephinian era like Da Ponte and his supposed mistress, the soprano Adriana Ferrarese del Bene, better known as La Ferrarese, left, or in essence, were forced out of Vienna, while Salieri was demoted to just writing an opera per year for the court theatre with his protégé Joseph Weigl (1766-1846) taking on the direction of the court opera.

Leopold II's involvement with the theatre administration was almost as intensive as his brother's and he closely monitored everything from new libretti to the appointment of singers.²⁰⁴ The most noticeable change characterising Leopold II's time at the helm of Viennese theatres was the return of *opera seria*, ballet and pantomime, all genres for which Vienna was famous in the 1750s and 1760s. During his tour of Italy in March 1791, he was sent on hiring new singers for the theatre in Vienna and this was seen as a decisive move towards aligning Viennese opera with that in Italy.²⁰⁵

A ballet troupe was created, and three new singers were hired for *opera seria*: the soprano Cecilia Giuliani, tenor Vincenzo Maffoli and the castrato Angelo Testori, who made their debuts in Vienna in Sebastian Nasolini's *Teseo e Stige*. At the *Nationaltheater*, Italian opera alternated with German spoken drama, and *buffa* and *seria* works were alternatively programmed. These changes also signalled a marked change from the economisation motive that drove Joseph II's theatre reforms and in the short duration of his reign, theatre expenditure almost doubled what it was under his brother.

In terms of repertory, some of the most popular Viennese *opere buffe* of the late 1780s slowly disappeared from the performance schedule despite their continuing popularity. Works including Martín y Soler's *Una cosa rara* and *L'arbore di Diana*, Paisiello's *Il Re Teodoro*, Storace's *Gli equivoci*, Salieri's *Axur*, *La cifra* and *Il Talismano* were removed from the repertory at the end of the 1790-1791 season. Only six of the thirty-seven operas imported from Italy in the 1783-1790 period were Neapolitan works. However, under Leopold II, there

²⁰³ Rice, 'Emperor and Impresario: Leopold II and the Transformation of Viennese Musical Theatre, 1790-1792', p. 58.

²⁰⁴ This can be seen from the steady correspondence between Leopold II and the theatre officials, including Ugarte. See: Rice, 'Emperor and Impresario: Leopold II and the Transformation of Viennese Musical Theatre, 1790-1792', p. 64 for a transcription and translation of Leopold II's draft (*Entwurf*) memorandum to Ugarte in which he sets out his plan and vision for theatres in Vienna.

²⁰⁵ Rice, 'Emperor and Impresario: Leopold II and the Transformation of Viennese Musical Theatre, 1790-1792', p. 70.

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was a new influx of Neapolitan opera on the Viennese stage, or specifically operas written for Neapolitan theatres that were then performed in Vienna such as Paisiello's *Nina* (1789, Naples). Of these, Pietro Alessandro and Saverio Zini's *La pastorella nobile* (1788, Naples) and *La bella pescatrice* (1789, Naples) were amongst the most popular works.²⁰⁶ In the 1791-1792 season, these works benefitted from the recent addition to the Italian troupe, the soprano Irene Tomeoni Dutillieu, who replaced La Ferrarese. The idea of reinstating *opera seria* firmly into the Viennese repertory did not take off as the economic condition was not sound and healthy, but with his short reign of two years, the theatre scenario inherited by Leopold II's successor, Franz II had visibly moved on from the Josephinian model of the late 1780s, despite the gradual transition.

Nevertheless, at the beginning Franz II continued to support the theatres with the generosity of his father, investing a sum close to 95,000 Gulden.²⁰⁷ Much like the war with the Turks in 1789, the looming war with France had begun to impact the finances in Vienna and made its effect felt in matters of the stage as well. Franz II first introduced the idea of moving back to a lessee system quite early into his reign but reversed his position and instead reappointed Count Rosenberg to the position occupied by Ugarte, possibly in hopes of bringing the theatre finances under control. For a while, this plan seemed to be successful, and a *Singspiel* troupe was reinstated. But as ever, the situation changed quickly and before Rosenberg returned from a trip to Italy in August 1794, the negotiations to lease the court theatres to Peter von Braun were almost concluded.

The *Schauspielfreiheit* was repealed in 1794 when the court theatre returned to the lessee system.²⁰⁸ When von Braun took over the court theatres, his contract clearly stipulated that no permission would be given for further theatres to be built, either within the city walls or outside them, effectively ending the *Schauspielfreiheit*.²⁰⁹ The Josephinian era from 1776 to 1790 saw a flourishing of Italian opera at the Viennese theatres, especially after 1783 when the Italian opera was reinstated at the *Nationaltheater*. The period between 1783 and 1790 saw thirty-five Italian *opere buffe* written exclusively for the *Nationaltheater*, and an additional thirty-nine operas given their Viennese premieres.

²⁰⁶ See also: Kay M. Lipton, *The opere buffe of Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi in Vienna and Esterháza: Contributions to the development of opera buffa between 1768 and 1793* (Ph.D. diss., UCLA, 1995).

²⁰⁷ Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna*, p.4. See also: John A. Rice, *Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera*, p. 528.

²⁰⁸ *ibid*, p. 2, quoting Hadamowsky, *Wiener Theatergeschichte*, p. 255-256.

²⁰⁹ Yates, p. 20.

However, Joseph II's reforms for the promotion of German *Singspiele*, while not a great success during his lifetime, sowed the seeds for an increasingly strong sense of national and cultural identity that prompted the Viennese audience to favour German opera in the period that followed.²¹⁰ This was particularly aided and abetted by two significant factors: firstly, the war with France seems to have aroused strong patriotic feelings that evoked a familiar antipathy to Italian opera due to the consequent budgetary constraints and a simultaneous favouring of opera in German.²¹¹ Secondly, the increased popularity of the suburban theatres, which had now embedded themselves firmly in the Viennese theatrical landscape had begun to draw audiences away from the court theatres through the first half of the 1790s. The Theater auf der Wieden and the Leopoldstadt theatre had begun to include original *Singspiele* in their repertory, the best example being *Die Zauberflöte* (1791), taking the competition one notch higher than just staging performances of German translations of the Italian successes at the *Nationaltheater*.

As a result, one of Braun's first actions as an impresario in charge of the Burg- and Kärntnertortheater was to propose adding several German singers, who could also perform in Italian to the existing (Italian) troupe, which included some singers who could perform in German, resulting in a troupe that had two overlapping companies that could perform in both Italian and German. Braun's proposal was heavily underpinned by arguments about 'moral corruption' brought in by the Italian performers, who also demanded much higher pay. In the end, this project was not given the green light by the state administration, who pointed out that the problem did not stem from the performers but instead from the repertory. Read in the context of the issues that arose as early as 1788 with the performance of *Der Baum der Diana*, this signalled a clear move towards establishing a German troupe that concentrated on local works emphasising the moral and didactic message intended by the state. This in essence signalled a return to the *Nationalsingspiel* as it was intended by Joseph II in its first

²¹⁰ The conclusion to Link's *The National Court Theater* is a succinct summary of Joseph II's achievements in terms of *Nationaltheater*: 'Despite Leopold's attempts to impose his own style of theatre on to the Viennese, he had to yield to Joseph's vision of a *Nationaltheater* which had now become a reality. The critical mass had finally been reached, and from that point on, German theatre enjoyed widespread and lasting support from the public.' Link, p. 500.

²¹¹ The War of the First Coalition (1792-1797) marked the beginning of nearly a quarter of a century of continuous conflicts between Austria and France. It was precipitated by the Declaration of Pillnitz (August 1791), whereby Leopold II and King Frederick William of Prussia expressed concern about the developments in France, after the Flight to Varennes. This was interpreted by the French (now acting without the king) to be an attack on its sovereignty, leading to declaration of war on Austria in 1792. John A. Rice, *Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera*, p. 562. Rice also quotes from an article in the Berliner Musikalische Zeitung from 12 October 1793, where the author accuses Count Rosenberg (director of the court theatres until 1794) as 'a sworn enemy of the Germans, who cannot bear to hear anything that is not Italian.' [Fürst Rosenberg, ...der in abgesafter Feind der Deutschen ist und durchaus nichts hören kann, was nicht italienisch ist.]

phase from 1778 to 1783 and many efforts were made to revive or re-establish such a German troupe even while the theatres were under court control in 1794 with the primary intention to wean the public from the suburban theatres and the accompanying corruption of 'morals and taste.'²¹²

Peter von Braun succeeded in setting up a German troupe at the court theatres in 1795 with Franz Xaver Süssmayer as music director. The troupe opened with a performance of Paul Wranitzky's *Die gute Mutter*. The libretto was based on a French play, *La bonne mère* translated by Johann Baptist von Alxinger, who had also most famously collaborated with Gluck in adapting *Iphigenie* into German in 1781.²¹³ Between 1795 and 1800, there were twelve premieres of German *Singspiele* at the Kärntnertortheater, which now continued as the institution for German works, while the Burgtheater was used for German spoken dramas and Italian opera. It would not be wrong to say that this phase saw a retrospective fulfilment of the ideals of the *Nationalsingspiel* movement of the late 1770s instituted by Joseph II. These *Singspiele* were also however intended to stave off competition from the suburban theatres as mentioned earlier and to fulfil this purpose, the court theatres also continued to perform Italian operas in German translation.

During this period, many of the *opere buffe* from the Josephinian era were heard for the first time in German translation in Vienna, such as Salieri's *Axur* (1797) besides *Die Hochzeit des Figaros* (1797) and *Don Juan* (1798) to mixed results. By the turn of the century, the competitive rivalry between genres in the Josephinian era had turned into a rivalry between institutions, where the very same work could be heard in two different versions in one of the court theatres and a suburban theatre.

2.5 Changing tastes: *La pastorella nobile* in Vienna in the 1790s

La pastorella nobile was one of Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi's (1728-1804) most successful works in collaboration with the librettist Saverio Zini (177-1803). It premiered on 19 April 1788 at the Teatro Nuovo in Naples. Zini's successful partnership with Guglielmi worked on a stock formula of pastoral plots, as can be seen in both *La pastorella nobile* and *La*

²¹² Nedbal, *Morality and Viennese Opera in the Age of Mozart and Beethoven*, p. 157.

²¹³ For a detailed account of the changes made in the German version through Alxinger's libretto in particular, see: Nedbal, p. 160.

bella pescatrice.²¹⁴ Within a year of its Neapolitan premiere, it was staged at La Scala, Milan in September 1789 and thereafter all across Italy.²¹⁵ In 1790, *La pastorella nobile* was performed in Nice at the Carnevale followed by a significant production in Vienna on 24 May 1790, with a revised libretto and additional arias by Joseph Weigl in an attempt to tailor the work to the Viennese model of *opera buffa*.²¹⁶ In 1791, when the work was again performed in Vienna, it was in yet another revision, which brought it back to its Neapolitan roots as the tide had changed in Vienna with Leopold II's ascension to the throne.

In the final section of this chapter, I look at these two Viennese productions of *La pastorella nobile* wherein the changes to the work almost perfectly encapsulate how the direction of Italian *opera buffa* in Vienna changed with the change from the Josephinian era. I then focus on the German version of this work, staged much later in the decade in 1798 in Vienna and use it to trace the further development of the *Singspiel* as practice in Vienna.²¹⁷

2.5.1 *La pastorella nobile* (1790, Vienna)

In the early months of Leopold II's reign, there was a sense of continuity in terms of theatres as there was little to no change to the way in which things were run in the Josephinian era. When Neapolitan operas started entering the repertory as a first strong sign of the change, they underwent an adaptation process or *Bearbeitung* to fit the prevailing ideals of the Josephinian era. The first of these, Paisiello's *Nina* (1789, Naples) was also the first work presented at the *Nationaltheater* after Leopold II arrived in Vienna. Despite a considerably altered libretto and seven new arias by Weigl, which made the work tend more towards *Così* than the original light sentimental *opera buffa* as it was conceived, *Nina* was not

²¹⁴ The titular character of the opera, the *pastorella* is Eurilla, who catches the eye of the Marchese Astolso. Donna Florida, who is engaged to marry the Marchese finds out the betrayal when she comes to visit, while the local governor Don Polibio and his son, Don Calloandro are buffo characters for comic relief.

²¹⁵ In Italian, earlier in the year, it had been staged at Barcelona on 25 August and later in Paris (Théâtre de Monsieur, Salle des Tuileries) on 12 December 1789 with additions by Martín y Soler and Cherubini. This Paris version was revived in April 1807 as *L'erede di Belprato* and remained in the repertory until 1822.

²¹⁶ Other performances listed in Loewenberg include Corfu Autumn 1790; Dresden 12 February 1791; Lisbon 13 May 1791; London, Pantheon 17 December 1791 (revived on 10 February 1801); Prague 1792; Palma, Mallorca Autumn 1793; St. Petersburg 1797. Loewenberg, pp. 458–59.

²¹⁷ A good example would be Cherubini's *Les deux journées* which had two German versions being performed concurrently in Vienna: the first one with an unnamed translator was premiered at the Theater an der Wien on 13 August 1802 as *Die zwey unvergeßlichen Tage* while Treitschke's version as *Die Tage der Gefahr* was premiered just the next day at the Kärntnertortheater. This is recounted in detail in the series 'Letters on the German Opera in Vienna' of the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* starting with issue No. 2 of 6 October 1802. The reintroduction of French *opéras comiques* in German translation was started at the Theater an der Wien, where Cherubini's *Lodoïska* premiered on 23 March 1802. See also the Coda to this thesis.

well-received, being performed only twice. It is quite likely that this was also because the title role was taken by La Ferrarese, whose voice would prove to be unsuitable for these light, Neapolitan *prima buffa* roles. Although the autograph score of *La pastorella nobile* (A-Wn Kt. 388) includes a cast list written into the title page with Eurilla's role as being sung by 'Gabrieli,' another one of the names Adriana Gabrieli Ferrarese Del Bene was known under, it is likely to be a later addition as this is contradicted by all the Artaria publications of numbers from this opera, which were contemporaneous with the 1790 performance.²¹⁸

Accordingly, when *La pastorella nobile* was prepared for Vienna, instead of changing the nature of the *prima buffa* role, Da Ponte and Weigl's transformation of the libretto and score focused on the secondary role of Donna Florida.²¹⁹ Donna Florida's role was expanded considerably to allow Ferrarese to showcase her talents, particularly in the two-part rondòs that she had become famous for. Although Kay Lipton approaches the Viennese versions of Guglielmi's operas from the perspective of pasticcio, given the extensive changes from the original with insert arias, this was not unusual at all in eighteenth-century theatre practice and can be seen in almost all the operas which were adapted for performance in Vienna.²²⁰ An example of this *Bearbeitungspraxis* is Sarti's *Fra i due litiganti* (1781, Milan) which premiered in Vienna with no less than six insert arias.²²¹

²¹⁸ Michtner, p. 304 does not challenge the casting provided in the autograph score. However, John A. Rice in his article on *La folia* in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth century Vienna confirms that the writing in red pencil in A-Wn Kt. 388 might date from the early nineteenth century as this contradicts the Artaria scores. John A. Rice, 'La folia in Late Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century Vienna', in *Festschrift Otto Biba zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by Ingrid Fuchs (Tutzing: Schneider, 2006), p. 4. The libretto for the 1790 Vienna production is *LA PASTORELLA NOBILE/ DRAMMA GIOCOSO/ DA RAPPRESENTARSI/ NEL REAL TEATRO DI CORTE/ L'ANNO 1790/ VIENNA/ PRESSO LA SOCIETÀ TIPOGRAFICA (D-MHrm T464)*. As this copy is not yet digitally available, I am grateful to Frau Stephanie Herrmann at the Reiss Engelhorn Museum in Mannheim for making a copy of the libretto available to me.

²¹⁹ *La pastorella nobile* was not the only Guglielmi opera to have been adapted to the Viennese model. Lipton opines that although there were many significant amendments to produce a Viennese version of *La quacchera spirituosa*, their effect is not 'as potent as the alterations to *La pastorella nobile*, nor do they adhere as much to Da Ponte's and Joseph II's *opera buffa* ideals.' Kay M. Lipton, 'The Opere Buffe of Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi in Vienna and Eszterháza: Contributions to the Development of Opera Buffa between 1768 and 1793' (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1995), p. 198. Lipton's doctoral thesis on Guglielmi, is one of the only works dedicated to Guglielmi's operatic output. Even in that respect, considering Guglielmi's long career spanning two quite distinct phases in the style of *opera buffa*, starting in the late 1750s and a vast output of nearly seventy operas, Lipton's work focuses solely on the works performed in Vienna and Esterházy. In particular, Lipton looks at how Guglielmi's works were adapted for these two stages.

²²⁰ See Lipton 173-179. This approach can indeed be justified in the larger context of impresarios and composers 'who catered to local tastes and political constituencies, in addition to the whims of singers.' Lipton cites Sonneck's research on the contract system: 'in some theatres the scrittura conceded a part ownership in the opera to the singers – one of the consequences of a system that implied that in repetitions of the works, the music could be adjusted to the needs of the cast. An easy solution was simply to substitute other pieces already known by the singers – or by the public. Lipton 168

²²¹ Platoff, 'Sarti's *Fra i Due Litiganti* and Opera in Vienna', p. 535.

By the time the work was performed in the 1791 season, Da Ponte and La Ferrarese had left Vienna and the soprano Irene Tomeoni Dutillieu (1763-1830), who had created the role of Eurilla in Naples, had been engaged to perform in Vienna. A preliminary examination of the performance score *A-Wn Kt 388* gives the impression that certain sections of the opera, including the Act II, Scene 6 duet 'Va pure in malora' between Donna Florida and her brother Astianatte, had been removed from the 1791 performance.²²² Therefore, most of the changes made to accommodate La Ferrarese as Donna Florida were reversed and the work was heard almost as it had been heard in Naples. However, it would not be the last time the 1790 version was used in Vienna.

2.5.2 *Die adeliche Schäferinn (1798, Vienna)*

The 1798 German version of *La pastorella nobile* as *Die adeliche Schäferinn (Singspiel in zwey Aufzügen)* ran for one sole performance on 17 May 1798. It was one of the three *Singspiele* produced by Peter von Braun's company in the 1797-1798 season based on some of the most successful *opere buffe* from the Josephinian era.²²³ The other two, which were also being performed for in German for the first time in Vienna were Salieri's *Axur* as *Axur, König von Ormus (eine heroisch-komische Oper)* on 08 December 1797 and Mozart's *Figaro* as *Die Hochzeit des Figaros (Singspiel in vier Aufzügen)* on 10 July 1798. In comparison, *Figaro* remained in the repertory in this version, repeated for a total of thirty-four times until 1807, while *Axur* was performed for a total of twenty-three times until 1805.²²⁴ These *Singspiele* were also intended to stave off competition from the suburban theatres as mentioned earlier, and to this end, the court theatres also continued to perform Italian operas in German translation.

The translator's name is mentioned nowhere in the either the libretto manuscript or the autograph, but both Loewenberg and Michtner ascribe it to Friedrich Karl Lippert.²²⁵ Lippert, who had joined the Vienna *Singspiel* troupe from Berlin recently, was no stranger to the Viennese stage. Born in 1758 in Bavaria, he started his career with Grossmann's troupe in

²²² Rice speaks at length about this duet, which was a substitute aria ascribed to 'Signr. Conti' in his essay on *La folia*.

²²³Jahn, pp. 185–86. The performance is also mentioned under *Theater-Nachricht* in the *Wiener Zeitung* of 19 May 1798. *Anhang zur Wiener-Zeitung Nr. 40*, 19 May 1798, p. 9/1493. 'Am 17. May war auf dem Theater nächst dem Kärtnertor zum erstenmal aufgeführt: Die adelige Schäferin, eine Oper, in welche Madam Castelli und Herr Mändel zum erstenmale auftraten.'

²²⁴ A detailed discussion on the translation used for the 1797 revival of Salieri's *Axur* in German can be found in Chapter 4.

²²⁵ Loewenberg, p. 459; Michtner, p. 306.

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Frankfurt in the early 1780s and when a *Singspiel* troupe was hastily reassembled in 1786, Lippert was one of the main attractions in Monsigny's *Der Deserteur*.²²⁶

When the *Singspiel* troupe was disbanded once again in 1788, most of the notable members like Adamberger were absorbed back into the *buffa* troupe. Lippert left Vienna to take up a role at the *Nationaltheater* in Berlin, with a small stop en route in Pressburg for three performances with the Kumpf troupe. As the theatre situation changed in Vienna across the 1790s, Lippert found himself resigning his role in Berlin, which however lucrative, had only been a renewable contract. Citing the excuse of his wife, the soprano Caroline Lippert, not having any prospects in Berlin, Lippert left the Berlin *Nationaltheater* in January 1797. However, the first time Lippert's name appears in the playbills in 1797 is towards the very end of the year, on 08 December 1797 in the first German performance of Salieri's *Axur*, which was repeated five more times until March 1798.²²⁷ Then in May 1798, in the sole performance of Guglielmi's *La pastorella nobile* in German, Lippert took the role of Don Calloandro renamed as Fritz Pamphili.²²⁸

Between March and September 1795, a work titled *Die Unterhaltung auf dem Lande, oder: die unvermuthete Wendung* was performed at the Theater auf den Wieden. The primary source mentioning this work, Matthäus Voll's *Chronologisches Verzeichniß* only says that it was a *Singspiel* based on an Italian work, translated by Karl Ludwig Giesecke, a then member of the theatre troupe.²²⁹ This same work is attributed to Giuseppe Gazzaniga in the diaries of Ignaz von Seyfried (1776-1841), although it has been difficult to ascertain which Gazzaniga opera

²²⁶Woodfield, *Cabals and Satires*, p. 56. In footnote 74, Woodfield quotes the *Erlanger Real Zeitung* (28 April 1786), no. 33, p.281: Aus den kaiserl. königlichen Staaten: 'Als am 21. [April] Hr. Lippert, der ehemals bei der Großmannischen Gesellschaft war, im k. k. Hoftheater am Kärnthner-Thor in dem Singspiel: der Deserteur, in Gegenwart des Hofes debütierte, erhielt er so allgemeinen Beifall, daß er am Ende des Stücks hervorgerufen wurde, er erschien und sagte ganz gerührt: der wirkliche Deserteur kann über seine Begnadigung nicht fröhlicher seyn, als ich es bei diesem überausgnädigen und schmeichelhaften Beifall bin.' [When Mr. Lippert, formerly of the Grossmann company, made his debut on 21 (April 1786) at the Kärntertheater in the Singspiel *Der Deserteur* in the presence of the court, he received unanimous applause and when he appeared at the end of the play, he appeared quite moved as he said that the real *Deserteur* could not have been happier about his pardon than he was at this exceedingly gracious and flattering applause.]

²²⁷ See section 4.3.3 for more on Lippert's role in *Axur*. Between January and December 1797, Lippert's wife, the soprano Caroline Lippert was performing in concerts in Hamburg.

²²⁸ The *Theaterzettel* (A-Wn 773.042-D. THE MAG) notes 'Hr. Mendel, Mlle. Gasmann der Jüngere., Hr. Stengel, Mad. Kastelli, Hr. Weinmüller, — Lippert' as performers.

²²⁹ Matthäus Voll, *Chronologisches Verzeichniß aller Schauspiele, deutschen und italienischen Opern, Pantomimen und Ballette, welche seit dem Monath April 1794 bis wieder dahin 1807, nämlich durch volle 13 Jahre sowohl in den k.k. Hoftheatern als auch in den k.k. privil. Schauspielhäusern, vormahls auf der Wieden, nun an der Wien und in der Leopoldstadt aufgeführt worden sind: Mit den Namen der Dichter und Musik-Kompositeure; Nebst dem Ausweise aller Individuen, die während dieser Zeit in den 4 Theatern, theils in Gast- theils in Debüts-Rollen aufgetreten sind* (Vienna: Wallishausser, 1807), p. 59.

Giesecke had adapted.²³⁰ I surmise that it is highly likely that the work in question refers to Guglielmi's *La pastorella nobile*, especially as Giesecke had published a translation of the work titled *Das adeliche Bauernmädchen* in 1793, as member of the troupe at Theater auf der Wieden.²³¹

There are two translations of *La pastorella nobile* that might have also fed into Giesecke's and later, Lippert's edits to the same: firstly, Heinrich Gottlieb Schmieder's translation of the opera for the Frankfurt stage, *Die Schöne auf dem Lande* which was first performed on 25 October 1791.²³² The second is a translation by Franz Xaver Girzik (1760-1811), titled again as *Die adelige Schäferin*, which had its premiere in Ofen on 26 January 1791.²³³ Girzik's work as translator of Italian opera into German was quite prolific while he was a member of the Kumpf troupe at the Erdődy theatre, which I will be discussing in Chapter 4.

In Giesecke's version, the Marchese is referred to throughout the text as Astolso. However, the 1798 libretto manuscript *A-Wn* Mus.Hs.32852, is written out like a copy of the 1793 Giesecke translation, but the original Italian names of the characters are struck out and replaced by Germanised names: Donna Florida and her brother become Baronin and Baron Schönstein, Eurilla becomes Röschen (almost hearkening to the popularity of Monsigny's *Rose et Colas* which enjoyed great success as *Röschen und Colas*), Don Polibio becomes Pamphiltz and his son takes the name Fritz instead of Calloandro. This appears to have been prepared in anticipation of a performance at the Burgtheater. This clearly links it to the performance score *A-Wn* Kt. 401 for the sole 1798 performance of *La pastorella nobile* as *Die adeliche Schäferin* at the Burgtheater, as evidenced by the *dramatis personae* shown in the *Theaterzettel* for 17 May 1798.

²³⁰ Stephan Punderlitschek, 'Das Freyhaus-theater auf der Wieden: das Tagebuch von Ignaz Ritter von Seyfried 1795 bis 12. Juni 1801' (Mag. Phil diss., Universität Wien, 1997), p. 15. Punderlitschek's work is a transcription of von Seyfried's diaries and offers an insight into the early years of the theatre management under Schikaneder, which he then took over in 1797. Punderlitschek's commentary on the entry regarding *Die Unterhaltung auf dem Lande* also emphasises the fact that it is near impossible to ascertain with certainty the Gazzaniga opera in question. This is also likely to be the source that for the entry in Krzeszowiak, p. 451.

²³¹ Loewenberg mentions that Giesecke's translation was first performed on 14 November 1791 in Brünn and thereafter in Breslau and Graz. Loewenberg, p. 459.

²³² Loewenberg distinguishes from an apparently different translation by Grossmann titled *Der Lohn der weiblichen Sittsamkeit* (1795, Hannover). However, in the absence of libretti, the *dramatis personae* on the playbills from 1791 and 1795 showing these titles confirms that Grossmann's troupe was only using Schmieder's version. See: Appendix B.6

²³³ Richard Prazák, 'Das Wirken von Frantisek Xaver Jirik am deutschen Theater in Ofen und Pest in den Jahren 1789-1813', *Begegnungen*, Schriftenreihe des Europa Institutes Budapest, 11 (2000), 53-92 (p. 68). The source used by Prazák is the *Ofner und Pester Theatertaschenbücher von den Jahren 1789-1813*, p.12.

Other changes in the libretto manuscript seem to reflect a more thoughtful editing of Giesecke's text.²³⁴ A good example of this would be the Act I, Scene 3 *Cavatina* of Don Polibio followed by the recitative including Calloandro. In the 1798 version, the overall outline of Giesecke's translation is maintained, but Don Polibio's character is exaggerated and accentuated by more frequent Latin and French interjections for comic effect, much like Despina in the Act I finale of *Così fan tutte*. The table below shows Da Ponte's revised text alongside Giesecke's 1793 text and the edited 1798 *Textbuch*.

Table 2.4 Comparison of Act II, Scene 1 from *La pastorella nobile* across three versions

1790 Libretto (Da Ponte, Vienna)	1793 Libretto (Giesecke, Brünn)	1798 Manuscript (Giesecke/Lippert, Vienna)
Pol. Quel ch'ordinai si faccia, é quando arriva. -- Stelle è desso! sei tu? (in qualche distan)	Polibio. (zur Thür hinein) Das muß alles aufs Pünktlichste geschehen, und sobald er ankommt -- Du lieber Himmel bist du ober bist du's nicht?	Polibio. (zur Thür hinein) Das muß alles aufs Pünktlichste geschehen, und sobald er ankommt-- <i>Coeli majestas!</i> bist du's ober bist du's nicht?
Cal. Son io.	Colloandro: Ja ich bins lieber Papa!	Colloandro : <i>Je confesse avec grace, que je tiens de ta race</i>
Pol. Mio figlio? Cal. Il figlio vostro.	Polibio: Mein Sohn! – Colloandro. Wie ich nicht anders weiß!	Polibio : Mein Sohn ! – Colloandro. <i>Ton fils, ton noble sang, et ton autre toi même jouant, mangeant, buvant, d'une manière extrême.</i>
Pol. Calloandro?	Polibio. Colloandro!	Polibio. Fritz!
Cal. Desso.	Colloandro. Ja wenn Sie nichts dagegen haben.	Colloandro. Gehorsamst aufzuwarten, wenn Sie nichts dagegen haben.
Pol. Al vienmi vienmi appresso; Al sen vieni del Padre o figlio amato: Padre più fortunato /Non si trova nel mondo: stringi abbraccia? Che figura! che brio! che bella faccia.	Polibio. Ja mein armer lieber Junge! O jetzt bin ich der glücklichste Vater du bist so groß, so schön, so mannbar geworden.	Polibio. Ja mein armer lieber Junge! O jetzt bin ich der glücklichste Vater du bist so groß, so schön, so mannbar geworden.

²³⁴ Franz Xaver Girzik also translated the work with the very same title *Die adelige Schäferin* for the Pest stage in 1791. I have been unable to trace this libretto and have therefore not included it in the discussion.

1790 Libretto
(Da Ponte, Vienna)

Cal. Stupendissimo e raro
genitore,
Ecco che pien d' amore
Pien' di virtù di mertì e di'
dottrina
La prole Calloandro a'vol
s'inchina.

Pol. Oh che lingua purgata!
Figlio tu come un cane
Credo che avrai studiato,

Cal. Cattera! ho io sudato
Più d' un facchino, e dentro a
pochi meli,
-Appresi il ben vestire, il dar
de' bei banchetti
Protegger Canterine, E dame
e contadine;
La scherma, il canto, il ballo,
Ma quel che più m' Ha fatto
bestemmiare
È stato l'imparar a cavalcare.

1793 Libretto
(Giesecke, Brünn)

Colloandro. Es ist meine
Schuldigkeit, in meiner
Person steht die ganze
Hoffnung, und Stütze des
Colloandrischen Hauses vor
Ihnen.

Polibio. Wie schön der Bube
spricht, du mußt, dich ja auf
Universitäten wie ein Hund
abgequält haben.

Colloandro. Es war meine
Schuldigkeit.
Ich habe mir alle ersinnliche
Mühe gegeben,
alles mitmachen zu lernen,
was das *savoir vivre*
erfordert. Nun versteh ich
aber auch
comme il faut mich mit *Gout*
zu kleiden,
prächtige Tafeln zu geben,
Mädchen zu halten, zu
spielen, zu tanzen, und
effront zu seyn,
Doch muß ich Ihnen
aufrichtig gestehen, das
Neuten lernen hat mich am
meisten Kopfbrecheus
gekostet.

1798 Manuscript
(Giesecke/Lippert, Vienna)

Colloandro. Das hat mir
schon manche Dame
gesorgt.

Polibio. Du bist so
ausgebildet!

Colloandro: Alles das Werk
der Damen. *Ex trunche fit*
Mercurius sagt das
Sprichwort. Wie mancher
Pinsel wäre ewig Pinsel
geblieben, hätt ihn nicht ein
weiblicher Bildhauer
umgestaltet.

Act II, Scene 1 of *La pastorella nobile* across these two versions is a very clear indicator of the process behind the textual relationship between the libretto and score when translations are involved.²³⁵ In the Milan 1789 libretto, the first scene of Act II consists of a recitative between Donna Florida and Astianatte (*No, no, german: in questo punto io voglio – cattera, forellina*) followed by Astianatte's aria (*In un mar si tempestoso*). However, in the 1790 Vienna version, this scene is replaced by Astianatte's recitative (*Io non so per dir vero*) followed by the aria

²³⁵ Woodfield, *Cabals and Satires*, p. 144, figure 16 shows a diagrammatic representation of this relationship.

'*Donne care io non vi biasmo*, which is yet another replacement aria. While the Vienna libretto has this scene printed, the autograph MS (A-Wn Kt. 338/2) has it crossed out just like the Dresden manuscript, while it is omitted in the libretto entirely.²³⁶ The numbering in the Vienna libretto is therefore different and mirrors the numbering in the 1793 Giesecke libretto. Also, both the Vienna and Dresden manuscripts (re-indicate) this scene as 'Scena 1' implying that Astianatte's aria was cut in both productions. The 1798 libretto manuscript has the first scene copied out and then struck through with red pencil. The accompanying autograph score A-Wn Kt 401/2 does not have any trace of this scene but starts Act II with a 'Scene 2' instead of Scene 1. It points to the likelihood that the libretto manuscript was copied out first before the manuscript was copied for the 1798 performance and is corroborated by the indication on the title page '*Für das K.K. Hoftheater. - Man bittet um baldige Expedierung. - Kann gedruckt und aufgeführt werden.*'²³⁷ In this particular instance, it would appear that the libretto manuscript was first copied from an established translation and then revised before the autograph score (A-Wn Kt. 401) was prepared.

Da Ponte and Weigl's changes in the 1790 Vienna version such as the insertion of the Act I, Scene 6 recitative (*Ehi servi, camerieri*) did circulate from Vienna to Dresden for a performance in 1791. However, it is stitched together in the autograph score, and not printed at all in the Dresden libretto.²³⁸ The recitative appears to have Da Ponte's contribution to the libretto and specifically added for the 1790 Vienna performance. However, its presence in the Giesecke translation clearly shows that Giesecke's source material was clearly the 1790 libretto.²³⁹ The Act II, Scene 6 duet *Va pur malora* which was added for the 1790 performance and replaced with an aria for Polibio in the 1791 version makes its appearance in manuscript libretto and autograph score of the 1798 German version in Vienna, via the Giesecke translation (*So scheer dich zum Teufel*).

²³⁶ *La pastorella nobile/ del Sigr Guglielmi (D-DI, Mus.3258-F-506); LA PASTORELLA NOBILE/ DRAMMA GIOCOLO/ DA RAPPRESENTARSI/ NEL TEATRO DI S.A.E./ DI SASSONIA/ Dresda, 1791 - Die adliche Schäferin Ein musikalisches Lustspiel/ für/ das Churfürstlich-Sächsisches Theater/ Dresden,1791. (D-DI MT 1347).*

²³⁷ 'For the Burgtheater. Please send it expeditiously. This can be printed and performed.' As mentioned in the Introduction earlier, due to the constraints to using a very broad geographic framework and five different case studies for study, I have made little to no use of palaeography in this thesis, except where reliable conjectures can be made. In this particular instance, it is clear that the performance score was used for just one single performance and all markings can be reliably assumed to be associated to this performance.

²³⁸ This recitative is not present in the original Naples libretto, or the Milan libretto printed for the La Scala performance in autumn 1789, which was mounted for the visit of Archduke Ferdinand and his wife, the Archduchess Maria Ricciarda Beatrice d'Este.

²³⁹ This is entirely plausible as the first recorded performance of the work in Giesecke's translation is 1791, although the libretto was printed in Vienna only in 1793.

In essence, the audience at the Kärntnertortheater on 17 May 1798 would have heard a Neapolitan work that had very minimal variation from the 1790 version that was revised to suit the ideals of a typical Viennese *opera buffa* from the Josephinian era, and in large part due to the role of Lippert, who had worked in Vienna in the 1780s. A letter from Lippert to August Wilhelm Iffland in September 1798 shows that he was expressing a desire to return to Berlin as he found conditions in Vienna quite unfavourable, given that the suburban theatres were on the ascent.²⁴⁰ The next set of letters between Lippert and Iffland in February and March 1802 show the clear direction of movement in the Viennese theatrical landscape and its influence in the larger German-speaking lands, as Lippert was negotiating a manuscript sale with the Berlin *Nationaltheater* for Peter von Winter and Schikaneder's *Der Kampf der Elemente* (1798, Vienna), better known as *Der Labyrinth, oder Die Zauberflöte, Zweyter Theil*.²⁴¹

The 1798 version also highlights an important issue around translators and agencies. In an age before copyright and all its attendant issues, composers and librettists did not receive any fee once an opera started being circulated, either in its original version or in any of the multiple versions adapted and suited to the stage for which it was being performed. In the case of this particular work, Lippert was ascribed as the translator by two sources, despite there being no substantiated proof. The thread between Lippert performing in the work and being known for his *Don Juan* translation aside, a misattribution like this also removes the multiple layers of transfer, appropriation, amendments and revisions that went into the making of each different version of an opera.

From a closer examination of the libretto sources, as shown in this section through select few examples, it can be established that the Giesecke translation published in 1793 served as the basis for the 1798 libretto manuscript, which was then edited and adapted by Lippert, most probably. In the absence of Schmieder's and Girzik's translations, it is impossible to say whether Giesecke's translation itself builds on precedents but what certainly is clear in this instance is that the 1798 version was not 'a translation by Lippert,' but more a translation by

²⁴⁰ Letter from Lippert to August Wilhelm Iffland at the Nationaltheater in Berlin dated 30 September 1798. This document forms part of the currently digitised August Wilhelm Ifflands dramaturgisches und administratives Archiv. Digitale Edition edited by Klaus Gerlach (Berlin: Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2021); <https://iffland.bbaw.de/A0008661> (*D-Bla* A. Rep. 167, Akte 30). Iffland (1759-1814), one of Germany's foremost actors and writers of the late eighteenth century was appointed to the role of director of the *Nationaltheater* in 1796.

²⁴¹ Letters from Lippert to Iffland at the Nationaltheater in Berlin dated 03 February, 03, 13 and 31 March 1802; <https://iffland.bbaw.de/A0000378> (*D-Bla*, A. Rep. 167, Akte 17). See also: Chapter 5 Conclusion.

Giesecke edited by Lippert in the most superficial of ways as the autograph score mirrors the 1790 Vienna version of *La pastorella nobile* as closely as possible.

2.6 Conclusion

Over the period from 1778 to 1794, the court theatres that had been so tightly controlled by the monarchs in the spirit of Enlightened absolutism by Joseph II and his successors Leopold II and Franz II were passed back to a lessee system. This chapter establishes the central role played by Vienna in the circulation of *opera buffa* even while fostering a German troupe to promote *Singspiel* and highlights how competitive rivalry between the Italian and the German troupes in the late 1780s was played out through the suburban theatres with the example of *Der Baum der Diana* (1788). This work also demonstrates the challenges that come with the transfer of work from one genre to another, laden with set notions of entertainment and morality as part of a larger movement such as the *Nationaltheater* movement.

The example of *Die adeliche Schäferinn* (1798), presented a decade later while the court theatres were trying to compete with the now-established suburban theatres, shows the changing ideals of Italian operas received in German. Both these examples also address the issues surrounding translations and translators and emphasise the importance of factoring in the networks underpinning these works when placing them in context. On the whole, this chapter reiterates the importance of Vienna as an operatic centre and shows how German translations of Italian opera were a medium for representing the multiple competing interests in 'Mozart's Vienna,' thereby setting the context for operatic conversations between Vienna and its immediate neighbour, Pressburg in the next chapter.

Chapter 3 To the East: Pressburg and the Erdődy Theatre

In terms of the Austrian Enlightenment and studies of Austro-German music of the late eighteenth century, Vienna's towering position often overshadows its neighbours, in a way that is symbolic of the once pervasive notion of a monolithic Enlightenment with Paris at the centre.²⁴² Consequently, there is a widely accepted notion and dichotomy regarding a perceived lack of profundity in the peripheries.²⁴³ In the recent years, Enlightenment studies have shifted to a more heterogenous approach to embrace the plurality and coexistence of multiple Enlightenment identities, of which Austrian Enlightenment too becomes one. However, in the study of late eighteenth-century music and music theatre, there still persists a skewed majority that centres solely around Vienna. As Raluca Muresan reiterates in her recent article on the representation of Hungarian and other eastern European towns in music theatre journals of the late eighteenth century, the boundaries of 'civilised Europe' were drawn closer and closer to Vienna.²⁴⁴ Therefore, Pressburg's importance as the capital of the Kingdom of Hungary as well as its geographic proximity to Vienna were key factors in establishing it as one of the important centres of opera reception, as evidenced by frequent mentions in important theatre journals of the time.

²⁴² Anna Parkitna, 'Opera in Warsaw, 1765–1830: Operatic Migration, Adaptation, and Reception in the Enlightenment' (Ph.D. diss., Stony Brooks University, 2020), pp. 1–2. Parkitna also quotes Monika Baár's succinct encapsulation of the situation subsequent to the dismantling of a single-hub Enlightenment model: 'The assertion that provincial settings were incompatible with creativity and, consequently, reception was identical with the passive and repetitive import of ideas, is no longer tenable.' Monika Baár, *Historians and Nationalism: East-Central Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 104, quoted in: Parkitna, p. 1.

²⁴³ In the case of studying Eastern European Enlightenment, there is yet another hurdle: a vast region, broadly made up of parts of the Habsburg monarchy, Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth and the Ottoman Empire, the topic of Enlightenment in these areas is usually clubbed together and worse still, often dismissed 'on the grounds of its economic and political backwardness' and 'under the pretext that their ideas are most derivative and exhibit no originality in comparison with their Western counterparts. See: Teodora Shek Brnardić, 'The Enlightenment in Eastern Europe: Between Regional Typology and Particular Micro-History', *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'histoire*, 13.3 (2006), 411–35 (p. 411). Laszlo Kontler, 'The Enlightenment in Central Europe?' in *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1770-1945), Volume 1: Late Enlightenment; Emergence of the Modern 'National Idea'*, ed. Balázs Trencsényi and Michal Kopecek (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2006), p. 35, quoted in: Parkitna, p. 1. Kontler uses the phrase 'peripheral intellectual wastelands' to characterise the unnuanced black-and-white image of Vienna (as a hub of Enlightenment) and the surrounding areas.

²⁴⁴ Raluca Muresan, 'Constructing a Periphery: Descriptions of Hungarian, Transylvanian, and Croatian Towns in Theater Periodicals in the Holy Roman Empire, 1760–1800', *Historical Studies on Central Europe*, 2.1 (2022), 121–43 (pp. 121–23).

Chapter 3

In this chapter, I shift my focus from Vienna and explore an operatic conversation with its neighbour to the east, Pressburg. Pressburg was the capital of the Kingdom of Hungary, within the Habsburg territories, but outside the Holy Roman Empire.²⁴⁵ This examination of operatic conversations between Vienna and Pressburg, particularly against the backdrop of Vienna as a centre of circulation of opera in the late eighteenth century, helps to better understand the reception of Italian opera in German translation within the Kingdom of Hungary. I examine the practice of *Adelstheater*, the theatre culture fostered by the nobility, which a very prominent example is the Esterházy theatre.

In this chapter, I direct my attention towards the theatre situated in the palace of Count Erdődy in Pressburg. The Erdődy theatre was active for a brief period from 1785 until the Count's death in 1789 but was nevertheless regularly featured in music journals of this period such as Reichard's *Theaterkalender*. At the theatre, the resident troupe headed by Hubert Kumpf (1757-1811) performed all the fifty-four operas in their repertory solely in German, either as original *Singspiele* or in translation from Italian or French.

I have used primary sources, including theatre almanacs published by the troupe, to reconstruct their complete repertory as well as performance calendar in Pressburg and base my analysis of the circulation histories and possible translations on this material. This approach helps to create a panoramic perspective of how the repertory at this small theatre in Pressburg might have been constructed, instead of focusing on only one or two major works.²⁴⁶ The patterns that emerge clearly show the links to contemporaneous Viennese repertory, or in some cases, the lack of it. This repertory analysis also informs the two libretti that are studied in detail in the next chapter, Sarti's *Giulio Sabino* (1781, Venice) and Salieri's *Axur, Re d'Ormus* (1788, Vienna).²⁴⁷ Finally, I conclude the chapter with a very brief outline of the Kumpf troupe in Pest and its links to the first stirrings of a Hungarian resistance in terms of culture and language.

²⁴⁵ Pressburg is the Germanised name of Bratislava, also known in Hungarian as Pozsony. As mentioned in the Notes on the Text at the beginning of this thesis, I refer to the city as Pressburg throughout for consistency with the late-eighteenth century sources that underpin my discussion and analyses.

²⁴⁶ This is the approach used in Platoff's article on Sarti's *Fra i due litiganti*, which establishes Vienna as the centre of a hub-and-spoke model of transmission of Italian opera in the late eighteenth century using a single work as an example. This model does hold true in many cases and reaffirms the central role played by Vienna. However, a reverse approach also shows that this is not always the case, as will be argued in this chapter.

²⁴⁷ Apart from the three theatre almanacs published by the Erdődy troupe, these two libretti are the only primary material that has survived.

3.1 The Holy Roman Empire and the Kingdom of Hungary

Lying roughly eighty kilometres to the east of Vienna, Pressburg was the capital of the Kingdom of Hungary, which was part of the Habsburg lands, but not the Holy Roman Empire. A city which had flourished under the reign of Empress Maria Theresa, Pressburg had a difficult relationship with her successor, Emperor Joseph II, who had broken tradition by refusing to be crowned the King of Hungary in Pressburg, possibly because a coronation ceremony would have stood in the way of rolling out his planned reforms of the Hungarian administration by removing many of the embedded rights of the Hungarian nobility.

Instead, Joseph II had the Crown brought to Vienna in 1783 and initiated a set of reforms, including transferring the administrative offices to Ofen, that set off a wave of resistance movements from Hungarian nobles to peasant revolts. Most of these reforms were aimed at ameliorating the situation in Hungary, which had experienced severe economic difficulties in the preceding decades under Empress Maria Theresa, but Joseph II's ideas were faced with stiff resistance from the nobility, who were reluctant to give up their exemption from taxation, leading to a slew of further reform measures from the emperor. These in turn antagonised not only the nobles but also the clergy and the peasants and led to a wave of national pride, particularly a renaissance of the Hungarian language, as when the first Hungarian-language newspaper was launched in 1780.²⁴⁸ Emperor Joseph II's reforms were repealed after his extremely economically unviable campaign against the Turks in 1789-90 with the exception of his Patent of Tolerance, which gave protestants and orthodox Christians full civil rights and Jews the freedom of worship. Although most of the laws were restored under his successor, Emperor Leopold II, who was crowned as King of Hungary in Pressburg in 1790, the resurgence of Hungarian culture and language continued, especially as the volatile political situation of the last decade of the 1700s slowly led to the demands for separate statehood in the nineteenth century.

Of the reforms initiated by Emperor Joseph II, the so-called language decree of 1784 was possibly the one that exerted considerable influence on the cultural scene, and by extension,

²⁴⁸ *Magyar Hírmondó*, the first Hungarian-language newspaper, was not published until 1780, as a response to the *Pressburger Zeitung* (founded in 1764, the second German-language newspaper in the Kingdom of Hungary) but did not cover news of theatre.

on music theatre in the Kingdom of Hungary.²⁴⁹ This decree brought the introduction and imposition of German as the language of government in Hungary, replacing Latin.²⁵⁰ Parallel to the edicts ensuring uniformity of school systems and education, this edict was overtly aimed at the ease of administration and standardisation vast swathes of the Habsburg monarchy, with the exceptions being the Low countries, Galicia and Italy. The edit was immediately met with resistance, as it effectively made the knowledge of the German language a condition of employment in the Hungarian public services. The emperor tried to quell the doubts raised by Count Esterházy by stating that his aim was only to improve the 'efficiency of public administration, and that he neither wished to ban the use of Hungarian or any other mother tongue (*Muttersprache*), nor force millions into changing their language.'²⁵¹ While Joseph II tried to imply that the sentiment behind the move was rooted in his ideas of Enlightenment, and not a form of cultural hegemony, this was in no way an affirmation of the Hungarian language. The language decree however united the Hungarian nobility and intelligentsia in their stance against a perceived Germanisation, but Joseph II did not relent, a stance made amply clear in his reply to the Hungarian nobility in 1785.²⁵² While the emperor was at pains to stress that the argument for applying German as the universal language of the Reich pertained to 'laws and public affair,' it only strengthened the case for Hungarian to emerge as the 'live' national language.²⁵³ These developments nonetheless sparked the beginning of a national movement in Hungary that was rooted in the idea of language and autonomy.²⁵⁴

In the end, Emperor Joseph II's move to implement German as a common language sparked the revival of regional and minority cultures around the peripheries of Vienna and did more to decentralise the idea of the empire in the long run, instead of achieving the centralisation

²⁴⁹ Martin Votruba, 'The Law on the German Language in Administration' [https://www.pitt.edu/~votruba/ssttopics/slovaklawsonlanguage/Austrian Law on the German Language in Hungary 1784.pdf](https://www.pitt.edu/~votruba/ssttopics/slovaklawsonlanguage/Austrian_Law_on_the_German_Language_in_Hungary_1784.pdf) [online article, consulted on 19 November 2018] for a concise timeline leading up to the implementation of the edict, translation and commentary on the edicts.

²⁵⁰ See: Philip Barker, 'The Development of Hungarian Political Language and the Birth of the Ancient Constitution 1790/91' (Ph.D. diss., University College of London, 2019), p.136 for a translation of Joseph II's edict. Barker's subsequent discussion of the Language decree of 1784 summarises this situation in great detail.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.136.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, p.146.

²⁵³ While opposing the imposition of the German language, the nobility had been divided on which language would substitute German. The majority had argued in favour of Latin but fell back as arguments arose in favour of the live vernacular, Hungarian.

²⁵⁴ Krisztina Lajosi, *Staging the Nation: Opera and Nationalism in 19th-Century Hungary*, National Cultivation of Culture (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2018), xv, p. 34. This was also aided by the activism of literary figures like György Bessenyei (1747-1811).

and uniformity it was intended for.²⁵⁵ Within this context of a nascent Hungarian identity in the late 1780s, in this chapter I look at German-language theatre in Pressburg, where the majority of the population spoke German, and the role played by German-language works of music theatre in mediating a Hungarian national consciousness. By focusing on the specific case of the theatre in the palace of Count Erdődy, a prominent member of the Hungarian nobility, I analyse the exclusively German-language repertory of the resident Kumpf troupe (1785-1788) to elucidate its connection to the Viennese repertory, and by extension, the concept of *Nationaltheater*.

3.2 Music theatre in Pressburg: 1776-1789

By the late seventeenth century, Pressburg and other major towns in the Kingdom of Hungary had an active music theatre scene, with travelling troupes from Italy, Austria and Germany providing entertainment in the form of some of the first recorded opera performances in these territories.²⁵⁶ Jesuit-led *Schultheater* (or church theatre, akin to the staging of mystery plays) was an important part of Pressburg's theatre scene in the baroque era, which also laid the foundations of a Slovak-language theatre tradition. However, by the mid-eighteenth century, the cultural movements in neighbouring Vienna became a more influential, particularly regarding the move to control *Hanswurst*-style improvised theatre and *Stegreifskomödie*.

Under Empress Maria Theresa, Pressburg grew from a small provincial town to a city that was indeed worthy of being the capital and coronation city of the Kingdom of Hungary. More and more of the Hungarian nobility who lived in Vienna also started building palaces in Pressburg and other places in Hungary, where they fostered a lively cultural tradition that was often reminiscent of that they enjoyed in Vienna. Most of what is known of music theatre in the second half of the eighteenth century comes from a contemporaneous record titled *Geschichte der Schaubühne zu Pressburg* published in 1793.²⁵⁷ Theatre and opera

²⁵⁵ James Sheehan's quote quite aptly sums up the situation: '[...] a fateful link between Germanisation and centralisation had been forged. Austrian politics would never be the same.' Quoted in: Blanning, p. 72.

²⁵⁶ Milena Cesnaková-Michalcová, *Geschichte des deutschsprachigen Theaters in der Slowakei*, Bausteine zur slavischen Philologie und Kulturgeschichte, 17 (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1997), p. 18. See also: Jolantha Puhánszky-Kádár, *Geschichte des deutschen Theaters in Ungarn: Von den Anfängen bis 1812*, 2 vols (Munich: Verlag von Ernst Reinhardt, 1933), I, pp. 12–13 for a more comprehensive account of the early wandering troupes visiting Pressburg in the 1600s.

²⁵⁷ Henriette Schmidtinn, *Geschichte der Schaubühne zu Preßburg: Zum Vortheil der Henriette Schmidtinn, Einsaengerinn bey der Christoph Seippischen Schauspielgesellschaft ausgesetzt*. (Pressburg: Johann Michael Landerer edl v Fueskut, 1793).

performances by travelling troupes in this period, such as when Girolamo Bon and his troupe toured Pressburg in the late 1750s, often took place in the old theatre in the Schießgraben.²⁵⁸ In 1764, a new official theatre called the 'Stadt Comoedienhaus' was erected in the city centre, with money raised by the nobility. The first record of this occurs in the *Preßburger Zeitung*, where it was reported that the famous actor Johann Joseph Felix von Kurz (1717-1784), best known for his role of Bernardon, played to great success in the city.²⁵⁹ The *Preßburger Zeitung*, founded in 1764, featured regular reports on Pressburg's theatre life and notably was the first German-language newspaper of this trilingual town, with a majority of German-speakers.²⁶⁰

After the mid-1760s, travelling German troupes like the Karl Joseph Hellmann and Simon Friedrich Koberwein companies, began to perform in Pressburg while visits from the Italian troupes began to dwindle. Further on, Pressburg was visited only sporadically by travelling troupes, while a resident troupe headed by the famed Shakespeare actor Karl Wahr between 1773 and 1779 introduced key works of the Enlightenment such as those by Lessing and Schiller. Karl Wahr and later his former troupe member, Christoph Seipp, were instrumental in aligning Pressburg's theatrical offering to that of the larger German-speaking world and bringing it acclaim.

However, it was not until the mid-1770s that plans for a *Stadttheater* were made. A section of the nobility headed by Count Georg Csáky began to collect money by selling an advance subscription to lodges in the proposed new theatre to fund the construction of a new theatre edifice, which was built by Matthäus Walch near the old Fischertor. The *Theater vor dem Fischertor*—referred to as the *Altes Theater* distinguish it from the 1884 building that replaced it—was opened amidst great fanfare in 1776, with the play *Die Medizeer* by Johann Christian Brandes and Christian Moll as the inaugural theatre director.²⁶¹ When Wahr's troupe departed Pressburg, there were a number of successive theatre directors, presumably due to the high rents charged by count Csáky.²⁶²

²⁵⁸ Cesnaková-Michalcová, p. 45.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 47–48. Johann Joseph Felix von Kurz's Bernardon role and its accompanying Bernardoniade improvisations were extremely popular in Vienna in the preceding decade until they were almost technically outlawed by Empress Maria Theresa's new edicts in the mid-1750s.

²⁶⁰ The *Pressburger Zeitung* was only the first German-language newspaper printed in Pressburg; the first in the Kingdom of Hungary was the bi-weekly *Mercurius*, published in Ofen by Johann Sebastian Landerer in 1724. *Magyar Hírmondó*, the first Hungarian-language newspaper, was not published until 1780, as a response to the *Pressburger Zeitung* but did not cover news of theatre.

²⁶¹ *Pressburger Zeitung*, 9 November 1776. See Appendix C for full text of the article.

²⁶² Cesnaková-Michalcová, p. 58.

In 1780, Count Csáky took over the running of his theatre and recruited a German troupe, which included Hubert Kumpf as a soloist. Emanuel Schikaneder's troupe came to perform in 1782, with a repertory that included Shakespeare plays in German translation in addition to his own *Singspiele*, and combined forces with Kumpf. One of these performances was attended by emperor Joseph II in 1784, who invited them to perform at the Kärntnertortheater in late 1784.²⁶³ However, when Emperor Joseph II moved the administrative centre to Ofen, Pressburg's artistic circles also dwindled. One of Wahr's former troupe members, Christoph Seipp then assumed the direction of the Pressburg *Stadttheater* and was well received with his repertory that ranged from popular North German *Singspiele* and plays.

In 1785, Count Erdődy, a very prominent member of the Hungarian nobility, moved back to Pressburg from Vienna. The small theatre that he established in his palace was an example of *Adelstheater* but was one that was open to the public of Pressburg. The count appointed a troupe headed by Kumpf to perform German-language operas twice a week. It soon became a well-received addition to Pressburg's cultural life, and unlike in Vienna, there was no competition between the Erdődy theatre and Seipp's work at the *Stadttheater*. Seipp's troupe stopped staging operas after 1785 and his repertory from this time clearly shows both troupes worked together in unison. The repertory of the Kumpf troupe between 1785 and 1789, when the troupe was disbanded after the Count's death, is discussed in great detail in the next sections.

Seipp continue to work at the Pressburg theatre on and off until 1793. In the last decade of the 1700s, the theatre scene in Pressburg underwent a minor revival due to the renewed imperial presence after the coronation of Leopold II in Pressburg in 1790. Two new theatre directors, Georg Jung and Johann Kunz, introduced new repertory in terms of plays but with the disbanding of the Kumpf troupe at the Erdődy theatre, Italian opera (even if in German translation) no longer enjoyed centre stage.²⁶⁴

²⁶³ This set of performances have been discussed in detail in the section on Data sources.

²⁶⁴ An overview of both these repertories shows an overwhelming tendency towards *Singspiele* in terms of musical theatre. In Jung's repertory, the only works from the Italian opera genre are Salieri's *La scuola de' gelosi* as *Die Schule der Eifersüchtigen*, and Sacchini's *L'isola disabitata* as *Die Kolonie oder die Insel der Liebe*. The *Spielpläne* for Seipp's troupe between 16 March 1791 and 9 February 1793 and Jung's troupe between 4 October 1793 and 12 January 1795 can be found in the appendix of Staud, pp. 315–25.

3.2.1 Aristocratic patronage and *Adelstheater*

Milena Cesnaková-Michalcová in her broad survey of the history of German-language theatre in Slovakia, part of the then Kingdom of Hungary, demarcates three kinds of theatre in Pressburg of the late eighteenth century—*Ordenstheater* or church theatre, *Berufstheater* or professional theatre, and finally *Adelstheater* or theatres that were set up in the houses of the nobility.²⁶⁵ As mentioned previously, the *Stadttheater* in Pressburg started to decline as the offices of administration were moved to Ofen (Buda) by Emperor Joseph II in 1783. However, there was one notable theatrical institution in Pressburg, where German-language performances of opera flourished: the *Adelstheater* at the palace of Count Erdődy, which functioned from 1785 to 1789.

Adelstheater were not a new phenomenon in the Kingdom of Hungary, as they were already cultivated by Hungarian aristocrats in Vienna. Jolán Puhánszky-Kádár suggests that the profusion of *Adelstheater* in Hungary was a reflection of their memories of musical life in Vienna upon retirement to their own palaces and hometowns.²⁶⁶ Some of the well-known examples of these theatres included Bishop Patachich's theatre in Großwardein (active between 1764-1774) and Count Grassalkovich's theatres, spread across different residences and three generations, active between 1751-1786.²⁶⁷ These were private theatres, but their patrons spared no expense in terms of singers, orchestral musicians or even staging. For instance, Carl Dittersdorf spent a decade in the service of Bishop Patachich as his Kapellmeister. Another notable private theatre was that maintained by Count Pálffy, where the first recorded performance is from 1770.²⁶⁸

One of the most famous examples of *Adelstheater* is the private theatre of Count Nikolaus Esterházy, where Haydn spent many years as Kapellmeister. The first known performance at the Esterháza theatre was in 1768 with Haydn's *Lo speziale*. The orchestra and singers were engaged on yearly contracts and travelling troupes such as those by Hellmann, Koberwein and Wahr were invited for the summer season.²⁶⁹ The highpoint of the theatre's

²⁶⁵ Cesnaková-Michalcová, p. 43.

²⁶⁶ 'Nur einen einzigen Stand gab es in Ungarn, der dem deutschen Theater als freigebiger Mäzen bestand: der ungarische Hochadel.' Puhánszky-Kádár, I, p. 13,16.

²⁶⁷ For more information on both these theatres and an outline of their repertory, see: Staud, pp. 105-155, 157-180.

²⁶⁸ See: Staud, pp. 75–104. The 1770 performance was reported in the *Pressburger Zeitung*, 28 July 1770.

In 1787, there was a performance of the Kumpf troupe, then resident at the Erdődy theatre, at an outdoor concert in the residence of Count Pálffy, where they performed Paisiello's *La Contadina di spirito* in German as *Die listige Bauermädchen*.

²⁶⁹ Staud, p. 64.

performances began in the mid-1770s when its fame had spread far beyond the Kingdom of Hungary. Between 1776 and 1790, there were 88 premieres at Esterháza, in addition to 6 new productions.²⁷⁰ In the same period, in terms of premieres, it is worthwhile drawing attention to the fact that Vienna saw 79 premieres. While Vienna was the seat of imperial power, Esterháza was certainly rivalling but also mirroring Vienna as a major centre for Italian opera.²⁷¹ In 1785, with the establishment of Count Erdődy's private theatre in Pressburg, the possibility of a Vienna-Esterháza-Pressburg axis also emerged and is discussed in greater detail in the rest of this chapter.

In the next section, I delve into the short history of the Erdődy theatre, which while was active for just over three major seasons (1785-1789), became an important centre for the reception of opera in German. The Kumpf troupe at the Erdődy theatre was disbanded upon the death of the count, as was the Esterháza troupe later in 1790.²⁷² These theatres often were disbanded once the patron passed away, as the successors often found themselves out of pocket to sustain such a cultural enterprise, particularly at the turn of the century. This unfortunately meant that these stand-alone institutions left behind legacies that are today hard to trace and substantiate.

3.3 The Erdődy theatre in Pressburg

On 15 June 1785, the *Preßburger Zeitung* carried a small piece of news, drawing attention to a new opera theatre in town. This is one of the first references to Count Johann Nepomuk Erdődy's theatre at his palace in Pressburg and mentions that the Count maintained 'a company of famous singers at his own cost' and to give the high and low nobility an opportunity 'to take part in the pleasure from the performance of the most select, tasteful German operas.'²⁷³

Count Johann Nepomuk Erdődy was a member of the younger branch of the Erdődy family, one of the oldest noble families in Hungary, known for their extensive patronage of music in

²⁷⁰ Dénes Bartha and László Somfai, *Haydn als Opernkapellmeister: Die Haydn-Dokumente der Esterházy-Opersammlung* (Budapest: Verlag der ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1960), p. 25.

²⁷¹ For a detailed analysis of the operatic repertory at Esterházy, see: Bartha and Somfai (1960), and János Harich, 'Das Repertoire des Opernkapellmeisters Joseph Haydn in Eszterháza (1780-1790)', *Das Haydn Jahrbuch/ The Haydn Yearbook*, I (1962), pp.9-110.

²⁷² *Preßburger Zeitung*, 25 December 1790. For full text, see: Appendix C.4.

²⁷³ *Preßburger Zeitung*, 15 June 1785. For full text, see: Appendix C.2

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late eighteenth-century Hungary.²⁷⁴ Born in 1723 as the middle son of the chief provincial judge (*Judex curiae*) Count Georg Erdődy (1674-1759) and Countess Maria Theresia von Esterházy (1684-1755), Johann Nepomuk (1723-1789) served as imperial chamberlain, chief chamberlain of the Kingdom of Hungary and also as president of the royal Hungarian chamber, before retiring to Vienna in 1785 and founding a private opera theatre, which quickly established a name for itself.

Johann Matthias Korabinsky's 1786 *Geographisch-Historisches und Produkten Lexikon von Ungarn* mentions that Count Erdődy had two smaller palaces on the Úrigasse (Herrengasse or Langengasse in German) in addition to the main palace at the Venturgasse near the Cathedral.²⁷⁵ Staud uses this source as the basis on which he proposes that the Herrengasse palace would have most likely housed the theatre, particularly because it also had a large library and a substantial art collection, but also makes it clear that the exact placement of the theatre cannot be reconstructed from this source.²⁷⁶ Seifert on the other hand, assumes that the theatre was most likely situated in the main palace on Venturgasse, known as the Palais Erdődy.²⁷⁷

More recent and detailed research from an art historical perspective into the palaces of the Erdődy family shows evidence to support the argument that the theatre might have been housed in one of these two smaller palaces, which no longer survive.²⁷⁸ Orsolya Bubryák

²⁷⁴ Herbert Seifert, 'Die Verbindungen der Familie Erdődy zur Musik', *Das Haydn Jahrbuch/ The Haydn Yearbook*, 10 (1972), 151–63; Herbert Seifert, 'Musik und Musiker der Grafen Erdődy in Kroatien im 18. Jahrhundert', *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 44 (1995), 191–208. The second article also provides a detailed family tree.

²⁷⁵ Johann Matthias Korabinsky, *Geographisch-Historisches und Produkten Lexikon von Ungarn: in welchem die vorzüglichen Oerter des Landes in alphabetischer Ordnung angegeben, ihre Lage bestimmt, und mit kurzen Nachrichten, die im gesellschaftlichen Umgange angenehm und nützlich sind, vorgestellt werden* (Preßburg: zu finden im Weber und Korabinskyschen Verlage, 1786). Korabinsky's work provides exceptional detail in reconstructing the layout of Pressburg in the 1780s and also points out two other houses (palaces) of János (Johann) Erdődy on Úrigasse. His earlier 1784 *Beschreibung der königl. ungarischen Haupt-, Frey- und Krönungsstadt Preßburg: Nebst einem Anhang vom königlichen Schlosse und der umliegenden Gegend*, also contains a foldout map of the city. However, since its publication precedes the establishment of the Erdődy theatre by a year, Korabinsky makes no mention of it.

²⁷⁶ Staud, p. 197.

²⁷⁷ 'Der Spielort war ein neuerbautes kleines Theater im Haus des Grafen in Preßburg (Bratislava), wahrscheinlich in der damaligen Unteren Herrengasse (heute Jirásek ulica 3).' Seifert 153. Venturská ulica, 1 (Venturgasse in German) was renamed Jirásek ulica during the socialist regime.

²⁷⁸ Recent scholarship emphasises the need to understand works in the context for which they were written, leading to interdisciplinary work on reconstructing spaces to reimagine opera performances. See: Jana Laslavíková, 'Theater Decorations in Pressburg in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', *Music in Art*, XLV.1-2 (2020), 155-191 for more on the Pressburg *Stadttheater* archival sources and Ferenc Dávid et al., 'Haydn's opera house at Eszterháza: New archival sources', *Early Music*, 43.1 (2015), 111-27 for an example of a truly interdisciplinary project to reconstruct opera in Haydn's time.

draws upon earlier work in the field, which establishes record of work on a theatre conversion around 1785, when a carpenter by the name of Ignaz Mahr charged the Count a sum of '16 florins and 42 kreuzers' for work on a new theatre building.²⁷⁹



Figure 3.1 Erdődy theatre auditorium viewed from the stage²⁸⁰

The commission of this theatre seems to have come as a surprise in 1785, as there was no indication of the Count founding a private theatre of his own when in fact he had contributed a substantial sum of 1,500 florins towards the construction of the *Stadttheater* founded by Count Georg Csáky in 1774.²⁸¹ It is probably keeping this loyalty in mind that the Count ensured that the programme of his opera troupe headed by Kumpf would not clash with that of the *Stadttheater*, as is explicitly spelt out in the 1785 *Theateralmanach* and again

²⁷⁹ Bubryák Orsolya, 'Walch Mátés a Pozsonyi Erdődy-Palota', in *Kő kövön: Dávid Ferenc 73. születésnapjára (Stein auf Stein: Festschrift für Ferenc Dávid)*, ed. by Szentési Edit, Mentényi Klára, and Simon Anna (Budapest: Vince Kiadó, 2013), p. 643.

²⁸⁰ Photograph in the collection of the Hungarian Theatre Museum and Institute with inventory number 2020.10.1. <http://resolver.szinhasztortenet.hu/collection/OSZMI849108> [consulted on 01 July 2021].

²⁸¹ Orsolya, p.643.

highlighted in Reichard's report about the Kumpf troupe.²⁸² In the next section, I discuss the theatre almanacs as primary sources for reconstructing the performance calendar of the Erdődy theatre.

3.3.1 Theatre almanacs from the Erdődy theatre

The workings of the theatre, Kumpf's troupe and its repertory have been pieced together from three main sources: the Erdődy theatre almanacs for 1785 (in addition to what has been referred to in Staud and Seifert), 1787 and 1788; the addendum to the libretto of *Axur, König von Ormus* (1788) and entries in Reichard's *Theaterkalender* for 1785, 1787, 1788 and 1789.²⁸³ Seifert makes a suggestion that the Erdődy theatre materials were bought by Count Nikolaus II Esterházy after its dissolution in 1789, based on an 1806 inventory reproduced by Janos Harich in 1975 that showed German translations of Italian works.²⁸⁴

The rather interesting journey of the Esterházy archive has been traced in Noémi Viskolcz's article.²⁸⁵ The materials categorised and inventoried by János Harich in the early 1930s was acquired by the National Library of Hungary in 1945 and then in 1990, with the change of regime, some of the works started appearing in antiquarian auctions.²⁸⁶ However, it does not seem that the Esterházy archive held at the National Library of Hungary contains anything more than the 1787 and 1788 *Theateralmanache* in addition to copies of the *Axur* and *Julius Sabinus* libretti pertaining to the Erdődy theatre.²⁸⁷

All three almanacs are dedicated to the Count, but their place of publication and purpose is of some interest. While the 1785 and 1788 almanacs were printed in Pressburg itself, the 1787 almanac shows 'Leipzig und Berlin' as places of publication. These almanacs were also on sale in bookshops in Pressburg. An advertisement from the *Preßburger Zeitung* of 13 January

²⁸² 'Vorstellungen wurden für jede Woche zwey bestimmt, und dazu der Montag und Freytag gewählt; -- Taeg, welche Seine Excellenz der Herr Graf in Rücksicht des hiesigen deutschen Schauspielunternehmers im Stadttheater festsetzen, um selben keinesweges in seinem Vortheile hinderlich zu seyn.' Schüller, *Hochgräflich Erdödy'sches Operntheater in Pressburg 1785*. Reichard quotes this almost verbatim—'Vorstellungen wurden für jede Woche zwey bestimmt, und dazu der Montag und Freytag gewählt; — Tage, welche Se(ine) Exc(ellenz) der Herr Graf in Rücksicht des hiesigen deutschen Schauspiel-Unternehmers im Stadttheater festsetzten, um selbigen keineswegs in seinem Vortheile hinderlich zu seyn. *Theaterkalender auf das Jahr 1787*, p. 201.

²⁸³ The 1785 almanac can be found at A-Wn 580059 A-MUS; 1787 almanac at H-Bn Hankiss 213 and 1788 almanac at A-Whh G94.718.

²⁸⁴ Seifert, 155. The reference is from Harich, p. 103-105. Seifert also clarifies that the Erdődy archives in Eberau unfortunately only consist of 'disordered files and letters' (p. 151).

²⁸⁵ Noémi Viskolcz, 'The Fate of the Archives of Prince Esterházy Family in the 20th Century,' *University of Miskolc Faculty of Arts – Research Almanac*, 615–21.

²⁸⁶ Viskolcz, p. 620.

²⁸⁷ Personal correspondence with Ms. Boglárka Illyés, Head of the Music Collection, National Széchényi Library (14 July 2021).

1787 announced the sale of the 1787 almanac in both bound and unbound versions.²⁸⁸ The date of publication of this advertisement is a good indication as to when the almanac would have been prepared for publication and the extent to which the events were planned in advance.

The 1787 almanac, the lengthiest of the three, is not digitised and preserved only at the National Library of Hungary.²⁸⁹ The 1787 almanac is unique in being the only one with engravings, both of the performers and performances; Staud mentions that there would have been an engraving of the Count (torn away or lost).²⁹⁰ The almanac contained three copperplate engravings: the first of these is a scene from *Armida* on page 49, which is missing from the Budapest copy of the almanac and has been recently rediscovered at the National Library of Hungary.²⁹¹ The second copperplate engraving is a scene from Dittersdorf's *Doktor und Apotheker* on page 53 and the third, from *Betrug durch Aberglauben* on page 60.²⁹² It does appear that these almanacs were not just intended as gifts or souvenirs for guests at the Erdódy theatre but were also published with some awareness of the standing and reputation of the troupe at that time. Although Kadar assumes Girzik to be the editor of the almanacs, the last almanac of 1788 clearly bears Johann Nepomuk Schüller's name on the frontispiece as the editor. Staud argues that based on the stylistic similarities between the 1787 and 1788 almanacs, Schüller is likely to have been the editor of both these.²⁹³ These almanacs present an in-depth view of the workings of the Kumpf troupe at the Erdódy theatre and are an important primary source in reconstructing the performance calendar and repertory of the troupe, as examined in the next section.

²⁸⁸ Staud, p. 193. Staud wrongly cites the edition of 10 January 1787 (No.3), where in fact, there is a theatre advertisement announcing the performance of *Der Weinleise* at the Stadttheater by the Kumpf troupe from the Erdódy theatre. The announcement regarding the almanac appears at the very end of the paper and reads: 'Bey Herrn Michael Benedickt, in seinem Bücherverlag in der langen Gasse, allhier ist zu haben, Hochgräflich-Erdödyscher Theaterallmanach auf das Jahr 1787, umgebunden 1 fl., gebunden 1 fl. 10 Kr.' *Preßburger Zeitung*, 13 Jan 1787, Nr.4 (p. 8).

²⁸⁹ A copy of the almanac at the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Münster D-MÜu ZD 7421 (Kopie) is erroneously listed as the 1787 almanac, while the copy is that of the 1788 almanac. (Personal correspondence with Dr Viola Voß, Philology and Music department librarian, 12 August 2019).

²⁹⁰ Staud, p. 193.

²⁹¹ I am indebted to Dr János Malina for bringing this to my attention.

²⁹² These copperplate engravings are also listed at the very end of the almanac, in the 'Nota für den Buchbinder.' Schüller, *Hochgräflich-Erdödischer Theaterallmanach auf das Jahr 1787*, p. 128.

²⁹³ Staud, p. 191.

3.4 Repertory of the Kumpf troupe: 1786-1788

The 1788 *Theateralmanach* presents a day-by-day *Spielplan* of the Kumpf troupe at the Erdődy palace in Pressburg from its beginning on 16 May 1785 until 31 December 1787 with a total of thirty-six works, all performed in German. The operatic season at the Erdődy theatre generally ran from January to December, with only the first and last season being exceptions. During the first season from May to December 1785, there were thirteen operas presented over sixty-four performances. During the 1786 season, there were only eleven operas with seventy-four performances, with the schedule often disrupted by the health condition of the Count, causing long breaks. This trend continued over 1787 with twelve operas over ninety-nine performances.

Performances at the Erdődy theatre took place twice a week, on Mondays and Fridays so that they would not clash with those at the *Stadttheater*. Reichard's entry in 1786 mentions that the director Kumpf was permitted by the Count to travel with the troupe to any court or city to perform between the months of July and September but were otherwise based in Pressburg round the year. It is also from this entry, it can also be gleaned that the Kumpf troupe was maintained almost in the same manner as the troupe at Esterháza, with livery for all members.²⁹⁴ The 1787 almanac gives a description the audience that attended performances at the Erdődy palace theatre, repeated almost verbatim in Reichard's 1788 *Theaterkalender*. The audience included nobility, officers and travelling visitors.²⁹⁵ Entry was free for everyone, as emphasised in the entry in the 1787 *Theaterkalender*.²⁹⁶ This sets the Erdődy theatre apart from other theatrical enterprises discussed elsewhere in this thesis. With no ulterior commercial motive and with music theatre in German, irrespective of the language of origin, this model of *Adelstheater* was, in fact, fulfilling the role of a *Nationaltheater*.

The graph below represents the most performed works at the Erdődy theatre between 1785 and 1788. Table 3.1 which follows, presents the works with their original and German titles side-by-side. The numbers represent combined performance data across all three years (1785-1787) for which day-to-day performance details are available. For works newly

²⁹⁴ Reichard, *Theaterkalender auf das Jahr 1786*, p. 187-188.

²⁹⁵ 'Dazu geruhten Se. Excellenz den ganzen Pressburger Adel und das dortige sämtliche Offizier-Korps für allezeit einzuladen.' *Hochgräflich-Erdödischer Theateralmanach auf das Jahr 1787* p. 12. Also: '[...]Adel, und Offizierskorps, auch den durchreisenden Fremden, wenn selbige sich melden, als Gästen unentgeltlichen Eintritt gestatten.' Reichard, *Theaterkalender auf das Jahr 1788*, p. 195.

²⁹⁶ 'Die Entree ist frey.' Reichard, *Theaterkalender auf das Jahr 1787*, p. 203.

introduced in the 1787 season, this can imply a much lower number as potential repeats and revivals in the next two years do not feature in these numbers. A good example would be that of *Una cosa rara*, performed as *Lilla oder Schönheit und Tugend* with seven performances in 1787. Martín y Soler's *opera buffa* was one of the most successful works in Vienna during this time, and it would not be unusual to have expected a similar level of success in Pressburg, a fact which is referred to in passing in Reichard's 1790 *Theaterkalender*.²⁹⁷

For the 1788 season and the final 1789 season, which ran only until April, there are no complete day-to-day performance lists. However, it is possible to reconstruct the works premiered through three main sources: the 1788 *Theateralmanach*, the libretto published for *Axur, König von Ormus* (1788, Pressburg) and Reichard's 1789 *Theaterkalender*. The 1788 *Theateralmanach*, quite plausibly the first to be published of these works, refers to four works scheduled to be performed early in the 1788 season: *Im Dunkeln ist nicht gut tappen*, *L'arbore di Diana*, *L'inganno amoroso* and *Helene und Paris*.²⁹⁸

Of these, Guglielmi's *L'inganno amoroso* is not mentioned in either of the other two sources and has therefore not been included in the list.²⁹⁹ Both the *Axur* libretto and the Reichard 1789 *Theateralmanach* also mention a 1787 cantata for three sopranos and orchestra by Martín y Soler and Da Ponte titled *Der Traum (Il Sogno)*. This work has also been excluded from the list as it falls out of scope on genre. The *Axur* libretto and Reichard's 1789 *Theaterkalender*, incidentally also dedicated to Count Erdődy, mention a further nine works.³⁰⁰ Therefore, when the troupe was disbanded upon the death of the Count on 15 April 1789, the Kumpf troupe had performed a total of fifty-four works in German over 237 performances at the Erdődy theatre.³⁰¹

²⁹⁷ Reichard, *Theaterkalender auf das Jahr 1789*, p.159-160. The full text can be found in Appendix C.

²⁹⁸ 'Im 1788ger Jahr werden folgende Opern die ersten seyn, die die Gesellschaft liefert: 1. *Helene und Paris*. 2. *L'arbore di Diana*. 3. *L'inganno amoroso*. 4. *Im dunkeln ist nicht gut tappen*.' Schüller, *Hochgräflich-Erdödischer Theaterallmanach auf das Jahr 1788*, p. 97.

²⁹⁹ It is likely to have been dropped from the repertory before even being brought to the stage. This is also corroborated by the fact that there are no known German translations of this opera until much later – *Die Zwillingsbrüder* in a version by J.B. Krebs (Stuttgart, 1810). Loewenberg, p. 430.

³⁰⁰ 'Sr. Excellenz/ dem Grafen/ Joh. Nep. Erdödy/ zu Pressburg. / S. K.K. Majestät wirklichen Kämmerer/ und geheimen Staatsrathe, und des/ Stephanordens Groskreutze/ zugeeignet/ von/ Reichard. '; 'Einstudiert werden immer die neuesten großen Opern; die Italienischen werden gewöhnlich von Herrn Girzik Mitglied dieser Gesellschaft übersetzt und bearbeitet, auch verfasste er eine original deutsche komische Oper in zwey Aufzügen gennant: Die christliche Judenbraut, oder die Alte muss zahlen; die Musik dazu verfasste Herr Panek. [...]'. Reichard, *Theaterkalender auf das Jahr 1790*, p. 159.

³⁰¹ *Pressburger Zeitung*, 18 April 1789, pp. 247-248. Reichard gives the date wrongly as 15 May in the 1790 *Theaterkalender*.

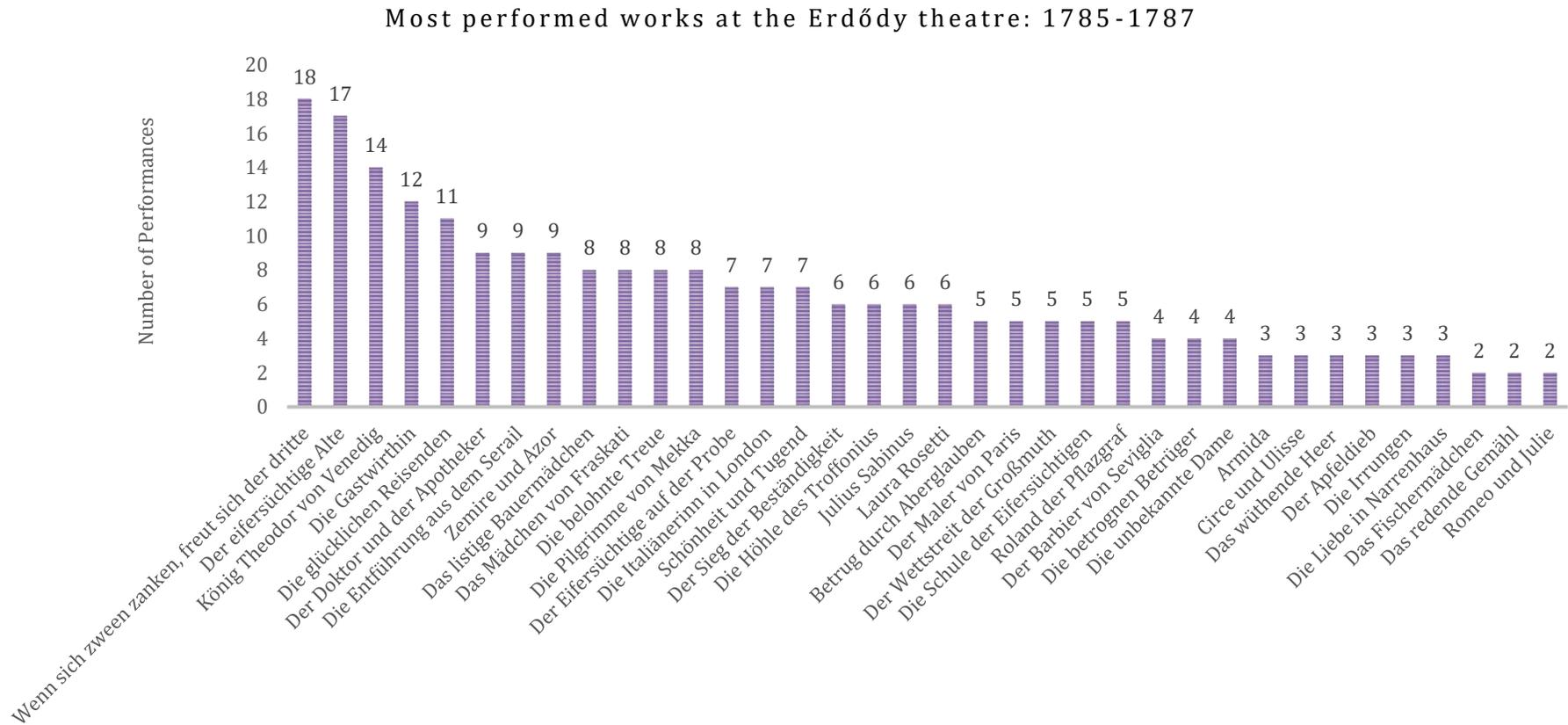


Figure 3.2: Most performed works at the Erdődy theatre: 1785-1787

Table 3.1: Most performed works at the Erdődy theatre: 1785-1787

Title in German	Original title	Total number of performances between 1785-1787
<i>Wenn sich zween zanken, freut sich der dritte</i>	<i>Fra i due litiganti</i>	18
<i>Der eifersüchtige Alte</i>	<i>Il vecchio geloso</i>	17
<i>König Theodor von Venedig</i>	<i>Il Re Teodoro in Venezia</i>	14
<i>Die Gastwirthin</i>	<i>La locandiera</i>	12
<i>Die glücklichen Reisenden</i>	<i>I viaggiatori felici</i>	11
<i>Der Doktor und der Apotheker</i>		9
<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>		9
<i>Zemire und Azor</i>	<i>Zemire et Azor</i>	9
<i>Das listige Bauermädchen</i>	<i>La contadina di spirito</i>	8
<i>Das Mädchen von Fraskati</i>	<i>La frascatana</i>	8
<i>Die belohnte Treue</i>	<i>La fedeltà premiata</i>	8
<i>Die Pilgrimme von Mekka</i>	<i>Le rencontre imprevue</i>	8
<i>Der Eifersüchtige auf der Probe</i>	<i>Il geloso in cimento</i>	7
<i>Die Italiänerinn in London</i>	<i>L'italiana in Londra</i>	7
<i>Schönheit und Tugend</i>	<i>Una cosa rara</i>	7
<i>Der Sieg der Beständigkeit</i>	<i>La vera costanza</i>	6
<i>Die Höhle des Troffonius</i>	<i>La grotta di Trofonio</i>	6
<i>Julius Sabinus</i>	<i>Giulio Sabino</i>	6
<i>Laura Rosetti</i>		6
<i>Betrug durch Aberglauben</i>		5

Title in German	Original title	Total number of performances between 1785-1787
<i>Der Maler von Paris</i>	<i>Il pittor parigino</i>	5
<i>Der Wettstreit der Großmuth</i>	<i>Le gare generose</i>	5
<i>Die Schule der Eifersüchtigen</i>	<i>La scuola dei gelosi</i>	5
<i>Roland der Pfalzgraf</i>	<i>Orlando Paladino</i>	5
<i>Der Barbier von Seviglia</i>	<i>Il barbiere di Seviglia</i>	4
<i>Die betrogenen Betrüger</i>		4
<i>Die unbekante Dame</i>	<i>La dama incognita</i>	3
<i>Armida</i>	<i>Armida</i>	3
<i>Circe und Ulisse</i>	<i>Circe ed Ulisse</i>	3
<i>Das wüthende Heer</i>		3
<i>Der Apfeldieb</i>		3
<i>Die Irrungen</i>	<i>Gli equivoci</i>	3
<i>Die Liebe in Narrenhaus</i>		2
<i>Das Fischermädchen</i>	<i>La pescatrice o vero L'erede riconosciuta</i>	2
<i>Das redende Gemähl</i>	<i>Le tableau parlant</i>	2
<i>Romeo und Julie</i>		2
Total number of performances between 1785-1787		237

The spread of works according to their language of origin can be seen in Figure 3.3 below:

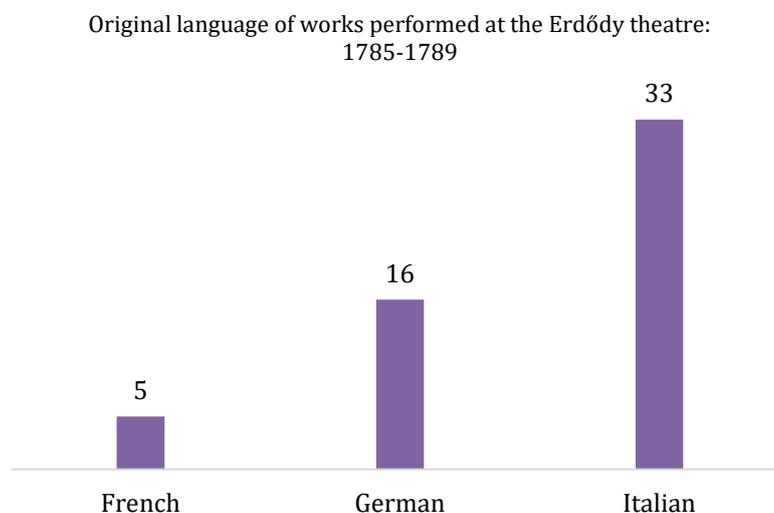


Figure 3.3: Original language of works performed at the Erdődy theatre: 1785-1789

Of the fifty-four operas in the repertory, only sixteen were original German-language works or *Singspiele*, while thirty-three were translations of Italian opera (mainly *buffa*) and five of French *opéras comiques*. However, amongst the Italian translations, a special note needs to be made about Guglielmi's *Lo sposo fedele* (1767, Venice). *Lo sposo fedele* was translated by Johann Joachim Eschenburg as *Robert und Kalliste* and was first performed in Berlin in 1775. This translation received tremendous success and had become an established version of the Guglielmi's work in Vienna, where it was alternatively performed with the Italian version from the mid-1770s onwards. Six of Paisiello's *opere buffe* appear in this list, and is the most by any single composer, followed closely by Salieri with five works.

In the next section, I discuss the repertory of the Kumpf troupe in detail by tracing the possible provenance of translation that was used by the troupe and its links to the Viennese repertory. The performance history of each of these works discussed below is in no way complete; I highlight the known translations, their important centres of reception and build the narrative of how the repertory of a troupe like Kumpf's would have been shaped by context and circumstance. The discussion below is grouped by language, and therefore I first examine the Italian works in translation, followed by the French works and close with a commentary on the original *Singspiele* in the repertory.

3.4.1 Italian works in German translation

The first performance at the Erdődy theatre took place on 15 May 1785, featuring the Paisiello opera, *Il Re Teodoro in Venezia* (23 August 1784, Vienna) as *König Theodor in Venedig*. In the 1787 almanac, the editor and troupe member, Johann Nepomuk Schüller, notes that the theatre director Kumpf 'had put in every effort, from the selection of the very well-loved Paisiello opera, *König Theodor*, to the arrangement of the necessary theatrical props' such that 'nobody left the place unsatisfied.'³⁰²

Kumpf's choice of *König Theodor* as the opening work of his troupe at the Erdődy theatre is not surprising. It was final opera he had performed just a few weeks ago with Schikaneder's troupe at the Kärntnertortheater in Vienna during their visit from November 1784 to early February 1785. The Kumpf-Schikaneder troupe had conducted 31 performances, which included sixteen works of music theatre, all sung in German translation.³⁰³ In Esterházy, the opera was not performed despite materials being purchased from Vienna in 1784 itself. However, it was performed at the German stage in Pest on 21 December 1787, presumably by the Bulla troupe in residence there.³⁰⁴

The Pressburg performance appears to have been in a version by Franz Teyber (1758-1810), confirmed by the entry in Reichard's *Theaterkalender auf das Jahr 1787* as well.³⁰⁵ After a stint with Kumpf's troupe in Pressburg, Teyber served as the director for Schikaneder's troupe in Vienna and later assumed the position of Kapellmeister at the Theater an der Wien. Teyber's work *Alexander* (1802, Vienna) with a libretto by Schikaneder was performed for the opening of the Theater an der Wien.

Haydn's *La fedeltà premiata* (1781, Esterháza) was also part of the repertory presented at Vienna by the Schikaneder-Kumpf troupe as *Die belohnte Treue*, where it was received with

³⁰² 'Herr Kumpf, dem Se. Excellenz die Unternehmung und Direktion übertrug, hat sich alle Mühe gegeben, sowohl durch die Auswahl der so sehr beliebten Paisellischen Oper, -- König Theodor -- als durch Anordnung der nöthigen Theaterverzierungen, und Anschaffung der sehr schönen Quarderob, die Feyerlichkeit dieses Tags zu verherrlichen; auch entsprach alles glücklich einem Wunsche, und niemand verließ den Ort, der nicht höchst zufrieden war. Ungetheilte Beyfall gereichte der Operngesellschaft zur Ehre und ferner Aneiferung. – Von diesem Tage an ward nun wöchentlich zweymal Montags und Freytags fortgespielt, und die Theaterveränderungen wuchsen so sehr, dass man nun schon gegen 30 ganze Theater vorzuzeigen hat, ohne jene Versetzungen, die das Theater so vielfach in einer andern Gestalt repräsentiren.' Schüller, *Hochgräflich-Erdödischer Theaterallmanach auf das Jahr 1788*, pp. 41–42.

³⁰³ Johann Friedel, *Ein Quodlibet Zum Abschiede*. (Abdera (Vienna), 1785).

³⁰⁴ Staud, p. 218. I believe the source to be Reichard's *Theateralmanach auf das Jahr 1787*, which lists the translator as Teiber.

³⁰⁵ Loewenberg, p. 411. Reichard's *Theateralmanach auf das Jahr 1787*, which lists the translator as Teiber.

great acclaim.³⁰⁶ A report from the *Wiener Zeitung* on 22 December says that the opening night, which was attended by Emperor Joseph II and his court, was so successful that almost six hundred people had to be turned away from the theatre by six in the evening due to lack of space.³⁰⁷ At the Erdődy theatre in Pressburg, it was performed five more times in 1785 and just once more the following year.

The other three Haydn operas that were part of the repertory at Erdődy are most likely to have come through the Esterháza connection: *La vera costanza* (1779, Esterháza), was never heard in Vienna through the 1780s, despite being originally intended for the Hoftheater.³⁰⁸ *La vera costanza* was translated under the title *Der Sieg der Beständigkeit* by Franz Xaver Girzik (1760 – 1812), who was a member of the Kumpf troupe.

Girzik, a Prague-born singer, began his career around 1775 and had already performed in the Leopoldstadt theatre in Vienna in 1783 and then with Schikaneder and Kumpf in Pressburg in 1784. His contributions to the troupe were two-fold as a baritone singer in comic roles and as the main translator of Italian libretti into German.³⁰⁹ It was introduced in the second season on 30 January 1786 and received three further performances, followed by two more in 1787.³¹⁰ It was later performed in 1790 at the Landstrasse theatre when the Kumpf troupe performed in Vienna. The same was the case with Haydn's most successful opera, *Orlando Paladino* (1782, Esterháza): its first German adaptation as *Roland der Pflazgraf* was by

³⁰⁶ It was the highest grossing work for the troupe until that date, taking in 713 fl. 12 kr. on the opening night. Friedel, p. 44.

³⁰⁷ 'Sonnabends darauf gab dieselbe Gesellschaft die grosse vom Herrn Haiden in Musik gesetzte Oper: La fedelta permia. Das Haus war um 6 Uhr so voll, dass ungeachtet des grossen Raumes, mehr als 600 Personen wieder zurück mußten.—Der unläugbarste Beweis von der Güte und Ordnung, durch welche sich diese Gesellschaft auszeichnet, ist, dass Se. Majestät der Kaiser selbst, welche ihre Vorstellungen schon öfters mit Seiner Gegenwart zu begnadigen geruheten, auch bey dieser Oper mit dem ganzen Hofe zugegen war.' *Anhang zur Wiener-Zeitung* No. 102. 1784. This has also been referenced in Anke Sonnek, *Emanuel Schikaneder. Theaterprinzipal, Schauspieler und Stückeschreiber* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), p. 61.

³⁰⁸ Loewenberg, p. 371.

³⁰⁹ Schüller, *Hochgräflich-Erdödischer Theaterallmanach auf das Jahr 1787*, pp. 28–31. Throughout the thesis, for sake of uniformity, I will be using the Germanised spelling Franz Xaver Girzik, instead of the Czech form František Xaver Jiřík.

³¹⁰ A-Wn Mus.Hs.18638/1-2 MUS MAG appears to be an autograph score of *La vera Costanza* as *Die wahre Beständigkeit* (which is one of the alternative titles under which the work was performed at the Erdődy theatre) and the translation is ascribed to Girzik. This score was part of the estate of Michael Bartenschlag (d. 1855), the provenance of whose collection of manuscripts was van Swieten's estate. It is unclear how this became part of van Swieten's collection, as any Erdődy theatre-material was supposed to have been subsumed into the Esterházy archives around 1805.

On Bartenschlag's collection, see: Christine Blanken, 'Dokumentation der Wiener und "alt-österreichischen" Bach-Überlieferung. Zur Fragestellung eines Forschungsvorhabens', *Journal der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 5 (2010), 119–38.

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Girzik's for the Erdődy theatre on 22 May 1786, where it was then performed twice again the same year and the next.³¹¹

Armida (1784, Esterházy), which was introduced at the end of the second season on 03 November 1786, received only two further performances.³¹² It was nonetheless part of the Pest repertory by 1791 and received its first performance in Vienna much later, on 25 March 1793, as a one-off concert performance at the Theater auf den Wieden.³¹³

The most successful Italian work in German translation on the Erdődy stage was Sarti's *Fra i due litiganti* (1782, La Scala Milan) as *Wenn sich zween zanken, freut sich der Dritte*. In 1785, it was performed seven times, in 1786, a further five times and in 1787, six times. It was equally popular in Vienna in the original Italian, where following its first performance on 28 May 1783 at the Burgtheater, it was firmly established in the repertory of Italian troupe. The Viennese version (with substantial cuts, additions and other changes) circulated across major European stages as the definitive version, and it was soon 'among the most widely performed and best-loved *opere buffe* of the late eighteenth century.'³¹⁴ This was also the case with Esterháza, where the opera was staged just two months after its Viennese premiere at the Burgtheater.³¹⁵

³¹¹ It was however featured in the Kumpf troupe's performances at the Pressburg *Stadttheater* in 1787 – a performance for 10 February 1787 was advertised in the *Pressburger Zeitung* of 07 February 1787 thus: 'Sonabend den 10. Februar wird im großen Stadttheater von der hochgräfl. Erdödyschen deutschen Operngesellschaft unter der Direktion des Hrn. Kumpf vorgestellt werden eine große komische Oper betitelt *Roland der Pfalzgraf* in 3 Aufzügen. - Die Musik hat Hr. Jos. Haiden, Kapell-meister Sr. Durchlaucht Fürsten Nikola Esterházy von Galantha, gesetzt, und ein wahres Meister-stück dadurch geliefert.'

³¹² *Armida* was originally scheduled for 16 October but had to be postponed due to the Count's ill health. Reichard's *Theaterkalender auf das Jahr 1787* mentions (albeit erroneously) that the work was premiered on 16 October 1786, with Emperor Joseph II in attendance as part of 'oral testimony of a friend who attended the performance': 'So viel muss ich nur noch erwähnen, dass Se. Excellenz an Pracht des Theaters nichts abgehen lasst. Herr Kumpf, als Unternehmer, ist bereits als ein verdienstvoller Mann bekannt, und verdient sowohl seines Spiels wegen als Vortrags im Singen, da er sehr gut musikalisch ist, unter unsere ersten Tenoristen gezähle zu werden. Besonders zeichnen sich nach ihm Demois. Kaiser, Herr Hübsch, Herr Wieser, Demois. Hofmann aus. Hier wird jeder Zuschauer auf eine angenehme Art in seiner Erwartung übertroffen, weil Se. Excellenz nicht nur eine ansehnliche Sage den Schauspielern ausgesetzt, sondern sie noch ueberdies nach Verdiensten sehr nachhaft belohnt' (p. 203). This however is uncorroborated in the almanacs and might well be the case of an unreliable narrator.

³¹³ Loewenberg, p. 408. See also: Krzeszowiak, p. 447.

³¹⁴ Platoff, 'Sarti's *Fra i Due Litiganti* and Opera in Vienna', p. 541. This article discusses the genesis of this Viennese version of *Fra i due litiganti* and its circulation. A consideration of the article, and its implications on this thesis has been reviewed in the Chapter 1 and examined with respect to the creation of 'Viennese' versions that circulated as definitive versions in Section 2.1, Vienna as a centre for circulation of operas.

³¹⁵ The Esterházy version was most certainly based on the Vienna version as the score, currently at the National Library of Hungary, *H-Bn Ms. Mus. OE-4*), is inscribed with a 'statement of origin' stating 'Wienn. Zu haben bey Wenzel Sukowaty Copist in K.K. Nazional Theater.' Platoff, 'Sarti's *Fra i Due Litiganti* and Opera in Vienna', p. 549.

At the Erdődy theatre, the German version staged as *Wenn sich zween zanken, freut sich der Dritte* was translated by Ludwig Zehnmark. Zehnmark (1751–1818) was a Professor of History at Lemberg, also known for his tragedies, *Singspiele* and translations of Italian operas.³¹⁶ His translation, incidentally, also the first, was performed at Vienna's suburban Neustifttheater on 10 May 1784 and subsequently on 27 November at the Kärntnertortheater.³¹⁷ Johann André's translation of the work titled *Im Trüben ist gut fischen* became the other parallelly established German version of the work.³¹⁸ First performed in Hamburg on 10 February 1785, it was heard in most of the major Northern cities over the next two years. Between 14 September 1787 and 14 April 1789, when *Fra i due litiganti* was performed by the *Singspiel* troupe at the Kärntnertortheater, André's translation was preferred over Zehnmark's.³¹⁹

Two other Zehnmark translations of two Viennese *opere buffe* of the early 1770s were used by the Kumpf troupe: Salieri's *La locandiera* (1773, Vienna) as *Die Gastwirthin* and Anfossi's *Il geloso in cimento* (1774, Vienna). Zehnmark's translation of *La locandiera* is the only recorded German version and was revived in 1782 in Vienna.³²⁰ It was performed in a new production in the 1782-1783 season, concurrent to the *Nationalsingspiel*. While Loewenberg lists this as the German production in Zehnmark's translation, this is an error as the printed libretto for the performance clearly indicates it to be an Italian performance.³²¹ It was performed seven times in total in 1785, when it was first performed at the Erdődy theatre on 01 September and thereafter thrice in 1786.

Anfossi's *Il geloso in cimento* was performed in the second season on 12 June 1786, then twice more in the same year and four times in the subsequent season. Unlike most of Anfossi's works, *Il geloso in cimento*, written for the Burgtheater and premiered on 25 May 1774, did not achieve spectacular success in Vienna itself.³²² Over the next year, the work was received with considerable success in most major centres and by 1778, was also heard at Esterháza. It

³¹⁶ Angermüller, p. 155. Zehnmark's translation was also performed at the Vienna Leopoldstadt theatre on 17 January 1789.

³¹⁷ Loewenberg 397-398.

³¹⁸ *ibid.*

³¹⁹ Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna*, p. 141. Link clarifies the confusion stemming from Hadamowsky's *Spielplan* where he does not mention that performances of this Sarti opera reverted to Italian in 1789 in p. 141, footnote 186.

³²⁰ Loewenberg, p. 330.

³²¹ LA LOCANDIERA/ DRAMMA GIOSCOSO PER MUSICA/ CAVATO DA UNA/ COMMEDIA DELL' AVVOCATO SIGNOR CARLO GOLDONI/ LA MUSICA E DEL SIGN. ANT. SALIERI / IN VIENNA SERVIZIO DE S. M. L'IMPERAT, E MAESTRO DE TEATRI IMPERIALI/ I libri si ponno avere appresso il Mae-/stro delle Logge/ In Vienna, 1782 (A-Wn 740922-B ALT MAG).

³²² Hadamowsky 51. It was performed five more times in the same season at the Kärntnertortheater.

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was performed in Vienna on 27 September 1783, this time in a German translation by Johann Joachim Eschenburg (1743-1820), who was a literary historian, translator and writer based in and around Braunschweig.³²³ Eschenburg's translation titled *Die Eifersucht auf der Probe*, was first staged on 12 January 1781 in Hamburg and thereafter heard in most of the North German centres, including Berlin, Bonn and Hannover.³²⁴ It was performed again in Vienna at the Leopoldstadt theatre on 22 March 1787, presumably still in Eschenburg's translation.³²⁵ While it is difficult to ascertain whether it was Eschenburg's or Zehnmark's translation unless specified in the *Theaterzettel* or other sources as both versions carried the same title.³²⁶ The Erdődy theatre almanac, however, distinguishes these two versions by altering the Zehnmark version title to *Der Eifersüchtige auf der Probe*. After its first performance at the Erdődy theatre on 12 June 1786, it was performed only twice again in the same year and another four times in 1787.

Anfossi's *I viaggiatori felici* (1780, Venice) was part of the first season at the Erdődy theatre as *Die glückliche Reisenden* in a translation by Girzik. Anfossi's opera had featured in the opening season of the Italian opera company at the Burgtheater, being performed for the first time in Vienna on 29 December 1783 and quite likely, as a result, performed at Esterháza on 21 March 1784. It remained prominent in Kumpf repertory and was performed five further times in 1785, thrice in 1786 and 1787, and was brought to Pest by Kumpf's same troupe in 1789 after they had left Pressburg.³²⁷

The German version of Salieri's *La scuola de' gelosi* (1778, Venice) as *Die Schule der Eifersüchtigen* is most likely to have been that of Zehnmark, based on its circulation history and title, even though it is not mentioned explicitly in the Reichard *Theaterkalender*. It was

³²³ Angermüller, p. 56. See footnote 187.

³²⁴ Loewenberg, pp. 335–36. However, there is no mention of this performance in Link's performance calendar as it does not take into account performances by travelling troupes at the Kärntnertheater at this time.

Grossmann's troupe used the Eschenburg translation as made clear on their *Theaterzettel* such as this one from 17 February 1785 in Hannover, which reads: 'Donnerstag den 17. Februar. 1785. / Die / Eifersucht auf der Probe. / Eine Oper nach dem Italiänischen von Professor Eschenburg. / In Musik gesetzt / von / Herrn Pasquale Anfossi.' *D-WRz* ZC 120/0.

Similarly, a sign of the popularity of the work in Berlin can be seen in the publication of four arias with piano accompaniment (by Johann André): *Stücke aus der Operette: Eifersucht auf der Probe. (Von) Anfossi. (Dt. Übersetzung:) Eschenburg* (1781, Berlin: Christian Sigismund Spener). (*A-Wn* MS14418-4° MUS MAG.)

³²⁵ Angermüller, p. 56.

³²⁶ The copy at the Austrian National Library (ÖNB) of a 1791 print of the libretto (*Die Eifersucht auf der Probe: Eine Operette in drey Aufzügen* (1791, Gera: Heinrich Gottl. Rothe) (*A-Wn* 2471-A MUS MAG)) has a pencilled inscription ascribing it to Eschenburg but is identical to Zehnmark's translation.

³²⁷ It is not possible to evaluate whether works first performed between 1785 and 1787 were repeated in 1788 and 1789 as the varied sources for the performance lists and repertory do not mention if a work previously performed was repeated.

highly successful in Italy and performed at Esterháza in 1780 itself. It was also chosen for the inauguration of the Italian troupe at the Burgtheater on 22 April 1783. This had prompted an almost immediate German version from Zehnmark, entitled *Die Schule der Eifersüchtigen*, which was heard at the Neustifttheater, one of the new suburban theatres of Vienna, on 4 December 1783.

A year later in 1784, *Die Schule der Eifersüchtigen* was heard at the Kärntnertortheater and had the distinction of being the first work performed at the *Deutsches Theater* in Pest in 1784.³²⁸ Importantly, it was also heard at the Pressburg *Stadttheater* in the same year, in what could only have been Zehnmark's translation.³²⁹ The other translation by Bretzner, sometimes alternatively titled *Der Narrenhaus*, was only first brought to the Hamburg stage in 1785, followed by Schleswig in 1786 and Berlin in early 1787.³³⁰ At the Erdödy theatre, *Die Schule der Eifersüchtigen* was introduced on 5 February 1787, received five performances in that season. This is one of the works where the link to Viennese repertory is very obvious, especially with regard to the use of an already-established German translation.

Alessandri's *Il vecchio geloso* (1781, Milan), with its almost similar sounding German title as *Der eifersüchtige Alte*, was also one of the big successes on the Erdödy stage, with a total of seventeen performances between 1785 and 1787, just behind Sarti's *Fra i due litiganti*. It was one of Alessandri's most popular and successful works and was first performed on 26 July 1785 in a translation by Girzik. It received seven further performances in the first season: in 1786, it was performed six times and then, thrice in 1787. In this particular case, Girzik's translation had a wider reach than just the Pressburg and Pest stages as his translation was heard in Linz on 05 June 1786 and in Brünn on 12 July 1792.³³¹

³²⁸ Loewenberg, pp. 367–68.

³²⁹ Seifert, 'Die Verbindungen der Familie Erdödy zur Musik', p. 159.

³³⁰ Loewenberg, pp. 367–68.

Loewenberg consolidates the Pressburg performance under Bretzner: this is factually true but pertains to an earlier 1784 performance by the Schikaneder-Kumpf troupe, in which Girzik debuted. This can be corroborated by the German title of the Salieri opera mentioned in Girzik's short biography in the 1787 *Theaterallmanach (Das Narrenhaus als Lieutenant)*. Schüller, *Hochgräflich-Erdödischer Theaterallmanach auf das Jahr 1787*, p. 31.

³³¹ Loewenberg, p. 390. The only earlier German text to this opera is to be found in the bilingual libretto printed in Prague for the 1784 performance: *Der Eifersüchtige Alte: Ein Komisches Singspiel in Zween Aufzügen. Aufgeführt auf dem Theater in der kleineren königl. Residenzstadt Prag im Hochgräflich Thunischen Hause. Im Winter des Jahrs 1784* (1784, Prague: Joseph Emmanuel Diesbach).

Given that the Pressburg translations were more commonly circulated, however constrained or confined in reach, after the Kumpf troupe's move to Pest in 1789, these performances are noteworthy and are likely to have resulted from the network between Kumpf's troupe and Johann Baptist Bergopzomer, who was leading the theatre troupe in Brünn and later was to partner the troupe during their stay in Pest in 1789.

Astaritta's *Circe ed Ulisse* (1777, Naples) is one of the outliers in the Pressburg repertory.³³² The only passing references to this work occur in 'The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review' from 1823, where the authors mention that 'in 1787 was given [...] in all the theatres of Germany as a new piece.'³³³ The work appears in the 1783 season given by Bondini's Italian troupe in Prague and was one of the only four *opere serie* included in the repertory.³³⁴ Sarti's *Giulio Sabino* (1781, Venice), another *opera seria*, opened the 1786 season on 02 January and received four further performances that year and a single repeat performance in the 1787 season. It was staged in a translation by one of the troupe members, Schüller and is discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

Paisiello's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* (1782, St Petersburg) was one of his most popular *opere buffe*. In Vienna, it was repeated over sixty times by 1790 after its premiere on 13 August 1783. The German version titled *Der Barbier von Sevilla* was first performed in Pressburg on 14 October 1785 featuring a translation by one of the troupe members, Johann Nepomuk Schüller, who also edited the theatre almanacs.³³⁵ Quite unexpectedly, it was only repeated two more times in 1785 and was then dropped from the troupe's repertory and also not included in the troupe's repertory for Pest. Elsewhere, *Il barbiere* circulated in German quite successfully in Grossmann's translation, which his troupe first performed in Mannheim on 20 November 1785 and thereafter across most of the significant stages in the north. Grossmann's version was used for the work's Viennese revival at the Theater auf den Wieden on 2 August 1796.³³⁶

The other Paisiello opera performed in the 1785 repertory was *Das listige Bauernmädchen*, originally *La contadina di spirito* (1766, Rome Valle as *La finta contessa*).³³⁷ It was performed in Vienna in April 1785 and then heard for the first time in German at the Erdödy theatre just seven months later, on 18 November. The translation was by the Kapellmeister Josef Chudy

³³² The work is neither listed in Hadamowsky or Link, therefore it is unlikely that it was ever performed in Vienna during the 1780s. Seifert mentions a single performance at the Landstrasse theatre on 23 September 1790, which is likely to have been brought by Kumpf from this repertory at Pressburg. Seifert, 'Die Verbindungen der Familie Erdödy zur Musik', p. 153.

³³³ *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* (London: Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, 1823), XIX, pp. 323–24.

³³⁴ Marc Niubo, 'Classy Scene for Connoisseurs or Snobby Meeting Point? Considerations upon the Repertoire and Functions of the Thun Theatre in Prague during the Years 1781–1784', *Musicologica Brunensia*, Supplementum, 2018, 297–303 (p. 302). Niubo also confirms the work as lost.

³³⁵ Schüller (1758-?), was born in Schwaben and made his debut in Pressburg, at the Stadttheater with the Seipp company in 1785 and in the same year was recruited to the Kumpf troupe at the Erdödy theatre, debuting in the very first opera, *König Theodor*. He specialised in second bass roles and contributed three further known translations to the troupe's repertory until 1789. Schüller, *Hochgräflich-Erdödischer Theaterallmanach auf das Jahr 1787*, p. 37.

³³⁶ Loewenberg, pp. 399–400. It was performed thrice in 1796.

³³⁷ The multiple titles and versions hold true for its German form as well: Chudy's translation was the first German version of the opera, which was subsequently performed under a variety of other titles. Loewenberg, p. 285.

and the only one attributed to him. It remained in the Kumpf repertory in Pressburg, with four performances the following year and another two in 1787, although it was not featured in the Pest repertory. In Esterházy, the work was first performed in 1777 as *Il marchese villano* (the original one-act version) and then again in 1788 as *La contadina di spirito*, based on the 1785 Vienna version.

Paisiello's *La frascatana* (1774, Venice) was first performed in Vienna in 1775 and then also during the opening season of the Italian troupe in 1783.³³⁸ By 1779, it had been heard in a German translation by Johann Friedrich Schmidt from Johann Heinrich Böhm's troupe in Augsburg and then heard in Pressburg on 8 February 1780 at the *Stadttheater*. The history of this particular translation is linked to the troupe of Johann Heinrich Böhm (1740-1792) in Augsburg, where Schmidt's translation was first performed.³³⁹ Böhm was an established troupe director in Brünn around 1770, and the company was known for its *Singspiele*.³⁴⁰ In 1776, when he gave a two-month season at the Kärntnertortheater in Vienna, he caught the attention of Emperor Joseph II, who invited him to help establish the *Nationalsingspiel*. As a result, from 1778 onwards, Böhm's name appears in theatre listings in Vienna during this period.³⁴¹ Nonetheless, Böhm only stayed a year.³⁴² A week after Lent 1779, his new troupe was performing in Salzburg.³⁴³

³³⁸ See: Schraffl and Niubo. Schraffl and Niubo establish that the 1775 Vienna version, with its insert arias and changes that made it a typical Viennese *opera buffa* in an 'ennobled' style with both *buffa* and *seria* elements, became the established version for further circulation across the German-speaking lands. This has been referred to in the previous chapter with regard to the central role played by Vienna as a hub for circulation of operas.

³³⁹ For a consolidated overview of documents relating to the early history around Böhm and his troupe, see: Dexter Edge, 'Johann Böhm and Die Verstellte Gärtnerin in Augsburg (May 1780).', ed. by David Black, Mozart: New Documents <https://sites.google.com/site/mozartdocuments/documents/1780-05-01#boehm> [consulted on 18 June 2019].

³⁴⁰ '1770 übernahm's Kajetan von Schaumberg, verschrieb sich Leute; unter diesen waren die merkwürdigsten Herr Waizenhofer [sic] und H. Böhm, welcher letztere in dem nämlichen Jahr die Direktion und 1771 die Entreprise übernahm [...] Die Stärke der Gesellschaft besteht im Singspiel.' Theaterwochenblatt für Salzburg (7 February 1776), No. 24, pp. 279-280, quoted in: Edge, 'Johann Böhm and Die Verstellte Gärtnerin in Augsburg (May 1780).'

³⁴¹ Michtner, pp. 41-61.

³⁴² It would seem that Böhm was planning his exit much before the season came to an end, even though he appeared in the closing performance of *Frühling und Liebe* on 16 February 1779. Böhm's discontent and planning to recruit members to raise a troupe and leave have been brought to light in Edge's article mentioned above, using one of Leopold Mozart's letters to his son dated 10 December 1778. Böhm has been researched and studied, like many of his contemporaries, for his friendship with the Mozarts and his role in the German performance of *La finta giardiniera*.

³⁴³ Edge reconstructs rough details for most of the performances from Nannerl's diary entries for this period, even though her terminologies do not afford great precision as she mentions twenty-two performances consisting of *comédie* and *opérette* (*Singspiel*).

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Shortly thereafter, Böhm's troupe came to Augsburg, where they performed a total of forty nights, with *Singspiele* on twenty-eight and plays on twelve.³⁴⁴ *Das Gärtnermädchen von Frascati* was performed thrice, like the other Italian-based *Singspiele* in the repertory. With the Kumpf troupe, it was performed four times each in the 1786 and 1787 seasons. In 1787, another Paisiello opera was premiered at the Erdödy theatre on 25 May, *Le gare generose* (1774, Venice) as *Der Wettstreit der Großmuth*, which received four further performances and was the only work that was parallelly performed in Esterháza that season.

The last work by Paisiello recorded in the Kumpf troupe's repertory is *I filosofi immaginari* (1779, St Petersburg). It was part of the repertory in 1788 and is one of the works mentioned in the 1788 *Axur* libretto. The German translation of *I filosofi immaginari* was amongst the notable successes of the *Singspiel* troupe, in Vienna, where it was heard in Vienna on 22 May 1781 in a translation by Stephanie der Jüngere. As *Die eingebildeten Philosophen*, the work was repeated 26 times over two seasons.³⁴⁵ When the Italian troupe was re-established at the Burgtheater in 1783, the original Italian version did not meet with the same success and was repeated another three times after a performance on 08 October 1783.³⁴⁶

In the 1786 season, two Cimarosa operas were performed for the first time at the Erdödy theatre—*Il pittor parigino* (1781, Rome) and *L'italiana in Londra* (1778, Rome). *Il pittor parigino* performed on 28 July 1786 as *Der Maler von Paris* in a translation by Girzik, with two further performances in 1786 and 1787. It had been previously performed in Vienna in May 1785, where it was a major success with fourteen further performances in that season itself and was picked up in Esterháza in 1789 and 1790.

L'italiana in Londra was performed in Pressburg just a month later on 21 August 1786 and received four more performances the same year. It was revived only twice more the following

³⁴⁴ A complete report about Böhm's troupe in Augsburg can be seen in Reichard's *Theater-Journal für Deutschland* for 1780 (No. 15), pp. 109-115. Here, Reichard mentions Schmidt: Herr Miller, Herr Kerscher, Herr Simoni, Herr Schmidt, Herr Brandstetter, Herr Viehhäuser und Herr Setzer sind zwar in ihren Stimmen sehr gut, sie sollten aber sorgfältiger memoriren, und sich mehr in die Lage ihrer Rollen hinein zu studieren wissen.'

The *Spielplan* for the troupe has been expanded with annotations in: Heinz Friedrich Deininger, 'Die deutsche Schauspielergesellschaft unter der Direktion von Johann Heinrich Böhm, einem Freunde der Familie Mozart, in Augsburg in den Jahren 1779 und 1780,' *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben*, 55/56.43 (1942), 299-397 (pp. 386-92). See also: Edge, 'Johann Böhm and *Die Verstellte Gärtnerin* in Augsburg (May 1780).'

³⁴⁵ Franz Hadamowsky, *Die Wiener Hoftheater (Staatstheater) 1776-1966: Verzeichnis Der Aufgeführten Stücke Mit Bestandsnachweis Und Täglichen Spielplan*, Museion; n.F. 1. Reihe, 4 (Vienna: Prachner, 1966), p. 34.

³⁴⁶ While it was not revived in Italian again in Vienna, the German version was performed another twelve times by the *Singspiel* troupe at the Kärntnertheater (and on three occasions at the Burgtheater) over the 1785-1786 and 1786-1787 seasons. It was also revived just once on 6 April 1802. Jahn, pp. 233-34.

year. *L'italiana* was one of Cimarosa's first major successes and was included in the opening season of the Italian troupe at the Burgtheater in 1783, during which time it was performed nine times. Heinrich Christian Pleissner's translation of the work as *Nantchen oder Das deutsche Mädchen in London* was heard from 1783 onwards in Bonn and Frankfurt.³⁴⁷

Pleissner, who was a member of Grossmann's troupe in Bonn followed Grossman's itinerant trajectory across Rhineland stages in the 1780s and in 1790, joined the German troupe at the Hamburg *Stadttheater*, where he stayed until 1797. However, in Pressburg, the work was performed in a translation titled *Die Italiänerinn in London* by Johann Christian Bock (1724-1785), a prolific translator of Goldoni's work into German.³⁴⁸ In Esterháza, *L'italiana* was heard in 1783, at the same as Vienna and later revived in 1787 and 1788.

In 1787, *Le trame deluse* (1786, Naples) was the last Cimarosa opera introduced in the Kumpf troupe's repertory, with the title *Die betrognen Betrüger*: it was first performed on 23 November 1787 and repeated four more times the same year. Piccinni's *La pescatrice o vero L'erede riconosciuta* (1766, Rome) was another work introduced towards the end of 1787, as *Das Fischermädchen*: after its first performance on 26 December 1787, it was repeated on 28 December. With works that were introduced towards the end of 1787, it is not possible to determine whether they were well received or not in Pressburg, as there is no data regarding 1788 and 1789. However, in the case of the above three, they were also absent from the troupe's Pest performances in 1789.

In the same 1787 season, *La dama incognita* (*Die unbekannte Dame*) is the only Gazzaniga opera in Kumpf troupe's repertory. It was only performed twice each in the 1786 and 1787 seasons. Earlier, it been performed in the 1784-85 season in Vienna and at Esterházy in the 1780 and 1781 seasons.³⁴⁹

Salieri's *La grotto di Trofonio* (Vienna, 1785) was performed as *Die Höhle des Troffonius* on 17 April 1786, with three more performances in the same season and two further performances in 1787. The work was a huge success in Vienna when it premiered but was not performed in Esterháza.³⁵⁰ Salieri's contribution to the *Nationalsingspiel*, *Der Rauchfangkehrer* (1781, Vienna) was part of the 1788 repertory at Pressburg. The *Singspiel* was performed for the first time on 30 April 1781 at the *Nationaltheater* in Vienna and thereafter repeated twelve

³⁴⁷ Loewenberg, p. 368.

³⁴⁸ The year of his death indicates that his translation might not have been intended per se for Pressburg but might have already been prepared and made available for presumably one of the Viennese theatres.

³⁴⁹ Bartha and Somfai, p. 137.

³⁵⁰ Ibid. The score was purchased in 1790, but it was never performed.

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during the same season. Afterwards, the work was not heard at either the Burg- or Kärntnertortheater. Instead, it was heard on stages across the German-speaking lands from 1782 onwards.³⁵¹ *Der Rauchfangkehrer* returned to Vienna at the Leopoldstadt theatre on 09 October 1786, where it was performed another five times.³⁵² From here, the work was heard at Budapest on 14 July 1787 and thereafter in Pressburg, sometime during the 1788 season, as was with the case with *La grotta di Trofonio*.

Guglielmi's *La quakera spiritosa* (1783, Naples) was first performed in Vienna only on 13 August 1790, with the original libretto by Giuseppe Palomba (1765-1825) substantially revised by Da Ponte. However, the work was heard in Pressburg in German translation sometime in 1788 and is the only known German adaptation of the work. Here again, evidence points to a parallel Esterházy-Pressburg link: the work was heard at Esterházy in the 1787 season on 3 June 1787 and a further nine times in the same year, and again in the next season with four performances.³⁵³ The Vienna version of 1790 appears to use the Esterháza score as a base, since Haydn's cuts in the overture are carried over in the Vienna score as well. The remainder of this Vienna version seems like an extensive revision that is a good example of *Bearbeitungspraxis*. Similar to the example of *La pastorella nobile* discussed in Chapter 2, as it has over ten insert arias and ensembles on the whole and a revised text by Da Ponte.³⁵⁴

The final 1789 season also saw the performance of Righini's *La vedova scaltra* (1774, Prague) as *Die schlaue Witwe*. This work had been performed in Vienna in the original Italian in 1778 and then in Esterházy in 1783, where the MS was noted to be of Viennese provenance.³⁵⁵ Dittersdorf's *Democrito corretto* (1787, Vienna) was performed sometime in the 1788/89 season as *Der gebesserte Demokrit*. The work was repeated only once further in Vienna and was far more successful in *Singspiel* form, especially in Heinrich Gottlieb Schmieder's version as *Democrit*, which was brought to the Mainz stage in 1790.³⁵⁶

³⁵¹ Loewenberg, p. 388.

³⁵² Franz Hadamowsky and Joseph Gregor, *Das Theater in der Wiener Leopoldstadt 1781-1860: Bibliotheks- und Archivbestände in der Theatersammlung der Nationalbibliothek* (Vienna: Nationalbibliothek in Kommission bei O. Höfels' Wwe, 1934), p. 233. 9, 11, 14, 28 October 1786, 4 December 1786, 22 May 1787

³⁵³ Kay M. Lipton, 'The Opere Buffe of Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi in Vienna and Eszterháza: Contributions to the Development of Opera Buffa between 1768 and 1793' (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1995), p. 390.

³⁵⁴ Unlike *La pastorella nobile*, the Vienna performance was unfortunately a failure with just two performances in 1790, possibly having been caught between two operatic agendas.

³⁵⁵ Bartha and Somfai, p. 271.

³⁵⁶ Loewenberg, p. 440.

Martín y Soler's two most successful works for the Viennese stage in collaboration with Da Ponte—dating from roughly the same period as *Democrito corretto*— were performed at the Erdődy theatre in 1787 and 1788. The first one, *Una cosa rara*, premiered in Vienna on 17 November 1786 and was heard in Pressburg by 10 April 1787. *Cosa rara* was an exceptional success in Vienna, with extra performances at Kärntnertortheater to keep up with the demand. Even so, it is noteworthy that the first German translation was heard in Pressburg. In Vienna itself, a German adaptation by Ferdinand Eberl was staged at the Leopoldstadt theatre in Vienna after the Pressburg version, on 26 June 1787.³⁵⁷ It was heard seven times in 1787 but given the absence of performance data for 1788 and 1789, it is unfortunately not possible to quantify the equivalent success of the work in Pressburg. However, Reichard reports that in 1788, when the Kumpf troupe performed at the city theatre on four dates in July, performing *Die seltne Verschwisterung* and *Der Wettstreit der Großmuth*, Martín y Soler's work was received with almost the same rapturous reaction as in Vienna, with a full theatre.³⁵⁸

L'arbore di Diana, which premiered on 08 January 1788, was heard some time during the 1788 season in Pressburg, possibly in a translation by Girzik, which later appeared in Pest.³⁵⁹ This opera was heard within six months of its premiere in German translation by Eberl as *Der Baum der Diana* at the Leopoldstadt theatre on 17 July 1788.³⁶⁰ In the 1787 season, alongside *Cosa rara*, another work with a libretto by Da Ponte, Stephen Storace's *Gli Equivoci* as *Die Irrungen* was premiered on 15 October, but only received two further performances. It was another translation with a relatively quick turnaround as *Gli equivoci* had been premiered at the Burgtheater on 27 December 1786 only. The other opera with a Da Ponte libretto, Salieri's *Axur, Re d'Ormus* (1787, Vienna), was performed in Pressburg in the 1788 season as evidenced by its printed libretto and will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

³⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 437.

³⁵⁸ Reichard, *Theaterkalender auf das Jahr 1789*, p.159-160. The context for the performances at the Stadttheater is as follows: due to the lack of visiting troupes in Pressburg, Herr Maier, the Director of the Stadttheater requested Count Erdődy and the Count graciously permitted the German troupe at his private theatre to perform at the Stadttheater. Reichard reports that even though the turnout during the hot summer months was usually low, large numbers came to watch *Cosa rara* – a sign that Reichard ascribes to the discernment of the Pressburg public.

A transcription of this section of the report can be found in Appendix C.

³⁵⁹ Girzik's translation of *L'arbore* was performed in Pest and there is a copy of the libretto *Arien aus der Opera/Arbore di Diana/ Baum der Diana/ Komische Opera in 2 Aufz./Musik von Vinzent Martin* (Pest: Patzho, 1789) (A-Wn 625755-A THE MAG). The Girzik translation is completely distinct from Eberl's translation and closer adaptation of *L'arbore*. Parts of Girzik's translation were used alongside Eberl's translation for the 1802 revival of the work at the Kärntnertortheater. The 1802 performance score A-Wn Kt. 58 corresponds with the printed libretto A-Wn 440778-A.101,3 MUS MAG. This is briefly discussed again at in Chapter 5.

³⁶⁰ Loewenberg, p. 447. Eberl's translation of *L'arbore* is discussed in Section 2.3.1.

3.4.2 French works in German translation

Monsigny's *Der Deserteur*, based on the French original *Le déserteur* (1769, Paris), is mistakenly ascribed to Grétry in the *Axur* libretto.³⁶¹ It was performed in the 1788 and 1789 seasons. In Vienna, *Der Deserteur* was first given in French on 22 October 1775 at the Schönbrunn palace, and by April 1776, it was already heard in German at the Kärntnertortheater. *Der Deserteur* appeared in multiple German versions: the first translation by Eschenburg appeared in Hamburg in 1770, followed by a translation by Christian Friedrich Schwan in Mannheim in the same year, performed by the Marchand troupe and another by Moriz von Brahm, which was published in Vienna in 1770.³⁶² The trend from these four works underpins the fact that French *opéras comiques* from the 1770s were circulating in well-received and accepted German versions by the 1780s, at which point they were chosen to be incorporated into the Erdódy theatre repertory.

Grétry's *Le tableau parlant* (1769, Paris) was performed at the Erdódy theatre in its German version as *Das redende Gemahl*. The work was premiered at the Comédie Italienne in Paris on 20 September 1769 and was very successful on French stages.³⁶³ It was adapted into German first at Mannheim in 1771, in a translation by an anonymous translator only identified as 'F.W.M.' The work was performed in Vienna in May 1776 and was later heard in Riga in 1783, before appearing at Pressburg on 7 November 1785, alongside *Der Apfeldieb*.³⁶⁴ Another of Grétry's operas, the four-act *Zemire et Azor* (1771, Fontainebleau) was heard in multiple German translations and was retained in the repertory of many German stages well until the late 1790s.³⁶⁵ The first of the translations spawned by this opera by Johann Faber (1772, Frankfurt) was heard in Vienna in May 1776; the original French version had been performed only a few months earlier on 10 October 1775 at Schönbrunn. In the following year, four new German translations emerged: one by Heinrich August Ottokar Reichard, also the author of the *Theaterkalender* and active with Abel Seyler's troupe, was performed in Gotha in January

³⁶¹ In this section, where I refer to first performances, I do not use the specific Parisian theatres such as the Comédie-Italienne and instead only use Paris.

³⁶² Loewenberg, pp. 305–6. It must be noted that Michtner records Stephanie der Jüngere to have translated *Der Deserteur* – this error might stem from a confusion with Stephanie der Jüngere's play *Der Deserteur aus Kinderliebe* (1773). Michtner, p. 462. Martin Nedbal also bases his tables in Chapter 2 of his book *Morality and Viennese Opera in the Age of Mozart and Beethoven*, Ashgate Interdisciplinary Studies in Opera (London: Routledge, 2016) on Michtner's data.

³⁶³ Loewenberg, pp. 307–8.

³⁶⁴ The exact provenance of this particular version of *Der Apfeldieb* is hard to trace. It is known that Christoph Friedrich Bretzner wrote a libretto of the same title around 1781, which was then set to music by Friedrich Jast (?) in Vienna. [Ludwig Wendschuch, 'Über Jos. Haydn's Opem' (Ph.D. diss., Rostock, 1896), p. 33.] However, it is likely it was reworked by Chudy, leading to the reference in the almanac that it was a single-act pantomime by the Kapellmeister.

³⁶⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 320–23.

and another by Moritz August von Thümmel was performed in Leipzig on 5 March 1776.³⁶⁶ The other two versions are anonymous.

Zemire und Azor was heard in Pressburg on 7 February 1780 at the *Stadttheater*, by which time all five German versions were in circulation, making it impossible to ascertain which one of them was used. At the Erdődy theatre, it was the last work of the repertory presented for the opening season on 12 December 1785. It was performed twice more in 1786, twice in 1786 and four times in 1787.

Similarly, Gluck's *Die Pilgrimme von Mekka*, from the French original *La rencontre imprévue* (1764, Vienna), was also popularised in German in a translation by Faber and received its first performance on 16 April 1771 in Frankfurt.³⁶⁷ This version was heard at the Kärntnertortheater in 1776, revived at the Burgtheater in 1780 and remained extremely popular with at the *Nationalsingspiel* with twenty-four performances between July 1780 and February 1783. At the Erdődy theatre, it was first introduced on 14 July 1786 and was given thrice more in the same year, followed by four more in 1787. In 1790, the work was performed by the Kumpf troupe at the Pest theatre.

3.4.3 *Singspiel* at the Erdődy theatre

Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (Vienna, 1782) was first performed by the Kumpf troupe on 13 June 1785, in what was its first performance in the Kingdom of Hungary.³⁶⁸ Unlike its extremely successful run in Vienna, at Pressburg, it was performed five more times in the same year and revived just once the following year like *Die belohnte Treue* and twice further in 1787. In Vienna, the *Singspiel* had firmly remained in the repertory after its premiere had also been chosen by the Kumpf and Schikaneder's troupe to begin their run of performances on 11 November 1784 owing to its immense popularity. There had been no repeat performances even though the performance brought in an above-average box receipt of 447 fl. 25kr. *Die Entführung* was notably not performed in Pest, although it remained in the repertory.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁶ Loewenberg mentions 'composed by Neefe' – it could be that the piano reduction is implied here.

³⁶⁷ Loewenberg, p. 275.

³⁶⁸ Staud terms this *Singspiel* the 'most important artistic event in the history of the Erdődy theatre.' ['bedeutendsten künstlerischen Ereignis in der Geschichte des Erdödyschen Theaters.'] Staud, p. 219.

³⁶⁹ Staud, pp. 219–20. Staud explains the assumption around a performance of 27 May 1789 in Pest (of *Der Wettstreit der Großmuth*) being ascribed to Mozart's 1782 *Singspiel* as erroneous. Seifert's indication that *Die Entführung* might have been performed in Pest in 1789 is likely linked to this assumption. Seifert, 'Die Verbindungen der Familie Erdödy zur Musik', p. 159.

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The other major *Singspiele* in the Kumpf repertory included two from Dittersdorf, *Betrug durch Aberglauben* (1786) and the extremely popular *Der Doktor und Apotheker* (1786), both of which were Viennese *Singspiele* like *Die Entführung*. *Der Doktor* was performed in Pressburg for the first time in the 1786 season on 15 September, received three further performances that year and was revived for five more performances in 1787. Similarly, *Betrug durch Aberglauben* was presented as the opening work of the 1787 season on 01 January and received four more performances in the same year. Ruprecht's *Das wüthende Heer*, which was introduced in the same season on 07 September, was only performed twice.

The only melodrama in the repertory, Benda's *Romeo und Julie* (1776, Gotha), received two performances in 1787. Franz Teyber's *Laura Rossetti* ('eine ernsthafte Oper') appears to have been the only work exclusively written for the Erdödy theatre, and Friedrich Jast's single-act *Singspiel* titled *Der Apfeldieb* seems to have been reworked for by Kapellmeister Chudy for the theatre; both were not successful in establishing themselves even in the Kumpf troupe's repertory.

There is no data relating to the number of performances of Schenk's *Im Finstern ist nicht gut tappen* and Kürzinger's *Die Illumination*, which were introduced in the 1788 season and other works premiered in the short and final 1789 season. These included two German-language works by Peter von Winter (*Cora and Helene und Paris*), Johann Baptist Panek's *Die christliche Judenbraut* to a libretto by Girzik, Schubaur's *Die Dorfdeputierten* and Holzbauer's *Günther von Schwarzburg*.³⁷⁰ Gassmann's *L'amor artigiano* as *Die Liebe unter den Handwerksleute*, had been circulating as a unique work in its own right from the early 1780s and could be considered a German-language work, just as in the case of Guglielmi's *Lo sposo Fedele* as *Robert und Kalliste*.³⁷¹

3.4.4 Vienna and the Erdödy theatre: A summary

The Kumpf troupe's stay at the Erdödy theatre coincided with the *Singspiel* troupe's reinstatement in Vienna in 1785. This is reflected in the reduced number of works of French

I have specifically mentioned that the work remained in the repertory of the troupe in Pest, even if not performed, as *Die Entführung* is indeed mentioned in Reichard's 1790 *Theaterkalender*, p. 130.

³⁷⁰ Holzbauer's opera, written for Mannheim in 1777 with a libretto by Anton Klein, has often been termed the German *Singspiel* with a German hero at its core (sein Werk, dass] 'zum erstenmal einen deutschen Helden besang' as described in the preface by Klein). Details about Panek's life and career are sketchy and what is known is in relation to his work with the Kumpf troupe, where he joined in 1785 as a double bassist and then succeeded Chudy in the role of Kapellmeister in 1788.

³⁷¹ In the case of Guglielmi's work, it entered the Burgtheater repertory in its German version by Eschenburg in 1778 and was vastly popular, rivalling its original Italian version.

origin in the repertory. Only works like Monsigny's *Der Deserteur* and Grétry's *Zemire und Azor*, which had been absorbed into the *Singspiel* repertory in their German translations, were performed frequently.

Significantly, the inclusion of *Singspiele* written in Vienna during this period such as Dittersdorf's hugely successful *Der Doktor und der Apotheker* in the Kumpf troupe's repertory is indicative of the influence Vienna exerted over the choice of works performed at Pressburg. It would be hardly surprising, given the proximity of the two cities, if some real-time choices were made based on the success of a given work on the Viennese stage. Some of the works that were hugely successful in Vienna, such as Paisiello's *Il Barbiere*, although quickly put on stage in Pressburg, did not warrant repeat performances. The Kumpf troupe's repertory, while influenced by Vienna, was not entirely dictated by it. This can be seen from their performance of Guglielmi's *La quakera spiritosa* in 1788—well before this Neapolitan opera was heard in Vienna two years later—through an Esterháza-Pressburg axis of transmission.

When the troupe disbanded in 1789 following the death of the Count, most of the troupe members followed Kumpf to Pest. In the next section, I briefly discuss their performances in Pest as a continuation of the repertory that was put together during their four years in Pressburg. I then explore how these German-language performances played a role in sparking a nascent Hungarian nationalistic sentiment towards the turn of the nineteenth century.

3.5 Theatre in Pest: 1789-1790

After the death of Count Erdődy in April 1789, the Kumpf troupe was relieved from its position in Pressburg. Soon after, an announcement in the *Preßburger Zeitung* mentioned that the family of the late Count had gifted Kumpf all the theatre-related decorations and miscellany, putting an end to any speculation as to whether the theatre enterprise would be continued in Pressburg.³⁷² Almost immediately thereafter, Kumpf was able to find employment in Pest with his troupe as the impresario of the German theatre in Pest, Sebastian Tuschl was able to engage both Johann Bergopzoomer (1742-1804), another noted troupe director from Vienna and together, these two companies gave 119 performances in Ofen and 170 in Pest, which included 32 operas.³⁷³

³⁷² *Preßburger Zeitung*, 22 April 1789.

³⁷³ Puhánszky-Kádár, I, p. 43. Johann Baptist Bergopzoomer (1742-1802) was a distinguished theatre actor who was active with the Kurz troupe in the 1770s, and later a troupe manager. He left Vienna in

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Just like the early years of German theatre in Pressburg, there were travelling troupes who visited Pest performed in a small wooden theatre called the Reischlhaus on the banks of the Danube.³⁷⁴ Later in 1774, the first proper theatre, the Rondelle which was built into the old city walls was opened, two years before the Pressburg *Stadttheater*. In 1782, the building known as the Hetz Amphitheater was constructed and was home to the German theatre for almost until 1800, making the Rondelle free for Hungarian-language performances. In Ofen, in 1787, a Burgtheater was opened to the public and designated for German-language theatre. Kumpf's troupe's stay in Pest was preceded by one of the most important phases in the development of German theatre in the twin cities of Ofen and Pest: Franz Heinrich Bulla (1754-1819) had been theatre director from 1786 until 1789 and under his direction, a lot of the major Italian opera repertory had already been introduced in Pest. Kumpf's repertory in Pest, reported in Reichard's *Theaterkalender auf das Jahr 1790*, consists mainly of the repertory built up during the troupe's residence at the Erdődy theatre, with a few notable additions such as Gluck's *Alceste* (1776, Paris Théâtre du Palais-Royal), Salieri's *Il Talismano* (1788, Vienna) as *Der Talisman*, two Mozart-Da Ponte operas, *Le nozze di Figaro* (1786, Vienna) as *Die Hochzeit der Figaro* and *Don Giovanni* (1787, Prague) as *Don Juan*, both translated by Girzik as well as Seydelmann's *Il turco in Italia* (1788, Dresden) as *Der Turk in Italien*. The last three works were noted to have only been prepared for performance and were performed only in a later season.³⁷⁵

In 1790, Kumpf and his troupe moved to Vienna, where they were engaged by Johann Rautenstrauch for a short season from June 1789 to early 1790. Here again, the performances were still works that were already in the repertory such as Gazzaniga's *Die unbekannte Dame* in Girzik's translation on 26 April 1790, Salieri's *Die lustige Kaminfeger* on 10 May followed by Martín y Soler's ever popular *Cosa rara* as *Die seltene Sache* and Paisiello's *Der Wettstreit der Großmuth* on 22 May.³⁷⁶ After this short season, the Kumpf troupe disbanded and most of the troupe members, including Girzik were engaged with the German troupe at the Pest theatre. Girzik's translation output in this period covered some of the most popular Neapolitan operas taking Vienna by storm, including Guglielmi's *La pastorella nobile* as *Die adelige Schäferin* and Paisiello's *La molinara* as *Die Müllerin*.³⁷⁷

1782 alleging Stephanie der Jüngere's hostility as a reason for the lack of opportunities presented to him. After Vienna, Bergopzoomer was active in Brünn and Budapest.

³⁷⁴ Lajosi, xv, p. 40.

³⁷⁵ Reichard, *Theaterkalender auf das Jahr 1790*, p. 131.

³⁷⁶ Lampl, p. 66.

³⁷⁷ Prazák, p. 68. While I have not succeeded in tracing a copy of these libretti, Prazák mentions that Girzik's translations involve a *Verdeutschung* of both names and setting, rendering them close in style

During the 1790s, two of the erstwhile members of the Kumpf troupe in Pressburg made significant contributions to the birth and revival of the Hungarian national identity, albeit in two distinct manners. Girzik, the many-time translator of Italian opera libretti in the troupe, wrote a play in six acts titled *Stephan, der erste König der Ungarn*, about the first King of the Hungarians. It was performed for the first time in Ofen in December 1792 and although written in German, it was dedicated to the nation of Hungary by Girzik.³⁷⁸ Girzik's legacy in Hungarian literature also rests on the fact that Józef Katona's *István* (1813), a landmark work in the development of the Hungarian literary renaissance is, in fact, a Hungarian translation of *Stephan, der erste König der Ungarn*.³⁷⁹

Even as Hungarian-language theatre was slowly beginning to take root, it had to contend against well-established German theatre culture in towns like Pressburg, Ofen and Pest. These German theatres had aristocratic patronage and were also controlled strictly through censorship laws from Vienna. Amidst this, Josef Chudy, the erstwhile Kapellmeister of the Erdődy theatre until 1787, composed the music for what is now known as the first 'Hungarian' *Singspiel* titled *Pikko Hertzeg es Jutka-Perzsi* in 1793.³⁸⁰ The libretto itself was an adaptation by Antal Szalkay from a German *Singspiel*, *Evakathel und Prinz Schnudi* by Philipp Hafner.³⁸¹ The work was first performed in Buda on 06 May 1793 at Lazlo Keleman's Hungarian national theatre. Unfortunately, the score for the work is lost, and it is known only through the libretto, which is clearly in the new *Zauberoper* tradition that was spreading from Vienna.³⁸²

to a *Singspiel* as possible. Girzik's previous translations of Viennese opera for Pressburg do not show this tendency.

³⁷⁸ 'in Unterthänigkeit gewidmet der edlen Nation der Ungarn.'

Stephann/ der/ erste König der Hungarn/ Ein/ Schauspiel in sechs Aufzügen/ von/ Xavier Girzick,/ Mitgleid der hochgräflich-Unwerth'schen deutschen/ Operngesellschaft in Ofen und Pest./ Pest./ bei Johann Michael Landerer, Edlen in Füsüt./ 1792. (A-Wn 626071-B THE MAG)

³⁷⁹ Two recently published works look at Girzik's play and evaluate its position in the literary culture of German-speaking Hungary. They are: László Tarnói, *Schnittpunkte. Band 1. Literarisches Leben des deutschsprachigen Ungarn um 1800* (Budapest, Paris: Károli Gáspár Universität der Reformierten Kirche in Ungarn, L' Harmattan Verlag, 2020) and a recent Master's thesis by Kristóf Zoltán Timári, *Unterschiede in den Dramen Stephann, der erste König der Hungarn und István, a magyarok első királya* (Master's thesis, University of Debrecen, 2021).

Katona (1791-1830) was the author of *Bánk bán* (1815) and a particularly important figure in the Hungarian literary renaissance.

³⁸⁰ F. (?) Bónis, 'Die ungarischen Opern Mihály Mosonyis', *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 2.1/4 (1962), 139-87 (p. 141). What is known contemporaneously of the work comes from a review of the second performance of 13 May, written by Ferenc Verseghy in the Hungarian-language newspaper *Magyar Hírmondó*.

³⁸¹ Lajosi, xv, p. 62.

³⁸² See: *Ibid*, p.63-66 for a synopsis of *Pikko Hertzog*.

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I discuss the conventionally accepted hub-and-spoke model of Vienna as a centre of transmission of Italian opera and Italian opera in German translation in the context of the repertory of the Kumpf troupe at the theatre of Count Erdődy in Pressburg. Although a classic example of an *Adelstheater*, with a theatre was situated in the house of nobility, all the performances at the Erdődy theatre were open to the public and free, in a marked departure from other *Adelstheater* ventures in the Kingdom of Hungary such as the Esterházy theatre. The staging of Italian language works in German, which was the language spoken by the majority of people in Pressburg at that time, also rendered opera more accessible. In this sense, the Erdődy theatre was a *Nationaltheater* all but in name and structure, almost on the same lines of Joseph II's initiative in Vienna. It was not a court theatre, but still carried the stamp of princely patronage, and the troupe was resident, performing repertory that was more aligned with the linguistic ideals of the *Nationaltheater*, where German was promoted.

This, in turn, provided an impetus not in Hungarian, but in German, for the first steps towards a separate 'Hungarian' national opera later in the nineteenth century. As with the nascent attempts in a Hungarian literary renaissance, the beginning of the Hungarian national identity in opera was also mediated through the German language – a mediation that was also utilised in staging Italian operas for a German-speaking Hungarian public at the private theatre of Count Erdődy in Pressburg, of which both Girzik and Chudy were key troupe members.

In conclusion, although the German theatre played a dominant role in the late eighteenth century in and around Vienna, theatre culture on the peripheries of the Habsburg realms was far from being solely German in spirit. The Erdődy theatre in Pressburg is a wonderful example of how German-language theatre, heavily made up of translations from foreign tongues, helped to foster the beginnings of a new regional identity that took shape in Hungary towards the early nineteenth century. The next chapter focuses on 'local libretti' or libretti that were written for performance specifically for the Erdődy theatre, and Schüller's translation of Sarti's *Giulio Sabino* and Girzik's translation of Salieri's *Axur, Re d'Ormus*.

Chapter 4 Local libretti: Translations at the Erdódy theatre

The circulation of Italian operas in German translation in the late eighteenth century was facilitated by a network of composers, librettists, singers, impresarios, translators among others, where oftentimes, a single person fulfilled many of these roles simultaneously. In the first section of this chapter, I build on my discussion of the repertory of the Kumpf troupe in Chapter 3 to shed light on how Italian and French works were readily presented in German translation at the Erdódy theatre. By analysing the provenance of the translations used by the troupe, it comes clear that they used a mixture of already well-established translation for some works while for newer works such as Salieri's *Axur Re d'Ormus*, one of the troupe members themselves, Franz Xaver Girzik, translated the work into German. I use the phrase 'local libretti' to describe these translations.

In the second half of this chapter, I focus on two of these local libretti— Salieri's *Axur, Re d'Ormus* (1788, Vienna) and Sarti's *Giulio Sabino* (1781, Venice)— and use them as case studies to identify mediators in the *Bearbeitungspraxis*. The printed libretti for the German adaptations of these works at the Erdódy theatre are the only primary sources pertaining to this theatre to have survived. Sarti's *Giulio Sabino* was one of the most popular *opere serie* of the late eighteenth-century. When it was performed in Vienna in August 1785 with the star castrato Luigi Marchesi in the titular role, much of Sarti's original music had been supplanted by insert arias, making it a very uniquely Viennese version of the work. I explore how the 1786 Pressburg translation of *Giulio Sabino* challenges the narrative around the centrality of Vienna for the circulation of operas in German translation, despite their proximity.

In the case of Salieri's *Axur*, I firstly examine the 1788 Pressburg translation of the work. I then discuss how this translation and the more well-known 'North German' translation of Heinrich Gottlieb Schmieder (1790, Frankfurt) influenced the 1797 revival of *Axur* in Vienna in German. I establish the continuing influence of the 1788 Pressburg translation, which is never known to have been performed beyond the Kumpf troupe's repertory. Furthermore, I highlight how the 1797 translation, traditionally attributed to Schmieder, was significantly influenced by the 1788 Pressburg version, drawing on its performance score, *A-Wn* Kt. 50 and the accompanying manuscript *Textbuch, A-Wn* Kt. 50/6. More importantly, I highlight the role played by Friedrich Karl Lippert in this translation to underscore the interconnected world of late eighteenth-century music theatre in the German-speaking lands.

4.1 Translators at the Erdődy theatre

Based on the discussion on the repertory of the Kumpf troupe in the previous chapter, it becomes clear that over the four years of the theatre's existence, the local translations made at Pressburg were either by Franz Xaver Girzik, Johann Nepomuk Schüller or Josef Chudy, all of whom were troupe members. Other translations were typically well-accepted versions of the original that had already been in circulation, while others have been untraceable due to lack of further information. The pie chart below shows the distribution of the types of translations used by the Kumpf troupe.

Distribution of translations used by the Kumpf troupe at the Erdődy theatre: 1785-1789

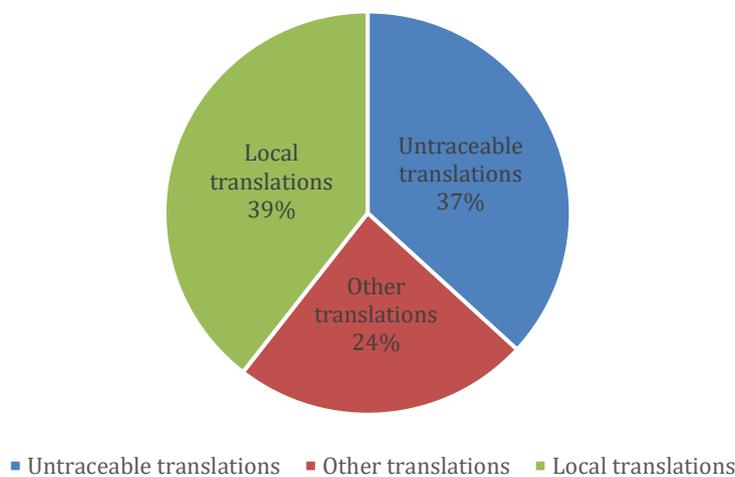


Figure 4.1: Translations used by the Kumpf troupe at the Erdődy theatre: 1785-1789

Thirty-eight of the fifty-four works performed at the Erdődy theatre were translations from French or Italian. For fourteen works, translations cannot be reliably traced, as is the case with *Circe ed Ulisse*, for which even the original version is hard to trace. Nine of the translations are works which were already in circulation. Of these, there are four by Zehnmark and one each by Bock, Faber, Schmidt, Eschenburg and Stephanie der Jüngere.

The remaining fifteen translations were written specifically for the Erdődy theatre's performances in Pressburg. These include one each by the Kapellmeister Chudy and Teyber, four by Schüller and nine by Girzik, all of whom were members of the Kumpf troupe resident at the Erdődy theatre. This number could certainly be higher, as at least a few of the fourteen works classified under 'untraceable translations' might have well been local translations. The table below shows the known translations of works in the repertory of the Kumpf troupe.

Table 4.1: Translators of works in the Erdódy theatre repertory: 1785-1789

Title in German	Original language	Original Title	Librettist	Composer	Translator, where known
<i>König Theodor von Venedig</i>	Italian	<i>Il Re Teodoro di Venezia</i>	Casti, Giamabttista	Paisiello, Giovanni	Teyber, Franz
<i>Die glücklichen Reisenden</i>	Italian	<i>I felici viaggiatori</i>	Livigni, Filippo	Anfossi, Pasquale	Girzik, Franz Xaver
<i>Die belohnte Treue</i>	Italian	<i>La fedeltà praemiata</i>	Lorenzi, Giovanni Battista	Haydn, Joseph	
<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	German		Stephanie der Jüngere, Gottlieb	Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus	
<i>Der Apfeldieb</i>	German		Bretzner, Christoph Friedrich	Jast, Friedrich	
<i>Wenn sich zween zanken, freut sich der dritte</i>	Italian	<i>Fra i due litiganti, il terzo godo</i>	Goldoni, Carlo	Sarti, Giuseppe	Zehnmark, Ludwig
<i>Der eifersüchtige Alte</i>	Italian	<i>Il vecchio geloso</i>	Bertati, Giovnni	Alessandri, Felice	Girzik, Franz Xaver
<i>Laura Rosetti</i>	German	-	D'Arien, Bernhard Christian	Teyber, Franz	
<i>Die Gastwirthin</i>	Italian	<i>La locandiera</i>	Poggi, Domenico	Salieri, Antonio	Zehnmark, Ludwig
<i>Der Barbier von Sevilla</i>	Italian	<i>Il barbiere di Siviglia</i>	Petrosellini, Giovanni	Paisiello, Giovanni	Schüller, Johann Nepomuk
<i>Das redende Gemähl</i>	French	<i>Le tableau parlant</i>		Grétry, André Ernest Modeste	

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Title in German	Original language	Original Title	Librettist	Composer	Translator, where known
<i>Das listige Baumermädchen</i>	Italian	<i>La contadina di spirito</i>	Chiari, Pietro	Paisiello, Giovanni	Chudy, Josef
<i>Zemire und Azor</i>	French	<i>Zémire et Azor</i>	Marmontel, Jean François	Grétry, André Ernest Modeste	
<i>Armida</i>	Italian	<i>Armida</i>		Haydn, Joseph	
<i>Der Sieg der Beständigkeit</i>	Italian	<i>La vera costanza</i>	Puttini, Francesco	Haydn, Joseph	Girzik, Franz Xaver
<i>Die Höhle des Troffonius</i>	Italian	<i>La grotto di Trofonio</i>	Casti, Giambattista	Salieri, Antonio	Girzik, Franz Xaver
<i>Das Mädchen von Fraskati</i>	Italian	<i>La Frascatana</i>	Livigni, Filippo	Paisiello, Giovanni	Schmidt, Johann Friedrich
<i>Roland der Pfalzgraf</i>	Italian	<i>Orlando Palatino</i>	Porta, Nunziato	Haydn, Joseph	
<i>Der Eifersüchtige auf der Probe</i>	Italian	<i>Il geloso in cimento</i>	Bertati, Giovanni	Anfossi, Pasquale	Zehnmark, Ludwig
<i>Die Pilgrimme von Mekka</i>	French	<i>Le rencontre imprévue</i>	Dancourt, Louis	Gluck, Christoph Willibald	Faber, Johann Heinrich
<i>Der Maler von Paris</i>	Italian	<i>Il pittore parigino</i>	Petrosellini, Giovanni	Cimarosa, Domenico	Girzik, Franz Xaver
<i>Die Italiänerinn in London</i>	Italian	<i>L'italiana in Londra</i>		Cimarosa, Domenico	Bock, Johann Christian
<i>Der Doktor und der Apotheker</i>	German		Stephanie der Jüngere, Gottlieb	Dittersdorf, Carl	
<i>Julius Sabinus</i>	Italian	<i>Giulio Sabino</i>	Giovannini, Pietro	Sarti, Giuseppe	Schüller, Johann Nepomuk

Title in German	Original language	Original Title	Librettist	Composer	Translator, where known
<i>Die unbekante Dame</i>	Italian	<i>La dama incognita</i>	Petrosellini, Giovanni	Gazzaniga, Giuseppe	Girzik, Franz Xaver
<i>Betrug durch Aberglauben</i>	German		Eberl, Ferdinand	Dittersdorf, Carl	
<i>Die Schule der Eifersüchtigen</i>	Italian	<i>La scuola de' gelosi</i>	Mazzolà, Caterino	Salieri, Antonio	Zehnmark, Ludwig
<i>Romeo und Julie</i>	German		Götter, Friedrich Wilhelm	Benda, Georg	
<i>Eine seltna Sache – Schönheit und Tugend</i>	Italian	<i>Una cosa rara</i>	Da Ponte, Lorenzo	Martín y Soler, Vincent	Girzik, Franz Xaver
<i>Der Wettstreit der Großmuth</i>	Italian	<i>Le gare generose</i>	Palomba, Giuseppe	Paisiello, Giovanni	Girzik, Franz Xaver
<i>Die Liebe in Narrenhaus</i>	German		Stephanie der Jüngere, Gottlieb	Dittersdorf, Carl	
<i>Circe ed Ulisse</i>	Italian	<i>Circe und Ulisses</i>		Astaritta, Gennario	
<i>Das wüthende Heer – oder das Mädchen in Thurm</i>	German		Bretzner, Christoph Friedrich	Ruprecht, Martin	
<i>Die Irrungen</i>	Italian	<i>Gli equivoci</i>	Da Ponte, Lorenzo	Storace, Stephen	

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Title in German	Original language	Original Title	Librettist	Composer	Translator, where known
<i>Die betrogenen Betrüger</i>	Italian	<i>Le trame deluse</i>	Diodati, Giuseppe Maria	Cimarosa, Domenico	
<i>Das Fischermädchen</i>	Italian	<i>La pescatrice o vero L'erede riconosciuta</i>	Goldoni, Carlo	Piccinni, Niccolo	
<i>Im Finstern ist nicht gut tappen</i>	German		Hiesberger, Leopold	Schenk, Johann	
<i>Die Illumination</i>	German		Gross, Johann	Kürzinger, Paul Ignaz	
<i>Die Philosophen</i>	Italian	<i>I filosofi immaginari</i>	Bertati, Giovanni	Paisiello, Giovanni	Stephanie der Jüngere, Gottlieb
<i>Robert und Kalliste</i>	Italian	<i>La sposa fedele</i>	Chiari, Pietro	Guglielmi, Pietro	Eschenburg, Johann Joachim
<i>Der Deserteur</i>	French	<i>Le déserteur</i>	Sedaine, Jean Michel	Monsigny, Pierre Alexandre	
<i>Der Baum der Diana</i>	Italian	<i>L'arbore di Diana</i>	Da Ponte, Lorenzo	Martín y Soler, Vincent	
<i>Die Rauchfangkehrer</i>	German		Auenbrugger, Leopold	Salieri, Antonio	
<i>Axur König von Ormus</i>	Italian	<i>Axur, Re d'Ormus</i>	Da Ponte, Lorenzo	Salieri, Antonio	Girzik, Franz Xaver
<i>Die listige Quäckerin</i>	Italian	<i>La quakera spiritosa</i>	Palomba, Giuseppe	Guglielmi, Pietro	
<i>Der gebesserte Demokrit</i>	Italian	<i>Il Democrito corretto</i>	Brunati, Giovanni	Dittersdorf, Carl	

Title in German	Original language	Original Title	Librettist	Composer	Translator, where known
<i>Helene und Paris</i>	German			von Winter, Peter	
<i>Die Dorfdeputierten</i>	German		Heermann, Gottlob Ephraim	Teyber, Franz	
<i>Die schlaue Witwe</i>	Italian	<i>La vedova scaltra</i>	Porta, Nunziato	Righini, Vincenzo	Schüller, Johann Nepomuk
<i>Die Zufälle</i>	Italian	<i>I contratempi</i>	Porta, Nunziato	Sarti, Giuseppe	Schüller, Johann Nepomuk
<i>Günther von Schwarzburg</i>	German		Klein, Anton	Holzbauer, Ignaz	
<i>Cora</i>	German		von Babo, Joseph Marius	von Winter, Peter	
<i>Die christliche Judenbraut</i>	German		Girzik, Franz Xaver	Panek, Johann	
<i>Die Liebe unter den Handwerksleuten</i>	Italian	<i>L'amor artigiano</i>	Goldoni, Carlo	Gassmann, Florian Leopold	

4.2 *Giulio Sabino/ Julius Sabinus*

Sarti's *Giulio Sabino* was one of the most successful *opere serie* of the 1780s and is largely credited to have been responsible for revitalising the genre across most of the German-speaking lands. It premiered on 03 January 1781 at the Teatro San Benedetto in Venice, featuring the famed castrato Gaspare Pacchierotti (1740-1821) in the titular role. *Giulio Sabino* is *dramma per musica* in the Metastasian tradition, characterised by a chain of arias and minimal ensembles.³⁸³ In the original Venetian version, across its three acts, there are seventeen arias, one duet, one trio and a closing *coro* for the six voices.³⁸⁴

After its Venetian premiere, *Giulio Sabino* was soon heard in many major European centres, including Genoa and Florence in the same year.³⁸⁵ Quite unusually for any opera of its time, the full score appeared in print in Vienna within two years of the first performance, well before it was ever performed in the city.³⁸⁶ In all the known productions, where traceable, including at Esterházy in 1783, the original Venetian version was used for performances.

However, *opera seria* and Vienna were an unlikely combination during the reign of Emperor Joseph II, given that his personal attitude towards the genre is documented as being dismissive.³⁸⁷ As a result, while the latest *opere buffe* from Italy were heard in Vienna with

³⁸³ None of the libretti printed for *Giulio Sabino* carried the name of the librettist and it has been commonly assumed to be the work of Pietro Giovannini.

³⁸⁴ John A. Rice highlights a very important point of divergence from the Metastasian tradition: the libretto's 'emphasis on conjugal love,' which sets it in contrast with Metastasio's libretti which deal with the 'amatory intrigues of unmarried couples.' John A. Rice, 'Giulio Sabino', *Grove Music Online* (Oxford Music Online, 2002) <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.0901925> [consulted 14 August 2020]. See also: Rice, 'Sarti's *Giulio Sabino*, Haydn's *Armida*, and the Arrival of - *Opera Seria* at Eszterháza', *Das Haydn Jahrbuch/ The Haydn Yearbook*, 15(1984), 181-98 (pp.183-184) for the plot of the opera. For a concise overview of *Giulio Sabino* as an example of *opera seria* of the 1780s, see: Daniel Heartz, *Mozart's Operas: A Centennial Book*, ed. by Thomas Bauman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 305-6.

³⁸⁵ This was followed by Pisa, Imola, Bologna in 1782; Esterházy, Forlì, Brunswick, Barcelona in 1783; Macerata, Perugia, Modena, Reggio in 1784; Vienna, Florence, Warsaw in 1785 and Naples in 1786. Loewenberg, p.383-384.

³⁸⁶ Regarding the Artaria print (*A-Wn SA.82.C.45 MUS MAG*), see: Rice, 'Sarti's *Giulio Sabino*', p. 182, footnote 4. The text in this print corresponds to the libretto published alongside the Venetian premiere in 1781: GIULIO SABINO/ DRAMMA PER MUSICA/ DA RAPPRESENTARSI/ NEL NOBILISSIMO TEATRO/ DI SAN BENEDETTO/IL CARNOVALE/ Dell' Anno 1781/ IN VENEZIA/ MDCCLXXXI/ PRESSO MODESTO FENZO/ CON LE DEBITE PERMISSIONI.

³⁸⁷ On the suggestion of staging a ballet for diplomatic purposes, Emperor Joseph II wrote from Versailles to Kaunitz on 31 July 1781, saying 'à l'égard de l'Opera serieux d'Italie c'est trop tard de se procurer quelque chose de bon et c'est d'ailleurs un spectacle si ennuyant que je ne crois pas jamais en faire usage.' Adolf Beer (ed.), *Joseph II., Leopold II. und Kaunitz: Ihr Briefwechsel* (Vienna: Braumüller, 1873), p. 101, cited in: John A. Rice, 'Operatic Culture at the Court of Leopold II and Mozart's La Clemenza Di Tito', in *Mozart's La Clemenza Di Tito: A Reappraisal*, Ed. Schneider and Ruth Tatlow,

little to no delay, and composers in Vienna were commissioned to write *buffa* works, there was only one ever exception in the case of *opera seria*—Sarti's *dramma per musica*, *Giulio Sabino*. On 06 August 1785, *Giulio Sabino* was presented at the newly renovated Kärntnertortheater with the castrato Luigi Marchesi (1754-1829) as Sabino. The production was repeated five times with no change in the cast.³⁸⁸

Joseph II's decision to arrange a series of performance of an *opera seria* was a radical departure from his personal taste in music theatre. Ian Woodfield ascribes this to a possible political-cultural message to Munich, to progress his idea of a proposed incorporation of Bavaria into the Austrian Monarchy.³⁸⁹ Nonetheless, the emperor was heavily involved in the planning process. While he had initially intended to bring Gaspare Pacchierotti (1740-1821), the star castrato who created the role in Venice, to Vienna for this series of performances, Pacchierotti declined the offer.³⁹⁰ When that plan did not work out, the emperor had his eyes set on Luigi Marchesi, Pacchierotti's star rival, who was finishing a season in Mantua and succeeded in recruiting Marchesi for a series of six concerts in Vienna.³⁹¹

A letter from Joseph II to Count Rosenberg dated 25 July 1785 not only demonstrates the emperor's interest in the running of the theatre, about also the extent: he suggests the choice of theatre, the number of performances for making a profit, and Marchesi's remuneration.³⁹² The run of six performances, also coinciding with the reopening of the Kärntnertortheater, was a resounding success. These performances took place in quick succession on 06, 09, 11,

Stockholm, 2018, 33–55, ed. by Magnus Tessning Schneider and Ruth Tatlow (Stockholm: Stockholm University Press, 2018), pp. 33–55 (pp. 38, 52).

³⁸⁸ These six performances at the Kärntnertortheater were noted with special mention in the *Indice de' spettacoli teatrali* for 1785/86, p.204. 'Nel Teatro presso la Porta d'Italia/ Si rappresentò per il corso di sei Recite,/ cioè dal dì 4 al giorno 20 Agosto 1785/ il Dramma serio Italiano in Musica intitolato/ GIULIO SABINO/ Musica del Sig. Maestro Giuseppe Sarti/ nel quale cantò da primo Uomo/ il Sig. Luigi Marchesi.'

³⁸⁹ Woodfield, *Cabals and Satires*, p.7.

³⁹⁰ Ibid.

³⁹¹ Ibid, p.8-9. On 08 June 1785, the emperor wrote to Rosenberg of his admiration for Marchesi: Il y a ici Marchesini qui passera au mois de Juillet par Vienne pour aller en Russie, il est reellement étonnant.' Rudolf Payer von Thurn, *Joseph II. als Theaterdirektor: ungedruckte Briefe und Aktenstücke aus den Kinderjahren des Burgtheaters* (Vienna: Leopold Heidrich, 1920), p. 62.

³⁹² 'Da es nun solchemnach auf Conto der Theatral-Direktion geht, so glaube ich, daß das Kärntnerthortheater das anständigste und das wirtschaftlichste hierzu wäre. [...]Diese Opera, sollte ich glauben, müßte sich hinlänglich auszahlen, wenn sie 6mal gegeben wird. Mit Marchesini wäre beßer übereins zu kommen, daß man ihm für 6mal spielen 500 geben wolle; ich glaube, daß dieses ein sehr raisonabler Antrag ist [...]'

See Appendix C.5 for the full letter, quoted after Payer von Thurn, p. 64.

13, and 20 August, as evidenced by the box office receipts and the *Wiener Zeitung* report about the opera on 31 August 1785.³⁹³

Giulio Sabino was meant to be a one-off series of performances in Vienna and therefore did not get absorbed into the repertory in Vienna.³⁹⁴ However, the August 1785 performances of *Giulio Sabino* were not the last Vienna had heard the opera: the numerous arrangements that were made available in print in Vienna, Salieri's quotation of the opera in his *Prima la musica, poi le parole* (1786, Schönbrunn) attest to its popularity and legacy. Salieri's involvement with the Viennese production of *Giulio Sabino* is hinted at in Emperor Joseph II's memorandum of 25 July 1785 to Count Rosenberg (discussed earlier) and has been explored in detail in an article by Richard Armbruster, where he examines the development of the new *rondò* form in the insert arias for the Viennese version.³⁹⁵ However, Salieri's much closer involvement both as Kapellmeister and composer with the production is evidenced in the score, A-Wn Kt. 188, which is a mixture of the printed version of *Giulio Sabino* (A-Wn SA.82.C.45 MUS MAG) and handwritten portions, including insert arias, indicating that it would have been the conducting score.³⁹⁶ The work heralded the entry of *opere serie* into the repertory in Esterházy as just like in Vienna, the Esterháza repertory veered towards *buffa* up until 1783. Haydn wrote his first *opera seria*, *Armida* under the influence of Sarti and for almost the very same cast.³⁹⁷

³⁹³ ' [...]Giulio Sabino, sechsmal mit ausserordentlichem Zugang aufgeführt worden, der berühmte Sign. Marchesi hat sowohl im Spiel als Gesang allgemeinen, ungewöhnlich großen Beyfall erhalten, und wurde von Sr. Majestät mit einem prächtigen Ring beschenkt, ausserdem sind ihm für jeden Abend 100 Dukaten ausgezahlt worden [...]' *Anhang zur Wiener Zeitung No. 70*, 31 August 1785, p. 2049 (9). See Appendix for a complete transcription of the relevant portion of the report on *Giulio Sabino*. For details regarding the box-office receipts and Marchesi's fees, see: Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna*, p. 250 footnote 90.

³⁹⁴ The opera was not revived in Vienna until 14 September 1805, when it received another 5 performances (16 and 26 September, 11 October, 04 and 30 December). This version contained additional music by Weigl, Paisiello, Federici, Nicolini, Salieri, Gyrowetz. Marked as 'zum ersten Mal' on the playbill, despite the earlier 1785 run of performances. Jahn, pp. 259–60.

³⁹⁵ 'Nachdem ich mit dem Salieri und dem Marchesini gesprochen habe, so glaube Ich am besten zu seyn, [...].'

Richard Armbruster, 'Salieri, Mozart und die wiener Fassung des *Giulio Sabino* von Giuseppe Sarti: Opera seria und *Rondò-Mode* an der italienischen Oper Josephs II', *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 45 (1996), 133–66.

³⁹⁶ The idea that A-Wn Kt 188 (in three volumes) could be the conducting score is also supported in Armbruster, p. 136, footnote 10.

³⁹⁷ On the close link between *Giulio Sabino* and *Armida*, see: Rice, 'Sarti's *Giulio Sabino*, Haydn's *Armida*, and the Arrival of *Opera Seria* at Eszterháza'. and Sigrid Wiesmann, 'Giuseppe Sarti's *Giulio Sabino* als repräsentative Opera seria der Haydn-Zeit', in *Joseph Haydns italienische Opern Bemerkungen zu Publikum und Resonanz*, ed. by Gerhard J. Winkler, *Wissenschaftliche Arbeiten aus dem Burgenland*, 90 (Eisenstadt: Burgenländisches Landesmuseum, 1992), pp. 23–38.

4.2.1 *Giulio Sabino (1785, Vienna)*

In Vienna, the source materials in addition to the printed score and the conducting score mentioned earlier include the bilingual Italian-German libretto printed for the 1785 performances.³⁹⁸ In the first act, the very first aria, Sabino's *Pensieri funesti* was heard in Salieri's version, instead of Sarti's. Voadice's aria *Se questa, o cor tiranno* was deleted but the parallel German text of the 1785 Viennese libretto features a translation of the Italian text. In Scene 10, Annio's aria *Un dolce contento* is substituted with an unsigned insert aria with different text, *Frema pur avverso il fato* and this time, the German text features a translation of the new aria (*Wüthe widriges Geschick*). This is a rather striking change as Annio's soft, lyrical aria is changed into an aria that fits the description of a rage aria and therefore consists of one of the only substantial changes in Sarti's recitatives to make the transition seamless. In the first act then, only six out of the nine original arias were heard (one deleted, two substitutes). This is well in line with the pasticcio-like adaptation seen in regional stagings to suit the needs of singers.³⁹⁹

The changes in the central act II are much more substantial in a very strange manner: except for the recitatives, there is nothing of Sarti's music in this act. Annio's aria in the first act of Act II (*Quando il pensier figura*) is substituted by an aria by Sacchini to the same text, Arminio's aria (*Da quell di ehe ti mirai*) is deleted while Epponina's rondò in Scene 5 (*Con qual core, o Dio*) is substituted with an (unidentified) aria by Majò to new text (*Ah numi tiranni – Ist dem Gatten true zu bleiben* in the German text).⁴⁰⁰ In Scene 6, Tito's aria *Tigre ircana in selva ombroso* is replaced by another unsigned insert aria *Leon ch'errando vada* (somewhat confusingly translated in the German text as *Im Wald ein Tyger*).

In scene 9, which is the subterranean scene forming the backbone of the dramatic action in the opera, Sabino's aria *Cari figli, un altro amplesso* is substituted by Tarchi's rondò *Cari oggetti del mio core*. The original Sarti aria was closely identified with the work and extremely popular. Therefore, the decision to replace it with a substitute aria is likely to have been a direct result of Marchesi's involvement in the production. Tarchi and Marchesi had just worked together at Mantua, where Tarchi would have been well acquainted enough with

³⁹⁸ GIULIO SABINO. /DRAMMA/ PER MUSICA/ IN TRE ATTI. / DA RAPPRESENTARSI/ NEL/ TEATRO IMP./ PRESSO LA PORTA D'ITALIA. / IN VIENNA,/ PRESSO GIUSEPPE NOB. DE KURZBEK, / STAMPATORE DI S.M.I.R./ 1785. - Julius Sabinus. / Ein /musikalisches Schauspiel / in/ drey Aufzügen. / Aufgeführt im k.k. Theater nächst dem Kärntnerthor./ Wien,/ bey Joseph Edlen von Kurzbek. 1785. (A-Wn 180568-A MUS MAG).

³⁹⁹ See also: Rice, *Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera*, p.379.

⁴⁰⁰ This probably refers to Gian Francesco da Majò (1732-1770), who was a prolific composer of operas and oratorios.

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Marchesi's voice to tailor a bravura showstopper.⁴⁰¹ Voadice's aria in the following scene 10 (*Quell'ira ehe invano*) is also replaced, but with an unsigned insert aria (*Va pur, ritorna a Roma*). The closing terzetto (*Sfogati pur, tiranno*) is also replaced by *Tremate, empi, tremate*. This is missing from *A-Wn* Kt. 188 and is marked as 'altro Terzetto.'

In the short final Act III, Epponina's aria in the second scene (*Al caro bene a lato*) is deleted and is also omitted from the parallel German text. On the whole, of the twenty numbers in the Venetian original, only five from Sarti are retained in the Viennese version. Three were deleted in entirety, leaving only the recitatives and the remaining were substituted with insert arias by four named composers – Salieri, Sacchini, Majo and Tarchi, and the rest unnamed. Sacchini's and Majo's arias were certainly appropriated from existing operas, while Salieri's and Tarchi's contributions were specifically written for *Giulio Sabino*.

In the context of the exchanges between Joseph II and Count Rosenberg, which make it clear that the Viennese version of *Giulio Sabino* was planned, at the very earliest only in July, the extensive changes, unusual even in the context of the usual insert arias and deletions common in late eighteenth-century practice, clearly signal that the Viennese version was probably meant to be an updated version of Sarti's original with scope for Marchesi to stamp the work with his vocal brilliance.

Armbruster links this to Salieri's correspondence with Carl Friedrich Cramer, the editor of *Magazin der Musik*, who reviewed *Giulio Sabino* with many a recommendation for improvement in a 1783 piece.⁴⁰² This is also hinted at in Wenzel Sukowaty's advertisement for piano reduction scores of numbers from *Giulio Sabino* on 6 August 1785 (the day of its premiere), where he points out that the version in Vienna is 'different from those observed in other theatres' and that this 'perfect excerpt, enriched with new arias' could not be found elsewhere.⁴⁰³

This was certainly not new practice in any case, as this had happened earlier with Sarti's own *Fra i due litiganti, terzo il gode* (1781, Milan La Scala), which was his greatest success in the *opera buffa* genre. *Fra i due litiganti* enjoyed immense popularity in Vienna, where it appeared in the first season of the Italian company's residence at the *Nationaltheater* in 1783.

⁴⁰¹ Armbruster, p. 146.

⁴⁰² Ibid., p. 145.

⁴⁰³ 'Da die hiesige Vorstellung von jenen, so in anderen Theatern beobachtet worden, ganz abweicht, so darf er sich schmeicheln, dass man nun bey ihm, und sonst bey keinem, diesen vollkommenen Auszug, bereichert mit den neu gewählten Arien, finden wird.' *Wiener Zeitung*, 6 August 1785, p. 1855 (11). A complete transcription of Sukowaty's advertisement can be found in the Appendix C.

Platoff's recent article on the opera draws attention to the fact that the Viennese version, where over a third of the numbers from the Milanese original were replaced, circulated as the standard version after 1783, highlighting the pivotal role played by Vienna in the circulation and reception of Italian opera in the late eighteenth century.⁴⁰⁴ In the case of *Giulio Sabino* though, the new Viennese version did not establish itself as the accepted version. The work continued to be altered, but still on the basis of the original Venetian version of 1781. An example would be the 1788 London version, where Sabino's first aria (*Pensieri funesti*) is entirely cut and the 1790 Turin version, where there are extensive changes such as Epponina's aria in Act I, Scene 4 (*Trema il cor*) being replaced with new text (*All'idea de'miei perigli*) or in Voadice's aria in Act I, Scene 5, which is cut in the Viennese version, is replaced with new text (*Lieti rendi I giorni suoi*) and is preceded with extended recitative. These have not been discussed in detail in this chapter, but serve to show that the Viennese version, in any case, did not establish itself as the 'accepted version' of the *Giulio Sabino*, the way in which it did in the case of *Fra i due litiganti*. This could be partially due to the early 1783 printing of the full score in Vienna, which helped established the Venetian version ahead of the 1785 Viennese version.

4.2.2 *Julius Sabinus (1785, Pressburg)*

One of the most important consequences of the Viennese performances of *Giulio Sabino* was its German adaptation *Julius Sabinus*, which was performed in Pressburg by the Kumpf troupe at the Erdödy theatre.⁴⁰⁵ It was performed on 02 January 1786 in a translation by one of the troupe's members, Johann Nepomuk Schüller, to open the season. It was the fourteenth work of their overall repertory in Pressburg till date and was repeated four more times the same year and once in the next season. The Pressburg libretto clearly shows that the Venetian version and not the more recent Viennese one was followed. Schüller's brief preface to the libretto is a direct admission of the influence of Vienna, as he acknowledges that the inspiration for the choice of the work for the 1786 season came from the successful run of *Giulio Sabino* in Vienna with Marchesi in the titular role.

⁴⁰⁴ Platoff, 'Sarti's *Fra i Due Litiganti* and Opera in Vienna'. For a graphical representation of the circulating power of the Viennese version, see pages 542 and 546. This article has been discussed in greater detail in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2.

⁴⁰⁵ Julius Sabinus/ eine/ ernsthafte Oper/ in drei Aufzügen./ Nebst einem Anhage/ das/ hochgräfl. Erdödische Operntheater/ betrefend;/ für welches diese Oper übersetzt, und zum/ Drucke befördert ist/ von/ Johann Nepomuk Schüller,/ Mitglied der gräflichen Operngesellschaft/ in/ Preßburg/ Preßburg,/ gedruckt mit Weberischen Schriften./ 1785. (A-Wn 580068-A MUS MAG).

However, that is also where the Viennese influence ends in this case, as Schüller emphasises that Sarti's work would be performed with 'utmost fidelity,' as opposed to the heavily modified version that was heard in Vienna.⁴⁰⁶ It is also likely that Schüller's choice of translating the title in Latin was to convey a sense of gravitas connected to an exceptional *opera seria*.⁴⁰⁷

The act and scene structure of the Italian versions are identical, and this is maintained in Schüller's version as well. While there are no surviving performance scores from the Kumpf troupe to verify this, it can be safely assumed that the accompanied recitatives were maintained in the German version as well. In Act I, Scene 3, there is a possible printing error as Annius is referred to as Arminius instead. The deleted arias are all given in translation in Schüller's version. For instance, Voadice's aria (*Se questa, o cor tiranno*) from Act I, Scene 5, which was deleted in the Viennese version but given in translation in the German parallel text, is included in the Pressburg libretto. This is the same for Arminio's Act II, Scene 2 aria *Da quell di ehe ti mirai* as *Mit dem Tag, als ich dich sah* and Epponina's Act III, Scene 2 aria *Al caro bene a lato*—which is also omitted from the parallel German text in the Viennese libretto—as *Zur Seite des Geliebten*.

For the insert arias with text that differed in the Viennese version, Schüller goes back to the original text from the Venetian libretto. For example, in Scene 10, Annio's original aria (*Un dolce contento*) becomes *Dies süße Vergnügen*, instead of the new unsigned insert aria *Frema pur avverso il fato* in the Viennese version. Epponina's Act II, scene 12 Rondò *Con qual core, O Dio, potrei* is kept in Schüller's version as *Wie soll ich den Schimpf ertragen* as is Sabino's major aria in Act II, Scene 9 (*Cari figli, un altro amplesso*) as *Liebe Kinder! Diese Umarmung!*. Schüller also chooses the Venice version of Voadice's aria (*Quell'ira ehe invano*) in the following scene 10 as *Vergebens bestrebt dich* over the Viennese text *Va pur, ritorna a Roma* as well as the closing *coro* of Act III, where *Di nobili allori* from the 1781 Venice libretto is rendered as *Dieß edle Bezeugen*.

⁴⁰⁶ 'Da diese Oper ohnedieß schon ihrem inneren Werthe nach sowohl, als jenem, den sie durch die Vorstellung in Wien bei Auftritt des berühmten Sopransängers Marchesini erhielt, bestens empfohlen ist; so übriget mir nicht mehr zur Anzeige, als daß sie von der hochgräflichen Operngesellschaft unter der Führung des Herrn Kumpf den zweiten Jänner, als Anfangsoper des 1786sten Jahres mit höchst möglicher Genauigkeit wird aufgeführt werden.' Giuseppe Sarti and Pietro Giovannini, *Julius Sabinus, eine ernsthafte Oper in drei Aufzügen*, trans. by Johann Nepomuck Schüller (Preßburg: gedruckt mit Weberischen Schriften, 1786), pp. 3–4. A full transcription of the preface can be found in Appendix C.

⁴⁰⁷ Schüller's translation of the work, despite the contemporaneous turbulence in the Kingdom of Hungary, is unproblematically apolitical, possibly due to the specific context of the work being performed at an *Adelstheater*.

These are the clearest indications that Schüller's translation is based on the Venetian version, and not the more recent and extensively altered Viennese one; in the absence of an autograph score, it can only be assumed that the Pressburg audience heard Sarti's music throughout the opera, unlike in Vienna. Once again, this is likely due to the presence of an already established printed copy of the entire opera from 1783, which seems not to have been displaced by Sukowaty's new edition of the opera, advertised on 06 August 1785.⁴⁰⁸

Another noticeable change in the Pressburg production of *Giulio Sabino* is that instead of a castrato singing the role of Sabino, in Pressburg, the role was taken by the troupe director, Hubert Kumpf, who also sang tenor roles. However, the most important aspect that can be gleaned from the Pressburg libretto is that the *seria* form was maintained in the translation, with the recitatives retained and not changed to spoken dialogue. Therefore, the resultant work in German was also thorough composed, stretching the boundaries of *Singspiel* as practice in terms of form and convention. In doing so, the Pressburg translation of *Giulio Sabino* marks an important juncture in the gradual development of what became German opera.

In summary, the Pressburg version of Sarti's *Giulio Sabino* is significant for being the first and only known German adaptation of this *seria* work and with its retention of recitatives, is a work that contributes not to a confined *Singspiel* tradition but a larger, nascent German operatic idiom. The libretto, which establishes that it followed the original Venetian version as opposed to the latest and majorly altered Viennese version, also shows that even while the repertory of the Kumpf troupe at the Erdődy theatre mostly mirrored the Viennese trends, their choices were no mere reflections of the Viennese trends. This is again substantiated by the example of the Pressburg version of Salieri's *Axur, Re d'Ormus*, discussed in the next section.

⁴⁰⁸ Costs could have also played a role: Sukowaty advertised ten numbers from *Giulio Sabino*, if there were enough subscribers, at a minimum price of 10 florins in August 1785. Earlier in the year, on 16 April 1786 (*Wiener Zeitung*, p. 894 (14)), Sukowaty listed the entire operas in piano reduction in the *Musikalien* section: Paisiello's highly successful opera, *Il Re Teodoro* was priced at 21 fl. 40 kr; Umlauf's *Die Bergknappen* at 8 florins; *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* at 15 florins. The price of the printed 1783 edition of *Giulio Sabino*'s is not known but would have probably worked out cheaper than a new copy from Sukowaty's shop. For an overview of Austrian currencies and their relation in 1780s Vienna, see: Edge, 'Mozart's Fee for *Così fan tutte*', p. 218.

4.3 *Axur, Re d'Ormus/ Axur, König von Ormus*

Salieri's *Axur, Re d'Ormus* premiered in Vienna on January 8, 1788, with a libretto by Da Ponte. *Axur* was commissioned by Emperor Joseph II to celebrate the wedding of Archduke Franz, and on account of the festivities, the Burgtheater and seven suburban theatres were 'opened free of charge to the public at the expense of the court.'⁴⁰⁹ While meant to be a translation of Salieri's *Tarare* which was written by Beaumarchais and premiered in Paris the previous year to resounding success, *Axur* was no direct translation of the French text. This was handled by Da Ponte much the way he handled Beaumarchais' text for *Figaro* and Salieri's music reflects the same kinds of changes, to suitably adapt the work for a Viennese audience. While Da Ponte's libretto reads like a free translation of *Tarare* despite what both he and Salieri emphasise about the reworking, there are key differences in characterisation and style. Da Ponte changes the names: Beaumarchais' King Atar becomes Axur (Da Ponte spells it as Assur throughout his *Memorie*) and the hero Tarar becomes Atar, the name of the King in the French original. In giving the hero the name of the original villain, Da Ponte may have been developing a point made by Beaumarchais himself when he gave his two principal characters names whose relation to one another are so clear (Atar – Axur; Tarare – Atar); some of these, alongside Salieri's anecdotes about the (re)composition of *Axur* and a side-by-side comparison of the French and Italian versions are recounted in Mosel's biography.⁴¹⁰ More detailed studies on the differences between the French *Tarare* and *Axur* can be seen in a recent work by Andreas Hoebler titled *Antonio Salieris Opéra Tarare und die Umarbeitung in die Opera tragicomica Axur, Rè d'Ormus*.⁴¹¹ John A. Rice's chapter on *Axur* in his *Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera* looks at the same theme, with a meticulous analysis of the genesis of *Tarare* and the circumstances in which *Axur* was produced, combined with the musical changes effected by Salieri.⁴¹² Two articles by Angermüller look at on the differential treatment of the material for Paris and Vienna as well as the composer-librettist relationship between Beaumarchais and Salieri.⁴¹³ It has also been dealt with in Lauren Quetin's 'De Tarare (Paris) à Axur Rè d'Ormus (Vienne) Sous La Plume de Da Ponte et Salieri: Traduction,

⁴⁰⁹ Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna*, p. 479.

⁴¹⁰ Ignaz Franz von Mosel, *Über das Leben und die Werke des Anton Salieri* (Vienna: Wallishausser, 1827), pp. 98–113; 129–30.

⁴¹¹ Andreas Hoebler, *Antonio Salieris Opéra Tarare und die Umarbeitung in die Opera tragicomica Axur, Rè d'Ormus: Parallelität und Divergenz zweier Bühnenwerke* (Tönning [u.a.]: Der Andere Verlag, 2006).

⁴¹² Rice, *Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera*, pp. 385–420.

⁴¹³ Rudolph Angermüller, 'Salieris *Tarare* (1787) und *Axur, Re d'Ormus* (1788). Vertonung eines Sujets für Paris und Wien', in *Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* (Hamburg: Laaber-Verlag, 1981), v, 211–17.; *idem*, 'Beaumarchais und Salieri,' in *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress: Bonn 1970*, ed. by Carl Dahlhaus and Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1971), pp. 325–27.

Adaptation Ou Réécriture d'un Livret Français En Italien En 1788?', which as the title suggests, looks at the transformation of Beaumarchais' libretto by Da Ponte.⁴¹⁴ The story of *Tarare*, which was very much a revolutionary piece with its controversial ending featuring regicide, was however, retained by Da Ponte in *Axur*.⁴¹⁵ As an opera recast for Joseph II's Italian troupe, whose repertory was predominantly made up of *opere buffe*, *Axur* featured more *buffo* elements than its French model, especially in the characters of the King *Axur* and the eunuch *Biscroma*. However, with the retention of scenes such as the final one including the on-stage suicide of the King, *Axur* occupies the mixed genre characterisation of *dramma tragicomico* assigned to it by Salieri and Da Ponte—early responses to the work, including that of Mosel, praise it as 'the most excellent of all serious Italian operas—even including (Mozart's) *La clemenza di Tito*.⁴¹⁶

In the following sections, I look at the 1788 translation of *Axur* by Franz Xaver Girzik, which was performed in Pressburg and thereafter the 1797 German translation, used for the work's revival in Vienna in 1797. By also briefly examining the 1790 translation of *Axur* by Heinrich Gottlieb Schmieder for the Mainz *Nationaltheater*, I highlight how the 1797 translation was a multi-layered work, which was clearly influenced by both the Girzik and Schmieder translations and shed light on the network that enabled this circulation history of *Axur*.

4.3.1 Primary sources

The primary sources pertaining to the early performance materials of *Axur* present a somewhat complex backdrop to the discussion of Girzik's translation of the work. As Biggi-Parodi notes, 'even though they have the same number of pages, it is known that the librettos, which refer on the title page to the first performance of *Axur*, are in fact, different.'⁴¹⁷ The autograph score of *Axur* (*A-Wn* Mus. Hs. 17049) contains notes by Salieri, expressing his

⁴¹⁴ Laurine Quetin, 'De *Tarare* (Paris) à *Axur* Rè d'Ormus (Vienne) sous la plume de Da Ponte et Salieri: Traduction, adaptation ou réécriture d'un livret français en italien en 1788?', in *La traduction des livrets: Aspects théoriques, historiques et pragmatiques*, ed. by Gottfried Marschall and Loui Jambou (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2004), pp. 229–42.

⁴¹⁵ Studies on exoticism in *Tarare* include: Betzwieser (1992); Daren Hodson, 'Changing French Orientalism: *Tarare* (1790) and the Question of Slavery,' *French Forum* (Vol. 36, No. 2/3, 2011), pp. 19–39. A very recent Ph.D. thesis, which examines in great detail the impact of *Tarare* on the French revolution is Sean Robert Stephenson, 'Romantic Undertones in Revolutionary France: The Case for *Tarare* as Spark for the Revolution' (Ph.D. diss., University of Northern Colorado, 2021).

⁴¹⁶ 'Kühn darf man daher behaupten, daß *Axur* die vortreffliche aller italienischen ernstern Opern sey, selbst Mozart's *Clemenza di Tito* – wohl zu merken, streng als dramatisches Tonwerk, nicht als Vocal-Composition im weiteren Sinne betrachtet – mit darunter verstanden.' Mosel, p. 113.

⁴¹⁷ Elena Biggi Parodi, *Catalogo tematico delle composizioni teatrali di Antonio Salieri: gli autografi*, Strumenti della ricerca musicale, 8 (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 2005), p. LXXXI.

views and opinion on the work in some detail.⁴¹⁸ This score bears some deviation from the printed libretto (such as the opening scene) and there are amendments throughout the course of the late eighteenth century, often by the composer himself, including the condensation of the five-act form to four acts.⁴¹⁹

The libretto corresponding to the autograph score happens to be one from a performance at the Lobkowitz palace, which is undated.⁴²⁰ Dorothea Link dates this performance to 1794, under the assumption that Prince Lobkowitz had started the music group in 1793.⁴²¹ This is possibly because the Lobkowitz performance is also often confused with the private performance in the palace of Johann Adam von Auersperg of 1793, in which the role of Aspasia was played by Countess von Hatzfeld.⁴²² However, Bruno Brizi's article on the early libretti and manuscripts of *Axur* helps establish the Lobkowitz performance to be in early 1788, within a few days of the premiere.⁴²³ Another early MS copy (A-Wn Mus. Hs. 17832), however completely corresponds to the libretto printed for the 1788 premiere.⁴²⁴

⁴¹⁸ A complete description of the MS can be found in Biggi-Parodi, pp.76-77 and a complete transcription of Salieri's comments in *ibid.*, CIV-CXIX.

⁴¹⁹ Rice supposes that amongst the many revisions, there was 'the addition of a new scene at the beginning of the opera'. Rice, *Antonio Salieri*, p. 406. In the subsequent discussion, I argue that this scene in the autograph score, was in fact, cut from later performances, instead of being added.

⁴²⁰ AXUR / RE / D'ORMUS. / DRAMMA TRAGICOMICO / IN / CINQUE ATTI / DA RAPPRESENTARSI / NEL TEATRO DI SOCIETÀ / DI S. A. IL PRINCIPE REGNANTE DI / LOBKOWITZ, DUCA DI RAUDNITZ etc. etc / VIENNA, / Presso Mattia Andrea Schmidt. (A-Wn 625752-A THE MAG).

Prince Lobkowitz had performed the role of Altamor in this performance, and it is likely that the libretto was printed for private circulation. The list of characters and singers can be found in Appendix C.

⁴²¹ Link, 'Vienna's Private Theatrical and Musical Life, 1783-92, as Reported by Count Karl Zinzendorf', p. 221.

⁴²² Dexter Edge, 'Idomeneo at Prince Auersperg's (March 1786)' in: *Mozart: New Documents*, ed. by Dexter Edge and David Black (2018);

<https://sites.google.com/site/mozartdocuments/documents/1786-auersperg> [consulted on 24 July 2020]. Edge's article also gives a reconstructed performance list at Auersperg's palace.

For a very comprehensive history of Countess von Hatzfeld's performing career in Vienna, complete with references from Zinzendorf's diary, see: Dexter Edge, 'Countess Hatzfeld sings Elettra's 'Tutte nel cor vi sento' in Bonn' in: *Mozart: New Documents*, ed. by Dexter Edge and David Black (2018);

<https://sites.google.com/site/mozartdocuments/documents/1785-hatzfeld> (consulted on 19 December 2020).

⁴²³ Bruno Brizi, 'Libretto e partiture: A proposito dell' 'Axur Re d'Ormus' di Lorenzo da Ponte (Salieri) e del 'Telemaco' di Marco Coltellini (Gluck)', in *L'edizione critica tra testo musicale e testo letterario*, ed. by Renato Borghi and Pietro Zappalà (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1995), pp. 437-42.

⁴²⁴ AXUR / RE / D'ORMUS. / DRAMMA TRAGICOMICO / IN / CINQUE ATTI / DA RAPPRESENTARSI / NEL TEATRO DELLA CORTE. / PER LE NOZZE DI SUA ALTEZZA REALE / L'ARCIDUCA FRANCE-SCO D'AUSTRIA / CON SUA ALTEZZA SERENISSIMA / ELISABETTA PRINCIPESSA / DI WÜRTEMBERG. / L'ANNO 1788. / IN VIENNA, / PRESSO GIUSEPPE NOB. DE KURZBEK / STAMPATORE DI S. M. I. R. (A-Wn 641432-A.17,2 MUS MAG).

4.3.2 *Axur, König von Ormus (1788, Pressburg)*

The differences between this libretto and the original MS help identify the source material for the translation produced in Pressburg by Franz Xaver Girzik of the Kumpf company, printed in 1788 itself.⁴²⁵ The Girzik translation follows the five-act structure of the original Italian version from 1788 but also includes arias from the MS (also seen in the Lobkowitz libretto), which are omitted from the 1788 Italian libretto. The very first scene bears evidence of these changes: Altamor's aria *Questa è l'ora e questo è il loco* is found in the original MS and is alluded to in Salieri's annotations, where he refers to the 'little chorus that comes after the symphony as a principle of exposition of the subject, and makes a good beginning to the duet that follows.'⁴²⁶ This is found in the Lobkowitz libretto and in Girzik's version, as *Ganz nach Wunsch ist Ort*, followed by the chorus *Fort, wir hören sie schon kommen*. Girzik splits the original Scene 1 at this point, and commences Scene 2 with Aspasia's duet with Atar, *Hier unter süßen Düften (Qui dove scherza l'aura)* and carves an extra scene 3, consisting of the chorus *Ach! Atar!* and Atar's *Keine Hilfe O Gattin* corresponding to the accompanied recitative *Tutto Aspasia è perduto*, which closes Act I, Scene 2. This first act was entirely new to the opera, with no equivalent in its French version *Tarare*.

In Act II, Girzik's version closely follows the Italian version even in the division of the five scenes. The only major deviation comes with the inclusion of Altamor's aria in Scene 2, *Verso l'alba in grossa nave* as *Vor den ersten Morgenschimmer*, which is absent in the 1788 performance libretto. While the presence of the two Altamor arias (present in the autograph MS, Lobkowitz libretto but absent from the 1788 premiere libretto) in Girzik's translation suggest that the source material used might have been a copy of the autograph score from Sukowaty's copy shop, Girzik also omits one of Aspasia's arias from Scene 3, *Del nero tradimento*. This aria is present in the autograph score but omitted in the Vienna libretto, suggesting that the Pressburg version was prepared with knowledge of how the work was actually staged in Vienna, beyond what can be inferred from the libretto and score.

⁴²⁵ AXUR/ König von Ormus./ Eine/ heroische Oper/ in fünf Aufzügen,/nach dem Italienischen/ des/ Herrn Abbé da Ponte/ übersetzt/ und für das gräflich/ Erdödyische Operntheater/ eingerichtet von Hern Girzik./ Zum Drucke befördert/ von/ Herrn Joh. Nep. Schüller./ 1788./ Die Musik ist von Herrn Anton Salieri./Pressburg./ gedruckt mit Weberischen Schriften./ 1788
Seiner Excellenz/ Dem hochedelgebohrenen/ Herrn Grafen/ Johann Nep. Erdödy/ von Monyorokereik/ in Unterthaenigkeit/ gewidmet.

⁴²⁶ 'Il picciolo coro che viene dopo la sinfonia come un principio d'esposizione del soggetto, e fa cominciar bene il duetto che segue, e ch'io credo uno dei migliori pezzi di duetto lo spettacolo per la cantilena analoga ai personaggi che lo cantano, e alla loro situazione.' *A-Wn Mus. Hs. 17049 vol. I.*

In Scene 4 of Atar's recitative and aria (*Come? Aspasia una schiava? – Soave luce di paradiso*), all four stanzas are printed in the 1788 libretto and the Lobkowitz version from the same year. In the MS *A-Wn* Mus. Hs. 17049 however, the fourth stanza (*Dove t'ascondi*) is amended and replaced. This change can be reliably traced to a production after 1789, as the trombones are entirely cut out and re-scored.⁴²⁷ Girzik's version cuts out the third stanza (*Per rinvenire Aspasia*) but retains the original fourth stanza as can be seen below in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Comparisons of Axur's recitative and aria 'Come? Aspasia una schiava - Soave luce di paradiso' in different versions of *Axur, Re d'Ormus*

<i>Axur, Re d'Ormus</i> (Act II, Sc. 4) (Da Ponte, 1788 Vienna)	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> (Act II, Sc. 4) (Girzik, 1788 Pressburg)
<p>Come? Aspasia una schiava? Sire, perdona! a si odiosa idea non resiste quest'alma: Aspasia è Dea.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Soave luce di paradiso entro il bel viso brillava ognor. Parean celesti li sguardi e i gesti, il dolce suono de' cari accenti piovea contenti dentro il mio cor.</p> <p>Per rinvenire Aspasia io stancherò i viventi, Aspasia, i miei lamenti l'Eco ripeterà.</p> <p>Dove t'ascondi, tesoro amato? Deh mi rispondi Se vivi ancor!</p>	<p>Wie das? — Aspasia eine Sklavin? König! Verzeihe, — solch ein Bild empört meine Seele, — Aspasia — ist eine Göttin.</p> <p>Ein paradiesischer Schimmer umstrahlt sie Ja selbst die Sterne verdunkeln ihre Reize.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Aus ihren Blicken Blitzt Liebesfeuer, Auf ihrem Antlitz Sitzt Himmelslust Göttliche Hoheit zeigen die Mienen, Wuchs und Gebärden, Die holde Sprache, Ach! sie umgoss mit Wonne mein Herz.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Aspasia! -- Aspasia! Wo bist du Trost meiner Seele verborgen? Lass mich dich hören, Wenn du noch lebst.</p>

⁴²⁷ Dexter Edge, 'Mozart's Viennese Orchestras', *Early Music*, 64 (1992), 64–88 (pp. 77–73) and footnote 43. This rescoring is also seen in *A-Wn* Kt 50, discussed in the following section and therefore can be dated post-1789.

Act III also follows the Italian version closely in Scenes 1, 2 and 4. In Scene 3, Girzik uses the *Da qual nuova sciagura* version of Atar's aria, instead of *Dei pietosi, eterni dei*, which is crossed out in the MS. Girzik adds a short closing recitative to this aria, *Welch ein verräthrisch Schicksal*, which is not present in either of the original sources. Similarly, in Scene 5, the libretto closes with the march after Arteneo's aria *Come ape ingegnosa* and Elamir's response *O numi possenti*, while the MS includes Arteneo's aria *Tutto il popolo o figlio* within the same scene, as does Girzik's version. Elamir's accompanied recitative *Popoli mal accorti* was originally placed in Scene 5 and moved to Scene 6: it is the same in Girzik's version, concluding the third act.

The first scene of Act IV is an almost word-for-word translation by Girzik. Scene 2 in the libretto consists of an accompanied recitative between Axur and Urson, an aria by Urson (the only one), *Come leon feroce*, Axur's recitative *Ho capito che basta*, which ends with Aspasia uttering *Atar! Misero Atar!* and a chorus of masked slaves, *Il cielo rintuoni di gridi di gioia*. The MS, in which the original structure was amended to a four-act version by condensing the first and second acts, Scene 2 consists of only the first recitative, *Se il computo non falla*. In Girzik's version, Scene 2 contains the first recitative *Wenn mich mein Wunsch nicht trüget*, Urson's aria *Wie ein ergrimter Löwe* and Axur's recitative *Ich hab genug gehört*. In Scene 3, Girzik begins with Aspasia's response to Axur as a separate simple recitative, *Atar! – armer Atar!* and follows it with the chorus *Es schalle die Freude*.

The *arleccinade* that follows is Da Ponte's substitution for Beaumarchais' *fête européenne*: this much-condensed version of meta-theatre culminates with one of the opera's most popular numbers, Biscroma's *Nato io son nello stato romano* with mandolin and chorus accompaniment. In the 1788 libretto, Scene 3 consists of the *arleccinade* (a terzetto *De sposarme ti ha promesso* and Biscroma's *Nato io son*) and an accompanied recitative with Aspasia, Axur and the chorus; in the MS, scene 3 starts with a portion of Axur's recitative preceding Urson's aria *Come leon feroce* and ends just like in the libretto. Girzik separates the *arleccinade* as Scene 4: keeping with the theme of meta-theatre, the terzetto is maintained entirely in Italian and reverts to German briefly when the chorus responds with *Ha! Das ist vortreflich* and ends the terzetto with a three-part canon *All'erta zovenotti* in the original Italian.⁴²⁸ This is followed by Biscroma's *Bin geboren im römischen Lande*, which in the *Singspiel* tradition, is termed a *Romanze*.

⁴²⁸ Rice says that this commedia dell'arte scene is 'what seems to have been his [Salieri's] first extensive operatic canon' – which was gaining steady popularity in the Viennese operatic tradition (Martín y Soler's *Cosa rara* and *L'arbore di Diana* as well as Mozart's *Così fan tutte* are prime examples

Scene 4 of the original libretto is dominated by Biscroma and Atar; it consists of an extended dialogue as accompanied recitative between Biscroma and Atar, followed by Atar's recitative, *Il mio coraggio – in mezzo il mare*, which leads to their duet, *Salvo io son* and ends with another accompanied recitative, *Non perdiam, grand Eroe*. This becomes Scene 5 in Girzik's version, following the Italian text very closely. The same is true for Scenes 5, 6 and 7 in the Italian libretto which become Scenes 6, 7 and 8 in Girzik's – Scene 6 (7 in Girzik's), dominated by Aspasia's showpiece arias *Morte pietosa morte* and *Son queste le speranze* is presented with almost no change in a very faithful translation as *Ach holder Tod* and *Das war die süße Hoffnung*. Aspasia's role was written for the soprano Luisa Laschi Mombelli (c.1760-c.1790), most famously known for having reprised the role of Countess Almaviva in *Le nozze di Figaro*.⁴²⁹

At the Erdődy theatre, Aspasia's role was taken on by Marianne Habl (1766-?). Habl, who had debuted in Pressburg in 1785 (in Anfossi's *Der eifersüchtige Alte*), and mostly played secondary roles. The 1788 *Theaternalmanach* however makes a note that her performance had so well progressed under the direction of Kumpf, that she had begun performing major roles with great satisfaction.⁴³⁰ It is quite plausible that Aspasia was one of Habl's big roles that season, and while there are no performance score relating to the Erdődy theatre to confirm or dispute whether Salieri's virtuosic music was entirely utilised in the arias, the almost literal translation of the arias might be an indication that it was unaltered.⁴³¹

Scene 8 as per the libretto commences with an accompanied recitative between Biscroma, Fiametta and Aspasia (*Izra bella, il re vostro*) which leads to Fiametta's aria *Vattene dal tuo signor*. This is followed by Biscroma's recitative *Tanto meglio per te* and ends with the duet *Salva me da tanta infamia* between Aspasia and Fiametta. Girzik's corresponding Scene 9

of works from this period that showcase the popularity of the form). Rice, *Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera*, p. 410.

⁴²⁹ Michtner gives a cast list for *Axur* without source: Link has established that this is most probably based on a libretto dating from around the premiere, where the singers' names are pencilled in. See also: Rice, *Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera*, p. 415.

⁴³⁰ Schüller, *Hochgräflich-Erdödischer Theaterallmanach auf das Jahr 1788*, p. 65. 'Spielt junge Liebhaberinnen; und hat sich als Anfängerin unter der weisen Leitung des Herrn Kumpf so sehr perfektionirt, daß sie schon wirklich erste Rollen mit allgemeiner Zufriedenheit der gnädigsten Herrschaft spielt.'

⁴³¹ Similarly virtuosic showpiece arias were often replaced in performance: during the Schikaneder troupe's performance of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* at the Kärntnertortheater in late 1783, it was noted that Konstanze's aria *Marten aller Arten* was substituted with an aria by Teyber as the virtuosi for whom the solo obbligato parts were written had left the orchestra. Dexter Edge, '5 November 1784 - Mozart Documents', ed. by Dexter Edge and David Black, *Box-Office Receipts from Die Entführung Aus Dem Serail in the Kärntnertortheater (5 Nov 1784)*, Mozart: New Documents, 2014 <https://doi.org/10.7302/Z20P0WXI> [consulted 20 May 2021].

ends with Biscroma's recitative and the duet between Aspasia and Fiametta, *Rette mich von dieser Schande* becomes Scene 10. Scene 9 in the Italian libretto consists of a single recitative between Fiametta and Biscroma (*Animo Fiametta*), which then leads onto the Scene 10 with an extended recitative with Atar included (*Di questa donna*), Fiametta's aria (*Sembra ch'ei parli!*) and finally the duet between Fiametta and Atar which commences the Finale (*Dunque un muto tu non sei*). Girzik's Scene 11 contains a condensed recitative (containing both the Italian Scene 9 recitative as well as the extended recitative at the beginning of Scene 10) between Fiametta, Biscroma and Atar (*Muthig Fiametta*), which considerably tightens the action leading up to the Finale. Similarly, while the last two sections of the Finale are spread out across two scenes (11 and 12) in the Italian libretto, Girzik places them together in the closing Scene 12 in his version.

The last and fifth act is similarly aligned in Girzik's version: Scene 1, which consists of Axur's aria (*Idol vano d'un popol codarde / Schwacher Götz eines thörichten Volkes!*) and a recitative between Urson and Axur (*In ogni parte si va in traccia di lui / Auf allen Straßen schicke ich Wachen ihn zu suchen*) and Scene 2, which begins with a short recitative between Axur and Atar (*Accostati, infelice / Nur näher unglücklicher!*), follows onto Atar's aria (*Morir posso una sol volta / Ich kann doch nur einmal sterben*) and a closing recitative between Axur and Atar (*Circondatelo o guardie / Umringt den Verräther!*) are almost word-for-word translations. In the last recitative, Girzik's version follows the 1788 libretto instead of the MS (and the Lobkowitz libretto), which include a single rhetoric question from Axur (*Una minaccia?*) before *Circondatelo o guardie*; this question is inserted earlier in Atar's aria in the 1788 libretto.

In Scene 3, Girzik condenses the action considerably as it ends with the trio between Aspasia, Axur and Atar (*Barbaro/ perfido, il mio coraggio as Bösewicht! Mein Muth vereitelt*).⁴³² The opening recitative, Axur's line to Fiametta (*Dunque è ver che abusando Irza mendace*) however is prefaced with one more line to clarify the action (*Welche in dem Gewand Aspasiens verboten ist, und ihr Gesicht mit ihren Händen verhüllt und auch verschleyert ist.*) before following the Italian text (*Ist es noch wahr falsche Izra*). The fourth and final scene in Girzik's version starts with the chorus of slaves and soldiers (*Aita Axur, aita! / Axur! Ach Rettung! Hilfe!*) and follows the 1788 libretto closely, right until the final chorus (*Qual piacer la nostr'anima ingombra / Welche Wonne durchströmt unsre Seelen*).

⁴³² In the 1788 libretto, it is *barbaro* and the MS shows the word replaced by *perfido*.

Girzik's version is the closest German translation of the 1788 version of *Axur* as it retains the five-act form with very minimal deviation in the structure of the acts. The translation shows closer concordance with the MS in its original five-act structure than the 1788 libretto and indicates that both sources might have been used in preparing the German version for the Erdődy stage in Pressburg.

4.3.3 *Axur, König von Ormus* (1790, Frankfurt and 1797, Vienna)

The 1797 Viennese revival of *Axur* in German at the Kärntnertortheater is traditionally assumed to be in Heinrich Gottlieb Schmieder's translation, first performed on 14 August 1790 in Frankfurt.⁴³³ In 1788, Schmieder had been appointed the resident poet at the Mainz *Nationaltheater*, and while detailed biographical information about him is sparse, his output for the theatre is well-documented.⁴³⁴ In August 1790, his translation of *Axur* in Christian Gottlob Neefe's arrangement, was performed to great acclaim in Frankfurt, in the composer's presence.⁴³⁵ The *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* reported that Salieri was so impressed by Schmieder's rearrangement of the work that he brought back some of the pieces to use for his revision of the Italian original.⁴³⁶ The overall quality of Schmieder's translations of Italian opera was also echoed in the eyewitness account of Rudolph Hommel, the Saxon electoral

⁴³³ Loewenberg includes the 1797 Vienna performance in the list of stages where the four-act German version by Schmieder was used. Loewenberg, pp. 443–44.

More importantly, Rudolph Angermüller's table of performances of *Axur* also assigns the Schmieder translation to the 1797 Vienna performance. Antonio Salieri and Rudolph Angermüller, *Antonio Salieri Dokumente seines Lebens unter Berücksichtigung von Musik, Literatur, bildender Kunst, Architektur, Religion, Philosophie, Erziehung, Geschichte, Wissenschaft, Technik, Wirtschaft und täglichem Leben seiner Zeit*, 3 vols (Bad Honnef: Bock, 2000), I, p. 201.

⁴³⁴ Otto Beneke, 'Schmieder, Heinrich Gottlieb - Deutsche Biographie' (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek) <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz78727.html#adbcontent> [consulted on 13 June 2021]; Carl-Maria-von-Weber-Gesamtausgabe (WeGA). Digitale Edition, <http://weber-gesamtausgabe.de/A008248> [consulted on 22 December 2022].

⁴³⁵ Austin Glatthorn, 'The Theatre of Politics and the Politics of Theatre', p. 181. Glatthorn also quotes from the *Privilegirte Mainzer Zeitung*: 'Frankfurt, 23 August. A new opera has been brought to the stage, which received overall and extraordinary acclaim: *Axur, König von Ormus*, translated from the Italian and French by D[r]. Schmieder; the music by Salieri. It has already been given three times in a week with the greatest accuracy. Perhaps no opera has a better ordered drama, better subject, more beautiful text, and captivatingly written music.'

⁴³⁶ 'Theater: Bestand und Uebersicht der Vorstellungen einiger Hauptbühnen Deutschlands. [Aufführungen und Darsteller].' *Journal des Luxus und der Moden*, 6 (1791), 134–36 (p. 135). 'Der Compositeur war bey seiner Anwesenheit in Frankfurt, von öftern Wiederholung dieser Oper während der Wahr und Krönungszeit, so zufrieden mit deren Vorstellung, dass er sich selbst einige Stücke von der deutschen Bearbeitung abschreiben ließ, und sie mit für seine Italiänische Partitur nach Wien nahm.' Salieri also worked on and revised the MS, *A-Wn* Mus. Hs. 17049 until the late 1790s.

ambassador's secretary, where he says that he heard *Axur* in a version much better than the original in Vienna.⁴³⁷

Unlike Girzik's 1788 translation, which faithfully follows the original structure of the Italian work, Schmieder's translation is much more radical. The five-act structure of *Axur* is condensed into a four-act version, and Schmieder inserts many details from and references to the original French libretto, Beaumarchais' *Tarare*. Schmieder preserves a mix of the original names from the French version with Atar becoming Tarar again. However, the few similarities that exist shed light on the manuscript scores that might have formed Schmieder's (and Neefe's) basis for translation—the opening aria and chorus (*Questa è l'ora e questo è il loco—Ecco, alcun qui s'incammina*) are preserved in Schmieder's translation (*Hier im Walde, in der Stunde—Sieh! War harr'n nur deiner Winke*), just like Girzik's. This is noteworthy since this aria and chorus are present only in the MS and the Lobkowitz libretto, while it is omitted from the 1788 libretto printed for the premiere.

Scene 2 contains the entire remaining action of Act II, including the chorus' cries of horror at the burning of Atar's house (*Ach! Atar!*) and Atar's closing recitative as *Weh us! Ha unser(!) Wohnung!*. The linking of Act I and II that can be seen in the revisions in the MS (for the four-act version) is the same as seen in Schmieder's translation. The scenes from Schmieder's Act I, Scene 3 map onto those from Act II, Scene 1 onwards of the original 1788 version. In Act I, Scene 8, Axur's aria (*Come? Aspasia una schiava?—Soave il luce di paradiso*), which corresponds to Act II, Scene 4 in the original five-act version, both Girzik and Schmieder's versions show the same changes: the third stanza is omitted and the fourth stanza is retained, which again suggests that the same source material might have been used in Pressburg and Frankfurt.⁴³⁸

Act II with seven scenes in Schmieder's version corresponds to Act III of the 1788 version with a few minor changes in scene structuring; the same is true for Act III, which maps onto Act IV of the original. Schmieder places the harlequinade in Act III, Scene 4, which incidentally aligns with the *Choeur d'Européens* in *Tarare* but removes the meta-theatre aspect of the harlequinade by translating it entirely into German and changing the names of the harlequin

⁴³⁷'Die besten Italiänischen Opern werden hier Deutsch und so gut gegeben, daß gewiß manche Italiänische Aufführung zurücksteht. So sahe ich z.B. Salieri's *Axur* hier besser als zu Wien in der Ursprache.' Rudolph Hommel, *Briefe über die Kaiserwahl, während derselben aus Frankfurt geschrieben* (Leipzig: Göschen, 1791), p. 91. Hommel also speaks about the quality of the Mainz Nationaltheater under Koch, stating '[Das] Mainzische Hoftheater unter der Direktion des bekannten Kochs [ist] gewiß eines der besten Deutschen Theater.'

⁴³⁸ Appendix C.9 is an extension of Table 4.2 and contains a side-by-side comparison of the three versions.

characters to German. For instance, Fiametta, who dons the role of Brighella in the original Italian, becomes Melite.

The harlequinade scene is also substantially changed by the insertion of a recitative between Axur and Aspasia (*Nein, theure Irza! Vermag nicht der Glanz diese Festes — Hier, großer König von Ormus, hier sieh mich zu deinen Füßen*) before Biscroma's aria *Nato son io* (*Ich ward im Römerlande gebohren*). In this aria, which almost corresponds to a *Romanze* in *Singspiel* fashion, Biscroma describes his life until he was saved by Tarar/Atar, Schmieder introduces the meta-theatre element in the first stanza, referring to the opera stage: *Mit Gewalt sollte es mir gelingen/ Auf dem Operntheater zu singen, / Bald fang ich da das sol fa mi re. / (Bravo Biscroma! Recht schön!)*.⁴³⁹ Schmieder condenses the remaining eight scenes into six, which also contains Aspasia's rondò as *Dies sind die süßen Träume*. Act IV consists of four scenes and corresponds to Act V of the 1788 version.

On the face of it, it is easy to dismiss the Girzik translation of *Axur* as of little importance: after its performance in Pressburg by the Kumpf troupe, there is no other record of this translation being used, especially as Schmieder's translation gained a foothold (and the composer's seal of approval) in the circulation and reception of *Axur* across German stages. In this section, however, I argue about the legacy of Girzik's translation and the issues surrounding ascribing unnamed translations to well-known versions, often based on some notable feature (such as the number of acts, presumably in this case).

While no libretti were printed for 1797 Vienna performances, there is a performance score in two volumes from the Kärntnertortheater-Archiv, *A-Wn* Kt. 50, which shows amendments by Salieri (including the rescoring of the trombone parts). Dexter Edge uses this as evidence to conclude that the score certainly dates from after the 1787/88 season.⁴⁴⁰ Consisting of five volumes of the score in a four-act version with the Italian libretto, the presence of the accompanying *Textbuch* or manuscript libretto (*A-Wn* Kt. 50/6), which features the German text corresponding to the score, firmly indicates that this manuscript corresponds to the 1797 revival at the Kärntnertortheater on 08 December.⁴⁴¹ More importantly, the red pencil notes in the *A-Wn* Kt. 50/6 clearly shows the names of the performers against the roles within the text and confirms its use in the 1797 revival.

⁴³⁹ Schmieder, *Axur*, p. 57.

⁴⁴⁰ Edge, 'Mozart's Viennese Orchestras', pp. 77–73 and footnote 43. See also: Rice, *Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera*, pp. 413–15.

⁴⁴¹ On the same day, Peter von Winter's *Der Bettelstudent* was performed at the Burgtheater (seen in the playbill) and *Die Zauberflöte* at the Theater auf den Wieden.



Figure 4.2: Theaterzettel for the Burg- and Kärntnertheater, 08 December 1797⁴⁴²

Examining the German libretto of *A-Wn Kt. 50/6*, the attribution to Schmieder would appear to be a superficial simplification, possibly owing to the four-act structure. It is, in fact, a mix of the Girzik and Schmieder translations, with a rearrangement of the acts and some other minor edits in recitatives. The editor-translator in question here seems to be Lippert, who also took the role of Biscroma and the Harlequin in the 1797 performance in Vienna.⁴⁴³

In 1788, when Lippert's two-year engagement with the *Singspiel* troupe in Vienna came to an end due to the emperor disbanding the troupe, Lippert was the only member of any significance to have left Vienna while his colleagues like Adamberger were absorbed back into the *buffa* troupe.⁴⁴⁴ Lippert moved from Vienna to Berlin, where he was offered a contract position at the *Nationaltheater* but it would appear that Lippert took a detour to

⁴⁴² Theaterzettel for 08 December 1797. Image: Courtesy of ANNO Historische österreichische Zeitungen und Zeitschriften /Austrian National Library.

⁴⁴³ Lippert's career as an editor-translator than just a translator is the thread running through this thesis. A brief biography and involvement in the 1798 Vienna production of Guglielmi's *La pastorella nobile* (1788) is discussed in Chapter 2.

⁴⁴⁴ Woodfield, *Cabals and Satires*, p. 157. See also: Section 2.5.2 *Die adeliche Schäferinn* (1798, Vienna).

Pressburg.⁴⁴⁵ He debuted at the Erdődy theatre with Kumpf's troupe in 1788 in two Dittersdorf *Singspiele* and in the role of Count Almaviva in Paisiello's *Il Barbiere*, translated by Schüller.⁴⁴⁶ Lippert's familiarity with the Kumpf troupe and Girzik's translations might explain why the 1797 Vienna translation in the manuscript libretto, *A-Wn Kt. 50/6* is predominantly based on Girzik's version from Pressburg, as can be seen in the table below.

Table 4.3 Sources of the Vienna 1797 manuscript libretto of *Axur, König von Ormus*

<i>A-Wn Kt. 50/6 (1797, Vienna)</i>	Girzik	Schmieder
Altamor: Ganz nach Wunsch ist Ort		
Chor: Fort, wir hören sie schon kommen		
Duett (Atar, Aspasia): Hier unter süßen Düften		
Aria (Aspasia): Mich verlieren?	-	-
Duett (Aspasia, Atar): Jeder Athemzug Geliebte		
Chor: Ach!		
Atar: O Himmel! Ah unsere Wohnung		
Duett (Axur, Biscroma): Ärgere mich nicht Biscroma!		
Ariette (Biscroma): Bedeckt vom Blute		
Atamor: Es ist Vollbracht, niemand erfuhr was!		
Aria (Altamor): Vor den ersten Morgenschimmer		
Axur, Altamor: Herrlich! – Nur weiter!		

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid. See also: Albert Emil Brachvogel, *Geschichte des Königlichen theaters zu Berlin: Nach archivalien des königlich geheimen Staatsarchivs und des königlichen Theaters*, 2 vols (Berlin: O. Janke, 1877), II, pp. 101, 132.

⁴⁴⁶ While there are no dates given for the 1788 season at the Erdődy theatre, it can be reasonably presumed that this would have been between Lippert's engagement in Vienna ending and the start of his contract in Berlin.

'Um die hohen Gäste mit abwechselndem Vergnügenden zu unterhalten, so erhielten im vorigen Jahre zween k.k. Opersänger von Wien, nämlich Herr Lippert und Herr Rothe die Genehmigung auf dem hochgräflichen Operntheater auftreten zu können. Herr Lippert debütierte dreymal: in der Oper – Doktor und Apotheker als Feldherr Sichel; in --- Betrug durch Aberglauben als Bedienter Wilhelm, und endlich in – Barbier von Sevilla, als Graf Almaviva, und wurde mit allgemeinen Beyfall beehrt. –' Schüller, *Hochgräflich-Erdödischer Theaterallmanach auf das Jahr 1788*, pp. 43–44.

<i>A-Wn Kt. 50/6 (1797, Vienna)</i>	Girzik	Schmieder
Chor: Geht! In Asien schönsten Geilden		
Aria (Aspasia): Des schwarzen Verrats	-	-
Aria (Atar): Erbamen O König!		
Rec., Aria (Atar): Sklavin? – Aspasia eine Sklavin? --- Ein paradiesischer Schimmer umstrahlt sie		
Aria (Axur): Wo ist nun der Muth der Helden?		
Aria (Atar): Wenn deines Gedächtnis würdig		
Aria (Atar): Schöne Izra was stiehlt dein Herze?		
Finale: Eh noch Aurorens Schimmer		
Aria (Arteneo): Fürchte die Wuth der unbänd'gen Krieger!		
Aria (Axur): Ruffe nur bald das Volk zusammen		
Aria (Atar): Mitleidvollen gnädigsten Götter!		
Duetto (Biscroma, Atar): Auf dem Meer wirst du vergebens		
Aria (Atar): Ich komm, nichts soll mich hindern		
Aria (Arteneo): So wie am erquickenden Morgen		
Arioso (Arteneo): König des persischen Meers!		
Aria (Arteneo): Blick auf uns vom Sternenthron!		
Chor: Atar, Atar!		
Chor: Atar! Atar! Riefe der Knabe!		
Aria (Atar): Wer von der Ehre, vom Ruhm durchglüht ist		
Chor von Soldaten und Volk: O, du gerechte Vorsicht!		
Duetto (Biscroma, Axur): Ich bin ruhig ohne murren		
Aria (Urson): Wie zwey ergrimte Löwen		

<i>A-Wn</i> Kt. 50/6 (1797, Vienna)	Girzik	Schmieder
Chor: Es schalle die Freude bis über die Wolken		
Arleccinade: Du hast mir dein Herz versprochen		
Chor: Ha! Ha! Das ist vortreflich.		
Romanze (Biscroma): Bin geboren in römischen Lande[n]		
Duetto (Atar, Biscroma): Trübs nichts gerechete Götter!		
Aria (Axur): Glühend von Liebestrieben		
Aria (Axur): Elender, schlechter Sklave! -- O! Wenn der Frevler empfinden könnte		
Aria (Axur): O Gott! Du Schützer der Armen!		
Duetto (Atar, Biscroma): Komme! Komme Freund in meine Arme		
Aria (Aspasia): Ach holder Tod!		
Rondò (Aspasia): Schon war das die süsse Hoffnung		
Duetto (Aspasia, Fiametta): Rette mich von dieser Schande!		
Aria (Fiametta): Bleib nur von fern dort stehen!		
Finale: Duetto (Fiametta, Atar): Unverschämter frecher Lügner! Du bist also gar nicht stumm?		
Urson, Biscroma, Atar, Chor: Kommt meine Freunde!		
Aria (Axur): Schwacher Götz eines thörichten Volkes!		
Aria (Atar): Ich kann doch nur einmal sterben		
(Axur, Fiametta, Atar, Arteneo, Aspasia): Welche in dem Gewand Aspasiens verbogen ist		
Terzetto (Aspasia, Axur, Atar): Bösewicht! Mein Muth vereitelt		
Chor von Soldaten: Atar! Atar! Sey uns gegeben		

<i>A-Wn Kt. 50/6 (1797, Vienna)</i>	Girzik	Schmieder
Rec. acc. (Atar, Biscroma Chor): Ärmster! – Ha! -- Diese That tilgte nun die Schande seiner Verbrechen		
(Atar, Arteneo, Biscroma, Urson, Chor, Axur): Laß dich erbitten Atar!		
Schlusschor: Welche Wonne durchströmt unsre Seelen		

Although Kt. 50/6 is the accompanying German *Textbuch* for the two-volume performance score Kt. 50 (with text in Italian), it does not always follow the score. The score shows the five-act structure, with the instruction to merge Acts I and II. However, this manuscript libretto very clearly follows the four-act structure, just like Schmieder's and is the likely reason for the attribution to Schmieder, instead of Girzik. It must be stressed that music for the text of the first scene from Act I in Kt. 50/6 is not present in the score and was likely based on the original MS, from where Girzik is also likely to have translated his version. In Kt. 50/6, it is entirely from Girzik's version, which implies that a closer examination would have disproved the idea that it was Schmieder's version used for the late 1790s revival of *Axur* in Vienna. Scene 2 of Kt. 50/6 follows the structure of Schmieder's, in that it collapses both Scene 2 and 3 of the 1788 version into a single scene so that Acts I and II are combined. The translations however are predominately by Girzik, save for two exceptions: Aspasia's aria *Perdermi? E chi potria* (Scene 1 in the 1788 Italian version) occurs in an entirely new translation, different from that in Girzik (*Mich verlieren? – ha keine Macht*) and in Schmieder (*Mich verlieren? Uns zu trennen!*). The closing recitative from Atar (*Tutto Aspasia è perduto*) is however taken from Schmieder. Thus, in the first act itself, it becomes evident that Kt. 50/6 is an edited version consisting of Girzik's, Schmieder's and an unknown new translator's work, which is most likely to have been Lippert.

Scenes 3 to 5 in Kt. 50/6 are from Girzik's translation. However, in the performance score, the Lobkowitz libretto and Kt. 50 as well as the libretto manuscript Kt. 50/6, there is an aria of Aspasia, *Del nero tradimento*, that is missing from both the original libretto, the Girzik translation as well as the Schmieder translation. While its absence from the original libretto and the Schmieder translation is to be anticipated, the omission from the Girzik translation is the only instance where the additional performance score material from the original libretto has been omitted.

Table 4.4 Comparison of Aspasia's aria 'Del nero tradimento' from *Axur, Re d'Ormus*⁴⁴⁷

Italian text	German text
1787, Vienna (Lobkowitz libretto)	1797, Vienna (Kt 50/6 Manuscript)
ASP. Del nero tradimento Dunque l'autor tu sei? È questo il premio, indegno! Che a quella sè tu rendi, Che sola e vita, e regno, Salvò più volte a te! Ma dove, ahimè, trasportami Del mio dolor l'eccesso!	Des schwarzen Verrats Hast du sich beschlossen? Unwürdiger so wirst du lohnen die du für diesen Glauben leistet, Dein Leben, Reich und alles hat Sie mehrmals gerettet! Aber wohin, ach, bringst du mich mich das Übermaß von Leiden!
AX. (La rendono le sue pene Più bella agli occhi miei.)	Axur: (Ihr Kummer macht sie in meinen Augen noch schöner.)
ASP. Perdona, o Dei? perdona Al cor d'affanni oppresso. Rendimi al caro sposo, Abbi pietà di me. (cade in svenimento.) Se Axur va in collera, Se Axur minaccia, Sappiam che il fulmine Lontan non è.	
Prima che scoppino Suoi sdegni orribili Seguiamo gli ordini Del nostro Re.	
(Tutti partono menando seco Asp.).	

With Kt. 50 bearing this aria, it can again be reliably assumed that it was prepared from the performance score and the German version for this aria is the work of an editor-translator, who mixed and matched portions of the Girzik and Schmieder translations. In Kt. 50, only the first stanza of Aspasia's aria is fully retained, along with Axur's response. A truncated quatrain from Aspasia's response is then followed by Biscroma's interjection. Scenes 6 and 7 are also in mostly in Girzik's version; in Scene 6 with Atar's recitative and aria (*Come? Aspasia*

⁴⁴⁷ *Axur, Re d'Ormus: dramma tragicomico in cinque atti da rappresentarsi nel teatro di società di S.A. il principe regnante di Lobkowitz, Duca in Raudnitz* (Vienna: Presso Mattia Andrea Schmidt, 1788), p.12; A-Wn, Kt 50/6, f. 32r.

una schiava?), Kt. 50/6 features Girzik's translation of the recitative but amends certain portions of the aria, such as the substitution of the word *Blicken* with *Augen*, for example.

Act II of Kt. 50, which like Schmieder's, corresponds to Act III of the 1788 version, begins with an aria for Axur, not present in the original sources. The rest of the first scene and short second scene is from Girzik's version. The 1788 Italian version MS has two versions for Scene 3, which is made up of Atar's aria: *Dal qual nuova sciagura* is retained, whereas the *Dei pietosi, eterni dei* has been crossed out. Kt. 50/6 has a new translation to this crossed out aria of Atar (*Mitleidvollen gnädigsten Götter!*) with an extra recitative for Atar (*Mit meiner Quälen*) – this choice might also reflect the importance of the 1789 Dresden version, in which *Dei pietosi* was included.⁴⁴⁸ Scenes 4 to 6 thereafter again follow Girzik's translation.

Act III corresponds to Act IV of the 1788 version and offers a more nuanced case of translation. While the first scene is taken from Girzik's version, Scene 2 features a condensation of the original scene with Scene 3 from Schmieder's version. Scene 3 reverts to using Girzik's version, while Scene 4 is a mix of both Girzik's and Schmieder's versions: the harlequinade in German is based on Schmieder's translation, while Biscroma's *Nato sono io* is in Girzik's (*Bin geboren in römischen Lande[n]*). The following scene begins with a recitative for Biscroma and Atar in Schmieder's version (with Schmieder's use of the name 'Tarat' substituted with 'Atar') and the subsequent accompanied recitative of Atar is in Girzik's translation. The duet for Atar and Biscroma is not based on the *Salvo io son* version featured in the 1788 libretto, Girzik's version or the MS. However, in the MS, Salieri also provides an alternative to the duet, *Deh tu secondo cielo*, which is used in Kt. 50. The new German text to this seen in Kt. 50/6 -- *Trübs nichts gerechete Götter! Mein Leben und Glück!* – has been added to the autograph score, in Salieri's own hand.⁴⁴⁹

This does indeed support the hypothesis that Salieri was constantly involved in *Axur's* revival in Vienna in the late 1790s and possibly also collaborated with Lippert on the Kt. 50 performance score. Scene 6 is based on Girzik, but in Kt. 50, Atar's aria and subsequent duet with Biscroma is split into Scene 7 and based on Schmieder. The opening recitative (*Ach Fiametta! -- Könnt ich entfliehen*) of Scene 8, which is dominated by Aspasia, is based on Girzik's *Rathe mir Fiametta*, but with minor deletions. The same is true of Aspasia's rondò, where Girzik's version is retained, with some alterations. Scenes 9 and 10 are entirely from Girzik's version. The opening recitative of Scene 11 (Fiametta and Biscroma's *Muthig*

⁴⁴⁸ See: *D-DI* Mus.3796-F-502.

⁴⁴⁹ *A-Wn* Mus. Hs. 17049, II. F.145r.

Fiametta) is from Girzik, while *Fiametta's* aria *Bleib nur von fern dort stehen* is from Schmieder. The finale to the third act is based on Girzik's version, with some tightening of action. The final Act IV is entirely based on Girzik, with almost no amendments. In summary, Kt. 50/6 is a tightly edited, collaborative translation made up of Girzik's and Schmieder's known versions and establishes the wider reach and impact of Girzik's translations beyond the Erdődy stage in Pressburg.

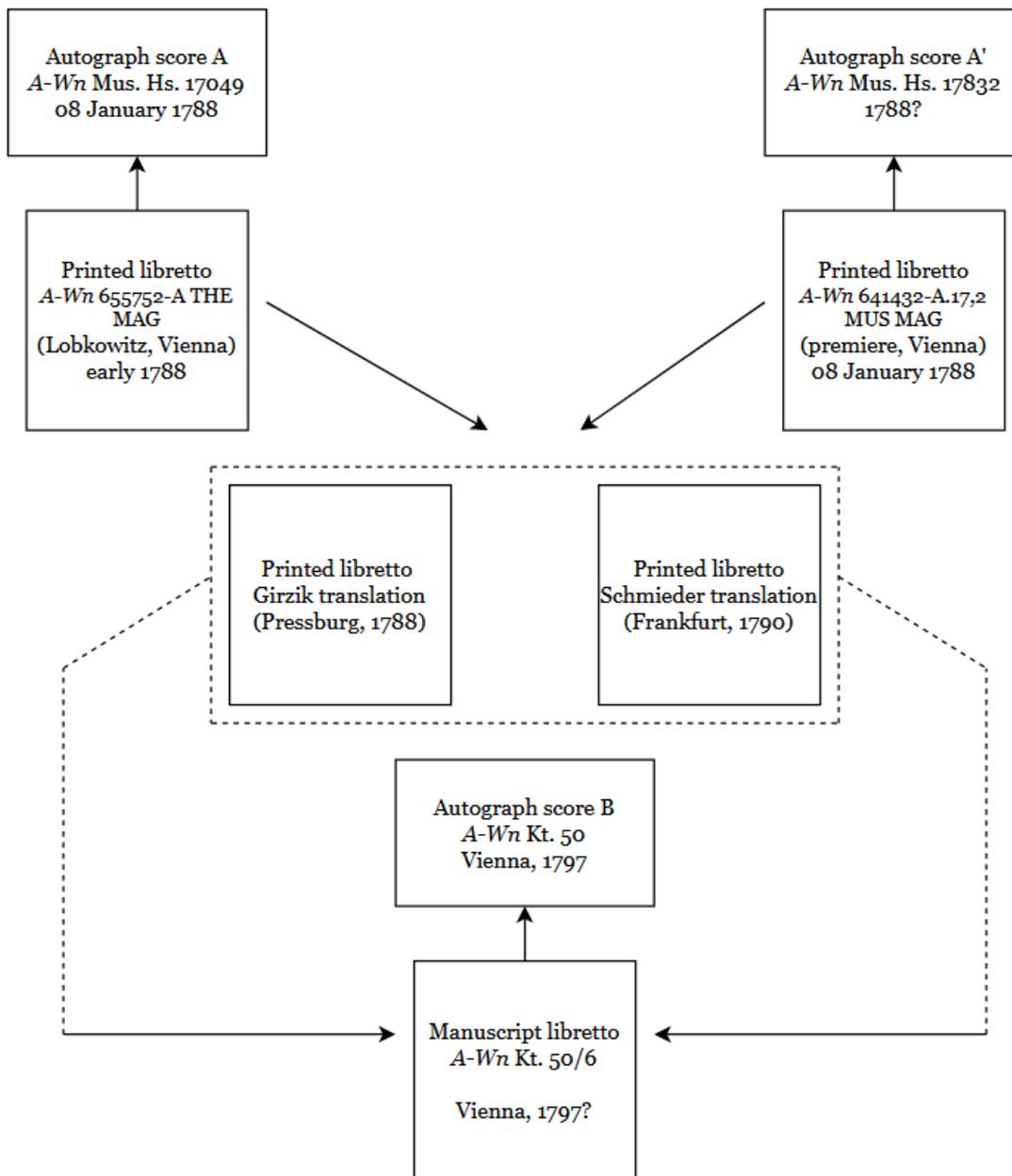


Figure 4.3 Selected early circulation history of translations of *Axur, Re d'Ormus*: 1788-1797

The figure above shows an overview of how both Girzik's translation of *Axur* in Pressburg as well as Schmieder's translation performed in Frankfurt two years later played an important

role in shaping the manuscript libretto of *Axur* prepared for its 1797 revival in Vienna in German. This German version of *Axur* as *Axur, König von Ormus* remained in the Viennese repertory until 1805: after the first performance on 8 December 1797, it was repeated on 15th of the same month and received two performances in January (25 and 30) and March (17 and 21). Thereafter, it reappeared in January 1804 and was performed 16 times until 6 February 1805.⁴⁵⁰

Axur was a ground-breaking opera for more reasons than one; its translations into the vernacular proved to be vital in the formation of distinct cultural identities in the early nineteenth century (such as in Poland, no doubt aided by the very political overtones of the subject matter).⁴⁵¹ Its circulation in German in Vienna in the early nineteenth century, with a fair amount of success in the second run (1804-1805) makes it one of Salieri's only operas to have held fort long after tastes had changed. In this particular context, it is important to again re-evaluate Girzik's contribution and the larger impact of the Erdődy theatre in Pressburg in the history of the reception and circulation of *Axur*.

On a much larger scale, this instance of Kt. 50/6 being a multiple-author translation, but often misattributed to a single (and often more famous) translator, highlights the highly collaborative creative efforts (even in the face of competition. It again showcases the Vienna-Pressburg link and how the deeper networks of actors and singers—in this case, Lippert, who in all likelihood, would have assisted, or at the very least, seen the Pressburg production of *Axur*—were vital agents of circulation involved in the production of German language texts and adaptations of popular Italian operas.

4.4 Conclusion

With even a cursory overview of the *Bearbeitungspraxis* involved in the performance of *Giulio Sabino* or *Axur* makes it clear that neither of these works, even with any amount of editing, would have sounded *Singspiel*-like enough to approach pass off close in style to a work like *Die Entführung* or *Der Doktor und der Apotheker*. The subjects at hand, one being an *opera seria* and another a work with clear *seria* roots but highlighted *buffo* elements, were adapted with certain understanding of the fact that the end result was going to veer closer to an Italianate *Singspiel* in practice.

⁴⁵⁰ See: the Vienna database in the accompanying materials.

⁴⁵¹ See also: Parkitna, pp. 159–61.

Chapter 4

In terms of cultural transfer, these two works once again underscore the importance of firstly acknowledging and then identifying agents of transfer, especially in the case of *Axur* in Vienna in 1797, with its multiple layers of adaptation practice and collaborators. The 1797 German libretto manuscript *A-Wn* Kt. 50/6 is a clear example of how the North German adaptations—in this case, Schmieder's translation of *Axur* for the Mainz *Nationaltheater*, which was heard in Frankfurt in 1790—had also begun to percolate into Viennese performances. In the case of *Giulio Sabino*, it comes clear that while the Viennese performances acted as the impetus for the Pressburg adaptation, the work itself was based on the original Venetian version, instead of the highly altered Viennese version of Sarti's opera. More significantly, the retention of the recitatives into German expands the boundaries of what is perceived of German translations of Italian works. Unlike in the translation of *buffa* works as seen in Chapter 2, where the simple recitatives are replaced with spoken dialogue and rendering the work in the form of a traditional *Singspiel*. The resultant work stretches the boundaries of *Singspiel* as practice in terms of form and convention and in doing so, contributes not to a confined *Singspiel* tradition but a nascent, German operatic idiom.

Chapter 5 To the North: Bonn and Hamburg

The German-speaking lands of the late eighteenth century were made up of very distinct political entities, including territories under the Holy Roman Empire, free Hanseatic cities and other regions of the Habsburg monarchy. These political structures also manifested in different theatre cultures, with variations even across a broad, linguistically unifying initiative such as the *Nationaltheater*. In this fifth and final chapter, I take extend the operatic conversation to the north of Vienna to investigate the relationship between Vienna, Bonn and Hamburg. I also briefly examine how the relationship between Vienna and Berlin towards the turn of the nineteenth century led to the development of a pan-German *Singspiel*.

The two cities discussed in this chapter, Bonn and Hamburg, represent different theatrical ideas and institutions as *Nationaltheater* and *Stadttheater*. While their relationship with Vienna was similar in style, it was different in function and reflects how Viennese repertory of not just *opera buffa* and *Singspiel*, but also *opera buffa* in translation interacted with and gradually displaced the strong literary and theatrical traditions of the North German *Singspiel*.⁴⁵²

Further, I trace the early circulation history of Paisiello's *Il Re Teodoro in Venezia* (1784, Vienna) in German translation in Bonn and Hamburg, and use it to briefly examine how piano reduction scores began to be prepared for circulation. I use excerpts from the correspondence between Gustav Wilhelm Grossmann and Johann Heinrich Böhm and to provide a brief insight into the networks that enabled the circulation of the German translation of *Il Re Teodoro* in translation. While I do not discuss the repertory of the Berlin *Nationaltheater* in detail, I provide a brief overview of its links to Vienna by once again highlighting the career of Lippert, making yet another case for the networks of circulation in the late eighteenth century. Finally, to bring all the threads in this thesis together, I expand further on the case study used in Chapter 2, Martín y Soler's *L'arbore di Diana* (1787, Vienna), to show how multiple translations of a single work across the German-speaking lands fed into each other by the turn of the century.

⁴⁵² Bauman, *North German Opera in the Age of Goethe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). Bauman's work looks at the two-fold development of the North German opera ('North German' defined broadly as Saxony, Thuringia, Prussia and Hannover) from its distinct literary form and from its beginnings in the comic operas of Hiller and Weisse as well as its development through the mixed influence of Italian, French and other styles in the repertories of the German companies.

5.1 North German Opera or *Singspiel*?

The geographic scope I ascribe to ‘north’ differs from Bauman’s definition of the same in his work *North German Opera in the Age of Goethe*.⁴⁵³ Bauman defines it as: ‘Saxony and the Thuringian States, Prussia, including its possessions Silesia and East Prussia, and the kingdom of Hannover and adjacent lands to the north, most in Lower Saxony. My definition of ‘north’ is broader, including lands north of the Austrian territory, the Rhineland and central Germany. This expansion of scope allows me to observe the trends across distinct regions of the German-speaking lands, which would otherwise remain disparate due to their political and by extension, cultural differences. As I demonstrate further on in this chapter, even though the different theatrical institutions in Bonn, Hamburg and Berlin differing in function due to socio-political contexts, they were united in a stylistic sense due to the growing dominance of Viennese repertory towards the Northern lands in general. In this section, I clarify my use of the term ‘North German *Singspiel*’ in the place of ‘North German opera,’ and recap the history of the genre to frame the discussion about assimilation of styles further on in the chapter.

The question of North German *Singspiel* or opera is a taxonomical debate that is reminiscent of the preliminary discussions presented in Chapter 1. In his seminal work on this genre aptly titled *North German Opera in the Age of Goethe*, Bauman uses the term ‘North German opera’ to cover the output of the North German composers in the late eighteenth century. Bauman’s justification for the same centres around the loosely defined terminologies prevalent in late eighteenth-century practice where generic descriptors on title pages of printed libretti could be as specific or as vague as they come.⁴⁵³ Where Bauman uses the variance and vagaries of eighteenth-century terminology to adopt ‘opera’ as the umbrella term instead of *Singspiel*, I use the same vagaries to justify the usage of *Singspiel*. This is primarily for the purpose of consistency of argument, because in this context, the term *Singspiel* is set apart as a German musical idiom— however deduced or derived from Italian and French musical theatre — at least by virtue of language on the minimum conditions of conforming to basic stylistic conventions such a mixture of spoken dialogue and musical numbers.

The early history of the *Singspiel* is intrinsically bound with North German literary and theatre culture traditions, wherein the flexibility of using *Singspiel* as an umbrella term is reinforced by the basic convention of spoken dialogue interspersed with sung numbers. In initial phase of the North German *Singspiel*, the majority of the works in this genre were

⁴⁵³ Ibid, p. 9.

translations from either French, English or Italian works, ranging in genre from plays for spoken theatre to *opéras comiques* and *opere buffe* and suitably adapted to the demands of an acting troupe with very few trained singers.⁴⁵⁴

The nature of the transposition across genres was also facilitated by the fluidity in definition of the *Singspiel* as a genre: in the first two decades of its development leading up to the 1770s, particularly in the North German style epitomised by the works of Hiller and Weisse, there was no set convention for the placement, or even integration, of musical numbers with the spoken dialogues and conformed more towards the idea of a play with incidental music (*Schauspiel mit Gesang*) than its Italian counterpart, the *opera buffa*. Joubert argues that it was the easy replicability of the *Singspiel* numbers, not just on stage but also in the public sphere that embedded early *Singspiel* conventions such as the simple strophic *Lied* came into practice.⁴⁵⁵

In the decade that followed, there was a tangible decline in the production of North German *Singspiele* with no dissemination beyond their immediate performance circles, making them isolated local phenomena.⁴⁵⁶ Coterminous with this rapid descent, the southern German style, exemplified by the Viennese *Singspiel*, experienced a rapid ascent. Part of this was due to the sudden influx of high quality texts supplied by librettists of the North German *Singspiel*, who were more rooted in the strong literary traditions of the Enlightenment.⁴⁵⁷ Probably the most well-known example of this phenomenon is Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*: although Stephanie der Jüngere claimed to be librettist, it was actually entirely modelled and copied from Bretzner's libretto for Johann André's 1781 *Singspiel* for the Berlin stage. While André's work remained a local phenomenon, Mozart's work was soon heard all over German speaking stages in what was to be a defining turning point in the history of the *Singspiel*.

Simultaneously, other works from the Viennese repertory—in particular the Viennese *opere buffe* of the Josephinian period—began to circulate in German translation in the northern German-speaking lands. This trend further substantiates the hypothesis put forward in Chapter 2 regarding the centrality of Vienna as hub for this circulation and transmission of Italian opera in German translation. In a broader sense, while pressing economic concerns in

⁴⁵⁴ Hiller did in fact try to write works that challenged the singers of the Koch troupe that he was writing for, but quickly found that this was not given a good response. Johann Adam Hiller, *Treatise on Vocal Performance and Ornamentation by Johann Adam Hiller*, p.9.

⁴⁵⁵ Joubert, 'Songs to Shape a German Nation', pp. 218–19.

⁴⁵⁶ A variety of localised factors including cyclic loss of patronage and the itinerant nature of travelling troupes who performed this repertory combined contributed to this phenomenon.

⁴⁵⁷ Bauman, p.7.

and amongst the troupes in the North German theatres facilitated the rapid spread of Viennese repertory, it was ably bolstered and furthered by a network of artists on the move from every corner of the German-speaking lands.

5.1.1 Institutions: Nation, court, and theatre

While the late eighteenth-century political structures of the German-speaking lands, both North and South, gave rise to diverse theatre cultures, a common thread emerged—the growth of and appetite for German-language repertory for the spoken stage and music theatre. Through the 1780s, Viennese repertory quickly made its way through the northern German-speaking lands amongst varied theatrical institutions. Therefore, in this section, I briefly summarise the variety of institutional frameworks within which these works were circulated, principally the *Nationaltheater*.

For most of the eighteenth century, opera in German-speaking courts, irrespective of polity, predominantly meant Italian opera. This art form was associated with prestige and a certain elitism, involving substantial costs related to Italian or Italian-trained singers, who commanded higher fees, costs of staging not to mention, a foreign tongue. Additionally, the performance venues, which were typically court theatres, implied limited access for the general public. Towards the last quarter of the century, German courts across the German-speaking lands began to adopt commercial Italian opera practices, moving away from opera as exclusive courtly entertainment and sign of representational power. This shift aligned with the increasing popularity of *opera buffa* over *opera seria* and was also driven by socio-political and cultural developments, offering greater economic viability.

Under this model, impresarios or lessees managed troupes and performances on a seasonal basis. The court provided the opera house, and a financial arrangement was agreed upon. This transition was facilitated by the emerging concept of a *Nationaltheater*, rooted in Enlightenment ideals that aimed to foster a pan-German identity.⁴⁵⁸ In the next section, I discuss two of these institutional frameworks through examples to highlight their differences in form even as they served the same function of presenting German-language works to the wider public.

⁴⁵⁸ Meyer, 'Das Nationaltheater in Deutschland als höfisches Institut: Versuch einer Begriffs- und Funktionsbestimmung', p. 130.

5.2 The Bonn and Hamburg stages

Outside the mainly Austrian sphere of influence that has been discussed thus far, the stages in the other German-speaking lands had determinedly varied institutional arrangements. At this point in the chapter, I explore the institutional frameworks within which the Bonn and Hamburg stages operated to highlight their differences in form and function. These stages offer variety in their contrast to Vienna and the subsequent discussion about the prevalence of the Viennese repertory in both the Hamburg and Bonn *Spielpläne* offer further validation of the hub-and-spoke-model of Vienna as a centre of circulation of Italian opera.

Bonn was an ecclesiastical electorate that came under the Electorate of Cologne. In the 1770s Bonn, Elector Maximilian Friedrich mirrored the situation in Dresden and started employing German singers in his Italian opera troupe, a move that was primarily financially motivated, as German singers could be employed at a fraction of the cost compared to Italian singers. The genesis of Bonn's German theatre could possibly be traced back to this move, wherein German opera singers with experience in the Italian tradition or even, Italian-trained were employed side-by-side Italian opera singers, who were often members of itinerant troupes.⁴⁵⁹

The transition to this system was not smooth: if the reasons for introducing German singers could be attributed to financial shrewdness, in just under three years in 1774, when the Elector Maximilian Friedrich dismissed the Italian ensemble in its entirety, the reasons remained unclear and a cause of speculation.⁴⁶⁰ In many German theatres in this period, and specifically in the 1770s, many German troupes stepped into the vacuum left by a stable Italian opera company. These troupes certainly have a difficult and precarious career, often performing a set season in one city before moving onto another.⁴⁶¹

In 1778, a '*Deutsche Schaubühne*,' or a German theatre was established in the Electoral palace, two years after Joseph II established the *Nationaltheater* in Vienna. Some of the German courts followed the Viennese model, looking towards the imperial capital to establish norms. While it would be easy to assume that the establishment of this German theatre in Bonn mirrored Vienna, this common assumption does not hold true, even in terms of the

⁴⁵⁹ This is very much keeping with similar practices in contemporaneous stages such as Mannheim, Munich. Riepe, 'The establishment of a "deutsche Schaubühne"', in Reisinger et al., p. 26 footnote 50.

⁴⁶⁰ See also: *ibid.*, p. 27-30 for a brief account of the various reasons and speculations relating to dismissal of the Italian ensemble at Bonn in 1774.

⁴⁶¹ Bauman, p.5.

chronology of establishment.⁴⁶² In the German-speaking lands, Vienna's was not the first *Nationaltheater*: it was preceded by the unsuccessful Hamburg enterprise where the idea was first put into practice, Dresden (established in the 1760s), Münster (1775) and was followed by Mannheim (1777). In 1778, they were set up in Munich and Regensburg as well.

Bonn's German theatre had two phases: one from 1778 to 1784 and another from 1789 to 1794. The theatrical enterprise in Bonn from 1778 to 1784 was termed the Kur-Köllnische Hofschauspielergesellschaft and consisted of a resident troupe headed by Gustav Friedrich Wilhelm Grossmann, one of the most important theatre directors of the northern German lands. The establishment in Bonn worked under the joint direction of Grossman and Johann Friedrich Helmut and Neefe as Grossman's music director. Even though it appeared to have been just German stage promoted by the Elector with no outlook onto the *Nationaltheater* movement, it aligned with the larger goals of the *Nationaltheater* movement as far as the promotion of German language theatre was concerned.

At Bonn, the Grossman troupe prolifically brought new works to the stage with the repertory being a mixture of spoken drama and German language music theatre. Instead of using what appears to have been the standard method for obtaining performance material as recommended by his colleague Johann Böhm, who obtained his performance material directly from Vienna 'due to the industrial level of copying and circulation,' Grossmann relied on a personal network of connections like the publisher Nikolaus Simrock and Neefe in Bonn as well as Anton Grams in Prague.⁴⁶³

Grossman's repertory included Italian operas in German translation as well as original *Singspiele* like Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*.⁴⁶⁴ One of the key performers who distinguished himself in the role of Belmonte in this *Singspiel* was the tenor Friedrich Karl Lippert, who had been a member of the *Stadttheater* in Pressburg up until 1783. At this point, possibly looking for both for bigger roles and better pay, he wrote to Grossman with a recommendation from Friedrich Ludwig Schröder to become a part of Grossman's troupe.

After the death of the Elector in 1784, there was a significant period of five years when Bonn did not have a resident opera troupe, be it in German or Italian, which Woodfield terms Bonn's 'operatic interregnum.'⁴⁶⁵ Itinerant troupes performed short seasons, including

⁴⁶² Ibid., p. 48.

⁴⁶³ Riepe, "The Establishment of a "deutsche Schaubühne", in Reisinger et al., p. 95; Milada Jonášová, 'Anton Grams berichtet an Gustav Großmann, Mozart schriebe eine neue Oper', *Hudební věda*, 53.1 (2016), 29–54 (pp. 37–38).

⁴⁶⁴ *D-Leu* Slg. Kestner/I/C/II/235/Nr. 1 and Nr. 2. See: Appendix D.2 and D.3.

⁴⁶⁵ Woodfield, 'Christian Gottlob Neefe and the Bonn National Theatre', p. 290-291.

Grossmann's troupe itself in 1787 but the first real signs of a theatre materialising were to be seen only around 1788 and even then, was delayed until early 1789. This second phase of the German theatre in in many ways an actual case of Bonn trying to follow the Viennese model in terms of repertory as well as the *Nationaltheater* concept.⁴⁶⁶

In contrast to Bonn's status as an ecclesiastical electorate, or a *Residenzstadt*, Hamburg was a free Hanseatic city, or a *freie Stadt*. Although these varying political arrangements led to diverse theatrical institutions as discussed in the previous section, the pattern was no different in Hamburg in the 1780s.⁴⁶⁷ Friedrich Ludwig Schröder, who had made a name for himself as a Shakespeare actor in Hamburg in the 1770s, moved to Vienna, where he was a highly feted member of Joseph II's *Nationaltheater*, between 1776 and 1781.

In April 1785, he came back to Hamburg to again take over the direction of the *Stadttheater* with the aim of realigning Hamburg's theatre enterprise with the loftiest of the *Nationaltheater* ideas in terms of promoting the German language and ideals through spoken drama. With this in mind, Schröder's initial calendar of performances excluded music theatre entirely. However, as the author of the *Hamburgische Theatergeschichte*, Johann Friedrich Schütze observed, public demand and poor receipts forced him to reinstate the opera within six months, beginning with Neefe's *Adelheit von Veltheim* in November 1786. By 1787 July though, Dittersdorf's *Der Doktor und der Apotheker* had displaced this work as the *Lieblingsoper* of the Hamburg public, alongside *Die Entführung*.⁴⁶⁸ Although Schröder was initially reluctant to embrace music theatre as part of his repertory at the Hamburg theatre, very soon, it dominated his troupe's *Spielplan* and the immense range of works performed here, even if not for multiple performances, is indicative of the change in tastes across the German-speaking lands.

5.2.1 Viennese repertory in Bonn and Hamburg

In this section, I look at how Viennese repertory slowly gained a stronghold in Bonn and Hamburg, displacing the North German *Singspiele*. Given that the second phase of the Bonn *Nationaltheater* lasted from 1789 to 1794 only, I have restricted the data used for the

⁴⁶⁶ Elisabeth Reisinger and John Wilson, 'The theatre under Maximilian Franz, 1784-1794' in Reisinger et al., p. 135.

⁴⁶⁷ The history of the Hamburg *Nationaltheater* concept and its deeply interwoven links to the North German *Singspiel* goes without saying. See also: Joachim Wenzel, *Geschichte der Hamburger Oper 1678-1978* (Hamburg: Hamburgische Staatsoper, 1980).

⁴⁶⁸ Johann Friedrich Schütze, *Hamburgische Theatergeschichte* (Hamburg: bey J.P. Treder, 1794), p. 607.

Hamburg *Stadttheater* to cover the period 1786 to 1794. Instead of using a detailed performance calendar, I have used data pertaining to first performances of works on these two stages to generate the graphs presented in this stage. This data is based on already available material: for Bonn, I have adapted information spread across Elisabeth Reisinger and John Wilson's chapter titled 'The theatre under Maximilian Franz, 1784-1794.' For Hamburg, I have made use of the performance calendar on the 'Hamburger Stadttheater 1770-1850' database.⁴⁶⁹

In Bonn, the second phase of its German theatre reopened as the *Nationaltheater* in 1789, modelled on its Viennese counterpart, where the *Singspiel* troupe had just been dismissed for the second time in a decade and the *buffa* troupe had barely escaped from meeting with the same fate due to the economic constraints following Joseph II's disastrous war campaign. None of this was to be seen reflected in the Bonn repertory, whose performances were all in German, keeping with the *Nationaltheater* aims. The three tables below list the works performed at the theatre from 1789 to 1794, split by language.⁴⁷⁰

Table 5.1 Italian works in the operatic repertory of the Bonn *Nationaltheater*: 1789-1793

Bonn Season	Title of work in original language	Year of premiere	Place of premiere
1789	<i>L'arbore di Diana</i>	1787	Vienna
	<i>Il convito</i>	1782	Venice
	<i>La frascatana</i>	1774	Venice
	<i>La grotta di Trofonio</i>	1788	Vienna
1789/90	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	1787	Prague
	<i>Il barbiere di Siviglia</i>	1782	St Petersburg
	<i>La contadina di spirito</i>	1779	St Petersburg
	<i>Il Re Teodoro in Venezia</i>	1784	Vienna
	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	1786	Vienna
1790/91	<i>Gli avari in trappola</i>	1787	Dresden
	<i>Lo spirito di contraddizione</i>	1785	Dresden
	<i>Una cosa rara</i>	1786	Vienna
1791/92	<i>La sposa fedele</i>	1767	Venice

⁴⁶⁹ 'Hamburger Stadttheater 1770-1850: Digitaler Spielplan' (Universität Hamburg, 2016)

<https://www.stadttheater.uni-hamburg.de>

⁴⁷⁰ Adapted from Reisinger and Wilson, p. 155

Bonn Season	Title of work in original language	Year of premiere	Place of premiere
	<i>Fra i due litiganti il terzo gode</i>	1782	Milan
1792/93	<i>Axur, Re d'Ormus</i>	1788	Vienna
	<i>L'amor contrasto</i>	1789	Naples

Table 5.2 German works in the operatic repertory of the Bonn *Nationaltheater*: 1789-1793

Bonn Season	Title of work in original language	Year of premiere	Place of premiere
1789	<i>Ariadne auf Naxos</i>	1775	Gotha
	<i>Der Alchemist</i>	1778	Dresden
	<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	1782	Vienna
	<i>Romeo und Julie</i>	1776	Gotha
1789/90	<i>Der Apotheker und der Doktor</i>	1786	Vienna
1790/91	<i>Die schöne Schüsterin</i>	1779	Vienna
	<i>Die Dorfdeputierten</i>	1783	Munich
1791/92	<i>Das rote Käppchen</i>	1788	Vienna
	<i>Der Fürst und sein Volk</i>	1792	Bonn
1792/93	<i>Hieronymus Knicker</i>	1789	Vienna
	<i>Der Schiffspatron</i>	1789	Vienna
1793	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	1791	Vienna

Table 5.3 French works in the operatic repertory of the Bonn *Nationaltheater*: 1789-1793

Bonn Season	Title of work in original language	Year of premiere	Place of premiere
	<i>Julie</i>	1772	Paris
	<i>L'amant jaloux</i>	1777	Paris
1789	<i>La fausse magie</i>	1775	Paris
	<i>Nina, ou: La folle par amour</i>	1786	Paris
	<i>Les trois fermiers</i>	1777	Paris
	<i>La colonie</i>	1775	Paris
1789/90	<i>La rencontre imprévue</i>	1764	Vienna
	<i>Les deux chasseurs et la laitière</i>	1763	Paris
	<i>Paris</i>		

Bonn Season	Title of work in original language	Year of premiere	Place of premiere
1790/91	<i>Azémia</i>	1786	Fontainebleau
	<i>Le comet d'Albert</i>	1786	Fontainebleau
1791/92	<i>Félix</i>	1777	Fontainebleau
	<i>Les deux petits Savoyards</i>	1789	Paris

The repertory in Bonn shows a prevalence towards both the original Viennese *Singspiel* as well as the most successful Viennese *opere buffe* of the Josephinian period in German translation. Of the fourteen works of Viennese origin, seven were *Singspiel* and six, *opere buffa*. The lone French work, *Le rencontre imprévue*, was technically a German work by this point, as the *Singspiel* version, *Die Pilgrimme von Mekka* had become an established work in the Viennese *Singspiel* repertory.

Even from a cursory glance, it is evident that the majority of the works came from either Vienna or Paris, as can be seen from the graph below:

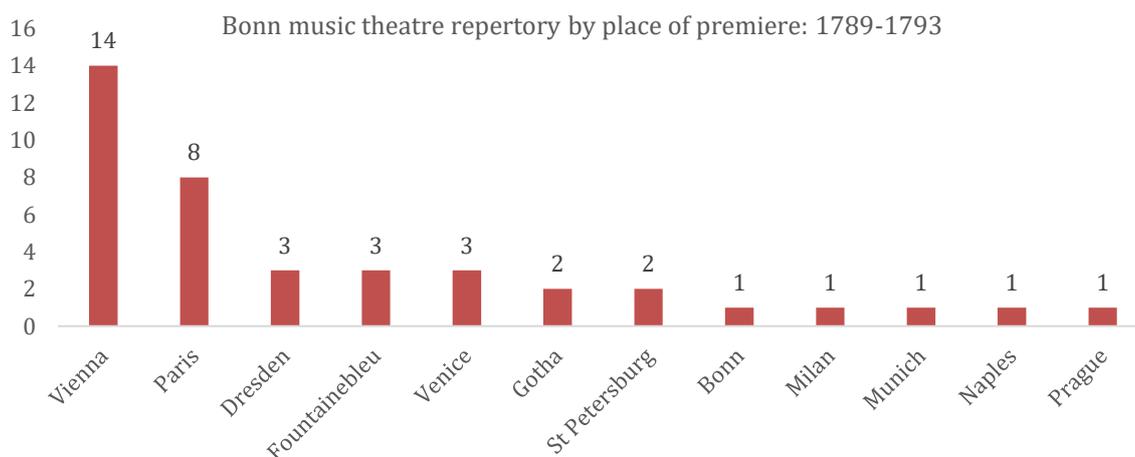


Figure 5.1 Bonn music theatre repertory by place of premiere: 1789-1793

The pie-chart below offers a visual representation of the Viennese works in the Bonn repertory between 1789 and 1794.

Viennese works in the Bonn repertory by original language:
1789-1794

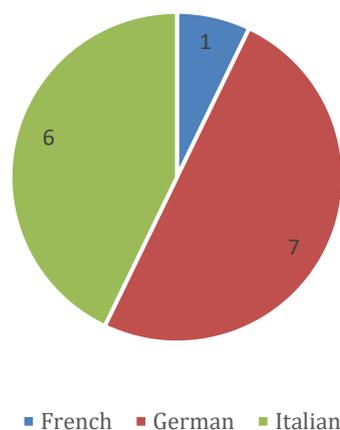


Figure 5.2 Viennese works in the Bonn music theatre repertory by original language: 1789-1794

In Hamburg, despite the entirely different structure and larger scale of the *Stadttheater* as an institution showcasing a much larger spread of works, the graph below echoes the same dominance of Viennese repertory in Hamburg.

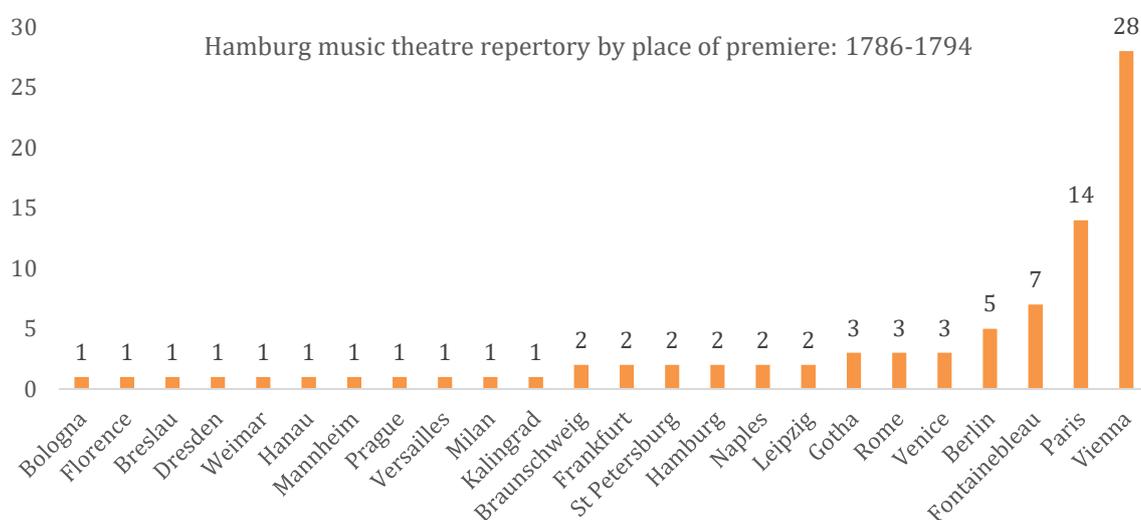


Figure 5.3 Hamburg music theatre repertory by place of premiere: 1786-1794

Hamburg's music theatre repertory was dominated by works from Vienna in this period just like in Bonn, but there remains a key point of divergence. While the Viennese *Singspiele* that were taken into the Bonn repertory belong mostly to the earlier period of work at the

Viennese *Nationalsingspiel* initiative, with the exception of *Die Zauberflöte*.⁴⁷¹ In Hamburg on the other hand, the *Zauberoper* from the suburban theatres such as Wenzel Müller's *Das Sonnenfest der Braminen* (1790, Vienna Theater in der Leopoldstadt) and *Zauberzither* (1791, Vienna Leopoldstadt theatre) were performed to great success.

Table 5.4 Viennese works in the operatic repertory of the Hamburg *Stadttheater*: 1786-1793

Title of works as performed	Original language	Original title of work
<i>Tarar</i>	Italian	<i>Axur Re d'Ormus</i>
<i>Lilla, oder Schönheit und Tugend</i>	Italian	<i>Una cosa rara</i>
<i>König Theodor in Venedig</i>	Italian	<i>Il Re Teodoro in Venezia</i>
<i>Figaro's Heyrath</i>	Italian	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>
<i>Don Juan, oder Der steinerne Gast</i>	Italian	<i>Don Giovanni</i>
<i>Die Schule der Eifersüchtigen, oder Das Narrenhaus</i>	Italian	<i>La scuola de' gelosi</i>
<i>Die Liebe unter den Handwerkern</i>	Italian	<i>L'amore artigino</i>
<i>Die Höhle des Trofonio</i>	Italian	<i>La grotta di Trofonio</i>
<i>Die Eifersucht auf der Probe</i>	Italian	<i>Il geloso in cimento</i>
<i>Der Talisman</i>	Italian	<i>Il Talismano</i>
<i>Der Baum der Diana</i>	Italian	<i>L'arbore di Diana</i>
<i>Democrit der Zweyte</i>	Italian	<i>Democrito Corretto</i>
<i>Das Kästchen mit der Chiffer</i>	Italian	<i>La cifra</i>
<i>Die unvermuthete Zusammenkunft, oder Die Pilgrimme von Mecca</i>	French	<i>Le rencontre imprévue</i>
<i>Oberon, oder König der Elfen</i>	German	
<i>Hieronymus Knicker</i>	German	
<i>Die Zauberzither</i>	German	
<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	German	
<i>Die Liebe im Narrenhause</i>	German	
<i>Die geplagten Ehemänner</i>	German	
<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	German	
<i>Die Dorfdeputirten</i>	German	

⁴⁷¹ See also: Maurer Zenck, 'Mozarts Opern in Hamburg 1787-1850', in *Musik, Bühne und Publikum: Materialien zum Hamburger Stadttheater 1770-1850*, Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft, 32 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2017), pp.125-200.

Title of works as performed	Original language	Original title of work
<i>Der Schiffspatron, oder Der Guthsherr</i>	German	
<i>Der Apotheker und der Doktor</i>	German	
<i>Der Apfeldieb, oder Der Schatzgräber</i>	German	
<i>Das Sonnenfest der Braminen</i>	German	
<i>Das Irrlicht, oder Endlich fand er sie</i>	German	
<i>Betrug durch Aberglauben</i>	German	

The pie chart below shows the distribution of Viennese works in the Hamburg repertory and is also a mirror image of the same for Bonn, except on a larger scale. The twenty-eight works of Viennese origin are equally split between German *Singspiele* and Italian works, which were heard in German translation. The sole French work skewing the data is Gluck's *Le rencontre imprévue*, which as discussed in relation to Bonn, had entered the Viennese repertory as a *Singspiel* work for all practical purposes.

Viennese works in the Hamburg repertory by original language: 1786-1794

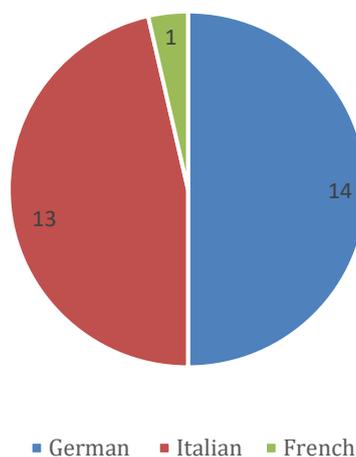


Figure 5.4 Viennese works in the Hamburg music theatre repertory by original language: 1786-1794

The graphical representation of the dominance of Viennese repertory on the Bonn and Hamburg stages drives home the significance of the *Singspiele* as practice. It was not just the Viennese *Singspiele* that were heard in German; Italian works from the Viennese repertory were heard in German translations. This process played a significant role in the assimilation

of the Viennese *Singspiel* into the North German idiom, contributing to the development of a pan-German genre.

In the following section, I briefly explore the early circulation history of Giovanni Paisiello and Giambattista Casti's *Il Re Teodoro in Venezia* (1784, Vienna Burgtheater) with particular reference to Bonn and Hamburg.

5.2.2 *König Theodor in Bonn and Hamburg*

Giovanni Paisiello's *Il Re Teodoro in Venezia* was first performed at the *Nationaltheater* in Vienna on 23 August 1784, with a libretto by Giambattista Casti. Paisiello had stopped in Vienna while enroute from Russia and Naples, and during this period, was commissioned by Emperor Joseph II to compose a work for the new Italian company based on the success of his *Il Barbiere di Siviglia* (1782, St Petersburg).⁴⁷² Casti's libretto was roughly based on Voltaire's *Candide*, which in turn narrates the story of a real life character, Baron Theodor von Neuhoff of Corsica.⁴⁷³ This *opera buffa* subject was not a charming comic escapade with a *lieto fine* as convention dictated; instead, Casti and Paisiello set the story of a mostly tragic figure and ended the work with a scene showing the titular character in prison. It was a perfect mix of both *buffa* and *seria* elements, with a slant towards the *buffa* style, which came to be typical of Viennese *opere buffe* of the Josephinian era.⁴⁷⁴ The two-act *Il Re Teodoro in Venezia* was an immense success for the Italian company, which was now in its second season at the *Nationaltheater* in Vienna and became the most performed work in the 1784-85 season with 14 performances after its premiere.⁴⁷⁵

Il Re Teodoro was performed in German with extraordinary speed: within six months of its premiere, it was heard on three consecutive evenings starting 04 February 1785 at the *Kärntnertortheater*, where it was performed by the Schikaneder-Kumpf troupe. It was the last of the thirty-one works performed by this troupe in Vienna and brought in the highest box-office collections at 752 fl. 22kr. As already discussed in Chapter 3, the translation likely

⁴⁷² Paisiello was at the court of Empress Catherine of Russia from 1776 to 1784 and went back to Naples, entering the service of Ferdinand IV of Naples in 1784. Here he wrote some of the most defining Neapolitan operas of the late eighteenth century including *Nina* (1790, Naples).

⁴⁷³ See: Alfred Einstein, 'A "King Theodore" Opera', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 14.2 (1962), 196–98 for a brief introduction to Casti's libretto. Even if mildly biased in terms of Da Ponte's role in preventing a Mozart-Casti collaboration, Einstein points out that *Il Re Teodoro* was the 'first *opera buffa* with a modern political subject,' and in this sense, argues that it paved the way for *Figaro* two years later (pp. 198).

⁴⁷⁴ See: Mary Hunter, 'Some Representations of *Opera Seria* in *Opera Buffa*', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 3.2 (1991), 89–108.

⁴⁷⁵ This was followed by Cimarosa and Livigni's *Giannina e Bernardone* (1781, Venice) with a total of 12 performances. However, it was not revived in the subsequent seasons.

to have been by Franz Teyber, based on the fact that it was used by the Kumpf troupe in Pressburg shortly afterwards as well.⁴⁷⁶ This 1785 German version of *Il Re Teodoro* at the Kärntnertheater is documented in some detail, in a pamphlet titled *Ein Quodlibet zum Abschiede* by the actor and dramatist Johann Friedel (1751-1789), whose new play, *Der Fremde*, also featured in the troupe's repertory during their stay in Vienna.⁴⁷⁷ Dexter Edge's essay in the *Mozart: New Documents* discusses the minutiae of the box-office receipts with respect to the Schikaneder-Kumpf troupe's performance of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* and provides detailed commentary on both Friedel and this work.⁴⁷⁸ Edge's commentary however omits the last two pages of Friedel's work, which includes a sharp criticism of the *Nationaltheater* enterprise:

The expenses and fees for these 31 performances amounted to 7856 fl. Could the prospective nationalists sing together for just these costs and the same income on average?

From these two questions flows the third: Can one also expect from the nationalists the benefit for the national theatre treasury that private entrepreneurs are lucky to receive? And then, will the audience also be compensated for the money they pay with new works? One is familiar with the slow song of the national theatre business. What takes a singer under court management two months, it takes only two weeks under a private entrepreneur.⁴⁷⁹

The last statement is a clear reference to the speed with which Paisiello's opera was adapted and staged and shows that the even before suburban theatres like the Leopoldstadt theatre and Schikaneder's own Theater auf der Wieden began to compete with the *Nationaltheater*,

⁴⁷⁶ Loewenberg, p. 411. Johann Böhm's translation is unlikely to have been used for the February 1785 performances in Vienna, given that it was also only just published in Cologne in the same year (month unascertained). See also: Section 3.4.1. I have not been able to trace any libretto or autograph score for this version, either in manuscript or print.

⁴⁷⁷ Friedel. (A-Wn, 440778-A.214,4 ALT MAG). Friedel not only the day-by-day listing of the troupe's performances between November 1784 and early February 1785 but also the box office collections for each performance, which took place on Fridays and Saturdays.

⁴⁷⁸ Dexter Edge, '5 November 1784 - Mozart Documents', ed. by Dexter Edge and David Black, *Box-Office Receipts from Die Entführung aus dem Serail in the Kärntnertheater (5 Nov 1784)*, Mozart: New Documents, 2014 <https://doi.org/10.7302/Z20P0WXI> [consulted 06 December 2021].

⁴⁷⁹ [...]Obwohl die künftigen Nationalisten dasselbe der Hofkassa (g)etrillerten werden?

Die Unkosten und Sagen betrogen auf diese 31 Vorstellungen 7856 fl. Ob wohl die künftigen Nationalisten für eben diese Kosten und dieselben Einnahmen im Durchschnitt zusammen singen werden?

Aus diesen zwey Fragen fließt die dritte: Hat man auch von den Nationalsängern den Nutzen für die Nationaltheaterkasse zu erwarten, welchen Privatunternehmer zu erhalten glücklich find! Und dann, wird wohl auch das Publikum durch neue Stücke für ihre Opferpfennige entschuldigt werden? Man kennt aus alten Zeiten den langsamen Sang der Nationaltheatergeschäfte. Wozu der Sänger unter der Hofdirektion zwey Monate braucht, braucht unter dem Privatunternehmer nur zwey Wochen.

[Und endlich: So lange Privatunternehmer ihr Werk zur Zufriedenheit derjenigen, die es bezahlen, fortführen können, ziemt es sich doch, ich lebe nicht 10000 Jahre vor der Schöpfung. Ich frage also nichts mehr!] Friedel, p. 44-45.

whose Italian troupe was set up only in 1783-1784. Private companies like the Schikaneder-Kumpf troupe in 1784-1785 were staging extremely popular Italian works almost straight from the *Nationaltheater* stage almost right away and drawing in record audiences. This demand for works in German, coinciding with a greater breaking down of barriers in the access to theatre, is what Da Ponte recognised in hindsight clearly when he mentions in his *Riflessioni* from around 1790, that it would be most useful to translate all works into German in a land where the Italian language is foreign and that the 200 florins salary for a good translator would be easily offset by the profits to be made.⁴⁸⁰

In 1785 itself, Johann Heinrich Böhm published a translation of the work in Cologne that quickly established itself as the accepted German translation with performances in Schwetzingen, Mannheim, Cologne and Mainz within the same year. In the same year, Böhm's troupe was in Bonn, performing for the 1784-1785 season as a guest troupe, after the resident Grossmann troupe had been disbanded. Not surprisingly, *König Theodor* featured in their repertory for Bonn.⁴⁸¹ After the German theatre in Bonn was reopened in 1789 as the *Nationaltheater* in Bonn, *König Theodor* was performed on 02 February 1790 and nothing further is known of its reception beyond a single word comment in Reichard's 1791 *Theaterkalender*—'gefiel.'⁴⁸² The Böhm was also the version used for the Berlin performance by the Döbbelin troupe on 07 August 1786.⁴⁸³ It was then not revived until 6 November 1799 and thereafter, performed 13 times until 30 December 1813, at which point it was removed from the Berlin repertory.⁴⁸⁴

It would be another three years later until a new translation of the work appeared in print. In 1788, Bernard Christian d'Arien (1754-1793) published his translation with solely the musical numbers from the opera. D'Arien's translation was first performed in Munich at the *Nationalschaubühne* in March 1788, with nine further performances until the end of 1791.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸⁰ Lorenzo Da Ponte, *Riflessioni* (undated), A-Whh, Kabinettsarchiv, Carton 40 - *Cose dell' Abbate Lorenzo da Ponte*. This quote is also discussed in Chapter 1.

⁴⁸¹ Hans Georg Fellmann, *Die Böhmsche Theatertruppe und ihre Zeit: ein Beitrag zur deutschen Theatergeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Leopold Voß, 1928), pp. 21–23. The Operatic Library database uses the same source to corroborate this performance. <https://www.univie.ac.at/operaticlibrary/db/work/il-re-teodoro-venezia> [consulted on 2 June 2020].

⁴⁸² Reichard, *Theaterkalender auf das Jahr 1791*, p.198.

⁴⁸³ Loewenberg, p. 411. See also: <https://www.operndb.uni-mainz.de/details/auffuehrung?id=4076> [consulted on 20 August 2021].

⁴⁸⁴ Carl Schäffer and Carl Hartmann, *Die königlichen Theater in Berlin: Statistischer Rückblick auf die künstlerische Thätigkeit und die Personal-Verhältnisse während des Zeitraums vom 5. December 1786 bis 31. December 1885* (Berliner Verlags-Comtoir, 1886), p. 88 No. 59 in the catalogue of works performed at the Berlin stage, arranged alphabetically.

⁴⁸⁵ Paul Legband, *Münchener Bühne und Litteratur im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Munich: Franz, 1904), pp. 457, 512.

In the same year, this version was heard at the Hamburg *Stadttheater* on 11 April 1788 with five performances within the same year. It was thereafter sporadically revived for a few performances each between 1792 and 1796. Quite unlike the case studies explored so far in this thesis, D'Arien's translation shows that he was very well aware of Böhm's work but does not copy any aspect of it. D'Arien's translation is a faithful translation of Casti's text, even in Act I, Scene 6 where Böhm's version alters the order of events slightly and includes one unnumbered chorus.⁴⁸⁶ This minute detail however, points to D'Arien not just being familiar with Böhm's translation, but also the staging practices surrounding it.

König Theodor comes up at the tail end of correspondence between Böhm and Grossmann in 1788. While the other letters often point towards just a general update on the state of matters, often mentioning the precarious livelihood of a travelling actor-singer in a troupe, even when the director, the mention of this opera is slightly more significant in that it also mentions what aspects of a work sometimes remained excluded in the circulation process. Böhm mentions that the chorus in the bridge scene is mostly excluded from copies for circulation and offers to add a separate copy if Grossmann so wishes to include it in his run of performances.⁴⁸⁷ This scene is the chorus of the gondoliers in Act II, Scene 8, which the 1785 printed version of Böhm's includes. Between the publication of Böhm's published translation in 1786 and the letter to Grossmann in 1788, it seems that the chorus of the gondoliers was cut for dramatic brevity. This cut also seems to have been accepted practice in the work's staging across the German stages, as indicated in D'Arien's translation as well. D'Arien retains the text but leaves it unnumbered to indicate that it was not performed.⁴⁸⁸

The Estense library collection which holds the operatic library of Elector Maximilian holds an incomplete manuscript copy of *Il Re Teodoro* with string quartet and piano reduction parts.⁴⁸⁹ Instead this manuscript contains fascicles that are individually titled with their Italian incipits, some of which are identified as being from Lausch's copying workshop in Vienna.⁴⁹⁰ Edge mentions that the music publisher Torricella had advertised the entire score of the opera, as well as a keyboard score with all parts and string quartet transcriptions of this work on 23 February 1785 in the *Wiener Zeitung*.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁶ Johann Friedrich Schink, *Hamburgische Theaterzeitung. Erstes Quartal* (Hamburg: bey Johann Peter Treder, 1792), pp. 290–93.

⁴⁸⁷ D-Leu Slg. Kestner/I/C/III/37/Nr. 6; 37; Nr. 6. For a full transcription and translation, see Appendix D.4

⁴⁸⁸ D'Arien, *Gesänge aus König Theodor*, p. 33–35.

⁴⁸⁹ *Riduzioni per Cembalo di pezzi dell'opera Il Re Teodoro a Venezia. I-MOe*, Mus.F.880.

⁴⁹⁰ John Wilson, 'Catalogue Raisonné of the surviving operatic sources' in Reisinger et al., p. 332.

⁴⁹¹ Edge, 'Mozart's Viennese Copyists', p. 86.

However, there was an almost immediate competition between the Viennese copying firms to get out manuscript copies and individual arias in addition to piano reductions on sale within just a month of the premiere. The first page of the *Nachtrag* to the *Wiener Zeitung* of 25 September 1784 shows advertisements from Sukowaty, Torricella as well as Lausch for various arrangements and full scores of *Il Re Teodoro*.⁴⁹² The rapidity with which the first two German translations of this opera emerged, the first presumably by Teyber for the Schikaneder-Kumpf troupe's performances in early 1785 in Vienna and Böhm's version, published in Cologne in the same year and presumably for performance in Bonn, can be easily understood against this backdrop.

During the closure of the Bonn theatre, Neefe had begun preparing keyboard reductions for popular Italian and French operas and was one of the early pioneers in the commercial production of this kind of score, collaborating with the Bonn-based publisher Nikolaus Simrock. Given that Neefe was part of a select network of musicians who were at the forefront of some of the major theatrical enterprises in the German-speaking lands of the eighteenth century, his piano reduction scores were of an exceptionally high standard, and most likely aimed at highly skilled amateurs. Nevertheless, the circulation of these works in bilingual translations with piano reduction prints was crucial in established an accepted form of the work in public domain.

Through these piano reductions aimed at wide circulation, Viennese *opera buffa* earned widespread popularity in the home of the North German *Singspiel* and as attested by a much later performance of *König Theodor* in Vienna in 1795, was also the key to establishing a single translated version of the work for further circulation.⁴⁹³ More significantly, these works brought Italian opera into the realm of what the original *Singspiel* intended to do: encourage popular consumption of songs for the public to sing and develop a German consciousness. The circulation of *König Theodor in Venedig* represents a very linear circulation trajectory as opposed to some of its contemporaneous works and similar to *Giulio Sabino* discussed in the previous chapter, points towards the standardisation of a work once circulated in print.

⁴⁹² *Wiener Zeitung* No. 77, 25 September 1784, p. 2169.

⁴⁹³ This set of three performances were the first revival of the work in over a decade: *König Theodor von Venedig* was performed on 17, 18 March and 06 August 1796 at Schikaneder's *Theater auf den Wieden*. The autograph score, A-Wn Mus. H.s 25282 shows Böhm's translation throughout, without a trace of D'Arien's translation.

5.3 Viennese *Singspiel* and the Berlin *Nationaltheater*

While I do not study the repertory of the Berlin *Nationaltheater* in detail, in this section, I briefly summarise the institution of the Berlin *Nationaltheater* to highlight the relationship between the two cultural capitals of the German-speaking lands of the eighteenth century, Vienna and Berlin.

The history of the Berlin *Nationaltheater*, established in 1786, was intrinsically tied to that of the Döbbelin Theater. It was the first permanent German-language theatre troupe and carried the name of its director, Karl Theophil Döbbelin (1727-1793). After stints with various other troupes like Ackermann's and Koch's, Döbbelin opened his own theatre in 1775 with imperial privilege, where Johann André (1741-1799), himself a prolific composer of *Singspiele* in the North German style, took over the role of music director from 1777 onwards.⁴⁹⁴ Despite André's own oeuvre, slowly but steadily, Viennese works—in the broadest definition as works that had been circulated from Vienna—began to appear in the repertory of the Döbbelin theatre. In fact, in 1777, the major first performances in Berlin were those of works premiered at the Burgtheater.⁴⁹⁵

In August 1786, upon the death of Friedrich the Great, all theatres in Berlin, including the Döbbelin theatre were closed. Instead of reopening as normal a month later, the new king, Friedrich Wilhelm II ordered the members of the Döbbelin troupe to be moved to the old French theatre at the Gendarmenplatz and elevated this to the status of a royal national theatre called the *Königliches National-Theater* which opened in December 1786.⁴⁹⁶ This was also in line with Friedrich Wilhelm II's more overt *Nationaltheater* policies that reversed his predecessor's preference of French over German in every sphere.

As his powers waned, Döbbelin was slowly demoted and eased out of the theatre management, which was now headed by Johann Jakob Engel and Carl Bernhard Wessely. In 1788, Wessely began to recruit new singers in addition to expanding the orchestra from a

⁴⁹⁴ For more on André's output as a composer of *Singspiele* in Berlin, see: Bauman, pp. 184-203.

⁴⁹⁵ Bauman, p.104. While Bauman mentions six premieres that came from the Burgtheater repertory, it would seem that only five did. They are: *Die eingebildeten Philosophen*, *Die Liebe unter den Handwerksleuten*, *Die Pilgrimme von Mekka*, *Der Rauchfangkehrer*, *Felix*. See: <https://www.operndb.uni-mainz.de/details/auffuehrungsort?id=51>. [consulted on 15 December 2021].

⁴⁹⁶ Dienstags wird zum erstenmal bey Eröffnung des königl. Nationaltheaters auf den Gensd'armes-Platz der Direktor eine feyerliche Einweihungsrede halten. (*Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, 5. Dezember 1786).'

meagre 18-member troupe to a full-fledged 40-piece ensemble. Among the new singers recruited in this wave of change was Friedrich Karl Lippert, who was a member of the newly disbanded *Singspiel* troupe in Vienna. The offer of appointment in Berlin was a most generous one, with a salary that equalled some of the theatre's best paid actors and Lippert was engaged not just as a singer but also to mentor and coach other singers in the troupe, on account of his intimate familiarity with the Viennese idiom.⁴⁹⁷ He distinguished himself in all three Berlin premieres of the Mozart-Da Ponte operas and is probably most famous for his adaptation of Schröder's *Don Juan* translation for the Berlin stage.⁴⁹⁸ In 1796, Lippert and his wife, the soprano Caroline Lippert, appeared in a few guest performances with Schröder's troupe in Hamburg through April.⁴⁹⁹ Soon after his return to Berlin at the end of April, Lippert renewed his contract in Berlin, but on less lucrative terms as his wife was no longer engaged with the Berlin troupe.⁵⁰⁰ After a few more guest appearances in Hamburg in January 1797, Lippert officially requested to be relieved of his duties in Berlin, citing a lack of prospects for his soprano wife in Berlin and an offer of 2000 talers from Vienna.⁵⁰¹ This request was granted by the King with three days on 26 January 1797.⁵⁰² Lippert returned to Vienna but found that circumstances had changed significantly from when he was in Vienna in the last decade. In many ways, Viennese repertory was circulated and received with much greater gusto on German stages elsewhere until a turn in the repertory around 1798, coinciding with Lippert's return. Revivals of the Viennese *opere* associated with the Josephinian era were undertaken and the old rivalry between the suburban and court theatre was re-established,

⁴⁹⁷ Brachvogel terms this move having put 'Berlin's singers in Viennese hands.' Lippert was recommended by the theatre supervisor, August von Bayer in the most glowing terms, calling him the "rarest theatrical specimen." Brachvogel, *Geschichte des Königlichen Theaters zu Berlin*, p.130-132.

⁴⁹⁸ See: Martin Nedbal, 'Wenzel Mihule and the Reception of *Don Giovanni* in Central Europe', *Journal of Musicology*, 39.1 (2022), 66–108; Magnus Tessing Schneider, *The Original Portrayal of Mozart's Don Giovanni* (Routledge, 2021), pp. 102–3; Maurer Zenck, 'Mozarts Opern in Hamburg 1787-1850', pp. 155–56. As referred to earlier in the Introduction, Rushton's evaluation of Lippert's performance as a 'degraded' version of Schröder's translation (Rushton, *W.A.Mozart*, p.71) is in context of how these translations (and by extension, the translators themselves) were viewed.

⁴⁹⁹ For the 07 April 1796 performance of *Don Juan*, Lippert presented the titular role in his own translation. On 11 and 14 April 1796, Madame Lippert performed the roles of Queen of the Night in *Die Zauberflöte* and Diana in Bernard Christian d'Arien's translation of Martín y Soler's *L'arbore di Diana*. Lippert took to the stage again on 15 April 1796, performing the title role in Dalayrac's *Raoul de Crequi*.

⁵⁰⁰ Letter from Lippert to Iffland at the Nationaltheater in Berlin dated 30 April 1796; <https://iffland.bbaw.de/A0007128> (*D-Bla*, A. Rep. 167, Akte 03). [consulted on 13 October 2022].

⁵⁰¹ Letter from Lippert to Iffland at the Nationaltheater in Berlin dated 23 January 1797; <https://iffland.bbaw.de/A0007392> (*D-Bla*, A. Rep. 167, Akte 03). [consulted on 13 October 2022]. Iffland's note, upon receipt of Lippert's resignation letter, makes clear that Lippert was offered only a contract position in Berlin without a pension, while the Vienna position was an open-ended contract with a pension and therefore, more lucrative for Lippert; <https://iffland.bbaw.de/A0007393> (*D-Bla*, A. Rep. 167, Akte 03). [consulted on 13 October 2022].

⁵⁰² Letter from the Generaldirektion at the Nationaltheater in Berlin dated 26 January 1797; <https://iffland.bbaw.de/A0007396> (*D-Bla*, A. Rep. 167, Akte 03). [consulted on 13 October 2022].

with the suburban theatres now the centre of production for the new Viennese genre of fashion, the *Zauberoper*.

In Berlin and Hamburg, the repertory had become so dominated by Viennese works, including the *Singspiele* from the suburban theatres that the North German *Singspiel* output paled into insignificance. The same was the case in Berlin. As the new emperor Friedrich Wilhelm II actively promoted and participated in the functioning of the *Nationaltheater*, there was impetus for presenting a new and varied repertory. In 1788, after Engel and Wessley had recruited an adequate number of new troupe members, the number of works in the Berlin repertory expanded significantly. Between 1788 and 1794, Vienna and Paris dominated the share of the thirty-eight new works presented, of which there were fifteen French, twelve German and eleven Italian works.⁵⁰³ As Viennese *Singspiele* and other works steadily displaced works in the tradition of the North German *Singspiel*, the stylistic boundaries between the two progressively blurred, leading to the development of a new distinct, but pan-German idiom of music theatre.⁵⁰⁴

5.4 *Singspiel* as Practice: *Der Baum der Diana*

Martín y Soler's *L'arbore di Diana* (1787, Vienna) was a huge success in German translation throughout the late eighteenth-century. In this final section, I expand on the circulation and reception of this work presented in Chapter 2 to trace its journey across the German-speaking lands in German translation in the form of a *Singspiel* as practice and show the multiple translations of the work slowly merged towards the nineteenth century. To make the discussion brief, I use the example of the work's rather controversial Act I, Scene 10 duet, *Occhietto furbetto*.

After Eberl's translation was performed in the Leopoldstadt theatre in Vienna in 1788, the work was known to have been part of the Kumpf troupe's repertory in Pressburg in the same year. However, as the Kumpf troupe was disbanded upon the death of Count Erdődy in April 1788, there is no primary source relating to this work, nor any secondary material about its performance. In 1789, most of the Kumpf troupe were performing in Pest with Johann Bergopzoomer's troupe and *Der Baum der Diana* figures in this *Spielplan*. A collection of the

⁵⁰³ Bauman, p.228.

⁵⁰⁴ Bauman refers to this phase as the period during which the North German style lost its distinctive voice. However, the blurring of stylistic boundaries was a two-way process, wherein the Viennese *Singspiel* also expanded and diffused its typical conventions. *Ibid.*, p.19 and 261.

arias from *Der Baum der Diana* was published in Pest in the same year, establishing the translator of the work as Girzik.

Girzik's translation is entirely distinct from Eberl's translation in that it is significantly more textually faithful to Da Ponte's Italian libretto. Girzik shows no sign of amending or couching the suggestiveness of Da Ponte's libretto, especially in the example of the Act I, Scene 10 duet between Amor and Doristo (*Occhietto furbetto*). This is possibly because he did not have to address the criticisms levelled against Da Ponte's libretto, which arose almost immediately after the premiere in Vienna.⁵⁰⁵

While Eberl's 1788 translation would seem to have also served the purpose of heightening the rivalry between the suburban theatres and the *buffa* troupe in the *Nationaltheater*, it does appear that Eberl's translation was heard in Augsburg in the performances by the troupe under Joseph Voltolini's direction in early 1792.⁵⁰⁶ The work was repeated on public demand at the end of January and the editor of the *Augsburger Theater-Journal* for 1791, the troupe's souffleur Karl Lohse published a small essay to defend the plot of the opera and the troupe's choice to perform the work. Lohse refers to the Act I, Scene 10 duet with the Eberl translation incipit, indicating that it was indeed performed outside Vienna.⁵⁰⁷

Another translation of *L'arbore* by Bernard Christian d'Arien was staged on 11 November 1788 in Hamburg. In Hamburg, the work was not even titled anything remotely close to an opera or *Singspiel*, but instead as a *romantisch-allegorisch-Schauspiel mit Gesang* on the playbill.⁵⁰⁸ It was performed three more times in 1788 but did not become a success to the extent it was in Vienna. In the *Hamburger Theatergeschichte bis 1794*, Johann Friedrich Schütze writes of the premiere that work only received average applause because not all the singers had grown into their roles and adds that even some of the dedicated opera goers in

⁵⁰⁵ See: Section 2.5

⁵⁰⁶ *Augsburger Theater-Journal oder Verzeichniß aller von der hiesigen deutschen Schauspieler-gesellschaft unter der Direktion des Hrn. Voltolini vom 24 Oktober 1791 bis den 21 Februari 1792 aufgeführten Lust-, Schau-, Trauerspiele Opern und Ballets, nebst den Namen der Mitglieder, und einer kurzen Rechtfertigung der bekannten Oper: Der Baum der Diana verfertigt von Karl Lohse Mitglied der Gesellschaft* (Augsburg, 1792). The full essay has been transcribed in Appendix B.4

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-16. Lohse's defence of the work includes a rhetorical question on why an equally popular work such as Dittersdorf's *Der Doktor und der Apotheker* was not deemed vulgar for a similarly suggestive scene.

⁵⁰⁸ While there is nothing much to be read into such vagaries of terminology usage around opera and *Singspiel* in the late eighteenth-century, this description might have been chosen to manage expectations around the plot of *L'arbore*, which did not fall into any easy category. Equally, this might have been to manage Schröder's vision of his Hamburg theatre enterprise not being taken over entirely by music theatre repertory. This description of the work however is the closest that comes to addressing the niche topicality of Da Ponte's allegory that Link alludes to, regarding the secularisation of monasteries act put forward by Joseph II. Link, *L'arbore di Diana: A Model for Così fan tutte*, pp.364-366.

Hamburg might have been held back by the bitter cold.⁵⁰⁹ It was performed then twice in 1789 and was revived on the Hamburg stage in 1792, when it was again given for two performances. Johann Friedrich Schink's *Hamburgische Theaterzeitung* (1792), modelled on the same format as his *Dramaturgische Monate* (1786) offers a more detailed insight into the reception of *Der Baum der Diana* in Hamburg.

Schink's commentary is as incisive as it was in Vienna regarding Eberl's translation of *Cosa rara* for the Leopoldstadt theatre. However, this time over, he reserves his criticism for Da Ponte's Italian text while praising D'Arien's translation. The so-called scandalous nature of Da Ponte's writing, especially for Endymion's role is highlighted by Schink and he praises D'Arien for rendering the German version more refined.⁵¹⁰

Schink's compliment notwithstanding, *Der Baum der Diana* was performed only twice in 1792, with the clear dominance of the Viennese *Singspiel* in the Hamburg repertory to be seen with Paul Wranitzky's *Oberon* and Wenzel Müller's *Das Sonnenfest der Braminen*. Both these works, which were originally written for suburban theatres in Vienna, were performed eight times each and were amongst the most well-received works on the Hamburg stage that year. The following year, *Die Zauberflöte* was finally performed and became a success with sixteen performances that same year, sparking the trend for the Viennese *Zauberoper* genre across the German-speaking lands.

⁵⁰⁹ Schütze, pp. 619–20. 'In Hamburg kam am 10. Novbr. der Baum der Diana, nach da Ponte, vom Dr. d'Arien, mit Martins treflicher Musik begleitet, zuerst auf die Bühne, und fand, da nicht alle Sängler ihren Parthein gewachsen waren, nur mäßigen Beifall. [...] Auch gab es einen kalten Winter, welcher auch die passionirtesten Operbesucher vom Besuch zurückscheuchte.'

⁵¹⁰ 'Am ärgsten hat der Italiener (Da Ponte) den Endimion verstopft, ohne Ekel lässt er sich weder sehen noch hören. Man muss ein Abbate seyn, um mit einer so schönen Dichtung so unmanierlich umzuspringen. [...] Im Deutschen ist alles weit honetter, und das Ganze so ehrlich gemacht, als sich so etwas ehrlich machen lässt. Man hat doch wenigstens nicht nöthig, sein Ohr gegen Zoten zu verstopfen, und Diana, Amor und Endimion drücken sich anständiger und manierlicher aus. Mehr ließ sich für diesen einmal verkrüppelten Stof nicht thun, ohne alles umzukehren; und Herr D'Arien verdient Dank, dass er wenigstens so viel that. Besonders macht ihm der versifizierte Theil seiner Umarbeitung Ehre. Je grösser die Schwierigkeiten sind, Plattitüden zu verfeinern und einer schon gefertigten Musik unterzulegen, destomehr muss ihm das Verdienst, es so gethan zu haben, in Anschlag gebracht werden.' Schink, *Hamburgische Theaterzeitung. Erstes Quartal*, pp. 717–18.

[The Italian (Da Ponte) has fumbled the role of Endimion the most, it can neither be seen nor heard with arousing disgust. One must be a priest to treat such a beautiful poem so unmannerly. [...] In German, everything is far neater, and the whole thing is done as honestly as such a thing can be. At least one does not need to plug one's ear against obscenities, and Diana, Amor, and Endimion express themselves more decently and in a more mannerly fashion. More could not be done for this crippled material without turning everything upside down; and Mr. D'Arien deserves thanks that he did at least this much. Especially the versified part of his reworking does him credit. The greater the difficulties are to refine platitudes and to subordinate them to a music that has already been produced, the more credit must be given to him for having done so.]

In Bonn, the criticism and controversy around the plot propriety did not however affect the work's popularity; if anything, it might have served as a catalyst to draw in more audiences. For the reopening of the Bonn *Nationaltheater* on 03 January 1789, *L'arbore di Diana* was chosen with Neefe's translation and was well-received, going by the report in the *Gazette de Bonn*.⁵¹¹ The choice of this work, a festive commission to celebrate the wedding of Archduchess Maria Teresa, niece of Joseph II, and Prince Anton Clemens of Saxony, was the clearest sign that in its second iteration, the Bonn *Nationaltheater* was certainly following the Viennese repertory and was a statement on opera as a sign of representational power.

Neefe was already in receipt of the score by December 1787, just two months after the Viennese premiere of the work, and was translating this opera, going by his correspondence with Simrock and Grossmann.⁵¹² At this early stage, it is quite likely that Neefe was preparing another piano reduction score to go to print with Simrock, although it would not be published until later in the 1790s.⁵¹³

By 1789, the work was already in the repertory of the Berlin *Nationaltheater* with Lippert also taking part in the performances. A lengthy piece of correspondence between Severin Romersberg, Grossman's souffleur, and Madame Grossmann from 22 December 1789 describes a performance of *Der Baum der Diana* in very great detail, almost transcribing the work into words.⁵¹⁴ Grossmann had gone to Berlin in December 1789 to give a couple of guest performances with a long-term view of taking up Döbbelin's position.⁵¹⁵ It is likely that this letter served as an informal report to assess the potential of bringing the work into the Grossmann repertory.⁵¹⁶

⁵¹¹ « Hier on a représenté ici ...une pièce intitulée : L'ARBRE DE DIANE, traduite de l'italien en allemand, musique du célèbre Martin. L'affluence de spectateurs, & le coup d'œil de la nouvelle déposition de la salle, ont rendu ce spectacle très brillant. » *Gazette de Bonn*, 04 January 1789 (no. 3). A further account of the performance, although lacking in detail, on the opening of the Bonn *Nationaltheater* can be found in Reichard, *Theaterkalender auf das Jahr 1792*, p. 311.

⁵¹² *D-Leu* Sammlung Kestner, I C II 283: Neefe to Grossmann, 18 December 1787: 'Ich übersetze izt die neuester Oper von Martini: L'arbore di Diana. Quoted in: Ian Woodfield, 'Christian Gottlob Neefe and the Early Reception of *Le nozze Di Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*', p. 5.

⁵¹³ The Simrock piano reduction prints are undated but are mostly ascribed a date around 1795-1796 according to the publication schedule indicated in the Simrock catalogue.

⁵¹⁴ *D-Leu* Sammlung Kestner, I C III 118. There is another letter dated 29 December 1789 as well in this set, where Romersberg repeats the same exercise, this time with *Una cosa rara*.

⁵¹⁵ Michael Ruppel, *Gustav Friedrich Wilhelm Grossmann. 1743-1796: eine Epoche deutscher Theater- und Kulturgeschichte*, (Hannover: Wehrhahn, 2010). p.433.

⁵¹⁶ Although Grossmann had been earlier offered the manuscript of *Der Baum der Diana* by Franz Anton Weber in September 1788 in exchange for a favour of employing his daughter-in-law, Josepha von Weber, who was also recommended for this work, but it is unclear whether Grossmann accepted the offer. See: Franz Anton von Weber an Gustav Friedrich Wilhelm Großmann in Braunschweig Hamburg, Dienstag, 2. September 1788, *Carl-Maria-von-Weber-Gesamtausgabe Digitale Edition*, WeGA <https://weber-gesamtausgabe.de/de/A002074/Korrespondenz/A040028.html> [consulted 20 May 2023].

With the publication of the Simrock piano reduction around 1796, it would have been easy to assume that Neefe's translation received wider circulation than that of D'Arien's, which otherwise is not known to have been performed beyond Hamburg.⁵¹⁷ The only record for Neefe's translation for the Bonn 1789 premiere is a copy that originates from the collection of the Mainz *Nationaltheater*, whose title page clearly mentions Neefe's name.⁵¹⁸ The German text in this autograph score matches the known printed libretti with Neefe's translation such as the undated Oels libretto (*D-B 1 an: Mus. Td 399*). This however is not identical to the translation seen in the piano reduction published by Simrock.⁵¹⁹

The Simrock score, which only states on its title page that the piano reduction is by Neefe (*Fürs Clavier eingerichtet/ von/ C. G. NEEFE*), has bilingual text with the German translation identical to D'Arien's translation for Hamburg. The title page makes no mention of a translator, although it says that the piano reduction is by Neefe.⁵²⁰ The intervening six or seven years between the first performances of Neefe's and D'Arien's translations and Simrock's publication of the piano reduction score also saw a shift in demand for Italian operas of the Josephinian period on German-language stages. It was not until 1802 that *L'arbore di Diana* was revived again in Vienna in German, a few years after Lippert had facilitated the re-entry of *Axur*, *Figaro* and *Don Giovanni* into Viennese repertory in the 1797-98 season.

The following figure attempts to condense the early circulation history of *L'arbore di Diana* as *Der Baum der Diana* in the various translations.

⁵¹⁷ Loewenberg, p. 447. While Loewenberg's *Annals* is not a complete record of performances of a translation, it is often a reliable indicator of the popularity of a particular version and Neefe's outstrips D'Arien's translation by good measure.

⁵¹⁸ *Der/ Baum der Diana/ Eine komische Oper in/ Zwey Aufzügen/ Nach der Musik des Kapellmeisters/ Martin/ aus/ dem Italiänischen/ ins Teutsche übersetz/ Von/ C. G. Nefe/ 1788 (D-BAR Ba 120 Bü 147 / 1-4).*

The work was performed for the first time on 13 December 1788 in Mainz, even before the first performance of Neefe's translation in Bonn indicating that Neefe's version had begun to circulate sometime in mid-1788.

⁵¹⁹ Wilson, 'Catalogue Raisonné of the surviving operatic sources' in Reisinger et al., 251-450 (p. 375). I believe that this erroneous conclusion is due to the fact that the incipit of the very first trio of the opera is near-identical in both Neefe's and D'Arien's translations (*Stille, stille, nicht geplaudert*).

⁵²⁰ The manuscript libretto for D'Arien's translation, *D-Hs Theater-Bibliothek : 1399a* corroborates the fact that D'Arien's translation is indeed distinct from Neefe's translation for Bonn in 1788.

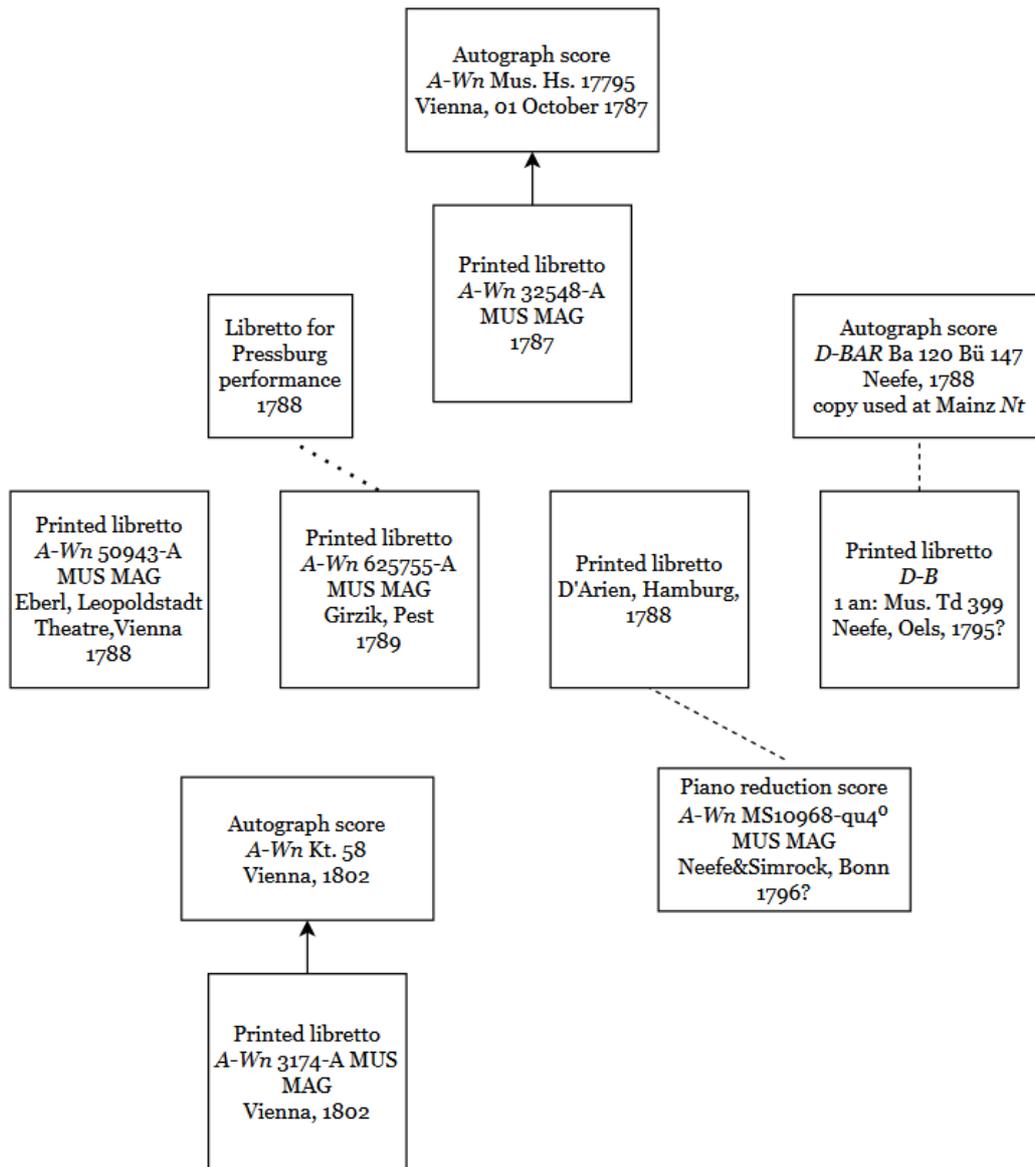


Figure 5.5 Selected early circulation history of translations of *L'arbore di Diana*: 1787-1802

The 1802 libretto does not make any mention of the translator. As the comparison of the various translations of *Occhietto furbetto* in Appendix D.5 makes clear, the 1802 version differs from its predecessors, but at the same time, clearly builds on the Eberl translation. The rest of the translation is reminiscent of the manuscript libretto of *Axur* detailed in Chapter 4, where snippets of all the known versions are skilfully far sewn together. This serves as yet another exemplar of the assimilation of styles prevalent towards the beginning of the nineteenth century and represents how even the North German and Viennese textual translations were now indistinguishable.

5.5 Conclusion

Vienna acted as a host to both *opera buffa* and *Singspiel* in the late eighteenth century due to a host of socio-political reasons. It is important to contextualise this against the backdrop of other centres of musical theatre in the German-speaking lands, as ways in which Italian opera in German translation and German *Singspiel* fed into the concept and praxis of a *Nationaltheater* was varied.⁵²¹ In both Bonn and Hamburg, despite their entirely different institutional framework for music theatre, the dominance of the Viennese repertory in their repertories was a common denominator facilitated by a simultaneous popularity of the Viennese style as well as the dwindling production of North German *Singspiel*.

Aided by a network of musicians and troupe members who were mobile across the German-speaking lands like Schröder and Lippert, the incorporation of the Viennese repertories in the North German territories as well as North German translations of Viennese *opere buffe* slowly blurred the formerly clear-cut distinctions between the two and facilitated the development of a pan-German style. In this chapter, through the example of Paisiello's *Il Re Teodoro I* highlight how the circulation of printed scores of piano reductions aimed at domestic consumption led to established translations of works. Finally, the early circulation of *L'arbore di Diana* in German translation as *Der Baum der Diana* showcases how it became an example of a *Singspiel* as practice, this bringing together the various threads on adaptation practices behind the circulation of Italian opera in German translation in the late eighteenth century.

⁵²¹ Reinhart Meyer, 'Das Nationaltheater in Deutschland als höfisches Institut: Versuch einer Begriffs- und Funktionsbestimmung', in *Schriften zur Theater- und Kulturgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Hollitzer, 1983), pp. 125–57 (p. 125). In principle, in the *Nationaltheater*, works were performed in German, but they were not necessarily 'German' works. As even a quick survey of the repertories at any major *Nationaltheater* will evidence, the majority of the works were translations or adaptations, mainly from French or German. There are also other important distinctions: a court theatre, where performances were in German, did not automatically get termed a *Nationaltheater*. As Meyer points out clearly, in towns without a *Residenz* and therefore, without an aristocratic audience, hardly any *Nationaltheater* was set up, although there was German-language theatre. Meyer argues that there were no political overtones to the promotion of *Nationaltheater* and sees it as only a 'cultural compensation' for the lack of political unification (owing to the shifting structure of the Holy Roman Empire) [*kulturelle Kompensation der ausbleibenden politischen Einigung*]. *ibid.*, p. 131.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

The simplified outline of the early German translations of *Don Giovanni* presented in the Introduction to this thesis raised several interesting questions regarding late eighteenth-century music theatre in the German-speaking lands. Through Chapters 1 to 5, I have attempted to answer some of the questions around the development of a *Singspiel* as practice through the circulation of Italian works in German translation across the German-speaking lands in the late eighteenth century.

In Chapter 1, I examine the terminology associated with *Singspiel* as genre as well as the framework of cultural transfer to better understand the translation of works from Italian to German in terms of language, genre as well as musical idiom. I have contributed to the literature on *Bearbeitungspraxis* of Italian operas in translation by proposing a new concept to frame the product—*Singspiel* as practice. Thereafter in Chapter 2, I establish Vienna's pivotal role as a hub for the dissemination of Italian opera in German translation, and discuss the intertroupe rivalries as well as the court and suburban theatre dynamic with the example of *L'arbore di Diana* at the Leopoldstadt theatre. I further trace the transition from Josephinian *opera buffa* in the early 1790s through a discussion of Guglielmi's *La pastorella nobile* and its *Singspiel* version in 1798.

In Chapter 3, I look at how the Viennese repertory influenced the *Spielplan* of the Kumpf troupe based at theatre in the palace of Count Erdődy in Pressburg. The troupe's repertoire consisted solely of works in the German language, be it either original *Singspiel* or translations from Italian and French, and I use this to interrogate and extend the definition of what we understand to be *Nationaltheater*. In the subsequent chapter, I look at the translations of *Axur* and *Giulio Sabino* using the local libretti, or translations made by members of the Kumpf troupe themselves. In the case of *Giulio Sabino*, the preface to the translation in the printed libretto from Pressburg, the translator Schüller makes it clear that the opera was mounted in Pressburg as a direct reaction and response to the success of the work in Vienna. This is the first and most concrete tangible proof of the link between the Vienna and Pressburg repertories.

When mounted in Vienna, *Giulio Sabino* was heard in a uniquely Viennese version with substitute arias, making it distinct from the version heard at its premiere in Venice in 1781. The copyists in Vienna were quick to advertise the new and updated Viennese versions of the opera but strikingly enough in the Pressburg libretto, Schüller quite proudly declared that one could hear the original in Pressburg as opposed to the modified Viennese version. I

propose that this introduction of the concept of an original versus new version was prompted by the circulation of a printed score of the opera, quite unusually, well ahead of the work being heard in Vienna. More importantly, the Pressburg version of *Giulio Sabino*, an *opera seria*, shows that the recitatives were retained, pushing the boundaries of the *Singspiel* as practice. On a larger scale, the question then becomes as to what liminal genre German translations of Italian *opera buffa* inhabit.

Even in its Italian version, *Axur, Re d'Ormus* is an example of a mediated translation. It was adapted by Da Ponte working closely with the composer to translate Salieri and Beaumarchais' *Tarar* to the Italian form and convention. Therefore, when it was heard in German, the work had already undergone a radical shift in genre, language and idiom. Girzik's translation for Pressburg showcases textual fidelity and captures what might be inferred as contemporaneous Viennese performance practice, given that Salieri revised and reworked it until the late 1790s. Another German version of *Axur* by Heinrich Gottlieb Schmieder, condensed to four acts, was performed in 1790 in Frankfurt.

When *Axur* was revived again in Vienna in 1797 at the Kärtnertortheater, for the first time since the early 1790s, and in German, it would have been easy to mistake the translation to be that of Schmieder's version due to the four-act structure. However, closer analysis of the manuscript and its accompanying libretto reveal multiple layers of translation and editorial work, with significant portions of Girzik's 1788 Pressburg translation as well as Schmieder's text, all fit into a four-act structure.

Axur's German performance in 1797 was alongside the first German versions of *Figaro* and *Don Giovanni* in Vienna and therefore offers a broader perspective to understand the early reception of Mozart's works in German translation. The shift of these Italian works into 'the cultural world of the *Singspiel*' is crucial to analyse the future performance and reception histories. *Axur* remained popular on the German stages holding fort against intense competition from the Mozart operas, which had started gaining popularity around the turn of the century especially when presented in the vernacular, and in this process, it becomes important to acknowledge the role played by the Pressburg translation.

As briefly outlined in the Introduction to this thesis, the widely accepted translation chain of *Don Giovanni* is taken as Neefe (1788 Bonn) – Schmieder (1789 Mainz) – Schröder (1789 Hamburg) – Lippert (1790 Berlin – 1798 Vienna). However, Nedbal's recent work on Wenzel Mihule's Prague translation shows how works falling outside the scope of the 'Rhine-Danube

transmission route,' are relegated to a footnote.⁵²² He attributes this to the way in which scholarship has often diminished German-Bohemian musical culture due to the difficulty in reconciling the imposition of German in these former Habsburg lands and the associated suppression of the native language. With the focus on Pressburg and by highlighting Girzik's translations of works contemporaneous to *Don Giovanni*, I bring to the fore discussions around this very same theme, albeit in the context of the Kingdom of Hungary and extending it beyond the scope of the Mozart-Da Ponte operas. While Franz Xaver Girzik's translation of *Axur* for the Erdődy theatre may not have been performed anywhere outside Pressburg and Pest, they were pivotal in the late 1790s Viennese revivals of works from the Josephinian era.

The case of *Il Re Teodoro in Venezia* highlights the up-and-coming phenomenon of piano reduction scores and opens the question of the role in domestic consumption of these works as well as the role played by the vernacular translation for attracting this new audience. I argue that in doing so, these piano reduction scores performed the function of the early *Singspiele* of Hiller and Weisse—introducing 'songs into the public sphere' to cultivate a German identity.⁵²³ The final case study in Chapter 5, *L'arbore di Diana* from 1787 to 1802 brings the various threads in this thesis together, touching upon aspects from the reception of works in German translation in suburban theatres in Vienna to other stages across the German-speaking lands, while navigating issues around translators, censorship and circulation of piano reduction scores.

The development of a pan-German *Singspiel*, achieved through the diffusion of genre boundaries and conventions between North German works and the highly popular Viennese works is a perfect example of cultural transfer that fits Stockhorst's model discussed in Chapter 1. When the North German style went through a dip in its fortunes in the 1780s, the self-identified deficit and economic concerns led to the introduction of Viennese works into their repertory. This gave rise to a give-and-take between the styles, which was facilitated and underpinned by a large network of composers, librettists, impresarios, translators and others who travelled across the German-speaking lands like Schröder and Lippert, whose pan-German career is the golden thread that runs through the narrative of this thesis.

⁵²² Nedbal, 'Wenzel Mihule and the Reception of *Don Giovanni* in Central Europe', p. 67. See also: Woodfield, *The Vienna Don Giovanni*, p. 128-29.

⁵²³ See: Joubert, 'Songs to Shape a German Nation'.

6.1 Summary

The main conclusions of my thesis can be summarised as follows:

(1) The two-way process of transfer between the Viennese and the North German *Singspiel* was greatly facilitated by Italian opera in German translation. The Viennese *opere buffe* in German translation made up a significant part of the music theatre repertory of troupes across the German-speaking lands outside Vienna. The Italianate form being heard in vernacular in different translations and adaptations, and their interactions paved the way for a widespread circulation of *Singspiele* like Dittersdorf's *Der Doktor und der Apotheker* and Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*. These works quickly displaced a classically 'North German' *Singspiel* such as Neefe's *Adelheit von Veltheim* in places like Hamburg and Berlin in late 1780s.

The circulation of Italian opera from the Viennese repertoire in the 1780s and their wider circulation in the German speaking lands and back to Vienna in the 1790s was an important step in diffusing the boundaries between these two styles. Under the common Italianate form, the distinct different styles of translation and adaptation interacted with each other and led to the development of the *Singspiel* as practice and gradually led to the pan-German genre of *romantische Oper* by the time of the premiere of *Der Freischütz* in Berlin in 1821.

(2) With the assimilation of Italian and French models, the *Singspiel* accommodated many possibilities and variants under an umbrella term. This begets the question as to the genre of the resultant *Singspiel* as practice. For instance, *Axur, Re d'Ormus* in German translation could not be considered a true *Singspiel* simply on account of the substitution of the simple recitatives with dialogue. Instead, the resultant work was a *Singspiel* as practice, which expanded the range of what the genre could offer. As a result of these constant transformations through translation and adaptation, the *Singspiel* did not get replaced by the turn of the nineteenth century but instead developed into a 'German' opera without local distinctions such as 'Viennese' or 'North German.'

(3) The few examples of complete printed scores or printed piano reductions of operas in the late eighteenth century were influential in the wider circulation of the work, as can be seen in the examples of *Giulio Sabino* and *Il Re Teodoro in Venezia*. In the case of *Giulio Sabino*, a 1782 Artaria print of the original Venetian version is critical in understanding how the 1786 Pressburg translation was positioned against the highly modified 1785 Viennese version that spurred it, thereby going against the grain of a model of circulation and transmission with Vienna at the centre. In the case of *Il Re Teodoro in Venezia*, the

proliferation of scores and the growing demand for piano reduction scores shows how potential domestic consumption of these works was spurred by a translation of the text into the vernacular.

(4) Finally, in cases where a work was translated multiple times, there are questions of misattributed and often multiple attributions to a translation. This is a problem that is compounded not insignificantly by the invisibility of a translator save for very few instances, although this not come as a surprise at a time when even the librettist mostly failed to find a place on a printed libretto. In the case studies presented of *La pastorella nobile*, *L'arbore di Diana* and *Axur, Re d'Ormus*, it becomes abundantly clear that these translations were multi-layered works underpinned by a deeply interconnected network of musicians, impresarios, librettists as well as the work itself as a fluid product of cultural transfer.

The circulation of Italian opera in German translation did not take place in a vacuum. The *Singspiel* as practice was a product of multiple layers of 'operatic conversations' facilitated and mediated by both human and non-human factors, in this case of cultural transfer. This cross-connectivity between Italian opera in German translation is representative of the flexible boundaries around genre in late eighteenth-century music theatre and hearkens back to the idea of a 'cross-fertilization' of styles. Extending this mapping approach to include not just works, but also the people supporting the circulation of these works would be the first step towards properly visualising the actual 'vibrant crossfire,' and fully understanding the richness of the repertory formed of *Singspiel* as practice.

6.2 Coda

In the short abstract prefacing 'The Idea of National Opera, c.1800,' Silke Leopold asks if 'the German national opera, which composers and writers on music from Richard Wagner to Hans Pfitzner see as starting with Christoph Willibald Gluck's *Iphigenie auf Tauris* and Carl Maria von Weber's *Freischütz*, [is] a historical reality or a historiographical construct.'⁵²⁴ The two works which Leopold mentions as the nascent phase of the German national opera are separated by four decades—Gluck's *Iphigenie in Tauris* was performed in Vienna on 23 October 1781 while Weber's *Der Freischütz* premiered in Berlin on 18 June 1821.⁵²⁵

⁵²⁴ Silke Leopold, 'The Idea of National Opera, c. 1800', in *Unity and Diversity in European Culture c.1800*, ed. by Tim Blanning and Hagen Schulze, Proceedings of the British Academy, 134 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 20–33 (p. 20).

⁵²⁵ The work became known as *Iphigenia auf Tauris* with its minor change of preposition most probably influenced by Goethe's work on the same theme.

Over these four decades from 1781 to 1821, the tricky space called German opera was mainly occupied by the *Singspiel*, while the musical theatre landscape within the German-speaking lands was still dominated by Italian *opera buffa*, and French *opéra comique* to a much lesser extent. The *Singspiel* as a genre reached its peak during the first two decades, and instead of a decline, it slowly transformed itself through assimilation of both style and content from both its French and Italian models into the *romantische Oper*, of which Weber's *Der Freischütz* is the most prominent example.

Gluck's *Iphigenie in Tauris*, on the other hand, is not a representative example of a *Singspiel* as genre but is instead a *Singspiel* as practice. Gluck's contribution to reform opera in a sense, culminates in the composition of *Iphigénie en Tauride* (1779, Paris) with a libretto by Nicolas-François Guillard (1752-1814).⁵²⁶ Three years later, at the height of the *Nationalsingspiel* in Vienna, Gluck himself reworked *Iphigenie* into German as *Iphigenie in Tauride* with Johann Baptist von Alxinger (1755-1797) to commemorate the visit of Grand Duke Paul of Russia to Vienna.⁵²⁷ The German version titled *Iphigenie* had direct input from the composer just like the French version, which was prepared from the original Italian. *Iphigenie* was hugely popular on stage with a total of fifty-nine performances from its premiere on 23 October 1781 until 1810.⁵²⁸ Labelled a *tragisches Singspiel*, the work was no mere translation or a change of libretto from French to German with superficial musical changes; Gluck made significant changes to the second act finale, while also maintaining the recitatives, albeit adapted to the German language.⁵²⁹ So, would *Iphigenie in Tauris* be a (*tragisches*) *Singspiel* as the title page of its libretto says or a French *tragédie lyrique* in German translation?

⁵²⁶ Théodore Lajarte, *Bibliothèque musicale du Théâtre de l'opéra* (Paris: Librairie des bibliophiles, 1878), pp. 308–10. Lajarte lists 408 performances of the work between the premiere on 27 March 1781 and 1829. Gluck's contribution to the reformation of what he considered outdated forms of both *opera buffa* and *seria* was summed up in his preface or dedication page to *Alceste* (Vienna, 1769). The whole text in English translation can be found in: William Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History* (New York: W.W.Norton and Sons, 1950), pp. 673–75.

⁵²⁷ *Iphigenia in Tauris/ Ein/ tragisches Singspiel/ in/ vier Aufzügen/ aus dem Französischen des Herrn/ Guillard/ Die Musik ist vom Herrn Ritter/ Gluck/ Aufgeführt auf dem k. k. Nationalhoftheater/ Wien/ zu finden bey dem Logenmeister, 1781. A-Wn 641433-A.11,2 MUS MAG.*

⁵²⁸ The work performed in Vienna within six months of its Paris premiere with the title *Iphigenia in Tauris* and was performed fifteen times in the 1781-1782 season. It was premiered at the *k.k. Nationalhoftheater* as the *Burgtheater* was then termed as part of Emperor Joseph II's *Nationaltheater* initiatives. These were withdrawn in 1783 leading to the reinstatement of the Italian opera troupe. The work was then revived in 1807, this time with the title altered to *Iphigenia auf Tauris* and received a further forty-four times until 1810.

⁵²⁹ Jeremy Hayes, 'Iphigénie En Tauride (i)', *Grove Music Online* (Oxford Music Online, 2002) <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.0902326> [consulted 2 February 2022]. The role of Oreste was also transposed down from baritone to tenor.

Towards the end of Leopold's chapter, the Viennese version of *Iphigenie* in German is placed in opposition to *Günther von Schwarzburg* (1777, Mannheim) by Ignaz Holzbauer (1711-1783), a work that exemplified the *Singspiel* as genre:⁵³⁰

How, on the other hand, could it be that the German translation of Gluck's *Iphigenie auf Tauris* was so successful in Vienna in 1782 that contemporaries and later historians of opera saw it as representing the start of the German national opera, even though it was a French work on a theme drawn from mythological antiquity?⁵³¹

Leopold posits that this may have had much to do with 'reception than in the work itself.'⁵³² She points towards the importance of the places of reception in citing the relative obscurity of *Günther von Schwarzburg* by 1785 and contrasting it to the platform afforded to *Iphigenie* on the Viennese stages, where German-language music theatre was being championed through the imperial patronage of Emperor Joseph II, including the multiple suburban theatres. This is precisely the point of departure for discussion in this thesis—what exactly was the *Singspiel* and by extension, German opera, around 1800? What was the role played by Italian operas in German translation in the further development of the *Singspiel*, which by the turn of the century, had started to stand shoulder-to-shoulder with its Italian counterpart, the *opera buffa* even in Vienna?⁵³³ More interestingly, as in the case of *Iphigenie*, what did it mean for the German opera tradition when an *opera seria* was heard in German with the recitatives retained?

The study of adaptation practices in these German translations finally also addresses the question about *Singspiel* as genre versus practice, and its impact on reception history. It also addresses what is encompassed by the term 'translation' in this context. Was this form still to be derided as a mere translation of more popular French and Italian models, with a superficial replacement of the Italian recitatives with spoken dialogue or did this go much

⁵³⁰ Leopold, pp. 25–33. *Günther von Schwarzburg* was composed by Ignaz Holzbauer (1711-1783) to a libretto by Anton Klein (1748-1810) and was premiered at Elector Karl Theodor's court theatre and long accepted as a pivotal turning point in the history of German-language music theatre, with even reviews right after its premiere noting Klein's patriotic register in a libretto infused with references to *Volk* and *Vaterland* and the mostly Italianate, *opera seria* style of Holzbauer's composition. However, this was not Holzbauer's first opera in the vernacular. This happens to be *Hypermnestra*, with a libretto by Johann Leopold van Ghelen (1708-1760) and was first performed in Vienna in 1741. Like Reinhard Keiser's *Störtebeker* (1701), it also had the distinction of dealing with a German theme. See: Austin Glatthorn, 'The Theatre of Politics and the Politics of Theatre', pp. 18–36 and also: Lawrence Bennett, 'Ignaz Holzbauer and the Origins of German Opera in Vienna', *Eighteenth-Century Music* 3/1 (2006), pp. 63-90 for a broader understanding of Holzbauer's role in the development of a distinct German operatic genre.

⁵³¹ Leopold, pp. 32–33.

⁵³² Ibid.

⁵³³ Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna*, pp. 499–500.

further than this? Where do these works belong in terms of genre and are these works translations or adaptations, rendering a divide between *Singspiel* as genre and *Singspiel* as practice?⁵³⁴

A significant milestone in understanding the transformation of the *Singspiel* into the *romantische Oper*, which took on the guise of a pan-German genre, was the publication of the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* in Leipzig in 1798. As the early reports written from Vienna suggest, German-language productions were still ‘a distinct minority of overall opera production’ in Vienna and ‘reviewers complained predictably about the poor quality.’⁵³⁵ However, over the course of the next few years, these productions in the vernacular began to steadily outnumber those in Italian.⁵³⁶ The reason for this shift was in principle the same that partly prompted Emperor Joseph II to encourage a shift towards a German troupe—economic viability. Over the course of three decades, the relatively higher costs associated with maintaining an Italian opera troupe, including the higher fees commanded by the Italian singers, was a fact that had remained unchanged. In the case of a German-language dominated troupe, the company could rely on local singers and composers and cut back on excess costs that was then channelled into more ostentatious theatrical displays and visual treats, which were bound to attract more audiences and also compete with the repertory offered by the suburban theatres.⁵³⁷ The reviews in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* pertaining to the Theater auf der Wieden (and later, Theater an der Wien) mostly focus on the *Lokalstücke* and *Zauberoper* for which Schikaneder’s company was building a steady reputation.

Apart from the *Zauberoper* craze of the 1790s, the type of German-language opera that was popular across the board, including the court theatres and the suburban theatres around the turn of the century was German translations of French *opéras comiques* that were ‘rescue operas.’⁵³⁸ French plays and operas in translation had been quite popular on Viennese stages earlier in the 1770s and early 1780s, but had gradually been taken over by Italian works at the height of the Josephinian period and then virtually disappeared during the war years. The

⁵³⁴ Leopold expresses a similar sentiment on a broader scale: ‘We therefore need to reflect in a fundamental way on the question of what makes an opera into a national opera. Is it the origin of the composer? The genre? The language? The subject? The musical style? The singers’ style of interpretation? Or all of these together?’ Leopold, p. 23.

⁵³⁵ Carol Padgham Albrecht, ‘Music in Public Life: Viennese Reports from the “Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung,” 1798-1804’ (Ph.D. diss., Kent State University, 2008), p. 7.

⁵³⁶ The *Spielplan* of the Viennese theatres from 1800-1810, which is part of the Vienna database with data from Jahn’s work, very clearly shows this trend.

⁵³⁷ Albrecht, p. xv.

⁵³⁸ For more on French opera on the Viennese stage, see: Carolyn Kirk, ‘The Viennese Vogue for French Opéra-Comique 1790-1819’ (Ph.D. diss., University of St Andrews).

first theatre to reintroduce French *opéras comiques* in German translation was the Theater an der Wien, where Cherubini's *Lodoïska* premiered on 23 March 1802. Similarly, when it came to Cherubini's *Les deux Journées*, which was mounted in German as *Der Wasserträger*, both the Kärtnertheater as well as Theater an der Wien put on rival productions, with two different translations. The gap in institutional rivalry in Vienna, previously centred around Italian opera and the same opera in German translation at suburban theatres, was now closed.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, as a result of the mobility in the networks of musicians, actors and troupe members such as Friedrich Karl Lippert, multiple translations of Italian opera with different literary styles—ranging from Ferdinand Eberl's Viennese-tempered translations of the dialogues in *Der Baum der Diana* to Heinrich Schmieder's more literary adaptation of *Axur*—were often brought together and coalesced into new and often posthumously misattributed German texts for the revivals of highly popular Italian works of the Josephinian era in Vienna itself, completing a transmission loop as can be seen in the case of the 1797 Viennese performance of *Axur*.

From the early nineteenth century onwards, the efforts to create a distinctive German form of opera—something to rival that of the Italians and the French in individual terms—gathered momentum and was parallel to the currents in the literary sphere, where Romanticism was taking hold, culminating in the *Romantische Oper*.⁵³⁹ The vernacular translations of a what was indeed seen as a 'foreign' form seems to have brought out a still more fluid understanding of genre as practice in the *Singspiel*. The gradual diffusion of boundaries between a Viennese or South German style and a North German style of the *Singspiel*, achieved through the widespread circulation and reception of Italian operas in the vernacular across the length and breadth of the German-speaking lands in the preceding decades, was crucial in the development of the *Singspiel* beyond its structure of genre, into the *Singspiel* as practice.

⁵³⁹ van Kooten, *Was Deutsch und echt...*, p.5

Appendix A

Materials for Introduction, Chapter 1 and Conclusion

A.1 Preface to *Iphigenia in Tauris* (1781)⁵⁴⁰

Uebersetzen ist eine stets unangenehm und meistens undankbare Arbeit. Jeder macht sich ein Geschäft daraus, dem Uebersetzer diese oder jene Schönheit des Originals vorzurücken, die er verloren gehen ließ. Was er aber nicht verloren gehen ließ, nimmt man, wie alles Gute, ganz natürlich an.

Ein schon in Musik gelegtes Gedicht zu übersetzen, ist außer einer genauen Kenntniß beyder Sprachen noch eine eiserne Geduld nöthig, und dennoch ist es kaum möglich, die Uebersetzung über das mittelmässig hinaufzuarbeiten. Je vortreflicher, das ist, je anpassender dem Texte, je ausdrucksvoller die Musik ist, je grosser ist die Schwierigkeit.

Wem diese deutsche Iphigenia nachlässig oder ungefeitet scheint, wird aufgefordert eine andere Gluckliche Oper besser—gleich zu übersetzen. Auf diese Art wird sich sehr gerne kritisiert sehen.

Der Uebersetzer.

A.1.1 Translation

Translation is always an unpleasant and mostly thankless job. Everyone makes it their business to bring to the translator's attention some aspect of beauty of the original that he has allowed to be lost. But what he did not let get lost, one takes, naturally, like all good things.

To translate a poem that has already been set to music requires, in addition to an exact knowledge of both languages, an iron patience, and yet it is hardly possible to work the translation up beyond the mediocre. The more excellent that is, the more suited to the text, the more expressive the music, greater the difficulty.

To whoever this German Iphigenia seems careless or unprepared, they are urged to translate another opera of Gluck better—(or) in the same way. In this way, they will be happy to see themselves criticized.

The translator.

⁵⁴⁰ *Iphigenia in Tauris/ Ein/ tragisches Singspiel/ in/ vier Aufzügen/ aus dem Französischen des Herrn/ Guillard/ Die Musik ist vom Herrn Ritter/ Gluck/ Aufgeführt auf dem k. k. Nationalhoftheater/ Wien/ zu finden bey dem Logenmeister, 1781 p. 1-2. A-Wn 641433-A.11,2 MUS MAG*

Appendix B

Materials for Chapter 2

B.1 Excerpts from Schink's *Dramaturgische Monate* (1790)⁵⁴¹

Am vierzehnten Oktober: Betrug durch Aberglauben / Singspiel in zwei Aufzügen von Eberl/ die Musik vom Edlen von Dittersdorf.

Dieses vielfältige Unglück mit den Kindern seiner eignen Mache bewog den gebeugten und bekümmerten Vater endlich, fremde Kinder zu adoptiren, um in ihnen längere und dauerhaftere Vaterfreuden zu geniessen. Er begann also die beliebtesten italienischen Opern des Wiener Hof: Theaters für sein Publikum in der Leopoldstadt in sein Deutsch zu übersessen, um so sich und seine adoptirten Kinder unter dem Strahlenmantel der Paisiello, Salieri und Martini — wenn auch als Contrebande — in den Tempel des Beyfalls einschwärzen zu lassen. In der That hat auch Niemand zu dem Geschäft, italienischen Opernunsinn in deutschen umzuprägen, einen so unleugbaren Beruf, als Herr Eberl. Es herrscht in seinen und jenen Produkten eine so auffallende Geistesähnlichkeit, daß sich gar keine innigere Verbrüderung zweier Wesen denken läßt, als dieses Band der Eintracht zwischen diesen deutschen und jenen italienischen Dichtern. Und, da die Opernliebhaber Sinnlosigkeit, Plattitüden und Ungereimtheiten für die wesentlichsten Bestandtheile des Schauspiels halten, zu denen die Paisiello, Salieri und Martini ihr unsterbliches Talent herleihen müssen, so konnt' es auch nicht fehlen, daß dieser Herr Eberl und diese italienischen Operndichter um so grössern Beyfall erhielten, je toller, abentheuerlicher und grotesker sie die dramatische Kunst entweyhten, je offenbarer sie in ihren Irrhausprodukten die gesunde Vernunft an den Pranger stellten.

B.1.1 Translation

This manifold misfortune with the children of his own making finally induced the distressed father to adopt foreign children in order to enjoy longer and more lasting

⁵⁴¹ Johann Friedrich Schink, *Dramaturgische Monate* (Schwerin: Bödner, 1790). Erster Band, Zweiter Teil, N^o IX, p. 210-211

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fatherly joys in them. So, he began to translate the most popular Italian operas of the Viennese court theatre into German for his audience in Leopoldstadt, in order to have himself and his adopted children smuggled into the temple of applause under the radiant mantle of Paisiello, Salieri and Martini - even if as contraband. In fact, no one has such an undeniable profession in the business of transforming Italian opera nonsense into German as Mr. Eberl. There is such a striking similarity of spirit in his and those products that no more intimate fraternization of two beings can be imagined than this bond of harmony between these German and those Italian poets. And, since opera lovers consider senselessness, platitudes and inconsistencies to be the most essential parts of the play, to which Paisiello, Salieri and Martini must lend their immortal talent, it could not be lacking, So it could not fail that this Mr. Eberl and these Italian opera poets received all the greater applause, the more madly, abhorrently, and grotesquely they disgraced dramatic art, the more openly they pilloried common sense in their madhouse products.

B.2 Preface to *Der Baum der Diana* (1788)⁵⁴²

Vorrede.

Wer die Schwierigkeiten der deutschen Sprache, und die Eigenschaften der italienischen für die Musik ganz kennt- Der allein wird das Beschwerliche meiner Arbeit zu fühlen im Stande seyn, und nur dieses ächten Kenners belehrende Kritik werde ich mit jenem Dank zu nützen wissen, der ihn überzeugen mag, daß ich nach nichts sehnlicher strebe, als nach Vervollkommung meiner wenigen Talente.

Eberl

B.2.1 Translation

Preface.

Whoever knows the difficulties of the German language, and the characteristics of the Italian language for music- He alone will be able to feel the difficulty of my work, and I will only know how to make use of the instructive criticism of this true connoisseur

⁵⁴² A-Wn 50943-A MUS MAG

with the gratitude that may convince him that I strive for nothing more than the perfection of my few talents.

Eberl

B.3 *Etwas für Alle über die Aufführung des Baums der Diana, in dem marinellischen Schauspielhause in der Leopoldstadt* (1788)⁵⁴³

Erwarten Sie keine Kritik, allerseits meines gnädigen Herrn und Damen, man muß Und kann nicht alles kritisiren- was nicht vollkommen ist, denn sonst wird unsre Kritik in einem gewissen Verstände eine Verläumdung, und da wolle einem der Himmel vor bewahren.

Also ist es ein Lob der Aufführung des Baums der Diana, werden die Schauspieler so recht herausgehoben und herausgestrichen werden, und sich das ganze mit einem frommen Wunsch der Fortdauer dieser Künstler enden.—

Auch nicht meine Hochwerthen Herrn und Damen — Nun mein Seele Herr Author, das ist komisch — etwas für alle Wiener schreiben, und doch eigentlich weder schimpfen noch loben. Und was solls denn also seyn?

Eine Erzählung, eine komisch satyrische Erzählung von der Aufführung des Stücks und mitunter Noten zum Text woraus sich jeder nehmen kann was ihm beliebt und gefällt.

Die glückliche Aufführung der seltenen Sache auf dem Leopoldstädter Theater, die bereits drey und fünfzigmal das Theater gefüllt halte, erwekte den Gedanken, sich auch an den Baum der Diana zu wagen obschon dieß ein Sprung ist, der nicht unter die kleinsten *Saltus mortales*, gehört.

Aber es ist nicht so leicht gethan als gesagt — Ich will: diesem Unternehmen standen eine Menge Hindernisse von allen Gattungen entgegen — es war ein Wagestück, an der

⁵⁴³ *Etwas für Alle über die Aufführung des Baums der Diana in dem marinellischen Schauspielhause in der Leopoldstadt.* (Vienna, 1788). A-Wn 30703-A ALT MAG

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Ehre und keine kleine Summe Geldes hieng, eine Sache, die vereinigt allein im Stand ist, einen Schauspieldirektor zu erhalten.

Was Wunder, wenn daher Herr Marinelli lange sich sträubte, was Wunder, wenn sein Rücken lange sich wendete, eh er es unternahm, diese Last zu tragen, aber endlich entschloß er sich, und Frau Fama eilte auf ihrem schnellsten Klepper durch die ganze Stadt, diesen Entschluß auszuposaunen.

Kaum erscholl diese Posaune, als alles in Gährung gerieth, als man von nichts als vom Baum der Diana und dessen Aufführung sprach.

Wie dort in Abdera die Eseln und die Schatten *) sich unaufhörlich widersprechen, und in einem ewigen Zweikampfe zu leben schienen, so stritten auch hier die Partheien heftig mitsammen.

Es ist nicht möglich, L'arbore di Diana auf dieser Bühne Zuspielen; es ist möglich, sagten die zweiten und die dritten, eine feine Gattung von Skeptikern, **) sagten: Vielleicht ist es möglich, vielleicht auch nicht.

*) Wielands Abderiten erzählen uns von dieser lächerlichen Szene, wo um eines Esels Schatten sich eine ganze Stadt in zwo Partheiey theilte, die einander ganz in eigentlichsten Verstände, so recht zu untergraben suchten.

S. Wielands Abderiten

**) Die Skeptiker waren eine philosophische Sekte, die an allen zweifelten — sogar an ihres Daseyns Wirklichkeit.

Unstreitig hatten diese letzteren für die möglich - und unmögliche Aufführung das Wahre getroffen, denn wollte Herr Marinelli aufführen, so durfte er nur zahlen und studieren lassen; wollte er nicht, so stand im ganzen neuen Gesezbuche kein Artikel, vermög dem selbst Herr Schlendrian *) ihn zur Aufführung des Baums der Diana zwingen konnte.

Aber ob er gut oder schlecht gespielt werden wird, oder ob man ein Mittelding zwischen beiden ausbrüten und dem Publikum zu verdauen vorwerfen wird, das war die Frage, die eine vernünftigere Klasse von Menschen beschäftigte. Zwar gründete man auf Herrn Marinellis

*) Herr Schlendrian — der gewiß genug bekannt ist, indem ihn der Buchstabe des Gesezes sogar zum Vater eines fremden Kindes gemacht hat. Rechtsschaffenheit schon die Meinung — daß er es gut spielen wolle/ aber da dieß von der Spielenden Fleiß und Talenten abhängt, war dieß noch kein Beweis im Vorhinein.

Endlich entschloß sich der Adel, ihn aufzumuntern und fieng an, sich Logen zu bestellen, ihm folgte der Bürgerstand und im kurzen waren alle Logen besetzt.

So erwartete man die Zeit der Aufführung, die sich nun immer mehr und mehr nahte: — ich bin überzeugt, daß die Schauspieler ihren Fleiß nicht sparten, die anhaltenden Proben bildeten sie ganz einstimmig und harmonisch gegeneinander, und jedes einzelne Glied schien fest geschworen zu haben, das Publikum zu überzeugen, was Fleiß und unverdrossene Arbeit zu bewirken im Stande sind.

Der Tag erschien, und das Schauspielhaus war so voll, daß man, mit der gemeinen Art zu sprechen, keine Steknadel hinabzuwerfen Im Stande war, die nicht auf Menschen fiel.

Die schwülle Hitze, die damals den Horizont durchglühte, trieb den Schweiß aus allen Schweißlöchern der menschlichen Natur, und das Publikum wurde ein Martyrer der Neugierde und des Vergnügens.

Da der Plan dieser Oper nicht Allen bekannt sein dürfte, so glaube ich, manchem Leser damit einen Gefallen zu erzeugen, wenn ich im kurzen davon spreche.

Diana ist von jeher als die Verächterinn der Liebe bekannt, Ihre und Ihrer Nymphen Keuschheit war so heilig, daß ein einziger Blick den unvorsichtigen Akteon zu einem Hirschen umstaltete.

Ein wunderbarer Baum war das Zeichen, an dem sie die Keuschheit ihrer Nymphen erkannte; alle Abende mußten sie vorüberziehen, jede einzeln, und der Baum ließ die schönste Symphonie hören, wenn sie keusch waren — aber auch nur ein Blick von Liebe war Tod für die Nymphe, denn dann vergaß der Baum seine Kunst, die Früchte verwelkten, Donner und Blitz verwandelte Tag in Nacht und keine Musik ließ sich hören. —

Daß Diana nicht liebte, konnte die Göttinn der Liebe ertragen, aber daß sie der Liebe spottete, das zu strafen war ihr Wille — daher sandte sie Amorn, (der hier als ein

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Mädchen erscheint) Dianen zu besiegen, und dieser schlaue Gott fieng das Ding damit an, daß sie sich zuerst selbst einen hübschen Jungen freit.

Diana hatte einen Jüngling geraubt, der Doristo hieß, und den sie zum Wächter des Wunderbaums bestimmte, dieser gefiel Amorn und sollte der erste sein, der Dianens und ihrer Nymphen Keuschheit angriff.

Nach Amors Unterricht verlangt Doristo von Dianen und Ihren Nymphen ungescheut Küsse, springt von einer zu der andern, um eine Gunstbezeugung zu erhalten, und wird von der strengen und über diese Kühnheit erstaunten Diana in einen Baum verwandelt-

Ein paar streitende Jünglinge, Endymion heißt der eine, eilen itzt in diese Gegend, wo der Wunderbaum und der eben verwandelte Doristo stehen, und sind aufeinander ausserordentlich aufgebracht. Amor kömmt und hört ihren Streit, einer erschlug dem anderen einen Hund, den dieser von seinem Mädchen empfangen hatte, und dessen Tod das Unglück mit sich zog, daß alle Mädchen sich in ihn verlieben, nur jene nicht, die er liebt.— Amor verspricht ihm seinen Hund wieder, und versöhnt die beiden.

Sie entzaubert den Baum und die Fremden wundern sich über dieses Ereigniß;

Doristo erklärt ihnen das Räthsel, und Amor giebt ihnen Pfeile mit dem Bedeuten, daß jener, der zuerst Dianen den Pfeil in die Brust drückt, das Glück ihrer Liebe geniessen soll: Doristo, der zurückbleibt, verlangt von Amor einen Pfeil, sie entdeckt ihm aber, daß er für sie übrigbleibe, und Doristo ist damit allerdings zufrieden, wie er im Duette Ochietto furbetto, deutlich ausdrückt.

Indeß haben die Nymphen mit dem bezauberten Doristo Mitleid und erscheinen, um ihn zu retten; sie treffen ihn in Gesellschaft Endymions und noch eines Jünglings Sylvio an, und länger hält ihre Keuschheit nicht mehr Probe, sie versagen den drey Schäfern weder Herz noch Kuß.

Mitten in dieser für Nymphen der Diana so ungewöhnlichen Unterhaltung, erscheint Diana. Die Nymphen verbergen ihre Liebhaber hinter eine Grotte und entfliehen.

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Amor eilt zu Dianen, schwört ihr, sie bis Abends so verliebt als ihre Nymphen zu machen. Diana schwört, sowohl keusch zu bleiben als ihre Nymphen, die nie einen

Mann liebten. Hier schlägt Amor auf die Grotte, die zusammenstürzt und Dianens geheiligtem Auge drey verborgene Männer darstellt.

Ihre Nymphen eilen herzu, und zu eben der Zeit glücket es dem Endymion, Dianen mit den Pfeilen der Liebe zu verwunden.

Dianens Wuth ist unbegnügt, sie befiehlt, die Fremden zu morden. Amor bedeckt sie mit feinem Schilde, vorzüglich den Doristo, der mit den drey schuldigen Nymphen sammt seinen Gefährten entflieht; Endymion allein bleibt zurück und erhält ihre Gnade. Hierbei singt Endymion die schöne Arie (*Ah quante volte mai*). Diana, im Bade durch Amors List von Endymion überrascht, der sich schlafend stellt, fühlt Liebe in ihrem Busen; sie ruft ihre Keuschheit, ihren ganzen Stolz zusammen, aber — zu mächtig ist der Pfeil der Liebe — sie weckt ihren Endymion, und überläßt sich mit ihm ganz den süßen Gefühlen der Zärtlichkeit.

Indeß hat Amor wieder lose Streiche angestellt, hat die Entflohenen geneket, den Mitgefährten Endymions in einen Dianen Oberpriester verwandelt, und eilt nun, Dianen ganz zu beschämen.

Diana, vom Oberpriester überrascht, verbirgt den Endymion, klagt ihre Nymphen an, daß sie der Keuschheit Gelübde übertreten, und nicht mehr werth sind, ihre Nymphen zu heissen.

Der Priester verspricht Untersuchung der Schuldigen: unter Zittern versammeln sich die Nymphen, die Priester bringen die Urne, der Oberpriester zieht den

Namen der Schuldigsten und er heißt — Diana. Alles erstaunt, Diana ist in Verzweiflung. Donner und Blitz erfüllen die Gegend. Amor erscheint, seines Sieges sich zu freuen. Amor verwandelt die Gegend in den Göttersaal, und Diana wird Endymions Geliebte; Amor ist mit Doristo zufrieden, und dessen Gefährte kann nach seiner Entzauberung von den Nymphen wählen, welche er will.

So schließt sich die Cortine; dieß ist der Plan. Nun noch etwas über die Übersetzung und Aufführung desselben

Herr Eberl hat in seiner Uibersetzung den Geschmack des Publikums ganz wohl getroffen, bis auf einige Zweideutigkeiten, und die hinkende Übersetzung des Duetts

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Ochietto Furbetto, ist die Oper immer eine Arbeit, die ihm Ehre macht: denn was das Duett betrifft, so kann ich das unmöglich für schön halten:

Er. Und was sagt' ich
Sie. Du sprachst, ich liebe dich,
Er. Und was weiter? —
Sie. Daß du möchtest,
Er. Und was weiter ?
Sie. Daß du wolltest — daß du möchtest— daß du wolltest.

Indeß hat das keinen Schimpf zum Grunde, sondern nur die wohlgemeinte Bemerkung, daß Herr Eberl auf die Lieblingsstelle des Volks etwas mehr Fleiß anwenden, und dadurch dem Ganzen einen höhern Grad - von Vollkommenheit hätte geben können.

Was aber die Aufführung betrifft, so entsprach sie allerdings der Hoffnung , und dem Wunsche des Publikums, denn:

Bey Madem. Sartori, die in der Gestalt Dianens auftrat, war allerdings Wahrheit im Spiel und Ausdruck. Ihre strenge Miene, die in eine unentschlossene Ungewißheit übergieng, ist allerdings treffend gewesen, man mag darüber sagen, was man will. Doch übertraff Ihr Spiel ihren Gesang, obschon auch dieses Nichts weniger als zu tadeln ist, und von vieler Mühe und Fleiß zeuget.

Der ältere Baumann in der Rolle des Doristo, scheint wir mit der meisten Natur gefhielt zu haben; die Szene, wo er so ganz *sans façon* von Dianen ein paar Küsse verlangt, ist sehr gut gespielt worden.

Sein Bruder sang besser als er, so wie er ihm im Spiele nachstehen mußte, und man vermißt bei diesen Singspielen jene immer belachten, aber auch immer getadelten und übelangebrachten Purzelbäume und Schwänke, selbst bei ernsthaften Szenen der *Cosa Rara*.

Uiberhaupt kann man den beyden Hr. Baumannen in diesem Stüke ansehen, daß sie viel Talent haben, und daß sie keine Mühe sparten, es hier anzuwenden.

Madame Müller, in Amors Rolle, gefällt nicht weniger, ob sie ihre Githa gleich mit mehr Natur spielt — aber, freylich ist Amor nicht ihre Natur — man merket aber doch , daß sie Mühe angewendet hat, in diesem Stüke zu glänzen. Das Verlangen des Publikums, Ihr am Ende des Stüks seinen Beifall zu erkennen zu geben, bewaise allerdings, daß sie wirklich geblänzt hat.

Die drey ersten Nymphen spielten ebenfalls bis auf das gut, daß sie für Dianen-Nymphen ein bischen hölzern waren.

Dieß ist mein Urtheil; betrachten sie es meine Freunde als das aufrichtige Urtheil eines einzelnen Menschen, der es weder aufdringen noch für entschiedene Wahrheit verkaufen will.

Ich bin kein sogenannter Kasperlianer, d. i. einer, der das Leopoldstädter Theater vertheidigt, aber auch keiner, der es schimpft; unstreitig hat Hr. Marinelli uns Publikum viel Verdienst, und das Publikum hinwieder viel Geld für ihn,— und Hr. Marinelli hat, wie ich behaupte, für die Unterhaltung des Publikums durch den Baum der Diana, mit möglichstem Fleiße gesorgt. Es fehlt nichts an Kleiderpracht und Dekorazion. Die Verkleidung des Alten, die Grotte, der Tempel und Hain der Diana, und der letzte Göttersaal, sind mit allem möglichen Theaterprunke ausgeziert, und das Publikum würde undankbar handeln, wenn es ihm nicht vergütete, was er that. Ich gehe oft in dieses Theater, bin ein Freund seiner Schauspieler, d. i. sehe sie gerne spielen, aber ich bin deswegen weder blind noch taub noch auf den Kopf gefallen, um mit gezwungener Aengstlichkeit Fehler zu entschuldigen, die wirklich Fehler sind.

Diese unpartheyische Kritik habe Ich Ihnen vorgelegt, und nun sprechen Sie, ob sie nicht billig, weder ein Schimpf noch ein Lob ist; sie ist beides in dem Masse, als es die Aufführung verdient; zwar nicht Schimpf, denn den verdient sie gewiß in keinem Falle-- sondern nur Bemerkung kleinerer und größerer dabei vorgefallener Fehler, die man bei einem schweren Werke vergeben muß, wenn man ein billiger Zuschauer sein will, da die Ausführung des Werks die Erwartung so sehr überstieg.

Herr Marinelli war so uneigennützig, die Plätze nicht zu erhöhen, obschon ihm die Oper so vieles Geld kostete, und er leicht, auf diesen Grund gestützt, ohne Verdacht eines Eigennutzes, das Parterre zu einem Gulden Parterre, daß zweite zu 30 und den letzten Platz zu einem 10 Kr. Platz hätte umschmelzen können; ohne von den Logen zu reden, die ihm um 3 vielleicht 4 Dukaten wären gezahlt worden— welche schöne Handlung — nur wollen Einige bemerkt haben, daß

Die Plätze sind wie gewöhnlich.

hätte ausbleiben können, weil es etwas prahlerisch herauskäme.

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Und nun ein Wörtchen an Euch, ihr Authoren, die Ihr vielleicht eben itzt Eure Federn über den ergiebigen Stoff *L'arbore di Diana* fotzt. Vergebt, daß ich Euch zuvorgekommen bin, aber es würde mich verdroßen haben, von Euch verkehrt gesehen zu haben, was ich hier mit soviel Aufrichtigkeit niederschrieb: einer von Euch würde Herrn Marinelli und seine Aufführung des Baums der Diana in den Himmel erheben, der andere niederträchtig beschimpft haben, und keins von beiden wäre der Sache angemessen. — Ich weis, der Kluge und Nachdenkende, der ohne Partheigeist urtheilt, wich, wo nicht ganz doch gröstentheils, mit mir übereinstimmen, und darum schreibt ich in Gottes Namen eure Federn stumpf, nennt eure Broschüre, Kritik, Anmerkung, Lob, Satyre, Brief, oder Dialog über die Aufführung des Baums der Diana, macht die Setzer müde, das Papier theuer, und die Gänsekiele ausgehen; Marinellis Spekulation wird Euretwegen um kein Haar besser oder schlechter gehen, und mithin Gott besohlen, meine Herrn Authoren.

Und nun gehe hinaus in die Welt, kleines Kind der Wahrheit, laß dich lesen, aber sei taub gegen alle Urtheile; man wird dich heut in einem Zirkel loben, morgen in einem schimpfen, das muß dich aber nicht kränken, man kennt deinen Vater nicht, und was du hast, ist von, ihm; wenn ich dich so übersehe, und daran denke, unter was für Hände du kömmst, so möchte ich wohl hören, was man über dich spricht — aber nicht das, was man allgemein sagt, sondern nur das, was der Kluge und der Verständige daran ausstellt, alles Uibrige würde ich wenig oder gar nicht empfinden.

Gehe, aber nie mehr nenne dich mein Kind! wenn dir so schlecht deine Probe aushältst,

als die Nymphen

beim

Baum der Diana

B.4 Kurze Ehrenrettung der bekannten Oper genant: Der Baum der Diana (1791)⁵⁴⁴

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Ich hatte von ohngefähr das Glück, die beste herumlaufende Schrift sammt den ungeschriebenen Namen unter meine Hände zusammen und las darinn zu meinem Erstaunen die schönen Beynamen, die man dieser gab: Schandstück, und gerader Weeg zum Bordell! — Jeder rechtschaffene Mann wird mir beystimmen wenn ich behaupte, eine Schauspielergesellschaft, die Schandstücke aufzehren wagt, gehöre nicht aufs Theatern anders wohin. — Um also die Voltolinische

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Gesellschaft in Rücksicht dieser Oper zu rechtfertigen, fügte ich diesen kleinen Aufsatz hier eben. Daß der Baum der Diana in Wien, Berlin, Mainz, Hamburg u. s. w. mit dem größten Beyfall öfters wiederholt wurde; daß die Darstellung desselben auch hier allgemein begehrt und erlaubt wurde; das, denke ich doch, ist ein argumentum ab auctoritate, welches in diesem Falle mehr gilt, als je eines gegolten hat. Indessen ist dieses hier nicht nöthig. Aus der Blume, woraus die Biene Honig säugt, kann auch Gift gezogen werden; eine solche Blume ist der Baum der Diana. Ich nehme die auffallendsten Stellen aus diesem betitelten Schandstück heraus, zergliedere sie kurz und besorge deßwegen doch nicht anstößig zu werden, wiewohl eine solche Sorge in der bekannten Schrift geäußert ward. Die erste Stelle ist das Duett zwischen Amor und Doristo: **Was sagt dieser Blicke u. s. w.** — Ich sah hier nichts als Possen, die Amor mit dem Doristo treibt. Wer wird sich nun aber über diese Possen aufhalten, wenn er weiß - — **oder wissen will** — daß Amor so gut eine Mannsperson ist, als Doristo? Derjenige freylich, der hier nicht den Amor, sondern die Schauspielerin sieht, versteht nicht einmal eine Schau

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⁵⁴⁴ Augsburger Theater-Journal oder Verzeichniß aller von der hiesigen deutschen Schauspielergesellschaft unter der Direktion des Hrn. Voltolini vom 24 Oktober 1791 bis den 21 Februari 1792 aufgeführten Lust-, Schau-, Trauerspiele Opern und Ballets, nebst den Namen der Mitglieder, und einer kurzen Rechtfertigung der bekannten Oper: Der Baum der Diana verfertigt von Karl Lohse Mitglied der Gesellschaft (Augsburg, 1792), pp.10-15.

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zuschauen, viel weniger zu beurtheilen, derwenigsten zu beschimpfen. — Die zweite Stelle ist das Duett zwischen Diana und Endimion: **Leise, ganz leise will ich ihn weg u. s. w.** Hier sah ich nicht nur nichts Spaßiges, sondern dieß war mir auch sogar langweiligste Scene in der ganzen Oper; so ich bemerken mußte, daß die sonst sollte Diana sich zum Steinchen werfen und verliebten Blindekuhspiel herableiß; ich in meinen Busen, und bedauerte — in [...]Punkte — mich, und alle Kinder hin. Nach dem Duett gehen beyde fort in Wald. **Was thaten sie da?**

Sie sprachen von ihrer Liebe. Das thaten Diana und Endimion; aber der Schauspieler und Schauspielerin nahmen ihrer Pflicht, dass die Rollen zur Hand, und gaben auf das Stichwort acht, wo sie wieder kommen mußten. **Jeder in dem Falle legt Jeder die Handlung aus, wie er selbst will?** Mächtig! Wer mir aber hieraus was Anstößig zieht, der muß selbst sehr anstößig sein! Und kann denn der Autor etwas für irrigen Auslegungen? Hier muß ich mit Recht rufen: Reißt der heranwachsenden Jugend

(p.13)

den Horaz, Virgil, Ovid — Bürger, Kleist, Jakobi u. s. w. aus den Händen, der Menge Romanen nicht zu gedenken; denn sie könnten sich, weiß der Himmel, was alles, auf die anstößigste Art auslegen! daß dieß auch geschieht, weiß ich aus Erfahrung, und doch wird Niemand die vortrefflichen Werke dieser Dichter Schandwerke nennen. Betrachten wir die hier allgemein beliebte Oper: Apotheker und Doktor, etwas genauer: Die Liebhaber steigen des Nachts durchs Fenster zu ihren Mädchen — Sichel geht mit Rosalien auf seinem Stelzfuß in ihr Schlafkabinet, indeß Gotthold eine lange Arie singt — Die Mädchen laufen mit ihren Liebhabern heimlich davon, u. s. w. Warum fand man denn diese Oper nicht anstößig? Wer nannte sie ein Schandstück? Eben so wollte ich aus dem Lustspiel: **Die Indianer in England**, so grobe Zoten herausbuchstabiren können, daß der Baum der Diana noch ein Gebetsbuch dagegen seyn sollte; und doch ist dieses Lustspiel sehr geschätzt. Kurz, wer Aergerniß sucht, der findet sie in jedem Gräschen, warum nicht auch in einem Baum?

Die Absicht des Schauspiels ist: **Belehren und Vergnügen.** Daß diese Oper

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Zuschauer vergnügt, brauche ich nicht erst sagen; das angenehme zufriedene Lächeln, des ich durch die ganze Oper auf allen Beobachtern bemerkte, läßt sich besser

mitfühlen als geschrieben. Der Bürger sucht nach echter Arbeit im Schauspielhaus
Erholung: heißt es in der gemeldeten Schrift; welches, ist die beste Erholung? Wenn
Angesicht ein zufriedenes Lächeln bring; oder wenn sein Herz, erschüttert durch den
Anblick der leidenden Uns sich in Thränen ergießen muß?

Was das **Belehren** betrifft; so muß ich sagen, daß kein Mensch in der Welt Belang in der
italienischen Oper sucht ausser [...]ci; und dennoch wollte ich, wenn hier dazu [...] wäre,
eine so gute treffende Mo[...] dem Baum der Diana hierzu setzen, der größte Moralist
keine bessere in dem bekannten Trauerspiel: Kiara von Hochen, finden sollte.

Ich glaube nun bewiesen zu haben, daß Baum der Diana Niemanden Aergerniß kann,
wenn man sie sich nicht selbst er vergnügt Aug und Ohr; lehrt (zum Einfluß als
italienische Oper) — auch gute; wird überall gerne gesehen; ward

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sogar hier öffentlich begehrt, und auf Anfragen des Herrn Direktors von einer hohen
Obrigkeit erlaubt: Also ist er kein Schandstück. Quod erat demonstrandum.

Lohse Souffleur.

B.5 Comparison of different versions of *La pastorella nobile*⁵⁴⁵

Act	Scene	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1790, Vienna Libretto	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1791, Dresden Autograph score	<i>Die adliche Schäferin</i> 1791, Dresden Libretto	<i>Das adeliche Bauermädchen</i> 1793, Vienna Libretto (Giesecke)
			Sinfonia (C, $\frac{3}{4}$, violini, viole, oboe, flauti, corni in C, fagotti, bassi)		
ACT I	Scene 1	Introduzione (Florida, Astianatte, Polibio): Bel piacer, chè in sul mattino	Introduzione (Florida, Astianatte, Polibio) (G, 2/4, violini, viole, oboe, corni in G, bassi): Bel piacer, chè in sul mattino	Welche Wonne, so am Morgen	No. 1 Terzetto Introduzione (Florida, Astianatte, Polibio): Welche Lust giebt unsern Leben

⁵⁴⁵ 1790 Vienna libretto: *LA PASTORELLA NOBILE/ DRAMMA GIOCOSO/ DA RAPPRESENTARSI/ NEL REAL TEATRO DI CORTE/ L'ANNO 1790/ VIENNA/ PRESSO LA SOCIETÀ TIPOGRAFICA. D-MHrm T464.*

1791 Dresden autograph score: *La pastorella nobile/ del Sigr Guglielmi. D-DI, Mus.3258-F-506.*

1791 Dresden libretto: *LA PASTORELLA NOBILE/ DRAMMA GIOCOSO/ DA RAPPRESENTARSI/ NEL TEATRO DI S.A.E./ DI SASSONIA/ Dresda, 1791 – Die adliche Schäferin/ Ein musikalisches Lustspiel/ für/ das Churfürstlich-Sächsische Theater/ Dresden,1791. D-DI, MT 1347.*

1793 Vienna libretto: *La pastorella nobile, oder das adeliche Bauermädchen: Eine komische Oper in zwey Akten nach dem Italienischen bearbeitet. A-Wn, 4680-A MUS MAG.*

Act	Scene	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1790, Vienna Libretto	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1791, Dresden Autograph score	<i>Die adliche Schäferin</i> 1791, Dresden Libretto	<i>Das adeliche Bauermädchen</i> 1793, Vienna Libretto (Giesecke)
		Rec. (Florida, Astianatte, Polibio): Mi dica, come chiamasi questa terra?	Rec. (Florida, Astianatte, Polibio): Mi dica, come chiamasi questa terra!	Sagen Sie mir, wie heißt diese Gut?	Sagen Sie mir gütigst, wie dieses Landgut heißt?
	Scene 2	Cavatina (Eurilla, Marchese): La mia tenera agnellina. Poverina, ho io smarrita	Cavatina (Eurilla, Marchese) (C, 4/4, violini, viole, oboe, corni in C, fagotto, bassi): La mia tenera agnellina poverina	Dein allerliebstes Lämmchen	No. 2 Duetto (Eurilla, Astolso): Ach! Mir ist mein schönstes Lämchen
		Rec. (Eurilla, Marchese): Deh t'arresta per poco	Rec. (Eurilla, Marchese): Deh t'arresta per poco	Verzieh doch noch, ich bitte.	So lauf doch nicht schon wider!
	Scene3	Cavatina (Calloandro): Tutto amabile e galante	Cavatina (Calloandro) (F, 2/2, violini, viole, oboe, corni in F, bassi): Tutto amabile e galante	Wie galant und liebenswürdig	No. 3 Cavatina (Calloandro): Wenige Studenten kamen, / so galant wie ich nach Haus
		Rec. (Calloandro, Polibio): Quel ch'ordinai si faccia, è quando arriva	Rec. (Calloandro, Polibio): Quel ch'ordinai si faccia, è quando arriva	Man thue, was ich befohlen habe	Rec. (Calloandro, Polibio): Das muß alles aus Pünktlichste geschehen

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Act	Scene	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1790, Vienna Libretto	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1791, Dresden Autograph score	<i>Die adeliche Schäferin</i> 1791, Dresden Libretto	<i>Das adeliche Bauermädchen</i> 1793, Vienna Libretto (Giesecke)
		Aria (Polibio): Perchè mai t'hò fatto nascere	Aria (Polibio) (D, 4/4, corni in D, oboe, fagotti, violini, viele, bassi): Perchè mai t'hò fatto nascere (Aria di Suessmayer)	Ach! daß ich dich zeugen mußte	No. 4 Aria (Polibio): Warum mußt ich diesen Taugenichts
	Scene 4	Rec. (Eurilla, Polibio, Calloandro): Meschina me, dove m'inoltro in questo solitario palazzo!	Rec. (Eurilla, Polibio, Calloandro): Meschina me, dove m'inoltro in questo solitario palazzo!	Ich Arme! Wo soll ich mich in diesem einsamen Schlosse hingeben?	Rec. (Eurilla, Polibio, Calloandro): Ich unglückliches Mädchen weiß für Angst nicht
		Aria (Eurilla): Quel visino a me volgete	Aria (Eurilla) (A, 6/8, violini, viole, clarinetti, corni in A, bassi): Quel visino a me volgete	Sie begegnen da mir immer	No. 5 Aria (Eurilla): Du mußt lieber dorthin sehen
	Scene 5	Rec. (Polibio, Calloandro, Marchese): Papa, mi meraviglio! – Mi fai errore, o figlio!	Rec. (Polibio, Calloandro, Marchese): Papa, mi meraviglio! – Mi fai errore, o figlio!	Ich wundere mich sehr, Papa!	Rec. (Polibio, Calloandro, Astolso): Papa ich wundre mich nur über Sie

Act	Scene	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1790, Vienna Libretto	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1791, Dresden Autograph score	<i>Die adeliche Schäferin</i> 1791, Dresden Libretto	<i>Das adeliche Bauermädchen</i> 1793, Vienna Libretto (Giesecke)
		Aria (Marchese): È la mia pastorella amabile e vezzosa	Aria (Marchese) (G, $\frac{3}{4}$, violini, viole, oboe, corni in G, bassi): È la mia pastorella amabile e vezzosa	Mein liebes Schäfermädchen/ ist äußerst schön und reizend	No. 6 Aria (Astolso): Es ist ein Hirtenmädchen/ so liebevoll so lose
		Rec. (Florida, Astianatte): Ehi servi, camerieri, guardiani, staffieri	Rec. (Florida, Astianatte): Ehi servi, camerieri, guardiani, staffieri		Rec. (Florida, Astianatte): He Bediente, Kammerdiener, Jäger!
	Scene 6		Rec. (Calloandro, Eurilla): Cattera, vè se peggio intrecciarla poteva il gran demonio!	Zum Popanz! Ob der Teufel wohl eine ärgere Verwirrung anrichten konnte!	
			Duet (Calloandro, Eurilla) (Bb, $\frac{3}{4}$, violini, viole, oboi, corni in B, bassi): Io mi accosto a poco a poco	Ha ich nähre mich dem Glanze	
	Scene 7	Rec. (Calloandro, Eurilla): Cattera, vè se peggio	Quintet (Calloandro, Eurilla, Donna Florida, Marchese, Polibio) (Bb, $\frac{3}{4}$, violini,	Bravo! Bravo! – Herrlich, Herrlich!	Dialog (Don Coll, Eurilla): Heute giebts kuriose

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Act	Scene	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1790, Vienna Libretto	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1791, Dresden Autograph score	<i>Die adliche Schäferin</i> 1791, Dresden Libretto	<i>Das adeliche Bauermädchen</i> 1793, Vienna Libretto (Giesecke)
		intrecciarla poteva il gran demonio!	viole, oboi, corni in B, bassi): Bravo, bravo – bene, bene		Geschichtchens in diesem Haus.
		Duet (Calloandro, Eurilla): Io mi accosto a poco a poco	(Bb, 2/2, violini, viole, oboe, corni, basso): Donna ingrata! – me meschina cosa sento	Undankbare! Oh! so schändlich lohnest du mein treues Herz?	No. 7 Quintetto (Don Coll, Eurilla): Darf ich mich wohl unterstehen
		Quintet (Calloandro, Eurilla, Donna Florida, Marchese, Polibio): Bravo, bravo – bene, bene	Rec. acc. (Donna Florida) (Bb, 4/4): Perfido tutto intesi	Treuloser! Nun weiß ich alles	(dazu Donna Florida, Astolso, Polibio): Brav! Brav! – Recht so – recht so
	Scene 8	Donna ingrata! – me meschina cosa sento	Aria (Donna Florida) (Bb, 2/2, violini, oboe, corni in B, viole, bassi): Resta ingrata, ingrato io parto addio	Undankbarer, bleib! Ich gehe!	Ungetreuer! – Will dich quälen, ärgern, plagen

Act	Scene	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1790, Vienna Libretto	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1791, Dresden Autograph score	<i>Die adeliche Schäferin</i> 1791, Dresden Libretto	<i>Das adeliche Bauermädchen</i> 1793, Vienna Libretto (Giesecke)
	Scene 9	Rec. acc (Donna Florida) (Bb, 4/4): Perfido tutto intesi	Rec. (Marchese, Polibio, Calloandro): Ohimè quale per me fulmine è questo!	O Himmel! Welch ein Schlag für mich!	Rec. acc. (Donna Florida): Ha! Niederträchtiger! Ich habe alles mitgehört
		Aria (Donna Florida): Resta ingrate, ingrato io parto addio			No. 8 Aria (Donna Florida): Bleibe Verworfenener, ich reise, lebe wohl!
	Scene 10	Rec. (Marchese, Polibio, Calloandro): Ohimè quale per me fulmine è questo!	Rec. (Calloandro, Marchese): Llarà llarà...oh! Perdoni il mio signor Marchese	Trallala trallala – O! ich bitte um Verweizung, mein Herr Marquis.	Rec. (Astolso, Polibio): Das Weib macht mir Angst und Bange!
	Scene 11	Rec. (Marchese): Vado si, fuggirò la vista odiosa	Rec. (Donna Florida, Astianatte, Calloandro, Marchese): Che imbroglio è questo mai!	Welche erschreckliche Verwirrung!	Rec. (Astolso): Ich muß eine Tour über Land machen

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Act	Scene	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1790, Vienna Libretto	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1791, Dresden Autograph score	<i>Die adeliche Schäferin</i> 1791, Dresden Libretto	<i>Das adeliche Bauermädchen</i> 1793, Vienna Libretto (Giesecke)
	Scene 12	Rec. (Calloandro, Marchese): Llarà llarà...oh! Perdoni il mio signor Marchese	Rec. (Polibio, Donna Florida, Astianatte, Colloandro, Marchese): Il Marchese qui sta con la sua sposa	Da ist der Marquis bey seiner Braut	Rec. (Astolso, Don Coll): La la, la ra, lala! Euer Exzellenz bitt tausendmal um Vergebung
			Aria (Calloandro) (Eb, 4/4, violini, viole, clarinetti, corni in Dis, fagotti, bassi): Cara mia sposa amata, eccomi a te vicino	O liebe Braut, o Theure!/ Ich wag's mich dir zu nahen	
	Scene 13	Rec. (Donna Florida, Astianatte, Calloandro, Marchese): Che imbroglio è questo mai!		In welcher Verwirrung bin ich!	(Donna Florida, Astinato, Don Coll, Astolso): Was ist den dies wieder für ein dummes Zeug?

Act	Scene	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1790, Vienna Libretto	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1791, Dresden Autograph score	<i>Die adliche Schäferin</i> 1791, Dresden Libretto	<i>Das adeliche Bauermädchen</i> 1793, Vienna Libretto (Giesecke)
	Scene 14	Rec. (Polibio, Donna Florida, Astianatte, Colloandro, Marchese): Il Marchese qui sta con la sua sposa	Finale: (Eurilla, Florida, Marchese, Astianatte, Calloandro, Polibio) (D, 4/4, violini, viole, oboe, corni in D, bassi): Dovè vado? O me tapina?	Wohin komm'ich? Ich verirrt!	(Donna Florida, Astinato, Don Coll, Astolso, Polibio): [Der Herr Marchese unterhielt sich mit seiner Braut, der Raptus muss schon vorbei seyn] – Ihre Gnaden, ich nehme mir die Freyheit
		Aria (Calloandro): Cara mia sposa amata, eccomi a te vicino			No. 9 Aria (Don Coll): Geliebte meiner Seele, Die ich auf ewig wähle
	Scene 15	Rec. (Marchese, Polibio, Astianatte): In quale intrigo sono!	(Marchese)(3/4): Fra queste selve amene – (Florida, Marchese, Astianatte): Viva il Marchese eviva! –	Wenn wir so mit einander/ hier durch dies schöne Wäldchen	(Astolso, Polibio, Astianato): Das ist ein verzweifelter Mischmasch; jetzt muss ich nur gleich gehen
	Scene 16	Finale: (Eurilla, Florida, Marchese, Astianatte, Calloandro, Polibio): Dovè vado? O me tapina?	(Bb, 6/8): Ecco viene a vostri piedi	Hier zu Ihren Füßen nahet	No. 10 Finale:(Eurilla, Astolso): Wo soll ich Arme mich verstecken?

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Act	Scene	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1790, Vienna Libretto	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1791, Dresden Autograph score	<i>Die adliche Schäferin</i> 1791, Dresden Libretto	<i>Das adeliche Bauermädchen</i> 1793, Vienna Libretto (Giesecke)
			Tutti: Che susurro, che bisbiglio!	Welches Loben! Welches Saufen!	
	Scene 17	(Marchese): Fra queste selve amene – (Florida, Marchese, Astianatte): Viva il Marchese eviva! –			(Donna Coll, Donna Florida, Astolso, Astianato): Im Schatte stiller Bäume, Die für verliebte Träume
		(Eurilla): Ecco viene a vostri piedi			(Eurilla): Ein bedraengtes Fischermädchen/ Fleht hier zu ihren Füßen
	Scene 18				(Astolso, Polibio, Don Coll, Donna Florida): Ich bin wie vorm Kopf geschossen. – Diese war hier eingeschossen?
		Tutti: Che susurro, che bisbiglio!			(Alle): Welch ein Saufen, welch ein Brausen

Act	Scene	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1790, Vienna Libretto	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1791, Dresden Autograph score	<i>Die adliche Schäferin</i> 1791, Dresden Libretto	<i>Das adeliche Bauermädchen</i> 1793, Vienna Libretto (Giesecke)
		Rec. (Astianatte): Io no sò perdir vero in qual mondo	Rec. (Astianatte): Io no sò perdir vero in qual mondo		(Astianatte): Ich weiß wahrhaftig für Verwirrung und Aerger nicht
	Scene i ⁵⁴⁶	Aria (Astianatte): Donne care, io non vi biasimo	Aria (Astianatte) (D, $\frac{3}{4}$, corni in D, oboe, violini, viole, fagotti, bassi): Donne care, io non vi biasimo (del Sigr: Vento)		No. 11 Aria (Astianatte): Schöne Damen ich bin kein Weiberfeind
Act II		Rec. (Polibio, Calloandro): Questo mio figlio m'ha sconvolto il cerebro!	Rec. (Polibio, Calloandro): Questo mio figlio m'ha sconvolto il cerebro!	Mein Herr Sohn hat mir den Kopf ganz verdreht.	Rec. (Polibio, Calloandro): Der verdammte Bube macht mich närrisch?
	Scene 1	Aria (Polibio): Non ti son padre	Aria (Polibio) (G, $\frac{3}{8}$, violini, viole, oboe, corni in G, bassi): Non ti son padre	Du bist mein Sohn nicht	No. 12 Duetto (Polibio, Coll): Nenn mich nicht Vater

⁵⁴⁶ I have marked this scene as 'Scene i' because it does not seem to have been performed in any of these productions, even though it occurs in the libretto for the 1790 Vienna version and the Giesecke version of 1793.

Appendix B

Act	Scene	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1790, Vienna Libretto	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1791, Dresden Autograph score	<i>Die adeliche Schäferin</i> 1791, Dresden Libretto	<i>Das adeliche Bauermädchen</i> 1793, Vienna Libretto (Giesecke)
		Duetto (Polibio, Calloandro): Mi maraviglio so il mio dovere	Duetto (Polibio, Calloandro): Mi maraviglio so il mio dovere	Papa, was soll das?	
	Scene 2	Rec. (Callondro, Donna Florida, Polibio, Eurilla): Gli affari van predendo per me cattiva piega	Rec. (Callondro, Donna Florida, Polibio, Eurilla): Gli affari van predendo per me cattiva piega	Die Sache fängt an böse zu werden.	Rec. (Callondro, Donna Florida, Polibio, Eurilla): Die Comödie scheint für mich einen tragischen Ausgang nehmen zu wollen
	Scene 3	Rec. acc. (Calloandro): Egli mi piace assai, mi va all'umore	Rec. acc. (Calloandro): Egli mi piace assai, mi va all'umore	Er gefällt mir recht sehr	Rec. acc. (Calloandro): Er ist mir noch der Liebste unter allen
		Aria (Calloandro): Mezzo mondo hò visitato	Aria (Calloandro) (D, 2/2, corni in D, oboe, violini, viole, bassi): Mezzo mondo hò visitato (Del Sigre Cimarosa)	Fast die West bin ich durchstrichen	No 13 Aria (Calloandro): Ich hab auf so vielen Reisen

Act	Scene	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1790, Vienna Libretto	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1791, Dresden Autograph score	<i>Die adliche Schäferin</i> 1791, Dresden Libretto	<i>Das adeliche Bauermädchen</i> 1793, Vienna Libretto (Giesecke)
	Scene 4	Rec. (Polibio, Eurilla): Fermati cospettaccio – Ah Signore	Rec. (Polibio, Eurilla): Fermati cospettaccio – Ah Signore	Halt! Zum Henker!	Rec. (Polibio, Eurilla): Hab ich dich du ungezogene freche Kreatur! – Haben Sie Mitleiden
		Aria (Eurilla): Vi dirò vi dirò, sentite bene	Aria (Eurilla) (G, 4/4, corni in G, oboe, violini, viole, basso): Vi dirò vi dirò, sentite bene	Gut – ich will es gleich erzählen	No 14 Aria (Eurilla): Nur Geduld, ich will gestehen
	Scene 5	Rec. (Astianatte, Marchese, Polibio): Corpo di bacco e lei potrebbe credere	Rec. (Astianatte, Marchese, Polibio): Corpo di bacco e lei potrebbe credere	Zum Henker! Und Sie konnten sich einbilden	(Astianato, Astoloso, Donna Florida): Wer in aller Welt konnten sie denn glauben
		Rec. acc. (Marchese): Oimè qual fosca nube mi toglie agli'occhi il giorno?	Rec. acc. (Marchese) (Eb, 4/4, violini, viole, clarinetti in B, corni in Dis, fagotti): Oimè qual fosca nube mi toglie agli'occhi il giorno?	O weh! Welch ein düstere Wolke verdunkelt den Tag vor meinen Augen!	No. 15 Rec. (Astolso): O weh des Todes Schleyer

Appendix B

Act	Scene	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1790, Vienna Libretto	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1791, Dresden Autograph score	<i>Die adeliche Schäferin</i> 1791, Dresden Libretto	<i>Das adeliche Bauermädchen</i> 1793, Vienna Libretto (Giesecke)
		Aria (Marchese) (Bb, 2/2, violini, viole, clarinetti in B, corni in B, fagotti, bassi): Il mio bene io già perdei	Aria (Marchese) (Bb, 2/2, violini, viole, clarinetti in B, corni in B, fagotti, bassi): Il mio bene io già perdei	Meinen Schatz hab' ich verloren	Aria (Astolso): Alles hab ich nun verlohren
		Rec. (Polibio, Donna Florida, Astianatte): Il tordo è nella rete – La cabala và ben	Rec. (Polibio, Donna Florida, Astianatte): Il tordo è nella rete – La cabala và ben	Der Gimpel ist gefangen	(Polibio, Donna Florida, Astionato): Der Vogel gieng schön ins Netz
	Scene 6	Duetto (Donna Florida, Polibio): Va pure in malora, vecchiaccio insolente	Duetto (Donna Florida, Polibio) (C, ¾, violini, viole, bassi): Va pure in malora, vecchiaccio insolente	O geh doch zum Henker, unartiger Rahlkopf!	No. 16 Duetto (Donna Florida, Polibio): So scheer dich zum Teufel

Act	Scene	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1790, Vienna Libretto	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1791, Dresden Autograph score	<i>Die adeliche Schäferin</i> 1791, Dresden Libretto	<i>Das adeliche Bauermädchen</i> 1793, Vienna Libretto (Giesecke)
		Rec. (Calloandro, Eurilla, Marchese): Oh poveretto me! Dove m'inoltro in questo rovinoso, estrano loco	Rec. (Calloandro, Eurilla, Marchese): Oh poveretto me! Dove m'inoltro in questo rovinoso, estrano loco	O ich Elender! Wohin, wohin in diesen mir so fremden Szenen der Verwüstung?	(Don Coll, Eurilla, Astolso): Meinen Kreditoren bin ich glücklich entsprungen—
	Scene 7	Rec. acc. (Calloandro, Eurilla, Marchese) Stelle non sò che farmi – mamma mia!	Rec. acc. (Calloandro, Eurilla, Marchese) (C, 4/4, violini, viole, oboe, fagotti, bassi): Stelle non sò che farmi – mamma mia!	Himmel! Ich weis nicht, was ich thun soll	No 17 Rec. acc. (Calloandro, Eurilla, Astolso): Himmel! Was soll ich sprechen? – Zu Hilfe!
		Terzetto (Calloandro, Eurilla, Marchese): Mio Signor garbato, e bello	Terzetto (Calloandro, Eurilla, Marchese) (Eb, 4/4, violini, viole, oboe, clarinetti in Dis, corni in Dis, fagotti, bassi): Mio Signor garbato, e bello	Gnädiger Herr, ich bitte höchlich	Terzetto (Calloandro, Eurilla, Astolso): Gnädiger Graf, vergieb, erhöre, wenn ich knieend dich beschwöre

Appendix B

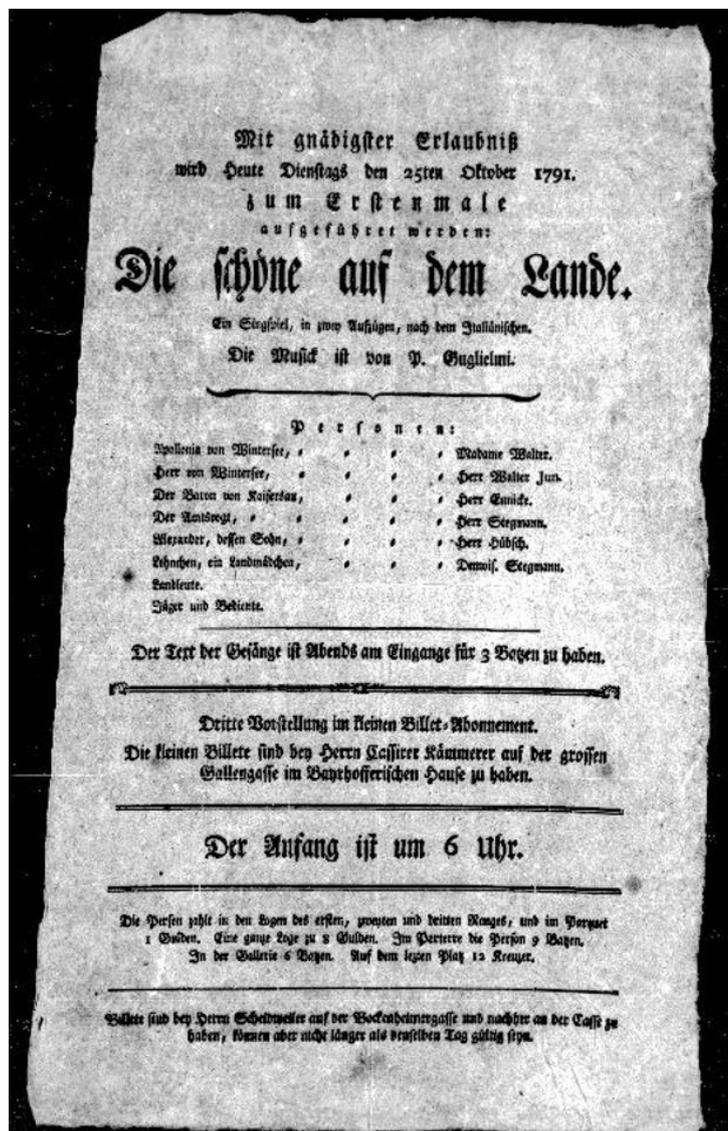
Act	Scene	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1790, Vienna Libretto	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1791, Dresden Autograph score	<i>Die adeliche Schäferin</i> 1791, Dresden Libretto	<i>Das adeliche Bauermädchen</i> 1793, Vienna Libretto (Giesecke)
	Scene 8	Rec. (Donna Florida, Polibio): Alla fine, german, sei ritornato.	Rec. (Donna Florida, Polibio): Alla fine, german, sei ritornato. ⁵⁴⁷	Endlich, Lieber Bruder, bist du wieder da!	Rec. (Donna Florida, Polibio): Endlich bist du wieder da? – Ja, leider!
	Scene 9	Rec. acc. (Donna Florida) (C, 4/4, violini, viola, bassi): Misera me! Qual labirinto è questo!	Rec. acc. (Donna Florida) (C, 4/4, violini, viola, bassi): Misera me! Qual labirinto è questo!	Ich Unglückliche! Welch ein Labyrinth ist das!	No 18 Rec. acc. (Donna Florida): Ach ich Arme! Bin wie im Labyrinth
		Aria (Donna Florida): Ah se un core all'infedele	Aria (Donna Florida) (Eb, 4/4, corni in Dis, clarinetti in B, oboe, fagotti, violini, viola and bassi): Ah se un core all'infedele		Aria (Donna Florida): Mich zu marten, mich zu plagen
	Scene 10	Rec. acc. (Eurilla): Eccomi a voi tornato, o fiorite campagne	Rec. acc. (Eurilla) (Bb, 4/4, violini, viole, bassi): Eccomi a voi tornato, o fiorite campagne	Ha! Da bin ich wieder bey euch, ihr beblünten Auen	(Eurilla): O wie froh bin ich nicht, dass ich wieder bey meinem Strohdache sitze

⁵⁴⁷ This section is stitched in after Donna Florida's arias in the Dresden manuscript.

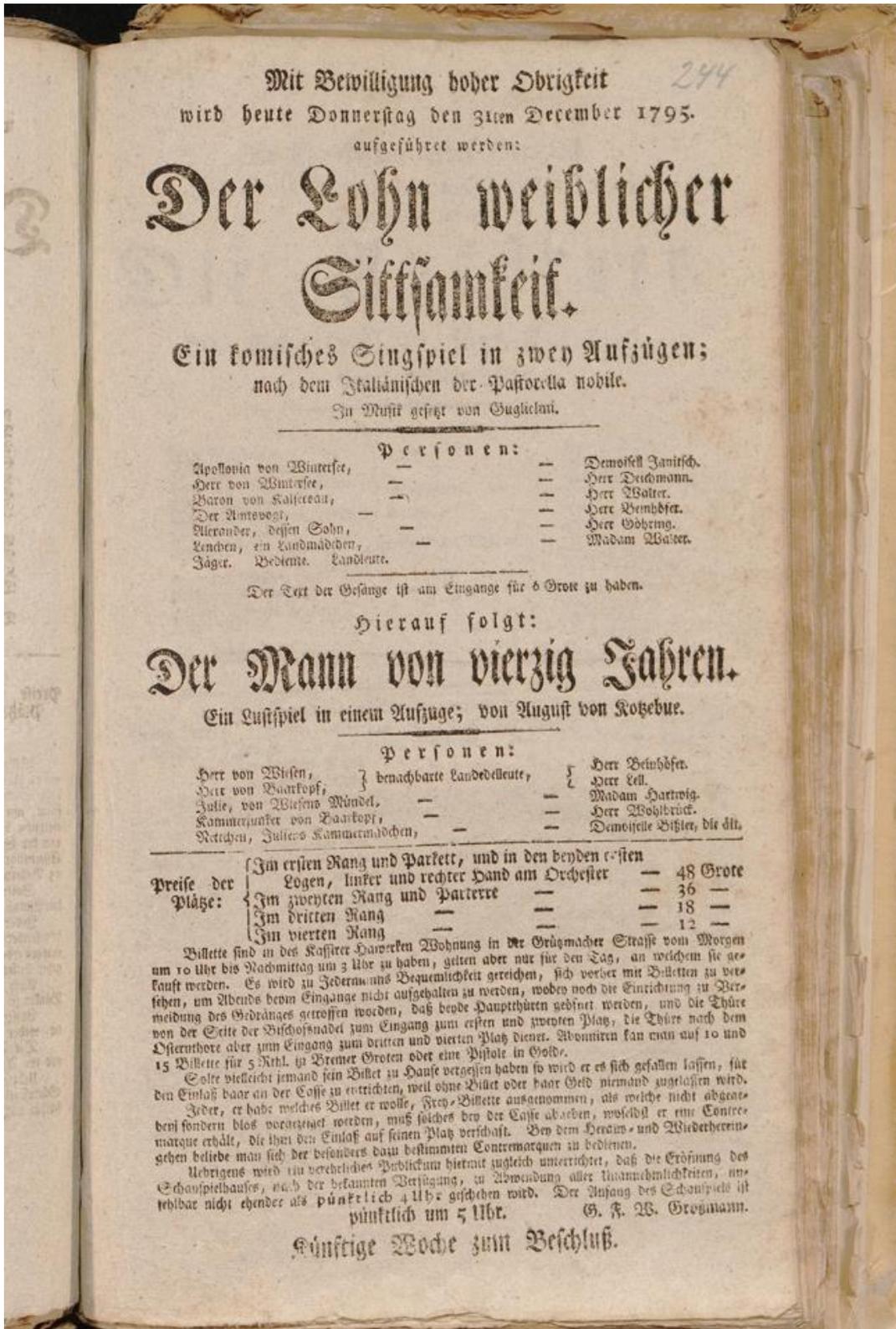
Act	Scene	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1790, Vienna Libretto	<i>La pastorella nobile</i> 1791, Dresden Autograph score	<i>Die adliche Schäferin</i> 1791, Dresden Libretto	<i>Das adeliche Bauermädchen</i> 1793, Vienna Libretto (Giesecke)
		Duetto (Calloander, Eurilla): La mia pastorella, che il cor mi martella	Duetto (Calloander, Eurilla) (Bb, 3/8, violini, viole, bassi): La mia pastorella, che il cor mi martella	Die Schäferin such ich, die mein Herz verwundert	No. 19 Rec. acc (Eurilla) - Duetto (Calloander, Eurilla): Wie süß ist dieser Schatten – Mich führet zur Hirtinn die mächtige Liebe
		Rec. acc. (Eurilla): O quanto, quanto è caro!	Rec. acc. (Eurilla) (G, 4/4, basso): O quanto, quanto è caro!	O welch ein lieber Mann!	Rec. acc. (Eurilla): Ach lieber guter Jüngling, dir sey mein Herz auf ewig geweiht
	Scene 11	Finale: Sestetto con coro (Marchese, Donna Florida, Astianatte, Calloandro, Polibio, gente di corte, pastori): Dove vado in quest' orrore?	Finale: Sestetto con coro (Marchese, Donna Florida, Astianatte, Calloandro, Polibio, gente di corte, pastori): Dove vado in quest' orrore?	O Wohin in diesem Dunkel!	No. 20 Finale ((Marchese, Donna Florida, Astianatte, Calloandro, Polibio, Hausoffizieren, Bauern und Hirten): Ach wo werd ich sie wohl finden?
		Tutti: Si dica, via con giubbilo	Tutti: Si dica, via con giubbilo	So jauchzet denn und saget	Alle (Choro): Nun töne mit vereintem Sinn

B.6 Theaterzettel for performances of *La pastorella nobile*

B.6.1 25 October 1791 performance in Frankfurt⁵⁴⁸



⁵⁴⁸ D-F, Mus S31/1791. I am very grateful to Frau Dr Anne Kersting-Meuleman, Head of Special Collections (Music and Theatre) at the Universitätsbibliothek J. C. Senckenberg, Goethe-Universität Frankfurt for digitising this playbill and making it available to me ahead of the project rollout of an entirely digitised set of playbills from Frankfurt. At this point, I believe this playbill is the only source that corroborates the entry in Loewenberg's *Annals of the Opera* as I have not been able to trace a copy of the libretto.



⁵⁴⁹ Theaterzettel Bremen / Stadt-Theater zu Bremen 16. Oktober 1792- 8. Juny 1810. (Bremen: n.p., 1792-1810) Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen, Digital Sammlung Theaterzettel.

B.7 *Dramatis personae* in different versions of *La pastorella nobile*

(anon), <i>Die adliche Schäferin</i> (1791, Dresden) and Karl Ludwig Gieseke, <i>La pastorella nobile, oder das adeliche Bauernmädchen</i> (1793, Vienna)	Heinrich Gottlieb Schmieder, <i>Die Schöne auf dem Lande</i> (1791, Frankfurt)	(anon), <i>Die adeliche Schäferinn</i> (1798, Vienna)
Donna Florida, versprochene Braut des Marchese	Apollonia von Wintersee Herr von Wintersee	Baronin Schönstein, versprochene Braut des Grafen Traufeld
Marchese Astolso, Liebhaber der Eurilla	Baron von Kaisersax	Röschen, eine Schäferinn
Eurilla, eine Schäferin	Der Amtsvogt	Graf Traufeld, Röschens Liebhaber
Colloandro, Sohn des	Alexander, dessen Sohn	Fritz, Sohn des
Don Polibio, Verwalter zu Schönwiesen	Lenchen, ein Landmädchen Jäger	Pamphili, Verwalter zu Schönwiesen
Don Astianato, Bruder der Donna Florida	Bediente	Baron Schönstein, Bruder der Baronin
Bediente	Landleute	Bediente
Jäger		Jäger
Hirten		Hirten
Landleute		Landleute

<https://brema.suub.uni-bremen.de/suubtheater/periodical/pageview/1674445> (consulted on 12 October 2021).

Appendix C

Materials for Chapters 3 &4

C.1 *Preßburger Zeitung*, 9 November 1776⁵⁵⁰

Theatral Neuigkeiten

Pressburg. Vorgestern ist alhier nachstehen: die Nachricht an das Publikum vertheiltet worden: „Da nunmehr das hiesige neuerbaute Theater in vollkommen fertigen Stand gesetzt worden ist so hat der Pächter desselben die Ehre, dem gesammten hochachtungswürdigen Pressburger Publikum hiermit anzukündigen: dass er künftigen Samstag den 9 dieses, mit den Vorstellungen seiner Gesellschaft den Anfang machen wird. Der Pächter ist kein Freund von Großsprechereien; doch schmeichelt er sich mit der Hoffnngm das hiesige Publikum werde seiner Gesellschaft die Gerechtigkeit wiederfahren lassen, dass sie nicht ganz unwürdig seyn, auf einer so prächtig zugerichteten Bühne zum erstenmal aufzutreten. Wienerisch Neustadt hat sie ungern von sich gelassen; und Wien, das einsichtvolle Wien, die Kennerin des Schönen, hat ihr auch seinen Beyfall nicht versagt. Leiche Bemühung wird sie anwenden, sich auch Pressburgs Gewogenheit zu erwerben. Der Anfang wird gemacht mit einem neuen deutschen Original Schauspiel in 5 Aufzügen von Herrn Brandes, gennant: Die Mediceer.

C.1.1 Translation

The day before yesterday, the following news was distributed to the public: "Since the newly built theatre has now been completed, its lessee has the honour of announcing to the entire esteemed public of Bratislava that he will begin with the performances of his company on Saturday, the ninth of this month. The lessee is not fond of grand speeches; however, he flatters himself with the hope that the local audience will do his company justice so that it is not entirely unworthy of coming on such a magnificently prepared stage for the first time. Vienna Neustadt [theatre] has reluctantly let the company go; and Vienna, the insightful Vienna, the connoisseur of beauty, has not denied the troupe its applause. The troupe will

⁵⁵⁰ All excerpts from the *Preßburger Zeitung* are taken from the digitised database, 'DIFMOE – *Preßburger Zeitung*' (Preßburg, 1764-1929).

make every effort to win Pressburg's favour as well. The premiere is with a new German original play in 5 acts by Herr Brandes, called: Die Mediceer.

C.2 *Preßburger Zeitung*, 15 June 1785

An Sr. Excel. dem Hrn. Gr. Johann v. Erdödy, obersten Kämmerer des Königreiches Ungarn etc. etc., haben itzt die Musen einen wahren Beschützer und Verehrer, da dieselben auf eigene Kosten eine Gesellschaft von berühmten Sängern und Sängerinnen unterhalten, und unsern hohen und niederen Adel an dem Vergnügen Theil nehmen lassen, welches durch Aufführung der ausgesuchtesten, geschmackvollen deutschen Opern veranlasset wird. Die ausnehmende Geschicklichkeit des Hrn. Kumpf, Theaterdirecteurs, einer Demoiselle Kaiser und des Hrn. Kapellmeisters Chudi ist zu bekannt, als daß man durch Lobeserhebungen ihren Verdiensten um die Bühne, neues Gewicht geben sollte. Noch folgt ihnen wie ehemals der Beyfall würdiger Kenner nach. Ohnlängst wurde die Oper „Die belohnte Treue“ zweymal zur Befriedigung und Bewunderung aller Zuschauer aufgeführt. Die Musick war vom Hrn. Hayden, von jenem ungarischen Orpheus, der noch in den spätesten Zeiten die Bewunderung aller Musickfreunde bleiben wird.

C.2.1 Translation

The Muses have a true protector and admirer in His Excellency, Grand Duke Johann Erdödy, Supreme Chamberlain of the Kingdom of Hungary, etc., since he maintains a company of famous singers at his own expense and allows our high and low nobility to participate in the pleasure provided by the performance of the most exquisite, tasteful German operas. The exceptional skill of Herr Kumpf, theatre director, a Demoiselle Kaiser and Herr Kapellmeister Chudi is too well known that one should add weight to their merits for the stage by praising their achievements. The applause of worthy connoisseurs still follows them as before. Recently, the opera "Die belohnte Treue" was performed twice to the satisfaction and admiration of all spectators. The music was by Herr Hayden [sic], that Hungarian Orpheus, who will remain the admiration of all music lovers for all time to come.

C.3 Reichard, *Theaterkalender auf dem Jahr 1789*

Reaction to *Cosa rara* (1790)⁵⁵¹

Anmerkung: Wohlthaetige Handlung müssen bekannt gemacht werden: Herr Maier Direktor des deutschen Stadttheaters in Pressburg hatte den Sommer hindurch wegen geringen Besuch des Theaters einen beträchtlichen Verlust erlitten, Sr. Excellenz der Herr Graf dadurch gerührt, erwiesen Hr. Maier die Gnade, und erlaubten, dass seine deutsche Operngesellschaft zu dessen Besten im Stadttheater vorstellen durfte, und wurde die Tage, nämlich der 12te, der 16te und der 19te Julius 1788 dazu gewählt; die Opern waren: *Der Wettstreit der Großmuth*, *Die seltne Verschwisterung, oder una cosa rara*. Dann *die Höhle des Trophonious*, sämtlich von Herrn Girzick bearbeitet. Der Erfolg zeigte, dass diese Vorstellung Herr Mayer keine mittelmäßige Entscheidung war, indem er für die zu heissen Sommertage sehr seltne Einnahmen hatte; bey der Oper *una cosa rara*, war das Hauss zu Erstaunen so voll, dass die Leute wie aufeinander gepresst waren, und unsägliche Hitze litten, nichts destoweniger wurde die stillste Aufmerksamkeit beobachtet, und man hörte sowohl beym Spiel als Gesang den lautesten Beyfall erschallen; ein Beweiss, dass das Pressburger Publikum schon manche gute Schauspiele von guten Schauspielen aufführen gesehen, daher ein minder gutes Schauspiel nie gefallen wird.

C.3.1 Translation

Beneficial actions must be made known: Herr Maier, director of the German Stadttheater in Pressburg, had suffered a considerable loss during the summer due to low attendance at the theatre; His Excellency the Count, moved by this, showed Herr Maier the grace of allowing his German opera troupe to present at the Stadttheater for his benefit, and the days, namely the 12th, 16th and 19th of July 1788 were chosen for this purpose; the operas were: *Der Wettstreit der Großmuth*, *Die seltne Verschwisterung, oder una cosa rara*. Then *die Höhle des Trophonious*, all of them adapted by Herr. Girzick. The success showed that this performance was not a mediocre decision by Herr Mayer, in that he had very exceptional earnings for even the very hot summer days; in the case of the opera *Una cosa rara*, the house was astonishingly so full that the people were pressed against each other and suffered unspeakable heat, yet the quietest attention was paid, and one heard the loudest applause both in the playing and the

⁵⁵¹ Reichard, *Theaterkalender auf dem Jahr 1789*, p.159-160

singing; a proof that the Pressburg audience has already seen many a good play performed by good actors, so that a not so good play will never please them.

C.4 *Preßburger Zeitung*, 25 December 1790

Der Fürst Anton Esterhazy hat die in seinen verstorbenen Herrn Vaters Gehalt gestandenen Operisten samt den ganzen Orchester bis auf den Capellmeister Hayden, und einen der besten Violinisten mit einem vierteljährigen Gehalt der Dienste entlassen, von denen Operisten und Operistinnen sind inzwischen 4 allhier bei dem Nationaltheater zur Probe auf einige Zeit angestellet worden, die besten davon werden als dann auf längere Zeit engagiert werden. Man sagt, daß so bald es die Umstände zulassen werden, in dem Theatralfach eine merkliche Änderung vorgenommen werden soll.

C.4.1 Translation

Prince Anton Esterhazy has dismissed the opera musicians on his late father's salary, together with the entire orchestra, with the exception of Capellmeister Hayden and one of the best violinists, with a four months' salary for his services. Of these musicians, four have been employed here at the National Theatre for a trial period, and the best of them will then be engaged for a longer period. It is agreed that as soon as circumstances permit, a noticeable change will be made in the theatrical field.

C.5 Memorandum from Joseph II to Graf Rosenberg, 25 July

1785⁵⁵²

Nachdem ich mit dem Salieri und dem Marchesini gesprochen habe, so glaube Ich am besten zu seyn, die Opera il Giulio Sabino zu geben; um aber am kürzesten aus der Sache zu kommen, so schient Folgendes das beste Mittel zu seyn, nämlich dass die Aufführung dieser Opera von Seiten der TheatralDirektion ganz übernommen und die Leute von der Opera buffa angehalten werden, schuldigkeitswegen diese Opera statt einer Buffa einzustudieren; Kleidung und Dekorazionen müssen alsdann von der Theatral-Direktion auf das beste und anständigste herbeygeschafft werden.

Da es nun solchemnach auf Conto der Theatral-Direktion geht, so glaube Ich, daß das Kärntnerthortheater das anständigste und das wirtschaftlichste hierzu wäre, weil sich

⁵⁵² Payer von Thurn, p. 64.

alsdann die Abonnenten nicht beschweren könnten, wenn diese Opera an jenen Tagen im Kärntnerthortheater gegeben wurde, wo im Nationaltheater deutsches Schauspiel ist.

Diese Opera, sollte ich glauben, müßte sich hinlänglich auszahlen, wenn sie 6mal gegeben wird.

Mit Marchesini wäre besser übereins zu kommen, daß man ihm für 6mal spielen 500 geben wolle; ich glaube, daß dieses ein sehr raisonabler Antrag ist, und daß man auf solche Art am besten daraus kommen wird, besonders wenn die Preise der Logen, der Entréen und übrigen Plätze, wie es immer bei Opernserien üblich war, verhältnismäßig erhöht werden.

Übrigens wird auch den Leuten von der Opera buffa, die zu dieser Opernserie verwendet werden, in Rücksicht der dabeygehabten größeren Mühe allenfalls eine kleine Belohnung gegeben werden können.

C.5.1 Translation

After talking to Salieri and Marchesini, I think it would be best to give the opera *Giulio Sabino*, but in order to come to the matter as quickly as possible, the following seems to be the best means, namely, that the performance of this opera be taken over entirely by the theatre management and that the singers from the *opera buffa* troupe be required to rehearse this opera instead of a *buffa*; clothing and decorations must then be provided by the theatre management in the best and most respectable way.

Since this is on account of the theatre management, I believe that the Kärntnerthortheater would be the most appropriate and economical for these performances, because then the subscribers cannot complain if this opera was performed days in the Kärntnerthortheater on those days when German drama is performed in the *Nationaltheater*.

This opera, I should think, would pay off sufficiently if it were performed six times.

It would be better to come to an agreement with Marchesini that he should be given 500 for six performances; I believe that this is a very justifiable request, and that this is the best way to achieve it, especially if the prices of the boxes, entrées and other seats are increased proportionately, as has always been the case with *opera seria*.

Furthermore, the singers from the *opera buffa* who are used for this *opera seria* will be given a small reward in consideration of the greater effort they have made.

C.6 *Wiener Zeitung*, 6 August 1785, p. 1785 (11)⁵⁵³

Unterzeichneter hat die Here einer hohen Noblesse und verehrungswürdigen Publikum bekannt zu machen, dass er gesinnet ist, einen gut ausgefertigten Klavierauszug von 10 der schönsten Szenen der Opera seria, Giulio Sabino, nach Vorstellung im hiesigen Kärntnertortheater, und Musik des Herrn Sarti gegen Pränumeration heraus zu geben. Da die hiesige Vorstellung von jenen, so in anderen Theatern beobachtet worden, ganz abweicht, so darf er sich schmeicheln, dass man nun bey ihm, und sonst bey keinem, diesen vollkommenen Auszug, bereichert mit den neu gewählten Arien, finden wird. Wenn unterzeichneter so glücklich ist, bis den letzten August die hinlängliche Zahl der Pränumeranten zu erhalten, so wird dieser Auszug nicht mehr kosten als 10 flr. Nur bittet derselbe, dass sämtliche Liebhaber sich bis zu dieser Zeit bey ihm zu melden belieben wollen. Eben kann man auch bey demselben obbemeldte Opera ganz in der Spart, wie auch alle anderen Opern so bisher im Hoftheater aufgeführt worden, ganz, oder auch einzelne Arien alsogleich haben. Den 6. August 1785.

Wenzel Sukowaty, Hoftheaterkopist
Wohnhaft am Peterzplatz im Magischen
Haus Nr. 55+ im 3ten Stock im Hof.

C.6.1 Translation

The undersigned has the honour to announce to an esteemed audience that he is willing to publish a beautifully prepared piano reduction of ten of the most beautiful scenes of the opera seria, *Giulio Sabino*, after a performance in the Kärntnertortheater, and music by Sarti, in return for a subscription. Since the performance here differs completely from those observed in other theatres, he may flatter himself that it is only with him, and with no one else that one will find this perfect excerpt, enriched with the newly chosen arias. If the undersigned is so fortunate as to obtain the sufficient number of subscribers by the end of August, this excerpt will cost no more than 10 flr. He only asks that all lovers will be willing to contact him by this time. The above-mentioned opera in its entirety, as well as all other operas previously performed at the Court Theatre, can also be obtained from him, either in their entirety or in individual arias. August 6, 1785.

Wenzel Sukowaty, Court Theatre Copyist

⁵⁵³ All excerpts from the *Wiener Zeitung* are taken from the digitised database 'ANNO Historische Zeitungen und Zeitschriften' (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, n.d.)

C.7 *Anhang zur Wiener Zeitung, 31 August 1785, p. 2049 (9)*

Im k. k. Hoftheater nächst dem Karntnerthore ist die Opera seria in drey Aufzugen, Giulio Sabino, sechsmal mit ausserordentlichem Zugang aufgeführt worden, der berühmte Sign. Marchesi hat sowohl im Spiel als Gesang allgemeinen, ungewöhnlich großen Beyfall erhalten, und wurde von Sr. Majestät mit einem prächtigen Ring beschenkt, ausserdem sind ihm für jeden Abend 100 Dukaten ausgezahlt worden; nun ist er nach Petersburg abgereiset, woselbst er begierigst [sic] erwartet wird; er hat am rußisch kais. Hofe für drey Jahre, seinen seltenen Verdiensten gemässes ansehnliches Engagement. -

Mlle. Cavalieri und Hr. Adamberger, welche bey dieser Oper sich vorzüglich ausgezeichnet haben, sind ansehnlich belohnt worden; auch ist allen anderen Personen, die das ihrige zur Vervollkommnung dieses neuen Schauspiels beygetragen haben, eine verdienstgemässe Belohnung zu theil geworden. - Man verspricht sich als gewiß in diesem erneuert und verschönerten Theater bald mit deutschen Singspielen ergötzt zu werden.

C.7.1 Translation

In the imperial and royal court theatre near the Carinthian gate, the opera seria in three acts, Giulio Sabino, was performed six times with extraordinary success. Marchesi has received exceptionally great applause for both acting and singing and has been presented with a splendid ring by His Majesty, in addition to which he has been paid 100 ducats for each evening; he has now left for Petersburg, where he is eagerly awaited. He has a considerable engagement at the Russian Imperial Court for three years, according to his rare merits. -

Mlle. Cavalieri and Mr. Adamberger, who have excelled in this opera, have been handsomely rewarded; all other persons who have contributed to the perfection of this new spectacle have also been meritoriously rewarded. - It is expected that this renewed and embellished theatre will soon play host for German *Singspielen* to entertain us.

C.8 Comparison of different versions of *Giulio Sabino*⁵⁵⁴

Act	Scene	<i>Giulio Sabino</i> 1781, Venice Libretto	<i>Giulio Sabino</i> 1785, Vienna Bilingual libretto (Italian)	<i>Julius Sabinus</i> 1785, Vienna Bilingual libretto (German)	<i>Julius Sabinus</i> 1786, Pressburg Libretto (Girzik)
		Introduzione (Sabino): Dove m'inoltro!	Introduzione (Sabino): Dove m'inoltro!	Wo trete ich hin?	Welch schrecklich Scheusal! Was erblick' ich
Act I	Scene 1	No. 1 Cavatina (Sabino): Pensieri funesti	No. 1 Cavatina (Sabino): Pensieri funesti (insert "Dei Sig: Antonio Salieri")	Finstre Gedanken	Ihr schwarzen Gedanken
		Rec. (Sabino, Arminio): Oh Dei! Sabin! Dove t'inoltri! – Amico! Alfin dopo tant'anni	Rec. (Sabino, Arminio): Oh Dei! Sabin! Dove t'inoltri! – Amico! Alfin dopo tant'anni	Götter! Sabinus...Du wagst es? – Freund! Nach so vielen Jahren	Götter! -- Sabin...Du wagst es diese Stätte zu betreten?

⁵⁵⁴ 1781 Venice libretto: *GIULIO SABINO*/ DRAMMA PER MUSICA/ DA RAPPRESENTARSI/ NEL NOBILISSIMO TEATRO/ DI SAN BENEDETTO/IL CARNOVALE/ Dell' Anno 1781/ IN VENEZIA/ MDCCLXXXI/ PRESSO MODESTO FENZO/ CON LE DEBITE PERMISSIONI. *US-Wc*, ML48 [S9438].

1785 Vienna bilingual libretto: *GIULIO SABINO*. /DRAMMA/ PER MUSICA/ IN TRE ATTI./ DA RAPPRESENTARSI/ NEL/ TEATRO IMP./ PRESSO LA PORTA D'ITALIA. / IN VIENNA,/ PRESSO GIUSEPPE NOB. DE KURZBEK, / STAMPATORE DI S.M.I.R./ 1785. - Julius Sabinus. / Ein /musikalisches Schauspiel / in/ drey Aufzügen./ Aufgeführt im k.k. Theater nächst dem Kärntnerthor./ Wien,/ bey Joseph Edlen von Kurzbek. 1785. *A-Wn*, 180568-A MUS MAG

1786 Pressburg libretto: Julius Sabinus/ eine/ ernsthafte Oper/ in drei Aufzügen. / Nebst einem Anhage/ das/ hochgräfl./ Erdödische Operntheater/ betrefend;/für welches diese Oper übersetzt, und zum/ Drucke befördert ist/ von/ Johann Nepomuk Schüller,/ Mitglied der gräflichen Operngesellschaft/ in/ Preßburg/ Preßburg,/ gedruckt mit Weberischen Schriften./ 1785. *A-Wn*, 580068-A MUS MAG.

Act	Scene	<i>Giulio Sabino</i> 1781, Venice Libretto	<i>Giulio Sabino</i> 1785, Vienna Bilingual libretto (Italian)	<i>Julius Sabinus</i> 1785, Vienna Bilingual libretto (German)	<i>Julius Sabinus</i> 1786, Pressburg Libretto (Girzik)
		No. 2 Rec. acc. (Sabino): Arminio, oh Dio! Che mi rammenti!	No. 2 Rec. acc. (Sabino): Arminio, oh Dio! Che mi rammenti!	Arminius! Worauf ermahnst du mich!	Arminius! O Himmel! Welch ein Erinnerung!
	Scene 2	Rec. acc. (Arminio): Infelice Sabin! Quanto gli costa	Rec. acc. (Arminio): Infelice Sabin! Quanto gli costa	Unglücklicher Sabinus! Was hat ihm nicht die Kühnheit sich Rom zu widersetzen gekostet?	Unglücklicher Sabinus! Wie viel hat dich die Kühnheit sich Rom zu wiedersetzten gekostet!
		No.3 Aria (Arminio): Già al mormorar del vento	No.3 Aria (Arminio): Già al mormorar del vento	Die Winde brausen schon	Wild murmeln zwar die Winde
	Scene 3	Rec (Tito, Annio): Annio, che sento mai!	Rec (Tito, Annio): Annio, che sento mai!	Was les ich, Annius!	Arminius! Was les ich!
	Scene 4	Rec (Epponina, Voadice, Tito, Annio): Prence, ed è ver, ch'io deggio	Rec (Epponina, Voadice, Tito, Annio): Prence, ed è ver, ch'io deggio	Ist's also wahr, Prinz?	Prinz! Soll es wahr seyn?

Appendix C

Act	Scene	<i>Giulio Sabino</i> 1781, Venice Libretto	<i>Giulio Sabino</i> 1785, Vienna Bilingual libretto (Italian)	<i>Julius Sabinus</i> 1785, Vienna Bilingual libretto (German)	<i>Julius Sabinus</i> 1786, Pressburg Libretto (Girzik)
		Rec. acc. (Epponina): Ch'io parta? Oh Dio!	Rec. acc. (Epponina): Ch'io parta? Oh Dio!	Endlich verjagst du mich auch?	Ich soll gehen? O Götter!
		No.4 Aria (Epponina): Trema il cor, non v'è più speme	No.4 Aria (Epponina): Trema il cor, non v'è più speme	Dieses hoffnungslose Herz	Das Herz pocht, ihm bleibt keine Hofnung!
	Scene 5	Rec (Voadice, Tito, Annio): Dunque quell'infelice	Rec (Voadice, Tito, Annio): Dunque quell'infelice	Und du verlassest diese Unglückliche?	Also hast du beschlossen, die Unglückliche auf immer zu verlassen!
		No . 5 Aria (Voadice): Se questa, o cor tiranno	- deleted -	Ist diese die Liebe	Wenn das soll Mitleid heißen
	Scene 6	Rec (Tito): Conosco alfin l'error	Rec (Tito): Conosco alfin l'error	Ich muss es bekennen	Ich muss es bekennen
		Rec acc. (Tito): O Ciel che dissi!	Rec acc. (Tito): O Ciel che dissi!	Was sage ich?...	O Gott, was sag ich!

Act	Scene	<i>Giulio Sabino</i> 1781, Venice Libretto	<i>Giulio Sabino</i> 1785, Vienna Bilingual libretto (Italian)	<i>Julius Sabinus</i> 1785, Vienna Bilingual libretto (German)	<i>Julius Sabinus</i> 1786, Pressburg Libretto (Girzik)
		No.6 Aria (Tito): Gia vi sento, gia v'intendo	No.6 Aria (Tito): Gia vi sento, gia v'intendo	Stimme meiner Seele!	Schon erwachtet, schon hallt ein Stimme
	Scene 7	Rec (Arminio): L'infelice Epponina	Rec (Arminio): L'infelice Epponina	Worinn besteht Epponinens Verbrechen?	Unglückliche Epponina!
	Scene 8	Rec (Epponina, Sabino): Oimè! Qualora all'idol mio ritorno	Rec (Epponina, Sabino): Oimè! Qualora all'idol mio ritorno	Ach! So oft ich hieher wieder kehre	Weh mir! So oft ich hieher kehre
	Scene 9	Rec (Tito, Sabino, Epponina): Come? E Sabin tu sei?	Rec (Tito, Sabino, Epponina): Come? E Sabin tu sei?	Was höre ich? Also du Sabinus?	Was höre ich! Du bist Sabinus?
		Rec. acc. (Sabino): Non dubitar, verrò	Rec. acc. (Sabino): Non dubitar, verrò	Ich werde bald, bald kommen	Trau meinem Wort! Ich komm:
		No.7 Aria (Sabino): Là tu vedrai chi sono	No.7 Aria (Sabino): Là tu vedrai chi sono	Dort wirst du, wie furchtbar	Meine Macht soll dich versteinern!
	Scene 10	Rec (Tito): Fermati, o mio bel nume	Rec (Tito): Fermati, o mio bel nume	Verweile, schönste Epponina!	Bleibe, liebste Epponina!

Appendix C

Act	Scene	<i>Giulio Sabino</i> 1781, Venice Libretto	<i>Giulio Sabino</i> 1785, Vienna Bilingual libretto (Italian)	<i>Julius Sabinus</i> 1785, Vienna Bilingual libretto (German)	<i>Julius Sabinus</i> 1786, Pressburg Libretto (Girzik)
		No. 8 Aria (Annio): Un dolce contento	No.7 Aria (Annio): Frema pur avverso il fato (unsigned insert aria)	Wüthe widriges Geschick	Dies süße Vergnügen
		Rec (Sabino): E ancor seguire ardisci	Rec (Sabino): E ancor seguire ardisci	Du wagst es noch mir zu folgen?	Und du wagst es, Ungetreue, mich noch zu verfolgen?
	Scene 11	Rec. acc. (Sabino, Epponina): Ah cara sposa, errai	Rec. acc. (Sabino): Ah cara sposa, errai	Vergieb. Mein Fehler war Eifer glühender Liebe	Liebste Gemahlin! Ich fehlte
		No.9 Duetto (Sabino, Epponina): Come partir poss'io... ?	No.8 Duetto (Sabino, Epponina): Come partir poss'io... ?	Wie kann ich geh'n	Scheiden soll ich von dir fort?
II	Scene 1	Rec (Annio): E dunque a suo talento	Rec (Annio): E dunque a suo talento	Also soll die Wittwe Sabins nach Wohlgefallen entfliehen!	Also soll die Wittwe des Sabinus nach Wohlgefallen fliehen?
		No.10 Aria (Annio): Quando il pensier figura	No.9 Aria (Annio): Quando il pensier figura (insert "Dei Sig: Sacchini")	Oft glaubt man alles	Mancher schient oft beglücktet

Act	Scene	<i>Giulio Sabino</i> 1781, Venice Libretto	<i>Giulio Sabino</i> 1785, Vienna Bilingual libretto (Italian)	<i>Julius Sabinus</i> 1785, Vienna Bilingual libretto (German)	<i>Julius Sabinus</i> 1786, Pressburg Libretto (Girzik)
	Scene 2	Rec (Arminio, Voadice): Il parlar di costui	Rec (Arminio, Voadice): Il parlar di costui	Geheimnißvoll sind seine Worte	Er spricht sehr geheimnißvoll
		No.11 Aria (Arminio): Da quel di ehe ti mirai	- deleted -	Seitdem ich dich sah	Mit dem Tag, als ich dich sah
	Scene 3	Rec (Voadice, Annio): Or dove va il mio bene?	Rec (Voadice, Annio): Or dove va il mio bene?	Wo eilt er nun hin?	Wo eilt er nun hin, mein Freund?
	Scene 4	Rec (Sabino): Questo pure il momento esser dovria	Rec (Sabino): Questo pure il momento esser dovria	Nun wäre es doch Zeit	Nun wäre es doch Zeit
		Rec (Epponina, Annio): Lasciami – non temer	Rec (Epponina, Annio): Lasciami – non temer	Laß mich frey. – Fürchte nichts.	Laß mich! -- Fürchte nichts!
	Scene 5	Rec. acc. (Epponina): Taci, m’uccidi	Rec. acc. (Epponina): Taci, m’uccidi	Halt ein. Dein Worte sind Schwerdstreiche.	Schweige! Du tödest mich!
		No. 12 Rondò (Epponina): Con qual core, o Dio, potrei	No.10 Aria (Epponina): Ah numi tiranni (insert "Dei Sig: Majo")	Ist dem Gatten treu zu bleiben	(Rondò) Wie soll ich den Schimpf ertragen

Appendix C

Act	Scene	<i>Giulio Sabino</i> 1781, Venice Libretto	<i>Giulio Sabino</i> 1785, Vienna Bilingual libretto (Italian)	<i>Julius Sabinus</i> 1785, Vienna Bilingual libretto (German)	<i>Julius Sabinus</i> 1786, Pressburg Libretto (Girzik)
		Rec (Tito, Voadice, Annio): Che sventura fatal	Rec (Tito, Voadice, Annio): Che sventura fatal	Sonderbar...	Welch widrige Begebenheit!
	Scene 6	Rec (Tito): Il braccio mio.	Rec (Tito): Il braccio mio.	Ich. Sage, sie soll...	Mein Arm soll sie schützen
		No.13 Aria (Tito): Tigre ircana in selva ombrosa	No.11 Aria (Tito): Leon ch'errando vada (unsigned insert)	Im Wald ein Tyger	Auch ein Tiger im düstern Walde
	Scene 7	Rec. (Sabino, Arminio): Tutto è perduto amico	Rec. (Sabino, Arminio): Tutto è perduto amico	Alle sist dahin. Freund!	Alle sist verlohren, mein Freund!
	Scene 8	Rec (Tito, Annio): Vedesti quel Guerrier?	Rec (Tito, Annio): Vedesti quel Guerrier?	Sahest du den Krieger?	Sahst du den Krieger?
	Scene 9	Scena (Sabino, Tito): Venite, oh figli!	Scena (Sabino, Tito): Venite, oh figli!	Kommt liebe Kinder!	O Kinder! O Söhne!

Act	Scene	<i>Giulio Sabino</i> 1781, Venice Libretto	<i>Giulio Sabino</i> 1785, Vienna Bilingual libretto (Italian)	<i>Julius Sabinus</i> 1785, Vienna Bilingual libretto (German)	<i>Julius Sabinus</i> 1786, Pressburg Libretto (Girzik)
		Rec. acc. (Sabino): Barbaro, aspetta!	Rec. acc. (Sabino): Barbaro, aspetta!	Einen Augenblick noch, Barbar!	Ungeheuer! Verzeih! Einen Augenblick noch.
		No.14 Aria (Sabino): Cari figli, un altro amplesso	No.12 Rondò (Sabino): Cari oggetti del mio core (insert "Del Sig: Tarchi")	Lieben Pfänder meiner Liebe!	Liebe Kinder! Diese Umarmung!
		Rec (Voadice, Tito): E Tito avrà tal core	Rec (Voadice): E Tito avrà tal core	Und Titus könnte einen Helden vernichten wollen	Und in dir, Titus!
	Scene 10	No.15 Aria (Voadice): Quell'ira ehe invano	No.13 Aria (Voadice): Va pur, ritorna a Roma (unsigned insert)	Geh nach Rom zurück und rühme	Vergebens bestrebt dich
	Scene 11	Rec (Tito, Epponina, Voadice): Sin che vive Sabino	Rec (Tito, Epponina, Voadice): Sin che vive Sabino	Solang Sabinus lebt ist der Thron nicht ganz sicher	Solang Sabinus lebt, ist der Thron nicht ganz sicher
	Scene 12	Rec (Tito, Epponino, Annio, Sabino): Consolati, Epponina	Rec (Tito, Epponino, Annio, Sabino): Consolati, Epponina	Tröste dich, Epponina.	Fasse dich, Epponina!

Appendix C

Act	Scene	<i>Giulio Sabino</i> 1781, Venice Libretto	<i>Giulio Sabino</i> 1785, Vienna Bilingual libretto (Italian)	<i>Julius Sabinus</i> 1785, Vienna Bilingual libretto (German)	<i>Julius Sabinus</i> 1786, Pressburg Libretto (Girzik)
		No.16 Terzetto (Epponina, Sabino, Tito): Sfogati pur, tiranno	No.14 Terzetto (Epponina, Sabino, Tito): Tremate, empi, tremate (insert missing from score with note "altro Terzetto")	Zittert unbiegsame Seelen!	Ich spotte des Tirannen!
Act III	Scene 1	Rec (Annio): Vinti furono i ribelli	Rec (Annio): Vinti furono i ribelli	Die Rebellen sind überwunden!	Endlich sind die Rebellen überwunden!
	Scene 2	Rec (Tito, Epponina): M'empiono di sospetto	Rec (Tito, Epponina): M'empiono di sospetto	Seine Sprache erregt Argwohn in mir.	Sein anhaltender Eifer für Sabins Tod erregt in mir.
		No.17 Aria (Epponina):Al caro bene a lato	- deleted -	- deleted -	Zur Seite des Geliebten
	Scene 3	Rec (Tito): E vinto sarà Tito	Rec (Tito): E vinto sarà Tito	Soll ein Weib, Titus!	Und Titus sollte an Tugend von einem Weibe übertrossen seyn?
		No.18 Aria (Tito): Bella fiamma, che il seno m'accendi	No.15 Aria (Tito): Bella fiamma, che il seno m'accendi	Schöne Flamme, die im Busen	Schöne Flamme, die du mich entzündest!
	Scene 4	Scena: Rec. acc. (Sabino): D'una vita infelice	Scena: Rec. acc. (Sabino): D'una vita infelice	Nun hab ich dich erreicht	Unglückseliges Leben!

Act	Scene	<i>Giulio Sabino</i> 1781, Venice Libretto	<i>Giulio Sabino</i> 1785, Vienna Bilingual libretto (Italian)	<i>Julius Sabinus</i> 1785, Vienna Bilingual libretto (German)	<i>Julius Sabinus</i> 1786, Pressburg Libretto (Girzik)
		Rec (Epponina, Sabino): Che ascolto? Oh Dio!	Rec (Epponina, Sabino): Che ascolto? Oh Dio!	Was seh ich! Gattinn!	Was seh ich? O Götter!
	Scene 5	No.19 Marcia (Sabino): In qual barbaro momento	No.16 Marcia (Sabino): In qual barbaro momento	Letzte Stunde meines Lebens!	Hier in dieser Martenstunde
		Duetto (Sabino, Epponina): Se m'attendi...vengo anch'io	Duetto (Sabino, Epponia): Se m'attendi...vengo anch'io	Jenseits must du mich erwarten	Rec (Epponina, Sabino): Du verläßt mich? – Ja! Doch rede!
		Rec (Sabino): Dove sono?	Rec (Sabino): Dove sono?	Wo bin ich nun?	Wo bin ich?
	Scene 6	Finale No.20 Coro (Tutti): Di nobili allori	No.17 Coro (Tutti senza Tito): S'oda, o Duce (unsigned interlude)	Immerfort, o Prinz!	Dieß edle Bezeugen

C.9 *Julius Sabinus: Pressburg libretto (1785)*

Julius Sabinus/ Eine/ ernsthafte Oper/ in/ drei Aufzügen.

Nebst einem Anhang/ das/ hochgräfl. Erdödische Operntheater/ betreffend;/ für welches diese Oper übersetzt, und zum/ Drucke befördert ist/ von/ Johann Nepomuck Schüller,/ Mitglied der gräflichen Operngesellschaft/ in Preßburg.

Preßburg,/gedruckt mit Weberischen Schriften./1785

List of Singers

<i>Dramatis personae</i>	Singers
Titus, Kaiser Vespasians Sohn; Liebhaber der	Herr Rotter
Epponina, vermeinten Witwe des	Dlle. Kaiser
Sabinus, Epponinens Gemahl	Herr Kumpf
Woadir, Schwester des Sabinus, und Liebhaber des	Dlle. Hablin
Arminius, Stadthalters von Langres, und Sabins Freund	Herr Hübsch
Annius, Anführer des römischen Heeres, Freund des Titus, und heimlicher Liebhaber der Epponina	Herr Girzik
Zwey Kinder des Sabins, nicht redend	Karl Seipp
	Karoline Vincenz
Wache	

Preface

Vorrede.

Das Interesse der Handlung, welches in gegenwärtige Oper herrscht, ist zu groß, als daß es nicht der Mühe lohnte, ausser der Vorstellung in genauerem Zusammenhange beherzigt zu werden. – In dieser Rücksicht hab ich mich entschlossen, dieselbe so, wie sie auf dem hochgräflichen Operntheater aufgeführt wird, in den Druck zu befördern. – Da diese Oper ohnedieß schon ihrem inneren Werthe nach sowohl, als jenem, den sie durch die Vorstellung

in Wien bei Auftritt des berühmten Sopransängers Marchesini erhielt, bestens empfohlen ist; so übriget mir nicht mehr zur Anzeige, als daß sie von der hochgräflichen Operngesellschaft

[S.4]

unter der Führung des Herrn Kumpf den zweiten Jänner, als Anfangsoper des 1786sten Jahres mit höchst möglicher Genauigkeit wird aufgeführt werden. Quarderob und Theaterdekorationen hat Herr Kumpf ganz neu dazu angeschafft. Er verspricht dadurch die gnädige Herrschaft sowohl, als die anwesenden hohen Gäste ganz unerwartet zu überraschen.

J. N. Schüller.

C.9.1 Translation of the *Vorrede*

The interest of the plot, which dominates in the present opera, is far too significant for it not to be worth the effort of being considered in more detail apart from the performance. - With this in mind, I have decided to print the opera as it will be performed at the theatre of Count Erdödy. - Since this opera is already highly recommended in terms of its intrinsic value as well as that which it received from the performance in Vienna by the famous soprano singer Marchesini, there is nothing more to report to me than that it has been approved by opera troupe here at the palace of Count Erdödy. under the direction of Herr Kumpf, on the second of January, as the opening opera of the year 1786, and will be performed with the greatest possible accuracy. Mr. Kumpf has purchased a completely new wardrobe and theatre decorations for this purpose. He promises to surprise His gracious lordship as well as the attending distinguished guests.

C.10 Comparison of different versions of *Axur, Re d'Ormus*⁵⁵⁵

Act	Scene	<i>Axur, Re d'Ormus</i> 1788, Vienna Libretto	<i>Axur, Re d'Ormus</i> 1788, Vienna Autograph score	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1788, Pressburg Libretto (Girzik)	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1790, Frankfurt Libretto (Schmieder)	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1790s, Vienna <i>Textbuch</i>
			Introduzione (Altamor): Questa è l'ora e questo è il loco	Altamor: Ganz nach Wunsch ist Ort	Altamor: Hier im Walde, in der Stunde	Altamor: Ganz nach Wunsch ist Ort
			Coro: Ecco, alcun qui s'incammina	Chor: Fort, wir hören sie schon kommen	Chor: Sieh! War harr'n nur deiner Winke	Chor: Sieh! War harr'n nur deiner Winke
ACT I	Scene 1	Aria, Duet (Aspasia, Atar): Qui dove scherzo l'aura	Aria, Duet (Aspasia, Atar): Qui dove scherzo l'aura			Chor: Fort, wir hören sie schon kommen
		Rec. (Aspasia, Atar): Chi di noi più felice	Rec. (Aspasia, Atar): Chi di noi più felice			

⁵⁵⁵ 1788 Vienna libretto: *Axur, re d'Ormus*: Dramma tragicomico in cinque atti da rappresentarsi nel teatro della corte. Per le nozze di sua altezza reale l'Arciduca Francesco D'Austria. Vienna: Kurzbek, 1788. *A-Wn*, 641432-A.17,2 MUS MAG.

1788 Vienna autograph score: *Axur, Re d'Ormus*: Opera tragicomica in 4 atti *A-Wn*, Mus.Hs.17049 MUS MAG.

1788 Pressburg libretto: *Axur, König von Ormus*: eine heroische Oper in fünf Aufzügen / nach dem Italiänischen des Herrn Abbé Da Ponte; übersetzt und für das gräflich Erdödyische Operntheater eingerichtet von Herrn Girzick; zum Drucke befördert von Herrn Joh. Rep. Schüller 1788; die Musik ist von Herrn Anton Salieri. Pressburg: Gedruckt mit Weberischen Schriften, 1788. *US-Wc*, ML48 [S9328].

1790 Frankfurt libretto: *Axur König von Ormus*. Singspiel in 4 Aufz. Nach dem Tarar des Beaumarchais. Graz, n.p., 1799. *A-Wn*, 622067-A.42 THE MAG.

1797 Vienna *Textbuch*: *Axur König von Ormus*: Eine große Oper in 4 Akten. Nach dem Italiän: des Hern: Abbe da Ponte, *A-Wn*, Kt 50/6.

Act	Scene	<i>Axur, Re d'Ormus</i> 1788, Vienna Libretto	<i>Axur, Re d'Ormus</i> 1788, Vienna Autograph score	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1788, Pressburg Libretto (Girzik)	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1790, Frankfurt Libretto (Schmieder)	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1790s, Vienna <i>Textbuch</i>
		Aria (Aspasia): Perdermi? E chi potria	Aria (Aspasia): Perdermi? E chi potria			
		Rec. (Atar): Quanto siete possenti	Rec. (Atar): Quanto siete possenti			
		Aria, Duet (Atar, Aspasia): Per te solo, amato bene	Aria, Duet (Atar, Aspasia): Per te solo, amato bene			
		Rec. acc. (Atar): Che grido è questo	Rec. acc. (Atar): Che grido è questo			
		Coro: Ah! Ah!	Coro: Ah! Ah!			
	Scene 2	Rec. acc. (Atar): Tutto Aspasia è perduto	Rec. acc. (Atar): Tutto Aspasia è perduto	Introduction Aria, Duett (Aspasia, Atar): Hier unter süssen Düften	Duett (Tarar, Aspasia): Hier, wo die Frühlingslüfte	Duett (Atar, Aspasia): Hier unter süssen Düften

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Act	Scene	<i>Axur, Re d'Ormus</i> 1788, Vienna Libretto	<i>Axur, Re d'Ormus</i> 1788, Vienna Autograph score	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1788, Pressburg Libretto (Girzik)	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1790, Frankfurt Libretto (Schmieder)	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1790s, Vienna <i>Textbuch</i>
				Rec. (Aspasia, Atar): Ach! Wer lebt denn beglückt....Gewiss!	O wie glücklich sind wir, Tarar!	Rec. (Atar, Aspasia): Ach! Wer lebt denn beglückt...Gewiss!
				Aria (Aspasia): Mich verlieren? -- ha keine Macht	Mich verliehren? Uns zu trennen!	Mich verlieren?
				Rec. (Atar): Die zärtlichen Worte –	Mächtig ist die Überredung der Liebe	Rec. (Atar): Die zärtlichen Worte –
				Duett (Aspasia, Atar): Jeder Athemzug Geliebte	Dir allein glüht diese Wange	Duett (Aspasia, Atar): Jeder Athemzug Geliebte
					Chor: Ach!	Chor: Ach!
					Atar: Weh uns! Ha unser' Wohnung	Atar: O Himmel! Ah unsere Wohnung

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				Chor: Ach! Atar!	Duett (Axur, Biskroma): Schweig endlich! Denn verlohren	Duett (Axur, Biscroma): Ärgere mich nicht Biscroma!
				Atar: Keine Hilfe O Gattin!	Rec. (Axur): Altamor kehr noch nicht wieder!	Rec. (Axur): Altamor kehr noch nicht wieder!
					Aria (Biskroma): Mit Blut überkronet	Ariette (Biscroma): Bedeckt vom Blute
	Scene 3				Rec. (Axur, Biskroma): Erbamen! Erbamen!	Rec. (Axur, Biscroma): Was Gnade?
					Aria (Biskroma): Es ist wahr, sein theurer Name	Aria (Biscroma): Es ist wahr, des edler Name
					Rec. (Axur, Biscroma): Wirst du deine Lobrede enden?	Rec. (Axur, Biscroma): Wirst du nicht end'gen

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					Rec. (Sklave, Axur): Großer König!	Atamor: Es ist vollbracht, niemand erfuhr was!
	Scene 4					Aria (Altamor): Vor den ersten Morgenschimmer
						Axur, Altamor: Herrlich! – Nur weiter!
						Rec. (Axur, Biscroma): Eile Biscroma --
	Scene 5				Rec. (Altamor, Sklave, Axur): Alles ist geschehen, mein König!	Chor: Geht! In Asiens schönsten Geilden
					Duett (Axur, Altamor): Muthing gieng ich dort zu Schiffe	Rec. (Axur, Aspasia, Fiametta, Biscroma): In tiefier Demuth –

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					Rec. (Axur, Biskroma): Fliege Biskroma! Ein prächtiges Fest soll morgen	Aria (Aspasia): Des schwarzen Verrats
						Chor: Fort eilen wir geschwind
					Chor: In den reizenden Wonnegefiliden	Rec. (Urson, Axur): Mein König! Atar, der tapfer Krieger
	Scene 6				Rec. (Axur, Aspasia, Biskroma, Sklave): Verneigt euch alle! – O welch grässliches Schicksal!	Aria (Atar): Erbamen O König!
					Chor: Eilt! Eilt zu Hülfe ihr!	Rec. (Axur, Atar): Dank euch großen Götter!
						Rec. & Aria (Atar): Sklavin? – Aspasia eine

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Act	Scene	<i>Axur, Re d'Ormus</i> 1788, Vienna Libretto	<i>Axur, Re d'Ormus</i> 1788, Vienna Autograph score	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1788, Pressburg Libretto (Girzik)	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1790, Frankfurt Libretto (Schmieder)	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1790s, Vienna <i>Textbuch</i>
						Sklavin? —Ein paradiesischer Schimmer umstrahlt sie
						Rec. (Axur): Und du kannst tapferer Held!
						Aria (Axur): Wo ist nun der Muth der Helden?
						Aria (Atar): Wenn dein Gedächtnis würdig
					Axur, Biskroma, Urson: Hundert Sklaven sollen sie bewachen	Rec. (Biscroma, Axur): Ach, Könnt ich nur Atar...
	Scene 7					Aria (Atar): Schöne Izra was stiehlt dein Herze?
						Finale (Axur, Altamor, Atar, Biscroma): Eh noch Aurorens Schimmer

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					Duett (Axur, Tarar): Nun tapfrer Kriegsheld, rede!	
					Rec. (Tarar): Sklavin! Ha! Sie eine Sklavin?	
	Scene 8				Aria (Tarar): Ein holder Schimmer von Engelsschönheit	
					Rec. (Axur): Aber tapfrer Held!	
					Duett (Axur, Tarar): Ha! Wohin ist deine Kühnheit?	
	Scene 9				Axur, Biskroma, Tarar, Altamor: O dass ich doch dem Tarar Nachricht geben könnte!	
					Finale: Schöne Irza! Soll dein König	

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		Duet (Axur, Biscroma): No mi seccar Biscroma!	Duet (Axur, Biscroma): No mi seccar Biscroma!	Duett (Axur, Biscroma): Ärgere mich nicht Biscroma!	(Axur, Urson) : König! Der Oberbramin verlangt eine geheime Unterredung!	Rec. (Arteneo, Axur): König! – Sprich, Arteneo!
		Rec. (Axur, Biscroma): Ah ch'io non posso frenar	Rec. (Axur, Biscroma): Ah ch'io non posso frenar	Rec. (Altamor, Biscroma, Axur): Da sollst du –		Aria (Arteneo): Fürchte die Wuth der unbänd'gen Krieger!
Act II	Scene 1	Aria (Biscroma): Coperto di sangue	Aria (Biscroma): Coperto di sangue	Ariette (Biscroma): Bedeckt vom Blute		Rec. (Axur): Sey ruhig, Arteneo!
		Rec. (Axur, Biscroma): Pietà! Ti par che degno	Rec. (Axur, Biscroma): Pietà! Ti par che degno	Rec. (Axur, Biscroma): Was Gnade?		Aria (Axur): Ruffe nur bald das Volk zusammen

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		Aria (Biscroma): E ben ver quel nome amato	Aria (Biscroma): E ben ver quel nome amato	Aria (Biscroma): Es ist wahr, des edlen Namen		
		Rec. (Axur, Biscroma): Vuoi tu finir, vil feccia	Rec. (Axur, Biscroma): Vuoi tu finir, vil feccia	Rec. (Axur, Biscroma): Wirst du nicht end'gen		
		Rec. (Axur, Altamor, Biscroma): Appaga in pochi istànti.	Rec. (Axur, Altamor, Biscroma): Appaga in pochi istànti.	Atamor: Es ist Vollbracht, niemand erfuhr was!	Axur, Artenio: König die Wilden aus einem Welttheil, den man Europa nennt	Rec. (Arteneo): O du göttliche Weisheit!
	Scene 2	Rec. (Axur): Vola, Biscroma	Aria (Altamor): Verso l'alba in grossa nave	Aria (Altamor): Vor den ersten Morgenschimmer-- Axur, Altamor: Herrlich! – Nur weiter!	Aria (Artenio): O! Färcht die Krieger vor deinem Throne!	
			Rec. (Axur): Vola, Biscroma	Rec. (Axur, Biscroma): Eile Biscroma --!	Aria (Axur): Versammle jetzt aufs eiligste	

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					Rec. (Artenio): Bald soll jetzt Altamor	
		Coro: Ne' più vaghi soggiorni dell'Asia	Coro: Ne' più vaghi soggiorni dell'Asia	Chor: Geht! In Asiens schönsten Geilden	Tarar: Von welchen neune Stürmen wird ich wieder bedroht!	Rec. (Atar, Biscroma): Mit meiner Quälen
	Scene 3	Rec. (Axur, Aspasia, Fiametta, Biscroma): Ognun s'inchini, e la mia bella adori	Rec. (Axur, Aspasia, Fiametta, Biscroma): Ognun s'inchini, e la mia bella adori	Rec. (Axur, Aspasia, Fiametta, Biscroma): In tiefier Demuth –		Aria (Atar): Mitleidvollen gnädigsten Götter!
		(Aspasia, Axur): Del nero tradimento	(Aspasia, Axur): Del nero tradimento			
		Coro: Si vada subito, tutto si faccia	Coro: Si vada subito, tutto si faccia	Chor: Fort eilen wir geschwind		
	Scene 4	Rec. (Urson, Axur): Signor, il prode Atar, quell gran guerriero	Rec. (Urson, Axur): Signor, il prode Atar, quell gran guerriero	Rec. (Urson, Axur): Mein König! Atar, der tapfer Krieger	Biskroma, Tarar: Erkenne mich! Tarar!	Biscroma, Atar: Kennst du mich mein, Atar?

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		Aria (Atar): Pietade, Signor!	Aria (Atar): Pietade, Signor!	Aria (Atar): Erbamen O König!	Duett: O vergebens ist hier Wüthen!	Duetto (Biscroma, Atar): Auf dem Meer wirst du vergebens
		Rec. (Axur, Atar): Grazie, o possenti Dei?	Rec. (Axur, Atar): Grazie, o possenti Dei?	Rec. (Axur, Atar): Dank euch grossen Götter!		Rec. (Atar, Biscroma): O mein, Freund!
		Rec., Aria (Atar): Come? Aspasia, una schiava? -- Soave luce di Paradiso	Rec., Aria (Atar): Come? Aspasia, una schiava? -- Soave luce di Paradiso	Rec., Aria (Atar): Wie das? Aspasia, eine Sklavin? -- Ein paradiesischer Schimmer umstrahlt sie		Aria (Atar): Ich komm, nichts soll mich hindern
		Rec. (Axur): E puoi, prode guerrier	Rec. (Axur): E puoi, prode guerrie	Rec. (Axur): Und du kannst tapferer Held!		

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		Aria (Axur): Dove andò quell maschio	Aria (Axur): Dove andò quell maschio	Aria (Axur): Wo ist nun der Muth der Held?		
		Aria (Atar): S'io ti salva la vita	Aria (Atar): S'io ti salva la vita	Aria (Atar): Wenn deines Gedächtnis würdig		
	Scene 5	Rec. (Biscroma, Axur): Ah s'avvisare Atar...	Rec. (Biscroma, Axur): Ah s'avvisare Atar...	Rec. (Biscroma, Axur): Ach, Könnt ich nur Atar...	Artenio, Priester, Elamir, Kinder: Ihr geheiligter Priester des grossen Brama!	Rec. (Arteneo, Axur, Elamir): Heute müssen wir den Himmel –
		Aria (Atar): Irza bella, e che ti arresta?	Aria (Atar): Irza bella, e che ti arresta?	Aria (Atar): Schöne Izra was stählt dein Herze?	Duett (Artenio, Elamir): Wie dort auf den Auen	

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		Axur, Altamore, Atar, Biscroma: Pria che la nuova aurora	Axur, Altamore, Atar, Biscroma: Pria che la nuova aurora	Finale (Axur, Altamor, Atar, Biscroma): Eh noch Aurorens Schimmer	Rec (Artenio): Der König und alles Volk wird sich heute in diesem Tempel versammeln	Aria (Arteneo): So wie am erquickenden Morgen – (Elamir) O mächtigen Götter!
						Rec. (Arteneo): Sieh mein Sohn!
					Marsch Rec. (Artenio): König des persischen Meeres!	Arioso (Arteneo): König des persischen Meeres!
	Scene 6				Chor: Von den Thronen deiner Himmel	Rec. (Arteneo): Das ganze Volk, -- Das Kriegsheer
					Artenio: Großer Brama! Gott der Götter!	Aria (Arteneo): Blick auf uns vom Sternenthron!

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					Elamir: Völker! Von eitlem Irrthum	Rec. (Elamir): Arme verblendete Völker!
					Chor: Tarar! Tarar!	Chor: Atar, Atar!
						Rec. (Altamore, Arteneo, Elamir): He ruhig! Eure tobende Freunde!
						Chor: Atar! Atar! Riefe der Knabe!
						Rec. (Axur, Atar): Ein wichtigeres Gelübde
					Axur: Tarar kann euer Feldherr nicht sein	Aria (Atar): Wer von der Ehre, vom Ruhm durchglüht ist
						Rec. (Axur): Ha! Das empörende Geschrey

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					Finale: Zu Ruhm und Siegen	Finale (Altamore, Arteneo, Atar, Chor, Axur): Geh' nicht Herr!
					Chor: Vor dem sich Welten beugen	Chor von Soldaten und Volk: O, du gerechte Vorsicht!
		Rec. acc. (Arteneo, Axur): Sirè... Parla,Arteneo	Rec. acc. (Arteneo, Axur): Sirè... Parla,Arteneo	Rec. acc. (Arteneo, Axur): König! – Sprich, Arteneo!	Rec (Biskroma, Axur): Was seh ich! Der Garten erleuchtet?	Rec. (Biscroma, Axur): Was seh' ich? Welch ein Schimmer
Act III	Scena 1	Aria (Arteneo): Di tua milizia temi lo sdegno	Aria (Arteneo): Di tua milizia temi lo sdegno	Aria (Arteneo): Fürchte die Wuth der unbänd'gen Krieger!	Duett (Biskroma, Axur): Ach ich sinne, ich erwäge	Duetto (Biscroma, Axur): Ich bin ruhig ohne murren

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		Rec. acc. (Axur): Tranquillati, Arteneo, tutto prevede	Rec. acc. (Axur): Tranquillati, Arteneo, tutto prevede	Rec. acc. (Axur): Sey ruhig, Arteneo!		
		Aria (Axur): Tu fa che intanto uniscasi il popil agitato	Aria (Axur): Tu fa che intanto uniscasi il popil agitato	Aria (Axur): Ruffe nur bald das Volk zusamm		
		Rec. acc.(Arteneo): O divina prudenza!	Rec. acc. (Arteneo): O divina prudenza!	Rec. acc. (Arteneo): O du göttliche Weisheit!	Axur: Jetzt muss Tarar mit Altamor kämpfen	Rec. (Axur, Urson): [...] Altamor muss überwinden – er weiss meinen Willen
	Scena 2					Aria (Urson): Wie zwey ergrimte Löwen
						Rec. (Axur): Ich habe schon genug

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		Aria (Atar): Da qual nuova sciagura	Aria (Atar): Da qual nuova sciagura	Aria (Atar): Welch ein verräthrisch Schicksal	Axur, Urson: O großer König!	Rec. (Aspasia): Atar! – armer Atar
	Scena 3		Atar: Dei pietosi, eterni dei	Rec. (Atar): Heute Morgens war ich so thöricht	Aria (Urson): Wie zwey ergrimte Löwen	Chor: Es schalle die Freude bis über die Wolken
		Rec. (Biscroma, Atar): Riconoscimi, Atar.	Rec. (Biscroma, Atar): Riconoscimi, Atar.	Biscroma, Atar: Kennst du mich mein, Atar?	Aspasia: Tarar! Tarar!	Arleccinade (Brighella, Smeraldina, Fiametta, Sklaven): Du hast mir dein Herz versprochen
	Scena 4					
		Duetto (Biscroma, Atar): Tu nel mar la cara sposa!	Duetto (Biscroma, Atar): Tu sul mar la cara sposa!	Duetto (Biscroma, Atar): Auf dem Meer wirst du vergebens	Chor: Der Himmel ertöne	Rec. (Axur, Aspasia): Nein, theure Irza! Vermag nicht der Glanz diese Festes —Hier, großer König von Ormus, hier sieh mich zu deinen Füßen

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		Rec. acc. (Atar): Generoso amico mio	Rec. acc. (Atar): Generoso amico mio	Rec. (Atar, Biscroma): O mein, Freund!	Terzett (Melite und zwey Sklaven) – in italienischen Masken: Du hast mir dein Herz versprochen	Chor: Ha! Ha! Das ist vortreflich.
		Aria (Atar): V'andro, tutto si tenti	Aria (Atar): V'andro, tutto si tenti	Aria (Atar): Ich komm, nichts soll mich hindern	Rec. (Axur, Aspasia): Nein, theure Irza! Vermag nicht der Glanz diese Festes -- Hier, großer König von Ormus, hier sieh mich zu deinen Füßen	Rec. (Axur, Biscroma): Vortrefflich mein Biscroma!
					Aria (Biskroma): Ich ward im Römerlande gebohren	Romanze (Biscroma): Bin geboren in römischen Lande[n]
						Rec. (Aspasia, Chor, Axur): Atar!

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					Melite, Axur: O Götter! Wie dieser Name ihn erschüttert. – Man erwürge, man töde den Verräther!	
		Rec. (Arteneo, Axur, Elamir): D'una scelta importante oggi	Rec. (Arteneo, Axur, Elamir): D'una scelta importante oggi	Rec. (Arteneo, Axur, Elamir): Heute müssen wir den Himmel –	Tarar, Biskroma: Ha noch ein Verräther! – Tarar! Tarar! Kennst du Biskroma nicht?	Biscroma, Atar: Atar! Atar!
	Scena 5	Aria (Arteneo): Come ape ingegnosa – (Elamir) O Numi possenti	Aria (Arteneo): Come ape ingegnosa – (Elamir) O Numi possenti	Aria (Arteneo): So wie am erquickenden Morgen – (Elamir) O mächtigen Götter!	Duett (Tarar, Biskroma): Ich bin hier, dank euch, ihr Götter!	Rec. acc. (Atar): Mit wahrem Muthe, mit der Liebe zu Aspazien

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Act	Scene	<i>Axur, Re d'Ormus</i> 1788, Vienna Libretto	<i>Axur, Re d'Ormus</i> 1788, Vienna Autograph score	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1788, Pressburg Libretto (Girzik)	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1790, Frankfurt Libretto (Schmieder)	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1790s, Vienna <i>Textbuch</i>
			Rec. acc. (Elamir): Popoli ma' accorti	Rec. (Arteneo): Sieh mein Sohn!	Rec (Biskroma, Tarar): Nun großer Held lass uns keinen der kostbaren Augenblicke verlieren!	Duetto (Atar, Biscroma): Trübs nichts gerechete Götter! Mein Leben und Glück!
		<i>Marcia</i>	Arteneo: Tutto il popolo o figlio			Recitative (Biscroma, Atar): Laß, o Held, und mit Klugheit dem Augenblick bringen.
		Arteneo: Tutto il popolo o figlio	<i>Marcia</i>	Arioso (Arteneo): König des persischen Meers! --	Rec. (Axur, Biskroma): Man kommt! – Es ist der König!	Rec. (Axur, Biscroma): Wer ist da? – König!
	Scene 6	Arteneo e Coro: Re del Persico mar – S'oda pur chi scieglie	Arteneo e Coro: Re del Persico mar – S'oda pur chi scieglie	Rec. (Arteneo): Das ganze Volk, - Das Kriegsheer	Aria (Axur): Glück der stolzen spröden Irza!	Aria (Axur): Glühend von Liebestrieben

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		Aria (Arteneo): Dio sublime nella calma	Aria (Arteneo): Dio sublime nella calma	Aria (Arteneo): Blick auf uns vom Sternenthron!	Rec. (Biskroma, Tarar, Axur): Wie ist der Entschluss so glücklich! --Aria (Axur): Wie denk'ich mirs immer	Aria (Axur): Elender schlechter sklave! -- O! Wenn der Frevler empfinden könnte
		Rec. (Elamir): Popoli mal accorti	Rec. (Elamir): Popoli mal accorti	Rec. (Elamir): Arme verblendete Völker!	Rec. (Tarar): Schützer der Unglückseligen!	
		Coro e Altamore: Atar, Atar	Coro e Altamore: Atar, Atar	Chor: Atar, Atar! -- Rec. (Altamore, Arteneo, Elamir): He ruhig! Eure tobende Freunde!	Duett (Tarar, Biskroma): Komm hier mein Erretter an den Busen	
		Coro: Atar il giovinetto	Coro: Atar il giovinetto	Chor: Atar! Atar! Riefe der Knabe!		
		Rec. acc. (Axur): Da un altro giuramento	Rec. acc. (Axur): Da un altro giuramento	Rec. (Axur, Atar): Ein wichtigeres Gelübde		

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Act	Scene	<i>Axur, Re d'Ormus</i> 1788, Vienna Libretto	<i>Axur, Re d'Ormus</i> 1788, Vienna Autograph score	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1788, Pressburg Libretto (Girzik)	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1790, Frankfurt Libretto (Schmieder)	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1790s, Vienna <i>Textbuch</i>
		Aria (Atar): Chi vuol la gloria	Aria (Atar): Chi vuol la gloria	Aria (Atar): Wer von der Ehre, vom Ruhm durchglüht ist		
		Rec. (Atar): Ah le strida importune	Rec. (Atar): Ah le strida importune	Rec. (Axur): Ha! Das empörende Geschrey		
		Finale (Altamore, Arteneo, Atar, Coro, Axur): Non partir, la scelta è ingiusta	Finale (Altamore, Arteneo, Atar, Coro, Axur): Non partir, la scelta è ingiusta	Finale (Altamore, Arteneo, Atar, Chor, Axur): Geh' nicht Herr!		
		Coro: O tu che tutto puoi	Coro: O tu che tutto puoi	Chor von Soldaten und Volk: O, du gerechte Vorsicht!		
	Scene 7				Aspasia, Melite: Wie! Hier entfliehn! Melite!	Aria (Axur): O Gott! Du Schützer der Armen!

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					Rec. acc. (Aspasia): Tod! Ende aller Quaalen	Duetto (Atar, Biscroma): Komme! Komme Freund in meine Arme
					Aria (Aspasia): Dies sind die süßen Träume	
					Rec. (Aspasia, Melite): Aber Irza! --- Ach! Hättest du Tararn zum Gemahl gehabt!	
	Scene 8				Biskroma, Aspasia, Melite: Irza! Der König befiehlt, dass du in diesem Augenblicke	Rec. (Aspasia, Fiametta): Ach Fiametta! – Könnt' ich entfliehen

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					Aria (Melite): Geh, sage deinem Herrn	Aria (Aspasia): Ach holder Tod!
					Duett (Aspasia, Melite): Rette mich von dieser Schande	Rec. (Aspasia): Vielleicht! – O Götter!
						Rondò (Aspasia): Schon war das die süsse Hoffnung
						Rec. (Fiametta, Aspasia): (Aber) er ist doch ein mächt'ger Beherrscher

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	Scene 9				Tarar, Biskroma, Melite: Hier Stummer! Von dieser Sklavin bist du unumschränkter Herr! - -- wie so schwarz er ist!	Biscroma, Aspasia, Fiametta: Schöne Izra! - dein König will dich in dieser Stunde
					Finale: (Melite)Und du bist also kein Stummer?	
	Scene 10				Tarar, Urson, Biskroma, Chor: Ehe du Gewalt darfst	Duetto (Aspasia, Fiametta): Rette mich von dieser Schande!
	Scene 11					Rec. (Fiametta, Biscroma): Muthig Fiametta!
						Aria (Fiametta): Bleib nur von fern dort stehen!

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						Rec. (Atar, Fiametta): Atar!
						Finale Duetto (Fiametta, Atar): Unverschämter frecher Lügner! Du bist also gar nicht stumm?
	Scene 12					Urson, Biscroma, Atar, Chor: Kommt meine Freunde!
Act IV	Scene 1	Introduzione Rec. (Biscroma, Axur): Cosa veggio! i Giardini sono già illuminat	Introduzione Rec. (Biscroma, Axur): Cosa veggio! i Giardini sono già illuminati	Rec. (Biscroma, Axur): Was seh' ich? Welch ein Schimmer	Axur, Urson: Schwacher Abgott der schwankenden Menge!	Aria (Axur): Schwacher Götz eines thörichten Volkes!

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		Duet (Biscroma, Axur): Non borbotto, parlo schietto	Duet (Biscroma, Axur): Non borbotto, parlo schietto	Duetto (Biscroma, Axur): Ich bin ruhig ohne murren	Rec. (Urson, Axur): Hat man den Biskroma gefunden? – Nein Monarch, man verfolgt ihn noch	Rec. (Urson, Axur): Ist Biskroma gefunden? Auf allen Strassen schicke ich Wachen ihn zu suchen
		Rec. (Biscroma): Nulla nulla signor dico	Rec. (Biscroma): Nulla nulla signor dico	Rec. (Biscroma): Nun sprich geschwindet!		
		Rec. (Axur, Urson): Se il computo non falla	Rec. (Axur, Urson): Se il computo non falla	Rec. (Axur, Urson): Wenn mich mein Wunsch nicht trüget	Axur, Tarar: Näherer dich Unglücklicher! – König! Die Strafe sey gerecht oder nicht	Axur, Atar: Nur näher unglücklicher!
	Scene 2					
		Aria (Urson): Come leon feroce		Aria (Urson): Wie ein ergrimter Löwe	Aria (Tarar): Einmal nur kann ich ja sterben	Aria (Atar): Ich kann doch nur einmal sterben

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		Rec. (Axur): Ho capito che basta – (Aspasia): Atar, misero Atar!		Rec. (Axur): Ich hab genug gehört	Rec (Axur): Doch zittre denn die Götter --	Rec. (Axur, Atar): Ha! Umringt den Verräther!
		Coro: Il cielo rintuoni di gridi di gioja				Rec (Axur): Frecher! Du drohest?
						Rec (Atar): Aspasia! Meine Aspasia!
			Rec. (Axur): Ebben Urson	Rec. (Aspasia): Atar! – armer Atar	Axur, Melite: Ha falsche heuchlerische Irza!	Axur, Fiametta, Atar, Arteneo, Aspasia: Welche in dem Gewand Aspasiens verbogen ist
	Scene 3		Aria (Urson): Come leon feroce	Chor: Es schalle die Freude bis über die Wolken		Terzetto (Aspasia, Axur, Atar): Bösewicht! Mein Muth vereitelt

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			Rec. (Axur): Ho capito che basta			
			Coro: Il cielo rintuoni di gridi di gioja			
		<i>Arleccinade</i> Terzetto (Biscroma come Brighella, ein Sklave come Arlecchino, Fiametta come Smeraldina): De sposarme ti ha promesso	<i>Arleccinade</i> Terzetto (Biscroma come Brighella, ein Sklave come Arlecchino, Fiametta come Smeraldina): De sposarme ti ha promesso			
		Aria (Biscroma): Nato io son nello stato romano	Aria (Biscroma): Nato io son nello stato romano			

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		Rec. (Aspasia, Coro, Axur): Atar!	Rec. (Aspasia, Coro, Axur): Atar!			
		Biscroma, Atar: Atar! Atar! – Numi, Biscroma!	Biscroma, Atar: Atar! Atar! – Numi, Biscroma	Terzetto (Biscroma als Brighella, ein Sklave als Arlecchino, Fiametta als Smeraldina): De sposarme di ha promesso	Artenio: Sie sind gerichtet. Erhebt die Fahne des Todes	Axur! Ach Rettung! Hilfe!
	Scene 4	Rec. (Atar): Il mio coraggio – in mezzo il mare	Rec.(Atar): Il mio coraggio – in mezzo il mare	Chor: Ha! Ha! Das ist vortreflich.	Finale: (Aspasia, Tarar: Ach rechne mir die Schuld	Chor von Soldaten: Atar! Atar! Sey uns gegeben!
		Duet (Atar, Biscroma): Salvo io son – A uno Schiavo	Duet (Atar, Biscroma): Salvo io son – A uno Schiavo	Rec. (Axur, Biscroma): Vortrefflich mein Biscroma!	Axur: Mit Höllenschmerzen kocht Wahnsinn mir im Herzen	Rec. (Atar, Axur): Weicht! Zurück! Ihr Krieger!
		Rec. (Biscroma, Atar): Non perdiam, grand Eroe	Rec. (Biscroma, Atar): Non perdiam, grand Eroe	Romanze (Biscroma): Bin geboren in römischen Lande[n]	Tarar: Haltet! Haltet, ihr Krieger	Rec. acc. (Atar, Biscroma Chor): Aermster! – Ha! Diese That tilgte nun die Schande seiner Verbrechen

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			Rec. (Axur, Biscroma): Chi è qui?		Axur: Schändlich! So muss ich noch immer sehn!	(Atar, Arteneo, Biscroma, Urson, Chor, Axur): Laß dich erbitten Atar!
			Aria, Rec: (Axur): Pien d'amoroso	Rec. (Aspasia, Chor, Axur): Atar!	Urson: Nimm hier, durch meine Hände	Schlusschor: Welche Wonne durchströmt unsre Seelen
			Aria, Rec.(Axur): Misero, abbietto negro		Tarar: Kinder, ich bin gezwungen	
			Aria (Biscroma): O Dei, fermate -- Sperate che allora		Schlusschor: Neue Lust strömt durch unsere Herzen	
			Rec. (Axur, Biscroma): Lagrima! preghi Axur!			
			Aria (Axur): Viva viva Irza ritrosa			

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			Rec. (Axur): Adesso si Biscroma			
			Aria (Atar): Dio difensor de' miseri – (Atar, Biscroma): Vieni, amico a questo amplesso			
			Rec. (Aspasia, Fiametta): Come fuggir, Fiametta			
			Aria (Aspasia): Morte pietosa morte			
			Rec. (Aspasia): Forse....o Dei!			
			Aria (Aspasia): Son queste le speranze			

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			Rec. (Fiametta): Un possente monarca			
			Biscroma, Fiametta, Aspara: Izra bella, il re vostro			
			Fiammetta: Quest'è bellissima			
			Aria (Fiametta): Vanne dal tuo signor			
			Biscroma: Tanto meglio per te			
			Duet (Aspasia, Fiametta): Salva me da tanta infamia			

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		Fiametta, Biscroma: Animo Fiametta				
		Rec. (Fiametta, Biscroma, Atar): Di questa donna, o muto sei padrone assoluto				
		Aria (Fiametta): Sembra ch'ei parli! -- Guardami da lontano				
		Finale: Duetto (Fiametta, Atar): Dunque un muto tu non sei				
		Urson, Biscroma, Coro di Soldati: Compagni miei				
		Biscroma, Urson, Axur, Atar, Coro di Soldato: Pria che nulla tu eseguisca				

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		Rec. (Axur, Biscroma): Chi è qui?		Rec. acc. (Biscroma, Atar): Atar! Atar!		
		Aria, Rec. (Axur): Pien d'amoroso		Rec. acc. (Atar): Mit wahrem Muthe, mit der Liebe zu Aspasien		
	Scene 5	Aria, Rec. (Axur): Misero, abbietto negro		Duetto (Atar, Biscroma): Deine Hand hat mich gerettet		
		Aria (Biscroma): O Dei, fermate -- Sperate che allora		Recitative (Biscroma, Atar): Nun versäumen wir nicht länger		

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		Rec. (Axur, Biscroma): Lagrime! preghi Axur!				
		Aria (Axur): Viva viva Irza ritrosa				
		Rec. (Axur): Adesso si Biscroma				
		Duetto (Axur, Biscroma): Che felice scioglimento!				
		Aria (Atar): Dio difensor de' miseri		Axur, Biscroma: Wer ist da? – König!		
	Scene 6	Atar, Biscroma: Vieni, amico a questo amplesso				

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				Aria (Axur): Glühend von Liebestrieben		
				Rec. (Axur, Biscroma): Doch ich haschte sie in meine Arme		
				Aria (Axur): Elender, schlechter sklave!		
				Rec. (Axur): O! Wenn der Frevler empfinden könnte		
				Arietta (Biscroma): O Götter! -- Willst du etwann hoffen		

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				Rec. (Axur): Bitten -- meinen soll Axur?		
				Aria (Axur): Ruft! Es leb' die spröde Izra!		
				Rec. (Axur): So soll es seyn Biscroma!		
				Duetto (Axur, Biscroma): Schon empfind ich diese Wonne		
	Scene 7	Rec. (Aspasia, Fiametta): Come fuggir, Fiametta		Aria (Axur): O Gott! Du Beschirmer der Elenden!		

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		Aria (Aspasia): Morte pietosa morte		Duetto (Atar, Biscroma): Komme! Komme Freund in meine Arme		
		Rec. (Aspasia): Forse....o Dei!				
		Aria (Aspasia): Son queste le speranze				
		Rec. (Fiametta): Un possente monarca				
	Scene 8	Biscroma, Fiametta, Aspasia: Izra bella, il re vostro		Rec. (Aspasia, Fiametta): Rathe mir Fiametta!		

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		Aria (Fiametta): Vattene dal tuo signor		Aria (Aspasia): Ach holder Tod!		
		Biscroma: Tanto meglio per te		Rec. (Aspasia): Vielleicht! – O Götter!		
		Duet (Aspasia, Fiametta): Salva me da tanta infamia		Aria (Aspasia): Das war die süße Hoffnung		
		Rec. (Fiametta, Aspasia): Aber er ist doch ein mächt'ger Beherrscher				

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		Fiametta, Biscroma: Animo Fiametta		Biscroma, Aspasia, Fiametta: Schöne Izra! – dein König will dich in dieser Stunde		
	Scene 9			Aria (Fiametta): Sage nur deinem Herrn		
				Rec. (Biscroma, Fiametta): Desto besser für dich.		
	Scene 10	Rec. (Fiametta, Biscroma, Atar): Di questa donna, o muto sei padrone assoluto		Duetto (Aspasia, Fiametta): Rette mich von dieser Schande!		

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		<p>Aria (Fiametta): Sembra ch'ei parli! -- Guardami da lontano</p>				
		<p>Finale: Duetto (Fiametta, Atar): Dunque un muto tu non sei</p>				
	Scene 11	<p>Urson, Biscroma, Fiametta, Coro di Soldati: Compagni miei</p>		<p>Rec. (Fiametta, Biscroma): Muthig Fiametta!</p>		
		<p>Aria (Fiametta): Höre! Von ferne darfst du</p>				

Act	Scene	<i>Axur, Re d'Ormus</i> 1788, Vienna Libretto	<i>Axur, Re d'Ormus</i> 1788, Vienna Autograph score	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1788, Pressburg Libretto (Girzik)	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1790, Frankfurt Libretto (Schmieder)	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1790s, Vienna <i>Textbuch</i>
				Rec. (Atar, Fiametta): Atar!		
				Finale: Duetto (Fiametta, Atar): Unverschämter frecher Lügner! Du bist also gar nicht stumm?		
	Scene 12	Biscroma, Urson, Axur, Atar, Coro di Soldato: Pria che nulla tu eseguisca		Urson, Biscroma, Fiammetta, Chor: Kommt meine Freunde!		
				Urson, Biscroma, Atar, Axur, Chor: Halt! Urson! Du mußt mir sagen		

Appendix C

Act	Scene	<i>Axur, Re d'Ormus</i> 1788, Vienna Libretto	<i>Axur, Re d'Ormus</i> 1788, Vienna Autograph score	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1788, Pressburg Libretto (Girzik)	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1790, Frankfurt Libretto (Schmieder)	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1790s, Vienna <i>Textbuch</i>
		Aria (Axur): Idol vano d'un popol codarde	Aria (Axur): Idol vano d'un popol codarde	Aria (Axur): Schwacher Götze eines thörichten Volkes!		
	Scene 1	Rec. (Urson, Axur): In ogni parte si va in traccia di lui	Rec. (Urson, Axur): In ogni parte si va in traccia di lui	Rec. (Urson, Axur): Auf allen Straßen schicke ich Wachen ihn zu suchen		
Act V		Rec. (Axur, Atar): Accostati, infelice.	Rec. (Axur, Atar): Accostati, infelice.	Rec. (Axur, Atar): Nur näher unglücklicher!		
	Scene 2	Aria (Atar): Morir posso una sol volta -- Non temi ancor che il Cielo	Aria (Atar): Morir posso una sol volta -- Non temi ancor che il Cielo	Aria (Atar): Ich kann doch nur einmal sterben -- Fürchtest du nicht den Donner		
		Circondatelo o guardie: -- Aspasia, anima mia!	minaccia? Circondatelo o guardie: -- Aspasia, anima mia!	Umringt den Verräther! — Aspasia! Meine Aspasia!		

Act	Scene	<i>Axur, Re d'Ormus</i> 1788, Vienna Libretto	<i>Axur, Re d'Ormus</i> 1788, Vienna Autograph score	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1788, Pressburg Libretto (Girzik)	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1790, Frankfurt Libretto (Schmieder)	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1790s, Vienna <i>Textbuch</i>
		Rec. acc. (Axur, Fiametta, Atar, Asparasia): Dunque è ver che abusando Irza mendace	Rec. acc. (Axur, Fiametta, Atar, Asparasia): Dunque è ver che abusando Irza mendace	Rec. (Axur, Fiametta, Atar, Arteneo, Aspasia): Welche in dem Gewand Aspasiens verbogen ist		
	Scene 3	Rec. acc. (Aspasia, Atar): Non imputar la pena a me, straniero – Che sento! Aspasia!	Rec. acc. (Aspasia, Atar): Non imputar la pena a me, straniero – Che sento! Aspasia!	Rec. acc. (Aspasia, Atar): Unglücklicher Fremdling! – ich bin nicht Schuld an deinem Tode. --- Was hör ich? – Aspasia!		
		Trio (Aspasia, Axur, Atar): Barbaro, il mio coraggio!	Trio (Aspasia, Axur, Atar): Perfido, il mio coraggio	Terzetto (Aspasia, Axur, Atar): Bösewicht! Mein Muth vereitelt		
		Coro: Aita Axur, aita!	Coro: Aita Axur, aita!			
		Rec. (Atar): Arrestate, o soldati!	Rec. (Atar): Arrestate, o soldati!			

Appendix C

Act	Scene	<i>Axur, Re d'Ormus</i> 1788, Vienna Libretto	<i>Axur, Re d'Ormus</i> 1788, Vienna Autograph score	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1788, Pressburg Libretto (Girzik)	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1790, Frankfurt Libretto (Schmieder)	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1790s, Vienna <i>Textbuch</i>
		Rec. acc. (Atar, Biscroma Popolo): Misero! – I falli suoi	Rec. acc. (Atar, Biscroma Popolo): Misero! – I falli suoi			
		(Atar, Arteneo, Biscroma, Urson, Coro di popolo, Axur): Ceder conviene Atar	(Atar, Arteneo, Biscroma, Urson, Coro di popolo, Axur): Ceder conviene Atar			
		Rec. acc. (Atar): Figli, voi mi sforzate!	Rec. acc. (Atar): Figli, voi mi sforzate!	Chor: Axur! Ach Rettung! Hilfe!		
	Scene 4	Coro: Qual piacer la nostr'anima ingombra	Coro: Qual piacer la nostr'anima ingombra	Chor von Soldaten: Atar! Atar! Sey uns gegeben!		
				Rec. (Atar): Weicht! Zurück! Ihr Krieger!		

Act	Scene	<i>Axur, Re d'Ormus</i> 1788, Vienna Libretto	<i>Axur, Re d'Ormus</i> 1788, Vienna Autograph score	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1788, Pressburg Libretto (Girzik)	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1790, Frankfurt Libretto (Schmieder)	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> 1790s, Vienna <i>Textbuch</i>
				Rec. acc. (Atar, Biscroma Chor): Ärmster! – Ha! Diese That tilgte nun die Schande seiner Verbrechen		
				(Atar, Arteneo, Biscroma, Urson, Chor, Axur): Laß dich erbitten Atar!		
				Chor: Welche Wonne durchströmt unsre Seelen		

C.11 'Come? Aspasia una schiava?' from Act II, Scene 2 of *Axur, Re d'Ormus* in different translations (1788-1790)

Axur, Re d'Ormus

(Act II, Sc. 4)

Da Ponte, 1788 Vienna

Axur, König von Ormus

(Act II, Sc. 4)

Girzik, 1788 Pressburg

Axur, König von Ormus

(Act I, Sc. 8, No. 11)

Schmieder, 1790 Frankfurt

Come? Aspasia una schiava?
Sire, perdona! a si odiosa
idea
non resiste quest'alma:
Aspasia è Dea.

Wie das? -- Aspasia eine
Sklavin? König! Verzeihe, --
solch ein Bild empört meine
Seele, -- Aspasia --- ist eine
Göttin.

Sklavin? Ha! Sie eine
Sklavin?
König, verzeihe!
Bey solch einem Gedanken
Empört sich meine Seele!
Sie ist eine Göttin!--

Soave luce
di paradiso
entro il bel viso
brillava ognor.
Parean celesti
li sguardi e i gesti,
il dolce suono
de' cari accenti
piovea contenti
dentro il mio cor.

Ein paradiesischer
Schimmer umstrahlt sie
Ja selbst die Sterne
verdunkeln ihre Reize.
Aus ihren Blicken
Blitzt Liebesfeuer,
Auf ihrem Antlitz
Sitzt Himmelslust
Göttliche Hoheit zeigen die
Mienen,
Wuchs und Gebärden,
Die holde Sprache,
Ach! sie umgoss mit Wonne
mein Herz.

Ein holder Schimmer von
Engelschönheit
Leuchtet auf ihrem
Angesicht
Ihr himmlich Lächeln,
Die holden Blicke,
Und ihrer Stimme
Liebliche Töne,
Sie gießen Wonne
Mir in mein Herz.

Per rinvenire Aspasia
io stancherò i viventi,
Aspasia,
i miei lamenti
l'Eco ripeterà.

Aspasia! -- Aspasia!
Wo bist du Trost meiner
Seele verborgen?
Lass mich dich hören,
Wenn du noch lebst.

Aspasia! -- wo find' ich dich
jetzt, geliebte Gattin!
O gieb mir Antwort, end'
meinen Schmerz!

Dove t'ascondi,
tesoro amato?
Deh mi rispondi
Se vivi ancor!

C.12 *Axur, Re d'Ormus*: Pressburg Libretto (1788)

List of Singers

<i>Axur, Re d'Ormus</i> – Personaggi	Singers ⁵⁵⁶	<i>Axur, König von Ormus</i> - Personen	Singers ⁵⁵⁷
Axur, Re d'Ormus	Francesco Benucci	Axur, König von Ormus	Johann Nepomuk Schüller
Atar, suo generale d'armi	Vincenzo Calvesi	Atar, dessen Feldherr	Hubert Kumpf
Arteneo, Sacerdote: Padre di Altamor	Francesco Bussani	Arteneo, Priester	Joseph Rotter
Aspasia, Moglie di Atar	Ludovico Trentanove	Altamor, dessen Sohn	Ignaz Schrott
Biscroma, custode del Serraglio	Luisa Laschi Mombelli	Aspasia, Atars Gemahlin	Mlle. Habel
Fiametta, schiava di Axur	Stefano Mandini	Biskroma, Wächter des Serails	Franz Xaver Girzick
Urson, Capitan delle Guardie	Teresa Calvesi	Fiametta, Sklavin des Axur	Katherine Schröslin
Elamir, Fanciullo degli Auguri Coro di Popolo	Niccolò Del Sole	Urson, Hauptmann der Wache	Joseph Wieser
Coro di Sacerdoti	Franziska Distler	Elamir, Knab der Wahrsager Arlequin	Josephe Wieser
Uno schiavo che parla		Smeraldina	
Schiavi, e schiave		Brighella	
		Ein Sklav, der redet	
		Chor von Volk, und Soldaten	
		Chor von Priestern	
		Sklaven, und Sklavinnen	

⁵⁵⁶ Michtner, p. 244.

⁵⁵⁷ Lorenzo Da Ponte; Salieri, Antonio; Girzick, Franz Xavier (translated by), *Axur König von Ormus: eine heroische Oper in fünf Aufzügen* (Pressburg: Gedruckt mit Weberischen Schriften, 1788), p.4.

Preface

Hochedelgebohrner Grad!

Gnädigster Herr, Herr!

Wir haben abermal ein Jahr zurückgelegt, mit dem frohen Bewußtseyn, dass wir Euer Exzellenz manche Abendstunde durch Aufführung unserer Opern angenehm unterhalten. Welche Freude – welches Vergnügen fuer uns! – Zum Denkmale dessen diene hochdenselben gegenwärtige Ausgabe, die am Ende der Oper all jenes, was wodurch, und wie es geschehen, liefert. – Es ist immer eine frohe Erinnerung, wenn wir von Jahr zu Jahr unsre vergnügten Augenblicke, das einzige Labsal des menschlichen Lebens, gesammelt vor uns haben, und in den Bücherschränken nachschlagen können. – Au uns ist es Ruhm und Ehre zu wissen, dass wir doch wenigstens unserm Namen nach, als die Werkzeuge von der spätesten Nachkommenschaft werden erkannt seyn, die sich nach Moeglichkeit bestrebt haben, all das ihrige beizutragen, um die hohen Herzen ihrer Voreltern aufzuheitern und ihnen ihre Tage angenehm passieren zu machen. – Unser einziger Wunsch dabei zielt dahin ab, dass uns Euer Exzellenz in Gnaden gewogen bleiben wollen, wodurch wir immer eifrig bereit sind, unsre Kräften zu fernerm Vergnügen so lange anzuspannen, als es das Schicksal erlaubt, und Sie selbst uns dazu würdig erkennen wollen. –

Es empfiehlt sich samt der ganzen Gesellschaft mit Unterthänigkeit in den hohen Schuss

Euer Excellenz

Der Herausgeber.

Anhang

Anhang das gräflich Erdödische Operntheater betreffend.

Theater Personale

Herr Hubert Kumpf, Theaterunternehmer und Direktor, gebürtig von München in Bayern, im Jahr 1757 den 3ten November. – Singt Tenor, und spielt alle Helden und ersten Liebhaber.

(p.75)

Herr Ignaz Schrott, von Steinsefersdorf, aus dem Schweidnitzer Kreis in Schlesien gebürtig, im Jahr 1761; singt Tenor, und wechselt im ersten Liebhaberfach mit Herrn Kumpf. Ist voriges Jahr hierher verschrieben worden, und debütierte in der Rolle des Fabio, aus der Oper – Der Eifersüchtige auf der Probe.

Herr Franz Xaver Girzick, vom Prag in Böhmen gebürtig, im Jahr 1760, den 24ten August. Singt Baryton, und spielt meistens alt und jung komische Rollen. Von ihm sind die Uebersetzungen der italienischen Opern fürs gräfliche Theater geliefert worden.

Herr Joseph Wieser, gebohren zu Prag in Böhmen, im Jahr 1757. Komische Bediente, Chevaliers, und Deutsch-Franzosen sind sein Fach. Er singt Tenor. Die bey kurzen Opern beygefugten Pas de deus sind von ihm gesetzt, und mit Herrn Girzick getanzt.

Herr Joseph Rotter, gebohren zu Tulbing in Österreich, im Jahr 1761. Ist hierher verschrieben worden, und debütierte in der Rolle des Thadeo – aus König Theodor. – Singt und spielt komische Baßrollen.

(p.76)

Herr Johann Nepomuk Schuller, von Salmansweiler in Schwaben gebürtig, im Jahr 1758 den 26 Sept. Singt und spielt alle ersten Baßrollen, im ernsthaften Fache.

Herr Anton Keimel, von Wien gebürtig, ist hierher voriges Jahr als Souffleur engagiert worden.

Demoiselle Margarethe Kaiser, von München in Bayern gebürtig, im Jahr 1760. Spielt alle ersten Rollen. Mit ihr wechselt seit einem Jahre in derselben mit vielem Beyfall.

Demoiselle Marianne Hablin, von Mooßburg in Bayern gebürtig, im Jahr 1766.

Demoiseele Katharine Schröslin, von Moslach aus Bayern gebürtig, im Jahr 1766, at voriges Jahr debütiert in der Rolle der Aspasia, aus der Oper – Die Schule der Eifersüchtigen. Spielt rasche Liebhaberinnen.

Madame Josephe Wieser, gebürtig von Warin nachts Wien, im Jahr 1760 den 3ten Dezember. Spielt Soubretten und andere neckische Rollen, auch alte Frauen.

Madame Magdalene Schrott, gebohren zu Wien im Jahr 1770. Hat debütiert in der Rolle der Bittorine aus der Oper – Der Eifersüchtige auf der Probe. Spielt neckische Rollen.

(p.77)

Demoiselle Josepha Kraus; von Augspurg in Schwaben geburtig, im Jahr 1768. Hat debutiert in der Rolle der Modesta – aus der Oper, der Eifersuchtige auf der Probe. Wichtige Soubretten und zweite Liebhaberinnen sind ihr Fach.

Zu diesen kommen hinzu:

Appendix C

Herr Franz Anton Hofmann Theaterdokorateur

Herr Johann Mayer Theatermaler

Herr Franz Lindner Theaterfriseur

Das Orchester besetzen:

Herr Johann Baptist Paneck, als Kapellmeister beim Klavier

Herr Anton Kraut als Korepetitor	}	beym Violino I
Herr Leonhard Führer		
Herr Franz Gülnreiner	}	beym Violino II
Herr Franz Reinhard		
Herr Jakob Kunert	}	beym Viola
Herr Maximilian Telsche		
Herr Franz Klety	}	beim Violonzello
Herr Joseph Lenger		
Herr Michael Schaylly	}	bei dem Klarinetto
Herr Gottlob Uppitz		
Herr Adam Zeys	}	bey der Oboe
Herr Joseph Erghel		
Herr Kajetan Zeys	}	beym Fagotto
Herr Franz Bernhofer		
Herr Joseph Beck	}	beim Horn
Herr Aloys Moyses		

Die übrigen Instrumenten werden nach Bedürfniß von unbestimmten Subjekten besetzt.

Appendix D

D.1 Comparison of different versions of *Il Re Teodoro in Venezia*⁵⁵⁸

Act	Scene	<i>Il Re Teodoro in Venezia</i> 1784, Vienna Libretto (Casti)	<i>Der König Theodor in Venedig</i> 1785, Cologne Libretto (Böhm)	<i>König Theodor in Venedig</i> 1788, Hamburg Libretto (D'Arien)
Act I	Scene 1	Introduzione (Gafforio, Teodoro, Taddeo, Lisetta): Scaccia il duol mio re	Quartett (Theodor, Gafforio, Thaddäus, Lisette): Keines Königs werth nicht bieder	No. 1 Quartett (Theodor, Gafforio, Thaddäo, Amanda): Welch Geschick war euch zum Lohne!
	Scene 2	Rec. (Gafforio, Teodoro): Perdona, o sire – Odi, Gafforio	(Gafforio, Theodor): Verzeihe mein König! – Höre Gafforio!	
	Scene 3	No. 2 Rec. acc. (Teodoro): O miei tristi pensier, che vergognosi	Recitativ (Theodor): O ihr meine traurigen Gedanken!	No. 2 Recitativ (Theodor): Rings umher hüllt de Nacht
		No.3 Aria (Teodoro): Io re sono e sono amante	Arie (Theodor): Ich bin König und Liebhaber!	No. 3 Arie (Theodor): Glanz der Ehre, Macht der Liebe!

⁵⁵⁸ 1784 Vienna libretto: *Il Re Teodoro in Venezia*. Dramma eroicomico - *Der König Theodor in Venedig*. Ein Singspiel, Vienna: Kurzbek, 1784. A-Wn, 820311-A THE MAG.

1785 Cologne libretto: *Der König Theodor in Venedig*: ein aus dem Italiänischen übersetztes grosses Sing-Spiel in zween Aufzügen / mit der Musik des Kapellmeisters Paisiello; aufgeführt von der Schauspielergesellschaft des Herrn Böhm, Köln am Rhein: Gedruckt mit Langischen Schriften, 1785. US-Wc, ML48 [S7651].

1788 Hamburg libretto: Gesänge aus dem Singspiele: *König Theodor in Venedig*: in zwey Aufzügen / in Musik gesetzt von Paisiello; nach dem Italienischen des Abbate Casti; frey bearbeitet von d'Arien. Hamburg: Gedruckt bey J.M. Michaelsen, 1788. US-Wc, ML48 [S7653].

Act	Scene	<i>Il Re Teodoro in Venezia</i> 1784, Vienna Libretto (Casti)	<i>Der König Theodor in Venedig</i> 1785, Cologne Libretto (Böhm)	<i>König Theodor in Venedig</i> 1788, Hamburg Libretto (D'Arien)
		No. 4 Canzoni e coro (Lisetta, coro di donzelle): O giovinette innamorate	(Lisette und der Chor): Ihr gutes Mädchen, sanfte Geschöpfe!	No. 4 (Amanda und der Chor): Zärtliche Weibchen/ Girrende Täubchen
	Scene 4	Rec (Lisetta, Sandrino): Caro Sandrino mio – Bella Lisetta	(Lisette, Sandrin): Bester Sandrin! – Liebes Lieschen!	
		No. 5 Duetto (Lisetta, Sandrino): Ai dolci palpiti ch'io provo in seno		No. 5 Duetto (Amanda, Sandrin): Willst du sie kennen? Mich macht sie brennen!
		No. 6 Aria (Acmet): Se al mio fato terribile e fiero	Duetto (Achmet, Sandrin): Welches Schicksal ist mir noch beschieden!	No. 6 Duett (Achmet, Sandrin): O, wo find' ich das Ziel meiner Leiden
	Scene 5	Rec. (Sandrino, Acmet): È certo quegli lo stranier di cui – Io dunque Acmet	(Sandrin, Achmet): Was der ein wildes rauches Ansehen hat – Ich wär es also selbst?	
		No. 7 Aria (Sandrino): se stride irato il vento	Arie (Sandrin): Wenn des Meeres Winde sausen	No. 7 Arie (Sandrin): Auf wilden Meereswogen

Act	Scene	<i>Il Re Teodoro in Venezia</i> 1784, Vienna Libretto (Casti)	<i>Der König Theodor in Venedig</i> 1785, Cologne Libretto (Böhm)	<i>König Theodor in Venedig</i> 1788, Hamburg Libretto (D'Arien)
		Rec. (Acmet): Che nuovo stil di mendicar affetto!	Rec. (Achmet): Abermal eine mir unbewusste und ganz fremde Art zu bettlen.	
		Rec. (Taddeo): Da un bucolin segreto	(Thaddäus): Hm! In dem verborgenen Zimmer	
		No. 8 Aria (Taddeo): Che ne dici tu, Taddeo?	Arie (Thaddäus): Dieses sind Briefe geschrieben in England	No. 8 (Thaddäo): Schwere Frage, Freund Thaddäo!
	Scene 6	Rec. (Taddeo, Gafforio): Ma Garbolino è qua – Taddeo, t'abbraccio		
		No. 9 Aria (Gafforio): Queste son lettere	Arie (Thaddäus): Nun, was sagst du Freund Thaddäus?	No. 9 (Gafforio): Hier seht ihr Briefe, geschrieben aus England
		No. 10 Rec. acc. (Taddeo): Gli editti...gli ordini...		
	Scene 7	Rec. (Taddeo): Io son fuori di me, corpo di diavolo	Rec. (Thaddäus): Ich bin, hohl mich der Teufel!	

Act	Scene	<i>Il Re Teodoro in Venezia</i> 1784, Vienna Libretto (Casti)	<i>Der König Theodor in Venedig</i> 1785, Cologne Libretto (Böhm)	<i>König Theodor in Venedig</i> 1788, Hamburg Libretto (D'Arien)
		Rec. acc. (Taddeo): Gli editti...gli ordini	Arie (Thaddäus): Edikta, Placitas!	
		Rec. (Taddeo, Lisetta): Ei t'ama, e per isposa a me	(Thaddäus, Lisette): Er liebt dich, und hat dich so	
		No. 11 Aria (Taddeo): Figlia, il cielo ti destina	Arie (Thaddäus): Tochter! Es ist des Himmels Wille	No. 10 (Thaddäo): Tochter, es ist des Himmels Wille!
		No. 12 Rec. e Rondò (Lisetta): Che novità, che stravaganza è questa!	Rec. (Lisette): Welch eine Neuigkeit!	No. 11 (Amanda): Noch weiss ich nicht, was ich gehört, gesehen!
	Scene 8		Rondò: Soll ich dich selbst verderben?	Arie: An dir nur hängt mein Leben
			Rec. (Lisette): Doch, was seh ich?	Rec. Ha! Was erblick'ich?
	Scene 9	No. 13 Terzetto (Belisa, Sandrina, Lisetta): Mio caro Sandrino	Terzett (Belise, Sandrin, Lisette): Mein liebster Sandrin!	No. 12 Terzett (Sandrin, Belise, Amanda): Mein theurer Sandrino!

Act	Scene	<i>Il Re Teodoro in Venezia</i> 1784, Vienna Libretto (Casti)	<i>Der König Theodor in Venedig</i> 1785, Cologne Libretto (Böhm)	<i>König Theodor in Venedig</i> 1788, Hamburg Libretto (D'Arien)
			(Sandrino, Belise): Gewiss, Belise! – Welch ein Triumph	
	Scene 10	Rec. (Sandrino, Belisa): Dunque come dicea – che bella gloria	(Achmet, Belise, Sandrino): Sandrin, diss Mädchen da ist eben der Gegenstand meiner Liebe – wie Herr? Belise?	
			Arie (Belise): Wer uns will rühren, uns will gefallen	
	Scene 11	(Acmet, Sandrino, Belisa): Sandrin, colei ch'è teco è quella appunto – Belisa è questa	(Achmet, Sandrin): Die kleine Here da scheint mir – Ja, folgen Sie	
		No. 14 (Belisa): Se voi bramate il nostro amore		No. 13 Arie (Belise): Wollt ihr uns rühren
	Scene 12	Rec. (Acmet, Sandrino): Sandrin, questa ragazza – Seguitela, signore	(Gafforio, Theodor): Alles, Herr, was Sie angeht – Welche dumme Streiche du nicht immer begehst	
	Scene 13	(Gafforio, Teodoro): Signor, tutto è	Finale (Thaddäus, Lisette, vorige): Komm mein Kind, erkenn dein Glück!	

Act	Scene	<i>Il Re Teodoro in Venezia</i> 1784, Vienna Libretto (Casti)	<i>Der König Theodor in Venedig</i> 1785, Cologne Libretto (Böhm)	<i>König Theodor in Venedig</i> 1788, Hamburg Libretto (D'Arien)
		compito - che mai facesti?		
	Scene 14	Finale No. 15 (Taddeo, Teodoro, Gafforio): Vieni, o figlia, a un re che t'ama	(Belise, Achmet): Die Achmet am Arme zieht – Für wahr die Art ist mir ganz neu	No. 14 Finale: Komm, mein Kind, erkenn dein Glücke!
	Scene 15	(Belisa, Acmet): Venite, via, movetevi – E dove mai mi straschichi?	(Sandrin, Thaddäus, Lisette, Theodor, Gafforio, Belise, Achmet): Wo ist Lieschen, sie mein Leben	
	Scene 16	(Sandrino, Taddeo, Lisetta): Ov'è Lisetta – Gli editti e gli ordini	(Belise, Thaddäus, alle): Stille, stille nur ein wenig	
	Scene 17	(Teodoro, Gafforio e detti): Alfin mia diletta, mia bella Lisetta		
	Scene 18	(Belisa, Acmet e tutti): Vi presento, miei padroni		
		(Tutti): Che sussurro! Che bisbiglio		
Act II	Scene 1	No. 16 Rec. acc. (Gafforio): Ecco, o sire, i dispacci: non è molto	Rec. (Gafforio): Hier sind die Nachrichten mein König	

Act	Scene	<i>Il Re Teodoro in Venezia</i> 1784, Vienna Libretto (Casti)	<i>Der König Theodor in Venedig</i> 1785, Cologne Libretto (Böhm)	<i>König Theodor in Venedig</i> 1788, Hamburg Libretto (D'Arien)
	Scene 2	Rec. (Belisa, Teodoro): Teodoro! Ah no, non erro: sei pur tu mio fratello!	(Theodor, Belise): Da ist Theodor, wenn ich nicht irre	
		No. 17 Aria (Belisa): Che st vuol d'infelici	Arie (Belise): Wie viel Gefahren hat nicht des Königs Würde	No. 15 Arie (Belise): Ein König zu heissen
	Scene 3	Rec. (Teodoro, Gafforio): Segua pur ciò che vuol, son nell'impegno	(Theodor, Gafforio): Nein, ich lasse von meinem Unternehmen nicht ab!	
	Scene 4	(Teodoro, Taddeo, Lisetta): Quanta inquietezza e quanta – È dunque vero, o sire	(Theodor, Thaddäus, Lisette): Welche Unruhe mir das Königreich – Ist es wahr Herr	
	Scene 5	No. 18 Quartetto (Teodoro, Lisetta, Taddeo, Sandrino): Permetti, o mia Lisetta	Quartetto (Theodor, Lisette, Thaddäus, Sandrino): Du muss mir jetzt erlauben	No. 16 Quartett (Theodor, Thaddäo, Amanda, Sandrin): Zum Pfande meiner Treue
		Rec. (Sandrino): Intendesti, signor	Rec. (Sandrino): Verstehen Sie mich Herr	

Act	Scene	<i>Il Re Teodoro in Venezia</i> 1784, Vienna Libretto (Casti)	<i>Der König Theodor in Venedig</i> 1785, Cologne Libretto (Böhm)	<i>König Theodor in Venedig</i> 1788, Hamburg Libretto (D'Arien)
	Scene 6	(Sandrino, Lisetta): E quando fia che sopra il soglio assisa – E sin a quando ancor gl'insulti tuoi	(Sandrino, Lisette): Wenn wirst du also den Thron bestiegen? – Wie lang soll ich deine Anzüglichkeiten noch ertragen?	
		No. 19 Aria (Lisetta): Infedel! Tu pria m'inganni	Arie (Lisette): Da du mich erst hintergangen	No. 17 Arie (Amanda): Ha! Du magst mir Liebe Scherzen
	Scene 7	Rec. (Sandrino): Udite, udite come colei vanta innocenza!	(Sandrino): Geht, wie sie ihre Untreue vermaentlen will	
		No. 20 Aria (Sandrino): Voi semplici amanti	Arie (Sandrino): Ihr leichtgläubige Männer	No. 18 Rondò (Sandrino): Am seidenen Fädchen
	Scene 8	No. 21 (Coro): Chi brama viver lieto	(Chor): Wer scherzen will und lachen –	(Chor von Gondelführer): Herbey zum frohen Feste, Beym Säufeln kühler Weste
		Rec. (Taddeo, Teodoro, Acmet, Belisa, Lisetta, Gafforio): Che ve ne par, signori	(Lisette, Thaddäus): Mit diesen holden Blicken, kannst du mich ganz beglückten	(Amanda, Thaddaeo): Zauberende Harmonien, Reizende Melodien

Act	Scene	<i>Il Re Teodoro in Venezia</i> 1784, Vienna Libretto (Casti)	<i>Der König Theodor in Venedig</i> 1785, Cologne Libretto (Böhm)	<i>König Theodor in Venedig</i> 1788, Hamburg Libretto (D'Arien)
			Rec. (Thaddäus, Theodor, Belise, Lisette, Achmet, Gafforio): Herr! Wie gefallen Ihnen die Belustigungen dieses Landes?	(Chor von Gondelführer): Wenn sich der Sonne Feuer, Verbirgt im weiten Meer
	Scene 9	(Gafforio, Taddeo): Vedi, Taddeo, che grazie al cielo omai – Grandi rivoluzion da quel congresso	(Gafforio, Thaddäus): Siehst due Thaddäus, wie ich es ohne die geringste Beschwermiss – Ja ich sehe es vor	
		(Belisa, Taddeo, Acmet): Taddeo, scusa di grazia – Ti servirò Belisa	(Belise, Thaddäus, Achmet): Thaddäus geh einmal zum Canal – Ich bin zu Befehl	
	Scene 10	No. 22 Aria (Acmet): Tu servimi, e la mensa	(Achmet): Vollzieh sogleich die Befehle die Mahlzeit zu bereiten	No. 19 Arie (Achmet): Das Prächtigkeit, das Beste
		No. 23 (Coro): Chi brama viver lieto	(Chor): Wer scherzen will	
	Scene 11	Rec. (Taddeo): Mi comanda costui con tant'altura	Rec. (Thaddäus): Der Kerl befiehlt, als wenn ich sein Sklave wär.	

Act	Scene	<i>Il Re Teodoro in Venezia</i> 1784, Vienna Libretto (Casti)	<i>Der König Theodor in Venedig</i> 1785, Cologne Libretto (Böhm)	<i>König Theodor in Venedig</i> 1788, Hamburg Libretto (D'Arien)
		No. 24 Aria (Taddeo): Per onor farsi ammazzare!	Arie (Thaddäus): Sich aus Ruhm erschossen lassen	No. 20 Arie (Thaddäo): Kriegesruhm mir zu erwerben
		Rec. (Gafforio, Teodoro): Sire, tutto a seconda – Gafforio, io veggio ben che le speranze	(Gafforio, Theodor): Herr alles geht, wie wirs wünschen – Gafforio, ich sehe	
	Scene 12	No. 25 Aria (Teodoro – Sogno di ~): Non era ancora sorta l'aurora	Arie (Theodor): Noch war es finster/ Noch lag Aurora im Meere verborgen	No. 21 Arie (Theodor): Ich sank vor Kummer/ In trägen Schlummer
		Rec. (Gafforio): E sogni dunque, e spettri	(Gafforio): Wie? Träume und Gespenster, womit man Kinder	
	Scene 13	(Gafforio e Taddeo): Povero sire, inver mi fa pietà – Vieni, Taddeo, che appunto	(Gafforio, Thaddäus): Ein armer König – Der eingetreten	
	Scene 14	(Taddeo): Co'la sua flemma e gravità costui	(Thaddäus): Der kann mit seiner einfachen Laune	
		No. 26 Marcia (Lisetta): Inver altr'uomo, o genitor, mi sembri		

Act	Scene	<i>Il Re Teodoro in Venezia</i> 1784, Vienna Libretto (Casti)	<i>Der König Theodor in Venedig</i> 1785, Cologne Libretto (Böhm)	<i>König Theodor in Venedig</i> 1788, Hamburg Libretto (D'Arien)
		No. 27 Duetto (Lisetta, Taddeo): Cosa far pensi, o figlia	Duetto (Lisette, Thaddäus): Mein Vater, ihr scheint mir ganz ein anderer mann zu seyn	No. 22 Duett (Amanda, Thaddäo): Ja, Vater, ja, auf Ehre
	Scene 15	Rec. (Sandrino): Già fatto è colpo	Rec. (Sandrino): Die Sache ist wichtig (Sandrino, Thaddäus): Wie? – Holla!	
	Scene 16	No. 28 Finale (Acemt, Taddeo, Belisa): Olà, si serva tosto la mensa	Finale No. 2 (Achmet, Theodor, Thaddäus, Sandrino, Belise, Lisette): Holla man bereite sogleich das Essen	No. 23 Finale: Geschwind zu Tische!
	Scene 17	(Teodoro, Gafforio, Lisetta e detti): Addio, generale	(Gerichtsbote, Wache, vorige): Sie müssen eilends ohne Verwillen	(Der Schweizer): Ich nehm' euch gefangen
			(Alle): Wie ein Rad ist diese Welt	(Alle): Die Welt gleicht einem Rade
	Scene 18	(Messer Grande, tutti): D'ordin supremo, signor		
	Scene 19	(Teodoro): Questo squallido soggiorno		

Act	Scene	<i>Il Re Teodoro in Venezia</i> 1784, Vienna Libretto (Casti)	<i>Der König Theodor in Venedig</i> 1785, Cologne Libretto (Böhm)	<i>König Theodor in Venedig</i> 1788, Hamburg Libretto (D'Arien)
	Scene 20	(Belisa, Gafforio, Teodoro, Taddeo, Lisetta, Sandrino, Acmet): Ah te 'l diss'io, fratello		
		(Tutti): Come una ruota è il mondo		

D.2 Slg. Kestner/I/C/II/235/Nr. 1

Letter from Lippert to Grossmann (10 March 1784)⁵⁵⁹

1784.

Gefundenes hochachtungsvolles Brev.
 Friedrich Carl Lippert
 Hofmeister in. ^{Wien} ~~Wien~~

Es ist mir 4^{ten} dieses Monats durch Herrn
 Commissions Rath Schmidt an Sie, und ich
 an Herrn Zimdan in Antroff mein Enga-
 gement bey ihrem Gesellschaft; die Requisition
 seit dem Posten bey gegenseitigen Absatzzeit
 laßt mich fürchten, daß meine Arbeit nicht
 werden kann nicht, oder wenigstens nicht zu
 rechten Zeit abzugeben: nun in beiden Fällen
 nicht zu sagen, was für Schaden nach dem
 die Fortsetzung ist zu besorgen, das ich nun
 eine Ausweisung meines Reisesoldes unter
 der Adresse des Herrn Commissions Rath
 Schmidt von ihm habe, um unter
 dem in meinem ersten Brief gezeigten

Kops.
 Nr. 200. 2 Stück

⁵⁵⁹ D-LEmi Slg. Kestner/I/C/II/235/Nr. 1, Mappe 235, Blatt Nr. 1

I am indebted to Frau Susanne Dietel from the Sondersammlung of the Leipzig Universitätsbibliothek for making the digitised copies of letters from Mappe 235 and 37 available.

Endigungen abzuschneiden.

Das man man nicht in der Kunst liebt, und in der
 Folge geliebt haben würde, so ist man in
 sich selbst ein unruhiger Knecht zu sein, so
 voran ist ein gleich Anfangs nachfließen in die
 Zukunft, und ist ein Fortschritt in der Direction
 unruhig, und ist ein Fortschritt in der Direction
 unter den Umständen eines hohen Standes
 zum, stellen den Status zu verbessern,
 mit der größten Befugnis, so ist es
 Befugnisse, um ihm bald zeigen zu kön-
 nen, das sein Fortschritt nicht zu
 viel wagt, wenn man ein Brauchbar,
 ist gut, so ist ein Fortschritt in der
 Haltung

Etienne de la Roche
 1784

Ihr ergebener
 Friedensliebender
 Diener
 III

D.2.1 Transcription

Insonders Hochgeehrtester Herr. Schon den 4.^{ten} dieses Monats schrieb Herr

Komissions Rath Schmidt an Sie, und ich an Herrn Zimdar in Betreff meines Engagement bey ihrer Gesellschaft; die Unsicherheit der Posten bey gegenwärtiger Jahrszeit läst mich fürchten, daß unsere Briefe entweder gar nicht, oder wenigstens nicht zur rechten Zeit angekōmen: um in beiden Fällen sicher zu seyn, nehm ich mir noch einmahl die Freiheit ihnen zu berichten, daß ich nur eine Anweisung meines Reisegelds unter der Adresse des Herrn Commissions Rath Schmidt von ihnen erwarte, um unter denen in meinen ersten Brief gemachten

(p.2)

Bedingungen abzureißen.

So sehr man mich in Preßburg liebte, und in dort Folge geliebt haben würde, so sehr man in mich drang meinen Kontrakt zu erneuern so war ich doch gleich Anfangs entschlossen mein Talentunter ihrer vortrefflichen Direction auszubilden, und es um keinen Freis unter den Stümpereien einer hochelenden Veranstalter der Natur zu vergraben, mit der großen Sehnsucht erwarte ich ihre Verfügungen, um ihnen bald zeigen zu können, daß mein Freund Zimdar nicht zu viel wagte, wenn ich für mein Brauchbarkeit gutragte. Ich bin mit der größten Hochachtung

Wienn d 10t März

1784.

Ihr ergebenster Diener-

Friedrich Karl Lippert.

D.2.2 Translation

Most Honourable Sir. Already on the 4th of this month, the Commission Counsel Mr. Schmidt wrote to you, and I wrote to Mr. Zimdar, concerning my engagement with your troupe; the uncertainty of the post at the present time of year makes me fear that our letters will either not arrive at all, or at least not at the right time: in order to be sure in both cases, I take the liberty once again to report to you that I have only received a transfer of my fee at the address of the Commission Counsel, Mr. Schmidt, in order to leave under the conditions stated in my first letter.

As much as they loved me in Pressburg and would have loved to have me in the future, and as much as they urged me to renew my contract, I was determined right from the start to develop my talent under your excellent direction and not to bury it at any price under the stupidity of a miserable organizer of nature. I await your orders with great longing in order to be able to show you soon that my friend Zimdar did not risk too much when he was standing up for my usefulness. With the greatest respect.

Vienna, 10 March

Your most devoted servant

1784

Friedrich Karl Lippert

D.3 Slg. Kestner/I/C/II/235/Nr. 2

Letter from Lippert to Grossmann (24 March 1784)⁵⁶⁰

Lippert 2 Wien d. 24^{ten} März
1784

ges. von wofield ich für gütige Zuschrift vom 13^{ten}
 dieses Monats; mit dem größten Vergnügen
 las ich die br. Sättigung, das unsre Freunde
 Männer von derartigen Gattung sind, die
 jedes Handlung Eitelkeit und Leichtfertigkeit
 seit vorübergehenden Euphorien
 ganz zu überwinden, soll von nun an unsre
 Liebe und Liebe, die Pflicht sein.

Ich selbst bis vor in Ozean bloß Comis Collen
 al in Zentrale und Azor, den Ali, im Defe-
 teur den General-Maon, in des Plauen
 Magd, den Französischen Freund Riggo, in
 der Ozean, vom zweijährigen, seit jäh
 Ditt, den Mingone, in Lustigen
 Chevaliers und sein Bedient, den Franzosen
 junge Larven und Gedanken, man mußte
 auf Liebhaber die in Comis fiele, und
 faden. in Ozean geistlichen Comis Collen,
 al den Moson in der Verbesserung zu Gouin,
 den Gofmass in König Lear.

⁵⁶⁰ D-LEmi Slg. Kestner/I/C/II/235/Nr. 1, Mappe 235, Blatt Nr. 2

Ihre Thätigkeit, an dem die die Güte setzen
 und wegen meines Reisegeld zu adressieren.
~~Ich~~ befindet sich in dem in dem
 ich erwarte, ob Madame de la Roche in dem
 seit ich Mannet liegt gestiftet über
 sich zu sein wird, ich habe ^{mir} ^{ihnen} ^{lieber}
 sehr lob auf die Vermittlung der
 Commissions Cath. de la Roche.

In der Hoffnung Ihnen bald persönlich
 zeigen zu können, dass die die Kommission
 in Paris laßt, um ich mit der großen
 Beförderung

Ihre ergebene
 Diener J. A. de la Roche
 L.

ich würde, ob als ein
 ich besonders Güte
 anzufer, wenn die die,
 Versammlung zu Gonna
 mit unter meine Debut
 Rollen gehen.

D.3.1 Transcription of Nr. 2

Wienn d. 24t Merz

1784.

Gestern erhielt ich Euer gütige Zuschrift vom 13ten dieses Monats, mit dem größten Vergnügen laß ich die Bestätigung, daß meine Freunde Männer von derjenigen Gattung sind die jeder Handlung Eilelmuth und Rochtschaffenheit voraussetzen: diesen Empfehlungen ganz zu entsprechen, soll von nun an mein erste und liebste Pflicht seyn.

ich spielte bisher in Opern blos komische Rollen als in *Zemire und Azor*, den Ali, im *Deserteur* den Himels Starm, in der *Schönen Magd*, den Französischen Schneider Riggo, in der Oper, *Wenn zwey sich zanken, freut sich der Dritte*, den Mingone, in Lustspielen *Chevaliers und sein Bediente*, deutsch-franzosen junge Bauern und Pedanten, manchmals auch Liebhaber und komische Fichten, und Juden. in Trauerspielen spiele ich Rollen als den Mohren in der *Verschwörung zu Genua*, den Hof Narrn im *König Lear*.

(p.2)

Herr Schröder, an den Sie die Gute hatten mich wegen meinen Reise Geld zu adressieren befindet sich dermalen in Hamburg. ich weiß nicht, ob Madame Schröder in Abwesenheit ihres Mannes dieses Geschäft über sich nehmen wird, ich verlasse mich in dieser Sacht blos auf die Vermittlung des Hl. Commissions Rath Scheidt. In der Hoffnung Ihnen bald persönlich zeigen zu können, daß Sie die Katze nicht im Sacke kauften, bin ich mit der großen Hochachtung

Ihr ergebenster

Diener F. K. Lippert.

ich würd' es als ein Zeichen ihrer besonderen Güte ansehen, wenn Sie die *Verschwörung zu Genua* mit unter mein Debut Rollen setzten.

D.3.2 Translation of Nr. 2

Yesterday I received your kind letter of the 13th of this month, with the greatest pleasure to receive the confirmation that my friends are men of that kind, who consider every action with alacrity and diligence: to comply with these recommendations shall from now on be my first and dearest duty. I have so far played only comic roles in operas such Ali in *Zemire und Azor*, Himels Starm in *Deserteur*, the French tailor Riggo in the *Die schöne Magd*, the Mingone in the opera *Wenn zwey sich zanken, freue sich der Dritte*, in the comedy *Chevaliers und sein Bediente*, German-French young peasants and pedants, sometimes also lovers and comic [sidekicks] and Jews. In tragedies, I play roles such as the Moor in *Verschwörung zu Genua*, the court jester in *König Lear*. Mr. Schröder, to whom you were good enough to address me about my travel money is currently in Hamburg. I do not know whether Madame Schröder will take over this business in the absence of her husband. I am relying solely on the mediation of the commissions Rath Schmidt. In the hope of soon being able to show you personally that you did not buy a pig in a poke, I am here with great high esteem.

Your most devoted

servant F. K. Lippert.

I would take it as a sign of your special kindness if you were to investigate the *Verschwörung zu Genua* among my debut roles.

D.4 Slg. Kestner/I/C/III/37/Nr. 6

Letter from Böhm to Grossmann (04 April 1788)⁵⁶¹

6

Böhm

Ein Kündemal habe ich nicht, so wie auch
 Littere päriqf nicht.

Wenigstens so folgt. Das Lese
 aber, das auch das Wollen gesungen
 wird, id. bey und in der unbegleiteten.
 Wollen die ich haben, so will ich ich
 nicht schreiben lassen und das dazu ge:
 forigen kann.

Diez ist jede Litteratur dem
 geistlichen Pöndem, das id. ist die Koll.
 die gewöhnlichen Gesungen, sind 10,
 20 bis 50 R. und das Abbonement
 abend.

Diez ist die Landgrafen, die
 könnte man nicht doch nach dem
 ich bin mit dem
 J. J.

Am 4 April
 1788.

an gebornen Lese
 J. J.

⁵⁶¹ D-LEmi Slg. Kestner/I/C/III/37/Nr. 6

D.4.1 Transcription

Die Vendemmie habe ich nicht, so wie auch *Pittore parigiano* nicht. *König Theodor* folgt. Der Chor aber der auf der Brücke gesungen wird, ist bey uns immer ausgeblieben. Wollen Sie ihn haben, so will ich ihn ausschreiben lassen mit der dazu gehörigen Scene.

Hier thut jede Witterung dem Theater Schaden, denn es ist wie Voll die gewöhnlichen Einnahmen, sind 10, 20 bis 30 X. und das Abbonement elend.

Ohne des Hn. Landgrafen Beytrag könnte man nicht troknes Brod essen. Ich bin mit große Achtung

Ihr

ergebenster Böhm

Kassel den 4 April

1788.

D.4.2 Translation

I do not have the *Vendemmie*, just as I do not have *Pittore parigiano*. *König Theodor* follows. The chorus, however, which is sung on the bridge, has always been missing. If you want to have it, I will have it written out with the corresponding scene.

Here, every weather condition harms the theatre, for it is like the total usual income is 10, 20 to 30 Kreuzer and the subscription is miserable.

Without the Landgrave's contribution, one would not be even eating dry bread.

Yours

most devoted Böhm

Kassel 4 April

1788.

D.5 'Occhietto furbetto' from Act I, Scene 10 of *L'arbore di Diana* in different translations (1788-1802)⁵⁶²

<i>L'arbore di Diana</i> , Act I, Scene 10 1787, Vienna (Da Ponte)	<i>Der Baum der Diana</i> , Act 1, Szene 10 1788, Vienna (Eberl)	<i>Arien aus der Opera Arbore di Diana</i> , Act I, No 15 Duetto 1789, Pest (Girzik)	<i>Gesänge aus dem Singspiel Der Baum der Diana</i> , Act I, No. 17 Duett 1792, Hamburg (D'Arien)	<i>Der Baum der Diana</i> , Act I, Scene 11 n.d., Oels (Neefe)	<i>Der Baum der Diana</i> , Act I, No. 15 Duo n.d., Bonn (Neefe, piano reduction)	<i>Der Baum der Diana</i> , Act I, Scene 10 1802, Vienna (unknown)
Amore: Occhietto furbetto, che cosa m'hai detto baciandomi qui?	Amor. Was sagt dieser Blicke, Voll schelmischer Tücke, mir küssend so frey;	Am. Die schmachtenden Blicke – verrathen dein Herze, Du küset so heiß.	Amor. Du Schmeichler voll Tücke, mit Handkuss und Blicke, was sagst du mir da?	Amor. Du schelmisches Auge, Was hast du gesprochen? Was sagt dein Kuss?	Amor. Du Schmeichler voll Tücke, mit Handkuss und Blicke, was sagst du mir da?	Amor. Dies Auge voll Tücke–Dies Feuer im Blicke – Wozu find sie da?

⁵⁶² 1787 Vienna libretto: *L'arbore di Diana: Dramma giocoso in due atti* (Vienna: Kurzbeck, 1788), p. 27-28. A-Wn 32548-A MUS MAG.

1788 Vienna libretto (Eberl): *Der Baum der Diana: Ein heroisch-komisches Singspiel in zwey Aufzügen* (Vienna: n.p., 1788), p. 41-42. A-Wn 50943-A MUS MAG.

1789 Pest libretto: *Arien aus der Opera Arbore di Diana/ Der Baum der Diana. Eine komische Opera in 2 Aufzügen. Für das deutsche Theater bearbeitet von Girzick, Mitglied dieser Operngesellschaft.* (Pest: Patzho, 1789), p.11-12. A-Wn 625755-A THE MAG.

1792 Hamburg libretto: *Gesänge aus dem Singspiele: Der Baum der Diana in zwey Aufzügen nach dem Italienischen des Abbe da Ponte von D'Arien.* (Hamburg: Johannes Michaelson, 1792), p.14-16. US-Wc ML48 [S6002].

n.d. Oels libretto (Neefe): *Der Baum der Diana. Eine komische Oper in zwey Aufzügen Nach der Musik des Kapellmeisters Martini aus dem Italienischen ins Deutsche übersetzt von C.G. Neefe.* (Oels: Samuel Gottlieb Ludwig, n.d.), p. 30-32. D-B 1 an: Mus. Td 399.

n.d., Bonn piano reduction: *L'arbore de Diana. Der Baum der Diana. Eine comische Oper in 2 Acten von Vincenz Martin. Für Clavier eingerichtet von Christian Gottlieb Neefe.* (Bonn: Bei N. Simrock, 1796) p. 65-69. A-Wn MS10968-qu.4° MUS MAG.

1802 Vienna libretto: *Der Baum der Diana: Eine heroisch komische Oper in zwey Aufzügen* (Vienna: Wallishausser, 1802), p. 30-31. A-Wn 3174-A MUS MAG.

Appendix D

<i>L'arbore di Diana, Act I, Scene 10</i> 1787, Vienna (Da Ponte)	<i>Der Baum der Diana, Act 1, Szene 10</i> 1788, Vienna (Eberl)	<i>Arien aus der Opera Arbore di Diana, Act I, No 15</i> Duetto 1789, Pest (Girzik)	<i>Gesänge aus dem Singspiel Der Baum der Diana, Act I, No. 17 Duett</i> 1792, Hamburg (D'Arien)	<i>Der Baum der Diana, Act I, Scene 11</i> n.d., Oels (Neefe)	<i>Der Baum der Diana, Act I, No. 15</i> Duo n.d., Bonn (Neefe, piano reduction)	<i>Der Baum der Diana, Act I, Scene 10</i> 1802, Vienna (unknown)
Doristo: Se furba tu sei, capire lo dei.	Doristo. Soll Schelminn ichs nennen, Willst du es nicht kennen?	Dor. Ha zärtliche Kose, verstehst du das Küssen? Verstehst du das Drücken?	Doristo. Bist Tochter der Liebe, und kennst nicht die Triebe?	Dorist. Mein Auge sprach Liebe; Mein Kuss soll dir sagen: Du habest mein Herz.	Doristo. Bist Tochter der Liebe, und kennst nicht die Triebe?	Doristo. Du darfst mich nur sehen, So musst du's verstehen –
Amore: Capisco, sì, sì.	Amor. Nicht kennen, nicht kennen, Nicht kennen, ey, ey!	Am. [verstehst schon] Ja Ja	Amor. Ich kenne, ich kenn sie ja ja	Amor. Ganz wohl! Ich versteh dich.	Amor. Ich kenne, ich kenn sie ja ja.	Amor. Versteh dich, ja, ja.
Doristo: Ebben, che diss'io?	Doristo. Nun gut, und was sagt ich?	Dor. Nun gut – nun was wollt ich?	Doristo. Laß hören, was sagt ich?	Dorist. Was soll ich noch sagen?	Doristo. Wohlan nun was sagt ich?	Doristo. So lass mich es wissen
Amore: Che sei l'idol mio.	Amor. Du sagtest: ich liebe dich!	Am. Dich Schätzen zu lieben	Amor. Du sey'st mir ergeben	Amor. Du seyst mein einziger Abgott –	Amor. Seyst mir ergeben	Amor. Du möchtest mich küssen

<i>L'arbore di Diana, Act I, Scene 10</i> 1787, Vienna (Da Ponte)	<i>Der Baum der Diana, Act 1, Szene 10</i> 1788, Vienna (Eberl)	<i>Arien aus der Opera Arbore di Diana, Act I, No 15</i> Duetto 1789, Pest (Girzik)	<i>Gesänge aus dem Singspiel Der Baum der Diana, Act I, No. 17 Duett</i> 1792, Hamburg (D'Arien)	<i>Der Baum der Diana, Act I, Scene 11</i> n.d., Oels (Neeffe)	<i>Der Baum der Diana, Act I, No. 15</i> Duo n.d., Bonn (Neeffe, piano reduction)	<i>Der Baum der Diana, Act I, Scene 10</i> 1802, Vienna (unknown)
Doristo: E poi?	Doristo. Und weiter!	Dor. Und weiter	Doristo. Und weiter?	Dorist. Was weiter?	Doristo. Und weiter?	Doristo. Und weiter?
Amore: Che vorresti ..	Amor. Daß du wolltest.	Am. Deine Wünsche	Amor. Sey ruhig.	Amor. Dass du wünschest –	Amor. Jetzt sey ruhig.	Amor. O du möchtest
Doristo: E poi?	Doristo. Und weiter!	Dor. Und weiter	Doristo. Und weiter?	Dorist. Was weiter?	Doristo. Und weiter?	Doristo. Und weiter?
Amore: Che faresti..	Amor. Daß du möchtest-	Am. Zu genießen – ja du wünschest ja du wolltest das Vergnügen		Amor. Dass du möchtest –		Amor. Und du wünschest - -
Doristo, Amore: Ah, taci, mio bene, ah, basta così.	Zusammen. O schweige liebe Seele, Mein Herz ist zu voll	Zus. Ach schweige liebes Schätzchen, Du sagest genug.	Amor. Sey gescheuter, Mein Liebling mein Leben bald wirst du mein	Beyde. O schweige, mein Leben! Dies ist schon genug.	Amor. Sey gescheider, Mein Liebling mein Leben bald wirst du mein	Ich schweige mein Herzchen, Ich rathe zu nah.

Appendix D

<i>L'arbore di Diana, Act I, Scene 10</i> 1787, Vienna (Da Ponte)	<i>Der Baum der Diana, Act 1, Szene 10</i> 1788, Vienna (Eberl)	<i>Arien aus der Opera Arbore di Diana, Act I, No 15</i> Duetto 1789, Pest (Girzik)	<i>Gesänge aus dem Singspiel Der Baum der Diana, Act I, No. 17 Duett</i> 1792, Hamburg (D'Arien)	<i>Der Baum der Diana, Act I, Scene 11</i> n.d., Oels (Neeffe)	<i>Der Baum der Diana, Act I, No. 15 Duo</i> n.d., Bonn (Neeffe, piano reduction)	<i>Der Baum der Diana, Act I, Scene 10</i> 1802, Vienna (unknown)
Doristo: La mano gradita, anch'io ti vo dar.	Doristo: O laß mich dir geben Dieß Herz und die Hand.	Dor. Hier hast du zum Pfande mein Herz, meine Hand	Dor. Was möchte' ich drum gehen, schon jetzt es zu sein. O reich mir zur Freude das Händchen zu Kuss.	Dorist. Ich reiche meine Hand dir mit Freuden auch dar.	Dor. Was möchte' ich drum gehen, schon jetzt es zu sein. O reich mir zur Freude das Händchen zu Kuss	Doristo. Ich will die nun geben, Zum Pfande die Hand
Amore: Fa presto, mia vita, che anch'io vo baciar.	Amor. Komm hurtig mein Leben Zu küssen dieß Hand;	Am. Geschwinde mein Geliebter, beglücke mich bald	Amor. Da nimm es, nur meide zu öfteren Genuss.	Amor. Lass fest mir sie drücken Die liebliche Hand!	Amor. Da nimm es, nur meide zu öfteren Genuss.	Amor. Mach hurtig, mein Leben, Ich küsse das Pfand.
Doristo: Ah, come tu tremi!	Doristo. Wie bist du erschüttert!	Dor. Wie bebet dein Busen?	Dor. O Wollust! – o Freude!	Dorist. Wie? Liebchen du zitterst?	Dor. Wie Freude das Händchen zum Kuss. O Wollust! – o Freude!	Doristo. Du zitterst, du sagst?
Amore: Cor mio, di che temi?	Amor. Fühl lieber wies zittert.	Am. Du zitterst mein Geliebter?	Am. Wie glücklich sind wir beyde!	Amor. Mein Herzchen, was hebst du?	Am. Wie glücklich sind wir beyde!	

<i>L'arbore di Diana, Act I, Scene 10</i> 1787, Vienna (Da Ponte)	<i>Der Baum der Diana, Act 1, Szene 10</i> 1788, Vienna (Eberl)	<i>Arien aus der Opera Arbore di Diana, Act I, No 15</i> Duetto 1789, Pest (Girzik)	<i>Gesänge aus dem Singspiel Der Baum der Diana, Act I, No. 17 Duett</i> 1792, Hamburg (D'Arien)	<i>Der Baum der Diana, Act I, Scene 11</i> n.d., Oels (Neefe)	<i>Der Baum der Diana, Act I, No. 15</i> Duo n.d., Bonn (Neefe, piano reduction)	<i>Der Baum der Diana, Act I, Scene 10</i> 1802, Vienna (unknown)
Doristo: Che caldo, che caldo!	Doristo. Wie wird mir so warme.	Dor. Ich glühe vor Wonne	Dor. Blut färbt mir die Wangen.	Dorist. Grosse Hitze!	Dor. Blut färbt mir die Wangen.	Doristo. Ich glühe, wie Kohlen –
Amore: Stà saldo stà saldo, e lasciami far (Da capo)	Amor. Komm hurtig in die Arme zu knüpfen dieß Hand. (Amor ab)	Am. Du glühest du bebest – dein Glücke ist gemacht	Amor. Bezähm dein Verlangen, Das Glücke ist dir nah!	Amor. Sei ruhig! Verlass dich auch mich!(ab)	Amor. Bezähm dein Verlangen, Das Glücke ist dir nah	Amor. Du wirst dich erholen – Lass ich deine Hand –
						Doristo. O schweige mein Herz, Du rathest zu nah. (Amor ab)

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