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T H E N A T I O N A L S I N G S P I E L I N V I E N N A

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Submitted for the degree of Ph.D. at the University of Durham by

ELIZABETH MANNING

April 1975

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A B S T R A C T

The Nationalsingspiel was established in Vienna in 1778 by the Emperor Joseph II of Austria but foundered only a few years later. This thesis sets out to examine the reasons for its failure.

First, it places the Viennese Singspiel in context, for, like its North German counterpart which it resembled in form and content if not in character, its development was influenced by the Italian opera buffa, French opéra comique and English ballad opera. Second, the genre is considered in relation to the social and political climate of the time. During his reign Joseph instigated many reforms, which had two main objectives: to improve the standard of living of the lower classes and to create a strong, unified German nation. The Nationalsingspiel contributed to these ends for Joseph wanted all classes of society to visit his theatre and also to encourage his subjects' appreciation of the German language.

The whole enterprise of the Nationalsingspiel is discussed from 1778 to 1783 when it was first disbanded, and reference is also made to the period from 1785 to 1788 when an attempt was made to revive it. Consideration is given to the Emperor's part in the venture and the administration of the theatre, and each theatre season is examined in detail, taking into account the works presented and the standard of performance.

The music to these operas forms the basis of this thesis. Die Entführung aus dem Serail, which Mozart composed especially

for the Nationalsingspiel, serves as a model with which to compare other operas written for the same project. A detailed analysis of the type of musical number and use of the orchestra in these works not only accounts in part for the failure of the National-singspiel but also presents Mozart's opera in an unfamiliar yet important context.

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

Opera in Europe at the beginning of the eighteenth century was essentially an entertainment for the higher classes of society. It sought successfully to elicit feelings of wonderment from the audience, transcending daily life with stories of the supernatural, lavish stage scenery and exquisite music which, especially in the case of Italian opera, provided the singers with frequent opportunities for vocal display.

The supremacy of such large-scale operas was not to continue unrivalled, for the eighteenth century saw the emergence of smaller forms of opera in Italy, England, France and Germany, which despite similarities displayed individual national characteristics.

The Italian intermezzo was the first of these smaller forms to emerge in the early years of the century. Initially performed between the acts of the principal opera, the intermezzo, with its humour and light plot, eventually became an independent art-form and developed into the sophisticated opera buffa. The intermezzo was not a reaction against the grand opera seria or even an alternative form of entertainment, for at its initial stage of development both types of opera could be seen on the same occasion.

The position in England was very different. The opera-going public, not having a national opera of its own and generally weary of the supremacy and intrigues of Italian opera in London, eagerly transferred its support to Gay's Beggar's Opera which first appeared in 1728. This work, patronized by upper and lower classes alike, was the first of many ballad operas which were a reaction against the

operas of Handel and his contemporaries. The Beggar's Opera was significant not primarily because it presented a satire of Italian opera of the day but because it could be enjoyed by the public at large; it was in English, depicted scenes of everyday life and, more importantly, included tunes which could be easily exploited and sung by the public.

The French opéra comique shared these features in common with the English ballad opera (except for the language) but its roots went deeper. The opéras comiques of Favart in the 1740s evolved from the improvised plays which had been presented in the Parisian fairgrounds since the sixteenth century. Unlike England, France was not under the sway of Italian opera seria for she had her own form of large-scale opera, which was patronized by the court and nobility; the tragédie-lyrique of Lully and later Rameau. Thus the opéra comique was not so much a reaction against the works of Lully and his successors as an alternative form of entertainment which could be enjoyed by the general public. If there was any reaction to the Lullian opera it was provided by the guerre des bouffons which raged fiercely in Paris in the 1750s. This controversy was not concerned with the relative merits of the Lullian opera and the newly established opéra comique but with those of the Lullian opera and the Italian opera buffa which was rapidly gaining in popularity.

The German Singspiel developed later than its counterparts in Italy, England and France. Like England, Germany had little or no operatic culture of its own¹ and was open to foreign influences.

1 The attempt to establish a national school of opera in Hamburg had foundered in 1738.

Whereas England had a cultural centre in London, Germany was divided into numerous small states, most of which boasted their own court orchestra and composers. Germany also differed from England in that the Singspiel was not nationally conceived, as was the ballad opera. Indeed, the Singspiel owed its conception to the smaller forms of opera established in England and France earlier in the eighteenth century, and this accounts for its relatively late development.²

The popularity in the 1760s of Hiller's Singspiele was due to the same factors which had endeared the opéra comique and ballad opera to the French and English public; the simple plots, frequently in a pastoral setting, the use of spoken dialogue, the element of comedy, and, once again, the songs. It should be remembered that at this stage in its development the Singspiel, like the early opéra comique and ballad opera, was essentially a play with music performed by actors and not professional singers. It was not until later, as in France for example, that the music became more sophisticated. But it was not just because the performers were incapable of singing anything complex which made the song the most important feature of the early Singspiele. The development of the Singspiel coincided with the Seven Years' War, and the genre provided a welcome diversion with its easily understandable and often humorous plots. This humour was largely embodied in the songs. C. F. Weisse, author of many of the texts which Hiller set to music,

2 The influence of the opéra comique and ballad opera on the North German Singspiel has been traced by Georgy Calmus, Die ersten deutschen Singspiele von Standfuss und Hiller (Leipzig, 1908)

did not underestimate the significance of das kleine gesellschaftliche Lied for in the preface to the first volume of his collected comic operas he wrote:

Nothing enlivens and inspires people more than a playful merry song, sung by a number of people
The most suitable vehicle for such a form is comic opera for it soon results in³ the song being sung by the public in general ...

Moreover these songs gave the Germans a sense of nationality which they had previously lacked. Indeed many of these numbers were subsequently adopted as German folk-songs.

Under Hiller and his successors, among them Neefe, Beecke and Holly, the North German Singspiel flourished and assumed greater refinement. In short, the music grew to be at least as important as the libretto.

It is significant that these mid-eighteenth century works never found favour in Vienna. The Viennese Singspiel emerged even later than its North German counterpart, for it was not until 1778, with the establishment of a Nationalsingspiel by the Emperor Joseph II, that the form attracted the interest of Viennese composers.

Several factors affected the style and content of the Viennese Singspiel, ranging from the social climate and the reforms of Joseph II to the distinctive musical traditions in the city and not least to the character of the Viennese people. It is proposed in this thesis to investigate the setting-up of the Nationalsingspiel

3 Christian F. Weisse, Komische Opern, Vol.I (Leipzig 1777), Preface

in Vienna, to relate the works given there to the types of opera already described in this chapter and to evaluate the reasons for its ultimate failure, taking into account the various factors mentioned above.

CHAPTER ONE

A The Historical Background

The tombs of all the Habsburg family are to be found in the Capuzinergruft under the Augustinerkirche in Vienna. Prominent in the middle of this crypt stands the highly ornate tomb of Maria Theresa who ruled the Habsburg empire from 1740 until her death in 1780. In its shadow a very simple tomb contrasts sharply with the flamboyance of that of the Empress; this marks the burial place of her first son, the Emperor Joseph II who ruled from 1765 to 1791, for the first fifteen years sharing power with his mother. It is noteworthy how accurately the contrast in these monuments mirrors the very different characters and life-styles of the two monarchs.

Maria Theresa is remembered today with greater veneration than her son. She lived at a time when Austria was weakened by wars particularly by the war of the Polish Succession (1733-35) and by that with the Porte (1737-39). The high cost of training and maintaining an army resulted in a heavy drain upon the country's financial resources and a consequent accumulation of large debts. It has been estimated that, at her accession in 1740, the total national debt amounted to 50 million Gulden, a sum which had risen to 160 million by 1747.¹

The wars were fought and paid for mainly by the peasants, who were both poverty-stricken through paying exorbitant rents and physically

1 Edith M. Link, The Emancipation of the Austrian Peasant 1740-1798 (New York, 1949), p.35

ill-equipped because of the exhausting and humiliating compulsory labour to which they were subjected.

Only a handful of my parishioners have bread all the year round. To pay their rent and taxes they sell what wheat and rye they harvest and live on maize, oats and millet - many go to bed² in damp clothes and have neither sheets nor blankets.

On the whole the peasants were resigned to this dreadful life. There had been a major uprising in the previous century during the Thirty Years' War, but the brutal force employed to crush it discouraged further demonstration. The peasant was not allowed to sell, mortgage or divide his land without permission from his lord, and the nobility claimed the right to convert peasant land into noble land and, conversely, noble land into peasant land. Nor was the peasant's life confined merely to tilling the soil; driving coaches and running errands were part of his daily chores also. Frequently the cost of the nobility's luxurious tastes had to be met by increased rents and the peasant was evicted if he was unable to pay.

Joseph II's career was remarkable for the number of reforms which he instituted after his accession. Although some were effected in collaboration with his mother, some writers maintain that these improvements were Joseph's alone and that Maria Theresa was highly reluctant to move in the direction of reformatory legislation.³ However, before

2 Attributed to Hans Pirchegger by Robert Pick, *Empress Maria Theresa; the earlier years, 1717-1757* (London, 1966), p.161.

3 This is the attitude adopted by Saul K. Padover in his book, *The Revolutionary Emperor: Joseph II of Austria* (London, 1967).

the co-regency she endeavoured to relieve the lower classes of some of their burdens. The first anomaly to be tackled was the system of taxation. Prior to 1748 the nobility was exempt from paying tax, but in this year Maria Theresa risked the displeasure of the aristocracy, on whom she largely depended for her power, by instituting a Sistemal-patent which ensured that the nobility was also eligible for tax. The money was to be collected on the 21st of each month, but difficulties arose as collectors were frequently guilty of embezzlement. Moreover, the nobility was still the executor of justice and consequently found devious means to avoid payment. Yet, despite such drawbacks, the new patent was on the whole successful. Two years before her death, Maria Theresa introduced a law restricting the peasant's working week to three ^{for every overlord} days, a measure which helped to restore some of their self-respect.

At the direction of Joseph, the Empress reluctantly widened the scope of education. Teaching had been mainly in the hands of the Jesuits; but when in 1773 after years of controversy this powerful, and by that time, dissolute order was banned by the Pope it was necessary to create a new educational system to fill the gap left by their departure. In 1774 education was brought under state control and the narrow curriculum of Law and Theology was widened to include the study of sciences. Education in rural areas was made compulsory and peasant children were given 'elementary lessons and notions of rural economy, agriculture, feeding and maintenance of animals, veterinary arts, and all the activities most necessary to the country'.⁴

4 Adolf Beer (Ed.), 'Denkschrift des Fürsten Kaunitz', Archiv für Oesterreichische Geschichte, Vol. XLVIII (Vienna, 1872), p.103. Quoted in Link, op.cit, p.75.

At first sight it appears that such measures were designed to help the peasantry alone, but it is evident that the state as a whole reaped the benefit. The reduction in the yield from peasant taxation was more than compensated by the levies on the nobility, and thus the empire's financial position grew stronger. The amelioration of the peasant's standard of living led to better results from his labour, which was also to the state's advantage. These actions followed the philosophy of physiocracy, a popular belief in the eighteenth century, which holds 'that the land is all the source of wealth and must be the first solicitude of the state'.⁵

Joseph's adherence to this philosophy was noted by a contemporary:

By a thorough reform to curb the power and positions of the nobility and church, in order to make the remaining citizens equal [he aimed] to improve the positions of citizens and peasants and, in so doing, to render the state more profitable.⁶

The difference however between Joseph's and his mother's interpretation of this philosophy lay in the use of the word 'equal', for Maria Theresa had no real intention of altering the existing social structure. Joseph had first-hand knowledge of the conditions in which his subjects lived for he made many travels in his dominions under the assumed name of Count Falckenstein. Maria Theresa would never have felt moved to pray as Joseph did: 'Hasten everything that brings me nearer to the

5 Carlile A. Macartney, The Social Revolution in Austria (Cambridge, 1926), p.170

6 Vertraute Briefe zur Charakteristik von Wien, Vol.II (Görlitz, 1793), 18th letter, p.181.

accomplishment of my plans for the happiness of my people'.⁷

It is interesting that of all Maria Theresa's reforms, the so-called 'Chastity Commission' was perhaps her most famous, for this decreed that no girl should walk in the street alone. Podevil, the Prussian envoy in Vienna, noted in his Diplomatische Berichte that:

The Empress has also decreed that every opera singer who receives a young man in her lodgings will be shipped to a convent ... and her visitor removed from Vienna and banished for good.⁸

Steps such as these, although they might appear trivial, may well have had a good effect on the manners of the Viennese. In 1779 John Moore, a contemporary English observer, wrote that, 'In no capital could [a young gentleman] see fewer examples of or have fewer opportunities for deep gaming, open profligacy, or gross debauchery'.⁹

Some thought that Maria Theresa's Chastity Commission was a personal reaction to the flirtations of her husband, Francis; but despite his amorous adventures Maria Theresa was genuinely grieved at his death in 1765. It was following this, on 17 November of that year, that Joseph was appointed co-regent with his mother, creating an uneasy partnership which lasted for fifteen years.

7 Attributed by Padover, op.cit., p.198, to Joseph to Tobias von Gebler (1726-86) on the occasion of the edict issued on 1 September 1781 to free the serfs.

8 Quoted in Pick, op.cit., p.163.

9 John Moore, A View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland and Germany, Vol.II (London, 1779) pp.313-314.

At that time French culture pervaded many German courts. The Thirty Years' War had had disastrous effects upon German culture and had made it very prone to foreign influences. Geographical proximity resulted in the influences of France being felt more in the North and those of Italy in the South. The Duchess of Orléans wrote to her sister Louise in October 1720, 'Today the Germans find perfection in everything which comes from France'.¹⁰ A contemporary pamphleteer commented:

Today in our country everything has to be French - the language, the clothes, the dishes, the music and even the maladies. Most of the German courts are organised on French lines and anyone wishing to succeed in life must know French, and above all, have been to Paris.¹¹

This description could well be applied to the Austrian court, for the Emperor Francis came from Lorraine, introducing 'greater ease and refinements of manners'. Consequently 'the French language and French fashions were now publicly admitted'.¹²

Joseph felt greatly at odds with this sophisticated atmosphere. His attitude perplexed both his mother and the Chancellor Kaunitz who had spent a year as Austrian Ambassador at Versailles and had relished the experience. Aloof in character, Kaunitz did not readily make

10 Adrien Fauchier-Magnan (Trans. M. Savill), The Small German Courts in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1958), p.27.

11 *See* Fauchier-Magnan, ibid., p.30

12 Dr. Carl E. Vehse (Trans. F. C. F. Demmler), Memoirs of the Court of Austria, Vol.II (London, 1856), p.254.

acquaintances, but his fondness for the French theatre led to 'Count Durazzo, the directeur des spectacles, being his best beloved and most intimate friend'.¹³

Maria Theresa soon realised the strength of Joseph's opposition to her regime, especially concerning the privilege of the nobility and the state of the administration and the economy, for on his accession his first action was to issue a declaration of intent concerning these. Because the opinions of Maria Theresa and Joseph were often at variance; the co-regency was never stable and this led to threats of resignation from both sides. A French traveller recorded the situation at the Austrian court at the time thus:

The first and strongest party is that of the Empress. It consists of Cardinal Migazzi, some monks and a few pious old dames. This party is always full of schemes for chastity commissions, prohibition of books, exile of dangerous teachers and preachers, maintenance of papal absolutism and the persecution of the so-called new philosophy. A large part of the nobility, whose rights are tied up with those of the parsons, support this group. The second party is that of the Emperor constantly at war with the other. It stands for the reform of justice, the promotion of agriculture, commerce and industry, the undermining of the powers of bigotry and its satellites, the diffusion of the new philosophy, the reduction of the unfounded rights of the nobility, and the protection of the weak against the strong.¹⁴

Throughout his life Joseph never wavered from his ideal of ruling for the good of his subjects: 'He who wishes to serve the state must think of himself last.'¹⁵ Most of his reforms incurred the anger of

13 Ibid., p.215.

14 Recorded by Padover, op.cit., pp. 44-45.

15 Handbuch aller unter der Regierung Joseph II für die kk Erbländer ergangen Verordnungen und Gesetze, Vol.V (Vienna, 1785-90), pp.181-201. Quoted in Link, op.cit., p.117.

those against whom they were directed, in particular the nobility and the church, for both these parties boasted of large possessions on which they thrived to the detriment of others less fortunate. Joseph aimed to remedy this by a new system of taxation which again favoured the peasant at the expense of the nobility. It was an intricate piece of legislation and was introduced in careful stages. For example, in the patent of 1785, taxes were paid according to the value of the land; hence the more fertile the land, the greater the tax. This was an effective method of extracting money from the nobility as, naturally, they had acquired the more fertile land for themselves. In February 1789 another tax law was introduced expressly to 'establish that equality which hitherto has been so greatly lacking in the system of taxation'.¹⁶ However, this provoked such hostility that Joseph was not able to enforce it and he died before the controversy could be resolved.

Such laws aimed to curb the power of the nobility, and this they resented more than the financial cost involved. Moreover, a law was passed in 1781 making it easier for the peasant to buy his land; eviction was permitted only as a severe punishment or for an accumulation of debts and a law of 1787 allowed the eldest son of a family to inherit his father's property, ensuring that the land could not be divided up to become economically less viable. Thus Joseph's intention was to release the peasant from the position of serfdom which he described as

16 The Taxation and Urbarial Patent of 1789, Ch. 2, quoted in Carlile A. Macartney, The Habsburg and Hohenzollern Dynasties in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (London, Melbourne, 1970), pp.180-181.

'the absence of freedom of movement, of freedom of marriage and the right to learn a profession according to one's choice'.¹⁷ On the abolition of serfdom in Hungary four years later Joseph remarked,

Since our accession it has been our tireless care to foster and establish permanently the happiness of our people without regard to status, nationality or religion.¹⁸

In 1771 Joseph travelled to Bohemia to view for himself the effect of the famine on the peasants; but when, three years later, little had been done to relieve their plight, they rose in revolt. This situation proved to be a special source of friction between Joseph and his mother, and he became highly critical of the way in which Maria Theresa endeavoured to resolve matters. For her part Maria Theresa could not understand her son's attitude and indeed felt that Joseph was partly to blame for the trouble:

The Emperor who carries his desire for popularity too far has on his various journeys, without making these people promises of course, spoken much too much about their freedom, both in matters of religion and from the manorial lord.¹⁹

The Empress had given vent to her feelings on the Bohemian question in an earlier letter to the Archduke Ferdinand in 1775:

17 Handbuch, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.74ff. Quoted in Link, op.cit., p.22.

18 Padover, op.cit., p.219. Longer extracts of the Serfdom Patent for Hungary are to be found in Macartney, Dynasties, op.cit., pp.178-179.

19 Link, op.cit., p.56.

I believe that if the Emperor would, I would not even say support me, but only remain neutral, I should succeed in abolishing serfdom and the forced services; then everything would be all right. ... The Bohemian situation is causing me much worry, the more so, since the Emperor and I cannot agree on our methods.²⁰

In 1781 after Maria Theresa's death Joseph also instituted changes in the administration of justice so that the same laws applied to rich and poor alike. Once again the nobles were incensed for they felt that they had lost so many of their privileges that they had been brought down to the level of the rabble.

It has already been stated that Joseph's reforms were calculated to include the church. Primarily he objected to the life of idle wealth led by the monks and to the vast sums of money which the church collected but failed to put to good use. In October 1781 he set out to dissolve 'all houses, monasteries, hospices, or whatever else these spiritual houses of communal life are called, of the male orders of the Carthusians, and the Cameldolites and the Eremites or the so-called Walderbrüder and the female orders of the Carmelites, Sisters of St. Clare, Capuchines and the Franciscans'.²¹ 60 million Gulden raised from this campaign were spent on schools and hospitals. The number of monks was reduced by 36,000 and those who lost their places were either awarded a pension or appointed as teachers. Some of the vacated buildings were converted into schools or shops. Joseph also objected to the fact that several Austrian bishoprics were under the

20 Ibid., p.172 .

21 Clause 1 from 'Order in Spiritualibus' - 1 January 1781. Quoted in Macartney, Dynasties, op.cit., p.158.

administration of foreign powers. This situation he aimed to remedy by reorganising the bishoprics on an entirely national basis and by bringing the church under secular authority whereby he, and not the Pope, held the right to nominate bishops. The bishops were 'to become the recipients of wages, so that the Church might be in fact only one of the numerous departments of the State'.²² So controversial were these measures that in March 1782 the Pope felt obliged to visit Vienna. This was an unprecedented step and one which, because of Joseph's intractability, did not meet with the success the Pope had hoped for, even though the Viennese turned out in force to welcome him.

The populace generally had been in support of Joseph's church reforms for the monks had not been popular; but when he began to change the customs of the liturgy they were quick to show their disapproval. The Austrians were a pious race (no-one more so than Maria Theresa herself). Such was the importance of religion in the life of an Austrian woman that she 'sins, prays, confesses and begins anew, but she never omits her masses, not even for her lover'.²³ The people objected to Joseph's laying down the order of service and deciding how many candles there were to be on the altar. The public enjoyed celebrating the frequent Saints' Days and participating in pilgrimages and processions and therefore did not take kindly to the curtailing of these occasions when the Emperor reduced the number of public holidays and the activities which they involved.

22 J. Franck Bright, Joseph II (London, 1897), p.137.

23 Wraxall, quoted in Padover, op.cit., p.66.

Maria Theresa never made any attempt to disguise her opinion of the Jews. In 1777 she wrote, "They are to be kept away from here and avoided as much as possible. ...I know of no worse plague than this nation with its swindling money-making and usury."²⁴ Jews were made to wear badges of identity and to pay a 'body tax' to which they were liable simply for existing. Joseph revoked his mother's legislation and between 1781 and 1789 instituted a series of patents in order to make the Jews 'more useful and serviceable to the State, principally through according to their children better instruction and enlightenment and by employing them in the sciences, arts and handicrafts'.²⁵ These patents indicate the restrictions a Jew had to endure, for now were abolished 'all present distinctive marks and discriminations such as the wearing of beards, the prohibition on going out before noon on Sundays and holidays, on frequenting public places of amusement ...'.²⁶ Joseph also proclaimed that 'wholesale merchants and their sons and university graduates may carry daggers'.²⁷ By such concessions Joseph placed the Jew 'on a footing of near equality with the followers of other foreign religions'.²⁸ However, it was only then that these 'followers of other foreign religions' had been recognised, for during the reign of Maria Theresa there had been no tolerance of denominations other than Roman Catholicism. Even in 1752 Protestantism had been viewed

24 Macartney, The Social Revolution, op.cit., p.227.

25 Clause 24 of 'Edict of Toleration for the Jews of Lower Austria' (2 January 1782). Quoted in Macartney, Dynasties, op.cit., p.168.

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid., Extract from Clause 25.

as a capital offence in Bohemia. In October 1781, the month which saw the first of the patents affecting the Jews, Joseph issued a Toleration Patent whereby all non-Catholics were allowed to build their own places of worship and schools, to buy their own houses and property, and to bring up their children in their own religion. 'Nobody shall any longer be exposed to hardships on account of his creed, no man shall be compelled in future to profess the religion of the state if it be contrary to his persuasion and if he has other ideas of the right way of ensuring blessedness.'²⁹

On the death of Maria Theresa Joseph enforced the rule of compulsory education which his mother had introduced in 1774. As a result, if a child were not sent to school a parent of the more wealthy classes was made to pay double the education tax, and a peasant forfeited his claim to charities. From that time a child who had not attended school regularly was very unlikely to be apprenticed. School books were provided free to children of poor families.

It has already been mentioned that education was no longer administered by the church but by the state. Count Perglen, who carried out the reforms of secondary education, was in favour of importing foreigners to teach, but Joseph objected to this idea.

What we want is that all our subjects should be able to read, write or sum. For this learned men are scarcely necessary. ... The lower classes find their livelihood in business, or in service or in the army. Plans have already been made for the education of the upper classes; the main thing to be aimed at is that there should be no

29 Joseph to van Swieten. Quoted in Padover, op.cit., p.147.

difference between the lord and the commoner in the civil services, any more than in the church or the army ...³⁰

The reforming of the primary schools was the responsibility of the Abbot of Sagan, a Prussian. There were two kinds of school in each large town: normal schools 'which should represent the perfection of the system',³¹ and one local school which used buildings previously occupied by the Jesuits. The elementary necessities of education - reading, writing and arithmetic - were taught in villages. The Austrian education system was far more extensive than those of other European countries of the time, and in the ten years from 1767 to 1777 the number of children at school trebled.

The censorship which had existed since the days of Charles V was still enforced by Maria Theresa, who took it upon herself to ban a large number of books. During Joseph's reign much of this censorship was revoked. Under Maria Theresa the Wienerisches Diarium was the only newspaper available in Vienna, and the articles it published had first to undergo the scrutiny of the authorities; but in 1780 the Wiener Zeitung was established. Joseph encouraged the publication of learned books, especially those on the subject of science, although he would still not tolerate obscenity or works decrying Christianity. As a result of this sudden freedom there was a flood of pamphlet literature: 'Just as mushrooms flourish everywhere after a night of summer rain, so did books and pamphlets emerge in the capital.'³²

30 Bright, op.cit., p.67,

31 Ibid., p.69.

32 Victor Bibl, Kaiser Joseph II. Ein Vorkämpfer der grossdeutschen Idee (Vienna and Leipzig, 1943), p.168.

Everyone with sound ^{32a} fingers wrote about everything and everyone; one took the next best view and dished up here a large portion, there a small one; here a salted dish, there a non-salted one, for the then thirsty public to relish.³³

From the beginning of 1781 until September 1782 no fewer than 1,178 brochures appeared. Some of these were given extravagant titles, none more so than Magister Jocosus Hilarius' Wonderful History of an Old Virgin who remained Unviolated for Thirty Years, told in Clean Rhymes.³⁴ Joseph himself featured in many of these publications and often became the subject of criticism. Caroline Pichler reported that he was proud of the attention he attracted in these publications, as he had himself said, 'I am of the opinion that it is necessary to let the world say what it wishes, provided that it lets me do as I please.'³⁵ Criticisms 'so long as they are not libels, are not to be forbidden no matter whom they attack, from the sovereign to the lowest subject, providing the author publish his name so that he can be held responsible for the truth'.³⁶ As a result of Vienna's being granted complete liberty of printing and publishing in 1787

In all branches of knowledge there was a praiseworthy activity, one was allowed to think freely and so one thought well. ... A brisk cheerfulness

32a gesunde Finger

33 Johann Rautenstrauch in Schwachheiten de Wiener. Quoted in Bibl, ibid., p.168.

34 Padover, op.cit., p.156.

35 Ibid., p.193.

36 Ibid., p.156.

penetrated even to social circles, displacing the former stiffness of obsolete forms ...³⁷

Not all the results were as satisfactory as this for:

Bad writings were permitted and good ones condemned. ... It is perfectly ridiculous how a book which is slightly bold in places is said to have been written in this vein throughout and is consequently banned. However, it is then printed in another country and passed round quite openly in Vienna and received with great enthusiasm. Is this really Joseph's intention, and if so, when will one be able to say that a good book has emerged from Vienna?³⁸

It is hardly surprising that in this atmosphere of relative freedom, Freemasonry should have been widely practised. Although it was frowned upon in some circles probably because members were recruited from all walks of life, the number of Lodges expanded noticeably at this time.

Freemasonry was practised with an almost laughable openness and ostentation. Masonic songs were printed, composed and sung generally.³⁹

Pichler continued by discussing the fashions and trinkets which indicated the vogue of Freemasonry. Indeed, she went on to say that if a man was not a member of the movement he often found obstacles to overcome 'and that meant a lot'. Joseph's father had been Grand Master of a Vienna Lodge, but the Emperor himself, fearing that the excesses of Masons might

37 Caroline Pichler, Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben, Vol.I (Vienna, 1844), p.78.

38 Galanterien Wiens, auf einer Reise gesammelt und in Briefe geschildert von einem Berliner, Vol.I (Vienna, 1784), Letter 8, p.98.

39 Pichler, op.cit., p.105.

become dangerous to religion, order and morals', took steps in 1785 to curb their activities. Henceforth each city was allowed one Lodge only, each meeting had to be announced in advance and the chiefs of Lodges were obliged to submit lists of the members to the police. Similarly, the Lodges in Vienna were reduced from eight to two, each with 180 members.

The Illuminati were another body popular in the late eighteenth century, whose views corresponded with those of Freemasons:

Perfection of mankind, that is, higher cultivation for the attainment of pure morals and a many-sided moderate life; then the amelioration of civic and political life of the nations, and thereby the achievement of a universal spread of the highest possible earthly happiness.⁴⁰

The establishment of German opera in Vienna during Joseph's reign resulted from one of the most significant of the Emperor's reforms. This concerned his attempt to establish German as the main language of the empire. This was by no means an easy task because, apart from the predominantly French atmosphere at court, Joseph's dominions incorporated a large number of countries such as Hungary, Bohemia and parts of Italy. In his view, however, a common language would effectively bind together these assorted lands and create a unified and thus more powerful empire.

The German language is the universal language of my empire; why should I negotiate laws and business with one of my provinces in their own language? I am ruler of the German empire and therefore the other states which

40 Attributed by Padover, op.cit., p.191, to the founder of the Illuminati, Professor Adam Weishaupt of the University of Ingolstadt.

I possess are provinces which must form one complete state, of which I am head. Were the kingdom of Hungary the most important of my possessions, I would make that language the main language of my lands.⁴¹

The earnestness with which Joseph viewed this aim has been illustrated by Victor Bibl who, in his biography of the Emperor, reported that in 1784 Joseph ordered that no-one should be able to take up an official position or be promoted if he did not speak German. The final date for learning the language was put at 1 November 1787.⁴² The full significance of this move will be discussed later.

From this necessarily superficial account of Joseph's attempts to reform his country it will have been seen that, for the most part, his measures were very unpopular and largely unacceptable. The monks felt particularly affronted, as did the nobility, and the latter 'could no longer conceal its hatred'.⁴³ Towards the end of his life he was compelled to abandon his ideals in some parts of his empire, for there was insurrection in Belgium caused by famine in 1788-89; likewise in Hungary where the people objected to adopting a foreign language. Caroline Pichler recorded the public's enjoyment of satire based upon the slightest weakness of its ailing ruler and its readiness to cast blame and ridicule.⁴⁴

Where was Joseph's mistake? Writing in 1814, Marcel de Serres put forward a view which still seems acceptable today:

41 Bibl, op.cit., p.148.

42 Ibid., p.146.

43 Carl von Reitzenstein, Reise nach Wien (Hof, 1795), pp. 392-3.

44 Pichler, op.cit., p.73.

The reforms of Joseph II failed because the views of the Emperor were too advanced for the century in which he lived and particularly for the nation he had been called upon to govern.⁴⁵

His personality may have confounded some, for although Moore described his manner in 1779 as 'affable, obliging and perfectly free from the reserved and lofty deportment assumed by some on account of high birth',⁴⁶ Count Zinzendorf pointed to another facet of his character:

It seemed as though the Emperor believed or would have liked to believe that he alone loved his country and recognised truth, and that all his officials were mere fools or lackeys.⁴⁷

It was probably for this that Joseph was condemned, for Zinzendorf's comments ring true. A fanatic he may have been, but Joseph had the interests of the lower classes very much at heart.

B The Social Background

The extent of Joseph's success in changing the structure of Viennese society may be seen from contemporary reports. One account of life in the late 1770s, for example, indicated that the upper classes were still living in luxury and aping, as before, the French fashions and modes of behaviour. On a typical day the master of the house and his wife rose at 10 a.m. They might then go to church, do some

45 Marcel de Serres, Voyage dans l'Empire d'Autriche, 4 Vols. (Paris, 1814), p.19. Quoted in Link, op.cit., p.172.

46 Moore, op.cit., Vol.II, p.382.

47 Bibl, op.cit., p.167.

business, or pay social calls. Luncheon was taken at 2 p.m, and the remainder of the day was spent in walking or going to the theatre. The evening was set aside for entertaining, which usually entailed playing cards.⁴⁸

Other reports, on the contrary, showed that social barriers had been lowered, but these accounts vary. J. F. Reichardt, for instance, gave an ecstatic description of society as he found it:

He who enjoys the good fortune, in Vienna, of coming to know the societies of the various classes, from the higher nobility down to the petite bourgeoisie, enjoys in the highest degree and in the freest and most agreeable way everything charming, delightful and satisfying that Europe has to offer. ... In the way that all the great public diversions and amusements are enjoyed by all classes without any abrupt division of offending distinctions - in these respects, Vienna is again quite alone among the great cities of Europe.⁴⁹

One would assume from this that Joseph's aims had been wholly successful, but it may be that the author, who admitted he observed Viennese life from the viewpoint of a 'musical artist', was too involved in the 'diversions and amusements' to view things objectively. John Moore, writing earlier, was more guarded in his comments although he too participated in 'a constant round of amusements as to fill up a man's time without any plan or occupation of his own'.⁵⁰ He agreed that

48 Wilhelm Wehkerlin, 'Denkwürdigkeiten von Wien 1777-1779', p.69. Quoted in Hans Tietze, Alt-Wien in Wort und Bild (Vienna, 1924).

49 Johann F. Reichardt, 'Briefe geschrieben auf einer Reise nach Wien'. Quoted in Oliver Strunk, Source Readings in Music History from classical antiquity to the romantic era (London, 1952), pp. 728ff.

50 Moore, op.cit., Vol. II, p. 310.

'people of different ranks now do business together with ease, and meet at public places without any of those ridiculous disputes about precedence',⁵¹ but he had reservations about this apparent equality.

Trifling punctilios are not so completely banished, as I imagine the Emperor could wish, he himself being the least punctilious person in his dominions - for there is certainly still a greater separation than good sense would direct, between the various classes of the subjects. The higher or ancient families keep themselves as distinct from the inferior, or newly created nobility, as these do from the citizens so that it is very difficult for the inferior classes to be in society or to have their families much connected with those of superior ranks. And what is more important in a political sense, there are certain places of high trust in the government which cannot be occupied by any but the higher orders of nobility.⁵²

However, probably because the middle and lower classes⁵³ did not aspire to such attainments, there was little or no discontent.⁵⁴ Since the thirteenth century, Vienna had been a city of merchants - the first known Bürger had been a goldsmith - and in such an atmosphere it was

51 Ibid., Vol. II p.336

52 Ibid.

53 The middle classes included 'lower servants of the court, artists and the better kind of mechanics'. Johann C. Risbeck (Trans. The Rev. Mr. Maty), Travels through Germany, Vol. I (London, 1787) p.238

54 Tietze, op.cit., pp. 58-59, quotes a section from one of the Briefe eines Eipeldauers an seinen Herrn Vetter in Krakau über d'Wienstadt (Vienna, 1785-97) for the year 1785 which gives a lively account of a Viennese street scene. Joseph Richter, the author of these informative letters, describes, for instance, a collection of street sellers, some selling fruit, others socks and old shoes. It is a colourful picture and no criticism of the existing social structure is implied.

natural for a sense of activity to prevail. In many of the contemporary sources one reads of the general good humour which was especially characteristic of the common man. The marked Viennese dialect supports this feeling of good humour. It is far more colourful than the precise language spoken in North Germany.

Joseph's move to make all his subjects speak German only applied to foreigners resident in Vienna and to the nobility, who spoke French and knew Italian; the general public spoke their own brand of German. The Eipeldauerbriefe,⁵⁵ are actually notated in this dialect and this immediately lends colour to their content. The author of these letters, Joseph Richter, remarked in one of his brochures that 'one can tell a genuine citizen from Vienna as soon as he opens his mouth'!⁵⁶ Even Joseph spoke in this way, for a traveller Reitzenstein, when in audience with the Emperor, reported Joseph as giving orders to one of his courtiers in a voice which he found 'most offensive' being 'so rough, so hard, his accent so Austrian'.⁵⁷ Reitzenstein recorded that when Joseph turned to address him to his relief it was in 'good, pleasant German'.

There seems to have been a particular atmosphere of well-being in Vienna between 1781 and 1787.⁵⁸ According to the pamphleteer,

55 See note 54.

56 Quoted in Gustav Gugitz, 'Die Wiener' - a chapter from Martin Wähler (Ed.), Der deutsche Volkscharakter (Jena, 1937), p.410.

57 Reitzenstein, op.cit., pp.70-72.

58 Johann Pezzl, Neue Skizze von Wien (Vienna, 1805), p.39.

Johann Pezzl, then the people lived in happiness; there was enough money; all followed a life of pleasure and ease of which the essence was 'good fellowship'.⁵⁹ By all accounts the principal diversion in Vienna at that time was to eat, drink and be merry,⁶⁰ even if the hospitality of the Viennese was viewed in one instance as 'only an effect of pride'.⁶¹ Neither did they necessarily dine at home for they took great pleasure in eating in public places - a trait which still persists today. Joseph endeared himself to his people by making more of these places accessible to them. On 5 April 1776 he opened the Prater, previously a large private hunting park, to the public. Formerly no-one, except the nobility, had been allowed to take advantage of the grounds but now the crowds thronged to the Prater to encounter stalls where they could buy lemonade, coffee, and beer and even find the opportunity to play skittles.⁶² It is not surprising that the nobility did not take kindly to Joseph's generous innovation but the Emperor had little sympathy with their complaints, reputedly saying that if he were to associate only with his equals he would have to descend to the vaults of the Capuchin church and there spend the rest of his days.⁶³ The Emperor was often to be seen walking in the Prater but he ordered

59 Geselligkeit - a difficult word to translate.

60 'There is no place in the world where people live more luxuriously than at Vienna. Their chief diversion is feasting and carousing, on which occasions they are extremely well served with wine and eatables.' Thomas Nugent, The Grand Tour, Vol. II (London, 1778), p.209. Risbeck, op.cit., Vol.I, p.237, talked of 'an insurmountable propensity to guzzling'.

61 Risbeck, ibid., p.237.

62 Tietze, op.cit., under the section headed 'Die Öffnung des Praters für das Publikum', in which the occasion is recounted in greater detail.

63 Padover, op.cit., p.36.

that no-one should pay any attention to him. Another private garden, the Augarten, had been made public a year earlier, and over the gateway could be seen the words; 'this amusement place is dedicated to all people by their well-wisher'. Joseph even had the streets cleaned and trees planted for the public's well-being.

If the nobility did not wish to mix with their inferiors, they also had to suffer curtailment of the many lavish court entertainments, to which they had been accustomed under Maria Theresa's reign, a step which the Emperor had undertaken for the sake of the economy. For instance, the number of 'gaudy exhibitions' which previously took place on fifty days in the year was reduced to only one which occurred on 1 January. The British Ambassador doubtless voiced the feelings of many noblemen when he said, 'What a pity it is that the present Emperor, by an unaccountable simplicity of manners and hatred of show, should have prevented me from returning often to this favourite theme'.⁶⁴

It was thus against this background of resentment from the nobles and misunderstanding from the general public that Joseph decided to launch his national theatre in 1776.

64 Ibid., p.67.

CHAPTER TWO

A Joseph II's Attitude to the Theatre and Music

The earlier discussion of the Emperor Joseph made specific reference to his desire to improve the destiny of his subjects thereby making them conscious of their German nationality. The establishment of national theatre in Vienna in 1776 is directly linked with both these aspirations, but it is unlikely that such an event could have occurred had the Emperor not taken a personal interest in the theatre and in music. This interest he inherited from his mother, whose favourite form of entertainment was the Italian opera seria and opera buffa and ballet, of which extravagant performances were frequently staged at court. 'There was at that time no taste for German operas.'¹ 'If [Maria Theresa] has any pleasure in life it is in music. She certainly fatigues her mind enough on the public's behalf to deserve this simple means of relaxation.'²

Joseph was a frequent visitor to the theatre, where his preference was for 'comic plays and lighthearted operas',³ although it was reported that he also appreciated 'tragedies in verses'.⁴

1 J. Oehler, Geschichte des gesammten Theaterwesens zu Wien, Part III (Vienna, 1803), p.7.

2 Attributed to Sir Thomas Robinson by Mary Maxwell Moffat, Maria Theresia (London, 1911), p.214.

3 Johann Pezzl, Charakteristik Josephs II (Vienna, 1790), p.325.

4 Galanterien Wiens, auf einer Reise gesammelt und in Briefe geschildert von einem Berliner, Vol.I (Vienna, 1784), Letter 3, p.20.

He declined to take the seats customarily reserved for royalty, sitting instead in the third box away from the stage from where he would acknowledge the applause of the audience who appreciated his presence in the theatre, especially when this occurred after a prolonged absence from Vienna. Despite his apparent love for the theatre, however, Joseph rarely stayed for a whole performance and took his leave after having watched a couple of acts or listened to a few arias. The explanation for this can hardly be that he was over-pressed by affairs of state when, as will be shown later, he found so much time for supervising the running of his national theatre. (He even conducted a lengthy correspondence with his theatre director when he was away on military campaigns.) One may suppose, therefore, that he found it hard to sustain his interest for an entire performance. This becomes more credible when one considers that he had already attended the rehearsals of many of the national theatre productions. Moreover, a popular work may have been repeated a number of times, and no doubt the Emperor would have seen some of their presentations on previous occasions.

Joseph's aptitude for music is discussed by only a few of his biographers. It is known that, in common with most members of the aristocracy, he received music lessons in his youth. His early delight in Italian music (Italian opera buffa was always his 'favourite pleasure')⁵ may well have resulted from lessons from his mother's favourite

5 'Uebersicht der Geschichte der kaiserlich-königlichen Hoftheater in Wien bis zum Jahre 1818', Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung, 1822 (reprinted Amsterdam MCMLXIV), p.285. (The Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung, 1822 will subsequently be cited as AMZ.)

composer, Florian Gassmann, who, Bohemian by birth, had studied and spent several years in Italy composing Italian operas before finally settling in Vienna.

Despite Gassmann's instruction, Joseph never became as accomplished a musician as his arch-enemy, Frederick the Great. The intimate musical atmosphere which existed in Berlin, where Frederick actively directed the proceedings, composed and had music written especially for him to perform, was wholly lacking in Vienna. Nonetheless, contemporary writers refer to Joseph's talent for the 'cello⁶ which he displayed by his participation in orchestral works. He was also a pianist, but, it was reported, he preferred to play in chamber ensembles rather than on his own. Musical numbers from currently popular operas formed the basis of his singing repertoire; these he executed 'brilliantly in the Italian manner'⁷ and with a 'pure, pleasant'⁸ bass voice.

B The Emperor's Reasons for Establishing a National Theatre

A contemporary writer recorded that it was Joseph's intention 'to give his nation a theatre, which would be worthy both of the nation and

6 Pezzl, op.cit., p.325.

7 AMZ, op.cit., p.285.

8 Pezzl, op.cit., p.325.

himself'.⁹ Such elevated sentiments are also emphasised by other writers. His theatre was to be 'a reflection of his nation, and that is why he called it a German national theatre. German language, German customs, German taste, German art should all be epitomised in the venture.'¹⁰ In short, his theatre was another means by which the Emperor aimed to convince his people of the virtues of belonging to a unified German nation. Moreover, the purpose of the theatre, according to Joseph, was not primarily to entertain but to educate the public:

Nothing escapes his attention and care for their improvement. The monarch is convinced that a good national theatre will have an immediate and important influence on the character, customs and taste of his people.¹¹

Thus works were not encouraged if it seemed that they would be detrimental to the public taste; pieces especially to be avoided were those which consisted only of 'noise and spectacle'.¹² It was intended that each work should contain a moral which, if the work happened to be a comedy, could be expressed through satire. In the words of the actor Schröder, the theatre was to promote 'right, truth and goodness'.¹³

9 Ein und anderes Über Deutschlands Theaterwesen (Vienna, 1782), p.4.

10 Josef Lange, Autobiographie (Vienna, 1808), p.65.

11 'Verzeichnis einiger inn- und ausländischen Schauspieler Gesellschaften', H.A. O. Reichardt (Ed.), Theater-Kalender (Gotha, 1778), p.255.

12 Karl Glossy, Das Burgtheater unter seinem Gründer Kaiser Josef II (Vienna, 1926), p.38.

13 F.L.W. Meyer, Friedrich Ludwig Schröder, Beitrag zur Kunde des Menschen und des Künstlers, Vol.I (Hamburg, 1819), p.361.

Joseph was genuinely sincere in his desire to improve the taste of his subjects. He cannot be accused of denying the public entertainment in order merely to further his personal enjoyment, for his own preferences lay not in German opera but in foreign comedies and Italian opera buffa. Indeed, it will be shown later how his fondness for Italian opera conflicted with his noble desire to promote the Singspiel. It may be true, as one of Joseph's obituarists wrote, that the national theatre was 'a channel through which the monarch communicated his love to the hearts of his people',¹⁴ but these very words surely reflect the misunderstanding which existed between Joseph and his subjects. For all classes of Viennese society the theatre was synonymous with entertainment, whether it signified improvised comedies in the small huts in the suburbs or extravagant productions at court, and the Emperor's high ideals were not shared by the people.

It is likely, however, that his attachment to these ideals explains Joseph's close involvement in the running of the theatre; why he regularly attended rehearsals, why the progress of the enterprise was 'one of his main pleasures',¹⁵ and why he introduced 'enlightened guests' to the theatre with 'a noble pride'.¹⁶ The actor Lange recorded that the Emperor would persistently ask, 'Now, what do you think of my theatre?' and that little could please him more than a complimentary answer.¹⁷

14 'Kaiser Joseph der zweyte im Bezug auf deutsches Schauspiel', Theater-Kalendar (Gotha, 1791), p.38.

15 Lange, op.cit., p.65.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

The establishment of a national theatre may have been based on a personal whim, but nonetheless it occurred at a propitious time. When, a few years earlier, the success of the theatre reformers had finally brought to an end the long run of the improvised comedy, one of the most traditional and popular forms of theatre in Vienna had been removed. The only musical entertainment to persist was the Italian opera, of which it is reported that between 1770 and 1776 sixty-five new works were given.¹⁸ A more immediate gap was left in February 1772 when a French troupe, consisting of twelve actors and ten actresses, was dismissed on financial grounds by Affligio, then director of the Burgtheater. The troupe had started to play at the theatre in 1768 and, much to the concern of the actors at the rival Kärntnertheater, with considerable success. Lange reported in 1771 that their acting displayed 'fire and life', and one would not find the like elsewhere.¹⁹ Nevertheless, the situation was partially remedied in 1774 when a new privilege was drawn up to allow the performance of three French comic operas each week, on Mondays and Wednesdays in the Kärntnertheater and on Thursdays in the Burgtheater.²⁰ In this year there was considerable theatre activity. One theatre almanac listed the number of tragedies performed (in unspecified theatres) as seven of German origin, two based on French and three based on English originals. Even more comedies were given that year,

18 AMZ, op.cit., p.253.

19 Lange, quoted by Heinz Kindermann, Theatergeschichte Europas, Vol.V (Salzburg, 1962), p.69.

20 Otto Michtner, Das alte Burgtheater als Opernbühne (Vienna, 1970), p.21.

of which fifty-six were German, twenty-seven based on French works, three on English and seven on Italian.²¹ Moreover, two years later, Gebler, in a letter to Nicolai written only a month after the opening of the Nationaltheater, commented on the existence of three theatre companies in the suburbs and the prospect of a fourth.²²

C 1 The Establishment of a National Theatre in Vienna in 1776

a The Administration of the National Theatre

The Nationaltheater opened in April 1776, two months after Joseph had issued the following statement concerning the future of the theatre: 'His Majesty has decreed that the Theater nächst der Burg shall be the court and national theatre; - that from now on nothing but good regular²³ original works and highly thought-of translations from other languages shall be performed.'²⁴ The concession to include foreign works in the proposed repertoire will be seen to be of special significance in the later examination of works performed at the Nationalsingspiel.

21 Almanach des Theaters in Wien (Vienna, 1774), 'Wie vielerley Stück dieses Jahr aufgeführt worden'.

22 Richard M. Werner (Ed.), Aus dem Josephinischen Wien - Geblers und Nicolais Briefwechsel (Berlin, 1888), Letter dated 15 May 1776, p.76.

23 'Regular' in this sense should be taken as 'opposed to improvised'.

24 Johann H. F. Müller, Abschied von der kk Hof- und Nationalschaubühne (Vienna, 1802), p.91.

This initial decree of 17 February 1776 also set down details of the proposed running of the theatre, and the administration both of the Nationalschauspiel and later the Singspiel is remarkable since it was to be undertaken by the actors themselves. At first all that the Emperor stipulated was 'that the actors shall take into consideration the choice of the new works',²⁵ although they were encouraged to choose a piece not because of its probable popularity but because of its merit. This method of self-government held many advantages for the actors. Müller, for example, remarked, 'We can freely choose how often we play each week as, you understand, that allows for the time and work to learn one's part.'²⁶ Karl Glossy, the Viennese theatre historian, has described the administration as that of a 'theatre republic'.²⁷ A more graphic description of the administration of the court theatre has been provided by an eighteenth-century traveller, for an actor from the troupe informed him, 'We form a kind of parliament amongst ourselves, and the intendant of the court has no more power over us than the King of Great Britain has over the House of Commons.'²⁸

The actors' freedom, however, involved more than the choice of their repertoire. Joseph placed the company in his service and under the immediate authority of his Lord High Steward,²⁹ but otherwise the actors were left to direct themselves and to choose by a

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid.

27 Karl Glossy, 'Zur Geschichte der Wiener Theaterzensur', Jahrbuch der Grillparzer Gesellschaft, Vol.VII (1897), p.278.

28 Risbeck, op.cit., Vol.I, p.291.

29 Obristhofmeister.

majority vote a stage manager³⁰ from their number. Although at the outset this post was occupied by the actor Stephanie the elder, it was his brother who played a more important role in the early development of the theatre. It seems that the younger Stephanie acted as spokesman for the troupe in the early negotiations, and it was due mainly to his machinations that ballet was excluded from the repertoire, a step which aroused much hostility from a large section of the theatre-going public.³¹

b The Initial Fortunes of the Burg- and Kärntnertheater

A month after Joseph first announced the founding of the national theatre he wrote a letter to Prince Khevenhüller on 16 March 1776 concerning the financial value of the costumes and scenery for both theatres and hinted also at the closing and eventual reopening of the theatres.

At the same time he gave notice of dismissal to the opera buffa, the ballet and the orchestra. Only the German actors, who would be paid by the Lord High Steward, were to continue learning their parts. The dismissed company

30 Regisseur

31 It would appear that not all the public forsook the national theatre once it had banned ballet, for the Theaterjournal für Deutschland vom Jahre 1777, Vol. II (Gotha, 1777), p. 110, referred to the 'lively zeal' of the actors now that they did not have to compete with the dancers and also to the 'greater attention' to the acting paid by the audience.

of the opera buffa, ballet and the orchestra could play for a further three months ...³²

More definite plans were drawn up at this time for the future of the Kärntnertheater. The existing privilege enabling troupes from home or abroad to perform there was extended, albeit at their own financial risk. There seemed to be no rules controlling the type of entertainment provided at the Kärntnertheater, and its facilities were made available to 'companies of all languages who specialised in spoken theatre, singing, dancing and pantomime'.³³ Their presentations were assisted by the use of costumes and scenery without payment. The first troupes to avail themselves of the amenities at the Kärntnertheater were those of Böhm, who came from Brünn, and the Balletmeister Noverre which teamed together on this occasion. Just one week after the opening of the national theatre they were granted permission to perform at the Kärntnertheater, although this privilege was limited to only two months. Another enterprising company to perform at the Kärntnertheater in the early days of the new administration was an Italian opera troupe which consisted of seven male singers and six female singers,³⁴ some of whom had been members of the previously disbanded company. They financed themselves, were described as 'industrious

32 Michtner, op.cit., p.22.

33 Glossy, Das Burgtheater, op.cit., p.24.

34 According to the AMZ (op.cit., p.253), their number included Katherine Cavalieri who was to become a prominent member of the Nationals ingspiel company.

and good',³⁵ and sought the right to perform at the Burgtheater on the nights that the German troupe was not playing. (After the Burgtheater had been declared a national theatre the company played in various places, following Joseph and his entourage to the Emperor's country palaces at Laxenburg and Schönbrunn. As a result they played in the capital only three times a week.)³⁶ However, the troupe's activity did not continue smoothly, for on the death of its leader, Fantl, in the same year, its future looked dark and it was only because of the intervention of the ballet master, Sacco, that it survived to perform in both theatres until Shrovetide 1777. A Prussian company had first alternated with the Italian troupe at the Kärntnertortheater and played under the direction of Wäser to whom Joseph, in June 1776, gave two hundred ducats after Monsigny's Der Deserteur had been performed to an audience of only twenty.³⁷ This company sought to present German plays, German operas and ballet, but in all three genres it was 'equally bad'.³⁸ After only six weeks, and with a deficit of four thousand Talers, it was forced to disband.

The failure of Wäser's troupe to make an impression on the

35 AMZ op.cit., p.254

36 Werner, op.cit., p.76. There is a discrepancy here for the AMZ stated that 'the Emperor Joseph allowed German plays to be performed four times a week'. One should also recall that Müller wrote that the actors were allowed to choose how frequently they played (see note 26).

37 J. T. Edler von Trattner (Ed.), Taschenbuch des Wiener Theaters (Vienna, 1777), p.75.

38 AMZ, op.cit., p.254 ,

Viennese public arose mainly out of the rivalry and superiority of the national theatre company, but it might also well have been due to the general diversity of entertainment open to the public at that time. Gebler listed the following events which took place on a particular day in June 1776 (when Wäuser would have been performing at the Kärntnertortheater) which, he imagined, would have presented 'a dilemma for our merry idlers': 1) a German play at the national or court theatre; 2) German Singspiel at the Kärntnertortheater; 3, 4, 5, 6) four German comedies, sung works and pantomimes in the suburban theatres;³⁹ 7) animal baiting in the amphitheatre; 8, 9) two grand firework displays.⁴⁰

Initially the Nationaltheater's progress was rather precarious owing to thinly veiled hostility from the supporters of the types of entertainment which had been disbanded at the time of its inception, notably ballet enthusiasts who formed 'the majority of the audience'.⁴¹ Their resentment stemmed from Joseph's treatment of the French ballet company under the direction of Noverre.

Noverre had first come to Vienna in 1767 and had worked in both the Kärntnertortheater and the Burgtheater providing ballets as Nachspiele to conclude an evening's entertainment. (It was rare for a

39 Joseph had permitted the performances of pieces 'of all types in every suburb, hut and house' on the creation of the national theatre. The only condition was that the administration should be informed of proposed productions. (Theaterjournal für Deutschland, Gotha, 1777, p.109)

40 Werner, op.cit., p.79. Letter dated 24 June 1776.

41 'Fortsetzung des Fragments der Geschichte der Wiener Schaubühne', Theaterjournal für Deutschland (Gotha, 1777), p.108.

theatre programme to consist of one work only, and more often there was a mixture of genres.) Not only did Noverre take advantage of the ample resources of both theatres but also of the services of the foremost composers such as Gluck, Starzer, Gassmann and Aspelmayr. Under his direction the vogue of the ballet increased steadily. Three years after he came to Vienna, the ballet troupes of both theatres were amalgamated and Noverre was able to put his reforms into practice and to create the heroische Ballet-tragödie.

The dancers must speak, depicting their thoughts with the help of gestures and changing facial expressions; all of their movements, their entire action, even in moments of silence must be significant and eloquent matching the individual sounds of the music and the variety of the arias.⁴²

Productions of works such as Iphigenie, Theseus and Der Tod des Agamemnon proved to be extremely costly and as a result by February 1772 the theatre had run into financial difficulties. In the economies that followed it was not Noverre's company which was dismissed but the French acting troupe which had arrived four years previously, and this gives a clear indication of the extent of the former's popularity. The singer, Michael Kelly, who was well known on the Viennese stage in the last years of the eighteenth century, attributed the dismissal of this troupe to an unfortunate remark by one of their number who declared an aversion to a particular wine of which the Emperor approved!⁴³ Nonetheless, in 1774 the continuing

42 Noverre, quoted by Kindermann, op.cit., Vol.V, p.51.

43 Michael Kelly, Reminiscences of Michael Kelly of the King's Theatre, Vol.I (London, 1826), p.192 .

financial difficulties of the theatres forced Noverre to leave the city. Two years later he returned with all his earlier success.

It was this later success which had a marked effect on the early fortunes of the Nationaltheater. The Taschenbuch des Wiener Theaters gave the lack of ballet at the Nationaltheater as 'one of the reasons why the theatre of the nation for some time remained empty and unvisited'.⁴⁴ Even the Gotha Theater-Kalendar of 1778, after giving a factual account of the setting-up of the national theatre, added somewhat wistfully, 'It is the only regular theatre in the city, except that it has no ballet.'⁴⁵ Joseph's determination to have no ballet in his newly formed theatre seems to have been very strong, for J. H. F. Müller recorded the following conversation with the Emperor in November 1776:

When I explained that at that time we had no ballet, he exclaimed; that is right! your Emperor has considered that very wisely - we do not need such ornamentation! The deep impression which a well chosen, well presented play can and should make would soon be destroyed if it were followed immediately by dances and pantomime nonsense. And the shaping of the understanding is far more important, noble and useful than the arousing of sensuality through erotic prancing around.⁴⁶

44 Taschenbuch des Wiener Theaters, 1777, op.cit., p.63.

45 The author's italics. Theater-Kalendar (Gotha 1778), p.93

46 Recorded in Joseph II als Theaterdirektor, Ungedruckte Briefe und Aktenstücke aus den Kinderjahren des Burgtheaters, gesammelt und erläutert von Dr. Rudolf Payer von Thurn (Vienna-Leipzig, 1920), p.8.

However, the public did not appreciate Joseph's philosophy⁴⁷ and preferred to enjoy the spectacle of Noverre's sixty-strong troupe performing four times a week at the rival theatre. The first two months proved crucial to Joseph's enterprise, for not only was his theatre poorly patronised, but also, according to one theatre journal, 'it was ridiculed'.⁴⁸ However, the theatre was now under Joseph's personal protection and consequently the adversaries of the German theatre were no longer able to criticise so vehemently. Nonetheless, once the privilege allowing the troupes of Noverre and Böhm to perform in the Kärntnertheater expired in June 1776, the Nationaltheater began to fare better, and by the end of the year better attendances were being recorded.

A letter from Joseph to his brother Leopold dated 5 December 1776 testified to the improvement in the situation: 'The German theatre ... continues to go well in Vienna and I benefit from its success; because the takings, which one believed would lead to bankruptcy, are beginning to increase.'⁴⁹ One reason for this was the competitive prices of admission which had been lowered to encourage citizens of all classes to attend the theatre; but in addition it was suggested that 'this success was also due to the performance of good German pieces which for the most part were very

47 Joseph's move to rid Vienna of ballet and Italian opera was at least appreciated by the actor Lange who felt that it would gradually force the nobility to attend the national theatre and to cultivate an interest in German plays.

48 Theaterjournal für Deutschland (Gotha, 1777), p.112.

49 Quoted in Eduard Wlassak, Chronik des k. Hof-Burgtheaters (Vienna, 1876), p.41.

well presented ...'.⁵⁰ This statement is not quite accurate for, if one takes the first month of its life as representative, only two original German plays were given first performances, the majority being French pieces in translation.⁵¹ However, there appears to have been general agreement concerning the standard of performance for Gebler commented, 'Taking everything into consideration, the company in his pay is undoubtedly the best of all German theatrical troupes, and one seeks to make it even more perfect by attracting good people.'⁵² By this he was referring to the attempts of the actor Müller (not Stephanie, as Gebler would have one believe) to persuade notable actors from all over Germany to join the National-theater in Vienna. The Emperor, having charged Müller initially to find two players, reported on his search to his brother: '... he hardly finds any good actors; he is still looking but I doubt whether he will find any more'.⁵³

11 The Establishment of the National's ingspiel in 1778

The success of the spoken theatre in 1777 encouraged Joseph to

50 AMZ, op.cit., p.253.

51 All statistical information in this thesis has been derived from an analysis of the tables given in Franz Hadamowsky, Die Wiener Hoftheater (Staatstheater 1776-1966, Verzeichnis der aufgeführten Stücke mit Bestandsnachweis und täglichem Spielplan, Vol.I - 1776-1810 (Vienna, 1966).

52 Werner, op.cit., p.80. Letter dated 16 July 1776.

53 Wlassak, op.cit., p.41.

expand his venture to embrace opera.

There were no regular performances of opera in Vienna at the time, and the Emperor may well have had his imagination fired by his experience of the opéra comique which was popular in Paris in the spring of 1777, the time of a visit to his sister, Marie Antoinette. Joseph could not immediately put his plan into action in view of the cost involved, even though, as Otto Michtner has pointed out in his recent study of the Burgtheater of this period, the spoken theatre company already had the services of a twenty-eight strong orchestra,⁵⁴ and it was not until November 1777 that Joseph felt able to consider more fully the financial implications of establishing a Nationalsingspiel.

It was his original intention to appoint Böhm as artistic director of the proposed opera troupe, but Müller was anxious to secure the position for himself. By reminding the Emperor of the work he had already done for the new company in scouting round Europe for suitable talent and by taking advantage of the fact that Böhm was engaged in Brünn until the spring of 1778, Müller succeeded in his aim.

By December 1777 it was clear that definite proposals were being discussed, for Joseph gave audience to Müller concerning the staging of a 'small opera' by Umlauf.⁵⁵ Since the singers had already been allocated their roles, it would appear that negotiations at that time

54 Michtner, op.cit., p.26.

55 Conversation recorded by Wlassak, op.cit., p.46.

were already at an advanced stage. Joseph had also decided upon the appointment of Ignaz Umlauf, a former viola player, as Kapellmeister to the Nationalsingspiel. Die Bergknappen was the opening work and the first of many works which Umlauf was to compose especially for the court theatre.

Umlauf's appointment was to a post in which Mozart had expressed interest:

I know for a fact that the Emperor is proposing to establish German opera in Vienna and that he is making every effort to find a young Kapellmeister who understands the German language, is talented and is capable of striking out a new line.⁵⁶

He may have been right in his supposition but sadly out of date, for this letter was written almost exactly a month before the opening of the Nationalsingspiel, and, as has been shown, Joseph's plans were well advanced before the start of 1778.

It would have been impracticable for both the Nationalschauspiel and -singspiel to come under the administration of two separate groups, especially as both spoken dramas and operas were presented alternately in the same theatre.

In 1779 Joseph appointed five Inspicienten whose duties involved both spoken drama and opera. Each year an election was held whereby the members of the committee had to be re-elected by the other members

56 Letter from Mozart to his father, Mannheim, 11 January 1778. Emily Anderson (Trans. and Ed.), The Letters of Mozart and his Family, second edition prepared by A. Hyatt King and Monica Carolan, Vol.I (New York, 1966), pp.444-445.

of the company if they wished to continue in office.⁵⁷ Basically, their duties were as follows: 'to effect a good choice of pieces, the best possible, impartial allocation of roles, the final arrangements concerning the performance of the chosen works; themselves to play their roles as correctly as possible and to see that the other players do likewise'.⁵⁸ The day-to-day running of the theatre involved dealings with a large variety of officials, from cashier, ticket collector and inspector of the scenery to the porter, chimney sweep and theatre coachman, who brought the actresses to the theatre each evening.⁵⁹ A complicated ritual was involved here as the coachman had to make sure that each actress or singer arrived in time; he therefore was not allowed to collect at too early an hour a performer who would not appear until later in the evening.⁶⁰ The theatre also employed, naturally enough, its own carpenters, painters and general handymen.

The actors and singers had to obey strict rules and were forced to forfeit a proportion of their monthly salary if any were broken.

57 'Vorschrift und Gesetze nach welchen sich die Mitglieder des k.k. Nationaltheaters zu halten haben', issued by the Pr. Kaiserl. Königl. Theatral-Oberste Hof-Direction, Vienna 17 February 1779. These regulations were printed in the Theater-Kalendar (Gotha, 1780), pp.29-46 and are given in full in Appendix I.

58 Johann Friedrich Schink (Ed.), Allgemeiner Theater Almanach von Jahr 1782 (Vienna, 1782), p.109.

59 Johann H. F. Müller, Genaue Nachrichten von beyden k.k. Schaubühnen und anderen öffentlichen Ergützlichkeiten in Wien (Pressburg, Frankfurt, Leipzig, 1772), pp.90-94.

60 'Vorschrift und Gesetze', op.cit., p.33.

For instance, a performer could be penalised if he failed to learn his part in the required time (three weeks for a principal part and eight days for a secondary role). This could amount to a quarter of his monthly wage if, as a result, another work had to be presented in its place. Smaller penalties were imposed for misdoings such as changing the text, which had been approved by the court censor, and unpunctuality.

The cost of such an enterprise was not inconsiderable, for if the management wished to attract the finest talent it had to pay high fees. The actor Schröder supplied a valuable table of fees for both singers and orchestra:⁶¹ the leading tenor of the Nationalsingspiel, Adamberger, for example, earned almost twice as much as his nearest rival, and a third as much again as his leading lady, Madam Lange, although the fees to the lower paid members of the company, both male and female, were generally equal. Thus the full-time singers were paid a regular salary while those members who made occasional appearances were given a separate fee for each performance.

The wages of the orchestra are especially interesting for, excepting the leaders of the two violin sections who were paid 450 and 400 florins respectively (the leader of the second violins, Hofer, also directed the music in the spoken drama), the remaining string players were paid 350 florins, 400 less than the oboists, flautists,

61 Friederich Ludwig Schröder, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.356-357. This table cannot be said to be wholly accurate, for no specific date is given. It may be surmised however to judge from the names listed, that the figures were drawn up a year or two after the establishing of the Nationalsingspiel as the list corresponds most closely with that given in the Theater-Kalendar (Gotha, 1782).

bassoonists and first two horn players. The very much higher fees paid to woodwind players were explained by a letter from Joseph to the director of the Singspiel, Count Rosenberg, dated 24 April 1782 in which the Emperor requested Rosenberg to acquire the services of eight woodwind players who would be employed to play both in the Imperial palace and in the Nationaltheater, earning 400 and 350 florins in their respective capacities.⁶²

Another interesting point emerges from an examination of Schröder's table, for the expenses of the spoken drama are listed as being more than double those of the Singspiel. Even if the orchestral expenses are added to those of the singers in the case of the latter the two together do not approach the cost of the spoken theatre. It cannot also be assumed that the sum of these expenses gives a more accurate picture in comparing the costs of the two parts of the Nationaltheater, for, as has already been indicated, the orchestra was additionally required to supply music for spoken plays.

The lowest cost incurred was that of pensions, but this was a very necessary part of the expenditure and one to which Joseph turned his attention on taking over the theatre.⁶³ He would be more likely to attract players for his theatre if they were guaranteed the security of a pension. The theatre at that time was a particularly precarious profession. Many actors belonged to travelling troupes and even the most renowned of these were frequently forced to disband

62 Joseph II als Theaterdirektor, op.cit., p.31.

63 J. C. Brandes, Bemerkungen über das Londoner, Pariser und Wiener Theater (Göttingen, 1786), p.302.

in the face of financial difficulties.

The Emperor seems to have concerned himself especially with two aspects of his theatre. It is true that he left the theatre management committee to choose which works they wished to perform, but, to judge by a letter from Joseph to Rosenberg,⁶⁴ it was the Emperor who stipulated what type of drama was to be performed on which evening. It should be remembered that both spoken plays and Singspiele were being presented in the one theatre and Joseph laid down very precise instructions as to the alternation of the two genres. From the outset, operas at the Nationalsingspiel were given on average once a week, but the Emperor, pleased with the initial success, especially with that of Grétry's Der Hausfreund,⁶⁵ (first given on 25 May 1778) soon expressed a wish to Müller that Singspiele should be performed twice a week.⁶⁶ The Gotha Theater-Kalendar for the year 1779 substantiates that this was implemented; 'each week a spoken play is given four times and a Singspiel, together with a smaller work, twice'.⁶⁷

By 1782, however, a more rigid plan had been initiated. Operas were to be presented on Tuesdays and Fridays,⁶⁸ preferably full-length

64 Joseph II als Theaterdirektor, op.cit., pp.29-30. Letter dated 8 February 1782 and headed 'Punkten für die Theatral-Direction'.

65 Original title, L'Ami de la Maison.

66 Müller, Abschied, op.cit., p.259.

67 Theater-Kalendar (Gotha, 1779), p.xxxv.

68 This decision in 1782 to allow operas to be performed on Fridays was new, for in the previous three seasons the theatre had been shut on that day.

works so that it was no longer necessary to fill up the evening with a shorter work. This was not a policy Joseph had advocated at the beginning of the Nationalsingspiel in 1778, for in that year only one Singspiel, an adaptation of Monsigny's Rose et Colas, had been performed on its own and then only on one occasion, for on each of eight other performances of the work in the same year another piece was added. The move towards longer works was gradual. In the latter half of 1779, five operas were given on their own of which four were receiving their first performances in Vienna;⁶⁹ four of these were in three acts and one in four. Although in the previous year there had been three operas in three acts, each constituted only part of the programme. The move towards longer works in 1779 may be illustrated by the fact that only two new works in that year were in one act as opposed to six in the previous year. An examination of the new operas produced in 1780 confirms this trend: only one was in one act; in 1781 there were none.

In 1782 Joseph stipulated that Thursdays and Saturdays were to be reserved for the performances of well-known pieces, whereas more recent works were to be given on Sundays and Wednesdays. Joseph also allowed short operas instead of plays to be performed alongside the main work on a Sunday, and there is evidence to show that this became a regular feature of the theatre. Thus Mondays were kept for the staging of first performances; if there were no new works to be

69 The fifth work, Die Liebe unter den Handwerksleuten, with music by Gassmann, had previously been given in its original Italian (L'Amore Artigiano) in April 1767.

launched, an established tragedy was to be given on this day (tragedies were otherwise given on Wednesdays). Furthermore a completely new work was to be repeated on the following Wednesday and then on the Thursday; the takings of the third performance being given to the author. It seems, however, that in practice this last instruction proved too complicated to carry out. This point may be illustrated by taking as examples both a play and an opera: the comedy, Die gute Tochter by Schröder, was first performed on 24 June 1780; it was repeated the following evening but not again until six days later. Similarly, Gluck's Die unvermuthete Zusammenkunft, more familiar under the title Die Pilgrime von Mecca, was given its first performance on 26 July 1780, again to be repeated the following day, the third performance this time taking place five days later.

It has already been mentioned that it was a common feature for two works to be presented on the same evening, and it has been shown that it was rare at first for a Singspiel to be the sole item in the programme, but it should be noted that it was equally rare for two Singspiele to be performed together. Indeed, it was not until two years after the Nationalsingspiel had officially been disbanded that this occurred. It is also worth noting that if a Singspiel shared a programme with a play, it was generally given second. It seems natural that an opera, more often than not in a light-hearted vein, would conclude the evening's entertainment more satisfactorily. The Emperor was astute in including a shorter piece if the main work was not too long, for his purpose was to

give younger players an opportunity to gain experience by casting them in such works and so making themselves known to the public.

The second aspect of theatrical management to which the Emperor directed his attention was the choice of actors, singers and players. Joseph's correspondence with Rosenberg supplies us with valuable information in this respect although it generally deals with the personnel in the later development of the Nationaltheater from 1782 to 1788. However, there is an interesting letter of September 1782 written at the time when the contracts of several members of his company came to an end. In this Joseph asked his director's opinion about the permanent termination of employment of four singers in particular.⁷⁰ It was the Emperor who instigated the engagement of the famous brothers Stadler for the theatre orchestra: '... they are frequently necessary and they would otherwise only go into someone else's service or leave the city'.⁷¹

The Stadlers were the best clarinettists of the day, and it would appear that their skill was matched by the other departments of the orchestra for one finds frequent references to the high standard of orchestral playing: '... as far as orchestral music is concerned, one could hardly find anything more fine in the world'.⁷²

70 The letter, dated 28 September 1782, refers in particular to Schmidt, Frankenberger, Hofmann and Mlle. Schindler. Joseph II als Theaterdirektor, op.cit., p.31.

71 Ibid., p.30.

72 'Aus den Briefen eines reisenden Franzosen durch Deutschland' C. F. Cramer (Ed.), Magazin der Musik (Hamburg, 1784), p.112.

Umlauf's term of appointment as Kapellmeister did not last long, for in April 1780 Antonio Salieri returned to Vienna after two years' absence, and Umlauf was forced to relinquish his position. It is likely that Salieri took over his position in this year although there is some controversy over the exact date.⁷³ Umlauf was subsequently known as zweyter Kapellmeister or Substitut, and his duties were then to take charge of rehearsals in Salieri's absence and to provide keyboard accompaniment in recitatives.

The number of players in the orchestra seems to vary from report to report, for one authority gives the number at the beginning of the Nationalsingspiel as forty,⁷⁴ whereas the Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung of 1822 states that there were thirty-seven for the year 1779-80, although it adds that it was 'strengthened for special occasions'. One can be more certain of the size of the orchestra for the year 1782, for the Allgemeiner Theater Almanach of that year also gives the names

73 The AMZ article (op.cit., p.268) gives Salieri as Kapellmeister in the report of the year 1779-80. He must certainly have been in this post by 1782 at the latest, for his name is listed in the Allgemeiner Theater Almanach of that year, but Michtner (op.cit., p.34) states that it was not until 1783 that Salieri succeeded Umlauf. Furthermore, Robert Haas, editor of the Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Osterreich, Vol.XXXVI, Ignaz Umlauf, 'Die Bergknappen' (Graz, 1959), seems also to have been misled on this point, but it is likely that his confusion is due to his using the reports of Schröder; both writers give the same numbers of orchestral players for that year.

74 Alexander Witeschnik, Musik aus Wien, Die Geschichte einer Weltbezauberung (Vienna, 1955), p.169.

of the players. These numbered thirty-five. The leader of the orchestra, Woborzil, was in charge of five other first violins, six seconds,⁷⁵ four violas, three violonen,⁷⁶ three 'celli, two oboes, two each of flutes, bassoons, horns, clarinets, trumpets and a kettledrum player.

Contemporary accounts were often highly critical of the performances of the singers. Brandes's comments seem to be particularly scathing: 'nothing more stiff, wooden and puppet-like than the acting of these people can be envisaged'.⁷⁷ Indeed, he could not understand why the operas were not called concerts. Not everyone, however, had such a poor opinion of the Nationalsingspiel. Schröder, who may have been prejudiced as he was a stalwart member of the acting troupe at the Burg-theater, stated that one could not easily find a better Singspiel company throughout Germany.⁷⁸ More guarded comments were made by another contemporary writer on the theatre, C. Maier, who acknowledged the excellence of the singing but was a little less enthusiastic about the acting.⁷⁹ It is

75 Two players in the violin sections, Franz Hofer in the firsts and Michael Hofer in the seconds, are known to have had previous experience in the theatre orchestras for the former had played for the national theatre before the establishment of the Nationalsingspiel and the latter for the ballet in 1776.

76 According to Anthony Baines (Ed.), Musical Instruments through the Ages (London, 1961), p. 3/n., the violone 'describes the double bass in many eighteenth-century scores'.

// Brandes, op.cit., p.332.

78 Friederich Ludwig Schröder, op.cit., Vol.I, p.368.

79 C. Maier, Über das Nationaltheater in Wien (Vienna, 1782), p.10.

important to remember that the Nationalsingspiel was an operatic company as distinct from a gathering of actors who, in the tradition of the travelling theatre, could sing simple melodies if called upon to do so. This distinction was noted by Gebler in a letter to Nicolai in which he stated that the Emperor had established a German opera 'for serious as well as comic works' which was intended for 'true virtuosi and not mere ballad singers'.⁸⁰

D An Examination of the Works performed at the Nationalsingspiel

1 The 1778-9 Season

The opening season of the Nationalsingspiel, February 1778 to February 1779, saw the performance of fourteen Singspiele (not counting Benda's melodrama Medea under this heading).

The repertoire for this year was as follows:

Die Bergknappen (text by Paul Weidmann, music by Ignaz Umlauf); Originalsingspiel in 1 act; first performed 17 February

Diesmal hat der Mann den Willen! (text by Johann Friedrich Schmidt, music by Carlo d'Ordonez); Originalsingspiel in 1 act; first performed 22 April

Rüschchen und Colas (based on the French text by Sedaine, translated by J. H. Faber, music by Pierre Alexandre Monsigny); Singspiel in 1 act; first performed 9 May

Der Hausfreund (based on L'Ami de la Maison by Marmontel, translated by Gottlieb Stephanie the younger, music by Grétry); Singspiel in 3 acts; first performed 25 May

80 Werner, op.cit., p.92. Letter dated 6 February 1778.

Die Apotheke (text by Johann Jakob Engel, music by Umlauf); Originalsingspiel in 1 act; first performed 20 June

Lucile (based on the French text by Marmontel, translator unknown, music by Grétry); Singspiel in 1 act; first performed 29 June

Die Kinder der Natur (based on a French text by Marivaux, translated by Johann Christian Krüger, music by Franz Aspelmayr); Singspiel in 2 acts; first performed 15 July

Da ist nicht gut zu rathen (text by Gottlieb Stephanie the younger, music by Joseph Barta); Komische Oper in 2 acts; first performed 8 August

Frühling und Liebe (text by J. F. Schmidt, music by Maximilian Ulbrich); ⁸¹Originalsingspiel in 2 acts; first performed 8 September

Robert und Kalliste or Der Triumph der Treue (based on La Sposa Fedele, adapted by Johann Joachim Eschenburg, music by Pietro Guglielmi); Operette in 3 acts; first performed 1 October

Die abgeredete Zauberey (based on La fausse Magie by Marmontel, translated by Stephanie the younger, music by Grétry); Komische Oper in 1 (2) acts; first performed 27 October

Sylvain (based on the French text by Marmontel, music by Grétry); Singspiel in 1 act; first performed 18 November

Medea (text by Engel and Friedrich Wilh. Gotter, music by Georg Benda); mit Musik vermisctes Drama in 1 act; first performed 5 December

Der Liebhaber von fünfzehn Jahren (based on L'Amoureux de Quinze Ans or Le Double Fête by Pierre Laujon, adapted by Stephanie the younger, music by Jean Paul Egide Martini); Singspiel in 3 acts; first performed 29 December

81 A correspondent for the Theaterjournal für Deutschland, Vol.VI (Gotha, 1778) p.102, recorded in May 1778 that Frühling und Liebe was being prepared for performance at the national theatre with music by Starzer.

Anton und Antoinette (based on the French text by Des Boulmiers, translated by J. H. Faber, music by Gossec); Singspiel in 2 acts; first performed 9 February 1779

Of these works five were particularly successful: Die Bergknappen received thirty performances between 1778 and 1782; Die abgeredete Zauberey twenty-six performances during the same period; Der Hausfreund twenty-three; Röschen und Colas twenty-two and Frühling und Liebe twenty. An interesting feature to be noted here is that only four works in the entire list for 1778 were denoted Originalsingspiel, of which two met with success.⁸²

It is natural to suppose that Die Bergknappen would have aroused public interest as it was the first opera of the Nationalsingspiel. The actor, Müller, recorded the first performance of the opera as follows:

On Tuesday the 17th February on the recovery of the tenor [Ruprecht] the first German Singspiel was performed in the court theatre nachst der Burg. It was entitled: Die Bergknappen. The music was by the composer Herr Umlauf. The audience was large and the applause loud.⁸³

Müller's comment on the success of the work is substantiated by a report in the Wienerisches Diarium a week after its première:

82 The Kurzgefasste Nachrichten von den bekanntesten deutschen Nationalbühnen überhaupt, und von dem kk Nationaltheater zu Wien (Vienna, 1779), p. 195 states 'let it be said loudly and openly, the Emperor will only have original works'!!

83 Müller, Abschied, op.cit., p. 257,

Die Bergknappen has been so well received that it is with the greatest of difficulty that one has been able to find a seat in the theatre; in fact the number of people that have been turned away equals the number inside.⁸⁴

It would appear that in this case the popularity of the work was due both to the music which was 'admired by connoisseurs'⁸⁵ and to the skill of the singers.⁸⁶

Die Bergknappen was written for a small cast of four soloists and chorus. The leading role was played by Katherine Cavalieri who, despite her Italian-sounding name, was the daughter of 'an honest school teacher'⁸⁷ from Vienna. Her talent had been recognized by the Emperor who entrusted her teaching to Salieri. Although only eighteen when she appeared in Die Bergknappen she was already an experienced opera singer, having sung with an Italian troupe in Vienna since 1776. Her popularity is not in doubt for she appeared in seventeen operas in the Nationalsingspiel, and her services were retained even when the company was disbanded in 1783. In a letter of September 1786⁸⁸ to Rosenberg Joseph expressed his wish to keep Cavalieri in the company as 'she will always be good and it would not be easy to find anyone better'. Even in 1788

84 Wienerisches Diarium, 25 February 1778.

85 Kurzgefasste Nachrichten, op.cit., p.202.

86 The skill of the chorus was also commented on in the Kurzgefasste Nachrichten ibid., p.202 and was described as 'masterful'.

87 Philipp L. H. Roeder, Reisen durch das südliche Teutschland Vol.I (Leipzig and Klagenfürth, 1789), p.416.

88 Written from Prague, 29 September 1786, Joseph als Theaterdirektor op.cit., p.69.

when the Emperor ordered the dismissal of the Italian troupe then playing at the Kärntnertheater of which Cavalieri was a member, he stipulated that she, along with Madam Arnold and Saal, should be retained as part of the acting troupe at the same salary. She eventually retired on a pension in 1793. The Emperor remarked how good she was soon after the first performance of Umlauf's opera,⁸⁹ and contemporary critics were also fairly unanimous in their acclaim. Her voice was described as 'exceptional' by Gebler who, on two occasions in letters to Nicolai, also referred specifically to her wide register which enabled her to sing both high and low notes with equal power. She had an ability to sing 'the most difficult passages'.⁹⁰ Whereas there is no doubt about her talent, it does seem that her character left something to be desired; one may find it difficult to believe the critical Brandes who wrote, 'She is wholly loathsome, has only one eye and ... appeals to one's sense of pity'.⁹¹ The more reliable Schröder commented 'Dem. Cavalieri possessed voice and art, but no favourable personality'.⁹²

The other female role in Die Bergknappen was that of Delda, the gypsy, which was played by Mmz. Stierle. She was another young actress, also a native of Vienna but already famous throughout

89 Müller, Abschied, op.cit., p.257.

90 Werner, op.cit., pp. 92 and 105. Letters dated 6 February 1778 and 31 October 1780.

91 Brandes, op.cit., p.333.

92 Friederich Ludwig Schröder, op.cit., p.369.

Germany for her comedy and Singspiel roles. She was married to the actor Stierle who was employed in the spoken drama at the Nationaltheater and who also appeared occasionally in works given at the Nationalsingspiel. Indeed, she herself spent more time in spoken plays where her roles were principally those of soubrette. Nonetheless she was busy in the first year of the Nationalsingspiel, appearing in eight works altogether, but her contract must have then come to an end.⁹³ She made a guest appearance in one other work, Der eifersüchtige Liebhaber in 1780. She performed mainly supporting roles in the Nationalsingspiel probably because, as the Emperor remarked to Müller soon after the opening of Die Bergknappen, she 'acts well but has not enough music in her'.⁹⁴

The male roles were given to two inexperienced singers, Ruprecht and Fuchs, for whom Die Bergknappen was their first taste of the theatre. Fuchs, who sang bass, has been described as the weakest of the company but nevertheless he was given many roles in the first two years of the enterprise, especially those of 'feeble old men' and 'comic fathers'. He played in nine operas in 1778, nine in 1779 and in four in 1780. Ruprecht had a longer stay at the Nationaltheater than Fuchs and, along with Cavalleri, was one of the few members of the German opera company to be retained after the disbanding of the Nationalsingspiel. He left in 1786 to join the

93 The Singspiel Director, Rosenberg, noted in the 'Vorschrift und Gesetze' op.cit., p.30 early in 1779 that Mrs Stierle was 'no longer engaged to sing'.

94 Müller, Abschied, op.cit., p.257.

Hofkapelle. One finds few references to this singer in contemporary journals, and it is somewhat surprising that his services were esteemed sufficiently highly for him to be retained in 1783 especially when he was criticised by Joseph for his weak diction.⁹⁵ Moreover, the frequency of his appearances in new works diminished significantly after 1778, a year in which he performed in nine operas.⁹⁶ The reason for this probably lies in the expansion of the opera company following the initial successes, when more experienced singers, notably the tenor Adamberger, took over from Ruprecht the principal role of 'lover'. Indeed, Gebler, in a letter of October 1780, cites Ruprecht as playing both 'lover and servant roles' which indicates that he had been forced to diversify his talents.

The two works which in 1778 were the next most popular with the Viennese audiences, judging by the number of performances, were both by Grétry. First given at Fontainebleau in 1771, Der Hausfreund had been performed in Vienna before the Nationalsingspiel was established and it was one of several French operas presented by the Noverre/Böhm association as part of the rival attractions in the Kärntnertortheater when Joseph was trying to establish his national theatre in 1776. The Taschenbuch des Wiener Theaters (1777) lists four performances of this work between April and June of

95 Ibid., p.257.

96 In 1779 Ruprecht appeared in four new operas but in only one in each of the subsequent years.

that year.⁹⁷ As one writer commented, "Who does not know this fine work?".⁹⁸ It had also been published in two editions in Frankfurt in 1774 and 1775, but the translation for the Viennese production involved the dialogue being rendered in prose, although the arias were kept in their original verse form.⁹⁹ Der Hausfreund proved to be a popular piece and its success continued when it was revived at the Burgtheater, for 'the public could not see it often enough'.¹⁰⁰ It was after having attended the dress rehearsal of this opera that Joseph felt confident enough about the future of the Nationalingspiel to stipulate that thereafter Singspiele were to be given twice weekly.

At this time, the national theatre employed two principal female singers of whom Cavalieri was one. Her counterpart was Madam Marianne Lange, who should not be confused with the more famous Madam Aloysia Lange, née Weber, who joined the Nationalingspiel in September 1779. The actor, Joseph Lange married Marianne Schindler who, according to the former's autobiography, came to the attention of the Emperor while playing the role of Thisbe in a performance of Hasse's opera Pyramus and Thisbe which Lange himself was directing. Because of her success in this work she was engaged for the Nationalingspiel where, her husband commented,

97 Taschenbuch des Wiener Theaters (1777), op.cit., pp.67-68.

98 Kurzgefasste Nachrichten, op.cit., p.206.

99 L. M. Price, 'Marmontel on the German Stage', University of Carolina Publications in Modern Philology, Vol.XXVII (1944), p.74.

100 Wiener Musenalmanach (1779), quoted in DTÖ, op.cit., Vol.XXXVI, p.xii.

'She was soon the favourite of the public'.¹⁰¹ It does not seem that Lange was too biased in his appraisal, for Müller wrote that in Der Hausfreund 'she played with such grace and deep feeling that she was cheered at the end with one accord'.¹⁰² Her other main success was in the title role of another Grétry opera, Lucile, which she took over from Anna Teuber. Madam Lange's career at the national theatre was unfortunately very short for she died in March 1779.

Such relatively small-scale operas did not require two leading ladies, but the problem of allocating roles to Lange and Cavalieri to avoid unnecessary rivalry was simply solved by ensuring that they played in alternate works. Thus the first appearance of Madam Lange at the Nationalsingspiel was as Rose in Diesmal hat der Mann den Willen! It was then Cavalieri's turn to play in Die abgeredete Zauberey. This, a slightly later work by Grétry, which had been first performed at the Théâtre de la Comédie Italienne only three years previously, was being given its first performance in Vienna. Again the number of performances it received at the court theatre and the length of time it was kept in the repertoire (until December 1786) indicate its popularity. In common with many works given at this time, however, little was said of it in contemporary journals; Müller, for example, merely wrote that 'it was well played and warmly received'.¹⁰³

101 Ibid., p.x1.

102 Müller, Abschied, op.cit., p.259.

103 Ibid., p.262.

The success of Röschen und Colas followed closely that of Die Bergknappen. Although the original French version of this work had been first given in Paris in 1764 this was the first occasion of its being staged in Vienna.¹⁰⁴ It was Röschen und Colas which saw the debut at the Nationalsingspiel of Böhlm and his wife; the same Böhlm who had produced, with Noverre, the series of French operas and ballets at the Kärntnertortheater in the early part of 1776 and whom Joseph had wished to appoint as Director of the Nationalsingspiel. Although they both appeared frequently during the 1778-79 season, they left Vienna at the end of 1778, the reason being, it was said,¹⁰⁵ their distaste for the prevalent theatrical intrigues. The Gotha Theater-Kalender described Böhlm as a specialist in the roles of 'comic old men', whereas his wife played 'all types of mother roles'. One report commented, 'The beautiful simple music in this well known operette rendered the unbearable chattering of the two old characters harmless,'¹⁰⁶ implying that they tended to exaggerate their respective parts of Peter Rotkopf and Mutter Anna in Röschen und Colas. Müller did

104 The Library of Congress Catalogue of Opera Librettos printed before 1800 states that the opera was arranged by J. H. Faber for performance in Frankfurt in 1774. Hadamowsky has noted that it was his version which was used for the Viennese production; Michtner cites Böhlm as the translator.

105 Michtner, op.cit., p.45.

106 Kurzgefasste Nachrichten, op.cit., p.206. The fact that Herr and Frau Böhlm took these two roles would bear out Michtner in his surmise that it was the former's version which was used at the Nationalsingspiel (see note 104). It follows that Böhlm would give himself a prominent part.

not endorse such criticism - probably because he had directed the work in the first instance - and wrote that all the singers 'satisfied the wishes of the audience'.¹⁰⁷

Frühling und Liebe was the only other opera to prove particularly popular in 1778. Although it is described on the title page and playbill as Originalsingspiel, it was in fact based on an Italian text by Gozzi, as the preface testifies. The Journal von auswärtigen und deutschen Theatern justified its borrowing from the Italian in the following entry:

You will also acknowledge the fact that the plot of the piece was deliberately based on the Italian. All well and good! But, does the text, music and acting reveal, not French-Italian but real German genius?¹⁰⁸

Whether the work is a German original or not, there is nonetheless an interesting line from the end of the second act of the opera which would seem to refer to the Nationalsingspiel; Perillo, the marionette player, remarks:

A most droll people, the German people! - they want everything to be German! - German marmots¹⁰⁹ - German marionettes and, God be with us, even German music!

The writer from the above-mentioned Journal made more specific references to this opera a few days later. He felt 'the dialogue ... is here and there too short ... several songs seem to give

107 Müller, Abschied, op.cit., p.259.

108 J. F. Schmidt (Ed.), Journal von auswärtigen und deutschen Theatern (Vienna, 1778), p.75. This report is dated 5 Herbstmonat 1778, three days before the first performance of Frühling und Liebe.

109 Murmelthiere.

rise to the dialogue, rather than the dialogue giving rise to the songs'. One recitative and subsequent aria in particular he felt belonged to a 'German museum' and he wondered why such a number could be allowed to feature in a comic opera; when the 'so-called bravoura arias were banished from serious operas' it seemed odd that 'our German writers should include them in comic operas'. It would appear that the librettist and composer acknowledged the weakness of the offending recitative for 'on the advice of some music lovers' they withdrew it and replaced it with dialogue.¹¹⁰ Ulbrich's ensemble writing was specifically praised but the same critic, while comparing him with 'great Masters' such as Gluck, Benda and Grétry, wrote that the work could have been improved if 'the arias, duets and quartets were expanded and all the ritornelli were shortened. ... Nothing must be more sparsely applied than the ritornello. This rule reflects the very essence of the song. What is song? The quick expression of elevated, turbulent feeling - and should art imprison this feeling with a splendid introduction of instruments - should art prescribe the sounds in which the full heart unwillingly gives vent to deep emotion - and make fun of the heart?'

The success of Frühling und Liebe was assured not only by the fine singing of Cavalieri but also by that of Theresa Teuber for whom this was the first appearance at the Nationalsingspiel. It is easy for confusion to arise about the identity of this singer, firstly because the name appears in a variety of spellings (Teuber,

110 Kurzgefasste Nachrichten, op.cit., p.205.

Taube, Teyber) and secondly, because no fewer than three different singers with the same name took part in performances during the early years of the Singspiel. Nor is one helped by the lists of names on the playbills and scores of the relevant operas because, for the most part, the singer is given merely as 'Mlle. Teuber'. Theresa Teuber, born in 1760, was the most significant of the three, her sister Elisabeth making only one guest appearance in Frühling und Liebe. Anna Teuber was engaged at Easter 1778 but, as will be shown, she was not a success and left in September of the same year. Theresa was described by the Gotha Theater-Kalendar as playing juvenile parts and supporting roles, and she would therefore not prove to be a threat to the security of Cavalieri or Lange as leading ladies, even though she was described by Brandes as being the best actress of the three.¹¹¹ For this reason she appeared very frequently throughout the five years from 1778 to 1783, and her services were retained after the Nationalsingspiel was officially disbanded. Gebler, writing in 1780, referred to her 'strong, pleasant theatre voice which, with training, is very promising'¹¹² and Schröder described her as being 'youthfully fresh'.¹¹³

Theresa Teuber was not the only singer to make her debut in Frühling und Liebe for she was joined in the first performance

111 Brandes, op.cit., p.333.

112 Werner, op.cit., p.105. Letter dated 31 October 1780

113 Friederich Ludwig Schröder, op.cit., p.369.

of this work by the young Anna Gottlieb who was to be remembered chiefly for her later performances in the operas of Mozart.¹¹⁴

Only two other works of 1778 received a fair number of performances in the Nationalsingspiel and they did not approach the success of those already described. Robert und Kalliste, which was played thirteen times, is the first work yet to be discussed which was a direct adaptation of an Italian work; indeed it was the only opera of this type to be performed that year. The writer in one theatre journal was a little more discerning in his discussion of this opera than Müller, who merely recorded that 'it was very popular';¹¹⁵ instead one is told that the faults in the libretto, from the depiction of the characters to the clumsy denouement, should be a lesson to all librettists of German operettas. One should not rely solely on the work of the composer; the merit of an opera depended on the collaboration of both the composer and the librettist.¹¹⁶ The success of Robert und Kalliste, modest though

114 There is also evidence to suggest that another stalwart member of the Nationalsingspiel company, Mlle. Brenner, made her debut in this opera in the role of Luise, even though this role was taken at the opera's first performance on 8 September 1778 by Mmz. Stierle. It is also thought by Michtner and Haas that she played in Das Rosenfest von Sality and yet the text to Frühling und Liebe printed in 1778 lists her as playing Luise. The Allgemeiner Theater Almanach of 1782 substantiates this, for it also states that she made her debut in Ulbrich's opera. Nonetheless there were no other operas in which she appeared before September 1779 after which time she began singing regularly, and it must be assumed that she was making a guest appearance in 1778.

115 Müller, Abschied, op.cit., p.262.

116 Kurzgefasste Nachrichten, op.cit., p. 207.

it was, must have been sufficient for the director of the Theater auf der Weiden to risk a revival of the opera in September 1790, three years after it had last been given at the national theatre.¹¹⁷

Benda's melodrama, Medea, was given only seventeen times during the course of the Nationalsingspiel but it remained a standard work in the repertory of not only the national theatre but also of other Viennese theatres well into the nineteenth century. It has already been stated that strictly speaking the work cannot be regarded as a Singspiel as it does not involve the alternation of musical numbers with passages of spoken dialogue, but the spoken word set against a musical background. It should nonetheless have its place in a discussion of the works performed at the Nationalsingspiel, for it is without doubt a musical work, even though it required the services of actors rather than singers, because of the important role of the orchestra. It may not have been considered as such by contemporary writers, however, for they did not include it for discussion with the other works given at the theatre. One of the reasons why it was retained for so long was probably because it could be incorporated easily into the programme, forming a suitable supporting piece both to spoken plays and operas. There are even two instances at the national theatre, in 1794 and 1795, of it being given with two other works on the same evening.

So far in this account only seven operas have been examined

117 It was last performed at the national theatre in October 1787.

in relation to their success at the Nationalsingspiel. The eight other works performed in 1778 were presented less than ten times throughout the existence of the enterprise; thus over fifty per cent of the operas given that year may be considered to have failed, a fact which is even more remarkable when one considers that three of these works were especially commissioned for performance at the Burgtheater.

Diesmal hat der Mann den Willen! was first given three days after the theatre reopened after a six-week break for Lent. Ordonez must have had difficulty in following Umlauf's success with Die Bergknappen, but it would seem that the reason for only seven performances of the work in the ensuing five years was due not so much to his ineptitude as a composer as to the plot. The Viennese theatre-going public did not appreciate 'the operatic depiction of schoolmasters, lawyers, pedants, windbags and other such lyrical rabble'.¹¹⁸ The music was described as containing a 'country-like simplicity and a veneer of tenderness'^{118a} and some numbers sung by Rose and Blumbeck were specifically praised. The part of Rose was the first to be taken by Marianne Lange and the work also saw the first appearance of the 'splendid tenor'¹¹⁹ Souter, who was to play the role of 'first lover' until early in 1782. He was an experienced singer who had joined the company of the Nationalsingspiel after having worked with Böhm

118 Kurzgefasste Nachrichten, op.cit., p.203. 118a überkunte Zärtlichkeit

119 Müller, Abschied, op.cit., p.258.

in Brunn. Gebler wrote that one would hear him gladly alongside an Adamonti,¹²⁰ and Schröder, who attributed to him a 'pleasing and charming' voice,¹²¹ remarked that his playing of Pylades in Gluck's Iphigenie auf Tauris was unsurpassed. One must deduce, therefore, especially after noting from Müller that the singing of both Lange and Souter evoked applause from the Emperor and the public generally, that this was one occasion in which the performance of particular singers had a definite bearing on the length of time a work remained in the repertory. Without the talents of these two singers, Diesmal hat der Mann den Willen! would probably not have endured even for seven performances.

For Die Apotheke, his second composition for the National-singspiel, Umlauf chose to set to music a text based on a bürgerlich and comic theme by Engel. Engel's text, with music by Neefe, had been performed in Berlin in 1771. It does not state in the 1778 edition that Engel's libretto had been adapted for performance in Vienna, but this would certainly seem to be the case if one is to believe at least one contemporary critic.¹²² Moreover, one need not look far to realise that the new version did not match the success its original received in Berlin and Leipzig a few years earlier. Perhaps the adapter had proved Engel's

120 Werner, op.cit., p.104. Letter dated 31 October 1780. Adamonti was the name under which Adamberger was known in Italy.

121 Friederich Ludwig Schröder, op.cit., p.368.

122 The writer in the Kurzgefasste Nachrichten, op.cit., p.204 reported that 'great applause' was accorded to this opera in Leipzig.

maxim that 'a comedy is good to see, mediocre to read and very bad to write'.¹²³ It was easy for Müller to comment that 'this work did not please as much as Die Bergknappen',¹²⁴ when the fault was not entirely Umlauf's. The writer in the Kurzgefasste Nachrichten felt that his music was just as good as that supplied by Neefe to Engel's original version and went so far as to say that 'here and there it betrayed a master's hand'.¹²⁵ It was said that the composer and his adapter 'who in any case wishes to remain anonymous',¹²⁶ decided to make some changes in the work but this did not succeed in arousing interest in it, for after the first four performances it was repeated only twice the following year.

Whereas the talented performers ensured at least a temporary respite for Diesmal hat der Mann den Willen!, it proved to be the inadequate performance of Mlle. Anna Teuber, who was making her debut in Die Apotheke, that hastened the demise of the opera. Chosen to join the company¹²⁷ by the Emperor himself, Anna Teuber 'did not receive the expected applause',¹²⁸ and according to the

123 Joh. J. Engel, Die Apotheke (Leipzig in der Dyckischen Buchhandlung, 1772), preface, p.v.

124 Müller, Abschied, op.cit., p.260.

125 Kurzgefasste Nachrichten, op.cit., p.204.

126 Ibid.

127 Michtner op.cit., p.48, states that Joseph heard her in a performance of the oratorio La passione del Redentore by Metastasio and Starzer in the preceding March.

128 Müller, Abschied, op.cit., p.260.

writer in the Kurzgefasste Nachrichten it would appear that if the future of the work had been more secure, her role would have been given to another singer.

Die Apotheke was not, however, the worst received of the original works of the 1778 season, for Aspelmayr's Die Kinder der Natur was given only three times. It may well have been that the plot, acknowledged in the first edition to have been taken from Marivaux (although the informative writer in the Kurzgefasste Nachrichten attributed the original text to Menander), was far too naïve for the sophisticated Viennese audiences. It dealt solely with the reactions of four unbelievably innocent children, of identical appearance, who meet each other for the first time in an idyllic setting. One of the most dramatic moments in the opera, for instance, involves one of the children seeing his reflection for the first time. Text and music undoubtedly possessed 'grace', but this attribute was not sufficient to guarantee even a moderate success and the work was given merely an 'indifferent' reception.¹²⁹ The role of one of the children was played by a newcomer, the tenor Arnold, who, in his short stay at the Nationalsingspiel,¹³⁰ appeared in 'lover and supporting roles'.

129 Ibid., p.261.

130 According to Michtner, op.cit., p.42, Arnold was engaged in May 1778 and left in September, although he was to return to the Burgtheater for three years from 1785, during which time he married Theresa Teuber.

It is generally acknowledged that operas on Turkish themes were popular towards the end of the eighteenth century,¹³¹ the best known example being Mozart's Die Entführung aus dem Serail, but this great work was not the first to be written in that genre for the Nationalsingspiel. Stephanie the younger, who later collaborated with Mozart, wrote the libretto for Da is nicht gut zu rathen, and it is noteworthy that, in the light of his later infamous conduct with regard to the text of Die Entführung, where he freely adapted Bretzner's original libretto without his permission, at that time the author appeared to have scruples concerning plagiarism. In the preface to the earlier opera he strenuously denied that he had derived his plot from a German adaptation of Gozzi's fairy-tale, Die glücklichen Bettler, even though 'it contains an intrigue which features in my opera'.¹³² He did acknowledge, however, that an idea from an English comedy, given in German as Die eifersüchtige Ehefrau, in which the main character exchanges his wife for a horse, gave him inspiration. Stephanie's wish that his opera be favourably received 'so that the composer of the music would not have toiled in vain' was not entirely realised, for although it was reported to have been greeted with the 'warmest applause'¹³³ and several of the numbers had to be repeated, the audience was divided in its opinion¹³⁴ and the work was withdrawn in January 1779 after seven performances.

131 See Walther Preibisch, Quellenstudien zu Mozarts 'Entführung aus dem Serail', Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Türkenoper (Halle, 1908).

132 Stephanie der jüngere, Da ist nicht gut zu rathen (Vienna, 1778), Preface.

133 Journal von auswärtigen und deutschen Theatern, op.cit., p.27.

134 Müller, Abschied, op.cit., p.261.

Lucile and Sylvain, unlike Grétry's other works performed in 1778 which have already been discussed did not attract the public's interest. The latter 'received no applause'¹³⁵ and was given but two performances. The fortune of Lucile was slightly more auspicious as it was performed eight times. This opera was already known to Viennese audiences because of four performances given in 1776 by Noverre and Böhm at the Kärntnertortheater. Described as a 'triviality',¹³⁶ Lucile was generally well received both by the Emperor and the audience, and one quartet in particular, 'Wo kann man besser seyn als in der Helfern Armen', had to be sung three times. Anna Teuber made no better impression in this work than she had done in Die Apotheke, there being 'much to criticise',¹³⁷ in her performance, and only one performance later Müller was ordered by the theatre directorship to replace her by Marianne Lange. The latter appeared when the opera was revived a month later and although she imbued the work with 'a new delight',¹³⁸ it was not sufficient to secure a future for Lucile at the Burgtheater and the opera was finally withdrawn from the repertory in April 1780.

Mlle. Anna Schindler, the younger sister of Marianne Lange, was to be an important member of the Nationalsingspiel company,

135 Ibid., p.262.

136 Ibid., p.260.

137 Ibid., p.260.

138 Ibid., p.261.

appearing in over fifteen works before she left the Burgtheater in 1784. Engaged by the Oberdirektor Baron von Kienmayr, she made as a 'young beginner',¹³⁹ a rather unusual debut in Der Liebhaber von fünfzehn Jahren in that she was cast in the role of a boy. It is therefore hardly surprising that in such a difficult role she did not win the applause of the audience and the Emperor. Moreover both 'the text and music failed',¹⁴⁰ and the theatre could not sustain more than two performances.

The final work to be given in the first season, Gossec's Anton und Antoinette, did not fare much better and was withdrawn after three performances even though it was said to have 'pleased'.¹⁴¹ Gossec's opera was an example of another French work which had formerly been given by Noverre and Böhm in 1776.

11 The 1779-80 Season

The number of new works performed in the second season of the Nationalsingspiel was slightly smaller than in the previous season despite the fact that twenty more opera performances took place in 1779; this was because several works from the 1778 season still remained in the repertory.

139 Werner, op.cit., p.105. Letter dated 31 October 1780.

140 Quoted from the Realzeitung, Michtner, op.cit., p.65.

141 Müller, Abschied, op.cit., p.263.

Der verstellte Narr aus Liebe (based on Il finto pazzo per Amore, adapted by Stephanie the younger, music by Sacchini); Singspiel in two acts; first performed 6 April 1779

Der Jahrmarkt (text by Gotter, music by Georg Benda); Komisches Singspiel in one act; first performed 15 April

Die beiden Geizigen (based on Les deux Avides by Falbaire, music by Grétry); Singspiel in two acts; first performed 12 May

Die pucefarbnen Schuhe oder Die schöne Schusterinn (based on the French text by Serrières, freely adapted by Stephanie the younger, music by Umlauf); Komisches Singspiel in two acts; first performed 22 June

Julie (based on the French text by Monvel, music by Dérède); Singspiel in three acts; first performed 23 August

Das Rosenfest zu Salenci (based on La Rosière de Salenci by Favart, music by Philidor); Singspiel in three acts; first performed 9 September

Die Liebe unter den Handwerksleuten (based on L'Amore artigiano by Goldoni, music by Gassmann); Singspiel in three acts; first performed 29 September

Zemire und Azor (based on the French text by Marmontel, music by Grétry); Singspiel in four acts; first performed 13 October

Der Deserteur (based on the French text by Sedaine, translated by Stephanie the younger, music by Monsigny); Singspiel in three acts; first performed 28 November

Ariadne auf Naxos (text by Johann Christian Brandes, music by Georg Benda); Duodrama in one act; first performed 4 January 1780

Der prächtige Freigebige (based on the French text by Sedaine, music by Grétry); Singspiel in three acts; first performed 2 February

The proportion of successful new operas performed in 1779 was larger than in 1778, although the directorship of the National-singspiel may well have felt despondent at the beginning of the

new season because three out of the first four new works had to be withdrawn after a very few performances. It was not until May, with the première of Grétry's Die beiden Geizigen, that a modicum of success was assured. This opera had recently been presented three times in Vienna by Böhm during his short season at the ~~Kärntner~~ Kärntnertheater, and it is likely that the theatre directorship aimed to take advantage of its popularity. Its revival however passed with little comment from the press; one newspaper referred to its warm reception despite the poor translation.¹⁴² Less success was achieved by Der prächtige Freigeige, also by Grétry, which had already been given twice in Vienna in 1776, for it was withdrawn without comment after three performances.

It was certainly not the case, however, that Grétry's music had passed out of favour, for one of the most popular works in Vienna in 1779 was Zemire und Azor, his comédie-ballet en vers. This opera was one of his greatest successes. Since its initial performances devant Sa Majesté at Fontainebleau in November 1771 and at the Comédie Italienne in Paris a month later, it had been presented in at least five different German versions before this particular production in Vienna,¹⁴³ and indeed, like the two other operas mentioned above, it had also been given by Böhm in 1776. The main difference in the 1779 adaption was that the ballet

142 Quoted from the Realzeitung, Michtner, op.cit., p.65.

143 The translator of the version for performance in Vienna is not given on the playbill.

sections were omitted, and it was not until October 1781, with the coming of a ballet troupe from Munich under the leadership of Crux, that the censor permitted the insertion of the ballet sections. The continuing popularity of the work is illustrated by its retention in the repertoire of the national theatre until 1787.

The principal rival to Zemire und Azor in 1779 was Die pucefarbnen Schuhe, equally known under its alternative title, Die schöne Schusterinn. Although the music to this opera was 'newly composed' by Umlauf, the text was 'freely translated and arranged' by Stephanie from Serrières's recent text Les Souliers Mordorés of 1776.¹⁴⁴ The popularity of this opera is illustrated by its retention in the repertoire of the national theatre until 1802¹⁴⁵ and also by performances in other Viennese theatres in the last years of the eighteenth century, such as the Leopoldstadttheater (1783), the Theater beim Fasan am Neustift (1783) and the Landstrassetheater (1792). The Realzeitung attributed its success more to the action as a whole than to the dialogue;¹⁴⁶ indeed the plot is full of conventional comic episodes which range from the playing of a practical joke and a case of mistaken identity

144 Die pucefarbnen Schuhe oder die schöne Schusterinn, Title page. Schatz, in the Library of Congress, Catalogue of Opera Librettos printed before 1800, quotes Haas DTÖ Vol. XXXVI, as reporting that Stephanie took, without alteration, several arias from Johann André's translation of Serrière's text.

145 There was a break of five years from 1782-7 in which, curiously, it was not performed at all.

146 Quoted in Michtner, op.cit., p.66.

to dramatic irony in which the principal character, Lehne, has to hide at the unexpected arrival of her husband the cobbler (who bears the unlikely name of Sock). Umlauf once again wrote a fine score to match the fast-moving plot, of which more will be written later. One aria in particular appealed to the public: this was a parody of a love duet in the Italian style in which the emotions expressed were not those of the heart but the praise of coffee!

The role of the cobbler's wife was taken by Marianne Weiss, for whom this was the first appearance at the Nationalsingspiel. She did not remain long in the company, playing only in three operas in the 1779 season. Brandes did not rate her talents very highly, noting that she 'sings nothing worth singing but can act, not because of understanding but because she is a beautiful woman';¹⁴⁷ this was probably not the reason for her short stay, however, because even Brandes acknowledged that she was 'idolized by the Viennese for her part as the schöne Schüsterinn'. Gebler gave the more obvious reason in a letter to Nicolai: 'Madam Weiss sings a deep alto and is therefore used only in a few roles',¹⁴⁸ although he agreed with Brandes about her physical appearance which was 'unequaled by all the other singers'. It seems, according to the Gotha Theater-Kalendar that, when she was no longer engaged by the national theatre, she still returned occasionally to appear in

147 Brandes, op.cit., p.334.

148 Werner, op.cit., p.105. Letter dated 31 October 1780.

this her most famous role.

Grétry's Die beiden Geizigen and Zemire und Azor were not the only operas by French composers which appealed to the public in 1779. Das Rosenfest zu Salenci by Philidor and Monsigny's Der Deserteur both received a fair number of performances at the Burgtheater and were retained at the ~~Kunst~~ Kärntnertheater after the dissolution of the Nationalsingspiel. Like several of the French pieces already discussed, they were not entirely new to the public, the former having been given twice and the latter once by Böhm and Noverre in 1776. Both works saw the first appearances of new singers; it was in Das Rosenfest that Mlle. Brenner was said to have begun her career as a 'very promising' young beginner.¹⁴⁹ She did not appear very frequently, however, and after having performed in only eight different operas in three years (the Gotha Theater-Kalendar stated that during this time she also acted as a guest artist in plays at the national theatre), she left Vienna.

Much more successful was Aloysia Weber who stayed at the Nationalsingspiel until 1792. She is not to be confused with Marianne Lange who, it will be remembered, was one of the leading ladies in the first season of the Nationalsingspiel, for Mlle. Weber was to marry Joseph Lange on his first wife's death. Contemporary critics were unanimous in their acclaim of her talent with the one exception of Brandes who acknowledged that she had a 'very pleasant voice'

149 See Note 114.

but considered it 'too weak for the theatre'.¹⁵⁰ The Irish singer, Kelly, wrote ecstatically about her: 'a wonderful favourite and deservedly so; she had a greater extent of high notes than any other singer I ever heard ... her execution was most brilliant'.¹⁵¹ Gebler was in agreement with Kelly, attributing to her 'a tonal quality which touches the heart', and extolling her 'incredible top register which correctly executes the most difficult passages.'¹⁵²

The tenor, Dauer, who appeared for the first time in Der Deserteur, was one of the singers discovered by Müller on his travels round Germany. Michtner reports that Dauer was kept on in service at the Nationaltheater after 1783, although his name is not listed among those of other singers listed as members of the troupe by the Gotha Theater-Kalendar of 1784. His role was usually that of lover, but it is remarkable that he appeared in only two or three works each year until 1783. Perhaps his most significant role was that of Pedrillo in Die Entführung aus dem Serail. He spent part of his time acting in the spoken drama productions at the national theatre, and it was his acting ability which set him apart from the other members of the Singspiel company: 'amongst the men Herr Dauer is the best at acting in the Singspiel for which he deserves all praise; because he plays his

150 Brandes, op.cit., p.333.

151 Reminiscences, op.cit., Vol.I, p.250.

152 Werner, op.cit., p.105. Letter dated 31 October 1780.

parts so well both in comedies and tragedies, that one can realise that he understands and feels what he says'.¹⁵³

Of the two adaptations from Italian works performed during the 1779 season Gassmann's L'Amore Artigiano was the more successful. The original version of this opera had been first performed at the Kärntnertheater in April 1767¹⁵⁴ and a revival of this version was staged in October 1776. This production overlapped with the opening of the Nationalsingspiel as the last two performances of the work were given on the days immediately before and after the first performance of Die Bergknappen.

It is remarkable that the four works which had the least success in making impression were those given at the opening of the second season. The French work, Julie, received only three performances in 1779 and was not subsequently revived.

It is hardly surprising that Sacchini's opera Der verstellte Narr aus Liebe received a mixed reception because the plot did not follow the norm of being essentially comic. True, it ends happily with the customary general reconciliations but the motivation of two of the characters is entirely selfish; that of an army captain who pursues a young peasant girl and thus breaks up a happy relationship between her and her shepherd lover whom the captain imprisons, and that of his former lover who agrees to help the young couple but only in order to win back his favours.

153 Maier, op.cit., p.10.

154 Joseph Lange attended a performance of the opera in 1767 and in his autobiography he regretted that the singing was not as natural as the costumes, op.cit., p.15.

The Realzeitung described the plot as being 'without human understanding'.¹⁵⁵

The main reasons for the failure of Benda's Der Jahrmarkt will be discussed in greater detail later but, to judge from a contemporary report,¹⁵⁶ the work did not live up to the public's expectations after the performances of Medea in the previous season. The opera may well have been staged in Vienna at that time because the composer himself was staying in the city having left the Hamburg opera in October 1778.¹⁵⁷ Neither his presence nor the guest appearance of Benda's son, Christian, however attracted the interest of the public even though the work was said to have contained 'much spectacle, varied and well-drawn characters, a quick moving and amusing dialogue, well-sounding verse, all of which contributed to making the piece more entertaining on the stage'.¹⁵⁸ Despite the lack of popularity of Der Jahrmarkt, Benda achieved a definite success with his second melodrama (strictly speaking, in this case, a duodrama) to be produced at the national theatre, Ariadne auf Naxos. Like Medea this work proved to be a convenient means of filling a programme, and its dramatic content appealed to the audience. It was performed regularly until 1798 and was later revived in 1810. On three occasions in the 1790s it was given in the same

155 Quoted in Michtner, op.cit., p.63.

156 Ibid., p.65

157 I am indebted to Mr. John Drake for this information.

158 Christian H. Schmid, Chronologie des deutschen Theaters (Leipzig, 1775) for the year 1775.

programme as two other works.

A number of newly engaged singers made their debut at the opening of the 1779-80 season. Madam Bellomo stayed the shortest time at the national theatre; she played for the first time in Der verstellte Narr aus Liebe and appeared in only one other work, Julie, before leaving the company after five months. The first to join in the 1779 season was the bass-baritone, Reiner, about whom little has been written. He stayed only until shortly after the opening of the following season, but his talents were fully exploited during the year 1779 when he appeared in seven of the eleven new works. One of the more active members of the company engaged at this time was Frankenberg who appeared for the first time in Der Jahrmarkt. He specialised in comic roles and despite the fact that he 'was scarcely noticed among the other singers',¹⁵⁹ he appeared fairly frequently until 1781, after which time, according to Schröder, he 'attracted attention' in Berlin. Frankenberg was not the only singer to play comic roles for Gottfried Heinrich Schmidt, who was engaged slightly later than Frankenberg, was used 'for every comic role'.¹⁶⁰ Several sources refer specifically to his skill as a musician and 'because of his wide musical knowledge'¹⁶¹ he was appointed Mitdirektor of the Nationalsingspiel.

Thus although slightly fewer new works were performed in 1779,

159 Friederich Ludwig Schröder, op.cit., p.368.

160 Werner, op.cit., p.104, Letter dated 31 October 1780.

161 Allgemeiner Theater Almanach, (Vienna, 1782).

the same types of operas were given: works written especially for the Nationalsingspiel; in the form of entirely original pieces and also adaptations from foreign texts but with new music, a substantial proportion of adaptations from familiar French pieces, and the occasional arrangements of an Italian opera.

111 The 1780-81 Season

Ten new works appeared in the repertoire in this season, of which two were Originalsingspiele; two others were written in the German language but not written especially for the Nationalsingspiel, performances having already taken place elsewhere in Germany; four were adaptations from the French originals and two from the Italian.

Der adeliche Tagelöhner (text by Paul Weidmann, music by Josef Barta); Originalsingspiel in three acts; first performed 28 March 1780

Was erhält die Männer treu? (text by Ludwig Zehnmark, music by Martin Ruprecht); Originalsingspiel in two acts; first performed 1 May

Die Kolonie (based on the text La Colonie by Framery, adapted by André, music by Sacchini); ¹⁶²
Singspiel in two acts; first performed 7 May

162 Haas DTÖ, Vol. XXXVI gives Die Kolonie as a translation of the Italian text L'Isola d'Amore. Faber's translation, which was written for a performance in Mannheim in 1779, was based on a French version of the Italian original made by N. E. Framery in Paris in 1775 and called La Colonie. This explains the apparent paradox of a French text with Sacchini's music.

Claudine von Villa Bella (text by Goethe, music by Ignaz von Beecke); Schauspiel mit Gesang in three parts, first performed 31 June

Der Fassbinder (based on the text by Poinset, music by Philidor);¹⁶³ Singspiel in one act; first performed 29 June

Die unvermuthete Zusammenkunft oder Die Pilgrime von Mecca (based on the text by Dancourt, translated by Johan Heinrich Faber, music by Gluck); Singspiel in three acts; first performed 26 July

Die verfolgte Unbekannte (based on an Italian text, translated by Stephanie the younger, music by Anfossi); Komisches Singspiel in three acts; first performed 21 August

Der eifersüchtige Liebhaber (based on a French text, translated by Stephanie the younger, music by Grétry); Singspiel in two acts; first performed 12 October

163 There seems to be considerable confusion as to the identity of the composer of this work: Haas gives Audinot; Hadamowsky, substantiated by the Allgemeiner Theater Almanach of 1782, gives Philidor and Michtner gives Gossec. The problem arises because there are several versions of Poinset's text and the composer is not given on the playbill. The number of revisions was probably due to the initial reception of the work dont le succes ne fut pas heureux. There are five different French editions of the work between 1765 and 1770. In the avertissement of the 1765 edition certain 'changes' are mentioned which 'become so considerable' that the work subsequently performed was 'completely new' (quotations from the Library of Congress Catalogue of Opera Librettos printed before 1800).

Die Freundschaft auf der Probe (based on a French text by Marmontel, music by Grétry); Operette in two acts; first performed 22 January 1781¹⁶⁴

Der Sklavenhändler von Smyrna (text by Schwan, music by Holly); Komisches Singspiel in one act; first performed 13 February

The number of failures during this year was considerably higher than that for the previous two seasons, indeed, six out of the ten new works received fewer than ten performances. Of these Claudine von Villa Bella, Die Freundschaft auf der Probe and Der Sklavenhändler von Smyrna were each performed only twice. It is significant that the first and last of the above-mentioned works came from North Germany and despite the success that Goethe's work, for instance, had 'in Berlin, Saxony and elsewhere in the North, it did not please at all here'.¹⁶⁵

The distinction between the tastes of the people from North and South Germany will be discussed later. It was in Claudine von Villa Bella that the bass Fischer made his debut, and he subsequently sang frequently at the Nationalsingspiel, appearing in seven different works in 1780 and in six the following year. Die Entführung was the last work in which Fischer appeared at the Burgtheater; in Lent 1783 he and his wife, who on five occasions

164 Haas gives Favart as the author of the text. The long gap between this and the previous opera was because the theatre was shut from 26 November 1780 to 21 January 1781 in mourning for the Empress, Maria Theresa, who died on 29 November. (According to Michtner, op.cit., p.94, a repeat of Der eifersüchtige Liebhaber, scheduled for 26 November, had to be cancelled because of the Empress's illness.)

165 DTO, Vol.XXXVI, p.xi.

had appeared on stage with him, left for Italy. The favour with which the Emperor viewed Fischer is illustrated by a letter to Rosenberg in December 1783.¹⁶⁶ Joseph had heard that the singer was returning to Vienna and he wished Rosenberg to re-engage him at the national theatre although 'preferably without his wife': 'he has always well pleased the public, his voice is beautiful'. Gebler described him as 'an excellent bass, who sings the deepest notes with a fullness, lightness and charm that one normally associates with good tenors';¹⁶⁷ even Brandes referred to him as 'the first bass in Germany'¹⁶⁸ although he added that Fischer did not have as much to do as Günther. Friedrich Günther, who had also been engaged in 1780, and who had made his first appearance in a new opera, Die Kolonie, at the Nationalsingspiel a month before Fischer, specialised in 'comic old men, pedants and other caricatures', he being 'no bad comedian'.¹⁶⁹ Contrary to Brandes's assertion he did not, however, appear in as many different operas as Fischer who also is reported to have played 'comic and tender fathers and caricature roles'.

The reason for the failure of Grétry's Die Freundschaft auf der Probe is uncertain, especially as one reviewer wrote: 'the music is splendid, and each singer, who needs to be not just a singer but also an actor, has the same opportunity to shine. Also

166 Joseph II als Theaterdirektor, op.cit., p.37.

167 Werner, op.cit., p.104, Letter dated 31 October 1780.

168 Brandes, op.cit., p.333.

169 Allgemeiner Theater Almanach, 1782.

this opera has received great applause on most of the stages of Germany.¹⁷⁰

It is unfortunate that, in many cases, works which failed at the Nationalsingspiel were given no mention in contemporary journals. This was the case with the first Originalsingspiel of the 1780 season, Barta's Der adeliche Tagelöhner, which passed unnoticed. One might assume that the opera would have appealed to the audience as it was presumably written specifically to suit the Viennese taste. If this was so, it certainly failed in its aim because it received only four performances in 1780. This was the first work in which the tenor, Josef Walther, appeared at the Nationalsingspiel. He was given the roles of first and second lover, parts which he played in fewer operas as the years progressed: five in 1780, three in 1781 and no new works in 1782. As has been suggested, there was no shortage of good tenors at the Burgtheater, and it may well have been the case that Walther was outclassed, for although he possessed a good voice it 'would be even better if it were more polished'.¹⁷¹

Was erhält die Männer treu? was only slightly more successful than the opera by Barta. It received four more performances, but again passed unnoticed in the newspapers. The composer of this work was the tenor Ruprecht who had been a member of the Nationalsingspiel since the beginning. The remaining work to fail that year was

170 Ibid., p.56.

171 Werner, op.cit., p.104, Letter dated 31 October 1780.

the adaptation of Sacchini's L'Isola d'Amore given under the title of Die Kolonie. This, like one or two other pieces already discussed, had been very popular elsewhere in Europe. In Germany, for instance, it had been performed in Mannheim, Berlin, Breslau, Hamburg and Frankfurt before being staged at Vienna. Indeed, it had also already been seen in Vienna in 1769 in the Italian with additional music by Gassmann.¹⁷² It made no impression on the Viennese audience in 1780, however, and was given only five performances. Sacchini was a popular favourite with the Emperor; while in Paris Joseph recommended him to Marie Antoinette, and it may be that it was the Emperor's personal wish to see this particular work performed at his theatre.

Gluck's Pilgrime von Mecca, given originally under its alternative title, Die unvermuthete Zusammenkunft, was undoubtedly the most popular work of the 1780 season in Vienna. Having been given twenty-five times at the Nationalsingspiel, it also received a further twenty-nine performances after the venture had been disbanded.¹⁷³ Again, this was a work familiar to the Viennese public. It had first been given in the city in the original French version in 1764 (this edition is dated 1763) and, despite the

172 A. Loewenberg, Annals of Opera 2 Vols. (2nd Ed., Geneva, 1955)

173 Müller, Abschied, op.cit., p.273, states that in the performance given on 11 April 1785, Emmanuel Schikaneder made his debut at the national theatre. He remained there until the end of February 1786.

criticism of Count Zinzendorf,¹⁷⁴ the work had been successful enough to warrant performances elsewhere in Germany; for example, the opera was translated into German in Frankfurt in 1772. It will already have become apparent that a good proportion of the successful operas given at the Nationalingspiel were French works in translation. Gluck, who had been appointed Kapellmeister in Vienna in 1754, had written several comic operas in the French language in collaboration with Durazzo, who was at that time director of the Burgtheater. Durazzo established a fruitful association with the French poet Favart who, in the 1740s, had been so influential in the development of the comic opera in his native country. By staging these opéras comiques, Durazzo succeeded in capturing first the attention and then the loyalty of a wide section of society which had previously been sceptical of the highly stylized performances of French plays. Die Pilgrime von Mecca was another example of the collaboration between Durazzo and Gluck. It was also the first work on a Turkish theme to become popular at the Burgtheater.

Der Fassbinder is another example of a French work to find favour with the Viennese public, although the regular performances of the opera are likely to have been due to its brevity which made it suitable for pairing with a longer work; on one occasion, in 1796, it was included with two other pieces. It is rather difficult

174 The Count in his diary complained of its length and badly constructed text but praised Gluck's music, which was written 'in the Italian style'.

to assess the reaction of the audience to the adaptation of Grétry's Der eifersüchtige Liebhaber for, once more, there is a lack of detailed reviews. The original version had only recently been composed¹⁷⁵ and this was the first translation of the work into German. The plot is interesting in that it bears similarities to Mozart's Nozze di Figaro. The first act ends in confusion, for Don Alfonso, the jealous lover, is convinced that hiding in a cupboard is a rival who is bent on securing the affections of his sweetheart Leonore. In fact it is Alfonso's sister, Isabella, who is hiding. Meanwhile, Leonore and her maid are more apprehensive about the imminent arrival of her father, Lopez, and the act ends with the appearance of Lopez and the eventual escape of Isabella from the cupboard. The final scene takes place in a garden house and involves a case of mistaken identity which is made more ironic by a display of jealousy on the part of Don Alfonso. It is also, incidentally, set in Spain, although the only indications of this lie in the names of the characters and not in any use of local colour. Despite the apparent comedy of situation, the work did not seem to evoke great enthusiasm. The reason for this has been given as the indifferent performances of the singers,¹⁷⁶

175 The opera had first been performed at Versailles in 1778 and subsequently in Paris in 1779 under the title Les fausses Apparences. The title from which the first Viennese edition was taken was L'Amant Jaloux which was given in an edition published in Toulouse in 1780 (Library of Congress Catalogue of Opera Librettos printed before 1800)

176 Michtner, op.cit., p.92

which is surprising when one considers that the title role was taken by the tenor Adamberger, for whom this was only his second opera role at the Nationalsingspiel.

Adamberger had made his first appearance in the preceding opera that season, Die verfolgte Unbekannte, and this began thirteen years of service at the Nationaltheater. There can be little doubt that the fame Adamberger had acquired in theatres in London, Germany and Italy was well earned. Gebler wrote of him as a singer combining 'great artistry with a glorious voice. No syllable escapes the listener even in the most difficult passages.'¹⁷⁷

Schröder was a little more discerning: 'Adamberger was a pleasant, talented tenor, whose only weakness was a nasal quality in the top register ...',¹⁷⁸ and the ever critical Brandes reported that it was praise enough to say he had won acclaim abroad but 'it seems to me that in both his singing and acting he lacks soul'.¹⁷⁹

Certainly he immediately became a rival to the other tenors who had previously taken the parts of first lover. Souter, for example, sang the main roles in those works in which Adamberger did not appear, but in 1782 these amounted to only three out of the nine new operas performed. In the two works in which they both took part in that season, Iphigenie auf Tauris and Alceste, Adamberger was accorded the principal part. The other main contender for the

177 Werner, op.cit., p.104, Letter dated 31 October 1780.

178 Friederich Ludwig Schröder, op.cit., p.368.

179 Brandes, op.cit., pp.332-333.

title of 'first lover' was Joseph Walther who had been given important roles in five different operas all of which had been performed for the first time in 1780. As has already been mentioned, his stature diminished quickly after the arrival of Adamberger, and he left the Nationaltheater in February 1782.

iv The 1781-2 Season

Despite the addition to the company of as well-known a singer as Adamberger, the success of Joseph's enterprise was even smaller in the season 1781-82. Nine new works were given that year:

Adrast und Isidore oder Die Nachtmusik (based on L'Amour Peintre by Molière, adapted by Friedrich Bretzner, music by Franz Adam Ritter von Mitscha); Komische Oper in two acts; first performed 26 April

Der Rauchfangkehrer oder Die unentbehrlichen Verräther ihrer Herrschaften aus Eigennütz (text by Leopold von Auenbrugger, music by Salieri); Musikalisches Lustspiel in three acts; first performed 30 April

Die eingebildeten Philosophen (adapted from an Italian text by Stephanie the younger, music by Paisiello); Singspiel in two acts; first performed 22 May¹⁸⁰

180 The author of the Italian text is not given in the Viennese edition of 1781; Haas gives the original author as Galleni, Michtner gives Bertati. According to the Library of Congress Catalogue of Opera Librettos printed before 1800, the opera was first performed with Paisiello's music at St. Petersburg in 1779 under the title of Gli Astrologi Imaginarij which was an 'alteration' of Bertati's I Visionarij, a text set to music by Gennaro Astaritta and performed in Venice in 1772.

Die Wäscher Mädchen (Italian text and music by Francesco Zanetti, translated by Johann Christian Bock);¹⁸¹ Komisches Singspiel in two acts; first performed 11 July

Die Sklavin und der grossmütige Seefahrer (freely adapted from an Italian text by Stephanie the younger, music by Piccinni); Komisches Singspiel in two acts; first performed 7 August¹⁸²

Die unvermutheten Zufälle (based on a French text, adapted by Stephanie the younger, music by Grétry); Singspiel in three acts; first performed 1 September¹⁸³

Iphigenie auf Tauris (based on the French text of Guillard, music by Gluck); Tragisches Singspiel in four acts; first performed 23 October

Alceste (text^{b/} Calzabigi, music by Gluck); Tragisches Singspiel in three acts, first performed 3 December

Orfeo ed Euridice (text by Calzabigi, music by Gluck); Tragisches Singspiel in three acts, first performed 31 December

Das Irrlicht oder Endlich fand er sie (text by Bretzner freely adapted for the national court theatre; music by Umlauf); Komisches Singspiel in three acts; first performed 17 January 1782

The most notable feature of this list is the incorporation

181 Several Italian versions with a similar title with music by Galuppi preceded this version by Zanetti. Although the playbill gives J. C. Bock as the translator of Zanetti's text, the Library of Congress Catalogue of Opera Librettos states that Bock based his translation on the text by Mari of Le Lavandrine (first performed Rome 1772) for Die Waescherinnen which was first performed at Dresden in 1779. The work first appeared under the title of Das Wäscher Mädchen in Leipzig in 1779.

182 There are discrepancies concerning the composer of this opera. The Library of Congress Catalogue lists all the performances given since 1764 as being by Piccinni (an edition for a performance in London in 1772 was by Piccinni and others). Piccinni's name also features on the libretto printed in Vienna in 1781. The Allgemeiner Theater Almanach of 1782, however, gives Zanetti as the composer of the work

183 The author of the original text, who is not named in this Viennese edition, was Thomas d'Hèle

into the repertoire of three of Gluck's most well-known works, two of which were given in Italian. The reason for their inclusion was probably partly to rally the public after a succession of failures in the new season, and partly because Joseph wished to prepare fine entertainment for the ensuing royal visit to Vienna of the Grand Duke Petrowitch, later Czar Paul I, who arrived in the city on 21 November. Joseph saw a performance of Iphigenie in Paris in August 1781 while staying with his sister, Marie Antoinette. Impressed though he might have been by this opera, it was not as a result of this Parisian production that it was decided to present the work in Vienna as Gluck had been aware that Iphigenie was to be revived there as early as May of that year. In a letter of 1 May Gluck wrote to Franz Kruthoffer concerning his own ill-health¹⁸⁴ and expressed the hope that the performance of Iphigenie 'which is to be presented very soon will bring me back into action and set my blood flowing'.¹⁸⁵ However the composer was astute enough to acknowledge that 'if they intend to present all my operas ad nauseam' all the world would find them 'intolerable in the long run'. He was proved correct in the cases of Iphigenie and Alceste which were given only eleven and twelve performances respectively at the Nationalsingspiel and Orfeo only five. Nonetheless the first work was well received initially;¹⁸⁶

184 Only a month later Gluck was to suffer a second stroke.

185 See letter of Franz Kruthoffer dated 31 May 1781. H. and E. H. Muller von Asow (Eds.), The Collected Correspondence and Papers of Christoph Willibald Gluck (London, 1962), p. 189.

186 Gluck wrote that the first performance of Iphigenie had been received with 'the greatest applause' (letter to Franz Kruthoffer dated 2 November 1781 - Ibid., p.192).

Mozart reported that 'anyone who wished to enter the parterre for the first performance had to be there at four o'clock ..'¹⁸⁷ The Emperor, it seems, had chosen well in entertaining the Russian Grand Duke with Gluck's operas for the composer wrote that the Duke 'was so delighted' by Iphigenie that he subsequently paid Gluck a visit and 'expressed a great desire to make his better acquaintance'. The Duke also found pleasure in Alceste, and Gluck noted that 'while he had heard a great deal of music, none had so touched his heart as mine'.¹⁸⁸

The translator of Iphigenie was reported by the Allgemeiner Theater Almanach of 1782 to have been Johann Baptist von Alxinger although his name is not mentioned in the 1781 edition. Gerhard Croll, in the preface to the Neue Gluck-Ausgabe, reports that Alxinger did the translation for the 1781 production, with some alterations by Gluck himself.¹⁸⁹ In a short preface the 'anonymous' translator bemoans the thankless task which confronts any translator, for 'the more fine, that is to say, the more suitable the text, the more expressive the music and thus the greater the difficulty', but 'if anyone considers this German Iphigenie to be careless or unrefined let them try to

187 Ibid., p.193n.

188 Ibid., p.193.

189 Neue Gluck-Ausgabe, Vol.I/11, Vocal Score (Cassel, 1964).
I am indebted to Mr. Peter Branscombe for drawing this information to my attention.

translate another Gluck opera better.¹⁹⁰ To judge from one review it would appear that he did not wholly succeed in evading criticism by issuing such bold statements; the success of the opera was due to the music and to the singing of Adamberger and Madam Bernasconi which 'surpassed the expectation of the public' rather than to the text which was 'poor'.¹⁹¹ According to the same critic, the performance of these two singers in particular was even better in Alceste. Bernasconi, much favoured by Gluck, who had written the role of Alceste for her in 1767, had been sent for from Italy in 1780 and made her debut at the Nationaltheater in June 1781 in a performance of Die unverfolgte Unbekannte. Her skill in singing dramatic roles was universally extolled; the Irish singer, Kelly, described her as 'one of the first serious singers of the day',¹⁹² and Schröder attributed her fame in Gluck's operas to her acting ability. However, as has already been stated, the three Gluck operas were not long-lived in revival and consequently Bernasconi found herself having to sing roles in lighter operas with which she had begun her career at the national theatre and for which, according to Mozart, she was much less suited:

190 A report in Cramer's Magazin der Musik suggests that Iphigenie along with Alceste and Orfeo was given in Italian, the reason given that it made the singers' task easier, they otherwise having to sing German one night and Italian the next. It would appear that the writer was unaware that other German works were still alternating with the Italian operas by Gluck.

191 Allgemeiner Theater Almanach, 1782, p.58.

192 Reminiscences, op.cit., Vol.I, p.251.

In the great parts of tragedy Bernasconi remains inimitable. But small operettas are not in her style at all, and then (as she acknowledges herself) she is more Italian than German, speaks on the stage with the same Viennese accent as in common life (just imagine!) and when she occasionally makes an effort it is as if one heard a princess declaim in a marionette theatre. And she sings so badly that no-one will consent to compose for her.¹⁹³

She appeared in the principal role in Sacchini's comic opera La Contadina in Corte which was staged in the original Italian in 1782 but neither she nor the work itself was well received; she was released from her contract in the same year.

Despite the familiar large proportion of new operas failing to please the public in 1781, two stood out in their popularity; indeed, the number of performances these works received exceeded even that of Die Bergknappen. The plot of Die eingebildeten Philosophen would, one imagines, have been of direct appeal to an eighteenth-century audience. It is fast moving (for example, the customary reconciliation of all parties at the end of the opera is swiftly effected), and there is a strong element of situation comedy which is illustrated by the use of disguises and also by the playing of a practical joke which forms the basis of the story. The characters are skilfully drawn, especially that of the father, Petronio, who, in his foolishness, considers himself to be a great philosopher. The characterisation of his two daughters is also worthy of mention, for they contrast strongly in the wish of one to be famous and the other to lead a normal life.

Stephanie also seems to have been especially adroit in his

193 Letter dated 29 August 1781, quoted in Otto Jahn (Trans. P. D. Townsend) The Life of Mozart, Vol.II (London, 1891) p.191.

translation which is thought by one contemporary critic to have been his best because it was written in prose (Stephanie's lack of skill at composing verse was notorious!).¹⁹⁴ Finally the opera was reported to have been generally well sung, which helped to ensure its retention in the repertoire.¹⁹⁵

The other successful opera was the last to be given in the season. Das Irrlicht was a German work and the music had been especially written for performance at the Nationalsingspiel. The original text by Bretzner had been set to music previously by Kospoth, Holly, Preu, Mühle and Dieter; in Vienna the music was provided by Umlauf. This was the first opera since Die schöne Schusterin(1779) for which he had composed the music and it met with similar success, receiving regular performances at the national theatre until 1787 with a revival in 1797. The fact that the opera was staged at the Theater auf der Weiden in April 1796 illustrates its popularity, for it was only the most successful operas which were adopted by other theatres.

More interesting from a historical viewpoint is the Singspiel, Der Rauchfangkehrer, which Salieri composed expressly for the theatre. The 'Viennese author' referred to by the Allgemeiner Theater-Almanach of 1782 was Auenbrugger who bore the brunt of the blame for the very moderate success of the opera. 'Never have common-sense, taste and

194 Allgemeiner Theater Almanach, 1782.

195 On six occasions, from 8 October to 10 November 1783, the opera was given in Italian and denoted in Jos. Richter (Ed.) Die Briefftasche, Eine lokale Tagschrift für Wien (Vienna, 1784), p. 32 as an 'Italian Singspiel'. Subsequent performances reverted to the German version.

poetic talent been so little in evidence as in this opera. It is from beginning to end wretched, lamentable and full of nonsense, and one must feel sorry that the magnificent Salieri should have had to waste his fine talent in such a wilderness.'¹⁹⁶

The weaknesses of the text may well have been exaggerated by the critics; it was full of intrigue in which the two leading ladies were constantly played off against each other and it incorporated lively characters, the central figure of Volpino, the chimney sweep, resembling Mozart's Figaro in his vivacity. Indeed, there are more than the usual number of characters. Apart from Volpino himself, there are three other servant figures, two caricatured figures, Herr Wolf and Herr Bär, who are the unlikely suitors of the two girls, and a group of little chimney sweeps who would doubtless have charmed the audience. The part of Herr Bär was apparently well sung by Fischer with 'his infinitely deep voice' and likewise the part of Wolf which was taken by the tenor Souter. One line in the first act suggests that Auenbrugger was well aware of Salieri's musical style: 'what a pity you are German ... Italian! You should be Italian; that is the language which enlivens music and renders songs understandable!' Indeed composer and librettist seem to have worked in close collaboration for this work, for Salieri was given several opportunities to incorporate Italian arias into his 'German' opera. It may have been that the cunning Italian composer, while earning the favour of the Emperor by contributing an opera

196 Allgemeiner Theater Almanach, 1782, p.57.

in the vernacular to the national theatre, intentionally included as many Italian elements as possible in the work in order to persuade Joseph to reconsider his views on Italian opera, a form which was still widely greeted with great enthusiasm. Michtner¹⁹⁷ puts forward the questionable view that the opera was not well received because these enthusiasts did not welcome merely tactical moves and demanded a more direct approach to the reinstating of Italian opera in Vienna.

The remaining operas to receive their first performance in 1781 were given so rarely that they cast the future of the National-singspiel into serious doubt. Die Sklavin und der grossmütige Seefahrer of which several versions in Italian, French and German had been made since its first performance in Rome in 1764 (including a performance of the work in Italian in Vienna in 1765) 'did not please at all which was just what it deserved'¹⁹⁸ and was given only two performances. Adrast und Isidore was also given only twice and although the text was by Bretzner it did not have the success of Das Irrlicht, for it was criticised as 'contrary to common sense and taste'; it also 'sinned against nature, the verses are so bad they could not even be used for rat poison, and one cannot read them without falling from one's seat in queasiness'!¹⁹⁹ Die Wäscher Mädchen, which received only three performances, served

197 Michtner, op.cit., p.100.

198 Allgemeiner Theater Almanach, 1782, p.58.

199 Ibid., pp.56-57.

only to evoke the comment 'so so' from the same contemporary critic; and the music of Grétry, as on several occasions recently, did not succeed in winning the acclaim of the public with Die unvermutheten Zufälle. It is difficult to ascertain why this opera did not succeed when others of the same type were given a substantial number of performances. The plot is conventional, but hardly more so than, for instance, Die abgeredete Zauberey; the only remarkable difference is that the father in the latter work is a considerate figure - this is in marked contrast with the majority of operas where the father or guardian was normally depicted as a tyrant, heartily opposed to the marriage of his daughter or ward to her lover. This is another example of a work which was not mentioned in journals of the time. One is therefore unable to judge clearly whether it failed because of the performance or because of the content of the work itself. The former is unlikely to be the case because the best singers took part: for example Aloysia Lange, Adamberger and Bernasconi. (Bernasconi was cast in the more serious role of the Gräfin, a part for which she was well suited.)

Thus, of the ten new works performed in the 1781-82 season two operas proved to be extremely successful; three (including two operas by Gluck) were moderately well received, but the remainder were given no more than five performances each. Although the position of the Nationalsingspiel was not as precarious as it had been in the previous season, the failure rate must have been much higher than the Emperor had expected, and the ensuing season proved to be the last of the Nationalsingspiel in its original form.

v The 1782-3 Season

The following new German works were given in 1782-83:

Der blaue Schmetterling oder Der Sieg der Natur über die Schwärmerey (text by Wieland adapted and music composed by Maximilian Ulbrich); Komisches Singspiel in 3 acts; first performed 2 April

Die Entführung aus dem Serail (text by Bretzner freely adapted for the national court theatre by Stephanie the younger, music by Mozart); Singspiel in three acts; first performed 16 July

Welche ist die beste Nation? (text by Ayrenhoff, music by Umlauf); Lustspiel mit Gesang in two acts; first performed 13 December

Die unruhige Nacht (based on La Notte Critica by Goldoni, translated by Stephanie the younger, music by Gassmann); Komisches Singspiel in three acts; first performed 10 January 1783

Rose oder Pflicht und Liebe im Streit (text by Schönborn, music by Johann Mederitsch Gallus); Komisches Singspiel in three acts; first performed 9 February

Die betrogene Arglist (text by Schönborn, music by Joseph Weigl); Singspiel in one act; first performed 23 February

It is ironic that Die Entführung aus dem Serail, the most successful opera of the Nationalsingspiel, indeed, the very 'culmination of the German Singspiel',²⁰⁰ should emerge in this the final year of an enterprise, whose fortunes had fluctuated from the outset. It has already been described how Mozart's interest in the Nationalsingspiel had been expressed four years previously, but it was not until now that he composed an opera for it. According to a letter

200 J. F. Reichardt cited by Michtner, op.cit., p.131.

from Mozart to his father,²⁰¹ he was first handed the libretto by Stephanie on 30 July 1781. The same letter also indicates that even at this early stage it had already been decided which singers were to take part in the first performance, even though no specific mention of the roles was made at this point. The only singer to be mentioned in this letter who did not sing in the opera was the tenor, Walther, who left the national theatre in February 1782. It is worth noting that, assuming the singers to whom Mozart had made reference were intended for the roles they actually sang, there was only one role which was taken by someone who was not mentioned in the original list. This was the part of Selim. Two questions may be raised here: did Mozart originally intend this part for Walther? If so, the choice of a tenor voice may be questioned, for the role of the conciliator which featured so often in the plots of contemporary 'comic operas' was generally sung by a bass. This question may be resolved when one considers that the part of Osmin was also taken by a bass singer; it is likely that there would not have been sufficient contrast had Selim also been a bass. One explanation of this whole question might be that Mozart decided to give Selim a speaking part only on the departure of Walther a few months before the first performance of Die Entführung, but on the other hand there would still have been time for Mozart to have found a replacement.

For the actor Jautz, who played the part of Selim, this was

201 Letters of Mozart, op.cit., Vol.I, p.754, Letter dated 1 August 1781.

not his first appearance at the Nationalingspiel, for after making his debut in Benda's Der Jahrmarkt in 1779 he created several roles although none as significant as that in Die Entführung. He was not the only actor to extend his loyalties upon both opera and spoken drama, for there is an instance, in Der Deserteur, of Stephanie himself taking the role of the 'prison master'; small parts were also played by Kopfmüller, for example that of a servant in Lucile and a page in Die Kinder der Natur.

The critics of Die Entführung were unanimous in their favour as also it seemed, was the public: 'Everyone was enchanted ... by the new magical melodies'.²⁰² Cramer's Magazin der Musik reported that the work 'exceeded the public's expectation, and the composer's taste and new ideas which were so prevalent, aroused the loudest and most general applause'.²⁰³ One article,²⁰⁴ although written sixteen years after the first performance of the work, is nonetheless valuable in its appraisal of the merits of the opera. Frequent references are naturally made to the music, but Stephanie's part in the work is also acknowledged in this article:

And now for a glance at the varied characters, the different situations in this opera: take the parallel between Constanze and Belmonte with the uncouth Osmin: what a contrast! Here the soft sounds of the tenderest love, there the outburst of wild, mindless brutality! And yet how all these contrasts come together to form a perfect whole!

202 Adolf Bäuerle (Ed.), Zeitung für Theater, Musik und Poesie Vol.II (Vienna, 1808), p.361.

203 Cramer, op.cit., p.352. He wrote in December 1782.

204 Zeitung für Theater, op.cit., Vol.II, p.361.

In complete contrast with the overwhelming success of Mozart's opera, none of the other new works given in 1782 received more than three performances. The demise of the Nationalsingspiel was also signified by a gap of five months which followed the first performance of Die Entführung before the staging of another new opera.²⁰⁵ The presentation of Umlauf's last opera in this era of the Nationalsingspiel, Welche ist die beste Nation? was described by Mozart as 'execrable',²⁰⁶ and withdrawn after two nights. Mozart also wrote to his father about the ensuing première of Gallus Mederitsch's opera, Rose, and was correct in his surmise that 'it will probably not be a success' despite its vigorous and comic plot which rendered it 'better stuff' than Gassmann's Unruhige Nacht.²⁰⁷ It is surprising that this opera, which had been given in its original Italian version in 1768, should have 'with difficulty survived three performances' when its music had been written by such a revered composer as Gassmann and its plot with its quickly flowing action and skilful depiction of character, was wholly typical of the Italian opera buffa. Was this not the type of opera the Viennese public was longing to see replace the German Singspiel?

The first work to be given in this final season, Uldrich's Der

205 Other familiar pieces were still performed regularly during this period.

206 Letters of Mozart, op.cit., Vol.I, p.839, Letter to his father dated 5 February 1783. Mozart was himself approached with a view to his composing the music to Ayrenhoff's libretto.

207 Ibid., p.839.

blaue Schmetterling, was no more successful than the later works already mentioned. There are no contemporary accounts to explain the premature withdrawal of this opera, although it is reasonable to suppose that the cost of the fairly large cast of nine soloists and chorus precluded many repetitions of the work. It was in this opera that Madam Saal made her debut and she was the last singer to join the Nationalsingspiel before it was disbanded in 1783. She had come with her husband from Pressburg;²⁰⁸ he too was an opera singer of great talent whose baritone voice was 'even pleasanter' than his wife's soprano and whose acting was 'varied and natural'.²⁰⁹ Saal's period of engagement at the court theatre spanned almost forty years and he is the only singer who belonged to the original company of the Nationalsingspiel to be mentioned much later by the author Castelli (for whom Der blaue Schmetterling was a childhood recollection) as still being a member of the court opera company.

If Die betrogene Arglist was the last work of the Nationalsingspiel, it was also the starting point of the career of the young Joseph Weigl whose earnest plea to the 'first, best German public' to receive 'this first offering out of my almost too youthful hands', if not with applause at least with consideration, seems to have been taken seriously: the work may have been given only three performances in 1782 but it was to launch a career which culminated in the musical

208 Michtner, op.cit., p.120.

209 Friederich Ludwig Schröder, op.cit., p.368.

directorship of both the Burgtheater and the Kärntnertheater at the beginning of the nineteenth century and which included the composition of forty operas.²¹⁰

D The Second Period and Final Dissolution of the Nationalsingspiel 1783-88.

Several references have been made during the course of this survey to the dissolution of the Nationalsingspiel. It must not be thought that after February 1783 performances of German operas ceased altogether; its significance lay in the fact that there was no longer an independent company the sole occupation of which was to present operas in German. This second stage of musical presentations at the national theatre lasted for five years, a period which will be divided, for the purpose of this discussion, into two sections: 1783-1785 and 1785-1788.

The Emperor had been considering the future of the theatre during the autumn of 1782 even though the Nationalsingspiel continued in its original form for another five months. In a letter to Rosenberg dated 28 September 1782 he ordered the termination of the contracts of Schmidt, Frankenberger, Hofmann²¹¹ and Mlle. Schindler and of any other singer whom Rosenberg considered

210 Anton Bauer, Opern und Operetten in Wien (Vienna, 1955), lists forty operas by Weigl.

211 Hofmann, a bass, had made his debut at the Nationalsingspiel as early as 1778 in the role of Oronte in Der Hausfreund. He not only directed the chorus of the Singspiel but acted in spoken plays.

the theatre could well do without.²¹² Early the following year, rumours of the collapse of the German opera were already circulating. Mozart, for instance, wrote to his father in February 1783 concerning the poor reception of the works already mentioned by Umlauf, Gassmann and Mederitsch and added, 'It really seems as if they wished to kill off before its time the German opera, which in any case is to come to an end after Easter ...'.²¹³ Not all the members of the German opera company were dismissed however; some of the better singers, including Mlles. Teuber (after 1785 M^{me}. Arnold), Cavalieri and M^{me}. Saal, Adamberger, Dauer, Hofmann²¹⁴ and Arnold, were retained to join several eminent singers of Italian opera who were engaged at this time. Among their number were the two British singers, Nancy Storace and Michael Kelly. (Kelly's skill in singing in Italian opera merited on one occasion the billing of his name as Ochelli.) It should also be noted that it was at this juncture that Lorenzo da Ponte was engaged as Theaterdichter. Other German singers were transferred to the spoken drama company of the national theatre, but it seems likely that several more would have stayed on in the opera troupe had Joseph not 'bestowed special favours'²¹⁵ on certain singers whom he openly preferred. This caused a great deal of

212 Joseph II als Theaterdirektor, op.cit., p.31.

213 The AMZ was mistaken in reporting that the contract of the singers ended and that the company was dismissed by Lent 1782.

214 Rosenberg obviously did not agree with Joseph's decision to dismiss Hofmann. See p.107.

215 AMZ, op.cit., p.269.

discontent within the company and as a result one or two of the best singers, for example Fischer and Günther, felt obliged to leave.

The first opera to be given by the new amalgamated troupe, La Scuola de' Gelosi by Salieri which was first performed on 22 April 1783, started a new tradition of Italian opera at the national theatre. It is significant that not one German opera was given until March 1785.

The opening season of Italian operas was given at the Burgtheater but in September 1784 the Emperor indicated²¹⁶ that the privilege which allowed other troupes to present all manner of entertainment at the Kärntnertheater was to be withdrawn. The aim behind this declaration was to provide accommodation for a proposed new German troupe which in the first instance was to operate in the latter theatre during the winter months - that is from the beginning of October to the end of February. The Burgtheater, on the other hand, would continue to house both Italian opera and spoken plays. This German company was to consist of Adamberger, Ruprecht, Saal, Dauer, Cavalieri, Lange, Teuber, M. Saal and Fischer and his wife if they could be persuaded to return.²¹⁷ Mozart was convinced that the worth of these native singers was not recognised by the directors who 'are too niggardly and too little patriotically-minded to offer

216 Joseph II als Theaterdirektor, op.cit., p.58, Letter dated 27 September 1784.

217 The AMZ, op.cit., 9.271 states that the new German company consisted of seven male and six female singers with a chorus of thirty.

large sums of money to strangers when they have on the spot better singers, or at least equally good ones, whom they can rope in for nothing'.²¹⁸ Kelly also remarked on the favouritism shown towards the Italian singers; for instance, when they performed at the Laxenburg Palace 'every performer of the Italian opera had separate apartments allotted to him, and his breakfast was sent thither'.²¹⁹ In practice, the result of the opening of the Kärntnertortheater expressly for German opera succeeded only in driving the two factions further apart and thus emphasising the rivalry between them.

The running of the two theatres continued on these lines until early February 1788 and it was only in the months of July and August, when the Kärntnertortheater was closed, that German operas were performed alongside Italian works in the Burgtheater. (This step was taken to balance the four performances a week given by the spoken theatre in the Kärntnertortheater during Lent when the other building was shut.)

The following new operas were given by the reconstituted German company in their opening season:

Felix, oder Der Findling (translation of Sedaine's text Felix ou L'Enfant Trouvé by Joh. André, music by Monsigny) Singspiel mit Gesang in 3 acts; first performed 16 October 1785.

218 Letters of Mozart, op.cit., Vol.II, pp. 890-891, Letter to Prof. Anton Klein dated 21 May 1785.

219 Reminiscences, op.cit., Vol.I, p.243.

Die drei Pächter (translation of Monvel's Les trois Fermiers by W. G. Becker, music by Dérède) Singspiel in 2 acts; first performed 28 October

Die Dorfhandel, oder Bunt über Eck (text by P. Weidmann, music by Ruprecht). Komisches Originalsingspiel in 2 acts; first performed 16 November

Die Dorfdeputirten (text by G. E. Heermann, music by Franz Teyber) Komische Oper in 3 acts; first performed 18 December

Der Schauspieldirektor (text Stephanie the younger, music by Mozart) Gelegenheitsstück in 1 act; first performed at the Kärntnertortheater on 11 February 1786 ²²⁰

Die glücklichen Jäger (text by Stephanie the younger, music by Umlauf) Originalsingspiel in 3 acts; first performed 17 February

Unfortunately the new enterprise proved to be as unlucky as its predecessor. The first new work, Monsigny's Felix, was withdrawn after only two performances, and indeed, only one of the six new works given in the final part of the 1785/86 season survived more than ten performances. This was Die drei Pächter, an opera with music by Dérède which was first staged in Paris in 1777. It was this season which saw the first performance at the Kärntnertortheater of Der Schauspieldirektor, the fruit of Mozart's second collaboration with the younger Stephanie. Unfortunately the work did not find favour with the Viennese public and was withdrawn after three performances.

The failure of the first season of German operas arose mainly because the company was not providing the audiences with anything

220 This opera was originally given 'on the occasion of a festival' at Schönbrunn four days previously and it was at the suggestion of Joseph himself that the work received public performance in Vienna.

new and for this reason the public's allegiance had been firmly transferred to the Italian troupe the like of whose presentations had not been experienced in the city for several years. Although the days of performances rarely clashed (the K antnertortheater was shut on the nights when Italian operas were taking place at the Burgtheater and the German troupe gave their performances in competition with spoken plays at the rival theatre) the records show that, to judge from the number of performances, the Italian operas were generally far more popular.²²¹ Pezzl reported that the Italian opera company possessed the better singers and was 'in all ways superior'.²²²

The 1786/87 season of German operas was longer than its predecessor beginning this time in April and continuing until the following February. Seven new works were given during this period (of which the first two received their first performances on the same night), two more than in the previous season. The last of these appeared for the first time in December 1786, leaving the remaining two months without a premi re.

The details of both the 1786/87 and 1787/88 seasons are as follows:

221 For example, Salieri's opera comica La Grotta di Trofonio was given twenty-six performances in the next three years and Paisiello's Il Barbiere di Seviglia over sixty in the same period.

222 J. Pezzl, Skizze von Wien unter der Regierung Joseph des Zweiten, Vol.I (Vienna, 1803) W lsche und deutsche Oper p.199.

1786/87

Der lächerliche Zweikampf (translation of Lorenzi's text Il Duello by Christian Gottlob Neefe, music by Paisiello), Komisches Singspiel in 2 acts; first performed 17 April 1786

Der Alchymist oder Der Liebes-Teufel (text based on Le Grand's L'Amour diable by Aug. Gottlieb Meissner), music by Joseph Schuster), Singspiel in 1 act; first performed 17 April

Apotheke und Doktor (text freely adapted from the French L'Apoticaire de Murcie by Stephanie the younger, music by Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf), Komisches Singspiel in 2 acts; first performed 11 July

Die schöne Arsene (text based on Favart's La belle Arsène and translated into prose by Meissner, music by Monsigny), Singspiel in 4 acts; first performed 4 August

Robert und Hannchen oder Die hat der Teufel geholt (text by Karl Martin Plümicke, music by K. Hanke), Komisches Singspiel in 2 acts; first performed 22 August

Betrug durch Aberglauben (text by Ferdinand Eberl, music by Dittersdorf), Komisches Singspiel in 2 acts; first performed 3 October

Der Ring der Liebe oder Zemirens und Azors Ehestand (text by Paul Weidmann, music by Umlauf), Singspiel in 3 acts; first performed 3 December

1787/88

Die Liebe im Narrenhause (text by Stephanie the younger, music by Dittersdorf), Ursprünglich deutsche komische Oper in 2 acts; first performed 12 April 1787

Das wütende Heer oder Das Mädchen im Thurme (text by Bretzner, music by Ruprecht), Heroisch-komisches Singspiel in 3 acts; first performed 1 June

Die Trofonius-Höhle (text by Casti adapted by Stephanie the younger, music by Paisiello), Komisches Singspiel in 2 acts; first performed 15 July

Im Trüben ist gut fischen (text freely translated from Fra i Due Litiganti il Terzo Godè by Joh. André, music by Sarti), Singspiel in 3 acts, first performed 14 September

Im Finstern ist nicht gut tappen (text by Leopold Hiesberger, music by Schenk), Komisches Singspiel in 2 acts; first performed 12 October

Die Illumination (text by Johann Gross, music by Paul Kürzinger), Komisches Originalsingspiel in 2 acts; first performed 25 November

Richard Löwenherz (text based on Sedaine's Richard, Coeur de Lion, translated by Stephanie the younger, music by Grétry), Singspiel in 3 acts; first performed 7 January 1788

These two seasons of German operas were highlighted by one successful work: Dittersdorf's Apotheke und Doktor which was given on twenty occasions in 1786 alone and remained in the repertoire of this and other Viennese theatres until the early nineteenth century. It is perhaps significant that its first performance took place in the Burgtheater (it will be remembered that the ~~Kärn~~ertortheater was closed during the month of July), the theatre with which the audience had learned to associate successful Italian operas. The popularity of the opera doubtless resulted from the skilful combination of musical styles from the Italian aria to the short song so typical of the Singspiel; moreover it is likely that the work would attract a wider audience as it was written in the vernacular - Pezzl pointed out that 'a large proportion of the public does not understand Italian'.²²³

Somewhat less successful than Apotheke und Doktor, although

223 Ibid., p.199.

far more so than the other works receiving their first performances in the 1786/87 season, was another opera by Dittersdorf, Der Betrug durch Aberglauben which, despite the 'most beautiful, most splendid music', suffered apparently because of its 'miserable text'.²²⁴

According to the Gotha Theater-Kalendar of 1787, Ignaz Umlauf, the music director of the German opera company, was also still active in composing works for performance at the Kärntnertheater. His Die glücklichen Jäger was given nine times in 1785, but he was less fortunate with Der Ring der Liebe which survived only three performances in the 1786/87 season and was never revived. Umlauf and his librettist, Paul Weidmann, were probably misguided in choosing to base the work on an Italian text which formed the sequel to Zemire und Azor. Grétry's opera was still being performed regularly by the German company and comparisons between the two works were inevitable: 'The new composition lacks life, spirit, warmth and truth, features which abound in Grétry's music'. How could Umlauf hope to rival a composer who exhibited 'more elegance and spirit than anyone else in the world'.²²⁵ The 1787/88 season did not feature any other new works by Umlauf, but one opera appeared by Ruprecht who had also been associated with the Nationalsingspiel since 1778 even if he was better known as a singer. Das wütende Heer was Ruprecht's second attempt to hold the stage at the national

224 Franz Kasimir Kunz, (Ed.) Almanach der k.k. Nationalschaubühne in Wien (Vienna, 1788).

225 Ibid.

theatre but it did not succeed any more than his first and the opera did not endure more than six performances. Even Richard Löwenherz, with music by the ever popular Grétry, was given on only nine occasions, although subsequently the work was adopted by several other theatres.²²⁶ This season seemed to feature works both of familiar composers, such as those already mentioned and of younger writers, of whom the most obvious example is Schenk. The text of his first opera to be performed at the national theatre, Im Finstern ist nicht gut tappen, was considered at the time to be too obviously Viennese 'otherwise it might attract applause outside Vienna'²²⁷ and it was not until almost ten years later that Schenk composed his most famous work, Der Dorfbarbier, which, as Castelli was to recall, was given over two hundred times. Only one other German opera deserves mention in this discussion, this is Stephanie's adaptation of an Italian text, La Grotta di Trofonio, with music by Paisiello. The original text by Casti had been set to music by Salieri for performance by the Italian company at the Burgtheater. The Italian version of this opera had been given fairly regularly since 1785 and had been well received, but such was not the case with Stephanie and Paisiello's Die Trofonius-Höhle: 'This is the

226 For example, the opera was revived at the Theater auf der Weiden in June 1800 and later in a new adaptation at the Theater an der Wien in May 1802. Chronologisches Verzeichnis aller Schauspiele, deutschen und italienischen Opern, Pantomimen und Ballette, welche seit dem Monath April 1794 bis wider dahin 1807 (Vienna, 1807).

227 Almanach der kk Nationalschaubühne in Wien, 1788.

worst of all the Singspiele to be performed this year. The majority of the audience left the theatre well before the end of the performance.'²²⁸ It was probably a mistake to mount a production of a new opera, the original and successful version of which was still receiving regular performances at the rival theatre, although Stephanie, who still directed the German opera, may well have considered it worthwhile to present a work with music by Paisiello whose Barbiere di Seviglia was still a great success at the Burgtheater and had been since 1783. However Stephanie might also have hoped to profit by the popularity of the Italian version of Paisiello's opera as he had already done a month previously with the staging of Im Trüben ist gut fischen, a German version by André²²⁹ of Fra i Due Litiganti il Terzo Gode, another Italian opera currently receiving frequent performances by the rival troupe.

It was soon apparent that the revival of the German opera company did not achieve the desired results; it was only the operas of Dittersdorf which succeeded in gaining the approval of the public. A contemporary traveller²³⁰ wrote on the subject of the rivalry between the Italian and German opera companies at this time; at first, it seems, it was not considered proper to patronise the German troupe although 'now this madness has passed, and everyone goes according to his preference sometimes to the German

228 Ibid.

229 The Library of Congress Catalogue of Opera Librettos printed before 1800 states that André's translation of Fra i Due Litiganti il Terzo Gode had been done for performance in Mannheim in 1785.

230 Roscher, op. cit., p 416

sometimes to the Italian opera'.

According to J. H. F. Müller,²³¹ the German singers were informed of the dissolution of their company on 15 October 1787, almost four months before they finally ceased their activities at the ~~Kärntner~~ Kärntnertheater in February 1788. Not all the singers were dismissed at this stage, however, as Aloysia, Lange, Adamberger, Saal and Arnold and his wife were retained 'some allocated to the Italian opera, some to the spoken theatre.'²³² Müller's report is not entirely substantiated by the Almanach der kk Nationalschaubühne in Wien of 1789 which stated that 'some members were dismissed, others newly engaged at the Italian opera. Among the latter were Mm^w. Lange, Arnold, Mlle. Cavalieri and Adamberger.' Lange and Cavalieri, both of whom had been playing intermittently at the rival theatre since 1783, are known subsequently to have joined the Italian company;²³³ for instance, both singers appeared together in the respective roles of Donna Anna and Elvira in the first Viennese performance of Don Giovanni in May 1788. Mm^w. Arnold, too, returned to the stage of the Burgtheater; in a new adaptation of Cimarosa's Il Falegname of July 1789 all three ladies sang together. Adamberger, on the other hand, does not seem to have appeared in any first performances of Italian works after 1788 even though he had previously joined the Italian troupe during the period 1783-85. It has been

231 Müller, Abschied, op.cit., p.277.

232 Ibid.

233 Cavalieri's name is the only one to feature in both the list of members of the German opera troupe and the Italian troupe according to the Gotha Theater-Kalendar of 1797.

stated that the tenor was finally awarded his pension in 1793²³⁴ and this late date accounts for his return to the national theatre at the opening of the 1791 season. It must be assumed that Adamberger was retained in the Italian troupe for a few months after the dissolution of the German opera if one is to judge from a letter from Joseph to Rosenberg dated 2 August 1788²³⁵ in which the Emperor referred to the tenor when deliberating further on the future of the German opera singers.

At this time Joseph was also seriously considering disbanding the Italian company because of debts at the Burgtheater which amounted to eighty thousand florins. It was only a few days before the letter of 2 August was written that the Emperor had first expressed his intention to do away altogether with opera at the national theatre. Nonetheless the German spoken theatre would remain, and, if it seemed necessary, another opera troupe (he did not specify its nature) would be formed 'one or two years later'. The letter of 2 August included instructions for the deployment of the German singers who had so recently been transferred to the Italian troupe: Cavalieri, Mm^v, Arnold and Herr Saal were to be taken on by the spoken theatre company at the same salary but Adamberger and Aloysia Lange were to be dismissed with the

234 Wlassak, *op.cit.*, p.47.

235 Joseph II als Theaterdirektor, *op.cit.*, p.82.

other singers.²³⁶

The Emperor's plans to do away with the Italian opera did not materialise, partly because of the public outcry at the proposition and partly because of the stand taken by the two most influential figures at the Italian opera, Salieri and da Ponte. Thus early in January 1789 it became known that performances of Italian opera would continue in the city. It has already been mentioned that Aloysia Lange remained in the company despite Joseph's earlier plans to retire her but it would appear, on the other hand, that Adamberger left the theatre in the autumn of 1788.

The reason for the disbanding of German opera at the national theatre both in 1783 and 1788 may be attributed to financial difficulties. The failure of the Nationalsingspiel, however, cannot be fully appraised without first considering the faults and merits of the music, the main element of the operas concerned.

236 The Emperor added that Mrs Lange would not have to suffer unduly as a result of her proposed dismissal because her husband Josef was still engaged at the national theatre as an actor. The latter was to be given an additional 200 florins annually to support his wife. Ibid.

CHAPTER THREE

A Survey of Operas performed at the Nationalsingspiel with special reference to Die Entführung aus dem Serail

Mozart's Die Entführung aus dem Serail was the most successful German opera to be given at the national theatre in the whole enterprise of the Nationalsingspiel. It is also typical of the kind of work performed there. It is proposed therefore to compare this opera with certain others given at the time, concentrating mainly on German works, but referring also to those based on French and Italian originals. The scope of the survey will be limited to those works performed in the first period of the Nationalsingspiel, from 1778 to 1783, and its purpose will be to examine both the form of the Viennese Singspiel and assess the reasons for the lasting success of Mozart's opera.

A General Features

It has already been stated¹ that the number of acts in the Singspiele increased after the first year of the venture. Whereas the majority of works presented in 1778 were in only one act, by 1781 most, including Die Entführung, were written in three.² Nevertheless, this did not necessarily involve a substantial increase in the number of musical items, for Mozart's opera consists

1 See page 47.

2 Zemire und Azor has four acts.

of twenty-three numbers, only three more than Umlauf's Die Bergknappen which is in one act. Similarly, Die pücefarnben Schuhe, although divided into two acts, has the same number of items as Die Bergknappen. Some of the French operas given in 1778 were considerably shorter, Lucile and Sylvain, for instance, having only fifteen and thirteen numbers respectively, but it was rare for the operas given at the Nationalingspiel to consist of more than thirty musical numbers. Two notable exceptions to this are Salieri's Der Rauchfangkehrer and Gluck's Die Pilgrime von Mecca, both of which have thirty-four.

With regard to the number of acts, it should also be mentioned that rarely do the acts contain a consistent number of musical items. (Ruprecht's Was erhält die Männer treu?, both acts of which consist of thirteen numbers, is a notable exception to this.) In Die Entführung there are seven, nine and five numbers respectively in the three acts, but further illustrations of this point may be found in Umlauf's Das Irrlicht and Salieri's Der Rauchfangkehrer which have eleven, nine and seven, and fourteen, eight and eleven items in their three acts respectively.

Like its counterparts in France, Italy and England, the Singspiel was intended as an alternative to, if not a reaction against, large-scale opera and was therefore initially composed on a smaller scale. Once the genre had become established, however, having moved from the fairgrounds and the public squares into the theatres and accepted not only by the general public but also by the aristocracy, its stature increased. Hence the predominance at the end of the eighteenth century of two and three act operas.

This is also reflected in the growing size of the casts. Whereas an Italian intermezzo in the mid-eighteenth century may have featured only two singers, there were as many as eleven singers in the largest scale operas performed at the Nationalsingspiel, supplemented by a chorus. To enlarge on this point, however, it may be noted that the first works to be presented at the national theatre were smaller, not only in the number of acts, as has been discussed, but also in the number of characters. Die Bergknappen, although including a role for chorus, featured only four soloists, and two of the ensuing French operas, Röschen und Colas and Der Hausfreund only five, both of these without chorus. Nevertheless, because the early fortunes of the Nationalsingspiel boded well, Umlauf and his fellow Austrian composers felt sufficiently confident to expand the scope of their works. Die Entführung was written for six characters, one of which was given a spoken part, and in this respect it is average: more exceptionally however it included a chorus. Well below half the operas performed at the national theatre between 1778 and 1783 featured the latter.

The Singspiel, as established by Ferdinand Hiller in the 1750s, was basically light in content, frequently given a pastoral setting (similar to that established by Rousseau in Le Devin du Village) in which spoken dialogue alternated with simple musical numbers. As the range of emotions expressed was relatively narrow there was no need for large-scale arias, and it should be remembered also that Hiller wrote for a troupe of actors and not for a company of trained singers capable of executing and

perhaps demanding more expansive pieces. The Singspiele in Vienna towards the end of the century were far more elaborate as they had to satisfy a sophisticated audience lately accustomed to productions of large-scale operas at court. By this time the songs and lyrical ariettes of Hiller had been replaced by a greater variety of musical numbers ranging from the strophic song to the large-scale virtuosic aria and from the lyrical duet to the elaborate Italian finale.

Rivalry between singers at the Nationalsingspiel was avoided as much as possible although, judging from the reports of the intrigues which took place at the theatre, not entirely successfully. It has been shown in the previous chapter how rivalry between the sopranos Cavalieri and Lange was lessened by their appearing in alternate new productions, but care had also to be taken that one principal singer did not have noticeably more arias to sing than another. An examination of a selection of operas given at the Nationalsingspiel substantiates this, but personality problems would not have been uppermost in the minds of librettist and composer in arriving at the disposition of the arias; their primary consideration would be the balance of the work itself which would have been upset if too many numbers were allocated to one particular singer. An example of the even distribution of types of number between characters may be observed in Die Entführung where, although Constanze has the greater amount of virtuosic work, the servant Blondine also has opportunity to display comparable vocal talents.

The actual distribution of musical numbers between characters

in terms of the dramatic shape of the work deserves particular attention. The first few scenes of an opera may introduce two characters only and it is not until later in the first act that more characters appear. (In Die Entführung the character of Blondine is not introduced until the beginning of Act 2.) The opening four numbers in Mozart's opera are sung by Osmin and Belmonte, either independently or in duet. Similarly, the first five numbers of Umlauf's Das Irrlicht are sung by the two principal characters. A greater variety of combinations then follows in Die Entführung, and it is rare for the same singer to have two solo numbers in succession. On the other hand, in Act 2 of Das Irrlicht two other characters share five consecutive numbers, singing either in duet or alone.

The most extraordinary example of the lack of variety, not only in the distribution of numbers between characters but also in the type of number, may be found in the first act of Die Kinder der Natur by Aspelmayr. Here two of the four main singing characters (there are three additional speaking parts) have the entire musical interest, combining on four occasions out of ten numbers, and, what is more remarkable, the tempo in this act never exceeds allegretto. It is therefore hardly surprising that one of these arias has been deleted from the manuscript score, for the audience must have grown very weary of such unending lyricism. The other two characters participate in the second act of the opera, but again the second of three successive andante arias sung by one of these characters, Karl, has been deleted from the score. It was Aspelmayr's one touch of inspiration to give the other new

character, Karoline, a humorous number with which to make her appearance in Act 2.

In the majority of operas, the first few characters are each given an introductory solo aria after which they combine in an ensemble before the next character enters. To take Die Bergknappen as an illustration: after the opening duet for Sophie and Fritz and the song by Walcher, all three characters then join together in a simple binary form trio (it is unusual for the first ensemble to be of a complex nature). One notable exception to this pattern is Sacchini's Der verstellte Narr aus Liebe where all four main characters are introduced together in an opening quartet.

The audience would demand a certain amount of variety from one number to the next, irrespective of singer. Reference has already been made to the monotony of the first act of Die Kinder der Natur and it is not surprising that this opera was performed only three times. Contemporary journalists criticised the librettist of Der Rauchfangkehrer for the banality of the plot, but a lack of variety in the musical numbers must have contributed to the failure of Salieri's opera. Excepting the finale, of the thirteen numbers in Act 1, eleven are arias.

Die Entführung is notable for its variety of musical numbers. This may be appreciated most easily by listing the numbers in the first act after the overture: i) lyrical aria; ii) song followed by duet; iii) large-scale aria; iv) lyrical aria; v) chorus; vi) declamatory, virtuosic aria; vii) trio. Umlauf also provided

adequate contrast between numbers in his earlier operas for the Nationalsingspiel; in Die Bergknappen, for instance, the first six numbers consist of i) duet; ii) song; iii) trio; iv) aria; v) song; vi) chorus and aria. An increasing dependence on the full-scale aria, however, may be detected in his later works; eight of the eleven numbers in Act 1 of Das Irrlicht are described as arias. More isolated examples of contrasting numbers are to be found in less successful operas: military arias are a particular feature of Sacchini's Der verstellte Narr aus Liebe, but the composer or his librettist wisely separated two such numbers in the second act of the opera by an aria of a more lyrical nature, and all three pieces are allocated to different singers.

Short, song-like numbers were frequently used to offset those on a larger scale. A declamatory number with a strong emphasis on chromatic harmony and full orchestral accompaniment in the second act of Was erhält die Männer treu? is followed immediately by a simple aria in rondo form which resembles a folk-song in its uncomplicated harmony, accompaniment and use of repetitions. Similarly, in Act 2 of Der Rauchfangkehrer, a lyrical song-like number with a drone bass succeeds a fast comic aria, and again in Act 3, a simple aria follows a lively trio.

On the whole, it would seem that the greater the variety of number the greater the success of the opera. It has been shown that while there was a strong predominance of arias, other types of number also became established and it is proposed now to discuss these different types in more detail.

B Arias

A significant number of arias in any one Singspiel was composed on a large scale, but it should not be assumed that every one provided a vehicle for vocal display. Apart from such virtuosic numbers which were no doubt popular both with the singer and with the audience, many were either heroic or declamatory, perhaps moved by thought of revenge or extolling the military life, depending on the dictates of the plot. Two military arias from Der verstellte Narr aus Liebe have already been cited, but this opera is exceptional in the number of arias in this style.

The reason for the predominance of the military aria in Sacchini's opera may well have been an attempt on the composer's part to bring colour into an otherwise uninteresting plot, which, as has been mentioned in the previous chapter, is not at all comic in content. They are not even restricted to the captain, although the majority of his arias are in this vein, for a number of the same type is sung in Act 2 by his mistress, Flinkin. All of these have certain features in common: the first is the frequent use of the accepted 'military' key of D major - no less than four numbers or sections of numbers are in that key. Interestingly, although it is acknowledged that this key allowed for the participation of that most military of instruments, the trumpet, only one number in the opera includes a part for the instrument, and then it is not joined by any timpani. Even though for the most part without trumpet, the scoring is for full orchestra with the strings in-

dependent of horns and bassoons and strengthened by oboes and flutes. The common time signature of such numbers gives rise to the conventional square marching rhythms often characterised by dotted notes. The melodic lines are broad, frequently independent of the accompaniment and generally diatonic. The illustrations in Example 1,³ one from each act, are typical.

It has already been stated that limitations of plot preclude the inclusion of military arias in every opera; but Umlauf's Die pücefarbnnen Schuhe, an opera which was infinitely more popular than Sacchini's Der verstellte Narr aus Liebe, also included an important military role, this time a captain of the dragoons. Umlauf however was far more discerning in the type of numbers written for the military character: only one falls into the same category as those described in Sacchini's opera, the others may be classed as 'lyrical' arias despite their fast tempo. Nonetheless, the captain's only aria in the military vein closely resembles those already discussed; it also features the broad, diatonic vocal lines with the noticeable dotted rhythm. Indeed the similarities of the melodic lines of this and Example 1 are very remarkable (Example 2). Umlauf's orchestral accompaniment in this aria is fuller than that of Sacchini for this type of number and has an important role for trumpet and timpani which open the aria with a joint fanfare and emphasise the dotted rhythms.

The undoubted popularity of such arias may well account for

3 The musical examples are given in Appendix II.

the inclusion of a number with definite military overtones in Die Entführung. Pedrillo's aria 'Frisch zum Kampfe' in Act 2 is more subtle than those described above because of the element of comedy which is manifest by the conflict of bravery and cowardice, the latter being evident in the recurring refrain. Again one is aware of the key of D major, the dotted rhythms and the diatonic theme.

It has been intimated that in the majority of military arias the vocal line is largely independent of the orchestra; it is this independence which gives rise to declamation. It is not satisfactory to categorise arias too strictly, for some which may be described as 'declamatory' or 'heroic' may also feature considerable virtuosity. Nonetheless, it is proposed here to examine one or two arias which may properly be described in this context as 'declamatory' in order to establish the meaning and relevance of the term with respect to the operas under discussion.

There are many moments of dramatic tension in Was erhält die Männer treu?, but the best illustration of vocal declamation occurs near the opening of Act 2. Whereas the large majority of declamatory arias are in a major key this is set in G minor. The purpose of this particular aria however is to emphasise a foreboding atmosphere and not to express grandiose emotions. In other respects it is typical, for the vocal line is separate from the fully scored orchestra, the accompanimental effects being achieved by the use of unison, octave and scalar figures, tremolando in the strings with an additional emphasis on chromatic harmony (especially des-

cending chromatic lines in the bass and the use of diminished seventh chords). Against this orchestral background the vocal line is essentially diatonic, consisting of a number of short phrases which, mainly by the use of repetition, constitute a longer overall paragraph (Example 3).

A comparison between this aria and one of similar proportions from Die Entführung is profitable. Constanze's aria in B flat from Act 1, 'Ach, ich liebte', falls into the 'heroic' category and thus has no need of chromatic harmonies to create a foreboding atmosphere. The orchestra, however, is always prominent and is by no means reduced to a subsidiary role. Otherwise, in common with Ruprecht's, the aria has short vocal phrases which are set against the accompaniment - in this instance the vocal and orchestral figures alternate - and the vocal line is also obviously diatonic. Noteworthy, however, is the appoggiatura on the third beat of Constanze's first full bar in the aria proper which accentuates her grief (Example 4). One instance where this aria differs from the Ruprecht aria and where indeed Mozart generally outshines his contemporaries, is in the variety of ideas. Here this is particularly noticeable in the subtle contrast of mood which occurs very soon after the opening in the emergence of a lyrical strain. Even more effective is the premature return to the first mood by a more vehement phrase and a move to the dominant minor key before this lyrical line has been allowed to end (Example 4). Nor is Mozart content with a simple repetition of this procedure in the recapitulation for, on this occasion, the lyrical phrase is followed by a broken descending vocal line, again overlaid with

an appoggiatura (Example 5).

The emotion expressed in this same aria by Mozart, however, is heightened by the use of virtuosic display. A large proportion of the operas given at the Nationalingspiel included at least one virtuosic aria, although on the whole virtuosity was far more prominent in the Italian works and the operas written especially for the national theatre than in those by French composers. For instance there are no virtuosic numbers in Röschen und Colas. This is one indication of the influence of the Italian tradition on Viennese opera composers active at the end of the eighteenth century.

It is understandable that, as now, vocal display was pleasing both to the singer and to the audience; but, in the works under discussion, rarely is virtuosity allowed to detract from the purpose of the plot. This is undoubtedly the case in Die Entführung for in Constanze's aria, which has been cited above, the elaborate vocal line serves only to emphasise the sense of the text. Similarly the use of virtuosity in three arias (of which one is repeated by a different character) in Salieri's Der Rauchfangkehrer is appropriate to the demands of the plot because Volpino is instructing the two women in the art of singing in the Italian manner, and a certain amount of virtuosity becomes essential.

Of all the arias to feature virtuosity, one in particular stands out as being purely a display of vocal histrionics. In Act 2 of Die Kinder der Natur, a work which has otherwise been

cited for its inherent monotony, a highly virtuosic aria comes completely unexpectedly after a seemingly endless succession of fairly short, uncomplicated, slow-moving arias. Not only is the sudden contrast in style incongruous, but also the effect on the balance of the work as a whole is disturbing. Whereas most of the previous arias begin with an eight-bar introduction, here the voice enters after an introduction of no less than twenty-seven bars which contains also a very prominent and elaborate role for solo violin. The violin is used to counter the voice throughout almost the whole of the aria culminating in a cadenza which, incidentally, replaces the recapitulation of earlier material and which is written solely for the violin and soprano. It is the only example of an aria in any of the works examined in this survey to include a formal cadenza. What is even more exceptional is that an alternative cadenza is provided at the end of the number, again scored for solo violin and soprano alone (Example 6). The audience did not have, or indeed want, much opportunity to savour either of these because the opera survived for only three performances.

This aria is also unique in that the virtuosic element pervades the entire number. Usually it was restricted to one section only. In Die Entführung the latter characteristic features both in the aria 'Ach, ich liebte', where coloratura emerges during the second group of themes, and, more prominently, in a later aria for Constanze, 'Martern aller Arten', where it occurs both in the second phrase and again, at greater length, in the second subject. Here the virtuosity emphasises the general heroic

character of the aria but sometimes, as for example in the opening number from Umlauf's Das Irrlicht, a highly virtuosic section is incorporated to form a strong contrast with the main mood. In this latter instance, it forms the middle part of a simple ternary structure in which the principal sections are pastoral in nature, set in $\frac{6}{8}$ time, and in which the lyricism of the vocal line is emphasised by the doubling of the first violins. Lukas's first solo number in Benda's Der Jahrmarkt provides a similar example, for here too the virtuosic section occurs in the middle of a fairly short and simply constructed aria.

In those arias which basically are in sonata or ternary form it is rare for the virtuosic passage to be recapitulated with the same figurations. Sophie's second aria in Die Bergknappen illustrates this point, as indeed does Constanze's big C major aria in Die Entführung, 'Martern aller Arten'. In the recapitulation section of this last, the elaboration of the vocal line is not only varied by the use of different figurations but greater demands are made on the singer also. This illustrates the way in which virtuosity can be used to enhance the dramatic tension (the voice sustains a top C for over four bars in the recapitulation of 'Martern aller Arten').

The skill of a singer may be displayed in the extension of the vocal range and the use of wide leaps. The former is more common in soprano roles. Conversely the extension downwards of the range of a bass voice is also a means of displaying virtuosity although this is a technique used only rarely in the operas

presently under discussion. Indeed, the majority of virtuosic arias are written for the soprano voice. Although several passages written for Osmin in Mozart's opera provided the singer Fischer with opportunities to display the renowned profundity of his voice (Example 7); and although these lines are truly demanding in themselves they do not form part of a generally virtuosic aria. Instead they delineate Osmin's character more effectively. Rapid melismatic lines are a normal feature of a virtuosic aria and, as one would expect, these characterise the majority of this type of number. Although these are more spectacular when taken at a fast tempo, it is worth noting that not all virtuosic arias are marked poco allegro con spirito - as is the case with the unusual number from Die Kinder der Natur which has already been described - or allegro vivace, which is the indication for the third virtuosic number in Das Irrlicht. A good many are written in a more leisurely tempo, Sophie's one display aria in Die Bergknappen for instance is marked allegretto moderato. Melismatic lines often form a pattern which is repeated several times, rising a tone higher at each repetition in order to stimulate a sense of excitement. The third aria of Was erhält die Männer treu? provides a typical example of this technique (Example 8).

Later in this opera by Ruprecht there is an aria sung by the same character which, although by no means a full-scale virtuosic number, derives its interest from a repeating figure based on the trill, another common ingredient of a singer's technique (Example 9). Normally, however, the trill is used to emphasise the final

cadence of an extended declamatory passage. Occasionally a concluding cadence is marked, not by a trill, but by a delayed resolution onto the tonic in which the vocal line is elaborated in order to heighten the impact of the words. Once more attention may be drawn to Constanze's aria 'Ach, ich liebte', for a further illustration of this technique. Sometimes the resolution to the tonic is delayed by a pause, a characteristic especially marked in arias of all types by Grétry and his French contemporaries. Indeed a pause is not always sufficient here. At the appropriate point in the first aria in Die abgerechete Zauberey for instance (and in the first two arias in the original French version of the opera also) the tempo changes momentarily to adagio which gives added emphasis to the return to the home key. The most elaborate example of this, the full-scale cadenza at the end of the virtuosic aria in Die Kinder der Natur, has already been mentioned.

When one comes to consider the ways in which the vocal line is elaborated at the cadence, one is forced to differentiate between lyrical ornamentation and pure virtuosity, a distinction which is not always easily drawn. To leave the realm of opera for a moment, one has only to consider the arabesques in the smaller works of Chopin to appreciate the problems of defining the term virtuosity. There is little doubt that the pianistic figurations employed by Chopin are difficult to perform and that they arouse admiration in the listener. But whereas both of these elements contribute to the concept of virtuosity, Chopin's overall intention is not to astound his audience but, by way of a gentle elaboration of the melodic lines, to emphasise the lyrical feeling of his music. Here

perhaps lies the essential difference between the pianistic style of Chopin and that of Liszt.

A large proportion of numbers in the operas given at the Nationalsingspiel, whether for soloists or for groups of singers, contain passages which present the performer with technical problems; but as in Chopin's keyboard style, the elaborations do not destroy the essential shape of the melodic line. Such numbers are mostly in a lyrical vein and there are several examples in Die Entführung which illustrate the point. Belmonte's arias, 'Wenn der Freude Thränen fließen' and 'Ich baue ganz auf deine Stärke', are both in a slow tempo, the first adagio, the second andante, and both begin with a straightforward melodic line. It is by examining the vocal lines, in this case those by Mozart, that one may most readily appreciate the difference between the lyrical and the declamatory/heroic aria. The latter is characterised by a series of short, contrasting phrases whereas the former is constructed on a series of long paragraphs each consisting of a number of uniform and regular phrases. Variety is achieved by the contrast between one such paragraph and another and not within the individual paragraph itself (Example 10). Here one may appreciate the renowned fluidity of the vocal lines by Italian composers. Sacchini's phrases in Der verstellte Narr aus Liebe, for example, are often sustained and involve a certain amount of rhythmic variety with particular emphasis on triplet figurations (Example 11).

In general the lyrical melody tends to avoid large intervals and proceeds in conjunct motion with few unexpected rhythms; contrastingly the declamatory line depends on sharpness of rhythm

and wide intervals (for instance, the falling octave at the ends of phrases) to achieve the desired effect. The lyrical line lends itself naturally to ornamentation, for its step-wise progressions easily encourage chromatic passing notes. Thus, as may be seen in Example 10, the line is elaborated without its fundamental shape being obliterated. Chromatic passing notes were widely used by composers prone to repeating phrases because they helped to disguise the repetition (Example 12). Reference has already been made to an aria's final cadences which are sometimes delayed by the use of ornamentation. This is perhaps more common in arias of a lyrical nature than in those which express passionate emotions: for a dramatic number is more effective if it ends swiftly, perhaps with no more than a peremptory trill on the final cadence. The second of Belmonte's arias referred to above illustrates the narrow distinction to be drawn between virtuosity and ornamentation: for the cadence establishing the dominant key at the end of the first section is delayed for ten bars by a series of repeated melismatic patterns and, in the recapitulation, both groups of themes are concluded by a large number of bars of highly elaborate figurations (Example 13).

Blondine's aria which opens Act 2 of Die Entführung provides a further illustration. At the end of the first section of this essentially lyrical number (marked andante grazioso) the transition to the dominant key is delayed by a held note followed by an ascending scale leading to a high B before the chord is resolved. At the analogous point in the recapitulation the same pattern occurs, but this time it is repeated, the first scale leading to

a top A, and the second to a high E.

Several references have been made to the use of sonata form in the larger type of solo number, and indeed several composers based arias on this form. This indicates how far the concept of the aria had progressed in German opera from the time of Hiller. The development sections in the arias relevant to this survey do not have as great a dramatic import as in contemporary instrumental movements in sonata form and do not involve a musical discussion of earlier contrasting material but dwell on one aspect of it. Fritz's aria, 'Ich sah dich in den Bergesschlünden', in Die Bergknappen is clearly in sonata form. It has two definite groups of themes which are of identical length; the first is as 'motivic' as a vocal number will allow, consisting of a series of two- and later one-bar phrases. The second, which is in the dominant key, is marked dolce and constitutes an altogether more sustained paragraph. The development section, slightly longer than either of the earlier groups of themes, is based on the first subject. The composer returns to the words of the opening but does not repeat the initial vocal phrase; instead he emphasises the first few notes of that theme which are on a monotone. Only in the second half of the development section is a passage incorporated which can be identified definitely as coming from the exposition. Nonetheless the section forms the climax to the aria, for the impact of the words is enhanced by the use of the dominant minor key and the orchestral accompaniment; the thematic interest rests with the lower strings (this number is scored for strings alone) while the violins

play tremolando. Use is also made of syncopated rhythms and sudden changes in dynamic markings (Example 14).

Constanze's aria, 'Ach, ich liebte', from Die Entführung has been cited elsewhere in this chapter as an example of a heroic/virtuosic aria. It also provides an admirable example of an aria in sonata form. Here the second group, longer than the first because a large proportion consists of virtuosic passage work, has the same number of bars as the development section. This latter section illustrates again how Mozart outshone his contemporaries. It was not unusual for an aria to be preceded by a slow introduction, as will be discussed shortly, but it is of particular interest at this point to note that here the introductory material is incorporated into the development section of the aria proper (Example 15). Like Umlauf, however, Mozart veers momentarily towards a minor tonality, in this case the tonic minor, and also makes use of the expressive diminished seventh chord.

These two examples illustrate the traditional use of the sonata form principle in relation to the operatic aria. There are others which would have done as well; but at this stage it is more profitable to cite instances where the principle is varied. In several arias, for example in Was erhält die Männer treu?, Diesmal hat der Mann den Willen!, Der Rauchfangkehrer and Das Irrlicht, the development section is foreshortened; occasionally it forms more of a transition towards the recapitulation. In one aria in Der verstellte Narr aus Liebe the development section is replaced by an extended orchestral ritornello. It is not only this section which may differ from the norm, however, for the recapitulation may

also be varied, if not replaced by new material. Several instances of this occur in Der Rauchfangkehrer. The recapitulation to the fourth number in Act 3, for example, a virtuosic aria, presents material which varies considerably from that of the exposition and which is stated in the relative minor key. In an aria in the second act of Die pflaue farbne Schuhe, the two thematic groups return in reverse order in the recapitulation. Although neither aria is strictly in sonata form there are two numbers in Die Kinder der Natur where a 'false recapitulation' occurs. One of these numbers is in rondo form and it is when one is expecting the final statement of the principal theme that the composer deceives his audience.

There are few instances of solo numbers in rondo form in these Singspiele (the vaudeville finale will be discussed later) but where they do occur, they are most frequently to be found in works by French composers. In their original versions both Röschen und Colas and Sylvain have two arias in rondo form, all of which have only two different episodes, whereas three solo numbers in Die Pilgrime von Mecca are simpler still, the structure being ABABA. Interestingly the second part of the instrumental number to open Act 2 of Die Kinder der Natur is marked 'rondo', but despite there being four very definite sections there is no indication in the manuscript score that the first should be repeated between the succeeding ones. Presumably the term 'rondo' was sufficient instruction for the players.

The treatment of the orchestral ritornello in solo numbers is

worthy of mention in this discussion for it was often more than a mere sign that a section had come to an end or that a certain key had been reached. One instance has already been cited where a long orchestral section in the middle of an aria replaces the voice in the development section of a sonata form movement. Lehne's first aria in Die pücefarbnen Schuhe is another illustration of the unusual use of the ritornello. This has a structure (introduction) AABCDAC/D and each of these short sections is concluded by a recurring short orchestral phrase (x) which establishes, and on some occasions even brings about, the modulation to a new key. At its first statement, for instance, section D is in the subdominant key. The subsequent orchestral refrain begins in this key but moves immediately to the dominant of the home key which, with the additional emphasis of a pause, prepares for the return of section A in the tonic (Example 16).

One certainly cannot expect a few bars of ritornello between each section of a vocal number. This is most apparent in works of French origin. Here it is the exception rather than the rule for the return to the first subject to be preceded by an orchestral ritornello, although the first statement of the first subject is almost always concluded by a few bars of ritornello to establish the new key and to prepare for the entry of the second group. Occasionally in the shorter numbers there is no ritornello at all.

The orchestral introductions are most worthy of discussion in this context. At this period in the history of opera the aria

was still a point of repose in the drama, the action being furthered either in the intervening dialogue or recitative, or in certain types of vocal ensemble. As in any event the action is delayed during such numbers the inclusion of a long introduction does not make any difference. Essentially it was the general emotional character of an aria which determined the number of opening bars. Hence the first aria for Dorkas in Was erhält die Männer treu?, one intended to be of particular dramatic significance, begins with a cursory chord before the voice enters with its declamatory line. The opening number in Das Irrlicht begins immediately with the entry of the voice; but here the situation is different from that of the previous example. This latter aria is pastoral in nature and its simplicity is enhanced by the lack of any introduction. Umlauf seems to have been particularly influenced by the French opera composers, and this single example from Das Irrlicht may serve in a very small way to illustrate this influence. It is by no means a regular occurrence, but one or two simple airs from Grétry's operas, for instance the Romanze from Act 2 of the original version of Die Freundschaft auf der Probe, also have no introduction.

Far more common is the long introduction which occurs, as one would expect in numbers constructed on a larger scale,⁴ the normal length being four, six or eight bars emphasising the

4 A long introduction does not necessarily accompany important business on stage.

regular phrase-lengths of the vocal line. Thus an introduction may be considered long if it exceeds about twenty bars. Die Entführung includes one of the longest introductions encountered in this survey, that to Constanze's aria 'Martern aller Arten'. This not only occupies sixty bars but also features elaborate solo roles for oboe, flute, violin and 'cello. More interesting is the eighty-seven bars long introduction to the first number in Frühling und Liebe. This, however, does not form the introduction to a normal aria for the number opens the opera and one is therefore under the impression that one is listening to the overture. It is only with the entrance of the voice that one realises that the number functions also as an aria. The orchestral element is always predominant, however; for instance all the main material is restated by the orchestra before the voice re-enters in the recapitulation. The style of writing in this number also varies between the vocal and orchestral sections. On the one hand, the vocal line is a simple version of the orchestral themes, diatonic and with a straightforward, basically string accompaniment; on the other hand, the 'overture', is scored for strings with the addition of trumpets, drums, horns and flutes.

The opening orchestral ritornello in a classical concerto movement rarely involves a modulation to the dominant key before the entrance of the soloist, and the same principle applies to the orchestral introductions to the type of large-scale arias discussed here. It is therefore particularly interesting that the introductions to two arias in Der verstellte Narr aus Liebe

should be exceptions to the rule and should modulate to the dominant key before the voice enters.

As a complement to the long introduction within the aria itself, a large-scale aria was also preceded on occasions by an independent introduction. Such introductions were not a common feature in these Singspiele, however, and thus it is remarkable that there are no less than four instances in Die Entführung, two in arias for Constanze, one for Belmonte and the fourth preceding a duet for them both. Mozart uses this type of introduction in numbers of a more meditative or expressive nature; for instance the opening of the duet, 'Welch ein Geschick' portrays in music the lovers' realisation that they must soon die. This may well be an indication of the popularity of this opera for few other works have such a serious side and explore to the same extent the depths of the principal characters' emotions.

Three arias, each for different characters, are preceded by an independent introduction in Der Rauchfangkehrer. Indeed Salieri seems to have preferred this type of opening to a long orchestral ritornello. The majority of his solo numbers, including those which could be described as 'song-like', are constructed on a large scale but there is only one instance where the opening ritornello exceeds twenty bars. Salieri, however, does not put his independent introductions to the same effect as his rival, Mozart. Der Rauchfangkehrer is a conventional opera buffa, where the superficial plot is concerned more with intrigues and trickery than the portrayal of deep human emotion. Even

when Mozart did compose an opera buffa, as in Le Nozze di Figaro, the wiles of the plot never obscured the conflicting emotions of the principal characters.

The word 'independent' has been used to describe these introductions rather than the more familiar term 'slow' because to use the latter would have been too much of a generalisation. Of the four instances cited in Die Entführung, three involve the use of recitative. On each occasion the voice is always completely independent of the accompaniment (if it is not entirely alone it is supported only by sustained string chords) and the expression is heightened by poignant short orchestral phrases. For example, in the recitative preceding Belmonte's aria 'O wie angstlich' his opening phrase seems to be calling to Constanze and the fruitlessness of his call is emphasised by an echo on the solo oboe. Even more poignant are the seventeen bars of recitative which lead to the final duet between Belmonte and Constanze, where the hopelessness of their position is made clear by a recurring falling phrase in the violins set against a syncopated background and above a rising chromatic bass-line.

The replacing of secco recitative by spoken dialogue as a means of conveying conversation was one of the main characteristics of the Singspiel, but this did not forbid the use of accompanied recitative which was often more effective because it provided greater contrast. Recitative was not only incorporated into the introduction of a number in the manner described above; it was so not uncommon for it to occur in the middle of a number. It could even form an independent number. Examples of the former

can be found in Die Entführung, both in the first duet between Osmin and Belmonte and in the quartet to end Act 2, although it must be stated that these are more of the nature of secco recitative and act more as meditative pauses before the numbers continue. More frequently the use of recitative marks a climactic point in the opera. There is an extended section of accompanied recitative in Der verstellte Narr aus Liebe, for example, when the Captain has to decide whether or not to free his captives. Similarly Paisiello in Die eingebildeten Philosophen turns to recitative to express Petronio's feelings when he realises he has been duped. In the second act of Die unvermutheten Zufälle recitative is used more in its traditional narrative role, but again it occurs in a moment of tension where speech would not have been sufficiently strong.

Occasionally passages of accompanied recitative assume the character of melodrama, a genre which was very popular at the time both in North Germany and in Vienna. The essence of this style involves the setting of the spoken voice against an orchestral background whereby each dramatic statement is normally followed and illustrated by a few bars of descriptive orchestral writing. The only difference in the case of the passages of recitative under discussion is that the text is still sung. The term 'accompanied recitative' implies a subordinate and supporting role for the orchestra whereas in melodrama the orchestra is perhaps even more important than the voice.

The influence of melodrama in the work of Umlauf may be seen as early as 1778. Die Bergknappen includes two separate numbers

described as recitative, and it is worth noting that the second follows immediately after the first, the two being divided only by a few lines of spoken dialogue. The incorporation of these two numbers into the climax of the opera provides a further illustration of the effectiveness of recitative in enhancing moments of drama. The first number is remarkable in itself in that the chorus participates in the recitative, but it is the second which shows the style of melodrama. The soloist is for the most part unaccompanied, but her words are answered in a descriptive manner by the orchestra. Moreover the constant changes of tempo and mood are typical of the writing of Georg Benda, the principal exponent and innovator of the style in Germany (Example 17). Aspelmayr, also writing in 1778, included a section of recitative as a separate entity towards the end of Act 1 of Die Kinder der Natur, and here, too, the soloist is answered, rather than accompanied, by short illustrative phrases in the orchestra.

The influence of the melodrama on the operas given at the Nationalsingspiel went even further. Salieri actually incorporated a separate passage of pure melodrama into the opening of Act 2 of Der Rauchfangkehrer where periods of speech are interrupted and emphasised by passages of ornate string writing. Ulbrich, too, composed a similar passage in Der blaue Schmetterling, the only difference being that this was not an independent number but formed an introduction to the ensuing arioso.

Mozart's interest in melodrama and his admiration for the work of Georg Benda are well known, and it is perhaps surprising that he chose not to incorporate this style into the operas he

composed for the Nationalsingspiel when he had an opportunity to do so. A letter from Leopold Mozart to his son in December 1780⁵ implies that there was a possibility of Mozart's opera Zaide being performed in Vienna. This work owes much to Benda's influence.

C Songs and Ariettes

This survey began with an examination of large-scale solo numbers because generally these numbers are of greater musical interest than the smaller numbers. It has been shown that they fall into different categories, and encompass a wider variety of melodic line, harmony, structure and accompaniment. Such arias, however, featured in Singspiele only in the period at present under discussion. The early Singspiele of Hiller were little more than a collection of memorable simple songs and short arias whose intention was to appeal immediately to a lower and middle-class audience. The Singspiele given at the Viennese national theatre from 1778, on the other hand, aimed to attract the nobility as well as the general public and hence a more sophisticated art-form was desirable. This element of sophistication is seen in more elaborately conceived arias, such as those already discussed,

5 The Letters of Mozart, op.cit., Vol.II, p.685, letter dated 11 December 1780. Zaide remained unfinished.

and in often complex ensembles on fully developed orchestral numbers, both of which will be considered shortly. If the Emperor Joseph had wished to convert only the nobility and upper classes to his Germanic ideals these constituents would doubtless have been sufficient; but his aim was also to capture the support of the lower classes. Thus it was essential to incorporate short, singable numbers into the Singspiele for these would find favour with the populace just as similar numbers had ensured the success of Hiller's Singspiele in the 1750s.

It will be remembered that the Singspiel, as developed by Hiller, had in the first instance been derived from the French opéra comique. The latter had by no means undergone as radical a change as the Singspiel, at least the type of Singspiele composed for the Nationalsingspiel in Vienna. Despite Rousseau's attempts, in Le Devin du Village, to incorporate Italianate elements into the form, the opéra comique remained essentially a comédie mêlée d'ariettes.⁶

The simplicity of these ariettes, especially those found in Grétry's operas, may account for the predominance of the French operas in the repertoire in Vienna for, as a rule, simplicity makes for popularity. In its original version, Lucile consisted almost entirely of a string of lyrical ariettes in simple ternary form all of which involved a predictable modulation to the dominant or relative major key in their middle section. Röschen und Colas

6 This is how Grétry described his operas.

is similar, although this work also contains two numbers described in the original version as chanson.

However, the song did not play as important a role in the works performed at the national theatre in Vienna as one might have expected. Occasionally, as in four instances in Die Pilgrime von Mecca, a number may be considered to be a song without it being so called in the score. It is interesting that one of the works to include the most songs was Die Bergknappen. Was Umlauf therefore trying to establish the traditional concept of the Singspiel in the mind of the Viennese public? This was one of the most successful Singspiele to be performed in the national theatre, but its popularity was more likely due to its variety of musical number than to the inclusion of three songs. Indeed these and other songs in the Singspiele given in Vienna at this time, including those by French composers, correspond with the arias rather than the songs in Hiller's operas; they are too stylised to be described as genuine folk-songs and stem from the theatre and not from the people. Example 18 from Die Kinder der Natur provides a good illustration of this stylisation. Basically simple in rhythm, harmonic tread and in its element of repetition, its use of chromatic appoggiaturas nonetheless reveals its folk origin. This is where the songs which Wenzel Müller and his successors were to compose in operas for performance at the Leopoldstadttheater differed and it is thus not surprising to find the latter in present-day collections of German folk-songs. Such albums do not include songs by Umlauf. Again one must bear in mind that Umlauf was composing for a troupe of eminent singers,

whereas Hiller and later Müller were writing principally for actors.

The song-like numbers from the Singspiele given at Vienna share with the number cited from Die Kinder der Natur a simplicity of structure, usually ternary form; a short introduction for orchestra; a straightforward, supporting accompaniment, often for strings alone, in which the voice is doubled throughout (if wood-wind instruments are used they are normally cast in a sustaining role); regular four-bar phrases; repetitions and sequences and a simple harmonic structure. (One of the three examples in Die Kinder der Natur never leaves the tonic key.) Salieri made an attempt to create a pastoral mood in Der Rauchfangkehrer by incorporating a drone bass and $\frac{6}{8}$ time signature in Lisel's first number in Act 2, but such devices were not common.

One should not assume that songs in these operas were necessarily strophic in construction, although instances of this do occur; both in Das Irrlicht and at the beginning of Der verstellte Narr aus Liebe there are songs having three verses. This latter example is unusual in that each verse is sung by a different character, the verses are separated by a few lines of dialogue, and they are linked to each other by a subtle use of keys, the first verse ends in the dominant, and the second starts in that key. Moreover, the first and third verses have an unusually long introduction of twenty-two bars which serves to set the scene. One of the supporting characters on stage, an officer, accompanies the singers on the flute and he is given an extended solo passage before the entry of the voices. This

number is a rare example of a song actually being sung within the context of the plot. The Romanze in Act 3 of Die Entführung is another instance, for it has been agreed that Pedrillo should sing beneath the windows of Constanze and Blondine as a sign that it is time for the escape.

In Mozart's opera both this Romanze and Osmin's song from his opening duet with Belmonte illustrate the point that the song was a stylised number. Hence in the former the guitar-like accompaniment created by the pizzicato strings, the ambiguity of key which veers from B minor to D major (to convey perhaps an impression of the Orient), and the fact that the song never comes to a definite conclusion but ends in mid-air. Osmin's song may at first sight be more conventional for it consists of short, regular phrases, it has a refrain which provides the material for the introductory two bars, and it begins with a simple choral accompaniment. In this second verse, however, this accompaniment varies to include an ostinato for flute and oboe, and by the third verse there is a new countersubject for triple woodwind. This final verse involves a momentary change of tempo and leads directly to an extended duet for Osmin and Belmonte. The number is unusual, too, in that it is in a minor key, thus introducing some local colour to suit the character of Osmin.

In general the songs and shorter arias follow the tradition of the early Singspiele and comic operas in that they are reserved for the servant figures. Thus, by the simplicity they provide a contrast with the more involved arias sung by the principal characters. Interestingly, they rarely provide comic relief.

Perhaps this is another reason why the Nationalingspiel ultimately failed and the Leopoldstadttheater progressed from strength to strength. Comedy in the national theatre was by no means the main consideration, and if it did occur it did so in a refined manner, by the use of parody, for instance, as will be shown. Compare this with the vulgarity and boisterous adventures of Kasperl at the Leopoldstadttheater whose songs were whistled throughout Vienna, even, it was said, by the Emperor himself.

The comic numbers in Die Entführung are sung by the servant figures, as one would expect, but these are taken from the sophisticated world of Italian opera buffa and bear little resemblance to traditional Viennese folk-theatre songs. The duet between Osmin and Blondine in Act 2 is a good example of this. There may be a slight similarity between Hanswurst and Pedrillo in the latter's aria, 'Frisch zum Kampfe', in which he struggles to overcome his cowardice, but the way in which Mozart delineates this conflict by contrasting the bold opening lines with the timid refrain is back in the realm of Italian opera. Although Pedrillo's arias, apart from the well-known Romanze are generally entertaining, Blondine has a more serious role than would normally be expected from a servant figure. Her aria 'Durch Zärtlichkeit und Schmeicheln', is essentially a lyrical number, and her indignation that Pedrillo should doubt her fidelity in the Finale to Act 2 is expressed in the same terms as Constanze's. Her aria, 'Welche Wonne, welche Lust', may at first sight appear to be more traditional for it is fast-moving, light-hearted, and the vocal line with its regular and

repeating phrases resembles that of a folk-song rather than that of a sophisticated operatic aria. The words, 'Freud und Jubel propheziehn', later in the number, however, give rise to a phrase which verges on the 'heroic', a phrase one would normally expect from the heroine herself (Example 19).

Bass singers at the Nationalsingspiel were not allocated as many important roles as tenors or sopranos and few had the opportunity of singing the comic buffo arias so typical of the Italian comic opera of the time. Herr Fischer was fortunate in having the part of Osmin especially composed for him, but only one section of one of his numbers, the concluding passage in 'Solcheherge|aufne Laffen', resembles a buffo aria with its rapid repeating notes and this expresses great rage and not humour. Similarly, there are a number of buffo-like arias sung by the Captain in Der verstellte Narr aus Liebe. In the first of these there is a recurring passage in which the singer has one note for bar after bar and great emphasis is laid on the delayed Italian cadence, but, although it provides light relief in a rather dull plot, it is not specifically humorous. On the other hand, an aria in Der Rauchfangkehrer, sung by Herr Bär in Act 2, has exactly the same features, the monotonous repetition of quaver patterns, the dwelling on one note and the extended cadences, and in this instance the aria is given in a humorous context for Herr Bär is a ridiculous figure.

Salieri's opera is one of the most light-hearted of all the operas performed at the Nationalsingspiel. It is an Italian opera buffa in the German language. Indeed, two of the arias are

in fact sung in Italian, for Volpino, the chimney-sweep of the title, pretends to be a singing teacher and naturally advocates singing in Italian! The roles of Wolf and Bär are given particularly humorous treatment by way of character arias, and the first solo aria of the latter illustrates his name in musical terms for the melodic line is four-square, very diatonic and ends with long, sustained notes.

One aria in particular from Die pücefarbnen Schuhe was especially popular and deemed worthy by Robert Haas to be included (in an abridged form) in his collection of Wiener Comödienlieder aus drei Jahrhunderten. This is a duet from Act 1 of the opera which, in the Italian manner, extols the virtue of coffee (Example 20). The servant figure, Flinkin, in Diesmal hat der Mann den Willen! is also given an aria 'im Geschmack der ernsthaften Oper' in the fifth scene of this short opera, a parody if for no other reason that this sophisticated number should be sung by such a lowly figure. Both these examples, however, like those from Der Rauchfangkehrer add further support to the premise that comedy in these Viennese Singspiele was a sophisticated concept and more likely to appeal to the upper classes than to the lower.

D Ensembles

It is generally accepted that solo numbers in opera from the seventeenth to at least the nineteenth century give rise to

a period of repose in the development of the action. As set pieces they portray emotion or perhaps delineate a particular character. This explains why the majority of operas given at the national theatre begin with a short solo number; the first number in a stage-work sets the scene, whether or not it is preceded by spoken dialogue, and introduces one of the main characters. It does not involve dramatic action. Thus, in Die Entführung, the audience is not only introduced to the character of Belmonte in his first aria but also made aware of the situation, his love for the absent Constanze. Occasionally, as in Der Rauchfangkehrer and Der blaue Schmetterling, an opera will open with a duet, again simple in structure and content, which merely serves to introduce two characters instead of one. Indeed, duets are almost always set numbers in this type of opera and, like arias, rarely further the action. The large proportion of solo numbers and duets in Die Kinder der Natur thus partly accounts for the monotony of the work as so many lyrical pieces are not attributes of a fast-moving plot. This lyrical quality is immediately apparent when one considers the opening ritornelli which are of the customary length of four, six or eight bars, precluding any sense of activity. Sometimes duets are even folk-like in their simplicity, this again indicating that they are not suitable vehicles for furthering the action. They are sung by pairs of lovers and may occur, for instance, before or after the couple have endured certain emotional conflicts. The relationship of the two voices varies from one number to another for on some occasions, for example, the third number in Diesmal

hat der Mann den Willen!, the two singers combine from the outset, whereas by contrast in the second number from Die Kinder der Natur they never sing at the same time together. It is more usual, however, for the number to begin with the duettists singing a few short phrases solo alternately, in the manner of question and answer, before they combine, usually in thirds or sixths.

In the late eighteenth-century comic opera it is only in the ensemble where the action may progress by musical means. The number of ensembles in the operas performed at the Nationalsingspiel and examined in this survey varies from three to ten,⁷ and it is significant that the earlier works, especially by Viennese composers, for instance Die Bergknappen, Die pücefarnnen Schuhe and Was erhält die Männer treu?, have fewer numbers of this type. This is another indication that the Singspiel grew in stature and complexity as the Nationalsingspiel became more firmly established at the Burgtheater.

An ensemble may occur not only at the end of an act but also during the course of an act, forming a culmination of the musical activity which has preceded it. For example, three characters may each have a solo number, and it is natural that all three soloists should then combine. Not all ensembles are intended to further the action, however; apart from duets, which have been referred to earlier, homophonic choruses are frequently just as much 'set pieces' as the solo aria, but these will be examined independently. For the moment then, the discussion will be limited to those numbers written

7 This figure includes all types of number for more than one voice.

for more than two singers and through which the plot unfolds.

Certain features characterise this type whether they occur in the middle or at the end of an act: the length of orchestral introductions; the role of the orchestra; the type of vocal line; the role of each character in the ensemble; the varying sections, and the use of keys. First, assuming that a particular number is emphasising a point of climax or marking a speeding up of the action, it would be completely inappropriate for the entry of the voices to be delayed by a long opening ritornello. Thus in the first trio in Die Entführung where Osmin is endeavouring to drive Belmonte and Pedrillo from the precincts of the Bassa's harem, there are only four introductory bars in quick $\frac{2}{4}$ time consisting of a peremptory unison figure before Osmin enters. Other examples abound: the trio in Act 1 of Umlauf's Die Apotheke has two bars' introduction; the trio in Act 2 of Frühling und Liebe, a particularly large-scale number, has only one; of the two trios in Der Rauchfangkehrer, one has two bars' introduction, and in the second there is no introduction whatsoever. The quintet towards the end of Rüschchen und Colas in its French version is exceptional in that it does not further the action (the opening words return in the recapitulation which is almost identical to the first section), and it is thus not surprising that this number has an orchestral introduction of twenty-four bars.

Usually, all the singers are equally important in an ensemble and are often independent of one another. This necessarily gives rise to a certain amount of counterpoint, though it is rarely of

great complexity. The one trio from Röschen und Colas which is headed 'Fuga' is an extreme case in this respect. An elaborate vocal texture, however, requires a fairly simple accompaniment, and although a larger body of instruments often emphasises a particular point of climax in the drama, the role of the orchestra is mostly subordinate to the singers and only comes to the fore when the soloists have a few bars' rest. In those Singspiele composed expressly for the national theatre the treatment of the individual singers is not as complex as in a genuine Italian opera buffa where different individual soloists may give expression at the same time to completely contrasting emotions, this being the case in Mozart's Le Nozze di Figaro. It is interesting that Mozart did not make more of his considerable skill at ensemble writing in Die Entführung, and it might be speculated that he avoided doing so because he considered it inappropriate in a German opera. The same thing applies in Die Zauberflöte, although it must be remembered that this is an opera where spectacular effects are a primary consideration and thus greater emphasis is placed on the grand homophonic chorus. Fast moving ensembles would have been out of place here. Nonetheless, there are none in Bastien und Bastienne and Der Schauspieldirektor, Mozart's two other German operas. These are not really representative, however, as the former was written at an early age when the composer's powers of ensemble writing were still relatively undeveloped, and in any case, the plot of this work is so slight that such a number would have been inappropriate. Der Schauspieldirektor is not a good example either because it was intended to be an occasional

piece, first performed at a garden party, and again is slight in content. One is therefore forced to compare Die Entführung with other operas especially written for performance at the Nationalsingspiel to appreciate whether or not this concept is valid.

The distribution of solo voices in an ensemble generally follows a set pattern. To take a trio as an example: two soloists may sing the same line in thirds or sixths while the third singer may be given an independent, if related line. In the trio in Die Entführung the plot demands that Osmin be antagonistic towards Belmonte and Pedrillo, and it is thus natural that he be given a separate vocal line, whereas the latter mostly sing together. This is a case where the material for the two groups of singers is related. The allocation of parts may be seen even more clearly in the trio for Lisel, Volpino and Johann in Act 3 of Der Rauchfangkehrer where a rapid quaver pattern sung jointly by Lisel and Johann is offset by a more lyrical line of Volpino. Naturally a greater variety of combinations of voices is possible in quartets and quintets, although there are few instances of the latter in the works under discussion. In all types of ensemble it is rare for all the voices to enter immediately after the introduction, and several sections may elapse before the third or fourth voice enters.

The procedure of building ensembles on a succession of contrasting sections rarely occurs in solo numbers for the reason that, as has been explained, the action in ensembles is continuously progressing. A solo number may have a contrasting middle section

but this passage usually precedes a return to the first part with a repeat of the opening words. Sections in ensembles may change because new characters are about to sing or there is about to be a different combination of singers. This is so in the quartet from Die Entführung: which is in the key of D major: in the first passage Belmonte and Constanze have a musical dialogue; in the second there is a change of mood where Pedrillo and Blondine hold a musical conversation of their own, and in the third all four singers combine. Up to this point there has been no change in tempo, time or key signatures, (although the second passage starts in the dominant key) but the distinction between the three passages is apparent not only because of the different combinations of voices, but also because of the change of vocal line and accompanimental figurations. In this number the first obvious new section, which is marked by a move to the tonic minor key and a slower tempo, takes place when Belmonte and Pedrillo feel some misgivings; their explanation of this feeling, a doubting of their partners' fidelity, is given in yet another section, this time in E flat major. Both these sections form a complete contrast to the opening section for all four characters now rejoice in their good fortune and look forward optimistically to the future. In all, this quartet consists of seven different sections, all depicting a change of mood, and all bearing new time and key signatures and changes of key. The following diagram broadly illustrates the overall structure

of the number and the various combinations of voices:⁸

Section 1	<u>Allegro.</u> (voices) I-II; III-IV; I/II/III/IV (D major)
Section 2	<u>Andante.</u> I-II; III-IV; (+ 2 bars recit) (G minor)
Section 3	<u>Andante.</u> I-II-III-IV (E flat to B flat)
Section 4	<u>Allegro.</u> I-II-III-IV (B flat) <u>Adagio</u> (four bars only) I/II/III/IV (G minor ending on the chord of E)
Section 5	<u>Andantino</u> I/II/III/IV (A major)
Section 6	<u>Allegretto</u> I-II-III-IV (A major)
Section 7	<u>Allegro</u> I/II/III/IV (D major)

The combining of all four soloists in a homophonic texture in the final section is a conventional technique, especially as it is here at the end of an act. It is not unknown also for a point of climax in an ensemble to be marked by a passage in which all the soloists sing in unison. This occurs in the trio sung by Blumbeck, Rose and the Count in Diesmal hat der Mann den Willen!, but here again the number as a whole is concluded by a straight-forward homophonic section. The finale to Act 1 of Der Rauchfangkehrer provides another example of the structure of an ensemble number. Here, however, fewer changes of key are involved, and the first two sections are immediately repeated, even though the second of these is sung by a different character and

8 A stroke indicates that the voices are singing together; a hyphen indicates a passage of musical dialogue.

in the relative minor key. Like the quartet from Die Entführung the voices are not introduced together, and the male singers are always set apart from the female. There is, however, in this case greater emphasis on the solo singer.

Section 1	<u>Allegro spiritoso.</u> (B flat)	I/II
Section 2	<u>Allegro agitato.</u> (B flat)	III
Section 3	<u>Allegro spiritoso.</u> (B flat)	I/II
Section 4	<u>Allegro agitato.</u> (G minor)	IV
Section 5	<u>Larghetto.</u> (B flat)	I/II
	(<u>Andante maestoso</u> - recitative)	
Section 6	<u>Allegro agitato.</u> (B flat)	I; III/IV
Section 7	<u>Larghetto.</u> (B flat)	I; III/IV
Section 8	<u>Allegro.</u> (C major)	I/II/III/IV
Section 9	<u>Allegro ma non troppo.</u> (B flat)	I/II/III/IV

In this example the two sections marked Larghetto are basically lyrical in character and feature more sustained vocal lines which, if sung in duet, are usually harmonised in thirds or sixths. When one considers that ensembles are intended to further the action, the inclusion of such static sections may seem surprising. However, they provide a temporary respite from the ongoing action which, in a finale, may be particularly involved, and thus lend more emphasis afterwards to the renewed activity. In musical terms, in other words, the more simple sections are a satisfying contrast to the complexities of the other fast-moving sections.

The system of key relationships in these operas is not very elaborate. It is very rare for there to be more than three flats or sharps in a key signature, and, if a modulation does occur, especially in a solo number, it is customary for there to be one only and that to the dominant key or, if the number is in a minor key, to the relative major. An ensemble consisting of several contrasting sections would, one imagines, require more than one modulation to the dominant, if only to avoid monotony. Increased activity on stage which generally gives rise to a piece of ensemble writing could so easily have been matched by a wider system of key relationships. For example, a particularly fast-moving piece of action could have been enhanced in musical terms by a quicker rate of modulation. Rarely was anything made of this opportunity, however, and composers showed no more sense of adventure in their choice of keys in ensembles than they did when writing solo pieces. The Act 1 finale to Der Rauchfangkehrer is a case in point. Sacchini is another example of a composer conservative in his choice of keys. The finale to Act 1 of Der verstellte Narr aus Liebe consists of nine sections which are alternately in a fast and slow tempo. The key of the movement is A major, the second section moves to D minor, the following two to D major, and the composer then returns to the home key for the remaining five sections. Of all the ensembles examined in this survey the quartet in Die Entführung is by far the most imaginative in the choice of keys. This number is restrained in character and does not involve intense activity on stage. Not only does Mozart use the minor tonality

to poignant effect, but he also veers both to the flat and sharp sides of the original tonic, a technique rarely found in any type of number in works of this nature. More action is involved in the trio from Act 1 of the opera where Belmonte and Pedrillo endeavour to enter the seraglio despite the efforts of Osmin. There are only two sections in this number; in the first Osmin has the upper hand, and the music is in the key of C minor. When the two gain in confidence, however, and show their determination to enter, the mood changes and the key is then in C major.

E Choruses and the Vaudeville Finale

So far, no mention has been made of the use of the chorus as a means of conveying stage action through music. The dramatic impact of a larger body of singers is obviously greater than a group of solo singers, but it is only when in combination with one or more soloists that the chorus is used in this context and not merely to provide a temporary moment of spectacle. Like the ensemble, this type of number may occur either in the middle of an act or as part of a finale. All three acts of Das Irrlicht end in this manner, although the first and last are extremely simply constructed; the numbers are basically in ternary form in which the soloist participates only in the middle section. The finale to Act 2, on the other hand, involves the succession of contrasting sections which, it has been shown, is typical of the ensemble finale,

but here the interest is shared between soloists and full chorus. Three of the middle sections are written for soloists only and special emphasis is laid on accompanied recitative. The first and last two sections are, however, predominantly for chorus, sometimes in an accompanimental role to a simple solo line, sometimes interrupting a solo line with short interjections, and at other times, for example, at the very end, concluding a section with a prolonged passage in a grand homophonic texture. In other operas, numbers which are written for both chorus and soloists involve merely the alternation of solo and choral sections, but this has little bearing on the dramatic situation. Diesmal hat der Mann den Willen! and Frühling und Liebe both include such a number featuring two solo singers, but as both numbers occur near the beginning of the operas the absence of heightened dramatic and musical activity is understandable. The introductory number to Was erhält die Männer treu? is more unusual; basically a solo number, the soloist is frequently interrupted at the outset by short sustained choral lines which end on a pause. This gives rise to an air of mystery, but gradually the tenor soloist grows more and more impassioned and his initial lyrical line assumes a declamatory nature. This is one rare instance where a passage of increased intensity is marked by a greater variety of modulations as the piece opens in B flat but then in the middle section moves from the dominant to the super-tonic minor. The second number in Act 3 of Der blaue Schmetterling is similarly constructed; the tenor soloist has a lyrical line which is set against some dramatic choral (and orchestral)

writing and as the music progresses he becomes more impassioned.

Not all numbers which involve the participation of chorus and soloists reflect an increase in activity on stage, however. There is an instance in Act 3 of Der Rauchfangkehrer where although chorus and soloist always remain separate, they share the same material, and the number does not further the action. The chorus of Janissaries in Die Entführung has a middle section for four soloists but these singers are taken from the chorus and provide a contrasting middle section to a number which is intended to imbue the opera with a sense of local colour.

Critics of the time especially praised this chorus,⁹ and it remains popular today with Mozart's conception of the East depicted in the use of percussion instruments and the interval of the sharpened fourth. It is remarkable how few composers took advantage of the chorus as a means of providing a sense of colour. Apart from the instance cited from Die Entführung, only three other examples of this use of the chorus have been found in the works examined in this survey. Curiously all these come from operas which were first performed in the first years of the Nationalsingspiel. The chorus, 'Die Sonne lacht wieder' from Die Bergknappen, like Mozart's chorus of Janissaries, is straightforward in structure and harmony and is homophonic in texture. It is unusual in that it is preceded by an identical piece of music scored for oboes, bassoons and horns which is described as the Musik von Bergleuten

9 See page 104.

and is played as if heard in the distance. Like the chorus this is intended to give a special colourful effect. The other two examples are more conventional, one being a drinking chorus which opens Der Jahrmarkt, the other a hunting chorus from Act 1 of Was erhalt die Manner treu? The latter, too, is preceded by an identical instrumental section, although in this instance it occurs two numbers before the chorus itself. Not surprisingly this instrumental section, which consists of two short numbers, depicts the call of the hunting horns. The chorus is sung by male voices only, but the composer redresses the balance towards the end of the final act of the opera where there is another chorus, this time for women.

Of all the types of number to conclude an opera, the most frequently adopted was a short, straightforward piece of choral writing, whether sung by a full chorus or, in a work which had no role for chorus, by a group of soloists. Several concluding pieces are described by the composer as 'finale', but in this context the term must be given its simplest meaning, that is, as a 'final number'. It does not necessarily imply the type of ensemble finale which has been described elsewhere in this chapter. For instance, the heading in the score of the final number of Das Irrlicht is 'finale' but this is a very simple chorus; similarly in the score of Der Rauchfangkehrer the last number is also marked 'finale' but in the libretto it is described as a Schlusslied.

Some operas, for example, Grétry's Die unvermutheten Zufälle and Gallus's Rose, are brought to an abrupt musical

conclusion: a section of spoken dialogue being immediately followed by a short chorus. A more popular type of final number, however, involves a section of ensemble writing of the type already described, which is not particularly long or complex because the conflicts in the action have been resolved, and this is followed by the short chorus. Examples of this type of finale are more frequently found in works by Italian composers or by composers well versed in the Italian style; for instance, Sacchini's Der verstellte Narr aus Liebe, Paisiello's Die eingebildeten Philosophen, Gassmann's Die unruhige Nacht and Piccinni's Die Sklavin und der grossmütige Seefahrer.

Reference has been made to the Schlusslied which provides the conclusion to Der Rauchfangkehrer. In this case Tomasino, the master chimney-sweep, sings two identical verses of a very simple song and in both verses his lines are echoed by the chorus. In the second verse the recapitulation is foreshortened and leads to an extended passage in which the final cadence is delayed in the Italian manner, and by this time the chorus has replaced the solo singer. There is a similar number at the end of Die Kinder der Natur. The simplicity of the plot and music of this opera has already been mentioned, and a complex final number would thus have been inappropriate. The Schlussgesang here involves four verses of a simple song, each of which is sung by a different character. This is followed by another straightforward section which is contrasting in time signature and key (there has been a move to the subdominant) and in which there are

two new verses, each sung by two of the characters; the first section then returns with one more statement of the original material in which all four singers participate.

No other examples of numbers described by their authors as Schlusslied have been found in this survey. Far more popular was the vaudeville finale which in many respects resembled the Schlusslied. Considering that the vaudeville finale had evolved in the eighteenth century as a feature of French opéra comique, affording an opportunity to express a moral,¹⁰ it is surprising that it appears more frequently in Singspiele composed for the national theatre by Viennese composers than in the French operas that were performed there. Nonetheless, the use of this type of concluding number in works by composers such as Umlauf, Ordonez, Barta and Mozart, points to the most definite French influence on the Viennese Singspiel of this period yet encountered in this discussion. Umlauf was particularly fond of this form, as it was a very satisfactory way of concluding a work which, by its uncomplicated nature, was intended to have a direct appeal to a wide audience. Umlauf first used what he termed a Rundgesang in Die Bergknappen, and in so doing may have influenced Ordonez who composed the second opera for the national theatre in 1778. This opera, Diesmal hat der Mann den Willen, resembles its predecessor in several respects, for the whole concept is the same: apart from the rustic characters and the general length of the work,

10 See C. E. Koch, Jr., 'The Dramatic Ensemble Finale in the Opera Comique of the Eighteenth Century', Acta Musicologica, Vol. XXXIX (1967), p.74.

the composer chose the same types of musical number which range from short arias to more extended trios. Ordonez and his librettist not only decided to open the opera with a duet (Die Bergknappen also began with a duet) but also the work is brought to a conclusion by a vaudeville finale.

Basically the vaudeville finale is a rondo, in which the recurring section is sung by the chorus or, in the absence of the latter, by a combined group of soloists, and where the episodes are taken by different solo singers. The main theme is essentially light-hearted and memorable, and this section is therefore homophonic in texture and consists of regular phrases. This is illustrated in Example 21. The modulations which occur in the episodes are again limited to those nearest the tonic.¹¹ For instance, the three episodes in the vaudeville finale in Die Bergknappen are in the relative minor, subdominant and dominant respectively. Slightly different is the number to end Die pucefarbenen Schuhe, for the first episode is repeated immediately after the return to the main section. Whereas both statements of this episode occur in the tonic key, the intervening repeat of the first section is in the subdominant. In Die Entführung the case is different again; the rondo theme on this occasion is taken by the individual soloists, and the end of this recurring passage is marked, not by a new episode sung by the combined group of soloists but by a repeat of the last line

11 See page 165.

of the rondo theme in which all the singers participate. Basically, therefore, Mozart's vaudeville finale consists of one section only which is repeated on a number of occasions with different soloists. The only modulation takes place within this recurring section, for there is a move to the dominant in the second phrase before the home key is once more established in the final phrase. Mozart, interestingly, chose not to begin each repeat in a new key. Contrast of material and key is not entirely lacking in this number, however. When it is Osmin's turn to sing the rondo theme, one first notices the slower tempo and then becomes aware that the tune itself has been varied. In the space of nine bars the mood has changed from that of rejoicing to that of rage, and the transformation of the main theme forms a link to an impassioned section in A minor which is in fact a repeat of the last section from Osmin's aria, 'Solchehergelaufne Laffen', from Act 1 of the opera. Before the initial mood is re-established Osmin's outburst is tempered by a conciliatory passage of sustained homophonic singing by all the soloists and this is then followed by a return to the rondo theme which concludes the vaudeville number.

This does not form a conclusion to the entire opera, however, for at this point the time signature, tempo and key change to announce the final section which is taken over by another chorus of Janissaries. This chorus is typical of a concluding number in that it is short and has a very simple homophonic texture (indeed, in the opening few bars all parts sing the same melody).

There is a similar twenty-seven bar presto section to bring Die pücefarbnen Schuhe to a close, and even though Die Bergknappen does not have an independent concluding choral section, the opera ends nonetheless with a short homophonic coda.

Mozart again shows his originality in his treatment of the vaudeville finale, for if Osmin were to have participated in the general rejoicing and thanksgiving it would have been out of keeping with his character. This episode is also of considerable musical significance, for, as has been shown, it involves the repeat of an earlier section from the opera. Although Mozart was not the only composer to bring back previously heard material he did so to great effect. For instance, Belmonte's opening aria is derived from the middle section of the overture, but there is one subtle difference: whereas the instrumental section is in the key of C minor, the material recurs in the first number in C major. Moreover this is not the only occasion on which this material recurs; although it is by no means a straightforward repetition, the opening four bars of Belmonte's next aria, 'O wie ängstlich', bear a resemblance to the first three of his opening number (Example 22).

There appears to have been more of a tendency for German composers, as opposed to Italian or French composers, to revert to earlier material, a feature which may be linked with the Germans' inclination towards symphonic writing. Salieri did venture to repeat an entire aria with a different character in Act 1 of Der Rauchfangkehrer, but this move was not as original as that of Ulbrich in the third act of Der blaue Schmetterling. Here the

descriptive instrumental sinfonia which opens the act returns two numbers later, this time with additional chorus and a slightly varied instrumentation. Although fresh material is incorporated towards the middle of the number with the entry of the tenor soloist, the whole section is concluded by a further reference to the opening. There is also an interesting transition passage which links this section to what follows. This will be discussed shortly with regard to its orchestration, but it is worthwhile mentioning here that this passage forms the basis of the next number which is a recitative. Ruprecht was another composer to build up an atmosphere by re-introducing earlier material. Act 1 of Was erhalt die Manner treu? ends with a descriptive instrumental number depicting a storm which has already been heard two numbers earlier. On the second occasion, however, Ruprecht is not satisfied with a mere repeat of the first number, but varies the music subtly to enhance the feeling of tension with which the act ends.

F Orchestration

The return of the storm music in Ruprecht's opera is an interesting feature, and the enhancing of the dramatic effect by orchestral means is also worthy of discussion. These numbers in Was erhalt die Manner treu? are also in many respects typical of instrumental pieces found in operas of the Nationalingspiel both in the use of the orchestra and in formal construction.

Both numbers, though containing slightly different material, are thirty-seven bars long and are constructed, not by way of logical growth of ideas but on a series of individual sections each featuring a new orchestral figuration. For example, the opening four bars of the first of the two pieces begin with the establishing of a crescendo followed by a sudden diminuendo, these crescendo effects being achieved by the gradual addition of woodwind instruments to unison tremolando strings. The technique of increasing the orchestral sonority by means of bringing in additional instruments to create a crescendo or, on a larger scale, to build up to the climax of a movement was widely used in operas of this type. For instance, Umlauf employed a very similar method of working up to a climax at the end of the exposition of Lehne's second aria in Act 1 of Die pflückerfarbenen Schuhe. This passage also begins with tremolando strings alone, marked pianissimo, and the crescendo is enhanced first by the addition of the oboes and then of the horns. This is a natural technique which also explains the inclusion of, for instance, trumpets and drums at the climax of a number, as is the case in the overture to Umlauf's work. One more example of this may be found in the Captain's first aria in Act 2 of Der verstellte Narr aus Liebe where his growing excitement at the thought of the glories of war is marked by the entry of oboes and trumpets. Tremolando strings are used here, too, but in this case they occur at the very point of climax and not at the outset.

The reverse effect may be used to bring about a decrecendo. A section of the hunting chorus from Act 1 of Ruprecht's opera

is marked perdendosi, and gradually the instruments fall silent beginning with the horns, followed by the oboes, then the bassoons and finally the strings.

Other orchestral effects employed by Ruprecht to create his storm music are achieved mainly by the string section. In the second section of the first piece, for example, the violins initially have a sustained note while the thematic interest is maintained in the violas and basses and then the upper and lower strings are each given chromatic figures which are played in contrary motion to end perdendosi (to illustrate the momentary passing of the thunder). Ruprecht gives a greater amount of independence to his violas in this opera than is generally the case in works by other composers. There are, for example, instances of the violas being divided, and in the first aria they provide an unusually florid accompanimental figure. The customary role of the viola in these Singspiele is to fill in the harmony if it is not already doubling the bass line, and on one occasion in Die Kinder der Natur it is omitted altogether, the voice being accompanied solely by the first violins and basses. One opera in which the viola is given a more significant role is Die pfla-farbnen Schuhe where on occasion it replaces the first violin in doubling the voice. This, however, was because the main vocal part was for contralto.

Ruprecht was not the only composer to create a sense of foreboding by means of an instrumental interlude. Two years after the first performance of Was erhalt die Manner treu? Ulrich composed

a similar number at the beginning of Act 3 of Der blaue Schmetterling¹² to depict a gathering of spirits. Like the earlier pieces, this number is in a minor key (D minor as opposed to C minor) and it, too, is built on a succession of short, independent sections rather than a straightforward ternary or binary structure. Ulbrich also employs tremolando effects and makes use of sustained notes. Both composers emphasise the descriptive element by the incorporation into the texture of syncopated rhythms (in the case of Ruprecht in the second of the two storm pieces only), chromatic harmonies (especially the diminished seventh chord) and unison passages. As to harmony, Ulbrich was particularly astute, for a sense of anticipation is created by the frequency and direction of the chord progressions at the opening of the piece: D minor, C minor and B flat minor (Example 23). Ruprecht included an aria in Act 2 which is in the same vein as the earlier instrumental pieces; again one finds a minor key, and the vivid accompaniment incorporates all the features described above: the use of unison, tremolando, syncopation (in this case it is the voice which is syncopated against the instruments rather than two sections from within the orchestra) and the diminished seventh chord. Rapid upward scale passages in the strings are also a feature both of this aria and the instrumental pieces by Ruprecht and Ulbrich, but are rarely to be found in non-descriptive numbers. Composers

12 See page 174 .

naturally exploited the potential of the orchestral forces at their disposal as fully as possible when writing pieces of this nature, and one therefore finds as a rule that these numbers are scored for full orchestra. For example, the descriptive number from Der blaue Schmetterling includes a prominent role for trombones. It is interesting to consider the possible effects of this style of writing on Beethoven's sixth symphony. It is unlikely that Beethoven would have seen many of the Singspiele under discussion, but the tradition of the descriptive orchestral number in the French and German operas performed in Vienna at this time persisted into the nineteenth century. Indeed, a very good illustration may be found in the introduction to Act 2 of Beethoven's Fidelio.

Large orchestral forces were not limited to descriptive numbers, but, as one would expect, they were employed in numbers of a particularly large scale, whether it were an overture, an extended ensemble piece, a chorus or declamatory aria. Conversely, shorter and more simple numbers featured a lighter accompaniment. For instance, the two songs in Die Bergknappen are scored for strings alone, as are two of the less elaborate arias from Der Rauchfangkehrer. The Romanze from Die Entführung where the accompaniment of pizzicato strings is intended to emulate the sound of the guitar has already been mentioned.

It would be a misleading simplification to say that all numbers of a simple nature are scored for strings alone whereas more complex pieces merit a full orchestral accompaniment. In any type of vocal number in these operas the string section provides the

basic instrumental texture. As has been intimated elsewhere in this chapter, the vocal line, especially in lyrical passages, is doubled by the first violins. In these cases the second violins may fill in the harmony either by playing in thirds or sixths or, sometimes with the viola, by offsetting the vocal line with an alberti figure. An interesting variant of this texture may be found in the introduction to one of the arias in Act 1 of Die pücefarbnen Schuhe where the first four bars are scored in the manner described above; with the immediate repeat of this phrase, however, the melody is played by the first violins and is doubled by the oboes while the arpeggio accompaniment is provided by the celli and basses, bassoons and violas. On occasions, the first violins elaborate the vocal line. For example, in the first number in Act 3 of Der blaue Schmetterling, the first violins (in this instance doubled by a solo flute) provide a modest ornamentation of the second statement of what is essentially a very simple phrase (Example 24).

Apart from tremolando effects to enhance moments of particular tension, stringed instruments are rarely employed to create special colourful effects. Double or triple stopping is not unknown but is used mainly to mark the end of a section in a full-scale aria or chorus. Nor are pizzicato passages common but when they appear are usually included for some special purpose. The Romanze from Die Entführung may once more be cited in this context. Salieri also introduced a pizzicato accompaniment in one of his Italian arias in Der Rauchfangkehrer in order fully to exploit the lyricism of the vocal line. There

are also rare instances where the composer has called for muted strings. In Lehne's first aria in Die pfärfarbenen Schuhe this instruction seems not to have sought a special timbre in the accompaniment but much to have reduced the sound density so as not to drown the voice, the soloist being a contralto. The orchestra has been marked down planissimo in pencil on the manuscript score at the entry of the voice. Indeed, it seems that Umlauf may not have been completely at ease in writing for a contralto voice, for apart from perhaps misjudging the balance between soloist and orchestra, he also appears to have underestimated the vocal range of Mme. Weiss in this opera. Three numbers in which she sang bear pencil markings in the score to indicate that the key should be raised by a tone. Umlauf exploited more fully the potential of the string section in an aria from Act 1 of Der blaue Schmetterling. This is essentially a virtuosic aria but instead of the voice being accompanied by a full orchestral sound, which is usual in this type of number, the composer chose a complex string accompaniment consisting of one solo muted violin to offset the vocal line, pizzicato second violins, celli and basses, and divided violas which are marked arco. An even more unusual orchestral sound is created by Ruprecht in Was erhält die Männer treu? The introduction to the first solo number of this opera features an unusually complex string texture with an independent role for the violas, and all the string parts are marked con sordini. Even more uncommon in this aria is the choice of woodwind instruments, for the opening ritornello features a solo cor anglais. This instrument does

not appear in any other number in this opera and indeed as far as can be ascertained from this survey it was not used by any other composers. Ruprecht does not over emphasise its part in this aria, however, for the cor anglais is not even allocated an obbligato role to offset the voice. Apart from appearing in the short orchestral introduction it strengthens the vocal line at the outset and subsequently returns only in succeeding orchestral ritornelli. It is not the only woodwind instrument in this number, for an even more significant part is given to a solo flute; it is this instrument which provides the obbligato. First entering when the dominant key has been established, its florid line contrasts strongly with the more sustained cor anglais theme of the opening.

Solo woodwind instruments were frequently used to vary the instrumental texture but rarely were such unusual ones chosen. The only commensurate example found in this survey occurs in Die Entführung where two basset horns are featured in Constanze's aria 'Traurigkeit war mir zum Loose'. Unlike the Ruprecht aria, however, these instruments are not given solo status but enhance the predominant woodwind texture of this number (apart from the two basset horns, the woodwind section comprises flutes, oboes, bassoons and horns in B flat). Oboes, when emancipated from their traditional sustaining role, and flutes are most frequently exploited as solo instruments. Three numbers from Die Bergknappen feature a solo oboe and on each occasion the instrument is used in a different context: in the first example, it is not given an independent role but merely doubles the vocal line for a few

bars; in the second the oboe dominates the long orchestral introduction with a highly ornamental line and offsets the virtuosic part later in the aria, and finally, in one of the two recitative episodes, an oboe solo illustrates the 'mournful cry' of the ensuing text in true melodramatic fashion.

The role of the bassoon in these operas is, on the whole, restricted to doubling the bass line. In some instances the bassoon part is not even written out and instead one reads the instruction col basso. This is particularly noticeable in Die pfucefarbnen Schuhe; for example in Act 1 of this opera, with the exception of the overture, the bassoons double the bass line in seven of the numbers and in two of the remaining three numbers they are omitted altogether. It is therefore remarkable that the Sinfonia at the opening of Act 2 of Umlauf's opera is scored for string orchestra with bassoon solo. Even though the bassoon is not given an independent role as it doubles the first violins throughout in what is a rather close-knit texture, it nonetheless affords a contrast with the material from Act 1 where the emphasis has been on tutti rather than on solo effects. Again in Act 2 of the same work Umlauf chooses to single out another wind instrument which is normally used for sustaining purposes, the horn. There is no orchestral introduction to Lehne's second aria of this act but after the first eight bars of vocal solo which is accompanied by strings alone the theme in the first ritornello is given to a solo horn. It returns in the second ritornello, and then again in the development section through to the first few bars of the recapitulation where the horn has an

even more significant and extended passage. The vaudeville finale of Die pflücefarbnen Schuhe is also noteworthy for its treatment of solo instruments. At each statement of the rondo theme the accompaniment varies and a different instrument is highlighted. The basic texture is provided by the string section but in the four statements of the recurring theme the strings are joined in the first by a flute, in the second by an oboe, in the third by a bassoon and finally in the fourth once again by an oboe. The vaudeville finale in Gretry's Die abgeredete Zauberey also features different solo instruments for each of its four verses: flute, horn, two bassoons and oboe, each of which provides a different obbligato.

So far the discussion has dealt with pieces which feature solos for one particular instrument, but there are also examples, admittedly far less frequent, where two or even three solo instruments are to be found in the same number. The woodwind section in Belmonte's aria, 'O wie Ängstlich', from Act 1 of Die Entführung comprises one flute, one oboe and one bassoon but, apart from the introductory recitative where the sense of the words is enhanced by an echoing figure by the oboe, these instruments are not given solo parts but form part of the overall orchestral texture. Very different is the treatment of solo flute, oboe, violin and cello in Constanze's aria, 'Martern aller Arten', where in the long introduction they combine in elaborate concertante style, and in the vocal sections offset the florid soprano line.

The treatment of the violin as a solo instrument in these operas

warrants special mention. It is not employed as frequently perhaps as the flute or oboe, but when it is used the composer seems to exploit its virtuosic potential rather than its lyrical qualities. Constanze's aria from Die Entführung referred to above illustrates this point. So does the remarkable virtuosic aria from Die Kinder der Natur which has often been cited in this chapter. Both these numbers are written for soprano soloist. Ruprecht, in Act 2 of Was erhält die Männer treu?, also composed a virtuosic aria for soprano and matched the voice with a florid violin solo.

Interesting though these various and often unusual orchestral textures are, it should not be forgotten that the large majority of numbers in these Singspiele conform to a standard pattern of instrumentation. Where a composer chose not to write for a solo instrument, the basic string texture is frequently strengthened by one or two sustaining wind instruments, customarily the oboes or horns. It should not be inferred, however, that these supporting instruments play continuously. After a full orchestral sound in the opening ritornello the wind instruments generally drop out at the entry of the voice to reappear in the subsequent ritornelli. They may also be required to enhance a particular moment of tension within the number. Umlauf was particularly adroit in these techniques as Example 25 from Die Bergknappen illustrates. Delda's aria, 'Verspötte nicht dies Traumgeschicht', opens with a slow introduction for voice and orchestra. The emphatic nature of her words here calls for the additional wind instruments, but once the aria proper has begun the oboes and horns are silent,

returning only four bars before the first ritornello. Again the strings alone accompany the voice for the second subject, but during the course of this section a point of climax is reached which is emphasised not only by the tremolando strings but also by a general thickening of the orchestral texture with the inclusion once more of the oboes and horns. This scoring is maintained during the ensuing ritornello which follows only six bars later. When the voice re-enters in a short section which, by means of a dominant pedal prepares for the recapitulation, the tension has decreased but not sufficiently to warrant the supporting instruments disappearing completely; although the oboes do not play in these few bars, the horns provide a pedal note throughout. The final words of this transition section, however, are particularly emphatic and Umlauf underlined them by bringing in the full orchestra, including two bars in unison. The recapitulation is not quoted in the musical example because the material is identical with that of the exposition and the supporting instruments are employed in exactly the same way. As one would expect, the final ritornello is scored for full orchestra.

Umlauf employed another method of treating the sustaining wind instruments particularly in large-scale, declamatory numbers. For instance, the first two arias in Die pfäucefarbnen Schuhe are constructed in sonata form and feature bold first subjects. It would be inappropriate in such vigorous numbers for the entry of the voice to be marked by a reduction in the orchestral forces, and in these cases the supporting instruments, which in the second aria include trumpets and timpani, are omitted only at the emergence

of the more lyrical second subject to return at the recapitulation.

On certain occasions the entire woodwind section of the orchestra is used to contrast with the string section in creating special and colourful antiphonal effects. An example of this may be found in Die Kinder der Natur: in the rondo in Act 2 the exchanges between violins and oboes are intended as an echo effect which persists throughout the number. The second section in the following aria in this opera also involves a similar effect with the exception that the contrast is not between two groups of instruments but between voice and oboes.

Special colourful effects are also achieved by whole sections of numbers being scored for woodwind alone. There are more instances of this in Was erhält die Männer treu?, an opera which is particularly interesting with regard to the treatment of the orchestra, than in any other work examined in this survey. Both the long opening instrumental ritornello and the final few bars of the first chorus to Act 2 are scored for clarinets and bassoons alone and the strings do not appear until the entry of the voices. The ritornello in the middle of the number is also written predominantly for woodwind but here is placed in opposition to the strings to create an antiphonal effect in the manner already described. A chorus opens the first act of this opera, and it is worth mentioning that the wind instruments play a significant role in this number too; the concluding seventeen bars of the ritornello are scored for horns, bassoons and oboes while the strings remain silent. Another chorus in the first act relies on the wind section of the orchestra to provide colour but the

predominance of the horns in this number is natural as it is a hunting chorus.

The introductory horn call in this chorus has already been anticipated earlier in the act by two short instrumental numbers, the first of which is of particular interest in that it begins as if it were half-way through the number, conveying that huntsmen are in the distance and yet coming nearer (Example 26). There are other instances where sections of instrumental numbers or even instrumental numbers in their entirety are scored for woodwind alone. The middle A minor section to the overture to Die Kinder der Natur is attractively scored for solo bassoon and oboe and, in the second phrase, the two instruments combine in an almost virtuosic manner to mark the resolution to the relative major key.¹³ Umlauf's use of woodwind instruments in Die Bergknappen is not as sophisticated as this. His Musik von Bergleuten, scored solely for oboes, bassoons and horns, remains firmly in the folk idiom (Example 27). The popularity of this opera must have been partly due to this number and its subsequent repeat with chorus, which would have had immediate appeal to the audience. This genre was shortly to be taken up at the Leopoldstadttheater by Wenzel Müller and with great success. It is significant that as the Singspiele given at Vienna in the 1770s and 1780s progressed towards a more sophisticated art-form and away from the Volkskomödie, as established by Müller and his successors, the less popular they became.

13 See Example 27 where the overture is given in full.

G Instrumental Numbers

There are relatively few instances of incidental music in the middle of acts and most of those discovered in this survey have been referred to already; for example Umlauf's Musik der Bergleuten falls into this category as do the two 'storm' episodes from Ruprecht's Was erhält die Männer treu?. One such number which has not yet been cited and which in its use of cymbals and triangles provides a particularly colourful interlude is the march which heralds the entry of the gipsies in Grétry's Die abgeredete Zauberey.

The different types of overture found in these Singspiele are worth comparing. Reference has been made earlier in this chapter to the influence of the French opéra comique on the work of Umlauf, but with regard to his choice of form for the overture to Die Bergknappen he followed the model not of the eighteenth-century opéra comique but of the Lullian tragédie-lyrique. The overture to this opera consists of two parts, the short first section marked maestoso and grave respectively and characterised by persistent dotted rhythms, the second a longer movement in a fast tempo. It should be remembered that the French opéra comique had emerged as a reaction to the pompous art-form of Lully and Rameau and consequently in France the Lullian overture had largely been discarded. Composers of French opéras comiques led by Rousseau in Le Devin du Village had succumbed instead to the widespread influence of the opera buffa, and the Lullian overture was superseded by the one-section or tri-partite fast-slow-fast forms

of the Italian overture. Most of these operas open with the three-section type of overture; although in the French works given at the Nationalsingspiel there are one or two variants. For example, the overture to Die unvermutheten Zufälle is constructed in two fast sections and the final section to that of Die abgeredete Zauberey is described as a musette and features a pedal bass. (This latter overture is also unusual in that the first of its three sections is preceded by two bars of slow introduction.) The one movement form was also popular, featuring in the works of French composers, for example Röschen und Colas and Die Pilgrime von Mecca; in operas by Italians, for example Der Rauchfangkehrer,¹⁴ and in operas especially composed for the Nationalsingspiel, for example Das Irrlicht.

The overtures to the Originalsingspiele are extremely varied in form; this is perhaps because the composers, unlike their French and Italian counterparts, were not tied to such an extent by tradition and felt more free in their choice of form. The overture to Die Entführung may be unusual in that the first section is repeated after the intermediate slow section but it is more unusual in that the first section is monothematic. The first of the three sections of the overture to Die Kinder der Natur is also based on one theme: but what may be lost through lack of thematic variety is made up by the use of key relationships, particularly in the central section (Example 28). This constitutes

14 Haas, in his preface to the DTO, Vol. XXXVI, wrongly describes this overture as being in the Italianate tri-partite form.

only a short part of the allegro section, but in a relatively few number of bars the monothematic material is stated in E (the dominant key), F sharp minor both in fragmented form and D before the theme returns in an abridged form in the tonic key.

Other overtures by Viennese composers showed marks of individuality: the opening to Frühling und Liebe, which has been referred to earlier, has a hybrid form, part overture and part aria, and the opening theme in the overture to Die pflichtfarbnen Schuhe is recapitulated in the dominant key. Perhaps the most original overture discovered in this survey is that to Was erhält die Männer treu? (Example 29). Constructed in four contrasting sections, of which three, including the last, are in a slow tempo, it combines moments of dramatic boldness, vivid orchestration and structural originality (for instance in the allegro part the introduction of a new theme in the supertonic minor in the development section, and the reversal of the order of material in the recapitulation) with otherwise banal, repetitive material.

It is not only first acts in these German Singspiele which are preceded by an overture; in several works an instrumental number opens the subsequent act or acts. These are not necessarily descriptive pieces designed specifically to anticipate the ensuing action on stage but are generally an independent orchestral number, in other words another overture, to herald the rising of the curtain. The Sinfonia to Act 2 of Was erhält die Männer treu? is not as individual as that belonging to the previous act but it is worth noting that, here too, the order of themes is reversed

in the recapitulation. The second act to Die Kinder der Natur also opens with an instrumental number but although, like the second Sinfonia by Ruprecht, it cannot be considered to be purely a descriptive piece, it could never have been used to open the opera as a whole. It is not built on as grand a scale as the overture proper; indeed the first of its two sections is a slow, contrapuntal movement in ternary form, scored for woodwind alone. In common with the Sinfonia to open Act 2 of Ruprecht's opera, however, this number also ends with a rondo movement, marked by memorable themes and regular eight-bar phrases. It is less imaginative than its counterpart as it never leaves the tonic key.

All three acts of Der blaue Schmetterling are preceded by an instrumental number, but the third is an exception in that it is essentially a descriptive piece with special reliance on colourful orchestral effects. This piece has already been compared with the storm music episodes from Was erhält die Männer treu?¹⁵ but it should be re-stated that both this number and the incidental music from Ruprecht's opera are not brought to a definite conclusion, by means of a perfect cadence. Instead, in the case of Der blaue Schmetterling, the music fades away on the dominant chord of C (the movement having begun in D minor) to lead to a section of spoken dialogue. The first of the storm episodes in Was erhält die Männer treu? ends on a unison D, the score being marked perdendosi, and this number leads directly to the following duet which is in the key of E flat. In these instances the dramatic

15 See page 178.

tension is heightened by this effect, but it is remarkable how many other instrumental pieces which open acts, the majority of which have little dramatic import, do not end conclusively in the tonic key. The overture to Die Entführung, for example, ends on the dominant chord. The reasoning behind this is more apparent here than in some other operas because the final section of the overture precedes a return, in Belmonte's opening aria, to the material which has already constituted the slow middle section. The first section of the overture ended similarly on the dominant chord. There are several other examples of an overture leading directly into the ensuing number; for instance, the Sinfonia to Act 2 of Was erhält die Männer treu?, to which reference has already been made, and also the overture to Die Bergknappen which, by means of a ritardando and two final bars in a slow tempo with a pause on the dominant chord, leads immediately to the opening duet for Sophie and Fritz.

Die Entführung aus dem Serail in many ways typifies the German operas presented at the Nationalsingspiel. Similar not only in plot, it nevertheless consists of the same types of musical number. Perhaps the Italian influence is more apparent in Die Entführung for several arias approach the more serious forms of Italian opera, whereas the composers native to Vienna tended to follow the Italian style while modelling the form of their Singspiele on the opéra comique. Mozart was not the only composer at the Nationalsingspiel to produce new ideas in his opera; some features in other Viennese Singspiele were equally novel and yet these works did not succeed in providing the variety and overall balance which sets Die Entführung apart.

C O N C L U S I O N

Several reasons accounted for the ultimate downfall of Joseph's Nationalsingspiel, and by no means all of these were concerned specifically with the musical content of the operas.

Joseph's high-minded idealism has already been discussed but it is relevant to examine the matter further as it played a major part in the downfall. Much as the Emperor desired the national theatre to be the theatre for all, it succeeded in satisfying the demands neither of the upper nor of the lower classes. Neither stratum of society wished to be educated by the theatre, which was one of Joseph's declared aims; the nobility preferred Italian operas as it had since the seventeenth century (although the former grandeur of the opera seria had since been replaced by the vivacity of the opera buffa) whereas the lower classes were avid for comedy especially if it veered towards the vulgar. There are many references to the Viennese taste for comedy. Leopold Mozart, for example, wrote disparagingly of it to his son in January 1768: '... that the Viennese, generally speaking, do not care to see serious and sensible performances, have little or no idea of them, and only want to see foolish stuff, dances, devils, ghosts, magic, clowns, Lipperl, Bernadon, witches and apparitions is well known; and their theatres prove it every day'.¹ Such humour had been typified in the improvised comedies of Stranitzky

1 The Letters of Mozart, op.cit., Vol I, p.80.

and Prehauser and was rarely to be found in the more sophisticated pieces performed at the Nationalingspiel. Moreover, as it has already been mentioned, some of the operas were not comic at all.

It has been shown that few, if any, of the works by composers from North Germany met with success in Vienna even if they had been acclaimed in North German towns, and one must conclude that the reason lies in the difference in character between the people of these two regions. The innate good humour of the Viennese, demonstrated for example in their 'propensity to guzzling',² is best illustrated by comparing the inhabitants of Vienna to those of Berlin. In a nineteenth-century comparison words such as 'gaiety' and 'unpretentiousness' are chosen to describe the former whereas 'common-sense', 'intellect', 'assiduity' and 'erudition' are used for the Berliners.³ The Viennese historian, Gugitz, aptly underlines this contrast by likening Berlin to the brain and Vienna to the heart of the German body.⁴

It was quite natural, that the lower classes of the theatre-going public, not satisfied by the productions at the national theatre, should transfer their loyalties to a theatre which did cater for their needs. The Leopoldstadttheater provided exactly the entertainment for which they craved.

2 Risbeck, op.cit., Vol.I, p.237.

3 L.v. Jagermann, 'Deutsche Städte und deutsche Männer (1849), quoted in Gustav Gugitz, Die Wiener, op.cit., p.409.

4 Ibid.

Permission had been granted to the actor Marinelli in November 1780 to build a new theatre in the Leopoldstadt suburb and it was completed eleven months later.⁵ At first, Laroche was the only actor of merit in this company. By creating the Austrian peasant figure of Kasperl he revived the tradition of the comic character which stemmed from Stranitzky's renowned Hanswurst. The Leopoldstadttheater claimed that one could not expect to find there 'fine things and true polished wit'⁶ but that one should be prepared to 'roar with laughter in the company of Kasperl and his fine friends'. A report by Pezzl substantiates this claim and in so doing again emphasises the difference between this and the national theatre:⁷ 'Kasperl ... realises the taste of the public; knows by his gestures, facial expressions and improvisation how to electrify his audience, which consists not of the high nobility but in the first circle of officials and citizens and in the third circle of lackeys, tightly packed together, to such an extent that the applause is endless'. Pezzl continues: 'I find it very good and applicable that the lowest classes have their own theatre because they understand little or nothing at all of the pieces given at the national theatre ...' In other words the lower classes felt themselves

5 Marinelli was associated in this enterprise with the head of another theatrical troupe, Menninger, who was to leave in 1784.

6 F. Hadamowsky, Das Theater in der Wiener Leopoldstadt 1781-1860 (Vienna, 1934), p.47.

/ Pezzl, Skizze, op.cit., Vol.II, p.160.

to be identified with Marinelli's theatre. As the poet Engel stated in his preface to Die Apotheke, 'a comedy is but a picture of one aspect of human life'.

Not only did the Leopoldstadttheater prove to be a threat to the national theatre because it enticed away a certain section of the audience;⁸ but it also rivalled Joseph's venture in the standard of pieces performed. According to Pezzl, Marinelli demanded a strict code of behaviour from his troupe, which included punctuality, industry and devotion; chose works which he anticipated would appeal to actors and public alike and which were well suited to his theatre; ensured that each work had good scenery, and engaged a competent orchestra. Moreover, a new comedy was given each week. The Leopoldstadttheater thrived well into the nineteenth century, giving performances not only of traditional comedies with music which led to the works of Raimund and Nestroy, but also serious plays and large-scale operas.

The lower classes were thus drawn away from the national theatre. Even more serious perhaps was the increasing indifference of the middle classes. Joseph's decision to abolish ballet was ill-judged and it is not surprising that those who favoured the art should transfer their allegiance to another theatre if there was an opportunity to see performances of ballet. After the departure of Noverre another French troupe came to the Kärntnertortheater, and the

8 Roeder, op.cit., p.414, recorded on his travels that the national theatre was mostly empty at this time whereas the Kasperl theatre was always full to capacity.

directors, Dalaruval and Beaubourg, soon engaged a ballet company from the Josefstadt suburb. This particular enterprise was not successful and lasted for only one year. However, not all the members of the company left in November 1781 and a few remained to give during the following year many French operas, several with ballets, including Zémire et Azor, La Rosière de Salency, La fausse Magie and Le Deserteur. Although by no means as serious a threat to the national theatre as the Leopoldstadttheater, it seems very likely that devotees of ballet forsook the Nationalsingspiel in order to see the same French operas in their original form.

The higher classes were not alone in preferring Italian opera, for it was known that the Emperor himself reluctantly favoured Italian music even though it contradicted his aim to further the German arts. Joseph's musical education had been conducted by Italian musicians and composers steeped in Italian traditions. It was only his obstinate determination to foster German culture which prevented him, after the death of his mother, from continuing the well established tradition of Italian opera in Vienna. Joseph's single-mindedness may well have wavered because of pressures brought about by his Kapellmeister Salieri who, as an Italian, was naturally an avowed supporter of Italian opera. Even the director of the Nationalsingspiel, Count Rosenberg, was reported to be 'a sworn enemy of the German opera',⁹ a man who refused to listen to anything that was not

9 'Deutsche Singspielkunst in Wien', Berlinische Musikalische Zeitung, Part 36 (Berlin, 1793), p.141

Italian.

A long-standing controversy concerning the relative merits of German and Italian opera seems to have existed at this time. One article¹⁰ aired the familiar arguments, for instance, that the Italian language could more easily be set to music and express deep feelings, whereas the German viewpoint insisted that German music was more fitted to changing situations and feelings, ridiculed the excessive ornamentation of Italian melody and above all extolled the importance of a national feeling. The same article purported that one needed to be a connoisseur of music to appreciate German opera. If one accepts this doubtful premise it becomes even more obvious why the Viennese lower classes deserted the national theatre in favour of the light-hearted entertainment at the Leopoldstadttheater because not only would they be mystified by the 'complexities' of the German music, they would also be debarred from many of the delights of Italian opera as they did not understand the language.

Pezzl believed that Joseph was forced to re-establish Italian opera in the city in 1783 because the public was tired of nothing but German theatre, and he attributed the reason for the revival of the German opera two years later to the fact that the majority of the public did not understand Italian. The matter was however by no means as simple as this; for instance, the traveller Reitzenstein¹¹

10 'Ein Beitrag zum Patriotismus und Theatergeschmack der Wiener' 1785, quoted in Tietze, Alt-Wien in Wort und Bild (Vienna, 1924).

11 Reitzenstein, op.cit., p.345.

recorded that there were many foreigners in Vienna, including Poles, Hungarians, Croats, Frenchmen, Greeks and Englishmen, who could not understand German. Reitzenstein also reported that there were more than thirty-six thousand Italians in the city at the time and that on several occasions he had heard foreigners remark that it was not worth their while learning German for it was a language mostly heard in higher circles. He maintained that this was why the Italian opera was so successful. Pezzl, on the other hand, attributed the failure of the second attempt to establish German opera to an inferior company.

Joseph not only misjudged or chose to ignore the taste of his subjects but also he was unable to assess the merit of the works performed at the Nationalingspiel. One famous, although unsubstantiated remark of the Emperor demonstrated this point, for he dismissed Die Entführung aus dem Serail, the most successful of all the operas given at his theatre, as being 'too fine for our ears' and having 'far too many notes'.¹²

Although it has been shown that comedy was the biggest attraction to the majority of the Viennese audiences, there were also other features which were reported to have appealed. The public's preference for pieces which had swift action rather than 'a deeper psychological development'¹³ is linked to the general leaning towards comedy, for humorous episodes, especially

12 A. Witeschnik, Wiener Opernkunst (Vienna 1959), p.55.

13 Pichler, op.cit., Vol.I, p.79.

at the ends of acts, frequently depended on the rapid escalation of events. For example, the finale to the second act of the opera Rose is brought to a vigorous conclusion when all three suitors come to serenade their respective lovers at the same time with the result that each addresses the wrong person and a fight ensues. If one examines the run of operas performed in the first five years of the Nationalingspiel it soon becomes apparent that the plots of the most successful works were relatively fast-moving throughout. It is also noticeable that the majority of operas, successes and failures alike, were brought to a swift conclusion.

Brandes's comment of 1786 that the Viennese public was always looking for something new in the theatre furnishes another reason for the demise of the German opera. Although his premise applies to the Nationalingspiel, it should nonetheless be remembered that the public's love for the type of musical comedies performed at the Leopoldstadttheater was not satiated for well over half a century, and also the vogue of the Zauberoper at the end of the eighteenth century lasted for more than a decade. However, it is not difficult to imagine the public's increasing lack of interest in the Nationalingspiel when the great majority of plots dealt with the victory of true love despite the machinations of the heroine's wicked guardian. This victory was usually brought about by intrigues of varying complexity in which the couple's servants often played an important part. Occasionally the plot veered slightly away from the norm although the archetype is still discernible; for instance, the tyrant in Diesmal hat der

Mann den Willen! is the heroine's step-mother and the heroine in Die pücefarnen Schuhe is tormented by her husband; in Die unruhige Nacht there is not only the stern uncle to fear but also an old servant and the heroine's twelve year old sister. The authors frequently attempted to disguise the familiar plot, as in Die eingebildeten Philosophen in which the father's belief in himself as a great philosopher becomes more significant than the main plot; in other words this opera is essentially a character study.

It is likely that Die eingebildeten Philosophen was successful because of this delineation of character. So often the characters were stereotyped and of little substance. The figure of Hanswurst may have appeared in the same guise in hundreds of improvised works but he was a character with which the public felt a strong affinity. Moreover, Hanswurst and his descendants were entirely Viennese (for example, they spoke in the Viennese dialect). In the operas given at the Nationalsingspiel the servants were the comic characters who were often very wily in their intrigues to bring the lovers together. To refer again to the preface of Die Apotheke, Engel wrote that ideally a comedy should feature two characters, a fool and a joker. Whereas the latter figure certainly appears in the German operas, both types are embodied in Hanswurst. A comparison between Mozart's two main German operas written for performance in Vienna should illustrate the difference: Pedrillo in Die Entführung is typical of the servant figure depicted so often at the Nationalsingspiel. He serves to provide much of the comedy and to effect the escape

of Belmonte and Constanze, on the other hand Papageno in Die Zauberflöte, with his high opinion of himself, his faint heart, good humour, lust for food and drink and above all with his Viennese dialect is clearly modelled on Hanswurst.

French comic operas were by no means a new form of entertainment. Popular with the nobility, they had been well established in the repertoire of the Burgtheater in the mid-1750s when the theatre had been under the direction of Durazzo. A report in the Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung¹⁴ that the Emperor was against the presentation of adaptations and translations of foreign works was in contradiction of Joseph's avowed intention when setting up the national theatre of encouraging the performance of 'highly thought-of translations'.¹⁵ The simplest and most likely reason for this encouragement was probably that he liked French works in translation, just as he openly favoured Italian opera. Another explanation may be that the Emperor was aware that Vienna was not producing many authors of great repute and, at least as far as the spoken theatre was concerned, he would have to draw on foreign talent in order to present works of a sufficiently high standard which would be worthy of a national theatre. Yet Joseph nevertheless encouraged local writers, for in 1777 he announced that 'each author who wrote a play which was suitable for performance would receive an honorarium equal to one third of the money taken in admission'.¹⁶

14 AMZ. op cit., p.255.

15 Müller, Abschied, op.cit., p.91.

16 AMZ. op.cit., p.255.

However, Joseph also laid down some rules regarding translations into German:¹⁷

The sense of the original should not be obscured or weakened, but translated into a good, pure German style which is appropriate to the subject matter, there should be no large-scale alterations which would result in the story changing direction, except in the case of a German poet who merely uses characters, situations and themes as a basis for creating a completely new and original play; Germany will derive greater profit from this than from a mere literal translation.

These rules explain why so many foreign works at the National-singspiel were marked 'translated and adapted by ...' rather than marked as being pure translations. The extent of these 'adaptations' may be appreciated by examining the letter by Bretzner, the author of the original Die Entführung, in the Berlin Literatur-und-Theaterzeitung¹⁸ in which he condemns Stephanie the younger not only for audaciously stealing his libretto and for improving his text but also for incorporating into the original extra musical numbers. Bretzner listed twelve extra numbers, including for instance the opening duet between Belmonte and Osmin, Constanze's aria 'Märtern aller Arten' and the entire finale to Act 2.

The inclusion of a large number of foreign works into the repertoire, even though they had been translated and adapted, led to a certain amount of criticism. The actor, Lange, for instance complained of the lack of singable melodies in French opera, a view not supported by Reichardt who wrote that the French melody

17 'Vorschrift und Gesetze', op.cit., p.41.

18 Literatur-und-Theaterzeitung, Vol.XXV, 21 June 1783 (Berlin, 1783), pp.398-399. Letter dated 27 April 1783.

was such that its simplicity enabled one to join in the second time.¹⁹ However, for Lange the works were often redeemed by the plots. Another contemporary journalist expressed reservations about the numerous translations: 'do we not have enough true German pieces?'.²⁰ Unfortunately there were not 'enough true German pieces'; neither did many of those composed for the Nationalsingspiel approach the charisma of the French operas.

The discussion of the failure of the Nationalsingspiel has so far been limited to the choice of work given at the Burgtheater and later the K antnertortheater. Other, and less important, considerations should also be taken into account. One traveller,²¹ for instance, reported that the high wages paid to the actors (he was presumably including the singers here) were made possible only by the 'very high' cost of admission. Presumably the ticket prices had risen considerably since the opening of the national theatre when Joseph ensured that they were competitive in order to attract the public. It is interesting also to record contemporary views on the inadequacy of the building which accommodated the Nationalsingspiel: it was generally agreed that the Burgtheater for which the public had to pay such high prices was too small and 'not befitting a mighty court'.²² The theatre housed only six hundred, and if one

19 J. F. Reichardt  ber die deutsche comische Oper nebst einem Anhang eines freundschaftlichen Briefes  ber die musikalische Poesie (Hamburg, 1774), pp.10-11.

20 Maier, op.cit., pp. 13-14.

21 Roeder, op.cit., p. 414.

22 Vertraute Briefe zur Charakteristik von Wien, Vol.II (G rlitz,1793), p. 45. This comment was probably made because the Burgtheater was situated in a wing of the Imperial palace.

wanted 'to see even half the proceedings' it was wise to arrive at least an hour before the start of the performance when 'one is pressed half to death or is driven to sweat profusely'.²³ These complaints were written, moreover, after renovations had been carried out in 1779 when the auditorium was enlarged and the curtain repainted. The condition of the building was not in general held in high regard, for it was reported that the boxes were badly decorated and the lighting was inadequate. If not enough consideration was given to the public it would appear that greater attention had been directed towards the productions and needs of the performers. Even before the opening of the national theatre in 1776 the stage floor of the Burgtheater could be opened in thirteen different places allowing for the moving of machines and scenery. There were separate cubicles to enable the actors and singers to change and even small cupboards off-stage in which to keep instruments and 'other daily necessities'.²⁴

Despite the detailed list of rules to be observed by the company issued by the theatre directors in February 1779, the national theatre did not run as smoothly as they wished and there are reports of intrigue. Mystery surrounds the replacement of Müller as director of the Singspiel by Stephanie in 1779. An official statement recorded only that Müller's direction was 'at an end' even though he was to continue receiving the same wage.

23 Galanterien Wiens, op.cit., p. 18.

24 Müller, Genaue Nachrichten, op.cit., p. 6.

It is likely that Stephanie's promotion to Müller's position was the result of his own machinations. Similarly, it seems likely that intrigue resulted in Salieri¹ gaining the post of Kapellmeister, for the Italian's influential position at court would give him leave to oust Umlauf from the post. It is unfortunate that Jahn, in his biography of Mozart, did not reveal his sources when he referred to the general hostility which existed between composers, performers and players at the Nationalsingspiel, but one may assume that such an atmosphere was not conducive to the successful running of Joseph's theatre.

The intrigues within the company and the inadequacy of the theatre would have contributed to the failure of the Nationalsingspiel but there can be little doubt that the venture was conceived by the Emperor as an abstraction in which the public did not have a place. If one asks 'for whom was the Nationalsingspiel intended?' the answer must be 'for all'. Far-seeing and laudable as Joseph's aims may have been, his people were not ready to accept them.

Reference has been made in the previous chapter to the particular merits of Die Entführung aus dem Serail and to the relative weaknesses of other German operas given at the national theatre. These differences also throw light on the failure of the Nationalsingspiel from a musical standpoint.

To turn for a moment to the plot of Die Entführung, for it is unwise to dissociate the libretto from the music completely, basically the story of the opera is conventional, although several aspects drew approval from at least one critic of the time. This is unusual

in itself, for contemporary writers rarely commented on the plots (Der Rauchfangkehrer being a notable exception), presumably because normally they were so predictable. In the opinion of the writer in Die Zeitung für Theater, Musik und Poesie²⁵ it would appear that the delineation of the characters significantly contributed to the success of the opera. The credit for this is attributed to Mozart and not to Stephanie. For instance, when referring to the 'delightful naivety and lively moods' of Blondine, the same writer adds, 'such characters were Mozart's favourites'. Again he cites one of Osmin's arias in which 'the music speaks by itself'. It is interesting that in this article fewer references are made to the music of Belmonte and Constanze than to the numbers sung by Osmin, Blondine and Pedrillo, and it is probably not over rash to assume that these numbers - for example, the duet between Blondine and Osmin, Pedrillo's aria, 'Frisch zum Kampfe', and Osmin's two arias (especially his opening song) - were those which especially captivated the Viennese audiences. The colourful chorus of Janissaries is also specifically mentioned as being 'wholly in the Asian style, and according to the taste of that rough, barbaric nation'.

There is considerable variety in the numbers cited above but when one also takes into account the lyrical and the virtuosic arias of the two main characters and the ensembles, the overall

25 op.cit., p.361.

diversity of the opera becomes apparent.

It was not only the variety of number in Die Entführung which endeared the opera to its audience and critics but also Mozart's original score. Joseph's famous comment on hearing the work, 'Too many notes', implies that the music was unusually complex. Perhaps the Emperor was confused by Mozart's sophisticated use of the orchestra (according to Dittersdorf²⁶ Joseph once commented, 'he deafens the singers with his full accompaniment'); perhaps he was bewildered by the unfamiliar structure, length and emotional content of some of the numbers, and by the lively music which matched the vicissitudes of the plot. Cramer, in his Magazin der Musik,²⁷ also refers to Mozart's many 'new ideas'. Although he did not specify these, one may assume he was referring to the use of recurring material, the fusion of two numbers into one and the important role of the orchestra, all of which have been mentioned in the previous chapter.

One aspect of Mozart's writing which so far has been discussed in only general terms is his skill at composing melodies. Some of his melodies, enhanced by an orchestral figuration, may portray a character; for example, Blondine's aria, 'Welche Wonne, welche Lust', or an emotion; for example, Constanze's aria, 'Traurigkeit

26 Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf (Trans. A. D. Coleridge), The Autobiography of Karl von Dittersdorf (London, 1896), p.252.

27 op. cit., p.352.

ward mir zum Loose', where the despair expressed in the vocal line is heightened by the predominance of the bare woodwind accompaniment and by the choice of the key of G minor, the key popularly associated with the composer at his most tragic. Others may do no more than enhance a few words of text as is the case in Belmonte's early aria, 'O wie Ängstlich', where the halting vocal line and accompanimental pattern illustrate the beating of his heart. Osmin's aria, 'Solche hergelaufne Laffen', is a fine depiction of rage and this is illustrated in the first few bars (Example 30): the first feature apparent is the variety of phrases; two bars on a monotone with the orchestra in unison, are followed by another two bars on the same note but to which a trill is added at the end of each bar to give one the impression that he cannot contain his feelings much longer. The sudden contrasts in dynamics enhance this impression. The end of the first phrase mirrors the final outburst of his anger, for a rising chromatic scale to the dominant is abruptly concluded with an octave leap downwards. Osmin's high feelings are subsequently maintained by a new rapid rhythmic pattern, and the melody is now based on a broken arpeggio, the range of which exceeds an octave. A more menacing mood is now expressed by three bars of minims, and a move to the mediant minor key, and the vocal line slowly rises to culminate in a bar of rapid quaver movement where the rhythmic pulse doubles before this whole musical paragraph is concluded by a fairly conventional two-bar cadence which establishes the return to the home key. (This, despite the emotions expressed in the aria, is F major.) The phrase lengths of this section are

also interesting, for the three phrases are seven, three and seven bars long respectively. So many of Mozart's contemporaries in Vienna depended almost exclusively on the four-bar phrase, and Umlauf in particular was unfortunately prone to repeating phrases, a weakness which suggests a marked lack of invention. The overture to Der blaue Schmetterling illustrates this point well (Example 31). This is a monothematic movement based on a monotonous rhythmic figure, and it would appear that Umlauf thought of no way of increasing the musical tension except by repeating this figure in sequences a tone higher. Umlauf's lack of melodic and rhythmic originality may be seen in the opening number of Die pflückerfarbenen Schuhe which has hardly any variety and is constructed entirely on a series of one-bar phrases (Example 32).

Two authorities on Mozart²⁸ have stated that he differed from his Viennese contemporaries in that he was writing an opera and not merely supplying incidental music to a play. These writers are correct in saying that the Singspiel had originated in Leipzig in the 1750s as a play with music, but by the 1780s in Vienna it had become a far more sophisticated art-form as has been shown. Dent quotes Mozart as saying that both Italian and French comic operas succeeded despite miserable librettos because 'the music has the upper hand'.²⁹ One may leave Italian opera buffa

28 J. M. Dent, Mozart's Operas, a critical study (Oxford, 1947), p.72; H. Abert, 'Mozart and Gluck', Music and Letters, Vol.X/3, p.273.

29 Dent, op.cit., p.73.

out of this discussion because it had always been essentially a musical art-form, but the French opéra comique had originated in much the same way as the Singspiel and yet Mozart considered that the libretti of these operas were subservient to the music. Even though the musical style of the French and Viennese operas differed, the overall concept was the same, and Dent and Abert may well have been mistaken in their view. Certainly Mozart's opera confounded its first audiences by its originality, but it must not be forgotten that he was not a member of the National-singspiel company, much as he would have liked to have been in its early days, and he was not required to supply several operas for the venture and engage in what must frequently have been the wearisome tasks expected of a Kapellmeister like Umlauf. Mozart was attracted by the thought of writing a German opera (he had admired the work of Holzbauer in Mannheim) and was enthusiastic about the setting-up of the Nationalsingspiel. He was therefore probably able to expend much time and thought on Die Entführung and was not afraid to experiment. Umlauf, on the other hand, did not have Mozart's originality. He knew that French opéra comique had been popular in the city and he modelled his first Singspiel for the Nationalsingspiel on the form of its French counterpart. Die Bergknappen was a success largely because it marked the start of the new venture and Umlauf's subsequent works were less popular because they always followed the same pattern. It is not true to say that in his works, and the works by Ruprecht, or Aspelmayr for example, the music was a dispensable part of the drama; it is simply that Mozart was a superior composer and inevitably that is why his opera is still performed today and recognised for the masterpiece it is.

A P P E N D I X I

VORSCHRIFT UND GESETZE, nach welchen sich die Mitglieder des K.K. National-Theaters zu halten haben

.....

Die fünf Inspicienten, welche den Ausschuss formiren, sind, nach ihrer Aufnahme bey hiesigem Theater: Herr Stephanie der Ältere, Herr Müller, Herr Steigentesch, Herr Stephanie der Jüngere, Herr Brockmann.

Sämmtliche Mitglieder des Theaters, sie seyn zum Schauspiel, oder zum Singspiel engagirt, stehen, dieser neuen Einrichtung nach, unter der Direktion des Ausschusses, und des monatlichen Inspicienten insbesondere, so zwar, dass der ganze Ausschuss bey der Hauptprobe, der jedesmalige Inspicient aber bey jeder Probe und Vorstellung gegenwärtig seyn muss. Herrn Müllers Direktion der Operette, die bisher, unter der Aussicht der obersten Hofdirektion, ihm allein übertragen war, hat also ein Ende, doch hat er die ihm desfalls vorm Jahre zugelegten 400 fl. behalten - Wie auch Madam Stierle die 300 fl. Zulage behält, welche sie als Mitglied der Operette erhielt, ohngeachtet sie nicht mehr mitzusingen verbunden ist.

I

Kein Mitglied darf sich einer Rolle entziehen, so ihm von dem von allerhöchsten Orten authorisirten Ausschuss zugeschickt wird, oder gegen irgend ein Mitglied, so in einem Stück spielt, Einwendungen machen; es wären denn wichtige und erhebliche Gründe vorhanden. In solchem Fall muss binnen 24 Stunden dem Ausschuss die Rolle mit den schriftlichen Verweigerungsgründen zugeschickt werden. Sind die Einwendungen erheblich, so wird der Ausschuss die Rolle anders zu besetzen haben; sind sie unerheblich, so ist solches der obersten Hofdirektion anzuzeigen, und der Befehl von da aus zu erwarten.

II

Findet der Ausschuss für nöthig, schon gespielte Rollen, es sey in alten oder neuen Stücken, ändern zu geben, oder aber, irgend eine Rolle mehr als einem zuzutheilen, so darf sich niemand dessen entziehen, und die mehrfach besetzten Rollen werden nach der Anciennität wechselseitig gespielt.

1 Theater-Kalendar (Gotha, 1780), pp. 29-46. These rules are given in translation on page 225.

III

Jeder ist verbunden, vom Tag, da er die ersten Bogen der Rolle empfängt, binnen drey Wochen eine Haupt- und binnen acht Tagen eine Nebenrolle einzulernen; nur Krankheit entschuldigt deshalb. Wer hingegen fehlt, und das Stück dadurch verzögert, muss den vierten Theil seiner Monatgage als Strafe erlegen.

IV

Niemand darf vor dem Publico erscheinen, ohne seine Rolle vollkommen inne zu haben; daher muss jedes bey der vorletzten Probe, ohne zu lesen, probiren. Der Inspicient ist verpflichtet, wenn er jemanden bey der Probe bemerkt, der seine Rolle nicht gehörig weiss, denselben nicht auftreten zu lassen, ein ander Stück, selbst den nämlichen Tag, anzuordnen, und ein solches Mitglied muss den vierten Theil seiner Monatgage Strafe zahlen.

V

Keinem ist erlaubt, vorsetzlich Zusätze oder Abänderungen in seiner Rolle zu machen, oder unschickliches Theaterspiel anzubringen; jedes muss sich vielmehr lediglich an die Ausdrücke halten, die ihm der Autor vorgeschrieben, und von der kaiserl. königl. Theatralcensur bewilligt worden: im Uebertretungsfall zahlt der Fehlende den achten Theil seiner Monatgage.

VI

Jeder ist verbunden, wenn ihm vom Inspicienten gründlich dargethan wird, dass er seine Rolle, oder einzelne Stellen darinn verfehle, sie so auszuführen, als sie ihm von selbem angegeben werden.

VII

Ingleichen sich zu jeder Rolle nach der erhaltenen Vorschrift des Ausschusses zu kleiden, es sey von eigener oder Theatralgarderobe; und im letztern Fall kein ander Kleid anzuverlangen, als vom Ausschuss dazu bestimmt wird.

VIII

Das Repartoir wird vom Ausschuss von 14 zu 14 Tagen vorhinein entworfen, und nur Befehle von der kaiserl. königl. obersten Hofdirektion oder Krankheiten können solches abändern. Jedes ist verbunden, dasselbe aufs genaueste zu befolgen, auch den vorkommenden Abänderungen, so die beyden hier benannten Fälle veranlassen, sich zu unterziehen.

IX

Wenn jemand durch Krankheit verhindert wird, seine schuldigen Dienste zu leisten, muss er solches schriftlich dem Ausschuss melden, und ein Littestat vom Theatralmedico zur Bekräftigung beylegen; ingleichen die Wiedergenesung schriftlich anzeigen; ausserdem wird auf sein Vorgeben nicht geachtet. Der Inspicient und Wöchner sind verpflichtet nachzusehen, und bey Befinden einer Schulkrankheit, oder unnöthigen Verzögerung, es anzuzeigen, wo denn das betretene Mitglied den vierten Theil seiner Monatgagel als Strafe zu erlegen hat.

X

Niemand darf sich weigern, bey den vom Ausschuss angeordneten Proben zu erscheinen, und jeder muss zur angesagten Stunde richtig eintreffen. Wer zu spät kommt, dass seinetwegen die Probe im ordentlichen Gange aufgehalten wird, erlegt den sechzehnten Theil seiner Monatgagel als Strafe, und der, so gar davon weg bleibt, noch einmal so viel. Nicht minder muss²

XI

Abends jedes früh genug auf dem Theater seyn, damit die Vorstellungen zur bestimmten Zeit ihren Anfang nehmen können. Wer Schuld ist, dass nicht angefangen werden kann, oder den richtigen Eintritt in die Scene merklich versäumt, wohl gar Scenen vergisst, erlegt den zwölften Theil seiner Monatgagel als Strafe.

XII

Da die Aktricen durch den Theaterwagen zu den Vorstellungen gebracht werden, so hat der Wöchner von nun an denselben zu beordern, in welcher Ordnung er solche abzuholen habe, damit

2 This sentence is unfinished in the original.

nicht jene, so später nöthig sind, zuerst, und diese zuletzt abgeholt werden. Einer jeden wird daher die Stunde vorher bekannt gemacht, wenn der Wagen vor ihrer Thüre einzutreffen habe, damit sie zu dieser Zeit fertig sey. Um die Ordnung hierinn nicht zu hemmen, hat also keine sich zu weigern, nach der Vorschrift zu fahren, den Wagen warten zu lassen, oder ihn gar fortzuschicken, und wieder zu bestellen; widrigenfalls sie selbst für ihr Hinkommen zu sorgen hat, und falls sie zu spät kommt, oder der Wagen das zweyte mal zu ihr fahren muss, verfällt sie in die Strafe des vorhergehenden Paragraphs.

XIII

Niemand darf mehr also eine Person zu seiner Bedienung auf das Theater während den Vorstellungen nehmen, und diese müssen sich so verhalten, dass sie keinem Spielenden im Wege stehen, vielweniger den Platz zwischen den Koulissen einnehmen; alle Übrigen, selbst Altverwandte, werden von dem Wüchner abgewiesen, und niemand darf dagegen Einwendungen machen, widrigenfalls er in die Strafe des XVten Paragraphs verfällt.

XIV

Die Proben müssen ruhig und ordentlich gehalten werden, damit die Stücke mit Fließ und Eifer probirt werden; daher hat der Wüchner keinen auf der Scene zu dulden, der nicht dabey nothwendig ist, Stillschweigen und Ruhe zu gebieten, und seiner Anordnungen hat sich jedes bey Strafe des nächstfolgenden Paragraphs zu fügen.

XV

Wer sich den Anordnungen des Inspicienten oder Wüchners widersetzt, es betreffe was er wolle, oder demselben empfindliche, und bittere Antworten gäbe, oder aus eigener Autorität Anordnungen machte, hat den achten Theil seiner Monatgage als Strafe zu erlegen. Wie hingegen jedes befugt ist, den Inspicienten oder Wüchner, falls selbe etwas unschickliches anordneten, etwas nothwendiges anzuordnen unterliessen, oder durch Ausdrücke jemanden beleidigten, beym Ausschuss anzuzeigen, wie dieselben alsdann die hier ausgesetzte Strafe doppelt zu erlegen haben.

XVI

Niemand darf über 24 Stunden über Land fahren, ohne es dem Inspicienten zu melden, wenn er auch auf dem Repertoire für die Zeit frey gelassen wäre.

XVII

Vor Anfang des Theatraljahrs wird jederzeit die Garderobe revidirt, und haben die Mitglieder sowohl jene von der K.K. Theatralgarderobe in H~~u~~nden habende Kleider den dazu beordneten Inspektoren vorzuzeigen, als auch über die Haltung der eigenen Theatralgarderobe sich auszuweisen.

XVIII

Von nun an müssen alle Erfordernisse, betreffend die Garderobe, oder was es immer wolle, schriftlich vom Ausschuss anverlangt werden, ingleichen alle Beschwerden, Einwendungen, oder Ansuchen ebenfalls schriftlich an denselben gerichtet, von da solche an eine kaiserl. königl. oberste Hofdirektion begleitet werden.

XIX

Die ausser dem Ausschuss annoch vorhandenen M~~ä~~nner sind verbunden, (exclusive des Seniors) nach Ordnung der Anciennität den W~~ö~~chnerdienst nach der Vorschrift zu versehen, und hat der W~~ö~~chner bey jeder Aufführung eines Stückes einen Gulden.

XX

Die eingehenden Straf gelder werden vom Ausschuss bey der Kasse gemeldet, allda abgezogen und zu dem bestimmten Endzweck aufbehalten.

PFLICHTEN DES WOCHNERS

I

Sowohl bey Hauptproben, als während den Vorstellungen, hat er auf den richtigen Gang der Stücke das wachsamste Auge zu haben, jedes Mitglied eine Scene oder zeitig genug vorher zu avertiren, wenn es aufzutreten hat, und zu gehöriger Zeit hinaus zu schicken.

II

Eine Stunde vor Anfang der Vorstellung auf dem Theater zu erscheinen, die Decorationen und Requisiten zu revidiren, und Sorge zu tragen, dass jedes Mitglied alles N~~ö~~thige zur rechten Zeit erhalte.

III

Auf die Ruhe während den Vorstellungen genau Acht zu haben, dass Niemand durch Geräusch behindert werde seiner Pflicht nachzukommen; Niemanden, er sey auch, wer er wolle, so nicht auf das Theater gehört, da zu dulden, widrigenfalls er den zwölften Theil seiner Monatgage als Strafe zu erlegen hat.

IV

Diejenigen, so zu spät zur Probe kommen, solche unterbrechen, den richtigen Gang der Vorstellungen Abends hemmen, oder den gehörigen Anfang hindern, ingleichen jene, so willkürliche Zusätze oder Abänderungen in ihren Rollen machen, hat er beym Schluss der Woche in seinem schriftlichen Rapport dem Ausschuss ohne Rücksicht anzuzeigen. Ein diessfälliges Stillschweigen, es sey aus Begünstigung oder Unachtsamkeit, hat er mit Erlegung doppelter Strafe zu büssen, die das fehlende Mitglied getroffen hätte.

V

Wenn er irgend einem Mitgliede was zu erinnern, Jemanden vom Theater wegzuschaffen hat, und ihm widersprochen wird, hat er solches alsogleich dem Inspicienten anzuzeigen, sich aber keinesweges in weitläuftige Gegenvorstellungen, noch weniger in bittere Antworten einzulassen, widrigenfalls er den vierten Theil seiner Monatgage zu erlegen hat.

VI

Wenn von den Arbeitsleuten einer seine Pflicht vernachlässigt, hat er sich diessfalls an den Inspektor Thomeral zu wenden, und sollte dieser nicht zugegen seyn, es dem Inspicienten zu melden.

VII

Nach der vom Ausschuss gemachten schriftlichen Anordnungen hat er den Wagen zu beordnen, wie die Aktricen abzuholen sind, und wohl darauf zu sehn, dass solches richtig geschehe; im Unterlassungsfall hat er die Strafe zu erlegen, die jene Aktrice erlegen müsste, so desshalb zu spät kommen.

VIII

Keinem ist erlaubt, seine Woche ausser der Ordnung einem andern, ohne Vorwissen des Ausschusses, zu übertragen, in welchem Falle

er seine Gründe schriftlich einzureichen hat.

IX

Im Fall einer Unpässlichkeit, oder wenn er an einem Abende eine beträchtliche Rolle zu spielen hat, muss er den Inspicienten Vormittag davon verständigen, wo dann dieser den nächstfolgend² für diesen Abend freyen Wöchner an seine Statt zu benennen hat, welcher es auch ohne Widerrede zu übernehmen verbunden ist, wofern er nicht in die Strafe des XVten Paragraphs der allgemeinen Gesetze verfallen will.

X

Nach Endigung der Stücke hat er die nächstfolgenden Spektakel zu annonciren, in seinem eigenen, oder dem Kleide, in welchem er den Abend gespielt hat; hiezu ist der wirkliche Wöchner verbunden, so bald er gespielt hat, wenn er auch, in der übrigen Pflicht, das Stück hindurch von einem andern wäre substituirt gewesen.

XI

Die Wöchnerbücher mit den Dekorations- und Requisitenzetteln, ingleichen wie die Aktricen abzuholen sind, hat er in Verwahrung, das Register darüber fortzusetzen, und bey Uebergabe dem nächstfolgenden Specificice einzuhändigen; das Verlohrene auf eigne Kosten zu ersetzen, oder neu zu schreiben, und da nach Verlauf eines jeden Monats diese unterhabende Wöchnererfordernisse von den Inspicienten revidirt werden, hat der zur Zeit seyende Wöchner das Abgehende zu ersetzen, wenn es auch nicht in seiner Woche verlohren worden.

XII

Nach Uebergabe der Woche hat er zwey gleich lautende Berichte nach beyliegenderem Schema zu verfertigen, und solche dem Inspicienten vor Anfang der Sitzung des Ausschusses zu übergeben, wovon einer beym Ausschuss aufgehoben, der andere durch den Inspicienten an die K.K. oberste Hofdirektion eingereicht wird.

DER AUSSCHUSS

Derselbe hat aus fünf Mitgliedern männlichen Geschlechts zu bestehen, und wird vor Eingang eines jeden Theatraljahres von den sämtlich wirklich engagirten Mitgliedern gewählt, oder

neu bestätigt.

Ihre Obliegenheiten sind:

- a) Die allgemeine Führung der Schaubühne zu besorgen
- b) Ueber Annahme neuer Stücke zu urtheilen
- c) Die Besetzung derselben zu bestimmen

I

Bey Annahme neuer Stücke, müssen sie die Ehre und den Nutzen des Theaters vor Augen haben, und wohl darauf sehen, dass die angenommenen Stücke den Regeln des gereinigten Theaters entsprechen, und auf dem Repertoire stehen bleiben können. Daher sey das Trauerspiel reich an Handlung, an erhabenen Gesinnungen, falle nicht ins Grässliche und Uebernatürliche; es errege Mitleid und Furcht, aber nicht Abscheu und Entsetzen; es führe eine edle hohe Sprache, aber keinen voll Phantasien verwebten Wortkram. Das rührende Lustspiel, dessen Handlung zwischen dem Täglichen und Seltnen innesteht, zeige besondere Charaktere, möglichere rührende Handlung als das Trauerspiel, ohne ins Romanhafte zu fallen; die Bewegungen, die es erregt, seyn angenehm, ohne zu erschüttern; jeder Charakter desselben sey belehrend, das Ganze zwecke zur Sittenlehre ab, ohne abgeschmackt zu werden; die Sprache darinn sey erhabner, als die im Lustspiele, ohne den Schwung der tragischen zu nehmen. Um diese Gattung nun in grösserm Ansehen und Werth zu erhalten, ist zu beobachten: dass nicht gleichförmige Charaktere, Situationen oder Interesse in andern Wendungen als neu erscheinen, und daher das Neue dem Alten, oder das Alte dem Neuen schade; dialogirte Romanen, bey welchen der Autor weder Verdienst noch Genie verräth, der Schauspieler alltäglich werden muss, dürfen keine Aufnahme finden, weil sie den Zuschauer ermüden und abschrecken. Das Lustspiel hingegen enthalte Charaktere aus dem gemeinen Leben, doch mit Interesse, Satyre, ohne ins Pasquill auszuarten; errege durch Witz und anständige Natur Lachen, nicht durch Possen, Unanständigkeit oder unnatürliche Begebenheiten; es zwecke zur Besserung ab, durch Schilderung seiner lächerlichen Charaktere, ohne den Anschein eines Lehrgebüdes zu haben; die Sprache sey von der Natur, aber nicht vom Pöbel, genommen.

II

Bey Uebersetzungen haben sie unter obigen Erfordernissen noch darauf zu sehen, dass der Sinn des Originals nicht verstümmelt und geschwächt werde, eine dem Sujet angemessene gute reine deutsche Schreibart darinn vorhanden sey, dass keine Aenderungen im Ganzen vorgenommen werden, so dem Stück eine andere Richtung geben; ausgenommen, ein deutscher Dichter nütze nur die Anlage

der Charaktere, Situationen, und des Interesses, formte ein ganz neues Original, und nützte Deutschland dadurch mehr, als durch eine getreue Uebersetzung.

III

Jedes eingeschickte Stück muss vom Ausschuss binnen vier Wochen abgefertigt werden. Zwey erhalten es wie bisher zur Prüfung, ob es der öffentlichen Vorlesung werth sey; keiner darf es länger als 8 Tage behalten, und muss schriftlich auseinander setzen, aus welchen Gründen er es zum Vorlesen vorschlägt oder verwirft. Im letzten Fall müssen die Fehler und Ursachen genau angezeigt werden, damit die Autoren die Gründe einsehen, und bey der Verwerfung nicht über Parteylichkeit klagen dürfen. Aus den Referaten, welche sogleich in ein eignes hierzu bestimmtes Protocoll eingetragen werden müssen, verfasst der Inspicient ein Ganzes, und theilt solches demjenigen mit, der die Autoren zu verständigen hat.

IV

Nach Vorlesung eines Stückes giebt jedes Mitglied des Ausschusses ein kurzgefasstes votum ad Protocollum, und die Majora entscheiden.

V

Werden dem Autor Aenderungen vorgeschlagen, so müssen solche schriftlich abgefasst, und ihm mitgetheilt werden.

VI

Diejenigen, so das Stück vor der öffentlichen Vorlesung lesen, schlagen zugleich eine Besetzung vor, und erörtern solche durch Gründe, die übrigen geben gleichfalls bey ihren Besetzungen die Gründe an, und per Majora wird entschieden. Bey Besetzung der Rollen nun ist wohl Bedacht zu nehmen: dass jene, so Hauptrollen zu spielen pflegen, in den ihnen zugehörigen Fächern gebraucht, und ihnen nur alsdann mindere Rollen zugetheilt werden, wenn eben im Stück keine Rolle aus ihrem Fache vorhanden wäre, und das Stück durch eine andere Besetzung litte: weiter, dass, wenn Rollen mehrfach, ohne Nachtheil der übrigen Besetzung, besetzt werden können, solches ja nicht aus der Acht zu lassen. Jeder Dichter hat zwar die Freyheit, eine Besetzung seines Stückes vorzuschlagen, doch muss der Ausschuss solche prüfen, und, falls sie zum Nutzen des Theaters, oder zur Zufriedenheit der Schauspieler besser entworfen werden könnte, solche nach Pflicht abändern.

VII

Dem Ausschuss liegt ob, dass jedes Mitglied seine Rolle richtig, dem Sinn des Autors, gemäss, spiele, daher die Irrenden durch den Inspicienten zurecht weisen zu lassen.

VIII

Ingleichen die Kleidung dem Kostume und der Jahrszeit gemäss, in welcher das Stück spielt, schriftlich anzugeben, ohne sich jedoch bey Farben aufzuhalten. Bey jenen Stücken, zu welchen Kleider aus der Theatralgarderobe geliefert werden, hat der Ausschuss die strengste Pflicht, darauf zu sehen: dass ohne Noth keine neue Anschaffung oder Zerstückung bereits vorhandner Kleider vorgenommen, und unnöthiger Aufwand gemacht werde. Die erforderlichen neuen Anschaffungen hat er schriftlich bey der K.K. obersten Hofdirektion einzureichen, und ohne eine dergleichen Anzeige vom Ausschuss wird keinem etwas gemacht oder abgeändert.

IX

Die Auszierungen des Theaters werden bey Annahme eines jeden Stücks sogleich vom Ausschuss festgesetzt, und in das Auszierungsprotokoll getragen, so wie der Anzug einer jeden Rolle in das Anzugsprotokoll.

X

Bey Entwerfung des Repertoirs hat der Ausschuss besonders Bedacht zu nehmen: dass in der Wahl der Stücke die Zufriedenheit des allerhöchsten Hofes, der K.K. obersten Hofdirektion, des Publikums und der Schauspieler selbst erzielt werde; daher mit den Stücken gehörig abzuwechseln, und zu rechter Zeit hauszuhalten; vor Anfang eines jeden Theatraljahrs aber das Repertoire zu durchsehen, jene Stücke, so dem Publika nicht mehr gefallen, oder die neuen, so keinen Beyfall gefunden, auszustreichen, und darüber die Approbation von der K.K. obersten Hofdirektion einzuholen.

XI

Wenn neue Subjekte Probe spielen wollen, sind sie verbunden, in zwey Rollen vor dem Ausschuss zu spielen, in einer selbst gewählten, und in einer vom Ausschuss vorgeschlagenen; hierauf geben die Mitglieder des Ausschusses ihre Meynungen schriftlich an die K.K. oberste Hofdirektion, jedes besonders, und legen ein gleichlautendes versiegeltes Exemplar ihrer Meynung in das Archiv.

XII

Der Ausschuss ist verbunden, alle Wochen einmal richtig Sitzung zu halten, auch in dringenden Fällen mehrmal; jeder muss zur bestimmten Stunde dabey erscheinen, und der, so merklich auf sich warten lässt, hat den zwölften Theil seiner Monatgage als Strafe zu erlegen. Nur Krankheit allein entschuldigt, davon auszubleiben: derjenige also, der ohne Krankheit oder besonders deshalb erhaltene Erlaubniss davon wegbleibt, zahlt obige Strafe doppelt.

XIII

In den abhandelnden Geschäften muss Bündigkeit und Ordnung herrschen. Der Inspicient macht jeden Vortrag, die Übrigen geben sodann jeder seine Meynung schriftlich, die sogleich protokolirt werden, und hierauf hat sich Niemand in weitere Zergliederungen oder Widerlegungen durch hartnäckige Behauptung seiner Meynung einzulassen. Derjenige, so durch bittere Worte zu Zank Anlass giebt, hat den halben Theil seiner Monatgage als Strafe zu erlegen.

XIV

Der Ausschuss hat in seinen Vergebungen die strengste Unparteylichkeit zu beobachten; diejenigen, so durch Majora einen Schluss zum Nachtheil des Ganzen oder einer einzelnen Person bewirkten, woraus eine augenscheinliche Parteylichkeit leuchtet, haben jeder eine halbe Monatgage als Strafe zu erlegen.

XV

Alles, was in den Zusammenkünften des Ausschusses geredet, niedergeschrieben, oder beschlossen wird, muss jeder geheim halten, damit weder Hass noch Spott den Mitgliedern, weder unter der Gesellschaft, noch im Publiko, zugezogen werde; der sich des gebrochnen Stillschweigens schuldig macht, hat eine Monatgage als Strafe zu erlegen.

XVI

Von den Mitgliedern des Ausschusses hat einer das ganze Jahr hindurch so wohl die hiesigen also auswärtigen Autoren von den gefällten Urtheilen über ihre eingeschickte Stücke zu verkündigen, und ihnen die vom Inspicienten entworfene Entscheidung unter seiner Unterschrift zuzustellen, sich desfalls aber in keine weitere Erläuterung einzulassen.

XVII

Versehen die 5 Glieder des Ausschusses monatlich tour a tour einer den Inspicientendienst; einer führt das Sitzungsprotokoll; einer das Protokoll, in welches die Referate über die eingeschickten Stücke geschrieben werden; einer das Auszugsprotokoll;⁴ und einer das Dekorationsprotokoll.

XVIII

Des Inspicienten Dienst besteht darin, alle Berichte und Anfragen an die K.K. oberste Hofdirektion zu machen, alle Befehle von derselben zu empfangen, und dem Ausschuss mitzutheilen; die Anschlagzettel und alles übrige zu besorgen, was der Dienst des Theaters erfordert; bey allen Proben und Vorstellungen zugegen zu seyn, dem Wüchner in seiner obhabenden Pflicht nachzusehen; ihn zu unterstützen, oder, falls solcher einen Fehler nicht rügte, bey dem Ausschuss zu belangen, nachzusehen, ob jedes nach Vorschrift gekleidet, die dawider Fehlenden zurecht zu weisen, oder anzuzeigen, und die Proben ansagen zu lassen.

XIX

Der Ausschuss hat nach seinem besten Wissen und Gewissen in allem vorzugehen, und sind alle Mitglieder schuldig, jenes, was sie zur Verbesserung und Nutzen des Nationaltheaters vorzuschlagen glauben, der obersten Hofdirektion anzuzeigen, wie denn auch diese letztere sich vorbehält, diese Vorschrift nach Befinden der Umstände zu vermehren oder abzuändern.

Pr. Kaiserl. Königl. Theatral-Oberste
Hofdirektion

Wien den 17. Februar 1779

Graf von Rosenberg. m.p.

Freyherr von Kienmayer. m.p.

Johann Thorwart. m.p.

4. It seems likely that this is a misprint in the original and that the word should be Anzugsprotokoll (see paragraph IX, page 222).

RULES AND REGULATIONS which must be obeyed by the members of the national theatre

.....

The five superintendents who constitute the theatre board are, in order of their length of employment in this theatre: Herr Stephanie the elder, Herr MÜLLER, Herr Steigentesch. Herr Stephanie the younger, Herr Brockmann.

All the members of the theatre, whether they take part in the spoken drama or the Singspiel, are, according to these new arrangements, under the direction of the board and especially of the superintendent on duty for that particular month. The entire board must be present at each dress rehearsal and the superintendent in charge for that month must attend every rehearsal and performance. Herr MÜLLER's direction of the Operette which up to now was his sole responsibility, under the supervision of the court directors, now comes to an end, although he has nonetheless kept the additional 400 florins which he was awarded in the previous year - Madam Stierle, too, keeps her 300 florins bonus which she received as a member of the Operette although she is no longer obliged to sing with the company.

I

No member is allowed to withdraw from a role without obtaining permission from the highest authority, or to take exception to any other member taking part in a work without having a good and valid reason. If such a case does arise, the matter should be referred in writing to the board, giving the reasons for the non-acceptance of the role. If the objections are sound the board will allocate the role to someone else; if they are not sufficiently warranted, the matter will be reported to the court directors and they will decide.

II

If the board finds it necessary to allocate a role which has already been taken on previous occasions by one actor to another, whether it is in well-known or new works, or to distribute a role to more than one person, no-one is allowed to withdraw. Those roles which are taken by more than one player will, according to ~~seniority~~, be played in turn.

III

Each player has three weeks in which to learn a principal role and eight days a subsidiary role from the time he first receives his part. Illness is the only acceptable reason for not having done so. Whoever fails to accomplish this and, as a result, the

play has to be postponed is fined a quarter of his monthly salary.

IV

No-one is allowed to appear before the public without having completely mastered his role; each player's knowledge of his part is tested at the penultimate rehearsal where he is not allowed to refer to the script. The superintendent is obliged - if, at this rehearsal, he notices that someone has not learnt his lines properly - not to let him appear and to arrange another play that very day, and the player concerned must forfeit a quarter of his monthly salary as punishment.

V

No-one is allowed by law to make additions or alterations to his role, or to introduce any improper acting into the play; rather each one must keep to the text, as given by the author and approved by the censor. Any violation of this rule will result in a fine equivalent to a quarter of the player's monthly salary.

VI

Each player is *required*, if the superintendent demonstrates to him that he is playing his role - or particular parts of it - *wrongly, to perform it exactly.*

VII

Likewise, he shall dress himself, according to the regulations of the board, either from his own or the theatre's wardrobe; in the latter case, he shall not demand any other costume than the one designated him by the board.

VIII

The repertoire is decided upon by the board fourteen days in advance, and only orders from the court directors themselves or illness can change this. It is obligatory to follow this programme implicitly and to accept any alterations which may occur as a result of the two eventualities mentioned above.

IX

If a player is prevented by illness from carrying out his duties

he must inform the board in writing and also submit a certificate from the theatre doctor to confirm the illness; likewise his recovery must also be reported in writing, otherwise his claim will not be considered. The superintendent and Wüchner⁵ must ensure that any member discovered feigning illness or staying away unnecessarily, forfeits a quarter of his monthly salary as punishment.

X

No-one may refuse to appear at rehearsals which are arranged by the board, and each player must arrive on time. Whoever comes late, and the rehearsal is held up on his account, must forfeit a sixteenth of his monthly salary as punishment, and if he fails to turn up at all he shall lose double that amount. No less must ...⁶

XI

It is important that everyone is in the theatre in good time for the evening performances, so that they can begin at the advertised time. If anyone causes a performance to begin late, misses his entrance, or indeed forgets whole scenes, he shall forfeit a twelfth of his monthly salary as punishment.

XII

As the actresses have to be brought to the performances by the theatre coach, from now on it is the duty of the Wüchner to determine the order in which they should be fetched so that those who appear last are not fetched first, and vice versa. Each actress will be informed an hour beforehand when the coach will arrive at her door so that she may be ready. In order not to upset the arrangements, no-one may refuse to go according to the plan, or to keep the coach waiting, or even send it away and order it again for later. Otherwise, she has to make her own arrangements for travelling to the theatre and if she arrives late, or if the coach has to call for her a second time, she will incur the punishment described in the preceding paragraph.

⁵ Very difficult to translate: 'member of the company on duty for a particular week'. This word will always be given in the original German.

⁶ See footnote 2.

XIII

No-one is allowed to bring more than one servant to the theatre during performances; this servant must not be in the way of any of the performers and certainly never stand in the wings. All others, including relatives, will be refused admission by the Wüchner, and no-one may object to this lest he incur the punishment described in paragraph XV.

XIV

The rehearsals must proceed peacefully and in an orderly fashion so that the pieces may be rehearsed with diligence and enthusiasm; to this end the Wüchner will not tolerate anyone on stage who is not needed to impose silence, and anyone who defies his orders will be subject to the punishment described in the next paragraph.

XV

Whoever opposes the orders of the superintendent, or the Wüchner, whatever the reason, or who retorts with hurtful or bitter words, or who gives directives on his own authority, shall forfeit an eighth of his monthly salary as punishment. Everyone, however, is permitted to inform the board if the superintendent or the Wüchner give improper directives, or fail to make necessary arrangements, or insult someone, in which case the offenders will be liable to forfeit double the amount mentioned above.

XVI

No-one may travel more than twenty-four hours' distance from the theatre without first informing the superintendent, even if he is not involved in the current repertoire.

XVII

The costumes will be checked at the beginning of each theatre year and any items from the theatre wardrobe which members may have in their possession as well as the contents of their personal theatre wardrobe must be produced for the inspectors.

XVIII

From now on, all requirements - concerning the wardrobe or anything else - should be requested in writing from the board; likewise, all grievances, objections or requests shall be broached in writing. These will be considered by the court directors.

XIX

Those men who are present - apart from the board - are obliged (the seniors excepted), according to seniority, to fulfil the duties of Wöchner as laid down in the regulations, and the Wöchner shall receive one gulden for each performance of a play.

XX

The Board will inform the cash office of the incoming fines, which are then transferred there and deposited for safe keeping for the aforesaid purpose.

DUTIES OF THE WÖCHNER

I

He must keep a close eye on the course of a piece during the dress rehearsal as well as during the performance; he must warn each player of his entrance one scene beforehand or at least give him ample notice, and ensure that each makes his entrance at the correct time.

II

He must appear at the theatre an hour before the beginning of the performance, inspect the scenery and props and ensure that each player is given his stage requisites at the correct time.

III

He must particularly ensure that there is silence during performances, that no-one is distracted from his performance by noise; he must not allow anyone to be present who does not belong to the theatre company, otherwise he shall forfeit a twelfth of his monthly salary as punishment.

IV

At the end of the week he must submit to the board a written report concerning, without any exceptions, those who have arrived late at a rehearsal, those who have interrupted rehearsals, or who have hindered the proper course of a performance or delayed the beginning of a performance, or those who have, of their own accord, added to or changed sections of their parts. If he fails to cite such cases out of favouritism or carelessness, his punishment shall be twice as severe as that served on the player concerned.

V

If he has any criticism to make of anyone, or has to send someone away from the theatre, and is contradicted, he must report the incident to the superintendent accordingly without involving himself in lengthy remonstrance or bitter words, otherwise he must forfeit a quarter of his monthly salary as punishment.

VI

If one of the workmen neglects his duty, he must in this instance turn to Inspector Thomeral, and if he is not present report it to the superintendent.

VII

In accordance with the written regulations laid down by the board, he must order the coach which will fetch the actresses and ensure that this arrangement runs smoothly; in case of oversight he will pay the same fine as each actress would herself have had to pay for arriving late.

VIII

No-one is allowed to transfer his weekly duties to another without first informing the board, in which case he must state his reasons in writing.

IX

In the event of an indisposition, or if he has to play an important role one evening, he must inform the superintendent before midday; the latter will then be able to appoint in his place the next Wüchner who is free for that particular evening. He must take over the other's duties without objection otherwise he will pay the penalty described in paragraph XV of the general rules.

X

At the end of the pieces he must announce the forthcoming performances, either in his own clothes or in the costume in which he has played that evening; the official Wüchner is obliged to do this as soon as he has played, even if another has been substituted to do his other duties.

XI

It is the Wüchner's job to keep the Wüchner records with the docketts for scenery and props and details of transport of the actresses,

and to keep the register up-to-date, and deliver it at the end of the week to his appointed successor: he must make good any deficit out of his own pocket, or re-enter it in the records, and as the Wächner's requirements are investigated by the superintendents at the end of each month, the Wächner on duty at the time must make up the deficit even if the loss did not occur in his week of duty.

XII

When his week's duties are at an end he must prepare two identical reports which should follow the attached scheme and which he will present to the superintendent at the beginning of the board meeting; one of these reports will be kept by the board, the other will be handed over by the superintendent to the court directors.

THE BOARD

This must consist of five male members of the company, who will be elected or re-elected by the whole company before the beginning of the theatre year.

Their duties are:

- a) To ensure the general running of the theatre
- b) To select which new pieces are to be performed
- c) To allocate roles for these pieces

I

When accepting new works, they must consider the reputation and interests of the theatre, and ensure that such works obey the rules of the reformed theatre and are likely to remain in the repertoire for some time. To this end a tragedy must have a varied plot, contain noble sentiments and must not revert to the horrific and the supernatural; it should excite feelings of pity and fear, but not those of loathing and horror; it should be given in a noble, elevated language and not in a fanciful jumble of words. The sentimental comedy, the plot of which is half-way between the everyday and the extraordinary, should feature unusual characters, and have a more sentimental story than the tragedy without verging on the fanciful; the emotions it excites should be pleasant without affecting the audience too profoundly. Each character should be instructive, and the purpose of the piece as a whole should be to provide a moral without becoming absurd in the process; the language should be elevated as in the comedy without assuming traits of the tragedy. In order to maintain the higher standing

and value of this ^{genre}, the following points should be observed: that uniform characters, situations and themes do not appear in new guises, such that the new guise harms the old or vice versa. Dramatised novels in which the author reveals neither merit nor genius, and in which the actor becomes commonplace, should not be accepted, because they are wearisome to the audience and frighten it away. The comedy, on the other hand, should feature characters from everyday life and should contain variety and satire without degenerating into lampoonery; it should evoke laughter with wit and without impropriety, coarseness or unnatural antics; by means of its ridiculous characters its purpose should be to improve people's taste without making them feel aware of being educated; the language should be natural without being vulgar.

II

Translations should follow the lines set out above; the sense of the original should not be obscured or weakened, but translated into a good, pure German style which is appropriate to the subject matter; there should be no large-scale alterations which would result in the story changing direction, except in the case of a German poet who merely uses characters, situations and themes as a basis for creating a completely new and original play; Germany will derive greater profit from this than from a mere literal translation.

III

Each work submitted to the board should be examined within four weeks. Two members should consider whether it is worth giving a work a public reading and neither must keep the piece for more than eight days in this instance, but should set out in writing the reasons why he thinks he does or does not deserve a reading. In the latter case, the authors must be shown the weaknesses of their work so that they may appreciate why it cannot be accepted. They will then have no grounds for complaining of bias against them. From the reports, which must be immediately entered in a minute book designated for that purpose, the superintendent formulates a final draft which he then passes on to whomever has the job of explaining the decision to the authors.

IV

After the reading, the merits of a piece are put to the vote and its future decided by the majority.

V

Any suggested alterations should be communicated to the author in writing

VI

Those who read the piece before it is given its public reading decide on the casting at the same time. They discuss the reasons for choosing a certain cast and then inform the remaining members of the board of their choice. It is decided by a majority vote. It is well to take good care in the casting of roles: so that those who are accustomed to taking leading roles are given the type of part in which they excel, and they are only given smaller parts if there are no other suitable ones available and if alternative casting would cause the piece to suffer. Furthermore, it should be remembered that it is possible to allocate some roles to more than one player without harming the rest of the casting. Every author is free to suggest the casting for his piece, but his choice must be considered by the board and, if it happens that a role would be better given to someone else for the good of the theatre or to the satisfaction of the player, then it is the board's duty to alter the author's choice.

VII

It is the duty of the board to ensure that each member plays his part correctly, following the author's intention, and to advise those players who fail to do so

VIII

Likewise, the costumes appropriate to the style of dress and the time of year in which the play takes place should be stipulated in writing, without however discussing colours. For those works which require the use of costumes from the theatre wardrobe, the board is strongly urged to ensure that no new costumes are supplied or existing costumes altered if it is not necessary, and that no unwarranted expenses are incurred. Where it is desirable to procure new costumes, a written application should be submitted to the court directors, and no costume will be made or altered without such a notification from the board.

IX

Whenever a play is accepted for performance, the board will immediately decide upon the theatre scenery and record it in the scenery record-book, likewise the costume for each part shall

be entered in the costume record-book.

X

The board should take special care in drawing up the repertoire: the choice of pieces should be acceptable to the Court itself, the court directors, the public and the players; therefore they should change the plays as is appropriate and plan accordingly; before the beginning of the theatre year the board should examine the repertoire, striking out, with the approval of the court directors, those pieces which no longer please the public and new pieces which have never been popular.

XI

When new candidates want to audition, they are obliged to perform before the board in two roles, in one of their own choosing and one suggested by the board: the members of the board will then submit their written opinion to the court directors, and an identical sealed record of their opinion will be deposited in the archives.

XII

The board is obliged to meet once a week, more often if the necessity arises; each member must arrive at the correct time, and if one causes the others to wait ^{for an appreciable time}, he must forfeit a twelfth of his monthly salary as punishment. Illness is the only acceptable reason for not attending; if a member is not ill and fails to attend without having been given permission, he will incur double the above penalty.

XIII

Conciseness and order must prevail in business discussions. The superintendent submits each proposal and the remainder will then note their opinions in writing. This is then minuted and no-one shall enter into further discussions or disagreements in an attempt to assert his views obstinately. Anyone, whose bitter words give rise to a quarrel, will forfeit a half of his monthly salary as punishment.

XIV

The board must observe the strictest neutrality in its dealings; those who, by obvious bias, help bring about a majority decision which is to the disadvantage of the whole group or even of one

person, must forfeit a half of his monthly salary as punishment.

XV

Each member must keep to himself everything that is said, recorded and decided upon at meetings of the board so that its members are not subjected to hatred and scorn either from the company or from the public; anyone guilty of breaking his silence must forfeit the whole of his monthly salary as punishment.

XVI

It is the duty of one of the board members, for a year at a time, to inform authors both from Vienna itself and from further afield of the board's judgements on the works submitted, and to send them the superintendent's official decision; no further explanations are allowed.

XVII

Each month the five members of the board take turns to do the superintendent's duties; one takes the minutes of the meetings; one registers the written reports on plays submitted; one keeps the scenery record-book, and one the costume record-book.

XVIII

The superintendent's duties are as follows: to submit all reports and enquiries to the court directors, to receive all orders from the latter and to communicate them to the board; to attend to the posters and anything else which the administration of the theatre demands, to be present at all rehearsals and performances, to supervise and support the Wüchner in his above-mentioned duties, or report the latter to the board if he fails to admit a mistake, to see whether everyone is wearing the correct costume, and to correct any offenders or report them, and to have the rehearsals announced.

XIX

The board must act to the best of their knowledge and conscience, and all members must inform the court directors of any suggestions which might improve or be to the advantage of the national theatre. The court directors reserve the right to expand or amend these regulations according to the circumstances.

.....

A P P E N D I X I I

EXAMPLE 1 Il finto pazzo del amore (Das verrückte Narr aus Liebe)

(Act 1 - Ecco lui che sale mura')

a)

Allargo con spirito

Oboe

Horn in D

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

Capricorno

Bass

Capricorno lyrics: *Ecco lui che sale mura già s'impagano le*

Oboe

Horn in D

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

Capricorno

Bass

Capricorno lyrics: *sca - le ecco lui che sale mura*

b)

Allargo (Act 2 - Per pochi momenti in deserto pensoso')

Oboe

Horn in D

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

Capricorno

Bass

Capricorno lyrics: *Per pochi momenti in deserto pensoso*

qui si vedre- le ri-pie-no di giu-bi-lo ri-pie-no di po-sses-sa po-co kor nar

EXAMPLE 2 : Die pininfasomen Schuke. (Akt I - Ein herrliches Vergängen)

Allegro vivace

Flute
Oboe
Clarinet
Bassoon
Violin I
Violin II
Viola
Cello
Double Bass

Ein herr-lich-es Ver-gän-gen, ein herr-liches Ver-gän-gen, si-cke

Allegro vivace

Handwritten musical score for a piece. The score consists of 14 staves. The first two staves are vocal lines. The next four staves are piano accompaniment. The fifth staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The sixth and seventh staves are piano accompaniment. The eighth staff is a vocal line. The ninth and tenth staves are piano accompaniment. The eleventh and twelfth staves are vocal lines. The thirteenth and fourteenth staves are piano accompaniment.

Schnee und Eis so schar-enweis in Schlitten könn die fliegen

EXAMPLE 3 Was schallt die Männer Kreu?
(Act 2 - wie sich die Wellen bäumen)

Allagio con moto

Musical score for the first system, including parts for Flauti, Fagotti, Trombe, Violini, Viola, Bassi, and Passado. The lyrics are: wie sich die Wellen bäumen, wie

Flauti
Fagotti
Trombe
Violini
Viola
Bassi
Passado

wie sich die Wellen bäumen, wie

Musical score for the second system, including parts for Flauti, Fagotti, Trombe, Violini, Viola, Bassi, and Passado. The lyrics are: fürch-terlich sie schäumen, wie fürch-terlich sie schäumen, hier

Flauti
Fagotti
Trombe
Violini
Viola
Bassi
Passado

fürch-terlich sie schäumen, wie fürch-terlich sie schäumen, hier

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of five staves. The top two staves are for strings, with the first staff containing a fermata. The third staff is for woodwinds. The fourth and fifth staves are for the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "schlugen sie emp - ar und füll - ten Mund und Oh - ren, hier". The piano part includes dynamic markings such as *mf* and *f*.

Handwritten musical score for the second system, continuing from the first. It consists of five staves. The top two staves are for strings. The third staff is for woodwinds. The fourth and fifth staves are for the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "schlugen sie emp - ar und füll ten Mund und Oh - ren, und". The piano part includes dynamic markings such as *mf*, *f*, and *poco f*.

Handwritten musical score for a piano piece, featuring a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The score is written on a system of five staves. The top two staves are for the vocal line, and the bottom three are for the piano accompaniment. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 8/8. The lyrics are written below the vocal line.

piu f
piu f
fullen Mund und *aw.*
piu f
f

EXAMPLE 4: Die Entführung aus dem Serail

(Act 1 - "Ach, ich liebe")

Allegro

Oboe
 Clarinet in B
 Fagott
 Horn in B
 Violino I
 Violino II
 Viola
 Kontrabaß
 Bass

Doch wie schnell schwand mei - - ne Frau - de, doch wie schnell schwand mei - - ne

Freu - de Tren - - nung war mein bau - get Loos, und nun

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is in G major and 4/4 time, with lyrics: "schwamm mein Aug' in Trau - ven, mein Aug' .. schwamm in Trau - ven, as". The piano accompaniment includes a grand staff with treble and bass clefs, and a separate bass line. The first measure of the piano part has a dynamic marking of *p*. The system concludes with a double bar line.

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It continues the vocal and piano parts from the first system. The vocal line has lyrics: "schwamm in Trau - ven". The piano accompaniment features more complex textures, including triplets and sixteenth notes. Dynamic markings include *p*, *mf*, and *ff*. The system concludes with a double bar line.

Kun- me rkt in mein - em Schooß

EXAMPLE 5 : Die Ferkührung aus dem Sesal
(Acht - Ach, sehr liebe)

Doch wie schön schwebt mei-ne Frau-de dich wie schön schwebt mei-ne Frau-de

Tren - - -nung war mein ban - - - ges Loos, und nun schwinde dich Aug' im

Thre - nen, man Aug - e schwinde in Thre nen es schwinde in Thre nen

EXAMPLE 6. Die Kinder des Natur

(Act 2 - 'So güt wie er mir schmeckt')

Poco allegro con Spirito

Violino I
Soprano

Tutti

EXAMPLE 7. Die Einführung aus dem Szwajc

(Act 3 - 'Ha, wie wohl ich konsumieren')

Allergo vivace

Oboe
Clarinete in A
Fagott
Corno in D
Violino I
Violino II
Viola
Ostin
Bass

dann nun hab' ich vor euch Ruh,

Handwritten musical score for a vocal and piano piece. The score includes a vocal line with lyrics: "denn nun hab' ich vor euch Ruh'". The piano accompaniment features complex chordal textures, including many chords with a '7' (septim) and a '9' (nonem) in the left hand, and various rhythmic patterns in the right hand. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#), and the time signature is 4/4.

EXAMPLE 8. Was erhält die Mähnes Koen?
 (Act I - 'NICHES VASFLIEGE SO WIE DIE ZEIT')

Allegro

Handwritten musical score for "EXAMPLE 8". The score includes staves for Flöte I, Cor Anglais, Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Basses, and Bass. The Basses part has the lyrics: "auf der Hin-Ken flüch-og ei...". The tempo is marked "Allegro". The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#), and the time signature is 4/4. The score includes various musical notations such as dynamics (p), articulation (accents), and phrasing slurs.

EXAMPLE 9: Das erhält die Männer zwei?
 (Act I - 'So flattert oft')
 Scherzando

EXAMPLE 10: Die Einführung aus dem Seseil
(Act 2 - 'Wenn der Fremde Thesen frassen')

Adagio

Oboi

Clarinete in C

Fagotti

Basson

Violine I

Violine II

Viola

Cellon

Wann der fremde Thesen frassen, lachelt Lebeden schaben hold - von den

Wan - gen Sie zu küssen ist der Liebe schönste, grösstes Sold - , ist der Liebe schönste Grösster

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of seven staves. The top six staves are for piano accompaniment, and the seventh staff is for the vocal line. The lyrics are written below the vocal staff.

8 Sold. Ach, Com- stan- ze! dich zu se- hen, dich voll Wo- nne — voll Zuck-

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It consists of seven staves. The top six staves are for piano accompaniment, and the seventh staff is for the vocal line. The lyrics are written below the vocal staff.

zuck er an mein Ge- he- -- -- er zu drü- cken, lo- b- wahr nicht Of- sus

Pracht, lobet fürwahr nicht Crö sus' Pracht, lobet nicht Crö sus' Pracht, lobet fürwahr nicht

Crö ... us' Pracht

EXAMPLE 11: Il finto pazzo per amore (Des vestales. Nare and Liebe)
(Act 1 - 'Al fonte, al colle, al prato')

Andantino

Violin I
Violin II
Viola
Bass

EXAMPLE 12: Die purpurfarbene Schwärze
(Act 2 - 'Soil und Pein')

Andante con moto

Violin I
Violin II
Viola
Tenor
Bass

Won- - - ne freude, hat- - - des Scherzen, Won- - - ne

freude, hat- - - - - des Scherzen

EXAMPLE 13 Die Entführung aus dem Serail
(Act 3 - 'Ich danke ganz auf deine Stärke')

Andante

Flauto

Clarinete in B

Fagotte

Kornett in E

Violoncello

Viola

Bass

Was ich ... bewillig un ... möglich ... hoch schenkt, wird durch die Lie ... be ... doch ver ... eint.

Violoncello

Viola

Bass

was durch die Lie ... be, durch die Lie ... be doch ver ... eint, — wird durch die

Musical score for the first system, featuring piano accompaniment and vocal line. The piano part includes staves for Treble and Bass clefs, and the vocal line is in a single staff. The lyrics are:

Lie-be, durch die Lie-be doch ver-ent, wird durch die

Musical score for the second system, continuing the piano accompaniment and vocal line. The piano part includes staves for Treble and Bass clefs, and the vocal line is in a single staff. The lyrics are:

Lie - - - be doch - - - ver - - ent,

The image shows a handwritten musical score on a page numbered 255. The score is written on a system of ten staves. The top four staves are for the piano accompaniment, with the first two staves in treble clef and the last two in bass clef. The fifth staff is the vocal line, written in a soprano clef. The bottom two staves are for the piano accompaniment, with the sixth staff in treble clef and the seventh in bass clef. The music is in 4/4 time and features a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The vocal line has the lyrics "doch - ver - eint, - doch ver eint, - doch ver - eint" written below it. The piano accompaniment includes various chords and melodic lines, with dynamic markings such as *f* and *p* visible. The handwriting is in black ink on aged paper.

EXAMPLE 14 Die Bergknappen (Act I - Ich sah dich in den Bergen - schlussklar)

Moderato

(schlussklar)

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

Frick

Bass

Ich sah dich in den Berg- ed- schlan- den, ein wi- ldes Bergge- wirt her- bes, er

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

Frick

Bass

schufte dich für del- ne Sün- den ich hör- te schlan- den- hül- fe - ge- schen gleich- stur- ken

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

Frick

Bass

Fel- sei auf dich neu- des zeh- malen - ten dem- e- ster- ren

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

Frick

Bass

she- der wach dem- er- du, wach dem- er- du,

was denkst du von der Täu- -nung, was denkst du von der Träu- -mer- ei, was

denkst du von der Täu- -nung- ei —, was denkst du von der Träu- -mer- ei?

Ich seh dich an dem Berg- -schlünden ein wildes Berg-geist

Es kret her- -bin, ich hör-ke schon dem Angste- -schrei, dem Angste- -ge- -schrei, dem schrei- -sten

Fal - sen, ge - dach - ten, ge - dach - ten, Fal - sen auf dich al - les das, auf dich nie - des

Recapitulation

EXAMPLE 15 Die Entführung aus dem Serail
(Act I - "Ach, ich liebe")

(a) Adagio

Ach ich Lie - be, was so glücklich, konnte nicht die Liebe schmerz, was so glücklich, konnte

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The piano part includes a bass line and a treble line with chords. The vocal line is in a single staff with lyrics written below it. The lyrics are: "nicht der Liebeskummer, schmerzt ihn Frau, denn Geliebte, schmerzt ihn Frau, denn sie hat ihm, gab da".

Lyrics: nicht der Liebeskummer, schmerzt ihn Frau, denn Geliebte, schmerzt ihn Frau, denn sie hat ihm, gab da

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment from the first system. The piano part includes a bass line and a treble line with chords. The vocal line is in a single staff with lyrics written below it. The lyrics are: "hin mein ganzes Herz, gab de- hin — mein gan- - zes Herz".

Lyrics: hin mein ganzes Herz, gab de- hin — mein gan- - zes Herz

(b)

Allegro

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of six staves. The top two staves are vocal lines. The bottom four staves are piano accompaniment, including a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) and a separate bass line. The lyrics are: "Ach ich liebte, war so glücklich, kann...". The music is in a minor key and includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'p'.

Handwritten musical score for the second system, continuing from the first. It also consists of six staves. The vocal lines continue with the lyrics: "nicht des Lie... ba Schmerz, konnte nicht... das Lie... ba Schmerz, war so". The piano accompaniment features complex rhythmic patterns and textures. The music concludes with a final cadence. Dynamic markings like 'p' and 'mf' are present.

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It includes a vocal line with lyrics and piano accompaniment for piano (p) and forte (f). The lyrics are: "gütlich, kann-ke nicht — das Lie-be schwer, schwerem Tren-e dem-se Lieb-tes, geb-da-".

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It includes a vocal line with lyrics and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "-hin mein ganzer Herz, geb da-hin — mein gan- - - - - das Herz". The word "Recapitulacion" is written at the end of the system.

EXAMPL.E 16: Die purpurfarbenen Schuhe

(Arie) - Soll ein Schuh nicht drücken?

Allargo [Introduction]

Flauto

Organo

Violino

Violoncello

Viola

Bass

p con sordini

f

[A]

p

f

p

pp

Soll ein Schuh nicht drücken?

Soll am Schuh nicht drücken

p Violoncelli

muß man sich an-schrecken, und überall das erste mit sich sel-ten hin-be-

[A]

-mih-en, sich

Tutti P Violoncelli

[B]

sel-bar hin-her-mühen ihn an den Fuß zu ziehen,

[B]

denn oft fehlt's an Ge-duld, denn oft fehlt's an Ge-duld denn

Schuh recht an-tus-fa-ßen, den Fuß dar-um zu pas-sen, doch hat der Meis-ter

Schuld, doch hat der Meis-ter Schult-er,

dem of-fen an Ge-duld dem Schuh-recht an-zu-

First system of musical notation, including vocal line and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: *-füßen, den fuß dorein zu passen, doch hat der Misset Schuld, den*

Second system of musical notation, including vocal line and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: *fuß dorein zu passen, doch hat der Misset -- das Schuld.*

Third system of musical notation, including vocal line and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: *Vas- aus bey ein-er*

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of five staves: a vocal line (soprano), a piano accompaniment (right hand), a piano accompaniment (left hand), a piano accompaniment (right hand), and a piano accompaniment (left hand). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are: "Frau, die will nur sehr ge-nu- den Fuß an Schuhe ruhren da-

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It consists of five staves: a vocal line (soprano), a piano accompaniment (right hand), a piano accompaniment (left hand), a piano accompaniment (right hand), and a piano accompaniment (left hand). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are: "bey kom-Drücken spürren, und doch mit Gunst das ferd-ere

Handwritten musical score for the third system. It consists of five staves: a vocal line (soprano), a piano accompaniment (right hand), a piano accompaniment (left hand), a piano accompaniment (right hand), and a piano accompaniment (left hand). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are: "Kunst, und doch mit Gunst das fer-dere Kunst". A circled '2' is written above the final measure of the vocal line.

[A]

Sey bequem je - doch nicht weicht ich spitzig und nur ja nicht breit und

Vidomedi

[x]

doch mit Günstigkeit's Noth das man zu weis - sen, dem fuß erst durfte fer - len

[x]

[C/D]

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The key signature is G major (one sharp). The time signature is 7/8. The lyrics are: "und doch mit Günst' thät's Noth das man zu werden der Fuß ess' dürft' e".

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It consists of a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The key signature is G major (one sharp). The time signature is 7/8. The lyrics are: "fei - len und doch mit Günst' das for - dert Kunst, - und".

Handwritten musical score for the third system. It consists of a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The key signature is G major (one sharp). The time signature is 7/8. The lyrics are: "doch mit Günst' das for - dert Kunst ja doch das for - - dert".

[C]

The first system of the musical score consists of five measures. It includes a vocal line in the top staff, a piano accompaniment in the middle two staves, and a bass line in the bottom staff. The key signature has three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and the time signature is 7/8. The piano part features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. The vocal line has a melodic contour with some grace notes. The bass line is simpler, with a few notes and rests.

Kunst

The second system of the musical score consists of five measures, primarily a vocal line in the top staff. The key signature and time signature remain the same as the first system. The melody continues from the first system, with some rests in the second and third measures.

EXAMPLE 17: Die Bergknappen ('Ein klägliches Geschrei')

Adagio

Oboe solo
Violino I
Violino II
Viola
Sopran
Basso

Ein

Adagio

Klag-lich-er Geschie-der-ang-im mein-er Ohr, host du?

Adagio

Das binsetant aus jenen Berg hervor

Vivace

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line has lyrics: "Wie be-ben wir die Sieder, horech, horech. noch stürzen fel-sen ab-das." The piano accompaniment includes dynamic markings like *pp*, *ppp*, *f*, and *ff*. There are also some handwritten notes above the piano part, possibly indicating fingerings or articulation.

Adagio

Handwritten musical score for the second system, marked *Adagio*. It features a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line has lyrics: "Zer-malme ist sein he-bathn,". The piano accompaniment includes dynamic markings like *p*, *pp*, and *ppp*. There are also some handwritten notes above the piano part.

Handwritten musical score for the third system. It features a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line has lyrics: "Ja, Liebste, ja be-dürftich bin dir sein, dem Sakend Haupt, die Hand, die angriffen trübet, und plötzliche". The piano accompaniment includes dynamic markings like *p* and *pp*.

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It features a vocal line in G-clef and piano accompaniment in F-clef. The lyrics are: "stark, und kreis um das - stark, bestimmt die Welt, die reise kre - fen". The piano part includes dynamic markings like *pp* and *f*.

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It features a vocal line in G-clef and piano accompaniment in F-clef. The lyrics are: "habe, Lehr mich dir nach zum Hilf, Leiden,". The piano part includes dynamic markings like *p* and *f*.

Handwritten musical score for the third system. It features a vocal line in G-clef and piano accompaniment in F-clef. The lyrics are: "Sehne Kunst ins Licht Er lebt nicht mehr er lebet nicht! Verdringung in ihrem". The piano part includes dynamic markings like *p* and *f*, and a section labeled "Della".

Moderato

Bl-icken ich muh sie bildbegucken
Sophia
Was tat ich

Ach, ich tod ke Zweifelroh, Vor sichte,
Verzweimungeligen, schone Weltend

Allergelico

den verlich am klagen. Schmerz zeug ke sie da ich im nicht ancho, da ich im nicht sehen sol
mech.
(Sie siner, es wird getbarich)

Handwritten musical score for a piano piece, featuring five staves with various notes and rests.

EXAMPLE 18: Die Kindes des Natur
(Act I - 'Freude, die mich umflößen')

Handwritten text: *Handwritten*

Handwritten musical score for 'Die Kindes des Natur' (Act I), featuring vocal parts (Soprano, Tenor, Bass) and piano accompaniment (Violin I, Violin II, Viola).

Freude, die mich umflößen strömt all- en Sel- ten her, Freude, die ich nie ge-

noß em, füllt mein Her- ze mehr und mehr, füllt mein Her- ze mehr und mehr.

EXAMPLE 19: Die Entführung aus dem Serail

(Act 2: "Welche Wonne, welche Lust")

(a)

Allegro scherzando

Musical score for the first system, featuring vocal line and piano accompaniment. The key signature has one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The vocal line includes the lyrics: "Wel che Wonne, wel- che Lust herrscht nun mehr in meiner Brust, welche". The piano accompaniment includes a bass line starting with a piano (p) dynamic.

Musical score for the second system, continuing the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line includes the lyrics: "Wonne, wel- che Lust herrscht nun mehr in mei-ner Brust". The piano accompaniment continues with various chords and rhythmic patterns.

(b)

freund' und du - - - bei pro - - - ple - zehin, freund' und du - - - bei?

pro - ple - zehin,

EXAMPLE 20 · Die pinnefarbenen Schuhe

(Acht - 'Köpfe, du warst, ich dankte')

Adagio

Oboe
Fagott
Clarinet A
Violin I
Violin II
Viola
Cello
Bassoon
Bass

Kof- fe, du warst, ich

Oboe
Fagott
Clarinet A
Violin I
Violin II
Viola
Cello
Bassoon
Bass

den- ke, das herr-liche ge-kränke, das herr-liche ge-kränke das

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It includes a vocal line with lyrics and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "So - thu in das Holz, ja Ver - taug wer Kör -". Performance markings include *usc*, *usc*, *usc*, and *p*.

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It continues the vocal and piano parts. The lyrics are: "Kof - tee man kann sichs merken, hilft da schacht - nis". Performance markings include *p* and *simile*.

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of six staves. The top two staves are for vocal parts (Soprano and Alto/Tenors). The next three staves are for piano accompaniment (Right Hand, Left Hand, and Bass). The bottom staff is a separate piano accompaniment line. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are: "stär-ken, nur nur der Kopf zu weh, so nehme ich nur Kaf-fee gut". Performance markings include *usc*, *p*, and *usc*.

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It consists of six staves, continuing the vocal and piano parts from the first system. The lyrics are: "nur der Kopf zu weh, so nehme ich nur Kaf-fee ge-". Performance markings include *usc*, *p*, *pp*, and *usc*.

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It features a vocal line with German lyrics and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "sich umhüllte es hüllte es hüllte zu ell. es len und ist die hüllte, er hüllte für ell. es len und ist die". The score includes a treble clef, a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#), and a common time signature. The piano part consists of a right-hand melody and a left-hand bass line.

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It features a vocal line with German lyrics and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "bes - te, die bes te Arz - e nen und ist die bes - te, die bes - te, die bes te Arz - e - ner und ist die bes - te, die". The score includes a treble clef, a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#), and a common time signature. The piano part consists of a right-hand melody and a left-hand bass line.

Allegro

Musical score for the first system, featuring vocal lines and piano accompaniment. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 2/4 time. The tempo is marked "Allegro". The vocal lines are in the upper staves, and the piano accompaniment is in the lower staves. The lyrics are:

bes-te Ar-bei-ten
 bes-te Ar-bei-ten
 Man kann die Stil-len wie Kof-fee

Musical score for the second system, continuing the vocal and piano parts. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 2/4 time. The vocal lines are in the upper staves, and the piano accompaniment is in the lower staves. The lyrics are:

Stil-len, Kof-fee macht Muth,
 Kof-fee macht Muth,
 Kof-fee macht

Er hilft für Lummies

Stark
Kaffee macht stark

p *f* *fp*

Detailed description: This system contains the first six measures of the piece. It features a vocal line in the upper staff and piano accompaniment in the lower staves. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#). The vocal line begins with a rest, followed by the lyrics 'Er hilft für Lummies'. The piano accompaniment includes dynamic markings *p*, *f*, and *fp*. The lyrics 'Stark' and 'Kaffee macht stark' are written below the piano part.

er giebt den Schlemmer, er hilft das Blut, er hilft das Blut

p *fp*

Detailed description: This system contains the next six measures. The vocal line continues with the lyrics 'er giebt den Schlemmer, er hilft das Blut, er hilft das Blut'. The piano accompaniment features dynamic markings *p* and *fp*. The musical notation includes various note values and rests, with some notes beamed together.

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It includes a vocal line with lyrics and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "er hebt das Blut, er hebt das Blut. Die Die".

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It includes a vocal line with lyrics and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "Schwimmt zu ver-krüben läßt euch Koffee ver-schreiben, läßt euch Koffee verschreiben, Die Die".

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of five staves. The top two staves are vocal lines (Soprano and Alto/Tenors) with lyrics in German. The bottom three staves are piano accompaniment. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are: "Schwermüth zu ver-kriehen, Die Schwermüth zu ver- / Schwermüth zu ver-kriehen, Die Schwermüth zu ver-". There are dynamic markings like *p* and *pp* and some performance instructions like *7* and *7*.

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It consists of five staves. The top two staves are vocal lines with lyrics in German. The bottom three staves are piano accompaniment. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are: "hülfe für all - - e - ren, ist wech - - re Art - - e - / hülfe für all - - e - ren, ist wech - - re Art - - e". There are dynamic markings like *p* and *pp* and some performance instructions like *7* and *7*.

Handwritten musical score for guitar on page 286. The score consists of seven staves. The first six staves are grouped together with a brace on the left. The first staff is a treble clef with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). The second staff is a bass clef with a key signature of two sharps. The third staff is a treble clef with a key signature of two sharps. The fourth staff is a treble clef with a key signature of two sharps. The fifth staff is a treble clef with a key signature of two sharps. The sixth staff is a treble clef with a key signature of two sharps. The seventh staff is a bass clef with a key signature of two sharps. The music is written in a system of three measures. The first measure contains a whole note chord in the first staff, a half note chord in the second staff, a quarter note chord in the third staff, a quarter note chord in the fourth staff, a quarter note chord in the fifth staff, and a quarter note chord in the sixth staff. The second measure contains a whole note chord in the first staff, a half note chord in the second staff, a quarter note chord in the third staff, a quarter note chord in the fourth staff, a quarter note chord in the fifth staff, and a quarter note chord in the sixth staff. The third measure contains a whole note chord in the first staff, a half note chord in the second staff, a quarter note chord in the third staff, a quarter note chord in the fourth staff, a quarter note chord in the fifth staff, and a quarter note chord in the sixth staff. The score is handwritten and includes various musical notations such as clefs, key signatures, and note values.

EXAMPLE 21 Die Besagknappen (Alles Schmutz ist nun verschwinden)

(a)

Modero

Musical score for Example 21(a) in 3/4 time, Modero. The score includes parts for Chorus, Flutes, Clarinet, Violins, Viola, and Bass. The music features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. Dynamics include *f* (forte) and *p* (piano). The Flute part has a *f* marking and the word *Tutti* below it. The Bass part has a *p* marking. The Violin and Viola parts have *f* markings.

Musical score for Example 21(b) in 3/4 time, Allegro moderato. The score includes parts for Flute, Chorus, Clarinet, Violins, Viola, and Bass. The music features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. Dynamics include *p* (piano) and *f* (forte). The Flute part has a *sol* marking. The Bass part has a *p* marking. The Violin and Viola parts have *f* markings.

(b) Die verschiedenfarbigen Schuhe

Allegro moderato

Musical score for Example 21(b) in 3/4 time, Allegro moderato. The score includes parts for Flute, Chorus, Clarinet, Violins, Viola, and Bass. The music features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. Dynamics include *p* (piano) and *f* (forte). The Flute part has a *sol* marking. The Bass part has a *p* marking. The Violin and Viola parts have *f* markings.

* This number is also scored for Trombones in D, Timpani and Bassoon; none of which feature in this exercise

(c) Der blaue Schmetterling

Tempo di scherzetto

EXAMPLE 22 Die Entführung aus dem Serail
 (Act I - 'Hier soll ich dich denn sehen')

Andante

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Bassoon

Cello

Hier soll ich dich denn sehen, Konstante! dich mein Glück

Andante

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Bassoon

Cello

O wie angstlich O wie feurig

EXAMPLE 24: Der blaue Schmetterling
(Act 3 - 'Der Sultan war die Jütki')

Andantino

The musical score is written for five instruments: Flauto solo, Violini I, Violini II, Viola, and Bassi. The tempo is marked 'Andantino' and the time signature is 3/4. The Flauto solo part begins with a piano (p) dynamic and features a melodic line with grace notes. The Violini I and II parts provide harmonic support with chords and moving lines. The Viola part has a lower register accompaniment. The Jago part includes the vocal line with lyrics in German: 'Ein sanfter Ken und Ek - kes nähme Gold für Hanschen'. The Bassi part provides a rhythmic accompaniment with a pizzicato (pizz) marking.

Flauto solo
Violini I
Violini 2
Viola
Jago
Bassi

Ein sanfter Ken und Ek - kes nähme Gold für Hanschen

pizz

EXAMPLE 23 · Das kleine Schmetterling
(Act 3 - Sinfonia)

forte

Flauto I

Flauto II

Clarineti I & II

Fagotti I & II

Violini I

Violini II

Viola

Bassi

Handwritten musical score for a piano piece, measures 1-4. The score is written on ten staves. The first two staves are treble clef, the third is bass clef, and the remaining five are grand staff (treble and bass clefs). Measure 1 shows a treble clef with a whole rest, a bass clef with a whole rest, and a grand staff with a whole note chord (F4, A4, C5). Measure 2 shows a treble clef with a whole rest, a bass clef with a whole rest, and a grand staff with a whole note chord (F4, A4, C5). Measure 3 shows a treble clef with a whole rest, a bass clef with a whole rest, and a grand staff with a whole note chord (F4, A4, C5). Measure 4 shows a treble clef with a whole rest, a bass clef with a whole rest, and a grand staff with a whole note chord (F4, A4, C5). There are some handwritten annotations and corrections in the score.

Handwritten musical score for a piano piece, measures 5-6. The score is written on ten staves. The first two staves are treble clef, the third is bass clef, and the remaining five are grand staff (treble and bass clefs). Measure 5 shows a treble clef with a whole rest, a bass clef with a whole rest, and a grand staff with a whole note chord (F4, A4, C5). Measure 6 shows a treble clef with a whole rest, a bass clef with a whole rest, and a grand staff with a whole note chord (F4, A4, C5). There are some handwritten annotations and corrections in the score.

EXAMPLE 25. Die Besatzknapen ('Verpötte nicht dies
Traumgeschichte')

Allegro

Soprano
Flöte
Klarinetten in B
Violine I
Violine II
Viola
Cello
Bass

Verpötte nicht dies Traumgeschichte

Allegro

Flöte
Klarinetten in B
Violine I
Violine II
Viola
Cello
Bass

Traumgeschichte Du mußt den Willen des Geistes erfüllen Du

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of five staves. The top two staves are for the vocal line (Soprano and Alto). The bottom three staves are for the piano accompaniment (Right Hand and Left Hand). The music is in a minor key and 4/4 time. The lyrics are written below the vocal line.

mit den mit den wil-ken das sei... stes er-fül-ken Du mit den mit den

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It consists of five staves. The top two staves are for the vocal line (Soprano and Alto). The bottom three staves are for the piano accompaniment (Right Hand and Left Hand). The music continues from the first system. The lyrics are written below the vocal line.

wil-ken, den wil-ken der geistes er-fül-ken, der schrecklich, das schrecklich, das

Handwritten musical score for the first system, featuring five staves. The notation includes treble and bass clefs, a key signature of two flats, and a 2/2 time signature. The music consists of several measures with various rhythmic values and articulation marks. The lyrics "schuck - dich dir druck" are written below the bottom staff.

schuck - dich dir druck

Handwritten musical score for the second system, featuring five staves. The notation includes treble and bass clefs, a key signature of two flats, and a 2/2 time signature. The music consists of several measures with various rhythmic values and articulation marks. The lyrics "Be - glükke mit Freude, be glükke mit Freude die Lie - - - bendern" are written below the bottom staff.

Be - glükke mit Freude, be glükke mit Freude die Lie - - - bendern

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of six staves. The top staff is a vocal line in G major, 4/4 time, with lyrics "du". The second staff is a piano accompaniment. The third and fourth staves are a lower instrumental part, possibly for a cello or double bass. The fifth and sixth staves are a lower instrumental part, possibly for a double bass. The score is written in ink on aged paper.

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It consists of six staves. The top staff is a vocal line in G major, 4/4 time, with lyrics "muße den Willen des Geistes erfüllen, du siehst dich der". The second staff is a piano accompaniment. The third and fourth staves are a lower instrumental part, possibly for a cello or double bass. The fifth and sixth staves are a lower instrumental part, possibly for a double bass. The score is written in ink on aged paper.

drohst, das schrecklich dir droht

Republikation

EXAMPLE 26 Was erhält die Mannes kreuz?

(Acc. - Musik von Jageshörner hinter dem Theater.)

Example in A

piu forte

EXAMPLE 27 Die Bergknappen ('Musik von Bergleuten') 299

Allegro

Oboe 1
Oboe 2
Bassoon 1
Bassoon 2
Horn 1
Horn 2

This system contains the first six staves of the score. The tempo is marked 'Allegro'. The instruments are Oboe 1, Oboe 2, Bassoon 1, Bassoon 2, Horn 1, and Horn 2. The music is in 3/4 time and begins with a piano (p) dynamic. The notation includes various note values, rests, and articulation marks.

Oboe
Bassoon
Horn

This system contains the next three staves of the score. The instruments are Oboe, Bassoon, and Horn. The music continues with similar notation and dynamics.

Oboe
Bassoon
Horn

This system contains the next three staves of the score. The instruments are Oboe, Bassoon, and Horn. The music continues with similar notation and dynamics.

Oboe
Bassoon
Horn

This system contains the next three staves of the score. The instruments are Oboe, Bassoon, and Horn. The music continues with similar notation and dynamics.

Oboe
Bassoon
Horn

This system contains the next three staves of the score. The instruments are Oboe, Bassoon, and Horn. The music continues with similar notation and dynamics.

Oboe
Bassoon
Horn

This system contains the final three staves of the score. The instruments are Oboe, Bassoon, and Horn. The music concludes with similar notation and dynamics.

EXAMPLE 28 Die Kinder der Natur (Overtüre)

Allegro non troppo

Handwritten musical score for the first system, featuring a woodwind section and strings. The woodwinds include Flauto (Flute), Oboe, and Cori in C (Cor Anglais). The strings include Violini (Violins), Violone (Viola), Viola, and Bassi (Basses). The key signature is D major (two sharps) and the time signature is common time (C). The Flute part is marked 'solo' and begins with a dynamic of *pp*. The Oboe part starts with a dynamic of *pp*. The strings enter in the third measure with a dynamic of *f*.

Handwritten musical score for the second system, continuing the woodwind and string parts. The woodwinds (Flute, Oboe, Cor Anglais) play sustained notes. The strings continue their accompaniment, with dynamics ranging from *f* to *pp*.

Handwritten musical score for the third system, primarily featuring the string section. The Violini, Violone, Viola, and Bassi parts are clearly visible, showing a rhythmic accompaniment with dynamics such as *f* and *pp*.

Musical score system 1, measures 1-5. The system consists of six staves. The top two staves are vocal parts with lyrics. The bottom four staves are piano accompaniment. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#). Dynamics include *p* and *f*. The system ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

Musical score system 2, measures 6-10. The system consists of six staves. The top two staves are vocal parts with lyrics. The bottom four staves are piano accompaniment. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#). Dynamics include *p*. The system ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

Musical score system 3, measures 11-15. The system consists of six staves. The top two staves are vocal parts with lyrics. The bottom four staves are piano accompaniment. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#). Dynamics include *mf*, *f*, and *ff*. The system ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

The first system of the musical score consists of six staves. The top two staves are in treble clef with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). The bottom four staves are in bass clef with the same key signature. The music features a variety of note values, including quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, as well as rests. There are several dynamic markings, including 'p' (piano) and 'f' (forte), and some phrasing slurs. The system concludes with a double bar line.

The second system of the musical score consists of six staves. The top two staves are in treble clef with a key signature of two sharps. The bottom four staves are in bass clef with the same key signature. This system continues the musical composition with similar note values and dynamics as the first system. It includes phrasing slurs and concludes with a double bar line.

The third system of the musical score consists of six staves. The top two staves are in treble clef with a key signature of two sharps. The bottom four staves are in bass clef with the same key signature. This system features more complex rhythmic patterns, including sixteenth-note runs and rests. It includes dynamic markings like 'p' and 'f' and concludes with a double bar line.

Andantino

Handwritten musical score for a piece titled "Andantino". The score consists of six staves. The top two staves are in treble clef, and the bottom four staves are in bass clef. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#). The music is written in a handwritten style with various notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as "p" and "f". The piece concludes with a double bar line and a final chord.

EXAMPLE 29: Was macht die Wärme bei?
(overture)

Adagio maestoso

Musical score for the Adagio maestoso section, measures 1-4. The score is for a full orchestra and includes parts for Oboe, Fagotti (Bassoons), Corni in D (Trumpets), Violino I (Violin I), Violino II (Violin II), Viola, and Bassi (Basses). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). The music features a slow, grand tempo with various dynamics such as *f* (forte) and *sfz* (sforzando).

Allegro

Musical score for the Allegro section, measures 5-8. The score continues with the same orchestral parts as the previous section. The tempo changes to Allegro, indicated by the marking above the staff. The music becomes more rhythmic and energetic, with dynamic markings like *f* and *sfz*.

Musical score for the Allegro section, measures 9-12. This section continues the rhythmic and energetic character of the previous measures, with complex textures in the strings and woodwinds. Dynamic markings such as *f* and *sfz* are used throughout.

Handwritten musical score system 1, consisting of five staves. The top two staves are vocal lines with lyrics. The bottom three staves are piano accompaniment. The music is in a key with one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. The system contains 12 measures.

Handwritten musical score system 2, consisting of five staves. The top two staves are vocal lines with lyrics. The bottom three staves are piano accompaniment. The system contains 12 measures.

Handwritten musical score system 3, consisting of five staves. The top two staves are vocal lines with lyrics. The bottom three staves are piano accompaniment. The system contains 12 measures.

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of five staves. The top two staves appear to be vocal parts, with notes and rests. The bottom three staves are for piano accompaniment, featuring chords and melodic lines. Dynamic markings include 'cresc.' (crescendo) and 'f' (forte). The notation is in a key with one sharp (F#) and a common time signature.

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It consists of five staves. The notation is dense, with many notes and rests. Dynamic markings include 'f' (forte) and 'p' (piano). The piano accompaniment features complex chordal textures and melodic patterns. The system concludes with a double bar line.

Handwritten musical score for the third system. It consists of five staves. The notation continues the themes from the previous systems. Dynamic markings include 'f' (forte), 'p' (piano), and 'dol.' (dolce). The piano accompaniment features intricate chordal work and melodic lines. The system concludes with a double bar line.

Handwritten musical score for the first system, featuring five staves. The notation includes notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as *f* and *sfz*. A double bar line is present in the second measure. A handwritten annotation *sfz* is written above the piano staff in the third measure, with a bracket indicating a specific passage.

Handwritten musical score for the second system, featuring five staves. The notation includes notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as *sfz* and *pp*. A double bar line is present in the second measure.

Handwritten musical score for the third system, featuring five staves. The notation includes notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as *f* and *pp*. A double bar line is present in the second measure.

The first system of the musical score consists of five staves. The top two staves are vocal parts, with the upper staff containing a melodic line and the lower staff providing a harmonic accompaniment. The bottom three staves are for piano accompaniment, featuring a complex texture with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. Dynamic markings such as *p* and *f* are present throughout the system.

The second system of the musical score continues the composition. It maintains the same five-staff structure. The piano part shows a significant increase in rhythmic activity, with dense passages of sixteenth notes. The vocal lines continue with their respective parts. The system concludes with a *f* dynamic marking.

The third system of the musical score features a more sparse texture. The piano accompaniment is reduced to a few chords and simple rhythmic patterns, while the vocal lines continue. The system ends with a *f* dynamic marking.

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of five staves. The top staff is a piano part in treble clef, starting with a *pp* dynamic marking. The second staff is a violin part in treble clef. The third staff is a piano part in bass clef. The fourth and fifth staves are a double bass part in bass clef. The system contains 12 measures of music.

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It consists of five staves. The top staff is a piano part in treble clef, starting with a *p* dynamic marking. The second staff is a violin part in treble clef. The third staff is a piano part in bass clef. The fourth and fifth staves are a double bass part in bass clef. The system contains 12 measures of music.

Handwritten musical score for the third system. It consists of five staves. The top staff is a piano part in treble clef, starting with a *f* dynamic marking. The second staff is a violin part in treble clef. The third staff is a piano part in bass clef. The fourth and fifth staves are a double bass part in bass clef. The system contains 12 measures of music.

The first system of the musical score consists of six staves. The top two staves are vocal parts, with the upper staff in treble clef and the lower staff in bass clef. The bottom four staves are for piano accompaniment, including a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) and two additional staves. The music is in a key with two sharps (F# and C#) and a 4/4 time signature. It features various dynamics such as *f* (forte) and *fz* (forzando), and includes phrasing slurs and accents.

The second system of the musical score consists of six staves, continuing the composition from the first system. It maintains the same instrumental and vocal parts. The piano accompaniment shows more complex rhythmic patterns and dynamic markings like *p* (piano) and *f* (forte). The system concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots.

The third system of the musical score consists of six staves, continuing the composition. This system includes dynamic markings such as *mf* (mezzo-forte) and *f* (forte). It features a variety of note values and rests, with some notes marked with accents. The system ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

Handwritten musical score system 1, consisting of six staves. The top two staves (Soprano and Alto) contain vocal lines with lyrics. The bottom four staves (Tenor, Violin, Viola, and Cello/Double Bass) contain instrumental accompaniment. The music is in a key with two sharps (F# and C#) and a common time signature. The system concludes with a double bar line and fermatas on the vocal lines.

Handwritten musical score system 2, consisting of six staves. The top two staves contain vocal lines with lyrics, marked with *dol* (dolce). The bottom four staves contain instrumental accompaniment. The system concludes with a double bar line and fermatas on the vocal lines.

Handwritten musical score system 3, consisting of six staves. The top two staves contain vocal lines with lyrics, marked with *al* (allegro) and *f* (forte). The bottom four staves contain instrumental accompaniment. The system concludes with a double bar line and fermatas on the vocal lines.

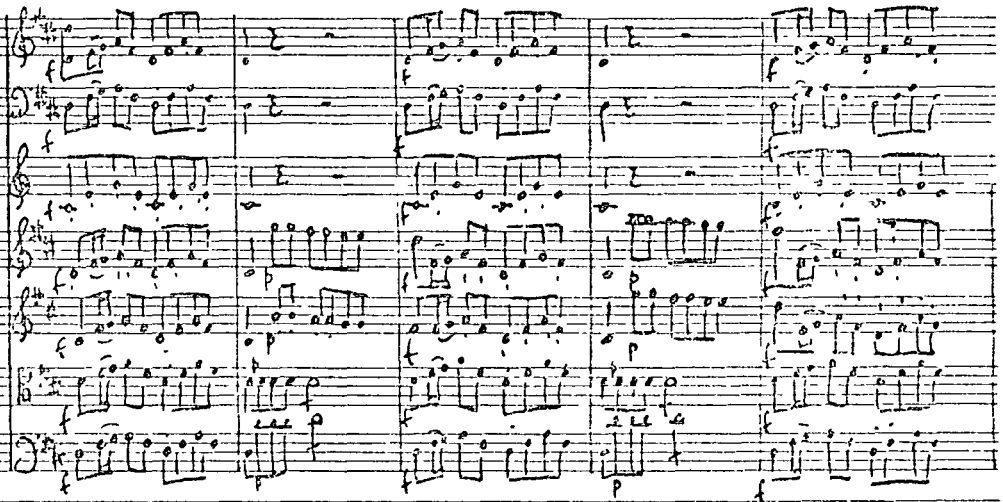
Handwritten musical score system 1, consisting of five staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The second staff is a piano accompaniment. The third staff is a violin part with many slurs and accents. The fourth staff is a viola part. The fifth staff is a cello/bass part. Dynamics include *p*, *f*, and *sf*. A *rit.* marking is present at the end of the system.

Handwritten musical score system 2, consisting of five staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The second staff is a piano accompaniment. The third staff is a violin part. The fourth staff is a viola part. The fifth staff is a cello/bass part. Dynamics include *p*, *f*, and *sf*. A *rit.* marking is present at the end of the system.

Handwritten musical score system 3, consisting of five staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The second staff is a piano accompaniment. The third staff is a violin part. The fourth staff is a viola part. The fifth staff is a cello/bass part. Dynamics include *f*, *p*, and *sf*. A *rit.* marking is present at the end of the system.



Handwritten musical score system 1, consisting of five staves. The notation includes treble and bass clefs, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 4/4 time signature. The music features a variety of note values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. Dynamic markings such as *f* (forte) and *p* (piano) are present. The system concludes with a double bar line.



Handwritten musical score system 2, consisting of five staves. The notation continues from the previous system, featuring similar rhythmic patterns and dynamic markings. The system concludes with a double bar line.



Handwritten musical score system 3, consisting of five staves. This system shows a change in the musical texture, with more complex rhythmic figures and some rests in the upper staves. The notation includes various note values and rests, with dynamic markings like *p* (piano) and *f* (forte). The system concludes with a double bar line.

Musical score system 1, featuring six staves with various musical notations including notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as *f* and *p*.

Musical score system 2, featuring six staves with various musical notations including notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as *f*, *p*, and *cresc.*

Musical score system 3, featuring six staves with various musical notations including notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as *f*, *p*, and *cresc.*. The system includes tempo markings: *Adagio* and *Andante grazioso*.

The first system of the musical score consists of six staves. The top staff is a vocal line in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 7/8 time signature. It features a melodic line with various ornaments and dynamics, including a forte (f) marking and an *al* (allegro) tempo marking. The second staff is a bass line in bass clef. The third and fourth staves are a grand piano (G-clef and F-clef) accompaniment, showing a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The fifth and sixth staves are for other instruments, possibly woodwinds or strings, with similar rhythmic complexity.

The second system of the musical score continues the composition across six staves. The vocal line in the top staff has a dynamic marking of *f* and includes a slur over a group of notes. The piano accompaniment in the third and fourth staves maintains its intricate rhythmic texture. The bottom two staves show further instrumental development with various note values and rests.

The third system of the musical score spans six staves. The vocal line in the top staff begins with a dynamic marking of *p* (piano) and features a slur. The piano accompaniment in the third and fourth staves continues with its characteristic rhythmic density. The bottom two staves provide harmonic support with various chordal structures and melodic fragments.

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of six staves. The top two staves are for piano (treble and bass clefs), and the bottom four staves are for bass (treble and bass clefs). The music includes various notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as *mf* and *f*. A *p* marking is visible at the end of the system.

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It features piano accompaniment on the left and vocal lines on the right. The piano part includes dynamic markings like *f* and *mf*. The vocal lines are marked with *soHo voce* and include lyrics written below the notes. A *Longhato* marking is present above the piano part. The system concludes with a *Longhato* marking below the piano part.

Handwritten musical score for the third system, primarily consisting of vocal lines. The piano accompaniment is minimal, with some notes visible in the lower staves. The vocal lines are marked with *soHo voce* and include lyrics. The system concludes with a *soHo voce* marking.

Handwritten musical score system 1, consisting of five staves. The top two staves are empty. The bottom three staves contain musical notation. The first staff of the system is in treble clef with a key signature of two flats and a 4/4 time signature. It begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic and includes markings for *dal* and *dec.*. The second staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a 4/4 time signature, starting with a piano (*p*) dynamic and including a *dec.* marking. The third staff is in bass clef with a key signature of two flats and a 4/4 time signature, starting with a piano (*p*) dynamic and including a *dec.* marking. The fourth and fifth staves are in bass clef with a key signature of one flat and a 4/4 time signature, starting with a piano (*p*) dynamic and including a *dec.* marking.

Handwritten musical score system 2, consisting of five staves. The top two staves are empty. The bottom three staves contain musical notation. The first staff of the system is in treble clef with a key signature of two flats and a 4/4 time signature, starting with a forte (*f*) dynamic. The second staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a 4/4 time signature, starting with a forte (*f*) dynamic and including markings for *ritto voce* and *ritto voce*. The third staff is in bass clef with a key signature of two flats and a 4/4 time signature, starting with a forte (*f*) dynamic and including markings for *ritto voce* and *ritto voce*. The fourth and fifth staves are in bass clef with a key signature of one flat and a 4/4 time signature, starting with a forte (*f*) dynamic and including markings for *ritto voce* and *ritto voce*.

Handwritten musical score system 3, consisting of five staves. The top two staves are empty. The bottom three staves contain musical notation. The first staff of the system is in treble clef with a key signature of two flats and a 4/4 time signature, starting with a forte (*f*) dynamic. The second staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a 4/4 time signature, starting with a forte (*f*) dynamic. The third staff is in bass clef with a key signature of two flats and a 4/4 time signature, starting with a forte (*f*) dynamic. The fourth and fifth staves are in bass clef with a key signature of one flat and a 4/4 time signature, starting with a forte (*f*) dynamic.

EXAMPLE 30 Die Entführung aus dem Serail (Act I - 'Solche hergelaufne Kaffen')

Allegro con brio

Oper
 Corni
 Violini I
 Violini II
 Viola
 Oboen
 Bassi

Sol - che her - ge - lan - ge - na - ha -

Violoncelli
 Kontrabaß

fer - die nur nach - druck - sen ge - fen, mag ich

Violoncelli
 Kontrabaß

von den Tau - tel nicht, mag ich von den Tau fel nicht.

EXAMPLE 31 - Das blaue Schmetterling (Overture)

(Flauti, oboi, fagotti e corni naturali)

(a) Allegro molto

Musical score for Example 31 (a), marked "Allegro molto". The score is for a woodwind section and includes parts for Flute I, Flute II, Oboe, Bassoon, and Bassoon/Double Bass. The key signature is one flat (B-flat major/D minor) and the time signature is 3/4. The score consists of six measures. The Flute I part features a melodic line with slurs and accents. The Oboe part has a simple harmonic accompaniment. The Bassoon and Bassoon/Double Bass parts play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Bass part has a steady eighth-note accompaniment.

Continuation of the musical score for Example 31 (a). This section shows the continuation of the woodwind parts from the previous system, maintaining the same key signature and time signature. The Flute I part continues its melodic line, while the other instruments provide harmonic support.

(b)

Musical score for Example 31 (b), marked "al". The score is for a full woodwind section and includes parts for Flute I, Flute II, Oboe, Bassoon, Bassoon/Double Bass, Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Cello/Double Bass. The key signature is one flat and the time signature is 3/4. The score consists of six measures. The Flute I and Flute II parts have melodic lines with slurs and accents. The Oboe part has a simple harmonic accompaniment. The Bassoon and Bassoon/Double Bass parts play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Violin I and Violin II parts play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Viola and Cello/Double Bass parts play a steady eighth-note accompaniment.

A handwritten musical score for a multi-staff piece, likely a piano or organ work. The score is written on a system of seven staves. The top two staves are in treble clef, and the bottom two are in bass clef. The middle staves contain chords and bass lines. The notation includes various note values (quarter, eighth, sixteenth notes), rests, and dynamic markings such as *f* (forte) and *p* (piano). The piece concludes with a double bar line and a final cadence. The handwriting is clear and professional.

EXAMPLE 32 Die pürafwönen Schuhe
(frei - Das heißt geschwimmt)

Clarinet

Bassoon

Oboe

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Michael

Das heißt geschwimmt! das heißt geschwimmt die liebe lang-Nacht, mit Tänzen hingbracht, das

Bass

Clarinet

Bassoon

Oboe

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Michael

liebe lang-Nacht mit Tänzen hingbracht, mit Tänzen hingbracht

Bass

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