Volume II.

The Viennese vogue for opéra-comique 1790–1819

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CHAPTER V

A study of contemporary performance material
I. Research Method

A. Finding extant performance material

Since the publication of Hadamowsky's catalogues, researchers outside Austria have been made aware of the wealth of material: manuscript scores, printed texts and manuscript textbooks, which were used by performers, censors, prompters or other members of the theatre staff in connection with eighteenth and nineteenth century opera productions at the Viennese court theatres. Once part of the court library, they are now mostly housed in the Musiksammlung of the Nationalbibliothek; a few textbooks have become part of the collection in the Theatersammlung.

Although Hadamowsky's catalogue contains a few slips (the class mark which he gives for a manuscript score of Isouard's Aschenbrödl (Cendrillon) is discovered, on examination, to be a German score for Rossini's opera of the same name), it is more accurate than the card catalogue in the Musiksammlung. This, for example, still lists a manuscript German score for Spontini's Fernand Cortez, which was first registered as lost in an inventory taken in 1918 and which Hadamowsky duly omits. Attempts to study performance material for a particular production can, in spite of good published catalogues, still be frustrating and time-consuming.

1. Franz Hadamowsky, Die Wiener Hoftheater (Staatstheater), part 1, 1776-1810 (Vienna, 1966), and part 2, Die Wiener Hofoper (Staatsoper) 1811-1974 (Vienna, 1975).
In 1978 (changes may have been made since), the Musiksammlung found it necessary to limit the number of volumes which could be ordered or held on reserve. Manuscript scores and texts had to be ordered a day in advance. A researcher intent on investigating how opéras-comiques were performed in Vienna might be eyed with faint suspicion in the Musiksammlung as he sat surrounded by three or four large volumes of manuscript scores of one opera, a bundle of hand-written textbooks, a German printed text and French score and text. Comparing two different Viennese productions of the same French opera required double the amount of material -- and special dispensation from the librarians. Sometimes, an all-important French opera score was not owned by the Musiksammlung or no published German texts remained from a production. Then, deciphering a sketchy German score from which pages of text might be missing, and which was not clearly divided into acts or scenes, became bewildering.

Manuscript opera scores used at the court theatres between 1790 and 1819 bear the class mark KT or Kth, followed by a number. Scores are numbered alphabetically, so that operas whose titles begin with an early letter have smaller numbers than the latter half of the alphabet. After 1810, performance of opera at court theatres was restricted to the Kärntnerthortheater; the Burgtheater became the stage for spoken drama. Hence the KT class mark for all operas, even though they may have been performed at the Burgtheater before 1810.
The manuscript scores of some later French operas which were produced in Vienna (in German translation), bear the class mark OA, which stands for Opern Archiv. Scores with this designation usually date from productions in or after the middle of the nineteenth century; occasionally they refer to earlier productions which enjoyed an exceptionally long run.

The more a score was used, the more difficult it is now to decipher the different layers of alteration and decide how a work was given at any particular date. Some of the operas about which one would most like to know details of Viennese productions, have scores which are now almost illegible because of their popularity and success. An aria might be struck out, for example, yet still have detailed comments, performance directions (such as a director may add in rehearsal) and well-worn corners, to suggest that the pages were well-used. Such a number might merely have been omitted during the guest appearance of one particular singer.

Parts of a score habitually omitted in a performance were usually sewn together at the corners of the pages with tough linen thread.\(^1\) The usual method of indicating alterations in textbooks was by pasting a new passage over the old one, in which case it is not possible to read the earlier version. The German text of a French opera as used in performance would often contain substantial differences from the published translation -- being presumably altered in the course of rehearsal or production.

\(^1\) Permission may be granted by the librarians for this to be cut.
So far, mention has been made only of material remaining from productions at the court theatres. Performance scores and texts do remain from the other theatres, but their date and theatre are harder to identify with certainty.

Some performance material remains from productions of French operas at the suburban theatres. Scores from these theatres have not been assembled together into orderly collections like those from the court theatres. They may be found in the Stadtbibliothek, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde and the Musiksammlung. When one stumbles across a German version of an opéra-comique, hand-copied and bearing signs of having been used for performance, it may be difficult to state with certainty to which theatre it belonged. One such score, of Cherubini's *Lodoiska*, discussed below, is almost certainly the score used at the Theater an der Wien in 1802, for its text tallies with the German translation known to have been used for the production and it bears the initials TW on the cover.

It is likely that other hand-copied scores of French operas with German texts which bear this Musiksammlung classmark are Theater an der Wien scores. However, at one stage, the "TW" on this score of *Lodoiska* has been struck out and some parts of the music appear unused, which is confusing. In such cases one can only speculate: perhaps the score was borrowed by another theatre; perhaps it was used in conjunction with another score, in which case the evidence it gives about the

1. See p. 509.
1802 Theater an der Wien production is incomplete. Questions of use and ownership exist about many such scores which belong to collections not arranged as the archive of a particular theatre.

In all the Viennese libraries, there remains the possibility that what seems to be an early nineteenth century opéra-comique score used for productions at one of the main Viennese theatres, may have merely belonged to an individual, been used in performance by a group of amateurs or have belonged to a theatre outside Vienna. Many such scores are housed in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde.

Clues, such as dates of performance pencilled in the score; names of well-known singers from a particular theatre, the signature of a censor or theatre director, may sometimes help to identify a score and the theatre at which it was used. Comparison with a particular printed translation may sometimes help to identify a score and its theatre. The writer ordered a manuscript German score of Dalayrac's Renaud d'Ast at the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. The original owner of the score was not clear though it evidently originated from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. Inside it, however, a manuscript text book not recorded in the library catalogue bore a censor's stamp and date. Because this matched the score, it was possible to say with reasonable certainty that the score had been used for productions of the opera known to have taken place at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt during the 1790s.
Zweie Seiten aus einer Wiener Übersetzung eines opéra-comique:
Der Deserteur (by Monsigny), translated by Wilhelm Ehlers (see p 455). VMsm1g SM 32719.
B. The manuscripts

Manuscript scores of French operas containing the German translations to be used in Vienna and prepared by copyists are large and bulky. Generally, each act takes up one volume, which may be as much as three or four inches thick. The scores are bound between pasteboard and have a rough appearance because of the untrimmed edges of each page. These scores are about 18 inches long and ten inches high. They tend to be sketchy and sometimes give only the vocal line, violin part and bass line. Woodwind and brass parts for the different numbers are sometimes sewn into the end of each volume -- perhaps by the theatre librarian at the end of a production. It is possible that orchestral parts remain, which might give a clearer idea about instrumentation but such parts -- if indeed they are extant -- are uncatalogued and the writer did not have access to the stacks.

The hand-copied text books vary in shape and size but their average size is a broad oblong seven inches long and nine inches high. The texts published and sold by the theatres for the benefit of their audiences appeared in slender book form, a fraction of an inch thick, and about four inches long by six and three quarter inches tall.

C. Aims of this chapter

Much has already been said about the way in which French operas were changed for performance in Vienna.
Newspaper reports quoted above have hinted at the addition and omission of parts of the original score or at alterations in the plot. Factors governing the preparation of performance versions for Vienna have also been discussed: This chapter presents new evidence, from a study of the scores themselves, about the extent of alteration undergone by French operas. It also considers two other ways in which Viennese musicians were involved in the rearrangement of opéras-comiques: the resetting of French texts by Viennese composers, and the creation of parodies. The conclusion attempts to draw together and form conclusions about the different elements of Viennese opera adaptation.

Some of the information gathered from the study of performance material is presented in table-form. The tables compare the original French version of the opera (in the left-hand column) with one or more Viennese versions (in the right-hand columns). Where possible the opening words of vocal numbers are given in their German translation. Cuts, deletions and alterations in the Viennese versions are noted. Where there is no special comment about a particular number, the reader should assume that the Viennese version was substantially the same as the original French.

The choice of operas to be studied was determined partly by the availability of performance material and partly by the desire to cover works from a representative variety of periods and theatres. Some successful works like Jean de Paris and Cendrillon were examined but rejected because of the confusing extent of alteration in the heavily-used scores.

Some of the opéras-comiques discussed here are early works, first performed in Vienna in German during the time of the Nationaltheater; others are more weighty and significant works dating from the time of the French revolution. Rose et Colas by Monsigny was performed in Paris in 1764, given in Vienna in French in 1776, and then, in German translation, from 1778 until 1794. Le déserteur, which Monsigny wrote in 1769,
was performed in Vienna by a French troupe in 1775, produced in German in 1779, and revived in a new German version in 1813. Two operas by Grétry, Richard Coeur-de-lion and Raoul Barbe-bleue, show how later Viennese productions of an opera might differ from the première. The chapter also examines the performance material of three Dalayrac operas, three operas by Cherubini (which can be discussed only briefly, owing to the many alterations and uncertainties evident in the score); Le Sueur's La Caverne and a grand opera, Spontini's Fernand Cortez. The chapter concludes with a section about three resettings of French texts by Austrian composers, and, lastly a section describing a characteristically Viennese reaction to opéra-comique: the parody.

II. A study of performance material from Viennese opéra-comique productions

A. Monsigny's Rose et Colas

Rose et Colas had first been seen in Paris in March 1764; it was given in French in Vienna in January 1776, and, from May 1778, in German at the Nationalspiel, where it was performed 35 times until 1794. Performances of this Monsigny opera in Vienna date from the days of Maria Theresia but continued into the reign of Emperor Franz. The opera was also produced at the Theater an der Wien in 1804. Its revival at the court theatres in 1813 is discussed below.

1. Several opéras-comiques by Spontini reached Vienna. Interesting information came to light about the Viennese production of Fernand Cortez in 1818. Although it is not an opéra-comique the decision was made to include Fernand in this section because of what it shows about Viennese productions of French operas.

2. Maria Theresia's daughter Marie-Antoinette had taken part in a performance of this opera at the Petit Trianon in 1780.
Rose et Colas tells of the attempt of two young people to marry against their fathers' wishes. Mathurin, Rose's father, and Pierre Le Roux, Colas's father, are farmers and close friends; their wives are dead and they each have one child. Both parents are tightfisted and want to avoid the expense of a wedding and giving their children a start in married life. More important, they need their help at harvest time. After a long conversation, Pierre and Mathurin agree to allow marriage in the end, but to delay it until after the harvest. They agree not to let their children know of their intentions. Consequently, they pretend to have a bad quarrel and to make it difficult for Rose and Colas to see one another. This plotting is observed by a wise old woman of the village, La Mère Bobi. She can see the young people's love for one another and observes their attempts to outwit their fathers. Finally, she gathers together all four characters, announces that she is aware of everyone's deceit, and suggests that Rose and Colas be allowed to marry straight away, which they do.

La Mère Bobi is an interesting character, her speeches are full of wise sayings and proverbs. She is shrewd and mysterious and reminds one of J. J. Rousseau's Devin du village.
The performance material used for the study below dates from the 1778 production at the court theatres, and is the earliest opera adaptation to be studied in this chapter. It has been taken to serve as an example of how French operas were translated and performed at the Nationalsingspiel. In Paris, the opera had succeeded for its simplicity and sympathetic portrayal of peasants, for the natural and gently mocking tone of the dialogue, and for its theatrical effectiveness.¹

In Vienna, too, the opera's popularity must have been considerable for it was one of the few French operas to be performed at the court theatres during the 1790s.² The French score was published, Chez Hérissant, in the year of the opera's first performance (1764) and a copy was bought by the court theatres. The printed French score remains in the theatre's archives: inside is a Viennese poster advertising the 1778 Viennese production. The translation used for the 1778 production was almost certainly that by J. H. Faber from Frankfurt; the opera had already been performed in German in other parts of Germany: in Hamburg in 1770; in Mannheim and Frankfurt in 1771. German texts of the opera were printed in Vienna and could be bought from the Logenmeister.

¹ Berradin, p. 219.
² J. H. F. Müller and the Die Realzeitung both praised it - Michtner, p. 45.
1778 court theatres production: extant performance material:

Manuscript score in German entitled Röschen und Colas
Printed German textbook entitled Röschen und Colas, trans. J. H. Faber
printed Vienna: Logenmeister, 1778

Printed French score Rose et Colas
Paris: Chez Hérisson, 1764
(with an early (undated) poster stuck on inside cover)

Comparison of French and Viennese versions:

Note: In this and subsequent tables the reader should assume that numbers of the opera about which there is no special comment in the right-hand column are substantially the same as the original French (i.e., the left-hand column). See p. 435.2.

French score (1764) Ms Viennese score (1778)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overture</th>
<th>D-</th>
<th>D+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rose: &quot;Pauvre Colas&quot;</td>
<td>F major; amoroso dolce</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Mère Bobi: &quot;La sagesse est un trésor&quot;</td>
<td>Bb major; allegro ma non troppo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathurin: &quot;Sans chien et sans houlette&quot;</td>
<td>F major: allegro ma non troppo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pierre le Roux: &quot;Avez-vous connu Jeanette?&quot;</td>
<td>D major; allegretto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialogue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Röschen: &quot;Ach Colas Ach&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutter Anne: &quot;Ja die Tugend ist ein Schatz&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathias: &quot;Viel lieber an einem Fächer&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter: &quot;Kanntet ihr, sie denn nicht beyde&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

versions in Eb and Bb also included in score, but it was sung in D
dialogue
Mathurin: "Aux printempts (sic) naissent les fleurs"
A major; moderato

dialogue
Duet: Pierre & Mathurin: "Ah ah ah comme il y viendra"
D major; allegro ma non troppo

dialogue
Trio: Pierre le Roux, Rose
Mathurin
Fuga; C minor; presto
"Ils sont en courroux"

dialogue
Rose: "Demandez-moi pourquoi"
Bb major; †

dialogue
Colas: "C'est ici que Rose respire"
G major; amoroso; rondeau

dialogue
Duo: Rose & Colas: "M'aimes-tu?"
G major; amoroso
The German version of Rose et Colas performed in Vienna in 1778 had used the same orchestration as the original French version (2vln, vla, vc, ob, hn, fag, basso continuo). The manuscript German score which was probably used to direct this production (it bears pencil markings and rehearsal notes) was evidently copied straight from the French score. With a few exceptions, the translation follows the original French closely. Johann Böhm,
the original Peter Rotkopf in the Viennese production, was an experienced actor, singer and director, who before and after his period of employment at the court theaters directed a troupe himself. His wife played the part of the old woman. The intrigues, small income and lack of opportunity prompted them to leave Vienna. After their departure their rôles in Röschen und Colas were taken over by Herr Schmidt and Dlle Schindler.\(^1\) In 1781, Herr Schmidt was praised for his "gutes und schönes Spiel".\(^2\) Schindler on the other hand was a beginner. Both of these characters underwent changes in the opera as it was performed in Vienna: much of Peter Rotkopf's dialogue was omitted, depriving the opera of some witty repartee; and La mère Bobi, a somewhat enigmatic figure in the original, ninety-five years old, becomes Mutter Anne in the Viennese version. She talks more directly and less in abstractions and instead of sounding elusive and "as old as the hills" she has become peevish, cranky and middle-aged. The change of tessitura in her first aria must also have affected the characterisation of Mutter Anne. It is impossible to say at what stage in the production it was altered. Monsigny's aria for La mère Bobi, "La sagesse est un trésor" had been in Bb major with a range from middle C to top A. In Vienna this aria was written out in both

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1. As reported in the old poster inside the Musiksammlung score of Rose et Colas. Probably this is Anna Schindler whom Michtner describes as "eine Anfängerin mit hübscher Stimme". Michtner, p. 91.

Bb and Eb but actually performed in D, according to a note at the top of the page. It is difficult to imagine this aria sung a major third higher than written: it would take the top notes up to high C sharp and turn Mutter Anne into a character like the Queen of the Night unless the high parts were altered. Both Madame Böhm und Dlle Schindler were praised by contemporaries for their skill and musicianship.¹ It is to be expected that both could sing middle C easily and so the change of range for this aria seems almost inexplicable.

The new aria for Rose "Was soll ich thun" inserted to compensate for the omission of the C minor fuga and to express Rose's dismay over the argument between the two fathers, sits oddly among the French numbers; only 25 bars long, it is simple and Viennese in character. It is set to the text: "Was soll ich thun? Das Vaters Willen ist mir ein heiliges Verboth und doch kann ich ihn nicht erfüllen. O das ist eine wahre Noth".

¹ Michtner, p. 41, p. 45.
The translation of this opera, is, in most places, exact. Passages of dialogue are expanded so that what was a mere hint in the French is sometimes explained and enlarged in the German version. For example, the conversation between La Mère Bobi and Rose in scene xv is rendered in the 1778 textbook as follows:

La Mère Bobi
Ah! qu'on a bien de raison de dire que c'est la négligence des pères qui dérange les enfants (regardant la fille). À père négligent, enfant libertin; Et qui perd mère perd sagesse. J'ai vu que les pères conduisent les enfants, à présent ce sont les enfants qui conduisent les pères, aussi le ciel est offensé.

Mutter Anne
Zu meiner Zeit da war es ganz anders, da war noch Zucht und Ordnung und Respect für die Eltern. Da regierten die Väter ihre Kinder; jetzt sehen die Eltern durch die Finger, und lassen sich von ihren Kindern regieren. Ich war auch ein junges Mädchen, aber ein ehrbares züchtiges Mädchen. Ich war noch eine Unschoß mit 25 Jahren. Jetzt sind die Mädels kaum ... O der Schande über die wilde ... ausgelassene Jugend.

Similarly in scene ii

Rose: Bon, ne voilà-t-il pas la vieille Mère Bobi! qu'est-ce qu'elle demande? Qu'est-ce que vous regardez, la mère? La M: Rien, Rien ou est ton père? R: Je ne sçais pas, il est partout, et il est nulle part. La M: Il ferait mieux de se tenir chez lui.

If the character of Mutter Anne is slightly expanded, parts for Mathias and Peter were deleted; the most important musical change however is the omission of the climactic fuga, which has the effect of reducing the seriousness of the parent's quarrel and its effects on Rose and Colas. The most likely reason for its omission is that it was too difficult to perform though it might also not have been to Viennese musical taste because of its stern counterpoint. Taste, rather than performance considerations, was surely the reason for the omission of the 4-bar ritornelli in the final vaudeville. This cut made the final number shorter and more decisive.

B. Monsigny's: Le déserteur

No performance material from the days of the National-singspiel remains for Monsigny's opera Le déserteur. The opera had first been seen in Vienna in French during the 1771-1772 season. It was performed there in German by the visiting Wäser troupe in June 1776, on which occasion it was very badly received.¹ The new production which opened at the Burgtheater on 28 November 1779, however, was moderately successful with eight performances between 1779 and 1782 and repeats in 1786 and 1787. Le déserteur achieved more fame in France, England and Italy (the text was reset by several Italian composers) than in Germany.²

In the 1778 production, the part of Louise was taken by Aloisia Weber, Mozart's future sister-in-law. Herr Franz Josef Dauer played Alexis and is reported to have

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¹. Michtner, p. 76.
². There is no obvious reason why this should have been the case. Perhaps Germans did not like the military subject matter.
been a rather wooden actor despite his musicianship and conscientious work. For this production, a translation by Stephanie, one of the Burgtheater actors, was used. The opera was usually performed as part of a double or triple bill, followed by a ballet.

Le déserteur was revived in Vienna at the Kärntnerthortheater in 1813, by which time it was 44 years old. Considering the large number of opéras-comiques known to Austrian audiences by that time, it is difficult to know why the popular Kärntnerthortheater singer, Wilhelm Ehlers, should have translated this old work by Monsigny to make his début as a translator. Possibly Der Deserteur was hastily mounted on 24 November 1813 to fill an unexpected gap in the programme caused by the failure of Catel's opera Les Bayadères (which had opened on 14 October 1813). Der Deserteur, however, had even less success than Catel's opera. The production was reviewed in at least three papers.

The king is on his way to inspect the French troupes near the enemy lines. Alexis has served in the army for six years. He is a fine soldier and could be promoted to the rank of officer; Madame La Duchesse takes a personal interest in his career. In two weeks' time, however, Alexis' contract expires and he can be released. Alexis is engaged to be married to Louise and has often tried to see her while on duty. Confusion and near disaster ensues from the suggestion of Louise's father, Jean Louis, that they test Alexis by pretending that Louise has, in the meantime, married. They arrange for Jeanette, a young girl, to give Alexis these tidings and, for the sake of realism, have a mock wedding procession. Alexis is devastated by the news and wanders around in a daze until he is arrested by some soldiers on the grounds of desertion. He is imprisoned and informed that he

1. Michtner, p. 77.
2. TZ, 19 October 1813, pp. 487-489; Der Sammler, 19 October 1813, p. 668.
3. Der Sammler, 27 November, 1813, p. 756; TZ, 3 December 1813, p. 565; AMZ, 22 December 1813, report from Vienna.
has incurred the death penalty. Louise's family is horrified by this turn of events and there is a pathetic scene for Louise and Alexis in the prison. The situation is saved by Louise, who rushes to obtain an official pardon from the king and arrives, fainting, at Alexis' cell, just in time to prevent the execution.

The opera contains some amusing scenes between the jailer and other prisoners; there is a tender song of farewell between Alexis and Louise, but the most significant musical parts of the opera are the final scene of Act II with its C minor fugue "Oh ciel! quoi, tu vas mourir" for Jean Louis, Alexis and Louise, and the final scene of the opera, a long, continuous ensemble with many changes of pace and texture including recitative, aria and chorus which celebrates the issue of the king's pardon. The dramatic use of the drum in Act 3 scene iv shows Monsigny's awareness of the potential of the orchestra.

A score and published textbook remain from the 1779 production, and a manuscript textbook with a note that the music was "von Monsigny und verschiedenen andern beliebten meistern" remains from the 1813 production.

Sources consulted:


Comparison of the different Viennese versions of *Le déserteur*<sup>1</sup>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paris 1769</th>
<th>Vienna 1779</th>
<th>Vienna 1813</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Overture - D Major</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louise: &quot;Peut-on affleger ce qu'on aime?&quot; A major, andantino ₡</td>
<td>L.: &quot;Ein solches Herz zu kränken&quot; Louise's aria omitted; instead a scene for a chorus of soldiers about the oath of loyalty to the emperor and the satisfaction of doing one's duty.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jeanette: &quot;J'avais égaré mon fuseau,&quot; D major, allegro non tanto, 6/8</td>
<td>J: &quot;Mein Schäferstab war fort&quot; 2nd two stanzas of Hannchen's aria omitted</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dialogue</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexis: &quot;Ah je respire&quot; D major; allegro maestoso; C</td>
<td>A: &quot;Ach! welch Entzücken&quot; Rhythm altered in second half</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>short wedding march; D major, 2</td>
<td>short wedding march (? wedding march)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dialogue</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexis &amp; Jeanette: &quot;Serait-il vrai?&quot; F minor; allegro; ₡</td>
<td>A &amp; J: &quot;Das wäre wahr?&quot; duo omitted</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeanette: recit: &quot;Infidèle que t'ai-je fait?&quot; E minor; andante; C leading to E major air &quot;fuyons ce lieu que je déteste&quot; quintet with 3 soldiers; allegro; ₡</td>
<td>A: &quot;Ungtreue! -- was that ich dir&quot; this ensemble like all the music above pdf without cuts; in final quintet, some parts transposed up 8ve to avoid low Cs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>entr'acte; A major, ₡</td>
<td>entr'acte &quot;introduzione&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dialogue</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexis: &quot;Mourir n'est rien&quot; D minor; allegro non troppo; ₡</td>
<td>A: &quot;Der Tod ist nichts&quot; extra scene added here with the jailer Sprenger giving orders to three dragoons in prison. Prison has become a harsher place; Alexis' aria &quot;Der Tod ist nichts&quot; follows this scene</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 435 for an explanation of the layout of this and subsequent tables.
dialogue
Montauciel: "Je ne déserterais jamais." F major, allegro; 3.

dialogue
Alexis & Louise: "O ciel puis-je te voir?" G minor; allegro non tanto; C

dialogue
Louise: "Dans quel trouble te plonge ce que je te dis-là?" A major; amoroso 3/4

dialogue
Louise, Alexis, Jean Louis: trio fuga "Oh Ciel, quoi tu vas mourir?" C minor (ends in C major) 3/4, 40 pages of continuous music

dialogue
Bertrand: "Tous les hommes sont bons." Montauciel: "Vive le vin!" then both combined as a duet G minor allegretto 2

entr'acte F major

entr'acte
Act III

dialogue
Montauciel: "V, o, u, s, e, t, t," Bb major; andantino final cadence extended 2

Himmelsturm: "Nein, nein ich laufe nicht davon"

Himmelsturm: "Nein, Nein"

dialogue between Alexis & Louise is shortened. Less anxious interrogation. Duet A&L: "Auch du kommst" dialogued" probably omitted

freely translated

new ensemble for Wigard Sprenger, Louise, Anton and Krick + the 3 dragoons. Anton is taken away to "talk" amidst protests

dialogue extended
drinking song was performed as written. Der Sammler noted it received the fewest alterations

no mention of entr'acte

soldiers chorus, dialogue spelling aria: "G-r-u l-i-e-b-e-r" (here, Ehlers translated the French pun literally)
Alexis: "Il m'eût été si doux de t'embrasser!"
F minor, adagio; C
dialogue
Courchemin: "Le Roi passait" C major, allegro poco maestoso; C
dialogue
Alexis: "On s'empresse, on me regarde"
E minor; moderato 92 bars; C
dialogue
Alexis: "Adieu chère Louise"
Eb major; adagio; C
Louise: recit-C minor "Ou suis-je"
chorus: D major

A: "Mir wär's ein süßer Trost, dich noch zu sehen"
no mention of an aria here for Anton
2 versions in score: in F minor and G minor
dialogue
C: "Der König kommt" parts are transposed down to avoid high notes, but some high Fs remain
dialogue
A: "Mir war's emsasser Trost, dich noch zu sehen"
(probably omitted)
E minor; moderato 92 bars; C
dialogue
A: "Leb'ewig wohl. Louise!"
order of last scene completely altered: new aria for Louise as she delivers the pardon, more substantial parts for Himmelsturm Sprenger, Krick and Dragoons; opera ends with a patriotic chorus in praise of emperor Franz

Stephanie's translation made for the Viennese production in 1779 was an exact translation of the French. It respected the original metre. No changes were made either to the plot or the characters. Occasionally some rhythmic alteration in the original music was inevitable as, for example, in the second half of Alexis' aria "Ah je respire". The manuscript German score was made by copying the French printed score exactly and the German translation was fitted to the French music later and the rhythm altered where necessary to fit the new words.
The original music was, with one exception, retained, though the key of at least one number -- the drinking song for Bertram and Himmelsturm in act II -- was changed (it was transposed down a tone from G minor to F minor). There is also evidence that in some performances Alexis' aria "Mir war's ein süßer Trost" ("Il m'eût été si doux de t'embrasser") in Act III was transposed up from F minor to G minor.

Some numbers received cuts, but the only one which was omitted completely was the C minor Fuga in Act II where Louise, Anton and Hans Michel express their horror that Anton is to die. This number was replaced by a smoother, more melodious and reflective number in C major. There are no obvious practical reasons why this should have been omitted, but it will be recalled that a similar "ensemble of perplexity" was excised from Rose et Colas the previous year. In that case too, a simpler, more lyrical number was substituted.

Alexis: (orchestral accompaniment = pizzicato strings, violin, fag, bn)

Lento amoroso

Höhn doch der Läuf der reinen Zähren, Mein Tod beweist dir meine

Treu und wird dir dieser Text gewähren dass ich um dich gestorben

Luise:

sey. Mein Vater ach ich bin verlohren. War

neidisches Geschick der Augenblick da ich ge borren, nicht meiner

Ludwig:

Todes Augenblick. Mein Freund welch Schicksal dich bedroht. Welch Schicksal dich
Der Deserter

Sei Vingst eül in Balsa per

auf Sehaine für sie öf. Gey = Oseen = Thunow

von

Wilhelm Ehlers.

Ein Musik zu Monsigny,

die zu dem neuen Auslande zu und

wenn Monsigny in dem neuen Ländern

und das Behabat Wehren.

Ehlers's translation of Monsigny's Le déserteur:
title page, VMSNIG SM 32719.
Ehlers's translation is interesting in that it is the work of one of the most popular Viennese performers of opéra-comique at the time. First at the Theater an der Wien and later at the Kärntnerthortheater, he created the tenor roles in scores of opéras-comiques, in which he specialised. He travelled to other places to give guest performances in French operas, and, for example, he went to Prague in 1815 to play in Die Vestalinn, Adolphe und Clara, Joseph und Das Lotterielos.\(^1\)

In Vienna, his greatest success was the title role of Johann von Paris of which Der Sammler wrote:

\begin{quote}
Man muss ihn selbst sehen, um die reife Beurtheilung nach Verdienst bewundern zu können, mit welchen er diesen Charakter im Ganzen auffasste, und in allen seinen Situationen auf das Feinste und Treffendste nüancirt. Er ist, was er seyn soll, die Seele der Oper ... Wenn er als Schauspieler den grössten Beyfall verdient, so leistet er auch als Sänger ... durch die Richtigkeit seines Gesanges und seines gefühlvollen, verständigen Vortrags, was man nur wünschen kann.\(^2\)
\end{quote}

Ehlers's version of Der Deserter was a radical alteration of Monsigny's original. It is not possible to comment on the musical alterations except that the textbook states that music by several composers was incorporated. Der Sammler remarked that the number which received fewest alterations was the popular drinking song at the end of act II.\(^3\)

Although a musician, Ehlers was more concerned with the text and the plot than with Monsigny's music. This interest in theatre as well as a sense of humour found excellent outlets in Ehlers's lively performances as a singing actor in opéra-comique. They are immaturity expressed in this adaptation of Le déserteur.

\(^1\) In 1814, he also gave guest performances in Breslau. Der Sammler, 6 September 1814, p. 640.
\(^2\) Der Sammler, 8 September 1812, p. 434. September 1814, p. 640.
\(^3\) Der Sammler, 27 November 1813, p. 756.
In Ehler's adaptation, the character of the piece has been substantially altered, with the military element assuming greater importance. The role for Louise's father, now called Wigand, has been expanded and he has become more dictatorial, calling himself Commando. Ehler's original intentions for the part include his giving detailed instructions to the other characters about when to sit down (not until he gives permission) and answering "yes" or "no" in order, according to rank. Perhaps this did not work in performance because many such passages are scored out in the prompt book. Ehlers makes the most of opportunities to introduce a patriotic element into his work. So the opera begins, for example, not with Louise's sad aria, but with a chorus for soldiers proclaiming the satisfaction of serving one's native land. In Act II, where Wigand comments "Ach es ist doch eine schöne Sache um den Krieg", Hannchen replies "Warum weinen denn aber die jungen Bürschen, wenn sie in den Krieg müssen?" (which was included in Stephanie's translation and apparently not omitted from the 1779 performance, although it might, even then, have been thought dangerous).

This was followed in the 1813 version by a long speech about the glory of the fatherland and service to the emperor. Ehler's intentions were not fully realised in the performance because some of these speeches were crossed out of the 1813 textbook, and it looks as though this happened at a late stage. Patriotic sentiments are expressed at the end of act II and the opera ends with a chorus sung in praise of the Emperor Franz who has granted

1. See pp. 432-433.
Anton's pardon. The solo verse of this final number, sung by Weinmüller (who played Himmelsturm), was according to the AMZ the only part of the opera worth listening to.\(^1\) The part of Bertrand was expanded slightly and contained silly boyish jokes. Hannchen's part, on the other hand, was shortened so that she only sings one stanza of the second number and her duet with Anton is omitted. The rather inexperienced Jeanette Demmer played the part of Hannchen and reportedly sang out of tune.\(^2\) The rest of the cast was a strong one. Ehlers himself took the part of Anton.

The second act in the French version opens in prose with Alexis being shown his bare cell. Crik, the jailer, is puzzled by Alexis's refusal to deny his desertion. The 1813 version began with a musical introduction leading to a scene for the jailer, Sprenger and some new characters — three subordinate dragoons. Prison became a harsher place, Anton was given a list of rules of the jail. When Louise visited Anton, in Ehlers's version, the passages of anxious questioning for the lovers were shortened and it is likely from deletions in the text book that even the duet between Anton and Louise was cut. Instead, there was a new ensemble for Louise, Anton, Wigand and the prison staff. Anton was taken away for questioning. The act ended with the drinking song between the two other prisoners.

1. AMZ, 29 December 1813, letter from Vienna dated 4 December.
2. TZ, 6 December 1813, p. 568.
The order of the final act, particularly the final scene, was altered: Anton did not sing his lament for Louise and there were more substantial parts for Himmelsturm, Sprenger, Crik and the dragoons. There was an extra aria for Louise as she delivered the pardon. The opera ended with a patriotic chorus. The anguished romance between Louise and Anton became less important in this opera than the portrayal of military life. 1813 was the year of the Battle of Leipzig, and even at the Theater in der Josefstadt, where pure entertainment was usually the order of the day, military plays were given at this time.

The verdict of the AMZ however was as follows:

Nicht alles ist gut, was Ruf hat, und nicht alles gefällt, was in die Zeitepoche einzuschlagen scheint. Da der Zuseher die Folge und das Ende des Stücks schon in der Hälfte des ersten Acts errät, so müsste sich desselben bis zum Ende des dritten natürlich die größte Langweile bemeistern. Kein einziges Musikstück, alt und neu, so bunt sie auch unter -- und übereinander lagen -- wurde beklatscht, ausser die Worte "Die Vorsicht erhalte unser Kaiser Franz" welche Hr. Weinmüller zu singen hatte: diese wurden ... mit enthusiastischen Beyfalls zeigungen aufgenommen.1

According to Die Theaterzeitung, Ehlers's "adopted child" was more promptly executed than any deserter deserved to be. It had not been helped by the fact that Ehlers himself was hoarse from a cold on the opening night. Die Theaterzeitung blamed partly the age of the opera which, it claimed, would have enjoyed great success in Paris during the "time of Lully". Lully lived approximately a hundred years before Monsigny's opera received its French première. The Viennese public now, however, was accustomed to hearing good, advanced, modern music and could

1. AMZ, 29 December 1813, report from Vienna.
no longer enjoy earlier music "in its infancy". The original numbers retained in this opera were, according to the Theaterzeitung, slow and sleepy; the new ones did not fit, were clumsy and unattractive. The opera would have achieved more success if it had been performed as originally written. The poverty of the music, the paper continued, was not alleviated by the colourless story: a maiden who tricked her lover into thinking that she was married; a fiery young man who could not understand a joke; the arrival of a pardon at the very moment the deserter was due to get three bullets in his head; a silly lad; a jailer who could not read; all these were tedious stuff for an opera. ¹

Any hopes Ehlers may have cherished of embarking on a writing career must have received a heavy blow after this experience, though Ehlers did later do a little more writing.² It is remarkable that this leading Viennese exponent of opéra-comique could take Le déserteur so lightly. An interesting tendency towards parody is apparent in Ehlers's version. The main plot, the relationship between Alexis and Louise, is reduced and the comedy surrounding Louise's family and the prison is heightened. Der Sammler thought that the sub-plot was the best part of the opera.³

C. Grétry's Richard Coeur-de-lion

Some audience reactions and comments in the press about different Viennese productions of Richard Löwenherz have

1. TZ, 3 December 1813, pp. 565-566; 6 December 1813, pp. 567-568.
2. See Gosdeke XI/11, pp. 84-85, 10 Jahre 10 Briefe 10 Liebhaber.
3. Der Sammler, 27 November 1813, p. 75b.
already been described.

It is possible to comment about the 1788 production because the score which was used remains in the Musiksammlung. Nothing seems to remain from the 1800 production at the Theater auf der Wieden, nor of the 1802 revival at the Theater an der Wien; however, a little is known about the latter from a description in the Wiener Theater Almanach for 1803.¹

Extensive alterations were also a part of the 1810 production: indeed Clément-Larousse includes an entry for a Richard Loewenherz "opéra allemand, musique de Seyfried, représenté à Vienne sur le théâtre de Schikaneder en 1810". It was not a new Austrian opera, but a reworking of Grétry's original.

It is possible that performance material remains from this production, though as mentioned earlier, Theater an der Wien material is difficult to identify with certainty. Hadamowsky lists a manuscript textbook 32.016 as having belonged to the 1843 Kärntnerthortheater production. However, in the same hand as the text, it is clearly dated 1810, the year of the Theater an der Wien revival. The book was clearly used for production purposes, contains a cast list, small stage plans and extra stage directions. The translation is neither André's nor Stephanie's; it may be Seyfried's, which is known to have been used for the 1810 Theater an der Wien revival. The cast list for

¹ See p. 412: they included a ballet for a dream scene set to the music of Weigl's overture to his ballet Richard Löwenherz which had been first performed in Vienna 2 February 1795.
this opera is given in a review published in Der Sammler. However, a cast list inside this textbook fits none of the major Viennese theatres between 1790 and 1819.

A piano reduction of "Eine Auswahl der vorzüglichsten Stücke im Klavier Auszug ... nach Grétry's Original Musik neu bearbeitet von Hrn. Kapellmeister von Seyfried" was published in Vienna in the early nineteenth century. A score remains in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde; no date is given. It is likely that it contains numbers used in the 1810 production and includes the following numbers by Seyfried: an overture, a harvest dance and a quartet; two numbers by Weigl: a march and the dream music.

The Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde also has a piano reduction of Richard Löwenherz published in Berlin (again no date) and preceded by Weigl's overture (which is shorter than Seyfried's). In addition to the problematic textbook listed above, which may have been used at the Kärntnerthortheater in 1843, or at the Theater an der Wien in 1810, or, possibly at both, there is a textbook which definitely remains from the 1843 Kärntnerthortheater production: 32.017 - M.

Richard Coeur-de-lion

sources consulted:

2. GM 1436


Richard Löwenherz. Trans. Schmieder. Printed textbook as used for performance at the Theater auf der Wieden from 1800. VMsmlg 041.433 - A M.S.


The opera is set in and around Linz at the end of the twelfth century. Villagers return home from their day's work in the fields talking eagerly of the golden wedding celebrations of one of their friends, Mathurin, which are to take place the following day, and to which they have all been invited. An old blind man enters led by Antonio, a young man from the village (who has a sweetheart called Colette); while Antonio goes to seek lodging in a nearby mansion, the "blind" man reveals himself as Blondel, feigning blindness. His disguise is to help him free his beloved King Richard, who, he has reason to believe, is imprisoned in a castle not far away. Blondel overhears an argument between a Welshman, Williams, and his daughter, Laurette, who is in love with the guard of a neighbouring castle. Williams disapproves of the guard and
Laurette mentions a mysterious prisoner of whom her loved one has charge. Antonio returns and is asked to read to the irate father the love-letter which was the source of his recent anger. When her father has gone, Laurette takes Blondel into her confidence about her unhappy love affair and we learn that her household is expecting an important guest. This turns out to be none other than Richard's loved-one, Margueritte, the Countess of Flanders and Artois. Blondel attracts her attention by playing on the fiddle an air that Richard used to sing, and entertains the gathering with his music. He is allowed to stay the night in their house.

Act II is set inside the castle where Richard is captive. The king bemoans his loss of freedom and absence from Margueritte but hears Blondel singing a familiar air beneath the castle. Blondel is caught by suspicious guards and led to the man in charge of Richard's prison who is indeed Colette's lover, Florestan, in the service of a tyrannous master. Blondel claims he made the noise in order to be able to give Florestan news of Laurette, unobtrusively.

Act III takes place in Williams's house. Blondel demands to be allowed to speak to Margueritte again and tells her that he has ascertained Richard's whereabouts. They discuss how to free the prisoner. Blondel suggests that Williams hold a ball in his house and that Florestan be invited: he would be glad to see Laurette and not suspect anything. In the middle the proceedings would be stopped and Florestan be asked, publicly, to release his prisoner. If he refused, the castle would be stormed and Richard taken by force. The ball takes place as planned and among those present are the villagers seen at the opening of the opera. Florestan is not to be persuaded to hand over Richard peacefully, so there is a change of scene and we witness the assault on the castle, the freeing of Richard and his restoration, amidst general rejoicing, to his faithful friends.

Sedaine, the librettist of this opera, was an important contributor to the repertoire of opéras-comiques, of which his most famous was Rose et Colas; he collaborated
with Philidor, Monsigny and Grétry -- and this libretto of Richard was originally intended for Monsigny who hesitated because of the task of setting Blondel's air. Burney considered Richard Coeur-de-lion to be "pretty and ingenious and wholly in the buon gusto of Italy". While lacking interesting part-writing and adventurous use of harmony, Grétry's music is pleasantly melodic and makes effective use of the orchestra and Grétry is a skilled interpreter of the libretto. The composer and librettist made three versions of the ending of the opera before finding a satisfactory conclusion.

2. Wilde, introduction to Richard Coeur-de-lion, p. IV.
Richard Löwenherz
Singspiel im k. k. priv. Theater an der Wien.

Das Theater stellt eine Stadtmauer vor. Das Tor wird von der eindringenden Infanterie eingerissen, und von dem Beschuss der Soldaten verteidigt. Von beiden Seiten drängt die Kavallerie ein, und drückt die Infanterie gegen das Stadttor. Mitten aus diesem Gewühle bringt Blondel in selben Armen den König Richard und die Gräfin von Flandern. Urteilen steht:

This short description and the engraving on the following page were published in the Wiener Theater Almanach auf das Jahr 1803, ed. Joachim Perinet, following the successful revival of Richard Löwenherz at the Theater an der Wien in 1802. In the almanac, where the illustration appears as engraving 3, both this and the following page are smaller than shown here.
The rescue of King Richard:
scene from the final act of Richard Löwenherz
Interest in the Middle Ages had been stimulated during the 1740s in Paris by the publication of several books, and by a series of lectures read there about the Middle Ages by Curne de Sainte Palaye from 1746. The ensuing vogue for the Age of Chivalry found expression in novellettes, poetry, and, among other things, musicology. Several composers and musical historians attempted to reconstruct the music of the Middle Ages and to publish chansons and pictures of contemporary instruments. ¹

Richard Coeur-de-lion makes dramatic use of Blondel's "theme song" ("Une fièvre brulante"), an unusual melody, recalling the past in its use of triple metre and off-beat rhythms, which Grétry introduces, in various transformations, nine times in the course of the opera. This early use of "Leitmotif" has been singled out as one of the most significant aspects of the opera. In the Viennese adaptations it was obscured by deletions and new orchestration.

In view of Richard's success in Paris, it was not surprising that the opera should be chosen for performance in Vienna. It was first given there in January 1788 at the Kärntnerthortheater, and performed nine times; but was not revived at that theatre until 17 January 1843. In the intervening years, the opera achieved considerable success at the Theater auf der Wieden, where it was given in June 1800. It was later produced at the Theater an der Wien on 29 May 1802 (69x) and revived there on 28 November 1810.

¹ David Charlton, "Grétry and his Richard". Programme notes from production of Richard-Coeur-de-lion by Nottingham University Opera Group, February 1978.
At least three translations of *Richard* became available in Vienna in the space of twelve years: the first German translation made by André in 1787 was printed in Vienna in 1791; André's translation, altered by Schröder, may have been used for some early performances; a translation by Stephanie the younger was, according to Hadamowsky, employed for the 1788 performances at the Kärntnerthortheater; and a German version by Schmieder was used for the production at the Theater auf der Wieden in 1800. Schmieder's translation was also used for revivals at the Theater an der Wien but the *Theaterzeitung* which otherwise praised this last production said that its many good aspects "machten die schale Übersetzung vergessen".¹

The music of at least three Viennese composers was combined with Grétry's in Viennese productions of the opera: in 1802, new wind parts were added by Anton Fischer, and the overture of Weigl's ballet *Richard Löwenherz*, which had been first produced at the court theatres in 1795, was added for the dream scene; in 1810 a new overture, a harvest dance and quartet by Seyfried were included. As mentioned earlier, a march by Weigl also at some time became a part of the Viennese version of *Richard*.²

². See page 459. A march by Weigl was included in a piano version of favourite numbers from *Richard Coeur-de-Lion* which was printed in Berlin in the early nineteenth century (1813?). The piano reduction was by Seidel.
André and Stephanie used the following names in their translation of Richard Löwenherz:

Richard, Florestan and the Welsh Williams remain the same (Williams, even in the German translations, keeps his allegedly Welsh habit of exclaiming "goddam" in moments of stress); Margueritte becomes Margaretha, ¹ Laurette becomes Fanny, Colette becomes Hannchen, Mathurin becomes Steffen and Antonio becomes Peter.

The stage directions are considerably fuller in both André's and Stephanie's translation than in the version of the French printed libretto mentioned above: perhaps the two translators were working from a more amply notated original. The stage directions are slightly fuller in the 1844 score. But André and Stephanie (who probably based his translation on André's) do make some slight but telling alterations. In Sedaine's original, the peasants (described as "Vieilles" and "Vieillards" in the cast list and "paysans" in the stage directions) enter in short sleeves carrying their coats (habits), and work tools on their shoulders. In André's version, the "Bauern and Bäuerinnen" bear sickles and rakes, carry their outer clothing and empty haversacks on their shoulders and seem as they sing to be waiting for more friends to appear. Stephanie does not mention rakes and sickles but specifies that the peasants ("verschiedene Bauern") enter in camisoles with their work tools, outside clothing and empty lunchbags ("Brodsäcke") on their shoulders. In order to have an excuse to sing, they

¹ Though several different spellings of this name occur in the various German versions.
often stop walking, as though waiting for some following friends. This amplification of stage directions may, as I have said, be easily dismissed, but it suggests, perhaps, a certain self-consciousness, understandable in translation, which is detectable elsewhere in the German versions. In I,ii, André and Stephanie, working within very close bounds, seem intent on making Blondel even more pathetic in his blindness and Peter even younger, by small insertions and repetitions; André finds it necessary to let Peter explain what a Golden Wedding is, in case any of his German audience have not understood. The German version is, perhaps, heavier and more earthy.

But these are small differences. The first chorus is the same in both German versions under discussion; Stephanie then gradually departs from André's translation and his version is slightly more free than that of his north German contemporary, who translates almost word for word. Stephanie's version sometimes reads like a paraphrase of André's. But, interestingly enough, Stephanie retains all André's translations of musical numbers. Was the task of translating rhymed verse too onerous for him when a perfectly adequate version was already available; or did he trust André's sense of musical rhythm more than his own?

A comparison of the words of the opening chorus gives a good example of the lack of impetus and thrust of the German versions in comparison to the incisive French.
Sedaine

Chantons, chantons,
Celebrons cette journée,
A demain, la matinée;
Chantons, chantons,
Retournons dans nos maisons.

André and Stephanie

Daheim ist nun der Ernte goldner Segen,
Wir kehren müde zwar, doch froh nach Haus.
Uns erwartet dort ein Schmaus,
Den uns Steffen versprach.

The German manuscript score remaining from the 1788 production of Richard Löwenherz, was, like the scores of the other two operas to be examined, evidently copied out in haste. Wherever possible, the texture has been reduced to two parts so that two lines only, treble and bass, have been written out, with occasional indications of wind parts and the inner strings; given Grétry's antipathy towards contrapuntal complication this two-line score was probably quite adequate for a conductor. Ornaments are generally omitted, demisemiquavers often appear as semiquavers, probably for the sake of speed, and careless mistakes — the writing of notes on the wrong line, for example — are easily found.

Little care and creativity seem to have gone into the preparation of this particular German score as is evident from one of the most memorable arias in the opera, Blondel's song of allegiance to Richard, "Oh Richard, oh mon Roi", I,ii. As the division into scenes is slightly altered in Stephanie's German version, this aria appears in I,iii, in the translation as "Verlässt dich jedermann". As can be seen from the example (where the German copyist's alterations are clearly visible), this number
was initially copied out exactly from the French version of the opera. Only later were corrections written over the top to accommodate the German words. Perhaps André's musicians in Hamburg made a better job of fitting his words to Grétry's music: the aria as it stands in the amended Viennese version is robbed of much of its distinctive martial quality:

Grétry's version:

Viennese translation, 1787:
Apart from other slight rhythmic alterations the German score follows the French one very closely: even the dialogue is retained, speech for speech. Two omissions were made. The final two stanzas of Blondel's air in II,iv (they are marked "tendrement" in the German version as in the French, confirming that it was copied out unthinkingly from a French score), may have been omitted, for in the score prepared for Vienna the instrumentation is scored out at the end of the first stanza, expressions marks tail off and no words are copied for the final section. As this number comes at the end of one volume of the Vienna score, the usual evidence for omissions, the sewing together of pages, is not available.

Perhaps this score was not actually used for performance and the performance was conducted from a clearer, printed French score in which fuller alterations were made. Its pages are not as worn as one might expect. Unless this score was not used, it can be concluded that the 1788 performance of Richard Löwenherz at the Kärntner-thortheater was an almost literal translation of the French original by Stephanie the Younger who relied heavily on André's earlier Hamburg version. The fitting of German words to French music was given little thought, there were no additions and two numbers may have been shortened.

The enigma of the 1810 "Nachlesebuch" has been described above (p. 458). We will assume for the present that Hadamowsky is incorrect in listing it in his catalogue for the court theatres, and that the text was
in fact used for the production of that year in the Theater an der Wien.

The textual alterations for this performance are considerable. Extensive cuts have been made in the dialogue, the scene numbering has been changed and the order of speeches altered. The names of the characters are the same as in André and Stephanie, but the translation differs from both of theirs which suggests it may be Schmieder's. The text book is interesting in that it contains musical indications and the names of the cast. It may have been used for more than one production (also the 1802 Theater an der Wien production?). Two musical numbers were omitted: Peter's Lied "Sonst liebt ich wohl", and Fanny's "Nein, Nachts war es zu viel gewagt" (I, viii ). The parts may have been taken by young actors, or, in Peter's case, a child, who could not manage solos. As might be expected, the censor's hand is evident in some of the cuts: in I, vii, Williams, having been asked by Blondel whether he comes from England, immediately affirms that he is Welsh, and exchanges about the good character of the English and the force of circumstances which can so easily uproot one from one's home surroundings are thereby carefully avoided. In Blondel's "Verlассst dich jedermann", I, iv, "Monarchen, wollt ihr einen Freund" is changed to "Fürsten wollt ihr einen Freund". Liberty is taken with the order of scenes but the basic structure of the
opera is not affected: act two, for example, opens with Blondel and Peter outside the castle (scene three in Sedaine's version), whereas Sedaine makes the sharper contrast of opening the second act on the terrace of the castle, with the lonely Richard being told by Florestan to make the most of his last minutes of fresh air. The Austrian alteration makes the flow of the plot smoother but makes it also less dramatic.

Extensive alteration is also evident in the 1843 textbook, used at the Kärntnerthortheater. Originally the censor's copy, this text has the expected alterations excising some passages that might have been thought to contain doubtful innuendoes. There are signs of many omissions and additions.

D. Grétry's Raoul Barbe-bleue

Raoul Barbe-bleue, like Richard which had preceded it by five years, was a collaboration between Sedaine and Grétry. It leant more towards tragedy than comedy and was criticised as such by French contemporaries. Sedaine was reproached for having exposed the public to scenes too crude and powerful. More than twenty years later, a French musician, Martine, still considered the opera's story to be "terrible." However, a report appeared in the Viennese Theaterzeitung in 1806 telling of the different reactions of one Viennese and the

1. La Mercure de France, 14 March 1789, p. 9d.
rest of the French audience at a production of *Raoul Barbe-bleue* at Lyons: the French, according to this article, clapped and nonchalantly left the theatre at the end, apparently unmoved, while the Viennese reporter was still sitting in his seat, shaking from fear.¹

Dr. Reeve, the English doctor who visited Vienna in 1806, was surprised that gruesome stories so appealed to the Viennese, but commented that the theatre was "crowded in all parts".² The opera's success lasted for nearly thirty years and several ballets were written on the subject; however, in 1824, presumably in an attempt to inject new life into the plot, Raoul reemerged as an Indian Raja,³ and a review of the opera nine years later commented that the story was then too dated to have any appeal to Viennese audiences.³

*Raoul Barbe-bleue* was first seen in Vienna fifteen years after its Paris première: it had a long run of 81 performances at the Theater an der Wien from 14 August 1804, in a translation by J. Sonnleithner. Extensive rewriting, such as the addition of a completely new orchestral number, was unusual on a French opera's première in Vienna (opera arias from older works were, however, often included in French operas at their first Viennese appearance). *Raoul* is unusual in that it was performed with a new, specially written overture for its première at the Theater an der Wien.⁵

¹. *TZ*, 17 September 1806, p. 158.
². Reeve, p. 108.
⁴. *TZ*, 5 October 1833, p. 802.
⁵. A year later, (1805), Fischer made an arrangement of Grétry's *Die zwei Geizigen*. 
For its première, too, new wind parts were added by Fischer to Grétry's original orchestration. These were noticed, and favourably commented upon by contemporary newspaper critics. Grétry's discreet and economical orchestration sounded thin and meagre to audiences who had heard Méhul and Cherubini.

A printed textbook from the 1804 production which used Schmieder's translation revised by J. Sonnleithner is described below. Raoul ran for 81 performances at the Theater an der Wien but was not seen at the Kärntnerthortheater until 1821. Two manuscript texts from this later production remain, as does a textbook from 1833. One manuscript score is extant. It contains Fischer's alterations to the opera and on the cover bears the class mark S.M. 63.

It is listed by Hadamowsky as having the class mark OA 63 and to have been used for productions at the Kärntnerthortheater. Other S.M. numbers have been found to belong to the Theater an der Wien. Anton Fischer, who had been responsible for the 1804 alterations, died in 1808 but it is known that his arrangement of Grétry's opera was used in subsequent productions. It is possible that Fischer's Theater an der Wien score was used by the Kärntnerthortheater after his death.

1. AMZ, 5 September 1804, column 323.
First performed in Paris in March 1789 (at the Comédie Italienne), the opera tells of the love of Isaure, a gentle girl of noble birth, for a young man called Vergy. Unfortunately Isaure's two brothers, the Marquis and Count of Carabi consider him too lowly for their sister; more concerned about family fame and fortune than Isaure's happiness, they promise her to the wealthy Barbe-bleue, who, having been widowed three times already, is now looking around for another bride. Isaure is determined that she shall never be forced to marry against her will but is put under such pressure that Vergy eventually urges her to yield to her brothers' wishes. Isaure's new way of life does not prove to be as dreadful as she had at first feared -- her husband is kind and considerate and bestows lavish gifts upon her. But Vergy does not fare so happily and one day, disguised as Isaure's "sister" Anna, he rides to Barbe-bleue's castle to see her. Isaure's husband excuses himself from this family meeting for he is about to depart on a journey. He has entrusted to Isaure the keys of all the rooms in the castle and only one room is forbidden to her. Isaure promises never to unlock the door of the room with the golden key but does not realise that in being given the key she is being subjected to a test. Bluebeard has been told by a sage that the curiosity of his wife will bring about his downfall -- a bride whose curiosity gets the better of her therefore represents a threat to his safety. All Barbe-bleue's three previous wives have failed and met a gruesome end. Vergy, who seems to have heard something about Barbe-bleue's past, tries to warn Isaure not to be inquisitive about the mysterious key but she is upset and urges Vergy to go. Left alone she succumbs to temptation; inside the forbidden room she sees the remains of her husband's previous wives. At Isaure's screams, Vergy rushes back to her aid. They realise that unless something is done quickly she, like her predecessors, will have to pay the price of her curiosity. Barbe-bleue is seen returning, but one of the servants in the castle who has had enough of his strange ways, helps Isaure and Vergy by sending a message to Vergy's page, still waiting outside the castle. He asks Isaure's brothers to send soldiers to fight Barbe-bleue and after a long period of suspense the hoped-for soldiers arrive -- just as Barbe-bleue is about to do away with his young wife. Instead it is Barbe-bleue who meets his doom. Vergy wins his beloved Isaure and there is general rejoicing.
Raoul Barbe-bleue

Sources consulted:


"Raoul der Blaubart". Trans. Treitschke. Ms score used for performance at the Kärntnerthortheater from 1821 for 18337. VMsmlg OA 63.

"Raoul der Blaubart". Trans. Treitschke. Ms textbooks used for performance at the Kärntnerthortheater from 1821. VMsmlg S.m: 32.186-8.

In this last version one finds some surprising expressions which one might have expected the censor to delete (S.m. 32.186 was the copy used by the censor). "Ach Gott", for example, appears quite frequently in the text.
The censor's copy 32.187 which was used at the production which opened at the Kärntnerthortheater in 1821, bears signs of extensive alteration, mostly omissions. It has a note to the effect that the opera was passed for performance by the censors on the condition that one scene be omitted. From deletions in the textbook it is almost certain that this scene was I,vii, where a richly dressed Bluebeard with shield, helmet and arms presents to Isaure her golden crown and tells her to rule his people. In the original version, a procession of Bluebeard's servants bestow costly gifts on Isaure. One can imagine how this picture of a grasping ruler surrounded by his soldiers could have been too much for Metternich's censors. However the scene referred to by the censors might also have been III,ix. In the Viennese version, this was divided into three scenes, and the first one in which Vergy claims equality with Bluebeard and challenges him to a duel was omitted in Vienna in 1821 and the announcement of the arrival of the soldiers who fight in support of Marie was brought forward. Whether this was a deliberate attempt to make the ending more dramatic or a consequence of censors' scruples about duelling and equality is not clear.

The most surprising alteration to the 1821 German manuscript score—the deletion of the original overture—has already been mentioned. Grétry's overture had been greatly admired by French contemporaries. It ended with a military fanfare by which means he announced to

the audience that the forces of good would triumph; this fanfare is repeated at the end of the opera. So the need for another overture by Fischer, which uses some of Grétry's melodies and some of his own, and which consists of 260 bars of 4/4 instead of the 143 bars of the French, is puzzling. Possible explanations are that Grétry's overture was too discordant, (it is stark), and "modern"; or that it was considered to be too short. But by 1821 Viennese audiences had had 32 years to accustom their ears to the growing Romanticism of music. Fischer's overture was itself shortened: the score (pp. 14 -- 18 and 27 and 28). Fischer's overture begins in D major -- the original was in D minor -- and the slow introduction leads into an allegro assai which begins with a series of imitative entries on a theme remarkably like that of the *Magic Flute*. Grétry's melodies appear from time to time disguised with new accompaniments.

A similar process takes place elsewhere in the opera: in Marie's aria from I, vi "Moi je serais infidèle
à Vergy", the vocal melody of the Grétry is retained but the orchestral introduction and accompaniment made more lively and its instrumentation (mainly strings in the original) is enriched with clarinets, flutes and horns. Grétry's score had called for piccolo, oboes, clarinets in A, bassoons, horns and trumpets in D with timpani in d a and strings. The Austrian score of 1821 requires, in addition, trombones, and flutes: a more modern and more romantic orchestration.

The orchestral music written for the overthrow of Blaubart at the end of the opera was rethought by Fischer and the ending of the opera made more dramatic by beginning the music p instead of f, as in the original, and starting with a thinner texture so that it could build to a climax. Lastly, the final number is shorter in the German version: the middle section of the solo duet from the central section of the final number is omitted -- and the return of the chorus is shortened. The three-part chorus of the French original is enlarged to four parts and the top line of the chorus has had to be altered accordingly.

In Fischer's score, then, Grétry's music has been altered freely: the orchestration has been modernised, rhythms and harmonies altered, instrumental figuration changed, yet never so much as to amount to original composition. Alterations do not overstep the bounds of the original and the integrity of Grétry's original is respected. Any one in Vienna who had the original French version would probably have found the Austrian version less austere and more immediate: more popular in flavour.
The omission of I, vii had deprived the opera of one of its most striking and splendid scenes. It is difficult to imagine any reason for its omission other than censorship, and there is evidence to show that this procession had, in the 1804 production, been one of the most spectacular features of the production. In Kringsteiner's parody of Raoul, Die Braut in der Klemme, which opened at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt three months after Grétry's opera, this grand procession was parodied as a crowd of colourful Viennese street sellers coming to pass their comments on the bride and welcome her husband (the equivalent of Raoul) who enters in style in a sedan chair.¹ This would hardly have been amusing if the audience had been unfamiliar with the original procession. Also, when Reeve went to see the opera in 1806, he singled out the "march" as having been particularly "lively and gay".²

The name Isaure was changed to Marie in all the Viennese productions.

The most interesting textbook is the prompt book 32.186 which names Nestroy in the cast list and in small diagrams showing the blocking on stage. Nestroy took part in performances of the opera as Kurt, Raoul's servant, from 21 September 1822 onwards.³ From the censor's copy 32.188 which bears the censor's stamp and date 1833 we have the precise information that Viennese performances of the opera at the time last two and a quarter hours.

2. Reeve, p. 108.
Dalayrac's Les deux petits Savoyards

Dalayrac's opera was first performed in Vienna on 13 December 1792, three years after its première in Paris. La Mercure de France had praised the realistic and lively dialogue and the deftness of Dalayrac's treatment of the story, and added that the music was the opera's chief glory.1 The production at the Viennese Theater in der Leopoldstadt in 1792 used a translation by J. Perinet which was probably the earliest example of a suburban theatre preparing its own performance version of a French opera. A day after this production opened, a run of the same opera began at the Theater auf der Wieden in a German version made by the north German Schmieder. When the opera was revived at the court theatres in 1804 and 1813, Schmieder's translation was favoured and the opera was produced with musical additions by Anton Fischer. Fischer joined the Theater auf der Wieden in 1800 being, before then, attached to the Theater in der Josefstadt.2 In 1804 he worked as assistant Kapellmeister under Ignaz von Seyfried at the Theater an der Wien. It is not clear when he wrote his adaptation of this Dalayrac work.

Some information about the texts of the 1792 productions at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt and Theater auf der Wieden can be given, as a published

1. La Mercure de France, 24 January 1789, p. 183.
textbook remains from each production. The 1804 production at the court theatres can be briefly commented on from a manuscript prompt copy dating from that year; the only score which is extant is that used at the Kärntnerthortheater production in 1813.

Michel and Josef, two brothers from Savoy, travel a long way (with their pet marmot) to a village fair, with the intention of having a small stall of their own there. By doing this they hope to raise money to take home to their poverty-stricken mother; they have no father. But they are stopped by a brusque bailiff who intends this year to limit the fair to locals; refusing to listen to their pleas of poverty he angrily tells them to be gone. A higher servant of the Lord of the Manor hears the commotion and, insisting that there is room for the boys, allows them to stay. At the fair, the boys attract the attention of Herr von Verseuil, the lord; he asks why they have come and listens with interest. The brothers sing him a song from their native Savoy which, he says, reminds him of his homeland. The bailiff is punished for his bad temper. Josef and Michel tell Verseuil about their mother. Having compassion on their poverty he invites them to stay in his castle, then, left alone, confides that he, too, is lonely, having lost his only brother. Interested and impressed by the boys’ sense of family loyalty, Verseuil, with the help of his servant, separates the boys and asks each in turn if he would like to accept a job and the offer of a secure future. Both brothers refuse to desert their mother, much to Verseuil’s admiration. Michel and Josef, who have been shut in different parts of the castle for the purpose of this interview, see one another and manage to get free. At this moment, the bailiff comes along and assumes that the two boys have been shut up as a punishment, a suspicion which is confirmed by the discovery in their bag of a portrait belonging to Verseuil. He accuses them of theft and takes them to the lord. Verseuil is confused at first, as the picture is identical to his own, but the boys hotly deny having stolen it; Verseuil’s own picture still hangs in its place. Verseuil’s is a portrait of his lost brother, and the second portrait belonging to the boys is of their father. This makes Verseuil their uncle and he takes the whole of his brother’s family to live in his castle in comfort.
Savoy and Savoyards were popular subjects for stage works during the eighteenth century: in Vienna, a ballet by Hilverding, *Les Savoyards*, was performed in 1756, another ballet, by Noverre, *Die Zukunft der Savoyarden*, appeared in 1773, and a ballet with music by Scalesi in 1795: *Il due Piero ossia l'arrivo dei Savojardi*. Cherubini's opera *Les deux journées* first performed in Vienna in 1802 contains prominent parts for Savoyards.

In the 1740s, Savoy had been an independent state, but several European countries tried to acquire it during the century because of its importance in the balance of power as a separate state. This brought Savoy into new prominence and the fact that it had a colourful folk-lore and a broad (French) dialect made it a good subject for plays and opera which could make effective use of local colour.

**Les deux petits Savoyards**

Sources consulted:


"Die beyden Savoyarden". Trans. Schmieder. [With musical additions by A. J. Fischer and textual additions by Joseph von Seyfried]. Ms Textbooks used for performance at the court theatres from 1804. VMsmlg 32.610 M(83/89).

The remaining Viennese score of Les deux petits Savoyards is sketchy and bears signs of having been hastily copied. Awkward arpeggio figures in the string parts are occasionally rearranged to make them more playable; minor rearrangements occur in other parts from time to time. Dalayrac's style is often diffuse. Some of the alterations made for performance in Vienna are the result of editing. The overture is in four sections, clearly defined by changes of key: F major (slow introduction), C major, D minor and F major. In the allegro, there are really only two melodies, which are repeated in different instrumental combinations: flute; violin and oboe; flute and oboe. There is considerable regularity of rhythm and phrasing, perhaps intended to portray the atmosphere of the fairground, and very contrapuntal writing. In Vienna, most of the D minor section was omitted: such cuts were facilitated by the regularity of the music.

The Baron Verseuil found his tenor part (which extends from the D below middle C to the C above it) too high: the duet between Verseuil and Michel in scene ix (where Michel insists on his preference for living with his mother in poverty than in comfort away from his family)
is rearranged so as to make it lower, and Verseuil's big aria in scene vi ("Für mein Herz welch ein Glück") is extensively altered so as to change the range to C -- g': intervals are inverted and phrases are rewritten on different degrees of the scale, but the melodic outline and the shape of the piece has been preserved.

Dalayrac's original version:

M. de Verseuil:

Quel mo-ment pour mon coeur j'arrache-rais à la misère. Ces en-fans et leur mère, ces tendres en-fans et leur mère. Quel doux mom-ent, quel mom-

ent pour mon coeur ce jour, ce jour manquait à mon bon ce jour manq-

uait à mon bon-heur ce jour manquait à mon bonheur.

Aria as performed in Vienna in 1804:

Für mein Herz welch ein Glück der Vater seyn so lieber Kinder der Mutter Kummer zu mindern, der Mütter Kummer zu mindern. Oh welch ein schöner, ein schöner Augenblick, Oh dies nur fehlt noch zu mein-em Glück, nur fehlt zu mei-nem Glück.
The German version of the aria does not have as much melodic embellishment as the French, though this was not to prevent an ambitious singer from inventing his own. A review of Madame Renner's debut as Joseph in this opera appeared in the Wiener Theater Zeitung of 24 March 1807:

In ihrem angenehmen Gesange trachtete sie mehr, die Melodien nach Intention des Compositors der Musik auszudrücken, als durch eigene Variationen, und sogenannte Bravourschönheiten aus dem Stegreife die Stammelodie unkennbar zu machen, wie wir solches so oft in vielen Singspielen zum Nachtheil des wahren Schönen, und zum sogenannten Künstlerverdienste dulden müssen.  

However, even the rewritten aria proved too much for the actor who played Verseuil, for the number is crossed out both in the score and the prompt book and the preceding dialogue has been enlarged to cover its sense. Fischer does not seem to have tried to replace the number.

It is possible that the ensemble for the bailiff, the guards and the two brothers was omitted in 1804: the prompt book divides it off from the rest of the text by firm lines drawn across the page. This ensemble is written out in the later score, but its pages appear less well-used than the rest of the music. On the other hand, the printed French score of this opera which remains in the Musiksammlung has, in this ensemble, a large quantity of red markings, in German. It is possible that parts of this and other French operas were directed from the published French score. The duet "Une petite fillette" for the two brothers in scene xiv, originally

1. TZ, 24 March 1807, p. 169.
in Eb, is written out in the Viennese score in F and there is a note at the top of the page to indicate that it was actually sung in G. One of the advantages for the Viennese theatres of opera with spoken dialogue was that its individual numbers could easily be omitted or transposed.

Extensive cuts were made in the final chorus. The French version consisted of a chorus, vaudeville with four verses -- one each for Verseuil, Michel and Josef together, the bailiff and Michel. The number ends with a chorus for Michel, Josef and the girls. The German finale began with the chorus, followed by one verse for the two boys alone and, finally, a chorus, shortened by the removal of repetitious cadences. The German version ended more decisively and quickly; it was less taxing on the singers. In Dalayrac's version of this one-act opera (with eighteen scenes), there were one solo aria, four duets (three for the two brothers and one for Michel and Verseuil); an opening chorus, a chorus and trio (for the Bailiff and the two boys), and the final chorus and vaudeville. In the version made by Fischer there appear to have been no additions. The overture and closing number were shortened, the solo aria omitted, the chorus with the bailiff omitted and two duets simplified. This means that only the two duets and the opening chorus remained untouched. Les deux petits Savoyards was often performed as part of a double bill and making it shorter was perhaps an advantage.
In general, a pleasing amount of care was taken with the word underlay. But on occasions, for example in the opening chorus, simple imitation between the voices is weakened by the use of different words.

More interesting perhaps than these musical alterations, is the way in which an opera with a considerable amount of local colour, a feature of several of Dalayrac's works, was presented to the Viennese. In the Perinet version (of 1792), the names of the two brothers had been Michel and Jost; in Schmieder's version the Gallic "Michel" is also retained but "Josef" now changed to the more foreign sounding "Pietro". Perinet's version, as it stands printed, gives a complete translation of the whole of the French libretto; but Schmieder had the brighter idea of making a feature of the Frenchness of the work: an idea which must have been successful because the Viennese prompt book makes similar manuscript alterations to Schmieder's translation. In scene ii where, in his interview with the Baron, Pietro pretends to be a soldier, his answer of "Ja" is crossed out in the prompt book and replaced by "oui mon capitaine". Exclamations such as "ah c'est affreux" and "non, non!" follow in scene xiv. These are not reversions to the original French libretto but retranslations of Schmieder's version or new additions. After twenty years of performance in Vienna a process of naturalisation had taken place and links with the original version become tenuous. There are indications that the two brothers were instructed
to speak in pidgin German: "ck is written instead of "ch" and verbs sometimes do not agree for example "ick bitten". The Savoy song with triangle accompaniment in scene iii, "Ascouta Jeanette", which reminds Verseuil so poignantly of his native land, was actually sung in French (though translated by Perinet as "Siehst du liebes Mädchen, diese Kleiderpracht"). This proved too much for the Austrian prompter who resorted to writing a phonetical explanation in his copy. But one piece of local colour which the Viennese probably chose not to imitate was the singing of Josef's aria in scene xiv "Une petite fillette qui n'avait pas plus de quinze ans" in "la voix enroué et forte des Savoyards". Stage directions as in Richard are generally more explicit, in the Austrian version than those of the original so the fact that there is no indication of a special effect probably means it was not thought desirable. The song was transposed up a major third for performance in Vienna and Madame Renner, when she played the part of Josef (see above), was praised for the pleasantness of her singing.

Potentially the most tricky part of the opera to make accessible to a Viennese audience was the Bailiff's announcement at the fair in I,i. It consists of a list of famous people, well known and popular entertainments to be seen there; as it is read the audience murmurs "J'irons voir ça, j'connaissons ça", appreciatively. In Sedaine's original the entertainment consists of:
Maguelone de Provence  
(Le premier spectacle de France) ...
Polichinelle et le géant
L'escamateur, le lion vivant ....

Perinet offered his audience:
... die schöne Katherine
Und die schöne Magellone ...
Polischinelli und Affentanz
Der Löwe mit dem langen Schwanz

and Schmieder has:
Heut eröffnet sich die Bühne
Mit der bekannten Melusine ...
Ferner sieht man zugleich auch da
Von Hunden ein fein Komödie

Melusine was an old legend about a water sprite who, in her human form, falls in love with an earthly man. The fate of the man differs from one version to another. The Melusines, along with the other spirits of the elements, fire and earth were distinguished by the Swiss Paracelsus in the fifteenth century. During the 1780s and 1790s, when the taste for magic and the fairy world was strong in Vienna, the story had been popularised in Vienna in Hensler's opera *Das Donauweibchen*, where the fairy was called Hulda.¹ Other German versions of the tale were made by F. W. Zachariae in 1772 and Tieck in 1800. In 1811 Baron de la Motte Fouqué wrote *Undine*, which enjoyed great success and attracted the composer E.T.A. Hoffmann.

In 1823 Grillparzer offered Beethoven an opera libretto on the subject of Melusine which, however he later rejected.² Conradin Kreutzer set Grillparzer's text. An opera on the same subject was written by Lortzing, in 1845.

¹ Das Donauweibchen, text by Hensler, music by Kauer, first performed at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, 13 February, 1798.
² Schindler, p. 261, allegedly because he heard that a ballet on the same subject was being given in Berlin.
After the announcement of Melusine, the bailiff goes on to announce, in a louder voice, that there will also be a performance of Blondel's romance. The Bailiff's recitative ends on the dominant of the key of F and the melody of Blondel's air, from II,iv of Richard Coeur-de-lion --"Une fièvre brûlante"-- is quoted in F. The solo violin of Grétry's original is replaced by flute and oboe which are accompanied by broken chords on the upper strings. As mentioned above, the Viennese first saw Richard Cœur-de-Lion in 1788; by 1813 it had been produced four times in Vienna so this reference would have been easily grasped by Viennese audiences.

F. Dalayrac's Renaud d'Ast

Dalayrac's opera Renaud d'Ast was first given at the Comédie Italienne in 1787; it was published near the time of its first performance. The opera was performed at the Theater auf der Wieden in 1791, under the title Georg von Asten, and appeared eight years later at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt as Der Liebhaber in der Klemme. The opera was revived at the Leopoldstadt in 1801, and again at the theatre in Penzing in 1804.

A German manuscript score of Renaud is extant in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, under the title Der Liebhaber in der Klemme. The title alone suggests that it was used at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, but with it is an uncatalogued manuscript textbook which bears the signature Marinelli and the date 179?9.(the last number is illegible, but may be 9). Marinelli was the director of the Theater in der Leopoldstadt during the 1790s.
The score and textbook clearly belong together, containing the same alterations and German text: it can be concluded with reasonable certainty that both were used for the same production at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt. The textbook was submitted to Hägelin for censorship, for it bears this censor's signature and the comment "wird mit Aenderungen aufgeführt". However, it lacks the normal censor's stamp. The many deletions and additions to the small hand-written textbook make it difficult to read, but two layers of alterations are evident: the first, in Hägelin's hand, in dark brown ink were made for censorship purposes, and a second set of alterations, more basic and large-scale, was made at a later stage with the aim of reducing the opera from two acts to one. It is known that the opera was translated by Perinet for the performance at the Leopoldstadt in 1799 and that this version was altered by Sedtler two years later. This may account for the later changes.

The opera begins on a cold snowy night. Cephise and her maid Marton are alone in a house owned by Cephise's guardian, Isimon, which is on the ramparts of the town. Cephise, who is painting, laments the disappearance of her loved-one, a soldier, Renaud, whom she fears dead. Indeed, her guardian has shown her his name among the list of slain soldiers. Cephise is unable to remember exact details of Renaud's uniform for her picture. Alain, Marton's sweetheart, enters wearing a soldier's cap he has found in the wood. The man to whom it belonged had been attacked by thieves. The cap is recognised as being very similar, if not identical to the one worn by Renaud, and Alain gladly models it for Cephise. A stranger covered in snow appears at the window. He asks to be allowed to enter and shelter in the warmth. Cephise hesitates but the tender-hearted Marton allows the traveller to come in.
It is some time before Cephise recognises him as her loved-one, Renaud d' Ast. Isimon, hoping to marry Cephise himself, had been trying to hide Renaud from her. Isimon returns and Renaud is compelled to hide behind a chimney. Finding Renaud's clothes, Isimon states that they are proof that he is dead. Isimon enquires about some guitar playing he heard a minute ago: he did not know that either of the ladies knew how to play. It was Renaud who had been playing, but to cover up for him, Marton says that it was her. She makes the excuse that she is too nervous to play in front of anybody and goes out of sight, while Renaud plays. Cephise asks Isimon cunningly if he would have allowed her to marry Renaud if he were alive. Isimon says yes; when Renaud suddenly appears, Isimon has to give his consent to their marriage.

Renaud d' Ast

Sources consulted:


"Der Liebhaber in der Klemme." Singspiel in 2 acts, later 1 act. Trans. Perinet and Sedtler. Ms score used for performance Vienna Theater in der Leopoldstadt 1799 and 1801. GMF 1304.

"Der Liebhaber in der Klemme." Ms textbook dated 179/91. Signed "Marinelli". Vienna GMF. Uncatalogued; bears number 2806.

(Note: numbers of the opera about which there is no special comment in the two right-hand columns are substantially the same as in the left column)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paris 1787</th>
<th>Vienna 1799</th>
<th>Vienna 1801</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>overture D minor</td>
<td>overture</td>
<td>overture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Céphise, aria &quot;Tendre mélancolie&quot;</td>
<td>1. Elise[&quot;Seid dich auf mich&quot;]</td>
<td>1. (2nd stanza deleted)</td>
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<tr>
<td>C major; larghetto ma non troppo 3/4</td>
<td>2nd stanza deleted</td>
<td>[illegible]</td>
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<tr>
<td>dialogue</td>
<td>dialogue shortened</td>
<td>dialogue shortened</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sound of retreat: horns, bassoons, oboes</td>
<td>retreat, 2 drum parts added</td>
<td>retreat</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Céphise: aria &quot;Comment gouter quelque repos&quot;</td>
<td>2. deleted by censor</td>
<td>deleted</td>
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<tr>
<td>A minor; 6/8</td>
<td>andante con Expressione</td>
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</table>
3. Alain & Marton: duo "Si j'sis constant en mon amour" [sic]. Eb 2/4 allegro non troppo

3. duo: "Bin ich dir beständig treu" some clumsy feminine endings where the music does not fit the new German words

3. duo: "Bin ich dir beständig treu" some clumsy feminine endings where the music does not fit the new German words

4. trio: Marton, Alain, Céphise: "Allons Alain le regard fier" D major, $ allegro sostenuto

4. trio: "Hier sey dich [her hier-her]" allegro moderato difficult to read

4. trio: "Hier sey dich [her hier-her]" allegro moderato difficult to read

5. Reinald: "Il neige il vente, il gèle" 6/8 G major, unaccompanied

5. Reinald: "Es schneit" orchestral accomp. added for oboes and strings

5. Reinald: "Es schneit" orchestral accomp. added for oboes and strings

6. Reinald: "Ah j'ai droit d'attendrir votre ame" Romanza; 6/8; Bb major un poco lento

6. Reinald: "0 hören Sie die liebenden Klagen" coloratura omitted

6. Reinald: "0 hören Sie die liebenden Klagen" coloratura omitted

7. Marton: "Pauvre petit, il est transi" G minor; 2/4; allegro un poco con sordini strings

7. does not appear in German score; crossed out in text book

7. does not appear in German score; crossed out in text book

8. Reinald: "Doux présent de ma Maîtresse" A major; $; andante

8. Reinald: "Holdes Bild der reinsten Liebe" (deleted in text book)

8. Reinald: "Holdes Bild der reinsten Liebe" (deleted in text book)
9. Finale
Isimon: recit: "De toi pauvre Renaud" E major, 6/8; ğ:
recit for Renaud in cupboard, larghetto; andantino;
non troppo leading to quartet "Ah dans mon coeur"

episode about Isimon finding Renaud's clothes is omitted; goes straight to Céphise's recognition of Renaud

Act II

10. Renaud: speech
Aria "Vous qui d'amoureuse" 6/8 C major
dialogue
deleted

11. Trio: Céphise, Marton, Renaud: "Parlez bas"
Bb; andantino; ğ:
dialogue
Trio: Elise, Reinald, Marton: "So seh ich theurer dich nun wieder"

in score, an extra aria for Alain is added here: "Ich war der Hochzeit oft vorbei" deleted
No. 9 of the original French: recit for Isimon and the following ensemble: "Sieh hier das arme Rinaldo"; some cuts made

12. long orchestral introduction; Céphise: viens, viens à ma voix" F major, ğ allegro; (very high, very difficult)
Céphise's aria, which has much coloratura, is omitted; instead a new aria is added for Alain: "Ein Kuss von schönen Mädchen dringt so süß" deleted
As in 1799 production, two new numbers replace the original French numbers 12 and 13 both, however, were deleted at one time

dialogue
dialogue

13. Isimon: "Je suis un chasseur plein d'adresse" D minor; And.ino marqué 2/4
Isimon's aria is omitted: instead a new love duet for Elise and Reinald is inserted

14. Finale: Céphise, Renaud, Alain Isimon" Renaud, Renaud ici"
C minor, moderato, ğ (ends in C major)

Finale: C minor

Finale: C minor

1. Dalayrac himself acknowledged the difficulty of this number. The full score bears the note: "Dans le cas ou cet Air paraitroit mal aisé on prie MM. les violons de vouloir le mettre à la partée des chanteurs". p. 126
The German translation of the opera is free and lacks the elegance and refinement of the French. Indeed, the French version, if it had been translated literally, may not have offended the Viennese censors as the German version did. The second aria for Cephise, or Elise, as she became in Vienna, describes the pain of a lover whose sweetheart goes off to war: "La gloire au loin soudain l'appelle". A few parts of the first two stanzas were altered in Hägelin's dark brown ink, but when he reached the third stanza, he cut out the whole aria. The final verse tells of the distress of the woman left behind:

Ma raison fuit, et dans mon sein
S'allume une fièvre brûlante;
Mais bientôt une main savante
De mes jours éloigne la fin
Pourquoi sur la douleur extrême
La mort n'a-t-elle pas des droits!
Hélas! il faut mourir deux fois
Quand on survit à ce qu'on aime.

Hin stürzt er in die blütge Schlacht
Wie zitterte ich für sein Leben!
Mit ängstlichen schrecklichen Beben
Durchwacht ich jede lange Nacht
Bald drückten die Leiden mich nieder,
Ich harrte jeden Tag auf ihn
Doch jeden sah ich leer [ernstliche?]
Und Ach! er kehrte nicht wieder.

Some other deletions were made by the censor: sometimes words which might be thought to be too suggestive are cut out. For example, in aria 7 Elise describes her ideal man. One of his desirable characteristics is that he should be "gewiss von Standen" -- this is deleted perhaps because it might have been thought to inflame democratic sentiments in the audience. The reference to the soldiers, who took away Renaud's arms when they caught him fleeing through the forest, as Bösewichten, is also cut out. Number twelve, an aria for Elise, is firmly struck out by the censor. In it, Elise describes her longing for her lover to come to her in the evening. It is a stock operatic situation and it is hard to imagine any but the most perverted mind taking exception to it.
Other shifts of emphasis were the result of practical necessity. The score used in Vienna shows quite clearly that from the beginning, the part of Isimon was conceived for a baritone rather than high tenor as in the original French. Perhaps the lower voice made Isimon seem older; in the German translation he is referred to (in French) as "Le gouverneur". Renaud and Isimon have considerably less to sing than in the original French. Difficult runs and coloratura requiring special singing technique are omitted from the parts of both Elise and Reinalg. On the other hand Alain (whose name was changed in Vienna to "Martin"), has more to sing than in the original French. He is the only character to sing a solo verse in the vaudeville at the end of the opera.

The requirements and limitations of the singers; the censor;and, for the 1801 production, the desire to make the opera into a one-act work, were factors which governed the alterations made to this work. The integrity of Dalayrac's original was not respected.

This score confirms one's suspicions that great liberties were taken with the opéras-comiques performed at the suburban theatres during the 1790s. Stanzas were omitted from numbers, singing passages of technical difficulty were left out and even the order of events in the opera was changed around. As is evident from the title of the opera chosen by Perinet for the production at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt "Der Liebhaber in der Klemme" (which could be roughly translated as "The lover in a fix"), every attempt was to make French operas performed at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt popular in flavour and easily accessible to the audience.
G. Dalayrac's Raoul, Sire de Créqui

The plot of Raoul, Sire de Créqui was described in chapter III (see p. 160) in connection with its similarities to Beethoven's Fidelio. It had been first performed in Paris at the Comédie Italienne three months after the storming of the Bastille -- in October 1789. According to La Mercure de France, the two leading parts (Adèle and Créqui) were very well played by Madame du Gazon and M. Philippe. One of the two children (La Mercure does not state which -- presumably Bathilde), was played by Mlle St. Aubain who, twenty years later, was one of the most distinguished singers of the Opéra-Comique. Singled out for particular praise at the Paris première was M. Chénard, who played the jailer "avec une franchise, une simplicité, un naturel singulièrement remarquables". He was a fine singer. Interestingly, the scene in this opera where the children help their father, the jailer, to become intoxicated, was objected to in Paris on moral grounds.¹ No such criticism seems to have been voiced by the Viennese who, indeed, seem to have found this the best part of the whole opera.

The opera was first performed at the court theatres in 1805, but was already known to Viennese audiences through an earlier production at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt in 1793: Die Monatschrift für Theaterfreunde

1. La Mercure de France, 14 November, 1789, p. 42.

Illustrations opposite: (i) "Raoul Herr von Créqui", cover of volume II of the manuscript score used for performances at the Kärntnerthortheater in 1805; (ii) The return of Créqui: chorus "Er ists" (C'est lui) from the end of the opera, page from the score prepared by B.A. Weber and used for performance at the Kärntnerthortheater in 1805. (See p. 500).
in 1805 described Raoul as an "allgemein bekannte Oper, die wir schon auf einem Vorstadttheater gesehen haben."¹ There was another brief revival of Raoul at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt in 1813. No score has been found from the Leopoldstadt productions, but performance material is extant from the 1805 performances at the court theatres.

There is no early printed score of this opera by Dalayrac in the Musiksammlung of the Nationalbibliothek, which raises the possibility that the court theatres never owned the original French version.

In 1805, the court theatres performed Raoul in a version made by B. A. Weber, director of a touring theatrical company. In 1790 he joined Abbé Vogler and travelled through Holland, Scandinavia and Germany; in 1793 he became Kapellmeister at Berlin and in 1793 went to Vienna and wrote an essay on music in Vienna for the Berliner Musikzeitung. It is probable that B. A. Weber made his version of Raoul for Berlin during the 1790s but the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde has a manuscript score of Raoul, Sire de Créqui marked "Breslau" and dated 13 July 1797, the date given by Loewenberg as the Breslau première. It contains the opening chorus of the 1805 Viennese version and several other similar features (how much of this extra music is by Weber is impossible to say); Weber visited Breslau in 1800 and he also visited Paris in 1803 with Kotzebue who, for a short while, was court poet in Vienna.² The exact origins

of Weber's additions to Dalayrac's opera are uncertain, but the Viennese score itself is very clear, being used for only nine performances with no revivals.

The fact has already been mentioned that in Vienna was not the only European city to alter opéras-comiques for its own purposes. An early score of *Raoul, Sire de Créqui* is extant in the Bavarian Staatsbibliothek. According to the library catalogue, it was used for performances in Munich from October 1794. The opera was revived in Munich in 1804.\(^1\) The following table does not treat the Breslau and Munich scores in detail, but shows how each opera allegedly by Dalayrac or Grétry (or other composers) differed from place to place.

In the German scores, Craon becomes Konrad; Adèle becomes Elise; Eloi becomes Heinrich or Edwin; Bathilde becomes Susanne or Susanchen.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>French Score</th>
<th>score marked</th>
<th>Viennese score</th>
<th>Munich score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BL H 538.c.</td>
<td>&quot;Breslau 1797&quot;</td>
<td>KT 374 1805</td>
<td>?179? or 1804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>overture</td>
<td>overture soldiers' chorus</td>
<td>overture shortened chorus</td>
<td>flutes added to overture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D minor</td>
<td>enters sooner</td>
<td>recit for Roger</td>
<td>102 bars added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bars 26-42 at one time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

speech for Craon's speech
Craon cries to omitted
heaven to have aria for Craon
mercy "O Ciel" D minor; C
ayez pitié de moi" "Wohin, wohin". "O guter Gott
Eloi & Bathilde erbarme dich"
meet Craon; speech

(Note: where there is no special comment about the items in the 3 right-hand columns, these opera numbers are like the French original (column 1).)

\(^1\) *Raoul* was one of five new French operas to be given in Munich in 1794, but its popularity was far surpassed by Grétry's *Richard*, Zenger, p. 55ff.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paris</th>
<th>Breslau</th>
<th>Vienna</th>
<th>Munich</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>duet: Eloi</td>
<td>duet: Edwin &amp;</td>
<td>duet: Susanne &amp;</td>
<td>duet: &quot;Ich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Je brûle</td>
<td>Bathilde &quot;Das</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voir le château</td>
<td>Schloss wovon</td>
<td>Heinrich: &quot;Das</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dont parle</td>
<td>mein Vater&quot;</td>
<td>Schloss wovon</td>
<td>möchte wohl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>notre Père&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>mein Vater&quot;</td>
<td>das Schloss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D major 2/4</td>
<td>2/4</td>
<td>2/4</td>
<td>dort sehen&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D major 2/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aria: Craon</td>
<td>Romanza: &quot;...</td>
<td>Craon's aria</td>
<td>Romanza: Conrad:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;De vos</td>
<td>gab mir in dem</td>
<td>omitted; instead</td>
<td>&quot;Ach, eure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bontés&quot;</td>
<td>Augenblick&quot;</td>
<td>new aria for</td>
<td>Liebe und Güte&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G minor 3/4</td>
<td>G minor; 3/4</td>
<td>Gerhard: &quot;Wie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>blühte Crequi's</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Flamme&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| duet: Craon & Gerhard "Ah ne me livrez pas" | duet: Konrad & Gerhard: "Ach
| Gérard "Ah ne me livrez pas" | duet: Konrad & Gerhard: "Ach
| Eb andante C | suchen Sie den Gram zu wider streben" Eb andante |
|            |                | sucht doch"   |
| aria: Landri | "Nous en trou- | new aria: Elisa |
| "Nous en trou- | verons" E major | C major "ja las-
| verons" E major | Gewehr schaffen | car il mio
carlo assai | selbst wir
| (high: top Gs & Fs) | hier" E major | "Tief durch
tresoro" another short aria for
|            |               | die düstere Seele"
|            | new aria: with coloratura Bb
|            | new aria: Elisa |
|            | with coloratura Bb
|            | andante con moto: "Vor allen die ich
|            | new aria: with |
|            |    | schon verliere
|            |    | blieb mir die
|            |    | Hoffnung": Elise
|            |    | "Wir finden" |
|            |    | E major |
| aria: Landri: "Wir finden Sie" | aria: Landri:  |
|            |    | "Wir finden" |
|            |    | E major |
|            | Finale: C minor | Finale: C minor |
|            | Finale: C minor | Finale: C minor |
| Finale:    | Finale: "Wir | Finale: C minor |
| Gérard, Adèle, müssen fort von Craon. "Il faut diesem Ort"|
|            | Landri's solos omitted (per- |
|            | haps too high) |
| ACT II     | duet: Bathilde | duet: "Ach Bruder duet |
| duet: Bathilde | & Edwin; "Ha  |
| & Edwin; "Ha  |
| Bruder spielst  |
| du nicht den  |
| Stummen "     |
| (speech)     | aria: Ludger  |
| aria: Ludger  |
| Ludger: "Paix,  |
| "Paix,       |
| paix" G minor |
| 2/4          | "Still, still" |
|            | still alle Neugier |
|            | ein"  |
Paris | Breslau | Vienna | Munich
--- | --- | --- | ---
Music: C minor | Crequi: "O süsses Schmeichel-ey" C minor | Crequi: C minor, much omitted | aria: Crequi
Recit-aria: "O d'un sommeil trompeur" while we see Créqui in tower

Chanson: Quartet Bathilde: "Un soir Lisette au champ"

C / A major | ensemble "Trink, armer Mann" first part omitted | "Trink, armer Mann" ensemble "Trink" not present in one textbook: perhaps omitted

Andantino - quartet, Créqui drinking song

Finale: "Il est parti" D major

6/8 Eloi, Bathilde etc.

Act III

22 bar orchestral introduction - then speech by Craon; Romanza 6/8 A major

Craon 6/8 A major/

minor "Une lumière vive et pure"

Duet-trio: Craon & Créqui "Observons un profond silence" & Eb major

Allo moderato

Trio: "Sois notre appui, Dieu" 3/4 C major

Gerard, C major

Adèle, Craon

Quartet: "C'est lui, c'est lui" allegro molto D major

Adèle, Gérard, Créqui, Craon

Finale: "O jour heureux" C major

Chorus: "Lasset heimlich und still" Elise & Gerhard; 212 bars

Included in some pfs

Duet-trio: new duo for Elise & Rudolph 2d2 bars A major

Trio: C major long new duet for Elise & Rudolph 2d2 bars A major

Quartet and chorus "Er ist's", allegro moderato presto; D major much omitted

Finale: "O Tag voll Ruhe"; E major large part cut E major
The Munich version is interesting for heightening the importance of Elise in the opera; she is given a new coloratura aria and two long new duets, and the romantic element of the plot is enlarged: in the original French opera Elise and her husband do not sing a duet together except for occasional solo phrases in the finale. The Munich version also added extra parts for flute, oboe, trumpet and horns to the orchestration. The Viennese version was most probably based on that made for Breslau and misses out numbers for both Craon and Landry so that the parts of the children and jailer become more prominent. The Viennese score also introduces a long new aria for Elise. The translations used by the Breslau and Viennese score are the same; the Munich score uses a different German version.

A notice of the opera which appeared in the Monatsschrift für Theaterfreunde confirms the suspicion that Viennese audiences were less sympathetic to the plight of Craon (as an inheritor of society's evils) -- or to Elise, the wronged and lonely wife (played by a rather large singer), than they were to the children and the drunken jailer. This was partly caused by the performance (and the shape of the singer who played Elise):

Der zweyte Act allein hat hinlängliches Interesse, die übrigen sind äusserst matt; viel Spektakel aber wenig Situationen. Mit der Darstellung waren wir nicht im geringsten zufrieden. Herr Neumann als Raul ist unerträglich, sein Spiel trug nicht das geringste Kennzeichen von Theilnahme und Leben. Mad R als Elise wurde durch ihre imposante Figur gehindert, wenigstens erträglich zu spielen; auch sprach sie sehr unverständlich.1

1. Die Monatschrift für Theaterfreunde, 1805, VI, p. 262.
The Monatschrift also criticised Dem. Eigensatz (who played Susanna), for acting more like a coquette than an innocent girl. Herr Weinmüller, as the jailer, "spielte mit vieler Einsicht und unermüdtem Eifer".

Perinet had made a translation of Raoul, Sire de Créqui for the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, in 1793. According to Bauer, this translation was used at the court theatres in 1805. However it is much more likely that the translation by Herklots was used for this later production. Herklots's version was the preferred translation in other parts of Germany. It seems unlikely that B.A. Weber, working in Berlin on his adaptation of Raoul, Sire de Créqui, would have had access to Perinet's translation.

Weber's version of Dalayrac's opera was not very successful in Vienna and the opera was not performed there after 1805.
H. Cherubini's Lodoiska

*Lodoiska* was the first opera by Cherubini to be seen in Vienna. There is more reliable performance material preserved from early performances of it than from Viennese productions of *Les deux journées*. The Kärntnerthortheater (which engaged in fierce competition with the Theater an der Wien over the production of *Les deux journées*), did not attempt to mount a rival production of *Lodoiska*. The latter was performed at the Theater an der Wien in 1802 and at the Kärntnerthortheater -- much later -- in 1814.

Cherubini's *Lodoiska* was dropped from the Parisian repertoire in 1802. Kreutzer's opera of the same name was much more popular in France: first produced in 1791 it was revived in 1805, and in 1814 for the return of the Bourbons. Kreutzer's *Lodoiska* was never seen in Vienna but a setting of the opera by Mayr was performed at the court theatres (in Italian) in 1798.

Two German scores of the Cherubini opera remain in the archives of the Nationalbibliothek: SM 25049, with TW written on the front and later deleted.
score lacks an overture); and KT 265. Inside the cover of KT 265 is a list of the following dates: 24 Gener /sic/; 25; 28; 30; 3; Feb; 5 (Hadamowsky has "7" here), and 18. There can be almost no doubt that KT 265 was used for the above performances at the Kärntnertheater; it is doubtful that SM 25049 was used for all the Theater an der Wien performances because of the relatively new appearance of the score (and this production ran for 70 performances). But some score markings indicate that the music contained here was used at least for some performances. There is no other manuscript score of this opera in the catalogue of the Musiksammlung of the Nationalbibliothek. This score may be a compilation of different scores, which would explain why the second half is more heavily marked than the first part. The French score used for this comparison was MS 20830 published in 1791. In the Viennese archives there is also a score of Lodoiska which bears both the names Nadermann and Artaria and the possible date (obscure to read) of 1831.¹

Lodoiska opens at night time with Titzikan, a Tartar chief, discussing with his men how they will surround the castle of Dourlinski as vengeance for his crimes. Titzikan, who has a noble heart, tells the Tartars not to injure any innocent travellers. Two strangers arrive in the forest: Count Floreski and his servant Varbel. Their horses have been taken by the Tartars. Floreski is in search of his sweetheart, Lodoiska, whom, for some reason, he has been refused permission (by her father) to marry. Lodoiska has been imprisoned by her father in a secret place. Unfortunately, however, since her father's death, no-one knows of her whereabouts. Floreski is challenged by Titzikan to lay down his arms; Floreski is annoyed by this challenge and fights Titzikan, whom he disarms. However, he

¹ VMmlg S.A.82.D.14.
spares the Tartar chief's life, and the couple swear eternal friendship. During this duet, stones are dropped from the tower and it is discovered that Lodoiska is imprisoned there. She begs Floreski to free her, but to be careful: Dourlinski is determined to marry Lodoiska himself. Intrigue, disguise, drugged wine and support of Titzikan's men, ensure that Lodoiska is freed and the villain duly punished. The opera ends with the storming of the castle and the lovers leap from the tower into the arms of the Tartars.

Lodoiska

Sources consulted:


French score TW sm 25049 (1802?) KTh 265 1814

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>overture</th>
<th>no overture included in score</th>
<th>number of trombones increased to 3: triads completed in red pencil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D major, long</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

no. 1 aria

Titzikan & Tartares column 1

Bb C "Approchez"

aria: Tisiskan; like

dialogue

no. 2: aria

Titzikan C major column 1

Allegro moderato.

"Triomphons" high
tessitura (up to G)

aria: Tisiskan; like

"Es ist zum Teufel hohlen" aria: Narko: high Ds and Es transposed down an d v e, high part in the middle is cut, 3 cuts of 16 bars each to eliminate the high parts

air 3: Varbel D major; C "Voyez la belle besogne" new recitative and aria not in the French score Floreski: "Einsam, einsam gelassen", aria in Bb

dialogue shortened Varbel's aria omitted: not included in score

Note: where there is no special comment about the items in the two right-hand columns, the reader should assume that these numbers of the opera are very similar to the French original (column 1).
no. 4 quartet quartet quartet
F major; Fl, V, T,
un Tartare "Etrangers
n'ayez point d'allarmes"
C allegro spiritoso

no. 5 aria: trio + aria (Tisiskan) aria (Titzikan)
choir andantino
sostenuto Eb 3/4
Titzikan "Jurons
jurons"

no. 6: duet andantino duet andantino duet
sans presser changed to moderato
dialogue recit replaces dialogue dialogue

no. 7: finale finale finale
"Je l'entends" C, Fl,
Varbel, Lod, C major

ACT II ACT II ACT II
introduzione; 67 bars;
contrapuntal; (recita-
tive from adW score
is included here, but
the pages are sewn
together -- arranger of
1814 score chose not to
use it). 

no. 8 recitative & aria recitative & aria recitative & aria
"Que dis-je, O ciel"
aria "Hélas dans ce
cruel azile" F major
3/4

speech recitative (Lodoiska: speech
"So bang zu sagen")

no. 9 duet: Lod + duet duet
Dour; Bb "A ces
traits" C

dialogue

no. 10 quartet + quartet quartet
chorus E minor "Non
non perde cette
espérance"
dialogue recitative for Durlinski & Floreski substantially altered "Genug, sprich warum"; at some later date. small letters at top New version 29 bars, to say "bleibt aus"; very smudgy: "Mein leads into a new aria Laudes sagt (?)" homophonic, Italianate, Eb major "Nein es ist Täuschung"

no. 11 trio: no sign of a trio trio: "Gott, er ist für wahr betroffen"

Durlinski & Floreski substantially altered "Genug, sprich warum"; at some later date. very smudgy: "Mein leads into a new aria Laudes sagt (?)" homophonic, Italianate, Eb major "Nein es ist Täuschung"

no. 12 aria: a new aria which leads straight into new aria for Floreski C major "Abwendung drückt schwer mich nieder"

no. 13 finale no; 13 short speech, then finale no; 13 short speech, then finale

Act III Act III Act III

no. 14 aria aria introduzione

(Dourlinski) Eb C Durlinski's aria omitted

"Oui par mon heureuse adresse"

dialogue recitative for Durlinski & Lodoiska "Was dürfte so viel" sense of missing aria

no. 15 aria (Lodoiska) G minor "Tournez sur moi") new aria; 165 bars, aria as in the French score, but in F minor bass A minor/A major "Ja,[grabe wer singen] die Thränen der Liebe" melismas [difficult to read]

dialogue recitative, Durlinski, recit accompagnato Lodoiska, Floreski not like adW recit 43 bars "Er wird beliebt"
no. 16: melodrama: 
aría: as in French
Floreski; "Mais que
signifie cette alarme"
D + allegro
dialogue
no dialogue in
score
dialogue
"Verwandlung"

no. 17: finale
bataille
D +
voices C
bataille
1st part of battle
copied out in score
but pages sewn
together indicating
that at some time
it was not used.
Verwandlung is
moved forward; much
shortened; recit in
the middle is cut

final solos
and chorus
final solos
and chorus
cut up to the
allegro spiritoso
Tzizikan "votre
fureur est légitime"
followed by final
chorus.
Impact of final
battle is weakened
i.e. 13 pages omitted
(p. 398 full
score, 12 pages from
end)

The Theater an der Wien score does not contain the
two new entr'actes written by Cherubini for perfor-
man ce in Vienna in 1805; either the score dates
from before that time, or the entractes were omitted
in subsequent performances when Cherubini had left
Vienna. ¹ The virtuosic aria in Act II is probably

¹. The extra numbers by Cherubini were never performed in Paris.
the aria by Nasolini mentioned in the press. It can be seen that the adW performances used recitatives in preference to spoken dialogue; perhaps this was because of the grand and serious nature of Cherubini's opera, different from the Singspiel with spoken dialogue known to the Viennese in 1802 when Lodoiska was first given in Vienna. These recitatives were known to the compiler of the 1814 score, and some were copied into the original version of it, but subsequently left out. The trio from the end of act II and the G minor aria from act II for Lodoiska do not appear in the Theater an der Wien score.

It was noted by Viennese audiences right from the beginning that some alterations had been made to Cherubini's score. Perinet, writing in the Theatralmanach of 1803, commented that "die prachtvolle Arrangierung" made by the Theater an der Wien showed off the opera to its full advantage; that the added aria by Nasolini for Madame Campi in act III set the final pearls in Cherubini's crown. At least one critic disagreed with Perinet. The writer of the AMZ wrote angrily: "Der Lorbeerkrantz

1. Wiener Theater Almanach für das Jahr 1803, p. 82.
dieses Komponisten bedarf keiner Zierde; er kann durch eingeflochtne Blümchen fremder Art nur verlieren, nicht aber, wie Hr Perinet fälschlich glaubt, gewinnen.". The theatre's direction, he continued, should not cut, shorten or add arias and choruses without telling the public. Madame Campi (née Miklaszewicz), was a prima donna from Prague (who also sang the part of Countess in the Marriage of Figaro and the Queen of the Night).

The aria added for her in this opera displayed Madame Campi's virtuosity and it became a favourite -- and an integral part of Cherubini's opera. When Madame Campi sang the part of Lodoiska at the Theater an der Wien fourteen years later, on 13 August 1816, this aria was described in the AMZ as the highlight of her performance.

When Cherubini came to Vienna in September 1805, he made alterations to Lodoiska. He introduced two new entr'actes "die sehr schön, nur vielleicht etwas zu lang sind", a new, very brilliant aria for Madame Campi, and a new aria for Herr Mendl: "einen äusserst mittelmässigen Tenoristen". The AMZ was perplexed about the dramatic significance of this aria: "diese Arie hat schöne Stellen, nur fällt es auf, dass der Komponist zum Recitative, wo die Seele des Singenden noch zweifelt, kämpft, fürchtet, das helle C dur gewählt hat, und dann im Allegro, wo

1. AMZ, 23 February 1803, column 371.

2. AMZ, 23 October 1816, column 780.

3. AMZ, 18 September 1805, report from Vienna.
das Gemuth sich endlich zum freyen, muthigen Entschlusse aufschwingt, ins trübe C moll übergeht. Aber ein so
denkender und genialer Kunstler, wie Cherubini, mag auch
dazu seine eignen Ursachen gehabt haben". 1

Like the Theater an der Wien score, the Kärntner-
thortheater score uses the Herklots translation but it
adds some alterations to improve the sense and textual
underlay which are pencilled on top of the original
version. The two entr'actes are almost certainly those
composed in 1805 by Cherubini. The one piece of recitative
used here appears in neither the French score nor the
Theater an der Wien score. The aria at the beginning of
act II was omitted -- perhaps an alteration made by Cherubini --
as a result of the new entracte; a new aria is added towards
the end of that act to replace the omitted aria for Floreski.
The opera is brought to a swifter close with the omission
of the first part of the battle, but this version was per-
haps closer to the spirit of Cherubini's original because
it contained the original passages of dialogue. I have
not found any references in the press to the effect that
the 1814 performances were different from those first
seen at the Theater an der Wien twelve years earlier.

I. Cherubini's Les deux journées

Les deux journées had been first produced in Paris
in 1800; as mentioned in chapter III, it was performed
in Vienna two years later (August 1802) in rival productions
opening on consecutive nights at the Kärntnerthortheater
and Theater an der Wien. It was even more successful in
Germany than in France.

1. AMZ 18 September 1805, report from Vienna.
Les deux journées is a story of social reconciliation, a theme which was popular in post-revolutionary France. Bouilly's libretto was admired by Beethoven and also Goethe and Mendelssohn. Set in mid-17th-century France, the opera deals with the rescue by a family of Savoy watercarriers of unjustly persecuted aristocrats.

It would be of the greatest interest to be able to say how this opera was performed in Vienna and to see whether or not it was faithful to the original French work. Unfortunately such an undertaking seems impossible because of the opera's very success. The remaining score and textbooks were heavily used and worn, with the result that they are now almost illegible. The unravelling of the different layers of deletion and parts added to replace or supplement them, would, in the end, come down to guess-work.

The opera was given at the Kärntnerthortheater in 1802 and ran until 1811, when it was revived at the same theatre. The score prepared for this 1811 production has been preserved in the archives and seems to have been used well into the middle of the nineteenth century, for it bears the class mark OA (Opern Archiv) rather than the more usual Kth given to earlier operas. But one early manuscript score does remain in the Musiksammlung of the Nationalbibliothek. It simply bears the letters TW on the front cover with no date or further clue as to its origins. As Les deux journées was not revived
at the Theater an der Wien after the 1802 production, there is a likelihood that this score was used for that particular production, or that it was intended for a later cancelled production. The music does show signs of having been used.

The German translation used in this manuscript score of this opera is by Treitschke, which was the translation used for the opening production of *Les deux journées* at the Kärntnerthortheater. The different names give to the characters, as well as different words, distinguish it from the Schmieder translation used at the Theater an der Wien in 1802. Published texts of both translations are extant in the *Musiksammlung*.

*Les deux journées*

Sources consulted:


"Tage der Gefahr". Singspiel in 3 acts. /Trans. G. F. Treitschke./ Ms score. Marked TW but probably used for performances at the Kärntnerthortheater from 1802 (see below). VMsmlg S.M. 25050.


"Tage der Gefahr". Ms textbooks. Trans. Treitschke. As used for performance at the court theatres from 1802. VMsmlg S.M. 32.291.62/82.
It is possible that S.M.25050 was used in conjunction with another score to direct performances of the opera because there are some puzzling gaps, and a few numbers tail off inexplicably. For example the last four bars for orchestra in number twelve, act III, were omitted, so shortening the melodrama, and there is a scribbled note to say "see the other manuscript". It is known that changes were made in Viennese productions of Les deux journées during and after Cherubini's visit to Vienna so perhaps several different scores existed. This music seems to date from around 1802, because of its similarity of appearance to other scores of whose origins we can be sure. It clearly shows that extensive alterations were made to Les deux journées in Vienna. Many choruses were shortened: for example the first chorus in act II (number six) shows signs of extensive editing; new trumpet and timpani parts appear after number four; the melodrama number eight was cut short and 36 bars of repetitious material was cut from the introduction to act III. The moderato section for Angelica in number eleven was probably omitted. Cuts are evident in number 13 and new words were at some time added to numbers two and seven. Several other numbers seem to have been omitted only to be reinstated at a later time.

However, this score does contain the opening song for Antonio (which, according to the AMZ was omitted at the Theater an der Wien); this is the most conclusive proof that this score was used at the Kärntnerthortheater
rather than at the Theater an der Wien. The AMZ also reported that many choruses were shortened at the Kärntnerthortheater performance.

It is easier to comment on the printed German textbooks which remain from the 1802 productions, though there is no guarantee that the performance version followed the printed text. There are many similarities of rhyme between the translations but also substantial differences. Members of the Viennese public who went to see Graf Armand at the Theater an der Wien saw an opera which took place in German lands. Antonio, in this version, lived in the little village of Hasbach and was slow on the uptake prompting Micheli to exclaim "Himmel! was man auf einem Dorf tölpisch wird". In order to escape from the city, Marcellina needed a "Thorpass"; at the Kärntnerthortheater production she required, more specifically, a pass to leave Paris; and at the Kärntnerthortheater, Antonio lived in the French village of Gonesse. The opening song in the French version "Un pauvre petit Savoyard mourait de froid et de soufrance", tells how a Savoyard, lost in Paris, is saved by a Frenchman; later, in wartime, the Savoyard rescues the imprisoned Frenchman in return. This was accurately translated by Treitschke; but the Theater an der Wien omitted this song, and, instead, Antonio told, in prose, how he had once been saved from starvation by a German. A report in the AMZ of 6 October 1802 regretted the omission of this song but also reported

1. At the Theater an der Wien Cherubini's opera was known as Graf Armand from its earliest performance there. The Kärntnerthortheater advertised the opera as Die Tage der Gefahr until November 1805 (when it also adopted the title Graf Armand). In 1841 the Theater in der Josefstadt performed the opera as Der Wasserträger.
that the Kärntnerthortheater production had shortened some of the choruses. According to this paper, too, the sets at the court theatre were more authentic.¹

Cherubini himself made some alterations to Les deux journées during his visit to Vienna in 1805. Rosenbaum noted in his diary on 31 August after going to see him conduct Les deux journées there for a second time that, apart from changes of tempo in the overture and romanza, there was nothing to make his presence known.² But the AMZ reported that Cherubini:

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hat die Ouvertüre etwas verändert, und mehrere neue Musikstücke eingelegt. Das Schönste davon, und von einem herrlichen Effekte ist ein Quartett vom Chore begleitet im zweyten Akte, wo die Soldaten Micheli's angebliche Tochter (die Gräfin) mit Gewalt in die Wachstub schleppen wollen.³
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This is perhaps referring to the ensemble in Act II for Constance, Antonio, the commander and Seraphine, "O mon frère, je t'en supplie" or the ensemble at the beginning of act II "Point de pitié" both of which have solos and chorus. However, the AMZ implies that it was a completely new number.

I. Cherubini's L'hôtel Portugaise

L'hôtel Portugaise, a one act opera which The New Grove deems to be "of minor significance", was first performed in Paris in 1798. The performance in Vienna in 1803 was apparently its first in German.

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¹. AMZ, 6 October 1802, column 28.
². Rosenbaum diary entry, 31 August 1805, p. 125.
³. AMZ, 18 September 1805, column 810.
speaking lands; it was translated for the Kärntner-
thortheater by G. F. Treitschke. In 1819 the opera was
revived at the same theatre. A score remains from
the 1803 production and a textbook from 1819 so it is
possible to compare the two productions of the opera
at the same theatre.

No French score of the opera remains in the Musik-
sammlung, so a direct comparison with Cherubini's
original was not possible.

L'hôtelerie portugaise

Sources consulted:

"Der portugiesische Gasthof." Singspiel in 1 act. Trans.
Treitschke. Ms score as used for pf Vienna KBTh from
1803. VMsmlg Kth 354.

Der portugiesische Gasthof. Trans. Treitschke. Printed
text. As used for performance at the court theatres
from 1803. VMsmlg 628.823-B Th.

"Der portugiesische Gasthof". Trans. Treitschke. Ms
text as used for performance at the court theatres from
1803. VMsmlg S.m; 32.834 M (29/40); S.m. 32.835.

Der Portugiesische Gasthof. Printed score. Leipzig,
n.d. VMsmlg OA 1511. I. used for pf from 1819?!

"Der portugiesische Gasthof." Ms textbooks used for per-
formance at the court theatres from 1819. VMsmlg
S.m. 32.835.

It is a short work with only nine numbers, but even
it was not immune to cuts and alteration:

1803 (score Kth 354) 1819 (from text book Sm 32835)
Long overture in D minor /Overture?

1. First Cherubini aria Obviously the textbook
replaced by a new aria for yields no information about it
Gabriele "Nach dir nur Götter" like column 1
"Nach dir nur Götter". Bb C con moto assai
2. aria: Rodrigo: "Mir geht alles nach Wunsch" F major C
3. Terzetto: Carlos, Roselba, Rodrigo: "Weh nur" Eb allegro non tanto
4. Romanza: Carl: "Du wandelst einsam" A major, 2/4
5. First Cherubini aria appears here: Gabriella "Mir ist ein starker Schutz"
6. another aria in the score: Ines: "Muthig denn und immer weiter" G major; allegretto
7. aria: Roselba: "Mit Schmeicheln Lust manch' schöne Wort" F major; 6/8; like no. 7 of column 1
8. quartetto: Gabriella, Ines, Roselba, Rodrigo; "Zu den Damen will ich eilen" F major; C
9. vaudeville -- large cut. D major

The numbers are according to a German printed score dating from Leipzig (n.d. not later than 1842).

Even short opéras-comiques performed in Vienna were likely to receive cuts and changes.

K. Le Sueur's La caverne

Some Viennese reactions to the 1803 productions of La caverne have already been mentioned. The opera opened at the Theater an der Wien on 14 June in a translation by J. von Seyfried and at the Kärntnerthortheater translated by Lippert on 22 June. A score and textbooks from the production at the Kärntnerthortheater are extant.
in Vienna: Kth 375 (manuscript score); S.m. 32001 and 320034 (manuscript textbooks); 641433-A (printed textbook published Vienna Wallishäuser in 1803). An early published French score (M.S. 12365) is also in the collection of the Musiksammlung which made possible a direct comparison.

The production at the Theater an der Wien survived seven performances; that at the court theatre, 22. The AMZ commented on both productions in the same issue -- at the beginning of July -- in the space of only one and a half columns. The review mentioned the costumes and set and the Viennese excitement about the competition between the two theatres and the loud shots fired at the end.¹ Almost nothing was said about the translations except that both were bad. From a musical point of view the weak choral singing and inadequate casting at the Theater an der Wien and the fine orchestral playing at the Kärntnertortheater were mentioned. The music was described as "tumultuarisch" though the critic gave no indication as to whether this was praise or condemnation.

It perhaps comes as a surprise then in examining a score which is relatively easy to read (the opera was not revived after the 1803 production), that only two of the opera's seventeen numbers escaped extensive cuts. A table indicating alterations is given below.

La caverne is a rescue opera. Robbers have captured Seraphita and she believes her husband Alphonse to be dead. Her comic servant Gilblas joins the robber band apparently in the hope of helping his mistress, but he goes away early in the opera and does not return until the end, so

¹. AMZ, 6 July 1803, column 684.
does not contribute much comedy to the opera. An old woman, Leonarda, who acts as a kind of housekeeper to the robbers is, however, kind to Seraphita. The robbers return to the cave after an expedition, headed by a terrifying man, Roustan, who has enormous moustaches and a violent manner. The true captain of the band is, however, Rolando, a man of noble birth and manners who had joined the robbers during his foolishly spent youth. We are assured that his instincts are still noble. In act II Alphonse comes to the cave disguised as a blind hurdy gurdy man; he reveals himself secretly to Seraphita. Leonarda, however, also discovers their secret. One of the robbers tries to carry Seraphita off by force, but Rolando comes to her rescue. In act III, the robbers plot to murder Rolando but Leonarda reveals the plot to him. Alphonse reveals himself as her husband and Rolando turns out to be Seraphita's long-lost brother. The four main characters sing a quartet on stage while a battle between Alphonse's friends and the robbers wages outside the cave. In the end, Alphonse's friends are victorious and enter the cavern which falls in from behind, showing the forest. Le Sueur suggested that the allegro from the overture could be played and the scene acted in dumb show if the double chorus proved too difficult.

Dent considers Le Sueur's music to be, on the whole, rather dry and mechanical.¹

La caverne

Sources consulted:


"Die Räuberhöhle." Trans. K. F. Lippert. Ms textbooks as used for performance at the court theatres from 1803. VMsmlg 32.001 M (35/38); 32.034 M (60/80).

¹. Dent, p. 68.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>numbers</th>
<th>cuts or alterations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no. 1 terzetto</td>
<td>&quot;Erholt sie sich noch nicht&quot; Gilblases long note from bar 81-85 is cut avoiding a high G for 4 1/2 bars; rhythm and notes are the same as in the French -- they have been copied literally; some cuts have been made which speed up the harmonic rhythm: bars 117-127, 194-219, 249-255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 2 aria Gilblases A minor; larghetto</td>
<td>&quot;Kein Zweifel treffe meine Treue&quot;. The printed textbook uses different words from those used in this aria: they were either altered at the last minute or the adW translation was used instead. Most of the original rhythms have been kept even at the cost of some stilted wording or a lot of repetition. Cuts made in this aria make it 75 bars instead of the original 114.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 3 aria Leonarde G minor, moderato</td>
<td>&quot;Die arme Zeit, als ich noch jung gewesen&quot; some repeated bars are omitted eg bars 20-23. High notes are avoided.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 4 solo &amp; choir recit - andante con moto</td>
<td>&quot;O welche Beute&quot; bars 70-92 omitted; bars 112-132 omitted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 5 duet Rolando &amp; Seraphine; G major, andante</td>
<td>&quot;Wie? ich soll mich von dir nun trennen&quot; 12 bars omitted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Act II entr'acte</td>
<td>bars 10-17 are omitted so that voices enter sooner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recitative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 6 aria Seraphine G major; andante</td>
<td>&quot;Wie wird mein Schicksal werden&quot; 2 large cuts made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 7 aria Leonarde</td>
<td>&quot;Vous m'avez arraché des pleurs&quot;: Leonarde. Omitted from German score but printed in textbook (&quot;Schon viel hab' ich um Sie geweint&quot;); omitted in performance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
no. 8 aria  "Nun hört zu, ich habe[erkohren?]; no cuts made
Alphonse  A minor; lento (6/8)

no. 9 aria  "Theilt mit mir meine herben Schmerzen"
Alphonse  A minor; Alphonse; 6; attempts at re-
A minor, moderato  writing it later crossed out, obvious
nenza lento (6)  difficulties in shortening it; cut
from 110 bars to 73.

no. 10. duet  recitativo "Seraphine & Alphonse" C minor
Seraphine &  "Alphonse! Seraphine" no cuts.
Alphonse

no. 11 aria  "Schon ist's über fünfzig Jahr" Leonard;
Leonarde  A minor; 2/4 no cuts.
A minor allegretto

no. 12 Finale  "Wer wagt. von euch" C minor; C andante;
C minor; andante; 34 bars cut out (bars 145 to 178)
C

Act III

no. 13 chorus  chorus; allegro spirito und agitato;
G minor; allegro  G minor "Nein, wir dulden nicht" 85 bars
spirito ed  long instead of 116
agitato; C  speech; after the speech, another 37 bars
  cut to avoid high Gs for the tenors.

no. 14 recitative  Rolando: recitative; andantino "Mein
Rolando  Schiksal deckt ein schwarzer dicker
Flor" occasionally bass notes altered
  to avoid clashes -- eg A flat, B natural,
  D over C bass note is changed to B
  natural resolving onto C; 39 bars
  omitted; also 7 bars of cadencing at
  the end.

no. 15 quartett  "Wenn in der Tugend, ich je wanke" long
Seraphine,  cadences are shortened; cuts of 15 and
Leonarde,  27 bars.
Alphonso, Rolando,
Bb major; andante

no. 16 aria  Seraphine: A minor; spiritoso "Folgen
Seraphine,  möchte ich gern, erschöpft ist die Kraft"
A minor; spiritoso  40 bars cut (bars 24 to 63); 3 bars cut
poco vivace; C  3 bars before end. 2 other large cuts.

Finale  "Jetzt drohen Martern uns und Ketten"
C minor,  very large cuts: for example bars 25 to
allegro comodo  88 are cut out completely
The German performance score used at the Kärntnerthortheater in 1803 was evidently copied directly from the French score and retains French directions such as "prenez le cor en re". The French printed score has comments written in German in preparation for copying the German version. A few nuances of the opera have been altered: the addition of terms of endearment and a minor rearrangement of speeches makes for a greater warmth in the relationship between Seraphine and her brother and between Seraphine and Alphonso.

The most striking aspect of this adaptation is the extent of the cuts which have been made—only 4 numbers out of 17 remained uncut. The Viennese seem to have found LeSeuer repetitious and bombastic. They wanted to make his music terser. These cuts had the effect of taming, of cooling down Le Sueur's turbulent music.

L. Spontini's Fernand Cortez

Spontini's opera, first performed in Paris at the Opéra in 1809, was first seen in Vienna at the Kärntnerthortheater in 1812. The Viennese score from this opera, though listed in the Musiksammlung catalogue, has been lost since the early years of this century.
The Viennese production in 1812 got off to a slow start, and there were still weak places even by the third performance, because of the difficulty of the music. The criticism of Castelli's translation and Castelli's own defence and claim not to have altered any of the rhythms of the original was discussed above.

A score of Spontini's opera had been published in Paris in 1809. In 1817, however, a new version of Fernand Cortez, made by the composer himself, was seen at the Paris Opéra. This new version was probably published in 1817. In October 1818 the opera was revived at the Kärntnerthortheater in a new version.

No manuscript score remains from this Viennese production but two manuscript textbooks (S.m. 32.315-316) and a published textbook (987.015-BM printed Vienna: Wallishauser, 1819) remain.

However one extant score does give information about the music performed for the 1818 production of Fernand Cortez in Vienna, and that is a French score (M.s.8208), published in Paris in 1809 (the year of the opera's première), which was obviously sent to the Austrian capital by the composer himself. This is the only example I have found,

1. TZ 30 May 1812, p. 174ff; Der Sammler, 6 June, 1812, p. 274.
3. The New Grove gives its publication date as 1817.
apart from the operas of Gluck and Salieri and the settings of Favart's texts of an opéra-comique being altered for Vienna by the composer himself. Inside the cover of this French score is Spontini's signature and the declaration "Arrangé pour la facilité de l' Exécution suivant le désir de son Altesse le Prince de Lobkowitz par son très humble très obéissant serviteur, Spontini".

A notice which appeared in the Theaterzeitung in 1818 mentioned that the new version of Fernand had been especially altered for performance in Vienna by Spontini himself, and identifies this score as having been used for the 1818 production.¹

Spontini made many hand-written alterations to his 1809 score: all of them are cuts.

The most significant aspects of the alteration were the shortening of the choruses and ballets: the final dances were omitted entirely and Spontini wrote "fin" firmly under the final chorus (before the ballet). The dance and chorus number seven, the entry of the dancing Mexican women, was apparently omitted and a new 26-bar introduction written to this number, in which several long cuts were made. The introduction to the second act and much of the first act were moved to act three, and parts of act III were transferred to act I.

¹ TZ, 6 October 1818, p. 479.
The Theaterzeitung approved of these changes, commenting that they made the opera more realistic. This paper also mentioned that many new parts had been added to act III. New passages are not evident in the printed score. Many of Spontini's beautiful melodies remained the same, according to the Theaterzeitung; some were altered, but the opera still remained very difficult to perform. Amazyli's part was very taxing, as were many recitatives with their awkward leaps of a seventh. Spontini's style, added this reporter, was still unlikely to find many Viennese imitators.

It is always possible, of course, that Prince Lobkowitz went to Paris, asked—and paid—Spontini to alter Fernand for Vienna, and then, dissatisfied with the extent of the results, had it further altered by Viennese musicians. More likely is that Spontini's additions to the opera, perhaps loose pieces of manuscript, became at one time separated from the French score.

This is the only known example, after the time of the French troupes, of an opera being specifically arranged for Vienna by a French composer in Paris. It is interesting that Spontini was willing to compromise in this manner. The alterations made for the Viennese production of 1818 seem to have been designed with ease of performance as the main consideration. Without this evidence, it would have been easy to assume that the 1817 Parisian version of Fernand Cortez was used for the Austrian revival.

1. TZ, 6 October, 1818, p. 479. Also: WAMZ October 1818, columns 381–382.
II. Resettings by Viennese composers of French opera texts

Introduction

One of the most interesting aspects of the Viennese vogue for opéra-comique during these years is Beethoven's interest -- and success--in resetting a French text, Bouilly's Léonore. This libretto had first been set by Gaveaux in 1796 but Gaveaux's Léonore was not performed in Vienna during the eighteenth or nineteenth century. Gaveaux's text was set to music by the Italian Paer and performed in Dresden in 1804 in Italian as Leonora ossia L'amore coniugale, and in Vienna in a private performance at the palace of Prince Lobkowitz in 1806 and, publicly, in German translation in 1809. It is not known whether Beethoven knew of Paer's Italian opera Leonora before he began work on his own Leonore, however, the coincidence demonstrates the wide use of French texts by German opera composers at that time.

The writer has discovered over 300 operas set to French texts by Viennese composers between 1750 and 1850. The composers' names are listed on p. 422. Among the Austrian composers to write operas to French texts were Pleyel and Süssmayr, by whom three settings are described below.

Many were successful at the time, but probably none of their works, apart from Beethoven's Fidelio, which hardly had an easy road to fame, is still performed today.
It seems that although the impact of French operas, and the ready availability of good French opera texts, could have proved to be an important stimulus to local composers, there were no other Austrian composers of genius writing operas at the time.

This study of Austrian resettings of French texts could be greatly expanded. Pleyel and Süßmayr were chosen as examples as two of the better-known composers who wrote operas to French texts at some time during their careers.

A. Pleyel's *Die Fee Urgele*

Favart's *La Fée Urgèle* was first set to music as an opera by Duni in Paris in 1765. Its success is shown by the fact that Duni's setting of the opera was performed at Mannheim and Frankfurt as early as 1772 in a German translation by J. H. Faber. A copy of Faber's translation, published in Frankfurt in 1776, is extant in the Nationalbibliothek. It was performed in Vienna in French at the Kärntnerthortheater in November 1780 by a visiting French troupe. The French text of Duni's opera was published in Vienna in 1780, though it differs slightly from Favart's original.

Pleyel's marionette opera *Die Fee Urgele* was written during his period as a lodger and pupil of Haydn at Eisenstadt. Most of the operatic influences there were Italian or German. It is interesting, then,

1. *Die Fee Urgele* was first performed in November 1776.
that Pleyel chose a French text on which to base his first opera. The European success of Favart's operas, the prominent place he occupied in Parisian theatrical circles and his contact with Vienna through Count Durazzo, must have brought his name to the attention of Pleyel, who was then a young man of nineteen. Duni, though born an Italian, was one of the most important opéra-comique composers in the third quarter of the eighteenth century and helped to create a new musical style in that genre by combining Italian elements with the traditional French ones. By the time of his death in 1775, he had written at least 35 operas to both French and Italian texts and probably represented to Pleyel a highly successful and experienced man of the theatre. Duni's opera was first performed at Eszterhaza in November 1776 and at the Viennese Nationaltheater in the same year.

Die Fee Urgele is about a young knight, Lisouart, who falls in love with Marton, a girl he has seen on his riding expeditions in the country. One day he kisses her against her consent; Lisouart is brought to trial before Queen Bertha and sentenced to death for his boldness. In his desperation he seeks the help of an old woman who promises to aid him in exchange for a reward. Lisouart is freed from his sentence after correctly answering to Queen Bertha the question "what pleases women". The old lady returns to claim her reward -- which is Lisouart's hand in marriage and his love. Lisouart confesses that honour demands the fulfilment of his promise but confesses that it is almost impossible for him to give up the memory of Marton. The old lady seems to be on the point of death. Grieved, Lisouart vows to love her and is amazed to find her changed into Marton -- she announces that she, herself, is the Fee Urgele and has found him honourable and worthy of her love.
Die Fee Urgèle

Sources consulted:

* La Fée Urgèle. Text by Charles Simon Favart. Favart, Théâtre choisi, ii; Paris, 1809;


* "Die Fee Urgele"; Marionette opera in 4 acts; Text by von Pauersbach, after C.S.Favart; Autograph score: VMsmlg S. 15560 H.S.:

The opera contains an amusing part for a comic servant (who is afflicted by love for Marton's sister and -- at the end -- wins her hand) and the setting of the story is also embellished with an attractive hunting chorus, a ballet of farmers' wives and peasants, and a pantomime-like scene where Bertha acts as judge in several minor disputes.

The score of Duni's opera was engraved in 1765 and published in Paris and Lyons so it would have been quite easy for Pleyel to obtain a copy. The text of Pleyel's opera was translated by Pauersbach, though it is likely, because of certain similarities, that
Pauersbach had access to Faber's version. Pleyel retains many of the features which made the Duni opera so characteristically French. Both are long operas, in four acts and with about twenty numbers. Almost all of the original French arias and ensembles find their direct equivalent in the Pleyel opera, written eleven years later. For example, the fifth aria in La Fée Urgèle, “Ah! Que l'Amour est chose jolie”, is taken over by Pleyel for the equivalent number in his work, entitled “Wenn man liebt”.

Pleyel uses Duni's basic melody but alters some of the irregular phrasing and smooths out what were, in the French version, some angular melodic lines, in order to make a simple, Lied-like song.
However, Pleyel did not choose to imitate Duni's charming characterisation of Lahire at the beginning of act II where he angrily sings "Le maudit animal" to a typically French dotted rhythm. The aria for the Austrian Pedrillo is smoother and less indignant. Many of the numbers in the Pleyel are da capo arias; the French arias are less regular in form. Pleyel retained the allegorical duet between Licidas and Philinte at the beginning of act III. Whereas this act opened in the Duni with a pert D major march for strings and oboes, the Austrian opera uses tender music for strings and flute which is more pastoral in tone, more flowing and regular.

As might be expected, Pleyel is more adventurous in his orchestration than the earlier Duni. The latter uses a simple combination of strings with one added wind instrument. Pleyel on the other hand uses combinations of wind instruments and varies the tone colour from situation to situation. Pleyel avoids the long orchestral introductions which open some of the French arias and dispenses with both the march in Act III mentioned above and the dance suite at the end of Act II (this is replaced by an ensemble with chorus). Pleyel's opera gives the overall impression of being more rustic and less stylised than the original French work. Although it was an earlier work, Duni's is, in some respects, more sophisticated. Pleyel's melodies are simpler and use less word repetition.
As might be expected, the Pleyel opera sounds like early Haydn and shows the influence of the Sturm und Drang period.

Pleyel did not pursue opera composition as a career. Besides *Die Fee Urgele* the list of Pleyel's compositions includes only a few scattered vocal works and pieces for the theatre. Pleyel perhaps wrote the overture to Haydn's opera *Die Feuersbrunst*; he wrote an Italian opera *Ifigenia in Aulide* performed in Naples during his travels in Italy in May 1785, some revolutionary hymns (for Paris during the 1790s), a set of Scottish songs, twelve Lieder, published in Hamburg and performed in 1798, and a few sacred vocal works. Pleyel became primarily a composer of instrumental music. After travels in Italy, to London and some appointments in Germany, Pleyel eventually (in 1795) settled in France. Like Duni, he became an immigrant in the musical capital of Europe. He opened a music shop and founded a publishing house in Paris. The Duni opera, the model for the earliest of all Pleyel's works as listed in *The New Grove*, had no lasting importance in his career. Perhaps it merely showed an early interest in France.

Pleyel's attempt to travel to Austria to arrange a performance of Haydn's *The Creation* in Paris has already been mentioned; it failed because of travelling restrictions resulting from the war (see p.376).

Another link between France and Austria which could have been forged by Pleyel was a branch of the Parisian publishing house which he tried to open in Vienna during a visit in 1805; this did not materialise, despite the support of local friends.¹

B. Two resetttings of French texts by Süssmayr

Süssmayr was in his early thirties when his two operas Soliman der Zweite oder Die drei Sultaninnen, a Singspiel in two acts set to a text by Favart, and Gülnare oder Die persische Sklavinn, a Singspiel in one act set to a text by Marsollier, were first performed at the Kärntnerthortheater. The New Grove lists 21 German and Italian operas written by Süssmayr before Soliman der Zweite (of 1799). He was a prolific and popular composer for the stage.

Süssmayr was one of the most promising Austrian composers of his generation; he had settled in Vienna in 1788 and received instruction in composition from Mozart; in addition, he was employed by Mozart as a composer and occasionally as a collaborator (being now remembered largely for his completion of Mozart's Requiem K626). After the death of Mozart, Süssmayr took lessons in the composition of vocal music from Salieri and, from 1792, was employed as harpsichordist and acting Kapellmeister at the Kärntnerthortheater. At about this time he began to attract attention as a highly successful composer of operas, and from 1794 became Kapellmeister of the German opera at the court theatres. The popularity of Süssmayr's operas is shown, for example, by Beethoven's piano variations on the terzetto "Tandeln und scherzen" from Soliman der Zweite.

During the 1790s when the Viennese suburban theatres were experimenting with the performance in German of some of the most recent opéras-comiques of
the revolutionary era, the court theatres mounted only one opéra-comique première, concentrating mainly on Italian opera with some Singspiel, and, to a lesser extent, German opera (see chapter III). The court theatres did not become involved in the production of recent opéras-comiques until 1802 -- and then in an urgent attempt to match the competition of the Theater an der Wien. A rumour had circulated that a Kapellmeister at the court theatres was resisting the introduction of new French operas there.¹

Süssmayr's decision to use French texts for two of his new operas in 1799 and 1800 showed a recognition of the excellence of the many French opera texts and the success of opéra-comique in general. It is possible that the resetting of these texts by an Austrian composer was seen as a competitive alternative to the production of actual French operas. Both Soliman and Gülnaire (which is sometimes also referred to as Gonora) were successful, and particularly Soliman, which was subsequently revived both at the Theater an der Wien (in 1807) and, six years later, at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt.

Süssmayr may have been attracted to these texts because of their fashionable oriental subject matter. The Austrians (in alliance with the Russians) had fought the Turks from 1787 to 1792 though Austria had made peace with Turkey in 1791.

¹ See p. 181.
in the war is attested by several songs and also
by a country dance entitled La Bataille or The siege
of Belgrade. In 1788 a book of Österreichische und
türkische Kriegslieder was published in Vienna.
Janissary (Turkish) music had attracted the attention
of Austrian musicians since the mid eighteenth century
for its provision of local colour -- as in Gluck's
La rencontre imprévue and Mozart's Die Entführung aus
dem Serail. In Beethoven's (and Süßmayr's) time
Turkish music still made a colourful addition to
oriental and military scenes.¹

Such a setting for an opera also gave opportunity
for colourful costumes and sets and the opening stage
directions for Soliman II called for "Eine Menge
Odaliken reichlich und kostbar gekleidet" sitting
in Turkish fashion on cushions. The opening scene
of Gülhane takes place in a tent outside the city
of Isphahan -- modern Esfahan (Tehran).

1. Soliman der Zweite

Favart's text of Soliman second was set to music
by Gibert and first performed in 1761. Its score
was published. It was at once a chef d'oeuvre of
Favart and a highpoint in the theatrical career of
Madame Favart (as well as an important and influential
work in the development of the 18th-century Turkish
opera).

¹ "Janissary music", The New Grove.
The European popularity of the Soliman second story has already been referred to in connection with its appearance in Vienna during the time of the first French troupe (see page 23). On 18 June 1765, it was performed in Vienna as a play and was revived at the Burgtheater in German, translated by Karl Starke, in 1770. A German translation of the work dating from the 1790s, which is, in effect, an almost literal translation of Favart's original, remains, as part of Schikaneder's drama collection, in the Theatersammlung.1

The young Turkish Emperor, Soliman II, has in his harem many beautiful women who squabble for the attention of their owner. Soliman, however, is not content with the available choice, being determined to win the affections of one slave, a Frenchwoman, who has so far refused to fall for his charms. (Soliman seems to prefer the wooing of hard-hearted women to the enjoyment of his conquests: he ceased to find his last two loves attractive as soon as they had succumbed). The French woman is not only cool but actually rude and troublesome in a way which beguiles Soliman. She refuses to have anything to do with him unless he promises to marry her and be a modern western-style husband for her. This he finally does: a triumph for civilisation, and a tribute in particular for French womanhood.

In the translation used by Süssmayr, the Roxelane of the French original becomes a German girl, Marianne.

Süssmayr's score for Soliman requires strings, flute and piccolo, oboes, clarinets, bassoons, horns, trumpets and timpani. The overture begins with a

1. This catalogue bears the date "circa 1790", but the title page and cast list of this published text are missing.
piccolo solo with the characteristic acciaccaturas of Janissary music, and patterns of four semiquavers in the shape of a tune made familiar through the rondo theme of Mozart's A minor *Rondo alla Turca*. The second theme of the overture -- in the dominant -- is more lyrical. It is played by clarinets in thirds with occasionally chromatically altered appoggiaturas which give it a smoothness and essentially Viennese character; another Austrian characteristic is the change from quavers into quaver triplets especially at cadences.

The opera is in two acts and contains eighteen numbers. There is a long opening chorus for the harem, followed by a Turkish march for the grand entrance of Soliman. The aria and duet for Soliman and Osmin in scene four "Dass alle Weiber Engel sind" were apparently never set by Süssmayr: no music remains in the score even though the words are printed in a textbook dated 1807. Either they were added by another composer for the later production at the Theater an der Wien, or were omitted entirely. It is difficult to imagine the singers having read (instead of sung) this dialogue because it is in verse. Perhaps the censors took exception to the passage where Soliman discusses with Osmin, the Eunuch in charge of the harem, the pleasures of female company:
The chorus in Act 6 "Nimm die Zeichen hoher Gnaden" uses percussion instruments and Janissary trills. There are some attractive lyrical numbers, especially the aria for Soliman's former love, who had been cast aside in favour of Marianne, the musical Elmire. Soliman's aria in the seventh scene where he resolutely states that he only needs a loving woman has pleasing characterisation with its firm dotted rhythms. The attractive instrumental colour of a mandolin is used in the trio for Delia, Soliman and Elmire in scene xii. Short ritornelli for the mandolin separate sections of the song. The opera suddenly shows the influence of opera seria in scene seventeen, after Marianne has told Soliman that she has no intention of paying him attention as long as she is treated as a slave and not a wife. Soliman's response "Kaum trau ich meinen Sinnen" is in recitative with rushing scales in the strings and sforzandi and throbbing repeated notes in the lower instruments. The confrontation towards the end of act I between the haughty Elmire and her new rival, Marianne, is nicely, though predictably, expressed in

a tight dotted rhythm. Süßmayr's music also displays a sense of humour. Osmin's aria in II, xvii begins ponderously on one note followed by a broken triad—as though Süßmayr was trying to show the limits of Osmin's imagination. The following beautiful duet for Soliman and Marianne begins with a bassoon solo and has intricate passage work for strings. Most impressive, though, is the long finale to act I, with its deft changes of pace, careful changes of orchestration and rising sense of climax. The finale at the end of the opera is also very successfully managed. There are occasional passages of antiphony for the chorus, of instrumentation and solo passages, variations, Asymphonic use of key change. Although it is not ambitious music, the work is one of an experienced professional and it is not difficult to see why Viennese audiences found it attractive and enjoyable.

Süßmayr's use of a French libretto was certainly not due to a desire to learn from, or copy, the much earlier--and less sophisticated--Gibert.

2. Gülnare

Gülnare had been set by Dalayrac only two years before Süßmayr's own setting. It was written about half way in Dalayrac's career but was not one of his most significant works. The score was published in Paris near the time of the opera's first appearance.
Süßmayr's Gülçär was not as successful as Soliman which was performed 43 times between October 1799 and July 1802. Gülçär, first performed in 1800, received seven performances.

Gülçär, the heroine of Süßmayr's second French text is a slave, famed throughout the orient for her talent and beauty. Her previous master, Osmin, loved her, but Gülçär insisted on allowing herself to be sold back to the slave market in order to pay debts unjustly attributed to Osmin's father. The opera opens at the slave market and Osmin is seen sighing for Gülçär and wishing that he could have her back. Omar and Seid, the two cheerful slave dealers, entertain the audience with their lively chatter. İbrahim, a rich, miserly and ailing man, comes to the slave market and is immediately taken with Gülçär, but his price is considered unacceptably low, much to Gülçär's relief. Shortly after his departure, the Persian prince, Dely, arrives, accompanied by a grand train of slaves, musicians and guards. Dely who has heard of Gülçär's charms, is prepared to be disappointed, but he finds her even more lovely than her reputation. Dely buys her and promises her riches and happiness.

The prince's kindness, however, does not succeed in winning Gülçär's heart: Dely's new slave is obviously distracted by the memory of her lost loved one. Gülçär explains to Dely that she can never love him out of pure duty and that her heart is promised to someone else. Dely is impressed by Osmin and at personal cost he gives Gülçär her liberty and blesses the couple's union. He instructs them to pay for the freedom of Osmin's father (who has been unjustly imprisoned for debt) and invites them all to come to live in his palace.

A score of Dalayrac's opera Gülçär is in the Theatersammlung, making a comparison of Dalayrac's and Süßmayr's setting of the same text possible.

Both overtures begin with a triadic figure in D major. Whereas Dalayrac's overture sounds sectional, each theme in the Süßmayr overture leads
naturally into the next. In Süßmayr, too, there is more modulation and more rhythmical variety, particularly in the lower parts. Dalayrac's opera uses Turkish percussion instruments.

Gülnare is a shorter opera than Soliman, being in only one act -- and eleven numbers long. Although the numbers of the Dalayrac opera (Süßmayr's Gülnare is two numbers longer than Dalayrac's) find their direct equivalent in the Süßmayr, Süßmayr obviously composed his independently of the earlier French setting, for apart from the probably coincidental similarity in the overture, no other likenesses of key or melody exist.

The Süßmayr opera is, in general, more lyrical and makes more frequent change of instrumentation. Its melodies are smoother and less angular. One example of this is the song sung by Ibrahim in the scene where the old man extols the virtues of the fair sex. The music of the Viennese Ibrahim shows him to be less pompous and unpleasant than his French counterpart: Ibrahim, in Süßmayr's opera, is a sentimental old fellow.

[orchestral introduction: vln, vla, fl., ob, hn, fag] Ich liebe wohl ein schönes Weib

Dalayrac's aria for Ibrahim:

[orchestral introduction: strings & flute]
Despite Mozart's respect for Süßmayr and his contemporary popularity, Süßmayr did not emerge as an Austrian composer of great historical significance. Between the production of Gülnare in 1800 and his early death three years later, Süßmayr's writing for the stage amounted to two operas in German (both apparently to original German texts); a farce, which was never performed, a ballet and parts of three Italian operas. Süßmayr was 37 when he died and opéra-comique seems to have formed no important part of his style, nor his musical influence. Summing up his achievements, Othmar Wessely writes:

Süßmayr's stage works show a familiarity not only with Viennese musical comedy but also with late Neapolitan opera buffa and French tragédie lyrique.¹

Italian opera and traditional Austrian opera style were both ultimately more important to Süßmayr than French comic opera. Tragédie lyrique was not popular in Vienna and that particular influence probably reached Süßmayr by way of Salieri. It is possible that operas of the revolutionary era would have had more impact on Süßmayr had he had lived longer.

III. Two Viennese parodies: Die Braut in der Klemme (Raoul Barbe-bleue) and Johann von Wieselburg (Jean de Paris).

The existence of Viennese parodies of opéras-comiques is an indication of the success of the originals.

¹ "Franz Xaver Süßmayr", The New Grove.
The Seneschal in Boieldieu's Johann von Paris
Humorous or satirical re-writings of great (or sometimes merely pretentious) works of art have been an important part of the literary and musical history of most nations. It seems however that the Viennese turned to parody with particular readiness and a great variety of stage works were subjected to this treatment.¹

A. Jean de Paris

The success of the Paris production of Boieldieu's Jean de Paris was announced in Der Sammler on 16 May 1812 and Viennese readers were told the plot of this highly successful latest opera:

The Princess of Navarre is on her way to the French court where she is to be married to the Prince. The Seneschal, who is responsible for her journey and comfort, has reserved an inn for the Princess and her train; however, on arrival, the Princess's party discovers that it has been taken over and set into confusion by the arrival of Jean de Paris and a host of companions who, despite protests from the innkeeper and his daughter, Lorezza, insisted on staying there. The grave Seneschal is indignant about this presumption and finds Jean de Paris's free manners leave much to be desired. The Princess, however, recognises at once that Jean is the Prince, in disguise, though she does not reveal that she has perceived this until later. Meanwhile, the Seneschal is horrified that the Princess should pay attention to a mere bourgeois with bad manners. He is even more astonished when the Princess accepts his declaration of love, and when he reveals himself as the French Prince, and all his companions appear as distinguished knights and noblemen.

The performance of this opera in Vienna has been mentioned several times.² At least two Viennese parodies were based on Johann von Paris. Johann von

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1. Peter Branscombe, "The connexions between drama and music in the Viennese popular theatre from the opening of the Leopoldstädter Theater (1781) to Nestroy's opera parodies (ca 1855), with special reference to the forms of parody". Diss. London, 1976.

2. Some performance material does remain in Viennese archives from this opera, but it seems to have been used continuously from 1813 to 1867 and there are so many alterations that it is impossible to tell how the opera was performed on any one evening.

Illustration opposite: Stubenrauch's costume design for the Seneschal for the Kärntnerthortheater's production of Johann von Paris in 1812.
Wieselburg, with a text by Gleich and music by Roser, was first given at the Theater in der Josefstadt (exactly three months after the first appearance of Boieldieu's opera in Vienna) on 28 November 1812; on 3 April 1813 the parody was given at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, and in 1814 at the Theatre in Meidling.¹

As the parodied opera had encouraged competition between the rival opera houses of Vienna, the Kärntnerthortheater and Theater an der Wien, so Gleich's parody stimulated competition between the two suburban theatres, the Theater in der Josefstadt and Theater in der Leopoldstadt. Der Sammler published an article comparing the two productions;² and concluded that, on the whole, the Theater in der Josefstadt was the better: its chorus was more proficient and Hieronymus's train of attendants was more magnificently costumed; also, that the orchestra of the Leopoldstadt theatre was the worst in town and its chorus strained their voices.

The Theater in der Leopoldstadt had first tried to mount its own parody of Johann von Paris: on 23 January 1813 a full theatre had expectantly awaited a piece entitled Johannes vom Parisgassel:³

und was fand es? -- wenn das, was im Originale fein und zart behandelt ist, nur in das Triviale und Gemeine übertragen werden darf, so ist diese Posse eine Parodie, und wohl gar eine gelungene Parodie, denn jene Bedingung wurde nur allzu redlich erfüllt.⁴

². Der Sammler, 10 April 1813.
³. Der Sammler, 21 January 1813. This parody is usually known as Johann vom Parisgassel: the reporter recorded the name wrongly.
⁴. Der Sammler, 21 January 1813.
The parody, Johann von Wieselburg, was in general "mit ... vielem Beyfall gegeben".

The text of Gleich's successful parody was published in 1813, and dedicated to Graf Palffy who had been responsible for the first production of the French opera in Vienna.¹

There are 17 musical numbers: ten in the first act and seven in the second: most popular folk songs or from well known operas: two from Johann von Paris itself; two from Aschenbrödl; an aria from Die Zauberflöte ("Ihr Bildniss ist bezaubernd schön") sung by Johann himself, here the son of a rich Hungarian; an aria from Pizichi and one from Die Schwestern von Prag. The parody ends with a Hungarian dance.

The action of Jean de Paris is followed closely; the Quodlibet begins at an inn where a rich guest is shortly expected. Johann is already there when the wealthy visitors arrive -- but not as a customer: he has taken a lowly job in the inn under the name of Franz in order to be near his sweetheart, Rosine, the innkeeper's daughter. The awaited visitor turns out to be none other than Johann's father who has taken a fancy to the innkeeper's daughter himself. Indeed, he has come to make the wedding arrangements.

After some intrigue between Johann and his friends, a Jewish servant, Jakob, tells Johann's father, Istwan von Wieselburg, that his own son had also wanted to

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¹. Johann von Wieselburg, "ein musikalisches Quodlibet, in zwey Aufzügen" (Vienna, 1813).
marry Rosine. Angry, at first, Istwan accepts the situation and marries Cordula the innkeeper herself (after first inspecting her mouth like a horse) leaving Rosine free for Johann. More fun and confusion results from the attempts of one of Johann's friends, Hieronymus, to help Johann out of his predicament by pretending to be Johann himself. Istwan von Wieselburg is the equivalent of the grave Seneschal of the French opera who was so offended by Jean's "free" manners. In the original opera, he was travelling with the Princess to protect her interests; in the parody, he travels alone to find his own spouse. Jean, who had taken over the inn in the French opera before the arrival of the wealthy visitor, has taken over the inn here in a different capacity: as one of its employees. The scene where Hieronymus arrives at the inn, in disguise, and demands rooms, parodies the arrival of Jean himself. But here, instead of being allowed to lodge in the inn, he is shown to a damp roof in the attic where three tenants have already died. He is reassured that only one night there will do no harm. An aria from Johann von Paris: "Willkommen Frau Wirthin" (the page's aria) is sung at this point by Hieronymus's "servant". The other number from Johann von Paris is the song describing Johann's travelling style: "Begibt mein Herr sich auf die Reise".

Gleich chose the most serious character of the French opera, the Seneschal, around which to build his parody. Some of the musical numbers such as the
chorus which forms the sixth number of the second act, "Der schönsten tönet unser Gesang" from the long finale of the second act of Aschenbrödl, must have been shortened or altered for inclusion in this quodlibet; he also chose to parody the idea of mistaken identity.

B. Die Braut in der Klemme

This posse with music by Wenzel Müller and text by Kringsteiner, was first seen in Vienna three months after the first appearance of the Raoul der Blaubart opera. It was first given at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt and later, on 29 March 1808, at the Theater in der Josefstadt, not, as Bauer mistakenly states, 7 April 1804. Die Braut in der Klemme was given 36 times until 1812. A printed text book of the work, published by Wallishausser in Vienna, 1807, is extant. The posse is much shorter than the original opera -- one act as opposed to three; and only 42 sides as opposed to 63 of the 1804 edition of the identical-sized text of the French opera. I have not seen the music to this work.

The German translation of the opera had included the following characters: Raoul (known as Blaubart); Kurt, the steward of his castle; Raoul's servant, who does not have a name; Marie; Laura (Marie's maid);

1. I am indebted to Peter Branscombe for this information.
2. There was at least one other parody of Raoul der Blaubart in Vienna: Der Blaubart von Wien, given at the Theater an der Wien on 3 December 1829, text by F. Hopp and music by Gläser; and Der Bräutigam in der Klemme performed at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt on 24 June 1835 may also be a parody or sequel to Raoul der Blaubart; see appendix of thesis by Peter Branscombe, "The connexions between drama and music".
Ritter Vergy (Marie's sweetheart); the Marquis and Count von Carabi, Marie's brothers and their vassal. There are, in addition, choruses of gardeners, soldiers, pages and other servants.

The colourful characters portrayed by Kringsteiner include: Pariserl, a rich wine producer; Thadetl, an apprentice wine producer in Pariserl's service; relations of Pariserl; two Hungarian garlic sellers; a hay farmer; Wastl, another wine producer; Annamiedl, a fruit seller, very solidly built and with a fondness for drink; Lippel and Jörgel, set carriers, Hansel, a house page and Annamiedl's former sweetheart; and Sepherl, a chestnut roaster, Annamiedl's friend. There are choruses of wine producers, set carriers, gossiping women, miners and lantern carriers.

In the French opera, the curtain opens on a room in a delapidated castle with thick walls and small, narrow windows. On the walls hangs armour from the ninth or tenth century.

The Austrian parody uses broad Austrian dialect. The first scene takes place on a square on the Glacis with the dark, gloomy Burgthor in the background; in the foreground sit gossiping women. Sepherl is roasting chestnuts and Lippel and Jörgel, in red trousers and unbuttoned jackets, are carrying a large load which includes a crate of chickens and pastry boards. They sing an opening duet "Die Jorgi und

Micheli-Zeit hab'n d'Sesselträger gern"1 and then talk excitedly about the proposed marriage of their sister to the rich Pariserl which will put an end to their hard work. They envy Pariserl his life of ease, visiting Heurige all the time. Frau Sepherl enters; she does not begrudge her friend this fine husband and is glad that someone of substance has "bitten" at last: Annamiedl is a good girl though slightly too fond of drink. Sepherl warns them that there might be some competition to the marriage because the house boy Hannserl is fond of Annamiedl, Lippel argues that he is too poor to be considered. Hannserl is clearly the counterpart of Ritter Vergy, a nobleman, who is pushed into the background when Isaure contemplates marriage to Raoul.

Annamiedl, shabbily dressed and wearing slippers, enters to enquire about the progress of her wedding arrangements: she is satisfied with her match. Sepherl admires her philosophy: "Ein Heurath ohne Geld ist wie ein Rindfleisch ohne Sauce". There is witty and earthy repartee. Hansel enters lamenting the loss of his loved one; he is generous and thinks much of Miedl but is affronted by her fickleness and lists all the gifts he has bought her (including the slippers, purchased yesterday). In the French opera, Vergy is long-suffering and noble in an almost unrealistic way.

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1. St. George's Day and Michaelmas Day were days when sedan chairmen were kept busy.
The next scene seems to parody the procession scene of Raoul's opera, when Isaure is presented with many rich gifts (which may sometimes have been omitted in Viennese performances). The procession here consists of colourful Viennese street sellers and old women; Pariserl arrives in a sedan chair and the procession sings the chorus:

Juhe Juhe Juhe
Seyd's lustig, und thut jubilir'n!
Es leb' der Blaubartl! Pariserl soll leb'n
Und sein dicke Miedle als Weiberl daneb'n!

While Pariserl awaits Annamiedl, the garlic sellers talk in broad Hungarian dialect and everyone exchanges his opinion about the bride. The next scenes follow the outline of the French opera quite closely. Annamiedl is now in Pariserl's house and Pariserl excuses himself on business for half an hour, leaving Annamiedl with a bunch of keys. Considerably more human than his French counterpart, Pariserl first sings a comic aria about his new found happiness: "Du sollst wie ein Kanarie leb'n". But Pariserl has been warned by a lottery woman that a curious wife would be his downfall. Annamiedl does succumb to temptation: she uses the golden key which opens what turns out to be Pariserl's cocktail cabinet and is to be seen ecstatically swigging slivovitz from the bottle when Pariserl arrives. She is hardly in a state to realise the gravity of the situation and the punishment it entails: a lifetime of drudgery in the wine cellar, but Annamiedl is rescued by her brothers after a fight between sedan chairmen.

1. See page 478.
There are ten musical numbers. Annamiedl, a prosaic character, has nothing to sing. The rich, assertive, and, for Annamiedl, at least, irresistible "Blaubart" is renamed "Parisierl". The chivalric tone of the original is destroyed and the noble sentiments of Vergy and Marie are replaced by honest, selfish complaints about the need to work and catch a husband. Hansel is the only character who retains a certain amount of high-mindedness, but even he is not above listing all the things on which he has spent his money for Annamiedl. The only time that there is any of the eloquence of the original French is at the point when Annamiedl is about to be taken to the cellar, and she is instructed to bemoan her fate "mit affekt" -- which is amusing in contrast to the rest of the work. The procession, and the short aria for Parisierl "Ha Falsche", have their equivalents in the French opera. "Ha Falsche" provides the words of the corresponding French number when Isaure's curiosity is discovered. The parody, unlike the French original, opens with a lively crowd scene.

The French opera takes place in a world of insecurity: robbers exist in the wood outside the castle and the family wealth has been lost in Palestine. The Austrian version takes place in a happy, stable Vienna where the worst that may happen is that one will be condemned to a lifetime of household drudgery. Both stories are about the overthrow of a certain type of tyranny. The French opera deals with great wealth being squandered; the neurotic insecurity caused
by possessions; the misuse of people; the Austrian version is about petty class distinctions. In both operas, pressure is put on the sister to marry; in the French opera, deeply against her will (the woman is subordinate to the desires of her brother). In the Viennese version where the woman is fat and forceful and quite able to get her own way, she wants the man and the whole family wants his money.

As far as one can tell from the printed textbook, the musical numbers are shorter in the Viennese version, with no large ensembles. The procession scene has already been mentioned, but instead of enthroning Marie, Pariserl sings a delightful little love song in which Marie calls her new husband "little mouse". And when Marie opens the forbidden cupboard, there is no emotional orchestral music: instead, a glockenspiel plays.

In the Raoul parody, the French duke becomes Pariserl, a wealthy Viennese wine merchant; in the parody of Jean de Paris the main characters are wealthy Hungarians -- who, in Austrian humour, are probably the equivalent of the Irish.¹ Both parodies are quick to seize the most unlikely parts of the French original: Die Braut in der Klemme the absurdity of Raoul's "test" for his wife, subsequent punishment and the meekness of Isaure in marrying against her wishes; in Johannes von Wieselburg the seriousness of the elderly Seneschal, Jean's disguise, and the unorthodox way in which he chooses and woos his wife.

¹. Or, for North American readers, the Polish.
These parodies show, perhaps, how far removed from the world of Parisian opéra-comique the Viennese popular theatres were; they show a lot about Austrian humour which, as Madame de Staël observed, had little in common with the quiet "moquerie" of the French; lastly, they display the Viennese readiness to "send up" the serious elements of a work.

Conclusion

The honest endeavour to carry out a composer's intentions is a modern ideal. The goal of achieving complete authenticity in performance might anyway be an elusive one. Reference was made above to attempts made by Gluck and Salieri to "transplant" their Parisian operas to Vienna. Both composers considered it to be impossible, without a good deal of alteration to the musical score, because of fundamental differences in performance practice, taste and prosody. Monsigny, Grétry and Cherubini were not consulted about the changes made to their opera scores for performance in Vienna and a late twentieth century mind might deplore the disrespect shown towards the music of a great Cherubini opera.

But even if no alterations had been made in the written score, each Parisian opera emerged as a different work in Vienna. Changes made to the rhythm or vocal range of a singer's part, additions to the orchestration and cuts in the music, must, for example, be considered in the light of the fact that Viennese singers often, as a matter of course, added their unwritten Italianate embellishments to their parts.2

2. See pp. 582-585.
When noting Viennese additions to the orchestration it is good to be reminded that the orchestral parts as performed in Vienna would have had a different (and thinner) sound than in Paris because of the smaller number of players used and the different composition of the orchestra; and because the bowing style of the string players was different in Vienna. Viennese cuts to the French music did not necessarily make opéras-comiques shorter because (on the whole) fast numbers tended to be performed faster in Paris than in Vienna and the pace of the whole performance was (according to eye witnesses) faster. The almost unavoidable changes which occurred in translation, the sound of the German language, and the Viennese audience itself, with its different preconceptions, expectations and habits, unavoidably affected opéra-comique performance in Vienna. These will be discussed in the following chapter.

This chapter has shown how all the Viennese theatres, even the court theatres, altered French operas for production. The abundance of performance material extant in Vienna and Munich would make possible a much fuller study than that attempted here. Vienna was not the only city in Europe to alter opéra-comique according to its own requirements. Brief mention was made of similar alterations carried out in Munich and Breslau. Opéras-comiques performed in Vienna at the Burg and Kärntnerthortheater during the 1780s were closer to the original than later revivals: the French operas tended to become more Viennese and less French on each reappearance. There is no reason to doubt that the Theater in der Josefstadt, from which no performance material was found, took similar liberties with operas performed there.

1. See pp. 595-598.
There are some hints, both in the press and in, for example, the studies of performance material of Les deux journées and Lodoiska, that when a production of the same opera was given at the Kärntnerthortheater and at the Theater an der Wien, the one at the court theatres was closer to the original French. It is not unreasonable to suppose that both in the choice of performance material and the performance itself, the Theater an der Wien was influenced by its more plebeian public and by its tradition as a folk theatre.

The sketchiness of most of the Viennese scores indicates something already noted about Viennese adaption of opéra-comique, which is the speed with which they were prepared for production. The men who undertook such work were competent professionals, active musicians who themselves composed and wrote opera texts, and were frequently engaged, in their work as journalists, in writing critiques of the work of other musicians. None of them stands out, however, as having been possessed of unusual perception about the contemporary musical scene or operatic innovation by such composers as Grétry, Méhul or Cherubini. None of them was a genius or even an outstandingly successful creative artist. When new passages were written, when new numbers were inserted, they were the work of a successful, but average, late eighteenth or early nineteenth-century composer.
Seyfried probably prepared more opéras-comiques for production in Vienna than any other composer at the time. He is said to have studied piano with Mozart and Kozeluch; he was on friendly terms with Beethoven and well respected in Viennese circles for his versatility. But he cannot be looked upon as a composer of distinction.¹ Schubert is apparently the only internationally known Viennese composer who wrote extra numbers for an opéra-comique: he composed an aria and duet for the Isouard opera *La clochette* which was performed at the Kärntnerthortheater in June 1821 as *Das Zauberglöckchen*.

The possibility of French opera in Vienna providing an opportunity for distinguished young Viennese composers to write arias, interludes and entr'actes for the stage was not realised. It is interesting to speculate about the kind of opera which might have resulted if Beethoven or Schubert had had the task of arranging opéra-comique for Vienna. As it was, French opéras-comiques performed in Vienna never became a combination of French and Austrian genius and the reason is probably that truly great musicians had more imagination than to be satisfied with arranging another's work. Despite the large number of Austrian composers who, like Pleyel and Süßmayr, reset French opera texts between 1790 and 1819, none, apart from Beethoven, created a masterpiece or became internationally famous as an opera composer. There were no other Viennese composers of their calibre living at the time.

¹ "Ignaz von Seyfried", The New Grove.
The basic plot of the opéras-comiques was rarely altered for Viennese production. In *Renaud d’Ast*, the order of acts and scenes of the original was seriously changed, and that seems to have been an attempt to shorten the opera. In Cherubini’s *La punition* a character from Austrian folk comedy was added: presumably this entailed the addition of a subplot and some extra material. This change was criticised in the press and such additions were apparently not common.

Certain aspects of existing characters were sometimes changed. Viennese translations of opéra-comique tended to amplify, try to explain parts of the text which were, in the original, subtle and under-stated. As a result, characterisation was altered. In Monsigny's *Rose et Colas*, for example, *La Mère Bobi* became, in Vienna, much more like a nagging old woman than the enigmatic, wise old lady she had been in the French version. The witty part for Peter (Colas's father) was much shortened. Similarly, Louise’s strict father in *Le déserteur* became in the Viennese version of 1813 a tyrant with military leanings. The jailer in Dalayrac’s *Raoul de Créqui* became, in Vienna, more of a comic hero than he was intended to be in the original.

Subtle changes in characterisation also occurred as a result of changes of vocal range. Viennese tenors were unable to reach the high notes of some French tenor parts; as a result they might be transposed down, and a
part for tenor in the original French became a baritone role in Vienna -- as for example the part of Isimon in *Renaud d' Ast*. Parts might be transposed not only as a result of differing vocal conventions, but also because of the singers available in Vienna at the time. A change of voice within an opera not only altered the key scheme of the opera, but also its characterisation.

Although the plots were not altered, as such, shifts of emphasis did occur in the Viennese versions of opéras-comiques. It was mentioned above how the amusing drunken jailer in *Raoul de Créqui* was of more interest to Viennese audiences than the noble Craon and his wrongfully separated aristocratic parents. Craon's opening soliloquy, presumably intended to arouse the audience's sympathies, was omitted in Viennese performances and replaced by a rousing soldiers' chorus. The long and moving part for Créqui as he laments his fate in prison was extensively cut.

If the topical question of justice was played down in Vienna and the fear and suspense of Elise and Créqui not given full expression, the human element of their love was expanded. Elisa, who sings no solo aria in the original, was in Vienna given a sad little aria about how she missed her husband. When finally reunited, Créqui and Elise sang a love duet, which is entirely missing from Dalayrac's original. There are other, similar, instances of the ways in which the Viennese apparently warmed more to simple human situations than to abstract ideals about justice or politics.
None of the operas studied for the purposes of this dissertation escaped change at the hands of Viennese Kapellmeister and translators. All except for the rare example of Spontini's *Fernand Cortez* were altered without the knowledge or permission of their French authors. Operas were hastily prepared for production in Vienna and speed and box office success were the most important considerations. Composers and writers responsible for this work of adaptation were usually salaried members of Viennese theatre staffs who were meagerly paid for this hack work. Occasionally translations were the work of two or more men, sometimes new numbers by several Viennese composers were included in one opéra-comique. Only occasionally -- as for example with the rather unsuccessful *Raoul, Sire de Créqui* in 1805 arranged by B. A. Weber -- was an arrangement used which originated from elsewhere in Germany. Translations from outside Vienna were quite often drawn upon, though increasingly less commonly after 1801. Most French operas were brought to Vienna in printed full score and textbook, from Paris. Although composers -- notably Gluck -- were employed in Vienna even in the days of the French troupes to adapt opéra-comique to Viennese taste, the early performances of opéra-comique, in French -- and later in German -- were more true to the French original than later productions. Popular operas which were revived several times in Vienna became proportionately less French and more Viennese on each subsequent revival.
The names of characters were usually translated into German, and sometimes altered completely, when there was no suitable German version. Bathilde in Raoul, Sire de Créqui, for example, became Susannchen.

The settings for operas, on the other hand, varied: sometimes they became German, sometimes they remained French. Les deux journées, for example, was set in France at the 1802 production at the Kärntnerthortheater, but in Germany at the simultaneous production at the Theater an der Wien. Operas which were set in Turkey, Persia, Spain, Mexico, or other foreign countries usually did not undergo a change of location.

Although Italian arias were sometimes introduced as new numbers into opéra-comique, only rarely did German translations of opéras-comiques as performed in Vienna include an aria actually sung in Italian. Translations sometimes retained French words, for local colour; only rarely was the original French version of an aria retained. The song sung by the two brothers from Savoy in Les deux petits Savoyards was sung in French in Viennese productions. Elsewhere in this and other French operas, Savoy dialect was "translated" into rural Austrian dialect like that of the Eipeldauer peasant.

The extent to which the music of an opéra-comique might be altered for Vienna, varied extensively. In general, there were more cuts than additions. There was a tendency to "edit" the French original so that lengthy choruses or other numbers had some of their repetitive material cut. Numbers which might be omitted
entirely were: ballets and dances, complex ensembles, such as the fugues in both *Rose et Colas* and *Le déserteur*, and numbers whose original words were excised by the censor. Another common musical alteration especially after 1801 was reorchestration: particularly the addition to older operas of more modern-sounding wind parts.

This was disastrous in an opera like *Richard Coeur-de-Lion* because some of the nine repetitions of Blondel's theme, which recurs like an early Leitmotif in the course of the opera, were submerged or completely omitted when the instrumentation was changed. Several operas received new overtures for performance in Vienna. Occasionally, entire new scenes were added in order to accommodate a pantomime, ballet or other spectacle. In a few instances, operas opening with spoken dialogue were altered so as to begin with a chorus, and press reports, as well as the performance material itself, show that the Viennese had a tendency to like operas also to close with a hearty chorus.

The critics and the general public were ambivalent in their reactions to such adaptation: sometimes when new parts were added to opéras-comiques by Viennese composers they were received with acclamation. Sometimes theatres were chided for allowing such "improvements" to remain anonymous and the name of the composer was demanded.
On the other hand, preference was sometimes acknowledged for the composer's original, and additions were often criticised for sounding anachronistic and clumsy. Between 1790 and 1819, at least, there was no resolution of this conflict, and differing opinions might be expressed about the adaptation of the same opera.
CHAPTER VI

The standard and style of opéra-comique performance in Vienna
**Introduction**

A detailed treatise on performance practice is outside the scope of this thesis; it seems nevertheless appropriate to consider some of the problems involved in mounting French opera in Vienna and to identify areas of difficulty.

Contemporary newspaper reviews give a limited idea about what was done well in Viennese theatres. As has been seen, the standard of music and theatre reviews was low and reports were limited in scope and naive in style. Reviews of operas in popular Viennese papers such as Der Sammler or Die Theaterzeitung usually confine themselves to an account of the plot, a short assessment of the actors and singers, brief comments on the scenery, and a report of the public's reaction. Rarely does the critic give any but the most obvious reasons for its failure. Schreyvogel who edited Das Sonntagsblatt was a more careful and intelligent journalist than some of his colleagues and does give detailed criticism of individual actors; but he was more interested in spoken drama than opera and, like other writers, was not really qualified to comment on the musical aspects of a work. These are usually passed over in silence apart from brief mention of the numbers which earned the loudest applause. Too harsh a criticism, especially of performances at the court theatres, incurred official disapproval and encouraged bland journalism. The writing which appeared in the Wiener Zeitung during the French occupation of 1809, when that
paper was under French direction, shows how elementary was Viennese journalism at this time; in comparison, the French-inspired articles are sophisticated.¹ A careful survey of newspaper reports can, however, yield useful clues about what went on in performances, and the writer has used newspapers and periodicals as an important source.

The second source used for this chapter is travel literature -- the diaries and letters of a variety of travellers to Vienna and Paris at the end of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth century.

To those who came to Vienna with high expectations of hearing Mozart, Gluck or Haydn magnificently performed in their native setting, French opera given in German (or even in French) came as something of a disappointment: either they would stay away or give it scant mention in their reports, considering it less noteworthy than Italian or German works they saw.

Dr. Henry Reeve, from London, visited Vienna in 1805 and extended his visit on account of the invasion by Napoleon's armies. He was not especially interested either in music or the theatre but had a layman's fascination with the live animals (especially a camel) employed in productions at the Theater an der Wien, and noticed that "all the trash of the French stage is translated, and rendered and acted still worse by bad action and worse translation".²

Reeve had occasion to see both Beethoven (directing Fidelio) and Napoleon. He was not particularly impressed

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¹. Blümml and Gugitz, Von Leuten und Zeiten, p. 310.
². Reeve, p. 25.
by either and was rather shocked by the ignorance and indelicate manners of the Viennese. 

Chorley, an English musician who, in 1840, travelled around Europe and devoted much of his attention to describing the excesses of French opera in Germany, had unfortunately worn himself out on that theme by the time he reached Vienna. 

Some of the most interesting and perhaps reliable reports came from travellers interested in the Viennese theatres who at some time had the opportunity to visit Paris: J. Richter ("ein vornehmer Ungar"), who made the journey from Vienna to Paris "for the sake of his health", via Prague, Dresden, Berlin and Potsdam, in 1787; August von Kotzebue, the German playwright born in Weimar who travelled widely (and had, in 1796, been appointed theatre poet in Vienna): Kotzebue visited Paris in 1804 and recorded for posterity his impressions of that city and its theatres; Johann Friedrich Reichardt, the north German composer and writer who visited Paris and Vienna several times and wrote substantial travel diaries about both capitals: as a composer and Kapellmeister he was able to comment knowledgeably about musical matters; Ignaz Franz Castelli,

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2. Henry F. Chorley, Music and Manners in France and Germany (London, 1841).
3. J. Richter, Reise nach Wien (Prague, 1787).
translator of many French operas and Viennese theatre poet, who visited Paris in 1815 in connection with his work in the Civil Service (he mentions his visits to the Parisian theatres in his memoirs, published in 1861); and lastly, Eduard Hanslick the music critic and writer who had moved to Vienna from Prague in 1846 and travelled -- often as an adjudicator or official representative -- to many European cities, including in 1860, Paris; his work on the history of the public concert in Vienna contain some interesting remarks on his meetings with French composers. Viennese who went to Paris often expected to be impressed, but most of them, including Castelli, did not stay there long enough to observe the disadvantages of the Paris theatre system as well as its advantages.

Travel literature, then, probably shows the worst side of the Viennese theatre. And in the Austrian newspapers, reports of theatrical mishaps (likely to convey to modern readers that standards were appalling) were easier and more interesting to report than performances which passed smoothly; they are also more memorable.

Could the standard of operatic production in Vienna ever have been as astonishingly low as in parts of northern Germany? Viennese music had a fine reputation, which brought to that city people of the calibre of Beethoven and Spohr; it produced singers and composers of international rank. The Austrian theatre historian, Gisela Schlientz, finds it difficult to accept that

musicians there were less than competent, and says for example of Reichardt's comment in December 1808 about Spontini's Milton in which Herr Vogel lost his place, that one of the court theatre's leading singers was not likely to make such a slip. However, Beethoven also reports that a performance of Milton in 1808 came badly adrift. Neither he nor Reichardt, a Kapellmeister, was likely to be mistaken. The latter writes:

Das ganze sentimentale Ding tat eigentlich keine sonderliche Wirkung, um so wenige, da die Vorstellung eigentlich in Ganzen verunglückte. In einem Hauptquartett kamen Sänger und Orchester dergestalt heraus, dass sie, ohne zu schliessen, aufhören mussten. Das unerhört nachsichtige Publikum blieb dabei völlig ruhig, sah sich an, und niemand zischte oder pfiff, oder wurde auch nur laut. Das ist aber ein Charaterzug der gutmütigen Wiener.

An attempt to be objective and to prove that standards were either as good as reputation suggests, or as bad as some evidence hints, seems less useful and more dangerous (probably they varied a great deal and were sometimes excellent and sometimes poor) than a summary of the observation of eye-witnesses in conjunction with facts gleaned from newspaper reports. It is hoped in this way to show the particular difficulties faced by Austrian musicians when trying to mount a French opera.

I. Opéra-comique in French in Vienna

The use of native French speakers and singers did not of course necessarily ensure good or "authentic"

performances of opéra-comique in Vienna. Some altera-
tions made to the music and texts of French operas in
the days of Le Théâtre Français près de la Cour, have
been described above. But it is likely that the style
of presentation was different from Paris, too. The
troupe of French players to visit Vienna came from the
Netherlands, and the published correspondence between
Count Durazzo and Favart shows the difficulties ex-
perienced subsequently in recruiting suitable artists
to augment the Viennese French troupe; at one point,
the French king actually forbade the "export" of
singers and actors from France.¹

Artists were recommended by Favart, who might,
for example, have heard that they were about to return
from some engagement abroad. Favart sent a short
summary of their supposed capabilities to Vienna and
Durazzo decided whether or not they were what he needed.
Several of the operas suggested by Favart for performance
in Vienna were not given or had to be postponed because
of the lack of a suitable team of singers.²

French actors abroad received higher salaries than
their German counterparts and were a considerable drain
on the finances of any German court.³ The Frenchman
Guibert, who visited Berlin in 1773, thought that the
French troupe resident there was very poor and an
appalling waste of money.⁴ Lacking the stimulus of an

¹. Haas, p. 86ff.
². Haas, p. 82; p. 90.
³. See p. 35.
⁴. Guibert, p. 183.
audience well-versed in French drama, troupes of actors touring Europe, treated as celebrities, paid high salaries and with long periods spent away from Paris, could easily slip into bad habits. An anecdote related by the Prince de Ligne suggests that the Viennese audience around 1760 was quite likely to be hoodwinked. On the only day of his life on which he got drunk (he writes), he was supposed to be playing the rôle of Hortensius in *La surprise de l'amour* in Vienna (presumably in some gathering of noble dilettantes): after keeping "the whole town" waiting, he at last reeled on to the stage "moitié riant, moitié dormant, appuyé quelquefois contre une coulisse" -- but as French theatre and this particular play were hardly known in Vienna at this time: "on crut que c'était mon rôle, et l'on me fit compliment d'avoir joué si naturellement".\(^1\) This is probably an exaggeration, but the point comes through that the Viennese aristocracy could commend the French theatre without truly appreciating it.

The writer has been unable to find any eyewitnesses writing between the 1750s and 1770s who were able to compare the Viennese players with the Parisian theatre, or with troupes elsewhere in Europe.

In 1772, a gentleman in the service of the Prince de Rohan, French Ambassador to Vienna, had not known what to expect of social life in Vienna and recorded his approval that Vienna employed a troupe of French players. He had heard: "les décors sont bien, les

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danceuses fort braves", but none of his entourage actually went to see the players.¹ (In 1772 these French actors had to be dismissed because of lack of support). But there is a report from another European theatre -- Brussels -- which suggests that French opera quickly lost some of its quintessential Frenchness when removed from the French capital. Compain Despierres, one of the entrepreneurs of the Brussels theatre, a writer and singer, visited Paris in 1774 and wrote to Franck, the Brussels director, about a performance of Zémire et Azor he had seen:

Je vous avoue, ... que j'ai été surpris; mais ce n'est pas d'admiration. En vérité, voir cette pièce à Bruxelles ou ici, sont deux choses bien opposées. On croirait que c'est chez nous (à Bruxelles) qu'elle a été composée, jouée d'origine sous les yeux des auteurs, et que les comédiens italiens n'en sont que de mauvais imitateurs.²

Grétry, who had heard of the success of some Brussels productions of his operas, was to go to see a production of La fausse magie there but was far from pleased by what he saw. It seems that the fame achieved by the theatre in Brussels was largely due to the splendour of the sets and staging: in Vienna too (and possibly in other foreign theatres such as Berlin) there may have been a certain self-consciousness about productions of French opera, visual effect being used to compensate for other deficiencies.

In Vienna, the problems of casting, hazardous finances and the lack of impetus caused by an unappreciative audience, also the alterations seen to be necessary by Durazzo to make the opera more acceptable to Vienna, suggest that from the earliest days, French opera in Vienna was rather different from that seen in Paris.¹

II. Opéra-comique in translation in Vienna
   A. The soloists
      1. Casting

      Italian opera was usually performed in Vienna by German singers who had had Italian training, and whose style was therefore quite distinctive. French operas, on the other hand, were given by the resident German singers or, at theatres other than the court theatres, by the singers also employed to give German opera. These German artists were required to perform native Singspiel, French and Italian opera in translation, German works in the Italian tradition (like those of Weigl) and, (in 1809) even Italian operas in Italian: The French operas required singers who could act and declaim, and the only preparation most singers probably had to equip them for this versatile work was singing-training from an Italian teacher: their ability to distinguish between the different styles must have been limited. French opera performed in German in Vienna probably suffered from the same "difficulties and handicaps" as native opera throughout Germany: "at the mercy of singers who were usually either virtuosos of Italian birth or

¹. See p. 367ff.
During the period of this study, many foreign names still appear in the cast list of the "Deutsche Oper" or the company of the Theater an der Wien. Some, like Herr Simoni who came from Tyrol, may have added a final "i" to their names to disguise their Austrian origins. According to a report in the AMZ, Herr Simoni had anyway lived in Italy for a long time: Castelli, in his memoirs, described him as "eine Italiener". After the dismissal of the Italian opera, he went from the court opera to the Theater auf der Wieden, with a salary of 800 ducats a year, which astonished the public: "Man wundert sich, denn er ist ein eiskalter Sänger". A tenor, he was equipped with "eine etwas schmetternden Stimme und ein tüchtiger Rouladenjäger". Castelli says that he was absolutely no good in the French operas because he could not act and his spoken German was so poor he would pronounce "auf was Art, Elende" "Auf was Sardellenthee"; he was not a "pure" singer, but pleased the public with his "Künsteleien". The AMZ of

2. J. Cornet, Die Oper in Deutschland und Das Theater der Gegenwart (Hamburg, 1849), as quoted in Warrack, "German Operatic Ambitions", p. 83.
3. AMZ, 4 March 1801, column 404.
4. Castelli, I, p. 239.
5. Castelli, I, p. 239.
20 August 1801 reported that Vienna lacked a good tenor which made difficult the choice of operas.¹ Perhaps this was why the Theater auf der Wieden, and later the Theater an der Wien, were prepared to pay him so highly. Also, he was a favourite with the Empress Marie-Therèse with whom he could be seen walking arm-in-arm in the palace gardens.²

Foreign singers were often censured for marring performances by their inability to learn German properly. Herr Radichi (Radicchi), who had played Florestan in the final version of Fidelio, took the title role of Richard Löwenherz in 1816 and badly mispronounced parts of his dialogue.³ There are complaints too, that German singers mispronounced any French words which were left in opéra-comique after translation. On the other hand, Herr Cache (Cachée, Cagée) a singer for the Theater an der Wien was actually French. He played the part of Antonio at the first performance of Les deux journées "mit vieler Innigkeit"⁴ and his boldness in tackling French roles in German surprised the critic of Der Sammler and pleased the Viennese.

I have not found any reference to performances of opéra-comique in Vienna in more than one language.

¹. AMZ, 26 August 1801, column 798.
². Musulin, p. 28.
⁴. AMZ, 6 October 1802, column 27.
The lack of suitable singers in Vienna, notably men and especially tenors, obliged the Kärntnerthor-theater in 1812 to employ a lady (Madame Milder) as Tamino in a performance of Die Zauberflöte.¹ The Viennese acknowledged their debt to foreign artists who came to work in their city: for, as a writer for Der Sammler noted, in November 1814, when several of Vienna's main singers were troubled with illness:

wäre die Zahl der anwesenden Fremden nicht so überaus gross, so würden wir vielleicht keine Oper mehr haben.²

However, the early years of the nineteenth century saw a serious decline in the art of Italian singing, the older style having gone out of fashion with no suitable replacement (this may explain some of the Viennese disillusionment with the Italians).³ Apart from a few excellent singers like Anna Milder, who will be mentioned in greater detail later, the Viennese opera companies seem generally to have lacked both suitable native artists and outstanding foreigners.

Another feature of opera performance in Vienna was the frequent introduction of new singers into an established production for the purpose of prolonging its success. Such "guest performances" aroused public curiosity and people who might otherwise stay away would come to hear foreigners try some famous role, or one of their favourites take over a different one.

2. Der Sammler, 20 November 1814 under Notizen.  
3. Hanslick saw the return of popularity for the Italians in 1818 as being due, in part, to a return to fine singing. Hanslick, I, p. 260.
But it was difficult for an artist in these circum-
stances to bring any individuality to a production
which had already "formed", and the practice inevitably
destroyed the sense of ensemble.\textsuperscript{1} The custom of import-
ing singers for the sake of novelty shows how opera in
Vienna was the domain of the leading singers rather
than of a well-rehearsed team. Its presuppositions were
still Italian rather than French:

2. The singing

From chapters three and four it will already have
become plain that the public was inconsistent in its
attitude towards Italian singing. When well done, florid
ornamentation and passages of bravura (even in French
operas) thrilled the Viennese as they had always done,
despite the temporary fashion in Vienna for simplicity
and French rationalism. The German tenor Herr Wild, who
had been a choir boy at Klosterneuberg and, latterly, in
the employment of Prince Esterhazy, had made his Viennese
début in Aschenbrödl (Cendrillon).\textsuperscript{2} Der Sammler praised
him for his performance in another Isouard opera, Joconde,
in July 1815. In spite of the applause it might have
brought him, he had refrained from adding uncalled-
for ornamentation; and the beautiful simple lines of
his part contrasted nicely with the more elaborate
passages of the opera: "wenn der letztere\[elaborate ornamentation\] uns in

\textsuperscript{1} Der Sammler, 26 March 1814, p. 196 (about Herr Wild's début
in the title role of Johann von Paris); there could be little
new about his performance because "die Form der Darstellung
bereits fixirt ist".

\textsuperscript{2} Der Sammler, 22 July 1815, p. 366.
Bewunderung setzt, der erstere das Herz mehr anspricht", commented the critic.¹ Fears had been expressed after his first appearance in the Austrian capital that Wild would soon become infected with the Viennese affliction "Gurgeley".²

One school of thought maintained that the use of embellishments in operas where it was not called for, was a useful cover for singers whose loss of voice or training prevented them from singing legato during sustained passages. Such simplicity, it was acknowledged, was hard to achieve. Dalayrac's opera, Gulistan, for example:

> verlangt aber klingende Stimmen, einen seelenvollen Vortrag und eine grössere musikalische Ausbildung, als viele ahnen; denn einen Ton im langsameren Zeitmasse sicher halten, dass er nicht schwanke, ihn an seine Nachbar-Noten so anbinden, damit eine aus der anderen hervorwächst, und diesen Mechanism des Gesanges declamatorisch so verwenden, wie es im Geiste der Composition liegt, dass ist wohl schwer; als das rollende Passagenwerk, weil hierdurch der Laye meist geblendet wird, und das Mangelhafte desselben gar nicht hört, allein ob einfacher, langsameren Noten klingen und stimmen, hört Jeder, und weil hier die reiche, wenigstens scheinbare, Mannigfaltigkeit nicht blendet, so bleibt dem Vortrage aller Raum, und sein Mangel lässt eine schaale Leere zurück.³

Still, the applause which might be won by dazzling displays of Italianate technique, was a temptation for many singers. It has already been mentioned, for example, on 10 March 1811 in a performance of Die Vestalinn before King Albert of Prussia:

1. Der Sammler, 22 July 1815, p. 366.
3. TZ, 13 October 1827, p. 503.
The embellishment of opéras-comiques in Vienna became more marked as taste there turned back to Italian music. Seven years after the first performance in Vienna of Johann von Paris, the WAMZ regretted that the simple lines of the troubadour's Romance became a "Tummelplatz für Bravura":

1. Der Sammler, 14 March 1811, p. 128.
2. WAMZ, 4 October 1827, p. 633.
3. This is probably the romance referred to. The first verse is sung by Olivier, the second by Jean, and the third by the princess.
By now: "die Gewohnheit wird indessen zur zweyten Natur, und die Sänger sehen diese Piece als ein Thema an, was sie nach Massgabe ihrer Kehlfertigkeit variren können". The worst offender at that time was the Bavarian Herr Löhle. At the performance on 26 September 1820, Olivier sang his stanza as written, but Dlle Vio ornamented hers so that the melody was unrecognisable; Herr Löhle, playing Johann, introduced ornaments which did not even sound good, for they clashed unpleasantly with the suspensions in the strings. The Princess, Madame Grünbaum, on the other hand, it reported to have embellished her part in tasteful fashion, delightful to connoisseurs. It is interesting that the slight reservations expressed about Madame Grünbaum when she first assumed this part in 1813: her inability to act and consequent damage done to the dramatic unity of the whole, and her overemphasis of the singing part of her role, are not mentioned. An Italian-trained singer considered unsuitable for opéra-comique in 1813 was, in 1820, being held up to German singers as an example of moderation.

Because of the popularity of opéra-comique which displaced the traditional admiration for Italian opera, Italian singers resident in Vienna were, for several years, compelled to learn to sing French operas, in order to keep pace with fashion. Herr Siboni, who sang

1. WAMZ, 4 October 1820, p. 633.
2. WAMZ, 4 October 1820, p. 633.
3. Der Sammler, 26 June 1813; 1 July 1813, p. 416.
Jason in Medea, and Cortez in Fernand Cortez in 1812, and Licinius in Die Vestalinn, did succeed in changing his style slightly according to the music he was singing, introducing into Spontini only a few, well-chosen ornaments. His Italian accent, however, remained unmistakable. The Italian singer, Mlle Sessi, chose Die Vestalinn for her benefit performance in June 1811, rather than a more obviously Italian opera.

Visitors to the French capital during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries usually remarked on the French singing style. Especially noticeable was the volume of the orchestras in Paris: the Prince de Ligne, who observed that instrumentalists had concerts and churches in which to display their talents, and might be good enough to give singers a chance in the theatre, nicknamed Gluck's opera Iphigenie en taurau because of the cries of distress uttered by the leading lady. Burney, addmittedly pro-Italian, thought that good French voices were ruined by deplorable training, and Kotzebue in 1804, and Castelli in 1815, commented

1. Der Sammler, 17 November 1810, p. 562; also: Der Sammler, 13 October 1812, p. 494 which states that Herr Siboni: "die ungewöhnlich vielen und langen Rouladen.... gänzlich fallen liess'(in Die Vestalinn). Der Sammler, 30 May 1812, p. 262. "Je seltener es ist, dass ein italienischer Sänger für dieses Genre von Musik Ehr hat, je grosseres Lob verdient Herr Siboni" (of his performance of Licinius in Die Vestalinn).

2. Der Sammler, 10 June 1811, p. 278: "Schon der Vorzug, den Mlle. Sessi, eine Italienerin, durch die Wahl dieses Singspiels der deutschen Oper vor der italienischen zugestand, macht ihrem vorurtheilsfreien Verstande und ihrem geläuterten Geschmack die grösste Ehre".


that shouting went under the name of singing at the Paris Opéra.¹ In 1803, Reichardt recorded his own astonishment, and that of the Germans around him, on a visit to the opera in the French capital and explained:

-Man hat auch im gemeinen Leben täglich Veranlassung zu der Bemerkung, dass man bei Franzosen selten, auch nur für die Sprache ein recht freies, offnes, sonores Organ findet. Entweder sind die Stimmen tief und bedeckt, und sehr geringer Modulationen fähig; oder fistelartig dünn und leiser-doch jenes viel häufiger: der enge Nasenton, den die Sprache schon so sehr befördert, fehlt selten einer französischen Stimme.²

Reichardt's attempt to account for what he judged to be a disability (but which was really a difference in style), was curious. The French could not sing, because at a young age they drank raw new wine; because the prevalent venereal disease affected their throats; because they loved noise and loud orchestras.³ The Belgian writer, Charles Piot, in an article examining the style of singing in France during the eighteenth century from an emphatically anti-French point of view, attributes the distinctive quality of French singing to the French language and the way of projecting the spoken voice on French stages. The French, claims Piot, reacted against the Italians, even at the expense of creating a style which was unpleasant.⁴

An article which appeared in the AMZ in 1817 more reasonably (but still unconvincingly) explained the difference as being due to differences between the cultures of France and Germany

¹. Kotzebue, Erinnerungen, p. 491; Castelli; II, p.84.
and their different attitudes towards singing. "Der Franzose" it was alleged, "singt um zu sprechen, der Deutsche und Italiener hingegen sprechen Worte aus, um zu singen".¹

An intriguing note about one Viennese singer, Antonia Campi (née Miklaszewicz) who came from Poland and had been the prima donna in Prague, appears in the journal of Dr. Reeve who travelled from London to Vienna in 1805 and stayed there during the time of the French occupation. According to Reeve, who was not a musical expert but who nevertheless frequently attended musical and theatrical performances, Madame Campi was very loudly applauded by the French part of the audience in her performance as Juliet in Zingarelli's Giulietta e Romeo.

According to Reeve her style of singing was more agreeable to the French than the German taste and most of her ill-placed Pan's pipe ornaments were loudly applauded by the French. It is likely that what Reeve took to be the French singing style was really the international Italian style which found favour still among the French (including Napoleon) as it still did among some of the Viennese. The famous Italian castrato Crescentini played Romeo opposite Campi and subsequently took up employment with Napoleon in Paris.²

¹: AMZ, 23 April 1817, column 286. It was conceded that although French singers often had harsh, nasal singing voices "die mechanische Geiltheit und die unzerstörbare Sicherheit, mit welcher sie die schwersten Gesangpartien vortragen" were remarkable. AMZ, 23 April 1817, columns 286-287.
²: Reeve, p. 69.
Chorley commented how French tenors, whom he regarded as a race apart, were able to sing well into the soprano register by combining falsetto with chest voice.\(^1\) Tenors in Vienna lacked this specialist technique, which would have enabled them to sing high As, Bs and Cs with ease; manuscript scores used for performance there show how tenor arias were often either sung in a lower key (jeopardising the key scheme of a work), or had some passages transposed down an octave to avoid the difficulties. On the other hand, when Mozart was performed in Paris, French basses lacked the lower notes needed for a part like Sarastro, although light French sopranos managed roles such as Susanna, well.\(^2\)

In 1812 Weigl's *Die Schweizerfamilie* was performed in Paris as *La valée Suisse*; one of the most popular aspects of the opera in Vienna had been the bass role for the father, Robert, played by Weinmüller (the original Rocco of *Fidelio*). The opera's disappointing reception in Paris was largely due to the weak French bass.\(^3\)

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2. WAMZ, 29 November 1820, column 767. The WAMZ here mentions a French attempt to perform *Le Nozze di Figaro*: "Das Théâtre Feydeau lässt jetzt Figaros Hochzeit ins Französische übersetzen und will diese Oper bald in Scene schicken... Die Bässe sämtlicher Mozart'schen Opern liegen indessen ausser dem Reich der französischen, wie der italienischen Kehlen, ihre Besetzung bietet unbesiegbare Schwierigkeiten. Die weiblichen Partien der Oper: Figaro, würden in der höchsten Vollkommenheit im Feydeau besetzt werden können, und Spiel und Gesang würde man vereint sehen, ein gleiches gilt von den Tenorpathien der Mozart'schen Opern, die hier überaus gelingen würden".

3. Der Sammler, 19 November 1812, p. 560.
At the popular theatres which occasionally mounted opéra-comique and where even greater versatility was required of actors, untrained singers could be called upon to sing leading roles: at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, an amateur singer sang the role of Bathilde in Raoul von Créki (Raoul, Sire de Créqui)\(^1\) and in a parody of Johann von Paris (Johann von Wieselburg) at the Theater in der Josefstadt the theatre's Kapellmeister, Herr Blacho (who was not a singer at all), stepped in to play Johann.\(^2\)

3. Acting

Italian singers were notoriously unwilling to take trouble to develop their dramatic gifts.\(^3\) The German singers in Vienna seem to have followed their example. John Warrack cites Wilhemine Schröder as the first singing actress in Germany.\(^4\) Young singers with promise appeared awkward on the stage, having had no dramatic training; whereas children whose parents were already actors, like the Demmers or the Bondras, received elementary advice about how to behave on the stage but in some cases had outgrown their talent by the time they reached their teens. Der Sammler followed the progress of Herr Wild, who first appeared in Vienna as Ramiro (Prince Charming) in the 1811 production of Aschenbrödl: it was reported after his début that his

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1. TZ, 23 March 1813, p. 140.
2. Der Sammler, 10 April 1813, p. 228.
3. Deutsch, Mozart, p. 342, referring to a performance of Figaro in Hanover.
own self-consciousness betrayed his youth and inexperience. Wild's appearance in the next Isouard opera to be given in Vienna, *Ein Tag in Paris (Un jour à Paris)*, brought forth more explicit criticism: his acting was now said to leave everything to be desired, the words of his singing were inaudible and he had a strong provincial accent. However, by 1813 a great improvement in his acting was reported and although his dramatic skills were never exemplary, he was later remembered as one of the finest singers who created roles in French operas during this period.

Other actors, like Herr Baumann, compensated for their uneasiness on the stage by exaggeration. We read of flippant behaviour by experienced singers who took leading parts in opéra-comique. Herr Forti is reported to have grinned all over his face during his performance as Raoul in the Grétry opera *Raoul der Blaubart* (Raoul Barbe-Bleue), and to have lacked any of the dignity befitting a duke: his cheerful manner contradicted his gruesome deeds. Herr Ehlers, who took the part of Blondel in *Richard Löwenherz* (Richard Coeur-de-lion) in 1810 at the Theater an der Wien, had failed to familiarise himself with the technique of the violin so that the passages where he was supposed to

1. Der Sammler, 16 July 1811, p. 338.
2. Der Sammler, 3 December 1811, p. 582.
3. Der Sammler, 12 December 1813, p. 792.
5. TZ, 15 July 1813, p. 326.
play on stage were laughable pantomime which destroyed all illusion; in addition to this, we read that he overacted and that his aim seemed to be to gain the laughter and applause of the upper galleries of the theatre.¹ His adaptation of Der Deserteur, three years later, confirms a suspicion that he did not take opéra-comique very seriously.²

4. Performance of spoken dialogue

The spoken parts of opéra-comique seem to have presented difficulties throughout Germany, even though German Singspiel also contained dialogue. A visitor to Munich who attended a performance of Dalayrac's opera Die Wilden (Azémia ou les sauvages) in 1797, suggested that the speech should be rewritten as recitative for use in Germany.³ Viennese singers seem to have felt uneasy about the dialogue in French operas, recognising its importance and distinctiveness; newspaper readers in Vienna between 1790 and 1819 would have encountered frequent references to the fine sense of ensemble and quick repartee of the Opéra-Comique in Paris, but it is doubtful that they would have gleaned any clear ideas about how it differed from the ways in which German Singspiel was normally performed in Vienna.

Der Sammler reports that Spontini's Fernand Cortez was badly performed in October 1813, "weil leider unsere Sänger glauben, die musikalische Declamation liege ganz

¹ Der Sammler, 13 December 1810, p. 606.
² Der Sammler, 27 November 1813, TZ, 3 December 1813 (see p. 453).
³ Zenger, p. 514.
ausser ihrem Wirkungskreis": this recitative, Der Sammler recognizes, was the heart and soul of many French works.\(^1\) In an article about the performance in Paris of Salieri's *Tarare*, Salieri in 1819 was quoted in the AMZ as having said that while in Paris he had to write "für Schauspieler, welche singen, in Wien aber für Sänger, welche spielen."\(^2\) In Paris there was an *Ecole de déclamation* which trained young actors.\(^3\)

The comment "richtige Deklamation fehlte" was the most frequent criticism levelled against singers, whether foreign or not, and presumably the sense of some of the passages of dialogue was lost because of it. But Viennese actors were also accused of not speaking distinctly, and the Viennese public may have been uncritical about this carelessness. An obituary to the actress Katharina Jacquet printed in the 1796 *Wiener Theater Almanach* commented:

> Jacquet war eine von den wenigen, von den nur sehr wenigen unserer Theatralischen Mitglieder, die mit Richtigkeit sprach und rein und richtig aussprach.... Das Pariser Parterre nöthigte einst einen Schauspieler, der vingt fois unrichtig aussprach, das Wort mehrmahl, und so lang zu wiederholen, bis er den Fehler verbesserte. Unser Parterre ist noch nicht berechtigt, sich zum Richter der gereinigten Aussprache, und überhaupt nicht zum Richter der Sprachrichtigkeit aufzuwerfen.\(^4\)

Almost all of the opéras-comiques given in Vienna during these years had prose dialogue. Some of the

\(^1\) Der Sammler, 16 October 1813, p. 660.
\(^2\) WAMZ, March 1819, column 143.
\(^4\) Wiener Theater Almanach auf das Jahr 1796, p. LXIX.
earlier French operas had had dialogue in couplets and Durazzo during the time of \textit{Le théâtre français près de la cour} had preferred such operas because they were more successful in Vienna.\(^1\) Isouard's opera \textit{Lully et Quinault} was unusual in being written in alexandrines.\(^2\)

It failed twice in Vienna: first when given as a play without music at the Burgtheater\(^3\) and secondly as an opera at the Theater an der Wien. The latter was hissed, having lost all sense of ensemble half way through.\(^4\)

One of the reasons for the failure was the music itself which contained several references to Lully which were not appealing to a Viennese audience: "Die sehr lange Aria Lully's müsste ... verlieren, weil der Mittelsatz, eine Menuette von Lully's Composition, nur für französische Zuhörer Reitz hat" and the overture suffered from "Längen und Bizarrerien". But stilted acting also played a part in its lack of success because: "das Opernpersonale dieses Theaters, an denen Zwang der Alexandriner nicht gewöhnt, durch vieles Versmass in der Freyheit des Spieles gehemmt wurde". Der Sammler writes interestingly about the way in which Herr Ehlers acted the part of Lully which was unexpectedly different from Herr Roose's interpretation in the play:

\begin{quote}
Dieser ausgezeichnete Schauspieler und Sänger [Ehlers], welcher sonst mit so viel Glücke aus sich selbst schöpfte... nahm... seinen Lully aus einem andern Gesichtspunkte; Lully ist, wie manche ausgezeichnete Talente in seiner Kunst, ein excentrischer Kopf, etwas
\end{quote}

\(^1\) Haas, pp. 32-33.

\(^2\) Operas by Lully and Rameau anyway never achieved popularity in Vienna.

\(^3\) Der Sammler, 3 July 1813, p. 420.

\(^4\) Der Sammler, 28 September 1813, p. 620.
Poltron, dabein aber, was ja nicht vergessen werden sollte, Bonvivant und Franzose. Herr Ehlers hingegen sprach ihn bisweilen zu langsam (er mochte wohl die Rolle nicht ganz inne haben) und im Kanzelton, wodurch dieser Charakter die Farbe der Pedanterie bekam, welche unter allen Nationen dem Franzosen am wenigsten passt, auch wenn er eine Perücke trägt.  

Seyfried, the translator, was also blamed for the alexandrines, which the critic implies he should have written as straight prose. One of the most successful parts of the opera was a new aria written by the Seyfried brothers to be sung in the opera after the failure of Lully's Armide; ironically it ended: "So hat er in der Wahl der Mittel sich vergriffen; Er sey auch ein Genie -- er wird doch ausgepfiffen".

Unlike Cherubini, Isouard was not recognised in Vienna as a genius. The three main reasons for the failure of Lully et Quinault in Vienna were: a failure to capture the spirit of the original; a lack of understanding of the opera; and underrehearsal.

5. Ensemble

One of the features of Paris opéra-comique performance which was widely known in Vienna was its speed. As early as 1773, G.A.H. Guibert, a French soldier who came to Vienna and saw a play called Le deuil, wrote: "assez jolie comédie dans notre langue: en allemand, plaisanteries devenues lourdes, maussades, entièrement dénaturées". The German language, he continued "n'a jamais le dialogue vif et pressé, elle peint enfin à

Richer, who made the journey the other way round, from Vienna to Paris in 1784, was deeply impressed by the skill of French actors at handling passages of dialogue and reported that, in general, they spoke better and knew their parts better than their German counterparts. 2 Reichardt, who visited the French capital in 1803, said about Parisian performances:

das Ganze geht so rund und glatt weg, dass es eine Lust ist. 3

Castelli had been translating French works in Vienna for thirteen years before he visited Paris. He commented in his memoirs that a play which lasted three hours in Vienna would be given in one and a half hours in Paris and was very impressed by French acting:

Kein Mensch kann sich läugnen, dass die französischen Schauspieler im Lustspiele vor den deutschen den Vorzug haben. Abgerechnet, dass ihre Sprache zum Conversationstone, zu witzigen bonmots und naiven Wendungen mehr geeignet ist, so besitztensie auch eine Geschmeidigkeit des Körpers, eine Volubilität der Zunge und eine ihnen eigene natürliche Lebhaftigkeit, welche jede Rundung in der Darstellung bewirken, die bei Lustspielen unumgänglich notwendig ist. Da ist keine Pause, keine Lücke, ein Schauspieler nimmt dem andern das Wort aus dem Munde, Blitz und Schlag jedes Witzes folgen schnell auf einander; da ist kein Stillstand in der Handlung; auch jener Schauspieler, welcher eben nicht zu sprechen hat, nimmt Antheil am Gespräche der Uebrigen und zeigt dies auch dem Publikum; selbst lange Scenen werden nicht langweilig, weil sie mit einer Lebhaftigkeit gespielt werden, die alle Vorstellung übertrifft.

4. Castelli, II, pp. 84-85.
Castelli is here referring to spoken comedy: but French sung comedy at the Opéra-Comique also won his deep admiration; he praised the very high standard of acting and singing and especially the versatility of the individual singers.

Josef Lange, Mozart's brother-in-law and famous Burgtheater actor, wrote in his biography, published in 1808, of the impression made upon him in the 1770s by the French troupe then resident at the Burgtheater. He describes it as having been "vortrefflich", with several very fine actors:

Besonders stellten die Franzosen ihre Lustspiele, und darunter wieder jene von feinerem Welton, unübertrefflich dar; dieses Zusammenspielen, Eintreffen, Feuer und Leben in Ensemble wird man wohl nirgends so mehr finden.... Noch will ich jeden deutschen Schauspieler anmerken, ob er die französische Bühne gesehen und studiert habe; ein gewisser Adel, eine gewisse Lebhaftigkeit, Leichtigkeit und Zartheit des Spieles, ein gespanntes Streben, sich im Ganzen zu erhalten, und im Ganzen zu wirken, ein erhebender Glanz und Firniss der Farben möchte ich sagen, sind die Merkmale dieses vorhergegangenen Studiums.¹

It seems likely that the company of the Theater an der Wien adapted better to the requirements of opéra-comique than the court theatres... Castelli writes: "Die Opern in diesem Theater[an der Wien] welche nur leidlich gesungen, aber vortrefflich gespielt wurden, gewannen den Sieg Über jene im Hofoperntheater."²

Still, as late as 1817 a sense of ensemble such as that admired at the Paris Opéra-Comique was often lacking

². Castelli, I, p. 262.
in Viennese performances. Schreyvogel found it necessary to issue the ordinance: "dass die ersten Schauspieler und die Regisseurs selbst es nicht verschmähen sollten, durch Übernahme kleinerer, für das Ganze wichtiger Rollen, zur Vollkommenheit der Darstellung beizutragen." Viennese singers seem not to have achieved the sense of ensemble, the rapid "give and take" of their French counterparts; although their acting skills were better during the second decade of the century than later on, when Italian opera returned to fashion. Castelli writes of his time as translator at the court theatres between 1811 and 1814:

Ich hatte dazu gute Darsteller; denn damals verstanden die deutschen Operisten auch noch zu reden und zu spielen, und so gefielen alle diese Opern.2

In March 1827, a sentimental little article appeared on the front page of the Theaterzeitung describing the visit to Vienna made by some French players the previous year. They performed opéras-comiques, vaudevilles by Scribe, and French comedies, and the Theaterzeitung wrote that though the Germans had never warmed to French tragedy "das französische Lustspiel ist ein Vorbild, das sich unsere Lustspieldichter und Schauspieler wählen sollten". The court theatres of Vienna and Berlin were the main German stages:

2. Castelli, I, p. 205
aber dennoch wird der freymühlige Beurtheiler, der in Paris einen Michelot, Potier, Brunet, eine Mars und Tourez in französischen Lustspielen gesehen, den Letztenannten die Palme zuerkennen, -- denn ein solches Ensemble, ein solches Ineinandergreifen der einzelnen Theile zur effektvollen Wirkung des Ganzen findet er nirgends.1

A later Viennese observer, Hanslick, enlarged on the observations of his predecessors about opéra-comique in the Austrian capital:

Die besten deutschen Vorstellungen dieser Gattung werden im Total-Eindruck die schwächsten der Pariser Opéra-Comique nicht erreichen. Wenn es noch kommt, hat jede bessere deutsche Bühne zwei bis drei gute Mitglieder für die komische Oper, keine einzige aber eine Ahnung von einem vollendeten Ensemble. Notabilitäten der deutschen Oper können von sehr untergeordneten Sujets der Opéra-Comique lernen, wie man spricht, spielt, sich kleidet, ja wie man gerade im musikalischen Lustspiel zu singen hat. Da ist niemand der schreit, schleppt, sich vordrangt; alles bewegt sich rasch, zwanglos und natürlich, und will auch mancher für sich nicht viel bedeuten, zusammen sind die Meister.2

6. Learning of parts

At the fourth performance of Ferdinand Cortez in June, 1812, the prompter "war nähmlich so vorlaut, dass er Sänger und Orchester übertönte, und sowohl die Aufmerksamkeit der Zuhörer für die Musik, als ihr Interesse an der Handlung, durch diese beständige Störung der Illusion, auf die unangenehmste Weise beeinträchtigte".3 Curiously, it is the prompter himself, and not the lazy

1. TZ, 17 March 1827, front page.
3. Der Sammler, 6 June 1812, p. 274.
singers, who is blamed for spoiling the performance,
(though the theatres did have strict penalties for
members of the cast who failed to learn their parts
properly).  However, the earlier ones were even worse.
A critic for Der Sammler writes, apparently without
a trace of sarcasm:

Wenn der zweyten Production manche Mängel
zur Last gelegt werden konnten, so waren die
dritte und vierte desto genügender. Besonders
wurden bey der letzten (in welcher zwar die
Ouvertüre beynahe gescheitert wäre) die Chöre
mit ungemäßer Präcision und Energie vorgetragen;
sogar die Mädchen-Chöre, die in allen Opern nur
sehr selten gut gelingen, hörte man rein und
richtig.  

Ferdinand Cortez had been first given at the Kärntner-
thortheater on 26 May 1812. On New Year's Day that
year, Cherubini's Medea had been revived at the same
theatre and its "grösste Schwierigkeit" (wide vocal
leaps, awkward melodies, need for absolute precision in
ensembles and the acting demands made on the singers)
stretched the performers to their limits. Medea ran
until 1819, and in June 1812, Herr Siboni, who sang the
part of Jason, was reported to have been tired during an
otherwise superb performance of the Cherubini opera be-
cause of the effort of attending at the same time the
"viele Proben" for his new role as Cortez in the Spontini
opera which ran concurrently.  

1. "Vorschrift und Gesetze nach welchen sich die Mitglieder des K.K.
National-Theaters zu halten haben" laid down in 1779 that members
of the Nationaltheater be fined a quarter of their monthly earnings
for not knowing their parts properly. Richard Smekal, Das alte
2. Der Sammler, 6 June 1812, p. 274.
Medea was strenuous for the Viennese singers. Several other instances of singers not knowing their parts were noted in chapter III.

7. "Es ist ganz natürlich, dass in jeder Oper, welche uns in Partitur aus Paris zukommt, immer eine Rolle der Stein des Anstosses bei der Aufführung bleiben wird; es ist diejenige, welche in Paris von Martin gegeben wird, und welche entweder als Gesangspartie oder als Spielrolle betrachtet und meistens auch in beiden Hinsichten solche Schwierigkeiten enthält, dass sie bei unsern Theater gar nicht zu besetzen ist".¹

To illustrate Castelli's point, there follows a more detailed study of two opéras-comiques given in Vienna: Johann von Paris, which was still being performed at the Kärntnerthortheater in 1879; and Aschenbrödl, one of the most spectacularly successful French operas ever given in the Austrian capital which, however, was eclipsed by Rossini's setting of the same story. Some of the best German singers of the era performed in them.

a. Aschenbrödl

The success in Paris of Isouard's latest opera, Cendrillon, was read about by the Viennese in the copy

¹. Castelli, II, p. 89.
of Der Sammler dated 22 March 1810, where it was said that the "kleine niedlichen Arien" would soon be whistled in the street: Isouard had become the idol of Paris.¹

The Mercure de France commenting on the Paris production observed that the work had been a triumph; the libretto could have been more imaginative but:

Si la gaîté qu'il y a semée est quelquefois un peu triviale, s'il n'a pas mis dans ses caractères une assez grande variété, il a supplié à ces défauts par une action rapide, par beaucoup de mouvement et par la pompe du spectacle.²

When creating the work, the authors had had in mind the young daughter of one of the leading singers at the Théâtre Feydeau, Alexandrine de St. Aubain; and it was impossible to imagine a Cinderella "plus sensible, et plus gaie, plus naïve et plus sémillante."³ Special numbers had been written for her and her mother, the most successful of which was Cendrillon's romance:

"Monsieur Nicolo a ... atteint son but principale en composant pour ses deux cantatrices des airs et des duos propres à faire briller leurs talents" wrote La Mercure which, however, conceded that neither the text nor the music were very original.

When the opera opened at the Theater an der Wien, Der Sammler perceived that Isouard's work was not one of the "progressive" opéras-comiques; rather, it was one of the older types of French opera which had been written before Méhul and Cherubini.⁴ It owed much of its distinction in Vienna to the sets, designed by Sacchetti and

1. Der Sammler, 22 March 1810, no. 35.
2. La Mercure de France, 3 March 1810, pp. 55-56.
3. La Mercure de France, 3 March 1810, pp. 55-56.
Gail; to the costumes designed by Stubenrauch and the
dances of the little genies — presumably, these were children: "Kinderballett" was a particular favourite
of the Viennese. Der Sammler recommended the opera
as "eine der sehenswürdigsten": particularly successful
among the musical numbers were: Alidoro's beggar song;
the duet between Aschenbrödl and the Duke in Act II;
Cendrillon's aria in Act II; the "masterly" ensemble
between Aschenbrödl and her two ugly sisters in the
first act, where the kind and wholesome Aschenbrödl
sings simple folksong-like melodies, and her two,
over-bearing sisters florid roulades; and lastly, the
march of knights and ladies in Act II accompanied by
eight trombones. The latter would have been brought
into the theatre orchestra as extras for the occasion.
They made a very impressive effect.

But given that the role of Cendrillon had been
especially created for a specific singer in Paris,
there could have been some difficulty in finding a
suitable counterpart in Vienna.

The Demmer family were to become quite well-known
to Viennese audiences. Their father was a member of
the company of the Theater an der Wien from 1804 to 1815
and his two sons and daughters appeared on the Viennese
stage during the second decade of the nineteenth century.
Josepha (Josefa) his eldest daughter was fourteen in
1811;¹ her father's position gave her the opportunity

¹. Der Sammler, 9 April 1811, p. 172.
of creating the title-role in the first Viennese production of Aschenbrödl. According to Der Sammler, her voice was clear and secure, though rather thin (it would probably have proved impossible to find a versatile young singer whose voice was big enough to fill the large Theater an der Wien). Other aspects of her performance were highly commendable:

Ihr Vortrag [war] einfach und rührend, ihre Declamation deutlich und ungemein richtig; ihr Spiel gut gemacht und ohne alle Affectation; ihr Tanz voll Grazie....

However, in Act II where the girl had both to dance and sing, we are told that she got so out-of-breath between verses that extra music had to be played to give her time to recover herself sufficiently for the next stanza.

Josepha's performance, brought her such acclaim that the following year she played the same role in Duport's ballet, Aschenbrödl (which enjoyed a success almost greater than the opera) whose original leading lady had been none other than Madame Duport herself. Josepha's appearance in the ballet suggests that singing was not really her forte. Her dancing had now improved (she was now a member of Madame Treitschke's dancing academy) but this performance showed undeniable signs of strain. Still it earned her the good-natured applause of her audience because of the affection they felt for her:

1. Der Sammler, 9 April 1811, p. 172.
2. Der Sammler, 9 April 1811, p. 172.
Hopes expressed in the original enthusiastic review of the opera that this young talent would not over-tax herself were not fulfilled: Josepha Demmer's one great success was Aschenbrödl (and she subsequently suffered a long illness). She remained, however, as a member of the Theater an der Wien until 1826.

Other characters in the Aschenbrödl première were taken by Dlle Buchwieser and Dlle Mayer, the ugly sisters. Herr Caché, the Frenchman, acted the part of Dandini without being tempted to over-act. Herr Ehlers, took the part of Ramiro; Herr Weinkopf, the first Don Fernando in Fidelio, gave Alidoro. (in 1814 he was engaged at the Kärntnterthortheater as a bass); and Herr Meyer, as Montefiascone, was all that could be desired in that part.

Aschenbrödl was performed nine times in April 1811, seven times in May and five times in July. It was surrounded in the repertoire of the Theater an der Wien by works such as Richard Löwenherz (Grétry), Der Schatzgräber (Méhul), Agnus Bernauer (Seyfried) and Rochus Pumpernickel (Haibel and Seyfried).

On July 9, the part of Ramiro was played by Herr Wild, with a rich sonorous voice, unspoilt by ornamentation. According to Hebenstreit, the part

of Ramiro was never better acted than by Ehlers, never better sung than by Wild.¹

Many singers' reputations were broken or made in guest performances in *Aschenbrödel*; in February 1816, the title role was taken over by one of the ugly sisters in the first performance, Dlle Buchwieser. Her part as an ugly sister was taken by an Italian, Madame Campi, who sang well but did not act. Dlle Buchwieser is reported however to have been too old for the part:² she is probably the Katharina (Cathinka) Buchwieser to whom Schubert's song "Der zürnenden Diana" was dedicated and who was 27 in 1816. The daughter of the third conductor of the Theater an der Wien around 1815, she actually played piano duets with Schubert and, in 1832, became the répétiteur of the Theater an der Wien.³ In the months prior to her appearance as Aschenbrödel, she is reported to have had many real-life love affairs with princes -- the distinguished strangers at the Viennese Congress.

¹ Der Sammler, 2 March 1816, p. 109.
² Der Sammler, 2 March 1816, p. 109.
³ Deutsch, Schubert, p. 400.
Über die Aufführung der Oper:

_Aschenbrödel_

auf dem d. l. prov. Theater an der Wien.


_einer Würde Glück wünschtest, die sie schon sich zu heissen glaubt: das daraus folgende Duet, in welcher Prinz sich in Aschenbrödel’s Stille erläßt, und von ihr eine Drehé verlangt; das finale des jungen Duet, und endlich vorzüglich das Duet zwischen Aschenbrödel und dem Prinzen im dritten Act.

Die Veteranen der Kunst mögen es und zu Gute halten, wenn wir diese Stück unter den darstellenden Personen zuerst der Dile. Demmer s Empfindung, dass

Dem Verdienste seine Krone! Die Hoffnung, welche wir Neu einer untergeordneten Rolle, in der jungen Figurennion, von dieser angewendeten Künstlerin schöpfen

(Seh Thalia 1811, neutes Blatt) haben sich auf eine glänzende Art bestätigt. Auf ihre berühmte ehrentheils der Effekt des Ganzen, und sie feiht wir dem Publicum beinahe völlig undablässig, ohne Freude, ohne Freundschaft, nicht einmal in einem fremden Lande geboren. Welche Grundsätze hat sie, auf Nachsicht in rechnen? Wie sicherten mussten die Schwestern betreten? Aber kaum hat sie die zweite Strophe ihres Romances geschrieben, so waren alle Herzen gewonnen. Eine einschneidende Beschreibung, das ungesüßte Auge, die Beschaffenheit des Mutes, durch die Beschaffenheit der Seele, durch die schaffend Stecknadel, die Geschichte all diejenigen Hasen, der Künstler, an das Herz tragende Schlinge: alles vorbereitet, ihren Triumph. Sie hat in einem noch jungen Alter eine Füllung gelassen, welche das Studium ohne den Beigabe natürlicher Anlage, nie loswerden. Mann kann fundhafter singen, fertig sange; aber man kann nicht unverschämt, nicht liebenswürdiger fremd, als die

Der dieser gerechte Tribut unserer Künstlichkeit, welche gemäß die allgemeine Zuneigung, die junge Künstlerin bebenden und ermutigten!

Die Dutz. Buchseier und Weiber spielen und sangen ihre unerlaubten Melodien mit gewohnter Liebe, und reagieren besonders den Duet des älteren Act mit seiner Freiheit vor, welche allein fast sachte Choraleignungen gemäß haben. Hr. Ehlers als Prinz

mußte auch den eigenartigen Antrieb aufgeben.
liebe Demmer!


Am Tage der ersten Aufführung erlebte die Demmer folgende Ereignisse, die bedeutend waren.


b. Jean de Paris

At its Paris première on 11 April 1812, the part of Jean had been played by Elleviou "avec un talent tout à fait original ... d'une mélodie simple, expressive, et, par conséquent, bien dans sa voix".¹ Elleviou and Martin were very flexible tenor singers. Martin, the bass who played the part of the Seneschal, was admired by Reichardt in 1803² and Castelli in 1815,³ for his magnificent acting; he played this part with an extreme gravity which contrasted well with Jean's light-heartedness. Mlle de Saint Aubain, the original Cendrillon, played the part of the serving girl, Lorezza; a less experienced singer, Madame Regnault, played the part of the Princess. A report which appeared in the Sammler on 16 May, 1812, had stated:

auch scheint die Musik für die vorzüglichsten Sänger der komischen Oper bearbeitet zu seyn, und dahin abzusecken ihre Talente in das glänzendste Licht zu stellen.⁴

In August 1812, Johann had opened at the Kärntnerthor-theater and the Theater an der Wien within a day of one another: the latter had, apparently, mounted the whole production in six days.

Der Sammler compared the two productions in a special article which is especially interesting because it gives some idea of relative standards at the Kärntner-thortheater and Theater an der Wien.⁵

The opera overture was enjoyed because it was cheerful and sprightly; other successful musical

¹. La Mercure de France, 11 April 1812, pp. 82-84.
³. Castelli, II, pp. 86-89.
⁴. Der Sammler, 16 May 1812, p. 238.
⁵. Der Sammler, 8 September 1812, p. 434.
The Princess of Navarre, played by Dlle Laucher, 1812.
numbers were the finale to act I; Olivier's aria in act I describing the riding style of his master; the quartet with chorus; the first half of the duet between the page and Lorezza; the romance of the troubadour; and the duet for the Prince and Princess. The music sung by the pompous Seneschal was not generally liked, because it was too Italian in style and thought to diverge from the style of the rest of the piece. The dramatic significance of this characterisation was apparently not grasped.

Dlle Buchwieser, the Princess at the Theater an der Wien, enjoyed more success in that part than her rival at the court theatres. Unlike Dlle Laucher, she was able to show by her acting that she realised straight away who the Prince was (surely necessary for an understanding of the plot); the range also suited her voice better than that of her counterpart. In July 1813 Buchwieser enjoyed a fine reception at Prague when she sang this part there. The older of the Demmer brothers at the Kärntnerthortheater gave a more successful rendering of the Seneschal than his younger brother at the Theater an der Wien, who, apart from not singing as well, could not keep a straight face. The part of Johann was too difficult for Herr Mohrhardt at the Kärntnerthortheater whose voice is described as "unangenehm"; he could not act either.

Illustration opposite: the Princess of Navarre, costume painting by Philipp von Stubenrauch for the Kärntnerthortheater's production of Johann von Paris in 1812. This costume would have been worn by Dlle Laucher. The original is in colour: Wienslg Hg 3315-3323th.
Costume worn by Herr Mohrhardt as Johann von Paris
Herr Ehlers, at the Theater an der Wien, seems to have captured the spirit of shameless young Johann with his endearing mixture of grossness and gallantry. His singing voice was rather weak, but he threw himself into the part; Dlle Teimer as the page at the Theater an der Wien had an impressively wide vocal range -- a full two octaves above middle C; Dlle Bondra was less girlish and more appropriate as the page. Herr Weinmüller, the Pedrigo, was one of the best actors at the suburban theatre and he could also sing well. Of the two young girls who gave Lorezza, Dlle Bondra sang better, and Josepha Demmer, the first Viennese Aschenbrödl, danced better.

The production at the Theater an der Wien was more spectacular than its rival: being a bigger theatre, it could accommodate greater numbers of chorus and extras -- the Kärntnerthortheater was always at a disadvantage in this respect. The lavish costumes of the Theater an der Wien were later copied by other theatres (see p. 624) however, those at the court theatre were "richtiger", implying more in character with the time and setting of the piece. The public is

1. Der Sammler, 8 September 1812, p. 434.
2. Der Sammler, 8 September 1812, p. 434.

Illustration opposite: Johann von Paris, costume design by Philipp von Stubenrauch for the Kärntnerthortheater in 1814. VThsmlg Hg 3315-3323 Th. The original is in colour.
alleged to have preferred the production at the Theater an der Wien. In January of the following year, Herr Demmer and Dlle Bondra were replaced by two weaker singers, Herr Laroche and Dem. Spini and in May 1813 Herr Ehlers's part was played by Herr Klengel from Breslau, who spoilt the opera by his poor acting. In March 1813, Herr Wild took the part of Johann at the Theater an der Wien. The inexperience of this young singer has already been remarked upon; he sang the tender romance without looking at his princess once. He had little opportunity to be original "weil die Form der Darstellung bereits fixirt ist". His acting and bearing were sometimes too gentlemanly to make sense of the Seneschal's comments about his "grobe, gemeine Manieren". On 18 March 1814, the applause for his rendering of the troubadour song was so rapturous that a whole verse of the chorus was lost and the repeat of the stanza unanimously demanded. The sense of the plot at this point was thereby destroyed because the Princess's reply went almost unnoticed. Herr Grünbaum took the part of Johann on 25 June 1813, but could neither act nor sing. He sang opposite

1. Der Sammler, 15 September 1812, p. 446.
2. TZ, 26 June 1813, p. 4.
3. TZ, 13 May 1813, p. 12.
4. Der Sammler, 26 March 1814, p. 196.
5. Der Sammler, 26 March 1814, p. 196.
6. TZ, 1 July 1813, p. 15.
his wife from Prague, Wenzel Müller's daughter, one of the foremost singers of the Italian school. ¹ Madame Grünbaum was still singing this role in 1827 for one of her last guest performances in Munich. ² She was better in tragedy than comedy, however, and her performance in the summer of 1813 lacked the irony and roguishness which had so delighted audiences in Dlle Buchwieser. But there were compensations: "die Zierlichkeit, Anmuth und Kraft, womit sie die schwierigsten Passagen aufführte, erwarben ihr allgemeine Bewunderung". ³

On 17 November 1812, the part of the princess was taken by the 27 year-old Anna Milder-Hauptmann, a pupil of Vogl's and Salieri's. She had first sung at the Theater an der Wien from 1803 to 1804 and was engaged from 1805 at the court opera. Her talents were displayed to the full in the role of the Princess: the silvery tone of her voice, the clarity of her diction and her expressiveness. ⁴ In 1815 she was to leave for Berlin and Vienna mourned her departure; on 8 September 1818, Schubert wrote to Schober and other friends that Frau Milder's beautiful singing was irreplaceable. ⁵

On 18 October 1813, the part of Johann was tried by the Italian singer Herr Forti, who nevertheless failed because of poor acting. ⁶ On 5 May 1814, an Italian singer, Anna Maria Neumann (née Sessi) gave

¹. Der Sammler, 1 July 1813, p. 416.
³. Der Sammler, 1 July 1813, p. 416.
⁴. Der Sammler, 21 November 1812, p. 564.
⁵. Deutsch, Schubert, p. 98.
⁶. TZ, 21 October 1813, p. 672.
a guest performance as the Princess opposite Herr Wild. It was obvious that she considered the singing to be the most important aspect of her performance. Her aria in the first act was transposed down and she sang it even better than Madame Grünbaum who had sung it at the original pitch. Although Madame Neumann's singing seems to have delighted her audiences, reservations were expressed about her use of embellishments.¹ Herr Wild did not imitate her in this, although at an earlier performance at the Theater an der Wien he had been tempted to add his own embellishments which were taken by the press as "ein Manöver des Neides" and strongly censured.²

At this same performance on 5 May, a pas de deux was danced by the ageing Vigano couple who were unable to recreate the sparkle of their performances twenty years earlier.³

In January 1815, Dlle Pfeiffer from Linz took the role of the Princess, but Viennese papers criticised her acting as stilted and her performance as altogether too provincial for Vienna.⁴ Madame Seidler (née Wranitzky) in June 1815 was also unsuited for the part of the Princess:

1. Der Sammler, 12 May 1814, p. 303.
2. Der Sammler, 12 May 1814, p. 304.
3. Der Sammler, 12 May 1814, p. 304.
4. Der Sammler, 7 January 1815.
In ihrem Betragen gegen den Prinzen, lag diese Erkennung, lag keine Beziehung, keine leichte Ironie, keine Gewandheit ... die Darstellung betreffend liess Mad W uns einen harm- und schuldlosen Character erblicken, dem es an keinem äussern Reitz, wohl aber an Lebenserfahrung fehlen dürfte. 1

A sign of the general popularity of Johann was that the opera was one of those chosen to be presented to the guests of the Vienna Congress at the theatre in Schönbrunn. It is not recorded which production was chosen, but it is probable that the popular suburban theatre was passed over for the establishment's Kärntnerthortheater. After the performance, for which the rococo theatre was magnificently lit, guests were taken in carriages and sedan chairs to the orangery and served supper there by the light of 28000 lamps and 3000 candles. 2

A more humble production of Boieldieu's opera was announced in the WAMZ in June 1817: Johann von Paris was to be given at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt: (it is recorded as having been successful). 3 A similar attempt by the Theater in der Josefstadt on 29 April 1824 did not end so happily: the verdict of the Theaterzeitung was that the opera had amused the audience but had been too difficult for the forces of that theatre to perform adequately. 4

Here the press got the name of the composer right: in July 1818 Johann had been announced as being by Isouard. 5

1. Der Sammler, 6 June 1815, p. 286. See also Der Sammler 1 June 1815 p. 278.
3. WAMZ, 26 June 1817, p. 216.
4. TZ, 29 April, 1824, "Theater in der Josefstadt".
5. TZ, 4 July 1818, p. 336.
Lorezza

Costume design by Philipp von Stubenrauch for Dlle Bondra in Johann von Paris at the Kärntnerthortheater in 1812
B. The Theatre

1. The sets and costumes

If the acting in opéra-comique as performed in Vienna did not come up to standard, there were some compensations. As was written of an opéra-comique performed in Vienna in 1818:

Wie weit aber die meisten aufgetretenen Sänger über die aufgezählten Erfordernisse belehrt waren oder sie zu leisten vermochten, hat sich durch das Resultat ergeben, dass die Oper im Ganzen nicht allgemein ansprach, und nur die Zugabe, Decorationen und Tänze wesentlich ausgezeichnet wurden.¹

Scenery, costume and dancing were a very significant part of Austrian theatrical productions, and because the Austrian tradition differed rather from the French, it is worth considering the two briefly.

In the second half of the eighteenth century in France, there was a movement towards greater naturalness of costume; it first affected the costumes of dancers who obtained greater freedom of movement, and was inspired by a sudden wave of interest in history (encouraged for example by the discovery of the ruins of ancient Pompei). In 1761 Madame Favart wore Turkish clothes especially brought from Constantinople for a production of Soliman II ou les trois Sultanes;² she played Bastienne in Bastien et Bastienne, a parody of Rousseau's opera Le devin du village as a shepherdess in a simple linen dress. These changes were not accepted immediately: Talma, in 1789, gave Proculus, a 17-line part in Voltaire's Brutus in a wig and natural hair and stood next to colleagues bewigged and breeched. In 1816 however

1. WAMZ, 31 January 1818.
2. Bernadin, p. 201.
Lady Morgan, an English visitor to Paris, wrote of French costume reform:

Mademoiselle George would no more appear in her corset and shoes, in her Greek and Roman heroines than she would adopt the hoop formerly worn by the mourning wife of Pompey, or the double ruffles carried by Berenice in her Eastern drapery. The reform began by Le Kain and Clairon at the instigation of Voltaire and Marmontel; and the dramatic costume has been carried to the utmost point of perfection by Talma, who has made it his peculiar study.... this strict adherence to costume, is not confined to the superior characters of the piece; it descends to the servants who remove the chair, or place the throne, and whose dress is not one year in advance with the historical personages, on whom they attend. In the Roman coins I saw at the hôtel de Monnaie, I could trace, almost to a fold, the robes and draperies of Caesar, Nero and Charlemagne.¹

German and Austrian visitors to Paris do not seem to have been either surprised or impressed by the costumes at the theatres there. Richter, in 1784, says they were not as good as in Vienna;² in 1802 Reichardt remarks contemptuously that Turkish costumes were used for L'Orphelin de la Chine rather than the correct, but less attractive, Chinese ones.³

Certainly the French reforms found echoes in Vienna during the time under consideration: an obituary in the Wiener Theater Almanach of 1796 mentions Katherina Jacquet as having introduced some of Clairon's ideas of costume reform to Vienna:

². Richter, p. 71.
In 1813 when Castelli's translation and adaptation of Isouard's opera *Lulli und Quinault* was given as a play at the Burgtheater, the costume was especially remarked upon. Old French costume had presumably not previously been attempted at the Burgtheater: a biographical play about a historical person had provided the suitable stimulus; "Das Costüm aus Ludwig XIV Zeitalter ist sehr interessant zu sehen" approved the critic. When *Lulli und Quinault* was given as an opera at the Theater an der Wien the following September, no mention was made of the costumes, and newspaper reports were usually quick to mention unusual visual effects and costumes, so one may assume that the costumes used here were not

1. *Wiener-Theater Almanach auf das Jahr 1796*, p. LXXXIV. Katharina Jacquet was born in Vienna in 1760 and made her debut at the Nationaltheater in 1774. She was considered one of Vienna's finest actresses. *Wiener Theater Almanach auf das Jahr 1782*, p. 120.


"Pariser Costume Jacob und Benjamin aus der Oper Joseph und seine Brüder". Illustration in the Viennese publication Thalia, 28 August 1811.
unusual. Certainly, historical costumes were not used for the first production of Cherubini's *L'hôtel de portugaise* at the Kärntnerthortheater: the opera is set in the year 1640 but the leading lady in 1803 wore a highly fashionable gown which brought forth cat-calls from the Viennese audience.\(^1\) Schreyvogel's leadership of the Burgtheater has been cited as marking the beginning of real interest in historical costume in Vienna.\(^2\)

Splendid costumes, whether they were historically appropriate or not, were a feature of Viennese productions of opéra-comique. *Die Theaterzeitung* looking back on the year 1812 exclaimed that the cast at the Theater an der Wien had appeared:

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bald im pohlnischen, bald im türkischen,
bald im altenglischen, bald im spanischen,
bald im schwedischen Costueme, bald in der
Tracht der alten Ritter, bald in den Wämsen
der Hussiten und Zigeuner.
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showing the theatre's concern for art, and its generosity.\(^3\)

If any real authenticity in the performance of French operas had been sought in Vienna, the imitation of Parisian costumes would have been one of the easiest and surest ways of achieving it. This happened only rarely: the costumes for the 1809 production of Méhul's opera *Joseph* at the Theater an der Wien were modelled after the Paris costumes and reproduced in

\(^1\) AMZ, 12 October 1803, column 31.
\(^2\) Kindermann, V, p. 120.
\(^3\) TZ, 12 January 1812, front page.
The paper Thalia. 1 On another occasion, costume designs were bought in Paris at the same time as the score. When Prince Esterhazy returned from Paris in 1810 with the score of Cendrillon, he also brought with him the Figurinen, on which the Eisenstadt costumes were based. 2 Heinrich Schmidt who translated the opera into German wrote in his memoirs how "durchaus mit Gold und Silber durchstickte Schleppkleider von Sammet erschienen hier zum ersten Male auf einer deutschen Bühne." 3 The costumes for Grétry's opera Die beiden Geizigen in 1805 were taken from those used at Berlin, a stronghold of French culture. On the other hand the costumes used by the Theater an der Wien for the production of Cendrillon based on Parisian models in 1811 became the models for productions elsewhere 5 and so were the costumes used at that theatre for Johann von Paris in 1813. 6 The Viennese public looked to actors and actresses to set the fashion, which was usually modified French fashion.

There were sometimes very good reasons why the Austrian costumes had to differ from the French. Austrian theatre censorship, during and after the time of the French Revolution, forbade the portrayal on stage of people whose presence in works was likely

1. Thalia, 28 August, 1811.
2. This was the first Austrian production of Aschenbrödl, well before adW staging.
5. For example costumes used at Baden for the 1812 performance of Aschenbrödl were "ganz nach den Zeichnungen des Theaters an der Wien verwertigt", Der Sammler, 12 September 1812, p. 442.
6. Der Sammler, 14 February 1813, p. 104.
to cause offence. This included clergy, and the following report was made by the censors on the receipt of the score of Cherubini's opera Der Bernhardsberg on 22 October 1802:

Der Bernhardsberg, Eine Oper in zwei Aufzügen, nach dem Französischen des St. Cyr übersetzt, von Herr von Seyfried. Fürs Theater an der Wien bestimmt. Da in diesem Singspiele ein Vorsteher der sogenannten Hospitaliter vorkommt, St. Preux auch ehrwürdiger Vater genannt wird, geistliche Personen aber, ausser den Eremiten und Einsiedlern, die keine Priester sind, auf dem profanen Theater nicht erscheinen dürfen, so wurde dem Übersetzer die schriftliche Frage gestellt, ob der Vorsteher und die Hospitalier als Mönche aufgeführt und gekleidet werden sollen, worauf folgende Antwort gegeben wurde: Der Vorsteher, wie die übrigen erscheinen ohne Kutte und Cilicium, haben Pelzmützen auf dem Kopfe, sehen also keinen Mönchen ähnlich. Auf diese Art könnte diese Oper die hohe Genehmigung erhalten. ¹

In other words, the monks, around whom the opera centred, appeared in disguise, without their cassocks and wearing Russian-type fur hats.

In a memo which Hägelin had submitted to the theatres in Hungary in 1795 and which was based on censorship practice in Vienna, the theatrical representation of a priest, or the use on stage of articles associated with the Catholic faith such as a rosary or confessional box, were forbidden. Monks from other religions were permitted, but Catholic hermits and monks were forbidden to wear recognisable habits, and were recommended to wear grey. ²

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². Glossy, Theaterzensur pp. 60-62.
The long-standing tradition of Baroque opera in Vienna (where Italian stage designers were employed until the middle of the nineteenth century) had given the city a school of stage design strong enough for Vienna not to have to seek ideas elsewhere. Splendid visual effects, transformation scenes, flying machines, were part of Vienna's theatrical heritage, and these elements of the baroque existed there even into the nineteenth century, being assimilated into the folk theatre tradition of Bäuerle, Meisl, and Raimund. Josef Gregor, a Viennese theatre historian, writes:

Stellen wir uns schliesslich die Frage, wie sich dieser in Wien auslaufende Stil zu dem anderer Städte verhält, so muss einwandfrei betont werden, dass an anderen Orten und Bühnen ein viel rascherer Nieder- gang des Galli-Bibiena-Stiles eintrat als hier. Vergleichen wir die angeführten Dekorationen, die für die Hoftheater Wiens im ersten Drittel des XIX Jahrhunderts bezeichnend sind, mit den Sammlungen, die für andere grosse und dekorationsstechnisch sehr hervorragende Bühnen bestehen, so kann der Wiener Kunst noch immer weitaus der Vorrang gegeben werden.¹

In the nineteenth century, as in modern times, the Viennese may have been guilty of exaggerating the importance of their own tradition. In December 1821, Spohr's setting of Marmontel's beauty and the beast story, Zémire et Azor, was performed in Vienna with fantastic oriental costumes and rapid scene changes. Earlier the WAWZ had commented that before 1776 (when

Grétry's opera of the same name had been first performed in Vienna. "Zaubermaschinen, Flugmaschinen und Verwandlungen" remained "ganz entfernt" from the French stage. This, of course, was quite untrue: a French critic has written: "C'est en effet l'importance de la mise en scène qui caractérise l'opéra français du XVIIIème siècle".2

However, there was a marked difference between the two traditions, although the French and Austrians both enjoyed spectacular staging. The Viennese laid less importance on historical accuracy or realism and had a penchant for the imaginary: surprise and pantomime. This was evidently recognised elsewhere in Europe, and in 1807 there was a German season in Paris: the French had the opportunity for seeing for themselves the excesses and delights of what they called "le genre allemand".

Distortion inevitably resulted and the correspondent for the T2 wrote with a mixture of delight and indignation about what almost amounted to a parody of Austrian folk theatre in Paris:

Ganz neuerlich hat sich noch eine neue \(\text{Arbeit}\) wovon man wohl eher den Ursprung bey uns finden würde, obgleich keiner der vielwissenden französischen Kritiker so etwas gehandet zu haben scheint, es sind dieses die Zauber- spiele, wo höhere Wesen in unmittelbarer Thätigkeit erscheinen, und

1. WAMZ, 31 January 1818, column 39.

welche offenbar von unsern Zauberopern, unsern Donaunixen, Sternenköniginnen u.s.w. entlehnt sind; Verwandlungen, häufiger Wechsel der Dekorationen und sonderbare Erscheinungen und Gestalten, sind in jenen wie in diesen die Hauptsache, und je mehr überirdische Kräfte einwirken, je grösser die Zauberey und der Unsinn, um so stärker drängt sich die Menge herzu.1

The demand for splendid and convincing stage effects at the end of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth century was the direct result throughout Europe of the rise of a demanding middle class. The commercial aspect of French opera in the nineteenth century, which involved a great deal of pandering to the eyes and imaginations of a bourgeois audience, has been described by Crosten in French Grand Opera: An art and a business.2 Visual display was one of the crowning glories of opéra-comique and gave some operas popularity in places usually unreceptive to French music: Prague, for example, enjoyed Isouard's opera Aschenbrödl because it "noch überdies ihren Erfolg mehr dem Auge als Ohr verdankt".3 Castelli concluded that the theatre direction in Paris was more sensible than its Austrian counterpart in not submitting to the public's demand for new sets and costumes for every production.4 But there were complaints in the French capital that too

3. Der Sammler, 29 March 1813, p. 204.
4. Castelli, II, p. 76.
much emphasis was laid on the visual side of the production. A review sent to Vienna from Paris in March 1813 of a new opera by Isouard, *Le Prince de Catane*, indicated that the composer had brought to his aid marvellous scenery, dancing and choruses.\(^1\) These, in the opinion of the Paris correspondent, made a noisy and showy production; they blunted the senses of the audience, were ruinous to the theatres and would be gladly forfeited by everybody in return for a good opera:

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\text{nichts ist ökonomischer als ein gutes Singspiel; es fordert keinen andern Aufwand, als den des Witzes, des Talents und einer guten Musik von Seiten des Dichters, Tonsetzers und Sängers,}
\]

he wrote.\(^2\) But the expense went on, and while Paris pandered to the public's curiosity and love of spectacle, Vienna followed.

Or rather, Viennese theatres began to use opéra-comique as an excuse for display even more lavish. The Theater an der Wien usually outdid the court theatres in this respect, having better stage facilities at its disposal. Commenting on a production at the Theater an der Wien of *Ein Tag in Paris* by Isouard, the critic for *Der Sammler* wrote:

\[
\text{In Rücksicht auf Decorationen und Vestiarium gehört dieses Singspiel gewiss zu denjenigen, welche hier mit weit mehr Aufwand und Sorgfalt gegeben werden, als selbst in ihrem Vaterlande}
\]

But, he continued:


Die Direktion hat auf diese Oper Summen verwendet, die nur ein genauer und unterrichteter Beobachter gehörig schätzen kann; denn der Luxus, den man hier sieht, ist nicht von der gewöhnlichen Art, welcher auch so-gleich der Menge in die Augen fällt, sondern er ist von einer Gattung, die zuerst nur der gebildete Theil der Zuseher zu beurtheilen versteht... Wenn der Maskenball, mit welchem die Oper beginnt, durch den herrlich beleuchteten Saal, (in welchem wir nur die hässlichen Gitter wegwünschten) durch das prunkvolle Büffet, durch die grosse Anzahl durchaus eleganter Masken u.s.w. ein schones Spektakel gewährt... so ist besonders die Spielgesellschaft... ein Schauspiel dessgleichen wir uns hier nicht erinnern können.... Ungeachtet alles dessen, erhielt diese Oper dennoch nur einen getheilten Beyfall. In dieser Oper geht alles viel zu natürlich zu; keine Zauberey, keine Entführung, kein Kerker, kein Gefecht, kein Einzug, und vor Allem -- keine Pferde! Warum hat man nicht die 'Equipen und Reitpferde, von welchen gesprochen wird, in Natur produziert?1

The opera got a mixed reception because, according to Der Sammler, the audience could not appreciate its subtlety. The public's demand for distraction during the troubled years of the early nineteenth century was almost insatiable, and the reports from Paris of the newest opéras-comiques, which were sent in to papers such as Der Sammler and Die Theaterzeitung, heightened the public's sense of anticipation for novelty from Paris. A bitter complaint about the effects on the Austrian theatre of channelling so much money into the productions of French opera was made in Der Sammler of 21 February 1815 on the occasion of a new production of Das befreyte Jerusalem by Persuis, at the Theater an der Wien:

1. Der Sammler, 3 December 1811, p. 582.
Wir haben deutsche Dichter und Tonsetzer genug, die würdiger Arbeiten, als das befreite Jerusalem, zu liefern vermögen; allein ihre Kunst und ihr Talent muss ermuntert, gepflegt und belohnt werden; denn edle Früchte gedeihen in keiner Sandwüste. So lange der Ausländer, als solcher, den Vorrang behauptet, und kein Prunk und keine Kosten gespart werden, von Aussen her die innern Gebrechen seiner krüppelhaftigen Arbeit zu decken, wird der Teutsche, im Gefühl seiner Würde und Kraft, es verschmähen, einen Wettstreit einzugehen.... Hierin ist füglich der Hauptgrund zu suchen, warum mehrere vorhandene teutsche Opern nicht zur Aufführung kommen, obgleich sie unbedenklich mehr Werth als die französischen haben.

However there was an outcry when the audience sensed that the direction had skimped on a production - as the court theatres were accused to have done in 1802 at the premiere of Cherubini's Medea. The final scene is alleged to have been an anticlimax because a cloud supposed to descend and "envelop" Medea got stuck behind a part of the set and left Medea's feet and legs showing. The curtain fell in silence and then there was an angry uproar.  

Despite the expertise of Viennese theatres in the realm of special effects, this mishap brought forth the inevitable comparison with Paris:

Will man das Gegenteil, so verwende man alle bereits wirklich vorhandene Mittel. Man verbinde, wie in Paris und Berlin auf dem Operntheater, mit den Singchören noch zugleich das Tänzerchor; um Bewegung und Leben unter die Menge zu bringen. Man lasse Medea, ihrer Allgewalt gemäß auf einem mit Drachen bespannten Wagen unter Donner und Blitz durch die Lüfte fahren - lasse Feuerströme (statt verunglückter Raketen) von Himmel regnen, Flammen aus der Erde emporsteigen, die Felsen bersten und

1. Der Sammler, 21 February 1815, pp. 96.
2. "Dass die Aufführung der Medea die Erwartung des Publikums nicht erfüllt hat, darüber herrscht nur Eine Stimme; aber über die Ursache des Falles sind die Meinungen verschieden. Einige sagen, das Stück sey zu schnell in die Scene gebracht -- andere geben vor die Musik sey zu künstlich und (wie Musiker selbst versicherten) zu schwer." AMZ, 16 February 1803, column 356.
The comments about the lack of movement on the stage, and deficient teamwork in choruses, are shrewd observations which confirm the points made in the previous section, but it was perverse of the critic to suggest after this failure that Viennese machinists could not rise to Parisian standards. The AMZ in March 1803 commented however that the court theatres at that time lavished more money and time on the sets for Italian operas than for operas sung in German.

The court theatres seem sometimes to have risked making extraordinary cuts and economies. Die Bajaderen (Les Bayadères) by Catel was performed at the Kärntnerthortheater on 14 October 1813. Catel's Séramis had enjoyed great success in Vienna in 1806 and again on its revival in 1815, but Die Bajaderen failed because of inadequate staging in 1813. Die Theaterzeitung had regretted "Dass wir zu dieser Epoche unsers Theaters ein solches Werk nicht in seiner ganzen Grösse geben können".

The "Bajaderen", or, in French "Bayadères" were, according to an old Indian myth, part priestesses, part dancers. At a Viennese revival of the opera, two years later, the ballet company was not used, the chorus was smaller than usual and the

1. AMZ, 16 February 1803, columns 357-358.
2. AMZ, 30 March 1803, columns 456-457.
3. TZ, 16 October 1813, front page.
costumes, by Stubenrauch, were, apparently, miserable. More telling, the scene in which the Bayadères were supposed to seduce their enemies was "too difficult", and omitted, supposedly without leaving a gap.¹ Why the Kärntnerthortheater economised in this way must be guesswork; perhaps they decided to spend as little as possible on what they realised might be a failure, (but it would have been less expensive still not to mount a new opera).

2. The audiences

There is some evidence to support the view that audiences in Vienna were, at this time, more democratic than their Paris counterparts. Lough concludes that at the main Parisian theatres, the spectators had tended to be largely upper class; after the years of revolution when audiences were swelled with members of the lower classes, the composition of the theatres reverted almost to what it had been, people of lowlier rank seeking other kinds of entertainment. ³ Many writers, on the other hand, have commented on the widespread passion for the theatre in Vienna among all ranks of society and, indeed of the close link which existed between the court theatres and the suburban stages. If members of the general public felt uneasy

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¹ Der Sammler, 23 May 1815, p. 262.


³ Carlson, The French stage in the 19th century, p. VIII.
among the courtiers at the Burgtheater or (a little more relaxed perhaps) the Kärntnerthortheater, they could relax in the upper galleries of the Theater an der Wien, watching the latest Isouard opera. (And because the Theater an der Wien, for example, also gave farces and catered for a wide audience, something of the Austrian pantomime seems to have crept into opéra-comique there.)

The French are alleged to have been more serious in the theatre than the Viennese; this is commented on by several writers including Guibert in 1773, Riesbeck in 1787, Richter in 1784, and Castelli in 1815. French audiences, for example, discussed the work they were seeing with an animation which some thought impressively well-informed, but Richter found pretentious.

Generally speaking, the atmosphere in Viennese theatres seems to have been more relaxed, with the audience displaying a peculiar mixture of interest and complacency. An ensemble coming to grief in a performance of Spontini's Milton at the court theatre brought forth no stamping or whistling, which one visitor saw as typical of the peaceful Austrian character.

4. Castelli, II, pp. 75-79.
But the Sammler reported that the play Kein Wort hören given during the troubled summer of the same year was literally inaudible because of the noisy audience -- and that old plays with poor casts were being mounted at that time. However, this and the hot weather which also kept people away from the theatres, at least meant that the small audience could hear for a change.  

A performance of Goethe's Egmont with music by Beethoven, performed in 1811, prompted the reporter of Der Sammler to complain:

Das hiesige Publicum ist nun einmal nicht im Stande, drey Stunden in einem fort ruhig zu bleiben.

Coughing, throat-clearing and sneezing during the entr'actes almost prevented the music from being heard.  

The Austrians would also applaud wildly when their favourite singer stepped on to the stage, and demand the repeat of musical numbers, or parts of them -- a practice which has been shown above to be generally detrimental to the dramatic sense of opéra-comique.  

In 1786, the practice of encoring numbers containing more than one person was forbidden by Joseph II, but it continued and obviously imposed strain on the singers. This became a problem as ensembles grew bigger and operas more of a dramatic unity.

1. Der Sammler, 4 July 1809, p. 315.
Apparently, French audiences applauded after a number had finished or at the end of an act, on merit rather than reputation.¹ On the other hand, Castelli reports that French audiences sang along with their singers at the Opéra-Comique, a practice carried on from the days of the fair theatres.²

An important part of the audience at first performances in Paris was the claque, a highly organised body of paid men, whom it was essential to please in order to ensure success. At the Opéra, for example, it was under the organisation of one man known to all Paris, and was considered advantageous to the taste of the city.³ Castelli refers to theatrical intrigues in Vienna, and competition was rife between the Germans and Italians (a claque was hired for the première of the Marriage of Figaro, for example).⁴ But although in Vienna there may have been signals recognisable to some of the audience to indicate the approval or disapproval of influential people, it was considered to be a serious breach of freedom in Vienna to be told which way to applaud. The public paid, and the public decided what it liked.

¹ WAMZ, 25 November 1820, p. 758.
² Castelli, II, p. 79.
³ Crosten, pp. 41-49.
⁴ Castelli, II, p. 76.
Die Freiheit des Volkes in öffentlichen Schauspielen ist in Wien: so gross nicht, als in London... wo... die Zuschauer im Parterre mit Pomeranzenschalen und Aepfeln bombardiret, oder, zwar in einer solchen Menge, aufs Theater wirft, dass ein Lichtpuzzvor Angang des Stuks, und zwischen jedem Akt die Früchte der englischen Freiheit weckehren muss...

So gross ist die Freiheit zu Wien nicht. Man ist hier für so viel Enthusiasmus zu bequem. Das meiste, was man sich hier erlaubt, ist, wenn die fordern aufstehen, und die hintern nicht ein gleiches thun wollen, zu schreien: sitzen bleiben! Seinen Beifall aber, oder sein Misbehagen darf man auf jede Art äussern. Es wird dem Volk nicht, wie zu Paris zu Kassel und an mehrern Orten vom Militär das Maul zugehalten, wenn es pfeifen, oder auf die Finger geklopft, wenn es klatschen will. Hier wird nicht, wie in Paris, das Volk in Stühle gezwängt, und die Zahl für jede Bank bestimmt, Hier bewacht kein Grenadier die Lacher und die Seufzenden; und das Maass des Beifalls, den man einem Dichter, oder Schauspieler zollt hängt nicht, wie zu Paris, vom Major, der die Wache hat, und seinen Grenadiers ab!

Reichardt, visiting Paris in 1803, was affronted by the presence of soldiers at the side of the stage.2 there: the Viennese were similarly offended when during the 1809 Napoleonic invasion, soldiers were used in their theatres.

Perhaps this helps to explain why, on the whole, French audiences are reported to have been better mannered and, if not more discriminating, at least more critical than their plebeian Austrian counterparts. "I have heard several things applauded here (in Vienna) which would have been hissed at Paris, if the French of them had been as bad as the German was",


2. Reichardt, Vertraute Briefe aus Paris. In Dichtung und Wahrheit, Goethe commented on the military guard at the side of the stage in performances by the French troupe in Frankfurt, which, he observed, destroyed the illusion and sense of intimacy. Pt. I, Bk. 3, p. 91ff.
wrote Baron Riesbeck in 1784, adding that all they seemed to want in Vienna was a full paunch and a theatrical entertainment by way of dessert.¹

Mistakes which occurred in Paris performances, even when committed by some favourite actor, were judged with extreme severity. And, as a result, the French players had their parts much better memorised than Austrian ones. Castelli was not at all aware of the prompter in Paris theatres.² (It seems that he was only too much in evidence in Vienna, where some players scarcely bothered to learn their lines.) (Perhaps a survival from the Viennese extempore tradition). Richter, visiting Paris some twenty years before Castelli, had also been deeply impressed by the good memories of French actors and by their consequent freedom (Schröder said that actors at the Theater in der Josefstadt at this time did not know their parts at all).³

Visitors to Paris agree about the extraordinary intensity of the atmosphere in the theatres. Lady Morgan, for example felt herself to be "cold languid and inanimate" in the company of such a powerful audience.⁴

As early as 1773, a Frenchman visiting Vienna tells how cold he found the Germans in comparison: when

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2. Castelli, II, p. 79.
4. Lady Morgan, p. 89.
he was transported, the Viennese could hardly clap, let alone weep.¹ Castelli in 1815 notes the contrast between the almost violent ("ungestüm") French and cold-blooded Germans:² In 1804 the theatre lighting was brighter in the Paris Opéra than in most German theatres so that the libretto could be easily read during the performance.³

When the curtain rose in Paris, the shrieking of ice cream and lemonade-sellers ceased, a sshh went round the auditorium and the French sat still enough to hear a pin drop, listening with extraordinary concentration, for making a noise incurred the risk (Castelli alleged) of being thrown out by a neighbour.⁴

Although the Austrian government had, in 1775, passed a law against repeated whistling, stamping and tapping during performances, (punishable by prison sentence), and repeated the measure in 1784, the laws seem to have had no effect.⁵ The ability to express themselves in this way was a freedom cherished by Austrian audiences. Eva König was amazed when, in 1774, she visited Vienna and heard the artists applauded even more loudly than the emperor. The occasion was Noverre’s ballet die Horazier, and it is

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¹ Guibert, p. 281.
² Castelli, II, p. 77.
³ Kotzebue, Erinnerungen, p. 494.
⁴ Castelli, II, p. 77.
⁵ Schindler, p. 56.
recorded to have been the first time in Vienna that a producer was called out after a performance. Cas-telli records that he did not see Paris audiences applaud individuals in this manner.

Louis Spohr in November 1823 said that the most educated and cultivated audience in Vienna applauded less loudly than the riff-raff, so that the latter's opinion was the most marked. 2

Another way in which Viennese performances might sometimes be disrupted was by the lack of numbered seats, which were not introduced into Vienna until the 1830s. 4 Latecomers fitted in as they could and sitting space was gallantly given up for any ladies who might have arrived late (which could cause noise and confusion). Castelli approved of the French custom of preventing latecomers from entering until a suitable interval. In 1815, when he visited Paris, the French theatre seats were already numbered. 5

3. Programme planning

French theatres trained understudies so that the sudden sickness of a singer did not necessitate the postponement of a production or the hurried revival of an old one; as it often did in Vienna:

1. Schindler, p. 57.
3. Castelli, II, pp. 82-83.
5. Castelli, II, pp. 82-83.
Ein neues Stück wird schon durch einen Monat vorher alle Tage auf den Theaterzettel als zunächst erscheinend angekündigt. Das bewirkt nun eine Art von Spannung unter den Theaterfreunden. Man spricht an allen öffentlichen Orten über das Sujet, über die Besetzung und manchmal auch über die scenische Ausstattung... Auch rennen die Schauspieler in Paris nicht überall herum und machen ihre Glossen über diese oder jene Mängel oder Schwächen des Kindleins und verschütten es nicht, noch ehe es aus dem Bade kommt.1

Publicity in Paris was made easier by this greater degree of certainty, and Castelli was impressed by the large theatre poster, easily recognised (each theatre had its own colour) with letters several inches high) - posted around midday on the day of the performance.2 The Theaterzettel of the Vienna court theatres were about A4 size, printed in small black Gothic script on white paper, bearing details for performances at the Burg and Kärntnerthortheater side by side.3

Castelli was very impressed with this orderly arrangement in Paris:

... und ich würde sie auch den Wiener Direktionen anrathen, wenn ich nicht wüsste, dass sie oft am Abend noch nicht wissen, was sie am nächstfolgenden werden geben können, und wenn nicht Krankheiten oder auch Cabalen des Theaterpersonals sie oft in die Notwendigkeit versetzen, schon im Einstudieren begriffene dramatische Werke wieder zurückzulegen.4

Works could be given in Vienna on the bare minimum of rehearsals. Kotzebue complained bitterly in the

1. Castelli, II, p. 76.
2. Castelli, II, p. 74.
3. One set of posters which indicates details of last-minute alterations to the programme, remains in the collection of the Theatersammlung in Vienna. However even these were printed some hours before the performance and are by no means always reliable.
4. Castelli, II, p. 75.
Wiener Theaterzeitung of 1807 that whereas plays received two or three rehearsals in Vienna, they would get thirty in Paris. This article, appeared anonymously in 1807 but was reprinted in Die Theaterzeitung of 30 March 1813, this time, signed.¹

This is consistent with the fact that Castelli and Richter were impressed that the French actors knew their parts thoroughly, and that one was hardly aware of the prompter (in Paris he stood in the wings, in Vienna at the front of the orchestra pit). The last opera by Dalayrac, Le poète et le musicien (Der Dichter und der Tonsetzer), was given in Vienna in July 1816 with all the honour due to it. It received the unusual number of seventeen rehearsals, and the result, according to Der Sammler, was a performance as lively and secure as one could wish to see in a French playhouse.² In 1803, the AMZ reported that the Theater an der Wien had prepared a performance of La Folie in thirteen days, which included translation, preparation of sets and rehearsal. This haste was encouraged by the fact that the rival theatre, the Kärntnerthortheater, was prevented by illness from mounting its production at the expected time and the Theater an der Wien was anxious to get in first.³

If Der Sammler is to be believed, this remarkable feat was surpassed in August 1812 when the same theatre

¹. TZ, 4 July 1807, pp. 15-16, 94-95; 30 March 1813, pp. 150-151, 1 April 1813, pp. 153-154.
². Der Sammler, 18 July 1816, p. 356.
³. AMZ, June 1803, columns 638-639.
mounted Johann von Paris on 29th of that month in just six days, a day after the first performance at the court theatre and just under five months after the first production of the opera in Paris.¹

Choruses were especially vulnerable to under-rehearsal, and in July 1807 Die Theaterzeitung reports that the chorus in Méhul's Gabrielle des Estrées came apart because it did not know its part.²

But the same haste could mar productions in other German theatres. For examples whereas l'Ecole des vieillards, whose cast included Talma and Madame Mars, received seventeen rehearsals in Paris, it received three in Berlin. When Spontini went to Berlin as Kapellmeister, he tried to effect a reform there, and a production of Olympia given there in 1821 had fifty-three rehearsals altogether.³

Such statistics can be misleading (what did they count as a rehearsal?); but witnesses generally agree that plays and operas were given in Vienna with less preparation than in Paris.

4. Payment of artists

Austrian actors and singers were encouraged by articles in the Viennese press into the belief that their counterparts in Paris were much better paid.

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1. Der Sammler, 15 September 1812, p. 446.
2. TZ, 20 July 1807, p. 28.
3. TZ, 3 July 1821.
The Kotzebue articles of 1807 and 1813 wrote of the lavish generosity with which French artists were rewarded: their German counterparts were merely tolerated as though they were some kind of wandering pilgrim:

Unter manchen andern Vorzügen, die selbst Feinde den Franzosen nicht absprechen können, ist einer der schönsten der freigebige Enthusiasmus mit dem sie Genie und Kunst aufmuntern und belohnen, Musik, Mahlerey, dramatische Dichtkunst und Schauspielkunst sind hier nicht wie an den meisten Orten Deutschlands, wandernde Pilger, die bloß geduldet werden, und allenfalls froh sein mögen, wenn man sie nicht hindert, ihr Stückchen Brot müheselig zu gewinnen; sie werden hier geehrt, geliebt, geschätzt.

In Paris, Kotzebue continued, the writer of a play or composer of an opera was rewarded in the following way. The takings of the piece were divided into three parts and he was given a seventh of one of them. This continued whenever the work was performed, for as long as the artist lived, and was paid to his heirs for ten years after his death, not only in Paris but also all over France. The author was thus protected from piracy and there was a special office in Paris, which employed correspondents from all over the country, to insure its implementation. An author who succeeded in having three or four pieces performed at the Théâtre Français was not only ensured of financial security for his own lifetime, but also security for his children for ten years after his death. Kotzebue continued, somewhat bitterly, that Madame Molée, who had arranged his play Menschenhass

1, TZ, 4 July 1807, p. 15.
und Reue, had been paid 60,000 livres and was still receiving royalties from it because it was still being given all over France, sometimes three times a day at different theatres. Kotzebue, on the other hand, had earned a flat 200 Thalers for it in Vienna. Kotzebue calculated a Thaler to be worth five livres, so if his figures are right, Madame Molée earned much more than sixty times what he had done for writing the piece in the first place.¹ (Other French translators aroused Austrian indignation for being paid large sums of money to alter masterpieces by Viennese composers for performance in Paris. For his version of Die Zauberflöte in 1801, Herr Lachnith is alleged to have been paid 300 livres for each of the first 20 performances - 6000 livres altogether, and 4000 for the following subsequent performances. If his work reached 40 performances he would be paid a life pension of 500 livres and receive a present of 100 livres for each revival;² and Herr Steibelt in 1801 was given 3600 livres for his French version of The Creation).³

Kotzebue also complained bitterly about Viennese pension schemes. Although Dalayrac was not writing any more operas, he was still earning 100 livres a month (6000 Thalers a year) which Kotzebue considered to be scandalously high by Viennese standards. French

¹. TZ, 4 July 1807, pp. 15-16; the second part of the article appeared later, on pp. 94-95.
². AMZ, 28 October 1801 column 69ff.
³. AMZ, 14 January 1801, column 269.
actors contributed to a pension scheme which made them wealthy even if they wanted to retire at the age of forty. Austrian actors received a pension of 200 Gulden a year, the value of which had been eroded by inflation.¹

The AMZ of 25 October 1809 wrote that the poet and composer of La Vestale had earned 10,000 livres each from that one work.² In 1817, the WAMZ said that for an opera in five acts a French composer was paid 100 francs for the first ten performances, and 50 for the 20 following performances, which made a total of 2000 francs.³

After that the work belonged to the theatre. A ballet or three-act piece earned 60 francs on each of its first ten performances and 30 for the 20 following ones.⁴ Some of these figures appear to be contradictory but a general pattern emerges as Castelli wrote in 1815:

Es ist allerdings wahr, dass die französischen Schauspieler weit besser bezahlt sind als die deutschen.⁵

Moreover, there were fewer intrigues and instances of unreliability among players than in Vienna. Castelli claimed that the higher remuneration created a greater sense of responsibility.⁶

1. TZ, 1807, pp. 94-95.
2. AMZ, 25 October 1809.
3. WAMZ, 1 May 1817, p. 147.
4. WAMZ, 1 May 1817, p. 147.
5. Castelli, II, p. 93.
5. Versatility versus specialisation

The singers of the Deutsche Oper in Vienna needed to be more versatile than singers of the Paris Opéra Comique who were not also required to give large numbers of foreign operas in translation. Successful Parisian artists who were members of the company of the Opéra-Comique were not tempted to take positions at other theatres, or to travel abroad in the hope of betterment like Viennese singers, because their theatre enjoyed more prestige and allegedly paid better than any other European theatre. And so Martin, who had been admired by Reichardt in Paris in 1803, was still at the Opéra-Comique twelve years later and praised by Castelli in 1815:

Er spielt wie weiland unser Roose, hat einen Ton in der Kehle, wie unser Wild, und kann Rouladen machen, als wäre er ein Italiener; er tanzt schön, spielt Clavier, Violine und Gitarre, kurz man kommt in Versuchung zu glauben, dass sei eigentlich der Mann der Alles weiss. Sein Rollenfach ist Chevaliers und sein komische Bediente, eigentlich das Hauptfach der komischen Oper.1

His diverse talents were channelled into one outlet: opéra-comique, and his performance was consistently superb. In Vienna, a man of that ability, if he had not emigrated to France, would probably have dissipated his talents in many different activities, not becoming a specialist in any one genre.

The Opéra-Comique had been formed in 1801 by the uniting of the Théâtre Feydeau and the Théâtre

Favart, giving Paris one main theatre to specialise in the performance of comic opera. In the year 1800 to 1801, Paris had a population of 547,000, Vienna, on the other hand, with a population in 1800-1801 of 247,000, had two court theatres and three suburban theatres, and all of them gave a very wide repertoire including Singspiel, dance, and spoken plays. Opera-comique existed cheek by jowl with ballets, foreign operas, pantomimes and parodies. In France, specialisation was regarded as a necessity and threats of change brought strong protest:

le nombre des spectacles que peut entretenir cette Ville est complet, et ... la témérité de toute nouvelle tentative ... sera désormais punie par une inevitable destruction... Tous ont voulu joindre la Comédie à l'Opéra-Comique, sans considérer que la Comédie ne peut exister, pour ainsi dire, que parfaite; que pour approcher du degré de perfection que lui est nécessaire, elle a besoin de se montrer seule; car la musique tue tout ce qui l'avoisine; que les sujets d'un genre sont rarement propres à l'autre, et que la dépense inutile, causée par le genre qui ne produit rien, devrait être reportée, sur le genre Lyrique ... on peut être sûr, que ... la Comédie sera toujours mauvaise, et l'Opéra médiocre.2

Similarly, if the Opéra were to maintain the high standard of production to which people were accustomed, any idea of allowing a rival was out of the question. Not only would this increase the theatre's financial difficulties (it did not pay its way as it was), it would also decrease the number of excellent singers available.

2. La Mercure de France, 31 December 1791, pp. 132-133.
In theory, at all events", writes Adam Carse, summarising the method of directing operas, and orchestras generally in eighteenth century Germany:

the idea was that the keyboard-director set the pace, handed it on to the violinist-leader and the leading bass player, and that they in turn distributed it to the rest of the musicians. Both the ear and the eye were employed in picking up the intentions of the keyboard-director and his lieutenant the violinist-leader. The importance of the latter as a link in the chain of communication between the director of a performance and the outlying executants is often emphasised by 18th century writers, and one may be excused for wondering if, in this process of handing on the time-beat from one another, it did not sometimes lose something on the way. It can easily be understood that the violinist-leader would take a very large share of the responsibility of controlling the ensemble of a body of performers which otherwise would have little else to guide them except the sound of the harpsichord and the sight of the movements of the head or hands of the keyboard-director. 

The keyboard-director himself:

played the chords... helped the singers by giving them their notes or cues, he played the parts when they failed or hesitated, he kept an eye on the whole performance, ... he superintended it, leaving the instrumental playing in the charge of the violinist-leader; he moved his head, or feet if necessary, to give the time or to enforce the beat, but he did not wield a baton or beat time with his hands.

Salieri, Mozart and all their lesser colleagues directed performances of their operas from the harpsichord in this way; throughout almost all of the eighteenth century at least one harpsichord was considered indispensable to any orchestral ensemble. The viability

2. Carse, p. 90.
of this apparently haphazard method of directing music depended on the ability of the harpsichordist and chief violinist to be seen, which was possible with smaller forces. Eighteenth century musicians in Germany were generally required to play music only from their own time, largely based upon the steady pulse of dance or march rhythm and of a basically simple texture and rhythm. Such methods "would obviously not be efficacious for much 19th and 20th century music." ¹

In early nineteenth century Vienna (until at least 1811) eighteenth century techniques were being applied to the direction of complex nineteenth century French music of Cherubini, Méhul, Catel, and Spontini. In Paris at this time, the direction of operas was carried out in a different way:

In French opera a wooden baton was used, although the function of the batteur de mesure (as he was called) was to set the tempo and keep the forces together -- not to "interpret" the music. This "time beater" stood at the front edge of the stage with his back to both the audience and the orchestra, but close to the singers and dancers. From this location he was able to function as prompter. Near him were the single harpsichord and the members of the petit chœur (usually two violins, one flute, and four to six cellos and double basses). The orchestra sat in concentric semicircles facing the "time-beater", with their backs to the audience. In the solo and small-ensemble numbers the batteur de mesure made patterns in the air, as in modern conducting. For the large-scale choral and dance numbers (which were largely absent from Italian opera during the period), he beat his stick on his music desk. ²


This last habit aroused the scorn of foreign visitors to Paris, but the French considered their more direct method of "conducting" to be indispensable. Commenting on Persuis' promotion to "conductor" at the Académie Royale de Musique, La Mercure observed in 1810:

On croit généralement qu'un premier violon pourrait conduire - c'est, selon nous, une erreur; l'Opéra de Paris n'a rien de commun avec les autres spectacles de cette nature. L'étendue et la variété du spectacle, la masse des choeurs, le nombre des figurans, et par-dessus tout le style musical qui a prédominé sur notre grande scène lyrique, paraissent impérieusement exiger un bâton de mesure. L'illusion le défendrait, mais l'ensemble l'exige et il n'y a pas à balancer.1

This French writer claims that a similar procedure was used "chez les Allemands et même chez les Italiens": That in those countries a musician with a score made hand movements to direct the ensemble, the only difference being that he was hidden.2 Possibly this is a reference to the more discreet harpsichord-director of German theatres. David Charlton has commented that there was less audible beating than has up till now been supposed.3

During the late 1790s, French-style "conducting" was still almost unknown in Germany. It was introduced to Hamburg, for example, by Guillaume Alexis Paris who was director of the French theatre in Hamburg between 1794 and March 1799, when he left Hamburg for St. Petersburg. On his departure, his contribution to the musical life of the city was considered to have been

1. La Mercure de France, 27 January 1810, p. 239.
2. La Mercure de France, 27 January 1810, p. 239.
so great that it was described in the AMZ for the benefit of German readers elsewhere. He had been born in Liège and trained in France, England, the Netherlands and Holland and had come to Hamburg with a troupe from Brussels. He spoke almost no German but seems to have been an excellent director:

Under his direction, poor players played well. Players from France sought employment with this Hamburg orchestra but in vain, because the German players could not now be bettered. The small orchestra was increased in strength to: 8 violins, 2 violas; 2 cellos; 2 double bass; flutes, oboes; clarinets, horns, bassoons; trumpets and timpani. A strong disciplinarian, Paris was nevertheless too kind to dismiss loyal old players past their best; his rehearsals were rigorous and he did not let the smallest fault pass. He was usually successful in covering up errors in a performance because he trained his players to "follow". A singer slipping by mistake into the recapitulation of a da capo aria, for example, found the orchestra doing likewise, with,

1. AMZ, 3 July 1799, column 728.
this critic for the AMZ alleged, few of the audience noticing. After Paris's departure, the few years of glory at the Hamburg theatre had come to an end -- but if the Germans did not copy Paris's conducting for some time, they had nevertheless been given an explicit description of it.¹

Like Gluck, Salieri worked in Paris and wrote ... works for the Opéra. He must have been familiar with French performance practice. His readiness to experiment with a reorganisation of the court opera orchestra, along French lines, is described below. It is possible that before this change was made, Salieri, under the influence of directors in Paris, was not afraid to tap the beat occasionally while directing. In 1810, this k. k. Hofkapellmeister "der aus lobenswürdiger Achtung für seinen verklärten Freund und Lehrer, alle Gluckschen Opern selbst dirigirt" directed a performance of Alceste at the Kärntherthortheater"und/hatte/mit dem ihm eigenen Feuer geführt, welches manchmal fast zu sehr auflodert, und nicht selten durch das starke Niederschlagen der, in stärker Lebensgefahr schwebenden Clavier-Tasten, die Illusion in den interessantesten Momenten stört". Salieri's direction was, however, unsatisfactory in keeping singers and players together: Der Sammler reported that under his leadership "die Chöre und das Orchester liessen Manches zu wünschen Übrig".²

¹. AMZ, 31 July 1799, column 728.
Theatre orchestras in Vienna were smaller than their French counterparts between the 1790s and 1819 (and smaller than the Hamburg French orchestra during the 1790s). The greater volume of sound in Paris theatres was noted with horror by J. F. Castelli during his 1815 visit: "In der grossen Oper singt man nicht, man schreit nur musikalisch da die Singstimme so sehr vom Instrumentalen überdeckt ist". The WAMZ of 10 October 1818 pointed out in a review of Spontini's opera Ferdinand Cortez that the Viennese orchestra did not have enough violins to balance the increased number of singers on the stage.

Theatre orchestras in Paris between 1774 and 1793 had anything from between ten to fourteen each of first and second violins, between nine and sixteen cellos and an average of five double basses, in addition to four to eight bassoons, at least double woodwind, including clarinets, two to four horns, one or two trumpets and up to four trombones. None of the theatre orchestras in Vienna up to 1796 had more than six each of first and second violins, four violas, two or three cellos, double woodwind (only one flute), two horns, two trombones, two trumpets, when needed, timpani and one or two harpsichords.

1. Castelli, II, p. 84.
2. WAMZ, 10 October 1818, column 382.
3. Kotzebue was amazed to see six double basses at a performance of Méhul's Adrien at the Paris Opéra in 1804; Erinnerungen, p. 492.
4. Zaslow, p. 177.
The Wiener Hoftheatertaschenbuch of 1805 (reporting on the 1803-4 season) lists the following arrangement for the orchestra of the deutsche Oper at the court theatres:

5 vln I; 6 vln II; 4 vla; 3 Vc; 3 cb; 2 ob; 2 fl; 2 cl; 2 fag; 2 hn; 2 tpts; timpani

The orchestra of the Italian opera for this year had the same composition but with four first violins listed instead of five. The following year the number of first violins in the Italian opera orchestra had risen to six.¹

Apart from the larger size of French orchestras, there was a higher proportion of bass instruments. During Cherubini's visit to Vienna in 1805-1806 he seems to have had to direct his operas Les deux Journées and Lodoiska from the keyboard in normal Viennese manner. Rosenbaum notes in his diary after a performance of Les deux journées at the Burgtheater that, except for a change of tempo in the overture and in the Romanza, there was nothing special about that occasion to make Cherubini's presence known, he would surely have noted any change in the position of the director.² Whether Cherubini found the arrangement unsatisfactory, or whether he suggested to Salieri that Vienna should experiment with the arrangement of the orchestra to bring it closer to French orchestras,

¹. Hoftheatertaschenbücher, 1805, pp. 19-20; 1806, pp. 22-23.
is impossible to say. At any rate, the Viennese considered it a great novelty when, six years later, in October 1811, Salieri "conducted" (for the first time in Vienna) a performance of Gluck's *Iphigenia in Tauris*. Kapellmeister Salieri did not usually participate in performances -- he devoted his time to composition. Der Sammler's report of this important performance, giving the reasons for the innovation, is interesting enough to quote at length:

Was die gestrige Production dieser Oper noch ausserdem merkwürdig machte, war, dass -- ohne Zweifel auf Angabe des k.k. Hofcapellmeisters Herrn Salieri, -- welcher, wie immer, aus Achtung und Anhänglichkeit für seinen verklärtten Lehrer, die Direction des Orchesters übernommen hatte, -- letzteres zum ersten Mahl eine ganz neue Einrichtung dadurch erhielt, dass das Clavier daraus entfernt, für den Capellmeister aber in der Mitte des Orchesters, hinter dem Soufleur, ein hochstehender Pult dergestalt gesetzt wurde, dass jener bloss mit dem Motiv dirigirend, mit dem Gesichte gegen das Theater gekehrt stand; voraus der grosse Vortheil entspringt, dass der Capellmeister nicht nur das ganze Orchester, zur linken und rechten Seite, sondern auch die Sänger und Choristen übersehen, und von allen diesen ebenfalls leichter gesehen, folglich die etwa wankende Ordnung durch einen Wink, durch die kleinste Bewegung der Hand u.d.gl. im Augenblicke wieder hergestellt werden kann. -- Diese Anordnung des Orchesters, welche auch in der Kais. Akademie der Musik zu Paris (dem grossen Operntheater) besteht, hat schon Cherubini by seinem Hierseyn gewünscht, nur hat er damit auch einen andern, bisher noch unerfüllten Wunsch verbunden, nämlich, dass der Platz, den das Clavier einnahm, durch einen fünften Contrabass besetzt, und dadurch eine nöthige Verklärung der Bässe bewirkt werden mochte. -- Ob übrigens das Clavier nur bey den durchaus instrumentirten Recitativen der Gluckischen und Salierischen Tragödien entbehrlich sey? Ob es auch bey

1. Der Sammler, 15 October 1811, review of *Iphigenia in Tauris*, under Notizen.
2. See p. 653.
The person directing an opera usually remained anonymous in the Viennese press and blame for an inadequate performance was apportioned to the individual singers rather than to any "conductor". One of the earliest references I have found to good leadership in Vienna is the WAMZ review of the opera Ferdinand Cortez which was revived at the Kärntnerthortheater in 1818 in Spontini's new version:

Das Orchester verdient wegen seiner vortrefflichen Executirung der Musik, unter der wahrhaft trefflichen Leitung des Herrn Operndirectors Weigel und des Orchesterdirectors, Herrn Wranitzky, die rühmlichste Erwähnung; nur ist selbiges, im Verhältniss des starken Sänger-Chors und seiner für die Akustik etwas zu tiefen Lage -- fast zu schwach für die Violinen.2

This seems to suggest that in 1818, at least, there was still no-one in sole control of a performance, even for the large grand operas in Vienna.

A review of the same opera in the same paper two years later mentions only Herr Weigl ("Das Orchester unter Weigl's trefflicher Leitung zeichnete sich durch seinen meisterlichen Vortrag aus").3

Strangely, the French seem to have thought that Viennese music was more noisy than their own: Plans to perform Weigl's Die Schweizerfamilie in Paris (as La famille suisse) threw the orchestra of the Théâtre Feydeau

1. Der Sammler, 15 October 1811, review of Iphigenia in Tauris, under Notizen.
2. WAMZ, 10 October 1818, column 382.
3. WAMZ, 19 July 1820, columns 470-471.
into panic, according to a report in Der Sammler: the timpanist looked out all his sticks, the cymbal player replaced the ring on his cymbals and the trombone was hastily reclaimed from the makers, where it had been taken for improvements. But these players were surprised:

Allein, O Wunder! Man öffnet die Partitur, und findet nichts, ganz und gar nichts für diese drey harmonischen Instrumente ... Was soll man zu einer so gefährlichen Neuerung sagen: Noch neu- lich ist das befreite Jerusalem in Paris beklatscht worden, und ein Wiener Componist componirt Musik ohne Lärm! Ist es denn wahr... dass das Ohr der Franzosen mit Saffian gefüttert ist?

The French were quick to indicate that the plot of this opera was taken from the French (St. Just's libretto, translated for Weigl by Castelli had first been set by Boieldieu and performed at the Théâtre Feydeau on 11 February 1797). This version was never given in Vienna, but Weigl's opera was performed there on 14 March 1809, at the Kärntnerthortheater.

It has been pointed out that the orchestral music Mozart and Haydn wrote for Paris was more complex than that they composed for Vienna. The vogue for Turkish music which had broken out in Vienna after the ending of strife with Turkey and which used unusual percussion instruments may also have given the French the impression that all Viennese music was noisy.

7. The theatre orchestra

The English traveller, Chorley, was scathing about the attempts by German orchestras to capture the spirit of opéra-comique:

1. Der Sammler, 29 December 1812, p. 626.

German orchestras have no sympathy with the music. However correct and careful they be, I have never failed to find them falling short of that smart and stimulating piquancy which belongs to French blood and to French blood alone. The superficial glitter of the Opéra Comique (the glitter of a diamond, which, however thin, is genuine) can never be got up by German industry and research.¹

In Vienna, at least four orchestras played French opera music.

Reichardt thought that a city Vienna's size did not have enough good musicians to form five good orchestras:

\[
\text{Gewiss hat Wien noch keine hinlängliche Anzahl sehr geschickter Tonkünstler, um aus ihnen Ein vortreffliches Orchester zu bilden.} \quad ²
\]

The Theater in der Leopoldstadt and the Theater in der Josefstadt employed small numbers of orchestral musicians to accompany their Volksstücke, plays, pantomimes and Singspiele; such general purpose players formed the orchestras for the translated French operas which these theatres mounted from time to time and they increased or decreased in strength according to the fortunes and ambitions of the theatres. In 1821, Beethoven wrote his overture *Die Weihe des Hauses* for the Theater in der Josefstadt orchestra.

Until 1810, when the repertoire of the court theatres was separated, these theatres shared the ballet orchestra, the orchestra for the deutsche Oper and, when it existed, the Italian opera orchestra.

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¹ Chorley, II, pp. 150-151.
² Reichardt, I, p. 359.
1800 the German opera orchestra is reported to have lacked leadership, being directed by Weidman who allegedly had no musical sense. The Italian opera orchestra was slightly better, but in October 1800 found Beethoven's music difficult.

In 1802, the new Theater an der Wien had "ein zahlreiches wohlbesetztes Orchester" according to the AMZ. For example the overture of Cherubini's Les deux journées:

wurde im gehörigen Zeitmass genommen, vollkommen nach der vorgeschriebenen Schattierung der Töne, und im gleichen Gehalt vom Anfang bis am Ende, von allen Mitspielenden durchgeführt.

However, this playing was still excelled by that of the Kärntnerthortheater orchestra - the rival theatre gave its premiere of the same opera a day later; of which it was said that:


1. AMZ, 15 October 1800, column 45.
2. AMZ, 15 October 1800, column 49.
3. AMZ, 6 October 1802, columns 26-27.
4. AMZ, 6 October 1802, column 29.
But this was unfortunately not always the case, and many visitors to Vienna took back to their home towns reports of shoddy, careless playing by the Viennese orchestras. Reichardt wrote after his visit of 1808-9 that the fine reputation of this musical city, largely based on its orchestral playing, was now unfounded.¹

(A reporter for the Sammler put forward the suggestion in 1811 that a Mälzel music machine would not only play more accurately if installed in the pit of the Burgtheater, it would also not obscure the public's view, talk, or make a noise going out for a drink between numbers.)²

"L'orchestre de Feydeau" we read in the Mercure de France of 16 May 1812:

merite des eloges par la maniere dont il a execute cet ouvrage; on s'apercevait que chacun des artistes qui le composait se plaisait a rendre hommage a celui qui peut etre considere comme le createur de l'opera-comique en France.³

Viennese pit players on the other hand lacked the incentive and drive of having the French composer in the audience, and one characteristic of Austrian orchestras noted by Reichardt in 1808-9 and an anonymous writer seven years earlier in the AMZ, was their inconsistency. A writer about Vienna in 1803 remarked:

Überhaupt kann beym Nationaltheater nie vom nicht spielen können, sondern nur von nicht spielen wollen, die Rede sayn.⁴

¹. Reichardt, II, p. 143.
². Der Sammler, 5 February 1811, p. 64.
³. La Mercure de France, 16 May 1812 (of a performance of Grétry's Elisca).
⁴. AMZ, 16 February 1803, column 356.
The opening bars were usually out of tune and the above-quoted reviewer of Die zwey unvergesslichen Tage said, in 1802, that he had never heard the overture to Die Zauberflöte properly played: too fast a tempo rocked the bass line and the syncopations degenerated into a tug of war: "Nachlässigkeiten dieser Art bey einem sonst so vortrefflichen Orchester berechtigen allerdings zu Vorwürfen; daher auch die verschiedenen Urtheile im Auslande über die Musik in Wien. Ein Fremder, welcher les deux journées auf der hamburger französischen Schaubühne gesehen hatte, behauptete, dass man es dort von Seiten des Spiels sowohl, als der Musik weit besser gebe, als hier im Nationaltheater."

This AMZ article stated that, nevertheless, only four other German orchestras could compare with that of the Viennese Nationaltheater. In support of this claim it quoted Gluck, who allegedly considered Paris to have the best orchestra and Mannheim the next best. Presumably, then, Vienna in Gluck's estimation came third after Paris and Mannheim.¹ But by 1802, Gluck had been dead fifteen years and the Mannheim orchestra had lost its preeminence in the 1770s, so this reference by the AMZ to Gluck's views was unhelpful and irrelevant.

Reichardt excused some of the laxness he encountered in Vienna on the grounds that men from the theatres had been called away to fight, depleting choruses and the orchestra.² However, conscription did not extend to such personnel in 1809 and what Reichardt saw was perhaps not unusual.

The orchestras probably got worse as the cost of living rose: rapid inflation culminated in state bankruptcy in 1811. It is almost impossible to indicate accurately which years were "good" ones for the Viennese theatre orchestras: certainly standards declined.

¹ AMZ., 6 October 1802, column 30.
² Reichardt, Vertraute Briefe aus Wien, II, p. 115ff.
towards 1810 but picked up during the changes of theatrical direction at the beginning of the second decade. According to Reichardt, there was much ill-will among orchestral players in 1809 who complained bitterly that their wages had failed to keep up with rising costs:

Ein grosser Theil der Orchester besteht auch aus alten schwachen Männern, welche ihr geringes Gehalt längst als Pension verdient haben, jetzt aber im Dienste bleiben müssen, um jenes nur noch sich zu erhalten. Es hat einen zu langen Zeitraum gegeben in welchem man nicht auf die nöthige Erneuerung und Vervollständigung der Orchester bedacht gewesen ist, welche durch die zunehmenden Schwierigkeiten in der Instrumental partie der Opern doppelt notwendig wurde.¹

Men in their sixties who had played the operas of Duni, Monsigny, and Devienne during their student days must have found quite daunting the technical difficulties -- and problems of ensemble -- created by the works of Cherubini and Méhul.

Members of the orchestra lowered standards too by their custom of employing deputies to play on evenings when they felt disinclined to work at the theatre themselves.² I. F. Castelli, for example, was delighted as a student to be able to step in for his violin teacher and see operas for nothing, from the pit.³

8. The Chorus

On the first performance in Vienna of Spontini's opera die Vestalinn, Der Sammler remarked:

1. Reichardt, II, p. 121.

2. "Üfters geschieht es, dass das halbe Orchester mit Substituten besetzt ist, welche die Herren schicken, wenn sie einem andern Verdienst oder ihrem Vergnügen nachgeben: der davon erfolgende Effekt lässt sich denken." AMZ, 15 October 1800, column 42.

3. Castelli, I, p. 50.

After those works, the famous Spontini choruses came as a disappointment. But although large massed choruses were familiar to the Viennese, through the works of Salieri as well as Gluck and French composers, the reader will already be aware that they were often less than well done; indeed, that the ensembles in French operas given in Vienna not infrequently came apart. Under-rehearsal, inadequate direction and the inexperience of the actual members of the chorus were all partly contributory.

The numbers employed in the chorus varied considerably. Whereas Seyfried's opera Moses in 1813 used 150 in the first performance, it is evident that theatres allowed their number of extras to diminish to a bare minimum for less auspicious occasions, or later performances. Papers often record the public's appreciation that the number in the chorus was considerably enlarged for some special occasion. A document about the production of Ferdinand Cortez in Vienna in 1818 shows that at least eighty singers were employed in the chorus for special productions. The AMZ recorded in July 1819 that a male chorus of 56 which sang at the opening of act II of Tage der Gefahr was one of the highlights of the opera.

1. Probably Iphigenia in Tauris, first given in Vienna in a translation by Alxinger 25 October 1781 and revived 1 January 1807 (K) and 9.3.1810 (W). This was more popular than Iphigenis in Aulis (14 December 1812, BK 14x).
4. Lists inside Spontini Ferdinand Cortez Ms text books VMsm1g S.M.32315-6
5. AMZ, 28 July 1819, column 511.
9. General stylistic differences

Some other differences in performance style probably made Viennese opéras-comiques sound different from French ones. Attempts were made at the end of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth century to secure exact tempo markings: many experiments were made by French composers. But until the invention of the metronome, and perhaps also after then, musicians in France conceived some Italian tempo markings as slower than did those elsewhere in Europe; some, from andantino on upwards, as quicker. "French music of the period had limited time for slow tempos". Rosenbaum commented in 1806 that Cherubini, directing Les deux journées in Vienna, took some pieces slower and some faster than normal. (see p.655).

Certainly the difference in bowing style affected the sound of opéras-comiques in Vienna. Chorley commented that orchestras all over Germany failed utterly to capture the sparkle and clarity of French playing. It is likely that string players in Vienna played like the Italians, with up and down bows alternately, whatever the duration of the note, to achieve smooth phrasing (Kreutzer's style, for example, bears witness to the Italianate style which he evidently took from Viotti). The French, on the other hand, played down bows on the first beat of the bar, whenever possible, and played their long held notes with down bows which resulted in short notes played up bow and a jerky, mannered style. 1

2. Charlton, p. 75.
4. Charlton, p. 70.
Exaggerated dynamic contrasts were a feature of French music at the time of the revolution, and also, to a lesser extent, after 1800. Scores from this time request very soft playing, sudden applause-catching fortissimos and less use of the shades in between.¹ This would have demanded special playing from Viennese orchestras.

Conclusion

The most striking thing about the way in which French operas were given in Vienna was the general unevenness of theatrical standards. An Austrian francophile wrote in 1820:

Wenn bey uns in Wien etwas geräth, ist es Zufall — hier in Paris nicht; denn mehr oder weniger kann mathematisch bewiesen werden, dass: so angefangen, so fortgefahren, so ausgebildet, diese bestimmten Resultaten hervorgehen müssen ... so wie ich die deutschen Theater-Einrichtungen bis jetzt kenne, müssen sie offen und frey gesprochen den französischen weichen.²

In Paris, the theatre direction exercised more control:

In Paris übt die Direction gewissermassen eine Art von Tyranney über das Publicum aus. Sie wählt Stücke und Opern, ohne auf das Publicum Rücksicht zu nehmen.³

Although there was a formidable bureaucracy surrounding the organisation of the court theatres in Vienna, there was also a complacency, even a carelessness about some aspects of theatre management. It strikes one today as

¹. Charlton, "Orchestration", p. 77.
². WAMZ, 29 November 1820, column 768.
³. WAMZ, 25 November 1820, column 760.
having been amateurish. Parisian theatrical life was considerably more professional. Despite the often expressed admiration for the French, the Viennese seem to have been content -- even smug -- about their theatres and their music. They apparently had no real desire to imitate the French and did not submit themselves to extended contact with French composers or singers. As a result, opéra-comique performance differed greatly between Paris and Vienna.

Acting and singing styles were not the same and authenticity meant almost nothing to Austrian singers; Viennese sets were more imaginative than exact; their performances slower and less well-rehearsed; Viennese audiences were more relaxed and perhaps of a lower social class; they were in the end, more interested in being entertained than in artistic quality. Viennese orchestras were smaller and less noisy, choruses were less well managed than solo numbers (in Paris it was the other way round). Chorley wrote in the 1840s:

Everyone has been told the fate of the first pound of tea that ever crossed the Border: how the good Scottish lady to whom the delicacy was intrusted had it cooked and served up like a vegetable, to the extreme disappointment of her guests, who found the far-famed delicacy "nothing so wonderful after all". Little better treated than this unlucky Hyson or Bohea is the Comic Opera of France, as far as I am acquainted with the result of the German attempts to naturalise it.

CHAPTER VII

Conclusion
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

From 1752 until the 1770s, opéra-comique in Vienna was an aristocratic entertainment, subsidised by court and seen by only a small part of the population. French was widely spoken among the Viennese aristocracy and an interest in French drama was one example of the widespread influence exerted by France over the rest of Europe during the eighteenth century. The companies of French players, which the Habsburg court (like many other European courts) employed during the eighteenth century, were a fashionable status symbol for Vienna.

Five French troupes played in Vienna between 1752 and 1781, for periods ranging from a month to several years. A few of Favart's works had already been seen there -- in amateur performances by members
of the royal family -- but the French players introduced a wide variety of modern opéras-comiques to the Viennese stage. In comparison to some other German courts, the Austrians were fairly late in acquiring a French theatre, but by 1752, opéra-comique had become a mature art-form and it appealed to Viennese audiences more than the tragedies or spoken comedies in the French players' repertoire. French troupes which played in the Austrian capital tended to rely heavily on opéra-comique. The Théâtre français près de la cour has received close attention from other writers, but no previous study has mentioned all the later French troupes, important for having introduced to Vienna works by Grétry. Some introductory material about the French players, and about the transition from performances in French to performances in the vernacular by Austrian players, was provided in an introductory first chapter to show the origins of the Viennese vogue for opéra-comique, which was at its height from 1790 to 1819.

Performance of opéra-comique in German began in Vienna during the 1770s; during this decade opéra-comique appeared for the first time in the vernacular on some of the popular stages. When the Nationalsingspiel was founded in 1778, it had to perform some foreign operas in German translation -- including opéras-comiques -- because of the lack of good German operas. When the Nationalsingspiel failed, the court theatres dismissed their troupe of German singers and concentrated nearly exclusively on Italian opera. Performances of opéra-comique almost ceased at court after 1788.

It was the suburban theatres, particularly the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, which were responsible for starting a new vogue for opéra-comique in Vienna during the 1790s. The Theater in der Leopoldstadt gave several Viennese premières of operas by Dalayrac;
and its rival, the Theater auf der Wieden, mounted the Viennese première of Méhul's *Euphrosine* in 1795. The new Theater an der Wien, with its wide stage and potential for splendid scenic effects and large choruses, opened in 1801 and successfully produced operas by Grétry and Cherubini.

Although other European cities were performing opéras-comiques at this time, the new French operas of the revolution by no means found acceptance all over Germany. In Vienna, there may initially have been some resistance to them at the court theatres, but successful productions of French works at the Theater an der Wien in 1801 and 1802 encouraged the court theatres also to experiment with opéra-comique.

The AMZ helped its dissemination by publishing news about the latest European opera productions; news coverage was given to performances of opéras-comiques in German; biographies of French composers; recent publications of opéras-comiques in translation. Opéra-comique was regularly brought to the public's attention by this publication where it was presented as a fashionable novelty (see chapter IV pp. 352-354). Frequent mention of opéra-comique productions in the AMZ gave revolutionary opera an aura of respectability and, as in the days of the French troupes, German cities were anxious not to fall too far behind current European trends. The new opéra-comique became fashionable between 1790 and 1819. Nearly 120 French operas (almost all of them opéras-comiques) received their Viennese premières, including the operas of Cherubini, Méhul and Dalayrac, and other highly significant works of the revolutionary era. They were performed at all five major Viennese theatres.

From 1805 until 1819, German premières of recent opéras-comiques often took place in Vienna; and Viennese translations of French operas were bought and used by other German theatres.
All of the opéras-comiques performed at Viennese suburban theatres before 1790 had been previously given in the city in French. Possibly opéra-comique would have reached Vienna independently of any French troupes: operas like Grétry's Zémire et Azor were popular throughout Europe (and most of the new opéras-comiques performed at the suburban theatres before 1802 were obtained ready-translated from other German theatres). But it is difficult to imagine the Viennese court theatres giving themselves over to opéra-comique so quickly after 1802 if French opera had not already enjoyed success and prestige, and established roots in Vienna. Noblemen who had attended the Théâtre français près de la Cour as young men were by 1802 influential courtiers in their fifties and sixties with power to affect theatre policies; middle and lower class Viennese for whom opéra-comique had previously been a celebrated entertainment for the élite and aristocracy, were now curious to see some of these fashionable pieces performed in German at their local theatres.

Appendix I contains a list of around 300 opéras-comiques produced in Vienna between 1750 and 1850. Appendix II, with its chronological list of performance dates and list of theatres, shows how the popularity of opéra-comique spread from the aristocracy at court to the lower classes who frequented the suburban stages.

Reasons why opéra-comique found acceptance in Vienna are complex. The predominance of Italian opera at court, had, during the 1790s, enabled the suburban theatres to take over the German opera repertoire of the court theatres, which included French opera in translation. Interest in opéra-comique was intensified by theatre rivalry: first between the Theater in der Leopoldstadt and the Theater auf der

Wieden and, after 1802, by the court theatres and the Theater an der Wien. The building of this last theatre was an important factor in the spread of opéra-comique in Vienna: the most modern theatre in Germany, it attracted special attention and had a tradition of spectacular productions. The operas of Schikaneder, upon which the old theatre had depended for a decade, were now stale, and the new building gave Schikaneder's company an opportunity to renew its image.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the new Italian operas being given in Vienna were beginning to sound tired and worn-out to Viennese ears, and Austrians were especially disillusioned by tedious Italian opera plots and by the arrogant behaviour of Italian artists in Vienna.¹ And yet, the Viennese theatres were "noch nicht reich genug an guten Originalwerken, um der Beyhilfe fremder Bühnen entbehren zu können",² as Schreyvogel wrote in 1807. The lack of good operas provided an entry for French opera in a city where Italian opera had traditionally been the only foreign opera seriously cultivated. At this time Paris was producing large numbers of successful operas, most of which were published.

The Viennese public enjoyed the comedy, interesting situations and the freshness of opéra-comique. French opera also offered economic advantages to theatres in the Austrian capital. Generally speaking, musical works were three times as successful on the Viennese stage as plays without music.³ At a time when the public demanded panem et circenses, it was less expensive for the Viennese theatres to buy the scores of successful French operas and have them translated in Vienna than to commission an Austrian composer to

¹. See p. 265.
². Das Sonntagsblatt, 7 June 1807, p. 303.
³. Bauer, Das Theater an der Wien, p. 65.
write a new work. The Viennese theatres realised the potential of opéra-comique as a vehicle for comedy, visual effect, and music: new numbers by Austrian and Italian composers could easily be inserted between passages of spoken dialogue.

The success of French opera began to diminish around 1815; partly because familiarity had bred contempt; partly because later opéras-comiques were perceived to be of a poorer quality. Its decline was hastened by Viennese performances of Rossini, and after 1817 taste swung back quickly in favour of Italy. As the appendices show, French operas were still performed in Vienna after 1819 (and often with considerable success but not in the same concentration as before). I have detected a definite rise and fall of interest in opéra-comique in Vienna during the years 1790 to 1819: a time of gathering interest in the suburbs, an arousal of attention at the court theatres (which at first limited themselves to the more serious opéras-comiques, closer to grand opera), years of fruitful competition and performance of opéra-comique at all five major theatres, and finally, disillusionment caused partly by the sheer quantity of French operas which had been seen. Viennese audiences were ready for a change by 1819.

The extent of the preliminary work which needed to be done, such as establishing which French operas were performed in Vienna, rendered a detailed study of Austrian and French operas contemporary with Fidelio and of the relationship between Austrian composers and rescue opera, beyond the scope of this present study.

Caution must be urged on others who would investigate possible similarities between French operas produced in Vienna and contemporary Austrian works. As important and distinguished a work as Les deux journées could be substantially cut and altered for performance
in Vienna (see pp. 315-321). Without checking Viennese performance material, one cannot make assumptions about which opéra-comique numbers would have been seen by Austrian audiences.

The readiness of Austrian directors to alter Cherubini's operas for performance in Vienna might come as a shock to his admirers: works we now consider to be great art were judged on their entertainment value and "touched up" when it was expedient to do so. Such flippancy cannot be entirely excused by saying that there was only a limited concept of authenticity at the time: Viennese directors did sometimes have the opportunity to visit Paris and see opéra-comique first hand and the importance of careful translation from the French was insisted on by at least two composers living in Vienna at the time: Salieri and Gluck, who made high demands about the adaptation of their own operas.

Censorship perhaps accustomed the Austrian public to the idea that some alterations to a work of art were inevitable.

Having issued this warning about adaptation, it seems worth suggesting that some French opéra-comique scores which are apparently lost might be found in The Viennese archives or in other German court archives. Two works which come to mind are by Boieldieu: La prisonnière, given at the Théâtre Montansier, Paris, in 1799 (the opera was a collaboration with Cherubini), and Amour et Mystère, performed in St. Petersburg in 1807. Both operas are listed in the article "Boieldieu" in The New Grove as being lost but the operas were both performed in Vienna: so at some time a score of both works (in French or German) reached the Austrian capital. A search in the Viennese archives for similar "lost" works which were performed in Vienna, might prove to be fruitful.
When considering what Austrian composers could have learnt from French operas, difficulties arise because some of the best French operas from this time were musically inferior to contemporary Viennese works. The French composer Dalayrac, for example, was one of the most successful and prolific composers of his time. Beethoven played in Nina and Azémia as a member of the Bonn theatre orchestra and owned two Dalayrac scores.¹ The first Dalayrac opera to be seen in Vienna was Nina, performed there in 1790. It has been described as "forward-looking", for its subject matter excludes comic characters and episodes entirely and it uses a reminiscence motif -- a "theme song" for Nina;² two years after the première of this opera Dalayrac's Les deux petits Savoyards was produced in Vienna and it became one of the most popular French operas of the 1790s, being seen by thousands of Viennese. But in 1791, Die Zauberflöte, one of the operatic masterpieces of the world, had been produced in Vienna, and musically, at least, even the best works by Dalayrac appear clumsy, thin and uneven by its side. In 1795, Viennese audiences had their first opportunity to see an opera by one of the giants of French revolutionary opera, Méhul, and by 1805, when Beethoven's only opera was first produced, works by all the finest modern French composers had reached Vienna. It has been said that "there is little in Fidelio apart from its transcendent genius, that cannot be traced directly to the rescue opera of the Revolution". That genius, however, makes Fidelio far superior to the works of Beethoven's distinguished French contemporaries.³

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³ Dean, "Opera under the French Revolution", p. 84.
Austrian composers looking to foreign opera for inspiration were confronted by a wide variety of French operas, some fine, but many rather poor. The attitude of both the public and theatre directors gradually changed towards opéra-comique after 1802. The awe and excitement which attended the Viennese premières of Cherubini and Méhul soon faded as theatres capitalised also on the works of their lesser contemporaries. Operas by these first two composers received fewer performances in Vienna than works by Berton, Boieldieu, Della Maria and Isouard.

Perhaps this was because the larger-scale works now regarded as classics were more demanding on performers and poorly presented in Vienna; perhaps -- at first at least (as mentioned earlier, they became more critical of opéra-comique after 1815) -- audiences were unable to discern between excellence and mediocrity. Perhaps the comparative lack of emphasis on works we now regard as classics was due to the fact that in Vienna, as in Paris, opéra-comique had now become an entertainment for the general public rather than the educated elite, and artistic quality was less important than immediate appeal; or perhaps the Viennese really had a tendency to prefer the trivial to the grand. At first, Cherubini had enjoyed great respect in Vienna as a distinguished modern composer whom it was fashionable to admire; the success of his works paved the way for the performance in Vienna of many lesser French operas whose composers were also (undeservingly) admired by the virtue of their being French.

This apparent lack of concern for quality -- or inability to distinguish between good and bad -- was noted by an English visitor to Vienna during the 1820s. Musical taste had changed, but the needs of the Viennese apparently had not:
the people of Vienna are Rossini mad, but they are not only mad for him, but mad for his worst imitators; with good ears, they tolerate the worst of music... Everything Italian is in fashion at Vienna, the language, music, and singers; and though the opera-house is a poor one... [it] has the advantage (if it can be called so) of having a composer and a corps of native artists, so that the Italian opera in its original state flourishes here. Pacini is engaged as composer for the opera in Vienna. This young man is not so ideal a workman as Rossini, but he is a more punctual one, and his qualification is of much importance where crowds would die of ennui if their darling novelty were withheld beyond its expected time...

This quotation makes another important point: about the prevalence in Vienna of Italian musicians. Since the mid-seventeenth century, the influence of the Italians had been strong in Vienna; Viennese singers and composers were taught by Italians who actually created in Vienna an Austrian school of Italian opera. Perhaps, with this tradition and the proximity of Italy to Vienna, it was inevitable that Italian music would eventually return to fashion. Madame de Stael (and others before and after her) commented that the Austrians had much more in common with the people of Italy than with the French: the Viennese sense of humour "n'a pas le moindre rapport avec la gaieté française... la moquerie des français": it was more akin to "la bouffonnerie des Italiens". The vogue for French opera in Vienna from 1790 to 1819 differed then from the various vogues for Italian music in at least one important respect. It involved the performance of French opera in Vienna with little reference to French singers and composers. No eminent

French performers visited Vienna during this time -- the players from France who arrived in Vienna in 1809 were merely members of a second rate travelling troupe -- and Cherubini and Persuis visited Vienna only briefly. Some other German cities, like Hamburg and Berlin, appointed French Kapellmeister during these years. French opera took root in Vienna for only a short time, during the 1750s and 1760s when French operas were performed there by specially appointed French artists (some of them from Paris) in collaboration with the eminent Favart, and opéras-comiques were written in Vienna by Gluck and van Maldere. After that time, French opera as performed in the Austrian capital was "second-hand" making no serious attempt to be authentic. Some of the distinctiveness of the French choral style, some of the impact of French choral writing, and the characteristic sound of the French orchestra, were lost in Viennese performances; Viennese composers and librettists did not, for years, work alongside French ones. The influence of French opera on Viennese musicians, though apparently strong in the period 1790 to 1819, was, in the long run, considerably less direct than that of Italian opera.

Some reasons for this have been considered earlier. The expense of bringing French artists to Vienna was a discouragement; salaries for artists were higher in Paris than Vienna, and Vienna still had a reputation for being ungenerous to artists. The most likely reason, however, is that the Viennese theatres had their own strong traditions and were experiencing success using their own singers and directors; they did not want to incur extra expense at a time of hardship. They were satisfied with their own performances and perhaps unwilling to accept changes suggested by outsiders.
To the Viennese, the most important element of French Revolutionary Opera was perhaps not, after all, its music, but its libretto and the new realism and immediacy it brought to opera. As far back as 1773, a Viennese theatre almanac had described Italian operas with their weak plots as Flemish lace stitched on to sackcloth because the delightful music so often hung awkwardly around a plain, everyday text. In opéra-comique, the Viennese enjoyed the combination of melody and an entertaining opera plot:

Die Deutschen möchten wohl musikalischer als witzig, die Franzosen hingegen witziger, als musikalisch seyn. Daher wird in Deutschland eine gute Musik einen schlechten Text, und in Frankreich ein guter Text eine schlechte Musik aufrecht erhalten.

A few opéras-comiques were even performed in Vienna without music, as plays; for example, Le déserteur, Lully et Quinault, and Sylvain, and very many French comedies with characteristics similar to the opera libretti were performed in Vienna.

Hopes were expressed that the Viennese would learn from the wit, lightness and good characterisation of French opera plots. It was the alleged lack of these ingredients which accounted for the only moderate success of the first Weber opera to be produced in Vienna. Abu Hassan was first performed there in 1813 in the middle of the vogue for opéra-comique. It seems

3. This comment was the opening paragraph of a front page article in the AMZ, "Musikalisches Allerley aus Paris", AMZ 17 February 1819, p. 107.
4. Abu Hassan, pfd adW 28 May 1813.
to have lacked all those characteristics which the Viennese were then looking for in opera: "so mager der Dialog, so sparsam der Witz verwendet ist, so wenig gezeichnet die Charaktere ans Licht treten, und so unverzeihlich gegen die Wahrscheinlichkeit in dieser Oper gesündigt wird" wrote Die Theaterzeitung, "so ist sie doch für das was sie ist, ziemlich erträglich".¹

I would like to have discovered more about the circumstances regarding the visits of Cherubini and Persuis to Vienna: there may be letters and details of payments in the Haus, Hof-und Staatsarchiv. Documents in this archive might reveal whether visits by other French composers were planned but later abandoned. Political considerations may have deterred the French from visiting Vienna during wartime. Whereas the Austrians felt little personal antagonism towards their enemies, they themselves were hated by the French during the Napoleonic Wars.

Strangers to Austrian mores are often puzzled by -- even incredulous about -- the political apathy and complacency of the Viennese. While these are important Viennese characteristics, I have sought to dispel the myth that Vienna was sheltered during the Napoleonic wars by a host of laws, spies and censors who built the equivalent of a Great Wall of China around the Austrian capital.² The regime was repressive; but newspapers and information still reached those Viennese who were interested enough to seek them. Many operas which might, to a modern mind, have been construed as dangerous, reached Vienna without radical alteration. Perhaps the censors were not concerned about the possible adverse influence of French operas which proclaimed liberty; or perhaps they were naïve.

¹. TZ, 1 June 1813, p. 251.
². See chapter II, p. 68.
The fact that opéras-comiques performed in Vienna were submitted to the Austrian censors in manuscript form, in German translation, might sometimes have disguised their origins and softened their appearance of "foreignness" even when the original author of the texts were known. Little clear evidence survives about censorial policy, or rather, what evidence does remain seems so contradictory that it is difficult to believe that indeed there was a policy regarding the censorship of French operas. Perhaps Viennese censors were not used to thinking of operas as works which could contain a political message; perhaps, simply, they agreed to censor opéras-comiques more leniently because they thought that music reduced the impact of the words.

The wave of Austrian nationalism which gathered momentum in the latter part of 1808 perhaps surprisingly encouraged the fashion for opéra-comique. The Viennese recognised the importance of Gluck in the recent development of French opera and, for want of operas by local Viennese composers, preferred French opera sung in German by local singers to operas by the currently unpopular Italians. The hope was repeatedly expressed that Austrians would be stimulated by, and learn from, French works: the Monatschrift der Musikfreunde wrote confidently in 1806: "so werden die französischen Werke richtiger Motivirung, Leichtigkeit des Dialoges, Witz und Zusammenstellung neuer Verhältnisse spätern deutschen Geburten einhauchen". But Mosel, looking back in 1818 on some of the most celebrated French operas of the past decade, doubted that the vogue had been very beneficial to Austrian art. Ten years earlier, Vienna had not had operas equal to the quality of Medée, Sémiiramis,

La Jérusalem delivrée, La Vestale, Fernand Cortez, Uthal, or Les Bayadères. Regardless of whether German composers had learnt from French operas, he wrote, the emptiness of Viennese theatre repertoires without them, at a time when the public so craved theatrical entertainment, would have been unthinkable. But what at first fulfilled a legitimate need, became, ultimately, an unbreakable habit injurious to public taste, and ten years later, Vienna still lacked good native opera:

Performance of opéra-comique at the Theater an der Wien was not as Bauer has suggested a betrayal of that theatre's tradition as a folk theatre. In Vienna, as in Paris, opéra-comique had become an entertainment for the masses.

One is left with an impression of Vienna which runs counter to its traditional image: the Austrian capital emerges as a city which did not cultivate art seriously; its theatres were apparently run by dilettante noblemen

1. *WANZ*, 5 December 1818, columns 451-452.

with their eyes only on the box office, and performances were erratic. Many of the best singers had difficulties both in acting and in adapting themselves to a new musical style; operas by Cherubini and Monsigny might receive a large amount of alteration, both for the sake of ticket sales and ease of performance.

The journalists of the day were on the whole poorly informed about musical matters, doing little either to educate or enlighten the public or to criticise widely accepted practices. Comic subplots might be played up at the expense of tragic or noble elements of a work, and even one of the most successful Viennese exponents of French opera, Wilhelm Ehlers, might occasionally play for laughs during a respected opera like Richard Coeur-de-lion, or feel free to adapt an opera like Monsigny's Le déserteur, according to his own taste.

Although it seemed at the time as though the Viennese never relinquished their traditional presuppositions about opera and their bias towards Italian music, a substantial change of attitude did take place, however. Mosel could not perceive any positive effects on local Viennese composers, yet it was apparent to other contemporaries that nearly twenty years of French domination of the Austrian opera stage had affected audiences' expectations.

When the first Rossini opera was performed in Vienna, the Viennese experienced something of a musical culture-shock. As Der Sammler reported:

Nachdem Wiens Theater durch mehrere Jahre die italienische Musik entbehrt hatten, so war die hoffnungsvolle Erwartung aller Musikfreunde um so mehr auf die gestrige Wiedererscheinung gerichtet ... Das Opernhaus war bis zum erdrücken voll; die getroffene Wahl der Stücke zur Eröffnung der italienischen Oper hat aber keineswegs den Hoffnungen des Publicums entsprochen ... Das hiesige Publicum, gewohnt, mit der Vorstellung einer Oper

1. Adeline by Generale and l'Ingegno felice by Rossini, pfd KTH 26 November 1816, are the operas referred to.
Almost unconsciously, Viennese audiences had been learning to expect opera to be a dramatic unity. Although singers were still chided for their inadequacies, a return to Italian opera showed the theatre public how the style of opera performance had been slowly changing under the influence of opéra-comique. The short vogue for French opera had given audiences a timely reminder that the opera plot was as important as the music, and demonstrated to the Viennese something of the potential power and realism of modern opera.

The early opéra-comique of the French troupes, and, more particularly, the revolutionary opera seen on Viennese stages between 1790 and 1819, were an important counterbalance to the traditional Italian operas which had been so significant in the development of Austrian music. French Revolutionary Opera challenged Viennese librettists and opera singers to put more emphasis on drama and to pay more attention to the opera text. In doing so, German opera took a significant step towards maturity.

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1. Der Sammler, 30 November 1816, p. 592.
APPENDICES
Abbreviations used in appendices

In the following tables, the names of Viennese theatres have been abbreviated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adW</td>
<td>Theater an der Wien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BfS</td>
<td>Theater im Bauernfeindischen Saal</td>
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<td>BTh</td>
<td>Burgtheater</td>
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<tr>
<td>CTh</td>
<td>Carltheater</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fas</td>
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<td>Hietzinger-Hof Sommertheater</td>
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<td>Theater in der Josefstadt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBTh</td>
<td>Kärntnerthor- und Burgtheater</td>
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<tr>
<td>LH T</td>
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Theatres in France and Russia are abbreviated as follows:

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Details of operas are abbreviated thus:

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<td>vaudeville</td>
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<td>with</td>
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The languages of performances is indicated in one of two ways:

F  Fr] in French

G  Ger] in German

I  It] in Italian

In the bibliographical details, Viennese libraries are indicated as follows:

GMF Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde
NB Nationalbibliothek
VMsmlg Musiksammlung of the Nationalbibliothek
VThsmlg Theatersammlung of the Nationalbibliothek
StB Stadtbibliothek
Appendix 1

listing French operas performed in Vienna between 1745 and 1850 under their original titles.

Note:

Most of the operas included in this table belong to the genre opéra-comique of which an explanation was given in the foreword. The small number of French grand operas which were performed in Vienna during these years is, however, also included.

The eighteenth century French vaudeville operas which were performed in Vienna during the days of the French troupes are included as are those vaudevilles brought to the Austrian capital during the second Napoleonic occupation of the city in 1809. New vaudeville versions of later opéras-comiques performed in Vienna are mentioned in the entry for the opera on which they were based.

Excluded however is the large number of French vaudevilles which were performed in Vienna from the 1820s onwards. They were performed in Vienna both in French and German and between 1820 and 1850 several hundred vaudevilles were seen by audiences in the Austrian capital. Their inclusion in this appendix would have enlarged it to unmanageable proportions.

The list also excludes German settings of French libretti except where the German setting has a similar name to the original opera and where failure to mention the new setting might create confusion. During the period in question at least 300 operas of the Singspiel type (and many more spoken plays) used French libretti or plots.

Operas are arranged alphabetically in this table, ignoring definite and indefinite articles. Most are listed under their French titles but some German titles are included: either because the name under which an opera was known in Vienna was different enough from the original to obscure it to modern readers, or where the French title of a work has not been identified. The opera is then listed under the title by which it was known to Viennese audiences.

The entry for each opera consists of five columns. Under these is a line or more of explanation typed continuously across the page:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Column 1</th>
<th>Column 2</th>
<th>Column 3</th>
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<td>a line of information</td>
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</table>

Column 5 is, in most cases, incomplete. Where performance material is known to remain in Viennese archives, details are given here. For the many operas for which no shelf mark is provided, it must not be assumed that no scores or texts remain. Similarly, where shelf marks are given, it is likely that more material remains than is indicated. The large number of arrangements, medleys, piano reductions
and printed German scores made from French operas and available in large numbers in Viennese libraries could not be included. Little is known about scores and text books used for performances of French operas at the suburban theatres: some are probably lost, others can be found in several Viennese archives though it is hard to say with any certainty which theatre they belonged to and when they were used. Some, like a Theater in der Leopoldstadt textbook of Renaud d'Asc, dating from the 1790s, found by chance in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, might remain uncataloged. Library collections from the suburban theatres have not remained intact. Performance material which remains from the Burg- and Kärntnerthortheater and which was preserved in the imperial court archives, now part of the Nationalbibliothek, is, since the publication of Hadamowsky's catalogue, the most easily identified.

column 1: name of opera
genre, number of acts
date and theatre of French premiere

column 2: name of librettist
name of composer

column 3: dates of different Viennese productions of the opera (followed by) language and theatre of performance

column 4: number of performances of each production (where known) last date of run

column 5: bibliographical information

Information about repertoire was gathered mainly from the following sources: Anton Bauer, Opern und Operetten in Wien, Das Theater in der Josefstadt zu Wien, 150 Jahre Theater an der Wien; Otto Erich Deutsch, "Das Repertoire der höfischen Oper, der Hof- und der Staatsoper", OmZ,xxiv (1969); Robert Haas, Gluck und Durazzo im Burgtheater; Franz Hadamowsky, Das Theater in der Wiener Leopoldstadt, 1781-1860; Die Wiener Hoftheater (Staatstheater) 1776-1966, 2 vols; Richard Henn, "Das Wiener théâtre près de la cour"; Harald Kunz, "Höfisches Theater in Wien zur Zeit der Maria Theresia"; Otto Michtner, Das alte Burgtheater als Opernbühne; Julia Witzenez, Le théâtre français de Vienne (1752-1772); Gustav Zechmeister, Die Wiener Theater nächst der Burg und nächst dem Kärntnerthor von 1747-1776; Alfred Loewenberg, Annals of Opera.
Die abgereckte Zauberey, See La fausse magie

1. Actéon
   Scribe
   op com 1 act
   Fridheim & Cie 907: 8.2.1836, pfd Vienna (Actéon) Kth from 3.7.1839 trans M. G. Friedrich
   3. 7.1839 Kth Ger
   12-31. 3.1841
   S.m. 32.563 (Ms textbook dated 1836)
   S.m. 32.564 (Ms textbook)
   OA 80 (Ms German score)

2. D'Adolphe et Clara ou les deux prisonniers
   Marsolier
   op com 1 act
   Dalrymple 4-12.1801 Kth Ger
   17.10.1801 AdW Ger
   9x-30. 6.1807
   S.m. 32.894 (Ms textbook)
   Kth 7 (Ms German score)
   pfd Vienna in Ger (Adolph und Clara, Adolph und Clara oder die zwei Gefangenen) trans F. K. Diemer 1801 AdW, trans G. A. Herkots 1810 Kth; pfd Vienna in Fr by French players during Napoleon's occupation 1809 (see p. 242), and by French players visiting Vienna 1826
   Akteon, see Actéon
   Alcante (by Gluck) pfd Vienna at the court theatres in 1767, 1781-83, 1810 was never given there in the French version

3. Alexis ou l'erreur d'un bon père
   Marsolier
   op com 1 act
   Dalrymple 6. or 7. 9.1809 Bth Fr
   20. 1.1819 Kth Ger
   4x- 6. 6.1823
   pfd Paris TF 21 or 24.1.1798; pfd Vienna in Ger (Alexis, oder der Irrthum eines guten Vaters) during Napoleon's occupation
   1809; Kth 12 (Ms German score)
   1819; Kth 13 (Ms German prompt copy ? score)
   also S.m. 32.140-141 (texts in Ger Ms) 1819

4. Aline, Reine de Colonde
   Sedaine
   ba héroïque 3 acts
   Monsigny
   pfd Paris ARM 15.4.1766
   pfd Vienna in Fr 1781/82 Kth as "La reine Colonde" allegedly as a 'romantic' opera with ballet
   1781/1782 Kth Fr
   S.m. 641.433-A M 1. (Ger textbook printed Vienna: Balthasar, 1804)
   Kth 15 (Ms Ger score)

5. Aline, Reine de Colonde
   Vial & Favières
   op com 3 acts
   H. H. Bertron
   pfd Paris TF 2.9, or 2 or 3.10. 1803
   6. 3.1804 Kth Ger
   16. 4.1804 Bth Ger
   22. 8.1812 adW Ger
   20x- 5. 2.1805
   S.m. 32.563 (Ms textbook dated 1836)
   Vienne: Wallisch, 1804)
   Kth 15 (Ms Ger score)
   pfd Vienna in Ger (Aline, Königin(n) von Golconde) trans G. F. Treitschke 1804 Kth & Bth and 1812 adW
   Alle Fährten sich, see Le rendez-vous bourgeois
   Almèdon ou le monde renversé, see Marie

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entry</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Premiere</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Les amants Prothée ou, qui compte sans (son) Patrat</td>
<td>20. 6.1809 BTh Fr</td>
<td>2x</td>
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<td></td>
<td>hôte, compte deux fois, provmd, d v 1 act</td>
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<td>pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players during Napoleon's occupation; Ger title also given on poster 'Die Verwandlungen aus Liebe oder wer ohne Wirth rechnet zweymal' Probably performed under a different name in Paris; could be one of many of Patrat's works</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>L'amant déguisé ou le jardinier</td>
<td>Favart &amp; Voisenon</td>
<td>13. 5.1776 KTh Ger</td>
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<td>supposed com m d arriètes 1 act</td>
<td>Philidor</td>
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<td></td>
<td>pfd Paris Cl 2. or 3. 9.1769 (as L'amant jardiner 7.6.1756)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>pfd Vienna in Ger (Der verstellte Gartner) trans (?) J. H. Faber, by Böhm's company 1776</td>
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<td>L'amant jaloux, see Les fausses apparaissances</td>
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<td>L'amant jardiner ou l'amusement de campagne, see L'amant déguisé</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>L'ambassadrice</td>
<td>Scribe &amp; St. Georges</td>
<td>23. 7.1839 JTh Ger</td>
<td>1x</td>
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<td></td>
<td>op com 3 acts</td>
<td>Aubert</td>
<td>24. 1.1840 KTh Ger</td>
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<td>pfd Paris GC 21.12.1836</td>
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<td></td>
<td>pfd Vienna in Ger trans Lichtenstein: 1839 JTh (Die Prima-Donna); 1840 KTh (Die Sängerin)</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>Ambroise ou voilà ma journée</td>
<td>Boucet de Monvel</td>
<td>6. 3.1812 aDW Ger</td>
<td>2x- 7. 3.1812</td>
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<td></td>
<td>op vv 1 act</td>
<td>Dalayrac</td>
<td>26. 8.1826 KTh Fr</td>
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<td>pfd Paris Cl 12.1.1793</td>
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<td>pfd Vienna in Ger trans: 1812 aDW (Ambros oder Das ist mein Tagelöhni); pfd Vienna in Fr 1826 by visiting Fr players</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>L'ami de la maison</td>
<td>Marmontel</td>
<td>14.12.1776 BTh Fr</td>
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<td></td>
<td>op com 3 acts</td>
<td>Grétry</td>
<td>25. 5.1776 BTh Ger</td>
<td>26x-25. 9.1787</td>
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<td>pfd Font. 26.10.1771; pfd Paris Cl 14.5.1772</td>
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<td></td>
<td>pfd Vienna in Ger trans G. Stephanie d. J. 1776 KTh (Der Freund des Hauses), and from 1778 3KTh (Der Hausfreund)</td>
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<td>11.</td>
<td>L'amitié à l'épreuve</td>
<td>Marmontel</td>
<td>22. 1.1781 BTh Ger</td>
<td>2x-29. 1.1781</td>
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<td></td>
<td>operette 2 acts</td>
<td>Grétry</td>
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<td></td>
<td>pfd Font 13.11.1770 Paris Cl</td>
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<td>pfd Vienna in Ger without music trans Weisse 3 acts 30.11.1771, 16.8.1777, 21.9.1795 etc.; pfd as opera in Ger, trans ? (Die Freundschaft auf der Probe), 1781 Brth</td>
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12. L'Amour et Mystère
op com 2 acts “from the Fr vv”
pfd St Petersburg 1806
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Hell, (Liebe und Ruhm (or Ruhm u. Liebe) ) 1818 KTh with music alt; by Néroad
12. 2.1818 KTh Ger 15x-14.10.1819

Under Liebe und Ruhm s.m. 32.735 Ms
textbook dated 1818 used by censor and
prompt; also s.m. 32.736 Ms textbook;
under Ruhm und Liebe KTh 394 Ms Ger score

13. L'amoureux de quinze ans ou la double fête
vv
pfd Paris CI 18.4.1771
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans G. Stephanie d. J. (dcr Liebhaber von fünfzehn Jahren) 1778 BTh; 1780-1781 KTh
J.P.W.F. Martini 1780-1781 KTh Fr
French text and score s.m. 1036

S.m. 629.481 - B Th (Ger textbook printed
Vienna: Logenmeister, 1778)

14. Les amours champêtres
pastorale en vvs 1 act
Favart's work pfd Paris CI 3.9.1751
parody of Act IV Les Indes galantes; for pf in Vienna Favart's text shortened, some vvs omitted, new ones added
14. Favart 1752,1755,1757,8Th Fr
Gluck

Les amours champêtres
pastorale en vvs 1 act
Favart's work pfd Paris CI 3.9.1791
Van Malderen alleged to have been employed as an arranger of vv operas during his stay in Vienna summer 1756-1758. Probably Gluck was responsible
for the first Viennese reworking of the opera (see no 14) and Van Malder for this 1758 version
15. Favart 5.10. or
Pierre van Malderen 5.11. 1758 Sch Fr

16. Les amours de Bastien et de Bastienne
vv 1 act
pfd Paris CI 4.8.1755
parody of Le Devin du village by J. J. Rousseau, pfd Vienna in Fr with music by various composers 1753 onwards at court; pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Weiskern (Bastien
und Bastienne) from 1764 - one of first French opera texts to be trans into German; Weiskern's text revised Schachtner music by Mozart perhaps pfd in Dr. Hasmer's garden Landstrasse
1768 Hasmer's setting of Weiskern pfd 18.8.1790 LTh (Les amours de Bastien et de Bastienne), children's opera; other pf's in Ger with or without music includes 3.8.1775
Pen, 7 25.5.1779 JTh according to Loewenberg, 29.10.1779 LTh.
Les amours de Lucas et de Colinette, see La fête d'amour
16. C. G. & Muse Favart 16. 6.1755 Lax Fr
Henny de Guevrille 5. 7.1755 BTh Fr
pf also at Schönbrunn
at least 8x-20, or 21.7.1763 text in Fr; score: s.m. 1040

17. Anacréon ou l'amour fugitif
op ballet, 2 acts
pfd Paris 0 4.10.1803
Limited success Paris possibly discouraged full stage pf in Vienna, pfd early May 1805 in Redoutensaal as oratorio, aroused little enthusiasm
Anacoline, see Léocadie
18. Annette et Lubin  
com en vers m d'ariettes 1 act  
pf Vienn in Fr by French players 1768

Anton und Antonette, see Toison et Toineette

19. L'arbre creux  
Hieronymus Paer  
Medling 1807

1st pf Medling 1807  
Fr title, apparently pf under this name Vienna 1808; Towers & Stieger also give Ger title: Der hohle Baum; probably pf in Ger, libret:ist and translator unknown

20. L'arbre enchanté(e) ou le tueur dupé  
Moline (Louw, bas  
Dancourt) based on  
Vadé

Gluck

Vadé's la poire used as basis for text of this opera pf Poire St Laurent 7.8.1752;  
Vadé's text itself based on La Fontaine's La Gargère des trois commères; L'arbre enchanté pf in Fr in Vienna with new music by Gluck 1759; pf in Ger trans  
Giesecke (der bezauberte Baum) 1794; Gluck's setting probably with music by other composers pf Versailles 27.2.1775

21. Ariodante  
Hoffmann  
5. 3.1804 adW Ger  
3x- 7. 3.1804

op 3 acts  
Méhul

pf Vienna in Ger, trans J. von Seyfried (Ariodante) 1804 with musical additions by J. von Seyfried

22. Armide  
Quinault  
9. 1.1808 adW Ger  
1x

op 5 acts drame hér a ballet  
Gluck

pf Paris ANM 23 (or 25). 9.1777

20.11.1809 O Ger  
17x-15. 9.1873

pf Vienna in Ger, trans J. von Voëz (Armida) Ballet by Jean Corally, 1808 adW and KTh; trans Heinrich Eseer  
1869, 1878, 1890, etc.

1808: S.m. 641.433-A M 2 (Ger textbook printed Vienna:  
Wollhauser, 1808) KTh 40 (Ger Ms score). Also  
987.380 - A M (text in Ger printed Vienna: H & B  
Drucker a.m.) OA 1302 score with Fr text  
printed Paris: Des Lauriers, 1777. OA 1301 text  
with Ger text 1859 Ms

23. Les artistes par occasion ou le  
potier et le musicien op com 1 act  
pf Paris OC 22.1. or 2.1807

pf Vienna in Ger, trans J. von Seyfried 1810 adW (Dichter und Tonkünstler von ungelähr), 1811 KTh (Die Talente durch Zufall)

24. L'aspirant de marine  
A. Decembrerousse &  
op com 2 acts  
pf Vienna in Ger, trans J. Kupeiwieser (Der See (-) kadett),1835 JTh and 1837 KTh

1835 JThs  
S.m. 32.982 (censor's text, in Ger, Ms)

1837 KThs: S.m. 32.980 (prompt copy in Ger, Ms)
25. L'auberge des Bagnères
Jalabert
op com 3 acts op bouffon
pfd Paris 16. or 23.4.1807 QC
probably this is the same op as that pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. von Seyfried, 1804 as Die beiden Generale, musical additions I. v. Seyfried

26. Les aubergistes de qualité
Jouy
op com 3 acts
pfd Paris QC 18.6.1812
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. von Seyfried, 1813, 1817, 1831 etc (Die vornnehmen Wirte)

27. "Die ausgeborgten Frauen,"
operetta, 1 act
"Varin & Desvergers"
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans 1835 Kth, original Fr text allegedly by Varin & Desvergers, Hertwig opera (if any) to which this refers unlisted, another Viennese repertoire list (MNZ) gives composer as Reuling, which is more likely

28. Une aventure de Saint-Folx ou le coup d'épaule
Duval & Saint-
D'après op com 1 act
pfd Paris QC 20. or 28.1 or 25. or 27.2.1802
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Huber, 1804 as Das Hasardspiel

Les aventures chambres, ballet pantomime by St Bernardi pfd BTH 19.11.1760, music allegedly based on numbers from Fr ops pfd in Vienna

Les aventures de serail, not an opéra-comique (ballet by Guis. Scarlatti pfd BTH 1762)

Les aveugles de Tolède, see Les deux aveugles de Tolède

29. Avis aux femmes ou le mari colère
Placérecourt
op com 1 act
pfd Paris TP 27.10.1804
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Voll, (So bessert man die Damen), pf material for this op is in the Kth archives according to Hadamovsky vol II. The opera was never pfd at the Kth though a production may at one time have been planned.
30. Azéma ou le nouveau Robinson
Lachabaeussière
(les sauvages) op con 3 acts
Dolayrac
pfd Font 17.10.1876; pfd Paris CI 3.5.1877
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Schmieder, 1795 LTh (Azéma oder die Wilden), 1805 KTh (Die Wilden)

Die Ballnacht, see Gustave III

31. La banquereoute de savetier
com m d'ariettes 1 act
pfd Paris ?
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players during Napoleonic occupation, chosen for pf on Napoleon's birthday 14.8.1809 w. La famille des Innoniens (7Innocents)
free spectacle, Ger title also given on poster (Der Bankerott des Schöfflers)

32. La barcarolle ou l'amour et la musique
Scribe
op com 3 acts
Auber
pfd Paris OC 22.4.1845
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans G. Ball, (Die Barke(ar)ole oder l'amour et la musique (or Die Barke(rol)e Liebe und Musik); 1849 KTh title in Fr but almost certainly pfd in Ger
Bastien et Bastienne, see Les amours de Bastien et de Bastienne

33. Les Bayadères
Etienne de Jouy
pfd Paris 6.8.1810
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Castelli, (Die Ba(jad)eren) KTh 1813

Das befreite Jerusalem, see La Jérusalem délivrée

Die beiden Generale, see L'auberge des Bagnères

Die beiden Savoyard, see Les deux petits Savoyards

Die beiden Troubadours, see Le prince troubadour

34. La belle Arethuse
C. S. Favart (from Voltaire)
op com (opéra comique) 4 acts
Monsigny
pfd Paris CI 14.8.1776
perhaps pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1780-1781; pfd Vienna in Ger trans A. G. Messmer, or possibly J. André (Die schöne Arethuse) 1786

La belle cordonnière, op 2 acts, allegedly pfd Vienna Kth by Fr players 1780-1781; Bauer however says op by Umlauf. Umlauf's Die schöne Schusterin pfd Vienna BTh 22.6.1778
35. Bentiowski ou les exilés de Kamchatka 
Duval (based on A.von Korzebun) 
op 3 acts 
pfd Paris OC 8.6.1800 
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans G. F. Treitschke (Die Verwies(a)nen auf Kamtschatka) 1804 KTh & BTh

Der Bernhardsberg, see Eliza

36. Le billet de loterie 
A.F. Creuse de Lesser & J.P. Roger 
op com 2 accts 
pfd Paris OC 14.9.1811 
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Castelli, (Das Lotterieflos) KTh 1812

Der Blitz, see L'éclair

Der Blumewurk, see Le pantier fleuri

La Bohémienne, see L'Égérie

37. Le bonhomme, ou bienfaisance et vertu (ou Paulot et Fanchon) op vv 1 act 
Beffroy de Reigny 
pfd Paris 1799 
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players during Napoleonic occupation 1809, as Le vieux bonhomme ou Paulot et Fanchon, Ger title also given on poster (Der gutherzigst Alte)

38. Le bon fils 
Devaux (Lemonnier) 
op 1 or 3 acts 
pfd Paris Cl 11.1.1773 
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1780/81

39. La bonne Aubaine ou le repas des clercs 
J.B. Radet 
op vv 1 act 
pfd Paris 1793 
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players during Napoleonic occupation 1809. Ger title also given on poster (Der unverhoffte Fund oder die Schreibermahlzeit)

40. La bonne fille 
C. Goldoni (based on Richardson) 
comedy, then op com 
pfd Rome 6.2.1760 as "La Cecchina, ossia La buona figliuola" 
pfd Vienna in Italian as La buona figliuola 1764, 1768, 1771; pfd Vienna in Fr 1776 as La bonne fille in the translation made for Paris CI production on 17 June 1771 by J.F.桃hava d'Estandoux, music arranged by D. Bacelle; pfd Vienna in Ger trans ? 1784

(No Ger chb); S.m. 32,770 H(14/22) (Göchner); S.m. 32,771 H (58/63), both dated 1804; 441,533-AM,22.(Ger tb printed Vienna: Degen 1804); KTh 662 (No Ger score)
41. La boucle de cheveux
F. S. Hoffman
op com 1 act
pbd Paris TF 17. or 29.10.1802
op was a failure in Paris, pbd Vienna in Ger, trans J. Hoffman, (Wasser und Feuer — Die Haarlocke), 1803 adW

29. 9.1803 adW Ger
3x-13.10.1803

42. Le bouffe et le tailleur
P. Villiers, A. Gouffé
op com 1 act
pbd Paris Th 1.6.1804
pbd Vienna in Fr by visiting Fr players, 1826

9. 8.1826 KTh Fr
1x
641.436-8M 4. (tb in Fr printed Paris: Cevenagh, 1804)

43. Le brasseur de Preston
A. de Leuven & L. L.
op com 3 acts
pbd Paris GC 31.10.1838
pbd Vienna in Ger, trans Cornet, (Der Brauer von Preston), 1844 JTh, 1851 KTh

10. 7.1844 JTh Ger
2x- 4. 3.1851
S.m. 32.122, S.m. 32.228 (tb in Ger, Me)
987.374 CH (text inGer printed Mainz: Schott, 1838), OA 216 (score in Ger, Me)

44. Le bûcheron ou les trois souhaits
Guichard & Castet
(pet com 3 act)
Philidor
pbd Paris CI 28.2.1763
pbd Vienna in Ger by Fr players, 1765, 1766, 1780-81

1765 Fr
1768 BTh Fr
1780-1781 KTh Fr

45. Le cadet dupé
Lemmonier
op com 1 act
Monsigny's original version pbd
pbd Vienna in Fr by visiting Fr troupe

9. or 13.12.1761 BTh Fr
28. 5.1764 Lax:Fr
at least:

S.m. Sa. 82.E.5 (score & parts)

46. Le calife de Bagdad
Saint-Just
op com 1 act
pbd Paris SF 16.9.1800
pbd Vienna in Ger, trans C.A. Herklotz: 1804 adW (Der Kalif von Bagdad), 1805 KTh & BTh (Der Caliph von Bagdad); also by Fr players 1809

10. 7.1804 adW Ger
3x-23. 1.1809
6x-27. 8.1804
(69/93) (used by 'Wüchner' dated 1805);
S.m. 32.883 M (69/93) (Wüchner); KTh 73
(69/93) (printed score used 1805 & 1809)

47. La Cantélie
op com 1
pbd Vienna in Fr by French troupe 1776

11. 2.1776 BTh Fr

89
48. Le caprice amoureux
com par
Pavart
Duni
1760 BTh Fr
(at least
2x-26. 5.1761
(score by Duni Le retour du village Bruxelles
(text and score in Fr)
was the Duni setting)
1st pfD Paris 12.2.1755 in 3 acts,
(Blaise & Italian
later in 2 acts
composers)
Favart's op also called Ninette à la cour, a par of Ciampi's Bertoldo, Bertoldino & Caca senno, pfD Vienna 1760 by Fr players
49. Le caravane du Caire
op. ba 3 acts
P. Dorey de Châdeville
&R. de Provence (later
Grétry
pfD Vienna in Ger, trans Huber, 1804 adW (Die Karavan(ne von Kairo)
pfD Font 30.10.1783; Paris ABH 15.1.1784
Grétry
pfD Vienna in Ger; trans Huber, 1804 adW (Die Karavan(n)e von Kairo)
50. La caveyne
op in 3 acts
P. Dorey (founded on
Lesage's Gil Blas)
Lesueur
pfD Paris TF 16.2.1793
pfD Vienna in Ger; trans J. Seyfried, 1803 adW (Die Hölle bei Casiro); trans K. F. Lippert, 1803 BTh & KTh (Die Räuberhölle)
(Ms tb in Ger); S. m. 32.00. M (35/38) (censor
etc. dated 1803), S. m. 32.024 M (60/60)
(Wächter); 641.033- A H 17 (tb in Ger printed
Vienna: Wallishauser, 1803); KTh 375 (Ms
score in Ger)
51. Cendrillon
op féerie 3 acts
Etienne & Gaugirn-Manteul
Issoud
pfD Paris TF 22.2.1810
pfD Vienna in Ger; trans Heinrich Schmidt, (Aschenbrödl) 1811 adW
2. 4.1811 adW Ger
107x-21. 6.1823
4.11.1823 JTh Ger
52. Le chapitre second
op com 1 act
Dupaty
Solié
pfD Paris OC 17.6.1799
pfD Vienna in Ger; trans Treitschke, (Das zweite Kapitel) 1803
4. 2.1803 KTh Ger
6. 3.1803 BTh Ger
22. 3.1804 BTh Ger
20x-14. 2.1806
5x-23. 5.1804
(Ms tb in Ger ; S. m. 32.354, S. m. 32.353,
S. m. 32.352; (printed tb in Ger); 987.019-CN
(Vienna: Wallish, 1836), 987.475-MH (trans.
Lichtenstein, Hamburg n.d.); OA 12 (Ms score
in Ger); also the and scores from 1857 prod
53. Le cheval de bronze
op féerie 3 acts
Scribe
Auber
pfD Paris OC 23.3.1835 (pfD G 1857 as op-ha)
pfD Vienna in Ger, trans von Lichtenstein, (Das Pferd von Erz), 1836 KTh
5. 1.1836 KTh Ger
1857 KTh Ger
12x-14. 3.1836
6x-30.11.1857
(Ms tb in Ger ; S. m. 32.354, S. m. 32.353,
S. m. 32.352; (printed tb in Ger); 987.019-CN
(Vienna: Wallish, 1836), 987.475-MH (trans.
Lichtenstein, Hamburg n.d.); OA 12 (Ms score
in Ger); also the and scores from 1857 prod
54. Le(s) Chinois poli(s) en France
op vv in 6 scenes with ballet
Anseume
Gluck (at some airs by Duni)
Anseume's original pfD Foire St.Laurent
20.3.1754 (parody of 11 Chinese rimparrito)
pfD Vienna in Fr by French players 1750
2. 6.1756 Lax Fr
at least
3x-27. 5.1759
(tb in Fr printed in Vienna)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>55.</strong> La clochette</th>
<th><strong>Anseueme</strong></th>
<th>1780-1781 KTh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>op com 1 act</td>
<td>Duni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pf'd Vienna in Fr by French players 1780-1781</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>56.</strong> La clochette ou la double page</th>
<th><strong>Théâulon</strong></th>
<th>20. 6.1821 KTh Ger</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>op féérique 3 acts</td>
<td>Hérod</td>
<td>8x-19.10.1821</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pf'd Paris DC 18.10.1817</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pf'd Vienna in Ger, trans Treitachke, (Das Zauberglückchen (or, Die Wunderglocken)) with 2 additional songs by Schubert, 1821 KTh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>57.</strong> Le coq (coq) du village</th>
<th><strong>Favart</strong></th>
<th>21. 6.1752 Lax Fr</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>op com w. vws &amp; airs 1 act</td>
<td>(various)</td>
<td>at least 1x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pf'd Paris Saint Germain 3. or 31. 3.1743</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pf'd Vienna in Fr by Fr players</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Colinette à la cour, see La double épreuve

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>58.</strong> La colonie (L'isola d'amore)</th>
<th><strong>Italian text A. Gori</strong></th>
<th>summer 1769 BTh l1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>op com 2 acts</td>
<td>(Fr trans Framery)</td>
<td>19.2.1776 KTh Fr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pf'd Rome carnival in It 1766; Paris</td>
<td>Sacchini</td>
<td>1780-1781 KTh Fr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl in Fr 16.8.1775</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7. 5.1780 BTh Ger</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>19. 8.1783 Fre Ger</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. or 15. 8.1793 Lux Ger</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pf'd Vienna in It (L'isola d'amore) additional music Cassmann, 1769; pf'd Vienna Kth in Fr trans Framery, 1776; in Ger, trans J. André, 1780, 1783, 1793 (Die Kolonie (Die Insel der Liebe)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin y Soler also wrote an opera Die Insel der Liebe pf'd 26.4.1800 FNT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>59.</strong> Les comédiens ambulant(s)</th>
<th><strong>L. R. Picard</strong></th>
<th>23. 1.1805 KTh Ger</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>op com 2 acts</td>
<td>Devienne</td>
<td>71w-27. 3.1808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pf'd Paris TF 28.12.1798</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pf'd Vienna in Ger, trans Treitachke, (Die wandern den Komödianten)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>60.</strong> Le comte d'Ory</th>
<th><strong>Scribe &amp; G.G.</strong></th>
<th>3.11.1829 KTh Ger</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>op com 2 acts</td>
<td>Delestre-Poirson</td>
<td>9x-13. 8.1830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pf'd Paris 20.8.1828</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pf'd Vienna in Ger, trans Ritter, (Graf Ory) 1829 KTh, 1833 JTh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>61.</strong> Le concert à la cour, ou la débutante</th>
<th><strong>Scribe &amp; Hélesville</strong></th>
<th>10. 1.1827 JTh Ger</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>op com 1 act</td>
<td>Auber</td>
<td>36x-4. 8.1842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pf'd Paris GC 3.6.1824</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pf'd Vienna in Ger, trans F. Ellmenreich: 1827 JTh (Das concert (Konzert) am Hofe) additional music Rottet, 1827 KTh (Das Debut im Konzert)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OA 1396 (Ger score printed Frankfurt) S.m. 32.470</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ms censor's text, 1826) OA 72 (Ms score in Ger)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
62. Les confidences A. G. Jars 23. 7.1804 Kth Ger | 4x-24. 8.1804 S. m. 32.043 H (81/87) (Ms cb in Ger, censort etc.) 541.435- B M 3 (songs printed Vienna: Degen, 1804)
op com 2 acts Issuord 24. 7.1804 Bth Ger
pf d Vienna in Ger; M. G. Lambrecht (Die Verwechselungen) 1804 Kth & Bth

Le coq du village, see Le coq du village

63. (La) Cychère assiégée Favart & Fagan, from Longus’ 1757 Bth Fr 7 Fr text of op published in Vienna in
op com 1 act Daphne et Chloe 1759 Bth Fr at least: 4x-17.11.1762
Favart’s original pf d Paris Cl 1738, Brussels 7.7.1748. 19. 1.1796 FtG Ger
Paris foire St. L. 12.8.1754 arr. Gluck
pf d Vienna in Fr 1757 onwards; from 1759 op included fewer vva and more original music by Gluck; in Ger, 1796 FtG (in 2 acts) trans Gieske, (Die Belagerung von Cychère oder die Nacht der Liebe) and with musical additions by F. A. Hoffmeister 1796

64. La dame blanche Scribe 6. 7.1826 Kth Ger 9x-10. 3.1838 from 1826 Kth production: S. m. 32.644 (Ms cb in Ger), 987.706- BN (printed cb in Fr), Oa 317 (Ms score in Ger), Oa 1299 (printed score in Ger & Fr); also material from
op 3 acts Boieldieu 8. 1.1829 adw Ger. 8x-16. 6.1905 later Kth productions
pf d Paris Oc 10.12.1825
op very successful in Vienna (several parodies), pf d into 20c;
pf d Vienna in Ger from 1826, trans Castelli, (Die weisse Frau) or (Die weisse Dame); musical additions Ad Müller adw 1829
(Die weisse Dame); musical additions Ad Müller adw 1829

65. La danse interrompue 7 9. 7.1809 Bth Fr 2x-14. 9.1809
v v 1 act
pf d Paris?
pf d Vienna in Fr by Fr players during Napoleonic occupation 1809, Ger title also given on poster (Der unterbrochene Tanz) other details about the work unknown

66. . D’auberge en auberge ou les preventions Dupaty 10. 1.1804 Kth Ger 36x- 9.10.1806 S. m. 32.213 M (55/74) (Ms Ger cb used censor etc. dated 6.12.103); S. m. 32.216 M (27/29)
(Les deux postes) op com 3 acts 13. 3.1804 Bth Ger (Ms Ger cb); 628.825-B Th (Ger cb printed Vienna: Wallish.1806); Kth 355 (Ms score
pf d Paris Oc 26.4.1800 in Ger)
pf d Vienna in Ger, trans F. C. Teutsch, 1804 (Die zwei Posten)

67. Le déguisement pastoral St. Laurent 27.7.1744 Le Bret 12. 7.1756 Sch Fr ? (score in Fr)
(op com 1 act) original version pf d Paris, Foire Gluck &/or P. Van Maldegem
pf d Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1756. Some sources cite Gluck as being the composer of this opera; others van Maldegem. Both set the text (van Maldegem’s pf d Brussels 12.2.1759)
Maldegem stayed in Vienna c. summer 1756-1758

68. Delta et Verdikan Elleviou 29. 1.1807 Kth Ger 6x-29. 1.1807 S. m. 32.681 M (66/73), S. m. 32.682 M (26/37)
op com 1 act H. M. Berton 9. 2.1807 Bth Ger (Ms cb in Ger); Kth 106 (Ms score in Ger)
pf d Paris Oc 8.3.1805
pf d Vienna in Ger, trans I. (Delta und Verdikan) Kth & Bth 1807
69. Le délire ou les suites d'une erreur
   op com 1 act
   pfd Paris OC 7.12.1799
   pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1826 KTh; in Ger, trans? (Der Wahnsinn) 1831 KTh

70. Démosthène
   Desrousseaux (based on Metastasio's Demosthène)
   pfd Paris ARN or 22.9.1789
   pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Castelli, (Démosthène, Démosthée) (both given) musical additions I. von Seyfried, 1808 adW

71. ? Depuis et de Romais (Dupuis et Desromais)
   op com 3 acts
   pfd Paris?
   probably a play rather than opera and pfd in Vienna by Fr players from 1764; but cited also as an opera pfd KTh 1780/81

Der französischer Deserteur, see Le désertereur

72. Le désertereur
   op com 3 acts
   pfd Paris Cl 6.3.1769

73. Les deux avares
   pfd Font 27.10.1770, Cl 6.12.1770

74. Les deux aveugles de Tolède
   pfd Paris OC 28.1.1806
   pfd Vienna in Ger, trans ? (Die zwey Blinden von Toledo)
75. Les deux chasseurs et la laitière 1764 & 1776 Br. or Lax Fr
com as d'ariettes 1 act
pdf Paris CI 21.6. or 7.1763

76. Les deux co(m)nasses 1780-1781 Kth ?
op com 2 acts
pfd Paris c. 1778
arranged by Framery (parody of Figiello)

77. Les deux cousines 1765 Bth Fr
op com 1 act
pfd Paris CI 21.5.1765
La Ribardière & Desbrosses

Les deux générales, see L'auberge des Bagnères pdf Vienna 28.6.1810 as Die beiden Generale and announced in the Viennese paper Thalia under the invented French title Les Deux générales' Catel's opera was never known by that name.

Les deux jalous 1780-1781 Kth ?
op vv 1 act ? (see below)
at the latest: ix

Les deux journées 1802 Kth & Bth: 1802-778- A M (text in Ger, printed Vienna; Wallenhuber, 1802), S.m. 32.291 (62/82) (text in Ger, Ms); 1811 Kth: OA 325 & OA 459 (scores with Ger text Ms)
pfd Vienna in Ger under several titles: 'Graf Armond oder die unversehrten Tage', trans H. G. Schäfer, from 31.8.1802 adw; and as 'Die Tage der Gefahr', trans Triebschke, in the production opening following night at Kth; from 21.11.1803 (after the French occupation) name of op changed at Kth to 'Graf Armond'; a production at Jth in 1844 called the opera 'Der Wasserträger'; this title also used by Kth in 1856.
80. Les deux maris
op com 1 act
pdf Paris Oc 18.3.1816
pdf Vienna in Ger, trans I. F. Cacelli (Die beiden Erben, or, Die beiden Ehen)
Etienne
30.7.1819 KTh Ger
Issoud
23x-4.6.1829
text in Ger (Mu): S.m. 32.327-330;
OA 115 (score with Ger text, & prompt copy)
1808 BTh & KTh: S.m. 32.099 M (81/23),
S.m. 32.098 M (161/140) (texts in Ger, Mu);
987.119 - A M (text in Ger, printed Vienna: Wallishauer, 1808)
1824 KTh: OA 140 (score with Ger
text (Mu))

81. Les deux mots ou une nuit dans la
forêt
op com 1 act
pdf Paris Oc 9.6.1806
Marcollier
9.7.1807 aDW Ger
Dalayrac
11.3.1808 BTh Ger
23.3.1808 KTh Ger
12.8.1810 Hig Ger
10.7.1817 KTh Ger
12.5.1823 LTh Ger
11.2.1826 JTh Ger
13.12.1824 KTh Ger
28x-21.12.1816
16x-7.5.1809
23x-3.1.1820
2x-13.5.1823
58x-24.9.1830
1808 BTh & KTh: S.m. 32.099 M (81/23),
S.m. 32.098 M (161/140) (texts in Ger, Mu);
987.119 - A M (text in Ger, printed Vienna: Wallishauer, 1808)
1824 KTh: OA 140 (score with Ger
text (Mu))

82. Les deux mousquetaires ou la robe
de chambre
op com 1 act
pdf Vienna Oc 22.12.1824
pdf Vienna in Ger, trans Castelli (Uniform und Schlaflrock), 1829 KTh
Justin-Gensoul & Vial
26.4.1829 KTh Ger
Berton
29x-5.11.1836
S.m. 32.400 (text in Ger (Mu))
S.m. 32.527, S.m. 32.607, S.m. 32.466
(texts in Ger, Mu), KT 311 (score with Ger text, Mu)

83. Les deux nuits
op com 3 acts
pdf Paris Oc 20.5.1829
pdf Vienna in Ger, trans Castelli (Die beiden Nächte), 1834 KTh
Scribe & (after Bouilly)
17.5.1834 KTh Ger
Bossletz
3x-20.5.1834

84. Les deux petits Savoyards
op com 1 act
pdf Paris CI 14.1.1789
pdf Vienna in Ger; trans J. Perinet (Die zween Savoyarden) 1792 LTh; trans Schmider (Die beiden kleinen Savoyarden) 1792 aDW; trans
Marsollier
13.12.1792 LTh Ger
Dalayrac
14.12.1792 FTh Ger
24.10.1804 KTh Ger
25.10.1804 BTh Ger
28.1.1813 KTh Ger
44x-1.7.1825
66x-22.5.1810
16x-24.5.1814

85. Le Devin du village
op com 1 act
pdf Font 18.10.1752 & with Rousseau's recits & overture 1.3.1753 ARR
pdf Vienna in Fr by Fr troupe 1760
J. J. Rousseau
9.11.1760 BTh Fr
at least
3x-8.10.1761

(French score and text)
### 86. Le diable à quatre ou la double métamorphose, op com 3 acts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pd</th>
<th>Paris Opéra S. L. 19.6.1756</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pd</td>
<td>Vienna, Fr by Fr players from 1761; Pd Vienna in Ger, trans Weiss, 3a a play, 29.4.1767 Die doppelte Verwandlung; other settings of story p.d. in Vienna include: end 1751 Der krumme Teufel, music by Haydn; spring 1752 Der neue krumme Teufel KTh; 11.11.1764 KTh Der geprägelte Teufel, music &quot;Müller&quot;; 24.11.1770 KTh Anmodes der krumme Teufel; 4.11.1782 KTh Der krumme Teufel; 28.9.1783 Vas Der krumme Teufel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pd</td>
<td>at least 5x-25.4.1761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pd</td>
<td>(French score &amp; text)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### 87. Les diamants de la couronne, op com 3 acts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pd</th>
<th>Paris Opéra 6.3.1841</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pd</td>
<td>Vienna, in Ger, trans W. A. Svoboda, (Die Kroniamanten) 1849 KTh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pd</td>
<td>1849 KTh: S.m. 32.721-722 (texts in Ger, Ms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pd</td>
<td>OA 1266 (printed score in Fr, Paris, Troupenas &amp; Cie, n.d. with Ms Ger text) OA 1401, OA 1402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pd</td>
<td>(printed piano scores with French &amp; Ger text Mains: Schott)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pd</td>
<td>1832 KTh: S.m. 32.458-459 (texts in Ger, Ms), 907.240 (text in Ger, printed Mains: Wirch)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### 88. Le dieu et la bayadère, ou la courtisane amoureuse, opéra-ballet 2 acts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pd</th>
<th>Paris 13.10.1830</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pd</td>
<td>Vienna, in Ger, trans L. Herz (Der dieu und die Bayadere, sometimes also referred to as Der Gott und die Bayadere or Die liebende Bayadere), 1832 &amp; 1852 KTh &amp; 1866 Nar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pd</td>
<td>1865 KTh production: S.m. 32.885 (text in Ger, Ms used by director); 987.788-8A &amp; 987.789 (texts in Ger, printed) OA 331 (score with Ger text, Ms) OA 1552, OA 1553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pd</td>
<td>(printed piano score with Italian/Ger text &amp; Italian text)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### 89. Dom Sébastien roi de Portugal, grand opéra 3 acts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pd</th>
<th>Paris 13.11.1843</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pd</td>
<td>Vienna, in Ger, trans L. Herz (Don or Dom Sebastian), 1845,1872,1881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pd</td>
<td>1845 KTh production: S.m. 32.644, S.m. 32.645, S.m. 32.645, S.m. 32.647, (Ms tbs in Ger) OA 1351 &amp; OA 1391 (printed scores with Fr &amp; Ger text)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### 90. Le domino noir

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pd</th>
<th>Paris 2.12.1837</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pd</td>
<td>Vienna, in Ger, trans L. Herz (Der schwarze Domino), 1846, 1847, 1864, 1868, 1867, 1871, 1909, etc. into 20C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pd</td>
<td>Die doppelte Erkenntlichkeit, see Colomette à la cour ou la double épreuve</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### 91. La dot de Suzette

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pd</th>
<th>Paris 4 acts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pd</td>
<td>This is probably an Austrian opera by Adolf Müller set to a Fr text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pd</td>
<td>Vienna, in Ger, trans F. Blum: Die beiden Waisen 1844 aW; Die beiden Waisen or perhaps just Die beiden Waisen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pd</td>
<td>Cadiche und Suzette, die Mütter aus Bretagne, 1849 aW. As p.d. in Vienna, the opera claims to contain &quot;additional music by Adolf Müller sen&quot; with other numbers by Dominetti and Auber. Probably it was an original score by Ad. Müller, or perhaps a pasticcio including some French numbers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pd</td>
<td>Boieldieu wrote an opera La dot de Suzette, 1 act, libretto by Dejaure, after J. Flévée, p.d. Paris Salie Favart 5.9.188; also, an opera of this name was written by John Uehrich. Neither was p.d. in Vienna.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
92. La double échelle  
op com 1 act  
Planard  
A. Thomas  
pfd Paris OC 23.8.1837  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans K Blum (Die Doppelleiter), 1837 KTh

93. La double épreuve ou Colinette  
à la cour  
op 3 acts  
Lourde de Samterre (after Favart)  
Grétry's version pfd Paris O 1.1.1782  
Grétry & Süssmayer  
(see also earlier settings of this Favart text, called both Ninette à la cour & Le caprice amoureux), the 1782 setting by Grétry pfd Vienna in Ger,  
trans Huber (Die doppelte Erscheinlichkeit) with musical additions Süssmayer 1796 onwards KTh & BTh

94. "Du sorcier"  
op com 2 acts  
pfd Vienna in Fr 1780-1781; probably Le sorcier by Philidor

95. Le duel comique  
op com 2 acts  
G. B. Lorenzi, adapted  
for Fr stage by M. Holme  
Paesiello & de Méreux

pfd Naples, spring 1774 in 1 act, in Italian; pfd Vienna BTh 15. 7.1775 in Italian  
pfd Paris OC 10.9.1776 in Fr, adapted M. Holme with additional music by J. M. A. F. de Méreux; pfd Vienna in Ger, trans from the French C. G. Neefe (Der lächlerische Zweikampf) 1786 BTh

Il duello, see Le duel comique

96. Les dupes  
op com 1 act  
pfd Vienna in Fr 1780-81 by French players

97. L'eau de jouvenance  
op com 2 acts  
Duvert & Xavier (X.B.)  
Steinlein  
C. Kreutzer  
pfd Paris Oddonch 13.10.1827  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Freiherr v. Braun (Die verjüngerungs(-) Esseen), 1838 KTh
98. **L'Échelle de sole**
op com 1 act
pfd Paris AC 22.8.1808
pfd Vienna in Ger, tr. Castelli (Der Strickleister) 1814 KTh, 1823 KTh, 1840 KTh

99. **L'Éclair**
op 3 acts
pfd Paris OC 16.12.1835
pfd Vienna in Ger, tr. Ribics, (Der Blitz) 1845, 1848, 1869, 1881 also: 1881

100. **L'Égyp-tienne**
op par 2 acts
pfd Paris CI 28.7.1755
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players, 1758

*Der eifersüchtige Kranke, see Le jaloux Malade ou Amour et Surprise*

*Der eifersüchtige Liebhaber, see Les fausses apparences*

*Der Einsiedler auf dem wüsten Berge, see Le Solitaire*

101. **Elisa, ou Le voyage aux glaciers**
du mont St. - Bernard
op com 2 acts
pfd Paris TF 13.12.1794
pfd Vienna in Ger, tr. J. von Seyfried (Der Bernhardsberg), 1802 adW

102. **Emma, ou la promesse imprudente**
op com 3 acts
pfd Paris OC 7.7.1821
pfd Vienna in Ger, tr. K. J. Braun vom Brauchthal (Emma oder die Übersezung) 1835, KTh

103. **L'erreur d'un moment ou la suite de Julie**
de Julie
op com 3 acts
1st pfd Paris CI 14.6.1773
pfd Vienna in Fr by French troupe 1775 and 1780-81

*French textbook in Nationalbibliothek
641.426-B.M., Wien 1775*
104. Euphrosine ou le tyrann corrigé  
F. B. Hoffman  
(Euphrosyne et Coradin) op in 3, 4,  
Ménil  
19. 9.1795 Fnt Ger  
16. 8.1806 Adw Ger  
10x-7. 1.1807  
then 3 acts  
pfd Paris Cl 4.9.1790 5 acts; 11.9.1790 4 acts; 22.8.1795 3 acts  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Ulaseke, (Dte Hiltshüttige, or Euphrosyne) 1795 Fnt, 1806 Adw, musical additions Seyfried

105. Les événements imprévus  
T. d'Hèle  
op com 3 acts  
Grétry  
1780-81 Kth Fr  
4x-19, 9.1781  
pfd Versailles 11.11.1779; Paris Cl 13.11.1779  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans G. Stephanie d.J., (Die unvermuhten Zufälle) 1781 Bth  
Kth 478 (score in Ger. Ms)  
Die Familie auf Isle de France, see Paul et Virginie

106. La famille américaine  
Bouilly  
op com 1 act  
Dalayrac  
pfd Paris OC 20.2.1796  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans. J. Seyfried (Die amerikanische Familie) 1810 Adw

107. La famille des innocens,  
7 Destouches  
(le triple mariage) op vv 1 act  
J. G. Gillier  
or "Le triple mariage" pfd Paris Com Fr 7.7.1776  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players during Napoleonic occupation, chosen for closing night of Fr theatre there; sometimes called La famille des émigrés  
7 Der Fassbinder, see Le tonnelier  
La fausse aventurière, see La fausse esclave

108. La fausse esclave  
Anseeau & Marconville  
op com 1 act  
Gluck  
1758 Bth 7 Sc Fr  
31. 5.1759 Lux Fr  
text act by Harlotti, pfd Paris 22.3.1756 Fr as La fausse aventurière  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players, included vaudevilles and 13 numbers by Gluck  
score & text in French

109. La fausse magie  
Marmontel  
op com 2 acts (later 1 act)  
Grétry  
1780-81 Kth Fr  
27.10.1780 Kth Ger  
34x-17.12.1786  
1778 onwards Bth 5 Clth: 845,000 - A Th  
368 and 528,712-B Th (texts in Ger, printed Vienna; Logen 1778 & 1780)  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans G. Stephanie (Die abergedete Zauberer) 1778 onwards; pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players during French occupation of 1809

110. Les fausses apparences, ou l'amant jaloux  
d'Hèle (after S. Gentileve)  
1780-81 Kth Fr  
12.10.1780 Bth Ger  
19x-8. 8.1787  
S.m. 641,433-A M 13 (ger textbook printed Vienna; Logenmeister, 1780)  
pfd Paris Wrs. 20.11.1778; Cl 23.12.1778  
pfd Vienna in Ger trans G. Stephanie d.J. (Der eifersüchtige Liebhaber (also called Die eifersüchtigen Liebhaber))
111. Le faux recruteur

| Neumann | 1800 |

op com

| Pfd Paris |

pfd Vienna in 1800 apparently under this Fr title, but Towers gives also a Ger title 'Der falsche Weber'; Clement indicates that performance in 1800 in Vienna was the opera's première, know nothing about composer.

112. "La Fée brillante"

| Favart & de Voisenon |

25. 1.1764 K Fr

| "Dumi" |

This opera is doubtful. If the date of its performance in Vienna is correct, it cannot have been Dumi's La fée Urgèle, 1st pfd in Paris October, 1765. No other work by Dumi seems to fit this title. Perhaps an earlier setting or arrangement of Favart's text.

113. La fée Urgèle ou ce qui plaît aux dames

| Favart (after Chaucer & Voltaire & ? de Voisenon) |

Nov. 1780 Kth Fr

| pfd Font 26.10.1765; Paris Cl |

4.12.1765

| pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players, 1780; Pleyel's setting of the text, Die Fée Urgelé, Marionette opera written for Esterhaza, had been pfd Vienna Kth 1776 in Ger for a possible earlier appearance in Vienna of this text, see La fée brillante no. 112 |

114. Félix ou l'enfant trouvé

| Sedaine |

16.10.1785 Kth Fr

| op com 3 acts |

2x-18.10.1785

| pfd Font 10.11.1777; Paris Cl 24.11.1777 |

| Kth 151 (score in Ger, Ms) |

| pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. André (Felix oder der Findling) 1785 Kth |

115. Les femmes vengées ou les feintes infidélités

| Sedaine (after Fontaine) |

25. 1.1776 BKth Fr

| op com 1 act |

Phildor

| pfd in Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1776 |

116. La fermière écossaise

| Collet de Nessine |

1780/1781 Kth Fr

| (Sara ou la fermière écossaise) |

| Vachon |

| pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1780/1781 Kth as "La fermière écossaise" |

117. Fernand Cortez ou la conquête du Mexique

| Esnérard & Etienne de Jouy (based on A. Piron) |

26. 5.1812 Kth Ger

| op hér 3 acts + ba |

1821 productions: S.m. 32.229 (text in Ger Ms);

| pfd Paris 0 28.11.1809 |

| Spontini |

39x-31. 3.1814

| 1818 productions: S.m. 32.316, S.m. 32.315 (text in Ger, Ms), 987.015-80 text printed Vienna: Wallishausen, 1819 |

| 1833: productions: S.m. 32.343 (text in Ger, Ms) |

| 1854: OA 34 (score in Ger, Ms) |

| 1812, 1817, 1818, 1823, (in a new version by Spontini 1818). |
118. La fée d'amour ou Lucas et Colinette, op com 1 act
Madame & C. S. Favart 1757 BTH Fr at least
pfd Paris Cl 5.12.1756 various composer 1761 at court
pfd Vienna in Fr by French players, 1757 as "Les amours de Lucas et de Colinette"

119. La fée du village voisin
Saurin 5. 5.1817 KTH Ger
Boieldieu 6. 8.1819 LTH Ger
pfd Paris OC 5.3.1816
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Castelli, (Der Kirchtag in benachbarten Dorfe) 1817 KTH, 1819 LTH. 1819 pfd at LTH doubtful: Also on 21.8.1819 Poss by Wenzel Müller & Hafl "Der Kirchtag in Petersdorf" pfd at LTH. This work has not been identified as having any connection with the Boieldieu.

It is possible that 2 works of similar names were given at LTH on same date, but more likely just the one by Wenzel Müller

Feuer und Wasser, see La boucle de cheveux

120. La fiancée
op com 3 acts
Scribe 21. 4.1831 KTH Ger
pfd Paris OC 10.1.1829 Aubert
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans F. A. Ritter, (Die Braut (or Die verlochte)) 1831 onwards KTH

121. Le fidèle berger
op com 2 acts
Scribe & Vernoy de Saint-Georges 25. 6.1839 JTH Ger
pfd Paris OC 6.1.1838 Adam
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans C. A. L. von Lichtenstein (Zum treuen Schäfer) 1839 JTH, 1848 KTH; vv under same name, 3 acts, pfd JTH 1845

122. La fille du régiment
op com 2 acts
Vernoy de Saint-Georges & J. F. A. Bayard 11. 5.1841 KTH It
pfd Paris OC 11.2.1840 Donizetti
19. 9.1843 KTH It
13. 6.1844 LTH Ger
13. 6.1844 JTH Ger
7. 8.1847 aD W Ger
13. 2.1862 FJK Ger
2. 4.1876 KTH Ger
6. 9.1899 KTH Ger
19m-10.11.1910
pfd Vienna in Italian 1841, (La figlia del reggimento), and probably also in 1843, (perhaps under a German title); pfd in Ger as Marie, die Tochter des Regiments, or Marie die Regimentstochter; trans F. Blum, 1844 JTH; trans Gollmick, 1844 JTH, 1847 aD W, 1862 FJK. From 1876 into 20C as Die Regimentstochter

123. La fille mal gardée (le pèdent amoureux)
com vv, parody at Monet's "La Provençale"
Sme Favart, C. S. Favart, & 4.11.1764 BTH Fr
pfd Paris Cl 4.3.1758 Lourdet Ge Santeur & or 4. 2.1764 BTH Fr
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1764

at least:

2x- 7.11.1764

(Ns tbs in Ger): S.m. 32.673 (censor); S.m. 32.727 (prompt); OA 203 (Ms score in Ger)

(Ns tbs in It): S.m. 32.952 (text in Ger, Ms), S.m. 32.955 (Indications sur la mise en scène de la Fiançée)
OA 52 (score with Ger text + prompt copy, Ms)

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Op. / Act</th>
<th>Op. / Act</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>Fiorella op com 3 acts</td>
<td>Scribe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.3.1829</td>
<td>3e-21. 2.1829, 1831 Kth S.m. 32.625 (text in Ger, Ms), 987.517</td>
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<td>op com 3 acts</td>
<td>Auber</td>
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<td>3.1831</td>
<td>(songs etc. printed Berlin n.d.), KT 161 (score with Ger text &amp; dialogue, Ms), OA 106 (score with Ger text and dialogue, Ms)</td>
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<td>4e-10. 3.1831</td>
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<td>pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Castelli, (Das Pilgerhaus) 1829 adW, (Fiorella oder Das Hospitum St. Lorenzo)</td>
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<td>125</td>
<td>Une folle op com 2 acts</td>
<td>Bouilly</td>
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<td>24. 5.1803</td>
<td>7e6-11. 6.1811, 1809 Kth S.m. 32.340 &amp; S.m. 32.341 (texts in Ger, Ms), OA 127 (score with Ger text &amp; dialogue, Ms)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>op com 2 acts</td>
<td>Méhul</td>
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<td>22. 6.1809</td>
<td>2e-13. 7.1809, 1809 Kth S.m. 32.340 &amp; S.m. 32.341 (texts in Ger, Ms), OA 127 (score with Ger text &amp; dialogue, Ms)</td>
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<td>pfd Paris OC 5.4.1802</td>
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<td>23. 9.1810</td>
<td>26x-14. 4.1819, 1841 Kth S.m. 32.339 (text in Ger, Ms)</td>
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<td>31. 9.1814</td>
<td>18a-24. 3.1836, 1841 Kth S.m. 32.339 (text in Ger, Ms)</td>
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<td>13. 9.1823</td>
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<td>5e- 3. 1.864</td>
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<td>pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players during Napoleonic occupation 1809;</td>
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<td>trans J. von Seyfried (Die beyden Füchse, or perhaps just Die beyden Füchse), 1814, 1831, 1841. Kth</td>
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<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>Fosco ou le fiancé op vv 3 acts</td>
<td>T Berton</td>
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<td>10. 2.1845</td>
<td>1x, 1809 BTH S.m. 32.797 (Kth 1830), S.m. 32.798 (adW 1843) etc. and scores and texts from later productions</td>
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<td>pfd Paris 7</td>
<td>Antoine Roth</td>
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<td>pfd Vienna in ? Fr 1845 allegedly with music by an Antoine Roth and</td>
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<td>either libretto or additional music by Berton</td>
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<td></td>
<td>op 3 acts</td>
<td>Auber</td>
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<td>15. 9.1832</td>
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<td>1804, 1869, 1882, 1899, 1923, 1948, 1955</td>
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<td></td>
<td>pfd Vienna in Ger trans Ritter (Fra Diavolo oder Das Gasthaus von/in Terracina) 1830, 1832, 1843 etc.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Der Freund des Hauses, see L'amis de la maison</td>
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<td>Die Freundschaft auf der Probe, see L'amitié à l'épreuve</td>
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<td>128</td>
<td>Fosine ou la dernière venue op vv 1 act</td>
<td>J. B. Radet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18. 6.1809</td>
<td>2x, 1804, 1807 Kth S.m. 32.625 (text in Ger, Ms)</td>
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<td>op vv 1 act</td>
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<td>pfd Paris ?</td>
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<td>pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1809, Ger title also given on poster (Die letzte Ankunft) BTH &amp; KTH; might be either of 2 operas: Fosine (La négresse) by Dorvigny and Gaultier, op com 1 act pfd Paris JA 24.12.1801, or (more likely) La négresse (Le pouvoir de la reconnaissance) by Barré, Radet and</td>
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<td>Lascot, op vv 1 act, pfd Paris Cl 15.6.1787</td>
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<td>Die beyden Füchse, see La Folle</td>
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<td>Die Gabe für sich einzuschenen, see Le Vicomte de Léоторières</td>
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<td>130</td>
<td>Gabrielle d'Estrees ou les amours d'Henri IV op com 3 acts</td>
<td>Saint-Just</td>
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<td>15. 6.1807</td>
<td>7e-21. 7.1809, 1807 adW. KT 176 (score in Ger, Ms)</td>
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<td>op com 3 acts</td>
<td>Möhub</td>
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<td>pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Treischke (Gabrielle d'Estrees), with musical additions Seyfried, 1807 adW</td>
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<td>No.</td>
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<td>Librettiste</td>
<td>Date(s) de l'Opéra</td>
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<td>130</td>
<td>Le grand deuil</td>
<td>Vial &amp; Etienne</td>
<td>4.2.1804 à 5.2.1804</td>
<td>adW Ger, 2x-5.2.1804</td>
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<td>op con 1 act</td>
<td>H. H. Berton</td>
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<td>pfd Paris GC 21.1.1801</td>
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<td>pfd Vienna in Ger trans? (Die tiefe Trauer) 1804 adW</td>
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<td>Favières (fils)</td>
<td>3.9.1809 KTh Ger</td>
<td>6x-14.11.1809</td>
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<td>op con 1 act</td>
<td>L. E. Jadin</td>
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<td>pfd Paris TF 14.10.1805</td>
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<td>pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players during Napoleonic occupation 1809, German title also given on poster (Der Grossvater oder: Die zwy Alter)</td>
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<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>Guido et Ginevra ou la peste de Florence op 5 acts</td>
<td>A, E. Scribe</td>
<td>4.5.1841 JTh Ger</td>
<td>4x-16.1.1844</td>
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<td>Malévy</td>
<td>5.1.1844 KTh Ger</td>
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<td>pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J.C. Grünbaum (Guido und Ginevra) 1841 JTh &amp; 1844 KTh (?perhaps translation by Ott)</td>
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<td>133</td>
<td>Guillaume Tell</td>
<td>de Jouy &amp; H.L.F. Bis</td>
<td>25.6.1830 KTh It acts I &amp; II 3x</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Op 4 acts</td>
<td>Rossini</td>
<td>22.7.1830 KTh It acts III &amp; IV 4x</td>
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<td>pfd Paris 0 3.8.1829</td>
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<td>2.8.1830 KTh Ger</td>
<td>85x-8.11.1847</td>
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<td>19.4.1833 JTh Ger</td>
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<td>9.4.1853 KTh It</td>
<td>119x-4.6.1869</td>
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<td>27.6.1869 KTh It</td>
<td>156x-24.2.1904 (new production 1905 etc.)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>pfd Vienna in Fr in two parts 1830 and in 1853 (Guglielmo Tell), and in Ger trans Haupt (Wilhelm Tell) 1830 KTh &amp; 1833 JTh, performed into 20C</td>
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<td>134</td>
<td>Gulistan ou le Hulla de Samarcande op con 3 acts</td>
<td>Etienne</td>
<td>2.8.1806 KTh Ger</td>
<td>40x-22.6.1808</td>
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<td>&amp; Lachabeausière</td>
<td>3.8.1806 KTh Ger</td>
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<td>pfd Paris GC 30.9.1805</td>
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<td>3.10.1827 KTh Ger</td>
<td>5x</td>
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<td></td>
<td>pfd Vienna in Ger, trans? (Gulistan oder der Hulla von Samarkanda), 1806 KTh &amp; BTh, 1827 KTh</td>
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<td>1806 production: S.m. 32.844 M (62/67) (cedG in Ger Na, censor's copy etc), 615/912-A Th (text in Ger printed Vienna;Hussleider, 1806); 1827 production: 987.779-A M (text in Ger printed Vienna;Hussleider, 1806), KT 196 (score with Ger text &amp; prompt copy, Na)</td>
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135. Gustave III ou le bal masqué  
   Scribe  26. 9.1835 Kth Ger  10x-15.12.1852  
   pdf Paris 0 27.2.1833  
   pd Vienna in Ger trans J. von Seyfried & G. E. von Hofmann (Die Ballnacht) 1835 Kth, 1838 Jth, 1857 and 1877 Kth  
   S.m. 32.071 (text in Ger, Ms), 987.082- A M  
   (text in Ger, printed Vienna: Hausberger, 1835),  
   OA 239 (score in Ger, Ms)

   Der gutherzige Alte, see Le vieux bonhomme ou Paulet et Fanchon

   Die Haarlocke, see La boucle de cheveux

   Die Hasen in der Hasenheide, see Le rendez-vous bourgeois

   Hauptmann Palmer, see Le major Palmer

   Der Hausfreund, see L'ami de la maison

136. Haydée ou le secret  
   Scribe  28.12.1848 Jth Ger  3x-21.11.1849  
   Op 3 acts  10.11.1849 Kth Ger  1849 Kth: (texts in Ger, Ms); S.m. 32.436-438;  
   pdf Paris OC 28.12.1847  
   pd Vienna in Ger trans ? (Haydée, oder das Geheimnis), 1848 Jth & 1849 Kth  
   987.216 (text in Ger, printed); OA 217 (score in Ger, Ms)

   Die heftige junge Frau, see La jeune femme colère

   Das Heilmittel, La médecine sans médecin

137. Hélène  
   Scribe  22. 8.1803 Kth Ger  18x-12.12.1806  
   op com 3 acts  2. 9.1803 Bth Ger  1803 Kth & Bth: S.m. 32.930 H (46/33) (text in  
   pdf Paris OC 1.3.1803  
   Ger, Ms), 641.433-AH 9 (text in Ger, printed  
   Vienna: Wallisheimer, 1803)

   pd Vienna in Ger trans C. F. Treitschke (Helene) 1803 Kth & Bth, and Voll 1803 adW & 1827 Jth, the latter with musical additions by Paer & Nascioli as Helene, FDrasin v. Tarasken

138. L'Héraclit (Le triomphe de la beauté)  
   Scribe  1780/1781 Kth Fr  6x-5.11.1815  
   op com 2 acts  1780/1781 Fr by Fr players 1780/1781  
   pd Vienna in Fr trans Castelli as Der General  
   German Ms textbooks: 32,845 (censor & prompt);  
   S.m. 32,846 (prompt); S.m. 32,898 (MWeber)

139. L'héritier de Pamplou  
   Scribe  16. 9.1815 Kth Ger  6x-5.11.1815  
   op com 3 acts  1780/1781 Kth Fr  6x-5.11.1815  
   pd Vienna in Ger 1815 Kth trans Castelli as Der General  
   German Ms textbooks: 32,845 (censor & prompt);  
   S.m. 32,846 (prompt); S.m. 32,898 (MWeber)
140. Une heure de mariage
op com 1 act
pfé Paris 20.3.1804
pfé Vienna in Ger, trans J. Sonneleithner, (Die kurze Ehe) 1804 Bth & Kth

Der Holzschumacher, see Les sabotiers

141. L'Horlogerie portugaise
op com 1 act
pfé Paris 25.7.1798
pfé Vienna in Ger, trans Treitschke (Der portugiesische Gasthof) 1803, 1812, 1819

Der Hufschmied, see Le maréchal ferrant

142. Les huguenots
op 3 acts
pfé Paris 29.2.1836
pfé Vienna in Ger, trans Ott, (Die Hugenotten/Gibellinen) in Pisa 1839 JTh; trans L. F. Costelli, (Die Waffen und Die Gibellinen) 1839 KTh (and as Die Hugenotten) 1848 KTh, trans Ott (Die Hugenotten 1846 adW; also pfé 1863 FKJ 1867 KO, several productions in Germany after 1900; pfé Vienna in Italian as Gli Ugonotti) 1876 O & 1883 CTh

143. Le Huron
op com 2 acts
pfé Paris 20.8.1768
pfé Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1780/1781; in Ger trans C. L. Reuling 1770,1776,1783

144. L'ile de Merlin, ou le monde renversé
op com 1 act
original text pfé Paris Théâtre SL
pfé Vienna 1758 by Fr players; large parts of music used for modern pastiche opera Die Maienkönigin, text H. Kalbeck, arranged J. N. Fuchs, pfé Vienna 13.5.1888

L'Ile des fous, see L'Ile des fous
145. Il est à la campagne (Le mat à la campagne)  
Bayard & Jules de Wailly  
31. 1.1846 KTh Fr  
2x- 6. 2.1846  
641.440-C M S9 (Text in Fr printed Paris; Dondey – Dupré n.d.)

146. L’importé  
Marsollier  
9. 7.1803 adW Ger  
4x-30. 8.1803  
S.m. 32.447 M (text in Ger, Ms), 628.827 – B  
Th (text in Ger, printed Vienna: Wallisauer,1806); K726 (score  
in Ger, Ms) 1867; OA 1634 (score with Ger & Fr  
text printed Berlin: Challier, n.d.)  
also later material

147. L’intrigue aux fenêtres  
Bouilly & Mercier Dupaty  
17. 1.1806 KTh Ger  
51x-20. 4.1809  
1808 KTh & BThs; 641.433-A M 11, (text in Ger  
printed Vienna: Wallisauer,1808), K726 (score  
in Ger, Ms) 1867; OA 1634 (score with Ger & Fr  
text printed Berlin: Challier, n.d.)  
also later material

148. Iphigénie en Aulide  
du Boullet (after Racine)  
Gluck  
14.12.1808 KTh Ger  
14x-27.10.1810  
1807 KTh & BThs; S.m. 32.079 M (96/88) (text in Ger  
Ms), 641.433 – A M 11 (text in Ger  
printed Vienna; Fichler 1807)  
Material from 1873, 1884 productions

149. Iphigénie en Tauride  
Guillard & du Boullet  
Gluck  
23.10.1781 BTh Ger  
11x- 7. 2.1782  
1856, 1870, 1866, 1869

150. Isabelle et Gertrude ou les  
symphes supposées  
Favart  
1759 Lax or Sch Fr  
(score in French)
151. L'Île (ou Île) des fous
com par m. d'aristes 2 acts
(parity of Goldoni's L'Arcifanfano);
Anseaume, Marconville &
Bertin d'Antilly
7. 7.1761 Bth Fr
1763 court Fr
(pfîd Paris Cl 29.12.1760)
Duni
(pfîd Vienna in Fr by Fr players from 1761)
(score & text in French)

152. L'îvrogne corrigé
op com 2 acts
Anseaume & L. de Santerre
Gluck
1750 Bth Fr
April 1760 Bth Fr
(at least)
1781 ? Ger
2x- 1761
(pfîd Paris in Fr by Fr players 1760; pfîd in Ger as Der letzte Rausch trans ? (translation pub anonymously Hannheim 1780) by troupe of child actors 1781
(he also given in Gocha as Der bekehrte Trunkenbold)
(score & text in Fr)

153. Jadis et aujourd'hui
op vv 1 act
Sarvin
22. 9.1826 Kth Fr
B. Kreutzer
1x
S.m. 32.267 (text in ? Fr, Ms)
pfîd Paris OC 29.10.1808
pfîd Vienna in Fr by Fr players visiting Vienna 1826

154. Le jaloux malade ou Amour et Surprise
op vv in 1 act
Dupay
20.10.1809 Bth Fr
Doche
2x- 2.11.1809
(pfîd Paris ?
(he also given in Ger as Der letzte Rausch trans ? (translation pub anonymously Hannheim 1780) by troupe of child actors 1781
(Ger title also given on poster: Der eifersüchtige Kranke oder Liebe und Überraschung
Le jardinter supposed, see L'amant déguisé

155. Jean de Paris
op com 2 acts
Saint-Just & Godard
20. 8.1812 Kth Ger
d'Aucour
29. 8.1812 adw Ger
Boieldieu
4. 6.1817 Lth Ger
8. 4.1824 Jth Ger
(19. 5.1826 adw Ger scene only)
28.11.1819 O Ger
1. 3.1886 O Ger
13. 1.1923 O Ger
Kth 1812: (texts in Ger, Ms): S.m.
32.051-32.053 (censor's copy, prompt copy, etc.), OA 1308 (score with Ger text Ms) OA 359 (score with Ger text, "Schlagerpart"), also texts & score from 1879 ecc
pfîd Vienna in Ger (Johann von Paris) trans Castelli 1812 Kth, trans J. Seyfried 1812 adw; pfîd into 20C

156. Jeannot et Colin
op com 3 acts
Etienne
9.11.1815 Kth Ger
Isouard
11x-30. 1.1816
132.329-B (text in Fr, printed Paris: Barba 1814), K 232 (score in Ger & prompt copy)
pfîd Paris OC 17.10.1814
pfîd Vienna in Ger, trans Castelli, (Jeannot und Collin) 1815 Kth
157. La Jérusalem délivrée (or Jérusalem déshabillée) (or Codefoy de Bouillon) Tasso
3 acts ballet
pfé Paris 0 15.9.1812 Persius
pfé Vienna in Ger, trans J. von Seyfried, (Das befreite Jerusalem) 1815 adW, ballet by Aumer
158. La jeune femme colère
op com 1 act
pfé St. Petersbourg Hermitage, 30.4.1805
pfé Vienna in Ger, trans J. Sonnleithner, (Die heftige junge Frau) 1809 KTh &8Th
159. La jeune prude ou les femmes entre elles op com 1 act
pfé Paris OC 14.1.1804
pfé Vienna in Ger as Die Spröde auf der Probe, trans ? 1804 KTh &8Th
160. Joanna
op com 2 acts
pfé Paris OC 23.11.1802
pfé Vienna in Ger, trans J. Seyfried, 1803 adW
161. Joconde ou les coueures d'aventures
op com 3 acts
pfé Paris OC 28.2.1814
pfé Vienna in Ger, trans J. von Seyfried, (Joconde oder Die Abenteuer (Das Rosenmädchen oder Die Abenteuer auf dem Lande))
162. Joseph
op com 3 acts
pfé Paris OC 17.2.1807
pfé Vienna in Ger, trans Hassaurek, (Joseph(f) (in Egypten) und seine Brüder) 1809 onwards, pfé 1809 with new final chorus by Seyfried
163. Un jour à Paris
op com 3 acts
pfé Paris OC 24.5.1808
pfé Vienna in Ger, trans C.A. Herklotz (Ein Tag in Paris) & with musical additions Seyfried, 1811 adW
### 164. La journée aux aventures
- **P. A. Capelle & L. Hestières-Miot**
- **1816**
- **11. 4.1818 KTh Ger**
- **S.m. 32.786 (text in Ger, Na) KT 432 (score with Ger text & prompt copy)**

**pf**d Paris 16.11.1816
- Méhul
- **pf**d Vienna in Ger, trans T. Hell (Der Tag voll Abenteuer), 1818 KTh

### 165. Le jugement de Midas
- **T. d'Hèle**
- **1780-1781 KTh**
- **pf**d Paris CI 28.3.1778 Mme. de Montessou's
- an opera of this name, allegedly in one act, is reported to have been **pf**d Vienna in Fr 1780-1781; it might have been this 3 act opera by Grétry

### 166. La Juive
- **Scribe**
- **3. 3.1836 KTh Ger**
- **10x-28. 2.1839**
- **pf**d Paris 0 23.2.1835
- **1836 KTh OA 1330 (score with Ger text, printed Berlin: Schlesinger, n.d.) also, scores texts from 1855 onwards**

**pf**d Vienna in Ger, trans J. Seyfried & G. E. von Hofmann(Die Jüdin) 1836 onwards, into 20C

### 167. Julie
- **Monvel**
- **7. 1775**
- **pf**d Paris 22. or 25. or 28.9.1772
- **pf**d Vienna in Ger, trans. J. H. Faber (Julie) 1775 & 1779 BTh; **pf**d Vienna in Fr 1776, 1780-81 by Fr players

### 168. Julie ou le pot de fleurs
- **A. G. Jars**
- **24. 9.1806 KTh Ger**
- **13x-18. 7.1807**
- **pf**d Paris OC 12.3.1805
- **pf**d Vienna in Ger, trans Treitschke, (Julie oder der Blumentopf) 1806 KTh & BTh

*Kalaf, oder Die Chinesen, see Koulouf ou les Chinois*

*Der Kalif von Bagdad, see Le calife de Bagdad*

*Der Kammendiener, see Le valet de chambre*

*Der Kirchtag im benachbarten Dorfe, see La fête du village voisin*

*Der Klausner auf dem wütten Berge, see La solitaire*

*Königin für einen Tag, see La reine d'un jour*

*Die Königin von Leon, see Ne touchez pas à la reine*

*Der Kossacken Offizier, see L'officier conquasi*
169. Koulouf ou les Chinois
op com 3 acts
pfd Paris OC 18.12.1806
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Treitschke, (Kalaf, oder die Chinesen) 1806 KTH & Bth
Pixérécourt
Dalyrac
20. 8.1808 KTh Ger
20. 9.1808 BTh Ger
8x-13.10.1808
Die Kroniamanten, see les diamants de la couronne

170. La leçon ou la tasse de glaces
op com 1 act
pfd Paris TF 24.5.1797
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. von Seyfried, (Der Becher Eis oder Die Zurechtweisung)
Marsollier
Dalyrac
4.12.1805 adW Ger
2x- 5.12.1805

171. Léhmann ou le tour de Neustadt
op com 3 acts
pfd Paris OC 12.12.1801
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J.G.F. Sievers (Der Turm von Gothenburg) 1803 adW
Marsollier
Dalyrac
31. 3.1803 adW Ger
40x-18. 9.1824

172. Leicester ou le château de Kenilworth
op com 3 acts
pfd Paris 25.1.1823
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Castelli, (Leicester, das Schloss Kenilworth) 1826 KTh
Scribe & Mélesville
Auber
(after Scott)
30.10.1826 KTh Ger
3x- 9. 9.1826

173. Léocadie
op com 3 acts
pfd Paris OC 4.11.1824
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans F. Elmenreich, (Anaïsotie), 1827 KTh
Scribe & Mélesville
Auber
(after Cervantes)
20.10.1827 KTh Ger
2x-13.12.1827

174. Léon ou le château de Monténégro
op com 3 acts
pfd Paris OC 15.10.1798
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Ihle, (Das Schloss von Montenegro) 1804 adW, 1824 JTh (Das Schloss von Montenegro)
Hoffman
Dalyrac
1.12.1804 adW Ger
1. 9.1824 JTh Ger
21x-28. 9.1812

175. Lescocq ou l'intrigue et l'amour
op 4 acts
pfd Paris OC 24.5.1834
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans von Lichtenstein, (Liebe un Intrigue) 1836 JTh, (Der treue Arzt) 1837 KTh
Scribe
Auber
72.11.1836 JTh Ger
13. 3.1837 KTh Ger
1x

1837 KThs (texts in Ger, Ms): S.m. 32.455-456, S.m. 32.320; OA 26 (score in Ger, Ms)
176. 

La lettre de change

Planard

19. 4.1819 Kth Ger

35x-18. 7.1821

1819 Kth: (texts in Ger, Ms); S.m. 32.101-103; Oa 139 (score with Ger text & prompt part, Ms); 1826: 98.623-B H (text in Fr, printed Paris: Doublet, 1816)

op com 1 act

Bochsa & Isouard?

3. 8.1824 Kth Ger

25x-23. 8.1842

pfd Vienna in Fr by visiting Fr players in 1825; and before then in Ger, trans Treitschke, (Der Wechselbrief) 1819 & 1824 Kth, music allegedly by both Bochsa and Isouard

Liebe und Intrigue, see Lesotocq ou l'intrigue et l'amour

Die liebende Bayadera, see Le dieu et la bayadère

Der Liebesbrunnen, see Les puits d'amour

Der Liebesbrunnen, see Le philtre

Der Liebesbrunnen, see Le philtre

177. 

1. La livre de l'hermite

"Lebrun" (Trecte Leven)

21. 8.1833 Kth Ger

49x-19. 8.1848

(texts in Ger, Ms); S.m. 32.385-386; Oa 118 (score with Ger text, Ms)

op com 1 act

"Carafa" (Trecte Reuling)

pfd Paris 7

pfd Vienna in Ger trans T

(Der codex Neffe oder: Die humoristischen Studien); Ms score from this production labelled 'Der Einsiedler, der Klausner'; Carafa's opera La solitaire had been pfd Vienna 1826 (see no. 288); this opera then may be Le livre de l'hermite, though that deals with the recognition of a lost son rather than nephew and has libretto by Planard and Dupert (none of Carafa's libretto is by Lebrun); more likely is the claim by one source (OKE) that the composer of the opera is Reuling & librettist Leven, and that its connection to Carafa's La livre de l'hermite is tenuous or nonexistent.

178. 

La locastre

Sevin

19. 4.1805 adW Ger

ix

op com 1 act

Gaveaux

pfd Paris Salle Favart (OC) 26.7.1800

pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Ihlé, (Die Ueberaschungen (oder) Der Miehmann) 1805 adW

179. 

Lodofika

Fillette Loraux

23. 3.1802 adW Ger

70x-17.12.1828

Kth 1814: S.m. 32.936 (text in Ger, prompt copy); KT 265 (score with Ger text, Ms)

op hér 3 acts

Cherubini

24. 1.1814 Kth Ger

10x-24. 3.1814

pfd Vienna 18.7.1791

pfd Vienna in Ger, trans C. A. Herkloza, (Lodofika), 1802 adW:1814 Kth,1828 JTh

Lotchen am Hofe, see Minacte à la cour ou la caprice amoureuse

Das Lotterielos, see Le billet de loterie

720
Lucas et Colinette, see La fête d'amour

Lucette et Lucas, see La paysanne curieuse

180. Lucile
op com 1 act
pfd Paris G1 5.1.1769
Marmontel
Gréry
23. 9.1772 Lax Fr
17. 1.1776 Kth Fr
early May 1776 Kth Ger
29. 6.1778 Bth Ger
8x-8. 4.1780
1780-1781 Kth Fr
698.427-A Th 189. A. (text in Ger, printed Vienna: Logemann 1778); Kth 268 (Ms score with Ger text)
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1772 & 1776; pfd Vienna in Ger as Lucile (1st), transl, early May 1776 Kth and 1778 Bth

181. Lucinda et sa suivante Lisette
op com 3 acts
Pannard & C. B. Poncex
1. 4.1761 Bth Fr
Gillier
pfd Paris prob 26. 2.1729 SG
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1761, under this title. Probably the opera by Gillier Pannard & Poncex pfd Paris SG 26.2.1729 as Argéne;
another opera by Gillier used a libretto by Pannard, Poncex and Fuselier "Le malade par complaisance" SG 3.2.1730, also in 3 acts

182. Lully et Quinault ou le déjeuner
impossible op com 1 act
Gaugiran-Nanteuil
Issouard
23. 9.1813 adW Ger
18. 7.1826 Kth Fr
1x
pfd Paris OC 27.2.1812
987.624-B M (text in Fr, printed Paris: Barba, 1812)
pfd Vienna in Ger, transl J. von Seyfried (Lully und Quinault oder das verhinderte Frühstück) 1813 adW; pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players, 1826; pfd Kth trans Castelli without music 1813

183. Ludovic
op com 2 acts
Vernoy de Saint Georges 13 orl5. 9.1834 Jth Ger
Hérold, completed by Halévy
pfd Paris OC 16.5.1833
pfd Vienna in Ger trans ? F. Géne (Ludovic) 1834 JTh with additional music by K. Kreutzer
987.107-B M (text in Ger, printed Mainz: Schott, 1834); OA 27 (Ms prompt copy with Ger text)

184. Ma Tante Aureole ou le roman
interrompu op com 2 acts
de Longchamps
Beaudeau
10. 4.1804 adW Ger
13. 8.1809 Bth Fr
2x-11. 4.1804
pfd Paris TF in 3 acts 13.1.1803, last act cut after 1st perf.
15. 7.1826 Bth Fr
1x
pfd Vienna in Ger trans W. G. Lambrecht 1804 as Meine Tante Aureole oder der unterbrochene Roman 1804 adW; a translation by Castelli, perhaps never pfd, cited by Goedeke under title 'Der Roman aus dem Stegreif'
987.603-B M (text in Fr, printed Paris: Barba, 1805)

185. Le maçon
op com 3 acts
Scribe & Delavigne
Auber
2. 8.1826 Kth Ger
28. 6.1827 JTh Ger
23.11.1829 Kth Ger
8. 2.1828
35x-9. 2.1828
1826 Kth: S.m. 32.641-643 (Ms texts and songs used by director etc.); OA 1296 (Ms score with Ger text)
pfd Vienna in Ger, transl J. G. Seidl (Der Maurer und der Schlosser), 1826 Kth, 1827 JTh, 1853, 1876, 1884, 1916
pfd Vienna in Ger, transl J. G. Seidl (Der Maurer und der Schlosser), 1826 Kth, 1827 JTh, 1853, 1874 Ko, 1884 and into 20C
<table>
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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Composer/Authors</th>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tr>
<td>186.</td>
<td>La magazine des modernes</td>
<td>Pannard</td>
<td>3.5.1756, 21.5.1764</td>
<td>Fr</td>
<td>Lax Fr, at least 2x</td>
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<td></td>
<td>op com 1 act</td>
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<td>pdc Paris fair, 3.2.1736</td>
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<td></td>
<td>pdc Vienna by Fr players at court, 1756 &amp; 1764</td>
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<td>187.</td>
<td>Le magicien sans magie</td>
<td>Creuzé de Lesser &amp; J. F. Roger</td>
<td>22.4.1812</td>
<td>Fr</td>
<td>adW Ger, 4x-4.6.1812</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>op com 2 acts</td>
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<td></td>
<td>pdc Paris OC 4.11.1811</td>
<td>Leonard</td>
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<td></td>
<td>pdc Vienna in Ger trans ?</td>
<td>(Die natürliche Zauberer[19]), 1812 adW</td>
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<tr>
<td>188.</td>
<td>Le magnifique</td>
<td>Sedaine (after La Fontaine)</td>
<td>14.2.1776</td>
<td>Fr</td>
<td>KTh Fr, 1776</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>op com 3 acts</td>
<td>Grétry</td>
<td>11.3.1776</td>
<td>Fr</td>
<td>KTh Ger, 1780</td>
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<td></td>
<td>pdc Paris Cl 4.3.1773</td>
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<td></td>
<td>pdc Vienna in Ger, trans J. N. Faber as Der Prächtige 1776 KTh, &amp; as Der prächtige Freiegebige, 1780 KTh</td>
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<td>189.</td>
<td>La maison à vendre</td>
<td>Duval, Delyrac</td>
<td>24.8.1809</td>
<td>Fr</td>
<td>BTh Fr, 4a-19.10.1809</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>op com 1 act</td>
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<td>30.3.1827</td>
<td>Fr</td>
<td>KIR Fr</td>
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<td>pdc Paris OC 23.10.1800</td>
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<td></td>
<td>pdc Vienna in Fr by Fr players during Fr occupation of Vienna, 1809 and by Fr players in 1827</td>
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<td>190.</td>
<td>Le maître de chapelle ou le</td>
<td>S. Gay (from Duval)</td>
<td>20.9.1826</td>
<td>Fr</td>
<td>KTh Fr, 1x</td>
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<td>soupe(r) imprévus</td>
<td>Paer</td>
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<td>op com 1 act</td>
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<td>pdc Paris OC 29.3.1821</td>
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<td>pdc Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1826</td>
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<td>191.</td>
<td>Le maître en droit</td>
<td>Lemonnier</td>
<td>4.6.1763</td>
<td>Fr</td>
<td>BTh Fr, 1763 &amp; 1780/81</td>
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<td></td>
<td>op com 2 acts</td>
<td>Montguy</td>
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<td>pdc Vienna in Fr by Fr players at Court, 1763 &amp; 1780/81</td>
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<td>192.</td>
<td>Le Major Palmer</td>
<td>Pigault-Lebrun</td>
<td>28.9.1805</td>
<td>Fr</td>
<td>adW Ger, 7x-3.1.1806</td>
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<td></td>
<td>op com 3 acts</td>
<td>Bruni</td>
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<td>pdc Paris TF 26.1.1797</td>
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<td></td>
<td>pdc Vienna in Ger, trans Herklotz (Hauptmann Palmer) 1805 adW</td>
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<td>193.</td>
<td>Marcelin</td>
<td>Bernard-Walville</td>
<td>19.10.1803</td>
<td>Fr</td>
<td>adW Ger, 43x-7.11.1816</td>
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<td></td>
<td>op com 1 act</td>
<td>Lebrun</td>
<td>26.1.1821</td>
<td>Fr</td>
<td>LTh Ger, 1x</td>
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<td>pdc Paris TF 22.3.1800</td>
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<td></td>
<td>pdc Vienna in Ger, trans J. von Seyfried (Pächter Robert) 1803 adW, 1821 LTh &amp; 1822 KTh</td>
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(Fr score & Fr. text) Score = 7 & m. 1013
194. La Marchand de Smyrne
op com 1 act
pfd Paris?
allegedly pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1780–1781. Might be related to a play of this name by Chamfort pfd in Fr in Vienna 15.10.1770

Le maréchal ferrant
Quétant & Anneaume
op com 2 acts
pfd Paris Foire St L 22.8.1761
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1763 in 1 act & 1780/81; and in Ger as Der Hufschmidt 1776 KTh & 1779 Coloss, trans ?

Le mari de circonstance, op com 2 acts, text by F.A.K. Planard, music by Charles-Henri Planteade, pfd Paris TF 18.3.1813, was pfd in Vienna without music as a play in German entitled Der tote Ehemann (a comedy in 1 act) KTh 10.5.1814. Planard's music was apparently never pfd in Vienna.

190. Les mariages samnites
B. F. de Rosol, (after
Monmorency)
Grétry
pfd Paris Cl 12.6.1776
pfd Vienna in Ger trans J. André & F. L. W. Meyer as Die Sammterinnen, 1806 adV, reorchestrated I. von Seyfried

191. Marie
op com 3 acts
pfd Paris OC 12.8.1826
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans I. F. Castelli (Marie, oder Verborgene Liebe), 1826 & 1829 KTh

198. Les maris garçons
Gaugirant-Marceull
Bertho
18.12.1826 KTh Ger
10.10.1829 KTh

199. Les martyrs
Scribe (after Cornelle)
15.6.1861 JTh Ger
13.10.1861 KTh Ger

200. Une matinée de Catinat ou le tableau
op com 1 act
pfd Paris TF 2.10.1800 or 29.9.1800
pfd Vienna trans ? (Marschall Catinat oder Das alte Gemälde) 1808 adW

1780–1781 KTh
at least
1806 adV
1814 KTh
1814 KTh: KT 170 (score with Ger text & prompt copy (Ms))

texts in Ger, Ms: S.m. 32.488–489 (used by censor & director); OA 166 (score with Ger text & prompt copy, Ms)

KT 284 (score with Ger text, & prompt copy (Ms)) used adW 1808

texts in Ger, Ms; S.m. 32.488–489 (used by censor & director); OA 166 (score with Ger text & prompt copy, Ms)

S.m. 32.698 (text in Ger (Ms00); OA 11 (score with Ger text, & prompt copy)

723
201. Massé
op com
pfed Paris Gl 24.9.1761
pfed Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1768, also a version by Kozeluch pfed Vienna Kth 1780
Anseume (after Lafontaine) 1768 Kth Fr
Duni (1780 Kth Ger)

Medea, this was the setting by Benda or Cherubini, not J. J. Rousseau. Rousseau's Le Devin du village was pfed in Vienna, but his Médée probably not.

202. Le médecin ture
op com 1 act
pfed Paris OC 19.11.1803
pfed Vienna in Ger, trans ?
(Viennese Arzt) 1804 adW
P. Villiers & A. Gouffé
Isouard
24. 4.1804 adW Ger
4x- 8. 5.1804
987.655-A.M. (text in Ger, used by censur 1804, printed Vienna: Schmidt, 1804); S.M. 32.136 (text in Ger (Ms) dated 1822); KT 42 (score with text in Ger & prompt copy (Ms))

203. La médecine sans médecin
op com 1 act
pfed Paris OC 15.10.1832
pfed Vienna in Ger, trans J. D. Anton (Das Heilimittel) 1838 Kth
Scribe & Bayard
Nérol
12. 7.1838 Kth Ger
7x-27.10.1838
texts in Ger (Ms); S.M. 32.558; S.M. 32.559; S.M. 23.560; 987.373 D M (text in Ger and Fr, printed)

204. Médée
op tr 3 acts
pfed Paris TF 13.3.1797
pfed Vienna in Ger, trans A. Treitschke (Medea), from 1802 Kth & Bth
Hoffman
Cherubini
6.11.1802 Kth Ger
5.12.1802 Bth Ger
1, 1.1812 Kth Ger
24, 5.1832 Kth Ger
also: 1880, 1972
19x-12. 7.1803
30x- 2. 2.1819
2x- 5. 6.1832
641.433-A M 14 (text in Ger, printed Vienna: Wallis-Hausner, 1802); 1812 Kth: S.M. 32.496-498, S.M. 32.824 (text in Ger (Ms)), 987.256-A M (text in Ger, printed Vienna: Wallis-Hausner, 1812) OA 281
(score with Ger text, Ms)

205. Michel-Ange
op com 1 act
pfed Paris OC 11.12.1802
pfed Vienna in Ger, trans C. A. Merklot (Michel Angelo) 1804 Lth, 1812 Kth
E. J. B. Deltrieu
Isouard
1, 6.1804 Lth Ger
10, 1.1812 Kth Ger
1812, Kth: S.M. 32.587 & S.M. 32.586 (texts in Ger (Ms)); KT 291 (score with text in Ger)

206. Le milicien
op com 1 act
pfed Versailles, 29.12.1762; Paris Gl 1.1.1763
pfed Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1778 Kth & Bth and perhaps also in 1839, during French occupation, ? without music
Anseume
Duni
15, 1.1778 Kth Fr
722, 6.1809 ETh Fr
1805 Kth & Bth: S.M. 32.278 M (80/17), S.M. 32.279 M (126/115), (texts in Ger (Ms)); 641.433-A M 14 (text in Ger printed Vienna: Wallis-Hausner, 1805)
1811 Kth: S.M. 32.277, S.M. 32.280; OA 94 (score with Italian and Ger text & prompt copy (Ms))

207. Milton
op com 1 act
pfed Paris OC 27.11.1804
pfed Vienna in Ger, trans Treitschke (Milton), 1805 onwards Kth & Bth and from 1811 Kth
Dufay & Dieulafoy
Spontini
24, 9.1805 Kth Ger
15, 2.1811 Kth Ger
52x-25. 9.1810
90x-18. 3.1839
1805 Kth & Bth: S.M. 32.278 M (80/17), S.M. 32.279 M (126/115), (texts in Ger (Ms)); 641.433-A M 14 (text in Ger, printed Vienna: Wallis-Hausner, 1805)
1811 Kth: S.M. 32.277, S.M. 32.280; OA 94 (score with Italian and Ger text & prompt copy (Ms))

208. Montamo et Stéphanie
op com 3 acts
pfed Paris TF 12.4.1799, revised by Legouvé, with modified act 3, 4.5.1800
pfed Vienna in Ger, trans J. von Seyfried (Rosalinde), 1810 adW with musical additions by L. von Seyfried
J. E. B. Dejaure
Berthon
3, 5.1810 adW Ger
9x-27. 5.1810
1805 Kth & Bth: S.M. 32.278 M (80/17), S.M. 32.279 M (126/115), (texts in Ger (Ms)); 641.433-A M 14 (text in Ger, printed Vienna: Wallis-Hausner, 1805)
1811 Kth: S.M. 32.277, S.M. 32.280; OA 94 (score with Italian and Ger text & prompt copy (Ms))

Fr text & score
209. Les mousquetaires de la reine  
Saint-Georges  
Sicily  
op com 3 acts  
pép Paris GC 3.2.1846  
pép Vienna in Ger as Die Musketiere der Königlin, trans Kupelwieser, 1846 adW; under the same title but trans J. C. Grünbaum, 1846 etc. KTh with musical additions by Reuling

210. La muette de Portici  
Scribe & Delavigne  
Auber  
July 1829 JTh Ger  
op 5 acts  
pép Paris 29.2.1828  
pép Vienna in Ger as Die Stumme von Portici (or perhaps sometimes Die Stumme, oder Un treue und Rache), trans A. Priex 1829 JTh, trans K.A. Bitter

1830 KTh, trans Levald, 1874 onwards

211. Hamete et Lucas  
op com 1 act  
pép Paris ?  
pép Vienna in Fr by French players 1780-1781

212. Hé touches pas à la reine  
Scribe & Maës  
Boisselot  
15. 7.1847 KTh Ger  
opal 3 acts  
pép Paris GC 16.1.1847  
pép Vienna in Ger, trans ? (Die Königin von Leon), 1847 KTh & JTh

213. La neige ou le nouvel Egisnard  
Scribe & Delavigne  
Auber  
19. 3.1824 KTh Ger  
op com 4 acts  
pép Paris GC 8.10.1823  
pép Vienna in Ger, trans Castelli (Der Schnee) 1824 KTh 1829 adW, 1833 JTh

214. Mephcall ou Les Ammonites  
E. Aignan  
Blangini  
17.12.1812 adW Ger  
op 3 acts  
pép Paris 15. 4.1806  
pép Vienna in Ger, trans J. von Seyfried (Mephisto ou Die Nacht des Glaubens), with musical additions by I. von Seyfried 1812 adW, 1816 KTh

215. La nièce vengée  
Pannard Fagan  
Gillier  
22. 5.1755 court Fr  
op com 1 act  
pép Paris Th de la Foire 27. 8.1731  
probably the same opera as that pép Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1755 as "La surprise" 1758 as "Les petits comédiens"; in Ger, as a play, trans ? as "Die kleinen Schauspieler" 1764 KTh; as opera by professional children's company in Fr, 1795 Lax
216. Nina ou la folle par amour
op com 1 act
pf Paris Cl 15 5.1786
rev. as ballet by L. Persius 0 23.11.1813
pf Vienna in Ger, trans J. André as: Nina, was vermag die Liebe recht, 1790 LTh; as: Nina oder Wahnstimm aus Liebe, 1801 FTh, 1806 adW, trans H. G. Schmieder

| Marsollier (after d'Arnaud) | 11. 6.1790 LTh Ger | 3x-16. 6.1790 |
| Dalayrac | 8. 6.1801 FTh Ger | 18-9. 5.1812 |

217. Ninette à la cour
op com 2 acts
pf Paris 12.2.1755 Cl in 3 acts/12/2/1759 (in 2 acts)
pf Vienna in Fr by Fr players? 1776 Fas & 1780/81 KTh under this title, perhaps the pasticcio setting of Favart's text, arr. Duni and usually entitiled "Le caprice amoureux ou Ninette à la cour" had also been pf in Vienna in 1760 as Le Caprice Amoureux

| Favart | (1760 FTh Fr) | at least 2x-1761 | Lab printed in Fr in Vienna autograph score of the Duni opera entitled "Le retour au village" is preserved in Vienna not pf Paris |
| probably a setting of the text | 1776 Fas Fr | 1780/1781 KTh Fr |
| or Mad. Favart |

218. Ninette à la cour
op com 2 acts
pf Paris TF 21.12.1811
pf Vienna in Ger in an amended version of the trans by Weiss (which has been set to music by Hiller) 1815 adW, with musical additions I. von Seyfried

| Favart & Creusé de Lesser | 19.10.1815 adW | 3x-23.10.1815 | |
| H. F. Bertron |

219. Le nouveau seigneur de village
op com 1 act
pf Paris OG 29.6.1813
pf Vienna in Ger, trans Castelli (Der neue Gutsherr) 1814 KTh (perhaps 1 performance in June at BTh), 1816 LTh, 1827 JTh, 1830 KTh; pf Vienna in Fr as a vv in 1 act ('Le nouveau seigneur') with words by Planard 1826 KTh and kir

| Creuse de Lesser & de Favières Boiédieu | 24. 5.1814 KTh Ger | 99x-1. 1.1824 | 1814 KTh; S.m. 32.746 (text in Ger (Ms)) OA 171 (score with text in Ger & prompt copy (Ms)); 1830 KTh; S.m. 32.747 (text in Ger (Ms)) |
| 7. 6.1814 KTh Ger | ? 1x- |
| 7. 5.1816 LTh Ger | 2x- 7. 5.1816 |
| (vv 22. 7.1826 KTh & kir Fr | 2x-12.12.1826) |
| 4.10.1827 JTh Ger | 14. 7.1830 KTh Ger | 16x-25. 2.1850 |

220. Le nouvelisate dupé
op com 1 act
pf Paris August 1732, or 1737, fair
pf Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1759 BTh
Nur mit Mass und Ziel, oder Die zwei Schirme, see Rien de trop ou les deux paravents

| Fannard | 1759 BTs | Stadtbibli 58.575 (text) |

221. Oedipe à Colome
tragedie lyrique 3 accs
pf Paris Vers 4.1.1786; pf Paris O 1.2.1787
pf Vienna in Ger, trans C. A. Merkolt (Oedip zu Colomes) 1802 KTh

| Guillard | 2. 6.1802 KTh Ger | 4x-3. 8.1802 | 987.096 - A M (text in Ger, printed Vienna: Wallshauser, 1802); OA 164 (score with Ger text (Ms)) |
| Sacchini |

222. L'officier cosaque
op com 1 act
pf Paris PSN 8.4.1803
pf Vienna in Ger as Der Kosacken-Offiziers trans 7, 1804 KTh & BTh 7 1820 LTh

| Cuvelier & Baretillet | 11. 4.1804 KTh Ger | 4x-24. 4.1804 | S.m. 32.892 (16/25), S.m. 32.893 M (52/56) (texts in Ger (Ms)); 641.434-AM 12 (text in Ger, printed Vienna: Wallshauser, 1804) |
| Gianella & Dimoncheau | 14. 4.1804 BTh Ger | | |
| 7 26. 4.1820 LTh Ger | | | |
223. L'Olimpiade, Op. 3 acts (?)
   by Franci
   P.D. Paris 18.11.1787
   An opera of this name P.D. Vienna 1780-1781.
   Perhaps it was Sacchini's setting, but several other composers also wrote operas with this title.

224. L'Oncle valet, Op. 1 act
   by Della Maria
   P.D. Paris 8.12.1798
   P.D. Vienna in Ger, trans Treitschke (Der Onkel in Livree) 1803 KTh, trans Reinald (Der Onkel als Bediener) 1803 a/dw

225. On ne s'avise jamais de tout.
   by Della Maria
   P.D. Paris SL 14.9.1761
   P.D. Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1756 BTh and from 1762 with some new numbers by Gluck. P.D. 1780-1781 KTh with music allegedly by Duni. Duni wrote no opera of this title.

   by J. Ségur & E. M. Dupaty
   P.D. Paris OC Salle Favart 10.7.1788
   P.D. Vienna in Ger, trans Treitschke (Das Singspiel) 1804 onwards KTh & BTh; P.D. Vienna in Fr by Fr players during Napoleonic occupation Vienna, 1809.

227. Orphée, 3 acts.
   by Gluck & Molino
   P.D. Vienna BTh 5.10.1762 KTh 1st version
   June 1781 performance in Fr perhaps given by 5th French troupe in Vienna for the 1780-1781 season; rep. list in WTA 1782 says they p.d. Orphée, a comedy, (perhaps misprint)

228. Palma ou Le voyage en Grèce, 2 acts.
   by Lemontey
   P.D. Paris TF 22.8.1791
   P.D. Vienna in Ger as Palma oder Die Reise nach Griechenland

229. Le pater fleuri, 1 act.
   by Levan & Brunswick
   P.D. Paris OC 8.5.1839
   P.D. Vienna in Ger, trans Franke (Der Blumenkorb), 1841 onwards
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Date(s)</th>
<th>Venue(s)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>230</td>
<td>La part du diable</td>
<td>Scribe Auber</td>
<td>23.10.1843 (as vv)</td>
<td>1847 KTh: S.m. 32.505-506 (text in Ger (Ms));</td>
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<td>987-037-BM (text in Ger (printed))</td>
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<td>1847 KTh: Cth T 15</td>
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<td>also, later material</td>
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<td>pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Bornstein &amp; Gollnick (Des Teufels Anthem), 1844 LTh, 1847 adW KTh JTh, and later, into 1OC. Also pfd October 1843 adW as vv</td>
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<tr>
<td>231</td>
<td>La partie de Chasse de Henri IV</td>
<td>Collé</td>
<td>12. 2.1776 KTh</td>
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<td>pfd Vienna in Fr by French players, 1776</td>
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<td>232</td>
<td>Paul et Virginia</td>
<td>R. G. F. Favières (from St. Pierre)</td>
<td>23. 3.1805 adW Ger</td>
<td>4x- 6. 4.1805 (as vv)</td>
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<td>pfd Paris Théâtre Favart 15.1.1791</td>
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<td>R. Kreutzer, also as ballet - pantomime (with St. Cloud) 12.4.1806</td>
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<td>pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Castellet (Die Familie auf Insel de France), 1805 adW, pfd also as ballet pantomine 1815 KTh in collaboration with Darondeau</td>
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<tr>
<td>233</td>
<td>La paysanne curieuse, (* T Lucette et Lucas)</td>
<td>Forget</td>
<td>1781 KTh Fr</td>
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<td>pfd Paris 8.11.1781 Gi</td>
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<td>* Florine Desède, an opera with this title is alleged to have been pfd in Fr in 1781 KTh as &quot;La paysanne curieuse&quot;. An opera by Nicolas Desède's daughter was pfd in Paris with little success in 1781 under the titles &quot;Lucette et Lucas ou la paysanne curieuse&quot;, it was published.</td>
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<tr>
<td>234</td>
<td>Les pêcheurs</td>
<td>La Salle d'Offémont Gossec</td>
<td>1780-1781 KTh Fr</td>
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<td>pfd Paris Gi 23.4.1766</td>
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<td>pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1780/1781</td>
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<td>Les pèlerins de la Mecque, see La rencontre imprévue</td>
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<tr>
<td>235</td>
<td>La Perruche</td>
<td>Dupin &amp; Dumanoir Clapisson</td>
<td>13. 2.1843 KTh Ger</td>
<td>1x</td>
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<td>S.m. 32.184-185 (text in Ger (Ms)); OA 64 (score with Ger text and prompt copy (Ms))</td>
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<td>236</td>
<td>Le petit chaperon rouge</td>
<td>Théaulon de Lambert Boieldieu</td>
<td>27. 3.1819 KTh Ger</td>
<td>1819: (Ms ths in Ger) S.m. 32.317 (censor's copy),</td>
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<td>S.m. 32.612 (prompt copy); OA 1627 (printed piano score, Leipzig; Senff n.d. Ger text); OA 1626 (printed piano score, Paris: Laumer, n.d. Fr text); 1866: OA 60 (score in Ger, Ms)</td>
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<td>pfd Paris TF 30.6.1818</td>
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<td>pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Tretschke, (Roc(h))Käppchen) 1819, 1866, 1893</td>
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<td>pfd Vienna in Ger as Ger Papagei, trans 7, 1843 KTh</td>
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<td>pfd Vienna in Ger as Ger Papagei, trans ? 1843 KTh</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
237. Le petit matelot ou le mariage imprévu - Pigault-Lebrun
Impr. Guérin - op or op com 1 act - 26 or 27. 6.1801 adW Ger
pfd Paris TF 7.1.1796

Les petits comédiens, see La nièce vengée

238. Philippe et Georgette - J. M. B. Monvel
op com 1 act - 30. 7.1809 Bth Fr
pfd Paris Cl 28.12.1791
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players during 2nd Napoleon occupation in 1809

239. Le philtre - Scribe
op com 2 acts - 3. 4.1832 Kth Ger
pfd Paris O 20.6.1831
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Lichtenstein (Der Liebestrank), 1832 Kth

Die Pilger/Pilgrimage from Mecca/Hajj, see La rencontre imprévue

240. Le poète et le musicien ou je cherche un sujet op com 3 acts - Mercier-Dupaty
pfd Paris TF 30. 5.1811
pfd Vienna in Ger in Der Dichter und der Tonsetzer, trans ? 1816 Kth

Le poète et le musicien (opera with music by Catel), see Les artistes par occasion

Der portugiesische Castron, see L'hôtelerie portugaise

241. Le postillon de Longjumeau - de Leuven & Brunswick
op com 3 acts - 14.10.1837 Kth Ger
pfd Paris GC 13.10.1836
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans W. A. Swoboda (Der Postillon von Longjumeau), 1837 Kth, 1844 Jth etc; pfd in 3 acts, trans Friedrich 1848 adW

Der prächtige Freigeige, see Le magnifique
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Work Title and Details</th>
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</table>
| 242 | *Le pré aux clercs*  
by Planard (after Hérimée)  
17.10.1833 JTh Ger  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris OC 15.12.1832 |
| 243 | *Le premier en date*  
by Dessaugiers & Pessey  
4.6.1819 KTh Ger  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris OC 3.11.1816 |
| 244 | *La première nuit manquée ou mon tour de garde*  
by J. D. Doche (see below)  
24.9.1809 BTh Fr  
*pfd* Paris ?  (see below)  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players during the 2nd Napoleonic occupation of Vienna, 1809, could be *Les deux sentinelles in which case libretto by Henrion & pfd Paris Théâtre de la Gaîté* 26.9.1803 |
| 245 | *La prétendue*  
by Riccobont  
1762 at court Fr |
| 246 | *Le prince de Catane*  
by R. B. L. Casel  
10.12.1813 aDW Ger  
op her with ballet, 3 acts  
pfd Paris OC 4.3.1813  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. von Seyfried (Alzenon, Fürst von Catenaco/Cantaca/Cantanea/Cantaura) 1813 aDW, musical additions Seyfried, 1815 KTh |
| 247 | *Prince Troubadour ou le grand trompeur de dames*  
by A. Duval  
24.9.1819 KTh Ger  
*pfd* Paris OC 24.5.1813  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. von Seyfried (Die beiden Troubadours) 1819 KTh |
| 248 | *Le prison d'Edimbourg*  
by Scribe & Planard  
3.2.1835 JTh Ger  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris OC 20.7.1833  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. Kupelwieser (Der Kerker zu Edinburgh) 1835 JTh |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Premiere Details</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>249</td>
<td>Le prisonnier ou la ressemblance</td>
<td>Duval (after Kotzebue)</td>
<td>19. 9.1800 LTh Ger 4x- 3.11.1803</td>
<td>1815 KTh; texts in Ger (Ms); S.m. 32.656 &amp; S.m. 32.535 &amp; S.m. 32.536</td>
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<td></td>
<td>op com 1 act</td>
<td>Della Maria</td>
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<td>pfd Vienna in Ger under different titles:</td>
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<td>trans ? as Der Arrestant 1800 LTh; trans K. Vio, as Die Ähnlichkeit oder der Arrestant, 1801 adW; as Der Gefangene, 1815 KTh; trans Kotzebue as Der Gefangene 1803 LTh; see also numbers 250 &amp; 254</td>
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<td>250</td>
<td>La prisonnière pasticcio 1 act</td>
<td>V.J.F. de Jouy &amp; de Longchamps</td>
<td>26.12.1817 KTh Ger 10x-15. 7.1817</td>
<td>S.m. 32.139 (Ger text) OA 135 (score with Ger text and prompt copy)</td>
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<td>pfd Paris TF 12.9.1799</td>
<td>G. G. d'A de Saint-Just</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Le procureur arbitre op com 1 act</td>
<td>Scribe</td>
<td>28. 2.1850 KTh Ger 192x-16. 5.1869</td>
<td>S.m. 32.509-511 (texts in Ger, Ms) OA 1219 (score with Fr text printed Paris: Brandus etc., n.d.)</td>
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<td>pfd Paris ?</td>
<td>Meyerbeer</td>
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<td>op 3 acts</td>
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<td>252</td>
<td>Le prophète</td>
<td>Scribe</td>
<td>28. 2.1850 KTh Ger 192x-16. 5.1869</td>
<td>S.m. 32.509-511 (texts in Ger, Ms) OA 1219 (score with Fr text printed Paris: Brandus etc., n.d.)</td>
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<td>op 3 acts</td>
<td>Meyerbeer</td>
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<td>also: 1868, 1869, 1874, 1876, 1891, 1894, 1911</td>
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<td>pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Bellsteb (Der Prophet (or Der Prophet))1850 onwards KTh</td>
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<tr>
<td>253</td>
<td>Les puits d'amour</td>
<td>Scribe or St. Georges</td>
<td>4.11.1845 adW Ger 3x- 6.11.1845</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>op com 3 acts</td>
<td>Balfe</td>
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<td>pfd Paris OC 20. 4.1843</td>
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<td>pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. Kupelwieser (Der Liebesbrunnen) 1843 adW</td>
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<tr>
<td>254</td>
<td>La punition</td>
<td>Desfaucherets</td>
<td>31.12.1803 adW Ger 16x- 9. 3.1813</td>
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<td></td>
<td>op com 1 act</td>
<td>Cherubini</td>
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<td>pfd Paris TF 23.2.1799</td>
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<td>pfd Vienna in Ger trans J. von Seyfried (Der Gefangene) 1803 adW. See also Le prisonnier &amp; La prisonnière</td>
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<tr>
<td>255</td>
<td>Pygmalion scéne lyrique</td>
<td>J. J. Rousseau</td>
<td>? 1771</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>&quot; collab Coignet</td>
<td>19. 2.1772 KTh Ger 17/80-1781 KTh Fr 4. 1.1791 Lat Fr</td>
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<td>pfd Lyons Hôtel de Ville 1770</td>
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<td>pfd Vienna in Fr 1780-1781 by Fr players, also 1791 during French season at the Landstrasse theatre, perhaps also an earlier pfd in 1771; pfd Vienna in Ger 1772</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
256. Un quart-d'heure de silence  
P. Guillet  
op com 1 act  
5. 3.1805 adW Ger  
982.470-B M (text in Fr printed Paris: 
Hasson, 1804)  

257. Les quatre fils d'Aymon  
P. Guillet  
op com 3 acts  
16.12.1846 JTh Ger  
17x-12. 7.1847  
1845 KTh: S.m. 32.905 (texts in Ger, Ms), OA 8 (score in Ger, Ms)  

258. Raoul sire de Créqui  
J. M. B. Monvel  
op com 3 acts  
10. 9.1793 LTh Ger  
52x-22. 3.1813  
1805 KTh & KTh: texts in Ger (Ms): 32.004 M (10/18), S.m. 32.005 M (6/69); KTh 374 (score 
with Ger text, Ms)  

259. Raoul Barbe-bleue  
Sédaine, after C. Perrault  
op com 3 acts  
14. 8.1804 adW Ger  
8x-19.11.1817  
1821 onwards, KTh: Texts in Ger (Ms): S.m. 32.187 & S.m. 32.186 & S.m. 32.188 OA 63 (score with Ger 
text & prompt copy (Ms)); also many printed and 
Ms arrangements in OTh and RTh  

Die Räuberhöhle, see La caverna  
Das redende Bild, see Le tableau parlant  
Das unruhige Reichtum, see La servante justifiée  

260. La reine d'un jour  
Scribe & Saint-Georges  
op com 3 acts  
4. 3.1842 KTh Ger  
3x-11. 3.1842  
S.m. 32.400 (text in Ger (Ms)); 987.172-BM (text in Ger, censor's copy; printed Hans Schott, n.d.); 
OA 28 (score with Ger text & prompt copy (Ms))  

Rainald, see Renaud d'Avé  
Les quatre fils d'Aymon, see below  
Leuven & Brunswick  
23. 5.1805 BTh Ger  
7x-11. 2.1846  

péd Vienna in Ger, trans J. von Seyfried (Die vier Haimonkinder) 1844 JTh & 1845 adW, trans J. von Seyfried (Die vier Haimonkinder); 1845 KTh in Vienna, 
the librettists were given as Leuven & Brunswick who wrote the text for the English version of the opera, The Castle of Aymon or the Four Brothers, péd London 
20.11.1844. The Viennese versions may have been translations from the English rather than from the French.
261. "Die Reise nach Paris"  
Seyfried  
Heller, additions by  
l. von Seyfried  
pfd Paris 7  
1 act  
1790, 1806  
看清 the report of  
Vienna 1806  
seeing as the "Konservatoren zu Paris"  
1806  
14.7.1806  
3-18.7.1806  

262. Renaud d'Ast  
J. B. Radet & P. Y. Barré  
op com 2 acts  
197.7.1787  
pfd, Paris CI 197.7.1787  
J. B. Radet & P. Y. Barré  
Leclair  
1780, 1781  
3.10.1799  
2.1.1801  
24.6.1804  
5x-16.10.1799  
2x-1.2.1801  
2x-2.12.1801  

263. La rencontre imprévue  
veuve, music. J. C. Gillier, pfd  
Le Sage & d'Ormeau's Les plébéiens de  
comédie d'arlequin, 3 acts  
Paris SL 29.7.1726  
Dancourt (after Le Sage  
& d'Ormeau)  
Gluck & ballets by Angiolini  
7.1.1763  
spring, 1776, Kth Ger  
1780-1781  
1765  
3x-10.12.1795  
1765  
3x-10.12.1795  
1790  
1785  
1780  
1765  
1790  
1765  
3x-20.9.1807  

264. Le rendez-vous bourgeois  
Hoffmann  
Isouard  
op com 1 act  
30.3.1808  
17.4.1822  
31.3.1823  
18.8.1826  
1.6.1827  
14x-16.8.1816  
10x-5.2.1836  
k18  
Vienna 1808  
Wallenmayer (1808)  
Ktb 381 (incomplete)  
k427 (scores with text in Ger (Ms) probably  
used Ktb 1822 onwards)  

265. La répétition interrompue ou Le  
Favart, Pannard & Fagan  
petit-maître malgré lui  
Gillier  
pfd Paris SL 6.8.1735, rev. SG 1757  
before Easter 1757  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players early spring 1757  

266. Richard Coeur-de-Lion
Sedaine, after La Curne de Sainte-Palaye
Grétry

pf Vienin in Ger as Richard Löwenherz (König von England) trans Stepahane, 1788 KTh, trans Schmieder, 1800 FTh and 1802 adW with musical additions by A. Fischer, trans J. von Seyfried, 1810 adW with musical additions by I. von Seyfried and A. J. Fischer, reorchestration by I. von Seyfried, number of acts varied in the Viennese productions

267. Rien de trop ou les deux paravents
J. M. Pain
Boieldieu

pf PH 6.1.1811; pf Vienin in Ger as Nur mit Herz und Willen oder Die zwev Schirme

268. Robert-le-diable
Scribe & G. delavigne
Meyerbeer

pf Paris 21.11.1831

pf Vienin in Ger as Robert der Teufel, into 20C, subject of several Viennese parodies

269. Le roi et le fermier
Sedaine; after Dodside
Monsigny

pf Paris 22.11.1762

pf Vienin in Fr by Fr players from 1763 at court and 1780/81 KTh

Der Roman aus dem Stegreiff, see Ms tante Aurore

Die Römer in Helinone, see Les Martyrs

Rosamunde, see Montebe et Stéphanie

270. Rose et Gales
Sedaine
Monsigny

pf Paris 8.3.1764

pf Vienin in Fr by Fr players 1776 KTh 1780–781; pf Vienin in Ger, trans Faber as Rüden und Gales, from 1778 BTh & KTh

Das Rosenfest zu Salencli, see La Rosière de Salenci
Das Rosenmädchen (oder Die Abenteuer auf dem Lande), see La Rosière de Salenci

271. La Rosière de Salenci
Favart early May 1776 KTh Ger
op com 3 acts
pfd Font 25.10.1769, pfd Paris CI 14.12.1769
pfd Vienna in Ger as Das Rosenfest zu Salenci, trans ? from 1779 BTh & KTh

La Rosière de Salency
A. F. J. Masson (Marquis) 1780/1781 KTh Fr
op com 3 acts (orig 4) + ba
pfd Font 23.10.1773, in 4 acts
Grétry
pfd Paris CI 28.2.1774 (in 4 acts) and from 18.6.1774 in 3 acts; alleged to have been pfd Vienna KTh in Fr 1780/1781; other reliable sources omit it; possibly only the Philidor opera of the same name (see above) was ever given in Vienna

Rothkäppchen, see Le petit chaperon rouge

Roxelane (Die drei Sultaninnen), see Soliman Second

Les saboteurs
Pigault - Lebrun 3.9.1801 adW Ger
op com 1 act
Bruni
pfd Paris TF 23.6.1796
pfd Vienna in Ger as Der Holzschumacher 1801 adW, trans ?

"Salomon's Orchest"n
Gaigiez melodi 3 acts (or gr op histr)
Quaisin pfd Paris AG January 1802
Quaisin was born and died in Paris but this op seems to be known only under its German title; pfd Vienna in Ger from 1804; from 1816 adW in a new version with dances by Horschelt and music by Kinsky; new production 1849 received only 1 performance

Die Sammlerinnen, see Les mariages samnites

Die samnitischen Heiraten, see Les mariages samnites

Sancho Panza dans son âme
Pointisnet le jeune 1768
op com 1 act
(after Cervantes)
pfd Paris CI 8.7.1762 Phildor
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1768, 1776 & 1780-1781
Die Sängerin, see L'ambassadrie
Der Schatzgräber, see Le trésor supposé ou Le danger d'écouter aux portes
Die Schleichhändler, see La Sirène
Das Schloss von Montenegro, see Léon ou le château de Monténégro
Das schöne Milchmädchen, see Les deux chasseurs et la laitière
Die Schreiberwiese bei Paris, see Le pré aux clercs
Der Schur oder Die Falschmünzer, see Le serment ou les faux monnayeurs

276. Le secret
    op com 1 act
    commélée de musique
    pfd Paris Cl 20.4.1796
    Hoffmann
    Solidé

    18. 8.1808 adW Ger
    10. 8.1809 Bth Fr
    17. 1.1815 Kth Ger
    6. 6.1822 Kth Ger
    8.10.1839 Kth Ger

    pfd Vienna in Ger, trans M. Stegmayer (Das Geheimnis), 1808 adW and from 1815 Kth; also in Fr during Fr occupation of Vienna, 1809

    Der Seekadett, see L'aspirant de marine

277. Sémiramis
    tragédie lyrique 3 act
    pfd Paris O 4.5.1802
    pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Castelli (Semiramis), 1806 adW with additional music by J. von Seyfried
    Desrous (after Voltaire)
    Catel

    23.10.1806 adW Ger
    2. 3.1815 Kth Ger

    pfd Vienna in Ger, 1815 Kth; 987.650-A M (text in Ger printed Vienna: Anton Strauss, n.d.) Oa 24 (score with Ger text (Ms))

278. La Sérénade
    op com 1 act
    pfd Paris ?
    pfd Vienna in Fr by French players 1780-1781

    1780-1781 Kth
279. Le serment ou les faux monnayeurs

Scribe & Mazères
gr op 3 acts
pf2 Paris O 1.10.1832
pf2 Vienna in Ger, trans Dr. Petit (Der Schwur oder Die Falschmünzer), 1834 JTh & KTh and 1835 adW

280. Le serrurier

† H. Quétant
† (op com 1)
if by Kohaut pf2 Paris CI 20.12.1764
op with this title pf2 Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1776 KTh; It may be the opera with music by Kohaut, libretto by Quétant

281. † La servante justifiée

Fagan & Favart
op com 1 act
pf2 Paris Foire St-G 19.3.1740
by process of elimination, this could be the op pf2 Vienna 1769 under the title 'Die unruhige Reichsmeß' in German translation by Kurs

282. La servante maîtresse

Baurane
intermède
pf2 Naples 1SB 28.8.1733, Baurane translation 14.8.1754 Paris CI
pf2 Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1758 BTh (it had been given in Vienna in Italian in 1746) (French text)

283. Le siège de Corinthe (Ménetto;II)

Soumet & Balocchi
tr lyrique 2 or 3 acts
pf2 Paris 0 10.10.1826 in Fr
pf2 Vienna in Ger trans from the Italian by J. C. Gründen as Die Breitgrünen von Corinthe January 1823 KTh;
pf2 Vienna in Ger trans from the French by T. J. Kupelwieser as Mahomet II July 1823 KTh; trans ? J. C. Gründen 1831 onwards

Das Singspiel, see L'opéra-comique

Das Singspiel an den Fenstern, see L'intrigue aux fenêtres

284. La Sirène

Scribe
vw 3 acts, from op of same name
pf2 Paris OC 26.3.1844
pf2 Vienna in Ger trans Francke as Die Sirene in den Abruzzon 1844 JTh; and as Die Schleichhändler 1844 LTh

So bessert man die Männer, see Avis aux femmes ou le mari colère
285. La soirée orageuse  
Radet  
op com. 1 act  
Dalayrac  
pfd Paris Gl 29.5.1790  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Rochlitz (Die stürmische Nacht) 1795 LTh, trans Stegmayer (Der stürmische Abend) 1809 a.d.W

286. Le soldat tout seul ou la valeur  
?  
française vv hist  
?  
pfd Paris ?  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1809 BTh during 2nd occupation of Vienna, possibly known in Paris under different name (? Le soldat français by Champel, pfd Paris Bois de Boulogne 1.6.1799)

287. Soliman second (= Les trois Sultanes)  
Favart (after Harmontel)  
op com. (and play) 3 acts  
P.C. Gilbert  
pfd Paris Gl 9.4.1761  
1761 at court Fr  
18. 5.1765 BTh Fr  
(P. 9-770 BTh Ger 19x- 8. 1.1788)  
8. 1.1788 KTh Ger  
18. 9.1799 FTh Ger  
(4.10.1799 KTh Ger  
5.10.1799 BTh Ger))  
Favart's tale pfd Vienna in different guises, with and without music; pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1761 & 1765; pfd Vienna as a play in Ger, without music, trans Starke (Soliman der Zweyte) 1770 BTh; pfd as an opera (music by ?) trans Perinet as Boxelane oder die drey Sultaninnen 1799 FTh, trans Huber with new music by Glasmayer as Soliman der Zweyte, 1799 KTh & BTh.

288. Le solitaire  
D'Arlincourt & Planard  
op com. 3 acts  
Carafa  
pfd Paris OC 17.8.1822  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Castelli (Der Klausner auf dem wüsten Berge) 1826 KTh  
28.11.1826 KTh Ger  
14x- 2.11.1827  
S.m. 32.376-377 (texts in Ger (Ms)) KT 249  
(score with Ger text & prompt copy (Ms))

289. Le sorcier  
Poinsinet  
op com. 2 acts  
Philidor  
pfd Paris Gl 2.1.1764  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1765 BTh  
1765 BTh Fr  
Les souhaits du bûcheron, see Le bûcheron ou les trois souhaits  
Die Spröde auf der Probe, see Le jeune prude ou les femmes entre elles  
Das Stelllichein, see Le rendez-vous bourgeois  
Die Stumme, see La muette de Portici
200. Le suffisant (a Le petit maître dupé) Vudé
op com 1 act
T pld Paris 13.3.1753 SG
pld Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1759 Bth

201. Sylvain (Silvain)
Marmontel (after Geasner's
'Erast')
Grétry
pld Paris CI 19.2.1770
pld Vienna in Ger, trans (?) Eschenburg as 'Valer' May 1776 Kth, as 'Sylvain' 1778 Bth and 1780/1781 Kth (also pld as play in Ger, trans Weisse, 10.8.1776 Bth 2x)

202. Le tableau parle
op com 1 act
pld Paris CI 20.9.1769

203. Tamerlan
Morel de Chédéville (after Voltaire)
Winter
pld Paris 14.9.1802
pld Vienna in Ger trans J. von Sonneleitner (Tamerlan) in concert form 1805 Kth; staged 1812 adW with musical additions by I. von Seyfried

(score in French)

1759 Bth Fr

May 1776 Kth Ger
18.11.1778 Bth Ger
2x-21.1.1779
1778 Bth: 968.427-A Th 172 (printed Vienna: Logeni, 1778)

987.773-B M (score with Fr text printed Paris: Veuve Duchesne, 1773)

9.9.1772 Lax Fr (by amateurs)
1.1.1776 Kth Fr
1780-1781 Kth Fr
28.6.1783 ThF Ger
29.6.1809 Bth Fr

ix

Der Tag voll Abenteuer, see La journée aux aventures
Tage der Gefahr, see Les deux journées

Der Tausch, see Les troqueurs

Die Temperamente, see L'importé

Des Teufels Anteil, see Le part du diable

Die tiefe Trauer, see Le grand deuil

204. Toberne ou le pêcheur suédois
Patrat
op 2 acts
pld Paris TF 2. or 3.12.1795
pld Vienna in Ger, trans C. A. Merklot (Toberen oder Der schwedische F scher) 1801 FhT & 1802 LTh

14.3.1801 FhT Ger
18.11.1802 Lth Ger
3x-2.12.1802
295. Toïnon et Toïnette

Desbrouilliers (J. A. Julien) op com 2 acts
pfd Paris CI 20.6.1767
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. H. Faber (Anton und Antonette) 1779; pfd Vienna in Fr 1780/1781 KTh

1779: 698.427-A Th 156 (text in Ger printed Vienna: Logeman, 1779); KTh 34 (score with Ger text (Ms))

296. Tom Jones

Fonssinet (after H. Fielding) op com 3 acts
pfd Paris CI 27.2.1766 rev. Sedaine CI 30.1.1766
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1768 at court, 1780/81 KTh

(French text & score)

297. La tonnelier

Audinot (after LaFontaine) op com 1 act
pfd Paris OC 28.9.1761
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players January and June 1776; but perhaps also in Ger, trans Faber (Der Fassbinder) May 1776 Fas, see other operas of this name nos 298 & 299

298. La tonnelier

A. F. Quentent op w ba 1 act
pfd Paris 16.3.1765
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1780/1781 (?), but see also other operas of this name nos 297 & 299

299. La tonnelier

"Poinsinet" op com 1 act
pfd Paris 7 (Grove lists no Philidor opera of this name) 28.10.1785 KTh Ger
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. H. Faber (Der Fassbinder), 1776 Fas, and from 1780 BTh & KTh, see 2 operas above

Different sources give conflicting information about opera(s) pfd Vienna as Le Tonnelier or Der Fassbinder. Gossec's revision of Audinot's opera made work popular in France and probably this was opera seen in Vienna: 15. 1.1776 at court, Fr; 12.5.1776 Fas, Ger; 29.6.1780 BTh & KTh Ger (the best documented performances) (trans J. H. Faber). Not known which Le Tonnelier pfd Vienna KTh June 1776 in Ger or 1780/1781 in Fr. Opera Der Fassbinder by Schenk & Weidmann was pfd KTh 1802, 1812 LTh.

300. La trésor supposé ou le danger d’écouter aux portes op com 1 act

Hoffman Méhul
pfd Paris OC 29.7.1802
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. von Seyfried (Der Schatzgräber) 1803 adW, 1809 LTh, 1812 JTh and from 1814 KTh; pfd Vienna also in Fr by Fr players during Napoleonic occupation of Vienna in 1809.
Der treue Arzt, see Lestocq ou l'intrigue et l'amour

301. Les trois fermiers  
Monvel  
1780/1781 BTh Fr  
1785 production; 698.427-A Th 192 C (text in Ger, printed Vienna: Logenmeister, 1785)

op com 2 acts  
Desdém  
28.10.1785 KTh Ger  
12×27.1.1788

pfD Paris CI 24.3.1777  
7. 2.1786 BTh Ger

pfD Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1780/1781 Bth; in Ger, trans W. G. Iecker (Die drei Fächter) 1783 onwards KTh & BTh

302. Le trompeur trompé ou la rencontre imprévue  
Vadé  
1756 BTh Fr  
text and score in Nationalbibliothek

imprévue op com 1 act  
arranged Vadé

pfD Paris SG 18.2.1754

pfD Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1756 BTh

303. Les troqueurs  
Vadé (after Lafontaine)  
1758 BTh Fr  
text in Stadtbibliothek: 58.584A score in Nationalbibliothek MsHg: S. m. 1037

op com (intermède) 1 act  
Dauvergne

pfD Paris SL 30.7.1753

pfD Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1758 BTh

304. Les troqueurs  
F.V.A.& L.C.A. d'Artois de Boubonville (after Vadé)  
1. 5.1820 KTh Ger  
KTh: S. m. 32.851, S. m. 32.121, S. m. 32.396

text in Ger (Ms)) OA 73 (score with Ger text (Ms))

op com 1 act  
(after Lafontaine)

pfD Paris GC 18.2.1819

pfD Vienna in Ger, trans Castelli (Der Tausch), 1820 KTh and under a new title (Der Weltbetrug) 1825 KTh, JTh and 1866 Har. Another German title for the opera is Die Selbst-Täuschung oder Das Halenglocklein von Seele; text 32.851 has this title, though apparently not pfD in Vienna as such

305. Le Turc généreux  
Fuxiéter  
26. 4.1758 BTh Fr  
No numbers in National Library

pantomime, parody of Rameau's  
J. Ph. Rameau

Les Indes Galantes (Ballet)

Favart

pfD Paris CI 26.7.1751 (+ 17763)

pfD Vienna in Fr by Fr players 26.4.1758 BTh; title of this op = title of 1st act of Les Indes Galantes, Ballet op, 4 acts by Rameau,  
pfD Paris G 23.8.1755. A parody of the Rameau)

306. Ty(i)cras et Doristé  
Favart  
1756 at court Fr  
(arranged by Gluck)

pastorale vv, 1 act  
1756 at court Fr

pfD Vienna in Fr by Fr players, 1756; Champsé, sometimes cited as composer was a violinist at the Théâtre français in Vienna, and responsible for copying the work.

Die Überraschungen, see Le locataire

Die Überfallung, see Emma ou la promesse imprudence
Die umgeworfenen Kutschen (Wagen) oder Der eingebildete Philosoph, see Les voitures versées

Die unerwartete Zusammenkunft, see La rencontre imprévue

Die unvermuteten Zufälle oder Unverhofft kommt oft, see Les événements imprévus

Die unvermutete Zusammenkunft, see La rencontre imprévue

307. Utbel
op 1 act
pfk Paris OC 17.5.1806
pfk Vienna in Ger, trans C. A. Herklotz (Utbel) 1810 BTh & KTh
J.N.B. de Saint Victor (from Ozian)
Méhul
15. 1.1810 KTh
16. 2.1810 BTh
14k-16. 1.1810
texts in Ger (Ma); S.m. 32.774 & S.m. 32.775 M (123); KTh 454 (score with Ger text (Ma))

308. Le vaisseau amiral ou Forbin et Desville
op com 1 act
pfk Paris TF 1.4.1805
pfk Vienna in Ger, trans Tretschke (Das Admiralschiff), 1806 KTh
Saint-Cyr
H. M. Berton
4. 7.1806 KTh
5. 7.1806 BTh
11k-10.11.1806
440.778-A M (text in Ger printed Vienna: Wallishäuser, 1806); S.m. 32.793 M (73/78) (text in Ger (Ma))

309. Le valet de chambre
op com 1 act
pfk Paris OC 16.9.1823
pfk Vienna in Ger as Der Kammerdiener, trans J. 1830 and 1840 KTh
Scribe & Milésville
(A.N.J. Duveyrier)
Carafa
14.12.1830 KTh Ger
69k. 9. 3.1849
S.m. 32.037, S.m. 32.038 (texts in Ger (Ma)); OA 110 (score with Ger text & prompt copy (Ma))

310. La vengeance inutile ou Maton e Rosette
op com 1 act
pfk Paris 28.3.1753 G1
pfk Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1755, parody of Houdonville's Titon et L'Aurore
Favart
various + from Houdonville's opera
14. 9.1755 BTh Fr
at least
3X-16. 9.1755
text in Fr
score S.m. 1035

311. Les vendanges
op com 1 act
pfk Paris T
pfk Vienna in Fr at court 1749 and 1759 might be; Les vendanges de Suresnes (Dancourt) CF 15.10.1695; or: Les vendanges de champagne; (Aubert, Fuselier, + others) op com 1 act, 1724, SL
Favart + T Pannard
T Gillier
23. 8.1749 court Fr
31. 5.1759 Lax Fr
at least
2x-25. 8.1759

Die verwirrungen(-)Essen, see L'eau de jouvenance

Die vertrauten Nebenbuhler, see Les confidences

Die verunglückte Nacht, see La première nuit manquée ou mon tour de garde

Die Verwandlungen aus Liebe, see Les amans Prothée ou qui compte sans hôte compte deux fois
Die Verwechslungen,  see Les confidences

Die Verwechslnen  auf Kamtschatka, see Balilowzki, or the exiles du Kamtschatka

312. La vestale
tragedie lyrique  3 acts
pfd Paris 0  15. (716.) 12.1807

Etienne de Jouy
Spontini

12.11.1810 KTh Ger
9. 1.1811 KTh Ger
9. 9.1814 KTh Ger
1. 9.1819 add Ger
1. 1.1830 KTh Ger

10x-29.12.1810
61x-13. 4.1814
73x- 9.12.1827
3x- 7. 4.1820
16x-21. 3.1854

pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. Seyfried as Die Vestalinn, 1810 onwards
also: 1881

1810 KTh;  S.m. 32.015 (94/86) (text in Ger (Ms)); 1811 KTh; OA 280 (score with Ger text and prompt copy (Ms)); also material from 1881

313. La veuve indecise
par en ariettes  1 act
(parody of La veuve coquette, second edition in Moret's Les Fêtes de Thalie) pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1761 BTh

Vodé

1761 BTh Fr

131.175-C (text in Fr printed Paris: Mme. Delacombe, n.d.)

314. La vicomte de Latorieres
vv 3 acts  comedie melée de chant
pfd Paris TP 1.12.1841

Bayard & Dumasurier
Carafa, Aubert, Labarre,
Tolbecque, Müller

25. 4.1843 adW Ger
9.12.1843 KTh Fr

7x- 1. 5.1843
1x

pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Mgr. Carl (Die Gabe für sich einzusamlen oder Artour de Montpensier), 1843 adW, pfd Vienna in Fr, 9.12.1843. Probably by Müller; one of many 'from the Fr' pfd Vienna at this time

1822 KTh;  S.m. 32.861/863 (texts in Ger (Ms); censors' & prompt's copies) KT 604 (Ms Ger score)

Le vieux bonhomme ou Paulet et Fanchon, see Le bonhomme, ou bienfaisance et vertu

315. Leveaux château
op com 1 act
pfd Paris TF 15.3.1798

Duval
Della Maria

19. 1.1802 adW Ger
21. 1.1822 KTh Ger

2x-20. 1.1802
8x-15. 7.1822

pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Josef von Sonnelechner, (Das alte Schloss) 1802 & 1822

Die vier Helmskinder, see Les quatre fils Aymon

316. Les visitandines
op com 2 then 3 acts
pfd Paris TF 7.7.1792 revised in 3 acts 1793

L. B. Picard
Devienne

26.11.1804 KTh Ger
27.11.1804 BTh Ger

10x-20. 2.1805

pfd Vienna in Ger, trans C. A. Herklotz (Die Herr(e)nbusch(h)erinnen), 1804 KTh & BTh

S.m. 32.670 N (57/62) (text in Ger (Ms))
661.633-A H 9 (text in Ger, printed Vienna: Degen, 1804)

Les voitures versées
op com 2 acts
St. Petersbourg Ph 16.4.1808, Paris OC 29.4.1820
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Kupelweiser (Die umgeworfene Kutschen oder der eingebildete Philosoph), 1826 KTh

E. M. Dupaty
Boiledeau

6. 9.1826 KTh Ger
22x-28.10.1831

texts in Ger (Ms): S.m. 32.221-224; scores: OA 62 (Fr and Ger text & prompt copy (Ms)); at least 2 later (1916) printed scores under title 'Das Loch in der Landstrasse' (new arrangement of opera?) OA 1428-1429

Die vornehmen Wirtle, see Les aubergistes de qualité
Wagen gewinnt oder Die beyden Flüchse, see Une folie

Der Wahnsinn, see Le délire ou les suites d’une erreur

Die wandernden Komödianten, see Les comédiens ambulants

Wasser und Feuer oder Die Haarlocke, see La boucle de cheveux

Der Wasserträger, see Les deux journées

Der Wechselbrief, see La lettre de change

Der Weibertausch, see Les troqueurs

Die Weifen und die Gibellinen, see Les Huguenots

Die Wilden, see Azéma ou le nouveau Robinson

310. Zampa ou la fiancée de marbre
op com 3 acts
pfd Paris 9C 3.5.1831

Mélesville
Hérold

3. 5.1832 Kth Ger
25. 8.1832 JTh Ger
6. 3.1846 dW Ger
17.11.1850 Kth Ger
7x-24. 7.1851

also 1866, 1867, 1876 (extracts only), 1886

pfd Vienna in Ger as Zampa oder die Marmorbraut: trans J. Seyfried 1832 Kth, trans Kopelwietz 1832 JTh, trans Ellenreich 1846 dW

Die natürliche Zauberer, see Le magicien sans magie

Das Zauberglückchen, see La clochette ou le diable pag (la camera page)

319. Zémire et Azor
op com (fée) 4 acts
pfd Font 9.11.1771

Marceau
Mélesville
Beaumont: La Belle
et la bête
Grétry

10.10.1775 Sch Fr
4. 1.1776 Bth or Kth Fr
13. or 15. 5.1776 Lax Fr
1776 Lth Ger
12.10.1779 Bth Ger
6.12.1785 Kth Ger
1780/1781 Kth Fr
17.1.1790 LTh Ger
2. 8.1793 PHT Ger
15.10.1809 Bth Fr
8. 1.1810 dW Ger
9x-31.12.1818

pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1775 Sch, 1776 Lax, 1809 during French occupation of Vienna: pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. H. Faber, as Zemire und Azor, from 1776. The opera was the subject of several parodies and was reset by Spohr: pfd 20.12.1821 Kth, 3x

Das zweite Kapitel, see Le chapitre second
Zum treuen Schäfer, see Le (au) fidèle berger

Der Zweikampf, see Le pré aux clercs
Appendix 2

listing chronologically the French operas performed in Vienna between 1750 and 1850 (under their French titles), and giving the dates, theatres and languages of their performances there.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Theatre</th>
<th>Language and French Title</th>
<th>Composer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1752</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>Lax &amp; BTh</td>
<td>Le cocq de village (première)</td>
<td>Favart*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>BTh</td>
<td>Les amours champêtres (première)</td>
<td>Gluck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1755</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>Lax &amp; BTh</td>
<td>Les amours de Bastien et de Bastienne (première)</td>
<td>Favart &amp; Guerville*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or 5.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>La nièce vengée (première) (under the title: &quot;La surprise&quot;)</td>
<td>Gillier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>BTh &amp; Lax</td>
<td>Le chinois poli en France (première)</td>
<td>Gluck &amp; Duni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>BTh</td>
<td>La vengeance inutile (première)</td>
<td>Gluck or van Maldere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1756</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>BTh &amp; Lax</td>
<td>Le magazine des modernes (première)</td>
<td>Pannard*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>BTh</td>
<td>Le Chinois poli en France (première)</td>
<td>Gluck &amp; Duni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.7</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sch</td>
<td>Le déguisement pastoral (première)</td>
<td>Gluck or van Maldere</td>
</tr>
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<td>1757</td>
<td>before Easter</td>
<td>BTh</td>
<td>Le trompeur trompé ou la rencontre imprévue (première)</td>
<td>Blaise</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>BTh</td>
<td>On ne s’avise jamais de tout (première)</td>
<td>Duni</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>BTh</td>
<td>Tyris et Doristée (première)</td>
<td>Champé</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>BTh</td>
<td>La répétition interrompue (première)</td>
<td>Gillier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1758</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>BTh</td>
<td>Cythère assiégée (première)</td>
<td>Gluck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sch</td>
<td>Les amours de Lucas et de Colinette (La fête d'amour)(première)</td>
<td>Favart*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>BTh</td>
<td>La fausse esclave (première)</td>
<td>Gluck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sch</td>
<td>Les petits comédiens (the same as 22.5.1755 - &quot;La nièce vengée&quot;)</td>
<td>Gillier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.10</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sch</td>
<td>L'île de Merlin (première)</td>
<td>Gluck</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.10</td>
<td>or 5.11</td>
<td>Sch</td>
<td>Les amours champêtres (première)</td>
<td>van Maldere</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>BTh</td>
<td>La servante maîtresse (première in French)</td>
<td>Pergolesi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1759</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>Lax</td>
<td>Les troqueurs (première)</td>
<td>Dauvergne</td>
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<tr>
<td>31.5</td>
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<td>Lax</td>
<td>Les vendanges</td>
<td>Gillier</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.10</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sch</td>
<td>L'arbre enchanté (première)</td>
<td>Gluck</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>BTh</td>
<td>Cythère assiégée (première)</td>
<td>Gluck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lax or Sch</td>
<td>Isabelle et Gertrude (première)</td>
<td>Blaise</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>BTh</td>
<td>Le nouvelliste dupé (première)</td>
<td>Pannard*</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>BTh</td>
<td>Le suffisant (première)</td>
<td>Vadé*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Favart, Pannard and Vadé were the librettists of these operas. They perhaps compiled the music for their works but were not composers.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Theatre</th>
<th>Language and French Title</th>
<th>Composer</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1760</td>
<td>April</td>
<td>BTh</td>
<td>F L'ivrogne corrigé (première)</td>
<td>Gluck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.10.</td>
<td>BTh</td>
<td>F Le devin du village (première)</td>
<td>J. J. Rousseau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>BTh</td>
<td>F Le caprice amoureux (première)</td>
<td>various</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1761</td>
<td>1. 4.</td>
<td>Bth</td>
<td>F Lucinde et sa suivante</td>
<td>Gillier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11. 4.</td>
<td>BTh</td>
<td>F Le diable à quatre</td>
<td>Philidor &amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Gluck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12. 5.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F L'arbres enchanté</td>
<td>Duni</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. 7.</td>
<td>BTh</td>
<td>F L'île des fous (première)</td>
<td>Gluck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13.12.</td>
<td>BTh</td>
<td>F Le cadi dupé (première)</td>
<td>Gluck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1762</td>
<td>17. 8.</td>
<td>BTh &amp; Sch</td>
<td>F On ne s'avise jamais de tout (première)</td>
<td>Monsigny &amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>arias by Gluck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ 5.10.</td>
<td>BTh</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>I Orfeo (première)</td>
<td>Gluck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1763</td>
<td>15. 1.</td>
<td>BTh</td>
<td>F Le prétendu (première)</td>
<td>Gaviènes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. 6.</td>
<td>BTh</td>
<td>F Le prétendu</td>
<td>Gaviènes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>BTh</td>
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*Loewenberg gives this information but the Theater in der Josefstadt did not open until October 1788. Perhaps another theatre is meant or the performance took place later.*
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* These two operas may have been part of the repertoire of the fifth French troupe which left Vienna on 8 September 1781. Operas listed as having being pfd in Ger during their stay were pfd by local Austrian players.
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* These two operas were performed by Viennese players, in German.
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**March**

- adW | JTh | G | G | Raoul Barbe-Bleuë | Grétry |
- adW | LTh | G | G | Raoul Sire de Créqui | Dalayrac |
- adW | G | LTh | G | Les maris garçons (première) | Berton |
- KTh | G | adW | G | Lully et Quinault (première) | Isouard |
- KTh | G | 14.10. | adW | Les Bayadères (première) | Catel |
- BTh | G | 24.11. | adW | Le déserteur | Monsigny |
- KTh | G | 10.12. | adW | Le Prince de Catane (première) | Isouard |
- KTh | G | 24. 1. | KTh | Lodoëska | Cherubini |
- KTh | G | 19. 2. | KTh | L'échelle de soie (première) | Gaveaux |
- KTh | G | 24. 5. | KTh | Le nouveau seigneur de village (première) | Boieldieu |
- KTh | G | 1. 6. | KTh | Les maris garçons | Berton |
- KTh | G | 17. 6. | ?BTh | Le nouveau seigneur de village | Boieldieu |
- KTh | G | 19. 7. | KTh | Le trésor supposé ou le danger d'écouter aux portes | Méhul |
- KTh | G | 9. 9. | KTh | Une folie | Méhul |
- KTh | G | 17. 1. | KTh | La vestale | Spontini |
- Sch | G | 22. 1. | Sch | Le secret | Silé |
- adW | G | 11. 2. | adW | Jerusalem delivrée (première) | Persius |
<p>| 1814 2. 3. | KTh | G | G | Sémiramis | Catel |
|      1. 4. | KTh | G | G | Joconde ou les coureurs d'aventures (première) | Isouard |
|      11. 4. | KTh | G | G | Le prince de Catane | Isouard |
|      14. 6. | KTh | G | G | Joseph | Méhul |
|      16. 9. | KTh | G | G | L'héritier de Pampoul <a href="premi%C3%A8re">Paimbol, Paimpol</a> | Bochsa |
|      2. 10. | KTh | G | G | Le prisonnier ou la ressemblance | Della Maria |
|      19.10. | adW | G | G | Ninette à la cour ou la caprice amoureuse | H. F. Berton |
|      20.10. | KTh | G | G | Le prisonnier ou la ressemblance | Della Maria |
|      9.11. | KTh | G | G | Jeannot et Colin (première) | Isouard |</p>
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<td>La part du diable</td>
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<td>KTh</td>
<td>?Fosco ou le fiancé</td>
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<td>JTh</td>
<td>Le brasseur de Preston</td>
<td>Adam</td>
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<td>JTh</td>
<td>Les quatre fils Aymon</td>
<td>Balfe</td>
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<td>(première)</td>
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<td>1845</td>
<td>6. 2</td>
<td>KTh</td>
<td>Dom Sebastien, Roi de</td>
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<td>KTh</td>
<td>Fosco ou le fiancé</td>
<td>?Antoine Roth</td>
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<td>JTh</td>
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<td>Composer</td>
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<td>24. 9</td>
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<td>Bayard &amp;</td>
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<td>Hérold</td>
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<td>KTh</td>
<td>Le trésor supposé ou le danger d'écouter aux portes</td>
<td>Méhul</td>
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<td>adW</td>
<td>Les Huguenots</td>
<td>Meyerbeer</td>
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<td>adW</td>
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<td>adW</td>
<td>Les mousquetaires de la reine (première)</td>
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<td>KTh</td>
<td>Les mousquetaires de la reine</td>
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<td>adW</td>
<td>La muette de Portici</td>
<td>Auber</td>
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<td>15. 7</td>
<td>KTh</td>
<td>Ne touchez pas à la reine (première)</td>
<td>Boisselot</td>
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<td>7. 8</td>
<td>adW</td>
<td>La fille du regiment</td>
<td>Donizetti</td>
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<td>23. 9</td>
<td>adW</td>
<td>La part du diable</td>
<td>Auber</td>
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<td>Auber</td>
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<td>JTh</td>
<td>Le domino noir</td>
<td>Auber</td>
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<td>JTh</td>
<td>Ne touchez pas à la reine</td>
<td>Boisselot</td>
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<td>JTh</td>
<td>La part du diable</td>
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<td>adW</td>
<td>Le postillon de Longjumeau</td>
<td>Adam</td>
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<td>17. 7</td>
<td>KTh</td>
<td>Les Huguenots</td>
<td>Meyerbeer</td>
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<td></td>
<td>16. 9</td>
<td>KTh</td>
<td>Le fidèle berger</td>
<td>Adam</td>
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<td>23.11</td>
<td>JTh</td>
<td>L'éclair (première)</td>
<td>Halévy</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28.12</td>
<td>JTh</td>
<td>Hayée ou le secret (première)</td>
<td>Auber</td>
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<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>19. 1</td>
<td>adW</td>
<td>La dot de Susette</td>
<td>Donizetti,</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Auber, etc.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>25. 1</td>
<td>KTh</td>
<td>Les diamants de la couronne (première)</td>
<td>Auber</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23. 3</td>
<td>adW</td>
<td>?&quot;Salamon's Urtheil&quot;</td>
<td>Quaisin</td>
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<td>KTh</td>
<td>La barcarolle ou l'amour et la musique</td>
<td>Auber</td>
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<td>28. 7</td>
<td>KTh</td>
<td>Le domino noir</td>
<td>Auber</td>
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<td>30. 8</td>
<td>KTh</td>
<td>L'éclair</td>
<td>Halévy</td>
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<td></td>
<td>10.11</td>
<td>KTh</td>
<td>Hayée on le secret</td>
<td>Auber</td>
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<td></td>
<td>28. 2</td>
<td>KTh</td>
<td>Le prophète (première)</td>
<td>Meyerbeer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Listing alphabetically the composers who had a sizeable number of their French operas performed in Vienna between 1750 and 1850; the names of those operas in the order of their performance in Vienna and the proportion of each composer's output which they represent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>composer</th>
<th>number of French operas (pfd works only)</th>
<th>number and names of those operas produced in Vienna between 1750 &amp; 1850</th>
<th>% of composer's opera output which they represent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adam</td>
<td>68 (New Grove)</td>
<td>Le postillon de Longjumeau 1837, Le fidèle berger 1839, La reine d'un jour 1842, Le brasseur de Preston 1844 (more of Adam's operas were produced in Vienna after 1850)</td>
<td>--- *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auber</td>
<td>47 (New Grove)</td>
<td>La neige ou le nouvel éginard 1824, Le maçon 1826, Leicester ou le château de Kenilworth 1826, Le concert à la cour, ou la débutante 1827, Léocadie 1827, Fiorella 1829, La muette de Portici 1829, Fra Diavolo ou l'hôtellerie de Terracine 1830, La fiancée 1831, Le dieu et la bayadère 1832, Le philtre 1832, Le serment ou les faux monnayeurs 1834, Gustave III ou le bal masqué 1835, Emma ou la promesse imprudente 1835, Le cheval de bronze 1836, Lestocq ou l'intrigue et l'amour 1836, Actéon 1839, L'ambassadrice 1839, La part du diable 1844, La dot de Susette 1844, La sirène 1844, Le domino noir 1846, La barcarolle ou l'amour et la musique 1846, Les diamants de la couronne 1849, Haydée ou le secret 1849 (more Auber operas were produced in Vienna after 1850 including L'enfant prodigue (1851))</td>
<td>at least 25, at least 50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* No percentage is given because an unknown number of Adam's operas was first produced in Vienna after 1850.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Number of French Operas (PFD Works Only)</th>
<th>Number of Operas Produced in Vienna Between 1750 &amp; 1850</th>
<th>% of Composer's Opera Output Which They Represent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balfe</td>
<td>3 (New Grove)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>67%</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(also, 4 English Operas by Balfe PFD Vienna)</td>
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<td>Les quatre fils Aymon 1844</td>
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<td>Les puits d'amour 1845</td>
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<tr>
<td>Berton H. M.</td>
<td>43 (New Grove)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19%</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Le grand deuil 1804</td>
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<td>Aline reine de Golconda 1804</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Le vaisseau Amiral 1806</td>
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<td>Delia et Verdikan 1807</td>
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<td>Montano et Stéphanie 1810</td>
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<td>Les mariés garçons 1813</td>
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<td>Le délire ou les suites d'une erreur 1826</td>
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<td>Les deux mousquetaires ou la robe de chambre 1829</td>
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<tr>
<td>Berton H. F.</td>
<td>7 (New Grove)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25%</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ninette à la cour ou la caprice amoureux 1815</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blaise</td>
<td>16 (Stieger)</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Le trompeur trompé 1756</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Isabelle et Gertrude 1759</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Le bücheron ou les trois souhaits 1765</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>? (various) Le caprice amoureux 1760</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bochsa</td>
<td>8 (New Grove)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25%</td>
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<td></td>
<td>La lettre de change 1819</td>
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<td>L'héritier de Paimpol 1815</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boieldieu</td>
<td>41 (New Grove)</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>Ma tante Aurore ou le roman impromptu 1804</td>
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<td>Beniowski ou Les exilés de Kamtchatka 1804</td>
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<td>Le calife de Bagdad 1804</td>
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<td>La jeune femme colère 1809</td>
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<td>Jean de Paris 1812</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Le nouveau seigneur de village 1813</td>
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<td>La fête du village voisin 1817</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(collab. Cherubini) La prisonnière 1817</td>
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<td>Amour et Mystère ou lequel et mon cousin 1818</td>
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<td>Le petit chaperon rouge 1819</td>
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<td>La dame blanche 1826</td>
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<td>Les voitures versées 1826</td>
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<td>Les deux nuits 1834</td>
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<td>(collab. Cherubini) La prisonnière 1817</td>
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<td>Number of French Operas (pfd Works only)</td>
<td>Number of Those Operas Produced in Vienna Between 1750 &amp; 1850</td>
<td>% of Composer's Opera Output Which They Represent</td>
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<tr>
<td>Catel</td>
<td>10 (New Grove)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cherubini</td>
<td>21 French Operas (New Grove)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>39%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dalayrac</td>
<td>58 (MGG)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>40%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Della Maria</td>
<td>7 (New Grove)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>57%</td>
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Catel:
- Semiramis 1806
- Les artistes par occasion
- L'auberge des bagnères 1810
- Les aubergistes de qualité 1813
- Les Bayadères 1813
- Le premier en date

Cherubini:
- Lodoiska 1802
- Les deux journées ou le porteur d'eau 1802
- Médée 1802
- Eliza ou le voyage aux glaciers du Mont Saint-Bernard 1802
- L'Hôtellerie portugaise 1803
- La punition
- Anacréon (concert pf) 1805 (collab. Boieldieu) La prisonnière (Emma ou La prisonnière) 1817

Dalayrac:
- Nina ou la folle par amour 1790
- Renaud d'Ast 1791
- Les deux petits Savoyards 1792
- Raoul, Sire de Créqui 1793
- Azémia, ou le nouveau Robinson 1795
- La soirée orageuse 1795
- Adolphe et Clara 1801
- Lhéman ou la tour de Neustadt 1803
- La bouche de cheveux 1803
- Léon ou le château de Montenero 1804
- Une heure de Mariage 1804
- La jeune prude ou les femmes entre elles 1804
- Alexis ou l'erreur d'un bon père 1805
- La leçon ou la tasse de glaces 1805
- Guilistan ou le Hulla de Samarcande 1806
- Les deux mots ou une nuit dans le forêt 1807
- Une matinée de Catinat 1808
- Koulouf ou les chinois 1808
- Philippe et Georgette 1809
- Maison à vendre 1809
- La famille américaine 1810
- Ambroise ou voilà ma journée 1812
- Le poète et le musicien 1816

Della Maria:
- Le prisonnier ou la ressemblance 1800
- Le vieux château ou la rencontre 1802
- L'oncle valet 1803
- L'opéra-comique 1804
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Number of French Operas (pfd works only)</th>
<th>Number and Names of Those Operas Produced in Vienna between 1750 &amp; 1850</th>
<th>% of Composer’s Opera Output Which They Represent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Dezière   | 15 (MGG) 20 (New Grove)                 | L’erreur d’un moment 1775  
Julie 1779  
La paysanne curieuse 1781  
Les trois fermiers 1780 | 20%                                              |
| Doche     | 5 operas  many vvs. over 100             | La premiere nuit manquée 1809  
Le jalous malade ou Amour et Surprise 1809 | 2%                                               |
| Donizetti | 7 (New Grove)                           | Les martyrs 1841  
La fille du régiment 1841 (in Italian)  
La dot de Susette 1844 (in German) | 43%                                              |
| Duni      | 22 (New Grove)                          | ? Le caprice amoureux 1760  
L’île des fous 1761  
La veuve indécise 1761  
Les deux chasseurs et la laitière 1764  
Mazet 1768  
La fée urgele 1780  
Le milicien 1776  
? La clochette 1780-1781 | 35%                                              |
| Gaveaux   | 35 (Stieger) 33 (New Grove)             | Le petit matelot 1801  
Un quart d’heure de silence 1805  
Le locataire 1805  
Avis aux femmes 1805  
L’échelle de soie 1814  
Le bouffe et le tailleur 1826 | 17%                                              |
| Gluck     | (List includes only operas composed to French texts or later translated into French.) | Les amours champêtres 1752  
La Cythère assiégée 1756  
Le Chinois poli en France 1756  
La fausse esclave 1758 | -                                               |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Number of French Operas (PFD Works Only)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gluck (cont.)</td>
<td>767</td>
<td>L'Ile de Merlin 1758, Le diable à quatre 1759, L'arbre enchanté 1759, L'ivrogne corrigé 1760, Le cadi dupé 1761, La rencontre imprévue 1764 (Alceste, first PFD Vienna 1767 in Italian, was PFD Paris in French 1776 but apparently never given in Vienna in the French version), Echo et Narcisse (Paris 1779) appears never to have been PFD in Vienna, Orphée 1781, Iphigénie en Tauride 1781, Iphigénie en Aulide 1808, Armide 1808</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halévy</td>
<td>33 (Stieger)</td>
<td>La Juive 1836, Guido et Ginevra ou la peste de Florence 1841, Ludovic 1834, Les mousquetaires de la reine 1846</td>
<td>4, 11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hérold</td>
<td>26 (New Grove), 20 (Stieger)</td>
<td>Les troqueurs 1820, La clochette ou le diable page 1821, Marie 1826, Zampa 1832, Le pré aux clercs 1833, Ludovic 1834, La médecine sans médecin 1838</td>
<td>7, 27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Composer</td>
<td>Number of French Operas (PFD Works Only)</td>
<td>Number and Names of Those Operas Produced in Vienna Between 1750 &amp; 1850</td>
<td>% of Composer's Opera Output Which They Represent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Isouard    | 32 (New Grove) 35 (Stieger)             | Le médecin turc 1804  
Michel-Ange 1804  
Les confidences 1804  
L'intrigue aux fenêtres 1806  
Le rendez-vous bourgeois 1808  
Cendrillon 1811  
Un jour à Paris 1811  
Le billet de loterie 1812  
Le magicien sans magie 1812  
Le prince de Catane 1812  
Lully et Quinault 1813  
Jeannot et Colin 1815  
Joconde ou les coureurs 1815  
Les deux mariés 1819 | 40% |
| Le Sueur   | 8 (New Grove)                            | La caverne 1803                                                           | 13% |
| Méhul      | 31 (New Grove) 40 (Stieger)              | Euphrosine ou le tyran corrigé 1795  
Une folie 1803  
L'irato ou l'importé 1803  
Le trésor supposé 1803  
Hélène 1803  
Joanna 1803  
Ariodant 1804  
Les deux aveugles de Tolède 1806  
Gabrielle d'Estrees 1807  
Joseph 1809  
Uthal 1810  
La journée aux aventures 1816  
Prince Troubadour 1819 | 30% |
| Meyerbeer  | 8 (New Grove) 12 (MGG)                   | Les Huguenots 1836  
Le prophète 1850                                                        | 17% |
| Monsigny   | 15 (New Grove)                           | On ne s'avise jamais de tout 1762  
Le roi et le fermier 1763  
Le maître en droit 1763  
Le déserteur 1771  
Rose et Colas 1776  
Aline, reine de Golconda 1781-2  
Félix ou l'enfant trouvé 1785  
La belle Arsène 1786 | 44% |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Number of French Operas (Pfd Works Only)</th>
<th>Number of Names of Those Operas Produced in Vienna Between 1750 &amp; 1850</th>
<th>% of Composer's Opera Output Which They Represent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>François-André Danican Philidor</td>
<td>27 (New Grove) 30 (Stieger)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Le Maréchal ferrant 1763</td>
<td>Le bûcheron ou les trois souhaits 1765</td>
<td>Le sorcier 1765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tom Jones 1768</td>
<td>Sancho Pança dans son isle 1788</td>
<td>Les femmes vengées 1776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tom Jones 1768</td>
<td>Sancho Pança dans son isle 1788</td>
<td>L'amant déguisé ou le jardinier supposé 1776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Le bon fils 1780-1781</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rossini</td>
<td>4 (New Grove)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Le comte d'Ory 1829</td>
<td>Guillaume Tell 1830</td>
<td>Le siège de Corinthe 1831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacchini</td>
<td>7 (New Grove)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>La colonie 1776</td>
<td>Oedipe à Colonne 1802</td>
<td>(La Contadina in Corte) 1767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spontini</td>
<td>9 (New Grove)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Milton 1805</td>
<td>Julie ou le pot de fleurs 1806</td>
<td>La vestale 1810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fernand Cortez 1812</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarchi</td>
<td>7 (New Grove)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D'auberge en auberge ou les préventions 1804</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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B. Newspapers and theatre almanacs
C. Letters, diaries and travel literature
D. Theatrical documents; costume drawings, financial records, posters

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