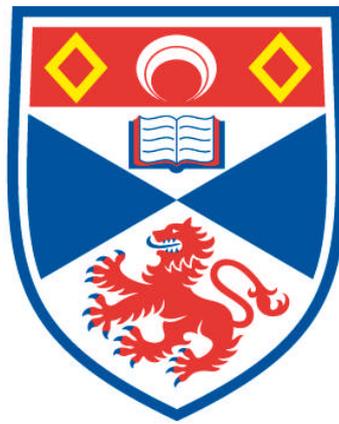


**THE VIENNESE VOGUE FOR OPÉRA-COMIQUE 1790-1819  
: VOL 2.**

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**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St Andrews**



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Volume II . . .

The Viennese vogue  
for  
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1790- 1819

submitted by  
Carolyn Kirk

In fulfilment of the requirements  
for Ph.D. degree  
of

the University of St. Andrews

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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,<sup>1</sup> 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.

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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.<sup>1</sup> 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.

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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,<sup>1</sup> 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

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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.



Louise.

Ja!

Margaretha.

Ja!

Hammchen.

Ja!

Bertram, (Lärmig)

Ja!

Wigand.

Ist gut also alle?

Louise.

Ja.

Margaretha

Ja.

Hammchen.

Ja!

Bertram, (sein oben)

Ja.

Wigand.

2

Dies ist nicht der Brief den die Frau  
geschickte an den Capitallandkammer.  
Daher geschickten sie, sondern es ist  
ihre Antwort an die Frau geschickte.  
Dies schickte sie und liest!

! Geschickte Frau.

" Die Frau so sie mir auch ihre geschickte

## 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.<sup>1</sup> 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 Nationalising-spiel, 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup> 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.

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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

VMsmlg  
Kth 390

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

641.443-A M 17

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

Sa.82.B.51

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 (ie the left-hand column). See p. 435.]

French score (1764)

Ms Viennese score (1778)

overture D-

D+

overture

Rose: "Pauvre Colas"  
F major; amoroso dolce

Röschen: "Ach Colas Ach"  
F major; amoroso dolce

dialogue

dialogue extended

La Mère Bobi: "La sagesse est un  
trésor"  
Bb major; allegro ma non troppo

Mutter Anne: "Ja die  
Tugend ist ein Schatz"  
D major: allegro ("ma  
non troppo" deleted)  
*versions in Eb and Bb*  
also included in score,  
but it was sung in D

dialogue

dialogue

Mathurin: "Sans chien et sans  
houlette"  
F major; allegro ma non troppo

Mathias: "Viel lieber an  
einem Fädchen"  
F major; allegro ma non  
troppo, omitted at one time

dialogue

dialogue

Peter's speeches shortened

Pierre le Roux: "Avez-vous  
connu Jeanette?"  
D major; allegretto

Peter: "Kanntet ihr, sie  
denn nicht beyde"  
D major; allegretto

dialogue

Mathurin: "Aux printemps  
(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-mois 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

dialogue  
first part omitted

Mathias: "Es kommt in idem  
Frühling schöner Sonnenstrahl"  
deleted

dialogue  
much of witty dialogue  
omitted, especially  
Peter's speeches

Duet: Peter & Mathias:  
"Lass ihn doch unverletzt"  
D major; allegro ma non  
troppo

dialogue ~~/extended/~~

Trio: omitted from MS score  
and printed textbook  
previous dialogue extended  
to cover the gap

omitted

Röschen: "Was soll ich  
thun"  
aria: Bb major; 2/4  
a new number

Röschen: "Ach warum sind  
sie böse"  
Bb; ♯; extended: 117 measures  
was omitted at some time

díalogue  
Colas's final speech omitted

Colas: "Hier wohnt sie wo  
ich zitternd schleiche"  
G major; amoroso;

middle section cut

dialogue

Duetto: Röschen & Colas:  
"Liebst du mich"  
G major; amoroso

	2nd volume
dialogue	dialogue <u>first part missing</u> probably because the first pages of this well-worn score have become loose
Mathurin "Ah ah quel douleur!" F Minor andante un poco allegro	Mathias: "Ach Welch ein Schmerz" F minor; andante un poco allegro
dialogue	dialogue
vaudeville: Rose: "Il étoit un oiseau gris" G major; 6/8	vaudeville: Röschen: "Es war einst ein Vogel" G Major; 6/8 often omitted - deletion evident
dialogue	dialogue <u>shortened - final part</u> <u>omitted</u>
quintett Rose, Colas, Mathurin, Pierre le Roux, La Mère Bobi D major; presto "Ceçi me paraît fort"	quintett: Rose, Colas, Mathias, Pierre le Roux, La mere Bobi. "Ich glaube es wohl"
dialogue	dialogue
vaudeville - quintet "Fournissez un canal au ruisseau" "Il faut seconder la nature" E major	vaudeville - chorus <u>4-bar orchestral</u> <u>ritornello</u> <u>between stanzas of</u> <u>vaudeville omitted each</u> <u>time</u>

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.<sup>1</sup> In 1781, Herr Schmidt was praised for his "gutes und schönes Spiel".<sup>2</sup> 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. 41.

2. Michtner, p. 99.

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.<sup>1</sup> 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".

ich  
Röschen: Was soll ich thun? Das Vaters  
[Orchestral introduction: ob, hn, strings]

kann  
Willen ist mir ein heiliges Ge - both, und doch ich ihn nicht er - füllen.

O das ist ein - e wahr - e Noth O das ist ein - e wahr - e 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 enfans (regardant la fille). À père négligent, enfant libertin; Et qui perd mère perd sagesse. J'ai vu que les pères conduisent les enfans, à présent ce sont les enfans qui conduisent les pères, aussi le ciel est offensé.

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 feroit mieux de se tenir chez lui.

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 Fingern, und lassen sich von ihren Kindern regieren. Ich war auch ein junges Mädchen, aber ein ehrbares züchtiges Mädchen. Ich war noch eine Unschuld mit 25 Jahren. Jetzt sind die Mädeln kaum ... O der Schande über die wilde ... ausgelassene Jugend.

R: Ach führt nicht ein böser Geist die alte Mutter Anne daher. Was wird sie wohl wollen? Was seht ihr euch, nun Müttchen?

Mutter: Nichts, nichts. Ich suche nur mein [? illegible] für meine kranke Nachtigall. Aber was stösst dann du so mässig da, und legst die Hände im Schoss. Hast du keine Arbeit? Ja. wo ist denn dein Vater?

R: Ich weiss es nicht; er ist überall und er ist nirgends.

A: Ja, ja, wenn die Kätze nicht zu Hause ist, so tänzen die Mäuse auf dem Tisch. Wo kein Muth ist, ist auch keine Furcht. Wann die Tauben ausgeflogen sind, macht man den Taubenschlag zu. Dein Vater würde besser thun wenn er hübsch zu Hause bliebe.

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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>1</sup> 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).<sup>2</sup> Der Deserteur, however, had even less success than Catel's opera. The production was reviewed in at least three papers.<sup>3</sup>

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:

Le déserteur. Drame in 3 acts. Music by Monsigny. Text by Sedaine. Full score Paris, n.d. [? 1769].

"Der Deserteur." Singspiel in 3 acts. Music by Monsigny. Text by Sedaine. Trans. Stephanie the Younger. Ms score used for performance at the court theatres from 1779. VMsmlg Kth 109.

Der Deserteur. Trans. Stephanie the Younger. Printed textbook used for performances at the court theatres from 1779. Vienna: Logenmeister, 1779. VMsmlg 698.427-A Th 69.

"Der Deserteur." Trans. Wilhelm Ehlers. Ms textbooks used for performances at the Kärntnerthortheater, from 1813 [musical additions by various composers]. VMsmlg S.M. 32.063; S.M. 32.719.

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

Paris 1769	Vienna 1779	Vienna 1813
Overture - D Major		
Louise: "Peut-on affliger ce qu'on aime?" A major, andantino ♪	L.: "Ein solches Herz zu kränken"	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.
dialogue	dialogue	patriotic dialogue
Jeanette: "J'avais égaré mon fuseau", D major, allegro non tanto; 6/8	J: "Mein Schäferstab war fort"	2nd two stanzas of Hannchen's aria omitted
dialogue	dialogue	dialogue very like original
Alexis: "Ah je respire" D major; allegro maestoso; C	A: "Ach! welch Entzücken". Rhythm altered in second half	A: aria "Welche Freude, welch' Entzücken". meaning of text differs slightly from columns 1&2
short wedding march; D major, 2	short wedding march	[? wedding march]
dialogue	dialogue	dialogue
Alexis & Jeanette: "Serait-il vrai?" F minor; allegro; ♪	A & J: "Das wäre wahr?"	duo omitted
dialogue	dialogue	dialogue
Alexis: recit: "Infidèle que t'ai-je fait?" E minor; andante; C leading to E major air "fuyons ce lieu que je déteste" quintet with 3 soldiers; allegro; ♪	A: "Ungretreue! -- was that ich dir" this ensemble like all the music above pfd without cuts; in final quintet, some parts transposed up 8ve to avoid low Cs	A: aria "Ungetreue"  final ensemble shortened
entr'acte; A major, ♪	entr'acte	"introduzione"
dialogue	Act II	
Alexis: "Mourir n'est rien" D minor; allegro non troppo; ♪	A: "Der Tod ist nichts"	extra scene added here with the jailer Sprenger giving orders to three dragoons in prison. Prison has become a harsher place; Alexis' aria "Der Tod ist nichts" follows this scene

1. See p. 435 for an explanation of the layout of this and subsequent tables.

dialogue		
Montauciel: "Je ne déserterais jamais" F major, allegro; 3.	Himmelsturm: "Nein, nein ich laufe nicht davon"	Himmelsturm: "Nein, Nein"
dialogue	dialogue	dialogue
Alexis & Louise: "O ciel puis-je te voir" G minor; allegro non tanto; C	A & L: "O Gott! auch du kömmst itzt hierher"	dialogue between Alexis & Louise is shortened. Less anxious interrogation. Duet A&L: "Auch du kommst"
dialogue	dialogue	dialogue
Louise: "Dans quel trouble te plonge ce que je te dis-là?" A major; amoroso 3/4	L: "Hast du mich je geliebet?" freely translated	probably omitted
dialogue	dialogue	dialogue
Louise, Alexis, Jean Louis : trio fuga "Oh Ciel, quoi tu vas mourir?" C minor (ends in C major) §, 40 pages of continuous music	L., A. & H.M.: terzetto: "Hemm doch den Lauf der reinen Zähren" C major, 3/4 a new number; 81 bars long; langorous; melodious; woodwinds play in 3rds	new ensemble for Wigard Sprenger, Louise, Anton and Krick + the 3 dragoons. Anton is taken away to "talk" amidst protests
dialogue	dialogue	dialogue extended
Bertrand: "Tous les hommes sont bons" Montauciel: "Vive le vin" then both combined as a duet G minor allegretto 2	B: "Aller Welt Blut ist gut" H: "Fort mit dem Gram" duet sung in F minor	drinking song was performed as written. <u>Der Sammler</u> noted it received the fewest alterations
entr'acte F major	entr'acte Act III	no mention of entr'acte
dialogue Montauciel: "V,o,u,s,et,t," Bb major; andantino §	H: "D-u du, l-i-e-b-e-lieber" final cadence extended	soldiers chorus, dialogue spelling aria: "G-r-ü-n S-c-h-n-a-b-e-l" (here, Ehlers translated the French pun literally)
dialogue	dialogue	

Alexis: "Il m'eût été si doux de t'embrasser" F minor; adagio; C	A: "Mir wär's ein süßer Trost, dich noch zu sehen" 2 versions in score: in F minor and G minor	no mention of an aria here for Anton
dialogue	dialogue	dialogue
Courchemin: "Le Roi passait" C major, allegro poco maestoso; ♯	C: "Der könig kommt" parts are transposed down to avoid high notes, but some high Fs remain	"Der Kaiser kommt"
dialogue	dialogue	dialogue
Alexis: "On s'empresse, on me regarde" E minor; moderato 92 bars; C	A: "[illegible] alle, voll von Neugier, auf mich sah" cuts made: last 15 bars omitted: 52 bars instead of 92	probably omitted
dialogue	dialogue	
Alexis: "Adieu chère Louise" Eb major; adagio; C	A: "Leb'ewig wohl. Louise!"	order of last scene completely altered: new aria for Louise as she delivers the pardon, more sub- stantial parts for Himmelsturm
Louise: recit-C minor "Ou suis-je" chorus: D major	L: "Wo bin ich" chorus: rhythm slightly altered	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 wär'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, Hob, fag, hn)

Lento amoroso  
 Hemm doch der Lauf der reinen Zäh - ren. Mein Tod be-weist dir meine  
 Treue und wird dir dieser Text ge- wöh - ren dass ich um dich gestorben

Luise:

sey. Mein Va- ter ach ich bin verloh - ren. War  
 nei- di- sches Geschick der Augenblick da ich ge bor - ren, nicht meiner

Ludwig:

Todes Aug - en blick. Mein Freund welch Schicksal dich be-droht. Mein Freund bedroht.  
 Todes Aug - en blick. Mein Freund welch Schicksal dich be-droht. ^ welch Schicksal dich

# Le Déserteur

Ein Singspiel in 3 Akten.  
Auf Veranlassung des k. k. Hof-Opern-Orchesters  
bearbeitet

von  
Wilhelm Eilers.

Die Musik ist von Monsigny;  
die vorstehenden Änderungen sind  
nach Möglichkeit nach dem Original  
und nach beliebiger Willkür.

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.<sup>1</sup>

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

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.<sup>2</sup>

Ehlers's version of Der Deserteur 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.<sup>3</sup>

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 immaturely expressed in this adaptation of Le déserteur.

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1. In 1814, he also gave guest performances in Breslau. Der Sammler, 6  
 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<sup>1</sup>. 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 Burschen, 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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 erräth, so müsste sich desselben bis zum Ende des dritten natürlich die grosste Langweile bemeistern. Kein einziges Musikstück, alt und neu, so bunt sie auch unter -- und übereinander lagen -- wurde beklatscht, ausser die Worte "Die Vorsicht erhalte unserm Kaiser Franz" welche Hr. Weinmüller zu singen hatte: diese wurden ... mit enthusiastischen Beyfalls Bezeugungen aufgenommen.<sup>1</sup>

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

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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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

### 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 Goedeke XI/11, pp. 84-85, 10 Jahre 10 Briefe 10 Liebhaber.
3. Der Sammler, 27 November 1813, p. 756.

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.<sup>1</sup>

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 Kärntnertheater 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

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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.<sup>1</sup> However, a cast list inside this text book 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.<sup>2</sup> 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:

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1. Der Sammler, 13 December 1810, p. 606.
  2. GM 1436

Richard Coeur-de-Lion. Opéra-comique in 3 acts. Text by Sedaine after La Curne de Saint-Palaye. Full score. Paris, 1786.

Richard Coeur de Lion. Opéra-comique in 3 acts. Text by Sedaine. Textbook. Paris: Le Franca, 1786.

Richard Löwenherz. Singspiel in 3 acts. Trans. André. Printed textbook. Theatralische Sammlung cxxxvi. Vienna: Jahn, 1791.

Richard Löwenherz. Singspiel in 3 acts. Trans. Stephanie the Younger. Printed textbook. Vienna: Logenmeister, 1787. used for performances at the court theatres from 1788. Vienna: Logenmeister, 1787. VMsmlg 440.778-A M 135.

"Richard Löwenherz." Singspiel in 3 acts. Music by Grétry. Trans. Stephanie the Younger. Ms score used for performances at the court theatres from 1788. VMsmlg Kth 384 Hs.

Richard Löwenherz. Trans. Schmieder. Printed textbook as used for performance at the Theater auf der Wieden from 1800: VMsmlg 641.433 - A M.S.

"Richard Loewenherz." Singspiel in 3 acts. Trans.? Joseph von Seyfried. Ms textbook used for performances at Theater an der Wien from 1810. VMsmlg S.m. 32.016.

Richard Loewenherz. Selection of favourite pieces arranged by Ignaz von Seyfried. Piano reduction. Vienna, n.d. GMF 143b.

Richard Löwenherz. Opera in 3 acts with music by Grétry and overture by Joseph Weigl. Complete piano reduction by Friedrich Ludwig Seidel. Berlin, n.d. GMF.

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".<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Victor Wildé, introduction to Richard Coeur-de-lion. Collection complète des oeuvres de Grétry publié par le gouvernement Belge, i. (Leipzig and Brussels, 1883).
  2. Wildé, introduction to Richard Coeur-de-lion, p. IV.

Richard Löwenherz

Singspiel

am k. k. priv. Theater an der  
Wien.

Das Theater stellt eine Stadtmauer vor. Das Thor wird von der eindringenden Infanterie eingerissen, und von dem Besatzungs-Soldaten vertheidigt. Von beyden Seiten dringt die Kavallerie ein, und drückt die Infanterie gegen das Stadt-Thor. Mitten aus diesem Gewühle bringt Blondel in seinen Armen den König Alard und die Gräfin von Flandern. Urten steht:

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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.



*Richard - Löwenherz*

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.<sup>1</sup>

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.

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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".<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

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1. TZ, 24 August 1806, p. 92.

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,<sup>1</sup> 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

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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 Erndte 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:

0 Rich-ard, ô mon Roi! L'uni-vers t'ab-an-don-ne; Sur la  
 que à toi et  
 ter-re il n'est donc moi qui s'intéresse à ta per-son-  
 e. Et sa nob-le mi-ne, Hé-las son coeur doit être na-  
 vré de dou-leur, -Oui, son coeur est na-vré, na-vré de dou-leur.

## Viennese translation, 1787:

Ver--lässt dich je-der mann Oh. Richard, Oh mon Kön-ig, Bleibt dir  
 nur dieser Arm der retten möchte und nicht retten kann, Und seine  
 edle  
 Freundinn, Weh ihr, ihr zärtlich Herz wird es den Schmerz ertragen [Ach] so bittem  
 Schmerz erliegt ein treues Herz.

[ ] enclose notes and slurs added in a different hand after the music had been copied to accommodate the German text

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 Kärntnerthortheater 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 zuviel 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 "Verlässt 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.<sup>1</sup> More than twenty years later, a French musician, Martine, still considered the opera's story to be "terrible".<sup>2</sup> However, a report appeared in the Viennese Theaterzeitung in 1806 telling of the different reactions of one Viennese and the

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1. La Mercure de France, 14 March 1789, p. 98.

2. Martine, p. 202.

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.<sup>1</sup>

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".<sup>2</sup> 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,<sup>3</sup> and a review of the opera nine years later commented that the story was then too dated to have any appeal to Viennese audiences.<sup>4</sup>

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.<sup>5</sup>

1. TZ, 17 September 1806, p. 158.

2. Reeve, p. 108.

3. TZ, 23 March 1824, p. 143.

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.<sup>1</sup> 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.

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1. AMZ, 5 September 1804, column 823.

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 Barbe-bleue. Opéra-comique in 3 acts. Music by Grétry. Text by Sedaine after C. Perrault. Full score. Paris: Chez l'auteur, 1790.

Raoul der Blaubart. Heroische Oper in 3 acts. Text by Sedaine. Trans. Schmieder. Printed textbook as used for performance at the Theater an der Wien from 1804. Vienna: Schmidt, 1804.

"Raoul der Blaubart". Trans. Treitschke. Ms score used for performance at the Kärntnerthortheater from 1821 for 1833. 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.<sup>1</sup> It ended with a military fanfare by which means he announced to

1. Martine, p. 202.

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.

[piano strings] leads into: etc.

The image shows a musical score for piano strings. It consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The key signature is D major (two sharps) and the time signature is common time (C). The music begins with a slow introduction, featuring a series of imitative entries. The text "[piano strings]" is written below the first staff. The phrase "leads into:" is written between the staves, followed by "etc." at the end of the first system.

allegro assai

violins and violas (cellos enter at measure 11 in imitation)

The image shows a musical score for violins and violas. It consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The key signature is D major (two sharps) and the time signature is common time (C). The tempo is marked "allegro assai". The music begins with a series of imitative entries. The text "violins and violas (cellos enter at measure 11 in imitation)" is written below the first staff. The score includes dynamic markings such as *f* and *b*.

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.<sup>1</sup> 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".<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup> 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.

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1. Kringsteiner, Die Braut in der Klemme (Vienna, 1807) pp. 13-18.

2. Reeve, p. 108.

3. Johann Nestroy, Sämtliche Werke, historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe ed. XV, p. 431 (role no. 3). Fritz Brukner & Otto Rommel, 15 Vols., Vienna, 1924-300.

E. 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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

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1. La Mercure de France, 24 January 1789, p. 183.

2. "Anton Fischer", The New Grove.

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:

Les deux petits Savoyards. Opéra-comique in 1 act. Music by Dalayrac, text by Marsollier. Full score. Paris [1789].

Die beyden Savoyarden. Singspiel in 1 act. Trans. Schmieder. Printed textbook as used for performance at the Freihaus Theater an der Wieden from 1792. Vienna: 1792.

Die zween Savoyarden. Singspiel in 1 act. Trans. J. Perinet. Printed textbook used for performance at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt from 1792. Vienna: Schmidt, 1792.

Die beyden Savoyarden. Singspiel in 1 act. Trans. Schmieder. Printed textbook used for performance at the court theatres from 1804. Vienna: Wallishauser, 1805. VMsmlg 628.366-A. Th.

"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. WMsmlg 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 fair-ground, 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-rai à la misère. Ces en-fans et leur



mère, ces tendres en-fans et leur mè - re. 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 man- quait 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 unkenbar zu machen, wie wir solches so oft in vielen Singspielen zum Nachtheil des wahren Schönen, und zum sogenannten Künstlerverdienste dulden müssen.<sup>1</sup>

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

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1. TZ, 24 March 1807, p. 169.

in E $\flat$ , 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) ...  
 Polichinel et le géant  
 L'escamateur, le lion vivant ....

Perinet offered his audience:  
 ... die schöne Katherine  
 Und die schöne Magellone ...  
 Polischinell 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> Conradin Kreutzer set Grillparzer's text. An opera on the same subject was written by Lortzing, in 1845.

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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 Coeur-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 Änderungen 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:

Renaud d'Ast. Opéra-comique in 2 acts. Music by Dalayrac. Text by P. Y. Barré and J. B. Radet. Full score. Paris: Pleyel, 1787.

"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[?9]. 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]

Paris 1787	Vienna 1799	Vienna 1801
overture D minor	overture	overture
1. Céphise, aria "Tendre mélancolie" C major; larghetto ma non troppo 3/4	1. Elise["Seid dich auf mich"] 2nd stanza deleted [illegible]	1. (2nd stanza deleted)
dialogue	dialogue shortened	dialogue shortened
Sounding of retreat: horns, bassoons, oboes	retreat, 2 drum parts added	retreat
2. Céphise: aria "Comment goûter quelque repos" A minor; 6/8 andante con Espressione	2. deleted by censor	deleted -

dialogue

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  
like column 2

dialogue

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

dialogue

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

dialogue

4. trio  
like column 2

dialogue

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

dialogue

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

dialogue

5. aria: Reinald  
like column 2

dialogue

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

dialogue

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

dialogue

6. aria: Reinald  
coloratura omitted  
like column 2

dialogue

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

dialogue

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

dialogue

7. not in the score;  
deleted in the text  
book

dialogue

8. Renaud: "Doux  
présent de ma  
Maîtresse"  
A major; ♯; andante

dialogue deleted

8. Reinald: "Holdes  
Bild der reinsten  
Liebe"

dialogue deleted

(deleted in text  
book)

dialogue

dialogue

dialogue



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 blütige 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 Stande" -- 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 Reinald. 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.

(i)

# II.

# Raul Riqui

(ii)

*de e Timpani  
no uafiro forte*

*allegro Presto*

Musical score for various instruments including:  
 Corni in D  
 Oboe  
 Violini  
 Viola  
 Elise Cord  
 Corgui  
 Saxoni  
 Soprano  
 Tenore  
 Fagotti  
 Trombe

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.<sup>1</sup> 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.

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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."<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup> The exact origins

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1. Die Monatschrift für Theaterfreunde, 1805, VI, p. 282.

2. "Berhard Anselm Weber", The New Grove.

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.<sup>1</sup> 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.

French Score	score marked	Viennese score	Munich score
BL H 538.c.	"Breslau 1797"	KT 374 1805	?179? or 1804,
overture D minor	overture soldiers' chor- us recit for Roger	overture short- ened chorus enters sooner recit for Roger	flutes added to overture 102 bars added bars 26-42 at one time omitted
speech for Craon cries to heaven to have mercy "O Ciel ayez pitié de moi" Eloi & Bathilde meet Craon; speech	Craon's speech omitted aria for Craon D minor; C "Wohin, wohin"	Craon's speech omitted aria for Craon D minor; C "O guter Gott erbarme dich"	Craon's speech omitted; aria: Craon

[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.

Paris	Breslau	Vienna	Munich
duet: Eloi "Je brûle de voir le château dont parle notre Père" D major 2/4	duet: Edwin & Bathilde "Das Schloss wovon mein Vater" 2/4	duet: Susanne & Heinrich: "Das Schloss wovon mein Vater" 2/4	duet: "Ich möchte wohl das Schloss dort sehen" D major 2/4
aria: Craon "De vos bontés" G minor 3/4	Romanza: "... gab mir in dem Augenblick" G minor; 3/4	Craon's aria omitted; instead new aria for Gerhard: "Wie blühte Crequi's Flamme"	Romanza: Conrad: "Ach, eure Liebe und Güte" G minor 3/4
duet: Craon & Gérard "Ah ne me livrez pas" Eb andante C	duet: Craon & Gerhard "Ach suchen Sie den Gram zu wider streben" Eb andante	duet: Konrad & Gerhard "Ach suchet doch" Eb andante	duet: Konrad & Gerhard: "Ach überlass mich noch" Eb
aria: Landri "Nous en trou- verons" E major alloyé assai (high: top Gs & Fs)	aria: Landri: "Kriegerisches Gewehr schaffen selbst wir hier" E major	new aria: Elisa C major "ja las- car il mio tesoro" another short aria for Elisa crossed out: "Tief durch die düstre Seele"	new aria: with coloratura Bb andante con moto: "Vor allen die ich schon verliere blieb mir die Hoffnung": Elise
		aria: Landri: "Wir finden Sie"	aria: Landri: "Wir finden" E major
Finale: Gérard, Adèle, Craon. "Il faut céder à notre sort" C minor- C major; andante; 3/4	Finale: "Wir müssen fort von diesem Ort" C minor	Finale: C minor Landri's solos omitted (per- haps too high)	Finale: C minor
ACT II			
duet: Bathilde & Eloi, Bb allegro modera- to - ♯ (speech)	duet: Bathilde & Edwin; "Ha Bruder spielst du nicht den Stummen "	duet: "Ach Bruder hörst du dieses Wetter"	duet
ariette: Ludger: "Paix, paix" G minor 2/4	aria: Ludger "Still, still" G minor	aria: Landry "Still still still alle Neugier ein"	aria

Paris	Breslau	Vienna	Munich
music: C minor recit-aria "O d'un sommeil trom- peur" while we see Créqui in tower	Crequi: "O süsse Schmeichel- ey" C minor	Crequi: C minor; much omitted	aria: Crequi
Chanson: quartet. Bathilde: "Un soir Lisette au champ"	chanson not pres- ent in score	Chanson: Susann- chen; C major	Chanson: Susannchen
6/8 C major Andantino - quartet, Créqui drinking song	ensemble "Trink, armer Mann" first part omitted	"Trink, armer Mann" not present in one textbook: perhaps omitted	ensemble "Trink"
finale: "Il est parti" D major 6/8 Eloi, Bathilde etc.	finale: "Nun ist er fort"	finale	finale
Act III			
22 bar orches- tral introduction then speech by Craon; Romanza: Craon 6/8 A major/ minor "Une lumière vive et pure"	speech omitted introduction- romanza 6/8 A major	orchestral introduction aria: Konrad "Bald unterreicht"	orchestral introduction romanza
duet-trio: Craon & Crequi "Observ- ons un profond silence" ♯ Eb major allego moderato	duet-trio Eb	duet-trio: " "Lasset heim- lich und still" new duet for Elisa & Gerhard; included in some pfs	new duo for Elise & Ger- hard: C major 212 bars
trio: "Sois notre appui, Dieu" 3/4 C major, Gerard, Adèle, Craon	trio: "Herrscher der Welt" 3/4 C major	trio: C major	long new duet for Elise & Rudolph 282 bars A major
quartet: "C'est lui, c'est lui" allegro molto ♯ D major Adèle, Gérard, Créqui, Craon	quartet: "Er ist's" allegro moderato D major	quartet and chorus "Er ists", all <sup>o</sup> presto; D maj; much omitted	quartet
finale: "O jour heureux" ♯ E major chorus etc.	finale: "O Tag voll Ruhe"; E major	finale: a large part cut	finale 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 Monatschrift 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.<sup>1</sup>

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i. 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 unermüdetem 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 ( this

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 Kärntnerthortheater; 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.<sup>1</sup>

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. VMsmlg S.A.82.D.14.

saves 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:

Lodoiska. Opéra-heroique in 3 acts. Music by Cherubini. Text by Fillette-Loroux. Score. Paris, 1791.

"Lodoiska". Singspiel in 3 acts. Music by Cherubini. Trans. C. A. Herklots. Ms. Score marked TW. [? used for performance at the Theater an der Wien 1802?]. VMsmlg S.M. 25049.

"Lodoiska". Singspiel in 3 acts. Music by Cherubini. Trans. C. A. Herklots. Ms score used for performance at the Kärntnerthortheater 1814. VMsmlg KT 265.

French score	TW sm 25049 (1802?)	KTh 265 1814
overture D major, long	no overture included in score	number of trombones increased to 3: triads completed in red pencil
no. 1 aria Titzikan & Tartares Bb C "Approchez"	aria: Tisiskan; like column 1	aria: "Ich will edel nur mich zeigen" (announced in cue as: "Mein Muth sieht edle Sachen"); like column 1
dialogue		
no. 2: aria Titzikan C major Allegro moderato. "Triomphons" high tessitura (up to G)	aria: Tisiskan; like column 1	"Es ist zum Teufel hohlen" aria: Narko: high Ds and Es trans- posed down an ove, 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: "Ein- sam, 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 F major; Fl; V; T, un Tartare "Etrangers n'ayez point d'allarmes" C allegro spiritoso	quartet	quartet
no. 5 aria: trio + choir andantino sostenuto Eb 3/4 Titzikan "Jurons jurons"	aria (Tisiskan)	aria (Titzikan)
no. 6: duet andantino sans presser	duet: andantino sans presser changed to moderato	duet
dialogue	recit replaces dialogue	dialogue
no. 7: finale "Je l'entends" C, Fl, Varbel, Lod, C major	finale	finale
ACT II dialogue	ACT II recitative	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 Lodoiska "Que dis-je, O ciel" aria "Hélas dans ce cruel azile" F major 3/4	recitative & aria	recitative & aria
speech	recitative (Lodoiska: "So bang zu sagen")	speech
no. 9 duet: Lod + Dour; Bb "A ces traits" C	duet	duet
dialogue		
no. 10 quartet + chorus E minor "Non non perde cette espérance"	quartet	quartet

dialogue	recitative for Durlinski & Floreski "Genug, sprich warum"; at some later date. small letters at top to say "bleibt aus"; leads into a new aria homophonic, Italianate, Eb major "Nein es ist Täuschung"	recit like adW but substantially altered New version 29 bars, very smudgy: "Mein Laudes sagt (?)"
no. 11 trio: F. D. & Altamoras "Ciel ce que je propose"; Eb-C	no sign of a trio	trio: "Gott, er ist für wahr betroffen"
dialogue		
no. 12 aria: (Floreski): "Rien n'égale sa barbarie" long-recit accompagnat " C allegro	a new aria which leads straight into finale.	short speech, then new aria for Floreski C major "Ahndung drücket schwer mich nieder"
dialogue	[ no dialogue ]	recit
finale no; 13 andantino sostenuto C+ C "Hélas, qu'allons nous entreprendre" F - Bb - D	finale	finale
Act III	Act III	Act III
no. 14 aria (Durlinski) Eb C "Oui par mon heureuse adresse"	aria	introduzione Durlinski's aria omitted
dialogue	recitative for Durlinski & Lodoiska "Was dürfte so viel"	dialogue covers sense of missing aria
no. 15 aria (Lodoiska) G minor "Tournez sur moi") allegro C	new aria; 165 bars, chorus for tenor & bass A minor/A major "Ja, [grabe wer singen] die Thränen der Liebe" melismas [difficult to read]	aria as in the French score, but in F minor
dialogue	recitative, Durlinski, Lodoiska, Floreski 43 bars "Er wird beliebt!"	recit accompagnato not like adW recit

no. 16: melodrama: Floreski; "Mais que signifie cette alarme" D + allegro	aria: as in French	aria: as in French
dialogue	no dialogue in score	dialogue "Verwandlung"
no. 17: finale bataille D + voices C	bataille	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 performance 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.<sup>1</sup> The virtuosic aria in Act II is probably

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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 Theateralmanach 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.<sup>1</sup> At least one critic disagreed with Perinet. The writer of the AMZ wrote angrily: "Der Lorbeerkranz

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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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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",<sup>3</sup> 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

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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 Künstler, wie Cherubini, mag auch dazu seine eignen Ursachen gehabt haben".<sup>1</sup>

Like the Theater an der Wien score, the Kärntnerthortheater 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 perhaps 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.

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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:

Les deux journées. Opéra-comique in 3 acts. Music by Cherubini. Text by Bouilly. Paris, 1800

"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.

"Graf Armand". Opera in 3 acts. Trans. Schmieder. Printed textbook. As used for performance at the Theater an der Wien 1802. Vienna: Schonfeld, 1802. VMsmlg 213355-A.M.

"Die Tage der Gefahr". Trans. G. F. Treitschke. Printed textbook. As used for performance at the Kärntnerthortheater 1802 Vienna: Wallishäuser 1802. VMsmlg 641.433-A.M.S. XX 9-10.

"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<sup>1</sup> 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 souffrance", 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

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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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup> But the AMZ reported that Cherubini:

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 Wachstüb schleppen wollen.<sup>3</sup>

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'hôtellerie portugaise

L'hôtellerie 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 Kärntnerthortheater 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 Musiksammlung, so a direct comparison with Cherubini's original was not possible.

### L'hôtellerie 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. [used for pf from 1819?]

"Der portugiesische Gasthof." Ms textbooks used for performance 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:

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|--|---|
| 1803 (score Kth 354)   | 1819 (from text book Sm 32835)                                    |
| Long overture in D minor   | [Overture?] Obviously the textbook yields no information about it |
| 1. First Cherubini aria replaced by a new aria for Gabriele "Nach dir nur Götter". Bb C con moto assai | "Nach dir nur Götter" Like column 1                               |

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|----|--|--|
| 2. | aria: Rodrigo: "Mir geht alles nach Wunsch" F major C                                  | same as 1803   |
| 3. | Terzetto: Carlos, Roselba, Rodrigo: "Weh nur" Eb allegro non tanto                     | same as 1803   |
| 4. | Romanza: Carl: "Du wandelst einsam" A major, 2/4                                       | same as 1803   |
| 5. | First Cherubini aria appears here: Gabriella "Mir ist ein starker Schutz"              | aria: Roselba: "Mit Schmeicheln Lust manch' schöne Wort " F major; 6/8; like no. 7 of column 1 |
| 6. | another aria in the score: Ines: "Muthig denn und immer weiter" G major; allegretto    | Quartet: "Zu den Damen will ich eilen" F major; C; like no. 8 of column 1                      |
| 7. | aria: Roselba: "Mit Schmeicheln, lust, manch schöne Wort" F major, 6/8                 | Schlussgesang "Mein einziges, mein theures Leben" 3/4 F major C                                |
| 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 Wallishausner 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.<sup>1</sup> 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 Kärntnertheater 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

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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 house-keeper 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.<sup>1</sup>

### La caverne

Sources consulted:

La caverne. Drame lyrique in 3 acts. Music by Le Sueur. Text by Palat-Dercy, after Lesage. Full score. Paris: Nadermann, 1793.

"Die Räuberhöhle." Singspiel in 3 acts. Trans. K.F. Lippert. Ms score as used for performance at the court theatres from 1803. VMsmlg Kth 375.

"Die Rauberhöhle." Trans. K. F. Lippert. Printed textbook as used for performance at the court theatres from 1803. VMsmlg 641.433 - A M 17.

"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).

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1. Dent, p. 68.

numbers	cuts or alterations
no. 1 terzetto	"Erholt sie sich noch nicht" Gilblas's 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
no. 2 aria Gilblas A minor; larghetto	"Kein Zweifel treffe meine Treue". 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.
no. 3 aria Leonarde G minor, moderato	"Die arme Zeit, als ich noch jung gewesen" some repeated bars are omitted eg bars 20-23. High notes are avoided.
no. 4 solo & choir recit - andante con moto	"O welche Beute" bars 70-92 omitted; bars 112-132 omitted
no. 5 duet Rolando & Sera- phine; G major, andante	"Wie? ich soll mich von dir nun trennen" 12 bars omitted.
Act II	
entr'acte	bars 10-17 are omitted so that voices enter sooner
recitative	
no. 6 aria Seraphine G major; andante	"Wie wird mein Schicksal werden" 2 large cuts made
no. 7 aria Leonarde	"Vous m'avez arraché des pleurs": Leonarde. Omitted from German score but printed in textbook ("Schon viel hab' ich um Sie geweint"); omitted in performance

- no. 8 aria "Nun hört zu, ich habe[erkohren?], no  
Alphonso cuts made  
A minor; lento (6/8)
- no. 9 aria "Theilt mit mir meine herben Schmerzen"  
Alphonse A minor; Alphonso; ♯; attempts at re-  
A minor, moderato writing it later crossed out, obvious  
senza lento (♯) difficulties in shortening it; cut  
from 110 bars to 73.
- no. 10. duet recitativo "Seraphine & Alphonso" 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 Schicksal 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, möcht' 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup> In October 1818 the opera was revived at the Kärntnertheater 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,

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1. TZ 30 May 1812, p. 174ff; Der Sammler, 6 June, 1812, p. 274.

2. See pp. 406-7.

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.<sup>1</sup>

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.

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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<sup>1</sup>.

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.

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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 resetttings 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.<sup>1</sup> Most of the operatic influences there were Italian or German. It is interesting, then,

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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, Trans. J.H.Faber. Printed textbook: Frankfurt, 1776.

La Fée Urgèle ou ce qui plaît aux dames: Comédie in 4 acts. As used for performance by the French troupe at the Viennese court, November, 1780. Printed textbook. Vienna, Kurzbock, 1780.

"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.

Duni  
Aria number 5



Marton: Ah! Que l'A-mour c'est cho-se jo-lie , A - vec l'A-



mour tou -te la vie passe comme un jour.

Pleyel  
Aria number 5



Marton: Wenn man liebt ist man verg- nügt, Wenn man liebt



so be -glückt nie

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.<sup>1</sup>

1. "Pleyel", The New Grove.

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.<sup>1</sup>

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 Gülnare (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. Mozart's interest

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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.<sup>1</sup>

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 Gülnare 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).

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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.<sup>1</sup>

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

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1. VThsm1g845000 - A. The 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:

Soliman	Die Liebe
Osmin	Hat Kluge und Thoren
	Schon öfters gewaltig geschworen,
	Das weiss ich von sagen nur blos.
Soliman	Ein lockigt -- schwarzes Haar --
Osmin	Hat keine Noth
Soliman	Ein schönes Augen Paar --
Osmin	Ist für mich todt.
Soliman	Ein kleiner Fuss
Osmin	Macht mir nicht heiss
Soliman	Ein süsser Kuss
Osmin	Ist für mich Eis
	So will es mein glückliches Loos. 1
Soliman	Mich dauert dein glückliches Loos.

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

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1. Franz Xaver Huber, Soliman der Zweyte, oder die drey Sultaninnen. Singspiel in 2 acts, after Favart. Printed textbook (Vienna:Wallishäuser, 1807), p. 11.

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, solo passages, variations, <sup>of instrumentation and</sup> symphonic 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 Gülnare was not as successful as Soliman which was performed 43 times between October 1799 and July 1802. Gülnare, first performed in 1800, received seven performances.

Gulnare, 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 Gulnare 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 Gulnare and wishing that he could have her back. Omar and Seid, the two cheerful slave dealers, entertain the audience with their lively chatter. Ibrahim, a rich, miserly and ailing man, comes to the slave market and is immediately taken with Gulnare, but his price is considered unacceptably low, much to Gulnare'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 Gulnare'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 Gulnare's heart: Dely's new slave is obviously distracted by the memory of her lost loved one. Gulnare 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 Gulnare 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 Gulnare 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.

Ibrahim:

[orchestral introduction: vln, vla, fl, ob, hn, fag]

Ich liebe wohl ein schönes Weib

Dalayrac's aria for Ibrahim:

Ibrahim Je trouve une femme jo - li - e

f [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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>1</sup>

#### 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.<sup>2</sup> At least two Viennese parodies were based on Johann von Paris. Johann von

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.

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Illustration opposite: Stuberrauch'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.<sup>1</sup>

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;<sup>2</sup> 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:<sup>3</sup>

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.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Joseph Alois Gleich, Johann von Wieselburg, "ein musikalisches Quodlibet in zwey Aufzügen, als Seitensstück zum Johann von Paris", Vienna: Schmidt, 1813.
  2. Der Sammler, 10 April 1813.
  3. Der Sammler, 21 January 1813. This parody is usually known as Johann vom Parisergassel: 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.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>, not, as Bauer mistakenly states, 7 April 1804. Die Braut in der Klemme was given 36 times until 1812.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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);

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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".
  3. Kringsteiner, Die Braut in der Klemme, "Posse mit Gesang" (Vienna, 1807).

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; Thaddetl, 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.<sup>1</sup>

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

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1. See p. 476 for outline of plot of Raoul Barbe-bleue.

Micheli-Zeit hab'n d'Sesselträger gern"<sup>1</sup> 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 <sup>(sic)</sup>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).<sup>1</sup> 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.

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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 "Blaubartl" is renamed "Pariserl". 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 Pariserl "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.<sup>1</sup> 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 meakness 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.

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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;<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Staël, I, p. 85.

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.<sup>1</sup> 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 Kärntnertheater 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.

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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 Kärntnertheater 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.<sup>1</sup> 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 Kärntnertheater 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.

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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.<sup>1</sup> 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".<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

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;<sup>3</sup> August von Kotzebue, the German playwright born in Weimar who travelled widely (and had, in 1798, been appointed theatre poet in Vienna): Kotzebue visited Paris in 1804 and recorded for posterity his impressions of that city and its theatres;<sup>4</sup> 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;<sup>5</sup> Ignaz Franz Castelli,

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1. Henry Reeve MD, A residence at Vienna and Berlin 1805-6, published by his son. (London, 1877), pp. 25, 34, 64-65, 113.
  2. Henry F. Chorley, Music and Manners in France and Germany (London, 1841).
  3. J. Richter, Reise nach Wien (Prague, 1787).
  4. August Friedrich Ferdinand von Kotzebue, Erinnerungen aus Paris im Jahre 1804 (Berlin, 1804).
  5. Johann Freidrich Reichardt, Vertraute Briefe aus Paris geschrieben in den Jahren 1802 und 1803. (Hamburg, 1804), Vertraute Briefe geschrieben auf einer Reise nach Wien und den Oesterreichischen Staaten zu Ende des Jahres 1808 und zu Anfang 1809, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1810),

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);<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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

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1. Castelli, Memoiren Meines Lebens, 2 vols (Vienna, 1861).

2. Eduard Hanslick, Geschichte des Concertwesens in Wien, 2 vols, (Vienna, 1869-70).

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.<sup>1</sup> However, Beethoven also reports that a performance of Milton in 1808 came badly adrift.<sup>2</sup> 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 Charakterzug der gutmüthigen Wiener.<sup>3</sup>

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"

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1. Schlientz, p. 92ff.

2. Beethoven to Breitkopf and Härtel, January 7 1809, Anderson, I, p. 211, letter 192.

3. Reichardt, Vertraute Briefe aus Wien, I, p. 196.

performances of opéra-comique in Vienna. Some alterations 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 experienced 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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

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

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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".<sup>1</sup> 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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1. Charles Joseph Emmanuel, Prince de Ligne, Mémoires, ed. Eugène Gilbert (Paris, 1914), p. 21.

danceuses fort braves", but none of his entourage actually went to see the players.<sup>1</sup> (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.<sup>2</sup>

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.

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1. Baron Zorn de Bulach, L'ambassade du Prince Louis de Rohan à la cour de Vienne 1771-1774, (Strasbourg, 1901), p. 12.
  2. Letter from Compain to Franck, 16 March 1774, in Ch. Piot, "La méthode de chanter à l'Opéra de Paris et de Bruxelles pendant le XVIII e siècle", Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, 2nd series, XLI no. 1 (January 1876), p. 38.

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.<sup>1</sup>

## 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 German: "at the mercy of singers who were usually either virtuosos of Italian birth or

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1. See p. 367ff.

training, or general purpose players".<sup>1</sup> Germany and Austria did not have a proper school or tradition of singers to compare with the Italians, or even the French, (Beethoven is reported to have complained: "without singers one cannot write any operas").<sup>2</sup>

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 "ein 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".<sup>3</sup> A tenor, he was equipped with "einer etwas schmetternden Stimme und ein tüchtiger Rouladenjäger".<sup>4</sup> 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".<sup>5</sup> The AMZ of

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1. John Warrack, "German Operatic Ambitions at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century", PRMA, 104, (1977-78), p. 82.
  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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup> 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"<sup>4</sup> 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.

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1. AMZ, 26 August 1801, column 798.

2. Musulin, p. 28.

3. Der Sammler, 13 January 1816, p. 24.

4. AMZ, 6 October 1802, column 27.

The lack of suitable singers in Vienna, notably men and especially tenors, obliged the Kärntnertheater in 1812 to employ a lady (Madame Milder) as Tamino in a performance of Die Zauberflöte.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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).<sup>3</sup> 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.

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1. Der Sammler, 11 July 1812, pp. 333-334.

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 circumstances to bring any individuality to a production which had already "formed", and the practice inevitably destroyed the sense of ensemble.<sup>1</sup> The custom of importing 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 debut in Aschenbrödl (Cendrillon).<sup>2</sup> 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 letzere/elaborate ornamentation/ uns in

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

2. Der Sammler, 22 July 1815, p. 366.

Bewunderung setzt, der erstere das Herz mehr anspricht", commented the critic.<sup>1</sup> Fears had been expressed after his first appearance in the Austrian capital that Wild would soon become infected with the Viennese affliction "Gurgeley".<sup>2</sup>

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 hervorsticht, und diesen Mechanismus des Gesanges declamatorisch so verwenden, wie es im Geiste der Composition liegt, dass ist wohl schwerer, als das rollende Passagenwerk, weil hierdurch der Laye meist geblendet wird, und das Mangelhafte desselben gar nicht hört, allein ob einfacher, langsamere 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 schaalte Leere zurück.<sup>3</sup>

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.

2. Der Sammler, 16 July 1811, p. 338.

3. TZ, 13 October 1827, p. 503.

Herr Siboni hatte dieses Mahl den einfachen Gesang auf die Seite gesetzt und eine Menge, oft sehr langer Rouladen gegeben.<sup>1</sup>

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":<sup>2</sup>

Le trou-ba - dour, fier de son doux ser-va - ge,  
 En ce sé - jour vient pour te rendre hom - mage.  
 Né pour l'am - our te ser- a fid - è -  
 le, Allons ma bel-le pas à ton tour d'un peu d'a-mour le trou-ba  
 dour, Allons ma bel-le, allons ma bel - le, ma bel - le.

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 Sanger sehen diese Piece als ein Thema an, was sie nach Massgabe ihrer Kehlfertigkeit variiren konnen".<sup>1</sup> The worst offender at that time was the Bavarian Herr Lohle. At the performance on 28 September 1820, Olivier sang his stanza as written, but Dlle Vio ornamented hers so that the melody was unrecognisable; Herr Lohle, playing Johann, introduced ornaments which did not even sound good, for they clashed unpleasantly with the suspensions in the strings. The Princess, Madame Grunbaum, on the other hand, it reported to have embellished her part in tasteful fashion, delightful to connoisseurs.<sup>2</sup> It is interesting that the slight reservations expressed about Madame Grunbaum 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 opera-comique in 1813<sup>3</sup> was, in 1820, being held up to German singers as an example of moderation.

Because of the popularity of opera-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

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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.<sup>1</sup> The Italian singer, Mlle Sessi, chose Die Vestalinn for her benefit performance in June 1811, rather than a more obviously Italian opera.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup> Burney, admittedly pro-Italian, thought that good French voices were ruined by deplorable training,<sup>4</sup> and Kotzebue in 1804, and Castelli in 1815, commented

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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 Sinn hat, je grösseres 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 Italienerinn, durch die Wahl dieses Singspiels der deutschen Oper vor der italienischen zugestand, macht ihrem vorurtheilsfreyen Verstande und ihrem geläuterten Geschmack die grösste Ehre".
  3. Piot, "La méthode de chanter", p. 4.
  4. Charles Burney, A general history of music, ed. Frank Mercer, (New York, 1935; repr 1957), II (Book IV, chapter XI), p. 972.

that shouting went under the name of singing at the Paris Opéra.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

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

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1. Kotzebue, Erinnerungen, p. 491; Castelli; II, p.84.

2. Reichardt, I, p.184.

3. Reichardt, I, p. 186.

4. Piot, "La méthode de chanter", p. 26.

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".<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

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1. AMZ, 23 April 1817, column 286. It was conceded that although French singers often had harsh, nasal singing voices "die mechanische Geübtheit 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

In 1812 Weigl's Die Schweizerfamilie was performed in Paris as La vallée 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.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Chorley, II, pp. 138-139.

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 biethet unbesiegbare Schwierigkeiten. Die weiblichen Parthien 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 Tenorparthien 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)<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

### 3. Acting

Italian singers were notoriously unwilling to take trouble to develop their dramatic gifts.<sup>3</sup> The German singers in Vienna seem to have followed their example. John Warrack cites Wilhemine Schröder as the first singing actress in Germany.<sup>4</sup> 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

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.

4. Warrack, "German Operatic Ambitions", p. 83.

own self-consciousness betrayed his youth and inexperience.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> However, by 1813 a great improvement in his acting was reported<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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

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1. Der Sammler, 16 July 1811, p. 338.

2. Der Sammler, 3 December 1811, p. 582.

3. Der Sammler, 12 December 1813, p. 792.

4. Der Sammler, 23 January 1812, p. 40, talking of Baumann's performance as Pasquino in Isouard's Michael Angelo.

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 over-acted and that his aim seemed to be to gain the laughter and applause of the upper galleries of the theatre.<sup>1</sup>

His adaptation of Der Deserteur, three years later, confirms a suspicion that he did not take opéra-comique very seriously.<sup>2</sup>

#### 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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup> 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,"<sup>2</sup> In Paris there was an Ecole de déclamation which trained young actors.<sup>3</sup>

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.<sup>4</sup>

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.

3. Herbert E. Collins, Talma (London, 1964), pp. 29;32.

4. Wiener Theater Almanach auf das Jahr 1796, p. LXIX.

earlier French operas had had dialogue in couplets and Durazzo during the time of Le théâtre français près de la cour had preferred such operas because they were more successful in Vienna.<sup>1</sup> Isouard's opera Lully et Quinault was unusual in being written in alexandrines.<sup>2</sup> It failed twice in Vienna: first when given as a play without music at the Burgtheater<sup>3</sup> and secondly as an opera at the Theater an der Wien. The latter was hissed, having lost all sense of ensemble half way through.<sup>4</sup> 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 dem 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:

Dieser ausgezeichnete Schauspieler und Sänger [Ehlers], welcher sonst mit so vielem Glücke aus sich selbst schöpft... nahm ... seinen Lully aus einem andern Gesichtspuncte; Lully ist, wie manche ausgezeichnete Talente in seiner Kunst, ein excentrischer Kopf, etwas

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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, dabey 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.<sup>1</sup>

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

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1. Der Sammler, 28 September 1813, p. 620.

la merveille la Nation qui en fait usage".<sup>1</sup> J.

Richter, 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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup>

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.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Guibert, p. 295.

2. Richter, p. 71.

3. Reichardt, Briefe aus Paris, I, p. 267.

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 Weltton, unübertrefflich dar; dieses Zusammen spielen, 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 Merkmahle dieses vorhergegangenen Studiums.<sup>1</sup>

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."<sup>2</sup>

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

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1. Josef Lange, Biographie des Joseph Lange (Vienna, 1808), p. 27.

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."<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

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:

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1. Kindermann, "Josef Schreyvogel" in Das Burghtheater und sein Publikum, p. 225.

2. Castelli, I, p. 205

aber dennoch wird der freymüthige Beurtheiler, der in Paris einen Michelot, Potier, Brunet, eine Mars und Tourez in französischen Lustspielen gesehen, den Letztgenannten die Palme zuerkennen, -- denn ein solches Ensemble, ein solches Ineinandergreifen der einzelnen Theile zur effktvollen Wirkung des Ganzen findet er nirgends.<sup>1</sup>

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 vordrängt; alles bewegt sich rasch, zwanglos und natürlich, und will auch mancher für sich nicht viel bedeuten, zusammen sind die Meister.<sup>2</sup>

#### 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".<sup>3</sup> Curiously, it is the prompter himself, and not the lazy

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1. TZ, 17 March 1827, front page.

2. Hanslick, II, p. 476ff.

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).<sup>1</sup> 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 ungemeiner Präcision und Energie vorgetragen; sogar die Mädchen-Chöre, die in allen Opern nur sehr selten gut gelingen, hörte man rein und richtig.<sup>2</sup>

Ferdinand Cortez had been first given at the Kärntnerthortheater 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.<sup>3</sup> 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 because 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.<sup>4</sup> Ferdinand Cortez like

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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 Burgtheater (1776-1888), 2nd ed. (Vienna, 1916), p. 14.
  2. Der Sammler, 6 June 1812, p. 274.
  3. Der Sammler, 11 January 1812, p. 20.
  4. Der Sammler, 11 June 1812, review of Medea (under Notizen), p. 262.

Medea was strenuous for the Viennese singers. Several other instances of singers not knowing their parts were noted in chapter III.

7. Isouard's Aschenbrödl (Cendrillon) and Boieldieu's Johann von Paris (Jean de Paris) on the Viennese stage: a study of casting problems.

"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".<sup>1</sup>

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

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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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

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."<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> It owed much of its distinction in Vienna to the sets, designed by Sacchetti and

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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.
  4. Der Sammler, 9 April 1811, p. 172.

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 sehenswertesten": 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;<sup>1</sup> her father's position gave her the opportunity

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1. Der Sammler, 9 April 1811, p. 172.

of creating the title-rôle 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....<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

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:

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1.. Der Sammler, 9 April 1811, p. 172.

2. Der Sammler, 9 April 1811, p. 172.

Der Künstler, der eine Reihe von Jahren dem Publikum gefallen hatte, war ihm zu einem Familienmitglied geworden, das man selbst wenn er dumme Streiche macht, nicht im Stiche lässt.<sup>1</sup>

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 Kärntnerthortheater 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.<sup>2</sup> According to Hebenstreit, the part

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1. E. Devrient, Geschichte der deutschen Schauspielkunst. ed. W. Stuhlfeld. Berlin and Zurich, 1929, p. 255.

2. Der Sammler, 16 July 1811, p. 338.

of Ramiro was never better acted than by Ehlers, never better sung than by Wild.<sup>1</sup>

Many singers' reputations were broken or made in guest performances in Aschenbrödl; 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:<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> In the months prior to her appearance as Aschenbrödl, she is reported to have had many real-life love affairs with princes -- the distinguished strangers at the Viennese Congress.

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1. Der Sammler, 2 March 1816, p. 109.

2. Der Sammler, 2 March 1816, p. 109.

3. Deutsch, Schubert, p. 400.

# Thalia.

Mittwoch den

29.

10. April 1812.

Über die Aufführung der Oper:  
**A s c h e n b r ö d e l.**  
 auf dem k. k. priv. Theater an der Wien.

Die Vorstellung dieser herrlichen Oper ist ein Fest für alle Sinne. Suet, Musik, Decorationen, Costüme, Rollenbesetzung; alles befriediget die gespannteste Erwartung. Wir können uns nicht erinnern, etwas Vollkommner's gesehen zu haben. Die Idee des Dichters in *Ashenbrödel* ein Modell von Eitreneufalt, Bescheidenheit und demüthiger Geduld aufzustellen, und sie am Ende gleichsam gegen ihren Willen, durch eine höhere Schicksals-Macht auf die erhabenste Stufe von Ehre zu erheben, während der Selbstzweifel, und die Ungerechtigkeit in den Staub sinken; diese Idee ist schon an und für sich sehr glücklich, sie gewinnt aber noch an Interesse durch die in den Stoff verwebten Wirkungen der Magie, welche hier nicht mit den gewöhnlichen Wälschereien unserer Zauberoperen in eine Classe geworfen, sondern als das Walten eines Schutzgeistes betrachtet werden müssen, den die Tugend immer in sich selbst trägt. Was sonst dem Unsichtbaren zugeschrieben wird, ist hier in eine körperliche Form gegossen. Mit diesem hohen Ernst, und dieser echt moralischen Tendenz ist eine Reihe komischer Scenen verketzt, welche die gewöhnlichen Thorheiten der Menschen: Eitelkeit, Hoffart und Idelstolz, wenn sie in ungebildeten, oder vorbildeten Herzen wohnen, wahr und kräftig abschilttern. Welches Leben, welche Fülle von Wit und Laune weht in allen Scenen, worin die derbe Poltreise des vermeinten Prinzen mit der blinden Eigenliebe der Häußein, und der dummstolzen Ausplakung des Barons in Verdringung gebracht wird! — Die Musik hat, ohne hohen classischen Werth, das schöne Verdienst, eine treue Auslegung des Gedichtes zu seyn. Unter den vorzüglichsten Zuzugüssen heben wir aus: *Ashenbrödel's* Romanze, das Finale des ersten Actes, das Duett der beyden Truulens, welche einander köpft, sich und necken; zu

einer Würde Glück wünschen, die jede schon sicher zu heißen glaubt; das darauf folgende Duett, worin der Prinz sich zu *Ashenbrödel's* Mitter erklärt, und von ihr eine Devise verlangt; das Finale des zweyten Actes, und endlich vorzüglich das Duett zwischen *Ashenbrödel* und dem Prinzen im dritten Act.

Die Veteranen der Kunst mögen es uns zu Gute halten, wenn wir diese Wahl unter den darstellenden Personen zuerst der Alle. Demmer Erwähnung thun. Dem Verdienste seine Kronen! Die Hoffnungen, welche wir bey einer untergeordneten Rolle, in der jungen Zigeunerinn, von dieser angehenden Künstlerinn *Schöfsten*, (siehe *Thalia* 1812. neuntes Blatt) haben sich auf eine glänzende Art bestätigt. Auf ihr beruhte größtentheils der Effect des Ganzen, und sie selbst war dem Publicum beynahe völlig unbekant, ohne Freunde, ohne Gönner, nicht einmahl in einem fremden Lande geboren. Welche Gründe hatte sie, auf Rücksicht zu rechnen! Wie schüchtern mußte sie die Bühne betreten! Aber kaum hatte sie die zweyte Strophe ihrer Romanze geendigt, so waren alle Herzen gewonnen. Ihre einnehmende Gesichtsbildung, das unschuldige Auge, die Bescheidenheit des Mundes, durch die Bescheidenheit der Geberde unterstützt, die rührende Declamation, die grazienvollen Tanzbewegungen, der kunstlose, an das Herz dringende Gesang: alles vollendete, ihren Triumph. Sie hat in einem noch zarten Alter eine Aufgabe gelöst, welche das Studium allein ohne den Beystand natürlicher Anlage, nie lösen würde. Man kann kunstreicher singen, fertiger tanzen; aber man kann nicht anspruchsloser, nicht liebenswürdiger seyn, als *Alle. Demmer*. Möge dieser gerechte Tribut unserer Erkenntlichkeit, welcher gewiß die allgemeine Stimme ist, die junge Künstlerinn belohnen und ermuntern!

Die *Alles. Buchwieser* und *Meier* spielten und sangen ihre undankbaren Rollen mit gewohntem Fleiße, und trugen besonders das Duett des ersten Actes mit jener Präcision vor, welche allein solche wälsche *Choralepen* genießbar macht. Hr. *Ehlers* als Prinz, mußte auch den eigenstinnigsten Kritiker zufrieden stel-

len. In seiner Romane maßte er die Schwärmerey der ersten Liebe, in dem Duxet des zweyten Actes das Heldenfeuer, welches sie einflößt, und in jenem des dritten die Begeisterung glücklicher Minne. Hr. Meier hat seine Karrikatur ohne Ubertreibung dargestellt, in dem Hr. Cauché mehr um den Beyfall der Menge buhlte. Die sonore Stimme des Hrn. Weinkopf that ihre volle Wirkung. — Die Chöre waren mit besondrem Fleiße einstudiert; und das treffliche Accompagnement des Orchesters war ganz auf die noch schwache Stimme der Dlle. Demmer berechnet.

Das ungemein reiche Costüme, von der Erfindung des Hecrn von Etuberauch, ist eben so geschmackvoll als passend. Der versammelte Kreis von Rittern und Damen, in Verbindung mit dem Hofstaate, gewährt einen überraschenden Anblick.

Von den geschickten Theatermählern: den Herren Sacchetti und Gail ist man schon seit langem gewohnt etwas Vorzügliches zu sehen.

Hoch Ehre und lauter Dank gebührt der Direction, welche, so uneigennützig als kunstliebend, keine Kosten scheute, um dem Publicum einen vollkommenen Genuß zu verschaffen. Sie hat ihren Zweck so vollständig erreicht, daß selbst die wärmsten Bewunderer der französischen Bühne, welche diese Oper in Paris sahen, der hiesigen Vorstellung den entschiedensten Vorzug zugestanden.

Die Einnahme des ersten Abends war zur Vermehrung des Fonds für eine Pensions-Anstalt der Mitglieder des Theaters an der Wien bestimmt, welches den humanen Gesinnungen des Hrn. Regierungsraths von Harzel seine Entstehung, der großmüthigen Unterstützung des Adels und des Publicums sein Gedeihen verdankt. Durch reichliche Beyträge des Hofes, der Direction, und zahlreicher Gönner des Guten und Nützlichen belief sich die Einnahme über 9000 fl. Hr. Grünner dankte am Schlusse der Oper in einer gedrungenen, kernichten Rede im Namen aller Mitglieder des Instituts.

J. K. v. Seyfried.

Am Tage nach der ersten Vorstellung erhielt Dlle. Demmer folgende beyden Briefe, welche beweisen, daß man in Wien Talente zu schätzen, zu belohnen und aufzumuntern wisse.

Liebe Cendrillon!

Die allgemeine Zufriedenheit, die das Publicum über Ihnen die betru-

gende Überzeugung, daß Sie mit und der Direction durch die Entwicklung Ihres liebenswürdigen Talentes große Freude verschafft haben; denn Sie wissen, daß mir und der Direction nichts angenehmer seyn kann, als das Publicum vergnügt zu sehen.

Daß Sie in Ihrem frühen Venz einen so großen Beyfall ernten, öffnet Ihnen eine große Aussicht über Ihre künftigen Tage. — Bleiben Sie immer, was Cendrillon ist, und was Sie richtig darstellen, aufmerksam, bescheiden, und geistig. — Sie werden dann immer beliebt und glücklich seyn. Als einen Beweis, wie sehr die Direction Ihren Eifer zu schätzen weiß, schicke ich Ihnen anliegende 500 fl. — Von meiner persönlichen Theilnahme sind Sie ohnedies überzeugt. Wenn Sie irgends etwas zur weicern Ausbildung Ihres hoffnungsvollen Talentes bedürfen, so erwarte ich, daß Sie sich an mich wenden, ich bin kein Zauberer, und halte mich für keinen Weisen, aber ich will Ihnen wie Alidor gerne in jeder Gelegenheit nützlich seyn.

Ferdinand Graf Palffy.

Liebe Demmer!

Ihre Fortschritte auf der theatralischen Laufbahn bezeichnet die erste Darstellung der Aschenbrödel auf eine so glückliche Weise, daß ich es mir, dem Stifter und Vorsteher des Pensions-Instituts nicht versagen kann, Ihnen ein kleines Denkmahl meines Beyfalls zu übersenden. \*) Sey Ihnen die gestrige Rolle, was der jungen Aschenbrödel die bezaubernde Rose war, — eine Erweckung der Kraft, und ein Beleben im Keim verschlossener Talente: ich werde mich dann des Ereignisses freuen, daß eine gute Absicht zum Besten vieler zu Ihrem besondern Besten gelingen ließ.

Harzl.

Nach der k. k. Hof-Schauspieler Hr. Dupré, welcher die Talente des lieblichen Mädchens durch Belehrung zu wecken, und ihnen die rechte Richtung zu geben wußte, erhielt von der Direction ein Geschenk von 500 fl. nebst einem sehr schmeichelhaften Schreiben.

Züge und Anekdoten aus des französischen Schauspielers Lurive's Leben.

Mit dem Genius steht die Natur im ewigen Bunde,  
Was der eine verspricht, leiht der andre gemüß.

Shillers Wort, das wir in dem Kunstleben unserer Deutschen Meisterschauspieler in Erfüllung ge-

\*) Was ist ein goldnes Wörter mit gleichen Ohrgehängen bes.

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".<sup>1</sup> Elleviou and Martin were very flexible tenor singers. Martin, the bass who played the part of the Seneschal, was admired by Reichardt in 1803<sup>2</sup> and Castelli in 1815,<sup>3</sup> 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 abzuzwecken ihre Talente in das glänzendste Licht zu stellen.<sup>4</sup>

In August 1812, Johann had opened at the Kärntnerthortheater 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 Kärntnerthortheater and Theater an der Wien.<sup>5</sup>

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

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1. La Mercure de France, 11 April 1812, pp. 82-84.

2. Reichardt, Briefe aus Paris, I, pp. 114-117; III, p. 300.

3. Castelli, II, pp. 88-89.

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:

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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 : VThsmIlg Hg 3315-3323Th.

Costume worn by  
Herr Mohrhardt as  
Johann von Paris



Der freymüthige Bürger wird bey ihm zum ungeschliffenen Bauer; die verschiedenen Nüancen, die sein Betragen gegen die verschiedenen Personen bestimmen sollen, scheinen ihm ganz unbekannt zu seyn, und es möchte der Prinzessin wahrlich schwer geworden seyn, in diesem Menschen einen Prinzen zu errathen.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup> The public is

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

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

alleged to have preferred the production at the Theater an der Wien.<sup>1</sup> In January of the following year, Herr Demmer and Dlle Bondra were replaced by two weaker singers, Herr Laroche and Dem. Spiri<sup>2</sup> and in May 1813 Herr Ehlers's part was played by Herr Klengel from Breslau, who spoiled the opera by his poor acting.<sup>3</sup> 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".<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

Herr Grünbaum took the part of Johann on 25 June 1813, but could neither act nor sing.<sup>6</sup> He sang opposite

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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.<sup>1</sup> Madame Grünbaum was still singing this role in 1827 for one of her last guest performances in Munich.<sup>2</sup> 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 ausführte, erwarben ihr allgemeine Bewunderung".<sup>3</sup>

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.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

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

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1. Der Sammler, 1 July 1813, p. 416.

2. Zenger, p. 200ff.

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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup>

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.<sup>4</sup> Madame Seidler (née Wranitzky) in June 1815 was also unsuited for the part of the Princess:

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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 Darstellkunst betreffend liess Mad W uns einen harm-und schuldlosen Character erblicken, dem es an keinem äussern Reitz, wohl aber an Lebenserfahrung fehlen dürfte.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

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).<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> Here the press got the name of the composer right: in July 1818 Johann had been announced as being by Isouard!<sup>5</sup>

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1. Der Sammler, 6 June 1815, p. 286. See also Der Sammler 1 June 1815 p.278.
  2. Kronfeld, p. 178.
  3. WAMZ, 26 June 1817, p. 216.
  4. TZ, 29 April, 1824, "Theater in der Josefstadt".
  5. TZ, 14 July 1818, p. 336.



Lorezza

Costume -design by Philipp von Stubenrauch for  
Die 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 Sanger ber die aufgezahlten 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 Tanze wesentlich ausgezeichnet wurden.<sup>1</sup>

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;<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup>

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;<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

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:

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1. Eds, Elizabeth Suddaby and P.J. Yarrow, Lady Morgan in France, (Newcastle, 1971), p. 97.

2. Richter, p. 71.

3. Reichardt, I, p. 48.

Ihr Beyspiel, und das ausgezeichnete Wohlgefallen der Zuschauer machte es ihren Gefährtinnen zur Nothwendigkeit, so weit sie es vermochten, nachzufolgen. So kömmt ihr das Verdienst zu, auf der hiesigen Bühne, wie Clairon auf der Pariser das bessere Kostüme eingeführt, die Reifröcke, die schweren Flitterstickereyen, die ungeheuren Spiegeldiamanten, und die Anachronismen der französischen Frisuren aus den Trauerspielen gebannt zu haben. Auch in Lustspielen hatte sie die Ehre, den Eleganten ihres Geschlechts manche Mode anzugeben: nicht wie die Floren der französischen Bühne durch Kostbarkeit der Kleider, auf denen sie die Verschwendung ihrer Liebhaber zur Schau trugen; sondern durch feine Wahl, und glückliche Erfindung.<sup>1</sup>

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"<sup>2</sup> 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,<sup>3</sup> and newspaper reports were usually quick to mention unusual visual effects and costumes, so one may assume that the costumes used here were not

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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.
  2. Der Sammler, 3 July 1813, p. 420.
  3. Der Sammler, 28 September 1813, p.



*Pariser Costüme*

*Jacob und Benjamin aus der Oper  
Joseph und seine Brüder.*

"Pariser Costüme 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'hôtellerie portugaise at the Kärntnertheater: 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.<sup>1</sup> Schreyvogel's leadership of the Burgtheater has been cited as marking the beginning of real interest in historical costume in Vienna.<sup>2</sup>

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:

bald im pohnischen, 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.

showing the theatre's concern for art, and its generosity.<sup>3</sup>

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

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1. AMZ, 12 October 1803, column 31.  
2. Kindermann, V, p. 120.  
3. TZ, 12 January 1812, front page.

the paper Thalia.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> Heinrich Schmidt who translated the opera into German wrote in his memoirs how "durchaus mit Gold und Silber durchstickte Schleppekleider von Sammet erschienen hier zum ersten Male auf einer deutschen Bühne."<sup>3</sup> The costumes for Grétry's opera Die beiden Geitzigen in 1805 were taken from those used at Berlin, a stronghold of French culture.<sup>4</sup> 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<sup>5</sup> and so were the costumes used at that theatre for Johann von Paris in 1813.<sup>6</sup> 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

3. Schmidt, pp. 124-125. 4. Monatschrift für Theaterfreunde, 1805, III,

5. For example costumes used at Baden for the 1812 performance of Aschenbrödl were "ganz nach den Zeichnungen des Theaters an der Wien Verfertigt", 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 vorkömmt, 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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Censors' entry for 22 October 1802 in Karl Glossy, "Zur Geschichte der Theater Wiens I (1801-1820)", Jahrbuch der Grillparzer Gesellschaft, XXV (1915), p. 30.
  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 Bauerle, 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 Stadte verhalt, so muss einwandfrei betont werden, dass an anderen Orten und Buhnen ein viel rascherer Niedergang des Galli-Bibiena-Stiles eintrat als hier. Vergleichen wir die angefuhrten Dekorationen, die fur die Hoftheater Wiens im ersten Drittel des XIX Jahrhunderts bezeichnend sind, mit den Sammlungen, die fur andere grosse und dekorationstechnisch sehr hervorragende Buhnen bestehen, so kann der Wiener Kunst noch immer weitaus der Vorrang gegeben werden.<sup>1</sup>

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, Zemire et Azor, was performed in Vienna with fantastic oriental costumes and rapid scene changes. Earlier the WAMZ had commented that before 1776 (when

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1. Gregor, Wiener szenische Kunst, 2 vols (Vienna, 1924-5), p. 113.

Grétry's opera of the same name had been first performed in Vienna ), "Zaubermaschinen, Flugmaschinen und Verwandlungen" remained " ganz entfernt" from the French stage .<sup>1</sup> 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".<sup>2</sup>

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 TZ 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 Arbeit wovon man wohl eher den Ursprung bey uns finden würde, obgleich keiner der vielwissenden französischen Kritiker so etwas geahndet zu haben scheint, es sind dieses die Zauberspiele, wo höhere Wesen in unmittelbarer Thätigkeit erscheinen, und

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1. WAMZ, 31 January 1818, column 39.

2. Pierre Fontassier, "Aspects de la mise en scène dans quelques ouvrages lyriques français du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle", Cahier de l'Association Internationale des Etudes françaises, 21-25 (July 1968), p. 106.

welche offenbar von unsern Zauberoperen, 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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup> 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 verdanket".<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> But there were complaints in the French capital that too

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1. TZ, 16 January 1808: "Urtheil der Franzosen über den Zustand der deutschen Literatur", p. 33.
  2. William L. Crosten, French Grand Opera: an Art and a Business, (New York, 1948; repr. 1972).
  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.<sup>1</sup> 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:

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.<sup>2</sup> 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:

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:

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1. Der Sammler, 18 April 1813, p. 248.

2. Der Sammler, 18 April 1813, p. 248.

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 schönes 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?<sup>1</sup>

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:

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1. Der Sammler, 3 December 1811, p. 582.

Wir haben teutsche Dichter und Tonsetzer genug, die würdigere Arbeiten, als das befreyte 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 krüppelhaften 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.<sup>1</sup>

However there was an outcry when the audience sensed that the direction had skimmed on a production -- as the court theatres were accused to have done in 1802 at the première 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.<sup>2</sup>

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

Will man das Gegentheil, 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 Meynungen 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.

Korinths Paläste in Steinhäufen sich verwandeln  
u.s.w. -- und das nach einer Angabe wie es  
Noverre vermochte.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

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 Sémiramis 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".<sup>3</sup> 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

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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.<sup>1</sup>

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;<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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.

2. J. Lough, Paris Theatre Audiences in the 17th and 18th centuries, (London, 1957).

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,<sup>1</sup> Riesbeck in 1787,<sup>2</sup> Richter in 1784,<sup>3</sup> and Castelli in 1815.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Guibert, p. 281.

2. Riesbeck, II, p. 303-304.

3. Richter, p. 71.

4. Castelli, II, pp. 75-79.

5. Reichardt, I, letter 5 December 1808, p. 196.

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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup> In 1786, the practice of encoring numbers containing more than one person was forbidden by Joseph II<sup>4</sup>, 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.

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1. Der Sammler, 4 July 1809, p. 315.

2. Der Sammler, 12 January 1811, p. 24.

3. See p. 614.

4. Deutsch, Mozart, p. 275.

Apparently, French audiences applauded after a number had finished or at the end of an act, on merit rather than reputation.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup> 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).<sup>4</sup> 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.

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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 Lichtpuzzer vor Angang des Stuks, und zwischen jedem Akt die Früchte der englischen Freiheit wegkehren 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.<sup>2</sup> 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",

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1. Wiener Kronik, 1785, II, p. 168.

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 .<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup> (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).<sup>3</sup>

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.<sup>4</sup> As early as 1773, a Frenchman visiting Vienna tells how cold he found the Germans in comparison: when

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1. Riesbeck, II, pp. 303-304.

2. Castelli, II, p. 79.

3. Bauer, Das Theater in der Josefstadt, p. 22ff.

4. Lady Morgan, p. 89.

he was transported, the Viennese could hardly clap, let alone weep.<sup>1</sup> Castelli in 1815 notes the contrast between the almost violent ("ungestüm") French and cold-blooded Germans.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

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.<sup>4</sup>

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.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup> Castelli 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.<sup>2</sup>

Another way in which Viennese performances might sometimes be disrupted was by the lack of numbered seats,<sup>3</sup> which were not introduced into Vienna until the 1830s.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

### 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:

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1. Schindler, p. 57.

2. Article by Spohr which appeared in The Harmonicon, November 1823, XI, p. 116ff.

3. Castelli, II, pp. 82-83.

4. Hanslick, I, p. 96.

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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

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 Nothwendigkeit versetzen, schon im Einstudieren begriffene dramatische Werke wieder zurückzulegen.<sup>4</sup>

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

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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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup>

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 blos geduldet werden, und allenfalls froh seyn mögen, wenn man sie nicht hindert, ihr Stückchen Brod müheselig zu gewinnen; sie werden hier geehrt, geliebt, geschätzt.<sup>1</sup>

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

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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.<sup>1</sup> (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;<sup>2</sup> and Herr Steibelt in 1801 was given 3600 livres for his French version of The Creation).<sup>3</sup>

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

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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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

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.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

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.<sup>6</sup>

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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.
  6. Castelli, II, pp. 93-94.

## 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 Guitarre, kurz man kommt in Versuchung zu glauben, dass sei eigentlich der Mann der Alles weiss. Sein Rollenfach ist Chevaliers und fein komische Bediente, eigentlich das Hauptfach der komischen Oper.<sup>1</sup>

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

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1. Castelli, II, pp. 88-89.

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;<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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.

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1. B. R. Mitchell, European historical statistics, 1750-1970, (London, 1975), p. 78.

2. La Mercure de France, 31 December 1791, pp. 132-133.

o. Direction

"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.<sup>1</sup>

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 inforce the beat, but he did not wield a baton or beat time with his hands.<sup>2</sup>

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

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1. Adam Carse, The Orchestra in the 18th century (New York, 1969) p. 4.

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."<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Carse, p. 107.

2. Neal Zaslaw, "Toward the Revival of the Classical Orchestra", PRMA, 103 (1976-77), p. 160.

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 chœurs, 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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

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

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1. La Mercure de France, 27 January 1810, p. 239.

2. La Mercure de France, 27 January 1810, p. 239.

3. Charlton, "Orchestration", pp. 56-7.

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:

Er dirigitte nemlich, wie es in Frankreich ziemlich allgemein Sitte ist, vermittelst eines kleinen Fuss langen Stöckchens, mehrentheils durch Zeichen, äussert selten, und fast ausschliesslich nur dann, wenn stark gefehlt, oder auch eine unter den Singenden auf dem Theater eigensinnig wurde, hörte man ihn ... sein hiesiges Orchester dennoch grösstentheils aus Deutschen bestand; unter denen mehrere kein Wort französisch verstanden: so wusste er sich doch in kurzer Zeit jedem durch die Bestimmtheit und beständige Gleichheit<sup>1</sup> seiner Zeichen ganz verständlich zu machen.

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,

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1. AMZ, 31 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.<sup>1</sup>

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 Kärntnerthortheater "und [hatte] mit dem ihm eigenen Feuer geführt, welches manchmal fast zu sehr auflodert, und nicht selten durch das starke Niederschlagen der, in stäter 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".<sup>2</sup>

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1. AMZ, 31 July 1799, column 728.

2. Der Sammler, 1 May 1810, p. 210.

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".<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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,<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

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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. Zaslów, 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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup> 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,

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1. Hoftheatertaschenbücher, 1805, pp. 19-20; 1806, pp. 22-23.

2. Radant, ed, "The diaries of Rosenbaum", diary entry 31 July 1805, p. 125.

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.<sup>1</sup> Kapellmeister Salieri did not usually participate in performances -- he devoted his time to composition.<sup>2</sup> 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 verklärten 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 Souffleur, 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

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1. Der Sammler, 15 October 1811, review of Iphigenia in Tauris, under Notizen.
  2. See p. 653.

minder festen Sängern, als Milder, Weinmüller, Vogel sind, und insbesondere, ob es bey der italienischen Oper entbehrt werden könne? sind Fragen, die erst durch den Versuch entschieden werden können.<sup>1</sup>

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 Kärntnertheater 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.<sup>2</sup>

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").<sup>3</sup>

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

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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 befreyte 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?<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup> 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:

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

2. Barry S. Brook, La symphonie française dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIème siècle. Diss. 1959, Paris, 1962.

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.<sup>1</sup>

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:

Gewiss hat Wien noch keine hinlängliche Anzahl sehr geschickter Tonkünstler, um aus ihnen Ein vortreffliches Orchester zu bilden.<sup>2</sup>

The Theater in der Leopoldstadt and the Theater in der Josefstadt employed small numbers of orchestral musicians to accompany their Volksstücke, plays, pantomimes and Sing-spiele; 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. In

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1. Chorley, II, pp. 150-151.

2. Reichardt, I, p. 369.

1800 the German opera orchestra is reported to have lacked leadership, being directed by Weidmann who allegedly had no musical sense.<sup>1</sup> The Italian opera orchestra was slightly better, but in October 1800 found Beethoven's music difficult.<sup>2</sup>

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 Schattirung der Töne, und im gleichen Gehalt vom Anfang bis ans Ende, von allen Mitspielenden durchgeführt.<sup>3</sup>

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:

Die erste Aufführung der zwey gefahrvollen Tage im Kärntnerthor-Theater für den unparteyischen Zuhörer keinen Wunsch mehr übrig liess. Schon in der Ouvertüre war der Schwung aus dem langsamen Zeitmass durch ein Crescendo in die geschwindere Taktbewegung von so erschütternder Wirkung, dass das Feuer, und die Kraft, womit das Allegro durchgeführt wurde, das Gefühl aller Anwesenden mit sich fortriss. So ward auch jedes folgende Tonstück mit der genauesten Bestimmtheit und Haltung gegeben. Alle Nüancen von Licht und Schatten, von Schmelz und Gewalt des Tonwechsels, alle aufgesparten Momentalwirkungen des Komponisten u.s.w. das Herausgeben der Hauptideen mit ihren Nebensätzen; der Abstufungen der Leidenschaften und ihrer mannigfaltigen Uebergänge waren mit solcher Klarheit und Richtigkeit vorgetragen, dass oft das Wirkungsvermögen des ganzen Orchesters nur der reine Zusammenklang einer einzigen Kraft zu seyn schien.<sup>4</sup>

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.<sup>1</sup>

(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.)<sup>2</sup>

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

mérite des eloges par la manière dont il a executé cet ouvrage; on s'apercevait que chacun des artistes qui le composait se plaisait à rendre hommage à celui qui peut être considéré comme le créateur de l'opéra-comique en France.<sup>3</sup>

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:

Ueberhaupt kann beym Nationaltheater nie vom nicht spielen können, sondern nur von nicht spielen wollen, die Rede sayn.<sup>4</sup>

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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 hamburgener 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

#### 8. The Chorus

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

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1. Reichardt, II, p. 121.

2. "Öfters 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.

Die Chöre sind sehr schön, doch ist unter den weiblichen Chören keiner zu finden, der neben einem Gluck'schen Chor der Priesterinnen in: Iphigenia<sup>1</sup> gesetzt werden könnte, und unter der vierstimmigen Chören keiner wie der Chor der Argonauten, oder der göttliche Vermählungschor in Cherubini's Medea.<sup>2</sup>

After those works, the famous Spontini choruses came as a disappointment.<sup>3</sup> 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,<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Probably Iphigenia in Tauris, first given in Vienna in a translation by Alxinger 23 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).
  2. Der Sammler, 17 November 1810, p. 562.
  3. Bauer, Das Theater an der Wien.
  4. Lists inside Spontini "Ferdinand Cortez" Ms text books VMsmlg 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.<sup>1</sup> 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" .<sup>2</sup> Rosenbaum commented in 1806 that Cherubini, directing Les deux journées in Vienna, took some pieces slower and some faster than normal. (see p.<sup>655</sup> ).

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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Charlton, "Orchestration", p. 67ff.

2. Charlton, p. 75.

3. See p. 659.

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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup>

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

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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.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Chorley, II, pp. 145-146.

CHAPTER VII

Conclusion

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## 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 opéra-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).<sup>1</sup> 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

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1. See pp. 354-356.

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.<sup>1</sup> And yet, the Viennese theatres were "noch nicht reich genug an guten Originalwerken, um der Beyhülfe fremder Bühnen entbehren zu können",<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup> 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;<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Thayer, I, pp. 107, 108, 109.
  2. D. Charlton, "Motif and Recollection in Four Operas of Dalayrac", Soundings, vii (1978), p. 39.
  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 ...<sup>1</sup>

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 Staël (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".<sup>2</sup> 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

1. A Ramble Among the Musicians of Germany, by a musical professor, (London, 1828), pp. 116-7.

2. Madame de Staël-Holstein, De l'Allemagne, (Paris, London, 1813), p. 85.

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 Mäldere. 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,<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> in the middle of the vogue for opéra-comique. It seems

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1. See pp. 380-388.

2. Theatricalmanach für das Jahr 1773, verfasst von einigen Liebhabern der deutschen Schaubühne, Zweyter Theil, (Vienna, Kurzböck), p. 114.

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".<sup>1</sup>

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 war-time. 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.

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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 richtigere Motivierung, Leichtigkeit des Dialoges, Witz und Zusammenstellung neuer Verhältnisse spätern deutschen Geburten einhauchen".<sup>1</sup> 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, Sémiramis,

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1. Monatschrift für Theaterfreunde, ed. Friedrich Linde, (Vienna, 1806), vii, p. 10.

La Jérusalem délivrée, 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:

Nur heiteres oder die Augen durch Pomp und geräuschvolle Handlung Beschäftigendes konnte daher auf den Theatern Glück machen. Natürlich, dass die Unternehmer nur Werke suchten und belohnten, die diesen Bedingungen entsprachen; eben so natürlich, dass die vollendeten Dichter und Tonsetzer sich den Forderungen der Theaterunternehmer fügten, die angehenden aber ihr Studium nach jenem ohnehin weit leichter zu erreichenden Ziele lenkten, das ihnen Beyfall und Gewinn versprach. Was Anfangs Bedürfniss gewesen, ward nachher Gewohnheit, und so verschwand allmählig bey den schaffenden Künstlern die Fähigkeit, bey den meisten Zuhörern der Sinn für Ernstes, Grosses und Würdiges.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup> 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

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1. WAMZ, 5 December 1818, columns 451-452.

2. Bauer, Theater an der Wien, p. 68.

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:<sup>1</sup>

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

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1. Adeline by Generale and l'Inganno felice by Rossini, pfd KTH 26 November 1816, are the operas referred to.

zugleich das Interesse der Handlung zu verbinden, welches, wie bekannt, selbst bey den schönsten italienischen Opern nicht der Fall ist; der nicht unbillige, aber bey italienischen Sängern schwer ausführbare Wunsch dass der Sänger zugleich Schauspieler sey, endlich die Verschiedenheit der Art der Costums und der Art der Mimik von den teutschen Gebräuchen, konntennothwendiger Weise das Publicum nicht gleich anfangs befriedigen.<sup>1</sup>

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.

A P P E N D I C E S

## Abbreviations used in appendices

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

adW	Theater an der Wien
BfS	Theater im Bauernfeindischen Saal
BTh	Burgtheater
ct	at court
CTh	Carltheater
Fas	Theater beim Fasan
FhT	Freihaus Theater auf der Wieden
Hietzing	Hietzinger-Hof Sommertheater
JTh	Theater in der Josefstadt
KBTh	Kärntnerthor - and Burgtheater
KdH	Komödienhütte auf dem Neuen Markt
KTh	Kärntnerthortheater
Lax	Laxenburger Schlosstheater
LsT	Theater auf der Landstrasse
LTh	Theater in der Leopoldstadt
Mlg	Theater in Meidling
PzT	Penzingertheater
Sch	Schönbrunner Schlosstheater
TbS	Theater beim Spittelberg

Theatres in France and Russia are abbreviated as follows:

ARM	Académie Royale de la Musique
CF	Comédie Française
CI	Comédie Italienne
Font	Fontainebleau-Palace
FA	Théâtre Favart
O	Opéra
OC	Opéra-Comique
PH	St. Petersburg Hermitage
SF	Salle Favart
SG	Foire Saint-Germain
SL	Foire Saint-Laurent
SM	Porte St-Martin
TF	Théâtre Feydeau

Details of operas are abbreviated thus:

ba	ballet
gr	grand
her	héroïque
o	opéra
op com	opéra-comique
tr	tragédie
vv	vaudeville
w	with

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.

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## 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:

column 1	column 2	column 3	column 4	column 5
a line of information .....				

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'Ast, dating from the 1790s, found by chance in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, might remain uncatalogued. Library collections from the suburban theatres have not remained intact. Performance material which remains from the Burg- and Kärntnertheater 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

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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 abgeredete Zauberey, See La fausse magie

1. Actéon  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris OC 23.1.1836, pfd Vienna (Akteon) KTh from 3.7.1839 trans M. G. Friedrich  
Scribe  
Auber  
3. 7.1839 KTh Ger  
12x-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  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris OC 10.2.1799  
pfd Vienna in Ger (Adolph und Clara, Adolph und Clara oder die zwei Gefangenen) trans F. K. Hiemer 1801 adw, trans C. A. Herklots 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 Acteon  
Marsollier  
Dalayrac  
17.10.1801 adw Ger  
18. 6.1809 BTh Fr  
31. 5.1810 KTh Ger  
4. 9.1826 KTh Fr  
9x-30. 6.1807  
5x-22.10.1809  
2x- 4. 6.1810  
S.m. 32.894 (Ms textbook)  
KTh 7 (Ms German score)
3. Alexis ou l'erreur d'un bon père  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris TF 21 or 24.1.1798  
pfd Paris TF 21.1.1798; pfd Vienna in Ger (Alexis, oder der Irrthum eines guten Vaters) during Napoleon's occupation  
Marsollier  
Dalayrac  
17. 9.1805 adw Ger  
6. or 7. 9.1809 BTh Fr  
20. 1.1819 KTh Ger  
10x-31.12.1805  
5x- 5.11.1809  
47x- 6. 6.1823  
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  
French version
4. Aline, Reine de Golconde  
ba héroïque 3 acts  
pfd Paris ARM 15.4.1766  
pfd Vienna in Fr 1781|82 KTh as "La reine Golconde" allegedly as a 'romantic' opera with ballet  
Sedaine  
Monsigny  
1781|1782 KTh Fr
5. Aline, Reine de Golconde  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris TF 2.9, or 2 or 3.10, 1803  
pfd Vienna in Ger (Aline, Königin(n) von Golconde) trans G. F. Treitschke 1804 KTh & BTh and 1812 adw  
Vial & Favlières  
H. M. Berton  
6. 3.1804 KTh Ger ]  
16. 4.1804 BTh Ger  
22. 8.1812 adw Ger  
20x- 5. 2.1805  
8x-22. 6.1814

Alle fürchten sich, see Le rendez-vous bourgeois

Almédon ou le monde renversé, see Marie

Das alte Schloss, see Le vieux château

6. Les amans Prochée ou, qui compte sans (son) 20. 6.1809 BTh Fr 2x  
hôte, compte deux fois, prov m d vv 1 act ?  
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
7. L'amant déguisé ou le jardinier 13. 5.1776 KTh Ger ?  
supposé com m d ariettes 1 act  
pfd Paris CI 2. or 3. 9.1769 (as L'amant jardinier 7.6.1756)  
pfd Vienna in Ger (Der verstellte Gärtner) trans (?) J. H. Faber, by Böhm's company 1776
- L'amant jaloux, see Les fausses apparences
- L'amant jardinier ou l'amusement de campagne, see L'amant déguisé
8. L'ambassadrice Scribe & St. Georges 23. 7.1839 JTh Ger  
op com 3 acts Auber 24. 1.1840 KTh Ger 1x  
pfd Paris OC 21.12.1836  
pfd Vienna in Ger trans Lichtenstein: 1839 JTh (Die Prima-Donna); 1840 KTh (Die Sängerin(n))
9. Ambroise ou voilà ma journée 6. 3.1812 adW Ger 2x- 7. 3.1812  
op vv 1 act Dalayrac 26. 8.1826 KTh Fr 1x  
pfd Paris CI 12.1.1793  
pfd Vienna in Ger trans ? 1812 adW (Ambros oder Das ist mein Tagelohn); pfd Vienna in Fr 1826 by visiting Fr Players
10. L'ami de la maison 14.12.1776 BTh Fr  
op com 3 acts May|June 1776 KTh Ger  
pfd Font. 26.10.1771; pfd Paris CI 14.5.1772 Grétry 25. 5.1778 BTh Ger } 26x-25. 9.1787  
pfd Vienna in Ger trans G. Stephanie d. J. 1776 KTh (Der Freund des Hauses), and from 1778 3KTh (Der Hausfreund)
11. L'amitié à l'épreuve 22. 1.1781 BTh Ger 2x-29. 1.1781  
op com 2 acts Marmontel  
pfd Font 13.11.1770 Paris CI 17.1.1771; enl 3 acts Font 24.10.1786; pfd Paris 30.10.86 Grétry  
pfd Vienna in Ger without music trans Weisse 5 acts 30.11.1771, 16.8.1777, 21.9.1795 etc.; pfd as opera in Ger, trans ? (Die Freundschaft auf der Probe), 1781 BTh
- S.m. 32.611 "Die Prima-Donna" (Ms music & text, prompt)  
OA 44 "die Sängerinn" (Ms Ger score)
- S.m. 698.427-A Th 234 (Ger textbook printed  
Vienna: Logenmeister, 1778)
- S.m. 641.433-A M 7 (Ger textbook printed  
Vienna: Logenmeister, 1780)

12. L'Amour et Mystère  
op com 2 acts "from the Fr vv"  
pfd St Peteraburg 1806  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Heil, (Liebe und Ruhm (or Ruhm u. Liebe) ) 1818 KTh with music also by Hérold  
12. 2.1818 KTh Ger  
Boieldieu & Hérold  
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. (Der Liebhaber von fünfzehn Jahren) 1778 BTh; 1780-1781 KTh  
P. Laujon  
J.P.W.F. Martini  
29.12.1778 BTh Ger  
2x-31.12.1778  
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  
Favart  
Gluck  
1752, 1755, 1757, BTh Fr  
French text and score S.m. 1036
15. Les amours champêtres  
pastorale en vvs 1 act  
Favart's work pfd Paris CI 3.9.1791  
Van Malder(en) is 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  
Favart  
Pierre van Malder(en) 5.10. or  
5.11. 1758 Sch Fr  
at least 8x-20, or 21.7.1763 text in Fr; score: S.m. 1040
16. Les amours de Bastien et de Bastienne  
vv 1 act  
pfd Paris CI 4.8.1753  
parody of Le Devin du village by J. J. Rousseau, pfd Vienna in Fr with music by various composers 1755 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. Mesmer's garden Landtress  
1768 Kauer's setting of Weiskern pfd 18.8.1790 LTh (Les amours de Bastien et de Bastienne), children's opera rather parfa in Ger with or without music include: 3.8.1775  
Pen, (? 25.5.1779 JTh according to Loewenberg), 29.10.1779 LTh.  
C. S. & Mme Favart 16. 6.1755 Lax Fr  
Harry de Guerville 5. 7.1755 BTh Fr  
pfd also at Schönbrunn  
5.5./5. 4.1764 KTh Ger
17. Anakrón ou l'amour fugitif  
op ballet, 2 acts  
pfd Paris O 4.10.1803  
Limited success Paris possibly discouraged full stage pf in Vienna, pfd early May 1805 in Redoutensaal as oratorio, aroused little enthusiasm  
Anatolie, see Léocadie  
C. R. Mendouze  
Cherubini  
never staged in Vienna  
concert pf May 1805

18. Annette et Lubin  
com en vers m d'ariettes 1 act  
pfd Paris CI 15.2.1762  
pfd Vienna in Fr by French players 1768
- C. S. (& Mme Favart)  
1768 BTh Fr  
Lourd et de Santerre or  
L'Abbé de Voisenon  
Blaise (some arias by Gluck)
- (Score & text in Fr)
- Anton und Antonette, see Toïnon et Toïnette
19. L'arbre creux  
1st pfd Meidling 1807  
Fr title, apparently pfd under this name Vienna 1808; Tovers & Steger also give Ger title: Der hohle Baum; probably pfd in Ger, librettist and translator unknown
- Hieronymus Paer  
Meidling 1807  
1808 ?
20. L'arbre enchanté(e) ou le tuteur dupé  
op com 1 act
- Moline (Loew. has  
Dancourt) based on  
Vadé  
Gluck  
3.10.1759 Sch Fr  
12. 5.1761 at court Fr  
31. 5.1794 Fht Ger  
5x-26. 9.1761  
texts in Fr and score
- Vadé's Le poirier used as basis for text of this opera pfd Foire St Laurent 7.8.1752;  
Vadé's text itself based on La Fontaine's La Gagaire des trois commères; L'arbre enchanté pfd in Fr in Vienna with new music by Gluck 1759; pfd in Ger trans  
Giesecke (Der bezauberte Baum) 1794; Gluck's setting probably with music by other composers pfd Versailles 27.2.1775
21. Ariodant  
op 3 acts  
pfd Paris OC 11.10.1799  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. von Seyfried (Ariodant) 1804 with musical additions by I. von Seyfried
- Hoffmann  
Méhul  
5. 3.1804 adW Ger  
3x- 7. 3.1804
22. Armide  
op 5 acts drama hér a ballet  
pfd Paris ARM 23 (or 25). 9.1777  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans ? J. von Voss (Armida) Ballet by Jean Corally, 1808 adW and KTh; trans Heinrich Esser  
1869, 1878, 1890, etc.
- Quinault  
Gluck  
9. 1.1808 adW Ger  
1. 4.1808 KTh Ger  
20.11.1869 O Ger  
17x-15. 9.1873  
trans Heinrich Esser
- 1808: S.m. 641.433-A M 2 (Ger textbook printed Vienna:  
Wallishauser, 1808) KTh 40 (Ger Ms score). Also  
987.380 - A M (text in Ger printed Vienna: H & S  
Druckerei n.a.) 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  
poète et le musicien op com 1 act  
pfd Paris OC 22.1. or 2.1807  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. von Seyfried 1810 adW (Dichter und Tonkünstler von ungsführ), 1811 KTh (Die Talente durch Zufall)
- A. Duval  
Catel  
31. 1.1810 adW Ger  
28. 1.1818 KTh Ger  
3x- 9. 2.1810  
11x-31. 3.1819
- 987.663/664 - A M (Ger texts, printed Vienna:  
Wallishauser, 1810); OA 143 (score in Ger, Ms)
24. L'aspirant de marine  
op com 2 acts  
pfd Paris OC 11. or 2. 6.1834  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. Kupelwieser (Der See (-) kadett), 1835 JTh and 1837 KTh
- A. Decomberousse &  
Rochefort  
Labarre  
19. 8.1835 JTh Ger  
30. 9.1837 KTh Ger  
4x- 6.11.1837  
1835 JTh:  
S.m. 32.982 (censor's text, in Ger, Ms)  
1837 KTh: S.m. 32.980 (prompt copy in Ger, Ms)

25. L'auberge des Bagnères  
op com 3 acts op bouffon  
pfd Paris 16. or 23.4.1807 OC  
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  
Jala(u?)bert 28. 6.1810 adW Ger 2x-29. 6.1810  
Gatel
26. Les aubergistes de qualité  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris OC 18.6.1812  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. von Seyfried, 1813, 1817, 1831 etc (Die vornehmen Wirte)  
Jouy 3. or 5. 2.1813 adW Ger 16x-14, 10.1813  
Gatel 20. 5.1817 KTh Ger (Ms Ger score)  
3x-31.12.1831 1831 prodi: 987.467-B.M. (Ger tb printed  
Vienna: Wallishauser 1813 passed by censor  
1827, permission renewed 1831)
27. "Die ausbeborgten Frauen,"  
operette, 1 act  
pfd Paris ?  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans ? 1835 KTh, original Fr text allegedly by Varin & Desvergers, Berton opera (if any) to which this refers unknown; another Viennese repertoire list (OM2) gives composer as Reuling, which is more likely  
"Varin & Desvergers"  
(Desforges, Desaugiers)  
"Berton" (?recte Reuling)  
21.10.1835 KTh Ger 8x- 4. 3.1836  
S.m. 32.709, S.m. 32.710 (texts in Ger, Ms),  
OA 141 (score in Ger, Ms)
28. Une aventure de Saint Foix ou le coup  
d'épée op com 1 act Duval & Saint - 18.10.1804 adW Ger 2x-24.10.1804  
pfd Paris OC 20. or 28.1 or Charmant (?Charmaut)  
25. or 27.2.1802 Tarchi  
probably the same opera as that pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Huber, 1804 as Das Hasardspiel
- Les aventures champêtres, 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  
op com 1 act Pixécourt S.m. KTh 418 (Ms Ger score -- see below)  
Gaveaux  
pfd Paris TF 27.10.1804  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Voll, (So bessert man die Männer), 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. Azémia ou le nouveau Robinson  
(Les sauvages) op com 3 acts  
pfd Font 17.10.1786; pfd Paris CI 3.5.1787  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Schmieder, 1795 Lth (Azemia oder die Wilden), 1805 KBth (Die Wilden)
7. 7.1795 Lth Ger  
22. 7.1805 Kth Ger  
9.10.1805 Bth Ger }
- Lachabeaussière  
Dalayrac
- 45x-12. 1.1815  
5x- 9.10.1805
- S.m. 32.116 M (63/68) (Ms Ger tb dated  
dated 1805, used by prompt)
- Die Ballnacht, see Gustave III
31. La banqueroute de savetier  
com m d'ariettes 1 act  
pfd Paris ?  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players during Napoleonic occupation, chosen for pfd on Napoleon's birthday 14.8.1809 w. La famille des Innoçens (?Innocens)  
free spectacle, Ger title also given on poster (Der Bankerott des Schuflickers)
- ?  
?
16. 7.1809 Bth Fr
- 4x-17.10.1809
32. La barcarolle ou l'amour et la musique  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Vienna OC 22.4.1845  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans G. Ball, (Die Bar(k)carole oder l'amour et la musique (or Die Barkarole Liebe und Musik);  
1849 Kth title in Fr but almost certainly pfd in Ger
5. 9.1846 adW Ger  
4. 7.1849 Kth?Ger
- 2x- 6. 9.1846  
9x-15.10.1849
- S.m. 32.879 (Ms Ger tb (prompt));  
S.m. 32.465, S.m. 32.880 (Ms Ger tbs)
- 987.786 CH Ger tb printed Leipzig:  
Breitkopf & Härtel n.d. used by direc-  
tor 1849; OA 200 (Ms Ger score)
- Bastien et Bastienne, see Les amours de Bastien et de Bastienne
33. Les Bayadères  
gr op hér avec ballet 3 acts  
pfd Paris O.8.1810  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Castellì, (Die Bajaderen) Kth 1813
- Etienne de Jouy  
Carel
- 5x- 4.11.1818
- S.m. 32.616 (Ms tb. in Ger used by  
'Wöchner')
- KT 59 (Ms score Fr & Ger text)
- Das befreite Jerusalem, see La Jérusalem délivrée
- Die beiden Generale, see L'auberge des Bagnères
- Die beiden Savoyarden, see Les deux petits Savoyards
- Die beiden Troubadours, see Le prince troubadour
34. La belle Arsène  
op com (op féérique) 4 acts  
pfd Font 6.11.1773  
pfd Paris CI 14.8.1776  
perhaps pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1780-1781; pfd Vienna in Ger trans A. G. Heissner, or possibly J. André (Die schöne Arsene) 1786
- ?1780-1781 Kth Fr  
4. 8.1786 Bth Ger  
25. 8.1786 Kth Ger }
- C. S. Favart (from  
Voltaire)  
Monsigny
- 3x-25. 8.1786
- S.m. 625.941-A Th (Ger textbook printed  
Vienna: Logenmeister 1786)
- La belle cordonnrière, 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. Bóniowski ou les exilés de Kamtschatka Duval (based on A. von Kotzebue) 20. 6. 1804 KTh Ger }  
 op 3 acts 27. 6. 1804 BTh Ger }  
 pfd Paris OC 8.6.1800  
 pfd Vienna in Ger, trans G. F. Treitschke (Die Verwies(en)enen auf Kamtschatka) 1804 KTh & BTh  
 (Ms Ger tbs): S.m. 32.770 M(14/22) (Wöchner); S.m. 32.771 M (38/63), both dated 1804; 641.433-AM.22. (Ger tb printed Vienna: Degen 1804); KTh 462 (Ms Ger score)
- Der Bernhardsberg, see Eliza
36. Le billet de loterie A.F. Creuze de Lesser 1812 production  
 op com 1 act & J.F. Roger (Ms Ger tbs): S.m. 32.368 (prompt); S.m. 32.318 (censor), also used for new production from 1837; OA 120 (Ms Ger score)  
 pfd Paris OC 14.9.1811  
 pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Castelll, (Das Lotterielos) KTh 1812
- Der Blitz, see L'éclair
- Der Blumenkorb, see Le panier fleuri
- La Bohémienne, see L'Egétienne
37. Le bonhomme, ou bienfaisance et vertu ou Paulot et Fanchon) op vv 1 act ? 22.10.1809 BTh Fr  
 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 gutherzige Alte)
38. Le bon fils Devaux (Lemonnier) 1780/1781 KTh Fr  
 op 1 or 3 acts Philidor  
 pfd Paris CI 11.1.1773  
 pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1780/81
39. La bonne Mubaine ou le repas des clerics J.B. Radet 4x-26. 9.1809  
 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) 19. 5.1764 Lax It  
 comedy, then op com summer 1768 BTh It  
 pfd Rome 6.2.1760 as "La Cecchina, ossia La buona figliuola" Piccini 9. 4.1777 BTh It  
 22. 1.1776 KTh Fr  
 5.12.1784 KTh Ger  
 pfd Vienna in Italian as La buona Figliuola 1764, 1768, 1777; pfd Vienna in Fr 1776 as La bonne fille in the translation made for Paris CI production on 17 June 1771 by J. F. Calhava d'Estandoux, music arranged by D. Baccelli; pfd Vienna in Ger trans ? 1784

41. La boucle de cheveu  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris Tf 17. or 29.10.1802  
op was a failure in Paris, pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. Hoffman, (Wasser und Feuer -- Die Haarlocke), 1803 adw
42. Le bouffe et le tailleur  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris Th 1.6.1804  
pfd Vienna in Fr by visiting Fr players, 1826
- Brahma und Bayadère, see Le dieu et la Bayadère
43. Le brasseur de Preston  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris OC 31.10.1838  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Cornet, (Der Brauer von Preston), 1844 JTh, 1851 KTh
- Die Braut, see La fiancée
44. Le bûcheron ou les trois souhaits  
com m d'ariettes 1 act  
pfd Paris CI 28.2.1763  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players, 1765, 1768, 1780-81
45. Le cadî dupé  
op com 1 act  
Monsigny's original version pfd  
Paris Foire St.-Laurent 4.2.1761  
pfd Vienna in Fr by visiting Fr troupes
46. Le calife de Bagdad  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris Sf 16.9.1800  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans C.A. Herklots: 1804 adw (Der Kalif von Bagdad), 1805 KTh & BTh (Der Caliph von Bagdad); also by Fr players 1809
47. La Cantéille  
op com ?  
pfd Vienna in Fr by French troupe 1776
- F. B. Hoffman  
Dalayrac
29. 9.1803 adw Ger
- 3x-13.10.1803
- P. Villiers, A. Gouffé  
Gaveaux
9. 8.1826 KTh Fr
- 1x
- 641.436-BM 4. (cb in Fr printed Paris: Cavenagh, 1804)
- A. de Leuven & L. L.  
Brunswick  
Adam
10. 7.1844 JTh Ger  
25. 2.1851 KTh Ger
- 2x-4. 3.1851
- S.m. 32.422, S.m. 32.228 (cb in Ger, Ms)  
987.374 CM (text in Ger printed Mainz: Schott, 1838), OA 216 (score in Ger, Ms)
- Guichard & Castet  
(based on Ferrault)  
Philidor
- 1765 Fr  
1768 BTh Fr  
1780-1781 KTh Fr
- Lemmonnier  
rearranged for  
Vienna by Gluck
9. or 13.12.1761 BTh Fr  
28. 5.1764 Lax:Fr
- at least:  
4x-28. 5.1764
- S.m. SA. 82.E.5 (score & parts)
- Saint-Just  
Boieldieu
10. 7.1804 adw Ger  
7. 3.1805 KTh Ger  
8. 3.1805 BTh Ger  
2. 7.1809 BTh Fr
- 6x-27. 8.1804  
38x-23. 1.1809  
6x16.11.1809
- (Ms tbs in Ger): S.m. 32.862 M  
(69/93) (used by 'Wächner' dated 1805);  
S.m. 32.883 M (69/93) (Wächner); KTh 73  
(printed score used 1805 & 1809)
- ?
- 11.-2.1776 BTh Fr

48. Le caprice amoureux  
com par  
1st pfd Paris CI 12.2.1755 in 3 acts,  
later in 2 acts  
Favart's op also called Ninette à la cour, a par of Ciampi's Bertoldo, Bertoldino & Cacasenno, pfd Vienna 1760 by Fr players
49. Le caravane du Caire  
op-ba 3 acts  
pfd Pont 30.10.1783; Paris ARM 15.1.1784  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Huber, 1804 adW (Die Karawan(n)e von Kairo)
50. La caverne  
op in 3 acts  
pfd Paris TF 16.2.1793  
pfd Vienna in Ger; Trans J. Seyfried, 1803 adW (Die Höhle by Cosiro); Trans K. F. Lippert, 1803 BTh & KTh (Die Räuberhöhle)
51. Cendrillon  
op féerique 3 acts  
pfd Paris TF 22.2.1810  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Heinrich Schmidt. (Aschenbrödl) 1811 adW
52. Le chapitre second  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris OC 17.6.1799  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Treitschke, (Das zweite Kapitel) 1803
53. Le cheval de bronze  
op féerique 3 acts  
pfd Paris OC 23.3.1835 (pfd 0 1857 as op-ba)  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans von Lichtenstein, (Das Pferd von Erz), 1836 KTh
54. Le(s) Chinois poli(s) en France  
op vv in 6 scenes with ballet  
Anseaume's original pfd Foire St-Laurent  
20.7.1754 (parody of Il Chinese rimpatriato)  
pfd Vienna in Fr by French players 1750
- (text and score in Fr)  
score by Duni Le retour du village Brussels  
score)
- at least  
2x-26. 5.1761
- 1760 BTh Fr  
(Loewenberg says this  
was the Duni setting)
- 24x-20. 4.1806
- 4.10.1804 adW Ger
- 7x-30. 6.1803  
22x-6. 7.1804
14. 6.1803 adW Ger  
24. 6.1803 KTh Ger  
4. 7.1803 BTh Ger
2. 4.1811 adW Ger  
4.11.1823 JTh Ger
4. 2.1803 KTh Ger  
6. 3.1803 BTh Ger  
22. 3.1804 adW Ger
5. 1.1836 KTh Ger  
1857 KTh Ger
2. 6.1756 Lax Fr  
Gluck (&? some airs by Duni)
- (Ms tbs in Ger): S.m. 32.00. M (35/38) (censor  
etc. dated 1803), S.m. 32.034 M (60/80)  
(Wöchner); 641.433- A M 17 (tb in Ger printed  
Vienna: Wallishauser, 1803); KTh 375 (Ms  
score in Ger)
- 641.433- A M 12 (tb in Ger printed Vienna:  
Wallishauser etc. 1803)
- (Ms tbs in Ger : S.m. 32.354, S.m. 32.353,  
S.m. 32.352; (printed tbs in Ger): 987.019-CH  
(Vienna: Wallish, 1836), 987.475-AM (trans.  
Lichtenstein, Hamburg n.d.); OA 12 (Ms score  
in Ger); also tbs and scores from 1857 prod
- (tb in Fr printed in Vienna)
- at least  
3x-27. 5.1759

55. La clochette  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris CI 24.7.1766  
pfd Vienna in Fr by French players 1780-1781
- Anseume  
Duni
- 1780-1781 KTh
56. La clochette ou la double page  
op féérique 3 acts  
pfd Paris OC 18.10.1817  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Treitschke, (Das Zauber-glöckchen (or, Die Wunderglocken)) with 2 additional songs by Schubert, 1821 KTh
- Théaulon  
Hérold
20. 6.1821 KTh Ger
- 8x-19.10.1821  
(Ms tbs in Ger): S.m. 32.205 (censor), S.m. 32.204; KT 474 Ms score in Ger
57. Le coq (coqu) du village  
op com w. vvs & airs 1 acts  
pfd Paris Saint Germain 3. or 31. 3.1743  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players
- Favart  
(various)
21. 6.1752 Lax Fr  
BTh
- at least 1x
- Colinette à le cour, see La double épreuve
58. La colonie (L'isola d'amore)  
op com 2 acts  
pfd Rome carnival in It 1766; Paris  
CI in Fr 16.8.1775
- Italian text A. Gori  
(Fr trans Framery)  
Sacchini
- summer 1769 BTh It  
19.2.1776 KTh Fr  
1780-1781 KTh Fr  
7. 5.1780 BTh Ger  
19. 8.1783 Fas Ger  
2. or 19. 8.1793 Lst Ger
- 1780 BTh: 629.464-A Th (tb in Ger printed  
Vienna: Logenmeister, 1780); KTh 88 (Ms  
score in Ger)
59. Les comédiens ambulants  
pfd Paris TF 28.12.1798  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Treitschke, (Die wandernden Kombödianten)
- L. B. Picard  
Devienne
23. 1.1805 KTh Ger }  
24. 1.1805 BTh Ger }
- 641.433- A M 12 (text in Ger printed Vienna: Wallis-  
hauser, 1803) & 628.830 (text in Ger, printed Wallis-  
hauser, 1807); S.m. 32.946 & S.m. 32.947 (texts  
in Ger, Ms)
60. Le comte d'Ory  
op com 2 acts  
pfd Paris O 20.8.1828  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Ritter, (Graf Ory) 1829 KTh, 1833 JTh
- Scribe & C.G.  
Delestre-Poirson  
Rossini
- 3.11.1829 KTh Ger  
8. 1.1833 JTh Ger
- 9x-13. 8.1830  
S.m. 32.462 (Ms prompt copy in Ger)  
S.m. 32.461 (another Ms text in Ger)  
OA 22 (Ms score in Ger)
61. Le concert à la cour, ou la débutante  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris OC 3.6.1824  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans F. Ellmenreich: 1827 JTh (Das concert (Konzert) am Hofe) additional music Rlotte, 1827 KTh (Das Debut im Konzert)
- Scribe & Méleville  
Auber
10. 1.1827 JTh Ger  
9. 3.1827 KTh Ger
- 36x-4. 8.1842  
OA 1396 (Ger score printed Frankfurt) S.m. 32.470  
(Ms censor's text, 1826) OA 72 (Ms score in Ger)

62. Les confidences  
op com 2 acts  
pfd Paris 31.3.1803 OC  
pfd Vienna in Ger trans M. G. Lambrecht (Die Verwechslungen) 1804 KTh & BTh
- A. G. Jars  
Isouard
23. 7.1804 KTh Ger }  
24. 7.1804 BTh Ger }
- 4x-24. 8.1804
- S.m. 32.063 M (81/87) (Ms tb in Ger, censor etc)  
641.435- B M 3 (songs printed Vienna: Degen, 1804)
- Le coq du village, see Le coq du village
63. (La) Cychère assiégee  
op com 1 act  
Favart's original pfd Paris Cl 1738, Brussels 7.7.1748.  
Paris foire St. L. 12.8.1754  
pfd Vienna in Fr 1757 onwards; from 1759 op included fewer vvs and more original music by Gluck; in Ger, 1796 FHT (in 2 acts) trans Gieseke, (Die Belagerung von Cychère oder die Macht der Liebe) and with musical additions by F. A. Hoffmeister 1796
- Favart & Fagan, from Longus'  
Daphne et Chloe  
1757 BTh Fr  
1759 BTh Fr  
19. 1.1796 FHT Ger
- ?  
at least: 4x-17.11.1762
- Fr text of op published in Vienna in
64. La dame blanche  
op 3 acts  
pfd Paris OC 10.12.1825  
op very successful in Vienna (several parodies), pfd into 20c;  
pfd Vienna in Ger from 1826, trans Castelli, (Die weisse Frau) or (Die weisse Dame); musical additions Ad Müller adW 1829
- Scribe  
Boieldieu
6. 7.1826 KTh Ger  
8. 1.1829 adW Ger  
6. 8.1833 JTh Ger
- 91x-10. 3.1838  
8x-16. 6.1905
- From 1826 KTh production: S.m. 32.644 (Ms tb in Ger), 987.706- BM (printed tb in Fr), OA 317 (Ms score in Ger), OA 1299 (printed score in Ger & Fr); also material from later KTh productions
65. La danse interrompue  
vv 1 act  
pfd Paris?  
pfd 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
- ?  
?
9. 7.1809 BTh Fr
- 2x-14. 9.1809
66. D'auberge en auberge ou les preventions  
(Les deux postes) op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris OC 26.4.1800  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans F. G. Treitschke, 1804 (Die zwei Posten)
- Dupaty  
A. Tarchi
18. 1.1804 KTh Ger }  
13. 3.1804 BTh Ger }
- 36x- 9.10.1806
- S.m. 32.215 M (55/74) (Ms Ger tb used censor etc. dated 6.12.'03); S.m. 32.216 M (27/29) (Ms Ger tb); 628.825-B Th (Ger tb printed Vienna: Wallish. 1804); KTh 355 (Ms score in Ger)
67. Le déguisement pastoral  
op com 1 act  
original version pfd Paris, Foire  
St. Laurent 27.7.1744  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1756. Some sources cite Gluck as being the composer of this opera; others van Maldeq. Both set the text (van Maldeq's pfd Brussels 12.2.1759) Maldeq stayed in Vienna c. summer 1756-1758
- Le Bret  
Gluck &/or P. Van Maldeq
12. 7.1756 Sch Fr  
? BTh Fr
- ?  
(score in Fr)
68. Delia et Verdikan  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris OC 8.5.1805  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans ?, (Delia und Verdican) KTh & BTh 1807
- Elleviou  
H. M. Bertron
29. 1.1807 KTh Ger }  
9. 2 1807 BTh Ger }
- 6x-29. 1.1807
- S.m. 32.681 M (68/73), S.m. 32.682 M (26/37) (Ms tbs in Ger); KTh 104 (Ms score in Ger)

69. Le délire ou les suites d'une erreur St. Cyr 1x  
 op com 1 act H. N. Beaton 14. 9.1826 KTh Fr  
 pfd Paris OC 7.12.1799 4. 2.1831 KTh Ger  
 pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1826 KTh; in Ger, trans? (Der Wahnsinn) 1831 KTh  
 1831 KTh production: S.m. 32.711 (Ms tb in Ger, censor etc), S.m. 32.713 & S.m. 32.712 (Ms tbs in Ger), OA 142 (Ms score in Ger)
70. Démophon Desriaux (based on) 5x-10. 6.1808  
 op her 3 acts Metastasio's Demofonte  
 pfd Paris ARN or 22.9.1789 J. C. Vogel  
 pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Castelll, (Démophon, Demophon) (both given) musical additions I. von Seyfried, 1808 adw
- 71.? Depuis et de Ronais (Dupuis et Collé at least:  
 Desronais) ? 22. 5.1764 BTh Fr 4x-15. 4.1771  
 op com 3 acts ? 1780-1781 KTh Fr  
 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 französische Deserteur, see Le déserteur
72. Le déserteur Sedaine  
 op com 3 acts Monigny  
 pfd Paris CI 6.3.1769  
 4.1.1771 BTh Fr  
 22.10.1775 Sch Fr  
 June 1776 KTh Ger  
 28.11.1779 KTh Ger  
 23. 4.1786 KTh Ger  
 1780/1781 KTh?Fr  
 14. 6.1787 KdH Ger  
 17. 7.1787 Fas Ger  
 24.11.1813 KTh Ger  
 1779 BTh production: 698.427-A Th 69 (tb in Ger printed Vienna: Logenm. 1779) KTh 109 (Ms score in Ger)  
 1813 KTh production: S.m. 32.063 & S.m. 32.719 (Ms prompt copies in Ger)
- pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1775,1776; pfd in Ger: Without music trans M. von Brahm 19.11.1770; With music, trans ? (Der französische Deserteur) 1787 KdH & Fas; with music trans C. Stephanie d.J. (Der Deserteur) 1779 BTh & KTh; & trans W. Ehlers with musical additions by various composers  
 (Der Deserteur) 1813 KTh  
 16x- 4. 9.1787  
 3x-13.12.1813
73. Les deux avarés Fenouillet de  
 op com 2 acts Faibaire  
 pfd Pont 27.10.1770, CI 6.12.1770 Grétry  
 10. 1.1776 KTh Fr  
 1776 Fas?Ger  
 7.11.1776 alt LTh Ger  
 12. 5.1779 BTh Ger  
 7.1780-1781 KTh Fr  
 9. 1.1805 adw Ger  
 20. 9.1817 KTh Ger  
 10.10.1827 JTh Ger  
 1779 prod: S.m. 698.427-A Th (Ger tb printed Vienna: Logenmeister 1779);  
 1817 prod: S.m. 32.419 (Ms Ger tb used by prompt) also: KT 180 (Ms score in Ger), OA 1629 piano score printed Leipzig, Ger text
- pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1776, also perhaps 1780-1781  
 pfd Vienna in Ger: trans J.-H. Faber 1776, 1779, (Die zwei (or, rarely, Die bey(1)den)Geitzigen); trans J. Seyfried, additional music A. J. Fischer from 1805  
 17x- 5. 7.1806  
 46x-22. 5.1820
74. Les deux aveugles de Tolède Marsollier  
 op com 1 act Méhul  
 pfd Paris OC 28.1.1806  
 pfd Vienna in Ger, trans ? (Die zwey Blinden von Toledo)  
 S.m. 32.343 M (15/24) (Ms Ger tb) 641.433  
 A M 3 (Ger tb printed Wallfshauer 1806)  
 2x- 1.11.1806

75. Les deux chasseurs et la laitière  
com m d'ariettes 1 act  
pfd Paris CI 21.6. or 7.1763

1764 BTh or Lax Fr  
3. 1.1776 KTh Fr  
16. 5.1779 Bfs Ger  
20.10.1782 LTh Ger  
17. 9.1783 Fas Ger  
25. 7.1787 ads Ger  
? 1792 Jubiläummarkt  
12. 4.1794 Fht

Anseaume  
Duni

pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1764 BTh, 1776 KTh; in Ger in 2 acts, trans Faber 1779, 1783, 1787 (Das Schöne Milchmädchen), perhaps also other performances (?resettings of the text); Das Milchmädchen und die beiden Jäger 1782 LTh, 1794 fht, 1792 beim Jubiläummarkt possibly also pfd by Fr players 1780-81; one op is listed in WTA 1782 as L'aitière

76. Les deux co(m)intesses  
op com 2 acts  
pfd Paris c. 1778  
?pfd Vienna 1780-1781, language uncertain; perhaps pfd by travelling Fr players but Ger title also exists (Die beiden Gräfinnen)

1780-1781 KTh ?

Framery  
arranged by Framery  
(parody of Pfiatello)

77. Les deux cousines  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris CI 21.5.1763  
pfd Vienna in Fr by French players 1765

c. 1765 BTh Fr  
La Ribardière  
Desbrosses

Les deux generales, see L'auberge des Bagnères pfd Vienna 28.6.1810 as Die beiden Generale and announced in the Viennese paper Thalia under the invented French title Les deux generales Catel's opera was never known by that name

78. Les deux jaloux  
op vv 1 act ? (see below)  
pfd Vienna in Fr by visiting Fr players 1826, it could be one of at least 2 operas called Les 2 jaloux, that with music F. Bonnay, text?, pfd Paris Théâtre Beaujolais 1787, or that set by Edm. Sophie Gail (text Dufresny & Vial) pfd Paris TF 27.3.1813

1x

at the latest:  
4. 8.1826 KTh Fr

79. Les deux journées  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris TF 16.1.1800

J. N. Bouilly  
Cherubini

13. 8.1802 adW Ger  
14. 8.1802 KTh Ger  
5. 9.1802 BTh Ger  
21.11.1805 BTh Ger  
3.12.1805 KTh Ger  
13. 8.1817 LTh Ger  
9. 3.1824 JTh Ger  
3. 7.1841 JTh Ger  
30. 7.1856 KTh Ger

1802 KTh & BTh: 440.778- A M (text in Ger, printed Vienna:Wallfahner,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: as 'Graf Armand oder die unvergesslichen Tagen', trans H. G. Schmieder, from 31.8.1802 adW, and as 'Die Tage der Gefahr', trans Treitschke, in the production opening following night at KTh; from 21.11.1805 (after the French occupation) name of op changed at KTh to 'Graf Armand'; a production at JTh in 1841 called the opera 'Der Wasserträger'; this title also used by KTh in 1856

80. Les deux maris  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris OC 18.3.1816  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans I. F. Cascelll (Die beiden Erben, or. Die beiden Ehen)
- Etienne  
Isouard
30. 7.1819 KTh Ger
- 23x- 4. 6.1829  
texts in Ger (Ms): S.m. 32.327-330;  
OA 115 (score with Ger text, & prompt  
copy)
81. Les deux mots ou une nuit dans la  
forêt  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris OC 9.6.1806
- Marsollier  
Dalayrac
- 9, 7.1807 adW Ger  
11. 3.1808 BTh Ger  
23. 3.1808 KTh Ger  
12. 8.1810 Mlg Ger  
10. 7.1817 KTh Ger  
12. 5.1823 LTh Ger  
11. 2.1824 JTh Ger  
13. 12.1824 KTh Ger
- 28x-21.12.1816  
16x- 7. 5.1809  
1808 BTh & KTh: S.m. 32.099 M (81/23),  
S.m. 32.098 M (161/140) (texts in Ger,  
Ms); 987.119 - A M (text in Ger, printed  
Vienna: Wallishauser, 1808)  
1824 KTh: OA 140 (score with Ger  
text (Ms))
- 23x- 3. 1.1820  
2x-13. 5.1823  
58x-24. 9.1830
- pfd Vienna in Ger, trans G. A. Herklots (Zwey Worte oder Die Nacht im Walde), from 1807
82. Les deux mousquetaires ou la robe  
de chambre  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris OC 22.12.1824  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Cascelll (Uniform und Schlafrock), 1829 KTh
- Justin-Gensoul & Vial  
Berton
26. 4.1829 KTh Ger
- 29x- 5.11.1836  
S.m. 32.486 (text in Ger (Ms))
83. Les deux nuits  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris OC 20. 5.1829  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Cascelll (Die beiden Nächte), 1834 KTh
- Scribe & (after Bouilly)  
Boieldieu
17. 5.1834 KTh Ger
- 3x-20. 5.1834  
S.m. 32.527, S.m. 32.627, S.m. 32.466  
(texts in Ger, Ms), KT 311 (score with  
Ger text, Ms)
84. Les deux petites Savoyards  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris CI 14.1.1789
- Marsollier  
Dalayrac
- 13.12.1792 LTh Ger  
14.12.1792 Fht 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
- pfd Vienna in Ger: trans J. Perinet (Die zween Savoyarden) 1792 LTh; trans Schmieder (Die beiden kleinen Savoyarden) 1792 adW, trans  
Schmieder with musical additions by A. J. Fischer, under the title Die beyden Savoyarden, 1804 KTh & BTh & 1813 KTh
- various printed textbooks of the Ger  
translations by Perinet & Schmieder;  
LTh: 622.022 - BTh - S. (text in  
Ger printed Vienna: Wallishauser, 1792)  
1804 KTh & BTh: S.m. 32.610 M(83/89)  
(text in Ger (Ms)); 628.366 - A Th  
(text in Ger printed Vienna: Wallishauser,  
1805)
- 1813 KTh: S.m. 32.610 (text in Ger Ms)  
KT 400 (score with Ger text, Ms) OA 1548  
(score with Fr text, printed Paris: Le  
Duc, n.d.)
85. Le Devin du village  
op com 1 act  
pfd Font 18.10.1752 & with Rousseau's recits & overture 1.3.1753 ARM  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr troupe 1760
- J. J. Rousseau  
"
- 9.10.1760 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  
 pfd Paris Foire S. L. 19.8.1756  
 (the original music consisted of popular airs, arranged by Philidor); Gluck composed new arias for pf in Vienna; pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players from 1761; pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Weiskern, 2as a play, 29.4.1767 Die doppelte Verwandlung; other settings of story pfd in Vienna include: end 1751 *Der krumme Teufel*, music by Haydn; spring 1752 *Der neue krumme Teufel* KTh; 12.11.1764 KTh *Der geprügelte Teufel*, music "Müller"; 24.11.1770 KTh *Asmodeus der krumme Teufel*; 4.11.1782 LTh *Der krumme Teufel*; 28.9.1783 *Fas Der krumme Teufel*  
 Sedaine (from Coffey)  
 Philidor, rearranged  
 by Gluck  
 28. 5.1759 Lax Fr at least  
 11. 4.1761 BTh Fr 5x-25. 4.1761  
 29. 4.1767 KTh Ger (? without music)  
 (French score & text)
87. *Les diamants de la couronne*  
 op com 3 acts  
 pfd Paris OC 6.3.1841  
 pfd Vienna in Ger, trans W. A. Svoboda, (Die Krondiamanten) 1849 KTh  
 Scribe & Vernoy de  
 Saint-Georges  
 Auber  
 25. 1.1849 KTh Ger 35x-15.10.1852  
 30. 7.1853 KTh Ger 3x-30. 8.1853  
 18.12.1884 O Ger 4x-16. 1.1885  
 1849 KTh: S.m. 32.721-722 (texts in Ger, Ms)  
 OA 1266 (printed score in Fr, Paris, Troupenas & Cie, n.d. with Ms Ger text) OA 1401, OA 1402 (printed piano scores with French & Ger text Mainz: Schott)
88. *Le dieu et la bayadère, ou la courtesane amoureuse*  
 opéra-ballet 2 acts  
 pfd Paris O 13.10.1830  
 pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Lichtenstein, (Brahma (Brama) und die Bayadere, sometimes also referred to as *Der Gott und die Bayadere* or *Die liebende Bayadere*), 1832 & 1852 KTh & 1866 Har  
 Scribe  
 Auber  
 3. 2.1832 KTh Ger 7x-22. 6.1832  
 17.10.1852 KTh Ger 7x-29.12.1852  
 17. 2.1866 Har Ger  
 1832 KTh: S.m. 32.458-459 (texts in Ger, Ms), 987.240 (text in Ger, printed Mainz: Wirth)
89. *Dom Sébastien, roi de Portugal*  
 grand opéra 5 acts  
 pfd Paris O 13.11.1843  
 pfd Vienna, in Ger, trans L. Herz (Don or Dom Sebastien), 1845, 1872, 1891  
 Scribe  
 Donizetti  
 6. 2.1845 KTh Ger 132x-18.12.1865  
 28.10.1868 SS (extracts)  
 etc.  
 1845 KTh production: S.m. 32.885 (text in Ger, Ms used by director); 987.788-A M & 987.789 (texts in Ger, printed); OA 331 (score with German text, Ms) OA 1552, OA 1553 (printed piano score with Italian/Ger text & Italian text)
90. *Le domino noir*  
 op com 3 acts  
 pfd Paris OC 2.12.1837  
 pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Lichtenstein, (Der schwarze Domino), 1846, 1847, 1849, 1863, 1867, 1871, 1909, etc. into 20C.  
 Scribe  
 Auber  
 1. 7.1846 adW Ger 13x- 1. 5.1849  
 14.10.1847 JTh Ger  
 28. 7.1849 KTh Ger, etc. 25.1.1849 24x-18. 6.1852  
 1849 KTh production: S.m. 32.648, S.m. 32.646, S.m. 32.645, S.m. 32.647, (Ms tbs in Ger); OA 1351 & OA 1391 (printed scores with Fr & Ger text)
- Don Sebastien, see Dom Sebastien
- Die doppelte Erkenntlichkeit, see Colinette à la cour ou la double épreuve
91. ? *La dot de Susette*  
 Posse 4 acts  
 pfd Paris?  
 Dinaux & G. Lemoine  
 Donizetti & Auber  
 Ad Müller sen.  
 23. 3.1844 adW Ger 7x-30. 3.1844  
 10. 4.1844 LTh Ger at least: 2x  
 19. 1.1849 adW Ger 2x-20. 1.1849  
 This is probably an Austrian opera by Adolf Müller set to a Fr text  
 pfd Vienna in Ger, trans F. Blum: Die beiden Waisen 1844 adW; Cadiche une Susette oder die beiden Waisen (or perhaps just Die beiden Waisen)  
 Cadiche und Susette, die Mädchen aus Bretagne, 1849 adW. As pfd in Vienna, the opera claimed to contain "additional music by Adolf Müller sen" with other numbers by Donizetti and Auber. Probably it was an original score by Ad. Müller, or perhaps a pasticcio including some French numbers.  
 Boieldieu wrote an opera *La dot de Susette*, 1 act, libretto by Dejaure, after J. Fievée, pfd Paris Salle Favart 5.9.1798; also, an opera of this name was written by John Urich. Neither was pfd in Vienna.

92. La double échelle  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris OC 23.8.1837  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans K Blum (Die Doppelleiter), 1837 KTh  
Planard  
A. Thomas  
31.10.1838 KTh Ger  
10x-20. 1.1840
93. La double épreuve ou Colinette  
à la cour op 3 acts  
Grétry's version pfd Paris O 1.1.1782  
(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 Erkenntlichkeit) with musical additions Süßmayr 1796 onwards KTh & BTh  
S.m. 32.231 M(20/22) & S.m. 32.230 M(20/22)  
(texts in Ger, Ms): 698.427 -A Th 217 B (text  
in Ger, printed Vienna: Schmidbauer, 1796)  
Lourdé de Santerre (after  
Favart) Grétry & Süßmayr  
28. 2.1796 KTh Ger }  
30. 8.1796 BTh Ger }
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  
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. Moline with additional music by J. N. A. F. de Méreaux; pfd Vienna in Ger, trans from the French C. G. Neefe (Der  
lächerliche Zweikampf) 1786 BTh  
G. B. Lorenzi, adapted  
for Fr stage by M. Moline  
Paisiello & de Méreaux  
15. 7.1775 BTh It  
17. 4.1786 KTh Ger  
2x-19. 4.1786
- Il duello, see Le duel comique
- Un duello, see Le pré aux clercs
96. Les dupes  
op com 1 act  
pfd Vienna in Fr 1780-81 by French players  
? 1780-1781 KTh  
Dupuis et Desronais, see Depuis et de Ronais
97. L'eau de jouvenance  
op com 2 acts  
pfd Paris Odéon 13.10.1827  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Freiherr v. Braun (Die verjüngerungs(-) Essenz), 1838 KTh  
Duvert & Xavier (X.B.  
Saintinel)  
C. Kreutzer  
24. 9.1838 KTh Ger  
1x

98. L'Échelle de soie  
 op com 1 act  
 pfd Paris OC 22.8.1808  
 pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Castelll (Der Strickleiter) 1814 KTh, 1823 KTh, 1840 KTh  
 Planard  
 Gaveaux  
 19. 2.1814 KTh Ger  
 17. 6.1823 KTh Ger  
 24. 9.1840 KTh Ger  
 19x-  
 6x-  
 1x-  
 S.-m. 32.192 - 194 (texts in Ger, Ms)  
 OA 66 score in Ger, Ms
99. L'éclair  
 op 3 acts  
 pfd Paris OC 16.12.1835  
 pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Ribícs, (Der Blitz) 1845, 1848, 1849, 1881 also: 1881  
 Planard & St. Georges  
 Halévy  
 27. 6.1845 JTh Ger  
 23.11.1848 JTh Ger  
 30. 8.1849 KTh Ger  
 (excerpts only)  
 (complete)  
 4x
100. L'Égétienne  
 op par 2 acts  
 pfd Paris CI 28.7.1755  
 pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players, 1758  
 ? Ch. Fr. Clement  
 various composers (Favart)  
 1758 KTh Fr
- Der eifersüchtige Kranke, see Le jaloux Majade ou Amour et Surprise
- Der eifersüchtige Liebhaber, see Les fausses apparences
- Der Einsiedler auf dem wüsten Berge, see Le Solitaire
101. Eliza, ou Le voyage aux glaciers  
 du mont St. - Bernard  
 op com 2 acts  
 pfd Paris TF 13.12.1794  
 pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. von Seyfried (Der Bernhardsberg), 1802 adw  
 Révéroni Saint-Cyr  
 Cherubini  
 18.12.1802 adw Ger  
 7x- 2. 1.1803
102. Emma, ou la promesse imprudente  
 op com 3 acts  
 pfd Paris OC 7.7.1821  
 pfd Vienna in Ger, trans K. J. Braun vom Braunschthal (Emma oder die Übereilung) 1835, KTh  
 Planard  
 Auber  
 20.10.1835 KTh Ger  
 1x
103. L'erreux d'un moment ou la suite  
 de Julie  
 op com 3 acts  
 1st pfd Paris CI 14.6.1773  
 pfd Vienna in Fr by French troupe 1775 and 1780-81  
 Monvel  
 Dezède  
 28.12.1775 BTh Fr  
 1780-1781 KTh Fr  
 French textbook in Nationalbibliothek  
 641.436-B.H., Wien 1775

104. Euphrosine ou le tyran corrigé F. B. Hoffman 19. 9.1795 FHT Ger  
(Euphrosine et Coradin) op in 5, 4, Méhul 14. 8.1806 adW Ger  
then 3 acts  
pfd Paris CI 4.9.1790 5 acts; 11.9.1790 4 acts; 22.8.1795 3 acts  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Gieseke, (Die Milsüchtige, or Euphrosine) 1795 FHT, 1806 adW, musical additions Seyfried  
10x- 7. 1.1807
105. Les événements imprévus T. d'Hèle 1780-81 KTh Fr  
op com 3 acts Grétry 1. 9.1781 BTh Ger  
pfd Versailles 11.11.1779; Paris CI 13.11.1779  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans G. Stephanie d.J., (Die unvermutheten Zufälle) 1781 BTh  
KTh 478 (score in Ger. Ms)
- Die Familie auf Isle de France, see Paul et Virginie
106. La famille américaine Bouilly 17. 1.1810 adW Ger  
op com 1 act Dalayrac 2x-18. 1.1810  
pfd Paris OC 20.2.1796  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans. J. Seyfried (Die amerikanische Familie) 1810 adW
107. La famille des innocens, ? Destouches 23. 7.1809 BTh Fr  
(le triple mariage) op vv 1 act ? J. Cl. Gillier  
one "Le triple mariage" pfd Paris Com Fr 7.7.1716  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players during Napoleonic occupation, chosen for closing night of Fr theatre there; sometimes called La famille des innocens
- ? Der Fassbinder, see Le tonnelier
- La fausse aventurière, see La fausse esclave
108. La fausse esclave Anseume & Marconville 1758 BTh 7 Sch Fr  
op com 1 act Gluck 31. 5.1759 Lax Fr  
text set by ?Laruelle, pfd Paris 22.3.1756 FG 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 Harmontel 1780-1781 KTh Fr  
op com 2 acts (later 1 act) Grétry 27.10.1778 KTh Ger }  
8.1.1786 KTh Ger }  
pfd Paris CI 1.2.1775 27. 6.1809 BTh Fr  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans G. Stephanie (Die abgeredete Zauberey) 1778 onwards; pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players during French occupation of 1809
110. Les fausses apparences, ou l'amant d'Hèle (after S. Centlivre) 1780-81 KTh Fr  
jaloux Grétry 12.10.1780 BTh Ger }  
op com 3 acts 24. 1.1786 KTh Ger }  
pfd Paris Vers. 20.11.1778; CI 23.12.1778  
pfd Vienna in Ger trans G. Stephanie d. J. (Der eifersüchtige Liebhaber (also called Die eifersüchtigen Liebhaber))  
S.m. 641.433-A M 13 (ger textbook printed  
Vienna: Logenmeister, 1780)

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 Fee brillante"  
 ? Favart & de Voisenon 25. 1.1764 K Fr  
 "Duni"  
 This opera is doubtful. If the date of its performance in Vienna is correct, it cannot have been Duni's La fee Urgèle, 1st pfd in Paris October, 1765. No other work by Duni seems to fit this title. Perhaps an earlier setting or arrangement of Favart's text.
113. La fee Urgèle ou ce qui plaît Favart (after Chaucer & Nov. 1780 KTh Fr  
 aux dames op com 4 acts Voltaire & ? de Voisenon  
 pfd Font. 26.10.1765; Paris CI Duni  
 4.12.1765  
 pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players, 1780; Pleyel's setting of the text, Die Fee Urgele, Marionette opera written for Eszterhaza, had been pfd Vienna BTh 1776 in Ger; for a possible earlier appearance in Vienna of this text, see La fee brillante no. 112  
 (Fr score in Vhemlg)
114. Félix ou l'enfant trouvé Sedaine 16.10.1785 KTh Fr 2x-18.10.1785 KTh 151 (score in Ger, Ms)  
 op com 3 acts Monsigny  
 pfd Font 10.11.1777; Paris CI 24.11.1777
115. Les femmes vengées ou les feintes Sedaine (after Fontaine) 25. 1.1776 BKTh Fr  
 infidélités op com 1 act Philidor  
 pfd Paris CI 20.3.1775  
 pfd in Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1776
116. La fermière écossaise Collet de Messine 1780|1781 KTh Fr  
 (Sara ou la fermière écossaise)  
 op com 2 acts Vachon  
 pfd Paris CI 8.5.1773  
 pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1780|1781 KTh as "La fermière écossaise"
117. Fernand Cortez ou la conquête du Esnébard & Etienne de 26. 5.1812 KTh Ger  
 Mexique op hér 3 acts + ba Jouy (based on A. Piron) 20.12.1815 KTh Ger  
 pfd Paris O 28.11.1809 Spontini 3.10.1818 KTh Ger  
 8. 6.1823 adW Ger  
 15. 2.1833 KTh Ger  
 16. 9.1854 KTh Ger  
 pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Castelll (Ferdinand Cortez oder Die Eroberung von Mexiko), 1812, 1817, 1818, 1823, (in a new version by Spontini 1818).  
 1821 production: S.m. 32.229 (text in Ger Ms);  
 1818 production: S.m. 32.316, S.m. 32.315 (text in Ger, Ms), 987.015-BH text printed Vienna: Wallishauser, 1819  
 1833: production: S.m. 32.343 (text in Ger, Ms)  
 1854: OA 54 (score in Ger, Ms)

118. La fête d'amour ou Lucas et Colinette, op com 1 act  
pfd Paris CI 5.12.1754  
pfd Vienna in Fr by French players, 1757 as "Les amours de Lucas et de Colinette"
- Madame & C. S. Favart  
various composer  
1757 BTh Fr  
1761 at court  
1764, 1771, 1772
- at least  
5x-2. 3.1772
119. La fête du village voisin  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris OC 5.3.1816  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Castelli, (Der Kirchttag im benachbarten Dorfe) 1817 KTh, ?1819 LTh. 1819 pf at LTh doubtful; Also on 21.8.1819 Posse by Menzel Müller & Meisl "Der Kirchttag 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 Menzel Müller
- Sewrin  
Boieldieu  
5. 5.1817 KTh Ger  
? 21. 8.1819 LTh Ger
- 4x-24. 5.1817
- 1817 production: S.m. 32.948 & S.m. 32.949  
(texts in Ger, Ms)
120. La fiancée  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris OC 10.1.1829  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans F. A. Ritter, (Die Braut (or Die verlobte)) 1831 onwards KTh
- Scribe  
Auber  
21. 4.1831 KTh Ger
- 41x-12. 9.1840
- S.m. 32.952 (texts in Ger, Ms), S.m. 32.955  
(Indications sur la mise en scène de la Fiancée)  
OA 52 (score with Ger text + prompt copy, Ms)
121. Le fidèle berger  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris OC 6.1.1838  
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
- Scribe & Vernoy de  
Saint-Georges  
Adam  
? v; 25. 2.1845 JTh Ger
25. 6.1839 JTh Ger  
16. 9.1848 KTh Ger
- 8x-19, 9. 1848
- (Ms tbs in Ger): S.m. 32.675 (censor); S.m. 32.727 (prompt); OA 203 (Ms score in Ger)
122. La fille du regiment  
op com 2 acts  
pfd Paris OC 11.2.1840
- Vernoy de Saint-George  
& J. F. A. Bayard  
Donizetti  
11. 5.1841 KTh It  
23. 9.1843 KTh It  
3. 3.1844 LTh Ger  
13. 6.1844 JTh Ger  
7. 8.1847 adW Ger
- 5x-15. 6.1841  
c. 90x-20. 8.1868  
22x-16, 11.1849  
13x-26. 9.1849
- texts and score in Italian, also: 1843; S.m. 32.260 (text in Ger, Ms), 987.471-B.M. (text in Ger printed Vienna: n.d.)  
1844 LTh: Carit. archiv Handschrift M20 p.9.  
Archiv Schönwetter 69
- 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 adW, 1862 FJK. From 1876 into 20C as Die Regimentstochter
13. 2.1862 FJK Ger  
2. 4.1876 KTh Ger  
6. 9.1899 KTh Ger
- 62x-18. 4.1899  
21x-10.11.1910
123. La fille mal gardée (le pédant amoureux)  
com vv, parody at Muret's "La Provençale"  
pfd Paris CI 4.3.1758  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1764
- Mme Favart, C. S. Favart, & Lourdet de Sancerre  
? or 4. 2.1764 BTh Fr
- at least:  
2x-7.11.1764
- Duni

124. *Fiorella*  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris OC 28.11.1826  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Castelll, (Das Pilgerhaus) 1829 adW, (Fiorella oder Das Hospitium St. Lorenzo) 1831 KTh
- Scribe  
Auber
19. 2.1829 adW Ger  
5. 3.1831 KTh Ger
- 3x-21. 2.1829  
4x-10. 3.1831
- 1831 KTh: S.m. 32.625 (text in Ger, Ms), 987.517 (songs etc. printed Berlin n.d.), KT 161 (score with Ger text & dialogue, Ms); OA 106 (score with Ger text and dialogue, Ms.)
125. *Une folie*  
op com 2 acts  
pfd Paris OC 5.4.1802
- Bouilly  
Méhul
24. 5.1803 adW Ger  
22. 6.1809 BTh Fr  
23. 9.1810 Mdlg Ger  
31. 8.1814 KTh Ger  
13. 9.1823 JTh Ger  
13.10.1831 KTh Ger  
1841 KTh Ger
- 76x-11. 6.1811  
2x-13. 7.1809  
26x-14. 4.1819  
18x-24. 3.1836  
5x- 5. 3.1841
- 1809 BTh: KTh 163 (printed score); 1814 KTh: S.m. 32.340 & S.m. 32.341 (texts in Ger, Ms), OA 127 (score with Ger text & dialogue, Ms); 1841 KTh: S.m. 32.339 (text in Ger, Ms)
126. ? Fosco ou le fiancé  
com vv 3 acts  
pfd Paris ?  
pfd Vienna in ? Fr 1845 allegedly with music by an Antoine Roth and either libretto or additional music by Berlon
- ? Berlon  
Antoine Roth
10. 2.1845 KTh Fr  
1x
127. *Fra Diavolo ou l'hôtellerie de Terracine*  
op 3 acts  
pfd Paris OC 28.1.1830
- Scribe  
Auber
18. 9.1830 KTh Ger  
15. 9.1832 JTh Ger  
20. 6.1843 adW Ger  
4. 9.1860 KTh Ger etc.  
1864, 1869, 1882, 1899, 1923, 1948, 1955  
1864, 1869, 1882, 1899, 1923, 1948, 1955
- 108x-17.12.1855  
1x
- (texts in Ger, Ms): S.m. 32.797 (KTh 1830), S.m. 32.798 (adW 1843) etc. and scores and texts from later productions
128. *Frosine ou la dernière venue*  
op vv 1 act  
pfd Paris?  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1809, Ger title also given on poster (Die letzte Ankunft.) BTh & KTh; might be either of 2 operas: Frosine (La négresse) Lescot, op vv 1 act, pfd Paris CI 15.6.1787
- J. B. Radet
18. 6.1809 BTh Fr }  
9. 8.1809 KTh Fr }
- 2x
129. *Die beyden Fuchse*, see La Folie
- Die Freundschaft auf der Probe, see L'amitié à l'épreuve
130. *Gabrielle d'Estrées ou les amours d'Henri IV*  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris OC 25.6.1806  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Treitschke (Gibrielle d'Estrées), with musical additions Seyfried, 1807 adW
- Saint-Just  
Méhul
15. 6.1807 adW Ger  
7x-21. 7.1809
- 1807 adW: KT 176 (score in Ger, Ms)

Der Gefangene oder die Ähnlichkeit, see Le prisonnier ou la ressemblance

Der General, see L'héritier de Pampoul

Graf Armand, see Les deux Journées

Graf Ory, see Comte d'Ory

130. Le grand deuil  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris OC 21.1.1801  
pfd Vienna in Ger trans ? (Die tiefe Trauer) 1804 adW
- Vial & Etienne  
H. M. Berton
4. 2.1804 adW Ger
- 2x- 5. 2.1804
131. Le grand père ou les deux âges  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris TF 14.10.1805  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players during Napoleonic occupation 1809, German title also given on poster (Der Grossvater oder: Die zwey Alter)
- Favières (fils)  
L. E. Jadin
3. 9.1809 BTh Ger
- 6x-14.11.1809
132. Guido et Ginevra ou la peste de  
Florence op 5 acts  
pfd Paris O 5.3.1838  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. C. Grünbaum (Guido und Ginevra) 1841 JTh & 1844 KTh (?perhaps translation by Ott)
- A. E. Scribe  
Halévy
4. 5.1841 JTh Ger  
5. 1.1844 KTh Ger
- 4x-16. 1.1844
133. Guillaume Tell  
Op 4 acts  
pfd Paris O 3.8.1829
- de Jouy & H.-L.-F. Bis  
(from Schiller)  
Rossini
25. 6.1830 KTh It acts I & II 3x  
22. 7.1830 KTh It acts III & IV 4x  
2. 8.1830 KTh Ger 85x- 8.11.1847  
19. 4.1833 JTh Ger 119x- 4. 6.1869  
9. 4.1853 KTh It 156x-24. 2.1904 (new production 1905 etc.)  
27. 6.1869 KTh It
- Ms 20.283 (score with Fr & Ger text, printed Mainz: 1829)  
scores & texts from later productions
134. Gulistan ou le Hulla de  
Samarcande op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris OC 30.9.1805  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans ? (Gulistan oder der Hulla von Samarkanda), 1806 KTh & BTh, 1827 KTh
- Etienne  
& Lachabeaussière  
Galayrac
2. 8.1806 KTh Ger }  
3. 8.1806 BTh Ger }  
3.10.1827 KTh Ger }  
5x
- 1806 production: S.m. 32.844 M (62/67) (text in Ger Ms, censor's copy etc), 625; 912-A Th (text in Ger printed Vienna; Wallishauser, 1806); 1827 production: 987.779-A M (text in Ger printed Vienna; Wallishauser, 1806), Kt 196 (score with Ger text & prompt copy, Ms)

135. Gustave III ou le bal masqué Scribe  
Op 5 acts Auber  
pfd Paris O 27.2.1833  
pfd Vienna in Ger trans J. von Seyfried & G. E. von Hofmann (Die Ballnacht) 1835 KTh, 1838 JTh, 1857 and 1877 KTh  
26. 9.1835 KTh Ger  
15. 6.1838 JTh Ger  
7. 2.1857 KTh Ger  
29. 4.1877 KTh Ger  
101x-15.12.1852  
24x-31.12.1862  
16x-21. 1.1862  
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 g'chertzige 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  
op 3 acts Auber  
pfd Paris OC 28.12.1847  
pfd Vienna in Ger trans ? (Haydée, oder das Geheimnis), 1848 JTh & 1849 KTh  
28.12.1848 JTh Ger  
10.11.1849 KTh Ger  
3x-21.11.1849  
1849 KTh: (texts in Ger, Ms): S.m. 32.436-438;  
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 Bouilly & Saint-Cyr  
op com 3 acts Méhul  
pfd Paris OC 1.3.1803  
pfd Vienna in Ger trans G. F. Treitschke (Helene) 1803 KTh & BTh, and Voll 1803 adW & 1827 JTh, the latter with musical additions by Paer & Nassolini as Helene, Fürstin v. Tarasken  
22. 8.1803 KTh Ger }  
2. 9.1803 BTh Ger }  
25. 8.1803 adW Ger }  
1. 9.1827 JTh Ger }  
18x-12.12.1806  
3x- 1. 9.1803
138. L'Héraclite (Le triomphe de la beauté) ?  
op com 2 acts ?  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1780/1781  
1780/1781 KTh Fr
139. L'héritier de Pampoul Sevrin  
op com 3 acts Bochsá  
pfd Paris OC 23. or 29.12.1813  
pfd Vienna in Ger 1815 KTh trans Castelli as Der General  
6x- 5.11.1815  
German Ms textbooks: 32.845 (censor & prompt);  
S.m. 32.846 (prompt); S.m. 32.898 (Wächner)

- Die Herr(e)n(h)erinnen, see Les visitandines
140. Une heure de mariage  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris OG 20.3.1804  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. Sonnleithner, (Die kurze Ehe) 1804 BTh & KTh
- Der Holzschumacher, see Les sabotiers
141. L'Hôtelier portugaise  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris TF 25.7.1798  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Treitschke (Der portugiesische Gasthof) 1803, 1812, 1819
- Der Hufschmied, see Le maréchal ferrant
142. Les hugenots  
op 5 acts  
pfd Paris O 29.2.1836
143. Le Huron  
op com 2 acts  
pfd Paris CI 20.8.1768  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1780/1781; in Ger trans C. L. Reuling 1770, 1776, 1783
144. L'île de Merlin, ou le monde renversé  
op com 1 act  
original text pfd Paris Bire St 1718, music by Gillet  
pfd Vienna 1758 by Fr players; large parts of music used for modern pastiche opera Die Maientänigin, text M. Kalbeck, arranged J. N. Fuchs, pfd Vienna 13.5.1888
- Etienne  
Dalayrac
- 20.12.1804 BTh Ger  
21.12.1804 KTh Ger
- 25x- 8.11.1809
- (texts in Ger, Ms): M 2532 Th (232) (censor's copy), M 2531 Th (232); 621.853 A Th (text in Ger printed Vienna: Wallishauser, 1805)
- d'Aignan  
Cherubini
22. 9.1803 KTh Ger  
4.10.1803 BTh Ger  
31. 1.1812 adW Ger  
3.12.1819 KTh Ger
- 17x -20. 3.1804
- 1803 KTh & BTh: S.m. 32.834 M (29/40) (text in Ger, Ms), 628.823-B Th (text in Ger. printed Vienna: Wallishauser 1803) KTh 354 (score in Ger, Ms); 1819 KTh S.m. 32.835 (text in Ger, Ms), OA 1511 (piano score, Ger text, printed)
- Scribe & Deschamps  
Meyerbeer
6. 7.1839 JTh Ger  
19.12.1839 KTh Ger  
13. 5.1846 adW Ger  
17. 7.1848 KTh Ger  
1869, 1876, 1902, 1929
- 1839 KTh: 987.452 A M (text in Ger printed Berlin, n.d.), S.m. 32.145 (text in Ger, Ms)
- 84x- 2. 3.1848  
3x-15. 5.1846  
209x-24. 6.1869
- 1770 ?  
19. 1.1772 BTh Fr  
(spring)?4.1776 KTh Ger  
1780/1781 KTh Fr  
25.10.1783 LTh Ger
- Marmontel (after Voltaire)  
Grétry
- 1783 LTh: 621.863-B Th-S (text in Ger printed Prag. 1770)
- Anseume (after Le Sage & d'Orneval)  
Gluck
- 3.10.1758 Sch Fr
- L'île des fous, see L'isle des fous

145. Il est à la campagne (Le mari à la campagne)  
 Bayard & Jules de Mailly 31. 1.1846 KTh Fr 2x- 6. 2.1846  
 641.440-C M 39 (Text in Fr printed Paris: Dondey - Dupré n.d.)  
 com mêlée de couplets, 3 acts  
 pfd Paris Théâtre - Français 3.6.1844  
 pfd Vienna in Fr 1846, probably a spoken comedy rather than opera
146. L'importé  
 Marsollier 9. 7.1803 adW Ger 4x-30. 8.1803  
 op com 1 act  
 pfd Paris OC 18.2.1801  
 pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. Seyfried (Die Temperamente), 1803 adW
- Der Insel der Liebe, see La Colonie
147. L'intrigue aux fenêtres  
 Bouilly & Mercier Dupaty 17. 1.1806 KTh Ger }  
 op com 1 act Isouard 18. 1.1806 BTh Ger }  
 pfd Paris OC 26.2.1805  
 pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Treitschke, (Das Singspiel an den Fenstern), 1806 KTh & BTh 51x-20. 4.1809
148. Iphigénie en Aulide  
 du Rouillet (after Racine) 14.12.1808 KTh Ger }  
 op trag 3 acts Gluck 20.12.1808 BTh Ger }  
 pfd Paris O 19.4.1774 ( ? 1846 KTh Ger }  
 12.10.1867 KTh Ger }  
 1874, 1894, 1907, 1928, 1842  
 1867 Vienna in Ger, trans J. D. Sander, (Iphigenia in Aulis) 1808 KTh & BTh with ballet by Argiolini; ? 1846 KTh; 14x-27.10.1810  
 1867 KTh with new recits etc. by Wagner; and into 20C
149. Iphigénie en Tauride  
 Culliard & du Rouillet 23.10.1781 BTh Ger }  
 op tr 4 acts Gluck 14.12.1783 KTh? It }  
 pfd Paris O 18.5.1779 1. 1.1807 KTh Ger }  
 4. 1.1807 BTh Ger }  
 9. 3.1810 adW Ger }  
 11. 6.1811 KTh Ger }  
 4.10.1817 KTh Ger }  
 1856, 1873, 1884, 1969  
 (pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Alxinger & Gluck (Iphigenia in (auf) Tauris) 1781 BTh onwards; trans ? Sander, 1810 adW; ? in Italian, trans Da Ponte (Iphigenia in Tauris) 1783 KTh 11x- 7. 2.1782  
 46x-23.10.1810  
 1x  
 27x- 1. 7.1815  
 28x-21.11.1837  
 1807 KTh & BTh: S.m. 32.079 M (96/88) (text in Ger, Ms), 641.433 - A M 11 (text in Ger printed Vienna: Pichler 1807)  
 Material from 1873, 1884 productions  
 (score in French)
150. Isabelle et Gertrude ou les sylphes supposés  
 Favart 1759 Lax or Sch Fr  
 com m d'ariettes 1 act  
 pfd Paris CI 14.8.1765  
 pfd Vienna in Fr by French players 1759

151. L'Isle (or ile) des fous  
com par m. d'ariettes 2 acts  
pfd Paris CI 29.12.1760  
(parody of Goldoni's L'Arcifanfano);  
Anseau, Marconville &  
Bertin d'Antilly 7. 7.1761 Bth Fr  
1763 court Fr  
Duni  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players from 1761  
(score & text in French)
152. L'ivrogne corrigé  
op com 2 acts  
the original Anseau, set Laruette as L'ivrogne corrigé ou le mariage du diable pfd Paris SL 24.7.1759  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1760; pfd in Ger as Der letzte Rausch trans ? (translation pub anonymously Mannheim 1780) by troupe of child actors 1781  
(opera also given in Gotha as Der bekehrte Trunkenbold)  
Anseau & L. de Santerre  
(after Lafontaine) ? April 1760 Bth Fr  
Gluck 1781 ? Ger  
at least  
2x- 1761  
(score & text in Fr)
153. Jadis et aujourd'hui  
op vv 1 act  
pfd Paris OC 29.10.1808  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players visiting Vienna 1826  
Sewrin 22. 9.1826 Kth Fr  
R. Kreutzer  
1x  
S.m. 32.267 (text in ? Fr, Ms)
154. Le jaloux malade ou Amour et Surprise  
op vv in 1 act  
pfd Paris ?  
opera of this name pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players during Napoleonic occupation 1809; perhaps known under different title in Paris, not clear which Doche work this was;  
Ger title also given on poster: Der eifersüchtige Kranke oder Liebe und Überraschung  
Doopaty 20.10.1809 Bth Fr  
Doche  
2x- 2.11.1809
- Le jardiner supposé, see L'amant déguisé
155. Jean de Paris  
op com 2 acts  
pfd Paris OC 4.4.1812  
Saint-Just & Godard 28. 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 scenes only)  
13ix-14. 9.1839  
62x-21. 2.1848  
6x-32. 7.1817  
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,  
"Schlagspart"), also texts & score from  
1879 etc
- pfd Vienna in Ger (Johann von Paris) trans Castell 1812 Kth, trans J. Seyfried 1812 adW; pfd nto 20C  
28.11.1879 0 Ger  
1. 3.1886 0 Ger  
13. 1.1923 0 Ger
156. Jeannot et Colin  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris OC 17.10.1814  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Castell, (Jeannot und Collin) 1815 Kth  
Etienne 9.11.1815 Kth Ger  
Isouard  
11x-30. 1.1816  
132.329-B (text in Fr, printed Paris;  
Barba 1814), KT 232 (score in Ger &  
prompt copy)

157. La Jérusalem délivrée (or Jérusalem deshabillée) (or Godefroy de Bouillon) 5 acts + ballet  
pfd Paris O 15.9.1812  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. von Seyfried, (Das befreite Jerusalem) 1815 adW, ballet by Aumer  
Baour Lormain (after Tasso)  
11. 2.1815 adW Ger  
14x-18. 5.1815
158. La jeune femme colère  
op com 1 act  
pfd St. Petersburg Hermitage, 30.4.1805  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. Sonnleithner, (Die heftige junge Frau) 1809 Kth & BTh  
Claparède (after Q. G. Etienne) 8. 3.1809 Kth Ger }  
Boieldieu 9. 3.1809 Bth Ger }
159. La jeune prude ou les femmes entre elles  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris OC 14.1.1804  
pfd Vienna in Ger as Die Spröde auf der Probe, trans ? 1804 Kth & BTh  
E. Mercier-Dupaty  
Dalayrac  
29.12.1804 Kth Ger }  
30.12.1804 Bth Ger }
160. Joanna  
op com 2 acts  
pfd Paris OC 23.11.1802  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. Seyfried, 1803 adW  
Marsollier  
Méhul  
14.12.1803 adW Ger  
9x-10.10.1804
161. Joconde ou les coureurs d'aventures  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris OC 28.2.1814  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. von Seyfried, (Joconde oder Die Abenteurer (Das Rosenmädchen oder Die Abenteurer auf dem Lande))  
Etienne  
Isouard  
12. 3.1815 Aug Ger  
1. 4.1815 Kth Ger  
1. 3.1822 Kth Ger  
25. 2.1824 Kth Ger  
4.10.1855 Kth Ger  
1815, 1822, 1824, 1855
162. Joseph  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris OC 17.2.1807  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Hassauek, (Joseph(f) (in Egypten) und seine Brüder) 1809 onwards, pfd 1809 with new final chorus by Seyfried  
Duval  
Méhul  
5.12.1809 adW Ger  
14. 6.1815 Kth Ger  
31. 3.1818 Kth Ger  
20. 7.1850 Kth Ger  
1867, 1870, 1878, 1908
163. Un jour à Paris  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris OC 24.5.1808  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans C.A. Herklots (Ein Tag in Paris) & with musical additions Seyfried, 1811 adW  
Etienne  
Isouard  
26.11.1811 adW Ger  
8x-21.12.1811
- S.m. 32.538 M (37/50) (text in Ger, Ms, used by censor etc)  
10x-30. 1.1810
- texts in Ger (Ms): S.m. 32.865 M (31/42), S.m. 32.864 M (53/57); text in Ger (printed: Wallish 1805): 641.433-A Th 20
- 1815 Kth: (texts in Ger, Ms): S.m. 32.334, S.m. 32.334, S.m. 32.355 (this last allegedly used at adW but (?) opera never given there); OA 69 (text in Ger, Ms)
- 1815 Kth: (texts in Ger, Ms): S.m. 32.132-135, also S.m. 32.956; OA 380 (score with Ger text & prompt copy)  
also: scores and texts from later productions

164. La journée aux aventures  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris OC 16.11.1816  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans T. Hell (Der Tag voll Abenteurer), 1818 KTh
- P. A. Capelle &  
L. Mezières-Mlot  
Méhul
11. 4.1818 KTh Ger
- 2x-12. 4.1818
- S.m. 32.786 (text in Ger, Ms) KT 432 (score with Ger text & prompt copy)
165. Le Jugement de Midas  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris Cf 1778 28.3.1778 Mme. de Montesson's  
an opera of this name, allegedly in one act is reported to have been pfd Vienna in Fr 1780-1781; it might have been this 3 act opera by Grétry
- T. d'Hèble  
? Grétry
- 1780-1781 KTh
166. La Juive  
op 5 acts  
pfd Paris O 23.2.1835  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. Seyfried & G. E. von Hofmann (Die Jüdin) 1836 onwards, into 20C
- Scribe  
Halévy
3. 3.1836 KTh Ger  
24.10.1840 KTh Ger  
21.10.1855 KTh Ger  
1876, 1884, 1894, 1910
- 10x-28. 2.1839  
22x-28.11.1844  
94x-12. 8.1867
- 1836 KTh: OA 1330 (score with Ger text, printed Berlin: Schlesinger, n.d.) also, scores texts from 1855 onwards
167. Julie  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris CI 22. or 25. or 28.9.1772  
pfd Vienna in Ger trans. J. H. Faber (Julie) ?1775 & 1779 BTh; pfd Vienna in Fr 1776, 1780-81 by Fr players
- Monvel  
Dezède
- ? 1775 ? ?  
11. 1.1776 BTh Fr  
23. 8.1779 BTh Ger  
1780-81 KTh Fr
- 13x-18. 7.1807
168. Julie ou le pot de fleurs  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris OC 12.3.1805  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Treitschke, (Julie oder der Blumentopf) 1806 KTh & BTh
- A. G. Jars  
Spontini
24. 9.1806 KTh Ger }  
25. 9.1806 BTh Ger }
- (texts in Ger, Ms); S.m. 32.923 M (72/97) & S.m. 32.924 M (46/50); 628.828-B Th (text in Ger printed Vienna: Wallishäuser, 1806); KTh 234 (score with Ger text, Ms)
- Kalaf, oder Die Chinesen, see Koulouf ou les Chinois  
Der Kalif von Bagdad, see Le calife de Bagdad  
Der Kammerdiener, see Le valet de chambre  
Der Kirchtag im benachbarten Dorfe, see La fête du village voisin  
Der Klausner auf dem wüsten Berge, see Le solitaire  
Königin für einen Tag, see La reine d'un jour  
Die Königin von Leon, see Ne touchez pas à la reine  
Der Kosacken Offizier, see L'officier cosaque



176. La lettre de change  
 op com 1 act  
 pfd Paris OC 11.12.1815  
 pfd Vienna in Fr by visiting Fr players in 1826; and before then in Ger, trans Treitschke, (Der Wechselsbrief) 1819 & 1824 Kth, music allegedly by both Bochsá and Isouard
- Planard  
 Bochsá (& Isouard?)  
 19. 4.1819 Kth Ger  
 3. 8.1824 Kth Ger  
 29. 7.1826 Kth & klr Fr  
 23x-18. 7.1821  
 25x-23. 8.1842  
 2x-14.12.1826  
 1819 Kth: (texts in Ger, Ms); S.m. 32.101-103;  
 OA 139 (score with Ger text & prompt part, Ms);  
 1826: 987.623-B M (text in Fr, printed Paris: Doublet, 1816)
- Liebe und Intrigue, see Lestocq ou l'intrigue et l'amour
- Die Liebende Bayadere, see Le dieu et la bayadère
- Der Liebesbrunnen, see Les puits d'amour
- Der Liebestrank, see Le philtre
- Der Liebhaber in der Klemme, see Renaud d'Ast
177. ? Le livre de l'hermite  
 op com 1 act  
 pfd Paris ?  
 pfd Vienna in Ger trans ? (Der todtte Nefte oder: Die humoristischen Studien); Ms score from this production labelled 'Der Einsiedler, der Klausner'; Carafa's opera Le 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 Dupont (none of Carafa's librettos is by Lebrun); more likely is the claim by one source (OMZ) that the composer of the opera is Reuling & librettist Leuven, and that its connection to Carafa's Le livre del'hermite is tenuous or nonexistent
- "Lebrun" (?recte Leuven)  
 "Carafa" (?recte Reuling)  
 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)
178. Le locataire  
 op com 1 act  
 pfd Paris Salle Favart (OC) 26.7.1800  
 pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Ihlée, (Die Ueberraschungen (oder) Der Miethsmann) 1805 adW
- Sewrin  
 Gaveaux  
 19. 4.1805 adW Ger  
 1x
179. Lodoiška  
 op hér 3 acts  
 pfd Paris TF 18.7.1791  
 pfd Vienna in Ger, trans C. A. Herklots, (Lodoiška), 1802 adW, 1814 Kth, 1828 Jth
- Fillette Loraux  
 Cherubini  
 23. 3.1802 adW Ger  
 24. 1.1814 Kth Ger  
 12. 2.1828 Jth Ger  
 70x-17.12.1828  
 10x-24. 3.1814  
 Kth 1814; S.m. 32.936 (text in Ger, prompt copy); KT 265 (score with Ger text, Ms)
- Lottchen am Hofe, see Ninette à la cour ou la caprice amoureuse
- Das Lotterielos, see Le billet de loterie

Lucas et Colinette, see La fête d'amour

Lucette et Lucas, see La paysanne curieuse

180. Lucille  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris CI 5.1.1769
- Marxmontel  
Grétry
23. 9.1772 Lax Fr  
17. 1.1776 KTh Fr  
early May 1776 KTh Ger  
29. 6.1778 BTh Ger  
1780-1781 KTh Fr
- 8x-8. 4.1780
- pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1772 & 1776; pfd Vienna in Ger as Lucil(l)e, trans?, early May 1776 KTh and 1778 BTh
- 698.427-A Th 189. A. (text in Ger, printed Vienna: Logenm 1778); Kth 268 (Ms score with Ger text)
181. Lucinde et sa suivante Lisette  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris prob 26. 2.1729 SG  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1761, under this title. Probably the opera by Gillier Pannart & Pontau pfd Paris SG 26.2.1729 as Argénie; (another opera by Gillier used a libretto by Pannard, Pontau and Fuzelier "Le malade par émplaisance" SG 3.2.1730, also in 3 acts)
- Pannard & C.B. Pontau  
Gillier
1. 4.1761 BTh Fr
182. Lully et Quinault ou le déjeuner impossible  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris OC 27.2.1812  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. von Seyfried (Lully und Quinault oder Das verhinderte Frühstuck) 1813 adW; pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players, 1826; pfd KTh trans Castellii without music 1813
- Gaugiran-Nanteuil  
Isouard
23. 9.1813 adW Ger  
18. 7.1826 KTh Fr
- 1x  
4x- 2. 9.1826
- 987.624-B M (text in Fr, printed Paris: Barba, 1812)
183. Ludovic  
op com 2 acts  
pfd Paris OC 16.5.1833  
pfd Vienna in Ger trans ? F. Genée (Ludovic) 1834 JTh with additional music by K. Kreutzer
- Vernoy de Saint Georges  
Hérold, completed by Halévy
- 13 or 15. 9.1834 JTh Ger
- 987.107-B M (text in Ger, printed Mainz: Schott, 1834); OA 27 (Ms prompt copy with Ger text)
184. Ma tante Aurore ou le roman interrompu  
op com 2 acts  
pfd Paris TF in 3 acts 13.1.1803, last act cut after 1st perf.  
pfd Vienna in Ger trans M. G. Lambrecht 1804 as Meine Tante Aurora oder der unterbrochene Roman 1804 adW; a translation by Castellii, perhaps never pfd, cited by Goedeke under title 'Der Roman aus dem Stegreif'
- de Longchamps  
Boteldieu
10. 4.1804 adW Ger  
13. 8.1809 BTh Fr  
15. 7.1826 KTh Fr
- 1x
- 987.603-B M (text in Fr, printed Paris: Barba, 1805)
185. Le maçon  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris OC 3.5.1825  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. G. Seidl (Der Maurer und der Schlosser), 1826 KTh, 1827 JTh, 1853, 1874 KO, 1884 and into 20C
- Scribe & Delavigne  
Auber
2. 8.1826 KTh Ger  
28. 6.1827 JTh Ger  
23.11.1829 KTh Ger  
1853, 1876, 1884, 1916
- 35x- 9. 2.1828  
38x- 3. 3.1838
- 1826 KTh: S.m. 32.641-643 (Ms texts and songs used by director etc.); OA 1296 (Ms score with Ger text)

186. Le magazine des modernes  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris fair, 3.2.1736  
pfd Vienna by Fr players at court, 1756 & 1764
- Pannard
3. 5.1756 Lax Fr  
21. 5.1764 Lax Fr
- at least  
2x
- (Fr score & Fr. text) Score =  
? S.m. 1033
187. Le magicien sans magie  
op com 2 acts  
pfd Paris OC 4.11.1811  
pfd Vienna in Ger trans ? (Die natürliche Zaubere(t)ly), 1812 adw
- Creuzé de Lesser &  
J. F. Roger  
Isouard
22. 4.1812 adw Ger
- 4x- 4. 6.1812
188. Le magnifique  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris CI 4.3.1773  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. H. Faber as Der Prächchtige 1776 KTh, & as Der prächtige Freigeige, 1780 BTh
- Sedaine (after La Fontaine)  
Grétry
14. 2.1776 KTh Fr  
11. 5.1776 KTh Ger  
2. 2.1780 BTh Ger
- 3x-10. 8.1780
- 1780 BTh: 641.433-A M 7 (text in Ger  
printed Vienna: Logemmm 1780)
189. La maison à vendre  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris OC 23.10.1800  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players during Fr occupation of Vienna, 1809 and by Fr players in 1827
- Duval  
Dalayrac
24. 8.1809 BTh Fr  
30. 3.1827 KTh Fr
- 4x-19.10.1809
- KTh 273 (printed score with Fr text)
190. Le maître de chapelle ou le  
soupe(r) imprévu op com 1 act  
pfd Paris OC 29.3.1821  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1826
- S. Gay (from Duval)  
Paer
20. 9.1826 KTh Fr
- 1x
191. Le maître en droit  
op com 2 acts  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players at Court, 1763, & 1780/81
- Lemonnier  
Monsigny
4. 6.1763 BTh Fr  
1780/1781 KTh Fr
192. Le Major Palmer  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris TF 26.1.1797  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Herklots (Hauptmann Palmer) 1805 adw
- Pigault-Lebrun  
Bruni
28. 9.1805 adw Ger
- 7x- 3. 1.1806
193. Marcelin  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris TF 22.3.1800  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. von Seyfried (Pächter Robert) 1803 adw, 1821 LTh & 1822 KTh
- Bernard-Valville  
Lebrun
- 19.10.1803 adw Ger  
26. 1.1821 LTh Ger  
20. 9.1822 KTh Ger
- 43x- 7.11.1816  
1x  
10x-10. 6.1823
- 1821 LTh: 622.624-A Th-S (text in Ger  
printed Schmidt, 1803) 1822 KTh: S.m.  
32.212-214 (texts in Ger, Ms) (had been used  
adw in 1803) S.m. 32.213 & 214 used adw 1803

194. Le 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  
1780-1781 KTh
195. Le maréchal ferrant  
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 ?  
Quétant & Anseaume at least  
Philidor 1776 KTh Ger 3x-1764  
25.11.1779 Col Ger  
1780/1781 KTh Fr  
text & score in Stadtbibliothek 58.569-A
196. Les mariages samnites  
op her 3 acts  
pfd Paris CI 12.6.1776  
pfd Vienna in Ger trans J. André & F. L. W. Meyer as Die Samniterinnen, 1806 adW, reorchestrated I. von Seyfried  
B. F. de Rosoi, (after Marmontel) 15. 3.1806 adW Ger 8x- 2. 7.1806  
Grétry  
probably an earlier perf at KTh & BTh had been planned. Ms score with Ger text, dated 1777 remains: KT 397
- Marie, die Tochter des Régiments, see La fille du régiment
197. 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  
Planard 18.12.1826 KTh Ger 14x-13.11.1827  
Hérolid 8.10.1829 KTh Ger 10x-25. 9.1830
198. Les maris garçons  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris OC 15.7.1806  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans ? (Die vereh(e)lichten Freier), 1813 adV, 1814 KTh  
Gaugiran-Nanteuil 19. 8.1813 adW Ger 3x-17. 9.1813  
Berton 1. 6.1814 KTh Ger 1x  
1814 KTh: KT 170 (score with Ger text & prompt copy (Ms))
- Marschall Catinat oder das alte Gemälde, see Une matinée de Catinat ou le tableau
199. Les martyrs  
op 4 acts  
pfd Paris O 10.4.1840  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans von Lichtenstein amended Kupelweiser as Die Römer in Mellone, 1841 JTh and 1841 KTh  
Scribe (after Corneille) 15. 6.1841 JTh Ger S.m. 32.698 (text in Ger (Ms00); OA 11  
Donizetti 13.10.1841 KTh Ger (score with Ger text, & prompt copy)
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  
Marsollier 27. 7.1808 adW Ger 5x- 4. 8.1808  
Dalayrac  
KT 284 (score with Ger text, & prompt copy (Ms)) used adW 1808

- (Fr text & score)
201. Mazet  
op com  
pfd Paris CI 24.9.1761  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1768, also a version by Kozeluch pfd Vienna KTh 1780
- Anseaume (after Lafontaine) 1768 BTh 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 pfd in Vienna, but his Médée probably not.
202. Le médecin turc  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris OC 19.11.1803  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans ? (Der türkische Arzt) 1804 adW
- P. Villiers & A. Gouffé 24. 4.1804 adW Ger  
Isouard
203. La médecine sans médecin  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris OC 15.10.1832  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. D. Anton (Das Heilmittel) 1838 KTh
- Scribe & Bayard 12. 7.1838 KTh Ger  
Hérold
204. Médée  
op tr 3 acts  
pfd Paris Tf 13.3.1797
- 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
- pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Treitschke (Medea), from 1802 KTh & BTh
205. Michel-Ange  
op 1 act  
Pfd Paris OC 11.12.1802  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans C. A. Herklots (Michel Angelo) 1804 LTh, 1812 KTh
- E. J. B. Deirieu 1. 6.1804 LTh Ger  
Isouard 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  
com mêlée d'ariettes 1 act  
pfd Versailles, 29.12.1762; Paris CI 1.1.1763  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1776 KTh & BTh and perhaps also in 1809, during French occupation, ? without music
- Anseaume 15. 1.1776 KTh Fr  
Duni " BTh Fr  
722. 6.1809 BTh Fr
207. Milton  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris OC 27.11.1804  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Treitschke (Milton), 1805 onwards KTh & BTh and from 1811 KTh
- Jouy & M. Dieulafoy 24. 9.1805 KTh Ger }  
Spontini 25. 9.1805 BTh Ger }  
15. 2.1811 KTh Ger }
- 1805 KTh & BTh; S.m. 32.278 M (80/17), S.m. 32.279 M (124/115), (texts in Ger (Ms)); 641.433-A M 14 (text in Ger, printed Vienna:Wallishauser, 1805) 1811 KTh; S.m. 32.277, S.m. 32.280; OA 94 (score with Italian and Ger text & prompt copy (Ms))
208. Montano et Stéphanie  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris Tf 15.4.1799, revived by Legouvé, with modified act 3, 4, 5.1800  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. von Seyfried (Rosamunde), 1810 adW with musical additions by I. von Seyfried
- J. E. B. DeJaure 3. 5.1810 adW Ger  
Berton

209. Les mousquetaires de la reine  
 op com 3 acts  
 pfd Paris OC 3.2.1846  
 pfd Vienna in Ger as Die Musquetiere der Königin, 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  
 op 5 acts  
 pfd Paris O 29.2.1828  
 pfd Vienna in Ger as Die Stumme von Portici (or perhaps sometimes Die Stumme, oder Untreue und Rache), trans A. Prix 1829 JTh, trans K.A. Ritter 1830 KTh, trans Lewald, 1874 onwards
211. Nanette et Lucas  
 op com 1 act  
 pfd Paris ?  
 pfd Vienna in Fr by French players 1780-1781
212. Ne touchez pas à la reine  
 op com 3 acts  
 pfd Paris OC 16.1.1847  
 pfd Vienna in Ger, trans ? (Die Königin von Leon), 1847 ? KTh & JTh
213. La neige ou le nouvel Eginard  
 op com 4 acts  
 pfd Paris OC 8.10.1823  
 pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Castelli (Der Schnee) 1824 KTh 1829 adw and 1833 JTh
214. Nephthali ou Les Ammonites  
 op 3 acts  
 pfd Paris O 15. 4.1806  
 pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. von Seyfried (Nephthali oder Die Macht des Glaubens), with musical additions by I. von Seyfried 1812 adw, 1816 KTh
215. La nièce vengée  
 op com 1 act  
 pfd Paris Th de la Foire 27, 8.1731  
 probably the same opera as that pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1755 as "La surprise" 1758 as "Les petits comédiens"; in Ger, as a play, trans 7 as "Die kleinen Schauspieler" 1764 KTh; as opera by professional children's company in Fr, 1795 Lax
- Saint-Georges  
 Halévy  
 20. 8.1846 adw Ger  
 5. 9.1846 KTh Ger  
 12.10.1863 KTh Ger  
 KTh: S.m. 32.236-240 (texts in Ger (Ms)), 987.060 B M & 987.670 BM (texts in Ger, printed), OA 236 (score & prompt, Ger)  
 4x-1. 9.1846  
 50x-30. 8.1852  
 5x-19.11.1863
- Scribe & Delavigne  
 Auber  
 July 1829 JTh Ger  
 12. 2.1830 KTh Ger  
 12. 5.1847 adw Ger  
 also: 1855, 1869, 1874, 1884, 1897, 1923  
 201x-26. 8.1848  
 4x-28. 6.1847
- 1780-1781 KTh Fr
- Scribe & Haëz  
 Boisselot  
 15. 7.1847 KTh Ger  
 28.10.1847 JTh Ger
- Not in OMZ
- Scribe & Delavigne  
 Auber  
 19. 3.1824 KTh Ger  
 30. 1.1829 adw Ger  
 11. 6.1833 JTh Ger  
 1824 KTh: texts in Ger (Ms): S.m. 32.566 (used also adw 1829), S.m. 32.060, S.m. 32.567, S.m. 32.568; score with Ger text (Ms): OA 77
- E. Aignan  
 Blangini  
 17.12.1812 adw Ger  
 16. 5.1816 KTh Ger  
 1816 KTh: S.m. 32.597 (text in Ger (Ms))
- Pannard & Fagan  
 Gillier  
 22. 5.1755 court Fr  
 13. 9.1758 BTh Fr  
 22. 5.1795 Lax Fr  
 at least  
 2x-16. 9.1758

216. *Nina ou la folle par amour*  
 op com 1 act  
 pfd Paris CI 15. 5.1786  
 rev. as ballet by L. Persius O 23.11.1813  
 pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. André as: *Nina, was vermag die Liebe rücht*, 1790 LTh; as: *Nina oder Wahnsinn aus Liebe*, 1801 FhT, 1806 adW, trans H. G. Schmieder
- Marsollier (after  
 d'Arnaud)  
 Dalayrac  
 11. 6.1790 LTh Ger  
 8. 6.1801 FhT Ger  
 29. 7.1806 adW Ger  
 3x-16. 6.1790  
 18x- 9. 5.1812
217. *Ninette à la cour*  
 op com 2 acts  
 pfd Paris 12.2.1755 CI in 3 acts/12/3/1759 (in 2 acts)  
 pfd 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 entitled "Le caprice amoureux  
 ou Ninette à la cour"; had also been pfd in Vienna in 1760 as *Le Caprice Amoureux*
- Favart  
 (1760 BTh Fr)  
 probably a setting of the text 1776 Fas Fr  
 arr. Duni - a Pasticcio - 1780/1781 KTh Fr  
 or Mad. Favart  
 at least 2x- 1761  
 tb printed in Fr in Vienna  
 autograph score of the Duni opera entitled "Le  
 retour au village" is preserved in Vienna not  
 pfd Paris
218. *Ninette à la cour*  
 op com 2 acts  
 pfd Paris TF 21.12.1811  
 pfd Vienna in Ger in an amended version of the trans by Weisse (which has been set to music by Hiller) 1815 adW, with musical additions I. von Seyfried
- Favart & Creuzé de Lesser  
 H. F. Berton  
 19.10.1815 adW  
 3x-23.10.1815
219. *Le nouveau seigneur de village*  
 op com 1 act  
 pfd Paris OC 29.6.1813  
 pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Castellani (Der neue Gutsherr) 1814 KTh (perhaps 1 performance in June at BTh), 1816 LTh, 1827 JTh, 1830 KTh; pfd Vienna in Fr as a vv  
 in 1 act ('Le nouveau seigneur') with words by Planard 1826 KTh and klr
- Créuze de Lesser & de  
 Favères  
 Boieldieu  
 24. 5.1814 KTh Ger  
 ? 17. 6.1814 BTh Ger  
 7. 5.1816 LTh Ger  
 (vv 22. 7.1826 KTh & klr Fr  
 4.10.1827 JTh Ger  
 13. 7.1830 KTh Ger  
 99x- 1. 1.1824  
 ? 1x-  
 2x- 7. 5.1816  
 2x-12.12.1826)  
 16x-25. 2.1850
- 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))
220. *Le nouvel liste dupé*  
 op com 1 act  
 pfd Paris August 1732, or 1737, fair  
 pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1759 BTh
- Pannard  
 1759 BTh  
 Stadtbibl: 58.575 (text)
- Nur mit Mass und Ziel, oder Die zwei Schirme, see Rien de trop ou les deux paravents
221. *Oedipe à Colone*  
 tragédie lyrique 3 acts  
 pfd Paris Vers 4.1.1786; pfd Paris O 1.2.1787  
 pfd Vienna in Ger, trans C. A. Herklores (Oedip zu Colonos) 1802 KTh
- Guillard  
 Sacchini  
 2. 6.1802 KTh Ger  
 987.096 - A M (text in Ger, printed  
 Vienna: Wallishauser, 1802); OA 164 (score  
 with Ger text (Ms))
222. *L'officier cosaque*  
 op com 1 act  
 pfd Paris PSM 8.4.1803  
 pfd Vienna in Ger as *Der Kosacken-Offiziers* trans ? 1804 KTh & BTh ? 1820 LTh
- Cuvellier & Barouillet  
 Gianella & Dumoncheau  
 11. 4.1804 KTh Ger  
 14. 4.1804 BTh Ger ]  
 ? 26. 4.1820 LTh Ger  
 S.m. 32.892 (16/25), S.m. 32.893 M  
 (52/56) (texts in Ger (Ms)); 641.433-AH  
 12 (text in Ger, printed Vienna: Wallishauser,  
 1804)

223. L'Olimpiade  
op 3 acts ?  
pfd Paris CI 15.1.1778?  
an opera of this name pfd Vienna 1780-1781.  
perhaps it was Sacchini's setting, but several other composers also wrote operas with this title
- ? Metastasio trans into Fr 1780-81 KTh Fr  
by Framery  
? Sacchini
224. L'oncle valet  
op com 1 act Duval 2.11.1803 KTh Ger 1x  
pfd Paris OC 8.12.1798 Della Maria 3.11.1803 adW 5x-26.11.1803
- pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Treitschke (Der Onkel in Livree) 1803 KTh, trans Reinold (Der Onkel als Bedienter) 1803 adW
225. On ne s'avise jamais de tout.  
op com 1 act Sedaine (after Lafontaine) 1756 BTh Fr  
pfd Paris SL 14.9.1761 ("Duni") or Monsigny 17. 8.1762 BTh Fr  
1780/1781 KTh Fr 3.10.1762 Sch Fr  
at least 6x-9. 2.1764 (score & text in Fr)
- pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1756 BTh and from 1762 with some new numbers by Gluck; pfd 1780-1781 KTh with music allegedly by Duni. Duni wrote no opera of this name.
226. L'opéra-comique  
op com 1 act J. Ségur & E. M. Dupaty 28. 1.1804 KTh Ger }  
pfd Paris OC Salle Favart 10.7.1788 Della Maria 29. 1.1804 BTh Ger }  
9. 7.1809 BTh Fr }
- pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Treitschke (Das Singspiel) 1804 onwards KTh & BTh; pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players during Napoleonic occupation Vienna, 1809.
- L'oracle, a spoken comedy by St. Foix, pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 14.6.1755; an opera 'Das Orakel' pfd Vienna KTh in Ger 1755 composer and author unknown;  
2 act 'opérette' Das Orakel by C. F. Gellert pfd Vienna BTh 10.8.1771 (6x-23.9.1783) libretto "from French Nachspiel," probably none of these related to the French op com  
L'oracle pfd Paris 1747.
227. Orphée  
op 3 acts R. de Calzabigi, trans Moline 5.10.1762 BTh It (1st version) 7x-24. 7.1763  
1st pfd Vienna BTh in Italian 5.10.1762 as Orfeo ed Euridice 1774 ?  
30. 6.1781 KTh Fr 1x  
31.12.1781 BTh It 5x-12. 2.1782
- Fr trans P. L. Moline, pfd Paris O 2. 8.1774; Fr trans pfd once in Vienna 30. 6.1781; KTh; pfd Vienna in the original Italian 1762 & 1781, and perhaps also in 1774,  
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 pfd Orphée, a comedy, (perhaps misprint)
- Pächter Robert, see Marcelin
228. Palma ou Le voyage en Grèce  
op 2 acts Lemontey 28.11.1805 KTh Ger 2x  
pfd Paris TF 22.8.1797 Plantade 30.11.1805 BTh Ger }
- pfd Vienna in Ger as Palma oder Die Reise nach Griechenland
229. Le panier fleuri  
op com 1 act Leuven & Brunswick 13.11.1841 KTh Ger 46x-21. 8.1849  
pfd Paris OC 6.5.1839 C. L. A. Thomas  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Franke (Der Blumenkorb), 1841 onwards
- texts in Ger, Ms: S.m. 32.209 M (14/15), S.m. 32.211 M (14/15), S.m. 32.210 M (45/61); 440.778-A M 1 (text in Ger printed Vienna: Pichler, 1805)
- S.m. 32.373 (text in Ger, Ms), 987.589 CM (text in Ger, printed Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1839); OA 117 (score with Ger text & prompt copy)

230. La part du diable  
op com 3 acts  
pre Paris OC 16.1.1843
- Scribe  
Auber
- (23.10.1843 adW Ger as vv)  
vv?  
6. 1.1844 LTh Ger  
23. 9.1847 adW Ger  
25. 9.1847 KTh Ger  
6.11.1847 JTh Ger  
1874, 1861, 1876, 1885, 1892, KO 1912 VO  
1844 LTh, 1847 adW KTh JTh, and later, into 10C. Also pfd October 1843 adW as vv
- 12x- 4. 4.1845  
3x-21.10.1867  
28x-17. 8.1847  
also, later material
- 1847 KTh: S.m. 32.505-506 (texts in Ger (Ms));  
987.037-BM (text in Ger (printed))  
1847 LTh: Cth T 15
231. La partie de Chasse de Henri IV  
op com  
pfd Vienna in Fr by French players, 1776
- Collé  
Saint Georges or Desfontaines?
12. 2.1776 KTh
232. Paul et Virginie  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris Théâtre Favart 15.1.1791  
also as ballet - pantomime (with St. Cloud) 12.6.1806  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Castelll (Die Familie auf Isle de France), 1805 adW, pfd also as ballet pantomime 1815 KTh in collaboration with Darondeau
- E. G. F. Favières (from  
St. Pierre)  
R. Kreutzer
- 4x- 6. 4.1805
233. La paysanne curieuse,  
(= ? Lucette et Lucas)  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris 8.11.1781 CI  
an opera with this title is alleged to have been pfd in Fr in 1781 KTh as "La paysanne curieuse". An opera by Nicolas Dezède's daughter was pfd in Paris with little success  
in 1781 under the title: "Lucette et Lucas ou la paysanne curieuse", it was published.
- Forgeot  
? Florine Dezède
- 1781 KTh Fr
234. Les pêcheurs  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris CI 23.4.1766  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1780/1781
- La Salle d'Offément  
Gossec
- 1780-1781 KTh Fr
- Les pélorins de la Mecque, see La rencontre imprévue
235. La perruche  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris OC 28.6.1840  
pfd Vienna in Ger as Der Papagei, trans ?, 1843 KTh
- Dupin & Dumanoir  
Clapisson
13. 2.1843 KTh Ger
- S.m. 32.184-185 (texts in Ger (Ms)); OA 64  
(score with Ger text and prompt copy (Ms))
236. Le petit chaperon rouge  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris TF 30.6.1818  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Treitschke, (Rot(h)käppchen) 1819, 1866, 1895
- Théaulon de Lambert  
Boieldieu
27. 3.1819 KTh Ger  
7.12.1866 KTh Ger  
19.11.1895 KTh Ger
- 40x-24.11.1822  
3x-21.12.1866  
4x- 3.12.1895
- 1819: (Ms tbs in Ger) S.m. 32.317 (censor's copy),  
S.m. 32.612 (prompt copy); OA 1427 (printed piano  
score, Leipzig; Senff n.d. Ger text), OA 1426  
(printed piano score, Paris; Launer, n.d. Fr text);  
1866: OA 60 (score in Ger, Ms)

237. Le petit matelot ou le mariage  
 impromptu op or op com 1 act  
 pfd Paris TF 7.1.1796  
 Pigault-Lebrun 26 or 27. 6.1801 adM Ger }  
 Caveaux 29. 6.1805 Kth Ger }  
 30. 6.1806 Bth Ger }  
 19. 8.1809 Lth Ger }  
 22.10.1821 Kth Ger }  
 pfd Vienna in Ger, trans C. A. Herklots (Der kleine Matrose), from 1801  
 7x-14.12.1804  
 18x-13. 7.1806  
 15x-23. 7.1813  
 9x- 8. 4.1822  
 1805 Kth & Bth: 622.067-A Th 49 (text in Ger  
 printed Gratz, 1800); 1821 Kth: S.m. 32.592-594  
 (texts in Ger (Ms))
- Les petits comédiens, see La nièce vengée
238. Philippe et Georgette  
 op com 1 act  
 pfd Paris CI 28.12.1791  
 pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players during 2nd Napoleonic occupation in 1809  
 J. M. B. Monvel 30. 7.1809 Bth Fr  
 Dalayrac 2x-10. 8.1809
239. Le philtre  
 op com 2 acts  
 pfd Paris O 20.6.1831  
 pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Lichtenstein (Der Liebestrank), 1832 Kth  
 Scribe 3. 4.1832 Kth Ger  
 Auber 6x-13. 6.1832  
 texts in Ger (Ms): S.m. 32.516-517; 987.258-  
 B M (text in Ger, printed Mainz: Schott, 1831)
- Die Pilger/Pilgrime von Mecca/Mekka, see La rencontre imprévue
240. Le poète et le musicien ou  
 je cherche un sujet op com 3 acts  
 pfd Paris TF 30. 5.1811  
 pfd Vienna in Ger as Der Dichter und der Tonsetzer, trans 7 , 1816 Kth  
 Mercier-Dupaty 11. 7.1816 Kth Ger  
 Dalayrac 26x-27. 9.1818
- Le poète et le musicien (opera with music by Catel), see Les artistes par occasion
- Der portugiesische Gasthof, see L'hôtellerie portugaise
241. Le postillon de Longjumeau  
 op com 3 acts  
 pfd Paris OC 13.10.1836  
 pfd Vienna in Ger, trans W. A. Svoboda (Der Postillon von Lonjumeau), 1837 Kth, 1844 JTh etc; pfd in 3 acts, trans Friedrich 1848 adM  
 de Leuven & Brunswick 14.10.1837 Kth Ger  
 (L. L. Lhérie)  
 Adam 23. 7.1844 JTh Ger  
 also: 1860, 1868, 1871, 1876, 1879, 1908, 1927 etc.  
 12x-11. 4.1897  
 1837 Kth: S.m. 32.660 (text in Ger (Ms)); OA  
 1259 (score with Ger text) also later material
- Der prächtige Freigeibige, see Le magnifique

242. Le pré aux clercs  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris OC 15.12.1832  
Planard (after Mérimée)  
Héroid  
17.10.1833 JTh Ger  
6. 3.1834 KTh Ger  
10. 2.1838 KTh Ger  
27.10.1856 KTh Ger  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Kupelwieser (Der Zweikampf) 1833 JTh, trans J. von Seyfried (Die Schreiberviese (Pfaffenweise)) 1856 KTh  
trans Lichtenstein (Der Zweikampf auf der Schreiberviese (Pfaffenweise)) 1856 KTh  
1834 KTh: texts in Ger (Ms) S.m. 32.480 & S.m. 32.481 also some later material  
42x- 6. 2.1837  
18x-20.12.1841  
19x-
243. Le premier en date  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris OC 3.11.1814  
probably this is the same opera as that pfd Vienna KTh 1819 as Das frühere Recht  
Desaugiers & Pessey  
Catel  
4. 6.1819 KTh Ger  
3x-14. 6.1819  
texts in Ger (Ms): S.m. 32.023, S.m. 32.024, S.m. 32.025; KT 377 (score with Ger text (Ms) & prompt copy (Ms))
244. La première nuit manquée ou mon tour de garde op vv 1 act  
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  
J. D. Doche (see below)  
24. 9.1809 BTh Fr  
3x- 9.10.1809
245. Le prétendu  
com intermède mêlée d'ariettes 3 acts  
pfd Paris CI 6.11.1760  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1762 at court  
Riccoboni  
P. Gaviniés  
1762 at court Fr  
(French text & score)
- Die Prima - Donna ,see L'ambassadrice
246. Le prince de Catane  
op her with ballet, 3 acts  
pfd Paris OC 4.3.1813  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. von Seyfried (Alamon, Fürst von Catanca/Cantaca/Cantaura) 1813 adh, musical additions Seyfried, 1815 KTh  
R. R. L. Castel  
Isouard  
10.12.1813 adh Ger  
11. 4.1815 KTh Ger  
12x-31.10.1814  
2x-16. 4.1815  
1815 KTh: S.m. 32.124 (text in Ger (Ms))
247. Prince Troubadour ou Le grand trompeur de dames op com 1 act  
pfd Paris OC 24.5.1813  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. von Seyfried (Die beiden Troubadours) 1819 KTh  
A. Duval  
Méhu  
24. 9.1819 KTh Ger  
1x  
texts in Ger (Ms): S.m. 32.780 & S.m. 32.781; KT 451 (score with Ger text (Ms))
248. Le prison d'Edimburg  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris OC 20.7.1833  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. Kupelwieser (Der Kerker zu Edinburgh) 1835 JTh  
Scribe & Planard  
Carafa  
3. 2.1835 JTh Ger

249. Le prisonnier ou la ressemblance  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris T Favart 29.1.1798
19. 9.1800 LTh Ger  
13. 5.1801 Pht Ger  
17. 6.1801 adW Ger  
14. 5.1803 LTh Ger  
20. 6.1809 BTh Fr  
2.10.1815 KTh Ger
- 4x- 3.11.1803  
7x-11. 5.1804  
6x-26.10.1819  
1x  
12x- 9. 2.1816
- 1815 KTh: texts in Ger (Ms): S.m. 32.656 & S.m. 32.535 & S.m. 32.536
- pfd Vienna in Ger under different titles; 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 & 254
250. La prisonnière  
pasticcio 1 act  
pfd Paris TF 12.9.1799  
pfd Vienna as Die Gekangene, trans ? , 1817 & 1822 KTh. See also Le prisonnier & La punition
- V.J.E. de  
Jouy & de Longchamps  
C. G. d'A de Saint-Just  
Boieldieu & Cherubini
- 26.12.1817 KTh Ger  
14. 9.1822 KTh Ger
- 10x-15. 7.1817  
61x- 9. 4.1828
- S.m. 32.139 (Ger text); OA 135 (score with Ger text and prompt copy)
251. Le procureur arbitre  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris ?  
opera of this name alleged to have been pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1780/1781 KTh possibly related to Le procureur dupé sans le savoir, op com 1 act by J. Ph. Rameau, pfd Paris 1758
- ?  
1780/1781 KTh Fr
252. Le prophète  
op 5 acts  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Reilstab (Der Prophet (or Der Profet)) 1850 onwards KTh
- Scribe  
Meyerbeer
28. 2.1850 KTh Ger  
also: 1866, 1869, 1874, 1876, 1891, 1894, 1911
- 192x-16. 5.1869
- S.m. 32.509-511 (texts in Ger, Ms) OA 1219 (score with Fr text printed Paris: Brandus etc., n.d.)
253. Les puits d'amour  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris OC 20. 4.1843  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. Kupelwieser (Der Liebesbrunnen) 1845 adW
- Scribe or St. Georges  
Balfe
- 4.11.1845 adW Ger
- 3x- 6.11.1845
254. La punition  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris TF 23.2.1799  
pfd Vienna in Ger trans J. von Seyfried (Der Gefangene) 1803 adW. See also Le prisonnier & La prisonnière
- Desfaucherets  
Cherubini
- 31.12.1803 adW Ger
- 16x- 9. 3.1813
255. Pygmalion  
scène lyrique
- J. J. Rousseau  
" collab Coligny
- ? 1771  
19. 2.1772 KTh Ger  
11780-1781 KTh Fr  
4. 1.1791 Lst Fr
- pfd Lyons Hôtel de Ville 1770  
pfd Vienna in Fr 1780-1781 by Fr players, also 1791 during French season at the Landstrasse theatre, perhaps also an earlier pf in 1771; pfd Vienna in Ger 1772

256. Un quart-d'heure de silence  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris OC 1.5.1804  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. von Seyfried (Eine viertelstunde Stilltschweigen), 1805 adw
- P. Guillet  
Caveaux
5. 3.1805 adw Ger
- 2x- 6. 3.1805
- 982.474-B M (text in Fr printed Paris: Masson, 1804)
257. Les quatre fils Aymon  
op com 3 acts
- Leuwen & Brunswick  
(or Scribe & St. Georges -  
see below)
- 14.12.1844 JTh Ger  
24. 9.1845 adw Ger
- 17x-12. 7.1847
- 1845 KTh: S.m. 32.905 (texts in Ger, Ms), )OA  
8 (score in Ger, Ms)
- pfd Paris OC 29.7.1844  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. Kupelweiser (Die vier Haimons(kinder)öhne), 1845 KTh in Vienna, the librettists were given as Leuwen & Brunswick who wrote the text for the English version of the opera, The Castle of Aymon. or the Four Brothers, pfd London 20.11.1844. The Viennese versions may have been translations from the English rather than from the French.
- 7x-11. 2.1846
- 27.9.1845 KTh Ger
258. Raoul sire de Gréqui  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris CI 31.10.1789  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans C. A. Herkiots, or, (more likely), Perinet from 1793 LTh as both Raoul Herr von Gréqui and Rudolf von Gréqui; and 1805 KTh & BTh as Raul von Crequi, with additional music by B.A. Weber, trans ? Schmieder
- J. M. B. Monvel  
Dalayrac
10. 9.1793 LTh Ger  
22. 5.1805 KTh Ger  
23. 5.1805 BTh Ger
- 52x-22. 3.1813  
9x- 2.11.1805
- 1805 KTh & BTh: texts in Ger (Ms): 32.004 M (10/18), S.m. 32.005 M (64/69); KTh 374 (score with Ger text, Ms)
259. Raoul Barbe-bleue  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris CI 2.3.1789
- Sedaine, after C. Perrault  
Grétry
14. 8.1804 adw Ger  
? 1818 KTh Ger  
12. 4.1821 KTh Ger  
8.10.1821 JTh Ger  
8.10.1825 JTh Ger  
2.10.1833 KTh Ger
- 81x-19.11.1817  
21x- 8. 3.1823  
2x-12.10.1833
- 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 GMF and NB
- pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Schmieder (translation revised by Sonnleitner) as Der Blaubart or Raoul der Blaubart, 1804 adw and perhaps also 1821 JTh; from 1821 KTh pfd in new translation by F. Treitschke. Music of opera arranged by A. J. Fischer, 1804, this arrangement probably used for subsequent productions in Vienna
- Die Räuberhöhle, see La caverne
- Das redende Bild, see Le tableau parlant
- Das unruhige Reichthum, see La servante justifiée
260. La reine d'un jour  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris OC 19.9.1839  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans von Lichtenstein (Königin für einen Tag), 1842 KTh
- Scribe & Saint-Georges  
Adam
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 Mainz: Schott, n.d.); OA 28 (score with Ger text & prompt copy (Ms))

261. ? "Die Reise nach Paris"  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris ?  
pfd Vienna 1806 adW according to report in WTZ 1.8.1806 where Heller is described as 'ein der Konservatoren zu Paris'  
Seyfried  
Heller, additions by  
I. von Seyfried  
14. 7.1806 adW Ger  
3x-18. 7.1806
262.  
Renaud d'Ast  
op com 2 acts  
pfd Paris CI 19.7.1787  
J. B. Redet & P. Y. Barré  
Dalayrac  
27. 8.1791 Ft Ger  
3.10.1799 LTh Ger  
1. 2.1801 LTh Ger  
24. 6.1804 Pzt Ger  
5x-16.10.1799  
2x- 2.12.1801  
pfd Vienna in Ger: trans Gleseke (Georg von Asten oder der gemalte Liebhaber) 1791 FtH; trans Perinet (Der Liebhaber in der Klemme) 1799 trans Sedtler 1801 LTh;  
trans ? as Rainald, 1804 Pzt
263.  
La rencontre imprévue  
com mêlée d'ariettes, 3 acts  
Le Sage & d'Orneval's Les pèlerins de  
la Mecque, music J. C. Gillier, pfd  
Paris SL 29,7.1726  
Dancourt (after Le Sage  
& d'Orneval)  
Gluck & ballets by Angiolini  
1780-1781 KTh Ger }  
26. 7.1780 BTh Ger }  
16.12.1785 KTh Ger }  
10.11.1789 LTh Ger }  
17. 9.1807 KTh Ger }  
18. 9.1807 BTh Ger }  
at least 3x- 5. 2.1763  
53x-10.12.1795  
at least 24x-  
3x-20. 9.1807
- pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1763 BTh  
pfd Vienna in Ger trans J. H. Faber, as Die Pilgrime von Mekka, or Die unvermuthete Zusammenkunft, 1776 KTh, 1780 BTh, 1789 LTh; as Die Pilger von Mecca,  
1807 KTh; sometimes also known as Die unerwartete Zusammenkunft.
- La rencontre, see Le vieux château
264.  
Le rendez-vous bourgeois  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris OC 9.5.1807  
Hoffmann  
Isouard  
(170. 4.1801 CTh Ger)  
30. 3.1808 adW Ger  
17. 4.1822 KTh Ger  
31. 3.1823 JTh Ger  
18. 8.1826 KTh Fr }  
1. 4.1827 KTh Fr }  
1808 adW: 641.433-A M (text in Ger printed  
Viennat Wallshauer, 1808); KT 381 (incomplete),  
KT 427 (scores with text in Ger (Ms) probably  
used KTh 1822 onwards)
- 14x-16. 8.1816  
108x- 5. 2.1836  
2x
- pfd Vienna in Ger, trans I. F. Castelli as Alle fürchten sich, from 1808: also pfd at the Carltheater as Das Steildichein, though not as Bauer claims,  
in 1801, which would have been before the opera's première in Paris.
265.  
La répétition interrompue ou Le  
petit-maitre malgré lui  
pfd Paris SL 6.8.1735, rev. SG 1757  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players early spring 1757 BTh  
Favart, Pannard & Fagan  
Gillier  
before Easter 1757 BTh Fr

266. Richard Coeur-de-lion  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris CI 21.10.1784
- Sedaine, after La Curne de  
Sainte-Palaye  
Grétry
7. 1.1788 KTh Ger 3 acts  
14. 6.1800 FHT Ger  
29. 5.1802 adW Ger 3 acts  
28.11.1810 adW Ger 4 acts  
17. 1.1843 KTh Ger
- 9x- 3. 2.1788  
70x-19. 6.1809  
45x- 7.11.1822  
4x-16. 2.1843
- 1788 KTh: S.m. 32.016 (text in Ger (Ms));  
KTh 384 (score with Ger text (Ms)); 1843 KTh:  
S.m. 32.017 (text in Ger (Ms))
- pfd Vienna in Ger as Richard Löwenherz (König von England) trans Stephanie, 1788 KTh, trans Schmaeder, 1800 FHT 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  
op com 1 act  
pfd PH 6.1.1811, pfd Paris OC 19.4.1811  
pfd Vienna in Ger as Nur mit Mass und Ziel oder Die zwei Schirme
- J. M. Pain  
Boieldieu
8. 4.1812 KTh Ger
- 1x
- S.m. 32.595, S.m. 32.596 (texts in Ger (Ms))
268. Robert-le-diable  
op 5 acts  
pfd Paris O 21.11.1831
- Scribe & G. Delavigne  
Meyerbeer
20. 6.1833 JTh Ger  
31. 8.1833 KTh Ger  
6. 6.1846 adW Ger  
3. 1.1854 KTh Ger  
also: 1868, 1870, 1921
- 1833 KTh: S.m. 32.724, S.m. 32.725 (texts in Ger  
(Ms)); scores: OA 1314 (Ms); OA 1946-1948 (printed)
- pfd Vienna in Ger trans Hall as Robert der Teufel, into 20G, subject of several Viennese parodies
269. Le roi et le fermier  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris CI 22.11.1762  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players from 1763 at court and 1780/81 KTh
- Sedaine; after Dodsley  
Monsigny
- 14.12.1763 BTh Fr  
1780/1781 KTh Ger
- at least:  
4x-26. 2.1764
- Fr text and score in Stadtbibliothek 58.558-A  
S.m. 1924;? & also in Nationalbibliothek
- Der Roman aus dem Stegreif, see Ma tante Aurore
- Die Römer in Melitone, see Les Martyrs
- Rosamunde, see Montano et Stéphanie
270. Rose et Colas  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris CI 8.3.1764  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1776 KTh 1780-1781; pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Faber as Röschen und Colas, from 1778 BTh & KTh
- Sedaine  
Monsigny
8. 1.1776 KTh Fr  
9. 5.1778 BTh Ger  
1780-1781 KTh Fr  
30.12.1785 KTh Ger
- 35x- 8. 4.1794
- M 2197 Th (55); 641.433-A M 17 (text in Ger  
printed: Vienna: Logeman, 1778); KTh 390  
(score with Ger text (Ms))
- Das Rosenfest zu Salenci, see La Rosière de Salenci

Das Rosenmädchen (oder Die Abenteurer auf dem Lande), see *La Rosière de Salenci*

271. *La Rosière de Salenci*  
 op com 3 acts  
 Favart  
 Philidor collab Monsigny  
 van Swieten ?Duni  
 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  
 early May 1776 KTh Ger  
 9. 9.1779 BTh Ger }  
 11. 2.1787 KTh Ger }  
 18x- 8. 5.1787  
 440-778 A M 129 (text in Ger printed Vienna: Logenm., 1779)
272. *La Rosière de Salency*  
 op com 3 acts (orig 4) + ba  
 pfd Font 23.10.1773, in 4 acts  
 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  
 A. F. J. Masson (Marquis)  
 de Pézay  
 Grétry  
 ?1780/1781 KTh Fr  
 KT 392 (score with Ger text (Ms)) (listed in 2nd volume of Hadamonsky's catalogue) 1810-1976
- Rothkäppchen, see *Le petit chaperon rouge*
- Roxelane (Die drei Sultaninnen), see *Soliman Second*
273. *Les sabotiers*  
 op com 1 act  
 pfd Paris TF 23.6.1796  
 pfd Vienna in Ger as *Der Holzschuhmacher* 1801 adW, trans ?  
 Pigault - Lebrun  
 Bruni  
 3. 9.1801 adW Ger  
 2x- 4. 9.1801
274. "*Salomon's Urtheil*"  
 melodr 3 acts (or: gr op hist)  
 pfd Paris AC January 1802  
 Caigniez  
 Quaisin  
 27.10.1804 adW Ger  
 (12. 9.1816 adW Ger)  
 25. 6.1817 LTh Ger  
 7. 7.1819 M18 Ger  
 (23. 3.1849 adW Ger)  
 1x-  
 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 Horschheit and music by Kinsky; new production 1849 received only 1 performance  
 76x-23. 3.1849  
 ?
- Die Samniterinnen, see *Les mariages samnites*
- Die samnitischen Heiraten, see *Les mariages samnites*
275. *Sancho Pança dans son isle*  
 op com 1 act  
 pfd Paris CI 8.7.1762  
 pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players ? 1768, 1776 & 1780-1781  
 Poinciset le jeune  
 (after Cervantes)  
 Philidor  
 ? 1768  
 5. 2.1776 KTh Fr  
 1780/1781 KTh Ger

Die Sangerinn, see L'ambassadrice

Der Schatzgraber, see Le tresor suppose ou Le danger d'ecouter aux portes

Die Schleichhandler, see La Sirene

Das Schloss von Montenegro, see Leon ou le chateau de Montenegro

Das schone Milchmadchen, see Les deux chasseurs et la laitiere

Die Schreiberviese bei Paris, see Le pre aux clercs

Der Schwur oder Die Falschmunzer, see Le serment ou les faux monnayeurs

276. Le secret Hoffmann 18. 8.1808 adW Ger  
 op com 1 act 10. 8.1809 BTh Fr  
 com mele de musique 17. 1.1815 KTh Ger  
 pfd Paris Cl 20.4.1796 4. 6.1822 KTh Ger  
 8.10.1839 KTh Ger  
 1808 adW; S.m. 32.286 (text in Ger (Ms)) 1809 BTh;  
 KTh 411 (score (Ms) language of text?); 1815 KTh;  
 S.m. 32.286 (text in Ger (Ms) first used adW 1808;  
 OA 107 (score with Ger text & prompt copy (Ms))  
 1822 KTh; S.m. 32.288 (text in Ger (Ms))

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. Semiramis Desvieux (after Voltaire) 23.10.1806 adW Ger  
 tragodie lyrique 3 acts 2. 3.1815 KTh Ger  
 pfd Paris O 4.5.1802 Catal  
 pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Castelli (Semiramis), 1806 adW with additional music by J. von Seyfried

1815 KTh; 987.650-A M (text in Ger printed  
 Vienna; Anton Strauss, n.d.) OA 24 (score  
 with Ger text (Ms))

278. La Serenade  
 op com 1 act  
 pfd Paris ?

1780-1781 KTh

pfd Vienna in Fr by French players 1780-1781

279. Le serment ou les faux monnayeurs Scribe & Mazères 29. 7.1834 JTh Ger 1834 KTh : S.m. 32.403, S.m. 32.404 (texts  
gr op 3 acts Auber 29.10.1834 KTh Ger in Ger, Ms)  
pfd Paris O 1.10.1832 13. 1.1835 adW Ger 7x-20.11.1834  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Dr. Petit (Der Schwur oder Die Falschmünzer), 1834 JTh & KTh and 1835 adW 1x
280. Le serrurier ? M. Quéant 24. 1.1776 KTh Fr  
7 (op com 1) ? Kohaut
- if by Kohaut pfd Paris CI 20.12.1764  
op with this title pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1776 KTh; it may be the opera with music by Kohaut, libretto by Quéant
281. ? La servante justifiée Fagan & Favart ? 1769 KTh Ger  
op com 1 act Moulinghem
- pfd Paris Foire St-G 19.3.1740  
by process of elimination, this could be the op pfd Vienna 1769 under the title 'Die unruhige Reichthum' in German translation by Kurz
282. La servante maitresse Baurans (1746 BTh It)  
intermède Pergolesi 1758 BTh Fr  
pfd Naples tSB 28.8.1733, Baurans translation 14.8.1754 Paris CI 1780-1781 KTh Fr  
pfd 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 (Maometto II) Soumet & Balocchi 22. 1.1823 KTh Ger 1831: S.m. 32.420, S.m. 32.421 (texts in Ger  
tr lyrique 2 or 3 acts Rossini 4. 7.1831 KTh Ger (Ms)); OA 47 (score with Ger text & prompt  
pfd Naples in It 3.12.1820, pfd Paris O 9.10.1826 in Fr 15. 9.1842 KTh Ger copy (ms)); OA 230 (printed score Italian text;  
pfd Vienna in Ger trans from the Italian by J. C. Grünbaum as Die Bestürmung von Corinth January 1823 KTh; Milan Ricordi 1856  
pfd Vienna in Ger trans from the French by ? J. Kupeiwieser as Mahomet II July 1823 KTh; trans ? J. C. Grünbaum 1831 onwards
- Das Singspiel, see L'opéra-comique
- Das Singspiel an den Fenstern, see L'intrigue aux fenêtres
284. La Sirène Scribe 21. 9.1844 JTh Ger 987.793-B M (text in Ger printed; Leipzig:  
vv 3 acts, from op of same name Auber 11.10.1844 LTh Ger Breitkopf u Hartel, 1844) LTh; Gch 8.20  
pfd Paris OC 26.3.1844  
pfd Vienna in Ger trans Francke as Die Sirene in den Abruzzen 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  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris CI 29.5.1790  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Rochlitz (Die stürmische Nacht) 1795 LTh, trans Stegmayer (Der stürmische Abend) 1809 adw  
Radet 14. 8.1795 LTh Ger 6x-30. 4.1805  
Dalayrac 21. 2.1809 adw Ger 2x-22. 2.1809
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 Champein, pfd Paris Bois de Boulogne 1.6.1779)  
27. 8.1809 BTh Fr at least  
2x-14.11.1809
287. Soliman second(= Les trois Sulcanes)  
op com (and play) 3 acts  
pfd Paris CI 9.4.1761  
Favart (after Marмонтel) 1761 at court Fr  
P. C. Gibert 18. 5.1765 BTh Fr  
(29. 9.1770 BTh Ger 19x- 0. 1.1788)  
8. 1.1788 KTh Ger  
18. 9.1799 FHT Ger  
( 1.10.1799 KTh Ger 43x-30. 7.1802  
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 Roxelane oder die drei Sulcaninen 1799  
FHT; trans Huber with new music by Süßmayer as Soliman der Zweite, 1799 KTh & BTh.
288. Le solitaire  
op rom 3 acts  
pfd Paris OC 17.8.1822  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Castelll (Der Klausner auf dem wüsten Berge) 1826 KTh  
D'Arincourt & Planard 28.11.1826 KTh Ger 14x- 2.11.1827  
Carafa
289. Le sorcier  
op com 2 acts  
pfd Paris CI 2.1.1764  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1765 BTh  
Poincnet 1765 BTh Fr  
Philidor  
(French score & text)
- Les souhaits du bûcheron, see Le bûcheron ou les trois souhaits
- Die Spröde auf der Probe, see La jeune prude ou les femmes entres elles
- Das Steildichein, see Le rendez-vous bourgeois
- Die Stumme, see La muette de Portici

290. Le suffisant (= Le petit maître dupé) Vadé (score in French)  
 op com 1 act 1759 BTh Fr  
 ? pfd Paris 13.3.1753 SG  
 pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1759 BTh
- La surprise, see La nièce vengée ou la double surprise
291. Sylvain (Silvain) Marmontel (after Gessner's May 1776 KTh Ger  
 'Erast') 18.11.1778 BTh Ger  
 op com 1 act Grétry 1780/1781 KTh Fr  
 pfd Paris CI 19.2.1770  
 pfd Vienna in Ger, trans (?) Eschenburg as 'Halder' May 1776 KTh, as 'Sylvain' 1778 BTh and 1780/1781 KTh (also pfd as play in Ger, trans Weisse, 10.8.1776 BTh 2x)
292. Le tableau parlant Anseaume before 10. 9.1772 Lax Fr (by amateurs)  
 op com 1 act Grétry J. 1.1776 KTh Fr  
 pfd Paris CI 20.9.1769 1780-1781 KTh Fr  
 28. 8.1783 Tbf Ger  
 29. 6.1809 BTh Fr ix
- pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1772 Lax, 1776 KTh ? 1780-1781 KTh Fr, 1809 BTh during French occupation; pfd Vienna in Ger, trans ? as Das redende Gemälde 1783 Tbf
- Der Tag voll Abenteuer, see La journée aux aventures
- Tage der Cafahr, see Les deux journées
293. Tamerlan Morel de Chédeville (after ( 9. 4.1805 BTh Ger in concert version)  
 Gr op 3 acts Voltaire 19. 6.1812 adW Ger 8x-29. 4.1813  
 pfd Paris O 14. 9.1802  
 pfd Vienna in Ger trans J. von Sonnleithner (Tamerlan) in concert form 1805 KTh; staged 1812 adW with musical additions by I. von Seyfried
- 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
294. Toberne ou le pêcheur suédois Patrat 14. 3.1801 Fhf Ger  
 op 2 acts Bruni 18.11.1802 LTh Ger  
 pfd Paris TF 2. or 3.12.1795 3x- 2.12.1802  
 pfd Vienna in Ger, trans C. A. Herklots (Torbern oder Der schwedische F scher) 1801 FhT & 1802 LTh

295. Toïnon et Toïnette  
op com 2 acts  
pfd Paris CI 20.6.1767  
Desboulmiers (J. A. Julien)  
Gossec  
8. 2.1776 BTh Fr  
1. 6.1776 KTh Fr  
9. 2.1779 BTh Ger  
1780/1781 KTh Fr  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. H. Faber (Anton und Antonette) 1779; pfd Vienna in Fr 1780/1781 KTh  
3x- 4. 8.1779  
1779: 698.427-A Th 156 (text in Ger printed  
Vienna: Logem, 1779); KTh 34 (score with  
Ger text (Ms))
296. Tom Jones  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris CI 27.2.1765 rev. Sedaine CI 30.1.1766  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1768 at court, 1780/81 KTh  
Poinssinet (after H. Fielding)  
Philidor  
1768 BTh Fr  
1780/1781 KTh Fr  
(French text & score)
297. ?Le tonnelier  
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  
Audinot (after Lafontaine)  
M. C. Trial  
Philidor, Gossec, Audinot  
June 1776 KTh Ger  
15. 1.1776 KTh Fr  
12. 5.1776 Fas Ger  
1780/1781 KTh Fr
298. ?Le tonnelier  
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  
A. F. Quézant  
(rearr. of Audinot)  
Gossec  
?1780/1781 KTh Fr
299. ?Le tonnelier  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris ? (Grove lists no Philidor opera of this name)  
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.  
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.  
1780 BTh & KTh: 698.427-A Th 189 C (text  
in Ger printed Vienna: Logem, 1780); KTh  
148 (score with Ger text (Ms))  
31x- 9. 3.1796  
Gossec's revision of Audinot's opera
300. Le trésor supposé ou le danger  
d'écouter aux portes op com 1 act  
pfd Paris OC 29.7.1802  
Hoffman  
Méhul  
7. 8.1803 adW Ger  
27. 9.1809 LTh Ger  
2.11.1809 BTh Fr  
13. 8.1812 JTh Ger  
19. 7.1814 KTh Ger  
23. 3.1846 KTh Ger  
67x- 4. 2.1817  
10x-17.11.1836  
2x-12.11.1809  
100x-20.10.1837  
14x-27. 3.1849  
621.725-A Th & 621.744-A Th (texts in Ger  
printed Vienna; Schmidt, 1803) 1809 BTh: KTh 449  
(score (Ms)) 1814 KTh: texts in Ger (Ms): S.m.  
32.452-S.m. 32.453; 987.774-B M (text in Fr  
printed Paris: Huet etc., 1803) used for  
performance 1826; OA 116 (score with Ger text  
(Ms))  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans J. von Seyfried (Der Schatzgräber) 1800 adh, 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  
op com 2 acts  
pfd Paris CI 24.5.1777  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1780/1781 Bth; in Ger, trans W. G. Eecker (Die drei Pächter) 1785 onwards KTh & BTh
- 1780/1781 BTh Fr  
Monvel  
Dezède  
28.10.1785 KTh Ger }  
7. 2.1786 BTh Ger }  
12x-27.1.1788
- 1785 production: 698.427-A Th 192 C (text in Ger, printed Vienna: Logenmeister, 1785)
- 302.. Le trompeur trompé ou la rencontre  
imprévue op com 1 act  
pfd Paris SG 18.2.1754  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1756 BTh
- 1756 BTh Fr  
Vadé  
arranged Vadé
- text and score in Nationalbibliothek  
Hsmig: S.m. 1034
303. Les troqueurs  
op com (intermède) 1 act  
pfd Paris SL 30.7.1753  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1758 BTh
- Vadé (after Lafontaine)  
Dauvergne  
1758 BTh Fr
- text in Stadtbibliothek: 58.584A score in  
Nationalbibliothek Hsmig: S.m. 1037
304. Les troqueurs  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris OC 18.2.1819  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Castelli (Der Tausch), 1820 KTh and under a new title (Der Weibertausch) 1825 KTh, JTh and 1866 Har. Another German title for the opera is Die Selbst-täuschung oder Das Malenglocklein von Feevies; text 32.851 has this title, though apparently not pfd in Vienna as such
- F.V.A.& L.C.A. d'Artois  
de Bourbonville (after Vadé  
(after Lafontaine))  
Hérolde  
1. 5.1820 KTh Ger  
30. 8.1825 JTh Ger  
20.11.1866 Har Ger  
64x-21. 3.1832
- KTh: S.m. 32.851, S.m. 32.121, S.m. 32.396  
(texts in Ger (Hs)) OA 73 (score with Ger text (Hs))
305. Le Turc généreux  
pantomime, parody of Rameau's  
Les Indes Galantes (7ballet)  
pfd Paris CI 26.7.1751 (+ 71743)  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 26.4.1753 BTh; title of this op = title of 1st act of Les Indes Galantes, Ballet op, 4 acts by Rameau,  
pfd Paris O 23.8.1735. a parody of the Rameau)
- Fuzelier  
J. Ph. Rameau  
Favart  
26. 4.1758 BTh Fr
- Ms numbers in National Library
306. Ty(l)rcis et Doristée  
pastorale vv.1 act  
pfd Paris CI 4.9.1752  
pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players, 1756; Champée, sometimes cited as composer was a violinist at the Théâtre français in Vienna, and responsible for copying the work.
- Favart  
(arranged by Gluck)  
1756 at court Fr
- Die Überraschungen, see Le locataire
- Die Übereilung, see Emma ou la promesse imprudente

Die umgeworfenen Kutschen (Wagen) oder Der eingebildete Philisoph, see Les voitures versées

Die unerwartete Zusammenkunft, see La rencontre imprévue

Die unvermutheten Zufälle oder Unverhofft kommt oft, see Les événements imprévus

Die unvermuthete Zusammenkunft, see La rencontre imprévue

307. Uthal  
 op 1 act J.M.B. de Saint Victor  
 pfd Paris OC 17.5.1806 (from Ossian)  
 pfd Vienna in Ger, trans C. A. Herklots (Uthal) 1810 BTh & KTh  
 15. 1.1810 KTh }  
 16. 2.1810 BTh }  
 14x-16. 1.1810  
 texts in Ger (Ms); S.m. 32.774 & S.m. 32.775  
 M (123); KTh 454 (score with Ger text (Ms))
308. Le vaisseau amiral ou Forbin et  
 Desville Saint-Cyr  
 op com 1 act H. M. Berton  
 pfd Paris TF 1.4.1805  
 pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Treitschke (Das Admiralschiff), 1806 KTh  
 4. 7.1806 KTh }  
 5. 7.1806 BTh }  
 11x-10.11.1806  
 440.778-A M (text in Ger printed Vienna: Wallishauser,  
 1806); S.m. 32.793 M (73/78) (text in Ger (Ms))
309. Le valet de chambre  
 op com 1 act Scribe & Mélesville  
 pfd Paris OC 16.9.1823 (A.N.J. Duveyrier)  
 pfd Vienna in Ger as Der Kammerdiener, trans ?, 1830 and 1840 KTh  
 14.12.1830 KTh Ger  
 69x- 9. 3.1849  
 S.m. 32.037, S.m. 32.038 (texts in Ger (Ms));  
 OA 110 (score with Ger text & prompt copy (Ms))
310. La vengeance inutile ou Raton e  
 Rosette com en vv 1 act Favart  
 pfd Paris 28.3.1753 CI various + from Moudonville's opera  
 pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1755, parody of Mondonville's Titon et L'Aurore  
 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 Favart + ? Pannard  
 pfd Paris ? Gillier  
 pfd 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, Fuzelier,  
 + others) op com 1 act, 1724, SL  
 23. 8.1749 court Fr  
 31. 5.1759 Lax Fr  
 at least  
 2x-25. 8.1759

Die verjungerungs(-)Essenz, 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 Verwiesenen auf Kamtschatka, see béulowski, ou les exiliés du Kamtschatka

312. La vestale  
tragédie lyrique 3 acts  
pfd Paris O 15. (116.) 12.1807  
Etienne de Jouy  
Spontini  
12.11.1810 KTh Ger  
9. 1.1811 KTh Ger  
9. 9.1814 KTh Ger  
1. 9.1819 adW Ger  
1. 1.1830 KTh Ger  
also: 1881  
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
313. La veuve indécise  
par en ariettes 1 act  
pfd Paris Foire St. - L. 22. or 24. 9.1759  
(parody of La veuve coquette, second entrée in Mouret's: Les fêtes de Thalie) pfd Vienna in Fr by Fr players 1761 BTh  
Anseume, after  
Vadé  
1761 BTh Fr
314. Le vicomte de Lérotières  
vv 3 acts comédie mêlée de chant  
pfd Paris TPR 1.12.1841  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Marg. Carl (Die Gabe für sich einzunehm oder Artour de Montpensier), 1843 adW,  
pfd Vienna in Fr. 9.12.1843. Probably by Müller; one of many vvs "from the Fr" pfd Vienna at this time  
Bayard & Dumaurier  
Carafa, Auber, Labarre,  
Tolbecque, Müller  
25. 4.1843 adW Ger  
9.12.1843 KTh Fr  
7x- 1. 5.1843  
1x  
131.175-C (text in Fr printed Paris: Mme. Delacombe, n.d.)
315. Le vieux château  
op com 1 act  
pfd Paris TF 15.3.1798  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Josef von Sonnleithner, (Das alte Schloss) 1802 & 1822  
Le vieux bonhomme ou Peulet et Fanchon, see Le bonhomme, ou bienfaisance et vertu  
Duval  
Della Maria  
19. 1.1802 adW Ger  
21. 1.1822 KTh Ger  
2x-20. 1.1802  
8x-15. 7.1822  
1822 KTh: S.m. 32.861/863 (texts in Ger (ms): censors' & prompt's copies)  
KT 404 (Ms Ger score)
- Die vier Haimonskinder, 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  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans C. A. Herklots (Die Herr(e)nhut(h)erinnen), 1804 KTh & BTh  
L. B. Picard  
Devienne  
26.11.1804 KTh Ger  
27.11.1804 BTh Ger  
10x-20. 2.1805
317. Les voitures versées  
op com 2 acts  
St. Petersburg PH 16.4.1808, Paris OC 29.4.1820  
pfd Vienna in Ger, trans Kupelweiser (Die ungeworfene Kutachen oder Ter eingegebildete Philosoph), 1826 KTh  
E. M. Dupaty  
Boieldieu  
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 (1914) printed scores under  
title 'Das Loch in der Landstrasse' (new  
arrangement of opera?) OA 1428-1429
- Die vornehmen Hirte, see Les aubergistes de qualité

Wagen gewinnt oder Die beyden Fühse, 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 Azémia ou le nouveau Robinson

318. Zampa ou la fiancée de marbre  
op com 3 acts  
pfd Paris OC 3.5.1831

Mésesville  
Hérold

3. 5.1832 KTh Ger  
25. 8.1832 JTh Ger  
6. 3.1846 adW Ger  
17.11.1850 KTh Ger  
also: 1866, 1867, 1876 (extracts only), 1886

98x-19, 2.1838  
10x- 2. 1.1868  
7x-24, 7.1851

1832 KTh: S.m. 32.649, S.m. 32.729, S.m. 32.029 (text in Ger (Ms)); OA 300 (score & prompt copy with Ger text (Ms))

pfd Vienna in Ger as Zampa oder die Marmorbraut: trans J. Seyfried 1832 KTh, trans Kupelweiser 1832 JTh, trans Ellmenreich 1846 adW

Die natürliche Zauberei, see Le magicien sans magie

Das Zauberglückchen, see La clochette ou le diable page (la double page)

319. Zémire et Azor  
op com (fée) 4 acts  
pfd Font 9.11.1771

Marmontel  
after M. Le Prince de  
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  
13.10.1779 BTh Ger  
6.12.1785 KTh Ger  
1780/1781 KTh Fr  
21. 1.1790 LTh Ger  
2. 8.1793 Fht Ger  
15.10.1809 BTh Fr  
8. 1.1818 adW Ger

1779 BTh & KTh: 698.427-A Th 261 (text in Ger printed Vienna: Logenm 1779); KTh 476 score with Ger text (Ms); also another score KT 475 (Ms)

56x-30.12.1787

54x-22. 9.1809

1x

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 Zémire 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.

Year	Date	Theatre	Language and French Title	Composer
1752	21. 6.	Lax & BTh	F Le cocq de village ( <u>première</u> )	Favart*
		BTh	F Les amours champêtres ( <u>première</u> )	Gluck
1755	16. 6. or 5. 7.	Lax & BTh	F Les amours de Bastien et de Bastienne ( <u>première</u> )	Favart & de Guerville*
	22. 5.	BTh & Lax	F La nièce vengée ( <u>première</u> ) (under the title: "La surprise")	Gillier
1756	14. 9.	BTh	F La vengeance inutile ( <u>première</u> )	various
	3. 5.	BTh & Lax	F Le magasin(e) des modernes ( <u>première</u> )	Pannard*
	2. 6.	BTh	F Le Chinois poli en France ( <u>première</u> )	Gluck & Duni
	12. 7.	Sch	F Le déguisement pastoral ( <u>première</u> )	Gluck or van Maldere
		BTh	F Le trompeur trompé ou la rencontre imprévue ( <u>première</u> )	Blaise
		BTh	F On ne s'avise jamais de tout ( <u>première</u> )	Duni
1757	before Easter	BTh	F Tyrcis et Doristée ( <u>première</u> )	Champée
		BTh	F La répétition interrompue ( <u>première</u> )	Gillier
		BTh	F Cythère assiégée ( <u>première</u> )	Gluck
		BTh	F Les amours de Lucas et de Colinette (La fête d'amour)( <u>première</u> )	Favart*
1758	26. 4.	BTh	F Le Turc généreux ( <u>première</u> )	
		BTh	F L'Egitienne ( <u>première</u> )	
	13. 9.	Sch	F La fausse esclave ( <u>première</u> )	Gluck
		BTh	F Les petits comédiens (the same as 22.5.1755 - "La nièce vengée")	Gillier
	3.10.	Sch	F L'île de Merlin ( <u>première</u> )	Gluck
	5.10. or 5.11.	Sch	F Les amours champêtres ( <u>première</u> )	van Maldere
		BTh	F La servante maitresse ( <u>première</u> in French)	Pergolesi
1759	28. 5.	BTh	F Les troqueurs ( <u>première</u> )	Dauvergne
		Lax	F Le diable à quatre ( <u>première</u> )	Philidor & Gluck
	31. 5.	Lax	F Les vendanges	Gillier
	3.10.	Sch	F L'arbre enchanté ( <u>première</u> )	Gluck
		BTh	F Cythère assiégée	Gluck
		Lax or Sch	F Isabelle et Gertrude ( <u>première</u> )	Blaise
		BTh	F Le nouvelliste dupé ( <u>première</u> )	Pannard*
		BTh	F Le suffisant ( <u>première</u> )	Vadé*

\* Favart, Pannard and Vadé were the librettists of these operas. They perhaps compiled the music for their works but were not composers.

	Year	Date	Theatre	Language	French Title	Composer
The first French troupe (continued)	1760	April	BTh	F	L'ivrogne corrigé ( <u>première</u> )	Gluck
		9.10.	BTh	F	Le devin du village ( <u>première</u> )	J. J. Rousseau
			BTh	F	Le caprice amoureux ( <u>première</u> )	various
	1761	1. 4.	Bth	F	Lucinde et sa suivante Lisette	Gillier
		11. 4.	BTh	F	Le diable à quatre	Philidor & Gluck
		12. 5.		F	L'arbre enchanté	Gluck
		7. 7.	BTh	F	L'île des fous ( <u>première</u> )	Duni
		13.12.	BTh	F	Le cadi dupé ( <u>première</u> )	Gluck
			BTh	F	La veuve indécise ( <u>première</u> )	Duni
	1762	17. 8.	BTh & Sch	F	On ne s'avise jamais de tout ( <u>première</u> )	Monsigny & arias by Gluck
		[ 5.10.	BTh	I	Orfeo ( <u>première</u> )	Gluck ]
			at Court	F	Le prétendu ( <u>première</u> )	Gavinies
	1763	15. 1.	BTh	F	Le prétendu	Gavinies
		4. 6.	BTh	F	Le maître en droit ( <u>première</u> )	Monsigny
		26. 6.	BTh	F	Le maréchal ferrant ( <u>première</u> )	Philidor
		14.12.	BTh	F	Le roi et le fermier ( <u>première</u> )	Monsigny
			at Court	F	L'Isle des fous	Duni
	1764	7. 1.	BTh	F	La recontre imprévue ( <u>première</u> )	Gluck
		4. 2.	BTh	F	La fille mal gardée ( <u>première</u> )	Duni
		or 4.11.				
		25. 1.	?	F	? La fée brillante ( <u>première</u> )	? Duni
		21. 5.	Lax	F	Le magazine des modernes	Pannard
		22. 5.	BTh	F	? Depuis et de Ronais ( <u>première</u> )	?
		28. 5.	Lax	F	Le cadi dupé	Gluck
			BTh Lax	F	Les deux chasseurs et la laitière ( <u>première</u> )	Duni
	1765	18. 5.	BTh	F	Soliman second	Gibert
		?	?	F	Le bûcheron, ou les trois souhais ( <u>première</u> )	Philidor
		BTh	F	Les deux cousines ( <u>première</u> )	Desbrosses	
		Sch	F	La rencontre imprévue	Gluck	
		BTh	F	Le sorcier ( <u>première</u> )	Philidor	
1767	29. 4.	KTh	G	Le diable à quatre ou la double métamorphose	Gluck	
1768		BTh	F	Annette et Lubin	Blaise	
		BTh	F	Le bûcheron ou les trois souhais	Philidor	
		BTh	F	Mazet ( <u>première</u> )	Duni	
		at Court	F	? Sancho Pança ( <u>première</u> )	Philidor	
1768/72		BTh	F	Tom Jones ( <u>première</u> )	Philidor	
1769		KTh	G	La servante justifiée ( <u>première</u> )	Moulinghem	
1770	?	?	G	? Le Huron ( <u>première</u> )	Grétry	
1771	4. 1.	BTh	F	Le déserteur ( <u>première</u> )	Monsigny	
1772	19. 1.	BTh	F	Le Huron	Grétry	
	19. 2.	KTh	G	Pygmalion ( <u>première</u> )	J. J. Rousseau	
	10. 9.	Lax	F	Le tableau parlant ( <u>première</u> )	Grétry	
	23. 9.	Lax	F	Lucile ( <u>première</u> )	Grétry	

2nd French troupe

Year	Date	Theatre	Language	and French Title	Composer	
[1775	31. 5.	BTh	I	Il duello	Paisiello]	
3rd troupe	10.10.	Sch	F	Zémire et Azor ( <u>première</u> )	Grétry	
	22.10.	Sch	F	Le déserteur	Monsigny	
	14.12.	BTh	F	L'ami de la maison ( <u>première</u> )	Grétry	
	28.12.	BTh	F	L'erreur d'un moment ( <u>première</u> )	Dezède	
1776			F	? Julie ( <u>première</u> )	Dezède	
	1. 1.	KTh	F	Le tableau parlant	Grétry	
	3. 1.	KTh	F	Les deux chasseurs et la laitière	Duni	
	4. 1.	BTh or KTh	F	Zémire und Azor	Grétry	
	8. 1.	KTh	F	Rose et Colas ( <u>première</u> )	Monsigny	
	10. 1.	KTh	F	Les deux avares ( <u>première</u> )	Grétry	
	11. 1.	BTh	F	Julie	Dezède	
	15. 1.	BKTh	F	Le milicien ( <u>première</u> )	Duni	
	15. 1.	KTh	F	Le tonnelier ( <u>première</u> )	Audinot, etc.	
	17. 1.	BTh	F	Lucile ( <u>première</u> )	Grétry	
	22. 1.	Bth	F	La bonne fille ( <u>première</u> )	Piccinni	
	24. 1.	KTh	F	Le serrurier ( <u>première</u> )	Kohaut	
	25. 1.	BKTh	F	Les femmes vengées ( <u>première</u> )	Philidor	
	5. 2.	KTh	F	Sancho Pança	Philidor	
	8. 2.	Bth	F	Toinon et Toinette ( <u>première</u> )	Gossec	
	11. 2.	BTh	F	La Cantélie ( <u>première</u> )		
	12. 2.	KTh	F	La partie de chasse ( <u>première</u> ) de Henri IV	?	
	The fourth French troupe	14. 2.	KTh	F	Le magnifique ( <u>première</u> )	Grétry
		19. 2.	KTh	F	La Colonie ( <u>première</u> in French)	Sacchini
		spring	KTh	G	La rencontre imprévue	Gluck
		spring	KTh	G	Le Huron	Grétry
		early May	KTh	G	Les deux avares	Grétry
		early May	KTh	G	Le Huron	Grétry
		May	KTh	G	Lucile	Grétry
			KTh	G	Le maréchal ferrant	Philidor
		early May	KTh	G	La rencontre imprévue	Gluck
			KTh	G	La rosière de Salenci	Duni
		May	KTh	G	Sylvain ( <u>première</u> )	Grétry
		May	LTh	G	Zémire et Azor	Grétry
		11. 5.	KTh	G	Le magnifique ( <u>première</u> )	Grétry
		12. 5.	Fas	G	Le tonnelier	Audinot
		13.or	Lax	F	Zémire et Azor	Grétry
		14. 5.				
		13. 5.	KTh	G	Le jardinier supposé ( <u>première</u> )	Philidor
			KTh	G	Le maréchal ferrant	Philidor
		May/June	KTh	G	L'ami de la maison ( <u>première</u> )	Grétry
		June	?	G	Le tonnelier	Audinot
	June	BTh	G	Le déserteur	Monsigny	
	1. 6.	KTh	G	Toinon et Toinette	Gossec	
	November	LTh	G	Les deux avares	Grétry	
May 1776	Fas	G	Les deux avares	Grétry		
May 1776 - Feb. 1777	Fas	? F	Ninette à la cour } (performed by a child- ren's troupe)	Duni		
1776-1777	KTh	G	Le jardinier supposé	Philidor		
1778	9. 5.	BKTh	G	Rose et Colas	Monsigny	
	25. 5.	BKTh	G	L'ami de la maison	Grétry	
	29. 6.	BTh	G	Lucile	Grétry	
	27.10.	BKTh	G	La fausse magie ( <u>première</u> )	Grétry	
	18.11.	BTh	G	Sylvain	Grétry	
	29.12.	BTh	G	L'amoureux de quinze ans ( <u>première</u> )	Martini	
1779	9. 2.	BTh	G	Toinon et Toinette	Gossec	

Year	Date	Theatre	Language	and French Title	Composer <sup>749</sup>
1779	12. 5.	BTh	G	Les deux avarés	Grétry
	16. 5.	BfS	G	Les deux chasseurs et la laitière	Duni
	? 25. 5.	? JTh *	G	Les amours de Bastien et de Bastienne	various
	23. 8.	BTh	G	Julie	Dezède
	9. 9.	BTh	G	La rosière de Salenci (première)	Philidor
	13.10.	BKTh	G	Zémire et Azor	Grétry
	25.11.	BfS	G	Le maréchal ferrant	Philidor
	28.11.	BTh	G	Le déserteur	Monsigny
1780	2. 2.	BTh	G	Le magnifique	Grétry
	7. 5.	BTh	G	La colonie	Sacchini
	29. 6.	BTh	G	Le tonnelier	Audinot
1780- 1781	26. 7.	BTh	G	La rencontre imprévue	Gluck
		KTh	F	L'amant jaloux	Grétry
		KTh	F	L'ami de la maison	Grétry
		KTh	F	L'amitié à l'épreuve	Grétry
		KTh	F	L'amoureux de quinze ans	Martini
	? November	KTh	F	La belle Arsène (première)	Monsigny
		KTh	F	Le bon fils (première)	Philidor
		KTh	F	La bonne fille	Piccinni
		KTh	F	Le bûcheron ou les trois souhais	Philidor
		KTh	F	La clochette	? Duni
		KTh	F	La colonie	Sacchini
		KTh	F	Depuis et de Ronais	?
		KTh	F	Le déserteur	Monsigny
		KTh	F	Les deux avarés	Grétry
		KTh	F	Les deux contesses (première)	Framery
		KTh	F	Du sorcier	? Philidor
		KTh	F	Les dupes	?
		KTh	F	L'erreur d'un moment	Dezède
		KTh	F	Les événements imprévus (première)	Grétry
		KTh	F	La fausse Magie	Grétry
		KTh	F	La fée Urgèle (première)	Duni ?
		KTh	F	La fermière écossaise (première)	Vachon
		KTh	F	L'Héraclit, le triomphe de la beauté (première)	?
		KTh	F	Le Huron	Grétry
		KTh	F	Le jugement de Midas	Grétry
		KTh	F	Julie	Dezède
		KTh	F	Lucile	Grétry
		KTh	F	Le maître en droit	Monsigny
		KTh	F	Le marchand de Smyrne	?
		KTh	F	Le maréchal ferrant	Philidor
		KTh	F	Mazet	Duni
		KTh	F	Nanette et Lucas	?
		KTh	F	Ninette à la cour	Duni
		KTh	F	L'Olimpiade	? Sacchini
		KTh	F	On ne s'avise jamais de tout	Monsigny
		KTh	F	Les pêcheurs (première)	Gossec

The fifth French troupe

\* 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.

Year	Date	Theatre	Language	French Title	Composer	
The fifth French troupe	1780-1781	KTh	F	Le procureur arbitre (première)	?	
		KTh	F	? Pygmalion	J. J. Rousseau	
		KTh	F	La rencontre imprévue	? Gluck	
		KTh	F	Le roi et le fermier	Monsigny	
		KTh	F	Rose et Colas	Monsigny	
		KTh	F	La rosière de Salency (première)	Grétry	
		KTh	F	Sancho Pança dans son isle	Philidor	
		KTh	F	La Sérénade	?	
		KTh	F	La servante maitresse	Pergolesi	
		KTh	F	Sylvain	Grétry	
		KTh	F	Le tableau parlant	Grétry	
		KTh	F	Tom Jones	Philidor	
		KTh	F	Toinon et Toinette	Gossec	
			F	Le tonnelier	Audinot	
			KTh	F	Les trois fermiers (première)	Dezède
			KTh	F	Zémire et Azor	Grétry
		12.10	BKTh	G	Les fausses apparences ou l'amant jaloux	Grétry
	1781	22. 1.	BTh	G	L'amitié à l'épreuve (première)	Grétry
		30. 6.	KTh	F	Orphée (première in French)	Gluck
		1. 9.	BTh	G	Les événements imprévus (première)	Grétry
		23.10.	BTh	G	Iphigénie en Tauride (première)	Gluck
		29.10.	LTh	G	Les amours de Bastien et de Bastienne	various
		[31.12.	BTh	I	Orfeo	Gluck]
		?	KTh	* F	La paysanne curieuse (première)	Dezède
		?	?	G	L'ivrogne corrigé	Gluck
	1781 - 1782	?	KTh	* F	Aline, reine de Golconde (première)	Monsigny
	1783	28. 8.	Fas	G	Le tableau parlant	Grétry
	10. 8.	Fas	F	La colonie	Sacchini	
	17. 9.	Fas	G	Les deux chasseurs et la laitière	Duni	
	25.10.	KTh	G	Le Huron	Grétry	
1784	12.11.	KTh	G	Zémire et Azor	Grétry	
	14.12.	KTh	I	Iphigénie en Tauride	Gluck	
1785	16.10.	KTh	G	Félix ou l'enfant trouvé (première)	Monsigny	
	25.10.	LTh	G	Le tonnelier	Audinot	
	28.10.	KTh	G	Les trois fermiers	Dezède	
1786	17. 4.	BTh & KTh	G	Le duel comique	Paisiello	
	4. 8.	BTh	G	La belle Arsène	Monsigny	

\* 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.

Year	Date	Theatre	Language	and French Title	Composer
1787	11. 2.	KTh	G	La rosière de Salency	Grétry
	14. 6.	KdH	G	Le déserteur	Monsigny
	17. 7.	Fas	G	Le déserteur	
	25. 7.	adS	G	Les deux chasseurs et la laitière	Duni
1788	7. 1.	KTh	G	Richard Coeur de Lion ( <u>première</u> )	Grétry
1789	10.11.	LTh	G	La rencontre imprévue	Gluck
1790	21. 1.	LTh	G	Zémire et Azor	Grétry
	11. 6.	LTh	G	Nina ou la folle par amour ( <u>première</u> )	Dalayrac
1791	4. 1.	LsT	?	Pygmalion	Rousseau
	27. 8.	FhT	G	Renaud d'Ast ( <u>première</u> )	Dalayrac
1792	13.12.	LTh	G	Les deux petits Savoyards ( <u>première</u> )	Dalayrac
	14.12.	FhT	G	Les deux petits Savoyards	Dalayrac
1793	19. 1.	FhT	G	Cythère assiégée	Gluck
	2. 8.	FhT	G	Zémire et Azor	Grétry
	2. or				
	15. 8.	LsT	G	La colonie	Sacchini
	10. 8.	Fas	G	La colonie	Sacchini
1794	10. 9.	LTh	G	Raoul sire de Créqui ( <u>première</u> )	Dalayrac
	12. 4.	FhT	G	Les deux chasseurs et la laitière	Duni
	31. 5.	FhT	G	L'arbre enchanté	Gluck
1795	7. 7.	LTh	G	Azémi ou le nouveau Robinson ( <u>première</u> )	Dalayrac
	14. 8.	LTh	G	La soirée orageuse ( <u>première</u> )	Dalayrac
	19. 9.	FhT	G	Euphrosine ou le tyran corrigé ( <u>première</u> )	Méhul
	28. 2.	KBTh	G	La double épreuve ou Colinette à la cour ( <u>première</u> )	Grétry
1799	18. 9.	FhT	G	Soliman Second ( <u>première</u> )	
	1.10.	KBTh	G	Soliman Second	Süssmayer
	3.10.	LTh	G	Renaud d'Ast	Dalayrac
1800	14. 6.	FhT	G	Richard Coeur de Lion	Grétry
	19. 9.	LTh	G	Le prisonnier ou la ressemblance ( <u>première</u> )	Della Maria
1801	?	?	?	"Le faux recruteur" ( <u>?première</u> )	?
	1. 2.	LTh	G	Renaud d'Ast	Dalayrac
	14. 3.	FhT	G	Toberne ou le pêcheur suédois ( <u>première</u> )	Bruni
	13. 5.	FhT	G	Le prisonnier ou la	Della Maria
	17. 6.	adW		ressemblance	
	8. 6.	FhT	G	Nina ou la folle par amour	Dalayrac
	26. 7.	adW	G	Le petit matelot ou le mariage impromptu ( <u>première</u> )	Gaveaux
	3. 9.	adW	G	Les sabotiers ( <u>première</u> )	Bruni
	17.10.	adW	G	Adolphe et Clara ( <u>première</u> )	Dalayrac
	1802	19. 1.	adW	G	Le vieux château ou la rencontre ( <u>première</u> )
	23. 3.	adW	G	Lodoïska ( <u>première</u> )	Cherubini

Year	Date	Theatre	Language and French Title	Composer
	29. 5.	adW	G Richard Coeur de Lion	Grétry
	2. 6.	KTh	G Oedipe à Colonne ( <u>première</u> )	Sacchini
	18.11.	LTh	G Toberne ou le pêcheur suédois	Bruni
	13. 8.	adW	G Les deux journées ( <u>première</u> )	Cherubini
	14. 8.	KBTh	G Les deux journées	Cherubini
	6.11.	KBTh	G Médée ( <u>première</u> )	Cherubini
	18.11.	adW	G Toberne ou le pêcheur suédois	Bruni
	18.12.	adW	G Eliza ou le Mont de Saint Bernard ( <u>première</u> )	Cherubini
1803	?	?	? "Le charme du baiser" ( <u>première</u> )	Tuček.
	4. 2.	KBTh	G Le chapitre second ( <u>première</u> )	Solié
	14. 5.	LTh	G Le prisonnier ou la ressemblance	Della Maria
	31. 3.	adW	G Léhéman, ou la tour de Neustadt ( <u>première</u> )	Dalayrac
	14. 5.	LTh	G Le prisonnier	Della Maria
	24. 5.	adW	G Une folie ( <u>première</u> )	Méhul
	14. 6.	adW	G La caverne ( <u>première</u> )	Leseuer
	24. 6.	KBTh	G La caverne	Leseuer
	9. 7.	adW	G L'irato ou l'importé ( <u>première</u> )	Méhul
	7. 8.	adW	G Le trésor supposé ( <u>première</u> )	Méhul
	22. 8.	KBTh	G Héléna ( <u>première</u> )	Méhul
		adW	G Héléna	Méhul
	22. 9.	KBTh	G L'hôtellerie portugaise ( <u>première</u> )	Cherubini
	29. 9.	adW	G La boucle de cheveux ( <u>première</u> )	Dalayrac
	19.10.	adW	G Marcelin ( <u>première</u> )	Lebrun
	2.11.	KTh	G L'oncle valet ( <u>première</u> )	Della Maria
	3.11.	adW	G L'oncle valet	Della Maria
	14.12.	adW	G Joanna ( <u>première</u> )	Méhul
	31.12.	adW	G La punition ( <u>première</u> )	Cherubini
1804	18. 1.	KBTh	G D'auberge en auberge ou les préventions ( <u>première</u> )	Tarchi
	28. 1.	BKTh	G L'opéra -comique ( <u>première</u> )	Della Maria
	4. 2.	adW	G Le grand deuil ( <u>première</u> )	Berton
	22. 3.	adW	G Le chapitre second	Solié
	5. 3.	adW	G Ariodant ( <u>première</u> )	Méhul
	6. 3.	KBTh	G Aline reine de Golconde ( <u>première</u> )	Berton
	10. 4.	adW	G Ma tante Aurore ( <u>première</u> )	Boieldieu
	11. 4.	KBTh	G L'officier cosaque ( <u>première</u> )	Dumoncheau & Gianella
	24. 4.	adW	G Le médecin turc ( <u>première</u> )	Isouard
	1. 6.	LTh	G Michel-Ange ( <u>première</u> )	Isouard
	20. 6.	KBTh	G Bėniowski ou les exilés de Kamtchatka ( <u>première</u> )	Boieldieu
	24. 6.	PzT	G Renaud d'Ast	Dalayrac
	10. 7.	adW	G Le calife de Bagdad ( <u>première</u> )	Boieldieu

Year	Date	Theatre	Language	and French Title	Composer	
1804	23. 7.	KBTh	G	Les confidences ( <u>première</u> )	Isouard	
	26. 7.	adW	G	Rose et Colas	Monsigny	
	14. 8.	adW	G	Raoul Barbe-Bleue ( <u>première</u> )	Grétry	
	4.10.	adW	G	Le caravane de Caire ( <u>première</u> )	Grétry	
	18.10	adW	G	Une aventure de Saint Foix ou le coup d'épée ( <u>première</u> )	Tarchi	
	24.10.	KBTh	G	Les deux petits Savoyards	Dalayrac	
	27.10	adW	G	? "Salamons Urtheil" ( <u>première</u> )	Quaisin	
	25.11.	KBTh	G	Les visitandines ( <u>première</u> )	Devienne	
	1.12.	adW	G	Léon ou le château de Monténéro ( <u>première</u> )	Dalayrac	
	20.12.	BKTh	G	Une heure de mariage ( <u>première</u> )	Dalayrac	
	29.12.	KBTh	G	La jeune prude ou les femmes entres elles ( <u>première</u> )	Dalayrac	
	1805	9. 1.	adW	G	Les deux avars	Grétry
		23.1.	KBTh	G	Les comédiens ambulants ( <u>première</u> )	Devienne
		5. 3.	adW	G	Un quart d'heure de silence ( <u>première</u> )	Gaveaux
7. 3.		KBTh	G	Le calife de Bagdad	Boieldieu	
23. 3.		adW	G	Paul et Virginie ( <u>première</u> )	K. Kreutzer	
9. 4.		KTh	G	Tamerlan ( <u>première</u> ) [concert version]	P. Winter	
19. 4.		adW	G	Le locataire ( <u>première</u> )	Gaveaux	
early May		RdS	G	Anacréon ( <u>première</u> ) [concert version]	Cherubini	
22. 5.		KBTh	G	Raoul sire de Créqui	Dalayrac	
30. 5.		adW	G	Avis aux femmes ou le mari colère ( <u>première</u> )	Gaveaux	
29. 6.		KBTh	G	Le petit matelot ou le mariage impromptu	Gaveaux	
22. 7.		KBTh	G	Azémiá ou le nouveau Robinson	Dalayrac	
17. 9.		adW	G	Alexis ou l'erreur d'un bon père ( <u>première</u> )	Dalayrac	
24. 9.		KBTh	G	Milton ( <u>première</u> )	Spontini	
28. 9.		adW	G	Le Major Palmer	Bruni	
28.11.		KBTh	G	Palma ou le voyage en Grèce ( <u>première</u> )	Plantade	
4.12.		adW	G	La leçon ou la tasse de glaces ( <u>première</u> )	Dalayrac	
1806	17. 1.	KBTh	G	L'intrigue aux fenêtres ( <u>première</u> )	Isouard	
	15. 3.	adW	G	Les mariages samnites ( <u>première</u> )	Grétry	
	4. 7.	KBTh	G	Le vaisseau amiral ( <u>première</u> )	Berton	
	14. 7.	adW	G	? "Die Reise nach Paris"	? "Heller"	
	29. 7.	adW	G	Nina ou la folle par amour	Dalayrac	
	2. 8.	KBTh	G	Guilistan ou le Hulla de Samarcande ( <u>première</u> )	Dalayrac	
	14. 8.	adW	G	Euphrosine ou le tyran corrigé	Méhul	
	24. 9.	KBTh	G	Julie ou le pot de fleurs ( <u>première</u> )	Spontini	
	23.10.	adW	G	Sémiramis ( <u>première</u> )	Catel	

Year	Date	Theatre	Language	and French Title	Composer	
1806	31.10.	KBTh	G	Les deux aveugles de Tolède ( <u>première</u> )	Méhul	
1807	1. 1.	KBTh	G	Iphigénie en Tauride	Gluck	
	29. 1.	KBTh	G	Delia et Verdikan ( <u>première</u> )	Berton	
1808	15. 6.	adW	G	Gabrielle d'Estrées ou les amours d'Henri IV ( <u>première</u> )	Méhul	
	9. 7.	adW	G	Deux mots ou une nuit dans le forêt ( <u>première</u> )	Dalayrac	
	17. 9.	KBTh	G	La rencontre imprévue	Gluck	
	?	Mlg	G	? "L'arbre creux" ( <u>première</u> )	Paer	
	9. 1.	adW	G	Armide ( <u>première</u> )	Gluck	
	11. 3.	BKTh	G	Deux mots ou une nuit dans le forêt	Dalayrac	
	30. 3.	adW	G	Le rendez-vous bourgeois ( <u>première</u> )	Isouard	
	1. 4.	KBTh	G	Armide	Gluck	
	11. 5.	adW	G	Démophon ( <u>première</u> )	J. C. Vogel	
	27. 7.	adW	G	Une matinée de Catinat ( <u>première</u> )	Dalayrac	
1809	18. 8.	adW	G	Le secret ( <u>première</u> )	Solié	
	20. 8.	KBTh	G	Koulouf ou les Chinois ( <u>première</u> )	Dalayrac	
	14.12.	KBTh	G	Iphigénie en Aulide ( <u>première</u> )	Gluck	
	?			? "L'arbre creux"	Pa(y)er	
	21. 2.	adW	G	La soirée orangeuse	Dalayrac	
	8. 3.	KBTh	G	La jeune femme colere ( <u>première</u> )	Boieldieu	
	The sixth French troupe	18. 6.	BTh	F	Adolphe et Clara ou les deux prisonniers	Dalayrac
		18. 6.	BTh	F	Frosine ou la dernière venue ( <u>première</u> )	J. B. Radet
		20. 6.	BKTh	F	Les amans Prothée ou qui comte sans (son) hôte comte deux fois ( <u>première</u> )	Patrat
		20. 6.	BTh	F	Le prisonnier ou la ressemblance	Della Maria
22. 6.		BTh	F	Le milicien	Duni	
22. 6.		BTh	F	Une folie	Méhul	
27. 6.		BTh	F	La fausse magie	Grétry	
29. 6.		BTh	F	Le tableau parlant	Grétry	
2. 7.		BTh	F	Le calife de Bagdad	Boieldieu	
9. 7.		BTh	F	L'opéra comique	Della Maria	
9. 7.		BTh	F	La danse interrompue ( <u>première</u> )	?	
16. 7.		BTh	F	La banqueroute de Savetier ( <u>première</u> )	?	
23. 7.	BTh	F	La famille des innocens ( <u>première</u> )	various		
30. 7.	BTh	F	Philippe et Georgette ( <u>première</u> )	Dalayrac		
9. 8.	BTh	F	Frosine ou la dernière venue ( <u>première</u> )	Radet		
10. 8.	BTh	F	Le secret	Solié		

Year	Date	Theatre	Language	and French Title	Composer	
1809	13. 8.	BTh	F	Ma tante Aurore	Boieldieu	
	19. 8.	LTh	*G	Le petit matelot	Gaveaux	
	24. 8.	BTh	F	Maison à vendre ( <u>première</u> )	Dalayrac	
	27. 8.	BTh	F	Soldat tout seul	? (vv)	
	31. 8.	BTh	F	La bonne Aubaine ou le repas des clercs ( <u>première</u> )	vv	
	3. 9.	BTh	F	Le grandpère ou les deux âges ( <u>première</u> )	L. E. Jadin	
	6. 9.	BTh	F	Le calife de Bagdad	Boieldieu	
	6. or 7.9.	BTh	F	Alexis ou l'erreur d'un bon père	Dalayrac	
	24. 9.	BTh	F	La première nuit manquée ( <u>première</u> )	J. D. Doche	
	27. 9.	LTh	*G	Le trésor supposé on le danger d'écouter aux portes	Méhul	
	15.10.	BTh	F	Zémire et Azor	Grétry	
	20.10.	BTh	F	Le jaloux Malade ou Amour et Surprise ( <u>première</u> )	Doche	
	22.10.	BTh	F	Le bonhomme ou Paulot et Fanchon [bienfaisance et vertu] ( <u>première</u> )	Beffroy de Reigny	
	2.11.	BTh	F	Le trésor supposé	Méhul	
	7.11.	BTh	F	La famille des innocens ( <u>première</u> )	vv	
	1810	5.12.	adW	G	Joseph ( <u>première</u> )	Méhul
		15. 1.	KBTh	G	Uthal ( <u>première</u> )	Méhul
17. 1.		adW	G	La famille américaine ( <u>première</u> )	Dalayrac	
31. 1.		adW	G	Les artistes par occasion ( <u>première</u> )	Catel	
9. 3.		adW	G	Iphigénie en Tauride	Gluck	
3. 5.		adW	G	Montano et Stéphanie ( <u>première</u> )	Berton	
31. 5.		KTh	G	Adophe et Clara ou les deux prisonniers	Dalayrac	
28. 6.		adW	G	L'auberge des bagnères ( <u>première</u> )	Catel	
28. 7.		KTh	G	? "Der unglückliche Liebhaber"	? "Louis Henri"	
12. 8.		Mdg	G	Deux mots ou une nuit dans le forêt	Dalayrac	
23. 9.		Mdg	G	Une folie	Méhul	
12.11.		KTh	G	La Vestale ( <u>première</u> )	Spontini	
28.11.		adW	G	Richard Coeur de Lion	Grétry	
1811		9. 1.	KBTh	G	La Vestale	Spontini
		1. 2.	KTh	G	Les deux journées	Cherubini
	15. 2.	KTh	G	Milton	Spontini	
	2. 4.	adW	G	Cendrillon ( <u>première</u> )	Isouard	
	11. 6.	KTh	G	Iphigénie en Tauride	Gluck	
	26.11.	adW	G	Un jour a Paris ou la leçon singulière ( <u>première</u> )	Isouard	
	1812	1. 1.	KTh	G	Médée	Cherubini
10. 1.		KTh	G	Michel-Ange	Isouard	
31. 1.		adW	G	L'hôtellerie portugaise	Cherubini	
5. 2.		KTh	G	Le billet de loterie ( <u>première</u> )	Isouard	

\* These two operas were performed by Viennese players, in German.

Year	Date	Theatre	Language and French Title	Composer	
1812	6. 3.	adW	G Ambroise ou voila ma journée ( <u>première</u> )	Dalayrac	
	8. 4.	KTh	G Rien de trop ou les deux paravents ( <u>première</u> )	Boieldieu	
	22. 4.	adW	G Le magicien sans magie ( <u>première</u> )	Isouard	
	26. 5.	KTh	G Fernand Cortez ( <u>première</u> )	Spontini	
	19. 6.	adW	G Tamerlan	Winter	
	13. 8.	JTh	G Le trésor supposé ou le danger d'écouter aux portes	Méhul	
	22. 8.	adW	G Aline, Reine de Golconda	Berton	
	28. 8.	KTh	G Jean de Paris ( <u>première</u> )	Boieldieu	
	29. 9.	adW	G Jean de Paris	Boieldieu	
	17.12.	adW	G Nephtali ou les Ammonites ( <u>première</u> )	Blangini	
	1813	28. 1.	KTh	G Les deux petits Savoyards	Dalayrac
		3. or 5. 2.	adW	G Les aubergistes de qualité ( <u>première</u> )	Catel
		March	JTh	G Raoul Barbe-Bleue	Grétry
		March	LTh	G Raoul Sire de Créqui	Dalayrac
19. 8.		adW	G Les maris garçons ( <u>première</u> )	Berton	
23. 9.		adW	G Lully et Quinault ( <u>première</u> )	Isouard	
14.10.		KTh	G Les Bayadères ( <u>première</u> )	Catel	
24.11.		BTh	G Le déserteur	Monsigny	
10.12.		adW	G Le Prince de Catane ( <u>première</u> )	Isouard	
1814		24. 1.	KTh	G Lodoïska	Cherubini
		19. 2.	KTh	G L'échelle de soie ( <u>première</u> )	Gaveaux
		24. 5.	KTh	G Le nouveau seigneur de village ( <u>première</u> )	Boieldieu
		1. 6.	KTh	G Les maris garçons	Berton
		17. 6.	?BTh	G Le nouveau seigneur de village	Boieldieu
	19. 7.	KTh	G Le trésor supposé ou le danger d'écouter aux portes	Méhul	
	31. 8.	KTh	G Une folie	Méhul	
	9. 9.	KTh	G La vestale	Spontini	
	1815	17. 1.	KTh	G Le secret	Solié
		22. 1.	Sch	G Cendrillon	Isouard
11. 2.		adW	G Jerusalem delivrée ( <u>première</u> )	Persuis	
2. 3.		KTh	G Sémiramis	Catel	
1. 4.		KTh	G Joconde ou les coureurs d'aventures ( <u>première</u> )	Isouard	
11. 4.		KTh	G Le prince de Catane	Isouard	
14. 6.		KTh	G Joseph	Méhul	
16. 9.		KTh	G L'héritier de Pampoul [Paimbol, Paimpol] ( <u>première</u> )	Bochsa	
2. 10.		KTh	G Le prisonnier ou la ressemblance	Della Maria	
19.10.		adW	G Ninette à la cour ou la caprice amoureuse	H. F. Berton	
20.10.		KTh	G Le prisonnier ou la ressemblance	Della Maria	
9.11.		KTh	G Jeannot et Colin ( <u>première</u> )	Isouard	

Year	Date	Theatre	Language	and French Title	Composer
1816	7. 5.	LTh	G	Le nouveau seigneur de village	Boieldieu
	16. 5.	KTh	G	Nephtali ou les Ammonites	Blangini
	11. 7.	KTh	G	Le poète et le musicien (première)	Dalayrac
	12. 9.	adW	G	?"Salamons Urtheil"	Quaisin
1817	5. 5.	KTh	G	La fête du village voisin (première)	Boieldieu
	20. 5.	KTh	G	Les aubergistes de qualité	Catel
	4. 6.	LTh	G	Jean de Paris	Boieldieu
	25. 6.	LTh	G	?"Salamons Urtheil"	Quaisin
	10. 7.	KTh	G	Deux mots ou une nuit dans le forêt	Dalayrac
	13. 8.	LTh	G	Les deux journées	Cherubini
	20. 9.	KTh	G	Les deux avars	Dalayrac
	4.10.	KTh	G	Iphigénie en Tauride	Gluck
	26.12.	KTh	G	La prisonnière (première)	Cherubini & Boieldieu
1818	8. 1.	adW	G	Zémire & Azor	Grétry
	12. 2.	KTh	G	Amour et Mystère (première)	Boieldieu
	31. 3.	KTh	G	Joseph	Méhul
	11. 4.	KTh	G	La journée aux aventures (première)	Méhul
	3.10.	KTh	G	Fernand Cortez ou la conquête du Mexique	Spontini
	?	KTh	G	Raoul Barbe-bleue	Grétry
1819	20. 1.	KTh	G	Alexis ou l'erreur d'un bon père	Dalayrac
	27. 3.	KTh	G	Le petit chaperon rouge	Boieldieu
	19. 4.	KTh	G	La lettre de change (première)	Bochsa
	4. 6.	KTh	G	?Le premier en date	Catel
	26. 6.	KTh	G	Les deux journées	Cherubini
	7. 7.	Mlg	G	?"Salamons Urtheil"	Quaisin
	30. 7.	KTh	G	Les deux maris (première)	Isouard
	21. 8.	LTh	G	La fête du village voisin	Boieldieu
	1. 9.	adW	G	La Vestale	Spontini
	24. 9.	KTh	G	Prince Troubadour (première)	Méhul
	3.12.	adW	G	L'hôtellerie portugaise	Cherubini
1820	26. 4.	LTh	G	L'officier cosaque	Dumoncheau
	1. 5.	KTh	G	Les troqueurs (première)	Hérold
1821	26. 1.	LTh	G	Marcelin	Lebrun
	12. 4.	KTh	G	Raoul Barbe-bleue	Grétry
	20. 6.	KTh	G	La clochette ou la double page (première)	Hérold
	8.10	JTh	G	Raoul Barbe-bleue	Grétry
	22.10.	KTh	G	Le petit matelot ou le mariage impromptu	Gaveaux
1822	1. 3.	KTh	G	Joconde ou les coureurs d'aventures	Isouard
	17. 4.	KTh	G	Le rendez-vous bourgeois	Isouard
	4. 6.	KTh	G	Le secret	Solié
	14. 9.	KTh	G	La prisonnière	Cherubini & Boieldieu
	20. 9.	KTh	G	Marcelin	Lebrun
	21.11.	KTh	G	Le vieux château	Della Maria

Year	Date	Theatre	Language	and French Title	Composer
1823	31. 3.	JTh	G	Le rendez-vous bourgeois	Isouard
	12. 5.	LTh	G	Deux mots ou une nuit dans la forêt	Dalayrac
	8. 6.	adW	G	Fernand Cortez	Spontini
	17. 6.	KTh	G	L'échelle de soie	Gaveaux
	13. 9.	JTh	G	Une folie	Méhul
1824	4.11.	JTh	G	Cendrillon	Isouard
	11. 2.	JTh	G	Deux mots ou une nuit dans la forêt	Dalayrac
	25. 2.	KTh	G	Joconde ou les coureurs d'aventures	Isouard
	9. 3.	JTh	G	Les deux journées	Cherubini
	19. 3.	KTh	G	La neige ou le nouvel éginard ( <u>première</u> )	Auber
	8. 4.	JTh	G	Jean de Paris	Boieldieu
	3. 8.	KTh	G	La lettre de change	Bochsa
	1. 9.	JTh	G	Léon ou le château de Monténéro	Dalayrac
	9. 7.	KTh	G	Les troqueurs	Hérold
	30. 8.	JTh	G	Raoul Barbe-bleue	Grétry
1826	19. 5.	adW	G	Jean de Paris (scenes only)	Boieldieu
	6. 7.	KTh	G	La dame blanche ( <u>première</u> )	Boieldieu
The seventh French troupe	15. 7.	KTh	F	Ma tante Aurore	Boieldieu
	18. 7.	KTh	F	Lully et Quinault ou le déjeuner impossible	Isouard
	22. 7.	KTh	F	Le nouveau seigneur de village (vv)	Boieldieu
	29. 7.	KTh & kR	F	La lettre de change	Bochsa
	2. 8.	KTh	?G	Le maçon ( <u>première</u> )	Auber
	4. 8.	KTh	F	Les deux jaloux ( <u>première</u> )	?
	9. 8.	KTh	F	Le bouffe et le tailleur ( <u>première</u> )	Gaveaux
	18. 8.	KTh & kR	F	Le rendez-vous bourgeois	Isouard
	25. 8.	KTh	F	La belle Arsène	Monsigny
	26. 8.	KTh	F	Ambroise ou voilà ma journée	Dalayrac
	4. 9.	KTh	F	Adolphe et Clara ou les deux prisonniers	Dalayrac
	6. 9.	KTh	G	Les voitures versées ( <u>première</u> )	Boieldieu
	14. 9.	KTh	F	Le délire ou les suites d'une erreur ( <u>première</u> )	Berton
	20. 9.	KTh	F	Le maître de chapelle ou le souper imprévue ( <u>première</u> )	Paer
	22. 9.	KTh	F	Jadis et aujourd'hui ( <u>première</u> )	R. Kreutzer
	30.10	KTh	G	Leicester ou le château de Kenilworth ( <u>première</u> )	Auber
	28.11.	KTh	G	Le solitaire ( <u>première</u> )	Carafa
18.12.	KTh	G	Marie ( <u>première</u> )	Hérold	
1827	10. 1.	JTh	G	Le concert à la cour ou la débutante ( <u>première</u> )	Auber
	?14. 2.	k1R		La lettre de change	Bochsa
	9. 3.	KTh		Le concert à la cour ou la débutante	Auber

Year	Date	Theatre	Language	and French Title	Composer	
1827	30. 3.	BKTh	F	La maison à vendre	Dalayrac	
	28. 6.	JTh	G	Le maçon	Auber	
	1. 9.	JTh	G	Héléna	Méhul	
	3.10.	KTh	G	Gulistan ou le Hulla de Samarcande	Dalayrac	
	4.10.	JTh	G	Le nouveau seigneur de village	Boieldieu	
	10.10	JTh	G	Les deux avars	Grétry	
	20.10	KTh	G	Léocadie ( <u>première</u> )	Auber	
	10.11	KTh	G	Marie	Hérold	
	1828	12. 2.	JTh	G	Lodoïska	Cherubini
	1829	8. 1.	adW	G	La dame blanche	Boieldieu
10. 1.		JTh	G	Le concert à la cour	Auber	
1830	30. 1.	adW	G	La neige ou le nouvel éginard	Auber	
	19. 2.	adW	G	Fiorella ( <u>première</u> )	Auber	
	26. 4.	KTh	G	Les deux mousquetaires ( <u>première</u> )	Berton	
	July	JTh	G	La muette de Portici ( <u>première</u> )	Auber	
	8.10.	KTh	G	Marie	Hérold	
	3.11.	KTh	G	Le Comte d'Ory ( <u>première</u> )	Rossini	
	23.11.	KTh	G	Le maçon	Auber	
	1. 1.	KTh	G	La vestale	Spontini	
	12. 2.	KTh	G	La muette de Portici	Auber	
	12. 2.	KTh	G	La muette de Portici	Auber	
1831	25. 6.	KTh	I	Guillaume Tell ( <u>première</u> )	Rossini	
	2. 8.	KTh	G	Guillaume Tell	Rossini	
		KTh	G	Le nouveau seigneur de village	Boieldieu	
	18. 9.	KTh	G	Fra Diavolo ou l'hôtellerie de Terracine ( <u>première</u> )	Auber	
	14.12.	KTh	G	Le valet de chambre ( <u>première</u> )	Carafa	
	13. 7.	KTh	G	Le nouveau seigneur de village	Boieldieu	
	4. 2.	KTh	G	Le délire ou les suites d'une erreur	Berton	
	5. 3.	KTh	G	Fiorella	Auber	
	21. 4.	KTh	G	La fiancée ( <u>première</u> )	Auber	
	4. 7.	KTh	G	Le siège de Corinthe ( <u>première</u> )	Rossini	
1832	13.10.	KTh	G	Une folie	Méhul	
	21.12.	KTh	G	Les aubergistes de qualité	Catel	
	3. 2.	KTh	G	Le dieu et la bayadère ( <u>première</u> )	Auber	
	3. 4.	KTh	G	Le philtre ( <u>première</u> )	Auber	
	3. 5.	KTh	G	Zampa ou la fiancée de marbre ( <u>première</u> )	Hérold	
	24. 5.	KTh	G	Médée	Cherubini	
	25. 8.	JTh	G	Zampa ou la fiancée de marbre	Hérold	
	15. 9.	JTh	G	Fra Diavolo	Auber	
	13.10.	JTh	G	La muette de Portici	Auber	

Year	Date	Theatre	Language	and French Title	Composer
1832	30.10.	JTh	G	Le maçon	Auber
1833	8. 1.	JTh	G	Le comte d'Ory	Rossini
	19. 4.	JTh	G	Guillaume Tell	Rossini
	11. 6.	JTh	G	La neige ou le nouvel Eginard	Auber
	20. 6.	KTh	G	Robert le diable ( <u>première</u> )	Meyerbeer
	6. 8.	JTh	G	La dame blanche	Boieldieu
	21. 8.	KTh	G	?Le livre de l'hermite ( <u>première</u> )	"Carafa"
	2.10.	KTh	G	Raoul Barbe-bleue	Grétry
	17.10	JTh	G	Le pré auz clercs ( <u>première</u> )	Hérold
1834	6. 3.	KTh	G	Le pré aux clercs	Hérold
	2. 4.	JTh	G	Les Huguenots ( <u>première</u> )	Meyerbeer
	17. 5.	KTh	G	Les deux nuits ( <u>première</u> )	Boieldieu
	29. 7.	JTh	G	Le serment ou les faux monnayeurs ( <u>première</u> )	Auber
	13. or				
	15. 9.	JTh	G	Ludovic ( <u>première</u> )	Hérold
	29.10.	KTh	G	Le serment ou les faux monnayeurs	Auber
1835	13. 1.	adW	G	Le serment ou les faux monnayeurs	Auber
	3. 2.	JTh	G	Le prison d'Edimbourg ( <u>première</u> )	Carafa
	23. 3.	JTh	G	Robert le diable	Meyerbeer
	22. 4.	JTh	G	Zampa	
	26. 5.	JTh	G	La dame blanche	Boieldieu
	19. 8.	JTh	G	L'aspirant de marine ( <u>première</u> )	Labarre
	26. 9.	KTh	G	Gustave III ou le bal masqué ( <u>première</u> )	Auber
	20.10	KTh	G	Emma ou la promesse imprudente ( <u>première</u> )	Auber
	21.10.	KTh	G	"Die ausgeborgten Frauen" ( <u>première</u> )	"Berton" (or Reuling)
1836	5. 1.	KTh	G	Le cheval de bronze ( <u>première</u> )	Auber
	3. 3.	KTh	G	La juive ( <u>première</u> )	Halévy
	12.11.	JTh	G	Lestocq ou l'intrigue et l'amour ( <u>première</u> )	Auber
1837	13. 3.	KTh	G	Lestocq ou l'intrigue et l'amour	Auber
	30. 9.	KTh	G	L'aspirant de marine	Labarre
	14.10.	KTh	G	Le postillon de Longjumeau	Adam
1838	10. 2.	KTh	G	Le pré aux clercs	Hérold
	15. 6.	JTh	G	Gustave III ou le bal masque	Auber
	12. 7.	KTh	G	La médecine sans médecin ( <u>première</u> )	Hérold
	24. 9.	KTh	G	L'eau de jouvenance ( <u>première</u> )	C. Kreutzer
	31.10.	KTh	G	Le double echelle ( <u>première</u> )	?A. Thomas
1839	25. 6.	JTh	G	Le fidèle berger ( <u>première</u> )	Adam
	3. 7.	KTh	G	Actéon ( <u>première</u> )	Auber
	6. 7.	JTh	G	Les Huguenots	Meyerbeer

Year	Date	Theatre	Language	and French Title	Composer	
1839	23. 7.	JTh	G	L'ambassadrice ( <u>première</u> )	Auber	
	8.10.	KTh	G	Le secret	Solié	
	19.12.	KTh	G	Les Huguenots	Meyerbeer	
1840	24. 1.	KTh	G	L'ambassadrice	Auber	
	24. 9.	KTh	G	L'échelle de soie	Gaveaux	
	19.10.	KTh	G	Le valet de chambre	Meyerbeer	
	24.10.	KTh	G	La juive	Halévy	
	1841	4. 5.	JTh	G	Guido et Ginevra ou la peste de Florence ( <u>première</u> )	Halévy
11. 5.		KTh	I	La fille du regiment ( <u>première</u> )	Donizetti	
15. 6.		JTh	G	Les martyrs ( <u>première</u> )	Donizetti	
3. 7.		JTh	G	Les deux journées	Cherubini	
13.10.		KTh	G	Les martyrs	Donizetti	
13.11.		KTh	G	Le panier fleuri ( <u>première</u> )	A. Thomas	
1842		(many vvs pfd in Fr. in Vienna from 1842)				
	4. 3.	KTh	G	La reine d'un jour( <u>première</u> )	Adam	
	19. 5.	KTh	G	Les mémoires du diable ( <u>première</u> )	Doche	
	15. 9.	KTh	G	Le siège de Corinthe	Rossini	
1843	17. 1.	KTh	G	Richard Coeur de Lion	Grétry	
	13. 2.	KTh	G	La perruche ( <u>première</u> )	Clapisson	
	25. 4.	adW	G	Le vicomte de Létorières ( <u>première</u> )	Carafa Auber etc.	
	20. 6.	adW	G	Fra Diavolo ou l'hôtellerie de Terracine	Auber	
	23. 9.	KTh	I	La fille du regiment (vaudeville version of the opera)	Donizetti	
	23.10.	adW	G	La part du diable (as a vv) ( <u>première</u> )	Auber	
	9.12.	KTh	G	Le Vicomte de Létorières	Carafa, Auber etc.	
	1844	5. 1.	KTh	G	Guido et Ginevra ou la peste de Florence	Halévy
6. 1.		LTh	G	La part du diable ( <u>première</u> )	Auber	
10. 2.		KTh	G	?Fosco ou le fiancé ( <u>première</u> )	Anton Roth	
23. 3.		adW	G	La dot de Susette( <u>première</u> )	Donizetti, Auber, etc.	
18. 4.		LTh	G	La dot de Susette	Donizetti, Auber, etc.	
13. 6.		JTh	G	La fille du regiment	Donizetti	
10. 7.		JTh	G	Le brasseur de Preston ( <u>première</u> )	Adam	
23. 7.		JTh	G	Le postillon de Longjumeau	Adam	
21. 9.		JTh	G	La sirène ( <u>première</u> )	Auber	
11.10.		LTh	G	La sirène	Auber	
14.12.		JTh	G	Les quatre fils Aymon ( <u>première</u> )	Balfe	
1845		6. 2.	KTh	G	Dom Sebastien, Roi de Portugal ( <u>première</u> )	Donizetti
		10. 2.	KTh ?	F	Fosco ou le fiancé ( <u>première</u> )	?Antoine Roth
	25, 2,	JTh	G	Le fidèle berger (vaudeville version)	Adam	

Year	Date	Theatre	Language	and French Title	Composer	
1845	27. 6.	JTh	G	L'éclair ( <u>première</u> )	Halévy	
	24. 9.	adW	G	Les quatre fils Aymon	Balfe	
	27. 9.	KTh	G	Les quatre fils Aymon	Balfe	
1846	4.11.	adW	G	Les puits d'amour ( <u>première</u> )	Balfe	
	?	KTh	G	Iphigénie en Aulide	Gluck	
	31. 1.	KTh	?F	Il est à la campagne ( <u>première</u> )	Bayard & Wailly	
	6. 3.	adW	G	Zampa	Hérold	
	23. 3.	KTh	F	Le trésor supposé ou le danger d'écouter aux portes	Méhul	
	13. 5.	adW	G	Les Huguenots	Meyerbeer	
	6. 6.	adW	G	Robert le diable	Meyerbeer	
	1. 7.	adW	G	Le domino noir ( <u>première</u> )	Auber	
	20. 8.	adW	G	Les mousquetaires de la reine ( <u>première</u> )	Halévy	
	5. 9.	KTh	G	Les mousquetaires de la reine	Halévy	
	5. 9.	adW	G	La barcarolle ou l'amour et la musique ( <u>première</u> )	Auber	
	1847	12. 5.	adW	G	La muette de Portici	Auber
		?15. 7.	KTh	G	Ne touchez pas à la reine ( <u>première</u> )	Boisselot
		7. 8.	adW	G	La fille du regiment	Donizetti
23. 9.		adW	G	La part du diable	Auber	
25. 9.		KTh	G	La part du diable	Auber	
14.10.		JTh	G	Le domino noir	Auber	
28.10.		JTh	G	Ne touchez pas à la reine	Boisselot	
6.11.		JTh	G	La part du diable	Auber	
1848		29. 2.	adW	G	Le postillon de Longjumeau	Adam
		17. 7.	KTh	G	Les Huguenots	Meyerbeer
	16. 9.	KTh	G	Le fidèle berger	Adam	
	23.11.	JTh		L'éclair ( <u>première</u> )	Halévy	
	28.12.	JTh		Haydée ou le secret ( <u>première</u> )	Auber	
	1849	19. 1.	adW		La dot de Susette	Donizetti, Auber, etc.
25. 1.		KTh	G	Les diamants de la couronne ( <u>première</u> )	Auber	
23. 3.		adW	G	? "Salamon's Urtheil"	Quaisin	
4. 7.		KTh	G	La barcarolle ou l'amour et la musique	Auber	
28. 7.		KTh	G	Le domino noir	Auber	
30. 8.		KTh	G	L'éclair	Halévy	
10.11.		KTh	G	Haydée on le secret	Auber	
(1850		28. 2	KTh	G	Le prophète ( <u>première</u> )	Meyerbeer)

## Appendix 3

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.

composer	number of French operas (pfd works only)	number and names of those operas produced in Vienna between 1750 & 1850	% of composer's opera output which they represent
Adam	68 (New Grove)	4 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)	--- *
Auber	47 (New Grove)	at least 25 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))	at least 50%

\* No percentage is given because an unknown number of Adam's operas was first produced in Vienna after 1850.

composer	number of French operas (pfd works only)	number and names of those operas produced in Vienna between 1750 & 1850	% of composer's opera output which they represent
Balfe	3 (New Grove)	2 (also, 4 English operas by Balfe pfd Vienna)	67%
		Les quatre fils Aymon 1844 Les puits d'amour 1845	
Berton H. M.	43 (New Grove)	8	19%
		Le grand deuil 1804 Aline reine de Golconda 1804 Le vaisseau Amiral 1806 Delia et Verdikan 1807 Montano et Stéphanie 1810 Les maris garçons 1813 Le délire ou les suites d'une erreur 1826 Les deux mousquetaires ou la robe de chambre 1829	
Berton H. F.	7 (New Grove)	1	
		Ninette à la cour ou la caprice amoureuse 1815	
Blaise	16 (Stieger)	3	25%
		Le trompeur trompé 1756 Isabelle et Gertrude 1759 Le bûcheron ou les trois souhaits 1765 ? (various) Le caprice amoureux 1760	
Bochsa	8 (New Grove)	2	25%
		La lettre de change 1819 L'héritier de Paimpol 1815	
Boieldieu	41 (New Grove)	13	29%
		Ma tante Aurore ou le romain impromptu 1804 Beniowski ou Les exilés de Kamtchatka 1804 Le calife de Bagdad 1804 La jeune femme colère 1809 Jean de Paris 1812 Le nouveau seigneur de village 1813 La fête du village voisin 1817 (collab. Cherubini) La prisonnière 1817 Amour et Mystère ou lequel et mon cousin 1818 Le petit chaperon rouge 1819 La dame blanche 1826 Les voitures versées 1826 Les deux nuits 1834 (collab. Cherubini) La prisonnière 1817	

composer	number of French operas (pfd works only)	number and names of those operas produced in Vienna between 1750 & 1850	% of composer's opera output which they represent
Catel	10 (New Grove)	6 Sémiramis 1806 Les artistes par occasion L'auberge des bagnères 1810 Les aubergistes de qualité 1813 Les Bayadères 1813 Le premier en date	60%
Cherubini	21 French operas (New Grove)	7 Lodoïska 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	39%
Dalayrac	58 (MGG)	23 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 Léhéman 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 entres 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	40%
Della Maria	7 (New Grove)	4 Le prisonnier ou la ressemblance 1800 Le vieux château ou la rencontre 1802 L'oncle valet 1803 L'opéra-comique 1804	57%

composer	number of French operas (pfd works only)	number and names of those operas produced in Vienna between 1750 & 1850	% of composer's opera output which they represent
Dezède	15 (MGG) 20 (New Grove)	4  L'erreur d'un moment 1775 Julie 1779 La paysanne curieuse 1781 Les trois fermiers 1780	20%
Doche	5 operas many vvs. over 100	3  La premiere nuit manquée 1809 Le jaloux malade ou. Amour et Surprise 1809	2%
Donizetti	7 (New Grove)	3  Les martyrs 1841 La fille du regiment 1841 (in Italian) La dot de Susette 1844 (in German)	43%
Duni	22 (New Grove)	8  ? Le caprice amoureux 1760 L'isle 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)	6  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	--

composer	number of French operas (pfd works only)	number and names of those operas produced in Vienna between 1750 & 1850	% of composer's opera output which they represent
Gluck (cont.)		L'île de Merlin 1758 Le diable à quatre 1759 L'arbre enchanté 1759 L'ivrogne corrigé 1760 Le caducée 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	
Grétry	60 (New Grove)	19	32%
		Le Huron ? 1770 (later pfs. certain) Le tableau parlant 1772 Lucile 1772 Zemire et Azor 1775 Les deux avarés 1776 L'ami de la maison 1776 Sylvain 1776 Le magnifique 1776 La fausse magie 1778 La rosière de Salenci 1779 ? Le jugement de Midas 1780-1781 L'amitié à l'épreuve 1781 Les événements imprévus 1781 Richard Coeur de Lion 1788 La double épreuve 1796 Raoul Barbe bleue 1804 Le Caravane du Caire 1804 Les mariages Samnites 1806 Les fausses apparences ou l'amant jaloux 1780	
Halévy	33 (Stieger)	4	11%
		La Juive 1836 Guido et Ginevra ou la peste de Florence 1841 Ludovic 1834 Les mousquetaires de la reine 1846	
Hérold	26 (New Grove) 20 (Stieger)	7	27%
		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	

composer	number of French operas (pfd works only)	number and names of those operas produced in Vienna between 1750 & 1850	% of composer's opera output which they represent
Isouard	32 (New Grove) 35 (Stieger)	14 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 maris 1819	40%
Le Sueur	8 (New Grove)	1 La caverne 1803	13%
Méhul	31 (New Grove) 40 (Stieger)	13 Euphrosine ou le tyran corrigé 1795 Une folie 1803 L'irato ou l'importé 1803 Le trésor supposé 1803 Héléna 1803 Joanna 1803 Ariodant 1804 Les deux aveugles de Tolède 1806 Gabrielle d'Estrées 1807 Joseph 1809 Uthal 1810 La journée aux aventures 1816 Prince Troubadour 1819	30%
Meyerbeer	8 (New Grove) 12 (MGG)	2 Les Huguenots 1836 Le prophète 1850	17%
Monsigny	15 (New Grove)	8 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%

composer	number of French operas (pfd works only)	number and names of those operas produced in Vienna between 1750 & 1850	% of composer's opera output which they represent
François-André Danican Philidor	27 (New Grove) 30 (Stieger)	8 Le maréchal ferrant 1763 Le bûcheron ou les trois souhaits 1765 Le sorcier 1765 Tom Jones 1768 Sancho Pança dans son isle 1788 Les femmes vengées 1776 L'amant déguisé ou le jardinier supposé 1776 Le bon fils 1780-1781	30%
Rossini	4 (New Grove)	3 Le comte d'Ory 1829 Guillaume Tell 1830 Le siège de Corinthe 1831	75%
Sacchini	7 (New Grove)	2 La colonie 1776 Oedipe à Colonne 1802 (La Contadina in Corte) 1767	29%
Spontini	9 (New Grove)	4 Milton 1805 Julie ou le pot de fleurs 1806 La vestale 1810 Fernand Cortez 1812	44%
Tarchi	7 (New Grove)	2 D'auberge en auberge ou les préventions 1804	30%

## B I B L I O G R A P H Y

The bibliography is arranged  
in the following sections:

### PRIMARY SOURCES

- A.Plays,opera scores and opera texts
- B.Newspapers and theatre almanacs
- C.Letters, diaries and travel literature
- D.Theatrical documents; costume drawings, financial records, posters

### SECONDARY LITERATURE

- A.Cultural and social background
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  - General
  - Austrian
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- C.Music history
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