SCHUBERT RESEARCH CENTER

VIENNA SCHUBERT STUDIES

Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, Livio Marcaletti, Thomas Seedorf (eds.)

COMBINING THE ARTS IN SCHUBERT'S TIME



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Preface

The present volume is the second in a new series of books titled "Vienna Schubert Studies". It is closely related to the Schubert Research Center at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, which was founded in April 2021. The Center is dedicated to the study of the composer Franz Schubert (1797–1828) and Viennese cultural life in the first half of the nineteenth century. A broad interdisciplinary approach will focus on cultural, social, and political developments that were central to the Habsburg Monarchy. The aim is to uncover social networks, to identify connecting and dividing factors across borders and disciplines, and, in general, to understand the world in which Schubert and his contemporaries lived and worked in a more differentiated and comprehensive way than has been possible in Schubert research to date.

The accompanying book series documents ongoing research and brings together selected papers from our annual conferences, enriched by contributions from various experts in the field. We set high standards for the quality of the contributions, provide careful editorial work as well as language support for non-native speakers. An external double peer review process and a final review by a panel of the Austrian Academy of Sciences ensures the international relevance of the publication. I am grateful to the same institution for funding the book series.

This volume is based on the conference "Combining the Arts. Multimedia Performances in the Early 19th-Century Habsburg Empire" and contains additional chapters by Christopher Gibbs and Matthias Mansky. We would like to express our gratitude to the authors for their commendable cooperation with the editors and to the reviewers for their helpful suggestions. The chapters of this volume were editorially prepared by Karina Zybina and copyedited by Shane McMahon.

Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl
Vienna, Spring 2025

Introduction

Combining the Arts in the Early Nineteenth Century

Thomas Seedorf, Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, and Livio Marcaletti

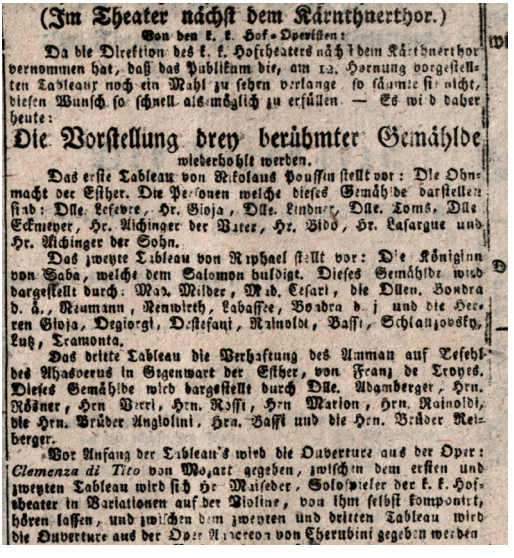
On 12 February 1812, the Viennese audience experienced a special event at the Kärntnertortheater. Several arts visibly and audibly interacted on that evening. "The beginning, middle and end of this evening's entertainment was marked by the presentation of three famous paintings", reported the reviewer of the evening paper *Thalia*.[1] Music played the largest part in the event. The main work was Ludwig van Beethoven's fifth Piano Concerto op. 73, played by Carl Czerny, which was heard in public for the first time in Vienna that evening. The work was only cautiously received, in contrast to the bravura variations on a theme from Henri-Montan Berton's opera *Aline, Reine de Golconde* by Joseph Mayseder. The composer, who was also concertmaster of the court opera orchestra, performed the work himself and aroused "amazement among the crowd, pleasure among connoisseurs" (bey der Menge Staunen, bey dem Kenner Vergnügen).[2] Other pieces of music included an overture by Casimir Anton Cartellieri and an aria from Pietro Guglielmi's 'azione sacra' *Debora e Sisara*, sung by the popular tenor Giuseppe Siboni, as well as two excerpts from Johann Simon Mayr's opera *Adelasia ed Alerano*, in which the young singer Therese Sessi introduced herself to a large audience for the first time.

The contemporary audience was accustomed to such a compilation of works from different genres and different composers in the concert program. But they were also not unfamiliar with the 'performance' of paintings with living actors. The *Thalia* review refers to the inclusion of such 'living pictures' in popular stage works such as Joseph Weigl's one-act opera *Adrian von Ostade* on a libretto by Georg Friedrich Treitschke, whose title character is based on the seventeenth century Dutch painter of the same name, and the pantomime

1 "Den Anfang, Mitte und Schluß der heutigen Abendunterhaltung machte die Vorstellung drey berühmter Gemählde". "Concert und Vorstellung drey berühmter Gemählde im k. k. Hof-Operntheater nächst dem Kärntnerthor," *Thalia. Ein Abendblatt, den Freunden der dramatischen Muse geweiht*, 19 February 1812, 57. All translations are by the authors, based on DeepL.

2 "Concert und Vorstellung drey berühmter Gemählde," *Thalia*, 58.

Arlequine und Columbine auf den Alpen with music by Franz Anton Maurer. What was new, however, was the combination of a public concert and a specific form of visual art performance, of which this evening is an early example.[3] The interest that this special presentation of famous works of art aroused among the audience was so great that the management of the court theater scheduled another performance for 20 February.[4] The selection of re-enacted paintings remained unchanged: *Esther vor Ahasverus* by Nicolas Poussin, *Die Königin von Saba* by Raphael, and *Die Verhaftung des Haman auf Befehl des Ahasverus in der Gegenwart der Esther* by Jean François de Troy.[5] Of the musical works performed in the first concert, only Mayseder's successful Variations were repeated, supplemented by two overtures by Wolfgang Amadé Mozart (to *La clemenza di Tito*) and Luigi Cherubini (to *Anacréon*). Not only was the choice of music changed, but also the positioning and emphasis of the paintings. While the living paintings framed the musical performances on 12 February, they were the main attraction of the program on 20 February (see Illustration 1).



(Im Theater nächst dem Kärnthnerthor.)

Von den k. k. Hof-Operisten:

Da die Direktion des k. k. Hoftheaters nächst dem Kärnthnerthor vernommen hat, daß das Publikum die, am 12. Hornung vorgestellten Tableaux noch ein Mahl zu sehen verlange, so säumte sie nicht, diesen Wunsch so schnell als möglich zu erfüllen. — Es wird daher heute:

Die Vorstellung drey berühmter Gemählde

wiederhohlt werden.

Das erste Tableau von Nikolaus Poussin stellt vor: Die Ohnmacht der Esther. Die Personen welche dieses Gemählde darstellen sind: Mlle. Lefevre, Hr. Gioja, Mlle. Lindner, Mlle. Toms, Mlle. Eckmeyer, Hr. Aichinger der Vater, Hr. Vido, Hr. Lasargue und Hr. Aichinger der Sohn.

Das zweyte Tableau von Raphael stellt vor: Die Königinn von Saba, welche dem Salomon huldigt. Dieses Gemählde wird dargestellt durch: Mad. Milder, Mad. Esarl, die Mlles. Bondra d. ä., Neumann, Neuwirth, Labaffee, Bondra d. j. und die Herren Gioja, Degiorgi, Oestefani, Rainoldi, Bassi, Schlanzovsky, Lutz, Tramonta.

Das dritte Tableau die Verhaftung des Amman auf Befehl des Ahasverus in Gegenwart der Esther, von Franz de Troyes. Dieses Gemählde wird dargestellt durch Mlle. Adamberger, Hrn. Rösner, Hrn. Berri, Hrn. Rossi, Hrn. Marion, Hrn. Rainoldi, die Hrn. Brüder Angiolini, Hrn. Bassi und die Hrn. Brüder Reinberger.

Vor Anfang der Tableau's wird die Ouverture aus der Oper: *Clemenza di Tito* von Mozart gegeben, zwischen dem ersten und zweyten Tableau wird sich Hr. Mayseder, Solospieler der k. k. Hoftheater in Variationen auf der Violine, von ihm selbst komponirt, hören lassen, und zwischen dem zweyten und dritten Tableau wird die Ouverture aus der Oper Anacreon von Cherubini gegeben werden

Illustration 1: Excerpt from the playbill of the Theater am Kärntnertor from 20 February 1812 (Collection of the playbills of the two imperial and royal court theaters, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, anno.ac.at)

3 See Birgit Jooss, *Lebende Bilder. Körperliche Nachahmung von Kunstwerken in der Goethezeit* (Berlin: Reimer, 1999), 126.

4 See the playbill of k.k. Hoftheater from 20 February 20 1812: https://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=wtz&datum=18120220&zoom=33

5 After Jooss, *Lebende Bilder*, 302.

In particular, the first evening was paradigmatic for a type of event that developed further in the following years in Vienna, but also in other places, especially in Berlin, and became increasingly popular with audiences. The combination of several arts in one program was an offer that catered to different interests, and such events were 'evening entertainments' (Abendunterhaltungen) in the broadest sense. The decision to appeal to a wide audience was not least a pragmatic one. Like many other subsequent evenings that combined different arts, the combination of concert and painting performance on 12 February 1812 was also planned as a charity event and was intended to attract many people.[6] The *Gesellschaft adeliger Frauen zur Beförderung des Guten und Nützlichen* (Society of Noble Women for the Promotion of the Good and the Useful), which had only been founded in Vienna in 1810, had organized it "for better feeding of the foundlings" (zur besseren Verpflegung der Findlinge).[7]

The *Thalia* reviewer assesses the specific presentation of the paintings from a dual perspective. He praises the great commitment of those involved, but criticizes the imperfect execution of the 'living pictures', for which he holds the painter Friedrich Treml, decoration director of the Kärtnertortheater, particularly responsible. Treml had not only taken over the arrangement, but was also responsible for the lighting, which clouded the impression of the paintings that evening due to insufficient "light distribution" (Lichtvertheilung).[8] However, this deficiency could easily be rectified at further performances thanks to Treml's profound expertise.

The reviewer also has a solution to another shortcoming, namely the fact that the presentation is tied to pictorial models, which not all visitors to the event were likely to have been familiar with in detail. Instead of copying paintings, scenes should be invented following the example of the German actress and pantomime performer Henriette Hendel-Schütz. Following in the footsteps of Lady Emma Hamilton, who caused a sensation with gestures based on ancient works of art, so-called 'attitudes',[9] Hendel-Schütz developed a new form of pantomime performance with costume, decoration and lighting, with which she traveled across Europe from 1808. The model of the performances, which she composed herself using well-known motifs and characters from mythology and history, was imitated many times, not least at social gatherings of both the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie. A special form of this pantomime performance, which dispenses with costumes and lighting, can also be found

6 See Jooss, *Lebende Bilder*, 128.
7 "Concert und Vorstellung drey berühmter Gemählde," *Thalia*, 58.
8 "Concert und Vorstellung drey berühmter Gemählde," *Thalia*, 58.
9 Kirsten Gram Holmström, *Monodrama. Attitudes. Tableaux vivants. Studies on Some Trends of Theatrical Fashion 1770–1815* (Uppsala: Almquist & Wiksells Boktrykeri Ab, 1967), 110–40.

in the Schubert circle. Leopold Kupelwieser's well-known watercolor "Gesellschaftsspiel (Charade) der Schubertianer in Atzenbrugg" shows a scene depicting the Fall of Man, acted by members of the group.

The re-enactment of paintings, which were referred to as 'living pictures' (lebende Bilder), 'painting representations' (Gemäldedarstellungen) or 'tableaux' (increasingly as 'tableaux vivants'),[10] emerged at the end of the eighteenth century as an artistic practice situated between fine art and theater.[11] In addition to the integration of such 'tableaux' into spoken dramas, the practice also developed, particularly in France, as a form of sophisticated conviviality that spread to other parts of Europe after 1800. In his novel *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* (The Elective Affinities), published in 1809, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe picks up on this trend in chapter 5 of the second part. At an evening gathering at Charlotte and Eduard's country estate, the central location of the plot, a count introduces the society to the new fashion. The great success of the novel increased interest in the living pictures. "Since the aforementioned work", reported the *Journal für Kunst und Kunstsachen, Künsteleien und Mode* two years after the publication of *Wahlverwandtschaften*, "several private societies have depicted such pictures, and a new charm of social intercourse has arisen as a result."[12] Goethe's work also had an impact in Vienna, where the social practice of living pictures in private settings was already documented before the novel was published.[13] It may therefore be no coincidence that Poussin's painting *Esther vor Ahasverus*, which plays an important role in the novel, was also one of the three paintings in the Vienna performance of 1812.

With the transfer of living pictures from the salon to the theater, their aesthetic context changed. The re-enactment of a painting by costumed performers in a decoration based on the original with appropriate lighting represents a change of medium, a movement from a two-dimensional representation removed from time to a theatrical act that concentrates on a single moment and captures it for a few minutes. A sociable and more or less improvisational practice became a professional artistic practice by various theatrical

10 Jooss, *Lebende Bilder*, chapter '20. Jahrhundert'.

11 See Bettina Brandl-Risi, *BilderSzenen. 'Tableaux vivants' zwischen bildender Kunst, Theater und Literatur im 19. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach, 2013), 13.

12 "Seit dem genannten Werke haben mehrere Privatgesellschaften dergleichen Bilder dargestellt, und ein neuer Reiz des geselligen Umgangs ist dadurch hervorgegangen." *Journal für Kunst und Kunstsachen, Künsteleien und Mode. Monatsschrift* 4, December 1811, 289, cited after Birgit Jooss, "Lebende Bilder als Charakterbeschreibungen in Goethes Roman *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*," in *Erzählen und Wissen. Paradigmen und Aporien ihrer Inszenierung in Goethes 'Wahlverwandtschaften'*, ed. Gabriele Brandstetter (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach, 2003), 111–36, at 114.

13 Jooss, *Lebende Bilder*, 124–25.

practitioners who used all the possibilities of the theater to achieve the most perfect reproduction possible.

The aesthetic standards of this art practice were considered low, as contemporary statements confirm: "They are showpieces to pass the time and therefore not suitable for serious contemplation."[14] And yet the practice of living pictures and their connections with other art forms in the period after the Congress of Vienna was part of the tendency towards media synthesis, which, according to Wolf Gerhard Schmidt, was the essential innovative element of the Restoration period.[15] Schmidt defines the constitutive aspect of a 'Gesamtkunstwerk' as being a "comprehensive *combination of media*, i.e. a combination of the art forms of poetry, music, image and dance designed for theatrical realization".[16] A synthesis of the arts, as conceived as a program in the early Romantic period but only realized in rudimentary form,[17] cannot be claimed for the Viennese events, in which music, living pictures, declamations and other forms of artistic action were brought together. However, the theatre as a performance space provided more than an external framework for the thematically and conceptually unrelated juxtaposition of different programme items, because the presentations of all the arts, especially painting, became a theatrical event by themselves, as it were, through their presentation on stage.

In the art discourse of the time, however, the theatrical was understood as the ideal element for unifying all the arts in a single work of art. Of the dramatic genres, opera was considered the most suitable for this synthesis. In his review of E. T. A. Hoffmann's magic opera *Undine*, which premiered to great acclaim on 3 August 1816 at the Königliches Schauspielhaus in Berlin with stage sets by Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Carl Maria von Weber defined the ideal opera, largely realized in *Undine*, as "a self-contained work of art in which all the parts and contributions of the related arts merge and disappear into one

14 "Es sind Schaustücke zum Zeitvertreib und daher zu ernsten Betrachtungen nicht geeignet." "Musikalisch-deklamatorisch-mimische Abendunterhaltung," *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode*, 14 September 1816, 480.

15 Wolf Gerhard Schmidt, "'Was ist ein *Gesamtkunstwerk*?' Zur medienhistorischen Neubestimmung des Begriffs," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 68/2 (2011): 157–79, at 160.

16 "[eine] umfassende *Medienkombination*, d. h. eine auf theatrale Realisierung angelegte Verbindung der Kunstformen Dichtung, Musik, Bild und Tanz." Schmidt, "Was ist ein *Gesamtkunstwerk?*," 171.

17 See Michael Lingner, "Der Ursprung des Gesamtkunstwerkes aus der Unmöglichkeit 'Absoluter Kunst'. Zur rezeptionsästhetischen Typologisierung von Philipp Otto Runges Universalkunstwerk und Richard Wagners Totalkunstwerk," in *Der Hang zum Gesamtkunstwerk. Europäische Utopien seit 1800*, ed. Harald Szeemann et al. (Aarau and Frankfurt am Main: Sauerländer, 1983), 5–69.

another, and in a certain way – forming a new world."[18] *Undine* was only a brief success; after initial enthusiasm, interest in this approach waned and it was unable to have a lasting effect. Nevertheless, Hoffmann's opera represents an important step in the search for a Gesamtkunstwerk,[19] which only became an epoch-making phenomenon in the thinking and writings of Richard Wagner.

*

Multimedia and the combination of the arts in Viennese concert life during Schubert's time were not an exception, but were practised in many different ways and in a wide variety of styles. People loved variety and diversity in the program, so that often not only instrumentalists and singers, but also actors and dancers were on stage. Above all, the combination of declaimed texts with vocal and instrumental music was a matter of course at public events organized by local musicians or guest virtuosos.[20] Between the musical numbers, the program included declamations of all kinds of texts: ballads, short stories, fairy tales, romances, serenades and a variety of poems from German-language literature, especially by local poets such as Adolf Bäuerle, Franz Grillparzer and Ignaz Franz Castelli. Famous actors from local theaters also took part in the charity events, which were particularly popular in Vienna, and presented themselves with their art.

These declamatory interludes in the musical course of an event generally met with the audience's approval. Only at a private concert by Carl Maria von Bocklet, one of Schubert's closest musical friends, did criticism arise. The reviewer for the *Wiener Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* commented on the performance of Schiller's ballad *Arion*, which the court actor Heinrich Anschütz performed "with great power and consecration" (mit hoher Kraft und Weihe): "Such interspersed poetic ramblings often fit between the music like a fist in the eye, and after hearing the declamation, the listener must properly pick up his musical organ, which he had first put away, in order to feel musical again."[21]

18 "[...] ein in sich abgeschlossenes Kunstwerk, wo alle Theile und Beyträge der verwandten und benutzten Künste ineinanderschmelzend verschwinden, und auf gewisse Weise untergehend – eine neue Welt bilden." Carl Maria von Weber, "Ueber die Oper, *Undine* [...]," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 19 March 1817, 201–08, at 203.

19 Schmidt, "Was ist ein *Gesamtkunstwerk*?," 162.

20 It is difficult to say how high the proportion of such concerts was. In some cases a program has survived, in other cases one has to fall back on reviews, which, however, often only mention the pieces of music.

21 "Solche eingeschobene poetische Schwänke passen oft zwischen die Musik wie die Faust auf's Auge, und der zuhörende Mensch muss nach Anhörung der Declamation ordentlich sein erst weggelegtes Musik-Organ wieder zur Hand nehmen, um nun wieder musikalisch zu fühlen."

However, such an attitude, which sought to strictly separate the various sensory perceptions, was the exception in early nineteenth-century Vienna.

The connection between music and text becomes even closer when declamations are presented with musical accompaniment. This was the case, for example, at an evening entertainment for the benefit of the court actor Johann Anton Friedrich Reil on 1 July 1818. This event at the Burgtheater not only included the overture to Ignaz Assmayer's opera *Cleopatra*, two vocal numbers and variations for flute, oboe and trumpet, but also five poems. At least three of these were by Reil himself, who had literary ambitions as a translator and librettist.[22] His poem *Der Witwensitz von Marienborn* was accompanied by music composed by the local Kapellmeister Michael Umlauf and achieved great effect through the targeted use of French horns. The reviewer for the *Wiener Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* described the musical accompaniment of the text as "appropriate and characteristic" (zweckmäßig und charakteristisch).[23] The 'Abendunterhaltung' concluded with a combination of text declamation and tableau vivant. In Reil's romance *Die Mutter im Tyrolerthale*, the protagonist's child is stolen by a bearded vulture – a dramatic event that inspired Elisabeth (Betty) Schröder to transform the story into four standing pictures.

Tableaux vivants were a fixed part of the public concert programme in Vienna during the Vormärz period, but only at events held at one of the city's theatres. Here, not only were the theater personnel present as extras, but costumes, props and scenery were also readily available. The fact that silent performers also appeared at a concert was already evident from the name of the events: "Musical-declamatory-mimic evening entertainment" or, even more detailed, "Musical-declamatory-mimic-plastic evening entertainment" (Musikalisch-declamatorisch-mimische-plastische Abendunterhaltung). Tableaux vivants were often programmed towards the end of the concert or before the interval and were not always just representations of a single image, as in the example at the beginning of this introduction. In an evening entertainment in May 1820, several tableaux were presented simultaneously on stage: a family scene, a young girl at a window, a scissor grinder and a man smoking, all based on well-known paintings and staged using special lighting effects.[24]

As Reil's evening entertainment has shown, stories were also depicted in several standing pictures, thus building on Henriette Hendel-Schütz's

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Wiener Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung, 30 March 1822, 207. Bocklet appeared in the first part as violinist, in the second part as pianist.

22 Alexander Rausch, "Reil, Johann Anton Friedrich," in *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon online*, ed. Barbara Boisits, last updated 15 May 2005, https://dx.doi.org/10.1553/0x0001debf

23 *Wiener Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 18 July 1818, 257.

24 Review in *Wiener Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung,* 27 May 1820, 340.

self-invented scenes mentioned above. Reil's and similar tableaux, however, were based on a predetermined narrative and thus achieved an additional moment of theatricalization of the plot. In addition, the picture stations are linked to a chronological sequence derived from the interpreted text, giving the originally rigid presentation of a tableau vivant a temporal quality.

Table 1: Program of the concert on 8 September 1817 in the Theater in der Josefstadt

Program numbers	Genre
First Division	
1. Overture from Rossini's opera *Tancredi* (replaced by the first movement of a symphony by Mozart)	instrumental music / orchestra
2. *Salomons Urtheil*, great tableau in four movements	tableau vivant
3. Violin concert by Kreutzer, first movement	instrumental music / violin + orchestra
4. *Der Taucher*, ballad by Schiller	Declamation
5. Romance from Mehul's opera *Joseph und seine Brüder*, with guitar accompaniment	vocal music / opera aria
6. *Die überraschten Räuber beym Einbruche*, reat tableau in four movements	Tableau vivant
7. Symphony by Mozart (continuation of no. 1)	instrumental music / orchestra
Second Division	
1. Overture from Mozart's opera *Die Zauberflöte*	instrumental music / orchestra
2. Duet from Mehul's opera *Joseph und seine Brüder* (omitted)	vocal music / opera aria
3. *Das Landleben*, Tableau in four movements	tableau vivant
4. "Deutsche" from *Die Schlacht bey Waterloo*	music (unclear)
5. "Troubadour" from Boieldieu's opera *Johann von Paris*	vocal music / opera aria
6. Rondo for violin	violin music
7. *Die Ritter in der Kampfübung*, great tableau in twelve movements	tableau vivant
8. Final symphony	instrumental music / orchestra

The program of a performance at the Theater in der Josefstadt on 8 September 1817 (see Table 1) shows just how varied the foundations for tableaux vivants could be. The first tableau, which follows the opening first movement of a symphony by Mozart, deals with the judgment of King Solomon. The biblical tale, which is about the dispute between two women over a child that Solomon wants to divide in two with a sword in order to recognize the true mother, was a popular theme in the visual arts, but was also present on the stage. The fact that it was depicted "in four movements" (in vier Bewegungen) rather

speaks against a static model.[25] It is possible that the depictions refer to the melodrama *Salomons Urtheil*, which premiered at the Theater an der Wien in 1804, was performed a total of seventy-six times and was reworked in 1816 by adding dances and new music.[26] The first movement of a violin concerto by Kreutzer, a ballad by Schiller and a romance from an opera are followed by another tableau titled *Die überraschten Räuber beym Einbruche*, which seems to be more of an invented story and was also presented in "four movements". The first half of this program closes with further parts from Mozart's symphony. A third tableau is performed immediately before the final symphony. The twelve stations with the theme *Die Ritter in der Kampfübung* (The Knights in the Battle Exercise) are probably freely invented scenes based on the imagination and are again reminiscent of Henriette Hendel-Schütz's practice.

The fact that music was also played during the tableaux can only be proven in isolated cases. At a charity concert of the *Gesellschaft adeliger Frauen*, at which the ballet master and director Friedrich Horschelt was responsible for the arrangement of the living pictures, a certain Mr. Katschirek, a member of the court theater orchestra, accompanied the paintings on the harp.[27] Instead of music, declaimed explanations of the paintings were also possible. At another charity event in March 1818, the first half of the concert ended with the tableau *Der Abschied des Landwehrmanns* (The Farewell of the Home Guard), based on a picture by the Vienna-based painter Peter Krafft. The painting was explained by accompanying declamation, which the reviewer of the Wiener Theaterzeitung praised as "very pleasant and to be recommended for imitation" (sehr angenehm und zur Nachahmung zu empfehlen).[28] The description was not spoken spontaneously, but prepared by the writer Josef Karl Bernhard and declaimed by the court actor Joseph Moreau. The performance concluded, appropriately enough, with the tableau *Die Heimkehr des Landwehrmannes* (The Return of the Home Guard) by the same painter, which was "a worthy counterpart to the first" (ein würdiges Gegenstück des ersten) and "aroused in every art lover the desire to enjoy the original" (in jedem Kunstfreunde das

25 The term 'movements' probably refers to changes from one still image to another.

26 The Vienna version of the melodrama *Salomons Urtheil* was translated from the French by Matthäus Stegmayer and provided with music by Quaisin. The music for the new version was written by Joseph Kinsky, violinist at the Theater an der Wien. See Anton Bauer, *150 Jahre Theater an der Wien* (Zurich: Amalthea Verlag, 1952), 277. I would like to thank Livio Marcaletti for pointing this out.

27 Concert on February 24, 1819; see Michael Jahn, *Die Wiener Hofoper von 1810 bis 1836. Das Kärnthnerthortheater als Hofoper* (Vienna: Verlag der Apfel, 2007), 446–7 (G.57) and the playbill on https://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=wtz&datum=18190224&seite=1&zoom=33.

28 *Wiener Theaterzeitung,* 31 March 1818, 156.

Verlangen nach dem Genusse des Originals).[29] The first painting of the soldier's farewell was publicly exhibited at the Academy of Fine Arts and subsequently purchased by order of the Emperor for his own picture gallery. It is now in the possession of the *Belvedere Museum* (see Illustration 2). The second painting with the returning soldier found its way into the museum of the Schottenkloster monastery in Vienna.[30]



Illustration 2: Peter Krafft, *Der Abschied des Landwehrmannes*, 1813. Belvedere Museum Wien, invent. no. 2242.

29 *Wiener Theaterzeitung,* 31 March 1818, 156. The event had a warlike charcter not only due to the two tableaux but because the music performed also hinted at a deliberately patriotic program and included the poem *Hannibal, das Husarenpferd*, a war song (*Kriegslied*) by Carl Blum and another poem entitled *Kaiser Max auf der Martinswand*.

30 This smaller oil painting, created in 1817, served as a model for a large-format picture of the same title, which Kraft painted as a companion piece to the *Farewell* in 1820. The latter painting was also exhibited at the Academy of Fine Arts and purchased by the Emperor for his own collection. Today, the sister painting is also housed in the *Belvedere Museum* in Vienna (inv. no. 2243). See Marianne Frodl-Schneemann, *Johann Peter Krafft. 1780–1856. Monographie und Verzeichnis der Gemälde* (Vienna-Munich: Herold, 1984), cat. nos. 56, 80 and 98. A black-and-white photo of the *Heimkehr* can be found on p. 61 (pl. 22).

The then current ballet repertoire of the Viennese stages offered a further source for the content of a public event. Either individual musical numbers could be chosen, such as the violin solo from the ballet *The Marriage of Thetis and Peleus* by Adalbert Gyrowetz, which was performed in an arrangement for clarinet in a private concert by Johann Hornick; or the overture to a ballet, such as that of Horschelt's *Elisene*, which was performed at the Theater an der Wien in November 1820. In this same guest concert, in which the Bavarian court and chamber singer Clara Metzger introduced herself to the Viennese audience, a *pas de deux* and a dance for a larger group were also performed from the same ballet as a separate program number.

Also noteworthy is a musical academy that took place immediately before the performance of the romantic ballet *Arsena* at the Kärtnertortheater. At this event, which consisted of only four numbers, the ballet master of the court theater, Filippo Taglioni, danced a *pas de deux* with his daughter Marie to a violin solo by Joseph Mayseder. The review in the *Wiener Zeitschrift* emphasized the combination of the arts through the unusual combination of the senses of hearing and sight, which this time were used not in succession but simultaneously:

> The academy then concluded with a pas-de-deux, which Mr. *Taglioni* danced with his daughter, after a solo played by Mr. *Mayseder*. One so rarely has the opportunity to hear this wonderful violinist play a solo that one had to divide oneself anxiously between eye and ear. Mr. *Taglioni* seemed to feel how little the part of Arsena gave his talented daughter the opportunity to show herself as a brilliant dancer, and this excuses the oddity of offering the public a pas-de-deux before a great ballet. Dlle. *Taglioni* surprised [the audience] in this dance piece with a rare and happy combination of skill and grace. Father and daughter shared the most rapturous applause.[31]

Marie Taglioni (*1804) made an international career after her debut in Vienna and became one of the most celebrated ballerinas of her time, creating her own dance style. Fanny Elßler (*1810), a somewhat younger dancer who was

31 "Die Akademie schloß alsdann mit einem Pas-de-deux, das Hr. *Taglioni* mit seiner Tochter tanzten, nach einem Solo von Hrn. *Mayseder* gespielt. Man hat so selten Gelegenheit, diesen herrlichen Violinisten Solo zu hören, daß man sich dießmal ängstlich zwischen Auge und Ohr theilen mußte. Hr. *Taglioni* schien es zu fühlen, wie wenig die Parthie der Arsena seiner talentbegabten Tochter: als brillante Tänzerinn sich zu zeigen Gelegenheit gebe, und dieses entschuldigt die Sonderbarkeit, vor einem großen Ballett noch ein Pas=de=deux dem Publicum zu bieten. Dlle. *Taglioni* überraschte übrigens in diesem Tanzstück durch eine seltene glückliche Vereinigung von Fertigkeit und Grazie. Vater und Tochter theilten sich in dem (sic) rauschendsten Applaus." Concert from 21 December 1822 at the Theater am Kärntertor. *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode*, 2 January 1823, 8.

born in Vienna and later became just as successful, also participated artistically in concert performances. As a ten-year-old, Elßler was already involved in a tableau at the great musical academy on 17 March 1821, where Schubert's *Erlkönig* was heard in public for the first time.[32]

If one of Vienna's theaters was chosen for an event, rather than a hall, then the proximity to the theater was already given by the venue itself. Such performances, which themselves presented a colorful mixture of different arts, were often held in combination with local stage works, thus opening up yet another dimension to the audience. In some events, the combination of the arts was a fundamental concept, expressed in their designation as 'potpourri' or 'quodlibet'.

In February 1824, the Theater in der Josefstadt presented a "New Potpourri" with a selection of declamation, song, dance, orchestral music and arias as well as dramatic and comic scenes from the theatrical repertoire. The extremely colorful evening ended with the presentation of the final scene from Luigi Cherubini's *Lodoïska* with the destruction of the fortress as a tableau vivant.[33] Five months later, there was a "Theatrical Bouquet" (Theatralischer Blumenstrauß) at the same venue, which was similarly diverse in its content, but also included pantomime. Worth mentioning here is the performance of a scene from Kotzebue's comedy *Die Indianer in England*, combined with Mozart's aria "In diesen heilg'en Hallen" from *The Magic Flute*. Schiller's *Glocke* was also brought to the stage in three moving tableaux.[34]

Finally, the genre of quodlibets should be mentioned. On stage, this is actually a dramatic genre in which individual, unrelated scenes from different plays are combined. As Viennese theater life shows, it was also possible to switch back and forth between the arts, so that an even more varied, perhaps even slightly chaotic stage action captivated the audience.

A highlight of what could be experienced on a Viennese theater stage under the name quodlibet, combining the most diverse arts, was a benefit event for Therese Grünthal at the Theater in der Josefstadt in June 1826. Embedded between a prelude and a postlude, formed from a play entitled *Der falsche Fido savant*, the program included a quodlibet in two sections. In the first half of the performance, which opened with an overture, the audience enjoyed an aria, a duet, the recitation of a comic marriage poem (Adolf Bäuerle, "Der Heurige Wein in Währing"), scenes from a comedy and a dance solo. Just before

32 See the chapters by Gibbs and de Nil in this volume which give the full program of this concert.

33 *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 28 March 1824, 185–6. See also the chapter by Kirby Haugland in this volume.

34 *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 23 September 1824, 638.

the break, there was a performance of a large Turkish ballet, and a certain Mr Peterka demonstrated gymnastic exercises. It is unclear what this meant. The second half began with a rondo for violin, a composition by Franz Clement, the first orchestra director at the Theater an der Wien, who was also the soloist. This was followed by a vocal number, a recital of a poem, a *pas de trois*, scenes from a comedy and a fairy tale, as well as a final dance to a popular melody. The protagonist of the prelude and postlude – an actor who imitated a dog well known in Vienna for the many publicly admired tricks it performed – possibly also appeared in individual musical numbers. At least in the second half of the concert, during the poem by Carl Meisl "Wir kamen doch zusammen" (We came together after all), in which a large guard dog played a protective role, one can well imagine an accompanying pantomime.[35]

However, the Viennese correspondent for the Leipziger *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* took a critical view of what was certainly received with great amusement by the audience when he remarked: "What can one say? [...] If there is something enjoyable every now and then, it is crushed by the mishmash of all kinds of nonsense."[36] Clearly, the professional opinion of the music journalist and the assessment of the theater-goers diverged widely. The reviewer did not understand that – as stated above for the tableaux vivants – such performances had no aesthetic claims, but rather served the purpose of entertainment. For the Viennese audience, the colorfulness and diversity of the combined arts could not be great enough.

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The themes discussed in this introduction align with the structure of the present volume, which encompasses diverse aspects of the combination of different arts through an interdisciplinary lens. This approach diverges from a conventional text- and score-based method and takes into consideration the various 'turns' that have emerged in recent decades, such as the performance turn and the spatial turn. The book begins by illuminating aspects related to the corporeality of individual performances. It then broadens its perspective to include spaces in which multimedia performances took place, ranging from the semi-private setting of the living room to the more public spaces such as the ballroom and the theater. The study combines an examination of

35 The editors would like to thank Matthias Mansky for his expertise in this genre.

36 "Was soll man dazu sagen? [...] Wenn sich ja hin und wieder etwas Geniessbares vorfindet, so wird es von dem Gemengsel allerley Unsinns erdrückt." *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 23 August 1826, 558–9.

individual figures in the Viennese cultural landscape with a comprehensive perspective on the various genres, architectural elements, and the contexts in which multimedia performances occurred. By exploring aspects of early nineteenth-century culture that have been historically overshadowed, we aim to offer a fresh interpretation of Schubert's Vienna.

The first section of this book, "Lied and Body Gestures", focuses on the genre of Lied and its performative aspects. Louis De Nil's contribution ("Too Dramatic? Johann Michael Vogl and Schubert's *Erlkönig*") deals with the public performance of Schubert's most famous Lied by the singer Johann Michael Vogl at the Kärntnertortheater on 3 March 1821. The analysis of this performance is based on primary sources such as declamation and acting treatises, reviews and concert programs in order to examine the tradition of declamation of Goethe's poems, which may have inspired and influenced Vogl. Cheston Humphries ("'Prose Music': Genre and Influence in Declamation around 1820") takes similar sources as a starting point, but extends his view to concert life in Vienna around 1800 in order to examine the mutual influence of declamation and song. Humphries' study draws on the information in the database *Concert Life in Vienna 1780–1830*, as well as on treatises such as Gustav Anton Freiherr von Seckendorff's *Vorlesungen über Deklamation und Mimik* (1816). The latter is used as the basis for an analysis of different settings of Goethe's *Erlkönig*.

The second part of the volume is not devoted to a specific genre, but to a performance context: the Viennese salon. The first chapter, by Nancy November and Imogen Morris ("Multimedia Performances and Performance Practice in Viennese Salons") deals with two aspects of performances in the salons: multimediality and interactivity. These performances were rarely a confrontation between active performers and a passive audience, but often involved the active participation of all those present in theatrical games. Since the source material for research into salon evenings is limited, research is necessarily dependent on personal documentation. One of such sources are Leopold von Sonnleithner's recollections of salon evenings at Adam Hutschenreiter's, recorded in his memoirs decades later. A more specific case study is presented by Emily Eubanks ("Politics, Music, and Theatrical Performance in Caroline Pichler's Salon"), which deals with Pichler's salon in general and in particular with the salon performance of her historical drama *Ferdinand der Zweite: König von Ungarn und Böhmen*. With this nationalistic play, Pichler wanted to portray the Habsburg Monarchy as defender of the hereditary country and its Catholicism against the Bohemian Protestants. The Austrian Empire, however, saw itself as a multinational, multilingual entity. Due to censorship, the play could only be performed in its original form in the semi-private setting of Pichler's salon. Only later was it allowed to appear in the theater in a heavily revised

version. Eubanks analyzes the soundscape depicted in the drama by means of organ sounds, liturgically used bells, Austrian folk songs, among other elements, and considers its German-nationalistic value.

The third part, "Dance and Ballet", opens the perspective from a semi-private to a fully public space. This section contextualizes the dance music of well-known composers such as Johann Nepomuk Hummel and Ludwig van Beethoven, but resists the general tendency to analyze these works as absolute music without reference to performative aspects. Erica Buurman ("Johann Nepomuk Hummel's Dances for the Apollosaal, 1808–1821: Music in a Multimedia Environment") offers an insight into a representative ballroom opened in 1808 that no longer exists today. It also shows the close relationship between the architectural objects, which are reminiscent of Greco-Roman antiquity, and the dances composed by Hummel, which sometimes have programmatic value in relation to the appearance of the hall, including battles and even explosions of Vesuvius. Buurman speculates that the new decoration of the hall in 1813 with a large painting of Vesuvius may have been inspired by Hummel's music, suggesting a reciprocal causality. Joan Grimalt ("Beethoven's multimedia Prometheus Myth, 1801–2023: *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus* op. 43 between Rhetorical Music, Pantomime, and Stage Performance") analyzes Beethoven's ballet *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus* op. 43 based on musicological writings from recent decades, in which topic theory plays a major role. He adds new perspectives based primarily on dramaturgical and semiotic aspects. Thus the ballet is not viewed as absolute music, but is examined as a narrative fabric, and through the lens of the author as conductor.

The last part of the volume ("Opera and Theater") is dedicated to music theater, which is *per definitionem* multimedia. It focuses not only on opera, but also on spoken theater in connection with music and other performing arts. The contribution by Livio Marcaletti, Alfred Noe and Werner Telesko ("Multimediality at the Viennese Court during the Congress of Vienna: The Performance of *Ambigu* (1815)") examines multimedia performances in the non-professional context of the international aristocracy resident in the city during the Congress of Vienna and had to be entertained. *Ambigu* is a peculiar work that was performed in the Great Redouten Hall (Großer Redoutensaal) by an aristocratic amateur society. It consisted of a combination of improvised speaking roles, arias from the Italian opera buffa and the German Singspiel, dances and tableaux vivants. Neither a libretto nor a score survives for this work, only the program in the archives of the Obersthofmeisteramt in Vienna. While Telesko analyses the courtly context and traces the biographies of the various aristocrats involved, Alfred Noe contextualizes the use of excerpts from seventeenth century French comedies which were still widespread at

the beginning of the nineteenth century; Marcaletti assesses the connection between selected excerpts from operas by Giovanni Paisiello and Joseph Weigl and demonstrates the significance of the characteristic Spanish and Russian dances in the overall context of this pasticcio-like performance. Kirby Haugland ("Staging an Effective Revolution: *Lodoïska* in Habsburg Europe") looks at the more traditional case of Luigi Cherubini's *Lodoïska*. He examines its reception within the Habsburg Empire, analyzing both the censored aspects of cultural translation and the multimedia aspects. In particular, Haugland focuses on the material and technical elements in the staging of the scenes representing the siege of the castle, which are examined through reviews and tracts. Haugland also studies the reception of the opera in illustrated publications and tableaux vivants. Matthias Mansky ("Viennese Popular Theatre as an Intermedial Space: Observations on Ferdinand Raimund's Contrast Dramaturgy and Staging Strategies") concludes this part with a study of Ferdinand Raimund's theater, a superb example of an intermediary space in which drama, acting, music, stage design and the use of theatrical machinery intertwine. Mansky focuses in particular on Raimund's later works and his dramaturgical use of music and staging.

Christopher Gibbs' final thoughts ("More Than Just Music: Free Associations on the Combination of the Arts and Presentations of *Erlkönig* in Schubert's Vienna") trace the reception history of Schubert's ballad *Erlkönig* from its initial public performance to subsequent concerts and adaptations for various performance contexts, culminating in the contemporary realization of the concept in a novel, modern manner.

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Lied and Body Gestures

Too Dramatic?
Johann Michael Vogl and Schubert's *Erlkönig*

Louis De Nil

Baritone Johann Michael Vogl (1768–1840) performed the public premiere of Franz Schubert's *Erlkönig* D 328 in Vienna's Kärntnertortheater on 7 March 1821. This chapter explores what dramatic traditions and physical practices Vogl utilized in this performance through an archival investigation of his singing career at Vienna's Imperial Opera between 1795 and 1822, as well as his relationship with Schubert between 1817 and 1828. Reviews from his operatic career and a declamation concert in 1819 provide context for comparative insights with his premiere of *Erlkönig* in 1821. The chapter explores how Vogl understood and applied declamation in his performances of opera and song. I scrutinize his reported dramatic and declamatory performance of Goethe's ballad and investigate intersections between the creation of Schubert's ballad. My research situates this evidence through an examination of Vogl's influence on Schubert's aspirations as an operatic composer and explores the singer's experimentation with operatic practices and declamation in public performances of dramatic songs.

When Johann Michael Vogl premiered *Erlkönig* in Vienna's Kärntnertortheater on 7 March 1821, his performance perpetuated a movement wherein singers utilized overt dramatic practices. Reviews praised his performance and described how he presented with his usual style, highlighting the baritone's use of declamation. Vogl demonstrated eagerness to experiment with declamation and drama throughout his professional career as an operatic singer with the Imperial Opera. This practice culminated in performances around the 1820s, when he performed Schubert's dramatic songs and ballads by applying his established dramatic toolkit. The specifics of this dramatic toolkit are challenging to reconstruct due to the relatively limited archives surrounding song performances during the early nineteenth century. In this chapter, I examine pertinent treatises and accounts relating to the use of dramatic practices in opera and song performances. This is followed by a study of Vogl's career, where the baritone established a performance craft and flourished in the ever-changing landscape of Vienna's operatic productions. Finally, I study Vogl's relationship with Schubert, culminating in his premiere of *Erlkönig*. Here, I

question how Schubert and Vogl navigated the relatively novel concept of premiering a ballad as a dramatic work.

Definitions

Schubert classified *Erlkönig* as a 'Ballad', a sub-genre of song wherein words and actions are sung by characters, occasionally interloped by a narrator.[1] 'Lied', the German word for song, encompassed all song to the general Viennese public in Schubert's time. In specialized Viennese musical circles of performers and song composers, the term Lied held the specific connotation of "easily singable and strophic, with a simple accompaniment that is no more than that: an accompaniment."[2] Many song composers of the early nineteenth century categorized their compositions into distinct sub-genres of song such as 'Ode', 'Gesang', 'Kantate', 'Ballad', 'Romanze' and 'Monolog' – however, these classifications were not applied universally. Both Schubert himself and advertisements of the time classified *Erlkönig* under the specific marker of a ballad, signifying early intentions to distinguish the song from other sub-genres.[3]

The term 'dramatic' holds a connotation of conveying emotions to an audience, often crafted through story/narrative and journey. Laura Tunbridge writes: "[...] in German-speaking lands, 'drama' was associated then almost exclusively with the theatre. Attempting to un- or recover an understanding of the dramatic in Schubert thus prompts consideration of the ways in which his music is heard these days."[4] Lodewijk Muns argues that in early nineteenth century German song, 'dramatic' was primarily associated with through-composed works, while strophic settings were considered lyrical.[5] David Montgomery poses the question of how a singer could interpret a song in a different manner:

> Does the lieder singer seek to interpret a song dramatically, externalizing his or her emotions to a more-or-less passively receptive audience as in opera, or lyrically, taking a neutral position as a narrator and effectively inviting the audience to develop its own active fantasy in relation to events and thoughts in the song?[6]

1 Marjorie Wing Hirsch, *Schubert's Dramatic Lieder* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 11. See also the chapter by Christopher Gibbs in this volume.
2 Lodewijk Muns, "Concert Song and Concert Speech around 1800," *Music and Letters* 98, no. 3 (2017): 366.
3 Other examples include the monologue *Hagars Klage* and the (strophic) Lied *Heidenröslein*.
4 Laura Tunbridge, "Introduction: Internal Dramas," in *Drama in the Music of Franz Schubert*, ed. James William Sobaskie and Joe Davies (Boydell & Brewer, 2019), 1–8, at 1.
5 Muns, "Concert Song and Concert Speech around 1800," 369.
6 David Montgomery, *Franz Schubert's Music in Performance: Compositional Ideals, Notational Intent, Historical Realities, Pedagogical Foundations*, Monographs in Musicology (Hillsdale: Pendragon Press, 2003), 19.

The memoirs written by Schubert's friends considered the term 'lyric' to be the opposite of 'dramatic'.[7] One of those friends, Leopold Sonnleither (1797–1873), wrote that when singing lyrically, the singer narrates the emotion of another, rather than embodying one overarching emotion or theme through strophic Lied.[8] Due to these traits, lyric song performance practice, and especially its rejection of embodiment of characters, was seen as the antithesis of dramatic operatic singing. Lyric performance in this chapter is defined as a performance practice with little or restrained use of physical gesture for explicit characterization. In comparison to dramatic performance, lyric performance features 'narration of character' rather than depiction of character – which fundamentally shifts embodiment or impersonation. 'Embodiment' and 'Characterization' refer to the dramatic practice of a performer portraying a role with such devotion that the audience, and in some accounts the artist, perceive their performance as a transformation into their character(s). Treatises of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries correlate declamation with characterization. Suzanne J. Beicken notes in her translation of Johann Adam Hiller's 1780 Treatise *Anweisung zum musikalisch-zierlichen Gesange* (Vocal Performance and Ornamentation) that during this period "[in] the Italian virtuoso tradition, declamation was a practical skill which placed great stress on ornamentation, and at the same time drew upon gesture for support."[9] Hiller dedicates an entire chapter to declamation in his treatise, where he proposed that declamation should move away from a florid style of Italian singing and towards a more recitative Singspiel style.[10]

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7 Sonnleithner states in 1857: "Dichter, Tonsetzer und Sänger müssen das Lied *lyrisch,* nicht *dramatisch* auffassen." Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 136. ("Poet, composer and singer must conceive the song *lyrically*, not *dramatically*." *Memories*, 116). Schindler writes in 1831: "[...] und solcher Gesänge im großen Stil hat Schubert allein an hundert geliefert, die keineswegs bloß lyrischen Charakters sind, sondern die weitausgespannte Balladen und dialogisierte Szenen enthalten, die, indem sie dramatisch bearbeitet sind, in der Oper selbst am Platze wären und ihre Wirkung auch dort nicht verfehlen würden." Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 354. ("[...] and of such large-scale vocal works alone Schubert produced close on one hundred and these are by no means merely lyric in character but include extended ballads and dialogue scenes which, being dramatic in treatment, would be in place in opera itself, nor would they fail in their effect there." *Memories*, 308).

8 Sonnleithner states in 1857: "Der Liedersänger erzählt in der Regel nur fremde Erlebnisse und Empfindungen, er stellt nicht selbst die Person vor, deren Gefühle er schildert." Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 135–36. ("The lieder singer, as a rule, only relates experiences and feelings of others; he does not himself impersonate the characters whose feelings he describes." *Memories*, 116).

9 Suzanne J. Beicken, "Translator's introduction and commentary," in *Treatise on Vocal Performance and Ornamentation by Johann Adam Hiller*, ed. Johann Adam Hiller and Suzanne J. Beicken, Cambridge Musical Texts and Monographs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 19.

10 Johann Adam Hiller, *Treatise on Vocal Performance and Ornamentation by Johann Adam Hiller*, ed. and trans. Suzanne J. Beicken, Cambridge Musical Texts and Monographs, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 68.

Hiller writes on declamation: "There are two main points a singer must be aware of: he has to understand the character of the role he plays and secondly, he must see what he can contribute to a lively performance in connection with the other characters."[11] He also clarifies that when singing in a theatre, singers do not simply act in their roles through "speech and dialogue, but through movements and gestures as well."[12]

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's 1803 treatise *Regeln für Schauspieler* (Rules for Actors) provides insight into declamatory practices written during Vogl's lifetime. Meant for actors in public theatrical productions, the treatise reflects prevalent practices of learnt dramaturgy, including actions, gestures, facial expressions and embodiment of character. Goethe writes that in recitation the actor undertakes a moderate practice, where they demonstrate "the consequences and effects of the impression made on him by the subject. He does not change his own character in the process, nor disown his nature or his individuality, and he may be compared to a piano which is played in the tone natural to the instrument [without pedals]."[13] Goethe compares this to 'Declamation', a dramatic practice, involving full commitment to character through embodiment:

> The situation is quite different with declamation or heightened recitation. Here I must abandon my innate character, deny my nature and put myself completely in the position and mood of the person whose role I am declaiming. The words I pronounce must be produced with energy and the liveliest expression, so that I seem to feel every passionate emotion as if it were truly present. Here the fortepiano player makes use of damping and all mutations [Mutationen] that the instrument possesses. If they are used with taste, each in its proper place, and if the player has first studied with spirit and diligence the application and the effect which can be produced by them, they can be sure of the most beautiful and perfect effect.[14]

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11 Hiller, *Treatise on Vocal Performance and Ornamentation by Johann Adam Hiller*, 68,71. "Auf zweyerlei hat hier ein Sänger hauptsächlich zu sehen; auf den Character der Person, die er vorstellen soll, und dann, was er, in Verbindung mit andern Charactern, zur lebhaften Vorstellung der Handlung beyzutragen hat." Johann Adam Hiller, *Anweisung zum musikalisch-zierlichen Gesange* (Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Junius, 1780), 29.

12 Hiller, *Treatise on Vocal Performance and Ornamentation by Johann Adam Hiller*, 111. "[...] nicht allein in Worten und Reden, sondern auch in Bewegungen und Gebehrden," Hiller, *Anweisung zum musikalisch-zierlichen Gesange*, 94.

13 Quoted after David Rowland, "Pianos and Pianists c.1770–c.1825," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Piano*, ed. David Rowland, Cambridge Companions to Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 33. Note that pianos often contained multiple pedals during Goethe's lifetime, with dampening, felt, parchment, una corda and even percussion instruments being common additions.

14 "Ganz anders verhält es sich bei der *Deklamation* oder gesteigerten Rezitation. Hier muß ich meinen angeborenen Charakter verlassen, mein Naturell verleugnen und mich ganz in die

Both Goethe's and Hiller's treatises define declamation as involving three elements. First, the performer must ensure correct enunciation of text, which they should color with appropriate 'modulations of sound'. Secondly, the performer must study the role, as educating oneself on the context in which one's character finds themselves fosters a more genuine performance. Thirdly, the performer must portray that character fully. Goethe insists that the performer embrace a change in persona, embodying their character. Physicality and gesture are connected to declamation in Goethe's guide of 'Gestures and Expression'.[15] He then considers the practice of theatrical declamation in singing, where he states that music is given more freedom than declamation, which he describes being "restricted in range of sounds" (im Umfang ihrer Töne weit beschränkter). Goethe reflects that "one could call declamation a kind of music in prose, for it has in fact much in common with music. But we must make the distinction that music by its very nature has more freedom."[16] This connection suggests that declamation and singing were correlated within this context during Vogl's lifetime. During Vogl's career as an operatic singer, his reputation as a classically educated man and the frequent praise of him in the press as an actor suggest that Vogl was an archetypal declamatory artist.

Contemporary definitions of declamation in music reflect a symbiotic relationship between text, music and performance.[17] Here, declamation consists of the composer setting a text with the correct placement of verbal stresses and melodic accents, intending the words to sound natural and intelligible. The singer must deliver the composer's stresses and accents with maximum

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Lage und Stimmung desjenigen versetzen, dessen Rolle ich deklamiere. Die Worte welche ich ausspreche müssen mit Energie und dem lebendigsten Ausdruck hervorgebracht werden, so daß ich jede leidenschaftliche Regung als würklich gegenwärtig mit zu empfinden scheine. Hier bedient sich der Spieler auf dem Fortepiano der Dämpfung und aller Mutationen welche das Instrument besitzt. Werden sie mit Geschmack, jedes an seiner Stelle, gehörig benutzt, und hat der Spieler zuvor mit Geist und Fleiß die Anwendung und den Effekt, welchen man durch sie hervorbringen kann, studiert, so kann er auch der schönsten und vollkommensten Wirkung gewiß sein." Johann Wolfgang Goethe, "Regeln für Schauspieler," in *Weimarer Klassik 1798–1806*, vol. 2, ed. Victor Lange et al. (Munich: Hanser, 1988), 730.

15 The actor can then also select attractive and appropriate gestures and lend impact to the entire mimetic action through movement that is artistically analogous to the meaning of words' Goethe, Boehme, and Wolff, *Die Weilburger Goethe-Funde. Neues aus Theater und Schauspielkunst. Blätter aus dem Nachlass Pius Alexander Wolffs. Eingeleitet und herausgegeben von Hans-Georg Böhme. [Consisting of Wolff's account of the instruction given by Goethe in the art of acting, later edited by Eckermann as Regeln für Schauspiele].*

16 Goethe, *Regeln für Schauspieler*, 730: "Man könnte die Deklamierkunst eine prosaische Tonkunst nennen, wie sie denn überhaupt mit der Musik sehr viel Analoges hat. Nur muß man unterscheiden daß die Musik, *ihren selbst eigenen Zwecken gemäß*, sich mit mehr Freiheit bewegt [...]".

17 Declamation is defined in *Grove Music Online* as "the relation between verbal stress and melodic accent in the setting and delivery of a text." Owen Jander and Tim Carter, "Declamation," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.07369.

clarity in performance. This understanding of declamation is limited to prosody and is qualitative in nature, with both composers and singers finding their declamation judged in terms of 'correctness'.[18] Viennese traditions in musical declamation and theatre during the early nineteenth century encompassed a broader interpretation of declamation. It included the elements mentioned previously, but also incorporated the embodiment of a character using gesture, facial expression, spoken and vocal effects and acting.

Dramatic movements, including the use of facial expressions, gesture, and choreographed movement on the stage were essential acting tools used by singers in their performance of song in nineteenth century Vienna. When Schubert began to share his songs with his circle in the 1810s, he did so with the professional agenda of advancing his prospects in operatic composition. Within that context, his chosen singer Johann Michael Vogl was known for his mastery of declamatory dramatic practices as a singer.

Johann Michael Vogl before Schubert

In his childhood, Vogl began singing in a paid position as a soprano for the Steyr Stadtpfarrkirche. By 1781, the Lateinschule of the Benediktinerstift Kremsmünster accepted him on the merits of his vocal abilities, and Vogl befriended fellow pupil and future composer Franz Xaver Süßmayer (1766–1803), who had joined the school the previous year. According to Andreas Liess, it is possible that Vogl studied with Georg Pasterwitz (1730–1803), a composer who specialized not only in training his students vocally, but also in the art of "pronunciation, expression, position and movement" (Aussprache, Ausdruck, Stellung und Bewegung).[19] Vogl graduated from Kremsmünster with high honors in his degree in philosophy and humanities. Moving to Vienna in 1785 with his friend Süßmayer, Vogl studied law at university, after which he worked at the Viennese magistrate's office. In 1794, on Süßmayer's advice as the newly appointed Kapellmeister of the Hofoper, Vogl was offered a role in the opera company of the Kärntnertortheater. He was given the position on 1 May 1794 and sang with the company for the next twenty-seven years.[20]

18 Arnold Feil, "Two Analyses", in *Schubert: Critical and Analytical Studies*, ed. Walter Frisch (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), 112 [on *Im Dorfe* from 'Winterreise']: "In our example, correct declamation is impossible within the notated meter [...]."

19 Andreas Liess, *Johann Michael Vogl. Hofoperist und Schubertsänger* (Graz-Köln: Hermann Böhlaus, 1954), 31.

20 The information contained in this summary is indebted to Liess' research on the singer. Andreas Liess and Johann Michael Vogl, *Johann Michael Vogl, Hofoperist und Schubertsänger* (Graz-Köln: Hermann Böhlaus, 1954), 30–32.

Leopold Sonnleithner, among others, noted the singer's dramatic and declamatory performance style in his 1857 memoir.[21] Some contemporary scholars associate Vogl's declamation with 'drama', but these comparisons are often ambiguous in their description and judgement of both practices.[22] To understand how these terms interwove during Vogl's lifetime in Vienna, it is necessary to establish the meaning of 'declamation' during the early nineteenth century.[23] Vogl's use of declamatory practices stemmed from his performance practice in opera, public concerts and art-song. Seven reviews of operas between 1813 and 1821 credit Vogl with declamatory performance. The accounts attribute Vogl's declamation to an ability to deliver text with clarity and to his mastery of the characterization of his roles. The reviews describe his declamation only in positive terms and consider it separate to his singing. An 1813 account of the opera *Salem* by Ignaz von Mosel (1772–1844) in the *Wiener Theater-Zeitung* is the earliest review to mention declamation, stating: "his declamation of the recitative could not have been but successful."[24] The connection between recitative and declamation is the emulation of natural speech, in other words, proper placement of word stresses.[25] Bryan Locke writes that during Schubert's lifetime, most dramatic action took place in recitative in Italian opera seria, often without music and in 'natural' declamation.[26] As arias

21 Leopold Sonnleithner on 1 November 1857, as found in Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 136 (*Memories*, 116–17).1958 A much later *Memoir* by Franz von Hartman from around 1875 states "Vogl, a great singer, who was the first to introduce us to the declamatory style of singing, to make us intellectually and emotionally aware of it, and Schubert, with his admirable accompanying, completely carried us away. I think the first song was the 'Erlkönig' [...]", Deutsch, *Memories*, 273. ("Vogl, ein großer Sänger, der uns den deklamatorischen Gesang zuerst hören, erkennen und fühlen ließ, und Schubert mit seinem trefflichen Akkompagnement rissen uns hin. Ich glaube, das erste Lied war der 'Erlkönig' [...]", Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 313–14). Dramatic performance is credited by Anton Holzapfel on 1 June 1858 Deutsch, *Memories*, 60.

22 Instead, focus is placed on how performers used declamation in music making. Susan Youens writes "It is possible, Robert Schollum speculates, that Vogl was the first singer to apply to the German lieder art the kind of interpretative freedom that was an expected element of opera. Vogl did indeed avail himself of multiple musical liberties: his *Manieren*, that is, a performer's added ornaments and variants, include scalar motion to fill in larger intervals, turning figures and trills, high notes raised still higher or lowered for greater ease of singing, dotted rhythms and inserted rests to make the declamation more dramatic, changes to the dynamic markings, ties and slurs, even alterations to the melody and harmonics." Susan Youens, *Schubert, Die Schöne Müllerin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 19.

23 See also the chapter by Cheston Humphries in this volume.

24 "*Salem*. Eine lyische Tragödie in vier Aufzügen von *I. F. Castelli*. In Musik gesetzt von *I. F. Mosel*," *Wiener Theater-Zeitung (Bäuerles Theaterzeitung)* 29, 9 March 1813, 115: "seine Deklamation des Rezitativs konnte nicht anders als gelungen seyn."

25 Dale E. Monson, Jack Westrup, and Julian Budden. "Recitative," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.23019.

26 Bryan Locke, "'Ever More Fearful Grows the Confusion': Genre and the Problem of Musical Narrative in Schubert's Fierrabras," in *The Unknown Schubert*, ed. Barbara M. Reul and Lorraine Byrne Bodley (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), 101.

were considered static 'out of time' moments in the dramatic narrative, the recitative progressed the characterization for the singers. Therefore, declamation's purpose was also connected to portrayal, especially in the depiction of shifting emotions. Other reviews of Vogl's performances reinforce this by correlating his recitative with dramatic practices.[27] By 1821, a review of Vogl that praised his declamation for both recitative and aria suggests the singer was using declamation in every facet of performance.[28]

The remaining reviews of Vogl's declamation in operatic performances further associate Vogl's practice with both the delivery of text and with characterization. An 1814 review in *Der Sammler* of Cherubini's opera *Lodoiska* praises Vogl's ability to balance dramatic performance with intelligibility: "[Vogl's] tyrant's character traits, evil maliciousness, shimmered everywhere. His singing was powerful, understandable, the declamation flawless."[29] The subsequent reviews were from newspapers intended for the general public and described Vogl's dramatic interpretation. Only the specialized music newspaper *Wiener Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* directly correlates Vogl's declamation to proper placement of enunciation. However, the *Wiener Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* also notes clear references to Vogl's expression and feeling. These reviews demonstrate a distinct correlation between operatic declamation, characterization and dramatic narrative.

An 1819 review of Stadler's opera *Die Befreiung Jerusalems* in the *Wiener Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, reads:

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27 For example, this review from 1821: "An Tagen, wo Herr Vogl die Bühne betritt, ist in jeder Hinsicht für den Freund der dramatischen Singkunst ein wahrer Genuß im schönen Vortrag, besonders im vollkommensten Vortrag des Recitativs zu erwarten. Man sollte fast glauben, daß solche Augenblicke die Schule junger, angehender Opernsänger sein müßten." (On days when Mr. Vogl takes the stage, lovers of dramatic singing can expect a real treat in every respect in the beautiful performance, especially in the most perfect performance of the recitative. One would almost believe that such moments must be the school of young, aspiring opera singers.) "Die Aufführung der Zauberflöte," *Wiener allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 7, 24 January 1821, col. 55.

28 "Obwohl Mad. *Grünbaum* und Herr *Forti* mit Entwickelung ihres ganzen Talentes auf das thätigste mitwirkten, so mußte nothwendig Herr *Vogel* als Daniel die Hauptperson bleiben, zu der ihn schon Dichter und Tonsetzer mit so viel Vorliebe gemacht hatten, zumahl, da er aus eigener Kraft sich schon eine blendende Strahlenkrone aufgesetzt hatte. Das ist im Recitativ und in der Arie vollendeter declamatorischer Gesang!" (Although Madam Grünbaum and Mr Forti were very active in developing their talents, Mr. Vogel as Daniel must remain in the position of the main character, to whom poets and composers had created for him with such much fondness, since he had already put on a dazzling crown of rays under his own power.) That is declamatory song accomplished in recitative and aria!). K. K. Hoftheater nächst dem Kärnthnerthore [Joseph Weigl, *Baals Sturz*], *Wiener allgemeine Theaterzeitung* no. 43, 10 April 1821, 171.

29 "Sein Spiel war anständig, gehalten und richtig motivirt. Der Charakterzug des Tyrannen, hämische Bosheit, schimmerte überall durch. Sein Gesang war kräftig, verständlich, die Declamation fehlerlos." "Theater. [Cherubini, *Lodoiska*], "Lodoiska," *Der Sammler* no. 17, 29 January 1814, 68.

> He [Vogl] was completely in his element. In the libretto the dignity of the king, the courage of the general, the trust in God based on true religious belief, for this song whose value was based on declamation, understanding and feeling; there can be no part more appropriate for this artist, who is honored by all art connoisseurs as a model in the expression of sublime sensations, in the grandiose style of the song – Every verse he sang gave the conviction that this is the way it should be performed, this accent must be used here, this nuance of tone chosen here. In short, the whole role of Goffredo became in the hands of this master a practical lesson of the most perfect performance of the first and noblest of all vocal genres.[30]

Vogl performed in eighty-one productions between 1795 and 1810. Analyzing these roles, as well as the criticism he attracted, enables the formation of a clearer understanding of his performance style. I have not located any performance reviews of Vogl before 1800 apart from a brief general profile of the singer in the *Leipziger Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*.[31] The earliest reviews of his operatic performances mark his 1808 and 1809 roles in Gluck operas.[32] Between 1795 and October 1797, Vogl sang only one leading role in Salieri's Italian opera *Palmira, regina di Persia*, which premiered in the Kärntnertortheater on 16 November 1795. Vogl performed the bass role of Dario the King of Persia, a paternal figure to the heroine of the opera, whose lover Alidoro eventually succeeds in slaying a monster and gains her hand in marriage. The production was popular, being performed eighteen times.[33]

Vogl's role of Dario established a character type for Vogl over the next twenty-two years. Vogl's roles are generally older figures of authority such as priests, barons, kings, knights, captains, and fathers. It is rare to find Vogl as a romantic lead. A notable early exception is Vicente Martín y Soler's opera *Gli*

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30 "Hr. *Vogl* [...] war ganz in seinem Elemente. Im Text die Würde des Königs, der Muth des Feldherrn, das auf echte Religion gegründete Gottvertrauen, und ein Gesang, dessen Werth auf Declamation, Verstand und Gefühl beruht; was kann es Angemesseneres für diesen Künstler geben, der von allen Kunstkennern als Vorbild im Ausdruck erhabener Empfindungen, im grandiosen Styl des Gesangs geehrt wird? – Jeder Vers, den er sang, gewährte die Überzeugung: *So*, und nicht anders muss es vorgetragen, *dieser* Accent muss hier angewendet, *diese* Nüance des Tons hier gewählt werden. Kurz, die ganze Rolle des Goffredo wurde in den Händen dieses Meisters zur praktischen Lehre über den vollkommensten Vortrag der ersten edelsten aller Gesangsgattungen." "Die Befreiung Jerusalems, Musik von Stadler," *Wiener allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 104, 29 December 1819, 836.

31 "Deutsche Oper," *Leipziger allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* no. 3, 15 October 1800, 43.

32 "Review," *Wiener Theater Zeitung* 47, 1808, 243. "Review," *Leipziger allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 15, 1809, 243. "Review," *Der Sammler* 7, 1809 (cited after Liess, *Johann Michael Vogl*, 162).

33 It was common for an opera to switch locations from either the Kärntnertortheater or the Burgtheater – sometimes moving locations each day. It is not entirely clear how this worked because of Vogl's contract with the Kärntnertortheater, but it is likely he also performed at the Burgtheater.

sposi in contrasto, which premiered on 11 October 1796, where Vogl sang the role of Don Giglio. Here Vogl performed a minor comic character, an overly eager romantic buffoon whose attempted conquests led only to misfortune. The aversion to placing Vogl in a leading romantic role in his earliest operatic years was likely due to the singer's lower baritone voice; romantic roles were frequently assigned to tenors, castrati or en-travesti women. Of the forty-nine operas in which Vogl performed from 1795 until Salieri's final opera *Axur re d'Ormus*, which premiered on 7 January 1804, thirty-five were in Italian and fourteen were in German. Twenty-four were comedies, three were tragedies and eight were tales of heroism ('heroische'), with the rest undefined. Of the thirty-two operas performed by Vogl after *Axur re d'Ormus*, the majority were sung in German and only three were sung in Italian.[34] During this period, Vogl increasingly performed leading roles. Vogl's career with the Imperial Opera in the early 1800s saw the baritone emerge as a leading figure in the rise of German opera in Vienna, but he demonstrated his adaptability to please the international tastes of Viennese audiences by performing eleven leading roles in Italian between April 1798 and January 1804, culminating in his performance of *Axur re d'Ormus*. Vogl also had a leading role in twenty out of the thirty-one operas he performed after Salieri's retirement. His prominence in Italian opera at the height of its popularity, and his promotion to bigger roles afterwards indicates his continued advancement in his career rather than a fundamental shift in his status.

Andreas Liess compiled Michael Vogl's eighty-three press reviews from 1800 until 1823 which covered his operatic career from the Leipziger and the Viennese *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, *Der Sammler* and the *Wiener Theater-Zeitung*. Liess analyzed the reviews to identify larger trends in Vogl's performance history such as a designation as a dramatic singer, or a shift to singing German opera after 1804. Through closer examination, the reviews reveal characteristics of Vogl's performance style. These accounts are nearly entirely favorable, with only four out of eighty-three containing any criticism of Vogl. Of these four reviews, three mention that the vocal part was too low for Vogl to sing properly,[35] and one is a criticism of the low quality of the opera *David oder*

34 This comprises twenty-nine German operas, of which five were German translations of French opera.

35 "Herr *Vogl* hatte die Rolle des Grafen übernommen und wirkte, so klein auch die Rolle scheint, nach seiner Weise immer bedeutend und wirkte mit zum Gelingen des Ganzen. Der Gesang liegt etwas zu tief für ihn" (Mr Vogl had taken on the role of the Count and, as small as the role may seem, he always seemed important in his own way and contributed to the success of the whole. The vocals are a little too deep for him.) "K. K. Hofoper. (Fortsetzung) [on Weigl, *Die Schweizer-Familie*]," *Wiener allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 20/1, 14 March 1821, 167.

Goliaths Tod by Giovanni Liverati (1772–1846).[36] Vogl's twenty-eight-year career at the Kärntnertortheater coupled with this lack of any substantial criticism of the singer's performances within extant reviews indicates his remarkable popularity. The praise for Vogl is not limited to his vocal talents but relates to the following primary areas: his gesture, embodiment/acting, education, educated nature, singing and his declamation – this observation underpins the foundations for this chapter.

Of the eighty-three reviews on Vogl, sixty-three reference one of the following traits: acting, dramatic interpretation, mime or gesture. In the earliest account, an unspecified concert review, the author criticizes Vogl for his grimaces.[37] An 1820 review of Spontini's opera *Ferdinand Cortez* describes Vogl's facial expressions in detail, stating:

> Mr. Vogel (Telasco) leaves nothing to be desired in the presentation of this great character [...] [But] a very special facial expression raises this singer to a higher level, because with it he knows how to penetrate the character of every country from any time, and his expressions are the product of his artistic strength through his ingenious free nature, qualities he demonstrates without any constraint, and moves with a certainty that can only arise from his inner education. His Telasko, Jacob, Orest, Daniel and Almaviva, these are models for every opera singer, which one should approach and interpret through philosophical analysis.[38]

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36 "Herr *Vogl* als Feldherr der Israeliten kann nie eine Rolle verderben, wohl aber jeder *aufhelfen*, daher sich seine charakterlose Aufgabe in sehr guten Händen befand. Ueber seinen Gesang, der zwar in dieser Oper nicht sehr bedacht ist, wollen wir keine Wiederholungen liefern. Man kennt seine Verdienste." ("Mr. Vogl as the general of the Israelites can never spoil a role, but he can help everyone, so his characterless task was in very good hands. We do not want to provide repetitions about his singing, which is not very well considered in this opera. You know his merits."), "[Giovanni Liverati] *David*, oder *Goliaths Tod*," *Wiener Theater-Zeitung* no. 43, 10 April 1813, 170.

37 "Herr *Vogel*, Tenorist, hat eine gute Stimme und viel musikalische Kenntnisse, ist aber dennoch auf dem Theater nichts weniger als angenehm, wegen seiner Grimassen; ohne diese und seine zu hohe Einbildung von sich selbst, würde er allerdings bedeutend seyn." (Mr Vogl, tenor, has a good voice and a lot of musical knowledge, but is anything but pleasant on stage because of his grimaces; without these and his overconfidence he would certainly be important). *Leipziger Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* no. 3, 15 October, 43.

38 *Wiener Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 59, 22 July 1820, 469–70: "Herr Vogel (Telasko) lässt im Vortrage dieses grossartigen Charakters nichts zu wünschen übrig [...] Eine ganz besondere mimische Kunst stellt aber diesen Sänger auf eine höhere Stufe, denn er weiss mit derselben den Charakter jedes Landes, und jeder Zeit so zu durchdringen, und sich anzueignen, dass das Product seiner künstlerischen Kraft zu einer genialen, freyen Natur wird, die sich in ihrem Elemente ohne allen Zwang, und mit einer Sicherheit bewegt, welche nur aus der vollendeten inneren Bildung hervorgehen kann. Sein Telasko, Jacob, Orest, Daniel und Almaviva, diess sind Musterbilder für jeden Opernsänger, welche man der Vergänglichkeit durch philosophische Analyse entziehen sollte."

Johann Michael Vogl and Schubert

Schubert was fifteen years old when he saw his first operas – Joseph Weigl's (1766–1846) *Die Schweizer-Familie* and Gluck's *Iphigénie en Tauride* left lasting impressions. Joseph von Spaun writes: "Anyone who remembers how beautifully this opera was given by [Anna] Milder, Vogl and [Carl] Weinmüller will be able to understand the sensitive young Schubert's delight."[39] Following this account, Spaun notes Schubert's admiration of Vogl in Gluck's *Iphigénie en Tauride*: "To the great impression made on Schubert by Gluck's *Iphigénie*, the masterly playing and glorious singing of the Court Opera singer Vogl made an outstanding contribution."[40] Spaun's specific credit to Vogl's characterization is noted here. Of all the musicians in Vienna to sing Lieder, Schubert and his friends sought a singer famed for his overt embodiment of characters, declamation and vocal experimentation. Vogl, an exceptionally tall and imposing performer, held unavoidable association with dramatic and operatic performance practices. Schubert had faced several professional disappointments over the last few years; especially a failed correspondence with Goethe on 17 April 1816 and an unsuccessful application to the post of Musical Director in Laibach. Vogl's introduction to Schubert served as a significant milestone for Schubert, and marked the biggest advance in his prospects since his pupillage with Salieri in 1812.

Anton Steinbüchel's 1858 *Memoir* describes Vogl's relationship with Schubert as one between friend and father.[41] A significant number of letters from Schubert exists from his holiday with Vogl in 1819. Schubert used his time with Vogl towards operatic endeavors; a wish to succeed as a career composer drove Schubert's ambitions in opera.[42] In a letter to Anselm Hüttenbrenner on 19 May 1819, Schubert writes: "Recently, Rossini's *Otello* was given here [...] This opera is far better [...] than *Tancredi*. You cannot deny him [Rossini]

39 Josef von Spaun, 1829: Deutsch, *Memories*, 21. "Wer sich erinnert, wie diese schöne Oper durch die Milder, Vogl und Weinmüller gegeben wurde, wird das Entzücken des jungen, gefühlvollen Schubert erklärbar finden." Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 28.

40 Josef von Spaun, 1829: Deutsch, *Memories*, 21. "Zu dem großen Eindrucke, welchen Glucks 'Iphigenie' auf Schubert machte, trug auch vorzüglich das meisterhafte Spiel und der herrliche Gesang des Hofopernsängers Vogl bei." *Erinnerungen*, 28. In Spaun's 1858 Memoir, Schubert's reverence for Vogl is heightened further: "He regretted not knowing Vogl so that he might fall at his feet for his performance of Oreste." Deutsch, *Memories*, 129. "Er bedauerte, Vogl nicht zu kennen, um ihm für seine Leistung als Orestes zu Füßen zu fallen." *Erinnerungen*, 151.

41 Deutsch, *Memories*, 162. *Erinnerungen*, 189.

42 Elizabeth Norman McKay, *Franz Schubert's Music for the Theatre* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1991), 17.

extraordinary genius."[43] Vogl might have influenced Schubert's admiration of Rossini, as the singer was well-reviewed in his role as the Doge for the Viennese production of *Otello* at the Kärntnertortheater that very year.[44] Another letter from Schubert's friend Anton Holzapfel to Albert Stadler states: "[in] Music he [Schubert] is alive too; that is to say he writes, at Vogl's instigation and therefore not without purpose, operas, operettas for performance and other big things."[45]

Vogl's promotion and premiere of *Erlkönig*

The evolution of *Erlkönig* throughout its creation betrays the ballad's transformation. Three undated versions of Schubert's *Erlkönig* exist in manuscript.[46] The composer likely wrote the first version of the song in October 1815, the second in April 1816, the third later in 1816 and the fourth for publication at the end of March 1821.[47] Schubert completed his third version just months before his introduction to Vogl. The second version has a simplified accompaniment in duplets. It was this copy that Spaun sent to Goethe in 1816. After Goethe sent the composition back without comment, John Reed claimed this version to have been Schubert's de facto score, as it was the copy he could manage on the piano.[48] The second version also contains Vogl's additions in red ink; perhaps Vogl and Schubert worked on this version together.

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43 Deutsch, *Documents*, 117. "Letzthin wurde bey uns Othello von Rossini gegeben. [...] Diese Oper ist bey weitem besser [...] als Tancred. Außerordentliches Genie kann man ihm [Rossini] nicht absprechen." *Dokumente*, 79.

44 One review from this production states: "Der Doge (Herr Vogel) war in den Händen eines Meisters, der die kleinste Parthie zur grossen zu erheben weiss, und an dem wir besonders bedauern, dass solche Trefflichkeit einst vergänglich wird. Möge solch ein Meister, der die Wahrheit der Darstellung und die Schönheit des Vortrags im Gesang in so seltenem Grade vereinigt, noch lange das Vorbild anderer und der Stolz unserer Oper bleiben." (The Doge (Herr Vogel) was in the hands of a master who knows how to elevate the smallest part to the great, and who we particularly regret that such excellence will one day vanish. May such a master, who so rarely combines the truth of the performance and the beauty of the performance in singing, remain the role model of others and the pride of our opera.) "Review," *Wiener allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* no. 37, 8 May 1819, 297.

45 Letter from Anton Holzapfel to Stadler, 24 May 1819: "Musice lebt er auch, das heißt, ich weiß, er schreibt auf Vogls Veranlassung, und also nicht ohne Ursache, aufzuführende Operetten, Opern, und andere große Dinge." Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 81.

46 Unlike many of Schubert's other compositions, he did not leave a date.

47 Franz Schubert, "Lieder Band 1a, vorgelegt von Walther Dürr," ed. Walter Dürr, *Franz Schubert. Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970), 3–9. Franz Schubert, "Lieder Band 1b, vorgelegt von Walther Dürr," ed. Walter Dürr, *Franz Schubert. Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970), 173–93.

48 John Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion* (Manchester: Mandolin, 1997), 223.

One of the few examples of a change Vogl made to a Schubert song is in *Erlkönig*. In 1854, Anselm Hüttenbrenner stated: "At the rehearsal for this [the 7 March 1821 performance of *Erlkönig*], Schubert, at Vogl's request, inserted some bars here and there in the pianoforte accompaniment so that the singer should have more opportunity to recover."[49]

Walter Dürr identified the probable location of these additions in the song volume of the 1970 *Franz Schubert Neue Ausgabe Band 1a*, where a facsimile of the edited second version of the *Erlkönig* manuscript shows two extra bars inserted in the ballad in red ink.[50] According to Dürr, Vogl rehearsed with the second version in 1821, as Schubert had sent the fourth version to Diabelli to be printed. Admittedly, this insertion is minor, and Schönstein's remark that Schubert consulted Vogl for his vocal compositions indicates that the composer trusted Vogl with larger revisions. However, the inserted bars influence the song since both additions occur after a section of the father's voice. The first addition allows for a longer pause before the son asks his father: "Siehst, Vater, du den Erlkönig nicht?" The second addition extends the pause between the father's assurances that the Erlkönig does not exist, and is simply the wind, and the Erlkönig's seductive offer: "Willst, feiner Knabe, du mit mir gehn?" The extra bar allows the singer time to transition between characters during pivotal moments. It might have created opportunities for dramatic devices, such as gesturing or use of the face as the singer is transformed into the next character. Montgomery exaggerates Hüttenbrenner's interpretation of this account, in which Vogl's "aging voice" eventually "begged Schubert to add a few measures to the piano part so that he could catch his breath"[51] as a clear misinterpretation of the memoir.[52] For example, in Schubert's 1829 obituary Spaun writes that "Vogl [...] still sings Schubert's songs with the fire of youth and with the expression which is individual to him [...]."[53] The inserted measures are reproduced below:[54]

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49 Anselm Hüttenbrenner, 1854, as found in Deutsch, *Memories*, 186. "Bei der diesfälligen Probe schaltete Schubert auf Vogls Verlangen hie und da einige Takte in der Klavierbegleitung ein, damit der Sänger mehr Gelegenheit habe, sich zu erholen." *Erinnerungen*, 214.

50 Schubert, "Lieder Band 1a, vorgelegt von Walther Dürr," xx.

51 Montgomery, *Franz Schubert's Music in Performance*, 24.

52 Montgomery cites Deutsch' comment in *Dokumente*, 117. Assuming that this is the same account as Deutsch's *Documents*, 164–65, this is a not an accurate portrayal of the narrative.

53 Deutsch, *Memories*, 24–25. "Vogl, der [...] mit jugendlichem Feuer und mit dem ihm eigenen Ausdrucke die Schubert-Lieder vorträgt, konnte den vielfachen Wünschen, diese Lieder zu hören, kaum zur Genüge entsprechen", *Erinnerungen*, 32.

54 All musical examples are based on Schubert, "Lieder Band 1b, vorgelegt von Walther Dürr," 180–86.



Example 1: Franz Schubert, *Erlkönig,* mm. 39–41 from the second manuscript, before the Vogl addition.



Example 2: Franz Schubert, *Erlkönig,* mm. 39–42 from the second manuscript, including the Vogl addition.



Example 3: Franz Schubert, *Erlkönig,* m. 84 from the second manuscript, before the Vogl addition.



Example 4: Franz Schubert, *Erlkönig,* mm. 85–86 from the second manuscript, including the Vogl addition.

Vogl himself was practiced in composition, having written masses, duets, operatic scenes and Lieder.[55] A small number of Vogl's works were published during his lifetime, while most existed only in manuscript.[56] Liess argues that Vogl was keenly interested in composition, but likely did not consider himself a 'composer'. Vogl seems to have chosen his poetry mostly through the librettos of plays and operas, which encouraged a dramatic composition and interpretation. He often intended his Lieder to be performed in character on stage, such as his song *Süße heilige Natur* which he composed for August von Kotzebue's play [Schauspiel] *Die Erbschaft*. In terms of collaboration, the collection of piano transcriptions based on the three Vogl pieces indicates that the singer had a working relationship with composer Joseph Weigl. The suggestion that Vogl composed these three original excerpts for Weigl's opera *Die Verwiesenen von Kamtschatka* implies that the singer was comfortable inserting his own opinions and modifications into the works of others. By every indication, Vogl would have considered it normal, if not expected, for him to modify the songs he sang.

Vogl's debut of *Erlkönig* on 7 March 1821 was organized as a second chance to re-introduce Schubert to the Viennese public after the unexceptional reception for *Die Zwillingsbrüder* in 1820. The concert, programmed as a *Große musikalische Akademie mit Declamation und Gemählde-Darstellungen* (Great Musical Academy with Declamations and Illustrated Performances) was held on Ash Wednesday at the Kärntnertortheater and organized by a group called the 'Gesellschaft adeliger Frauen zur Beförderung des Guten und Nützlichen' (Society of Ladies of the Nobility for the Promotion of the good and the useful).[57] Leopold Sonnleithner carefully coordinated the concert to coincide with the publication of the ballad.[58] The composer and pianist Anselm Hüttenbrenner

55 Other than the three examples of Lieder provided by Andreas Liess at the end of his book, all songs of Schubert. Liess and Vogl, *Johann Michael Vogl, Hofoperist und Schubertsänger*, 149–51.

56 Vogl's published works are covered in some depth in my doctoral dissertation.

57 This society was "founded in 1811 by Karoline, Princess Lobkowitz [...] and Princess Babette Odescalchi, with Joseph Sonnleithner (Ignaz's brother) as secretary." Deutsch, *Documents,* 164. *Dokumente,* 117.

58 Sonnleithner gives an account of the publication on 1 November 1857, Deutsch, *Memories*, 108. *Erinnerungen,* 125–26. In addition, Spaun writes "The undertaking [of *Erlkönig's* publishing] was a great success and yielded Schubert a not inconsiderable profit as the first fruit of his talent. Now the spell was broken and the publishers gradually accepted his compositions, [...]", Deutsch, *Memories*, 134. "Endlich wurde durch Veranlassung einiger wohlmeinender Freunde eine Auflage des 'Erlkönigs' auf eigene Kosten veranlaßt, woran das Verdienst vorzüglich dem Herrn Leopold v. Sonnleithner gebührt. Das Unternehmen glückte in hohem Grade und warf Schubert einen nicht unerheblichen Gewinn ab, als erste Frucht seines Talents. Nun war die

(1794–1868) played a new Graf fortepiano to accompany Vogl. This follows a precedent Vogl reportedly established in Steyr, where he preferred not to be accompanied by Schubert. According to Johann Ebner's *Memoir* "Vogl [...] found that Schubert himself, as accompanist, was not so satisfactory in relation to his own performance of the Schubert songs".[59] Ebner elaborates to say that Vogl was ornamenting Schubert's songs and varying the tempo; it also hints further at Vogl's interpretation, which suggests embodiment of character. Hüttenbrenner left his account of the rehearsals and performance on this date, writing:

> The Imperial Court opera singer, Vogl, sang this song so splendidly and with such enthusiasm that it had to be repeated. I played [...] a new grand pianoforte by Konrad Graf [...] At the rehearsal for this, Schubert, at Vogl's request, inserted some bars here and there in the pianoforte accompaniment so that the singer should have more opportunity to recover.[60]

This account demonstrates that Vogl and Hüttenbrenner went through a relatively thorough rehearsal process before the concert. Assuming this rehearsal was similar to Ebner's account, Vogl likely used this rehearsal to collaborate with Hüttenbrenner and mold his accompaniment to Vogl's style. It also raised the question of memorization. Vogl was well acquainted with *Erlkönig* before this performance, and if he treated the performance as a dramatic work, it is likely that the performance was from memory – fostering an environment amenable towards gestures and embodiment.[61]

Bahn gebrochen, und die Verleger übernahmen nach und nach seine Kompositionen, allein der bescheidene Schubert (der in Geldangelegenheiten ein wahres Kind war), war mit allem zufrieden, was sie ihm gaben, und so konnte er sich noch immer nicht auch nur das Unentbehrlichste erwerben." *Erinnerungen*, 156–57.

59 Deutsch, *Memories*, 48. "Mit der Zeit aber fand Vogl [...], daß ihm bei seinem Vortrage Schubertscher Lieder Schubert selbst als Klavierbegleiter weniger entsprach [...]." *Erinnerungen*, 56.

60 Anselm Hüttenbrenner, 1854, Deutsch, *Memories*, 186. "Der k. k. Hofoperist Vogl sang dieses Lied mit solcher Gediegenheit und Begeisterung, daß es wiederholt werden mußte. Ich spielte die Begleitung hierzu auf einem neuen Flügel von Konrad Graf." *Erinnerungen*, 213–14.

61 Montgomery strongly disagrees with this notion and argues that all Schubert songs should be performed with the score. Montgomery, *Franz Schubert's Music in Performance: Compositional Ideals, Notational Intent, Historical Realities, Pedagogical Foundations* (Hillsdale: Pendragon Press, 2003), 269.

The concert's program consisted of the following works:[62]

Gyrowetz – Overture to the play *Templern von Cypern*
Tableau – *Die von Abraham verstoßene Hagar*
Mozart – aria sung by Wilhelmine Schröder
Spohr – First movement of the second Violin concerto
Declamation – *Der Kleine Gernegroß* by [August Friedrich Ernst] Langbein
Schubert – *Das Dörfchen* D 598
Vorisek – Piano variations
Tableau – *Sokrates vor seinen Richtern*

Herold – Overture to the Opera *Das Zauberglöckchen*
Mozart – aria
Declamation – *Das Erdbeben von Messina*
Schubert – *Erlkönig* D 328
Romberg – Adagio and Rondo for cello
Rossini – Duet from *Ricciardo e Zoraide*
Schubert – *Gesang der Geister über den Wassern* D 715
Final Tableau–*Aurora* after Guido Reni[63]

The miscellany concert program was typical throughout the early and mid-nineteenth century.[64] An element I have not yet examined in this concert is the 'tableau vivant'; the practice of emulating a painting through live performance involved elements of facial expression and gesture. In this concert, Vogl participated in one of the tableaus based on Van Dyck's *Hagar*.[65] His participation in a dramatic multi-disciplinary practice during this performance

62 See also the chapter by Christopher Gibbs in this volume.

63 The concert programme can be found in: Ernst Hilmar and Werner Bodendorff, *Franz Schubert: Dokumente, 1801–1830. Erster Bande, Texte. Addenda und Kommentar* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2003), 63.
The concert "contained a tableau after Van Dyck's *Hagar*, in which Vogl took part, a Mozart aria sung by Wilhelmine Schröder (later Schröder-Devrient), another sung by Karoline Unger (later married name Sabatier), a poem recited by the tragedienne of the Burg Theater, Sophie Schröder, Wilhelmine's mother, a duet from Rossini for the two singers, and at the end another tableau in which appeared the later world-famous dancer Fanny Elßler, then aged ten and already at the end of a three years' engagement. Aldabert Gyrowetz, born in 1763 at Budweis in Bohemia, the former conductor of the court theater, conducted the music, and the court theatre costumier, Phillip von Stubenrauch, born in Vienna in 1784, arranged the tableaux." Deutsch, *Memories*, 165. *Dokumente*, 117.

64 For more research on nineteenth-century concert programming, see William Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 13–85, 122–40, 208–34.

65 Deutsch, *Documents*, 165. *Dokumente*, 117.

further indicates his approach to *Erlkönig*. The press was unanimously enthusiastic about Vogl's performance of the ballad, with such newspaper reviews as:

> *Wiener Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*. 21 March: "The performance of the ballad *Erl King*, music by Schubert, showed our master of declamatory song – Herr Vogl – in all his greatness. The music shows much imagination. Several successful passages were justly acclaimed by the public."[66]
>
> *Der Sammler*. 27 March: "Herr Vogl sang *Erlkönig*, a composition of Herr Schubert, which by an earlier performance by Vogl had already earned much credit and was much applauded especially in private circles. Herr Vogl knows very well how to handle such a declamatory song and earned much applause."[67]
>
> *Dresdner Abendzeitung*. 26 April: "What pleased above all was the 'Erl King', which Vogl performed with his accustomed mastery, and which had to be repeated."[68]

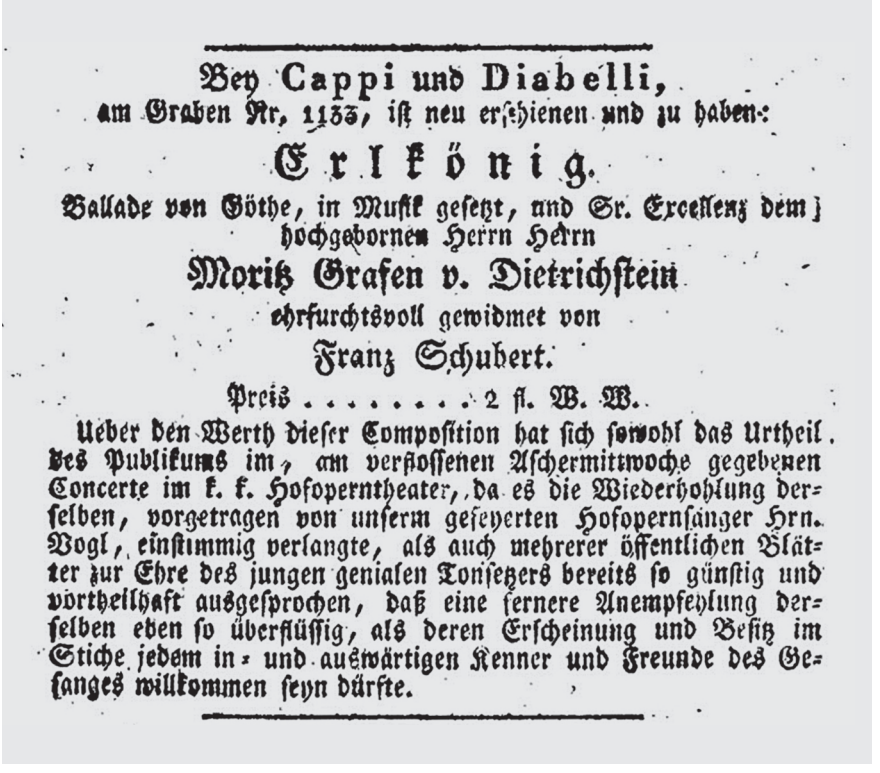
The positive reviews confirm that Vogl's performance practice was not only accepted but celebrated. Both reviews from the *Wiener Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* and *Der Sammler* mention that Vogl performed *Erlkönig* in a declamatory style, alluding to dramatic performance and perhaps music declamatory concert practices. The *Wiener Theater-Zeitung* reinforces the notion of declamation by stating that Vogl "made a great effect" using "musical painting." A later review from the *Wiener Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* states that *Erlkönig* marks his "first successful endeavor" and that Vogl's performance of the ballad earned praise in both public and private performance. This is revealing, as it demonstrates that Vogl conducted undocumented performances of *Erlkönig* which were known to the reviewer. Finally, the *Leipziger Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* and the *Dresdner Abendzeitung* state that the performance was repeated. The Dresden's *Die Abend-Zeitung* further notes that Vogl was in his "accustomed mastery", indicating that he performed in a style characteristic of his reputation. After the premiere, an advertisement for the published song was released. Written by Joseph Hüttenbrenner, the advert associates *Erlkönig* with Vogl's dramatic performance. The location and Vogl's inclusion in the advertisement are dramatic, with reference to the concert taking place in the Court

66 Deutsch, *Documents*, 166. "Der Vortrag der Ballade 'Erlkönig', Musik von *Schubert*, zeigte unsern Meister im deklamatorischen Gesange – Hrn. *Vogl* – in seiner Größe. Die Musik hat viel Phantasie. Mehrere gelungene Stellen wurden vom Publikum mit Recht ausgezeichnet." *Dokumente*, 117.

67 Christopher H. Gibbs, "The Presence of *Erlkönig*: Reception and Reworkings of a Schubert Lied" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1992), 63.

68 Deutsch, *Documents*, 166. Vor allem gefiel der Erlkönig, welchen Vogl mit seiner bekannten Meisterschaft vortrug und der wiederholt werden mußte." *Dokumente*, 118.

Opera Theatre [Hofoperntheater] and Vogl being the "celebrated Court Opera singer" (gefeierte Hofopernsänger). In mentioning that the "public verdict" in the "concert" was "unanimously demanded", the advertisement emphasizes that this ballad is well served in public performance, similar to how operatic arias were sung in concerts.



Bey Cappi und Diabelli,
am Graben Nr. 1133, ist neu erschienen und zu haben:

Erlkönig.

Ballade von Göthe, in Musik gesetzt, und Sr. Excellenz dem hochgebornen Herrn Herrn

Moritz Grafen v. Dietrichstein

ehrfurchtsvoll gewidmet von

Franz Schubert.

Preis . . . . . 2 fl. W. W.

Ueber den Werth dieser Composition hat sich sowohl das Urtheil des Publikums im, am verflossenen Aschermittwoche gegebenen Concerte im k. k. Hofoperntheater, da es die Wiederhohlung derselben, vorgetragen von unserm gefeyerten Hofopernsänger Hrn. Vogl, einstimmig verlangte, als auch mehrerer öffentlichen Blätter zur Ehre des jungen genialen Tonsetzers bereits so günstig und vortheilhaft ausgesprochen, daß eine fernere Anempfehlung derselben eben so überflüssig, als deren Erscheinung und Besitz im Stiche jedem in- und auswärtigen Kenner und Freunde des Gesanges willkommen seyn dürfte.

Illustration 1: Advertisement by Cappi and Diabelli for Schubert's *Erlkönig*. *Wiener Zeitung* 71, April 2, 1821, 304

The text states:

> The value of this composition has already been so favorably and advantageously expressed in the ingenious young composer's honor by the public verdict at the concert given in the I. & R. Court Opera theatre last Ash Wednesday, where, delivered by our celebrated Court Opera singer, Herr Vogl, its repetition was unanimously demanded, as well as by several public journals, that any further recommendation should be as superfluous as its appearance in print and its possession by every connoisseur and lover of song at home and abroad should be welcome.[69]

Articles reveal two subsequent documented performances of *Erlkönig* by Vogl, though they attracted less attention than the 7 March 1821 concert. On 8 October 1821, Vogl sang the ballad with pianist Karl Schunke at the Kärntnertortheater in concert for the benefit of dancer Theodora Rozier. The concert program is lost. The single review, published in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst* on 16 October 1821, found Schunke's performance uninspired:

> The favorite poem by Goethe, 'Erl King,' with the valued music by Herr Franz Schubert, sung by Herr Vogl, failed this time to make the expected effect, much as the singer's art sought to penetrate it, for the accompanist at the fortepiano, Herr K. Schunke, was incapable of supporting the voice-part with the accompaniment.[70]

Vogl's last documented performance of *Erlkönig* occurred on 6 January 1834 in the Hall of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde with an unknown pianist.[71] The *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung* advertised the program on 4 January 1834. A review of this concert in the same paper on 11 January 1834 reveals that Vogl's voice had weakened, but he still performed with his typical flair: "Mr M. Vogl, a court opera singer, performed Schubert's *Erlkönig* utilizing his genuinely dramatic

69 Deutsch, *Documents*, 172. "Über den Wert dieser Komposition hat sich sowohl das Urteil des Publikums im am verflossenen Aschermittwoche gegebenen Konzerte im k.k. Hofoperntheater, da es die Wiederholung derselben, vorgetragen von unserm gefeierten Hofopernsänger Hrn. Vogl, einstimmig verlangte, als auch mehrerer öffentlichen Blätter zur Ehre des jungen, genialen Tonsetzers bereits so günstig und vorteilhaft ausgesprochen, daß eine fernere Anempfehlung derselben ebenso überflüssig, als deren Erscheinung und Besitz im Stiche jedem in- und auswärtigen Kenner und Freunde des Gesanges willkommen sein dürfte." *Dokumente*, 122.

70 Deutsch, *Documents*, 193. "Das beliebte Gedicht von *Goethe: Erlkönig*, mit der geschätzten Musik des Hrn. Franz *Schubert*, gesungen von Hrn. *Vogl*, machte diesmal nicht die erwartete Wirkung, so sehr die Kunst des Sängers durchzugreifen strebte, weil der Begleiter auf dem Fortepiano Hr. K. *Schunke*, den Gesang durch das Akkompagnement nicht zu unterstützen wußte." *Dokumente*, 138.

71 "Concert-Anzeige,"*Allgemeine Theaterzeitung* no 3, 4 January 1834, 12.

performance but recognized that his voice has become hazy [umflort] due to the power of time, but he was honored with the distinction of repeating his song."[72] Vogl's declamatory style was popular and well known to the music audiences of Vienna; in his old age this account suggests that Vogl's performance reputation transcended his fading vocal technique.

What was the concert context for Vogl and declamation? A Viennese concert from 4 April 1819 offers an example of how Vogl implemented dramatic practice. Labelled as a "musikalische-deklamatorische Akademie" hosted by Gustav Anton Freiherr von Seckendorff, the concert featured a Viennese style of 'musical' declamation that flared in popularity during the 1810s.[73] A descriptive account of these declamatory concerts came from Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752–1814), who recounted a Viennese musical declamatory concert in 1809. According to Reichardt, this declamation Akademie involved Seckendorff (stage name Patrik Peale) declaiming poetry in a 'singsong' manner while accompanying himself on the piano.[74] Reichardt's description of Seckendorff emphasizes the experimental and playful nature of declamation. This perfor-

72 "Concert des Theodor Döhler," *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung* no. 8, 11 January 1834, 31. "Hr. M. Vogl, k. k. p. Hofopernsänger, wußte mit Schuberts 'Erlkönig' durch seinen echt dramatischen Vortrag, die durch die Gewalt der Zeit etwas umflorte Stimme vergessen zu machen, und sah sich mit so ungewöhnlicher Auszeichnung aufgenommen, daß er sein Lied wiederholen mußte."

73 Hirsch, *Schubert's Dramatic Lieder*, 23–27. Muns also states: "But for the moment, the evidence strongly suggests that concert declamation was in vogue in the 1810s." Muns, "Concert Song and Concert Speech around 1800," 367–70. On this topic see also the chapter by Cheston Humphries in this volume.

74 "Herr Peale hat mir sehr gefallen, und ganz besonders im erzählenden Ton, in welchem er sehr fein das zarte Mittel zwischen mahlerischer Darstellung und trockner Erzählung hält. Auch in seinen ihm eignen Versuchen, die Deklamation mit Akkorden auf dem Fortepiano zu begleiten, und die Modulationen der Stimme den harmonischen Modulationen der Begleitung anzuneigen und mit ihr zu verschmelzen, hab' ich mehr gefunden, als ich erwartete. Meine Begriffe von der gänzlichen Verschiedenheit der Natur der Rede und der des Gesanges sind dadurch erschüttert, und ich selbst bin auf neue Betrachtungen geleitet worden. Indeß war auch bei dem neuen Versuche nicht zu verkennen, daß die absichtliche Bemühung, die Deklamation dem Gesange anzunähern, ohne daß sie doch selbst zu Gesang werde, etwas Eintöniges und Singendes in die Deklamation brachte, welches sich zu dem widerlichen Jammern und Winseln hinneigte, welches uns in früherer Zeit an Ramlers übertriebener Deklamation so zuwider war." Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe geschrieben auf einer Reise nach Wien und den oesterreichischen Staaten zu Ende des Jahres 1808 und zu Anfang 1809*, Vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Kunst- und Industrie-Comptoir, 1810), 8–9. ("Mr Peale pleased me very much, and particularly in the narrative tone, in which he very subtly holds the delicate middle between picturesque representation and dry narrative. I also found more than expected in his own peculiar attempts to support his declamation with chords on the fortepiano and blend his vocal intonation with the accompanying harmony. This has shaken my ideas concerning the fundamentally different natures of speech and song, and given my thoughts a new direction. And yet it cannot be denied that the intentional effort in this new experiment to make declamation more like singing, without actually becoming song, again produced a certain monotony and a singsong quality, tending towards the repulsive lamentation and whimpering that

mance coincides with Reichardt's 'Deklamationsstücke' *Goethes Lieder, Oden, Balladen und Romanzen* (1810), as melodramatic practices influenced new songs.[75] Seckendorff's book *Vorlesungen über Deklamation und Mimik* further outlines declamatory practices employed during the period.[76] The inclusion of these images in Seckendorff's treatise provides compelling evidence that musical declamatory performances contained heightened elements of dramatic and embodied performance in comparison with regular declamation. Illustration 2 demonstrates five facial expressions: inquisitive, speculative, poetic, comparative, and anticipatory. Illustration 3 displays four mental states that proceed from the desire (Begehrungsvermögen) to portray: Greed, Avarice, Jealousy, Resentment.



Illustration 2: *Vorlesungen über Deklamation und Mimik des Freyherrn von Seckendorff,* (cf. Seckendorff 1816 vol. 2, 233).

we had found so distasteful in Ramler's exaggerated declamation.") Translation in Muns, " Song and Concert Speech around 1800," 373.

75 Hirsch suggests that Seckendorff's declamation concert may have inspired the title "Deklamationstücke," which is how Reichardt reportedly called them. Hirsch, *Schubert's Dramatic Lieder*, 23–24.

76 Similar practices of acting and declamation are outlined in Dene Barnett, *The Art of Gesture: the Practices and Principles of 18th Century Acting* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1987).



Illustration 3: *Vorlesungen über Deklamation und Mimik des Freyherrn von Seckendorff,* (cf. Seckendorff 1816 vol. 2, 233).

Vogl participated in a "Musikalische-deklamatorische Akademie, zum Vortheil der k. k. Hofschauspieler, Maximilian und Wilhelmine Korn" on 4 April 1819.[77] A review of the concert lists over ten pieces from the program, including:

1. Cherubini: *Lodoiska* – Overture[78]
2. Declamation – Prolog (Maximilian Korn) and poem *Die Lachtaube* (Wilhelmine Korn)
3. "The eighth Psalm of David accompanied by the Pianoforte, set in music by [Maximilian] Abbé Stadler, sung by Mr Vogel. The song moves from the soul of the composer to the heart of the singer in a spirit of sublime verse, and received more ornamentation than the preceding poetry: The grandeur of the singer contained conclusive, meaningful imitation."[79]
4. Scenes from *Timoleon* [drama or spoken text]

77 "Musikalischdeklamatorische Akademie zum Vortheil der k.k. Hofs hauspieler Maximilian und Wilhelmine Korn," *Wiener Theater Zeitung* 43, 1819.

78 On this opera see the chapter by Kirby Haugland in this volume.

79 "Der achte Psalm Davids, mit Begleitung des Pianoforte, in Musik vom Abbé *Stadler* gesetzt, gesungen vom Hrn. *Vogl*, ging im Geist der einfach erhabnen Dichtung aus der Seele des Tonsetzers in das Herz des Sängers über, und erhielt eine Zierde mehr durch jene, die vorangehende Posie: *Würde des Sängers*, beschließende, sinnvolle Andeutung." Idem. This song was published by Maximilian Stadler, "18 Psalmen Davids," (Vienna: Pietro Mechetti, n.d.).

5. "The pleasant duet from Paër's *Four usciti* [I fuoriusciti di Firenze], sung by Mrs Wranitzky and Mr Vogel, seemed particularly suitable for the voice Mrs Wranitzky, and her solid execution corresponds to her reputation as a detail-oriented singer."[80]

The concert's title correlates it to Seckendorff's music-declamatory concerts. The connection to dramatic practices is reinforced further due to the headliners Wilhelmine and Maximilian Korn. Vogl's two listed performances contrast in style: *The eighth Psalm of David* is a biblical verse set to music by Stadler, who composed mostly songs and liturgical musical works.[81] The setting of this eighth Psalm is similar in style to the dramatic monologues of Zumsteeg and Reichardt, as well as Schubert's early songs. It is through-composed with an intricate fortepiano accompaniment, which features rapid arpeggiated demi-semiquaver figures. The review states that Vogl stayed true to the verse while also ornamenting and characterizing the text. The concert featured an eclectic program of genres: an overture, declamation, religious verse set to song, opera scene and duet. This variety was a standard concert practice in Vogl's Vienna, and exemplified that this concert with Vogl required performers to sing and perform in different genres within a single performance.

Schubert's lost pathways to opera

Developments in early 1821 presented realistic pathways for Schubert to pursue a career in opera composition. Schubert's next endeavor, the composition of the opera *Alfonso und Estrella*, would span 1821 to 1822. Schubert felt pressure for this opera to mark his breakthrough as a dramatic composer, and for him to achieve a work that met the elusive criteria of being both a critical and fiscal success. Franz von Schober (1796–1882) provided the libretto to the opera in 1821, having returned to Vienna after a year's absence. Schubert held close relationships with a group of friends, and academics have postulated that the partnerships between Schubert and Schober, and perhaps even that of Schubert and Vogl, were intimate.[82] Schubert moved in with Schober later

80 "Das angenehme Duett aus 'Four usciti' von *Pär*, gesungen von Dem. *Wranitzky* und Hern. *Vogel*, schien besonders für die Stimme der Sängerinn geeignet, und die gediegene Ausführung entsprach der Mitwirkung eines so gründlichen Sängers." Idem.

81 Stadler never composed opera. For a biographical summary, see Robert N. Freeman, "Stadler, Abbé Maximilian," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.26511.

82 Elizabeth Norman McKay, *Franz Schubert: A Biography* (Oxford New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1997), 100. Lorraine Byrne Bodley, *Schubert: A Musical Wayfarer* (Yale University Press, 2023), 360.

in 1821. However growing animosity developed between Vogl and Schober, and it was at this time that Schober drew the infamous caricature of Schubert as Vogl's petulant child. Vogl's relationship with Schubert deteriorated significantly, as evidenced in surviving letters. Schubert completed *Alfonso und Estrella* by 1822 without consulting Vogl, though he purposefully wrote the lead role of King Froila for the baritone.[83] Vogl's resentment was significant, and it is possible that he vocally opposed the work's production directly to the management of the Kärntnertortheater in 1823.[84] Schubert then attempted to have *Alfonso* produced in 1825 in Berlin without Vogl's endorsement, but efforts proved unsuccessful.[85] In 1823, the Kärntnertortheater commissioned Schubert to write a German opera, but by this year Rossini operas were dominating the theater and Domenico Barbaja (1777–1841) opted not to premiere the performance nor pay Schubert for the work. In the immediate aftermath of *Alfonso* and *Fierrabas*, Schubert's health deteriorated rapidly after developing an illness that year. When the composer recovered part of his strength by the end of 1823, he rekindled a friendship with Vogl, proven by Schubert's holidays with Vogl to Steyr in 1823 and 1825. In 1825, Schober drew a caricature of Vogl and Schubert that betrays Schober's opinion of Vogl as a domineering and arrogant figure, and of Schubert as submissive and petulant.

In 1823, the singer Karl von Schönstein (1796–1876) became a frequent performer in Schubertiades alongside Vogl.[86] Schönstein, an amateur baritenor, met Schubert in 1818 in Zselíz during Schubert's employment with the Esterházys, but there is little documentation of their relationship before 1824. Sonnleithner's *Memoir* from 1857 notes a disparity between Schönstein's and Vogl's performance practice. He begins with the remark: "as to the way in which Schubert's songs should be performed there are very strange opinions today"[87] and goes on to state that Schubert's Lieder were recently performed badly, with too much drama and declamation.[88] He states further that Schubert's Lieder

83 McKay, *Franz Schubert: A Biography*, 120.

84 Deutsch states that Vogl did not advocate for the acceptance of the opera at the Court Opera. Deutsch, *Documents*, 250. *Dokumente*, 174. See also McKay, *Franz Schubert: A Biography*, 120.

85 Anna Milder, writing from Berlin to Schubert on 8 March 1825 remarks on *Alfonso*: "As regards *Alfonso und Estrella*, your opera, I am very sorry indeed to say that its libretto does not accord to local taste, [...]", Deutsch, *Documents*, 408. "Was *Alfonso und Estrella* Ihrer Oper anbelangt, ist es mir unendlich leid, bemerken zu müssen, daß das Buch hiervon den [!] hiesigen Geschmack nicht entspricht, [...]", *Dokumente*, 280.

86 Hilmar and Bodendorff, *Franz Schubert : Dokumente, 1801–1830. Erster Band*, 713.1801–1830.

87 Deutsch, *Memories*, 116. "Über die Art, wie Schuberts Lieder vorgetragen werden sollen, bestehen heutzutage unter der großen Mehrzahl sehr sonderbare Ansichten." Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 135.

88 Sonnleithner describes this declamation in 1857 as being "sometimes whispered, sometimes with passionate outbursts, sometimes slowing down the tempo, etc." Deutsch, *Memories*, 116.

should be performed "lyrically, not dramatically" (lyrisch, nicht dramatisch), and that the singer "only relates experiences and feelings of others" (erzählt in der Regel nur fremde Erlebnisse und Empfindungen).[89] According to Sonnleithner, Vogl increasingly overstepped these lyrical performance practices in his advanced age and "lost his voice",[90] while he credits Schönstein as "one of the best Schubert singers [...] This amateur of the arts was distinguished by a beautiful, noble-sounding, high-baritone voice, adequate training in singing, aesthetic and scholarly culture and sensitive, lively feeling."[91] Sonnleithner's detailed account of Schönstein and Vogl was instrumental to early Schubertian scholarship, but the passage requires further scrutiny.[92] Firstly, there was no reported animosity between Schönstein and Vogl; in Schönstein's *Memoir* he describes Vogl as a dear friend.[93] Sonnleithner's criticisms may also be directed specifically towards lyrical songs by Schubert (he uses the word 'Lieder'), and not sub-genres of monologues, ballads and through-composed songs to which *Erlkönig* belongs. Secondly, Sonnleithner's comments only disparage Vogl's singing in his later life, probably post-1828, and therefore should not be considered relevant to his 1821 performance of *Erlkönig*. Thirdly, Sonnleithner's comments must be viewed as a commentary against popular Viennese performance culture in the late 1850s, when an influx of Italian opera singers often performed German songs with limited experience and expertise.[94]

In the *Memoirs*, Karl Schönstein's account notes that Schubert consulted Vogl in his compositional process. In these recollections, Vogl was far from a passive critic and gave the younger man feedback on his compositions. Schön-

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"Dabei wird möglichst viel deklamiert, bald gelispelt, bald leidenschaftlich aufgeschrien, ritardiert usw.", *Erinnerungen*, 135.

89 This passage alludes clearly to Goethe's definition of recitation from his *Regeln für Schauspieler*. Deutsch, *Memories*, 116. *Erinnerungen*, 135–36.

90 He also states that Vogl always sang strictly "in time" (streng im Takte) Deutsch, *Memories*, 117 (*Erinnerungen*, 136).

91 "Einer der besten, vielleicht der beste Schubertsänger war seinerzeit Herr *Karl Freiherr von Schönstein*." Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 136.

92 Beginning with Kreißle von Hellborn's biography of Schubert, Sonnleithner's comments seem to inform most of the author's opinions of Vogl's performance practice in the fifth chapter, which is all about Vogl and Schubert. Heinrich Kreißle von Hellborn and Arthur Duke Coleridge, *The Life of Franz Schubert, tr. by A.D. Coleridge, with an appendix by G. Grove* (London: Longmans Green, and Co., 1869), 115–28. In recent scholarship, Sonnleithner's passage has been discussed in numerous works, including Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, *Schubert's Songs: A Biographical Study*, 1st American ed. (New York: Knopf, 1977), 157. Susan Youens, *Schubert, Müller, and Die schöne Müllerin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 20. David Montgomery, "Modern Schubert Interpretation in the Light of the Pedagogical Sources of His Day," *Early Music* 25, no. 1 (1997): 194.

93 Deutsch, *Memories*, 101. "Auf das Urteil Michael Vogls [...], meines unvergeßlichen Freundes und Meisters im Vortrage Schubertscher Gesänge, hat Schubert viel gehalten." *Erinnerungen*, 117.

94 W. E. Yates, *Theatre in Vienna: a Critical History, 1776–1995* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 142–44.

stein writes that "Schubert set great store on the judgment of Michael Vogl, that unique Schubert singer [...] and master in the interpretation of Schubert's songs. He used to bring most of his song creations to Meister Vogl to look through and was very ready to take his advice straight away."[95] Schönstein indicates that Schubert considered Vogl a mentor. According to Schönstein, Schubert not only gave these songs to Vogl, but also sought the singer's advice. This consultation was more than a simple matter of transposition, for Schönstein states that Vogl performed the song "without the slightest change" a fortnight later, although Vogl had transposed the song to a lower key. Therefore, Vogl's advice must have been on the substance of the composition itself. Though the exact suggestions Vogl gave Schubert were not recorded, Schönstein's comment that Vogl at times took liberties likely refers to Vogl's ornamentations, but perhaps also to his declamation and characterization.

Conclusion

Evidence suggests that Vogl wanted to incorporate dramatic practices into his premiere of *Erlkönig* to invigorate Schubert's operatic prospects. Beyond his relationship with the composer, there is little evidence that Vogl had any incentive to approach his performance of *Erlkönig* differently to his performances of arias in similar varied concerts. Vogl was a titan in his world, a seasoned performer whose influence and fame overshadowed the composer whose work he promoted. Perhaps Vogl envisioned *Erlkönig* as a miniature opera, with a compelling narrative of multiple characters concluding in a macabre gothic finale. The innovative aims of Vogl's performance to promote Schubert's operatic prospects were successful, but subsequent events squandered Schubert's opportunity to achieve his desired operatic breakthrough. Instead, Vogl's premiere of the ballad accomplished a relatively novel achievement of instigating widespread publishing sales of the ballad. Schubert's songs grew both more popular and more profitable, and performances by Vogl and other prominent singers allowed Schubert to distinguish himself as an aspiring dramatic composer outside of the confines of the operatic stage. Numerous professional singers employed dramatic performance practices comparable to

95 Spaun's account in the *Memoirs* supports Schubert's noted reverence for Vogl. Josef von Spaun writes in 1829: "Schubert's enthusiasm for this great artist increased with every performance [these performances were operatic] and excited in him the ardent desire to make the acquaintance of this master of song." Deutsch, *Memories*, 21. "Schuberts Begeisterung für diesen großen Künstler stieg mit jeder Vorstellung und erregte in ihm den innigen Wunsch, diesem Meister im Gesang bekannt zu werden." *Erinnerungen*, 28. Schönstein writes in 1857 "Schubert set great store on the judgement of Michael Vogl [...]," Deutsch, *Memories*, 101.

Vogl's throughout the nineteenth century. Successful singers throughout that century built their careers upon the operatic stage, and audiences encouraged them to employ aspects of their dramatic toolkit in suitable songs. The dramatic nature of these performances encapsulated the thirst for variety that audiences of that time desired. In the twenty-first century, singers undertaking song performances within and outside of recital halls seek a similar reinvigoration. Over the last decades, dramatic action is forefront in performances once again, especially through choreographed song cycles which include acting, costumes, sets, gestures and embodiment of characters. This re-emergence of staged dramatic practices in song performances indicates that our performance cultures are increasingly receptive to a similar ethos of creative play. Vogl's premiere of *Erlkönig* indicates that the desire to experiment and push boundaries in performance is foundational to the creation of the ballad itself.

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‘Prose Music’: Genre and Influence in Declamation around 1820

Cheston Humphries

The 1810s saw a dramatic increase in the declamation of poetry during concerts. While these declamations were not themselves musical performances, neither were they simple readings. Particular attention was paid to speech rhythms as well as the emphasis and inflection, producing a theatrical effect with a certain musicality. There is a significant body of primary sources which detail how these declamations should be realized. But comparatively understudied is the mutual influence between the nascent Lied and the declamatory tradition, which was affected not only by performance considerations but also poetic genre conventions, something which Goethe in particular identified as important stylistic markers. This influence could be very literal, with evidence suggesting that authors were often present at these events and would make changes to their poems on the basis of what they heard as well as audience feedback. Performers too would make changes to the poems they were declaiming. At the same time, the oral poetic tradition influenced text setting, not least of all by establishing stylistic expectations pegged to genre. This paper inquires how the early nineteenth century understanding of genre shaped the development of the Lied tradition and how this also impacted the oral poetic tradition.

To this end, I survey all of the declamations yet known in the database *Concert Life in Vienna 1780–1830* (FWF/WEAVE), which documents all known concerts in Vienna during this period. This allows for an empirically grounded analysis of the scope of declamation during this dynamic period in music history. An examination of a few different settings of Goethe’s *Erlkönig*, chosen for their ready comparability as well as the poem’s documentation in the declamatory literature, highlights instances where musical text setting adheres to the genre conventions, where these settings diverge and to what end.

Declamation in the early nineteenth century

Had you awoken and found yourself in Vienna on the eighth of September 1817, you may have decided to attend a concert in the Theater in der Josefstadt, enigmatically billed as a “grosse musikalisch-declamatorisch-mimisch-plastische Abendunterhaltung” (large musical-declamatory-mimetic-plastic

evening entertainment). You would have heard – and seen – a rather varied program by modern standards: symphonies, tableaux, chamber and vocal music. Between these works you would have heard dramatic readings of poetry, both recent and classic.[1] This is a far cry from our modern conception of a concert, and yet fairly typical of the first decades of the nineteenth century in Vienna.

It bears underscoring how integral a part of Viennese concert life declamations were in the 1810s. The art was at its zenith in that decade, having arisen gradually over the preceding decades before dropping off fairly precipitously in the 1820s, though it did linger on vestigially for quite some time. At the peak of declamation's popularity in the 1817–1818 season, there were 101 concerts reported in the newspapers. Thirty-three of them contained at least one declamation on the program (there would have been more that went unacknowledged, as comparison between any two reports of the same concert shows that frequently works are omitted in the reviews). Because most of these concerts were larger events, this statistic doesn't include most of the salons that would have taken place over the course of the year, many of which would have included declamation, as it was better suited to small-scale events and accessible to amateurs. The statistics previously mentioned do include 'Pausenkonzerte' (a concert in the interval) which often featured only a single work and for that reason weren't the sort of event where declamation would have taken place. Without these ten 'Pausenkonzerte' factored in, we see at least one declamation in about thirty-six percent of reviewed performances during the 1817–1818 season. Over the period from 1817 to 1828, there were 160 distinct, known poems declaimed at concerts covered by a newspaper. The variety of these works is striking; no poem is declaimed more than six times (that record belongs to Friedrich Schiller's ballad *Der Taucher*). The second position belongs to Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock's *Frühlingsfeier*, with five documented performances.[2] There are some interesting exclusions as well: no documented Goethe! There are a few likely reasons for this. Despite his enduring popularity, Goethe (and Schiller as well) were regarded as very difficult and therefore generally didn't find their way into volumes of poetry intended for declamation, though there are notable exceptions, at least two of which will be explored later in this chapter. In Schiller's case specifically, the proliferation of *Schiller-Feiern* during the first decade of the nineteenth century probably contributed to his reduced profile in the later years of declamation. These

1 Anonym, „Concerte". *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den österreichischen Kaiserstaat* 1, no. 38, 18 September 1817, 331.

2 Thanks to Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl for sharing her private database *Schubert im Wiener Konzertleben*, which collates most of the known public performances in Vienna during Schubert's time.

Feiern were memorializing events which began after the poet's death in 1805 and included many features associated with concert life at this time, including tableaux vivant and declamations of Schiller's work. One such event was held at the Burgtheater in Vienna on 17 December 1808, a particularly large-scale operation with backdrops, costumes (including priests worshipping at an altar as well as images of Classical figures like Apollo), and a great deal of music.[3] While these events were considered genuinely moving for some time, public opinion turned and the overwrought style of the *Feiern* did no favors for the public reception of declamatory concerts, with which the *Feiern* were associated.[4]

Though the presence of declamation on concert programs in the first couple of decades after the turn of the nineteenth century is well documented, what is easily misunderstood is the actual nature of the declamation itself, and where it fits into the broader artistic landscape. It was often far more stylized than mere recitation, and many authors made a point of differentiating them, as Goethe does in his *Regeln für Schauspieler* (Rules for Actors) – he saw declamation as a heightened form of recitation, set apart by the intensity of the passions and the degree to which the performer identifies with the speaker of the text.[5] It was naturally very accessible to professional actors, well accustomed to stylized readings, but many amateurs took up the art as well, both in public and at home. Declamation had become a significant feature of cultural life and left a large documentary footprint. While there are of course no recordings of the phenomenon, there does exist a surprisingly expansive body of treatises and how-to guides. This kind of publication flourished between the 1790s and 1810s. While one should note that as with any burgeoning phenomenon there were as many different ways of doing it as there were practitioners, in general, declamation in the early part of the nineteenth century was, it seems, very close to music.

The lion's share of primary sources for declamatory techniques is made up of these treatises, many of which frame their object in explicitly musical terms. One such treatise was written by Gustav Anton Freiherr von Seckendorff, nom de guerre Patrik Peale, who was apparently the only declamation artist to

3 Mary Helen Dupree, "Early Schiller Memorials (1805–1808) and the Performance of Literary Knowledge," in *Performing Knowledge, 1750–1850*, ed. Mary Helen Dupree and Sean B. Franzel (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 137–64.

4 Adrian Daub, "The Ballad, the Voice, and the Echoes of War," in *What the Ballad Knows: The Ballad Genre, Memory Culture, and German Nationalism*, ed. Adrian Daub (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 73–103, at 96.

5 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, "Regeln für Schauspieler," in *Goethe's Werke: Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand*, 44. Band (Stuttgart and Tübingen: J.G. Cotta, 1833), § 18–20, 291–293. See also the chapter by Louis De Nil in this volume.

have written a treatise on his art (the other authors were merely theorists).[6] Because of Seckendorff's centrality within the practice as well as the treatise's comparatively moderate claims, it is a good representative of the artform as a whole. Seckendorff's rather interesting biography and experiences are useful for us in understanding the nature of his art.

Seckendorff was born in 1775 in Meuselwitz, and in his youth held a series of government offices which seem not to have suited him well. He abandoned his governmental career in 1807 and turned to the arts (he writes: "I had to start with art, in order to gain an income quickly" – pessimism was not one of his vices).[7] He had been artistically active over the first years of the nineteenth century, publishing a novel, some poems, and a tragedy, *Otto III*, which notably features Seckendorff's music which had "been corrected by a musician."[8] He seems to have been taken on in an apprentice-like capacity by the actress Henriette Hendel, who was herself trained in music by Johann Jacob Engel, Georg Anton Benda, and Anton Schweitzer. Hendel was known for her living statues or tableaux, an art she passed on to Seckendorff and which frequently appeared on programs alongside declamation. They performed together for some years and held a series of *musikalische deklamatorische Akademien* in the Kleiner Redoutensaal in the Hofburg in winter 1809. Johann Friedrich Reichardt, a close confidant of Goethe who had met both Hendel and Seckendorff at a dinner hosted by Count Palffy the previous month, was in attendance at the event (more below).[9] In 1814 Seckendorff took up his professorship in Philosophy and Aesthetics at the University of Brunswick, but in 1821 he left that post and moved to the United States, dying destitute in 1823 in, of all places, Alexandria, Louisiana.[10]

Seckendorff's treatise *Vorlesungen über Deklamation und Mimik* appeared in 1816, after the conclusion of his life as a touring performer. Seckendorff's declamation was, according to contemporaneous accounts, a sort of semi-song

6 Gustav Anton von Seckendorff, *Vorlesungen über Deklamation und Mimik* (Braunschweig: Friedrich Vieweg, 1816).

7 „Ich mußte mit der Kunst beginnen, um schnell zu erwerben [...]" Johannes Tütken, *Privatdozenten im Schatten der Georgia Augusta. Zur älteren Privatdozentur (1734 bis 1831). Teil II–Biographische Materialien zu den Privatdozenten des Sommersemesters 1812* (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2005), 909.

8 „Durch die beygefügten Compositionen, die meiner Seele entquollen und von einem Musiker regulirt worden sind, will ich die Wahl anderer Melodien nicht beschränken." Gustav Anton von Seckendorff, *Otto III, der gutgeartete Jüngling, ein Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen*, Vol. 1 (Torgau: Kurz, 1805), 138.

9 Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe geschrieben auf einer Reise nach Wien und den Oesterreichischen Staaten zu Ende des Jahres 1808 und zu Anfang 1809*, Vol. 1 (Vienna: Kunst- und Industrie-Comptoir, 1810), 333–37.

10 Lodewijk Muns, "Gustav Anton Freiherr von Seckendorff, *alias* Patrik Peale: A Biographical Note," (2016), http://dx.doi.org/10.17613/ppfp-mp41.

which he augmented with piano accompaniment. The theoretical basis for his style is outlined in considerable detail in the *Vorlesungen*, complete with self-composed examples of declamatory works with a limited piano accompaniment, intended for practice at home. Seckendorff goes so far as to describe a type of 'scale' for declamation, which he calls a *Sprechtonleiter* (speech scale). This scale encompasses the gradations up from quotidian speech to actual song.[11] His general approach to declamation, while not at all ubiquitous, seems to have been fairly typical, and many descriptions of declamation in Viennese newspapers of the time suggest an almost-sung style with piano or guitar providing a harmonic cushion (Goethe also alludes to piano accompaniment alongside declamation in *Rules for Actors* in similar terms).[12]

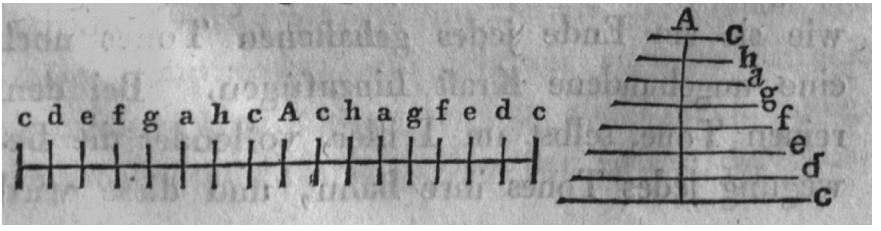


Illustration 1: Seckendorff's *Sprechtonleiter*, as visualized in the first volume of the *Vorlesungen* (37).

The adjacency of music and declamation is one of the commonalities that links most of the various declamation treatises together. Other authors even refer to keys and tuning, including Christian Gotthold Schocher, who wrote on declamation in 1791.[13] Seckendorff engages directly with Schocher, and even borrows concepts like the *Sprechtonleiter* from him, but finds his system ultimately too inaccurate. The notion that poetry has similar qualities to music was widely noted, which helped to lay the groundwork for declamatory culture. Seckendorff identifies Klopstock as the founding father of his art, a poet who believed that the fundamental nature of poetry was sonic, even in silent reading (the reader audiates in their head). In his 1774 work *Deutsche*

11 Seckendorff, *Vorlesungen*, 34–41, 143.
12 Goethe, "Regeln," § 20, 293.
13 Christian Gotthold Schocher, *Soll die Rede auf immer ein dunkler Gesang bleiben, und können ihre Arten, Gänge und Beugungen nicht anschaunlich [!] gemacht, und nach Art der Tonkunst gezeichnet werden?* (Leipzig: August Lebrecht Reinicke, 1791).

Gelehrtenrepublik Klopstock elaborates that "The music that expresses words, or the actual music, is declamation."[14]

That's not to say this idea was universally accepted; there are countless examples of complaints about the histrionic, affected style of much early nineteenth-century declamation. A subgenre of satire even emerged, lampooning the touring declaimer, including for instance *Der wandernde Declamator* by David Heß, published in 1816. It depicts a student of Patrik Peale's who can declaim the newspaper, and is as much a satire of declamation as it is of the airs of its practitioners.[15] Though many found it easy to mock the excesses of some declamation (particularly in the context of the *Schiller-Feiern*, noted for their tendency towards the overwrought), there was a moderate position which held that the emotional, semi-sung style of declaiming is only aesthetically offensive when used at inappropriate moments in the text. By this notion, Seckendorff's concept of the *Sprechtonleiter* makes some sense – while declamation and singing are distinct, they are on a spectrum, navigated basically by increasing or decreasing the definition of pitch and rhythm, and part of the art is gauging the appropriate level.

But the cultural role of declamation extended beyond concert life and into the spheres of philosophy, politics, and of course literature as well. Much has been written about declamation in the context of the Enlightenment and the growing emphasis on written culture (as opposed – or not – to the older oral tradition), so I will not spend much time on this subject here. However, the role of declamation for the literary-minded around the turn of the nineteenth century is immediately relevant for the question I have set out to explore. To reiterate: given declamation's proximity to music (which has hopefully been established), how did declamatory practices, circumscribed as they were by specific ideas about genre, impact the nascent art song tradition, and how did the emerging art of declamation feed back into the works of literature it drew upon?

Listening to reading

Approaches to reading have changed very significantly over time. In the last quarter of the fourth century CE, Augustine noted with some amazement the bishop Ambrose's habit of reading silently. "When he was reading, his eyes ran

14 "Die Musik, welche Worte ausdrükt [sic], oder die eigentliche Musik ist Declamation." Gottlieb Friedrich Klopstock, *Die Deutsche Gelehrtenrepublik* (Hamburg: J.J.C. Bode, 1774), 323. Translated by the author.

15 Muns, "Seckendorff, *alias* Patrik Peale," 15.

over the page and his heart perceived the sense, but his voice and tongue were silent... we saw him reading silently and never otherwise."[16] While this will probably seem a commonplace for most contemporary readers, it remained comparatively rare well into the modern period, at least until the latter half of the eighteenth century when the literate class swelled. It can only be called a swelling in relative terms – the most generous estimates put the literate portion of the German population at 25 % in 1800 (less generous ones, including Jean Paul's, as low as 1.5 %), but it is thought that the number of readers had increased by one if not two orders of magnitude in a matter of a few decades.[17]

For Goethe at least, it seems the default assumption was that a work in progress, shared with friends, would be read aloud. This was specifically the case with the draft of *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*, which he sent to his wife Christiane for her friend Caroline Ulrich to read to her in private.[18] His concern for privacy is trumped by his desire that the work be read aloud, possibly informed by his opinion (expressed earlier about Wieland's translations of Horace) that the rhythm and tone of the writing is better felt when heard rather than audiated. There is probably also a bit of cultural subtext at play – for several Enlightenment thinkers, including Immanuel Kant, there was a desire to preserve oral reading for the personal contact it engenders, its democratic attitudes, and its ability to enhance the experience of a text.[19] In the end, these hopes didn't pan out – oral reading was commonplace in rural communities (sometimes termed "unruly" reading, as opposed to "useful" reading which would be both moral and generative of a social identity), but never became the force for social unification Enlightenment thinkers had hoped for, or at least not until reading had become properly democratized around the end of the nineteenth century.[20] Outside of a low-level religious context, reading in all its forms amongst the lower classes was regarded as dangerous by the political and social elite. Declamation arose as an art during this time, and can easily be (and was) read as a politically loaded practice, especially during the Napoleonic Wars and in their aftermath. After all, all poetry is written in a national language, which by its nature defines outgroups and can, in the right hands, easily whip up nationalistic passions. Performances to this end were happening across Europe around

16 Augustine, *Confessions*. Translated from Latin in Henry Chadwick, *Confessions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 92–93.
17 Reinhard Wittmann, "Was There a Reading Revolution?" in *A History of Reading in the West*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, Roger Chartier, and Lydia G. Cochrane (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 284–312, at 289.
18 Jane V. Curran, "Oral Reading, Print Culture, and the German Enlightenment," *The Modern Language Review* 100, no. 3 (2005): 698.
19 Curran, "Oral Reading," 707.
20 Wittmann, "Reading Revolution?" 293.

the turn of the nineteenth century, drawing on the image of the 'bard', the national poet. Shakespeare had assumed this role in Britain by the early-mid eighteenth century, where the bard was a backward-looking figure.[21] In the German regions, on the other hand, the bard was creating a national identity for a country which had not yet been founded. Declamation was an important vector for disseminating these ballads, not least of all for the antique imagery it evinces, and it did not have the internationalized qualities that musical settings of poetry did. The dangers of such a practice did not go unnoticed by Goethe at least, and that political edge was an important characteristic of declamation's cultural niche.[22]

In any case, despite its apparent difficulty, Goethe's work was read aloud, and according to Herder, Goethe would even revise his work on the basis of audience response to a reading, as was the case with *Iphigenie auf Tauris*, which he re-wrote three times for "greater harmony in the style."[23] In 1800 Goethe had begun a series of house concerts (*Morgenkonzerte*, "morning concerts", in his words) which were held on Sundays from noon to 1:30 p.m., a tradition which lasted many years. These concerts, consisting primarily of vocal music but known for "various artistic pleasures", frequently featured settings of Goethe's poems by Carl Friedrich Zelter (from whom we will be hearing more shortly), so Goethe certainly would have been accustomed to hearing his poetry performed regularly.[24] This, especially considering that many of these works were birthed orally (via dictation), has intriguing ramifications for the possibility of musical influence working on writing, rather than a unilateral influence as might be imagined at first blush.[25]

What could be the vectors for this musical influence, besides attending a declamatory concert? In Goethe's case, some of this musical influence may have filtered through Johann Friedrich Reichardt, one of his closest musical confidantes. Reichardt had been in Goethe's circle since at least 1789. Though they had a falling-out over Reichardt's politics during the French Revolution, they were soon back in contact, and Goethe collaborated with Reichardt on numerous compositions.[26] Despite the fact that Reichardt himself practiced declamation, he had mixed opinions about it, which he apparently had no

21 Abigail Williams, *The Social Life of Books: Reading Together in the Eighteenth-Century Home* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 173.
22 Daub, "The Ballad," 75.
23 Curran, "Oral Reading," 699. John Prudhoe, "Introduction," Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, trans. John Prudhoe (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966), xv.
24 E. Heyse Dummer, "Goethe's Musicales," *The German Quarterly* 10, no. 4 (November 1937): 199.
25 Curran, "Oral Reading," 705.
26 E. Eugene Helm, rev. Günter Hartung, "Reichardt, Johann Friedrich," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.23098.

qualms about expressing freely. In January 1809 Reichardt had been invited to dinner by Count Pálffy. Seated next to him was Seckendorff, who was in Vienna for his upcoming concerts at the Kleiner Redoutensaal with Handel. Seckendorff must have made his case well, as Reichardt wrote that he was "eager to hear him declaim and to continue exchanging ideas with him about the art."[27] Reichardt later attended Handel and Seckendorff's recital (it must have been the one on 11 February). Although he had reservations, he recalled:

> I liked Mr. Peale very much, especially in his narrative tone, in which he very finely maintains the delicate balance between picturesque presentation and dry narration. I also found more than I expected in his own attempts to accompany the declamation with chords on the fortepiano, and to adapt the modulations of the voice to the harmonic modulations of the accompaniment and to merge with it. My concepts of the complete difference between the nature of speech and that of singing have been shaken by this, and I myself have been led to new considerations.[28]

Per Reichardt it seems that Seckendorff also accompanied Handel at the piano, which raises the question how his declamatory style emerged – whether it was mostly novel, or if he was building on Handel's own work, in which case it would likely have been informed by her musical studies with Engel, Benda, and Schweitzer. In this environment musical and literary societies were highly integrated and some amount of mutual influence would have been unavoidable, especially as authors heard their works performed in a quasi-musical manner in salons at which countless major and minor literary and musical figures rubbed shoulders.

Reichardt's interest in Seckendorff's work may have borne some fruit in his own compositional life. In 1809 – very likely after his January encounter with Seckendorff – Reichardt composed a setting of Goethe's *Prometheus*. The opening is marked "kräftig deklamirt" and features a recitative-like vocal part over

27 "Das Wenige, was ich in solcher Gesellschaft mit ihm über Deklamation wechseln konnte, macht mich begierig, ihn deklamiren zu hören, und mit ihm weiter über die Kunst Ideen zu wechseln." Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe*, Vol. 1, 333–37. Translated by the author.

28 "Herr Peale hat mir sehr gefallen, und ganz besonders im erzählenden Ton, in welchem er sehr fein das zarte Mittel zwischen mahlerischer Darstellung und trockner Erzählung hält. Auch in seinen ihm eignen Versuchen, die Deklamation mit Akkorden auf dem Fortepiano zu begleiten, und die Modulationen der Stimme den harmonischen Modulationen der Begleitung anzuneigen und mit ihr zu verschmelzen, hab' ich mehr gefunden, als ich erwartete. Meine Begriffe von der gänzlichen Verschiedenheit der Natur der Rede und der des Gesanges sind dadurch erschüttert, und ich selbst bin auf neue Betrachtungen geleitet worden." Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe geschrieben auf einer Reise nach Wien und den oesterreichischen Staaten zu Ende des Jahres 1808 und zu Anfang 1809*, Vol. 2 (Amsterdam [recte: Vienna]: Kunst- und Industrie-Comptoir, 1820), 8.

a very simple, static accompaniment before moving into a more traditional arioso style. Though the exact date of composition for this song is unknown, it seems highly plausible that it was spurred by Reichardt's exposure to Seckendorff, given its relative chronological proximity and its similarity to Seckendorff's style.



Example 1: Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Prometheus*, mm. 1–6.[29]

The piece appeared in print in the second volume of Reichardt's Goethe songs, subtitled "Vermischte Gesänge und Declamationen" alongside some older songs, also described as declamatory by their performance indications, but which are generally more active than *Prometheus* (see, for example, *Rastlose Liebe* from the preceding year).[30] Reichardt sent a copy of his newly published Goethe songs to the poet in August 1809, so he was certainly aware of them and probably heard them. However, Goethe had not replied by December of that year and it is unknown what he thought of the compositions.[31]

29 Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Goethes Lieder, Oden, Balladen und Romanzen mit Musik von J.F. Reichardt, Zweite Abtheilung, Vermischte Gesänge und Declamationen* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1809), 8–17, at 16.

30 Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Goethes Lieder, Oden, Balladen und Romanzen mit Musik von J.F. Reichardt, Zweite Abtheilung, Vermischte Gesänge und Declamationen* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1809), 8–17.

31 Johann Friedrich Reichardt and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Briefwechsel*, ed. Gabriele Busch-Salmen, Volkmar Braunbehrens, Walter Salmen (Weimar: Böhlau, 2002), 162–65.

The *Ur-Ei*

From the comments he did leave, it appears that for Goethe listening to a reading was the most congenial way to receive a new work of literature. He held this regardless of whether the text was prose or poetry, although he maintained that the specifics of a particular text (or genre) demanded a certain style of its orator: "Black on white should definitely be banned; the epic should be recited, the lyrical sung and danced and the dramatic mimicked."[32]

This is an important statement that reveals some underlying aesthetic values that are critical to the matter at hand. As Goethe suggests, genre is key to understanding how a work should be performed, encoding a system of culturally mediated expectations about the work. At the time Classical thinkers still held great sway on this subject, so the main genres were considered to be the drama, the epic, and the lyric.[33] There are also numerous subgenres, which are often referred to as genres in their own right, as the boundaries between them can be quite ambiguous. To this cohort of subgenres belongs the ballad.[34] Goethe's understanding of the genre seems to have been that the ballad fuses the three classical genres mentioned – lyric poetry, the epic, and the dramatic – through its use of specific dialogue, linking narration, and the musical qualities of lyric poetry. This led him to dub it the *Ur-Ei* ("Ur-egg").

That our authors, including those writing declamation treatises, were preoccupied with genre is self-evident. Though they rarely spell it out explicitly, they often frame criticism in terms of genre. This concern was an old one even by Goethe's time, and had been an important part of the discourse around literary works for centuries (for example, Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* deliberately mixes genre between its acts, which was expected under certain Renaissance aesthetic standards but was disturbing to early nineteenth century audiences).[35] Goethe often complained about the mixing of genres in unproductive ways (once levelled at Schubert), and recommended that epics should be entirely devoid of dialogue to preserve their character against the dramatic. His view of genre, while not strictly formal, placed emphasis on form, and he seems to have been particularly fond of the songs of the *Berliner Liederschule* ("Berlin Lieder School"), whose members included Zelter and Reichardt and

32 "Schwarz auf weiß sollte durchaus verbannt sein; das Epische sollte rezitiert, das Lyrische gesungen und getanzt und das Dramatische persönlich mimisch vorgetragen werden." Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, in Curran, "Oral Reading," 698.

33 Gérard Genette, *The Architext* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 23–38.

34 Edward F. Kravitt, "The Ballad as Conceived by Germanic Composers of the Late Romantic Period," *Studies in Romanticism* 12, no. 2 (1973): 499–515, at 500.

35 Stephen Orgel, "Introduction" to *The Winter's Tale* by William Shakespeare (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 2–5.

whose settings hewed closely to his own poetic patterns, on a generic basis.[36] In practice, these generic lines demand to be blurred, a tension which was a source of discomfort for authors of declamation treatises. While Seckendorff warns against dramatizing that which is properly epic, he acknowledges that giving distinct characterization to speaking characters can't be forgone, a concession to performance needs that reveals his generic expectations.[37]

The ballad deserves particular attention for a few reasons. Firstly, the consensus seems to have been that the ballad was the optimal subgenre for declamation, as evidenced by the fact that as time went on, an increasingly larger proportion of poems included in published volumes of poetry for declamation (so-called declamatoria or 'Mustersammlungen') were ballads. Secondly, when we mean to talk about questions of influence, we ought to talk about pedagogy, and as it happens, the declamatoria most explicitly aimed at instructional use were the very same ones heaviest in balladic concentration.[38] These books were indeed often organized by genre. Thirdly, the *Ur-Ei* nature of the ballad renders it a site of particular tension vis-à-vis the specific admixture of traits from these genres. What an author deemed proper seems to have been contingent on how they viewed the tripartite nature of the ballad. They were often lengthy poems with numerous, congruently structured strophes, which for some authors (including Goethe, despite his comments about the *Ur-Ei*) meant that they should be set musically in a strophic form with simple accompaniment – a sort of bardic approach, with some but not too much individual development of the characters in the ballad at peril of veering into the domain of the dramatic.[39] Other composers and poets saw the drama inherent in many ballads with their various speaking voices and sought to underscore it. As we will see, some composers found new ways of using musical tools at their disposal to create aesthetic unity without leaving dramatic potential unrealized in their ballad settings.

An early example of this "dramatisation" of the ballad appears with Johann André's setting of Gottfried August Bürger's 1774 *Lenore*, which was performed in Regensburg in 1781. This song was through-composed, and staged as a shadow play, which brings it far closer to drama (if not over the line) than

36 Claus Canisius, "Göthe and Beethowen: Men of Genius between Distance and Affinity," in *Goethe: Musical Poet, Musical Catalyst*, ed. Lorraine Byrne Bodley (Dublin: Carysfort Press, 2004), 69–99, at 72.

37 Gustav Anton von Seckendorff, *Kritik der Kunst* (Göttingen: Johann Friedrich Römer), 227–28.

38 Daub, "The Ballad," 95.

39 Lodewijk Muns, "Concert Song and Concert Speech Around 1800," *Music & Letters* 98, no. 3 (2017): 365–393, at 388.

would have been expected in the eighteenth century.[40] Deirdre Loughridge, in her description of this event, is careful to point out that the move away from strophic settings towards through-composition in the early nineteenth century had much more to do with changing modes of reception and listening than any shortcomings of the actually quite sophisticated approach of the best of those in the strophic camp.

Part of these changing ways of listening would certainly have included the rise of the art song thanks to the early nineteenth century salon tradition. Despite the prominent declamatory presence, these were primarily musical and social events, so quite frequently salon-goers would have heard poetry in the form of musical settings. We will turn now to those musical settings and examine them in the context of declamatory ideas about their genre, heard against the backdrop of Seckendorff's treatise.

Listening for genre

Early in Seckendorff's *Vorlesungen*, he provides examples of appropriate works for various scale degrees of his *Sprechtonleiter*. To the "purely lyrical mode" (rein lyrische Gemüthsstimmung) belong the proper Lieder, or folksongs, while the "middle register" (Mittelschwingung) is reserved for narratives.[41] He describes Goethe's *Der Wanderer* as requiring different characters for the 'Wanderer' and the 'Frau', the former demanding a sentimental, lyrical approach and the latter the middle register, a safe distance from singing. Seckendorff then reproduces the poem in full, complete with annotations about how many of the individual stanzas should be read.[42] His commentary is generally quite sensitive and he makes provisions for the escalation of certain qualities in the performance of a character over the course of the poem. After the woman's second stanza, right before the Wanderer's third, he comments:

> Although up to this point the Wanderer's voice has not yet taken on a lyrical flourish, the form of his speech shows an earnestness that proclaims to us here in particular a deeply and simply feeling and sensible man, just such a man as the dignifier of art should be. No matter how often I have read this poem,

40 Deirdre Loughridge, *Haydn's Sunrise, Beethoven's Shadow* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 123–24.
41 Seckendorff, *Vorlesungen,* Vol. 1, 145.
42 Seckendorff, *Vorlesungen,* Vol. 1, 145–53.

> I am always struck by the correctness of his drawing. I do not like to compare it to a painting, as others have done, but I place it next to Raphael's best drawing. With the next verse the voice begins its gradual elevation.[43]

Commentary of this type runs throughout the poem and gives a suggestion of how Seckendorff might have performed it.

Not all dialogue is created equal, which Seckendorff was clearly aware of. One of the distinguishing features of these genres concerns the declaimer's or singer's relationship to the poetic voice (reminiscent of Goethe's discussion in the *Regeln für Schauspieler*, though Seckendorff explicitly links it to genre). In the drama, the characters are present, and the declaimer or singer takes on the role in a much more directly representational sense. In the lyric poem, the 'character' (such as it is) rarely has lines, and in any case, they generally do not represent an individual, but operate in the abstract, the whole poem working to mimic a feeling rather than attempting any kind of literal or narrative representation. The epic falls in between, often containing proper dialogue, but only in the form of quotations, with an imagined narrator providing the linking material. In this context, to which many ballads also belong, a degree of detachment is demanded of the declaimer or singer.

Beyond this, and perhaps stemming from his time as a stage actor and purveyor of tableaux, he is also concerned with the embodied elements of declamatory performance. Depending on the declaimer's positionality with respect to the text, a certain amount of acting or even props could be advisable, though of course never reaching the level of a full-blown theatrical performance. This is a major component of Seckendorff's broader theory that could benefit from a thorough study, though it is beyond the scope of the present text. Still today performers of *Lieder* incorporate a very restrained version of this embodiment, and it's very easy to overstep the boundaries of good taste if it becomes too active. I would suggest that settings with more prominent piano parts, such as Schubert's *Erlkönig* D 328, offload some of this immersion or scene-setting onto the pianist, who sometimes provides, at least in an abstract sense, sound

43 „Obgleich bis hierher die Stimme des Wanderers noch keinen lyrischen Aufschwung angenommen hat, so zeigt doch die Form seiner Rede einen Ernst, der uns hier ganz besonders den tief und einfach fühlenden und sinnigen Mann verkündet, gerade so einen Menschen verkündet, wie es der Würderer der Kunst seyn soll. Wie oft ich auch dieses Gedicht gelesen habe, so ergreift mich doch die Korrektheit seiner Zeichnung stets allgewaltig. Ich mag es durchaus nicht, wie Andere gethan, einem Gemählde vergleichen, sondern ich stelle es neben die besten Zeichnungen des Raphael. Mit der nächsten Strophe beginnt die Stimme ihre allmählige Erhebung." Seckendorff, *Vorlesungen,* Vol. 1, 146–47.

effects or backdrops, which is a notion that emerges opaquely in the early criticism of the song.[44]

Seckendorff's brief look at Goethe's *Erlkönig* mostly focusses on how to handle its dialogue. He describes four types of voices one ought to use: a soft voice, "alternating between colorfulness and monotony" (abwechselnd zwischen Buntheit und Eintönigkeit) for the child, at a higher pitch and with uneven control of its power (as in an adolescent). For the father the declaimer must display total control over 'the scale' and keep a firm vocal posture. The Erlking himself ought to be performed with "a hollow voice", produced deep in the throat but not necessarily deep or what he calls "metallic" (hohle, tief in die Kehle gelegte, darum aber nicht immer tiefe oder Bass-Stimme ohne Metall). His only comment about the narratorial voice is a reminder that the narrator "should never truly dramatize" (*der Erzähler nie wahrhaft dramatisieren soll*), which is in accordance with the ballad's tripartite generic nature, rather than giving way almost totally to drama.[45]

Schubert's through-composed setting, by far the most well-known today, represents an innovative approach to setting the text that reflects some of Seckendorff's ideas and develops others beyond what Seckendorff described. Schubert delineates the characters very clearly, including the narrator, using different registers and dynamics, and a good singer can underscore these most effectively by subtly changing their vocal tone color as well, which Seckendorff mentions. There is a literal dramatization occurring with this approach of differentiating the characters, but Schubert also varies the accent in the vocal part by increasing the rate of accented words during moments of particular stress in the narrative, such as the father's unsettled reply to his son in the fourth stanza, in which every first and third beat are accented instead of just the usual downbeats. In order to preserve unity across a song which is otherwise so musically varied, Schubert retains the rapid repeating triplets throughout.[46] Goethe expressed a strong preference for strophic settings for ballads as a means of creating unity (important for a generic chimaera like the ballad), and many of Schubert's peers did set it in this manner. Schubert accomplishes the same goal through different means. His descriptive piano writing allows for a sort of scene-setting similar to what props would accomplish (a natural

44 See more on this in the chapter by Louis de Nil in this volume.

45 Seckendorff, *Vorlesungen*, Vol. 1, 298–300.

46 This was not always sufficient for some critics, even as late as the dawn of the twentieth century. Hedwig Abel, writing in 1897, basically insists that Schubert's setting is not a proper ballad because of its perceived lack of unity and Schubert's indulgence of the work's drama. See Hedwig Abel, "Franz Schubert. Zum hundertsten Geburtstage," *Dur und Moll* 5 (1897): 65–82, at 70.

evolution of Seckendorff's prescriptions), and unifies the piece which allows him to abandon a strophic scheme to achieve greater dramatic freedom. This has the additional effect of establishing a sense of atmosphere, and by varying the intensity of the accompaniment Schubert can inject energy into the stormier parts of the ballad and can relax into the Erlking's lines, thereby suggesting his deception (the audience knows he is trying to trick the child, and that gives an eerie quality to his major-key music). The ballad's conclusion, in the voice of the narrator, is treated like recitative, avoiding the dramatic as Seckendorff suggests.

Carl Loewe's setting, also well known in its time, is similar despite its surface level deviations. The sixteenth note oscillations in the piano part (more reminiscent of the rustling of wind in the trees than of a galloping horse) also help to create unity, and shifting the harmonies gives different musical qualities to the ballad's characters. The characters are also set apart by their registers and offer plenty of opportunities for varied vocal colors, especially in the Erlking's lines, who is perhaps most disturbingly painted in this setting with its unnatural harmonic stasis. Just like Schubert, the work's conclusion is treated as a quasi-recitative. Though Loewe's reputation as a balladeer might have colored the work's reception, his setting was considered to be the superior one for almost the entirety of the remainder of the nineteenth century, mostly for generic reasons.[47]

Both Schubert and Loewe's famous settings largely adhere to Seckendorff's recommendations. The characters are rendered vividly and with the attention to vocal qualities that Seckendorff requests. They are but two of many dozens of settings of this poem though, and not all of them are in line with Seckendorff's prescriptions. Reichardt's own setting occupies some middle territory: it is in essence strophic, but only minimally distinguishes the voices of the ballad's characters, separating father from son through dynamics, and the humans from the Erlking by confining the latter to a monotone *D*, as well as a distinct, lower tessitura (this treatment is not accorded to the narrator either). This monotone rendering is a feature of the ombra style used to evoke the supernatural, and can be found in other works of the period, including Schubert's own "Der Tod und das Mädchen" (D 531).[48] There are minimal interruptions or interjections from the piano to disrupt the presentation of the text.

47 Christopher Gibbs, "The Presence of Erlkoenig: Receptions and Reworkings of a Schubert Lied" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1992), 165.

48 Clive McClelland, "Ombra Music in the Eighteenth Century: Context, Style and Signification" (PhD diss., University of Leeds, 2001), 76.

Zelter's setting, completed in 1807, is also strophic, but largely lacks the differentiation of the voices that characterizes these other settings. The Erlking is given different music from the humans, as in Reichardt's setting, and has a marginally different tessitura. Unusually, the overall key for Zelter's version is D major (G minor and D minor dominate the field with this ballad), but the Erlking largely sings in G minor, except when making sweet promises which are in A major. The other characters are not given distinct tonalities.

In general, contemporaneous criticism of these *Erlkönig* settings was divided, not just in opinion but in outlook and geography as well, which probably has something to do with the shifting aesthetics of the Lied at this pivotal time. While North German critics, generally quite conservative in this respect, were more reserved about the sorts of innovations tolerable in the Lied, Schubert's setting of it generated positive (albeit vague) feedback in the Viennese press. Josef Hüttenbrenner approved: "Goethe's words have been most justly conceived by the young composer and the characteristic features have been reproduced with an arresting truthfulness."[49] Friedrich Kanne (the likely author) also contributed an important early review of Schubert's setting, which is useful especially because he is specific about the elements he liked and it thus allows us a glimpse into the aesthetic criteria he was drawing on. In particular he pointed out that the characters were differentiated effectively, that the ceaseless piano accompaniment helped to unify the song as a whole, and that Schubert's choice of recitative-like writing for the ending reveals a depth of understanding of Goethe's original.[50] The first and third of these points are reminiscent of Seckendorff's theories (the recitative is from the perspective of the narrator, who should not be dramatized), and the second, while procedurally quite far removed from Seckendorff, is a different means to the same end – the creation of immersion and atmosphere through scene-setting. Declamatory procedures had thus embedded themselves into the musical practice of the Lied.

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49 "Die Gunst, mit der die Musikliebhaber dieselbe aufgenommen haben, erscheint durch das Urtheil der vorzüglichsten hiesigen Kunstkenner gerechtfertigt, nach welchem Göthe's Tert von dem jungen Tonkünstler auf das richtigste aufgefaßt, und das Charakterisctische in der durchaus originellen Composition mit ergreifender Wahrheit durchgeführet worden ist." Josef Hüttenbrenner, „Musikalische Anzeige", *Der Sammler* 39, March 31, 1821,156. Gibbs, "Erlkoenig," 94.

50 „Die Führung des Gesangs ist klar und hat bey alldem einen Anstrich des Wunderbaren. Auch ist der Gegensatz in den Worten des Knaben, des Vaters und Erlkönigs rehct charakteristich gehalten [...] Das Triolen-Accompagnement erhält das Leben durch das Ganze und gibt ihm gleichsam mehr Einheit [...] Der Schluss durch ein Recitativ ist höchst lobenswerth und beweisst, dass der Tonsetzer der Göth'sche Gedicht wirklich verstanden hat." Friedrich August Kanne, "Recension," *Wiener Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 38, 12 May 1821, 299–300. Gibbs, "Erlkoenig," 95.

I don't mean to suggest that Schubert, Loewe, or anyone else were specifically reading and learning from any declamation manual, but rather that this approach to reading poetry was part of the Zeitgeist in the German-speaking lands at the time, and that the style would have formed part of the aesthetic background for both musicians and poets if they were part of that social or concert-going sphere. Elements of it were effective and sympathetic and thus utilized by composers. The influence from literature to music via declamation is fairly traceable insofar as the declamatory tradition helped to pave the way for the Lieder tradition that would soon flourish, and was indeed instrumental in the composition of Lieder, often beginning with a correct declamation, provided either by the composer or perhaps a friend (one thinks of Johann Michael Vogl declaiming for Schubert).[51] Its significance is evidenced by the role which 'proper understanding of the poem' takes in contemporaneous criticism.

It is a bit harder to prove the influence in the other direction. There are hints of stylistic evolution in declamation – Seckendorff complains of "misconduct in declamation, which recently has become very popular. [...] In general, it has become customary in recent times to dramatize what was intended to be lyrical or epic."[52] This could partially stem from the blurring of genre in some branches of the Lieder tradition, or a conflict between literary genre expectations and new ones native to the art song, though he doesn't provide enough information here to say that. By the 1820s the poetic genre of the Lied seems to have lost some of its specificity, moving from its original folksong connotation towards our more modern, generalized understanding, although some critics tried to fight against this generic erosion for quite some time. In 1826 Gottfried Wilhelm Fink was still critiquing Schubert's music using terms such as "das eigentliche Lied" (actual or true song), which Schubert's through-composed songs were not.[53] I would propose that the use of "eigentliche[s] Lied" is drawing on an understanding of the poetic genre primarily, and the traditional means of setting Lieder to music secondarily, which would not have been at all uncommon in the early part of the nineteenth century. His preoccupation with at least some of these genre conventions is suggested by his further comments in the article about Schubert's setting of Schiller's *Sehnsucht*, in which

51 Eric van Tassel, "'Something Utterly New': Listening to Schubert Lieder. 1: Vogl and the Declamatory Style," *Early Music* 25, no. 4 (1997): 702–14, at 713.

52 "[...] die Missgriffe in der Deklamation selbst, welche in neuerer Zeit gar grossen Abgang und bei der Mehrzahl Beifall gefunden haben. [...] Ueberhaupt ward es in neuer Zeit gebräuchlich zu dramatisiren, was lyrisch oder episch gehalten seyn wollte [...]". Seckendorff, *Vorlesungen*, Vol. 1, 134–135.

53 Anonym, „Kurze Anzeige" [über *Sehnsucht* op. 39 [D 636], *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 28, no. 29 (1826), 480.

he criticizes Schubert for having "still done too much for the coloring of some individualities, and too little for what is established by the poet as the basic tone of feeling through the whole."[54] However, by 1877 the exact same term, "eigentliche[s] Lied", was being used to describe precisely Schubert's songs (in a typology originating with Wilhelm Tappert).[55] The musical genre had by that time emancipated itself and developed its own characteristics independent of the literary genre. Seckendorff's complaints about the narrowing divide between the genres in declamatory performances suggests that those changes in generic expectations happening in the art song tradition began or at least happened concurrently in declamation. Fundamentally, there are two ways that changes could have manifested within the performances themselves: either the aesthetics of the performance changed (which Seckendorff says was happening), or the performed text itself could be changed.

Listening for change

There are challenges in discussing textual influence of declamation on poetry because it requires that we have access to different versions of the poem both before and after a performance, and that we have some sort of documentary evidence to suggest that the performance was a factor in any changes made between versions. As the performances were auditory events, if the changes were not remarked on in the press or in correspondence or diaries, it's very likely that we have no record of them. Nevertheless there are definite examples of performers changing the poetry they were declaiming (even without the input of the original author). One such case occurred on 21 February 1818, in the "Müllerische Saal" (an art gallery occasionally used as a performance space in the days before Vienna had a dedicated concert hall, particularly by the nascent Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde).[56] One Herr Krickel (also "Krikel"), a dilettante guitarist, organized the event and performed a declamation. Krickel has not yet been positively identified, but it's possible he was the Josef Adalbert Krickel (1791–1847) who worked in various governmental offices and wrote a travel guide for the Vienna/Niederösterreich region in the late 1820s.[57]

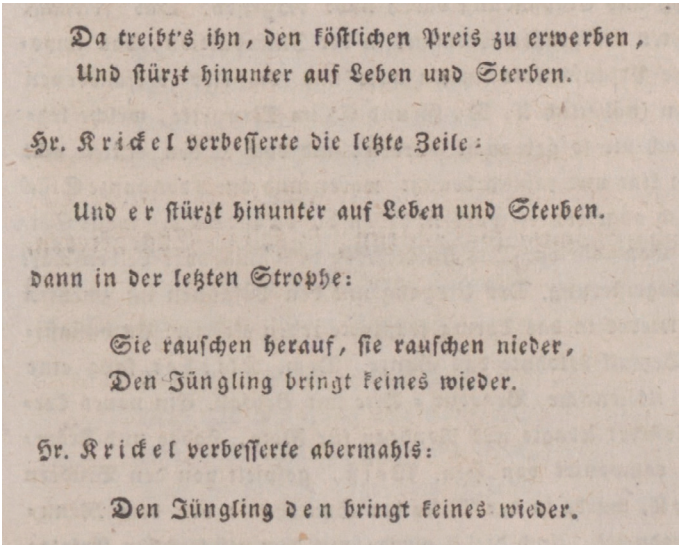
54 "[...] für Ausmalung mancher Einzelnheiten [!] noch zu viel, und darüber für das, was beym Dichter durch das Ganze als Grundton der Empfindung feststeht, zu wenig gethan." Anonym, *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, July 19, 1826, 480.

55 Richard Pohl, „Die 14. Tonkünstler-Versammlung des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins vom 19. bis 24. Mai 1877", *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 44, no. 29, 13 July 1877, 298.

56 Anonym, „Musikalisch-deklamatorische Akademien", Außerordentliche Beylage zur *Wiener allgemeinen Theaterzeitung* 11, no. 32, 14 March 1818, 13.

57 Ernst Bernleithner, "Krickel, Josef Adalbert," Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon *1815–1950*, vol. 4 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1969), 270.

For this performance he selected Schiller's popular ballad *Der Taucher* (which, incidentally, was probably chosen by Schiller as a subject after Goethe told him the tale orally in 1797, both authors' 'Ballad Year').[58] The concert review helpfully identifies several of the modifications Krickel made to Schiller's text ("where the great poet Schiller didn't express himself energetically enough"), which are reproduced below.[59]


Da treibt's ihn, den köſtlichen Preis zu erwerben,
Und ſtürzt hinunter auf Leben und Sterben.

Hr. Krickel verbeſſerte die letzte Zeile:

Und er ſtürzt hinunter auf Leben und Sterben.

dann in der letzten Strophe:

Sie rauſchen herauf, ſie rauſchen nieder,
Den Jüngling bringt keines wieder.

Hr. Krickel verbeſſerte abermahls:

Den Jüngling den bringt keines wieder.

Illustration 2: Excerpt from an anonymous concert review printed in the *Wiener allgemeine Theaterzeitung*, dated 14 March 1818, covering Krickel's performed changes to Schiller's *Der Taucher*.

From this account, it's clear that the changes Krickel made were very minor, and accomplish little from a purely textual point of view, which suggests that, since these changes were apparently worthy of multiple lines of coverage in the review, they must have been made more significant in Krickel's performance, possibly by impacting his choice of rhythm, pacing, or intensity. While Krickel's performance was apparently quite effective, there were many performances that weren't received positively, and indicate some of the ways that

58 John Edward Fletcher, *A Study of the Life and Works of Athanasius Kircher, 'Germanus Incredibilis': With a Selection of His Unpublished Correspondence and an Annotated Translation of His Autobiography* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 387–88.

59 „[...] wo der große Dichter *Schiller* sich nicht energisch genug ausgedrückt hatte [...]". Anonym, „Musikalisch-deklamatorische Akademien", Außerordentliche Beylage zur *Wiener allgemeinen Theaterzeitung* 11, no. 32, 14 March 1818, 13.

textual intervention on the part of the performer could be to the work's detriment.

One such example, also involving *Der Taucher*, can be seen in a review of a performance dated 3 May 1829, and published in the 12 May edition of the *Wiener Theater-Zeitung*. The ballad was declaimed by *Regisseur* Ferdinand Eßlair (1772–1840), the stage director of the Bavarian Hoftheater in Munich. Reading between the lines, it seems Eßlair's declamation might have been close to what Seckendorff describes (the King, in any case, was declaimed in a very different way than the other characters. The review reads: "The king's monotonous tone of speech was striking, with which he expressed his cruel desire as heartlessly and unfeelingly as if he were asking for a glass of water…").[60] The unnamed critic notes that "It was noticeable that this master misspoke several times, e.g. he let the "Gischt (spray) fall towards the sky disturbed the rhyme with "spricht (speaks)" instead of "fleht (pleads)".[61] The reviewer believes that Eßlair misspoke, but the former change is a wholesale rewriting of a line from the published poem. Eßlair apparently declaimed "Gischt gegen Himmel stürzen", where Schiller's published text reads "Bis zum Himmel spritzet der dampfende Gischt".[62] The reviewer doesn't make it clear whether Eßlair had the text in front of him during the performance, but Seckendorff recommended carrying a book even if it wasn't going to be used (this had the additional effect of keeping a declaimer from getting carried away with their gesticulations).[63] If Eßlair had the text in front of him, this could hardly have been a mistake, but on the other hand, errors or slips of the memory of this magnitude seem out of keeping with Eßlair's status as a lauded and mature actor and noted rhetorician, a performer who played Tell and Lear.[64] If they were indeed intentional, it's hard to imagine what the justification for these changes may have been, as Schiller's rhyme scheme is perfectly clear and important to the poem's structure. Unfortunately the critic doesn't relate any other changes he may have made, but he implies that there were several.[65] Schiller's poetry was rather well known, so

60 "Frappant war der eintönige Rede-Ton des Königs, mit dem dieser sein grausames Verlangen so herz- und gefühllos äußerte, als ob er ein Glas Wasser begehre […]." Anonym, "Musikalisch-deklamatorische Akademien," Außerordentliche Beylage zur *Wiener allgemeinen Theaterzeitung* 11, no. 32, 14 March 1818, 13.

61 „Es fiel auf, daß sich dieser Meister mehrmahlen versprach, so z. B. ließ er den ‚Gischt gegen Himmel stürzen,' störte den Reim durch ‚spricht' statt ‚fleht'."

62 Friedrich Schiller, „Der Taucher", *Schillers sämtliche Werke*, vol. 1, 16 vols (Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta, 1893), 237.

63 Seckendorff, *Vorlesungen*, Vol. 2, 373.

64 Gisela Schwanbeck, „Eßlair, Ferdinand", *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 4 (1959), 659–60 [Online-Version]; URL: https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd116584408.html#ndbcontent.

65 Anonym, „Declamatorium des Hrn. Friedrich Artour", *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung und Originalblatt für Kunst, Literatur und geselliges Leben* 22, no. 57 (1829), 229.

it's not impossible that at least some in an audience would know it by heart. Certainly many would have been sensitive enough to notice a modification like Eßlair's, accidental or otherwise, which muddied the poem. More insights into this phenomenon could be gained if handbills and/or text books from some of these performances were to emerge which contained the text of the poems (as the text for performances of vocal music was commonly included), which would make changes of Krickel's or Eßlair's sort easier to spot.

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For as much as declamation artists were trying to bring their artform closer to music, so were poets. Many authors of the period placed a premium on music and tried to emulate it where possible, sometimes seeing the origin of their art in music.[66] Goethe suggests as much, at least through his mouthpiece Wilhelm, in *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*:

> 'Nature', said Wilhelm, 'has denied me a happy voice, but inwardly a secret genius often seems to whisper something rhythmical to me, so that every time I walk I move to the beat and I think I hear soft tones, accompanying some song that in one way or another pleasingly appears to me'.[67]

Concerned as he was with rhythm and 'harmony in style' (per his comments about *Iphigenie auf Tauris*), it is hard to imagine that his sense of its qualities and opportunities for refinement would have been unaffected by hearing its words in someone else's performance, or perhaps even hearing its words changed (even changes which are to the poem's detriment can underscore the elements that work). After all, the conception of declamation was not just as an artform unto itself, but also, according to Johann Adam Hiller, "the art of reading with understanding and emphasis",[68] or as Goethe put it, "prose

66 Rey M. Longyear, *Schiller and Music* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), 87.

67 "'Mir ist zwar von der Natur,' versetzte Wilhelm, 'eine glückliche Stimme versagt, aber innerlich scheint mir oft ein geheimer Genius etwas Rhythmisches vorzuflüstern, so daß ich mich beim Wandern jedesmal im Takt bewege und zugleich leise Töne zu vernehmen glaube, wodurch denn irgendein Lied begleitet wird, das sich mir auf eine oder die andere Weise gefällig vergegenwärtigt.'" Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*, ed. Gonthier-Louis Fink, Gerhart Baumann, Johannes John (München: Hanser, 1991) 542–43.

68 "[...] die Kunst, mit Verstande und mit Nachdruck zu lesen [...]". Johann Adam Hiller, *Anweisung zum musikalisch-zierlichen Gesange* (Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Junius, 1780), 25. Johann Adam Hiller, *Treatise on Vocal Performance and Ornamentation*, ed. Suzanne J. Beicken (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 66.

music."[69] So it seems that, seated in the Theater in der Josefstadt that September evening, you find yourself not merely at a concert, or a declamatory recital, or a display of stylized tableaux, but directly in the middle of a complex nexus of rich, intermedial artistic development.

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69 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, "Regeln für Schauspieler," in *Goethe's Werke: Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand*, 44. Band (Stuttgart and Tübingen: J.G. Cotta, 1833), § 18–20, 294.

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Salons

Multimedia Performances and Performance Practice in Viennese Salons

Nancy November and Imogen Morris

Late eighteenth-century Viennese private entertainments frequently mixed the arts – music, poetry, theater – and were interactive. These entertainments' theatrical character persists into the nineteenth century and is quintessentially Viennese. Indeed, there was a veritable rage for theatrical activities of all kinds in Schubert's Vienna. This chapter explores what these activities entailed and why they were so popular. Memoires and anecdotes, some of them retrospective, reveal an abiding taste for performing opera 'in private', in many and various arrangements. These performances were often intermixed with recitations and combined with theatrical games. We include discussion of the evening gatherings visited by memoirist Leopold von Sonnleithner in the 1810s and 1820s, and an example from a salon that apparently took place in the home of Fanny von Arnstein during the Congress of Vienna.

We investigate programming choices, performance practices, and the balance between amateur and professional performance. Our approach is partly through documentary, musical, and textual analysis. But, given the lack of specific details, we also explore these music-theatrical entertainments using modern-day re-enactment – an approach explained and illustrated in the chapter.

Exploring the motivations behind the Viennese rage for theatricality, we consider musical and declamatory performance practices – and performance theories – in the early nineteenth century. We consider this in the context of Viennese society around 1800, where salons developed in response to the rapidly changing socio-political situation under the Metternich regime. These salons favored small-scale, non-political domestic activities that would appear innocuous to the censor. Music-theatrical soirées and salons not only afforded entertainment and education at this time. They also offered agency, and in particular a chance to enact new roles and take charge of spectatorship in an era of constant surveillance.

In no European city has the theater been more central to social and political life than in Vienna. It was the first German-speaking city to support permanent theater year-round. By 1800, it boasted four theaters, which kept the middle- and upper-class Viennese well supplied with their favorite forms of entertainment, except during summer and Lent. Eighteenth-century Viennese theater

combined many genres with a Shakespearean mixing of high and low, which allowed for overt and covert social and political commentary, for instance, Stranitzky's Hanswurst character, who mocks the pretensions of his master This richness is apparent in Mozart and Schikaneder's *Zauberflöte*, where the magical world is highly eclectic, allowing for veiled but legible political commentary. The revolutionary and sentimental plots that were fashionable in literature around 1800 were taken up by Viennese librettists and composers, contributing significantly to the popularity of opera; these elaborated sociopolitical themes entertained a broad audience in the Napoleonic era. Mixture, in the form of subversion, parody and farce juxtaposed with serious, moral or heroic aspects remained characteristic; performances were also mixed in terms of media and mode, combining spoken dialogue with singing in the case of *Singspiele* and spontaneous dialogue with scripted speech in popular plays.

Simon Williams finds that "the transactions and rituals of social life have been centred more consistently in the theater in Vienna than in other cities."[1] He notes that early in Viennese theater history, the narrow living quarters in the city and suburbs and the relatively mild climate lent themselves to a more public life. But alongside and intertwined with the thriving public theatrical performance, a lively theatrical life sprang up in the Viennese home in the late eighteenth century, continuing the rage for theater after the stage doors had closed for the day or the season. For instance, the much-favored *comédies de société* were theatrical performances in the homes of the nobility, who reenacted works that had been staged at the National Theater, often with some mimicry of particularly favored actors.[2]

But the rage for domestic theater was more widespread. In his *Yearbook of Musical Art in Vienna and Prague*, 1796, Johann Ferdinand Ritter von Schönfeld noticed a retreat into domestic circles, as far as music-making was concerned, attributing it to various factors although omitting to mention the obvious Napoleonic Wars.[3] The Viennese publishers cashed in on this, producing many theater 'spin-offs' (as we might term them now) for home use, including opera arrangements from the Hoftheater press. Dorothea Link has documented the thirst for home theatrical activities in late eighteenth-century Vienna, drawing on Count Karl Zinzendorf's memoirs.[4] These private entertainments

1 Simon Williams, "The Viennese Theater," in *Schubert's Vienna*, ed. Raymond Erickson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 214–45.
2 Dorothea Link, "Vienna's Private Theatrical and Musical Life, 1783–92, as Reported by Count Karl Zinzendorf," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 122, no. 2 (1997): 205–57.
3 Johann Ferdinand von Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag* (Vienna: Schönfeld, 1796; repr., Munich: Katzbichler, 1976), 77.
4 Link, "Vienna's Private Theatrical and Musical Life."

frequently mixed the arts – music, poetry, theater – and were interactive, but there was an emphasis on theatrical entertainment. Musical performances were often intermixed with recitations and combined with theatrical games such as *Geschichten spielen* (story playing), *tableaux vivants* (living pictures), and *Attitüden* (striking poses). These entertainments' theatrical character persists into the nineteenth century and was quintessentially Viennese.

This chapter explores early nineteenth-century Viennese music-theatrical activities, considering their importance and why they were so popular. We focus on 'mixed' entertainment (more or less ad hoc) that combines music (instrumental, vocal) and theater (via declamation). The combination of music and declamation, well documented in the public sphere around 1800, was also common in private and semi-private contexts at this time, although largely unexplored in histories of the era. We focus on aspects such as listening, performing, and programming practices, which have significant ramifications for Viennese music and musical life, as has already been seen in research into the composition and performance of Schubert's Lieder.[5]

But how do we learn about these activities, which are sparsely documented? Like Link, we explore memoires and anecdotes, some of them retrospective, which reveal an abiding taste for performing opera 'in private' in many and various arrangements, and also show how music and declamation were combined in these contexts. We include discussion of the evening gatherings in the homes of Adam Hutschenreiter, Heinrich Christian Krippner, and Friedrich Warsow, which memoirist Leopold von Sonnleithner visited in 1817–29. Enquiring into the balance between amateur and professional performance, programming choices, and performance practices, we can only get so far with documentary analysis. Given most accounts' lack of specific details, we explore these music-theatrical entertainments using modern-day re-enactment. This approach is akin to phenomenology and allows us to gain insights from lived experience, in this case, our own experiences trying to organize and carry out the program from a salon that took place in the home of Fanny von Arnstein during the Congress of Vienna.

5 See Lodewijk Muns, "Concert Song and Concert Speech around 1800," *Music & Letters* 98, no. 3 (August 2017): 365–93; Eric van Tassel, "'Something Utterly New': Listening to Schubert Lieder. I: Vogl and the Declamatory Style," *Early Music* 25, no. 4 (1997): 702–14; Olivia Claire Sanders Robinson, *Towards a Declamatory Performance in Schubert Lieder* (MA Thesis, Edith Cowan University, 2020); David Ferris, "Dissociation and Declamation in Schubert's Heine Songs," in *Rethinking Schubert*, ed. Lorraine Byrne Bodley and Julian Horton (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 383–403.

Naturally, there are some concerns to be addressed with this kind of evidence and approach. On the one hand, we were mindful that retrospective accounts, and memoirs in general, can be unreliable sources if we try to understand 'what happened'. They become useful when one takes account of the authors' positionality and loosens one's grip on trying to get at history in the sense of Leopold von Ranke's saying "wie es eigentlich gewesen war" (how it had actually been). One can settle instead for an account that yields insights into various possibilities in what historical subjects experienced. The question is then begged as to how modern-day performers, with modern-day training, playing on modern instruments, and in this case, in a concert hall (albeit with no audience except the performers themselves) might get close to such historical experiences. We will return to this question below.

The *Memoirs*, published in 1861–63, are of salons Sonnleithner attended in Vienna around 1814–25.[6] Sonnleithner was a Viennese lawyer but also a well-known personality within the early nineteenth-century Viennese musical scene, and a patron of Beethoven and Schubert. Sonnleithner collected music, but he also took notes on public performances and saved available programs from salon performances.[7] He was in a position to write detailed accounts of the salons at the homes of Hochenadl, Kiesewetter, Maria Theresia von Paradis, and Otto Hatwig, all held in the period 1814–25. These detailed private and semi-private music-making accounts were subject to gaps, personal bias, and inaccuracies. Still, they remain an important line of evidence on the music-making in these salons. Sonnleithner notes that he had hardly room to do justice to the variety of private and semi-private music-making. Like Zinzendorf, he was not invited to the full range of gatherings of the day – for example, those higher-profile soirées of Fanny von Arnstein that we address shortly. But one can observe that, just like the Schubertiads, the musical salons Sonnleithner attended were populated by dilettantes and amateurs from across the arts, and participants affiliated with theatrical life, such as Johann Nestroy, are frequently mentioned.

We now consider three descriptions of events Sonnleithner attended, the first in the home of merchant Adam Hutschenreiter, whose salons he visited between 1817 and 1820. On one of these occasions, the court actor Moreau

6 Sonnleithner's *Memoirs* were first published in Leopold von Sonnleithner, "Musikalische Skizzen aus "Alt-Wien,'" *Recensionen und Mittheilungen über Theater, Musik und bildende Kunst* 7, no. 47, 1861, 737–41, no. 48, 753–57, and no. 48, 753–57; 8, no. 1, 1862, 4–7, no. 12, 177–80, and no. 24, 369–75; and 9, no. 20, 1863, 305–07, and no. 21, 322–25; repr. Otto Erich Deutsch, ed., "Leopold von Sonnleithners Erinnerungen an die Musiksalons des vormärzlichen Wiens," *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 16, nos. 2–4 (1961): 49–62, 97–110, 145–57.

7 On Sonnleithner's memoirs in relationship with Schubert's *Erlkönig*, see the chapter by Louis De Nil in this volume.

(probably Joseph Moreau, 1778–1856) "stepped forward as an orator." Sonnleithner continues:

> A simple, more bourgeois character characterized the evening gatherings at the merchant Adam Hutschenreiter's (Münzerstraße 580), in which I participated from 1817 to 1820. The wife, Josepha, née Melzer, although already the mother of grown sons, still participated as the most discreet soprano singer and showed in the performance of older music (Mozart, Haydn) the remnants of a pleasant voice and good schooling, *without frills and dramatizing affectation*.[8]

Of interest here is not only the mixing of music and declamation, but the mixing of dilettantes (those who did not earn money from their music-making but might nonetheless be of high standards) and professionals, and also the mixed program (here "older music" is mentioned – elsewhere in the memoirs it becomes clear that this is frequently mixed with modern repertoire, just as in public concerts of the time). But perhaps of most significant interest to us is the italicized commentary on delivery, which we will return to shortly. Also of note is the purpose of these salons – entertainment and sociability. The implication is that these circumstances created a welcoming setting where all present (including the wife) could step into the limelight and try their hand.

The main participants in these salons were not professionals but dilettantes who loved to try their hands at various arts for entertainment and education. Sonnleithner also refers to music-theatrical entertainments in the home of Heinrich Christian Krippner, a wholesale dealer and musical salon host (who died in 1840) and who seems to have achieved some success in declamation. He also served as resident poet for three years (1811–14) at the Kärntnertortheater. Again, Sonnleithner emphasizes the modesty of the entertainment, commenting:

> In the autumn of 1814, I was introduced to the wholesaler Heinrich Christian Krippner (died 13 August 1840), in whose apartment (Preßgasse 454) musical and declamatory entertainments took place on Sunday afternoons. Although the premises left much to be desired in size and elegance, these performances were nevertheless attended by a numerous and select company. Declamation was cultivated more than it is today, and the gentlemen von Sydow, Castelli

8 "Einen einfachen, mehr altbürgerlichen Charakter hatten die Abendgesellschaften bei dem Kaufmann Adam Hutschenreiter (Münzerstraße 580), an welchen ich mich in den Jahren 1817 bis 1820 betheiligte. Die Hausfrau, Josepha, geb. Melzer, obgleich Mutter bereits erwachsener Söhne, wirkte noch als taktfeste Sopran-Sängerin mit und zeigte im Vortrage älterer Musik (Mozart, Haydn) die Reste einer angenehmen Stimme und guten Schule, ohne Ziererei und dramatisirende Affektation." Deutsch, "Leopold von Sonnleithners Erinnerungen," 154 (emphasis added). English translations are the authors' own unless otherwise stated.

> and others excelled in it. Singing, the pianoforte, and string instruments were manned by the best forces of the artists and art enthusiasts, and there I got to know Moscheles and Bernhard Romberg personally for the first time. A son of the house later became known in private circles as a competent bass singer.[9]

Again, music and declamation are mixed up in the same description. Again, the emphasis is on amateur performers having fun in private, although Ignaz Franz Castelli (1781–1862), who served in the Lower Austrian government, was also a famous and popular dramatist, librettist, poet and editor. Again, the event is, at root, a family or domestic affair – the performers are a nucleus of family and invited others. Sonnleithner points to the waning of declamation in his time, which went hand-in-hand with the waning of what Eduard Hanslick would (contemporaneously) term the "Höhenpunkt [sic] des musikalischen Dilettantismus" (high point of musical dilettantism) in Vienna (1810–20).[10]

Such a musical dilettante was the calligrapher Friedrich Warsow (born 1787). Sonnleithner describes him as "an eager lover of music and declamation" (ein eifriger Liebhaber der Musik und Deklamation), who "liked to try his hand at the latter" (in welch letzteren er selbst sich gerne versuchte), and goes on to give a comprehensive description of the music-theatrical entertainments in his home:

> The circle, which he gathered in his rather narrow apartment through several winters on Tuesday evenings, was quite odd [...] The participants and listeners were mostly young painters and businessmen and their young friends. It was therefore not surprising that sociable cheerfulness rather than serious endeavor prevailed. I participated in the years 1816 and 1817, then again in 1822 in these cozy entertainments. The character of the group approached their end as soon as they began to include the better-known musical personalities such as the pianist Fanny Salomon and Nina Rzehaczek and the alto singer Mathilde Weiß. In the departure of modest instrumental solos and easy singing, string quartets and various overtures formed the beginning of the musical portion. Among the

9 "Im Herbste 1814 wurde ich bei dem Großhändler Heinrich Christian Krippner (gestorben 13. August 1840) eingeführt, in dessen Wohnung (Preßgasse 454) an Sonntagen Mittags musikalisch-deklamatorische Unterhaltungen stattfanden. Obgleich die Räumlichkeiten an Größe und Eleganz viel zu wünschen übrig ließen, waren diese Aufführungen doch von einer zahlreichen und gewählten Gesellschaft besucht. Die Deklamation war damals mehr als heute gepflegt, und die Herren von Sydow, Castelli und Andere leisteten darin Vorzügliches. Der Gesang, das Pianoforte und die Streichinstrumente waren durch die besten Kräfte der Künstler und Kunstfreunde besetzt, und ich lernte dort z. B. Moscheles und Bernhard Romberg zuerst persönlich kennen. Ein Sohn des Hauses hat sich später in Privatkreisen als tüchtiger Baßsänger bekannt gemacht." Deutsch, "Leopold von Sonnleithners Erinnerungen," 151. Sonnleithner: 8, 1863, no. 20, 305.

10 Eduard Hanslick, *Geschichte des Concertwesens in Wien* (Wien: Wilhelm Braunmüller, 1869), 141.

> orators was the splendid actor Moreau; he also liked to present parody poems in a Jewish dialect. In addition, Eduard Anschütz presented some of his successful poems, and even the woman of the house sought to imitate her husband as an orator.[11]

Again, we have a modest occasion, compared to another musical evening, held contemporaneously, at the home of Vinzenz Neuling and involving professional musicians like Joseph Mayseder and 'difficult' chamber music such as the Beethoven Septet. This kind of salon did not seem to involve the convivial 'joining in' and 'trying one's hand' at theater of the others. But this is just to say that there were various salons at the time involving varying balances of the arts and repertoire types – and not that the level was somehow lower in the former than the latter. Indeed, Warsow invited actor and poet Eduard Anschütz, who went on to play at the Burgtheater after 1831, where he debuted as Angus in *Macbeth*. The point is that these salons might provide a training ground for budding professionals – musicians, actors, etc. – and a safe place for social commentary (satire), including people like homemakers who would not usually have a voice in public discourse.

Arnstein's salon re-creation

We can get so far with accounts like these – they show that they happened, who was present, and sometimes what was performed. But they do not detail how it happened or what was experienced; that is, what it might have been like. We need a more detailed account and a more phenomenological approach. We turn to an article titled "A Concert at Baroness Fanny Arnstein's at the time of the Vienna Congress" (Ein Conzert bei Baronin Fanny Arnstein zur Zeit des Wiener Congresses), which appeared as supplements to the *Blättern für Musik,*

11 "Eigenthümlich war der Kreis, den er in seiner ziemlich engen Wohnung [...] durch mehrere Winter an Dinstag[!]-Abenden bei sich versammelte. Die Mitwirkenden und Zuhörer waren größtentheils junge Maler und Handlungsbeflissene und deren junge Freunde. Es war daher nicht zu verwundern, daß mehr die gesellige Heiterkeit als ein ernstes Streben vorwaltete. Ich nahm in den Jahren 1816 und 1817, dann wieder 1822 an diesen gemüthlichen Unterhaltungen Teil, welche sich ihrem Ende näherten, sobald man anfing höhere musikalische Kräfte (z. B. die Pianistinnen Fanny Salomon und Nina Rzehaczek und die Altsängerin Mathilde Weiß) beizuziehen, wodurch der ursprüngliche Charakter verloren ging. Streichquartette, darunter Ouvertüren im Auszuge, bescheidene Instrumentalsoli und anspruchslose Gesänge bildeten Anfangs den musikalischen Theil. Unter den Deklamatoren glänzte der Hofschauspieler Moreau, der besonders die damals beliebten Parodie-Gedichte in jüdischer Mundart gerne vortrug. Auch Eduard Anschütz gab manche seiner gelungenen Gedichte zum Besten, und selbst die Frau des Hauses strebte als Deklamatorin dem Beispiele ihres Gatten nach." Deutsch, "Leopold von Sonnleithners Erinnerungen," 152. Sonnleithner 9, 1863, no. 20, 306.

Theater und Kunst edited by Leopold A. Zellner, a New German enthusiast. It was published in Vienna in 1855 by Jewish playwright Moritz Bermann, who was born in Vienna in 1823 and also wrote biography and historical drama.[12] The article describes in great detail a gathering, allegedly held on 20 November 1814, in the home of Fanny von Arnstein, with a group at the upper end of the social spectrum. International guests included Lord Castlereagh, leading the British delegation; Karl August von Hardenberg, chief representative of Prussia; and Prince de Talleyrand, representing French foreign affairs.

All this is plausible for a salon at the time of the Congress, including the reported politicized conversation. However, the report needs to be treated with care since Fanny was a political figure in her time and would still have stood for liberal, democratic Vienna later in the century.[13] This is the reported program of the event:[14]

1. Aria of the Queen of the Night from *Die Zauberflöte*, performed by Court opera singer Antonia Campi accompanied by Ignaz Moscheles
2. Recitation: scene from *Macbeth*, performed by Court opera actor Sophie Schröder
3. Concert Piece for Piano by Johann Nepomuk Hummel played on a Conrad Graf piano
4. Recitation: Idylls (Count Hippolit Bindemonte)
5. Franz Clement playing one of his own violin concertos
6. Peter Hänsel ("Haydn's student"; violin) playing a trio together with Hummel (piano) and Ferdinand Kauer (flute)

– Intermission for conversation –

1. Weinmüller [probably Carl (Friedrich Clemens) Weinmüller (1764–1828)] sings Sarastro's aria and recitative from *Die Zauberflöte*
2. Recitation from *Phädra* (Frau von Weißenthurn [probably Johanna Franul von Weißenthurn (1773–1847)])

12 Fully reported in Peter Gradenwitz, *Literatur und Musik in geselligem Kreise: Geschmacksbildung, Gesprächsstoff und musikalische Unterhaltung in der bürgerlichen Salongesellschaft* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1991), 259–67.

13 On Fanny Arnstein see also the chapter by Nancy November, "Cultivating Musical Arrangements in Early Nineteenth-Century Vienna: Uncovering Women's Agency in the Domestic Sphere" and the chapter by Kristina Muxfeldt, "Overcoming *Toleranz*: Jewish Women's Social Activism on the Long Road to Emancipation," in *Women's Agency in Schubert's Vienna*, Vienna Schubert Studies 1, ed. Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, Birgit Lodes, and Melanie Unseld (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2024).

14 Beilagen nos. 91 and 95, Gradenwitz, *Literatur und Musik in geselligem Kreise*, 261–62, 266.

3. Aria from *Die Schweizer Familie* ("an opera, which, although already five years old, still disperses its magic"), performed by Court opera singer Johann Michael Vogl, accompanied by opera's composer Joseph Weigl[15]
4. Maria Theresia von Paradis playing a piano sonata dedicated to her by Leopold Kozeluch
5. Nikolaus Heurteur ("a man of some thirty years") declaims a scene from Franz Grillparzer's tragedy *Die Ahnfrau*
6. Court opera singer Franz Wild "incites a Furore" with his performance of Orestes' aria from Gluck's *Iphigénie en Tauride*

If it is in some respects idealized, it at least gives us an example of a program with a plausible repertoire of the day and performers, including Johann Nepomuk Hummel, Ignaz Moscheles, and Leopold Kozeluch, and well-known singers like Campi, Vogl, and Weinmüller. In other words, professionals, in contrast to the largely dilettante events described by Sonnleithner.

As mentioned, modern-day re-enactment brings considerable issues as a research method. But this 'hands-on' approach arguably got us further with questions of performance and experience than would a modern scholarly approach to reading and triangulating documents. In particular, the re-enactment provided new perspectives on the historical research we had done so far, and unearthed new directions for us to take that had otherwise not presented themselves.[16] In what follows, we examine some of our findings, focusing on the experience of performing a program that contained a mix of music and declamation. Our re-creation took place at the University of Auckland on 21 August 2023, and involved performances by students and colleagues from the university, including ourselves. Aside from the program, there was no requirement for performers to incorporate any new historical knowledge into their performance or their general behavior at the event (e.g., how they conducted themselves in the venue). We were interested in their experience of performing the program from the perspective of their individual performance practices, background, and training. This allowed the performers to

15 On this opera, very popular in Vienna at that time, see also the chapter by Marcaletti in this volume.

16 Across various fields and styles of music, phenomenological and artistic research methods have been used to spur new and deeper thinking about historical knowledge, including (but not limited to), Mine Dogantan-Dack, "Performing Beethoven's Musical Dynamics," *Music Performance Research* 11 (2020): 1–35, https://doi.org/10.14439/mpr.11.1; Elisabeth Le Guin, *Boccherini's Body* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005); Sean Williams, "Technical Influence and Physical Constraint in the Realisation of 'Gesang der Jünglinge'," (paper presented at Tracking the Creative Process in Music, IRCAM, Paris, France, 8–10 October 2015); Imogen Morris, "Much Music, Excellent Voice: High-Pitched Baroque Alto Recorders and Their Repertoire" (PhD diss., University of Auckland, 2022), https://hdl.handle.net/2292/62888.

'be themselves' as much as possible, which gave us clearer insight into their lived experience of the event.

First, a few notes on the programming choices. Although it contains complex repertoire, the program was probably not much more challenging than that performed by the reportedly very able dilettantes who participated in the salons Sonnleithner attended; it reflects the kind of repertoire and length of public concerts at the time. There seems to be an emphasis on German art and artists (which may have been a political choice on the part of Arnstein or Bermann in representing Arnstein), but also in the declamation on popular literary choices of the day: *Phädra*, *Macbeth*, *Die Zauberflöte*, *Die Schweizer Familie* were all highly popular, as publishing catalogues reveal. Piano and vocal works dominate, as is typical of the era. In the private and semi-private context, though, the emphasis is on arrangements, and so, to a greater degree than in public performance, the works are excerpted. The emphasis is on the people interacting rather than presenting complete works of revered composers.

In our re-creation, modern-day expectations and conventions became apparent, but far from hindering findings, they highlighted key points of interest. The performers were intrigued by the array of composers, especially those names not often heard in concerts today but commonplace and well-regarded in their time. Likewise, the variety provided by including spoken word, sung works, and instrumental performances in one program demonstrated to our performers the increased potential for creative programming, such as threading a theme or narrative through the concert via the different art forms. Finally, despite the re-creation being more intimate than a modern-day concert and the performers being aware that historical salons could be more relaxed, everyone naturally fell into modern expectations of the audience, with little chatter or noise both during and between the items. It is possible that the venue played a role in this: the re-creation took place in a well-known concert hall for the performers and for which they are already used to formal performance customs. In contrast, the warm-up space had a much more relaxed atmosphere, which exhibited similarities in cordiality and openness that might have been witnessed in smaller salons among friends and family.

The re-enactment also raised questions about performance practice. The juxtaposition of verbal and instrumental vocal items forced us to think about delivery, especially concerning the delivery of the theatrical excerpts, but also whether to apply ideas of declamation to the delivery of song and instrumental music. We have some hints as to expectations from the above account in Sonnleithner: housewife Josepha Melzer presents vocal music of the old school (Mozart, Haydn) "without frills and dramatizing affectation" but then Franz Wild "incites a Furore" with his performance of Orestes' aria from Gluck's

Iphigénie en Tauride, contemporaneous with the Haydn and Mozart works – is it just that an operatic tenor had more dramatic license (or Bermann is fabricating)? Our performances of parallel repertoire in modern-day re-creation were restrained concerning delivery, except for two of the declamations. Gregory Camp played the eager young actor/sub at the Burgtheater who 'gets his chance' at a metaphorical love scene in an appreciative small company (Illustration 1), and Nancy November played the isolated and lonely middle-class housewife who finally gets a chance to play a tragic scene in company. Other than that, only Zosia Herlihy-O'Brien offered a brief cadenza in the Clement violin concerto, and Imogen Morris chose to experiment with gesture and a short cadenza in playing contemporary Viennese repertoire for Csakan by Anton Heberle (not in the original Arnstein program). Otherwise, these performances were of high standard but "without frills and dramatizing affectation." Reflecting on this, we realized that only the two 'dilettante' orators, working without any training in performance and sense of performance tradition, felt free to take many liberties in performance.



Illustration 1: A dramatic recitation of a nineteenth-century idyll by Gregory Camp during a salon re-creation that took place at the University of Auckland on 21 August 2023. Photography courtesy of Sean Curham.

Spoken declamation in the early nineteenth century

The combination of music and declamation in one program, and the observations on the effect of this in our re-enactment, encouraged us to take a closer look at verbal and musical delivery at this time, and to consider the connections between the two. We found divided opinions and a faintly polemical or (less faintly) didactic tone. Texts about declamation from the era demonstrate a variety of approaches and opinions regarding delivery, which were considered the alpha and omega of the ancient Greek orators (cf. Demosthenes, being asked what the most important canon of rhetoric is).[17] In many of these texts, the authors sought to strike a balance between the aims of the reciter/reader, the orator, and the actor.[18] In particular, the degree to which the declaimer is expected to relinquish their perspective and inhabit the emotions of the character of the text came under scrutiny, as did the amount of appropriate gesture and movement on stage. Friedrich Rambach, for example, distinguished between the declaimer and the actor, noting that "the declaimer speaks in the tone of a specific feeling (Empfindung), which is expressed in the poem as a whole, the actor speaks in the tone of a specific person, and of the emotions as experienced at a specific moment by that person."[19] Heinrich August Kerndörffer expresses similar views, noting that the declaimer must suppress their emotions to express the correct feelings inherent to the poem.[20] Kerndörffer's comments suggest a cerebral, disciplined approach to performance, with more self-control and presence of mind than acting.[21] Gustav Anton von Seckendorff translates this disciplined approach in his limitations on gesture and movement, permitting only small-scale adoption of character;

17 According to ancient tradition (e.g. Marcus Fabius Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* 11,3,6), when asked about the three most important parts of the speech, Demosthenes always answered that it was the delivery.

18 Mary Helen Dupree, "From 'Dark Singing' to a Science of the Voice: Gustav Anton von Seckendorff and the Declamatory Concert Around 1800," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 86, no. 3 (2012): 365–96, at 385.

19 Friedrich Eberhard Rambach, *Fragmente über Deklamation* (Berlin: Friedrich Nicolai, 1800): 45–46; summarised by Muns, "Concert Song and Concert Speech around 1800," 385: "Denn der Deklamator redet in dem Tone der Empfindung, der Akteur spricht im Tone einer Person, und wenn diese auch von Empfindunge afficirt ist, und diese vorträgt, so spricht er doch diese Empfindungen nur so aus wie sie diese Person empfinden und aussprechen würde; der Deklamator durchdrungen von der Totalwirkung des Gedichts, welches er vorträgt, spricht in dem Tone in welchem sein Gemüth durch die Empfindung dieser Totalwirkung gesezt ist […]."

20 Heinrich August Kerndörffer, *Handbuch der Declamation: Ein Leitfaden für Schulen und für den Selbstunterricht zur Bildung eines guten rednerischen Vortrags*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Gerhard Fleischer der Jüngere, 1813), vol. 1, 7–8.

21 Dupree, "From 'Dark Singing' to a Science of the Voice," 373.

anything larger, such as any movement beyond three steps on stage, is seen by Seckendorff as too theatrical.[22]

The aims of the declaimer – in particular, the disciplined, self-controlled approach to performance – were well suited to the salon, as the smaller venue allowed the subtleties of emotional expression to be observed.[23] But we should be wary of using such treatises as a guide to what happened in the salon; this would be like taking contemporary theorists' injunctions not to use vibrato as a sign that it was not used. However, the approach to declamation described in these treatises shows that venue affected performance practice and technique and the relationship between performer and audience – a fact that likely reflects the impact of salons on social interaction, personal development and self-expression at the time. The likely correlations with musical performance practices in salons are worth exploring.

A number of declaimers and theorists of the early nineteenth century sought to form a link between spoken and sung performance. Declaimers were interested in the musical nature of spoken language, noting connections in elements such as rhythm, emphasis, and tempo. Perhaps the most contentious element, however, was pitch. While some theorists recognized pitch as having a more restricted role – linked predominantly to variation and heightened expression – others believed pitch was essential to speech and declamation. Seckendorff, who offered a comprehensive theory of declamation and vocal expression, like Johann Gottfried Herder, viewed song as a musically heightened form of speech. Such approaches were controversial, with questions raised over how accurately the unstable, small-scale contours and pitches of speech could constitute a melody and be reproduced without appearing unnatural. Likewise, the notion that such melodic contours can be equated with those in music ignores harmonic conventions' role in defining musical melody.[24] Nonetheless, the link between music and oratory was firmly in Viennese musicians' minds: declamation became part of the curriculum of the Conservatory of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde.

22 Gustav Anton Freiherr von Seckendorff, *Vorlesungen über Deklamation und Mimik*, 2 vols. (Braunschweig: Friedrich Viehweg, 1816), vol. 2, 372–73; Muns, "Concert Song and Concert Speech around 1800," 385–86. See also the chapter by Louis De Nil and Cheston Humphries in this volume.

23 Sanders Robinson, *Towards a Declamatory Performance in Schubert Lieder*, 24.

24 Muns, "Concert Song and Concert Speech around 1800," 378.

Johann Michael Vogl: the dramatic, the declamatory, and the lyrical

Much literature on the performance of Schubert's Lieder deals with Johann Michael Vogl's vocal style and the distinctions between dramatic (not necessarily synonymous with declamatory, as we will see) and lyrical performance.[25] Vogl was a baritone singer famed in his day for his opera performances but is now remembered most for his friendship and professional collaboration with Schubert. He is well known to have been a dramatic performer, incorporating theatrical methods into his performance, and incurred both praise (including from Schubert himself) and disparagement for his interpretation.[26] Perhaps most critical – and indeed most often cited as such – was Sonnleithner, writing in the mid-nineteenth century, who appears to rail against any hint of declamatory or dramatic performance of Schubert's Lieder, including many techniques that Vogl fell further into using as he aged.[27] However, as David Montgomery points out, Sonnleithner was simply "reacting to the decadence of mid-century lied singing", which had incorporated theatrical approaches into performance, when "theater and concert traditions had reached a grand low point in Austria."[28] In other words, Sonnleithner is not describing the declamatory performance style that Schubert would have known but a more exaggerated, theatrical one.

Despite this, we can still ascertain details about what appropriate Lied performance may have looked like in Schubert's time from Sonnleithner's comments. To Sonnleithner, the important distinction between lyrical and dramatic performance lies in the persona assumed by the singer, with Sonnleithner noting that "the lied singer [...] himself does not represent the person whose feelings he portrays; [thus] poet, composer and singer must conceive the song as lyrical, not dramatic."[29] This is not unlike the sentiments expressed in contemporaneous declamation manuals. As Montgomery writes, Sonnleithner discourages any acting out of roles and excessive vocalizations, but he does not forbid the use of vocal intensity or careful enunciation of the text, both of

25 On Vogl see also the chapter by Louis de Nil in this volume.

26 David Montgomery provides nuanced discussion of what, precisely, Schubert might have been praising. David Montgomery, *Franz Schubert's Music in Performance: Compositional Ideals, Notational Intent, Historical Realities, Pedagogical Foundations* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2003), 22.

27 Montgomery, *Franz Schubert's Music in Performance*, 21–22.

28 Idem, 21–22, 26.

29 Leopold von Sonnleithner, "Nachtrag" [1857], in *Schubert: Die Erinnerungen seiner Freunde*, ed. Otto Erich Deutsch (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1957), 98: "Der Liedsänger [...] stellt nicht selbst die Person vor, deren Gefühle er schildert; Dichter, Tonsetzer und Sänger müssen das Lied *lyrisch*, nicht *dramatisch* auffassen." (emphasis original); Montgomery, *Franz Schubert's Music in Performance*, 19.

which would be hallmarks of any good performance but of particular interest and use to the declamatory performer.[30] So here we see that while excessive dramatic elements may not have been appropriate, the more self-controlled approach of declamatory performance may have been, and indeed could have co-existed with aspects of lyrical performance.

Sonnleithner's comment that "one can play Schubert's melodies on the stick-flute or the hurdy-gurdy and they would remain attractive; their musical beauty calls in no way for a declamatory interpretation" gives an insight into what might have been considered appropriate lyrical performance at the time.[31] It demonstrates that lyrical performance favored the inherently musical elements of the piece, including the beauty of the melody itself, rather than favoring the text as declamatory performance would have done. While both performance styles arguably rely on a flowing performance to be understood by the listener, the flowing lyrical style could perhaps most naturally have supported the increased use of legato as the nineteenth century progressed – a point to which we will return in discussing instrumental performance practice.

Olivia Claire Sanders Robinson studied Vogl's declamatory style of performing Schubert's Lieder, using written accounts, Vogl's notebooks, and the edition of *Die schöne Müllerin* published by Diabelli with alterations attributed to Vogl.[32] She describes key elements such as spoken-word and recitative-style effects, rhythmic alteration (which changes the emphasis on words or the meaning of the sentence), ornamentation as a means of word emphasis, facial expression, and measured body movements. She makes special note of Vogl's career as a theatrical performer, which no doubt played a role in developing many of his performance techniques, alongside his interest in ancient practices in oratorical delivery.[33] Sanders Robinson demonstrates that there is significant historical evidence to support Vogl's approach to performance and that it was well within the bounds of what was commonly practiced at the

30 Idem, 26.

31 Leopold von Sonnleithner, "Bemerkungen zur Gesangskunst: IV. Ueber den Vortrag des Liedes mit besonderer Beziehung auf Franz Schubert," *Recensionen und Mittheilungen über Theater und Musik* 6, no. 45, 1860, 697–701, at 701: "Man kann diese Melodien […] auf dem Leierkasten oder auf der Stockflöte spielen, und sie bleiben doch reizend; ihre musikalische Schönheit ist durch einen deklamatorischen Vortrag keineswegs bedingt." Montgomery, *Franz Schubert's Music in Performance*, 19.

32 Sanders Robinson, *Towards a Declamatory Performance in Schubert Lieder*, 25. See also Walther Dürr, "Schubert and Johann Michael Vogl: A Reappraisal," *19th-Century Music* 3, no. 2 (1979): 126–40; Dürr, "'Manier' und 'Veränderung' in Kompositionen Franz Schuberts," in *Zur Aufführungspraxis der Werke Franz Schuberts*, ed. Vera Schwarz (Munich: Emil Katzbichler, 1981) 124–39; Robert Schollum "Die Diabelli-Ausgabe der 'Schönen Müllerin'," in *Zur Aufführungspraxis der Werke Franz Schuberts*, 140–61; and Joseph R. Matson, "Joseph Michael Vogl's Alterations to Schubert's 'Die Schöne Müllerin'" (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 2009).

33 Sanders Robinson, *Towards a Declamatory Performance in Schubert Lieder*, 24–25.

time. She also acknowledges the evidence that opposes it and that some listeners found his approach shocking. She concludes that Vogl's performance style was far from unusual for the time but did not represent the only possibility.[34] This demonstrates the plurality of approaches and preferences in use at the time. To emphasize this, Montgomery lists singers known to have performed Schubert's works; the names given represent a wide range of performance practices, from lyrical to dramatic.[35] The music-theatrical salons of the time no doubt became the ideal space to explore the relationship between music, declamation, and other theatrical pursuits, each influencing the performance of the others and leading to a rich variety of performance approaches.

Instrumental performance and declamation

Trends in vocal performance style – including the performer's expressive role and the degree to which text meaning and shape should be favored – are also mirrored in instrumental performance guidance. Performers in the Baroque and early nineteenth century shared strikingly similar aims – especially concerning the relationship of music with text and language and their roles in expression. This demonstrates that the expressive ideals of the Baroque endured further into the nineteenth century than is often believed today. Methods and treatises from both periods include clear instructions that the performer must arouse emotional states in their listener, and many theorists state that this can only be achieved if the performer feels the emotions themselves, a concept that derives from Quintilian. The point on which people differed, especially in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, was to what degree the performer should insert their expressions and emotions into the work.

Heinrich Christoph Koch foregrounds the composition as left by the composer, foreshadowing later ideas of *Werktreue*: "On the part of the performers, the expression consists in the correct perception of the feelings and ideas of the composer described in the tone pieces, and in the performance of the main and secondary voices corresponding to these feelings."[36] In a similar vein, Hummel emphasizes the player's role in completing the work in performance and their job of "arousing the passions" that the composer has encoded into

34 Robinson, *Towards a Declamatory Performance*, 25.
35 Montgomery, *Franz Schubert's Music in Performance*, 17–18.
36 Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt am Main: August Hermann der Jüngere, 1802), "Ausdruck", col. 187: "Auf Seiten der Ausführer bestehet der Ausdruck in der richtigen Auffassung der in den Tonstücken enthaltenen Empfindungen und Ideen des Tonsetzers, und in dem diesen Empfindungen entsprechenden Vortrage der Haupt- und Nebenstimmen."

the piece: "Let the player study the character of the composition, as otherwise he cannot possibly awaken in his audience the same emotions, as the composer has endeavored to excite by his music."[37] Carl Czerny highlights the relationship of expression and technique when he states:

> Although execution and expression belong mainly to the *intellectual* powers of the player, they depend so much on *mechanical*, or *material* means, that even in great masters and with highly gifted players, both qualities flow into one another, and hence one seems, as it were, only the natural consequence of the other.[38]

This statement is particularly noteworthy because expression results from the mind and body working together. A similar sense of balancing intellect with emotion in expressive delivery comes through when Czerny details two key aspects of expressive performance:

> 1.st The strict observance of all the marks of expression, which the Author himself has indicated in his piece.
>
> 2.ly That expression which the player is able, and which he ought to infuse into his performance from the impulse of his own feelings.[39]

To Czerny, expression is not an emotional 'free-for-all' on the part of performer: they must observe and deliver the expressive indications that the composer has used in the work. However, the performer can balance this with a degree of personal feeling. In other words, the performer must decode the information the composer gave and portray the correct emotions to the audience, but they can and should infuse this with their corresponding emotional impulses to heighten the listener's experience. The balance of intellect and emotion demanded here is not unlike the self-controlled, cerebral approach discussed in the declamation manuals of the time.

Many instrumental music methods instruct the reader to play in a way that imitates the sung voice. As we have seen, there was a great deal of variety in vocal approaches at the time, presumably translating to a wide range of instrumental approaches. Koch's definition of cantabile may aid us in discovering what instrumentalists aimed for:

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37 Johann Nepomuk Hummel, *A Complete Theoretical and Practical Course of Instructions on the Art of Playing the Piano Forte* [...] (London: Boosey & Co., ca. 1827), Part 3, 41.

38 Carl Czerny, *Complete Theoretical and Practical Piano Forte School* (London: R. Cocks & Co., 1839), Part 3, 1.

39 Czerny, *Complete Theoretical and Practical Piano Forte School*, Part 3, 1.

> Cantabile, singing. Cantabile is the name given to all those parts of the melody that have such a light and flowing connection of tones that they can be produced by the singing organs easily and without any special effort. Such cantabile movements must also flow easily on the instruments, that is, with tones of moderate strength, connected together, and avoiding graces and embellishments that are not appropriate for the singing voice.[40]

In his entry on "singend", Koch elaborates further, noting that the singing style has much in common with flowing performance but that flowing performance is chiefly concerned with close intervals. In contrast, the singing style includes wide intervals and more articulated/separated notes, which must still be connected elegantly. His conclusion notes the significance of this performance style:

> In this sense, singing is the basis through which the melody becomes that language of feeling that is comprehensible to every human being. If a piece of music lacks this quality, it becomes incomprehensible and it lacks that which should captivate the attention.[41]

Meanwhile, it is worth noting that Koch also places great importance on declamation due to its ability to provide clarity and meaning. His statements relate more directly to vocal performance but were no doubt of importance to instrumentalists as well:

> Although in singing the tones are used in completely different and more definite proportions than in speech, it is nevertheless necessary that in singing, too, if the expression of ideas and feelings is to be vividly and accurately presented, the words must be treated in a language-like manner with regard to their grammatical and oratorical accents, with regard to the lingering or flowing of them, or also with regard to the rising and falling of the tones.[42]

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40 "*Cantabile, singend.* Cantabel nennet man überhaupt alle diejenigen Stellen der Melodie, die einen so leichten und fließenden Zusammenhang der Töne haben, daß sie auch vermittelst der Singorgane leicht, und ohne besondere Anstrengung hervorgebracht werden können. Solche cantable Sätze müssen auch auf den Instrumenten leicht dahinfließend, das heißt, mit an einander geschleiften Tönen von mäßiger Stärke, und mit Vermeidung solcher Manieren und Verzierungen vorgetragen werden, die der Singstimme nicht angemessen sind." Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon*, col. 299.

41 "In diesem Sinne ist das Singende die Grundlage, wodurch die Melodie zu derjenigen Sprache der Empfindung wird, die jedem Menschen faßlich ist. Mangelt einem Tonstücke diese Eigenschaft, so wird es unverständlich, und es fehlt ihm dasjenige, was die Aufmerksamkeit fesseln sollte." Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon*, col. 1391.

42 "Obgleich bey dem Gesange die Töne in ganz andern und bestimmtern Verhältnissen ausgeübt werden, als bey der Sprache, so ist es dennoch nothwendig, daß auch bey dem Gesange, wenn der Ausdruck der Ideen und Empfindungen lebhaft und treffend dargestellet werden soll, die Worte in Ansehung ihrer grammatischen und oratorischen Accente, in Ansehung des Verweilens oder Dahinströmens derselben, oder auch in Ansehung des Steigens und Fallens der

As seen in these entries, cantabile aids comprehension by providing flow and connection to a text or notes of a melody, while declamation makes texts and melodies comprehensible by applying the appropriate stresses and accents. As such, both are vital to a performance and in no way mutually exclusive. This is especially apparent in Wenzel Johann Tomášek's description of Jan Ladislav Dussek's playing in Prague in 1804, in which he wrote: "His fingers were like a company of ten singers [...]. His truly declamatory style, especially in cantabile movements, remains the ideal for every artistic performance – something that no pianist after him has attained."[43] The cantabile playing still allowed for clarity of accent and gesture to imitate the voice.

Accentuation remained an important feature of performance in the early nineteenth century. It was frequently divided into (at least) two categories: grammatical/metrical and oratorical/pathetic/expressive. The metrical accent followed the meter of the piece in question, providing for a regular pattern of accented and unaccented beats in each bar. The expressive accent was designed to provide greater expressive or rhetorical meaning to the work and was treated as more important than the metrical, often overriding the metrical accent in cases of contradiction. The appropriate use of the expressive accent was identifiable through pitch, rhythm/note length, beaming, dissonance, and slurring.[44] Many authors linked accent with speech, with Hummel noting:

> As in speaking, it is necessary to lay an *emphasis* on certain syllables or words to render our discourse impressive, and the meaning of our words intelligible to the hearer, so in music the same thing is requisite [...].[45]

Accents could be played by increasing the strength or volume of the note or by lengthening it slightly, just as they are executed in speech.

The cantabile style of instrumental playing is referenced throughout the Baroque period, and its basic tenets – the performance of singing and singable melodies, especially in slower movements – remained the same in the nineteenth century. But cantabile became connected with legato articulation in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This is evidenced by Moscheles'

Töne, auf einer Sprache ähnliche Art behandelt werden müssen." Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon*, col. 412–13.

43 Quoted in Sandra P. Rosenblum, *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music: Their Principles and Applications* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1991), 15. "Seine Finger glichen einem Verein von zehn Sängern [...]. Sein richtig deklamatorischer Vortrag, besonders der von cantabileb Sätzen, bleibt as Ideal für jede Kunstleistung, das kein Klavierspieler nach ihm noch erreichte." Wenzel Johann Tomaschek, "Selbstbiographie," *Libussa* 4 (1845): 393.

44 For more, see Clive Brown, "Accentuation in Practice," in *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750–1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 29–58.

45 Hummel, *A Complete Theoretical and Practical Course*, Part 3, 54.

comment about Johann Baptist Cramer's playing in 1821, in which he states Cramer's "well-shaped fingers are best suited for legato playing. [...] [He] sings on the piano in such a manner that he almost transforms a Mozart andante into a vocal piece."[46] But, as with Dussek, his legato singing style incorporated clearly discernible declamatory features, with a review from 1823 stating:

> His brilliancy of execution is astonishing; but this quality [...] amounts to little or nothing in the general estimate of such merits as his: in taste, expression, feeling, the power that he possesses of almost making the instrument speak a language [...]. [...] those who love to have their sympathies awakened by the 'eloquent music' which this instrument may be made to 'discourse' [...], such persons should seize every opportunity that is afforded them of hearing Cramer.[47]

According to Sandra Rosenblum, the pianists Louis Adam, Johann Peter Milchmeyer, Muzio Clementi, Dussek, and Cramer – whose keyboard methods and treatises could all be purchased in Vienna – preferred legato playing as the standard manner of performing.[48] Clementi notes, "When the composer leaves the *legato* and *staccato* to the performer's taste; the best rule is, to adhere chiefly to the *legato*; reserving the *staccato* to give *spirit* occasionally to certain passages, and to set off the *higher beauties* of the *legato*."[49] In contrast, Antoine Hugot and Johann Georg Wunderlich write in their flute treatise that, when the composer has not marked any articulation "it has to be adapted to the character of the piece as well as to the genre of the passages to be performed."[50] They comment that slurred notes are more suited to slow pieces of pleasing character, while staccato is better suited to livelier works.

Not every performer subscribed to this smoother performance style, with some maintaining a more detached manner of playing linked to older (Baroque and early Classical) times, especially in keyboard playing. Comments from Beethoven, Czerny, and Schubert indicate these composers' disdain for the detached style and the clear prevalence that it still held in performance

46 Quoted in Rosenblum, *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music*, 440, n27: "Cramer singt auf dem Clavier so, dass er ein Mozart'sches Andante beinahe in einen Vocalsatz umwandelt [...]." *Aus Moscheles' Leben: Nach Briefen und Tagebüchern*, ed. Charlotte Moscheles (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot 1872), 53.

47 Anon., "Mr. Cramer's concert," *The Harmonicon* 1, no. 7, 1823, 103. Quoted in Rosenblum, *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music*, 16.

48 Rosenblum, *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music*, 153–54.

49 Muzio Clementi, *Clementi's Introduction to the Art of Playing on the Piano Forte* (London: Clementi, Banger, Hyde, Collard & Davis, 1803), 9.

50 Antoine Hugot and Johann Georg Wunderlich, *Hugots und Wunderlichs Floetenschule für das Conservatorium der Musik verfasst und zum Unterricht angenommen* (Mainz: Schott, ca. 1810), 6: "Man muss sie nämlich der Bewegung und dem Karakter des Stüks eben sowohl, als der Gattung der vorzutragenden Passagien anpassen."

practice. Beethoven advocated in 1796 for legato playing as it allowed the piano to sing, while Czerny and Schubert's comments indicate the enduring nature of the detached style, with Schubert stating in 1825, "I cannot endure the accursed chopping in which even distinguished pianoforte players indulge and which delights neither the ear nor the mind."[51] While legato may have been considered best practice – especially by these three influential musicians – it was not the only practice in use, even into the nineteenth century. A similar impression is also gained from studies of contemporary string technique.[52]

The move towards a smoother, less detached style of articulation can be seen in flute and violin treatises. French flute treatises by François Devienne and Hugot and Wunderlich were available in German translation for Viennese amateurs and dilettantes, and Viennese locals Josef Fahrbach and Louis Spohr produced flute and violin methods, respectively. These sources provide considerable discussion and examples of using small slur patterns. The examples encompass duplets and triplets, and the commentary notes the range of effects that can be achieved through various patterns.[53] Hugot and Wunderlich warn that detached playing is particularly difficult, a comment Louis Spohr echoes concerning staccato on violin.[54]

The application of slurs is comparable with that of paired articulations, used to bring out text-based gesturing in wind music in the Baroque. Leapwise versus stepwise movement, repeated notes, common figures such as those using neighbor notes, and the need to bring out an underlying melody all dictate the most suitable choices of slurring. Devienne provides an example of how the different slur patterns may be combined (see Illustration 2). This example shows how the slurs delineate the musical gestures in the same way that paired articulations would have done in the Baroque. The alternation of patterns that Devienne shows occurs primarily per bar or half-bar, no doubt for didactic reasons; in practice, they could be alternated with more fluidity.

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51 "[...] weil ich das vermaledeyte Hacken, welches auch ausgezeichneten Clavierspielern eigen ist, nicht ausstehen kann, indem es weder das Ohr noch das Gemüth ergötzt." *Schubert. Die Dokumente seines Lebens*, ed. Otto Erich Deutsch (Kassel et al.: Bärenreiter, 1964), 299; Rosenblum, *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music*, 154. See also Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, "Schubert as Pianist," in *Schubert's Piano*, ed. Matthew Gardner and Christine Martin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2024).

52 John Gregory Moran, *Techniques of Expression in Viennese String Music (1780–1830): Reconstructing Fingering and Bowing Practices* (PhD diss., King's College, University of London, 2000); Robin Stowell, *Violin Technique and Performance Practice in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 166–201.

53 Hugot and Wunderlich, *Floetenschule*, 5–10; François Devienne, *Neue vollstaendige theoretisch-practische Flöten-Schule* [...] *Neue umgearbeitete und vermehrte Ausgabe* (Vienna: Johann Cappi, n.d.), 8–16; Louis Spohr, *Violinschule* (Vienna: Tobias Haslinger, ca. 1832), 130–37.

54 Hugot and Wunderlich, *Floetenschule*, 8; Spohr, *Violinschule*, 132–33.



Illustration 2: Devienne's example of how different slur patterns can be combined in a piece. *Neue vollstaendige theoretisch-practische Flöten-Schule [...] Neue umgearbeitete und vermehrte Ausgabe* (Vienna: Johann Cappi, n.d.), 12. Courtesy of Musiksammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, shelfmark F177.Schönau. an.der.Triesting.93 MUS MAG.



Illustration 3: Excerpt from Fahrbach's examples of slurring patterns. Josef Fahrbach, Neueste Wiener Flöten-Schule (Vienna: Ant. Diabelli und Comp., n.d.), 52. Courtesy of Musiksammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, shelfmark SA.75.C.22 MUS MAG.

Likewise, Fahrbach provides a table of all articulation pattern possibilities in his flute method but without the French sources' detailed commentary (see Illustration 3). He does, however, state the importance of articulation to good delivery, particularly noting its relationship with dynamics:

> In general, in recent times, less emphasis has been placed on articulation than should be the case since the right articulation is not only a main element of good performance but also contributes most to embellishing a composition with a proper alternation of forte and piano and to spreading a special charm over the whole.[55]

Rosenblum discusses the same use of slurring when playing the piano. In a survey of late eighteenth-century sources, she notes that short slurs or incise slurs, as she calls them, provide "clear strong-to-weak linear direction in the shaping of a musical line, highlighting its speechlike or communicative quality."[56] The sources she surveys – Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Türk, Starke, and Hummel – all agree that the note at the beginning of the slur should be slightly accented, creating a diminuendo through the slur and delineating the rhetorical shape of the gesture.[57] Just as with the wind articulation, the placement and length of the slurs – usually between two and four notes long – contribute a wide range of expressive possibilities, especially when the expressive accent created by the slur contradicts the metric accent of the bar, as occurs with slurs that begin on a metrically unstressed note. Perhaps most important, though, is the speechlike quality that this accentuation imparts in the performance, no doubt inspired by an interest in declamatory practices—and enacted even when legato performance was becoming more popular.

Conclusion

Eric van Tassel puts the listener back into the communicative equation, speaking of dramatic Schubert singer Vogl, noting that one person listening to a given reciter/singer/instrumentalist might have different impressions depending on what they were listening for.[58] This opens up our views of the

55 "Überhaupt wird in neuester Zeit auf die *Articulation* weniger Gewicht gelegt, als man eigentlich sollte, indem die richtige *Articulation* nicht allein ein Hauptmoment des guten Vortrages ist, sondern auch mit gehöriger Abwechslung des *Forte* und *Piano* am meisten dazu beiträgt, eine *Composition* auszuschmücken und über das Ganze einen besonderen Reiz zu verbreiten." Josef Fahrbach, *Neueste Wiener Flöten-Schule* (Vienna: Ant. Diabelli und Comp., n.d.), 53.

56 Rosenblum, *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music,* 159.

57 Rosenblum, *Performance Practices*, 158.

58 Eric van Tassel, "'Something Utterly New': Listening to Schubert Lieder. 1: Vogl and the Declamatory Style," *Early Music* 25, no. 4 (Nov. 1997): 704.

'historical listener', who was not necessarily simply the naïve amateur or 'expert' connoisseur, as many historical descriptions and writings might have us believe. However, we can see from the evidence (including the 'negative evidence', such as treatises that protest against theatricality) that there was a range of performing styles, from the 'straight' to the flamboyant. Czerny's comparison of Beethoven and Hummel provides us with one such example:

> While Beethoven's playing was remarkable for his enormous power, characteristic expression, and unheard-of virtuosity and passage work, Hummel's performance was a model of cleanness, clarity, and of the most graceful elegance and tenderness [...]. Hummel's partisans accused Beethoven of mistreating the piano, of lacking cleanness and clarity, of creating nothing but confused noise the way he used the pedal, and finally of writing wilful, unnatural, unmelodic compositions, which were irregular besides. On the other hand, the Beethovenites maintained that Hummel lacked all genuine imagination, that his playing was monotonous as a hurdy-gurdy, that the position of his fingers reminded them of spiders, and that his compositions were nothing more than arrangements of motifs by Mozart and Haydn.[59]

This evidence gives the modern performer license to explore theatrically informed performance in various ways, depending on how and what they wish to communicate with modern audiences. This might be eye-opening for modern-day opera singers, theater actors, and 'historically informed' performers of instrumental music from this time alike.

So why were music-theatrical salons so popular in early nineteenth-century Vienna? The literature notes declamation's role in social mobility and participation, education, and involvement of women – all appealing to the middle classes in Metternich's Vienna. The 'have-a-go' nature of music-theatrical soirées and salons not only afforded entertainment and education at this time. They also offered agency, particularly a chance to enact new roles, take charge of spectatorship, and engage in covert risqué behavior via theatricality.

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59 Carl Czerny, "Recollections from My Life, translated by Ernest Sanders" *The Musical Quarterly* 42, no. 3 (Jul. 1956): 309. *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*, Walter Kolneder ed. (Strasbourg/Baden-Baden: P. H. Heitz, 1968), 18–19: "Wenn sich Beethovens Spiel durch eine ungeheure Kraft, Charakteristik, unerhörte Bravour und Geläufigkeit auszeichnete, so war dagegen Hummels Vortrag das Muster der höchsten Reinheit und Deutlichkeit, der anmutigsten Eleganz und Zartheit [...]. Hummels Anhänger warfen dem Beethoven vor, daß er das Fortepiano malträtiere, daß ihm alle Reinheit und Deutlichkeit mangle, daß er durch den Gebrauch des Pedals nur konfusen Lärm hervorbringe, und daß seine Kompositionen gesucht, unnatürlich, melodielos und überdem unregelmäßig seien. Dagegen behaupteten die Beethovisten, Hummel ermangle aller echten Phantasie, sein Spiel sei monoton wie ein Leierkasten, die Haltung seiner Finger sei kreuzspinnenartig, und seine Kompositionen seien bloße Bearbeitungen Mozartscher und Haydnscher Motive."

Theatricality had, after all, a long history of being perceived as problematic, starting with Plato and moving through to Diderot with his *Paradoxe sur le comédien* (1770). Here, he raised the question of whether the most expressive actors felt or faked the sentiments that they acted. The problematic 'forgetting of self' expected of consummate actors raises questions about dissimulation in social circles, perhaps especially in the salon, where one might present oneself under false pretenses.[60] Its detractors were many in the 1810s, when novels by Jane Austen, among others, used theatrical activity as a sign of trouble for the social order.[61] But in early nineteenth-century Viennese homes, amateur theatrics could be delightfully and usefully risqué. They provided freedom through play in a time of repressive surveillance, when potentially every social occasion had spectators who were government spies.

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60 See especially Michael Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1980); see also David Marshall, *The Surprising Effects of Sympathy: Marivaux, Diderot, Rousseau, and Mary Shelley* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1988), especially 105–34.

61 Emanuele Senici refers to this example, *Music in the Present Tense: Rossini's Italian Operas in Their Time* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020), 146–47; see also Philippa Jane Kennerley, "'We always know when we are acting wrong': Performance and Theatricality in Jane Austen's Works" (MA thesis, University of Otago, 2013).

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Politics, Music, and Theatrical Performance in Caroline Pichler's Salon

Emily R. Eubanks

As political leaders at the Congress of Vienna attempted to redraw the European map in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, Caroline Pichler (1769–1843) and many other German-language writers turned to the past to imagine a future for the new Austrian empire and the German states. In her dramatic play, *Ferdinand II*, Pichler used the 1618 Protestant Uprisings to foster shared history and allegiance to the Habsburg monarchy and the Austrian empire. Pichler's writings reveal that she understood Austrian patriotism to be compatible with nationalist allegiances based on shared language, as endorsed by Johann Gottfried Herder and Joseph von Hormayr. For Pichler, nationalism could ultimately promote loyalty to supranational empires, such as Austria, and she contributed to robust, ongoing efforts to cultivate political identity and loyalty through her writings.

Despite Pichler's intention of using *Ferdinand II* to promote Austrian patriotism, her drama did not pass Vienna's censor, leading Pichler to instead host a reading of the play in her salon. In this chapter, I explore how the performance of Pichler's drama in a salon, as opposed to a public stage, enhanced her promotion of Austrian patriotism. By analyzing how music and sound in the salon heightened the political goals of the drama, I reveal Pichler's contributions to the formation of political identity for an empire in transition. As the newly drawn Habsburg empire aimed to unify linguistically defined nations under their rule, Pichler used artistic performance in her home to foster a shared cultural history that was directly tied to the monarchy. The semi-private, semi-public nature of the salon space made it an especially suitable site for Pichler to achieve her political goals for *Ferdinand II* and, ultimately, her contributions to the empire's unifying project and Austrian political life more broadly.

On Friday, 23 December 1814, after a full day of calling on friends and new acquaintances and enjoying a stroll through Vienna's city center, Count Henrich zu Stolberg-Wernigerode (1772–1824) arrived at Caroline Pichler's home in the suburb of Alservorstadt at six o'clock in the evening. In Pichler's salon, he joined a large company of other visitors, including the Baroness Marie von Zay (1779–1842), the actress Antonie Adamberger (1790–1867), and Pichler's

husband, Andreas Pichler (1764–1837). Like many other political representatives from across Europe, Stolberg had traveled to Austria's capital to attend the Congress of Vienna (1814–1815) – a series of diplomatic meetings with the purpose of establishing a new, stable European order in the aftermath of revolutions in America (1775–1783), France (1789–1799), and Haiti (1791–1804) as well as the Napoleonic Wars (1801–1815). At the Congress, foreign diplomats, royal leaders, and other political representatives negotiated the redrawing of European borders, which would determine how various cultural and ethnic groups across the continent would be unified under Europe's major powers. Discourse over these political issues took place not only in formal meeting rooms of politicians but also in Vienna's semi-private salons.

Later, Stolberg recorded the following observations about Pichler's salon gathering in his diary:

> After tea the intellectual feast to which we were invited began, the reading of a new play by Frau von Pichler. Her husband [...] was the reader. Although in the Austrian dialect, which [Caroline Pichler] also allows to be strongly heard, [Andreas Pichler] read with great expression and true feeling. The play is called 'King Ferdinand II'.[1]

Literary performances, such as this reading of Caroline Pichler's historical drama *Ferdinand II*, comprised a large portion of the activities that occurred at Pichler's salon gatherings and often featured musical and sonic enhancements. Pichler's *Ferdinand II* was one of many nineteenth-century texts in which writers aimed to reimagine Germanic history. As political leaders at the Congress of Vienna attempted to redraw the European map in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, German-language historians and writers turned to the past to imagine a future for the new Austrian empire and the German states. Pichler and other German-language writers found the Thirty Years' War particularly helpful for imagining how the Austrian empire and Germanic lands might maintain a balance of powers and unite the many national groups within their borders, including Bohemians, Slovaks, Hungarians, and Slovenians, among many others. As will be discussed below, Pichler used shared history to foster allegiance to the Habsburg monarchy and, through this, the new

1 "Nach dem Thee begann der geistige Schmaus zu dem wir geladen waren, die Vorlesung eines neuen Schauspiels der Frau v. Pichler. Ihr Mann [...] war der Vorleser. Obgleich im oestreichschen Dialect, den auch die Frau stark hören läßt, las er mit großem Ausdruck u. wahren Gefühl. Das Stück heißt Ferdinand II." Henrich Graf zu Stolberg-Wernigerode, *Tagebuch über meinen Aufenthalt in Wien zur Zeit des Congresses vom 9. September 1814 bis zum April 1815*, ed. Doris Derdey (Halle an der Saale: Janos Stekovics, 2004), 129. All English translations are by the author unless otherwise noted.

Austrian empire. At the same time, her writings reveal that she understood Austrian patriotism to be compatible with nationalism endorsed by historians Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) and Joseph von Hormayr (1781–1848). For Pichler, nationalism based on linguistically defined allegiances could ultimately promote loyalty to supranational empires, such as Austria. Through her writings, Pichler contributed to robust, ongoing efforts to reconstruct history for the purpose of cultivating political identity and loyalty. Despite Pichler's intention of using *Ferdinand II* to promote patriotism for Austria and the Habsburg monarchy, her drama did not pass Vienna's censor. Pichler instead capitalized upon the salon as a space to evade censorship and promote Austrian patriotism to an audience beyond her home.

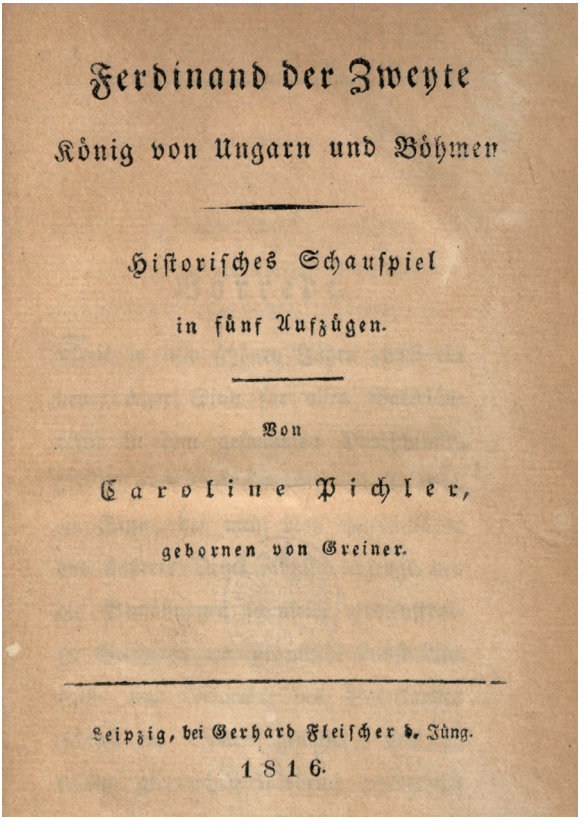
In this chapter, I explore how the relocation of this dramatic performance from the public stage to Pichler's salon enhanced her promotion of Austrian patriotism. By accepting the likelihood that music and sound effects would have been incorporated into this salon reading, I analyze how the soundscape of Pichler's salon enhanced the political goals of the drama, and, through this, Pichler's contributions to the formation of political identity for an empire in transition. As the newly drawn Habsburg empire aimed to unify linguistically defined nations under their rule, Pichler fostered a shared cultural history that was directly tied to the monarchy through this artistic performance in her home. Finally, I show how the salon served as an especially suitable site for Pichler to achieve her political goals for *Ferdinand II* and, ultimately, her contributions to the empire's unifying project and Austrian political life more broadly.

Reconstructing Austrian history during the Congress of Vienna

Caroline Pichler wrote her historical drama *Ferdinand der Zweyte: König von Ungarn und Böhmen: Historisches Schauspiel in fünf Auszügen* with the intention of having it performed in Vienna's public theaters.[2] Pichler's play recounts the events of the 1618 Protestant Revolution, a series of uprisings in the Habsburg-ruled lands of Bohemia, Hungary, and Moravia against Counter-Reformation measures enacted by the Holy Roman emperor, Ferdinand II (1578–1637). Hoping to produce a more positive portrayal of Ferdinand II than

2 For the sake of brevity, I refer to the work in all its various versions as *Ferdinand II*. By the time Pichler finished the 1816 version of *Ferdinand II*, her output included no less than seven other dramas: *Germanicus* (1812), *Heinrich von Hohenstaufen* (1813), *Das befreite Deutschland* (1813), *Mathilde* (1814), *Rudolph von Habsburg* (1814), *Wiedersehen* (1815), and *Amalie von Mannsfeld* (1815). *Germanicus* was performed at the Hofburgtheater in 1812, and *Heinrich von Hohenstaufen* enjoyed twenty-seven performances on Vienna's public stages during 1813 and 1814.

previous, Protestant writers, Pichler depicted the steadfast, virtuous side of the Habsburg emperor. Though no surviving autograph manuscripts of the text have been found, Pichler wrote numerous versions of the work between 1814 and 1816, including a draft for performance at Vienna's Hofburgtheater, drafts sent to the government censor, and a printed, bound version of the work. This printed text was published in Leipzig in 1816 and includes a preface by Pichler, a list of characters, scene headings, poetic dialogue, and action directions (Illustration 1).


Ferdinand der Zweyte

König von Ungarn und Böhmen

Hiſtoriſches Schauſpiel

in fünf Aufzügen.

Von

Caroline Pichler,

gebornen von Greiner.

Leipzig, bei Gerhard Fleiſcher d. Jüng.

1816.

Illustration 1: Title page of Pichler's *Ferdinand II*. Druckschriften A-29985, Wienbibliothek im Rathaus.

In the preface to the 1816 publication of *Ferdinand II*, Pichler makes explicit her goal of dramatizing a moment in Austrian history that depicted a victorious, stable monarchy by casting Ferdinand II as a heroic figure in the preservation of the Austrian lands and Catholic rule:

> Since in the beautiful year 1815 a new lively sense for everything patriotic had awakened in the whole of Germany, and thus also in Austria [...] since that time there had been a lively desire in me to choose a subject for dramatic treatment that was intimately related to my fatherland Austria, taken from its history, that played out in Austria, and where possible in Vienna itself [...]. Thus, a rich, highly important moment, living in the hearts and mouths of my compatriots through folk tales and eternally new memories, leapt into my eyes, a moment in which nothing less was at stake than the preservation or downfall of the ruling house, the preservation or overthrow of the ruling religion, the dismemberment or integrity of the Austrian state, our entire existence and significance in the European state order, and thus in world history, was at stake. At that moment everything depended on the spirit, courage and unshakable firmness of One man; One ruler – One prince of the Habsburg House – and this ruler had the courage, the firmness. He stood up to the threatening storm, and the storm rushed by powerlessly – and Austria, the Catholic religion, and Habsburg remained![3]

Pichler hoped her drama would awaken in audiences a connection and commitment to the newly formed Austrian state through a shared history and cultural identity. The Habsburg monarchy had adopted a similar unification agenda as early as the eighteenth century, when the Pragmatic Sanction of 1713 aimed to limit property divisions within Habsburg territories.[4] According to Wynfrid Kriegleder, unification "became the primary domestic political imperative" for leaders of the Holy Roman Empire during the second half of the eighteenth century, as seen in the reform efforts of Empress Maria Theresa and Emperor Joseph II.[5] Recognizing the challenges of uniting a multiethnic,

3 "Seit in dem schönen Jahre 1813 ein neuer reger Sinn für alles Vaterländische in dem gesammten Deutschland, und so auch in Oesterreich erwacht war, [...] seit jener Zeit war ein lebhafter Wunsch in mir, einen Stoff zur dramatischen Behandlung zu wählen, der meinem Vaterlande Oesterreich innig verwandt, aus seiner Geschichte genommen, in Oesterreich, und wo möglich in Wien selbst spielte. [...] so sprang mir dafür ein reichhaltiger, höchstwichtiger und durch Volkssagen und ewig neue Erinnerungen im Herzen und im Munde meiner Landsleute lebender Moment in die Augen, ein Moment, in welchem es sich um nichts Geringeres als um die Erhaltung oder den Sturz des regierenden Hauses, um die Erhaltung oder den Sturz der Religion, um die Zerstückelung oder Integrität des Oesterreichischen Staates, um unsre ganze Existenz und Bedeutung in dem dem Europäischen Staatenverein, und somit in der Weltgeschichte handelte. In diesem Moment hieng alles von der Gesinnung, dem Muthe und der unerschütterlichen Festigkeit Eines Mannes, Eines Fürsten – Eines Prinzen des Habsburgischen Hauses ab – und dieser Fürst hatte den Muth, die Festigkeit. Er stand dem drohenden Sturm, und der Sturm rauschte machtlos vorüber – und Oesterreich, die katholische Religion, und Habsburg blieb!" Caroline Pichler, *Ferdinand der Zweyte: König von Ungarn und Böhmen* (Leipzig: Gerhard Fleischer, 1816), iii–iv, vii–ix.

4 See Wynfrid Kriegleder, "Die historischen Dramen und Romane der Caroline Pichler," *Temeswarer Beiträge zur Germanistik* 16 (2019): 9–29, at 10.

5 "Mit der Reformpolitik Maria Theresias und vor allem Josephs II. wurden diese Bestrebungen in der zweiten Jahrhunderthälfte zum primären innenpolitischen Imperativ." Kriegleder, "Die historischen Dramen und Romane," 10.

multicultural empire, Habsburg leaders attempted to foster shared identity and commitment to the monarchy, rather than the empire. By the early nineteenth century, imperial unification under the monarchy became an even more pressing concern as the Holy Roman Empire was dissolved in 1806 and replaced – albeit to a smaller extent – by the Austrian empire. As Franz Fillafer writes, the question of how to bring together the Habsburg lands pervaded nineteenth-century politics, and leaders of this supranational empire were particularly concerned with the perceived threat that nationalist ideologies posed to ongoing unification efforts.[6]

In the preface to her drama, Pichler writes that she conducted a vast amount of research for the work and based the events and characters on historical figures and occurrences.[7] Her play begins in 1619 at the height of the Protestant Revolution (1618–1620), an uprising that would ignite one of Europe's longest and deadliest conflicts, The Thirty Years' War. The Protestant Revolution occurred after the staunchly Catholic ruler, Ferdinand II, was crowned King of Bohemia and Hungary in 1617, causing many Protestants in those regions to fear they would lose their religious protections. Protestant leaders organized a series of rebellions against the Habsburg empire that spread to Lower and Upper Austria, Silesia, Lusatia, and Moravia. By the time Ferdinand II ascended to the throne as Holy Roman emperor in 1619, all hope of negotiations between the Protestant leaders and the Habsburg monarchy ceased, and the geographical boundaries of the battles expanded to Western Germany. As the fighting continued, additional European powers became involved, with Sweden and Denmark-Norway supporting the Bohemian states and Spain, Saxony, and Bavaria aiding the Habsburgs. Pichler's play reveals the personal pressures and convictions held by Ferdinand II as well as the Protestant leaders, Georg Erasmus von Tschernembel (1567–1626) and Andreas II von Ebergassing (1572–1625), as the Bohemian campaigns threatened to overthrow Habsburg rule. The climax of Pichler's drama centers around the advance of the Bohemian army through Vienna's city gates. Tschernembel and Ebergassing overpower Ferdinand II in his castle and demand that he concede to the Protestants' mandates or be killed. A Habsburg regiment commander, Karl von Saint-Hilaire, arrives just in time to rescue the emperor. Infused throughout Pichler's depiction of these military events is a love story between Saint-Hilaire and Tschernembel's niece, Marie von Hofkirchen – one of the two fictional characters in the play.[8]

6 Franz Leander Fillafer, *Aufklärung habsburgisch: Staatsbildung, Wissenskultur und Geschichtspolitik in Zentraleuropa, 1750–1850* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2020), 29.

7 Pichler, *Ferdinand der Zweyte*, 32–33.

8 Pichler explains in her preface that Marie von Hofkirchen and a minor character named Graf Schlick are the only two fictional characters in the play. Pichler, *Ferdinand der Zweyte*, xxxv.

Despite being the niece of the Protestant leader Tschernembel, Marie secretly maintains her Catholic faith and allegiance to the Habsburg monarchy, ultimately playing a crucial role in aiding Saint-Hilaire in his rescue mission.

While Pichler's play ends triumphantly with the rescue of Ferdinand II and the successful defense of Vienna, in reality the Protestant Revolution raged on until the defeat of the Bohemian forces at the decisive Battle of White Mountain on 8 November 1620 (Illustration 2). Though this battle marked the end of the Protestant Revolution, the Bohemian revolts ignited a larger continental conflict that resulted in over eight million deaths and dramatically shifted the balance of power across Europe. By the time Pichler wrote *Ferdinand II* nearly two hundred years later, these boundaries established by the Thirty Years' War were once again being redrawn in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars.



Illustration 2: "Bohemian Revolt (map)," "Readings in the Military History of the Thirty Years War (1618–1648)," International History.[9]

9 William Young, "Readings in the Military History of the Thirty Years War (1618–1648)," *International History: Diplomatic and Military History Since the Middle Ages*, February 12, 2013, https://internationalhistory.wordpress.com/2013/02/12/readings-in-the-history-of-the-thirty-years-war-1618–1648.

When facing the possibility of invasion by French troops during the Napoleonic Wars, Habsburg leaders had taken advantage of national sentiments based on shared language and culture to bolster anti-French support. After the Napoleonic Wars, however, many political leaders feared that nationalist sentiments promoted in literature, history, and music could be rehabilitated as weapons against the empire. Previously employed as a rallying point against external enemies, nationalism came to be seen as a potential internal weapon against the nation-state itself. Wolfram Siemann writes that Metternich and other leaders recognized the impossibility of uniting a multicultural Habsburg empire under a single, homogenous nationalism, and instead "prioritized the integrity and stability of the European state order and the general peace associated with it over the interests of individual nationalities."[10]

Some writers and historians, however, understood nationalism to be a pathway for fostering imperial loyalties. Described by Brian Vick as "stepwise politics", various layers of political identity – local, national, and imperial – were simultaneously at play during this transitional period. Vick argues that "according to prevalent ideas at the time, one came to be a Habsburg or Austrian patriot in part through experiencing provincial or 'national' patriotism."[11] Rather than being mutually exclusive, as many Austrian leaders feared, nationalism and imperial patriotism could prove to be mutually reinforcing. That Pichler shared this perspective of "stepwise politics" is suggested by her 1814 poem and essay promoting the adoption of German national dress, which she intended to distribute at a ball hosted by the Congress of Vienna.[12] As Vick has shown, by reviving medieval Germanic fashion, Pichler and others who supported this fashion debate aimed to "claim the Middle Ages as part of the German national past."[13] The adoption of medieval dress reflected a desire to "root identity in particularist histories, folklore, artistic traditions, and ancient cultural practices."[14] Many German-speaking cultural groups, including those in Austria, traced their histories back to medieval Europe and, more specifically, the Holy Roman Empire that began with Charlemagne's

10 Wolfram Siemann, *Metternich: Strategist and Visionary*, translated by Daniel Steuer (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2019), 558.

11 Brian E. Vick, *The Congress of Vienna: Power and Politics after Napoleon* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), 42.

12 While a migraine prevented Pichler from distributing the poem herself, her essay was later published: "Ueber eine Nationalkleidung für Teutsche Frauen," *Journal für Literatur, Kunst, Luxus und Mode* 30, February, 1815, 67–82.

13 Vick, *The Congress of Vienna*, 59.

14 Joep Leerssen, ed., *Manufacturing Middle Ages: Entangled History of Medievalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Boston: Brill, 2013), 1–2. Also see Carla Melanie Heelan, "Origin and Antitype: Medievalism in Nineteenth-Century Germany, 1806–1914," (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2016).

unification of German-speaking lands in the ninth century. But whereas ealier Habsburg rulers had embraced a *translation imperii* connection to the Roman Empire, many nineteenth-century German-speaking writers came to associate the Roman Empire with French history. The medieval period came to be idealized as a golden age of Germanic history and the origin of German-speaking nations, including Austria. Desires to uncover and reconstruct Germanic national history and cultural practices were heightened following Napoleon's dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire – Charlemagne's empire – in 1805. For Pichler, promoting the revival of Germanic medieval dress fostered an investment in a German national identity, which she believed could coincide with Austrian patriotism.

Pichler's literary contributions to both German nationalism and Austrian imperial unification were largely shaped by Johann Gottfried Herder and Joseph von Hormayr. Both historians looked to folk culture and shared histories to foster collective identity among national groups. In her memoirs, Pichler recalls the significant influence that Herder's writings had on her as both a writer and thinker: "[...] of all the writers from the early period of our literature, Klopstock and Herder made the deepest impression on me, and, if I may say so, determined the direction of my mind."[15] As early as the 1790s, Pichler encountered Herder's texts, reading his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1784) and *Von Musik* (1800).[16] As Philip Bohlman has shown, Herder believed that national identity and culture were preserved in the customs, poetry, and songs of the common people, rather than a ruling monarchy, and promoted the collection and celebrations of folk culture, specifically folksong, to foster national ties.[17]

Pichler's writings were also strongly influenced by the historian and statesman Hormayr. Borrowing from Herder, Hormayr argued that sovereignty was located within the linguistically defined nation, rather than imperial rule. As Fillafer has discussed, Hormayr promote ties to the language-based nation in his journal on Austrian history, *Archiv für Geschichte, Statistik, Literatur, und Kunst*.[18] According to Hormayr, such knowledge of and commitment to linguistic national identities could ultimately foster patriotism for the heterogenous

15 "[...] von allen Schriftstellern aus der frühern Periode unserer Literatur haben Klopstock und Herder den tiefsten Eindruck auf mich gemacht, und, wenn ich so sagen darf, die Richtung meines Geistes bestimmt". Caroline Pichler, "Überblick meines Lebens (1819)," in Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben. 1769–1843,* 2 vols., ed. Emil Karl Blümml (Munich: Georg Müller, 1914), ii, 400.

16 Pichler would later write her own version of *On Music*.

17 Philip V. Bohlman, *Song Loves the Masses: Herder on Music and Nationalism* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017).

18 Fillafer, *Aufklärung habsburgisch*, 40–41.

Austrian empire.[19] During the first decade of the nineteenth century, Pichler contributed poems to Hormayr's *Archiv* as well as his *Taschenbuch*. In addition to influencing Pichler's historical writings, Hormayr also attended her regular salon gatherings beginning in 1804. Pichler described Hormayr's influence on her writings in her memoirs:

> Baron von Hormayr introduced me to the field of history, which I had not paid enough attention to before, he taught me to look at my fatherland with a completely different eye, he induced me, as well as several of his friends, to occupy ourselves especially with the history of Austria and to choose the subjects of our works from it. This is how most of my romances and some of my stories came into being, and this is how the love for the country of my birth [...] took root deep in my soul.[20]

Hormayr, then the appointed director of the Austrian Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, remained a close friend and mentor to Pichler, shaping her interest in and contributions to political identity formation. Hormayr's political reputation would be largely shaped by his leadership in Tyrolean anti-Napoleon revolts against French and Bavarian rule in 1809 and 1812. As this later liberation movement, known as the *Alpenbund*, was not sanctioned by Austrian rulers, Hormayr was arrested by Metternich in 1812 and eventually exiled to Brno, Moravia, in 1813. Even from Brno, however, Hormayr remained heavily invested in Pichler's literary pursuits. Noting the extensive feedback Hormayr provided on Pichler's *Ferdinand II* between 1814 and 1815, Pichler's biographer Emil Karl Blümml (1881–1925) referred to Hormayr as the "godfather" (Pate) of the historical drama.[21] Following his exile, Hormayr would adapt his writings to align more closely with the pluralism promoted by Austrian political leaders and the censor. According to Fillafer, Hormayr "replaced his German-national aspirations with an all-monarchical love of the fatherland, for which all nations of the empire were to be equally valid."[22] Pichler mirrored this pluralistic, imperial patriotism in her drama, *Ferdinand II*, which promoted loyalty to the Habsburg monarchy, the Austrian empire, and the Catholicism they represented.

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19 See Vick, *The Congress of Vienna*, 42.

20 "Baron von Hormayr führte mich in das, von mir bisher nicht genug beachtete Gebiet der Geschichte ein, er lehrte mich mein Vaterland mit ganz andern Blicken betrachten, er veranlaßte mich, sowie mehrere seiner Freunde, uns vorzüglich mit der Geschichte Österreichs zu beschäftigen und die Gegestände unserer Arbeiten aus derselben zu wählen. So entstanden meine meisten Romanzen und manche Erzählungen, und so wurzelte auch die Liebe zu meinem Geburtslande [...] tief in meiner Seele." Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, ii, 406.

21 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, ii, 445 n107.

22 Fillafer, *Aufklärung habsburgisch*, 40.

To cultivate imperial patriotism, Pichler, like many nineteenth-century German and Austrian writers, looked to the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). As Kevin Cramer has shown, many German-language authors found the events of the Thirty Years' War especially useful for rationalizing Germany's "continually interrupted progress toward becoming a nation."[23] Across these writings, however, Cramer identified two distinct interpretations by Protestant and Catholic historians. For many Protestant writers, the Thirty Years' War was understood "as justification for a Germany unified under Prussian (and Protestant) leadership, the *kleindeutsch* idea that excluded Austria and consigned Catholics to second-class status in the national community."[24] Meanwhile, Pichler and other Catholic writers saw the war as "a struggle to preserve, modernize, and expand the imperial constitutional state as the historically legitimate defender of German culture and civilization", ultimately justifying a *großdeutsch* concept that was based on the former Holy Roman Empire.[25] The 1618 Protestant Revolution that sparked the Thirty Years' War, in particular, gave many Catholic writers opportunities to draw parallels between the Protestant uprisings and the recent French Revolution. Following the 1813 defeat of Napoleon, questions arose regarding Germany's place and political structure within the new European order. Capitalizing upon the symbolism found in the defeat of the 1618 Protestant revolts, Pichler aimed to dramatize a moment in Austrian history that depicted a victorious, stable Habsburg monarchy by casting Ferdinand II as a heroic figure in the preservation of the German lands and Catholic rule.[26] As a Viennese writer, Pichler hoped her drama would awaken in her audiences a connection and commitment to the newly formed Austrian state and the Habsburg monarchy.

With Pichler's patriotic goals in mind, the governmental censor's rejection of Pichler's play for public performance appears all the more curious. Kriegleder and other German literary scholars have postulated reasons behind the censor's repeated rejection of Pichler's play during 1814 and 1815.[27] Without surviving censorship records, however, there remains no clear indication as to what exactly the governmental censor found unacceptable for the public stage: perhaps the threat to an emperor's life, the conflict between Catholics and Protestants, the emperor's dependence on his subjects for his rescue, or,

23 Kevin Cramer, *The Thirty Years' War and German Memory in the Nineteenth Century* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 7.
24 Cramer, *The Thirty Years' War*, 6.
25 Cramer, *The Thirty Years' War*, 6.
26 Cramer, *The Thirty Years' War*, 29.
27 Kriegleder, "Die historische Dramen und Romane," 9–29. Also see Karin Baumgartner, "Staging the German Nation: Karoline Pichler's 'Heinrich von Hohenstaufen' and 'Ferdinand II'," *Modern Austrian Literature* 37, no. 1–2 (2004): 1–20, at 12–13.

as Pichler believed, an inaccurate interpretation of the drama that painted Ferdinand II in a negative light.[28] Nevertheless, Pichler recalls in her memoirs the long and fruitless process of trying to get *Ferdinand II* passed by the Metternichian censor. After she submitted the play to the Polizeihofstelle in December 1814, the censor who reviewed the text, Franz Josef von Bretfeld-Chlumczansky (1777–1839), rejected the work. By this time, Pichler's drama was already being rehearsed at the Hofburgtheater under the direction of Ferdinand Pálffy (1774–1840), and a public advertisement for the performance had been published in the *Wiener Theater-Zeitung*.[29] When her work did not pass censorship, Pichler was asked to appear before Metternich to request permission for the public performance. Despite Metternich's assurance that he would read the play himself, the drama was again rejected by the censor by August 1815.[30] Until the text was printed in 1816, Pichler's fellow writers and close friends Joseph Schreyvogel (1768–1832) and Hormayr assisted her in revising the play in the hope of passing the censor. In her memoirs, Pichler writes that she decided to organize the salon reading precisely because the work was banned by the censor: "Since my *Ferdinand II* was not allowed to be performed, at least we organized a reading of the play at home with distributed roles; a kind of social entertainment that was very common in Vienna at the time and so also in our house."[31] Surviving correspondence and diary entries reveal that in addition to the salon reading Pichler hosted in 1814, additional salon performances of *Ferdinand II* occurred in homes in Austria and Moravia while the play was still banned in Vienna (Table 1). Though no evidence suggests Pichler was present at these other salon readings, the performance of *Ferdinand II* in her own home attests to a longer history of dramatic and literary activities in the Pichler salon.

28 Letter from Caroline Pichler to Henrich Graf zu Stolberg-Wernigerode dated 13 December 1816, in Stolberg-Wernigerode, *Tagebuch*, 130.

29 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, ii, 52–54; "Neuigkeiten," *Theater-Zeitung* 8, no 14, 7 February 1815, 50.

30 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, ii, 52–54, 445 n107.

31 "Da mein Ferdinand II. nicht gegeben werden durfte, veranstalteten wir wenigstens zu Hause eine Lesung des Stückes mit ausgeteilten Rollen; eine Art geselliger Unterhaltung, die damals in Wien und so den auch in unserm Hause sehr gewöhnlich war." Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, ii, 85.

Table 1: Timeline of performances of Pichler's *Ferdinand II*.

Date	Performance Type	Title	Location
23 December 1814	Salon reading [*Vorlesung*]	*Ferdinand der Zweyte*	Vienna, Austria (Pichler's home)[32]
January 1815	Salon readings [*Vorlesungen*]	*Ferdinand der Zweyte*	Vienna, Austria (unidentified homes)[33]
5 January 1815	Salon reading [*Vorlesung*]	*Ferdinand der Zweyte*	Brünn, Moravia (organized by Joseph von Hormayr)[34]
11 February 1815	Public performance (only advertised)	*Ferdinand der Katholische*	Hofburgtheater, Vienna, Austria[35]
20 July 1816	Public performance	*Starkmuth und Vertrauen*[36]	Graz, Austria[37]
28 August 1816	Public performance	*Starkmuth und Vertrauen*	Graz, Austria[38]
6–7 December 1816	Public performance	*Ferdinand der Katholische*	Bamberg, Germany[39]
1817	Dilettante performance	*Ferdinand der Zweyte: Starkmuth und Vertrauen*	Graz, Austria (organized by Julius Schneller)[40]
4 November 1818	Public performance	*Christian: König von Danemark*	Theater an der Wien, Vienna, Austria[41]

32 Stolberg-Wernigerode, *Tagebuch*, 130.
33 "Tagsblatt," *Friedensblätter* 5, January 12,1815, 20; Pichler, Denkwürdigkeiten, ii, 85–86.
34 Joseph von Hormayr to Karoline Pichler, 6 January 1815. Handschriften H.I.N.-7057, Wienbibliothek im Rathaus.
35 "Neuigkeiten." *Wiener Theater-Zeitung* (*Bäuerles* Theaterzeitung)14, February 7, 1815, 50.
36 According to printed reviews, the title of Pichler's drama changed over time. As Pichler continued to revise the work between 1814 and 1816 in order to pass censorship, it remains possible that she created or approved of the new titles. As will be discussed below, this was not the case for the 1818 performance titled *Christian: König von Danemark* at the Theater an der Wien, which Pichler did not condone and denied any association with its performance.
37 "Ferdinand der Zweyter," *Der Aufmerksame*, July 20, 1816, 1–4. Norbert Bachleitner has noted that censorship was often more lenient in Graz theaters, as well as those in Prague, compared to theaters in Vienna. See "Die Theaterzensur in der Habsburgermonarchie im 19. Jahrhundert," LiTheS 5 (2010): x–y, at 77.
38 "Theater in Gräz," *Wiener Theater-Zeitung* (*Bäuerles Theaterzeitung*) 69, August 28, 1816, 275–76.
39 "Korrespondenz und Notizen. Aus Bamberg, im Nov. 1816," *Zeitung für die elegante Welt. Beilagen: Intelligenzblatt* 240, December 6, 1816, 1920; and "Korrespondenz und Notizen. Aus Bamberg," *Zeitung für die elegante Welt. Beilagen: Intelli*genzblatt 241, December 7, 1816, 1927.
40 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, ii, 445–46 n107; Julius Franz Schneller and Ernst Hermann Joseph Münch, *Julius Schnellers Lebensumriss und vertraute Briefe an seine Gatti*n und seine Freunde (Leipzig: Scheible, 1834), 263–64, 272.
41 "Schauspiel," *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater, und Mode* 134, November 7, 1818, 1095–96.

Theatrical performance in Pichler's salon

Pichler's salon reading of *Ferdinand II* should be understood as part of a larger tradition of literary entertainment in salons across Europe. Pichler's biographer, Blümml, writes that Pichler grew up hearing poetic recitations in her mother's salon:

> Although Charlotte von Greiner was averse to poetry and the fine arts [...], she liked to hear poetry recited [...] and was delighted when the various literary figures who frequented their home and whom she and her husband often supported by subscribing to their works [...], brought their creations to be read aloud in their house.[42]

Pichler also recalls participating in performances of *Hauskomödien* (house comedies) in her parents' salon, complete with a small theater stage built by her father, texts written by Caroline, and stage scenery. Singing was also incorporated into these theatrical performances:

> I drew up a tiny plan, we inserted well-known arias, kept the original text if it suited the scene, or I wrote another one as the play required.[43]

The young Pichler, her brother, and other salon attendees comprised what she described as an amateur *Truppe* (troupe) that often performed in the autumn months. These *Hauskomödien* aligned with the late-eighteenth-century *comédies de société*, which Dorothea Link describes as theatrical performances in the homes of the nobility that could include both professional actors and members of the nobility. Link's study of the *comédies de société* that Count Karl Zinzendorf attended in Vienna between 1783 and 1792 also reveals that actors often wore costumes, memorized their lines, and performed on designated stages. Instrumentalists and vocalists could also be included to provide musical accompaniment or incidental music.[44]

In her memoirs, Pichler recalled that as she began taking over her mother's salon between 1802 and 1815, theatrical and literary performances remained

42 "Obwohl Frau Greiner der Dichtkunst und den schönen Künsten abhold war [...], so hörte sie doch gerne Gedichte vortragen [...] und war erfreut, wenn die verschiedenen Literaten, die bei ihnen verkehrten und die sie und ihr Mann durch Subskription von deren Werken vielfach unterstützten [...], ihre Schöpfungen in ihrem Hause zur Vorlesung brachten." Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, ii, 440 n104.

43 "Ich entwarf einen winzigen Plan, wir legten bekannte Arien ein, behielten den ursprünglichen Text bei, wenn er sich zur Szene paßte, oder ich dichtete einen andern, wie das Stück ihn erheischte." Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, i, 110–11.

44 Dorothea Link, "Vienna's Private Theatrical and Musical Life, 1783–92, as Reported by Count Karl Zinzendorf," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 122, no. 2 (1997): 205–57, at 211–16.

a central activity at these gatherings. She hosted a salon reading of Theodor Körner's (1791–1813) recently completed tragedy *Rosamunde* on 18 November 1812, two weeks before the public premiere.[45] On July 23 of the following year, Pichler organized a reading of Clemens Brentano's (1778–1842) historical drama *Die Gründung von Prag*.[46] Literary texts by Matthäus von Collin (1779–1824), Juliane Charlotte von Rothkirch (1790–1872), Joseph Schreyvogel, and Karl Streckfuß (1778–1844) were also performed, as well as works by Friedrich Otto Ignatius (1794–1824), which combined visual artwork, poetry, and music. Literary activities continued to take place at Pichler's gatherings through the final years of her salon. Her close friend Ludwig August Frankl (1810–1894) entertained the salon circle with readings of his *Don Juan d'Austria* as well as the personal correspondence between the Empress Maria Theresa and Pichler's late father, Franz Sales von Greiner (1732–1798).[47] Alongside these dramatic performances, declamations of poetry were also featured:

> [...] the poems of our distinguished spirits – Schiller's, Collin's, Raupach's – [...] read out by one or more, distributed according to the roles, very often constituted a main pleasure of our evening entertainments. In our house we had long since read Goethe's, Schiller's and other plays in this way with great pleasure.[48]

As Link has shown, poetic recitation could be read, improvised, or even include musical accompaniment and became a popular activity in Viennese salons.[49] Pichler's experience contributing to the literary, musical, and dramatic elements of theatrical and literary salon performances suggests that she was well-versed in adapting works intended for the public stage to the salon.

While such salon readings served as an artistic form of entertainment, these theatrical performances also offered writers a chance to receive feedback on their works ahead of publication or public performance. Pichler and other salon guests recalled that these literary performances were usually accompanied by opportunities for listeners to provide their own critiques of the works. These workshop-like performances allowed writers to gauge the possible reception of their works in the public sphere. For example, Pichler recalled that when Körner read his tragedy *Zriny* to Pichler's salon circle in

45 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, i, 389–91 n660.
46 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, i, 419–20; 646 n722.
47 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, i, 579–80 n473.
48 "[...] die Dichtungen unserer vorzüglichen Geister – Schillers, Collins, Raupachs [...] – machten sehr oft, von einem oder mehreren, nach den Rollen verteilt, vorgelesen, ein Hauptvergnügen unserer Abendunterhaltungen aus. Längst schon hatten wir in unserm Hause Goethes, Schillers und anderer Stücke auf diese Weise mit großem Genusse vorgetragen." Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, i, 408.
49 Link, "Vienna's Private Theatrical and Musical Life," 223.

1812, her mother encouraged the poet to tone down the murder scene. Körner, choosing not to take her advice, faced equal disapproval from the audience at the public premier: "the correctness of my mother's sentiment was confirmed, for the audience was as outraged as she was by this performance; a general hissing attested to the general displeasure [...]."[50] One might imagine that following the salon performance of *Ferdinand II*, Pichler's guests provided their own thoughts on the artistic and political effectiveness of the drama.

Though it remains unclear whether music was incorporated into the salon reading of Pichler's *Ferdinand II*, sonic enhancement would certainly have been included in dramatic performances on the public stage. According to Douglas Russell, theatrical performances in late-eighteenth-century Vienna were particularly devoted to giving equal priority to music and drama.[51] Michael Pisani has also argued that, even in cases where no documentation or notated music has survived, music was incorporated into theatrical performance:

> few people of the time, either working on the stage or sitting in the audience, seemed to feel it necessary to explain dramatic music, or even to note its existence, unless of course it was inappropriate or there was some mishap between orchestra and stage.[52]

A wide range of instrumental forces could be utilized to enrich the drama – from large-scale orchestras, to timpani and other percussion instruments, to musical 'curiosities' such as the glass harmonica. In theatrical works, music and sound effects could serve a mimetic role or be used as an external tool in order to establish a mood or add an additional layer of meaning to the narrative. In the early nineteenth century, music and sound were inseparably linked to theatrical entertainment in Austria's capital.[53] This inextricable relationship

50 "[...] bei der ersten Aufführung, bei der ich zugegen war, bestätigte sich die Richtigkeit der Empfindung meiner Mutter, denn die Zuschauer waren ebenso empört wie sie durch diesen Auftritt; ein allgemeines Zischen beurkundete das allgemeine Missfallen [...]". Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, i, 391.

51 See Douglas A. Russell, ed., *An Anthology of Austrian Drama* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1982), 11–12. Also see Alice Hanson, "Music in the Theater," in *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 61–81. Michael V. Pisani has conducted similar research on theatrical performances in Britain and the United States in *Music for the Melodramatic Theater in Nineteenth-Century London and New York* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2014).

52 Michael V. Pisani, "When the Music Surges: Melodrama and the Nineteenth-Century Theatrical Precedents for Film Music Style and Placement," in *Oxford Handbook of Film Music Studies*, ed. David Neumeyer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 559–82, at 569.

53 Also see Till Gerrit Waidelich, "Das K.K. Hofburgtheater, die Vorstadtbühnen und die unendliche Vielfalt der Gestaltung von Schauspielmusik in Wien," in *Theater mit Musik: 400 Jahre Schauspielmusik im europäischen Theater*, ed. Ursula Kramer (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2014), 93–118.

between music and drama suggests that, when possible, theatrical entertainment in the home similarly prioritized the inclusion of music and sound.

The subversive soundscape of *Ferdinand II*

The role that sounds played in Pichler's salon reading of *Ferdinand II* would have been influenced by the physical site of her salon space. Public performances of *Ferdinand II* that eventually took place in Graz and Vienna occurred in public theaters, which were spaces specifically built and intended to serve as stages where the audience was physically separated from the performance. In salons such as Pichler's, the area designated as a stage during the reading was transformed specifically for the performance. David Trott and Thomas Kavanagh describe this transformative quality of the salon stage as a powerful element of these performances:

> The homogenous space of the salon gave way to a distinction between the stage as a miniworld of make-believe for the players and the still quotidian world of their audience. The performance might well be staged in a space which only moments before all had shared, but, once it began, it created a second world serving as an esthetic metaphor of its environs.[54]

Sound played a vital role in initiating this transformative process of a salon performance. While Laura Tunbridge and other scholars have noted the central role visual stimuli played in dramatic performance on the public stage, such reliance on the visual was limited in the salon.[55] Physical gesture could still be employed, but physical space, props, costumes, and set design were limited, particularly in smaller salons such as Pichler's. The aurality of the performance therefore would have played a more vital role in transforming the salon space into a temporary stage. In Pichler's salon, the creation of what Trott and Kavanagh describe as a 'second world' occurred when Andreas Pichler, Antonie Adamberger, and the other readers spoke their lines. As the sounds of conversation over tea were replaced by the reading voices of the actors, listeners heard the sonic creation of a staged space in the salon. Alongside the sound of performers' spoken lines, sound effects and music further distinguished between reality and the fantasy, between audience and stage.

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54 Thomas M. Kavanagh, *Enlightened Pleasures: Eighteenth-Century France and the New Epicureanism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 178.

55 Laura Tunbridge, "Schumann's 'Manfred' in the Mental Theatre," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 15, no. 2 (2003): 153–83, at 164.

The incorporation of music in salon performances, of course, depended on the availability of instruments and musical personnel. For her performance of *Ferdinand II* on 23 December 1814, Pichler invited a select group of friends and acquaintances, including the Baroness Marie von Zay (1779–1842), Juliane Charlotte von Rothkirch, the writer Gottlieb von Leon (1757–1832), and a poet simply identified as "Friedrich."[56] Many of the actors who had been rehearsing the work for the Hofburgtheater participated in Pichler's salon reading, including Nikolaus Heurteur (1781–1844) as Ferdinand II, Maximilian Korn (1782–1854) in the role of Saint-Hilaire, and Antonie Adamberger (1790–1867) as Marie. Regular attendees of Pichler's gatherings took on the remaining roles: the writer Johann Ludwig Deinhardstein (1790–1859) played Ebergassing, Andreas Pichler played the Moravian governor Karl von Zierotin (1564–1636), and Pichler's sixteen-year-old daughter, Lotte, read the role of a student named Ulrich Moser in act four.[57] As members of the lower aristocracy and upper middle class, many of these identified guests – as well as possible, unidentified attendees – received musical training and could have assisted in providing musical accompaniment or sound effects to the drama.

While wealthier salonnières could hire orchestras of various sizes for performances, salons in smaller homes or those hosted by less wealthy families could employ reduced instrumentation, such as chamber ensembles or keyboards.[58] Theatrical performances in the homes of Vienna's nobility often incorporated concertos, overtures, or other instrumental pieces to introduce the drama, while shorter works might be played as entr'actes.[59] Presumably, sound effects were also incorporated in these private performances when musical instruments or other sonic devices were available. Documentation of theatrical salon performances, such as Pichler's 1814 *Ferdinand II* reading, provide scholars the opportunity to consider how these semi-private performances employed music and sound.

A possible source of music and sound effects for the *Ferdinand II* reading was the Pichler family's 'organisiertes Fortepiano'. Built by the Royal Court Organ and Instrument Builder Anton Walter (1752–1826), this unusual keyboard was a combination of a fortepiano and a positive organ. In her memoirs, Pichler

56 Stolberg-Wernigerode, *Tagebuch*, 128.
57 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, ii, 85–86.
58 Some noble families, including the Schwarzenbergs and Lobkowitzes, employed private orchestras on a long-term basis. By the early nineteenth century, however, very few families still retained private orchestras. See Link, "Vienna's Private Theatrical and Musical Life," 224–26.
59 Link, "Vienna's Private Theatrical and Musical Life," 216.

described her instrument's wide range of timbral possibilities, of which she was especially fond:

> [the keyboard] was a piano and a positive, which could be used in each of these ways individually or together, which then created a very pleasing effect when the melodic touch of the organ pipes combined with the string sounds of the fortepiano.[60]

This keyboard likely accompanied the many musical performances at her gatherings, providing a signature sound for her salon. Though Walter's combination keyboards, including Pichler's, have not survived, other extant organ-pianos from this period offer insight into the sounds that could have been incorporated into theatrical performances in her salon as well as the cultural and social symbols these instruments represented for their owners. The Claviorganum in the Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente at the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien is the earliest known surviving combination keyboard of its kind (Illustration 3).[61] As the keyboard's restoration team has noted, this instrument built by Franz Xaver Christoph (1733–1793)

> represents the prototype of a chamber music instrument that played a significant role in the circle of wealthy music lovers from the Viennese Classic period to the early nineteenth century.[62]

The experimental, specialty nature of organ-fortepianos meant that they were built with specific clients in mind. Wealthy families, such as Pichler's, commissioned builders to design combination keyboards that would suit their individual performance practices and preferences.

60 "Ich besaß ein [...] Instrument [...], das zugleich Klavier und Positiv war, und das man auf jede dieser Arten einzeln oder auch zusammen benützen konnte, was denn einen sehr angenehmen Effekt machte, wenn der melodische Hauch der Orgelpfeifen sich mit den Saitenklängen des Fortepiano verband." Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, i, 283–84.

61 "Orgelklavier," Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, https://www.khm.at/de/object/85330/. A CD album recorded in 2014 by Thomas Schmögner on the Christoph organ-piano provides insight into the possible timbre and volume of Pichler's own keyboard. Thomas Schmögner, *Claviorganum*, Paladino Music PMR0033, 2015, CD.

62 "Damit repräsentiert es gleichsam den Prototyp eines Kammermusikinstruments, das von der Wiener Klassik bis ins frühe 19. Jahrhundert im Kreis wohlhabender Musikliebhaber eine nicht unbedeutende Rolle gespielt haben dürfte." Alfons Huber, Wolfgang Karner, and Albrecht Czernin, "Das Orgelklavier von Franz Xaver Christoph der Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente des Kunsthistorischen Museums," in *Das Wiener Klavier bis 1850*, ed. Beatrix Darmstädter, Alfons Huber, and Rudolf Hopfner (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2007), 163–78, at 166.



Illustration 3: 'Orgelklavier', Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente, 625, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien. Photo by author.

According to advertisements of organ-pianos in Vienna between 1780 and 1800, a common feature of combination keyboards was the inclusion of flute or fife registers.[63] Other organ-pianos, including the Christoph keyboard at the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, also featured a bassoon register. While it remains unknown what registers or other personalized requests Pichler's organ-piano included, the instrument served as a sort of rarity. When guests visited her salon, hearing the combination keyboard was a memorable part of the experience. Pichler recalled that when Germaine de Staël (1766–1817) visited in 1808,

63 Huber, Karner, Czernin, "Das Orgelklavier," 167.

> she asked me to let her hear my organized fortepiano. I played something for her, the instrument pleased her well, as it really gave a lot of enjoyment, some small defects notwithstanding. She then touched it herself, but I cannot say that she actually played, and soon afterward she left.[64]

Regarding his own visit in December of the same year, Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752–1814) wrote, "[Pichler] is also musical, and of her own free will sat down at her organ piano to play something for me."[65] Incorporating Pichler's combination keyboard into the salon reading of *Ferdinand II*, then, would have resulted in a memorable aural experience and interpretation of the drama. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Walter owned one of the largest keyboard workshops in Vienna, employing roughly twenty journeymen, and his instruments were more expensive than those built by his competitors.[66] Owning a custom-built Walter keyboard, then, served as a status symbol of Pichler's wealth and investment in musical practices and became an aural signifier of her salon and the activities she conducted therein.

Five days after the salon reading of *Ferdinand II*, Hormayr wrote to Pichler and expressed pride for having encouraged such a politically charged depiction of Austrian history in her drama. His letter offers insight on the metaphorical power he attributed to sounded performance (Illustration 4):

> How else but with pleasure and pride can I look upon the fact that my views, indeed my words, gave such a work of art many a stirring touch and the genuine national direction. I am happy to content myself with the material merit of the organ treader for the majestically rushing sound, although your all too great modesty and partial friendship would like to grant me a higher position. Yes, this was one of my favorite ideas, the turning of the spoken and visual arts to patriotic objects, the potentiation of the historically *true* through the *beautiful*.[67]

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64 "Dann forderte sie mich auf, sie mein organisiertes Fortepiano hören zu lassen. Ich spielte ihr etwas vor, das Instrument gefiel ihr wohl, wie es denn auch wirklich, manche kleine Gebrechen abgerechnet, vielen Genuß gewährte. Sie berührte es hierauf selbst, aber ich kann nicht sagen, daß sie es eigentlich gespielt hätte, und bald darauf ging sie weg." Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, i, 321.

65 "[...] sie ist auch musikalisch, und setzte sich gleich aus freiem Antriebe an ihr Orgelfortepiano, mir etwas vorzuspielen." Johann Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe geschrieben auf einer Reise nach Wien und den oesterreichischen Staaten zu Ende des Jahres 1808 und zu Anfang 1809: In zwei Bänden*, Band 1 (Amsterdam: Kunst- und Industrie-Comtoir, 1810), 195–96.

66 Silke Berdux and Susanne Wittmayer, "Biographische Notizen zu Anton Walter," *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 48 (2000): 13–106, at 40.

67 "Wie anders als mit Lust und mit Stolz kann ich darauf hinsehen, daß meine Ansichten, ja meine Worte einem solchen Kunstwerk manchen ergreifenden Zug und die ächt nationale Richtung gaben. Gerne bescheide ich mich mit dem materiellen Verdienst des Orgeltretter und dem majestätisch dahin rauschendem Getön. Ja, das war mir eine meiner Lieblingsideen, die Hinwendung der redenden und bildenden Kunst auf vaterländische Gegenstände, die

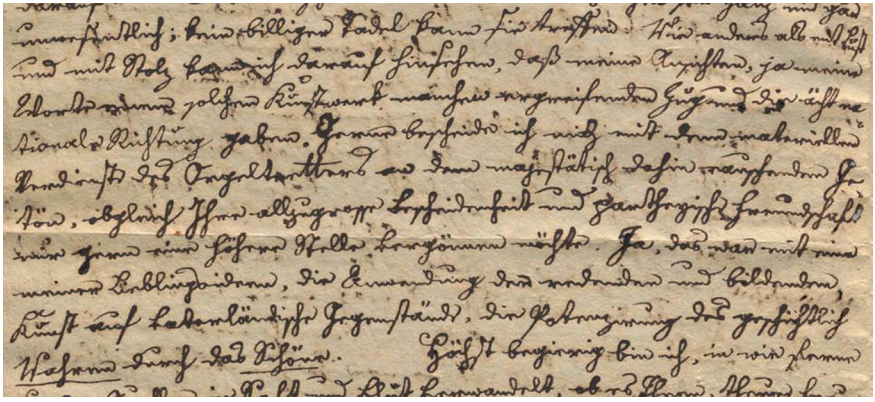


Illustration 4: Hormayr, Joseph von: Brief an Caroline von Pichler. Brno, 28.12.1814. Wienbibliothek im Rathaus. https://resolver.obvsg.at/urn:nbn:at:AT-WBR-831458 / Public Domain Mark 1.0.

Hormayr pointed to the value he, and possibly Pichler, placed on using spoken and visual art to address political issues. In this case, Pichler used her historical drama to foster an Austrian identity built on shared history. But Hormayr's choice of metaphor offers an additional layer of meaning. To demonstrate that art reaches its full potential, or merit, when it serves a political agenda, Hormayr employed the metaphor of an organ treader (Orgeltretter) only serving their full purpose when the "majestically rushing sound" of the organ is produced. For Hormayr, the sound of the organ was equated with a political objective or historical truth. While spoken and visual arts, and presumably music, as well, were understood by Hormayr and Pichler to hold value as beautiful pursuits, the full worth of these vessels was only attained when they were sounded, or fulfilled a political purpose. In addition to serving as a poignant metaphor, Hormayr's association of Pichler's political commentary in *Ferdinand II* with the "material merit of the organ treader for the majestically rushing sound" may have also held a literal meaning. As a frequent guest in Pichler's salon, Hormayr would have been familiar with the Pichler family's 'organisiertes Fortepiano'. This sonic signifier of the Pichler salon was often played at her gatherings, and Hormayr himself may have taken on the role of organ treader, pumping air into the bellows while Pichler or another performer played at the keyboard.

Potenzirung des geschichtlich *Wahren* durch das *Schöne*." Joseph von Hormayr to Caroline Pichler, 28 December 1814, Handschriften H.I.N.-7056, Wienbibliothek im Rathaus.

One clue for how this organ-piano might have been incorporated in Pichler's salon performance of *Ferdinand II* is found in act two of the drama. At this point in the play, the character of Marie describes her recent experience encountering a Catholic church service. She recalls being drawn to the church service by the sounds of the organ, bells, and chanting. Still under the control of her Protestant uncle, Tschernembel, Marie is unable to openly practice Catholicism and laments over this separation from her Catholic roots:

– Ach gestern auf dem Weg hierher! –
Wir fuhren
Durch Neustadt, da zerbrach ein Rad.
Es war Grad an der Kirche, wo zum
Abendsegen Versammelt stand der
frommen Gläub'gen Schaar.
Wir stiegen ab. Da tönten die Gesänge,
Es tönten mir der Orgel Himmel-Klänge
Mit langentwohnter Kraft tief
in das Herz.
Wie aus der Heimath schien es mir
zu tönen,
Und mich ergriff ein unbezwinglich
Sehnen,
Hineinzugehn. – Ich durfte nicht.
Voll Schmerz
Halb weinend blickt' ich in die hohen
Hallen,
Ich sah des Weihrauchs Opferdüfte wallen,
Des Altars Pracht, der Kerzen hellen Schein
Durch Düft' und Dämm'rung goldne
Schimmer streu'n,
Mir schlug das Herz in immer höhern
Schlägen,
Jezt fiengen sich die Glocken an zu regen,
Von Altar her erklang der Klingeln Ton,
Ich sah das Volk anbetend niedersinken,
Das Heiligthum in Priestershänden blinken,
Es war, als öffne sich der Gottheit Thron.
Und ich – stand da, geächtet –
ausgeschlossen,
Aus meiner Brüder heil'gem Bund
verstoßen.[68]

– Oh yesterday on the way here! –
We were driving
Through Neustadt, and a wheel broke. It was
just at the church, where a crowd of pious
believers was gathered for the evening
service.
We dismounted. The chants resounded,
The heavenly sounds of the organ sounded
With long-established power deep
in my heart:
It seemed to me to sound as if from
home,
And I was seized by an irresistible
longing
to go inside. – I was not allowed.
Full of pain
and half weeping I looked into the high
halls,
I saw the incense of the sacrifice wafting,
The altar's splendor, the candles' bright glow
Shimmering through fragrance and dimness
golden gleam,
My heart beat in ever increasing
beats,
Now the bells begin to chime,
From the altar the ringing sound was heard,
I saw the people bow down in adoration,
The sanctuary twinkling in priestly hands,
It was as if the throne of the deity opened.
And I – stood there, ostracized –
excluded,
Cast out from my brothers' holy union.

68 Pichler, *Ferdinand der Zweyte*, 48–49.

Marie associates the sounds of the organ, the chiming of bells, and the resonating sounds of the congregation's chants with a kind of mystical quality. In this scene, the sound of the organ represents a powerful connection to Marie's home city of Vienna, a place characterized by a long history of Habsburg Catholicism. One can easily imagine Pichler's organ-piano being played to enhance this scene and provide listeners with an aural example of the organ music that drew Marie's mind and heart to her true allegiance.

The fortepiano feature of Pichler's keyboard could have also replicated the ringing of the bells that Marie heard while witnessing this Catholic church service. Bells have long served as sonic signifiers of communal belonging. In his study on the function and social significance of bells in nineteenth-century France, Alain Corbin writes that "a bell was supposed to be audible everywhere within the bounds of a specific territory" and that, conversely, "the extent of a given jurisdiction was sometimes defined in terms of the range of its bells."[69] Acting as an auditory signal of boundaries and belonging, the ringing of bells "served to anchor localism, imparting depth to the desire for rootedness and offering the peace of near, well-defined horizons."[70] For Marie, hearing the bells brought to mind an imagined community that, rather than being limited to the aural range of the bells, was bound by a shared religious and cultural identity. Revealing her allegiance to the Catholic side of the 1618 Protestant Revolution, Marie refers to "*das Volk*" who hear the altar bells, calling to mind a larger body of Catholic believers, akin to the imagined community that Benedict Anderson would later employ to define a nation.[71] The bells Pichler describes might refer to large church bells, small altar bells, or a combination of both, which was often heard during the Eucharist portion of the Catholic mass, serving as an aural marker of the transformation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. Though altar bells were abandoned in many post-Reformation Protestant churches, they continued to be used in Catholic services.[72] Thus, for early nineteenth-century audiences, altar bells would have carried distinctly Catholic associations. Separated from her faith and home in Vienna, Marie associated the chiming of these Catholic bells with

69 Alain Corbin, "Identity, Bells, and the Nineteenth-Century French Village," in *Hearing History: A Reader*, ed. Mark M. Smith (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004), 186, 201 n16. Carla Shapreau has also discussed the communal and ritualistic importance of bells in "Bells in the Cultural Soundscape: Nazi-Era Plunder, Repatriation, and Campanology," in *The Oxford Handbook of Musical Repatriation*, ed. Frank Gunderson, Robert C. Lancefield, and Bret Woods (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 503–30.

70 Corbin, "Identity, Bells, and the Nineteenth-Century French Village," 185.

71 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edition (New York: Verso, 2006).

72 See Wolfgang Vögele, "Sounds and Silence: Ringing of the Bells in the Period of Reformation," *Beiaard- en klokkencultuur in de Lage Landen* 2, no. 1 (2023): 73–86.

a larger, centuries-old Austrian and Catholic community for which she desperately longed to be reunited.

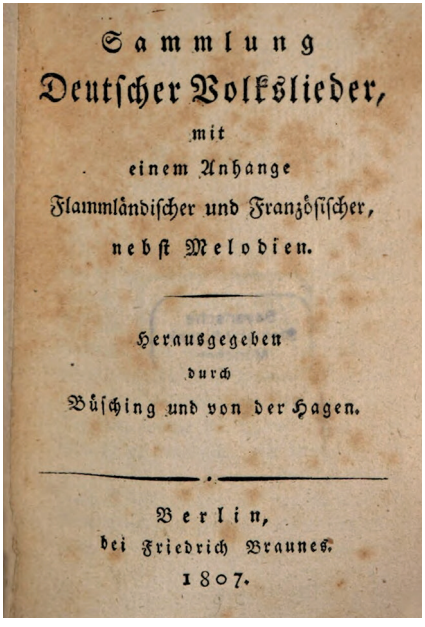
By associating Marie's home and religious family with Vienna and Catholicism, Pichler once again endorses a distinct Austrian patriotism based on a shared cultural history. As in public theatrical performances, music in salon readings of plays could also serve as a recurring, external signifier of ideas, people, or actions. In the following acts of the play, Marie's commitment to Catholicism plays a central role in Saint-Hilaire's rescue mission and, ultimately, Vienna's defeat of Bohemian forces. Including the organ-piano in these key moments, then, might have provided a sonic reminder of Marie's devotion and loyalty to her faith. By sounding these important symbols of Austrian Catholicism – organ music and altar bells – the organ-piano would have played a key role in enhancing Pichler's political aims of the play. It is also worth noting that Marie is one of the two fictional characters in the play. Instead of being tied to the historical evidence, Pichler freely used creative license to include Marie into the narrative. Therefore, Marie's experiences, including her sensory-filled encounter with a Catholic church and strong connections to a unified, Austrian religious community, reinforces Pichler's image of a supranational identity throughout the drama.

Vocal repertoire might have also been incorporated in this 1814 salon reading, as suggested by an 1818 performance of *Ferdinand II* (as *Christian, König von Dänemark*) at the Theater an der Wien. A review of this public performance in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode* applauds "die Absingung des schönen Volksliedes" (the performance of the beautiful folk song) that served as a prelude to the drama.[73] Pichler's experience incorporating well-known arias or composing short songs for *Hauskomödien* suggests that she could have easily included vocal music into the *Ferdinand II* salon reading. By the early nineteenth century, the study and collection of German and Austrian folk songs formed a significant branch of broader interest in folk culture, including the folk song research of Friedrich David Gräter (1768–1830), as well as the increasing popular interest in Tyrolean singers.[74] Though the

73 "Schauspiel," *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode* 134, 7 November 1818, 1096.

74 For more on Gräter, see Ulrich Morgenstern, "Folk Music Research in Austria and Germany: Notes on Terminology, Interdisciplinarity and the Early History of *Volksmusikforschung* and *Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft*," *Musicologica Austriaca: Journal for Austrian Music Studies*, 25 September 2015, https://www.musau.org/parts/neue-article-page/view/17. For more on the early popularity of Tyrolean folk singers, see "National or Popular Singers." Institut für Tiroler Musikforschung, Musikland Tirol, last updated 2 July 2012, http://www.musiklandtirol.at/english/musikgeschichten/musikintirol/volksmusik/national-or-popular-singers.html.

1818 review neglected to identify the folksong performed before *Ferdinand II*, Pichler's familiarity with the collector and editor of medieval German poetry, Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen (1780–1856), serves as a possible clue for folksongs she might have included in her salon performance. In her memoirs, Pichler credits Hagen – alongside Jacob (1785–1863) and Wilhelm Grimm (1786–1859) – for awakening in Germany and Austria an idealized love for the Germanic Middle Ages during and immediately following the Napoleonic Wars.[75] The many German folk song melodies and texts Hagen published, such as those in *Sammlung Deutscher Volkslieder, mit einem Anhange Flammländischer und Französischer, nebst Melodien* (1807), could have served as sources for incidental vocal music in the *Ferdinand II* salon reading (Illustration 5).


Sammlung
Deutscher Volkslieder,
mit
einem Anhange
Flammländischer und Französischer,
nebst Melodien.

Herausgegeben
durch
Büsching und von der Hagen.

Berlin,
bei Friedrich Braunes.
1807.

Illustration 5: Johann Gustav Gottlieb Büsching and Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen, *Sammlung Deutscher Volkslieder, mit einem Anhange Flammländischer und Französischer, nebst Melodien.* Berlin: Braunes, 1807. P.o.germ. 210-2, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

As a cultural product tied to German-speaking identity, such folk songs would have fostered commitment to a German national identity within the multicultural Habsburg empire. Similarly to Pichler's promotion of medieval German dress, her promotion of both a German-speaking national identity and loyalty to the broader Austrian empire should be understood as an example of step-wise politics. Rather than being contradictory, the complexity of Pichler's

75 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, ii, 44.

political agenda reflects dual levels of identity that coexisted for many Austrians in the early nineteenth century. If, according to Hormayr, national loyalties could ultimately strengthen imperial ties, the performance of a German folk song as a prelude to Pichler's salon reading could be understood as reinforcing her promotion of Austrian patriotism.

Another possible explanation for the *Volkslied* that was reportedly sung before the 1818 public performance of Pichler's *Ferdinand II* is Haydn's *Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser*. First premiered for Emperor Francis II in 1797 at the Hofburgtheater during a performance of Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf's *Doktor und Apotheker*, Haydn's anthem experienced pervasive popularity, largely due to its folk-like quality and widespread patriotism during the Napoleonic Wars. This hymn was frequently sung before public performances in Vienna, including the 1813 performance of Pichler's play *Heinrich von Hohenstaufen* at the Hofburgtheater.[76] As Andrew Barker has noted, by 1820, the general descriptor of 'Volkslied' often referred to Haydn's hymn.[77] Furthermore, both Haydn and the author of the hymn text, Lorenz Leopold Haschka (1749–1827), had direct ties to Pichler's family – Haydn performed in Charlotte von Greiner's salon and Haschka was a private tutor to Caroline Pichler.[78] Though no evidence survives to confirm whether this hymn was sung prior to or during Pichler's salon reading of *Ferdinand II*, the familial and patriotic significance that Haydn's anthem held for Pichler's salon makes it a compelling possibility that would have further enhanced the patriotic message of the drama.

In his diary entry on the salon reading quoted at the beginning of this chapter, Stolberg noted hearing a strong Austrian dialect (oestreichschen Dialect) from both Pichler and her husband.[79] The 'dialect' Stolberg heard was likely an accent from the Austro-Bavarian language variety that had become increasingly common throughout Austrian lands, including Vienna, since the sixteenth century. In the late eighteenth century, Empress Maria Theresa and Emperor Joseph II supported language reform efforts that aimed to replace Austro-Bavarian dialects with the culturally dominant East Middle German

76 "Theater," *Der Sammler* 5, no. 176, 4 November 1813, 704. Furthermore, Haydn's *Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser* would have been particularly appropriate for the 1818 performance, as it took place on the Empress's name day. See "Schauspiel," *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode* 134, 7 November 1818, 1096. In his exploration of Haydn's heroic period, Nicholas Mathew notes the devotional, folklike qualities of Haydn's *Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser* in "Heroic Haydn, the Occasional Work and 'Modern' Political Music," *Eighteenth-Century Music* 4, no. 1 (2007): 7–25.

77 Andrew Barker, "Setting the Tone: Austria's National Anthems from Haydn to Haider," *Austrian Studies* 17 (2009): 12–28, at 14, fn. 10.

78 James Van Horn Melton, "School, Stage, Salon: Musical Cultures in Haydn's Vienna," *The Journal of Modern History* 76, no. 2 (2004): 251–79, at 276.

79 Stolberg-Wernigerode, *Tagebuch*, 128–31.

Upper Saxon language variety of central and northeastern Germany.[80] Despite imposing extensive educational reforms and making Saxon German the official administrative language, reformers were only successful in influencing written language in Austria – spoken language largely remained in the Austro-Bavarian dialects. According to Robert Evans, to a limited extent, the language reform movement invertedly encouraged a renewed commitment to distinctly Austrian language practices, as reflected in Joseph Sonnleithner's published collection of Austrian idioms, *Mundart der Oesterreicher* (1800).[81] The specific Austro-Bavarian accent that Stolberg heard from the Pichlers may have been similar to the dominant dialect of the Viennese, Wienerisch. Though Wienerisch was commonly found throughout the capital, the inclusion of this dialect on the public stage was limited to the genre of dialect dramas or dialect comedies. These satirical plays were performed in commercial theaters located beyond Vienna's city walls and were largely attended by members of the lower upper class or the middles classes.[82] As the 1815 public performance of Pichler's *Ferdinand II* was scheduled to take place at the Hofburgtheater – a court-run theater – the 'reformed' Saxon German would have been used, rather than Wienerisch. For Stolberg and other guests, the Pichlers' Viennese pronunciations in the salon reading of *Ferdinand II* further set this performance apart from those that would have been heard in the Hofburgtheater. Moreover, hearing *Ferdinand II* infused with the distinct inflections and stresses of an Austrian accent – whether intentional or not – would have aligned with Pichler's goal of promoting patriotism through her drama.

By moving the performance of *Ferdinand II* into her salon, Pichler was also able to determine who would make up the audience. As shown by Stolberg's invitation, Pichler personally invited fellow writers, family members, and close friends. As opposed to hiring professional actors for the performance, Pichler relied on both the Hofburgtheater actors and her regular salon guests to cover the various roles. By blurring this distinction between the performers and salon guests, all those in attendance could contribute their thoughts on the work. Unlike public performances, where post-performance critiques

80 Peter Wiesinger, ed., *Das österreichische Deutsch* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1988), 14–15.

81 R. J. W. Evans, "Language and State Building: The Case of the Habsburg Monarchy," *Austrian History Yearbook* 35 (2009): 7. Evans notes that this collection was revised in 1811 and again in 1824.

82 W. E. Yates, *Theatre in Vienna: A Critical History, 1776–1995* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 17, 87. Barbara Babić, "Between the Sacred and the Profane: French Biblical Melodrama in Vienna c. 1800," in *The Melodramatic Moment: Music and Theatrical Culture, 1790–1820*, ed. Katherine C. Hambridge and Jonathan Hicks (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 59–78, at 65.

and conversations occurred in the form of published reviews or private conversations of audience members, Pichler's salon performance allowed for the immediate exchange of ideas among the listeners, the performers, and the author herself. Like other dramatic performances in her salon, Pichler's *Ferdinand II* reading likely included the sounds of attendees' suggestions, reactions, and conversations akin to a workshopping session, contributing to the sonic nature of this salon reading.

The behavior of audience members in the salon also likely differed from the noisy, inattentive attendees of public performances, where personal conversations and interactions were often prioritized above those on stage.[83] Though salon listeners might audibly react to the drama, the presence of the author suggests that they maintained a greater degree of attentive listening than the audience members at Vienna's public theater houses. This attentive listening is also suggested by contemporary accounts of another salon reading of *Ferdinand II* in Brno, Moravia. Hormayr reported to Pichler that when her drama was read on January 5, 1815 for Hugo Salm-Reifferscheidt (1776–1836) and his wife, Marie Josephe (née McCaffry) (1775–1836), those in attendance were "truly listeners, as one could not wish for better, where every grain of good and beauty falls on fertile soil, nothing on the highway, nothing among the thorns."[84] Hormayr also recalled the unexpected, heightened sense of listening he experienced during the reading:

> I was enchanted by the noble and beautiful language and by many a heart-warming feature, but I confess myself that I did not expect this extraordinary effect in the actual performance, where my own fire swept me away and listened to everything mutely and rigidly, and nowhere did the slightest objection let itself be heard.[85]

Such attentive, 'serious' listening makes considerations of the music, sound effects, and overall soundscape of Pichler's *Ferdinand II* salon reading all the more significant.

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83 See Hanson, *Musical Life*, 70–71.

84 "Wahrhaftige Zuhörer, wie man sie sich in Wahrheit nicht besser wünschen kann, wo jedwedes Samenkorn des Guten und Schönen auf fruchtbares Erdreich fällt, nichts auf die Heerstraße, nichts unter die Dörner." Karl Glossy, "Hormayr und Caroline Pichler," *Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft* 12 (1902): 212–343, at 269. Here, Hormayr references the New Testament parable of the sower, comparing Pichler's drama to the gospel (Matthew 13:1–23, Mark 4: 1–20, and Luke 8:4–15).

85 "Mich entzückte die edle und schöne Sprache und so mancher herzerhebende Zug, allein ich bekenne selbst, daß ich diesen außerordentlichen Effekt im wirklichen Vortrag nicht erwartete, wobei mein eigenes Feuer micht hinriß und alles stumm und bewegt horchte und nirgends die leiseste Einwendung sich hören ließ." Glossy, "Hormayr und Caroline Pichler," 269–70.

Ferdinand II beyond the salon

Despite the censor's attempt to prevent a public performance of *Ferdinand II*, a positive review of Pichler's salon reading was published in the magazine *Friedensblätter* that allowed the public to read about the play from a highly favorable viewpoint. *Friedensblätter* was a non-political Catholic publication that often included patriotic works by German-language poets, including Pichler. According to Ernst Weber, the publication "had an influence on the political opinion-forming and will-forming process independent of Metternich's government."[86] The unidentified reviewer praised Pichler's handling of the Catholic-Protestant conflict and reported that the drama "has aroused the general applause of those who had the good fortune to be present at its first readings."[87] The review ended by expressing hope that the drama would soon be performed at the Hofburgtheater, a desire that would never come to fruition. The first public performances of *Ferdinand II* finally took place in 1816 in Graz, Austria, and Bamberg, Bavaria.[88] Public performances in Vienna would not occur until two years later. In her memoirs, Pichler recalls that by this time, the drama had undergone such drastic changes in order to pass Austrian censorship that it was beyond recognition:

> The play was never performed at the court theater [...], and only long after that did it go onstage in a badly mutilated form as *Christian of Denmark*, once or at most twice at the [Theater an der] Wien. In this form, stripped of any individuality, any local or patriotic interest, it was a true absurdity. I did not go to see it at all, because I would only have been annoyed.[89]

86 Ernst Weber, *Lyrik der Befreiungskriege (1812–1815): Gesellschaftspolitische Meinungs- und Willensbildung durch Literatur* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche, 1991), 332: "[...] unabhängig von der Regierung Metternichs auf den politischen Meinungs- und Willensbildungsprozeß einwirkte." Pichler's contributions included her essay on the promotion of old German dress for women: "Ueber eine Nationakleidung für deutsche Frauen," *Friedensblätter* 16, 7 February 1815, 61–63.

87 "[...] den allgemeinen Beyfall derer erweckt hat, welche das Glück gehabt haben, bey den ersten Vorlesungen desselben gegenwärtig zu seyn." "Tagsblatt," *Friedensblätter* 5, January 12, 1815, 20.

88 "Ferdinand der Zweyte," *Der Aufmerksame* 85, July 20, 1816, 1–4; "Theater in Grätz," *Theater-Zeitung* 9, no. 71, Beylage nos. 29/30, September 4, 1816, 117–19; "Korrespondenz und Notizen. Aus Bamberg, im Nov. 1816," *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* 16, no. 240, 6 December 1816, 1920; and "Korrespondenz und Notizen. Aus Bamberg," *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* 16, no. 241, 7 December 1816, 1927.

89 "Das Stück wurde auf dem Hoftheater nie aufgeführt [...], und nur lange darnach ging es in einer argen Verstümmelung als *Christian von Dänemark*, ein- oder höchstens zweimal an der Wien über die Bretter. In dieser Gestalt, abgestreift von jeder Individualität, jedem Lokal- jedem vaterländischen Interesse war es ein wahres Unding. Ich ging gar nicht hin, es zu sehen, den ich hätte mich nur geärgert." Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, ii, 53.

On 5 November 1818, the day after *Christian of Denmark* was premiered at the Theater an der Wien, Pichler released a statement denying any association with the performance:

> I was astonished to learn that the play performed yesterday at the Theater an der Wien, *Christian, King of Denmark*, is nothing other than my play *Ferdinand the Second*, newly adapted and transplanted from Austria to Denmark with the blurring of all localities and characters. I hereby declare that I have no interest whatsoever in this kind of presentation, and that it has been undertaken entirely without my knowledge and consent.[90]

Though no surviving copy of the 1818 version of the play has been found, this "mutilated" version likely traced the military victories of Christian IV of Denmark (1577–1648) during the Thirty Years' War. In this altered form, her historical drama was stripped of its fundamental goal of using art to convey her political ideas. In contrast, Pichler's 1814 salon performance of *Ferdinand II* succeeded in spreading her political convictions to a broad audience. As the timing of the salon performance and its subsequent review coincided with the Congress of Vienna, readers who learned about Pichler's play likely included not only Vienna's own reading public but also foreign diplomats, royal leaders, and aristocrats who were visiting the city from across Europe. In this instance, the semi-public, semi-private nature of salon culture aided Pichler's goals of evading the Austrian censor while also reaching a circle much larger than the salon guests present at the first reading.

In a letter to Stolberg one year after the salon reading of *Ferdinand II*, Pichler expressed her personal fondness for the salon performance and her continued hope that it would be performed for the Viennese public:

> I am very pleased that you remember *Ferdinand* and so many quiet evenings with us with pleasure and kindness [...] and I think with particular pleasure of the reading of that play and your part in it. It has not yet been performed here, the censor [...] has not approved it, and has given His Majesty a completely wrong idea of the contents of it, since it almost seems from a statement of the Emperor, as if he thinks that his ancestor is portrayed in the play as a fanatic or intolerant tyrant, as he is presented in most writings about that time and also portrayed in

90 "Mit Erstaunen vernahm ich, daß das gestern auf dem Theater an der Wien aufgeführte Stück: *Christian, König von Dänemark*, nichts anders als mein Schauspiel: *Ferdinand der Zweyte* sey, *neu bearbeitet* und mit Verwischung aller Localitäten und Individualitäten von Österreich nach Dänemark verpflanzt. Ich erkläre hiermit, daß ich an einer solchen Art von Darstellung gar keinen Antheil habe, und daß sie ganz ohne mein Wissen und Wollen unternommen worden ist." Caroline Pichler, "Erklärung," *Der Sammler* 10, no. 134, 7 November 1818, 544.

> plays [...]. Thus, the play remains where it is until perhaps a coincidence brings about its pardon.[91]

Though her drama would never be performed on Vienna's public stage in its intended form, Pichler capitalized upon the salon to circumvent the governmental censorship of *Ferdinand II* and promote Austrian patriotism. In the salon, the sound of the performers' reading voices played an important role in transforming the salon site by sonically creating a distinction between stage and audience. The inclusion of sound effects and music on this imagined stage, such as organ music, altar bells, folk song, and even Viennese accents, served as a powerful tool for enhancing – or, according to Hormayr's metaphor, 'sounding' – the Austrian identity Pichler aimed to cultivate through her drama. Pichler capitalized upon the salon to contribute to processes of political identity formation and stability for an empire in transition, revealing the ways women used artistic performance and domestic spaces to contribute to political life in early nineteenth-century Vienna.

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91 "Mich freut es sehr daß Sie sich des Ferdinand und so ma[n]cher stillen Abende bey uns gern und freundlich erinnern [...], und mit besonderer Lust denke ich der Vorlesung jenes Stückes, und Ihres Antheils daran. Noch ist es hier nicht aufgeführt worden, die Censur [...] hat es nicht erlaubt, und Sr. Majestät einen ganz falschen Begriff von den Inhalten desselben beygebracht, indem es aus seiner Äußerung des Kaisers fast scheint, als halte er dafür, sein Ahnherr sey als Fanatiker oder unduldsamer Tyrann, wie er in den meisten Schriften über diese Zeit vorgestellt ist, auch in dem Schauspiel geschildert. [...] So bleibt das Stück liegen, bis vielleicht ein Zufall seine Begnadigung herbeyführt." Letter from Caroline Pichler to Henrich Graf zu Stolberg-Wernigerode dated December 13, 1816, in Stolberg-Wernigerode, *Tagebuch*, 130.

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Dance and Ballet

Johann Nepomuk Hummel's Dances for the Apollosaal, 1808–1821: Music in a Multimedia Environment

Erica Buurman

Ballroom dancing in early nineteenth-century Vienna was an inherently multimedia activity that played a central role in the city's social and cultural life. Music, dance, costume, lighting, décor and even architecture all contributed to the ballroom experience. The opulent Apollosaal (opened in 1808) was the grandest example of the multimedia ballroom, with its living trees and shrubs, murals and statues that evoked Greco-Roman antiquity, and its giant grotto under an artificial mound that housed the ballroom orchestra. Although today's music scholars point to the ballroom as a source of referential meaning for dance music encountered in other contexts, they tend to focus on the music and dance repertoire of the period without taking account of the varying contexts in which they were performed. Yet the physical space of custom-built ballrooms also helped to shape Vienna's dance culture and repertoire in important ways.

The Apollosaal is a useful case study as there is much surviving music composed for this venue (namely six sets of dances by Johann Nepomuk Hummel, whose father directed the ballroom's orchestra), and detailed contemporary descriptions and architectural plans provide a comprehensive account of the ballroom's design. Close examination of Hummel's music for the Apollosaal reveals the composer's sensitivity to the way the environment shaped the listening experience. His minuets and German dances presented a continual supply of moments designed to catch the listener's ear, without necessitating the kind of sustained listening expected in a concert environment. The extended codas of his German Dances op. 29 (1811) and his *Neue Walzer* op. 91 (1820) furthermore capitalized on the Apollosaal's environment for maximum effect through various means, including allusion to the venue's theme of antiquity, and through the evocation of collective memory.

The experience of attending a public ball in early nineteenth-century Vienna was inherently multimedia. Most obviously, music and movement functioned together as inextricable components of ballroom dancing – the activity at the heart of the public ball. The visual dimension was also central to the ballroom experience, however. The dozens of dancing venues that existed in the early

decades of the nineteenth century included edifices with some of the most grand and imposing architecture in the city. These included the Hofburg, which housed the Large and Small Redoutensäle that hosted public balls during the carnival season, and the opulent Apollosaal in the Schottenfeld suburb, first opened in 1808 as a vast indoor pleasure garden modelled on London's Vauxhall Gardens. Ballroom interiors were decked out with lavish lighting and decorations at great expense to the organisers, which were often meticulously detailed in first-hand accounts of notable balls, attesting to the impact they made on attendees. The German journalist Carl Bertuch's brief account of the opening ball of the Congress of Vienna on 2 October 1814, for instance, noted that the Small Redoutensaal had been transformed into an orangery, the large hall was decorated in white, blue and silver, and the whole complex was illuminated by 16,000 candles.[1] Food and drink also formed an important part of the overall experience: the Apollosaal had a dining room that could accommodate 250 guests as well as five separate rooms housing buffets serving all manner of refreshments.[2]

Although the multimedia nature of Vienna's balls is immediately apparent to anyone attending the city's famous ball season today, the sources available to historians on the balls of Schubert's lifetime tend to lead scholars to consider their various dimensions separately. Music is one of the best documented aspects of Vienna's balls in the decades around 1800, since large quantities of ballroom dance music of this period survives, mostly in keyboard transcription but in some cases also in sets of full orchestral parts. Yet this rich body of source material offers very little insight into the wider experience of the ball itself, or even of the precise nature of the dancing it was associated with. Dance treatises did not routinely describe the steps of waltz dances until the early decades of the nineteenth century,[3] and Viennese dance music was not generally published with accompanying dance figures, so that no choreography survives for the contredanses, ecossaises and other figure dances by Mozart,

1 "Die Manege in einen Saal verwandelt, dann noch großer Redoutensaal und kleiner als Orangerie. Der große Saal mit doppelten Galerien, weiß, blau u. Silber war einzig schön, ein wahrer Zauberpalast. Das ganze mit 16000 Lichtern erleuchtet […]" (all translations are my own). The "große[r] Saal" could have referred to the Large Redoutensaal or the Winter Riding School, which had been transformed into a ballroom for the event. *Carl Bertuchs Tagebuch vom Wiener Kongress*, ed. Hermann Egloffstein (Berlin: Gebrüder Paetel, 1916), 20–21.

2 Anon., "Miscellen aus Wien," *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* no. 23, March 1808, 195–202, at 201–2; Anon., *Der Apollo-Saal in seiner neuesten Umstaltung. Unter des Unternehmers Herrn Sigmund Wolfsohn's Anleitung beschrieben* (Vienna: Schrambl, 1809), 15.

3 For discussions of the various terms used for waltz dances see Eric McKee, "Ballroom Dances of the Late Eighteenth Century," in Danuta Mirka, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 174–5; and Erica Buurman, *The Viennese Ballroom in the Age of Beethoven* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 32–47.

Beethoven, Schubert and their contemporaries. Consequently, much of the existing music scholarship on the social dances of Schubert's period either focuses exclusively on the music, or on the way the music may have intersected with dance, to the exclusion of the many other dimensions that made up the total experience of attending a Viennese ball.[4]

While music scholars have tended to neglect the wider context for ballroom dancing in their engagement with the social dance repertoire, social and literary historians have tended to do the opposite. Numerous studies have focused on the socioeconomic aspects of ballroom dancing in the early nineteenth century, particularly as they relate to gender and class, without reference to music except in very general terms.[5] Such studies give the impression that music had no role in shaping the ballroom experience besides simply providing the rhythmic accompaniment for dancing to take place – as though all dance music of a certain period was essentially interchangeable.

More recent scholarship on social dance has aimed to correct the tendency for scholarship to focus on its different dimensions independently, with illuminating results. Eric McKee, for instance, has considered the way the visual spectacle of waltzing relates to certain aspects of the waltz music of Joseph Lanner and Johann Strauss Sr., arguing that dance and music "not only reflect, but also, by their inherent differences, enhance each other's aesthetic qualities."[6] Yet close analysis can typically handle no more than two dimensions simultaneously before losing its specificity, and consequently traditional analysis has little to offer when it comes to the Viennese ball as an event in its entirety.

How, then, might scholars make sense of the ballroom experience as a whole, and music's position within it? A necessary starting point is to focus on specific balls for which the original music has survived, and which are well documented in specific eyewitness accounts – conditions which apply to surprisingly few of the balls from the early nineteenth century. The balls held in the Hofburg during the Congress of Vienna are especially well documented and have proved fruitful for understanding the role of music within the occasion as

4 As an example, Martin Chusid's study of Schubert's dance music focuses exclusively on the music itself, with the exception of Walburga Litschauer's introductory chapter that offers an overview of dance culture in Biedermeier Vienna (*Schubert's Dances: For Family, Friends and Posterity* [Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2013], ix–xxxiv).

5 Examples include Elizabeth Aldrich, "Social Dancing in Schubert's World," in Raymond Erickson, ed., *Schubert's Vienna* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), 119–140, and much of the literature concerning the role of dance at the Congress of Vienna (see especially Ruth Katz, "The Egalitarian Waltz," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 15, no. 3 [1973]: 368–77).

6 Eric McKee, *Decorum of the Minuet, Delirium of the Waltz: A Study of Dance-Music Relations in 3/4 Time* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2012), 128.

a whole.[7] A similarly well documented set of balls from Schubert's era – namely those that took place in the Apollosaal during the first decade of its existence – has yet to receive in-depth scholarly attention, and will be the main focus here. A flurry of publications describing the Apollosaal's extraordinary interior followed its opening in 1808, offering a detailed insight into the experience of attending an Apollosaal ball. Music composed for the venue by Johann Nepomuk Hummel also survives, six volumes of his Apollosaal dance music having been published in Vienna between 1808 and 1821. This article draws on the available source material to investigate the overall experience of attending the Apollosaal. Positioning Hummel's dance compositions in this wider context can offer new ways of understanding the music itself, and how it both shaped and was shaped by the multimedia nature of a typical Apollosaal ball.

Experiencing the Apollosaal in 1808–09

When the Apollosaal first opened to the public in January 1808, it was the city's largest ball venue, and could reportedly accommodate up to 10,000 guests.[8] The *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* stated in 1809 that its popularity had put a dent in the attendance at the Redoutensäle, which had routinely hosted between 1,500 and 3,000 people at its Carnival balls in the late eighteenth century.[9] The Apollosaal's popularity was relatively short-lived, however. Its reputation peaked at the time of the Congress of Vienna (1814–15), when the venue hosted a ball in honour of the allied sovereigns, and guests included the King of Prussia and several other monarchs and foreign dignitaries.[10] By the end of the decade, the Apollosaal was notably in decline. Part of the reason for its lack of sustained success was its location in the Schottenfeld suburb, which was inconvenient for the higher classes of society who lived mostly in the inner city. This is evidenced by reports of gridlocked streets and a journey to the venue by carriage taking over an hour.[11] Mounting debts forced the original owner, Sigmund Wolfsohn, to sell the Apollosaal in 1818 to a new owner, the

7 See Buurman, "The Congress Dances," Chapter 7 of *The Viennese Ballroom*, 148–69.

8 Anon., "Miscellen aus Wien," 201–2.

9 Johann Pezzl considered 1,500 to 1,800 the ideal number for a comfortable ball in the Redoutensäle, but that balls in final days of Carnival typically attracted upwards of 3,000 guests (*Beschreibung der Haupt- und Residenz-stadt Wien*, Fourth Edition [Vienna: Chr. Kaulfuß and C. Armbruster, 1816]), 297.

10 Johann von Gott Bundschue, *Reise auf der Donau von Ulm nach Wien, und von da über Salzburg und durch das nördliche Tirol nach Kempten, gemacht im September und Oktober 1814* (Kempten: Dannheimer, 1815), 235.

11 Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe geschrieben auf einer Reise nach Wien und den Oesterreichischen Staaten zu Ende des Jahres 1808 und zu Anfang 1809,* vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Kunst- und Industrie-Comtoir, 1810), 305–6.

confectioner Johann Baptist Höfelmayer.[12] The diarist Joseph Karl Rosenbaum attended a ball in December 1819, and recorded that "there may have been around 1,500 people, but hardly any women and barely twelve elegant ones."[13] During the 1831 cholera outbreak the Apollosaal was used as a temporary hospital, and it was later converted into a candle factory that was eventually destroyed by a fire in 1876.

Despite its eventual decline, the Apollosaal was at the forefront of Vienna's ball culture during the first few years of its existence. It was the largest and most opulent establishment devoted to entertainment since the first ballrooms were opened to the public in the 1770s. It also charged the highest ticket prices at 5 gulden per person; by comparison, entry to balls in the Redoutensaal in the 1808 season cost 3 gulden.[14] Throughout carnival the Apollosaal was open on Sundays and Thursdays, with Tuesdays reserved for the aristocracy.[15]

The venue was formed of two main halls, only one of which was a ballroom – the other was a great indoor garden.[16] Both halls featured living trees and shrubs, and at the far end of the ballroom was an artificial mound constructed of rock. The mound originally offered a "view of Vesuvius" (presumably as a painted mural above the rock), but after renovations in 1811 it presented a new decoration with Apollo driving a chariot before his temple against the backdrop of a rising son (see Illustration 1).[17] The dance orchestra was housed inside the mound, from which there were grottos leading to a circular dining room that could seat 250 people. The garden hall had an avenue lined with roses, a billiard table under an illuminated marquee as well as card tables, and there were rooms in which drinks and confectioneries were served. In short, the Apollosaal offered all manner of entertainments from dancing to dining, gaming, or simply promenading to take in the various delights of the venue itself.

12 Anon., "Licit. Haus am Oberneustift, der Apollosaal genannt, sammt Zugehör," *Wiener Zeitung* no. 279, 4 December 1818, 1097.

13 "Es mögen bei 1500 Personen gewesen sein, aber kaum Frauenzimmer und kaum 12 elegante." Joseph Karl Rosenbaum, Tagebuch, vol. 9 (A-Wn, Cod. Ser. N. 202), fol. 99r; transcription in Peter Prokop, "Die Tagebücher des Joseph Carl Rosenbaum (ÖNB SN 194–204) – eine Arbeitstranskription," website of the Adler Heraldisch-Genealogische Gesellschaft Wien, accessed 12 June, 2024, https://db.adler-wien.eu/adler_rosenbaum_list.php.

14 The 3 gulden entry price was listed on the Hoftheater's playbills (e.g. Playbill of 17 January 1808, A-Wn, Musiksammlung, Theaterzettel [Oper und Burgtheater in Wien], 147449-E).

15 Anon., *Der Apollo-Saal. Nach Besuchen am 10. 17. und 31. Januar 1808 dargestellt* (Vienna: Rötzl, 1808), 14.

16 A detailed floor plan is depicted in Victor Stöger, "Der Apollo-Saal," *Alt-Wien: Eine Monatsschrift für Wiener Art und Sprache*, vol. 6, no. 2 (1897): 21–26, at 23.

17 Stöger, "Der Apollo-Saal," 25–26.



Illustration 1: *Ansicht des Orchesters im Apollo Saal,* from *Ansichten-Sammlung der berühmtesten Palläste Gebäude und der schönsten Gegenden von und um Wien.* Vienna: Maria Geissler, 1812. Collection of the Ira F. Brilliant Center for Beethoven Studies.

Many published descriptions survive from the Apollosaal's first few years, which typically take the reader on a virtual tour of the whole complex. An illustrative example is an anonymous sixteen-page pamphlet that describes visits to the hall within the first month of its opening, on 10, 17 and 31 January 1808.[18] Given this publication's overwhelmingly positive account of the Apollosaal it is not unreasonable to suspect that the venue's owner, Sigmund Wolfsohn, had a hand in its publication or perhaps authored it himself. The description takes the reader on a tour of the venue, beginning with its entrance hall and grand staircase leading to the main ballroom. Throughout, the author comments on all manner of detail in the architecture, decorations and furnishings, often commenting on the feelings they rouse, thereby giving the impression that the venue offers a continual stream of surprises and delights. The grand staircase itself, for instance, inspires the following description:

18 Anon., *Der Apollo-Saal. Nach Besuchen am 10. 17. und 31. Januar 1808 dargestellt* (Vienna: Rötzl, 1808).

> This staircase, a great conception of the architect! is separated by Gothic railings on which there stand green vases, separate from each other and illuminated from within. At the foot of it, majestic arches rise over each section, above which genies float on both sides, and above the central arch a large double-headed eagle hovers under shimmering lighting![19]

The arches at the foot of the stairway were removed during renovations to the Apollosaal for the 1809 season, since they blocked the view of the ballroom and the lighting was too blinding;[20] the stairway to the ballroom following the 1809 renovation (with the arches removed) is depicted in Illustration 2.

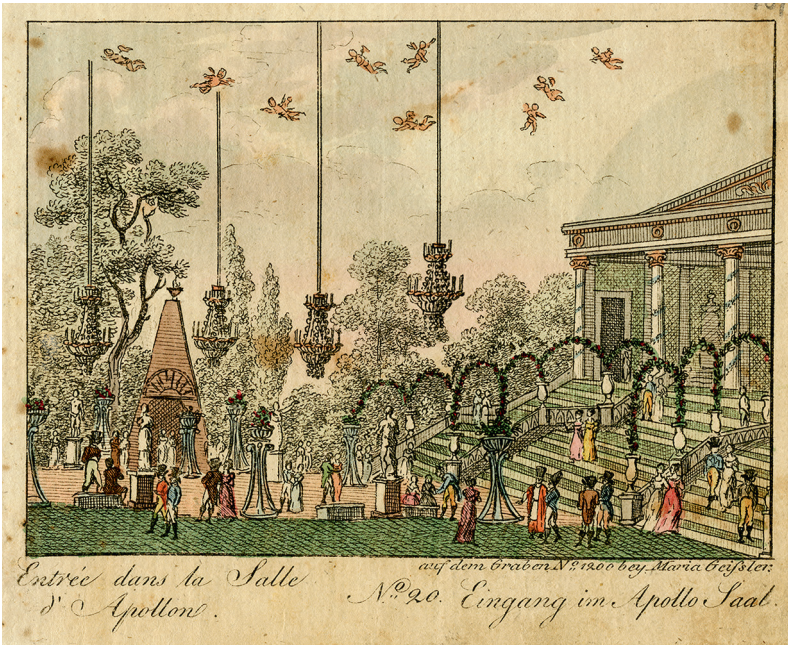


Illustration 2: *Eingang im Apollo Saal,* from *Ansichten-Sammlung der berühmtesten Palläste Gebäude und der schönsten Gegenden von und um Wien*. Vienna: Maria Geissler, 1812. Collection of the Ira F. Brilliant Center for Beethoven Studies.

19 "Diese Treppe, ein großer Gedanke des Baukünstlers! ist durch gothische Geländer, auf denen grüne, von innen beleuchtete Vasen stehen, von einander abgesondert. Am Fuße derselben erheben sich bey jeder Abtheilung majestätische Bogen, über welchen zu beyden Seiten Genien, und über dem Mittelbogen ein großer Doppeladler unter schimmernder Beleuchtung schweben!" *Der Apollo-Saal. Nach Besuchen am 10. 17. und 31. Januar 1808 dargestellt*, 5–6.

20 Anon., *Der Apollo-Saal. In seiner neuesten Umstaltung. Unter des Unternehmers Herrn Sigmund Wolfsohn's Anleitung beschrieben* (Vienna: Schrambl, 1809), 6–7.

Reaching the grottos, the author describes the waterfall that bubbles down into a basin containing living plants, noting that "two silver-plated swans help enliven the scene in the absence of real ones."[21] In the garden hall neighbouring the ballroom, the author describes the "extremely surprising" sight of real flowering roses and blooming peach and orange trees.[22] Details of materials and expenses contribute to the impression of almost overwhelming opulence, from the metal tokens guests receive when leaving their coats in the cloakroom, to the central chandelier in the dining room (through which water was pumped by a hidden device) that reportedly cost 9,000 gulden.[23] Even smell forms part of the description: "One approaches; the most pleasant scents reveal his destination. Here is the confectionary or refreshment table."[24]

Despite the author's attention to detail in describing the venue's various attractions, their description of the experience of attending the Apollosaal says almost nothing of substance about the music. After describing the position of the orchestra within the artificial mound, the author writes only that "the music is excellently conducted by our famous Hummel and completely fills the large space of this extensive complex."[25] The description furthermore does not offer any details as to the type of dancing that was taking place; the account of the ballroom focuses only on describing the space itself, including the comfortable benches positioned between the statues and young trees at the sides of the dance floor. No information is offered as to the kinds of dances the orchestra played, or how many people were dancing.

Other published accounts of attending the Apollosaal in its opening seasons demonstrate a similar attitude towards the music. Another such account is *Schilderung des Apollo-Saales* (1808) by the writer Tobias Frech von Ehrimfeld (who also, incidentally, authored the libretto for a one-act Singspiel,

21 "In der Mittelgrotte sprudelt ein Wasserfall in ein Becken herab, aus welchem lebendige Wasserpflanzen hervorragen. Zwey übersilberte Schwannen [sic] helfen in Ermangelung wirklicher die Scene beleben," *Der Apollo-Saal. Nach Besuchen am 10. 17. und 31. Januar 1808 dargestellt*, 7.

22 "Äußerts überraschend ist es, hier im Januar halb und ganz ausgeblühte Rosen, oder blühende Pfirsichbäume, und Frucht und Blüthe der Orangen an einem Stamme zu sehen," *Der Apollo-Saal. Nach Besuchen am 10. 17. und 31. Januar 1808 dargestellt,* 10.

23 *Der Apollo-Saal. Nach Besuchen am 10. 17. und 31. Januar 1808 dargestellt*, 4 and 8–9.

24 "Man nähert sich; die angenehmsten Wohlgerüche verrathen seine Bestimmung. Es ist hier die Zuckerbäcker- oder Erfrischungstafel." *Der Apollo-Saal. Nach Besuchen am 10. 17. und 31. Januar 1808 dargestellt*, 11.

25 "die Musik wird trefflich von unserm berühmten Hummel geleitet und füllt den großen Raum dieser weitläufigen Anlage vollkommen aus," *Der Apollo-Saal. Nach Besuchen am 10. 17. und 31. Januar 1808 dargestellt,* 6–7. In fact, the orchestra's conductor was not the famous Johann Nepomuk Hummel, but rather his father, the violinist Johann Hummel, who had first arrived in Vienna in 1786 to take up the post of music director at the Theater auf der Wieden. See Mark Kroll, *Johann Nepomuk Hummel: A Musician's Life and World* (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, 2007), 6.

Der Apollo-Saal, with music by Conradin Kreutzer).[26] This account is both more objective and more detailed than the anonymous publication described above, running to thirty-two pages and including minor criticisms of the experience of attending the Apollosaal: for instance, the author notes that the artificial silver-plated swans by the waterfall inside the grottos contrast somewhat unpleasingly with the "living" water.[27] Frech von Ehrimfeld's attention to detail does not, however, extend to his description of the music. He merely comments on the position of the orchestra within the artificial mound, without providing any further details.[28] The Apollosaal's music receives similarly cursory attention in several other contemporary descriptions, which otherwise offer abundant details of the venue's interior and the various entertainments it offered.[29] These accounts suggest that the music was at most a marginal part of the experience of attending an Apollosaal ball.

The only published description that makes explicit reference to the orchestra's repertoire comes, unsurprisingly, from a musician: namely the composer Johann Friedrich Reichardt, whose *Vertraute Briefe* describes two visits to the Apollosaal in January 1809.[30] On his first visit, Reichardt recorded that "the truly extremely beautiful music played throughout the night with a great variety of strong, lively and softer dances, magnificent marches and other pleasant pieces."[31] His report after his second visit, however, was more informative:

> The beautiful, full-voiced dance music in the wonderfully lit hall gave me true pleasure: I walked up and down in it for hours. [...] By chance, right at the beginning I met the Kapellmeister Hummel, of Prince Esterhazy, and told him how much I enjoyed the beautiful waltzes that were performed so well. Only afterwards did I find out that they were mostly his compositions and that he takes care of the proper arranging of this excellent music. Truly no small benefit for an audience that has long been used to the best music of this kind.[32]

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26 Tobias Frech von Ehrimfeld, *Schilderung des Apollo-Saales* (Vienna: n.p., 1808); *Conradin* Kreutzer, *Der Apollo-Saal: Ein Scherzspiel in einem Aufzuge* (Vienna: Johann Baptist Wallishausser, 1808).

27 "zwey versilberte Schwäne kontrastiren etwas unangenehm mit dem lebendigen Wasser," *Schilderung des Apollo-Saales*, 15.

28 *Schilderung des Apollo-Saales,* 14.

29 Anon., *Reise der Göttin der Tanzkunst in den Apollo–Saal und zu den übrigen Faschingslustbarkeiten in Wien* (Vienna: Schrambl, 1808); Anon., *Der Apollo-Saal in seiner neuesten Umstaltung.*

30 Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe,* 1:305–11.

31 "Die wirklich überaus schöne Musik spielte die ganze Nacht durch mit recht vieler Abwechselung von starken, rauschenden und sanfteren Tänzen, von prächtigen Märschen und andern gefälligern Stücken," Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe*, 1:310.

32 "Ganz eignes Vergnügung machte mir die schöne vollstimmige Tanzmusik in dem herrlich erleuchteten Saale: stundenlang bin ich darin auf und ab gegangen. [...] Zufällig traf ich gleich am Anfange auf den Kapellmeister Hummel, vom Fürsten Esterhazy, und bezeugte ihm häufig meine Freude an den schönen Walzern, die da so gut vor getragen wurden. Hinterher erfuhr ich erst, daß sie meistens von seiner Komposition sind, und er sich der guten Anordnung dieser ausgezeichneten Musik annimmt. Wahrlich kein geringes Verdienst um ein solches Publikum, das an die beste Musik der Art schon lange gewöhnt ist." Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe*, 343–4.

Reichardt evidently appreciated the Apollosaal's music as a connoisseur, recognising its quality before knowing that its composer was the renowned Kapellmeister Hummel. Furthermore, he appreciated the music primarily as a listener, since he experienced it by "walking up and down", rather than by dancing. Reichardt evidently considered walking around the Apollosaal the best way to take in the music, suggesting that the vast and opulent interior played a role in his listening experience and enhanced enjoyment of what he heard.

Clearly Reichardt's appreciation of the Apollosaal's music was shaped by his musical expertise. While he acknowledged that Viennese audiences were used to "the best music of this kind", his own account of the Apollosaal was unusual for commenting on the nature and quality of the music he heard. If the other contemporary descriptions of the Apollosaal represent the impression the venue had on a typical guest who was not a professional musician, then it is safe to conclude that the music at such occasions was experienced by most guests as part of the background: something noticeably present, but not at the forefront of one's attention.

Hummel's Apollosaal Dances: music for a multimedia environment

Publication

Hummel's music for the Apollosaal during its opening season in 1808 was published in keyboard transcription by the Kunst- und Industrie-Comptoir as twelve minuets and twelve German dances, which appeared respectively as no. 1 and no. 2 in a series titled *Tänze componirt für den Apollo Saal*. The assigning of numbers implied that Hummel's series would be continued, and indeed further sets of minuets and German dances appeared as numbers 3 and 4 for the 1809 season, and number 5 for 1811.[33] Although these publications did not bear opus numbers, Hummel in fact assigned them the opus numbers 27, 28, 31 and 39.[34] After a ten-year gap, Hummel composed one more set of dances for the Apollosaal at the end of 1820, which were published by S. A. Steiner as *Neue Walzer nebst einer grossen Schlacht-Coda*, op. 91. Hummel had already been publishing his dance music composed for the Redoutensäle with opus numbers – his dances for the 1807 carnival season were published as his Opus 25, for instance. This was unusual within contemporary publishing practice,

33 For a complete list of Hummel's dance compositions see Kroll, *Johann Nepomuk Hummel,* 368–71.

34 See Dieter Zimmerschied, *Thematisch Verzeichnis der Werke von Johann Nepomuk Hummel* (Hofheim am Taunus: F. Hofmeister, 1971).

where opus numbers were typically reserved for weightier works; dance music and other 'popular' genres such as keyboard variations and songs were typically published without opus numbers.[35] Assigning opus numbers to Hummel's ballroom dance compositions was a statement that these were 'works' worthy to be taken as seriously as his music in other genres, such as his ballet *Helene and Paris* (op. 26) and his Three String Quartets op. 30 (ca. 1804–8).

Furthermore, Hummel's Apollosaal dances appeared with some of the most prestigious music publishers in Vienna. The Kunst- und Industrie-Comptoir, who issued the five-part series *Tänze componirt für den Apollo Saal*, was at this time Beethoven's principal publisher, having recently issued the first editions of the composers Second Symphony and the *Eroica* Symphony.[36] Steiner was similarly closely associated with Beethoven at the time the firm published Hummel's *Neue Walzer*, op. 91. Unusually, Steiner issued Hummel's waltzes simultaneously in seven different arrangements: for piano solo, piano duet, string trio, violin duet, flute duet, flute (or violin) and guitar, and for two Csakans, the latter being a form of duct flute that was especially popular in with amateurs in the 1820s.[37] Steiner had taken a similar approach to publishing Beethoven's *Wellingtons Sieg* and the Seventh and Eighth Symphony (opp. 91–93), each of which appeared in several chamber arrangements as well as in parts and full score on their first publication in 1816. The extraordinary popularity of Beethoven's opp. 91–93 at the time of their first performances in 1813–14 made them highly marketable in chamber arrangements for the amateur market;[38] Steiner's decision to issue Hummel's *Neue Walzer* in multiple versions suggests that he anticipated similar demand, attesting to the widespread popularity of Hummel's music for the Apollosaal.

All of this suggests that Hummel's dance music for the Apollosaal was taken seriously by the musical establishment, and was that it was given a status not normally associated with ballroom dance music. This elevated status may have stemmed in part from the grandness of the music's instrumentation and effect within the enormous space of the Apollosaal. With almost sixty players, the

35 See Robert Nosow, "Beethoven's Popular Keyboard Publications," *Music & Letters,* 78, no. 1 (1997): 56–76.

36 See Alexander Weinmann, "Vollständiges Verlagsverzeichnis der Musikalien des Kunst- und Industrie Comptoirs in Wien 1801–1819. Ein bibliographischer Beitrag," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft,* 22 (1955): 217–52.

37 Zimmerschied, *Thematisch Verzeichnis*, 135.

38 See Nancy November, "Marketing Orchestral Music in the Domestic Sphere in Early Nineteenth-Century Vienna: The Beethoven Arrangements Published by Sigmund Anton Steiner." *Musicologica Austriaca: Journal for Austrian Music Studies*, June 11, 2021, https://www.musau.org/parts/neue-article-page/view/108.

Apollosaal's orchestra was the largest professional orchestra then regularly performing in the city.[39] (The court theatre orchestras, by comparison, had around thirty-five players, and payment records for the Redoutensaal balls at the end of the eighteenth century indicate that the orchestra in the large Redoutensaal had forty-three players).[40] The grand scale of Hummel's music in its original performing context may have been enough to warrant the opus designation.

Hummel's Apollosaal music also differed from typical ballroom dance music in that its function was not only – or even primarily – to accompany dance. It seems to have been commonplace for visitors to attend the Apollosaal without dancing at all, since none of the authors of the accounts cited above describe participating in any dancing. Reichardt even reports engaging with the music as an active listener, albeit one who walked around the hall while listening. Similar accounts are given of the Redoutensaal in this period, as a venue where it was common for attendees not to participate in any dancing. Rehearsals of the Redoutensaal orchestra sometimes took place in front of an audience, who experienced the dance music as something closer to a concert performance; Rosenbaum recorded attending several such rehearsals between 1798 and 1808.[41] Hummel's music for the Apollosaal seemingly belonged to this grander form of ballroom dance music that could cater for listening audiences as well as dancers, bringing it closer to the concert waltzes of the Strauss family later in the nineteenth century.

Contrast and variety

How might Hummel's music have shaped the experiences of a typical Apollosaal guest, given the competing demands that the venue made on their attention? Recent scholarship on social dance music that has addressed similar questions has tended to focus specifically on the act of dancing, and how this may have influenced the listening experience. Chantal Frankenbach rightly notes that dancing "incapacitates the listener's attention to the unfolding of musical ideas over time, [and] requires music that makes no such demands."[42]

39 The orchestra had fifty-seven players according to Victor Stöger, "Der Apollo-Saal," 25.

40 Dexter Edge, "Mozart's Viennese Orchestras," Early Music, 20, no. 1 (1992): 68–79; and Buurman, *The Viennese Ballroom*, 25.

41 Buurman, *The Viennese Ballroom*, 27–28.

42 Chantal Frankenbach, "Waltzing around the Musically Beautiful: Listening and Dancing in Hanslick's Hierarchy of Musical Perception," in Nicole Grimes, Siobhán Donovan and Wolfgang Marx, ed., *Rethinking Hanslick: Music, Formalism, and Expression* (Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer, Rochester University Press, 2013), 108–31, at 123.

Her observation accounts for the simple and repetitive forms of ballroom dances, which in this period were usually constructed of chains of eight-bar phrases that unfold without following any grand formal or tonal scheme. Eric McKee has also analysed some attention-grabbing features that often occur at the beginning of coda sections of Mozart's German dances. These typically include a dramatic pause on a dominant seventh chord, followed by a period in which the music breaks out of the rigid eight-bar phrase structure, and a heightening of energy through a long-range crescendo and a gradual thickening of the orchestral texture towards a climactic ending. McKee suggests that these musical signs served to draw the dancers' attention to the music, and signal "the beginning of a time period during which the gentlemen could carefully escort their dancing partners back to their seats before the beginning of the next dance."[43]

Yet the Apollosaal offered so many diverse distractions and entertainments that dance was not the activity that Hummel's music had to compete with in order to gain the listener's attention. A close look at Hummel's dance music indicates that he was sensitive to the listening experience in the unique environment of the Apollosaal, and that he tailored his dances accordingly.

As was typical of dance music of the period, Hummel's minuets and German dances for the Apollosaal are organised as sets of six or twelve individual dances with trio sections, each in binary or rounded binary form. Both parts of the form are repeated and usually consist of eight- or sixteen-bar phrases, and some dances include multiple trios. The German dance sets all end with an extended coda, two of which – those for op. 39 and op. 91 – have programmatic elements that will be discussed below. Opera 31, 39 and 45 all include minuets and German dances in a single volume, and Opus 45 also includes an extended *Marcia con moto* introduction before the minuets.

Each set of dances therefore consists primarily of multiple chains of eight- or sixteen-bar phrases. While this form already invites continual variety, Hummel's music maximises contrast both between and within the individual dances of each set. Each successive dance is in a new key, and while the keys chosen are generally conventional (consisting of no more than three sharps or flats), they are organised so as to prioritise contrast, often following a sharp key with a flat key, resulting in neighbouring key relationships of seconds and thirds as well as more conventional dominants and subdominants. As an example, the six minuets of op. 45 outline the following key scheme: C major – F major – D major – B-flat major – E-flat major – G major.

43 McKee, *Decorum of the Minuet, Delirium of the Waltz*, 113.

Hummel also introduces frequent dynamic contrasts within individual dances, as well as very distinctive texture or instrumentation into individual dances, which are helpfully indicated in the surviving keyboard transcriptions. The first minuet of his dances for the 1808 season, for instance, has striking contrasts between loud and soft dynamics, as well as frequent sforzandos, within its otherwise simple and stately melody (Example 1). These frequent changes of dynamic and attack would be far more likely to grab the ear within the vast space of the Apollosaal than more subtle forms of variety.



Example 1: Johann Nepomuk Hummel, Minuet no. 1, *Tänze componirt für den Apollo Saal no. 1* [op. 27]. Vienna: Kunst- und Industrie-Comptoir, 1808.

The instruments featured within individual dances also tend to be those most likely to project over the noise of the cavernous ballroom – for instance, trumpets, solo horn and sleigh bells, rather than softer woodwind or string instruments. The trio of Minuet no. 3 from Hummel's dances of 1812 features a fanfare of trumpets in close harmony, as indicated by the word 'Tromba' in the keyboard arrangement, which furthermore builds in texture and volume over four-bar phrases (Example 2). Such frequent and extreme contrasts performed by a large orchestra would come across as overbearing in a small venue, but these extremes would have been necessary in the Apollosaal in order to be audible throughout the hall over the sound of many thousands of guests.



Example 2: Johann Nepomuk Hummel, Trio from Minuet no. 3, *Tänze componirt für den Apollo Saal no. 5* [op. 45]. Vienna: Kunst- und Industrie-Comptoir, ca. 1812, mm. 1–8.

Amongst the colourful and distinctive orchestration there are also tuneful melodies of the popular type. Several individual dances are labelled as being from stage works from the recent or current Viennese repertoire that would have been familiar to Apollosaal guests. The trio of German Dance no. 9 of op. 28 (1808) is labelled "du Ballet d'Hélêne et Paris" (from Hummel's own ballet music, op. 26); the trio of Minuet no. 1 of op. 39 (1811) is labelled "über die Schweizer Familie" (after Joseph Weigl's 1809 Singspiel), and Minuet no. 3 from the same set is labelled "über den Triumphmarsch aus der Vestalinn", whose melody is derived from the march in Act I of Spontini's *La vestale*, which premiered in Vienna at the end of 1810. While these are all examples of pre-existing melodies being repurposed for the Apollosaal's music, in at least one case the borrowing went in the other direction: Hummel later re-used the trio of the fifth German dance of his 1812 dances op. 45 (see Example 3) as the finale of his Potpourri for viola and orchestra, op. 94, composed in 1820 when Hummel was the resident Kapellmeister in Weimar. The Potpourri also includes melodies from Mozart's *Don Giovanni, Nozze di Figaro* and *Entführung aus dem Serail*, which are familiar to today's audiences as they were in 1820; the melody from Hummel's Apollosaal music, however, has gone unrecognised in modern programme notes and editions of this work.



Example 3: Johann Nepomuk Hummel, Trio from Minuet German Dance no. 5, *Tänze componirt für den Apollo Saal no. 5* [op. 45]. Vienna: Kunst- und Industrie-Comptoir, ca. 1812, mm. 1–8.

Matching the décor

Hummel's use of familiar popular melodies in his Apollosaal music, like his inclusion of striking contrasts in dynamic, texture, and instrumentation, ensured that the music was full of attention-grabbing moments that did not necessitate the kind of sustained listening expected in a concert environment. In the busy, noisy environment of the Apollosaal, this approach was necessary to prevent the music merely becoming background noise. At the same time, the variety within the music would have helped to enliven the ballroom's interior: the lights, murals and sculptures were undoubtedly spectacular, but they were stationary and likewise would not be able to hold the viewer's attention for very long.

In fact, descriptions of the artwork in the Apollosaal's interior suggests that it was created with a similar concern for capturing the momentary attention of viewers, as the music did for listeners. Much of the artwork created the illusion of movement, such as the ceiling and cornice paintings over the circular dining room, which depicted figures from antiquity performing some kind of round dance.[44] Furthermore, the Apollo-Saal was renovated on a regular basis, so that the artwork frequently changed. These renovations were often unveiled at the start of the new season, aiming to offer visitors novelty and surprise. Towards the end of 1819, the Apollosaal's then owner Johann Baptist Höfelmayer aimed to generate interest in the latest renovation by placing several announcements

44 *Der Apollo-Saal. Nach Besuchen am 10. 17. und 31. January 1808 dargestellt,* 7–8.

in the *Wiener Zeitung* to publicize the grand opening on the 26th of December. He provided some tantalizing description of what visitors could expect:

> Tasteful painting, rich décor, impressive lighting, a wide row of large mirrors and new, magnificent chandeliers and candelabra, then a surprising furnishing in the interior will help the Apollo-Saal regain the reputation it enjoyed in its first years. No further description will be given, because everyone should see for themselves that something very out of the ordinary is offered.[45]

Unusually for ball announcements in this period, Höfelmayer actually mentions the music, stating that it was newly composed by the most popular and famous composers: Professor Joseph Drechsler, Hieronymus Payer, Diabelli, Kapellmeister Franz Joseph Volkert, Anton Schwarz, and others, with Sigmund Sperber directing the orchestra. But his emphasis on the interior, and particularly his hint at some kind of surprise amongst the renovations, indicates that he intended the ball experience to be something like a spectacle, in which the music played a relatively small role.

No description of the 1819 renovation survives, but Rosenbaum attended a similar unveiling of the Apollosaal's latest renovation on 26 December 1813. On that occasion, the evening's entertainment actually did include spectacle, which apparently depicted an erupting volcano. On the whole, Rosenbaum found the experience disappointing:

> [...] opening of the newly decorated Apollo-Saal, admission 3 gulden, total rip-off. [...] Same size as last year, only a curtain wall that opened at 10 o'clock and a decoration of Vesuvius appeared. The eruption was extremely bad and was apparently Jahn's design. [...] The lighting was sparse, the company very mixed, around 1300 people.[46]

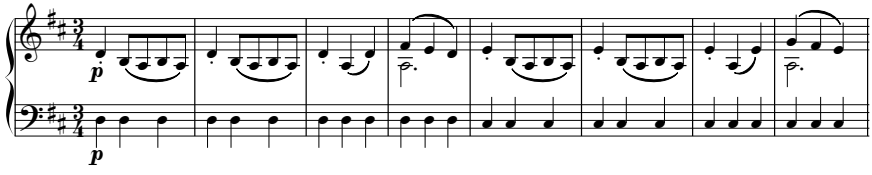
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45 "... eine geschmackvolle Mahlerey, eine reiche Dekorirung, eine imposante Beleuchtung, eine weite Reihe grosser Spiegel und neuer prächtiger Luster und Candelaber, dann seine überraschende Einrichtung des Innern überhaupt werden dem Apollo-Saal wieder zu dem Rufe verhelfen, der ihm in den ersten Jahren zu Theil geworden. Es soll durchaus keine weitere Beschreibung gegeben werden, weil jedermann sich selbst überzeugen möge, das[s] nichts Gewöhnliches ausgebothen wird." Höflmeyr (i.e. Johann Baptist Höfelmayer), "Ball-Ankündigung vom Apollo-Saal, " *Wiener Zeitung* 290, 20 December 1819, 1185.

46 "Eröffnung des neu decorirten Apollo Saal[es]. Eintritt 3 fl., elende Betrügerey [...] Nämliche Größe wie im vorigen Jahre, nur eine Kurtine, welche sich um 10 h öffnete, eine Dekoration des Vesuv erschien. Die Eruption war äußerst schlecht und schien Jahns angabe zu sein. Die Verwandlung in arkadische Gärten mit Gruppe des Apollo alt, ging zwar schnell, machte aber keine Wirkung. [...] Die Beleuchtung war sparsam, die Gesellschaft sehr gemischt, ungefähr 1300 [Personen] stark." Joseph Karl Rosenbaum, *Tagebuch*, vol. 7 (A-Wn, Cod. Ser. N. 200), fol. 169v.

It's hard to know exactly what Rosenbaum saw, but it evidently included a moving installation depicting the eruption of Vesuvius. The volcano was an appropriate subject for the Apollosaal's vast interior, not only because of the sublime appeal of volcanos in general, but also because Vesuvius in particular fit with the venue's overall theme of antiquity. Furthermore, the artificial mound that housed the orchestra had apparently depicted Vesuvius in the Apollosaal's original decorations, as described above.

Curiously, in what appears to be a rare instance of music being inspired by the physical space in which it was performed, Hummel's 1811 German Dances for the Apollosaal, op. 39, includes a programmatic coda titled "l'explosion du Vesuve" (The explosion of Vesuvius). Remaining in waltz time, the coda portrays the volcano's eruption through similar pictorial devices to those that portray storm sequences in programmatic symphonies. The coda begins quietly, with repeating, sequential patterns that gradually build in tension (see Example 4). A crescendo that begins at measure 26 reaches *forte* at measure 33, before the music drops to *piano* again and the music turns to a minor key. When the music eventually reaches a climax, there are diminished chords, sforzandos, and fast scalar runs, evidently depicting the crisis point at the height of the eruption (Example 5). The music eventually dies down to *piano* and the coda concludes with a relaxed D-major section with a folk-like melody labelled 'Ländlerisch'. This suggests another allusion to storm sequences in programmatic symphonies, such as the "Hirtengesang. Frohe und dankbare Gefühle nach dem Sturm" (Shepherd's song. Happy and grateful feelings after the storm) in the finale of Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony.



Example 4: Johann Nepomuk Hummel, Coda from the 1811 German Dances, *Tänze componirt für den Apollo Saal*, no. 4 [op. 39]. Vienna: Kunst- und Industrie-Comptoir, ca. 1811, mm. 1–8.



Example 5: Johann Nepomuk Hummel, Coda from the 1811 German Dances, *Tänze componirt für den Apollo Saal*, no. 4 [op. 39]. Vienna: Kunst- und Industrie-Comptoir, ca. 1811, mm. 1–8.

Both Hummel's 'Vesuvius coda' for the 1811 season and the eruption spectacle that Rosenbaum witnessed December 1813 performed a similar function in the context of an evening's entertainment at the Apollosaal. While the ballroom offered a whole range of sensory pleasures that visitors could take in at their leisure, Hummel's Vesuvius coda demanded sustained attention from the listeners, since the music unfolds over almost 350 measures rather than 8 or 16. It therefore briefly became the centrepiece of the evening's entertainment, focusing everyone's attention on the music for a few minutes from all corners of the ballroom. This suggests a function for dance music that musicologists and dance scholars tend not to consider: namely, as a temporary diversion in the context of a larger multimedia experience. Following directly after a set of German dances, the coda was neither functional dance music, nor concert music that assumed a captive audience of stationary listeners. Instead, the coda was something like the musical equivalent of a spectacle, demanding only a few minutes' attention in order to arouse feelings of surprise and delight.

Community and nostalgia: Hummel's "Schlacht Coda", op. 91 (1820)

Hummel's final set of dances for the Apollosaal – the *Neue Walzer*, op. 91, composed at the end of 1820 – includes a programmatic coda on an even grander scale than his Vesuvius coda of 1811.[47] As I have described elsewhere, the "Schlacht Coda" that concludes the *Neue Walzer* presents a full-blown battle

47 The date of composition is given in Joel Sachs, "A Checklist of the Works of Johann Nepomuk Hummel," *Notes*, 30, no. 4 (1974): 732–54, at 742.

sequence whose length is equivalent to that of an entire movement of a symphony.[48] While it functioned similarly to the pictorial Vesuvius coda, it also added a further dimension to the multimedia experience of the ball.

The coda follows the archetypal pattern of instrumental battle music, beginning with the marching and preparations for battle of both sides, followed by fighting, and then victory celebrations. In fact, Hummel's coda is clearly modelled on a specific work: namely, on Beethoven's *Wellingtons Sieg*, op. 91, composed eight years earlier in 1813 but still the most celebrated battle symphony of the day.

Like Beethoven, Hummel chose the melodies *Marlborough* and *Rule Britannia* to represent the opposing armies (Example 6a–b), which each appear in contrasting keys (D major and B-flat major) preceded by drumrolls and trumpet calls. The longest section is the battle, which in Hummel's piece is a dramatic sequence in D minor. This eventually gives way to a section of jubilant trumpet calls in D major, headed "La Victoire", and the coda concludes with a joyful fugato — much as *Wellingtons Sieg* concludes with a fugue on *God Save the King*. Given the close parallels between the two works, the fact that they both bear the opus number 91 seems more than a coincidence.



Example 6a: Johann Nepomuk Hummel, *Neue Walzer mit Trios nebst einer grossen Schlacht-Coda, componirt für den Apollo Saal in Wien,* op. 91. Vienna: S. A. Steiner und Comp., ca. 1821, coda, mm. 66–74.

48 Buurman, *The Viennese Ballroom*, 137–42.



Example 6b: Johann Nepomuk Hummel, *Neue Walzer mit Trios nebst einer grossen Schlacht-Coda, componirt für den Apollo Saal in Wien,* op. 91. Vienna: S. A. Steiner und Comp., ca. 1821, coda, mm. 118–26.

Like the Vesuvius coda of ten years earlier, Hummel's battle coda provides a musical diversion that emerges seamlessly from the set of dances preceding it. This time, the narrative theme did not match the classical theme of the ballroom's interior. Instead, it evoked the end of the Napoleonic Wars, just a few years earlier. The coda's musical parallels with *Wellingtons Sieg* are so clear that he presumably expected those present at the ball to recognize the allusion. Many people present would have attended the numerous performances of Beethoven's battle music that took place in Vienna under the composer's direction in 1813 and 1814. Hummel himself had performed the canon shots on the bass drum at the work's premiere, and he directed the military percussion section at further performances in 1814.[49]

Hummel's battle coda seems to have been designed to evoke a variety of responses. Like many of the other diversions in the Apollo-Saal, it was an unexpected diversion, designed to surprise and entertain the guests. It might also have generated amusement, as a kind of in-joke for those who remembered Hummel's starring role as a percussionist in Beethoven's battle piece. But an added dimension was nostalgia for a shared moment of festivity at the end of the wars, which was still in fresh memory. Hummel's battle coda was 'occasional music', but in this case the occasion was not a specific historical event, but rather the occasion of the ball itself, and the festive experience it represented. By evoking a communal memory, Hummel's music exploited a significant aspect of the Apollosaal environment in order to enhance its effect: namely, the presence of thousands of Viennese citizens, having temporarily come together to enjoy a night of entertainment and diversion from everyday life. When played by a single pianist in its published keyboard arrangements, Hummel's coda could bring pleasure by recalling Beethoven's popular battle

49 Kroll, *Johann Nepomuk Hummel*, 62–63.

symphony and its memorable performances of 1813–14. In the Apollosaal, however, the 'Schlacht-Coda' enabled audiences to experience anew the feeling of community and festivity that characterised Vienna's cultural life at the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars.

Conclusion

The Apollosaal presented the archetypal multimedia experience for the residents of early nineteenth-century Vienna. It was a place not only for music and dance, but also for appreciating art, sculpture, and architecture, for dining, for gaming, and even for experiencing moving installations such as the eruption sequence that Rosenbaum experienced in December 1813. The venue was a place of opulence, glamour, and excess, and its music – as would be expected – was a cut above the typical ballroom dance music experienced in other venues. Its resident orchestra was the largest in Vienna, and dance music was composed specifically for the venue by the famous keyboard virtuoso, composer, and Esterházy Kapellmeister, Johann Nepomuk Hummel.

Hummel's Apollosaal music was highly regarded by the Viennese musical establishment, as evidenced by its publication by Vienna's most prestigious publishers. Especially noteworthy is the publication of Hummel's *Neue Walzer*, op. 91, which parallels that of Beethoven's *Wellingtons Sieg*: both works were issued by Steiner simultaneously in multiple chamber arrangements, and both (perhaps coincidentally) bore the opus number 91. Nevertheless, contemporary reports of visits to the Apollosaal indicate that the music was universally admired but did not attract much specific notice of the visitors, whose descriptions of the venue otherwise provide copious details of its architectural and visual elements. It apparently took a connoisseur such as the composer Johann Friedrich Reichardt to truly recognise and appreciate the quality of Hummel's music.

When their original performing context is considered, Hummel's dances for the Apollosaal demonstrate the composer's clear sensitivity to the way the environment shaped the listening experience. The Apollosaal necessitated music that would not necessarily be danced to, but that would match and also enhance the opulence and grandeur of the interior. Hummel's music presented a continual supply of moments designed to catch the listener's ear, whether this was through striking changes of volume or instrumentation, or the occasional inclusion of a familiar melody. The music's variety matched that of the Apollosaal's interior, which constantly presented new delights for guests as they toured its two main halls. Yet Hummel also provided music that invited sustained listening in the form of the extended programmatic codas of

his music for 1811 (op. 39) and 1820 (op. 91). These codas similarly capitalised on the environment for maximum effect, through alluding to the artwork in the Apollosaal's interior in the Vesuvius coda, or through evoking collective memory in the Schlacht-Coda of op. 91. These elements of Hummel's music could all be appreciated and enjoyed at home, in the form of the published keyboard and chamber arrangements. In its original performing context, however, Hummel's music for the Apollosaal presented an experience that was greater than the sum of its parts.

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Beethoven's Multimedia Prometheus Myth, 1801–2023: *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus* op. 43 Between Rhetorical Music, Pantomime, and Stage Performance

*Joan Grimalt**

For his ballet *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus* (The Creatures of Prometheus), premiered in Vienna in 1801, Salvatore Viganò asked Ludwig van Beethoven to contribute the score. Within that multimedia performance, where no text was spoken or sung, music was an essential element. As in any pantomime, the dramaturgical meaning was conveyed visually by the dancers' gesture and body language, but also aurally by Beethoven's orchestral music, rich in expressive information that was comprehensible to his contemporary audience. Today, with no extant libretto (if there ever was one), Beethoven's music becomes even more important, if we feel the urge to perform the work in a contemporary manner.

Two prominent musicologists, Jean Chantavoine (1930) and Constantin Floros (1978), reconstructed in their own ways the dramaturgical contents of the missing (or never existent) libretto, thanks to some precious textual information and to the music's expressive meaning. Based on the recent experience of the author in conducting and directing a performance of the piece, this paper presents a performative analysis of Beethoven's ballet *The Creatures of Prometheus* op. 43 (1801). The analysis prioritizes rhetorical, narrative, and semiotic tools, following those traditions of performance and hermeneutic analysis that are usually called 'musical hermeneutics'. Such an inclusive analysis was instrumental to the creation of dramaturgical framework for a new performance of the piece.

Beethoven's Opus 43 is as far away as possible from that abstract instrumental music of which the second half of the twentieth century was dreaming so intensely. On the contrary, here music finds many ways to represent or symbolise actions and feelings. Thriving on its ability to supply description of actions and feelings, of atmosphere and dialogue, of dance and song, the music provides vital information to attentive listeners, in the past and today.

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* Αφιερωμένο στον αγαπημένο μου καθηγητή Κωνσταντίνο Φλώρο (Dedicated to my dear professor Constantin Floros.)

> *Any interpretation which, under the pretext of 'stylization', would here neglect the music's suggestions, would be ignorant, blind, and deaf and would betray not the inventions of an adaptor – which would be of no importance – but – a more serious fault – Beethoven's thought.*
>
> *– Jean Chantavoine*[1]

According to Claude Lévi-Strauss, music and myth are sisters.[2] They are both daughters of the 'Word' (*logos*) who went progressively each their own way until they separated. Greek mythology has for thousands of years been a powerful narrative tool for humans to raise questions and sometimes also to obtain answers as to what it means to be a human being. Here, I will focus on the persistent, rich and multifarious story of Prometheus, the benefactor of mankind, through the lens of a Hellenophile composer, Ludwig van Beethoven, and his ballet *The Creatures of Prometheus*.[3] The work was premiered at the Burgtheater in Vienna on 28 March 1801, along with the Singspiel *Der Dorfbarbier* (1796) by Johann Baptist Schenk.[4] Twenty-eight further performances, including seven at the Kärntnertortheater, took place until August 1802.

The music of Opus 43 has reached us in a problematic form and had to be partly reconstructed.[5] The dramaturgy created by the dancer, choreographer, and composer Salvatore Viganò (1769–1821) has not survived. Despite the assumption of several Beethoven scholars, there is no evidence to suggest there was a written libretto of *Gli uomini di Prometeo* that might have been lost. For Gunhild Oberzaucher-Schüller, Viganò must have simply given oral indications to his dancers.[6]

Faced with the frustration of not being able to perform this very plastic music along with its original visual part, there have been to my knowledge two noteworthy attempts to reconstruct – or to recreate – a libretto. Already in 1930, the French musicologist Jean Chantavoine (1877–1952) issued his own version of the missing dramaturgical design.[7] When he and

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1 Jean Chantavoine, "Avant 'Prométhée'," *Le ménestrel* 91, no. 52 (27 December 1929): 565–566, at 566. "Toute interprétation qui, sous prétexte de 'stylisation', négligerait ici les suggestions de la musique serait d'un ignorant, d'un aveugle et d'un sourd et trahirait, non pas – ce qui serait sans importance – les inventions d'un adaptateur, mais – faute plus grave – la pensée de Beethoven."

2 Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Myth and Meaning* (New York: Random House, 1979), 53.

3 On Beethoven's love of the Greek classics, see Élisabeth Brisson, *Le sacre du musicien. La référence à l'Antiquité chez Beethoven*, 2nd ed. (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2002).

4 Regarding the reception of Opus 43 and its historical context, I follow the series of articles by Gunhild Oberzaucher-Schüller, "Von 'exaltierten Freigeistern': Viganò und Beethoven," *Tanz.at*, 12 August 2020, https://tanz.at/wiener-tanzgeschichten/2364-von-exaltierten-freigeistern-vigano-und-beethoven-teil-i-2.

5 Klaus Kropfinger, "Bemerkungen zu den Quellen," in *Beethoven Werke II, 2: Ballettmusik* (Munich: Henle Verlag, 1970), viii.

6 Oberzaucher-Schüller, "*Von 'exaltierten Freigeistern'*".

7 Jean Chantavoine, *Les Créatures de Prométhée*. Piano Score (Paris: Heugel, 1930).

his choreographer colleague Maurice Léna could not find any definite clue, they resorted to their creative imagination. In 1978, Constantin Floros published his own musicological suggestions regarding the stage counterpart to Beethoven's music. Floros grounded his proposal in all the available historical documents, but also in what he calls 'semantic analysis', i.e., on those traditions that are usually called, at least in Anglo-American musicology, 'musical signification'.[8]

Our image of the great composer and the unknown choreographer goes contrary to the way the young Beethoven and the experienced Viganò were seen in their time. Salvatore Viganò, dancer, teacher, composer and choreographer was born in Naples in 1769 and died in Milan in 1821.[9] His father had himself been engaged as a dancer and choreographer in Vienna. Salvatore danced in his father's company and received musical training from his uncle Luigi Boccherini. As a follower of the enlightened Jean-George Noverre (1727–1810), Viganò continues his novel idea of an expressive dancing, full of dramaturgical content. The dancers Mr. and Ms. Viganò were extremely successful in Vienna, and in all of Europe. Embodying early romantic (and enlightened) ideas about artlessness and verisimilitude, the Viganòs tended to integrate everyday movements into artistic dance.

A contemporary, anonymous review censures both *The Creatures of Prometheus* for being too long, and Beethoven himself for music that was felt to be too eccentric and learned, unsuitable for a ballet:

> The music did not quite meet expectations either, although it had no discernible merits. It remains unclear whether Mr. Beethoven was able to satisfy the expectations of this particular audience, given the unity – or perhaps monotony – of the plot. However, there is no doubt that he wrote too eruditely for a ballet and that he did not consider the dance enough. Everything is too big for a divertissement, which is what the ballet is supposed to be, and with the lack of suitable situations, it has had to remain more of a fragment than a whole.[10]

8 Constantin Floros, *Beethovens Eroica und Prometheus-Musik. Sujet-Studien* (Wilhelmshaven: Florian Noetzel, 2008 [1978]). Floros's groundbreaking contribution to the field, starting with his rigorous analysis of Beethoven's *Prometheus* and *Eroica* music, can not be praised enough.

9 The following data are drawn from Gabi Vettermann and Christian Fastl, "Viganò, Familie," *Oesterreichisches Musiklexicon online*, last modified May 15, 2006, https://dx.doi.org/10.1553/0x0001e59a.

10 English translation by the author. "Auch die Musik entsprach der Erwartung nicht ganz, ohnerachtet sie nicht *gemeine* Vorzüge besitzt. Ob Herr van Beethoven bei der Einheit – um nicht Einförmigkeit der Handlung zu sagen, das leisten konnte, was ein Publicum, wie das hiesige, fordert, will ich unentschieden lassen. Daß er aber für ein Ballet zu gelehrt und mit zu wenig Rücksicht auf den Tanz schrieb, ist wohl keinem Zweifel unterworfen. Alles ist für ein Divertissement, was denn doch das Ballet eigentlich seyn soll, zu groß angelegt, und bey dem Mangel an dazu passenden Situazionen, hat es mehr Bruchstück als Ganzes bleiben müssen." *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, May 19, 1801. Quoted in Floros *Beethovens Eroica und Prometheus-Musik*, 43.

The blame is placed on Viganò for not providing a plan of the action, i.e., a dramaturgical structure, but mixing up a first narrative act with a divertissement in the second.[11] As our musical analysis will show, Beethoven's music provides dramaturgical, rhetorical, and topical clues that point to represented meanings and suggest a continuity between the first and the second act.

Beethoven's Opus 43 is as remote as possible from the abstract instrumental music that became the ideal in later decades. On the contrary, music here supplies the description of actions and feelings, evokes an atmosphere or a dialogue, and provides references to dance and song. Since there was no other text than what pantomimic gesture on stage and references in the pit could provide, music finds in its own semantic, traditional resources an expressive power that has been generally acknowledged. In Jean Chantavoine's words,

> the convergence of the stage directions which have been preserved, of the memories provided by legend and of the visual and motoric images that Beethoven's music arouses, allows some solid, almost seamless deductions, of which the continuation, in rigorous logic (any inspiration coming from Hellas must have its logic) is found in the reconstructed libretto.[12]

Today, some ideas that were taken for granted in the early nineteenth century need to be recovered. It seems well proved that composing, especially for Beethoven, meant to be guided by some musical-poetic idea that would determine not only its semantic aspects but often also its structure. As Carl Czerny reminds us,

> it is certain that Beethoven inspired himself to many of his most beautiful works through similar visions and images, summoned up by readings or by his own rich fantasy and that we would obtain the authentic key to his compositions and their performance only through the solid knowledge of these circumstances, wherever this might still be possible.[13]

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11 A *Divertissement*, low on the totem pole of the ballet genres of the time, consisted of a series of dances with a loose dramaturgical link, if any. Cf. Oberzaucher-Schüller, "Von 'exaltierten Freigeistern'."

12 Chantavoine, *Avant Prométhée*, 565: "La convergence des indications scéniques qui nous sont conservées, des souvenirs fournis par la légende et des images visuelles ou motrices que suscite la musique de Beethoven, permet des déductions assurées et presque sans lacunes, dont la suite, rigoureusement logique (toute inspiration venue d'Hellas doit être logique), se retrouve dans le livret ainsi reconstitué."

13 Carl Czerny, *Die Kunst des Vortrags der ältern und neuen Claviercompositionen oder: Die Fortschritte bis zur neuesten Zeit. Supplement (oder 4ter Theil) zur grossen Pianoforte-Schule* (Wien: Diabelli, [1846]), 62: "Es ist gewiss, dass Beethoven sich zu vielen seiner schönsten Werke durch ähnliche, aus der Lektüre oder aus der eignen regen Phantasie geschöpfte *Visionen* und Bilder begeisterte, und daß wir den wahren Schlüssel zu seinen *Compositionen* und zu deren Vortrage

In December 2020, using Chantavoine's version, the London-based Philharmonia orchestra issued a video of the piece that provided animated cartoons and storytelling in place of the original dancers. It was recorded and issued during the Covid-19 pandemic, and starred their principal conductor Esa-Pekka Salonen and the actor Stephen Fry. Hillary Leben created the animation. It is a delightful thing to watch and to listen to.[14] The musical numbers, however, are left without images, maybe as an unintentional tribute to positivist old-school musicology. Thus, listeners are left with their own imagination to create meaningful links between the text they just heard read by characters between the scenes and the music they are listening to.

This paper offers a musical analysis that includes topical, rhetorical, and dramaturgical dimensions in order to provide solid clues to a meaningful performance, one that delivers music as a special kind of message.

Beethoven's *Prometheus*

The late eighteenth century has often been described as a time of social and economic change. From an artistic point of view, it is also a time of intense experimentation with media that reaches far into the nineteenth century, along with new protocols, new institutions, and new public venues for dancing, listening to music or social meetings.[15] One such experiment with new formats, genres and combinations is the pantomimic action ballet to which op. 43 belongs.[16]

Salvatore Viganò and Beethoven interpret Prometheus's myth in a typically enlightened way. Their version emphasizes the Titan's defiance of the gods and his providing his creatures with the Humanities, i.e., the arts and sciences. The theft of fire from Olympus and his ulterior punishment are left aside. In other words, Viganò and Beethoven focus on that strain of tradition that sees Prometheus as the patron of the sciences and crafts, knowledge and its dangers, freedom of thought, and challenge to authority.[17]

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nur durch die sich're Kenntniss dieser Umstände erhalten würden, wenn dieses noch überall möglich wäre." See also Floros, *Beethovens Eroica*, 8.

14 You can search the web for *Philharmonia Sessions: Beethoven's Prometheus*.

15 Nicholas Mathew, *The Haydn Economy. Music, Aesthetics, and Commerce in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2022), 9.

16 For more on the eighteenth century genre of the pantomimic ballet, or *ballet d'action*, see Edward Nye, *Mime, Music and Drama on the Eighteenth-Century Stage: The Ballet d'Action* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

17 For more on other musical versions of the Prometheus myth see Paul Bertagnolli, *Prometheus in Music: Representations of the Myth in the Romantic Era* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2007).

Moreover, there is a special significance in the very corporality of the ballet: the longing for social and political liberation found in the bodies of Salvatore Viganò and his wife, and the new way they presented themselves as a powerful symbol, not only in Vienna, but also in Berlin and Milan, where they also enjoyed great success. As Oberzaucher-Schüller puts it, "the great inner movement into which one had fallen as a result of the multifarious events of the time was indeed finally to be experienced, shared, and felt with the whole body."[18]

The three main original Greek sources for the myth are, chronologically, Hesiod's *Theogony* (eighth century BC), Aeschylus's *Prometheus Bound* (fifth century BC), and Plato's dialogue *Protagoras* (between the fourth and the fifth centuries BC). Hesiod's *Prometheus* is basically a trickster who attains his goals by deceiving Zeus, so he appears as deserving his cruel punishment. Viganò's version instead seems to adopt Aeschylus's point of view, who in his tragedy presents Prometheus as the benefactor of mankind. The Titan's bravery in defying Zeus and managing to serve humanity at cost of his own safety matches enlightened values. Finally, Plato's account of the myth presents Prometheus as the one who gave us not only fire, but also the genuinely human techné – practical creativity. Moreover, the Titan would have ensured the continuity of our species thanks to sophrosyne: to that kind of human wisdom that does not come from books, but from life experience itself. Sophrosyne includes personal virtues such as temperance, prudence, and self-control and has ethical, civic and political consequences that were crucial to Plato's thought.

Probably due to his connection to clay when creating his creatures (us), Prometheus was the patron of ceramists in ancient Athens. Other ancient sources offering variations of Prometheus's myth are Sappho and Aesop. Later, and in Latin, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (eighth century AD) stands out.

The association between Prometheus and revolutionary values has ancient roots but many modern sprouts. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe wrote his own *Prometheus* between 1772 and 1774 and published it in 1789.[19] Its unforgettable last stanza reads:

18 "Die große innere Bewegung, in die man durch die verschiedensten Ereignisse der Zeit geraten war, war nunmehr tatsächlich ganzkörperlich mitzuerleben und mitzufühlen." Oberzaucher-Schüller, "Von 'exaltierten Freigeistern', Teil I/1".

19 It was set to music by Franz Schubert (1819, D 674). As an antithesis to *Prometheus*, Goethe wrote another poem titled *Ganymed*, whose protagonist yields to Zeus's seductive power. This poem was also the basis for a song by Schubert (D 543).

Hier sitz' ich, forme Menschen	Here sit I, forming mortals
Nach meinem Bilde,	After my image;
Ein Geschlecht, das mir gleich sei,	A race resembling me,
Zu leiden, zu weinen,	To suffer, to weep,
Zu genießen und zu freuen sich,	To enjoy, to be glad,
Und dein nicht zu achten,	And thee to scorn,
Wie ich![20]	As I![21]

As if continuing Aeschylus's trilogy, Johann Gottfried Herder published his *Der entfesselte Prometheus* (Prometheus Unbound) in 1802.[22] The spirit of the work is very much that of Viganò and Beethoven: the Titan defends humanity from the gods' tyranny and provides them with arts and crafts. Franz Liszt's symphonic poem *Prometheus* (1850, rescored 1855) is based on Herder's account of the myth. Lord Byron has his own *Prometheus* narrative poem (1816), and his friend Percy Bysshe Shelley composed his own poem with the same title as Herder's and issued it in 1820. Two years earlier, Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, Shelley's wife, had titled her 1818 novel *Frankenstein*; *or, The Modern Prometheus*. The association between the Titanic defiant benefactor and Napoleon Bonaparte, present also in Byron's work, is a pre-revolutionary European topos connecting both figures. Constantin Floros explains the history of this association.[23] Many liberal, enlightened Europeans saw the Napoleonic wars as an opportunity for a new world, one of freedom and equality. Moreover, Viganò and Beethoven's version of the Prometheus myth emphasizes its educational aspect. Thus, they inscribe themselves into the strong idea of 'Bildung' that was otherwise represented in its Germanic context with Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* (1795–1796), described in Hegel's *Phänomenologie des Geistes* (The Phenomenology of Spirit, 1807) and incorporated into the ethos of the University of Berlin, founded in 1809–1810 by Wilhelm von Humboldt, Schleiermacher and Fichte to build human beings, not skills. Behind all these efforts lies the idea of giving sense to one's life through a humanist education, amidst a progressively mechanized, specialized society.[24]

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20 *Goethes Werke. Hamburger Ausgabe in 14 Bänden. Bd. 1: Gedichte und Epen I*, ed. Erich Trunz (Munich: Beck Verlag, 1998 [1789]), 44–46, at 46.

21 *The Works of J. W. von Goethe*, ed. Nathan Haskell Dole, vol. 9 (London and Boston: Francis A. Niccolls & Co., 1839), 210–12.

22 Johann Gottfried Herder, "Der entfesselte Prometheus. Scenen. 1802," in *Herders Poetische Werke*, ed. Carl Redlich. Herders Sämmtliche Werke 28 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1884), 329–368.

23 Floros, *Beethovens Eroica*, 119–21.

24 See Sanna Pederson, "Beethoven and Masculinity," in *Beethoven and His World*, ed. Scott Burnham and Michael P. Steinberg (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 325.

Since Beethoven reused some of the Prometheus music in his Third Symphony, this is, in a nutshell, the philosophical, ethico-political background of the *Eroica* and its profound connection to op. 43.

An inclusive, rhetorical analysis

In our analysis we have used some of the dramaturgical elements that Constantin Floros reconstructed (1978). Floros's interpretation of the available documentary sources seems utterly convincing. There is a detailed playbill to the premiere on 28 May 1801; a rather harsh review of the premiere for the Viennese *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*; a succinct but positive mention in the *Journal des Luxus und der Moden*;[25] and a comprehensive table of contents of the show, published in Italian by Carlo Ritorni, Viganò's first biographer, in 1838.[26] Moreover, a copy of the general music score – the manuscript is lost – carries indications about the dance performers of each number. Finally, Beethoven's sketches of op. 43 describe quite a lot of the scenic action to which he set his music.[27]

Floros's study on the term 'heroic', used in both the ballet and in Beethoven's Third Symphony, sheds a completely new light on the *Eroica*, a work that was being listened to and performed without an awareness of the change in cultural values such as 'heroism', or 'martial', for that matter. Scott Burnham devotes a whole monograph to a critical revision of the concept of heroism related to Beethoven and his reception.[28] It seems Beethoven's idea of 'heroism' was a spiritual, not a military one.

Rather than imagining what Viganò might have intended for the stage at every moment, this analysis focuses on musical topoi and their interrelation, and on rhetorical aspects of Beethoven's op. 43. In my experience, topical-dramaturgical analysis can be enough to change a performer's attitude towards the music, even without knowing what precisely is being choreographed or displayed showed visually along the musical discourse. My topical and rhetorical findings do not always match the three historical sources available, or both reconstructions. They are based on a hermeneutical analysis and performance of Beethoven's music, as well as that of his contemporaries and predecessors.

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25 *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, May 19, 1801; *Journal des Luxus und der Moden*, April 17, 1801.

26 Oberzaucher-Schüller, "Von 'exaltierten Freigeistern'," questions Ritorni's credibility here. She assumes Ritorni would have been recalling a later *Prometeo* production by Viganò in Milan in 1813 that had very little in common with the Viennese act.

27 See Floros, *Beethovens Eroica*, 40–42, 56–58.

28 Scott Burnham, *Beethoven Hero* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995). See also Lewis Lockwood, "Beethoven, Florestan, and the Varieties of Heroism," in *Beethoven and his World*, ed. Scott Burnham and Michael P. Steinberg (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 27–47.

Often, a topical-dramaturgical hearing of some of the pieces, or of the whole work, allows the analyst and performer to experience the expressive meaning of a particular topos being replaced by another alluding to an opposite set of values.[29] Thus, the ballet as a whole tells Prometheus's myth in its own topical-dramaturgical way, starting with Zeus's 'storm' and finishing with Prometheus's creatures' 'contredanse'. The contredanse tends to represent the new egalitarian, free world about which so many enlightened artists were dreaming, including Beethoven and Viganò, at the turn of the nineteenth century. When a 'contredance' is presented sequentially as the dramaturgical struggle with old-fashioned, authoritarian values such as those symbolized by Louis XIV's Entrée, or by the exclusive Sarabande, the dramaturgical result is utterly expressive.

There exists another dramaturgical thread that has not been pointed out, to my knowledge, between Beethoven's first work for the stage, the *Ritterballet*, and *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus*. In short, it might be understood to enact a process of evolution from a feudal knight to a modern, humanist hero. The *Ritterballet* WoO 1 (1790–1791) was a commission from Count Ferdinand von Waldstein to young Beethoven. The Count invited his friends to a ball in masks and to a "characteristic ballet in old German costume".[30] Beethoven did not even sign the piece, so that Waldstein appeared to be the host, choreographer and composer.[31] In stark contrast to op. 43, here the pre-modern erasure of the composer and above all the representation of medieval knighthood in hunting and war songs is a strong sign of the social and cultural transformations that the Western world would experience during Beethoven's lifetime. In fact, in Viganò's conception of *Gli uomini di Prometeo*, the protagonists are the creatures, not the heroes. This can be seen in his casting of both himself and his wife as *Geschöpfe*, whereas Prometheus was embodied by a young,

29 This dramaturgical archetype, typical of the music of Viennese Classicism, where Ancien Régime symbols are replaced by enlightened, revolutionary values, has been described as a 'Changeover' in Joan Grimalt, "Beethoven and Goya: Between Modernity and Ancien Régime," in *Beethoven 7. Studien und Interpretationen*, ed. Magdalena Chrenkoff (Kraków: Akademia Muzyczna w Krakowie, 2018), 453–70, and in Joan Grimalt, "A humorous narrative archetype in the music of the Viennese classics as a subversive device," in *Music as Cultural Heritage and Novelty*, ed. Oana Andreica (Cham: Springer, 2022), 161–176. This has been signalled as an "archetypal narrative of overcoming, of struggle and triumph" by Pederson, *Beethoven and Masculinity*, 324, and has been described in similar terms by Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, *Zur Geschichte der Beethoven Rezeption* (Laaber: Laaber,1994), 71; and by Scott Burnham, *Beethoven Hero* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), xiv.

30 "[...] in ein charakteristisches Ballet in altdeutscher Tracht." Kropfinger, *Bemerkungen*, viii.

31 This is the same Waldstein to whom Beethoven dedicated his Sonata op. 53 and who sent the young composer to Vienna, where he had been born, to "receive Mozart's spirit from Haydn's hands": see Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, *Beethoven. Die Klaviersonaten* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2020), 14.

inexperienced dancer.[32] In other words, the passage from the *Ritterballet* to Opus 43 can be seen to enact the transition from a composer under feudal conditions, fulfilling aristocratic commissions, to a modern artist working for a much broader audience in a public theatre:

> If Beethoven so far had been a servant, on whom the nobility would graciously look down, even when they had a friendly relationship, now he stands at the center of a theatrical production in a bourgeois milieu, where it is the audience who is looking up to him, the artist.[33]

As is usual in stage music of the eighteenth century, there are lots of operatic topoi in Beethoven's op. 43, derived both from opera seria and opera buffa.[34] However, not all of them are described as such in contemporary sources, or in Floros's analysis. For instance, the isotopic opposition between 'contemporary' (comedy, contredanse, subjective lyrical singing, etc.) and 'Ancien Régime' references (tragic, martial, institutional, stile antico, etc.) is as present as ever.[35] In the *Overture*, this opposition can be heard as a token of a 'Changeover' master plot: references to older genres and forms such as 'tragic opera' and 'Sarabande' are replaced with contemporary, critical topoi, e.g., the comedic imbroglio or the 'contredanse' (cf. the dramaturgic overview of the music in Table 1).[36] Thus, the initial *Overture* tells the whole plot in a symbolic, instrumental way. Just as Prometheus endows mankind the power of fire and of enlightened culture against the will of the gods, here the minor mode and old opera seria topoi representing 'fear' are left behind in favor of comedy, the major mode and the 'contredanse', representing the breakthrough of a new egalitarian, free world through the triumph of our mythical protagonist.[37]

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32 See Oberzaucher-Schüller, "Von 'exaltierten Freigeistern'".

33 Oberzaucher-Schüller, "Von 'exaltierten Freigeistern'," Teil III/1: "War Beethoven bislang Dienender, auf den der Adel – selbst dann, wenn man in freundschaftlichem Verhältnis zueinander stand – letztlich doch huldvoll herabblickte, steht er nun im Zentrum einer in einem bürgerlichen Ambiente stattfindenden theatralen Aufführung, deren Publikum zu ihm, dem Künstler, emporblickt."

34 For references to *opera seria* and *opera buffa*, see Grimalt, *Mapping*, chapter 8: Theatrical References, 301–68.

35 On the semiotic concept of isotopy, understood as an emblematic red thread relating semantically distinct musical gestures, see Grimalt, *Mapping*, 17–18.

36 For the *Imbroglio* topos, see Grimalt, *Mapping*, 322–23. For the 'contredanse', Grimalt, *Mapping*, 291–93.

37 I use single quotation marks to indicate a 'represented' version of a genre or of any other reality that exists previously, outside of artistic representation: to indicate the difference between a real minuet and one that is only alluded to as a topos, say in a sonata or in an opera.

Table 1: A dramaturgic overview of *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus*, op. 43
"<" increase of tonal tensions; "dominant" section that prepares the Reprise, in Sonata form.

measures	section	degrees	protagonists	references
1–15	**1**	C: I	Creatures	'void', lack of 'song' and 'movement'
16–28	**2**	I	Prometheus **a**	'march', 'comedy'
29–34	**3**	I <	Creatures	some progress: one 'sung' note on measure 33
35–41	**4**	V	Prometheus **b**	lyrical, 'spontaneous comment', 'contredanse'
42–46	**5**	V <	Creatures	some more progress in 'movement', condensation
47–53	**6**	VI	Prometheus **b**	*minore*: dysphoric version of the 'comment'
54–61	**7**	dominant	Creatures	interrogatio, dubitatio
62–76	**8**	I	Prometheus **a**	apotheose, 'emphasis' 73 retransition to
77–93	**9**	C minor	Creatures	*minore*: 'pathetic' style, 86 dominant
94–111	**10**	C: I	Prometheus **a** Coda	apotheose, synthesis and conclusion, 'laughter'

The same 'changeover' musical plot appears in numbers 2 and 3 which are linked together through a dominant-seventh chord. Number 2 prefigures the tragic scene of number 9. Its main topos is 'tragic opera' and it might portrait Prometheus's disappointment, or rather anger, with his creatures' lack of sensitivity and insight.[38] After a 'pathetic', agitato outburst, at the end of the number, a new idea seems to overcome the Titan. The transition to number 3 could be understood as a 'hymn' reference.[39] In sharp contrast to a 'loose-knit' number 2, number 3 is built in sonata form and features comic topoi such as an *Imbroglio*, a slow *Ländler*, and many rhetorical 'comments' and 'exclamations', including parody.[40] Thus, the same dramaturgical pattern can be heard in the overture and in the ballet as a whole. It seems to reappear in these two connected numbers that close the first act.

Next, I would like to share some idiosyncratic ways in which Beethoven's music represents Prometheus's triumphal pantomime. To my knowledge, they have not been described before.

38 This matches Ritorni's account at this point. See Floros, *Beethovens Eroica*, 45.

39 In Ritorni's description, this passage corresponds to a *voce superna internamente*, a higher voice perceived internally. See Floros, *Beethovens Eroica*, 59, 69.

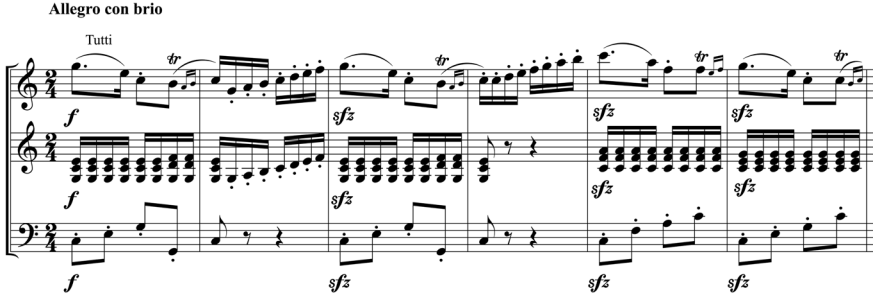
40 Both terms, 'loose knit' and its opposite 'firm' (German 'locker', 'fest') were used by Arnold Schönberg to designate the tightness or looseness of the relationships that can be established between a section and the rest of the work it belongs to. See Erwin Ratz, *Einführung in die musikalische Formenlehre* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1973), 21–22, and Anton von Webern, Über musikalische Formen, ed. Neil Boynton (Mainz: Schott, 2002), 157–66.

Immortal Titan versus mortal creatures

The opposition between creatures and immortals is represented musically by the incapacity of the former to sing or to dance. Melody functions here as a symbol of all that the gods will teach Prometheus's creatures: human sensibility, acquired through singing and dancing. In their first presentation in number 1, the mortals are alive thanks to the fire their creator stole from Mount Olympus, but they have not been educated yet. The musical correlate to this incapacity of the Creatures is a series of 'dry' notes with hardly any melodic sense. They stand in sharp contrast to the expressive singing of Prometheus (Examples 1a and 1b).



Example 1a: Ludwig van Beethoven, *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus*, op. 43, number 1, beginning



Example 1b: Ludwig van Beethoven, *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus*, op. 43, number 1, mm. 16–21

Topically, the lack of 'melody' and of movement is translated with a lot of void space through the many rests and with an unpredictable rhythm that sounds like the accompaniment of an absent song. Performing this passage in a dry, non-vibrato way helps to show the topical content of the passage and the elements that are missing, and to contrast it with Prometheus's joyful 'singing'

and 'marching'. Example 1b, on the contrary, shows all the signs of a 'revolutionary song' reference, here associated with vigor and joy of life.[41]

Despite the marching rhythm that goes with the topos of the 'Revolutionary Song', this is not the martial semantic field that was associated in the eighteenth century with an unjust, old-fashioned monarchy. On the contrary, such stylized marches and songs are often used by Beethoven to correlate with the youthful energy of new revolutionary ideas and deeds, as in *Fidelio* (1805, 1814) or in the finale of the *Fifth symphony* (1808).[42]

Even if not explicit in the score, a slight accelerando seems to make sense in number 1 for the transition passages from the Creatures' stiff music to Prometheus's 'song' and 'dance', measures 10–15, 33–34, 45–46. Similarly, *poco meno mosso* appears as a logical way to reinforce the expressive dichotomy in measures 42–44, 54–58, 77–86.

The sequence of ten episodes in which number 1 can be subdivided is highly significant in its dramaturgic, narrative sense (see Table 2). The piece could be seen as an interesting case of rondo-sonata, but its most salient formal feature is no doubt the final 'synthesis' that is represented between two initially incompatible elements: the staggering, silent, stiff manifestations of our ancestors, and on the other hand the Titan's affirmative, well-rounded strides. What could be termed the reprise in measure 62 represents not only an initial triumph of Prometheus's 'song' and 'march', but also the incorporation of the Creatures' doubts and insecurities into the hero's own discourse.

41 On the musical aspect of the French Revolution and its influence on Beethoven, cf. Esteban Buch, *La Neuvième de Beethoven. Une histoire politique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1999). Jan Swafford, *Beethoven. Anguish and Triumph. A Biography* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2014), 204–5 also documents the French violinist Rodolphe Kreutzer introduction to Beethoven of many songs and marches by revolutionary composers such as François-Joseph Gossec, Étienne-Nicolas Méhul and Kreutzer himself.

42 Cf. William Kinderman, *Beethoven* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 191; Grimalt, *Mapping*, 175.

Table 2: Formal and dramaturgic sequence in Opus 43, number 1

		Dramaturgy
Overture		The new world prevailing over the old, unfair one
Act I: On Earth	**Introd.**	Jupiter's storm as punishment, Prometheus running away with torch
	no. 1	The clay creatures come to life, but they seem indolent and unsensitive
	no. 2	Prometheus in doubt, sad, angry, finally comes up with an idea
	no. 3	Prometheus in good spirits, reconciled; a 'minuet' turns to a 'Ländler'
Act II: On Mount Parnassus	**no. 4**	The Creatures are introduced to the gods
	no. 5	Apollo's lesson, including Euterpe, Arion, Orpheus
	no. 6	Terpsichore's lesson, including the Three Graces
	no. 7	Test to the Creatures; they pass with success; gratefulness to their teachers
	no. 8	First Bacchus's march, including bacchantes; enthusiastic Creatures
	no. 9	Melpomene's lesson: death of Prometheus
	no. 10	Talia's lesson, assisted by Pan: resurrection
	no. 11	Introduction to a new bacchic march
	no. 12	Second Bacchus's march, including pastoral elements
	no. 13	Comic dance of the fauns, anticipating the finale n. 16
	no. 14	The female Creature's solo, showing off in dialogue her acquired education
	no. 15	The male Creature's solo, idem
	no. 16	Prometheus's apotheosis as a benefactor of mankind; Jupiter's forgiveness

Beethoven's music thus endows the main character of his ballet with rich, complementary features through musical signification alone, without the need for text reference. In fact, Prometheus is presented under two different themes. If the first one has been identified with the 'revolutionary song' (Example 1b), the second one, issued first on the dominant and then in the VI degree, sounds warmer and more modern, thanks to two topoi that were experienced as contemporary at the turn of the nineteenth century: a lyrical, chamber-like singing that is usually called 'sensitive style' and the sympathetic moves of the 'contredanse'. Motivically, Prometheus's 'comments' integrate the Creatures' 'void music' in the bass.[43] Rhetorically, it has the 'spontaneous' appearance of some comment on the action (Example 2).

43 See Floros, *Beethovens Eroica*, 65.



Example 2: Ludwig van Beethoven, *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus*, op. 43, number 1, mm. 16–21

The dichotomy between non-singing, non-dancing creatures and their singing and dancing creator is pulled like an isotopy through the rest of the piece – it can be heard as an emblem of op. 43.[44] It is also a clue to the dramaturgical sense of the whole work. At the beginning of the Second Act, number 4, where the Creatures are presented to the gods, the music referring to them is again comically deprived of 'singing' references, thus symbolizing their lack of sensibility. In number 5, after the invaluable teachings of Apollo, Euterpe, and Terpsichore, both Creatures show their recently acquired skills in the closing 'Waltz-Duet', where they appear personified by clarinet and bassoon.[45] From that point on, the plot can be subsumed as a slow *crescendo* to the final apotheosis, with one tragic setback in number 9 that briefly turns the spotlight on Melpomene, the muse of Tragedy, as if in parenthesis.

Rhetorically, the Creatures' point of view is often represented musically through 'comments' on the gods' actions. Often, these non-thematic passages can be additionally marked by a more moderate tempo, as in the epilogue of number 3, measures 46 to 48 (Example 3). Its off-the-beat 'exclamations' and staccato 'laughs' have no thematic relationship to the rest of the number. On the contrary, the comedic tone and the Ländler reference of this epilogue contrast saliently with the initial, old-school minuet reference.[46]

44 For the concept of isotopy, borrowed and adapted from Greimas's semiotics, see Grimalt, *Mapping*, 16–17.

45 A certain role distribution can be deduced from Ritorni's description: see Floros, *Beethovens Eroica*, 45–46.

46 For the 'laughter' topos, see Joan Grimalt, "Is Musical Laughter a Topic?" in *Philosophies of Performance*, ed. Dario Martinelli, Eero Tarasti, and Juha Torvinen, (Helsinki: The Finnish Semiotic Society, 2014), 225–40, and Grimalt, *Mapping*, 92, 168, 176, 272. For the rustic Ländler waltz, cf. Eric McKee, "Ballroom Dances of the Late Eighteenth Century," in *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory*, ed. Danuta Mirka (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 176–78; also Grimalt, *Mapping*, 268–70.



Example 3: Ludwig van Beethoven, *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus*, op. 43, number 3, mm. 46–51

Taking some time in the performance of measures 46 to 48 helps to mark this closing section as different from the rest of the piece. Also, the 'laughter' topos starting at measure 47 comes out more clearly. Rhetorically, the epilogue to number 3 seems to represent the Creatures' joyful reaction to Prometheus's manifestations of affection to them.[47] Taking a slightly more leisurely pace also matches the contrasting tempi with which Beethoven separates demiurge and creatures in their presentation in number 1: *poco Adagio* for the mortals, *Allegro con brio* for the divine Titan. In topical-dramaturgical terms, the different tempi help to show the significant switch from the aristocratic initial 'minuet' to the folksy Ländler 'waltz' that closes the number. Again, a topos that has an Ancien Régime correlate is replaced with another one representing an ideal, egalitarian society.

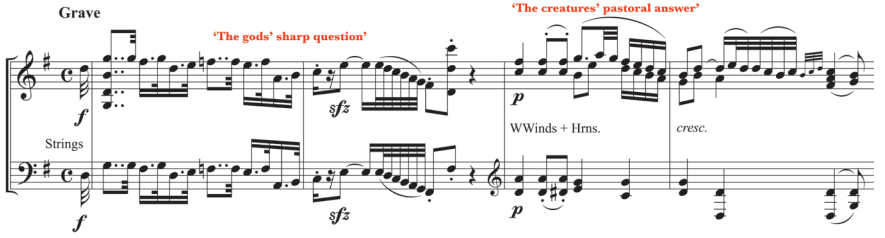
In a similar way, a tempo nuance can help to manifest the representation of a dialogue between gods and mortals in number 7. Dramaturgically, this is the moment where the Creatures, after having enjoyed the teaching of Apollo and the muses, are tested by them. The 'exam' is represented through a drastic separation between the gods' 'question' (*forte*) and the Creatures' 'answer' (*piano*) (Example 4a).

Topically, the gods use heavy Ancien Régime machinery: 'ominous unison', as in accompagnato recitatives with heightened dramatism or a menacing gesture; the sharp dotting emblematic of the King's Entrée in seventeenth-century Versailles, and the lowered *F* indicating pathetic style, maybe also 'dark' or 'archaic'.[48] Rhetorically, there is a clear *interrogatio* at the end of the phrase,

47 This matches Ritorni's description of the plot; see Floros, *Beethovens Eroica*, 69–70.

48 For opera seria references such as 'ominous unison', 'accompagnato recitative' or 'pathetic style' see Grimalt, *Mapping*, chapter 8, § 2 and § 5. For Louis xiv's *Entrée*, Grimalt, *Mapping*, chapter 5, § 1.1. About the symbolic power of lowered notes and flats, see chapter 1, § 3.2.

but also an emphatic *sforzando* on the weak part of the first beat of measure 2.[49] The way the gods examine the Creatures' knowledge does not quite fit our contemporary pedagogic practice; it feels rather like a trial. The Creatures' answer, however, is meek and gentle. If the gods' pace was the subdivided sharp dotted quaver, in measure 3 it is rather that of the crotchet. Instead of *forte* and unison, Prometheus's creatures reply in harmony and *piano*. Finally, the 'questioning' dominant seventh is answered with its tonic G major.



Example 4a: Ludwig van Beethoven, *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus*, op. 43, number 7, beginning



Example 4b: Ludwig van Beethoven, *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus*, op. 43, number 7, mm. 9–10

In a gesture typical of Beethoven's instrumental style, the dichotomy between the gods' questioning (*forte*) and the creatures' answering (*piano*) that took twice four measures from the beginning until measure 8 is condensed in just one measure from measure 9 on. What could be termed the transition to a secondary tonal area begins (Example 4b). Note the unsettling rhythm of the

49 For rhetorical figures such as *Interrogatio* or *Emphasis*, see Dietrich Bartel, *Musica Poetica. Musical-Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997) and Grimalt, *Mapping*, chapter 2, 27–80.

Creatures' reaction in measure 9, due to the twisted, staggering articulation of the first violins' circular design. As in both preceding examples, a subtle *più adagio* nuance ('more at ease') on the part of the 'replying creatures' in *piano* helps to clarify the dramatic, dialogical aspect of the passage.

The gods as teachers

The plot of the second act can be summarized as the gods teaching of Prometheus's creatures. It is a successful event, based on hands-on procedures. The teachers play as models for their students. At first, the Creatures simply repeat their lesson, but very soon they appear to learn to play their own, autonomous music. It seems obvious that the whole agenda goes far beyond the strictly musical, or even beyond artistic matters. The divine pedagogic program points to what it means to be a person. In Ritorni's colorful description,

> Prometheus arrives [at Apollo's court] to present his children to the god that he might make them capable of the arts and sciences. To Phoebe's wink, Euterpe, accompanied by Anfion, starts to play, and to their modulations the two youngsters begin to show reason, reflection, and an ability to see nature's beauties, to feel human affections.[50]

First, it is Apollo's turn, assisted by some of his muses (Table 1, no. 5–7). Then, Dionysus (called here *alla romana* Bacchus) completes Prometheus's pedagogic program (no. 8–13). In between, 'tragedy' irrupts with a certain dramatic brutality in the form of Melpomene (no. 9), who actually kills our protagonist. In number 10, however, the muse of Comedy, Thalia, tries to comfort the Creatures in their despair while Pan, the creator of the Pastoral genre, revives Prometheus.[51] Numbers 10 to 13 close Dionysus's teaching instructions in a jaunty mood, between pastoral and humorous.

In Constantin Floros's analysis, number 5 does not receive mention. In the second act, he focuses on the numbers starting at the *scena marziale* number 8, because they have shown to be eminently important to his *Eroica* research.[52] One of the contemporary reviewers indeed criticized the whole second act for being a divertissement that would break the continuity of the first act

50 Ritorni (1838), *Commentarii della vita e delle opere coredrammatiche di Salvatore Viganò e della coregrafia e de' corepei*, quoted by Floros, *Beethovens Eroica,* 46. "Vien Prometeo [alla corte di Apollo], presentando al Nume i figli suoi, perché gli piaccia farli capaci dell'arti e delle scienze. Al cenno di Febo, Euterpe, secondata da Anfione, mettesi a suonare, ed alle loro modulazioni i due giovinetti cominciano dar segno di ragione, di riflessione, di veder le bellezze della natura, di sentir umani affetti."

51 Floros, *Beethovens Eroica,* 77.

52 Floros, *Beethovens Eroica,* 70.

narrative.[53] A topical-rhetorical analysis, however, sheds some light on what appears to be the musical representation of this teaching scene. It seems Beethoven's music can be interpreted to represent dramaturgical action, whether in agreement with the choreographer and the understanding of the audience, or not (Table 3).

Table 3: Formal and dramaturgic design of Ludwig van Beethoven, *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus*, op. 43, number 5
"[" a period opens; ">" the harmonic tension goes down;
"<" the harmonic tension goes up; "bIII" flat third degree.

measures	sections	harmony	instrumentation	references
1–3	**Introduction**: Intro	**B-flat Maj.**	harp, pizz. strings	Two different 'Lyres'
4–10	Period: [antecedent	I < V	+ flute	'Euterpe'
11–17	[antecedent varied	I < V	bassoon + clarinet	'Creatures'
18–25	development	→	tutti, strings tremolo	Creatures', 'fearful comments'
26–33	dominant, cadenza	V	bsn. + cl. / fl.	'Pathetic Duet', expectation
34–41	**A: a** Period: [antecedent + consequent]	I	solo violoncello + cl. + bsn. + fl.	'Siciliana': Apollo?
42–45	concertante development	dominant		'Spontaneous comment'
46–49	**a'** shortened	I		'Brilliant Style'
50–57	**B: b** <	I	cl. + bsn., vc. + fl.	'Deutsch', 'Two Duos'
58–64	Transition <	< V	fl. leading	'Deutsch' continued
65–72	Conclusion		fl. / vc. solo	'Apollo + Euterpe dialog'
72–81	**Development-Retransition**	bIII!	vc. solo + cl. bsn.	'Apollo + Creatures'
82–87	dominant	V >	fl. / vc. solo	'Apollo + Euterpe dialog'
87–94	**A': a** Period	I	p / f tutti	Completion of Apollo's teaching
95–104	**Epilogue 1**		staccato/legato	'Comedy', 'Lyricism'.
105–112	**Epilogue 2** Period		Bassoon, then tutti	
113–116	**Epilogue 3** Period		Vc. Solo, then tutti	+ 'brilliant' style
117–129	Conclusion			Last 'pianti' – Harmony

The lyre is one of the traditional attributes of Apollo. Two kinds of 'lyres' set the tone and the pace to the Adagio introduction to the piece. However, according to Ritorni's description, the god himself joins the concerto in this scene.

53 See Oberzaucher-Schüller, "Von 'exaltierten Freigeistern'".

To represent that, Beethoven had to recur to a melodic instrument and leave the accompanying lyre to some other role – possibly Orpheus, or Arion. Thus, from measure 34 on, a 'Siciliana' seems to stand for Apollo's performance, to which the whole preceding section would be an expanded Introduction.

A similar thing happens with the personification of the Creatures' reaction to the gods' teaching. After Euterpe, represented by the flute according to Ritorni, has played the antecedent phrase of a Period (mm. 4–10), the Creatures appear personified as bassoon and clarinet, toiling to complete the period with its corresponding consequent phrase (mm. 11–17). They cooperate to remember and reconstruct the model phrase, but they do not quite succeed at it. The result is a variant of the antecedent that leaves the music in measure 17 on the dominant instead of the tonic. Here, strings recur to tremolo and *stile concitato* in *pianissimo*. The 'trembling' passage (mm. 18–25) is unsettling also due to a loose harmonic progression from the dominant back to the dominant.

In measure 26, the Creatures' chain of *pianti* and *suspirationes* (bassoon and clarinet) are echoed by Euterpe's flute.[54] Within this euphoric context, this pathetic interlude sounds rather parodic (Example 5).



Example 5: Ludwig van Beethoven, *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus*, op. 43, number 5, mm. 25–30

The parodic interlude (mm. 26–30) flows into a slow, *pianissimo* introduction to Apollo's cello, who introduces his own 'Siciliana' with a virtuoso, apparently 'improvised' cadenza (m. 33). Apollo's 'Siciliana' is the main section (A) of this number 5. It presents also a central section B and a reprise A' (Table 3). After an eight-measure period in *piano*, where the consequent is accompanied by plucked strings, four measures on the dominant (mm. 42–45) seem

54 Both madrigalisms of *pianto* and *suspiratio* appear so often together that they have been misidentified in their genealogical difference: see Raymond Monelle, *The Sense of Music: Semiotic Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 17, and Grimalt, *Mapping*, 33–35.

to comment and to prepare a conclusive variant of the consequent, *forte*.[55] In this expository A, the 'Siciliana', pastoral reference is combined with a devine, brilliant-style dexterity, not only from the hands of the represented Apollo – the violoncello soloist – but also by the other three characters introduced so far, i.e., bassoon, clarinet, and flute. Just as in the introduction, the Creatures, impersonated through bassoon and clarinet, seem to be learning by imitation.

A central, contrasting section B starts at measure 50. Now the Creatures take the initiative. The 6/8 meter appears in quite a different light. Instead of the dotted rhythm of the 'Siciliana', the straight, quick 'Deutscher' accompaniment, especially from measure 55 on, points to the mortals' worldliness, far away from Apollo's high-brow tone (see Example 6).



Example 6: Ludwig van Beethoven, *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus*, op. 43, number 5, mm. 50–57

Note how the Creatures' initiative is answered by the gods with the topos of 'Musical Laughter' in measures 51 and 53, probably in a benevolent tone.[56] Also, the duet clarinet-bassoon that seems to represent Prometheus's creatures is subtly transformed within these few measures. They start at a distance of a third and, from measure 54 on (*crescendo*), proceed in octaves, as a sign of their growing coherence and identity. Once more, a slight fluctuation in pulse is a productive way to highlight the topical references in this passage. Taking

55 For more on the concept of *Period* see Ratz 1973 (1951), 21–22, Webern 2002: 157–166, and William E. Caplin, *Classical Form: A Theory of Formal Functions for the Instrumental Music of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 49–58.

56 For the 'laughter' topos, see Grimalt, "Is Musical Laughter a Topic?"

the 'Deutscher' at measure 50 somewhat more swiftly and, in measures 51 and 53, going back to the initial tempo to give the divine 'giggles' some space will help to differentiate the two incompatible worlds that are presented in dialogue.

Conclusions

This analysis can be called performative because it is intended for performance and it originated in actual public performance. Its main tool, beside topical analysis, is a rhetorical point of view. Also, some musical-dramaturgical aspects, particularly the dramaturgical archetype of 'Changeover', turned out to be illuminating for a sensitive rendering of this attractive, meaningful music. In other words, it can be used to reconstruct a visual, dramaturgical correlate to Beethoven's music.

In Beethoven's *Prometheus*, the old pastoral myth is left behind in favor of a new world of freedom and knowledge, rather than earthly pleasures.[57] Moreover, Viganò's and Beethoven's version of the myth of creation can be seen as a reaction to Haydn's contemporaneous oratorio *The Creation*, which had been enormously successful, but tackled the subject from a religious point of view. Finally, both Viganò and Beethoven arguably identify personally with the Titan who brings dance, music, and theatre close to the people.

In Viganò's story as reconstructed by Floros, however, the Titan not only teaches his creatures, but he also truly cares for them. He sees them lovingly as the Other and goes out of his way to support them in their initial infirmity. In doing so, Prometheus makes his creations, i.e., us, truly human in our turn. Prometheus is a hero, not in the military sense, but as somebody who is willing to sacrifice himself for his creatures. The insistence on Prometheus's musical theme on Beethoven's part can be interpreted as the composer's self-identification with the Titan through the promethean figure of Napoleon, who was seen also as a benefactor of mankind until his disappointing self-crowning as emperor. Beethoven's heroism is spiritual, not worldly.[58] That explains why the *Eroica* symphony has so little, if any, reference to military music. It is not

57 Cf. Evdoxia Angelidou, "Myth and Music: Siblings or Lovers? A journey through the myth of Prometheus in European art music," in *Before and After Music*, ed. Lina Navickaitė-Martinelli. Acta Semiotica Fennica XXXVII (Vilnius, Helsinki, and Imatra: Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre, Umweb Publications, International Semiotics Institute, 2010), 218–26.

58 For a thorough description of different kinds of heroism in Beethoven's music, see Lockwood, "Varieties of Heroism,"; also Burnham, *Beethoven Hero* and William Kinderman, "Beethoven and Napoleon: A Reassessment," in *Beethoven und der Wiener Kongress (1814/15)*, ed. Bernhard R. Appel et al. (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, 2016), 23–46.

Napoleon the soldier, but Napoleon the new Prometheus who was being honored in the symphony.

Michael Klein suggests that, in fact, Prometheus's ailments have no cure. Klein, who has studied closely the most prominent postmodern French thinkers, claims that Beethoven belies his own happy end in his *Eroica Variations*, op. 35 (1802). According to Klein, a set of variations can be interpreted as a compulsive repetition, like the eagle eating at Prometheus's liver every day anew, in the gloomy version of the myth.[59]

The myth of Prometheus delivered a powerful, revolutionary message at the turn of the nineteenth century. In our own time, Aeschylus's, Beethoven's, Goethe's, or Luigi Nono's Prometheus all shine incredibly up to date. Instead of imagining a bearded Zeus on Mount Olympus, today we face challenges as threatening as the almighty Big Brother, wearing a technocratic mask, to name but one. And I believe we can face him with the arts and their combination – the topic of this book – and humanities, implying language, sensibility, reflection, and taking care of each other. There, old Prometheus still appears as a valid model.

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59 Michael Klein, *Music and the Crises of the Modern Subject* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press 2015), 27.

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Opera and Theater

Multimediality at the Viennese Court during the Congress of Vienna: The Performance of *Ambigu* (1815)

*Livio Marcaletti, Alfred Noe, and Werner Telesko**

This chapter deals with a multimedia event of a special kind that took place during the Congress of Vienna: it concerns the performance of *Ambigu* on 22 February 1815 in the Großer Redoutensaal of the Vienna Hofburg. The performers were all members of the high nobility who also had an important function in the diplomatic and cultural events of the Congress of Vienna.

The contributions shed light on the venue, the courtly context, the biographies of the performers, the music and the texts, and are able to show that all the dramatic scenes are inspired by well-known plays, but seem to have been freely elaborated so as to meet the purpose of the *Ambigu* and therefore leave ample room for improvisation. Both the actors and the audience were familiar with the plays the *Ambigu* was based on, which added an element of surprise to the evening: the audience must have been thrilled to see in what way the troupe changed the characters and the stories in order to create the *Ambigu*. The *société d'amateurs* (as the group of performers was designated) mostly made use of music composed by professional composers at the court, such as Joseph Weigl. For other pieces, members of the *société* themselves provided music. Thus, the anti-Napoleonic, closely networked *société des princes* gathered at the Viennese court made their aims clear under the meaningful keyword 'ambigu', above all with a variety of subtle but all the more effective cultural references on the basis of a multimedia staging.

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* Livio Marcaletti is the author of the section 'The music in *Ambigu*'; Alfred Noe is responsible for the section 'The texts in *Ambigu*'; all other sections ('Occasion, circumstances of the event, and description of the sources', 'The venue', 'Structure and performers of *Ambigu*') are contributed by Werner Telesko. The Conclusion is authored by Alfred Noe and Werner Telesko.

Occasion, circumstances of the event, and description of the sources

This chapter discusses a multimedia event of a special kind that took place during the Congress of Vienna. It concerns the performance of *Ambigu* on 22 February 1815 in the Großer Redoutensaal of the Vienna Hofburg.[1] *Ambigu* seems to be interesting from the perspective of research on cultural practices at this court for several reasons:[2] firstly, the Habsburg Emperor Francis I, well known for his frugality, acted as patron; secondly, the performers were all members of the high nobility who also had an important function in the diplomatic and cultural events of the Congress of Vienna which were taking place at the same time; and thirdly, two leading artists active at the Viennese court, the architects Jean Charles Alexandre de Moreau and Johann Nepomuk Aman, were involved.[3]

The date of the performance of *Ambigu* (22 February 1815) marks an important point within the Congress of Vienna, for this date lies between the arrival of the Duke of Wellington (1 February 1815), the end of the carnival (7 February 1815), and Lord Castlereagh's departure (15 February 1815) on the one hand, and Napoleon's famous flight from Elba (26 February 1815) and his landing in southern France (1 March 1815) on the other. So, 22 February represents in a

1 A short summary of this performance can be found in the newspaper *Friedensblätter. Eine Zeitschrift für Leben, Literatur und Kunst* 26, 2 March 1815, 104. Research into *Ambigu* has not yet been carried out. The high density of the events at court is also underlined by the fact that on 23 February 1815, the day after *Ambigu*, theater performances of various dramatic plays and scenes from operas took place there in the presence of the imperial couple as well as all foreign monarchs, princes and the Habsburg archdukes and archduchesses. See Franz Patzer, ed., *Wiener Kongreßtagebuch 1814/1815. Wie der Rechnungsbeamte Matthias Franz Perth den Wiener Kongreß erlebte*. Veröffentlichungen aus der Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek, 8. ser; Wiener Schriften, no. 50 (Vienna and Munich: Jugend & Volk, 1981), 91–92, 190, fn 373.

2 In contrast to the networks practiced in the Viennese salons, the cultural ambitions of the Habsburg court have been little studied. On the salons at the Congress of Vienna, see Brian E. Vick, *The Congress of Vienna. Power and Politics After Napoleon* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2014), 112–52; Elisabeth Hilscher, "Musikalische Anlassproduktionen abseits der offiziellen Kongress-Feierlichkeiten. Zwischen Beethovens 'Der glorreiche Augenblick' und musikalischen Festbeschreibungen für das Piano forte," in *Der Wiener Kongress 1814/15, vol. II: Politische Kultur*, ed. Werner Telesko, Elisabeth Hilscher and Eva Maria Werner. Denkschriften der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 517 (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences, 2019), 269–84.

3 Richard H. Kastner, "Das Werk des Architekten Karl Moreau. Die Konstruktionsgebundenheit als Wesensmerkmal der Baukunst," *Alte und moderne Kunst* 12, no. 92 (1967): 8–15; Richard H. Kastner, "Der Architekt Karl (Charles) Moreau," *Wiener Geschichtsblätter* 69, no. 4 (2014): 277–304; Petra Kalousek and Anna Mader-Kratky, "Redoutensaaltrakt – bauliche Entwicklung, 1705–1835," in *Die Wiener Hofburg 1705–1835. Die kaiserliche Residenz vom Barock bis zum Klassizismus*, ed. Hellmut Lorenz and Anna Mader-Kratky. Veröffentlichungen zur Bau- und Funktionsgeschichte der Wiener Hofburg 3; Veröffentlichungen zur Kunstgeschichte 14; Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 445 (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences, 2016), 292–98.

certain sense the last light-hearted period of the festivities, which makes this performance almost a special event.

In the following, the position of *Ambigu* in the multimedia practices of the Viennese court in the early nineteenth century will be specified and at the same time light will be shed on its reception by a wider public. In terms of sources, the courtly context is preserved under number 151 in the 1815 volume of the files of the Office of the Court Chamberlain (Obersthofmeisteramt) in the Viennese House, Court and State Archive (Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv). The corresponding letter (with the attached printed program) from the 'Obersthofmeisteramt' to the Court Building Authority (Hofbaudirektion), dated 6 February 1815, reports on the decision of the emperor to have the theater in the Großer Redoutensaal (Illustration 1) rebuilt and to keep it in operation for a longer period of time.[4] The most important part of the source states:

> In accordance with His Majesty's decision, the double theater that existed in the large Redoutensaal from the beginning of the Carnival is to be reconstructed in the same manner immediately after the end of the same, and in accordance with this same order, the reconstruction of the theater is to be carried out under the direction of the architect [Charles] de Moreau, but not by means of a work contract, but under the direction of the court building authorities and with the materials of the court building authorities in such a way that the components of the theater can be preserved for the same use in the future.[5]

According to this source, the k. k. court architect Johann Aman has already been instructed to design a plan. The Imperial and Royal Court Furniture Directorate (k. k. Hofmobiliendirektion) is named as the authority responsible for the work on the theater's decoration.

4 Unfortunately, there exists no contemporary depiction showing this theater in the Großer Redoutensaal.

5 Letter from the Obersthofmeisteramt Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv to the Hofbaudirektion, 6 February 1825 (Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, 1815, no. 151): "In Gemäßheit A. h. Entschluss Sr. Majestät soll das in dem großen Redoutensaal von dem Anfang des Karnevals bestandene doppelte Theater gleich nach Ablauf deßselben in der nämlichen Art wieder hergestellt werden, und nach eben diesem A. h. Befehl soll diese Aufrichtung des Theaters unter der Leitung des Architekten [Charles] de Moreau, jedoch nicht mittels eines Accordprotokolls [scil. work contract], sondern in hofbauämtlicher Regie und mit hofbauämtlichen Material dermaßen bewerkstelligt werden, sodass die Bestandteile des Theaters für die Zukunft zum gleichen Gebrauch aufbewahrt werden können."



Illustration 1: *Ansicht des K. K. Redouten Saales während eines Masquen-Balles,* colored etching by Josef Schütz, published by Artaria & Co., Vienna, probably 1815. Vienna, Austrian National Library, Picture Archives and Graphics Department, FKB-Vues Österreich-Ungarn, Wien II, Burg 22.

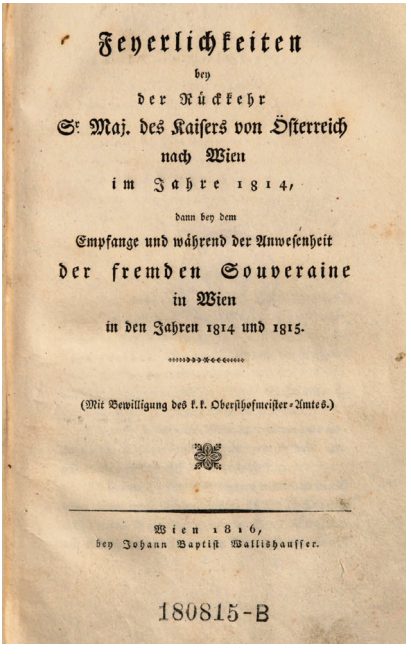

Feyerlichkeiten
bey
der Rückkehr
Sr. Maj. des Kaisers von Österreich
nach Wien
im Jahre 1814,
dann bey dem
Empfange und während der Anwesenheit
der fremden Souveraine
in Wien
in den Jahren 1814 und 1815.
(Mit Bewilligung des k.k. Obersthofmeister-Amtes.)
Wien 1816,
bey Johann Baptist Wallishausser.
180815-B

Illustration 2: *Feyerlichkeiten bey der Rückkehr S[eine]r Maj*[estät] *des Kaisers von Österreich nach Wien im Jahre 1814* (Vienna, 1816), title page. Vienna, Austrian National Library, Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books, 180.815-B.

Ambigu was shortly afterwards communicated to a broader public as the program was printed in a brochure on the celebrations for the return of the Emperor of Austria to Vienna in 1814 (Illustration 2).[6] This publication suggests that the cultural activities of the high nobility at the Viennese court were intended to be communicated to a wider public. Thus, immediately after the end of the 1815 carnival, the Großer Redoutensaal was set up "zu scenischen und bildlichen Darstellungen" (for scenic and pictorial representations).[7] The cast members at that time consisted largely of the same members of the high nobility as at *Ambigu*, whose program is printed in the same edition of *Hesperus*.[8] Thus, as much as the actual performance of *Ambigu* had to take place within the elitist environment of the court, efforts were made, similar to those surrounding the numerous 'living pictures' performed at the same time at the Viennese court and its affiliated theaters, to reach a broader public.[9] This was done through the dissemination of the program of *Ambigu* by the high-quality printing house of Anton Strauß (Strauss) (1775–1827), who as a printer and publisher became the most important figure during the Napoleonic Wars in Austria. He printed or published famous periodicals such as the *Vaterländische Blätter*, the *Österreichischer Wandersmann*, the *Neue Militärische Zeitschrift*, *Hormayr's Archiv für Geographie, Historie, Staats- und Kriegskunst*, and many more.[10] The *Oesterreichischer Beobachter*, published by Strauss from 1810 onwards, must be regarded as the second official government newspaper alongside the *Wiener Zeitung*.

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6 *Feyerlichkeiten bey der Rückkehr Sr. Maj*[estät] *des Kaisers von Österreich nach Wien im Jahre 1814, dann bey dem Empfange und während der Anwesenheit der fremden Souveraine in Wien in den Jahren 1814 und 1815* (Vienna: Johann Baptist Wallishaus[s]er, 1816), 148–53.

7 This expression ("zu scenischen und bildlichen Darstellungen") had already been used in the description of two events on 9 and 21 December 1814 in the Großer Redoutensaal, cf. *Hesperus. Ein Nationalblatt für gebildete Leser* no. 22, May 1815, 169.

8 *Hesperus. Ein Nationalblatt für gebildete Leser* no. 22, May 1815, 170–71. Count Auguste de La Garde also mentions personalities in theater performances of the Congress of Vienna, all of whom belong to the circle of the here mentioned *société d'amateurs*, cf. Auguste de La Garde, *Gemälde des Wiener Kongresses 1814–1815. Erinnerungen, Feste, Sittenschilderungen, Anekdoten*, trans. from the French, newly ed. and intr. Hans Effenberger using Ludwig Eichler's translation (Vienna and Leipzig: Rosenbaum, 1912), 143–44, 158, fn 1 (mention of the event on 22 February 1815).

9 Cf. *Der Wiener Kongreß in Augenzeugenberichten*, ed. and intr. Hilde Spiel (Munich: dtv, 1978), 173–77; Birgit Jooss, *Lebende Bilder. Körperliche Nachahmung von Kunstwerken in der Goethezeit* (Berlin: Reimer, 1999), 290, 302–3, 312, 321, 323–35, 343–44, 357–64, 382 (mentions of all Viennese 'living pictures' in the period from 1807 to 1819); Torsten Kaim, *Tableaux vivants auf dem Wiener Kongress (1814–1815). Analyse der Bildprogram anhand von Textquellen* (Saarbrücken: VDM, 2011), 44–51.

10 On Strauß, see: Anton Mayer, *Wiens Buchdrucker-Geschichte 1482–1882*, vol. 2 (Vienna: Frick, 1887), 152–57; Peter R. Frank and Johannes Frimmel, *Buchwesen in Wien 1750–1850. Kommentiertes Verzeichnis der Buchdrucker, Buchhändler und Verleger*. Buchforschung. Beiträge zum Buchwesen in Österreich, vol. 4 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 190–91.

The venue

The letter from February 1815 touches on several interrelated themes: the Großer Redoutensaal as the location of the theatrical event;[11] the imperial interest in hosting this private court event; the participation of artists already established at the court; and the fact that *Ambigu*'s performers are all renowned members of the high nobility. The Großer Redoutensaal was probably the most prestigious venue for cultural events in Vienna of the time, and for the festivities of the wedding of Ferdinand III and Infanta Maria Anna of Spain, two banqueting halls were built by court architect Giovanni Battista Carlone between 1629 and 1631. In contrast to earlier temporary buildings, these were to be used permanently. In 1651 Giovanni Burnacini the Elder converted the great hall into a theater which was adapted by his son Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini in 1659. After a fire on 19 July 1699, it was rebuilt by Francesco Galli-Bibiena. Performances were held in this theater until 1744. In 1747, under Maria Theresa, the hall was given to Baron Rochus de lo Presti so that redoutes (e.g. masked balls) could be held there. In 1748 the Great Hall was transformed into a public Redoutensaal, and in 1755 the halls underwent modernization. In the process, the court architect Nikolaus Pacassi probably drew on plans by Jean Nicolas Jadot de Ville-Issey, who had left the Viennese court in 1753. The Redoutensäle were used several times for the wedding festivities of Joseph II and Isabella of Parma in 1760, including the banquet, the balls, and the theatrical performance of the Serenata *Tetide* (text by Giovanni Ambrogio Migliavacca, music by Christoph Willibald Gluck) for whose scenic design Giovanni Niccolò Servandoni had been specially engaged from Paris.

More detailed information about the theater with Moreau's transportable stage in the Großer Redoutensaal (also called the 'French theater')[12] can be found in the diary of Count Heinrich of Stolberg-Wernigerode. It states that on 27 February 1815, a performance of aristocratic dilettantes with 'living pictures' took place there at the behest of the Empress (see below). About this event, Count Heinrich of Stolberg-Wernigerode writes: "In the large *Redouten-Saal* there was a small theater in the shape of a tent, white with silver drapery,

11 For the history of the Großer Redoutensaal see Christian Benedik, *Die Redoutensäle. Kontinuität und Vergänglichkeit*, exhibition catalogue, Kulturkreis Looshaus and Graphische Sammlung Albertina (Vienna: Holzhausen, 1993), 5–28.

12 See: Franz Hadamowsky, "Theater und Fest beim Wiener Kongreß," in *Der Wiener Kongress. 1. September 1814 bis 9. Juni 1815: 150 Jahre Wiener Kongress*, exhibition catalogue, Bundesministerium für Unterricht, Verein der Museumsfreunde (Vienna: Bundesministerium für Unterricht, 1965), 274–77, at 277; Benedik, *Redoutensäle*, 35.

very nicely arranged. There were curtains on both narrow sides."[13] A description in the aforementioned *Feyerlichkeiten bey der Rückkehr Sr. Maj*[estät] *des Kaisers von Österreich nach Wien im Jahre 1814* (1816) is more specific:

> On Friday, December 9 [1814], the local nobility performed an opera and tableaux for the highest nobility in the large *Redoutensaal*, where the architect Moreau had erected a theater in two parts, which contained the stage on one side and the section for the tableaux on the other. In the middle of both sections was the place for the highest spectators; the whole formed a tent decorated with a white veil.[14]

Stolberg-Wernigerode mentions Julie and Sophie Zichy, Countess Teresa Apponyi and Prince Antoni Henryk Radziwiłł among the performers on this day,[15] all members of the group of actors who had proven their art at *Ambigu* five days earlier.

Structure and performers of *Ambigu*

The soirée begins with a prologue in which three characters – an *intendant du château*, an *entrepreneur de Théâtre* and *un valet de Chambre* – discuss the course of *Ambigu*. The prologue text is not available in the written sources, and maybe was just improvised by the actors. Each scene consists of an extract from a

13 "Im großen Redouten-Saal war ein kleines Theater in Form eines Zelts, weiß mit Silber in drapperien [sic], sehr hübsch arrangirt [sic]. Auf beiden schmalen Seiten waren Vorhänge." Heinrich Graf zu Stolberg-Wernigerode, *Tagebuch über meinen Aufenthalt in Wien zur Zeit des Congresses vom 9. September 1814 bis zum April 1815*, ed. Doris Derdey, with an introduction by Konrad Breitenborn and Uwe Lagatz. Veröffentlichungen der Stiftung Schlösser, Burgen und Gärten des Landes Sachsen-Anhalt, no. 3 (Halle an der Saale: Janos Stekovics, 2004), 187. See also Kaim, *Tableaux vivants*, 47, fn 185.

14 "Freytag den 9. December [1814] hat der hiesige Adel den allerhöchsten Herrschaften eine Oper und Tableaux in dem großen Redoutensaale aufgeführt, wo durch den Architecten Moreau ein eigens in zwey Theilen dargestelltes Theater errichtet war, welches auf der einen Seite die Schaubühne, auf der andern die Abtheilung für die Tableaux enthielt. In der Mitte beyder Abtheilungen war der Platz für die höchsten Zuseher; das Ganze bildete ein mit weißem Schleyer decorirtes Zelt", *Feyerlichkeiten bey der Rückkehr Sr. Maj*[estät] *des Kaisers von Österreich* [...], 118. See here also a detailed description of the venue in the *Friedensblätter. Eine Zeitschrift für Leben, Literatur und Kunst* of 10 January 1815, no. 4: 15. It shows, among other things, that the tent rested on twelve pillars and was equipped with seats for the audience. The elevated theater was separated by a curtain behind which the orchestra was located. The stage itself was decorated with orange-colored lacework. Five chandeliers guaranteed bright lighting for the scenes. The scene for pictorial representations (i.e. 'living pictures') was placed on the other narrow side. The description also mentions that Joseph (Josef) Fischer (1769–1822), Hofkammer-copper engraver and (since 1815) member of the Viennese Academy of Fine Arts, was responsible for the costumes, the arrangement of the pictures, and the lighting.

15 Stolberg-Wernigerode, *Tagebuch*, 187.

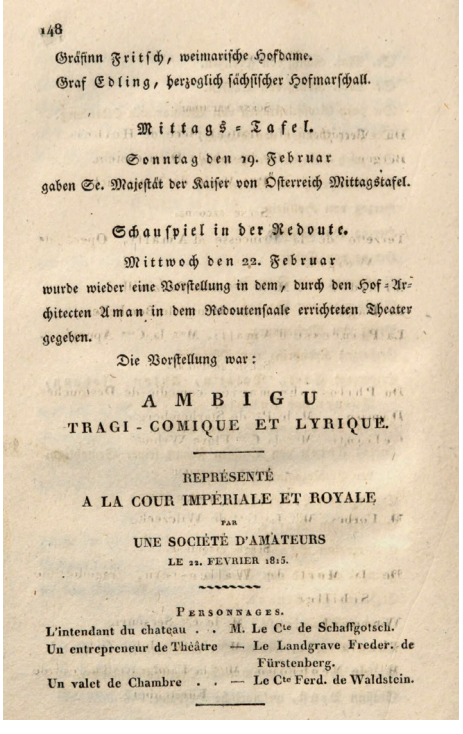
theatrical piece, an opera, a song and/or dance from a specific country, or a 'tableau mouvant' (Illustration 3).

The first part consists of five sections:

I. Scene from the comedy *Der Verräther* by Franz Ignaz von Holbein
II. Terzetto from the opera *La Princesse d'Amalfi* by Joseph Weigl
III. Scenes from the comedy *Le philosophe marié* by Philippe-Néricault Destouches
IV. Spanish dance
V. Scene from tragedy *Wallensteins Tod* by Friedrich Schiller.

The second part comprises six sections:

I. Russian song and dance
II. Intermezzo from the lyric opera *Die Schweizer-Familie* by Joseph Weigl
III. Scene from the comedy *La fausse Agnès* by Philippe-Néricault Destouches
IV. Trio from the opera *Il barbiere di Siviglia* by Giovanni Paisiello
V. Scene from the comedy *Les précieuses ridicules* by Molière.
VI. Tableau mouvant *Le Banquet de Dieux.*



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Gräfinn Fritſch, weimariſche Hofdame.
Graf Edling, herzoglich ſächſiſcher Hofmarſchall.

Mittags-Tafel.

Sonntag den 19. Februar
gaben Se. Majeſtät der Kaiſer von Öſterreich Mittagstafel.

Schauſpiel in der Redoute.

Mittwoch den 22. Februar
wurde wieder eine Vorſtellung in dem, durch den Hof-Architecten Aman in dem Redoutenſaale errichteten Theater gegeben.

Die Vorſtellung war:

AMBIGU
TRAGI-COMIQUE ET LYRIQUE.

REPRÉSENTÉ
A LA COUR IMPÉRIALE ET ROYALE
PAR
UNE SOCIÉTÉ D'AMATEURS
LE 22. FEVRIER 1815.

PERSONNAGES.

L'intendant du chateau . . M. Le Cte de Schaffgotsch.
Un entrepreneur de Théâtre — Le Landgrave Freder. de Fürstenberg.
Un valet de Chambre . . — Le Cte Ferd. de Waldstein.

Illustration 3: *Feyerlichkeiten bey der Rückkehr S[eine]r Maj*[estät] *des Kaisers von Österreich nach Wien im Jahre 1814* (Vienna, 1816), Beginning of *Ambigu* and extract of the cast list. Vienna, Austrian National Library, Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books, 180.815-B.

The multinational presence of the nobles as actors in the play, which includes not only the long-established Austrian court nobility but also personalities of other origin with an emphatic anti-Napoleonic stance, is striking. In keeping with the use of this prestigious hall for the performance of *Ambigu*, the high-ranking performers are referred to on the title page of the printed program (see Illustration 2) as *societé d'amateurs*, apparently an expression, not focused on a specific group of people, that frequently occurs in the cultural and scientific life of Vienna at this time.[16] Obviously, this term refers to cultural events by dilettantes, although with regard to the event of 22 February 1815, it should not be assumed that this was a one-off occurrence, as other performances by this group are documented.[17] It appears that one of the objectives of the *société d'amateurs* was to present the prominent aristocratic families in their extensive genealogical networks to foreign guests attending the Viennese congress. The cultural activity of this society corresponds to the extremely elitist selection of the actors, and it is remarkable that sometimes entire noble families, or significant numbers of the same families, appear.[18]

Three personalities are highlighted here as representatives of the fifty-four women and thirty-four men who took part in the play: Karl Count of Dietrichstein, Count Ferdinand Pálffy of Erdőd, and Lady Selina Caroline Meade.

Josef Karl Count of Dietrichstein (1763–1825) (Illustration 4) was president of the *Imperial and Royal Agricultural Society* (k. k. Landwirtschaftsgesellschaft) and first governor of the Austrian National Bank. Together with his associates, the municipal under-chamberlain (Unterkämmerer) Stephan Wohlleben and the government secretary (Regierungssekretär) Trimmel, he rendered special services to the provision of the volunteers of the famous military campaign (Aufgebot) of 1797 against the French troops. Dietrichstein became President of the Lower Austrian Government in 1804, Vice-Chancellor in 1805, and Lower Austrian Land Marshal in 1810.

16 An example would be the publication *Mines de l'Orient, exploitées par une société d'amateurs* (Mines of the Orient, operated by an amateur company), published in Vienna in 1809 by Anton Schmid. The *societé d'amateurs* however is not a fixed term, and appears earlier in Parisian cultural life when, to quote just one example, a performance by 'une société d'amateurs' is mentioned, cf. *Journal de Paris*, no. 176, June 25, 1779, 710.

17 Cf. *Feyerlichkeiten bey der Rückkehr Sr. Maj*[estät] *des Kaisers von Österreich* [...], 164 (7 march 1815).

18 On the lifestyle and the cultural practices of the Austrian, esp. Viennese aristocracy in the Vormärz period see Hannes Stekl, *Österreichs Aristokratie im Vormärz. Herrschaftsstil und Lebensformen der Fürstenhäuser Liechtenstein und Schwarzenberg*. Sozial- und wirtschaftshistorische Studien, vol. 2 (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1973), 128–43; Martin Eybl, *Sammler*innen. Musikalische Öffentlichkeit und ständische Identität, Wien 1740–1810* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2022), 37–71.



Illustration 4: *Portrait of Josef Karl Count of Dietrichstein*, lithography by Josef Schönschütz, published by Adolf Friedrich Kunike, Vienna, undated, Vienna, Austrian National Library, Picture Archives and Graphics Department, PORT_00151794_01.



Illustration 5: *Portrait of Count Ferdinand Pálffy of Erdőd*, lithography by Albert Riemensberg von Radmannsdorf, Vienna, undated. Austrian National Library, Picture Archives and Graphics Department, PORT_00003565_01.

Count Ferdinand Pálffy of Erdőd (1774–1840) (Illustration 5) was an Austro-Hungarian mining engineer, civil servant and theater entrepreneur. He was the son of Count Leopold Pálffy of Erdőd (1739–1799). In 1807, alongside Prince Joseph Lobkowitz, he was part of the association of noblemen who acquired the Theater an der Wien, and later also the Burgtheater and the Theater am Kärntnertor. Pálffy was an important patron of Ludwig van Beethoven, and under him the Theater an der Wien saw the premiere of Helmina of Chézy's play *Rosamunde* with incidental music by Franz Schubert on 20 December 1823. Probably in gratitude, Schubert dedicated his Sonata in B flat major for piano four hands (D 617) to Count Pálffy. In 1826 he lost his entire fortune through speculation and was forced to sell the theater at auction. Fearing arrest for his outstanding debts, he fled Vienna for Bratislava, where he remained for several years before returning to Vienna.

Lady Selina Caroline Meade, later Countess Clam-Martinic (1797–1872) (Illustration 6), was born into an Irish noble family. Her father, Richard Meade, was the 2nd Earl of Clanwilliam who married Caroline, Countess of Thun. The marriage to a Roman Catholic noblewoman caused a rift within the Protestant family. In 1795/96 the couple relocated from Ireland to Vienna, where

their youngest daughter Selina was born soon after. Following the death of her father in 1805, Selina and her sister were raised by their aunt Maria Christiane, who was married to Karl Alois Prince Lichnowsky, a chamberlain at the Imperial court and patron of Ludwig van Beethoven. Both the aunt and Lady Selina Caroline Meade participated in the final 'tableau mouvant' of the play: Maria Christiane Contesse Lichnowsky was one of the divinities of the Olympus, and her niece, Lady Selina Caroline Meade, one of the *Nymphes de Diane*. At the time, Lady Meade was a young woman of eighteen years of age. Six years later, she married the Austrian General and Field Marshal Karl II Johann Nepomuk Count Clam-Martinic, thereby becoming a member of an old and influential Austrian noble house.



Illustration 6: *Portrait of Lady Selina Caroline Meade, later Countess Clam-Martinic*, engraving by Charles Heath after Thomas Lawrence, published by Longman & Co., London, 1827, Vienna, Austrian National Library, Picture Archives and Graphics Department, PORT_00065312_01.

The texts in *Ambigu*

Before taking a closer look at the plays of the *soirée*, if we search for the meaning of *ambigu* in a French dictionary, we find that it is either an adjective: "a thing whose interpretation or meaning is uncertain or equivocal" ("chose dont l'interprétation, le sens sont incertains; equivoque"), or a noun: "somebody whose complex character and behavior are difficult to grasp" ("personnage dont le caractère, la conduite sont complexes et se laissent malaisément définir"). In other words, *ambigu* refers to something lacking a clear outline, hence open to more than one interpretation, or somebody whose character

or biography are elusive and a bit enigmatic. While this may be the reason for calling both the well-known theater on the Boulevard du Temple, the *Théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique*, and the violently anti-Napoleonic satirical magazine *L'Ambigu*, there is another meaning to the word which greatly interests us here: the Larousse dictionary informs us that *ambigu* was "[un] repas dont tous les éléments étaient servis en même temps et que l'on prenait en guise de souper au XVII^{e} et au XVIII^{e} siècle", a supper popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, where all the parts of the meal were put on the table at the same time; a kind of buffet not unrelated to the entertainment we are talking about: a buffet made of theatre, music and dancing.[19]

If we therefore interpret the name chosen for the *soirée* as an improvised supper, where all the parts of the meal were put on the table at the same time, the dramatic scenes in *Ambigu* may be regarded as the five-flavor *pièce montée* dressed at the center of the opulently arranged buffet: a kind of highly enjoyable evening which offers a potpourri of different performances, e.g. poetry, music, and ballet, executed by talented and well-trained amateurs of the same social class as the members of the audience.

The Viennese imperial court had been familiar with this kind of entertainment long before the Napoleonic era. While the seventeenth century cherished the Academie, Serenate, Trattenimenti etc., the second half of the eighteenth century preferred the *Comédies salon* and the *Proverbes*. The "comédie salon" was a short, entertaining play performed by amateurs in the salon (hence its name) of a country castle, mostly during the summer season, on days of bad weather. Since the plot of those miniature comedies was either completely improvised or only very rudimentarily written out, it was often based on a known proverb, to smooth the communication between actors and audience. In the long run it became a genre of its own: the French Proverbe especially favored by Louis Carmontelle (1717–1806) and Alfred de Musset (1810–1857).

The beginning of the nineteenth century was an era of transition at the Imperial Court, not only in terms of language: Italian lost its supremacy as the dominant language of the arts, while French rose in the court's favor, thanks, on the one hand, to the so-called *Parti lorrain*, a group of influential personalities gathering around the famous prince Eugen of Savoy-Carignan (shaped by his upbringing at the French court of Versailles) and Francis, Duke of Lorraine (who, at the age of fifteen arrived at the Viennese court and stayed for six

19 *Larousse. Dictionnaire de Français*: « Repas dont tous les éléments étaient servis en même temps et que l'on prenait en guise de souper au xvii^{e} et au xviii^{e} s. » https://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/ambigu/2718, accessed 19 August 2024.

years and, of course, spoke French). On the other hand, a slow change took place in the new Austrian alliance policy, which was forged before the Seven Years' War and finalized in 1770, following the marriage between the French Dauphin Louis and Maria Antonia, Archduchess of Austria.

The actors, the circumstances, and the multilayered program of the *soirée*, in which – in symbiosis and following a common thread – drama alternates with a tableau vivant, dancing and music, have already been briefly described above. It may be surprising to find in the program the term 'tableau mouvant', less common than 'tableau vivant', which means the silent and immobile imitation of a known painting, a parlor game allegedly invented by Madame de Genlis. Whereas the French used the term 'tableau mouvant' to mean a small scene animated by complicated mechanical toys or automatons,[20] the term was used in German at the time for music boxes integrated in clocks and snuff-boxes.[21] It is certainly used here deliberately because those scenes are neither silent nor immobile. Plus, some of the contemporary tourist guides use the term ironically, as in *Tableau mouvant de Paris, ou variétés amusantes* (London 1787) or the *Esquisse d'un tableau mouvant de Vienne* (Vienna 1787) by János Fekete de Galantha.

The sixth and last scene in *Ambigu, Le Banquet de Dieux,* is one such tableau mouvant. It is divided into four parts. In the first, a group of Olympic deities (Divinités de l'Olympe) appears, impersonated by seven men and ten women, all members of the high nobility. After this scene, featuring an Olympic banqueting room with probably moderate movement and some fictional conversations, two pageants follow, one of the nine Muses and the second probably a kind of allegory of time (*Heures*) impersonated by four countesses. The subsequent march of nymphs and fauns, companions of Bacchus (*Nymphes et Sylvains de la suite de Bacchus*), featuring three women and three men, introduces the fourth part, a ballet (*Personnages dansans*) in three groups (fauns, nymphs of Bacchus and nymph of Diana).

If we now turn our attention to the spoken dramatic scenes, we see at once that the *Ambigu* is truly ambiguous. As described above, we are in possession of the program which, however, gives almost nothing away of what awaits the audience, apart from the first scene of action, whose setting is described as an elegantly decorated salon (*un salon richement orné*) – a place the audience is familiar with, which therefore conveys the intimate feeling of being part of the performance. And, of course, the program makes it clear that everything will

20 Noel Regnault, *Les entretiens physiques d'Ariste et d'Eudoxe,* vol. 4 (Paris: David, 1732), 420.
21 Johann E. Bernhard (ed), *Physikalisch-Oekonomische Auszüge aus den neuesten und besten Schriften,* vol. VII.1 (Stuttgart: Mezler, 1765), 313.

be in French (but only in relation to the spoken parts, not the musical parts!), the universal language of the European aristocrats and diplomats, as well as of their private and professional entourage, hence the language that everybody present at the Viennese Congress speaks perfectly well, often better than the language of their country of origin.

Thanks to the program we also know that the performance started with a prologue in which appear the castle's steward, the butler, and an impresario, played respectively by a count Schaffgotsch,[22] a count Waldstein[23] and a landgrave Fürstenberg.[24] They are engrossed in conversation, discussing – as one may expect – the necessary preparations for the upcoming evening. Their spoken text was almost certainly completely improvised, whereas the rest of the plot is a kind of potpourri of different scenes taken from well-known plays. In all, after the prologue, there are five scenes supplemented by the various above-mentioned intermezzi.

The first dramatic scene is taken from Franz Ignaz von Holbein's comedy *Der Verräther. Lustspiel in einem Act*. The author or authors probably took as a basis the edition published in Vienna by Johann Baptist Wallishauser (1813). The first edition appeared in Rudolstadt in 1811,[25] but already in 1810 the play had been set to music by Carl Maria von Weber. The characters of this first scene of the *Ambigu* are Berger, a widowed vintner, and young Klärchen, an orphan who lives in the Berger household. The scene starts with Berger (played by Joseph de Dietrichstein)[26] thinking about remarrying and deciding to propose to his foster daughter. Klärchen (Marie de Metternich)[27] refuses him, arguing that his wife's last wish was for the two of them never to marry. Klärchen, however, has no intention of remaining a spinster and accepts the proposal of Jakob, a young and very rich farmer. To be of use to the *Ambigu*,

22 Probably Graf Johann Franz de Paula von Schaffgotsch, Baron von und zu Kynast und Greiffenstein (1792–1866), an Austrian Imperial Cavalry General (or, less likely, Graf Johann Ernst Maximilian von Schaffgotsch, 1742–1825).

23 Graf Ferdinand Ernst Joseph Gabriel von Waldstein und Wartenberg (1762–1823).

24 Friedrich Karl Johann Nepomuk Egon Landgraf zu Fürstenberg (1774–1856), chief master of ceremonies (Oberzeremonienmeister) at the Viennese court from 1818 onwards. The theater of his castle in Weitra (Lower Austria), probably already built in the eighteenth century, offered, during the summer season, a vast program, often with Fürstenberg not only participating himself in the various plays but also directing and taking part in entertainments in neighboring castles belonging to related noble families (Liechtenstein, Lobkowitz and Schwarzenberg).

25 *Franz v. Holbein's Theater. Erster Band* (Rudolstadt: Hof-Buch- und Kunsthandlung, 1811), 377–418.

26 Josef Karl Graf von Dietrichstein (1763–1825), president of the *Imperial and Royal Agricultural Society* and first governor of the Austrian National Bank.

27 Maria Leopoldina von Metternich-Winneburg (1797–1820), a daughter of the Chancelor Metternich (1773–1859) and his first consort Maria Eleonore von Kaunitz-Rietberg (1775–1825).

the German original undoubtedly had to be rethought in French. What was performed on stage must have been a short transposition rather than a translation of the entire text. Unimportant details (such as Jakob's parts) must have been left out so as to put the focus on what Klärchen and Berger have to say about their respective marriage plans.

The musical intermezzo that follows is based on a trio taken from Giovanni Bertati's *La principessa d'Amalfi*, set to music by Joseph Weigl. The second dramatic scene is a compilation of different parts of Philippe-Néricault Destouches' *Le philosophe marié ou Le mari honteux de l'être. Comédie en cinq actes et en vers.* The edition used by whoever imagined the scene is probably that published in Vienna in 1768 by Johann Thomas Trattner. Even at that moment the play was not new. It was published for the first time by François Le Breton in 1727 in Paris, but must have continued to be quite popular since several more editions were published in Paris and Amsterdam in subsequent years. As before, there are two characters, Damon (le Prince de Starhemberg)[28] and Céliante (la Comtesse Flore Wrbna),[29] who, however, differ fundamentally from the couple of the first scene, Klärchen and Berger, at least as they were intended by their author Holbein, since, of course, we do not know how the characters were altered to meet the purpose of the *Ambigu*. However, in the original play, Damon and Céliante's conversation perfectly matches the so-called *marivaudage*, a conversational style created by Marivaux for his comédies d'amour (e.g. *Le jeu de l'amour et du hasard,* 1730), which later developed into the ideal of facetious und ambiguous repartees in social talk. In his *Lycée ou Cours de littérature ancienne et modern,* the famous critic Jean-François de La Harpe outlines the essence of this very special type of conversation as a highly bizarre mixture of subtle metaphysics and trivial remarks, of tortuous feelings and common phrases: "C'est le mélange le plus bizarre de métaphysique subtile et de locutions triviales, de sentiments alambiqués et de dictions populaires."[30] In other words, both parties are perfectly aware of the insurmountable inner and outer obstacles that obstruct a relationship, but they also know that they cannot stay away from each other, a situation which puts them in a major psychological as well as a sentimental dilemma. Destouches' couple in *Le philosophe marié*, Damon and Céliante, are both young and more or less of the same age; and, when they appear in front of the audience, they are edgy and irritated and dissect their own feelings as well as those of their counterpart. For example,

28 Ludwig Joseph Maximilian von Starhemberg (1762–1833), an Austrian diplomat.
29 Gräfin Flora Wrbna-Freudenthal (1779–1857).
30 Jean-François de La Harpe, *Lycée ou Cours de littérature ancienne et moderne*, vol. IX (Paris: Deterville, 1818), 370.

when Damon asks her why she is unhappy, Céliante explains: "Because I cannot live without you. I wish I could hate you as much as I love you."[31] (*Cél.* Je suis au désespoir. *Dam.* De quoi? *Cél.* De ne pouvoir me passer de vous voir. Je voudrois vous haïr … autant que je vous aime. pp. 35 ff.)

Later in the text, when Damon reminds her that she has just told him that she will always hate him, she exclaims: "That was a preposterous lie" (Ah, comme je mentais! p. 36). The discussion is heated and culminates in a fight which, however, clears the atmosphere and ends in a reconciliation, though it might only be a temporary one. Damon is convinced that it is his destiny to be her lover, since he, and only he, had the courage to tame her heart by his constant adoration:

> Et le Ciel m'a formé pour être votre amant.
> Il falloit être moi pour avoir le courage
> De dompter votre cœur par un constant hommage. (p. 77)

When Céliante finally admits "I no longer know what to think or do" (*Je ne sais où j'en suis*, p. 77), her words, being almost identical with the concluding words of Weigl's trio, smoothly link the scene of the two conflicting lovers to the preceding intermezzo. As we mentioned earlier, the *Ambigu* scene is a compilation which freely summarizes Destouches' text; it can therefore be assumed that there was plenty of room for all kinds of improvisation.

After the above-mentioned *Danse espagnole* follows the third scene which is based on Friedrich Schiller's *Wallensteins Tod. Ein Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen*. The edition used for the *Ambigu* is probably from 1800, with no place of publication given, while the first edition dates from 1799 and was published in Weimar. This time the stage is occupied by three characters: Colonel Wrangel (le Comte Secsényi),[32] sent by the Swedish faction to meet Wallenstein, the princess Thekla (la Comtesse Julie Zichy),[33] Wallenstein's daughter, and Fräulein Neubrunn (la Landgrave Thérèse de Fürstenberg),[34] her lady-in-waiting. This scene is a bit of an enigma for two reasons. The first is purely technical: in Schiller's play Wrangler and Thekla have nothing in common and they never meet, let alone talk to each other. The second, more complex reason is the choice of the play itself and the question of the grounds on which the author wished the two characters to meet. Schiller's Wrangel has only one purpose: seduce Wallenstein and make him join the Swedish faction. Since in the *Ambigu*

31 All translations are by Alfred Noe unless otherwise indicated.
32 Graf István Széchenyi (1791–1860).
33 Gräfin Julie Zichy-Vásonykeő († 1816).
34 Maria Theresia, Landgräfin zu Fürstenberg (1780–1870).

Wrangel meets Thekla in person, his intention is perhaps to seduce the daughter instead of the father and maybe to propose marriage with himself or with a Swedish personality of an even higher rank. But why? Does Wrangel hope to approach Wallenstein through the daughter? Or is the whole scene an allusion to the peace initiative that was sealed by the marriage between Napoleon and the Austrian archduchess Maria Luisa, but failed miserably because Napoleon never stopped dreaming about reigning over the whole world? We do not know and we can only offer these two hypotheses.

After the *Chant et danse russe*, both performed by the Princess Bagration,[35] and the intermezzo from *Die Schweizer-Familie,* the fourth dramatic scene is taken from Philippe-Néricault Destouches' *La fausse Agnès ou Le poète campagnard*. The edition probably used for the purpose was published in Vienna by Johann Peter van Ghelen in 1752, and the first edition by Prault père in Paris in 1736. The audience is introduced to Monsieur Desmazures and Angélique, who both are conceited, full of themselves and lost in the linguistic and sentimental labyrinth of their marivaudage. Desmazures's courtship is as much a caricature as Angélique's reaction to it; they never agree on anything, make things as complicated as possible for each other and, in the end, resign themselves to finding some form of happiness elsewhere. Desmazures has the final misogynistic word: he sees his error and takes what has happened to him as a lesson. He promises himself to carefully avoid further traps like the one in which he, luckily, has not been caught, because he is convinced that witty, learned women are worse than the devil:

> Je sors de mon erreur extrême;
> Ce qui m'arrive ici me tient lieu de sermon;
> Et je soutiens en changeant de systême,
> Que femme bel esprit, est pire qu'un démon. (p. 168)

No doubt, Angélique is a caricature and the opposite of the woman she thinks herself to be. We therefore can be sure that the actress who played the role must have loved it: it is none other than the Princess Dorothea of Courland (1793–1862), perhaps the best known "femme bel esprit" of her time. The reason why she sojourns in Vienna in 1815 is her uncle by marriage Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, prince of Benevento, the designated representative of France at the Congress of Vienna. Her marriage, concluded exclusively for monetary reasons, was a very unhappy one, but lead to a close connection and friendship with Talleyrand. She spent more time with him than with

35 Princess Catherine Pavlovna Bagration (1783–1857).

her husband and, under his guidance, became a much admired clever, witty, intelligent, and elegant woman. The French politician, and her contemporary, François Guizot, said about her that she was always beautiful, always had the looks and the charms of Circé and possessed a mind as whole and as lively as the body, and her uncle, himself no doubt the most brilliant mind of his time, is said to have described her as the cleverest person, man or woman, he had ever known.[36]

As with the three preceding parts, this fourth part of the *Ambigu* was also concluded by an intermezzo: a trio from *Il barbiere di Siviglia*.

The source for the fifth and last scene, *Les précieuses ridicules. Comédie en un acte et en prose*, honors France's most important comic playwright Molière (1622–1573). The edition used for the *Ambigu* was probably the one published in Vienna by Johann Peter van Ghelen in 1752; the first edition by Claude Barbin in Paris, is from 1660. On the Viennese stage appear four characters: Madelon (played by la Comtesse Mnischeck),[37] Cathos (la Baronne de Walterskirchen),[38] Mascarille (le Comte Ferd. de Waldstein),[39] and Jodelet (le Prince Jablonowsky),[40] although in Molière's whole play there is no such constellation.

Madelon and Cathos live in the provinces and are fascinated by 'la préciosité', the refined and highly sophisticated style of language cherished by the grand ladies of the capital. Gorgibus, father of Madelon, uncle of Cathos and a well-to-do provincial despot, wishes to marry both young women who declare they will only accept a husband who behaves according to the rules of the famous Carte de Tendre, the infallible navigator for all sentimental relationships designed by Madeleine de Scudéry in her marathon novel *Clélie, histoire romaine* (1654). The Carte de Tendre is one of the seventeenth century's most fascinating concepts, because all aspects of a sentimental relationship are transposed into the geography of the realm of tenderness. The travelers through this fascinating country, crossed by the rivers of Gratitude, Respect, and Inclination (Reconnaissance, Estime, Inclination) and bordered by the Sea of Hostility (Mer d'Inimitié) and the Lake of Indifference (Lac d'Indifférence), start their journey in the town of New Friendship and finally arrive at the reefs in the Dangerous Sea (Mer Dangereuse) of marriage.

36 See Micheline Dupuy, *La Duchesse de Dino, égérie de Talleyrand, princesse de Courlande* (Paris: Perrin, 2002).
37 Probably Gräfin Elisabeth Isabella Mniszech (1787–1830).
38 Probably Karoline von Walterskirchen (1794–1861).
39 Graf Ferdinand Ernst Joseph Gabriel von Waldstein und Wartenberg (1762–1823).
40 Fürst Anton von Jablonowsky (1793–1855).

Gorgibus introduces the two girls to a pair of eminently eligible young men, but the conceited young women, finding them unrefined, do not know better than to ridicule them. Both rejected suitors vow to take revenge. They disguise and instruct their respective servants, Mascarille and Jodelet, and arrange for them to meet with the two précieuses. Madelon falls in love with Mascarille, and Cathos with Jodelet. As the curtain falls, the two young women can do nothing but lament that they have fallen for the trick and exposed themselves to ridicule.

As we know, none of the *Ambigu* texts have been preserved since the dialogues were improvised. We can therefore only guess. But there is little doubt that the audience witnessed the two young women walking into the trap tended by the scorned lovers. In Molière's play, Gorgibus has the last word. He did not, however, appear on the *Ambigu* stage and there certainly was no need for him to do so. Gorgibus' diatribe against all kinds of noxious literature is famous and, undoubtedly, the audience knew it well:

VIOLONS	Monsieur, nous entendons que vous nous contentiés à leur défaut, pour ce que nous avons joué ici.	Sir, as they have not paid us, we expect you to do so, for it was in this house we played.
GORGIBUS, LES BATTANT	Oui, oui, je vous vais contenter, & voici la monnoye dont je vous veux payer. Et vous, pendardes, je ne sais qui me tient que je ne vous en fasse autant; nous allons servir de fable & de risée à tout le monde, & voilà ce que vous vous êtes attiré par vos extravagances. Allés vous cacher, vilaines, allés vous cacher pour jamais. Et vous qui êtes cause de leur folie, sottes billevesées, pernicieux amusemens des esprits oisifs, Ramans, Vers, Chansons, Sonnets & Sonnettes, puissiés-vous être à tout les Diables.[41]	[*Beating them.*] Yes, yes, I shall satisfy you; this is the coin I will pay you in. As for you, you stupid girls, I do not know why I should not serve you in the same way; we shall become the common talk and laughing-stock of everybody; this is what you have brought upon yourselves by your fooleries. Out of my sight and hide yourselves, you jades; go and hide yourselves forever. *[Alone.]* And you, that are the cause of their folly, you stupid trash, mischievous amusements for idle minds, you novels, verses, songs, sonnets, and sonatas, the devil take you all.[42]

41 Molière, *Les précieuses ridicules* (Vienna: Johann Peter van Ghelen, 1752), 51–52.
42 Translation by Henri Van Laun, published in 1880 by R. Worthington, New York.

The music in *Ambigu*

According to the program published by the printing house Strauss, *Ambigu* includes two different categories of music pieces – dances and opera excerpts – which are integrated into the structure of the work as follows:

Première partie
- *Scène première*. Terzetto de la Princesse d'Amalfi, Opera de Weigel [sic].
  Armidor: M. le P^ce^ Ant. Radziwill.
  Le Page: M. le C^te^ Henry de Bombelles.
  La Princesse d'Amalfi, M^me^ la C^sse^ Aponyi.
- *Scène quatrième.* Danse espagnole.
  M. Forbes, M^lle^ la C^sse^ de Wilczeck.

Seconde partie
- *Scène première*. Chant et danse russe.
  M. le B^on^ Peterson.
  M. le C.^te^ Ferdinand Pálffy.
  M^me^ la P^sse^ Bagration.
- *Scène seconde*. De la Famille Suisse, opera de Weigel [sic].
  Jacques: M. le C^te^ Felix Woyna.
  Emmeline: M^me^ la C^sse^ Sophie Zichy.
- *Scène quatrième*. Trio de Figaro, opera de Paésiello [sic, original title : *Il barbiere di Siviglia*]
  Bartolo: M. de Salvo
  Le Comte Almaviva: M. le P^ce^ Radziwill
  Rosine: M^lle^ la C^sse^ Sophie Woyna

Little is known about the two dances: one is Spanish, the other is Russian. The choice of these dances is difficult to explain in mere terms of national origin. If the Spanish piece might have some connection with *Il barbiere di Siviglia* because of its geographical setting, the choice of the Russian song and dance is clearly related to one of the performers, the already mentioned Russian Princess Catherine Pavlovna Bagration. However, the performance of songs and dances from different European nations must have been a trend in Vienna during the Congress, as shown by the publication of a collection of characterizing dances from different European nations.[43] Its publisher, Artaria, put together

43 *CHOIX de DANSES CARACTERISTIQUES de Diverses Nations de L'Europe avec les danses éxecutées à l'occasion du Sejour des Hautes-Puissances à Vienne pendant les Années 1814 et 1815 pour le Piano Forte. Sammlung verschiedener National=Tänze* (Vienna: Artaria, ca. 1816).

pieces such as menuets, gavottes, French quadrilles, polonaises, Hungarian dances, etc. This collection attests to the general interest in nationally colored pieces among the aristocratic milieu sojourning in Vienna in 1814 and 1815.

More can be said about the three opera excerpts in *Ambigu*. Notwithstanding the fact that the main language of the spoken parts is French, none of the vocal pieces are from French operas. Two terzets are from Italian opera buffa (Giovanni Paisiello's *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, Joseph Weigl's *La principessa di Amalfi*), and one scene is from Weigl's very popular German opera *Die Schweizer-Familie*. Weigl was Kapellmeister at the Viennese court, which explains why most of the vocal pieces are from his operas. Italian opera buffa was an internationally spread genre since the second half of the eighteenth century, while the choice of an excerpt from a Singspiel might be a homage to local German-speaking operatic production, although with a strong reference to the model of French opéra-comique.[44]

Regardless of the linguistic choice in relation to the operatic pieces, all three excerpts are from operas that were very popular in Vienna between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, set to music by Paisiello in St Petersburg (premiere: 26 September 1782), was performed with great success the following year at the Burgtheater in Vienna and was repeated in 1784 in the presence of the composer himself.[45] Although no performance is known to have taken place during the Congress of Vienna, a manuscript copy of the terzet 'Ah Rosina! [...] Voi, Lindoro!', now in the music collection of the Austrian National Library together with the terzet 'Ma dov'eri, tu stordito?' (Mus. Hs. 10609), is dated to the beginning of the nineteenth century and comes from the so-called Kaisersammlung Graz, that is, the collection of the emperor Francis II (I) that later became part of the library of the Konservatorium Graz and was sold in the 1930s to the Austrian National Library. It is not possible to say whether this score is in any way connected with the performance of *Ambigu*, but its existence as an extract from the whole opera testifies to the importance of this terzet at the time of the emperor Francis I, that is, at the time of the Congress of Vienna.

44 John A. Rice, "German opera in Vienna around 1800," in *Oper im Aufbruch. Gattungskonzepte des deutschsprachigen Musiktheaters um 1800*, ed. Marcus Christian Lippe (Kassel: Bosse, 2007), 313–22.

45 Francesco Paolo Russo, preface to Giovanni Paisiello, *Il barbiere di Siviglia* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2001), xii–iii.

The following is the text from the libretto of the opera (I/16):

BARTOLO	Piano, piano, bel soldato, Non guardate la mia sposa.	Softly, softly, Mr. Soldier. I don't chuse any one should examine my wife so near.
CONTE	Vostra sposa?	She your wife?
BARTOLO	Sì, signore.	Yes, sir.
ROSINA	Sposo no, ma mio tutore.	No, no, he is not my husband, he is only my guardian
CONTE	V'ho creduto il suo bisavolo, Il suo nonno, il suo trisavolo...	I took you for her grandfather, I'm sure there is at least three generations between you and her.
BARTOLO	Aspettate io leggerò. *(Tira fuori una carta pecora)* "Noi sottoscritti facciamo fede"	Stay, I shall read it – (*reads a parchment)* "Whereas upon true and faithful report made unto us –"
CONTE	Ehi vada al diavolo ... Cosa m'importa. (*Dà un colpo colla mano, e getta la carta in terra*)	What need have I for all this gibberish. (*knocks it out of his hand*)
BARTOLO	Signor soldato. Che, sono un cavolo? *(adirato)* [...]	– Do you know, sir, who I am? [...]
CONTE	Ecco questo è l'inimico, (*spingendo il Dottore*) Che sta presso a un rivellino; E dall'altra sta l'amico ... (Deh tirate il fazzoletto.) (*piano a Rosina*) Qui ci sta ... (*Rosina tira fuori 'l fazzoletto, ed il Conte lascia cascar la lettera fra loro due.*)	Behold, here is the enemy (*justling the doctor*) who stands by a ravelin; and on this side we are – pull out the handkerchief (*softly to Rosina*). Here there is – (*Rosina pulls out her handkerchief, and the Count drops the letter between her and himself.*)
BARTOLO	Che cosa è questa?	What's this?
CONTE	È una lettera amorosa (*la raccoglie*)	Nothing but a love-letter (*the Count picks it up*)
ROSINA	So cos'è signor soldato.	–
BARTOLO	Date, date.	Give it to me.

CONTE	Dolcemente; S'ella fosse una ricetta, Tocca a voi; ma egli è un biglietto; Tocca a lei.	Not quite so fast, doctor; let every one mind his business: if it were a prescription, it should belong to you, but a love letter belongs to her.
ROSINA	Bene obbligata (*la prende e la mette in una saccoccia*)	(*stretching her hand*). I am very much obliged to you (*puts it in her pocket*)
BARTOLO	Via sortite.	Go about your business, sir.
CONTE	Or partirò.	I go, I go.
ROSINA	(Ah! Chi sa, questo suo foglio Quando leggere potrò!)	(God knows when I shall have an opportunity of reading this letter.)
CONTE	(Ah! Chi sa, Rosina mia, Quando mai ti rivedrò!)	(When shall I see my dear Rosina again!)
BARTOLO	(Qui c'è sotto qualche imbroglio Che ben presto scoprirò!)	There is some mischief brewing, but I shall find it out.)[46]

The stage directions show how dynamic the terzet is: far from merely standing and singing their part, the three singers are constantly in motion as they read, exchange objects, push and scare each other with hands or with weapons. It is therefore not only a beautiful music scene inserted into a theatrical piece, but it perfectly fits the multimedial character of the whole *Ambigu*.

The other terzet is taken from *La principessa di Amalfi*, an opera buffa that was born in Vienna and had its premiere at the Burgtheater on 10 January 1794. The libretto, a dramma giocoso in two acts written by Giovanni Bertati, had already been set to music by Bernardo Porta and performed in Rome. The plot is set in Naples in the Middle Ages.

Princess Erifile is ready to find a husband and has three suitors, each with his own flaws. However, she loves the servant Armidoro, who reciprocates her feelings. The two, however, are hesitant to reveal their love for each other because of the difference in their social status. The happy ending will be ensured by the acknowledgement of Armidoro's noble birth, thus allowing the couple to marry.

46 *Il barbiere di Siviglia. A comic opera in two acts at the King's Theater in the Haymarket. The music by Signor Paisiello* (London: Jackson, 1800), 28–33 (Italian and English text).

La principessa d'Amalfi was Weigl's first great success. Haydn complimented the young composer with the following words: "Not for a long time have I enjoyed any music as much as I did your *La principessa d'Amalfi* yesterday: it is novel in conception, noble, expressive – in short, a masterpiece."[47] *Ambigu*'s program refers to a trio with the princess, Armidoro and a pageboy. Such a trio cannot exist, however, because Armidoro himself is the only character that could be described as a pageboy, and he sings together with the princess only in a duo and in a terzet, the latter with Rosimondo, the old suitor. Our hypothesis is that the program refers to the terzet between the Princess, Armidoro and Rosimondo in the second act, but for some reason the role of Rosimondo was given to a simple servant.

In this terzet, Armidoro reveals to the princess that he loves her, i.e. that he feels a sentiment that would not be permitted to him due to his difference in social class (Armidoro does not yet know that he is of noble origin). The princess reciprocates Armidoro's feeling but cannot reveal it, and therefore does not know how to react, saying that she forgives him and regrets it at the same time. Meanwhile, the importunate presence of Rosimondo (an elderly nobleman who is also in love with the princess), who approaches to hear their conversation but is sent back, makes the conversation between the two lovers even more complicated. Here is the text of the second part of the terzet (II/12):

LA PRINCIPESSA	(Ahime!) Sorgete. Io son del vostro amore dunque l'oggetto?	(Alas!) Arise. Am I the object of your love then?
ARMIDORO	L'accendersi d'amore Colpa non è dell'uom ... Ma, oddio! Già scorgo Dal vostro turbamento Che il mio parlar in voi lo sdegno accresce. Taccio, sì taccio; ed or che tutto ho detto, La mia condanna da quel labbro aspetto.	Kindling of love Is not the fault of man. But, alas, I glimpse from your disturbance That my words increase your rage. I will shut up, yes I will shut up; And now that I revealed everything I await my sentence from your mouth

47 "[...] schon seit langer Zeit habe ich keine Music mit solchem Enthusiast empfunden als Ihre gestriche *La Principessa d'Amalfi*: Sie ist gedankenneu, Erhaben, ausdrucksvoll, kurz – ein Meisterstück." Joseph Haydn. Gesammelte Brief und Aufzeichnungen, hrsg. und erläutert von Dénes Bartha, Kassel u. a. 1965, 301. Rudolph Angermüller, revised by Theresa Hrdlichka-Reichenberger, "Joseph Weigl (ii)," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, https://doi.org/10.1093/omo/9781561592630.013.90000380425.

LA PRINCIPESSA	(Ah perché farmi, o dei, quella ch'io sono!) Seguitate ad amarmi, io vi perdono. Ah, che mai dissi! Da me partite. Errò il mio labbro. Ma no: sentite. (*Rosimondo a poco si avanza*) (Mi perdo, o stelle; mi vo' a scoprir).	(Oh Gods, why making me this way?) You can love me: I forgive you, Ah, what did I say? Leave me. My mouth spoke wrongly. But no, listen. (*Rosimondo comes forward a little*) (I am lost, Gods; I am going to uncover my sentiments).
ARMIDORO	Ah, principessa! Perché pentita? Sì bel perdono mi dà la vita: Il ritirarlo mi fa morir.	Ah, Princess! Why do you repent? Such beautiful pardon gives me life: To withdraw it makes me die.
ROSIMONDO	Avanzo il piede, perché mi pare Che vi disturbi col suo parlare. Se questo fosse lo fo partir.	I advance my foot, because it seems to me That he disturbs you with his speech. If that were the case I would make him leave.
LA PRINCIPESSA	(Più in me non trovo valor bastante: Quest'alma amante già va a languir!)	(I no longer find enough strength in myself: My soul languishes!)
ARMIDORO	(Ah! Fosse vero, pietosi numi Quel che i suoi lumi mi fan capir.)	(Ah! Were it true, merciful gods What her eyes make me understand).
ROSIMONDO	(Questa non parla; quel muto resta; Che istoria è questa! Che mai vuol dir?)	(This one does not speak; that one remains mute; What a story is this! What on earth does it mean?)
A 3	(Un timor panico qua par, che spargasi, Che rende stupido, fa ammutolir.)	(Panic seems to be spreading here, which makes one stupid and dumb.)
ROSIMONDO	Giacché nulla qua si sente, E in silenzio si vuol star, Rispettoso, e riverente, Io mi torno a ritirar. (*s'allontana*)	Since nothing is heard here, And they are silent, I go back to my retreat, Respectful and reverent (*goes away*)
ARMIDORO	Corro a morte disperato Se il mio amor perdon non ha.	I run to my death in despair If my love has no pardon.

LA PRINCIPESSA	No: vivete; e siate grato Del mio cuore alla bontà. (Troppo disse il labbro mio!) Deh! Partite per pietà.	No: live, and be thankful to the goodness of my heart. (My mouth has said too much!) Oh, leave for pity's sake.
ARMIDORO	(Di più, stelle, non desio Per la mia felicità!) (*Rosimondo s'avvicina di nuovo*)	(I desire no more, Gods, For my happiness!) (*Rosimondo approaches again*)
ROSIMONDO	Ho sentito che si parla: Se mi lice resto qua.	I hear there is talk: If it is allowed, I will stay here.
LA PRINCIPESSA	(Che nojoso!)	(How boring!)
ARMIDORO	(Che importuno!)	(How importunate!)
ROSIMONDO	(Non favella più nessuno? Siam da capo in verità.) Principessa? (Torce il naso.) Galantuomo? (Fa l'astratto.) Io rimango stupefatto; Ma una burla, sì, sarà.	(Does no one speak any more? In truth, we are from the beginning.) Princess? (She twists her nose.) Gentleman? (He pretends nothing is going on.) I remain stupefied; But it shall be a joke.
LA PRINCIPESSA	(Non so più dov'io mi sia! Sì confusa è l'alma mia, Che consiglio più non ha!)	(I no longer know where I am! My soul is so confused, that it no longer has any advice!)
ARMIDORO	(Non so più dov'io mi sia? Sì sorpresa è l'alma mia, Che capire ancor non sa.)	(I no longer know where I am! My soul is so surprised, that it still does not know where I am.)
ROSIMONDO	(Io non so che cosa sia! Da commedia è in fede mia Questa scena che si fa.) (*Partono per differenti strade* [...])[48]	(I do not know what it is! This scene that is being played Is in fact a comedy). (*They leave for different roads* [...])[49]

48 *La principessa di Amalfi. Dramma giocoso in due atti. Da rappresentarsi nel Regio Teatro di Praga l'anno 1794* [...] (Prague: Diesbach, 1794), 52–56.

49 Translated by Livio Marcaletti with the help of DeepL Translate.

There are similarities and differences between the two terzets. In both cases there are two young lovers and an older 'third wheel' who is in love with the woman in vain. While in *Il barbiere di Siviglia* the male lover belongs to a higher social class than the woman, and therefore has to hide his real identity (Rosina would first not take seriously a count who falls in love with a simple burgher), in *La principessa di Amalfi* it is the man, Armidoro, who comes from a lower social class and cannot reveal his love for a princess. Armidoro's real identity is also in this case hidden to the woman, but also to himself – he does not know that he is also a nobleman until the final moment of recognition. The behavior of the 'third wheel' is different: Don Bartolo shows defensive-aggressive behavior, while Rosimondo merely meddles in affairs that are not his own, trying to get closer to hear the conversation between the two still undeclared lovers. The terzet from *La principessa d'Amalfi* is not as dynamic as that in *Il barbiere* but still involves some movement: Armidoro kneels and gets up, Rosimondo moves closer and farther away.

The only piece not originally written in Italian is the excerpt from *Die Schweizer-Familie*. Weigl wrote this Singspiel in 1809 for the Kärntnertortheater. Its success was enormous in the whole German speaking world, and it was even performed in Italian translation as *La famiglia svizzera* in Dresden and in Milan. In January 1815, a month before the performance of *Ambigu*, *Die Schweizer-Familie* was performed again at the Kärntnertortheater.[50]

The program in *Ambigu* refers to a piece where Emmeline (the female protagonist) and her lover Jakob (Jacques in the French text of the program) sing together. The only scene of the opera with both of them is in the third act, and it is the most striking and successful scene of the whole work. After Count Wallstein built a fake Swiss village in his property to thank the Swiss farmer Richard Boll and his family, the latter's daughter Emmeline feels terribly lonely as her lover, Jakob, remained in Switzerland. In the original German version, Emmeline expresses her feeling in a melodrama, that is, a spoken monologue interspersed with orchestral interventions:

50 Till Gerritt Waidelich, "'diese in Tönen geschriebene Liebesgeschichte, welche wie keine mehr den Namen einer deutschen Volksoper verdient' – Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte von Joseph Weigls *Schweizer Familie* in Biedermeier und Vormärz," *Schubert: Perspektiven* 2 (2002): 167–232.

EMMELINE (*sehr heiter*)

Die Morgenluft ist so erquickend,
ich bin so fröhlich!

(*sie blickt nach der Seite wo Jacobs Hütte steht.*)

Was seh ich? –

(*sie steht einen Augenblick stumm, und staunt, und nahet sich dann schnell der Hütte.*)

Diese Hütte!

(*sie tritt zitternd wieder zurück, als ob sie fürchtete, ihren Traum zu zernichten.*)

O nein, nein, man hintergeht mich nicht zum zweytenmahl.

(*sieht aufs Neue hin.*)

Aber doch, diese Aehnlichkeit! –
mein Gott, diese Aehnlichkeit!

(*man bemerkt in ihren Mienen, wie ihre Phantasie mit der Vernunft streitet.*)

Meine Augen trügen mich!

(*sie dreht ihren Blick mit Gewalt von der Hütte weg, bedeckt ihre Augen mit beyden Händen, und spricht mit Festigkeit:*)

Ja, ja, es ist gewiß, sie wollen mein Herz irre führen. – O betrügt die arme Emmeline nicht!

(*Musik.*)

Ihr Werk ist dieß Alles, Herr Graf! [...]

Ich vergesse hier sogar auf die Geschäfte, die mir einstsens am liebsten waren.

(*sie kniet sich auf die Erde zu dem Rosenstock, und sucht die Rose an das Stäbchen zu binden.*)

EMMELINE (*very cheerfully*).

The morning air is so refreshing,
I am so happy!

(*She looks to the side where Jacob's hut stands.*)

What do I see?

(*She stands for a moment in silence, marveling, and then quickly approaches the hut.*)

This hut!

(*She steps back again, trembling, as if she feared her dream would be shattered.*)

Oh no, no, I will not be deceived
for the second time.

(*looks again.*)

But yet, this resemblance! –
my God, this resemblance!

(*one notices in her countenance how her imagination contends with reason.*)

My eyes deceive me!

(*She turns her eyes forcibly away from the hut, covers her eyes with both hands, and speaks firmly:*)

Yes, yes, it is certain they want to lead my heart astray. – O do not deceive poor Emmeline!

(*Music.*)

This is all your fault, Count! [...]

I forget here even the business that was once my favorite.

(*She kneels down on the ground by the rosebush and tries to tie the rose to the stick.*)

Ich will meinen Fehler wieder gut machen

(*in dem Augenblicke, als sie die Gießkanne wieder zur Hand nimmt, erklingt der Ton einer Hirtenflöte, in der Hütte Jakobs, und spielt ganz einfach die Melodie des Liedchens, welches später Jacob singt. Emmeline horcht, ein plötzliches fröhliches Erstaunen ergreift alle ihre Sinne, sie läßt die Gießkanne fallen, und horcht kniend nach jener Gegend, woher der Ton kömmt. Hier erscheint der Graf mit Gertruden im Hintergrunde bey Richard. Diese ganze Scene muß bey Emmelinen ein immerwährendes pantomimisches Spiel seyn, welches wechselweise, Erstaunen, Hoffnung, Freude, und alle die Gefühle ausdrückt, welche ihr Herz bey dem Klange dieser ihr bekannten Melodie bestürmen. – Die Flöte schweigt, Emmeline wähnt, sich geirrt zu haben, und will eben wieder die Gießkanne zur Hand nehmen, als die Melodie neuerdings ertönt, nun springt sie auf, läuft gegen die Hütte, hält aber wieder zurück, preßt eine Hand gegen Ihr Herz, die andere an ihre Stirne, und setzt sich ganz ermattet auf eine Bank, den Rücken gegen Jacobs Hütte gekehrt, da schweigt die Flöte wieder, Emmeline wendet sich um, sucht den Ton gleichsam mit den Augen, und singt dann im Ausbruche der höchsten Erschütterung, den Anfang des folgenden Liedchens, in der nähmlichen Melodie, welche die Flöte angegeben hatte.*)[51]

I want to make up for my mistake.

(*at the moment when she picks up the watering can again, the sound of a shepherd's flute is heard in Jacob's hut, playing simply the melody of the little song which Jacob sings later. Emmeline listens, a sudden happy astonishment seizes all her senses, she drops the watering-can, and kneels down to listen to the neighborhood whence the sound comes. Here the Count appears with Gertrude in the background near Richard. This whole scene must be a perpetual pantomime for Emmeline, alternately expressing astonishment, hope, joy, and all the feelings that assail her heart at the sound of this familiar melody. – The flute is silent, Emmeline thinks she has made a mistake, and is just about to pick up the watering can again when the melody starts up again; then she jumps up, runs towards the hut, but stops again, presses one hand against her heart, the other against her forehead, and sits down on a bench, quite exhausted, The flute is silent again, Emmeline turns round, searches for the note with her eyes, as it were, and then, in a burst of the greatest agitation, sings the beginning of the following little song, in the similar melody which the flute had indicated.*)[52]

The 'flute' playing the 'familiar melody' is in fact a clarinet performing a *ranz des vaches*, traditionally played by Swiss herdsmen driving their cattle: it is Jakob himself – the count brought him from Switzerland – who plays, but Emmeline is at first unaware of it. The scene is now described as a 'pantomime' (pantomimisches Spiel) in the libretto. The sudden appearance of diegetic music in the middle of the melodrama, and in a particular form (the

51 *Die Schweizer=Familie. Eine lyrische Oper in drey Aufz*ügen. Frey nach dem Französischen bearbeitet von I. F. Castelli (Vienna: Wallishauser, 1809), 69–71.

52 Translated by Livio Marcaletti.

clarinet plays alone, without any accompaniment of the orchestra) symbolizes the reality of Jakob's presence in contrast to the fake village that the German nobleman created for Emmeline and her family.[53]

According to the studies conducted in the late eighteenth century on the *ranz des vaches*, to which the Swiss philosopher and musician Jean-Jacques Rousseau contributed, these traditional melodies had an incredible power over the souls of the Swiss people, who were suddenly overcome by a terrible nostalgia for their homeland upon hearing them. For this reason, playing these melodies would have been prohibited in the Swiss mercenary armies.[54] The *ranz des vaches* given to the clarinet in *Die Schweizer-Familie* has an unusual characteristic: it is in the minor mode, while traditional melodies use natural overtones and are therefore in the major mode with the fourth degree of the scale slightly raised.[55]

Now, this is the German original text, but we do not know if this was performed in German. Could they have used the Italian translation, given that the other vocal pieces are in Italian as well? They might, but then the scene would not have been a melodrama but an accompanied recitative, as was performed in Dresden and Milan.[56] Although the original German version would have been more 'multimedial' in its mixture of spoken monologue, instrumental music, pantomime and singing in the duet following the melodrama, the Italian 'conventional' version with accompanied recitative and duet would have fit into *Ambigu*. The program of *Ambigu* does not give any hint about the actual performance language, as every title is in French translation, so this question cannot be answered on the basis of the program alone.

The *société d'amateurs* mostly made use of music composed by professional composers at the court such as Weigl. For other pieces, members of the *société* themselves provided music. This is the case with *Les Grands Jours du chateau de *** et Scènes de troubadours en l'an 1148*, a satiric piece with many allusions to French theatrical and operatic works, in particular André-Ernest-Modeste Gretry's *Richard Coeur-de-Lion* (1784).[57] Not only was music provided by court composers (Antonio Salieri, Weigl), but also by one of the singers, Antoni Henryk Radziwiłł. The latter wrote some songs and performed the part of Blondel, one of the protagonists of the piece taken from Gretry's opera. In this piece

53 Thomas Betzwieser, *Sprechen und Singen: Ästhetik und Erscheinungsformen der Dialogoper* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2002), 305–7.
54 Waidelich, "'diese in Tönen geschriebene Liebesgeschichte'," 189–95.
55 Waidelich, "'diese in Tönen geschriebene Liebesgeschichte'," 188.
56 Waidelich, "'diese in Tönen geschriebene Liebesgeschichte'," 219.
57 Marie-Anne Maršálek, *La réinvention du moyen âge sur les scènes lyriques parisiennes entre 1810 et 1830* (Rennes: Université Bretagne Loire, 2016), 120–24.

other performers who took part in *Ambigu* such as Felix and Sophie Woyna, the Countess Apponyi, and Julie Zichy were also present.

Les Grands Jours is a good example of a piece of the same genre as *Ambigu*, because it is also the subject of a chapter in an English novel written in 1835 by a little-known Scottish author, Agnes Crombie Hall (1777–1846), who was mainly active as a translator and used the pseudonym Rosalia St. Clair when writing novels.[58] In the third volume of the novel, Marston describes the aristocratic society of the Congress of Vienna, and in particular there is a description of a typical *fête* with music, prose comedy and 'tableaux vivants'. This is indeed *Les Grands Jours*, although reference is made here to a performance on 27 February 1815 and not to the premiere in December 1814, for the following reason: the aristocrats, who were preparing to execute and attend the performance were suddenly interrupted by the news of Napoleon's escape from Elba, where he was imprisoned, an escape that took place precisely in February 1815. It may be that Hall therefore decides to change the historical reference to the *première* for this literary contrivance. The chapter describes in detail the development of the evening:

> This fête, magnificent as it was, was destined to be effaced from the thoughts of the busy crowd by succeeding triumphs, and tumultuous preparation was made for a fête announced by the Empress, which was to combine amusements calculated to please every taste. It was to begin with romances, which were to have verisimilitude imparted to them by scenic effects. A 'comédie de societé' was to follow, in which the beautiful Countess E. de P—- was to act (la fausse Agnese). Tableaux were to succeed; and the evening was to conclude with a ball [...]
> There was, however, no remedy for the disappointment, and the empress invited the company to pass into the theater, where the 'romances' were to be sung and acted. The curtain, which was not drawn up till all were seated, displayed the following inscription:
>
> LES GRANDS JOURS DU CHATEAU DE ***
> ET
> SCENES DE TROUBADOURS,
> en l'an 1148.
> Spectacle en un acte
> Dedié a sa Majesté, l'Impératrice Elizabeth.
> Representé, pour la première fois, à Vienne, le Lundi 27 Fev.,
> 1815.
>
> [...]

58 Peter Garside, Jacqueline Belanger, Anthony Mandal, and Sharon Ragaz, "The English Novel, 1800–1829 & 1830–1836," *Romantic Textualities. Literature and Print Culture, 1780–1840*, 23 (2020): 263–64. Many thanks to David Gibbons for this reference.

> Soon, however, at a given signal, the lustres in the apartment were raised gently higher and higher, until they were so far removed from their habitual station, as to reflect a very faint light; and at the same moment, while the softest music was executed, and silence reigned in the numerous assembly, the curtain rose slowly before them, and the whole extent of one side of an immense room displayed large picture frames, containing the most perfect imitations of pictures of the first masters; [...]
>
> In one of the corner frames, was the 'Madonna della Sedia', of Raphael. The lady, (Comtesse Julie Zichi), chosen for this picture, was gifted by nature with the most lovely countenance [...].[59]

As can be seen, not only is the polysemic nature of the event accurately described, but the Countess Julie Zichy is also mentioned, who actually appears in the play in the role of the young madam, Armandine. Such accuracy suggests that the author had a copy of the libretto or was able to consult one. Another interesting element that emerges from this description and is not to be found in the program is the use of instrumental music between the different parts of the spectacle, as the reference to the "softest music" playing while the lustres "were raised gently higher and higher" and "the curtain rose slowly" (see aforementioned quote from *Marston*). This example from a now completely forgotten English novel shows how events such as *Ambigu* and *Les grands jours* had a broad resonance even in literary works written in other countries.

Conclusion

While the topic definitely deserves a more extensive investigation, including multimediality in other combinations and across different social contexts, the following conclusion is reached for the time being:

- All the dramatic scenes have this in common: they are inspired by well-known plays, but seem to have been freely elaborated so as to meet the purpose of the *Ambigu* and leave ample room for improvisation.
- The chosen language was French which is not surprising since the *Ambigu* was a court entertainment in an exceptional time and on a highly international level. As we have said before, the Viennese court itself was very much in favor of French, and French was of course the *lingua franca* of all of Europe's nobility at the time.
- As to the contents, all five scenes revolve around ambiguous, not openly declared and often contradictory feelings, anticipated and postponed love,

59 Agnes Crombie Hall, *Marston*, vol. 3 (London: Hookham, 1835), 237–8, 245, 248–50.

envisioned and feared marriage, successful and aborted marriage proposals, hidden and apparent egotism, concealed and ostensible conceit, attempted and rejected seduction, exaggerated and understated self-confidence, etc.

– The aim was no doubt to amuse the audience and it was indisputably achieved. There is, though, one further peculiarity to the *Ambigu* we should not forget: actors and audience were part of the same class and many probably knew each other personally. Additionally, both the actors and the audience were familiar with the plays on which the *Ambigu* was based, which added an element of surprise to the evening: the audience must have been thrilled to see in what way the troupe changed the characters and the stories in order to create the *Ambigu*.

The performance of *Ambigu* was just one of the many highlights of the activities of the *societé d'amateurs* during the Congress of Vienna. The different plays which were performed by high noblemen on 22 February 1815 under the framework title of *Ambigu*, contain many cultural and political references associated with the semantics of this word, in addition to the meaning given by Alfred Noe above in this text. The ambiguity inevitably expressed in this word is, on the one hand, a consistent characteristic of the libretti's content; on the other hand, *ambigu* alludes to a certain extent to the more than uncertain feelings about the political future in Europe at the beginning of 1815. *Ambigu* did not therefore have to explicitly address questions of sovereignty or the restoration of political rule at the Congress of Vienna; rather, the anti-Napoleonic, closely networked *société des princes* gathered at the Viennese court made their aims clear under the keyword *ambigu*, above all with a variety of subtle but all the more effective cultural references.

The question of *Ambigu*'s innovative potential in relation to multimedia practices in the early nineteenth century is not an easy one to answer as it involves questions of art and content as well as those relating to the Congress of Vienna as a corresponding socio-cultural framework. As far as the latter point is concerned, *Ambigu* may well occupy an exceptional position which is related to the fact that the political occasion, the location of the event, the performers, and *Ambigu* itself as a central referential concept suggest a comprehensive program that underpins the performance with a finely thought-out anti-Napoleonic objective. However, this is not carried out by means of superficial and tendentious propaganda, but by presenting a broad cultural panorama of *libretti* and music with a European orientation in the best sense of the word, which also ideally corresponds to the performing European aristocratic families, the *société des princes*.

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Staging an Effective Revolution: *Lodoïska* in Habsburg Europe

Kirby Haugland

Luigi Cherubini's *Lodoïska* was among his most popular operas exported to German-speaking Central Europe, traveling throughout the network of theaters as far east as Lemberg (modern Lviv) and Pest. The opera transplants themes of the French Revolution to seventeenth-century Poland, culminating in the destruction of a tyrant's Bastille-like fortress. While many of the politically suggestive elements were removed in translations, the work still posed challenges regarding costuming characters and staging the finale's collapsing castle, in addition to the task of performing Cherubini's difficult music. In this chapter I use reviews, staging descriptions, stage designs, published illustrations, and production receipts to compare how theaters across the late Holy Roman Empire and its successor states met these challenges.

Lodoïska's spread among theater repertoires took place during a transformative period for opera and staging, as reformers debated issues such as stylistic synthesis, national identity, and historical accuracy, and theaters began drawing on new technologies. Connections between these developments, transnational distribution of operas, and changes in style form a major body of musicological scholarship. This chapter adds to such conversations with an interdisciplinary approach, drawing together considerations of musical adaptation, stage production, and cosmopolitan representation during the Napoleonic Era and early *Vormärz.*

Visual spectacle was important to both successes and failures of *Lodoïska* from its earliest appearances on German-language stages at the end of the 1790s. The opera created enduring images that regularly figured into reviewers' comments and took on new lives as published illustrations and 'tableaux vivants'. In the wake of the partitions of Poland, the recent Austro-Turkish war, and the series of coalition wars, these images held potential for complicated overlapping meanings to audiences across the Habsburg Empire. By analyzing these implications and the technical issues lying behind them, I enrich our understanding of *Lodoïska*'s reception and point to wider connections between opera staging and audience experiences in the early nineteenth century.

Luigi Cherubini's 1791 *comédie-héroïque Lodoïska* was among its composer's most popular operas exported from Paris to Central Europe. While the early coalition wars of the 1790s delayed its arrival, it eventually traveled the well-developed network of theaters across the continent. Based on an episode within Jean-Baptise Louvet de Couvray's 1787 libertine novel *Une Année de la vie du chevalier de Faublas* and set in seventeenth-century Poland, *Lodoïska* resonates with themes of the French revolution, culminating in the destruction of a petty tyrant's Bastille-like castle.[1] While many of its politically suggestive elements disappeared in translations, the opera still posed challenges of costuming and staging, let alone the performance of Cherubini's difficult music.

Lodoïska's adoption into Central European repertoires took place during a transformative period for the theater. Reformers debated stylistic synthesis, national identity, and historical accuracy. While theater stages were still defined by sliding wing systems, stage painters and machinists drew increasingly on practical sets and new technologies like the smokeless Argand lamp.[2] Visual spectacle was important to both successes and failures of *Lodoïska* from its earliest appearances at German-language theaters. The opera created enduring images that figured into reviewers' comments and took on new lives as published illustrations and 'tableaux vivants'. In the wake of the partitions of Poland, the Austro-Turkish Wars, and the wars with Republican and Imperial France, these images conveyed complicated overlapping meanings to Central European audiences. In this chapter, I compare how theaters across the late Holy Roman Empire and its successor states met the challenge of producing *Lodoïska*'s spectacle. Depictions from Vienna and descriptions across the empire suggest what audiences experienced, while surviving receipts from

1 Jean-Baptise Louvet de Couvray, *Une Année de la vie du chevalier de Faublas,* 5 vols. (London and Paris: Chez l'auteur et chez les Marchands de Nouveautés, 1787), 2:1–61, 3:82–111. The Lodoïska episode does not directly involve Faublas but is part of several extended narrations by the elderly M. Duportail (Lovzinski) recounting his own life story. Early editions of the text in German include Nicolaus Peter Stampeel, *Lodoïska: Eine polnische Novelle* (Frankfurt am Main: August Hermann d.J., 1801), and *Die Abentheuer des jungen Faublas*, trans. Philipp Christoph Weyland, introduction by August von Kotzebue (Leipzig, Paul Gotthelf Kummer, 1804). An English translation appears in Jean-Baptiste Louvet de Couvray, *The Amours of the Chevalier de Faublas: Newly and Faithfully Translated from the Paris Edition of 1821*, vol. 1, trans. G.C. (London: Benbow, 1822), 70–95, 165–77. On the contemporary resonance of Cherubini's opera, see Sarah Hibberd, "Cherubini and the Revolutionary Sublime," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 24, no. 3 (2012): 293–318; and William Pencak, "Cherubini Stages a Revolution," *The Opera Quarterly* 8, no. 1 (Spring 1991): 8–27.

2 For an introduction to stage production in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, see Evan Baker, *From the Score to the Stage: An Illustrated History of Continental Opera Production and Staging* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 44–115.

Leipzig offer a tantalizing look into the making of decorations and machinery. The example of *Lodoïska* illustrates important connections between art and crafts in opera production, and the simultaneous connections between staging and audiences' experience.

Lodoïska's journey to central Europe

Lodoïska premiered on 18 July 1791 at Paris's new Théâtre de la Rue Feydeau with a libretto from Claude-François Fillette-Loraux.[3] Its star performers Julie-Angélique Scio and Pierre Gaveaux later created the roles of Medea and Jason for Cherubini's *Medée* (1797) as well as Léonore and Florestan for Gaveaux's own *Léonore ou L'amour conjugal* (1798). Only two weeks after the Feydeau premiere, a competing *Lodoïska* by Jean-Élie Bédéno de Jaur[e] and Rodolphe Kreutzer appeared at the nearby Comédie-Italienne. Both operas were successful with audiences and the press. Consensus among Parisian reviewers pointed to the superiority of Cherubini's music, as well as the Feydeau's decorations by Ignazio Degotti and its special effects from *Machiniste* Boulet, whose first name is unknown.[4] In contrast, Fillette-Loraux's libretto was considered ponderous and dull when compared to de Jaure's text for Kreutzer. Nearly every publication discussed the astonishing inferno of *Lodoïska*'s finale, and the *Mercure universel* reported that Machinist Boulet was even given a curtain-call at the premiere.[5]

Differences in emphasis on text and music may have affected the two operas' transmission into Central Europe. French companies in cities such as Cologne, Hamburg, and Kassel preferred the Kreutzer, while Cherubini's

3 Claude-François Fillette-Loraux, *Lodoïska: Comédie Héroïque, en trois actes, mêlée de chant* (Paris: Huet, [1791]); Luigi Cherubini, *Lodoïska: Comédie héroïque en trois actes* (Paris: Naderman, 1791).

4 On Degotti at the Feydeau, see Elisa Cazzato, "Ignazio Degotti Staging Luigi Cherubini: Making Visual Culture at the Theatre Feydeau," in *Luigi Cherubini: Il teatro musicale*, ed. Maria Teresa Arfini, Francesca Menchelli-Buttini, and Emilia Pantini (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2020), 225–42. Most of Boulet's career was spent at the Opéra, although in his time at the Feydeau he also produced the magnificent avalanche for Cherubini's *Eliza, ou Le voyage aux glaciers du Mont St. Bernard*. He survived being taken before the Revolutionary Tribunal in November 1793, months into the Reign of Terror, and published a book on stage machinery just after the turn of the century: Citoyen [first name unknown] Boullet [sic], *Essai sur l'art de construire les théâtres, leurs machines et leurs mouvemens* (Paris: Chez Ballard, 1801).

5 For a selection of the many reviews, see "Spectacles: Theatre de la rue Feydeau," *Mercure universel* July 19,1791, 302–3; "Théatre de la Rue Feydeau, ci-devant de monsieur: Premiere representation de Lodoïska, lundi 18," *Feuille du jour*, July 20, 1791 158–59; "Spectacles: Théatre Italien," *Mercure universel,* August 2, 1791, 31; "Théâtre italien," *Le Journal de Paris*, August 3, 1791, 687–88; "Théatre italien," *Gazette national ou le Moniteur universel,* August 5, 1791, 898; "4. Paris. Théatre de la rue Feydeau, ce – devant théatre de Monsieur." *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* 2, no. 17, 1792, 133.

version was widely adopted by German-language companies.[6] Wojciech Bogusławski even translated it into Polish, producing it alongside Cherubini's *Les deux journées* at the National Theater in Warsaw in 1804. While *Les deux journées* was repeated a number of times, *Lodoïska* only seems to have been performed once; nevertheless, it is remarkable that Prussian censors allowed the opera to be performed at all given its Polish subject and revolutionary origin.[7] The first German-language performance took place at Berlin's National-Theater in May 1797 translated by local librettist Carl Alexander Herklots. Prussia and its neighbors had withdrawn from war with France over the prior two years, resulting in nearly a decade of peace and loosened restrictions. Herklots' translation quickly made its way to Hamburg, and by September 1797, Heinrich Gottlieb Schmieder had produced a competing translation for Frankfurt am Main.[8] Performances across the northern German states proliferated in the following years.

Cherubini's opera came to Vienna on 23 March 1802, a year after the Treaty of Lunéville established peaceful relations between Austria and France. It was part of the first season of the Theater an der Wien, which opened the previous June. With twenty-nine performances between March and December, *Lodöiska* was the most seen opera during these months and kicked off a local

6 For a partial list of premieres, see Alfred Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera 1597–1940*, 3rd ed., intr., Edward J. Dent (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1978), 490–91. For a list of published German libretti and aria books for *Lodoïska*, see Herbert Schneider, "Die deutschen Übersetzungen französischer Opern zwischen 1780 und 1820: Verlauf und Probleme eines transfer-Zyklus," in *Kulturtransfer im Epochenumbruch: Frankreich – Deutschland 1770 bis 1815*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, Rolf Reichardt, Annette Keilhauer, and René Nohr (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 1997), 658.

7 See Maurycy Karasowski, *Rys historyczny opery polskiej poprzedzony szczegółowym pogądem na dzieje muzyki dramatycznéj powszechnej* (Warsaw: Michał Glücksberg, 1859), 274, 355. A later article in the Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* [hereafter *AmZ*] on opera in Poland attributed the "far smaller impression" (weit weniger Eindruck) left by *Lodoïska* compared to *Les deux journées* by claiming that the older opera was "too learned, too unpleasant, too unmelodic, and much too difficult" (zu gelehrt, zu ungefällig, zu unmelodisch, und viel zu schwierig); "Die Oper der Polen," *AmZ* 14, no. 20, May 13, 1812, 330. On Cherubini's music in Poland, see Magdalena Dziadek, "Luigi Cherubini and His Music in the Polish Musical Life of the 19th Century," *Cherubiniana* 4/5 (2016/2017): 51–57.

8 Neither translation was published in full, appearing only in the form of aria books. See [Herklots], *Gesänge aus dem Singspiele: Lodoïska, in drey Aufzügen, nach dem Französischen des Fillette Loraux* (Hamburg: Rabe und Freystatzky Witwe, 1797) and [Schmieder], *Arien und Gesänge aus Lodowiska: eine Oper in drey Aufzügen, nach dem Französischen frey bearbeitet von Doktor Schmieder* (Frankfurt am Main, 1797). A very free adaptation of the story for spoken theater – apparently also by Schmieder – appeared in one of Schmieder's literary magazines, although it is unclear if it was ever performed: "Lodoïska, nach dem Französischen," *Journal für Theater und andere schöne Künste* 3, no. 2, [July?] 1797, 125–45; 4, no. 2, [December?] 1797, 126–48.

Cherubini craze.[9] Cherubini's later operas *Les deux journées, Medée*, *Eliza*, and *L'hôtellerie portugaise* all soon appeared at the Theater an der Wien, the Kärntnertortheater, or both, with *Les deux journées* proving the most successful of all. Theater administrator Baron Peter von Braun invited the composer to visit Vienna.[10] When he finally arrived in 1805, Cherubini led several performances of his operas, including *Lodoïska*, for which he composed new entr'actes and an aria.[11] He also composed a new Polish-themed opera, *Faniska*, although the French invasion delayed its premiere at the Kärntnertortheater until February 1806.[12] The court theaters did not produce *Lodoïska* itself until 24 January 1814. A preserved theater poster from the second performance advertises the *Original-Partitur*, although the surviving score includes many of the cuts and changes previously adopted by the Theater an der Wien.[13] The cast included Anna Milder as Lodoïska and Johann Michael Vogl as the villainous Count Dourlinski. The pair would play Leonore and Pizarro in Beethoven's newly revised *Fidelio* only a few months later. By the end of the 1810s, Cherubini's opera had proliferated across the German states and into cities of the eastern Habsburg domains, including Graz, Pressburg (Bratislava), Lemberg (Lviv),

9 *Vollständiges Verzeichniß der im k.k. priv. neuerbauten Theater an der Wien aufgeführten Schauspielen und Opern von dem Tage der ersten Vorstellung den 13. Juny 1801, bis den letzten Dezember 1802* (Vienna, 1803), 28, 56. The company used another new translation, which appeared in two different printed versions: *Lodoïska: eine heroische Oper in drey Aufzügen... Aufgeführt in dem k. k. priv. Theater an der Wien unter der Direktion des Herrn Emanuel Schikaneder* (Vienna: Matthias Schmidt, 1802); *Lodoïska: eine heroische Oper in drey Aufzügen... Aufgeführt in dem k. k. priv. Theater an der Wien* (Vienna: Schönfeld, 1802). The Viennese translation converted several spoken scenes into recitative, renamed the character Varbel Narko, and described Titzikan not as a Tartar but as "ein Bojar" leading "Moldauern." The Schönfeld edition of the libretto is shorter, trimming or entirely removing several numbers, particularly those involving the villain Dourlinski.

10 Stephen Charles Willis, "Luigi Cherubini: A Study of His Life and Dramatic Music, 1795–1815" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1975), 179–80.

11 "Nachrichten: Wien, den 9ten September," *AmZ* 7, no. 51, September 18, 1805, 810–12. The autographs of these additions (as well as a new aria for Floreski from 1817), were donated by Cherubini's heirs to the Prussian State Library in 1878, where they remain as Mus.ms.autogr. Cherubini, L. 135, 136, and 193, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

12 Willis, "Luigi Cherubini," 203–4. On the premiere of *Faniska*, see "Nachrichten: Wien, den 26sten Februar," *AmZ* 8, no. 24, 12 March 12, 1806, 376–77. For Cherubini's entire trip to Vienna, see Willis, "Luigi Cherubini," 169–217.

13 Theater poster for the second performance, 25 January 1814, in *Theaterzettel der beiden k.k. Hoftheater und des k.k. priv. Theaters an der Wien und ihrer Nachfolgerinstitutionen* (tit. fict.), ANNO Historische österreichische Zeitungen und Zeitschriften, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, https://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=wtz&datum=18140125, accessed 1 Apr. 2024. The Kärntnertor materials include a score with text in 5 volumes, KT.265/1, Kärntnertor-Theater Wien – Archiv, Musiksammlung, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (hereafter A-Wn); and incomplete set of parts, KT.265/6/1-2; Kärntnertor-Theater Wien – Archiv, A-Wn. A score in 3 volumes is preserved from the Theater an der Wien: Mus.Hs.25049/1-3, Theater an der Wien – Musikarchiv, A-Wn.

Brünn (Brno) and Pest, where it became a staple at the enormous new theater opened in 1812.[14]

An opera of drama and spectacle

Like many of its French operatic contemporaries, Fillette-Loraux's *Lodoïska* libretto articulates revolutionary values though a story set in a distant time and place. Written during the period of constitutional monarchy, before the execution of the French royal family, the opera retains a noble hero, although victory only comes through collective action. The opera's Polish setting emphasized the thematic connection. When *Lodoïska* premiered in 1791, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had already suffered the first partition by the rulers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria. The Polish parliament had recently ratified a new constitution, which would prompt the Russian invasion culminating in the second partition.[15] By the time *Lodoïska* appeared in German, a failed uprising had resulted in a third partition, which completely absorbed Poland into the surrounding empires.[16]

The opera's story begins with a group of honorable, nomadic Tartar warriors planning to defeat Dourlinski (who is only a baron in the French text). They encounter the Polish nobleman Floreski and his servant Varbel on the search for Lodoïska, whose father exiled her following a dispute with Floreski over candidates in the Polish royal election. Floreski defeats the Tartar

14 Loewenberg gives a premiere date of 1803 for Pest, although this seems unlikely given the capabilities of the old Rondelle theater. The date may be a typo for 1813, when Antonia Campi visited from Vienna and performed at the new theater; "Nachrichten von fremden Bühnen: Pesth: In Bezug auf die Gastrollen der Madame Campi," *Theater-Zeitung* 6, no. 113, September 21, 1813, 441–42. At least eleven subsequent press stories on *Lodoïska* in Pest through 1820 attest to the opera's enduring popularity. On early performances in other cities, see "Nachrichten: Lemberg. Ende Juny," *AmZ* 16, no. 32, August 10, 1814, 534–36; "Theater: Grätz," *Der Aufmerksame*, May 16, 1812; "Nachrichten vom Theater in Preßburg," *Wiener allgemeine Theaterzeitung*, 6 November 6, 1817, 531; Heinrich Schmidt "Correspondenz-Nachrichten: Brünn (Antikritik) Beschluß)," *Theater-Zeitung* 9, no. 14, Febuary 17, 1816, 54. The opera was also probably performed at the Prague Estates theater in 1809: the censorship office approved the libretto and granted permission to perform in March, although there is no documentation of the opera appearing onstage. See Frank Ziegler, "Deutschsprachiges Musiktheater-Repertoire des Prager Ständetheaters von 1807 bis Ostern 1813," Complete Works of Carl Maria von Weber. Digital Edition, last modified July 1, 2024, https://weber-gesamtausgabe.de/A090270.

15 Among other provisions, this constitution would have established a hereditary monarchy under Saxon Elector Frederick Augustus III after the death of Polish King Stanisław August Poniatowski. Poniatowski had been elected following the Seven Years' War and the deaths of Elector-King Augustus III and his successor Frederick Christian. See Jerzy Lukowski, *The Partitions of Poland: 1772, 1793, 1795* (London: Longman, 1999), 138–41.

16 Lukowski, *Partitions of Poland*, 163–79.

leader Titzikan in combat but spares his life, winning the Tartars' future assistance. Continuing to the castle, the pair find a message from the imprisoned Lodoïska, who has repeatedly refused Dourlinski's marriage proposals. Floreski and Varbel trick their way into the castle but are eventually found out and captured. Dourlinski's attempts to use Floreski's life as a bargaining chip are interrupted by the sounds of cannons as the Tartars attack the fortress. In a brief combat melodrama, the Tartars free Floreski and lend him a sword. A thrilling battle symphony accompanies the resumption of fighting and the outbreak of fire in the castle. Although Floreski releases Lodoïska from her tower cell, it succumbs to the flames, and the pair fall into the arms of the Tartars. Titzikan condemns Dourlinsky as the Tartars finish destroying the castle and the couple sing of their salvation.

This story provides many opportunities for sonic and visual spectacle. Fillette-Loraux's printed libretto and Cherubini's published score include detailed descriptions of the settings. These are reproduced in Table 1. Act 1 is set in the forest outside Dourlinsky's castle, with a tower and drawbridge both essential to the action. In Act 2, the action moves inside the castle, into an ancient, ornate gallery. Fillett-Loreaux conveys Dourlinsky's megalomaniacal villainy through the gallery's décor, which includes martial reliefs on the walls and a central equestrian statue. Such statues had proliferated during the Renaissance and Early Modern eras as rulers and military leaders sought to compare themselves to ancient Roman emperors. Parisians in 1791 would have been familiar with four such statues depicting French kings in local squares, all of which would be destroyed within a few years.[17] In addition to the symbolic aspects of the gallery, the setting requires multiple portals for characters to enter and leave by over the course of the action. During the Tartar attack, the stage opens to display the wider castle battlements, with machinery to produce collapsing fortifications as well as fire all over. The sounds of horns, trumpets, and piccolo, cascading *tirades*, and martial fanfares evoke the violent on-stage action, which takes place as pantomime, without any sung or spoken text.[18]

17 On the four equestrian statues – of Henry IV, Louis XIII, Louis XIV, and Louis XV – as well as their destruction, see Andrew McClellan, "The Life and Death of a Royal Monument: Bouchardon's Louis XV," *Oxford Art Journal* 23, no. 2 (2000): 1–27.

18 Cherubini, *Lodoïska*, 382–426, 428–34.

Table 1: Descriptions of action and setting from Fillette-Loraux's *Lodoïska* Libretto.[19]

French Text	English Translation
Act 1, Scene 1 Le théâtre représente une forêt. On voit au fond un château antique, en avant une tour très-élevée et très-saillante, des fossés, un pont-levis; on apperçoit au haut de la tour une lucarne défendue par une petite grille de fer; la scène, à droite et à gauche, est occupée par des arbres et des rochers.	The theater represents a forest. In the background we see an ancient castle, in front a tall protruding tower, the moat, a drawbridge. At the top of the tower, we see a skylight guarded by a small iron grating. To the right and left, the stage is filled with trees and rocks.
Act 2, Scene 1 Le théâtre représente une galerie antique, très-profonde, extrêmement riche d'architecture, ornée de bas-reliefs et attributs militaires, deux portes en arcades à droite et à gauche; l'une (à gauche) conduisant à la salle des gardes, et l'autre (à droite) menant à la forteresse; dans le milieu de la galerie, est une statue équestre, dont le sujet et les figures annoncent la tyrannie du maître. Une table et un fauteuil sont au bord de l'avant-scène.	The theater represents an ancient gallery, very deep and extremely rich architecturally, decorated with low reliefs and military symbols. Two arched doors to right and left: the one to the left leading to the guard-room, and the other to the right leading to the fortress. In the center of the gallery is an equestrian statue, whose subject and characteristics signal the master's tyranny. A table and an armchair are set near the edge of the stage.
Act 3, Scene 1 Même decoration	Same setting
Act 3, Scene 6 Les portes de la galerie sont renversées; on apperçoit une horde de Tartares; Titzikan est à l'ur téte. Les gardes polonaises se sauvent.	The doors of the gallery are knocked down; we see a horde of Tartars, Titzikan is at its head. The Polish guards flee.
Act 3, Scene 7 Le fond de la galerie écroule et laisse voir à découvert le reste des fortifications, différentes tours, des ponts qui y communiquent; le tout paraît en feu; l'incendie fait un très-grand ravage; à l'instant le théâtre est rempli de combattans, Tartares contre Polonais; sur des remparts on voit aussi d'autres combattans Polonais qui repoussent les Tartares; ce moment doit être le plus vif du combat; l'incendie ausii doit augmenter:	The rear of the gallery collapses and reveals the remains of the fortifications, various towers, [and] the bridges that connect them. Everything seems on fire. The blaze causes great destruction. The stage is instantly filled with combatants, Tartars versus Poles. On the ramparts we can also see other Poles fighting back the Tartars; this moment is the climax of the combat, as the blaze continues to grow.

19 Fillette-Loraux, *Lodoïska*, 35, 75, 84–86, 88. All translations by the author.

French Text	English Translation
au milieu de ce désordre, le feu se communique à la tour où est enfermée Lodoiska; une partie de cette tour croule; Lodoiska au milieu des flammes est prête à en devenir la victime, lorsque Floreski, au sommet de la forteresse, traverse un pont qui communique à la prison de sa maîtresse; il vole auprès d'elle, la saisit et veut repasser avec elle par le même pont sur lequel il est venu; mais à l'instant le feu coupe le pont, et les deux amans tombent dans les bras des Tartares: Varbel, qui était également enfermé dans une tourelle, saute sur le théâtre par la brèche que l'incendie y a faite, et vole au secours de son maître: Titzikan et quelques Tartares portent Lodoiska évanouïe au bord de l'avant-scène, et Varbel apporte aussi dans ses bras Floreski sur l'autre côté de l'avant-scene. Dourlinski furieux, sort de la, mêlée un poignard à la main, et vient pour en frapper Floreski; Titzikan s'en apperçoit, quitte Lodoiska, traverse le théâtre et vient arracher le poignard des mains du tyran, tandis que Varbel, un genouil en terre, pare du bras le coup prêt à être porté par Dourlinski; des Tartares se jettent sur Dourlinski et Altamoras, et les enchaînent. L'incendie augmente toujours.	Amid this disorder, the fire spreads to the tower where Lodoïska is imprisoned. A part of the tower crumbles. Lodoïska in the middle of the flames is ready to be their victim, when Floreski, at the top of the fortress, crosses a bridge connecting to his mistress's prison. He flies to her, grabs her, and wants to go back the way he came. But at that moment fire hits the bridge and cuts it off, and the two lovers fall into the arms of the Tartars. Varbel, also imprisoned in a tower, jumps to the stage via a hole that the fire created and flies to his master's aid. Titzikan and some tartars carry the unconscious Lodoïska to the front of the stage, while Varbel also brings Floreski to the other side. A furious Dourlinski emerges from the fray, dagger in hand, and comes over to strike Floreski with it. Titzikan notices this and leaves Lodoïska, crossing the stage and snatching the dagger from the tyrant's hands. Varbel meanwhile, with one knee on the ground, parries Dourlinski's blow with his arm. Tartars thrown themselves atop Dourlinski and Altamoras. The fire continues to grow.
Act 3, Finale [Scene 8] Sur le mot ciel! la mine fait sauter le reste de la forteresse.	On the word "heaven!" explosives blow up the rest of the fortress.

Staging *Lodoïska* in Vienna

The settings of *Lodoïska* and particularly the opera's dramatic final sequence made it a perfect showpiece for theaters across Europe. They were described by reviewers and depicted in frontispieces, illustrations, and collections of stage designs.[20] On at least one occasion, the opera's climax was even presented as a 'tableau-vivant', the conclusion of a grand *Pot-pourri* at the Josephstädter-Theater in 1824.[21] Preserved copies of Ignazio Degotti's designs for the decorations at the Theater Feydeau demonstrate that the original sets matched the libretto's descriptions.[22] Printed sources give us an idea of what the scene may have looked like in other places, including Vienna's Theater an der Wien and Theater am Kärntertor.

One such image inspired by the Theater an der Wien's 1802 production appeared in Joachim Perinet's *Wiener Theater-Almanach*, one of twelve *Monatskupfer* illustrating recent Viennese theater performances.[23] At the rear of the *Lodoïska* image, reproduced as Illustration 1, we see Floreski and Lodoïska jumping into the outstretched arms of several Tartars. The bridge from which they jumped is itself collapsing amid the flames. In the foreground, Durlinsky cowers before the luxuriantly costumed Titzikan.

20 Two remarkable illustrations of the London pasticcio version appear as frontispieces in Steven Storace et al, *Songs in Lodoïska; a Musical Romance, in Three Acts*, 2nd ed. (London: C. Lowndes, [1794?]), [ii]; and *Kemmish's Annual Harmonist; and Whim of the Night…* (Southwark: W. Kemmish, 1795), [i].

21 "Grosses Tableau, den Schluss-moment aus *Lodoïska* die Zerstörung von Durlinskys Veste darstellend," L. "Nachrichten: Wien. Musikalisches Tagebuch vom Monat Februar," *AmZ* 26, no. 12, March 18, 1824, 185–86.

22 Ignazio Degotti(?), *Lodoïska: esquisse de décor pour le 1er acte* [Sketch for the Decoration for Act 1] (1791), BMO ESQ 19-235, Département Bibliothèque-musée de l'opéra, Bibliothèque nationale de France (hereafter F-Pn); https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b70010733; François Verly after Ignazio Degotti, *Lodoïska: esquisse d'après le décor du deuxième acte* [Two Sketches for the Decoration for Act 2] (1791), BMO ESQUISSES ANCIENNES-7 (2) and (3), F-Pn, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b7002044p; https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b70020453. The images are also reproduced in Cazzato, "Ignazio Degotti Staging Luigi Cherubini," 238–40.

23 The collection also includes scenes from Heinrich Joseph von Collin's *Regulus*, August von Kotzebue's *Octavia* and *Johanna von Montfauçon*, and a portrait of the Queen of the Night from the ever-popular *Die Zauberflöte.*



Illustration 1: Final tableau from *Lodoïska* as depicted in Joachim Perinet, *Wiener Theater-Almanach auf das Jahr 1803* (Vienna: Joseph Riedl, 1803), [Plate 10]; Sig. 620049-A, Österreichische Theatermuseum, Vienna.

While it is unclear how accurately this image reflects the Theater an der Wien's stage, it aligns closely with Fillette-Loraux's descriptions, which were translated faithfully in the printed Viennese libretto.[24] The only significant changes from the Paris staging were the addition of a new tower setting (*Das Innere eines Thurmes*) for Act 3's opening, and the transition to the final setting via a straightforward *Verwandlung* or movement of the wing-flats rather than a collapsing wall.[25] The changes work together and would have offered savings on machinery and labor that could be applied to the subsequent inferno.

The coordination of effects, action, and music was also eased by a large cut in the music of the finale, with a short passage of replacement dialog before

24 *Lodoïska... Wien* (Schönfeld), 63–64.
25 *Lodoïska... Wien* (Schönfeld), 28, 55.

the resumption of music at the final chorus.[26] Such practical alterations to the sequence were not unique to the Theater an der Wien. The score from the Kärntnertortheater includes an identical cut, seen in Illustration 2, with an added fermata to stop the orchestra and the inserted dialog "Put this villain in chains" (Legt diesen Bösewicht in Ketten) written in red pencil.[27] A comparable score used by Carl Maria von Weber at the Dresden Hoftheater in 1817 likewise includes such a cut. The Dresden score also includes repeat signs added to the previous instrumental battle music, suggesting that the orchestra would vamp if the performers and stagehands needed more time to complete the necessary action.[28]



Illustration 2. Beginning of cut in Act 3 Finale in *Lodoïska* score from the Kärntertortheater. Sig. KT.265/5, fol. 74r, Kärntnertor-Theater Wien – Archiv, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

26 Mus.Hs.25049/3, 543–67, A-Wn. The cut material includes Dourlinski's capture by Titzikan, a tender sequence between the lovers, and a trio where they are joined by Titzikan. Compare Cherubini, *Lodoïska*, 401–26.

27 A penciled asterisk on fol. 94v marks the resumption of music at the same point as in the Theater an der Wien version. The score includes several other cuts to the finale, including the quiet instrumental coda (fol. 104r–105r), resulting in a more rousing conclusion.

28 Mus. 4011-F-504 (2 vols), 2:65–66, Opernarchiv, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (hereafter D-Dl).

Managing this sequence on any stage was thus a complicated affair. This is not to say that the effects were not outstanding. Both the collapsing bridge and the riot of flames in Perinet's illustration may be more realistic than we might first imagine. Emmanuel Schikaneder and his financial partner Bartholomäus Zitterbarth had built the vast new Theater an der Wien with spectacle in mind. The back of its stage could be extended to a depth of 23.5 meters – almost the size of the huge Milanese Teatro alla Scala built under Maria Theresa in the 1770s.[29] This provided plenty of space for decorations and performers. A correspondent for the *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* reviewing the opening production described the theater as "sumptuous and beautiful" (kostspielig und schön) and the stage as a feast for the eyes (Augenweide, literately "eye pasture"), although the repertoire would not satisfy a discerning taste.[30] The *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* provided a more positive interpretation, emphasizing the theater's high-quality stage machinery and special effects. In one article written in August 1802, the author commented on the theater's successful appeal to audiences. Among other things, he declares that:

> transformations and magic tricks make the earth swallow the actors or carry them off into the air – terrible thunder, stormy seas, in a word: the whole empire of machines to make all the elements rage and stir. No other local theater demonstrates such things with the same perfection. One of many examples is the last setting in *Die Zauberflöte*, where a sea of fire and pillars of fire, steam, and smoke rise against the clouds, transforming in an instant into foaming waves and a tumbling torrent, producing a great effect.[31]

With its longstanding popularity and its ties to Schikaneder, *Die Zauberflöte* was an apt example to illustrate the new theater's capabilities, including the flashy effects that also graced *Lodoïska*.

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29 Gregory J. Dykhouse, "Popular Theatre in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Vienna: Stage Characters and Performance Sites," 2 vols. (PhD diss., Louisiana State University, 1995), 1:185; Pompeo Cambiasi, *La Scala, 1778–1906: Note storiche e statistiche*, 5th ed. (Milan: G. Ricordi, 1906), xxi.

30 "IV Wiener Kunstnachrichten. Vierter Brief. *Ifflands* letzte Gastrollen. Alexander in *Schikaneders* neuen Theater. *Stadler*. Das Panorama. Die Fürstl. Lichtensteinische Gemäldegalerie." *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* 16, no. 10, October 1801, 542–43.

31 "Verwandlungen und Zaubereyen, denen zu folge die handelnden Personen von der Erde verschlungen, oder durch die Luft entführt warden – schreckende Gewitter, stürmende Meere, mit einem Worte: das ganze Reich der Maschinen, wobey alle Elemente toben und in Aufruhr sind u. dgl. zeiget kein hiesiges Theater in gleicher Vollkommenheit. So ist unter vielen andern z. B. die lezte Dekoration in der Zauberflöte, wo ein Feuermeer, und eine gegen die Wolken aufsteigende Flammen- Damf- und Rauchsäule, sich in schäumende Wellen, und einen mit Ungestüm sich in dieselben herabstürzenden Strom augenblicklich verwandelt, von grosser Würkung." "Nachrichten: Briefe über die deutsche Oper in Wien: Erster Brief (Ende des Augusts)," *AmZ* 5, no. 2, October 6, 1802, 26–27.

The state of stage pyrotechnics at the time is attested by treatises published in both France and the German states.[32] These books were sometimes written by artillerymen, who divided their texts into sections on explosives for entertainment (Lustfeuer, literally "pleasure fire") and explosives for the battlefield (Ernstfeuer, literally "serious fire").[33] As John Rice has noted, theatrical pyrotechnics were a well-developed art form by the turn of the nineteenth century.[34] *Lodoïska* served as a touchstone example for fabricating and using these effects in Claude Ruggieri's 1802 book on the subject. Ruggieri specifically praised the work of Machinist Boulet, including his fiery effects for the Feydeau *Lodoïska* in 1791. These included the common "Flammes de Bengale" (Flames of Bengal), made from saltpeter, sulfur, and antimony, as well as a new "Pluie de feu pour incendie" (Rain of fire for the inferno), made from a more complex mixture specifically for *Lodoïska*'s finale.[35] Similar pyrotechnics may have appeared at the Theater an der Wien.

It is unclear whether the Kärntnertortheater production of the opera in 1814 also included real flames. The theater building itself dated to the 1760s, when it was rebuilt after a fire likely caused by leftover embers from the Don Juan ballet *Le festin de pierre*.[36] *Lodoïska*'s decorations here were designed by court theater painters Johann Janitz, Antonio de Pian, and Antonio Arrigoni, the last of whom also contributed decorations for Beethoven's *Fidelio* later in the season. They were only a small part of the production staff, however. Information in the court theater handbook lists nearly thirty people employed for decorations and lighting under Decorations Director Johann Tremel. In addition to the painters, personnel included architect Anton Ortner, engineer Joseph Schmidt, Theatermeister Franz Agner, and Propmaker (Caschierer)

32 Examples include J. C. Stövesandt, *Deutliche Anweisung zur Feuerwerkerey, worinnen alle gebräuchliche Arten der Lust- und Ernstfeuer nebst derselben Verfertigung und denen dazu nötigen Werkzeugen* (Leipzig: Gleditschens Buchhandlung, 1778); Rudolph von Bünau, *Gründlicher Unterricht zur Artillerie und Feuerwerkerey* (Halle: Johann Christian Hendel, 1779); Claude F. Ruggieri, *Élémens de pyrotechnie, divisés en cinq parties* (Paris: Chez Barba & Chez Magimel, 1802); and L. v. L—e, *Der Wiener Kunst- und Lustfeuerwerker oder Anleitung zur leichtesten, gründlichsten und zweckmäßigsten Erzeugung und Vorstellung aller Kunst- und Lustfuer zu Land- und Wasserfeuerwerken* (Vienna: Carl Gerold, 1818).

33 See titles listed in the previous note, as well as Johann Christoph Adelung, *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der Hochdeutschen Mundart,* 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1793–1801), s.v. "Ernstfeuer, Das" and "Lustfeuer, Das."

34 John A. Rice, "*Theaterfeuer* or *sublime horreur*: Operatic Pyrotechnics in the Eighteenth Century," in *Theatrical Heritage: Challenges and Opportunities*, ed. Bruno Forment and Christel Stalpaert (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2015), 23–40.

35 Ruggieri, *Élémens de pyrotechnie,* 129–30; 314–15; 331–32.

36 Franz Hadamowsky, *Wien: Theater Geschichte von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkriegs* (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1988), 214; and Johann Heinrich Friedrich Müller, *Genaue Nachrichten von beyden kaiserlich-königlich Schaubühnen und andern öffentlichen Ergötzlichkeiten in Wien* (Vienna: V. Ghelen, 1772), 1–6.

Ignaz Simonet, who had been a machinist for Schikaneder twelve years earlier.[37]

Johann Nepomuk Möser praised the company's production in the *Theater-Zeitung*, mentioning that "choruses, decorations, troop movements, battles, all the extras, the bridge collapse, [and] the orchestra's execution of the music were all worthy of a court theater."[38] Another reporter agreed on nearly every point, although he complained that "the effectless final decoration was the only reason for a decrease of applause."[39] This may mean that the burning castle scene lacked actual pyrotechnics, or that it simply failed to impress the audience. Despite any complaints, the premiere garnered multiple curtain calls, and the Kärntnertortheater presented the opera a total of ten times that year. Engravings of three stage designs were printed a few years later in 1818 by Norbert Bittner, all attributed to Antonio de Pian. While the designs do not include the final inferno, they still provide insight into the aesthetics of the production. Two of the engravings appear in Illustrations 3 and 4.

Illustration 3 shows the gothic design for the Act 2 gallery setting. Its details match almost perfectly with Fillette-Loraux's scene description. While it lacks the obvious oblong form usually associated with a gallery, it features large ornate windows, reliefs along the curves of the pointed arches and against the walls, and a conspicuous equestrian statue, the horse's front hooves raised and the rider holding a curved saber. The walls feature heraldic shields as well as another sword, and the windows are ornamented with tracery. Pian's setting is also a 'scena veduta per angolo' or 'scene viewed at an angle', a form of stage design popularized by the famous Galli-Bibiena family a century earlier. Rather than a central vanishing point, lines of perspective converge to the left side of the frame.[40] The two doors called for by the libretto are dwarfed by arches reaching beyond the border of the proscenium. The viewer is left curious about what lies just around the corner.

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37 Ignaz Franz Castelli, *Wiener Hof-Theater Taschenbuch auf das Jahr 1815* (Vienna: J.B. Wallishauβer, 1815), 3–4; *Vollständiges Verzeichniß*, 6. For a slightly different list of the court theater staff, see *Hof- und Staats-Schematismus des österreichischen Kaiserthums* (Vienna: k.k. Hof- und Staats- Druckerey, 1814), 110.

38 "Chöre, Dekorationen, Evolutionen und Gefechte, die sämmtliche Statisterei, das Einstürzen der Brücke, die Exekution der Musik durch das Orchester etc. waren eines Hoftheaters werth." Johann Nepomuk Möser, "K.K. Hoftheater nächst dem Kärnthnerthor," *Theater-Zeitung* 7, no. 14, February 2, 1814): 54–55.

39 "Die Ouverture und die meisten Gesangstücke wurden beklatscht, und nur die effectlose Schluss-Decoration war Ursache, dass sich der Beyfall verminderte." "Nachrichten: Wien, d. 1ten Febr. Uebersicht des Monats Januar," *AmZ* 16, no. 8, Febuary 23, 1814, 132.

40 On the technique, see Bruno Forment, "Trimming Scenic Invention: Oblique Perspective as Poetics of Discipline," *Music in Art* 34, no. 1–2 (2009): 31–43; and Ferdinando Galli-Bibiena, *L'architettura civile: preparate sú la geometria, e ridotta alle prospettive* (Parma: Paolo Monti, 1711), 137–39.

The Piranesi-like dungeon of Illustration 4, with its eclectic mixture of a gothic vault, interior crenelations and Corinthian columns, does not match any of Fillette-Loraux's original settings. It was probably used for the opening of Act 3, the same place that the Theater an der Wien set inside a castle tower. The dungeon setting makes sense given evidence in the Kärtnertortheater score. The music includes the brooding entr'acte Cherubini composed to begin the act in 1805, while it excludes the solo for Dourlinski that originally appeared at this point.[41] The removal of Dourlinski's aria accords with contemporary censorship practices, which minimized negative portrayals of aristocracy and discouraged singing villains.[42] The entr'acte instead emphasizes Lodoïska and Floreski's dire position at this point of the story. The shift in location from the Act 2 gallery to a dungeon would reinforce this sense of peril. The added setting also mirrored Johann Simon Mayr and Francesco Gonella's Italian remake of *Lodoïska,* which had appeared in Vienna in 1798 and concluded in a "horrible castle prison with three grand arches around high wooden doors, [its only light] cast through a high metal window."[43]

41 KT.265/5, fol. 1r-12r, A-Wn.

42 Carl Glossy, "Zur Geschichte der Wiener Theatercensur," *Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft* 17 (1897): 291–340; Norbert Bachleitner, *Die literarische Zensur in Österreich von 1751 bis 1848* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2017), 225–41; see also Ulrich Weisstein, "Böse Menschen singen keine Arien: Prolegomena zu einer ungeschriebenen Geschichte der Opernzensur," in *Zensur und Selbstzensur in der Literatur*, ed. Peter Brockmeier and Gerhard R. Kaiser (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1996), 49–73. Both Herklots's and Schmieder's translations of *Lodoïska* retain Durlinsky's aria, the former as "Ha! Nun ist mein Werk gelungen!" and the latter as "Ja durch meine List erringe."

43 "Orrida prigione del Castello con tre grandissime Arcate in fondo serrate da alte Porte di legno, che restano a suo tempo rovesciate, e lasciano vedere la gran piazza del Castello. La Prione non riceve altro lume, che quello di un raggio di luce da un alta finestra ferrata. Dal lato sinistro del Teatro, scala scoscesa ma non molto alta per cui si scende nella prigione." [Francesco Gonella], *La Lodoïska: dramma per musica da rappresentarsi negl'imperiali regj teatri di corte l'anno 1798* (Vienna, 1798), 43. Mayr wrote *La Lodoïska* for Venice's Teatro La Fenice in 1796 and significantly revised it for La Scala in 1800. The original version did not include the explosive fire, while the revision reinstated the spectacular effects alongside additional combat.

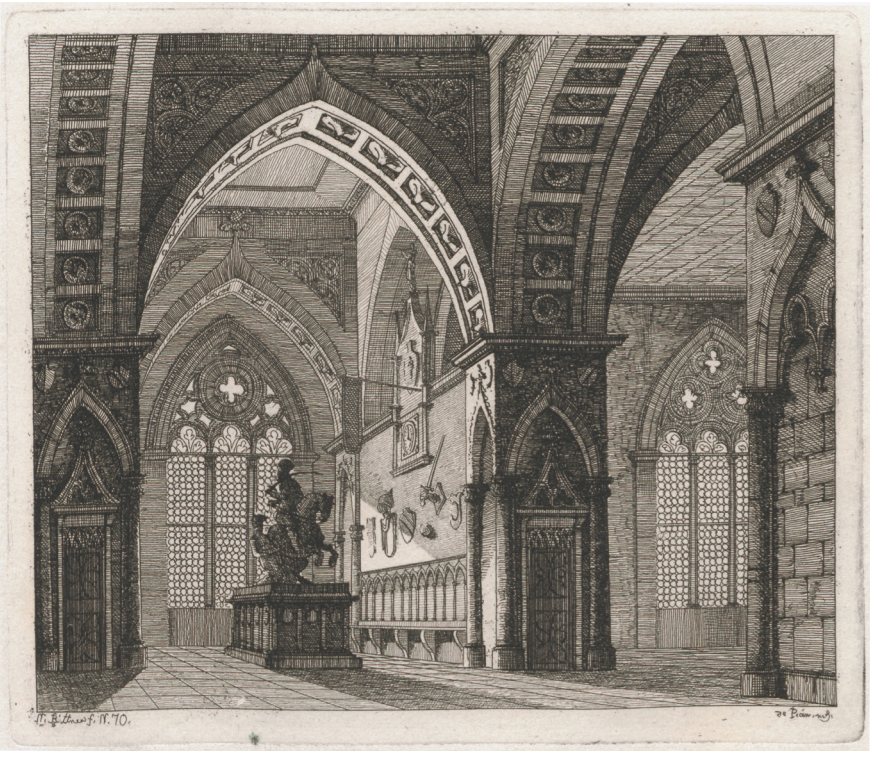


Illustration 3: Engraving of Act 2 gallery stage design for *Lodoïska* at the Kärntnertortheater, from Antonio de Pian, *Theater Decorationen nach dem Original Skitzen des K-K-Hof Theater Mahlers Anton de Pian*, engraved by Norbert Bittner, 10 issues (Vienna: Bittner, 1818), 70; Sig. 839522-B ALB MAG, Grafische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna.

Bittner's publication does not include an image of the final outdoor setting from Cherubini's opera. It may have been something like Perinet's image from Figure 1, or it may have been more like the cover illustration of the piano-vocal score published by Sigmund Anton Steiner around the time of the court theater production. The illustration, reproduced in Illustration 5, depicts the same moment as the earlier *Almanach* copperplate, with the disarmed Dourlinsky at Titzikan's feet in the foreground and Lodoïska held by Floreski at the rear. On the right, a round tower features a half-destroyed gothic window, its shape and honeycomb panes recalling the windows of the Act 2 gallery setting published by Bittner. Unlike the earlier image, the central couple seem to be moving on their own, with no leap into saviors' arms. The fires are more isolated, perhaps even restricted to a painted backdrop at the rear of the stage. The court theater placed less emphasis on pure spectacle than had the Theater

an der Wien under Schikaneder, and it is possible that both the collapsing bridge and the spreading fire were less dramatic in 1814 than in the earlier production. This might explain the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* reviewer's description of the scene as "effectless."[44]

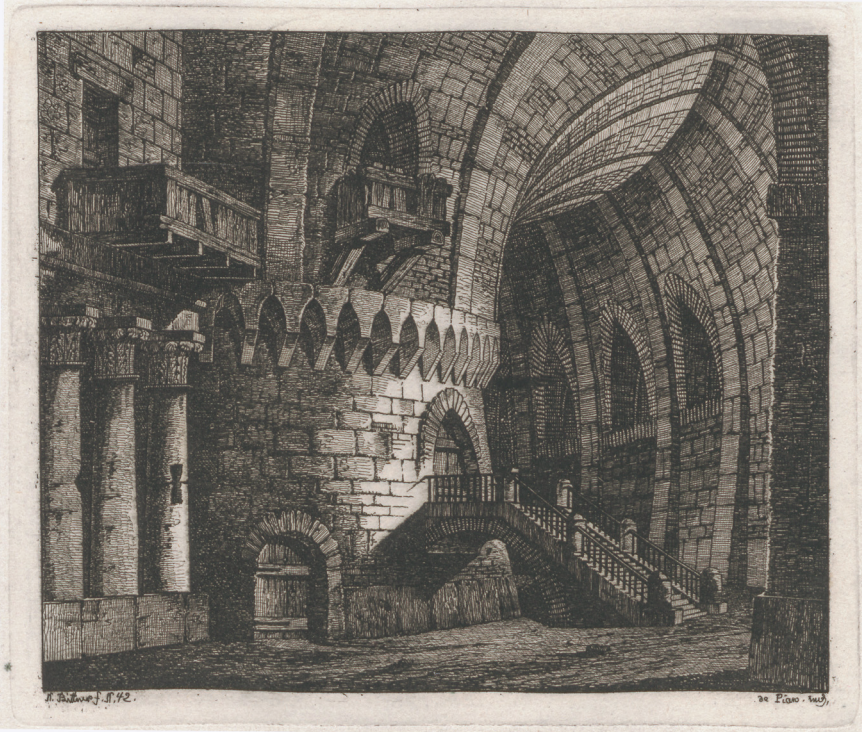


Illustration 4: Engraving of stage for *Lodoïska* at Kärntnertortheater, likely intended for the opening of Act 3, from Antonio de Pian, *Theater Decorationen nach dem Original Skitzen des K-K-Hof Theater Mahlers Anton de Pian*, engraved by Norbert Bittner, 10 issues (Vienna: Bittner, 1818), 42; Sig. 839522-B ALB MAG, Grafische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna.

44 "Nachrichten: Wien, d. 1ten Febr. Uebersicht des Monats Januar," *AmZ* 16, no. 8, Febuary 23, 1814, 132.



Illustration 5: Title page to 1814 piano-vocal score of *Lodoïska*, with illustration of the final scene, from Luigi Cherubini, *Lodoska: eine heroische Oper in III Ackten*, arr. August Eberhard Müller (Vienna: Kunst und Musik-Verlag des S. A. Steiner, [c. 1814]); Sig. DonMusDr 2917, Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe.

Producing *Lodoïska*'s fiery Finale: evidence from Leipzig

These images raise the question of *how* such scenery was produced. As implied by the long staff lists for Vienna's theaters, dozens of people could be involved in the manufacture and operation of an opera's decorations, machinery, and lighting. What exactly was required of them to produce something like the ending of *Lodoïska*? To answer this question, I turn to a short-lived production of the opera given by Joseph Seconda's traveling company in Leipzig in 1801, which is surprisingly well-documented.

Seconda's Deutsche Schauspieler Gesellschaft is little remembered today other than as E.T.A. Hoffmann's one-time employer in 1813–1814. The company formed in 1785, when Joseph's brother Franz was treasurer (Cassierer) to famous impresario Pasquale Bondini. After Bondini's death, Franz acquired Bondini's Saxon patent for German theater, his company performing in Dresden, Leipzig, and Prague. By the late 1790s, Franz's company specialized in spoken drama, leaving a niche for Joseph's company to focus on musical

theater. The troupe toured across the northern and eastern German states before establishing a regular circuit between summers at the Theater auf dem Linckeschen Bad outside Dresden and winters at Leipzig's Theater am Ranstädter Tor. While never achieving renown, Joseph Seconda's troupe was a significant provider of German-language opera in Saxony for more than two decades. It only dissolved in 1817 after the Dresden court nationalized its theater companies and the Leipzig City Council received permission to establish its own city theater.[45]

The Seconda Gesellschaft performed *Lodoïska* in Leipzig on 22 December 1801 as celebration for the birthday of Prince-Elector Frederick Augustus III, a few months before the opera's celebrated appearance at the Theater an der Wien.[46] The elector's birthday was fêted in most years at the Leipzig theater with a special performance, often with the local premiere of new serious repertoire.[47] *Lodoïska* fit the bill, so while the company performed the opera several times in Dresden that summer, they waited for the big occasion to bring it before Leipzigers. Despite the festivities and Seconda's investment in new decorations for the finale, the opera received a frosty reception. *Lodoïska* was not repeated that season, and in April 1802, Seconda sold the set and machinery to the Leipzig City Council, which owned the theater, for 100 Thaler. [48]

To prove the value for the sale, Seconda submitted the receipts from the craftsmen he had commissioned, tallied on a *Hauptrechnung*, all of which have been preserved in the city archive.[49] On each receipt, the craftsmen broke down the costs of individual materials and labor and provided the date that their products were delivered or that they were paid. These dates range from

45 On Joseph Seconda's theater company, see Michael Hochmuth, *Chronik der Dresdner Oper*, vol. 4, *Joseph Secondas "Operngesellschaft"* (Dresden: self-published, 2014); Kirby Haugland, "Bringing Opera to Saxon Audiences in the Age of Napoleon 1800–1817" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2023), and Robert Prölss, *Geschichte des Hoftheaters zu Dresden: Von seinen Anfängen bis zum Jahre 1862* (Dresden: Wilhelm Baensch, 1878), 354–73.

46 "Mit gnädigster Erlaubniß | wird heute, Dienstags den 22. Dec. 1801. | das hohe und höchsterfreuliche Geburtsfest | des Durchlauchtigsten Fürsten und Herrn, | Herrn | Friedrich August, | Regierenden Churfürsten zu Sachsen etc. etc. etc. | von den | deutschen Schauspielern | in tiefster Ehrfurcht und Unterthänigkeit gefeyert, | und auf dem Theater am Rannstädter Thore, | zum Erstenmale | aufgeführt: | Lodoïska, | Eine heroische Oper in drey Aufzügen," Theater poster for 22 Dec. 1801, in *Theaterzettel Karton 3 1800/1803*, Stadtgeschichtliches Museum, Leipzig.

47 Haugland, "Bringing Opera to Saxon Audiences," 176–77.

48 Report by Baumeister Justus Heinrich Hansen, 17 Apr. 1802, and Purchase Decree by Heinrich Friedrich Innocentius Apel, Christian Traugott Koch, and Johann Gottlieb Pernizsch, 30 Apr. 1802, fol. 46r–v, Tit. XXIV.A.18, "Acta, den Ankauf des Schauspiel Hauses und die darinnen getroffenen Einrichtungen samt was dem abhängig betr. | Anno 1796 seqq.," Stadtarchiv, Leipzig (hereafter D-LEsa).

49 "Haupt Berechnung derer sämmtlichen Auslagen zu der Dekoration zu der Oper: *Lodoisa* [sic]" and numbered receipts 1–6, fol. 47r–54r, Tit. XXIV.A.18, D-LEsa.

1 February 1801 until after the performance on 3 January 1802, implying that Seconda had been planning the *Lodoïska* production for nearly a year. Table 2 lists craftsmen's names, professions, and the work that they contributed.[50]

The receipts show a collaboration of many individuals in both Leipzig and nearby Dresden, with each craftsman preparing elements for the next. The division of labor reflects the structured and siloed nature of production in a pre-industrial economy. Each craftsman's field came with specific tools, technical knowledge, and standards maintained and protected by local guilds. Seconda's set for *Lodoïska* reflected these Dresden and Leipzig craftsman as much or more than it did Cherubini, Fillette-Loraux, Herklots, or Schmieder.

Table 2. Payments toward decorations and machinery for *Lodoïska* at the Theater am Ranstädter Tor, Leipzig.

Name	Profession	Work Provided	Payment
Carl Thomas Robert	*Klempnermeister* Metalworker	Iron and tinplate boxes and bands	8 Thlr. 12 Gr.
Adolph Simon Kleditzsch	*Webermeister* Weaver	Canvas for decorations	46 Thlr. 9 Gr.
Hildebrandt	*Schneidermeister* Tailor	Cut canvas into decoration pieces	4 Thlr.
Christian Gottlieb Winkler	*Maschinist/Zimmermeister* Engineer/Carpenter	Collapsing towers and fire boxes	18 Thlr. 12 Gr.
George Friedrich Winkler	*Hoftheatermaler* Court Theater Painter	Design, paint decoration canvases	61 Thlr. 16 Gr.
Ulrich	*Theatermeister* Production/Prop Master	Wings and practical bridge pieces	22 Thlr. 16 Gr.
		Total Cost	**161 Thlr. 17 Gr.**

The plan for the set must have been completed by early 1801, given the date of the earliest receipt. This was likely when Seconda procured the performing materials for *Lodoïska*, or at least the libretto. Given that a complex set was simultaneously an artistic, technical, and economic venture, the design was likely a collaboration between Dresden Theatermaler (Theater Painter) Winkler, Leipzig Theatermeister Ulrich, and Impresario Seconda.

50 The Kleditzsch, Robert, and the Winklers provided full names on receipts, all of which can be cross-referenced with contemporary Leipzig and Dresden address books. Hildebrandt was a regular artisan for decorations at the Dresden court theater, and Ulrich was employed by the Leipzig theater directly, but no documents seem to include their personal names and they do not appear in local address books.

The first step was the provision of materials, particularly metal parts for machinery and canvas for flats, both of which came from specialists. A Klempner was a kind of metalworker or smith who fabricated tableware, vessels, pipes, and other objects from different kinds of sheet metal.[51] Klempnermeister Robert provided boxes and inserts of black plate iron (Schwarzblech) along with strips of tin-plated iron (Weißblech). The boxes and inserts were likely intended to fit together, although their exact nature is unknowable. The tin plating would have made the strips corrosion resistant, which would have made them appropriate for housing fire effects. In September, Dresden master weaver Kleditzsch delivered four bolts of decoration canvas (Decrucions Leinwand), each 46 Ells (~26 m) long. Kleditzsch's name is included in Dresden address books with the title of Zeug-, Lein- und Wollwebermeister, indicating his expertise with handling many kinds of textiles.[52] Saxon Upper Lusatia, the Vogtland, and the Ore Mountains were all important areas of flax production, likely producing the raw yarn in Kleditzsch's cloth.[53] This cloth was cut to size by master tailor Hildebrandt, who regularly provided this service to opera productions at the Dresden court and would therefore have been acquainted with court theater painter Winkler. The wording of Hildebrandt's receipt is precise and worth quoting in full:

> The following has been prepared for the opera *Lodoïska*: a large *Prospect,* 10 leaves wide and 16 Ells (~9 m) high, sown together and stretched; also a border and 3 wings; 2 pieces behind walls for the towers; 2 other similar pieces; canvas sown and stretched for the fortress pieces as well as a long piece of canvas for the fortress wall. *Facit* 4 Th. Hildebrandt. Correctly received.[54]

Hildebrandt thus prepared at least eleven separate pieces of canvas to go into the set: a large drop for background and several smaller pieces for decoration elements standing on the stage or hanging from above. After presumably

51 Adelung, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. "Klempener, Der." Today the term Klempner is equivalent to the English word plumber.

52 *Dresden zur zweckmäßigen Kenntniß seiner Häuser und deren Bewohner*, 2nd ed. (Dresden, 1799), 207. On the varieties within contemporary flax- and hemp-based linen canvas, see Johann Samuel Halle, *Die Leinenmanufaktur, oder die vollständige Oekonomie des Flachsbaues, nach allen seinen Zweigen* (Berlin: Joachim Pauli, 1788).

53 Gerhard Philipp Heinrich Norrmann, *Gottfried Christian Bohns Waarenlager, oder Wörterbuch der Produkten- und Waarenkunde*, revised ed., 2 vols (Hamburg: Carl Ernst Bohn, 1805–6), s.v. "Sächsische Leinwand."

54 "No 3. | Zur *Opera Lodoïska* ist folgendes verfertiget worden. Ein großen *Prospect* von 10 Blat breite [sic] und 16 Ellen höhe [sic] zusammen genäht und gespannt, Ferner eine Decke und 3 Flügel. 2 Stück hinter Wände zu den Thü[r]men 2 andere dergleichen Stücken; Zum Festungs Stücken Leinwandt zusammen genäht und gespannt, nebst nach einen langen Stück Leinwandt an die Festungs Mauer. Facit 4 Th. Hildebrandt. Richtig erhalden [sic]," fol. 51r, Tit. XXIV.A.18, D-LEsa.

being provided with measurements, he cut, sewed, and stretched each piece. Stretching was important so that the pieces would hold their shape when mounted and painted. While the arrangement of these pieces in the final set is uncertain, Figure 1 shows a possible arrangement of the pieces into the gallery and castle setting, inspired by the Viennese design shown in Illustration 3. At the far rear of the stage hangs the background prospect, which could be painted with the distant parts of the castle in flames as well as the surrounding forest. In front of the backdrop – initially hidden by another drop representing the rear wall of the fortress gallery – are the two towers meant to imprison Lodoïska and Varbel. Each is composed of two canvases mounted as angled wings to produce a three-dimensional structure. They are separated by another piece representing an exterior wall of the fortress.

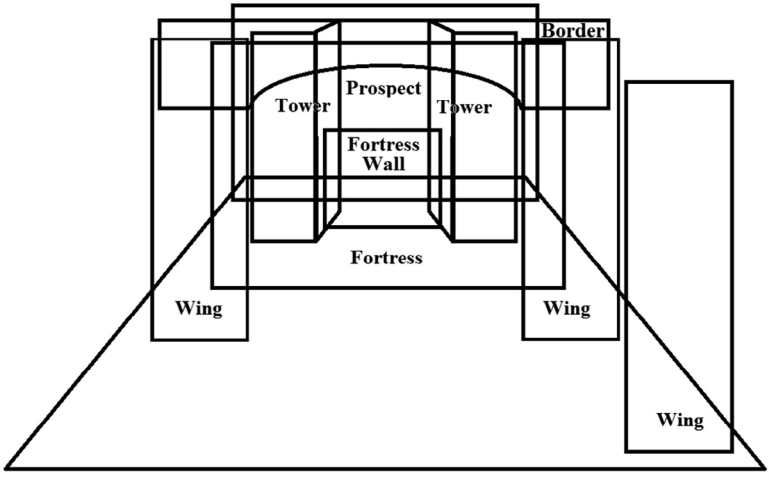


Figure 1. Hypothetical arrangement of the canvases cut by Schneidermeister Hildebrandt for Seconda's *Lodoïska* stage set. Figure by the author.

Following Hildebrandt's preparation of the canvases, Saxon 'Hoftheatermaler' George Friedrich Winkler and his assistants were free to paint them. Winkler's detailed account of materials and labor costs for what he called the "old castle setting" (alte Burg Decoration) is reproduced in Table 3. In addition to himself, Winkler lists two assistant painters from Dresden – Gotthelf Siegert and Friedrich Augustus Ré – as well as an unnamed 'Farbenreiber'.[55] A Farbenreiber

55 Ré was later overseer (Aufseher) of the Dresden court's Kleines Theater. Siegert eventually moved to Leipzig and was hired as head 'Theatermaler' when the Leipzig Stadttheater opened in 1817. See Haugland, "Bringing Opera to Saxon Audiences," 318; 331–32; 342–44.

prepared paint by grinding and mixing solid pigments (Farben) into solutions of water and rehydrated animal glue (Leim). The Farbenreiber may have been Johann Christian Müller, listed in Dresden opera documents at this time, or it may have been a Leipzig local. The accounted wages imply that Winkler and Gotthelf Siegert likely spent two days mounting the canvases, followed by fourteen days painting, with the Farbenreiber mixing paints. Friedrich Augustus Ré joined for a few days along the way, perhaps to assist in painting the largest pieces that did not require fine detail work. Labor costs accounted for two-thirds of Winkler's total bill, the most substantial of Seconda's costs for the set.

Table 3: Stage painter George Friedrich Winkler's list of costs for Joseph Seconda's *Lodoïska* setting.

Line Item from Receipt	English Name	Quantity	Cost
Kreide	Chalk	¾ Ct. [Centner][56]	1 Thlr. 18 Gr.
Leim	Animal Glue [Hide or Bone]	10 lb.	2 Thlr. 2 Gr.
Lichten Ocker	Light Ocher	6 lb.	12 Gr.
Umbraun	Umber	2 lb.	6 Gr.
Dunckel Ocker	Dark Ocher	2 lb.	6 Gr.
Gebrannden Ocker	Burnt Ocher	1 lb.	5 Gr.
Umbraun [separate entry]	Umber [separate entry]	2 lb.	12 Gr.
Schwarz	Black	1 lb.	6 Gr.
Berggrün	Malachite Green	3 lb.	1 Thlr.
Indig	Indigo	½ lb.	2 Thlr.
Wiener Lac	Viennese Lake [Cochineal or Brazilwood Red]	¾ lb.	15 Gr.
Saftgrün	Sap/Buckthorn Green	¼ lb.	8 Gr.
Duncklegrüne Erde	Dark Green Earth [Celadonite or Glauconite]	[unspecified]	8 Gr.
Casslergelb	Kassel Yellow [Lead Oxychloride]	1 lb.	10 Gr.
Neapl Gelb	Naples Yellow [Lead Antimonate]	¼ lb.	4 Gr.
Tinte	Iron Gall Ink	4 Kannen[57]	1 Thlr.
Holz und Nagel zum spannen	Wood and Nails	[none]	2 Thlr. 12 Gr.

56 Modern spelling *Zentner*, equivalent to 100 pounds. The Dresdner pound was equal to 467.086162343 g. Christian Noback and Friedrich Noback, *Vollständiges Taschenbuch der Münz-, Maass- und Gewichts-Verhältnisse, der Staatspapiere, des Wechsel- und Bankwesens und der Usanzen aller Länder und Handelsplätze*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1851), 1:222.

57 Volumetric quantity defined as the space occupied by 2 lb. of tepid distilled water. The Dresdner *Kanne* was equal to 935.59175 ml. See Noback and Noback, *Taschen*buch, 1:221.

Line Item from Receipt	English Name	Quantity	Cost
14. Tage Farbenreiberlohn a.6.g	Farbenreiber at 6 Gr/Day	14 days	3 Thlr. 12 Gr.
H. Siegert für 16. Tage Arbeit a.1.r	[Gotthelf] Siegert at 1 Thlr/Day	16 days	16 Thlr.
H. Re für 3. Tage a.1.r	[Freidrich August] Ré at 1 Thlr/Day	3 days	3 Thlr.
Für meine Bemühung	Winkler's own wages	[unspecified]	25 Thlr.

The remainder of Winkler's costs were for all the materials needed to turn the canvases from loose cloth into finished decorations. These different ingredients let us trace the steps of the painting process and imagine the look of the final product. Winkler and his assistants first built wooden frames to stretch and mount the different pieces of canvas cut by Hildebrandt. After the canvases were nailed to the frames, they had to be primed (or sized), so that paint would adhere to their surfaces rather than soaking into the flax fibers. Primer was produced by mixing animal glue with ground chalk to produce *gesso*. Coating the canvases in the *gesso* filled the gaps between the cloth fibers, granting a stronger, smoother, and more stable painting surface.[58] Most of the enormous quantity of chalk called for – 75 pounds – was probably used in this essential step. Once the *gesso* dried, Winkler and Siegert would have transferred Winkler's designs from his sketches onto the different canvases in ink, possibly with the aid of chalked gridlines. The ink was purchased premade since it could take days or even weeks to properly steep the iron salts, fermented oak galls, and other ingredients.[59] After completing the outlines, the team could begin mixing paints from the different pigments and producing the final decoration. Most of the pigments came from naturally occurring minerals, while others were the products of agriculture and chemical processes. Pigment makers and merchants also relied on global importers, who supplied the cochineal or brazilwood used to produce reds like Vienna Lake, as well as

58 Jonathan Stephenson, "Gesso," *Oxford Art Online,* ed. Judith Rodenbeck, last modified July 28, 2014, https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T031812. Henri Louis Duhamel du Monceau, *Die Kunst, verschiedene Arten von Leim zu Machen* (Leipzig: Johann Jacob Kanter, 1772), 2–17. The sizing step remains crucial for preparing "soft goods" for theater today; see Susan Crabtree and Peter Beudert, *Scenic Art for the Theatre: History, Tools, and Techniques,* 3rd ed. (Waltham, MA: Focal Press, 2012), 202–5.

59 Explanations of ink-making abound in contemporary books on writing and chemistry. For a detailed example, see [Johann Christian Wilhelm Remler, ed.], *Taschenbuch für Tinten-Liebhaber, oder gründlicher Unterricht aller Arten Tinten zu machen* (Leipzig: Schwickert, 1795).

for the extraordinarily expensive indigo, brought from India or slave plantations in the West Indies.[60] The iron-based ochers and umbers had only to travel from the nearby Ore Mountains, while the bone or plant soot used for black likely came from Thuringian forests. The green pigments, both mineral and plant based, all could have come from Tyrol, a likely source for Vienna's theater painters as well.[61] The remaining red and yellow pigments were all in some way artificial, produced either by precipitating and stabilizing natural dyes or by chemical reactions.[62] Named for cities where they were (possibly) invented or made popular, they were instead probably manufactured in the many pigment factories of northern Hannover, Hamburg, and Altona.[63] With this wide array of colors, Winkler and his assistants could have produced a lavish decoration fit for *Lodoïska* and its celebratory occasion. While there are no surviving sketches for the Leipzig set, one of Winkler's later designs suggests both his eye for architecture and his use of color. The gothic courtyard reproduced in Illustration 6, dated to 1825, comes from a collection of Winkler's stage designs preserved after his death. Mottled tans, browns, and grays combined for stone walls and paving, while pointed arch portals provide potential character entrances as well as a sense of wider space. Ochers and burnt umbers lend rooftiles or shingles their red brown color. A tree and distant hills that form part of the rear backdrop use shades of green, brown, and blue that fade into the hazy gradient of the sky to convey their distance. In the panels that represented the towers and the backdrop for *Lodoïska*, Winkler would have further drawn on his variety of yellows and reds to produce the flames emerging from the besieged castle.

60 Carl Friedrich August Hochheimer, *Chemische Farben-Lehre oder ausführlicher Unterricht von Bereitung der Farben zu allen Arten der Malerey*, 2 vols (Leipzig: Gräff, 1792–1794), 1:172. The 1801 *Leipziger Adreß- Post- und Reise-Kalender* names the merchant Kranke & Co as specializing in imports and indigo goods. Despite what the name might suggest, *Wiener Lac* was not a lacquer but a lake pigment. Both terms derive from the lac insects of India. See Adelung, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. "Lack, Der."

61 R. D. Harley, *Artists' Pigments c. 1600–1835: A Study in English Documentary Sources* (London: Butterworth, 1970), 82–84, 108–10, 137–39; Hochheimer, *Chemische Farben-Lehre*, 1:201–9, 270–73, 76; Carol A. Grisson, "Green Earth," in *Artists Pigments: A Handbook of their History and Characteristics,* vol. 1, ed. Robert L. Feller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 141–43.

62 Ian N. M. Wainwright, John M. Taylor, and Rosamond D. Harley, "Lead Antimonate Yellow," in *Artists Pigments: A Handbook of their History and Characteristics,* vol. 1, ed. Robert L. Feller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 219–24; Hochheimer, *Chemische Farben-Lehre,* 1:38–41, 1:85–96, 2:102–11; Robert Dossie, *Praktisches Handbuch für Künstler, aus dem Englischen nach der zwoten verbesserten und vermehrten Ausgabe übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen*, vol. 1, trans. Johann Gottlieb Geißler (Dresden: in der Waltherischen Hofbuchhandlung, 1792), 54–62.

63 *Versuch eines allgemeinen Handlungs und Fabrikenaddreßbuches von Deutschland und einigen damit verwandten Provinzen; mit den nöthigen Sach-, Waaren- und Meß-Registern versehen* (Ronneburg and Leipzig: Schumann & J.A. Barth, 1798), 112, 435–36, 439, 495, 509.

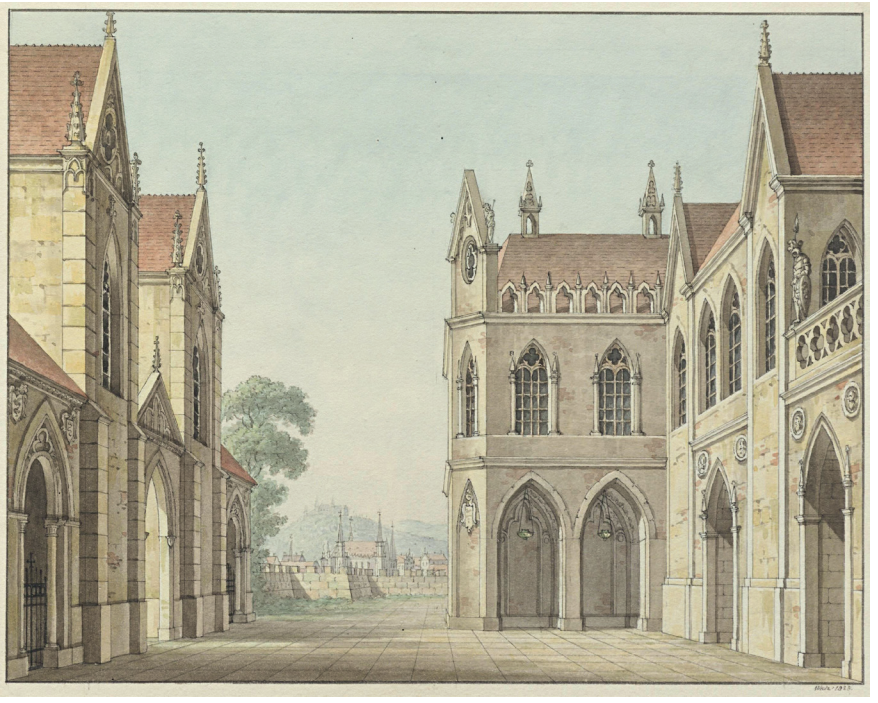


Illustration 6: Color stage design by George Friedrich Winkler for a gothic courtyard, ink and watercolor on paper, 1825, in George Friedrich Winkler, [*49 Zeichnungen*], Sig. 50.2.48, No. 18, D-Dl.

The remaining aspects of the *Lodoïska* set were the new machinery and the practical elements for performers to interact with. Dresden carpenter Christian Gottlieb Winkler built two collapsing towers ("einfallende Thürme") and two flame boxes ("fack-Küsten"), delivering them on 15 December, a few days before the completion of the painting and the performance itself.[64] Winkler presumably began with the metal parts from Klempner Robert, including the tinplate pieces with the fire resistance necessary for the "flame boxes." He charged Seconda for a variety of boards and nails, as well as a Schloßer, another

64 "No 2 | Zu einer neuen Dekoration," fol. 50r, Tit XXIV.A.18, D-LEsa. The two Winklers were probably related. Christian Gottlieb does not appear in contemporary address books, but George Friedrich came from a long line of Dresden carpenters that probably included many otherwise unknown members. His father and grandfather, both also named George Friedrich worked on several important projects for the Dresden City Council and the court. See Ernst Sigismund, "Winkler (Zimmermann-Familie)," *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon – International Künstlerdatenbank – Online,* ed. Andreas Beyer, Bénédicte Savoy, and Wolf Tegethoff (K. G. Saur, 2019), https://doi.org/10.1515/AKL.

kind of smith who specialized in locks and other fine metalwork. While it is impossible to reconstruct the specifics of Winkler's machines, the lack of rope or other rigging materials suggests that the tower designs relied on lever arms and other folding pieces rather than swings or pulleys. The flame boxes were probably intended for the bridge to Lodoïska's tower.

Leipzig Theatermeister Ulrich provided the final elements for Seconda's set. A theater master had wide-ranging responsibilities. He managed the collection of properties and set pieces, led the stagehands who set up decorations and manned machinery during performances, and kept order backstage. These responsibilities could be enforced by fines in local theater regulations.[65] For *Lodoïska*, Ulrich and his assistants built the bridge, as well as pieces for a prospect that may have opened at the rear of the gallery.[66] Rope and iron rings Ulrich listed in his receipt likely connected the bridge to one of the theater's loft winches so that it could fall and be hauled back up again.

Production of the *Lodoïska* set entailed months of work and the participation of at least ten specialized craftsmen, not counting the unnamed apprentices, journeymen, theater hands, and suppliers who must have also contributed. Seconda likely hoped to produce a spectacle that showed off the best that his operation could accomplish. To his certain dismay, this was not the case. When the company had given *Lodoïska* at the Linckesches Bad that summer, the *AmZ*'s Dresden correspondent had been complementary, praising the orchestra, singers, and direction for making the best of the theater's rustic circumstances.[67] After the Leipzig performance, the *AmZ* called the music "colossal," praised Music Director Gottlob Benedict Bierey and the orchestra, and declared that the singers had done their best given the "storm of instruments" they had to overcome.[68] The *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* likewise praised Bierey and the "well-rehearsed" Leipzig orchestra but declared "if one is to have a worthy conception of *Lodoïska*, one must see it with the necessary pomp in Dessau."[69]

65 In the Burg- and Kärntnertortheater, the Theatermeister was fined 1 Gulden for the false appearance of a wing flat (*Coulisse*) onstage, with a 2 Gulden fine if the offending scenery was not immediately corrected. See *Gesetze und Anordnungen für die deutschen Schauspieler der k.k. Hoftheater* (Vienna; Degen, 1807), 56–57.

66 The receipt includes "Bräthe zum Brücken" and "Bräthe davon schenkel den Brospekt und Tucke gemacht." "No 6 | Den Herrn *Seconda* | Eine TeckrathsGohn [Decoration] Zur Ludoisca [sic] | Auß gestäuft und in ferttigen stand gesetz," fol. 54, Tit. XXIV.A.18, D-LEsa.

67 "Nachrichten, Dresden d. 8ten Aug.," *AmZ* 3, no. 47 (19 Aug. 1801): 784–85.

68 "Nachricht, Uebersicht dessen, was in Leipzig während des lezten Vierteljahrs für Musik öffentlich gethan worden (Fortsetzung), *AmZ* 4, no. 16 (13 Jan. 1802): 256–57.

69 "[Sie] hat am Geburtstage des verehrten Churfürsten *Lodoïska* gegeben, eine Oper, die man mit dem dazu gehörigen Pomp in Dessau sehen muß, wenn man einen würdigen Begriff davon erhalten will," "Vermischte Theaternachrichten," *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, January 2, 1802, 8.

The *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* was even more harsh, saying "Even the castle fire that closes the final number (instead of the usual illuminations that conclude comic operas) could not work properly. The whole thing belongs to other machines, decorations, circumstances, and people."[70] Despite the best attempts by Seconda and his contractors (and what seems to have been a fairly good musical rendition) *Lodoïska* did not pass muster. Only a few months later, the Theater an der Wien proved that unlike Seconda, it had just the resources required to stage Cherubini's opera effectively.

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70 "Selbst der Burgbrand (statt der sonst die komischen Opern schließenden Illuminationen), welcher das *geschloßne* Stück schließt, wollte nicht recht wirken. Zu dem allen gehören andere Maschinerieen, Dekorationan, Umgebungen und Personen. Eher versuche unser Gesellschaft das komische Fach von teutscher Art. Dazu findet sich, zumal bei dem Eckigen unsrer couranten Singspiele, eher Zusammenstimmung," "VI. Theater, Leipziger Theater, Leipzig, den 30sten December 1801," *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* 17, no. 1 (Jan. 1802): 39–40.

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Viennese Popular Theater as an Intermedial Space: Observations on Ferdinand Raimund's Contrast Dramaturgy and Staging Strategies

*Matthias Mansky**

The Viennese suburban stages developed into a metropolitan entertainment industry in the first third of the nineteenth century. Especially in their interplay of drama, acting, music, decoration and theater machinery they appear as intermedial spaces. This can be illustrated particularly well in Ferdinand Raimund's magic plays. After his death, Raimund was gradually stylized as an Austrian folk poet and a continuing interest in his poetry can be observed, while his practical theatrical activities as an actor, director, manager and theater agent who marketed his own plays were neglected. In fact, contemporary theater practice and the staging strategies of the actor-playwright are inscribed in his dramas. This chapter will take a closer look at these through his last two plays *Die Unheil bringende Krone* and *Der Verschwender*. Last but not least, in Raimund's contrast dramaturgy a certain skepticism and pessimism is revealed in the idyll conjured up by the music and stage setting, which blurs the contours of the image of the naive-sentimental Biedermeier poet.

In the first third of the nineteenth century, the Viennese suburban theaters, founded after 1776 as a result of a law called 'Allgemeine Spektakelfreiheit' (General Freedom of Spectacle), developed into a metropolitan entertainment industry that was subject to increased commercialization.[1] Their manifold repertoires included farces, parodies, fairy-tale dramas, spectacle and chivalry plays and musical comedies, which drew on promising trends from other major European cities such as London and Paris. Through 'Verwienerung' and localization, dialect, anti-illusionistic and metafictional drama, supported by costume, theater machinery, stage design and music, an intermedial symbiosis of drama text and theater practice unfolded during the performance.

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1 Maria Piok, "'Bearbeiter, Uebersetzer, Stükzuschneider' – Plagiatoren im Unterhaltungstheater des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Mitteilungen aus dem Brenner-Archiv* 35 (2016): 25–42, at 26.

A decisive factor in times of censorship and surveillance was the interaction with an understanding audience, which opened up a level of communication during the performance that differed from the ordinarily superficial distraction and entertainment value of the theater. On the discursive level of comedy, the plays of the Viennese suburban stages reflected social developments, topical issues and contemporary fears of life. The final dramaturgical production of a text occurred in interaction with the audience, who had to be directly affected by the themes and content of the plays, no matter how distorted they appeared on stage.[2] Not least in the physical presence of actors and audience, the spectators functioned as co-players who helped to produce the performance through their participation, their perception and reaction, so that the mood barometer in the auditorium had a decisive influence on the course of a theater evening.[3]

To this day, the two dramatists Johann Nestroy (1801–1862) and Ferdinand Raimund (1790–1836) are considered the main representatives of Viennese popular theater, whereby Nestroy is regarded as a satirist whose farces would have replaced Raimund's idealistic magic plays. As far as the history of reception is concerned, however, it was Raimund who was appropriated for identity politics after his death and stylized as an Austrian folk poet, so that elements of a virulent Raimund legend have entered academic discourse.[4] Raimund's career was usually described as the petty-bourgeois story of the rise of a turner's son who advanced from an amateur actor and imitator of famous performers to a much-acclaimed character actor and finally a poet known beyond the borders of the Habsburg Monarchy. The main interest was in his poetry, whereby his practical theatrical activities as an actor, director, manager and theater agent, who successfully marketed his own plays, were accorded only a

2 Volker Klotz, *Dramaturgie des Publikums. Wie Bühne und Publikum aufeinander eingehen, insbesondere bei Raimund, Büchner, Wedekind, Horváth, Gatti und im politischen Agitationstheater.* 2nd edition (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1999), 17 and 20.

3 Erika Fischer-Lichte, Jens Roselt, "Attraktion des Augenblicks – Aufführung, Performance, performativ und Performativität als theaterwissenschaftliche Begriffe," in *Theorien des Performativen*, ed. Erika Fischer-Lichte and Christoph Wulf (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2001), 239: „Die Zuschauer werden vielmehr als Teilnehmer, als Mitspieler begriffen, welche die Aufführung durch ihre Teilnahme, d. h. ihre physische Präsenz, ihre Wahrnehmung, Rezeption und Reaktion mit hervorbringen." See Meike Wagner, *Theater und Öffentlichkeit im Vormärz* (Berlin, Munich, and Vienna: Akademie Verlag, 2013).

4 See Matthias Mansky, "Theaterpraktiker und Geschäftsmann – neue Perspektiven der Raimund-Forschung," *Nestroyana* 43, 1–2 (2023): 29–43, at 30–2. Christian Tillinger, "Ferdinand Raimund – das Werden einer Persona non grata: Aspekte der Forschungsgeschichte und Biographie," *Maske und Kothurn* 46 (2001): 49–76.

subordinate role. In contrast to the conventional entertainment drama of the suburban stages, Raimund's magic plays are characterized by their experimental theatrical character, which not only irritated contemporary critics, but also researchers. With his amalgamation of seriousness and comedy, dialect and high language, prose and verse, local and universal, and the presence of both individual and social dimensions to his dramas, Raimund appears as a stylistic revolutionary.[5] On the one hand, his fairy-tale pieces prove to be utopian counter-designs to a reality of life marked by economic crises and social upheaval in the context of early industrialization.[6] On the other hand, the promising images are often integrated with alienated experiences of reality and disillusioning set pieces.[7] Even if the reception of Raimund has all too often concentrated on the elements of Biedermeier ideology which Raimund's plays undoubtedly contain, without, of course – as Franz Schuh puts it – consisting of it, the idyll created by theatrical magic usually retains the instabilities and ambiguities from which the plot is constituted.[8] In addition, they reflect the performing artist and theater practitioner who wrote the roles for himself and the ensemble, whereby traces of the actor become evident in the text.[9] This will be outlined in more detail through Raimund's last two plays *Die Unheil bringende Krone* (The Crown that brings Disaster) and *Der Verschwender* (The Prodigal). In terms of their dramaturgy and audience impact, the two plays, which were recently published in the fourth volume of the new historical-critical edition,[10] could hardly be more different. Therefore, they are well suited to illustrate Raimund's diverse staging strategies, which configured the suburban stage as an intermedial space.

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5 Jürgen Hein, *Das Wiener Volkstheater*. 3rd edition (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997), 127. See Jürgen Hein, "Gefesselte Komik und entfesselte Lachlust. Ferdinand Raimund und Johann Nestroy," in *Raimund. Grillparzer. Nestroy. Witz und Lebensangst*, ed. Ilija Dürhammer and Pia Janke (Vienna: Praesens, 2001), 33.

6 See Ulrike Tanzer, "Zufriedenheit als utopischer Gegenentwurf. Glückskonzepte in Raimunds 'Das Mädchen aus der Feenwelt oder Der Bauer als Millionär'," in *Ferdinand Raimunds inszenierte Fantasien*, ed. Hubert Christian Ehalt and Jürgen Hein (Vienna: Lehner, 2008), 17–34.

7 Hein, "Gefesselte Komik," 14.

8 Franz Schuh, "Der Bauer als Millionär. Zu einer Inszenierung von Horst Zankl," in *Das Widersetzliche in der Literatur* (Vienna and Munich: Jugend und Volk, 1981), 25.
See Pia Janke, "Zauberbrut und Geistergesindel. Raimunds Spielverderber," in *Raimund. Nestroy. Grillparzer. Witz und Lebensangst*, ed. Ilija Dürhammer and Pia Janke (Vienna: Praesens, 2001), 97–107.

9 Jürgen Hein, "Der Künstler als Agent. Zur Neuedition der Märchenspiele Ferdinand Raimunds," in *Ferdinand Raimunds inszenierte Fantasien*, ed. Hubert Christian Ehalt and Jürgen Hein (Vienna: Lehner, 2008), 137; Hein, "Der Künstler," 133.

10 See Ferdinand Raimund, *Sämtliche Werke. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, vol. 4, ed. Matthias Mansky, with contributions of Johann Lehner (Vienna: Zsolnay, 2025).

Poetry and theater practice

In his letters, Raimund often writes about his 'art', which has regularly been equated with 'poetry', so that a primary interest in poetry over theater and performance has been assumed.[11] Studies in the context of the new historical-critical edition have shown that Raimund was particularly interested in spectacular theatrical effects which he coordinated with the stage designers and theater machinists.[12] In this context, Johann Hüttner has pointed out the proximity of Raimund's working methods and the concept of stage direction that had been developing in German-speaking countries since the 1820s.[13] In fact, Raimund's manuscripts include a large number of aspects that coincide with the early theoretical considerations on 'setting the scene' ('in die Szene setzen') or 'staging', which appeared with a delay in German-speaking countries compared to France. August Lewald, for example, notes in his work *In die Szene setzen* (1837):

> To 'set the scene' means to present a dramatic work in its entirety in order to complement the poet's intention by external means and to intensify the effect, but always, well understood, to proceed only in the sense of the poetry.[14]

This would require not only an insight into the essence of a poetic work and the most perfect knowledge of the actor's art, but also an understanding of the art of the machinist ("Kunst des Maschinisten") and the decorations.[15] The actor and director Karl Franz Grüner (recte Franz Akáts) later describes the art of scenic design ("Kunst der Scenik") as a symbiosis of the arrangement of decoration ("Anordnung der Ausschmückung") and the arrangement of the living ("Anordnung des Lebendigen"), whereby poets and composers must take care that they explain the intended representation on the stage in small

11 See Matthias Mansky, "'Ich bin ein Wesen leichter Art, / Ein Kind mit tausend Launen' Reflexionen über Kunst und Poesie in den Werken Ferdinand Raimunds," *Nestroyana* 43, 3–4 (2023): 98–105.

12 Friedrich Walla, "Schwarz auf weiß, doch zwischen den Zeilen gelesen: Erkenntnisse aus Ferdinand Raimunds Handschriften," in *Ferdinand Raimunds inszenierte Fantasien*, ed. Hubert Christian Ehalt and Jürgen Hein (Vienna: Lehner, 2008), 121.

13 See Johann Hüttner, "Gefesselte Fantasie(n) zwischen lokal und ideal. Zu Raimunds Inszenierungspraktiken," in *Ferdinand Raimunds inszenierte Fantasien*, ed. Hubert Christian Ehalt and Jürgen Hein (Vienna: Lehner, 2008), 90–2.

14 Jens Roselt, ed., *Regie im Theater. Geschichte – Theorie – Praxis* (Berlin: Alexander, 2015), 79: "'In die Szene setzen' heißt, ein dramatisches Werk vollständig zur Anschauung bringen, um durch äußere Mittel die Intention des Dichters zu ergänzen und die Wirkung zu verstärken, doch immer, wohl verstanden, nur im Sinne der Dichtung dabei zu verfahren."

15 Roselt, *Regie*, 79.

plans and notes of requirements so that a play can be realized in the same form in different theaters.[16] Raimund, who had already been working as a director since 1816, sometimes offered sketches of stage sets, costumes or models of the required machinery in his business letters, in addition to the text and score of his plays.[17] These could be purchased from him personally. Therefore, the author's intentions and artistic aspirations go hand in hand with box office success and economic benefit. In a letter to the actor and director Ferdinand Pauli, Raimund insists both on a production which accords with his ideas and on the copyright of his plays:

> Through Mr. v. Plaz, during his presence in Vienna, I request that you purchase [...] my original magic play: 'Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind' from me, and [...] I hasten to inform you that this work, together with the music and sketches of the decorations and costumes, the models of the machines, and the costumes, is at your service at any time for the price of 25 ducats in gold. But I would ask you to kindly enclose a reply with the fee, in which you undertake to perform this play only on your stage in Dresden, and not to give it away, lend it or sell it to anyone else. My 'Mädchen aus der Feenwelt' was also performed at the theater in Leipzig, which is under your direction, without having obtained the book and music from me – I therefore kindly ask you to inform me how it was received without paying for it.[18]

While Raimund strove to aesthetically elevate the suburban stage on a poetic level, his understanding of art also pragmatically subsumed economic benefit as a necessary evil. Just as money has a seductive character in his plays,[19] Raimund also laments the "false banknotes with which the world pays off all

16 Roselt, *Regie*, 107.

17 See Jürgen Hein and Claudia Meyer, *Ferdinand Raimund, der Theatermacher an der Wien* (Vienna: Lehner, 2004), 93.

18 As cited in Hein, "Der Künstler," 133: "Durch Herrn v. Plaz während seiner Anwesenheit in Wien ersuche ich, [...] mein Orig. Zauberspiel: 'Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind' von mir zu beziehen, und [...] ich beeile mich Sie in Kenntnis zu setzen, daß dieses Werk samt Musik und Skizzen der Decorationen und Kostüms, dann Modelle der Maschinen, und Reißkleider um den Preis von 25 Dukaten in Gold jederzeit zu Ihren Diensten steht, nur bitte ich bey Gelegenheit der Hierhersendung des Honorars auch einen Revers gütigst beyzufügen, worin Sie sich verpflichten dieses Stück nur bei Ihrer Bühne in Dresden zu geben, und es an keine andere weder verschenken, noch verleihen, noch verkaufen wollen. Auch wurde bey der ebenfalls unter Ihrer Leitung stehenden Schaubühne zu Leipzig mein 'Mädchen aus der Feenwelt' gegeben, ohne daß Buch und Musik dieses Zauberspiels von mir bezogen worden wäre – Ich ersuche Sie daher freundschaftlich, mich gefälligst zu benachrichtigen, auf welchem Wege, ohne es zu bezahlen, selbes bezogen wurde."

19 See Herbert Herzmann, "Die 'Majestät des Goldes'. Wirtschaftliche Umwälzungen im Spiegel der Stücke Ferdinand Raimunds," *Wirkendes Wort* 43 (1993): 568–74.

its moral obligations" in his letters.[20] However, as a businessman, he was well aware that his performances and plays had to be financially profitable. And so, in times of a lack of copyright,[21] he not only defended himself against the illegal trade of his plays, but also planned his guest performances – which he self-confidently described as art tours ("Kunstreise[n]") – with a view to their financial profitability.[22] Therefore, he generally turned down offers from smaller German theaters because, unlike Munich or Hamburg, they were unable to pay a lucrative fee.[23]

Raimund's aesthetic aspirations also corresponded with practical theatrical intentions. Thus the Raimund role is naturally inscribed in his magic plays, which had a lasting influence on the dramaturgy.[24] Raimund is said to have had an abrupt 'ability to transform', which allowed him to suddenly assume a contrary character or a changed state of mind. His friend, the Burgtheater actor Karl Ludwig Costenoble, describes how Raimund was able to shed his ego on stage to such an extent that he was considered a completely alien person. Of one of Raimund's signature roles, the main character in Joseph Alois Gleich's *Ydor, der Wanderer aus dem Wasserreiche*, Costenoble noted in his diary: "Raimund portrayed the multifaceted characters with true mastery and perfect assurance. He sharply distinguished the peculiarities of the one from the character traits of the other."[25] In terms of his comedy, Raimund always presented his characters in a double reflection, so that his audience never really knew whether they were looking at an objective presentation or parody, whether they were seeing the character from the outside or from the inside,[26] also because these perspectives could constantly change or intertwine. Or, as the writer Ignaz Franz Castelli aptly describes it:

20 Ferdinand Raimund, *Sämtliche Werke. Historisch-kritische Säkularausgabe in sechs Bänden*, vol. 4: *Briefe*, ed. Fritz Brukner and Eduard Castle (Vienna: Anton Schroll & Co., 1926), 399: "falsche Banknoten[,] womit die Welt alle ihre moralischen Verbildlichkeiten abträgt".

21 For further information on the issue of copyright in relation to the Viennese suburban theater, see Piok, "Bearbeiter", 25–8.

22 Raimund, *Säkularausgabe,* 4, 439.

23 Raimund, *Säkularausgabe,* 4, 415.

24 See Hein, "Der Künstler," 137–8.

25 Karl Ludwig Costenoble, *Aus dem Burgtheater 1818–1837. Tagebuchblätter*, ed. Karl Glossy and Jakob Zeidler (Vienna: Carl Konegen, 1889), 79: "Raimund gab die mannigfaltigen Charaktere mit wahren Meisterzügen vollkommener Sicherheit. Scharf unterschied er die Eigenthümlichkeiten des einen von den Charakterzügen des anderen."

26 Otto Rommel, *Die Alt-Wiener Volkskomödie. Ihre Geschichte vom barocken Welttheater bis zum Tode Nestroys* (Vienna: Anton Schroll & Co., 1952), 904.

> Raimund's comedy was one of his own, different from all others, and even composed of otherwise contradictory elements. There was a vehemence in his movements and gestures, a tossing of his hands and head, a rolling of his large and lively eyes, a rapid repulsion of words, that one would have had to expect a perpetual inner fury, if all this had not been tempered on the other hand by the most profound kindness. Just as in his poetry, so in his portrayals there was always a melancholy which, though it did not push itself forward, appeared like a faint glow after a thunderstorm in the distance.[27]

As far as the magic play was concerned, Raimund was undoubtedly a trendsetter, as his much-vaunted art of transformation converged with the elaborately managed stage machinery. Until the 1840s, the theater machinery on the suburban stages was realized in a similar way to baroque theater, using side backdrops, lowering and flying mechanisms. The temporal sequence of scenery changes using a system of pulleys often had to be operated manually by the stagehands. Major transformations, as well as lightning and thunder, were usually coordinated by the prompter using a bell signal, although it was sometimes remarked critically that the bell signals could also be heard by the audience. In general, transformations also took place on the open stage, which suggests that occasionally no effort was made to conceal them and maintain the illusion. The scene directions in Raimund's plays suggest a highly developed technique in the heyday of this genre. Raimund's offer that directors could acquire the instructions for the theatrical machinery from him illustrates that 'magic tricks' were protected as a professional secret, so that even contemporary manuals do not reveal exactly how individual transformations were performed. The theatrical machinery thus represented a play in itself, which had to be precisely arranged and whose stage effects were explicitly mentioned in the theater reviews.[28]

Die Unheil bringende Krone

In Raimund's only failure, his magic play *Die Unheil bringende Krone oder König ohne Reich, Held ohne Muth, Schönheit ohne Jugend* (The Disastrous Crown, or,

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27 Ignaz Franz Castelli, *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. 15 (Vienna: Anton Pichler's sel. Witwe, 1845), 183: "Raimund's Komik war eine eigene, von allen andern verschiedene und sogar aus sich sonst widerstreitenden Elementen zusammengesetzte. Es war eine Heftigkeit in seinen Bewegungen und Geberden, ein Herumwerfen der Hände und des Kopfes, ein Rollen seines großen und lebhaften Auges, ein schnelles Abstoßen der Worte, daß man ihm einen fortwährenden inneren Grimm hätte zumuthen müssen, wenn dies Alles nicht wieder von der andern Seite durch die tiefste Gemüthlichkeit gemildert worden wäre. So wie in seinen Dichtungen, so lag auch in seinen Darstellungen immer eine Wehmuth, welche, wenn sie sich auch nicht vordrängte, doch wie ein mattes Wetterleuchten nach einem Gewitter ganz in der Ferne erschien."

28 Rommel, *Alt-Wiener Volkskomödie*, 769–72.

King without Empire, Hero without Courage, Beauty without Youth), which was first performed on 4 December 1829 under the title *Die unheilbringende Zauberkrone* at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, the theatrical machinery plays a prominent role.[29] The play caused irritation not only among contemporary critics, but also in later research literature. In Raimund's career as a poet, the poor reception of the play was seen as a consequence of his presumptuous poetic ambitions, which would have been impossible to fulfil due to his lack of education. This makes the drama almost paradigmatic for the image of the failed tragedian or tragic comedian accentuated by the Raimund legend. According to Walter Erdmann, if you want to follow the path from the climax of the 'Alpenkönig' to the other climax of the 'Verschwender', you first have to "walk through the dark valley where the 'Unheilbringende Krone' lies hidden."[30] Otto Rommel is somewhat more cautious in his assessment, not seeing the drama as a necessary evil, but recognizing the allegorical seriousness as an intrinsic part of Raimund's oeuvre: "If you want to understand Raimund's poetry, you have to realize that allegory was not an outdated fashion for him, but a lively basic form of his artistic experience."[31] Accordingly, he considers the most doubted play to be Raimund's most imaginative work because of its dark and grandiose images.[32]

The theatrical and experimental character of the magic play can be seen in its blatant stylistic mixture of comedy and seriousness as well as high style drama and entertainment theater.[33] In particular, the language of the play, which was perceived by contemporary reviewers as clichéd and artificial, and which subsumes blank verse, dactyls, trochaic, alexandrines and rhythmic prose, must have clashed with the expectations of critics and audiences.[34] The same applies to the complicated plot, in which the victorious general Phalarius is given a crown by Hades, the king of the underworld.[35] This awards him immeasurable power, as it makes him invulnerable and causes anyone who

29 See Raimund, *Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, 4, 304–8.

30 Walter Erdmann, *Ferdinand Raimund. Dichterische Entwicklung, Persönlichkeit und Lebensschicksal* (Würzburg: Konrad Trilitsch, 1942), 182: "Will man den Weg verfolgen von dem Höhepunkt des 'Alpenkönigs' zum andern Gipfelpunkt des 'Verschwenders', so muß man – um im Bilde zu bleiben – durch das dunkle Tal schreiten, wo die 'Unheilbringende Krone' verborgen liegt."

31 Rommel, *Alt-Wiener Volkskomödie*, 912: "Will man Raimunds Dichtung verstehen, so muß man sich klarmachen, daß die Allegorie für ihn nicht eine veraltete Mode, sondern eine lebendige Grundform seines künstlerischen Erlebens war."

32 Rommel, *Alt-Wiener Volkskomödie*, 914 and 913.

33 See Fanny Platelle, *Ferdinand Raimund et la renouvellement de la féerie viennoise* (Bern, Berlin, Brussels, etc.: Peter Lang, 2021).

34 See Roman Lach, "Maschinen und Worte: Raimund's *Die unheilbringende Zauberkrone* als synthetisches Welttheater," *Nestroyana* 33, 3–4 (2013): 144–59, at 148–9.

35 See Hein, Meier, *Ferdinand Raimund*, 63–7.

approaches it to sink despondently into the dust. Only when it is illuminated by moonlight can its wearer be injured. Strengthened by the crown, Phalarius subdues Agrigent, but his attempt on King Kreon's life is thwarted by the patron goddess Lucina. Lucina elicits three paradoxical conditions from Hades, the fulfilment of which should save Agrigent. Three things must be sacrificed on the altar in front of the Eumenides' cave so that Hades will release them and they can take their revenge on the power-obsessed Phalarius: the crown of a king who never owned a country and never will; the laurel wreath of a fearful hero who nevertheless accomplished a great deed; and, finally, the myrtle wreath with which a sixty-year-old woman was decorated by her young rivals in a beauty contest. Lucina plans to overcome the almost impossible demands with the help of the poet Ewald. She equips him with a magic torch, which from then on boosts the theater machinery by giving every object it illuminates a wonderful shape. Ewald sets off on his journey with the cowardly tailor Simplizius Zitternadel. First, however, the two of them outwit the wine merchant Riegelsam, who, accompanied by two bailiffs, wants to collect Simplizius' debts. The torch is put to the test for the first time when Ewald transforms the poor lodgings into a room with valuable furniture and pretends to be a rich Englishman who wants to settle Simplizius' arrears. In the opposite case, Riegelsam intends to keep the beautiful furnishings. When Ewald and Simplizius leave with the torch to fetch the supposed money, the parlor returns to its previous form and the bruised wine merchant has to watch the two of them fly away on a cloud in splendid clothes. After that, the seemingly impossible tasks are gradually overcome: in Massana, which is doomed to destruction, Ewald embellishes the death of the dying King Heraklius. The latter bequeaths him the crown of his kingdom, but Massana is soon destroyed by a massive earthquake. In Kallidalus, the fearful Simplizius drinks excessive courage from the enchanted lake so that he even kills the wild boar that was terrorizing the island. When the effect of the magic disappears, the soldiers marvel at his fearfulness, which makes him shudder even in front of the slain animal. Nevertheless he is awarded the laurel wreath. In the meantime, Eduard has not only fallen in love with Atritia, but has also found a conceited old woman in her aunt Aloe. He endows her with youthful looks and the charms of the goddess Venus for the upcoming beauty contest, giving her the victory. The conditions are now all fulfilled and Phalarius, who is despairing of his crown, succumbs to the Revenge furies released by Hades. Kreon once again ascends the throne of Agrigent, rewards Ewald by giving him Atritia as his wife and offering him employment at his court. Lucina leaves the magic torch to Ewald and Simplizius is given 1000 gold pieces.

As in his other plays, Raimund relies on contrast dramaturgy, which combines the mythical-allegorical state action with a comic plot.[36] However, this drama is "less about the human struggle between good and evil forces than about the confrontation between these forces themselves."[37] The protagonists are mythical-allegorical figures who are clearly distinguished from the human characters through scenic décor and clothing.[38] In the form of a synthetic world theater ("synthetisches Welttheater") their conflicts resemble a battle between good and evil, in which people are merely used as a means to an end and the larger contexts remain inscrutable to them.[39] As a result, the play is made up of three storylines: a supernatural one between Hades and Lucina, a heroic-tragic one between Phalarius and Kreon and a comic one involving the poet Ewald and the tailor Simplizius.[40] The contrasting effect is also achieved through tempo and rhythm, whereby it is striking that the piece, which actually rushes from peripeteia to peripeteia, seems strangely rigid and undramatic at the same time.[41] The pathetic verse scenes in particular, as Gunther Wiltschko has shown, are presented in a kind of statuesque physical rhetoric, which gives the actors little reason to move, but rather leaves them frozen.[42] Unlike in Raimund's previous, successful magic plays, the comic, more fast-paced scenes no longer relativize the horror of the tragic ones, so that the overall disastrous and ominous atmosphere, as Roman Lach notes, also affects the comedy.[43] Although the number of comic scenes is actually extraordinarily high, they no longer have a reharmonizing or conciliatory effect, but rather appear more sinister in their massive framing than in other Raimund plays.[44] While Raimund used the supernatural sphere for parodistic effects in his early dramas, these are discarded in favor of seriousness and pathos in *Die Unheil bringende Krone*. Thus the comedy has to continually prove itself against a whole apparatus of death-threatening rhetoric and allegory.[45]

Raimund's contrasting technique is also evident at the level of his figure constellation. Although Hades still corresponds to the underworld god of Greek mythology, Raimund only partially adheres to his ancient role model

36 Günter Holz, *Ferdinand Raimund – der geliebte Hypochonder. Sein Leben, sein Werk* (Frankfurt/Main, Berlin, Bern, etc.: Peter Lang, 2002), 200.
37 Hein, Meyer, *Ferdinand Raimund*, 68: "Es geht weniger um den Kampf des Menschen zwischen guten und bösen Mächten als um die Auseinandersetzung dieser Mächte selbst."
38 Ibid, 68.
39 See Lach, "Maschinen und Worte," 144.
40 Lach, "Maschinen und Worte," 150.
41 Ibid.," 144.
42 Gunther Wiltschko, *Raimunds Dramaturgie* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1973), 75.
43 Lach, "Maschinen und Worte," 152.
44 Holtz, *Ferdinand Raimund*, 192. See Lach, "Maschinen und Worte," 153.
45 Lach, "Maschinen und Worte," 153.

and enriches it with elements of free invention.[46] In Raimund's work, Hades is exclusively negative, which is emphasized on stage by his black costume. Lucina stands opposite him as Agrigent's protector and as the goddess of light and childbirth, whereby the color symbolism further reinforces the contrast between light and dark in this play. Her appearances, which are introduced and accompanied by music, lend her an almost fairy-like, even elfish quality.[47] Phalarius and Ewald, on the other hand, have usually been seen as parallel or complementary figures to Hades and Lucina, although it should not be forgotten that they function primarily as their 'tools'. The usurper Phalarius, who is reminiscent of Napoleon, serves Hades to fulfill his oath to depopulate the earth; Ewald, equipped with the magic torch, is supposed to help Lucina save the virtuous Kreon and Agrigent by fulfilling the paradoxical tasks. The counterpart to Phalarius' claim to power is, on the one hand, the former general Octavian, who has renounced his lust for power and war and, in his brief appearance in front of his remote forest hut, presents a model of self-restraint and self-control.[48] On the other hand, Phalarius' bloody heroism is parodied on a comic level by Simplizius' intermittent lust for murder after drinking from the red magic lake. As Simplizius relapses back into his original fearfulness after his heroic deed, it was precisely these scenes that allowed Raimund, who was known for his art of transformation, to demonstrate his acting skills.

Finally, the spectacular theatrical effects, which Raimund laid out in detailed scene instructions that were revised several times in the manuscripts, prove to be of central importance.[49] Raimund's play is thus exemplary of the partial replacement of unspecific type decoration by individual decoration and a corresponding concretization of the scene image during the first half of the nineteenth century on the Viennese stage, as outlined by Marion Linhardt.[50] In his magic play *Die Unheil bringende Krone*, the motif of excess is reflected to a certain extent in the stage design and theater machinery. The folding backdrops are aimed at surprising transformation rather than inner transformation, at continuous change rather than development.[51] As a result, the dramaturgical design unfolds in a sequence of images and poses, so that Roman Lach rightly summarizes: "in the end, the apparatus triumphs, the mechanism

46 Frank Schaumann, *Gestalt und Mythos in Ferdinand Raimunds Bühnenwerken* (Vienna: Bergland, 1970), 32.
47 Schaumann, *Gestalt und Mythos*, 39.
48 Kurt Kahl, *Raimund* (Velber: Friedrich Verlag, 1967), 81; Holtz, *Ferdinand Raimund*, 200.
49 See Walla, "Schwarz auf weiß," 121.
50 Marion Linhardt, *Kontrolle – Prestige – Vergnügen. Profile einer Sozialgeschichte des Wiener Theaters 1700–2010* (Graz: LiTheS, 2012), 41, see Lach, "Maschinen und Worte," 154.
51 Lach, "Maschinen und Worte," 154.

of allegory that results from the interactions of the conflicting opposites."[52] The rapid succession of station-like images illustrates a folding-picture-like dramaturgy which, instead of a harmonious world structure, conjures up the instability of a world threatened by war and the desire for conquest.[53] Even Ewald's magic torch, which symbolizes poetry and art, can only disguise this aleatory order to a limited extent. Therefore, the supposed happy ending includes a deeply pessimistic aftertaste, because the happiness promised by the local goddess basically only extends to Agrigent.[54] At least here there is a ruler who sees himself as the first servant of the state, when he rejects Lucina's myrtle crown and its magic at the end of the play:

KREON	Verzeih Luzin, ich darf die Kron nicht nehmen.	Sorry Luzin, I'm not allowed to take the crown.
	Nimm sie zurück, sie würde mich beschämen.	Take it back, it would embarrass me.
	Es soll auch ohne Zauber mir gelingen	I shall succeed even without magic
	Die Liebe meines Volkes zu erringen.	To win the love of my people.
	Und drückt es Leid, in unglücksvollen Tagen	And expresses sorrow in unhappy days
	Ist es des Königs Pflicht mit ihm zu klagen. [55]	It is the king's duty to lament with them.

The rest of the world remains enslaved to the dark magic of the orcus' or hell's crown.[56] As Frank Schaumann emphasizes, it is particularly this skepticism that refutes "the formula often used in Raimund literature of the naïve faithfulness of the poet, who was imagined sitting on trees, spun into dreams and fairy tales."[57] Rather, at a time when entertainment theater was beginning to be used for propaganda purposes, Raimund's magic play appeared to be a kind of anti-war drama whose complicated allegorical plot expresses the brutality, senselessness and confusion of striving for power and conquest. Despite its little stage presence, the play thus appears far more progressive than scholars have been willing to acknowledge.

52 Lach, "Maschinen und Worte," 158: "Am Ende triumphiert der Apparat, der Mechanismus der Allegorien, der sich aus Wechselwirkungen der widerstreitenden Gegensätze ergibt."
53 Lach, "Maschinen and Worte," 159.
54 Holtz, *Ferdinand Raimund*, 200.
55 Raimund, *Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, 4, 110.
56 Holtz, *Ferdinand Raimund*, 201.
57 Schaumann, *Gestalt und Mythos*, 64: "Diese in Raimunds letzten Werken immer stärker werdende skeptische Haltung widerlegt die in der Raimund-Literatur gern gebrauchte Formel von der naiven Gläubigkeit des Dichters, den man sich auf Bäumen sitzend vorstellte, in Träumen und Märchen versponnen."

Raimund as a theater director

Eventually, the magic play *Die Unheil bringende Krone* marks a significant turning point in Raimund's career, as its failure led to a final break with the owner of the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, Rudolf Steinkeller.[58] Steinkeller had officially taken over the stage on 24 January 1828. As he was not authorized to manage the business, he proposed Raimund for the position of director.[59] After lengthy investigations, the President of the Police and Censorship Office Josef von Sedlnitzky approved this plan, so that Raimund was presented to the staff as the new theater director on 17 April 1828. Although the success of *Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind* occurred during his directorship, the theater's financial situation could not be stabilized. In fact, under Steinkeller's management, the ensemble was gradually disbanded due to cutbacks and disagreements. Nevertheless, the costs for the play *Die Unheil bringende Krone* were considerable and Steinkeller is said to have spent around 6,000–7,000 guilders for its production.[60] When the play proved unsuccessful, Raimund had to turn to the Vienna magistrate, as Steinkeller withheld his fee of 600 guilders.[61] In April 1830, Raimund terminated his contract prematurely after further controversies; on 9 September 1830, he was responsible for a performance as theater director for the last time.[62] From then on, Raimund acted as a freelance artist, never accepting a permanent engagement for the rest of his life. This was unusual for the time and illustrates his popularity, which made him sought-after by German stages outside the Habsburg monarchy.[63] In addition to appearances at the Theater an der Wien, the Josefstädter Theater and the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, Raimund made guest appearances in Prague, Munich, Berlin and Hamburg in the following years. Raimund mainly acted in current productions, but did not miss the opportunity to stage new plays with the existing ensemble, whereby the meticulousness with which he went to work must have driven his colleagues to despair from time to time.[64]

58 See Raimund, *Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, 4, 225–7.
59 See Franz Hadamowsky, *Das Theater in der Wiener Leopoldstadt 1781–1860* (Vienna: O. Höfel's Witwe, 1934), 64–6.
60 See Johann Hüttner, "Raimund im Theaterbetrieb der Jahre 1820 bis 1830," in *'besser schön lokal reden als schlecht hochdeutsch'. Ferdinand Raimund in neuer Sicht*, ed. Hubert Christian Ehalt and Jürgen Hein (Vienna: Lehner, 2006), 23.
61 See Franz Hadamowsky, "Ferdinand Raimund. Leben und Werk," in *Werke in zwei Bänden*, vol. 1, ed. Franz Hadamowsky (Salzburg: Bergland, 1984), 66.
62 See Hadamowsky, *Ferdinand Raimund*, 67.
63 See Hüttner, "Raimund im Theaterbetrieb," 24.
64 Josef H. Biller, "Ferdinand Raimund in München," *Raimund Almanach* (1990): 55–104, at 71.

Der Verschwender

As a playwright, however, he took a long break from writing. It was not until 20 February 1834 that his last play, *Der Verschwender* (The Prodigal), was to premiere at the Theater in der Josefstadt.[65] Raimund had scheduled an impressive number of thirty-one rehearsals for the production.[66] While he was able to rely on proven artists such as the theater painter Hermann Neefe, he worked closely with the conductor Conradin Kreutzer on the songs, which became famous beyond the play itself. The premiere is said to have lasted a full four hours, as the audience in the overcrowded theater demanded repetitions of several couplets and repeatedly called out and frenetically cheered the star of the evening, who played the role of the faithful servant Valentin. Within two months, the play was performed forty-two times, earning the management an impressive profit of 20,000 guilders.[67] The general euphoria is reflected in the diary of Raimund's friend Karl Ludwig Costenoble, in which the Burgtheater actor notes: "I have not felt so lively and youthful in the theater for years as I did today and, despite the snow, rain and cold, I went home with inner and outer warmth, as if in a state of joy."[68]

In contrast to *Die Unheil bringende Krone*, Raimund's fairy tale play about the noble-minded prodigal Julius von Flottwell gets along without an overwhelming magic apparatus. Researchers have drawn comparisons with other dramas such as Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens*, Goldoni's *Il prodigo*, Gozzi's *La donna serpente* or Destouches' *Le dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne,* which could have inspired Raimund.[69] A short novella entitled *Der junge Verschwender und seine Frau* (The Young Prodigal and his Wife), which reproduces the plot of Destouches' comedy, was also published in 1829 in the *Taschenbuch des Theaters in der Leopoldstadt*.[70] Further influences can be found outside of literature and theater in the reality of the Vormärz period, whose socio-economic crises caused a number of financial crashes. The aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, which were accompanied by inflation and national bankruptcy (1811, 1816),

65 See Matthias Mansky, "Nachwort," in Ferdinand Raimund, *Der Verschwender*, ed. Matthias Mansky (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2021), 139–48. Raimund, *Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, 4, 752–58.

66 See Renate Wagner, *Ferdinand Raimund. Eine Biographie* (Vienna: Kremayr & Scheriau, 1985), 304.

67 See Anton Bauer, Gustav Kropatschek, *200 Jahre Theater in der Josefstadt 1788–1988* (Vienna: Anton Schroll & Co., 1989), 44.

68 Raimund, *Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, 4, 727: "Ich habe seit Jahren nicht so lebhaft-jugendlich im Theater empfunden, wie heute und ich gieng, trotz Schnee, Regen und Kälte, mit innerer und äußerer Wärme, wie im Freudentaumel, nach Hause."

69 See Hein, Meyer, *Ferdinand Raimund*, 78; Platelle, *Ferdinand Raimund*, 212–6.

70 See Richard Smekal, "Die Vorlage Raimunds für seinen *Verschwender*," in *Grillparzer und Raimund. Funde und Studien von Richard Smekal* (Vienna and Leipzig: C. Barth, 1920), 217–35.

was still present in the 1830s.[71] Added to this was the gradual onset of Austrian industrialization, which corresponded with a structural change in society. In the first third of the nineteenth century, opposing economic and social developments can thus be observed, which were characterized by incipient industrialization and fear of the proletariat, inflationary economy and wartime hardship as well as an awakening of intellectual life in times of political repression and censorship.[72]

Raimund's audience was familiar with the lifestyles and fates of merchants and capitalists such as Count Moritz von Fries, Baron Peter von Braun and the banker Johann Heinrich Geymüller the Younger, who inherited or acquired large fortunes but lost them just as quickly. Around 1800, Fries was regarded as the richest man in Austria, a generous patron and benefactor, who, however, lost his entire assets in less than twenty years. Even before the banker died in Paris in 1826, he was forbidden to take part in the banking business and his remaining possessions were auctioned off.[73] The court banker, wholesaler and theater director Braun, who had an imposing 'Temple of the Night' built at Schönau Castle which was inspired by Mozart's and Schikaneder's *Zauberflöte,* also overextended himself financially. Geymüller, who continued his uncle's banking business after his death, acquired a palace in the suburb Wieden in 1824, which as the first house in Vienna was illuminated with gas in 1832. A few years after the first performance of Raimund's *Verschwender,* he failed and fled to Switzerland. All of them were great patrons of art, literature and theater, and the Viennese intelligentsia frequented their salons. Their wealth, but also their extravagance, became proverbial among their contemporaries, so that Ignaz Franz Castelli summed it up in his memoirs:

> It is a bad old story that merchants do not want to limit themselves when they have suffered significant losses, indeed, in order to conceal their situation, they actually go to even greater expense than before.[74]

71 See Matthias Mansky, *Ökonomien der Parodie am Wiener Vorstadttheater. Unterhaltungsdramatik in politischen und sozioökonomischen Krisenzeiten (1813–1830). Studie und kritische Edition* (Hanover: Wehrhahn, 2022), 19–44.

72 Roman Sandgruber, *Ökonomie und Politik. Österreichische Wirtschaftsgeschichte vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Vienna: Ueberreuter, 1995), 177.

73 Holtz, *Ferdinand Raimund*, 155.

74 As cited in Susanne Walther, "Der "zweite Adel". Kultur und Gesellschaft vor 1848," in *Bürgersinn und Aufbegehren. Biedermeier and Vormärz in Vienna 1815–1848*, ed. Selma Krasa (Vienna: Historisches Museum, 1988), 317: "Es ist eine alte schlimme Geschichte, daß sich Kaufleute bei erlittenen bedeutenden Verlusten nicht einschränken wollen, ja um ihre Lage zu verbergen, eigentlich noch mehr Aufwand machen als früher."

Even if it was probably far from Raimund's intention to portray one of these personalities, his fairy tale play reflects the contemporary crises that revealed the splendor and misery of capital to a feudal society.[75] In Raimund's play, the fairy Cheristane, out of excessive affection and love for the young Julius von Flottwell, has showered his father with wealth. Flottwell, who after his father's death cultivates a luxurious lifestyle, thinks she is a simple girl whom he wants to marry. As Cheristane has to leave the world at the command of the fairy king Illmaha, she sacrifices her last magic pearl to her lover, from which she creates the guardian spirit Azur. Her farewell at the end of the first act is accompanied by music and dancing geniuses. Cheristane flies away on veils of roses that form a picturesque sail, only to transform into "funeral flutes" "Trauerflöre").[76] She leaves Flottwell behind in despair.

The second act takes place three years later and reflects Flottwell's unsteady nature in its hectic pace. While he throws his money around compulsively,[77] he also shows his magnanimity when he gives Azur, who appears as a beggar, larger gifts depending on his mood. Flottwell's dissipation reaches its dramatic climax at a banquet at which Klugheim refuses his daughter Amalie's hand in marriage and a duel with his rival Flitterstein ensues. In the metaphorically final scene, Flottwell and Amalie flee to England in a ship threatened by storm and tempest, with their perilous and uncertain future expressed through the interplay of stage and music. As was usual in the melodramas and incidental music of the time, Kreutzer worked recognizable leitmotifs into the music. These were intended to express the character's affects and emotions or to reinforce the mood and atmosphere of the decoration and theater machinery.[78]

> They all [four] go after the ship. Music begins. After the boat gets tossed around a bit, they steer away. The storm rages. Lightning strikes. This is expressed by the music. But suddenly the storm subsides, the waves lower, the moon becomes half visible between the clouds, and casts its light on the beggar, who sails gently by, bent over on a small, barely noticeable boat. The music plays the melody of his beggar's song. When he is gone, the storm increases and the curtain falls.[79]

75 See Raimund, *Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, 4, 536; Tanzer, "Zufriedenheit," 23.
76 Raimund, *Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, 4, 146.
77 Wagner, *Ferdinand Raimund*, 301.
78 Alice Waginger, "Musik" in Raimund, *Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, 4, 959–60.
79 Raimund, *Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, 4, 184: "Sie gehen alle [vier] nach dem Schiff. Musick beginnt. Nach einigen Herumwerfen des Kahns steuern sie fort. Das Gewitter wüthet. Es schlägt ein. Dieß drückt die Musick aus. Doch plötzlich läßt der Sturm nach die Wogen gehen niedrer, der Mond wird zur H[ä]lfte zwischen den Wolken sichtbar, und wirft seinen Schein auf den Bettler welcher auf einem kleinen kaum bemerkbaren Kahn gebeugt sitzend sachte vorüber fährt. Die Musick spielt die Melodie seines Bettlerliedes. Wenn er fort ist, vermehrt sich der Sturm und die Kortine fällt."

Dramaturgically, the disjointed second act prepares for the third, which depicts the inevitable consequences of Flottwell's behavior twenty years later. This third act was celebrated by contemporaries as a true masterpiece. The run-down wastrel, whose wife and child had died, meets his faithful servant Valentin, who is working as a carpenter again, but selflessly wants to receive his former master and care for him. After Flottwell is expelled from the house by Valentin's wife Rose, he decides in the epilogue-like conclusion to await his death in the ruins of his old castle. Instead, Azur appears to him, revealing himself to be a higher being and restores to Flottwell the fortune he had begged for. However, this supposedly positive turn of events does not represent a new beginning. Rather, the final separation from Cheristane now takes place, which holds out the prospect of a reunion in "love's boundless realm / Where all spirits may meet" (see Illustration 1).[80] Scholars have critically questioned how this happy ending was achieved, for example when it comes to the role of Flottwell's earthly wife Amalie in this vision of the future.[81] Similarly, the somewhat peculiar 'submission' of Rosa, who has to beg Flottwell's forgiveness on her knees, suggests a forced harmonization. The stage prospectus then reveals a mountain landscape with dairymaids and dairymen, who somewhat incoherently sing the praises of contentment. Raimund himself commented on the drama's conclusion in a letter to the Hamburg theater director Friedrich Ludwig Schmidt, who had hoped for a more harmonious ending:

> What you say about the ending I would like to excuse with the fact that it is not my intention to reward the prodigal Flottwell for his noble but too wildly passionate heart at the end of his misguided career; in fact, he should perish. I only wanted him to be protected from the undeserved disgrace and outrageous ingratitude of the people. With the reward of his magnanimity (not always the result of true virtue), he is directed toward heaven.[82]

80 Raimund, *Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, 4, 212: "der Liebe grenzenlosem Reich / Wo alle Geister sich begegnen dürfen."

81 See Ian F. Roe, *Ferdinand Raimund* (Hanover: Wehrhahn, 2010), 104. See also Kahl, *Ferdinand Raimund*, 92.

82 Raimund, *Säkularausgabe*, 4, 440: "Was Sie über den Schluß bemerken, möchte ich dadurch entschuldigen, daß es nicht meine Absicht ist, den Verschwender Flottwell für sein zwar edles, aber zu wild leidenschaftliches Herz am Ende seiner verfehlten Laufbahn belohnen zu lassen; eigentlich müßte er untergehen. Nur vor der unverdienten Schmach und dem empörenden Undanke der Menschen wollte ich ihn geschützt wissen. Mit dem Lohn seiner (nicht immer aus wahrer Tugend hervorgehenden) Großmuth ist er an den Himmel gewiesen."



Illustration 1: Second departure of Cheristane. Copperplate engraving by Andreas Geiger and Christian Schoeller. Online Collection Wien Museum, Inventarnummer HMW 96843/1.

Raimund shifts his plot to the human level, whereby stage magic and theater machinery are severely limited in contrast to *Die Unheil bringende Krone*.[83] It is still the fairy Cheristane who brings Flottwell's father a large fortune and can therefore be understood as an alienation of contemporary, often inscrutable economic conditions.[84] However, her influence, like that of the guardian spirit Azur, is limited exclusively to her lover, who does not appreciate her gifts in the first two acts. Even if there is still a certain relationship of dependence between the humans and the spirits, both Cheristane and Azur reflect Flottwell's inner states of mind, so that a technique of projecting an inner experience outwards takes place on stage.[85] Azur, who personifies Flottwell's fiftieth year and his future poverty, is invisible to the other characters. His appearances counteract the exuberant life of luxury as a disillusioning 'memento mori'.[86] Azur's penetrating, dissatisfied and unbridled begging serves on the one hand to secure

83 Hein, Meyer, *Ferdinand Raimund*, 79; see Holtz, *Ferdinand Raimund*, 158.
84 See Klotz, *Dramaturgie*, 79–80, Mansky, "Nachwort," 142.
85 See Roger Crockett, "Raimund's *Der Verschwender*. The illusion of Freedom," *German Quarterly* 58, 2 (1985): 184–93; Rommel, *Alt-Wiener Volkskomödie*, 924.
86 See Jürgen Schröder, "Ferdinand Raimund: *Der Verschwender*. Eine Trilogie des Abschiednehmens," in *Interpretationen. Dramen des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Theo Elem (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1997), 120–40, at 127.

part of Flottwell's fortune, while on the other hand it refers to the prodigal's impetuous character. Their encounters can thus also be considered as self-confrontations.[87]

Contrast dramaturgy and the technique of mirroring also determine the constellation of characters.[88] Above all, the eloquent Franco-German Chevalier Dumont functions as a comic complement to Flottwell.[89] His excessive worship of nature negotiates the main theme of the play – namely the understanding and recognition of one's own world – on a comic level. Unlike the illusory character of the magic torch in *Die Unheil bringende Krone*, Dumont's aesthetic self-delusions no longer have any effect on the stage design and theater machinery. Instead, the myopic Frenchman's gaze is subject to double refraction ("doppelte Brechung")[90] through the utensils of the lorgnette or the mirror, so that he only perceives nature and people in framed, beautiful and embellished images. The comic highlight is his encounter with the old, toothless little mother ("altes zahnloses Mütterchen"), who is dressed in tattered clothes and has to transport a large bundle of brushwood through the mountains to Blunzendorf.[91] Dumont observes and admires her as a figure of realistic painting from the Dutch school (*Niederländische Schule*). The scene manifests itself as an object lesson in contrasting ways of perception when Dumont can no longer see the world for all its beautiful pictures.[92] In his social view from 'above', he ignores the veritable social hardships of his subject of observation. As with Flottwell, who perceives his environment from a distorted perspective due to his immoderate and passionate nature, Dumont's impressions are the result of his unbridled enthusiasm. The fact that at one point he compares the nature he aestheticizes with poetry compromises its idealizing, but at the same time illusionistic character which – similar to Eduard's magic torch in *Die Unheil bringende Krone* – can only partially conceal the actual reality of life.[93]

Similar to Flottwell and Dumont, Raimund's role Valentin displays an excessive attitude to life in his loyalty and devotion.[94] Valentin undergoes a remarkable development in the course of the play.[95] While in the first and second acts he presents himself to the audience in the style of the Hanswurst comic, he

87 See Kahl, *Ferdinand Raimund*, 93.
88 Hein, Meyer, *Ferdinand Raimund*, 78.
89 See Schröder, "Ferdinand Raimund," 122–6.
90 Schröder, "Ferdinand Raimund," 122.
91 Raimund, *Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, 4, 155: "altes, zahnloses Mütterchen", "zerrissen gekleidet"
92 Schröder, "Ferdinand Raimund," 123–4.
93 See Mansky, "Reflexionen über Kunst," 98–117.
94 Ian F. Roe, "Raimund's 'viele schöne Worte'", in *Viennese Popular Theatre. A Symposium*, ed. W. Edgar Yates and John R. P. McKenzie (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1985), 13–24, at 21.
95 See Mansky, "Nachwort," 145–6.

later sheds his servant's livery for the carpenter's work cloths. In the recognition scene in which he meets the now impoverished Flottwell (see Illustration 2), the tragic and touching element of servant loyalty prevails:

VALENTIN	Wenn ein Tischler früh aufsteht Trala la la – *(Sieht Flottwell.)* Schau, schau da ist ein armer Mann. Ich muß ihm doch was schenken. *(Er nimt einen Groschen aus dem Sack und will ihn Flottwell reichen doch stutzt er als er ihn erblickt.)* He Alter. *(Flottwell kehrt sich gegen ihn.)* Was ist – Ich weiß nicht dieses Gsicht – Das Gsicht ist mir bekannt – Jetzt trau [ich mir] ihm fast den Groschen gar nicht zu geben –	When a carpenter gets up early Trala la la – (*Looks at Flottwell.)* Look, look, there's a poor man. I must give him something. (*He takes a penny out of the sack and wants to hand it to Flottwell, but he takes it back when he sees him.)* Hey, old man. (*Flottwell turns against him.)* What is it – I think I know this face – Now I almost don't dare to give him the penny –
FLOTTWELL	Was wollt Ihr denn?	What do you want?
VALENTIN	*(noch gereizter).* Die Stim! – das wird doch nicht? *(Er zittert.)* Sie hörens, das wär entsetzlich – Bitt um Verzeihung! Sie[,] kennen Sie das Schloß?	*(even more irritated.)* This voice! – That won't do, will it? (*He trembles.)* That would be dreadful – I beg your pardon! Do you know the castle?
FLOTTWELL	*(gerührt.)* Ob ich es kenne Freund? Es war ja einst mein Eigenthum!!	*(moved.)* Do I know it, friend? It was once my property!
VALENTIN	*(schreit rasch.)* Mein gnädger Herr.	*(cries out quickly.)* My gracious sir.
FLOTTWELL	Wer bist du Freund?	Who are you friend?
VALENTIN	Der Valentin. Kennen mich E[uer] Gnaden denn nimmermehr. Der Tischlergsell der einmal bey Ihnen gearbeitet hat, und den Sie als Bedienten aufgenommen haben, weil er Ihnen so gut gfallen hat.	Valentin. Does Your Grace not know me anymore. The carpenter's apprentice who once worked for you and whom you took on as a servant because you liked him so much.
FLOTTWELL	*(gutmüthig.)* Valentin.? der gute ehrliche Valentin. Und du erinnerst dich noch meiner?	*(good-naturedly.)* Valentin? The good, honest Valentin. And you still remember me?
VALENTIN	Ob ich mich erinnere? O Gott! E[uer] G[naden] waren ja so gut mit mir, und haben mir ja so viel geschenkt. Einen Ducaten hab ich mir noch aufgehoben, *(gutmüthig)* aber die Andern hab ich Alle ausgegeben. [...]	Do I remember you? Oh God! Your Grace has been so good to me, and has given me so much. I have kept one ducat, (*good-naturedly)* but I have spent all the others. [...]

FLOTTWELL	*(für sich.)* Soll ich mich ihm entdecken?	*(to himself.)* Shall I discover myself to him?
VALENTIN	*(für sich.)* Ich trau mir ihn gar nicht zu fragen. Mir scheint er ist voll Hunger. [...]	*(to himself.)* I don't even dare ask him. He seems hungry to me. [...]
FLOTTWELL	*(kämpft mit sich seufzt greift sich an die Stirne und sagt dann).* Nun so leb wohl. *(Will gehn.)*	*(struggles with himself, sighs, touches his forehead and then says.)* Well, farewell. (*Wants to go.)*
VALENTIN	*(hält ihn auf.)* Wo wollen denn E[uer] Gnaden hin. E[uer] G[naden] werden mir doch nicht wieder davon laufen. Jetzt hab ich ja erst die Ehr gehabt zu sehen. *(Bey Seite.)* Wann ich nur wüßte, wie ich das Ding anstellen soll?	*(stops him.)* Where are Your Grace going? Your Grace will not run away from me again. I have only now had the honor of seeing you. (*Aside.)* If I only knew how to do this thing.
FLOTTWELL	Was willst du denn noch? *(Seufzt.)*	What else do you want? (*Sighs.)*
VALENTIN	E[uer] Gnaden verzeihen – Ah – Sagen mir E[uer] Gnaden aufrichtig[:] Seyn E[uer] G[naden] heut schon eingeladen?	May Your Grace forgive me – Ah – May Your Grace tell me sincerely: Are you already invited today?
FLOTTWELL	*(lächelt.)* Nein lieber Mann!	*(smiles.)* No dear man!
VALENTIN	Dürft ich wohl so frei seyn, und dürft mir die Ehr ausbitten, auf eine alte Hausmannskost.!	May I be so free as to ask for the honor of an old home-cooked meal!
FLOTTWELL	*(gerührt.)* Ich danke dir. Rechtschaffener Mensch! Ich komme.	*(touched.)* I thank you. Righteous man! I am coming.
VALENTIN	Nichts kommen. Ah beileib. Ich laß E[uer] G[naden] nimmer aus. [...] Ich muß mit meinem gnädigen Herrn nach Haus gehn jetzt. [...]	Not coming. Indeed I will never let Your Grace leave again. [...] I must go home now with my gracious lord. [...]
FLOTTWELL	Guter Valentin. *(Geht Arm in Arm mit ihm ab.)*	Good Valentin. (*Walks off with him arm in arm.)*
VALENTIN	Das ist ein Leben auf der Welt! [96]	That's a life in the world!

96 Raimund, *H*istorisch-krit*ische Ausgabe*, 4, 190–92.



Illustration 2: The recognition scene between Flottwell and Valentin. Copperplate engraving by Johann Christian Schoeller. Online Collection Wien Museum, Inventarnummer HMW 111564/3.

The impression that this key scene, characterized by comic embarrassment, pity and sympathy, made on the contemporary audience is again suggested by an entry in Karl Ludwig Costenoble's diary, which emphasizes the interplay between poetry and acting:

> His [Raimund's] carpenter Valentin is only a very common man according to the hierarchy of the cultivated world; but our artist knows how to transfigure this low-born man through the magic of his highly poetic play into a being of the highest birth – in what a glory of human dignity, greatness and nobility does he portray the deeply sensitive craftsman! The listener's eyes stream with alternating, quiet tremors of the diaphragm, and between laughter and tears he celebrates the greatest dramatic artist of this time. Yes, I write it down with conviction: no human actor alive today – I am not talking about rhetoricians in any way – has penetrated the human heart like Raimund, and no one has the ability to reproduce what is conceived in such a high perfection of soul nobility.[97]

The actor Raimund was once again able to succeed in this role thanks to his reputed ability to transform, giving the initially comical and simple-minded character a sentimental, tragicomic twist. This change can also be seen in the song interludes. The comic *hunting song* (*Jagdlied*) in the first act, for example, expresses Valentin's discomfort with the hunt, during which he is treated like an animal by the aristocratic society. As Alice Waginger has shown, this is also articulated musically, when his agile character stands in opposition to the other stiff hunting enthusiasts, which is expressed by semiquaver accompaniment in the second violin.[98] In contrast, the *Song of the plane* (*Hobellied*) in the third act, which deals with fate and death, is full of philosophical depth.[99] However, despite all the Biedermeier self-restraint, it should not be forgotten that a fateful plane that 'planes' people to the same level is a drastic symbol.[100]

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97 Raimund, *Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, 4, 726: "Sein [= Raimunds, M.M.] Tischler Valentin ist nur ein ganz gemeiner Mensch nach Rangordnung der kultivirten Welt; aber wie weiß unser Künstler diesen Niedriggebornen durch den Zauber seines hochpoetischen Spieles zum Allerhöchst gebornen Wesen zu verklären – in welch einer Glorie von Menschenwürde, Größe und Edelmuth den tiefempfindenden Handwerker hinzustellen! Unter abwechselnden, leisen Erschütterungen des Zwerchfells strömen die Augen des Hörers, und zwischen Lachen und Weinen feyert er den größten dramatischen Künstler dieser Zeit. Ja, ich schreibe es mit Ueberzeugung nieder: so wie Raimund ist kein jezt lebender Menschendarsteller – von Rethorikern rede ich in alle Wege nicht – in's menschliche Herz gedrungen und keiner hat das Vermögen, das Aufgefaßte in so hoher Vollendung eines Seelenadels wiederzugeben."

98 See Waginger, "Musik", 964.

99 See Hein, Meyer, *Ferdinand Raimund*, 79, Raimund, *Historisch-kritische* Ausgabe, 4, 970–2.

100 See Peter von Matt, "Von alter Unanfechtbarkeit. Ferdinand Raimund: *Das Hobellied*," in *Frankfurter Anthologie. Gedichte und Interpretationen*, vol. 8, ed. Marcel Reich-Ranicki (Frankfurt/Main: Insel, 1984), 79–81.

Conclusion

The observations on Raimund's last two dramas illustrate that in many respects his magic plays act as dramatic tilt images, as the beautiful illusion realized with an enormous semantic and stage-technical effort is always at risk of being exposed again. The contrasts in his dramas, which were further accentuated in the interplay of theater machinery, costume and music, let the dramaturgy of his plays often appear erratic and unpredictable.[101] Just as the dynamics of Raimund's acting demanded a certain level of perception from his audience, as they had to modify their expectations and reception several times during a single performance, his plays, in which Raimund's staging and theater practice are inscribed, show abrupt transitions between comedy and abysmal tragedy, Biedermeier coziness and disillusioning misery. Therefore it is not surprising that later writers such as Hugo von Hofmannsthal and Robert Musil have highlighted the peculiar mixture of naturalism and allegory and the carelessly bound sentimentality and brutality in Raimund's plays.[102] "One must be content!" ("Zufrieden muß man seyn.") is the final emphatic credo in Raimund's *Verschwender*, in which a catchphrase of the Biedermeier era is invoked.[103] In contrast, Raimund's magic plays show that 'contentment', when measured against the hardships of contemporary life, was difficult to achieve, even with the illusionistic means of theater and poetry.[104] As a result, a certain skepticism and pessimism always shimmers through Raimund's perceived Biedermeier idyll, which in view of the ongoing wars and socio-economic crises cannot be disregarded.

101 See Matthias Mansky, "Ferdinand Raimunds Schockdramaturgie," in *Ferdinand Raimunds inszenierte Fantasien*, ed. Hubert Christian Ehalt and Jürgen Hein (Vienna: Lehner, 2008), 70–86, Johann Sonnleitner, "Sentimentalität und Brutalität. Zu Raimunds Komödienpoetik des Indirekten," in *Raimund. Nestroy. Grillparzer. Witz und Lebensangst*, ed. Ilija Dürhammer and Pia Janke (Vienna: Praesens, 2001), 81–96.

102 Hugo von Hofmannsthal, "Ferdinand Raimund," in *Gesammelte Werke. Prose III*, ed. Herbert Steiner (Frankfurt/Main: S. Fischer, 1964), 477; See Robert Musil, *Gesammelte Werke in neun Bänden*, vol. 9: *Kritik*, ed. Adolf Frisé. 2nd edition (Reinbeck: Rowohlt, 1981), 1654–5.

103 Raimund, *Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, 4, 214.

104 See Reinhard Urbach, "Zufriedenheit bei Ferdinand Raimund," in *Austriaca. Beiträge zur österreichischen Literatur. Festschrift für Hans Politzer*, ed. Winfried Kudszus, Hinrich C. Seeba, and Richard Brinkmann (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1975), 107–26.

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Final Thoughts

More Than Just Music: Free Associations on the Combination of the Arts and Presentations of *Erlkönig* in Schubert's Vienna

Christopher H. Gibbs

This final chapter offers some free associations concerning the combination of the arts in Franz Schubert's career, beginning with the obvious observation that many of his most famous compositions are Lieder, thus combining music and poetry. My focus is on *Erlkönig*, his path-breaking setting of Goethe's ballad which, with its different characters, is a sort of miniature opera. I look at performances of the piece at two important charity concerts framing the 1820s. The first, on 7 March 1821, marked the song's public premiere and brought enormous attention to Schubert for the first time. It was billed as a "Große musikalische Akademie mit Deklamation und Gemälde-Darstellungen" and offered a mixed program of music, recitation, dance, and tableau vivant. The other concert was the first of a series presented by Schubert's older brother Ferdinand, who frequently gave premieres. The one on 21 March 1830 featured *Erlkönig* as "cantatisch bearbeitet". Although the score is lost, reviews indicate that a four-part chorus sang the narrator's verses, and soloists the father, son, and Erlking, thus pointing even more to its operatic potential. This was the first orchestration of a Schubert song, and many followed. I consider how reworkings of *Erlkönig* brought in other arts and created new sound worlds, including dance, virtuoso pieces (Liszt, H. W. Ernst, etc.), theatrical settings (Adolf Müller, Meyerbeer, Suppé, etc.), and led to films in the twentieth century. I conclude with some observations about theatrical transformations of Schubert's music in recent years and ponder the extraordinary continuing appeal of his music for adaptation and multi-media presentation.

The conference that generated this book took place in the city where Sigmund Freud spent most of his career, which inspires me to offer some 'free associations' concerning Franz Schubert in relation to the combination of the arts in Biedermeier Vienna. My associations gradually narrow, with the principal focus on *Erlkönig*, the composition that made, and for many decades most sustained, his fame. In addition to performances, I also consider transformations of the song that expand the work to other genres and offer different kinds of combinations as memories of the original Lied yield to new sounds. Finally,

I will reflect on the attractiveness of using Schubert's music in a wide range of theater pieces, operettas, films, and multimedia performances.

My first association, as it might be for others, goes beyond the generalization of Schubert as a great composer but more specifically as a composer of Lieder, the one who decisively elevated the stature of the genre. He was thus someone who dealt with both music and words, even if he rarely wrote the latter himself. Aesthetic debates about which has priority date back centuries. Schubert's teacher, Antonio Salieri, wrote a one-act 'divertimento teatrale' called *Prima la musica e poi le parole* and Richard Strauss tackled the issue in his final opera *Capriccio*. The relevance for Schubert is not which is more important, or arguments about the quality of the words he set, but simply the acknowledgment that many of his greatest creations are more than just music, that at a minimum they combine another art, namely poetry. This book invites us to take integration with other arts further, encompassing theater, dance, painting, and more.

Associations with the general idea of combining the arts bring to mind Richard Wagner and the 'Gesamtkunstwerk' (a word Wagner in fact rarely used), but perhaps that impulse should be resisted. Wagner's aesthetic dominance, in his time and after (not only in music), is symptomatic of a larger historical amnesia that can give him too much credit for ideas that resonate through the centuries. The birth of opera around 1600 in Italy was largely a project to combine the arts on the model of the ancient Greeks with, like Wagner, the elevated subject matter of mythology as the foundation. The aesthetic concerns of Schubert's Vienna in the 1820s may seem quite different from Renaissance Florence or from Bayreuth in the 1870s and '80s, but the Classical Greek project can at least help us better appreciate other idealistic and combinatorial ventures, a useful reminder that musical matters often involve more than just music. It is an obvious point, but the ideology that has arisen around the autonomy of music, its purity, its special qualities dividing those who are gifted musically from other people – all this leaves layers of mystification that too often separate music from culture, politics, and daily life, not to mention the other arts.

We are told in one of the earliest published obituaries upon Schubert's death in 1828 that he "lived solely for art and for a small circle of friends" (lebte er einzig nur der Kunst und einem kleinen Zirkel von Freunden).[1] His deep engagement with 'art' was not limited solely to *Tonkunst*, the 'art of

1 Josef L. Blahetka, "Nekrolog," *Allgemeine Wiener Theaterzeitung*, 27 December 1828 (Deutsch, *Memories*, 10; *Erinnerungen*, 14).

music' inscribed in the epitaph on his tombstone ("Die Tonkunst begrub hier einen reichen Besitz, aber noch viel schoenere Hoffnungen".)[2]

Among his closest friends, more were significant writers and painters than were professional musicians, although many were competent amateurs who played an instrument. These friendships provided Schubert with intimate connections to other art forms, but later led to some problems for his reputation. Johann Sebastian Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, and other illustrious precursors hailed from musical backgrounds; their compositional careers basically continued the family business as they received training at home and from formidable teachers. While Schubert's family was musical – he played viola with his father and brothers in the family string quartet – and he won a prized academic scholarship at the Stadtkonvikt because of his abilities as a boy soprano, he did not have as rigorous and systematic a musical training as his predecessors.

Or at least that was the charge sometimes leveled against him, even by close friends. Josef von Spaun considered Schubert a great Lied composer, but expressed private doubts about his instrumental, choral, and dramatic works. He sidestepped the issue in his 1829 memorial: "Whether Schubert's larger works are also of the first quality, the future will show" but was more candid in a letter at the time to Eduard von Bauernfeld: "In spite of all the admiration I have felt for my dear friend, for years, I am of the opinion that, in the field of instrumental and church music, we shall never make a Mozart or a Haydn out of him, whereas in song he stands unsurpassed".[3]

Schubert's friends furnished much of the support he needed to create, the poems he encountered that inspired his first masterpieces, and the artistic values and ideals he internalized. He benefited in many ways from associating with passionate, cultured, and intelligent young men, usually somewhat older and of higher social rank, who believed in his gifts. These friends helped to form him, guiding much of what he read, saw, and heard. They were his collaborators and usually his initial audience. The group was never as stable as posterity imagines, or all assembled as romanticized in Moritz von Schwind's sepia drawing *An Evening at Josef von Spaun's* (which graces the cover of this book); it extends further than the most familiar names. They introduced him

2 Franz Grillparzer, inscription on Schubert's tombstone, Autumn 1829 (Deutsch, *Documents*, 900; *Dokumente*, 580).

3 Deutsch, *Memories*, 25, 30; Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 32: "Ob auch Schuberts größere Kompositionen ausgezeichnet seien, wird die Folge lehren." *Erinnerungen*, 39: "Bei aller Bewunderung, die ich dem Teuren seit Jahren schenke, bin ich doch der Meinung, daß wir in Instrumental- und Kirchenkompositionen nie einen Mozart oder Haydn aus ihm machen werden, wogegen er im Liede unübertroffen dasteht."

to people and situations he would not otherwise have encountered, provided him with material goods and lodging, and guided his exposure to a vast spectrum of excellence in the arts. They did this convinced of the importance of their project as something bigger than mere pleasure or entertainment. The notion that a brotherhood of friends imbued with a "common love of the good" could benefit society through art and ideas appealed to Schubert at an impressionable age.[4]

Schubert's attraction to poetry and his genius in writing Lieder made sense given this educational and social background, even if some felt that it put him at a disadvantage when it came to writing instrumental music. His dedication to living "solely for art" and his associations with an unusually broad artistic and intellectual circle of friends, rather than a total immersion in music, made it possible to dismiss – or at least to diminish – him as a dilettante. But if we turn the kaleidoscope a different image appears. A fuller appreciation of Schubert's education and friendships encourages one to think more about the new vistas that opened through the books he read, the concerts, plays, and operas he attended, the art and architecture he saw.

Scholars in recent decades have explored in more depth the issue of Schubert's friendships and 'Bildung'. But as with so much relating to the composer, we are limited by the paucity of information that survives directly from him – less than a hundred letters (many of them trivial), a few scattered diary entries, and little else. Memorial tributes and reminiscences by family and friends, written over the course of many decades, partly fill the void, but they can prove unreliable and the views expressed often shift over time. Given so many gaps it has proved helpful to look more into what his friends were reading and attending and reasonably conjecture that Schubert did some of this as well. Schubert inhabited a different intellectual world than did Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven before him. His was more in line with slightly later Romantics like Hector Berlioz, Felix Mendelssohn, and Robert Schumann, who were 'intellectuals', who went to university, who were compelling writers. As with so many aspects of Schubert's life and activity, much is gained from discarding earlier sentimental views of him as a clueless naïve who tossed off masterpieces on the back of a menu and give him more agency as an intellectually and artistically engaged humanist. A letter from Anton von Spaun to Franz von Schober gives some idea of an admirable idealism:

4 Susan Youens, *Schubert's Poets and the Making of Lieder* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 155.

> We must study humanity, and all ages, and what the best people of the past did and thought, and how one thing leads to another, and how one thing follows out of another, so that we can understand clearly and have a positive influence on the people we love, on our brothers. Beauty, too, influences human hearts powerfully, refreshingly, and upliftingly, and the sounds of music, a madonna by Raphael, an Apollo, the song of a divinely inspired poet, all pull heavenward with an unknown power; therefore let us too dedicate our lives and flee nothing so much as an excess of destructive passions and the deficiency and emptiness of an indolent spirit.[5]

Hearing Schubert's *Erlkönig*

Free associating about when and where Schubert's music was heard during his time, we know it was most often at private events, famously at Schubertiades, but also at other domestic music making occasions in which he and his friends participated. Josef von Spaun valued this intimacy and disapproved of public concerts for Schubert Lieder: "Nor are his songs suited to the concert hall or the stage. The listener must also have a feeling for the poem and enjoy the lovely song together with it; in a word, the public must be a quite different one from that which fills the theatres and concert halls".[6]

Changing the venue from the private sphere to a public one opens up the work. During Schubert's time the private began to blend into semi-public (or semi-private) occasions and then to fully public ones, although public concerts as we know them today were less frequent. Vienna did not yet have a dedicated concert hall at the time, which is why theaters, ballrooms, restaurants, the university, and other venues were used. The Vienna Philharmonic did not yet exist. There were concerts presented by organizations such as the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. Composers and performers gave concerts that were self-produced, for which they assumed the financial risks and benefits. And there were also charity events, including two crucial ones featuring Schubert that I will examine shortly.

To be more specific about performances of Schubert's music, my free associating will narrow to *Erlkönig*, the emblematic work about which I wrote my

5 Cited after David Gramit, "'The Passion for Friendship': Music, Cultivation, and Identity in Schubert's Circle," in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, ed. Christopher H. Gibbs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 56–71, at 61–62.

6 Deutsch, *Memories*, 140; Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 163: "Seine Lieder passen auch nicht für den Konzertsaal, für die Produktionen. Der Zuhörer muß auch Sinn für das Gedicht haben und mit ihm vereint das schöne Lied genießen, mit einem Wort: das Publikum muß ein ganz anderes sein als dasjenige, das die Theater und Konzertsäle füllt."

dissertation over thirty years ago and find myself returning to often.[7] Schubert composed the song in 1815 at age eighteen and six years later it was published as his Opus 1. *Erlkönig* made his name through performances, publications, reworkings, and criticism. I will give some snapshots of these circumstances as they relate to the combination of the arts in Vienna, concentrating on two multimedia concerts at the start and close of the 1820s that featured the song. The first is the 7 March 1821 public premiere of *Erlkönig* at a fascinating concert of notable variety. I will bookend that event with one in 1830 given by Schubert's older brother Ferdinand also including the work, billed as "cantatisch bearbeitet" for vocal soloists, chorus, and orchestra. I will also consider other transformations of *Erlkönig* that prompt us to think of that song – and of Lieder more generally – as more than a work for voice and piano and that ultimately can encompass other art forms, such as theater, dance, and film.

But first, without getting too much into the many fascinating issues relating to Goethe's famous poem and to the young Schubert's masterful setting of it, let me make a few contextual observations relevant to presentations and transformations of the song. Several prominent composers set the words before Schubert and many followed, which allows us to make comparisons and highlights the unusual things Schubert accomplished that garnered so much attention. Unlike most texts Schubert set, "Der Erlkönig" is not a lyric poem but rather a ballad, which means it tells a story, in this case one with four distinct characters: the narrator, father, son, and the spectral Erlking. And so, as has long been remarked, the poem presents something like a libretto for a miniature opera. Albert Stadler tells of a performance of *Erlkönig* by a trio of singers, in which Schubert sang the father, Johann Michael Vogl the Erlking, and Josefine von Koller the child. According to Stadler, who served as pianist, this private experiment produced "an odd effect" ("von eigentümlicher Wirkung").[8] The incident may seem frivolous, but it accentuates prominent features inherent in Goethe's ballad, namely the different characters and its dramatic potential, that Schubert realized more fully than any previous composer. To have presented earlier settings of the poem in such a way would have made little sense; we will see there were transformations of Schubert's song that brought out this possibility even more.

Between the first setting of Goethe's ballad in 1782 by Corona Schröter (1751–1802) and Schubert's in 1815, some of the most important Lied composers,

7 Christopher H. Gibbs, "The Presence of *Erlkönig*: Reception and Reworkings of a Schubert Lied" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1992).

8 Deutsch, *Memories*, 153; *Erinnerungen*, 178.

as well as lesser ones, set "Der Erlkönig".[9] (The poem has the definite article, which Schubert did not use.) The unusual appeal – I am tempted to say the seductive appeal – of the text reached beyond composers and performers, drawing in critics, scholars, and general audiences. Fascination with different settings later led to public concerts in which ones were sung in succession; this was probably more commonly done in private circles.[10] Reviews, performances programs, and editions of Schubert's *Erlkönig* in the 1820s explicitly remarked that the music by the relatively unknown composer was set to poetry by the celebrated Goethe.

Documented performances of Schubert's *Erlkönig* are more numerous than for any of his other pieces. A brief overview of this history before the crucial 7 March charity event gives insights into the varied Viennese musical culture of the time. According to Josef von Spaun, the first hearings of the song were on the day Schubert composed it. He and Johann Mayrhofer visited their friend, then living with his father in the Himmelpfortgrund, where they found him reading Goethe's poem aloud and writing down the music. They went to the Stadtkonvikt and played it through with Schubert's former teacher Wenzel Ruzicka before some students.[11]

The first hearings at the Stadtkonvikt, if they happened at all (accounts date from decades later), were followed by private and semi-private performances. Reviews frequently refer to the popularity of *Erlkönig* in private circles, but

9 Ludwig Bischoff compared *Erlkönig* compositions in 1865 ("Die Composition von Goethe's 'Erlkönig'," *Niederrheinische Musik-Zeitung* 13 [1865], 363–65.) Wilhelm Tappert wrote a series of articles in the *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* (1870) on settings of the poem that he distilled into a monograph titled *54 Erlkönig-Kompositionen*, first published in 1898 and expanded the next year to include four supplements, with a final edition in 1906 as *70 Erlkönig-Kompositionen*. In 1896 Max Friedländer reprinted the music of seven especially famous settings in *Gedichte von Goethe in Kompositionen seiner Zeitgenossen* in *Schriften der Goethe-Gesellschaft* vol. 11 (Weimar, 1896). The most detailed survey of *Erlkönig* settings is Werner-Joachim Düring's *Erlkönig-Vertonungen: Eine historische und systematische Untersuchung* (Regensburg, 1972); a supplement published five years later includes reproductions of editions of settings by Schröter, Andreas Romberg, Gottlob Bachmann, Bernhard Klein, Wenzel Johann Tomaschek, Julius Schneider, Louis Spohr, Louis Schlottmann, Ann Sheppard Mounsey, and Emile Mathieu (*Erlkönig-Vertonungen: Eine historische und systematische Untersuchung. Notenteil* [Regensburg, 1977]).

10 A "Kammersänger Koch" sang the Bernhard Klein, Carl Loewe and Schubert settings in a concert in the mid-1860s (Bischoff, "Die Composition," 363). On 2 April 1887, the Hamburger Tonkünstler-Verein performed nineteen settings of the poem, see William Tappert, *70 Erlkönig-Kompositionen* (Berlin: Stahl, 1906), 3. The fifth Schubertiade on 25 February 1903 in Vienna also presented a selection (Anton Weiss, *Hundert-Jahre 'Erlkönig'* [Vienna, 1916], 1. An illustration of the phenomenon of comparisons is the cover to Franz Otto's *Erlkönig* (c. 1830), which lists settings of the poem by twelve other composers. The cover is reproduced in Düring, *Erlkönig-Vertonungen*, 20.

11 Deutsch, *Memories*, 131; *Erinnerungen*, 153. Not long after, the teenage Benedikt Randhartinger (1802–1893), accompanying himself, sang it for an assembly there (*Memories,* 203; *Erinnerungen*, 233). Schubert gave Randhartinger a manuscript copy of *Erlkönig*, which he in turn gave to Clara Wieck and that is now at the Morgan Library in New York City.

such occasions are rarely recorded. (From the diary of Matthias Franz Perth, for example, we learn that it was sung at Anton von Pettenkoffer's home on 8 February 1821.)[12] The first reliably documented performance took place on 1 December 1820 at the home of Ignaz von Sonnleithner in the Gundelhof, performed by the tenor August Ritter von Gymnich (1786–1822), accompanied by Anna Fröhlich (1793–1880).[13] According to Ignaz's eldest son Leopold, "*Erlkönig*, excellently rendered by August Ritter von Gymnich, was accorded the most brilliant reception and that evening was decisive for the publication of Schubert's compositions".[14] Many attending Sonnleithner's famous soirées had helped in 1812 to found the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. Most relevant to Schubert's career was the series of evening concerts of vocal and chamber music called "Musikalische Abendunterhaltungen". Leopold Sonnleithner's handwritten programs reveal that Gymnich sang *Erlkönig* on 25 January 1821, Schubert's debut in this important forum that became a prominent site for presentations of his music, Lieder and partsongs, during the 1820s.[15]

There was clearly a lot of buzz about *Erlkönig* before its true public premiere on 7 March 1821, a turning point in Schubert's career, abetted in no small part by the singer being Johann Michael Vogl.[16] The concert, given on

12 Deutsch, *Documents*, 163; *Dokumente*, 115.

13 The handwritten program for this event is reproduced in the catalogue for a 1978 *Schubertjahr* exhibition at the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, see *Franz Schubert und seine Zeit*, ed. Otto Biba (Vienna: Geyellschaft der Musikfreunde, 1978), 24. For accounts of Gymnich's singing and relationship with Schubert, see Deutsch, *Memories,* 22, 107, 138, 250, and 343 (*Erinnerungen*, 29, 125, 167, 343, 393) as well as Gymnich's obituary in the Vienna *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung,* 20 October 1821, 671–72.

14 Deutsch, *Memories,* 343; *Erinnerungen*, 396: "endlich erfuhr am 1. Dezember 1820 der 'Erlkönig', von August Ritter von Gymnich ausgezeichnet vorgetragen, die glänzendste Aufnahme, und dieser Abend entschied über die Herausgabe der Schubertschen Kompositionen."

15 A complete list of Schubert performances is found in Sonnleithner's handwritten programs that survive in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, see Otto Biba, "Franz Schubert in den musikalischen Abendunterhaltungen," in *Schubert-Studien*, ed. Franz Grasberger and Othmar Wessely (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978), 7–31. At the 25 January concert, also held at Ignaz von Sonnleithner's home, Gymnich again sang *Erlkönig*, perhaps accompanied by Anna Fröhlich. After 1825, performances of Schubert's music were second in frequency only to those of Rossini and exceeded even Beethoven's. Otto Biba has established the order as: Rossini, Schubert, Mozart, and Beethoven; see "Schubert's Position in Viennese Musical Life," *19th-Century Music* 3 (1979): 106–13, at 107.

16 See Andreas Liess, *Johann Michael Vogl. Hofoperist und Schubertsänger* (Graz and Cologne: Hermann Böhlau, 1954) and Walther Dürr, "Schubert and Johann Michael Vogl: A Reappraisal," *19th-Century Music* 3 (1979): 126–40. Constantin von Wurzbach wrote in the entry on Vogl that: "Vogl war damals erstanden, und Vogl, kann man sagen, hat diese Wiener Nachtigall gleichsam entdeckt und dem Wiener Publicum vorgeführt. In einem Concerte nämlich, welches im Kärtnerthortheater am 7. März 1821 stattfand, sang Vogl den 'Erlkönig' von Schubert, und damit war der Erfolg des jungen, zuvor nur im engsten Kreise einiger Freunde und Kunstdilettanten bekannten Componisten gesichert." (Schubert was resurrected at that time and Vogl, one could say, discovered this Viennese nightingale and presented him to the Viennese public. This happened at a concert on 7 March 1821 in the Kärntnerthor Theater in which Vogl

Ash Wednesday, was an event organized by the 'Gesellschaft adliger Damen zur Beförderung des Guten und Nützlichen' and was held at the Kärntnerthor Theater. Both the venue and the orchestra were available because operas and ballets were not presented on Ash Wednesday. The Society gave the Lenten benefit every year between 1818 and 1824 (except for 1822). None of the other years featured any composition by Schubert nor did the other concerts have the variety of artistic media as in 1821.

The "Große musikalische Akademie mit Deklamation und Gemählde-Darstellungen" offered a mixed program of music, recitation, dance, and tableaux vivants.[17] Leopold's uncle, the Imperial Government official Joseph Sonnleithner, arranged for three pieces by Schubert to be presented in 1821.[18] Vogl was not the only distinguished performer that evening; two others who later achieved great fame were dramatic soprano Wilhelmine Schröder and the dancer Fanny Elßler, then age ten.[19] This is the program of the event (see also Illustration 1):

1 Gyrowetz, Overture to *Die Templer auf Zypern*
2 Tableau after Van Dyck's *Hagar*
3 Mozart, Aria sung by Wilhelmine Schröder
4 Spohr, Violin Concerto No. 2, first movement
5 Declamation of a poem by August Friedrich Ernst Langbein
6 Schubert, *Das Dörfchen* D 598 (repeated)
7 Worzischeck, piano variations
8 Tableau after *Socrates Before his Judges* by Heinrich Füger
[Break]
9 Hérold, Overture to *Die Zauberglöckchen*
10 Mozart aria sung by Karoline Unger

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sang Schubert's *Erlkönig* and with it won success for the young composer who had previously been known only to a narrow circle of friends and art dilettantes); *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich,* vol. 51 (Vienna: k.k. Hof und Staatsdruckerei, 1885), 175. Thekla von Schober's secondhand account of that meeting describes how Franz Schober and Schubert visited Vogl, intending to show him some songs: "Vogl led the poor, discharged Seminary pupil to the piano and asked him to sing one of his songs – and Schubert sang the 'Erlkönig'. – Filled with amazement Vogl listened and then cried out: 'Good heavens, man, you compose like a god!'" Deutsch*, Memories,* 210; *Erinnerungen*, 241: "Vogl führte den armen, entlassenen Konviktszögling zum Klavier, er sollte eines seiner Lieder vorsingen – und Schubert sang den 'Erlkönig'. – Voll Staunen hörte Vogl zu und rief dann: 'Mensch, Sie komponieren wie ein Gott!'". The encounter was also described by Spaun (*Memories,* 131–32, 349; *Erinnerungen*, 154, 403) and Franz von Schober (Max Friedländer, "Ansprache zur Einführung," in *Bericht über den Internationalen Kongress für Schubertforschung 1928*, ed. Robert Haas and Alfred Orel [Augsburg: Dr. Benno Filser, 1929], 13–14).

17 The program is given in the Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 23 (1821), 312; see also Eduard Hanslick, *Geschichte des Concertwesens in Wien* (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1869), 284.

18 Deutsch, *Memories*, 109; *Erinnerungen*, 127.

19 Deutsch, *Documents*, 164–65; *Dokumente*, 116–17.

11 Declamation of the poem *The Countess Spastara in the Earthquake of Messina* (1785)[20]
12 Schubert, *Der Erlkönig* D 328 sung by Johann Michael Vogl (repeated)
13 Bernhard Romberg, Adagio and Rondo for cello
14 Rossini, duet from *Ricciardo e Zoraide*
15 Schubert, *Der Gesang der Geister über den Wassern* D 714
16 Tableau after Guido Reni's *Aurora* (featuring Fanny Elßler)

Morgen Mittwoch den 7. März 1821
wird
in dem k. k. Hoftheater nächst dem Kärnthnerthore
mit hoher Bewilligung,

eine große musikalische Akademie

mit Declamation und Gemählde-Darstellungen

verbunden, gegeben werden.

Die einzelnen Gegenstände sind folgende:

Erste Abtheilung:

1 Die Ouverture des Schauspiels: Die Templer auf Cypern.
2. Ein Tableau: Die von Abraham verstoßene Hagar, nach Vandyck, dargestellt von Dlle. Hruschka, k. k. Hofschauspielerinn, Mad. Vogel, k. k. Hofopernsängerinn, Hrn. Vogl, k. k. Hofopernsänger, Dlle. Kraft d. ält., Dlle. Pichler, Herren Pfeiffer, Segatta, Rosst und anderen Mitgliedern des Balletcorps.
3. Eine Arie von Mozart, gesungen von Dlle Wilh. Schröder
4. Der erste Satz des zweyten Violinconcertes von L. Spohr, gespielt von Hrn. Leon de St. Lubin, dermaligem Schüler des Hrn. Professors der Violine, Joseph Böhm.
5. Der kleine Gernegroß, ein Gedicht von Langbein, vorgetragen von Mad. Wilhelmine Korn, k. k. Hofschauspielerinn.
6. Das Dörfchen, ein Gedicht von Bürger, für zwey-Tenor- und zwey Baßstimmen gesetzt von Hrn Franz Schubert, vorgetragen von den Herren Götz und Barth, in Diensten Sr. Durchlaucht des regierenden Herrn Fürsten von Schwarzenberg, und den Herren Nejebse und Umlauf.
7. Variationen für das Pianoforte, componirt von Hrn. Hugo Worzizek, auf zwey Instrumenten gespielt von den zwey Dlles Schadt.
8. Ein Tableau: Sokrates vor seinen Richtern, nach Füger, dargestellt von dem Hrn. Aichinger Vater und Sohn, Reiperger d. ält., Desfesani, Rossi, Jos Kohlberg, Pfeiffer, Wiesenbeck, Segatta und anderen Mitgliedern des Balletcorps.

Zweyte Abtheilung:

9. Die Ouverture der Oper die Zauberglocke (la Clochette), von Boieldieu.
10. Eine Arie von Mozart: Da ich einsam vor dir stehe, gesungen von Dlle. Unger, k. k. Hofopernsinn.
11. Die Gräfinn Spastara im Erdbeben von Messina, 1785, ein Gedicht, vorgetragen von Mad. Sophie Schröder, k. k. Hofschauspielerinn.
12. Der Erlkönig, Gedicht von Göthe, in Musik gesetzt von Franz Schubert, vorgetragen von Hrn. Vogl, k. k. Hofopernsänger, auf dem Pianoforte begleitet von Hrn. Anselm Hüttenbrenner.
13. Adagio und Rondo für das Violoncell von Bernhard Romberg, gespielt von Hrn. Pechaczek.
14. Duett aus der Oper: Riccardo e Zoraide, von Rossini (Invan tu fingi, ingrata), gesungen von den Dlles. Schröder und Unger.
15. Der Gesang der Geister über den Wassern, Gedicht von Göthe, für vier Tenor- und vier Baßstimmen gesetzt von Hrn Franz Schubert, vorgetragen von den Herren Götz, Barth, Nejebse, Umlauf, Weinkopf, Frühwald und zwey Chorsängern.
16. Ein Tableau: Aurora, nach Guido Reni, dargestellt von Hrn. Taglioni, erstem Tänzer der k. k. Hoftheater, und den Dlles. Neuwirth, Mayer, Krepatz, Kreiner, Wittwer, Eisele, Pichler, Kraft d. ält., Fanny Elßler und anderen Mitgliedern des Balletcorps.

Herr Kapellmeister Gyrowetz hat die Leitung dieser Akademie, und Herr Philipp von Stubenrauch die Anordnung der Tableaux übernommen.

Die Einnahme wird von der Gesellschaft adeliger Frauen zur Beförderung ihrer wohlthätigen Zwecke verwendet.

Sämmtlichen Personen, welche mit der menschenfreundlichsten Bereitwilligkeit ihre Talente und Bemühungen gewidmet haben, wird hiermit der verbindlichste Dank abgestattet.

Die Eintrittspreise sind wie gewöhnlich. Die Freybilletten sind ohne Ausnahme ungültig. Die gesperrten Sitze sind an der k. k. Hoftheater-Casse, die Logen aber bey der Frau Therese Landgräfinn von Fürstenberg, geb. Fürstinn von Schwarzenberg, in der Himmelpfortgass. im Fürstenbergischen Hause Nro. 952. im 2. Stock zu haben.

Der Anfang ist um 7 Uhr.

Illustration 1: Program of the concert on 7 March 1821 at the Kärntnerthor Theater.

20 The poem noted on the program was changed in the concert to Schiller's *Die Glocke*, read by Sophie Schröder.

Although this was not Schubert's first public concert, as Sonnleithner asserted, it was the first that received wide attention in the press as well as mentions in later reminiscences from individuals in Schubert's circle.[21] Indeed, the concert remains the best documented of any occurring during his lifetime.[22] Schubert's classmate Anselm Hüttenbrenner, who accompanied Vogl in *Erlkönig*, recalled that "Vogl sang the song so splendidly and with such enthusiasm that it had to be repeated".[23] Spaun remembered that the "rapt attention and general tempestuous applause of the numerous public rewarded the composer and also the singer" that forced them to repeat "the exhausting song".[24] Albert Stadler states that this "bold performance of *Erlkönig* [...] broke down the barriers for the simple and modest master and presented the new prince of song to the capital".[25] Louis De Nil, in a chapter earlier in this book, provocatively suggests that Vogl's strategy of performing *Erlkönig* at this concert was to further Schubert's prospects as an opera composer, a success he never enjoyed despite his considerable attempts in that fiercely competitive sphere.

The concert elicited the largest number of reviews for a single performance Schubert ever received during the 1820s. *Erlkönig* was the most successful of his three pieces performed, although the partsong *Das Dörfchen* was also repeated. His third composition on the program, *Der Gesang der Geister über den Wassern* (D 714), ended the musical offerings but apparently was not well received. Schubert had first attempted to set this Goethe's poem as a Lied in 1816 (D 484), but did not finish it. He returned to the text the following year in an unaccompanied partsong setting for two tenors and two basses (D 538; cf. D 703). The 7 March concert featured his final attempt, a new version for four tenors, four basses, two violas, two cellos, and double bass (D 714; cf. 704), finished not long before its premiere. The unusual scoring of the rather long piece (some eleven minutes) was an instance of Schubert challenging expectations as this was not the way male partsongs were typically presented. That the work was criticized may have proved a considerable disappointment to

21 *Schäfers Klagelied* D 121 was the first Schubert Lied performed in public (Deutsch, *Documents*, 114–16; *Dokumente*, 77–79).

22 Deutsch, *Memories*, 78, 109, 186, 215–16, 226, 302, 305; *Erinnerungen*, 91, 127, 213–14, 248, 259, 348, 351. Deutsch, *Documents*, 871; Waidelich, *Dokumente*, 514.

23 Deutsch, *Memories*, 186; *Erinnerungen*, 213–14: "Der k. k. Hofoperist Vogl sang dieses Lied mit solcher Gediegenheit und Begeisterung, daß es wiederholt werden mußte."

24 Deutsch, *Documents*, 871; Waidelich, *Dokumente*, 514: "Die gespannteste Aufmerksamkeit, und allgemeiner stürmischer Beyfall des zahlreichen Publicums, lohnte den Tonsetzer und auch den Sänger, der das kaum beendigte, so anstrengende Lied sogleich wieder beginnen mußte."

25 Deutsch, *Memories*, 215; *Erinnerungen*, 247: "[...] bis endlich im Jahre 1824 Vogl, der Nestor und [die] Koryphäe des deutschen Sanges durch seinen gewagten Vortrag des 'Erlkönig' im Theater am Kärntertore dem zu einfachen und bescheidenen Meister die Schranken brach und der Residenz den neuen Liederfürsten vorführte."

Schubert given his sustained attraction to Goethe's poem and coming after the two successfully encored pieces earlier in the concert.

Critics said that *Erlkönig* "made a great effect. A masterpiece of musical painting"; "the music shows much imagination"; and "a composition full of fantasy and feeling".[26] Not only was *Erlkönig* encored, but one review reports that "several successful passages were justly acclaimed by the public", which suggests clapping during the performance.[27] Although this practice last long since disappeared, we know from letters and reviews that audiences seem often to have responded in this way, including during instrumental pieces.[28]

Further public performances of *Erlkönig* later that year by Vogl and others paled in comparison. The *Theaterzeitung* wrote that the tenor Franz Ruess "sang the glorious 'Erlking' by our greatly promising Schubert, not without merit; but all those who have heard this sublime piece at its first performance, amid that assembly of true and worthy music-lovers, will retain the indelible impression they then received from a soulful and spirited delivery".[29] Perhaps the pianist was to blame: Karl Schunke later accompanied Vogl at a benefit concert on 8 October 1821 at the Kärntnerthor Theater when "the favorite poem by Goethe, 'Erlking,' with the valued music by Herr Franz Schubert, sung by Herr Vogl, failed this time to make the expected effect, much as the singer's art sought to penetrate it, for the accompanist at the fortepiano, Herr K. Schunke, was incapable of supporting the voice-part with the accompaniment".[30] Another critic chastised the mixed programming that was usual at charity concerts: "The *Erlkönig* of Schubert pleased and was sung with great expression by Vogl.

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26 "Neuigkeiten. Akademie am Aschermittwoche." *Wiener allgemeine Theaterzeitung* 31, 13 March 1821: "In der That ist diese Compositon ein Meisterstück der musikalischen Tonmahlerey"; "Novellistik. Concert im k.k. Hofoperntheater." *Wiener Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* no. 23, 21 March 1821, 183: "Die Musik hat viel Phantasie."; "Wien. Uebersicht des Monats März." Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* no. 18, 2 May 1821, 312–13: "Ein Tonstück voll Fantasie und Empfindung" (Waidelich, *Dokumente*, 64, no. 74, no. 75; 75–6, no. 96).

27 *Wiener Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* no. 23, 21 March 1821, 183 (Waidelich, *Dokumente*, 64). See as well the chapter earlier in this volume by Louis de Nil specifically on Vogl's performances of the song.

28 Mozart boasted to his father how much Parisians loved the opening of his Symphony no. 31 in D Major ('Paris') and reviews mention audiences clapping in admiration of the surprising timpani interjections in the scherzo of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony.

29 Deutsch, *Documents,* 169; *Dokumente*, 120: "Herr *Rueß* sang unsers so viel versprechenden *Schubert* herrlichen Erlkönig nicht ohne Verdienst, doch bleibt jedem, der diese Genie als Tonstück das erstemal in jener Vereinigung wahrer und würdiger Musikfreunde hörte, der Eindruck, den er durch den seelen- und geistvollen Vortrag damals erhielt, unauslöschlich."

30 Deutsch, *Documents,* 193; *Dokumente*, 138: "Das beliebte Gedicht von *Goethe: Erlkönig*, mit der geschätzten Musik des Hrn. Franz *Schubert*, gesungen von Hrn. *Vogl*, machte diesmal nicht die erwartete Wirkung, so sehr die Kunst des Sängers durchzugreifen strebte, weil der Begleiter auf dem Fortepiano[,] Hr. K. *Schunke*, den Gesang durch das Akkompagnement nicht zu unterstützen wußte."

[...] Of the other pieces and the effect of this Akademie in general we say: It is very difficult to say something significant about insignificant things!"[31]

Erlkönig was also published in March 1821.[32] Josef Hüttenbrenner, Anselm's brother, wrote two unsigned notices in periodicals emphasizing the extraordinary acclaim it enjoyed at the March concert and saying that it "had already been performed at the foremost houses where music is cultivated, and everywhere Herr Schubert's composition earned the merited – that is to say the most resounding – success".[33] Brisk sales permitted unusually large printings to meet demand, and Anton Diabelli released ancillary publications that give further evidence of the song's popularity as well as its malleability for transformation. Together with the initial publication there was a version for voice with guitar accompaniment that appeared as part of the series *Philomele*. None of Schubert's friends mention this guitar arrangement; the idea to issue the song in this format may have been Diabelli's, who may have made the arrangement himself. He also soon published Anselm Hüttenbrenner's *Erlkönig Walzer für das Piano-Forte nach Schubert's Ballade gleiches Nahmens*, an affectionate popularization.[34] Just weeks after Schubert's death, Diabelli released an *Erlkönig-Galopp* in the series "Beliebter Galoppen für das Pianoforte".[35] These early transformations of *Erlkönig* during the 1820s point to other arts in Vienna, particularly dance, and remind us that in 1815, the year Schubert wrote the song, people remarked that the city danced during the Congress of Vienna.

The early publication history of *Erlkönig* shows how the song was not a fixed object for voice and piano but also invited many kinds of transformations.

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31 "Notizen. Schauspiele." *Der Sammler*, 25 October 1821, 512: "Der 'Erlkönig' von *Schubert*, gefiel, und wurde von Hrn. *Vogl* sehr ausdrucksvoll gesungen. Das Klavier=Accompagnement wurde von Hrn. *Schunke* gespielt. Von andern Erscheinungen und dem Eindruck der Academie überhaupt sagen wir: Es ist sehr schwer über unbedeutende Dinge etwas Bedeutsames zu sagen!'" English translation by the author.

32 Christopher H. Gibbs, "Einige Bemerkungen zur Veröffentlichung und zu den frühen Ausgaben von Schuberts *Erlkönig*" *Schubert durch die Brille* 12 (January 1994): 33–48.

33 Deutsch, *Documents,* 170; *Dokumente*, 121: "Dasselbe Tonstückwurde bereits füher in den ausgezeichnetsten Häusern, wo Musik exekutiert wird, aufgeführt, und allenthalben erntete Hrn. Schuberts Komposition den verdienten, d. h. den rauschendsten Beifall." Hüttenbrenner also wrote an advertisement for the *Wiener Zeitung* that appeared on 2 April saying that these successes had made "any further recommendation should be superfluous as its appearance in print and its possession by every connoisseur and lover of song at home and abroad should be welcome" (Deutsch, *Documents,* 171–72; *Dokumente*, 122: "[...] eine fernere Anempfehlung derselben [ist] ebenso überflüssig, als deren Erscheinung und Besitz im Stiche jedem in- und auswärtigen Kenner und Freunde des Gesanges willkommen sein dürfte.") He talked about these promotions to Schubert's prospective biographer Ferdinand Luib (Deutsch, *Memories,* 74; *Erinnerungen*, 87).

34 See Christopher H. Gibbs, "'Sie wiegen und tanzen und singen dich ein': Anselm Hüttenbrenners *Erlkönig Walzer* wiederentdeckt," *Schubert durch die Brille* 8 (January 1992): 32–36.

35 The *Erlkönig-Galopp* was number 16 in the series (plate number 3149) and was advertised on 15 December 1828. This was the first Schubert composition to appear in the series.

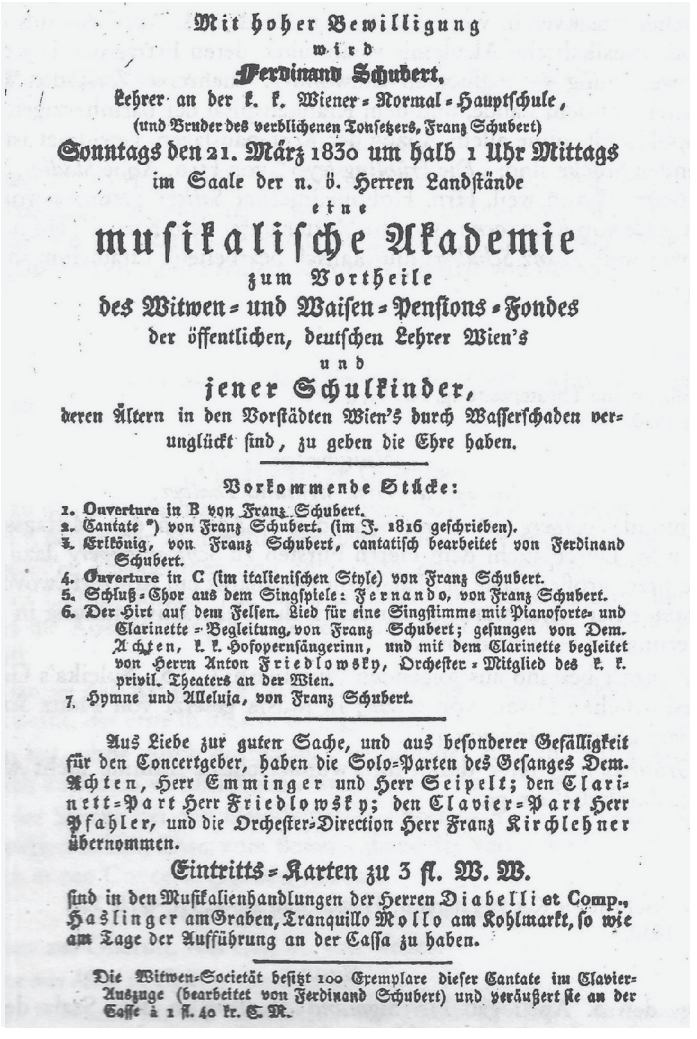
Arrangers and publishers constantly sought "favorite" pieces to adapt, often turning them into different kinds of dances. The popularity of *Erlkönig* may have led the Viennese composer Franz Gläser to write a Zauberspiel called *Der Erlenkönig* in 1824. In August, Diabelli issued a piano piece (two or four hands) called *Erlen-König Marsch* but the music bears no musical connection to Schubert.[36]

Ferdinand Schubert's promotion of his brother's music

Erlkönig set the course for Schubert's career and remained his most famous work during the 1820s and for decades to follow. It is not surprising that his brother Ferdinand, a schoolteacher and composer himself, featured the song in an orchestration he made for an all-Schubert benefit in March 1830. Ferdinand gave five such Lenten concerts between 1830 and 1841 and they were often the occasion for premieres of significant works by Schubert and for his own orchestrations of his brother's pieces.[37] The concerts helped to create a more representative picture of the true scope of Schubert's artistic accomplishment. The first was on 21 March 1830, a benefit for the *Witwen- und Waisen- Pensions-Fondes der öffentlichen, deutschen Lehrer Wiens*.[38] Most of the works on the program were being performed in public for the first time (see also Illustration 2):

1 Overture in B-flat (D 470)
2 Cantata in Honor of Josef Spendou (D 472)
3 *Erlkönig* orchestrated by Ferdinand Schubert (D 328)
5 Final Chorus from the Singspiel *Fernando* (D 220/7)
6 *Der Hirt auf dem Felsen* (D 965), sung by Fräulein Achten with clarinetist Anton Friedlowsky
7 "Hymne und Alleluja" (D 964?; D 442?)

36 The music is in the Musiksammlung of the Wienbibliothek im Rathaus.
37 They happened on 21 March 1830, 24 March 1833, 17 April 1836, 18 March 1838, and on 21 March 1841.
38 A facsimile of the program is in Waidelich, *Dokumente*, 573, no. 768; see also Otto Brusatti, *Schubert im Wiener Vormärz* (Graz: Adeva, 1978), no. 27.



Mit hoher Bewilligung
wird
Ferdinand Schubert,
Lehrer an der k. k. Wiener-Normal-Hauptschule,
(und Bruder des verblichenen Tonsetzers, Franz Schubert)
Sonntags den 21. März 1830 um halb 1 Uhr Mittags
im Saale der n. ö. Herren Landstände
eine
musikalische Akademie
zum Vortheile
des Witwen- und Waisen-Pensions-Fondes
der öffentlichen, deutschen Lehrer Wien's
und
jener Schulkinder,
deren Ältern in den Vorstädten Wien's durch Wasserschaden verunglückt sind, zu geben die Ehre haben.

Vorkommende Stücke:

1. Ouverture in B von Franz Schubert.
2. Cantate *) von Franz Schubert. (im J. 1816 geschrieben).
3. Erlkönig, von Franz Schubert, cantatisch bearbeitet von Ferdinand Schubert.
4. Ouverture in C (im italienischen Style) von Franz Schubert.
5. Schluß-Chor aus dem Singspiele: Fernando, von Franz Schubert.
6. Der Hirt auf dem Felsen. Lied für eine Singstimme mit Pianoforte- und Clarinette-Begleitung, von Franz Schubert; gesungen von Dem. Achten, k. k. Hofopernsängerinn, und mit dem Clarinette begleitet von Herrn Anton Friedlowsky, Orchester-Mitglied des k. k. privil. Theaters an der Wien.
7. Hymne und Alleluja, von Franz Schubert.

Aus Liebe zur guten Sache, und aus besonderer Gefälligkeit für den Concertgeber, haben die Solo-Parten des Gesanges Dem. Achten, Herr Emminger und Herr Seipelt; den Clarinett-Part Herr Friedlowsky; den Clavier-Part Herr Pfahler, und die Orchester-Direction Herr Franz Kirchlehner übernommen.

Eintritts-Karten zu 3 fl. W. W.

sind in den Musikalienhandlungen der Herren Diabelli et Comp., Haßlinger am Graben, Tranquillo Mollo am Kohlmarkt, so wie am Tage der Aufführung an der Cassa zu haben.

Die Witwen-Societät besitzt 100 Exemplare dieser Cantate im Clavier-Auszuge (bearbeitet von Ferdinand Schubert) und veräußert sie an der Casse à 1 fl. 40 kr. C. M.

Illustration 2: Program of Ferdinand Schubert's Concert on 21 March 1830 at the Landständischer Saal.

In an unpublished autobiographical sketch from 1842, Ferdinand explained how as early as the 1820s he had the idea of arranging his brother's songs for orchestra and chorus in the hope of drawing more attention to them.[39] This first

39 Ernst Hilmar, "Ferdinand Schuberts Skizze zu einer Autobiograhie," in *Schubert-Studien*, Grasberger, 85–117, at 101; see also Alexander Weinmann, *Ferdinand Schubert: eine Untersuchung*, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alt-Wiener Musikverlages I/4 (Vienna: Krenn, 1986).

orchestration of *Erlkönig* was billed as "cantatisch bearbeitet", and although the score is lost, reviews indicate that a four-part chorus sang the narrator's verses, and soloists the father, son, and Erlking, thus pointing even more to its operatic potential. The "great effect" it produced led the critic of the *Wiener allgemeine Theaterzeitung* to remark that "the dramatic, romantic character of the composition emerged impressively. This piece, well-rehearsed, should be heard more often".[40] Another critic wrote that a later performance of the work "was greeted with rousing applause".[41] Ferdinand orchestrated other songs as well, including *Der Taucher* and *Die junge Nonne*, both of which appeared on a charity concert on 17 April 1836. Ferdinand programmed *Erlkönig* on two other concerts during the 1830s and apparently arranged the work three times, although only one survives in manuscript.[42]

From song to stage to silver screen

All manner of transformations of Schubert's *Erlkönig* continued throughout the nineteenth century as well as in the twentieth and twenty-first. Many were utilitarian, meant for domestic consumption and encompassing a vast range of instruments well beyond the piano. But many were public, including virtuoso transcriptions. Most notable were Franz Liszt's for solo piano and Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst's for solo violin. Both of them were extremely popular, especially Liszt's which he often featured on his concerts and tours. Their success points to public spectacles, to the fame of the rockstar-like virtuoso and to megaconcerts far removed from the intimacy of the original domestic Schubertiades.

A large portion of Liszt's catalogue were arrangements of an astonishing range of other composers. He began transcribing Beethoven's symphonies in the 1830s and had completed all nine by the mid-1860s. While they undoubtedly did the older master an interpretive service, his efforts were hardly

40 Brusatti, *Schubert im Wiener Vormärz*, no. 27: "Großer Effect ging aus der Bearbeitung des Erlkönigs hervor; der dramatisch romantische Charakter der Tondichtung trat wirksam heraus. Dieses Stück, gut einprobiert, sollte öfter gehört werden."

41 Brusatti, *Schubert im Wiener Vormärz*, no. 41: "Der von ihm [Ferdinand Schubert] für ein größeres Orchester bearbeitet 'Erlkönig' erfreute sich des rauschendsten Applauses."

42 The other performances were on 24 March 1833 with Randhartinger and Theodor Döhler and on 15 February 1835. The orchestration from 1830, once in the collection of Alwin Cranz, is now lost. Another, dated 15–26 May 1836, is included in Ferdinand's *Cyclus beliebter Compositionen Franz Schubert's, für's Orchester eingerichtet*, now in the Sammlung Taussig der Universitatsbibliothek Lund. According to Max Friedländer, Ferdinand also arranged *Erlkönig* without voice, for flute (narrator), clarinet in C (the child), horn in B (Erlking), and bass trombone (the father), see Friedländer, ed. *Franz Schubert Album. Supplement. Varianten und Revisionsbericht zum ersten Bande der Lieder von Franz Schubert* (Leipzig, 1884).

needed to further Beethoven's fame. Such was not the case with Schubert, dead just a half dozen years when Liszt composed the first Lied arrangements in the mid-1830s. He considered Schubert "the most poetic musician who ever lived"[43] and as pianist, conductor, editor, essayist, as well as arranger, eventually became the central figure in mid-nineteenth-century Schubert reception.

Some of Schubert's friends testified that Liszt was the one who spread his name most widely beyond Vienna, with one referring to Schubert's "tardily appreciated posthumous works, now that Liszt's conjuring tricks have made him palatable to the public"[44] while another remarked how Schubert songs "through Liszt, achieved European fame" ("durch Liszt zu europäischem Rufe gelangten").[45] Robert Schumann praised their publication: "Performed by Liszt, they are said to be highly effective, but no other than master hands will undertake to render them; they are perhaps the most difficult pieces ever written for the pianoforte".[46] In 1850 Liszt acknowledged that "by a strange fate, of which I have little to complain, a part of Schubert's heritage has become my domain".[47] Eduard Hanslick summarized Liszt's contribution in his history of Viennese concert life, calling the transcriptions of Schubert Lieder "epoch-making [...]. There was scarcely a concert in which Liszt did not play one or two of them; even when they were not listed on the program they would have to be played as encores. [...] since the appearance of Liszt's transcriptions of Schubert songs, the originals have been publicly sung more frequently than before: the power of virtuosity proves itself once again and this time served a good cause".[48]

Liszt was widely credited with having invented the genre of the Lied transcription. When he first performed them in Vienna in 1838, one critic remarked that he "created a new genre" and that "it is a successful attempt to reproduce the melodic and harmonic beauty of the new classical song as

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43 *Franz Liszt. An Artist's Journey: Lettres d'un bachelier ès musique 1835–1841*, trans. Charles Suttoni (Chicago and London, 1989), 144.

44 Deutsch, *Memories,* 82; *Erinnerungen*, 96: "[...] von seinem spät anerkannten Nachlasse zehren nun, nachdem ihn Liszts Gaukeleien dem Publikum mundgerecht gemacht haben, Nachdrucker und Biographen."

45 Deutsch, *Memories,* 335; *Erinnerungen*, 385.

46 Robert Schumann, *Music and Musicians*, ed. Konrad Wolff, trans. Paul Rosenfeld (New York: Pantheon, 1969), 154–55.

47 Deutsch, *Memories,* 423; *Erinnerungen*, 489: "Et puisque par un sort particulier dont je n'ai guère à me plaindre une partie de l'héritage de Schubert est devenue mon domaine, [...]."

48 Hanslick, *Geschichte des Concertwesens in Wien*, 336: "Epochemachend wirkten Liszt's Transcriptionen *Schubert*'scher Lieder. Es gab kaum ein Concert, in welchem Liszt nicht eine oder zwei derselben – auch wenn sie nicht auf dem Programm standen – hätte vortragen müssen. [...] Die Concertzettel weisen es nach, daß seit *Liszt*'s Erscheinen *Schubert*'sche Lieder häufiger als früher öffentlich gesungen wurde – die Macht des Virtuosenbeispiels bewährte sich abermals und hatte diesmal den richtigen Punkt getroffen." (English translation by the author.)

a lyrical whole for the piano alone, and to perfect it with the power of singing and declamation without the sacrifice of any of his keyboard richness. [...] Schubert's immortal songs will be the property not only of cultured singers, but also of cultured pianists".[49]

Liszt's Lied transcriptions defined the genre of the virtuoso reworking, and other prominent performers were also attracted. Of the three solo violin transcriptions of *Erlkönig* from the mid-1840s, the one by Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst (1814–65) is surely the most impressive.[50] Contemporaries viewed him as the foremost violinist between Paganini and Joachim, with Heinrich Heine calling him "der wahre Nachfolger Paganinis" (the real successor of Paganini).[51] Like Liszt, Ernst performed his *Erlkönig* transcription widely. The other musically important solo reworking of *Erlkönig* from the 1840s was Stephen Heller's paraphrase for solo piano, the only significant paraphrase (rather than strict transcription) of the song ever published.

The move toward public transformations is also evident in orchestrations of the song, begun as we have seen by Ferdinand Schubert. *Erlkönig* was orchestrated, at least in part, by Liszt, Hector Berlioz, Franz von Suppé, Giacomo Meyerbeer, Jacques Offenbach, and Max Reger, and even more frequently by conductors and arrangers.[52] Performers often provided the impetus as singers increasingly wished to sing favorite Lieder to the large audiences attending symphonic concerts and commissioned orchestrations from noted composers

49 *Wiener Zeitschrift,* 7 December 1839, 1176, cited in Brusatti, *Schubert im Wiener Vormärz*, no. 107: "In den Übertragungen Schubert'scher Lieder hat er eine neue Gattung geschaffen. Es ist dieß der gelungene Versuch, die melodische und harmonische Schönheit des neuen classischen Liedes, als lyrisch Ganzes auf dem Clavier *allein* wiederzugeben, und dieses in der Macht des Gesanges und der Declamation zu vervollkommnen, ohne etwas von seinem Tastenreichthum dabey vergeben zu lassen. [...] Die unsterblichen Gesänge Schubert's werden nun nicht mehr das Eigenthum gebildeter Sänger seyn" (my translation). Liszt arranged over fifty Schubert Lieder as well as orchestrating songs and marches; see Thomas Kabisch, *Liszt und Schubert* (Munich: Katzbichler, 1984).

50 August Möser (1825–59) published his solo violin transcription in 1843. The next year Baptist von Hunyady's transcription was released by Diabelli. A review in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* states: "Den Schubert'sche[n] Erlkönig auf der Violine *allein* vorzutragen, das ist ein wunderlicher Gedanke, der von einem geistreichen Virtuosen, im Kreise heiterer Freunde ausgeführt, als humoristisches Impromtu gelten mag. Kaum dürfte aber so etwas aufgeschrieben, vielweniger gedruckt werden, auch angenommen, es wäre die Ausführung minder trivial." (To perform Schubert's song on the violin alone is a wonderful idea, and played by an intelligent, ingenious virtuoso in a circle of cheerful friends, might serve as a humorous impromptu. It scarcely, however, need be written down, let alone published and released) (29 July 1844, 35).

51 Amely Heller, *H. W. Ernst im Urteile seiner Zeitgenossen* (Vienna: Burkart, 1904), 31.

52 This included Eduard Genast (1837), Victor Kazhinsky (c. 1847), Mihály Mosonyi (1850), Ferdinand Hiller (1860), Theodore Thomas (c. 1889), and Nikolaj Iwanowitsch Kasanli (c. 1905–6). All that is known about Genast is brief mention in a review, see the Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 25 October 1837, 704. Not all these orchestrations are preserved, some are contained within larger theater works, and most were never published.

and conductors.[53] At the behest of the celebrated Julius Stockhausen, for example, Brahms orchestrated *An Schwager Kronos* D 369, *Memnon* D 541, *Geheimes* D 719, *Greisengesang* D 778, *Ellens zweiter Gesang* D 838, and *Gruppe aus dem Tartarus* D 583.[54] That so many composers accepted this challenge suggests an incipient awareness of the potential of the orchestral Lied and of its possibilities for expressive color and mood that culminated in the orchestral Lieder we associate with Richard Strauss, Gustav Mahler, and the Second Viennese School.[55]

The public spectacle of transforming Schubert Lieder was most pronounced in theatrical pieces, for which *Erlkönig* was well suited. In 1834 Adolf Müller (1801–1886), an unusually prolific and well-published Viennese composer, wrote a Singspiel called *Der Erlenkönig*. Best known for his parodies and for music he wrote for Johann Nestroy's plays, Müller wrote some 640 stage works, including 238 for the Theater an der Wien, where he was Kapellmeister for two decades. His parody of *Erlkönig* was never published, but a manuscript is preserved with the title page: "Der Erlenkönig/ Balade [sic] von Goethe in Musik gesetzt von Franz Schubert/ für 4 Männerstimmen gesetzt und für das/ ganze Orchester instrumentirt/ von/ Adolf Müller/ 12 Februar [1]834".[56] The score consists of a thirty-five measure "Einleitung vor dem *Erlkönig*", a thirteen measure "Ritornello nach dem *Erlkönig*", and a binary-form "Marcia". This orchestration is unremarkable except for an additional six measure coda after the final words "war todt". in which the opening bass motive is played two more times in G minor before three repeated tonic chords. A review of the premiere on 21 February 1834 describes the four very short acts as comprising a "großes romantisch-melodramatisches Schauspiel", which included a large moving dream tableau.[57]

53 A similar situation arose in the twentieth century when singers who recorded Schubert Lieder wanted full orchestral backup and not merely the lowly piano. As a result, some early recordings of Schubert Lieder sound suspiciously like opera arias, especially when sung in Italian, e.g., by Beniamino Gigli.

54 See Margit McCorkle, *Johannes Brahms: Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis* (Munich: Henle, 1984), 636–44; and Robert Pascall, "Brahms and Schubert," *Musical Times* 124 (1983): 286–91, at 289.

55 Christopher H. Gibbs, "From Haus to Konzerthaus: Orchestrations of Schubert's *Erlkönig* and other Lieder" in *Liber Amicorum Isabelle Cazeaux: Symbols, Parallels and Discoveries in Her Honor*, ed. Paul-André Bempéchat (Hillsdale, New York: Pendragon Press, 2004), 277–89.

56 Wienbibliothek im Rathaus (MM 599/c). In the music collection of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek is a straightforward orchestration of *Erlkönig* by Müller.

57 *Der Sammler,* 1 March 1834, 105–6; see also the *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode*, 22 March 1834, 229.

Two significant dramatic reworkings of *Erlkönig* came in the 1860s from Giacomo Meyerbeer and Franz von Suppé, although the former is lost. Meyerbeer allegedly orchestrated *Erlkönig* as part of the incidental music for a play called *La Jeunesse de Goethe*. Henri Blaze de Bury, according to his own later account, wrote this play about Goethe's youth and succeeded in engaging Meyerbeer for the music, none of which survives if indeed it ever existed.[58] A letter Meyerbeer wrote to Bury in 1861 explains:

> There is only one piece which disturbs me from a musical perspective, which is why I am hesitant to continue working on it; this is the ballad of the Erlking. Schubert's music for this ballad has become so popular the world over that I do not think the public would accept another musical setting of these words. I myself am so influenced by his music that I have been unable to write any satisfactory music. Therefore I would like to retain Schubert's melodic line by using it as a basis for the chorus of the Erlking's daughters. Schubert's melody would be divided among the three speaking roles, and (this can be done) the piano accompaniment would be arranged for orchestra.
>
> There are two possible approaches: one would be to have the father and the son speak to each other, melodramatically, while Schubert's melody is given to the orchestra. The Erlking and his daughters would be the only characters who actually sing. The other approach would be to have the singers take the role of father and son as well.[59]

58 Blaze de Bury, *Meyerbeer et son temps* (Paris: Michel Levy, 1865), 297 ff.

59 Heinz and Gudrun Becker, *Giacomo Meyerbeer: A Life in Letters*, trans. Mark Violette (Portland, 1983), 167–69. *Giacomo Meyerbeer. Briefwechsel und Tagebücher*, herausgegeben und kommentiert von Sabine Henze-Döhring. Band 8. 1860–1864 (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2006), 176: "Il n'y en a qu'un seul qui m'inquiète musicalement, et sur lequel j'hésite encore maintenant: c'est celui du Roi des Au[l]nes. La musique de Schubert de cette ballade est devenue si populaire dans tout le monde qu'il me paraît impossible de faire adopter au public une nouvelle musique sur ces paroles et moi-même j'en ai subi tellement l'influence que je n'ai pu parvenir à faire une autre musique qui me satisfasse. Je pense donc de garder le tissu des mélodies de Schubert en mettant dessous des choeurs pour les filles du roi des Aulnes et de partager les mélodies de Schubert entre les trois interlocuteurs, et en même temps, cela va sans dire, d'orchestrer ce morceau que Schubert n'a fait que pour le piano. Maintenant il y a deux façons de le faire, l'une est de faire parler en mélodrame le père et le fils, et de donner pendant ce temps les dessins des mélodies de Schubert à l'Orchestre et de ne faire chanter proprement dit que le roi des Au[l]nes et ses filles; l'autre de faire chanter aussi les parties du père et du fils par les chanteurs."(28 January 1861)

Meyerbeer remarks how he prefers the latter solution from a musical view.[60] Although he told Bury that parts of the score were finished, the problems with *Erlkönig* suggest that it was never completed.[61]

Suppé's one-act operetta *Franz Schubert* premiered at the Karltheater on 10 September 1864, with revivals in 1867 and 1872. It too was never published, but the music survives in manuscript.[62] Suppé's friend Johann Freiherr von Paümann wrote the libretto under the pseudonym Hans Max, and tells the story of Schubert's flight from Vienna to the suburbs. There he encounters the "schöne Müllerin" who inspires his song cycle.[63] The score incorporates Schubert's music, especially from *Die schöne Müllerin*. The overture begins in a way that Wagner might recognize as it is similar to *Die Walküre*: It starts with *Erlkönig* and then presents Schubert melodies in a potpourri – *Die Nebensonnen*, *Der Wanderer*, Deutsche Tänze No. 7, *Der Schäfer und der Reiter*, and *Die Taubenpost* – before concluding with an additional thirty-four measures of *Erlkönig*.

The incorporation of *Erlkönig* into theater pieces culminated in 1916 with Heinrich Berté's extremely successful operetta *Das Dreimäderlhaus*. The libretto, by Alfred Maria Willner and Heinz Reichert, was derived from Rudolf Hans Bartsch's popular Schubert novel *Schwammerl* (1912). The original plan was to base the work on *Ungeduld* but Berté eventually drew upon a wide selection of Schubert's music. He used four songs, supplemented by an assortment of dances and instrumental works: *Ungeduld*, Shakespeare's *Ständchen*, *Suleika II*, and *Erlkönig* appears briefly as the "Entr'akt" to Act 2, which opens with Vogl singing the last verse of the song as the curtain rises on the scene of a wedding. *Das Dreimäderlhaus* was an enormous success when it premiered at the Raimundtheater on 15 January 1916 and proved one of the most successful works of musical theater ever written, translated into some twenty languages, eliciting film versions, and spawning sequels. Paradoxically even as Berté trivializes Schubert's life and works, he successfully resurrects the Biedermeier

60 Bury reprinted most of the letter in his book saying the letter was characteristic of the composer: "When Don Giovanni, at dinner in the last act, listens to the musicians play for him the music from *The Marriage of Figaro,* he discovers and salutes Mozart. Meyerbeer, in *Le Roi des Aulnes*, salutes Schubert," 169.

61 Bury, however, took some pains to convince his readers that the entire project was realized. In his book, published the year after Meyerbeer's death, Bury insisted "Meyerbeer's score exists, complete, finished, and authentic; others we know have held it in their own hands. At this point one should not talk of it as a projected idea. The project is realized. The idea is made a work. And the work will have its destiny." (Bury, *Meyerbeer,* 311).

62 The title page reads: "Franz Schubert / Operette / von/ Franz von Suppé / für Wien" (*WStB* MH 6899). The libretto was published in Vienna in 1879 as number 349 in the 'Wiener Theater-Repertoir'.

63 Robert Werba, *Schubert und die Wiener: Der volkstümliche Unbekannte* (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1978), 103–20.

composer whose lighter music, dance pieces, and partsongs delighted the Viennese in the 1820s.

Film was the natural continuation of this tradition, again sometimes using *Erlkönig* and other songs, but more often instrumental music. Schubert's music was often used in silent films, including some about his own life.[64] The attraction to his music, its effectiveness almost as a character in a film or as essential to creating an atmosphere, accelerated over the decades, from Luis Buñuel's *L'Âge d'or* and Victor Fleming's *Gone with the Wind* in the 1930s, to Billy Wilder's *Lifeboat* and Alfred Hitchcock's *Double Indemnity* in the '40s, to Stanley Kubrick's *Barry Lyndon* (1975), Woody Allen's *Crimes and Misdemeanors* (1989), and Roman Polanski's *Death and the Maiden* (1994). Many of these films seem haunted by works such as the "Unfinished" Symphony (a particularly frequent source), the late piano sonatas and chamber music, including the slow movement of the E-Flat Piano Trio.

Coda: After Schubert

To an unusual extent Schubert's music invited transformation, often across genres and in multimedia ways. That *Erlkönig* could be turned into a waltz, gallop, band music,[65] cantata, virtuoso showpiece for solo piano or violin, a dramatic overture, an orchestral song, or its melodies mined for potpourris shows an incredible seductive allure of the musical material, thus in ways performing the literary theme of Goethe's ballad. Schubert's music has not only served as the soundtrack for countless movies but also for operas and operettas, in some instances about his own life. While this has happened to the music of other composers, especially those most gifted in their melodic invention, Schubert is an extreme case. There is an irony that his dramatic *Erlkönig* could be used so effectively in so many ways and yet Schubert himself never succeeded in the multi-media genre par excellence, namely opera.

The nineteenth-century transformations of Schubert continue to this day, as I experienced several times during the 2023–24 season. My final free association comes from recent experiences of Schubertian extravaganzas in New York City and Paris. For better or worse, the song cycles have been rendered

64 John C. Tibbetts, *Composers in the Movies: Studies in Musical Biography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

65 Schubert's Lieder were often arranged for band during the 1840s; see August Schmidt's article in *Wiener Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 4 October 1845, 474ff; also Brusatti, *Schubert im Wiener Vormärz*, no. 203, 218; and *Neue Schubert Ausgabe* VII/1/4, ix.

dramatically, such as William Kentridge's visualization of *Winterreise*.[66] The latest example, which used *Schwanengesang* (minus *Die Taubenpost*), supplemented by *Herbst* D 945 and the slow movement of the Piano Sonata in B-flat D 960 with some additional atmospheric 'sound compositions' by Mathis Nitschke, was *Doppelganger,* a showpiece for Jonas Kaufmann with Helmut Deutsch. The world premiere of the elaborate production, directed by Claus Guth, took place on 22 September 2023 in the enormous Park Avenue Armory in New York City (see Illustration 3). It played before sold-out audiences, thus exposing many thousands more to *Schwanengesang* than would have heard it in a convention recital performance by Kaufmann.



Illustration 3: Final applause at the performance of *Doppelganger*, Park Avenue Armory, New York City, 22 September 2023. (Photo by Christopher H. Gibbs.)

66 Co-commissioned and co-produced in 2014 by Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, Festival d'Aix-en-Provence, Wiener Festwochen, Holland Festival, KunstFestSpiele Herrenhausen/ Niedersächsische Musiktage, Hanover, Grand Théâtre de Luxembourg, and Opéra de Lille it featured baritone Matthias Goerne accompanied by Markus Hinterhäuser. An earlier meditation on *Winterreise* presented by Lincoln Center in 2009 was 'One Evening', conceived by Katie Mitchell and performed with readings from Samuel Beckett. The performances featured baritone Mark Padmore, actor Stephen Dillane, and pianist Andrew West and were sung in a new English translation by Michael Symmons Roberts.

A few months later the Opéra Comique in Paris presented a mashup of a wide variety of Schubert's music called *L'autre voyage d'après Schubert*. The conception and musical direction by Raphaël Pichon and direction by Silvia Costa included largely unfamiliar compositions, including from dramatic works (*Fierabras*, *Alfonso und Estrella*, *Die Verschworenen*, *Rosamunde*, *Adrast*, *Die Zwillingsbrüder*, and *Sacontala*), sacred pieces (*Lazarus* and the *Deutsche Messe*), as well as partsongs, dances, and the early Overture in C Minor D 8. There were just three Lieder – *Der Doppelgänger* in Liszt's orchestration, *Gruppe aus dem Tartarus* orchestrated by Brahms, and *Nacht und Träume* orchestrated by Reger – but no keyboard pieces, chamber music, or symphonies. The creative team was largely inspired by unfinished or unsuccessful theatrical pieces and stated that "the production pays homage to these incomplete works of art through a narrative in the form of a journey of a creature haunted by finitude and who uses music as a tool for understanding. In the dark night, a forensic doctor receives a body which he quickly recognizes as his own double. He thus engages in a moral and emotional dissection that confronts him with his memories, death, and oblivion".[67] Like Berté's *Das Dreimäderlhaus* more than a century earlier, there seemed little need to use Schubert's hits but rather just his notes to create a larger meditation. But then Schubert's music has always been more than just the notes, more than just the music.

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67 Program book, Opéra Comique, 1–11 February 2024. An earlier Schubert project of Pichon's is the album "Mein Traum", which also includes music by Schumann and Weber. The concept is described as "One morning in 1822, Schubert wrote down an enigmatic text in which all his ghosts seem to take shape: wandering, solitude, consolation, disappointed love. Inspired by this dreamlike narrative, Raphaël Pichon, Pygmalion and Stéphane Degout have devised a vast Romantic fresco, combining resurrection of unknown treasures with rediscovery of established masterpieces" (harmonia mundi 905345 from 2022).

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COMBINING THE ARTS IN SCHUBERT'S TIME

During Schubert's lifetime, cultural events in Vienna were rarely one-dimensional. Rather, they combined different forms of expression to create complex aesthetic experiences: instrumental music was combined with operatic excerpts, poetry recitations, scenic performances, or tableaux vivants—whether in concert halls or in private salons. This volume, based primarily on contributions from the conference "Combining the Arts. Multimedia Performances in the early 19th-Century Habsburg Empire" examines these diverse intermedia practices in the cultural context of the early 19th century. The authors (musicologists, theater and literature scholars, and art historians) analyze previously neglected forms of artistic interconnection with an interdisciplinary approach and shed light on the structural, spatial, and social conditions of multimedia performances in Schubert's Vienna. The focus is not only on works and artistic genres, but also on the actors involved (such as the singer Johann Michael Vogl, the playwright and salonnière Caroline Pichler, and aristocratic dilettantes who performed theatrical and operatic works), venues (salons, ballrooms, theaters, etc.), institutional structures, and media constellations. The book thus offers a multifaceted contribution to the study of artistic interaction and aesthetic perception in the cultural fabric of the Habsburg Empire—far beyond the realm of music history.

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