

17. In the *Mémoires du comte de Comminge* and the *Anecdotes de la Cour et du règne d'Édouard II, roi d'Angleterre*, to which one might add the criminal behavior of Pauline's former suitor who becomes her stepfather in *Les Malheurs de l'amour*.
18. This work was published twenty-seven years after Madame de Tencin's death and contains a continuation (Part 3) by Madame Elie de Beaumont.
19. This is particularly true in Prévost's *Histoire du chevalier des Grieux et de Manon Lescaut* and his *Histoire d'une Grecque moderne*; Marivaux rarely sees women except in their relationship to men and inspired by "amour-propre," although there are two admirable portraits of surrogate mothers inspired by Mme. de Lambert and Mme. de Tencin herself in *La Vie de Marianne*. Marivaux did attempt to deal with questions of sexual politics in "L'Élé des esclaves."
20. Denis Diderot was exceptional in his exploration of human sexuality; a key article on women is his short piece entitled "Sur les femmes."
21. The most comprehensive survey of 18th-century scientific thought on women is in Paul Hoffmann's *La Femme dans la pensée des Lumières* (Paris: Ophrys, 1977), especially pp. 107-238. See also Michel Foucault's first volume of his *The History of Sexuality* (New York: Pantheon, 1978), published in France as *La Volonté de savoir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1976).
22. For example P. M. Hall, "Duclos's *Histoire de Madame de Luz: Woman and History*," in *Essays in Honour of J. S. Spink*, p. 150, n.6.
23. During the Hundred Years War Calais was besieged by Edward III of England (1346-1347). The famous episode of the six burghers who surrendered themselves to save the town, reduced by famine, was commemorated by Auguste Rodin in his statue, *Burglers of Calais*.
24. The term is put into circulation and analyzed by Miller in *The Heroine's Text*.
25. In this regard the novel pursues the course embarked upon by the *prétresses*, to which Madame de Lafayette added important vocabulary and syntax. It is also an important function of the 18th-century salon, especially Madame de Lambert's. The discourse on love loses in the intervening years a good deal of its metaphysical content and instead begins to incorporate figures of desire both physical and psychological.
26. George Eliot, "Woman in France: Madame de Sablé," in *Essays*, ed. Thomas Pinney (New York: Columbia University, 1963), p. 54.
27. The essay is collected in the English translation entitled *Desire in Language* (New York: Columbia University, 1980), pp. 64-91; the passage cited is on p. 73.
28. Miller, *The Heroine's Text*, p. 149.



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DANIEL W. WILSON

Turks on the Eighteenth-Century Operatic Stage and European Political, Military, and Cultural History



One would be hard-put to find a dix-huitième unfamiliar with Stephanie's and Mozart's opera *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* [*The Abduction from the Seraglio*]; but many more might be unacquainted with Dancourt's and Gluck's *La Rencontre imprévue* [*The Unexpected Encounter*] or Friberth's and Haydn's derivation *L'incontro improvviso*, and almost none would know—or care to know—operas like *La schiava liberata* [*The Freed Slave-Woman*] by Martinello and Jommelli, *Der Kaufmann von Smyrna* [*The Merchant of Smyrna*] by Chamfort/Schwan and Vogler, or *Der Bassa von Tunis* [*The Pasha of Tunis*] by Henisch and Holly. These operas are intriguing to the cultural historian, however, because all of them, plus others totaling at least thirteen before Mozart's masterpiece, contain plots and characters of amazing uniformity; and of these thirteen, eleven were first produced in the relatively short period between 1764 and 1781 (see appended list of "Abduction Operas"). Rather than establishing these operas as sources for Mozart's achievement in 1782, which has already been done by Walter Prebisch,¹ I want to show what the uniformity in plot implies for European attitudes towards alien cultures, and to point out how these attitudes were prepared by political and military events, and how they developed from earlier attitudes.

In spite of numerous variations, the operas follow a basic pattern: a European woman—usually a Spaniard—is separated from her lover, taken prisoner by Turkish pirates, and sold to a sultan as a slave. The sultan falls in love with her, but the Christian woman remains steadfast and true to her beau. He, in turn, soon finds his way to the seraglio and plans (together with a nervous servant) the abduction and escape by ship. Often the woman has a chambermaid or other woman-servant, who though chased by a coarse harem guard resists his advances; this constellation provides broad comedy. The abduction is eventually discovered; the sultan threatens to punish the Europeans horribly, but he finally forgives them magnanimously and allows them to return home. All join in a concluding hymn of praise for the unexpected nobility of the Muslim monarch.

Because this plot is followed with few changes by so many librettists, it is easy to see why the Mozart critic Hermann Abert wrote that "such rescue

stories . . . were just beginning to become fashionable . . . at that time."² In fact, some contemporaries commented on the prevalence of the abduction story; the German writer Knigge, for example, found himself obliged in 1783 to review a novel which included "this tale that has long since seen its day, and has been belabored so often in novels and plays."³

Where did this repeated narrative come from? Why did it attain such a vogue in German-speaking countries in the 1760s and 1770s? The basic plot goes back at least as far as the Greeks, and we shall see that medieval variants of it provide an enlightening—though unenlightened—contrast; and its wide popularity in the late eighteenth century occurred at a unique juncture in the history of relations—political, military, and cultural—between the Christian West and the Muslim Orient.

As a point of departure for summarizing this juncture, I wish to draw on Edward Said's finding in *Orientalism* that the Islamic Orient has represented in an almost archetypal sense "the Other" for Europeans, because its geographic proximity to Europe meant that for centuries the Near East was the only advanced civilization with which Europeans had substantial contact at all and by which they were seriously threatened.⁴ This contact did not mean that the Muslim was taken seriously and observed without prejudice; Norman Daniel has shown that the distorted image of Islam that arose as a handmaiden to the Crusades dominated European consciousness long after the Middle Ages, and to a certain extent still does.⁵ Daniel points out that for Christians the primary characteristics of Mohammed were sexual promiscuity—an uninformed and/or malicious idea derived from the Muslim conception of paradise—and violence used in the propagation of the faith (p. 274). As a result, promiscuity and violence (or cruelty) eventually established themselves in Western eyes as the main characteristics of all Muslims—apparently without much Christian concern about the fact that they had developed their own concept of the "holy war." These Christian "holy wars," the Crusades, remained a deeply formative experience in the European relation to Islam. Muslims became "archenemies," Mohammed the "arch-deceiver." Participation in the Crusades against Islam became a holy obligation in the eyes of the faithful, and was even rewarded with indulgences. Appropriately, in Crusade literature we find works with abduction plots that seem almost designed as contrasts to the eighteenth-century operatic plots I have described; in them, a Muslim woman is rescued from her own father, an Arab ruler, by a Christian knight who has been captured and with whom the daughter falls in love. In a more conventional variation, a Christian woman is rescued from a sultan. Examples of these plots are the semi-historical story of Prince Bohemond in Ordericus Vitalis' *Ecclesiastical History*, the old French epic *Prise d'Orange* and *Fierabras*, and the last part of the German epic *Orendel*.⁶ These abduction plots in Crusade literature should not surprise us, inasmuch as the Crusades themselves were conceived in large part as a "rescue" of Christians (and Christian holy places) from infidel Muslim hands.

In the eighteenth century it was more difficult to escape from the

Crusade mentality than one might think. For example, we find in Lessing's comedy *Minna von Barnhelm* (1765) a war-thirsty former soldier, Werner, who wants to join up with Prince Heraclius, "the great hero in the Orient," who "will soon burst open the Ottoman Sublime Porte." He says,

Our ancestors diligently went after the Turks, and we should do the same, if we are decent fellows and good Christians. Sure, I know that a campaign against the Turks isn't half as much fun as one against the French, but it makes up for it by being that much more meritorious, in this life and in the next.⁷

Werner is just a parody, of course, but a parody of a real type—unless, of course, one agrees with the many historians⁸ who claim (without any evidence) that after their unsuccessful siege of Vienna in 1683 and the signing of the Treaty of Carlowitz in 1699, the Turks ceased to be considered a danger to Central Europeans. If it is true that the Turkish threat represented the second most serious problem of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe after the Reformation,⁹ then it stands to reason that this threat did not disappear overnight, and certainly not on the threshold of the eighteenth century for the convenience of historians. Between the siege of Vienna and the Treaty of Jassy (1792) there were a total of forty-one years of war between Turkey and either Austria or Russia. In 1714 the Turks provoked new hostilities with the "Holy League" (which was financially supported by the Papacy). Only after the European success in this war did Westerners temporarily believe that the Turkish danger had been eliminated; but twenty-one years after the Treaty of Passarowitz, following a new Turkish war, Austria had to relinquish almost all the territory the earlier generation had won. As a result, around 1740, not many Europeans thought that the Turks were a paper dragon; Maria Theresa considered them one of the most unpredictable elements in her foreign policy. Eventually, however—especially in the period that interests us here, the 1760s and 1770s—the Ottoman Empire became little more than a helpless pawn in European big-power politics.

The decisive turning-point was the Russian-Turkish war of 1768-74, which was virtually simultaneous with most of the pre-Mozartian "abduction operas." The war was initiated by the Turks, but only after goading by France (traditional ally of Turkey), which wanted to counterbalance Russian ambitions in Poland without having really to contribute anything; but it soon became evident to everyone that the Turks would be overrun by the Russians, and in 1771 Austria did the unthinkable and signed a short-lived pact with her former arch-enemy, the Ottoman Empire, to prevent the Russians from overrunning the Balkans and upsetting the balance of power. In the same year Joseph II wrote what everyone knew by now: the Russians "are a thousand times more dangerous neighbors than the Turks can ever be."¹⁰ A war between Austria and Russia never materialized, because Russian expansionism was quenched by the partition of Poland (1772). The idea of a partition of the Turkish domains in

Europe could not be forgotten, however, and in the 1770s everyone expected it to happen. Turkey was thought to be powerless. Even the supposedly enlightened Voltaire conjured up the spirit of the Crusades, writing to his friend the Czarina as early as 1769:

Far be it from me to want a league [the Holy League] against the Turks. The Crusades were so ridiculous that there is no way of renewing them; but I confess that if I were a Venetian [allies of Russia] I would be in favor of sending an army to Candia [on Crete], while Your Majesty would beat the Turks back to Jassy or elsewhere. If I were a young Holy Roman Emperor [Joseph II], Bosnia and Serbia would soon belong to me, and I would then proceed to ask you to dine at Sophia or at Philippopolis in Romania, after which we would partition in a friendly spirit.¹¹

In his mind's eye Voltaire already saw Catherine as conqueror of Constantinople. We find the desire to reconquer this city in many documents of the period, and can only interpret it as a renewed Crusade ideology, because Christians had been irritated since 1453 that the former Byzantium had become the capital of Islam.

So precisely in the 1760s and 1770s it became clear that the Ottoman Empire no longer represented a major threat to Central Europe. This Turkish military impotence is the salient factor for understanding the genesis of the abduction operas; a rapprochement between Central Europeans and Turks was now possible. To be sure, the "Turkish threat" and consequently the ideology of the Crusades survived, namely in the bogeyman-figure of the individual Turk, the saber-rattling, ruthless, and vengeful Janissary. Facts, semi-facts, and legends from past and not-so-far-past Turkish wars fed this image; for example, one can imagine that Joseph Haydn never forgot the story of his grandfather, who barely eluded the invading Turks in 1683; the grandfather's brother did not escape the bloodbath.¹² So the image of the ruthless Turk persisted alongside the obvious deterioration of the Ottoman Empire as a military power.

A different but related ambivalent attitude towards Islam (for most Europeans "Turk" and "Muslim" were synonymous) was reflected in cultural life, where the confrontation with Islam had sparked Turkomania in non-Hapsburg Europe long before the 1768-74 war. The political, economic, and military factors were the main impulses for this fashion; it was in France, the power most friendly to the Turks, where *l'querie* first caught on, especially as a result of the gigantic and colorful Turkish diplomatic missions to Paris in 1721 and 1742,¹³ a time when the Hapsburg Empire could hardly think so lightly of Turks. Frederick the Great, on the other hand, aimed for a Prussian-Turkish alliance at the end of the Seven Years' War, received a huge Turkish diplomatic mission in 1763-64, and made fun of the Berliners who soon began eating dates, wearing turbans, and even—as some reports had it—setting up harems.¹⁴ To be sure, these diplomatic and cultural contacts paved the way for a more open contact between East and West, but to a large extent the

European reaction reached no further than fantastic decoration; typical of this superficial decorative fad is the fashion for ladies at the court of Louis XV to be painted as harem girls.¹⁵

In scholarly matters we get a third kind of ambivalence. In the early eighteenth century researchers began to travel to the Near East and return with valuable manuscripts, which led to a regeneration of study of Near Eastern languages, literatures, religions, and history; but with the exception of Lessing's friend Johann Jakob Reiske and a few others, the Orientalists hardly tried to shake off the yoke of theology: many wanted to learn Arabic only in order to refute the "false" dogmas of the Koran and/or to understand the Bible better.¹⁶ One writer spoke in 1772 of "the powerful Turkish Empire, the great Antichrist and false prophet, the Mohammedan superstition, and its false revelation, the Koran," and even hoped that the Turks would attack Austria again, because "then the Roman Imperial and Russian eagle will ruffle up the oriental vulture so badly, that it will not dare to fly so mightily high again."¹⁷ These lines come not from some ignorant pamphletist, but from the Württemberg Orientalist David Friedrich Megerlin, who had just spent many years completing the first German translation of the Koran from the original: this passage was written for the preface to that translation! Towards the end of the century some travel reports even explicitly called for the conquest of the Near Eastern lands they described.¹⁸

In belles lettres, too, turkomania vacillated between cosmopolitanism and xenophobia. After weak beginnings in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the fashion flowered in earnest with the publication—again, in France—of Antoine Galland's translation of *1001 Nights* (1704-17). Despite the potentially rationalistic tenor of much of this collection, its tremendous popularity—and the ensuing fashion—owed more to exoticism than to Enlightenment. Readers were primarily fascinated by the image of the supposedly "immutable Orient," an image that, as Said has pointed out, relegates an entire part of the world to a sort of theatrical existence that is supposedly not subject to the normal laws of nature and history (pp. 49 ff.). Europeans were able to project their sexual fantasies onto this exotic land. Consequently, it was not primarily works like Voltaire's serious tragedies, *Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le Prophète* (1742) and *Zaïre* (1732), that the public eagerly devoured, but rather the erotic liberties in orientazing works like Crébillon fils' *Le Sopha* (1741) or Diderot's *Les Bijoux indiscrets* (1748). The erotic coloring allowed authors to perpetuate medieval ideas about the uncontrolled promiscuity of Mohammed in *galant* novels with titles like *Histoire secrète du Prophète des Turcs* (1754), which supposedly contained "aventures gaillardes et merveilleuses" from Mohammed's life.¹⁹ Even in the more "serious" representatives of the Oriental genres we hardly find fewer clichés; Norman Daniel states that Voltaire's treatment of Islam—not only in *Mahomet*, but also in the somewhat fairer *Essai sur les mœurs*—was essentially identical to the medieval outlook.²⁰ In the satiric works in the tradition of Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes* (1721), in which criticism of European mores was clothed in the fictive observations of Muslim travellers, the foreigners were little

more than "purified" Muslims, enlightened Europeans in exotic dress. Michel Devezé describes the ambiguity with the right nuance when he speaks of the eighteenth century (and he is thinking mainly of France) as an epoch "when Europe pretended to believe in a certain superiority of the Orient" (p. 512). To quote Dorval from Diderot's *Le Fils naturel* (1757), one saw in the Muslim peoples an "incredible mixture of humanity, benevolence, and barbarism."²¹

The fruits of this new outlook ripened most fully in the Turkish abduction operas, particularly in the sultan figure. By comparison, earlier works with Turkish themes hardly seem of the same stock. In Daniel Casper von Lohenstein's drama, *Ibrahim Bassa* (1653), the abduction fails and is used only to demonstrate the constancy of the captured lovers and the cruelty of the sultan. Ibrahim, who was originally a Christian, is brought captive back to the court of the sultan Soliman along with his lover, Isabella, with whom the sultan is in love. After his lecherousness wins out over his few grains of reason, Soliman finally has Ibrahim executed. In this way he combines paradigmatically the twin Muslim stereotypes of violence and lasciviousness. In this drama we find clearly illustrated a primary motif in the European relation to Islam: the fear that the European woman will fall under the sexual control of the Muslim, will be dragged into his "bed of disgrace" (*Schand-Bett*), as Isabella puts it.²² This motif appears whenever a Christian woman is brought to the harem of a sultan, and therefore also in the Turkish operas of the eighteenth century.

Exactly one hundred years after *Ibrahim Bassa* was published, a newer approach to these themes is evident in the very popular singspiel, *Solimana*, a libretto by Giannambrogio Migliavacca set to the music of Johann Adolph Hasse in a production at the Dresden court.²³ It is a Turkish opera, but without an abduction. In a typically eighteenth-century retelling of the old story of Suleiman II, who killed his own innocent son Mustapha as the result of an intrigue by the sultana Roxelane and the Grand Vezier Rustan,²⁴ the libretto first shows us a modern-sounding sultan who intends to rule "absolutely" but without "cruelty" (p. 10). Still wanting to believe good of his son, he resists the rumors of disloyalty, but not for long. Two things separate him from his ruthless literary forebears: the pangs of conscience that plague him right after he orders his son killed (p. 72), and the librettist's merciful trick of making the report of the execution fake. The son magnanimously forgives his father. So we find a characteristic mixture of the old and the new in Solimano: an active conscience and a desire to be an enlightened despot, but also a tendency to be controlled by his fears, and an inward wickedness that expresses itself in his features, which make one character exclaim, "what a wild face!" (p. 23); another calls him the "bloodhound of Asia" (p. 26), a phrase used often by Lohenstein, too.

In the abduction operas of the 1760s and 1770s, a qualitative difference appears in the portrayal of the Turkish sultan. To be sure, the "new" sultan still retains older features, as we can see by examining Stephanie's/

Mozart's Bassa (Pasha) Selim. He is not completely noble, as some critics claim by comparison with Schachtner's/Mozart's earlier sultan in *Zaide*.²⁵ His relation to the beautiful European woman Konstanze, with whom he is in love, is based on the fact that she is his slave; again and again he falls prey to the temptation to threaten her with force.²⁶ In the climactic scene, he no sooner sees her than he threatens her again, not with death, but with "all kinds of torture" ("Warten von allen Arten"), which gives her the cue for her famous aria. Not until the final scene, after he has threatened the lovers once again with violence (p. 376), does Selim then surprise them with his act of generosity. This deed is the really new element in the abduction operas and is that which separates them fundamentally from earlier Turkish operas. The clemency is that much more surprising for the Europeans because it is Belmonte's own father whom Selim rightly calls a "barbarian" because of past injustices (p. 376); the Christian audience expects that a Muslim will repay wrong with wrong, just as most Christians would do. Belmonte expects the same, and says: "Yes, Pasha, satisfy your vengeance on me, erase the wrong that my father did to you, I expect everything and do not blame you" (p. 396). So when Selim forgives and forgets, he appears as a sort of Christian saint in Muslim garb; in fact, he was originally European. He is a "renegade" (pp. 90, 339) who was motivated to convert to Islam by the ignominy of Belmonte's father. However, most sultans in these operas are not renegades, but are inwardly Christians. Selim says that Belmonte may sail home and tell his father that "it is a much greater pleasure to repay an injustice with good deeds than to erase vices with vices" (p. 396).

In general, the negative Muslim characteristics are restricted to another character, the comically grotesque Osmin, the lustful, cruel harem guard. Mozart's character of this name is to some extent an original creation; but in most respects he had been, as Abert says, "at home in opera buffa for a long time. . . . in fact, he is a static type (as the frequent use of the name Osmin shows) who appears again and again in the Turkish pieces as a harem guard, palace supervisor, etc." (p. 933). Osmin is always ready to put someone's head on a stick after killing him slowly with all sorts of torture. To be sure, he is a comic figure par excellence, and part of the reason the Muslim stereotypes seem to have been diverted to this low character is that the possibilities for comedy could not be ignored. But Alfred Einstein is right to stress Osmin's ambiguity: he is "infinitely funny . . . but also infinitely dangerous" (p. 517). And Osmin commits the excesses he does clearly because he is a Muslim. His religious heritage is not laughed off the stage during all the comic routines, but rather it is stressed. This is done on the one hand by the supposedly Muslim curses so popular in this genre ("By the beard of the prophet!", "By Allah!", etc.), but especially by Osmin's wine-song. Osmin is seduced into drinking, and while drunk he sings a song in which he curses the Prophet for having forbidden alcohol. The aim is clearly to expose what some authors thought to be the absurdity of Islam. Such a wine-song is included in almost all Turkish operas. This is Haydn's from *L'incontro improvviso*:

CALANDRO: Il Profeta Maometto
non avea cervello netto,
quando c'interdisse il vin.
Io lo trovo sì perfetto,
lorché bevo cheto, cheto
questo buon liquor divin.

CALENDER: The Prophet Mahomet
was not in his right mind
when he forbade us wine.
I find it indeed perfect
when I quietly drink this good,
this divine liquor on the sly.²⁷

In the finale to Mozart's *Abduction* all the characters state in the recurring refrain their admiration for the noble sultan; but then Blonde, the saucy Englishwoman whom Osmín has been chasing, after expressing her gratitude to Selím expresses her despic of Osmín, who suddenly interrupts the hymn of praise with his usual cacophonous viciousness.

KONSTANZE, BELMONTE, PEDRILLO, BLONDE, OSMÍN:

Wer so viel Huld vergessen kann,
Den seh' man mit Verachtung an!

BLONDE: Herr Bassa, ich sag' recht mit Freuden

Viel Dank für Kost und Lagerstroh.

Doch bin ich recht von Herzen froh,

Dass er mich lässt von hinnen scheiden.

(auf Osmín zeigend.)

Denn seh' er nur das Tier dort an,

Ob man so was ertragen kann.

Ich muss von dir auf ewig scheiden.

Wer so wie du nur zanken kann,

Den sieht man mit Verachtung an.

OSMÍN: Verbrennen sollte man die Hunde.

Die uns so schändlich hintergehn,

Es ist nicht länger auszustehn.

Mir starrt die Zunge fast im Munde,

Um ihren Lohn zu ordnen an:

Erst geköpft, dann gehangen,

Dann gespießt auf heisse Stangen,

Dann verbrannt, dann gebunden

Und getaucht, zuletzt geschunden.

(läuft wütend ab.)

KONSTANZE, BELMONTE, PEDRILLO, BLONDE, OSMÍN:

Anyone who could forget so great a favor

should be regarded with contempt.

BLONDE: Lord Pasha, most joyfully I give you

many thanks for my board and lodging.

But I'm as happy as can be

That he is letting me leave—

For just look at that animal there—

Can anyone put up with that?
I must leave you for ever.
Anyone who, like you, can only quarrel
should be regarded with contempt.
OSMÍN: We should burn these dogs,
who have so disgracefully deceived us.
It's no longer to be borne.
My tongue almost dries up in my mouth
to order their reward:
first beheaded, then hanged,
then impaled on red-hot spikes,
then burned, then bound
and drowned, finally flayed.

(He rushes out in a rage.)

These last four lines are Osmín's trademark, established earlier in the opera: the comically irrational order of the stages of torture shows his uncontrollable rage; and he cannot even keep up with the crudet of Turkish music which, Mozart said, "doesn't know itself any more."²⁸ In the next few lines we find the typical Muslim characteristic of vengefulness relegated to Osmín, and the Christian virtue of forgiveness attributed to Selím—a perfect example of the schizophrenic treatment of the Muslim. And the ambiguity goes further when we remember that Selím was originally a Christian. But the final Janissary chorus combines the typical Turkish martial music that had characterized Osmín with praise for Selím, thus reminding us that the noble character is, after all, a Muslim.

KONSTANZE, BELMONTE, BLONDE, PEDRILLO:

Nichts ist so hässlich als die Rache;

Hingegen menschlich gültig sein,

Und ohne Eigennutz verzeihn,

Ist nur der grossen Seelen Sache.

Wer dieses nicht erkennen kann,

Den seh' man mit Verachtung an!

CHOR DER JANITSCHAREN:

Bassa Selím lebe lange!

Ehre sei sein Eigentum!

Seine holde Schetel prange

Voll von Jubel, voll von Ruhm.

KONSTANZE, BELMONTE, BLONDE, PEDRILLO:

Nothing is as hateful as revenge.

On the other hand, to be merciful, kind,

and selflessly to forgive

is the mark only of a noble soul!

Anyone who could forget this

should be regarded with contempt.

CHORUS OF JANISSARIES:

Long live the Pasha Selím!

Let honor be his due!

May his noble brow be resplendent

with jubilation and with fame.²⁹

The main conclusion to be drawn is that the abduction plot in the eighteenth-century Turkish operas, with its foiled rescue and magnanimous pardon by the sultan, represents a confrontation with and a rejection of the ethic and ideology of crusading, of xenophobia, of ethnocentricity, an ethic that was represented in the medieval works by an abduction that succeeded and a thoroughly unregenerate infidel sultan. The eighteenth-century works recognize and attempt to counter barbarity and inhumanity in the Western tradition, and contribute to an emerging definition of the humane ideal, especially in German-speaking countries; and I have argued elsewhere that these operas were the major tradition called on in important works of Lessing and Goethe that further defined this ideal.³⁰ And we must remember that the military and political background played a key role as a stimulus to the appreciation of Islamic culture. To be sure, ambivalence persists in these operas, especially in the now-comic figure of Osmin, as we have seen. And even the noble sultan often seems to be noble merely because he is inwardly really a European. However, he can still serve as an indicator that previous values are hanging, as for example in Friebert's *The Serail*, where the sultan expresses the view that "not only Europe, but also Asia can produce virtuous souls,"³¹ and more clearly in Grossmann's *Adelheit von Vellheim*, where the pasha says to the Europeans after generously forgiving them or their plot against him,

all I ask of you is that you sometimes remember that you found a human being and a friend in the so-called barbarian world. . . . But allow me to add, that I did not learn to act this way from the history of your conquests of foreign continents.³²

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Chronological List of Abduction Operas

The author has seen all of these works except the two marked with an asterisk. In those cases, he relies on Walter Preibisch for knowledge of the plot.

C = composer; L = librettist; P = premiere

Libretti of almost all these operas were published within a year or two of the premiere.

Turc gênéroux (an entire in *Les Indes galantes*)

C: J.-Ph. Rameau
L: L. Fuzelier
P: Paris, 1735

Époux esclaves ou Basien et Basienne à Alger

C: unknown
L: unknown
P: Paris, 1755 (?). MS is dated 1755.

La Rencontre imprévue / Die Pilgrime von Mekka

C: Christoph Willibald von Gluck
L: L. H. Dancourt, after Lesage and d'Orneval
P: Vienna, 1764

*La schiava liberata**

C: Niccolò Jommelli
L: Gaetano Martiniello
P: Ludwigsburg, 1768. Set by Joseph Schuster (Dresden, 1777) and as a ballet by Florian Johann Deller (Stuttgart, 1768).

*The Captive, a Comic Opera**

C: Charles Dibdin, et al.
L: Isaac Bickerstaff
P: London, 1769

Der Kaufmann von Smyrna (or *Der Waarenhändler* or *Der Sklavenhändler von Smyrna*), eine Operette.

C: Georg Joseph Vogler
L: Sebastian R. N. Chamfort, trans. Christian Friedrich Schwan
P: Mannheim, 1771. Set five more times between 1773 and 1783.

Der Basa (or *Pascha* or *Baron*) *von Tunis*, oder *Julie*

C: Andreas Franz Holly (Ondřej František Holý)
L: Carl Franz Henisch
P: Berlin, 1774

L'incontro improvviso

C: Joseph Haydn
L: Karl Friebert, adapted from Dancourt's libretto for the Gluck opera above
P: Esterháza, 1775

Das Grab des Myfi oder *Die zwei Geizigen*

C: Johann Adam Hiller
L: August Gottlieb Meissner, after *Les deux avares* by C. G. Fenouillot de Falbaire de Quingey
P: Leipzig, 1779. Set twice later in the eighteenth century.

Das Serail, oder die unvermuthete Zusammenkunft in der Sclauerey zwischen Vater, Tochter und Sohn

C: Joseph von Friebert
L: Franz Joseph Sebastiani
P: Erlangen, 1778 (at the latest)

Zaide

C: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart
L: Andreas Schachner (after *Das Serail*, above)
P: Frankfurt, 1866. Written 1779-80, remained unfinished.

Adelheit von Vellheim. Ein Schauspiel mit Gesang

C: Christian Gottlob Neefe
L: Gustav Friedrich Wilhelm Grossmann
P: Frankfurt, 1780

Belmonte und Constanze oder *Die Einführung aus dem Serail*

C: Johann André
L: Christoph Friedrich Bretzner
P: Berlin, 1781

Die Einführung aus dem Serrail

- C. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart
L. Gottlieb Stephanie the Younger (after Bretzner, above)
P. Vienna, 1782



NOTES

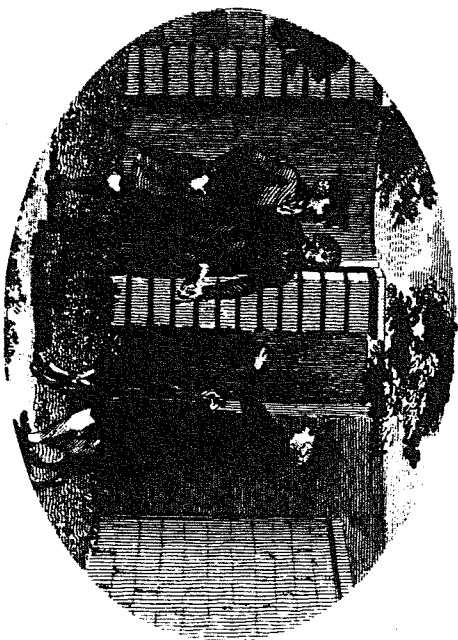
1. Preibisch, "Quellenstudien zu Mozarts *Einführung aus dem Serrail*". Ein Beitrag zu der Geschichte der Turkenoper." *Sammelbande der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft* 10 (1908-09): 430-76. However, Preibisch was unfamiliar with Haydn's *L'incontro improvviso* (which came to light again only in 1936), and with *Les Époux esclaves* (on which Rudolph Angermüller first reported in 1978: "*Les Époux esclaves ou Bastien et Bastienne à Alger*". Zur Stoffgeschichte der *Einführung aus dem Serrail*," *Mozart-Jahrbuch* [1978-79]: 70-88). The chapter on the Turkish operas in Bistra Donitschewa, "Der Türke im Spiegelbild der deutschen Literatur und des Theaters im 18. Jahrhundert," Diss. Munich, 1944, pp. 50-84, is almost completely a word-for-word plagiarism of Preibisch's article. On "Turkish" musical aspects of these operas, see Preibisch as well as Eve R. Meyer, "*Turquerie* and Eighteenth-Century Music," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 7 (1974): 474-88, and Roland Würtz, "Das Türkische im Singspiel des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Das deutsche Singspiel im 18. Jahrhundert: Colloquium der Arbeitsstelle 18. Jahrhundert, Gesamthochschule Wuppertal, Universität Münster* . . . 2. bis 4. Okt. 1979 (Heldelberg: Carl Winter, 1981), pp. 125-37.
2. W. A. Mozart, rev. by Otto Jahn, Mozart, 6th edn., 2 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1923): I, 934. Throughout, translations are the author's except where indicated otherwise.
3. Adolf Freiherr von Knigge, review of *Der Bassa von Algier, eine dramatische Novelle* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1781), in *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, App. to Vols. 37-52, Pt. 1 (1783): 127.
4. (New York: Pantheon, 1978), pp. 70, 73 ff. This paper owes a great deal to Said's perspectives. Said's controversial book has shaken the very foundations of Near Eastern studies, for his main point is that European "Orientalists" have managed to appropriate Islamic cultures and to establish hegemony over them, and that this domination is inextricably bound up with the history of Western imperialism. The criticism of Said concerns not only the historical validity of his arguments, but Said's scholarly—particularly linguistic—qualifications to criticize the field as a non-specialist. For a particularly virulent illustration of the dispute, see Bernard Lewis' criticism of Said, "The Question of Orientalism," *New York Review of Books*, 24 June 1982: 49-56, and Said's response and a rejoinder by Lewis, "Orientalism: An Exchange," 12 Aug. 1982: 44-48. Said has especially been criticized for his failure to examine the German Orientalist tradition. This lacuna has been partially filled by Karl Fink, "Goethe's *West-östlicher Divan*: Orientalism Restructured," *International Journal of Literature* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1984).
5. *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University, 1960), pp. 271-301.
6. *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University, 1975): 5, 360 (bk. 10, ch. 24). On the French epics see F. M. Warren, "The Enamoured Moslem Princess in Orderic Vitalis and the French Epic," *PMLA* 29 (1914): 341-58.
7. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Werke*, ed. Herbert G. Göppert, et al., 8 vols. (Munich: Hanser, 1970): I, 621-22 (act I, scene 12).
8. Max Braubach, *Vom Weltlichen Frieden bis zur Französischen Revolution*, vol. 10 of *Obhardt Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte*, 9th edn., ed. Herbert Grundmann, 22 vols.

- (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1974), p. 83; Walther Hubatsch, *Deutschland zwischen dem Dreißigjährigen Krieg und der Französischen Revolution*, 2nd edn. (Frankfurt: Ullstein, 1976), p. 112; Said, p. 58.
9. Alexandrine N. St. Clair, "Turkengeld," *Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. Richard Ettinghausen (New York, 1972), pp. 315-34, esp. 315.
 10. From a memorial of Joseph to Maria Theresa, quoted in *Aus der Zeit Maria Theresias: Tagebuch des Fürsten Johann Joseph Khevenhüller-Metsch, kaiserlichen Obersthofmeisters*, 1742-1776, ed. Rudolf Graf Khevenhüller-Metsch and Hanns Schitter, 8 vols. (Vienna: Holzhausen, 1925): 7, 340.
 11. *Correspondence*, ed. Theodore Besterman, 56 vols. to date (Banbury: Voltaire Foundation, 1968-): 34, 476 (Feney, 27 May 1769). See Albert Sorel, *La Question d'Orient au XVIIIe siècle: Le Partage de la Pologne et le traité de Kaniady*, 2nd edn. (Paris: Plon, 1889), p. 58.
 12. H. R. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: The Early Years 1732-1765*, vol. 1 of *Haydn: Chronicle and Works* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1980), p. 21.
 13. See Alexandrine N. St. Clair, *The Image of the Turk in Europe* (New York, 1973), pp. 15, 20; Jean-Louis Vautour, "L'Orientalisme [Turkish Orientalism] en Europe au XVIIIe siècle," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, ser. 4, vol. 6 (1911): 89-102, esp. 90 f.; Michel Devèze, *L'Europe et le Monde à la fin du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: A. Michel, 1970), p. 506.
 14. See C. A. Bratton, *Die preussisch-türkische Bündnispolitik Friedrichs des Grossen* (Weimar: G. Kiepenheuer, 1915), p. 132.
 15. Devèze, p. 506.
 16. Johann Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Otto Harrasowitz, 1955), pp. 97-129.
 17. Quoted in Adolf Wohlwill, "Deutschland, der Islam und die Türken," *Euphorion* 22 (1915): 228.
 18. Here the most important work was Constantin François Chasseboeuf de Volney's *Voyage en Syrie et en Égypte* . . . 2 vols. (Paris: Desenne, 1785), which Napoleon used on his Egyptian expedition. See Said, p. 81, and Devèze, pp. 510 ff.
 19. Daniel, p. 385; Marie-Louise Dufrenoy, *L'Orient romanesque en France 1704-1789* (Montreal: Beauchemin, 1946), pp. 68 ff.
 20. Daniel, pp. 289-91; see also Wohlwill, p. 228, and Djavād Hadidi, *Voltaire et l'Islam* (Paris: Assoc. Langues et civilisations, 1974).
 21. *Oeuvres complètes de Diderot*, ed. J. Assézat, 20 vols. (Paris: Garnier, 1875-77): 7, 54 (act 3, scene 7).
 22. *Ibrahim Bassa, in Türkische Trauerspiele*, ed. Klaus Günther Just (Stuttgart: Hietse-mann, 1953), Act 5, I, 60.
 23. *Soliman, ein Singspiel, welches auf dem . . . Hof-Theater in DRESDEN . . . ist aufgeführt worden*, (Dresden: Königl. Hof-Buchdruckerei Stössel, n.d.). By 1773 *Soliman* had been set by another six composers. To the five settings mentioned by Preibisch (p. 438) must be added the one by Michel Angelo Valentini (Torino, 1756).
 24. See Elisabeth Frenzel, "Muspapha," *Stoffe der Weltliteratur*, 2nd edn. (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1963), pp. 448-51.
 25. E.g., Alfred Einstein, *Mozart: Sein Charakter, sein Werk*, 3rd edn. (Zurich: Pan, 1953), p. 514.
 26. Mozart, *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, ed. Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg, Ser. 2, Work Group 5, Vol. 12: *Die Einführung aus dem Serrail*, ed. Gerhard Croll (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1982), pp. 119, 132.
 27. Joseph Haydn, *Werke*, ed. Georg Feder, Joseph-Haydn-Institut, Cologne, Ser. 25, Vol. 6: *L'incontro improvviso*, ed. Helmut Wirth, Halbband 2 (Munich: Henle, 1963), pp. 273 ff.; trans. Lionel Salter, Philips recording 6769 040 (1980).
 28. Mozart, *Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, ed. Wilhelm A. Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch, 3 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), 3:162.
 29. Mozart, *Einführung*, pp. 404-30; trans. based on that of Lionel Salter in the Philips recording.
 30. *Humanität und Krenztugsästhetie um 1780: Die Turkenoper im 18. Jahrhundert und das Rettungsmodell in Wielands, Lessings, Nathans und Goethes 'Iphigenie'*, Canadian Studies in German Language and Literature, 30 (Berne: Peter Lang, 1984). Parts of the present article

are translated from the introductory chapter of this monograph. Elaboration of the argument and further documentation can be found there.

31. Joseph von Fribert, *Das Strahl*, in W. A. Mozart, *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, ed. Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg, *Kritische Berichte*, Ser. 2, Work Group 5, Vol. 10: *Zaide* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), p. 90.

32. Gustav Friedrich Wilhelm Grossmann, *Adelheit von Vellheim*, afterword by Otto Pflöwer (Potsdam: Müller & Co., 1920), p. 182.



Review Essay: Recent Works on Eighteenth-Century Scottish Life and Thought



Between 1660 and 1830 Scotland was transformed: a poor provincial kingdom became a partially modernized and somewhat prosperous province which by the 1780s could boast the world's leading medical school, its most innovative banking system, a flourishing manufacturing sector, distinguished printing, and even a capital ornamented not only by a "new town" but by a group of philosophers who made plausible its claim as the Athens of the north. This complex transformation has been the subject of numerous recent studies which this essay will review.

1. Bibliography and Reference

Bibliographical and archival control of the sources for this period of Scottish history have been improved by three publications which supplement the materials published annually in various journals. In 1981 *The Economic and Social History Society of Scotland* began publishing a series, the first volume of which (*Scottish Economic and Social History*) is edited by T. M. Devine and T. C. Smout, two of Scotland's most distinguished economic historians. This annual, which surveys current work in social and economic history, contains articles, reviews, a yearly bibliography, as well as a register of on-going research.

Of particular interest to Americans will be *Scots Americans: A Survey of the Sources for Links between Scotland and America in the Eighteenth Century*, by William R. and C. Helen Brock (Edinburgh University, 1982). This book "offers a general survey and commentary on the Scottish links with the American colonies in the eighteenth century . . . [and] an outline guide for those who wish to investigate more fully either the story as a whole or the history of families, business partnerships, and American settlements" (p. v). Their book provides a good introduction to the topic and incidentally tells us much about the vitality with which the Scots confronted their problems, but the Bocks themselves make no claims for the completeness of their work. Its extensive guide to archival sources, bibliographical notes, and short bibliography can be supplemented by items discussed in Andrew Hook's *Scotland and America: A Study of Cultural Relations, 1750-1835* (Glasgow and London: Blackie, 1975). The third useful reference collection is a series of paperback volumes somewhat pretentiously called *Scotland's Cultural Heritage* (History of Medicine and Science Unit, University of Edinburgh, 1981 ff.).² These books, overseen by the late Eric Forbes, contain brief biographies of the Fellows of the Royal Society of Edinburgh; and a volume is planned for the members of its predecessor, the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh, 1737-83. Since almost everyone who counted in Scottish intellectual life between c. 1780 and 1830 was a member of the RSE or PSE, these entries will be valuable research tools; they include lists of portraits and publications, manu-