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Der Stein der Weisen

Edited by David J. Buch

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Introduction

The Theater auf der Wieden and Its Repertory

During the 1780s several new theaters opened in Vienna, attracting audiences for German stage productions, particularly musical theater. By the time the imperial Kärntnertortheater closed in February of 1788, theaters in the Wieden and Leopoldstadt districts were mounting increasingly popular productions. Soon theaters in the Josephstadt (1788) and Landstrasse (1790) districts would experience similar success. These were more or less independent theaters, with impresarios that specialized in particular trademark productions, often featuring a particular star performer in a characteristic comic role.

The Wieden today is located just across the "Ring" from Vienna's Staatsoper. In 1790 it was more of a village than a suburb, housing tradesmen, workers, actors, and servants who lived in its cheap housing and endured its unsanitary conditions. The largest structure in the Wieden was an irregularly shaped complex of residences and businesses called the Starhembergische Freihaus, named for its owners (the Starhemberg family) and its tax-free status. The Theater auf der Wieden, a rectangular brick building of three stories located in the rear of the main courtyard of the Freihaus, was built in 1787 (the stage today would be located at Operngasse 23). With its divided parterre and two galleries, the Wiednertheater probably seated well over 500 spectators in 1790, and its audiences included the nobility as well as the more prosperous members of the working classes. Emanuel Schikaneder's librettos for the theater specify a mechanical stage with three trap doors, movable flats and backdrops, and devices to accommodate flying machines, storms, sea battles, and similar effects. Contemporaries noted a high standard for musical performance.¹

By the time Schikaneder became the director of the theater in 1789, the repertory already included substantial German operas by Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf and Wolfgang Amadé Mozart. Mozart's sister-in-law Josepha Hofer [née Weber] was already the prima donna under the direction of the theater's previous director, Johann Friedel. Schikaneder initiated a new direction for the company, producing a series of light comic operas and fairy-tale singspiels based on the writing of Christoph Martin Wieland. To accommodate the pressing schedule of new singspiels, he employed a team approach to the composition of the music. He brought several virtuoso

singers with him from Regensburg, specifically Benedikt Schack and Franz Xaver Gerl, the original Tamino and Sarastro. To improve the quality of the performances, the theater hired some of the best musicians from the Kärntnertortheater,² along with a young and gifted kapellmeister, Johann Baptist Henneberg.

The "house writers" included Schikaneder, his wife Eleonore,³ and Karl Ludwig Giesecke. The house composers were Henneberg, Schack, and Gerl. From the first Giesecke translated librettos from German, French, and Italian. Schikaneder recycled his earlier works and wrote sequels both to his operas and to those of others. He had the music of Pietro Guglielmi, Nicolas Daraylac, and Peter Winter refashioned for these translations, and he commissioned new music by composers like Franz Teyber, Johann Schenk, Johann Baptist Lasser, and Dittersdorf. His most successful singspiels until *Die Zauberflöte* were the series *Die zweien Anton oder Der dumme Gärtner aus dem Gebirge*, modeled on French comic opera. The first of these became one of the most widely performed singspiels of the 1790s. A copper engraving from 1790 shows the cast (figure 1),⁴ the future principals in both *Der Stein der Weisen* and *Die Zauberflöte*. Although Schikaneder staged many different kinds of plays and operas, his greatest success would be in the realm of fairy-tale singspiel. These pieces were also modeled on French comic opera, with its characteristic alternation of choruses, arias, ensembles, and instrumental pieces with spoken dialogue. And like his comic operas, Schikaneder's fairy-tale singspiels were written in a series that recycled both textual and musical materials. Wiednertheater singspiels were staged in virtually all of Europe's German theaters; the most successful were even translated into Italian, Czech, Hungarian, and other languages. It can be argued that these singspiels played an essential role in developing the genre into an international idiom, one that became translated rather than one that was the result of translation.

Collaborative Opera and *Der Stein der Weisen*

Collaborative opera is as old as opera itself. The first Italian court operas were collaborations, and this approach continued during the eighteenth century in the theaters of Paris, London, and Vienna. The Wiednertheater under the direction of Emanuel Schikaneder



Figure 1. *Allmanach für Theaterfreunde auf das Jahr 1791*, no. 2: "O Anton du bist mein" from *Die zween Anton* (act 2, scene 21). Barbara Gerl (Liesel), unknown actor and character in profile, Josefa Hofer (Gräfin Josepha), Johann Nouseul (Graf von Dorn), Benedikt Schack (Anton Redlich), Franz Gerl (Redlich), Emanuel Schikaneder (Anton, in profile), Jacob Haibel (Graf Fritz von Dorn). Courtesy of the Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek.

often utilized a team approach to composition, and this continued even when Schikaneder moved his company to the newly constructed Theater an der Wien. This situation was first discussed in 1794, in an anonymous Viennese article:

With the six parts of *The Two Antons*, or *The Dumb Gardener*, each of which has its own title, with the *The Fool's Cap*, or *The Dervish*, and with *The Philosopher's Stone*, several individuals composed the music at the same time. One works on these operettas like one builds a house, and it cannot be denied that this is the very best manner when an opera must be created quickly.⁵

Schikaneder began crediting his composer teams in 1791. He continued to use collaborative composition: for example, in 1797 he announced his new opera, *Babilons Piremiden*, with music by Johann Mederitsch and Peter Winter, noting that two composers wrote the music because of a lack of time.

Schikaneder's heroic-comic opera *Der Stein der Weisen* oder *Die Zauberinsel* (The Philosopher's Stone, or The Enchanted Island; premiere: 11 September 1790) was his first full-scale fairy-tale singspiel written and produced after his success with Karl Giesecke's adaptation of Sophie Seyler's *Oberon, König der Elfen* (7 November 1789), with music by Paul Wranitzky. *Oberon* was based on Wieland's fairy-tale epic. In the interim Schikaneder produced a magic comedy with music called *Die schöne Isländerin* oder *Der Mufti von Samarkanda* (22 April 1790).⁶ *Der Stein der Weisen* followed several months later, and the premiere of his "Lust- und Zauberspiel," *Der wohlthätige Derwisch* oder *Die Schellenkappe*, came less than half a year after that. The following summer, *Ludwig Herzog von Steiermark* oder *Sarmäts Feuerbär* was staged (3 August 1791).⁷ One month later Schikaneder premiered the fourth singspiel in the series based on Wieland's fairy tales, *Die Zauberflöte*.

Just one year after *Der Stein der Weisen*, the same playwright, singers, and actors created nearly parallel roles in *Die Zauberflöte*. Schack (Astromonte) sang Tamino, Gerl (Eutifronte) Sarastro, Urban Schikaneder (Sadik) the first priest, Johann Michael Kistler (Nadir) the second priest, Anna Gottlieb (Nadine) Pamina, Emanuel Schikaneder (Lubano) Papageno, and Barbara Gerl (Lubanara) Papagena. The same kapellmeister, Henneberg, led the orchestra from the piano. The surprising number of textual and musical parallels between these two operas (and with the next fairy-tale opera in the series, *Der wohlthätige Derwisch*) establishes an intimate link in this series of fairy-tale operas. The parallels also provide an important insight into Mozart's use of pre-existing musical materials and his interest in fairy-tale opera well over a year before *Die Zauberflöte*.

Dexter Edge has demonstrated that the Hamburg manuscript score of *Der Stein der Weisen* was created in Vienna in the mid-1790s by a circle of copyists associated with the Wiednertheater.⁸ One of the copyists, the actor and singer Kaspar Weiß, attributes specific pieces to Henneberg, as well as to Schack and Gerl. Schikaneder is also named as a composer, along with Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. The collaborative nature of the opera is suggested by the variety in score order, instrument names, and expressive markings. An anomaly regarding Sadik's role may also have resulted from the team approach: in the introduction of act 1 (attributed to Henneberg) Sadik is a tenor, yet in his only other appearance, the act 1 finale (melodies attributed to Schikaneder, orchestration attributed to Henneberg), Sadik is a bass.

The Composers of *Der Stein der Weisen*

While Kaspar Weiß's attributions in the Hamburg manuscript of *Der Stein der Weisen* have no corroborating sources, they are written in the hand of a central figure in the theater who acted as Schikaneder's agent, producing and selling scores of Wiednertheater operas. The attributions (listed in table 1) are strengthened by the fact that Weiß indicated five composers who were active in the Wiednertheater during this brief period of time

TABLE 1
 Attributions in the Hamburg Copy
 of *Der Stein der Weisen* (D-Hs)

ACT 1		
Ouverture		Henneberg
No. 1. Introduction		Henneberg
No. 2. Aria		Henneberg
No. 3. Aria		Henneberg
No. 4. Chorus		Schack
No. 5. Duetto		Gerl
No. 6. Recitativ und Aria		Gerl
No. 7. Chorus		Henneberg
No. 8. Aria		Henneberg
No. 9. Recitativ und Aria		Schack
No. 10. Finale, mm. 1–315		melodies by Schikaneder, orchestration by Henneberg*
	mm. 316–478	unattributed [Henneberg] [†]
	mm. 479–end	Henneberg
ACT 2		
Ouverture		unattributed
No. 1. Chorus		Henneberg
No. 2. Aria		Henneberg
No. 3. Marsch		unattributed
No. 4. Duetto		Mozart
No. 5. Aria		unattributed
No. 6. Aria		Gerl
No. 7. Chorus		Schack
[No. 8. Aria]		not in D-Hs; unattributed in the Frankfurt score [‡]
No. 9. Aria		Schikaneder
No. 10. Finale, mm. 1–77		Mozart
	mm. 78–261	unattributed
	mm. 262–324	Mozart
	mm. 325–632	unattributed
	mm. 633–end	Schack

*"Henneberg instrumentirt [sic] das Gesang von Schikaneder."

[†]The material in measures 316–478 should be attributed to Henneberg as well, since it is mostly a repetition of act 1, no. 7.

[‡]See the critical report for more information on the source for this aria.

(1790–91), and Weiß correctly indicated the one attribution (at least as a collaborator) that can be verified, that of Mozart's duet K. 625/592a.

Weiß indicates that Henneberg had the most substantial role in composing the opera. Ignaz von Seyfried's description of performances in the 1790s suggests that Henneberg was a key figure in the orchestra and one of the reasons for the high quality of its music.⁹ Johann Baptist Henneberg (born Henneberger in Vienna, 5 December 1768) began his musical career at an early age, succeeding his father as organist at the Schottenstift. By 1790 the twenty-one-year-old Henneberg was the kapellmeister at the Wiednertheater, supervising the rehearsals of *Die Zauberflöte* when Mozart was in Prague, then conducting the opera from the third performance. He continued as kapellmeister (along with Ignaz von

Seyfried) at the new Theater an der Wien in 1801. He composed a number of successful operas for Schikaneder, such as *Die Waldmänner* (1793) and *Konrad Langbart von Friedburg oder Der Burggeist* (1799), and he arranged piano scores of several successful singspiels by other composers. Henneberg left Vienna in 1804 to join the Esterházy court at Eisenstadt. He returned to Vienna in 1814 to work at the Kirche am Hof and he died in the imperial city on 26 November 1822. Besides opera, he composed sacred and secular vocal music, chamber music, dances, and other instrumental music.

Franz Xaver Gerl, baptised in Andorf on 30 November 1764, was a leading German bass singer, as well as a skilled actor and composer. He wrote music for the Wiednertheater productions, collaborating with Schack and Henneberg. In Schikaneder's Regensburg company he had been the first bass in singspiels, and he played servants and secondary roles in comedies and tragedies. Gerl had also distinguished himself as Osmin in Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*.¹⁰ Friedrich Ludwig Schröder praised his singing when he heard him in a performance of *Oberon* in 1790.¹¹ Mozart wrote the aria "Per questo bella mano" (K. 612) for Gerl and Friedrich Pischelberger, the double bassist at the Wiednertheater. He also created the role of Sarastro in *Die Zauberflöte* for Gerl. According to a report attributed to Benedikt Schack,¹² Gerl and Schack sang parts of Mozart's *Requiem* with the composer sometime shortly before his death. The emperor Leopold II sought to employ Gerl at the Burgtheater to sing the role of the High Priest and the ghost in *La vendetta di Nino* (December 1793–February 1794).¹³

Gerl and his wife Barbara (the first Lubanara and Papagena) left Vienna in 1793 for Brno, then settled in Mannheim in 1802 to sing at the Hoftheater. One of Gerl's later operas was staged at the Wiednertheater, *Die Maskerade oder Liebe macht alle Stände gleich* (1797). He died in Mannheim on 9 March 1827. Little of his music has survived.

The gifted Bohemian tenor Benedikt Schack was baptised in Miroitz on 7 February 1758. Leopold Mozart (1786) and Friedrich Ludwig Schröder (1790) praised his singing, as did surviving contemporary reports.¹⁴ His acting ability was said to have been less effective than his singing, and Schröder wrote of his suburban style of declamation and heavy Austrian accent. In Regensburg he was the first tenor in singspiels, and he played servants and secondary roles in comedies and tragedies.¹⁵

Like Gerl, Schack was a skilled composer, writing most of his operas for traveling troupes and for the Wiednertheater. Many of his Viennese works were collaborations with Gerl and Henneberg. His most ambitious opera was *Der Fall ist noch weit seltener oder Die geplagten Ehemänner* (1790), a sequel to Martín y Soler's *Una cosa rara*. He wrote at least one comic opera for the Wiednertheater after he left the company, *Die beiden Nannerln oder Das Chinesische-Feuerwerk zu Ehren der Nannerln* (26 July 1794). He seems to have been Mozart's close friend and student, and there are reports of his collaboration with Mozart, including the statements of

Mozart's widow, Constanze. The Hamburg score of *Der Stein der Weisen* (1790) gives evidence of that collaboration. Mozart created the role of Tamino for Schack.

Schack and his wife Elizabeth left Vienna in 1793 and moved to Graz, eventually settling in Munich in 1796 as a respected singer and prolific composer of church music. He died in Munich on 10 December 1826. A lengthy biographical essay on Schack appears in Felix Joseph Lipowsky's *Baierisches Musik-Lexikon* of 1811.¹⁶ His obituary in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* also provides important information, including the fact that he lived in the same building as Mozart for a time.¹⁷

Emanuel Schikaneder was born in Straubing on 1 September 1751. The actor, singer, impresario, playwright, librettist, and composer wrote the text and music for his first singspiel, *Die Lyranten oder Das lustige Elend*, in Innsbruck (1775). He first directed a theater company in Augsburg in 1778, and he met the Mozarts in Salzburg in 1780. He performed frequently in Vienna during the 1780s and was a member of the emperor's Nationaltheater for almost a year (1785–86). In February 1787 he took over the direction of the court theater at Regensburg, and when Johann Friedel died in March 1789, Schikaneder and his wife took over the direction of the Wiednertheater. He enjoyed unparalleled success at the theater, creating a repertory of singspiels and plays that would endure through the first half of the nineteenth century. This success led to the construction of a new theater of imposing size, the Theater an der Wien (13 June 1801). The early nineteenth century was a period of decline for Schikaneder, and he left Vienna in 1806 to direct Brno's Nationaltheater. He returned to Vienna in 1809, but failed to achieve any of his former success. His failing mental health prevented him from assuming an appointment as theater director in Budapest, and he died in Vienna on 21 September 1812.

Besides *Die Lyranten*, Schikaneder composed the music for *Das Uranische Schloss* (Salzburg, 1786, and Theater in der Leopoldstadt, November 1787). According to accounts from the nineteenth century, he was regularly involved in the music of his theatrical productions. In 1829 reports began to surface that Schikaneder had first sung the melodies for his own arias and the duet "Bei Männern, welche Liebe fühlen" to Mozart.¹⁸ In 1834 Schikaneder's nephew, Johann Karl, wrote that his uncle indeed sang Papageno's melodies to Mozart "in part," suggesting that this was more of a collaborative process where Schikaneder offered general melodic ideas that Mozart would develop and complete later.¹⁹ Weiß's attribution for the beginning of the first finale in *Der Stein der Weisen* suggests this practice: "Henneberg instrumentirt [*sic*] das Gesang von Schikaneder."

Weiß's attributions indicate that Mozart composed at least the act 2 duet and two segments of the second finale. The evidence for Mozart's involvement is compelling: a score of the cat duet from the original performing score, mostly in Mozart's handwriting, survives in Paris.²⁰ Mozart's name appears in the Berlin manuscript copy of the score (the Frankfurt copy indicates no composers), as

well as in a contemporary print of the vocal texts (see list of sources in the critical report). Besides the cat duet, Weiß attributes two additional segments to Mozart, brief but skillful duets in the second act finale. The very modesty of the other Mozart attributions argues for their authenticity: had this been an attempt simply to capitalize on Mozart's fame, his name would most likely not have been confined to such brief episodes so late in the second act. While we cannot ascertain the precise amount of Mozart's share in *Der Stein der Weisen*, there can be little doubt that he contributed to the singspiel, which in turn influenced Mozart's fairy-tale masterpiece, *Die Zauberflöte*.

Synopsis

Act 1 begins in an Arcadian land where the priest Sadik leads a ceremony to the guardian spirit, Astromonte. The lovers Nadir (Sadik's foster son) and Nadine (Sadik's daughter) soon appear with their rustic friends, Lubano and Lubanara, a newlywed couple whose presence desecrates a ceremony reserved for virgins. The simple woodsman Lubano was persuaded by his audacious bride, who dreams of riding in Astromonte's flying machine. Lubano warns her of the dangers of displeasing Astromonte and the terrible subterranean spirit Eutifronte. But Lubanara has no fear of spirits. Sadik metes out a mild punishment to them and warns of terrible consequences if there are future incidents. Astromonte's genie then arrives in the flying machine and presents a cage that contains a magic bird. The bird will identify the most virtuous and innocent maiden by its song, and Astromonte then will take her with him. Sadik and Nadir fear that this will be Nadine.

During a series of comic scenes, Lubano locks his wife in their hut; she invokes Eutifronte, and the demon comes and frees her; when the woodsman protests, Eutifronte takes Lubanara into the abyss. Lubano puts his head into the abyss and receives a set of antlers, the sign of cuckoldry. Eutifronte's hunters are then set upon Lubano.

Back at the temple, the ceremony starts and each maiden holds the bird; it remains silent until Nadine takes it. Astromonte descends in his flying machine and accepts the offerings of the people. As he is about to leave he hears the bird singing and sees Nadine. He takes them both in his wagon and departs. All implore Astromonte to return Nadine, and Lubano asks for his Lubanara as well. In the final chorus they decide to sail to the enchanted island to find Nadine.

Act 2 begins as Eutifronte causes a storm to wreck the ships. Nadir and Lubano swim ashore; each believes himself to be the lone survivor. Eutifronte overhears Nadir dreaming and resolves to use the young man's anger at Astromonte for his own evil purposes. When Nadir awakens, Eutifronte introduces himself and narrates his story: Astromonte and he are brothers, the sons of a great sorcerer who imparted his magic to them. Their father discovered the greatest of all secrets, the

Philosopher's Stone. He offered his sons an equal share of his wealth, but Astromonte, as the first-born, was to receive the stone. Eutifronte could not accept this, and their father decided that neither son should have the stone; he declared it would be given to the most worthy of their sons. At that time the two brothers loved the same beautiful princess. She chose Astromonte, and they had a son. Realizing that this son may someday receive the Philosopher's Stone, Eutifronte ordered that the boy be suffocated. Soon after learning of her child's disappearance the princess died of grief. To assuage his unhappiness, the magician gave Astromonte a magic bird that would identify the most virtuous maiden. Eutifronte then tells Nadir that he must murder Astromonte in order to rescue this maiden, Nadine.

In the next scene, Lubano receives a book from the genie that tells him to be steadfast, patient, to follow divine wisdom, and not be led to murder by the devil's companions, whereupon appear Eutifronte's dwarfs, who offer him food if he will follow them. Before he can do so, Lubanara arrives and swears to her fidelity; she says that Eutifronte has deceived Nadir, and she intends to tell Nadir of Eutifronte's evil plans. Eutifronte overhears this, and to prevent her from talking further, he bewitches her so that she can only meow like a cat.

Lubano and Lubanara then meet up with Nadir, and all three are led by Eutifronte's spirits to a subterranean vault where a magic sword is being forged that can kill Astromonte. Declaring that this ceremony is only for men, Eutifronte has his dwarfs take Lubanara to be killed; the genie arrives and rescues her. After the unholy ceremony Nadir is given the sword and a magic bow with lethal arrows; he then sets out to Astromonte's palace. When he hears the bird within, Nadir accidentally kills Nadine with a magic arrow. Armored men appear bearing the body of Nadine, and the genie comes to take Nadir away before he is overcome by despair. Eutifronte imprisons Lubano in a large birdcage; Nadir finds Lubano and believing this an illusion, he draws his sword to kill his friend. Suddenly Astromonte appears disguised as an old man holding the bird. He asks for Eutifronte's sword, promising that the bird will return Nadine to him, along with Sadik and all his companions he believed were dead. He reveals Nadir's true identity as Astromonte's son, who was saved after Eutifronte's companions threw him into the sea. Eutifronte appears and tries to persuade Nadir that Astromonte is the enemy, but Nadir presents the sword to the old man. He is awarded the Philosopher's Stone, and Nadine enters as Astromonte removes his disguise. Eutifronte curses them and sinks with his spirits down into the abyss. The scene is then transformed into a splendid temple, and all are reunited as they sing of the marriage of Nadir and Nadine.

Der Stein der Weisen and Die Zauberflöte

While the title of Schikaneder's libretto was taken directly from Wieland's fairy tale, the plot and characters

are based on several *Dschinnistan* stories (as was the case with *Die Zauberflöte*).²¹ Schikaneder drew the plot and characters from "Nadir und Nadine," the first story in the collection, based on Claude Pajon's "L'enchanteur ou la bague de puissance."²² The magician Astromonte ("Astramond" in *Dschinnistan*), the leader Sadik (Nadine's father and Nadir's foster father), the cloud chariot, magic ring, magic sword, magic bird, and the pastoral setting were all derived from this tale. In the original story the villain is Astramond's evil brother, Neraor. In the singspiel this name is changed to Eutifronte, a variant of Euthyfron, which was taken from another *Dschinnistan* story, "Timander und Melissa."

Schikaneder reduced the narration of the fairy tale and added the comic low-born characters Lubano and Lubanara. Schikaneder also alloyed elements from a standard *commedia dell'arte* plot involving a shipwreck on a magic island. *Der Stein der Weisen* has a surprising number of similarities in structure and language to *Die Zauberflöte*, suggesting that the earlier singspiel was the model for Mozart's opera. Both text and musical materials were recycled in *Die Zauberflöte*, where one finds a contrasting pair of lovers, a seemingly evil magician who kidnaps the young princess but turns out to be good in the end, comic ensembles for a character that cannot speak, a scene where an ensemble of women fight over who is the most innocent, a rescue from suicide, and long flute solos.

Der Stein der Weisen also provided a direct model for the music of *Die Zauberflöte*. Table 2 shows how both operas have a similar two-act structure with an introduction, large-scale episodic finales, and similar arias and ensembles. Both present a "romantic" mixture of solemn, comic, magic, and love scenes. Both have musical segments for the working of the mechanical stage and for magic episodes. Both operas have an aria for Schikaneder's comic character after the introduction and shortly before the act 2 finale. Both operas have male choruses late in act 2, as well as an aria for Anna Gottlieb's despairing characters (Nadine and Pamina). But *Die Zauberflöte* is a more polished text, with more refined poetic conventions (e.g., the sonnet for Tamino's aria, "Dies Bildnis ist bezaubernd schön").

As for the musical similarities between *Der Stein der Weisen* and *Die Zauberflöte*, one finds traditional supernatural devices in both operas, for example, enchanted march music, magical wind ensembles, and the use of descending octave leaps for magic invocations. The most striking similarity occurs with the appearance of Astromonte in the act 1 finale (mm. 506–570, attributed to Henneberg), almost certainly the model for the scene with the Queen of the Night in act 1. Both scenes begin with a prelude in syncopated "alla zoppa" rhythms, music to facilitate the mechanical devices in these scenes; this leads to an accompanied recitative, followed by a bipartite aria ending in a B-flat allegro coloratura section. The complex choral scene in act 1 (no. 4, attributed to Schack) has a segment where four maidens argue over

TABLE 2
Comparison of the Structures of *Der Stein der Weisen* and *Die Zauberflöte*

<i>Der Stein der Weisen</i>		<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>
ACT 1		
Overture	—	Overture
Introduction	—	Introduction
Aria (Lubano)	—	Aria (Papageno)
Aria (Lubanara)	—	Aria (Tamino)
Comic Duet (Lubanara/Lubano)	—	Recitative and Aria (Königin)
Chorus with soloist (Genie), quartet	—	Quintet
Recitative and Aria (Eutifronte)	—	Trio (Monostatos/Pamina/Papageno)
Hunting chorus with solo (Lubano)	—	Duet (Papageno/Pamina)
Aria (Nadine)	—	Finale
Recitative and Aria (Nadir, Astromonte)	—	
Finale	—	
ACT 2		
Overture (Storm music)	—	Priest's March
Chorus with solo (Eutifronte)	—	Aria with Chorus (Sarastro)
Aria (Lubano)	—	Duet (Two priests)
March	—	Quintet
Comic Duet (Lubano/Lubanara)	—	Aria (Monostatos)
Aria (Eutifronte)	—	Aria (Königin)
Aria (Nadir)	—	Aria (Sarastro)
Chorus (Men's)	—	Trio (drei Knaben)
Aria (Lubano)	—	Aria (Pamina)
Aria (Nadine)	—	Chorus (Men's)
Finale	—	Trio (Pamina/Sarastro/Tamino)
	—	Aria (Papageno)
	—	Finale

the bird, much like the three ladies in the introduction to *Die Zauberflöte*. Both scenes have imitation, stretto, sequences, and dramatic climaxes, although Schack's music is more modest than that of Mozart. Of particular interest are the direct musical citations in *Die Zauberflöte* from *Stein der Weisen*.²³ For example, the music for Lubano's exclamations at the end of the first finale certainly inspired Papageno's "O wär' ich eine Maus, wie wollt ich mich verstecken" in the first finale of *Die Zauberflöte*, with its similar sonority, orchestration, and pitch contour. Also we find a phrase from Gerl's act 1 duet in *Der Stein der Weisen* appearing in the act 1 quintet of *Die Zauberflöte*. At the end of this quintet (mm. 230–37) Mozart also quotes one of Henneberg's children's songs.²⁴

There are differences as well. Unlike *Die Zauberflöte*, *Der Stein der Weisen* has scene complexes recalling those in Gluck's serious operas, along with comic arias in the Italian style. *Der Stein der Weisen* includes coloratura arias for the two tenor roles, but there are no coloratura soprano arias because Josepha Hofer, later the Queen of

the Night, was on maternity leave. The score also has more references to traditional supernatural operatic conventions than *Die Zauberflöte*. When the genie descends from the sky (act 1, no. 4), a pair of flutes doubles the elegant, conjunct melody in parallel thirds, a convention dating back at least to Lully. Astromonte's appearance from the clouds is also announced with the flutes in thirds, but this time they are set to the same syncopated rhythm that Mozart would employ for the supernatural entrance of the Queen of the Night. *Die Zauberflöte* has fewer choral pieces than *Der Stein der Weisen*, and Mozart's arias for Papageno are simpler and more straightforward than the arias for Lubano in *Der Stein der Weisen*.²⁵

Premiere, Revivals, and Reception

Der Stein der Weisen enjoyed a relatively long period of popularity, at least twenty-four years. A poster announcing the premiere on 11 September 1790 survives in the archive of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna

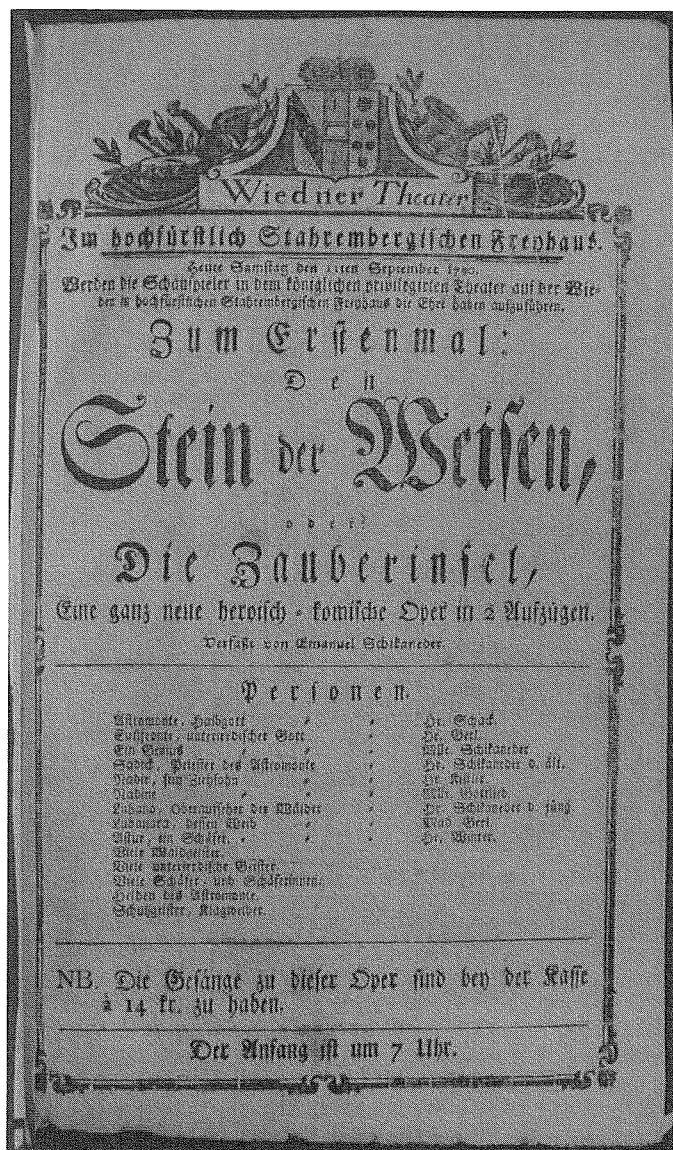


Figure 2. Theater poster, *Der Stein der Weisen*. Courtesy of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna.

(see figure 2). After the first run at the Theater auf der Wieden, the work was revived there frequently.²⁶ The opera was repeatedly mounted in Brno (1794–97) and Prague (1795–96, first in German and then Czech), where it was clearly a success.²⁷ Companies also staged the opera in Frankfurt (1795–96), Graz (1796),²⁸ Linz (1797–98), Preßburg (today Bratislava, 1798), and Hermannstadt (today Sibiu, Romania, 1798).²⁹ The Schantroch theater troupe performed the opera in Triest in June of 1799,³⁰ and then in Laibach (today Ljubljana) the following September.³¹ The Albrecht company staged it as well at Altona's Nationaltheater in August of 1800.³² There was a run of performances in 1802: a songbook from that production is preserved in Regensburg. An additional contemporary songbook that attributes the music to Mozart survives in the Bavarian State Library in Munich, but no date or location of the performance is indicated. The Georg Wilhelm company staged the opera in Oedenburg (today Sopron, Hungary) in 1804, the same

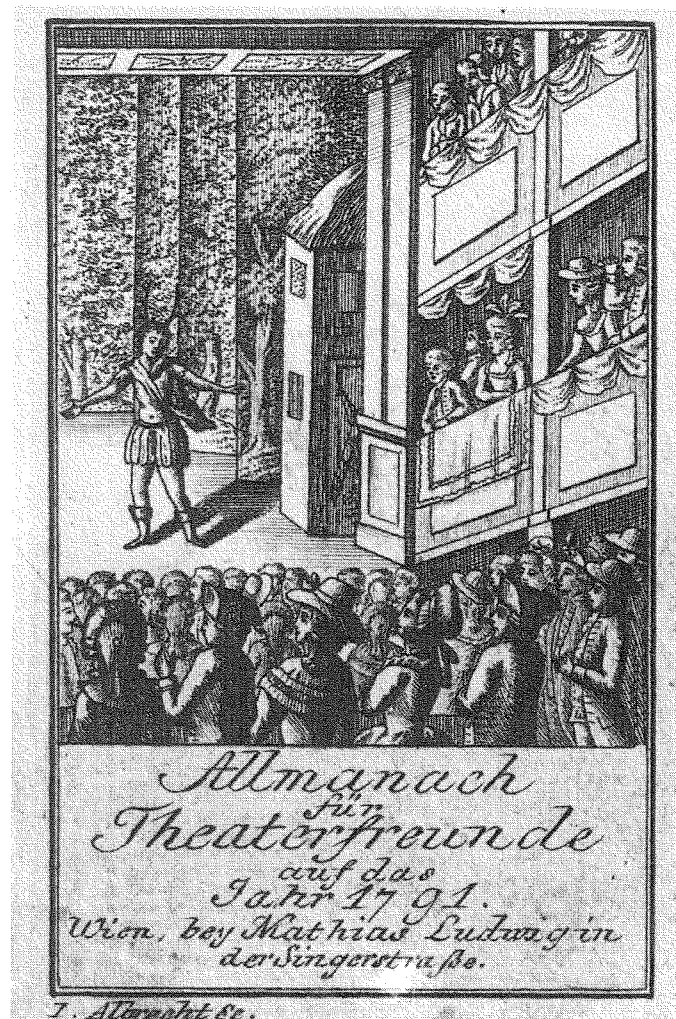


Figure 3. *Allmanach für Theaterfreunde* auf das Jahr 1791, frontispiece: *Der Stein der Weisen*, act 1, scene 14. Emanuel Schikaneder (Lubano). Courtesy of the Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek.

year that Schikaneder revived *Der Stein der Weisen* when he returned to Vienna as the director of the Theater an der Wien. The last known performance of the opera took place in Linz on 28 February 1814.³³

While no reviews of Wiednertheater performances of *Der Stein der Weisen* have survived, the evidence suggests that the opera was highly successful. Shortly after the premiere, Lorenz Lausch's music shop advertised vocal numbers in the local newspaper. Schikaneder printed texts of six vocal numbers, along with three copper engravings of staged scenes (see figures 3–5), in the *Allmanach für Theaterfreunde*. Four independent commentators discussing the revival of the opera at the Theater an der Wien (1804) recalled that it had been a favorite with the public in past years.³⁴ A reviewer of the Altona production (1800) praised the music as: "rich in ideas, true-to-life in its characterization, and diverse in its expression. The ear will often be gently flattered, the songs are extremely pleasing, and both finales have an abundance of ceremonial solemnity."³⁵



Figure 4. *Allmanach für Theaterfreunde auf das Jahr 1791*, no. 11: "He! schwarzer Kerl!" from *Der Stein der Weisen* (act 1, scene 14). Emanuel Schikaneder (Lubano), Barbara Gerl (Lubanara), Franz Gerl (Eutifronte). Courtesy of the Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek.



Figure 5. *Allmanach für Theaterfreunde*, no. 12: "Fort in die Abgründe der Hölle" from *Der Stein der Weisen* (act 2, scene 15). Anna Schikaneder (Genius), Barbara Gerl (Lubanara). Courtesy of the Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek.

Notes

1. Ignaz von Seyfried, in "Skizze meines Lebens. Theilnehmenden Freunden zum Andenken gereicht [1824–41]. Am 24 Aug. 1841 erhalten Tobias Haslinger" (Vienna, Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst, Bibliothek, I. N. 36561), p. 16, praises the uncommon skill with which the operas were executed and describes performances in the early 1790s. For details, see David Buch, "Die Hauskomponisten am Theater auf der Wieden in der Zeit Mozarts (1789–1791)," *Acta Mozartiana* 48 (2001): 75–81.

2. These included the violinist and concertmaster (Musikdirektor) Joseph Suche, the violinist Karl Menzel, the cellist Franz Deabis, the bassist Felix Stadler, and the flautist Anton Dreissig. I wish to thank Theodore Albrecht for this information, which he gleaned from printed and manuscript lists of performers in both theaters.

3. An announcement appears on a playbill dated 2 August 1791 (today in Vienna, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Archiv) for the Schauspiel, Ernst Rudiger, *Graf von Starhemberg*: "Tomorrow we have the honor to perform *Ludwig Herzog von Steyermarkt, oder Samäts Feuerbär*, an entirely new play in acts after an old folktale arranged by Mad. Eleonore Schikaneder" (Morgan haben wir die Ehre aufzuführen: *Ludwig Herzog von Steyermarkt, oder Samäts Feuerbär*. Ein ganz neues Schauspiel in Akten nach einem alten Volksmärchen bearbeitet von Mad. Eleonore Schikaneder). No one seems to have noticed this announcement or assessed its significance. Eleonore may have helped her husband in adapting his fairy-tale singspiels.

4. A set of thirteen copper engravings by Ignaz Albrecht of Wiednertheater performances are found in the *Allmanach für Theaterfreunde auf das Jahr 1791* (Vienna, Wiener Stadt- und

Landesbibliothek, Druckschriftensammlung, G83479). Three of these engravings show scenes from the original production of *Der Stein der Weisen* (see figures 3–5). These engravings and the *Allmanach* are the subject of David Buch, “Newly-identified Engravings of Scenes from Emanuel Schikaneder’s Theater auf der Wieden 1789–1790 in the *Allmanach für Theaterfreunde* (1791),” in *Theater am Hof und für das Volk. Beiträge zur vergleichenden Theater- und Kulturgeschichte. Festschrift für Otto G. Schindler zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Brigitte Marschall (Vienna: Böhlau, 2002), 343–69.

5. “Bey den sechs Theilen der beyden Anton oder des dummen Gärtners, die jeder für sich einen besondern Titel führen, bey den der Schellenkappe oder dem Derwisch, und bey dem Stein der Weisen componirten mehrere zugleich, man arbeitete an diesen Operetten wie an einem Hause, und es ist nicht zu läugnen, dass diese Manier die allerbeste ist, wenn eine Oper bald zu Stande gebracht seyn soll.” “Ueber den Stand der Musik in Wien,” *Wiener Theater Almanach* (1794), 188.

6. There is no known surviving text or music for this three-act Zauberkomödie “mit Gesang.” Only a poster from 21 July 1791, with a listing of the cast, is preserved in Vienna, Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek, Druckschriftensammlung, 77250 C. The cast included most of the same singers in *Der Stein der Weisen*, in parallel roles: Benedikt Schack was cast as the Prince, Johann Joseph Nouseul as the Mufti, Franz Xaver Gerl as a sorcerer, Anna Gottlieb as the sorcerer’s daughter Palanka, Emanuel Schikaneder as the servant Sammo, and Josepha Hofer as the first sultaness.

7. *Sarmäts Feuerbär* was first published in Emmanuel Schikaneder, *Sämmtliche theatralische Werke*, 2 vols. (Vienna and Leipzig, 1792), 2:5–119, and it is claimed to be based on an “altes Volksmärchen.” Egon Komorzynski, in *Emanuel Schikaneder* (1901; rev., Vienna: L. Doblinger, 1951), 356, claims it was written in 1781 but provides no evidence for that claim. The theater poster from 2 August 1791 (Vienna, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Archiv) states that Eleonore Schikaneder “arranged” the play from a folktale. Here a powerful wiseman and magician named Sarmät reads the future with a magic mirror and employs magic fire, a magic wand, a magic hammer, and a magic musical instrument (*Schalmeye*) to help a virtuous prince return to his throne. With its “geharnischte Männer,” the play has a tone, an array of characters, and dialogues very close to Schikaneder’s fairy-tale operas.

8. Dexter Edge first identified the Viennese origin of this manuscript and Weiß’s role in a personal communication dated 2 July 1997, then in his “*Der Stein der Weisen* and the Copy Shop of the Theater auf der Wieden” (paper, annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Boston, Mass., 31 October 1998). He augments this material in “Mozart’s Viennese Copyists” (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 2001), chap. 10. Further evidence for Weiß’s role in copying and attributing the pieces is provided in David Buch, “*Der Stein der Weisen*, Mozart, and Collaborative Singspiels at Emanuel Schikaneder’s Theater auf der Wieden,” in *Mozart Jahrbuch 2000* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2002), 89–124.

9. The Wiednertheater singspiel *Die schlaue Nanette*, performed on 21 February 1789, reportedly suffered from a poor quality of ensemble, owing to the lack of a kapellmeister: “Von seinem Gesange läßt sich noch nicht viel sagen; er kam selten mit dem Orchester überein; wovon die Schuld zum Theil auch an diesem liegen mochte; weil ihm noch ein Kapellmeister mangelt.” *Kritisches Theater-Journal von Wien*, quar. 2, no. 5 (5 March 1789), 85–87; cited in Otto Erich Deutsch, *Die Freitheater auf der Wieden 1787–1801*, 2nd ed. (Vienna and Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Jugend und Volk Gesellschaft, 1937), 11. The theater addressed this matter by employing Henneberg by 1790.

10. *Theater-Kalender auf das Jahr 1789* [Gotha], 203.

11. Friedrich Ludwig Wilhelm Meyer, *Friedrich Ludwig Schröder. Beitrag zu Kunde des Menschen und des Künstlers*, 2 vols. (Hamburg: Hoffman und Campe, 1819), 2:86.

12. *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 30 (July 1827), 521.

13. See John Rice, “Leopold II, Mozart, and the Return to a Golden Age,” in *Opera and the Enlightenment*, ed. Thomas Bauman and Marita P. McClymonds (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1995), 278; and Dorothea Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart’s Vienna: Sources and Documents 1783–1792* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 441.

14. “Emanuel Schikaneder. Geschildert von seinem Neffen: Joseph Carl Schikaneder,” *Der Gesellschfter oder Blätter für Geist und Herz* [Berlin], vol. 18, no. 72 (5 May 1834), 359.

15. *Theater-Kalender 1789*, 203.

16. Felix Joseph Lipowsky, *Baierisches Musik-Lexikon* (Munich, 1811), 297–302.

17. *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 30 (July 1827), 521.

18. See the account of Johann Ritter von Rittersburg, reproduced in Joseph Heinz Eibl, *Addenda und Corrigenda to Mozart: Die Dokumente seines Lebens* by Otto Erich Deutsch, Neue Mozart Ausgabe, X/31/1 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978), 99. Also see Franz Gräffer, *Kleine Wiener Memoiren, historische Novellen und Wiener Dosenstücke* (Vienna, 1845), ed. Anton Schlossar and Gustav Gugitz (Munich: G. Müller, 1918), pt. 3, pp. 21–23.

19. “Wahr ist es, daß die Gesangsstücke des ‘Papageno’ dem Mozart von meinem Onkel zum Theil vorgesungen wurden.” Eibl, *Addenda und Corrigenda*, 100.

20. See David Buch, “On Mozart’s Partial Autograph of the Duet ‘Nun, liebes Weibchen,’ K. 625/592a,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 124 (1999): 53–85.

21. Christoph Martin Wieland, *Dschinnistan, oder auserlesene Feen- und Geistermärchen*, ed. Gerhard Seidel (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1968).

22. Charles-Joseph Mayer, ed., *Le cabinet des fées*, 41 vols. (Paris and Amsterdam, 1785–86), 34:58–199.

23. These quotations are detailed in Buch, “Collaborative Singspiels.”

24. See the last four measures (for solo piano) of Henneberg’s song “Das Vielchen und der Dornstrauch” in *Liedersammlung für Kinder und Kinderfreunde am Clavier* (Vienna, 1791), a collection that also included three of Mozart’s childrens’ songs (K. 596–98). See also Alan Tyson, “Two Mozart Puzzles: Can Anyone Solve Them?” *The Musical Times* 129, no. 1742 (March 1988): 126–27.

25. For a study of the musical dramaturgy, see Helga Lühning, “Vom Himmel durch die Welt zur Hölle. Die Zauberei mit der musikalischen Dramaturgie im Stein der Weisen,” *Acta Mozartiana* 48 (2001): 82–101. (This volume of *Acta Mozartiana* is devoted to papers read at the international symposium “Der Stein der Weisen: Musiktheater im josephinischen Wien” sponsored by the Deutsch Mozart-Gesellschaft in Augsburg, 6–7 May 2001.)

26. 12 May 1791; 26–28 September and 1 October 1795; 4, 5, 10 September and 18 October 1796; 2 February 1797; and 19–21 January and 14 February 1799. The performances of the opera from 1795 until 1804 are cited in Ignaz von Seyfried, “k.k. priv. Schauspielergesellschaft des Hr. Eman: Schikaneder im Jahr 1795. Ein Verzeichniß aller in diesem Jahre auf diesem Bühne aufgeführten Opern, Schauspiele, und Balleten. Wien am 3 Dezemb. I Seyfried” (Vienna, Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung, J.b. 84958). Unfortunately we have no comprehensive list of performances at the Wiednertheater for the years 1789–94.

27. Milada Wurmová, *Repertoár Brněnského Divadla v Letech 1777–1848* (Brno: Archiv města Brna, 1990), 24. The premiere was June 23. A number of actors from the Theater auf der Wieden were working in Brno, including the Gerls and Johann Michael Kistler. The Prague performance was a translation in Czech for the Anton Grams company at the Theater u Hybernü (Hibernertheater), 6., 12., 26 April 1795. The Czech title was “Kámen moudrosti aneb Očarovný ostrov.” See Jan Vondráček, *Dějiny českého divadla*, vol. 2, *Národní obrození* (Prague: Academia Nakladatelství Československé Akademie Věd, 1969). Also see

Miroslav Laiske, *Pražská dramaturgie. česká divadelní představení v Praze do otevření Prozatímního divadla* (Prague: Ústav pro českou a světovou literaturu ČSAV, 1974).

28. 30 April, 1 May, and 17 May; cited in *Allgemeines Zeitungsblatt für Innerösterreich, Grätzer Bürgerzeitung* 5 (through 30 June 1796).

29. The performances in Brno, Linz, Pressburg, and Hermannstadt are given in the *Allgemeine deutsche Theaterzeitung* (1797–99). The only known surviving copies of this journal are located in Olomouc's City Research Library (Státní vědecká knihovna). Copies were kindly made available to me by Dr. Alena Jakubcová of the Prague Theater Institute.

30. *Theater-Kalender auf das Jahr 1800* [Gotha], 293.

31. "Der Stein der Weisen, Oper in 2 A. von Schikaneder. Musik von Schack und Mozart." *Allgemeine deutsche Theaterzeitung* (1799), no. 11, p. 166, s.v. "29 September."

32. Premiere, 1 August 1800 and two repetitions; cited in *Carl Ludwig Costenobles Tagebücher von seiner Jugend bis zur Übersiedlung nach Wien (1818)*, ed. Alexander von Weilen, 2 vols. (Berlin: Gesellschaft für Theatergeschichte, 1912), 1:131–32. The notice "Altonaer Theater . . . Freytag, den 1sten August [1800], zum

erstenmale: Die Zauberinsel, Oper in 2 Aufzügen" appears in the *Königlich privilegirte Altonaer Adress-Comtoir-Nachrichten* 61 (30 July 1800), and a review was printed in *Hamburgisch- und altonaische Theater- und Litteratur-Zeitung* 4, no. 32 (1800), 119–22.

33. This performance received a review (dated 17 May 1814) in the *Theater Zeitung* [Linz] 58 (1814), 231. I am indebted to Michael Lorenz for informing me of this review.

34. (1) *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 3 (17 October 1804), cols. 41–42, s.v. "Nachrichten–Wien, Oct. 3, 1804"; (2) *Der Freimütige oder Ernst und Scherz* 209 [*Richtpolitische Zeitung* 66] (19 October 1804); (3) *Zeitung für elegante Welt* [Leipzig] 122 (11 October 1804), col. 41; and (4) Ignaz von Seyfried, "Skizze meines Lebens," p. 16.

35. "... reich an Gedanken, an Wahrheit in Charakteristik und an Mannigfaltigkeit im Ausdruck. Das Ohr wird oft sanft geschmeichelt, die Gesänge sind überaus gefällig, und feierlich ist das Finale sowohl im ersten Akt als beim Schlusse der Oper." *Hamburgisch- und altonaische Theater- und Litteratur-Zeitung* 4, no. 32 (1800), 119–22.