

Performance Calendar of the National Court Theatre in Vienna, 1783–92

The purpose of this calendar is to establish what was performed, when, and where, under the management of Rosenberg (and later Ugarte) in order to account at all times for the use of the theatres and the deployment of the performing personnel. Each performance listing gives: the relevant date; the day of the week; the theatre at which the performance took place; the type of performance; the title of the stagework performed; and, where applicable, its identification as a *première* or an afterpiece. This is followed by a list of sources that support this information and then on a separate line, by the sources that differ on one or more points or that offer further information. Some performances are confirmed by four or five sources, others by only a single source, and in a few cases two equally unreliable sources contradict each other. The programmes for the academies are not itemized, since they have been published elsewhere (see Secondary Sources below), but the main or sole work performed in the academies of the *Tonkünstlergesellschaft* are listed. In identifying the type of performance, the term “academy” designates performances organized not by the court theatre but by individuals, whether those performances are concerts, oratorios, or operas.

All information in the Performance Calendar is taken from the sources listed in the entry. Editorial material is enclosed in square brackets or confined to footnotes. A single *Theaterzettel* almost always announces the fare for both court theatres, but in those rare instances where each theatre has its own *Theaterzettel* there are two separate entries. Further editorial procedures are given in the description of the sources below.

Legend

Stage

B	Burgtheater	L	Laxenburg
K	Kärntnertortheater	s	Schönbrunn, Orangerie

Type of performance

A	Akademie	Or	Oratorio
Bt	Ballet	P	Play
M	Melodrama	S	Singspiel
O	Opera		

Archival Sources

a	Kunz, Almanach 1788 and 1789
b	Brockmann
C	Czerny
J	Journal des Luxus und der Moden
k	Krauß, Vollständiges Verzeichnis 1785 and 1786
Kb	Kassabuch der beiden Hoftheater
N	Verzeichnis von Komödien und Singspielen 1781–98
r	Realzeitung für das Jahr 1786
Sn	Sonnleithner
Sp	Spion von Wien
S.R.20–26	Sonderreihe 20–26
t	Theaterkalender 1787
Tz	Theaterzettel (i, ii, iii)
V	Vollständiges Verzeichniß
WB	Wienerblättchen
WZ	Wiener Zeitung
Z	Zinzendorf Tagebücher
*	<i>première</i>
/	second piece of the double bill

Full details of these sources are as follows:

a *Allmanach der k.k. National-Schaubühne in Wien auf das Jahr 1788* [Oct 1786–Sep 1787]. Von F.C.Kunz. Wien, gedruckt und zu finden bey Joseph Gerold (A-Wst, 14747 G). This publication lists the first performances of plays and *Singspiele*. There are numbers of errors in this document: sometimes the day of the month is missing, or the day is correct but the month is wrong.

Allmanach der kais. königl. National=Schaubühne in Wien auf das Jahr 1789 [Oct 1787–Sep 1788]. Von F.Kasimir Kunz. Wien, Verlag bei Georg Philipp Wucherer (A-Wst, 14747 G). A continuation of its predecessor.

b Brockmann, Franz Karl. *Rechenschaft dem Wiener Publikum abgelegt über die Direktion des kais. königl. National=Hoftheaters im verflossenen Theatral=Jahre 1789* [1 Mar 1789–16 Feb 1790] (A-Wst, 18835 A). Brockmann provides a daily calendar of plays.

C Czerny, Josef Paul. *Alphabetisch-chronologisches Hauptrepertorium über alle dramatischen Vorstellungen, ihre Besetzung, Wiederholung und über alle*

Gast- und Debüts-Rollen in den K.K. Hoftheatern, am Kärntnerthore und nächst der K.K. Burg, in der Haupt- und Residenzstadt Wien, seit der Wiederverbauung des ersteren im Jahr 1763 und der Erhebung des letzteren zum K.K. Nationaltheater im Jahr 1776, mit angehängter chronologischer übersicht der jeweiligen K.K. Operndirectionen, des Personalstandes und der in jenem Zeitraum zur Aufführung gebrachten Opern, Ballette, Kinderkomödien und Academien, nebst einem Notizenblatte, gesammelt und geschrieben im Jahr 1825 von Josef Paul Czerny, Souffleur des K.K. Hofschauspiels. Fortgesetzt von Josef Rister, Expiditor und Registrator, ferner von Herrn Friedrich Bayer, Mitglied des k.k. Hofburgtheaters (A-Wn, Handschrift M4001Th).

This register of plays, organized alphabetically by title, was compiled by Czerny from records made by Johann Friedrich Müller. The title of each play is followed by a chronological list of performances with casts. Unfortunately, the volume devoted to opera and other musical genres is lost. The format contains no mechanism for catching errors, such as listing two performances on the same date, which happens frequently.

J *Journal des Luxus und der Moden*. Weimar, 1788–1792 (A-Wn, 569.660-B). This periodical, issued monthly, prints the performance calendars of the most prominent German theatres (Berlin, Dresden, Hanover, Leipzig, Mainz, Mannheim, Munich, Prague, Vienna) at irregular intervals, usually two months at a time and several months after the fact. This is a high-quality and well-written publication with articles on theatre, travel, fashion, gardening and interior furnishings.

k Krauß, Joseph, Souffleur dieses Theaters. *Vollständiges Verzeichnis der National Schauspiele und Besetzung auch italiänischen und deutschen Singspielen, welche in beiden k.k. Hof-theatern nächst der k.k. Burg, und nächst dem Kärntnerthor von den Hof Schauspielern und Hof Operisten im Jahr 1785 aufgeführt worden sind. Nebst einen Anhang von musickalischen Akademien, und allen besonderen Vorfällen* [1 Jan 1785–31 Dec 1785] (A-Wst, 38308A).

[Krauß, Joseph.] *Vollständiges Verzeichnis der National Schauspiele und Besetzung, auch italiänischen und deutschen Singspielen, welche in beiden k.k. Hof-Theatern nächst der k.k. Burg, und nächst dem Kärntnerthor von den Hof=Schauspielern und Hof=Operisten im Jahr 1786 aufgeführt worden sind. Nebst einen Anhang. Gesammelt und herausgegeben vom Souffleur des rezitirenden Schauspiels*. Wien, 1787 (A-Wst, 88750 A). This copy is incomplete: the calendar for the Burgtheater is extant from 1 January 1786 to 5 September 1786, but that for the Kärntnertortheater is missing, as is also the *Anhang*.

Kb *Kassabuch der beiden Hoftheater* (A-Wn, Handschrift M4000Th). An account book in two volumes for the period 28 February 1789 to 10 March 1797, the second volume beginning 1 August 1794. This is a weekly ledger showing income and expenditure on facing pages. The left page lists the week's income, consisting of the daily box-office receipts and, intermittently, income from subscriptions to the boxes, rent from the *Hetze* (animal-baiting) amphitheatre, the balls, etc. The right page lists the week's expenditures and, once a month, salaries in the form of lump sums for each company. Initially the box-office receipts are identified only as deriving from an opera or a play, but starting 27 March 1791, the stagework is named. Hence, from this time on, the *Kassabuch* is the principal source for constructing a theatre calendar. The receipts as they are notated in the transcription consists of Florins in the first column and Kreuzer in the second (60 Kreuzer comprise 1 Florin (or Gulden)).

The *Kassabuch* properly belongs in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv with the other court theatre financial records, where indeed, it resided until the early twentieth century when the director of the Staatsarchiv packed it off along with some other theatrical material to the Theatersammlung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. It was overlooked by Deutsch in his documentary biography of Mozart, but it has since been used by Hadamowsky, Michtner, and Hüttner. Dexter Edge has recently drawn attention to it in his excellent article, "Mozart's Fee for *Così fan tutte*," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 116 (1991): 211–235, which is a study of fees paid to composers and librettists in the period 1778–92. Some of the figures presented in his table, "Gifts and box-office receipts paid out of theatrical accounts to composers, librettists and performers 1778–92," also appear in the present Performance Calendar. A second paper by Edge on material from the *Kassabuch*, read at the Mozart Bicentenary Conference of the Royal Musical Association in London, 25–30 August 1991, and to be published in *Wolfgang Amadè Mozart: Essays on his Life and Work*, ed. Stanley Sadie (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996), examines the box-office receipts reported in the *Kassabuch* for the 1789–90 and 1790–91 seasons for their implications for the reception of *Così fan tutte*. The receipts for these two years are to be reproduced in the published version, but they are also included in the present Performance Calendar.

N *Verzeichniss von Komödien und Singspielen* (A-Wst, Handschrift 43965 Jc). A chronological list of all plays and operas given in the Burgtheater for the period 1781–1798 and in the Kärntnertortheater starting 16 November 1791. Academies are recorded as of 26 March 1791. Apparently not a daily register but a year-end compilation (calendar, not theatrical, year), written in monthly segments: full listings for plays are given only at their first occurrence in the

month and thereafter in abbreviated form, often “wie den 2ten.” A summary at the end of each year lists performance totals for each piece. This source occasionally makes slight errors in its abbreviated entries, for example, “wie den 2ten” when it should have been “wie den 3ten.”

r *Realzeitung Für das Jahr 1786*. Wien bey Joseph Edlen von Kurzbeck, k.k.Hofbuchdrucker, Groß- und Buchhändler, 1786 (A-Wst, A9315). Weekly. The focus is primarily on book reviews, and tangentially on theatre reviews. While German plays and *Singspiel* are often discussed in detail, Italian opera is hardly mentioned, except for *Der Schauspieldirektor/Prima la musica* and *Le nozze di Figaro*.

Sn Joseph Ferdinand von Sonnleithner. *Materialien zur Geschichte der Oper und des Ballets in Wien* (A-Wgm, without shelf number). Dating from after 1840, this manuscript is not a primary source, but it seems likely Sonnleithner had access to a primary source, such as the missing volume of Czerny, because he lists all the dates on which *Le nozze di Figaro*, *Don Giovanni* and *Così fan tutte* were performed, which have been incorporated into the Performance Calendar. For the operas by other composers, however, Sonnleithner gives only yearly performance totals (calendar, not theatrical, year), and the dates of *premieres* where applicable.

Sp *Der Spion von Wien. Eine Wochenschrift* (A-Wst, 14171 A). Covers the period February 1789 to the end of the first week of April 1789. The final page of each issue announces the repertoire for the coming week. The weekdays are usually correct although the editor sometimes gives the wrong dates.

S.R.20–26 HHStA, *Generalintendanz der Hoftheater, Sonderreihe 20–26. Rechnungen der k.k.Theatral-Hof-Directions Cassae*. See the introduction to the Transcriptions from the Theatre Account Books for a description.

T *Wiener Theaterkalender auf das Jahr 1787. Tag-Buch aller in beiden Kaiserl. Königl. Hoftheatern zu Wien aufgeführten Schauspiele vom 1. Oktober 1785 bis letzten September 1786* (2 copies: A-Wst, 54481 A and A-Wn, 620046 A). Provides a daily calendar of performances for each theatre separately.

Tz *Theaterzettel* (A-Wn, Theatersammlung, without shelf number). This collection of *Theaterzettel* for the court theatre, compiled by the theatre personnel, is an exceptionally valuable record of theatre history, but it is not completely reliable for the purposes of constructing a performance calendar.

This is not just because a number of *Theaterzettel* are missing, but also because late changes in the repertoire did not always get registered in a permanent manner. Such changes were sometimes handwritten on the *Theaterzettel* itself or a printed sheet of paper announcing the change was glued over the *Theaterzettel*, but when this sheet was placed loosely in front of the *Theaterzettel*, as was done in some instances, it could and did become lost. As the starting point for the Performance Calendar, this source provides the spellings of the stageworks' titles, as well as the identification of the first three performances of each new piece, which have been notated here as i, ii, iii.

The *Theaterzettel* are also valuable for their annotations recording cast lists. The emperor suppressed the announcement of casts, except for débuts and guest performances, in 1782, but he lifted this restriction for plays in 1789. Thus, the printed *Theaterzettel* announce a very few débuts of actors in 1783–84, a few débuts of actors in 1784–85, all débuts of actors and many guest actors from 1785–86 through 1788–89, and full casts for plays from 1789–90 onwards. These sparse public announcements are supplemented by records kept by the actors. Handwritten casts for plays can be found on the *Theaterzettel* for 1783–84, 1785–86, 1786–87, 1788–89, but not for some reason for 1784–85 and 1787–88. For the Italian and German operas, on the other hand, débuts of singers are printed on the *Theaterzettel* as of the 1785–86 season, but there are no hand-written annotations for the operas as there are for the plays.

V *Vollständiges Verzeichniß aller deutschen Schauspiele, Italienischen Opern und Balleten, welche in den beyden k.k. Hoftheatern vom 15 November 1791 als von der neuen Eröffnung des k.k. Theaters nächst dem Kärntner Thor bis inclusive 15 Dezember 1792 aufgeführt worden sind.* Gesammelt und herausgegeben von den Souffleurs der k.k. deutschen Hoffschauspieler. Wien 1793. Gedruckt bey Ignaz Goldhann k.k. privil. Buchdruckern (A-Wn, 159.292 B ThS).

WB *Das Wienerblättchen* (and *Das neue Wienerblättchen*) 1783–1791 (A-Wst, A9316; many issues missing, some of which can be found in the A-Wn). Announces pieces on the day or one day in advance of the performance; hence, does not reflect last-minute changes. Also the editor from time to time carelessly lists plays on nights reserved for opera, or *vice versa*.

WZ *Wiener Zeitung*. To some extent functioning as the official court newspaper, it tends to duplicate the information found on the *Theaterzettel*, for both issue from the same source. However, since the newspaper usually reports events after the fact, the information is reliable. The coverage is generally confined to reporting new stageworks and débuts of performers.

Z Zinzendorf *Tagebücher*. See the introduction to the Zinzendorf Transcriptions.

Secondary Sources

Hadamowsky, Franz. *Die Wiener Hoftheater (Staatstheater) 1776–1966: Verzeichnis der aufgeführten Stücke mit Bestandsnachweis und täglichem Spielplan*. Vol. 1: 1776–1810. Vienna: Georg Prachner, 1966.

Following Czerny, Hadamowsky lists the repertoire alphabetically by title. This is useful for locating a piece and for seeing at a glance the number of performances it sustained. The drawback of this format is that the historical context is lost and it is very easy to place a performance on Ash Wednesday and not notice that fact, as Hadamowsky does when he places *Der redliche Bauer* on 6 February 1788. Hadamowsky includes a chronological chart at the back of his book, but as it is written “in code,” divorced from his list of academies, and since it is presented with no reference to the theatre year, the sense of chronological orientation remains weak. The present Performance Calendar, in expanding the historical dimension, functions as a companion work to Hadamowsky.

Morrow, Mary Sue. *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna: Aspects of a Developing Musical and Social Institution*. Stuyvesant, New York: Pendragon Press, 1988.

Morrow's list of academies was useful as a check on my own list, which, except for the academies of the *Tonkünstlergesellschaft* for which I relied heavily on Morrow, was constructed from my own research. I pass over the minor differences in our results without comment. Morrow should be read with the corrections and additions provided in Dexter Edge, “Review Article: Mary Sue Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna*,” *The Haydn Yearbook* 17 (1992): 108–166. I recommend the use of these two sources in conjunction with the Performance Calendar for their greater detail, particularly the programmes of the academies.

The Companies and the Stages

Throughout the period 1783–92, the German acting company existed continuously, as did the *opera buffa* company, although it narrowly avoided dissolution at the end of the 1788–89 season. The creation and dissolution of the other companies can be summarized as follows. The *Singspiel* company was revived in the autumn of 1785; salaries were paid as of 1 September and the

company gave its first performance on 16 October. Two years later on 15 October 1787, it was served notice to disband on 1 March 1788. In 1791, as a first step towards establishing an *opera seria* company, Leopold hired three *opera seria* singers, the soprano Cecilia Giuliani, who was paid as of 1 March, the tenor Vincenzo Maffoli, paid as of 1 June, and the castrato Angelo Testori, paid as of 1 October. They sang together for the first time on 24 November in Sebastiano Nasolini's *opera seria*, *Teseo a Stige*. Leopold further expanded the opera company by putting a chorus of nine men and eight women on salary as of 1 November 1791 under the direction of Joseph Hoffmann. Previously, Hoffmann had supplied the chorus as needed and had been paid on a per performance basis. A ballet company was created and put on salary as of 1 October 1791 and started performing on 15 November.

The several companies were to some extent intertwined, with the *Singspiel* company being the most obvious case. Although administratively the *Singspiel* was a branch of the spoken theatre and although it was directed by an actor, its singing personnel overlapped largely with that of the *opera buffa* company. At the dissolution of the *Singspiel* company in the spring of 1783, thirteen of its twenty-one members were kept on for the *opera buffa* company.¹ To this core of German singers were added eight Italian singers. Although engaged as the first-rank singers, they constituted a numerical minority and did not make the formidable group they were to after 1785 when the *Singspiel* company was reconstituted. Then the split along national lines was more pronounced, for the *opera buffa* company lost eight of its German singers to the *Singspiel*,² retaining only Joseph Valentin Adamberger and Katharina Cavalieri from among the Germans. The reconstituted *Singspiel* company, like its predecessor, shared some of its members with the other companies. Joseph Ernst Dauer is listed as an actor in the account books for 1785–86, but he is known to have sung in the *Singspiel* that year as well. Adamberger, who was a member of the *opera buffa* company in 1785–86, is listed in the account books as a member of the *Singspiel* in 1786–87, but he may well have sung in both companies both years according to need, as was the case with Katharina Himlin.³ Versatility counted for much with Emperor Joseph, as his occasional comments about singers show. Indeed, one of the factors that encouraged him to revive the

¹ Seven members were let go and one, Joseph Ernst Dauer, was transferred to the acting company. Among the thirteen singers retained for the *opera buffa* company one, Maria Stierle, was appointed jointly to the acting company and the *opera buffa* company.

² Seven of the eight had belonged to the previous *Singspiel* company. To round out the *Singspiel* company, five members were drawn from the acting company and four singers were newly recruited.

³ See note to Zinzendorf, 9 August 1787.

Singspiel company in 1785 was the list he could draw up of performers capable of functioning in more than one company: Adamberger, Josef Martin Ruprecht, Ignaz Saal, Dauer, Cavalieri, Therese Täuber, and Anna Maria Saal.⁴ Already in March of 1785, six months before the *Singspiel* company was put back into operation, its singers were called upon to perform two *Singspiele* to replace the *opera buffa* that had to be postponed owing to the illness of Nancy Storace.

Kapellmeister also moved about, especially Ignaz Umlauf. While his salary remained a constant 850 fl. throughout these years, he was paid as *Kapellmeister* of the *Singspiel* in 1782–83, as second *Kapellmeister* of the *opera buffa* in 1783–84, 1784–85 and the first part of 1785–86, and then again as *Kapellmeister* of the *Singspiel* from October 1785 until its dissolution in spring of 1788. He was then appointed second *Kapellmeister* of the *Hofkapelle*, at the same time that Salieri was appointed its first *Kapellmeister*. Salieri's new position was added to his regular duties as *Kapellmeister* of the *opera buffa*. During the 1787–88 season when Salieri was in Paris producing his opera *Tarare*, Vincenzo Righini was paid 600 fl. to act as his substitute.⁵ Beginning in 1785–86, Joseph Weigl was paid 100 fl. for assisting at rehearsals and 200 fl. in each of 1786–87 and 1787–88. In 1788–89, his job was converted into a salaried position, but remained at 200 fl. Leopold raised his salary to 666 fl. 40 x in 1791–92 and to 1000 fl. in 1792–93.⁶ A *Kapellmeister* Teyber, Anton, as it turns out, was put on salary from 1 December 1791 for three months and was paid 125 fl. Joseph Pospichel was paid 362 fl. 30 x for conducting the *opera seria* and the ballets in the same period and Franz Süßmayer was paid for accompanying at several rehearsals.⁷

⁴ Joseph to Rosenberg, 27 November 1784, in Payer von Thurn, p. 58.

⁵ HHStA, *Generalintendanz der Hoftheater*, S.R.24 (1787–88): "Musique, Composition und Copiatur Spesen, Consignation No. 168. Dem Righini Vincenzo, für die in Abwesenheit des Kapellmeisters Salieri geleiste extra Dienste bei italien. Singspielen. [=] 600 fl."

⁶ S.R.22 (1785–86): "Music=Compositionen, und Copiatur=Spesen, Consignation No. 218. Dem Weigl Joseph für geleiste extra Dienst bei italienischen Proben statt des Kappellmeisters Salieri [=] 100 fl.;" S.R.24 (1787–88): "Musique, Composition und Copiatur Spesen, Consignation No. 179. Dem Weigl Joseph, Cemballisten, für extra Dienste pro anno theatri '786 [=] 200 fl., item pro anno theatri '787 [=] 200 fl., Zusammen 400 fl.;" S.R.25 (1788–89): "Ausgab auf Besoldung des Orchester bei deutschen Schau, und italienischen Singspielen, Cembalista: Dem Weigel Sohn an monatl. 16 fl. 40 x [=] 200 fl.;" S.R.26 (1791–92): "Ausgab auf Besoldung der ital. Singspieler Gesellschaft, Kapellmeister Dem Weigl an monatl. 50 fl. von 1^{ten} März bis Ende Dezember '791 auf 10 Monate [=] 500 fl.; dann an monatl. 83 fl. 20 x von 1^{ten} Jenner bis Ende Hornung '792 auf 2 Monate [=] 166 fl. 40 x [Zusammen] 666 fl. 40 x. N.B. künftig 1000 fl."

⁷ S.R.26 (1791–92): "Ausgab auf Besoldung der ital: Singspieler Gesellschaft, Kapellmeister: Dem Teyber an monat: 14 fl. 40 x von 1^{ten} Dezember '791 bis Ende Hornung '792 auf 3 Monate [=] 125 fl.;" S.R.26: "Extra Ausgaben, Musique, Composition, und Copiatur Spesen. Consignation No. 239. Dem Pospischil Joseph Kapellmeister . . . für geleistete extra Dienste bei Opern Serien, und

The principal theatre was the Burgtheater, which was supplemented twice in the nine years by the Kärntnertortheater. Previously available gratis to a variety of individuals and performing groups upon application, the Kärntnertortheater was annexed by the court as a second stage during the 1785–86 season for the use of the reconstituted *Singspiel* company. But first it was renovated and then was inaugurated with six gala performances of Giuseppe Sarti's *opera seria*, *Giulio Sabino*, specially mounted to take advantage of the presence of the castrato Luigi Marchesi, who was in Vienna en route to St. Petersburg. The Kärntnertortheater's greater seating capacity also made it the preferred hall to use during Lent of 1786 and 1787.⁸ After the *Singspiel* company was disbanded for the second time at the end of the 1787–88 season, the theatre was left vacant until 15 November 1791 when Leopold put it back into service.⁹

From 1783–84 to 1788–89, the German acting company occupied the stage of the Burgtheater on Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays and Sundays, while the *opera buffa* company used it on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. When the *Singspiel* resumed performances in 1785, it played in the Kärntnertortheater on Tuesdays, Fridays and Sundays. In 1789–90, the rotation schedule was changed so that the German and Italian companies now alternated nightly in the Burgtheater. Starting 16 November 1791 with the reopening of the Kärntnertortheater, both the German and Italian companies performed nightly in alternation in the two theatres. After 13 January 1792, however, the Kärntnertortheater increasingly remained closed owing to what appears to have been performer fatigue. Eleven of the closed nights were to have seen opera and another five were to have seen plays.

Initially, the actors and the singers were given six-week vacations during Lent. In 1786, the actors' vacation was moved from Lent to the summer, giving rise to a summer performance schedule lasting from 1 July to 15 August in which the *opera buffa* and the *Singspiel* alternated daily in the Burgtheater. Such was also the case in 1787. In the summer of 1788 and 1789, when the *Singspiel*

Balleten [7 payments totalling] 362 fl. 30 x; *ibid.*, Consignation No. 296. Dem Siessmayer Franz, Cembalista für geleistete extra Dienste [3 payments totalling] 43 fl." A payment record from 1793 reviews Anton Teyber's service at court: he was summoned by Leopold from Dresden, where he had been court organist, to join the Viennese court theatre, and as of 1 March 1793 he was appointed "Kompositor bei der Hofmusik" with the additional duty of giving keyboard lessons to the imperial children (HKA, *Hofzahlamtsbücher*, Bd. 192, p. 1826).

⁸ The seating capacity of the Burgtheater has been estimated at 1300–1350 places, that of the Kärntnertortheater at 1700–1800 places.

⁹ The Kärntnertortheater was also used for the first two performances of the one-act *opera seria*, *Il Pimmialione*, on 15 and 17 July 1791. See note to Zinzendorf, 15 July 1791.

company had been disbanded, the Burgtheater remained closed on alternate nights. In 1790, the actors did not receive a summer vacation since they took their vacation during the mourning period following Joseph's death. In 1791, the summer performance schedule of the Burgtheater was moved forward to the period from 17 May to 3 July. Performances were given every other day, alternating weekly between spoken drama and opera.

Whenever the court resided at its summer palace in Laxenburg, the various companies performed there as well as in Vienna on a special rotation plan. This occurred three times during the nine-year period: in 1784 from 14 June to 2 July, in 1786 from 15 May to 14 June, and in 1791 from 16 May to 13 July. (A fourth brief Laxenburg *séjour* was held 26–29 September 1787 for the visit of the archduchess Maria Theresia of Tuscany). The costs of the theatrical entertainment at Laxenburg were borne by the theatre account.¹⁰

In the Laxenburg *séjour* of 1784, the theatrical fare consisted of four nights of *opera buffa* alternating with four nights of spoken drama, while the converse took place in the Burgtheater. In the *séjour* of 1786, the pattern was adjusted to accommodate the *Singspiel*,¹¹ while again at the Burgtheater the pattern was more or less the converse. The Laxenburg *séjour* in 1791 lasted almost two months, thereby cutting into the actors' usual vacation period at the Burgtheater. Part of the solution was to put the Burgtheater on summer programming earlier than usual, from 17 May to 3 July, as mentioned above. The court enjoyed nightly entertainment throughout these six weeks as well as during the following week when the Burgtheater resumed its regular performance schedule. The other part of the solution was to deprive the actors of their vacation that year.¹²

¹⁰ This was unlike the two entertainments given by Joseph at Schönbrunn on 6 February 1785 and 7 February 1786, which were apparently paid for out of his personal finances. (Joseph to Rosenberg, 7 February 1786, in Payer von Thurn, pp. 65–66).

¹¹ The pattern of performances at Laxenburg consisted of three nights of German theatre, three nights Italian, four nights German (including two *Singspiele*), three nights Italian, four nights German (including one *Singspiel*), four nights Italian (including the *concert spirituel* on Pentecost), three nights German, and four nights Italian theatre.

¹² There is no record of the actors receiving any compensation. The theatre account books during Leopold's reign show a number of large disparities in the size of payments made to various theatre personnel for similar services. This illustrates the patronage relationship Leopold maintained with those who served him, which contrasts strikingly with Joseph's fee-for-service payment methods. On the other hand, one of the significant changes that Leopold brought about in the theatre was to make the actors eligible for pensions the same as other court employees. In the early part of his reign, Joseph had drastically reduced the number of people receiving pensions from the court. (The blind pianist Maria Theresia Paradis was among those who had her pension cut.) It was probably to avoid making its members eligible for a pension that Joseph paid the *Harmoniemusik* from the theatre account instead of the *Hofkapelle*, whose members at that time

The Theatre Year

Prior to 1788–89, the performing year and the accounting year were one and the same. The performing year, following the church calendar, began on Easter Monday and lasted approximately forty-six weeks until Shrove Tuesday. Until the end of the 1787–88 theatre year, the accounting year likewise followed the church calendar, beginning on the Saturday before Easter and ending on the Good Friday of the following year. Starting 28 February 1788, however, a fixed fiscal year was adopted that ran from 1 March to 28/29 February. This consistency in the financial year made better accounting sense and also brought the entire operation in line with the payment of salaries to the actors and singers which were already paid 1 March to 28/29 February. Joseph's death on 20 February 1790 seems to have thrown the accounting year off course, for the books were not closed until 12 March that year. The following year the books were closed on 11 March 1791, on which date Ugarte's appointment as *Musikgraf* also took effect. That year (1791–92), the accounting system was put back to the church calendar with the closing of the financial year on Good Friday. In the spring of 1793, under Franz and the restored Rosenberg, the accounting system reverted to a fixed fiscal year.

What happened in Lent varied from year to year. During Lent 1784 and 1785, the Burgtheater was used exclusively for academies. Starting in 1786 and continuing through 1789, the German acting company performed during Lent on Sundays, Mondays, Tuesdays and Thursdays for five weeks, ending with a final performance on the Thursday before Palm Sunday. The death of Joseph in 1790 closed the theatres from 13 February to 12 April. Lenten performance of plays was resumed in 1791. Lent of 1792 was to have seen nightly performances of plays, oratorios and *Singspiele*, but the season was cut short after seven nights by the death of Leopold on 1 March.

The financial receipts from the Lenten season of plays were initially reckoned to the immediately preceding theatre year, for example, Lent of 1786 was counted to the 1785–86 financial year. As the transitional year between accounting systems, 1788–89 had no Lenten season reckoned to it. Lent 1789 was then included in the 1789–90 season. In 1790, the theatres were closed during Lent. Lent 1791 was reckoned to the 1790–91 season, as was also the single week of Lenten performances in 1792.

The theatre observed both state and church holidays. The state holidays consisted of the anniversaries of the deaths of Maria Theresia on 28 and 29 November, that of her husband Francis I on 17 August, and from 1791, the

were still entitled to pensions (see note to Zinzendorf, 8 August 1783). That, too, was changed in 1788 (see note to Zinzendorf, 12 February 1788).

death of Joseph on 20 and 21 February.¹³ There were two more state holidays, the nameday of Maria Theresia on the Feast of St. Teresa on 15 October, and from 1791, the Feast of St. Joseph on 19 March.

Church holidays included Ash Wednesday, Easter week and Easter. The theatres were also closed for four days at Christmas from 22 to 25 December, but this restriction did not apply to the *Tonkünstlergesellschaft* whose academies were usually held on 22 and 23 December. Single holidays included Pentecost and Corpus Christi, both movable feast days. Again, while the theatres remained closed on these days, academies could be given. Thus Giovanni Paisiello's *Passion* was performed on Pentecost, 30 May 1784, and Brigida Giorgi Banti's academy was held on Corpus Christi, 15 June 1786. The Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary was a fixed holiday on 8 September. The Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary on 15 March, also fixed, fell at different times relative to Easter and therefore saw varied observance. The theatres remained closed in all cases, whether the holiday fell during Lent, as in 1784, 1786, 1789, and 1791, or after Easter, as in 1788, but academies were given on that holiday in Lent of 1789 and 1791. In 1785, this feast fell in the Easter week, so the holiday was celebrated on 3 April.¹⁴

The Academies

While an academy was occasionally given in the court theatres during the theatre year, the regular season for academies was Lent. The Lent performing season began on the Thursday following Ash Wednesday and ended on Palm Sunday (the Sunday before Easter) yielding thirty-nine performing nights.¹⁵ Two nights were regularly reserved for the academies of the *Tonkünstlergesellschaft*, often on the Saturday and Sunday of the Palm Sunday weekend as was the case in 1786, 1788, 1789, and 1791. The remaining thirty-seven nights were scheduled differently every year. The sixteen known academies for Lent of 1784 would appear to indicate a case of incomplete information were it not for the overall Tuesday-Thursday-Saturday pattern that suggests that only a limited number of academies were scheduled. In the following year, thirty-two academies are known to have taken place. Of the remaining seven "open" nights, that is, nights for which we have no information,

¹³ However, in 1792, the anniversary of Joseph's death was observed on 17 and 18 February because Shrove Tuesday fell on 21 February.

¹⁴ In 1790 and 1792, the feast fell during the official mourning periods for Joseph II and Leopold II, when the theatres were closed in any case.

¹⁵ This number could increase if Lent fell in February on a leap year or decrease if the theatres were closed for the Feast of the Annunciation.

five are Fridays, almost certainly reflecting a decision not to permit academies on that night, and the remaining two nights might have seen academies about which we have no knowledge.

Starting in 1786 and lasting until 1791, plays were performed four nights a week, leaving three nights a week for academies, thus reducing the total number of potential nights for academies from thirty-seven to seventeen. Since the 1785–86 theatrical year was an outstandingly active year for theatrical and musical activities, it seems more than likely that academies were given on all or most of these nights, but the sources are so incomplete that reports of only five have come down to us. Lent of 1787, however, saw an almost solidly booked season with known performances for every night but one, for which we may be missing information. The sources are unusually complete for this year, because this is the first time for which *Theaterzettel* have been preserved for the academies as well as for the Lenten plays (this was also the first year in which Mozart did not give his usual academy). The situation for 1788 is rather similar, except that five nights are “open.”

In 1789, a pasticcio, *L'ape musicale*, was given eight times for the benefit of different singers in turn, apparently in place of their individual academies. Among the five known beneficiaries we find Da Ponte who wrote the libretto and assembled the music.¹⁶ He seems to have picked up the idea of pooling academies to present a large-scale work from Anna Morichelli who in the previous year had had the pasticcio oratorio, *Il convito di Baldassarre*, performed three times for her own benefit and a fourth time for that of the participating tenor Vincenzo Calvesi. In addition to Da Ponte's pasticcio, there were four academies and another four “open” nights. The theatres remained closed during Lent of 1790 owing to the death of Joseph II. The arrangement of pooling academies was repeated in 1791 with the oratorio, *Il David*, and another pasticcio opera, *L'ape musicale rinnovata*, which together saw eleven performances for seven beneficiaries.¹⁷ That left four nights for regular academies, three of which are known about.

For Lent 1792 Leopold II decided that there would be no academies, since “they do not please very much anyhow.”¹⁸ Instead, the performing

¹⁶ The other beneficiaries were Francesco Benucci, Domenico Mombelli, Luisa Laschi Mombelli and Adriana Ferrarese Del Bene.

¹⁷ Three performances were given for the benefit of Adriana Ferrarese Del Bene and one performance apiece for Da Ponte, Vincenzo Calvesi, Francesco Bussani, Dorothea Sardi Bussani, Francesco Benucci, Gasparo Bellentani. The beneficiaries of the last two performances are unknown.

¹⁸ Leopold to Ugarte, 26 January 1792, in Hadamowsky, *Wien Theater Geschichte*, p. 282: “Für die Fastenzeit ist die Einleitung dahin zu treffen, daß man mit dem Vortheil der Kassa auch die Zufriedenheit des Publicum zu vereinigen und zu erhalten befließen seye, . . . und statt der

companies of the court theatre were to perform plays, oratorios, and *Singspiele*, but the season lasted only seven nights before it closed due to Leopold's death on 1 March.

Who performed in the academies? The *Tonkünstlergesellschaft*, a charitable institution, consistently gave two academies during Lent, just as it also gave two academies just before Christmas. Somewhat in the same spirit of charity concerts was the consideration given to handicapped performers, for example, the blind flautist Friedrich Ludwig Dülon and the blind Marianne Kirchgessner, a performer on the glass harmonica.

Some of the singers were granted benefit concerts as part of their contracts.¹⁹ The *prima buffa* Nancy Storace gave academies in 1784, 1785, possibly 1786, and 1787, the latter as her farewell concert. Interestingly, she was the only member of the Italian company to give an academy that year. Stefano Mandini also gave academies in 1784, 1785, possibly 1786, not in 1787, but again in 1788, the latter as his farewell concert. The *prime donne* Morichelli and La Ferrarese also gave academies, indeed, by means of the pasticcio, several in one season, but the other Italian singers gave academies irregularly, just once, or not at all. Surprisingly, the *primo buffo* Benucci is known to have given only one academy, in 1785, the same year Luisa Laschi and Bellentani gave their sole academies. Calvesi gave an academy in 1786 and the benefit performance of Morichelli's pasticcio oratorio for him in 1788 functioned as his farewell performance.

Other first-rank musicians in the emperor's employ who might have been entitled to an academy as a term of employment or as a gratuity included the *Harmoniemusik* who gave academies in 1784, 1785, 1787, 1788, 1789 and possibly 1786, the group's clarinetist Anton Stadler alone in 1784, 1785 and 1788, and the group's oboist Johann Went alone in 1789.²⁰ Members of the court theatre orchestras also gave academies: in 1785, Joseph Weigl, senior, first

musikalischen Academien, die ohnehin nicht sehr gefallen, das deutsche Singspiel gegeben würde."

¹⁹ No contracts survive, but from one of Joseph's *Hand-Billets* we know that a benefit concert was included in the terms of Nancy Storace's contract (Joseph to Rosenberg, 3 May 1788, in Payer von Thurn, p. 74).

²⁰ Da Ponte's academies in 1789 and 1791 (the two pasticcio operas) could have been a benefit granted at the same time as his salary was raised in the spring of 1789. This is implied by the fact that his right to an academy in 1791 was respected even though by its date, 23 March, he was no longer strictly speaking employed (his employment was terminated on 9 March). For details of his dismissal see Otto Michtner, "Der Fall Abbé Da Ponte," *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 19 (1966), p. 175. The anonymous author of the pamphlet *Anti-Da-Ponte* points out as evidence of the court's generous dealings with Da Ponte that he was granted this academy even though he stood in disgrace (Gustav Gugitz, *Denkwürdigkeiten des Venezianers Lorenzo Da Ponte*, 3 vols. (Dresden, 1924), 2: 267).

violoncellist of the Burgtheater orchestra; Philipp Schindlöcker, a violoncellist in the newly formed Kärntnertortheater orchestra; and Basilius Bohdanowitz, a violist in the same orchestra; in 1787, Joseph Christian Smrezka, another violoncellist in the Kärntnertortheater orchestra; and in 1791, Joseph Weigl, senior.

Beneficiaries with looser connections to the court theatre included the *Kapellmeister* Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf, Vicente Martín y Soler and Mozart, the German singers Ludwig Karl Fischer and Anna Maria Schindler, both former members of the *Singspiel*, and the apprentice singers Elisabeth and Franziska Distler.

Then there is a long list of foreign musicians passing through Vienna, not to be detailed here, and finally, it is possible to distinguish a category of musician playing novelty or fashionable instruments. The glass harmonica was popular in 1791 and was heard in academies by Karl Leopold Röllig, Herr and Madame Maschek and Marianne Kirchgessner.²¹ The harp was played by Herr Neukomm, Mlle. Dermer and Mlle. Josepha Müllner in 1784, and by Mlle. Müllner again in 1788. The fortepiano was featured in academies given in 1784 by Mozart, Mlle. Dermer and Anton Eberl; in 1785, by Mozart, Mlle. Dermer, Anton Eberl, Josepha Hortensia Müller, Josepha Auernhammer, and the child prodigy Cäsar Scheidl; in 1786, only by Mozart; and in 1787 and 1788, only by the child prodigy.

Despite a certain *ad hoc* element in the constellation of academies, some sort of priority system seems to have played an increasing role in the selection process as the number of nights available for academies decreased. In 1784, the demand for academies on the part of performers seems not to have been very high, for Mozart was able to change the night of his academy from 21 March to 1 April at short notice. Likewise in Lent of 1785, Mozart had no difficulty in arranging not one but two academies for his father's violin student, Heinrich Marchand. The Le Bruns were even able to give three academies. But after 1786, not every applicant seems to have been granted an academy. For example, despite the paucity of our information for some years, it appears that the Italian singers were granted academies in 1787 and 1788 only if they were giving farewell concerts. In 1791, Leopold's influence can be recognized in the absence of the annual academy given by the *Harmoniemusik*, Joseph's wind band. The violoncellist Joseph Weigl, senior, however, was granted one of the few academies that year, probably because his son was Leopold's protégé. The main item on the programme was his son's cantata which had been commissioned and

²¹ The latter two academies were held outside the Lent period.